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EDITED BY
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GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST FOR INDIA.

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The names of contributors are arranged alphabetically.

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,,	33. The Smaller Leiden Plates of Kulottunga I	,, ,,	276 & 277

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page 2, text l. 1.—*For* Mahāmatan *read* Mahāmatana.
„ 4, para. 1, l. 4.—*For* uptil *read* up till.
„ 4, para. 2, l. 3.—For *Ouadheid*° read *Oudheid*°.
„ 4, para. 2, l. 3.—For *Nederlandisch-Indie* read *Nederlandsch-Indië*.
„ 4, text l. 2.—*For* °varmaṇaḥ *read* varmmaṇaḥ.
„ 5, l. 6.—*For* Pushkaraādi *read* Pushkarasādi.
„ 5, para. 4, l. 2.—*For* kīng *read* king.
„ 5, para. 4, l. 4.—For *yaḥ purā Tārumay(ā)m* read *yaḥ purā* [*Tā*]*r*[*u*]*māyā*[*ṁ*].
„ 7, f. n. 4, l. 2.—*For* Māṟāñja° *read* Māṟañja°.
„ 9, text l. 8.—*For* [ni] *read* ṉi. (K. V. S. A.).
„ 9, text l. 16.—*For* kiṟadu *read* kiṉṟu. (K. V. S. A.).
„ 10, text l. 50.—*For* eṟṟappeṟā° *read* eṉṉappeṟā°. (K. V. S. A.).
„ 13, l. 30.—*For* i-troke *read* i-stroke.
„ 14, last para. l. 2.—*For* III *read* II.
„ 16, l. 29.—*For* Vājasanēyin *read* Vājasanēyī.
„ 17, l. 33.—*For* Pṛithvīshēṇa *read* Pṛithivishēṇa.
„ 18, f. n. 4.—*For* (619-20 A. D.) *read* (A. D. 629-30).
„ 20, l. 10.—*For* Taittiriya *read* Taittirīya.
„ 21, f. n. 1.—*For* Pulombüru *read* Pulombūru.
„ 22, para. 3, l. 10.—*For* Tundra *read* Tuṇḍra.
„ 23, f. n. 13.—*For* उत्तौच्च *read* उत्तौच्चं
„ 24, para. 2, l. 8.—For *Sēnānīr-* read *Sênānīr=*.
„ 26, f. n. 2.—*For* द्विविध्या *read* द्विविधां
„ 29, text l. 28.—*For* नल° *read* नळ° and *for* उळ्यळ° *read* उळ्चळ°.
„ 31, l. 16.—For *ārāmaṁ* read *arāmaṁ*.
„ 33, l. 29.—*For* irrefragible *read* irrefragable.
„ 34, l. 14.—For *Vaiśyāṇāṁ* read *Vaiśyānāṁ*.
„ 34, l. 15.—For *Kshatriyānāṁ* read *Kshatriyāṇāṁ*.
„ 40, l. 10.—For *yu* read *yuṁ*.
„ 44, l. 1.—*For* route *read* rout.
„ 44, l. 24.—*For* shows *read* show.
„ 45, l. 1.—*For* Kaḍava *read* Kāḍava.
„ 50, f. n. 7.—*For* Mīṁāṁsā, and *read* Mīmāṁsā, Pāñcharātra, and
„ 50, f. n. 8.—For *Shadja* read *Shaḍja*.
„ 50, f. n. 8.—For *Daivata* read *Dhaivata*.
„ 51. l 20.—*For* extacy *read* ecstasy.
„ 51, f. n. 5.—*For* note 14 on p. 10 *read* note 24 on p. 48.
„ 55, l. 2.—*For* prose *read* verse.
„ 56, f. n. 9.—*For* Forbe's *read* Forbes,.
„ 58, f. n. 3.—*For* king Dhārā *read* king Dhārā(varsha).
„ 60, text l. 13.—*For* °यर्व्वद *read* °यर्व्वे(र्ध्वे)द.
„ 61, text l. 20.—*For* °यावापि *read* °यद्यापि.
„ 61, text l. 24.—*For* दीघवाहु: *read* दीघवा(बा)हु:

Page 61, text l. 24.—*For* ब्यू[ह] *read* ब्यू— ⌣.
„ 61, text l. 27.—*For* निम्बा° *read* निम्बा(म्बा)°.
„ 63, l. 40.—*For* forec *read* force.
„ 64, para. 5, l. 3.—For *-mutāś-cha* read *-mutāśā*.
„ 64, para. 5, l. 3.—For *-sutāś-cha* read *-sutāś=cha*.
„ 64, para. 5, l. 5.—For *-chudh-* read *-chuddh-*.
„ 65, l. 33.—For *Śatakratu* read *śatrur=*.
„ 65, l. 36.—*For* l. 24. *read* l. 23.
„ 65, l. 38.—For *-bhūt* read *=bhū*.
„ 65, f. n. 2.—*For* 169 *read* 199.
„ 66, l. 1.—*For* l. 62 *read* l. 61.
„ 66, l. 4.—*For* l. 71 *read* ll. 68-69.
„ 66, l. 13.—For °*rājō* read °*rāja*.
„ 66, l. 43.—*For* Farrukkābād *read* Farrukhābād.
„ 71, l. 8.—*For* **Pūravī** *read* **Pūrāvī**.
„ 71, l. 8.—*For* **Padhama°** *read* **Paḍhama°**.
„ 71, text l. 4.—*For* (त्वेन्) *read* (स्वन्).
„ 72, text l. 6.—*For* (ग्ल) *read* (ताल).
„ 72, text l. 10.—*For* तन्निन्दिवं *read* तन्निन्दितं.
„ 72, f. n. 3.—*For* क्षत्तराजं *read* क्षत्तराजो°.
„ 73, text l. 27.—*For* (धं) *read* (धुं).
„ 75, f. n. 1.—*For* भगवदुद्धा° *read* भगवदुद्धा°.
„ 75, f. n. 2.—*For* विनय *read* विनय.
„ 76, f. n. 5.—*For* यष्टिं *read* यष्टिं.
„ 77, para. 2, l. 1.—*Omit* of *after* are.
„ 77, para. 3, l. 1.—*For* gutteral *read* guttural.
„ 77, para. 3, l. 2.—*For* to *s read* into *upadhmānīya*.
„ 77, para. 4, l. 3.—*For* Nābaḍa *read* Nāvaḍa.
„ 78, l. 2. and l. 5.—*Insert* the *before* Māhi.
„ 78, f. n. 9.—*For* निजवाडुवडेल *read* निजवा(वा)डुव(ब)डेल.
„ 79, f. n. 3, l. 6.—*For* Pūrāvi *read* Pūrāvī.
„ 80, l. 3.—*For* villages *read* the village.
„ 80, para. 2, l. 5.—*Insert* with *after* Bharthāṇaka.
„ 80, para. 2, l. 6.—*Insert* with *after* Dhāhadva.
„ 80, para. 3, ll. 2, 4, and 8.—*For* Kāṣṭhā° *read* Kāshṭhā°.
„ 80, text l. 1.—*For* °ऽङ्कृतं *read* °ऽङ्कृतं.
„ 80, f. n. 2.—For *Kāṭhiā°* read *Kāṭhiā°*.
„ 81, text l. 7.—*For* ऋत *read* ऋत.
„ 81, text l. 10.—*For* कार्यांटक *read* कार्या(र्य्या)टकं.
„ 81, text l. 15.—It may be noted that the word श्री is superfluous considering the metre.
„ 81, f. n. right-hand side.—*For* 3 *read* 2.
„ 81, f. n. 2.—For *-āchatāt* read *-āchalāt*.
„ 83, text l. 36.—*For* वहवी *read* वहवी(वः).
„ 84, text l. 57.—*For* प्रतिषद्ध *read* प्रतिष(ष)द्ध.
„ 84, text l. 57.—*For* °धानो *read* °धानो(नः).
„ 87, l. 9.—*Insert* From *before* the record.
„ 87, l. 10.—*For* attemps *read* attempts.

Page 88, f. n. 4.—*For* 1175-1182 A. D. *read* 1175 to 1182 A. D.
„ 91, text l. 38.—*For* 1 read 7.
„ 91, translation, l. 3.—*For* °naḍaigaḷ *read* °ṇaḍigaḷ.
„ 92, l. 24.—*For* °**ṭṭai**- *read* °**ṭṭai**-.
„ 94, l. 6.—For *svargge* read *svargē*.
„ 94, f. n. 2, l. 3.—*For* ehose *read* these.
„ 95, f. n. 16.—*For* स्पतिना *read* बृहस्पतिना.
„ 99, l. 32.—For *drōṅgarikā* read *dōṅgarikā*.
„ 99, l. 46.—*For* **Kōlēpadra** *read* **Kōlāpadra.**
„ 100, l. 30.—*For* Gōsvāmīnī *read* Gōsvāminī.
„ 101, l. 27.—For *prayato* read *prayatō*.
„ 102, l. 12.—*For* his *read* this.
„ 102, l. 32.—*For* प्रवर्धं° *read* प्रवर्ङ्.
„ 102, l. 33.—*For* ताप:[:*] *read* °ताप [:*]
„ 102, l. 34.—*For* सुत *read* सुत:
„ 103, l. 15.—For *tasy-ānujaḥ* read *tasy=ānujaḥ.*
„ 106, text l. 23.—*For* द्विजा° *read* द्विजा°.
„ 108, text l. 42.—*For* सवध्य° *read* सवध्य°.
„ 108, text l. 48.—*For* कौल° *read* कौला°.
„ 108, f. n. 12.—For *ḍōṅgarikā* read *dōṅgarikā*.
„ 109, text l. 56.—*For* °ख्यासेधे *read* °ख्यासेधि.
„ 109, text l. 65.—*Insert* [13] *after* °ख्यानीम.
„ 109, f. n. 3.—*For* सङ्घायश्री° *read* °वातिथिपञ्चसङ्घायश्री°.
„ 110, f. n. 2.—*For* Ila° *read* Īla°.
„ 113, f. n. 1.—For *Māmadi* read *Māmaḍi*.
„ 116, text l. 5.—*For* °śān-ati° *read* °śān=ati°.
„ 116, text l. 10.—*For* śobhā *read* śōbhā, and *for* maṇḍal-āgra *read* **maṇḍalāgra.**
„ 116, text l. 13.—*For* °liasha° *read* °lasha°.
„ 117, text l. 26.—*For* °ttam-[*ā**] *read* °ttama(mā)°, and *for chchūḍā read* chchū(chū)ḍā.
„ 117, text l. 27.—*For* =anga-ja° *read* =angaja°.
„ 117, text l. 28.—*For* °sy=aiva *read* °sy=ai(sy=ē)va.
„ 118, text l. 31.—*For* maṇḍal-āgram *read* maṇḍalāgram.
„ 118, text l. 32.—*For* °bhāshita- *read* °bhashi(si)ta-.
„ 118, text l. 33.—*For* °san=nava- *read* °san-nava-.
„ 118, text l. 42.—*For* °bhogā° *read* °bhōgā°.
„ 118, text l. 43.—*For* °leya-ki *read* °lēyaki°.
„ 118. f. n. 1.—*For* °han-dhṛi° *read* °han=dhṛi°.
„ 119, text l. 50.—*For* sāgara° *read* sagara°.
„ 122, text l. 2.—*Insert* nati- *after* mukta-
„ 123, text l. 5.—*For* °mānāḥ *read* °māṇāḥ.
„ 124, text l. 17.—*For* chakr-āhva *read* chakrāhva.
„ 124, text l. 18.—*For* sutō-bhūd *read* sutō=bhūd.
„ 124, text l. 20.—*For* rūpam *read* rūpaṁ.
„ 131, text l. 20.—*For* Tīvr-āṁśōr=amśu *read* Tīvrāṁśōr=aṁśu.
„ 131, text l. 33.—*For* Ēṇ-āṅka *read* Ēṇāṅka.
„ 132, f. n. 1.—*For* -ēsō *read* -ēśō.
„ 138, f. n. 2.—For *Yah kāñchanañ* read *yah kāñchanañ=.*

Page 144, f. n. 9.—For °*kshardmē* read °*kshārāmē*.
„ 161, l. 11.—*For* Kārtika *read* Kārttika.
„ 168, l. 9.—*For* dattā[ṁ*] *read* dattām=.
„ 168, l. 25.—For *aklipt-* read *sa-klipt-*.
„ 172, f. n. 11.—*For* पृथिवीषेणस्य *read* पृथिविषेणस्य.
„ 172, f. n. 20.—*For* अस्मिन्यु l. 28 and साव्वत्सरे दादश्यां *read* अस्मिन्य l. 26 and साव्वत्सरे and दादस्या.
„ 174, text l. 31.—The figure 7 should be placed over the *daṇḍa* after त्रयोदशे and the figure 8 should come after दादश्या.
„ 174, text l. 32.—*For* राजा° *read* राज्या°. (V. V. M.)
„ 176, l. 14.—*Insert* **in the twenty-third year** *after* **Māgha.**
„ 177, l. 11.—For *saṁkhō°* read *saṁkshō°*.
„ 183, text l. 24.—*For* सदाजा *read* सदाजी.
„ 185, text l. 41.—*For* °भद्द *read* °भ[द्द]
„ 189, l. 14.—For *kumbha* read *kuṁbha*.
„ 189, l. 15.—For *Gaṅgala* read *Gaṁgala*.
„ 190, text l. 11.—*For* कुमाजेसिंघ *read* कुमारजेसिंघ.
„ 191, text l. 33.—*For* प्रसाध्य: *read* प्रसाध्य:(ध्य).
„ 192, para. 6, l. 9.—*For* **Bhīsana** *read* **Bhīsaṇa.**
„ 194, f. n. 6.—*For* लक्ष्मीयला *read* लक्ष्मीयला:.
„ 195, f. n. 7.—*For* राजगुरु *read* राजगुरु.
„ 213, last l.—*For* śrēṇi *read* śrēṇī (C. R. K.).
„ 214, l. 23.—*For* had *read* have.
„ 216, f. n. 6.—*For* Sibi *read* Śibi.
„ 219, l. 36.—*For* Simha° *read* Siṁha°.
„ 221, column 1.—*For* Amarabujaṅga *read* Amarabhujaṁga
„ 222, last l.—*For* indentical *read* identical.
„ 230, l. 34.—*For* ommission *read* omission.
„ 232, l. 31.—*For* Paḷaṅ- *read* Pāḷaṅ-.
„ 234, l. 35.—*For* paleographical indications noted on page 17 *read* chronological indications noted on page 228.
„ 237, column 1.—*Insert* 1*a after* 1.
„ 237, column 1, No. 14.—*For* Tirutti *read* Tiritti.
„ 240, text l. 37.—*For* trē-āgni *read* trēt-āgni.
„ 241, text l. 75.—*For* puñjarīkṛita *read* piñjarīkṛita.
„ 243, text l. 101.—*For* śāśanaṁ *read* śāsanaṁ.
„ 243, f. n. 6.—*For* cads *read* reads.
„ 244, f. n. 3.—*For* erasur *read* erasure.
„ 253, text l. 279.—*For* ivv-ūr=kkaraṇāttāṉ *read* ivv-ūr-ūr-kkaraṇattāṉ.
„ 254, text l. 310.—*For* °purattu *read* puṟattu.
„ 259, l. 7.—For *varippattagam* read *varippottagam*.
„ 271, l. 1.—*For* son *read* younger brother.
„ 274, l. 11.—*For* village *read* villages.
„ 281, f. n. 1.—For *Nilaiyuāaiya* read *Nilaiyuḍaiya*.

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME XXII.

No. 1.—THE TEXT OF THE SOHGAURA PLATE.

By K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Barrister-at-Law, Patna.

1. The Sohgaurā plate[1] discovered in 1894 in the district of Gorakhpur and presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Dr. Hoey, is one of the undoubted pre-Aśōkan documents. Fleet, R. D. Banerji, and myself have had occasions to comment on the age of the writing.[2] In Dr. Fleet's opinion, it could even be placed earlier than 320 B.C.:

> "The standard of the Brāhmī characters of the inscription refers it to at any rate an early date in the Maurya period, B. C. 320 to about 180; and the method of spelling presented in it, along with the use of those characters and the general style of the record, would justify our placing it even before that time."
> —*JRAS.* 1907, p. 509.

2. The inscription, however, has not been solved. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar impressed on me the necessity of giving my attention to it. The discovery of the Mahāsthān stone which has now been edited in this journal (above, Vol. XXI, pp. 83 ff.), made it necessary to refer to this document. It seems that the reading can be made out now with some certainty.

3. The illustrations are in *JRAS.* 1907, plate facing p. 510—the Asiatic Society's photograph and Sir George Grierson's electrotype copy. It will be seen that the small-sized *k*'s on the Mahāsthān stone and those in our plate agree in shape; and so do the peculiar *m* forms (Mahāsthān, line 2) which are not found in Aśōka inscriptions. This *m* is also found on a Patna glass seal.[3] Both Sohgaurā and Mahāsthān records have as their subject-matter *koṭhāgāla* (*kōshṭh-āgāra*) which is used in the Kauṭalīya Arthaśāstra as a technical term for state store-houses for keeping *dravya* and grains (*Aś.*, chs. 36, 37; pp. 93, 99, 1st ed.) and refer to *ātyayika* [distress].

4. The Sohgaurā plate was cast into several copies and is a public placard issued by the **Council of Ministers of Śrāvastī**, and is a document, relating to famine relief measures. It reads:

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[1] *References*: 1894, *Bengal Asiatic Society's Proceedings*, pp. 84 ff. (V. Smith and Hörnle); 1896, *Ind. Ant.*, 261 (Bühler); 1907, *JRAS.*, 509 (Fleet).

[2] *JBORS.*, VI, 203. The date assigned there is *c.* 300 B.C.

[3] *JBORS.*, *X.* 189, 192.

TEXT.

1 Savastīyāna[1] Mahāmatan sasane Manavasiti- ka-
2 ḍā[2] (.) s[ī] lī-māte[3] usāgame 'va ete dave koṭhāgalāni.
3 Ti[ya]veni-Māthula- Chachu- Modāma- Bhalakāna chha-
4 li-kayiyati (;) atiyāyikāya no gahiṁtavayo (.)

TRANSLATION.

The order of the **Mahāmātras** of **Śrāvastī** *(issued)* from the **Manavasiti** camp.

Only to the tenants, only on the advent of drought, these (the) *dravya* store-houses of **Triveṇī, Mathurā, Chañchu, Mōdāma**[4], and **Bhadra** are to be distributed (discharged); in case of distress they are not to be withheld.

Comments on the text.

Line 1. The third character is a ligature. There is a defect in the surface which produces a cut in the loop of the *s* and the leg of the *t* above it (see the first photograph). The ligature is indicated by breaking off the perpendicular line before joining to it the legs of the *s*, which may be compared with the normal *s* of lines 1 and 2.

Mahāmatana.—The long *ā* mark to the *h* is in the middle of the perpendicular line. The *t* is of the stunted variety, with a suggestion of a projecting bar, just as in the *t* of the last line in *gahiṁtavayo*.

Sasane. There is probably a suggestion of a long *mātrā* to the first *s* in the electrotype.

Line 2. For the long vowel in *ḍā* of *Manavasiti-kaḍā* see the electrotype.

Sīlīmāte. Sīlī stands for Sanskrit *sīrin*; *sīra*, 'plough'; Hindī *sīr*, 'cultivation'; *sīrin* 'a tenant' 'a cultivator.' *Māte=mātre.*

Us-āgame: the *e*-mark to *m* is absolutely certain; and the *ā*- force to *s* (in the middle of the bar) is also certain in the electroplate. The expression stands for *uss-āgame*= Sanskrit *ushmā-gamē.*

Dave: the lower limb of *d* is blurred. As the store-houses were evidently more than two, it is not advisable to read the word as *duve*. It seems to be connected with the technical term of the Maurya period *dravya* in connection with Government Stores, *e.g.*, *dravya-pāla* (*Artha-śāstra*, ch. 38).

Line 3. *Tiyaveni* is a clear reading. The photograph shows *Māthule*, but the electrotype *Māthula*. The long vowel to *k* in *Bhalakāna* can be seen in the photograph, though it is faint.

Line 4. The *i*-mark to *l* in *chhali*, is faint. *Chhali*=Sanskrit *kshariˢ*[5]; *chhali-kayiyati*, 'to be spent', 'to be discharged'. *Chha* was misread by Fleet as *va*. There is a straight bisecting line in the circle. Bühler read it correctly.

Localities.

Triveṇī, Mathurā, Chañchu, Mōdāma and *Bhadra* must have been in the Kōsala Province, of which *Śrāvastī* was the capital. This *Mathurā*, therefore, is not the Mathurā of the Śūrasēnas but a town or village somewhere in Oudh, Gorakhpur or Champaran. We have an important village *Mathūliyā* in Champaran. *Chañchu* (Ghāzīpur)[6] could be within the jurisdiction of the

[1] Ligature *stī*: the right leg of *t* touches the bar of *yā*.

[2] *ā*- vowel-mark is traceable in both photographs.

[3] There seems to be a long *ī* to *s*, and to *l*. See electrotype.

[4] If it be taken as an adjectival form like *Māthula*, the place-name would be *Mudāma*.

[5] *Kshar* (क्षर्), to pour out, to flow, to dissolve or dissipate.

[6] *JRAS.*, 1907, 525.

provincial government of Śrāvastī, as the district of Gorakhpur was; but more likely it was another place between *Trivēṇī* (*ghāṭ*) and *Bhadra*—between the districts of Gorakhpur and Champaran or thereabout. Nothing is known about *Mōdāma* or *Mudāma*. *Bhadra* (Bhalla) was a common name. *Manavasiti* (Mānavaśīti) is to be looked for in the Tarāi. Its name shows that it was a cool resort.

The Sohgaura and Kumhrar pillar symbols.

Amongst the symbols the moon (*Chandra*) placed on a hill-like combination and next to it the large *Mo* (like the *ms* in the inscription—in two separate parts) denote an imperial monogram for **Chandra[gupta] M[aurya]**. We have the same moon symbol on the Kumhrar pillar [*ASR.*, 1912-13, p. 78, pl. XLIX] where it certainly means '*Chandragupta*'. The hill-like combination stands for **gutta**  ; the upper loop is *g* and the lower loops are *tta*, and on the top of the combination stands *chanda* or *chandra*. This monogrammatic method of writing is what is called *Śilpa-lipi* (i.e., *art-writing*) in the text cited by Dr. Hirananda Sastri (*Proceedings and Transactions of the 6th Indian Oriental Conference*, p. 11). It will be seen from the plate published in the *A.S.R.* that in the centre, by the side of the central dot, there is the symbol for **Chandagutta**, then there is an abrasion in the stone (which I have examined and seen on the actual stone), then opposite there is in a somewhat cursive hand three letters—reading from right to left—'**Moriya**'. This along with the symbol reads : '**Moriya-Chandagutta.**' That Chandragupta Maurya had his royal monogram is clear from the Kauṭalīya *Arthaś-*, *ch.* 50, p. 129 [' *rājāṅka* ' branded on royal animals] and *ch.* 93, p. 249 [' *narēndrāṅka* ' engraved on weapons and armours for the use of soldiers].[1]

The *Mo* on the Sohgaura plate is to the right of the monogram. For the full form of the *o*- force, see electrotype.

The two trees probably signify the drought stage from leafsome to leafless, and the houses for stores.

The Date.

Apart from the monogram, the date is to be gathered from certain circumstances. At the time, Śrāvastī was under a Council of Mahāmātras. This will be true of the Nanda and Maurya times when Kōsala was reduced to the position of a province of the Magadhan empire. The lettering will show an age about a century before Aśōka. The document indicates that extensive measures were adopted by the State to meet threatened or repeated droughts, and the measures were largely advertised for the information of the public. This and the Māhāsthān tablet seem to be contemporary documents of the reign of **Chandra-gupta Maurya** when repeated **droughts** occurred, according to the Jains theological history. Both Sohgaura and Mahāsthān inscriptions refer to '*atiyāyika*' circumstances.

[1] I reserve a fuller discussion on the Kumhrar pillar for a separate paper. It is sufficient to note here that the circles denote the plan of this pillar. My brother Mr. U. S. Jayaswal, who is an engineer by profession, without knowing anything of the actual position of the pillar said that it should be the 8th pillar in the third row according to these 'erection marks'. This agrees to the letter on Dr. Spooner's plan (XLI, p. 69). The sectional plan to the right on the pillar and its circles for the pillars and three lines before the letter *mū* constitute a copy of Dr. Spooner's plan of a group of 8 pillars on the site, reckoning it facing south where the main gate stood. What Dr. Spooner took to be Persian symbols are simply the direction for erection, noting '*mūkha*' 'face' — 'gate'. *Mū* and *kha* (or, *khe*) cover the whole of the sectional plan. The letters by the circles read (left to right) "*thabbhe* ; *3* ; *3*."

No. 2.—SHELL CHARACTER ROCK INSCRIPTION AT CI-ARUTÖN (JAVA).

BY K. P. JAYASWAL, M.A., BARRISTER-AT-LAW, PATNA.

A cursive and florid writing has been found in various places in India. I have seen it in the rock-cut cave-house at Khandgiri in the so-called Lalāṭa Kēsarī Gumphā; at the door of the Gupta or pre-Gupta temple standing at Tigawāṅ; at Rājgir; at Patna, etc.; and one text repeated several times at Rāmṭek (Nagpur) has been brought to light by Dr. Turner[1]. Uptil now it has been called "Shell characters" or Śaṅkha writing owing to the cursive forms of letters which resemble a conch-shell.[2]

Lately I had to study the "box-headed" writing of the Javanese inscriptions which have been edited by Dr. Vogel under the title *The Earliest Sanskrit Inscriptions of Java* in *Publicaties van den Ouadheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandisch-Indie*, Deel I (Weltevreden, 1925). A Shell inscription is engraved at Ci-Arutön below the foot-prints of King Pūrṇavarman. The toes of the king are represented to have had lotus-marks, the auspicious *lakshaṇa* (marks), which have been taken by several Dutch scholars to be a representation of "spiders". The whole purpose of the inscription is to emphasise this *sāmudrika lakshaṇa*.

The main inscription is in box-headed letters of the Vākāṭaka type, which has been accurately read by Dr. Vogel (p. 22) as follows:—

1 Vikkrāntasy=āvanipatēḥ
2 Śrīmataḥ Pūrṇṇavarmaṇaḥ
3 Tārūma-nagar-ēndrasya
4 Vishṇōr=iva pada-dvayam.

Plate 28 of Dr. Vogel's book which is reproduced here gives the facsimile of the foot-prints and the inscriptions in shell and box-headed letters.

It is evident that the two inscriptions are contemporary with the foot-prints (*pādukā*). It was to record the description of the foot-marks that the inscriptions were engraved. The shell writing was drawn first and then the "box-headed" one. This is apparent from the position of the two inscriptions. The loop of the first letter of the shell line caused a little slanting of the box-headed lines. The shell line is just below the *pādukā* and occupies a more prominent position.

On the evening of the 14th April (1933) I placed the plate before my learned friend Dr. Hirananda Sastri with my view that here was a bi-scriptory writing, and that it was possible to solve the shell record with the help of the box-headed record which gives the purpose of the inscription. Dr. Hirananda Sastri[3] agreed with that view. I now place my reading before scholars.

The line opens with *Śrī*, placed just between the two large toes, and reads ŚRĪ PŪRṆṆA-VARMAṆAḤ. It may be noticed that three ṇs are the same in shape.

The writing is very likely the *Paushkarasādīyā*, one of the three main *lipis* of Northern India mentioned in Buddhist books (Bühler, *Indische Palæographie*, p. 2). The shell writing

[1] *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1933, Dec. issue.

[2] Cunningham finding it mostly on Gupta monuments thought that the writing arose in Gupta times (*R.*, VIII, p. 129). But this is disproved by Silaharā cave inscriptions (of Rewah) where it is associated with contemporary writing of *C.* 100 A. D.—*A. S. R.*, 1927-28, p. 138. I have examined the latter, and one of them seems to give the same donor's name as the Brāhmī lines.

[3] [Mr. Jayaswal's reading seems to be plausible, but till we have examined all the known inscriptions in this curious script we should treat it as a working hypothesis—H. S.]

ROCK INSCRIPTION AT CI-ARUTÖN (JAVA).



REPRODUCED FROM DR. J. PH. VOGEL'S EARLIEST SANSKRIT INSCRIPTIONS OF JAVA.

MR. K. P. JAYASWAL'S CHART.

FROM PHOTOGRAPH.	FROM ESTAMPAGE.	VALUES.
		śrî
		pūr
		ṇa
		ṇa, ṇaḥ
		va
		rma

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

has been always found in Northern India, and its present instances are found on certainly Guptan monuments; the Rājgir writings on the road may be much earlier. Its cursive form shows that it was a non-monumental, *i.e.*, book writing. The *virāma* sign below *ṇ* in our inscription has its descent in the modern Nāgarī and Bengali scripts. The system is purely Hindu; the forms, though different, have basic unity with Brāhmī forms. It seems that Pushkaraādi with whose personal name the system is associated, invented the system from Brāhmī. A modern example of a similar type of invention is Gurumukhī. The head of each letter in our inscription is headed with a line as in Nāgarī, Bengali and other modern Aryan scripts of the north. This would have arisen in book-writing with pen-and-ink, to keep a straight line in view. The flourishes of long looped vowel-signs and rounded forms of the letters also point to the system of pen-and-ink.

The *v* in our inscription is almost identical with the Brāhmī letter; *p* has a loop to the left instead of to the right, which would denote an earlier origin when *p* was written both ways. The superscript *i* vowel-mark is doubled to denote a long sound. The *m* here has only one arm of the Brāhmī *m* instead of two. The *ṇ* form is entirely unconnected. The *ś* is somewhat unconnected, it resembles remotely the Brāhmī form turned upside down. The superscript and subscript *r* has the same form as in Brāhmī. The double *ī* mark resembles the Brāhmī system of the fourth century A.D. The mark for *visarga* on the top of the last *ṇa* resembles a half form of the *jihvāmūlīya* sign of the Brāhmī. The origin of the script would go back to B.C. centuries owing to the forms of *p* and *ś* and the unconnected form of *ṇ*. The *mātrās* would have been influenced in their development by the general system which we find in Brāhmī.

A NOTE ON PĀDUKĀS.

The custom of giving *pādukās* still survives in India. The Jainas have throughout set up *pādukās* to their Āchāryas. Sannyāsin *maṭhas* still make such memorials to their Mahants. In every case they are memorials to dead personages. The custom survives among Bengal Hindus, where the dead *guru-jana*'s foot-prints are taken on a piece of paper after besmearing the soles with lac-dye (*ālta*—Skt. *alakta*), whereby actual prints are reproduced. These prints are preserved.

Pūrṇavarman's foot-prints have given rise to various speculations amongst the Dutch scholars. Dr. Vogel has rightly pointed out (p. 25) that the other foot-prints of the king at Jambu were engraved on the place of cremation. The wording of the inscription indicates that the foot-prints were engraved after the king's death (*yaḥ purā Tārumay(ā)m nāmnā śrī-Pūrṇṇavarmmā*). Similarly the Ci-Arutön inscription is to be taken as an after-death memorial, engraved probably at the place of the Śrāddha. There is no justification in the text to regard it as a dedication to a living man as taken by the Dutch scholars. It was not for worship, and it was not worshipped in his life-time.[1]

No. 3.—MANUR INSCRIPTION OF MARANJADAIYAN.

By Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A., Madras.

Māṇūr is a village in the Tinnevelly district about nine miles from Tinnevelly on the road to Śaṅkaranayinārkōyil. On one of the pillars in the Ambalavāṇasvāmin temple of this village is

[1] The foot-prints of his elephant (p. 27) Jayavīśāla (which is the name of the animal) is a memorial to his favourite *vāhana*, and must have been engraved after its death.

found engraved the following inscription[1] of the reign of **Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ**, which I edit from a set of excellent ink-impressions received from the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras. The inscription has been noticed briefly by the late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayyā in the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1907, and its contents were summarised by the late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri in the *Annual Report* for 1913.[2]

The record occupies a space of about 7′× 1′ 2″ and consists of sixty-four lines of equal length. It is incomplete, a few words being wanting at its end. Line 21 has not come out clearly in the impression; but the words in this line can be easily supplied from the context on the analogy of ll. 27-9 which seem to repeat the phrasing employed here. Otherwise the inscription is very well preserved.

The **alphabet** employed is Vaṭṭeḻuttu with an admixture of Grantha letters especially for ligatures, such as *kshai*, *sva*, *sta*, *sti*, *śrī*, *hma*, *bra*, *pra*, *ddha*, *vya*, *vṛi*, *tta*, and for some words like *sabhai*, *vēda*, *dharmma* and *strīdhana*. In Grantha letters, the length of the medial *i* is marked by the sign of a medial *ā* attached to the right of the letter in *śrī* in lines 1 and 10; the sign representing a medial *ā* is itself a plain short horizontal stroke from the right end of which hangs a vertical one—see *brā* in lines 17 and 23, and *śrā* in line 29. The Vaṭṭeḻuttu letters resemble in general appearance those of the Ambāsamudram inscription of Varaguṇa-Pāṇḍya.[3] The size of the letters is larger in the first five lines than in the following. The letter *ka*, however, resembles more the *ka* of the Āṉaimalai inscription[4] than that of the Ambāsamudram record. The medial *ū* is marked by a loop below the letter *ṉ* in ll. 4 and 19, and the short *u* by a single vertical stroke below the same letter in line 13. The *puḷḷi* is clearly marked in some cases as in *paṅgu* (l. 14), *pugavum* (l. 34) and *paṇikkavum* (ll. 34-5); but is not so clear elsewhere[5]. One and the same letter is found written in slightly different forms, and different letters sometimes look so alike that we have to depend on the context for their proper identification. As an example of the former tendency the vowel *i* at the beginning of line 25 may be compared with the same letter in lines 5, 11, 26 and elsewhere in the inscription. Compare also, in this connection, the letter *lu* in ll. 27 and 28 with *lu* in l. 29 and *lū* in l. 8; and *yō* in lines 9 and 12. Instances of the latter are furnished by *pa* and *tu* occurring twice in line 5; by the very slight difference between *tu* in this line and *ṟu* at the end of the preceding one, distinguished from the former by a slight hook at the top of its left arm; and by the letters *pa* and *ṅ* in line 14. It may also be noted that in line 35, *rā* and *ka* look alike, the stroke indicating medial *ā* in the former having crossed the vertical of the main letter, whereas the distinction between the two letters is clearly maintained elsewhere *e.g.*, in l. 54. These peculiarities only go to confirm the correctness of the view that "the Vaṭṭeḻuttu may be described as a cursive script which bears the same relation to the Tamiḻ as the modern northern alphabets of the clerks and merchants to their originals, *e.g.*, the *Mōḍi* of the Marāṭhās to the *Bālbodh*."[6]

The vowel *ai* occurs once in line 58. The letter *ya* is uniseptate and looks much simpler than in the Ambāsamudram inscription and closely resembles the form of the letter in the Vēḷvikuḍi grant. The sign for the medial *i* is invariably attached as in the Vēḷvikuḍi grant to the right

[1] No. 423 of 1906 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[2] Part II, paragraph 23.

[3] *Ante*, Vol. IX plate opposite page 90.

[4] *Ante*, Vol. VIII, plate opposite page 320.

[5] [Nowhere else in the record is the *puḷḷi* marked and it is therefore doubtful if it is marked in the instances noted here. The marks looking like *puḷḷi* on the impression may be due to the roughness of the stone.—Ed.]

[6] Bühler—*Indian Palaeography* ed. Fleet, p. 75.

side of the letter, and never, as invariably in the Āṇaimalai and sometimes in the Ambāsamudram inscriptions, placed at the top of the letter.

Palaeographically, this inscription belongs to the same group as the Āṇaimalai and Ambāsamudram inscriptions and the Vēḷvikuḍi and the Madras Museum grants of Jaṭilavarman. To the same group may be assigned the Tirupparaṅguṉṟam and the Trivandrum Museum stone inscriptions.[1] Slight differences as in the formation of the letter *ya*, the disposition of the medial *i* symbol, and the general appearance, sloping (Āṇaimalai and Vēḷvikuḍi) or vertical (Madras Museum, and Ambāsamudram), of the letters in an inscription do not, in the case of Vaṭṭeḻuttu records, furnish any reliable criteria for a close determination of their exact age.[2] It seems to me therefore that the Māṉūr inscription of Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ is also a record of the reign of the celebrated donor of the Vēḷvikuḍi grant and the Madras Museum plates.

It must be observed, however, that the high regnal years in this and in some other inscriptions of Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ have been considered to be an obstacle in the way of accepting this conclusion.[3] I have pointed out elsewhere what appears to me the proper method of reconciling these high regnal years with the historical data furnished by the Vēḷvikuḍi and the larger Śiṉṉamaṉūr grants,[4] and I need not repeat the arguments here. I have also examined elsewhere the views recently expressed by Mr. K. V. Subramania Aiyar on some inscriptions of Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ and on the date of the accession of Varaguṇa-Mahārāja.[5]

The language of the inscription is Tamiḻ, but Sanskrit words are also employed wherever necessary. The rules of *sandhi* are sometimes observed, as in *nūṟṟaṟu* (l. 4), but more often not—*pattu oṉbadu* (l. 5), *kūḍi irundu ivvūr* (ll. 11-12) and so on. The letter *v* is needlessly duplicated in two places—*maṉṟāḍuvadāgavvum* (ll. 45-6) and *śeyvvadāga* (l. 61). The grammatical construction of the sentence at the beginning of the *vyavasthai* (ll. 14-20) is peculiar, but might be heard to-day from the mouth of any Sanskrit Pandit in South India. Some words are used in peculiar senses now obsolete; examples are *maṉṟāḍutal* in the sense of 'to discuss or deliberate' more generally, 'to take part in the proceedings (of an assembly)'; and *śrāvaṇai*, a word unknown to literature, and apparently closely allied in meaning to *paṅgu*,[6] as can be seen from the general sense of lines 31-34 read along with ll. 18-19. *Śrāvaṇai* and *āvaṇam* are doubtless two forms of the same word—cf. *Śramaṇa*, *amaṇa*; and *Śrāvaṇa*, *Āvaṇi*. And the old Tamiḻ lexicon

[1] *Cf.* Venkayya at *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. xxii, p. 68 and *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1907, Part II, p. 20, as modified by 1908, II, 36; and above, Vol. IX, p. 86, n. 13. [Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar thinks that it is wrong to group together the Āṇaimalai, Ambāsamudrum, Vēḷvikuḍi, Madras Museum, Tirupparaṅguṉṟam and Trivandrum Museum inscriptions as belonging to the same period. He suggests that the letters of the Māṉūr record which do not exhibit the older forms of *r*, *ṉ* and *ṟ* can favourably be compared with the writing in inscriptions of Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ (*Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. IV, p. 119), Śaḍaiyamāṟaṉ (*ibid.*, pp. 121-122) and Vīra-Pāṇḍya (*ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 69 and 72).—Ed.]

[2] *Cf.* Krishna Sastri's remarks above, Vol. XVII, p. 292 and *South-Indian Inscriptions*, III, p. 442.

[3] *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1907, II, 21, is tentative on the point; 1929, II, 8, is more decisive.

[4] *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, Chap. IV and pp. 253-5. [Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Ayyar is of opinion that the Māṉūr inscription must be attributed, palaeographically, to a later Māṟāñjaḍaiyaṉ, probably Parāntaka-Vīranārāyaṇa Śaḍaiyaṉ, the brother of Varaguṇavarman of A.D. 862. He also considers that a few records of Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ which cite high regnal years, *viz.*, Nos. 298 of 1916 (35th year), 431 of 1914 (35th +*), 12 of 1928-29 (35+6th year), 863 of 1917 (35+7th year), 605 of 1915 (43rd year) and 104 of 1905 (39th year), all of the Madras Epigraphical collection, are palaeographically similar to the Māṉūr record and may have to be ascribed to the king named above.—Ed.]

[5] Above, Vol. XX, pp. 46-54; Early Pāṇḍyan Chronology—*Journal of Indian History* 1932 April.

[6] In No. 64 of 1898 we have the phrase: *magaiyum śrāvaṇaiyum uḷḷiṭṭa oru paṅgu*. Here *śrāvaṇai* would seem to be a unit of land other than a house-site. The word is evidently used in the sense of document or title-deed in an inscription (323 of 1910) of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I in the phrases: *vilai śrāvaṇai-ppaḍiyum* and *iṟai-yili-śrāvaṇaippaḍiyum*, with which *cf. vilai-āvaṇam* (sale-deed).

Piṅgalam gives for the word *āvaṇam* the meaning of 'right (to property).' Speaking generally, *śrāvaṇai* like *āvaṇam* may be taken to denote right to property, and '*śrāvaṇai pugu*' to mean, 'to enter upon and exercise the right of ownership'. The words *kachcham*[1] (agreement) and *kuttukkāl* (obstruction) may also be noted as perhaps interesting colloquialisms of the time.

The object of the inscription is to record a resolution of the *saṅhā* of **Māṇanilainallūr.** The resolution is called *vyavasthai* in Sanskrit, and *kachcham* in Tamiḻ. The resolution fixed the procedure to be followed in future meetings of the *sabhā* by laying down the minimum qualifications in terms of property, education and character, that would entitle persons to take part in the work of the *sabhā*. It also stated that no kind of *vāriyam* was to be assigned to a person who did not possess a full share in the lands of the village. This is one of the earliest uses of the term *vāriyam* known to South Indian Epigraphy. The Ambāsamudram inscription of the sixteenth year of Varaguṇa-Mahārāja mentions the *vāriyar* of the *sabhā* of Iḷaṅgōkkuḍi. It is not easy to decide if these terms in these Pāṇḍya records refer to committees of the assembly in the same manner as the Uttaramērūr inscriptions of Chōḷa Parāntaka I belonging to a later century and another part of the country. It is not improbable that the earlier records only imply the choice of particular individuals for the performance of specified tasks, and that the *vāriyar* were individual officers carrying out the orders of the *sabhā* rather than an executive committee with wide discretionary powers such as the committees of Uttaramērūr undoubtedly were.[2] However that may be, it is clear that the present resolution of the *sabhā* of Māṇanilainallūr forbade any responsible executive duties being entrusted in the future to persons who did not satisfy a minimum property qualification. Lastly, the resolution lays down the penalty of a fine of five *kāśus* per head for failure to observe its terms and for wilful obstruction, and avers that, even after the penalty is enforced, the original terms of the resolution shall be acted upon.

This inscription is unique in the insight it gives into the actual working of the autonomous village assembly in *brahmadēya* villages under the early Pāṇḍyas. The existence of such *sabhās* is known from other records of the time like the Ambāsamudram inscription mentioned above, and an inscription from Tiruchchendūr.[3] But the inscription edited here is the only early Pāṇḍya inscription giving particulars of the constitution and working of the *sabhā*. A meeting of the general body is summoned by the beating of a large drum—*peruṅguṛi śāṛṛi* (ll. 9-10)[4]. The assembly, *mahāsabhā*, met at the stated hour in a public place fixed beforehand,—here it was Gōvardhana,[5] apparently signifying a Vishṇu temple of which there seem to be almost no traces left at present.[6] The rules made on this occasion by this *sabhā* show that while in the assembly, generally speaking, all land-owners were represented, still an active part in the deliberations of the assembly was allowed only to those persons the extent of whose property did not fall below a prescribed minimum and who, in addition, had attained a certain standard of education and possessed good character. The work of the assembly when it was not in session, including the carrying out of its decisions in particular matters, was apparently entrusted to *vāriyar* of its choice. Of the number and duties of the *vāriyar*, we derive no knowledge from the inscriptions of the time.

[1] Kittel notes in his Kanarese-English Dictionary that Kan. *kajja* is a derivative of Skt. *kārya*, and our *kachcham* may be the same word in another form. The expression *vilai-pramāṇak-kachchatta* occurs in *South-Indian Inscriptions* Vol. I, No. 52, l. 4.

[2] See Appendix to Chapter XIII, "Village Administration," pp. 82-3; 133-134.

[3] No. 26 of 1912 and No. 156 of 1903 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[4] A Chōḷa inscription (No. of 1897) has the phrase *dharmi-gūḍiṉ-peruṅguṛi koṭṭi*.

[5] *Cf.* 64 of 1898 from Uttaramārūr saying: *emmūr śrī-gōvardhanattu Mahaviṣhṇukkaḷukkū*.

[6] "The foundations of a few old buildings may be traced in the paddy fields to the west of the village, but it is now impossible to account for the 1008 Brahman houses which, according to a local belief, once existed on the site."—*Tinnevelly Gazetteer*, p. 476.

Manur Inscription of Maranjadaiyan.

First Side.



Second Side.



Third Side.



N. P. Chakravarti.
Reg. No. 3313 E'33 — 480.

SCALE : ONE-SIXTH.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

Of the **geographical data** supplied by the inscription, **Māṇanilainallūr** is obviously the present Māṇūr. The *nāḍu* in which this place was located bore the name **Kaḷakkuḍi**. Other places in Kaḷakkuḍi-nāḍu mentioned in the inscriptions are Karuvānallūr,[1] seven miles to the north of Śaṅkaranayinārkōyil, and Karavandapuram,[2] which seems to have had the alternative name of Kaḷakkuḍi as can be inferred from the Āṇaimalai inscriptions.[3] It has been suggested that Kaḷakkuḍi might be identical with the modern village of Kaḷakkāḍ in the Nāṅgunēri Tāluk[4]. Considering that the *nāḍu* extended to the north beyond Śaṅkaranayinārkōyil, it may be doubted if Kaḷakkuḍi-Karavandapura could be the same as Kaḷakkāḍu, too far south in the Nāṅgunēri Tāluk. Ambāsamudram and Śērmādēvi to the north of Kaḷakkāḍu were part of Muḷḷi-nāḍu, and Kaḷakkāḍu is itself said to have been in the Vānavaṉ-nāḍu, in a record of a later date.[5] There is a village called Kaḷakkuḍi in the Tinnevelly Taluk itself, which may possibly have been the headquarters of the *nāḍu*.

TEXT.

First side.

1 Svasti śrī || Kō **Māṟañja-**
2 **ḍaiyaṟkku yāṇḍu**
3 **muppattañju**
4 **nāl nāṉ-ṉūṟṟ=aṟu-**
5 **pattu-oṉbadu** i-
6 n-nāḷāl Kaḷak[ku]ḍi-
7 nāṭṭu brahmadēyam Māṇa-
8 [ni]lainallūr māhāsa-[6]
9 bhaiyōm peruṅguṟi śā-
10 ṟṟi śrī-Gōva[r*]ddhanattu-kkū-
11 ḍi irundu ivv=ūr mā-[6]
12 hāsabhaiyōm kuḍi[7] maṉṟā-
13 ḍuvadaṉukku śeyda vyavastai-
14 y=āvadu ivv=ur[8] paṅguḍai-
15 yār makkal sabhaiyil maṉ-
16 ṟāḍukiṟadu oru dha[r*]ma[m*]-uṭpa-
17 ḍa Mantirabrāhmaṇam vallār su-
18 vṛittar=āy iruppārē oru paṅ-
19 giṉūkku[9] oruttarē sabhaiyil
20 maṉṟāḍuvadāgavum vilaiyum
21 [pratigrahamum strī-dhanamum-uḍaí-][10]

Second side.

22 yār oru dhanmam=uppa[11]
23 ḍa Mantirabrāhmaṇam

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[1] No. 424 of 1906 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.
[2] No. 418 of 1906 of the same collection.
[3] *Ante*, Vol. VIII, p. 318 and n. 8.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] No. 130 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.
[6] Read *mahā*.
[7] Read *kūḍi*. The suggestion may be made that *kuḍi-maṉṟāḍu* means: deliberate on the affairs of the village'; but there is no other instance of such usage.
[8] Read: *ivv-ūr*.
[9] Read *°ṉukku*.
[10] Conjectural reading based on l. 28 below.
[11] Read *uṭpaḍa*.

24 vallar=āy suvri(ṛi)ttar=āy
25 iruppārē maṉṟāḍu-
26 vadāgavum idaṇ=mēṛ[1]-
27 paṭṭadu vilaiyālu-
28 m pratigrahattālum sti-[2]
29 dhanattālum śrāvaṇai
30 puguvār muḻu śirāva-
31 ṇai aṉṟi kāl śirāva-
32 ṇaiyum araich=chirāvaṇai-
33 yum mukkāl śirāvaṇaiyu-
34 m pugavum paṇikkavu-
35 m peṛādā[r=ā]gavum pa-
36 ṅgu vilaikku koḻpa-
37 vār[3] oru vēdam ell[ā]
38 iḍamum sa-pariśish[ṭ]a-
39 m parīkshai tandārkkē
40 śrāvaṇai paṇippadā-
41 gavum ip=pariśu aṉ-
42 ṟi śrāvaṇai pukkāraiyum

Third side.

43 piṉṉaiyum ik=kach-
44 chattil paṭṭa-pari-
45 śē maṉṟāḍuvadāga(v)-
46 vum ip=pariśiṉā-
47 l muḻuch=chirāvaṇai
48 illādārai ovvagai-
49 ppaṭṭa vāriyamu-
50 m ēṟṟappeṛādār[4]=āgavu-
51 m ip=pariśu śeygiṉ-
52 ṟārum aṉṟeṉṟu kuttu-
53 kkāl śeyyappeṛādā-[5]
54 r=āgavum kuttukkāl śey-
55 vāraiyum kuttukkāl śe-
56 vvārkku[6] uṟavāyuḍani-[7]
57 ppāraiyum vevvēṟṟu-
58 vagai aiyyañju k[ā]śu taṇ-
59 ḍaṅ-goṇḍu piṉṉaiyum
60 ik=kachcha[t*]til paṭṭa-pari-
61 śē śeyv(v)adāgavum i-
62 p=pariśu paṇittu vyava-

[1] ṟ looks like ṉ. [2] Read *stri-*
[3] Read *var*. [The impression reads *koḻ(v)ōr*—Ed.]
[4] ṟṟu looks like *ṟṟa*; *cf. ṟu* in *māṟu* in l. 1. Likewise ṟā and *dā* look much alike.
[5] ṟā and *dā* look alike.
[6] Read *śeyvārkku*.
[7] This reading is doubtful. Mr. G. R. Krishnamacharlu suggests that it may be read as *upā[kam]*—in the sense of *upāka*; and that *upākam-nippār* may be rendered as those standing by or near, i.e., abettors.

63 stai śeydōm mahāsabhai-
64 yōm mahāsabhaiyār [pa][1]

TRANSLATION.

Lines 1-14. Hail! Prosperity! the **year thirty-five, and day four hundred and sixty-nine** of (*the reign of*) **King Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ**,—on this day, we, (*the members of*) the *mahāsabhā* of Māṇanilainallūr, a *brahmadēya* in Kaḷakkuḍi-nāḍu, having proclaimed a general body meeting by beat of drum; and, having assembled in the sacred Gōvardhana, made the following resolution (*vyavasthai*) for conducting deliberations in the meetings of the *mahāsabhā* of this village:

Ll. 14-20. In the matter of the share-holders of this village taking part in the deliberations of the assembly, only those who are conversant with *Mantra-brāhmaṇa* inclusive of one *Dharma* and are of good conduct shall take part in the discussions of the *sabhā*, only one person (*representing*) a share;

Ll. 20-26. of those who own (*shares*) by purchase gift or dowry, only such as are conversant with *Mantra-brāhmaṇa* inclusive of one *Dharma* and are of good conduct shall take part in the deliberations;

Ll. 26-35. in the future, those who exercise their right of property (*śrāvaṇai-puguvār*) (*acquired*) by purchase, gift or dowry, shall not, except by (*possessing*) full *śrāvaṇai*, exercise their right and vote[2] (*merely*) in virtue of a quarter, half or three-quarters of a *śrāvaṇai*;

Ll. 35-45. among those who acquire shares by purchase, the *śrāvaṇai* shall be awarded only to such as have passed an examination in an entire Vēda together with the *Pariśishṭa*; and those who enter upon a *śrāvaṇai*, by means other than the above, shall take part in the discussions only in accordance with the terms of this settlement (*kachcham*);

Ll. 46-51. in virtue of this arrangement, those who do not possess a full *śrāvaṇai* shall not be selected to any kind of *vāriyam*;

Ll. 51-61. those who abide[3] by this agreement shall not say 'nay' and cause any obstruction (*to this arrangement*); those who cause obstruction and those who abet the obstructionists[4] shall be fined five *kāśus* each, and even thereafter, the terms of this resolution (*kachcham*) shall be strictly observed.

Ll. 61-64. We, the members of the *mahāsabhā* ordered in this wise and made this settlement. The members of the *mahāsabhā*.....

No. 4 KHAROSHTHI INSCRIPTION ON A BEGRAM BAS-RELIEF.

By Sten Konow, Ph.D., Oslo.

Bēgrām, on the confluence of the Ghorband and Panjshīr rivers, has been identified with ancient Kāpiśī.[5] The site has been explored by French archæologists, and M. Barthou has, *inter alia*, unearthed a damaged sculpture in bas-relief,[6] which has been interpreted as representing the Buddha's first interview with Bimbisāra or the invitation to preach addressed to Bhagavat by Brahmā and Indra. Gotama, with a moustache, is seated on a throne, raising the right hand in the *varada-mudrā* and resting the left, which is mutilated, on the lap. To the right stands

[1] The continuation on the fourth face seems to be built in.

[2] The word *paṇikkavum* in the context is not easy. I have taken it to mean 'declare one's opinion,' 'vote.'

[3] The expression *ipparisu śeygiṟārum* (ll. 51-2) is vague, but obviously it must refer to the persons who enter on *śrāvaṇai* in an irregular manner, without passing the examination, and are left out of account for the *vāriyam*.

[4] Lit. "Stand in intimate relation with those who cause obstruction."

[5] Cf. A. Foucher, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, VI, pp. 341 ff.

[6] J. Hackin, *La sculpture indienne et tibétaine au musée Guimet*, Paris 1931, Pl. XI.

a person in royal attire, raising his hands in supplication, and to the left a somewhat defaced figure, in the same attitude, but apparently not a royal personage. In the background we see a Vajrapāṇi to the left, and another person to the right, and outside the group, to the right, is still another person, according to M. Hackin perhaps a monk. The height of the sculpture is 14½ inches.

Under the sculpture is an inscription in Kharōshṭhī letters. The right-hand portion of the base is abraded, and the beginning of the record is therefore irreparably lost. If the whole base was utilized, we may reckon that approximately twenty *aksharas* have disappeared.

What has been preserved covers a space 10½ inches long, with twenty-four letters, each about ¾ inches high. Professor Thomas has published his reading of the record from M. Hackin's plate, where, however, the last *aksharas* are defaced.[1]

I am indebted to M. Hackin for graciously allowing me to publish the inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*, and to the authorities of the musée Guimet for kindly providing me with excellent photographs, from which the plate accompanying this article has been prepared.

Our inscription is the first Kharōshṭhī record which has been found in, or in the neighbourhood of, ancient Kāpiśī. The excellent execution of the characters, however, shows that they are due to an experienced engraver, and we have no reason for doubting that Kharōshṭhī was in common use in Kāpiśī and in the other towns along the old highroad to India, *via* Nagarahāra and Pushkarāvatī.

According to M. Hackin, Professor Mironov has examined the Bēgrām epigraph and come to the result that certain cursive and late characters remind us of the Kharōshṭhī documents from Niya, and that we must, consequently, think of a date towards the end of the Kushāṇa period, at least not earlier than Huvishka. This estimate cannot be far from the truth, though I cannot see any special resemblance to the Niya alphabet.

A priori we should be inclined to look for parallels to the characters of our record in inscriptions from places such as Wardak, Bīmarān, Haḍḍā and ancient Pushkarāvatī, and though the materials at our disposal are limited, our search will not be quite in vain. The *ma*, with the tops bent slightly inwards, has its parallel on the Hashtnagar pedestal, where we also find forms of *da* and *pa* of the same kind as in our record. The angular *e*, with the *e*-stroke at the bottom, has exact parallels in Wardak, and also in Ārā, Naugrām, and Jaulīā. *Ta* has an ancient shape, but the long *tu* reminds us of Wardak. *Ya* has its parallels on the Kanishka and Kurram caskets, and *ha* has the same shape as in Wardak. *Śa* is peculiar, the right-hand bar being shortened and bent backwards. Generally speaking, however, the characters make the impression of being traditional and little characteristic. They are perhaps somewhat later than the Haḍḍā inscription of the year 28, and earlier than the Mamāne Ḍherī pedestal of the year 89, though the highly cursive ductus of the last-mentioned epigraph makes it difficult to make any use of it for chronological purposes.

One of the characters occurring in our record is peculiar. The last word but one is evidently meant to be *pituno*. The first syllable is not, however, written in the usual way. Instead of the ordinary *pa* with the *i*-stroke we have *pa* with a St. Andrew's cross at the end of the stem.

The same sign has been found by Professor Rapson[2] in some few instances in the Kharōshṭhī documents recovered at Niya in Chinese Turkestan, where it is used in words such as *alpa*, *śilpa*,

[1] *J. R. A. S.*, 1933, p. 415.

[2] *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Chinese Turkestan.* Transcribed and edited by A. M. Boyer, E. J. Rapson, and E. Senart, Oxford 1920-29, p. 316.

śilpiṅa, and accordingly seems to stand for *lp*. Another compound *lp*, formed in the usual way by placing *l* above *p*, is stated to occur in *[ka]lpitaṁti*, where the *i*-stroke has been added, but hardly anywhere to denote *lpa*.

Professor Rapson further draws attention to the fact that the St. Andrew's cross is used in a similar way in the coin legends of Wima Kadphises. In an earlier publication[1] he proposed to read the compound letter as *thph*, but now he prefers to read *[Ka]lpi(śa)*.

We should then have to draw the inference that the writer of our inscription had misunderstood the compound and wrongly used it for *pi*. But we should fail to understand why he did so. *A priori* we would be inclined to think that he knew it from words where it was actually pronounced *pi*.

The oldest known occurrence of the compound *akshara* containing the St. Andrew's cross is in the coin legends mentioned above. The name or title in which it is used is applied to two different rulers, whose names are best known in the forms Kujūla and Wima Kadphises. The word is known both from the Greek and from the Kharōshṭhī legends, and further from Chinese renderings.

In the case of Kujūla, the Chinese transcript points to *Kapa* ; the Greek legends give *Kadaphes* and *Kadphises*, and in Kharōshṭhī we find *Kadapha*, *Kaphsa*, *Kasa*[2], etc. For Wima we have Chinese *Kâu-t'ien* ; Greek *Kadphises*, and in Kharōshṭhī the form here discussed. There is nowhere any trace of a *l*, but several writings which point to a dental, and probably to a voiced dental fricative, a δ. And in this connection it should be borne in mind that the Kharōshṭhī *akshara* which most closely resembles the St. Andrew's cross is the dental *th*. *A priori*, therefore, Professor Rapson's old explanation would seem to be more likely than the new one.

We do not know the derivation or etymological explanation of the word. Professor Lévi[3] has maintained that it means ' ruler of Kapiśā '. Whether he is right or not, it is highly probable that it was thus understood in Kapiśā itself, where it was perhaps also used about the successors of the two first Kushāṇas. And in Kapiśā it could then hardly be pronounced otherwise than *Kāpiśa* or *Kappiśa*. Some of the coin legends also point to disappearance of the sound preceding *p* (*ph*). The writer of our inscription, which has been found in ancient Kāpiśī, would therefore be familiar with the use of the compound *akshara* as a rendering of the sound *pi*, and it is not to be wondered at that he took the St. Andrew's cross to be the sign of *i*, leaving out the *i*- troke itself.

The result would be the same even if the cross originally stood for *l*. For it is almost certain that old *lp* became *pp* in the North-Western Prākrit. There are not, it is true, any instances of old *lp* in later Indian Kharōshṭhī inscriptions. But both Shāhbāzgaṛhī and Mānsehrā have *apa*, *kapa* for Sanskrit *alpa*, *kalpa*, respectively, and the Dutreuil du Rhins manuscript gives *apa* for *alpa* and *sagapa* for *saṁkalpa*. Moreover we find *otapī* for Sanskrit *akalpika*, side by side with ' Sanskrit ' forms such as *kalpa*, *kalpī* in Saka, which language has been influenced by the North-Western Prākrit.

This state of things leads us to question the interpretation of our sign as *lp* in the Niya documents. The forms transliterated *alpa*, *śilpa*, *śilpiṅa* by Professor Rapson were pronounced *appa śippa*, *śippiṅa*, respectively, in the dialect, and we may reasonably draw the inference that the other sign, *l* written above *p*, was used where a Sanskrit loanword was pronounced as in Sanskrit *e.g.*, in *(ka)lpitaṁti*.

[1] *Actes du XIV^e Congrès des Orientalistes*, i, p. 219.

[2] I abstract from the form *Kassa* which Professor Rapson, *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, p. 312, proposes to read on a copper coin, because the actual reading is not certain. To me it looks like *Kaṭsa*.

[3] *J. A.*, ccliii, 1923, p. 52=Sylvain Lévi, Jean Przyluski and Jules Bloch, *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*. Translated by Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, Calcutta 1929. p. 120.

So far as I can see, our only key to the pronunciation of the compound *akshara* are the coin legends of Wima Kaḍphises. And we have no reason for assuming a pronunciation *lp* in them. If the letter was originally devised for writing foreign, *e.g.*, Iranian, words containing the consonantal compound *δp*, which does not occur in Indian dialects, it is conceivable that it was locally pronounced *lp*.[1] But it is hardly necessary to resort to such an assumption in order to explain the Niya writings. And in our record, at all events, the compound is meant to render *pi*.

With regard to **orthography** and **grammar**, we may note that no distinction has been made between the dental and the cerebral *n*. Thus we have *imeṇa kuśalamuleṇa*, but *pituno*, *danaṁmuhe*. The last mentioned word illustrates the well-known tendency to nasalize a vowel before a nasal, and also shows that the nominative of *a*-bases ended in *e* and not in *o*, as is the rule in the western part of the territory in which the North-Western Prākrit was in use. The dialect used in our inscription is, as might be expected, the same as in other Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions.

As has already been remarked, the beginning of the record, probably about twenty *aksharas*, has disappeared. It probably contained a date, either in the old Saka or in the Kanishka era.

The inscription opens with a damaged *ya*, or apparently rather *ye*. It is evidently the termination of a feminine noun, in the genitive or in the locative. This word cannot be restored with any approach to certainty. If it was the last word of the date portion, we might think of *purvaye*, as in the Taxila Plate. Other dated inscriptions from Afghanistan, however, use *kshunaṁmi* and not *purvaye* after the date. Moreover, the ensuing dative *pujae* makes it probable that we should expect *purvae* and not *purvaye*. The same consideration may be urged against restoring words such as *bharyaye* or *upasikaye*. We might think of *kuṭiṁbiniye* or of *kapiśiye*, but we cannot say anything for certain.

The first complete word is *atariye*, which Professor Thomas is no doubt right in restoring as *Aṁtariye*, the genitive of an elsewhere unknown name *Antarī*. It is evidently the name of the donor of the sculpture, and dependent on the following *danaṁmuhe*, gift.

The remaining words do not present any difficulty. They are : *imeṇa kuśalamuleṇa* [*pi*]*tuno pujae*. We might expect a *bhavatu* to follow, and there are perhaps some faint traces of three *aksharas*, which might be read *bhavatu*, above the line, after *pujae*. My reading and translation are therefore :

TEXT.

. . . y[e] A[ṁ]tariye danaṁmuhe imeṇa kuśalamuleṇa pituno pujae [bhavatu]

TRANSLATION.

. . . gift of Antarī ; through this root of bliss (may it be) for the worship of [her] father.

No. 5.—A NOTE ON THE MAMANE DHERI INSCRIPTION.

BY STEN KONOW, PH.D., OSLO.

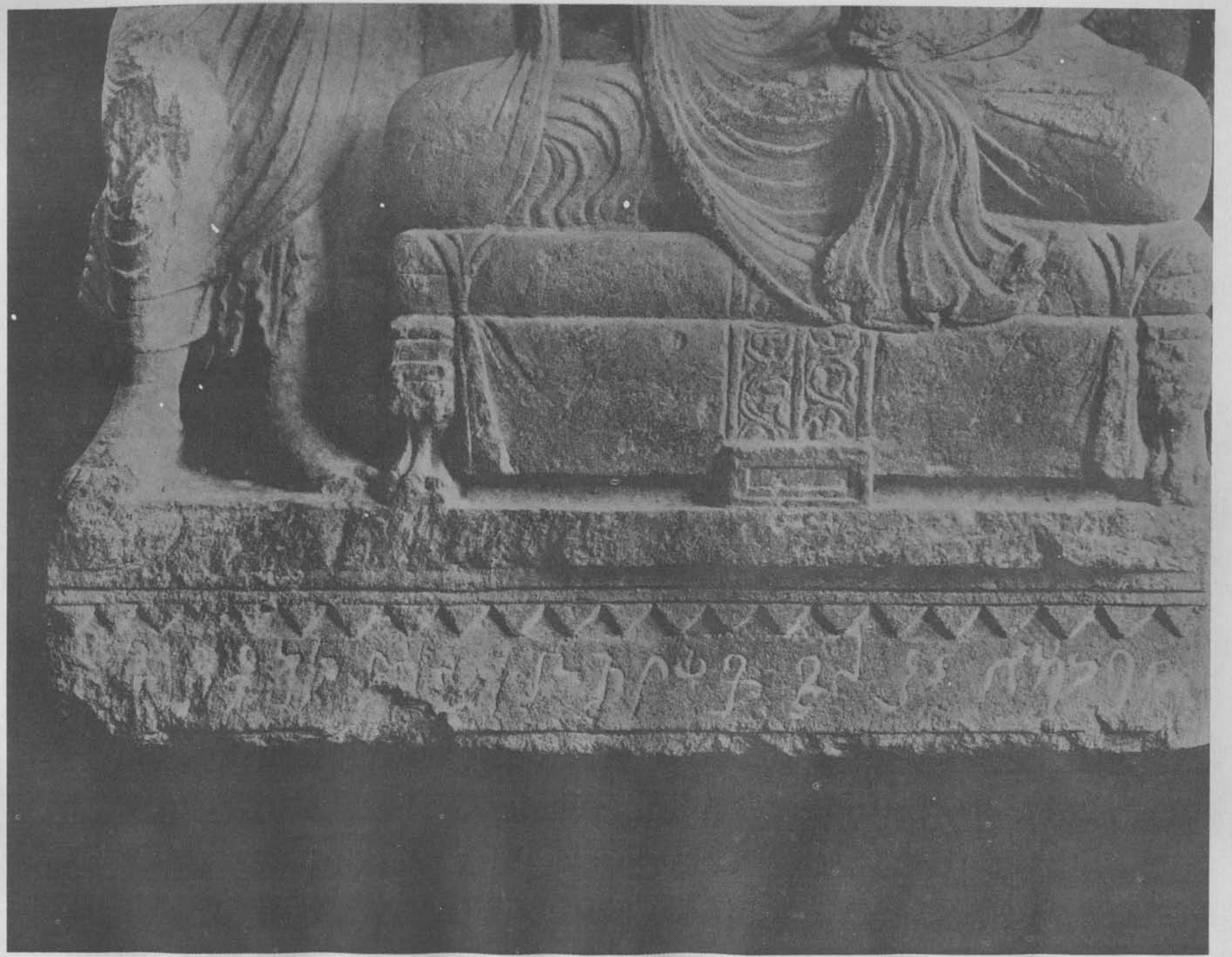
The Mamāne Ḍherī inscription of the year 89 of the Kanishka era was published by me in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, i, pp. 171 ff. A small portion of the record is so defaced that I could not make it out from the photograph and estampages at my disposal. I tentatively read the last word of this part as *puyae*. In the *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India*, 1928-29, p. 142, Mr. M. Delawar Khan has contributed a note on the record, and a new

[1] Cf. *l* < *δ* in Pashto *γəl*, Avestan *gaδa* ; *ləm* Avestan *duma*, and *vice versa*, Sogdian *δykh*, Sanskrit *lākha* ; *δwkh*, Sanskrit *lōka* ; *kδp*, Sanskrit *kalpa*, etc.

BEGRAM BAS-RELIEF INSCRIPTION.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI. From a photograph. SURVEY OF INDIA. CALCUTTA.



From a photograph.

reproduction will be found on Plate LVIIIc. We are informed of the fact that Mr. N. G. Majumdar proposes to read *arogadakshinae* instead of *puyae*, and a careful comparison of the new reproduction with my plate shows that he is certainly right. With the exception of the initial *a*, all the *aksharas* can be traced. It is further possible to see that *arogadakshinae* was preceded by a word of three *aksharas*, the first of which must be *pi*, so that we can confidently restore *piduno* or *pituno*. This completes the record, which should accordingly be read :

Saṁ 20 20 20 20 4 4 1 margaśiras(r)a masi 4 1 iśe khsunami niryaīde ime deyadharme Dharmapriena shamanena piduno arogadakshinae upajayasa Budhapriasa puyae samanuyayaṇa arogadakshinae.

No. 6—THAKURDIYA PLATES OF MAHA-PRAVARARAJA.

By Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A., Nagpur.

These plates were discovered in November 1931 at **Thākurdiyā**, a village six miles from Sāraṅgarh, the chief town of a feudatory state of the same name in Chhattīsgarh, C. P. They were kindly sent to me in January 1933, by Mr. R. D. Naik, B.A., LL.B., the Diwān of Sāraṅgarh at the instance of Mr. L. P. Pandeya, Honorary Secretary of the Mahākōsala Historical Society. They are now in the possession of the Chief of Sāraṅgarh, who has kindly permitted me to edit them.

They are **three copper-plates** each measuring 3·6″ by 7·1″. The first and the third are inscribed on one side only, while the second, which is somewhat thicker, is inscribed on both the sides. The edges of the plates are neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. About 1″ from the middle of the proper right margin each plate has a roundish hole about ½″ in diameter for the ring on which the plates are strung. The ends of this ring, which is 8″ in thickness and 3·2″ in diameter, were secured in a circular **seal** of bronze 3·2″ in diameter. About a quarter of the lower portion of the seal is broken off, but the emblem and the legend on it are intact. The ring was not cut when the plates were sent to me. The weight of the three plates is 70 *tolas* and that of the seal with the ring is 49 *tolas*.

The plates were much corroded when first found, but have since been cleaned by the Archæological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The text of this inscription is, with a few exceptions, practically identical with that of the other inscriptions of the dynasty and there is no uncertainty in its reading. The symbol on the seal also closely resembles that on the other seals of the dynasty. It has already been described by Dr. Fleet[1] and Dr. Sten Konow[2]. The concave and slightly countersunk surface of the seal is divided by two horizontal parallel lines into two equal parts. The upper half contains in relief the figure of **Lakshmī** with a halo surrounding her face, standing on a lotus and facing full front. She holds a lotus in her right hand and something circular in her left. On each side of her there is an elephant standing on a lotus, and holding a pot in his uplifted trunk to pour water on the head of the goddess. In the right as well as the left corner there is a water lily.[3] The lower half of the seal contains the **legend** in verse deciphered below.

The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the Central Indian alphabet as found in the copper-plates of Mahā-Jayarāja and Mahā-Sudēvarāja and also in the silver coin of Prasan-

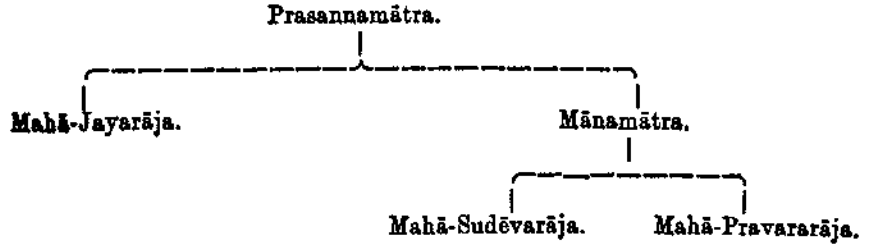
[1] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 191 and 196. [2] Above, Vol. IX, p. 171.

[3] In the seals described by Dr. Fleet and Dr. Konow there is a *śaṁkha* in the proper left corner.

namātra. They resemble in general the characters of the Rithapur plates of Bhavattavarman[1] and are somewhat more elongated and angular than those of the Siwanī[2] and Ṛiddhapur[3] plates of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasēna II. As in the Āraṅg plates[4] of Mahā-Jayarāja, in medial *i* the length is denoted by a dot in the middle of the circle which indicates its short form. The medial *ū* is denoted in two ways—the usual one of indicating length by a short stroke to the right as in *bhū* and *sū* (cf. *bhūtvā* l. 11 and *sūryya* l. 16) and the other in *chū* (cf. *chūḍamaṇi* l. 1) and *yū* (cf. *yūyaṁ* l. 10). The medial *ṛi* is denoted by a flourish to the left; the medial *au* is tripartite (cf. *dhau* of *dhauta* l. 2). The sign for the cerebral *ḍ* occurs twice in *chūḍāmaṇi* l. 1 and *Tuḍārāshṭriya* l. 4. The *gh*, *p*, *s*, and *sh* are open at the top. The right arm of *l* goes over the letter in the form of a curve and appears as a vertical stroke to the left; *m* appears in its angular form, *n* with a loop and *t* without it. The loop of *kh* is larger than its hook. The final *t* as in *dadyāt* l. 17 and *vasēt* l. 19 is denoted by two vertical strokes on the top. The loop of *y* is complete in *Vājasanēyinē* l. 9 and *dvijāya* l. 13 and contains a dot in *sūryyasutāś=cha* l. 16. The final pause is denoted by two vertical lines, the first of which has a hook at the top. The numerical symbols for 3 and 2 occur in lines 22 and 23 respectively.

The **language** is Sanskrit. Except the legend on the seal and the usual imprecatory verses at the end, the whole inscription is in prose. As regards **orthography**, we have to note the reduplication of the consonant which follows *r* in *sarvva* l. 8, *dharmmaṁ* l. 13, *svarggē* l. 18, etc. *V* appears doubled after *anusvāra* in *paradattā[ṁ*]vvā* l. 20 and *saṁvvatsara* l. 22. *B* is distinguished from *v* as in *sēk-āmbu* l. 2 and *bahubhir=* l. 19. *Ri* is used instead of the vowel *ṛi* in *srishṭaḥ* l. 10 and for the *rēpha* in *dariśayati* l. 12 and *variśa* l. 17. The palatal *ś* wrongly appears for the lingual *sh* in *śashṭī* and *variśa* l. 17 and the dental *s* for the palatal *ś* in *śasi* l. 6. The *visarga* appears superfluous after its change to *s* in *grāmaḥ stridaśa* l. 5; so also the *anusvāra* after its change to a nasal in *bhavaṁnti* l. 17 and *sīmaṁnta* l. 2, etc. One *d* is wrongly dropped in *tasmādvijāya* l. 13.

The plates were issued from **Śrīpura** by **Mahā-Pravararāja** on the **second day of Mārggaśirsha in the third year** of his increasingly victorious reign. They record the donation of a village **Āshāḍhaka** in the *rāshṭra* or sub-division named Tuḍā[5] to a Brāhman named Purandara of the Parāśara-*gōtra* of the Vājasanēyin (Śākhā of the Yajurvēda). The importance of our inscription lies in this that it has brought to light the name of a new prince Mahā-Pravararāja in the dynasty of the so-called "Kings of Śarabhapura". Again, unlike the charters of the other kings of this dynasty, these plates have been issued from Śrīpura and not from Śarabhapura. From several plates of Mahā-Jayarāja and Mahā-Sudēvarāja, which have been published, we can make out the following genealogy :—



It appears that Mahā-Jayarāja was the elder son of Prasannamātra. He seems to have died without issue and was succeeded by his nephew Mahā-Sudēva. All the copper-plates of Mahā-Jayarāja and Mahā-Sudēvarāja are issued from Śarabhapura. This town has not been identified

[1] Above, Vol. XIX, p. 100.
[2] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 243.
[3] *J. P. As. B.*, Vol. XX, pp. 58 ff.
[4] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 191.
[5] [See p. 22 n. 1.—Ed.]

but Mr. L. P. Pandeya's suggestion[1] that it is represented by modern Śarabhagarh, the chief town of a big zamindari of the same name in the Gāngpur feudatory state in Orissa appears plausible. The town seems to have been founded by a king named Śarabharāja, just as Pravarapura was founded by King Pravarasēna II of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. It is not known when this Śarabharāja flourished. He may be identical with Śarabharāja whose daughter's son Gōparāja fell in a fierce battle at Eran in the Saugor district of C. P., in which he assisted Bhānugupta as recorded in an inscription[2] at Eran dated G. E. 191 (510 A.D.). In that case he may have flourished in the latter half of the fifth century. Prasannamātra and his descendants were evidently born in the family of Śarabharāja and may not have been separated from him by many generations; for, as stated above, the characters of their charters closely resemble those of the Ritḥapur plates of Bhavattavarman which have been referred to the latter half of the fifth and first half of the sixth century A.D. The present plates seem to indicate that Mahā-Pravararāja, who evidently succeeded his elder brother Mahā-Sudēvarāja, removed the capital from Śarabhapura to Śrīpura which he himself may have founded.[3] The town is not known to have been in existence before the fifth or sixth Century A.D. It is named after Śrī or Lakshmī who figures on all the seals of "the Kings of Śarabhapura". In the legend on the seal of the present charter Pravararāja is said to have won the earth with his arms. Such an expression does not occur in the legends on the seals of his brother and uncle. It seems, therefore, that Pravararāja extended his kingdom in the west and must have, therefore, felt the need of shifting his capital to a more centrally situated place like Śrīpura.

It seems that the dynasty came to an end soon after Mahā-Pravararāja; for no descendant of either Mahā-Sudēvarāja or Mahā-Pravararāja is known. By his conquests in the west Mahā-Pravararāja seems to have come into conflict with the Sōmavaṁśī kings of Bhāndak and though he succeeded for a while, his dynasty seems ultimately to have been over-thrown by some Sōmavaṁśī king, probably Tīvaradēva whose Rājim and Balodā plates are issued from Śrīpura; for he is the first king of the Sōmavaṁśī dynasty whose inscriptions are connected with that town. Besides, he describes himself as the lord of the entire Kōsala country[4] in the Balodā plates and such a title he could have assumed only after conquering the territory now known as Chhattīsgarh, where Mahā-Pravararāja and his ancestors were ruling. Tīvaradēva's Rājim and Balodā plates are inscribed in box-headed characters which appear to be later[5] than those of the "Kings of Śarabhapura". None of the inscriptions of his predecessors at Bhāndak or his successors at Śrīpura is in box-headed characters. It seems that these characters were in use in Kōsala owing to the influence of the Vākāṭakas; for from the Bālāghāt plates of Pṛithvīshēṇa we learn that the king of Kōsala, who was probably one of "the Kings of Śarabhapura", was a feudatory of his father Narēndrasēna. When Tīvaradēva conquered the territory he also at first adopted

[1] L. P. Pandeya—A Silver coin of Prasannamātra—*Proceedings of the Fifth Oriental Conference*, p. 461. [Dr. Sten Konow thinks that Śarabhapura may be identical with the present Śarabhavaram twenty miles north-west from Rajahmundry in the Godāvari district of the Madras Presidency or one of the few other villages with a similar name in the neighbourhood (above, Vol. XIII, p. 108).—Ed.]

[2] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 91.

[3] R. B. Hiralal who places Śarabhapur kings after the Sōmavaṁśī kings of Śrīpura identifies Śarabhapura with Śrīpura. He says "It (Śarabhapura) may perhaps have been a new name imposed on the conquered city of Śrīpura by the victor from the fabulous animal of that name who is believed to be a match for a lion with reference to the claim of the Sirpur dynasty to be Kēsaris" (Above, Vol. XI, p. 186 footnote). This conjecture is rendered impossible by the discovery of the present plates; for, herein we find the city named as Śrīpura even by the last prince of the Śarabhapura dynasty. Secondly Tīvaradēva and his successors who reigned at Śrīpura are not known to have ever assumed the title of Kēsarin.

[4] Cf. '*prāpta-sakala-Kōsal-ādhipatyaḥ*' above, Vol. VII, p. 105.

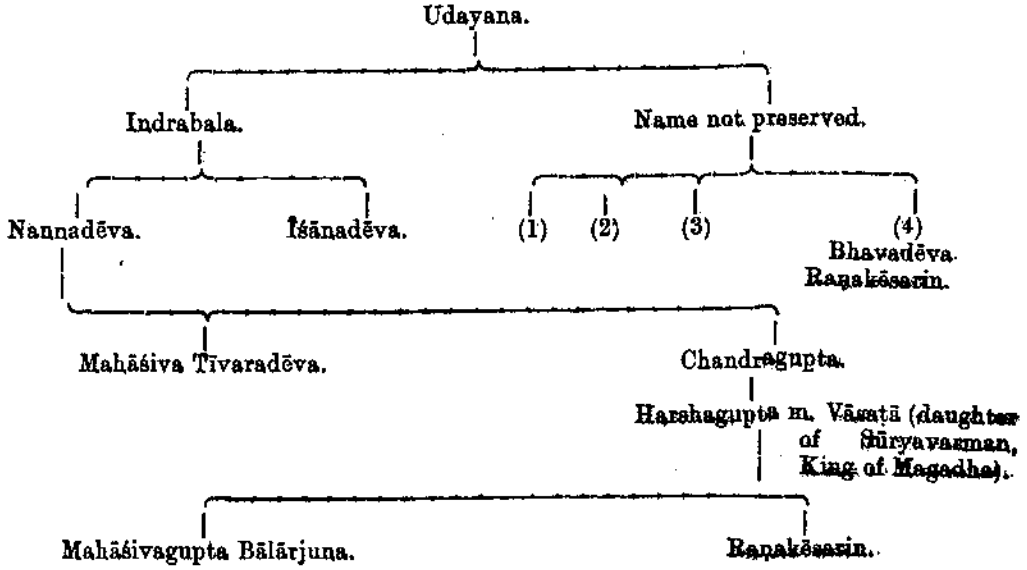
[5] They are more elongated and angular in appearance than those in the charters of Śarabhapura kings. Again the passage यावद्रविशशितारकिरणप्रतिबद्धवीरान्धकारं जगदवसिद्धते तावदुपभोग्यः which regularly occurs in the grants of Śarabhapura kings seems to have been borrowed in the Rājim and Balodā plates of Tīvaradēva.

the same characters in incising his charters. His successors, however, seem to have reverted to the nail-headed characters which their ancestors were using at Bhāndak.

It is necessary to discuss the question of the date of Tīvaradēva at some length in order to fix the date of the present plates. While editing the Kudopali plates of Mahābhavagupta II, Prof. Kielhorn remarked : "The Rājim copper-plate inscription of Mahāśiva Tīvaradēva undoubtedly belongs to about the middle of the eighth century"[1]. As he remarked elsewhere, this view was based on the evidence of palaeography, language and style. None of these grounds can, however, be regarded *now* as decisive. As stated above, both the Rājim[2] and Balodā[3] plates of Tīvaradēva are inscribed in box-headed characters resembling those used in the charters of the Vākāṭaka kings. When Prof. Kielhorn wrote, the relation of the Vākāṭaka and Gupta kings was not known. He, therefore, accepted Dr. Fleet's identification of *Mahārājādhirāja* Dēvagupta, the maternal grand-father of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasēna II, with Dēvagupta of Magadha, the son of Ādityasēna, mentioned in the Deo Bārnārk inscription and assigned the Dudia plates of Pravarasēna II to the beginning of the 8th Century and the Rājim plates of Tīvaradēva to the second half of the same century. Since then the Poona and Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatiguptā have definitely proved that *Mahārājādhirāja* Dēvagupta was none other than Chandragupta II. The Vākāṭakas were, thus, contemporaries of the Early Gupta Kings and their records must, therefore, be referred to the fourth and fifth centuries of the Christian era. As stated above, they are inscribed in box-headed characters. The plates of Tīvaradēva, which are also incised in similar characters, can no longer be referred to the 8th Century on palaeographic grounds.

Nor is the evidence of language and style in favour of the late date. The charters of Tīvaradēva are, indeed, composed in a style of high flourish, full of long compounds and puns; but so are those of many kings of Valabhī who flourished in the sixth and seventh century A.D[4]. We must, therefore, look elsewhere for a more reliable evidence for fixing the date of Tīvaradēva.

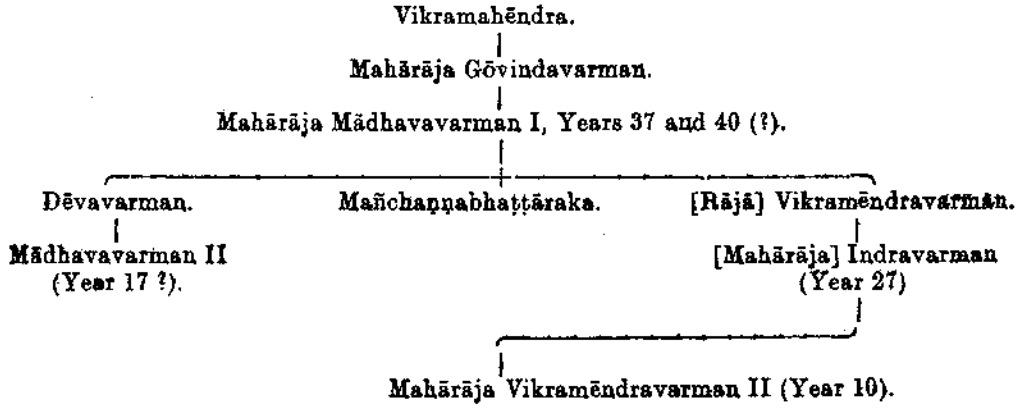
From several inscriptions found at Bhāndak and Śirpur, we get the following genealogy of the Sōmavaṁśī kings of Kōsala[5] :—



[1] Above, Vol. IV, p. 258. [2] *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 291. [3] Above, Vol. VII, p. 102.
[4] Cf. for instance, the description of Dhruvasēna II of Valabhī in the Botad plates of G. E. 310 (619-20 A.D.),
[5] R. B. Hiralal—*Descriptive list of inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*, second edition, p. 103.

From the Sirpur stone inscription of the time of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna, we learn that Bālārjuna's mother Vāsaṭā was the daughter of Sūryavarman "who was born in the family of the Varman kings, great on account of their supremacy over Magadha"[1]. There is no king of this name in the dynasties of Magadha except the Maukhari prince Sūryavarman whose Harāhā stone inscription[2] incised in the reign of his father Īśānavarman, is dated (Mālava) Saṁvat 611 (555 A.D.). The name of this prince is not known from other records of the Maukharis. As Sūryavarman is called King in the Sirpur stone inscription above referred to, he may have succeeded his father and ruled for a short time, though, being a collateral, his name is not mentioned in the records of his brother or his descendants. Chandragupta, the grand-father of Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna was thus a contemporary of Sūryavarman and flourished probably from 550 to 570 A.D. and his elder brother Tīvaradēva from 530 to 550 A.D.

The date thus arrived at for Tīvaradēva is corroborated by the evidence afforded by the records of the Vishṇukuṇḍin kings. After examining all the available charters of these kings Mr. Dinesh Chandra Sarcar has given the following genealogy[3] :—



Māhārāja Mādhavavarman I was the most powerful king of the dynasty. He is described in his as well as his successors' records as one who had performed a thousand (*Agnishṭōma*) sacrifices and eleven *Aśvamēdhas* (horse-sacrifices). He is also described in his plates as "*Trivara-nagara-bhavana-gata-parama-yuvati-jana-viharaṇa-ratiḥ*"[4] or as '*Trivara-nagara-bhavana-gata-yuvati-hṛidaya-nandanaḥ*'[5] *i.e.*, as one who sported in company of (or delighted the hearts of) the best ladies in the mansions of the city of Trivara. This expression has not yet been satisfactorily explained. Dr. Hultzsch took it to mean that Mādhavavarman I lived at Trivaranagara, but he could not identify the city. It seems clear, however, that Trivaranagara means 'the city of Trivara', *i.e.*, Tīvaradēva, King of Mahākōsala. But then what does the above expression signify? It cannot mean that Mādhavavarman married a lady from the family of Tīvaradēva; for the expression refers to a number of ladies (*yuvati-jana*) in the mansions of the city of Trivara, whom he delighted. We must, therefore, take the expression to refer to Mādhavavarman's victory over Tīvaradēva. Tīvaradēva was a powerful king. As stated above, he claims in his

[1] निष्पङ्के मगधाधिपत्यमहतां जातः कुले वर्म्मणां पुण्याभिः कृतिभिः कृती कृतमनःकम्पः सुधामौलिवान्। यामासाद्य सुतां हिमाचल इव श्रीसूर्य्यवर्म्मा नृपः प्राप प्राक्परमेश्वरक्रमपरस्तामर्थिनिष्कर्षं पदम् ॥

[2] Above, Vol. XIV, p. 115.

[3] *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, Vol. IX, p. 278.

[4] Pulombūru plates of Mādhavavarman, *Jour. Andhra Hist. Res. Society*, Vol. VI, p. 20.

[5] Ipūr plates of Mādhavavarman, above, Vol. XVII, p. 336.

charters to have attained suzerainty over the whole Kōsala country. A victory over such a great king must be a source of pride to Mādhavavarman. Hence we find it referred to in both his inscriptions. The idea that a victorious king captivates the hearts of young ladies of the enemy's city—nay even of the enemy's family—occurs sometimes in Sanskrit and Prākrit literature[1]. It would not, therefore, be wrong to suppose that Mādhavavarman I vanquished Tīvaradēva. In any case, he was his contemporary.

When did this Mādhavavarman flourish? His Pulombūru plates[2] record that when he crossed the Gōdāvarī to conquer the eastern region he donated the village Pulombūru in the Guḍḍavāḍi *vishaya* to Śivaśarman, the son of Dāmaśarman and grandson of Rudraśarman of the Gautama-*gōtra* and Taittiriya-*śākhā*, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse which occurred on the full moon day of *Phālguna*. Again the Pulombūru plates[3] of the Eastern Chālukya King Jayasiṁha I, which were discovered along with the above plates of Mādhavavarman, record the grant of the same village to Rudraśarman, the son of Śivaśarman and grandson of Dāmaśarman of the Gōtama-*gōtra* and Taittirīya-*śākhā*. From the details given above it is quite clear that Śivaśarman, the donee of Mādhavavarman's plates, was the father of Rudraśarman who received the village from Jayasiṁha I. It seems that Rudraśarman who is called *pūrv-āgrahārika* (former owner of the donated village) lost possession of the village in troublous times due to the invasions of Pulakēśin II in the beginning of the seventh century A.D. He, therefore, seems to have made representations to Jayasiṁha I some-time after peace and order had been established in the kingdom and received the *agrahāra* village again from him.

If we calculate the interval between the reigns of Mādhavavarman I and Jayasiṁha I, we find that some 60 or 70 years must have elapsed between these two rulers. Mādhavavarman's Pulombūru plates are dated in the 40th year of his reign[4]. They were, therefore, issued towards the close of his reign. He seems to have ruled over an extensive empire; for he performed as many as eleven *Aśvamēdhas*. Three of his sons are known from inscriptions—(1) Dēvavarman (2) Mañchaṇṇabhaṭṭāraka[5] and (3) Vikramēndravarman. As Mādhavavarman had a long reign of more than forty years, none of his sons seems to have succeeded him. In any case, we do not know of any plates issued by them.[6] Mādhavavarman II, the grandson of Mādhavavarman I, who calls himself the lord of Trikūṭa and Malaya mountains, seems to have held possession of the western provinces after the death of Mādhavavarman I, while another grandson, Indravarman, seems to have succeeded him in the east. His plates are dated in the 27th regnal year. He is not likely to have reigned much longer, for his son Vikramēndravarman is said to have come to the throne when he was a mere boy.[7] Vikramēndravarman's plates were issued in his tenth regnal year. The reigns of Indravarman and his son thus cover a little more than 37 years. As no successor of Vikramēndravarman is known, he seems to have been dethroned by Pulakēśin II, who placed his brother Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana in charge of the Eastern province, who reigned

[1] Cf. Rājaśēkhara's *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, IV, 8 and *Gaüḍavaho* (V. 1069).

[2] *Jour. Andhra. Hist. Res. Society*, Vol. VI, p. 17.

[3] Above, Vol. XIX, p. 254.

[4] I have accepted the view of Mr. D. C. Sarcar, *Ind. Hist. Quarterly*, Vol. IX, p. 275.

[5] The name of this prince occurs towards the end of the Ipūr plates (First set). Above, Vol. XVII, p. 334. None of his descendants are known.

[6] It is noteworthy that no royal titles are prefixed to their names even in the records of their sons. [That no plates of these rulers have yet been found may not be taken as a proof that they did not rule. In the Rāmatīrtham plates, Vikramēndravarman also bears the title of *rājā* like his son Indravarman who was the ruler and the donor of the grant.—Ed.]

[7] परमभट्टारक महाराजस्य श्रीचन्द्रभट्टारकवर्मणः प्रियज्येष्ठपुत्रो गरिष्ठः श्रेयस एव सकलजगद्धातकृतस्य सम्यगधारोपितसकलराज्यभारः परमभट्टारिकः महाराजः श्रीमान् विक्रमेन्द्रवर्मा एवमाज्ञापयति

for about 18 years (615-633 A.D.). As the Pulombūru plates of Jayasiṁha referred to above are dated in the fifth[1] regnal year, we can calculate the interval between the dates of the two sets of Pulombūru plates as follows[2] :—

	Years.
Indravarman	27
Vikramēndravarman	10
Vishṇuvardhana	18
Jayasiṁha	5
Total .	60

As Mādhavavarman I, Indravarman and Vikramēndravarman may have continued to reign for some years after their respective plates were issued, this figure may have to be increased by about ten years, *i.e.*, a period of about seventy years may have elapsed between the gifts of Mādhavavarman I and Jayasiṁha[3]. It appears that Śivaśarman was a young man of 25 to 30 years when he met Mādhavavarman I in his expedition to the east, while his son was an old man of 50 to 60 years of age when he regained the lost *agrahāra* village from Jayasiṁha. Now Jayasiṁha issued his plates in *circa* 638 A.D. Deducting 70 years from this, we get c. 568 A.D. as the approximate date of Mādhavavarman's plates. We find that there was a lunar eclipse in the month of *Phālguna* in 565 A.D. This may, therefore, be accepted as the date of Mādhavavarman's plates. As these plates were issued in his 40th regnal year, we may accept 525-568 as the probable duration of Mādhavavarman's reign[4]. We have fixed above 530 to 550 A.D. as the date of Tīvaradēva on the evidence of the Śirpur inscription, which we thus find corroborated by the date of Mādhavavarman I, who, as described in his charters, was a contemporary of Tīvaradēva.[5]

[1] Agreeing with Mr. Somasekhara Sarma (*Jour. Andhra. Hist. Res. Society*. Vol. V, p. 183) I read the numerical symbol in Jayasiṁha's Pulombūru plates as 5.

[2] The years of Mādhavavarman II's reign are not included here, as he was ruling in the west contemporaneously with Indravarman. [But *cf.* Dr. Hultzsch's view, above, Vol. XVII, p. 338.—Ed.]

[3] [The argument does not appear to me as very convincing. If we have to allow other rulers between Mādhavavarman I and Indravarman or even another ruler, *viz*., Vikramēndra, who also bears the title of *rājā*, the situation would become worse. It is very doubtful if Mādhavavarman I could be so far removed from Jaysiṁha even if he was not actually the predecessor of the latter in time as Prof. Bhandarkar thinks. See his *List of Northern Inscriptions*, p. 291, n. 3. Moreover, there were other lunar eclipses in *Phālguna* between 565 and 638 A. D.—Ed.]

[4] Agreeing with Mr. D. C. Sarcar, I have identified Mādhavavarman of Pulombūru plates with Mādhavavarman I mentioned in the Chikkulla and Ipūr plates (First set) on the ground of similarity of description. Mr. J. Dubreuil, who distinguishes between them, places Mādhavavarman I about 450 A.D. The tradition in the *Sthalamāhātmya* of Śri-Parvata on which he relies (*Ancient Hist. of the Deccan*, p. 73) is worthless for historical purposes. Prabhāvatiguptā was not known as Chandrāvatī and was, moreover, a devotee of Vishṇu and not of Śiva. See her Ṛiddhapur plates. If Mādhavavarman I owed his throne to a Vākāṭaka prince, it must be to Harishēṇa (C. 500-530 A.D.) who conquered the Āndhra country. The Vākāṭaka princess whom he married was probably Harishēṇa's own daughter.

[5] The late Dr. Hiralal accepting Kielhorn's date for Tīvaradēva placed the Śirpur Lakshmaṇa temple inscription of Tīvaradēva's grand nephew in the eighth or ninth century A.D. (Above, Vol. XI, p. 184). But the characters of the inscription which closely resemble those in the Ganjām plates of the time of Śaśāṅka (619-620 A.D.) are decidedly earlier. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's identification of Chandragupta mentioned in the Sanjan plates of Amōghavarsha I (Śaka Samvat 793) with Tīvaradēva's brother (Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 240) cannot be accepted; for that Chandragupta, who is mentioned with Nāgabhaṭa in the inscription was probably a king of Central India, and not of Kōsala. It is noteworthy in this connection that Kōsala is mentioned subsequently in the description of the later conquests of Gōvinda III. Trīvara who is mentioned in the Kondedda, Nivinā and Purī plates as defeated by the Śailōdbhava king Dharmarāja *alias* Mānabhīta was probably a descendant of the earlier Tīvaradēva who issued Rājim and Balodā plates. We know of several instances of such repetition of names in the dynasty of the Śōmavaṁśī kings of Kōsala and Orissa to which Tīvaradēva belonged.

We have shown above that Tīvaradēva flourished later than the "Kings of Śarabhapura"[1] and was probably responsible for their overthrow. Mahā-Pravararāja, the donor of the present plates, is the last known king of the 'Śarabhapura dynasty'. He seems, therefore, to have flourished in the beginning of the sixth century (*circa* 515 to 535 A.D.).

The overthrow of the kings of Śarabhapura by Tīvaradēva accounts for the war between Mādhavavarman I and Tīvaradēva. As we have seen the kings of Sarabhapura were probably feudatories of the Vākāṭakas. In the beginning of the sixth century the power of the Vākāṭakas was declining. The reign of Harishēṇa the last known Vākāṭaka king came to an end about 530 A.D. Mādhavavarman I who is known to have married a Vākāṭaka princess, probably a daughter of Harishēṇa, seems to have taken vengeance for the destruction of the kings of Śarabhapura by invading the kingdom of Tīvaradēva and occupying his capital for a while as suggested in his Pulombūru and Īpūr plates.

As for the **geographical names** occurring in these plates **Śrīpura** is modern Sirpur in the Raipur District of C. P. **Tuḍā**[1] which gave its name to the district in which the donated village was situated, may be identified with one of the villages named Tuṇḍa, Tuṇḍra, Tundri or Tundragaon in the vicinity of Seorinārāyan about 25 to 30 miles from Thākurdiyā. It may be noted in this connection that the Tuṇḍāraka-*bhukti* mentioned in the Sāraṅgaḍh plates of Mahā-Sudēva has been identified by R. B. Dr. Hiralal with Tundra 6 miles south of Seorinārāyan. The village **Chullaṇḍaraka** granted in that charter may be identified with Childa 82·31′ and 21·30′. The village **Āshāḍhaka** granted in the present plates may be represented by modern Asoud 82·54′ and 21·45′, about two miles to the north of the Mahānadī, which is within a distance of fifteen to twenty miles from the villages Tuṇḍa, Tundra, etc., mentioned above.

I edit the inscription from the original plates.[2]

TEXT.

The Seal.

1 मातृभक्त[सु]त[स्ये]दं स्व[सु]र्गोपार्ज्जितश्चितेः [।*]

2 [श्री]मत्प्रवरराजस्य शासन[⏑ *] प्रभुशासन [⏑ *] [॥*][3]

First Plate.

1 ओं[4] स्वस्ति [।*] श्रीपुराद्विक्रमोपनतसामं[5]स्तमकुटचूडा[6]मणिप्रभाभ-

2 सैक्तां[7]ध्रुतौतपादयुगलो रिपुविलासिनीसीमं[8]न्तोद्वरणहेतुः[7]-

3 र्व्यसुवसुधागोप्रदः[8] परमभागवतो मां[9]तापितृपादानुध्यातः

4 श्रीमद्दाप्रवरराजः तुडारट्टि[10]थाषाढके प्रतिवासिनः समाज्ञा-

5 पयति [।*] विदितमस्तु वो यथास्माभिरयं ग्रामः[7]क्षिद्रपल्लिसदन-

6 सुखप्रतिष्ठाकरो यावद्रविग्रसि[11]तारकिरणप्रतिहतघोरान्धका-

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[1] [Correct reading appears to be *Tuṇḍa*.—Ed.]

[2] The excellent facsimiles, which accompany this article, were kindly supplied by Mr. K. N. Dikshit, M. A., Superintendent, Archæological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

[3] Metre : *Anushṭubh*. [4] Expressed by a symbol. [5] The *anusvāra* is superfluous.

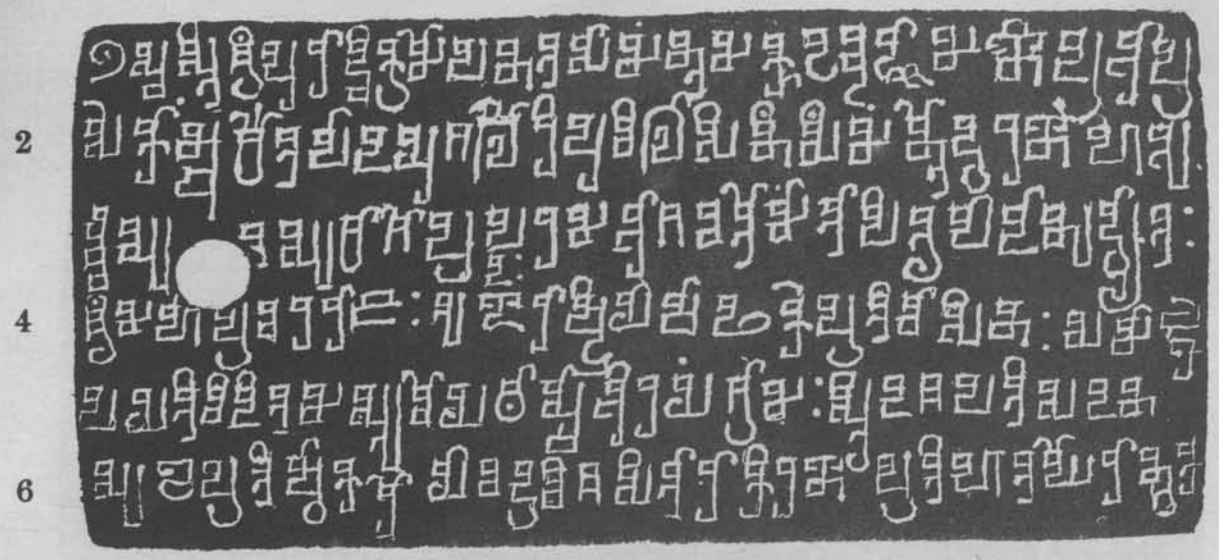
[6] The engraver first wrote *ḍhā* but afterwards corrected it as *ḍā*.

[7] The *visarga* is superfluous. [8] ः which was first omitted is written below the line.

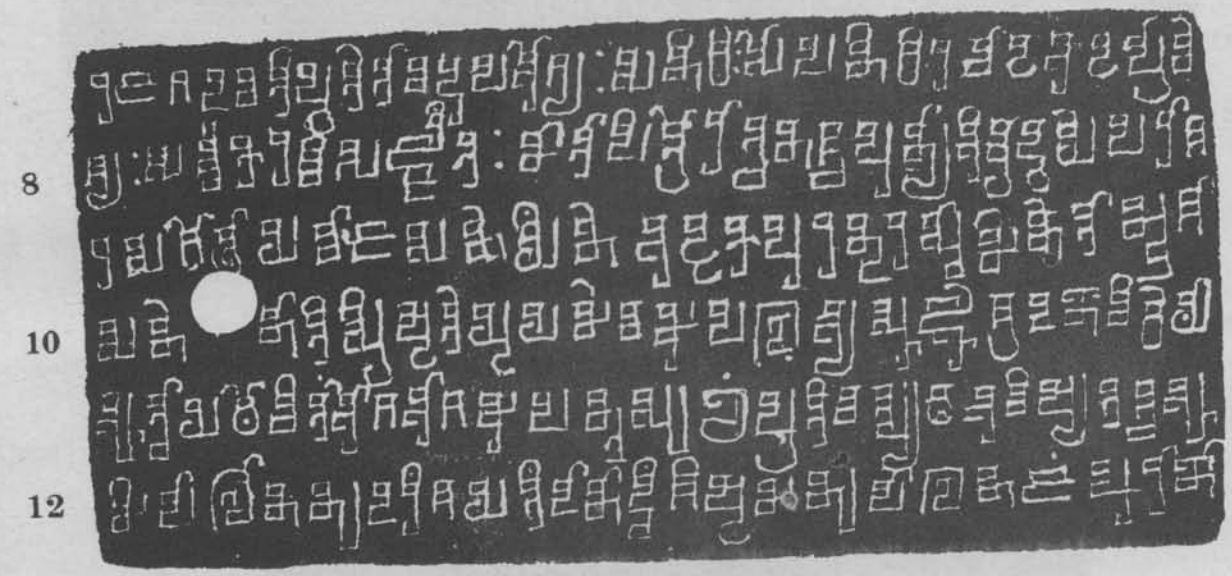
[9] Read मातृ° [10] [Reading is तुडरट्टि.—Ed.] [11] Read ग्रसि°

THAKURDIYA PLATES OF MAHA-PRAVARARAJA.

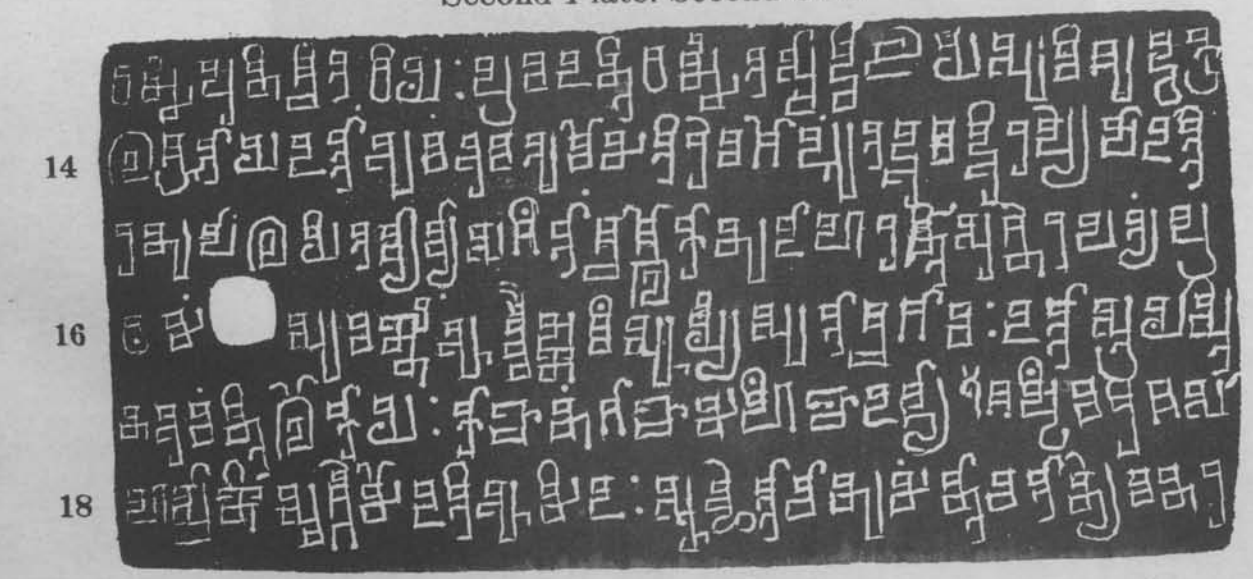
First Plate.



Second Plate: First Side.



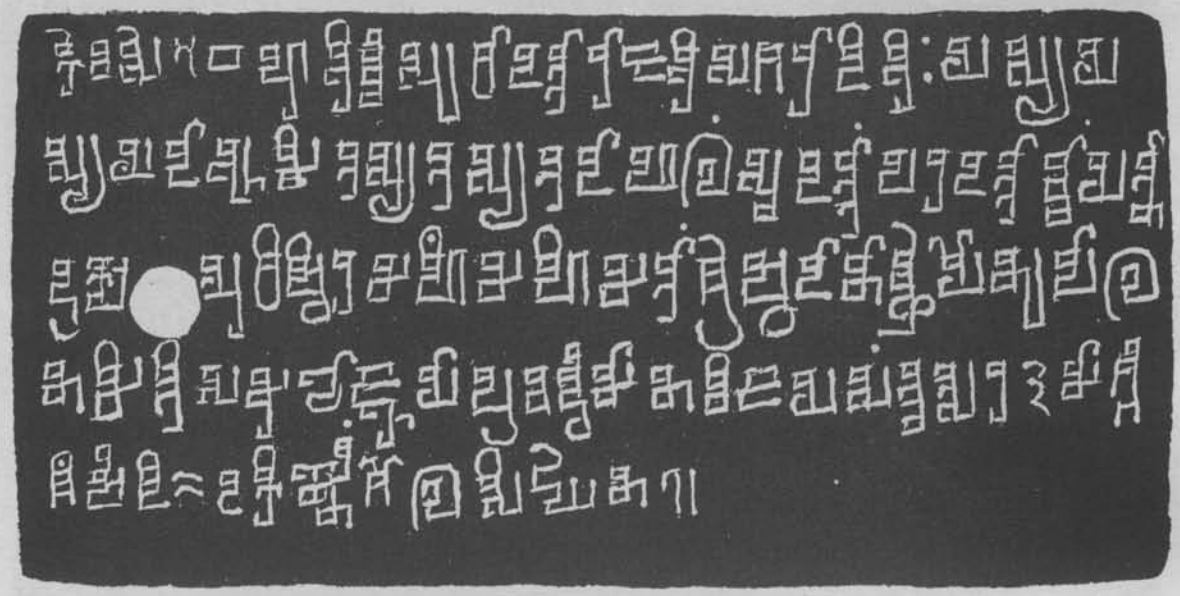
Second Plate: Second Side.



N. P. Chakravarti. SCALE : THREE-QUARTER. SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Reg. No. 3321 E'34-480.

Third Plate.



SEAL.



(From a photograph).

Second Plate ; First Side.

7 (रं) जगदवतिष्ठते तावदुपभोग्यः सनिधिः सोपनिधिरचाटभटप्रावे-

8 ग्यः सर्व्वंकरविसर्ज्जितः मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुन्या(ण्या)भिवृद्धये पराग-

9 रसमोचाय राजसनेयिने भट्टकपुरन्दरस्वामिने ताम्र[1]शा-

10 सनेनातिसृष्टः[2][:*] ते यूयमेवमुपलभ्य आज्ञाश्रवणविधेया

11 भूत्वा यथोचितं भोगभागमुपनय[3] सुखं प्रतिवसथ [।*] भविष्यतश्च भू-

12 मिपालाननुदरिद्र[4]यति [।*] दानादिग्रिष्टमनुपालनजं पुराणा

Second Plate ; Second Side.

13 धर्म्मेषु निहितधियः प्रवदन्ति धर्म्मं [।*] तस्माद्विजाय[5] सुविशुद्धबु-

14 द्धयुताय दत्तां भुवं भवतु वो मतिरेव गोप्तुं [॥*][6] तद्वंशिरन्यथा दत्ति-

15 मनुपालयितव्या [।*] व्यासगीतांश्च श्लोकानुदाहरन्ति [।*] अग्नेरपत्यं प्र-

16 थमं सुवर्णं भूर्व्वैष्णवी सूर्य्यसुताश्च गावः [।*] दत्तान्यनयस्ते-

17 न भवन्ति[7] लोका यः काञ्चनं गाञ्च महीञ्च दद्यात् [॥*] षष्टी वरिष्यस-[8]

18 हस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता[9] च तान्येव नर-

Third Plate.

19 के वसेत् [॥*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः[:*] सगरादिभिः [।*] यस्य य-

20 स्य यदा भूमित(स्त)स्य तस्य तदा फलं [॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां[10] वा यो

21 हरेत युधिष्ठिर [।*] महीं[10] महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपाल-

22 नमिति [॥*] [11]समुत्खात्यया प्रवर्द्धमानविजयसंव्व[12]त्सर ३ मार्ग्म-

23 शीर्ष दि २ उत्किर्ण्ण[13] शीलसिद्धेन[14] ॥

---

[1] Read ताम्र°

[2] Read °सृष्टः

[3] Read सुखमयन्तः

[4] Read दरिद्रयति

[5] Read द्विजाय

[6] Metre : *Vasantatilakā.*

[7] The *anusvāra* is superfluous.

[8] Read षष्टिं वर्ष°

[9] Read परदत्तां वा.

[10] Read महीं.

[11] Read समुत्खात्यया.

[12] Read संवत्सर.

[13] Read उत्कीर्ण्ण.

[14] [Plate shows Gōla°.—Ed.]

No. 7.—DAYYAMDINNE PLATES OF VINAYADITYA-SATYASRAYA; SAKA 614.

BY R. S. PANCHAMUKHI, M.A., MADRAS.

The subjoined inscription[1] is engraved on **three copper-plates** discovered at **Dayyamdinne** a village in the Adoni taluk of the Bellary District. It is noticed in the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1916 and described as follows: "The ends of the ring are fixed into the bottom of an almost circular seal, one inch in diameter, bearing on its counter-sunk surface the crude figure of a standing boar facing the proper right, as in the case of the Harihar Grant of Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya published in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VII, pages 300 ff. The plates measure between $8\frac{7}{8}''$ and $9''$ in breadth and between $3\frac{3}{8}''$ and $3\frac{1}{2}''$ in height. The ring, which is oval in shape, measures $4\frac{1}{8}''$ and $3\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter and is about $\frac{1}{4}''$ thick. The plates and the seal weigh 112 *tolas*". The inscription is edited below for the first time from the ink-impressions prepared in the office of the Assistant Archæological Superintendent (now Superintendent) for Epigraphy, Madras.

The inscription is in a fairly good state of preservation though some letters in the second plate are damaged and rendered indistinct. Only one side of the first and last plates bears writing. The **characters** belong to the southern class of alphabets and resemble closely those of the Sorab and Harihar grants, which belong, like the present one, to the Chāḷukya king Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya. The **language** is Sanskrit. Excepting the invocatory verse at the beginning and benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the record is throughout in prose. In respect of **orthography** it may be remarked that the consonants *ṇ*, *t*, *d*, *n* and *v* are doubled after *r* as in °*ārṇṇavam* (l. 1), *kīrtti* (l. 14), *Sēnānīr-ddaitya-balam* (l. 19), etc. The rules of *sandhi* are not strictly observed, as for instance in *pañchāśad-nivarttana* (ll. 29-31). There are numerous clerical mistakes in the record owing to the carelessness of the engraver.

The **object** of the record is to register the grant of fifty *nivartanas* of land each, to **Dūsaśarman** and **Kaṇṇaśarman** of the Kauśika-*gōtra*, and **Sarvaśarman** of the Ātrēya-*gōtra*, in the eastern quarter of the village **Uḷchaḷ** in **Naḷavāḍi-vishaya**, and fifty *nivartanas*, to **Sarvaśarman** of the Gārgyāyaṇa-*gōtra*, in the southern quarter of the same village, made by the **Western Chāḷukya** king **Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya** who was encamped at **Taḷayakhōḍa-grāma** near the northern bank of the **Tagara** river. The grant was made at the request of a certain **Marddakārī**, on the **full-moon day of Āshāḍha** in *Dakshiṇāyana-kāla* falling in the **twelfth year** of Vinayāditya's reign, when **six-hundred and fourteen Śaka years** had expired. The record was composed by **Śrī-Rāmapuṇya-vallabha** who also wrote the other charters of this king.

The details of date given in the present record have been calculated by the late Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai[2] whose remarks on them run as follows: "If the reference were to Śaka 614 (expired)....the Āshāḍha full-moon would be that which fell on June 4 (Adhika-Āshāḍha)..... or that which fell on July 4 (Nija-Āshāḍha).... Neither day would be the summer solstice whether of the tropical or sidereal sun. But if we took Śaka 614 as referring to the current Śaka year, *i.e.*, to A.D 691-92, then Āshāḍha full-moon would have been on June 16, A.D. 692[3] which would be.....very near the tropical summer solstice". It is proved in the sequel that the intended date of the record must be July 4, A.D. 692, and that *Dakshiṇāyana-kāla*

[1] C. P. No. 7 of 1915-16.

[2] *M. E. R.* 1916, App. G, p. 102. *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 35.

[3] It ought to be A.D. 691, since the commencement of the year (*Chaitra, śu.* 1) fell in March A.D. 691.

cited in the record must be taken to mean a day in *Dakshiṇāyana*[1] and not a day of *Dakshiṇāyana-saṅkrānti*. It may be noted that the record does not mention the *Dakshiṇāyana-saṅkrānti* as such but specifies the day as falling in *Dakshiṇāyana* only.

The charter is important as it helps us in determining the date of accession of Vinayāditya with greater certitude than hitherto. So far six[2] dated records of the king have come to light. But owing to the irreconcilable regnal years given in them it has not been possible to ascertain his initial year definitely. In this set of six are included the Jejūri copper-plates recently published in this journal[3] whose date has added further difficulties in solving the problem. But if we study all the dates of Vinayāditya with reference to the details contained in the Dayyamdinne plates, we arrive at a definite result, as shown below, *viz.*, some day between *Āshāḍha śu.* 2 and *Āshāḍha śu.* 15 of Śaka-Samvat 603 expired, *i.e.*, **between 22nd June and 4th July of A.D. 681 for the commencement of the first current year** of the king.

According to the Sorab grant,[4] Śaka 614 expired, Dakshiṇāyana-saṅkrānti, Rōhiṇī, Saturday fell in the 11th regnal year of the king. This date corresponded to Saturday, 22nd June, A.D. 692, on which day the *tithi* was *Nija-Āshāḍha śu.* 2. The present charter bears the same Śaka date and was issued on the full-moon day of *Āshāḍha* in *Dakshiṇāyana* which, however, is stated to have fallen in his 12th regnal year. Of the two alternative equivalents for the *Adhika-* and *Nija-Āshāḍha* in that year, *viz.*, 4th June and 4th July A.D. 692, the latter has to be accepted since 4th June would neither be a day of *Dakshiṇāyana-saṅkrānti* nor a day in *Dakshiṇāyana*; for *Dakshiṇāyana-saṅkrānti* took place, as stated above, only on the 22nd day of that month. Further, 4th June could not have fallen in his 12th year since his 11th year lasted till at least 22nd June. Thus the dates of these two grants, combined, yield the initial date to fall sometime between 22nd June and 4th July A.D. 681. This starting point of Vinayāditya's reign agrees perfectly well with the dates given in his Lakshmēśvara inscription,[5] and the Karnūl[6] and Haribar[7] grants. The Togarchēḍu[8] grant and the Jejūri plates, however, point to some day between 18th October A.D. 678 and 2nd July A.D. 679 for the first year of the king. This day probably marks the time of Vinayāditya's nomination to the throne during the lifetime of his father.[9] It may be remarked that the Śaka years quoted in the Lakshmēśvara inscription and the Togarchēḍu grant must be considered as referring to the current years and not expired ones. Dr. Kielhorn[10] is inclined to take this view in regard to the former record. These

[1] Such citations are not rare in inscriptions. See for example App. G to *M. E. R.* for 1916, p. 101, No. 561 of 1915. The gift in the present case might have been actually made on the day of *Dakshiṇāyana-saṅkrānti* and issued on the date recorded in the plates. See also above, Vol. XV, p. 253.

[2] There are two forged grants of the same king which are noticed in *M. E. R.* for 1906, No. 12 of App. A and *ibid.*, for 1917-18, No. 3 of App. A. In *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 240, is noticed the Paṭṭaḍā grant of this king dated Śaka 617 corresponding to his 14th regnal year.

[3] Above, Vol. XIX, p. 62.

[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 149.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 112.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 89.

[7] *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 300.

[8] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 242.

[9] See below, p. 29.

[10] Kielhorn's *List of Southern Inscriptions*, App. II, p. 2.

results will become clear from the following classified table of dated records of Vinayāditya in which the corresponding initial years also are shown:

Inscription.	Regnal year.	Details of date.	Approximate English equivalent.	Initial day of the first current year.
1. Jejūri Plates .	9	Śaka 609 (expired), Āshāḍha, śu. 15.	2nd July, A.D. 687	(I) Between 18th October, A.D. 678, and 2nd July, A.D. 679.
2. Togarchēḍu grant .	10	Śaka 611 (expired), Kārttika, śu. 15.	18th October, A.D. 688. (Fleet; 3rd November, A.D. 689).[1]	
3. Lakshmēśvara inscription	5	Śaka 608 (expired), Māgha, śu. 15.	20th January, A.D. 686. (Fleet; 3rd February, A.D. 687).[1]	(II) Between 22nd June and 4th July, A.D. 681.
4. Karnūl grant . .	11	Śaka 613 (expired), Māgha, śu. 15.	10th January, A.D. 692.	
5. Sorab grant . .	11	Śaka 614 (expired), Dakshiṇāyana-saṅkrānti, Saturday, Rōhiṇī.	22nd June, A.D. 692	
6. Dayyamdinne plates .	12	Śaka 614 (expired), Āshāḍha, śu. 15, Dakshiṇāyana-kāla.	4th July, A.D. 692	
7. Haribar grant . .	14	Śaka 616 (expired), Kārttika, śu. 15.	9th October, A.D. 694.	

The record is interesting in other respects also. While recounting the achievements of Vikramāditya the present inscription, like all the other records of Vinayāditya, states that he captured Kāñchīpura after defeating the **Pallava king** who had become the cause of disgrace to his family, subdued the three kings (*dharaṇīdharatraya*[2]) **Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa** and **Kēraḷa** and made the inexorable Pallava bow to his feet. Vikramāditya's own records,[3] however, are unanimous in proclaiming that he acquired for himself the fortune of his father which had been concealed by (the confederacy of) three kings (*avanipatitritaya*[2]) and defeated the enemy-kings in country after country. The Gadvāl plates[4] of his 20th year (A. D. 674) add that he inflicted a crushing defeat on Pallava Narasiṁhavarman, Mahēndravarman and Iśvarapōtavarman and seized their capital Kāñchīpura. Thus, the defeat of the Pallavas and the capture of Kāñchīpura being common in both the accounts, the confederacy of three kings mentioned in the epigraphs of Vikramāditya must evidently refer to the Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa and Kēraḷa given in his son's records. Fleet's opinion that the three princes were Pallava Narasiṁhavarman, Mahēndravarman and Iśvarapōtavarman is untenable. It is impossible in the scheme of Pallava chronology to suppose that Narasiṁhavarman and Mahēndravarman had died and Paramēśvaravarman's rule had already commenced by A.D. 655 in which year Vikramāditya had acquired his hereditary provinces after subduing the confederacy. For

[1] *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, pp. 368 and 369.

[2] According to Pāṇini द्वितिया तयस्यायज्वा ।५।२।४२। the terminations तयप् and धयण convey the same meaning. Hence the two expressions occurring in the two sets of inscriptions must be taken to give the same sense.

[3] See for instance, above, Vol. IX, pp. 98 ff.

[4] *Ibid.* Vol. X, pp. 100 ff.

according to all authorities[1] on Pallava chronology Narasiṁhavarman's reign alone extended beyond A.D. 655. As stated above, Vikramāditya recovered his territory from the Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa and Kēraḷa kings, and not from the Pallavas, which fact leads us to suppose that the Chāḷukyan territory was not in the possession of the Pallavas in or immediately before A.D. 655. The Pallava grants,[2] however, assert that Narasiṁhavarman defeated Pulakēśin II in the battles of Pariyaḷa, Maṇimaṅgala and Śūramāra and destroyed Vātāpi. In some inscriptions[3] he is given the epithet *Vātāpi-koṇḍa*. This is fully borne out by the existence of a rock-inscription at Bādāmi of this Pallava king, written in the Pallava-Grantha characters of the period.[4] This event is supposed to have taken place after the visit of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang to the court of Pulakēśin II *i.e.*, in about A.D. 643. It is not, at present, possible to guess under what circumstances the Pallava hold was displaced and the three confederates occupied the Chāḷukyan country in the intervening period.[5]

Another noteworthy point in the present record is the expression **Trairājya-Pallava**. Vinayāditya is stated to have vanquished, at the command of his father, the over-grown army of Trairājya-Pallava and brought his country into a state of peace and quiet. Scholars are divided in their opinion regarding the significance of the term *Trairājya*. Fleet,[6] Kielhorn[7] and Krishna Sastri[8] have taken it to refer to the three South-Indian powers, *viz.*, Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa and Kēraḷa. Dr. Dubreuil[9] has posited that the three kings who constituted *Trairājya* were the Pallava, the Pāṇḍya and Siṁhaḷa Māṇavamma. Recently, an endeavour has been made by a writer to show that this term as well as the expression *avanipati-tritaya* refer to the three branches of the Pallava dynasty ruling over three different regions of their kingdom[10]. One of them ruled, according to him, over Toṇḍai-maṇḍalam and the Tamil country with its capital at Kāñchī, another governed the modern Guntur and Nellore districts and formerly issued its grants usually from Mēnamātura, Tāmbrāpa and Palakkada, and the third had under its control the modern Ceded Districts probably with the exception of Cuddapah. The views of either of the last two scholars are wholly untenable as they lack the support of historical facts of the period and of the proper interpretation of the texts of inscriptions in which the word occurs. This term is found used, besides in the Chāḷukya inscriptions, also in

[1] K. V. S. Aiyar's *Historical Sketches of the Ancient Dekhan*, p. 41; Dubreuil's *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 73.

[2] Kūram, Kāśākuḍi and Vēlūrpāḷaiyam grants. (*S. I. I.*, Vols. I, pp. 148 ff., II. No. 73, and p. 503).

[3] *E.g. S. I. I.*, Vol. II, No. 73.

[4] There are also some minor inscriptions at Bādāmi written in this script, see *e.g. Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 61.

[5] It is not impossible that soon after the occupation of Vātāpi by Narasiṁhavarman I after A.D. 642, the Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa, and Kēraḷa who were biding a favourable opportunity to avenge the defeat inflicted upon them by the Pallava monarch (see the Kūram plates), joined themselves into a confederacy and, after subduing the Pallavas whose resources had probably been exhausted in their conflicts with the Chāḷukyan army, marched as far north as Vātāpi, shattered the Pallava hold on it and finally took possession of the Chāḷukya territory. This supposition would explain the variant statements contained in the Chāḷukya as well as the Pallava epigraphs and the description of the Pallavas as the cause of disgrace and destruction of the lunar family of the Chāḷukyas would also be accounted for.

[6] *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 368.

[7] Above, Vol. V, p. 202 n.

[8] Above, Vol. XI, p. 341 n. 1. See also Hultzsch, above, Vol. IX, p. 101 n. 5 and Pathak, *ibid.*, p. 205, n. 4.

[9] The *Pallavas*, p. 44.

[10] *The Madras Christian College Magazine*, January 1929, pp. 6 and 8. The author presumes that "the Chōḷas did not exist as a political power during the seventh century A.D." (p. 4). This is wrong. They are referred to as an independent ruling family in almost all the records of Vinayāditya and his successors. There is nothing to indicate in the Gadvāl grant that the Chōḷika-vishaya had been directly governed by the Pallavas of Kāñchī, as supposed by him.

the Malēpāḍu plates of Puṇyakumāra (*Cir.*8th century[1] A.D.), the Vishṇupurāṇa[2] and Jinasēna's Ādipurāṇa[3] (9th century A.D.). In the Vishṇupurāṇa, the word occurs along with Mushika in the passage[4] चैराज्य सुषिकजनपदाश्मकपरकाश्चयो भोक्ष्यति । Fleet has identified Mushika with a part of the Malabar coast between Quilon and Cape Comorin.[5] *Trairājya* should, therefore, be naturally located near it. Further the word is explained by the commentator of Jinasēna's Ādipurāṇa as referring to Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa. It is therefore reasonable to think that *Trairājya* of the Chāḷukya inscriptions refers to these three countries only. This view finds considerable support from the analogous expression राज्यत्रयी occurring in Vikramāditya (I)'s records which in the context means the administration of the three kings (अवनिपतित्रितय), *viz.*, Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa and Kēraḷa.

From the foregoing discussion it may be said that the constituents of *Trairājya* were not the Pallava, Pāṇḍya and Siṁhaḷa Māṇavamma as postulated by Dr. Dubreuil. If the Ceylon king had actually joined the confederation, this remarkable event would have been mentioned in the *Mahāvaṁsa* as an important achievement of Māṇavamma.[6] Further the Pallava could not have formed a member of the *Trairājya* since he is mentioned separately. The contention that the *Trairājya* was composed of three kings ruling over three different parts of the Pallava kingdom is similarly untenable[7] for the above-mentioned reasons. According to this view, we ought to find the existence of the Pallava sway over the Nellore, Guntur and the Ceded Districts in and before A.D. 643 when the confederation is supposed to have temporarily subverted the Chāḷukya power. But this is not the case. The situation of stone inscriptions and of villages granted in copper-plate records[8] of this early period would show clearly that parts of the Guntur, Nellore and the Ceded Districts had already been conquered by Pulakēśin II in his famous *dig-vijaya* and become subject to the Chāḷukya rule.

The defeat of the three powers, namely, the Pāṇḍya, Chōḷa and Kēraḷa by Vinayāditya appears to have taken place after the date of the Gadvāl plates (A.D. 674) since it is not alluded to there. After the victorious campaign of the Chāḷukya king into the Pallava and Chōḷa countries in that year, the Pallava king Paramēśvaravarman must have mustered his forces and sought the assistance of the Chōḷa and the other two powers of South India in order to give a crushing blow to their common enemy Vikramāditya. The combined forces of these four powers entered the Chāḷukyan territory and probably sacked and captured the 'city of Raṇarasika' on this

[1] Above, Vol. XI, p. 337.

[2] Chapter 4-24-67 of the Veṅkaṭēśvara Press edition.

[3] Chapter XXX, verse 35. This reference was pointed out by Pathak above, Vol. IX, p. 205.

[4] Mr. K. P. Jayaswal adds स्त्रौराज्य to this in his quotation from the same Purāṇa (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIX, p. 129).

[5] *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 281. See Mr. K. V. S. Aiyar in *J. R. A. S.* April 1922, p. 175 and also Nunda Lal Dey's *Geographical Dictionary of the Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 134. [*Musikanagara* is mentioned in the Hathi Gumpha Inscription of Khāravela, see above, Vol. XX, p. 77 and *note* 3.—Ed.]

[6] Dubreuil does not discuss the composition of *avanipati-tritaya* which, as pointed out above, signifies the same three powers as *Trairājya*. It is impossible that the Siṁhaḷa king Māṇavamma who ascended the throne in A.D. 668 (Hultzsch)—according to Dubreuil in A.D. 660 and A.D. 691 according to Wijesimha—could have entered the alliance as a crowned king and helped the Pallava Narasiṁhavarman I in defeating the Chāḷukyas in about A. D. 643.

[7] Fleet originally held the same opinion but subsequently abandoned it (*Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 362 n.).

[8] See, for instance, the Kopparam plates (above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 257 ff.), the Niḍupaṟṟu grant (*ibid.*, p. 55), the Chendalūr plates of Sarvalōkāśraya (*ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 238), the Annavaram inscription of Vikramāditya (*Nellore Inscriptions*, Darsi 2; and Dr. Venkataramanayya's *Trilōchana-Pallava and Karikāla-Chōḷa*, p. 16), the Gooty inscription and the Sorab grant of Vinayāditya, and Nos. 333, 343, 359 and 364 of 1920 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

occasion. They were routed by Vinayāditya probably in A. D. 678-79, when he was nominated to the throne as indicated by his Jejūri plates and the Togarchēḍu grant.

Of the **geographical places** mentioned in the record **Taḷayakhēḍa-grāma** has been identified by the late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri with Thairkeḍḍa on the north bank of the river Tēr (Thairna).[1] Dr. Fleet has identified **Naḷavāḍi-vishaya** with portions of the Anantapur and Kurnool Districts.[2] **Uḷchaḷ** which was situated in this *vishaya* is probably to be identified with Ulachāla[3] in the Kurnool taluk of the Kurnool district. If this is correct, Fleet's identification of the Naḷavāḍi-vishaya will be confirmed. Recently two inscriptions of the Nala dynasty have been obtained, *viz.*, the Rithāpur[4] plates of Bhavattavarman and the Poḍāgaḍh inscription[5] of his son Skandavarman, which locate their kingdom somewhere in the Central Provinces on the side of Yeotmal, and Poḍāgaḍh in the Jeypore Agency. It is too premature to establish any connection between the Naḷavāḍi-vishaya and the Nala country since they are far removed from each other. The present record contains the second known reference to Naḷavāḍi-vishaya, the first being found in the Kurnool plates[6] of Vikramāditya I.

TEXT.

Second Plate ; Second Side.

22 . . . . . [7]विनी(न)-

23 यादित्यसत्याश्रयश्री[पृ*]थिवीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरम-

24 हारकस्वर्व्वानेवमाज्ञापयति[।*] विदितमस्तु वोऽस्माभिः चतुर्द्दशोत्तरषट्सु

25 षु शकवर्षेष्वतीतेषु प्रवर्द्ध(र्द्ध)मानविजयराज्यसंवत्सरे द्वादश(शे) वर्त्तमा-

26 ने तगरनद्युत्तरसमीपे तऊयखेडग्राममधिवसति विजय-

27 स्कन्धावारे आषाढपौर्ण्णिमास्यां दक्षिणायनसंक्रान्तौ महेंद्रारोवि[ग्रा]पनया

Third Plate : First Side.

28 नलवाडिविषये उब्बलग्रामग्रामे कौशिकगोत्राय दूसशर्म्मणे पूर्व्वस्वा-

29 न्दिग्नि राजमानेन पश्चाग्नि(ग्नि)वर्त्तनक्षेत्रं अपि च कौशिकगोत्राय कस्वग्र-

30 अ(ग्र)णे राजमानेन पश्चाग्नि(ग्नि)वर्त्तनक्षेत्रं अपि च आत्रेयगोत्राय स-

31 र्वशर्म्मणे राजमानेन पश्चाग्नि(ग्नि)वर्त्तनक्षेत्रं अपि च गार्ग्यायणगोत्र-

32 सव(र्व)शर्म्मणे दक्षिणस्यान्दिग्नि राजमानेन पश्चाग्नि(ग्नि)वर्त्तनक्षेत्रं

33 सर्व्वबाध(धा)परिहारं दत्ता(त्ता)नि [।*] वेदव्यासेन व्यासेगीता[श्लो]*[।*]

अस्मद्वंश(श्यै)र-

34-36 Imprecatory verses.

37 त्रिभि[:*] श्रीरामपुण्यव[ज्र]भसेना . राजन(जेन) लिखितं [।*]

[1] *M. E. R.*, 1916, p. 130.

[2] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 363.

[3] *Alphabetical List of Villages in the Madras Presidency*, Kurnool district, p. 5.

[4] Above, Vol. XIX, p. 100.

[5] *M. E R.*, 1922, p. 80, No. 283 ; above, Vol. XXI, pp. 155 *f.*

[6] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 225 ff. Since the Madakasira taluk now belongs to the Anantapur district, Anantapur should be substituted for Bellary in Fleet's identification of this *vishaya*.

[7] Lines 1 to 22 are a reproduction of the first eighteen lines of the Jejūri plates (above, Vol. XIX, pp. 63-4).

No. 8.—SILAHARA CAVE INSCRIPTIONS.

By Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, Calcutta.

The inscriptions which are edited here for the first time were found in Caves at **Silaharā** in the Rewah State, Central India. More than twenty-five years ago a rubbing of one of these records was sent by a schoolmaster to Rai Bahadur Hiralal, the celebrated archæologist of C. P., who in his turn some time ago brought it to the notice of the Government Epigraphist, Dr. Hirananda Sastri. During the year 1927-28, the latter officer visited the caves and published an account of the same together with a summary of their inscriptions on pp. 136-8 of the *Archæol. Surv. Ind., An. Rep.*, of the same year. The estampages which he took during his official visit to the monuments were kindly made over to me for detailed treatment, and the present paper is the result of it.

The caves at Silaharā are about sixteen miles to the north-east of Jaithāri, a station on the Katni-Bilaspur Branch of the Bengal Nagpur Railway. It lies between Latitude 23° 2′ North and Longitude 81° 50′ East. They are a group of four artificial caves with traces of one more excavation and are situated on the east bank of a small river called the Kēvāīñ, presenting a picturesque view. The name *Silaharā*, as suggested by Dr. Sastri, is probably a modern form of *Śilāgṛiha* which occurs as *silāgahā* in these inscriptions. Of these four monuments, only three, namely, the Sītāmāḍī, the Durvāsā and the Chērī-Gōdaḍī Caves are well preserved. The fourth has a hole in the roof of one of its cells. The first three caves only contain inscriptions, some of which are in the Brāhmī script, and some in the 'Shell' characters. Here, we are concerned only with the inscriptions in the Brāhmī script.

From the form of the letters all these inscriptions except one seem to belong to the first century A.D. What is **palæographically** worthy of note about them is that the characters *p* and *v* have occasionally flat and angular bases and that the base-line of *n* also is sometimes slightly curved. These peculiarities are first clearly noticeable in the cave inscriptions of Ushavadāta, which pertain to the beginning of the second century A.D. But there they appear as the permanent and not incidental forms of those letters. Moreover, besides *p* and *v*, the letters *kh*, *gh*, *j* and *m* are found in Ushavadāta's epigraphs invariably with flat and angular bases, which are not noticeable at all in our cave inscriptions. The inference is not unreasonable that our epigraphs are slightly earlier in date than those of Ushavadāta; and if the latter belong to the first quarter of the second century, we cannot be far from right if we assign the Silaharā inscriptions to about **the middle of the first century A.D.**

Other palæographic peculiarities also deserve to be noticed. Thus *d* consists of two curves,—one concave and one convex, joined in one way or the other and thus giving rise to two different forms of *d*. Similarly, the letter *t* appears in two different forms. The character *m* in *Sivamita* in No. 3, l. 3, is unlike *m* in other places in these inscriptions, and as such is worthy of note.

These are seven inscriptions. All of them except two bear more or less the same import. They are engraved in the inner walls of the caves, the Durvāsā containing one, and the Chēri-Gōdaḍī two and the Sītāmāḍī three. The last of these caves has one more inscription but incised on a pillar and with a different import. All these records are complete as far as they go, but the longest and most detailed of these is that engraved in the Durvāsā Cave. In the Sītāmāḍī Cave, however, while one inscription is complete, the other has apparently not been fully incised, supposing of course that the whole of it has been copied in the estampage before us. The object of the inscriptions is to record the excavation of caves by the *amātya* Maudgalīputra Mūladēva of the Vatsa-*gōtra*, while **Svāmidatta** was the ruler of the kingdom. Who this Svāmi-

datta was is not known. We know of only one Svâmidatta who according to the celebrated Allahābād Pillar Inscription was king of Kōṭṭūra in Dakshiṇāpatha and was conquered by Samudragupta who flourished in the fourth century A.D. But the Svāmidatta of our inscriptions must have lived in the first century. And there is neither epigraphic nor numismatic evidence to point to any king of this name during this period.

As we have just seen, the caves were excavated, not by the king Svāmidatta, but by his minister Mūladēva, whose pedigree for three generations has been given. He was son of Sivamita (=Śivamitra), grandson of Sivadata (=Śivadatta), and great grandson of Sivānaṁdi (=Śivānandī). It is worthy of note that the terms used for 'grandson' and 'great grandson' are *natika* (=*naptṛika*) and *panatika* (=*pranaptṛika*), but they are obviously used in the sense of *pautra* and *prapautra*. These last words no doubt generally occur in the inscriptions of Aśōka, but they are sometimes replaced by the other words also in some versions of his edicts (*cf. e.g.*, the Girnār with the other copies of RE. IV.).

What the original object of these excavations was may be now briefly considered. The inscriptions found in the Chērī-Gōdaḍī and Sītāmāḍī Caves simply say that they were *silāgahā* or rock mansions, but that engraved in the Durvāsā Cave describes it as *ārāmaṁ pavate* or 'pleasure-house on the hill'. There can be little doubt that they were intended as dens for mirth and frolic. This inference is supported by Inscriptions Nos. 6—7 in the Sītāmāḍī Cave. They are no doubt engraved in characters of the second century A.D., and are thus one century posterior to the other epigraphs. Nevertheless, they are sufficiently close in time to the others. Now one inscription reads *Yuvati-māle=Yuvati-mālē. Mālaṁ* means "a high ground, rising or elevated ground". The word occurs in v. 16 of Kālidāsa's *Mēghadūta*, where the word is thus explained by Mallināṭha: *śaila-prāyam=unnata-sthalaṁ*, 'an elevated hilly place.' Consequently *Yuvati-māle* is to be understood as denoting some hill place for meeting young women. The other inscription reads *Udaya-tārā*, 'the Rising Star', which apparently is the name of some female artiste. The Silaharā Caves thus seem to have been excavated for sportive and merry-making purposes and continued as such for at least a century more. All the caves except one that have so far been discovered were intended as religious edifices. If we take the Buddhist caves, they were either *chaityas*, 'worship halls' or *layanas* 'residences for monks'. If we take the Brahmanic or Jaina caves, they were cut to serve as temples or abode of ascetics. The only exception just referred to is the two caves of Rāmgaṛh, called Sītā-bēṅgā and Jōgīmārā[1]. The former of these was apparently an amphitheatre, and the latter a love den. Both have an inscription each. That in the first contains some verses in praise of poetry. That in the second purports to say that there was a *dēvadāsī*, Sutanukā by name, who was loved by Devadinna, native of Bārāṇasī and a banker (*rūpadaksha*) by profession.[2] It appears that the Jōgīmārā Cave was excavated originally by Devadinna for gratifying his amorous propensities. The Silaharā Caves also were perhaps cut for the same purpose, and served as pleasure retreats to Mūladēva, minister of Svāmidatta.

This Mūladēva, as stated above, has been described both as Vachha (=Vātsa) and Mogaliputa (=Maudgalīputra). The first is a patronymic and shows that he belonged to the Vatsa-*gōtra*, that, in other words, he was a Brāhmaṇ. The second is a metronymic and means "son of (a woman) of the Mudgala or Maudgala family". Mudgala is a section of both the Bharadvāja and the Atri-*gōtra*.[3] Maudgala again is a section not only of the Bharadvāja or the Vasishṭha, but also of the Bhṛigu-*gōtra*.[4] The mother of Mūladēva may have belonged to any one of these

[1] *A. S. I., An. Rep.*, 1903-04, pp. 74-5 and pp. 123 ff.

[2] Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscr.*, No. 921. I, however, differ from the Professor in regard to the interpretation of *lupadakha*. For this technical sense of the word *rūpa*, see my *Carmichael Lectures*, 1921, pp. 124 ff.

[3] *Gōtra-pravara-nibandha-kadambaṁ*, p. 63, l. 9 and p. 81, l. 5.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 62, l. 5; p. 110, l. 14; and p. 37, l. 5.

gōtras except Bhṛigu. She could not have come of the Bhṛigu, because her husband, being a Vātsa, was a Bhṛigu.[1] Let us in this connection discuss the significance of the Vedic metronymics which occur in cave and such early inscriptions. Bühler says in one place that "numerous instances in the northern and southern inscriptions show that the queens and princesses were frequently called by the Vedic *gōtra*-names, such as the Gautamī, the Vātsī, the Vāsishṭhī, the Gārgī, etc.".[2] The remark is true so far as it goes, but he forgets that the Brāhmaṇ women also had such *gōtra*-names. One such instance is of course furnished by our inscriptions which call Mūladēva's mother Maudgalī; another, by a Nāsik Cāve record which speaks of a Brāhmaṇ Aśvibhūti as Vārāhīputra[3]; and a third by a Maḷavaḷḷi pillar inscription in Monumental Prākrit which mentions the Brāhmaṇ grantee Nāgadatta as not only of the Kauṇḍinya-*gōtra* but also as Kauśikīputra.[4] Now, the first question that here arises is: what was the use of these metronymics at all? There can be but one reply. When and where polygamy is in vogue, it is absolutely necessary to distinguish the sons of one wife from those of another. The practice is still prevalent in Rājputānā. If a Rajpūt prince marries more than one princess, they are always distinguished one from the other, according as she is a Hāḍī-ji, Rāṇāvat-ji and so forth. Such must have been the case in Ancient India also. Kings certainly married more than one queen who were therefore known by the family names of their fathers. But it is worthy of note that this polygamy was present in Ancient India not only among the Kshatriyas but also among the Brāhmaṇs as the three instances adduced above clearly show.

The second question that now arises is this. If the Brāhmaṇs have metronymics derived from the Vedic Gōtras, that is just what might be expected. But why should such *gōtras* be in vogue among the Kshatriyas, at any rate among the members of the ruling class? Let us take for example the Śātavāhana family, whose inscriptions have been found in the Nāsik, Kārle and Kaṇheri Caves. The earliest of them is called Gautamīputra; his son, Vāsishṭhīputra; and one of their successors, Māḍharīputra. These metronymics are clearly formed from the Brahmanic *gōtras*, and the wonder of it is how they are found in a ruling dynasty. In explanation of this fact it has been argued by some that the Śātavāhanas were of the Brāhmaṇ caste,[5] and in support of this position our attention has been drawn to two passages from Nāsik Cave Inscription 2[6]. The first, which is from l. 5, is *khatiya-dapa-māna-madanasa*, "of (Gautamīputra), who humbled the pride and arrogance of the Kshatriyas". From this it is inferred that Gautamīputra could not have been a Kshatriya. For, if he had been a Kshatriya, there would have been no propriety in his saying that he put down the pride and conceit of the Kshatriyas. What was he then by caste? Is there anything in that inscription which throws light upon the subject? We are thus referred to a second passage in the Nāsik Inscription, namely, *ekabaṁha-ṇasa*, which has been rendered by Senart as "the unique Brāhmaṇa". Some scholars are thus of opinion that the Śātavāhanas were undoubtedly Brāhmaṇ by caste. It is true that in this translation of the passage Senart practically follows Bühler, who renders it by "of him who alone (*was worthy of the name of*) a Brāhmaṇa"[7]. But it is forgotten that the word *baṁhaṇa* of the Prākrit original can be equated not only with the Sanskrit *Brāhmaṇa* as was done by Bühler and Senart but also with *brahmaṇya* as was first suggested by R. G. Bhandarkar, who

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 33, l. 10.
[2] Above, Vol. I, p. 394.
[3] Lüders, *loc. cit.*, No. 1131.
[4] *Ibid.*, No. 1196.
[5] H. Raychaudhuri's *Political History of Ancient India*, pp. 290-1.
[6] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 60.
[7] *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 110.

translates it by "the only supporter of Brāhmaṇs"[1]. Bhagwanlal Indraji, however, takes *bamhaṇa* as equivalent to *Brāhmaṇa*, but takes the expression to mean 'the only holy man'.[2] Personally I would prefer the first. But whatever interpretation is approved, this much is certain that *bamhaṇa* need not necessarily be taken as equivalent to *Brāhmaṇa* and can also stand for *brahmaṇya*, and thus the prop in support of the Brāhmaṇ origin of the Śātavāhanas becomes feeble and shaky. How then, it may be asked, are we to explain the first of the passages which has been quoted from Nāsik Cave Inscription No. 2 and which represents Gautamīputra to have humbled the pride and arrogance of the Kshatriyas? Even if we take the word *Kshatriya* here in its usual sense, namely, the second of the four castes, the passage in question at the most would prove that Gautamīputra was a non-Kshatriya, but not necessarily that he was a Brāhmaṇ. Are we, however, compelled to take this word in this sense? Cannot *khatiya* (=*Kshatriya*) bear any other signification? In this connection we must remember that there was a tribe called Kshatriya or Kshattri, mentioned both by foreign writers and in Sanskrit literature. Thus Arrian who wrote an account of Alexander's invasion of India says that when this Macedonian emperor was in camp on the confluence of the Chenab and the Indus, he received deputies and presents from Xathroi (Khathroi), an independent tribe of Indians.[3] The same tribe is apparently mentioned as Kshatriyas by Ptolemy.[4] As has been pointed out by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal[5], they appear to be mentioned by Kauṭilya along with the Kāmbōjas and Surāshṭras as the Saṁghas subsisting both upon agriculture and arms. They are no doubt the Kshattri described in the *Manusmṛiti*, and the Kshatriyas of the later inscriptions (see *e.g.*, the Lāḍnū Inscription of Sādhāraṇa[6] who and his ancestors are spoken of as Kshatriyas of the Kāśyapa-*gōtra*). They appear to be represented by the Khatris of the modern day. Originally, however, they formed an independent tribe living not far from the confluence of the Chenab and the Indus. It will thus be seen that this tribe may very well have been the Kshatriyas whose pride and conceit Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi crushed down. If the latter went on conquering as far northwards as the Śakas, Yavanas and Palhavas, there is nothing strange in his putting down the Kshatriyas who lived in their neighbourhood just as the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman is reputed to have exterminated the Yaudhēyas[7]. No irrefragible evidence is thus forthcoming from Nāsik Cave Inscription No. 2, or, for the matter of that, from any source, which demonstrates that the Śātavāhanas were Brāhmaṇs. On the other hand, there is a passage in the same Nāsik Cave Inscription which is worth considering here. It is the passage where Gautamī Balaśrī is called *rājarisi-vadhusadaṁ akhilaṁ anuvidhīyamānā*, "wholly conforming to the title 'wife of the Royal Sage'". It may be pertinently asked: what is meant by a *Rājarshi* (Royal Sage)? It may be contended that the term simply denotes 'a sage-like king', be he a Brāhmaṇ or a Kshatriya. But it has to be remembered that *Rājarshi* is always employed in contradistinction to Brahmarshi which unquestionably means 'a Brāhmaṇ Sage'. The use of the term *Rājarshi* is thus enough to show that the Śātavāhanas were not Brāhmaṇs.

Or we may set aside the Śātavāhanas for a while and consider the Ikshvākus of the south whose inscriptions have been found in the Āndhra country at Jaggayyapēṭa and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. That the Ikshvākus were the Kshatriyas of the solar race is too well-known to be pointed

[1] *Trans. Inter. Cong. Ori., London*, 1874, pp. 310-11.
[2] *Bomb. Gazet.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 552 and 554.
[3] McCrindle's *Ancient India: Its Invasion by Alexander the Great*, p. 156.
[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 360.
[5] *Hindu Polity*, Pt. I, p. 60.
[6] Above, Vol. XII, pp. 23 ff.
[7] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 44, l. 12.

out. And yet we have in this dynasty three kings, two of whom bear the metronymic Vāsishṭhī-putra and one Māṭharīputra.[1] Related to these Ikshvākus are personages holding titles of nobility such as Mahā-sēnāpati and Mahā-talavara. Even they bear such metronymics. If we turn westwards again and consider the cave inscriptions, we find that even there, feudatory chieftains styling themselves as Mahāraṭhi, Mahā-sēnāpati and Mahā-bhōja possess similar metronymics. The question therefore arises: how were these Vedic metronymics in vogue among the ruling classes most of which were presumably Kshatriya by caste? According to Bühler, "the explanation is no doubt that these *gōtras* originally were those of the Purōhitas of the royal or noble families, from which the queens were descended, and that the kings were affiliated to them for religious purposes, as the Śrautasūtras indicate".[2] But was it so really from 150 B.C. to 250 A.D.? Bühler is apparently taking his stand upon the Śrautasūtras. What the Śrauta-sūtras, however, lay down in the case of a Kshatriya or a Vaiśya is the adoption, not of the Gōtra but of the Pravaras of his Purōhita. Thus the Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra[3] says: *Kshatriya-Vaiśyāṇāṁ purōhita-pravarō bhavat=īti vijñāyatē*. The Āpastamba[4] has: *atha yēshāṁ (=Kshatriyānāṁ) mantrakṛitō na syuḥ sa-purōhita-pravarās=tē pravṛiṇīran*. From these quotations it is clear that what a Kshatriya borrowed from his Purōhita for religious purposes was, not his Gōtra, but his Pravaras. It may perhaps be argued that one set of Pravaras presupposes one specific Gōtra only, so that when that Gōtra name is pronounced, only that particular set of Pravaras is indicated. Nor is this argument well-founded. One instance will suffice for our purpose. Let us take the Maṭhara-*gōtra* from which the metronymic Māṭharīputra is derived. It has the three Pravaras: Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra and Naidhruva. But, these Pravaras, Maṭhara possesses in common with at least eighty other Gōtras, such as Kāśyapa, Chhāgari and so forth. There is no such thing as one set of Pravaras for one Gōtra and one Gōtra only. Even supposing that a Kshatriya affiliates himself to his Purōhita's Gōtra for religious purposes as Bühler supposes, why should that Gōtra be binding upon the Kshatriya for secular purposes, why in other words, should the Kshatriya avoid marriage, not in his proper exogamous group, but in the same Gōtra as that of his Purōhita, though the Gōtra is natural to a Brāhmaṇ but an extraneous something which is foisted upon him? Nowhere is it laid down in any Sūtra or similar writings, explicitly or implicitly, that a Kshatriya, like his Purōhita, shall not marry in the same Vedic Gōtra. Besides, it is not a fact that even in this period the member of a ruling family had a metronymic invariably derived from a Brahmanical Gōtra. Two instances will suffice to prove our point. There is an Amarāvatī Buddhist sculpture, the inscription on which records the gift of an *upāsaka* Buddharakshita, who is therein called Gomdīputa.[5] It is evident from this that his mother was Gōmdī which no scholar has yet been able to explain. The term Gōmdī indicates that she belonged to the Gumda family which, however, is not known to be any Vedic Gōtra. It may however be contended that this Buddharakshita originally was not a Brāhmaṇ or a Kshatriya, and so his metronymic has no bearing upon our discussion. Let us therefore take another, namely, Gotiputa, which, we find, was borne by persons of three different ranks, namely, by a king, a Mahāraṭhi and a goldsmith. Possibly this goldsmith also was neither a Brāhmaṇ nor a Kshatriya, and may therefore be set aside. But what about the king and the nobleman styling themselves Gotiputa which has been equated by scholars with Gauptīputra, son of a woman belonging to the Gupta race. Surely Gupta, Gota, or Guta has not yet been

[1] Above, Vol. XX, pp. 16 ff.
[2] Above, Vol. I, p. 394.
[3] *Pravara-praśna*, 54.
[4] *Pravara-khaṇḍa*, 15.
[5] Lüders, *loc. cit.*, No. 1271.

shown to be the name of any Vedic Gōtra. This clearly shows that we have personages of the ruler or nobility class bearing a metronymic not connected with any Vedic Gōtra. Again, let us see who was this ruler that called himself Gotiputa. The inscription which makes mention of him is engraved on the pillar of a *tōraṇa* which was originally found at Bharaut but which is now exhibited in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. It records that the gateway was erected by Vātsīputra Dhanabhūti, son of Gotiputa Āgaraju (=Gauptīputra Aṅgāradyut), and grandson of the king (*rājan*) Gārgīputra Viśvadēva, during the rule of the Śuṅgas.[1] As Viśvadēva is here called a *rājan*, there can be no doubt that his son and grandson pertained to a ruling family. And further it is worthy of note that whereas Viśvadēva and Dhanabhūti are styled Gārgīputra and Vātsīputra, showing that their mothers bore the Vedic Gōtra, Aṅgāradyut alone is styled Gotiputa showing that his mother belonged to the Gupta family which was anything but a Vedic Gōtra. The other instance of the occurrence of Gotiputa as a metronymic is supplied by the epigraph on the lion column standing in front of the *chaitya* cave at Kārle. It says that the column was set up by one Agnimitraṇaka (Agnimitra) who was a Mahāraṭhi and a Gotiputra, which Prof. Lüders takes to mean 'son of a *Gauptī*'.[2] Mahāraṭhi denotes a feudatory rank. Agnimitra was thus a feudatory chief, and yet he bears a metronymic which is in no way derived from a Vedic Gōtra. A third non-Vedic metronymic which may be considered here is that furnished by an inscription on a relic casket found in Sonari Stūpa No. II near Bhilsā. It mentions the name of a Buddhist Missionary who is described as the teacher of all Himalayan countries. His personal name is not given, but he is called Kotiputa and Kāsapagota[3]. His metronymic merits special notice as his original caste is here specified. For we have just seen that he is called Kāsapagota which means that his father was a Brāhmaṇ. But what was he from his mother's side? She was evidently a 'Koti' which is taken by Prof. Lüders as equivalent to Kauṇṭī. But the Professor does not explain what he means by Kauṇṭī. Kauṇṭī, as it is, has to be derived from Kunta, but Kunta as the name of a family or a clan is unknown. The only clan name that approximates to it is Kunti, a Yādava clan, whose ruler, Kuntibhōja, being childless, adopted Kuntī, the first wife of Pāṇḍu. It will thus be seen that the word Kuntī itself means "(a woman) descended from Kunti". The Buddhist missionary Kāsapagota would thus have been called Kuntīputra, and not Kauṇṭīputra, if his mother had pertained to the Kunti lineage, Perhaps the best explanation of the metronymic Kotiputa is to say that his mother belonged not to the Kunti, but to the Kota, clan. That Kota was the name of a ruling family is clear from the fact that their coins have been found round about Delhi and in Eastern Panjāb.[4] Besides, the celebrated Allahābād Pillar Inscription speaks of Samudragupta as having captured a scion of the Kōta family.[5] The Kotas and the Guptas thus were both ruling families in the fourth century A.D. And if they were so ruling side by side in that century, there is nothing unreasonable in supposing that both the clans were in existence about the beginning of the Christian era. The metronymic Kotiputa therefore had better be equated with Kauṭīputra and the inference drawn that the mother of the Buddhist teacher Kāsapagota came from the Kota family. But whatever the correct explanation of Kotiputa may be, this much is certain that the mother of the Buddhist missionary belonged to a non-Vedic Gōtra.

The above discussion is enough to convince any one that members of the ruling and nobility classes bore metronymics which were sometimes Vedic and sometimes non-Vedic. Similarly,

[1] *Ibid.*, No. 687.
[2] *Ibid.*, No. 1088.
[3] *Ibid.*, No. 158.
[4] Smith's *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, pp. 258 and 264.
[5] Fleet's *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 6, l. 14.

we have just seen that the Buddhist saint who is described as the teacher of all Himalayan countries was born of a Brāhmaṇ father as his patronymic Kāsapagota shows, but that his mother was a Kshatriya woman as she was a Kota by extraction. The conclusion is therefore irresistible that in the ancient period ranging from circa 150 B.C. to circa 250 A.D. there were many inter-caste marriages, which were not only *anulōma* but also *pratilōma*. The history of the Ikshvākus of South India clearly shows that the Brāhmaṇs were ready to give their daughters in marriage to the Kshatriyas if they but belonged to the ruling family.

TEXT.

Inscription in the Durvāsā Cave.

No. 1.

1 **Sāmi[da]te** rajaṁ kārayaṁtaṁmhi Sivānaṁdi-panati[k]ena
2 Sivadata-natik[e]na
3 Sivami[ta]-putena
4 [Vachhena] M[o]galiputena
5 [Mūla*]d[e*]v[e*]na arāmaṁ pavate ropāpita[ṁ]

Inscriptions in the Chēri-Gōdaḍi Cave.

No. 2.

1 [Sivā][naṁd*]i-[pa*][na]t[i]k[e*][na]
2 Sivadata-natikena Si[vamita-putena*] [Vachhena*]
3 [Mo*][ga]liputena amache[na] Mūladevena si[lāga]hā [kā]ritā.

No. 3.

1 Sivānaṁdi-panatikena
2 Sivadata-natikena
3 Sivamita-[putena][1]

Inscriptions in the Sītāmāḍi Cave.

No. 4.

Sivānaṁdi-panatikena Sivadata natikena Sivamita-putena Vachhena Mogaliputena Muladevena amacnena silāgahā kāritā.

No. 5.

Sivānaṁdi-panatikena Sivadata[2]

No. 6.

Yuvati-māle[3]

No. 7.

Udaya-tārā[4]

[1] This whole line has been faintly engraved.
[2] The remainder has not been either engraved in the Cave or copied in the estampage.
[3] On a pillar, in characters slightly later, probably of the second century A.D.
[4] On the east wall, in characters of the second century A.D.

No. 9.—A BUDDHIST INSCRIPTION FROM KARA.

By N. P. Chakravarti, M.A., Ph.D., Ootacamund.

According to a report published in the 'Leader' of the 7th August, 1932, the inscribed plate under consideration was presented to the Allahābād Archæological Society by Sheikh Jamal Ahmad, the Senior Vice-Chairman of the Allahābād District Board and a Zamindar of Kara. **Kara** is a place of historical importance and is situated at a distance of about 5 miles north-east from Sirathu and 41 miles from Allahābād. The Secretary of the Allahābād Archæological Society sent the plate to the Director General of Archæology in India who again sent it to the Government Epigraphist for India for decipherment. No information was available as to the exact find place of the inscription.

The **plate** which measures $4\frac{1}{4}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$ is of copper and is triangular in shape with the corners rounded off. It was so shaped evidently for the purpose of fixing it at the bottom of an image which must have been the object of gift mentioned in the inscription. An image of Buddha with a similar inscribed plate fixed at the bottom of the pedestal was discovered years ago in the neighbourhood of Gayā.[1]

The present record contains $3\frac{1}{2}$ lines of writing which is in a fair state of preservation with the exception of 3 or 4 letters at the beginning of the first line and 2 or 3 letters at the commencement of the second. These letters have partly rubbed off and grown indistinct. The fifth letter in the third line is damaged and this injury to the plate seems to have been caused by some sharp instrument striking against it. The weight of the plate is $8\frac{1}{2}$ *tolas*.

The most interesting feature of this inscription is its palæography. The **alphabet** of the record is of the 'arrow-head' variety. Bendall first discovered this script in some manuscripts from Nepāl and brought it to the notice of scholars in the 7th International Oriental Congress[2]. Later on, while editing the inscription from Gayā, he pointed out that the script used in the Gayā record was the same as that used in the Nepalese manuscripts referred to above, the only difference being that the former showed 'wedges' instead of 'arrow-heads' at the top of the letters.[3] The script used in the present record is practically the same as that found in the Gayā inscription. Very few inscriptions written in this script have been discovered till now. Besides the two just mentioned, I am aware of only five other inscriptions written in this script but none of the latter has so far been published. One of them is stated to be inscribed on the pedestal of a statue of Jambhala[4] which is now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Waddel notices four other inscriptions in this script which he discovered at Uren[5] in the Mungīr District of Bihār.

Bendall identified this script with the *Bhaikshukī lipi* mentioned by Albīrūnī. According to the latter scholar this script was 'the writing of Buddha' and was used in Uḍuṇpur in Pūrvadēśa.[6] Probably by saying that this script was the writing of Buddha, Albīrūnī meant to say that it was usually employed by Buddhist monks—for which reason it came to be known as *Bhaikshukī* or that of the *bhikshus*. All the inscriptions in this script which we know so far have

[1] See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 77 and Fleet *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 19, note 1. In the references quoted above the image is stated to have belonged to James Robinson, C. E. of Gayā. The same image later on seems to have passed into the possession of Mr. Saurindra Mohan Sinha of Bhāgalpur who presented it to the Museum of the Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad, where it is now preserved. See R. D. Banerji, *History of Bengal* (in Bengali), 2nd ed., p. 85, and *Baṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat-Patrikā*, Vol. XX, pp. 153 ff.

[2] *Verhandlungen des VII Internationalen Orientalisten Congresses*, Arische Section, p. 111.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 77 f.

[4] See *Sāhitya Parishat-Patrikā*, Vol. XX, pp. 155.

[5] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXI, pt. i, p. 17 and Pl. IV, Nos. 1-2.

[6] Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, i, p. 178.

come from Magadha or its neighbourhood in Eastern India. Uduṇpur is evidently the Uddaṇḍapura of inscriptions and Otantapurī of the Tibetan writers and is identified with the modern Bihār.[1]

Bendall has already pointed out that this script has no connection with Nāgarī but is the immediate offspring of an ancient form of the Brāhmī. Devoid of the wedges it conforms, on the whole, to the script used in India during the 4th century A. D. but what seems strange is that it has so far been found usually in the dedicatory inscriptions engraved on statues coming from Eastern India which can only belong to the period between the 8th and the 12th centuries A. D. The main features of this script have already been discussed by Bendall and Bühler and the latter scholar has drawn attention to the characteristic points of this script which indicate its southern origin. Till we are in possession of further facts we cannot trace the gradual development of this script nor can we fix with certainty the date of its introduction. If the identification of this script with the *Bhaikshukī lipi* of Albīrūnī is correct then this script must have been used in Eastern India side by side with the Eastern Nāgarī which is the usual script found in the inscriptions of that period.

It may not be out of place here to point out a parallel instance that we find in the Śāradā script. Though a descendant of the Western Gupta alphabet it is found employed in Kashmīr and in the north-eastern Punjab only from the 9th century A. D.[2] In this case too we perceive that from the end of the 13th century to the 15th century Śāradā and Nāgarī were used simultaneously at least in the Kāngra[3] District. This fact, however, does not preclude the possibility that both the arrow-head and Śāradā scripts might have been used as literary scripts from an earlier period though they came to be employed as epigraphical scripts only at a later period.

I have already pointed out that the script of this inscription is very similar to that of the Gayā inscription referred to above and Bendall's general remarks on the palæography of the latter will be applicable to the present inscription also. Here I shall notice only the points of difference found in the letters of these two inscriptions or those points which have not been dealt with by Bendall before. Thus *k* in the Gayā inscription is, as in the Kushāṇa and Gupta scripts, written with a curve at the lower end but in the present inscription this curve is differently shaped and the stroke to the right is not noticeable. *Ch* and *j* are more angular in this inscription than in the Nepalese manuscript while *ñ*, *r* and *n* have all curves at the lower end. *N* in the present inscription is more akin to the form found in the manuscript than to that in the Gayā inscription. *N* is as in the manuscript with no loop to the left. *P* has two forms: where it is joined with the vowel *ā* it is open to the right and is distinguishable from *d* only by a small cross stroke across the end of the hook to the right; in other cases it has a wedge to the left. *B* is similar to *p* in shape the only difference being that it is closed at the top. The loop in *m* is much bigger here than in the Gayā inscription. *L* is of the same type as we find in the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta and also in the Pāhārpur copper plate inscription.[4] In conjunction with the vowel sign *ē* the consonants have usually a wedge to the right (cf. *dē*° in l. 3).

The inscription is written in correct **Sanskrit** and bears no date. It opens with an assertion of the impermanent nature of an individual being. Such an averment is quite in keeping

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVII, p. 110. According to the author of *Pag Sam Jon Zang* Otantapurī was the name of a great shrine situated in the neighbourhood of Nālandā. According to him *Otanta* means 'the soaring on high' (Skt. *uḍḍayana?*). This name was given to this shrine because of its loftiness—See *Pag Sam Jon Zang*, ed. S. C. Das, Index, p. olii.

[2] See Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Part-i (*A. S. I. New Imperial Series*, Vol. XXXVI), p. 44.

[3] Above, Vol. XX, pp. 61 ff and Plate.

A Buddhist Inscription from Kara.



N. P. Chakravarti.

Rss. No. 3320 E'34.

SCALE: FULL SIZE.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

with the Buddhist doctrine acording to which the realization of the impermanent nature of all things leads to the attainment of right knowledge. After this short introductory sentence, the inscription registers the gift of the queen[1] **Chandalladēvī** who was a lay worshipper and the wife of the *Rāṇaka* **Mahīpāla**. No further details of the donatrix or her husband are given in the inscription. We cannot trace this Mahīpāla in any other inscription known to us but the title *Rāṇaka* shows that he was at the most a feudatory of some paramount ruler. This title is found so far as the inscriptions of Bengal, Bihār and Orissa are concerned only from the 9th century onwards.[2] Till further evidence is forthcoming we cannot say definitely who was the overlord of this *Rāṇaka* Mahīpāla.

TEXT.

1 N[ā]ma-[rū]pam=anityaṁ | Rāṇaka-śrī-

2 **Mahīpāla**-ba(va)dhū-paramōpāsi-

3 ka-rājñī-śrī-[**Cha**]**ndalladēvyā** dē-

4 ya-dharmō=yaṁ||

TRANSLATION.

The individual being (lit. name and form) is impermanent. This is the religious gift of the queen (*Rājñī*) **Chandalladēvī**, a devout female lay worshipper and the wife of the *Rāṇaka*, the illustrious **Mahīpāla**.

No. 10.—TINNEVELLY INSCRIPTION OF MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA I.

BY

K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer, B.A., Coimbatore.

The subjoined inscription of **Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya** I is engraved on the outside of the west wall of the second *prākāra* of the Nelliyappar temple at **Tinnevelly**. It was copied in 1894 by the Madras Epigraphical Department[3] and the text of it is given in Tamil in the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Volume V[4]. So far, no inscription of this king has been edited critically in the pages of this Journal or the *South-Indian Inscriptions*. For the highly interesting information which the record contains, both in its historical introduction and in its grant portion, it is taken up here for publication.

The inscription consists of 28 lines of writing. It is in **Tamil** prose and verse. Though the **alphabet** employed is Tamil, Grantha letters are used in writing Sanskrit words such as *svasti śrī* (l. 1), *āśrayaliṅga* (l. 21), Rājarāja-chchaturvvēdimaṅgalam (ll. 22, 24), *viśēsha-pūjai* (l. 24), etc. The introductory portion alone runs from line 1 to line 20 and is composed in Tamil verse of *Agaval* metre. It contains more than 125 metrical lines. The name of the **poet** that composed it is not given as is the case with all Tamil inscriptions; but there is no doubt that it is a creditable piece of work. The rest of the inscription is in prose.

[1] The inscription uses the term *Rājñī* which has evidently been used as the feminine form of *Rāṇaka*.

[2] *Cf.* the inscriptions of the Pālas of Bengal and Magadha and those of the Sēna, Varman and Chandra kings of Bengal. The Bhañja kings Śatrubhañja and Raṇabhañja bore the title of *Rāṇaka* (*Bhandarkar's List*, Nos. 1490, 1492-95). This title is also found in the Ganjām and Bānpur Plates of Dandimahādēvī. The Rajput title *Rāṇā* evidently originated from *Rāṇaka*.

[3] No. 140 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1894.

[4] No. 431 on pages 155-157.

There are several mistakes of commission and omission in this record, especially in the verse portion of it. While some of them are due to the negligence and ignorance of the engraver, others must be attributed to the scribe that committed the record to writing and passed it for being incised on stone. Though the mistakes are too many to be catalogued here, attention may be drawn to a few. Under mistakes of spelling may be noted *malar-ṯtāmarai* (l. 4) where *ṯ* takes the place of *t*, *Puliyūṟ-tiru* (l. 7) where *ṟ* has to be replaced by *rt* and *malaṟ-chchēvaḍi* (l. 8) and *tīṟkum* (l. 11) where *ṟ* has to be corrected into *r* and *rk* respectively. *Śūram* and *purusai* in line 6, *tiri*, *tiliya* in line 10 and *muṭkaṭ-* (l. 12), *ōna* (l. 11), *polavar* (l. 17), *y-aruvayar* (l. 19) are mistakes for *ṭuram*, *puriśai*, *tiraı*, *tiriya*, *mukkaṭ*, *ōda*, *pulavar* and *y-arivaiyar*. Under omission of letters and words, the following may be cited :—*yu* is omitted after *kāvi* (l. 5), *v* is omitted in the middle of *de* of *kkuṟṟadeṅgaḷ* (l. 11), *māḍamum* is omitted before *māḷigai* (l. 5) and *ṉu* is omitted after *ma* in *iyamakku* (l. 13). For wrong insertion of letters see *mudaliya(r)* (l. 3), *dāṇō(u)dagam* (l. 10), *kaḷi(kki)ṟṟil* (l. 12) and *kum(sa)ba* (l. 17). Errors in grammatical forms are found in *vēndargaḷaikkuṟṟa* (l. 11) which must be *vēndargaḷukk-uṟṟav-*, *mārvēḷaikku* for *mār-vēḷukku* (l. 10) and *vaḍa-Koṅgaṇṇai* (l. 11) which must be *vaḍa-Koṅgaṇ*.

In the purely eulogistic account which runs from line 1 to line 4, the panegyrist states that when this king was crowned, the bow and the tiger, which are the crests of the **Chēra** and **Chōḷa** kings,[1] disappeared ; and the fish, which is the crest of the **Pāṇḍya**,[2] sported on the golden mountain, *i.e.*, Mēru ; the Tamiḻ and Vēdic literature prospered ; and all kings paid their tributes. Reference is made to the garland of Indra worn by the Pāṇḍya. From line 4 commences the historical portion. On being crowned, the king is said to have sent a large army against the Chōḷa country, to have set on fire **Taṉjai** (*i.e.*, Tanjore) and **Uṟandai** (*i.e.*, Uṟaiyūr), the principal cities of the Chōḷas, to have destroyed many tanks, rivers and water sources, halls, fortifications, towers, theatres, mansions, palaces and pavilions, to have ploughed the enemy's country with asses, to have driven the Chōḷa king into the forest and to have taken away his crown. The victorious **Pāṇḍya** king is then said to have gone to **Āyirattaḷi**[3] where he performed the anointment of heroes ; to have entered the sacred city of **Puliyūr**,[4] *i.e.*, Chidambaram, and paid obeisance to Śiva dancing with his consort in the golden hall[5] of the temple ; and to have finally reached **Poṉṉamarāvati**. While staying in the last-mentioned place, the Pāṇḍya king sent word to the Chōḷa promising to give back **Śōṇāḍu** and the crown which he had lost. On hearing it, the Chōḷa returned with his wife, and presenting his legitimate son first, himself remaining behind, prostrated under the victorious lion-throne of the conqueror and begged. After removing the heat of **Vaḷavaṉ** (*i.e.*, Chōḷa) caused by his flight and loss of territory with a libation of water, the Pāṇḍya gave back to the Chōḷa king's legitimate son the crown and the expansive country (of Śōṇāḍu). In support of this gift, he is also reported to have given a royal writ impressed with the fish seal, the title *Chōḷapati* and his ancient city.

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[1] On this account the Chēra is called *Villavaṉ* and the Chōḷa *Puliyuyarttōṉ*.

[2] *Mīṉavaṉ* is one of the names of the Pāṇḍya.

[3] At the end of the introduction, this place is called by its other name Muḍikoṇḍaśōḷapuram.

[4] Vyāghrapurī is the name given to it in Sanskrit. The hymns of the Dēvāram refer to it by the names Tillai and Puliyūr and speak highly of the dance of Śiva in this place. One of the verses of Sundaramūrtti-Nāyaṉār describes the place thus : *Maṇṇ-ulagaṉ-kāval pūṇḍav-urimaiyāṉ=Pallavarkku=ṭṭirai koḍā maṇṇavarai marukkaṉ-cheyyum perumaiyāṉ=Puliyūr=chchiṟṟambalatt=emberumāṉaippeṟṟām=aṉṟē*‖—

[5] While the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant states that the Chōḷa king Parāntaka I covered the *ḍabhra-sabhā* with gold, the Leiden plates say that he covered the temple at Vyāghrāgrahāra (*i.e.*, Puliyūr) with gold. One of the stone inscriptions of Tirugōkarṇam in the Pudukkottai State, dated in the 12th year of Rājakēsarivarman Kulōttuṅga (I), informs us that that king covered the large hall at Chidambaram with gold (No. 411 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1904).

In the abstract of the historical introduction given above, one point that is particularly worthy of note is that when the Chōḷa king begged in the manner aforesaid, *viz.*, by presenting his son first, the libation of water was made to himself, while the crown and kingdom were bestowed on his legitimate son.

Now comes the question of the identification of the Chōḷa king and his legitimate son, that are referred to as having been the recipients of the ignominious honour. There is some difficulty with regard to this. As both Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I and Rājarāja III count their regnal years from A.D. 1216, it would be natural to say that the invasion undertaken by the former was against the latter, and that the latter and his son were the ill-fated persons referred to. That this answer, though natural, is superficial and incorrect, and does not take into consideration all the factors that really count in the matter, will be evident from the sequel. In the first place, it is necessary to know when the Pāṇḍya king effected his conquest of the Chōḷa territory and took the Chōḷa king's crown and country, and when again he restored them. This last point could be answered by observing the order of mention of the events in the introduction or better still by noting the earliest year in which these events are found registered in the king's inscriptions. The narration of the events in the introduction shows clearly that the invasion of the Chōḷa country was undertaken immediately after the Pāṇḍya king's coronation. It appears also that the restoration of the captured country was not delayed long, for we are informed that after taking the country the Pāṇḍya king went to Āyirattaḷi and had his anointment performed there, went to Puliyūr and paid obeisance to the god Naṭarāja, probably as a thanks-offering, and proceeded to Poṉṉamarāvati where he, inviting the Chōḷa king, presented to him—or rather his son—the crown and kingdom. The numerous stone inscriptions of the king range in date from the 2nd[1] to the 24th[2] year. In the earliest of these, *viz.*, the one dated in the 2nd year, '*Śōṇāḍu koṇḍa*' (who took the Chōḷa country) occurs. As such, the country must have been taken in A.D. 1216-17. Since this event, which happened soon after Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I assumed regal powers, '*Śōṇāḍu koṇḍa*' became the short title and distinguishing mark of the king. And it is particularly worthy of note that even the inscriptions which commence with the introduction *Pūmaruṟiya* and register all his achievements, when they come to mention the name of the king, mention him with this short title. It thus appears that '*Śōṇāḍu koṇḍa*' had become almost a part of his name, that being the first great achievement. As the presentation of the Chōḷa country is specifically stated to have been made to Kulōttuṅga III in two stone inscriptions[3] and as his latest inscriptions show that he reigned for 40 years[4], *i.e.*, until A. D. 1217, it is clear that the country was given back soon after it was taken in 1216-17. There is no doubt that the Chōḷa opponent of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I was Kulōttuṅga III and not Rājarāja III, for even though the latter's regnal years are counted from A.D. 1216, his actual rule commenced two years later. Here it may be noted that in the case of most South Indian kings—especially the Chōḷas—we know that the regnal years are counted not from the actual date of accession to power but from a prior date which we may take to be the year of their nomination. In some cases, these two dates are very near each other, while in others they are abnormally distant. The specific mention of the fact noted above, *viz.*, that the Chōḷa country was given back to Kulōttuṅga III precludes our carrying the event to a later date than A.D. 1216-17 up to which only Kulōttuṅga III's inscriptions are found and nothing can be argued

[1] No. 549 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1926.
[2] No. 394 of the same collection for 1917.
[3] No. 72 of the same collection for 1924 and No. 9 of 1926.
[4] No. 282 of the same collection for 1909.

from the omission of the epithet '*Śōṇāḍu vaḷaṅgi*' (who presented the Chōḷa country) in the records of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I dated prior to the 6th year.[1] Generally, the capturing of a country may be said to have been accompanied by the giving it back to the defeated king on his owning the overlordship of the conqueror and perhaps also on his agreeing to pay a stipulated tribute. Now can it not be said that Rājarāja III was the legitimate son of the Chōḷa king that had the strange honour of being invested with a crown by the enemy Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I under very humiliating conditions ? One of the points in favour of this view is that Rājarāja III counted his regnal year from A.D. 1216 when the capture of the Chōḷa country and its restoration by the Pāṇḍya seem to have been effected. Another may be found in the statement of reasons for the second war against the Chōḷa which certainly took place in the reign of Rājarāja III. The very words of the inscription are "*muṉṉam namakku muḍi vaḷaṅguñ=chēvaḍi-kkīḻ iṉṉam valipaḍuvōm eṉṉādu ēval edir śellād=iṟai maṟutta Śeṉṉi viḍu tūśi*," etc. "The Cbōḷa (meaning Rājarāja III) who did not mind remaining submissive under the feet of him who formerly gave him his crown, refused to obey his commands, denied him tribute and sent a large army with a vanguard (against the Pāṇḍya)." This clearly suggests that it was to Rājarāja III that Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I gave the crown.

Lines 11 to 13 report that the Pāṇḍya king successively liberated from prison the North and South Koṅgu kings, and attended by these, he entered the palatial city of Madura and received their homage.[2] At Madura he heard them describe the ancient limits of their territories, and not being satisfied with the fairness of the division, he made a redistribution, made them agree to it and sent them away warning that if any of them should ever transgress the new limit, he would be made a feast for the god of Death. From the last statement it is clear that the kings of the two Koṅgus fought against each other, one encroaching on the limits of the other, and that Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I had to interfere in their politics. It is, however, not known how both the kings found themselves in prison. As regards the identification of the Koṅgu kings that are referred to, we might point out that the ruler of South Koṅgu was certainly **Vīrarājēndra,**[3] whose accession took place in A.D. 1207. Like his predecessor **Vīra-Chōḷa,** he claims to have ruled over the two Koṅgus[4] : and his latest year of reign known so far is the 45th[5] corresponding to A.D. 1253. But it is likely that he lived two years more.

The king of North Koṅgu whom Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I rescued from prison may refer to one of the Adigaimāṉ rulers of Tagaḍūr who had possession of North Koṅgu from very early times[6] or to one of Koṅgu-Chōḷa origin that might have had an independent rule over any part of that province. So far, we know none of the latter. If the reference be to the former, the king may be either **Viḍugāḍaḷagiya-Perumāḷ** who figures as a subordinate of the Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga III in his 22nd year[7] (A.D. 1200), or his immediate successor. This Viḍugāḍaḷagiya-Perumāḷ (called also Viḍugāḍaṉ, Viḍugāḍaḷagiyāṉ or Vyāmuktaśravaṇōjjvala) is

[1] Nos. 341 and 364 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1916.

[2] The conquest of the two Koṅgus is also referred to in Nos. 72 of 1924 and 9 of 1926.

[3] No. 135 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1909 from Komaraliṅgam is dated in the reign of Tribhuvanachakkravartin Kōnērinmaikoṇḍāṉ Vīrarājēndra and couples the 25th year of his reign with Śaka 1153 (=A.D. 1231).

[4] No. 106 of the same collection, dated in the 20th year, gives him the title 'who ruled the two Koṅgus together'. A number of records attribute to him the surname Rājakēsarivarman (see Nos. 121, 128 and 136 of 1909).

[5] No. 136 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1909 from Koḷumam. No. 144 of the same collection is dated in the 21st year of Parakēsarivarman Tribh. Vīra-Chōḷa 'who ruled the two Koṅgus together'.

[6] *A. R.* on Epigraphy for 1906, Part II, para. 34.

[7] Above, Vol. VI, pp. 332-3, and *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, Nos. 75 and 76.

described as the son of **Rājarāja Adhikan**[1] (Adhika, Adhikēndra, Adigaimāṉ or Adhikēśa) and a lineal descendant of the Kēraḷa king **Eḷiṇi**[2] (Yavanika). His capital was **Tagaḍai** or **Teṉ-Tagaḍai**, *i.e.*, Dharmapuri in the Salem district and his inscriptions are found at Kambavanallūr, Tirumalai, Cheṅgama, Puṅganūr, Laddigam and Agastyakoṇḍa, written in Sanskrit and Tamiḷ verses.[3] The range of his inscriptions, his descent from Eḷiṇi and his capital Tagaḍai clearly show that he was the ruler of Koṅgu (North). As a Chōḷa feudatory, he appears to have restored the Chōḷa dominion in the Gaṅga territory, being entrusted with the charge of it. He claims to have overcome the Kāḍava, the Magada and the Gaṅga.[4]

Now a word may be said about the relationship between the Koṅgu and Pāṇḍya kings. While the South Koṅgu king Vīrarājēndra lived during the time of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, by whom he was liberated from prison and was honoured out of friendship, his predecessor Vīra-Chōḷa was a contemporary of the Pāṇḍya king Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara I. This is made plain by the fact that a certain chief by name Śōḷaṉ Śilambaṉ *alias* Vīrachōḷa-Laṅkēśvaradēva, who calls himself one of the *sāmantas* of the South Koṅgu king Perumāḷ Vīra-Chōḷa, figures in a third year record of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara I corresponding to A.D. 1193, as donor of a gift to the temple of Mūlasthānamuḍaiya-Paramasvāmin at Teṉkarai near Shōlavandān, 15 miles from Madura, the capital of the Pāṇḍyas.[5] This chief continued to live in the reign of Vīrarājēndradēva and made gifts in his 20th year to the temple of Tiruvālanduṟai-Uḍaiyār at Tiruvālanduṟai.[6] The successor of Vīrarājēndra was Vikrama-Chōḷa, who ascended the throne in A.D. 1255.[7] He was the contemporary of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II and Māṟavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, and stood in the relation of *machchuṉaṉār* (brother-in-law) to both of them.[8] At his influence, these Pāṇḍya kings made provisions for the maintenance of *maṭhas* in Tinnevelly and other places in the Pāṇḍya country where ascetics lived and *tiruj̃ñāṉam* was taught.[9] In the war of the Pāṇḍya succession, which commenced in about A.D. 1167-68 preceding the reign of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara I and which was waged between Parākrama-Pāṇḍya assisted by the Singhalese generals Laṅkāpura-Daṇḍanātha and Jayadratha-Daṇḍanātha on the one side, and another Kulaśēkhara on the other side, the latter is said to have been succoured by two Koṅgu kings who are stated in the *Mahāvaṁsa* to be the two brothers of his mother.[10] Thus, it would be clear from what has been said above, that, bound by ties of near kinship, the Pāṇḍya and Koṅgu kings were helping each other and were maintaining cordial relationship for nearly a century from A.D. 1167-8.

Lines 14 to 16 describe a fresh war with the Chōḷa king, who, it is said, not only did not obey the commands of his Pāṇḍya overlord who gave him the crown, but refusing to pay the usual tribute, sent forth a large army with a vanguard against him. These were immediately put

[1] This chief figures as a subordinate of Kulōttuṅga III in the latter's 10th and 20th years of reign (No. 536 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1902 and No. 115 of 1900).

[2] Ancient Tamiḷ literature reveals the name of some kings that ruled over Koṅgu with their capital at Tagaḍūr. One of them was Eḷiṇi. It is interesting to note that he is styled a Kēraḷa.

[3] Nos. 544, 545, 547, 552 and 565 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1906 and *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1900, paras 31 and 32.

[4] No. 552 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1906.

[5] *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, p. 110, No. 296. The inscription is dated in the 21st year of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara I and has the introduction *Pūtala-maḍandai*.

[6] No. 106 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1909.

[7] No. 555 of the same for 1905 dated in the 2nd year and Śaka 1179, and No. 578, dated in the 7th year, and Śaka 1185.

[8] *A. R. on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1930, Part II, para. 12, and *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 421.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] *Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, pp. 155 and 157.

to route and many of the cavalry, elephants, chariots and infantry were cut to pieces and the field was made a feasting ground for kites and crows. After the success in this war, the Pāṇḍya king is reported to have received a *paraṇi*, a particular kind of Tamiḷ poem, composed in honour of himself celebrating all his heroic actions. This second war with the Chōḷa king was no doubt conducted against Rājarāja III, for it seems to have taken place some years after the first war and at a time when Kulōttuṅga III had ceased to rule. The introduction ends saying that the Pāṇḍya king, seated along with his queen Ulagamuḻuḍuḍaiyāḷ, was crowned in the hall at Muḍikoṇḍaśōḻapuram, at all the entrances of which he had ordered golden pillars of victory to be put up.[1]

A word may now be said about the second war of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I with the Chōḷas. The one permanent theme of the imperial Chōḷas from the time of Parāntaka I down to Rājarāja III was the subjugation of the Pāṇḍya country and they had several times defeated the Pāṇḍyas in battle. As such, Rājarāja III must have felt keenly the pitiable position of owning the overlordship of, and paying tribute to the Pāṇḍya king to which he was reduced by the daring act of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I committed at the end of the reign of Kulōttuṅga III. The inscription under publication, as we have already noticed, gives clear evidence that he wanted to free himself from this plight by refusing to pay the tribute and by sending a contingent of forces against the Pāṇḍya. Tamiḷ inscriptions do not help us much to determine exactly when it was done. But it can be fixed within narrow limits from other sources as we shall see presently. The Hoysaḷa king Narasiṁha II, who stood in the relation of father-in-law to the Chōḷa Rājarāja III, is said to have marched on the island of Śrīraṅgam[2] in about A.D. 1222 and soon after, *i.e.*, in A.D. 1224 assumed the title 'the establisher of the Chōḷa country'.[3] This and the other claim of his that he was the thunderbolt in splitting the rock that was the Pāṇḍya, shows that he was requisitioned by the Chōḷa king to help him against his enemy the Pāṇḍya king Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. Our inscription states that the Pāṇḍya king waged a deadly war with the Chōḷa and caused great damage; but the fact that the Hoysaḷa king was able to establish a new capital soon after in the Tamiḷ country on the borders of the Chōḷa and Pāṇḍya territories, *i.e.*, at Kaṇṇaṇūr *alias* Vikramapura, 5 miles from Śrīraṅgam, shows that the allied forces of Narasiṁha II and Rājarāja III gained their object. Thus the second encounter of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I with the Chōḷas, which was more in the nature of repulsing an attack made by the latter, might be placed in the period A.D. 1222 to 1224. The earliest inscription that refers to Kaṇṇaṇūr is dated in Sarvadhārin (=A.D. 1228) and it states that Vīra-Sōmēśvara was ruling at the place[4]. But as Narasiṁha's reign lasted till A.D. 1233, Kaṇṇaṇūr should have been made a Hoysaḷa capital during his time and Vīra-Sōmēśvara stationed there to guard the Chōḷa king from being molested. In fact we are given to understand that it was Vīra-Sōmēśvara that built the new capital in the country which he had conquered by the power of his arm,[5] showing thereby that he took an active part in the war undertaken by his father. Here we may fitly consider one other claim of Narasiṁha and of his enemy Peruñjiṅga. While the former calls himself 'a very Janārdana in destroying the demon

[1] It must be noted that this portion is found in earlier records immediately after describing the first war with the Chōḷa, where its proper place is, and being almost in the form of introducing the king is bodily removed at the end of all introductions, earlier or later.

[2] Above, Vol. VII, p. 162.

[3] *Ibid.*, and *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 507.

[4] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 507.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 508.

Kaiṭabha in the form of the Kaḍava king'[1], the latter is styled *Karṇāṭa-bhūpa-māna-marddana* and *Pāṇḍya-maṇḍala-sthāpana-sūtradhāra.*[2] These claims are sufficient to establish the fact that the Pāṇḍya king Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya was allied with the Pallava Peruñjiṅga even before the latter actually assumed regal powers.

The grant portion of the inscription gives us to understand that in the **20th year** and **374th day** of the king's reign, when he was pleased to remain on the reclining seat of Maḷavarāyaṉ in the hall of the bed-chamber of the palace (or temple) at **Tirunelvēli** in **Kīḻ-Vēmba-nāḍu**, both the *dēvakaṉmis* of the temple of **Tirunelvēli-Uḍaiyār** and **Śaṅkaraṉ Aḷagiyaperumāḷ** *alias* **Maḷavarāyaṉ of Kāḷaḍi**, the Premier, made a request that certain lands of **Kayattāṉkuṟuchchi**, which formed part of the *jīvita* not only of the latter but also of his great grandfather **Maḷavarāyaṉ**, who like him held the office of the Premier, should be made tax-free and given to the temple to meet the expenses of offerings and worship to the image of **Śokkaṇār** which the Premier had caused to be set up in the temple : and the king complied with their request. It is worthy of note that the chief office of Premier of the country was held by Maḷavarāyaṉ and his great grandfather. In fact, some of the offices in early times were hereditary and persons appear to have been given the necessary training and education to hold them.

The **geographical names** that occur in the inscription are **Taṉjai**, *i.e.*, Tanjore, **Uṟandai**, *i.e.*, Uṟaiyūr,[3] **Āyirattaḷi**, which was also called Muḍikoṇḍaśōḻapuram and of which Paḷaiyāṟu formed part,[4] **Puliyūr**, *i.e.*, Chidambaram, **Poṉṉamarāvati**[5] in the Pudukkottai State, **Madurai**, *i.e.*, Madura, **Kāḷaḍi**[6] which is situated in the Travancore State, **Tirunelvēli**, *i.e.*, Tinnevelly, **Kayattāṉkuṟuchchi**, also in the Tinnevelly district, **Veṭchiyūr** *alias* **Mummaḍiśōḻanallūr** and **Śakkarapāṇinallūr** among villages ; and **Miḻalai-kūṟṟam**, **Tirumalli-nāḍu**, **Kīḻ-Vēmba-nāḍu** and **Śevvirukkai-nāḍu** among divisions.

TEXT.

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pū-maruviya Tiru-maḍandaiyum Puvi-maḍandaiyum puyatt=iṟuppa ṉā-maruviya Kalai-maḍandaiyum Jaya-maḍandaiyum naḷañ-chiṟappa kōḷ-ā[r*]nda [śiṇa]-ppu[li]yuṅ=koḍu[ñ]-chilaiyuṅ=kulaiṅd=o[ḷippa] vāḷ-ā[r*]nda poṟ-[ki]rimēl vari-kkayalgaḷ viḷaiyāḍa iruṅ-kaḍal-va-

2 [lai]yatt=iṇid=aṟam peruga=kkaruṅ-Kali kaḍindu śeṅ-kōl naḍappa oru-kuḍai-niḻall[7]=iru-nilaṅ=kuḷira mū-vagai-tTamiḻu=muṟaimai[yi]l viḷaṅga nāl-vagai-Vēdamu[m*] naviṉṟ=uḍaṉ vaḷara aiy-vagai-vēḷviyuñ=chey-viṇaiy=iyaṟṟa aṟu-vagai-chchamaiyamum aḷaguḍan tigaḻa eḻu-

3 vagai-[ppāḍa]lum=iyaluḍaṉ parava eṇ-ḍiśaiy-aḷavuñ=chakkarañ=chella=**kKoṅgaṇar Kaliṅgar Kōśalar Māḷuvar**[8] **Śiṅgaḷar**[9] **Teliṅgar Kiṉṉara**[r*]'[10]

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 507.

[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1342-B.

[3] It is a suburb of Trichinopoly and the ancient capital of the Chōḷas.

[4] This is evident from No. 72 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1924 and from No. 9 of the same collection for 1926. The place is bereft of early inscriptions at present.

[5] The inscriptions of this place are registered as Nos. 2 to 23 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1909.

[6] This is reputed as the birth place of Śrī-Śaṁkarāchārya and is stated to be on the bank of the Pūṇā river in the Kēraḷa country (see Vidyāraṇya's *Śaṅkara-digvijaya*).

[7] Read *niḻalil* as in No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV.

[8] *Māḷavar* is the reading in No. 300 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

[9] *Śiṅgaṇar* is the form in No. 300 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

[10] *Kiṉṉarar* may be replaced by Sīṉar as in No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, and No. 300 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

Gujjaṟar Villavar Magadar Vikkalar Śembiyar Pallavar muda-
liya(r) pā[r*]ttivar ellām=uṟaiv-iḍam=aruḷ-eṉa oruvar-muṉṉ-oruvar muṟai
[1]muṟai kaḍava taṉ-tiṟai[2]

4 ku[ṇa][r*]ṇd=iṟaiñcha ilaṅg-oḷi-maṇi-muḍiy-Indiraṉ pūṭṭiya polaṉ[3]-kadir-āram
mārviṉiṟ=poliya paṉi-malar[4]-ṟtāmarai=tTiśaimugaṉ . paḍaitta Maṉu-neṟi
taḷaippa maṇi-muḍi . śūḍi=p**Poṉṉi**-śūḷ-nāṭṭu[5]=ppuliy-āṇai[6] pōy=agala **Kaṉṉi**-
śūḷ-nāṭṭiṟ=kayal-āṇai kai(y)vaḷara[7] veñ-chiṇav-ivuḷiyum

5 vēḷamum[8] paraparappi[9]=t**Tañjaiyum=Uṟandai[yu]ḍ**=chen-taḷal koḷutti kāvi[10]-nīlamum
niṉṟu kaviṉ=iḷaṟṟa[11] āviyum=āṟum=aṇi-nīr-nalaṉ[12]=aḷittu kūḍamu=mā-madiḷuṅ=
gōpuramum=āḍ-araṅgum [13] māḷigaiyum maṇḍapamum pala iḍittu toḷudu=
vand-aḍaiyār nirupar-tan=tōgaiyar=aḷuda kaṇṇīr=āṟu parappi=kkaḷu-

6 dai-koṇḍ=u[ḷu]du kavaḍi vichchi[14]=ch**Chembiyaṉai**=chchiṇam viriya[15]=pporudu
śūram[16] pugav=ōṭṭi paim-poṉ-maṇi-muḍi paṟittu=pPāṇaṉukku=kkuḍutt-aruḷi
pāḍ-aruñ-chiṟappiṟ=parudi-vāṉ=ṟōyum[17]=āḍaga-ppuruśaiy[18]=**Āyirattaḷiyil** [19]śērā-
Vaḷa[vaṉ] abhishēka-maṇḍapattu vīrâ(a)bhishēkam paṇṇi[20] puga[ḷ] virittu
ṇāḷum

7 para-rāśar nāma-ttalai piḍuṅgi mīḷun=ta[ṟu]kaṉ-mada-sāṇai[21] mēl-koṇḍu nīr-
āḷi-vaiyya=muḷudu[m] podu[v-i]ḻitta[22] kūr-āḷi[yu]ñ=cheyya-tōḷumēy[23] koṇḍu-
pōy ayyappaḍāda[24] [a]ru-maṟai-tēr=andaṇar vāḻ deyva-p**Puliyūṟ**=tiruv-
ellaiyu[ṭ]=pukku[25] =ppoṉṉ-am[ba]lam poliya āḍuvār pūvaiyuḍaṉ ma-

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[1] The letter *mu* is written below the line.

[2] The letter *ṟ* is entered at the beginning of l. 4.

[3] No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, has *puraṉ* in place of *polaṉ*.

[4] Read *malar-ttā*°.

[5] *Nāṭṭiṟ=puli* is the reading in No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV.

[6] *Āṇai* is the Tamiḻ form of *āṇā* through its Prakrit equivalent. No. 300 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V has *yāṇai*, which is evidently a mistake of the engraver.

[7] *Kayal viḷaiyāḍa* is the reading in No. 300 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV.

[8] The *ē*-sign of *vē* is entered at the end of line 4.

[9] Before *parappi* the letters *para* may be taken as having been wrongly entered or read as *pār*.

[10] After *kāvi*, the syllable *yum* has been omitted.

[11] No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, has *iḷappa*, while No. 300 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, agrees with our text.

[12] While No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, agrees with our text, No. 300 of Vol. V. has *niḷaṉ* and No. 520 of 1911 has *araṇ* meaning ' protection '.

[13] The word *māḍamum* has been omitted before *māḷigaiyum*. *Cf.* Nos. 300 and 372.

[14] *Vitti* is the reading in the Tiruppārkaḍal inscription. See also text-line 16, below.

[15] No. 372 has *chiṇam-iriya* and No. 300 *-piriya*. No. 520 gives *-eriya*.

[16] Read *śuram*.

[17] It is only *ṟāy-āḍaga* in No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV.

[18] Read *puruśai*.

[19] The reading Śōravaḷavaṉ is clearly wrong. Note that *śēra* rhymes with *vīra*, but not *śōra*.

[20] The word *paṇṇi* is replaced by *śeydu* in Nos. 300 and 372.

[21] Read *yāṇai* as in No. 372.

[22] Other readings of *iḻitta* are *aḻitta* (300) and *oḻitta* (No. 372).

[23] No. 300 has *mēl* for *mēy*.

[24] The reading *aḍaiyapaḍāda* given in No. 300 is an evident mistake.

[25] *Puguvadu* is the reading in No. 520 of 1911.

8 ṉṉun=tiru-mē[ṇi] kaṇḍu ma[ṇa]ṅ=kaḷippa[1]=kkōla-malar-mēl=A[ya]ṉuṅ= kuḷir-tuḷāy-Mālum aṟiyā malaṟ-chchēva[ḍi] vaṇaṅ[ga][2] vāṅgu-śiṟaiy-aṉṉaṉ= tuyil=oḷiya vaṇḍ=eḻuppum pūṅ-kamala-vāvi-śūḻ **Poṉṉamarāpati[yi]l**[3] ott-ulagaṉ=tāṅgum=u[ya*]r[4]-Mēruvai=kkuṉandu[5] vaitt-aṇaiya śōḍi-maṇi-maṇḍapatt= irunti[6]

9 śōlai-mali paḻa-naṟ-**Chōṇāḍun**=tāṉ=iḻanda[7] mālai muḍiyuṉ=tara[8] varugaveṉṟ= aḷ[ai]ppa [9]vāṇa-ṉilai kulaiya **Vāḻa[giri]kk**[10]=appuṟattu=ppōṇa Vaḻavaṉ ṟimaiyuḍaṉ[11] pugundu peṟṟa pudalvaṇai niṉ-pēr-eṉṟu[12] muṉ kāṭṭi= veṟṟiy-ariy-aṇai-kkīḻ viḻundu toḻud=irappa=ttāṉ=ōḍi muṉṉ=[13]iḻanda vemmaiy=

10 elāṅ[14]=kaiyy-agala dāṉ-[15]ō[u]daka[m] paṇṇi taṉ-ḍār-muḍi[yu]ḍaṉē viṭṭa[16] agal[17] iḍaṉ=taṉ mār-vēḻaikku[18]=ttiliya[19] iṭṭapaḍikk=eṉṟum idu piḍipāḍ-āgav- eṇa=ppoṅgu-ti[ri][20]-ñālattu=ppū-pālar toḻa[21] viḻaṅguṇ=cheṅ-kayal-koṇḍ=ūṇṟun= tirumugamum [22]paṇḍ=iḻanda Chōḻapatiy-ennu[m*] nāmamun=toṉ-ṉagaru=mīḻa.

11 vaḻaṅgi viḍai-kuḍuttu viṭṭ-aruḷi [1*] ōna[23]-kkaḍaṟ-pāril vēndarga[ḷai]kk-[24] uṟṟadeṅgaḷ[25] [tī]ṟkun[26]=kaḍavuḷ=ivaṉ-eṉṟ=eṉṉi=tta[ḷai]y-uṟṟ=aḍaiyā[d]ār[27] taṇḍal- iḍai[yi]ṟ=kiḻaiy-uṟṟena[28] muḻuduṅ=kēṭṭ-aruḷ eṉṟ=ētti[29] vaṇaṅgum Vaḍa- Koṅgaṉṉai [30] śiṟaiyum mīṭṭu [31] kaḻaṅ-koḷ-aru-niru[32]-ttōḷ-mālai kaḻitt=el- vaḻaṅgi-

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[1] *Kaḷittu* is found in Nos. 300 and 372.

[2] Read *vaṇaṅgi* as in the other two inscriptions.

[3] *Patiyil* is replaced by *patiyaḍaindu* in No. 520 of 1911.

[4] *Mā* takes the place of *uyar* in No. 300.

[5] *Koṇandu* (No. 300) and *kuṉarndu* (No. 372) are other forms that occur.

[6] Read *irundu* as in the other two inscriptions.

[7] *Iḻandu* is the reading in No. 520 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1911.

[8] *Taruga varuga* is the reading in the above.

[9] *Māna* is another reading (No. 520 of 1911).

[10] *Vāṇagirikk*= is the reading in No. 372 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, but it is Vāḻagiri in No. 300 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

[11] Nos. 372 and 300 have *oḍum* in place of *uḍaṉ*. No. 520 of 1911 adds *tāṉ* to *oḍum*.

[12] *Eṇa* is the reading in No. 520 of 1911.

[13] The insertion of *ga* after *ṉ-i* in No. 372 is not supported by the reading of the other two inscriptions, *viz.*, Nos. 300 and 431.

[14] Of *ye* the *e* sign is at the end of line 9 and *y* at the beginning of the next line.

[15] Delete *u*.

[16] *Viṭṭa* may be taken as the hardened form of *viṇḍa* adopted for metrical purposes.

[17] No. 372 has *pugal-*.

[18] Read *vēḻukka*; No. 520 also reads *vēḻaikku*. Other inscriptions read *mārvaṇaikku* which must be corrected into *māvaṉukku*.

[19] Read *ttiriya*.

[20] Read *tirai*.

[21] Read *tōḻ* as in Nos. 372 and 300.

[22] The letters *pa* and *ḍi* are entered below the line.

[23] Read *ōda* as in No. 520 of 1911.

[24] Read *vēndargaḷukk-*.

[25] The reading *kkuṟṟaṅgaḷ* obtained by deleting *de* in the *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, is clearly wrong. The engraver has omitted *v* between the *e* sign and *d* of *de*. This supplied, the reading would be *uṟṟav-ēdaṅgaḷ*. It is to be noted that *ēda* rhymes with *ōda*.

[26] Read *tirkkuṅ-*.

[27] No. 520 of 1911 has *aḍaiyār* for *aḍaiyādār*.

[28] Read *uṟṟaṇa*.

[29] In place of *eṉṟ-ētti* No. 520 has *eṇa-kkai*.

[30] Read *Koṅgaṉ* as in No. 520 of 1911 instead of *koṅga(ṉ)ṉai* of the *S. I. I.*, Vol. V. The text may also be read *Koṅgaṇavaṉ*.

[31] There seem to be mistakes in the passage immediately following *mīṭṭu*.

[32] Read *tiru-*.

12 y-aruḷiya piṇ[ṇ*]=oru-nāḷ maṟṟ-āra-muḷaṅgu muraśa=kkaḍaṟ-ṟāṇai-[muṇ] pugundu Teṇ-Koṅga[ṇ*] vaṇḍ=iṭṭa deṇḍaṇukku miṇ-poṅga-chchāṇdiya[1] ābaraṇan=takkad-e[ṇa] vaḷaṅgi ā[ṟā]da[2] peru-naṇbiṇ[3]=avaṇ śiṟaiyu=mīṭṭu Tirumāl[4] yiru[5]-maruṅgu Śandira-Śūriya[r*] śēvikka śeṅ-kaṭ-karu[mā]l-kaḷi[kki]ṟṟil[6] varu-Muṭkaṭ[7]-kaḍavuḷ-eṇa māḍa-Maduraiyiṟ-

13 tāṇ pōndu [pu]vaṇi[yi]lē [8]kūḍa-iru-Koṅgarai[yuṅ=ku]mbiḍu-koṇḍa[varkku] tollaippuvi[kku]m=iṇaṅgāmaṟ=tāñ[9]=choṇṇa ellaikku=ṇiṟpa iśaindiṭṭu peṟpa[10]-kkoṇḍ-ivaṇṟu[11] śeyyād=oḷiyil iyamakku[12] veṟu[13]-vēl-virund=ākkudu[m=u]maiy-eṇa viṭṭ-aruḷi muṇṇa[m*] namakku muḍi-vaḷaṅgu[ñ*]=[chē]vaḍi-kkīḻ iṇṇa-

14 m vaḷipaḍuvōm=eṇṇādu piṇ[ṇ=o]ru-nāḷ kāva[la]nadu **Puṇa[l*]-nāḍ**-e[ṇ*]ṇuṅ=kaḷiyāl=ēval=edir-śellād[14]=iṟai maṟutta Śeṇṇi viḍu tūśiyum pēr-aṇiyum [okka-chchu]ruṇḍ=oduṅgi vāśiyum vāraṇamum tērum=aḍaṟ-karu[va]-kkālāṇum[15] veṭṭ-uṇṇa=kkaṇ[ṇ-i*]raṇḍu-mayaṅ[ga-k]kaiy-[k*]koṇḍu[16] vēlā-valaiyattu vīḻnd=avaṇ pōy mey

15 naḍuṅga a[m]b-arundum=ā[r*]tta-kaḍal-maṇḍalikar[17]-uḍal vem-parund[18]-uṇ[ṇa] akkaḷattil āṇaiyiṇ veṇ-maruppuṅ=kaiyyuṅ=ku(ṇ)ṟaitt=eṅgaḷ Mīṇavaṟku pāl-kuḍam-ām=eṇṟu tāṇ vīrar-kōṇ[19] [m]āga-mugaḍu taḍavi maḷai maḍukkum kāga-neḍum-pandaṟ- . . . . . d-āḍalum kūgaiyum pāḍaluṅ=kaṇḍum kēṭṭuṅ-kaḷitta ōḍal-karuṅ-kūṉ-

16 'dal veḻḻ-eyiṟil śevvāy periya śūlakkavalli[20] pali koḻga eṇa vāḻtti veṇṟu[21] vagaiyil migaiy=oḻiya vēndalaṟ=kkoṇṟu[22] śiṇan=taṇiyā=kkoṟṟava[23]=neḍu-vāḷ uyaṟku śeṅ-kurudi-nīr=īṭt=oḷi-śeydu tegu-pulattu veṇkavaḍi[24] vitta vīra-muḻud=eḍuttu=ppāḍum paraṇi taṇ pār-vēndar kēṭpikka āḍun=tirumañ-

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[1] Read *chāttiya*.

[2] *Yārtta* is the reading in No. 520 of 1911.

[3] *Naṭpill-* is the reading in the above.

[4] The metrical line commencing with *Tirumāl* occurs as under in No. 520 of 1911. "*Tirumālu-Nāṉmuganuṅ=chēvikka=chchen-kaṭ.*"

[5] Read *iru-*. [6] Read *kaḷiṟṟil*. [7] Read *Mukkaṭ-*.

[8] This has been read as *kūṭṭuk* by mistake in *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 431.

[9] Read *ṟān=*

[10] There seems to be an engraver's mistake here which is not apparent. Perhaps *m=ērpa-kkoṇḍ-* or *mēṟkoṇḍ-* is intended.

[11] Read *ivvāṟu*. [12] Read *Iyamaṇukku*. [13] Read *vev-vēl*.

[14] Another variant is *koḻḻād* (No. 520 of 1911). [15] Read *kūl-āḻum*.

[16] Instead of *kaṇṇ-iraṇḍu . . . . kkaiy-kkoṇḍu*, No. 520 of 1911 has *kaṇḍu bayaṅ-koṇḍu* which is metrically a better reading.

[17] *ṇ-kuḍal* is a variant (No. 520 of 1911).

[18] The metrical line *vem-parund-*, etc., *-kuḷattil* is better expressed in No. 520 of 1911 which gives the reading *vem-parundum pēyum virund-uṇṇa akkuḷattu-*. It is clear from this that there is an omission of *m-pēyum virund-* in our text.

[19] No. 520 of 1911 gives the variant *tam vīran-tō]* for *tāṇ vīrar-kōṇ*.

[20] *Śūlakkavalli* is replaced by *śūlattai vēl* in No. 520 of 1911.

[21] For *veṇṟu vagaiyil* No. 520 has *veṇṟum paṭaiyaṇ*.

[22] Read *koṇṟum-*.

[23] The syllable *va* is omitted in No. 520 of 1911.

[24] *Kavaḍi* is synonymous with *uṇṇā-varagu* and *veḻ-varagu* (*Puṟapporuḷ*, VI, 26).

17 jaṇa-nīrgaḷ[1] maṉ-kuḷira āṅg-avan [2]tiṇai-kkaṭṭaṇattu kaṟpu taṇakk=āṇāy ōṅg[3]-urimai-kkuḷāmm=oru-kai-tiśai[4]=koṇḍum=uri-maṇi-ppaṭṭaṅ-kaṭṭi muḍi śūṭṭi mārbil [a]ṇaittu Vaḷavaṇavaṉ=mudal-dēviy=eṉṟu pēg[5]-peṟṟa[6] vañji mudalāya pey-vaḷaiyār poṅgu-puṇaṟ-kum[sa]ba[7] mudalāya polavar[8] puga[ḷ]

18 maṅgala[ṅ*]gaḷ eṭṭum maṇi-kk[ai*]-talatt=ē[ṇ]di koḍi-koṇḍa neṟṟi niṟaitta [9]ggōpuraṅ=chūḷ **Muḍikoṇḍaśōḷapura**-maṇḍapattu puguttu[10] tiśaitoṟum śom[11]-poṟ-cheya-tta[mbam] nāṭṭi vāgai-kkadir-vēl vaḍa-vēndar tam pāda[m]-m=ēga=ttaḷaiy-aṇiya[12] vīra-kkaḷal=aṇindu viḷaṅgiya maṇiy-aṇi[13]=vīrasiṁhāsaṇattu

19 vaḷaṅ-keḷu-kavariy=iru-maruṅg=aśaippa kaḍal-eṇṇa muḷaṅguṅ=kaḷi-nall-iyāṇai vaḍapula-vēndar[14] maṇi-ppuyam piriyā ilaṅgu-kuḷaiy-aru[va]yar[15] toḷudu niṉṟ=ēttum[16] **Ulagumuḻuduḍaiyāroḍum** vīṟṟ-irund=aruḷiya śrī-**kō-Māṟapaṇ[ma*]r**-āṇa Tribhuvanachchakravarttigaḷ **śrī-Śōṇāḍu** koṇḍu **Muḍikoṇ**-

20 **ḍaśōḷapurattu** vīrar-abhishēkam paṇṇi aruḷiya **śrī-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṟku yāṇḍu 20-vadu nāḷ 374-ṇāl Kiḻ-Vēmba-nāṭṭu=tTirunelvēli**=kkōyiṟ-paḻḻiyaṟai-[k*]kūḍattu=ppaḻḻippīṭa[m*] Maḷavarāyaṇil eḻundaruḷiy=i[ru]ṇḍu Uḍaiyār-**Tirunelvēli-uḍaiyar**=kō[yi]ṟ=pati-pā[da]mūla=p-

21 [pa]ṭṭ-uḍ[ai]=ppa[ñ]ch-ā[chā]riya-dēvarkaṇmigaḷ śey[ya]-ttiruvāy-moḻind=aruḷiṇa-paḍi [K]**ālaḍi**=ch**Chaṅkaraṇ A**[ḷ]**agiya**]**p**[**e**]**rumā**[ṇ-āṇa] **Ma**[ḷ]**varāyar** pū[ji]ttu i-kkōyilil āśrayaliṅgam-āga eḻundaruḷivitta **Śokkanār(r)kku** tiruppa[ḍimāṟ]ṟ-uḻḻiṭṭu vēṇḍum niva[n]daṅgaḷukkum i-

22 var piṟanda Śadaiyattu-nāḷ viśēsha-pūjai śeyya amudupaḍi śāttuppaḍiy-uḻḻiṭṭu vēṇḍuvaṇavukkum **Muḻḻi-nāṭṭu Irājarāja-chchaturvvē[di]maṅgalattu** piḍāgai **Kayattāṇkuṟuchchiyil** kā[r*]-paśāṇam viḷaiyu[m*] nilattu maṇḍala-mudaṇmai[k]ku ivar pitākkaḷ appāṭ[ṭ*]ar Maḷava[r]-

23 āyaṟku jīvitamāy [pi]ṇbu ivaṟku maṇḍala-mudaṇmaikku jīvitamāy varugiṟa nilattu talai-varuśai[17] nilattilē i[v]v-ūr kaḍamaiy=iṟukkuṅ=kōlāl oṇṟ-aṟai[18]-vē[li] nilam irubad-āvadin edirām-āṇḍu-mudal antar[ā]yamum uḷudāṉ-kuḍiyum uṭpaḍa=ddēvadāṇa iṟaiy-iliyāy iruppadāga i-

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[1] *Nīril maṇaṅ-* is the reading in No. 520 of 1911.

[2] There must be a better reading for the passage that follows *tiṇai*.

[3] Read *ōṅgum-*.

[4] No. 520 of 1911 has *odukka-kkai-* for *oru-kai-tiśai*.

[5] Read *pēr-*

[6] *Kuḍutta* is a variant.

[7] Read *kumba*.

[8] Read *pulavar*.

[9] Delete the first *g* and read *gōpuraṅ=*.

[10] Read *pugundu*.

[11] Read *śem*.

[12] Read *aṇaiya* as in No. 520.

[13] *Maṇiy-aṇi* is replaced by *kadir-maṇi* in No. 520 of 1911.

[14] The letters *tam* are inserted in No. 520.

[15] Read *arivaiyar*.

[16] *=ēṭṭa* is the reading in No. 520 of 1911.

[17] Read *variśai*.

[18] Read *aṟai*.

24 ḍa-ppeṟa-vēṇum-eṉṟu ivar namakku-chchoṉṉamaiyil i-ddēvaṟku-tiru-ppaḍimāṟṟu-uḷḷiṭṭu vēṇḍun-nivandaṅgaḷukkum ivar piṟa[n*]da Śad[ai*]yattu-nāḷ viśēsha-pūjai śeyya amudupaḍi śāttu[p]paḍi uḷḷiṭṭu vēṇḍuvaṇavukku[m] Muḷḷi-nāṭṭu Rājarāja-chchaturvvēdimaṅgalattu piḍā-

25 gai Kayattāṉ[ku]ṟuchchiyil kār-paśāṇam viḷaiyum nilattu maṇ[ḍa]la-mudaṇ-maikku ivar pitākka[l] appāṭṭa[r] **Maḷavarāyaṟku** jīvitamāy piṇbu ivaṟku maṇḍala-mudaṇmaikku jī[vi]tamāy varugiṟa nilattu talai-varuśai[1] nilatti[lē] ivv-ūr kaḍamaiy=iṟukkuṅ=kōlāl oṉṟ-arai-vēli nilam iv-

26 v-āṇḍu-mudal antarāyamum uḷudāṉ-kuḍiyum uṭpaḍa dēvadāṇay=iṟaiy-iliyā[y]y-iṟuppadāga iṭṭu variyilār eḷutt-iṭṭa uḷ-variyum nam ōlaiyum tara-[ch]choṉṉōm kai-kkoṇḍu tiruppaḍimāṟṟu-u[l*]]liṭṭa nivandaṅga] śella=ppaṇṇu-gav=eṉṟum ip[paḍi] Śandir-Ādittavaṟ=chelvad-ā

27 ga kalliluṅ=chembilum veṭṭivittu=kkoḷgav-eṉṟu tiruvāymoḷind-aruḷiṇapaḍikku ivai Tirumalli-nāṭṭu=tTaḍaṅgaṇṇichchiṟṟūr-uḍaiyāṉ **Śōṟaṉ** Uyyaniṉ-ṟāḍuvāṉ-āṇa Kurukulattaraśaṉ eḷuttu — ivai Miḷalai-kkūṟṟattu Kīḻ-kūṟṟu Veṭchiyūr-āṇa Mummuḍiśō-

28 ḻanallūr Vēḍanūruḍaiyāṉ Araiyaṉ Śīvallavaṉ-āṇa M[ādavarājaṉ] eḻu[t]tu ‖ Ivai Śevvirukkai-nāṭṭu=chChakkarapāṇinallūr Arai[yaṉṉ[2]] Viradamuḍichchāṉ-āṇa Pallavarājaṉ eḻuttu ‖‖[3]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1—4.)—Hail! Prosperity! The goddess of Wealth abiding on the lotus flower and the goddess of the Earth, residing in his arm; the goddess of the Arts abiding on the tongue and the goddess of Victory, growing in their excellence; the angry tiger filled with strength and the fierce bow, hiding themselves, being shattered; the scaly fish sporting on the shining golden mountain (*i.e.*, Mēru); Virtue increasing abundantly on the earth surrounded by the expansive ocean; the righteous sceptre swaying (*in all directions*) driving away the black Kali (*age*); the wide earth becoming cool under the shade of (*his*) single parasol; the three kinds of Tamiḻ[4] glowing in order; the four kinds of the Vēdas[5] being learnt (*by students*) and growing simultaneously; the five kinds of sacrifices[6] being performed in accordance with (*established*) practice; the six kinds of faiths being[7] finely expounded; the seven kinds of music[8] spreading along with *iyal*; (*his*) disc moving as far as the eight quarters; all kings such as the **Koṅkaṇa, Kaliṅga, Kōsala, Māḷuva, Śiṅgaḷa, Teliṅga, Kinnara, Gurjjara, Villava, Magada, Vikkala, Śembiya** and the **Pallava**, bringing with them the tributes due, and rushing before one another and praying for places to be assigned for their residence; the beautiful garland set with lustrous

[1] Read *varisai*.

[2] Read *Araiyaṉ*.

[3] In continuation of this is engraved an inscription of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kōnērinmaikoṇḍāṉ.

[4] These are *iyal*, *isai* and *nāḍagam*.

[5] These are the Ṛig, Yajus, Sāman and Atharvan; the upa-Vēdas are also four, *viz.*, Āyur-, Dhanur-, Artha- and Gāndharva.

[6] *Vēḷvi* means *yāga* or *yajña*. The reference is apparently to the five *yajñas*, *viz.*, Brahma, Daiva, Bhūta, Pitṛi and Mānusha.

[7] These are Bhairava, Vāma, Kāḷāmukha, Māvirada, Pāśupata and Śaiva. There are six other *Samayas*, *viz.*, Lōkāyata, Bauddha, Jaina, Mīmāṁsā, and Bhaṭṭāchārya or Māyāvāda.

[8] As *pāḍal* is here distinguished from *iyal* (prose), it must have reference to *isai* (music). As such, the seven kinds of music correspond to the seven *svaras*, *viz.*, *Nishāda*, *Ṛishabha*, *Gāndhāra*, *Shadja*, *Madhyama*, *Daivata*, and *Pañchama*. *Cf. Eḻu-vagai-pāḍal* with *Eḻ-isai* in Ēḻiśaimōgaṉ and Ēḻiśaivallabhī.

gems put on by Indra[1] shining in his breast; (*the Pāṇḍya*) was crowned to widen the path of Manu who was brought into existence by Brahmā residing on the dew-settled lotus flower.

(Ll. 4—8.)—Causing the tiger to be removed from the country surrounded by the **Poṉṉi** (*i.e.*, the Kāvērī), and the fish to spread in the country surrounding **Kaṉṉi**[2] (*i.e.*, Kanyākumārī), sending forth (*his*) angry steeds and elephants and setting on blazing fire (*the cities of*) **Tañjai**[3] and **Uṟandai**[3] (*i.e.*, Tanjore and Uṟaiyūr), and causing the *kāvi* and *nīlam*[4] to lose their bloom; destroying tanks, rivers and other water sources; breaking down several halls, ramparts, towers, theatres, palaces, and pavilions, and causing to flow rivers of tears shed by the queens of kings who were not friendly to him, and ploughing (*their lands*) with asses and sowing seeds of *kavaḍi*[4] and fighting with the **Śembiyaṉ** (*i.e.*, the Chōḷa) so as to deprive (*him*) of his anger and driving (*him*) out to enter the forest, taking (*his*) golden crown set with gems and bestowing (*it*) on the **Bāṇa**[5]; performing the anointment of heroes in the anointing hall of the unfriendly **Vaḷavaṉ**[7] (*i.e.*, Chōḷa) at **Āyirattaḷi**[8] the glory of which is hard to be extolled and whose golden walls touch the sunny sky; (*and thus*) extending (*his*) fame, (*he*) daily cut off the fearful heads of enemy kings. Mounting again on (*his*) fierce rut-elephant, (*he*) removed the commonness of the whole of the sea-girt earth. (*Then*) carrying only (*his*) sharp disc and (*his*) well-formed shoulders, (*he*) entered the sacred limits of the holy **Puliyūr** (*i.e.*, Chidambaram) where live Brāhmaṇas studying the rare Vēdas without the least doubt, saw the sacred form (*of Naṭarāja*) united with (*his*) consort, finely dancing in the golden hall; and (*his*) mind being filled with extacy, (*he*) prostrated at the flowery feet (*of the god*), which could not be known (*even*) by Brahmā who resides on the beautiful lotus flower and by Viṣhṇu who wears a cool garland of *tuḷāy*.

(Ll. 8—11.)—At **Poṉṉamarāvati**[9] which is girt with tanks bearing lotus flowers where the bees (*by their humming*) rouse from sleep swans with bent wings, staying in a pavilion (*set with*) lustrous gems presenting the appearance of the world-supporting Mēru brought and placed there (*he*) invited (*the Chōḷa king*) to go (*to him*), saying that (*he*) would give (*back*) the **Chōḷa country** covered with gardens and water streams, and the wreathed crown which he (*i.e.*, the Chōḷa) had lost. (*On hearing this*), the **Vaḷavaṉ**, who, being shorn of his high state, had gone beyond

[1] The smaller Śiṉṉamanūr plates make mention of the wearing of the garland of Indra and of securing one-half of his throne among the achievements of unnamed mythical Pāṇḍya kings. Similarly the Sanskrit portion of the Bigger Śiṉṉamanūr plates refer to a Pāṇḍya king's wresting the garland of Indra and of another's sitting on his throne. The Tamil portion also speaks of a Pāṇḍya sovereign appearing on the throne of Indra with his necklace. The Vēḷvikuḍi plates refer to a Pāṇḍya sharing with Indra one-half of his throne and his garland. In the historical introductions of the inscriptions of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I, it is said that he took from the king of Ceylon the garland of Indra which a Pāṇḍya king formerly deposited with him.

[2] The Pāṇḍya king is often referred to as *Kaṉṉi-kāvalaṉ*.

[3] These were the capitals of the Chōḷa kings. For references to Uṟandai, see *Śirupāṇāṟṟuppaḍai*, line 83 and *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, vv. 39, 58, 69, 352.

[4] *Kāvi* and *nīlam* are the names of flower plants.

[5] See note 14 on p. 10 above. I am indebted to Rao Saheb C. M. Ramachandra Chettiyar, Coimbatore, for drawing my attention to *Puṟapporuḷvenbāmālai*, VI. 26.

[6] Bāṇaṉ means also 'a bard'. We cannot be certain if a Bāṇa chief or a bard is meant. In the later records of Pāṇḍya kings, there figure chiefs bearing the name or surname Māvali-Vāṇarāyaṉ.

[7] With the existing traces the word may be read as 'Śōra-Vaḷavaṉ' or 'śērā-Vaḷavaṉ.' The latter, which rhymes well with '*vīrāṭhiśhēku*,' means 'of the enemy Vaḷavaṉ'. If the former reading is adopted, it may be taken as the proper name of the hall. But it would mean 'the thief Vaḷavaṉ' and it seems unlikely that the anointing hall of the Chōḷa king was so termed.

[8] Āyirattaḷi was a place of considerable importance in medieval Chōḷa times.

[9] Poṉṉamarāvati was the scene of two battles during the war of Pāṇḍya succession in the 12th century A.D.

Vāḷagiri, returned with his queen[1], and presenting his son before (*the Pāṇḍya*) saying 'he is yours', fell down (*i.e.*, prostrated) at his victorious lion-throne, extolled and begged (*the Pāṇḍya*)[2]. Making a libation of water which removed the heat caused by his (*i.e.*, the Chōḷa king's) flight and prior loss of territory, and saying 'this shall always be the deed of support (*piḍipāḍu*) for having given back to his (*i.e.*, the Chōḷa king's) son a wide ground along with cool-wreathed crown' and giving him a royal writ[3] (*tirumugam*) impressed with the fish which shine on the shoulders of kings ruling the earth girt with surging waves, together with the surname *Chōḷapati* which he had formerly lost and his ancient city, (*the Pāṇḍya king*) gave him leave to depart.

(Ll. 11—13.)—Considering (*the Pāṇḍya king*) to be god in removing the faults of kings in this world surrounded by the roaring ocean, the **North Koṅgu** king bowed to him and extolling him begged to be heard fully how he was fettered and had undergone suffering in the war with those who did not join him (*i.e.*, his enemies). (*On hearing it, the Pāṇḍya*) rescued him from prison, removed the garland from his glorious shoulders and showed him the way (*out*). One other day when the **South Koṅgu** king, entering the van of the ocean-like army resounding with the noise of the war drum, made salutations, he (the Pāṇḍya king), considering (*him*) as fit (*for it*), gave him a shining ornament which (*he himself*) had worn : and out of excessive love removed his captivity also. Like the three-eyed god (*i.e.*, Śiva), he (the Pāṇḍya), mounted as it were on a red-eyed huge bodied black elephant (*and worshipped on either side by the two Koṅgu kings*) just as the god Vishṇu[4] is worshipped by the Sun and the Moon, entered **Maḍura**, the city of palaces[5], and received simultaneously in the world the salutations of the two Koṅgu kings.[6] Not agreeing to the ancient (*limits*) of (*their*) kingdom, he made them remain within the limits prescribed by himself;[7] and then despatched them saying that if any failed to do as bidden, he would make him a feast for the god of Death with his trident.

(Ll. 13—16.)—On a subsequent day, when the Chōḷa king, (*resolving*) not to remain submissively under the feet of him who formerly gave him his crown, refrained from executing the commands and refused to pay tribute, actuated by the proud thought that **Puṇal-nāḍu** belonged to its ruler, and sent forth a van guard and large army, (*the Pāṇḍya*) cleared them

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[1] The word *urimai* generally means 'possession'. It has also the special significance of 'wife'. Though it may not be improper to translate the phrase '*urimaiyoḍum puguṇḍu*' as 'entered with confidence', it seems better to render it as 'returned with his queen and son' who were his only possession now, having been deprived of his crown and country.

[2] The passage "*taṉ-ḍār-muḍiyuḍaṉē*, etc., *piḍipāḍāga*" is not free from scribe's errors. Besides, there are some variations in reading. The proper division of words and differences in reading have to be pointed out to make the meaning clear. Our text has :—*taṉ-ḍār-muḍiyuḍaṉē viṭṭa agal-iḍaṉ-taṉ-mārvēḷaikku-ttiliya iṭṭapaḍikkeṉṟuṉ-iḍu piḍipāḍ-āgav-eṉa, . . .* Here *vēḷaikku* is a mistake for *vēḷukku* and *tiliya* is a mistake for *tiriya*. A different reading is *mārvaṇaikku* which has also to be corrected into *mārvaṇukku*. In either case, the meaning is 'legitimate son' and corresponds to the Sanskrit '*aurasa-putra*'. The word '*piḍipāḍu*' may be rendered into 'deed of support'.

[3] It is worthy of note that the order of the king was impressed with the royal crest.

[4] That the two Koṅgu kings went attending on the Pāṇḍya is made evident not only by the comparison instituted with Vishṇu attended by the Sun and the Moon but also from what follows, *viz.*, '*kūḍa iri-Koṅga. raiyum kumbiḍu koṇḍu*'. They were despatched to their country only after returning to Madura.

[5] Madura is known as 'Nāṉ-māḍa-Kūḍal'.

[6] Though, perhaps for administrative purposes, the Koṅgu country was divided into two divisions 'North' and 'South', there appear to have been more divisions in it. Pērūr is described in the *Dēvāram* as being in Mī-Koṅgu, *i.e.*, West Koṅgu. The division Maḷa-Koṅgu occurs in the Śiṉṉamanūr plates.

[7] From this passage it is clear that the Koṅgu country was simultaneously administered by at least two kings and that the extent of each one's territory was also settled. Sundara-Pāṇḍya brought about a repartition.

off and cut to pieces the horses, elephants, chariots and the fighting proud infantry. (*At seeing this*), he (*the Chōḷa king*), his two eyes becoming dim, fell down on the ground and fled (*from the field*), his body quaking with fear. The fierce kite ate the (*dead*) bodies of the *maṇḍalikas* (*lying stretched like*) the noisy ocean, the water of which the clouds were imbibing.[1] The chiefs of heroes cut off the white tusks and trunks of elephants in the field thinking they would serve as milk-pots to their king **Mīṇavaṉ** (*i.e.*, the Pāṇḍya). Finishing the conquest, the king made the following invocation to the goddess :—" Let her who wears the *arkka* garland and huge trident, who has white teeth, red mouth and fearful black locks, who is ever pleased at seeing the dances and hearing the sounds and songs of . . . . under the canopy of crows which touching the top of the sky, reaches the very region of the clouds, receive this war-oblation ".

(Ll. 16—20.)—The victor, whose anger was not abated by killing kings that had not given up impermissible excesses, who for keeping up the life of his long sword gave it the water of red blood and made it shine (*forth*), who sowed white seeds of *kavaḍi* in the field of battle, who made his vassals hear the *paraṇi*[2] composed to celebrate all his heroic deeds, who made the earth cool with the water of his sacred bath, who, taking from his harem[3] a multitude of wedded[4] queens whose constancy to him (*ever*) remained un-impaired, and putting them on elephants' back, fastened to them fillets of gems, crowned and embraced them to his breast. Celebrated damsels like the prime queen of Vaḷavaṉ bearing bangles holding in their jewelled hands the eight kinds of signs such as pots filled with water which the poets describe as auspicious[5], he entered the pavilion at **Muḍikoṇḍaśōḷapuram** surrounded with towers whose tops were fitted with flags, set up golden pillars of victory in all the directions and put on the heroes' ankle-rings linked with the ornament of foot-chain, his feet being worshipped by northern kings holding shining javelins and wearing *vāyai*-garlands. King **Māṟavarman** *alias* the glorious **Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,** the emperor of the three worlds, after taking the Chōḷa country and performing the anointment of heroes at Muḍikoṇḍaśōḷapuram, was pleased to be seated on the lion-throne ornamented with lustrous gems, attended with the waving of lusty fly-whisks on either side, along with **Ulagamuḻuduḍaiyāḷ** who was praised by damsels wearing *kuḻai*[6] and who never part from the jewelled shoulders of northern kings having armies of fine fat elephants sounding like the roaring of the ocean.

(Ll. 20—28.)—In the **20th year and 374th day of** (*the reign of the king*) when he was pleased to remain on the reclining seat of Maḷavarāyaṉ in the hall of the bed-chamber of (*his*) palace at **Tirunelvēli** in **Kīḻ-Vēmba-nāḍu,** the *dēvakaṇmis* wearing silk garments and observing five-fold precepts, attached to the feet of the god in the temple of **Uḍaiyār-Tirunelvēli-uḍaiyār** having orally expressed that, for meeting the daily scale of expenses of **Śokkaṇār** which **Śaṅkaraṉ Aḻagiyaperumāḷ** *alias* **Maḷavarāyaṉ** of **Kāḷaḍi** had worshipped and had subsequently been pleased to set up as an *āśrayaliṅga* in this temple and for offerings and unguents required during the special worship to be conducted on the day of his natal star Śadaiyam, one and a half *vēli* of first rate land as measured by the rod used in this village for determining taxes, from out of

[1] Comparison is intended between the cloud and the kite as well as the ocean and the dead bodies.

[2] *Paraṇi* is a poetical composition in praise of a chief who, at the head of battle, has killed 1,000 elephants. Many such pieces are referred to in the historical introductions of Tamil kings and these have not come down to us.

[3] Provisionally, I have taken the word *tiṇaikkaṭṭaṇam* to mean a harem.

[4] The word *urimai* is used in the sense of ' wife, queen '.

[5] These marks are :—*chāmara* (fly-whisk), *pūṛṇa-kumbha* (pot filled with water), looking glass, *tōṭṭi* (elephant-goad), *murasa* (drum), lamp, flag and double fish.

[6] *Kuḻai* means an ear ornament.

the lands of **Kayattāṉkuṟuchchi**, a hamlet of **Rājarāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam** in **Muḷḷi-nāḍu** yielding crops in *kār* and *paśāṇam*, which was at first given as *jīvita* to **Maḷavarāyar**, the grandfather of his father for the premiership of the kingdom, and which subsequently became a *jīvita* to this (*Maḷavarāyar*) for his premiership of the kingdom, should be entered tax-free and (*its*) *antarāyam*, *uḷudāṉkuḍi*, etc., should be given as *dēvadāṇa* from the year opposite to the 20th year, and Maḷavarāyar having re-iterated the same to us (*i.e.*, the king), we declared that, for the expenses of the daily requirements of this god and for the requirements of offerings and unguents during the special worship to be conducted on the day of his natal star Śadaiyam, one and a half *vēli* of first rate land as measured by the rod used in this village for determining taxes from out of the lands of Kayattāṉkuṟuchchi, a hamlet of Rājarāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Muḷḷi-nāḍu yielding crops in *kār* and *paśāṇam* which was given as *jīvita* to Maḷavarāyar the grandfather of his father for the premiership of the kingdom and which subsequently became a *jīvita* to this (*Maḷavarāyar*) for the premiership of the kingdom, shall be entered tax-free and (*its*) *antarāyam*, *uḷudāṉkuḍi*, etc., given as *dēvadāṇa* from this year and that a copy of the entry in the tax-register as well as our order shall be issued : (*and therefore*) receiving this, let the expenses of daily requirements, etc., be met, and let it be so incised on stone and copper so that the same may be conducted as long as the moon and the sun last. This is the signature of Śōraṉ Uyya-niṉṟāḍuvāṉ *alias* Kurukulattaraiyaṉ of Taḍaṅgaṇṇichchiṟṟūr in Tirumalli-nāḍu. This is the signature of Vēḍaṉūruḍaiyāṉ Araiyaṉ Śivallavaṉ *alias* Mādavarājar of Veṭchiyūr *alias* Mummaḍiśōḻanallūr in Kīḻ-kūṟṟu a subdivision of Miḻalai-kūṟṟam. This is the signature of Araiyaṉ Viradamuḍichchāṉ *alias* Pallavarājaṉ of Śakkarapāṇinallūr in Śevvirukkai-nāḍu.

No. 11.—JAINAD STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE PARAMARA JAGADDEVA.

By Dhirendra Chandra Ganguly, M.A., Ph.D., Benares.

The sub-joined inscription belongs to the reign of the king Jagaddēva of the main branch of the Paramāra family, who held sway over Mālava in the latter part of the 11th century A.D. No other inscription of this monarch has hitherto been noticed. The epigraphic records of the Paramāras do not even mention his name. The new inscription is engraved on a slab of stone, now lying detached on the floor of a *maṇḍapa* attached to a temple in the village of **Jainad** about six miles north-east of Adilābād, in H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions. There are remains of another temple in the vicinity, and close by is a heap of carved slabs, which are reported to have been brought to this locality from a tank in the neighbourhood. Mr. Muhammad Yasin, Talu `ar of the District, brought this record to the notice of Mr. G. Yazdani, M.A., Director of Archaeology, H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions. Mr. Yazdani made a short notice of this inscription in the *Annual Report* of his Department for the year 1925-26. Its transcription with short introductory notes, prepared by Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharlu, and a facsimile have been embodied as Appendix B of the *Annual Report* of the above mentioned Archaeological Department for the year 1927-28, but Mr. Krishnamacharlu's reading is not free from errors. I edit this inscription with the permission of Mr. Yazdani, who very kindly sent me an ink-impression of it.

The inscription contains 28 lines of writing covering a space 1′ 6½″ long and 1′ 4″ broad. Some letters in lines 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 12, 17, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, are badly broken, and a number of letters at the beginning of the line 28 are completely effaced.

The characters are Nāgarī of the 11th century. Attention may be drawn to the forms of *sth* (in *sthira*, l. 2), *shṇ* (in *Vishṇu*, l. 4), *ksh* (in *kshiṇa*, l. 9), and *bh*. The signs for *ṭeh*, *ṭva*, and *kh*, and those of *h* and *dg* are so much alike that sometimes it is very difficult to distinguish

The **language** is Sanskrit, and the whole inscription with the exception of *ōṁ namaḥ sūryāya* at the beginning is written in prose. There are altogether 28 verses in different metres. As regards **orthography** the sign for *v* denotes both *v* and *b*; sometimes dental sibilant is used instead of palatal (*e.g.*, *prasasti* for *praśasti*, l. 10; *rāsibhiḥ* for *rāśibhiḥ*, l. 20; *suddhō* for *śuddhō*, l. 25). The consonant following the superscript *r* is doubled, as for example, *ravēr=vvārē*, *bhānur=nniratyayam* (l. 1), etc.

The inscription records that **Jagaddēva's** father was **Udayāditya**, and his paternal uncle was the king **Bhōja** (v. 6). Jagaddēva is stated to have invaded the country of the **Andhra** king, and inflicted a severe defeat on him (v. 7). He uprooted the king of **Chakradurga** (v. 8), and slew many soldiers of the king of **Malahara** at **Dōrasamudra** (v. 9).[1] He also won victory over the **Gūrjara** warriors near the **Arbuda** mountain (v. 10). He conquered the king **Karṇa** (v. 12).

Bhōja referred to above was evidently the great king of the same name, who ruled in Mālava from about 1000 to 1055 A.D. The history of Bhōja is well known to us from other sources. The latter part of his reign was unhappy. Shortly before 1055 A.D., the Kalachuri Karṇa and the Chaulukya Bhīma I made an alliance against him, and invaded Mālava from the east and the west. When the battle was progressing, Bhōja suddenly died of a malady, and Mālava was taken possession of by the Kalachuris and the Chaulukyas[2]. In that difficult period, Jayasiṁha, the son of Bhōja, sought help from the Chālukya Sōmēśvara I, king of Kalyāṇi, and with the aid of the latter's son Vikramāditya (VI) succeeded in regaining his throne by ousting Karṇa and Bhīma from Mālava[3]. Since that time Jayasiṁha remained a staunch friend of Vikramāditya, who was under his father, the governor of Banavāsī in the third quarter of the 11th century. Vikramāditya was deputed by his father to protect the interest of his empire in the south. The Eastern Chālukya Rājarāja, the king of Vēṅgī, died in 1062 A.D. His son Rājēndra II (later on Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa I) was too young to govern his kingdom. Vikramāditya intended to avail himself of this opportunity of conquering Vēṅgī, and organised a vast army for that purpose. Jayasiṁha, who was indebted to Vikramāditya for his past services, seems to have joined him in this expedition in order to help his cause. The allied armies advanced towards Vēṅgī and threatened the Eastern Chālukyas. The young Rājēndra could not resist their onslaught, and Vēṅgī fell in the hands of Vikramāditya and Jayasiṁha. In that predicament Vijayāditya VII, the younger brother of the deceased Rājarāja, took up the cause of his nephew, and appealed to the Chōḷa Vīrarājēndra (A.D. 1062-1069) for assistance. The Chōḷa king responded to his prayer and marched towards Vēṅgī at the head of a large army. He confronted his enemies on the bank of the Kistna near Bezwāda (Vijayavāḍī). In the action that followed the Karṇāṭas and the Paramāras were severely worsted, and the cousin (or younger brother) of Jayasiṁha with many other generals lost their lives. Vēṅgī was reconquered by the Chōḷas, and Vīrarājēndra appointed Vijayāditya to rule it on behalf of Rājēndra-Chōḷa.[4] The Tiruveṇgāḍu inscription[5] of the second year of the reign of Vīrarājēndra tells us that he defeated the army sent into Vēṅgaināḍu by Vikramāditya. The Karuvūr inscription[6] of the fourth year of his reign records that 'he despatched (the *banner of*) the ferocious tiger into all directions and cut off the beautiful heads surrounded by garlands (*won*) on battle-fields, of Vāraṇ, of the [Kēraḷa], (*who wore*) large ankle-rings, (and) of the younger brother (or cousin) of Ja(na)nātha of Dhārā.' The Maṇimaṅgalam

[1] [See note 5, p. 58.—Ed.]

[2] Mēruturiga's *Prabandha-chintāmaṇi*, by Tawney, pp. 73-75.

[3] Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅka-charita*, *Sarga* III, v. 67.

[4] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 193.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 37.

inscription[1] of the fifth year (1067 A.D.) of his reign gives us a more detailed information. It states that 'having moved (his camp), he declared :—"(*We*) shall not return without regaining the good country of Vēṅgai, which (*we had formerly*) subdued. You,[2] (*who are*) strong, come and defend (*it*) if (*you*) are able!"—That army . . . . . which had for its chiefs Jananāthaṇ, the *Daṇḍanāyaka* Rājamayaṇ, whose *mast* elephants trumpeted in herds, and Muppa-raśaṇ.'

Jaṇanātha, referred to above, is in all probability identical with Jayasiṁha, who was at that time on the throne of Dhārā[3]. Others, mentioned, seem to have been officers of Vikramāditya. In the latter part of his reign, Jayasiṁha had to encounter a catastrophe, which was more severe than the previous one. After the death of Sōmēśvara I, his son, Sōmēśvara II, ascended the throne of Kalyāṇi in 1068 A.D. He soon entered into a quarrel with his younger brother Vikramāditya.[4] When the Chālukya empire was threatened with a fratricidal war, Jayasiṁha turned against Sōmēśvara II, and probably intrigued with Vikramāditya for the overthrow of the Chālukya king. This seems to have provoked Sōmēśvara to declare war against Mālava. He made an alliance with the Chaulukya Karṇa (A.D. 1063-1094), the successor of Bhīma on the throne of Gujarāt, for the destruction of the Paramāra sovereignty, and in order to help him in his military operation despatched his general Gaṅga Udayāditya, and his feudatory, the Hoysaḷa Eṛeyaṅga, with a large contingent. Jayasiṁha made a strenuous effort to defend his kingdom against this incursion of Karṇa and the Karṇāṭas but utterly failed. In the fierce battle that followed he lost his life, and Mālava was easily conquered by the invaders. During this cataclysm Udayāditya, a scion of a junior branch of the Paramāra family, who was probably a subordinate chief in the Bhilsa District, drove the invaders from Mālava with the help of the Chāhamāna Durlabha III, king of Śākambharī, and himself became the king of the country.[5]

The Nāgpur stone inscription,[6] dated 1104 A.D., composed by Udayāditya's son Naravarman, describes Udayāditya as the '*bandhu*' of Bhōja. The inscription under discussion states that Bhōja was the '*pitṛivya*' (father's brother or cousin; or any elderly male relation) of Jagaddēva, son of Udayāditya.

Critical examination of these two evidences leads me to suggest that Udayāditya was not the brother of Bhōja but a cousin. This gains support from an inscription[7] of the 15th century, which records Gōndala and Śūravīra as the father and grand-father respectively of Udayāditya. The last known date of Udayāditya is 1086 A.D.[8]

The *Rās Mālā*[9] relates that Oodayadit had two wives, one belonging to the Solunkhee dynasty and the other to the Waghela clan. By the Solunkhee queen he had a son named Jug Dev, and by the Waghela queen another son named Rindhuwul. Prince Jug Dev was an intrepid warrior, and his fame as a general spread all over India. He had three wives. The first was the daughter of Rāja Rāj, the Dak Chowra king of Took-Toda, which, since Rāja Rāj himself was blind, had

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 69.

[2] This is addressed to the king who held Vēṅgi.

[3] [Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar is of opinion that there is no warrant to take Jananātha figuring in inscriptions of Virarājēndra as the king of Dhārā (above, Vol. XXI, p. 226, n. 3 and p. 242 and n. 2).—Ed.]

[4] *Vikramāṅka-charita*, Introduction, p. 33, ed. by Bühler.

[5] Above, Vol. II, p. 185; *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 164; *E. C.*, Vol. V, Ak, No. 120*a*; Vol. VII, Sh, No. 64; Vol. IV, part II, p. 19; Sōmēśvara's *Surathōtsava, kavi-prasasti*, v. 20; *Pṛithvīrāja-vijaya, Sarga* V, vv. 76-78; above, Vol. I, p. 236; author's *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, pp. 127-132.

[6] Above, Vol. II, p. 185.

[7] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. IX, p. 549.

[8] *Ibid.*, 1914, p. 241.

[9] Forbe's *Rās Mālā*, Vol. I, pp. 117 ff.

been under the regency of his son Beerj. The second was the daughter of Sidh Rāj Jesiṁgh Dev, the king of Gujarāt, and the third was the princess of the house of Rājā Phool of Bhojnagar. Rindhuwul married the daughter of Gumbheer, a chief of Gord. Udayāditya, influenced by his Waghela queen, made Rindhuwul his heir-apparent. Jug Dev, through the jealousy of his step-mother, was reduced to poverty. He left Mālwā, and, in order to make a living, accepted military service under Sidh Rāj in Gujarāt. Within a very short time he became a favourite of his master on account of his valour and faithfulness. On one occasion he sacrificed his son, and offered his own life and that of his wife to ensure the safety of Sidh Rāj from some impending peril. Sometime afterwards, learning that Sidh Rāj was making preparations for the invasion of Mālwā, he resigned his office, and left for Dhārā in order to defend his native country. He was received with great affection by his father, who subsequently appointed him his successor superseding Rindhuwul. Soon afterwards Oodayāditya died, and Jug Dev ascended the throne of Mālwā, which he occupied for fifty years.

According to Mērutuṅga,[1] Jagaddēva entered the military service of Paramardin (a title of Vikramāditya VI), king of Kuntala, and was highly honoured by the Chaulukya Siddharāja.

The above statements of the Gujarāt chroniclers are marred by gross chronological inaccuracies. Udayāditya could not have been a contemporary of Jayasiṁha-Siddharāja, who ascended the throne in 1094 A.D.[2] Even then Jayasiṁha was a minor, and his government was under regency.[3] Jagaddēva certainly did not rule for fifty-two years, since Udayāditya's another son, Naravarman, ascended the throne of Mālava sometime before 1094 A.D.[4], and enjoyed it till 1133 A.D., when he was succeeded by his son Yaśōvarman.[5] Naravarman, in his Nāgpur stone inscription, does not make any mention of Jagaddēva, and states that he was preceded by his brother Lakshmadēva, who succeeded to the throne of Udayāditya.[6] Lakshmadēva is not referred to in any other inscription of the Paramāras. It cannot be said definitely whether Lakshmadēva and Jagaddēva were identical person. But that Jagaddēva occupied the throne of Mālava sometime between 1086 and 1094 A.D. cannot be disputed. Two Hoysaḷa inscriptions,[7] one of them being dated 1196 A.D., describe him as the king of Mālava.

The inscription under review narrates the military achievements of Jagaddēva. The king is said to have won victories over the Gūrjaras near Mount Abu. The verse 10 states that 'even to-day (*i.e.*, at the time of composing the inscription) the sound of the flood-tide of the tears of the wives of the Gūrjara warriors indicates the twang of the bow of Jagaddēva, which is nothing but the announcement of the valour of Jayasiṁha.' This signifies that Jagaddēva fought under Jayasiṁha against the king of Gujarāt, and the battle took place long time before the inscription was composed. In these circumstances, Jayasiṁha, who was a friend of Jagaddēva, can reasonably be identified with the king of the same name, who was the son of Bhōja. Jayasiṁha, as has been referred to above, drove Bhīma of Gujarāt along with the Kalachuris from Mālava with the help of Vikramāditya. Jagaddēva might have pursued the conquest further, and inflicted another defeat on Bhīma on the foot of the Mount Abu.[8]

[1] Tawney, *Prabandha-chintāmaṇi*, p. 186, *cf.* Sōmēśvara's *Kīrtikaumudī*, *Sarga* II, v. 99.

[2] *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 174.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 171.

[4] *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1923-24, p. 135.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 351.

[6] Above, Vol. II, p. 185.

[7] *E. C.*, Vol. VI, *Tarikere Taluq*, No. 45; *ibid.*, Vol. II, No. 349, p. 168.

[8] [If the translation given by me in p. 63, n. 1, is correct then Jayasiṁha referred to in v. 10 should be looked upon as an enemy and not a friend of Jagaddēva and thus cannot refer to the Paramāra Jayasiṁha. The mention of Gūrjaras would tempt one to identify him with Jayasiṁha Siddharāja of Aṇahilapāṭaka. This might, however, give rise to some chronological difficulty if it was true that Jayasiṁha was still a minor at the time of his father's death.—Ed.]

Jagaddēva led successful raids over Andhra and Chakradurga. Andhra was the name of the country between the lower courses of the Kistna and the Godāvari, the capital of which was Vēṅgī. Chakradurga is evidently identical with Chakrakōṭa, which is situated in the modern Bastar State. During this period, Andhra was under the sway of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa, and Chakrakōṭa was ruled by a Nāga dynasty.[1] Jagaddēva probably led these expeditions during his own rule. But attention is drawn to the fact that the Paramāra Jayasiṁha was accompanied by his cousin (or younger brother) in his expedition against the Andhra country.[2] Jagaddēva, who was the cousin and general of Jayasiṁha, may be considered as identical with the latter.

After the invasion of Andhra, Jagaddēva might have followed Jayasiṁha in his campaign against Chakradurga. Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa, when he was a 'Yuvarāja' (*i.e.*, before 1070 A.D.), defeated the king of Dhārā at Chakrakōṭa. King of Dhārā, referred to, was, during that period, Jayasiṁha.[3]

Karṇa, the adversary of Jagaddēva, appears to have been the king of Gujarāt of the same name, who ruled from 1064 to 1094 A.D. After the death of Udayāditya, Karṇa probably made an attempt to reconquer Mālava but was discomfited by Jagaddēva.

The fact of Jagaddēva's invasion of Dōrasamudra is reported also by the records of his enemies. Dōrasamudra, modern Haḷebīḍ, in Mysore, was the capital of the Hoysaḷa dynasty, the early rulers of which were subordinates to the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi. They were enemies of both Vikramāditya and Jagaddēva. The Hoysaḷa Ereyaṅga, on behalf of the Chālukya Sōmēśvara II, and in alliance with the Chaulukya Karṇa killed Jayasiṁha in battle, and conquered Mālava. The dates of the inscriptions of Ereyaṅga range from 1062 to 1100 A.D.[4] He had three sons Ballāla, Vishṇuvardhana, and Udayāditya. In the latter part of the 11th century, the Hoysaḷas made an attempt to throw off the yoke of subordination of the Chālukyas. But Vikramāditya determined to keep them under control. He appears to have sought the help of Jagaddēva. Jagaddēva lent his service to the Chālukya king, and being accompanied by the Karṇāṭa army, proceeded to Dōrasamudra, and besieged it. The present inscription records that he succeeded in killing a large number of soldiers of the king of Malahara at Dōrasamudra. Malahara appears to have been the ancient name of Malabar.[5] The Hoysaḷas, though suffering a preliminary reverse, eventually succeeded in repulsing their enemies. In this terrible struggle the sons of Ereyaṅga, *viz.*, Ballāla, Vishṇuvardhana, and Udayāditya played magnificent parts. An inscription,[6] dated 1196 A.D., relates that "Ballāla drove back in battle the force which came to

[1] Above, Vol. IX, pp. 178 f.

[2] *Vide ante*, p. 55.

[3] The late Rai Bahādur Hiralal suggested that the verse of the inscription (KSL., No. 756) means that Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa conquered the king Dhārā at Chakrakōṭa (above, Vol. IX, p. 179, fn. 2). But Drs. L. D. Barnett, and Wickremasinghe, of the London University, advise me to accept the interpretation of Hultzsch, *viz.*, Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa defeated the king of Dhārā at Chakrakōṭa. [The actual reading found in Kulōttuṅga's inscriptions is *Śakkarakōṭṭattu Dhārāvaraśaṇai* or *Dharavaraiśaṇai* which means 'Dhārāvaraśa or Dhārāvaraiśa (*i.e.*, Dhārāvarsha) at Śakkarakōṭṭa'.—Ed.]

[4] *E. C.*, Vol. VI, introduction, p. 11; *ibid.*, Vol. V, Ak, No. 102*a*. [It is uncertain if the date given at the top of the inscription before the invocatory verse is the date of the record. Only if this were so, Ereyaṅga's last date can be taken as A.D. 1100.—Ed.]

[5] [Malahara is nowhere known as the ancient name of Malabar. *Malaharakshōṇīśa* in v. 9 seems to be the translation of the Kanarese epithet *Malaparoḷ-gaṇḍa* a title assumed by the Hoysaḷa rulers. *Malapa* or *Malaha* was the name of a hill tribe to the family of whose chiefs the Hoysaḷas probably originally belonged (*cf. E. C.*, Vol. VI, Introduction, p. 14). *Ra* in Malahara is the genitive termination in Kanarese. This way of retaining the original termination in the later Sanskritised forms occur even in earlier inscription, *cf.* for example *shāhānushāhi* in the Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta where *ānu* is to be taken as the original Saka termination used in the genitive plural.—Ed.]

[6] *E. C.*, Vol. VI, Tk., No. 45.

attack him, so that even the Mālava emperor, Jagaddēva, whose proud elephant he made to scream out, said 'Well done horseman'; to which he replied, 'I am not only a horseman, I am Vīra-Ballāla', and by his slaughter excited the astonishment of the world." The Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa inscription,[2] dated 1159 A.D., states that "Vishṇu, powerful like Yama, striking with his hand, drank up all at once the rolling ocean, the army of the Mālava king, Jagaddēva, and others sent by the emperor (*i.e.*, Vikramāditya VI)". The Belur Taluk inscription,[3] dated 1117 A.D., registers the fact that "in Dōrasamudra they (Vishṇu and Ballāla) defeated the army of Jagaddēva, painted the goddess of Victory with the blood of his elephants for vermilion, and captured his treasury together with the central ornament of his necklace." The Hoysaḷa Narasiṁha I's inscription,[4] dated 1164 A.D., records that the three brothers, Ballāla, Vishṇu, and Udayāditya destroyed the army of Jagaddēva in Dōrasamudra. The earliest known date of the record[5] containing the report of Jagaddēva's defeat is 1100 A.D.

Jagaddēva seems to have later on entered into a quarrel with Vikramāditya, as the result of which the latter had to surrender the northern part of his dominion to the Paramāras. A pillar bearing an inscription[6], dated 1087 A.D., of the reign of Vikramāditya VI, is lying in the village of Sitabaldi, 6 miles to the east of the city of Nāgpur. Though there is nothing in the inscription to indicate that the kingdom of the Chālukyas extended up to Nāgpur in that period, the existence of the pillar there strongly suggests to that effect. If this proves to be true, Jainad, where the new inscription was discovered, was evidently within the dominion of the Chālukyas about that time. Jainad is situated few miles south of the Penganga. As the stone, bearing the inscription, is an ordinary slab, there is less likelihood of its being carried there from a great distance. In all probability, it belonged to one of the temples in that locality. If my suggestion proves to be true, it is to be maintained that the Paramāra kingdom extended at least up to the Adilābād District in the latter part of the 11th century. The Nāgpur stone inscription,[8] dated 1104 A.D., likewise suggests that Vikramāditya VI lost his hold over that part of the country sometime before that time. This new acquisition of territories was, in all likelihood, made by Jagaddēva.

Jagaddēva was a handsome person. The Paramāra Arjunavarman, in his *Rasikasamjīvinī*,[9] states that his predecessor, Jagaddēva, was very graceful, and that his beauty is described by Nachirāja. Sāmalavarman, the king of east Bengal, married Mālavyadēvī, the daughter of Jagaddēva.[6]

The object of the inscription is to record that Padmāvatī, the wife of **Lōlārka**, erected the temple of Nimbāditya, in the city, the name of which is not mentioned. Lōlārka was the minister of Jagaddēva, and appears to have been enjoying that position since the time of Udayāditya. His father was Guṇarāja, and his grand-father was Māhēndu whose wife was Śuṅgā. All of them belonged to the **Dāhima** family.

The poet **Aśvatthāma** composed the verses of the inscription.

TEXT.

[Metres: vv. 1, 20, *Anushṭubh*; vv. 2, 3, 7-12, 14, 15, 18, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 4, 16, 17, 19, *Sragdharā*; vv. 5, 6, *Upajāti* and v. 13, *Mandākrāntā*.]

1 [ओं] नमः सूर्याय ॥ चकास्तेषि रवेर्व्वीरे निम्न(ग्न)पृथ्वीतलमेरुर्य्यं । प्रत्ययं पूरयन्भानुर्विरत्वक्षुभितस्वतां ॥१॥ तं वन्देमहि वारुणीजल-

[1] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Ins. at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, No. 349, p. 168.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Bl., No. 58. [3] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, Ng., No. 30.
[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Ak., No. 34. [In this inscription Jagaddēva is not described as the king of Mālava.—Ed.]
[5] Above, Vol. III, p. 204.
[6] Above, Vol. II, p. 185. [7] P. 8. [8] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. X, p. 127.

2 निधेर्व्वेलावनालोल्लिरस्थानं स्थाणुमभेद्यमाद्यममितच्छायातिमात्रोच्छ्रयं । उन्मी-
लन्ति व(ब)ह्नि: प्ररोहसमये यस्य त्रिलोकीच्छलान्मध्ये-
3 ष्योम[दिग]न्तरालमतुला: शाखाशिखापल्लवा: ॥२॥ तद्भूभंगविचेष्टितं भगवतो
भर्ग्गस्य भव्याय वो भूयाद्वङ्कुरिताङ्गुली किसलये पाणौ ध-
4 नु: पश्यत: । दग्धुं [त्री]णि पुराणि पन्नग[श]तैर्ज्यावल्लिता लंभिते यत्राविर्भवति
स्म भास्वरशरव्याजेन विष्णोर्व्वपु: ॥३॥ आसीदाग्नीर्व्वचोभि: सक-
5 लमुनिजनैर्म्मानितो मे[दिनीन्द्रै] राजा मुद्रां वहद्भि: शिरसि व(ब)हुविधैर्व्वो(र्ब्बो)धित-
साटुवादै: । विख्यामिच्छन्प्रतापव्यपनयनिपुण: प्राप्तजन्मा
6 वसिष्ठध्यानाद्भूमध्य[जाच्च] त्रिभुवनविदित: सत्वसार: प्रमार: ॥४॥ तदन्वये
सान्वयनामधेय: श्रीमान् जगद्देव इति क्षितीश: । अभूद-
7 भूपालदिगन्तरालि[न]र्म्माणनिर्व्यूढभुजस्त्रमोयं(यम्) ॥५॥ यस्योदयादित्यनृप: पिता
सीहेव: पितृव्य: स च भोजराज: । विरेजतुर्यौ
8 वसुधाधिपत्वप्राप्तप्रतिष्ठाविव पुण्यवन्तौ ॥६॥ अन्ध्राधीशमहीद्दय: पतिपरित्यक्ताश्चिरं
यच्चमूवाहव्यूहसुराप्रखण्डित-
9 भुवि क्षीणा: स्खलन्त्योध्वनि । नीयन्ते नवनीतकोमलपदास्ताम्रप्रभै: पल्लवै-
र्दंष्ट्राणांव(ब)नमम्बु(म्बु)धे: परिसरक्षोणीलताश्रेणिभि: ॥७॥ क्षी-
10 णीघाटितचक्रदुर्ग्गनृपतेरद्यापि यस्याज्ञया दण्डानीतगजेंद्रदानसलिलैर्न्यस्तां प्रस(श)-
स्तिं परां । निर्व्याहत्ति पठन्ति कण्ठलुठितै: कै:
11 कैर्विनादैर्न्नदा शैलोपान्तवसुन्धरासु विपिनीस्तंगेषु भृङ्गाङ्गना: ॥८॥ मध्ये दोरसमुद्र-
मद्रिशिखराकारां कपालावलीमालोक्य
12 [द्वि]रदेंद्रदन्तमुसलप्रान्तस्पृसां[2] प्रेयसां । साक्रंदै: प्रतिमन्दिरं मलहरक्षोणीस[3]चित्तो-
दरे शूलं [प]ल्लवयन्ति वा[ष्प]सलिलै[4]र्यद्वैरिणां व-
13 ल्लभा: ॥९॥ आश्चर्य जयसिंहविक्रमकथा स्वाध्यायसध्या[5]घनध्वानं यस्य धनुर्द्ध-
(र्द्ध)निं नरपतेर्व्यञ्जन्ति विस्तारिण: । अद्याप्यर्ब्बुदपर्व्वतोदर-
14 दरीद्वारेषु रात्रिंदिवं क्रंदद्भूर्ज्जरवीरवर्ग्गवनितावाष्पाम्बु(म्बु)पूरोर्म्मय:[6] ॥१०॥ एक-
श्चाद्भुतयुद्धमूर्धनि धनु:सन्धानधीर: कर: कीर्तिं कंदल-
15 य[च्च]यन्नविरतो यस्यारिसर्व्वङ्कष: । अन्यच्चाम्बु(म्बु)धिवीचिकांचिवसुधामध्ये मधुस्य-
न्दिभि: सूक्तै: सत्कवय: श्रुतं व्यवसिता: स्तोतुं तथाप्यक्षमा: ॥११॥

[1] Read *dvirad-êndra*.
[2] Read *kshôṇîśa*.
[3] Read *sandhyâ*.
[4] Read *spṛiśâm*.
[5] Read *vâshpa°*.
[6] [See note 1, p. 63.—Ed.]

16 उत्पन्नः प्रतिपन्नकर्णनृपतेर्यस्यैक एवोचितः संसारोदरसारसंग्रहसहाध्यायो निधिः पाथसां । यस्या[भ्य]र्णनिष[भ्र][1]पण्डितशताला-

17 पात्रिंशम्यानिशं[2] [नि]:शंकः कलराजहन्म(हंस)विरुतै[रद्या]प्यमन्दोत्सवः ॥१२॥ कीर्त्तेः पात्रं प्रकृतिपुरुषः पौरुषोत्कर्षभूमिर्भूमेर्भर्त्तुः भुवनजयि-

18 न[3] स्वस्य मूर्त्तेः प्रतापः । श्रीलोलार्कः समजनि जगद्वल्लभो वा(बा)लभावादा-रभ्यैष प्रथितमहसामन्वये दाहिमानां ॥१३॥ एकामेव मनो-

19 हरामभिनवोल्लेखेन रे[खा]मुखा[4] शृंगाम्प्राप्य महेन्दुरित्यभिधया वीतान्य[5]विस्फूर्ज्जितः । लोके यस्य पितामहः शुचिमहःपुञ्जविजम्भाट-

20 यत्याद्यापि हिपदन्तकुंदकुमुदच्छायैर्यशोराशिभिः[6] ॥१४॥ आसीद्यस्य पिता पितामह-सुखान्मोजै[7]श्चतुर्भिश्चिरं गीतः श्रीगुणराज इत्यति-

21 शयाद्दिग्वेषु वीराग्रणीः । एकः शूरसहस्रसाद्धिणि रणे चौदत्तमः [सार्ज्जु]नः[8] प्रौढ़ः पल्लवयं(यन्) प्रतापमुदयादित्यस्य नित्यप्रियः ॥

22 १५॥ [च]ञ्चच्चित्रचिचिक्कध्वजपटपटलैः पाण्डुरैरातपत्रैः पंक्तिन्यस्तैरपास्तप्रलयघनरवै-र्भीमढक्कानिनादैः । जा(श्रा)यन्ते यस्य सैन्यान्यविर-

23 लतरलैर्व्वाजिभिर्वज्रपुंजप्रा[यैः] प्रासासिपाशप्रणयिभिरपरैरग्रवारैश्च वीरैः ॥१६॥ शा[ल]प्रान्शु[ः](प्रांशुः) सितांशुप्रतिनिधिवदनः पद्मपत्रायताक्षः

24 पीनां[सो] दीर्घबाहुः कनकगिरिशिलासन्निभोरस्थलश्च [।] बाहच्यू[ह]हेषारवकिसलयित-श्रीत्रमूर्च्छेषु गच्छन्यो मध्ये राजपुत्रेष्वपि व(ब)हुषु परि-

25 ज्ञायते रेखयैव ॥१७॥ सुद्धौ[9] वाचि शुचिर्म्मनस्य[जि][10] जगद्देव[प्रतोषैरिह हंद्द-हंद्दहर][11]त्रमन्नुदिनं बा(भा)ल्यभूत्येव यः । चञ्चच्चामरम-

26 न्तरेण महतीं रा[ष्ट्र]श्रियं निश्चलां वि(बि)भ्राणः ∪ ∪—∪—[12]दलयति द्वेषस्पृशः पार्थिवान् ॥१८॥ तत्पत्नी पद्मपत्रायतनयनयुगा पद्म-

27 [संकाश][वक्त्रा] नाम्ना पद्मावतीति त्रिजगति विदिता [रागतः श्वेत]पद्मा । एतस्मिन्नयहारे हठहृतकलुषे कारयामास निम्बादित्यप्रासाद-

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[1] Read *nishaṇṇa*.
[2] Read *jayinaḥ*.
[3] Read *vaitānya*.
[4] Read *mukhāṁ*.
[5] Read *mukh-āmbhōjais=*
[6] Read *rāśibhiḥ*.
[7] [Probably we have to read: *kshōda-kshamaḥ (ma)ḥs ch=Ārjunaḥ*.—Ed.]
[8] Read *śuddhō*.
[9] Mr. K. reads *śatānāmnā*.
[10] Read *śuchir=mmanasy=api*.
[11] The reading of the portion with in the brackets is extremely doubtful. It is given by Mr. K. It can be stated with tolerable certainty that there is no such word as *pratōshair=iha*. The facsimile reads *patē ∪ ha*, and there is no space for two letters between *tē* and *ha*. The expression *dvaṁdva-dvaṁdva-haran* does not yield any plausible sense. [Reading seems to be *dvaṁdvaṁ dvaṁdva-haraṁ*, etc., which might mean, bowing to the couple (*i.e.*, Śiva and Pārvatī) destroying the two bad qualities (*viz.*, passion and ignorance).—Ed.]
[12] Here the letters look like *pra sa ∪ na ∪* [Reading is *prasabhād=ayaṁ*.—Ed.]

28 — — ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ — — ⏑ — — ⏑ — —[1] ॥१९॥ लभतां जगतां
श्रोत्रैः संगमं हृदयंगमा [सज्जगद्धस्ताभरेयमङ्कस्वामक्वचिः क्षतिः ॥२०॥

TRANSLATION.

Om Salutation to Sūrya

(V. 1.) Let the object-fulfilling sun be worshipped faultlessly on Sunday, even at an unusual hour with the flowers and shoots of the *Nimba* tree.

(V. 2.) We reverence the tree-like Śiva who is indivisible and first born, who possesses a great extension of shade and is lofty and stands firm in the range of the wood on the shore of the western ocean, the matchless sprouts of whose branches blossom forth at the time of growing in the shape of the three worlds in between the sky and all its quarters.

(V. 3.) May the movement of the eye-brows of the lord Śiva, who looks at the bow (*held*) in his hand with its sprout-like fingers bent, on which (*bow*) when hundreds of serpents had provided it with a string, the body of Vishṇu manifested itself in the guise of a radiant arrow in order to burn the three cities—be (*the cause of*) your prosperity.

(V. 4.) There was a very powerful king named **Pramāra**, known in the three worlds, much regarded by sages through blessings, roused from sleep with many a flattering word by the kings bearing his seal on their heads, who was born of fire through the meditation of Vasishṭha, and was adept in defying the valour of Viśvāmitra.

(V. 5.) In his family was born **Jagaddēva**, the lord of the earth, whose name was true to its sense, and the exertions of whose arms were applied to render all the quarters kingless (*i.e.*, free from enemies),

(V. 6.) whose (Jagaddēva's) father was **Udayāditya**, and whose uncle was the king **Bhōja**. These two kings (*Udayāditya and Bhōja*), having secured the stability as sovereigns of the earth, shone like the sun and the moon.

(V. 7.) Abandoned for ever by their lord, the deer-eyed (*ladies*) of the **Andhra** king, with their butter-soft feet, stumbling down, helpless as they were, on the roads, the ground of which was trampled by the hoofs of the horses of his (Jagaddēva's) army, are led by the rows of creepers (*growing*) on the sea-shore supporting them (*as it were*) with their copper-coloured twigs.

(V. 8.) He in sport uprooted the king of **Chakradurga**, and at his command even now, the streams on the slopes of the mountain, and the female bees in the midst of the forests, recite without ceasing, in different notes coming out of their throats, his all surpassing eulogies, fixed with (*the libation of water in shape of*) the rutty fluid of powerful elephants of his army.

(V. 9.) In every house the weeping widows of his enemies, having seen in **Dōrasamudra** the peak-like heaps of the skulls of their lords, who came in contact with the pointed club-like tusks of his best elephants, increase with tears the acute pain in the heart of the chief of **Malahara**[2].

(V. 10.) It is a matter of great wonder, that, even now, the great flood-tide of tears of the wives of the **Gūrjara** warriors, weeping day and night in the cave-entrances of the **Arbuda** mountain,

[1] This portion is badly mutilated

[2] [See above, p. 58, n. 5.—Ed.]

indicates fully the twang of his bow, as if it were the deep sound of the recitation of *mantras* in the form of the stories of the valour of **Jayasiṁha.**[1]

(V. 11.) On the one hand, in front of the wonderful conflict, his hand, capable of totally destroying his enemies, and skilled in fitting the bow, does not stop acquiring fame, on the other hand, the poets by hundred in the land which has the waves of the ocean as its girdle, are engaged in praising him with honey-oozing hymns, but even then are unable (*to tether the vastness of his glory*).

(V. 12.) It was he who subdued the king **Karṇa** and produced[2] the only fitting lake which rivalled the ocean in collecting beautiful gems in the cavern of the universe. The swans, even now, having heard the hundreds of learned men discoursing together sitting close to it (*i.e.*, the lake) continue without fear, the celebration of his victory.

(V. 13.) There was born in the renowned family of **Dāhimas** an illustrious personage named **Lōlārka,** who, ever since his very childhood, had been dear to the world, who was a repository of fame and excellent valour, who was bravery incarnate, and was a minister of **Udayāditya,** the lord of the earth, and the conqueror of the world.

(V. 14.) His grand-father was **Mahēndu** by name, who, having obtained the only beautiful lady **Śuṅgā**, referred to with ever new words of praise and (*bearing auspicious*) marks on her face shone by the sacrificial glamour, and even now gives expression to his pure brilliance in this world with his accumulated fame shining (*white*) like the tusks of elephants, *kunda* flowers, and lotuses.

(V. 15.) His father was **Guṇarāja,** who, on account of his excellence, was the leader of the warriors of the (*three*) worlds, was ever praised by the four lotus-like mouths of Brahmā, who (Guṇarāja) was mature, was like Arjuna alone capable of standing (*any*) test in a battle, witnessed by thousands of warriors, and who, having increased his valour, became ever dear to Udayāditya.

(V. 16.) His armies are known by many waving banners with various designs, by white umbrellas arranged in a line, by loud beatings of (*war-*) drums that could drown even the sound of thundering clouds at the time of the destruction (*of the universe*), by the horses glittering incessantly like a heap of diamonds, and by the riders with lances, swords and nooses.

(V. 17.) Tall like a *Śāla* tree, with his face representing the moon, with his eyes broad like the petals of lotuses, his shoulders bulky, arms long, and chest like the stone of the Kanaka-mountain, he was clearly recognised by these marks among many princes whose ears resembling young shoots were deafened by the neighing of the multitudes of his horses.

(V. 18.) He was, to the satisfaction of Jagaddēva, truthful and pure-hearted, and ever since his childhood he had been paying obeisance to Śiva every day. He maintaining the great and steady royal prosperity, without (*the privilege of the use of*) waving chowries (*only*), crushed forcibly the inimical kings.

(V. 19.) His wife named **Padmāvatī,** resembling Lakshmī in beauty, with lotus-like face, with a pair of eyes wide like petals of a lotus, famous in all the three worlds, built this palace (*i.e.*, temple) of **Nimbāditya** in this city, the corruptions of which were removed by forec.....

(V. 20.) May this heart-touching composition of the poet **Aśvatthāman** secure association of the ears of the (*people of this*) world with its responsibility placed upon the learned.

[1] [The proper translation of the verse seems to be:—" It is strange that even to-day the extending waves of the flood of tears of the wives of the Gūrjara heroes weeping night and day in the cave entrances of the Arbuda mountain, indicate the twang of the bow of this king which was (*on the other hand*) the evening thunder in the study of the accounts of Jayasiṁha's valour". The *Smṛitis* enjoin that the study of the Vēdas should be stopped when there is an evening thunder, *cf. Yājñavalkya Smṛiti* (T. S. S.), I. 144.—Ed.]

[2] *I.e.*, dug out.

No. 12.—A NEW COPPER PLATE OF DHRUVA II OF THE GUJARAT RASHTRAKUTA BRANCH, DATED SAKA 806.

BY A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., D. LITT., BENARES.

The grant of Dhruva II of the Gujarāt Rāshṭrakūṭa branch, which is here being edited for the first time, has been neither referred to nor published so far. The set of copper plates on which the grant has been engraved belongs to Mr. Pratapbhai H. Barot of Santa Cruz, Bombay, who very kindly forwarded them to me (through Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar of the Calcutta University) for decipherment and publication.

The **plates** are **three** in number. Their size, which is fairly uniform, is 11·8″×8·3″. The thickness is about ·1″. The edges of the plates have been raised into rims in order to protect the characters engraved. The plates are strung together by means of a ring passing through holes perforated at the centre of the upper sides of the plates, about ·3″ from the rims. The ring, which is $\frac{3}{8}$″ in thickness, has an inner diameter of 2″. Its ends have been soldered together by means of a **seal**, being 2″ in height and $1\frac{1}{2}$″ in diameter at the bottom. Countersunk in its surface is a seated figure, 1″ in height, holding hooded snakes in either hand. This is undoubtedly to be identified with the figure of Garuḍa, which is found on many other copper plate grants of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. The seal bears no writing.

The grant is engraved on the inner sides of the first and third plates and on both the sides of the second. The whole of the record does not seem to have been engraven by one and the same mason. The first plate and the first side of the second one are by the same hand ; the latter has no doubt more lines with greater number of letters in each than the former, but this is probably because the mason had at this stage realised that unless economy in space was made, the record could not be finished in three plates. The second side of the second plate and the third plate show a distinctly different and less elegant duct of engraving and are almost certainly by a different engraver.

The plates are in a fairly good state of preservation. In a few cases, some letters have been damaged but they can be made out from the traces left behind. The surface of the plates has been dressed fairly well, but in a few cases there still remain natural depressions, due to which in some places marks have appeared in the ink-impression which look like letters or medial vowels. Thus at the end of l. 26, the plates have clearly *-machirāsvapadē* only ; but the ink-impression shows- *machirāt=svapadē* owing to a depression on the surface to the left of *sva* which looks like *t*. In ll. 36 and 39 the mason has correctly engraved *paraṁ* and *mayā* respectively, but owing to a depression on the surface after the letters *ra* and *ma* the facsimile show *parāṁ* and *māyā* respectively. In l. 56 the letter *vi* in *vidyul-lōlāni* appears like *di* in the facsimile owing to the same cause.

In this document the engraving of individual letters is distinct, but every line is full of several blunders because the mason did not obviously understand what he was copying. Otherwise he would not have written *sūvya-mutāś-cha māvaḥ* for *sūrya-sutāś-cha gāvaḥ* in l. 61. The climax in this respect is reached at the end of the l. 40 and the beginning of l. 41 where the mason has engraved *bhagavach-chudh-ādhishṭhānē* for *bhagavad-Buddh-ā°*. It would appear that the copy issued from the secretariate was written in a careless handwriting ; the masons, who engraved the document, could not make out all the letters and wrote what they believed to be written on the manuscript before them. The State Record Office did not care to revise and correct the innumerable mistakes committed during engraving.

In Gujarāt during the 9th century two scripts were current, one was the proto-Dēvanāgarī and the other was the lineal descendant of the 'Valabhī' alphabet. The **characters** of this

record belong to the first variety. The signature of Dhruva II, who issued the plates, is, however, engraved in south Indian old-Kanarese characters as is the case with the sign manuals of Karkka and Dhruva I of the Gujarāt branch on their Nausārī[1] and Baroda[2] plates respectively. There can be no doubt that in these records, as in the present one, the masons are imitating the actual duct of the handwriting of the donors. It is therefore clear that even as late as 884 A.D., the date of the present record, the members of the Gujarāt Rāshṭrakūṭa royal family were accustomed to write in a script which was current neither in northern India, nor in Gujarāt, nor in Mahārāshṭra but in Karṇāṭak. This circumstance is in my opinion very important for determining the home of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mālkhed. If the original home of the family were in northern India as Fleet had first suggested,[3] or in Mahārāshṭra as Mr. C. V. Vaidya opines,[4] we cannot understand how the princes deputed to rule over Gujarāt could have been using south Indian old-Kanarese script as their mother script.[5] It is true that as early as 770 A.D., the Rāshṭrakūṭa empire had embraced practically the whole of Karṇāṭak including the State of Mysore. But if the royal family had originally belonged to Mahārāshṭra or to northern India, its members deputed to rule over Gujarāt and domiciled there for more than a century, would not have continued to use for their sign manual a script current neither in Rājputāna, nor in Mahārāshṭra, nor in Gujarāt, but in the far-off Karṇāṭak. Karkka was carrying on the administration of the empire at Mālkhed for a long time during the minority of Amōghavarsha I. He and perhaps his son Dhruva I may therefore have picked up the old-Kanarese script, prevailing at Mālkhed, and even used it for their sign manuals in their grants. But by the time of the present grant the Gujarāt branch had long ceased to have any intimate connection with Mālkhed, and the donor of the present grant, Dhruva II, would not have used old-Kanarese characters for his signature, if the former had not been the mother script of the family, carefully preserved by its members even after their domicile in Gujarāt for more than a hundred years.[6] The fact that Kṛishṇa III of the Imperial Rāshṭrakūṭa house should have used in his Jura inscription[7] Kanarese characters and language to proclaim his victories to the people of Bundelkhand, would also show that the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mālkhed originally belonged to Karṇāṭak, rather than to Mahārāshṭra or Telangaṇa or Northern India. The whole question of the home of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mālkhed cannot be discussed here[8]; attention is merely drawn to the light which the sign manuals of the present and some other records of the Gujarāt branch throw on the subject.

A few points of **palaeographical** interest may be noted here. *Oṁ* at the beginning of the record is denoted by the usual symbol. Two forms of the letter *ra* have been used side by side, cf. *rājasu rāja-siṁhaḥ*, l. 3; the same is the case with the letter *śa*, cf. *śa* in *Śatakratu*, l. 7, with the *śas* in *Śatakratu-sadṛiśaḥ* in l. 8. The form of the letter *ksha* is highly cursive in some cases, cf. *kshas* in *vaidhavya-daksha* and *kshaṇa-raṇa* in l. 14; in other cases, however, the constituent elements of this conjunct can be clearly distinguished, cf. *lakshmīmān*, l. 24. The record contains final *t* and *m*, but the sign of *virāma* has been written in two different ways. In *bhūt*, l. 11, and *sarit*, l. 44, *t* is denoted by a vertical with a slight notch or protrusion on the left; in *vallabhō-bhūt*,

[1] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 135 ff.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vols. XII, pp. 158 ff., and XIV, pp. 169 ff.

[3] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pt. ii, p. 384. In *ante*, Vol. VII, pp. 223-6 he abandons this view and suggests that Lātūr may have been their home.

[4] *History of the Mediæval Hindu India*, Vol. II, pp. 152-53.

[5] The fact that the signature of the present donor in his Bagumrā grant, dated 867 A.D. (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 181 ff.) and in Dantidurga's grant of the same year (*Ante*, Vol. VI, pp. 287 ff.), is in proto-Dēvanāgarī characters is obviously due to no attempt being made there to copy the precise script used by the kings.

[6] *Ante*, Vol. XIX, pp. 287 ff..

[7] See Altekar: *The Rashtrakutas and their Times*, pp. 21-5.

l. 20, and *dadyāt*, l. 62, a different symbol of two curves, the larger being above the smaller, is used to denote the same. This very symbol but in the reversed form, the smaller curve being above the larger, has been used to denote *m* in *chitram* in l. 37 : while in the case of *m* in *kumudānām* in l. 71, the *virāma* is written as in modern Dēvanāgarī. When the same words like *yasya* and *tasya* occur consecutively twice in ll. 64 and 65, the numeral 2 is used after the word to indicate that it is to be repeated in reading. The *avagraha* has been denoted in one place only by the modern Dēvanāgarī symbol in *dēyō='chāṭa*, l. 47.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit throughout. Engraver's blunders apart, there are only a few mistakes in *sandhi* as noted in the next paragraph. The formal part of the record is in prose ; the rest of it is in poetry excepting the letter *ōṁ* at the beginning and the words *tathā ch=ōktaṁ Rāmabhadrēna* in ll. 64-65.

Orthography calls for a few remarks only. (1) *Va* has been throughout used for *ba*. (2) Consonants in conjunction with a preceding *r* have usually been doubled (cf. °*r=gGōvindarājō*, l. 3, °*r-ārtt-ārtti-*, l. 5, etc.) with a few exceptions (cf. °*r=bhṛityaiḥ*, l. 9, *sārtha* and *Pārtha*, l. 25). (3) The *anusvāra* is preferably indicated by a dot ; if the following letter is a dental, it is usually changed into *n*, but in no place has it been changed to a *ṅ* or *ñ* before a following guttural or palatal. (4) The rules of *sandhi* are usually observed, but there are a few exceptions. In vv. 19 and 20 the last letters of the first verse-halves have been coalesced with the first letters of the second verse-halves, and in l. 21 we find a *sandhi* made between the last letter of the v. 15 and the first letter of the v. 16.

The **date** of the record is given in words in ll. 49-50, but the expression giving it is defective. After making the necessary grammatical corrections the expression reads as follows : *Śaka-nṛipa-kālātīta-saṁvatsara-śatēshu shaḍ-uttarēshu*. The most important word denoting the number of centuries has been omitted by inadvertence. There can be, however, no doubt that the expression was intended to be °*saṁvatsara-śatēshv=ashṭasu shaḍ-uttarēshu* and that the record was issued in Śaka 806. This date falls between the latest date of the grantor, known at present, Śaka 799 (supplied by the plates of Dantivarman[1]), and the earliest known date of his successor, Śaka 810, supplied by his Bagumrā plates.[2] Astronomical calculations also confirm this conclusion, for the *Dhanus-saṅkrānti* of Śaka 806 (elapsed) did actually take place on the second day of the bright half of Mārgaśīrsha as stated in the record. The year had an intercalary month, and so *Dhanus-saṅkrānti* occurred in Mārgaśīrsha instead of Pausha, as is usually the case. The corresponding date according to the Christian Era is **the 23rd of November 884 A.D.** The record thus supplies a new date for Dhruva II, the significance of which will be soon brought out.

The **object** of the present charter is to inform us that when **Dhruva Dhārāvarsha**, son of Akālavarsha, was encamped at **Śrīkhēṇa(ṭa)ka**, *i.e.*, modern **Kaira**, he granted a village named **Dhaḍayāsaha**, to the Buddhist *vihāra* of **Kāmpilya**. It may be pointed out that this is the same *vihāra*, which had received a donation seven years earlier from Dantivarman, a younger brother of the present grantor.[3] It is tempting to suggest, as has been done by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, that Kāmpilya of this record is identical with the ancient Kāmpilya, situated in Farrukhābād district of U. P., but such is not the case. Kāmpilya of U. P. is of hoary antiquity, while Kāmpilya of this record is said to have been founded by a Buddhist monk of the same name. The former is situated in Farrukkābād district, but Kāmpilya of this record was situated in the ancient district of **Kāntāragrāma**, which is identical with Katargām, situated on the

[1] *Ante*, Vol. VI, pp. 287 ff. [2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 65 ff. [3] *Ante*, Vol. VI, pp. 287 ff.

outskirts of Surat. We must therefore look for our Kāmpilya in Surat district. Our record informs us in ll. 40 and 41 that Kāmpilya-*tīrtha* was situated on the Maddāpī, flowing in Kāntāragrāma district. This Maddāpī river seems to be the same as the Mindhōlā river, which flows in Surat district and joins the Arabian Sea about 10 miles to the south of Surat. I would suggest, not without some hesitation, that Kāmpilya-*tīrtha* of our record, situated on the Maddāpī in Kāntāragrāma district is very probably the village Kāpliā situated on the southern bank of the Mindhōlā, about 25 miles east of Katargām. Kāpliā may be an *apabhraṁśa* of Kāmpilya, or Kāmpilya may be a Sanskritised form of the Prakrit name Kāpliā.

Buddhism was on the decline in the western presidency at the time of Yuan Chwang's visit, and it is interesting to note that we come across very few grants recording donations to Buddhist establishments subsequent to the departure of this Chinese traveller. Kāmpilya monastery of Gujarāt probably represented one of the last strongholds of Buddhism. Our record states that 500 monks were residing in this monastery in 884 A.D. Whether this number 500 is a real number, or whether it is a conventional one like that of the disciples of the Buddha mentioned in Buddhist sacred literature, is difficult to determine.

No information is available about the monk Kāmpilya who was the founder of this monastery. The grant was made at the request of the monk Sthiramati,[1] who seems to have been the presiding abbot of the monastery in 884 A.D.

The opening verse of the record contains a salutation to the gospel of the Buddha. The next 31 verses give the genealogy of the Rāshṭrakūṭa line. Of these vv. 2-16 describe the rulers of the main line, and the rest those of the Gujarāt branch. Only a few points need be mentioned about the account of the main line supplied by this record. The genealogy begins with Gōvinda I, his father Indra and grandfather Dantivarman being left out. None of the verses in this record is a new one, and except in the case of Dantidurga, no specific historic exploit is described in connection with any of the emperors of the main line. The account is brought down to Amōghavarsha I. Kṛishṇa II of the main line, who had succeeded his father before the issue of this grant, is passed over, probably because his accession being recent, the secretariate in Gujarāt had not yet got any verses ready in his eulogy. The hostility between the two houses had ceased by this time, and therefore that would not have been the cause of the omission of the name of Kṛishṇa II, especially when we remember that his father, who was the cause of the war, is duly mentioned in the record.

The account becomes more specific with v. 17 when the history of the Gujarāt branch commences. Here also none of the verses is new ; they all occur either in the Baroda plates of the donee's grandfather[2] or in his own Bagumrā plates.[3] A few points, however, deserve to be discussed in order to remove some current misunderstandings about the history of the Gujarāt branch. Like most other records, this document also does not mention the prince Gōvinda (a younger brother of king Karkka), who had issued the Kāvi plates in 827 A.D.[4] This circumstance had led Dr. Hultzsch to suggest that he was a usurper against Karkka and is therefore passed over in the charters issued by his successors.[5] Dr. Bühler's view was also the same ; he thought that the omission of Gōvinda's name was intentional and was meant as punishment for

[1] The syntax is rather peculiar here. The text reads as *Sthiramati-nāmnō bhikshuṇ=āvarjjya cha*. From what precedes and follows this clause, we expect here a clause in dative, stating that the monastery was presided over by so and so. Instead we have an absolutive clause, meaning ' being inclined, *i.e.*, induced (to make the gift) (*āvarjjya*) by the monk Sthiramati,' who was obviously the chief of the establishment. [*Ā-vṛij* may also mean ' to choose ' or ' to bring into possession ' ; *āvarjya* here probably signifies ' being accepted.'—Ed.]

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp 156 ff.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 181 ff.

[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 145 ff.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, p. 197.

his disloyalty.[1] This opinion of these two distinguished scholars seems to be untenable. It is now shown by the v. 26 of the Sanjān record of Amōghavarsha that he was born at Śrībhavana or Sarbhon in southern Gujarāt in *c.* 808 A.D., when his father was encamped there at the end of his northern expedition. He was thus a boy of about 6 at the time of his accession. His uncle Karkka was his guardian in his minority. He had to fight hard to reinstate his cousin when the feudatories had rebelled against him ; it is therefore clear that he must have spent most of his time at the imperial capital Mālkhed, down to 827 A.D., when the Kāvi plates were issued, if not till a later date. Karkka therefore had naturally to select a deputy to rule Gujarāt on his behalf during his long and continuous absence from his own capital. He had no doubt a grown up son, Dantivarman by name, who is mentioned as the *dūtaka* in his Baroda plates of 812 A.D.[2] But since Karkka was succeeded not by Dantivarman but by Dhruva, it is clear that Dantivarman predeceased him and died very young. V. 20 of the present record further suggests that Dhruva was born to Karkka probably in his old age after he had spent many a sleepless night owing to his anxiety for having a son. In *c.* 820 A.D. it is therefore clear that Karkka had no son old enough to be deputed to govern Gujarāt, and therefore his choice naturally fell on his younger brother Gōvinda who was old enough to be entrusted with office as early as 812 A.D.[3] It is worth noting that the Kāvi plates of Gōvinda do not mention his succession at all.[4] He was merely a princely regent appointed by his brother. The later records of the Gujarāt line omit his name, because he was a collateral who had never ascended the throne, and not because he was a usurper. In his Kāvi plates Gōvinda devotes as many as full four verses to the praise of his elder brother Karkka, and two of these, which contain a genuine and heartfelt tribute to his administration,do not occur in any grant either of Karkka himself or of any of his successors.[5] Is it likely that a usurper or a rebel would go out of his way to describe in glowing terms the administration, of the king whom he had ousted ? Nor could Gōvinda have been a rebel against Amōghavarsha I. It is true that the Kāvi plates take the genealogy of the main line to Gōvinda III and omit altogether the reigning sovereign Amōghavarsha I. But this omission must be regarded as accidental, for if Gōvinda had been a rebel against Amōghavarsha, he could not have been an admirer or friend of his elder brother Karkka, who was Amōghavarsha's guardian responsible for his restoration. It is clear that all the known facts can be best explained on the assumption that Gōvinda of the Kāvi plates was Karkka's deputy, governing the Gujarāt kingdom on behalf of his brother, while he was absent at Mālkhed during Amōghavarsha's minority.

Vv. 20-31 describe the reign of Dhruva I, Akālavarsha I, and his son, the grantor, Dhruva II. All these three kings were engaged in a continuous war with a king named simply as Vallabha in this and other records. This Vallabha can be none other[6] than Amōghavarsha I of

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 181. [2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 158 ff.

[3] See Tōrkhēḍē plates, *ante*, Vol. III, p. 57.

[4] [Similarly this inscription also does not explicitly mention the succession of Dhruva I but we cannot infer from it that he never succeeded.—Ed.]

[5] *Cf.* one of these (after the necessary corrections) :—

Saurājya-jalpē chalitē prasaṅgān=nidarśanaṁ viśvajanīna-sampat | prājyaṁ Balēḥ pūrvam=akō babhūva kshitāv, idānīṁ tu nṛipasya tasya || v. 32.

[6] This ruler cannot be the Rāshṭrakūṭa chief Parabala, mentioned in the Paṭhāri pillar inscription dated 861 A.D. (*ante*, Vol. IX, pp. 248 ff.). This record no doubt mentions that an elder brother of Parabala's grandfather had conquered Lāṭa, after conquering a Karṇāṭaka army, and that Parabala himself had inflicted a crushing defeat on a king called Nāgāvalōka. The record, however, does not mention Vallabha as an epithet either of Parabala or of any of his ancestors. The conquest of Lāṭa ascribed to the unnamed elder brother of Parabala's grandfather, supposing it was real, must have taken place much earlier than 835 A.D. after which this war occurred ; for Parabala himself was ruling in 861 A.D. The name of the opponent of Parabala himself was Nāgāvalōka, and there is no evidence to show that it was an epithet of any member of the Gujarāt branch.

the main Rāshṭrakūṭa line, who was a contemporary of all these three rulers. *Pṛithivīvallabha* and *Lakshmīvallabha* appear as his *vallabha*-ending epithets in his Sanjān plates and Nīlgund inscription.[1] It would appear that the cordial relations existing between the main line and the Gujarāt branch came to an end soon after 835 A.D.[2] Either Amōghavarsha was ungrateful, or Dhruva I became too overbearing, puffed up by the consciousness that it was his father who had restored Amōghavarsha to the throne. A war ensued between the two in which Dhruva lost his life. V. 23 of this record no doubt says that the armies of Vallabha were routed out in battle, though Dhruva had to lay down his life as the price of the victory. But this statement cannot be accepted at its face value, for v. 25 admits that Dhruva's son and successor Akālavarsha had to *re-occupy* his paternal kingdom. Akālavarsha's task was not an easy one, for some of his followers had deserted him after his father's death on the battlefield. His victory, supposing it was a real one, did not make matters very easy for his son and successor Dhruva II, the grantor of the present charter. For v. 28 informs us that he was attacked by a mighty Gurjara force, one of his brothers joined the enemy, and Vallabha, *i.e.* Amōghavarsha, refused him help. Bühler had suggested[3] that the Gurjaras, who had attacked Dhruva II, were the Chāpōtkaṭas. This view has to be abandoned, for v. 41 of the plates of Dhruva II, dated 867 A. D., mentions the mighty Mihira, famous for his cavalry, as the opponent of the Rāshṭrakūṭas.[4] This Mihira can be none other than Pratīhāra ruler Bhōja I. It is therefore clear that the old historic hostility between the Pratīhāras and the Rāshṭrakūṭas continued during the reign of Amōghavarsha. Bhōja tried to take advantage of the estrangement between the Gujarāt branch and the main line by launching an attack on Gujarāt. This record no doubt claims that the invasion of the Gurjaras was repelled single-handed by Dhruva. He was however too small a ruler to achieve this feat, and it is not unlikely that realising the disastrous consequences of the annexation of Gujarāt to the Gūrjara-Pratīhāra empire, Amōghavarsha may have eventually hurried help to his rescue. At any rate we know from the Bagumrā plates[5] that Dhruva's successor Kṛishṇa was receiving help against the Gurjara-Pratīhāras from Amōghavarsha's successor Kṛishṇa II. The same probably may have been the case in Dhruva's time after the conclusion of peace between him and Amōghavarsha.

The relationship between Dhruva II and his successor Kṛishṇa II is obscure, and the present record throws some new light upon it. Dr. Bhagwanlal had thought it not impossible[6] that this Kṛishṇa may have been a son of Dantivarman, a son of Karkka, who is mentioned as the *dūtaka* in his Baroda grant dated 812 A.D.[7] It is however very improbable that a son of Dantivarman who was a grown-up prince in 812 A.D., could have ascended the throne more than 72 years later than that date—as shown now by this grant—after the succession had passed to his brother's line for three generations. Dantivarman, mentioned in the Bagumrā record, is almost certainly the younger brother of Dhruva II, who was ruling as his governor in 867 A.D. as shown by his charter.[8] The Bagumrā plates no doubt suggest that Kṛishṇa Akālavarsha, the successor of Dhruva II, who had issued that charter, was a son of Dantivarman, the son of Karkka. But this grant is very corrupt and omits altogether Dhruva I, Kṛishṇa I and Dhruva II, who had undoubtedly ruled over Gujarāt after Karkka. It would appear that one of the *tāḍapatras*, which contained an account of the three missing rulers, was lost in transit when the manuscript

[1] *Ante*, Vol. VI, p. 99.
[2] Baroda plates of Dhruva I, dated 835 A.D., do not mention the war with Vallabha.
[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 181.
[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, pp. 179 ff.
[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 67 ff.
[6] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, pp. 127-8.
[7] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 158 ff.
[8] *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 67 ff.

was sent to the engraver for engraving, and no one subsequently cared to correct the mistake. This would become clear from the last line of verse 19 of that record which, after making the necessary corrections, runs as follows [*Babhū*]*va sūnuḥ śrī-Dantivarmaṇaḥ prabala-pratāpaḥ*. It is obvious that there is a lacuna in this verse after the word *sūnu* in its 4th line. Other records of the Gujarāt branch show that this verse ends as : *Babhūva sūnur-Dhruvarāja-nāmā*, and describes the birth of Dhruva I, the son and successor of Karkka. It would appear, as suggested above, that one of the *tāḍapatras*, which commenced with the word *Dhruva-rāja-nāmā*, and contained an account of the next three rulers, was lost when the document was despatched by the secretariate to the mason. The extremely corrupt text of the plates convincingly proves that no responsible officer cared to revise the document, as engraved by the mason, and so the omission of the three rulers remained unattended. These plates therefore do not show that Kṛishṇa Akālavarsha, who succeeded Dhruva, was a son of Dantivarman, who acted as *dūtaka* in 812 A.D.[1]

Was he then the son of Dantivarman, a younger brother of Dhruva II, who was ruling under him in 867 A.D. as conjectured by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar,[2] and had this Dantivarman's reign intervened between the reigns of Dhruva II and Kṛishṇa II, as postulated by Dr. Hultzsch ?[3] The present record makes both these views very improbable. It shows that Dhruva II was ruling down to Śaka 806, and so the interval between the last known year of Dhruva and the first known year of his successor Kṛishṇa II, *viz.*, Śaka 810, is now no longer of 21 years but is reduced to the short period of less than four years. It is therefore very improbable that Dantivarman could have ruled during this interval. It may be further pointed out that the Bagumrā plates of Kṛishṇa Akālavarsha II simply mention the name of Dantivarman, without stating that he had ascended the throne.

The verse 19 of the grant quoted above is followed after one fragmentary and two complete verses, by the name of Kṛishṇa Akālavarsha, who had issued the grant. This undoubtedly lends support to the view that Dantivarman was Kṛishṇa's father as suggested by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar. But we must note that there is a clear lacuna after the words *babhūva sūnuḥ* and that they were really followed by *Dhruvarāja-nāmā* as shown above. It is therefore difficult to maintain that the Bagumrā plates show that Kṛishṇa Akālavarsha was a son of Dantivarman. As a matter of fact the name of Dantivarman remains as an isolated and disconnected name in that very corrupt document, and its existence cannot be satisfactorily explained. The present record mentions a hither-to-unknown son of Dhruva II, Karkkarāja by name, who was the *dūtaka* of the grant. He must have been a grown-up prince in Śaka 806, and since he is not designated as a *yuvarāja*, it is clear that he had another elder brother living at this time.[4] It is difficult to believe that a son of Dantivarman, who was loyal to Dhruva II, could have succeeded to the throne after ousting these two sons of the latter within less than four years after the issue of this grant. The names of the son and grandson of Dhruva I were Kṛishṇa Akālavarsha and Dhruva II respectively. It is therefore not improbable that according to the family tradition the eldest son of Dhruva II may have been named after his grandfather Kṛishṇa Akālavarsha and may have been none other than Kṛishṇa Akālavarsha of the Bagumrā plates.[5] This view cannot be yet regarded as proved, but it may be found to represent real history when

[1] [That Bhagvanlal's view was untenable was proved by D. R. Bhandarkar long ago (above, Vol. VI, p. 287). Kielhorn also does not appear to have accepted this view (see above, Vol. VIII, Appendix II, p. 9).—Ed.]

[2] *Ante*, Vol. VI, p. 287. [3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 66.

[4] Since Saka 806 was the fag-end of Dhruva's reign, his successor being known to be ruling in Śaka 810, it is not very probable that Karkka, though the eldest son, may not have been designated here as *Yuvarāja* because his *yauvarājyābhishēka* had not yet taken place.

[5] [The point that Dhruva II had two sons is not at all proved. It is not impossible that Karka was not appointed *Yuvarāja* by this time.—Ed.]

a well preserved and well revised charter of Kṛishṇa Akālavarsha II of the Gujarāt branch is discovered.

Of the **places** mentioned in this record, **Kāmpilya, Kāntāragrāma** and **Maddāpī** river have been already discussed. From a very detailed map of Mahuvā and Bardoli *Talukas*, supplied very kindly to me by Dr. S. M. Pagar, the Subhā of Naosari Prant, it is clear that the village **Dhaḍayāsaha,** given by this charter, is the same as the village Dhuṇḍesā, situated in the Mahuvā *Taluka* of Naosari Prant of the State of Baroda. According to the charter, the **Pūravī river** and the villages **Liṅgataḍāgikā, Padhamaśṭaṇa** and **Vaḍavallī** were situated to the south, west, north and east respectively of Dhaḍayāsaha. These are to be identified with the Pūrṇā river, Śaṅkaratalaōrī, Pathrōṇ and Valōd respectively, which are situated to the south, south-west, north and east respectively of Dhuṇḍesā. Liṅgataḍāgikā has obviously changed its name to Śaṅkaratalaōrī in subsequent centuries. **Śrīkhēṇaka** is obviously a mistake for Śrīkhēṭaka, which is the same as modern Kaira. The identification of **Sōmēśvara-tīrtha,** where Dhruva had bathed before making the grant, is difficult ; according to the information kindly supplied to me by Muni Vijaya Indra Sūri, there are two other Sōmēśvara-tīrthas besides the well known one at Prabhāsa. The second one is situated at Siddhapura, near Pātan in northern Gujarāt, where the rivers Ganges, Jumna and Sarasvatī are supposed to meet, and the third one at Karnāli near Chandod in Baroda district on the confluence of the rivers Orsang and Narmadā. The first two of the above Sōmēśvara-tīrthas were very probably not included in the dominions of Dhruva ; the last mentioned one may therefore probably have been the place where he had bathed on the occasion. **Kavarikā** and **Suhilā,** which are mentioned in the record as headquarters of districts of the same name, cannot be identified.

TEXT.[1]

[Metres :—vv. 1, 13, 15, 32, 35 and 36, *Anushṭubh* ; vv. 2-5, 7, 9, 14, 18, 19 and 21, *Vasantatilakā* ; v. 6, *Gīti* ; vv. 8, 16, 23-27, 29-31 and 39, *Āryā* ; vv. 10 and 17, *Sragdharā* ; vv. 11 and 20, *Upajāti* ; v. 12, *Śārdūlavikrīdita* ; v. 22, *Indravaṁśā* ; v. 28, *Pṛithvī* ; vv. 33 and 34, *Indravajrā* ; v. 37 *Śālinī* and v. 38, *Pushpitāgrā.*]

First Plate.

1 ओं[2] स्वस्त्यस्तु भगवतो(ते) सुगतशासनाय ॥ स वोव्याद्देवसा यस्य यं(यत्) ना[3]भिकमलं ज्ञातं(तम्) । ह्रस्व यस्य कान्तेन्दुक-

2 लया कमलंज्ञातं(तम्) ॥[१*] यासीद्वि(द्वि)धत्तिमिरसुद्यतमष्कलायो ध्वस्तिम्न यन्नभिमुखो रणयर्व्वरीषु । भूपः शुचिर्व्वि(र्भि)-

3 धुरियास्तदिम(ग)न्तकीर्तिर्म्मोविन्दराज इति राजसु राजसिं(सिं)हः ॥[२*] हृष्ट्वा चमूमभिमुखो(खीं) सुभटाट्टहासासुन्ना-

4 मितं सपदि येन रणेषु नित्य(त्यम्) । दृष्टाधरेण दधता भृकुटि(टिं) ललाटे खड्गं सुत(तं) च हृदयं च निजं च सत्वं(त्वं) ॥[३*] त-

5 स्यात्मजो जगति विश्रुतशुभ्रकीर्त्तिरात्तोत्तिहारिहरिविक्रमधामधारी । भूप-स्त्रिविष्ट(ष्ट)पनृपानुकृतिः कृतज्ञो(ज्ञः)

[1] From the original plates.
[2] Expressed by a symbol.
[3] ना looks like का in the facsimile owing to the slipping of the instrument.

6 श्रीकक्क(क्कं)राज इति गोत्रमणिर्व्व(र्ब्ब)भूव ॥[४*] तस्य प्रभिन्न(न्न)ताट-
(कर)च्युतदानदन्ति(न्ति)दत्त(न्त)प्रहारक(रु)चिरोन्नधि(सि)तास्र(स्र)-

7 पीठः । ख्या(ख्या)पः लि(लि)तौ ष(ष्ठ)पित[1]श्चतुरभूत्तनूजः सद्र(द्रा)ष्ट्रकूट-
कनकाद्रिरिवेन्द्रराजः ॥[५*] तस्योपार्ज्जितम-

8 ह्यस्तनयश्च(श्व)तुरुदधिवस्त्रस(य)मालि(लि)न्याः [।*] भोक्ता भुवः शतक(क्र)तु-
सदृश्यः श्रीदन्ति(न्ति)दुर्गराजोभूत् ॥[६*] कांची-

9 स(श्र)ह(के)रलनराधिपचोलपा(पां)ड्यश्रीहर्षवज्रटविभेदविधानदक्षं(क्षम्) । न(क)-
र्णाटक(कं) क(ब)लमचिन्त्या(क्ष्य)मजेयमल्लै(ल्लै)र्भृ-

10 त्यैः(त्यैः) क्रियद्भिरपि यः सहसा जिगा(गा)य ॥[७*] तस्मिन्दिवं प्रयाते
वल्लभराजे [2]क्षतप्रजावा(बा)धः । [श्री*]कर्क्कराजसूनुर्म्म-

11 हीपतिः श्री[3]कृष्णराजोभूत् ॥[८*] राहप्यमात्मभुजजातव(ब)लावलेपमामै(जौ)
विजित्य(त्य) निशितासिखताप्रहारैः ।

12 पाले(लि)ध्वजावले(लि)श्रमभामचिरेण यो हि राजाधिराजपरमे[4]श्वा(श्व)रतां
ततान ॥[९*] येन श्वेतातपत्रप्रहतरविक-

13 रप्रा(द्रा)तम(ता)पात्सलीलं जग्मे नासीरधूलीधवले(लि)तशिरसा वल्लभाख्यः
सदाजौ । श्रीमद्गोविन्दराजो जि-

14 न(त)जगदहितक्षीणवैधव्यदक्षः[5]स(श्चस्त)स्यासीनू(सू)नुरेकः -क्षणरणदलि(लि)तारांति-
मत्तेभकुम्भः ॥[१०*] तस्यानु-

15 जः श्रीध्रुवराजनामा महात्मभावोप्रहतप्रत्य(त्ता)पः [।*] प्रसाधिताशेषनरेन्द्र-
चक्रः क(क्र)मेण वा(बा)लार्कैप(व)-

16 पुर्ब्ब(र्ब्ब)भूव ॥[११*] जाते यत्र न राष्ट्रकूटतिलके मद्दू(सद्दू)पचूडा[6]मणौ
गुवी(र्वी) तुष्टिरथाखिलस्य जगतः सु-

17 स्वामिनि प्रत्यहं(हम्) [।*] सत्यं सत्यमिति प्रशासति सति क्षामाससु-
प्रा(द्रा)त्ति(स्ति)क्षामासीद्धर्म्मपरे गु-

18 णास्तनिचौ(धौ) सत्यव्रताधिष्क्रि(ष्ठि)ते ॥[१२*] रक्षता येन निःशेष(षं) चतुर-
श्रीधिसंयुतं(तम्) । राज्यं

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[1] Here we have the alternative form of the letter श्र.

[2] The horizontal bar of ष in क्ष is missing.

[3] Metre requires श्री to be omitted here. The letter has been wrongly transposed from कर्क्कराज to कृष्णराजो.

[4] Here we have the alternative form of श्र.

[5] This form of च्च is quite common in this plate.

[6] Owing to the slipping of the instrument मा looks like ष्ठ.

Second Plate; First Side.

19 धर्म्मेण लोकाना(नां) क्षता क्षष्टि[:*] परा क्षदि ॥[१३*] तस्यात्मजो जगति सप्रथितोरुकीर्त्तिर्गोविन्दर(रा)ज इति गोचललाम-

20 भूतः । त्यागी पराक्रमधनः प्रकटप्रताप[:*] सन्तापिताहितजनो जनव-क्षभीभूत् ॥[१४*] तत्पुत्रोत्र गते नाक-

21 माकंपितरिपुव्रजे । श्रीमद्दाराजशर्व्वाख्यः ख्यातो राजाभवद्गुणै[1][:॥१५*] र(ऋ)र्थिषु यथार्थतां यः समभीष्ट-

22 फलावाप्तिलब्ध(ब्ध)तोषेषु । इत्थं निनाय परमाममोघवर्षाभिधानस्य ॥[१६*] राजाभूत्तत्पितृव्यो रिपुभयविभवोद्भूत्यभा(द्भूत्यभा)-

23 वैकद्वैतुर्क्षश्रीमान्निन्द्रराजो गुणनृपतिकरांतस्थमस्कारकारी । रागादन्याग्त्यु(न्यु)-दस्य प्रकटितविनया यं नृपा[:*] सेव-

24 माना राजश्रीरेव चक्रे सकलकविजनोद्गीततथ्यस्वभावं(वम्)[2] ॥[१७*] श्रीकर्क-राज इति रक्षितराज्यभारः सारः कुलस्य तनयो

25 नयशालिशौर्यस्त(र्यः) ।[3] त)स्याभवद्विभे[4](भ)वर्यदितवं(बं)धुसार्थः पार्थः सदैव धनुषि प्रथमः शुचीनां(नाम्) ॥[१८*] स्वेच्छाग्रहीतविषयान्द्र(न्दृ)-

26 ढसंङ्घ(घ)भाजः प्रोद्भूतदृप्ततरशुल्किकराष्ट्र(ष्ट्र)कूटान्(न्[5] । ड)म्बातखड्गनिजबा(बा)-ड्डव(ब)लेन जित्वा योमोघवर्षमचिरा[त्][6] स्वपदे

27 व्यधत्त ॥[१९*] पुत्रोयतस्तस्य महानुभावः क्षतौ क्षतघ्नः क्षतवीर्यवीर्यो(र्यः[7] ।) [8]वर्गोक्षताशेषनरेन्द्रवन्द्यो व(ब)भूव सूनुर्ध्रु(ध्रुं)वराजनामा ॥[२०*]

28 चन्द्रो जडो हिमगिरिस्त्वहिम[:*] प्रकृत्या वातत्वसत्व य(त)प[न*]स्तपनस्वभावः । सारः[9] पयोनिधि[10]रिति तैस्समस्य नास्ति येनोपमा

29 निरुपमस्तत एव गीतः ॥[२१*] ब्र(ब्र)ह्माण्डमेतल्लिमिति प्रजासृजा न मन्यमाणेन पुरा विनिर्म्मि(र्म्मि)तं(तम्) । एवं विचिन्त्य ध्रुवराजकीर्त्ति-

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[1] Here not only are the usual *daṇḍas* omitted, but a *sandhi* is made between the last letter of v. 15 and the first one of v. 16.

[2] Owing to a natural depression on the plate, there appear in the facsimile three vertical lines at the end of this verse; really there are only two in the original.

[3] The usual *daṇḍa* at the end of the half-verse is omitted and a *sandhi* is made with the letter following.

[4] The medial *ē* mark is quite clear on the original, though not in the facsimile.

[5] Here also the *daṇḍa* at the half-verse end is omitted and a *sandhi* is made with the letter following.

[6] Owing to a natural depression on the plate surface, the facsimile shows a faint trace of त्; on the plate, however, no त् has been engraved.

[7] Here also the *daṇḍa* at the half-verse end is omitted and a *sandhi* is made with the letter following.

[8] The letters र्गोव are damaged but they are clear on the original plate.

[9] र् is damaged but clear on the plate.

[10] Metre requires us to read पयोधि.

30 र्व्विधातुरासीत्सुतरामसूयिनी ॥[२२*] दक्षसि(शि)रसि खड्गघातैर्व्वज्रभदंडं परा-
क्षुण्णीकृत्य । स(श)स्त्रशस्त्रदेह: [1]स्वर्गमगादेक
31 एवासौ ॥[२३*] तस्याग्रजनराधिपक्षतयशस: स्वर्गलोकगतकीर्त्ते: । श्रीमान-
कालवर्षस्तनय: समभूत्सुखालम्ब:(ब:) ॥[२४*] वल्लभ-
32 दण्डाक्रान्तं विघटितदुष्टानुजोविवर्गेण । पितृपर्यागतम[2]चिराच्चखलमध्यासितं
येन ॥[२५*] प्रियवादी सत्यधन: श्रीमान-
33 नुजोविवत्सलो मानी । प्रतिपन्नश्रीभकर: शुभतुङ्ग: शुभकर: सुहृदाम् ॥[२६*]
तस्मिन्खल्वी(र्वी)भूते गुणवति सुषवाग्गुणा-
34 धिकप्रीति: [।*] समभूद्ध्रुवराजसमो ध्रुवराजस्तुष्टिलक्ष्मीके ॥[२७*] ततोभि-
मुखमाप[त*]ग्रव(ब)लगूर्ज्जराणां व(ब)लं [3] ततो विमुखवल्ल-
35 भो विक्लृप्तिमागता वां(बां)धवा: । ततोनुजविकुर्व्वितं ग्रममगात्समस्तं भयादहो
क्षुरणमद्भुतं निरुपमेन्द्र खड्गस्य ते ॥[२८*] गूर्ज्जरव(ब)ल-
36 मतिव(ब)लवत्स[4]मुद्यदुपदंष्ट्रितं[5] च कुखेन । एकाकिनैव विक्षितं परासुखं
लीलया येन ॥[२९*] यच्चाभिषिक्तमात्र: परं[6] यश-
37 स्त्यागश्री[7]र्थतोवाप । शुभतुंगजोतितुंगं पदं [य]दाप्नोति नो चित्रम् ॥[३०*]
तेनेदमनिलविधुचञ्चलमालोक्य जीवितमसारं [।*]
38 क्षितिदानपरमपुण्य: प्रवर्त्तितो धर्मदायोयं(यम्) ॥[३१*] स च समधि-
गताशेषमहाशब्द(ब्द)महासामन्ताधिपतिधा(र्धा)रावर्षश्रीध्रुवरा-
39 जदेव: सर्व्वानेव समनुवो(बो)धयत्यस्तु व: संविदितं(तम्) ॥ यथा मया[8]
श्रीखेस(ट)कावटकावस्थितेन[9] मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चै(श्चै)हि-
40 कामुष्मिकपुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये चिरंतनकवरिकापर[10]विषयसंज्ञा(ज्ञ)सांप्रतीयकांतारया-
मप्रतिवि(ब)द्धमहापो[11]खरिस्तोरे भग-

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[1] The letter स्व is damaged but quite clear on the plate.

[2] The letter च is damaged.

[3] This *daṇḍa* is unnecessary. Read बलमितो.

[4] Letters द्यत्स are clear on the plate.

[5] Read समुद्यतं दंष्ट्रितं.

[6] Owing to a depression on the plate surface, the letter रं appears like रि. No medial *ā* sign has, however, been engraved.

[7] Letters श्रीर्थ are faint in the facsimile, but clear on the plate.

[8] Owing to a natural depression on the plate surface, the letter म appears like मा. The medial का mark has, however, not been engraved at all.

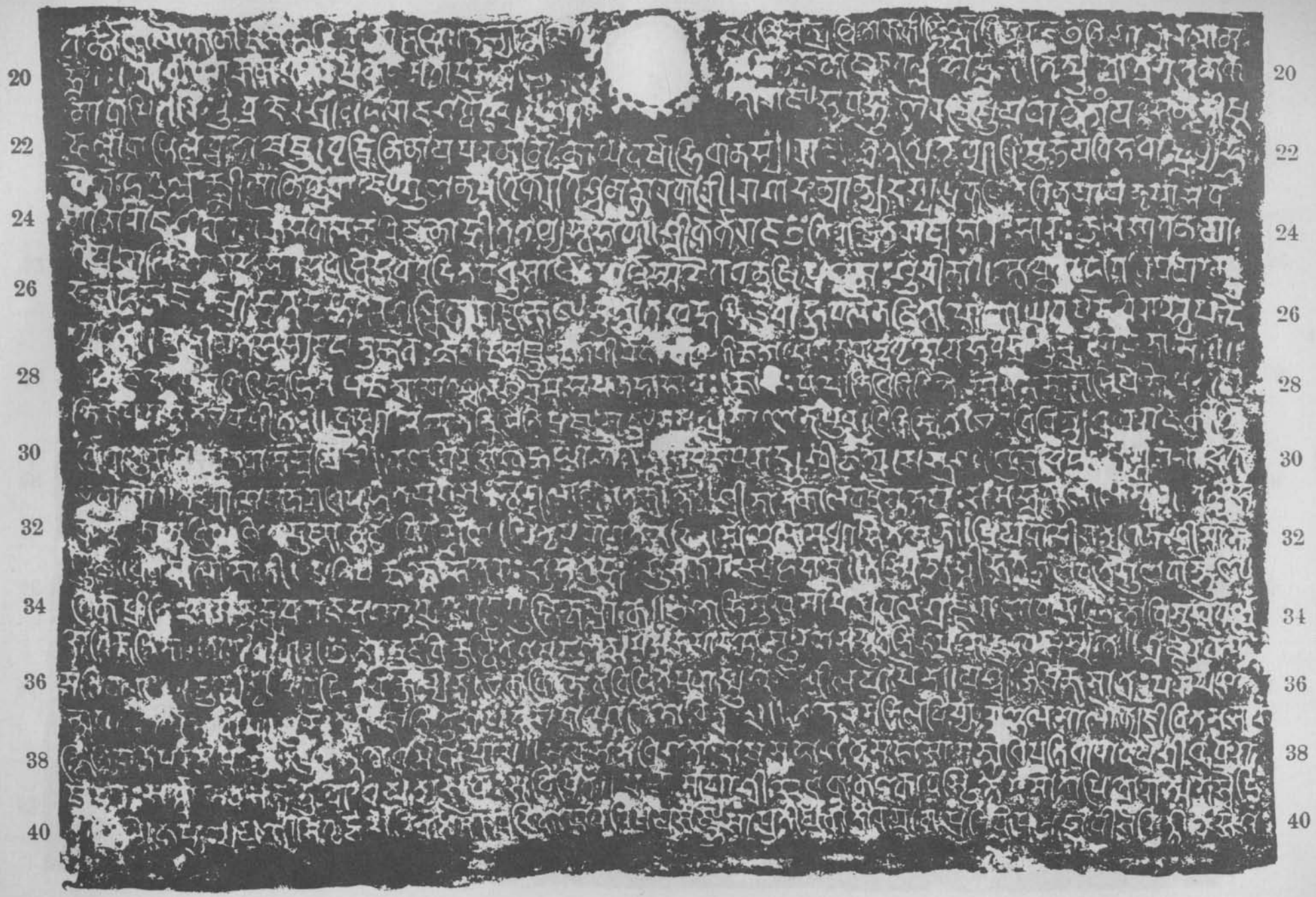
[9] The letter न has been only half engraved.

[10] [Reading may be *Kavarik-āhāra*.—Ed.]

[11] [Reading of this name is doubtful.—Ed.]

A New Copper Plate of Dhruva II of the Gujarat Rashtrakuta Branch, Saka 806

Second plate: First side.



N. P. Chakravarti,

Reg. No. 3350 E'34–425.

SCALE: THREE-QUARTERS.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

A New Copper Plate of Dhruva II of the Gujarat Rashtrakuta Branch, Saka 806

Second plate: Second side.



N. P. Chakravarti.

Reg. No. 3350 E'34-425.

SCALE: THREE-QUARTERS.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

Second Plate ; Second Side.

41 वसुहाधिष्ठाने[1] पंचशतानि तीर्थानां विनयित्वा[2] कांपिल्यसुनिना कारित-
महाविहा-
42 रा[3]यतनाय कांपिल्यतीर्थकसंघकाय स्थिरमतिनाम्ना भिक्षुणावस्थं च श्रीमते
43 बु(बु)द्धभट्टारकाय सुहिलाविषयान्तर्वर्त्ती धडवासङ्गाभिधान(न)ग्रामो यस्याघा-
44 टनानि पूर्व्वतो वडवल्ली ग्रामसीमा ॥ दक्षिणतः पूरादी सरित् ।[।] पश्चिमतो सिम्ब[4](ङ्ग)-
45 तडागिकाग्रामसीमा ॥ उत्तरतः पद्मसृच ग्रामसीमा ॥ एवमयं चतुराघाट-
46 नोपलक्षितः सोद्र(द्र)ङ्गः स(सो)परिकरः स(स्व)सीमापर्य्यं(र्य्यं)न्तः सास(र)सहितः सहृच्चमा-
47 ताकुलः सज(द)क्खदशाव(प)राधः सहिरण्यादेयो[5]ऽचाटभटप्रवेश्या[6] वातोडरी-
48 यः सर्वराजकीयामामहस्तप्रवेपनीयो ॥[7] याचन्द्रार्कार्णवक्षितिपर्व्वतसमका-
49 लीनः पूर्व्वदत्तदेवदायत्र(व)ह्मदायरहि(हि)तोभयन्तरसिद्धया प्रकल्पवाह्यातीर(त्र)-
खं(सं)-
50 वत्सरशतेषु [अष्टसु*] षदु(डु)त्तरेषु मार्गशिरसु(सु)द्धितीयायां(यां) भगवति
सवितरि धनुषि संक्रा-
51 न्तौ महापर्व्वणि सोमेश्वरसंगमतीर्थे स्नात्वोपोद[8]कातिसर्गेण गन्धपुष्पधू-
52 पनि(नै)वेद्यादिक्रियोपवर्त्तनार्थं तथा स्नानालयात्स्व(त्स्व)स्कुटितसंस्कारार्थं
च वि-
53 क्षारस्य प्रतिपादितस्व[त्स्व*] सतसुचितया[9] देवदायस्थित्वा सिन्धुविषय-
स्थभिक्षु-
54 खं(सं)घस्य प्रतिज्ञामतौ भुंजतो भोजयतः क्षपतः कर्षयतो न परिपन्थना
55 कार्य्या [॥*] तथागामिनृपतिभिरस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैर्वा सामान्यं भूमिदार(न)फल(ल)-

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[1] Read भगवद्वृक्षा°.

[2] Read विनय.

[3] Space for two letters has been left out at the beginning of this line. [No space is left out ; the first three letters are to be read as °*riyāya*°.—Ed.]

[4] [This conjunct letter appears to be *mva* in the impression.—Ed.]

[5] *Avagraha* in the modern form occurs at this place only in this record.

[6] Read °प्रवेश्यो.

[7] These *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

[8] Read either स्नात्वोद° or स्नात्वोदो°.

[9] Read सम्मुचितया.

Third Plate.

56 मित्यवधार्य्य [1]विद्युल्लोलाञ्चलित्वाच्चैश्व(श्व)र्य्यादि तृणायलम्बजलवि(बि)न्दुचंच-
57 लं जीवितमाकलय्य खदायनिर्व्विशेषोयमस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैश्च भाविभिरस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्यः पालयितव्यः[2] ॥
58 यस्माद्वानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छि(च्छि)[3]नत्ति(त्ति)दाच्छिद्यमान(नं) वानुमोदेत स
पंचभिर्म्महापातकै-
59 रुपपातकैश्च संयुक्तः स्यादित्युक्तं[4] च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ षष्टि-[5]
र्व्वर्षसहस्राणि स्व-
60 र्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छे(च्छे)त्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्[6] ॥[३२*]
अग्नेरपत्यं(त्यं) प्रथमं(मं) सुवर्णं(र्णं) भूव्ये(व्यै)-
61 त्यावी सूत्य(र्य्य)सु(सु)ताया(या) मा(गा)वः । लोकाक्षयस्तेन भवन्ति दत्ता
यः कांचनं गां च महीं च दद्यात् ॥[३३*] यानीह
62 दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि । निर्म्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि
तानि को नाम साधुः
63 पुनराददीत ॥[३४*] विन्ध्या(न्ध्या)द(ट)वीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः ।
क्लेशाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं ह-
64 रन्ति ये(ये) ॥[३५*] ब(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता[7] राजभिः सगरादिभिः ।
यस्य २[8] यदा तू(भू)मिस्तस्य २[8] तदा प(फ)लं(लम्) ॥[३६*] तथा
65 चोक्तं(क्तं) रामभद्रेण ॥ सर्व्वा(र्व्वा)नेतान्भा(र्भा)विनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्(न्) भूयो २[9]
याचते रौ(रा)मभद्रः । सामान्योयं धर्म्मसे(से)-
66 तुर्नृपाणां का(का)ले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥[३७*] इति कमलदलाम्बु(म्बु)-
वि(बि)न्दुलोलां श्रि(श्रि)यमनुचिन्त्य मनु-
67 ष्यजीवितं [च] ॥[10] अतिविमलमनोभिरात्मनीनैर्न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलो-
प्याः ॥[३८*] श्रीक-
68 ल्याणराजनामा तदाज्ञप्ते(प्तो)ऽपि दापको दूतः । याचञ्चक्र(क्रु)विवक्षान्ता-
(क्षं)तापशीलोरिकुलु-
69 दानाम् ॥[३९*] स्वहस्तो(स्तो)यं श्रीध्रुवराजदेवस्य[10] ॥[11] लेखितं चेत-
70 धारा(या) वल्लभौ(भि)वाक्षव्यमहासन्धिविग्रहाक्षपटलाधिपतिश्रीदीन्देत(न) श्रीम-
71 दवलोकिताज्ञप्तेनेति ॥

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[1] Owing to shallow engraving, the letter वि appears like हि in the facsimile.

[2] Read पालयितव्य ॥.

[3] Owing to a natural depression on the plate surface, an *anusvāra* appears over the letter च्छि, whereas none in fact has been engraved.

[4] The letter क्तं has been damaged.

[5] Read षष्टिं वर्ष°.

[6] Read वसेत् ॥.

[7] The letter क्ता is damaged.

[8] The numeral 2 is used to indicate that the preceding word is to be repeated in reading.

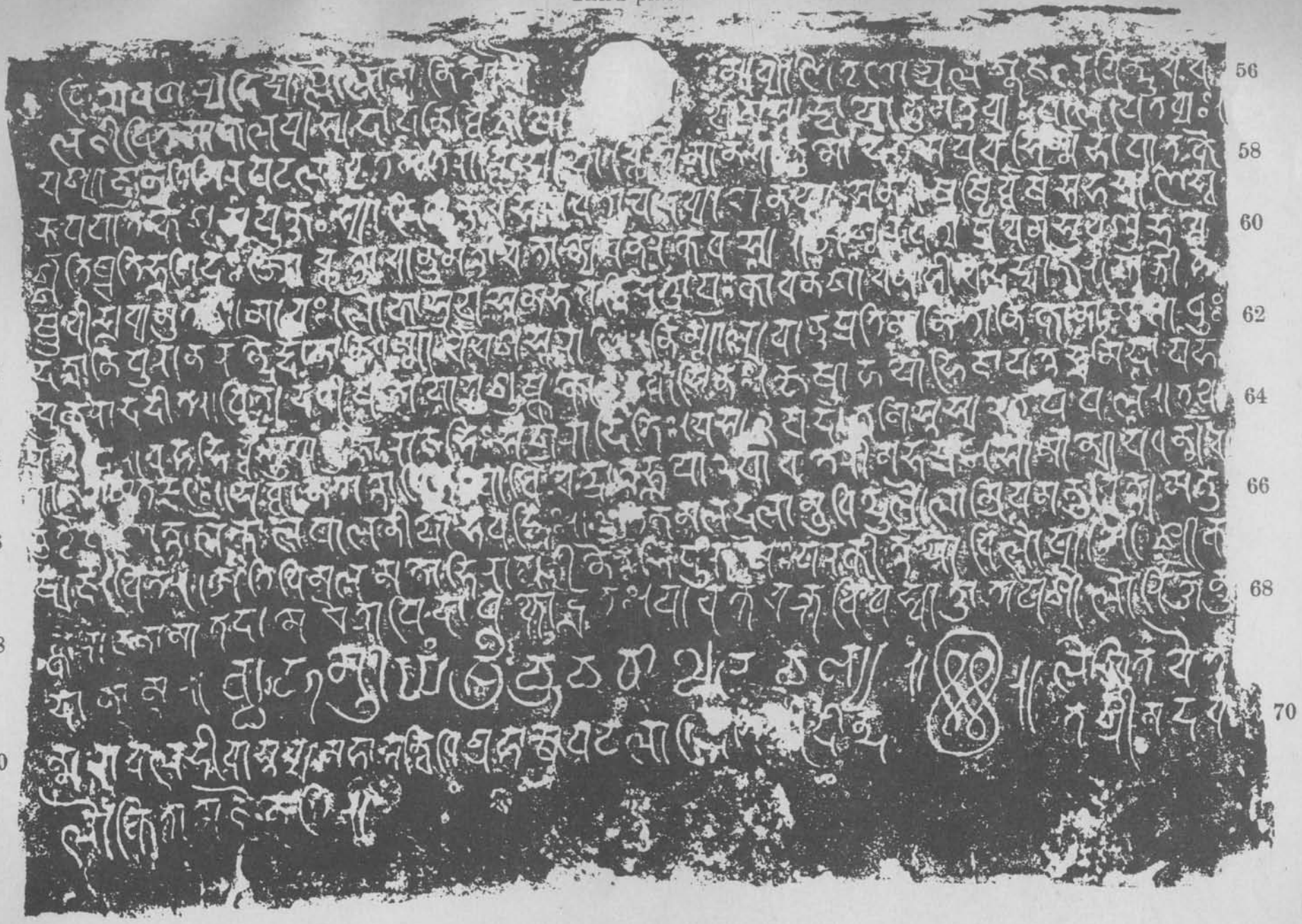
[9] Here two *dandas* are wrongly engraved instead of one.

[10] The signature is in old-Kanarese characters.

[11] After the signature and before the word लेखितं is engraved an ornamental design.

A New Copper Plate of Dhruva II of the Gujarat Rashtrakuta Branch, Saka 806

Third plate.



N. P. Chakravarti.

Reg. No 3350 E'34—425.

SCALE: THREE-QUARTERS.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

NO. 13.—BRAHMANAPALLI GRANT OF KARKKA SUVARNNAVARSHA : SAKA 746.

By B. Bhattacharyya, M.A., Ph.D., Baroda.

The copper-plate grant described here consisting of **three plates** joined together by means of a circular ring to which is attached a seal, was purchased from a resident of Barodā and is now preserved in the Library of the Oriental Institute at Barodā. This is one of the unpublished records of Karkka Suvarṇṇavarsha of Gujarāt and is unquestionably of great historical value for the State of Barodā, if not for the Bombay Presidency ; indeed, this as well as other copper-plates granted by the same king refer to grants of lands and villages all situated in the territory of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad of Barodā, and some of the old names can with little difficulty be identified with the names of villages now in existence.

The plates measure 11″ by 8″ and are of about ¼″ in thickness with the rims fashioned thicker than the rest for the protection of the writing. A hole is bored at the top through the middle of all the three plates, and through this hole passes a massive ring, slightly oval in shape, ½″ thick and 4½″ in diameter, which holds them together. On the ring appears a **seal** circular in shape and 1½″ in diameter on which is embossed a figure of Garuḍa without any legend. The plates and the writing are very well preserved and the letters are very distinctly incised. The first and the third plates are incised on one side only while the second is engraved on both sides. The **script** of the record resembles that usually found in the inscriptions of the Valabhī rulers. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit throughout. With the exception of the symbol at the commencement, the portion recording the grant (ll. 52-68) and the concluding lines (ll.77-80) the rest of the inscription is in verse. The signatures of the king **Suvarṇṇavarsha** and his overlord **Amōghavarsha** appear at the end and are in distinctly different characters which are more akin to the Southern script than the Northern. The verses of this grant occur in other grants, particularly the Nausārī plates[1] of the Gujarāt Rāshṭrakūṭa prince Karkka I and also in the Kāvī plates[2] of the Gujarāt Rāshṭrakūṭa prince Gōvinda. The weight of the plates including the seal is 9 lbs.

With regard to **orthography** the following are worthy of note : (i) the use of the gutteral nasal instead of *anusvāra* ; (ii) the almost invariable change of the *visarga* to *s* when followed by *p* ; (iii) the doubling of *d* and *dh* in conjunction with a following *y* or *v* and (iv) the substitution of *jihvāmūlīya* for *visarga* in all cases when followed by *k*.

The **object** of the present inscription is to record the grant of the village **Brāhmaṇapallikā** in the **Māhishaka**-*vishaya* of forty-two villages, which is bounded by the villages of Kavalōikā in the north, Likkavalli in the south, Nābaḍa in the east and Dhāḍiyappa in the west. The **date** of the inscription is the **full moon day of Vaiśākha of the Śaka year 746, Mahāvaiśākhaparvan** and probably corresponds to Sunday, the 17th April, 824 A. D. The *Dūtaka* was **Durgarāja** and the name of the officer who drafted the order was **Nārāyaṇa**, the *Sāndhivigrahika* or the Minister of Peace and War. The grant was ratified by the Emperor *Śrīmad*-**Amōghavarshadēva**, son of Śrī-Jagattuṅgadēva. At the end of the inscription are given the sign manual of Karkkarāja the donor, as well as that of his overlord Amōghavarsha.

The present record refers itself to the reign of **Karkka-Suvarṇṇavarsha**, son of Indra belonging to the **Gujarāt Branch of the Rāshṭrakūṭa family**. Indrarāja, the brother of Gōvinda III, is here spoken of as becoming the lord of Lāṭa which was given to him by Gōvinda,

[1] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 135 ff.
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 145 ff.

According to Bühler[1] ' Lāṭa ' corresponds to what is now known as Central and Southern Gujarāt —the country between Māhi and Koṅkaṇa, but he held from the traceable localities mentioned in the Kāvī and Barodā inscriptions that Lāta was confined in the 9th century to much narrower limits. But we know from the Nausārī plates[2] that the Gujarāt Rāshṭrakūṭas ruled over a tract of country lying between the two rivers Māhi in the north and the Narmadā in the south.

Indrarāja had two sons, namely, Karkkarāja and Gōvindarāja. Karkka had given several grants of land during his life time and four of them including the present have so far come to light, namely, the Barodā plates[3] the Nausārī plates[4], the Surāt plates[5] and the present one which may be called for the sake of convenience as the Brāhmaṇapalli grant. The Barodā plates are dated in Śaka 734, the Nausārī in Śaka 738, the Surāt in Śaka 743 and the Brāhmaṇapalli in Śaka 746. It appears, therefore, that Karkka ascended the throne sometime before Śaka 734 and continued to rule till 746 or a little later. But from the above it cannot be assumed that Karkka's reign was entirely uneventful or even continuous, for in the Śaka year 735 we find his younger brother Gōvindarāja[6] giving away a village near Barodā as a *bhūpāla* showing that he ruled over Central Gujarāt in the same year. The second grant[7] made by him is dated in Śaka 749 or fourteen years later. Now, this gives rise to a chronological tangle which has not been satisfactorily explained by any writer of Gujarāt history up till now. The discovery of the present inscription which is the last in the Karkka series of grants, so far known, makes it all the more imperative to examine the question more thoroughly.

Two explanations of this unique circumstance may be offered. Several inscriptions of the Gujarāt Branch of the Rāshṭrakūṭas[8] state that Karkka restored the kingdom of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of Mānyakhēṭa from the hostile claimants and placed the rightful owner Amōghavarsha on the throne[9]. This event must have taken place sometime in 736 Śaka (A. D. 814)[10] because we find the name of Amōghavarsha mentioned in a charter of Śaka 738[11] which is perhaps the first during his rule so far obtained. Karkkarāja who was ruling over Gujarāt naturally had to leave his own kingdom to assist Amōghavarsha of the main line of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, and probably during his absence he directed his younger brother to look after his dominions. He must have subsequently come back, and we find him issuing a second charter in the year Śaka 738[12]. The inscriptions issued by his younger brother both in Śaka 735 and 749 testify to his great devotion and loyalty towards his elder brother Karkkarāja[13].

The other explanation that can be offered in solution of the difficulty above referred to, is by assuming that the younger brother definitely became hostile in about 735 Śaka towards his elder brother when he had not quite settled down and with the help of adventurers overthrew him by treachery. Karkka thus was obliged to go back to the south to seek the help of the Rāshṭrakūṭas of the main line at Mānyakhēṭa. He must have there discovered a conspiracy to deprive the legitimate claimant Amōghavarsha from obtaining the throne, amongst his relatives. He naturally supported the rightful claimant and by his prowess set him up on the ancestral throne, and as a mark of favour obtained from Amōghavarsha the necessary help to overthrow his

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 145.
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 156 ff.
[3] Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 133 ff.
[4] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, p. 140, ll. 60-61.
[5] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 131 ff.
[6] Tōrkhēḍē plates (above, Vol. III, pp. 53 ff.).
[7] Kāvī plates of Gōvindarāja, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, 144.
[8] See *e.g.*, Barodā plates of Dhruvarāja I, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 199 ff.
[9] *Ibid.* ..... निजबाहुबलेन जित्वा श्रीमदोघवर्षमधिराज्यपदे अथत्त ॥
[10] [Dr. Altekar places this event between A. D. 817 and 821 (above, Vol. XXI, p. 138).—Ed.]
[11] The Nausārī plates *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, p. 135.
[12] *Ibid.*
[13] [Dr. Altekar also has come to a similar conclusion, above, p. 68.—Ed.]

brother Gōvindarāja who had unrighteously obtained the kingdom of Gujarāt. Till we are in possession of further details it will be futile to draw any definite conclusions and the historians are left to judge for themselves which of the two alternatives will be more acceptable.

A third explanation that both the brothers Karkka and Gōvinda ruled at the same time is hardly admissible because in that case this fact would have been mentioned in the charters issued by both. Both these brothers give away land near about Barodā, and Vaṭapadraka is mentioned as either the principal village or a surrounding village in the charters attributed to both, and it is not possible that the kingdom of Gujarāt should be so divided as to permit two brothers to rule at the same time over two different tracts.

Another point to which attention of historians may be drawn is the significance of the signs manual of the two kings Karkka and his overlord Amōghavarsha, for this has a direct bearing on the question of the relation between the Gujarāt Branch of the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Rāshṭrakūṭas of the main line of Mānyakhēṭa. It may be noted in this connection that the Gujarāt Rāshṭrakūṭas persistently call themselves as *Mahāsāmantādhipati* and sometimes as the ruler of the *Lāṭīya-* or *Lāṭēśvara-maṇḍala*.[1] But it is in the present inscription that we find the earliest example of the practice of putting in the joint signatures of the *Sāmanta* and his overlord. This proves beyond doubt that in so far as the present inscription is concerned, Karkka acknowledged the suzerainty of king Amōghavarsha of the main line. In the earliest inscription of Karkka which is dated Śaka 734 there is the signature of Karkka but not of his overlord. In the next two inscriptions issued in Śaka 738 and 743 there is also one signature of Karkka but no signature of the overlord who in these cases is Amōghavarsha. In the Tōrkhēḍē inscription[2] of Śaka 735 his brother Gōvindarāja calls himself a *bhūpāla* and Buddhavarasa as his *Mahāsāmanta* who was enjoying an estate called the Sīharakkhī Twelve which was given to him by Gōvindarāja. No signature either of Gōvinda or Karkka or the overlord appears in the inscription. Though ostensibly a negative point, the omission of signatures in the grants issued by the Gujarāt Rāshṭrakūṭas from Śaka 734 to 746 is nevertheless significant, particularly because in the grant under consideration the signature of the overlord makes its first appearance. Be it noted, however, that the name of the paramount sovereign does occur in inscriptions, though not the sign manual.

All the inscriptions issued by the Gujarāt Branch of the Rāshṭrakūṭas have a special topographical interest for the State of Barodā, as most of the villages granted by the kings are situated in the Barodā State. It will be out of place here to take up all the inscriptions issued by the Gujarāt Rāshṭrakūṭa kings and make an attempt to identify the villages mentioned therein, as this is clearly beyond the scope of this paper. I, therefore, propose to deal with the grants of the land specially made by Karkka in his inscriptions[3], so far available, and make an attempt to identify the places in order to correct some of the old inaccuracies.

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 158.

[2] Above, Vol. III, pp. 53 ff.

[3] I do not take into account the places mentioned in the Surāt Plates, as according to the editor, Dr. Altekar, all these are situated in the Navasārī District of the Barodā State. But these identifications are open to doubt since we feel that Karkka's territories were confined to the country situated between the Māhi and the Narmadā. If we accept Dr. Altekar's identifications we shall have to conclude that Karkka extended his sway much beyond the Narmadā so as to include Navasārī within his kingdom. But for this, there is no evidence in the inscriptions of the Gujarāt Rāshṭrakūṭas except the doubtful identification of Nāgasārikā with Navasārī, the river Pūrāvi with Pūrṇā and the river Vaṅkikā with Vaṅki Creek 30 miles further south of Navasārī. The village Ambāpāṭaka which is described as contiguous to Nāgasārikā (*Nāgasārikā-pratibaddha*) is identified with Āmadpur which is on the other side of the Pūrṇā river at a distance of 5 miles. And I do not see any reason why the Vāpi is given to the Jaina Āchārya when the donor is 30 miles away from the place. Frankly, I have grave doubts as regards the correctness of these identifications, though I am not able to offer anything better. (See above, Vol. XXI, pp. 133 ff.) [Dr. Altekar says that in Gujarāt fields are often known after the names of the wells irrigating them and hence Hiraṇyayōgā-Ḍhāshu-vāpī is the name of a field.—Ed.]

The first records the grant of a village named as Vaṭapadraka also known as Vaṭapura which was included in the *vishaya* of Aṅkōṭṭaka consisting of eighty-four villages. The main village was bounded by villages Vagghāchchha in the north, Mahāsēnaka tank in the south, and the villages Jambuvāvikā in the east and Aṅkōṭṭaka in the west.[1] For the history of Barodā the above grant is extremely valuable in as much as this is the earliest mention of the village of Vaṭapadraka which is now known as Barodā, the capital of the most enlightened House of the Gaekwads. Aṅkōṭṭaka and Jambuvāvikā have been identified by Fleet with the modern villages of Aṅkūṭ and Jambuvā. Mr. (now Dr.) Altekar[2] has identified the village of Vagghāchchha with the modern village Vāghoḍiā.

The Nausārī plates[3] record the gift of two different villages to a Brāhman issued from the same place Khēṭaka. The first consists of a village included in the territory lying between the Māhi and the Narmadā, known as Śamīpadraka which is bounded by the villages Dhāhadva in the north, Chōrundaka in the south, Gōlikā in the east and Bharthāṇaka in the west. The village Chōrundaka has been identified with the modern village of Chōrandā, Bharthāṇaka the modern Bharthanā and Dhāhadva the modern Dhāvaṭa in the Karjan *tālukā* in the Gaekwad's territories.[4] If we take these three villages as the three boundaries we find that enclosed within there is no village in modern times which can be identified with either Śamīpadraka or Gōlikā which are, therefore, unidentifiable. The identification offered by Dr. Bhandarkar of Śamīpadraka as 'Sondārn' does not seem to be reliable.

The second grant in the same inscription refers to the gift of a village in the District of Maṅkaṇikā, by name Sambandhī which is bounded by the villages Kāṣṭhāmaṇḍapa in the north, Brāhmaṇapallikā in the south, Sajjōḍaka in the east and Karañjavasahikā in the west. Dr. Bhandarkar identifies the village Sajjōḍaka with modern Sajoḍ and Kāṣṭhāmaṇḍapa with modern Māṇḍwā both of which seem to be incorrect, because we have to look for their identification in the Saṅkhēḍā *tālukā* and not in the Aṅkleśwar *tālukā* as suggested by Dr. Bhandarkar. Maṅkaṇikā has to be identified with the well-known village of Māṅkṇī in the Saṅkhēḍā *tālukā* of the Barodā State, Sambandhī with modern Samadhī, Kāṣṭhāmaṇḍapa with Kāṭhmāṇḍvā, and Brāhmaṇapallikā with modern Bāmrōlī, all situated in the Saṅkhēḍā *tālukā*.

Of the **localities** mentioned in the present inscription the village **Brāhmaṇapallikā** should be distinguished from the village of the same name which is included in the Maṅkaṇikā district, as here it forms a part of the **Māhishaka** district. The regular phonetic equivalent for **Kavalōikā** is Kōilī or Kōyalī and this is the name of a modern village situated in the Barodā *tālukā*. Taking Kōilī as the starting point and travelling south we reach a village named Bāmangām which seems to be the village now representing the ancient village of Brāhmaṇapallikā in the district of Māhishaka. The other names, however, cannot now be identified.[5]

TEXT.[6]

First Plate.

1 ओं[7] स वोव्याद्देवसा धाम यत्राभिकमऊहुतं । हरस्य यस्य कान्तेन्दुकलया कमलङ्कृतं ॥[१*] आसीद्विषयभि-

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 164.
[2] *Ancient Towns and Cities in Gujarāt and Kāṭhiāwāḍ*, p. 37.
[3] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, p. 147.
[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 135 and 149.
[5] In identifying the different villages named in the grants, I have received considerable help from my esteemed friend Mr. V. Y. Kashalkar who was formerly the Survey and Settlements Superintendent of the Government of Baroda.
[6] From the original plates and photographs.
[7] Expressed by a symbol.

2 रमुद्यतमण्डलाग्रो ध्वस्तिबयबभिमुखो रणगर्व्वरोषु । भूपः शुचिर्व्विधुरिवास्त(म)-दिगन्तकीर्त्तिर्गोविन्दराज

3 इति राजसु राजसिंहः(सिंहः) ॥[२*] इत्वा चमूमभिमुखीं सुभटाट्टहासा-सुचामितं सपदि येन रणेषु नित्यं ।

4 दृष्टाधरेण दधता भ्रुकुटिं ललाटे खड्गं कुलं च हृदयं च निजं च रुत्वं ॥[३*] खड्गं कराग्राभ्युद्धतच्च शोभा मा-

5 नो मनस्तः समभेव यस्य । मङ्गाहवे नाम निशम्य सद्यस्त्रयं रिपूणां विगलत्यकाण्डे ॥[४*] तस्यात्म-

6 जो जगति विश्रुतदीर्घकीर्त्तिरात्तोर्त्तिहारिहरिविक्रमधामधारी । भूपस्त्रिविष्ट-[प*]नृपानुजतिङ्कृतश्रः श्रीकर्क्करा-

7 ज इति गोत्रमणिर्ब्बभूव ॥[५*] तस्य प्रभिन्नकरटश्च्युतदानदन्ति ।[1] दन्तप्र-हाररुचिरोल्लिखितांसपीठः ।

8 क्ष्मापः क्षितौ क्षपितशत्रुरभूत्तनूजः सह्याद्रिकूटकनकाद्रिरिवेन्द्रराजः ॥[६*] तस्योपार्ज्जितमहसस्त-

9 नयश्चतु[र्द*]दधिवलयमालिन्या[ः*] । भोक्ता भुवः शतक्रतुसदृश्यः श्रीदन्ति-दुर्गराजोभूत् ॥[७*] कांचीगकेरलनराधिपचोल-

10 पाण्ड्यश्रीहर्षवज्रटविभेदविधानदक्षं । कार्णाटक बलमचिन्त्यमजेयमन्यैर्भृत्यैरिवेङ्गित-ङ्गिरपि यः सहसा जि-

11 गाय ॥[८*] अभ्रूविभङ्गमगदोतनिशातशस्त्रमश्रान्तमप्रतिहताग्रमपेतयत्नं । यो वल्लभं सपदि दण्ड-

12 बलेन जित्वा राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतामवाप ॥[९*] आसेतोर्व्विपुलोद्ध(प)लाव-लिलसल्लोलोर्म्मिमालाजलादा-

13 प्रालेयकलंकितामलशिलाजालात्तुषाराचलात[2] [।*] दापूर्व्वापरवारिराशिपुलिनप्रा-न्तप्रसिद्धावधेर्य्येनेयं ज-

14 गती स्वविक्रमबलेनैकातपत्रीकृता ॥[१०*] तस्मिन्दिवञ्जयाते वल्लभराजे क्षतप्र-ज्ञाबाधः । श्रीकर्क्करराजसू-

15 नुर्म्महीपतिः श्रीअम्मराजोभूत् ॥[११*] यस्य स्वभुजपराक्रमनि:शेषोत्सादितारि-दिक्चक्रं । अम्मस्येवाजस्रं

16 चरितं श्रीअम्मराजस्य[3] ॥[१२*] शुभतुङ्गतुङ्गतुरगप्रवरेष्वुड्डीकरविकिरवं । श्रोत्रेपि नभो निखि-

[1] The *danda* is superfluous. Read *-danti-danta-*.
[2] *Visarga* superfluous.
[3] Read—*tushār-dehatāt | a pūrvā°*.

17 लं प्राड्डकालायते स्पष्टं ॥[१३*] दीनानाथप्रणयिषु यथेष्टचेष्टं समीक्षित-
मजस्र[ं *] । तत्त्वज्ञम-
18 कालवर्षो वर्षति सर्व्वार्त्तिनिर्व्वापणं ॥[१४*] राष्ट्रप्यमात्मभुजजातबलावलेपमाजौ
विजित्य निशितासिल-
19 तामहारै[1] [।*] ⨯पालिध्वजावलिशुभामचिरेण यो हि राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतां
ततान ॥[१५*] क्रोधादुत्खातख-
20 ड्गप्रहतत्तु(र्त्तु)चिचयैर्ब्भासमानं समन्तादाजावुद्वृत्तवैरिप्रकटगजघटाटोपसंक्षोभदक्षं ।
21 शौर्य्यं त्यक्तारिवर्गो भयचकितवपुष्कापि दृष्ट्वैव सद्यो दर्प्पाधातारिचक्रक्षयकर-
मत(ग)-

Second Plate ; First Side.

22 मस्य दोर्द्दण्डरूपं ॥[१६*] पाता यश्चतुरम्बुराशिरशनालङ्कारभाजो भुवस्तस्याश्चापि
कृतद्विजामरभु(गु)रुप्राज्याज्य-
23 पूजादरौ[2] । दाता मानसदग्रणीर्भ्(र्गु)वतां योसौ श्रियो वल्लभो भोक्तुं
स्वर्गफलानि भूरितपसां स्थानं
24 जता(गा)मामरं ॥[१७*] येन श्वेतातपत्रप्रहृतरविकरव्राततापात्सलीलं जग्मे(ग्मे)
नासीरधूलीधवलितशिरसा
25 वल्लभाख्यः सदाजौ । श्रीमद्गोविन्दराजो जितजगदहितस्वैणवैधव्यदक्षस्तस्यासी-
त्सूनुरेकः क्षण-
26 रणदलितारातिमत्तेभकुम्भः ॥[१८*] तस्यानुजः श्रीध्रुवराजनामा महानुभावोप्र-
हृतप्रताप⨯प्रसाधि-
27 ताशेषनरेन्द्रचक्रः क्रमेण बालार्कवपुर्ब्बभूव ॥[१९*] जाते यत्र च राष्ट्रकूट-
तिलके सद्भूप-
28 चूडामणौ गुर्व्वीं तुष्टिरथाखिलस्य जगतः सुस्वामिनि प्रत्यहं [।*] सत्यं
सत्यमिति प्रशासति स-
29 ति क्षामासमुद्रान्तिकामासीद्धर्मपरे गुणामृतनिधौ सत्यव्रताधिष्ठिते ॥[२०*]
हृष्टोन्वहं योर्त्थिज-
30 नाय सर्व्वं सर्व्वक्षमानन्दितबन्धुवर्गो⨯प्रादात्प्रतिष्टो हरति स्म चैता(गा)-
प्राणाख्यम-
31 स्यापि नितान्तवीर्य्यः ॥[२१*] रक्षता येन निःशेषं चतुरम्भोधिसंयुतं ।
सत्यव्रतव्रतेन लोकानां-

[1] Read *-prahāraiḥ* | *pāli°*. [2] Read °दः । [3] Read *-vargyaḥ* | *prāṇāt=*.

32 ज्ञाता दृष्टि×परा दृढि ॥[२२*] तस्याजजो जगति सप्रथितोऽकोर्त्तिर्गोविन्दराज इति गोचलला-

33 मभूत[1][।*] त्यागी पराक्रमधनप्रकटप्रतापसन्तापिताहितजनो जनवल्लभोभूत् ॥[२३*] पृथ्वी-

34 वल्लभ इति च प्रथितं यस्यापरं जगति नाम [।*] यच्च चतुरुदधिसोमामेकां वसुधां वशे य(च)-

35 क्रे ॥[२४*] एकोऽप्यनेकरूपी यो दृष्टये मेदवादिभिरिवात्मा । परचक्रजलविमर्दारम्भरम्भदोर्भ्यां

36 रणे रिपुभिः [२५*] एको निर्हेतिरहं गृहीतशस्त्रा इमे परे बहवो [।*] यो नैवंविधमकरोच्चित्तं स्वप्नेपि

37 किमुताजौ ॥[२६*] राज्याभिषेकसमये स्वभिषिच्य हृतां राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतां स्वपित्रा । अन्यै-

38 र्नरेन्द्रपति[भि*]र्बन्धुभिः समेत्य स्वाम्यादिभिर्भुजबलादवलुम्प्यमानां ॥[२७*] एकोनेकनरेन्द्रवृन्द-

39 सहितान्यस्त्राण्यमस्त्राणि मोक्षातासिव्रताप्रहारविधुराण्यहो महासंयुगे । लक्ष्मीमप्यच-

40 लां चकार विलसत्सखामरयाङ्गिणीं ।[2] संसीदद्रुधिरप्रसक्तचलचक्रव्यूपभोत्थां(त्थां) धु-

41 लि(लि) ॥[२८*] तत्पुत्रोऽभ गतो(तै)नाकमाकम्पितरिपुव्रजे । श्रीमद्दाराजगर्व्याख्यः ख्यातो राजाभ-

42 वद्गुणैः ॥[२९*] यस्मिंश्च यथार्थतां यः समभीष्टफलाप्तिलब्धतोषेषु [।*] हृदि निनाय पप-[3]

Second Plate ; Second Side.

43 रमाममोघवर्षाभिधानस्य ॥[३०*] राजाभूत्तत्पितृव्यो रिपुभवविभवोद्भूत्यभावैकहे-
तुर्लक्ष्मीकनिन्दूराजो गु-

44 णिनृपनिकरान्तस्थमत्कारकारी । रागादन्यान्व्युदस्य प्रकटितविनया यं नृपास्से-
वमाना राजश्रीरेव चक्रे

45 सकलकविजनोद्गीततथ्यस्वभावं ॥[३१*] निर्व्वाणावाप्निवाना(?)सहितहितजनोपा-
स्यमानाः सुहृत्तं हृत्तं जि-

46 ष्णुराज्ञां चरितमुदयवान्यर्व्यतो हिंसकेभ्यः । एकाकी दृप्तवैरिस्खलनकृतिसङ्-
घातिराज्येश्वरयंकुर्ल्लाटी-

[1] Read °*bhūtaḥ* | *tyāgī*. [2] Superfluous. [3] One *pa* is superfluous.

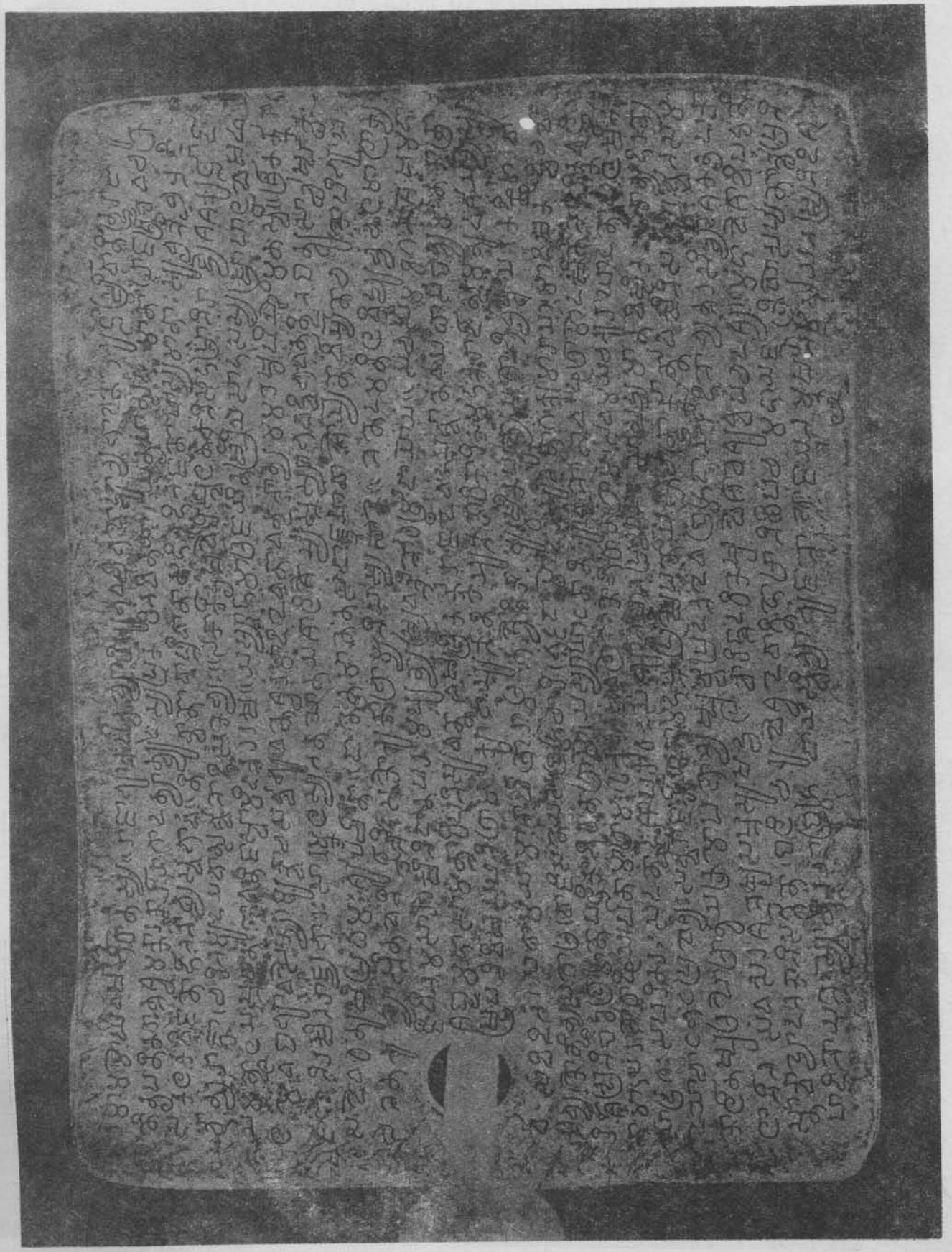
47 यं मण्डलं यस्तपन इव निजस्वामिदत्तं ररक्ष ॥[१२*] यस्याङ्गमाक्रमजयि-
न><प्रियसाहसस्य क्षापालवेषक-
48 लमेव बभूव सैन्यं । मुक्ता च सर्व्वभुवनेश्वरमादिदेवं नावन्दतान्यममरेष्वपि
यो मनस्वी ॥[१३*] श्रीकर्क्करा-
49 ज इति रचितराज्यभारः सारङ्गलस्य तनयो नयशालिशौर्यं[1] [।*] स्वस्याभवद्विभ-
वनन्दितबन्धुसार्थ><पार्थः
50 सदैव धनुषि प्रथमः शुचीनां ॥[१४*] दानेन मानेन सदाशया वा शौर्येण
वीर्येण च कोपि भूपः [।*]
51 एतेन तुल्योस्ति न वेति कीर्त्तिः सकौतुका भ्राम्यति यस्य लोके ॥[१५*]
तेनेदमनिलविधुतचञ्चलमालोक्य
52 जीवितमसारं । क्षितिदानपरमपुण्य><प्रवर्त्तितो धर्म्मदायोयं ॥[१६*] स च
समधिगताशेषमहा-
53 शब्दमहासामन्ताधिपतिसुवर्ण्णवर्षश्रीकर्क्करराजदेवः सर्व्वानेव यथासंबन्धमानकात्रा-
54 ट्टपतिविषयपतिग्रामकूटायुक्तनियुक्ताधिकारिकमहत्तरगदोत्समनुदर्शयत्यस्तु
55 वः संविदितं । यथा मया मातापित्रोरात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये ।
कट्टिभरवा-
56 स्त्य ।[2] क्षौण्डिन्यसगोत्र ।[2] वाजिसनेयसब्रह्मचारि ।[2] भट्टदामोदरसुतनागकु-
माराय ।[2] माहिषकट्टिचल्ला-
57 रिह्लग्रतिवद्धब्राह्मणपल्लिकाभिधानग्रामो । यस्याघाटनानि पूर्व्वतो ।[2] नावडग्रामो
दक्षिणतो लिङ्गवल्ली-
58 नामाऽपरतो धाडियप्पनामा ग्रामः । उत्तरतङ्कवलोट्टकाभिधानग्रामः ।
एवमयं चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितः
59 सोद्रंगः सपरिकरः सदण्डदशापराधः समूतवातप्रत्याय: सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकः
सधान्यहिरण्य-
60 देयोचाटभटप्रवेश्यः सर्व्वराजकीयानामकरप्रवेपणीयः आचन्द्रार्कार्ण्णवक्षितिसरि-
त्पर्व्वतसम-
61 कालीन><पुत्रपौत्रान्वयक्रमोपभोग्य(ग्यं)><पूर्व्वप्रदत्तदेवब्रह्मादायरहितोभ्यन्तरसिद्धा ग्र-
कल्पकः

वेद्याकृपश्चाप

[1] Read -śauryaḥ | tasyā°. [2] Superfluous

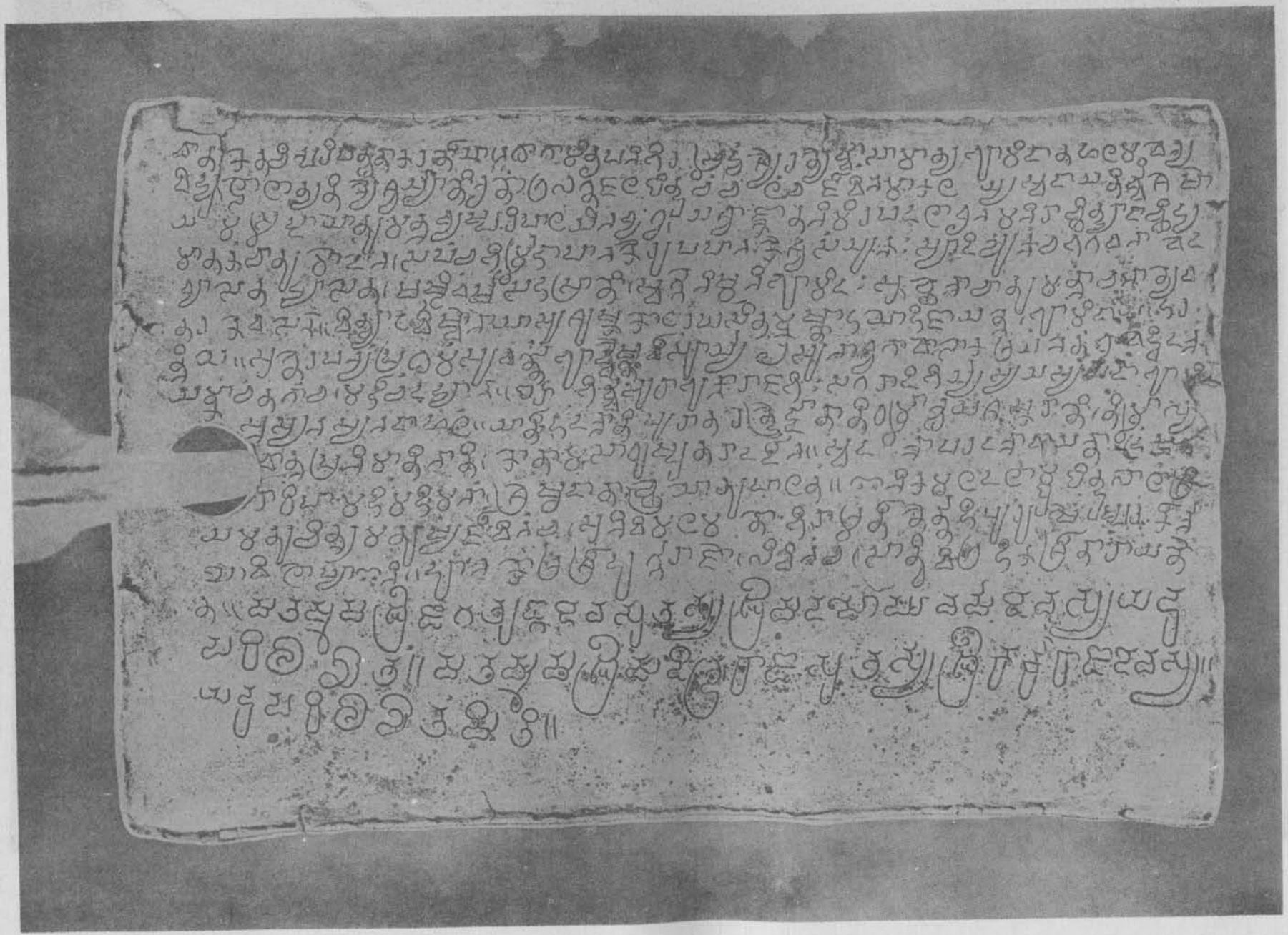
Brahmanapalli Grant of Karkka Suvarnnavarsha: Saka 746.

Second Plate: Second Side.



N. P. Chakravarti. SCALE: ABOUT THREE-QUARTERS. Survey of India, Calcutta.

Third Plate.



63 स्नात्वाद्योद(त)[1]कातिसर्गेण ।[2] बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथिपंचमहायज्ञक्रियोत्स-
र्पणार्थं प्रति-

64 पादितो यतोस्योचितया ब्रह्मदायस्थित्या भुंजतो भोजयतक्रुषतक्रर्षयत≍प्रति-
दिशतो

Third Plate.

65 वा न केनचित् परिपन्थना करणीया । तथागामिनृपतिभिरस्मदंश्यैरन्यैर्वा
सामान्यभूमिदानफलमवेत्य

66 विद्युल्लोलान्यनित्यैश्वर्याणि तृणाग्रलग्नजलबिन्दुचंचलं च जीवितमाकलय्य स्वदा-
यनिर्विशेषो-

67 यमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्य≍परिपालयितव्यश्च यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्द्यादा-
च्छिद्य-

68 मानकं वानुमोदेत ।[2] स पंचभिर्म्महापातकैरुपपातकैश्च संयुक्तः स्यादित्युक्तं
च भगवता वेद-

69 व्यासेन व्यासेन । षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [।*] आच्छेत्ता
चानुमन्ता च तान्येव

70 नरके वसेत् ।[३७*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वो(ष्व)तोयासु शुष्ककोटरवृ(वा)सिनस्कृष्णाहयो
हि जायन्ते भूमिदानं हर-

71 न्ति ये ॥[३८*] अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्वैष्णवी सूर्यसुताश्च गावो(वः) [।*]
लोकत्रयं तेन भवेत्ति दत्तं

72 यस्मात्तनं गां च महीं च दद्यात् ॥[३९*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः
सगरादिभिर्य्यं(भिःय)स्य यस्य यदा भूमि-

73 स्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥[४०*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि
धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि । निर्म्माल्य-

74 वान्तप्रतिमानि तानि ।[2] को नाम साधु≍पुनराददीत ॥[४१*] स्वदत्तां
परदत्तां वा यत्नाद्रक्ष न-

75 राधिप । महीं महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं ॥[४२*] इति कमलद-
लाम्बुबिन्दुलोलां श्रि-

76 यमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितं च । अतिविमलमनोभिरात्मनीनैर्व्वं हि पुरुषै≍पर-
कीर्त्त-

77 यो विलोप्याः ॥४३*] इति ॥ दूतकोत्र श्रीदुर्ग्गराजो(जः) । लिखितं च ।
सान्धिविग्रहिकश्रीनारायणे-

78 न ॥ मतमम श्रीजगत्तुङ्गदेवसुतस्य श्रीमदमोघवर्षदेवस्य यदु-

79 परि लिखितं ॥ मतमम श्रीमदिन्द्रराजसुतस्य श्रीकक्कराजदेवस्य ।[3]

80 यदुपरि लिखितमिति ॥

[1] Superfluous.

[2] *Danda* superfluous.

No. 14.—TIRUVALANGADU INSCRIPTION OF RAJADHIRAJA II.

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

This inscription[1] is engraved on the east wall of the first *prākāra* of the Naṭarāja shrine in the Vaṭanārāyaṇēśvara temple at Tiruvālaṅgāḍu, a small station near Madras on the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway. It was copied in 1905, but in that year the inscription could not be copied in full as it was partially obstructed by later structural additions to the temple. In the subsequent renovation, most of the inscribed stones were lost so that only a portion of the record[2] is now preserved in the temple. On account of its damaged condition, its importance was not sufficiently recognised hitherto, but it now receives elucidation from two inscriptions copied at Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai[3] and Tirumayānam[4] in the Tanjore district. It is of great value since it throws new light on the Chōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Singhalese history in the third quarter of the 12th century A.D.

It is engraved in the **Tamiḷ** language and script of the 12th century A.D. and is particularly free from orthographical errors.

The record is dated[5] in the **12th year and 157th day** of the reign of the **Chōḷa king Rājakēsarivarman** *alias* **Rājādhirājadēva (II)** and commences with the usual preamble beginning with the words '*kaḍal-śūḻnda*', etc. The **object** of the inscription is the grant of 10 *vēḷi* of land in Rājarājaṉ-Paḷaiyaṉūr situated in Neṉmaḷi-nāḍu, a division of [Aṟumoḻi]dēva-vaḷanāḍu, free of taxes including *antarāyam* and *pāṭṭam*, to **Vēdavaṉamuḍaiyāṉ Ammai-appaṉ** *alias* **Aṉṉaṉ Pallavarājaṉ** of **Palaiyaṉūr**, evidently for his services to the State in frustrating the hostile attempts of the Singhalese king Parākramabāhu against the Chōḷa country.

This inscription is the only record so far known that gives a detailed account of the Singhalese activities in the **war of the Pāṇḍyan succession**, for which our only source has hitherto been the Singhalese chronicle *Mahāvaṁsa*; but this is biased in its version, especially as it does not give

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[1] No. 465 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[2] In the absence of the original inscribed stones, the impression preserved in the office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, is the only record now available for this valuable inscription.

[3] No. 433 of 1924 of the Madras Epigraphical collection; *vide* also above, Vol. XXI, p. 184, where this inscription is published.

[4] No. 261 of 1925 of the same collection. This is highly damaged and appears to be a duplicate copy of the present record.

[5] As regards the initial date of this king there is some confusion. Prof. Kielhorn had fixed it between 28th February and 30th March 1163 A.D. But a record from Nandalūr (No. 571 of 1907), while giving astronomical details couples the 12th regnal year of the king with the cyclic year Hēmaḷamba which corresponded to A.D. 1177 (above, Vol. X, p. 127). In this case the regnal year intended must be 14th expired or 15th current and not 12 as cited in the record. This apparent difference in date is, curiously enough, reiterated in an inscription recently copied in the Chittoor District (No. 209 of 1932), where the 12th regnal year of this king is also stated to be his 14th year. This would suggest that Rājādhirāja II was a crown prince for two years before he became king.

There are, however, three inscriptions of this king (Nos. 571 of 1907, 428 of 1912 and 19 of 1913) which point to A.D. 1166 as the initial year. From the Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai inscription we know that Rājādhirāja II was crowned 4 years after his nomination. The initial date of his predecessor, Rājarāja II, is 1146 A.D. and his highest regnal year is 19 (No. 411 of 1909). Rājarāja II must therefore have lived till 1164-65 A.D. The whole position may now be summed up as follows:—

A.D. 1163 Rājādhirāja's nomination,

A.D. 1164-65 Rājarāja's death and Rājādhirāja's succession,

A.D. 1166 Rājādhirāja's coronation.

Since both A.D. 1163 and 1166 work correctly as the initial year, it will be evident that Rājādhirāja II, in some of his records, counted his reign from the year of his nomination and in others from that of his coronation.

any reverses sustained by the Singhalese forces. The present epigraph, however, lays special emphasis on this point, and therefore as a corrective to the *Mahāvaṁsa* and as a record of contemporary events, it is a valuable document

It may be divided into two sections : in the first, the services to the country rendered by the Chōḷa general Vēdavaṇamuḍaiyāṉ Ammaiappaṉ *alias* Aṇṇaṉ Pallavarājaṉ in counteracting the hostile attempts of the Singhalese king Parākramabāhu are detailed and in the other is registered a grant of land made to him.

The inscription refers to the Singhalese king **Parākrambāhu** in contempt as *Iḷattāṉ*. the record we learn that Parākramabāhu was hostile to the Chōḷa kingdom from the beginning of his reign and in pursuance of this policy, he made the following three attemps which were successfully foiled by the Chōḷa king .—

(*a*) When the war of the Pāṇḍyan succession broke out, Parākramabāhu espoused the cause of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, one of the claimants to the throne of Madura and also sent an army into the Pāṇḍya country which forced Kulaśēkhara, the rival claimant to the throne, to flee from Madura and seek the help of the Chōḷa king. The Chōḷa army sent to his assistance deposed Vīra-Pāṇḍya, the son of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya, who was set up on the Pāṇḍya throne by the Singhalese king Parākramabāhu, completely defeated the enemy's forces killing even their generals and finally placed Kulaśēkhara on the throne of Madura.[1]

(*b*) On the failure of this attempt Parākramabāhu reinforced his strongholds by despatching forces into Ūrāttuṟai, Pulaichchēri,, Mātōṭṭam, Vallikāmam and Maṭṭivāḷ and constructed ships for a naval attack. But the Chōḷa king frustrated these measures with the assistance of Śrīvallabha, the nephew of Parākramabāhu, by carrying the war into the enemy's territory and destroying a considerable portion thereof.

(*c*) Parākramabāhu then tampered with the loyalty of Kulaśēkhara-Pāṇḍya to his Chōḷa ally and won him over to his side. He could not however satisfy both the Pāṇḍya claimants at the same time. The Chōḷa king, on the other hand, deposed the ungrateful Kulaśēkhara and placed Vīra-Pāṇḍya, the quondam ally of Parākramabāhu, on the throne of Madura.

This inscription in narrating the first attempt of Parākramabāhu (ll. 12-18) corroborates the *Mahāvaṁsa* in the main except the reverses sustained by the Singhalese forces. The details of the other two attempts (ll. 18-36) are, however, new information.

The present record raises an important issue about Śrīvallabha. His position is clearly explained in it. We know that his father Mānābharaṇa was a rival of Parākramabāhu for the overlordship of Ceylon. Śrīvallabha also appears to have aspired for the Singhalese throne. In the protracted struggle for sovereignty Śrīvallabha was captured[2] by the forces of Parākramabahu, but he subsequently seems to have escaped from his uncle's custody and sought and obtained shelter under the Chōḷa king. Parākramabāhu evidently resented this assistance and so commenced his campaign of hostility against the Chōḷa kingdom. This persistent hostility of the Singhalese king is emphasised in our record in three places (ll. 12, 18 and 29). Śrīvallabha is called the nephew (*maruṁagaṉ*) of Parākramabāhu and is recognised in the inscription as the claimant to the Iḷam country (*Iḷa-rājyattukkuṁ kaḍavarāy* l. 21). It is also

[1] The details given in this encounter are also corroborated by the Pallavarāyaṉpēṭṭai record (above, Vol. XXI, pp. 186 ff.) wherein, however, Aṇṇaṉ Pallavarājaṉ's part in the fight does not find mention.

[2] *Mahāvaṁsa* Ch. 72, vv. 323-4.

stated that he had already gone (*muṇbē pōndirunda* l. 21), thus suggesting his previous arrival in South India, evidently as a refugee seeking shelter under the Chōḷa and possibly also his assistance for the overthrow of Parākramabāhu. Therefore when his help was sought by the Chōḷa king, he readily responded, so that if there was a chance he might gain the throne of Ceylon.

The part played by Śrīvallabha, in this connection, has hitherto been considered as that of a traitor.[1] But if it is understood that he was fighting along with his father Mānābharaṇa for the Singhalese throne against Parākramabāhu, it will be evident that such a charge cannot be levelled against him.

In the rivalry between Vīra-Pāṇḍya and Kulaśēkhara for the throne of Madura, the Chōḷa king first took up the cause of Kulaśēkhara,[2] but when the latter proved a traitor by allying himself with Parākramabāhu, he was deposed and Vīra-Pāṇḍya was placed in his stead. Though the present record stops with the restoration of Vīra-Pāṇḍya, now with Chōḷa help, it is clear that he must also have rebelled[3] soon after, for when Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III continued the war, he fought against Vīra-Pāṇḍya[4] and in favour of one Vikrama-Pāṇḍya whom he made the ruler of Madura.[5]

It may be pointed out here that the new facts gleaned from this inscription, *viz.*—that Rājādhirāja took up the cause of Śrīvallabha against that of Parākramabāhu, that the Pāṇḍya king Kulaśēkhara turned a traitor to the Chōḷa king and that Vīra-Pāṇḍya was again installed on the Pāṇḍya throne through Chōḷa help—raise the following fresh issues which in the present state of our knowledge cannot be satisfactorily explained:

Did the Chōḷa king Rājādhirāja II actually send any help to Ceylon to assist Śrīvallabha in his struggle for sovereignty or did he only give shelter to him? Why was Vīra-Pāṇḍya made the ruler of the Pāṇḍya kingdom and not Vikrama-Pāṇḍya after Kulaśēkhara turned a traitor? What was the relationship of Vikrama-Pāṇḍya to his predecessors and what were his claims to the Pāṇḍya throne?

The territorial divisions, **Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam** (l. 8), **Arumoḷidēva-Vaḷanāḍu** (l. 36) and **Neṇmali-nāṭu** (l. 36) are already known. **Paḷaiyaṇūr**[6], the native place of Vēdavaṇam-Uḍaiyāṉ may be identified with the village of the same name in the Tiruttaṇi *taluk* of the Chittoor district. This village must be distinguished from Rājarājaṉ-Paḷaiyaṇūr[7] (l. 36) in the Tanjore district, where 10 *vēli* of land was granted to this Vēdavaṇamuḍaiyāṉ. The village **Ēḷagam**

[1] See *A. R. on Epigraphy* for 1906, para. 23.

[2] Why Kulaśēkhara proved a traitor is not explained in the record. Probably he was enticed by Parākramabāhu.

[3] His revolt is referred to in the historical introduction of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III. See *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 206ff.

[4] Vīra-Pāṇḍya seems to have occupied the throne for a second time from about 1175-1182 A.D. Like his predecessor Kulaśēkhara he also fell an easy prey to the machinations of Parākramabāhu and thus made himself the bitterest enemy of the Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III. He made a desparate attempt along with his son to regain the Pāṇḍya throne till at last he lost his life in the battle at Neṭṭūr. Two records from Tribhuvanam in the Tanjore district (Nos. 191 and 192 of 1907) state that Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III who bore the title 'Pāṇḍyāri' killed Vīra-Pāṇḍya. See also *A. R. on Epigraphy* for 1908, para. 64, and *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 217-18.

[5] The Chōḷa rulers played the role of 'king makers'. Kulaśēkhara, Vīra-Pāṇḍya, and Vikrama-Pāṇḍya were successively made rulers of the Pāṇḍya country by the Chōḷa sovereigns.

[6] The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates of the Chōḷa king Rājēndra-chōḷa I record the grant of this village to the Śiva temple at Tiruvālaṅgāḍu. In the *Tēvāram* this village is called Paḷaiyanūr-Ālaṅgāḍu (*i.e.*) Ālaṅgāḍu or Tiruvālaṅgāḍu near Paḷaiyanūr. In one inscription Tiruvālaṅgāḍu is said to be near Paḷaiyanūr (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 134).

[7] This explains why the same inscription is found both at Tiruvālaṅgāḍu (Chittoor district), the native place of Vēdavaṇam-Uḍaiyāṉ, and at Tirumayāṇam (Tanjore district) where the lands presented to him were situated.

(l. 29) may be identified with Tiruvēḍagam in the Madura *taluk*. The subjugation of this village is also mentioned in inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III.[1] The river **Veḷḷāṟu** rises in the Vēḷamalai to the west of the Pudukkottai State and falls into the Bay of Bengal to the north of Maṇamēlkuḍi in the Tanjore district. **Ūrāttuṟai, Pulaichchēri, Mātōṭṭam, Vallikāmam** and **Maṭṭivāḷ** have already been identified.[2]

TEXT.

1 Svasti[3] śrī[3] [||*] Kaḍal-śūḻnda Pār-mādaruṅ Kalai-mādarum aḍal-śūḻnda Pōr-mā-
2 daruṅ=Chīr-mādarum ama[r*]ndu **vāḻa** nāṟ-kaḍal-sūḻ puvi-ēḻum pā[ṟ]-kaḍal-śūḻ pugaḻ para-
3 ppa ādi-ugamāmeṉṉa=chchōdi-muḍi puṉaindaruḷi aṟu-śamaiyamum aim-būda-
mum ne-
4 ṟiyil niṉṟu pārippa=t'Teṉṉavaruṅ=Chēralaruṅ Śiṅgaḻarum mudalāya maṉṉavargaḻ tiṟai
5 śumandu vantīṇḍi-chchĕvippa ūḻi ūḻi oru śeṅkōl eḻu-pārum iṉid=aḻippa=ch-
chempoṉ Vīra-[si[3]]-
6 [ṅṅā]sa[3]nattu Ulaguḍai-mukkōkkiḻāṉaḍigaḷōḍum vīṟṟirundaruḷiya Kōv=Irāja[4]kēsari
panmar[4]=āṉa
7 Tribhu[5]vanachchakkaravarttigaḻ **śrī[3]-Irājādhirājadēvarkku**[6] yāṇḍu **panniraṇḍāvadu nāḻ nūṟṟaimbat-**
8 **tōḻināl** Tribhuvanachchakra[3]vatti Kōnēriṉmaikoṇḍāṉ Jayaṅkoṇḍaśōḻa-maṇḍalattu Mēṉ-
9 malaip-Paḻaiyaṉūr-nāṭṭu=**pPaḻaiyaṉūr-uḍaiyār** Tiruvālaṅgāḍuḍaiyār kōyilil dēva-
kaṉmikku-
10 m śrī[3]-māhēśvarak-kaṉgāṇi-śeyvārgaḷukkum [|*] **Paḻaiyaṉūr-uḍaiyāṉ Vēdavaṉamu-ḍaiyāṉ Ammaia-**
11 **ppaṉ**=āṉa **Aṉṉaṉ Pallava**[rāja[3]]ṉ Īḻattāṉ Parākkiramabāku āḻvāṉ-pōdē tuḍaṅgi Śōḻarājya[7]ttukku
12 [vi]rōdam[āy-i]ruppaṉa pala vaḍigaḻāluṅ śe[yya-p]pārttu idukku uṟuppā-
ga=pPāṇḍi-nāṭṭilē paḍai-
13 [yu]ṟaviṭṭu.....[Kulaśēkharaṉaiyum Madu]raiyil niṉṟum Veḷḷāṟṟukku vaḍakaraiyilē pō-
14 dappaṉṉi[ṉa-paḍiyālē].....[8]m śeyyappārtta-iḍattu idukku-pparikāramāga Kula-
15 śēkhararkku [vēṇḍuvaṉavuṅ=cheydu muda]ligaḷum paḍaigaḷum **pōgaviṭṭu** Īḻattāṉ paḍaiyaiyu-

[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 210.
[2] Above, Vol. XXI, p. 187.
[3] Engraved in Grantha.
[4] The letters *rāja* and *marā* are engraved in Grantha.
[5] The letters *tribhu* are in Grantha.
[6] The letters *Rājādhirājadē* are in Grantha.
[7] *rājya* is engraved in Grantha.
[8] The word *viṇaikkēḍugaḷum* may be inserted before *śeyyappārtta*.

16 m ippaḍaik[ku=kkāraṇavar=āṇa] **Ila[ṅkāpura-Da]ṇḍanāyakkaṇum Jagat-tra[1]ya-dDaṇḍanā [ya*]kkaṇum** uḷḷiṭṭā-

17 raiyuṅ-koṇṭu [Madurai- vāśalilē ivargaḷ talaigaḷai] taippittu iv-vūrilē Kula-śēkhararaiyum puga-viṭṭu-chchē-

18 llā-niṟka..... ku virōdamāy-iruppaṇa śeyya-ppārttu ivaṇ taṇ paḍai-

19 nilaiyāṇa Ūrāttuṟai Pulaichchēri **Mātōṭṭam** Vallikāmam Maṭṭivāḷ uḷḷiṭṭa ūrgaḷilē paḍaigaḷu-

20 m puguda-viṭṭu paḍavukaḷuñ cheyvikkiṟa paḍi kēṭṭu idukku-pparikāramāga Iḷattāṇ maru-magaṇārāy Iḷa-rājya[3]ttukkuṅ-

21 kaḍavarāy muṇbē pōndirunda **Śivallavarai** aḷaippittu ivarkku vēṇḍuvaṇa-vuñ=cheydu ivaraiyum i-

22 varuḍaṇē vēṇḍum paḍaigaḷum Ūrāttuṟai Vallikāmam Maṭṭivāḷ uḷḷiṭṭa ūr-gaḷilē pugaviṭṭu-pPulaichchē-

23 ri Mātōṭṭam uḷḷiṭṭa ūrgaḷum aḷittu Iḷattāṇiṇavāy iv-vūrgaḷil niṉṟa āṇaiga-ḷuṅ kai-kkoṇ-

24 ḍu Īḷa-maṇḍalattil kīḻ-mēl irupadin kāda mēṟpaḍavun teṇ-vaḍal muppadiṇ **kāda mēṟpaḍavum aḷittu** it-

25 tuṟaiyil ivaṇ manichcharāy=irundāril kolvāraiyuṅ-koṇṭu **piḍippāraiyum** piḍittu ivargaḷaiyum śa-

26 rakkāy-kkaikkoṇḍaḷavum piḍitta āṇaigaḷum aḷaippittu ivaṇ namakku-kkāṭṭi Iḷa-maṇḍalattu=kkāriya-

27 m ellāppaḍiyālum ivaṇ aḷiya=chcheyvittapaḍikkum Pāṇḍiyaṇār **Kulaśēkharar** tamakku muṇbu śeyda

28 naṇmaigaḷum pārādē Iḷattāṇuḍaṇē [sa[2]]mbandam-paṇṇavum ivaṇum ivaruṅ kūḍa-niṉṟu Śōḷa[rājya[3]]ttuk-

29 ku virōdamāy=iruppaṇa śeyyavuṅ-kaḍavadāga nichchayittu idukku uṟu-ppāga=pPāṇḍi-nāṭṭu Ēḷagattārilum ma[ṟ*]ṟa-chch-

30 āmantarilum namakku=chchērvupaṭṭu niṉṟuḍaṇ śeygiṟa **Irājarāja[3]kkaṟkuḍi-yarāyaṇum Irājaga[4]mbīra Añjukōṭ-**

31 **ṭai-Nāḍāḷvāṇum** uḷḷiṭṭārai [a]ttuṟaigaḷil niṉṟum Veḷḷāṟṟukku **vaḍa-karaiyilē** pōda-ppaṇṇi

32 Ilaṅkāpuri-dDaṇḍanā[ya*]kkaṇum **Jagattra[5]ya-dDaṇḍanāyakkaṇum** uḷḷiṭṭār talaigaḷāy Madurai-vāśaliṟ taichcha talai-

33 gaḷum vāṅgi-ppōgaḍuvittu ellā-ttīmaigaḷum śeyyakkaḍavadāga-kkarudi-chcheygiṟa-paḍiyum Iḷattāṇ Kulaśēkharar=uḍa-

[1] The letter *tra* is engraved in Grantha.
[2] Engraved in Grantha.
[3] The letters *rājarāja* are engraved in Grantha.
[4] The letters *rājaga* are engraved in Grantha.
[5] The letters *jagattra* are engraved in Grantha.

34 ṉ kūḍa niṉṟu udavi-śeygai śūṭṭi ivaruḍaṉ śārvupaṭṭu-ni ṟārkku vara-kkāṭṭiṉa ōlaigaḷum va[stukkaḷum vaḷi]yilē iva .....[1]paḍiyālum Śōḷarājya[2]ttukku virōdamāy-irukkaiyālē ivaṇai

35 aṅgu-niṉṟum pōkki muṉbē-piḍittu *Maduraikku-kkāraṇavarāṇa* **Parākkirama-Pāṇḍiyar** magaṇār **Vīra-[Pāṇḍiya]dēvarai** Madurai .....[3] i-vastu[3]-vāluṅ kuḍiraiyāḷum vēṇḍuvaṇavaiyiṟṟil namakku-chcho

36 lli-chcheyyavēṇḍuvaṇavuṅ-cheyvittu allādaṇa ivaṇē migudippaḍa nērndum cheydu śurukki[na*] nā[ḷai]kkuḷḷē Madurai .....[4] dēva-vaḷanāṭṭu Neṇ-mali-nāṭṭu **Irājarāja[5]ṉ-Paḷaiyaṉūrilē** paḍiṟṟu-

37 vēli nilam **panniraṇḍāvadu** mudal antarāyam pāṭṭam uṭpaḍa iṟaiyiliy-āga iṭṭu ippaḍi Uḍaiyār Tiruvālaṅgāḍuḍaiya .....Mūvēndavēḷāṉ ||-Ivai Nīla-gaṅgarayaṉ eḻuttu || ๛

38 Ivai Dīpattarayaṉ eḻuttu ๛ Ivai Kaṇakarāja[6]ṉ eḻuttu ๛ Ivai Malaiyappi-rāja[7][n *] eḻuttu ๛ Ivai Maḻava.....

39 tu | ๛ Ivai Villavarāyaṉ eḻuttu ๛

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-5)[8]

(Ll. 6-10).—In the **twelfth year and one hundred and fifty-seventh day** (*of the reign*) of the king **Rājakēsarivarman** *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious **Rājādhirājadēva**, while he was pleased to be seated along with (*his queen*) Ulaguḍai-mukkōkkiḻānaḍaigaḷ on the golden throne of heroes, (*the following order was issued*) to the *dēvakanmi* and *Śrī-māhēśvara-kaṇgāṇi-śeyvār* of the temple of Uḍaiyār Tiruvālaṅgāḍuḍaiyār at **Paḷaiyaṉūr** in Mēṉmaḷaip-Paḷaiyaṉūr-nāḍu, a subdivision of Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa-maṇḍalam (*under the royal seal*) Tribhuvana-chakravatti Kōnēriṉmaikoṇḍāṉ :—

(Ll. 11-17).—**Vēdavaṇamuḍaiyāṉ Ammaiappaṉ** *alias* **Aṉṉaṉ Pallavarājaṉ** of Paḷaiyaṉūr (*acted thus*) :

When Parākramabāhu of Īḻam, from the time (*he*) assumed sovereignty acted inimically against the Chōḷa country by various means and as a part of this move, since he caused an army to enter the Pāṇḍya country ..... and forced Kulaśēkhara also to flee from Madura to the north bank of the (*river*) Veḷḷāṟu..... to counteract this (*hostile*) action, whatever (*assistance*) was needed by Kulaśēkhara was given (*by us, i.e.*, the Chōḷa king) .....

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[1] This portion is built in : before '*paḍiyālum*' the letters '*ellāṃ*' may be inserted.

[2] The gap may be filled up with the aid of the Tirumayānam inscription, with the words '*kōyilil iḍakkaḍavadāga ivaṉukku nām cholli belaṅgaḷum vēṇḍuvāraiyum pōgaviḍuvaṇavum [viṭṭu]*.'

[3] The letter *stu* is engraved in Grantha.

[4] From the Tirumayānam inscription, a portion of this gap may be filled up with the words '*naippōkki Vīra-Pāṇḍyaēvarai Maduraiyil puguviṭṭa-paḍikkum ivaṉukku Arumoḷi*'.

[5] The letters *rājarāja* are engraved in Grantha.

[6] Engraved in Grantha.

[7] The letter *ja* is engraved in Grantha.

[8] For translation see above Vol. XXI, p. 191.

commanders (*with*) forces were despatched, the army of Ceylon (*was destroyed*) and its generals **Laṅkāpura-Daṇḍanāyaka** and **Jagattraya-Daṇḍanāyaka** put to death, their heads mounted on the gates of Madura, and (*thereafter*) Kulaśēkhara was allowed to enter this city (*i.e.*, Madura).

(Ll. 18-26).—When (*affairs*) stood thus ..... hearing (*the report*) that, with the intent of making (*another*) hostile attempt (*against the Chōḷa country*), this (*Parākramabāhu*) had assembled forces into his strongholds at Ūrāttuṟai, Pulaichchēri, Mātōṭṭam, Vallikāmam, Maṭṭivāḷ and other places and was also constructing (*a fleet of*) ships (*therein*), (*we, in order*) to ward off this (*danger*), summoned **Śrīvallabha** the nephew of the Ceylonese (*king*) and a claimant to the kingdom of Ceylon and (*who*) had already arrived (*here*), did whatever was required for him (*and*) despatched him with the necessary forces to Ūrāttuṟai, Vallikāmam, Maṭṭivāḷ and other villages (*and*) destroyed Pulaichchēri, Mātōṭṭam and other villages, captured the elephants belonging to the king of Ceylon stationed in these places, laid waste in Iḷa-maṇḍalam more than twenty *kādam*[1] (*of land*) from east to west and more than thirty *kādam* from south to north, killed in this place such of his subordinates as had to be killed and captured those who had to be captured. This (*Aṇṇaṉ Pallavarājaṉ*) sent for these (*captives*) along with the booty and captured elephants and displayed (*them*) to us (*and*) thus (*once again*) frustrated in every way the efforts (*of the king*) of Iḷa-maṇḍalam.

(Ll. 27-33).—The Pāṇḍya **Kulaśēkhara** disregarding the good done to him before (*by us, i.e.*, the Chōḷa king), entered into an alliance with the (*king*) of Ceylon, (*and both*) this (*king of Ceylon*) and this (*Kulaśēkhara*) decided to stand together and act against (*the interest of*) the Chōḷa kingdom. As an evidence of this move, (*they*) drove from (*their*) places to the north bank of (*the river*) Veḷḷāṟu, our allies at Ēḷagam in the Pāṇḍya country like **Rājarājakkaṟkuḍiyarāyaṉ** and **Rājagambīra Añjukōṭṭai-Nāḍāḷvāṉ** and other feudatories who were assisting our cause and removed from the gates of Madura, the heads of Laṅkāpuri-Daṇḍanāyaka, Jagattraya-Daṇḍanāyaka and others which had been pinned thereon, (*and in this way*) carried out the intent of working every kind of evil (*to us, i.e.*, the Chōḷa king).

(Ll. 34-39).—As the letters and presents sent to the adherents of Kulaśēkhara by the king of Ceylon betokening assistance (*to the former, when intercepted*) on the way (*proved Kulaśēkhara's*) hostility to the Chōḷa kingdom, we directed him (Aṇṇaṉ Pallavarājaṉ) to oust him (Kulaśēkhara) from there (Madura) and to (*reinstate*) in Madura **Vīra-Pāṇḍya**, the son of **Parākrama-Pāṇḍya** who was from the beginning (*another*) claimant to the throne of Madura. (*Further*), we provided him (Aṇṇaṉ Pallavarājaṉ) with all the requisites and directed him to indent on us (*when necessary*) for funds and cavalry and to manage the other things himself; and as he had so carried out (*our intentions*) within a short time (*and installed*) **Vīra-Pāṇḍya** (*in*) Madura, (*we granted him*), from the **twelfth year**, ten *vēli* of land in **Rājarājaṉ-Paḷaiyaṉūr** (*situated*) in Neṇmali-nāḍu, a division of [Arumoḷi]dēva-vaḷanāḍu, made free of taxes including *antarāyam* and *pāṭṭam* (*and commanded the engraving of the gift in the temple of*) Uḍaiyār Tiruvāḷaṅgāḍuḍaiy[ār] ..... (*This is the signature of*) Mūvēndavēḷāṉ ಱ. This is the signature of Nīlagaṅgarayaṉ ಱ. This is the signature of Dīpattarayaṉ ಱ. This is the signature of Kaṇakarājaṉ ಱ. This is the signature of Malaiyappirājaṉ ಱ. This [is the signature of] Maḷava ..... This is the signature of Villavarāyaṉ ಱ.

[1] *Kādam* is the Indian league measure about 10 miles in distance.

No. 15.—THE KHAMKHED PLATES OF THE TIME OF PRATAPASILA.

By Professor V. V. Mirashi, M.A., Nagpur.

This is a set of **three copperplates** discovered by a farmer while digging under a wall of his house at Khāmkhēḍ or Khāmgaon about 35 miles south-west of Mehkar in Berār. They reached the hands of Mr. Y. M. Kale, B.A., LL.B., M.L.C. of Buldāṇā, who kindly placed them at my disposal for editing.

The plates are strung on a circular ring 1·2″ in thickness and 2·2″ in diameter, passing through a hole about ½″ in diameter in the centre of the top of each plate. The middle portion of the ring is flattened[1] to contain a **legend** in two lines and the crude figure of a male deity sitting cross-legged, with a halo surrounding his face. The ends of the ring do not appear to have ever been soldered and were a little apart from each other when the plates reached me, so that the latter could be taken out with ease. This makes it doubtful if the ring belongs to the plates at all. The suspicion is strengthened by the fact that the legend on the ring, though incised in the same characters as the inscription on the plates, does not contain any of the names mentioned in the plates. The plates and the ring together weigh 74 *tolas*. Each plate measures 6·7″ × 2·3″. After the plates were incised, it appears it was discovered that the hole of the first plate was wrongly cut at the centre of the bottom. It was, therefore, closed with a piece of copper rivetted into it and another was made at the centre of the top. Some portion on the right hand side of the first three lines is illegible owing to the corrosion and cracking of the first plate. The first and third plates are inscribed on the inner side only and the second, which is thicker, on both the sides. The letters are well cut and do not show through on the reverse. The ends of the plates are raised into rims to protect the letters. Each side of the plates contains six lines except the second side of the second plate which has five lines only. The **characters** are of the nail-headed or acute-angled variety of the North Indian alphabet. The engraver has, in the first two lines, shown the wedges clearly. Later on they are replaced by short horizontal top-strokes. The inscription thus shows the transitional stage when the wedges at the top of letters were giving place to horizontal strokes which in course of time developed into the characteristic top-lines of the Nāgarī alphabet.[2] The size of letters varies from ·1″ on the first plate to ·2″ on the rest. The initial *ā* which is differentiated from *a* by a downward stroke attached to the middle of the right hand vertical line of *a* occurs in *ādinya* (l. 9) and *āchchhētā* (l. 16). The initial *u* which has a curve at the lower end occurs in *uttarataḥ* (l. 22) and *uktaṁ cha* (l. 12). The medial *ā* appears generally in the form of a downward stroke (cf. *Sagar-ādibhiḥ* l. 13) but occasionally appears above the line (cf. *rājānaiḥ* l. 13). The curve of the medial *i* often goes over the line to the left of the letter and, encircling it, appears again to the right, generally ending in a serif (cf. *kiñchi*° l. 6). The medial *u* is shown in two ways—by lengthening the vertical stroke of the letter ending in a serif (cf. *Yudhishṭhira* l. 17) and by means of a curve open to the left (cf. *bhuktā* l. 13). The medial ū also occurs in two ways—(1) with a curve at the base of a letter, the end of which is either curled or turned sharply upwards (cf. *gavyūta* l. 7) and (2) with the sign for initial ū ; (cf. *bhūmēḥ* l. 6). The *mātrās* for *ai*, *ō* and *au* generally stand above the line. They appear curled in some cases (cf. *Gōlaṁma* l. 10 and *ś=ch=aitad* l. 12) ; *k* and *m* generally show a loop on the left (see, however, °*kumāra* l. 8 and *raksha* l. 17, where *k* appears without a loop) ; *j* still appears in its old tripartite form (cf. *rājānaiḥ* l. 13) ; *ṭ* is flat at the top (cf. *Īśvarabhaṭṭa* l. 9) ; the base

[1] The seals of the Multāī and Tivarkhēḍ plates are similarly formed (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 231, and above, Vol. XI, p. 276).

[2] For a similar, but later, mixture of wedges and straight top-strokes see the Vaṇḍī-Diṇḍorī plates of Gōvinda III (see Plate II (b), *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 160).

stroke of *ṇ* is occasionally suppressed (see *Parṇṇikagrāmō* l. 21). The vertical stroke of *t* i generally on the left (cf. *sēnāpati* l. 10). *D* shows a slight serif at the lower end, *n* has a loop and *y* is generally bipartite (cf. *yadā* l. 14). Again the right hand upstroke of the sub-script *y* is drawn up as far as the top line of the whole letter (cf. *gavyūta* l. 7) and *r* shows a slight wedge at the lower end, which has not yet developed into a tail (cf. *purōhita* l. 9). The superscript *r* is generally placed above the line (cf. *svargyē* l. 15) but it appears as a short horizontal stroke in combination with *y* (cf. *sūrya-grahaṇē* l. 8). The characters thus resemble in a general way those of the Multāī plates of 708-9 A.D. (see Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie*, Plate IV, XX).

The **language** is incorrect Sanskrit. See, for instance, the wrong forms *grāma* for *grāmaṁ* (l. 8), *pratipāditaṁ* for *pratipāditavān* (l. 9), *rājānaiḥ* for *rājabhiḥ* (l. 13). The rules of *sandh* have, in some cases, been neglected. The marks of punctuation are, in many cases, not used at all, or are used wrongly (cf. ll. 8 and 10). The final *t* is wrongly dropped in *vasē* (l. 16) and *dānā* (l. 18). Except the imprecatory verses at the end, the whole inscription is in prose. As regards **orthography** we may note that the consonant following *r* is generally reduplicated (cf. *chaturddanta* l. 3, and *pūrvvasyāṁ* l. 7). In some cases an *anusvāra* is used instead of a class nasal in the body of a word (cf. *saṁpannaḥ* l. 3). *V* is used for *b* in *Vṛihaspatinā* (l. 12).

The **object** of the grant is to record the donation of the village **Nandapura** situated at a distance of only one *gavyūta* (about 4 miles) south-east of Parṇṇikhēṭa (also called Parṇṇikagrāma in l. 21) at the time of a solar eclipse. The donees were Sōmasvāmin, Shashṭhikumāra, Nāgaśarman, Ādityaśarman and other Brahmins.[1] The gift was made by **Davana-Druhaṭa** (Drubhaṭa?), the son of Utaragaṇa who was the eldest brother of the reigning king **Pra[tāpa*]śīla.** As no information about the dynasty of these kings is given and no date is recorded in this charter, it is not possible to identify either Utaragaṇa or his brother Pratāpaśīla and son Davana-Druhaṭa.[2] The names of some Kalachuri kings end in *gaṇa* but it is not known if they were related to Utaragaṇa mentioned in this charter. We can only say that the dynasty seems to have flourished in Berār in the beginning of the eighth century A.D. The use of the expression *Samadhigata-pañcha-mahā-śabda* and the absence of any suzerain's name in the present charter seem to indicate that it was at first a feudatory royal family and made itself independent in Berār, when the power of the early Chālukyas of Bādāmi declined in the beginning of the eighth century A.D.

Among the names of officers who are asked to note the present gift occur those of the *Purōhita* Īśvarabhaṭṭa, Nāgammabhaṭṭa, the *Bhōgika* (district officer) Gōvinda, the *Śrēshṭhin* Gōlamma and the *Sēnāpati* Durggahari. The grant was written by the last mentioned officer who describes himself as a bee issuing out of the lotus in the form of the foot of Gōvinda-Vishṇu. He was, therefore, a devotee of Vishṇu.

As for the **geographical** names occurring in this charter, **Nandapura**, the donated village, cannot be traced; its position is probably occupied by the present Khāmkhēḍ where the plates were found. Two of the villages that formed its boundary can be identified. Thus **Parṇṇikhēṭa** is probably Pāngārkhēḍ about 1½ miles to the north-west of Khāmkhēḍ and **Vyāghraviraka** is Vāghor about a mile to its north-east. The distance between Pāngārkhēḍ (the modern representative of Parṇṇikhēṭa) and Khāmkhēḍ (which now occupies the site of

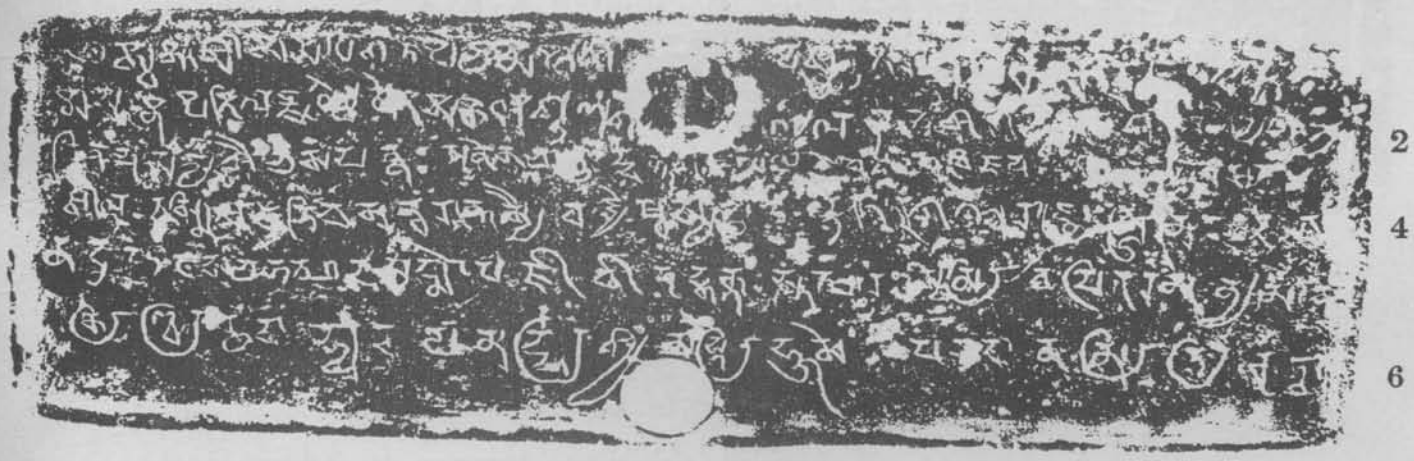
[1] The names of some Brahmins are lost as some portion of the grant after *Sūryagrahaṇē* in l. 8 was omitted by the engraver. The latter part of one name (*viz.*, *Śarmma*) appears after *Sūryagrahaṇē*.

[2] These princes are not otherwise known. Again, the plates do not contain even a regnal date; the figure on the seal is crudely executed and its legend has no apparent connection with the plates. Though none of these grounds is conclusive by itself, their combination casts suspicion on the genuineness of the record.

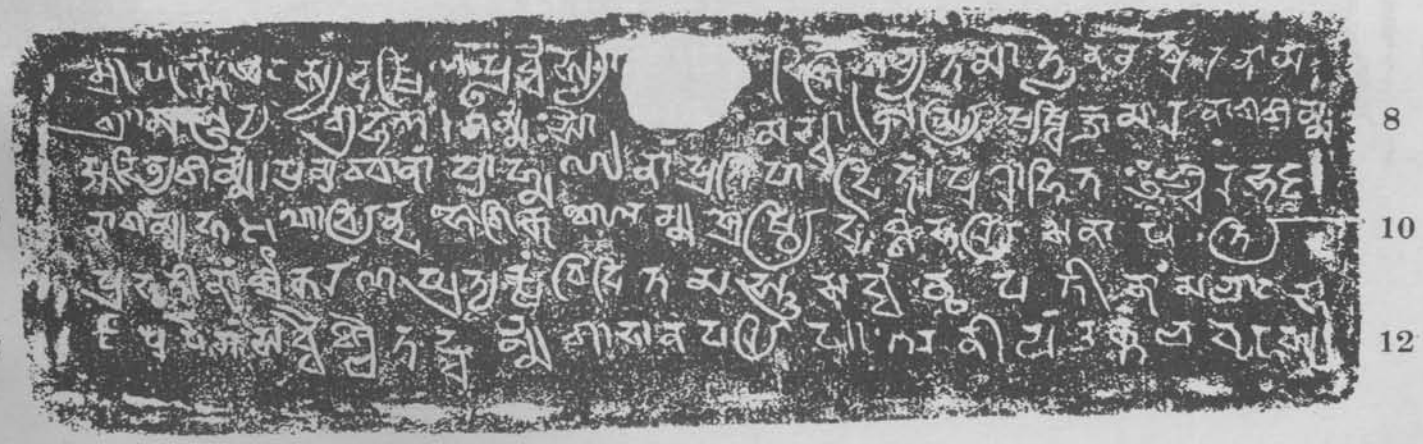
Seal.



First Plate.



Second Plate: First Side.



N. P. Chakravarti.
Reg. No. 3366 E'34 — 440.

SCALE : ACTUAL-SIZE.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Second Plate: Second Side.



Third Plate.



ancient Nandapura) is not one *gavyūta* (or four miles) as stated in the charter, but this mistake is probably due to the ignorance of the person who drafted the charter. The other villages cannot be identified.[1]

TEXT.†

The Seal.

प(..[2])धम(र्म)कस्य(स्य)

First Plate.

1 ओम्[3] स्वस्ति श्री[: ॥*] समधिगतपंचमहाशब्द[:*] श्रु[व्र?]त[र]श्री(?)
प्रक[ट*]करजदा(?)त[स*]-

2 मस्तनृपतिलक्ष[णोपेत][:*] सकलगुणगणालं[ङ्क]तशरी[र:*] . . श्र[ा*][न्ति*]-
[धै]र्य[शौर्य]-

3 [वि]नय[स]त्यशौचसंपन्न: अनेकच[तु]र्दन्त[गजघटा]....[5][प्राप्त*]विजय: [महारा*]ज:
प्र[ताप*]-

4 शील:[6] तस्मिं[7] [शास]ति वसुन्धरान्तस्यैव ज्येष्ठस्य [भ्रातु:] उतरगणराज्ञ:[8] सूनु: दव-

5 नदुहट: [।*] स च तत्पादपद्मोपजीवी तद्भक्त:[9] स्वत्पर: स्वमिव पितरं मन्यमा[न:]

6 किञ्चिच्छे[यो]भ्युदयमुद्दिश्य नास्ति भूमे: प[रं] दानमिति ज्ञत्वा

Second Plate ; First Side.

7 श्रीपर्ण्णखेटस्य दक्षिणपूर्व्वस्यां दिशि गव्यूतमात्रे नन्दपुरं नाम

8 ग्राम(ग्रामं) सूर्यग्रहणे[10] ।[11] शर्म्म:[12] सोमस्वामिषष्ठिकुमारनागशर्म्म-

9 आदित्यशर्म्मी[13] ।[11] प्रसुखानां ब्राह्मणानां प्रतिपादित[14] । पुरोहितवैखरभट्ट-

10 नागस्वभट्ट ।[11] गोविन्दभोगिकगोलस्वश्रेष्ठिदुर्ग्गहरिसेनापति-

11 प्रभृतीनां श्रीकरणप्रत्यक्षं विदितमस्तु सर्वनृपतीनां[15]मचाटभ-

12 टप्रवेशं सर्व्वैरेतद्धर्म्मशासनं परिपालनीयं [॥*] उक्तं च व्यास्य-[16]

Second Plate ; Second Side.

13 तिना [।*] बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजानै:[17] सगरादिभि: [।*] य[स्य] य-

[1] The accompanying plates have been prepared from excellent ink estampages kindly supplied by Mr. K. N. Dikshit, M.A., Superintendent, Archæological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

† From the original plates.

[2] The second letter on the seal is illegible ; the medial vowel seems to be *ū*.

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

[4] [The reading from here to the end of the line is doubtful. The first two letters look like *ś=chatu*.—Ed.]

[5] About three letters are illegible here. [The reading is *chāturddanta* which is also found in the inscriptions of the Vishṇukuṇḍin rulers ; cf. above, Vols. IV, p. 196, and XI, p. 134.—Ed.]

[6] [I cannot make out the first three syllables of this name from the plate.—Ed.]

[7] Read तस्मिन्. [8] Read उतरगणराजस्य [9] The *visarga* is superfluous.

[10] Some portion of the grant giving more names of Brahmins is dropped here.

[11] *Daṇḍa* not required. [12] The *visarga* is unnecessary. [13] Read आदित्यशर्म्म.

[14] Read प्रतिपादितवान्. [15] The *anusvāra* is superfluous. [16] Read स्वतिना.

[17] Read राजभि:.

14 स्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं [॥*][1] उक्तं च भगवता वेदव्या-
15 सेन व्यासेन [।*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः [।]
16 आच्छेत्ता[2] चानुमन्ता च त[3]न्येव नरके वसे[त् ॥*][1] पुनरपि चोक्तं व्यासेन [।*]
17 स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [।*] महीं-

Third Plate.

18 महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाश्रे(च्छे)योनुपालनं [॥*][1] एवं ज्ञात्वा यत्न-
19 तः परिपालनीयमिति [॥*] शिवमस्तु धर्मस्तद्विश्च ॥ चतुरोद्ध-
20 टसमेतद्रा[4]मस्य पूर्व्वस्यां दिशि व्याघ्रविरकं नाम ग्रामः । दक्षिणेन भ्रमश-
21 कं नाम ग्रामः । अपरतो(तः) श्रीपर्णिकग्रामो भवति [।*] तस्य ग्रामस्य मर्यादावद्दो भ-
22 वति [।*] उत्तरतः च्छो(क्षो)बविरकग्रामः ॥ श्रीगोविन्दविष्णुचरणपंकजनिर्भ-
23 तेन भृङ्गेन दुर्गाहरिसेनापतिना लिखितमिदं ताम्र[5]शासनमिति [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-12) Ōm. Hail! (*There is*) *Mahārāja* **Pra[tāpa]śīla** who has attained *Pañchamahāśabda*, who is endowed with all the distinctive marks of royalty, whose person is decked with the multitude of all good qualities, who is possessed of tranquility, courage, bravery, modesty, truth and purity, who has attained victories with numerous four-tusked elephants ..... While he is ruling over the earth **Davana-Druhaṭa** (Drubhaṭa?), the son of his own eldest brother King **Utaragaṇa**, who is dependent on his lotus-like feet, is devoted to him and is wholly engaged in (*serving*) him, who regards him as his own father and thinks that there is no higher gift than that of land for (*the attainment of*) any religious merit and good fortune, donates on (*the occasion of*) a solar eclipse the village **Nandapura** (*situated*) at a distance of only one *gavyūta* (4 miles) in the south-eastern direction of Śrī-Parṇikhēṭa to Brahmins, the foremost of whom are—Śarman,[6] Sōmasvāmin, Shashṭhikumāra, Nāgaśarman and Ādityaśarman. Let it be known to the *Purōhita* Īśvarabhaṭṭa, Nāgammabhaṭṭa, the *Bhōgika* Gōvinda, the *Śrēshṭhin* Gōlamma and the *Sēnāpati* Durggahari at (*our*) *Śrīkaraṇa* (record office) as also to all kings that this religious order, which prohibits the entry of *chāṭas* (courtiers) and *bhaṭas* (soldiers) (*in the donated village*), must be obeyed by all.

[Ll. 12-18 contain three of the customary verses.]

Knowing this, this order should be obeyed. May there be well-being and increase of religious merit! This village which has the (*following*) well-defined boundaries has the village Vyāghraviraka on the east, the village Bhramaśaka on the south, Śrī-Parṇikagrāma which forms the boundary of the (*donated*) village on the west and Chhōbaviraka-grāma on the north. This copper edict was written (*i.e.*, drafted) by the *Sēnāpati* Durggahari, who is a bee that has issued out of the lotus-like foot of Śrī-Gōvinda-Vishṇu.

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[1] Metre :—*Anushṭubh*.

[2] Read आच्छेत्ता.

[3] Read तान्येव.

[4] Read समेतग्रामस्य. [The plate shows *samētaṁ=grāmasya*.—Ed.]

[5] Read ताम्र°.

[6] The names of some Brahmins are dropped here.

No. 16.—A SARADA INSCRIPTION FROM HUND.

By Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, M.A., C.I.E.

In April last Captain E. H. Cobb, I.A., Assistant Commissioner, Mardan, North-West Frontier Province, sent me an eye-copy of an inscription, engraved on a rectangular slab of white stone, which he had discovered in the foundations of an old wall at Hund on the bank of the River Indus on the occasion of his visit to that place in company with Mr. O. K. Caroe, C.I.E., Chief Secretary to the Government of the North-West Frontier Province, now Deputy Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign and Political Department. I have deciphered the inscription from inked estampages secured through the good offices of the discoverer.

Hund is the modern name of Udabhāṇḍa, the ancient capital of the Shāhi kings of Kābul from the 9th century A.D. till 1021 A.D. when this dynasty was extirpated by Maḥmūd of Ghaznī. It was at Hund that Alexander the Great crossed the River Indus before he proceeded on his conquest of India and through which later invaders passed. The Chinese pilgrim Yuan Chwang visited this city in the 7th century A.D. and describes it as about 20 *li*, or just over three miles, in circuit and inhabited by rich and prosperous merchants. The site is now occupied by a small village surrounded by fortified walls of Muhammadan date with a perimeter of 1,400 yards. All round the village are extensive mounds marking the existence of important buildings of early date and coins of Indo-Greeks, Kushāns, Shāhi kings and the kings of Kashmīr have been found here in large numbers. No excavations have been carried out among these remains, but when they are, they may be expected to yield valuable antiquities of all kinds.

So far only a few inscriptions in Śāradā characters have been noticed on this site. Two of these were found by Lt.-Col. Sir Alexander Burnes of the Hon'ble India Company's Service in the early forties of the last century and deciphered by Mr. James Prinsep.[1] Another inscription in the same character was presented to my predecessor, Mr. H. Hargreaves, when he visited Hund in 1923-24. This inscription, according to Dr. Hirananda Sastri, dates from about the 10th century A.D. and records the construction of a Śaiva temple. All the three inscriptions require proper treatment.

The stone slab on which the inscription discovered by Captain E. H. Cobb is engraved measures 1′ by 1′ by 1′4″ in thickness. The inscription consists of eight lines and is in a very good state of preservation. The **characters** are Śāradā of the 8th century A.D. and the **language** Sanskrit, which is not free from grammatical mistakes. The epigraph records the construction of a *dēvakula*, *i.e.*, 'statue shrine' or temple by a *Mahārājñī Śrī*-**Kāmēśvarīdēvī** and its consecration between **Saturday, the 8th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Āśvayuja in the year Saṁvat 168** and **Thursday (?), the 12th day of the bright fortnight of the month of Āshāḍha in the year Saṁvat 169.** The architect (*navakarmapati*) who supervised the construction, was **Jayantarāja**, son of Upēndra. He was an Āvantika or inhabitant of Avanti or Mālwā, and a Sūryadvija. The *paṁchakula* was the Brāhmaṇa, Śrī-**Pillaka**, the son of Śrī-Vīrāditya. The exact meaning of *paṁchakula* is not known. In his article[2] on the Siyadoni Stone Inscription, Professor Kielhorn defines this term as "an office apparently similar to the Marāṭhī पंच or पंचायत" or "an assembly of five" who manage affairs of a town. If this interpretation is correct, we should assume Pillaka of the inscription under discussion to have been the head or

[1] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VI, 1837, pp. 876 *seq.* and Pl. XLVI.

[2] Above, Vol. I, pp. 166 and 170.

foreman of an assembly of this nature. The Kāyastha, who composed this inscription, was Śrī-**Bhōgika**, a Sūryadvija, who was the son of Śrī-Vihēnda. Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, following Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar[1], suggests that this term *Sūryadvija* may be taken in the sense of the Maga or Śākadvīpi Brāhmaṇas who were the special priests of the Sun-god and are traditionally supposed to have sprung from the Sun. The era in which the dates of this inscription are recorded is not mentioned. I have, however, no doubt that these should be referred to the **Harshakāla era** which began in the year 606 A.D. and was in ancient times in use in the Panjāb, the United Provinces, Bihār and Orissa, Nepāl, etc. If this assumption is correct, the years mentioned would be equivalent to 774 and 775 A.D.

In the above paragraph I have given the term *dēvakula* the alternative meaning of a 'statue shrine' on the analogy of the *dēvakula* of the Ikshvāku kings of Ayōdhyā in Bhāsa's play called the *Pratimā-nāṭakam*. This gallery of the heroes of the Ikshvāku race differed from a divine temple in having neither the banner of a god nor the statues of door-keepers. It was open to visitors, but the statues enshrined in it were not to be bowed to. A structure of this nature was excavated in a mound near Mathurā some 23 years ago. Another literary reference to a *dēvakula* occurs in the *Mṛichchhakaṭikam* where, however, the precise character of the shrine is not quite clear. The earliest mention of such a structure in an inscription is that found in the inscription on the base of the headless statue of Vamatakshama (?) which was found in an ancient site at Mat near Mathurā. This site also yielded other statues of Kushāṇa kings, *viz.*, one of Kanishka, a torso of the great Śaka *satrap* Chashṭana, etc.

TEXT

1 ओं[2] स्वस्ति १ ॥ महाराज्ञो श्रीकामेश्वरीदेव्या सत्क
2 देवकुले नवकर्मपति उपेन्द्रपुत्रजयन्तरा-
3 ज आवन्तिको । सूर्यद्विजो: ॥ पंचकुल श्रीवीरादि-
4 त्यपुत्र श्रीपिप्पलकब्राह्मण: ॥ ॥ कायस्थ श्रीविहे-
5 ग्दपुत्र श्रीभोगिक सूर्यद्विज: ॥ ॥ इति
6 संवत् १६८[3] आश्वयुजवति ८ अनो: अतो
7 दिना आरभ्य संवत् १६९ आषाढ़शुति १२ हस्तो[4] प्र-
8 तिष्ठा कृता:[5] ॥ ॥ = ॥

No. 17.—JETHWAI PLATES OF THE RASHTRAKUTA QUEEN SILAMAHADEVI; SAKA-SAMVAT 708.

By Professor D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Ph.D. (Hon.), Calcutta.

These plates were sent to me for decipherment by the late Mr. V. P. Bhandarkar when he was Huzur Private Secretary to His Highness the Maharaja Holkar. They were discovered some

[1] *Vaishnavism and Saivism*, pp. 151ff.

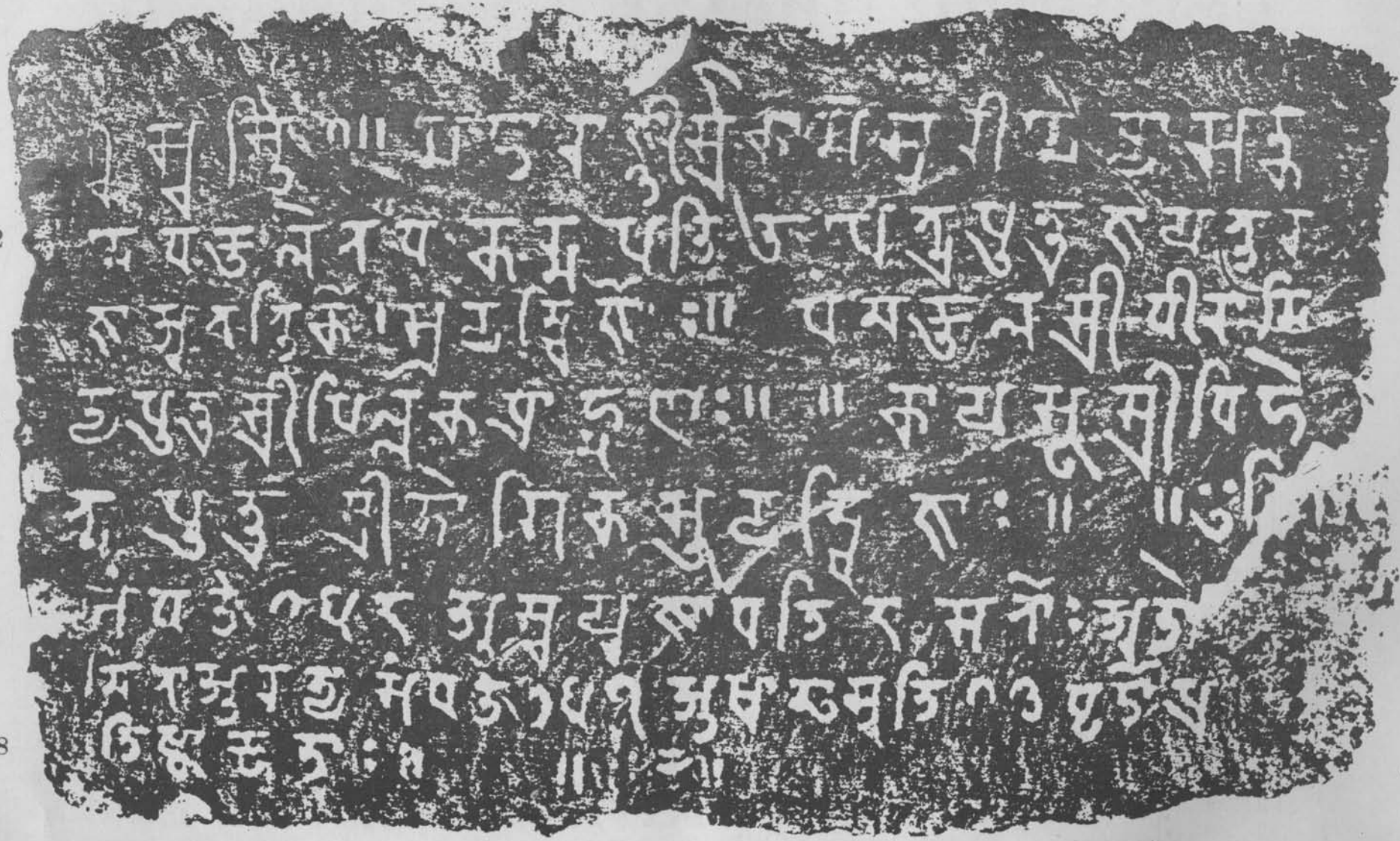
[2] Expressed by a symbol.

[3] [In ll. 6 and 7 the second digit of the year looks more like 5 than 6. But in neither case the date admits of verification from the particulars given in the inscription.—Ed.]

[4] Perhaps shortened form of हस्तस्थो.

[5] The text as found in the inscription is retained without any corrections.

A Sarada Inscription from Hund.



N. P. Chakravarti.
Reg. No. 3370 E'34-445.

SCALE : ONE-HALF.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

thirty or thirty-five years ago in a small dilapidated fort on a hill near the village of Jethwai, about 8 miles west of Barwaha, in the Nimār district of the Indore State. One Babaji named Hirapuri, I am told, lighted upon them while digging into a brick and stone platform in the fort for materials for the construction of his house at Jethwai.

The plates are **three** in number, each measuring $9\frac{5}{16}'' \times 6\frac{1}{8}''$. The middle one of these is thicker than the side ones. The edges of them are raised into rims to protect the writing. The plates are strung together on an oval ring with a diameter measuring between $2\frac{3}{8}''$ and $3''$. On the left side of the plates, a round hole is bored for the ring, and the second plate seems to have been slightly damaged through this boring operation. To the back of the ring is fixed a circular **seal** with a diameter measuring $1\frac{1}{2}''$. The seal bears the figure of Garuḍa. The inscription is engraved on the inner sides of the first and the third plate, and on both sides of the second. There are sixteen lines engraved on the first plate, sixteen lines on the first and seventeen lines on the second side of the second plate, and nineteen lines on the inner side of the third plate. The grant thus contains sixty-eight lines engraved in all.

The **language** in which the grant is written is Sanskrit throughout. The first thirty-five lines with part of the thirty-sixth, which set forth the genealogical account, line 40 and parts of lines 39 and 41 which contain a stanza descriptive of the transitoriness of human life, and lines 60-65, with parts of lines 59 and 66 which contain the benedictive and imprecatory verses are in verse and the rest in prose. The genealogical verses of the grant occur in one or other of the Rāshṭrakūṭa charters hitherto published, except two, namely, stanzas 21 and 24, which are found only in the Surat Plates of Karkkarāja.[1] Stanza 21 contains mere stereotyped praise, but stanza 24 is historically important. The **script** used in this inscription is Nāgarī, as is generally the case with the Rāshṭrakūṭa charters. As regards **orthography**, the consonants following *r* are, as a rule doubled, though indifference in this respect is noticeable in some cases, thus *k* and *ṇ* are doubled in *Karkkarāja* (l. 7) and *Kārṇṇāṭakaṁ* (ll. 10-11), but not in *ā-chandr-ārk-ārṇava* (l. 53). The letter *b* is, as a rule, denoted by the sign for *b*, but also by the sign for *v* in a few cases, such as *svalp-āmvu* (l. 40), *saṁvadhyamāna* (l. 42) and so on. The *anusvāra* is changed to *n* and *ñ* in conjunction with a following *s* or *ch*, once, in *dhvastin-nayan* (l. 2), and once in *kulañ-cha* (l. 4). The *visarga* is changed to *ś* in conjunction with a following *ś*, once in *niśśēskaṁ* (l. 33) though it is retained in *niḥśēshā°* (l. 16). Ṁ is used instead of the *anusvāra* once in *rājasiṁhaḥ* (l. 3). As regards **lexicography**, lines 48-52 contain some words such as *drōṅgarikā*, *vaha* and so forth, the exact import of which is not known.

The inscription is one of **Śīla-mahādēvī**, wife of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king **Dhruva**, or, as she is described in lines 37-39, *Paramēśvarī Parama-bhaṭṭārikā Śrī-Śīlamahādēvī*, the great queen of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Dhārāvarsha*, the illustrious Dhruvarājadēva who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the illustrious Akālavarshadēva, *i.e.*, his father Kṛishṇa I. She is described as the princess of the illustrious Viṭṭarasa *alias* Vishṇuvardhana who bore the epithet of *Sarva-lōk-āśraya*, 'Support of the whole world'. The latter is doubtless Vishṇuvardhana IV. of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty ruling at Vēṅgī. In his account of this dynasty J. F. Fleet[2] says that he was son of Vijayāditya I. and reigned for thirty-six years from A.D. 764 to 799. He is called Vishṇuvardhana in all inscriptions except one. In this last his name is given as Vishṇurāja which is no doubt the Sanskrit form of Viṭṭarasa. No reasonable doubt can thus be entertained as to Śīla-mahādēvī being the daughter of the Eastern Chālukya king, Vishṇuvardhana IV.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant of a village by Śīla-mahādēvī to two Brāhmaṇs. The village granted is **Kōlēpadra**, situated in the district of **Nāndīpuradvārī**. The

[1] See above, Vol. XXI, p. 142.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 100.

boundaries of the village have been specified. One of the donees was **Mārachcha**, son of Māradi. He was an *adhvaryu* and a religious student of the Kāṇva-*śākhā*. His native place was Kurugōṭa, and he pertained to the Śālaṅkāyana-*gōtra*. The other donee was **Durgāditya**, son of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa. He also was an *adhvaryu*, but was a religious student of the Mādhyandina-*śākhā*. His native place was Nāndīpuradvārī. He was a member of the Community of Brāhmaṇs well versed in the four Vēdas (*chāturvidya-sāmānya*) belonging to his place, and pertained to the Jātūkarṇya-*gōtra*. The occasion of the grant was the eclipse of the sun which occurred in the **Śaka year 708 expired on the Amāvāsyā day of the dark half of the Aśvayuja** (Āśvina). This corresponds to Wednesday, 27th September, A.D. 786, when there was a solar eclipse.

It will be seen that the donor of the grant is a queen. And what is noteworthy about it is that she grants a village and issues the charter without any formal sanction or approval being given by her husband, king Dhruvarāja. This gives rise to an interesting question about the polity of Ancient India. Instances are not unknown of grants being made by queens. We have thus the Naihāṭi Plate of the Sēna king Ballālasēna, recording and sanctioning the grant of a village by his mother Vilāsadēvī on the occasion of a solar eclipse.[1] As Vilāsadēvī was the wife of Vijayasēna who was then dead, one can easily understand why her grant had to be approved and sanctioned by her son Ballālasēna who was then the living king. The case was different with Prabhāvatiguptā who issued the Poona Plates.[2] She was the *agramahishī* of the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasēna I. But when she issued the grant, she was Regent during the minority of her son Divākarasēna.[3] This is, no doubt, an interesting item of information, because it shows that women could administer a kingdom when their sons were minors. But as she was practically the ruler, it is intelligible how she could issue a charter without sanction being accorded to it by an extraneous higher authority. Nevertheless, be it noted, the charter has a seal bearing not her own name, but that of her son, namely, Divākarasēna. Far more interesting perhaps are the grants of Tribhuvana-Mahādēvī and Daṇḍi-Mahādēvī, both of the Kara family of Guhēśvara-pāṭaka.[4] The first of these was the daughter of Rājamalla, a king of the south, and Queen of Lalitabhāradēva. After the death of her husband, the feudatory chieftains of the kingdom approached her with a request to accept the sovereignty come to her in course of succession, and cited the instance of Dēvī Gōsvāmīnī who apparently belonged to the same family and who agreed to administer the kingdom under similar circumstances. And in compliance with their request, we are told, she ascended the lion-throne like Kātyāyanī. The name of the other female ruler furnished by this dynasty is that of Daṇḍi-mahādēvī, who was the daughter of the Kara king Śubhākara. That both Tribhuvana-mahādēvī and Daṇḍi-mahādēvī were real rulers is proved by the charters they issued on their sole authority, and, above all, by the titles which they bore, namely, *Paramabhaṭṭārikā Mahārājādhirājā Paramēśvarī*. The only difference between these two is that while Tribhuvana-mahādēvī was married into the Kara family, Daṇḍi-mahādēvī was apparently a virgin of that family. Whether the latter could have continued to be the ruler if she had been married is a most interesting point of law with which, however, we are not here concerned. Suffice it to say, both of these queens were rulers in reality, and it is therefore no wonder if they could issue grants in their own names, with their own dates and seals and without any extraneous sanction. But what about Śīla-mahādēvī, Queen of Dhruvarāja, who is the donor of

[1] Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 159ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 41f.

[3] Another grant of Prabhāvatiguptā is known which she made when she was a hundred years old. Though the village was granted by her, the plates refer themselves to a regnal year of her third son, Pravarasēna (D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of North. Ind. Inscrs.*, No. 1706; *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. XX, pp. 58ff).

[4] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 422-23, ll. 16-20 Bhandarkar's *List* Nos. 1413, 1416 and 1906.

our charter ? She was neither a Regent during the minority of any one of her sons, nor an autonomous ruler. And yet she issues a grant on her own authority and without the approval of her husband, Dhruvarāja. This is rather a case which deserves further consideration. For an entirely different procedure seems to have been followed in the case of the Gāhaḍavāla family. It seems that Gōvindachandra of this dynasty had two *paṭṭamahādēvī mahārājñīs*, one Nayaṇakēlidēvī and the other Gōsaladēvī, both *paṭṭamahādēvīs*, apparently not at one and the same time. Both issue grants, Nayaṇakēlidēvī in V. 1176 and Gōsaladēvī in V. 1208[1]. But though the grants are surely made by them, they have been issued with the express approval of Gōvindachandra in spite of the fact that each one of them is a *paṭṭamahādēvī* and is described as *samasta-rājaprakriyōpētā* which Kielhorn renders by "endowed with all royal prerogatives". Such was not, however, the case with Śīla-mahādēvī whose titles *paramēśvarī paramabhaṭṭārikā* do not seem to be empty and unmeaning. Because in the prose portion of the inscription which really sets forth the details of the grant, she herself issues orders to the officers concerned with the village granted. At the end of the record also, the *Dūtaka* and the officer who drew up the document carry out their respective duties according to the orders, not of Dhruvarāja, but of Śīla-mahādēvī. And further there is nothing in the draft of the charter which shows that any approval or sanction was ever accorded to the grant by Dhruvarāja. This shows that the high-sounding royal titles which are coupled with her name are not an empty boast, but are a clear indication that she was a co-partner of her husband in the Rāshṭrakūṭa sovereignty. Two questions here arise: first, how could she be a co-partner of her husband in royal sovereignty, and, secondly, are there any more instances of this kind ?

It is well known that in ancient times wife and husband were jointly concerned in all the affairs of the life, not excluding the administration of a kingdom, and that in process of time this co-right of woman fell into desuetude in North India, but continued to be recognised for a long time in South India. Thus when a member of a royal family was crowned king, he was originally crowned along with his wife. Two instances will here suffice. The *Rāmāyaṇa* describes the coronation of Rāma, and the following significant line appears in that connection : *tataḥ sa prayato vṛiddhō Vasishṭhō brāhmaṇaiḥ saha | Rāmaṁ ratna-mayē pīṭhē sa-Sītaṁ saṁnyavēśayat*||.[2] This shows that when Rāma was crowned king, he was crowned not alone, but along with Sītā. The coronation of another epic hero that is always uppermost in the mind of a Hindu is that of Yudhishṭhira, with reference to which the following verse occurs in the *Mahābhārata*, *upavēśya mahātmānaṁ Kṛishṇaṁ cha Drupad-ātmajām*.[3] This also shows clearly that Yudhishṭhira was crowned sovereign not alone, but jointly with Draupadī. If this kind of coronation has a meaning (and certainly it was originally not a mere formality), it must mean that both husband and wife were co-sharers of the sovereignty so conferred upon them. This alone can explain why in the charter issued by Śīla-mahādēvī there is no approval or sanction given to it by Dhruvarāja. Being crowned along with her husband, she had as much authority to issue the grant in her name as he had in his.

It may, however, be contended that this line of reasoning, spacious as it is, is not convincing, unless more instances can be adduced to show that husband and wife jointly shared the ruling authority. And luckily such instances are by no means unknown though, so far as I know, they come from South India. Attention may be drawn to the Baṅkāpūr Inscription of the time of the Chālukya Sōmēśvara I. when in Śaka 977 the Kādamba chieftain Harikēsaridēva was administering the Banavāsi twelve-thousand, we are told, not alone and by himself, but in company with his

[1] Above, Vol. IV, pp. 108ff; Vol. V, pp. 117 ff.

[2] *Yuddha-Kāṇḍa*, *Sarga*, 128, v. 59.

[3] *Śānti-P*, *Sarga* 40, v. 14 (Bengali Recension).

wife Lachchaladēvī.[1] Here is thus a clear instance of husband and wife jointly ruling over a province. If we, however, want to know whether, as a matter of fact, a crowned queen can issue a charter on her own authority, that instance is supplied by Vijaya-mahādēvī, wife of Chandrāditya who was the elder brother of the Chālukya king Vikramāditya I. of Bādāmi. We have not one, but two, copper-plate grants issued by her.[2] And these grants she has made independently and without reference to her husband or Vikramāditya I. This authority she must have derived from her position as *mchishī* or crowned queen, as she has actually been called, of Chandrāditya. But this joint rule by husband and wife is not a phenomenon of the mediæval period of Ancient India. We thus have another instance in Nāsik Cave Inscription No. 5 which contains an order to Sāmaka (Śyāmaka), the Officer at Gōvardhana, by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi of the Śātavāhana dynasty and the grant of a fresh plot of land in lieu of the old uncultivable one, to the Buddhist monks staying in his Cave.[3] It is a regular deed of grant bristling with fiscal terms and containing at the end the name of the engraver and the dates of the original donation and the actual execution. But who issues this order to the Officer at Gōvardhana ? Not Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi by himself, but he and his wife together. This clearly shows that Gautamīputra and his wife were both co-partners in the Śātavāhana sovereignty. It will thus be seen that in ancient times both husband and wife had joint interest in the exercise of sovereignty and that they could issue a grant jointly or separately in his or her name without reference to the other party. It is worthy of note that all the instances here adduced whether of a queen exercising joint authority along with her husband, or of a queen acting as Regent during the minority of her son or of a princess ruling sole sovereign as a virgin or a widowed queen are supplied from the history of South India. Whether there was such law applicable to North India in historical times we do not know.

We will now proceed to the consideration of other matters arising from our plates. There are two grants which refer to the reign of Dhruvarāja. The latter of these is the one whose contents we are discussing and which is dated Śaka 708. The earlier is the Pimpari Plates[4] dated Śaka 697. This last comes into conflict with the Dhulia grant of Karkarāja, son of this Dhruvarāja, because this inscription which is dated Śaka 701 refers itself to the prosperous reign of Gōvindarāja II., though his younger brother Dhruvarāja, as we know from Pimpari Plates, was already ruling in Śaka 697. K. B. Pathak, who has edited these Plates, therefore, declares the Dhulia grant to be a spurious record. I agree with Pathak in his conclusion, but not for the reasons he has alleged. His main contention is as follows. He invites our attention first to the passage :

श्रीप्रभूतवर्षस्य .. .. प्रवर्धमानराज्ये [।*] तस्यानुजः श्रीध्रुवराजनाम्ना(मा) मन्दानुभावो विदितप्रतापः[:*] [।*] प्रसाधिताशेषनरेन्द्रचक्रः[:*] चूडामणि (क्रमेण) बालार्कवपुर्व्वभूव । ... तस्य सुत ..... श्रीकर्कराजस्तदाज्ञया सर्व्वानेव ..... क्षमाप्रापयति[5]

Here the expression **तदाज्ञया**, says Pathak, can only mean "by the command of Dhruvarāja". He therefore naturally asks : " how could Karkarāja order all his feudatories by the command of Dhruvarāja, in the prosperous reign of Gōvinda II., when Dhruva was not the reigning sovereign ?" But the expression **तदाज्ञया** need not necessarily mean " by the command of Dhruvarāja ". It may also mean " by the command of Gōvindarāja ". If the latter view is

[1] Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 168, 171 (l. 28), and 174.
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 164, ll. 13-15 ; *ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 46, ll. 15-18.
[3] Above, Vol. VIII, p. 73.
[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. X, pp. 85ff.
[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 186, ll. 26-30.

accepted, the objection raised by Pathak becomes null and void. His other objection, however, is more important though he has put it forth rather cryptically. In the quotation just given from the Dhulia grant, there is a stanza descriptive of Dhruva which begins with *tasya=ānujaḥ* and which occurs in many Rāshṭrakūṭa records. But the last line of this stanza is not correctly worded, especially the initial part of it. It begins with *chūḍāmaṇi* instead of with *kramēṇa* as in the other Rāshṭrakūṭa inscriptions. Besides, *chūḍāmaṇi*, as it is, causes a cæsura of the metre. And what is curious is that in the Rāshṭrakūṭa charters where this stanza is given, it is followed by another beginning with *jātē yatra cha*. This stanza, however, contains the word *chūḍāmaṇau* which was probably sticking to the memory of the scribe who was writing out the Dhulia grant and which unwittingly fell through his pen while he was writing the last line of the preceding stanza. It is thus plain that both the stanzas were known to the scribe who prepared the draft of the Dhulia grant. Now, it is a fact well-known to an epigraphist that in the Rāshṭrakūṭa charters there are certain verses which are peculiar to certain Rāshṭrakūṭa kings. These verses could have been composed by the court panegyrist only when those kings were on the throne. The verses beginning with *tasya-ānujaḥ* and *jātē yatra cha* could thus have been composed only when Dhruvarāja was the king. And the question naturally arises: how could these verses which must have been composed during the reign of Dhruvarāja alone find a place in the Dhulia grant which refers itself to the reign of his predecessor? The verse जाते यत्र च etc., as pointed out by Pathak, describes Dhruva as a paramount sovereign. When Dhruva was thus a sovereign, no Rāshṭrakūṭa record can refer itself to the reign of his predecessor Gōvindarāja II., as the Dhulia grant undoubtedly does. Secondly, unless we suppose that the Dhulia grant is a forgery, a chronological discrepancy must arise which we cannot get over. As indicated above, whereas the Pimpari Plates of Dhruva are dated Śaka 697, his present plates are dated Śaka 708. We thus obtain a period ranging between Śaka 697 and 708 during which Dhruva reigned. And this period is disturbed if we consider the Dhulia grant as a genuine one. For if Gōvindarāja II. ceased to reign and was succeeded by his brother Dhruva about Śaka 697, how could he be ruling again in Śaka 701 as the Dhulia grant implies. Evidence thus points to the irresistible conclusion that the Dhulia grant is a spurious one.

The last date of their father Kṛishṇarāja is Śaka 694 supplied by the Bhāṇḍak Plates.[1] And the earliest date known for Dhruva is, as we have seen, Śaka 697 which is the date of his Pimpari charter. Gōvinda II. thus seems to have ruled between Śaka 694 and 697. This is no doubt a brief reign, but we know the cause of it, namely, that he was ousted from his throne by his younger brother Dhruva. To ascertain how he came to be so ousted, we will here quote accounts from three different charters and then piece them together so as to give a whole and intelligent story. The Dēōlī and Karhāḍ grants[2] of Kṛishṇa III. say that "sensual pleasures made Gōvindarāja careless of the kingdom, and that, entrusting fully the universal sovereignty to his younger brother, Nirupama, he allowed his position as sovereign to become loose". The Daulatābād Plates of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Śaṅkaragaṇa record that "His younger brother was Nirupama, who, on perceiving him self-conceited, abandoned by (feudatory) princes, and even devoid of policy, assumed the royal authority placed (in the hands of a person) other than one possessed of devotion for the predecessors, in order that the sovereignty might not deviate from the family".[3] The Paiṭhāṇ Plates of Gōvinda III. furnish the following information in two stanzas.[4] "Although he (Gōvindarāja) brought kings in numbers, hostile as they were, (such as) the ruler of Mālava and so forth joined by the lord of Kāñchī, the Gaṅga, and (the prince) of Vēṅgī, he (Dhruvarāja) gave ruby

[1] Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 123ff.
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. V., p. 193, v. 10; Vol. IV, p. 282, v. 11.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 194 and pp. 196-7, v. 11. [4] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 107, ll. 30-34.

ornaments and a quantity of gold, and, over and above that, kept his mind unchanged towards (his) brother. Thereafter when, even after conciliation and other (remedies), Vallabha (Gōvinda) did not make peace, (Dhruvarāja), the great ruler, speedily vanquished him in a battle offered by the brother, expelled the enemies from the east and the north, and secured the sovereignty decorated with the insignia of the effulgent *pālidhvaja*". If we now piece together these items of information, we arrive at the following conclusions: (1) Gōvinda II. entrusted the government of the kingdom to Dhruva, because he gave himself up to sensual pleasures; (2) the consequence was that Dhruva became the sovereign *ipso facto*; (3) Gōvinda became alive to the danger of the situation and entrusted the government to another who apparently was not a Rāshṭrakūṭa in lineage; (4) Dhruva thereupon revolted, and Gōvinda, to protect himself, entered into an alliance with kings who were otherwise inimical to the Rāshṭrakūṭa family; and (5) Dhruva made overtures to Gōvinda by offering him gold and precious stones, but as the latter gave a battle, Dhruva fought, defeated his brother, and made himself supreme.

The kings with whom Gōvinda II. formed an alliance were, as we have seen above, the ruler of Mālava, the Gaṅga prince and the lord of Vēṅgī. In this connection we may take note of a verse about Dhruva which is an important one for the Rāshṭrakūṭa history and which is verse 24 of our grant[1]. It says: "As (Dhruva) reduced to subjection forts (*durga*) which were the cream of the three worlds, augmented his fame by obstructing the continuity of the (lineal) flow of the Gaṅgas and made his own the prosperity of (a ruler) whose exalted insignia was the bull, he, alone and in this world displayed the quality of Paramēśvara (Supreme Ruler) clearly and powerfully, just as Śiva, by decorating Durgā who was the quintessence of the three worlds, augmenting his fame by obstructing the continuity of the flow of the Ganges, and accepting the lofty Bull (Nandī) as his badge and ashes (for his use), displayed the quality of Paramēśvara (Supreme God)". It is evident that this stanza is susceptible of *double entendre*. The mythological sense is clear enough. But so far as the historical sense is concerned, it supplies us with two facts of importance. The first is that Dhruva was a sworn enemy of the Gaṅgas. This follows from the verses quoted from the Paiṭhāṇ Plates. The Gaṅga prince was actually one of the allies who had come to the help of Gōvinda when Dhruva was ousting him. It was therefore natural that Dhruva could never forgive the Gaṅga king. His hostilities with the Gaṅgas have been referred to also in other Rāshṭrakūṭa inscriptions. The second historical fact to be deduced from the same verse of our grant is that he made his own the prosperity of a ruler whose family insignia was the bull. Who could this prince be? Obviously he could be no other than a prince of the (Eastern) Chālukya family of Vēṅgī who had the bull as their badge[2]. And this prince again could be no other than his father-in-law, Vishṇuvardhana IV. The latter was no doubt an ally of Dhruva when our grant was issued. But it could not have been so originally, for we know that like the Gaṅga prince, the Vēṅgī also favoured Gōvinda II. and opposed Dhruva. Now Vishṇuvardhana IV., the Chālukya ruler of Vēṅgī, we have seen, ruled from A.D. 764 to 799, whereas Gōvinda II. from A.D. 772 to 775. Vishṇuvardhana therefore must have been the ally of Gōvinda II. and adversary of Dhruva about 775. But it seems that after Gōvinda II. was finally ousted, Vishṇuvardhana made alliance with Dhruva which was cemented by the latter marrying his daughter.

[1] The same verse occurs in the Surat Plates of Karkkarāja (v. 24) as stated above. Prof. A. S. Altekar, who has edited them, however, interprets it differently.

[2] [That the Eastern Chālukyas had boar as their badge and not bull is clear from the expression *vara-varāha-lāñchhana* found in their inscriptions and the figure of a boar on the seals of many of the copper plates issued by them. The reference here is probably to the Pallavas of Kāñchī who had the bull as their emblem as is evidenced by their seals. We know from the Paiṭhāṇ plates that the Lord of Kāñchī was one of the kings with whom Gōvinda II. formed an alliance.—Ed.]

TEXT.[1]

First Plate.

1 ओं[2] [।*] स वोव्य(व्या)द्वेषसा धाम यत्राभिरूमलं क्षतं [।*] हरच यस्य क(का)न्तेन्दुकलया कमलंक्षतं [॥1*]

2 आसीद्विपन्तिमिर[3]सुघतमण्डलाग्रो ध्वस्तित्रयम्बकमिसुखो रणयर्व्वरीषु [।*] भूपः शुचिर्व्विधुरिवा-

3 वदिमधा[4]कीर्त्तिर्म्गोविन्दर(रा)ज इति राजसु राजसिंहः[5] [॥ 2*] दृष्ट्वा चमूम-भिमुखीं सुभटाट्टाहसा[6]सुचा-

4 मितं सपदि येन रणेषु नित्यं ।(।) दष्टाधरेण दधता भ्रुकुटि[7] ललाटे खड्ग[8] कुलंच(च) हृदयं च निजं च सत्व[9] ।[। 3*]

5 खड्गं करघा सु[10]खतच श्रोभ(भा) मानो मनस्तः सममेव यस्य । [म]ह(हा)-हवे नाम[11] निग्र(ा)म्य सद्यस्त्रयं रि-

6 पु(पू)णां विगलत्यकपोले[12] ॥ [4*] तस्यात्मजो जगति विश्रुतदीर्घकीर्त्तिरर्त्त ित्ति[13]हारिहरिविक्रमधर्मधरि[14] [।*] भूपस्तृ(स्ति)वि-

7 ष्टपनृपानुक्षतिः क्षतघ्नः श्रीकर्कराज इति गोत्रमणिर्ब्बभूव ॥ [5*] तस्य द्विभिन्नकरटच्युतदानदन्तिदन्तप्रहर-[15]

8 रुचिरोल्लिखितांसपीठः [।*] क्षयः[16] पितो[17] त्रपितप्रपुरभूत्तनूज[ः*] सद्राट्टकू-टकनकाद्रि[18]रिवेन्द्रराजः ॥[6*]

9 तस्योपार्ज्जितमङ्गसस्तनयचतुरुदधिवलयमाखिन्याः [।*] भोक्ता भुवः प्रतक्र-तुसदृषः[19] श्री-

10 दन्तिदुर्ग्गरजोभुत्[20] ॥[7*] काञ्चीयकेरलनरधिप[21]चोलपाण्ड्य[22]श्रीहर्षवज्रटविभेदविधा-नदक्षं [।*] कार्ष्ण-

11 टकं[23] बलमनंत्य[24]मजेयमन्यैर्भृत्यैः कियद्भिरपि यः सहसा जिगाय ॥[8*] [25]चर्ष्णवि-भङ्गभरटङ्कित[26]निशातश-

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[1] From the original plates and impressions.
[2] Expressed by a symbol.
[3] Read °तिमिर°.
[4] Read °बाद्दिमत.
[5] Read सिंहः.
[6] Read °टाट्टहासा°.
[7] Read भ्रुकुटिं.
[8] Read खड्गं.
[9] Read सत्वम्.
[10] Read करायाम्रु°.
[11] Read नाम.
[12] Read °बाल्ले.
[13] Read °रात्तिं°.
[14] Read धामधारी.
[15] Read प्रहार.
[16] Read क्षापः.
[17] Read पितौ.
[18] Read कनकाद्रि.
[19] Read सदृशः.
[20] Read राजोभूत्.
[21] Read नराधिप.
[22] Read पाण्ड्य.
[23] Read कार्णाटकं.
[24] Read बलमनन्त°.
[25] Read चर्भू°.
[26] Read °टङ्कीत.

12 स्वमस्त्रान्तमप्रतिहतश्च[1]मपेतयत्नं [।*] यो वल्लभं सपदि दण्डबलेन जित्वा राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरता-

13 मवाप ॥[9*] आरोतोर्व्विपुलोपलावलिलसच्छ्रोतोर्म्मिमालाजलादाप्लावितकलङ्किता-मलग्रिलाजा-

14 लात्तुषाराचलात् ।(।) आ पूर्व्वापरव(वा)रिराशिपू(पु)लिनप्रान्तप्रसिद्धावधे[2] येनेयं जगती स्वविक्रमबले-

15 नैकातपत्रा[3] कृता ॥[10*] त[स्मिन्दिवं प्र]या[ते व]ल्लभराजे चतप्रजाबाधः [।*] श्रीकर्क्करराजसूनुर्भीद्वीपतिः क्ष-

16 त्तराजोभू[त्] ॥[11*] यस्य सभुजपरक्रम[4]निः(।)श्रेषोत्खादितारिदिङ्मुखं ।(।) कृष्णस्येवाकृष्णं चरितं

Second Plate ; First Side.

17 श्रीखण्डरजस्य[5] ॥[12*] शुभतुङ्गतुङ्गतुरगप्रहृतरेणूद्धुरवरविकिरणं [।*] श्रीषेपि नभो निखिलं

18 प्राहृद्धालायते स्पष्टं ॥[13*] दीनानाथप्रणयिषु यथेष्टचेष्टं समीहितमजस्रं ।(।) तत्क्षणमकालव-

19 र्षी वर्षति सर्व्वार्त्तिनिर्व्वपणं ॥[14*] राहप्यमात्मभुजजातबलावलेपभावी विजित्य निशितासिलता-

20 प्रहारैः [।*] यालिध्वज[6]वलिशुभामचिरे[ण यो हि रा]जाधिराजपरमेश्वरता[7] ततान ॥[15*] क्रोधादुत्खातख-

21 ड्गप्रहृतरुचिचयैर्भासमानं [8]समंता ज्जादुद्दत्तवैरिप्रकटमलघटाटोपसंक्षोभदक्षं ।(।) शौर्यं

22 स्वस्यारिवर्ग्गा[9] भयचकितवपुः का[ि]प[10] दृष्टैव सद्यो दर्पघ्नातारिचक्रक्षयकरम-गमद्यस[11] दोर्दण्ड-

23 क(ष्क)वं ॥[16*] यातायत्तुरं(र)ङ्गखुर(रा)ग्रिरजोलंकारभाजो भुवस्तत्याज्यापि क्षतद्विजामरगुरुप्राज्याज्यपु(पू)-

24 जादरः ।(।) द(दा)ता म(मा)नभृदग्रणीर्गुणवतां योसौ श्रियो वल्लभो भोक्तुं स्वर्गफल[12](ला)नि भूरितप-

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[1] Read °प्रतिहताश्च°. [2] Read प्रसिद्धावधेर्ये°. [3] Read पत्री°.
[4] Read स्वभुजपराक्रम. [5] Read °राजस्य. [6] Read °ध्वजा°
[7] Read °ता ततान. [8] Read समन्तादाजाद्दत्त. [9] Read वर्गा.
[10] Read ज्ञापि. [11] Read °द्यस्य.

25 सा स्वाङ्गं जगतामामरं ॥[17*] येन क्षेत्रातपत्रप्रहतरविकरव्रातितापात्सलीलं
जग्मे नासीरधूली-

26 धवली(लि)तशिरसा वल्लभ(भा)ख्यः सदाजौ [।*] स श्रीगोविन्दराजो जितज-
गदहितस्त्रैणवैधव्यहेतुस्त-

27 स्यासीत्सतुरेका[1] चणरणदलित(ता)रातिमत्तेभकुम्भः ॥[18*] तस्यानुजः श्रीध्रु(ध्रु)-
वराजनामा मह(ह्ा)नुभावो

28 प्रहतप्रत(ता)पः [।*] प्रसाधिताशेषनरेन्द्रचक्रः क्रमेण बलार्क[2]वपुर्ब्बभूव ॥[19*]
जतें[3] यत्र च राष्ट्रकु(कू)ट-

29 [ति]लके सङ्गूपचुडमणौ[4] गुर्ब्बी तुष्टिरथाखिलस्य जगतः सुस्वामिनि प्रत्यहं [।*]
सत्यं सत्यमिति प्र-

30 ग्र(ग्रा)सति सत्ति क्षामाससमुद्रान्तिकामासीद्धर्म्मपरे गुण(णा)मृतनिधौ सत्यव्रता-
धिष्ठिते ॥[20*] यशध-

31 रकरनिकरनिभं यस्य यशः सुरनगायसानुस्थैः [।*] परिगीयतेनुरत्नैर्व्विदधर-[5]
सुन्दरीनिव-

32 हैः ॥[21*] हृष्टोन्वहं योथि(र्थि)जनाय नित्यं सर्व्वस्वामानन्दितबधुवर्ग्गः[6] [।*]
प्रदा प्ररुष्टो[7] हरति

Second Plate ; Second Side.

33 स्व धगात्[8] प्राणान्यमस्य(स्या)पि नितान्तवीयः[9] [॥22*] रचतो(ता) येन
निश्शेष(षं) चतुरंभोधिसंयुतं [।*]

34 राज्यं धर्म्मेण[10] लोकाना(नां) कृता तुष्टिः परा हृदि [॥23*] योसौ प्रसे-
(सा)धितजगत्त्र(त्र)यसारदुगो[11] गंगो-

35 धसन्ततिनिरोधविद्वत्तनीत्तिः[12] [।*] [13]आस्थीकृतोन्नतहयाङ्गविभूतिरुच्चैर्य्यत्न तंतान[14]
परमेश्व-

36 [र]तामिहैकः ॥[। 24*] तस्य परमभट्ट(ट्टा)रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमदकाल-

37 [व]र्ष[देव]प(पा)दानुध्यातपरमभट्ट(ट्टा)रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरधार(रा)वर्ष-

38 श्रीध्रुवराजदेवस्य महादेवी सर्व्वलोकाश्रयविष्णुवर्द्धनश्रीविट्टरसराजदु-

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[1] Read °त्तुरेकः.
[2] Read बालार्क.
[3] Read जाते.
[4] Read चूडामणौ.
[5] Read °रत्नैर्व्विदाधर.
[6] Read सर्व्वस्वमानन्दितबन्धु°.
[7] Read प्रादात्प्रहृष्टो.
[8] Read वेगात्.
[9] Read °वीर्य्यः.
[10] Read धर्म्मेण.
[11] Read दुर्गो
[12] Read कीर्त्तिः.
[13] Read चाक्षी°
[14] Read °द्वैर्य्यं ततान.

39 हिता परमेश्वरी परममट्टारिका श्रीग्रोलमट्टादेवी ॥ तयेदमाक्षोद-

40 तृणाग्रलग्नसलिलाम्बु(म्बु)वि(बि)न्दुचपलमाकलय्य [।*] कृतीवितं धर्म्मनिबन्धबुद्धा हिता-

41 तिदायीयमकारि भूरिः [॥ 25*] सा च धारावर्षश्रीमट्टादेवी कुशली(लिनी) सर्व्व(र्व्वा)ने-

42 व यथासंबध्यमानकानाट्[1] पतिविषयपतिग्रामकूटकान(नि)वुक्तयुक्ताधि-

43 कार(रि)कमहत्तरादीन(न्) समादिशति [।*] अस्तु वो विदितं यथा मया(या) म(मा)तापि-

44 त्रोराजनसैवैकामुष्मिकपुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये[2] श्रीकुडगोटवास्तव्यश्रा-

45 संकायनसगोत्र-अध्वर्यु[3]-काण्वसब्रह्मच(चा)रि-ब्राह्मण-भारद्वि-सूनु[र्मा]रुद्रः ॥

46 श्रीनान्दीपु(पु)रद्वारीवास्तव्य-तच्चातुर्व्विद्य[4]स(सा)मान्य-जातूकर्ण्यसगोत्र[5]-अध्वर्यु[6]-माध्यन्दि-

47 नसब्रह्मचारि-ब्राह्मण-भट्टनारायण-सूनु-दुर्गा(र्गा)दित्यः [।*] आर्य्या[7] श्रीमन्नान्दीपु-

48 रद्वारी-विषयन्तर्गतः[8] कोलव(प)द्रनामग्रामः यस्याघट्टनानि पूर्व्वतः[9] तटन-

49 पद्मासाखट्टानिस्रोयिसंगमखरविफालग्रामश्च[9]

Third Plate.

50 दक्षिणतः निस्रोर्दकुण्डलावट्टाः निग्रहिपद्रग्रामश्च ततः[10] दोङ्गरिका च उखल-पद्रग्रामश्च

51 तट्टश्च पश्चिमतः उखलपद्री नाम नदिका तोरणपद्रनाम ग्राम[11] भंकारि-पटनिस्रोर्दसं-

52 गमः भद्रवटग्रामश्च उ[त्त]रतो द्रोगरिका[12] नवग्रामश्च एत[दा]चट्ट[नी]पलक्षितः सधान्यहिरण्यादेय[13]

53 अचाटभटप्रावेश्य(श्यः) अखिलराजकीय(या)[नामट्टस्तम्बे]पत्तीयः आचन्द्रार्का-र्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्व्वतसम-

54 कालीन(नः) भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन[14] प्रकभूपालक[।]ल[।तीतसंव]त्सरशतसप्तके अशीत्तरके[15] अक्षयतृतीयायाम-

[1] Read °संबध्यमानकानाट्°. [2] Read °वैहिका°.

[3] Read अध्वर्यु [4] Read तच्चातुर्व्विद्य°. [5] Read जातूकर्ण्य.

[6] Read आर्य्या. [7] Read विषया°. [8] Read पूर्व्वतः.

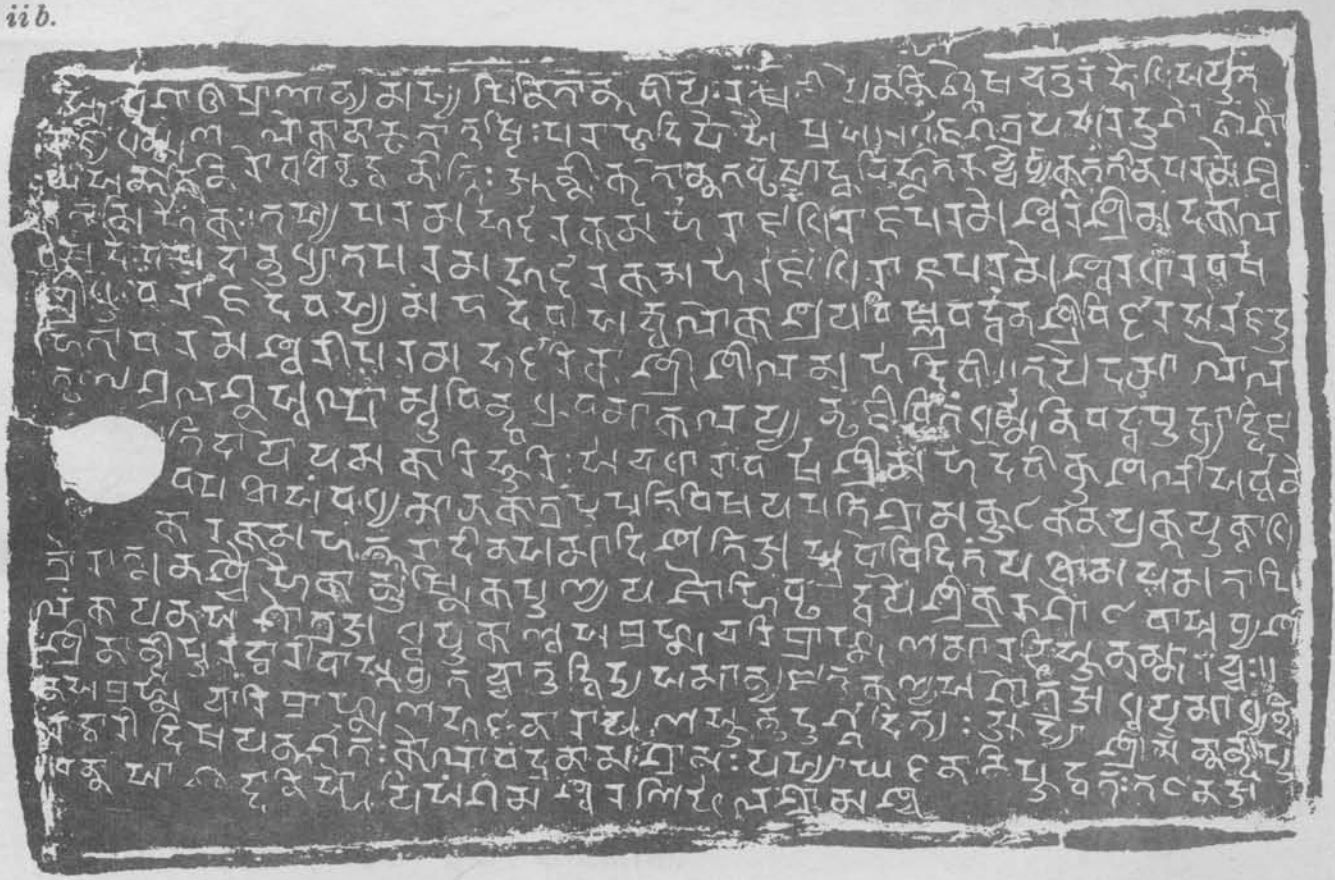
[9] It is difficult to correct and punctuate the words from तटन to ग्रामश्च. Perhaps they may stand for तटन-अपद्मा-साखट्टा-निस्रोयि-संगमखरविफालग्रामश्च.

[10] Read ततो. [11] Read °नामा ग्रामो.

[12] This seems to be the Sanskritised form of दोङ्गरिका in l. 50, and is probably the name of a river. [The word *dōṅgara* is found in other inscriptions also (cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 120, ll. 31 and 33). According to Kittel *doṅgara* or *ḍoṅgara* means 'a hill', a steep rock. Possibly *ḍōṅgarikā* has been used here in the sense of 'a hillock'.—Ed.]

[13] Read सधान्यहिरण्यादेयः. [14] Read भूमिच्छिद्र°. [15] Read अशीत्तरके.

iib.



iii



N. P. Chakravarti.
Rec. No. 3373 E'35-425.

SCALE : TWO-THIRDS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

55 वास्यायां[1] महत्यादित्यग्रहणपर्व्वणि अत्र[ातत्रति]सर्गेच[2] वलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्र-पञ्चमहायज्ञ-[3]

56 क्रियोत्सर्पणाय प्रतिपादितः [।*] यतोनयोरेतभ्जानयो:(ङुंजानयोः) भोजयतोः प्रतिदिग्रतोर्व्व(र्व्वा) न केनचिच्छासिते प्रवर्त्तितव्य[4] [।*] तच[5]

57 भिभद्रनृपतिभिरन्यैरन्ये(न्यै)र्व्वा स(सा)मान्यं भूमिदानफलमवेक्ष्य अस्मद्वु(वु)दच-(वं)चलं च जीवितमैश्वर्य-[6]

58 कञ्च स्वदायनिर्व्विशेषोयमस्म[द्वाय:] पालयितव्यः [।*] यश्चान्यानतो व्याच्छि-द्याद(दा)च्छिद्यमानं वानुमोदे-

59 त स [7]यश्चभि महपतभोक्षापपातके[र्यु]क्त आदित्येनुं[8] भगव[ता] वेदव्यासेन [॥*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि

60 स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिद(दः) [।*] [आच्छेत्ता चा]नुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [॥ 26*][विध्या(व्या)टवीश्चतोयाद्य ग्रुक्त-

61 कीटरवासिनः [।*] [आच्छेत्त्य[9] [हि] जायन्ते भूमिदाय(यं) हरन्ति ये [॥ 27] ब[हुभि]र्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि(भिः)

62 सगर(स)दिभिर्यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य [तदा] फलं [॥ 28*] य(दा)नीह दत्त(त्ता)नि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्(र्द्रा)नानि धर्मार्थय-[10]

63 शस्कराणि [।*] निर्म्मुल्यमाल्यप्रतिमानि [ता]नि को नाम स(सा)धुः पुनरा-ददीत [॥ 29*] स्वदत्ता(त्तां) परदत्ता(त्तां) वा यत्नाद्र-

64 क्ष नराधिप [।*] महीं(हीं) महीमतां(तां) श्रेष्ठ दानात् श्रेयोनुपालनं[11] [॥ 30*] भवति क्षमदत्तापुयिन्दुलोका[12]

65 म(त्रि)यमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितं च [।*] अतिविमलमनोभिराजनीन न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो वि-

66 लोप्या(प्याः) [॥ 31*] इति धारावर्ष-श्रीवल्लभ[13]-महाद(दे)वी-समादिष्ट-सोम-याजि-ग्रंथस्य दूतकं[14]

67 लिखितं च(च) परमेश्वरयोग्रया[15] [अ]क्षयनवत्सु[त्त] महत्तमविधिविहाजिस्तेन[16] शुभ-

68 भवापरनाम्ना वसुदेवेनेति श्रीं [॥*]

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[1] Read °नायायां. [2] Read चतीदत्तातिसर्गेच. [3] Read महायज्ञी°.
[4] Read प्रवर्त्तितव्यं. [5] Read तथा°. [6] Read °वैश्वं च°.
[7] Read पञ्चभिर्महापातकैरुपपातकैर्युक्तः. [8] Read °मुक्तं. [9] Read अच्छेत्ता.
[10] Read दत्तानी°. [11] Read दानाद्धि°. [12] Read अस्मद्दत्तामनुपिन्दुलोका.
[13] Read °राजनीवैः. [14] Read दूतकी. [15] Read मंत्रणी दूतकी.
[16] Read परमेश्वरी°. [17] Read महत्तमि°.

No. 18.—KUḶIDIKKI INSCRIPTION OF VIJAYA NANDISVARAVARMAN.

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

The subjoined inscription[1] is engraved on a hero stone fixed near the river Pālār at **Kuḷidikki** in the Guḍiyāttam taluk of the North Arcot district. The stone is in a good state of preservation and the letters are engraved in archaic **Tamiḻ**.

The **language** of the record is Tamiḻ prose and it is particularly free from orthographical peculiarities.

A few words used in the inscription have a special significance. The word *tiri* (ll. 8, 9) ordinarily means 'to wander'; but here it is used in the sense of 'to proceed'. The word *Pallavaraiyaṉ* (l. 5) is here used to denote the Pallava king.[2]

The epigraph is **dated** in the **52nd year** of Viḻaya-**Nandiś varavarman** and it records the death of **Gaṅgadiyaraiyar Kaṇṇāḍu Peruṅgaṅgar**, the chief of **Kaṛkāṭṭūr**, who, at the instance of *māmaḍi* the Bāṇa king, fell on the day when the **Pallava** army marched against **Perumāṇaḍigaḷ**[3] and destroyed (the fortress of) **Peṇkuḷikkōṭṭai.**

At the outset it may be pointed out that, from the high regnal year[4] quoted in the record the king may be identified with **Nandivarman Pallavamalla.** The record may, therefore, be assigned to the second half of the 8th century A.D.[5]

The present inscription is important because it mentions a direct attack of the Pallava king Nandivarman (Pallavamalla) on the Western Gaṅgas (Pērmānaḍi). The reason for the attack is not stated, but it is clear that the raid must have been undertaken to check the

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[1] No. 154 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

[2] In No. 35 of 1922 this word is similarly used. Compare also the word 'Iḷattaraiyaṉ' to denote the king of Ceylon (*S. I.* I., III, p. 232).

[3] The term 'Perumāṇaḍigaḷ' is an honorific title generally applied to the Divine Being and in inscriptions it is also used to denote kings. According to a Gaṅga record (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Nr. 35) the Pallavas had this title, but we find very few instances of its application to them, as for instance in No. 17 of 1899. It may probably be explained by the boast of the Western Gaṅga King Śrīpurusha who claims to have snatched this title from 'the king of Kāñchi'. From the time of Śrīpurusha, it invariably denoted the Gaṅga rulers.

In the present record, this term is dubiously used. It might be interpreted as referring to Nandivarman himself, in which case, "Pallavaraiyaṉ" (l. 5) would be some local chieftain who revolted against his overlord, when both Vāṇaraiyar and Gaṅgadiyaraiyar rushed to the rescue of the Pallava sovereign. Considering the context in which the term is used, the proximity of the Guḍiyāttam taluk, where this inscription is found, to the Gaṅga territory and the political situations of the time, it seems better to take it as referring to Śrīpurusha.

[4] There are only a few stone records of Pallavamalla which, from high regnal years, can be definitely attributed to him, *viz.*—

(*a*) *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 125, dated in the 47th year from Virinchipuram,
(*b*) No. 10 of 1895, dated in the 50th year from Pañchapāṇḍavamalai,
(*c*) *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 108, dated in the 52nd year from Śaduppēri,
(*d*) *Ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 42, dated in the 62nd year from Tiruvallam,
(*e*) No. 666 of 1922, dated in the 65th year from Mahābalipuram and
(*f*) No. 14 of 1893, dated in the 68th year from Conjeeveram.

Some of the inscriptions of Nandivarman without the distinguishing titles 'Pallavamalla' and 'Teḷḷāṟṟeṟinda' and with regnal years below 22 must remain unidentified, as they cannot be easily assigned to either the 2nd or 3rd king of that name.

[5] Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyar has fixed the initial date of Pallavamalla at 696 A.D. (above, Vol. XX, pp. 46 ff.); recently an attempt has been made to bring it down to 726 A.D. (*Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. VIII, pp. 1 ff.).

growing power of the Gaṅgas. Incidentally the record also mentions the relationship that existed among the three powers, *viz.*, the Pallavas, Western Gaṅgas and the Bāṇas who came into conflict with one another too frequently in the 8th century A.D.

For a clear understanding of the record, the position of these powers during this period must be understood.

Nandivarman Pallavamalla accepted the Pallava monarchy when quite young at a time when the Pallava dominion was threatened with destruction. He had to contend against Chitramāya, another aspirant to the Pallava throne. The Western Chāḷukyas who were the hereditary enemies of the Pallavas took this opportunity and, under Vikramāditya II, they even succeeded in capturing Kāñchi and driving Pallavamalla to the south, where again at Nandipura near Kumbhakōṇam, the latter was besieged by a confederacy of Southern powers, from which his general Udayachandra saved him. Pallavamalla soon retrieved his position and established his power in the south also as is evidenced by his copper-plate records, nearly all of which come from the Tanjore district.[1] He was attacked on all sides which necessitated his general Udayachandra to 'bestow the whole kingdom many times on the Pallava' monarch.[2] The whole of his reign was crowded with military exploits as he came into conflict with all the neighbouring powers, *viz.*, the Pāṇḍyas, Rāshṭrakūṭas, Eastern and Western Chāḷukyas and the Gaṅgas. Here we are directly concerned with his relationship with the Gaṅgas.

Regarding the Pallava-Gaṅga relationship, it may be pointed out that the Pallavas claimed overlordship over the Gaṅgas by claiming to crown the Gaṅga kings. The Western Gaṅga kings Harivarman and Siṁhavarman or Mādhava III were crowned[3] by the Pallava monarchs Siṁhavarman and Skandavarman.[4] When the Gaṅgas were subdued by the Western Chāḷukyas,[5] the former must have come into conflict with the Pallavas along with the Chāḷukyas, their overlords. Bhūvikrama, the elder brother of the Gaṅga king Śivamāra I., claims to have defeated the Pallava king in the battle of Vilanda and also to have captured the whole of the Pallava dominions.[6] Probably as a result of this battle, Śivamāra I. claims to have kept in his charge two Pallava princes.[7] When the Western Chāḷukyas were overthrown by the Rāshṭrakūṭas, the Gaṅgas under Śrīpurusha tried to assert their power, but soon the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Pallavas vindicated their claim for overlordship by claiming to crown Śivamāra II Saigoṭṭa.[8]

The contemporary of Pallavamalla on the Gaṅga throne at the time of our record was Śrīpurusha (725-788 A.D.) in whose time the Gaṅgas tried to expand their dominions. He seems to have extended his conquests[9] as far as Kuḷidikki where the present inscription is found.

[1] Kāśākuḍi, Taṇḍaṇtōṭṭam, Paṭṭattāḷmaṅgalam or Korraṅguḍi plates; the Udaiyēndiram plates alone do not belong to the Tanjore district.

[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 372.

[3] This is said to have been performed in due form, *i.e.*, according to customary rights (*yathārham*) (above, Vol. XIV, p. 333).

[4] Above, Vol. XIV, p. 332.

[5] A record of Vinayāditya, dated in 694 A. D., speaks of the Gaṅgas as the hereditary servants of the Western Chāḷukyas (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 303).

[6] Rice: *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions*, p. 37.

[7] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Md. 113.

[8] *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, Nl. 60. Though this is a spurious record, the late Dr. Fleet did not find any impossibility in the truth of the statement that the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda III crowned Śivamāra II.

[9] His inscriptions are also found at Oḍḍaṇpaṭṭi in the Salem district (Nos. 211 and 212 of 1910 of the Madras Epigraphical collection).

In fact a record from Huṁcha[1] states that Śrīpurusha slew the valiant Kāḍuveṭṭi[2] of Kāñchi and appropriated to himself, from the Pallavas, the title '*Permānaḍi*' which was from this time onwards exclusively used to denote the Gaṅgas.[3] Pallavamalla, however, did not keep quiet. The present inscription records one invasion against the Gaṅga king. In the Taṇḍaṇtōṭṭam plates, dated six years later, *i.e.*, in his 58th year, Pallavamalla claims to have taken from him a neck ornament which contained in it the gem called *Ugrōdaya*.[4] Śrīpurusha, therefore, seems to have given trouble to Pallavamalla till late in the latter's reign.

The Bāṇa country, known as Perumbāṇappāḍi, lay to the west of the Āndhra country between the Pallava and the Gaṅga kingdoms. In the beginning, the Bāṇas offered opposition to Pallava expansion, but in the Pallava-Gaṅga fights, they had to join one side or the other. They first became the subordinates of the Gaṅgas. Diṇḍigarar, a Bāṇa king ruling over Kaḷappunāḍu, was a subordinate of Śrīpurusha.[5] A stone inscription[6] of the time of the Gaṅga prince Mādhava Muttarasa at Tallapaḷḷa refers to his expedition against Māvali-Vāṇarasa and to the battle of Kōyāttūr, *i.e.*, Laḍḍigam in the Chittoor district. Though forced by circumstances to join the Gaṅgas at times, the Bāṇas generally threw in their lot with the Pallavas. At the time of our record we see that the Bāṇa king sided the Gaṅga[7] in checking the Pallava aggression. In this attack the Pallava king must have felt the necessity for creating a buffer state of the Bāṇa territory, for we find within the next few years the Bāṇa chiefs figuring as subordinates of the Pallavas and acting as the guardians of the frontier territory of their overlords.[8] In our inscription the Bāṇa contemporary of Pallavamalla is merely called by the general title Vāṇaraiyar without giving his actual name. It is evident that he cannot be Vikramāditya I., the son-in-law of Pṛithivīpati I.,[9] as he figures in the 17th year of Nandivarman III.[10] We may identify him with Nandivarman, the historical founder of the Bāṇa kingdom.[11] Our record gives us to understand that this Vāṇaraiyar did not take an active part in checking the Pallava attack on Peṇkuḷikkōṭṭai, though it indicates his support of the Gaṅga cause. It will be seen from the present inscription that he stood in the relation of a

[1] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Nr. 35. Though this record is about three centuries later than the time of Śrīpurusha and also contains some wrong statements, the adoption of the title 'Permāḍi' (*i.e.*, *Perumānaḍigaḷ*) by the Western Gaṅga rulers is borne out by their records; but the other statements made in it cannot be accepted as correct unless we get reliable evidence in support of them.

[2] It has been suggested that Paramēśvaravarman II was the Pallava king slain on the battlefield at Viḷarde. Though probable, we do not know much about this ruler to affirm it.

[3] The Gaṅga chiefs seem to have adopted not only the title *Permānaḍi* but also other titles of the Pallavas as well. Vijaya-Narasiṁhavikramavarman and Vijaya-Īśvaravarman whose inscriptions are found at Baṅgavāḍi in the Kolar district, Kiḷmuṭṭugūr and Vēḷur in the North Arcot district and Hanumantapuram in the Salem district and who have been taken as Pallavas or rather Gaṅga-Pallavas hitherto, must really be Gaṅga chiefs adopting Pallava titles. These chiefs do not call themselves Pallavas and their inscriptions are in Vaṭṭeḻuttu characters which we do not find in Pallava records. From the elephant and *haṁsa* figures (above, Vol. IV, p. 177), carved in relief on one of the slabs containing an inscription of Narasiṁhavikramavarman, Dr. Hultzsch also concluded that Narasiṁhavarman was probably a Western Gaṅga chief (*ibid.*).

[4] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 517, verse 6.

[5] *Mysore Archæological Report* for 1927, p. 109.

[6] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Bp. 13. This inscription is assigned by Rice approximately to A.D. 725.

[7] In the battle of Soremaṭi also the Bāṇa chief sided the Gaṅga ruler (No. 543 of 1906).

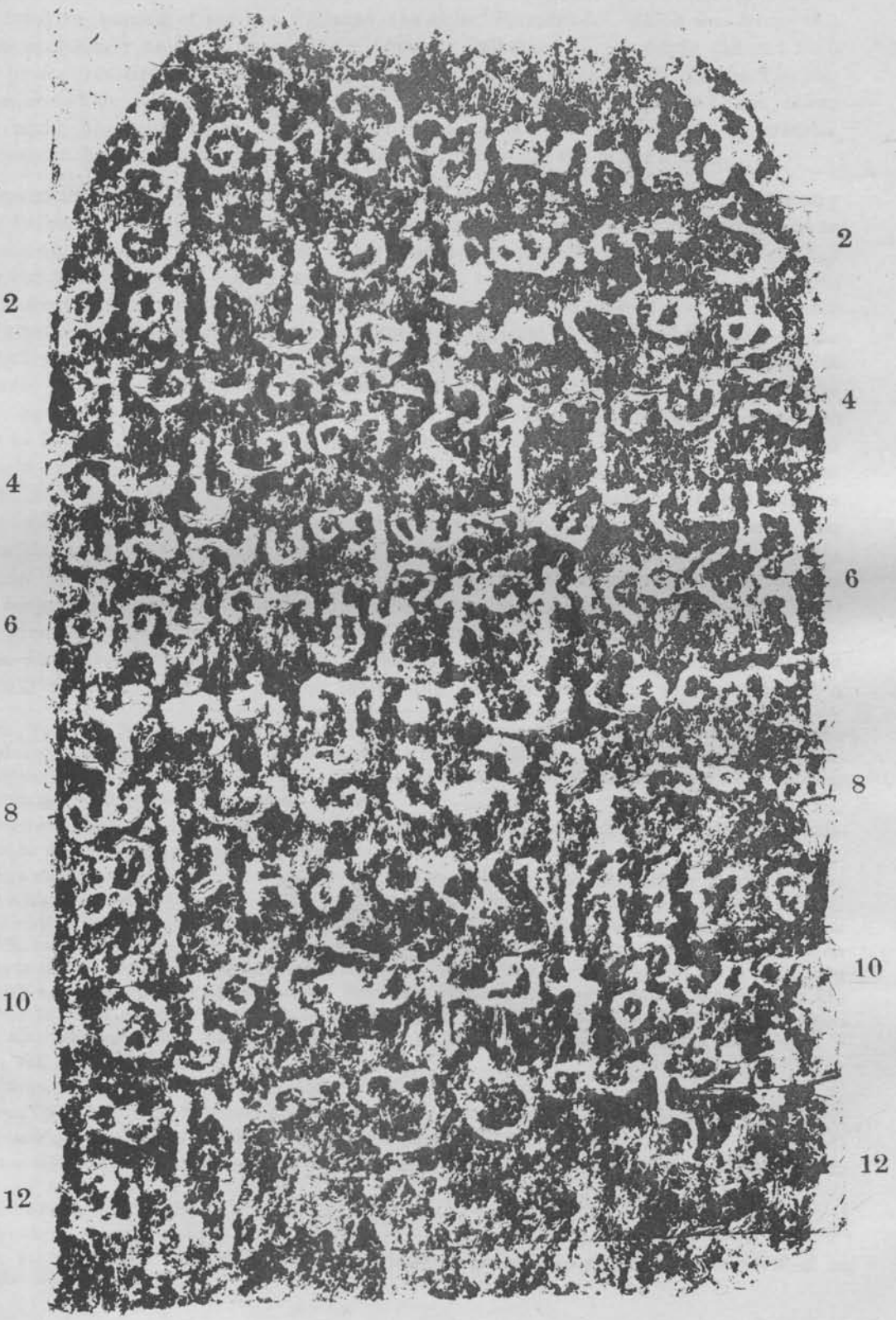
[8] The Bāṇas figure as subordinates of Pallavamalla, Danti, Nandi III and Nṛipatuṅga (above, Vol. XI, p. 235)

[9] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, Nos. 47 and 48.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 93.

[11] Above, Vol. XVII, p. 3. This Bāṇa chief must evidently have been so called after the name of his Pallava overlord Nandivarman (II).

Kulidikki Inscription of Vijaya Nandisvaravarman.



SCALE: ONE SIXTH.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

N. P. Chakravarti.
Reg. No. 3365 E'34—445.

maternal uncle[1] to the Gaṅga chief at Kaṛkāṭṭūr. After the storming of Peṇkuḷikkōṭṭai, the Bāṇas must have been subdued completely by the Pallavas, as we find a Mahāvali Vāṇaraiyar figuring as a subordinate in the 62nd year of Pallavamalla.[2] Subsequently, we find the Bāṇa chief ruling the Gaṅga six-thousand province[3] also, which must evidently have been possible only with Pallava support. It will thus be seen that by storming the fortress of Peṇkuḷikkōṭṭai, Pallavamalla was able to check the growing power of the Gaṅga king Śrīpurusha and also to subdue the Bāṇas who from this time onwards accepted the overlordship of Pallavamalla and his successors.

The question why the death of Gaṅgadiyaraiyar should be recorded in an inscription of his adversary the Pallava king Nandivarman is easily answered. After the siege, the village Peṇkuḷikkōṭṭai belonged to Nandivarman and inscriptions of this place had necessarily to be put up in the name of its overlord.

From the fact that the Gaṅga chief of Kaṛkāṭṭūr is called *Kaṇṇāḍu* Peruṅgaṅgar, it may be inferred that his ancestors, like himself, died on battle field.

Of the **places** mentioned in the record, **Kaṛkāṭṭūr** may be identified with **Kaḷakattūr** near Palamanēr in the Chittoor district. This Kaḷakattūr was in Puli-nāḍu which was under the Bāṇas, but was subsequently conquered by the Noḷamba king under orders of the Gaṅga ruler.[4] **Peṇkuḷikkōṭṭai** may be identified with **Kuḷidikki** itself where the present inscription is found.

TEXT.

1 Śrī [‖]kō-**Viśeya-Nandi-**
2 **chchuraparumaṛku** yāṇḍu
3 **ambattiraṇḍāvadu**
4 Perumāṇaḍigaḷ mēl
5 Pallavaraiyaṉ paḍai vaṇ-
6 du **Peṇkuḷikkōṭṭai**, a-
7 ḷitta ñāṉṛu **Vāṇarai-**
8 **yar** māmaḍi tiriga enat-
9 tirindu paṭṭār **Kaṛkāt-**
10 ṭūr-uḍaiya **Gaṅgadiyarai-**
11 **yar Kaṇṇāḍu Peruṅga-**
12 **ṅgar** [‖]

TRANSLATION.

Prosperity ! In the **fifty-second** year of (*the reign of*) king **Viśeya-Nandichchuraparumar, Gaṅgadiyaraiyar Kaṇṇāḍu Peruṅgaṅgar,** (*the chief*) of **Kaṛkāṭṭūr** died, (*when*) **Vāṇaraiyar,** (*his*) uncle (*directed him*) to proceed on the day (*when*) the Pallava (?) **army** marched against **Perumāṇaḍigaḷ** and destroyed (*the fortress of*) **Peṇkuḷikkōṭṭai.**

[1] One would look for the term *māmaḍi* to precede the proper name Vāṇaraiyar as in *Allua* Tikka, *Mallaḍi* Sōmeśvara, *Aḷiya* Rāmarāya etc. This word is so used in the present inscription that it might also mean that Vāṇaraiyar was the uncle of Perumāṇaḍigaḷ, *i.e.*, Śrīpurusha himself.

[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 91.

[3] *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, p. VI.

[4] *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1913, pp. 90-91.

No. 19.—THE JESAR PLATES OF SILADITYA III: VALABHI SAMVAT 357[1].

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

The copper-plates on which the subjoined inscription is incised were discovered in 1915 in the village of Jesar, in the Bhāvnagar State of Kāthiāwār. They were lent in 1916 to Mr. (now Dr.) D. R. Bhandarkar, then Superintendent, Archæological Survey, Western Circle, and a preliminary account of this inscription, along with that of another grant of Śīlāditya III discovered in the same village,[2] were published by that scholar.[3]

The record is incised on the inner side of **two thick plates** of copper measuring 1′ 2¼″ by 1′ which are held together by a long ring of copper to which is attached an oval **seal**, of the same metal, with the **legend**, usually to be found on seals of grants of the Valabhī dynasty of Kāthiāwār, **Śrī-Bhaṭakka**. There is a bull *couchant* in the upper part of the area of the seal separated from the legend by two lines. Another round hole is to be seen in each of the plates for another ring, which however is missing. There are altogether sixty-two lines of writing of which the first twenty-nine are to be found on the first plate and the remaining thirty-three on the second plate. The whole of the record, with the exception of the three imprecatory verses in the second plate, is in prose. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit, abounding with high flown phrases copied from earlier grants. Mistakes of the mason are common. Consonants with the superscript *r* are usually doubled. The *upadhmānīya* and *jihvāmūlīya* are used very often in ligatures with the following consonants *p* and *k* respectively.

The **alphabet** of the inscription shows clear signs of southern influence, *cf.* the form of *la* in *ratn-ālaṁkāra* (l. 32). The base line of *ha* is suppressed. The place of the *anusvāra* is very often taken by *n* in ligatures, *cf. ansa* (l. 10) and *vidhvansita* (l. 19). Noteworthy also is the vowel *ē* in *ēva* (ll. 25 and 44).

The first fortyfive lines of the record are devoted to the genealogy. As usual in grants issued by the later princes of the **Valabhī** dynasty, the names of the sons of **Bhaṭārka** are omitted and the first prince to be mentioned, after the founder of the house, is **Guhasēna**, the son of **Dharapaṭṭa**, who was the fourth son of Bhaṭārka. Then in the order of succession comes his son **Dharasēna II**, his son **Śīlāditya I**, surnamed **Dharmmāditya**, his younger brother **Kharagraha I**, and his son **Dharasēna III**. The latter was followed on the throne by his younger brother **Dhruvasēna II**, surnamed **Bālāditya** and he was succeeded by his son **Dharasēna IV**. After this prince the succession devolved upon **Dhruvasēna III**, the son of **Ḍērabhaṭa**, who was the son of Śīlāditya I. Dhruvasēna III, was succeeded by his elder brother **Kharagraha II**, who again was followed on the throne by his elder brother **Śīlāditya II's** son **Śīlāditya (III)**, the donor of the present grant. [The late Mr. R. D. Banerji read the date of this inscription as Saṁ 300 80 7 dvi-Pausha-ba 10. Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar also read the date as Saṁ 387 dvi-Pausha-ba 4.[4] Both these scholars, apparently depending on their reading of the date, attributed this inscription to Śīlāditya IV, the son and successor of Śīlāditya III. The genealogical portion of the inscription, however, stops with Śīlāditya III, but Banerji held the opinion that the portion introducing Śīlāditya IV, which is found in his own grants or those of his successors 'was omitted in this inscription'. I, however, read the date as Saṁ 300 50 7 dvi-Pausha-ba 4 and would attribute the inscription to Śīlāditya III. The second numerical figure in the year is exactly similar to the figure for 50 found in the Lunsaḍī plates of Śīlāditya III[5].

[1] [See my note in paragraph 4.—Ed.]

[2] Now edited above, Vol. XXI, pp. 210 f.

[3] *P. R. A. S., W. C.*, 1915-16, p. 55, para. 10.

[4] *P. R. A. S., W. C.*, 1915-16, p. 55, and *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 1308.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 306 ff, and *Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions of Kathiawar, etc.*, pp. 45 ff. and Pls.

Moreover, the donee of the present grant is evidently identical with that of Jesar plates of Śīlāditya of Valabhī Samvat 347,[1] the difference being that he is here only mentioned as a *Dīkshita* and his two names Saggaḷa and Prakāśa found in the earlier Jesar plates have been omitted. It therefore appears that Śīlāditya III, made a second grant to the same person ten years after the first grant was issued.—Ed.]

The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant of: (1) a reservoir of water (*vāpī*) extending over twenty-five *pādāvarttas* of land from the royal domain land (*rājakīya*) in the Maḍasara-*sthalī* in the village of **Maḍasara** in **Surāshṭ**[r*]**a** to a Brāhmaṇa who was a **Dīkshita** and was the son of **Sāmbadatta** of the Vājasanēya-*śākhā* of the Yajurvēda and of the Kauśika-*gōtra* and who had emigrated from **Pushya-Sāmbapura.** The boundaries of this gift were as follows: to the east Pāṇḍava-Khaṇḍa, to the south the *prachīhā* known as the [Ka*]mpilikkā Khaṇḍaka (?) belonging to Datka (Datta), to the west the field known as Sīsagara and to the north the field of the householder (*kuṭumbin*) Saṅgilaka; (2) one hundred and four *pādāvarttas* of land, in five pieces, situated in the northern boundary (of the village). The first piece belonging to an extinct family measured sixteen *pādāvarttas*. The boundaries of this piece of land were: to the east the *brahmadēya* field of the Brāhmaṇa Aṇahaka, to the south the family land (?) of Chachcha and Mātṛila, to the west the field called Maḍhavānaka and the Sagara (?) leading towards the village Kōraṭapadraka and to the north the field known as *Pattiyāṇaka-durga-kshēttra*. The second piece measuring thirty *pādāvarttas* also originally belonged to a family then extinct. Its boundaries were: to the east, the *brahmadēya* field of the Brāhmaṇa Śaṅkara, to the south the *brahmadēya* field of the Brāhmaṇa Aṇahaka, to the west the field of the householder (*kuṭumbin*) Bhōṭuka, to the north also the field of the same Brāhmaṇa Aṇahaka. The third piece measuring forty-three *pādāvarttas* was cultivated by Kikaka. Its boundaries were: to the east the path going towards the village of Suptāvasadhī, to the south the *brahmadēya* field of the Brāhmaṇa Saṅgaka, to the west the fields known as *Pattiaṇaka* and *Mātṛisthāna*, to the north the boundary of the village of Suptāvasadhī. The fourth piece was also under the cultivation of Kikaka and measured ten *pādāvarttas*. Its boundaries were: to the east the public road, to the south the *grāmaśikhara*, to the west the *prachchīhā* of the nobleman (*kulaputraka*) Varuṇa, to the north the field belonging to Karkkaka. The fifth piece measuring five *pādāvarttas* was also cultivated by Kikaka. Its boundaries were: to the east the *brahmadēya* field of the Brāhmaṇa Chamasa, to the south the *brahmadēya* field known as Dāsānaka, to the west the public road (*rājaveṭṭā*), to the north the *brahmadēya* field of the Brāhmaṇa Śaṅkara. The *Dūtaka* of the grant was the prince (*Rājaputtra*) **Kharagraha** and it was written by the *Sandhivigrahādhikṛita Divirapati Mahāpratīhāra Sāmanta* **Mammaka.** The prince Kharagraha is mentioned in the Bhāvnagar plates of Śīlāditya III, of G. 356 and the Bhāvnagar plates of Śīlāditya IV, of G. 372, the Devaḷī plates of G. 375 and the plates of G. 376. The date of the grant is the **4th day of the dark half of the second month of Pausha** in the **year 357** evidently of the Valabhī era and is equivalent to 675-76 A.D. The grant was issued from the victorious camp at **Mēghavana,** from which the Lunsaḍī plates of Śīlāditya III, of the year 352 were also issued. I am unable to identify Maḍasara, Suptāvasadhī and other places mentioned in this record. I edit the inscription from the original plates which had been lent to me by the Bhāvnagar Durbar for this purpose.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 Ōm[2] Svasti[||*] Vijayaskandha(ndhā)va(vā)rā[t*] Mēghavana-bā(vā)śa(sa)kā[t*] prasabha-praṇat-āmitrāṇāṁ Maitrakāṇām=atula-bala-sampanna-maṇḍal-ābhōga-saṁsakta-prahāra-śata-labdha-pratāpāt=pratāp-ōpanata-dāna-

[1] Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 210 f.

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

2 mān-ārjjav-ōpārjjit-ānurāgād=anurakta-maula-bhṛitaḥ[1]-śrēṇī-bal-āvāpta-rājya-śriyaḥ Parama-
māhēśvaraḥ[1]-śrī-**Bhaṭārkkād**=avyavachchhinna-rāja-vaṅśān=mātā-pitṛi-charaṇ-āravinda-
praṇati-pravidhau-

3 t-a(ā)śēsha-kalmashaḥ śaisha(śa)vāt=prabhṛiti khaḍga[2]-dvitīya-pā(bā)hur=ēva samada-para
gaja-ghaṭā-sphōṭana-prakāśita-satva(ttva)-nikashas=tat-prabhāva-praṇat - ārāti - chūḍā -
ratna-prabhā-saṁsakta-pāda-nakha-raśmi-

4 saṁhati[ḥ*] sakala-smṛiti-praṇīta-mārgga-samyat(k)-paripālana-prajā - ḥridaya-rañjan-
ānvarttha-rāja-śabdō rūpa-kānti-sthairyya-ga(gā)mbhīryya-buddhi-saṁpadbhi[ḥ*] Smara-
śaśāṅk-ādṛi(dri)rāj-ōdadhi-t[ri*]daśaguru-Dhanē-

5 śān-atiśayānaḥ śaraṇ-āgat-ābhaya-pradāna-paratayā tṛiṇavad=apāst-āśēsha-sva-kāryya-
phala[ḥ*] prārtthan-ādhik-ārttha-prajā(dā)n-ānandita-vidvat-suhṛit-praṇayi-ḥridaya[ḥ*]
pādachār=īva

6 sakala-bhuvana-maṇḍal-ābhōga-pramōda[ḥ*] Paramama(mā)hēśvaraḥ śrī-**Guhasēnas**=
tasya sutas=tat-pāda-nakha-mayūkha-santāna-visṛita-Jāhnavī-jal-augha-prakshālit-āśēsha-
kalmashaḥ

7 praṇayi-śata-sahasr-ōpajīvyamāna-saṁpad=rūpa-lōbhād=iv=āśrita[ḥ*] sarabhasam=ābhi-
gāmikair=gguṇai[s*]=sahaja-śakti-śikshā-viśēsha-vismāpit-ākhila-dhanurddhara[ḥ*] pra-
thama-narapati-

8 samatisṛishṭānām=anupālayitā dharmma-dāyānām=apākarttā praj-ōpaghāta-kāriṇām=
upaplavānā[ṁ*] darśayitā Śrī-Sarasvatyōr=ēk-ādhivāsasya saṁhat-ārāti-paksha-Lakshmī-
paribhōga-daksha-vikramō vikramō[3]

9 vikram-[ō]pasa(saṁ)pra(prā)pta-vimala-pārtthiva-śrīḥ Paramama(mā)hēśvara[ḥ*] śrī-
Dharasēnas=tasya sutas=tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ sakala-jagad-ānandan-āty-adbhuta-guṇa-
samudaya-sthagita-samagra-dig-mamāla[4] samara-śata-vi-

10 jaya-śobhā-sana(nā)tha-maṇḍal-āgra-dyūti-bhābhu(su)ratar-ān(ṁ)sa-pīṭh-ōdūḍha-guru-manō-
ratha-mahābhāraḥ sarvva-vidyā-par-āpara-vibhāg-ādhigama-dhi(vi)mala-matir=api sarvva-
taḥ subhāshita-lavēn=āpi sukh-ōpa-

11 pa(pā)danīya-paritōsha[ḥ*] samagra-lōk-āgādha-gāmbhīryya-hṛidayō=pi su-charit-ātiśaya-
suvyakta-parama-kalyāṇa-svabhāva[ḥ*] khilībhūta-kṛita-yuga-nṛipati-patha-viśōdhan-
ādhigat-ōdagra-

12 kīrtti[ḥ*] dharmm-ānuparōdh-ōj(jj)valatarīkṛit-ārttha-sukha-saṁpad-upasēvā-niru(rū)ḍha-
Dharmmāditya-dvitīya-nāmā Paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-**Śīlāditya**s=tasy=ānujas=
tat-pād-ānudhyātaḥ svayam=Upēndra-gu-

13 ruṇ=ēva guruṇ=āty-ādaravatā samabhiliashaṇīyām=api rāja-lakshmīṁ skandha-sa-
kt[āṁ*] parama-bhadra iva dhuryyas=tad-ājñā-saṁpādan-aika-rasat[5]=aiv=ōdvahan khēda-
sukha-ratibhyām=anāyāsi-

14 ta-sat(tt)va-saṁpatti[ḥ*] prabhāva-saṁpad-vaśīkṛita-nṛipati-śata-śirō-ratna-chchhāy-ōpagū-
ḍha-pāda-pīth(ṭh)ō=pi par-āvajñ-ābhimāna-ras-ānāliṅgita-manōvṛittiḥ praṇatim=
ēkā[ṁ*] parityajya prakhyāta-pauru-

15 sh-ābhimānair=apy=arātibhir=anāsādita-pratikṛi(kri)y-ōpāya[ḥ*] kṛita-nikhila-bhuvan-
āmōda-vimala-guṇa-saṁhati-prasabha-vighaṭita-sakala-kali-vilassi(si)ta-gati[ḥ*] nīcha-
jan-ādhirōhibhir=aśē-

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[1] The *visarga* is superfluous.
[2] Two dashes to the right of *ga* are superfluous.
[3] Superfluous.
[4] Read *diṅ-maṇḍalaḥ*.
[5] Read *rasatay=*.

16 shair=ddōśair[1]=anāmṛishṭ-ātyunnata-hṛidaya[ḥ*] prakhyāta-paurush-āstra-kauśal-ātiśayaḥ(ya)-gaṇa-titha-vipaksha-kshitipati-lakshmī-svayaṁgrāha-prakāśita-vīra-purushaḥ (sha)-prathama-saṁkhy-ādhigamaḥ Paramamāhēśvara[ḥ]

17 śrī-**Kharagrahas**=tasya tanayas-tat-pādānuddhyātaḥ sakala-vidy-ādhigama-vihita-nikhila-vidvaj-jana-manaḥ-paritōś(sh)-ātiśaya[ḥ*] sat(tt)va-sapā(saṁpa)dā tyāg-audāryyēṇa va(cha) vigat-ānusandha(dhā)n-āsamāhit-ārāti-

18 paksha-manōrath-āksha-bhaṅga[ḥ*] samyag=upalakshit-ānēka-śāstra-kaushalāka-[2]-charita-gahvara-vibhāgō=pi paramabhadra-prakṛitṛi(ti)r=akṛitṛi(tri)ma-praśraya-vinaya-gō(śō)bhā-vibhūshaṇa[ḥ] samata(ra)-śata-jaya-patākā-

19 haraṇa-pratyal-ōdagra-bāhu-daṇḍa-vidhvan(ṁ)sita-nikhilaḥ(la)-pratipaksha-darpp-ōdayaḥ sva-dhanuḥ-prabhāva-paribhūt-āstra-kauśal-ābhimāna-sakala-nṛipati-maṇḍal-ābhinandita-śāsana[ḥ*] Paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-

20 **Dharasēnas**=tasy=ānujas=tat-pāda(d-ā)nudhyātaḥ sach-charit-ātiśayita-sakala-pūrvva-narapatir=ati-ddu(du)ssādhānām=api prasādhayit[ā] vishayāṇāṁ mūrttimān=iva purushakāraḥ parivṛiddha-guṇ-ānurāga-nirdbharaḥ[3]-

21 chitta-vṛitta(tti)bhir=mManur=iva svayam=abhyupapannaḥ prakṛitibhir=adhigata-kalā-kalāpaḥ kāntimā[n*]=nirvṛiti-hētur=akalaṅkaḥ kumuda-nāthaḥ[ḥ*] prājya-pratāpa-sthagita-dig-antā(ta)rāla-pradhvan(ṁ)sita-dhvānta-rānsi(śiḥ) satat-ō-

22 t-ō[4]dita-savitā prakṛitibhya[ḥ*] para[ṁ*] pratyayam=artthavantam=ati-bahu-titha-prayōjan-ānubandham=āgama-paripūrṇṇa[ṁ*] vidadhānas=sandhi-vigraha-samāsa-niśchaya-nipuṇaḥ sthānē=nuru(rū)pam=ādēśan=dada[d*]=guṇa-

23 vṛiddhi-vidhāna-janita-saṁskāra[ḥ*] sābhūṇaṁ[5] rājja(jya)-Śālāturīyas(ya)-tantrayōr=ubhayōr=api nishṇātaḥ prakṛishṭa-vikramō=pi karuṇā-mṛidu-hṛidayaḥ śrutavān=apy=agarvv[i*] taḥ kāntō=pi prasa(śa)mī sthira-sauhṛi[dayy]ō=pi ni-

24 rasitā dōshavatām=udaya-samaya-samupajanita-janat-ānurāga-parivi(pi)hita-bhuvana-samartth[i*]ta-prathita-**Bāladitya**-dvitīya-nāmā Paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-**Dhruvasēnas**=tasya sutas=tat-pāda-kamala-pra-

25 ṇāma-dharaṇi-kashaṇa-janita-kiṇa-lāñchhana-lalāṭa-chandra-sa(śa)kala[ḥ*] śiśu-bhāva ēva śravaṇa-nihita-maulktik-ālaṅkāra-vibhram-āmala-śruta-viśēsa[6] pradāna-salila-kshālit-āgra-hast-āravindaḥ kā(ka)nyāyā i-

26 va mṛidu-kara-grahaṇād=amandīkṛit-ānanda-vidhir=vvasundharāyāḥ kārmma(rmmu)kō dhanurvvēda iva saṁmbhā(bhā)vit-āśēsha-lakshya-kalāpaḥ praṇata-sāmanta-maṇḍal-ōttam-[ā*]ṅga-dhṛita-chchūḍā-ratnāyā(ya)māna-sā(śā)sanaḥ Paramamāhēśvara.

27 Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Chakravarttiḥ(rtti)-śrī-**Dharasēnas**=tat-pitāmaha-bhrātṛi-śrī-**Śīlādityasya** Śārṅgapāṇēr=iv=āṅga-janmanō **bhakti.** bandhur-[ā*]vayava-kalpita-praṇatēr=ati-dhavalayā dūraṁ tat-pā-

28 d-āravinda-pravṛittayā nakha-maṇi-ruchā Mandākiny=ēva nityam=amalit-ōttamāṅga-dēśasy=Āgastyasy=aiva rājarshēr=ddākshiṇyam=ātanvānasya prabala-dhavalimnā yaśasāṁ va-

29 layēna maṇḍita-kakubhā nabhasi yāminīpatēr=vviḍambit-ākhaṇḍa-parivēśa-maṇḍalasya payōda-śyāma-śikhara-chūchuka-ruchira-Sahya-Vindhya-stana-yugāyāḥ

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[1] Read *dōshair=*

[2] Read *kalā-lōka-*

[3] Read *nirbbhara-*

[4] The second *tō* is superfluous.

[5] Read *sādhūnāṁ.*

[6] Read *viśēshaḥ.*

Second Plate.

30 kshitēḥ patyuḥ ʻrī-**Ḍērabhaṭasy**=āṅśa(ṅga)jaḥ kshitipa-saṁhatēr=anurāgiṇyāḥ śuchi-yaś-ōṅśuka-bhṛita[ḥ*] svaya[ṁ*]vara-mālām=iva rājya-śriyam=arppayantyāḥ kṛita-parigrahaḥ sau(śau)ryya-

31 m=apratihata-vyāpāram=ānamita-prachaṇḍa-ripu-maṇḍalaṁ maṇḍal-āgram=iv=āvalaṁbamānaḥ śaradi prasabham=ākṛishṭa-śilīmukha-bāṇāsan-āpādita-prasā-

32 dhanānāṁ para bhuvā[ṁ*] vidhi-vad=ācharita-kara-grahaṇaḥ pūrvvam=ēva vividha-varṇṇ-ōj(jj)valēna śrut-ātiśayēn=ōdbhāshita-śravaṇaḥ punaḥ punar=uktēn=ēva ratn-āla-

33 ṅkārēṇ=ālaṅkṛita-śrōtra[ḥ] pariṣphurat-kaṭaka-vikaṭa-kīṭapaksha-ratna-kiraṇam=avichchhinna-pradāna-salila-nivah-āvasēka-vilasan=nava-śaival-āṅkuram=iv=āgra-pāṇi-

34 m=udvahan=udhṛita[1]-viśāla-ratna-valaya-jaladhi-vēlā-taṭāyamāna-bhuja - parisva(shva)kta-viśvambharaḥ Paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-**Dhruvasēnaḥ** stasy=āgrajjō[2]=para-mahīpati-sparśa-

35 dōsha-nāśana-dhiy=ēva lakshmyā svayam=atispashṭa-chēshṭam=āślishṭ-āṅga-yashṭir=ati-ruchiratara-charita - garima - parikalita - sakala-narapatir=atiprakṛishṭ-ānurāga-rasa-rabhasa-va-

36 śīkṛita-praṇata-samasta-sāmanta-chakra-chchū(chū)ḍāmaṇi - mayūkha - khachita - charaṇa-kamala-yugalaḥ prōddām-ōdāra-dōrddaṇḍ-dalita-dvishad-vargga-darppa[ḥ] prasarppat-paṭīya[ḥ*]

37 pratāpa-plōshit-āśēsha-śatru-vaṅśa[ḥ*] praṇayi-paksha-nikshipta-lakshmīkaḥ prērita-gad-ōtkshipta-śu(su)darśana-chakraḥ parihṛita-bāla-krīḍō=nadhaṅkṛita-dvijātir=ēka-vikrama-prasā-

38 dhita-dharitrī-talō=naṅgīkṛita-jala-śayyō=pūrvva-purush-ōttamaḥ sākshā[d*]-dharmma iva samyag-vyavasthāpitā(ta)-varṇṇ-āśram-āchāraḥ pūrvvair=apy=urvvīpatibhis=tṛishṇā-lava-lubdhai-

39 r=yyāny=apahṛitāni dēva-ba(bra)hma-dēyāna(ni) tēshām=apy=ati-sarala-manaḥ-prasaram=utsaṅkalan-ānumōdanābhyāṁ parimudita-tṛi(tri)bhuvan-ābhinandit-ōchchhrit-ōtkṛishṭa-dhavala-dharmma-

40 dhvaja-prakāśita-nija-vaṅśō dēva-dvija-gurut(rūn)=prati yathārha-manaḥta[3]-pravarttita-mah-ōddraṅg-ādi-dāna-vyasan-ānupajāta-santōsh-ōpātt-ōdāra-kīrtti-panti(paṁkti)-paraṁ-

41 parā-danturita-nikhila-dik-chakravālaḥ spashṭam=ēva yath-ārttha[ṁ*] **Dharmmāditya**-āpara-nāmā paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-**Kharagrahas**=tasy=āgrajanmanaḥ kumuda-shaṇḍa-śrī-vikāsi-

42 nyā kalāvataś=chandrikay=ēva kīrtyā dhavalita-sakala-dig-maṇḍalasya khaṇḍit-āguru-vilēpana-piṇḍa-śyāmala-Vindhya-śaila-vipula-payōdhar-ābhogāyā[ḥ*] kshōṇyāḥ patyuḥ

43 śrī-**Śīlādityasya** sūnur=nnava-pr[ā]leya-kiraṇa iva pratidita(na)-saṁvarddhamāna-kalā-chakravālaḥ kēsar-īndra-śiśur=iva rāja-lakshmīm=achala-vanasthalīm=iv=ālaṅkurvvāṇaḥ Śikhaṇḍi-kē-

44 tana iva ruchima[ch*]-chūḍā-maṇḍana[ḥ*] prachaṇḍa-śakti-prabhāvaś=cha śarad-āgamē(ma) iva pratāpavān=ullasha(sa)t-padmaḥ saṁyugē vidalayan[n*]=ambhōdharān=iva para-gajān=udaya ēva tapana-bāl-āta-

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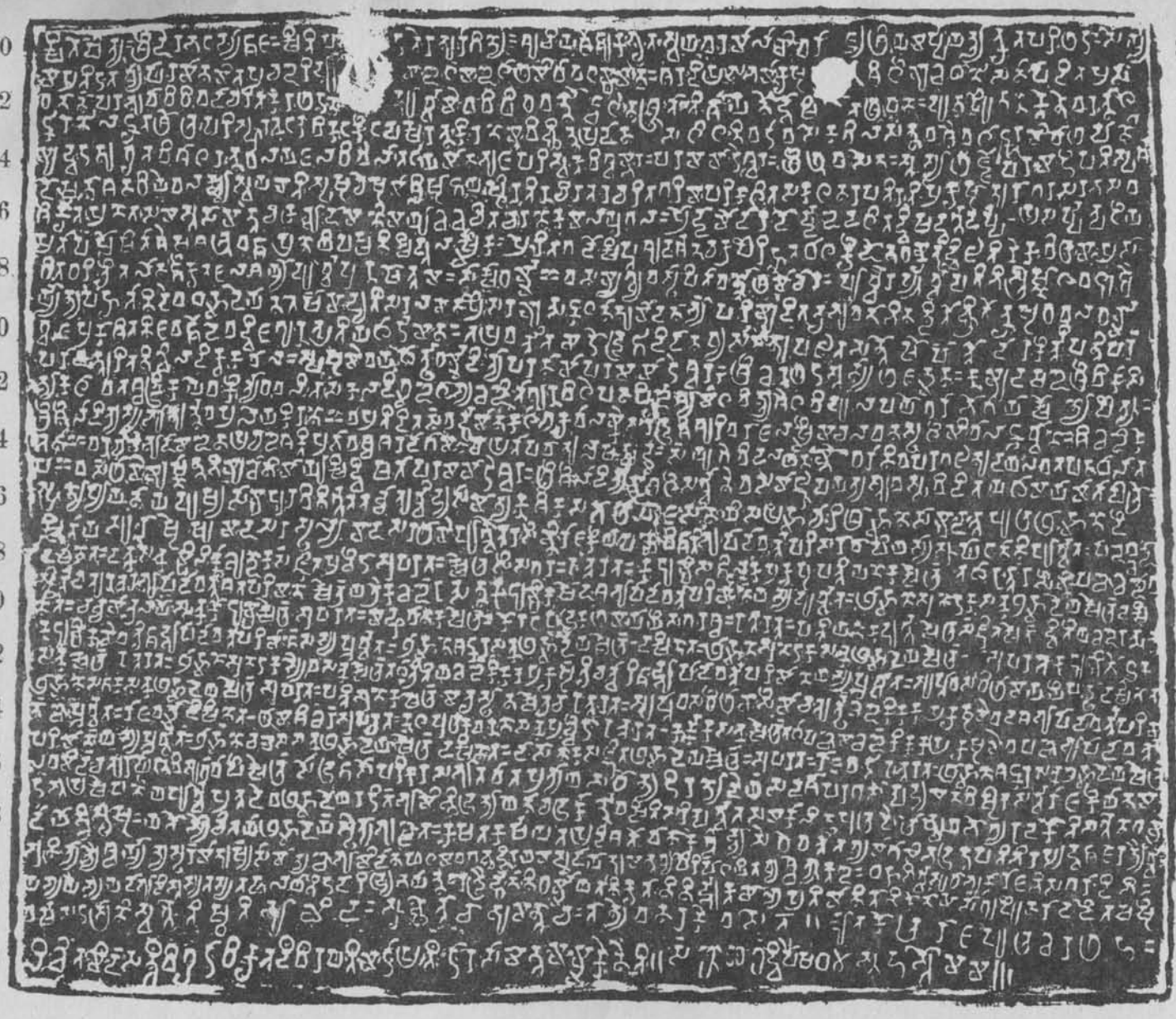
[1] Read *-udvahan-dhṛita.*

[2] Read *°sēnas=tasy=āgrajō=*

[3] Read *manās=tat.* Bhavnagar Plates read *yathārham=anavarata-.*

JESAR PLATES OF SILADITYA III: VALABHI SAMVAT 357.

Second Plate.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

Reg. No. 3371 E'34 - 425.

SCALE : ONE-HALF.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

45 pa iva sāṁgrāmē mushṇā(shṇa)nn=abhimukhānām=āyūkshi[1] dvishatā[ṁ*] Parama-
māhēśvaraḥ śrī-**Śīlāditya**ḥ[2] kuśalī sarvvān=ēva samājñāpayaty=astu vas=
sa[ṁ*]vidita[ṁ*] yathā mayā mātā-pitrō[3]-

46 s=puṇy-āpyāyanāya Pushya-Sāmbapura-vinirggata-tach-chāturvvidya-sāmānya-Kuśika-
sagōtra-Vājasanēyi-sapra(bra)hmachāri-brāhmaṇa-Sāmbadatta-putra-brāhmaṇa **Dī-**

47 **kshitāya Surāshṭēshu**[4] **Maḍasara**-sthalyā Maḍasara-grāmē pūrvv-ōttara-sīmn[5]
rājakīyāt=pañchaviṅśati-bhū-pādāvartta-parisarā vāpī yasyā āghāṭanāni pūrvvataḥ
Pāṇḍava-khaṇḍa[ḥ*][6]

48 dakshiṇataḥ datka(tta ?)-satka-mpilikkā[6]khuṇḍaka -saṁjñita-prachīhā aparataḥ kshētra-
Sīsagaraḥ uttarataḥ kuṭumbi-Saṅgilaka-prakṛipta(shṭa)-pattiyēṇaka-kshētraṁ tathā
uttara-sīmni pañcha-khaṇḍ-āva-

49 sthitāṁ chatur-uttara-bhū-pādāvartta-śata-parimāṇa-kshētraṁ[||*] yatr=aika-khaṇḍaṁ
utsanna-kuṭumbika-shōḍaśa-bhū-pādāvartta-parimāṇaṁ yasya pūrvvataḥ brāhmaṇa-
Aṇahaka-satka-brahmadēya-kshētraṁ dakshi-

50 ṇataḥ Chachcha-Mātṛilayōs=satka-kōṭumba-kshētraṁ aparataḥ Maḍhavānaka-kshētraṁ
Kōraṭapadraka-grāmayāyī sāgaraś=cha|| uttarattaḥ(taḥ) pattiyāṇaka-durgga-kshētra-
saṁjñita-kshētraṁ[||*] dvitīya-khaṇḍa[ṁ*] utsanna-

51 kuṭumbikam=ēva triṅśad-bhū-pādāvartta-parimāṇaṁ sa(ya)sya pūrvvataḥ brāhmaṇa-
Śaṅkara-satka-brahmadēya-kshētraṁ | dakshiṇataḥ brāhmaṇa-Aṇahaka-satka-brahma-
dēya-kshētraṁ | aparata[ḥ*] kuṭumbi-Bhōṭuka-

52 satka-kshētraṁ uttarataḥ brāhmaṇa-Aṇahakasy=aiva satka-kshētraṁ[||*] tathā tri(tṛi)
tīya-khaṇḍaṁ Kikaka-prakṛishṭaṁ tri-chatvāriṅśad-bhū-pādāvartta-parimāṇa[ṁ*]
yasya pūrvvataḥ Suptāvasadhī-grāma-yāyī panthā[ḥ*] dakshiṇataḥ

53 brāhmaṇa-Saṅgaka-satka-brahmadēya-kshētraṁ aparataḥ pattiaṇaka-kshētraṁ M[ā*]tṛi-
sthāna-kshētra[ṁ*] cha uttarataḥ Suptāvasadhī-grāma-sīmā[||*] chaturttha-khaṇḍa[ṁ*]
Kikaka-prakṛishṭam=ēva daśa-bhū-pādāvartta-parimā-

54 ṇaṁñū(ṇañ)=cha pūrvvataḥ rājavartmā di(da)kshiṇata[ḥ] grāma-śikharaṁ aparataḥ
kulaputraka-Varuṇa-satka-prachchīhā uttarata[ḥ] Karkkaka-satka-kshētraṁ[||*] tathā
pañchama-khaṇḍaṁ Kikkaka-prakṛishṭam=ēva pañcha-bhū-pādāvartta-

55 parimāṇaṁ yasya pūrvvataḥ brāhmaṇa-Chamasa-satka-brahmadēya-kshētraṁ da-
kshiṇataḥ Dāsānaka-saṁjñita-brahmadēya-kshētraṁ|| aparataḥ rāja-vaṭṭā(rtmā)
uttarataḥ brāhmaṇa-Śaṅkara-satka-brahmadēya-kshētraṁ[||*]

56 Ēvam=idaṁ chatur-āghā[ṭana]-viṣu(śu)[d*]dhaṁ vāpī-kshētraṁ s-ōdraṅga[ṁ*] s-
ōparikara[ṁ*] sa-bhūta-vāta-pratyāya[ṁ*] sa-dhānya-hiraṇy-ādēyaṁ sa-daśāpa[ā*]-
dha[ṁ*] s-ōtpadyam[ā*]na-vishṭika[ṁ*] sarvva-rājakīyān[ā*]m=a-

57 hasta-prakshēpaṇīya[ṁ*] pūrvva-pratta-dēva-brahmadēya-rahitaṁ bhūmi-chchhidra-
nyāyēn=ācha[n*]dr-[ā*]rkk-ārṇṇava-kshiti-sarit-parvvata-samakālīna[ḥ*] putra-pautr-
ānvaya-bhōgya[ḥ*] udak-ātisarggēṇa dharmma-

58 dāyō nṛi(ni)sṛishṭaḥ[! *] yatō=sy=ōchitayā brahma-dēyaṁ(ya)-sthityā bhuñjataḥ
kṛishata[ḥ*] karshayata[ḥ*] pradiśatō vā na kaiśchid=vyāsēdhē varttitavyam=
āgāmi-bhadra-nṛipatibhir=apy=a[sma*]d-vaṅśajair=anyair=vvā

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[1] Read *āyāṁshi*.

[2] The name of Śīlāditya IV has been omitted. [See *ante*, p. 114 and note 1.—Ed.]

[3] Read *pitrōḥ puṇy-*.

[4] Read *Surāshṭrēshu*.

[5] *Kha* of *khaṇḍa* is written below the line and was added afterwards.

[6] Probably we have to read *Kampi°*.

59 anityāny=aiśvaryyāny(ṇy)=astha(sthi)raṁ mānushyaṁ sāmānyañ=cha bhūmi-dāna-phalam=avagachchhadbhir=ayam=asmad-[d*] āyō=numantavyaḥ paripālayitavyaś=ch=ēty=uktañ=cha|| Bahubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhi[ḥ*] Sagar-ādibhiḥ[| *]

60 yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya ta[dā*] phala[ṁ*||] Yān=īha dāridrya-bhayān=narēndrair=ddhanāni dharmm-āyatanīkṛitāni[|*] nir[b]bhukta-mālya-pratimāni tāni kō nāma sādhuḥ punar=ādadīta[||*] Shashṭi(shṭiṁ)

61 varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē tishṭhati bhūmidaḥ[|*] āchchhēttā ch=ānumantā chaḥ(cha) tāny=ēva narakē vasēt || Dūtakō=tra Rājaputra-**Kharagrahaḥ**[||*]

62 Likhitam=idaṁ Sandhivigrahādhikṛita-Divirapati-Mahāpratihāra-Sāmanta-Mammakēn=ēti || Saṁ 300 50 7 dvi-Pausha ba 4 [||*] Svahastō mama ||

No. 20.—THE BAYANA INSCRIPTION OF CHITTRALEKHA: V. S. 1012.

By the late Prof. R. D. Banerji, M.A.

This inscription, which is being edited for the first time, was discovered by Carlleyle, one of the Assistants of the late Sir Alexander Cunningham, at Bayānā in the Bharatpur State.[1] This place (lat. 77° 21′ E., long. 26° 54′) is now a junction on the broad gauge main line of the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway. It was a place of great importance in mediæval times and for some time was made the Imperial capital by Islām Shāh son of Shēr Shāh I. When Mr. Carlleyle saw this inscription for the first time, it was lying under one of the stone pillars of the balcony which surrounds the courtyard of the Ukhā Mandir at Bayānā. This Mandir is a late structure built about a century ago by a Thākur of the Bharatpur State, by converting a portion of the Masjid built in 720 A. H. by Sulṭān Qutbuddīn Mubārak Shāh of the Khiljī dynasty of Delhi[2]. The inscription was found in the same position in 1885 by Fleet, and was referred to by him in his article on the Bayānā inscription of Vijayādhirāja dated V. S. 1100.[3] It continued there till I visited Bayānā in 1918, when at my request Mr. C. C. Watson, I.C.S., C.I.E., then Political Agent for the Eastern Rajputana States, asked the Bharatpur Durbar to have the slab removed and it has since been placed in the compound of the Ukhā Mandir. The inscription is incised on a thick slab of yellow sandstone, quite different from the red sandstone used in the construction of the Ukhā Masjid or the Ukhā Mandir and almost of all the ancient monuments at Bayānā. The upper left corner of the inscription is broken and the letters on one-eighth of the entire slab towards the right have flaked off. With the exception of these two parts the rest of the record is in a tolerably good state of preservation. The flaking off of the right side of the slab makes all the lines incomplete and therefore difficult to decipher. The breaking off of the upper left corner has made the beginning of the first five lines incomplete; out of these lines again, the first three have lost more letters than the fourth and the fifth which have lost only ten and four syllables approximately.

The inscribed surface measures 3′ 6″ × 1′ 9″ and the average height of letters is 1½″. The slab bears twenty-five lines of writing which on the whole is very neatly done. As regards **palaeography**, in many cases, the *anusvāra* is enclosed within a circle (*cf. jagatāṁ* l. 4), while in other cases it is a plain dot (*cf. vaṁśasya* l. 4). A peculiar form of *tha* is noticeable in *lōkanāthaḥ* (l. 7) where the upper part of the upper loop is open, which is usually closed in other instances, as for example, in *prathitaḥ* (l. 18) or *pṛithu* (l. 22). The initial form of the short *i* is

[1] *Cunningham, A. S. R.*, Vol. VI, p. 50.
[2] *Ibid.* Vol. XX, p. 72.
[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 9-10.

to be found in *ity=ālōchya* (l. 20), *iva* (l. 21), *etc.* The usual form of the palatal *śa* used in this inscription is the transitional form in which the curve in the upper part of the letter touches but does not coalesce with the vertical straight line which forms the left limb as in *śṛiṁgāritāḥ* (l. 11). Very often this curve does not touch the straight line on the left as in *chārudarśanaḥ* (l. 16) or *Śrīpālēna* (l. 25). As regards the **orthographical** peculiarities it might be stated that consonants under a superscript *r* are usually doubled (*cf. śauryya° svarggē, sarvvēshu*, l. 3., *etc.*). Occasionally consonants with a subscript *r* are also doubled (*cf. ttrātā* in l. 8). The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and the whole inscription with the exception of a portion of the last line is written in verse.

After referring to the Moon, the lunar race, and Kṛishṇa the record speaks of the Śūrasēna kings, in which clan was born a king named **Phakka.** The name of a king Phakka has been found in an undated inscription of *circa* eighth century A.D. on a pillar built into the inner wall of the main gate of the Chaurāsi-Khamba Masjid at Kāmā or Kāmavana, in the Bharatpur State, which was discovered by Sir Alexander Cunningham and published by the late Pandit Bhagavan lal Indraji.[1] The Kāmavana record provides us with a genealogy of the Śūrasēna kings for seven generations. According to the Bayānā inscription, in the family of Phakka there was a king named **Vappuka,** who is styled 'an Indra on the earth' (l. 9). His son was **Rājayika,** who married a lady named **Sajjanī** of the **Māyūrika** family. As mentioned in the Jodhpur inscription[2] dated V. S. 894 (=A.D. 837), the Pratīhāra chief Bāuka defeated a chief named Mayūra from whom Sajjanī appears to have been descended. Sajjanī, who was the grand-mother of **Chittralēkhā,** the donor of the present inscription, must have been living in the earlier part of the tenth century A.D., as the latter was a middle-aged matron in V. S. 1012, having four grown-up sons. The name of Rājayika's son is lost, but from l. 13 we learn that he married a lady named **Yaśaskarī** of the **Pramāra** family from whom was born Chittralēkhā (l. 14). Chittralēkhā was married to a chief named **Maṅgalarāja,** about whose descent no details are furnished. The person referred to in l. 16, whose name is lost, is probably the eldest son of Maṅgalarāja and Chittralēkhā. Fleet proposed to identify this Maṅgalarāja with the chief of that name of the Kachchhapaghāta family, who is mentioned as the ancestor of the king Mahīpāla in the Sāsbahū temple inscription in Gwalior Fort dated V. S. 1150 (=1093-94 A.D.).[3] If this identification be accepted then the eldest son of Chittralēkhā, who is mentioned in l. 16 of the Bayānā inscription, is probably **Kīrttirāja,** who succeeded his father. Three other sons of Chittralēkhā are mentioned in this record. The second was named **Indrajit** (l. 18), the third **Lakshmaṇarāja** and the fourth **Chāmuṇḍarāja** (l. 19). The **object** of the inscription is mentioned in l. 20 whence we learn that Chittralēkhā caused to be built a temple of Vishṇu and gave two villages named Gōgrapura and Nāgapallī as well as certain fields in Hāḍhapallī to the deity (*Chakrin*). From l. 23 we learn that three *drammas* were to be collected for the god (*Śārṅgin*) in the *maṇḍapikā* of Śrīpathā and a similar sum in the *maṇḍapikā* of Vusāvaṭa. From the same line we also learn that a gift of one *dramma* was to be set apart for the god, probably whenever a horse was sold. It may also be that this sum was levied as *octroi* duty on every horse-load of merchandise carried through the village precincts.

Almost all the **geographical** names mentioned in the record can be identified. **Śrīpathā** has been identified as Bayānā itself by the late Dr. J. F. Fleet.[4] Though phonetically the ancient and modern names cannot be connected, there is some support for this identification as the same

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, pp. 34-35.
[2] Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 95 ff.
[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 36.
[4] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 10.

name has been found in another ancient stone inscription discovered at Bayānā, *viz.*, the Bayānā Jain inscription of Vijayādhirāja of V. S. 1100 (=1044 A.D.). **Vusāvaṭa** is the modern market town of Bhoosawar in the Bharatpur State. **Nāgapallī** is modern Nawali and **Gōgrapura**, Gogera, both situated in the same State (see Atlas Sheet No. 50 for Nawali and Cunningham's map in his Reports for Bhoosawar).[1] **Hāḍhapallī** is now situated in the adjoining State of Jaipur and is included in the district of Hindaun[2] (see Atlas Sheet No. 50 S. E.).[3] Gogera and Bhoosawar are situated in Taḥsil Wair and Nawali is in the Bayānā Taḥsil.

We also learn from the twenty-third line that Chittralēkhā was a queen (*rājñī*) and that her territories were included in the Empire of the *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī*-**Mahīpāla.** No chief of this name, mentioned in Kielhorn's list of Northern Inscriptions, could have been reigning in 955 A.D. We find that in V. S. 1003 the suzerainty of the Gurjjara-Pratīhāra king Mahēndrapāla II was acknowledged in Partabgarh[4] in the southern part of the Mewār State. Again in V. S. 1016, the sway of Vijayapāla, also of Kanauj, is acknowledged at Rājaur in the northern part of the Alwar State.[5] The date of the Bayānā inscription, V. S. 1012, falls between these two dates. The probability then is in favour of the fact that this *Mahārājādhirāja* Mahīpāla, whose suzerainty was acknowledged in Bayānā in 955 A.D., was a second prince of that name of the Gurjjara-Pratīhāra dynasty of Kanauj, who had come to the throne after Dēvapāladēva, mentioned in the Sīyāḍōṇī record of V. S. 1005[6] and was succeeded shortly afterwards by Vijayapāladēva, mentioned in the Rājaur inscription of Mathanadēva. The **date** of the record is given in words in l. 24, as the **Vikrama year 1012, Monday, the 12th day of the bright half of Māgha** which regularly corresponds to the 8th January, A.D. 955. The composer of the *praśasti* was a Brāhmaṇa named **Sajjana.** It was written by **Śrīśakti** and incised by the goldsmith **Śrīpāla.** After the end of the record there is a supplementary verse mentioning the gift of a village named **Aluvadraka** on the occasion of a solar eclipse (*ravigraha*) by a person named **Indrajit,** who may be identical with the son of Chittralēkhā mentioned in l. 18. The name of the donee is not legible. Probably this gift was also made to the same temple. I edit the inscription from the original stone.

TEXT.

[Metres :—Vv. 1, 3, 8, 12, 17, 28, 29, 31 and 34 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 2, 6, 21, 25 and 43 *Vasantatilakā*; vv. 4, 5 (?), 11, 13, 15, 19, 20, 22, 27, 42 and 45 *Anushṭubh*; vv. 7, 9, 10, 16 and 18 *Sragdharā*; vv. 14, 24, 30, 32, 33, 35-40 and 44 *Āryā*; v. 23 *Upajāti*; v. 26 *Indravajrā*; v. 41 *Gīti*.]

1 .....[*||] — — — ◡◡ — ◡ — ◡◡◡ — — — ◡ — — ◡ — — — — ◡◡ — ◡ — cha
mukhataḥ saṁjāyatē sm=ānalaḥ | āsīd= dyauḥ śirasō [dhuri kshaya◡— — bhyā◡ —
[ch=āparaṁ] yaś=ch=ainaṁ pari — ◡ — ◡◡◡ — — — ◡ — —◡—[|| 1 ||*]

2 — —◡—◡◡◡—[pṛithu]-pattra-sāraḥ śākhā-sahasra-vinivārita-lōka-ṭāpaḥ | chandrāt-
prabhūta-phaladō=jani rāja-vaṁśas=tuṁgō=pi mukta-vēpathu-bhaṁga-saṅgaḥ || [2 || *]
— — —◡◡—◡—◡◡◡— — —◡— —◡ — — — — ◡◡—◡—◡◡◡— —

3 —◡— —◡—[|*]— — —◡◡—◡—◡◡◡ [chittar=]yēna rēmē samaṁ jāṭō yattra
Purūravāḥ sa-vasatiḥ śauryyasya rūpasya cha || [3 || *] Va(Ba)bhūva Nahushō
yattra yēn=āsādya sur-ēndratāṁ | Yam-ādayaḥ surāḥ svarggē sarvvē....◡—◡..
[|| 4 ||*].....

[1] *Cunningham, A. S. R.*, Vol. VI, pl. i.

[2] I am indebted for this information to the Resident at Jaipur.

[3] Printed by the Survey of India in 1917.

[4] Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 182-86.

[5] Above, Vol. III, p. 266.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 177.

4 .....stū sa[r]vvam=ama[ṁ]galāṁ ‖ [5 ‖*] Vaṁsasya tasya mahimā bhuvana-prasiddhaḥ kiṁ varṇṇyatē sa bhagavāṁ=jagataṁ nivāsaḥ | Kaṁs(ṁs)-ārir=ādipurushaḥ svayaṁ=ēva janma jagrāha yattra sura-dānava-vandit-āṁghriḥ ‖ [6 ‖*] Vāḍhaṁ gāḍha ◡— —◡◡◡◡◡— — ◡— —◡— —

5 — — — —ra-namyā va(ba)hubhir=api paraiṙ=mmārggaṇaiḥ śrīyamānāḥ | vaṁśēr(śē) tasmiṁn=abhūvann=adhika-kṛita-bhay-ōḍḍāyit-ārātī-kākā bhrātaḥ kiṁ chāpa-daṇḍā na hi sarala-matē bhūbhujaḥ Śūra-sēnāḥ ‖ [7 ‖*] Nētr-ānanda-karēṇa kānta-vapushā — —◡— —◡— — — —◡◡—◡—◡◡◡— [saubhā*]-

6 gya-kōśēna cha | chandrēṇ=āpi kalaṁkinā nija-kulasy=ādyēna vandy-ātmanā lajjantē khalu nishkalaṁka-charitā yē=dy=āpi kālē kalau ‖ [8 ‖*] Bhuktvā bhuktvā dharittrīṁ chatur-udadhi-payaḥ-prāvṛitāṁ niḥsapatnāṁ kṛitvā kṛitv=Āśvamē[dhān=niyata] ◡◡◡— —◡— —◡— — — — — —◡— — ◡

7 [di]m=avani-bhujāṁ gachchhatāṁ puṇya-bhājāṁ madhyē kāla-kramēṇa kraśita-ripur=abhūt=**Phakka**-nāmā narēndraḥ ‖ [9 ‖ *] Vra(Bra)hm-Ēndr-Ōpēndra-Chandra-Draviṇa-pati-Yamair=apy=ayaṁ lōka-nāthaḥ sārddhaṁ yōddhuṁ samarthaḥ sakalam=api jagan=manyamānas=tṛiṇāya | kēśēshv=ā[kramya]— —◡◡◡◡◡◡— —◡— —◡— — — — — —◡[La*]-

8 kshmīr=bhaya-chakita-manā yat-kulē=pi sthir=ābhūt ‖ [10* ‖] Gōttrē yattra pavitr-ātmā satāṁ ttrātā dvishāṁ vishaṁ | va(ba)bhūva **Vappukō** nāma yaśō-rāśiḥ pratāpavān ‖ [11 ‖*] Sēvā-saṁnihitaiḥ surair=iva nṛipai Rambh-Orvvaśībhyāṁ samair=mmāṇiky-ābharaṇāiḥ surūpa ◡◡— — —◡— —◡—[‖*]— — —◡◡—◡—◡◡

9 [vabhai]r=[uchchaiḥśravaḥ]-sannibhair=aśvair=Indra iv=āparaḥ kshiti-talē yō dṛik-sahasraṁ vinā ‖ [12 ‖*] Tasya **Rājayikō** jātō Jāmadagnya iv=ātmajaḥ raṇē rājanya-mūrddhānō nirlūnā yēna līlayā ‖ [13 ‖*] **Māyūrika**-kula-bhūtāṁ tēn=ōḍhvā **Sajjan**=īti vikhyātāṁ [ ].....[Hṛida* ?]-

10 yēshu dvī[shāṁ] bhūpaḥ sa[bhayē]shu divā-niśaṁ | tishṭhann=api na saṁspṛishṭō na cha dṛishṭō bhayēna yaḥ ‖ [15 ‖*] Na prākārair=nna sāraiḥ kari-turaga-narair=nn=ādribhis=tuṁga-śṛiṁgair=nn=āmbhō-gaṁbhīra-garttair=jjala-vikaṭa-bhuvāṁ na sthalair=nna drum-aughaiḥ | n=ānyair=mmā[yā-purair=]—◡◡◡◡◡◡— —◡— —◡— — — — — — —◡—

11 ṇaṁ pravi[śad=a]ri-puraṁ nirddahad=v(b)aṁbhajach=cha ‖ [16‖*] Divyair=ābharaṇ-āṁga-rāga-vasanaiḥ pushpaiś=cha śṛiṁgārītāḥ sarvvattr=ōtsava-gīta-tūrya-rasitair=ānanda-sāndrāḥ prajāḥ | praty=av(b)daṁ vasudhāṁ cha sasya-saphalām=ālōkya yō vismitair=lōkair=—◡◡—◡—◡◡◡— — —◡— —◡—[‖17‖*] —[jvā ?]-

12 lā-māli[nō]=pi jvalita-huta-bhujō gharmma-kālē=ntarālād=bhaṅga-vrīḍāṁ vahantaḥ smṛita-kula-charitā vi(bi)bhyati [sm=ā ?]tta-sat(tt)vāḥ | dushṭ-ārushṭa-dvipēndra-sthita-subhaṭa-kar-ākrānta-kunt-āgra-raudraṁ saṁgrāmaṁ bhāvayanti pratiniyata-vadhaṁ strī-sabhāṁ(bhaṁ) yē niku[mbhāḥ] ‖ [18‖*].....◡— —.....◡—◡.. [‖*].....

13 mv(b)udha— —..ś=chandramā iva vai rukaḥ(chā ?) ‖ [19‖*] **Pramāra**-kula-saṁbhūtā sādhvī tēna mahātmanā | **Yaśaskar**=īti vikhyātā pariṇītā yaśō-rthinā ‖ [20‖*] Tēn=ādhipēna tanayā sa-nayā su-rūpā puṇya-priyā savinayā śubha-lakshaṇā cha | tasyāṁ .....[sama ?*]-

14 jani **Chittralēkhā** ‖ [21‖*] Tēna **Maṁgalarājēna** sā śāstr-ārtha-vidā satā | sādhvī bhrātṛimatī rājñā pariṇītā priyaṁvadā ‖ [22‖*] Pativratāṁ vīkshya kalau yugē tāṁ lōkaiḥ kṛita-strīshu mahā-satīshu | Arundhatī-Parvvata-rāja-puttrī-La[kshmī ?]◡— — ◡◡—◡— —[‖23‖*].....

15 ..[tan-nāma] gṛihṇ(ṇ)atī nṛiṇāṁ | śravaṇā[v=api ?] śṛiṇvantau galit-ākhila-kalmashau bhavataḥ || [24||*] Śēshō=pi bhūri-vadanō na guṇāṁs=tadīyān śaknōti vaktum=achirāt-kimu mādṛiśō=nyaḥ | Manv-ādi-kīrttita-manas=tu(?) su-kīrtti y=aiva strī-dharmmam =āśu ◡◡—◡◡—◡— —[||25||*] — —◡— —◡◡—◡— — — —

16 sutō=bhūt=priya-sat(tt)va-satyaḥ | āśvētayad=yaḥ sva-yaśaḥ-prabhābhir=vra(bra)hmāṇḍa-madhyaṁ vidhut-āri-chakraḥ || [26||*] Dilīpa-Raghu-Rāmāṇām charitaṁ chāru-darśanaḥ | anukṛityа prajānāṁ yō jagāma priyatāṁ vibhuḥ || [27||*] Ākramya dru[ma]-saṁginī [dalita-] | — — —◡— —◡— — — —◡◡—◡—◡◡◡— —

17 [tyakta-bhīḥ] kasuśikaḥ | chakr-āhva-dvitayāni yānti vibhidāṁ prauḍha-kshap-āśaṁ-kayā yasy=ānēka-va(ba)l-augha-dhūli-paṭalair=āchchhāditē bhāsvati || [28||*] Dhāvantyā sakhi saṁbhramēṇa galitā n=[ā]grāhi kāṁchī mayā hārō yasya samarppitas=tvaritayā taṁ na smarāmi sphuṭaṁ | — — —◡◡—◡—◡◡◡—

18 d=uttārya bhagn=āsmy=ahaṁ śōchant=īti ripu-striyaḥ sva-puratō yat-sainik-ōdvāsitāḥ || [29||*] **Indrajid**=anu cha sutō-bhūd=yasyāḥ saṁgrāma-lōlupaḥ prathitaḥ | jitvā va(ba)hu-bhūp-ēndrān=upahasitō Rāvaṇir=yēna || [30||*] Saujanyasya nidhir=ddayālu-hṛidayaḥ kalpa-drumō mārgga[ṇē]— — —◡◡—◡—◡◡◡—

19 sat(tt)v-ādhikaḥ satya-gīḥ | su-prītiḥ pratipanna-pāḷana-vidhau chaṇḍa-dvishām=antakaḥ pūrṇṇ-ēndu-dyuti-śubhra-bhūri-charitō yō vidyay=ālaṁkṛitaḥ || [31||*] Tad-anu cha **Lakshmaṇarājō** jātas=tasyāḥ sutaḥ Pṛithu-prakhyaḥ | **Chāmuṇḍarāja**-nāmā paschād=Bhīm-ādhikaḥ sva-guṇaiḥ || [32||*] Kusuma.....[saubhā ?]-

20 gya-rūpa-rājyāni | muktiḥ svargga-nivāsō na bhavanti vin=ārchcha[naṁ] Vishṇōḥ || [33||*] Ity=ālōchya chirāya chāru-charitā sā Chittralēkhā satī sarvvaṁ chaṁchalam=ākalayya jagatō rūpam vapur=jjīvitaṁ | Vishṇōḥ kārayatē sma mandiram=idaṁ hēm-āṇḍa-chūḍā-maṇi-vyālamv(b)-[ārddhaka]-daṇḍa—◡◡◡— — — [pa*]-

21 tāk-āṁśukaiḥ || [34||*] Kēyūra-tāra-hārair=maṇi-nūpura-kanaka-kaṁkaṇ-āvalibhiḥ | kaladhauta-mēkhalābhir=yāḥ kalpa-latā iv=ābhānti || [35||*] Yāsāṁ darśana-lōbhān=na kshaṇam=api Madhu-ripur=nnijāṁ pratimāṁ | muṁchati na cha Rambh-ādyāḥ svargga-strīḥ saṁsmaraty=aḍhunā] || [36||*] [Prativimvi(bimbi)tā (?)] .....[ni*]-

22 rmmala-kapōla-phalakēshu | anubhavati [s-ērshya]-Lakshmī kalahaṁ manyē smitaḥ satataṁ || [37||*] Kuvalaya-dala-nayanābhiḥ pṛithu-jaghanābhiḥ śaśāṅka-vadanābhiḥ | prēkshaṇakam=aṁganābhis=tābhiḥ siddhaṁ tayā dattaṁ || [38||*] **Gōgrapura-Nāgapallyau** dvau grāmau Chakriṇē tatō dat(tt)vā | kshē[ttrāṇi **Hāḍha pallyāṁ** (?)].....

23 [m=a]sya || [39||*] Dramma-ttritayaṁ dattō prati-divasaṁ **Śrīpathā**-stha-maṇḍapikā | aparaṁ ttrikaṁ **Vusāvaṭa**-maṇḍapikā Śārṅgiṇē satataṁ || [40||*] Prati-ghōṭakaṁ cha dānē drammō dēvasya bhagavatō vihitaḥ | ēshā kṛitā vyavasthā rājñyā śrī-Chittralēkhayā bhaktyā || [41||*] Mahārājādhirājēna śrī-**Mahīpāla**-bhūbhujā..... ..◡— —.....

24 Cha[shṭha]-maṇḍalē || [42||*] Yāvad=dadhāti vasudhāṁ sa-dharāṁ phaṇ-īndrō yāvaj=jalaṁ cha vimalaṁ marud-āpagāyāṁ | prālēyaśaila-śikhar-ākṛiti-chittra-chāru tāvad=vibhātu bhuvi harmmyam=idam Murārēḥ || [43||*] **Ēkē varsha-sahasrē dvādaśabhir=vvatsarair-yutē Māghē** | **dvādaśyāṁ śubhrāyāṁ** [**pratishṭhitaṁ śaśi-dinē** ?].....[||44||*]

25 **Viprēṇa Sajjana-nāmnā** virachitā praśastiḥ **Karaṇika-Śrīśaktinā** likhitā **Śrīpālēn=ōtkīrṇṇā suvarṇṇakārēṇa** || Bhadram=astu || **Aluvadraka-nāmānaṁ grāmam=samai navi-grahē Indrajid=da**◡— —.....◡—◡..[||45||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 1.).....From (*his*) mouth was born the fire and from the head the sky.....

(V. 2.) From the moon sprang the royal family (*tree*) which had a thick foliage, had kept off the heat (or suffering) of the people through its thousand branches and was productive of much fruits (or good) and which, though high (or noble), was free from encountering shocks and breaking down (or fear and destruction).

(V. 3.) (*In which family*).....rejoiced together and where was born Purūravas, the common abode of beauty and valour.

(V. 4.) Where was born Nahusha, whom when he obtained the kingship of the gods in heaven, all the gods, Yama and others.....

(V. 5.) ..... (*may remove* ?) all evils.....

(V. 6.) The greatness of this family is well known throughout the world. What more to say, where the Lord of the creation (*i.e.*, Vishṇu) and the enemy of Kaṁsa, who is the refuge of all creatures and whose feet are worshipped (*equally*) by the gods and demons, himself took his birth.

(V. 7.) In that family were born (*those*) who were honoured by.....and resorted to by numerous other supplicants, who made the crow-like enemies fly with their fear increased. O brother, were they the bows ? No, simple minded (*fool*), they were the Śūrasēna kings.

(V. 8.) Who, even today, in this Kali age, being of spotless character feel ashamed of the moon, the originator of their race on account of his having a stain though it has a beautiful form pleasing to the eye.....and is honoured (*by people*).

(V. 9.) In course of time, amongst the righteous kings who had passed away, each in his turn, after enjoying the earth extended to the four oceans and free from all enemies and perform ing the Horse-Sacrifice.....there was born a king named **Phakka** who had exterminated (*let* thinned) his enemies.

(V. 10.) This lord of the people was able to fight even with Brahman, Indra, Upēndra, the Moon, Kuvēra and Yama and regarded the whole earth (*as contemptible*) as a blade of grass. Dragged by hair, Lakshmī,....with her mind struck with fear became settled in his family.

(V. 11.) In that family was born **Vappuka** who was a mass of fame and was powerful, whose soul was pure and who was the saviour of the good (*but*) was (*like*) poison to his enemies.

(V. 12.) Who, through having princes, who were like gods and who had come to him for (*rendering*) service, through (*women*) adorned with diamonds and equalling Rambhā and Ūrvaśī (*in beauty*)... and through horses that were like Uchchaiḥśravas—was like another Indra on the face of the earth ; (*only he was*) without his (Indra's) thousand eyes.

(V. 13.) To him was born a son (*named*) **Rājayika** who was like Jāmadagnya (Paraśurāma) inasmuch as he cut off the heads of warriors in battle with (*perfect*) ease.

(V. 14.) He having married the well-known **Sajjanī** born in the **Māyūrika** family.....

(V. 15.) The king, though residing day and night in the enemies' hearts possessed of fear, was neither touched nor (*even*) seen by that fear.

(V. 16.) (*The king not daunted by*) ramparts, nor by the (*army consisting of the*) best of elephants, horses and men, nor by hills with high peaks, nor by the deep ravines caused by (*the rush of*) water, nor by land and forests of trees nor by phantom cities.....entering the city of the enemy, burning (*it*) and completely annihilating (*it*).

(V. 17.) (*Whose*) subjects, adorned with beautiful ornaments, perfumes and clothes and decked with flowers, were full of enjoyments everywhere through festivities, songs and sounds of drums. And every year seeing with wondering eyes that the earth was full of crops, who.....

(V. 18.) Even (*men*) of strong character (?), bearing the shame of defeat, feel frightened being reminded of the family of him (*who was unbearable like*) the fire with a garland of flames during the hot season—those wicked demons (?) who look upon the battle—which is made fierce by the heads of spears held in the hands of the best of warriors seated on the wicked and angry elephants—like an assembly of women.

(V. 19.) .....like the moon in splendour.

(V. 20.) By that great soul, who wanted fame, was married (*the lady*) named **Yaśaskarī**, who was chaste and was born in the **Pramāra** family.

(V. 21.) By that king was begotten on her (*i.e.* Yaśaskarī).....a daughter (*named*) **Chittralēkhā** who was well-behaved, beautiful, fond of (*acquiring*) merit, well-disciplined and auspicious.

(V. 22.) By that good king **Maṅgalarāja** who knew the proper interpretation of the Śāstras, she, who was devoted to her husband, who had brothers and who spoke pleasantly, was married.

(V. 23.) Seeing her devotedness to her husband, in the Kali age, the people (*placed her*) among women of the Kṛita age who were great *Satīs* (chaste women) like Arundhatī, the daughter of the mountain (*i.e.*, Gaurī) and Lakshmī.

(V. 24.) ....by uttering her name, even hearing (*her name*) the ears of men are rendered free from all sins.

(V. 25.) Even Śēsha, possessing many mouths, cannot speak of her qualities, quickly; how can one like myself (*do so*) ?..... .. ..

(V. 26.) .....(*She*) had a son to whom were dear energy and truth (*and*) who, having destroyed the circle of his enemies, brightened the interior of the universe by the rays of his fame.

(V. 27.) This king of beautiful form, following the conduct of Dilīpa, Raghu and Rāma, obtained the love of his subjects.

(V. 28.) .....The sun being covered by the mass of dust (*raised by the feet*) of the multitude of his armies, the owl is without fear and the *chakravāka* pairs separate fearing that the night was far advanced.

(V. 29.) The wives of his enemies driven out of their own city by his soldiers thus lament: O friend, while flying in confusion, my girdle which had dropped was not picked up by me; I do not remember distinctly the person to whom I entrusted my necklace....

(V. 30.) Her younger son was **Indrajit** who was well-known, and eager for battles. Having conquered many kings the son of Rāvaṇa (*i.e.*, Indrajit) was jeered at by him.

(V. 31.) (*He was*) the abode of civility, was kind-hearted and was like a *kalpa-druma* (wish-giving tree) to the supplicants....., was full of energy and truthful, took a great delight in protecting those who had approached (*him*), and was like the god of death to rampant enemies. His numerous acts were white like the rays of the full moon and he was adorned with knowledge.

(V. 32.) After him was born unto her a son named **Lakshmaṇarāja**, who was as celebrated as Prithu and after him another (*son named*) **Chāmuṇḍarāja** who was greater than Bhīma through his own qualities.

(V. 33.) ..... good fortune, beauty, kingdom, emancipation and abode in heaven cannot be obtained without worshipping Vishṇu.

(V. 34.) Having thought of this for a long time and having found out that everything on this earth (*as well as*) beauty, body (*and*) life are transient, she, Chittralēkhā, the chaste and of esteemed character, caused to be made this temple of Vishṇu with a crest-jewel shaped as a golden egg and which was....(*adorned with* ?).....and flags.

(V. 35.) (*The girls*) who with armlets, shining necklaces, jewelled anklets and bracelets of gold, (*and also*) with the girdles of gold appear like (*so many*) wishing-creepers (*kalpa-latā*),

(V. 36.) Owing to the temptation of seeing them, the enemy of Madhu does not leave his own image even for a moment nor does he now remember the heavenly damsels like Rambhā and others.

(V. 37.) They being reflected (?) in (*his*) pure cheeks, the smiling (*Vishṇu*) always experiences the anger of the jealous Lakshmī.

(V. 38.) A show given by these ladies whose eyes were like the petals of lotus flowers, whose hips were heavy and whose faces were like the moon was also arranged by her.[1]

(V. 39.) Having given to Vishṇu the two villages **Gōgrapura** and **Nāgapallī** (*she also gave*) fields at **Hāḍhapallī.**

(V. 40.) Three *drammas* were given, every day, to the holder of the Śārṅga bow (*i.e.*, Vishṇu) by the market-place[2] at **Śrīpathā** and also another three by the market place at **Vusāvaṭa.**

(V. 41.) A gift of one *dramma* per horse was fixed for the god, the lord. This arrangement was made by the queen, the illustrious Chittralēkhā, out of devotion.

(V. 42.) By the illustrious king, the *Mahārājādhirāja* **Mahīpāla**..... in Chashṭha-*maṇḍala.*

(V. 43.) As long as the lord of the snakes bears the earth along with the mountains, as long as there is pure water in the celestial river (*i.e.*, the Ganges), so long may this temple of the enemy of Mura (*i.e.*, Vishṇu) which is (*as high as*) the peak of the Snowy Mountains (*i.e.*, the Himālaya) and which is conspicuous and beautiful, continue to shine on this earth.

(V. 44.) In the year **one thousand increased by twelve years, on Monday** (?) **the twelfth day of the bright half of Māgha** was (*this temple*) dedicated.

Line 25. This eulogy was composed by the Brāhmaṇa named **Sajjana,** written by the *Karaṇika* **Śrīśakti** (*and*) incised by the goldsmith **Śrīpāla.** Let there be good (*for all*). **Indrajit** (*gave*) to him (*i.e.*, the god Vishṇu), the village of **Aluvadraka** on the occasion of a solar eclipse.....

No. 21.—THE GURGI INSCRIPTION OF PRABODHASIVA[3].

By the late Prof. R. D. Banerji, M.A.

The slab on which this inscription is engraved was discovered about half a century ago, among the ruins of the great temple called Gurgaj, at **Gurgi,** a village about two miles due east of Rewah town, in the state of that name, in the Bagheikhand Agency of Central India. Gurgi is situated in lat. 81° 27′ and long. 21° 30′ (*vide* sheet No. XIII of the Rewah Topographical Survey, issued by the Survey of India in 1873). Though Rewah had been visited by older members of the Archæological Survey of India such as Sir Alexander Cunningham, Mr. J. D. M. Beglar and H. B. W. Garrick, this inscription has not been noticed by any one of them.[4] It is now placed in the front wall of the palace at Rewah just below the Throne Room or Durbar Hall. Its existence was brought to my notice in April 1920 by Rai Bahadur Pandit Janaki Prasad M.A., LL.B., then Home Member of the Council of Regency of the Rewah State who also gave me information about its place of discovery.

[1] Probably in verses 35-38 we have a reference to the dancing girls (*dēva-dāsī*) given to the temple.

[2] *Maṇḍapikā*—a market place (*maṇḍavō* in Gujarātī and Marāṭhī).

[3] [The text and translation of this inscription were published in Mr. Banerji's *The Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments* (Archæological Survey of India Memoir No. 23) pp. 122 ff., but as they contained a number of errors the inscription as revised by me is re-edited here.—Ed.]

[4] [Probably the stone inscription referred to by Begiar in Cunningham, *A. S. R.* Vol. XIII, p. 13, note 1, is identical with the present inscription.—Ed.]

The inscribed slab measures about 4′ 1″ by 3′ 4″ and the average height of each letter is $\frac{7}{8}$″. The entire surface with the exception of about two inches at the top and six inches at the bottom is covered with writing. There are altogether forty-nine lines of writing on the slab. With the exception of the invocation at the beginning, the entire inscription is in verse. The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and the record has, on the whole, been very carefully incised. Consonants with a subscript *r* are not doubled, but there are exceptions, *e.g.*, *ūridaśa* (l. 3). Consonants with a superscript *r* have been doubled in all cases. The **characters** of the inscription are similar to those of the Chandrehe inscription of Prabōdhaśiva of the Kalachuri year 724.[1] The initial form of *i* consists of two dots placed side by side and a comma below them: *cf.*, *iva* (ll. 7, 20) and *itthaṁ* (l. 13). Among consonants the following forms call for notice. There are two triangles in the lower part of *kha* one at the foot of each of the vertical lines, *cf.*, *akhila* (l. 8). Two forms of *tha* have been used: the older form consisting of two spheres one over the other and the later form in which the upper loop has become open, *cf.*, *mūhy=* (l. 3) and *prathita* (l. 15). An angle is present in the back of *da* in all cases, *cf.*, *jagad* (l. 2). The upper part of *dha* is undeveloped and the letter consists of a loop attached to the left side of a vertical straight line. An acute angle is also to be seen in the lower part of *bha*, *cf.*, *mahōbhiḥ* (l. 7). *Ra* is wedge-shaped, *cf.*, *ripu* (l. 3). In *la* there is only one curved line in the left limb of the letter instead of two as in later forms, *cf.*, *vāla* (l. 1). The palatal *śa*, in all cases, is of the transitional form, in which the right limb of the letter consists of a straight line which is not touched by the left limb. This left limb is formed of a curve shaped like the Roman letter 'S' with a triangle at the bottom, *cf.*, *śrēṇi* (l. 1). The sign of *avagraha* has been used occasionally in this inscription, *cf.*, *tasy=āspadē= 'gra* (l. 30) and *Mahēndrē='rvvudē* (l. 31). The final form of *t* is to be found in *abhūt* (l. 38) and of *m* in *saiddhāntikānām* (l. 5) and *dōshaṁ* (l. 6). A peculiar form of the ligature *kra* is noticeable in *ākranda* (l. 2).

The inscription, so far as is left of it, is not dated and from its fragmentary nature it is difficult to say with certainty to the reign of which Kalachuri king it belonged. It falls into two different parts: the first part consisting of the spiritual genealogy of the ascetics of the **Mattamayūra** clan and the second of a short account of the rulers of the **Haihaya** dynasty of **Tripurī** and the landed property belonging to the Śaiva ascetics. In this respect the Gurgi inscription resembles the Bilhari inscription[2] of the rulers of Chēdī.

The first two verses contain an invocation of Śiva. In the third verse we are introduced to Madhumatī an abode of the *Saiddhāntikas* and the clan of "mad-peacocks". The fourth verse also refers to this clan of Śaiva ascetics. In this (religious) family of Śaiva ascetics was an ascetic named **Chūḍāśiva**. His disciple was called **Prabhāvaśiva**. **Yuvarājadēva I.**, son of **Mugdhatuṅga** (Prasiddhadhavala), having brought him (to the Chēdī country), made him accept a monastery which was built at the cost of a large sum of money. His disciple **Praśānta-śiva** is the most prominent figure in this inscription as well as in that found at Chandrehe. From verse 11 of the present record we learn that he had built a temple of Śiva close to the palace built by Yuvarājadēva I. In addition to this temple he had dedicated images of Umā, Śiva and Durgā (*i.e.*, Ardhanārīśvara), Kārttikēya (Shaḍānana), Gaṇapati and Sarasvatī in the temples close to the palace (v. 12). This abbot also built for himself a retreat for meditation (*tapaḥ sthānakam*) on the banks of the Śōṇa, an account of which we also find in the Chandrehe inscription. He was succeeded by his disciple whose name cannot be read (v. 17).[3] This disciple of Praśāntaśiva gave his place (as head of the monastery) to a younger brother disciple named Prabōdhaśiva (l. 25).

[1] Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 149 f.

[2] Above, Vol. II, pp. 25 ff.

[3] [I read the name as Iśānaśambhu.—Ed.]

From the 26th line the record becomes almost entirely illegible with the exception of a few letters at the extreme right. **Prabōdhaśiva** appears to be the abbot in whose time the inscription was incised. The **object** of the record was very probably to commemorate repairs to an object caused to be built by his spiritual preceptor (*sva-svāmi-nirmmāpita-* l. 26) as well as some monument erected by himself (*sat-karmma-nirmmāpitam* l. 29). Verses 36-43 also seem to record certain grants made by **Yuvarāja (II)**. The account of the rulers of the Haihaya dynasty probably began from v. 27 introducing the family of the moon to which the Kalachuris belonged. The last few words in l. 35 indicate the defeat of a **Gūrjara** king, evidently a king of Kanauj. The **Kōkalladēva** mentioned in l. 40 is probably the second king of that name who was the son and successor of Yuvarājadēva II. There is a reference to the defeat of a **Gūrjara** ruler and a king of **Gauḍa**. The country of **Vanavāsa** and the lord(?) of **Kuntala** appear to have been mentioned in l. 42. These two countries are most probably mentioned in connection with the campaigns of Gāṅgēyadēva, the son of Kōkalla II. and the father of the great conqueror Karṇa, whose conquest of the Kuntala country is mentioned in the Khairhā plates of his grandson Yaśaḥkarṇa.[1] The mention of the campaigns of Gāṅgēyadēva indicates that Prabōdhaśiva was alive in his reign and therefore the record is later in date than the Chandrehe inscription. The next five lines contain the property bestowed on the Śaiva ascetics possibly by Yuvarājadēva I. who is mentioned in l. 47 and also by his surname Kēyūravarsha, in l. 43. In l. 43 are mentioned **Sārasaḍōllaka**—which is identified by Rai Bahadur Pandit Janaki Prasad with modern Sahdol, a station on the Bilaspur-Katni section of the Bengal Nagpur Railway—**Vakaḍōllaka** and three other villages. In l. 44 we have **Ābhīrapallī, Kavacha-Kshētra** and a third name **Sarasvatī** which may be that of a village or of a river. In the next line a number of villages are mentioned of which the following only are legible : **Sāmantapāṭaka, Bhadvachiurā, Tujumbā, Kukkuḍiyā** and **Rajōgrāma**. It is stated in l. 47 that **Karōḍhaka, Brahmapurī, Nannēśvara-Kshētra** and another village, the name of which is not clear, were given to the god Sōmanātha. The *praśasti* was composed by **Madhu**, the son of Trayīvarddhana of the Bhāradvāja-*gōtra*. It was written on the stone by **Śivanāga** the son of Avvōka and incised by the *sūtradhāra* **Mādhava** the son of Mahēśvara. I am unable to identify the localities mentioned and edit the record from the original stone which I examined on several occasions in 1920 and in 1921.

TEXT.

[Metres :—vv. 1-5 and 16 *Sragdharā*; vv. 6-8, 12, 17, 20, 24, 26, 28, 30-33 and 35 *Vasantatilakā*; vv. 9-11, 13-15, 18, 19, 21-23, 25 and 27 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 29 and 34 *Mālinī*; vv. 36-46 *Anushṭubh*].

1 Ōṁ[2] ———— vāya || Lāṅkā-[vīrēndra(?)]-vā(bā)hu-vyatikara-chaṭula-[sphā]ṭīk-ādrīndra-kōṭi-śrēṇi-saṁghaṭṭa-vi(bi)bhyad-gaganachara-vara-chchhanna-dik-chakravālaṁ

[1] Above, Vol. XII, pp. 210 ff. [The context does not give us any justification of bringing in Gāṅgēyadēva. It shows, on the other hand, that the credit of the conquests mentioned in verse 34 must go to Kōkalladēva (II.) who is introduced in the verse immediately preceding it. Moreover, since both the Chandrehe inscription (973 A.D.) and the present record belong to the time of Prabōdhaśiva, it is very unlikely that he could flourish at the time of Gāṅgēyadēva (1037 A.D.) also. It is more likely that the grants were made by Yuvarājadēva (II.), as indicated by v. 43, probably towards the end of his reign and recorded at the time of his son Kōkalla (II) who is mentioned as *nripati* in l. 41. If my surmise is correct then v. 34 gives us some new information about the achievements of Kōkalla II. and v. 35 indicates that Yuvarājadēva (II.) also bore the surname of Kēyūravarsha like his grandfather, Yuvarāja (I.).—Ed.]

[2] Expressed by a symbol.

2 ——— ◡ — lā(?) jagad=akṛita tad-ākranda-ni[rhrā]da-ghōra-svachchhandaḥ sō=dri-vāsī mudam=upachinutāch=chandra-chūḍā-maṇir=vvaḥ || [1 ||*] Nandin=k=ēyaṁ pravishṭā [paśupati]-

3 ◡ ◡ — — ◡ dēvī=ti many[ā] mithy=aitan=n=āsmi s=āny[ā] ◡◡◡◡◡◡ — — ◡ — —◡— śa | mugdhē tvad-rūpa-dhārī ttridaśa-ripur=asau dṛiśyatāṁ pātitō=grē kēn=āstrēṇ=ēti dē-

4 [vyā] ka[ṭu]-vachana-jitaḥ pātu mauni [Śivō] vaḥ || [2 ||*] ——— ◡ — — ◡◡◡◡◡◡ha snigdha-dhūma-prava(ba)ndha-prāravdh(bdh)-ākāla-mēgh-ōdaya-mada-mudit-ōnnādi-nṛityan-mayūrā | a-

5 sty=uchchaiḥ [sau]dha-jāla-jvalad-anaṇu-maṇi-[jyō]tishāñ=cha[kravā]laiḥ svar-llōkam=vā hasantī jagati **Madhumatī** dhāma saiddhāṇṭikānām || [3 ||*] Pūrvvē yatr=āvatīrya vrata-niyata-manō-vṛitta-

6 yas=tāpas-ēndrāḥ śishyāṇām=āśaśaṁsuḥ Śiva-matam=atanu vyasta-niḥśēsha-dōsham | yēshām=ady=āpi kīrttir=ddhavalayati sudhā-dhauta-kāntiḥ prasiddhā viśvaṁ sampanna-vidvaj-ja-

7 na-kumuda-van-ānandinī chandrik=ēva || [4 ||*] Śaivānām=anvayē=sminn=ati-mahati munir=mmānanīyō munīnām=ēnaḥ-śushk-ēndhanānān=dava-dahana iva dyōtamānair=mmahōbhiḥ |

8 śrīmāṁs=**Chūḍāśivō**=bhūd=Bhava-charaṇa-yuga-dhyāna-vō(bō)dh-arddhi-lābha-prōdbhūt-ātyanta-śubhra-ttribhuvana-bhavan-ābhyantara-bhrānta-kīrttiḥ || [5 ||*] Tasy=ākhila-kshitipati-praṇat-ōttamāṅga-chūḍā-

9 maṇi-dyuti-chay-ārchchita-pāda-pīṭhaḥ | śishyō va(ba)bhūva bhuvana-traya-kīrtta-nīyaḥ śrīmat-**Prabhāvaśiva**-nāma-munir=manīshī || [6 ||*] Ānīya yaṁ sahaja-vāsanayā nayajñaḥ śrī-**Mugdha-**

10 **tuṅga**-tanayō **Yuvarājadēvaḥ** | sat(tt)v-ōpakāra-bhavad-uttama-kīrtti-hētōr=agrāhayan =maṭham=ananta-dhana-pratishṭham || [7 ||*] Tasy=āmalēna tapasā cha vivardha-māna-vidyā-va(ba)lēna cha sama-

11 sta-jagat-pratītaḥ | śishyaḥ prakāma-kamanīya-guṇ-aika-dhāma śrīmat-**Praśāntaśiva-**nāma-munir=vva(bba)bhūva || [8 ||*] Ākṛishṭā chira-sañchitēna tapasā yasy=āṅga-saṅg-ōtsukā Lakshmīr=bhōga-

12 parāṅmukhasya satataṁ niḥśrēyas-ākāṁkshayā | ājñāṁ prāpya par-ōpakāra-kṛitayē tad-vallabhānāṁ satāṁ sthānēshu sthiratām=avāpa vanit=ēv=ātyanta-satya-vratā || [9||*] Tyāgaṁ stambham=i-

13 v=āvalaṁv(b)ya vilasaj-jñān-āmvu(mbu)-sēka-kriyām=āsādya prasarat-tapō-va(ba)la-kṛita-pratyanta-rakshā-kramaḥ | itthaṁ yasya yas(ś)ō-mayaḥ sa vavṛidhē kālēna kalpa-drumō yēna vyāptam=idaṁ prasa-

14 hya sakalaṁ vra(bra)hmāṇḍa-bhāṇḍ-ōdaram || [10 ||*] Yēna śrī-**Yuvarāja**-kārita-lasat-Kailāsa-śṛiṅg-ōpama-prāsād-ōttarataḥ Sumēru-śikhara-sparddhi prasiddhaṁ=bhuvi | sadma sthāpitam=Īśva-

15 **rasya** sakala-trailōkya-vismāpakaṁ yat=svarggaṁ vrajatas=tadīya-yasa(śa)saḥ sōpāna-mārggāyatē || [11 ||*] Yaḥ pratyatishṭhipad=Umām=Umayā cha miśram=Īśaṁ Shaḍānanam=atha prathit-ōru-kīrttiḥ |

16 prāsāda-sannihita-dēva-gṛihēshu vidvān=dvārē tathā Gaṇapatiñ=cha Sarasvatiñ=cha || [12 ||*] Dāh-ōttīrṇṇa-suvarṇṇa-dāna-śamita-dravy-ārthi-sārtha-spṛihaḥ siddha-sthānam=achīkarat=tad=aparaṁ yaḥ Śō-

17 ṇa-tīr-ōpari | yasmin=yōga-jushaḥ praviśya niyama-dhvast-āntarāy-ādhayaḥ śāntāḥ siddha-samādhayo='chchha-matayō gachchhanti muktēḥ padaṁ || [13 ||*] Tīrtha-sthāna-nishēvaṇ-ōdyata-dhiyā-

18 m=atyanta-viśrāntayē yas=tat=kāritava(vā)n=muniḥ sura-sarit-tīrē tapaḥ-sthānakam | yat=saṁsēvya Mahēśvar-ārchchana-ratā Vārāṇasī-vāsinō manyantē bhava-sāgaraṁ gurum=api kshīṇaṁ

19 yathā [gōshpa]dam || [14 ||*] Āsīnasya jit-āsanasya vijanē hṛit-padma-madhya-sthita-Sthāṇu-dhyāna-nilīna-niśchala-manaḥ-saṁvēdit-āntar-mmudaḥ | jagmur=yasya dināni dāna-nirata-

20 — — ◡ — — [ṛchika?] tat(tt)va-jñāna-vichakshaṇaiś=cha guṇibhiḥ sārddhaṁ parīkshā-kshamaiḥ || [15 ||*] Tīvr-āṁśōr=aṁśu-saṁghā iva niratiśay-ōllāsinaḥ svaiḥ pra-bhāvai[r]=yasy=āntēvāsinō=dhas=tamasi ni-

21 ◡ ◡ —[1][pratyaśaṁ] vō(bō)dhaya[ntaḥ |]=kān[2]=ālōka-dān-ōpakṛiti-pariṇamat-kīrttayaḥ saṁbhṛit-ājñā-śōbhā-bhūbhṛich-chhirōbhiḥ pravara-muni-janair=a[r]chyamānāś=charanti || [16 ||*] Tasy=ābhava-

22 [t=]◡◡◡—◡◡ — ◡ — — —. ḥ samasta-kavi-puṁgava-gīta-kīrttiḥ | śr-**Īśānaśambhur**=akhil-āvanipāla-mauli-mālā-maṇi-dyuti-piśaṁgita-pāda-padmaḥ || [17 ||*] Ni[r]jjitya

23 ◡◡ — ◡ — ◡◡◡ — — — ◡sarv[v]-ārthināṁ yēna śrīr=gamit=ōpabhōga-padavī [dau]rggatya-duḥkha-chchhidā | sad-vidyā-bhava-va(ba)ndhana-vyatikara-pradhvan(ṁ)sa-karmma-kshama-vyāpār=ēti

24 [samagra-saṁ?] ◡◡◡ — — ◡ — — ◡ — || [18 ||*] Yō mādyat-kali-kāla-danti-dalana-vyāpāra-pañchānanaḥ śrīman-**Mattamayūra**-vansa(vaṁśa)-tilakō niḥśēsha-vidyā-nidhiḥ | vidvat-pa-

25 [rshada] — ◡ — ◡◡◡ — — ◡ — — ◡ — [tasy]=āśēsha-guṇ-ākarasya bhuva[n .] — — ◡ — — ◡ — || [19 ||*] Śrīmat-**Pravō(bō)dhaśiva**-nāma-nij-ānujasya sthānaṁ sama-[r*]pya viji-

26 — ◡◡ — ◡ — — [| *] — — ◡ — ◡◡◡ — ◡◡ — ◡ — — — — — ◡◡◡◡ — ◡◡ ◡ — — [||20 ||*] [Yēna] tyāga-tapaḥ-samādhi-nidhinā sva-svāmi-nirmmāpita-

27 — — — ◡◡ — ◡ — ◡◡◡ — — — ◡ — — ◡ —[| *] — — — ◡◡ — ◡ — ◡◡◡ — — — ◡ — — ◡ — — — — ◡ta-siddhi-vā(bā)dhaka-bhi[yā] n=ōllaṁghayanty=amva-(mba)rē || [21 ||*] Kū-

28 [paṁ] — ◡◡ — ◡ — ◡◡◡ — — — ◡ — — ◡ — — — — ◡◡ — ◡ — ◡◡◡ — — — ◡ — — ◡ — [| *] — — — ◡◡ — ◡ [. ā]rthi-nivaha[-sā?]rthō=py=apūrvv-ēpsita-prāj̃ya-sva-

29 ◡◡ — ◡ — ◡◡◡ — — — ◡ — — ◡ — [|| 22 ||*] — — — ◡◡ — ◡ — ◡◡ ◡ — — — ◡ — — ◡ — — — — ◡◡ — ◡valla◡◡ — sat-karmme-nirmmāpitam |

30 — — — ◡◡ — ◡ — ◡◡◡ — — — ◡ — — ◡ — — — — ◡◡ — ◡ — ◡◡◡ — — — ◡ — — ◡ — — [|| 23 ||*] — — ◡ — [tad-anu?] — ◡ ◡[r=u?]pmat-ātmā tasy=ādēśē='gra-

31 ◡◡ — ◡◡ — ◡ — — [| *] — — ◡ — ◡◡◡ — ◡◡ — ◡ — — — — ◡ — ◡◡◡ — ◡◡ — ◡ — — [||24 ||*] — — — ◡◡ — ◡ — ◡◡◡ — — — [Ma?]hēndrē='rvvu(rbbu)dē yasy=ōchchaiś=cha

32 ◡ — ◡ — ◡◡◡ — — — ◡ — — ◡ — [| *] — — — ◡◡ — ◡ — ◡◡◡ — — — ◡ — — ◡ — — — — ◡◡ — ◡ — ◡◡◡ — — — ◡[m=āsī]t=kshamaḥ || [25 ||*] Sāmantapāṭa-

33 [ka*]◡ — ◡◡ yāyu — — — — ◡ — ◡◡◡ — ◡◡ — ◡ — — [| *] — — ◡ — ◡◡◡ — ◡◡ — — — ◡◡ — — — — ◡nīnā[m] || [26 ||*] Ēṇ-āṅk-ānvaya-

34 — ◡ — ◡◡ ◡ — — — — ◡ — — ◡ — — — — ◡◡ — ◡ — ◡◡◡ — — — ◡ — — ◡ — [| *] — — — ◡ — — ◡◡ — ◡◡ — — — [gṛi]hītvā va(ba)hāt=khyātaṁ kha-

[1] We may have to restore as *nipatitān*.

[2] Restore as *lōkān*(?).

35 [ḍga*]⏑—⏑—⏑⏑⏑———⏑—⏑—⏑—[‖27‖*]——⏑—⏑⏑⏑—⏑⏑—⏑——— —⏑ —⏑⏑⏑—⏑⏑—⏑—— [| *] nirjjitya **Gūrjjara**-patiṁ

36 ⏑⏑—⏑—— ——⏑—⏑⏑⏑—⏑⏑—⏑—— [‖28 ‖*] ⏑⏑⏑ ⏑⏑⏑———⏑ ——⏑——⏑⏑⏑ ⏑⏑⏑———⏑——⏑—— [| *]⏑⏑parijana-rakshō-

37 —⏑——⏑—— ⏑⏑⏑ ⏑⏑⏑———⏑——⏑——[‖29 ‖*] ——⏑—⏑⏑⏑— ⏑⏑—⏑——'——⏑—⏑⏑⏑—⏑⏑—⏑——[| *] sā[nanda]-mauli-maṇi-

38 —⏑⏑—⏑—— ——⏑—⏑⏑⏑—⏑⏑—⏑——[‖30 ‖*]——⏑—⏑⏑⏑—⏑⏑—⏑—— ——⏑—⏑⏑⏑— ⏑ parākramō=bhūt [| *] chitrē=pi ya[l-li]-

39 khita-rūpam=avēkshya —— [vī]ra-vratāṁ⏑⏑⏑—⏑⏑—⏑——— ‖ [31 ‖*] ——⏑jā ⏑⏑⏑—⏑ta vī[ra]—— ——[ṇa]-vikrama-nidhir=viparīta-mallaḥ | āsīn=nṛi-

40 paḥ kavi-kadamva(mba)-[ghanāya]mānas=——⏑—⏑⏑⏑—⏑⏑—⏑[pa]ṅkaḥ ‖ [32 ‖*] Tasmād=abhūd=⏑ ⏑⏑ — dita-Pushpa[dhanvā?] ——yamāṇa-vapur=apra-tima-pratāpaḥ | **Kōkalla**-

41 **dēva**-nṛipatiḥ patir=uttamā[nāṁ]——⏑—⏑⏑⏑—⏑⏑—⏑——— ‖ [33‖*] [Pra]viśati [ha]ta-śaktir=Gū[rjja]——[1][Hi]m-ādrim jalanidhi-jala-durggaṁ **Gauḍa**-rājō=dhiśē-

42 tē | nivasati **Vanavāsē Kuntalē**[1]—⏑——⏑⏑ ⏑⏑⏑⏑—————⏑———⏑——— ‖ [34 ‖*] ——⏑—⏑⏑⏑—⏑ya-kīrttanīya[ṁ] puṇy-ānvitāya munayē svayam=a-

43 rchchitāya | ——nam=ū(u)llikhita-[śā?] ⏑⏑—⏑——**[Kāyū*]ravarsha**-nṛipatiḥ⏑⏑—⏑—⏑—‖[35 ‖*] Pakka.. ..⏑——[taṁ] tathā Sārasaḍōllakam | Vakkaḍōllaka-[Rajyau]-

44 chchvē(?)kō.. .. nā(?)sapuṇḍikā ‖ [36 ‖*] .. ..⏑ ——⏑ .. .. puraṁ [Khayēllikā?] | [puraṁ] **K**alābhīrapallī.. .. .. .. Sarasvatī ‖ [37 ‖*] [Ētēshāṁ] dvādaśakañ=cha Kavacha-kshētram=ēva cha |

45 Sāmantapāṭakaś=ch=aiva Vaṭa.. ..⏑—⏑⏑ [‖ 38 ‖*] .. .. ..[yāta——yī] śāsana.. ⏑m=ity=api | Sa.. .. [Bha]dvachiurā Tu[ju]mvā cha Ku[kku]ḍiyā ‖ [39 ‖*] Rajō-grām-ānvitā

46 n=ētān=śāsanatvēna dattavān | .. ..⏑[vēdā]nta-pāragāya garīyasē ‖ [40 ‖*] [Puraṁ] paura-jan-ākīrṇṇaṁ [puraskāra(?)]-samastakaṁ | bhaktyā samarppayāmāsa śāsanatvē-

47 na bhūpatiḥ ‖ [41 ‖*] Karōḍhakaṁ Vra(Bra)hmapurī[ṁ] si[chcha?]-kapōṇḍikām | Nann-ēśvara-[kshētra]m=adāt=Sōmanāthāya Śa[mbhavē?] ‖ [42 ‖*] [Da]ttā śrī-**Yuvarājēna** pālitā sāntarair=nṛipaiḥ | ākalpa-

48 sthāyinī bhūyād=vṛittiḥ śaiva-tapō-bhṛitām ‖ [43 ‖*] Bhāradvāj-ānvaya-śrīmat-Trayīvarddhana-nandanaḥ | prasa(śa)[stim=akarōt=] stutyō **Madhur**=madhurayā girā ‖ [44 ‖*] Alēkhi lēkhakēn=ēyam=A-

49 vyōka-tanujanmanā | aksharair=dṛishadi spashṭaiḥ **Śivanāgēna** dhīmatā ‖ [45‖*] Utkīrṇṇā sūtradhārēṇa Ma[hē]śvara-sutēna cha | **Mādhavēna**⏑——na guṇinā Viśvakarmmaṇā ‖ [46 ‖*]

TRANSLATION.

Ōṁ ! [Salutation to Śiva?] ‖

(Verse 1.) Let the moon-crested (god Śiva) dwelling on the mountain, whose own pleasure is rendered terrible by the sound of the lamentation (*of the worldly beings* ?), who made the world .....with the horizon of its quarters covered by the best of birds frightened by the clashing of the row of the peaks of the excellent crystal mountain shaken by the movement of arms of the hero (?) of Laṅkā—increase your joy.

[1] Probably we have to restore as *Gūrjjar-ēśō* and *Kuntal-ēśō*.

(V. 2.) Nandin, who is the (*lady*) that has entered ... ? .... I think she is Dēvī. This is not true ; I am not she ; (*she is*) another person..... You simple minded, he is an *asura* who has assumed your form. See how I have felled him before me and by what weapon. Let Śiva who was (*thus*) silenced being conquered by the harsh(?) words of Dēvī, protect you.

(V. 3.) There is in this world, **Madhumatī**, the abode of the Saiddhāntikas, where the peacocks dance and shriek with joy at the unseasonal rise of clouds formed by the mass of smoke .....and which is smiling (*in derision*) as it were, at the heaven through the mass of the rays of the big jewels shining on high in the rows of mansions.

(V. 4.) Where appeared the foremost of ascetics whose mind was restrained by vows and who taught the great doctrine of Śiva which is devoid of all faults ; whose well-known fame the splendour of which (*was as white as if it had been*) washed with nectar, whitens the universe even today like the rays of the moon gladdening the mass of *kumuda* flowers which were the prosperous and learned men.

(V. 5.) In this great family of Śaivas was (*born*) the illustrious ascetic **Chūḍāśiva** who was honoured by sages and who in his shining glory was like the forest fire to the dry fuel of sin ; whose fame was exceedingly white having arisen out of the perfection of knowledge acquired through meditation on the feet of Bhava (Śiva).

(V. 6.) His disciple was the sage, the illustrious **Prabhāvaśiva** whose feet were worshipped by the rays of the crest jewels on the head of all the kings bowing (*in reverence*) and who was learned and famous in the three worlds.

(V. 7.) Having brought him out of a natural desire, **Yuvarājadēva**, the son of the illustrious **Mugdhatuṅga**, who was versed in polity, in order to gain good fame arising out of the welfare of (*all*) beings, made him accept a monastery which was established at an enormous expense.

(V. 8.) His disciple was the ascetic the illustrious **Praśāntaśiva**, who was famous in the whole world through his spotless austerities and force of learning which was (*always*) increasing and who was the sole abode of exceedingly good qualities.

(V. 9.) Attracted by (*his*) long accumulated austerities, Lakshmī, who was eager to have a bodily contact with him who was averse to pleasure on account of his desire of final emancipation, received his order to do good to others and obtained fixity (*i.e.*, became stationary), like a very devoted wife, in the houses of the good who were his (Praśāṇtaśiva's) friends.

(V. 10.) Having taken to charity as the (*supporting*) pillar, having obtained the sprinkling of the water of shining knowledge, with all its tips protected by the increasing force of austerities, grew his wish-yielding tree (*kalpadruma*) which was his fame and which in time completely filled the vase-like interior of the universe.

(V. 11.) By him was established a temple of Śiva (*built*) to the north of the palace which was built by the illustrious Yuvarājadēva and was like the shining peak of the Kailāsa mountain, which (temple) aspired to be as high as the peak of the Sumēru mountain, was famous on the earth, caused wonder in the three worlds and acted like a stair-case to his fame marching towards heaven.

(V. 12.) He, whose vast fame was well-known and who was learned, dedicated the images of Umā, Umā mixed with Śiva (Hara-Gaurī) and Shaḍānana in the temples adjacent to the palace as well as those of Sarasvatī and Gaṇapati at the gate.

(V. 13.) He who had quenched all desires of hosts of supplicants by the gift of gold which had emerged (*purified*) from burning (*i.e.*, sacrificial fire ?), built another abode for the *Siddhas* on the bank of the river Sōṇa having entered which the *Yōgins* who had exterminated anxieties caused by impediments through (*the performance of*) vows, (*who were*) free from passions, who had attained success in meditation and whose mind was clear, acquire the position (*fit*) for (*obtaining*) emancipation.

(V. 14.) He, the sage, for the absolute rest of those who had a mind to live in a holy place, built an abode (*for performing*) austerities on the banks of the divine river (Ganges), taking resort to which the inhabitants of Benares, devoted to the worship of Mahēśvara, think the ocean of existence, though vast, to be as small as the impression of a cow's foot (*in the soil*).

(V. 15.) Seated in a solitary place, he, who had won a mastery over (*all*) the postures of sitting (*āsana*) and whose mind—devotedly fixed to the meditation of Śiva (*who was always present*) inside his lotus-like heart—possessed the inner satisfaction, passed his days in making gifts.....in company of qualified men who were adepts in supreme knowledge and could stand the test.

(V. 16.) His disciples who shine in their own majesty bright like the mass of rays of the sun explaining....everyday to those who were in darkness(?) (as the sun removes the darkness) and whose fame is vast on account of the good done through the gift of sight (*ālōka*) (as the sun gives light), roam about honoured by the best of sages whose orders are held (*reverently*) by the kings (*bhūbhṛit*) on their heads (as the sun is honoured by the summits of mountains which it beautifies).

(V. 17.) His (disciple) was the illustrious [**Iśānaśambhu**].....whose fame was sung by all principal poets, and whose lotus-like feet were reddened by the splendour of the jewels of the garlands on the crowns of all the kings.

(V. 18.) Having conquered.....of all the supplicants by him, who was the remover of the misery of poverty, was placed the goddess of fortune (*Śrī*) in a position to be enjoyed (*by all*); (he who was?) .....in the matter of destroying the obstruction of the bondage of existence through true learning.....

(V. 19.) He, who was a lion (*pañchānana*) in the act of subduing the rutting elephant of death in the shape of Kali age, who was the forehead mark (*tilaka*) of the illustrious **Mattamayūra** clan, who was the store house of perfect bearing, (*who in the*) assembly of the learned....., of him who was the source of all the (good) qualities.....

(V. 20.) He having given place to his younger brother (*disciple*) named **Prabōdhaśiva**.....

(V. 21.) By him, who was the receptacle of charity, austerities and meditation (*was built* a *maṭha*[1] *near*) the one built by his master (*i.e.*, *guru*), which the.....do not cross in the sky for fear of obstruction to their success (or perfection).

(V. 22.) Also a well[2] (*was dug by him*).....and also the host of supplicants (obtained?) .....an abundant....(*even*) of what was not desired before.

(V. 23.) .....caused to be built by (*his*) good works.....

(V. 24.) .....then the high-souled one.....in his abode.....

(V. 25.) .....on high on the Mahēndra or the Arbuda hills.....

(V. 26.) Sāmantapāṭaka.....

(V. 27.) (*In*) the family of the moon.....(*who*) taking by force the famous sword.....

(V. 28.) .....having defeated the lord of the **Gūrjaras**.....

(V. 29.) .....the protection of the family.....

(V. 30.) .....the crest jewel.....

(V. 31.) .....was born the valiant .....seeing whose beauty even as drawn in a picture .....

(V. 32.) From him (*was born*).....the king, the treasure house of valour, the terrible fighter, who was like....to the host of poets..

(V. 33.) From him (*was born*) the king **Kōkalladēva** who was the lord of the good, who excelled the god of love in physical (*beauty*) and was of unequalled valour.....

[1] [Probably the damaged portion contained a reference to the *maṭha* built by Prabōdhaśiva which is also found in the Chandrehe Inscription of Prabōdhaśiva, see above, Vol. XXI, p. 15, v. 16.—Ed.]

[2] [For a reference to this well see also Chandrehe Inscription, v. 16.—Ed.]

(V. 34.) The Gūrjara (*lord*?) enters the Himālaya devoid of power and the lord of **Gauḍa** lies in the watery fort of the sea. There lives in **Vanavāsa** the lord(?) of **Kuntala**.....

(V. 35.) The King **Kēyūravarsha** (*gave*).....to the ascetic who possessed merit and whom he had himself honoured.....

(Vv. 36-37.) (The villages) **Pakka**...., as well as Sārasaḍōllaka, Vakkaḍōllaka, Rājyauchchvēkō(?),.....,.nāsapuṇḍikā,.....pura, Khayēllikā(?).....Ābhīrapallī.....and Sarasvati.

(Vv. 38-40.) The twelfth part of these as well as the Kavacha-kshētra Sāmantapāṭaka and Vaṭa.....,.Bhadvachiurā, Tujumvā and Kukkuḍiyā along with the village of Rajō (*the king*) gave by means of a grant to the great (*ascetic*) who was versed in the Vēdāntas.

(V. 41.) The king made the grant with all honours and out of devotion to him (*and also gave*?) a city crowded with citizens.

(V. 42.) (*He also*) gave to the Śiva called Sōmanātha, (*the villages of*) Karōḍhaka, Brahmapurī.....kapōṇḍikā and Nannēśvara-kshētra.

(V. 43.) May this allowance (*vṛitti*) to the Śaiva-ascetics granted by the illustrious **Yuvarājadēva** last till the end of *kalpas*, being protected by the future kings.

(V. 44.) The praiseworthy **Madhu** who was the son of the illustrious Trayīvardhana of the Bhāradvāja lineage, composed this eulogy with sweet words.

(V. 45.) This (*praśasti*) was written on stone with clear letters by the scribe, the intelligent **Śivanāga**, the son of Avvōka.

(V. 46.) (*It was*) incised by the engraver **Mādhava**....who was the son of Mahēśvara, was gifted and was (*as clever as*) Viśvakarman.

No. 22.—THE MAHAKOSALA HISTORICAL SOCIETY'S PLATES OF MAHABHAVAGUPTARAJADEVA.

By Pandit L. P. Pandeya.

In October 1952, this important charter was presented to the Mahā-Kōsala Historical Society, Bālpur (*via* Rāigarh, District Bilāspur, C. P.), by a gentleman in whose family it had been lying for years. Definite information about its find-spot is lacking but it is said that the plates were discovered in a field in the course of digging.

This charter consists of three copper-plates each measuring about 8·1″ in length and 4·2″ in breadth which are strung on a big circular ring of the same metal. The ring is 4·2″ in diameter to which is fixed a circular seal measuring 1·6″ in diameter. On the seal is engraved the figure of a standing bull with two horns and a raised hump facing the proper right. Above the figure of the bull is the mark of a crescent moon and below it the legend in two lines, which reads :—(1) *Śrī-Mahābhavagupta* (2)*rājadēvasya*. The plates have no raised rims and they with the ring and the seal weigh 120 *tolas*.

Of the three plates, the first is inscribed on the inner side only while the second and third plates bear writing on both sides. The first plate contains nine lines of writing, the second seven lines on each side and the third has eleven lines on the inner and four lines on the outer side. The letters on both the sides of the second plate are comparatively big, each measuring ⅛rd of an inch. In the inner side of the third plate the letters in the last five lines are smaller than those of the first six lines. The writing on the plates excepting a few lines on the first side of the third plate is in good preservation.

The characters belong to the 'acute angled' type of the Northern script, attributable to the 7th and 8th centuries A.D. The letters have been nicely and clearly engraved and the majority

of them resemble those of the Sirpur stone inscription of the time of Mahāśivagupta.[1] The **language** is Sanskrit and prose throughout with the exception of the imprecatory and benedictive verses.

As regards **orthography**, the following points may be noted :—The *visarga* is omitted in *namaḥ* (l. 1) and *antaḥpāti* (l. 4) ; *i* is used for *i* in *-ābhi°*(l. 13), *Sagar-ādibhiḥ* (l. 20), etc. ; *b* and *v* have not been distinguished. The rule of *sandhi* has been overlooked in *yadi ākshara* (l. 36).

The exact **date** of the record cannot be verified from the details given in the inscription and the reading of the day of the fortnight is not certain, though it appears to be 6. Accepting this reading to be correct, the record is dated the **6th day of the dark half of Bhādrapada of the 11th regnal year** of the M. P. P. **Mahābhavaguptarājadēva**, the forehead ornament of the Sōma family (*Sōma-kula-tilaka*) and the Lord of Trikaliṅga. The charter records the grant of the **Liñjira** village in the neighbourhood of the Pṛithurā-*bhukti* to a Brāhmaṇa who was the son of Chakradhara and belonged to the Kapishṭhala-*gōtra*,[2] Vasishṭha-*pravara* and the Maitrāyaṇi-*śākhā* (of the Black Yajurvēda). The donee is simply called *Bhaṭṭa* in the inscription and it is not clear whether this was his name or the usual brahmanic title. He was an inhabitant of Ullakhēṭa and had originally emigrated from Madhura in the Mid-country (*Madhya-dēśa*). The gift was made on the Simha-*saṁkrānti* and the record was issued from the victorious camp at Kisarakēllā. The writer of the charter was the *Mahāsandhivigrahin* Rudradatta, the son of Dēvadatta who had emigrated from Ayōdhyāpura. The usual device on the seal of the Sōmavaṁśī kings is the *gaja-Lakshmī* but in the present inscription the device is, as has been noticed above, different and is similar to that used in the inscriptions of the Early Gaṅga kings. Though the dates of the two known Mahābhavaguptas of the Sōmavaṁśa have not been properly fixed, their personal or birth names, *viz.*, Janamējaya and Bhīmaratha are usually found in their grants. But the grant under publication does not give such a name to the donor Mahābhavagupta. It is, therefore, not certain if he is to be identified with either of the Mahābhavaguptas already known or is an altogether different ruler of the family.

Of the **geographical** places mentioned in the grant **Kisarakēllā** may be identified with the village of Kesarkelā, about six miles to the east of Bolangir in the Patna State of Sambalpur District. The village **Liñjira** may be identified with the village of the same name close to Baramakēlā in the Sarangarh Feudatory State. **Pṛithurā** is the present day Pithoṛā in the Padampur tract, about 45 miles to the north-west from Sambalpur town. The distance between Pithōṛā and the Liñjira village in the Sarangarh State is about 20 miles. These two are on the opposite banks of the Mahānadī, which flows through the borders of both the Sarangarh State and the Padampur tract, forming respectively their northern and southern boundary. **Ayōdhyāpura** is to be identified with the modern Ayōdhyā in the Faizabad District of United Provinces. **Ullakhēṭa** may be the present Ulakhara village in the Sarangarh Feudatory State. It is about 20 miles to the west of Liñjira.

TEXT.[3]

First Plate.

1 ॐ[4] ॥ नमः[*]शिवाय ॥ स्वस्ति [॥*] किसरकेल्लासमावासितमहाविजय-

2 स्कन्धात्परममाहेश्वरमातापितृपादानुध्यातमहाराजाधिरा-

[1] Above, Vol. XI, pp. 190 ff.

[2] This *gōtra* is mentioned in *Pāṇini*, VIII-3-91.

[3] From the original plates.

[4] Expressed by a symbol.

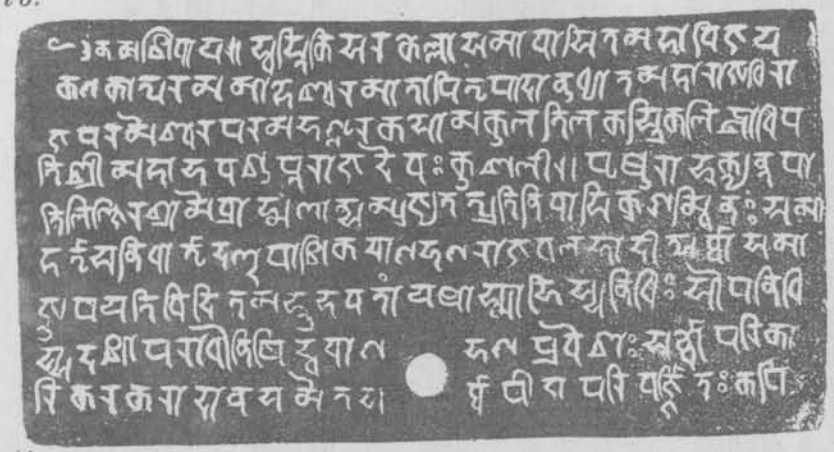
Maha Kosala Historical Society's Plates of Mahabhavaguptarajadeva.

Seal.

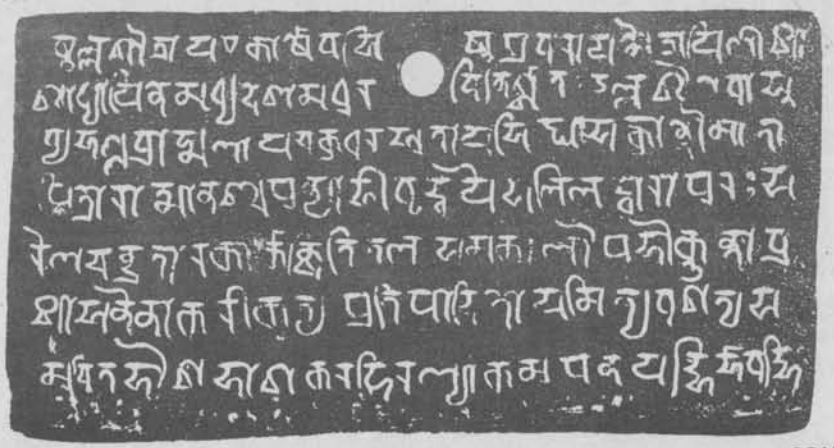


Actual size.

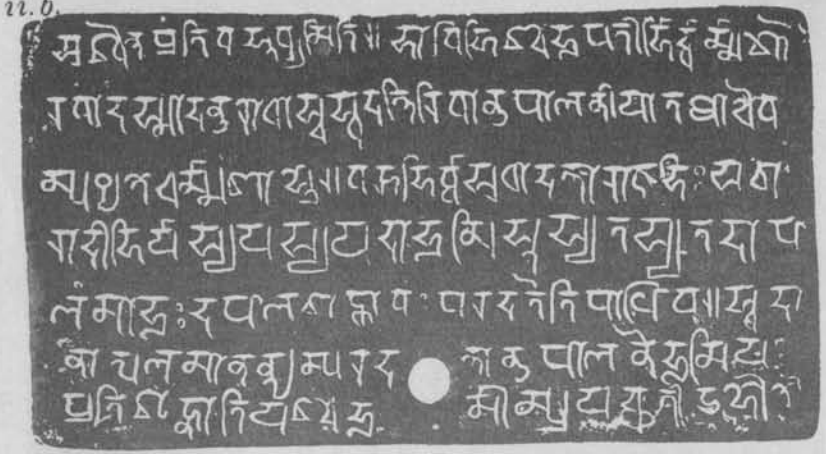
ib.



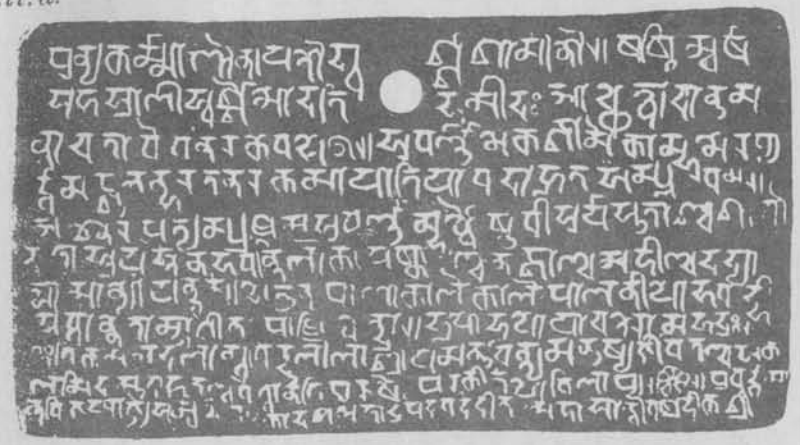
ii.a.



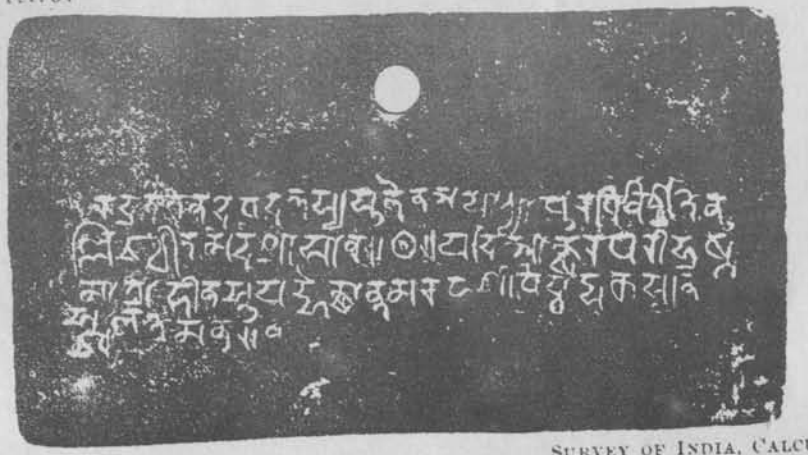
ii.b.



iii.a.



iii.b.



SCALE : ONE-HALF.

N. P. Chakravarti.
Reg. No. 3377 E'35-425.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

3 ऽपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकसोमकुलतिलककलिङ्गाधिप-
4 तिश्रीमद्दाभवगुप्तराजदेवः कुशली ॥ इदमाश्रुत्यवर्त्त[ः*]पा-
5 तिलिच्छिरग्रामे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणान्सम्पूज्य तत्रतिनिवासिकुटुम्बि(म्बि)नः समा-
6 हर्तृसन्धिधार्तृ(तृ)दण्डपाशिकचाटभटराजवल्ल(ल्ल)भादीन्स(स्व)र्व्वान्स(स्व)मा-
7 ज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु भवतां यथाऽभिरुचिनिधिः सोपनिधि-
8 रदण्डापराधी निधिदचाटभटप्रवेशः सर्व्वीपरिक-
9 रिकर[1]करादा[न]समेत(तः) सर्व्वपीड़ापरिवर्ज्जितः कृषि-

Second Plate ; First Side.

10 दण्ड(ण्ड)शौण्डाय एकार्षे(र्षि)वसिष्ठप्रवराय मैत्रायि(य)शौण्डा-
11 ख्याध्यायिने मध्यदेशमधुरविनिर्म्मित[2] उन्नखेटवास्त-
12 व्य[3] भट्टभा(भा)ह्मणाय चक्रधरसुताय सिङ्ग(सिंह)सङ्ग्रामौ माता-
13 पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभी(ण्याभि)वृद्धये सलिलधारा(धा)रापुरःस-
14 रेण चन्द्रतारकार्क्कक्षितितलसमकालो(लमु)पभोक्तुमाज्ञा(ज्ञ)-
15 प्तासनेनाकरोदित्थ प्रतिपादितोयमित्यवगत्य स-
16 मुचितभोगभागकरहिरण्या(ण्य)कमुपनयद्भिर्भवद्भिः

Second Plate ; Second Side.

17 सुखेन प्रतिवस्तव्यमिति ॥ भाविभिश्च भूपतीभिं(तिभि)र्धर्म्मगौ-
18 रवादक्षा(क्ष)दनुरोधा[त्] क्षयदत्तिरिवानुपालनीया तथा चैव-
19 म्यञ्जते धर्म्मशास्त्रे ॥ ब(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सग-
20 रादीभि(दिभिः) [।*] यं(य)स्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फ-
21 लं [॥*] माभूः(भूद्)दफलसङ्गा वः परदत्ते(त्ते)ति पार्थि(र्थि)व ।(।) क्षदा-
22 नात्फलमानन्त्यम्परदत्तानुपालने [।*] भूमिं यः
23 प्रतिगृह्णा(ह्णा)ति यश्च भूमी(मि)म्प्रयच्छती(ति) [।*] उभौ तौ

Third Plate ; First Side.

24 पुण्य(ण्य)कर्म्माणौ नी(नि)यतौ स्वर्गगामी(मि)नौ ॥ षष्टिर्व्वर्ष-
25 सहस्राणी(णि) स्वर्गे मोदति भूमी(मि)दः [।*] आच्छेत्ता(त्ता) चानु-
26 मन्ता च तान्येव(न्ये)व नरके वसेत् ॥ सुवर्ण्णमेकाङ्गामेकाञ्चभूमेरप्य-

[1] Read *sarva-śparihara.*
[2] Read *vinirgatāya.*
[3] Read *vāstavyāya.*

27 ईमङ्गलम्हर[1]तनरकमायाति यावदाङ्कतसंम्भ(म्भ)वम् ॥

28 अस्मेरपत्यम्प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्व्वेणवो सूर्यसुताश्च गावो(वः) [।*]

29 दत्तास्त्रयस्तेन भवन्ति लोका यष्का[2]श्वनङ्वाश्च महीश्च दद्या-

30 त्सा(त् ॥ सा)मान्योयन्धर्म्मसेतुनृ(नृ)पाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भी:-
(द्भिः) [।*]

31 सर्व्वान्नेे(ने)ताभा(न्भा)वी(वि)नः पार्थि(र्थि)वेन्द्रा[न्*] ॥[3] भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ॥

32 इति कमलदलाम्बु(म्बु)वि(बि)न्दुलोला(लां) श्री(श्रि)यमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजी-
वितञ्च [।*] सक-

33 लमिदमुदाहृतञ्च बुध्वा(बुद्वा) न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलाप्या(लोप्याः) ॥
प्रवर्द्धमा-

34 नविजयराज्यसम्वत्सरे एकादशमे भाद्रपदव[दि]दी(दि)न[६] [।*] महासन्धी-
(न्धि)[वि]ग्रहीकृत्वी-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

35 रुद्रदत्तेन देवदत्तस्य सुतेन अयोध्यापुरविनिर्म्मतेन

36 लिखी(लिखि)तमिदं शासान(सनम्) ॥ ⊙ ॥ यदि आक्षर[4]परी(रि)भ्रष्टं

37 मात्राहीनम्तु[5] यद्वे(द्वेत्) [।*] क्षान्तमरहन्ती[6]विद्वाद्भ[7] कस्य न

38 स्खलते(ति) मनः[।] ॥

No. 23.—DRAKSHARAMA INSCRIPTION OF KULOTTUNGA I., 33RD YEAR.

By K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer, B.A., Coimbatore.

The publication of the texts of South Indian Inscriptions has placed before the student of ancient Indian history a mass of material which will serve to clear up doubtful points in the history of the various dynasties of the Dekhan. The inscription edited below is one such. It is engraved on a slab in the south wall of the Bhīmēśvara temple at Drākshārāma in the Ganjām district and is registered in the Madras epigraphical collection for 1893[8] 'as being on a third slab from the bottom between the third and the fourth pillars.' The text of it in Telugu script is given in the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Volume IV.[9] For the interesting historical information which it furnishes it is edited here.

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[1] Read = *angulam | haran=narakam=*

[2] Probably it was intended to write *Ya kāñchanāñ.*

[3] The *dandas* are unnecessary.

[4] Read *yad akṣharam* or *yady-akṣharam.*

[5] Read *-hīnañ=cha*

[6] Read *kshantum=arhata vidvāṁsaḥ.*

[7] No. 349.

[8] No. 1239, pages 428-9.

As will be seen from the transcript, the inscription is not well preserved. The language employed is Sanskrit throughout and the alphabet Telugu. In several cases the writer uses the *anusvāra* in place of the conjunct: see for instance *Maṇḍalamjēri* (l. 5). There are instances of the omission of (1) *visarga*, (2) *rēpha* and (3) *anusvāra*. For (1), see *dhara* (l. 3), *vishaya* (l. 5), *abhihita* (l. 10); for (2), see *dhamma* (l. 6), *kashaṇa-* (l. 9), *kīrti* (l. 9) and *hammyāya* (l. 13); and for (3), see *Gaṃga* (l. 10) and *tapasvinā* (l. 12). There are also few instances of needless doubling of consonants.

The inscription belongs to the time of the Châlukya-Chōḷa king **Kulōttuṅga I.** and is dated in the 33rd year of his reign (= A.D. 1103). He is styled *Samastabhuvanāśraya, Pṛithivīvallabha, Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Pāṇḍyakulāntaka, Chōḷakulaśēkhara, Vīramahēndra, Vikramachōḷa, Rājarājēndra, Rājakēsarivarman*, and *Tribhuvanachakravartin*. All these epithets except the last three are not usually met with in his Tamiḷ inscriptions but are found in some of his Telugu records.

The importance of the inscription consists in recording the military achievements of one of the king's chief officers variously named as **Vaṇḍuvarāja, Pallavarāja, Tiruvaraṅga** and the crest jewel of the Śūdra family. He was the son of a certain **Śīriḷaṅgō**, a resident of **Maṇḍalamjēri** in **Tirunaṟaiyūr-nāḍu** a subdivision of **Chōḷamaṇḍalam**. He is described as a good Vaishṇava, 'the resort of the poor' and 'the abode of heroism.' By being devoted to the feet of **Rājēndra-Chōḷa**, *i.e.*, **Kulōttuṅga I.**, he obtained prosperity in the world and was the very sprout of the creeper, *viz.*, his fame. At the command of the king he effected the conquest of the quarters, killed the enemies and espoused the goddess of heroism. Filling the battle-field with the blood of his foes, ploughing it with the hoofs of his war steeds, sowing therein the seeds of pearls issuing from the heads of elephants which were cut to pieces by his sword, he caused to grow his master's fame-creeper. He reduced to ashes the whole of the **Kaliṅga** country, defeated the **Gaṅga** king, destroyed in battle **Dēvēndravarman** and others, and planted a pillar of victory on the borders of the Ōḍra country which was as it were the raising aloft of Rājēndrachōḷa's fame.

The immediate object of the inscription is to register the facts (1) that this illustrious chief constructed with black granite a temple of Vishṇu in the *agrahāra* village of **Ālavēḷi**, making provision for its offerings, (2) that, for feeding five *tapasvins*, ten Brāhmans, and five *Vānakarmins* in its vicinity he gave some lands at Ōḷarāppākkam (3) and that he provided also for offerings to the temple of Pañchavaṭī-Hari on the banks of the **Gōdāvarī** in **Vēṅgī-maṇḍalam**. Reference is made in the damaged portion at the end of the inscription to a pavilion, probably erected by him, at Drākshārāma.

The proper import of the inscription can be well estimated with the help of the Tamiḷ work *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* of Jayaṅgoṇḍāṉ composed in the reign of Kulōttuṅga I. The book says that the king, while he was yet a *yuvarāja*, led an expedition into the north and destroyed Chakkarakkōṭṭam (X, v. 23): then went to the south and was crowned there (*ibid*, v. 34). After removing the chaotic condition that was prevailing in that part of the land, he was conducting his rule with justice, pleasing himself by hunting on the banks of the Kāvērī. After some time he set out with all his paraphernalia for *parivēṭṭai* on the banks of the Pālāṟu (*ibid*, v. 47). reached Adigai where he worshipped the god Naṭarāja and proceeded to Kāñchī. By the way, reference is made to his conquest of the Chēra and Pāṇḍya kings (*ibid*, vv. 66-68). On an occasion when he was seated there in the *chitramaṇḍapa* on the western side of his palace, surrounded by his ministers Vaṇḍaimāṉ-Toṇḍaiman and others,—provincial chiefs (*maṇḍalikas*) and kings waiting at his gate,—it was reported to him that the king of the north Kaliṅgas had failed to pay his tribute twice (*i.e.*, for two years) (XI, vv. 3, 4, 16 and 27). On the emperor's ordering that the Kaliṅga country should be subdued and its king brought there, Vaṇḍainagar-araśaṉ, who is variously

called Karuṇākaraṇ, Pallavarkōṉ, and Vaḷavaivēndaṉ, (vv. 52-54) volunteered to undertake the invasion of the seven Kaliṅgas, and, obtaining the king's permission, set out on his march (vv. 29-31). On the way, he successively crossed such rivers as the Pālāṟu, Poṉmugari, Peṉṉai, Pērāṟu, Gōdāvarī, Pampānadī, and Gōtamai (vv. 55-57). The fight that ensued was a severe one in which many were killed and wounded. "Invading Kaliṅgam at the sea," says the book, "planting a pillar of victory, capturing elephants and treasure, Vaṇḍaiyarkōṉ secured the grace of the feet of Abhaya of powerful army and sword (XII, v. 68)." The poem closes with an exhortation to sing the achievements of the king, *viz.*, the defeat of the five Pāṇḍyas and the Chēra king, the tribute that was being brought from the north; and also the fame of the cities Vaṇḍai, Mayilai and Mallai and of their chief, Toṇḍaiyarvēndaṉ who, capturing the elephants of the Kaliṅgas, bestowed *Kaliṅgapparaṇi* on the king (XIII. v. 65). Verse 44 of Canto II (*Kaḍaitiṟappu*) states in unambiguous words that the king was at Kāñchī while the chief led the expedition to Kaliṅga and reduced it.

It will be seen from this short summary of the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* that the account about the Kaliṅga war agrees with what is given in the inscription under publication. There does not appear to be any room for doubting that the chief referred to in the poem is identical with the one mentioned in the inscription and that the war described in both is the same. This being the case, the information furnished by the one is not only corroborated by the other but is greatly supplemented. The inscription gives the name of the chief as Vaṇḍuvarāja and Pallavarāja while the poem adds to these the names Karuṇākaraṇ and Toṇḍaimāṉ, the latter being only a synonym of Pallavarāja. With Karuṇākara we may compare the epithet *dīna-nidhāna ēkaḥ* of the inscription. This work gives us the additional information that the chief was the lord of Vaṇḍai, Mallai and Mayilai and that he had invaded Ceylon. Both the book and the inscription declare that the chief invaded the Kaliṅga country at the command of the king, the former stating that the king was at Kāñchī while the chief successfully prosecuted the war and the latter adding that the chief reduced to ashes the whole of the Kaliṅga country, defeated the Gaṅga in battle and destroyed Dēvēndravarman and others with the help of Kōsala. Both the documents state that the chief set up a pillar of victory, the inscription specifying that it was on the borders of the Ōḍra country.

The name Karuṇākara Toṇḍaimān is not unknown to inscriptions. In the Aruḷāḷa-Perumāḷ temple at Conjeeveram, there is an inscription of the Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga I., dated in the 43rd year of his reign with the introduction *pugaḻ-mādu*, registering a grant made by Aḻagiyamaṇavāḷaṉi-Maṇḍaiyāḷvār, the wife (*dēviyār*) of Vēḷāṉ Karuṇākaran Toṇḍaimāṉ. Here it is stated that the chief was a native of Vaṇḍalañjēri in Tirunaṟaiyūr-nāḍu, a subdivision of Kulōttuṅgaśōḻavaḷanāḍu in Chōḻamaṇḍalam. The name of the donor and the temple to which the gift was made may be taken to show that Karuṇākara Toṇḍaimān professed the Vaishṇava creed while the title Vēḷāṉ is indicative of his being a Śūdra by caste and these facts are in accord with what is reported in the Drākshārāma inscription. Vaṇḍalañjēri is but a variant of Maṇḍalañjēri and Vaṇḍai is perhaps connected with it. The subdivision to which the village belonged is the same in the two inscriptions: and it may be noted that Tirunaṟaiyūr and Vaṇḍalañjēri are places in the Kumbakōṇam *taluk*.

Having shown how the two documents *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* and Drākshārāma inscription refer to the same Kaliṅga war, we here take up the question regarding the date of this war. Before doing so, it may be useful to know if there was only one war with Kaliṅga or more. As the earliest notice of the conquest of Kaliṅga in the records of Kulōttuṅga I.—without any mention of the details connected with it—occurs in a stone inscription dated in the 26th year of the reign corresponding to A.D. 1096 and as this is found repeated in the inscriptions of the

30th year and after,[1] one is strongly inclined to believe that this should have taken place in or a little before A.D. 1096. Some of the inscriptions of the king dated in the 42nd and 45th years of his reign[2] refer to an invasion of Kaliṅga in which the king himself is said "to have left his throne, crossed the Vēṅgī-maṇḍalam in the north, set fire to Kaliṅga, destroyed in battle a number of chiefs and took possession of the seven Kaliṅgam[3]." From the fact that the king himself is said here to have taken the lead in this war, and greater details are furnished regarding it than in the earlier records, it appears to be different from and later than the one already mentioned and may have to be assigned to A.D. 1111 or thereabout. But as the historical introductions of Kulōttuṅga I. do not regularly record all his achievements, adding year by year the later conquests, as do those of the early Chōḷa kings, it will not be safe to assign these events to the years in which we find them noticed at present.

If the capture of Kaliṅga mentioned in the 26th year record (A.D. 1096) proves to be the one effected by the king himself, whether it is identical with or different from the Kaliṅga war described in detail in the 42nd and the 45th year inscriptions (A.D. 1111-14), the war celebrated in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* and referred to in the Drākṣārāma inscription has to be assigned to a much earlier date as will be seen from the sequel. In enumerating the achievements of Kulōttuṅga I., *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* speaks chiefly of his conquests of the Pāṇḍya and the Chēra, the capture of Śālai and the destruction of Viḷiñam with a passing reference to Navilai and Maṇalūr which were perhaps connected with his war against Kuntala. The book is quite positive about the king's stay at Kāñchī while the chief Vaṇḍaiyarkōṉ, at his instance, invaded Kaliṅga, waged a deadly war, planted a pillar of victory there, returned with heaps of treasure and elephants and bestowed *Kaliṅgapparaṇi* on him. The inscription under publication confirms this account in the main and adds a very important statement that he defeated Dēvēndravarman and others as we have already noted. Dēvēndravarman here referred to cannot be any other than the Eastern Gaṅga king Rājarāja I., who, according to the Vṛihatkōḍila grant, bore that surname[4] and had his coronation performed in A.D. 1070, the very year in which Kulōttuṅga was also crowned. His son and successor Chōḍagaṅga, for all that we know about him, does not seem to have borne the surname Dēvēndravarman but was Anantavarman which name, we may note, was assumed by all his successors. Dēvēndravarman Rājarāja I. reigned for 8 years[5], *i.e.*, up to A.D. 1078. He was a supporter of the cause of Vijayāditya VII., for the Korni plates record that when Vijayāditya grew old and like the setting sun left Vēṅgī which was like the west and was about to sink in the ocean of troubles caused by the Chōḷas, Rājarāja of Kaliṅganagara, the refuge of the distressed, caused him to enjoy prosperity in that region.[6] Here is evidence to show that Rājarāja was an enemy of his Chōḷa contemporary who was none other than Kulōttuṅga I. Thus the invasion of Kaliṅga, undertaken solely by the chief and minister Vaṇḍuvarāja-Pallavarāja, at the instance of king Kulōttuṅga I. as detailed in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* and the inscription under publication, must have taken place before A.D. 1078 and probably about A.D. 1076-7.

Now if there is any truth in the statement of the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* that the Kaliṅga king withheld the payment of tribute twice, it must have reference to a treaty or agreement probably

[1] Kielhorn's *Southern List*, Nos. 777, 782 and *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 72.

[2] No. 608 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904 is dated in the 42nd year and No. 44 of the same collection for 1891 is dated in the 45th year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga I. and have the same introduction.

[3] *S. I. I.* (*Texts*), Vol. IV, No. 445 lines 22 to 27; the chiefs overcome in the war are here mentioned by name.

[4] C. P. No. 4 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1918-19.

[5] His coronation took place in Saka 992, Jyēshṭha, śu. 8 (= A.D. 1070, May 20) (*A. R. on S. I. Epigraphy* 1918-19, p. 86) and that of his son Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga in Saka 999 (= A.D. 1078) (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVIII, p. 161ff).

[6] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 171.

made between the Gaṅga king Vajrahasta III., the father of Rājarāja I., and Vīrarājēndra whom practically Kulōttuṅga I. succeeded. The Kanyākumari inscription of Vīrarājēndra clearly states that that king regained Vēṅgi and Kaliṅga which were neglected by his two predecessors.[1] In his Tamil historical introductions, Vīrarājēndra actually claims to have driven the Chālukyas at Vijayavāḍai, *i.e.*, Bezwada, and crossing the seven Kaliṅgas, and reaching the Mahēndragiri, to have bestowed that country on Vijayāditya who, it is said, sought his refuge.[2] This seems to have taken place in A.D. 1065. Further troubles arising in this quarter, Vīrarājēndra, after his successful war in Ceylon in A.D. 1066 against Vijayabāhu, is said to have sent a large army into Kaliṅga and to have defeated the Chālukyas and their allies at Chakkarakkōṭṭam.[3] It might be on this last occasion, *i.e.*, immediately before Kulōttuṅga's assumption of power, that the Kaliṅgas were probably made to pay tribute to the Chōḷas.

To the student of Tamil literary history the inscription has no less an interest as it serves to determine the date of composition of the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* which may be taken to be contemporaneous with the Kaliṅga war of Vaṇḍuvarāja. With the help of a number of manuscripts, Mahāvidvān K. Subbaraya Mudaliyar brought out an early edition of this work which is now out of print. In it as well as in the edition of the late V. G. Suryanarayana Sastri published several years afterwards in 1898, verse 63 of Canto XI has at the end of the first line the words '*adipan vīram*' which has been changed into '*Anantapanman*' in the recent edition of Mr. N. Gopala Iyer; and there is no alternative reading given for it. The difference is indeed very vital and one would certainly wish to know in this particular case of the introduction of a proper name, on which manuscript the reading 'Anantapanman' which is not found in the two earlier editions, is based and the age of that manuscript also. If indeed the name Anantapanman is found in a trustworthy early manuscript not available to Messrs. Mudaliyar and Sastri, it would be worth a consideration. The Drākshārāma inscription shows, as we have seen already, that the date of the Kaliṅga war must be earlier than A.D. 1078. And being conducted by the same minister of the king as is mentioned in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*, the introduction of the name Anantapanman in the poem, supposing that it actually occurs in an early and trustworthy manuscript, calls for an explanation. Besides, the following questions also naturally arise. Did Vaṇḍuvarāja conduct two wars against Kaliṅga, both in the absence of the king, or only one? If two, was one waged against Dēvēndravarman Rājarāja I. and the other against his son Anantavarman? And does the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* celebrate the latter, omitting the general's other achievement? And if only one, how does Anantavarman figure in the poem and Dēvēndravarman in the inscription? It seems to me that the easiest way of getting over the difficulty is to suppose that while the war was actually waged in the reign of Dēvēndravarman, his son Anantavarman took an active part in it as we do find in many instances. Among the numerous records of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, there are several which furnish both the Śaka and regnal years which work out for his accession A. D. 1074-5.[4] This date, it will be observed, is three years earlier than the date given in the plates for the king's coronation. The difference has to be accounted for by supposing that Anantavarman was nominated for rulership in A. D. 1074-5 but was actually crowned in A. D. 1078. Since stone inscriptions generally count the regnal years of kings from the date of nomination, it is clear that during the first three years, *i.e.*, in the period A. D. 1074-5 to 1078, he must have been co-regent with his father Dēvēndravarman

[1] *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 148, v. 77.

[2] See above Vol. XXI, p. 243.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 244

[4] Nos. 246, 380, 386, 387, 388, 392 and 393 of the Madras epigraphical collection for 1896.

Rājarāja I. and this is perhaps the reason why, in the large collection of his epigraphs, there is almost none dated in the first three years of his rule. The above fact shows further that, being associated with his father in the government of the country, he could well have figured in the Kaliṅga war referred to in the Drākshārāma inscription as having been waged against Dēvēndravarman.

The names of villages that occur in this inscription are **Ālavēḷi**, **Ōlarāppākkam**, and **Drākshārāma**. The last mentioned place is well known and I am unable to identify the first two.

TEXT.

1 .....

2 prāk-pratyag-dakshiṇ-ā[śā-vi]jja.....

3 [dhara]ḥ[ḥ*] śrī-**Kulōttuṁgga**[1]**-Chōḍaḥ**[||*] Svasti[||*] Samastabhuvanāśraya-Śrī-Pṛithivī-vallabha-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramē[śvara]-[Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Ravi-kula-tilaka-Chō]ḷa[2]-kula-śēkhara-Pāṇḍya-kul-āṁtaka-[Samasta-rājāśraya-Rāja]-[3]

4 rājēṁdra[3]-Vīramahēṁdra-Vikramachōḍa-Vijayābharaṇa-śrī-Rājakēsarivarmmaṇas=Tribhuvanachakravartti-śrī-Kulōttu[ṅga-Chōḍadēvasya] trayas-triṁśatimē saṁvatsarē..... **Chōḍama-**

5 **ṇḍalam**=akhila-maḥī-maṇḍanaṁ lasaj-jana-sēvyaṁ tasmin-[4]**Tirinaṟayūr-nāḍ**-iti vishaya[ḥ*] saṟva-sasya-śō[bhi]taḥ tatr=āsīt=sukha-dhāmani **Maṇḍalaṁjēri** viśrutā lōkē punnāga-.....kāsti purī.

6 j-ēti rambh-āḍhyā [||*] Tan-mukhyas=**Śīralaṁgōv**[5]=ity=āsīt sach-chhūdra-puṁgavaḥ [|*] satya-tyāga-dayā-yuktō Vaiṣṇavō dha[r*]mma-vatsalaḥ[6][||*] Tasy=ātmajas=**Tī**[**ruva**]**raṁga**-var.ābhidhānas=sad-vaiṣṇavō jagati dīna-nidhāna ēkaḥ [|*] satya-

7 ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ —śrita-vīra-lakshmī **Rājēṁdra-Chōḍa**-charaṇ-āśraya-[la]pdha[7]-Lakshmīḥ[8] [||*] Rājēṁdra-Chōḍa-dharaṇīpati-kīrtti-vallī-sat-pallavō ◡ ◡ ◡ — llavarāja-nāmā [|*] śrī-dvāra-chāmara-ghan-ātapa-vāraṇ-aika-śaṁkha-dhvaja-pramukha-rājita-rājya-bāhuḥ[9][||*]

8 Kṛitvā dig-vijayan=nihatya cha ripūn=**Rājēṁdra-Chōḍ**-ājñayā vīra-śrī-laḷanā-svayaṁ-vṛita-patir=yyaś=Chōḍa-chaṁdraḥ prabhuḥ [|*] yat-prasthāpita-daṁti-(da)dāna-salila-klinnaṁ prabhōḥ prāṁgaṇaṁ tach-chhauryyaṁ dvishatāṁ kapāla-ni-

9 vahā gāyaṁti vāyu-cha(chchha)lāt[10][||*] Ka[r*]shaṇ=aśva-khurair=dvishāṁ su-rudhirair =āpūrayaṇ=āhava-kshētraṁ tīvra-kṛipāṇa-kṛitta-radanī=prōnmukta-muktāṁ[kurān] uptvā kī[r*]tti-latāṁ vivardhayati yō Rājēṁdra-Chōḍa-prabhōs=sō=yaṁ [**Vaṇḍu**]-

10 **varāja** ity-abhihita[ḥ*] sach-chhūdra-chūḍāmaṇiḥ[11] [||*] Bhasmīkṛitya **Kaliṁga**-dēśam= akhilaṁ nirjjitya **Gaṁga**[**ṁ***] raṇē bhaṅ[k*]tvā Kōsala-khaṇḍavāla-nivahair=[**Dē**] **vēṁdravarm**-āḍikān [|*] vīraḥ **Pallavarāja** ity=abhihitō Rājēṁdra-Chōḍa-prabhōḥ kīrtty-uttambham=iv=**Ōḍra**-saṁdhishu jayastaṁbhaṁ śubha[ṁ]

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[1] Read *Kulōttuṅga*.

[2] The letters in brackets are filled in with the help of other inscriptions of the king, *e.g.*, No. 1248 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, page 433.

[3] Here and in what follows the writer uses *anusvāra* for the conjunct.

[4] Read *Tirunaṟaiyūr*.

[5] Read *Śrīraṅgō*.

[6] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

[7] Read *labdha*.

[8] Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

[9] Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

[10] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

[11] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

11 nyakshipat[1][||*] Sō-yaṁ śrīmān-**Ālavēly**-agrahārē nirmmāy-ālan-nīla-pāshāṇa-baddhaṁ [|*] ramyaṁ harmmyaṁ svasya kīrtty-ankurābhaṁ[2] bhuṁjan-viśvaṁ varttatē tasya Vishṇōḥ[3] [||*] Divyaṁ [rū]paṁ śrī-nivāsaṁ vichitraṁ kṛitvā tattr-aiv-ākarōt-tat-pratishṭāṁ[4] [|*] bhūmiṁ

12 krītv-āsmai vyadād-atra bhaktyā grāmē dhīmān-ēsha nity-āmṛitāya ||[5] Chakrē Brahmēśvar-ōpāṁtē paṁchānāṁ cha tapasvinā[ṁ*] [|*] daśānāṁ brāhmaṇānāṁ cha paṁchānāṁ Vānakarmmiṇāṁ [||*][6] Bhōktuṁ tri[ṁ*]śat-khaṇḍikā-vrīhi-bīj-āvāpa-kshētrān-**Ōlarāpāka**-nāmni [|*] grā[mē]

13 — — — ◡ ḍirāya — — krītvā prādāt-tat-kar-ābhyaṁtarēṇa[7] [||*] **Vēṁgī-maṇḍala**-maṇḍanē pravila — — — ◡ — — ◡ — — — lē prabhav-āpy-asahya-duritā **Gōḍa**-[varī] tat-taṭē [|*] śrīmat-Paṁchavaṭī-Harēr-bBhagavatō ha[r*]mmyāya — — ◡ —

14 .....[8]ṛti-vishayē.....prādād-amṛitāya vidi[ta]m-āchaṁdr-ārkkaṁ || Sa tu **Guddavādi-vishayē**.....

15 ....ma-yuktā...maṁḍapaṁ....**Dākshārāmē**[9] purē-tra....tē [dha]nyair-vvadānyair-yutē kṛitvā **Pallavarāja**.....

16 tasmād-dharmō na haṁtavyō rakshaṇīyō manīshibhiḥ || Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā yō harēti(a) vasuṁdharāṁ [*] shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrāṇi.....jāya[tē krimiḥ] [||*]..ṭaḥ Vilēkhakō **Rājēṁdra-Chōḍāchāryyaḥ**[10][||*].

TRANSLATION.

.....victory of the eastern, western and southern quarters.....the glorious **Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa**. Hail! In the thirty-third year (*of the reign*) of Rājakēsarivarman Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍadēva, the resort of all the worlds, the lord of Fortune and the Earth, *Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, the ornament of the solar race, the foremost of the Chōḷa family, the (*god of*) death to the Pāṇḍya family, the refuge of all kings, (*styled*) Rājarājēndra, Vīramahēndra, Vikrama-Chōḍa and Vijayābharaṇa.....**Chōḍamaṇḍala** (*is*) the ornament of the whole world and is the resort of illustrious men: therein is the division of **Tirinaṟaiyūr-nāḍu** which is resplendent with all kinds of crops: in that (*division*), the resort of happiness, is the city of **Maṇḍalañjēri**, well known in the world and (*filled with*?) *punnāga* (*trees*). The chief of it was **Śīrilaṅgō**, the foremost among the good Śūdras, possessing the qualities of truthfulness, generosity and compassion, a Vaishṇava and (*one*) devoted to *dharma*. His son, who bore the good name **Tiruvaraṅga**, was a good Vaishṇava, the sole resort of the poor in this world, the abode of the goddess of heroism.....and truth, and had obtained prosperity by being devoted to the feet of **Rājēndra-Chōḍa**. He, named [Pa]llavarāja, was the fine sprout of the creeper of fame of Rājēndra-Chōḍa, the lord of the earth...and was like the arm of the kingdom decorated with the insignia of royalty (?) such as the *chāmara*, the parasol that wards off rain and heat, the conch, the flag, etc. By the order of Rājēndra-Chōḍa, this chief Chōḍachandra effected the conquest of the quarters, killed the enemies and was voluntarily espoused as lord by the goddess of heroism. The courtyard of his master was made wet

[1] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.
[2] Read *aṅkurābhaṁ*.
[3] Metre: *Śālinī*.
[4] Read *pratishṭhāṁ*.
[5] Metre: *Śālinī*.
[6] Metre: *Anushṭubh*.
[7] Metre: *Śālinī*.
[8] Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.
[9] Read *Drākshārāmē*.
[10] The last two lines, which are found in the text on p. 429 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, are not in the impression.

with the ichor flowing from his marching elephants and the heaps of skulls of his enemies sang his heroism. He, who, ploughing the battlefield with the hoofs of his steeds, flooding it with the blood of his foes, sowing (*therein*) the seeds of pearls issuing from the heads of elephants cut to pieces by his sharp sword, caused to grow the creeper of fame of his master Rājēndra-Chōḍa, is the crest jewel of the good Śūdras, named **[Vaṇḍu]varāja.**

Reducing to ashes the whole of the **Kaliṅga** country, subduing the **Gaṅga** (*king*) in battle and destroying the chiefs **Dēvēndravarman** and others with the multitude of swords of Kōsala (*i.e.*, with the help of the Kōsala army)[1] this hero named Pallavarāja set up a fine pillar of victory on the borders of the Ōḍra (*country*) as if raising aloft the fame of his lord Rājēndra-Chōḍa. This illustrious chief constructing with black granite a beautiful temple to Vishṇu in the *agrahāra* of **Ālavēli** as if it were the plant of his fame, is now enjoying the universe. This wise person made an excellent image of Vishṇu and set it up there and getting some land in this village gave it with devotion for the daily offerings of the god. And for feeding five *tapasvins*, ten Brāhmaṇas, and five *Vānakarmins* in the vicinity of the Brahmēśvara temple, he bought.....at the village of **Ōlarāpakam** (*such an extent of*) land that could be sown with thirty *khaṇḍikas* of seed paddy and gave it free of all taxes. (*To provide*) for offerings to the temple of the god Paṁchavaṭī-Hari on the bank of the **Gōdāvarī** whose swelling waters during floods run with unlimited force, and situated in the beautiful country of **Vēṅgī-maṇḍala**, he gave .....in.....ṛti-vishaya to last as long as the sun and the moon. And **Pallavarāja** having made.....pavilion ....at the city of **Drākshārāma** in **Guddavādi-vishaya** filled with rich and generous persons.....Therefore (*this*) charity must not be destroyed but must be protected by the wise.

(The usual imprecation.)

Rājēndra-Chōḍāchārya is the engraver.

No. 24.—UTTARAMALLUR INSCRIPTION OF PARANTAKA I.

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In editing the *South-Indian Inscriptions* (*Texts*), Volume VI, I drew attention to the fact that some of the inscriptions of **Uttaramallūr** contained therein supply interesting references to the kind of autonomy prevailing in the Tamil country, supplementing, as they do, the information embodied in the two Uttaramallūr inscriptions which describe the qualifications of members of village assemblies, the mode of election and the names of committees into which they were formed. One of the inscriptions that relates to the choosing of persons for testing the correctness (*i.e.*, the fineness) of gold in current use in the village, is No. 295 of the said volume.[2] This inscription is registered as No. 12 of the Madras epigraphical collection for 1898; and remarking on it, the late Dr. Hultzsch has noted 'Seems to contain rules regarding the exchange of gold'. A romanised text and translation of the inscription is given below.

[1] I am indebted to Dr. N. P. Chakravarti for this translation of the phrase *Kōsala-khaṇḍa-vāla-nivahaiḥ*. He kindly suggested that *khaṇḍavāla* might have been used in the vernacular sense of *khaḍga* formed on the analogy of Skt. *karavāla*. If *vāla* stands for *bāla*, as *v* is often substituted for *b*, and *khaṇḍa* means a division of country, the phrase may be rendered "with the multitude of young men of the Kōsala division". In either case, Kōsala appears to have been allied with the Chōḷa. No such alliance is known. The Chōḷa king Vīrarājēndra is said to have cut to pieces a certain Siṅgan of Kōsala (above, Vol. XXI, p. 241). Perhaps Kōsala continued since then to be on friendly terms with the Chōḷa.

[2] See page 149.

The record is in the **Tamiḻ** language and alphabet and is well preserved like most of the other inscriptions found in the Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāḷ temple at Uttaramallūr. Grantha letters are used in writing Sanskrit words. For instances, see *svasti śrī* and *sabhai* in line 1, *samañjasa, vyavasthai, vriddha* and *bāla* in line 2, *samvatsa* in line 5 and *vyavasthai, sabhai, madhyasta* and *dāsa* in line 7.

There are a few words of lexical interest which may be noted here. These are *Māḍavīdi, Śaṅkarappāḍi, samañjasa, parimāṟu* and *tūḷiṟṟu*. Of these, *māḍavīdi* means 'a street having storeyed buildings'. Sometimes it is found to be the name of a particular street. Generally, such streets surround the village temple and as their names indicate appear to have been the residence of wealthy and distinguished people. In the Tamiḻ work *Maṇimēgalai*, the term *māḍavīdi* actually occurs[1] and it is there described as 'the beautiful street of the actresses (*nāḍaga-maḍandaiyar*) containing storeyed buildings with gold-carvings (*āḍaga-chchey-viṇai-māḍam*).[2] From inscriptions, we learn that the construction of storeyed buildings and mansions was a privilege given only to a few and that such buildings were made of burnt bricks. Since the subjoined inscription states that the election by the people of Māḍavīdi was for or from their *chēri*, it seems to denote a particular quarter of the village where perhaps the privileged persons and wealthy people lived. As *pāḍi*, like *chēri*, is applied to denote a quarter of a big village or town, Śaṅkarappāḍi has to be taken to mean another part of the same village resorted to by, or containing the residences of, a different class of people. In an inscription of Chidambaram, Śaṅkarappāḍiyār figure as a separate class of inhabitants (*kuḍigaḷ*) and are mentioned along with *Vyāpārin* (merchants), *Veḷḷāḷar* (cultivators), *Śāliyar* (dealers in cloth) and *Paṭṭinavar*.[3] The same inscription gives a second group distinctly called *Kīḻkalaṇai* including in it *Tachchar* (carpenters), *Kollar* (blacksmiths), *Taṭṭār* (goldsmiths) and *Kōliyar*. We see here that while the latter group embraced the artisan classes, the former combined together businessmen and other classes such as Veḷḷāḷar and Śaṅkarappāḍiyār. Another inscription mentions a group of inhabitants specifically termed *Puṟakkalaṇai* which included in it *Śāliyar, Vāṇigar, Kaikkōḷār* (dealers in cloth), *Sēnai-aṅgāḍiyār* and *Kōyil-aṅgāḍiyār, i.e.*, shopkeepers of the military and of the palace or temple (quarters).[4] We see that this group consisted only of merchants. The inclusion of Śāliyar in this group of *Puṟakkalaṇai*, as well as in the first part of the previously cited inscription, and the fact that, like the other, this consisted chiefly of merchantmen may suggest that both the inscriptions refer to the same group of *Puṟakkalaṇai*. Though we do not know what the avocation of Śaṅkarappāḍiyār was, the inclusion of the class of Veḷḷāḷar among the *kuḍigaḷ* of the first inscription seems to point to its inclusion also of other classes of inhabitants than *Puṟakkalaṇai* which, according to the second inscription, appears to have consisted entirely of merchants.

I would like to draw attention to three more references to Śaṅkarappāḍiyār which seem to suggest that some of them at least were merchants who were members of the *Nagara* constitution and that these people had a corporate body. One of these references is in an inscription[5] of Tirukkaḷukkuṉram dated in the 26th year (=A.D. 1044) of the reign of Rājādhirāja I. It

[1] Canto IV, line 76.

[2] *Ibid.*, lines 51-2.

[3] No. 223 of *South-Indian Inscriptions* (Texts), Vol. IV, l. 25 f. The portion under reference runs as follows :—

Inda-kkuṇa[mē]ṇagaipurattu ēṟiṉa viyāpārigaḷum veḷḷāḷarum śaṅkarappāḍiyārum śāliyarum paṭṭiṇavarum uḷḷiṭṭa kuḍigaḷum tachchar kollar taṭṭār kōliyar uḷḷiṭṭa kīḻ-kalaṇaigaḷum koṇḍu i-nnivandam śandiśāḍittavaṟ śeluttakkaḍavad-āgavum.

[4] No. 298 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910. The text runs as follows :—

Kaikkōḷār śāliyar vāṇigar sēṇaiy-aṅgāḍi kōyil-aṅgāḍi maṟṟum eppēṟpaṭṭa puṟa-kkalaṇaiyum uṭpaṭṭa maṇṇbu uḷḷa kuḍiyum piṉbu ēṟum kuḍiyum ēṟṟikkoṇḍu taṟikkaḍamai pāṟkaḍamai maṟṟum i-pparṟi kuḷḷum pala vari gaḷum pala upādigaḷum.

[5] *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. V, No. 465.

records that the merchants that composed or constituted the *Nagara* of Tirukkaḷukkuṉṟam *alias* Ulagaḷandaśōḷapuram sold a piece of land to be granted to the temple of Brahmīśvara on the hill at the place and made it also tax-free. In mentioning these members, the names of two persons are given after the calling *Vyāpāri*, one appears with the calling *Śāliyan* and two after the designation *Śaṅkarappāḍiyān*. That all these were merchants is first stated in the inscription itself. From this it appears that in the composition of the *Nagara* constitution, besides those who were purely merchants by profession, there were others, such as Śāliyar and Śaṅkarappāḍiyār who were also merchants but were called by the class to which they belonged or the quarters which they occupied. The next reference is found in an early Chōḷa inscription[1] dated in the 3rd year and 215th day of the reign of a king (of whose name only Kēśarivarman is preserved). It records that the Śaṅkarappāḍiyār of Vaḍakkil-aṅgāḍi (North bazar) quarter of Uttaramēru-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, a rent-free village in the district of Kāliyūr-kōṭṭam gave a written document stating that they received 15 (*kaḻañju*) of gold from Śēndan Gaṇapati *alias* Śūraśikhāmaṇi-Pallavaraiyan of Maṇṇum-Perum-Paḻuvūr in Kuṟṟa-kūṟṟam, a subdivision of Śōḷa-nāḍu and agreed to supply one *uḻakku* of oil daily, as long as the sun and the moon would last, for a sacred lamp which the donor had placed in the temple of Tiruppulivalattu-Mahādēva. The phrases *Vaḍakkil-aṅgāḍi Śaṅkarappāḍiyōm eḻuttu*, *oṭṭi eḻuttiṭṭu kuḍuttōm* and *chandirāḍityavar* used in this inscription would suggest that there was a regularly constituted body of the people of *Śaṅkarappāḍi*. Against the suggestion of a regularly constituted body, it may be said that a few of the Śaṅkarappāḍi might as well have given such a joint undertaking. But in this case, it would be natural to expect the mention of their names and also the insertion of a clause to the effect that the agreement will be binding not only upon themselves but upon their descendants also. The Madras Museum plates of Parakēśarivarman Uttama-Chōḷa in reciting the contents of a *vyavasthā* (standing order or regulation) made by the *Nagara* corporation of Kachchippēḍu, *i.e.*, Conjeevaram in the 18th year of the reign of Parāntaka I (=A.D. 925) refers to the Śaṅkarappāḍiyār of the three *chēris* (suburbs) of the village of Raṇajayappāḍi, Ēkavīrappāḍi and Vāmana Śaṅkarappāḍi and states that they received 20 *kaḻañju* of gold for the upkeep of a lamp in the temple. Here also one cannot but find a suggestion that the Śaṅkarappāḍiyār of the three *chēris* should have had a corporate body which received the amount.

All that we (could) gather about the Śaṅkarappāḍiyār from the references cited above is that they formed part of the *kuḍi* (inhabitants), that they were chiefly in big cities (Kāñchīpuram, Guṇamēnagaipuram, Ulagaḷandaśōḷapuram and Uttaramērūr), that some of them at least, if not all, were merchants and took part in the transactions of the *Nagara* constitution which we find prevailing in such cities and that they had a corporate body among them.

The use of the word *samaññasa* in the phrase *samaññasaṅ=kāṇa* leaves no doubt as to its meaning " to verify or test the correctness of ". The personal noun formed from this word is *samaññitan* which is met with in some of the inscriptions of the Travancore State. In one of them the *Samaññitan's* duty is clearly stated to be verification of some items of expenses according to prescribed scales.[2] As *Samaññitan* figures along with *sabhā* and *Tiruvaḍi*,[3] it appears that *Samaññita* and *Tiruvaḍi* are the designations of particular offices in the *sabhā* and it is not unlikely that they represent the secretary (Skt. *Kāryadarśi*) and President. In this connection it is worthy of note that the transactions of the *sabhā* are mostly recorded by one individual who is called the *madhyastaṉ* or *karaṇattāṉ*. It is not unlikely that he also performed the duties of the

[1] *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VI, No. 363.

[2] *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. II, pp. 136 and 174.

[3] *Ibid*, Vol. III, pp. 50-51.

accountant. He is bidden to do it at the command of another who is called in some cases *sabhai-Tiruvaḍi*. As these two officials are stated to be in the assembly, there is not much doubt that they were at the same time members of the assembly and took part in their deliberations. The word *parimāṟu* is formed by adding the prefix *pari* to the verb *māṟu* 'to exchange'. It is generally used in the sense of serving. But in our inscription it has acquired the meaning 'in usage or current'. It will be noted how the prefix has altered the original meaning of the verb. *Śūḻiṟṟu* is a compound word with a slight mistake in spelling. The proper form ought to be '*śūḻuṟṟu*' as suggested in the note under the text. It is composed of '*śūḻ*' (imprecation) and '*uṟṟu*' (uttering or pronouncing).

The inscription is dated in **the fifteenth year and fifty-fifth day** of the reign of the **Chōḷa king Parakēsarivarman**, who took Maḍura, *i.e.*, **Parāntaka I.** Its date is, therefore, **A.D. 922.** It registers a standing order (*vyavasthā*) made by the members of the assembly (*sabhā*) of **Uttaramēru-chaturvēdimaṅgalam** fixing the number of persons to be chosen for testing the correctness (*i.e.*, fineness) of gold current in the village, the method of choosing them and the procedure to be followed by the persons so chosen in conducting their work. The inscription lays down that the people of Māḍavīdi should write on palm-leaf (tickets) the names of persons that are capable of testing gold, from among the rate-payers of their quarter, who are neither very old nor infants, and put them in pots. From the names so entered and put in pots, four persons shall be chosen from their quarter. Two persons from the army and three persons from the Śaṅkarappāḍi shall be chosen in the same manner. The nine persons so selected shall test gold by using the touch-stone and without partiality to any body. It is enjoined that they should hand over daily the wax used by them, without misappropriating any cut-gold, to the great men of the Tank Committee (*ēri-vāriya-perumakkaḷ*), and, once in three months, appear before the great men of the Annual Committee (*samvatsara-vāriya-perumakkaḷ*) and make a declaration to the effect that if they had acted contrary to this stone inscription they shall (incur the curse of) living with hunger. The clause damaged at the end of the record seems to register that these nine persons shall receive individually 7½ *mañjāḍi* of gold each month, perhaps as remuneration for their work.

The point that calls for special attention here is that the nine persons, selected for testing gold, did not form a committee at all, and should not, therefore, be confused with the Gold Committee[1] *Poṉ-vāriyam* of which mention is made in the two Uttaramallūr inscriptions published in the *Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for 1904. The texts of the two published records take particular care to use the word *vāriyam*—and this occurs more than once—to show that it was a committee that was formed, while in the inscription under publication the word *vāriyam* is studiously avoided in referring to persons selected for the testing of gold to indicate distinctly that the nine persons did not form a committee though the very record employs the words *vāriyam* and *perumakkaḷ* when it speaks of the Tank and Annual Committees. Again while the Gold Committee is not made dependent on or subordinate to any other body in the two published inscriptions of Uttaramallūr, the epigraph now under publication makes the nine individuals submit to the authority of the great men of the Tank Committee and make them appear once in three months before the Annual Committee and take an oath of declaration. We have drawn special

[1] The text relating to Gold Committee runs as follows:—

A: Pañcha-vāra-vāriyattukkum poṉ-vāriyattukkum muppadu kuḍumbilum muppadu kuḍav-ōlai iṭṭu śeriyāl oruttarai=kkuḍav-ōlai paṟittu paṉṉiruvārilum aṟuvar pañcha-vāra-vāriyam āvad-āgavum aṟuvar poṉ-vāriyam-āvad-āgavum

B: Pañcha-vāra-vāriyattukkum poṉ-vāriyattukku[m*] muppadu=(k)kuḍumbilum kuḍav-ōlaikku pēr iṭṭi muppadu vāy-ōlai kaṭṭum puga iṭṭu muppadu kuḍav-ōlai paṟittu muppadilum paṉṉiraṇḍu pēr paṟittu-kko|vad-āgavum paṟitta paṉṉiraṇḍilum aṟuvar poṉ-vāriyam aṟuvar pañcha-vāra-vāriyamum āvanav-āgavum

attention to the above, for the method of selection of persons by pot-tickets and the object of testing gold might be a temptation strong enough to infer that the nine persons formed into a committee—though the inscription does not warrant it—and to identify it with the one known to us from the two published inscriptions.

The inscription makes it sufficiently clear that the nine persons chosen for testing gold currency, whose monthly emoluments were fixed, were subordinate to the great men of the Tank Committee and rendered technical aid in the discharge of their duties.

TEXT.

1 Svasti śrī [||*] **Madirai-koṇḍa kō-pParakēsarīpaṇma[r*]kku**[1] **yāṇḍu padi-ṇandu**[2] **nāl aimbattāndu**[3] i-nnāḷāl **Uttaramēru-chaturvvēdimaṅgalattu** sabhaiyōm emm-ūril parimāṟum

2 poṉ samaññasaṅ=kāṇbadaṟkku[4]=chcheyda vya[va*]sthaiy-āvadu [|*] śālavum vrid-dharum bālarum=a[ṭ*]lādār iṟai-kkuḍigaḷil poṉ-kāṇa-vallar-eṇa-

3 ppaḍuvārai nōkki Māḍavīdiyār kūḍi=kkuḍav-ōlai eḻudi=ppugaviṭṭu taṅgaḷ śēriyil nāḻvarai=kkuḍav-ōlaiyil pōndārai=kkoḷvad-āgavum [|*] i-ppariśē sē[ṇai]yilum

4 iruvarai=kkoḷvad-āgavum [|*] i-ppariśēy Śaṅkarappāḍiyilum mūvarai-kkoḷ(v)vad-āga-vum [|*] ivarga[ḷ]=ellā-jaṇattukkum=okka poṉ kāṇbā[r*]gaḷ-āgavum [|*] paruṅ-kallil uraiyādē

5 poṉṉ-aṟindaṇaiyē uraippad-āga [|*] aṟṟaikk-aṟṟaikku uraitta meḻugu ēri-vāriya-pperumakkaḷ kaikkē veṭṭi mudal-āga vañjiyādē kuḍuppad-āga [|*] mu-mmūṉṟu-māsam pōṇavāṟē sam[va]tsara-vāriya-

6 pperumakkaḷiḍaikkē śeṉṟu eṅgaḷ-uṟṟadu nāṅgaḷ=eḍuttadaṇai nā]um śilā-lēkaippaḍi [pi]laikka eḍuttōmāyil paśittu vā]vōm=eṉṟu śolli=ch[chū]]=iṟṟu[5] viḍuvārgaḷ-āgavum [|*] i-ppariśu em-

7 m-ūril poṉṉ-eḍupp[ā*]ṟkku[6] vyavasthai śeydōm Uttaramēru-chchaturvvēdimaṅgalattu sabhaiyōm [|*] i-ppariśu eḍu . . . . ḍuvuk . . . . .rukku mey-vēṟṟu-vagai tiṅgaḷ=ēḷ-arai [maṇ]jāḍi poṉ peṟuvad-āga [|*] idu [kuṟiyu]=i]rundu . . . . . ṉ madhyastaṉ **Śivadāsaṉ Tiruvaḍigaḷēṉ** ||—

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! The following is the standing order made by us, *(the members of)* the assembly of **Uttaramēru-chaturvēdimaṅgalam,** on this **the fifteenth year and fifty-fifth day of** *(the reign of)* king **Parakēsarivarman,** who took **Madirai** (*i.e.*, Madura), for examining the correctness of gold current in our village :—

The people of Māḍavīdi shall write on palm-leaves *(the names of such of)* the rate-payers, as are not very old or infants, and as could be called capable of testing gold, and put them into pots. From among those whose names had been so entered on palm-leaves and put into the pots, four persons shall be chosen from their *chēri* (*i.e.*, quarter). In this (*i.e.*, the aforesaid) manner, two persons shall be chosen from the army. In the same way, three persons shall be chosen from

[1] The syllables *Madirai-koṇḍa kō-pParakēsarīpaṇmakku* are engraved in three lines below *Svasti śrī*.
[2] Read *padiṉaindu*.
[3] Read °*taindu*.
[4] Read °*darkku*.
[5] Read *-uṟṟu*.
[6] Read *eḍuppārkku*.

Śaṅkarappāḍi. These (*i.e.*, the nine persons) shall test gold with impartiality towards all people. They shall not rub gold on big stones, but use only the touch-stone. (*They*) shall hand over daily, to the great men of the Tank Committee, the wax used in rubbing, without misappropriating (*any of*) the cut (*pieces*). On the expiry of every three months, (*they*) shall appear before the great men of the Annual Committee and declaring the (*following*) imprecation leave them: 'If against the orders contained in (*this*) stone inscription, we had misappropriated any (*gold*) that had been brought to and handled by us on any day, we shall (*be cursed to*) live with hunger (*for ever*)'. Thus, we, the members of the assembly of Uttaramēru-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, made (*this*) standing order for testing gold in our village. In this manner, ... shall receive individually, every month, seven and a half *mañjāḍi* of gold. Being present in the assembly, I, the *madhyasta*, **Śivadāsan Tiruvaḍigaḷ** . . . . . this.

No. 25.—IRDA COPPER-PLATE OF THE KAMBOJA KING NAYAPALADEVA.

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

This copper-plate, which is edited here for the first time, belongs to Chaudhuri Mrityunjay Narayan Praharaj, Zemindar of Irdā in the Balasore District of Orissa, whose estate is at present under the Court of Wards. About the beginning of 1934, the plate was sent on loan from the Balasore Collectorate to Mr. W. V. Duke, M.A., the then Principal of the Ravenshaw College, Cuttack, who was requested to have its inscription deciphered and interpreted. In December 1934, when I was staying in Cuttack on leave, the plate was handed over to me for this purpose, with the consent of the present Principal Dr. B. K. Singh, by Professor Nirmal Chandra Banerji, M.A., of the College. I am grateful to Dr. Singh for the facilities afforded to me in the College laboratories in cleaning up the plate and taking photographs and estampages of it, and also to Professor Banerji for the ungrudging help I received from him in various ways. My thanks are further due to Rai Bahadur Radhacharan Das, Collector of Balasore, for permission to publish the inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*. Unfortunately, I have not yet been able to ascertain the actual findspot of the record and the circumstances under which it was discovered. As it is, the document may be called after the place to which it now belongs, although, as internal evidence would show, it must have come originally from a locality in South-west Bengal.

This is a **single sheet of copper**,[1] measuring 10·7″ by 9·7″. It is engraved with writing on both sides, and bears at the top a circular **seal** affixed by soldering. The seal, which has a diameter of 4·2″, is divided into two semicircular panels: the upper one contains the *Dharmachakra* device, *viz.*, a wheel between two couchant deer, and across the lower panel is the inscription **śrī-Nayapāladēvasya**, *i.e.*, 'Of (King) **Nayapāladēva**', which is cut in bold relief. Similar Dharmachakra seals are found also on the copper-plates of the Pāla and the Chandra kings of Bengal. But the way in which this seal is affixed is somewhat different. In the case of the Pāla and Chandra plates, the lower portion of the seal comes into the writing and thereby causes a break in the middle of the first few lines on both the sides. But in the present plate the seal is fixed above the writing, so that it does not affect the arrangement of the text in any way. This seal again is not pointed at the top like those of the copper-plates of the Pālas and the Chandras.

It contains altogether forty-nine lines of writing. The letters are engraved with care as far as line 31. But thereafter, the incision is done rather perfunctorily, the letters being as a rule formed by shallow strokes and not always completely made out. These circumstances, as also

[1] In l. 49, it is called *tāmra-phali*.

the corroded condition of many of the letters, make the reading of the concluding part of the inscription at places hopelessly difficult. A triangular piece of the plate is missing from its edge, which appears to have been cut away by some sharp instrument. With this portion some three or four letters have completely disappeared; but it is possible to restore two of the missing letters with certainty. There are a few indistinct passages on the reverse, belonging to the donative verses, which I have failed to decipher; fortunately, these do not form any important parts of the document.

The **characters** of the inscription are Proto-Bengali, representing a stage midway between the Bādal Pillar inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla[1] and the Bāngarh grant of Mahīpāla I.[2] This is illustrated, for instance, by the forms of the letter *śa*. On the seal of the Irdā plate, the letter occurring in the conjunct *śrī* has clearly a loop joined to the right hand upright by means of a horizontal stroke, as is generally the case in the Bādal Pillar inscription. But in the rest of this record, the *śa* takes a more cursive appearance, in which the loop shows, in the majority of cases, a slight opening at the base. This form later leads on to the open type of *śa* of the Bāngarh grant. The letter *ja* of our plate resembles the type occurring on the Bādal pillar. But in the Bāngarh record its left curve is extended upwards, in which respect it approaches more to the modern Bengali form. Palæographically, the Irdā copper-plate may be placed in the **latter part of the 10th century A.D.** The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit, the text being partly in prose and partly in verse. Lines 1, 18-21, 26-32 and 49 contain prose text; but it will be seen that the major part of the inscription is in metrical form. It contains in all thirty-two and a half verses, of which none except the usual donative ones occurs in any of the published records.

As regards **orthography**, the following points may be noted: the *avagraha* sign is often used and often omitted; the final *t*, *n* and *s* are indicated by an oblique stroke put below the individual letter, *e.g.*, in ll. 25, 36 and 40; the *anusvāra* invariably takes the place of final *m*; the dental nasal is substituted for *anusvāra* in *mīmānsā* in l. 29; and single and double *daṇḍas* are frequently used in the metrical portion of the text. As is usual in the inscriptions of this period, no distinction has been made between *v* and *b* in writing.

The inscription opens with salutation to the god Śiva, although the seal itself bears a purely Buddhistic device. The first five verses give a description of **Priyaṅgu**, the capital (*rājadhānī*), from which place the document appears to have been issued. The subsequent verses introduce the family of the donor. First is mentioned King **Rājyapāla**, a scion of the **Kamboja** race, whose queen was **Bhāgyadēvī** (vv. 6-8). She gave birth to a son **Nārāyaṇapāla** who was a devotee of the god Vāsudēva (v.13). Nārāyaṇapāla had a younger brother **Nayapāla** who gained ascendancy after him (vv. 14-15). Rājyapāla is described as a *saugata*, *i.e.*, a worshipper of the Buddha, and he, as well as his son Nayapāla, has full imperial titles, *viz.*, *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja* (ll. 18-20). The **object** of the document is to record the gift of the village of **Bṛihat-Chhattivannā**, adjoining to **Kaṇṭi**, **Saṁmāsha** and **Bāḍa-khaṇḍa**, within the **Daṇḍabhukti** *maṇḍala* of the **Varddhamāna** *bhukti* (ll. 20-21). The various appurtenances and conditions of the property are related in vv. 18-21. The king gave it away on a *navamī* day in the month of Kārttika to the *Paṇḍita* **Aśvatthaśarmmaṇa**, who was born at **Drōṇa** but actually hailed from **Kuṇḍira**. The donee was the great-grandson of **Bhaṭṭa-Divākaraśarmmaṇa**, grandson of the *upādhyāya* **Prabhākaraśarmmaṇa** and son of the *upādhyāya* **Anukulaśarmiśra**. He belonged to the Vātsya *gōtra* and the Bhārggava-Chyavana-Āurvvya-Jāmadagnya-Āpnuvāna *pravara*, and was an adherent of the Chhandōga *charaṇa* and the Kauthuma *śākhā* (of the Sāmavēda; ll. 26-31). An enumeration of the officers

[1] *Ante*, Vol. II, p. 160 and Plate.

[2] *Ante*, Vol. XIV, p. 324 and Plate.

and persons of the royal household, who are expected to keep the document in force, is given in vv. 22-24. Vv. 25-31 and 33 are customary stanzas relating to land grants, while v. 32 makes a reference to the royal donor. Finally, in line 49, is mentioned the date of the gift, *viz.*, **the 2nd (?)[1] day of Kārttika, the regnal year 13.**

The record is of much historical importance. Rājyapāla, Nārāyaṇapāla and Nayapāla are names well-known in the genealogy of the Pāla kings of Bengal, and Rājyapāla I. of this dynasty had also a queen Bhāgyadēvī, like the Rājyapāla of the present record. One is tempted, therefore, to identify the two Rājyapālas, but there are certain other facts that make this proposition quite unlikely. In the first place, the kings Nārāyaṇapāla and Nayapāla, sons of Rājyapāla, cannot be the same as those mentioned in the Pāla records. The son and successor of Rājyapāla I. of the Pāla dynasty was Gōpāla II, whose name appears in the Bāngarh, Āmgāchhī and Manahali plates. Secondly, Rājyapāla of this record has the epithet *Kambōja-vaṁśa-tilaka, i.e.*, ' an ornament of the Kambōja clan '. In the *Rāmacharita* of Sandhyākara Nandī, the Pālas are supposed to have descended from the ' Samudra-kula ', whatever that may mean, and in the Kamauli grant of Vaidyadēva they are represented as belonging to the Solar race (*Mihirasya vaṁśa*). But nowhere has the Kambōja origin been attributed to the Pālas. The name-ending ' Pāla ' need not again mislead us, since there were several ruling families in Northern India in the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D. which had this appellation. The Irdā copper-plate, therefore, introduces us to a **new line of kings**, who, judging from the characters of the inscription, should be referred to the second half of the tenth century. It evidently belongs to a time when the Pāla kingdom was in a state of turmoil and the rivals of the Pālas were gradually asserting themselves.

The only other inscription that speaks of a Kāmbōja king of Bengal is the one on a pillar from Bāngarh [Dināj̇pur District), now in the Mahārājā's palace at Dināj̇pur, which also on palæographic grounds can be assigned to the tenth century A.D.[2] It records the construction of a Śiva temple (evidently at Bāngarh) by a king of Gauḍa (*Gauḍa-pati*) whose name is not specified but who bears the epithet *Kāmbōj-ānvayaja, i.e.*, ' born in the Kāmbōja line '. This family could not have made themselves masters of Gauḍa without ousting the Pālas, and it follows, therefore, that they held possession of the Pāla territories in Bengal for some time during the tenth century. This **Kāmbōja occupation** is usually referred to the latter half of the century, that is to the period before the accession of Mahīpāla I. A passage of the Bāngarh grant credits Mahīpāla with having recovered his paternal or ancestral kingdom (*pitryaṁ rājyam*) which had been *anadhikṛita*,[3] *i.e.*, not taken possession of, and *vilupta, i.e.*, lost. This passage, which is repeated also in the Āmgāchhī and Manahali grants, is supposed to bear allusion to the Kāmbōja occupation of Bengal and its subsequent recovery by Mahīpāla. The Kāmbōja king of Gauḍa of the Dināj̇pur pillar inscription and the princes whose names appear in the Irdā copper-plate presumably represent one and the same family. From the evidence of the present record it is now clear that the Kāmbōjas seized not only North Bengal, but also the south-western portion of the province including

[1] [See below p. 157, n 5.—Ed.]

[2] Chanda, *J. P. A. S. B.*, 1911, p. 619 and *Gauḍarājamālā*, p. 35. I agree with Dr. R. C. Majumdar [*Vaṅgavāṇī* (in Bengali), 1330 B.S., p. 250], that the expression *Kuñjara-ghaṭā-varshēṇa* of the inscription is to be taken as an epithet of the *Gauḍapati* and not as a chronogram.

[3] It may also mean ' lost owing to non-occupation' (*anadhikṛita*, i.e., *anadhikāraḥ*). A. K. Maitra takes *anadhikṛita* in the sense of *anadhikārī, i.e.*, usurper, and compares the term *adhikṛita* in *Amara*, II. 8.8 (*Gauḍalēkhamālā*, p. 100, footnote), which, however, is a purely official designation and would not, with a *na* prefixed to it, yield this sense. The form *anadhikṛita* could perhaps be supported as an instance of *matvarthīya ach* :—*anadhikṛitam asya asti*, like *vibhaktā bhrātaraḥ* and *pītā gāvaḥ* of the *Mahābhāshya* (under *Pāṇini*, 3.4-67). But this appears to be somewhat far-fetched. In any case it follows that the kingdom prior to Mahīpāla's accession had passed into the hands of some other ruling family.

the Vardhamāna *bhukti*. They had their capital at a place called Priyaṅgu, which remains for the present unidentified.

But who were these Kāmbōjas, and from where did they come ? In the inscriptions of Aśōka a Kambōja country is mentioned along with the Yōna which lay on the North-western frontier of India. The Kāmbōjas are mentioned along with the Yavanas as north-western tribes in the *Mahābhārata*, and, as Grierson has shown, the Kāmbōjas spoke a language partly Indo-Aryan and partly Iranian.[1] Their country had great reputation for horses, to which there are allusions in the *Mahābhārata* and in the Buddhist literature.[2] This reputation must have reached even far off Eastern India, as is evident from the reference to the Kāmbōja horses of Dēvapāla (*Kāmbōjēshu yēna vāji-yuvabhiḥ*, etc.) in his Mungir and Nālandā grants. If horses could be brought into Bengal from the North-western frontier of India during the Pāla period, it is not unreasonable to suppose that for trade and other purposes some adventurers could also have found their way into that province. No doubt it can be shown that there was a Kambōja on the North-eastern frontier as well.[3] In the Tibetan work *Pag-sam-jon-zang*,[4] there are references to both the Kambōjas, and the eastern one is identified with the Lushai Hill tracts between Burma and Bengal. But the work belongs to a much later period, and there is nothing to show that the Kambōja of the North-eastern frontier was in existence as early as the tenth century A.D. It has been suggested by some scholars[5] that the Kāmbōja invaders penetrated into Bengal from the north-east and that they belonged to a Mongolian stock which is now represented by the Kōch tribe. There is, however, no sure evidence in favour of this supposition.

As regards the **localities** mentioned in the copper-plate, some remarks are necessary. **Varddhamāna** *bhukti*, comprising the major portion of the Burdwan Division of Bengal, is already well-known from inscriptions.[6] But the information, that it had a *maṇḍala* called **Daṇḍabhukti**, is now furnished by the Irdā copper-plate for the first time. The *Rāmacharita* mentions a certain ruler of Daṇḍabhukti, named Jayasiṁha, who was an ally of King Rāmapāla of Bengal and defeated Karṇakēśarī of Utkala, *i.e.*, Orissa. R. D. Banerji[7] has observed that this conflict would not have been possible if Daṇḍabhukti were not situated in South-west Bengal. That Daṇḍabhukti was included in the Vardhamāna *bhukti* lends support to this view and disposes of once for all the contention of H. P. Sastri[8] and Krishnaswami Aiyangar[9] who identify it with Bihār.

Daṇḍabhukti appears also in the list of conquests of Rājēndrachōḷa, in his famous Tirumalai inscription.[10] Between 1012 and 1024 A.D., the Chōḷa King proceeded towards Bengal from the South, taking the route along the eastern coast. The territories he conquered on the way seem to appear in the list in due geographical order. Thus we have Oḍḍa-vishaya (Orissa), Kōśalai-nāḍu

[1] *J. R. A. S.*, 1911, p. 802, and 1912, p. 255.

[2] On the Kāmbōja horses see *J. R. A. S.*, 1912, p. 256. For a detailed account of the Kāmbōjas see B. C. Law, *Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, 1924, pp. 230-51.

[3] Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, pp. 308-9. Dr. Raychaudhuri is of opinion that the Kāmbōjas came to Bengal from the north-west, like the Gurjjaras—*ibid.*, p. 311, n. 1.

[4] Ed. S. C. Das, Part I, pp. 4, 74 and Index, p. 10. I am obliged to Dr. P. C. Bagchi for having drawn my attention to these references.

[5] Chanda, *J. P. A. S. B.*, 1911, p. 619. S. K. Chatterji thinks that the word *Kōch* or *Kōch* was derived from *Kāmbōja*.—*Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Part I, p. 69.

[6] *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 94.

[7] *Mem. A. S. B.*, Vol. V, No. 3, p. 89.

[8] *Rāmacharita*, Introduction, p. 10.

[9] *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. 2, 1922-23, p. 331.

[10] *Ante*, Vol. IX, p. 233.

Reverse.

26 bhūchchhidra-nyāyēna bhaṭṭa-śrī-Divākaraśarmmaṇaḥ prapautrāya upādhyāya-śrī-Prabhākaraśarmmaṇaḥ pau-

27 trāya upādhyāya-śrī-Anukulamiśrāṇāṁ putrāya **Drōṇ**-ōdbhava-**Kuṇṭira**-vinirggatāya Vātsya-sagō-

28 trāya Bhārggava-Chyavana-Aurvvya-Jāmadagnya-Āpnuvāna-pravarāya chChhandōga-charaṇāya Kauthuma-śākh-ā-

29 dhyāyinē bhaṭṭa-putra-paṇḍita-śrī-**Aśvatthaśarmmaṇē** mīmānsā[1]-vyākaraṇa-tarkka-vēda-vēdinē grā-

30 mō=yaṁ **Yugādyā[ṁ]**[2] navamyāṁ snātvā vidhivad=udaka-pūrvvakaṁ kṛitvā mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-ya[śō]-

31 'bhivṛiddhayē | bhagavantaṁ Śaṅkara-bhaṭṭārakam=uddiśy=āsmābhis=tāmraśāsanīkṛitya dattaḥ | Tad-[y.—][3]

32 pratyāyaṁ samagram=asmai vidhēyatāṁ gatvā kāl-ōchitaṁ [dadānāḥ] sukhēna nivasath(t?)=ēha || Mahishī-yu-

33 varāja-mantriṇaḥ saha ṛitvigbhir=a[thō] purōhitaṁ | ◡◡—◡◡—r=nniyōginō dharmmajñāṁś=cha sa-

34 [maṁ] pradēsh[ṭṛi]bhiḥ || [22*] Adhyaksha-varggam=akhilaṁ karaṇais=samētaṁ |[4] sēnāpatiñ=cha saha sainika-saṁgha-

35 mukhyaiḥ [|*] dūṭān sa-gūḍhapurushān saha man[tra]pālair=anyān=api kshiti-patēr=anujīvinaś=cha || [23*]

36 Āgāminō=pi nṛipatīn=nija-tīrtha-yuktān sē—na(?)[5] vīkshati vadaty=anūśāsti ch=[āpi] | asmān samīkshya

37 hara[ṇē] cha nisa(śa)mya dōshaṁ dānaṁ bhavadbhir=anupālyam=idaṁ sad=aiva || [24*] Asmān=pratisphurati yaś=cha vichāra-

38 ṇāyāṁ dānān=mahān=atiśayaḥ paripāla[nē cha?]— — ◡—◡◡◡—◡ m=athō na kiṁchit — — ◡[6] pālana-

39 m=apālanam=āhur=ēnaḥ || [25*] Bhūmiṁ yaḥ pratigṛihṇāti yaś=cha bhūmiṁ prayachchhati | ubhau tau puṇya-karmmāṇau ni-

40 yatas(taṁ) svargga-gāminau || [26*] Yē brāhmaṇānām=a-yathā haranti pradēśa-mātrām=api bhūta-dhātrīṁ | purīsha-kūpē pitṛibhi-

41 s=samētās=tē kalpa-kōṭīr=api yāpayanti || [27*] Svadattāṁ para-dattām=vā yō harēta vasundharāṁ [|*] sa vishṭhāyāṁ kṛimir=bhū-

42 tvā pitṛibhis=saha pachyatē || [28*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya

43 tasya tadā phalaṁ || [29*] Sarvvān=ētān bhāvinaḥ pārtthiv-ēndrān bhūyō bhūyaḥ prārtthayaty=ēsha Rāmaḥ | sāmānyō-

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[1] Read *mīmānsā*.

[2] For this reading I am indebted to the editor. [Evidently the reference is to the *Kṛitayugādi* day which falls on *Kārttika su* 9. See L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, Pt. i, p. 59.—Ed.]

[3] After *ta* there is no space for more than two letters.

[4] *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

[5] Probably the reading should be *sēkhēna*. [I would read *sarvvān=adhīchchhati*, *i.e.*, requests all.—Ed.]

[6] [The reading seems to be *dānāt=paraṁ* ◡ ◡ ◡ *sāram=athō na kiṁchi(t)d dharmmaś=cha*. After *chi*, *t* seems to have been written at first and then scored out.—Ed.]

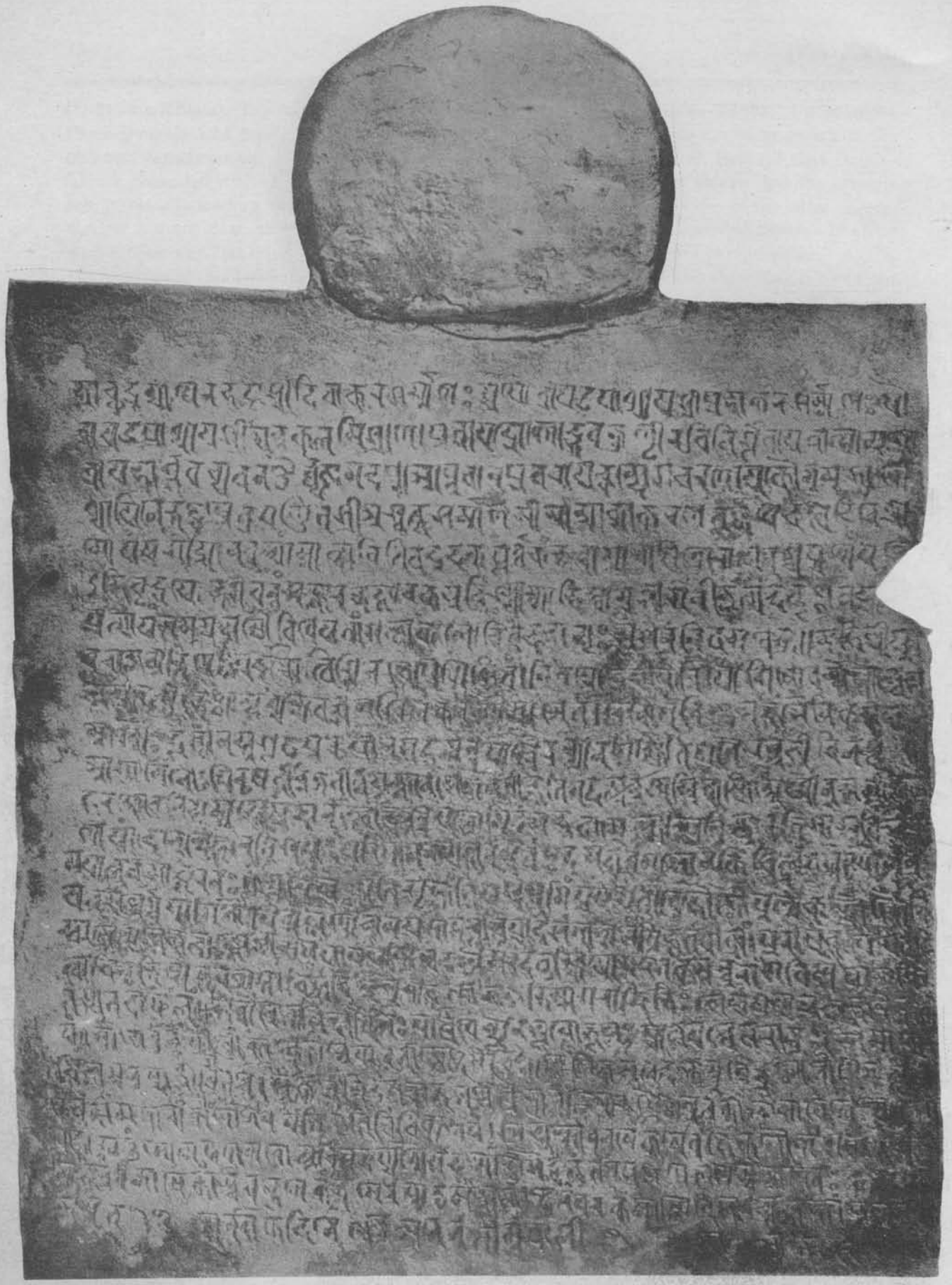
Irda Copper-plate of Nayapaladeva.

Obverse.



N. P. Chakravarti. SCALE : TWO-THIRDS. Survey of India, Calcutta.

Reverse.



6 [laka*]ḥ[1] sthira-vikrama-śrīr=aśrānta-dāna-mahimā-mahita-prabhāvaḥ | kshmāpāla-maulichaya-chumbita-pāda-pīṭhaḥ pṛi-

7 [thvī-pa*]tiḥ Pṛithur=adhūd=iha **Rājyapālaḥ** || [6*] Śrīmatō **Rājyapālasya** vēlāvalaya-mēkhalāṁ | nishkaṇṭakam=anā-

8 pāyaṁ paripālayatō bhuvaṁ || [7*] Sūnus=sūnṛita-vāg=yasya janani jana-pūjitā | śrīmatī **Bhāgyadēvī**=ti dēvī=va

9 Himaśailajā || [8*] Yēna pāda-nakha-jyō[t]snā-jalēn=ālika-saṁsthitāḥ | prakshālitā vipakshāṇāṁ=aśubh-ā[ksha]-

10 ra-paṅktayaḥ || [9*] Darppa-jvarō vīrya-kaṇḍur=ādhmānaṁ yēna mānajaṁ | chikitsitāni mahatā pratāpēn=aiva vidvi-

11 shāṁ || [10*] Bhuvaṁ [yajñ-ā]śinō dēvā divaṁ sōma-sutas=tathā | āvasanti nṛipē yasmin=niyamēn=aiva lōkayōḥ || [11*]

12 Nārācha-ruddha-nabhasām=ari-vāhinīnām=aṅgaiś=chaturbhir=api jētum=ayātam=ājau | ēkaḥ prasūnamaya-pa-

13 [ñcha]-śaras=tv=Anaṅgō yaṁ jēshyat=īti kuta ēva kathā-pravṛittiḥ || [12*] Sa Vāsudēva-pād-āvja(bja)-pūjā-nirata-mānasaḥ [| *]

14 śrī-**Nārāyaṇapāl**-ākhyaḥ kalyāṇī kshitipō='bhavat || [13*] Nārāyaṇasy=ēva Narō mahātmā Saṁkarshaṇasy=ē-

15 va cha Śārṅgapāṇiḥ | Dharmmātmajasy=ēva Dhanañjayō=bhūt=tasy=ānujaḥ śrī-**Nayapāladēvaḥ** || [14*] Lavdh(bdh)-ōdayō

16 bhrātur=anantaraṁ yaḥ śriyaṁ samāsādya durāsadō='bhūt | astāṁchalaṁ[2] chandramasi prapannē divaṁ vivasvān=i-

17 va gāhamānaḥ || [15*] Yēna dvishāṁ na gaṇitāni mahā-va(ba)lāni n=āpēkshinaḥ[3] parijanō=pi nijaḥ samīpē |

18 ēkākin=aiva bhuja-Mandara-mathyamānāl=lav(b)dhā samīka-jaladhēḥ śatasō jaya-śrīḥ || [16*] Paramasaugatō[4] ma-

19 hārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramabhaṭṭārakaḥ[5] śrī-**Rājyapāladēva**-pād-ānudhyātaḥ paramēśvara-parama-

20 bhaṭṭārakō(ka)-mahārājādhirājaḥ śrīmān=**Nayapāladēvaḥ kuśalī** | śrī-**Varddhamāna**-bhuktāv=aṇṭaḥpāti-[6]**Daṇḍa**-

21 **bhukti**-maṇḍalē **Kaṇṭi-Saṁmāsha-Vā(Bā)ḍakhaṇḍa**-pratiṣṭha(ba)ddha-**Vṛi(Bṛi)hach-Chhattivannā**-grāmē | Karaṇḍir=vyavahāriṇaḥ samaṁ

22 kṛishakāṁś=ch=aiva[7] nivāsibhis=tathā [|*] dvija-pūj-ādi-pūrvvam=ādiśaty=avagachchhantu bhavanta īdṛiśaṁ || [17*] Prasiddhayā paṛichchhi-

23 nnaḥ svayā sīmnā samantataḥ | vāstu-kshētra-jalādhāra-gartta-mārg[ga]-samanvitaḥ || [18*] S-ōshar-āvashkara[8]-sthāna-nivīta-la-

24 vaṇ-ākaṛa]ḥ | sahakāra-madhūk-ādi-taru-shaṇḍ-ādi-maṇḍitaḥ || [19*] Varjjitaḥ sarvvapīḍābhir=a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-gōcha-

25 raḥ | rāja-grāhyēṇa sarvvēṇa pratyāyēna samanvitaḥ || [20*] Sa-haṭṭa-ghaṭṭa-satara ā-chandr-ārkka-kshitiṁ yāvat | [21*][9]

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[1] The right-hand flourish of the *ka* is visible in the original; so the reading *tilakaḥ* is certain.

[2] Read *astāchalaṁ*.

[3] Read *-āpēkshitaḥ*.

[4] Read *-saugata-*.

[5] Read *-paramabhaṭṭāraka-*.

[6] Read *bhukty-antaḥpati-*.

[7] Read *kṛishakāṁś=ch=aiva*. The metre in the third *pāda* of this verse is faulty.

[8] Read *-āvaskara-*.

[9] This is only half of a verse.

Reverse.

26 bhūchchhidra-nyāyēna bhaṭṭa-śrī-Divākaraśarmmaṇaḥ prapautrāya upādhyāya-śrī-Prabhākaraśarmmaṇaḥ pau-

27 trāya upādhyāya-śrī-Anukulamiśrāṇāṁ putrāya **Drōṇ-ōdbhava-Kuṇṭira**-vinirggatāya Vātsya-sagō-

28 trāya Bhārggava-Chyavana-Aurvvya-Jāmadagnya-Āpnuvāna-pravarāya chChhandōga-charaṇāya Kauthuma-śākh-ā-

29 dhyāyinē bhaṭṭa-putra-paṇḍita-śrī-**Aśvatthaśarmmaṇē** mīmānsā[1]-vyākaraṇa-tarkka-vēda-vēdinē grā-

30 mō=yaṁ **Yugādyā[ṁ]**[2] navamyāṁ snātvā vidhivad=udaka-pūrvvakaṁ kṛitvā mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-ya[śō]-

31 'bhivṛiddhayē | bhagavantaṁ Śaṅkara-bhaṭṭārakam=uddiśy=āsmābhis=tāmraśāsanīkṛitya dattaḥ | Tad-[y.—][3]

32 pratyāyaṁ samagram=asmai vidhēyatāṁ gatvā kāl-ōchitaṁ [dadānāḥ] sukhēna nivasath(t?)=ēha || Mahishī-yu-

33 varāja-mantriṇaḥ saha ṛitvigbhir=a[thō] purōhitaṁ | ⏑⏑—⏑⏑—r=nniyōginō dharmmajñāṁś=cha sa-

34 [maṁ] pradēsh[ṭṛi]bhiḥ || [22*] Adhyaksha-varggam=akhilaṁ karaṇais=samētaṁ |[4] sēnāpatiñ=cha saha sainika-saṁgha-

35 mukhyaiḥ [|*] dūtān sa-gūḍhapurushān saha man[tra]pālair=anyān=api kshiti-patēr=anujīvinaś=cha || [23*]

36 Āgāminō=pi nṛipatīn=nija-tīrtha-yuktān sē—na(?)[5] vīkshati vadaty=anūśāsti ch=[āpi] | asmān samīkshya

37 hara[ṇē] cha nisa(śa)mya dōshaṁ dānaṁ bhavadbhir=anupālyam=idaṁ sad=aiva || [24*] Asmān=pratisphurati yaś=cha vichāra-

38 ṇāyāṁ dānān=mahān=atiśayaḥ paripāla[nē cha?]— — ⏑—⏑⏑⏑—⏑ m=athō na kiṁchit — — ⏑[6] pālana-

39 m=apālanam=āhur=ēnaḥ || [25*] Bhūmiṁ yaḥ pratigṛihṇāti yaś=cha bhūmiṁ prayachchhati | ubhau tau puṇya-karmmāṇau ni-

40 yatas(taṁ) svargga-gāminau || [26*] Yē brāhmaṇānām=a-yathā haranti pradēśa-mātrām=api bhūta-dhātrīṁ | purīsha-kūpē pitṛibhi-

41 s=samētās=tē kalpa-kōṭīr=api yāpayanti || [27*] Svadattāṁ para-dattām=vā yō harēta vasundharāṁ [|*] sa vishṭhāyāṁ kṛimir=bhū-

42 tvā pitṛibhis=saha pachyatē || [28*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya

43 tasya tadā phalaṁ || [29*] Sarvvān=ētān bhāvinaḥ pārtthiv-ēndrān bhūyō bhūyaḥ prārtthayaty=ēsha Rāmaḥ | sāmānyō=

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[1] Read *mīmāṁsā*.

[2] For this reading I am indebted to the editor. [Evidently the reference is to the *Kṛitayugādi* day which falls on *Kārttika śu 9*. See L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, Pt. i, p. 59.—Ed.]

[3] After *ta* there is no space for more than two letters.

[4] *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

[5] Probably the reading should be *mēkhēna*. [I would read *sarvvān=adhīchchhati, i.e.*, requests all.—Ed.]

[6] [The reading seems to be *dānāt=paraṁ* ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ *sāram=athō na kiṁchi(t)d dharmmaś=cha*. After *chi*, *t* seems to have been written at first and then scored out.—Ed.]

44 yaṁ dharmma-sētur=nṛipāṇāṁ kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ || [30*] Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vindu-lōlāṁ śriyam=anu-

45 chintya manushya-jīvitañ=cha | sakalam=idam=udāhṛitañ=cha vuddhā[1] na hi purushaiḥ para-kīrttayō vilōpyāḥ || [31*]

46 Ēvaṁ bhīma-pā(pa)rākramō narapatir=v(b)rūtē vivichya svayaṁ — — — ⏑⏑—⏑—va hi kalau – — ⏑— — ⏑

47 vaḥ[2] | dātuṁ n=ōtsahatē manō yadi tadā=py=anyai[r=yad=asmā]dṛiśair=dattaṁ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑— sukṛitinaḥ — — ⏑—

48 —⏑—[3]|| [32*] Gām=ēkāṁ suvarṇam=ēkaṁ bhūmēr=apy=arddham=aṅgulaṁ | haraṁ[4] narakam=āpnōti yāvad=āhūta-saṁplavaṁ || [33*]

49 **Samvat 13 [Kārttī]ka-dinē 2** (?)[5] anēna tāmra-phalī 1 -jō[6] anu ni [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Ōm! Salutation to Śiva! Welfare!

(V. 1.) Where the temples, as if tired in ascending up to the distant firmament, lick the clouds with the tips of the tongues of their fluttering banners.

(V. 2.) Where the mass of smoke, rising up to the sky from the fire of oblations, creates the illusion of cloud, the carrier[7] of Indra (*who is*) invoked in sacrifices.

(V. 3.) Where the clouds, exhausted as it were, by bathing and drinking of water, rest over the golden rampart walls which are as resplendent as fire.

(V. 4.) Which bears crystal gateways, shining white, as if anointed with the glories of the king continuously flowing out through them.

(V. 5.) From that capital city of **Priyaṅgu**, which is of wonderful wealth and increasing virtue, and is (*the seat of*) powerful and righteous kings—

(V. 6.) Here flourished **Rājyapāla**, an ornament of the **Kambōja** family, who was (*the very*) Pṛithu, the lord of the earth. He (*possessed*) steadfast prowess and fortune, his majesty was heightened by the glory attained in ceaseless donation, and his foot-stool was kissed by the multitude of the heads of kings.

(Vv. 7-8.) To (*that*) illustrious **Rājyapāla**, ruling without obstacle or calamity over the earth girt by the sea-coast, (*was born*) a son whose mother (*was*) the illustrious **Bhāgyadēvī**; she was of gentle speech and worshipped by people, like the goddess who is the daughter of Himālaya;

(V. 9.) Who (*i.e.*, the son), by the water of moon-light emanating from the nails of his feet, washed away the syllables portending evil written on the foreheads of his enemies;

[1] Read *buddhvā*.

[2] [Probable reading: *śrēyas-sādhanam=ēkam=ēva hi Kalau dānaṁ* [*viśēshāt=tu*] *vaḥ*.—Ed.]

[3] After *dattaṁ* we should perhaps read: *tat-paripālanē sukṛitinaḥ* [*kurvva*]*nti —t-ādaraṁ*.

[4] Read *haran=*.

[5] There was probably no other numeral sign after 2. [I find two digits here and would read them as 18. The second numerical figure is clearly 8 as shown in the plate. In the first digit the scribe seems to have first engraved the symbol for 9, probably without thinking, as the grant was made on the 9th day, which he later corrected into 1. The reading cannot be 2 as the grant was made subsequent to that date. It is more likely that though the gift was made on the *navamī* day, the plate in confirmation of this was actually issued on the 18th.—Ed.]

[6] The preceding letter has entirely disappeared.

[7] The elephant of Indra.

(V. 10.) Who, by dint of his great prowess, cured his enemies of the fever of arrogance, the itching of power and the swelling caused by pride.

(V. 11.) During the (*rule*) of that king, the sacrifice-devouring gods came down to dwell on earth and likewise the performers of Sōma sacrifices went up to live in heaven, according to the law (*established*) in the two worlds.

(V. 12.) Even the four-fold army (the four *aṅgas*) of his enemies, who had filled the sky with their arrows, did not approach in battle to gain victory over him; how could then there be even a talk of the god of love (*Ananga*)[1] defeating him—the god who is all alone and has only five arrows of flowers?

(V. 13.) He, who was known as **Nārāyaṇapāla** and had his mind devoted to the worship of the lotus-feet of Vāsudēva, became the prosperous ruler of the earth.

(V. 14.) As the high-souled Nara is to Nārāyaṇa, the holder of the Śārṅga- bow (*i.e.*, Kṛishṇa) is to Saṁkarshaṇa (*i.e.*, Balarāma), and Dhanañjaya (*i.e.*, Arjuna) is to the son of Dharma (*i.e.*, Yudhishṭhira), so also was his younger brother **Nayapāladēva** (*to himself*).

(V. 15.) Having gained ascendancy after his brother and secured Fortune, he became unconquerable, just as when the moon has set, the sun rises in the sky (and becomes unapproachable in its glow).

(V. 16.) Neither did he care for the mighty forces of his enemies, nor did he depend on his own friends near him; he alone, churning the sea of battle by his arm resembling Mount Mandara, obtained on a hundred occasions the fortune of victory.

(Ll. 18-21.) The *Paramēśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Nayapāladēva**, in good health, meditating on the feet of the *Mahārājādhirāja, Paramēśvara, Paramabhaṭṭāraka* Rājyapāladēva, the devout worshipper of Sugata, (*i.e.*, the Buddha), in the village of **Bṛihat-Chhattivaṇṇā** adjoining to **Kaṇṭi, Saṁmāsha** and **Bāḍakhaṇḍa**, within the **Daṇḍabhukti** *maṇḍala* belonging to the **Vardhamāna** *bhukti*—

(V. 17.) (*He*) is thus addressing the tradesmen together with the clerks, and the cultivators together with the householders (*of the village*), after having paid (*due*) respect to the Brāhmans: May it be known to you:—

(V. 18.) (*This village*)—bounded on all sides by its own well-established limits, together with homestead and arable land, water-courses, pits and paths; (V. 19.) together with land which is barren and also where sweepings are thrown; including salt-mines, and adorned with groups of trees like mango, *madhūka* (*Bassia latifolia*), etc.; (V. 20.) exempted from all oppressions, not to be taken notice of by *Chāṭas* and *Bhaṭas*, and together with all the taxes due to the king; (V. 21.) also with the markets, bathing places and ferries,[2] for as long as the sun, moon and the earth endure—

(Ll. 26, 29-31.) this village is granted by me according to the principle of *Bhūmichchhidra* by means of a copper charter, in the name of the god Saṅkara-bhaṭṭāraka (*i.e.*, Śiva), after having bathed on the *navamī* day commencing the (Kṛita-)*yuga*, with the customary observance of the touching of water, for the increase of merit and fame of my parents and myself,—

(Ll. 26-29.) to the *Bhaṭṭaputra, Paṇḍita* **Aśvatthaśarmman**, who was born in **Drōṇa** and emigrated from **Kuṇḍira**, of the Vātsya *gōtra* and the Bhārggava-Chyavana-Aurvvya-Jāmadagnya-Āpnuvāna *pravara*, an adherent of the Chhāndōga *charaṇa* and a student of the Kauthuma *śākhā* (*i.e.*, of the Sāmavēda), who is conversant with the *Mīmāṁsā* philosophy, grammar, logic and the

[1] There is here a play on the word *aṅga*.

[2] The expression *sa-tara*, and not *sa-taru* as previously read by me, occurs also in l. 25 of the Rāṅgunj copper-plate of Iśvaraghōsha (Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 154).

Vēdas, and is the great-grandson of *Bhaṭṭa* **Divākaraśarmman**, grandson of the *upādhyāya* **Prabhākaraśarmman** and son of the *upādhyāya* **Anukulamiśra.**

(Ll. 31-32.) So (*you*) should live here in happiness, having timely paid to this (*person*) all the dues as enjoined.

(V. 22.) The queen (*mahishī*), the crown-prince (*yuvarāja*), the ministers (*mantrin*) and the priest (*purōhita*) along with the *ṛitviks*.....and the *dharmajñas* with the *pradēshṭṛis*.[1]

(V. 23.) All the heads (*adhyaksha*) of departments along with the clerks (*karaṇa*), the commander-in-chief (*sēnāpati*) along with the heads of military associations (*sainika-saṅgha-mukhya*), the ambassadors (*dūta*) with the officers of the secret service (*gūḍha-purusha*) and the political advisers (*mantrapālas*), as well as other subordinates of the king, as also the future kings engaged in their appropriate places—(all of them) he (*i.e.*, the donor) sees....., addresses and orders :—

(V. 24.) Having regard to us and also considering the blame attaching to the person who deprives a gift, this should always be protected by you.

(V. 25.) He who praises us in our consideration that the protection (*of a gift*) is much more glorious than the gift itself.....

[Here follow vv. 26-31 which are some of the customary ones occurring in landgrants.]

(V. 32.) Thus says the mighty king after duly considering ..... if one does not feel encouraged in mind to make a grant .....

[Here occurs v. 33 which is again of the same group as vv. 26-31.]

(L. 49.) **The year 13,on the 2nd (?) day of Kārttika.** By this, copper-plate 1.....[2]

No. 26.—THE SARKHO PLATES OF RATNADEVA II OF THE (CHEDI) YEAR 880.

By Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A., Nagpur.

This set of **two copper-plates** was found in 1916 in a tank called Gadhia in Sarkhō[3], a village near Jānjgīr in the Bilāspur district, Chhattīsgarh, C. P. Mr. Lochan Prasad Pandeya, Honorary Secretary of the then Chhattīsgarh Gaurava Prachāraka Maṇḍalī (now Mahākōsala Historical Society), came to know of them in 1925 and took immediate steps to acquire them for his Society. They are now in the possession of the Society at Bilāspur. Mr. Pandeya has published them in the Hindī Monthly *Mādhurī* of Lucknow (Vol. V, pp. 317-22). As the plates had not, however, been edited in any research journal, I requested my friend, Mr. W. G. Mandape, B.A., LL.B., Additional District and Sessions Judge at Bilāspur, to procure them for me. I feel highly obliged to him for doing so and to the Mahākōsala Historical Society for kindly permitting me to edit them.

They are two substantial plates measuring 13·5″ in length, 8·6″ in breadth and 1″ in thickness. The first plate weighs 174 *tolas* and the second 181½ *tolās*. There is a hole ·6″ in diameter at the centre of the top of each plate for the ring which must have originally connected them. But no such ring or seal has yet been discovered. The edges of the plates are raised into rims for the protection of letters. There are 36 lines in all, 18 being inscribed on the inner side of each plate.

[1] The class of officers called *pradēshṭṛi* is referred to in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya and may be identical with *prādēśika* of Aśōka's inscriptions.—Bhandarkar, *Asoka*, 1925, pp. 54-55.

[2] For the concluding letters *anu ni*, cf. *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 149, n. 3. The figure 1 after 'copper-plate' indicates that the charter consisted of only one sheet.

[3] The name appears as Sirko in the Degree Map 64 J.

The letters on the first plate were not deeply engraved and have been somewhat damaged by rust. There are also depressions on its inscribed surface in some places. Still there is no uncertainty in its reading.

The **characters** are Dēvanāgarī as in the other plates of the Kalachuri kings of Ratanpur and call for few remarks. The form for *i* is made up of two curves with a looped or a hooked end turned in opposite directions and placed one below the other (cf. *iti* in ll. 9 and 16, *iha* in l. 29, *imdōr=*, l. 25, etc.); *ē* has the form of a triangle with the base turned upwards (cf. *ēvaṁ*, l. 30); the medial *u* is shown in two ways: (1) generally with a curve attached to the foot of the vertical stroke and turned to the left (cf. *purushaḥ*, l. 2, etc.) and (2) occasionally with a curve turned downwards and attached to the middle of the vertical stroke (cf. *śruti*, l. 19). The medial *ē* and *ō* are shown in some cases by means of a *pṛishṭhamātrā* (cf. *tad-anvayē* and *putrō* in l. 2); both the *mātrās* for medial *ai* and *au* are occasionally placed above the line (cf. *=tasmai*, l. 25 and *chandr-ārkkau*, l. 27); in other cases one of them appears as a *pṛishṭhamātrā* (cf. *sarvv-ādāyaiḥ*, l. 25 and *-sākshiṇau*, l. 27). *Va* and *ba* are not generally distinguished, *e.g.*, *vandhūn* for *bandhūn* in l. 8; in the case of the grammatical form *babhūva* (ll. 7, 21) and the conjunct *bdh* (of *labdh°* in l. 17), however, *ba* is denoted by the sign for *ma* without its left hand loop[1]; the letters *pa* and *ya* are not properly distinguished in some cases (cf. *tasya*, l. 21 and *visarppati*, l. 30); so also *cha* and *va* (cf. *ch=aiva*, l. 34). As regards **orthography** we might note that the dental *sa* is used for the palatal *śa* in such cases as *-santōshit-ēsam* (for *santōshit-ēśam*), l. 4, *satrūn* for *śatrūn*, l. 11, and *vice versâ* also, though rarely, as in *sahaśrēṇa* for *sahasrēṇa*, l. 33; *ya* is used for *ja* in *Vāyapēya*, l. 33, and possibly in *Yâṁvavat-*, l. 18. The class nasal is occasionally used for *anusvāra* as in *-amva(ba)rasya*, l. 2; the consonant following *r* is only in a few cases reduplicated (cf. *Kārttavīryaḥ*, ll. 2-3, *-tarkka-*, l. 17, etc.). The following orthographical mistakes may also be noted: *kāṁnta* for *kānta*, l. 13 and *tatvajñō* for *tattvajñō*, l. 23.

These plates were granted by **Ratnadēva II., a Kalachuri king of Ratanpur** in Chhattīsgarh. The first eleven verses give his genealogy as in other plates of his dynasty. From Kārtavīrya were descended the Haihayas. In their family was born **Kōkkala** who had eighteen sons. The eldest of them became the ruler of Tripurī. He made his brothers lords of *maṇḍalas*. In the family of a younger brother of these[2] was born **Kaliṅgarāja** who had a son named **Kamalarāja**. His son was **Ratnarāja (I.)** who married **Nōnallā**. Their son was **Pṛithvīdēva (I.)** who had a son named **Jājalladēva (I.)** by **Rājalladēvī**. Jājalladēva's son was **Ratna-**

[1] In the Amōdā plates of Jājalladēva II. (above, Vol. XIX, pp. 209 ff.) and those of Prithvīdēva II. (*Ind. His. Quart.*, Vol. I, pp. 405 ff.) *ba* in such cases is shown by a letter closely resembling *pa*.

[2] This expression, which occurs in most of the charters of the kings of Ratanpur, seems to show that Kaliṅgarāja was a remote descendant (and not a grandson) of Kōkkala. The Ratanpur Inscription of Jājalladēva II. (1114 A. D.) also distinctly says 'The family of a younger son of these produced *in course of time* (*kramēṇa*) Kaliṅgarāja'. If so, this Kōkkala must be taken to be Kōkkala I. This view is corroborated by some inscriptions of the main dynasty at Tripurī. The Benares copper-plate inscription of Karṇa (1042 A. D.) describes in a Prākṛit verse that Prasiddhadhavala, the son of Kōkkala I., took Pāli to provide for the future great descendants of the family. The Bilhari stone inscription says that Mugdhatuṅga (who is identical with Prasiddhadhavala), the son of Kōkkala I., took the country of Pāli from the lord of Kōsala. Pāli is probably the name of the country round the modern village Pāli, 11 miles north of Ratanpur, where there are ruins of exquisitely carved temples (See *Archæological Survey Report* for 1922-23, p. 51). It seems that these descendants of Kōkkala I. had their capital at Tummāṇa. They seem to have lost the country in course of time. The Ratanpur inscription of Jājalladēva (1114 A. D.) says that Kaliṅgarāja selected Tummāṇa as his capital as the place had previously been selected for the purpose by his ancestors.

It must, however, be noted that the description of Kōkkala, given in the Amōdā plates of Pṛithvīdēva I. (1079 A. D.), if historically true, would apply only to Kōkkala II. as pointed out by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti (above, Vol. XXI, p. 161).

dēva (II.) the donor of the present plates. As the description of these princes is merely conventional, no new historical information can be gleaned from it. The next sixteen verses give the genealogy of the donee **Padmanābha**. His great-grandfather Mahasōṇa, a Brāhmaṇa of the Vatsa-*gōtra* and five *pravaras*,[1] hailed from *Sōṇabhadra* in the Madhyadēśa (Middle Country) of the Bhāratavarsha (India). He had mastered all the Vēdas, Āgamas as well as the six Śāstras. He observed a fast unto death for fifty days at the holy place (*tīrtha*) Jāmbavat.[2] His son was Sōmēśvara who had a son named Kulachandra. The latter's son was Padmanābha. Padmanābha was proficient in astronomy and knew two Siddhāntas.[3] In the presence of all astronomers in the assembly of Ratnadēva he asserted that there would be a total lunar eclipse when three quarters of the night had passed and the moon was in the asterism Rōhiṇī on Thursday, the Paurṇimā (fifteenth *tithi* of the bright half) of Kārtika in the year 880. When the eclipse occurred at the predicted time, the king became pleased and donated the village **Chiṁchātalāī** situated in the *maṇḍala* of **Anarghavallī** to Padmanābha. The record closes with the usual imprecatory verses. The last verse states that the plates were engraved by **Kīrtidhara**, the owner of the village **Jaṁḍēra** in the same (province of) Anarghavallī.

Only one other set of plates issued by Ratnadēva II. has been discovered so far, *viz.*, the Seorinarayan plates[4] dated towards the close of the (Chēdi) year 878, recording the donation of the village **Tiṇēri** in the Anarghavallī-*vishaya* to a Brāhmaṇa named Nārāyaṇa. The present plates increase his reign by more than a year. Neither of these records contains any reference to Ratnadēva's victory over Chōḍagaṅga, though it is frequently referred to with pride in the later records[5] of this dynasty. This Chōḍagaṅga must be identified with Anantavarman-Chōḍagaṅga, the well-known king of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty, who came to the throne in A.D. 1078 and had a long reign of 70 or 75 years.[6] We cannot, of course, necessarily infer from this that the victory was not gained before the Chēdi year 880 (A.D. 1128), for the records of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur are extremely meagre in references to historical events. The earliest reference to Ratnadēva II.'s victory over Chōḍagaṅga occurs in the Ratanpur stone inscription of the time of Pṛithvīdēva II.,[7] dated Vikrama Samvat 1207 (A. D. 1149-1150). Pṛithivīdēva's own Amōdā plates (two sets, dated A. D. 1149 and 1154 respectively) make no reference to this brilliant victory of his father. The absence of any reference to it, therefore, in the present plates does not necessarily prove that the victory was not attained before A. D. 1128.

The exact year of this victory cannot, however, be ascertained. The recently discovered plates of Pratāpamalla state that Ratnadēva defeated Chōḍagaṅga and Gōkarṇa. The date of this

[1] These are mentioned as Vatsa, Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpnuvāna and Aurva in the Amōdā plates of Jājalladēva II.; above Vol. XIX, p. 209.

[2] See below text p. 165, note 3.

[3] These were probably the Sūrya-Siddhānta and the Brahmagupta-Siddhānta.

[4] *Ind. His. Quart.*, Vol. IV, pp. 31 ff.

[5] See *e.g.*, The Ratanpur inscription of Pṛithvīdēva II. (above, Vol. I, 47 ff.); Seorinarayan inscription (A. D. 1165) (*P. R. A. S. W. C.*, 1904, pp. 52-3); Kharōḍ inscription of Ratnadēva III. (1181-82 A. D.) (above, Vol. XXI, p. 159). The recently discovered plates of Pratāpamalla (A. D. 1213-14), facsimiles of which have been kindly sent to me by Mr. L. P. Pandeya, also contain a reference to this victory.

[6] *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 1018.

[7] Kielhorn first assumed this king to be Pṛithvīdēva III. but later on corrected himself by saying that he should be identified with Pṛithvīdēva II. (*Supplement to Northern List*, p. 17, f.n. 1). So Dr. Rajendralal Mitra's reading of the date (*viz.*, V. S. 1207=A. D. 1149-1150) will have to be accepted, for we know that Pṛithvīdēva II. was ruling till 1154 A. D. at least (*cf.* his Amōdā plates, second set, *Ind. His. Quart.*, Vol. I, pp. 412 ff.). The recently discovered plates of Pratāpamalla (dated Chēdi year 965=1213-14 A. D.) state that Ratnadēva III. was succeeded by Pratāpamalla.

event could be settled approximately if the latter king could be satisfactorily identified. But we have no means of doing so at present.[1] We also do not know the reason of this war. From the Korni plates of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga[2] dated Śaka 1034 (A. D. 1113) we learn that he reinstated the king of Utkala who had been deposed. The name of his enemy has not been mentioned, but it is likely that he was Jājalladēva I[3]., the ambitious father of Ratnadēva II., whose friendship was sought by the kings of Kanauj and Jējābhuktika and who had defeated Sōmēśvara and made the rulers of Kōsala, Āndhra, Khimiḍī, Vairāgara, etc., pay tribute.[4] Jājalladēva seems to have tried to extend his empire in the east by deposing the king of Utkala. The latter's cause was however espoused by Anantavarman-Chōḍagaṅga who succeeded in reinstating him before A. D. 1113. This event must have occurred during the reign of Jājalladēva; for his Ratanpur inscription was incised in the Chēdi year 866 (A. D. 1114). It is likely that this defeat of Chōḍagaṅga occurred towards the end of his career, when he was engaged in making conquests in the north, west and south, and bringing the whole country lying between the Ganges and the Gōdāvarī under his firm control as stated in an inscription dated A. D. 1135 at the Kūrmēśvara temple in the Ganjām District.[5] It seems that this whirlwind campaign of Anantavarman-Chōḍagaṅga received a check in the west by the prowess of Ratnadēva II. The Malhār Stone inscription[6] of the time of his grandson Jājalladēva II. describes him as 'a fierce cloud putting out the continuously raging flames of the enormous spreading fire of the valour of king Chōḍagaṅga'. The hostilities continued in the next generation also, for the Kharōḍ inscription mentions that Ratnadēva's son Pṛithvīdēva II. defeated Chōḍagaṅga's son Jaṭēśvara *alias* Madhukāmārṇava.[7]

It is also interesting to note the occasion for making the grant. It seems that the other astronomers of Ratnadēva's court were using older methods of astronomical calculations. Their predictions of eclipses were not accurate and did not, therefore, come true. Padmanābha, the grantee of the present plates, discovered the mistakes in the older methods and, making the neces-

[1] Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao has kindly drawn my attention to two records which mention a prince named Gōkarṇa. The first of these was incised at the temple of Madhukēśvara in Kaliṅganagara in Śaka 1013 (=1091-92 A. D.) and apparently mentions a king named Gōkarṇa 'who was expert in the *dīkshā* of the extermination of the multitude of his foes'. It is, however, doubtful if this Gōkarṇa could be identified with the one mentioned in the plates of Pratāpamalla; for, Jājalladēva I., the father of Ratnadēva II., was reigning in 1114 A. D. (see his Ratanpur Inscription, above, Vol. I, pp. 32 f.). Even supposing that Ratnadēva came to the throne in the very next year and the battle with Chōḍagaṅga and Gōkarṇa was fought in the same year (both of which suppositions are unwarranted), there would be a difference of 24 years between the date of the above record and Ratnadēva's victory over the Gaṅga king and Gōkarṇa. The second inscription is at Guḍiwāḍa in the Bimlipatam *taluka* of the Vizagapatam district. It refers to a grant by a certain Gōkarṇarāja who was a subordinate of Anantavarman. Even if we suppose that this Anantavarman is identical with Chōḍagaṅga, it does not seem likely that a poet would refer to Ratnadēva's victory over Chōḍagaṅga and his feudatory in the same breath. Besides, the record is not useful for our purpose, as it is undated. The Kharōḍ inscription (l. 7) seems to mention Jaṭēśvara as associated with his father Chōḍagaṅga in this war. If so, Gōkarṇa may have been another name of Jaṭēśvara. This would also make it probable that the battle was fought in the latter part of Chōḍagaṅga's reign. [There is nothing against the victory over the overlord and his feudatory or feudatories being mentioned together, *cf.* for example, the Tirumukkūḍal Inscription of Vīrarājēndra (above, Vol. XXI, p. 241) where his victory over Āhavamalla and his feudatories is described.—Ed.]

[2] *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 106-124.

[3] The Kharōḍ inscription mentions Jājalladēva's victory over Bhujabala, the lord of Suvarṇapura (modern Sonpur), who was evidently a feudatory of the king of Orissa.

[4] Above, Vol. I, pp. 32 ff.

[5] *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 1335; cf. *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VII, p. 57.

[6] Above, Vol. I, p. 39.

[7] Above, Vol. XXI, p. 162.

sary *bīja-saṁskāras*, correctly calculated the time of the particular lunar eclipse.[1] The inscription **gives full details of this eclipse, *viz.*, that it occurred on Thursday at three-quarters of the night when the moon was in the asterism Rōhiṇī, on the Kārttika Paurṇimā in the year 880.** This date must evidently be referred to the **Chēdi** or **Kalachuri era** in which nearly all the inscriptions of the Ratanpur dynasty are dated. According to Diwan Bahadur Swamikannu Pillay's *Indian Ephemeris* the Kārttika Paurṇimā in A. D. 1128 (corresponding to the Kalachuri year 880) ended at 50½ *ghaṭikās* (20 hours 10 minutes) after mean sunrise on 8th November. As stated in the present inscription, the week day was Thursday and the *nakshatra* Rōhiṇī which began at 13 hours 30 minutes after mean sunrise. There was also a lunar eclipse on that day. According to Mr. K. L. Daftari of Nāgpur who has kindly calculated for me the time of the eclipse, the moon was *totally* eclipsed between 48 *ghaṭikās*, 42 *palas* and 52 *ghaṭikās* and 54 *palas* after mean sunrise at Ratanpur. Three quarters of the night were over at Ratanpur at 52 *ghaṭikās* and 34 *palas* when, as shown above, the moon was totally eclipsed. The date and the time of the eclipse can thus be completely verified.

It would not be out of place to say here a few words about the engraver Kīrtidhara. He is described in the present plates as the owner of Jaṁḍēra. From the two sets of plates of Pṛithvīdēva II. discovered at Amōdā and dated in the Chēdi years 900 (1149 A. D.) and 905 (1154 A. D.) respectively which were incised by Vatsarāja, son of Kīrtidhara, we learn that the latter belonged to the Vāstavya family. Several members of this family were patronised by the royal house of Ratanpur. Thus the engraver of the earlier Ratanpur stone inscription of Jājalladēva I. (Chēdi year 866=1114 A. D.) whose name is lost, was born in the Vāstavya family. The Ghotia plates[2] of Pṛithvīdēva II. were also incised by Kīrtidhara's son Vatsarāja. The latter's son Dharmarāja[3] engraved the Amōdā plates of Jājalladēva II. (dated in the Chēdi year 912=1161 A. D.). This family produced some good poets also. Thus Dēvagaṇa who composed the Ratanpur inscription of the time of Pṛithvīdēva II. and his father Ratnasiṁha who wrote the Malhār *praśasti* in the reign of Jājalladēva II., Chēdi year 919 (=1167-68 A. D.), were born in the same family and had considerable poetic talent.

As for the **geographical names** occurring in these plates **Chiṁchātalāī**, the donated village, is probably Chichōlā (Long. 82-39, Lat. 22-10) on the left bank of the Hasdo in the Jānjgīr *tahsil* of Bilāspur. It is only about 8 miles N.E. of Sarkhŏ. The district of **Anarghavallī** in which both Chiṁchātalāī and Jaṁḍēra were situated is roughly represented by the present Jānjgīr *tahsil*. **Sōṇabhadra** from which the donee hailed cannot be satisfactorily

[1] Mr. K. L. Daftari, a noted astronomer of Nāgpur, conjectures that Padmanābha may have used for his calculation the *Rājamṛigāṅka* a *karaṇa* work ascribed to king Bhōja of Dhārā in which the *bīja-saṁskāras* seem to have been fixed after actual observation of planets. This work, though composed in Śaka 964 (=A. D. 1042), *i.e.*, 86 years before the date of the present plates, may not have been known to the other astronomers of Ratnadēva's court. Padmanābha could, therefore, score an easy victory over them (*cf.* Sh. B. Dikshit's *History of Indian Astronomy* (Marāṭhī), second ed., p. 238).

[2] Mr. L. P. Pandeya has kindly drawn my attention to this reference. R. B. Hiralal considered the plates to be spurious (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIV, p. 41). They seem to be an incorrect copy of the original plates made subsequently by an ignorant engraver. Hence the numerous lacunæ in the text. Mr. L. P. Pandeya suggests that the date of the original, misread by the ignorant copyist as 1000, may have been 900 of the Chēdi era (=1148 A. D.). This falls in the reign of Pṛithvīdēva II. who, we know, was actually reigning till 1154 A. D. (*Ind. His. Quart* Vol. I, pp. 405 ff.). If the plates had been spurious the details about the names of the engraver, his father and village would not have tallied. Even if it is a forgery, we need not reject all historical information in it (cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, p. 201).

[3] The name of the engraver was not Chitrabhānu as R. B. Hiralal supposed (above, Vol. XIX, p. 210). The word Chitrabhānu, which occurs twice in the last verse, is used only to describe Dharmarāja. He was the Chitrabhānu (sun) to the lotus-bed in the form of the Vāstavya family, and was also Chitrabhānu (fire) to the fuel in the form of the helpless warriors of the enemy.

identified. It was situated in the well-known Madhyadēśa or Middle Country. I know, however, no place named Sōṇabhadra in the above territory.[1] **Jāmbavat** where the great-grandfather of Padmanābha fasted himself to death was a *tīrtha*. It is perhaps identical with the Jambutīrtha mentioned in the *Padmapurāṇa*,[2] where there was a Śiva-*liṅga* called Jāmbavantēśvara which was said to have been established by the lord of bears Jāmbavant who helped Śrī-Rāmachandra. From the context it appears to be somewhere in the vicinity of the river Śvabhramatī (modern Sabarmati). **Jaṁḍōra** the village which was owned by the engraver Kīrtidhara is probably identical with Jondra (Lat. 82-21 and Long. 21-44) on the bank of the Seonāth river just outside the south-west limit of the Jānjgīr *tahsil*.

I edit the inscription from the original plates.

TEXT.

[Metres : Vv. 1, 9, 12, 13, 18 and 22-35 *Anushṭubh* ; vv. 2 and 6 *Upajāti* ; v. 3 *Sragdharā* ; vv. 4, 10, 14, 17 and 19 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 5, 7, 8, 11 and 15 *Vasantatilakā* ; v. 16 *Mālinī* ; v. 20 *Śālinī* ; v. 21 *Āryā*.]

First Plate.

1 सिद्धिरस्तु[3] ओं[4] नमो ब्र(ब्र)ह्मणे ॥ निर्गुणं व्यापकं नित्यं शिवं परमकारणम् । भावगम्यं परं ज्योतिस्तस्मै सद्र(द्र)ह्मणे नमः ॥१॥

2 यदेतदग्रेसरमम्ब(ब्ब)रस्य ज्योतिः स पूषा पुरुषः पुराणः । अथास्य पुत्रो मनुरादिराजस्तदन्वयीभूद्भुवि कार्त्त-

3 वीर्यः ॥२॥ दैवः श्रीकार्त्तवीर्यः क्षितिपतिरभवद्भूषणं भूतधात्र्या शैलोत्क्षिप्तादि-वि(वि)भ्यत्तुहिनगिरिसुतास्ने(स्ते)-

4 यसम्भोषितेस(श्र)म् । दोर्दण्डाकांडसेतुप्रतिगमितमहावारिरेषाप्रवाहव्याधूतच्यक्षपूजा-गुरुजनितरुषं रावणं यो

5 बबं(बबं)ध ॥३॥ तस्मात्स(श्र)प्रभवा नरेंद्रपतयः ख्याताः क्षितौ शैवयास्तेषामन्व-यभूषणं रिपुमनोविन्ध्यस्ततापानलः । धर्म्म-

6 ध्यानधनानुसंचितयशाः स(श्र)स्त्र(स्त्र)खतां सौख्यक्षत्रेयान्वयं गुणान्वितः समभव-त्श्रो(च्छी)मानसौ कोक्कलः ॥४॥ अष्टादशारि-

7 करिकुंभविभंगसिंहा पुत्रा बभूवुरतिसौ(शौ)र्यपराश्च तस्य । तत्राग्रजो नृपवर-स्त्रिपुरीश्च आद्यो(सौ)क्ते(च्छे)षां च मंडलपतीन्स

[1] The hill where the well-known river Son, a tributary of the Ganges, takes its rise is called Sōṇabhadra *Cf.* " The Son rises near the Narbadā at Amarakaṇṭak in the Maikal range, the hill on which its nominal source is located being called Sōṇmuṇḍā ", *Imperial Gazetteer*, Vol. XXIII, p. 76. Mr. K. N. Dikshit kindly writes to me that Sōṇabhadra is probably the same as Śravaṇabhadra to which two Brāhmaṇa donees of the Narwhal plates of Vākpati Muñja (V. S. 1038) belonged. Like the donee of the present plates, both of them belonged to the Vatsa-*gōtra* and had five *pravaras*. He thinks that Sōṇabhadra might be somewhere in Bihār on the bank of the Sōṇa or Sōṇābhadra.

[2] Cf. *Padmapurāṇa* (Venkateśvara Press ed., *Uttarakhaṇḍa, Adhyāya* 150). [*Skandapurāṇa* (Ānanda ed., *Arbudakhaṇḍa, Adhyāya* 60), places Jambutīrtha in mount Arbuda.—Ed.]

[3] Expressed by a symbol (*cf.* above, Vol. XVII, p. 352).

[4] Expressed by the letter ओ with a dot over it.

Sarkho Plates of Ratnadeva II of the (Chedi) Year 880.

First Plate.



Second Plate.



N. P. Chakravarti.

Reg. No: 3387 E'35 - 445.

SCALE : ONE-HALF.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

8 चकार वं(बं)धून् ॥५॥ तेषामनू[1]जस्य कलिंगराजः प्रतापवह्निर्द्विषपितारिराजः । जातोन्वये दिष्टरिपुप्रवीरः[2] प्रियान-

9 नांभोरुहपार्व्वणेंदुः ॥६॥ तस्मादपि प्रततनिर्म्मलकीर्त्तिकान्तो जातः सुतः कमलराज इति प्रसिद्धः । यस्य प्रतापतर-

10 णावुदिते रजन्यां जातानि पंकजवनानि विकासभांजि ॥७॥ तेनाथ चंद्रवदनोजनि रत्नराजो विख्यो(ख्यो)पकारकरणार्ज्जि-

11 तपुण्यभारः । येन स्वबा(बा)हुयुगनिर्म्मितविक्रमेण नीतं यशस्त्रिभुवने विनिहत्य स(श)त्रून् ॥८॥ नोनल्लाख्या प्रिया त-

12 स्य गुरुष्वेव हि गूरता । तयोः सुतो नृपश्रेष्ठः पृथ्वीदेवो बभूव ह ॥९॥ पृथ्वीदेवसमुद्भवः समभवद्राजल्लदेव्री(वी)सुतः भू-

13 रः सज्जनवांच्छि(छि)तार्थफलदः कल्पद्रुमः श्रीफलः । सर्व्वेषामुचितोर्च्चने सुमनसां तीक्ष्णद्विषत्कंटकः पश्य(श्य)त्वां(त्का)न्ततरांगनां[ग]-

14 मदनो जाजल्लदेवो नृपः ॥१०॥ तस्यात्मजः सकलकोसलमंडनश्रीः श्रीमान्समाक्षतसमस्तनराधिपश्रीः । सर्व्वज्ञि[ती]-

15 श्वरसि(शि)रोविहितांघ्रिसेवः सेवाभृतां निधिरसौ भुवि रत्नदेवः ॥११॥ दृक्षावर्त्तादिवर्षाणां मध्ये भारतमुत्तमम् । मध्यदेस(श)स्तु त-

16 त्रापि सोणभद्रोस्ति यत्र सः ॥१२॥ श्रीसोणभद्रनिर्यातः पंचार्वो वत्सगोत्रजः म[ह]सोण इति ख्यातो बभूव द्विजवंस(श)जः ॥१३॥ यः व-

17 र्ण्णकलाकलापकुस(श)ली निःसे(शे)षवेदागमज्ञाता व्र(त्र)ह्मसमः समस्तजनताल[ब्धा]दरः सर्व्वदा । यः पंचास(श)दब्दानि चान्तसमये त्व-

18 क्त्वास(श)नं यां(जां)व(ब)[3]वस्तीर्थे प्राणविमुक्तिमाप निपुणो वेदान्तसिद्धान्तगः ॥१४॥ प्रज्ञानिधिः कलबलवेदविदां वरिष्ठो नानाविधाध्व-

Second Plate.

19 रविधानविधु(श)द्ध(द्ध)धि(द्धि): । तस्यात्मजो द्विजसमाजविभूषणश्रीः सोमेश्वरः समभवद्बुधजनप्रसिद्धः ॥१५॥ श्रुतिसमुचित-

20 श्रीलक्षात्व(क्ष)मिचागमानां निखधिगुणरासि(शि)र्व्यासक्तयो(यी) जंगेषु । दृष्ट हि जगति त्रापालुपक्षाभ्यां समर्थस्तदनु च कुल-

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[1] The vowel of नू is lengthened for the sake of metre.

[2] Read द्विषरिपुप्रवीरप्रियानना° as in all other plates of the kings of Ratanpur.

[3] The second letter of this word appears more like *cha* than *va*; but *va* and *cha* appear almost like each other in this inscription (*cf. chaiva*, l. 24 *infra*) and other records of the period (*cf.* above, Vol. XIX, p. 75, l. 23). Besides सांचयन् makes no sense. I, therefore, propose to read जांवस्तीर्थे. श is substituted for ज here as in वाशपेय in l. 33 *infra*.

[4] After *ja* a superfluous *danda* was engraved and scored out.

21 चंद्रस्तस्य सूनुर्बभूव ॥१६॥ प्रज्ञाप्रांगणवेश्मविभ्रमकराभ्यासः समस्तागमे पुण्यात्मा मखकर्म्मधर्म्मनिपुणः प्रावीण्यवान्ज्यो(क्ष्यो)-

22 तिषि । तस्याशेषगुणाकरस्य मतिमान्पुत्रः पवित्रात्मनो व्र(ब्र)ह्माभ्यासनिवेशपेस(श)-लमतिः श्रोपद्मनाभोभवत् ॥१७॥ यः सिद्धा-

23 न्तहयं वेत्ति क्षीरासागरपारगः । संहितासा(शा)स्त्रतत्त्व(त्त्र)ज्ञो वाराहमिहिरोपमः ॥१८॥ तेनासो(शौ)त्यधिकाष्टवत्सरस्थते जाते दिने गोःपतेः-

24 : कार्त्तिक्यामथ रोहिणीभसमये राजेश यामत्रये । श्रीमद्ब्रह्मनरेश्वरस्य सदसि ज्योति-र्विदामग्रतः सर्व्वग्रासमनुष्णगोः प्रव-

25 दता तीर्णा प्रतिज्ञानदी ॥१९॥ इंदोर्म्मुक्तिं कुर्व्वतायं तदानीं सर्व्वादायैर्म्मंडलेनर्घवश्यां(श्यान्) [।*] राज्ञा तुष्टेनाथ चिंचातलाईग्रामस्तस्मै सा(श्रा)-

26 सनीकृत्य दत्तः ॥२०॥ तपति न तपनः प्रखरो मरुदपि नो वाति श्रासन्ने तीव्रः । व्र(ब्र)ह्मस्वस्तेयपातकमतिस(श्र)यभीमं समालोच्य ॥२१॥ चंद्रा-

27 र्कौ गगने यावत्तपतो लोकसाक्षिणौ । तावदस्याहतं स्थेयाद्दानमेतन्महीपतेः ॥२२॥ द्विजास्व नावमन्तव्यास्त्रैलोक्यस्थितिहेतवः ।

28 देववत्पूजनीयाश्च दानमानार्चनादिभिः ॥२३॥ यैः कृतः सर्व्वभक्षोग्निरपियश्च महोदधिः । क्षयी चाप्यायितः सोमः को न नश्ये(श्ये)-

29 त्प्रकोप्य तान् ॥२४॥ सं(शं)खं भद्रासनं च्छ(छ)त्रं गजास्व(श्व)वरवाहनम् । भूमि-दानस्य चिह्नानि फलं स्वर्गः पुरंदर ॥२५॥ व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राज-

30 भिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥२६॥ यथाप्सु पतितं स(श)क्र तैलवि(बि)न्दुर्विसर्प्पति । एवं भूमिकृतं दानं स-

31 स्ये सस्ये प्ररोहति ॥२७॥ भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णा(ह्णा)ति यस्तु भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्म्माणौ नियतौ स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥२८॥ पूर्व्व-

32 दत्ता(त्तां) द्विजातीनां यत्नाद्रक्ष पुरंदर । महो(हीं) महीभृतां स्रे(श्रे)ष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयो हि पालनम् ॥२९॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंधराम् ।

33 स विष्टायां[1] कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते ॥३०॥ अस्व(श्व)मेधसहस्रे(स्रे)ण वाय(ज)पेयस(श्र)तेन च । गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्त्ता न मु(मु)-

34 च्यति ॥३१॥ षष्टिं वर्षसहस्रा(स्रा)णि स्वर्गे वसति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरकं व्रजेत् ॥३२॥ इष्टं दत्तं हुतं चैव य-

[1] Read विष्ठायां.

35 क्लिंचिद्धर्म्मसंचितम् । अर्द्धांगुलेन सीमाया ह्रस्वेन प्रणस्य(श्य)ति ॥३३॥ न
विषं विषमित्याहुर्ब्र(ब्र)ह्मस्वं विषमुच्यते । विषमेकाकिनं ह-
36 न्ति ब्र(ब्र)ह्मस्वं पुत्रपौत्रिकम् ॥३४॥ तस्यामिदानघंवश्यां श्रीमत्कीर्त्तिधरः सुधीः ।
जंडेरग्रामनाथोयं लिलेख क्षरसो(शो)भनम् ॥३५॥

No. 27.—TIRODI PLATES OF PRAVARASENA II

By Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A., Nagpur.

These plates were found some years ago at the Manganese mine of **Tirōḍi**, eight miles south-east of Katangī in the Bālāghāt District of the Central Provinces. Mr. T. A. Wellsted, Manager of the Manganese mines, Mansar, who is keenly interested in the history of the Vākāṭakas, came to know of their existence in April 1934 and secured them with great difficulty from a Manganese contractor of Tirōḍi. The plates have since been deposited in the Nāgpur Museum. I am obliged to Mr. Wellsted for permission to edit them.

They are **four copper-plates**, each measuring 7·7″ by 3·8″. The first and the fourth are inscribed on one side only and the other two on both the sides. Their ends are neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims; still, the inscription is in a perfect state of preservation. The last plate bears in five places marks of indents from the blows of a pickaxe. About 2·1″ from the proper right margin, the plates have a roundish hole ·4″ in diameter for a circular ring to connect them. The ends of this ring, which is 3·3″ in diameter, were flattened off so as to overlap and were joined with a pin. They were so secured when the plates were sent to the Nāgpur Museum for cleaning and taking ink impressions. On this ring slides a small circular band about ·7″ broad and 3·8″ in circumference, to which is secured with a rivet a flat circular copper **seal** 2·7″ in diameter. The ring and the seal thus closely resemble those of the other plates of Pravarasēna II. The weight of the plates is 126 *tolas* and that of the ring, the band and the seal is 18½ *tolas*.

The plates were slightly corroded when first found, but have since been cleaned by Mr. M. A. Saboor, Coin Expert of the Nāgpur Museum. Each inscribed side of the first two plates contains six lines, that of the third five lines and that of the fourth only four lines. The seal contains the **legend** inscribed in four lines. The letters are deeply cut, but do not show through on the reverse. The size of the letters varies from ·25″ to ·4″.

As in the other plates of Pravarasēna II., the **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the Central Indian alphabet. They closely resemble those of the Siwani plates of Pravarasēna II. and of the Riddhapur plates of his mother Prabhāvatiguptā. The boxes at the top of the letters are not scooped out hollow as in the Chammak plates, but appear in the form of small squares as in the other plates of Pravarasēna II. The letters *j*, *b*, *n* and *l* and the subscript form of *m* appear without a box at the top; cf. *Vājapēya* and *Bṛihaspati* in l. 1 and *amala-jala* in l. 5. The box is not completely incised at the top of a few letters; see, for instance, *n* in *atyanta* l. 7; *chi* in *kēnachi-* l. 23; *ya* in *yaś=cha* l. 24. The *rēpha* at the top of letters is, in some cases, shown with, and in others without, a box (cf. *chāturvvaidya* l. 19, *Āptōryyāma* l. 1). The length of medial *ī* is denoted either by a ringlet in the curve representing short *i* as in *pramāṇī-* l. 29, or by another curve turned in the opposite direction as in *trayōvīśē* l. 31. Medial *u* is shown in three ways—

with the *u* sign (1) turned to the left, cf. *-ānugāmī* l. 23 ; (2) turned to the right, cf. *bhuñjatō* l. 23 and (3) shown by a hook to the right bending downwards, cf. *kuryyāma* l. 26. The *mātrās* for medial *ē*, *ai*, *ō* and *au* are generally added at the top, but occasionally at the middle or even the foot of a consonant ; cf. *Aśvamēdha* l. 2 and *m-aiśvaryya* l. 15. The medial *ō* is shown in two ways (1) with a *mātrā* on each side of a consonant as in *shōḍaśy-* l. 1, and (2) with a curve on the right side only, cf. *bhuñjatō* l. 23. The medial *au* is everywhere bipartite ; cf. *dauhitra* and *Gautamī* l. 5, etc. *ḍ* and *d* are not clearly distinguished ; cf. *shōḍaśy-* l. 1 and *samuditasya* l. 8 ; so also *v* and *ch*; cf. *Bṛihaspatisava* ll. 1-2 ; and *chatur-Aśva°* l. 2 ; *t* appears with a loop in *-vastavya* l. 18 and *dattā*[ṁ*] l. 29 ; *th* is generally distinguished from *dh* by a ringlet on the base line ; cf. *thi* in *Pṛithivisēna* l. 10 with *dhi* in *Yudhishṭhira* l. 9 ; but contrast *tha* in *Athērvvāṇa* l. 18. Independent *b* which is distinguished from *v* appears in two forms : (1) the rectangular one as in *paribādhā-* l. 25 and (2) that derived from *p*, cf. *Bṛihaspati* l. 1; the subscript *b* is only in one place distinguished from *v*, *viz.*, in *Kōśambakhaṇḍa* l. 17 ; but cf. *āyur-bbala-* l. 15 and *-udvahana-* l. 4. A vowel-less consonant is written in a smaller form below the line ; cf. *drishṭam* l. 1 and *samrāṭ* l. 2. The *visarga* is denoted by two dots or hook-shaped lines ; the former signify also a double mark of punctuation in ll. 13, 24, 26, etc. The completion of the record is indicated by a long horizontal stroke.

The **language** is Sanskrit. Except the legend on the seal and the usual imprecatory verse towards the close, the whole record is in prose. As regards **orthography**, we may note the absence of external *saṁdhi* and the use of short for long vowels in several places. Such orthographical mistakes as *bhantikva* for *bhaktitva* l. 8, *kēnachivvyāghāta* for *kēnachiḍ=vyāghāta* l. 23 are evidently due to the carelessness of the engraver. The *visarga* is wrongly dropped in *guṇai samuditasya* l. 8 and changed to *cha* in *bhaṭāch=chhātrāś=cha* l. 14. The *anusvāra* appears superfluous after its change to a nasal in *Vākāṭakānāṁm=Mahārāja* l. 9, etc. The dental *n* is written for *ṇ* in *kārunya* l. 7. *Ḷi* is used instead of the vowel *ḷi* in *aklipt-ōpakliptaḥ* ll. 22-23, and *ri* for the vowel *ṛi* in *drishṭam* l. 1 and *dushkritaṁ* l. 30. On the other hand *ṛi* occurs for *ri* in *sarvvakṛiyābhiḥ* l. 24. The consonant following *r* is reduplicated in some cases, *e.g.*, *ārjjava* and *śauryya* l. 7, *abhivarddhamāna* l. 8; similarly *v* coming after *anusvāra* in *sā*[ṁ*]*vatsarē* l. 31. The consonant preceding *y* is reduplicated in *Bhāgīratthyāmala* l. 5 and *sarvv-āddhyaksha* l. 13. The *upadhmānīya* occurs in ll. 10, 16 and 29. The final consonant is wrongly dropped in *Narattaṅgavāri-sthānā* l. 1, *dvādaśyā* l. 31, etc.

The plates were issued from the place **Narattaṅgavāri** by *Mahārāja* **Pravarasēna II.** of the **Vākāṭaka** dynasty. Their **date** is recorded in words as **the twelfth day of the dark fortnight of (the month) Māgha in the twenty-third (regnal) year.** Like almost all other complete Vākāṭaka plates[1] they open with the word *drishṭam* which must be taken, as was subsequently done by Kielhorn, to mean 'seen' and was evidently intended to signify the genuineness of the inscription.[2] The genealogy of Pravarasēna II. is copied almost *verbatim* from his previous plates, his maternal grandfather **Chandragupta II.** being called **Dēvagupta** as in the other records. The plates record the grant of the village **Kōśambakhaṇḍa** to a Brāhmaṇa named **Varuṇāryya** of the Harkkari-*gōtra*[3] and the Atharvavēda, who was a resident of **Chā**[ṁ*]**drapura**[4] and proficient in the three Vēdas. The donated village was bounded on the east by Jamalī, on

[1] The only exception is the Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatiguptā. It does not appear in an odd Vākāṭaka plate which has recently come to my hands ; but I have reason to think that, like the Bālāghāt plates of Pṛithivishēṇa, the inscription was left incomplete.

[2] Above, Vol. IX, pp. 268-9.

[3] The *gotra* is named Hārkari in the *Gōtra-pravara-nibandha-kadamba* (Lakshmī-Vēṅkaṭēśa Press, Bombay, 1917).

[4] See below, Text, p. 172, note 20.

the south by Varddhamānaka, on the west by Mṛigasima and on the north by Mallakapēdhaka. As the order is addressed to the officers and soldiers in the western division (*aparapaṭṭa*) of **Bēnnākaṭa**, it is evident that the donated village was situated in it. The grant was written by the chief minister (*Rājyādhikṛita*) **Chamidāsa**[1] himself.

We know that the Dudia plates of Pravarasēna II. were issued on the tenth day of the fourth fortnight of the rainy season[2] in his twenty-third regnal year. If Kielhorn's view[3] that the date refers to the bright half of the month Bhādrapada is accepted, the present charter, though issued in the same regnal year, would be later than the Dudia plates by about four months and a half.[4] One other record of the Vākāṭakas (*viz.*, the incomplete Bālāghāt plates of Pṛithivishēṇa)[5] has been found in the Bālāghāt district. This is, however, the first inscription of Pravarasēna II. to be discovered so far to the east of his kingdom. As stated below, the donated village Kōśambakhaṇḍa is to be identified with Kōsambā about 6 miles to the south-west of Tirōḍi, the find-spot of the present plates in the same district. The present inscription shows, therefore, that the country under the direct rule of Pravarasēna II. extended to the east as far as South Kōsala (modern Chhattīsgarh) and comprised the modern districts of Bālāghāt, Bhandāra and Chānda of C. P. These districts were evidently included in ancient Vidarbha. In the Sanskrit play *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa, who is now generally taken to be a contemporary of Pravarasēna II., the country of Vidarbha is shown to be divided by the river Varadā (modern Wardhā).[6] Bēnnākaṭa of the present plates seems to have been one of the districts of Eastern Vidarbha.

Almost all other charters[7] of Pravarasēna II. are issued from Pravarapura which was evidently his capital. The place Narattaṅgavāri from which the present plates were issued seems, therefore, to be a holy place(*tīrtha*)[8] where he had gone to bathe in the month of Māgha and where he granted the present charter. The month of Māgha is specially praised in the Purāṇas as very sacred and various legends are narrated in them to evince the great merit of bathing at a holy place during that month.[9] The eleventh day of the dark half of this month, when *pūrṇimānta*, which is called *Shaṭtilā ēkādaśī* and is observed as a fast-day, is highly glorified in the *Padmapurāṇa*.[10] Pravarasēna may, therefore, have gone to the Narattaṅgavāri *tīrtha* to bathe on the Shaṭtilā ēkādaśī day and have made the present grant on the following day before breaking his fast. We may note in this connection that a similar grant was made by his mother Prabhāvatiguptā[11] at the holy place of Rāmagiri (modern Rāmtek near Nāgpur) on the twelfth day of the bright half of Kārttika, evidently after observing a fast on the preceding Prabōdhinī ēkādaśī.[12]

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[1] [Or Navamidāsa, see below p. 174, n. 10.—Ed.]

[2] Above, Vol. III, p. 262.

[3] Above, Vol. III, p. 260.

[4] Kielhorn has evidently adopted the *pūrṇimānta* scheme in calculating that date. The same is followed above. The interval between the two dates would be 5½ months if the *amānta* system is adopted in both the cases.

[5] Above, Vol. IX, p. 267.

[6] Cf. *Mālavikāgnimitra*, Act V, *śl.* 13.

[7] The only exception is the Siwani Copper-plate Inscription of Pravarasēna II. (*C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 243 ff.) in which, however, no place of issue is mentioned. The Patna Museum plate also, being the third plate of the set, does not naturally mention any place of issue.

[8] Narattaṅgavāri cannot be taken to be the site of his camp during a campaign; for there is no word like *vāsakāt* added to it.

[9] कामधेनुर्यथा कामं चिन्तामणिस्तु चिन्तितम्। माघस्नानं ददात्येव सर्वमेवमनीरितम्॥ *Padmapurāṇa* (Vēṅkaṭēśvara Press ed.), *Uttarakhaṇḍa, Adhyāya* 124, *śl.* 64-5.

[10] *Ibid., Uttarakhaṇḍa, Adhyāya* 43, *ślōkas* 5 ff.

[11] Her Poona plates also, though issued from the then capital Nandivardhana, were granted on a similar occasion.

[12] This day is referred to by Kālidāsa in his *Mēghadūta* (*śl.* 115).

As the present grant was not made at the capital, the expression *vaijayikē dharmasthānē* 'at the victorious office of justice' which regularly occurs in all other charters of Pravarasēna II. issued from Pravarapura are omitted in the present plates.[1] This grant was made by Pravarasēna II. for increasing his *dharma* (religious merit), life, strength and prosperity, for securing his well-being in this world and the next, as well as for augmenting the religious merit of his mother (*mātuḥ puṇy-ōpachayārtthaṁ*). This last expression occurs in none of the complete charters of Pravarsēna II.[2] As he mentions only his mother and not his father also, who was long since dead, it is likely that she was living at the time of the present grant and may have accompanied him to the holy place. From the description in her Ṛiddhapur plates[3] she seems to have been an old lady at the time of that grant which was made only four years before the issue of the present plates.

As for the **geographical names** that occur in these plates, **Narattaṅgavāri** was probably a *tīrtha* as suggested above. I know, however, of no place in C. P. and Berār, which exactly corresponds to this name. It may, however, be taken to mean Vāri near Narattaṅga on the analogy of Nāgapura-Nandivardhana (Nandivardhana near Nāgpur) in the Deoli plates[4] of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III. In that case it can be identified with Wāri also called Bhairavgarh, now a deserted village on the river Bān or Wān in the extreme north-west of the Akot Taluk (Akola District, Berār). It is only 18 miles to the west of the old fort of Narnālā, which probably represents ancient Narattaṅga, and is still regarded as a holy place.[5] **Kōśambakhaṇḍa**, the donated village, is evidently Kōsambā (79·39×21·38) about 6 miles to the south-east of Tirōḍi where the plates were found. **Bōnnākaṭa** was evidently a district[6] comprising the territory round the modern village Beṇi, 35 miles to the east of Kōsambā in the Gondia Tahsil of the Bhandāra District, which may have been its headquarters. The district seems to have been divided

[1] The expression *dharmāddhikaraṇē* which occurs in another connection in l. 26 is evidently a mistake for *dharm-ādara-karaṇē*. See below, Text, p. 173, n. 18.

[2] A similar expression *sva-puṇy-āpyāyanārtthaṁ* is found in both the Poona and Ṛiddhapur plates of Prabhāvatiguptā.

[3] *Sāgrauvarēha-kaṭa-divaṁ-putra-pautrā* l. 11, *J. P. A. S. B.* (N. S.), Vol. XX, p. 58.

[4] Above, Vol. V, pp. 189 ff. Even now there are several such place names current in Berār, *e.g.*, Bārsi-Ṭākli (Ṭākli near Bārsi). As there are now, and were probably in ancient Vidarbha, several villages named Wāri or Wārkhēḍ, Narattaṅga may have been prefixed to define the position of the place intended.

[5] See *Akola District Gazetteer* (1910), p. 395. At this place there are ruins of a fort called Bhairavgarh with an image of Kāl Bhairava. It may be noted in this connection that an ancestor of Pravarasēna II. (*viz.*, Rudrasēna I.) was a devout worshipper of Svāmi-Mahābhairava. The writer in the Gazetteer identifies Wāri with ancient Varāhatīrtha (*Ibid.*, p. 382) but this identification does not seem to be correct. Varāhatīrtha was, no doubt, a very important *tīrtha* on the Payōshṇī. It is highly praised in the *Mahābhārata* (*Vanaparvan*, *Adhyāya* 88, *śl.* 6-9, Bombay ed.) which describes the visit of the Pāṇḍavas to it in the course of their *tīrthayātrā* (*Adhyāyas* 120 and 121). But from the description given in the *Payōshṇī-māhātmya*, the *Nalachampū* [Nirṇayasāgar ed. (1903), p. 174] and other Sanskrit works it appears to be the source of the Payōshṇī (modern Pūrṇā) and must, therefore, be identified with Barāhpur about a mile to the north-east of Bhainsdehi (77°·38×21°·39) in the Betul District of C. P. where the Payōshṇī takes its rise. The present Wāri is far away from the source of the Payōshṇī. The *Payōshṇī-māhātmya* refers to the Bāṇa river (on which Wāri is situated) as a tributary of the Payōshṇī but makes no mention of a Varāhatīrtha on it.

[6] Bhōjakaṭa of the Chammak plate is another district name ending in *kaṭa*. The *Mahābhārata* (Bombay ed.), *Sabhāparvan*, *Adhyāya* 31, mentions both Bhōjakaṭa and Tālākaṭa as southern countries. In *śl.* 10-12 of that *Adhyāya* Sahadēva is said to have vanquished the lords of Bhōjakaṭa and Vēṇātaṭa. The latter is evidently a mistake for Vēṇākaṭa. In reply to my inquiry Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, General Editor of the Mahābhārata which is now being published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, kindly informs me that most of the Grantha Mss. collated at the Institute show either the variant Vēnnākaṭa or Bōnnākaṭa in the 12th *śloka* of that *Adhyāya*.

into two parts by the river Waingangā, the ancient Bēnnā.[1] Kōsambā which now represents ancient Kōśambakhaṇḍa is only 20 miles from the Waingangā and was evidently included in the western division (*aparapaṭṭa*) of Bēnnākaṭa. Of the villages that formed its boundary, only one can now be traced. Jamalī which bounded it on the east is probably modern Jāmuntolā, 3 miles to the east of Kōsambā. Chāndrapura, where the donee was living is probably identical with Chāndpur which lies only twelve miles to the south-east of Kōsambā and contains an old fort.[2] The other villages cannot be identified.

I edit the inscription from the original plates.[3]

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 द्रिष्टम्[4] [।*] नरत्तङ्ग्वास्स्थान्न[त्*] । अस्थिद्दोमास्तोर्य्यामोक्थ्यषोडश्य[ति]रात्रवा-
जपेयबृहस्पतिस-

2 वसाद्यस्कचतुरश्वमेधयाजिनः[5] विष्णु(ष्णु)वृद्धसगोत्रस्य सम्राट्[6] वाकाटकानान्महाराजश्री-

3 प्रवरसेनस्य सूनोः सूनोरत्यन्त[7]स्वामिमहाभैरवभक्तस्य [।][8] अंसभारावतिर्वेशि-

4 तश्रिवलिङ्गोद्दहनश्रिवसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवंशानां पराक्रमाधिगतभागी-

5 रत्थार्[म]खलमूर्द्धा[9]भिषिक्तानाम्भारशिवाना[10]म्महाराजश्रीभवनागस्य दौहित्रस्य गौतमी-

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[1] The river is called Vēṇā in the *Mahābhārata* (*Sabhāparvan, Adhyāya* 31), *Padmapurāṇa* (*Svarga Khaṇḍa, Adhyāya* 39, *śl.* 30-32; Bombay ed.), *Matsya-purāṇa* (*Adhyāya* 114, *śl.* 27-28) and Vāṇyā in the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* (*Adhyāya* 57, *śl.* 24). Vēṇvā in the *Vāyupurāṇa* (*Ad.* 45, *śl.* 102) and Vinnā in the *Kūrma* (*Ad.* 47, *śl.* 32) seem to be derived from Vēṇyā (See Pargiter's Tr. of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa*, p. 300). Bēnnā in Bēnnākaṭa of the present plates and Bēṇṇā in Bēṇṇā-kārpara-bhāga of the Siwani plates are evidently corrupt forms of Sanskrit Vēṇyā and refer to the Waingangā. The Bēṇṇā-kārpara-bhāga of the Siwani plates seems to be a subdivision (*bhāga*) of Bēnnākaṭa. It cannot be located in modern Berār. Fleet's suggestion that Kōllapura in that charter is 'possibly Kolāpoor twenty-one miles south of Elichpur' (*C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 244) is manifestly impossible. Khōlāpur (for, that is its correct name) was founded by Khōlēśvara, a well-known general of the Yādava king Siṃghaṇa. As stated in his Āmbē inscription, it is on the bank of the Payōṣhṇī (Pūrṇā); see G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Mediæval History of the Deccan* (Marāthī), p. 64. I would identify Kōllapura (in the Bēṇṇākārpara-bhāga) of the Siwani plates with modern Koolpā about 36 miles to the east of the Waingangā in the Amgaon Zamindari. Karañjaviraka which was a village (and not a river as supposed by Fleet) in its vicinity is represented by modern Kāranjā, a mile to the N.-E. of Koolpā. For viraka at the end of a village name see Vyāghraviraka in the Khāmkhēḍ plates (above, p. 96).

[2] Kielhorn's suggestion about the identification of Chandrapura mentioned in the Dudia plates with the abovenamed Chāndpur cannot be accepted; for, as he has himself admitted, none of the other villages mentioned in those plates can be identified in its vicinity. That Chandrapura is probably identical with Chandur in the Amraoti district of Berār, as shown by R. B. Hiralal. (See his *List of Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*, second ed. p. 93.)

[3] The accompanying plates have been prepared from photographs kindly taken by Mr. M. A. Saboor of the Nagpur Museum.

[4] Read द्दृष्टम्.

[5] Here and in many places below, the rules of *Sandhi* have not been observed.

[6] Read सम्राजो.

[7] The box at the top of त्य is not complete.

[8] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

[9] Read भागीरत्थमल[°]. The box of *ma* is not connected with the vertical stroke of the letter.

[10] Read भूर्द्धाभिषिक्तानाम्. One other adjective दशाश्वमेधावभृथस्नातानां which occurs in all other plates is omitted here.

6 पुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रि[1]रुद्रसेनस्य सूनोः[2]

Second Plate ; First Side.

7 भवगन्तमाङ्गिरसस्य सत्याभ्यं[3]वकाखस्य[4]गौर्य्यंविष्णुमनयविनयमाहात्म्यधिगत-[5]

8 ग[6]तभक्तिक[7]र्म्मविजयित्वमनोनैर्व्वृत्या[8]द्दिगुर्व्वे[:*] समुदितस्य वर्षशतमभिवर्द्धमा-

9 नकोशद[9] कसाधनसन्तानपुत्रपौत्रिणः पृथिवीषेणस्तेर्व्वाकाटकाना[10]मह्रा-

10 राजश्रीपृथिविसेनस्य[11] सूनो[:] भगवतश्चक्रपाणेरप्रसादोपार्ज्जितश्रीसमुदयस्य

11 वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य सूनोः महाराजाधिराजश्रीदेवगुप्त-

12 सुतायां[12]प्रभावतिगुप्तायामुत्पन्नस्य ।[13] वाकाटकानाम्महा-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

13 राजश्रि[14]प्रवरसेनस्य वचना[त्*] । वैकाकटस्य अपरपट्टे ॥[15] अस्माकमन्तकास्सर्व्वा-

ज्ञाश्रवनियोग-

14 नियुक्ता आप्तासंचारिकुलपुत्राधिकृताः भटाश्चा[16]त्र च व्युत्तिपूर्व्वमयाज्ञाया[17]ज्ञाप-

यितव्याः [।*]

15 विदितमस्तु वः यथेहाक्षाभिराजगो धर्म्मानुर्व्वत्तसै[18]त्रर्व्वविहृये इहासुष्मि-

16 तार्थं मातृ×पु[19]ण्योपचयार्थं ममका अपरपार्श्वे वर्द्धमानकाच्च उत्तरपार्श्वे

17 सगसिमस्य पूर्व्वपार्श्वे मल्लकपीधकस्य दक्षिणपार्श्वे कोद्यम्बखण्डं नाम ग्रामः

18 चाद्र(? चाद्र[20])पुरवस्तव्यचयेर्व्वाच[21]हर्क्करि[22]सगोत्रवत्सवार्य्याय विवेदाय दत्तः[23]

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[1] Read श्री°. [2] Read सूनोः. [3] The subscript त्र is not complete.

[4] Read वाकाट्य°.

[5] Read धौनस्य. None of the Vākāṭaka plates discovered so far gives this expression correctly.

[6] The engraver first incised गत and then corrected it into गत. Read पादगतभक्तिस्य as in the Siwani and Dudia plates.

[7] The engraver seems to have wrongly joined the right hand horizontal stroke of the dagger of क to the vertical stroke of स.

[8] Read नैर्ऋत्यादि°.

[9] The box-head of द is not completely incised. [10] The *anusvāra* is superfluous.

[11] Read पृथिवीषेणस्य.

[12] The *anusvāra* is superfluous.

[13] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

[14] Read श्री°.

[15] It is difficult to say if this is a sign of *Visarga* or of double punctuation. It is superfluous in either case.

[16] Read भटाश्चात्र च.

[17] Read विधुतपूर्व्वमयाज्ञाय° as in the Siwani and Chammak plates.

[18] Read °र्व्वैत्रयी°.

[19] The lower horizontal stroke of *p* is not engraved.

[20] For other cases of the wrong omission of an *anusvāra* see भक्तिषु l. 28 and सात्यर्थं चाद्रया in l. 31 below.

[21] Read चाद्यर्व्वेभ्य. Instead of affixing the stroke denoting the length to *a*, the engraver wrongly prefixed it to the following letter.

[22] The *gotra* is named Hārkari in the गोत्रप्रवरनिबन्धादर्श (published by the Vēṅkaṭēśvara Press).

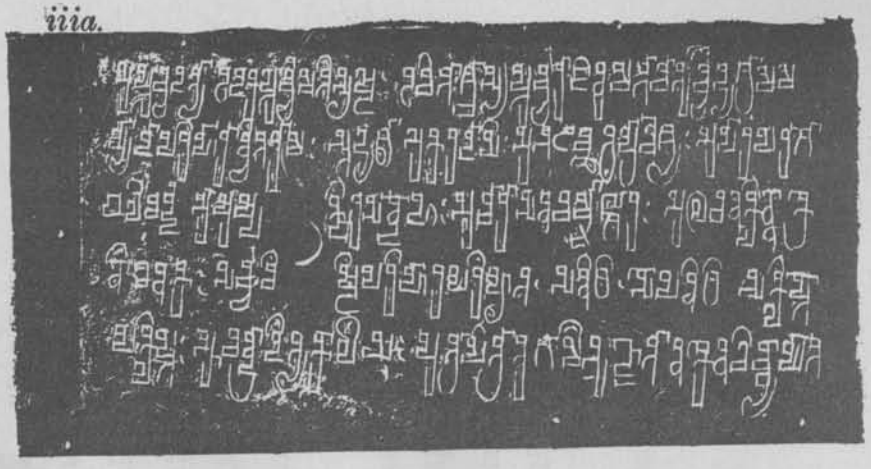
[23] This word is superfluous.

Tirodi Plates of Pravarasena II.

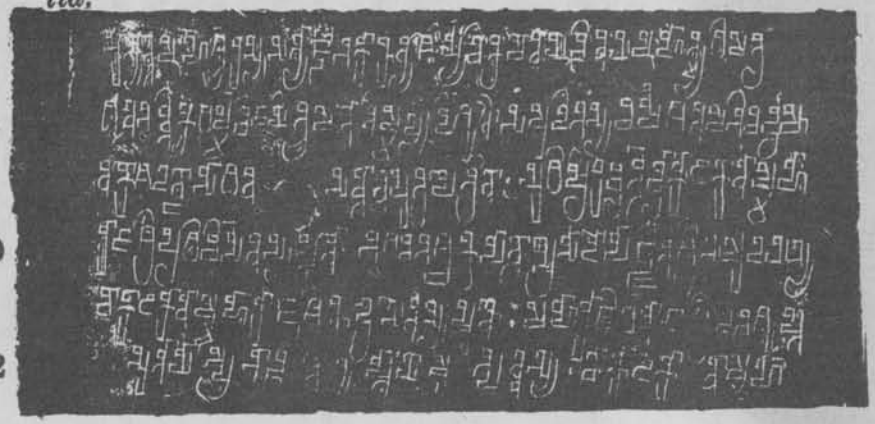
i.



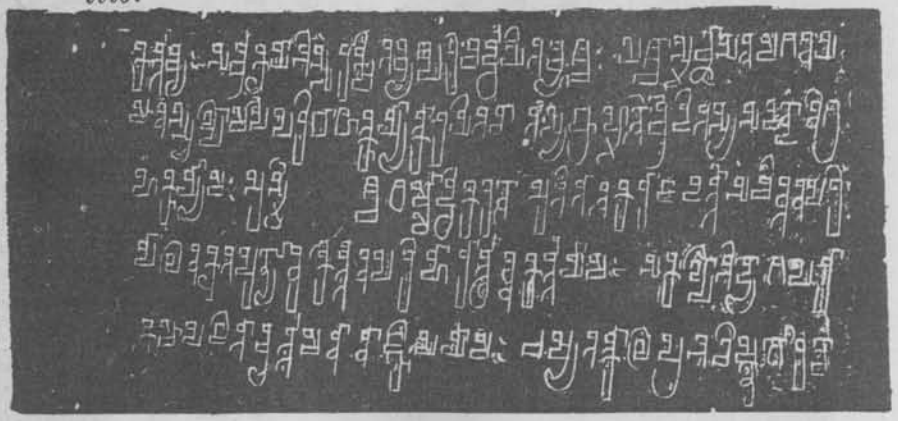
iiia.



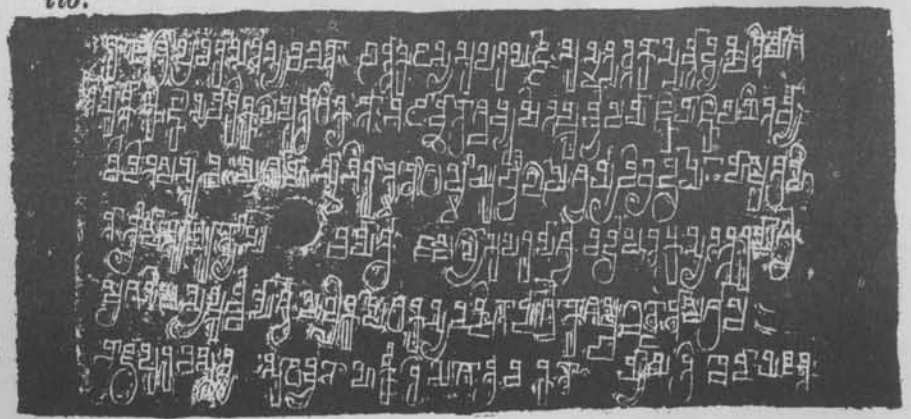
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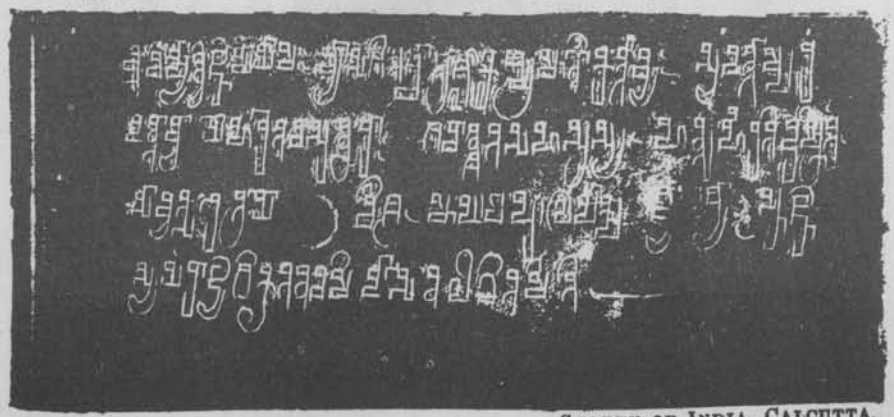
iiib.



iib.



iv.



N. P. Chakravarti.
Reg. No. 3379 E'36. 445.

SCALE : HALF-SIZE.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

Seal.



Actual size.

Third Plate ; First Side.

19 अपूप्वदत्या[1] ' उदकपूर्व्वमतिसृष्टः[2] [।*] उचितांश्चास्य पूर्वराजानुमतांश्चा(तांश्चा)तु-
र्व्वैद्यग्रामम-
20 र्य्यादापरिहा[3]रान्वितरामः [4]स्वयश्च अकरदायिः[5] अभटच्छत्रप्रवेश्यः[6] अपारंपरगो-
21 बलिवर्द्दः[:*] अपुष्यचिर[7]सन्दोहः अचारासनचर्म्माङ्गारः अलवनक्षिण[8]क्रे-
22 णिखनकः सर्व्वविष्टिपरिहारपरिहृतः[9] सनिधिः[9] सोपनिधि[:*] सक्षि(क्षू)सो-
23 पक्षि(क्षू)सः आचन्द्रादित्यकालीयः पुत्रपौत्रानुगामी भुञ्जतो न केनचिद्व्याघात[10]

Third Plate ; Second Side.

24 कर्त्तव्यः सर्व्वक्र[11]याभिरक्षितव्यश्च परिवर्द्धयितव्यश्च ॥ य[12]श्चास्मच्छासनमग[ण]य-
25 मानस्त्वल्पामपि परिबाधा[13]त्कुर्य्यात्कारयित[14] वा तस्य ब्राह्म[15]गैर्व्वै[16]दितस्य सदण्डं निग्र-
26 हं कुर्य्याम ॥ अस्मिंश्च धर्म्मोद्धि(धि)[18]करणे अतीतानेकराजदत्तां संचीन्तन[19]परि
27 पालन[20]क्र[21]तपुण्यानुकीर्त्तनपरिहारार्थञ्च क्र[22]र्त्तयाम: संकल्पाभियोग[23]परा-
28 क्रमोपजिताव्व(न्य)र्त्तम(मा)नानुपालयाम: एव[24]तत्कालप्रभविष्णुगौरवा-

[1] Read अपूर्व्वदत्या.

[2] The box-head of र्ष्ट is not complete.

[3] The Chammak plates read चातुर्व्वैद्यग्राममर्य्यादान्(न्) and the Dudia plates चातुर्व्वैद्यग्राममर्य्यादा-परिहारार्थन्(न्). The Poona plates have चातुर्व्वैद्यग्रारपरिहारान्.

[4] Read वितरामस्वयश्च. [5] Read अकरदायी.

[6] Read अभटच्छात्रप्रवेश्यः. The reading in the present plates is however found in all the Vākāṭaka plates discovered so far.

[7] Read अपुष्पचीरसन्दोहः.

[8] Read अलवनक्षिण्न° as in the Chammak and Dudia plates. Only the Poona plates of Prabhāvatiguptā read *kiṇva* in place of *klinna*. The Siwani and Riddhapur plates read *klinva*. An unpublished copper-plate found at Rāmtek reads अलवनक्षिन्नो क्षेचिखनक.

[9] The *visarga* is not complete.

[10] Read केनचिदव्याघातः.

[11] Read सर्व्वक्रियाभि-. The engraver has not completed the subscript *va*. Again, he first wrote *ka* and afterwards changed it into *kri*.

[12] The box-head of य is not completely engraved.

[13] Read परिबाधां कुर्य्यात्.

[14] Read कारयेद्वा.

[15] The subscript ह्म is not completely engraved.

[16] The subscript *va* is not completely engraved.

[17] Read अस्मिंश्च.

[18] The Chammak, Riddhapur and Dudia plates read धर्म्मादरकरणे. The Siwani plates read धर्म्माधिकरणे.

[19] Read अतीतानेकराजदत्तसंचिन्तन°.

[20] Read परिपालनं.

[21] The engraver first wrote *ka* and then thought of changing it into *kri*.

[22] Read कीर्त्तयामः.

[23] Read संकल्पाभियोगपराक्रमोपजिताम्. The Riddhapur plates read संकल्पाधियोगपराक्रमोपजिताम् and the Dudia plates संकल्पाभिर्द्योधपराक्रमोपजिताम्. Other Vākāṭaka plates have nothing corresponding to this.

[24] Read एवमत्काल°. The Siwani plates have एवमत्काल°. The Dudia plates read as in the present text.

Fourth Plate.

29 ब्भ(ङ्ग)विक्षन्विज्ञापयाम्: [।*] व्याख्यातत्वाच्च श्लोक≻प्रज्ञाणीकर्त्तव्य: [।*]
स्वदत्तान्पर-

30 दत्तान्वा(न्वा) यो हरेत वसुन्धरा:[1] [।*]गवान्ग्र[2] तसहस्रस्य ।[3] हन्तुर्हरति दुष्कि[4] तं ।

31 सा[5]व्यक्षरे चयोविंशे[6] । माघबहुलपक्षे द्वादश्या[7] ।[8] आज्ञा

32 स्वयं[9] राजाधिक्षतन[10] चमि(? वमि)दासेन लिखित[11]मिति ।

The Seal.

1 वाकाटकनलानास्य

2 ङ्ग(ङ्ग)मप्रासवियस्त्रियम्[12] [।*]

3 राज्ञ[:*] प्रवरसेनस्य ।[13]

4 शासनं रिपुशासनम्[14] [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

The Plates.

(Lines 1-13.) Seen. From the place Narattaṅga-vāri. By the order of the illustrious *Mahārāja* **Pravarasēna (II)** of the **Vākāṭakas** who was born of **Prabhāvati-guptā**, the daughter of the illustrious *Mahārājādhirāja* **Dēvagupta** and who is the son of the illustrious *Mahārāja* **Rudrasēna(II)** of the **Vākāṭakas**, who[15] acquired an abundance of prosperity by the grace of the Divine (Lord) Chakrapāṇi (Vishṇu) (*and*) who was the son of the illustrious *Mahārāja* **Pṛithivishēṇa (I)** of the **Vākāṭakas**, who[16] was intensely devoted to (*the god*) **Mahēśvara**, who[16] was endowed with truthfulness, straightforwardness, compassion, heroism, valour, political wisdom, modesty, high-mindedness, intelligence, devotion to (*worthy persons*), and with the state of being a righteous conqueror,[17] purity of mind and such other good qualities, who[16] had sons and grandsons and a continuous supply of treasure and army which had been accumulating for a hundred years, who[16] conducted himself like Yudhishṭhira and who[16] was the son of the illustrious *Mahā-*

[1] Read वसुन्धराम्.

[2] Read ग्रामो ग्रत°.

[3] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

[4] Read दुष्कृतम्.

[5] Read संव्वत्सरे.

[6] Read चयोविंशे.

[7] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

[8] Read द्वादश्याम्.

[9] Read स्वयं.

[10] Read राजाधिक्षतेन. [The reading may be *Rājādhikṛita-Nāmadāsēna*. This official is apparently identical with *Sēnāpati* Namidāsa of the Dudia plates—Ed.]

[11] Read लिखितेति ।.

[12] Read नृपश्रिय:.

[13] This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

[14] Metre—*Anushṭubh*.

[15] *I.e.*, Rudrasēna II.

[16] *I.e.*, Pṛithivishēṇa I.

[17] Cf. *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* (Second ed. by Shama Sastry), p. 382.

rāja **Rudrasēna (I)** of the **Vākāṭakas**, who was the son of Gautamīputra, who[1] was intensely devoted to (*the god*) Svāmi-Mahābhairava, who was the daughter's son of the illustrious *Mahārāja* **Bhavanāga** of the **Bhāraśivas** whose royal family was created by Śiva who was greatly pleased by (*their*) carrying the *liṅga* of Śiva like a load placed on (*their*) shoulder and who were besprinkled on their head with the pure water of the (*river*) Bhāgīrathī (Ganges) that had been acquired by their prowess, and who[1] was the son of the son of the illustrious *Mahārāja* **Pravarasēna (I)** of the **Vākāṭakas**, the *Samrāṭ* (Emperor) who performed *Agnishṭōma*, *Aptōryyāma*, *Ukthya*, *Shōḍaśin*, *Atirātra*, *Vājapēya*, *Bṛihaspatisava*, *Sādyaskra* and four *Aśvamēdhas* and who was of the Vishṇuvṛiddha-*gōtra*.

(Lines 13-14)—Our officials of noble birth, who are employed by the order of the General Superintendent[2] and who exercise their authority by (*our*) command[3], (*our*) soldiers and umbrella-bearers[4] in the western division (*aparapaṭṭa*) of (*the district*) Bēnnākaṭa should be directed by the following command which is already well-known to them :—

(Lines 15-19)—Be it known to you that in order to increase our religious merit, life, power and prosperity, to secure our well-being in this world and the next and also to augment the religious merit of (*our*) mother, the village named **Kōśambakhaṇḍa** which lies to the west of Jamalī, to the north of Varddhamānaka, to the east of Mṛigasima and to the south of Mallakapēdhaka is bestowed here with (*a libation of*) water as a grant not previously made upon **Varuṇāryya** of the Atharvavēda and the Harkkari-*gōtra*, who has (*mastered*) the three Vēdas and is a resident of Chāddha(? Chāndra)pura.[5]

(Lines 19-26)—And we grant[6] the following exemptions from restrictions as (*are*) ⌜customary and (*are*) incident to a village belonging to Brahmins proficient in the four Vidyās, (*as*) approved by former kings, *viz.* (*it is*) not to pay taxes ; (*it is*) not to be entered by soldiers and umbrella-bearers ; (*it does*) not entitle (*the State*) to the customary cows and bulls;[7] (*it does*) not (*also entitle it*) to (*the royalties on*) flowers and milking, to pasturage, hides and charcoal, to the purchase and digging of salt and fermenting drugs ; (*it is*) to be exempt from forced labour ; (*it carries*) with it the right to hidden treasures and deposits, to major and minor taxes (*kḷipta* and *upakḷipta*);[8] (*it*

[1] *I.e.*, Rudrasēna I. This is how all previous editors and historians have taken these expressions. The construction in that case seems to be faulty ; for *Gautamīputrasya* should have been placed after *Pravarasēnasya sūnōḥ* and the word *putrasya* following *Gautamīputrasya* should have been dropped. Again the epithet *atyantasvāmi-Mahābhairava-bhaktasya* should have followed *dauhitrasya*. (See the position of *atyanta-māhēśvarasya* below.) As the expressions stand, they seem to qualify Gautamīputrasya. But in that case the successor of Pravarasēna I. would be his great-grandson as Gautamīputra did not evidently come to the throne. (Note the absence of the expression *Vākāṭakānām-mahārājasya* in his case.) Besides, there is no reason why the name of Pravarasēna's son should have been omitted.

[2] This *Sarvādhyaksha* seems to be the same as *Rājyādhikṛita* mentioned at the end of this record.

[3] Lit. who move about, etc.

[4] I have followed Fleet in the translation of *chhātras* but they seem to correspond to the *chāṭas* in later records and may be a class of irregular soldiers.

[5] See above, text, p. 172, note 20.

[6] Lit. confer.

[7] The right to demand the first calf of a cow is perhaps referred to here. The next three expressions exempt the grantee from certain taxes in kind which were paid to the State. Cf. *Manusmṛiti*, *Adhyāya* VII, *śl.* 130-132. There is no reason why these rights should be reserved for the villagers against the grantee as supposed by Fleet (*C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 242, ft. note 1).

[8] *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra* (second ed. by Shama Sastry, p. 60) gives *kḷipta* in the sense of fixed assessment. The expression *kḷipta* and *upakḷipta* correspond to the terms *bhāga* and *bhōga* which occur in the almost contemporary records of the kings of Śarabhapura and *udraṅga* and *upārikara* in those of later kings (*cf.* Altekar—*The Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times*, pp. 213-216). *Kḷipta* may therefore be taken to mean land tax and *upakḷipta* to some petty taxes in kind.

is) to be enjoyed as long as the sun and the moon (*will endure*) ; (*it is*) to follow the succession of sons and son's sons. None should cause an obstruction while (*the donee or his successor*) is enjoying it. (*This grant*) should be protected and increased by all means. And whosoever, disregarding our command, shall himself cause or make others cause the slightest obstruction, upon him, when complained against by the Brāhmaṇas, we will inflict punishment and fine.

(Lines 26-29)—In showing thus (*our*) regard for religion we, in order to avoid mention of the meritorious deeds already done, do not refer to our care and protection of the grants of many past kings ; (*but*) we issue this order to (*the kings of*) the present who have been vanquished by our resolve, attack, (*or*) valour[1] and make this request to (*the kings of*) the future out of regard for such as will be in power in times to come.

(Lines 29-32)—And the following verse sung by Vyâsa is to be regarded as an authority on this point :—Whosoever shall confiscate land that has been given by himself or another, incurs the sin of the slayer of a hundred thousand cows.

On the **twelfth day of the dark fortnight of (the month) Māgha,** this order is written by the Chief Minister **Chamidāsa**[2] himself.

The Seal.

This is the enemy-chastizing command of King **Pravarasēna,** the ornament of the **Vākāṭakas,** who has attained royal fortune by inheritance.

No. 28.—TWO BHOR STATE MUSEUM COPPER PLATES.

By Prof. A. S. Altekar, M.A., D. Litt., Benares.

The accompanying copper plates, which are being published here for the first time, are two of the exhibits in the State Museum at Bhor, capital of Bhor State in Poona district. Nothing definite is known about their find-spots. But since the village granted in both the charters can be identified with a village about six miles to the east of Bhor, it is very likely that they may have been found not far from that town. Mēhērbān Srimant Bābāsāheb Pantsachiv, Rajasaheb of Bhor, very kindly handed over the plates to me for being published in the *Epigraphia Indica.*

A

BHOR STATE MUSEUM PLATES OF DHARAVARSHA DHRUVARAJA ; SAKA 702.

The **plates** are **three** in number. The size of each plate is 8·7″ by 4·9″, thickness being about ·12″. The edges have been raised into rims in order to protect the characters engraved. At the centre of the left side of each plate, about ·3″ from the edge, there is a circular ring hole, about ·7″ in diameter, but the ring, which once held these plates together, has been lost along with the seal that had soldered its ends. The weight of the plates is 190 *tolas.*

The inscription is written on the inner sides of the first and third plates and on both the sides of the second. On the outer side of the first plate there are seven or eight letters scribbled at a

[1] Here three types of feudatories seem to have been referred to, *viz.*, (1) those who submitted to Pravarasēna when they came to know of his resolve to vanquish them ; (2) those who submitted on being attacked and finally (3) such as had been conquered by valour.

[2] [See p. 174, n. 10.—Ed.]

much later period, resembling Marāṭhī characters of the 15th century. These are divided into two lines ; the first of these seems to contain the word *śāsanapatraṁ* and the second one *dhapuṇya*. It is clear that a subsequent owner of the plates has engraved these letters to enlighten his successors as to the contents of the document.

The mason has evenly distributed the contents of the record over the four sides at his disposal, each side having about 15 or 16 lines. The average number of letters per line is about 39.

The plates are in a fair state of preservation. The surface of the record is slightly damaged in a few places on the third plate, but the entire record is perfectly legible in the original. The engraving of individual letters is fairly good and rarely slipshod. The charter, however, was not revised and there are numerous examples of inadvertent omissions ; cf. *tatā* for *tatāna* (l. 19), *-saṁkhōdakshaṁ* for *-saṁkshōbha-dakshaṁ* (l. 20), *gmē* for *jagmē* and *vinda-rāja* for *Gōvinda-rāja* (l. 24), *Mālaśādayaḥ* for *Mālavēśādayaḥ* (l. 29), etc. Even wrongly repeated letters or words are not crossed out ; cf. *-karakaṭa* for *-karaṭa* (l. 7), *-parāchya-parāchya* for *-parāchya* (l. 31), etc.

The **characters** of the plates are Nāgarī and are similar to those found in the Taḷegāon plates of the donor's father[1] and the Paiṭhāṇ plates of his son.[2] The record contains no numerical figures ; the stop *t* occurs a few times (*e.g.*, in lines 13, 56, 58, etc.), and is indicated by the normal form of the letter *ta* with a short horizontal line under it.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit throughout. There are, however, a number of *sandhi* mistakes like *bhūpaśuchi-* for *bhūpaś=śuchi-* (l. 2), *°t=srēyō* for *°ch=chhrēyō* (l. 61). The formal part of the record is in prose, the rest of it is in poetry with the exception of the opening letter *ōṁ*.

With respect to **orthography**, the following points may be noted. *V* is written throughout for *b*. In a conjunct of which *r* is the first member the second member is usually, but not invariably, doubled. A nasal is preferably indicated by an *anusvāra* even when followed by a dental ; even *m* at the end of the verse or half-verse is usually indicated by an *anusvāra*.

The genealogical verses in this charter are already known to us from other copper plates of the dynasty. The genealogy commences with **Gōvinda I**, his father Indra Pṛichchhakarāja and grandfather Dantivarman, who figure in some other records,[3] being passed over. As the charter was issued by **Dhruva**, a cousin of **Dantidurga**, within 25 years of the death of the latter, it naturally does not omit Dantidurga's name from the genealogy as is done in some other records.[4] Some of the later records of the dynasty[5] omit the name of Dantidurga and ascribe the overthrow of the Chālukyas to **Kṛishṇa I.** The present charter, which is issued by a son of Kṛishṇa I. himself, gives to Dantidurga alone the credit of overthrowing the Chālukyas. Probably neither of these statements is entirely correct. It is more probable that Kṛishṇa I. merely completed the work of his brilliant nephew Dantidurga. Documents like the Rādhanpur plates of Gōvinda III, which omitted the name of Dantidurga probably because he was a collateral, had no option but to ascribe the entire credit of the defeat of the Chālukyas to Kṛishṇa I. The real fact, however, was that the major portion of the work of annihilating the Chālukya prestige and power was done by Dantidurga ; his uncle Kṛishṇa merely completed what his nephew had left unfinished.

The charter describes the specific exploits of Dantidurga in the usual way, but in the case of Kṛishṇa I. the description of his bravery is general, the overthrow of Rāhappa being the only

[1] *Ante*, Vol. XIII, pp. 275 ff. [2] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 105 ff.

[3] *E.g.* Daśāvatāra cave inscription, *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. V, p. 87 ; Sanjān plates of Amōghavarsha I, *ante*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 235 ff.

[4] *E.g.* Kāpaḍwanj grant of Kṛishṇa II, *ante*, Vol. I, pp. 52 ff. ; Bagumrā plates of Indra III., *ante*, Vol. IX, pp. 24 ff.

[5] Wāṇī-Diṇḍori and Rādhanpur plates of Gōvinda III, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 157 ff., *ante*, Vol. VI, pp. 242 ff. ; Kāpaḍwanj plates of Kṛishṇa II, etc.

specific feat mentioned. Rāhappa was apparently a powerful ruler, for we are told that Kṛishṇa could assume the imperial title only after defeating him. It is a great pity that we should still be unable to identify this potentate.[1]

Vv. 21 and 22 of this charter, describing the war between the grantor and his elder brother Gōvinda II, occur only in one other charter, *viz.*, the Paiṭhāṇ plates of Gōvinda III.[2] Some important defects in the readings of v. 22 as given in that charter can be corrected with the help of the present grant. Dr. Kielhorn had restored with some hesitation the 2nd and 3rd *pādas* of this verse as follows :—

[bhrā]tur=da[tta]-raṇē vijitya ta[ra]sā paśchāt=tatō bhūya[ta]ḥ (bhūyasaḥ ?)

prāchy-ōdīchya-[p]arachya-pāsya[3] (parān=vyapāsya ?) cha lasat-Pāli-dhvajair=[bhū]shitaṁ.

The last word in the second *pāda* of this verse in our charter is *bhūpatē*, which has to be corrected into *bhūpatīn*.[4] Obviously *bhūpatīn* and neither *bhūyataḥ* nor *bhūyasaḥ* is the word intended by the poet. The line so read now shows that Dhruva first defeated his brother and then attacked his allies afterwards. Our charter further shows that the real reading of the third line is intended to be *prāchy-ōdīchya-parāchya-yāmya-vilasat-Pālidhvajair=bhūshitaṁ*. To judge from his emendation and translation, Kielhorn seems to have been inclined to construe the opening words of this line with the kings defeated by Dhruva. It is however clear from the above reading that the compound describes the Pālidhvaja. Dr. Pathak has pointed out on the authority of the *Ādi-Purāṇa* of Jinasēna[5] that the Pālidhvaja consisted of four groups of 1,080 flags with particular signs arranged in the four quarters of the army. It can therefore be very fittingly described as glittering in the north and south and east and west as l. 3 of the present verse does in our charter.

When did the revolution take place which put Dhruva on the throne ? This question cannot be answered very confidently as yet. So long the earliest reference to the war between the two brothers was found in the Daulatābād plates of Śaṅkaragaṇa, issued in 793 A.D.[6] So we could only say that the war took place sometime before 793 A.D. and after 772 A.D., the latest known date for Kṛishṇa I.[7] The present charter, issued early in January 781 A.D., now contains the earliest reference to this war. So we can conclude that the war was over by the end of 780 A.D. when Dhruva had succeeded in establishing himself firmly on the throne.

[1] For possible conjectures on this point see Altekar, *The Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 43.

[2] *Ante*, Vol. III, pp. 105 ff.

[3] Kielhorn's reading *pāsya* is not justified by his own facsimile, which shows clearly that the correct reading in that plate also is *yāmya*. The way in which the letters *mya* in *niśamya* and *syā* in *tasy=ātmajō* are written in l. 6 of the Paiṭhāṇ plates will make it clear that we have to read *yāmya* and not *pāsya* there also.

[4] [This correction is not necessary. The correct reading of this *pāda* in the Paiṭhāṇ Plates is *chāturddanta-raṇē.....bhūpatīḥ* and the same reading is intended in the present grant also. The context shows that the term *chāturddanta* which occurs also in the inscriptions of Vishṇukuṇḍin rulers and in the Khamkhed Plates of Pratāpaśīla (above, p. 95) has been used in the sense of *chaturaṅga-sēnā*. I cannot trace the word in this sense in Sanskrit lexicons but Mr. N. L. Rao draws my attention to its use in this sense in the Kanarese *Pampa-Bhārata*, a work of A.D. 941 by Pampa (Ch. XI, prose following verses 56 and 57), and *Pampa-Rāmāyaṇa*, a Jaina work of about 1100 A.D. by Nāgachandra *alias* Abhinava Pampa (see Chs. IX, verse 12 and XIII, v. 96) and also in the following verse from an unpublished Kanarese inscription in the Bijapur Museum :—*Āṭana rājya-śrīge nikētanaṁ=ene tanna bhuja-baḷaṁ maṁtra-baḷaṁ chāturddamta-baḷaṁ vikhyātige Bhāyila-chamūpan=āśrayan=ādaṁ ||*. This verse may then be translated as follows : 'When the Vallabha (*i.e.*, Gōvinda II) did not make peace through conciliatory measures then, the great and mighty lord (*mahēnō vibhuḥ, i.e.*, Dhruva) forthwith defeated him in a battle in which the army consisted of the four divisions and, thereafter, obtained the entire sovereignty of the king, decorated with the emblems of *Pālidhvajas* glittering in the east, north, west and the south.' This interpretation would show that there is no reference to the defeat of the allies of Gōvinda II. in this verse as Prof. Altekar thinks.—Ed.]

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 104.

[6] *Ante*, Vol. IX, pp. 195 ff.

[7] Supplied by the Bhāṇḍak plates, *ibid.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 121 ff.

How much earlier he had ascended the throne is a question, the answer of which is beset with difficulties. The Pimpari plates of Dhruva,[1] issued in 775 A.D., mention Dhruva as the reigning emperor, but in the Dhulia plates, issued in December 779 A.D.,[2] we find Gōvinda II described as the reigning emperor, and a son of Dhruva making a land grant apparently with the authority of Gōvinda II. Can we get over the resulting chronological discrepancy by holding that the Dhulia plates are spurious? Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has recently drawn attention to one very important circumstance tending to show almost conclusively that the Dhulia plates are spurious.[3] He points out that the composer of the Dhulia plates of Gōvinda II was well acquainted with the two verses beginning with *Tasy=ānujaḥ śrī-Dhruvarājanāmā* and *Jātē yatra cha Rāshṭrakūṭa-tilakē*, which describe Dhruva as the imperial ruler. He further points out that these verses could have been composed by the court panegyrist only when Dhruvarāja had become king. 'How could these verses', says he, 'which must have been composed during the reign of Dhruvarāja alone, find a place in the Dhulia grant which refers itself to the reign of his predecessor?'

Under normal circumstances, this argument would have been quite decisive to prove that the Dhulia plates are spurious. But there are certain special circumstances which materially affect its cogency. From the Dēōlī and Karhāḍ plates of Kṛishṇa III. we know that sensual pleasures made Gōvindarāja careless of the kingdom and that entrusting fully the universal sovereignty to his younger brother Nirupama, he allowed his position as sovereign to become loose.[4] It is clear from this that while Dhruva was ostensibly governing the kingdom as regent for his elder brother, he was secretly trying to strengthen his position as the *de facto* sovereign. One of the steps to be taken for this purpose would be to issue land grants in his own name as the reigning emperor, ignoring his elder brother altogether. The issue of the Pimpari plates was a result of this policy of gradual and surrepticious usurpation. Since Dhruva was the *de facto* sovereign administering the kingdom for his brother, it is quite possible that not only the two verses beginning with *Tasy-ānujaḥ* and *Jātē yatra*, but all the verses in the Pimpari plates describing the greatness of Dhruva as the emperor, could well have been composed by the court panegyrists of his faction as early as 775 A.D., when Gōvinda was only a sleeping emperor, facilitating the kingdom to slip into the hands of his brother, whom he had appointed regent.

Verse 11 of the Daulatābād plates states that Dhruva took over the administration entrusted to a stranger by his brother and assumed the royal authority in order that sovereignty may not deviate from the family. It would appear that Gōvinda soon saw through the game of Dhruva when *inter alia* he began to issue charters like the Pimpari plates in his own name. He removed him from the headship of the administration and entrusted it to some one else, who did not belong to the Imperial family. For a time Gōvinda seems to have asserted himself, and v. 21 of our charter shows that Dhruva thought it prudent to follow a policy of conciliation for some time. Apparently he offered outward submission and he and his son were confirmed as local governors. The Dhulia plates were issued by a son of Dhruva in 779 A.D. at a time when he thought it prudent not to openly flout the authority of his brother. Hence they mention Gōvinda as the reigning emperor, but at the same time contain a verse in eulogy of Dhruva.

Though outwardly at peace, the brothers were heading to an inevitable war. From the Daulatābād plates (v. 11) we find that owing to his licentious habits Gōvinda's administration deteriorated and his feudatories rebelled against him. This offered a golden opportunity to Dhruva to rebel openly against his brother, ostensibly for the purpose, not of getting the throne for himself,

[1] *Ante*, Vol. X, pp. 81 ff. [2] *Ante*, Vol. VIII, pp. 182 ff.

[3] Above, pp. 102 f. I am indebted to Prof. Bhandarkar for kindly placing at my disposal a copy of the first proof of his paper.

[4] *Ante*, Vol. V, p. 193, v. 10; Vol. IV, p. 282, v. 11.

but of retaining the empire for the family. Gōvinda made an alliance with the kings of Mālava, Kāñchī, Vēṅgi and Gaṅgavāḍī. Dhruva was however a skilful general; l. 2 of v. 22 of our charter shows that he first defeated Gōvinda before the latter could get help from his allies and then attacked and drove them out. The decisive battles of this war were very probably fought in the year 780 A.D. In 779 A.D. Dhruva was still recognising the sovereignty of Gōvinda as the Dhulia plates show. Before the beginning of January 781 A.D. he had defeated both his brother and the latter's allies as the present charter shows.[1]

We have seen already how the occurrence of the verse *Tasy=ānujaḥ* in the Dhulia charter is not sufficient to pronounce it as spurious. It is no doubt carelessly written, but that circumstance alone is not sufficient to call it spurious, as pointed out by the late R. B. Venkayya, the then editor of the *Epigraphia Indica*.[2] It is further to be noted that *Makarasaṁkrānti* did take place on the 10th *tithi* of the bright half of Pausha of Śaka Saṁvat 701 expired, as the Dhulia charter asserts.[3] Forged grants are rarely correct in the astronomical details of their dates. Further, if the donee of the Dhulia plates had set out to get a forged charter, investing him with the ownership of the village Rakkhula, he would naturally have seen to it that the donor mentioned was a well-known king like Dhruva or Gōvinda III rather than an obscure prince like Karkka Pratāpaśīla, who never ascended the throne. As it is, we do not know the name of this son of Dhruva from any other source.[4]

If we assume that the Dhulia plates are spurious and that Dhruva had ousted his brother as early as 775 A.D. (when the Pimpari plates were issued), the reign of Gōvinda will be of not more than three years. Nay, it may be even shorter, for his father Kṛishṇa I may well have ruled for some months after June 772 A.D., when the Bhāṇḍak plates were issued. Now during this short period of three years we shall have to assume that:—

1. Kṛishṇa I ruled for some weeks or months, and then died.
2. Gōvinda II ascended the throne peacefully and himself governed for some time, during which period he defeated a king named Pārijāta and relieved (or perhaps devastated) the city or province of Gōvardhana[5] (Daulatābād plates, v. 10).
3. He then appointed Dhruva as his regent who soon began to intrigue secretly against his brother (Karhāḍ plates, v. 10).
4. Gōvinda then detected his brother's ambition and removed him from the headship of the administration, entrusting it to a stranger (Daulatābād plates, v. 11).
5. Dhruva then submitted for some time to his brother, seeking to win him over by peaceful means (vv. 21-2 of this charter).
6. Gōvinda spurned aside these overtures and formed a confederacy with the kings of Vēṅgi, Kāñchī, Mālava, and Gaṅgavāḍī.

[1] [But see p. 178, n. 4.—Ed.]

[2] *Ante*, Vol. X, p. 82, n. 1.

[3] *Ante*, Vol. VIII, p. 183, n. 2.

[4] [The dates given in spurious records need not always be incorrect. But there are other considerations for declaring a record spurious (see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 202 f.). In the case of the Dhulia plates, there is, first of all, the chronological difficulty; secondly, the name of the donor, *viz.*, Karka Pratāpaśīla referred to as the son of Dhruva has not yet been verified from any other source; thirdly, the characters of the plates are indifferently formed and at least a few of them have forms which we find in the records of a later period. For example, the letters *ja*, *tha*, *ka*, etc., do not resemble those found in the grants of Dhruva or even Gōvinda III while they are similar to those occurring in the records of Amōghavarsha (Sanjān plates, above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 243 ff.) or Kṛishṇa III. (Dēōlī plates, above, Vol. V, pp. 192 ff.). All these points taken together with those already mentioned by Pathak and Bhandarkar, give rise to a suspicion about the genuineness of the Dhulia plates in spite of the arguments adduced by Prof. Altekar in favour of their genuineness.—Ed.]

[5] Above, Vol. IX, p. 194 and note 1.

7. The two brothers then openly fought with each other, and Dhruva got the throne after defeating his brother (vv. 21-2 of the present charter).

I think that three years is too short a period for these events to take place.[1] And yet we shall have to suppose that they did take place during that short period if we are to assume that the Dhulia plates are spurious, and that Dhruva was already a full-fledged king, when the Pimpari plates were issued in 775 A.D. I have alredy shown how there is yet no satisfactory evidence to show that the Dhulia plates are spurious. We shall have therefore to conclude that (1) the Pimpari plates were issued by Dhruva when he was only a *de facto* and not a *de jure* emperor; (2) that he was later removed from the headship of administration when Gōvinda detected his treachery; (3) that he then tried to win over his brother by conciliation, Dhulia plates being issued at a time when he thought it impolitic to openly flout the authority of his brother; (4) that no amicable settlement could be arrived at between the two brothers; and Gōvinda formed a confederacy against his brother which the latter defeated completely during the year 780 A.D.; (5) that Dhruva became a *de jure* emperor only towards the close of 780 A.D., our present charter being the first one known so far, to be issued by him as a *de jure* emperor.

The donee of this charter is **Vāsudēvabhaṭṭa** who was the son of Durgabhaṭṭa, and was famous for his proficiency in the interpretation of the Vēdas and Vēdāṅgas (*sāṅg-ōpāṅga-vēd-ārtha-tatva-vidushē*). The present charter would show that Karhāḍa, which is the same as Karāḍ in Satārā district, was a centre of scholarship where Vedic exegesis was also given attention to. Karāḍ was undoubtedly a famous centre of education in the Rāshṭrakūṭa period, for we find many of the donees of Rāshṭrakūṭa grants hailing from that town. This, for instance, is the case with the donees of the Sāmangaḍ plates of Dantidurga,[2] the present grant of Dhruva and the Sanjān charter of Amōghavarsha I.[3]

The village granted to Vāsudēvabhaṭṭa by this charter was **Laghuviṅga**, bounded on the north, east, south and west by the **Nīrā river**, **Śrīmāla town**, **Layaṇa-giri** and **Bṛihad-Viṅga** respectively. Laghu-Viṅga is further stated to be situated in **Śrīmāla**-*vishaya*. **Śrīmāla** is obviously the same as Shirval, a large village in Bhor state, about 32 miles from Poona on the Poona-Satara road. **Laghu-Viṅga** village seems to be either the same or a portion of the village Viṅga, about 3 miles to the west of Shirval. From the information kindly supplied to me by the Bhor government, and by Mr. R. S. Phadnis of Bhor, I find that Viṅga is bounded on the north, east, south and west by the Nīrā river, Shirval village, Nēṇāḍī hill and Vaḍagaon respectively. The northern and eastern boundaries of Viṅga are identical with those of Laghu-Viṅga; Nēṇāḍī hill also is clearly the same as **Layaṇa-giri**, the present name being the vernacular form of Layaṇādri. The eastern slope of Nēṇāḍī hill has several caves of the Buddhist type, majority, however, being now in a dilapidated condition. One of them still possesses a *stūpa*, about 12 feet in height. The caves are obviously earlier than our charter and were clearly the cause of the name which the hill bore in the 8th century. To the west of modern Viṅga is the village Vaḍagaon. It is quite possible that this Vaḍagaon is **Bṛihad-Viṅga** of our charter. The derivation of the name Vaḍagaon, a popular village name in Mahārāshṭra, from the presence of a Vaṭa tree in the village, is due to popular etymology. It would appear that Bṛihad-Viṅga in course of time came to be known simply as Bṛihad-grāma in contradistinction to Laghu-Viṅga and was later changed into Vaḍagaon.

[1] [The events occurring during this period have also been discussed by Prof. Bhandarkar where he has given a different explanation (see above, pp. 103 f.).—Ed.]

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 111 ff.

[3] *Ante*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 235 ff.

TEXT.

[Metres: *Anushṭubh*, vv. 1, 26-7, 29, 31; *Vasantatilakā*, vv. 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 9, 15; *Upajāti*, vv. 4, 19; *Gīti*, v. 7; *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, vv. 10, 17, 20, 21, 22; *Āryā*, vv. 11-14, 23, 25; *Sragdharā*, vv. 16, 18; *Indravajrā*, 24, 28, 30; *Pushpitāgrā*, v. 32.]

First Plate.

1 ओं [।*] स वोध्याद्विधसा धाम यं(यन्)नाभिकमलं क्षतं (तम्) [।*] हरश्च यस्य का(कां)तेंदुकलया कमलंकृतं(तम्) ।[। १॥*] आसौद्वि(द्वि)ध-

2 ति(त्ति)मिरसुद्यतमण्डलायो द्रु(ध्व)स्तिं नयंन(यच्च)भिसुखो रणमूर्ध्वरोषु [।*] भूय-श्च(पश्चु)चिर्विधुरिवास्त(स)दिगंतकीर्त्तिं-

3 र्गोविंदराज इति राजसु राजसिंघ(हः) [॥ २॥*] दृष्ट्वा घमून(म)भिसुखीं सुभटाट(टाट्ट)हासासुना(त्रा)मितं सपदि येन रणे-

4 षु नित्यं [।*] दृष्टाधरेण दधता भ्रुकुटिं ललाटे खड्गं कुलञ्च हृदयञ्च निजञ्च श्र(स)त्वं(त्त्वम्) ।[। ३॥*] खड्गं करार्या(त्रा)न्मुखत-

5 श्च यांभा मानो मनस्वास(स्व)ममेव यस्य [।*] मङ्गाश्वे नाम निशम्य सप्तकलयं रिपूणां विमलंत्यक्तायके ।[। ४॥*] त-

6 स्यात्मजो जगति विश्रुतदीर्घकीर्त्तिरार्त्तार्त्तिहारिहरिविक्रम[धाम*]धारी [।*] भूपस्त्रि-विष्टपलता(तृपा)तुलति(तिः) क्षत-

7 त्रः श्रीकर्णराज इति गोत्रमणिर्व(र्वं)भूव ।[। ५॥*] तस्यो(स्य) प्राभिन(प्रभिन्न)-क[2]कट(खरट)श्च(च्चु)तदानि(न)दंतिदं[3]तप्रहारक्षधि-

8 रोलि(क्षि)खितंश्र(तांस)पीठ[: ।*] क्षाप[:*] चितौ क्षपितश्चुरभूत(त्त)नूजः सद्राष्ट्रकूट-कलकाह्व(द्रि)रिवेंद्रराज[:॥ ६॥*]

9 तस्यीपार्जितमङ्गस्तनयश्चतुरदधिवलयमालिन्या[: ।*] भोक्ता भुवः शतक्रतुसदृशः श्रीद(दं)-

10 तिदुर्गराजोभूत् [॥ ७॥*] काञ्चीशवेरलनराधिपचोर(ल)पाण्ड्यश्रीहर्षवज्रटविभेद-विधानदक्ष(क्षम्) [।*] कर्णाटकं प(ब)लमचिंत्यस-

11 नेयमंन्यै(मन्ये)भृ(भृं)त्यै(त्यैः) क्रियद्भिरपि यः सहसा जिगायः(य) [॥ ८॥*] श्रा(त्र)भूविभंगमगटीतनिशातशस्त्रं(स्त्र)मत्रांतमप्रतिहं-

12 तास्त्रमपैतथत्रं(त्रम्) [।*] यो वस(ङ्ग)भं श्र(स)पटि दक्ष[ब*]सैन जित्वा राजा-धिराजय[र*]मेश्वरतामवाप ॥[९ ॥*] श्रा सैतोर्व्विपुलो-

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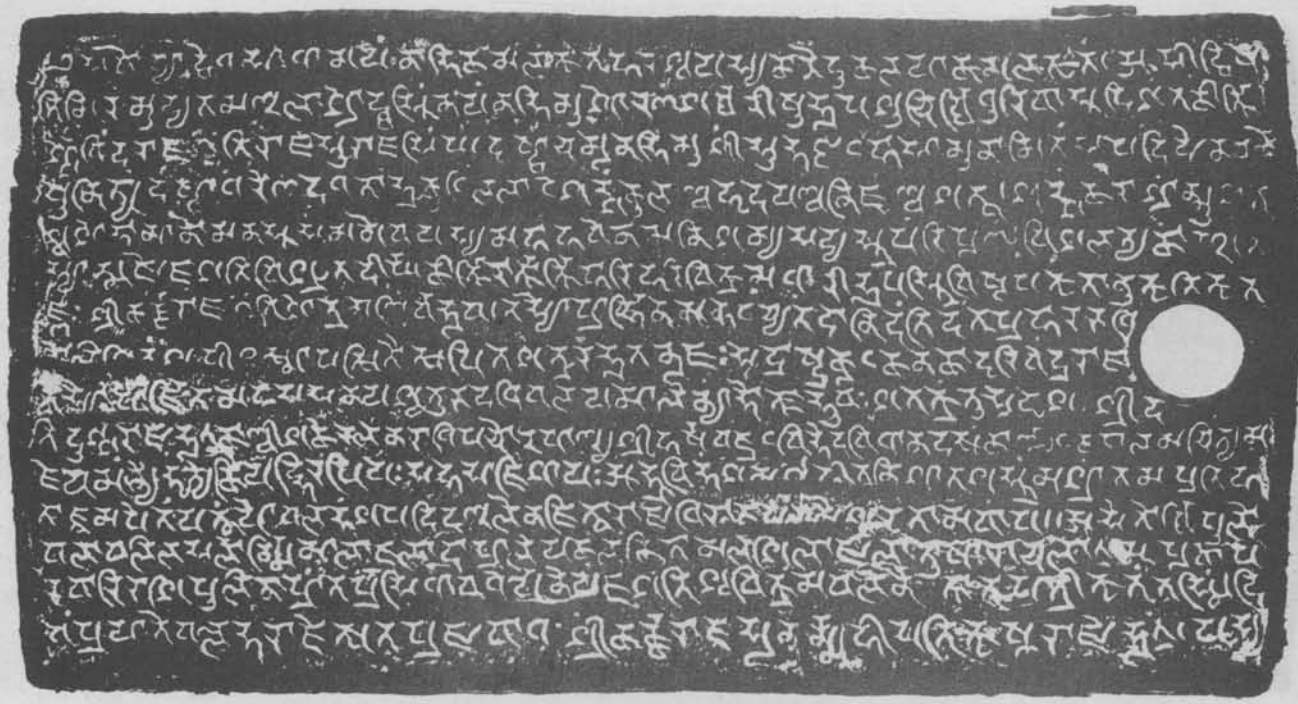
[1] The *anusvāra* mark being shallow has not come out in the ink impression.

[2] There is a natural depression here on the plate surface which looks like an *anusvāra* mark.

[3] There is a natural depression after *ka* which looks like a *ra*.

[4] The *anusvāra* over द is shifted to the right of the letter owing to its proper space being taken by the letter स्त्र above it.

i.



iia.

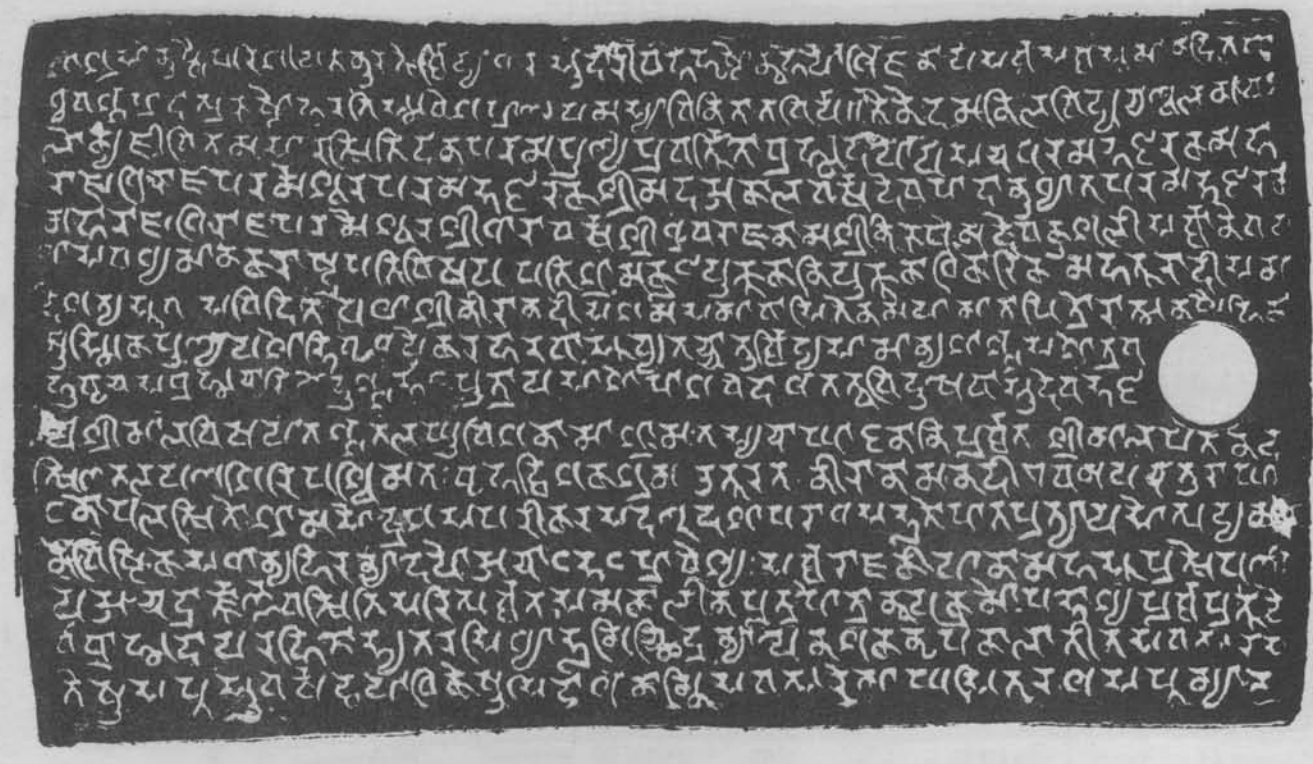


N. P. Chakravarti.
Reg. No. 3384 E'35.–425.

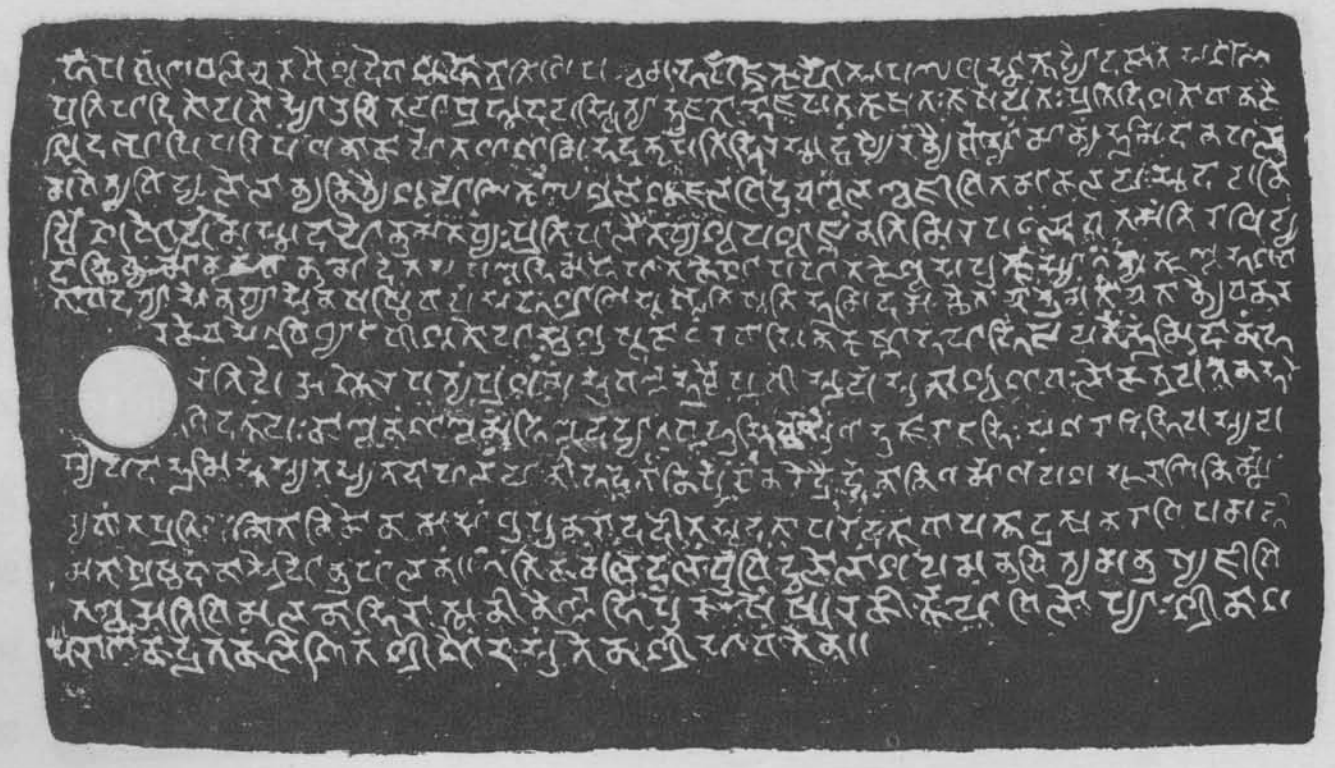
SCALE : THREE-QUARTERS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

iib.



iii.



13 पलावलिलस[क्षो*]लोर्म्मिमालाजलादाप्रालेयकलंकितामलशिलाजालासुधाराचलात् [।*] श्रा पूर्वाप-

14 रवारिराशिपुलिना(न)प्रांतप्रसिधा(द्धा)वधेर्येनेयं जगति(ती) श्र(स्व)विक्रमव(ब)लेनैकात-पत्रीकृतं(ता) [॥ १०॥*] तस्मिंदि(स्मिन्दि)-

15 वं प्रयाते वल्लभराजे क्षतप्रजावा(बा)धः [।*] श्रीकर्कराजसूनुर्म्महीपतिः कृष्णरा-जोभूत् ।[। ११॥*] यस्य

Second Plate ; First Side.

16 स्वभुजपराक्रमनिर्म्मि(र्म्मे)घोच्छा(च्छा)दितारिदिङ्मुखं[1] [।*] कृष्णस्येवाकृष्णं चरितं श्री(श्रो)कृष्णराजस्य ॥[१२॥*] शुभतुंगतुंगतुरगप्र-

17 ङ्खरेणु(णू)र्ध्व(र्ध्वं)रुध्व(द्ध)रविकिरधां(णम्) [।*] श्रीखेपि नभो निखिलं प्राङ्महा-लायते स्पष्टं(ष्टम्) ॥[१३॥*] दीनानाथप्रणयिषु यथेष्टचेष्टं स-

18 मीहितमजस्र(स्रम्) [।*] तत्क्षणमकालवर्षं(र्षि) वर्षति सर्व्वार्तिनिर्व्वपणं(णम्) [॥ १४॥*] राङ्घ्यमात्मभुजजातव(ब)लावलेपमाजौ विजि-

19 त्य निशितासि(सि)लताग्रहो(स्ता)रैः [।*] पालिङ्(ध्व)जावलिशुभामचिरेण यो हि राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरतां तता[न ॥१५॥*] क्रोधादुत्खातख-

20 ड्गप्रभ्रु(स्रु)तरुचिचयैः(यै)र्भासमानं समंतादाजादु(वु)द्भूत(त्त)वैरिप्रकटगजघटाटोपसंघो-[भ*]दक्षं(क्षम्) [।*] श्रीर्यं त्यक्ता(क्षा)रिव-

21 र्गो भयचकित[व*]पुः[:*] क्वापि दृष्टैव सद्य(द्यो) दर्प्पाध्मातारिचक्रक्षयकरमगमद्यस्य दोर्दण्डरु(रु)र्यं(पम्) [॥१६॥*] पाता यश्चतु-

22 रं[र्वु*]राशिरशनालंकारभाजो भुवःस्वैर्य(वश्वश्या)चापि क्षता(त)द्विजामरगुरुः(रुः)(ब)प्रा-ज्याज्यपूजादरो(रः) [।*] दाता मानभृदग्रणीर्गुणव-

23 तां योसौ श्रू(श्रि)यो वल्लभो भोक्तुं स्वर्गफलानि भूरितपसा स्थानं जगामामरं-(रम्) [॥१७॥*] यैश्च श्वेतातपत्रप्रहृतरवि-

24 करव्राततापात्सलीलं [ज*]ग्मे नाग्री(सो)रधूलीधवलितशिरसा वल्लभाख्यः सदाजा ॥(।) स श्री[गो*]विंदराजो जितजग-

25 द्दहितस्त्रैणवैधव्यहेतुः(तु)स्तस्यासो[त्*] सूनुरेकः क्षणरचदलितारातिमा(म)त्तेभकुंभः [॥ १८॥*] तस्यानुज[:*] श्रीध्रुव-

26 राजनामा सज्ञानुभावोप्रहृतप्रताप[: ।*] प्रसाधिताग्रेषनरेंद्रचक्र(क्रः) क्रमेण या(बा)-लार्क्कवपू(पु)र्व्व(र्व)भूव [॥ १९॥*] ज्ञा(ज्ञा)से यत्र च राष्ट्रकूटति-

27 लके सद्रूपचूडामणौ गुर्व्वी तुष्टिरथाखिलस्य जगतः सुस्वामिनि प्रत्यहं(हम्) [।*] त्त(स)त्यं र्ध्र(स)त्यमिति प्रसा(द्धा)नति स

[1] The anusvāra mark being shallow has not come out in the ink impression.

28 ति क्षमामात्स(स)मुद्रांतिकामासीध(द्ध)र्मपरे गुणामृतनिधौ सत्यव्रताधिष्टि(ष्ठि)ते [॥ २०॥*] श्रीकाञ्चीपतिगांगवे(वें)गिकयुता

29 ये मान्य[वे*]ग्रादय: प्राप्यामानयति स्म तां(तान्) क्षितिभृतो य: प्रातिराज्यामति(पि)[1] [।*] माणिक्याभरणानि हेमनिचयं

30 यस्य प्रपद्योपरि शं(स्वं) येन प्रति तं तथापि न कृतं चेतोन्यथा भ्रातरं(रम्) ॥[२१॥*] सामाद्यैरपि वल्लभो न हि यदा धं[धिं*] व्य-

31 धातं त्तदा(त्तं तदा) चा(भ्रा)तुईत(त्त)रणे विजित्य तरसा पश्चात(त्त)तो भूपतै[2](तीन्) [।*] प्राच्योदीच्यपराच्यपराच्य[3]याम्यविल्ल(ल)सत्पालिध्वजै-

32 र्भूषितं चिह्नैर्य: परमेश्वरत्वमखिलं लेभे महेन्तो[4](न्द्रो) विभु: [॥२२॥*) यशधरकरनिकरनिभं यस्य यश: स्फुरन-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

33 गायसानुस्थी[: ।*] परिगीयतेनुरक्तैर्व्विद्याधरसुं[5]दरो[नि*]वरै[: ॥२३॥*] दृष्टोन्यदं योर्थिजनाय सर्व्वं सर्व्वसमानंदितवं(बं)-

34 धुवर्ग्ग[: ।*] प्रादात्प्रहृष्टो हरति स्म वेग(गात्) प्राणा[न्*] यमस्यावि(पि) नितांतविर्य-(र्यः) [॥ २४॥*] तेनेदमनिलविधुच्च(च्च)लमव-

35 लोक्य जीवितमसारं(रम्) [।*] क्षितिदानपरमपुण्यं प्रवर्त्तितो व्र(ब्र)ह्मदायोयं(यम्) [॥२५॥*] स च परमभट्टारकमहा-

36 राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरमभट्टारकश्रीमद(द्)अकालवर्षदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारक-

37 महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीधारावर्षश्रीध्रुवराजनाम[।*] श्रीनरुपमदेव[:*] कुशली सर्व्वानेव य-

38 था[सं*]व(ब)ध्यमानकं(कान्) राष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिग्रामकूटायुक्तका(क)नियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहत्तरादी[न्*] समा-

39 दिशत्यस्तु व: संविदितं यथा श्रीनीरानदीसंगमसमावासितेन मया मातापित्रोरात्मन[6]श्चैहिका-

40 मुष्मि(षि)कपुण्ययशोभिवृध(द्ध)ये कारद्दाडवास्तव्यतत्रातुर्व्विद्यसामान्यगार्ग्यसगोत्रव(ब)-

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[1] The reading in the Paiṭhāṇ plates of Gōvinda III is अपि.

[2] The reading in the Paiṭhāṇ plates of Gōvinda III is भूपत:। The present reading is the better one. [But see above, p. 178, n. 4.—Ed.]

[3] पराच्य is wrongly repeated.

[4] The reading of this letter is doubtful. The conjunct letter looks like न्नो in the original. The Paiṭhāṇ plates reading is महानो. [The correct reading in both the grants seems to be *mahēnō*.—Ed.]

[5] *Anusvāra* mark has not come out here in the ink impression.

[6] Subscript त्म is only partly visible. The hole of the ring has cut its lower portion.

41 कुहच(कृष्ण)सत्र(त्र)ब्रह्मचारिणे दुग्ग(र्ग)भट्टपुत्राय सांगोपांगवेदार्थतत्वविदुषे वासुदेवभट्टा-

42 य ग्रीमा[1]ब्रविषयांतर्गतखडुवि(वि)गनामा ग्रामः तस्य चाचाट(ट)नानि [।*] पूर्व्वतः ग्रीमाब्रपतन(त्तनं) द्व-

43 क्षिणत(तो) लयणगिरि[:*] पश्चिमतः ड(डु)ढिंगब्रग्रामः उत्तरतः नीरा नाम नदी [।*] एवमयं चतुराघा-

44 टनोपलक्षितो ग्राम[:*] सोद्रंग[:*] स(सो)परी(रि)करस(ब्र)दण्डदमापराधस(ब्र)भू-तोपा(तवा)तप्रत्यायसी(ब्री)त्यष्टमा-

45 नविष्टिक[:*] सधान्यहिरं[2](र)ण्या(ब्रा)देयो ग्र(ग्रो)चाटभटप्रवेश्यः सर्व्वराजकीयानामब्र-ब्रप्रवेपणी-

46 य ब्राचंद्रार्कार्ण्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्व्वतसमकालीन[:*] पू(पु)त्रपौत्रान्वयक्रमोपभोग्य(ग्यः) पूर्व्वप्रत्तदे-

47 वत्रा(त्र)ब्रदायरक्षितोभ्यंतरसिध्या(ब्रा) भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन ग्रब्रकृपकालातीतसंवत्सरस(ग्र)-

48 तेषु सप्तसु वर्षद्दयाधिकेषु सिद्धाय(र्थ)नाम्नि संवत्सरे ब्राषाढसितदशसम्यां म-

Third Plate.

49 हापर्व्वणि व(ब)लिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथिपञ्चमहायब्रज्ञयो[3]ब्रर्चनार्थं(र्थं) ब्रात्मात्मी-यदकातिसर्गेण

50 प्रतिपादितो(तः) [।*] यतोस्मी 'र्ज्ञचितया त्र(त्र)ब्रदायक्षित्या भुंजतो भोजयत[:*] ब्रजतः कर्षयतः प्रतिदिग्यतो वा न कै-

51 श्चिदप्यापि परिपंथना कार्या [।*] तथागामिभद्रनृपतिभिरप्यस्मद्वंश्यैर(र)न्यैर्व्वा स्वा(सा)-मान्यं भूमिदानफल-

52 मवेत्य विद्युतो(द्यो)ब्रान्यनित्यैश्वर्याणि [6]तृणाग्रलग्नब्रलवि(बि)दुचञ्चलञ्च जीवितमाकल-य(य्य) स्वदायनि-

53 र्व्विशेषोयमस्मदा(द्या)योनुमंतव्यः प्रतिपाल्ये(लयि)तव्यश्च [।*] यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटला-च्छ[6]तमतिराधि(च्छिं)द्या-

54 दाच्छिद्यमानकं[7] वानुमोदेत स पञ्चभिर्म्महापातकैर्यो(र्यो)पपातकैश्च संयुक्त[:*] स्या[त्*] दित्युक्तञ्च[8] भगव-

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[1] A natural depression on the plate surface here looks like an *anusvāra*.

[2] *Anusvāra*, though clear on the plate has not come out in the impression.

[3] Read क्रियो-°.

[4] This स is superfluous after the preceding *sandhi*.

[5] This letter looks like ज्ञ, but it is due to the slipping of the instrument to the right of त्त.

[6] The letter च्छ is damaged.

[7] क्क is damaged.

[8] Read स्वादिति। उक्तं च.

55 ता भेदव्याघेन [।*] अष्टिं वर्षसहस्रा(स्रा)णि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिद[: ।*]
आच्छेत्ता(त्ता) चानुमंता च तान्येव(न्ये)व नर-
56 [1]रके वसेत् [॥२६॥*] विंध्याटवीष्व(ष्व)तोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिन[: ।*] कृष्णाहयो
हि जायंते भूमिदानं ह
57 रंति ये [॥२७॥*] अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्विष्णवी सूर्यसुताश्च गाव: [।*]
लोकत्रयं तेन भवे-
58 धि(दि) दत्तं य: काञ्चनं गाञ्च महि(ही)ञ्च दद्यात् [॥२८॥*] व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधा
भुक्ता राजभि: सगरादिभि[: ।*] यस्य य-
59 स्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) [॥२९॥*] यानीह दत्ता(त्ता)नि पुरा नरे(रै)न्द्रैर्दानानि धर्मार्थयशस्कराणि [।*] निर्म्मा-
60 ल्यवांतप्रति[मानि*] तानि को नाम साधु[:*] पुनराददीत [॥३०॥*] स्वदत्तां(त्तां) परदत्तां वा ब्रह्मवृत्त्य वसुंधरां [।*] [महीं*] महो-
61 मत्ता(तां) श्रेष्ठ दानमानुशंस्ये(च्छे)नानुपा(पा)लनं(नम्) ॥[३१॥*] इति कमलदलांबु(म्बु)-
विं(बिं)दुलोलां श्रि(श्रि)यमनुचि(चिं)त्य मनुष्यजीवि-
62 तञ्च [।*] अतिविमल[म*]नोभिरात्मनीनैर्य्यं(र्न) हि पुरुषै>परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्या: [॥३२॥*] श्रीनाग-
63 [प]राणकदूतकं लिखितं श्रीगौडसुतेन श्रीसावं(मं)तेन ॥

B

THE BHOR STATE MUSEUM PLATES OF KHAMBHA II ; SAKA 1001.

The plates are three in number. The serial number of each plate in the set is engraved near the ring hole, a little away from the lines of the main record. The size of the plates, which is fairly uniform, is 7·8″×4·2″ and the thickness about $\frac{1}{12}$″. The edges have not been raised into rims. The plates were originally strung together by means of a ring passing through holes, about ·5″ in diameter, perforated at the centre of the left side, about ·5″ from the edge. The ends of the ring are soldered together by means of a seal which is bell-shaped, being 1″ in height and 1·2″ in diameter. On the seal is superimposed the figure of a lion in the round crudely executed. The seal bears no inscription. At a subsequent unknown date the ring had been cut, but the seal and soldering are still intact. The weight of the plates along with the seal and the ring is 122 *tolas* ; the weight of the plates alone is 100 *tolas*.

The inscription is engraved on the inner side of the first and the last plates and on both the sides of the second. The engraving is throughout by the same hand. Each side has 11 lines of writing with the exception of the first side of the second plate, which has only 10. The last lines of the second side of the second plate and of the third plate are only about half of the normal length. The first line of the record has 33 letters including the four numerals ; probably, discovering by computation that the space at his disposal permitted a greater spacing of letters, the mason went on gradually reducing the number of letters per line ; from l. 9 onwards we have on an average

[1] This is superfluous.

only 22 letters per line. The last full line has however 31 letters; this was obviously done with a view to avoid the use of the outer side of the third plate.

The plates are in a fair state of preservation and the engraving of individual letters is fairly good. Only in a few cases can we detect carelessness, as for instance, in the case of *dhā* in *pañcha-pradhānāḥ*, l. 15, *t* in *kil=āsīt*, l. 17 and the omission of two letters in v. 4.

The **characters** are Dēvanāgarī. Only a few letters like *i*, *ē*, *ṇa*, *ḍa*, *dha*, and *śrī*, differ from modern characters. The following **palæographical** points deserve notice: (1) *Pṛishṭhamātrās* occur in the case of medial *ai* and *au*; cf. *paurṇamāsyāṁ* l. 2, *vairi* l. 4, *Tailappa* ll. 19, 20, etc. In the case of medial *ē*, the *pṛishṭhamātrā* occurs only in a few cases; cf. *tēla* l. 9, *yēna* l. 21, *Khaṁbhēna* l. 27; in the majority of cases a slanting line to the left going upwards is used to denote it. (2) The form of *n* in *ētasmin* l. 11 is obviously due to the slipping of the instrument. (3) The medial *ū* is denoted by a loop open to the right, which is very much similar to the loop used to denote the medial *ṛi*; cf. *sūnuḥ* l. 20, *pūrvam* l. 26, with *ṇṛipa* l. 1 and *vṛiddhi* l. 6. (4) The plates show two forms of *ha*; the unusual cursive one is to be seen certainly in *siṁha* l. 15, and possibly in *vāha* (?) l. 8. The **numerical figures** for 1 and 0 occur in the record itself and those of 1, 2, and 3 on its margin.

The following points deserve mention in connection with the **orthography**: (1) *V* is written throughout for *b*. (2) *Sa* is throughout written for *ś*. This is the case even in conjunct letters like *śva* (ll. 3, 5, etc.), the only exceptions among the conjuncts being the letters *śrī* (ll. 14, 16) and *ścha* (l. 4). (3) In a conjunct of which *r* is the first member the second letter is doubled only in a few cases; cf. *paurṇṇa*° l. 2, *-varggaḥ* l. 21, *sarvvān* l. 41. A nasal is preferably denoted by an *anusvāra* including even *m* at the end of a verse or half-verse; the cases where it is denoted by the nasal of the class of the following letter, as in *mārtaṇḍaṁ* and *gaṇḍaṁ* l. 4, *Viṅga* ll. 6 and 7, are few. (5) There are no punctuation marks at the end of prose sentences except in one case where we have two vertical strokes (l. 15). (6) Verses are not numbered and their punctuation is very irregular. All such irregularities have been noticed in footnotes, added to the text.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit. Prākrit terms are however used in ll. 8 and 9 where taxes are enumerated. Case-endings of the names of ministers and their epithets are also in Prākrit, cf. *māmalu*, *parabalu*, *pradhānu*, l. 13 and *amātyu*, l. 14. The rules of *sandhi* have often been ignored especially in the portion having Prākrit endings. In the metrical portion the language is fairly correct, but not a single line of the prose portion is without syntactical anomalies. It is clear that the draftsman did not at all know how to write correct Sanskrit. The opening clause giving the date is awkward in construction and ungrammatical. In the sentence following, the writer intended apparently to have at the beginning a clause in the locative absolute like *Khambha-dēva-rājyē abhivardhamānē*; but he wrongly put all the adjectives of Khambha-dēva in the accusative case, perhaps under the wrong notion that these were meant to qualify *rājyaṁ* in l. 6. The next sentence (ll. 7-10) is indeed unique in having neither the subject nor the predicate. Then follows a long sentence (ll. 11-15) giving the names of the five ministers of the donor. Here we have such a plethora of epithets used in connection with these dignitaries that it becomes very difficult to discover the real names of the five ministers. In the concluding portion of the charter the word governed by *dattaṁ* has no case-ending at all. Most of these mistakes are apparently the mistakes of the draftsman and not of the engraver.

The form of this charter is rather unique and calls for notice. Usually the copper-plates first give the genealogy of the donor, then mention his name along with the names of his officers, then describe the donee and the object granted, and end by quoting the imprecatory verses. In this charter after the mention of the date, we have the description of the donor followed by the

description of the grant. Then come the names of the five ministers of the donor followed by his own genealogy. Then come imprecatory verses, and at the fag-end of the charter we have the donees' names added like an after-thought.

The **date** of the charter is given at the beginning both in words and numerals. It was issued in **the Śaka year 1001** (elapsed), **named Siddhārtha, on the full-moon day of the month of Jyēshṭha which fell on a Saturday.** The corresponding date according to the Christian era is Saturday the 18th of May 1079.

The **donor** of the present charter is so far unknown to us from any other record or reference. He belonged to a **feudatory Chālukya family,** ruling at **Śrīvalaya** or modern Shirvaḷ, a large village in Bhor state, about 32 miles from Poona on the Poona-Satara road. The name of this ruler was **Khambha,** that of his father **Tailappa,** and of his grandfather **Khambha** again. It is clear that the family was ruling at Shirvaḷ for three generations only. No specific exploit is attributed to any of the members of this family in the genealogical description, which, as usual, speaks of their defeating the enemies, breaking the temples of elephants in the enemy phalanx, and winning fame pervading the three worlds. These rulers do not seem to have been of any consequence in the politics of the age. They were probably relatives of the Imperial Chālukya family ruling at Kalyāṇī and were allowed to hold the territory round Shirvaḷ in the feudatory capacity. The name of the donor's father Tailappa and his surname Chālukya would support this conjecture.

Ll. 11-15 give the names of the **five ministers** who were holding office when the grant was given in 1079 A.D. The plethora of epithets here renders the task of giving their personal names rather difficult; but probably they were *Kumāra* **Jēsiṅgha,** the prime minister, **Chāchu** the *Sāmanta* or the revenue minister, **Kōntali** *Ṭhākura* the *Amātya* or the counsellor, **Sōmanāthaiyā,** the minister to the Queen **Siriyādēvī** (*i.e.*, Śrīdēvī), daughter of King Muñja, and **Laiādaranāyaka,** the minister to Queen **Mahalādēvī.**[1] It would appear that the Queens Srīdēvī and Mahaḷādēvī were taking active part in the administration of the little kingdom of Shirvaḷ. It may be pointed out that this was quite in consonance with the tradition of the Chālukya family to which the donor belonged. We have several other instances of Chālukya kings entrusting important administrative offices to their queens. Thus Akkādēvī, the elder sister of Jayasiṁha III was the governor of Kinsukāḍ seventy at least from 1022 to 1053 A.D.[2] Maiḷaladēvī, one of the queens of Sōmēśvara I, was holding the important post of the governor of Banavāsi twelve-thousand in 1054 A.D. Lakshmādēvī,[3] the favourite queen of Vikramāditya VI, held several important posts in the administration including the governorship of the capital.[4]

Queen Siriyādēvī is described as Muñjēya-mahārāṇī. The expression Muñjēya would suggest that she belonged to Muñja town or country, or was the daughter of king Muñja. The latter seems to have been the case. The Tiḍguṇḍi inscription of Vikramāditya VI,[5] dated 1082 A.D., refers to a Sinda feudatory of his, named Muñja, ruling in the vicinity of Bijāpur He was thus a

[1] [*Pañcha-pradhāna* here, I think, should not be taken in the literal sense of the term. Probably it has been used in the context in the general sense of a 'royal council.' In this case the names and offices of the members constituting the council may have been as follows: (1) Jēsiṅgha or Jayasiṁha, the chief minister, (2) Jēkhambha or Jayastambha, a *sāhaṇī*, (3) Chāchu, also a *sāhaṇī*, (4) Kōtali or Kōntali, the *sāmanta*, (5) Māmalu, a *ṭhākura*, (6) Āmaiya, the *parabala* (commander of the army), (7) Siddhamu, the minister, (8) Muñjēya, the *pradhāna*, (9) Sōmanāthaiyā, the minister of the chief queen Siriyādēvī or Śrīdēvī and (10) Valaiyā (?), the chief *daṇḍanāyaka* and attached to the queen Mahalādēvī.—Ed.]

[2] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 435.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 440.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 448.

[5] *Ante*, Vol. III, pp. 306 ff.

contemporary of Khambha II, the grantor of this charter. The latter could therefore well have married a daughter of the former.[1]

The village granted in this charter is **Viṅga** which is described as a *mahā-sthāna* or holy place. This is clearly the same village which was given 300 years before by Dhruva Dhārāvarsha to Vāsudēvabhaṭṭa, a learned Brāhmaṇa of Karāḍ, as we know from the charter **A** above. Line 27 shows that king Khambha only renewed the grant. Verse 5 naively observes that the village Viṅga had been given to Brāhmaṇas as early as the time of Rāma. We may presume from this that since the time of Dhruva the village was not resumed by any of the succeeding rulers and figured as a *brahmadēya* village on the revenue records of successive governments.

Though the village continued to be a *brahmadēya* village, its ownership did not remain in the family of Vāsudēvabhaṭṭa, the original donee. Curiously enough the names of the donees do not occur at all in that portion of the grant which describes the donation. The mistake is rectified by adding a postscript to the inscription which comes at the end of the imprecatory verses. The syntax of this important sentence is not free from doubt. It reads as follows : *Śrī-Kumbhadēva-bhaṭṭa-Gaṅgala-duvēra(dēva)-pramukha-Viṅga-mahāsthāna-sarvanamasya-śāsanaṁ Khaṁbha-rājēna dattaṁ.* It is clear that we have to emend *pramukha* into *pramukhēbhyaḥ* and that Kumbhadēva and Gaṅgaladēva received the charter as the leading personages among the donees. In other words, they did not receive the grant for themselves, but as representatives obviously of the Brāhmaṇa community of Viṅga. Viṅga is described in the record as a *mahā-sthāna* or holy place and seems to have been the seat of a learned Brāhmaṇa settlement. King Khambha therefore might have granted the charter to the whole Brāhmaṇa settlement of the place. What then about the rights of the descendants of Vāsudēvabhaṭṭa ? The village Viṅga is situated about 70 miles from Karāḍ and one has to pass through the difficult Khaṇḍāḷā pass before one can reach it from the Karāḍ side. In the old days when communications were rather difficult, Vāsudēvabhaṭṭa and his descendants must have found it difficult to manage their Viṅga property from Karāḍ. They may have, therefore, sold it to the Brāhmaṇa community of Viṅga, who in turn may have induced the government of the day to make it tax-free.[2]

The present charter transfers to the donees the village revenues along with the right to receive some customary perquisites probably from the village artisans. The precise nature of the latter cannot be made out owing to the difficulty of interpreting the terms used for the purpose in ll. 8 and 9.

TEXT[3].

[Metres :—*Indravajrā*, vv. 5, 6 ; *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, v. 4 ; *Anushṭubh*, vv. 9, 10 ; *Śālinī*, v. 12 ; *Upajāti*, vv. 1, 2, 3, 11 ; *Rathōddhatā*, vv. 7, 8.]

First Plate.

1 ओं[4] स्वस्ति [।*] श्रीस(श्र)[5]क एकोत्तरसहस्र अंकतोपि १००१ वृषकालातीतसि-
द्धार्थसंवत्स-

[1] [If my interpretation (see p. 188 n. 1.) is correct, Muñjēya would only be the name of the *pradhāna* and would have no connection with the queen Śiriyādēvī and consequently with the Śinda chief Muñja of Bijāpur.—Ed.]

[2] [As the inscription does not give any particulars of the donees it is difficult to come to any such conclusion definitely. It may not be impossible that they belonged to the family of Vāsudēvabhaṭṭa, the original donee, and there being a change in the ruling dynasty Khambha renewed the charter to them. Or this may be a fresh charter issued by the king to people not connected with the family of Vāsudēvabhaṭṭa for reasons not known.—Ed.]

[3] From the original plates.

[4] Expressed by a symbol.

[5] The construction of the sentence should have been श्रीशकवृषकालातीत एकोत्तरसहस्रे.

2 रांतर्गतज्येष्ठपौर्णमास्यां स(श्र)निदिने अद्ये(द्यै)तस्मिन्काले समधिगतप(पं)-
3 चमहास(श्र)ब्द(ब्द)महासामन्तलेंख(ख)रं[1] [2]सिरिवलयपुरवराधीख(ख)रं चालु-
4 क्यकुलकमलमार्त्तण्डं वैरिदलगरुडं धर्मावतारं पु(पृ)रिखंद्रग-
5 णावतारं समस्तराजावलीविराजमानमहासामन्तलेख(ख)रत्रीखंड-
6 भदेवराजविजयराज्यसुत्तरोत्तराभिवृद्धिप्रवर्द्धमाने वि-
7 क्रमहास्यानं हस्तोदकपु(पू)र्वकं समस्तदण्डदोष-
8 सहितं अष्टार्थसंव(व)त्से(त्सं) सर्ववाहवाहसुर्युतपे-
9 वरिलपुडलतेल(ला)[3]दिमाकुलो(लि)कवारकदेयं एव-
10 मादिसमस्त[4] आचंद्रार्कप्रतिपालनीयं[5] [।*] अगुंथितपुष्पिं[6] रा-
11 जदर्म(र्श)नं [।*] एतस्मिन् काले कुमाजेसिंघ[7] अमात्यकेसरि-

Second Plate ; First Side.

12 साहणीजेखंभसाहणीत्तानुसामंत्त(त)कोत[8]लिठाकुरमा-
13 मलुपरव(व)लुआमैयअमात्यसिद्धसुप्रधानुमुंजेयमहारा-
14 जी(ज्ञी)श्रीसिरियादेव्य(व्या) अमात्य सोमनाथैया राणीमहलादेव्व(देव्या)
15 लैयादरनायकसिंह[9] एते पंचप्रधा[10]नाः ॥ चालुक्यवंसे(शे) वि-
16 तते पृथिव्यां खव्वा(वा)हुवीर्यार्जितराजस(श्र)ब्दः(ब्दः) ॥(।) देसे(शे) पुरा श्री-
17 वलयाभिधाने खंभाभिधानो नृपतिः किलासीत(त्) [॥ १॥*]
18 अरिंदमः पालयिता प्रजानां धर्मेण साक्षादिव ध-
19 र्मराजः । गुणैः प्रजारंजनतत्परोभूत्तैलप्प-
20 राजः किल तस्य पुत्रः ।[। २॥*] तैलप्पसूनुः पुनरेव खंभः
21 प्रतापसंतापितस(श्र)त्रुवर्गः [।*] अनेकसो(शो) येन रणे रिपु(पू)-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

22 णामानर्तितानीह कव(ब)न्धकानि ।[। ३॥*] सु(मू)र्त्यापास्तमनस्विनीजनम-

[1] For the syntax of this sentence see the introduction.
[2] There is a depression on the plate surface here which looks like an *anusvāra*.
[3] The constituent words in this big compound are difficult to separate or interpret.
[4] There is a sudden break here. The expression should have been समस्तपरिहारोपेतं.
[5] Here should have come a verb like ददाति.
[6] Read अकुंठितपुष्पं.
[7] In this sentence, *sandhi* rules have been disregarded.
[8] What looks here like an *anusvāra* over त is really a natural depression on the surface of the plate.
[9] [The reading is *daṇḍanāyaka-siṁha*. The preceding portion should probably be corrected as *dēvyā Valaiya* see p. 188 n. 1.—Ed.]
[10] There is a superfluous vertical line after the letter *dhā*.

23 नः कांदर्पदर्पस्फुरत्तेजःपुंजविजयीजित[1]जगद्दीपप्रभामण्ड-
24 लः । खड्गाखंड(ख)खिलितवैरिवारणघटाकुंभस्थसुक्तापलः की-
25 र्त्याक्रांतजगच्च(त्र)यो विजयते खंभः क्षितौक्षत्रियः[2] ।[।४॥*] रामादि-
26 दत्तं किल पूर्वमासीद्विं(द्वि)द्भं महाख्यानमिदं द्विजानां(नाम्) ॥(।)
27 खंभेन राज्ञा तु पुनर्नमस्यं दत्तं क्षतं सा(श्रा)सनमेव-
28 मुक्ता ।[। ५॥*] अस्मात्कुले यो भविता नरेन्द्रः पुण्यैरसूत्रप्र-
29 थितैः स हृष्टः । मत्ता(च्छा)सवादित्यमिदं भवद्भिर्वाच्य(च्यं) स्वध-
30 र्मं प्रतिपालयेति ।[। ६॥*] अन्यदत्तमथवा स्वयं कृतं ब्र(ब्र)ह्मदा[3]-
31 यमिह यस्तु पालयेत् । आत्मवंश(श्य)मखिलं समुद्धरेत्कि(त्की)र्त्तिमानि-
32 ह परत्र पार्थिवः ।[। ७॥*]

Third Plate.

33 धर्म्म एव नृपतेः सनातनो यत्प्रसाध्यः खलु वैरिमण्डलं(लम्) [।*] पा-
34 लयत्यखिलमात्ममण्डलं ब्र(ब्र)ह्मदायसहितं नरेश्व(श्व)रः ।[। ८॥*] स्व-
35 दां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुंध(ध)रां(राम्) [।*] षष्टिं(ष्टि') वर्षसहस्राणि
36 विष्ठायां जायते कृमिः [॥९॥*] ब(ब)हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरा-
37 दिभिः [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिः[4] तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ।[।१०॥*]
निस-
38 गा[5] दोषं हरणे महातं[6] गुणं च भूमेरनुपालने[7] तु ।
39 दत्तं नरेन्द्रैः प्रतिपालनीयं श्रे(श्रे)यो हि दानादनुपालनं तु [।११॥*] सा-
40 मान्योयं धर्मसेतुन(र्नृ)पाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः [।*]
41 सर्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभ-
42 द्रः ।[।१२॥*] श्रीकुं[भ*]देवभट्टगंगलदुवेरप्रमुख[8]विद्वन्महाख्यानसर्वनमस्यसा(श्रा)स-
43 नं खंभराजेन दत्तं(त्तम्) [॥*] मङ्गलं महाश्रीः [॥*]

---

[1] Read °जिताखिल-.
[2] Read खंभ क्षितौक्षत्रियः [Reading is correctly *Khambhaḥ kshitau kshatriyaḥ*.—Ed.]
[3] There is a superfluous vertical line after *dā*.
[4] Read भूमिस°-.
[5] Read नित्यम्.
[6] Read महान्तं.
[7] The medial *ē* stroke is engraved in the wrong direction.
[8] Read देव(?)प्रमुखेभ्यः.

No. 29.—MALA PLATES OF VIRASIMHADEVA: V. S. 1343.

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

These **two copper-plates**, briefly noticed in the *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, for the year 1914-15 (p. 3, item 11), and now preserved in the Rajputana Museum, were found at a place called **Māla** about three miles from the village **Baṛodā** in the Dungarpur State in Rājputāna.

Each plate is engraved on one side only and has two ring holes. The first plate measuring $10\frac{7}{8}'' \times 10\frac{1}{4}''$ contains twenty-one lines of writing, while the second measuring $10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 9\frac{7}{8}''$ has eighteen.

The **characters** are Nāgarī of the fourteenth century A.D. The peculiar form of *tta* in *svadattāṁ*, l. 20, and *-pradatta*, l. 24, may be noticed. The letters *saṁ* in *saṁsārē* (l. 18) and *sva* in *svargga* (l. 20) are not fully engraved.

The **language** is Sanskrit, and excepting the benedictory and imprecatory verses in ll. 13-23, the whole composition is in prose. The names of the witnesses are in vernacular (ll. 28-36). Some *dēśī* words are to be found in the record; for instance, *pachhē vāḍaka* (l. 11) meaning the back portion of a house; *arahaṁṭa*, l. 27 (Skt. *araghaṭṭa*); *nāḍu*, l. 27 (a small pond), *bhāṭhi*, l. 28 (a kiln), *phalihaka*, l. 37, also called *phalā*, *phalsā*, *phaliā* meaning an entrance or gate and *guyāḍa*, l. 38, (a compound or courtyard).

As regards **orthography**, consonants following a superscript *r* are sometimes doubled as in *-harttā* (l. 17), *sarvvadā* (l. 25); etc., *v* and *b* are not distinguished except perhaps in *chībā* (l. 34); *ś* is used for *s* in *sahaśrēṇa* (l. 16) and *-sahaśrāṇi* (l. 21) and *vice versâ* in *sudhyati* (l. 17), *nischalaḥ* (l. 18); *sh* occurs in place of *kh* in *Vaiśāsha* (l. 1), *Mōshala* (l. 28), *lishitaṁ* (l. 39), etc., apparently due to the influence of the vernacular; *anusvāra* is used for nasals in *Gaṁgā-* (l. 6), *chānumaṁtā* (l. 15), etc., and also at the end of *pādas*; *visarga* is omitted in lines 11, 17, 21, 26, 37, etc., while *sandhi* is not observed in lines 6, 12, 14, etc. Other mistakes are pointed out in the transcript and the footnotes.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of *Mahārājakula* (Mahārāval) *Śrī-***Vīrasiṁhadēva** of Vaṭapadraka in Vāgaḍa. The charter is dated **Sunday, the 15th day of the dark half of Vaiśākha of the Samvat[1] year 1343** corresponding to the 13th April, 1287 A.D. It records (ll. 2-12) that *Mahārājakula* **Vīrasiṁhadēva** granted one and a half *halas*[2] of land and a house with enclosures of land in its front and back at the village **Māla** in the district **Katīja** (mod. Katiyor) to a Brāhmaṇa named **Tālhā** son of Vayajā of the Bhāradvāja-*gōtra* for the spiritual welfare of *Mahārājakula* **Dēvapāladēva**. The description of the gift is given in lines 26-28, after which the names of the witnesses are recorded (ll. 28-36). The name of the *Sūtradhāra* is given as **Bhīsana** in l. 35. Lines 36-38 mention the boundaries of the house. The last two lines record the name of the *Dūtaka* as **Sūnaladēvī** and that of the writer as **Vīkama** (Vikrama) who is said to have acted under the verbal orders of the *Pañchaśrī* Vāvaṇa. **Vīsala** is spoken of as one, on whose authority the names of the witnesses were recorded.

As regards the persons mentioned in the inscription, **Vīrasiṁhadēva** evidently belonged to the **Guhila** family of Dungarpur. He was fifth in succession from Sāmantasiṁha, the founder

[1] This samvat is 'चैत्रादि'.

[2] In some parts of Mewār, one *hala* of land was reckoned to be equivalent to several *bighās* of land. The practice of granting lands to Brāhmans on the occasion of *Śrāddha* (death anniversary) ceremony of forefathers was not uncommon among the rulers in old days. See the Paramāra Yaśōvarman's grant dated Samvat 1192 in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 348.

of the State and his earliest and latest known dates are Samvat 1343[1] and Samvat 1359[2] (A.D. 1286 and 1302). He was thus a contemporary of Rāval Samarasiṁha of Mewār, whose known dates range between Samvat 1330 and 1358 (A.D. 1273-1301).[3] *Mahārāval* **Dēvapāladēva** (also known as Dēdā or Dēdu) was the immediate predecessor[4] of Vīrasiṁhadēva.

As to the places mentioned, **Vāgaḍa** was the old name of the modern Dungarpur State. **Vaṭapadraka** (now called Baṛōdā) remained the capital of Vāgaḍa up to the period of Ḍuṅgarasiṁha (the grandson of Vīrasiṁhadēva) in whose time the capital was transferred to Dungarpur so called after his name.

The date of the inscription weakens the contention of Colonel Tod[5], Major Erskine[6] and other writers holding that the foundation of the Dungarpur State was laid by Māhapa or Rāhapa of Sisōdā.

According to the Kumbhalgarh inscription[7], dated Samvat 1517, Lakshmaṇasiṁha, a ruler of Sisōdā, fought in the battle of Chitor in 1303 A.D., and was thus the contemporary of Rāval Ratnasiṁha of Mewār and probably of his father Samarasiṁha also as Ratnasiṁha ruled only for a year. Vīrasiṁhadēva of this record, we know, was a contemporary of Samarasiṁha. He must, therefore, have been a contemporary of Lakshmaṇasiṁha also. Now, Vīrasiṁhadēva was fifth in succession from Sāmantasiṁha (the real founder of the State), while Lakshmaṇasiṁha was eleventh[8] from Māhapa or Rāhapa. It is, therefore, highly improbable that Māhapa, who goes as far back as eleven generations from Lakshmaṇasiṁha, should have founded the State. That it was Sāmantasiṁha of Mewār who laid the foundation of the present Dungarpur State is supported not only by the Mount Ābū[9] and the Kumbhalgarh inscriptions but also by the account of Muhnōt Nainsī[10], the well-known historian of Mārwār.

TEXT.[11]

First Plate.

1 ॥ ओं[12]॥ संवत् १३४३ वर्षे ।[13] वैशाष(ख) अ[14] १५ रवावद्येह वागडवटपद्रके महा[रा]-

2 जकुलश्रीवि(वी)रसिंहदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये तच्चियुक्तपंचश्रीवा-

[1] His earliest inscription is the present record, dated V.S. 1343.

[2] This date is found in an unpublished inscription from Barodā; *cf.*

संवत् १३५९ वर्षे श्रावाढवदि १५ वागडवटपद्रके महाराजकुलश्रीवीरसिंहदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये . . . . . माहवसुतज्योतिवाचादित्य(त्या)स्य(य) मंगडयामं चदवेन प्रदत्तं ।

[3] His first and last inscriptions are dated V.S. 1330 and V.S. 1358 respectively. *Vide, Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. XXI, p. 143 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIII, p. 11, note 1.

[4] *Gazetteer of the Dungarpur State* by Major K. D. Erskine, Statistical table No. XXI.

[5] Tod's *Rājasthān* (ed. W. Crooke), Vol. I, p. 304.

[6] *Gazetteer of the Dungarpur State*, pp. 131-32.

[7] Above, Vol. XXI, p. 279.

[8] Tod's *Rājasthān* (ed. W. Crooke), Vol. I, p. 304, note 3.

[9] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 349.

[10] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIII, p. 102. *Cf.* also Muhnōt Nainsī's *Khyāta*, p. 19.

[11] From impressions. [12] Expressed by a symbol. [13] The stroke is redundant.

[14] अ stands for अमित 'the dark fortnight of a lunar month' so that अ १५ is the 15th day of the dark half of the month, *i.e.*, *amāvaseyâ*. On Sunday the *tithi* was fourteenth, but it lasted only for fifteen *ghaṭis* after which the *tithi* fifteenth, *i.e.*, *amāvaseyâ* fell, during which period the grant was made and the ceremony performed by Mahārāval Vīrasiṁhadēva. Among the Hindus it is generally the practice to perform *Śrāddha* ceremony after 12 noon.

3 वणरा°खेतलप्रभृतिपंचकुलप्रतिपत्तौ ।[1] शासनपत्रमभिलिख्य-
4 ते यथा ॥ इहैव पुण्यांभसि [स्ना]त्वा नलिनीदलगतजललवतरल-
5 तरं जीवितमाकलय्य महाराजकुल[श्री]वि(वी)रसिंहदेवेन धौतक्षेत-
6 वाससी(सी) परिधाय भगवंतं भवानीपतिं भ[क्ष]रं परमया भक्त्या गंगादितो-
7 र्योदकेन संस्नाप्य श्रीखंडागुरुकर्पूरकस्तूरिकादिभिर्वि(र्वि)लेप्य जातीव-
8 कुलराजचंपकशतपत्रिकाहि(दि)भिर्विलेप्य यथाक्षतपूजया परमधार्मि-
9 केण भूत्वा महारा[ज°]कुलश्रीदेवपालदेवश्रेयसे भारद्वाजगोत्राय
10 [दोडी°]ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्म[2]वयजापुत्राय ब्रा°(ब्रा°)ताल्हाग्रमणे कतीजपथके माल-
11 ग्रामे भूमिहल १॥ सार्द्ध[2]हलैकस्य भूमि(मिः ।) ग्रह(हं) १ अग्रेवाटक पक्के वाडक-
12 खलसहितं एतत[3] शासनोदकपूर्वं धर्मेण संप्रदत्तं ॥ अतो दानापा-[4]
13 हारसंव[धे] महर्षिप्रणीतानि स्मृतिवाक्यानि संति ॥ ब(ब)हुभिर्वसुधा भु-
14 क्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमी[5] तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥१
15 षष्टि(ष्टिं) वं(व)र्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे(र्गे) तिष्ठ(ष्ठ)ति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमंता च तान्ये-
16 व नरकं व्रजेत् ॥२ तडागानां सहस्रे(स्रे)ण अश्वमेधशतेन च । गवां को-
17 टिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्त्ता न मु(मु)च्यति ॥३ चला लक्ष्मी[6] चला प्राणा[7] चलं जी-
18 वितयौवनं । चलाचले हि संसारे धर्म एको हि निश्च(श्च)लः ॥४ भूमिं यः
19 प्रतिगृह्णाति यस्तु भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ स्ना[1] वेतौ
20 स्व[र्गे]गामिनौ ॥५ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत(त्त) वसुं-
21 [ध]रां । षष्टि(ष्टिं) वं(व)र्षसहस्राणि विष्ठा(ष्ठा)यां जायते कृमि(मिः)॥[छ]

Second Plate.

22 मम वंशक्षये क्षीणे[8] योन्यो राजा भविस्य(ष्य)ति [।]
23 तस्याहं करबद्धोस्मि न लोप्यं मम शासन(नम्) ॥७ इमानि महर्षि-
24 प्रणीतानि स्मृतिवाक्यानि श्रुत्वा अस्मद[त्त]शासनमिक्ष्वान्यैरपि

[1] The stroke is redundant.
[2] Read सार्धैकहलस्य.
[3] Read एतच्छासनो° or °सनेनो°.
[4] Read 'पहार सम्भवे.
[5] Read भूमिस्तस्य.
[6] Read लक्ष्मीश्चला.
[7] Read प्राणाश्चलं.
[8] Better read वंशे परिक्षीणे.

25 भाविभोक्ति(क्तृ)भिर्भूपालैः सर्व्वदा पालनीयं किंतु केनापि कदाचि-
26 त् न लोपनीयं ॥ भूमेर्व्यक्तिः । कजजामाग्रे(गौ) वाटिकाया[:*] पानीयसहि-
27 त(तं) चतुःसीमापर्यंतु[1] धरहंट[2] । तथा वीरूलचेत्र[3] । तां वटीयासत्कनाडुं
28 भाठिसहितु(तं) चतुःसीमापर्यंतं[1] । [4]अत्र साचिः । पुरो[5] मोषल ॥ जा[6]
29 केशवादित्य । ब्रा°(ब्रा°) सोमादीत । राजगु[7] सूदा । वड[8] लष(ख)मादीत। वड°
30 तीकमा । [ना]गपुरो° ब्रा°मधू° । मइं[9]10 सूमण । मइं° धीनडा । मइं° चवण । राउल[11]
31 धारड । राउ° धर्मदेव । राउ° रमण । राउ° लाष(ख)ण । [12]श्रेष्ठि°पारस । श्रे°मह-
32 ण । श्रेष्ठि° मीमा । [13]सा° हरसाण ॥ मालगा[14] दोडी° मइं° केदा । मइं° ताल्हा [।*]
33 मइं° जोला । मइं° रालहण । मइं° भो[वल] । मइं° भीमा । मइं° सादा । मइं° ।[15]
34 [चौवा] । मइं° ल[डु]अड । डोहली[16] वीजा [।] श्रोत्रि[17] वामण । [18]पंडि° वाल्हा । राउ°
35 वील्हण । राउ° रतन । [19]सूच° भोसण । [20]भिल° [ना]ढल । भि° रालहुया । मेह[21] भी-
36 मडा । मेह° वेल्हा ॥ ग्रह चाघाट । ग्रहस्य दक्षिणस्यां दिशि ब्रा°(ब्रा°) धामाग्र-

[1] Read चतुस्सीमापर्यंत
[2] Read धरहट्टं.
[3] Read क्षेत्रं.
[4] From here up to the middle of the line 36 the inscription is in vernacular.
[5] Stands for पुरोहित, a priest.
[6] Stands for जाजी, a performer of यज्ञ, from Skt. याज्ञिक.
[7] Stands for राजगुरु.
[8] Stands for वडवा, a record keeper.
[9] Read ब्रा which stands for ब्राह्मण.
[10] Stands for महत्तम.
[11] An epithet generally applied to persons of royal family or Brāhmaṇas of high class.
[12] A term applied to merchants.
[13] Stands for साधु.
[14] This term is not clear to me.
[15] The stroke is redundant.
[16] Stands for डोहलीया, a person who receives a land from a king for his maintenance.
[17] Stands for श्रोत्रिय.
[18] Stands for पण्डित.
[19] Stands for सूत्रधार.
[20] Stands for भील, a tribe.
[21] Stands for मेहता.

37 हं । उत्तरस्यां दिशि ग्रामसत्कफलिहक । पूर्वस्यां दिशि राजमार्ग्ग[:*] । पश्चिमा-

38 यां दिशि गुयाड ॥ दू[1] देव्या[2]श्रीसूनलदेवि(वी) [।*] पंचत्रो[3]दावणग्रब्देन ।[4]

39 ग्रासनमिदं पंच[3]वीक्षमेन लिषि(खि)तं ॥ [5]कडू[6]वीसलग्रब्देन साक्षिणः [॥*]

No. 30.—ROPI PLATES OF PARAMARA DEVARAJA; VIKRAMA-SAMVAT 1059.

By Sahityacharya Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Reu.

This grant of **Dēvarāja** is in the possession of Audīchya Brāhmaṇas of **Ropsi** or **Ropi**, a village 6 miles south-west of Bhīnmāl in the Jaswantpura District of Mārwār. While touring in that District in 1920, I came across the grant and got it photographed for the Sardar Museum, Jodhpur. It has already been noticed by Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar.[6]

The grant contains **two copper-plates** inscribed on one side only. The plates, as far as I remember, measure about 9″×8″ and have two holes through which are passed two plain rings. The first plate contains 11 and the second 12 lines of writing.

The **characters** of the grant are Nāgarī similar to those used in northern India in the tenth or eleventh century A.D. The **language** is Sanskrit and the clerical errors are remarkably few. The text is in prose throughout with the exception of one verse in ll. 21-23. At the end is found the signature of the donor. The **orthography** presents no special features.

The **object** of the plates is to record the grant of a field situated to the south of the city-wall (*kōṭṭa*) of **Śrīmāla**, the modern Bhīnmāl by the *Mahārājādhirāja* the illustrious **Dēvarāja** residing at Śrīmāla to one **Āurakāchārya**, the son of Chaṇḍaśivāchārya and the head of the temple of Siddhēśvaramahādēva at Kshamēmāthuna (Kshatmamāthuka ?) on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. The boundaries of the land granted were as follows: to the east the land of the Brāhmaṇa Gōvinda, to the south the land of Vāmana, the son of Durlabha, to the west the village belonging to the *Mahāsāmanta* Pūrṇachaṇḍa and to the north the land of the Brāhmaṇa Śrīdhara. The **date** of the record is the **15th day of the bright half of Māgha (Vikrama) Samvat 1059** (=1002 A.D.).[7]

The witnesses were **Matvāka** the preceptor of Dēvarāja and **Pūrṇachaṇḍa**. The grant was written by **Sūryaravi**, the son of Nyāsa.

Though no mention of the clan of donor **Dēvarāja** is found in the grant, yet on the basis of the year and the place given in it, we may assume that he was a **Paramāra**[8] **ruler of Ābū** whose

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[1] Stands for दूतक.

[2] Omit देव्या. [Or read देवी. Probably she was a lady of the royal family, if not one of the queens.—Ed.]

[3] Stands for पंचोली.

[4] The stroke is redundant.

[5] Stands for कडूचा, one of the two sects of the कुनबी tribe.

[6] *See* his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 103, where he reads the year as Sathvat 1069.

[7] [The date is irregular. The full moon of Māgha fell on Thursday the 21st January when there was no lunar eclipse. The nearest lunar eclipse occurred on the full moon of Phālguna corresponding to Friday the 19th February. It is also not verifiable for Samvat 1059 current or Samvat 1069.—Ed.]

[8] For the history of Paramāra rulers please refer to my *Bhārata kē Prāchīna Rājavaṁśa*, Vol. I, and *Rājā Bhōja* (both in Hindī).

second name was **Mahīpāla** and who succeeded his father Dharaṇīvarāha, a ruler famous in the chronicle of Rājasthān. We give here a *chhappaya* often recited by bards in honour of Dharaṇīvarāha :

मंडोवर सामंत हुवो अजमेर सिद्धसुव ।
गढ पूंगल गजमल्ल हुवो लोद्रवै भांण सुव ॥
अल्हपल्ह अरबद्द भोजराजा जालंधर ।
जोगराज धरधाट हुवौ हांसू पारक्कर ॥
नवकोटि किराडू संजुगत थिर पंवारक्कर थप्पिया ।
धरणीवराह धर भाइयां कोट बांट जू जू किया ॥

According to this, Dharṇīvarāha distributed the nine provinces of Mandōr, Ajmēr, Pūngal, Lōdravā, Ābū, Jālōr, Dhāṭ, Pārkar and Kirāḍū among his nine brothers. It is also said that owing to these nine chiefships Mārwār has come to be known as "Navakōṭi Mārwār." But there is very little truth in the above *chhappaya*[1].

Dēvarāja's (Mahīpāla's) son and successor was Dhandhuka who was obliged to accept the allegiance of Sōlaṅkī (Chālukya) Kumārapāla I, the ruler of Gujarāt.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 सिद्धम्[2] [॥*] ॐ नमः शिवाय ॥ संवत् १[०]५९ मा-
2 घ शुदि १५ अस्यां संवत्सरमासपक्षदि-
3 वसपूर्व्वायां श्री२[3]मालावस्थितमहाराजा-
4 धिराजश्रीदेवराजः स्वभुज्यमानविषये
5 धर्म्मादायेन क्षेत्रग्रासन(नं) प्रयच्छति ॥ यदिहै-
6 व श्री२[3]मालीयकोट्टाहक्षिणदिग्भागे क्षेत्रं
7 यस्याघाटनानि ॥ पूर्व्वतो गोविन्दब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मण-
8 सत्का भूसीमा । दक्षिणतो वामनदुर्ल्लभसु-
9 तसत्का भूसीमा । पश्चिमतो महासामन्तश्री-
10 पूर्णचण्डसत्क[त्रा]मेण सह भूसीमा ।
11 उत्तरतः श्रीधरब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणक्षे[क्षे*]त्र भूसीमा [।*]

Second Plate.

12 एवमेतच्चतुराघ(घा)टनाभ्यंतरक्षेत्रं ।[4]
13 अस्माभिः सोमग्रहणे स्नात्वा त्रिलोकीगुरुं शंकर-

[1] *See* also *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, pp. 238 f.
[2] Expressed by a symbol.
[3] The figure 2 is used to denote the repetition of *śrī*.
[4] *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

14 मध्यस्थौ मातापितरौराजनच पुण्यवशोभिवृद्धय(ये)
15 शासनेतो(नो)दकपूर्व्वमाचंद्रार्कक्षीणतया प्रति-
16 पादितं [।*] [आ]उरकाचार्याय ।[1] चण्डशिवाचार्यपुत्रा-
17 य . . . . . .[2] श्रीसिद्धेश्वरदेवस्थानाधीशाय
18 प्रदत्तं न केनापि परिपंथनीयं ॥ अस्मद्वंशजैरन्यै-
19 श्च भाविभोक्तृभिः । अत्र साक्षी श्रीदेवराजगुरुर्म्मत्वा-
20 कः । अत्र साक्षी श्रीपूर्णचन्द्रः । लिखितं सूर्यरवि-
21 णा व्यासस्तुतिन । यो यः पृथिव्या राजा हि मम
22 तीर्द्ध[3] भविष्यति । तस्याहं करबद्धस्तु शासनं सा(मा)
23 व्यतिक्रमै(मी)त् ॥ स्वहस्त[:*] श्रीदेवराजस्य ।

No. 31—HATHI-BADA BRAHMI INSCRIPTION AT NAGARI.

By Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, Calcutta.

During the cold season of 1934-35, Dr. Niranjan Prasad Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India, was on tour in North India. In the course of that tour he visited **Nagarī**, eight miles north of Chitōrgaṛh in the Udaipur State, and discovered a Brāhmī inscription engraved on a massive slab of **Hāthi-bāḍā** containing the same text as the celebrated inscription from the Ghōsūṇḍī well. This is one of the big slabs, says Dr. Chakravarti, in the inner side of the northern wall towards the right hand corner. The slab has a big crack in the middle, and parts of it have badly peeled off. The surface is very rough, and the letters have now become quite faint. Before the stone was cleaned, practically nothing but the letter *p*[*ā*] in the first line was visible. "No traces", he adds, "of a third line, if there was any, can be found now."

It is impossible to congratulate sufficiently the Government Epigraphist upon this brilliant discovery. From the middle of November 1915 to the end of January 1916 I was myself at Nagarī. During that period I carried on excavations at two places, one of which was Hāthi-bāḍā, about half a mile east of the village.[4] Hāthi-bāḍā is an open rectangular enclosure 296′ 10″ long and 151′ broad. Its walls were crowned with a coping stone, and were originally 9′ 6″ high. When the Mughal emperor, Akbar, came there to reduce Chitōrgaṛh, he was encamped at Nagarī and used this enclosure as his elephant-stable, on account of which it has since then been called Hāthi-bāḍā. But surely it could not have been a structure of the Muhammadan period. The high massive dressed blocks of stone piled one upon another into this structure pointed to a period very much anterior to the Muhammadan. In this connection I was revolving in my mind an inscription, referred to above, which was originally stuck up in a well at Ghōsūṇḍī, about 6 miles from Nagarī, but which is now deposited in the Victoria Hall at Udaipur. It is well known that most of the stones used in the Ghōsūṇḍī well, as in the archæological monuments at Chitōrgaṛh, were taken from Nagarī, and looking to the massive nature of the block and the peculiar lamina-

[1] *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

[2] The reading seems to be *Kshamēmāthukē* but its meaning is not clear. [To me the reading appears to be *Kshatmamāthukē* and may mean 'at Kshatmamāthuka' where the temple of the Mahādēva Siddhēśvara seems to have been situated.—Ed.]

[3] Read *mad-ūrdhvam cha* or *mama pōṭrē*.

[4] For a full description of these excavations, see *Memoirs A. S. I.*, No. 4, pp. 117 ff; *PRAS, WC.*, 1915-16, pp. 53-54.

tions of the stone on which the inscription is engraved, little doubt was left in my mind as to its having originally pertained to this structure, whose stones exactly resembled it in these respects. The contents of the inscription pointed to the same inference. It speaks of the erection of a *pūjā-śilā-prākāra*, or enclosure for worship stone, of Saṁkarshaṇa and Vāsudēva. This description no doubt answered to the stone enclosure represented by Hāthi-bāḍā. But some more proof was wanted to show that the place enclosed by the Hāthi-bāḍā was, as a matter of fact, dedicated to Vaishṇava worship. And after a careful inspection I lighted upon a stone in one wall of the enclosure containing some characters of the seventh century A.D., which, though highly weather-worn, could be distinctly read as *Śrī-Vishṇu-pādābhyāṁ*. This clearly showed that this Hāthi-bāḍā was once a place for the worship of Vishṇu. Nevertheless, it must be confessed that even then it was not quite certain, though highly probable, that the Ghōsūṇḍī inscription originally belonged to the Hāthi-bāḍā and that this structure was really the *pūjā-śilā-prākāra* of Saṁkarshaṇa and Vāsudēva mentioned in that record. But this matter has now been placed beyond all doubt by the find of this new inscription by Dr. Chakravarti, which, as we shall shortly see, is but another copy of the text preserved in the Ghōsūṇḍī epigraph but which to this day forms part of the Hāthi-bāḍā itself. The service thus rendered by the Government Epigraphist to the cause of history and archæology can scarcely be overrated.

Before we treat of this record epigraphically, it is necessary to point out that there was also a third copy of this text which was for the first time recognised as such by the Government Epigraphist himself in his letter to me. During the touring season of 1915-16 when I was excavating at Nagarī, I discovered a stray fragment of an inscription along with two others in the heart of the village which had been found on the boundary stone of Ghōsūṇḍī and Bassi and which contained the words : [*tē*]*na Sarvatātēna Aśvamēdha-*. This has been briefly described in a monograph of mine, entitled " *The Archæological Remains and Excavations at Nagarī* " and published in *Memoirs A. S. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 4, p. 120, where I have also made the remark that " the form of its letters corresponds exactly with that of the Ghōsūṇḍī epigraph." This happened in 1915-16. Eleven years thereafter the *A. S. I., An.Rep.*, 1926-27 (p. 205) announces the discovery of Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar H. Ojha that during the year under report he recovered two of the missing portions of the well-known Ghōsūṇḍī inscription. One of these, according to this Report " supplies the words ' *Sarvatātēna Aśvamēdha*,' which evidently form the end of the first line of the record and enable the initial letter of its second line to be restored as *ya*, and the whole expression as ' *Sarvatātēna Aśvamēdhayājinā*." The other fragment, continues the same Report, " containing the word *sarvēśvarābhyāṁ*, Mr. Ojha says, is preserved in the Udayapur Museum, and supplies the missing portion of the second line of the same inscription." It thus seems that up till 1926-27 the first of these fragments continued to remain at Nagarī, possibly just where I found it in 1915-16. Rai Bahadur Ojha evidently did not remember that the discovery of this fragment was first announced in the Memoir of the Archæological Survey of India referred to above. But what is strange is that he considered the two fragments as the missing portions of the well-known Ghōsūṇḍī inscription. As remarked by me in the Memoir, as just stated, the form of the letters on these fragments no doubt corresponds exactly with that of the Ghōsūṇḍī epigraph. But close observation will enable one to perceive not only that the draft of the fragments is written in an entirely different hand but also that their letters are of a slightly different size from those of the Ghōsūṇḍī record. This blunder was repeated by Mr. R. R. Halder in his paper on the Ghōsūṇḍī inscription, which is published in the *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 203, and, the text of which he tried to restore with the help of these fragments. It must, however, be said to the credit of both these scholars that they restored in the original text the words *ya Sarvatātēna Aśvamēdha*° to their proper place, though they failed in regard to *sarvēśvarā*(*bhyāṁ*

as was expected. As remarked above, there was one text of the record which was engraved in three different places in the Hāthi-bāḍā. When this structure began to fall into disrepair, one stone block containing the greater portion of one inscription was carried to and stuck up into the Ghōsūṇḍī well; two small fragments of another inscription taken as far as the boundary stone between Ghōsūṇḍī and Bassi; but the larger part of the third is *in situ*, that is, still forms part of the Hāthi-bāḍā itself, this last being now brought to light by the Government Epigraphist, as stated above.

Let us now turn to the epigraphic details of each. We have observed that here we have one common text running through three different inscriptions—all, however, originally incised on the block slabs of the Hāthi-bāḍā. The best preserved of these is that found in the Ghōsūṇḍī well and now removed to the Victoria Hall, Udaipur. Here not only is the greater portion of the record preserved, but its letters also remain in good condition. It was originally in three lines. The next best preserved record is that found by Dr. Chakravarti, and, though preserved in fragment, it yet remains part and parcel of the original building. It is in two lines, each containing naturally more words than those of the first record. Of this inscription practically as much has been preserved as of the first, though its letters are faint and weatherworn. Of the third record only two small fragments are so far known, as pointed out above. The first of these, which we shall call **A**, was first brought to the notice of the scholars by Kavi Rāj Shyāmal Dās and transcribed in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LVI, Pt. I, pp. 77 ff., No. 1 and Pl. V. It was afterwards edited by me in *Memoirs A. S. I.*, No. 4, p. 119, and by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 25 ff. with the help of the estampages provided by me. The second of the three copies, which we shall call **C**, is being edited by me here for the first time according to the ink impression kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist. Of the third copy, which we shall call **B**, only two fragments have been recovered. One of these was first noticed by me in *Memoirs A. S. I.*, No. 4, p. 120. Both together were afterwards transcribed but erroneously considered to be part of the first copy, that is, of **A** by Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Ojha in *A. S. I., An. Rep.*, 1926-27, p. 205 and thereafter by Mr. R. R. Halder in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 203. All the three copies are now being edited here with a view to see whether and how far we can restore the original text.

The **characters** of these texts according to Bühler[1] belong to an alphabet which "probably prevailed at least in the latter half of the 4th and in the 3rd century B.C." Mr. Jayaswal, however, seems to be right in observing that "the only thing that can be said with certainty is that the script is later than Aśōka's time."[2] The letters *g*, *p*, and *v* of our inscriptions are a clear proof of this. The top of *g* is not angular, and *p* and *v* have not a round base as in the Aśōkan script. The only records with which the Hāthi-bāḍā epigraphs can be profitably compared are the inscription of Heliodorus found at Besnagar[3] and those of Bahasatimitra at Pābhosā.[4] And a comparison will convince us that the Hāthi-bāḍā records are perhaps slightly later than that of Besnagar, but decidedly earlier than those of Pābhosā. The top of *g* in the Besnagar inscription is as angular as that of Aśōka's, but is almost round in the Hāthi-bāḍā inscriptions. This shows that perhaps the Besnagar record is slightly prior to those of Hāthi-bāḍā. On the other hand, the *p*, *b*, *h*, and *l* of the Pābhosā have cornered and flat bases, showing that these inscriptions are decidedly later than those of Hāthi-bāḍā. All things considered, our epigraphs may be assigned to the **beginning of the first century B.C.**

[1] *Indian Paleography* (trans. by Fleet), p. 32.
[2] **Above**, Vol. XVI, p. 27.
[3] *A. S. I., An. Rep.*, 1908-09, pp. 128-29, Pl. XLVI.
[4] Above, Vol. II, pp. 242 ff and Pls.

Some other palæographic peculiarities of the Hāthi-bāḍā inscriptions may also be noticed. In the case of the ligatures, the consonants are invariably placed below each other in their natural order somewhat unlike those of the Aśōka edicts. Next, the cork-screw-like *r* is worthy of note, as in Aśōka inscriptions. And further the superscript and subscript *rs* also have been clearly distinguished one from the other. Thus the superscript *r* in *Saṁkarshaṇa-* has been distinguished from the subscript *r* in *-putrēṇa* and *-prākārō*. This is a noteworthy fact, for it is conspicuous by its absence even in Aśōka's inscriptions, though the words in which both the kinds of *rs* occur are by no means few.

The **language** of our inscriptions is undoubtedly Sanskrit, and it is somewhat inexplicable why Prof. Lüders called it "a mixed dialect."[1] Probably he based his conclusion on the transcript of Kavi Rāj Shyāmal Dās, which is far from being scrupulously correct and which is not supported by the photo-litho that accompanies his article. The only word, that is not quite Sanskrit, is *bhagavabhyāṁ*, which, however, is a mistake of the engraver or the scribe for *bhagavaḍbhyāṁ*. Besides, *bhagavabhyāṁ*, even as it stands, is a dual which is never found in a Prākrit. It must therefore be looked upon as an inaccuracy of the scribe. Such inaccuracies are not infrequent in inscriptions, about the Sanskrit language of which there can be no doubt. The Hāthi-bāḍā record is thus one of the two earliest which are couched in Sanskrit. The other epigraph in Sanskrit of this early period has been found at Ayōdhyā pertaining to Dhanadēva, son of Phalgudēva, a ruler of Kōsala.[2] When J. F. Fleet was living, the earliest Sanskrit inscription then known was that of the Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman engraved on the celebrated rock at Junāgaḍh. It is dated (Śaka) 72=150 A.D. And further, as the inscriptions ranging between 300 B.C. and 100 A.D. were all up till then in a sort of Pāli closely allied to, and based upon, the vernacular, he and the late Prof. Rhys Davids maintained[3] that the spoken language current up to 100 A.D. was practically Pāli, and that the Sanskrit, or the *bhāshā* for which Pāṇini and Patañjali wrote, could not have been a vernacular during that time. On the other hand, Patañjali distinctly informs us that the language for which Pāṇini wrote was the language of those *śishṭas* or disciplined Brāhmaṇs who spoke it naturally and without any study of grammar.[4] This points to the unmistakable conclusion that up till *circa* 150 B.C., the time of Patañjali, the *bhāshā* or language for which *Aṣhṭādhyāyī* was the grammar continued to be the actual speech of the disciplined Brāhmaṇs of Āryāvarta, which was no doubt the *saṁskṛita* or polished form of the vernacular. All that was now required to leave no ground at all for scepticism was the actual find of inscriptions of this period which were couched in Sanskrit. This desideratum is now furnished by our record and also that of Ayōdhyā just adverted to. No sceptic can possibly contend that they are not in Sanskrit, that is, in the *bhāshā* for which Pāṇini and Patañjali wrote or that they are not earlier than 150 A.D., the date of the Junāgaḍh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman.

Our record is also important from the **religious point of view.** It speaks of the erection of a *pūjā-śilā-prākāra* by Gājāyana **Sarvatāta,** son of a lady of the Parāśara-*gōtra*, for the gods Saṁkarshaṇa and Vāsudēva. But what does a *pūjā-śilā-prākāra* mean? It may mean "a stone enclosure round an object of worship" to distinguish it from enclosures surrounding, *e.g.*, residential buildings. What are called railings round Buddhist *Stūpas* are really *pūjā-śilā-prākāra* though they are round and that of the Hāthi-bāḍā rectangular. A similar expression is not unknown to us from an Aśōka inscription. We refer here to *śilāvigaḍabhīchā* occurring in the Paḍariyā or Rummindeī pillar inscription.

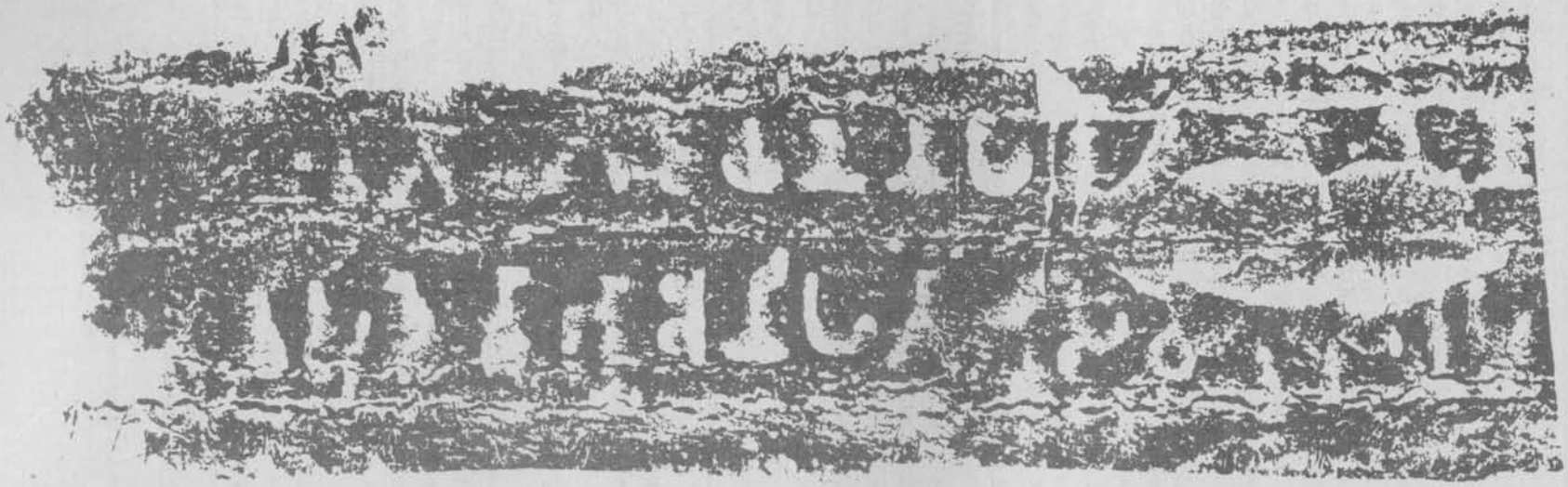
[1] *List of Brahmi Inscrs.* (above Vol. X, App.), No. 96.
[2] *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1924, p. 203; above, Vol. XX, p. 57.
[3] T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 151.
[4] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 334 ff.; R. G. Bhandarkar's *Wilson Philological Lectures*, pp. 295-96.

Silāvigaḍabhīchā obviously corresponds to the Sanskrit *śilā-vikaṭa-bhittāni*, 'a huge stone enclosure wall'.[1] What Aśōka here wants to tell us is that he constructed this wall round the spot of Buddha's birth, which was already an object of worship and where he actually worshipped. The word *vigaḍa=vikaṭa* in this phrase, which signifies 'stupendous' is noteworthy, and is no doubt significant of the huge massive blocks of which it must have been composed exactly as in the case of the Hāthi-bāḍā. Hāthi-bāḍā as a *pūjā-śilā-prākāra* is therefore not of an unknown character. The Hāthi-bāḍā enclosure and the railings of the *Stūpas* thus are all *pūjā-śilā-prākāra*, though they are of different shapes and are devoted to different worships. If any other instance of the *pūjā-śilā-prākāra* round a Vaishṇava object of worship is required, it is furnished by the railing which I unearthed round the representation of Vāsudēva in front of the Khām Bābā during my excavations at Besnagar.[2] Recently, however, Mr. J. C. Ghosh has suggested a new interpretation. He takes it to mean "a rampart (*prākāra*) for the stone object of worship (*pūjā-śilā*)". This *pūjā-śilā* according to him is a *Śālagrāma* or a black stone from the river Gaṇḍakī which is believed to be pervaded by the presence of Vishṇu and is thus a sacred stone worshipped by the Vaishṇavas. "Mention of it" says he "is found in the *Mahābhārata*, III, 8102. Amongst the varieties of them mentioned in the Purāṇas, we find that one variety is called Saṁkarṣaṇa and another Vāsudēva (*Agni-Purāṇa*, XLVI)".[3] Now, it is perfectly true that there is one variety of Śālagrāma which is known as Saṁkarshaṇa and another as Vāsudēva. But the real question is: to what early period is the worship of Śālagrāma traceable? It is, again, true that the *Mahābhārata* makes mention of this worship. But what is unfortunate here is that as the *Mahābhārata* was put together in its final shape about the 6th century A.D., no statement contained in that epic can be taken with certitude as belonging to a period much prior to it. Worship of a Śālagrāma cannot thus be supposed to be prevalent much anterior to the 6th century A.D. and hardly ever in the 1st century B.C. to which period the Hāthi-bāḍā inscriptions have to be assigned. The phrase *pūjā-śilā-prākāraḥ* may be dissolved either as *pūjā-śilāyāḥ prākāraḥ*, as Mr. Ghosh has done, or, as *pūjāyāḥ śilā-prākāraḥ* as others have done before him. But as there is no clear evidence as to the Śālagrāma worship being in vogue as early as the 1st century B.C., it is perhaps safer to dissolve the compound word as others have done it. This agrees, as stated above, with the expression *śilā-vigaḍa-bhīchā*, which occurs in an Aśōka inscription. Of these last *śilā-bhīchā* regularly corresponds to *śilā-prākāra* of the Hāthi-bāḍā record, as also remarked above. Just as Aśōka speaks of having constructed a stone enclosure wall round the place where Buddha was born, one Jātaka mentions the erection of an enclosing wall (*prākāra*) round Saṁbōdhi, the place where Buddha attained to enlightenment.[4] It is, therefore, no wonder if Sarvatāta similarly built an enclosure wall round the place where Saṁkarshaṇa and Vāsudēva were worshipped. But the question arises how were Saṁkarshaṇa and Vāsudēva worshipped here? In the western half of the Hāthi-bāḍā I found, during my excavations there, the remains of a brick platform, which originally ran from east to west.[5] If there was any shrine upon it, it may have been a wooden structure which has now completely disappeared. Not far from it in the western part of the wall was found by me the words *śrī-Vishṇu-pādābhyāṁ*, in characters of the 7th century A.D.[6] It is true that at that time Vishṇu alone was worshipped. But it is worthy of note that what of him was worshipped was not an image but the footprints. And as there is absolutely no evidence of the construction of a shrine on the brick platform, it seems that even in the 1st century B.C. Saṁkarshaṇa and

[1] D. R. Bhandarkar's *Asoka*, pp. 375-76.
[2] *A. S. I., An. Rep.*, 1913-14, pp. 198-99, Pls. LVI (*a*) and LVII.
[3] *I. H. Q.*, Vol. IX, p. 796.
[4] *Jāt.*, Vol. IV, p. 236; D. R. Bhandarkar's *Asoka*, pp. 376-77.
[5] *Memoirs A. S. I.*, No. 4, p. 130.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 129.

HATHIBADA BRAHMI INSCRIPTION AT NAGARI.

Left half.



Right half.



N. P. Chakravarti.

Reg. No. 3400 E'35–425.

SCALE : ONE-FIFTH.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Vāsudēva were worshipped through their footprints. If this inference is correct, we may with *Mr. Ghosh take the phrase pūjā-śilā-prākāra to mean "an enclosure wall round the stone object of worship." But the pūjā-śilā does not here represent Śālagrāma stones as he takes it, but rather* the footprints of the two brother gods carved in stone. In course of time, however, Saṁkarshaṇa lost hold of the popular imagination, and Vāsudēva alone remained the object of worship. This change of worship is noticeable even in that early period. Just as in the time of the Hāthi-bāḍā record Saṁkarshaṇa and Vāsudēva were both worshipped, the celebrated Nānāghāṭ inscription of Sātakarṇi opens with obeisance to both these divinities.[1] On the other hand, the Besnagar pillar epigraph speaks of Vāsudēva alone and styles him *dēva-dēva*, 'god of gods'.[2] The three inscriptions belong to a period ranging between 135 and 35 B.C. And yet at this early period we find Vāsudēva eclipsing and outliving his elder brother Saṁkarshaṇa in popular worship. At Besnagar, too, Vāsudēva was being worshipped when the Greek envoy Heliodorus came and erected the column. In front of the pillar the retaining walls of a high platform were unearthed, surrounded by a solid railing. On this platform, no doubt, Vāsudēva must have been worshipped. But here too not a trace of shrine could be found.[3] It is not at all unlikely that here also what of Vāsudēva was worshipped was, not his image, but his footprints.

Let us now place the three copies of the record side by side with a view to see what new facts are revealed to us and also to find out how far we can restore the original text. Of these the Ghōsūṇḍī well text runs as follows :[4]

A.

1 .....tēna Gājāyanēna P(ā)rāśarīputrēṇa Sa-

2 .....[j]i[nā] bhagavabhyāṁ Saṁkarshaṇa-V[ā]sudēvābhyā(ṁ)

3 .....bhyāṁ pūjāśilā-prākārō Nārāyaṇa-vāṭ(i)kā.

The two fragments found near the boundary between Ghōsūṇḍī and Bassi may be transcribed as follows :[5]—

B.

1 .....[tr](ē)(ṇa) Sarvatātēna Aś[v]amēdha.....

2 .....sarvēśvarābh(yāṁ).

The inscription engraved in the Hāthi-bāḍā which was recently found by the Government Epigraphist reads as follows :—

C.

1 .....vat(ēna) [Gā]j(ā)yan[ē]na P(ā)r(āśarīpu)t(rē)ṇa [Sa](r)[vatā]tēna Aś(vamē)[dha](yā)-[j](inā)-

2 .....(ṇa)-V(ā)sudēvābh[y]ā(ṁ) anihatā(bhyāṁ) sa(r)v(ē)[ś]va[r](ā)bh(yāṁ) p(ū)[j](ā)-[ś](i)l(ā)-p[r]ā[k]ārō Nār[ā]yaṇa-vāṭ(i)[k](ā).

[1] *Arch. Surv. West. Ind.*, Vol. V, p. 60, l. 1.

[2] *A. S. I., An. Rep.*, 1908-09, p. 128, (Text A), l. 1.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1913-14, pp. 204-05.

[4] For plate see above, Vol. XVI, facing p. 25 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, facing p. 203.

[5] For plate see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, facing p. 203.

If we now carefully study Inscriptions **A** and **C**, we notice that they are fragments only in so far as their initial portions are gone, that, in other words, no letter seems to have been lost at the end of any one of the lines. This is clear particularly in the case of **A**. There is enough or even more than enough space left after the termination of every one of its lines to show that no letters have been lost after the last letter read of these lines. Secondly, it is worthy of note that whereas **A** consists of three lines, **C** contains only two, and that as both **A** and **C** end exactly with the word *Nārāyaṇa-vāṭikā*, we must take it that the original text ended with that word. Thirdly, if we compare **A** with **C**, it is by no means difficult to fill up the lacunæ at the beginning of lines 2 and 3 of the former inscription, especially with the help of **B**. Thus line 2 of **A** must have commenced with (*rvatātēna Aśvamēdhayā*)*jinā*, etc. Similarly line 3 of **A** must have begun with (*anihatābhyāṁ sarvēśvarā*)*bhyāṁ*, etc. It will be seen that ines 2 and 3 of **A** have each lost nine letters. The inference is irresistible that the same number of letters, *viz.*, nine, has been destroyed, preceding °*tēna*, with which line 1 commences. Now, it deserves to be noticed that whereas line 1 of **A** begins with *tēna*, line 1 of **C** does with *vat*(*ēna*). And it is not at all difficult to restore the word to (*Bhāga*)*vatēna*. Six initial letters only thus remain to be accounted for. And perhaps we shall not be far wide of the mark if we tentatively fill up the lacuna with *Kāritō=yaṁ rājñā*. We may thus restore Inscription **A** and thereby also the **original text** as follows :—

1 (Kāritō=yaṁ rājñā Bhāgava)tēna Gājāyanēna Pārāśarīputrēṇa Sa-

2 (rvatātēna Aśvamēdha-yā)jinā bhagava[d*]bhyāṁ Saṁkarshaṇa-Vāsudēvābhyāṁ

3 (anihatābhyāṁ sarvēśvarā)bhyāṁ pūjāśilā-prākārō Nārāyaṇa-vāṭikā.

TRANSLATION.

(*This*) enclosing wall round the stone (*object*) of worship, called Nārāyaṇa-vāṭikā (Compound) for the divinities Saṁkarshaṇa-Vāsudēva who are unconquered and are lords of all (has been caused to be made) by (the king) **Sarvatāta**, a Gājāyana and son of (a lady) of the Parāśara-*gōtra*, who is a devotee of Bhagavat[1] (Vishṇu) and has performed an Aśvamēdha sacrifice.

Between *Pārāśarīputrēṇa* and *Sarvatātēna* of the Text given above Mr. Halder[2] reads *sa....ṇa*. But this is a mistake, because **C** clearly shows that *Pārāśarīputrēṇa* was followed immediately by *Sarvatātēna*. The mistake has arisen, because the two fragments comprising **B** have been taken by him to be the integral parts of **A**. That this is a misconception, pure and simple, has been pointed out above. The fragment *ṇa Sarvatātēna* of **B** should thus be restored, not to *sa....ṇa Sarvatātēna* as he has done, but to (*pārāśarīputrē*)*ṇa Sarvatātēna*. That this restoration is the correct one may be seen from the estampage of the fragment supplied by the Government Epigraphist which has a clear trace of *tr*(*ē*) immediately preceding *ṇa*, showing that this *ṇa* is the ending syllable of *Pārāśarīputrēṇa*. This *sa....ṇa* of Mr. Halder has been conjecturally restored by Mr. Ghosh[3] to *Suśarmaṇā*, denoting a Kāṇva prince of that name mentioned in the Purāṇas. But this superstructure based on a bubble crashes with the bursting of the bubble.

The **king** who constructed the *pūjāśilā-prākāra* for Saṁkarshaṇa and Vāsudēva was thus *Gājāyana Pārāśarīputra* **Sarvatāta**. The mere matronymic Pārāśarīputra cannot show to which caste Sarvatāta belonged. But the patronymic Gājāyana by its very formation indicates, as has been pointed out by Mr. Jayaswal, that he was a Brāhmaṇ. It is true, as remarked by Mr. E. H.

[1] It is very difficult to say how the term *Bhāgavata* is to be understood here. It may mean "a devotee of Bhagavat (Vishṇu)" as has been translated above or "a devotee of Bhagavata (*viz.*, of Saṁkarshaṇa and Vāsudēva).

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 203.

[3] *J. H. Q.*, Vol. IX, p. 798.

Johnston[1] that Gājāyana as a patronymic is unknown. But Mr. Ghosh has correctly observed that a name similar to Gājāyana is Gādāyana (with its variant Gōdāyana) occurring in the *Matsya-Purāṇa* as the name of an individual *gōtra*. And it is not at all improbable to say that Gādāyana is a slip of the scribe for Gājāyana. Whether Sarvatāta, again, is the proper name or an epithet of the king is somewhat doubtful. It bears, however, the plausibility of being an epithet.

But kings even in ancient times were sometimes better known by their epithets than by their individual names. Thus the Maurya emperor, Aśōka, has styled himself Priyadarśin, which is an epithet, in all his inscriptions, except one; in this last alone he is known by his proper name, Aśōka. And even though Sarvatāta is taken as an epithet as seems very likely, it need cause us no surprise. The question now arises, who could this Gājāyana Sarvatāta be? His records show that he lived in the first century B.C. His patronymic Gājāyana also shows that he was a Brāhmaṇ. And further we have to note, as Mr. Ghosh has told us, that Gādāyana which obviously is a mistake for Gājāyana is mentioned in the *Matsya-Purāṇa* as an individual *gōtra* falling under the Kāṇva division of the Aṅgiras Gaṇa. It thus appears that Sarvatāta was a Kāṇva. And we know from the Purāṇas that after the Śuṅgas the Kāṇvas became the rulers of North India. The Kāṇvas thus exercised supremacy in the first century B.C. Nothing therefore precludes us from supposing that **Sarvatāta was a Kāṇva ruler.** It is true that Sarvatāta is not found in the list of names, given by the Purāṇas, of the Kāṇva rulers. But as we have seen above, Sarvatāta is not a proper name, but rather an epithet. And it is not at all impossible that it was an epithet borne by one of the princes of this Brāhmaṇ dynasty.

No. 32.—A CHOLA INSCRIPTION FROM UTTIRAMERUR.

By Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, Madras.

The inscription edited below[2] has been noticed briefly in the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1923, Part II, paragraph 28. It is engraved on a stone slab built into the south wall of the Hanumān shrine in front of the Sundaravaradaperumāḷ temple,[3] **Uttiramērūr.** The inscription which fully covers the face of the slab occupies an area 13″×37″, and the average height of the letters is 1″, the ligatures sometimes measuring up to 2″ and more. Only eight lines of the inscription at the beginning are preserved, but it seems unlikely that the missing part extended over more than two or three lines. In any case, what is left of the inscription enables us to form an adequate idea of its purport and significance. I edit it from two impressions, one in my possession, the other supplied by the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras.

The inscription is dated in the **158th day of the ninth year of king Rājarājakēsarivarman,**[4] *i.e.* Rājarāja I, and thus belongs to **A.D. 993–4,** the reign of that king having commenced on some day in the month following the 25th June, 985 A.D.[5] **Paleographically,** the inscription bears a very close resemblance to the other stone inscriptions of Rājarāja's reign, the **alphabet** being Tamiḷ with the usual admixture of Grantha for Sanskrit words.

The **language** of the inscription is Tamiḷ. The grammatical construction of the main sentence of the *vyavasthā* is faulty; it seems to follow local colloquial usage, but the meaning is clear. Note

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 204.

[2] No. 197 of 1923.

[3] Marked *Perumāḷ Koil* in the plan of Uttiramērūr in my *Studies in Cōḷa History and Administration.*

[4] Cf. Nos. 176 of 1906 and 298 of 1906 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

[5] Above, Vol. IX, p. 217.

particularly the changes from *-ēṉum* to *-eṉṟal* in l. 4 and to *eṉṟum* in l. 6. The form *javasthai* for *vyavasthai*, and the use of the verb *pōkkaṟuttal* in the sense of 'answer for' are noteworthy.

The object of the inscription is to record a decision (*vyavasthā*) of the *Mahāsabhā* of Uttiramēru-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, the best known of the village *sabhās* of the Chōḷa period on account of the celebrated inscriptions of the reign of Parāntaka I. regulating its constitutional arrangements. The decision of the *sabhā* relates to the responsibility for the payment of fines (*daṇḍam*) imposed on the members of different groups by different agencies. The groups liable to fines are enumerated thus: Brāhmaṇas, Śivabrāhmaṇas, Accountants, Merchants, Veḷḷāḷar and any other castes (*jātigaḷ*) (ll. 4-6). The agencies that could levy fines were: the King's court (*rājadvāram*), the court of justice (*danmāsanam*), the revenue department (*vari*), and others (*maṟṟuttāṉum*). The decision is that for all fines levied only the particular caste or group to which the individual or individuals fined belonged should be held accountable for their proper payment.

The occasion for this decision is not explicitly stated. But it seems proper to assume that the *Mahāsabhā* was responsible for securing the timely payments of fines by the villagers, that somehow the sanctions required to secure this began to fail them, and that consequently, they reached a method that made a powerful appeal to group-loyalty and enlisted the co-operation of the groups with the *Mahāsabhā* in the discharge of its responsibility. It will be noticed that the enumeration of the authorities levying the fine (*daṇḍam*) and of the classes of persons liable to it, is illustrative and not exhaustive; so that even fines, if any, levied by the *Mahāsabhā* itself would fall under the operation of this new *vyavasthā*.

The mention of accountants, merchants and Veḷḷāḷar among the groups raises an interesting issue. Were these classes members of the *Mahāsabhā* and did they take part in its deliberations? I think the answer to this question must be in the affirmative for two reasons. First, the meeting of the general assembly of the village is described as comprising everybody, young and old (*ābālavṛiddharamaiya eppērppaṭṭadum*)[1], and there is no indication that it was an exclusively Brāhmaṇ assembly. Secondly, the various Chōḷa inscriptions which lay down special qualifications of property and education relate to the executive of the assembly indicated by such words as *Vāriyam*, *Sabhāmāṟṟañjolludal*, *Kūṭṭam*,[2] etc. The *vyavasthā* recorded in our inscription must thus have had the approval of all the classes affected by it.

The Māṇūr inscription of Māṟañjaḍaiyaṉ[3] (A. D. 800), it must be noted, lays down a high qualification in property and education not only for the *vāriyam* but for a person taking part in the general assembly, *maṉṟāḍudal*, as well. And the Tiruchchendūr inscription of Varaguṇa II[4] shows that the system of village government that prevailed in the Pāṇḍya country in the ninth century was much the same as we find it in the Chōḷa kingdom of the tenth century and later. We may assume either that the Māṇūr rule was an exception, or what seems more probable, that in course of time the exclusiveness of the *sabhās* broke down in part.

TEXT.

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Kōv-**Irājarājakēsaripaṉmaṟkku yāṇḍu 9 nāḷ[5] 158 Utti-**

2 **ramēru-chchatuvvēdi[6]maṅgalattu** Mahāsabhaiyōm Tulāvāra-śrīkōyil

3 mukamaṇḍapattē pagalk-kūḍiyiruṇdu Mahāsabhaiyōm śeyda javasthaiy[7]-āvadu r[ā]-

4 jadvāratt-ēṉum danmāsanatt-eṉṟal Variyill-e-ṉṟal maṟṟuttāṉum nammūril brā-

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[1] *E.g.*, 62 of 1898.

[2] Above, p. 5.

[3] Expressed by a symbol.

[4] A *taḍbhava* of *vyavasthā*.

[5] *Studies in Chōḷa History and Administration*, pp. 82-84.

[6] Above, Vol. XXI, p. 101.

[7] Read *-chaturvēdi*.

A Chola Inscription from Uttiramerur.



N. P. Chakravarti.
Reg. No. 3902 E'35-425.

SCALE : ONE-FIFTH.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

5 hmaṇar-[eṉra]l śivabhrāhmaṇar-eṉṟal Kaṇakkār[1]-eṉṟal vyāpāriga[ḷ]-eṉ[ṟal*] Veḷḷāḷar-

6 (r)eṉṟal maṟṟumm=eppērppaṭṭa jātigaḷḷ-eṉṟum avvava-jātigaḷ paṭṭa daṇḍam avva[v]-

7 ārē pōkkaṟuppār-(r)āgavum brāhmaṇarai iṭṭa daṇḍam brāhmaṇarē pōkkaṟuppārga[ḷ]-[ā]-

8 gavum śivabrāhmaṇarai iṭṭa daṇḍam śivabr[ā]hmaṇarē pōkkaṟuppārga[ḷ]-āgavum kā[ṇa]....

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1-3). Hail! Prosperity! On the **158th day in the ninth year of** (*the reign of*) king **Rājarājakēsaripaṇmar**, we, the *Mahāsabhā* of **Uttaramēru-chaturvēdimaṅgalam**, assembled by day in the *mukhamaṇḍapa* of the sacred temple of the *tulābhāra*[2], and made the following resolution:

(Ll. 4-8). Whether at the gate of the royal palace, or at the court of justice or in the (*department of*) revenue, or elsewhere, the Brāhmaṇas, Śivabrāhmaṇas, accountants, merchants, Veḷḷāḷas and any other castes of our village, shall be themselves answerable for the fines laid on the respective castes, the Brāhmaṇas being answerable for the fines laid on Brāhmaṇas, the Śivabrāhmaṇas being answerable for the fines laid on Śivabrāhmaṇas,——

No. 33.—AN UNFINISHED VAKATAKA PLATE FROM DRUG.

By Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A., Nagpur.

This plate was discovered some years ago at **Mōhallā**, the headquarters of the Pānabāras Zamindari in the Drug District of C. P. An impression taken at the time by Mr. M. A. Saboor of the Nāgpur Museum was sent to the late Rai Bahadur Hiralal. As it was only a single plate, not containing the complete genealogy or even the name of the donor, Rai Bahadur Hiralal did not naturally consider it of sufficient importance and it is not, therefore, included in his list of inscriptions of C. P. and Berar published in 1932. I came to know of its existence in January 1934, from a casual reference in his letter. I requested him to give me more details, but he could not recollect any except that it was in the possession of a Zamindar in the Drug district. Later on while turning up old papers, he found an old impression of it which he kindly sent me. As Rai Bahadur Hiralal had fortunately jotted down at the time the name of its owner, I requested Mr. B. A. Bambawale, I.C.S., Deputy Commissioner of Drug, to procure the plate for me. He traced it to one Akbar Khan, a petition-writer of Drug, who held it on behalf of Nagshah of Sārōli. In the course of inquiries made by Mr. Bambawale it was elicited that the plate was originally found at Mōhallā by one Bisambhar Raut who sent it to Nagshah. But for Mr. Bambawale's keen interest and active help this unique plate would not have again come to light. It is now deposited in the Nāgpur Museum.

This plate was intended to be the first of a set of three or four plates recording the charter of a Vākāṭaka king. It is inscribed only on one side. It measures 8″ by 3·75″ and weighs 19½ *tolas*. It is only $\frac{1}{10}$″ in thickness and is thus the thinnest of all Vākāṭaka plates discovered so far. About 1·9″ from the middle of the proper right margin there is a hole, ·35″ in diameter, for a ring intended to connect it with other plates of the set. But no such ring has been discovered so far. The size of the plate and the position of its hole show that it does not belong to the same set as the Patna Museum third plate[3] of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasēna II edited by Prof. A. S. Altekar.[4]

[1] Read *Kaṇakkar*.

[2] No doubt the Sundaravarada Perumāḷ Kōyil.

[3] The Patna Museum plate is 7·25″ by 4·2″. About 1″ from the centre there is a hole about ·35″ in diameter.

[4] *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 465 ff.

The plate contains five lines only. The letters are very neatly cut and do not show through on the reverse, though the plate is very thin. The ends of the plate are neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims, still the inscription is in a perfect state of preservation.

As stated above, the plate records the charter of a **Vākāṭaka king** and is, like most other plates of the Vākāṭakas, inscribed in the box-headed **characters** which were current in C. P. and Berār from the fourth to the sixth century A.D. The boxes at the top of letters are not scooped out hollow, but appear like small squares as in many inscriptions of the Vākāṭakas. The engraver has not engraved boxes at the top of the letters *ja* and *la* and, in some cases, *śa*, *dha*, and *ga*. The characters resemble, in a general way, those of the Ṛiddhapur plates[1] of Prabhāvatiguptā and the Rithpur plates of Bhavattavarman[2] and call for few remarks. The medial *ā*, *ē* and *ō* are generally denoted by horizontal *mātrās*, bent downwards at the end, added generally at the top (cf. *Padmapurāt*, l. 1) and in some cases, particularly in that of *m*, at the middle of letters (cf. *mēdha* and *samrājaḥ*, l. 2). One of the two *mātrās* for *ai* is on the top (cf. *Bhairava*, l. 3). The medial *au* is bipartite as in the cognate records of the Vākāṭakas. The medial *i* is denoted by a curve turned to the left on the top of a letter often forming a loop (cf. *Śiva*, l. 3), while its length is expressed by adding to it another and smaller curve turned in the opposite direction (cf. *Śrī-Pravarasēnasya*, l. 2). The medial *u* is shown either by lengthening the vertical to end in a serif (cf. *supari-*, l. 3) or by a curve turned to the right (cf. *chatur-*, l. 1). The letters *a*, *ka* and *ra* have ornamental curves at the lower ends of their verticals as in the Southern alphabet; *ḍa* has a round back and is not clearly distinguished from *da* (cf. *daśāśvamēdha*, l. 5 and *Shōḍashy-*, l. 1); *va* is distinguished from *ba* which latter has a notch on its left; *ma* appears in a transitional cursive form with the lower box added to its left arm. Its other form with the box attached to the right vertical which is generally seen in the charters of Pravarasēna II does not appear in this record. The two forms appear side by side in the Ṛiddhapur plates of Prabhāvatiguptā and Rithpur plates of Bhavattavarman. The form of *ma* used in the present plate develops ultimately into that found in the charters of the kings of Śarabhapura as well as in those of Tīvaradēva. The final *t* and *m* appear in a much reduced size and the latter has a looped base. The loop on the left side of *ya* has almost disappeared in two places (cf. *Vājapēya*, l. 1 and *Yājinaḥ*, l. 2). The right arm of *la* is longer than the left except in the case of *li*. The **language** is Sanskrit. As for **orthography** we have to note the reduplication of the consonant following *r*, *e.g.*, in *Āptōryyāma*, l. 1; *th* is reduplicated before *y* in *Ukṭṭhya* (l. 1) and *Bhāgiraṭṭhya* (l. 4), the reduplicated letter being made unaspirate.

With the exception of the place of issue the record is identical, so far as it goes, with the initial portion of the charters of the Vākāṭaka kings Pravarasēna II and Pṛithivishēṇa II. It mentions by name only one prince of the dynasty, *viz.*, **Pravarasēna I**, who assumed the Imperial title of Samrāṭ and performed several Vēdic sacrifices. It then refers to his grandson who was a great devotee of Svāmi-Mahābhairava and who was the daughter's son of **Bhavanāga** the *Mahārāja* (of the family) of the **Bhāraśivas**. The description of the Bhāraśivas—their coronation with the water of the Ganges which they had obtained by their valour, and their performance of ten Aśvamēdhas—is given as in the other plates of the Vākāṭakas. The record on the plate breaks off just before the mention of this grandson of Pravarasēna I, *viz.*, Rudrasēna I. The plate purports to have been issued from **Padmapura**.

Here two questions present themselves:—(1) Was the inscription commenced on this plate finished or was the plate rejected for some reason or other? (2) Who was the king who intended to issue this charter? As for the first question, I am inclined to think that the inscription was

[1] *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. XX, pp. 58 ff.

[2] Above, Vol. XIX, p. 100.

never completed or, in any case, the present plate was rejected for some unknown reason. Nearly all the charters of the Vākāṭakas contain the word *dṛishṭam*, with[1] or without[2] some word like *siddham* or *svasti*, at the beginning or in the margin.[3] The only exceptions so far known are the Bālāghāṭ plates of Pṛithivishēṇa II[4] and the Ṛiddhapura plates of Prabhāvatiguptā. Of these, the former is known to be an incomplete charter. In the case of the latter the word was probably not inserted for want of space. As in the Bālāghāṭ plates of Pṛithivishēṇa II there is in the present plate sufficient space for three letters in the beginning of the first line. If the record on the plate had been completed, the word *dṛishṭam* would have been prefixed to it as in so many other records of the Vākāṭakas. The following remarks of Prof. Kielhorn about the Bālāghāṭ plates would equally apply to our plate—" I am convinced now that *dṛishṭam* (and the Prakrit *diṭṭham* of the Mayidavōlu and Hīrahaḍagalli plates) must really be taken in its ordinary sense of 'seen' and that it is similar to the modern 'true copy' or 'examined' of official letters or Government orders. Such a remark could, of course, have been affixed or prefixed to a document only when it was finished and it is missing here, because our grant was not completed."[5] Another point to be noted in the case of the present plate is that it leaves space sufficient for five letters at the end of the last line. The word Gautamīputrasya which follows Bhavanāga-dauhitrasya in other Vākāṭaka records, could very well have been written in that space. In fact the engraver seems to have begun to incise the word; for faint traces of the top portion of the first syllable of that word can be noticed on the plate. That the engraver left so much space at the end seems to show that he received an order to stop before he could complete that line. Whether the record was inscribed on another set of plates cannot be determined at present.

Let us next try to answer the second question—'Who was the king that intended to issue this charter?' The general resemblance between the characters of the present plate and those of the Dudia and Ṛiddhapur plates seem to indicate that it might be Pravarasēna II. But almost all the known complete charters[6] of Pravarasēna II were issued from Pravarapura, a city which he himself seems to have founded and made his capital. It seems that Nandivardhana was the capital of the Vākāṭakas before the time of Pravarasēna II; for the earliest grant of the dynasty discovered so far, *viz.*, the Poona plates of the queen mother Prabhāvatiguptā, was issued from Nandivardhana.[7] So it was Pravarasēna II who shifted the capital from Nandivardhana to the newly founded city of Pravarapura.[8] If he had intended to grant the present plate, Pravarapura and not Padmapura, should have, in all probability, been the place of issue. Besides, the palæographical evidence detailed above seems to show that the present plate may be assigned to a slightly later date. Padmapura is not known to have been a holy place (*tīrtha*); nor is a

[1] *Cf.* the Chammak and Siwani plates of Pravarasēna II; Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, Nos. 55 and 56.

[2] *Cf.* the Dudia plates of Pravarasēna II, above, Vol. III, p. 258.

[3] *Cf.* the Poona plates of Prabhāvatiguptā, *ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 39.

[4] Above, Vol. IX, pp. 267 ff.

[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 268-269.

[6] The only exceptions are (1) the Siwani plates which, however, do not mention any place of issue and (2) the recently discovered Tirōḍi plates (above, pp. 171 ff.) which, as I have shown in my article on them, were probably issued from a holy place. In the case of the Patna Museum plate (*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, p. 465) and the Rāmṭek plate (*List of C. P. Inscriptions*, Second Edition, p. 4), the first plates of their sets being missing, the place of issue is not known.

[7] Rai Bahadur Hiralal has identified this place with Nāgardhan 4 miles from Rāmṭek, but it is more likely to be Nāndpur about 15 miles to the north of Rāmṭek where extensive ruins can still be seen and where two seals inscribed in characters of the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. have been found. (See *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 159 ff.)

[8] Mr. K. N. Dikshit has conjecturally identified this with Pavnār in Wardhā district where there is a high strong fort overlooking a river and considerable ruins (*ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 159).

word like *vāsakāt* added to it, showing that it was the site of the donor's camp. It seems, therefore, that Padmapura was the capital of a successor of Pravarasēna II who intended to issue this charter.

Let us next consider why the capital was shifted from Pravarapura. The Bālāghāṭ plates of Pṛithivishēṇa II describe that king as one 'who had raised his sunken family'.[1] This expression has not been satisfactorily explained.[2] It evidently refers to some foreign invasion in the reign of Pṛithivishēṇa's father and Pravarasēṇa II's son, Narēndrasēna, when he was reduced to great straits. Who was this powerful enemy of the Vākāṭakas? We should note in this connection that the Rithpur plates[3] of Bhavattavarman which have been referred to a period falling between the end of the fifth and the first half of the sixth century were issued from Nandivardhana, which, as shown above, was formerly a capital of the Vākaṭākas. So Bhavattavarman must have occupied the western portion of the Vākāṭaka kingdom. The Vākāṭakas in this emergency seem to have shifted their capital to Padmapura in the East where they had the support of their loyal feudatories, the kings of Kōsala (Chhattīsgarh) and Mēkala (the region round the source of the Narmadā).[4] An inscription of Bhavattavarman's successor has been discovered at Pōḍāgaḍh in the Jaypur Agency of the Vizagapatam district of the Madras Presidency, from which it appears that the Nalas suffered a great reverse after their initial success and their capital Pushkarī was made desolate.[5] It seems, therefore, likely that Pṛithivishēṇa II carried the war into the enemy's territory and regained his ancestral kingdom evidently with the help of his maternal grandfather the king of Kuntala and his feudatories of Kōsalā, Mēkalā and Mālava. His Bālāghāṭ plates were intended to be issued when he was encamped at Vēmbāra.[6] No other plates of either Pṛithivishēṇa II or his successors have been discovered; so we do not know the name of their capital. It seems likely that our present plate was intended to be issued either by Narēndrasēna or his son Pṛithivishēṇa II from the then capital Padmapura. If so, Padmapura is the last known capital of the Vākāṭakas.

The mention of Padmapura in the present plate is also important from another point of view. The well-known Sanskrit dramatist Bhavabhūti, who ranks in Sanskrit literature next only to Kālidāsa and flourished towards the close of the seventh century A.D., mentions Padmapura as his ancestral home. In one of his plays, the *Mahāviracharita*, Padmapura is stated to be in the Dakshiṇāpatha, while in another, *viz.*, the *Mālatī Mādhava*, it is mentioned as situated in Vidarbha. As no place named Padmapura was known till now from any epigraphic record as

[1] दि(वि ?)भग्नवंशप्रतीद्धर्तुः वाकाटकानाम्परमभागवतमहाराजश्रीपृथिविषेणस्य वचनात् (above, Vol. IX, p. 271).

[2] There is no ground for Prof. S. K. Aiyangar's conjecture that Narēndrasēna allied himself with the Pushyamitras and the Paṭumitras who rose in revolt against Skandagupta and was subsequently defeated by the latter (*The Vākāṭakas in the History of India*, p. 50). Mr. K. P. Jayaswal thinks that the Vākāṭaka family must have sunk along with the Guptas owing to Hun invasions (*History of India*, 150 A.D.—350 A.D., p. 102). But there are no traces of Hun occupation in the heart of the Vākāṭaka kingdom, whereas we have clear evidence of the occupation of Nandivardhana by Bhavattavarman of the Nala family who rose about that time.

[3] Above, Vol. XIX, p. 100.

[4] श्रीस्वामिमेकलामालवाधिपतिभिरभ्यर्थितप्रासनस्य प्रसाधप्रख्यातरिसेनस्य(प्रतापप्रथतारिप्रासनस्य) वाकाटकानान्महाराज-श्रीनरेन्द्रसेनस्य ....

[5] Above, Vol. XXI, p. 153 Pushkarī has not been identified. It may be identical with modern Barsur in the State of Bastar, C. P., which abounds in ancient ruins. (See *Gazetteer of the Chattisgarh Feudatory States*, p. 39.)

[6] This place has not yet been identified. It is likely to be Bēmbāl about 28 miles to the east of Chāndā and 2 miles to the west of the Waingangā. This identification would further indicate that Pṛithivishēṇa II was on his way to the territory of the Nalas which lay further to the south-east, probably in the State of Bastar.

situated in Berār, some scholars[1] were inclined to take it as identical with Padmāvatī, the scene of Bhavabhūti's *Mālatī-Mādhava*, which is now clearly shown to be Pawāyā 25 miles north-east of Narwār in Gwalior State.[2] The discovery of the present plate has settled this disputed point and proved incontrovertibly that Bhavabhūti was born in ancient Vidarbha. The Vākāṭaka kings were patrons of Vēdic learning and performed many important Vēdic sacrifices. It is no wonder, therefore, that we find such learned Mīmāṁsakas as the ancestors of Bhavabhūti,[3] who themselves performed such sacrifices as the Vājapēya, settled in Padmapura, where they must have received the patronage of the Vākāṭakas. After the decline of the Vākāṭakas, there were no great royal dynasties ruling in C. P. and Berār in the 7th and the beginning of the 8th century A.D. Bhavabhūti seems, therefore, to have gone to the north where he found a patron in Yaśōvarman, the mighty king of Kanauj, as stated in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.

We have seen above that Padmapura was situated in Vidarbha. From the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa[4] we learn that the river Wardhā divided Vidarbha into two parts. Ancient Vidarbha, therefore, comprised not only modern Berār but also the Marāṭhī districts of the Central Provinces, which, as I have shown elsewhere,[5] were under the direct rule of the Vākāṭakas. As a matter of fact there is no village named Padmapura in modern Berār proper, while there are at least six villages of that name in the Chāndā and Bhaṇḍārā districts of C. P. Of these Padampur, 2 miles from Āmgaon, a station on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, is probably the Padmapura of the present plate. As I have shown elsewhere[6] the villages mentioned in the Siwani plates of Pravarasēna II can be identified in its vicinity. The village contains many ancient relics. When I visited the place during the Christmas of 1934, I found four finely carved but broken images of the Tīrthaṅkaras Pārśvanātha and Ṛishabhadēva, some others of Hindu gods like Vishṇu[7] and remains of two Mediaeval Hindu temples, such as fragments of massive stone pillars, a large lintel measuring 8′ × 1′-7″ × 1′-6″ and bases of door-jambs, in the adjoining fields. No other Padampur in C. P. is reported to have such ancient relics. There are at present no Brahmin families in Padampur itself which is now a small village of 112 souls, but there are many Brahmins in the neighbourhood of Padampur. It is noteworthy that they follow the Taittirīya branch of the Black Yajurvēda to which Bhavabhūti's family belonged.[8] I, therefore, feel no hesitation in concluding that Padampur in the Āmgaon Zamindari of the Bhaṇḍārā district, C. P., was the last Vākāṭaka capital and the ancestral home of Bhavabhūti.

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[1] *Cf.* Dr. S. K. Belvalkar's Introduction to the *Uttara-Rāmacharita* (Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. XXI), p. xxxvi.

[2] *A. S. R.*, for 1915-16, pp. 1-10.

[3] अस्ति दक्षिणापथे पद्मपुरं नाम नगरम्। तत्र कैश्चित्तैत्तिरीयिणः काश्यपाश्चरणगुरवः पङ्क्तिपावनाः पञ्चाग्नयो धृतव्रताः सोमपीथिन उदुम्बरनामानो ब्रह्मवादिनः प्रतिवसन्ति। तदामुष्यायणस्य तत्रभवतो वाजपेययाजिनो महाकवेः पञ्चमः.... श्रीकण्ठपदलाञ्छनो भवभूतिर्नाम ज्ञातृकर्णीपुत्रः.... । (*Mahāvīracharita* pp. 2-3, ed. Oxford University Press).

[4] Act V, st. 13.

[5] Above, p. 169.

[6] Above, p. 171, footnote 1.

[7] An old farmer of Padampur told me that one more image was taken to the Nāgpur Museum about forty years ago. It cannot however be definitely identified there, as no accurate record of the findspots of images has been kept in the Museum and the provenance of many is not known. But from the dimensions of its stone *prabhāvali*, which is still *in situ* at Padampur, the image seems to be identical with that of Śiva (A.-22 in the Descriptive List of Exhibits in the Nagpur Museum) which ' is said to have come from Bhaṇḍārā ' (district ?).

[8] It may be noted in this connection that the Siwani plates of Pravarasēna II which record the gift of the village Brahmapūraka in the neighbourhood of Padampur, were granted to a Brahmin of the Taittirīya-*śākhā*.

TEXT.[1]

1 पद्मपुरात्[2] [।*] अग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्य्यामोक्थ्यषोडश्यतिरात्रवाजपेयबृहस्पतिसवसाध्य-
स्काचतुरश्र-

2 मेधयाजिनः[3] विष्णुवृद्धसगोत्रस्य वाकाटकानामग्रहाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य सूनोः
सूनोः

3 अत्यन्तस्वामिमहाभैरवभक्तस्य भंसभारसन्निवेशितशिवलिङ्गोद्वहनशिवसुपरि-

4 तुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवंशानां पराङ्गमाधिगतभागिर[4]थ्यमलजलमूर्द्धाभिषिक्त[5]नाम्

5 दशाश्वमेधावभृत[6]स्नातानामाग्निवानामग्रहाराजश्रीभवनागदौहित्रस्य[7]

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[1] From the original plate.

[2] There is a space of '7" sufficient for incising three letters before this word.

[3] Here and in some places below the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.

[4] Read भागीरथ्य.

[5] Read मूर्द्धाभिषिक्तानाम्.

[6] Read वभृथ.

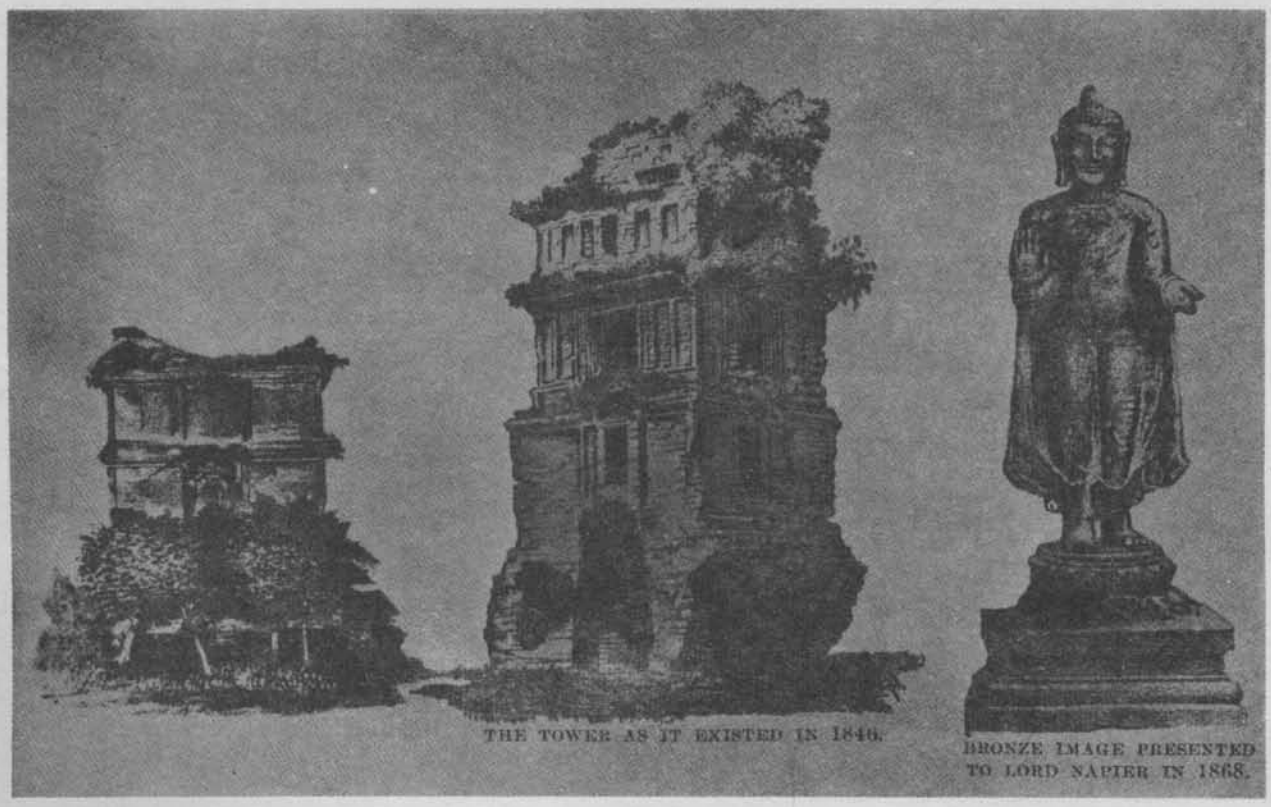
[7] There is a space of 1·3" left after this word. Faint traces of the top portion of a letter can be seen on the plate.

THE SEAL OF THE LARGER LEIDEN PLATES OF RAJARAJA I.



ACTUAL SIZE.

ANCIENT TOWER AT NEGAPATAM. (FROM IND. ANT. VOL. VII).



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI. From photographs. SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

No. 34.—THE LARGER LEIDEN PLATES (OF RAJARAJA I).

By K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer, B.A., Coimbatore.

The Leiden University Museum in Holland preserves two sets of copper-plate charters of the Chōḷas of which the larger contains 21 leaves or plates and the smaller 3 leaves. These are popularly known as the Large and Small Leiden Grants. They were edited nearly half a century ago, *i.e.*, in 1886 by Pandit Natesa Sastri and Burgess in Volume IV of the *Archæological Survey of Southern India*.[1] The provenance of the plates is not noticed by the authors: but regarding the larger set they say that it is engraved in Chōḷa-Grantha characters on 21 plates each measuring 14″ by 5″. They also note:—" The plates are held together by a massive ring bearing a seal about 4½″ in diameter with 16 knobs at about equal distances from each other round the margin. The central field contains, on the left, two fishes—the scales, fins, gills, eyes and mouth, of which are all clearly expressed; and on the right, an animal, seated dog-fashion, with its tail brought forward to touch the nearer of the fishes:—from the large tusk in its mouth, it is probably intended for a tiger—the Chōḷa symbol. Over it is a *chhatra*, with a *chāmara* on each side, the handles resting on the heads of two small pillars resembling lamp-stands,—each stand having a cloth knotted round the middle of it. The tops of these resemble lamp flames. A well-raised circle, double below, surrounds all this; and outside it, in raised characters of the Chōḷa-Grantha type, is the legend beginning at the bottom:—

Iti Rājēndra-Chōḷasya Parakēsarivarmmaṇaḥ rājarājanyamakuṭaśrēṇi-ratnēshu śāsanam ||"

The following additional information is found in the note recently received from Leiden, by Dr. Chakravarti, and kindly forwarded to me by him[2]: —" The plates are ⅛″ in thickness. On the left side there is a hole (diameter 1″) by means of which the plates are fastened to a massive copper-ring having an outward diameter of 13″. The ring has a circular section with diameter of ⅞″ and has been soldered into a cylindrical tube with raised rims. This tube, measuring 5⅛″ in length and 1½″ in section, contains a short inscription which contains the name Āṇaimaṅgalam in Tamiḷ. On the top of the tube there is a massive conical projection in the form of a lotus flower, with eight pointed leaves turned downward and sixteen pointed leaves turned upward. On the upper surface of this lotus is the seal " described above. The note further informs that " the writing has not been engraved: was written first on wax tablets and from these the copper-plates have been cast *à cire perdue* ".

To the careful observations of Messrs. Burgess and Natesa Sastri I would only add that the inner one of the double line at the bottom of the raised circle is intended to denote the bow emblem of the Chēras whom the Chōḷas had subdued, and that the legend requires slight emendation. Rājēndra-Chōḷa's legend is given in two stone inscriptions published in the *South-Indian Inscriptions* (*Texts*), Volume V,[3] and also in the seal of the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates.[4] With the help of their readings the legend on the **seal** of the Leiden plates given by Burgess and Natesa Sastri may be corrected into—

Ētad-Rājēndra-Chōḷasya Parakēsarivarmmaṇaḥ [।*]
rājad-rājanya-makuṭa-śrēṇi-ratnēshu śāsanam [॥*]

[1] Pp. 204 ff.

[2] [At my request Lt.-Col. Th. van Erp of Rijks Ethnographisch Museum, Leiden, kindly sent, through the good offices of Prof. J. Ph. Vogel, excellent ink-impressions of the grant from which the facsimiles accompanying this article are prepared—Ed.]

[3] General Nos. 578 and 579.

[4] *A. S. R.*, for 1903-04, p. 234.

That this must be the reading is clear from the authors' own remarks that the symbol " used for the first syllable of *Rājēndra* and for the third syllable of *rājarājanya* is quite different from that employed for *ra* elsewhere in the legend, being more like what one might expect to find for *dra* or *pra*." The photograph of the seal kindly sent by Lt.-Col. Th. van Erp was examined by me in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India and found to agree with the reading given above. I may remark that there is no punctuation mark in the legend.

At the time the large Leiden plates were published, the account furnished in them formed the only authentic source for Chōḷa history and served to remove some of the misconceptions and wrong conjectures regarding a few of the members of the Chōḷa family. The editors had correctly estimated the worth of the record when they said that it was 'the first Chōḷa inscription yet translated containing much definite information respecting the dynasty, and must be regarded as of the greatest importance'. The genealogy it furnished superseded those published by Sewell in his *Lists of Antiquities*[1] and formed an important basis for future investigations. Since the editing of these plates, a number of valuable Chōḷa records have been edited critically. Of these, the most important is the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant discovered by me in 1906 and edited in the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Volume III.[2] No less useful is the stone inscription of Vīrarājēndra found at Kanyākumāri by the late Gopinatha Rao and edited by me in the *Travancore Archæological Series*, Volume III.[3] The Anbil plates of Sundara-Chōḷa and the Madras Museum plates of Uttama-Chōḷa, the former edited in the *Epigraphia Indica*[4] and the latter in the *South-Indian Inscriptions*,[5] are other important ones. Besides these epigraphical sources, there are a few Tamiḻ historical texts which also aid the student in his study of the Chōḷa history. These are the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* and the *Kulōttuṅgaśōḷaṉ-ulā*, first noticed by the late Kanakasabhai Pillai in the *Indian Antiquary*, *Vikramaśōḷaṉ-ulā*, *Rājarājaśōḷaṉ-ulā* and others, the texts of which had since been edited with care.

Considering the time of publication, it must be said that the inscription on the Leiden plates has been fairly well made out. But there are a few mistakes of the authors as well as of the printer which mar the text and distort the sense. They could be easily corrected without having recourse to the original, mainly with the help of the reading of other allied records. I noted down the mistakes when I took up its study seriously while editing the Kanyākumāri inscription in the *Travancore Archæological Series* nearly 15 years ago. On that occasion, I also revised the text of the Leiden plates, which on comparison with the impressions now kindly secured by the Government Epigraphist is found to agree. One of the serious defects in the previous edition of this inscription is the wrong arrangement of some of the plates. The plate marked there as " Fifteenth plate ; second side " is really the fourteenth plate, second side. Similarly the plate marked " Fourteenth plate : second side " is in fact the fifteenth plate, second side. The inscription then reads through without any interruption ; the regular order of the lines 284 to 316 given in the volume should be 284, 305 to 315, 295 to 304, 285 to 294 and 316.

While the published Sanskrit text is almost free from errors of transcription, the Tamiḻ portion contains too many mistakes to be noticed here. The best way will be to give a correct version of the whole with proper division of words adding foot-notes wherever serious changes are effected. Most of the mistakes are simple ones due to taking *ra* for the length stroke from which it is hardly distinguishable or due to taking the basic consonant as the first combined consonant and *vice*

[1] Vol. II, pp. 154-156.
[2] See pages 383 to 439.
[3] Pages 87 to 158.
[4] Vol. XV, pp. 44-72.
[5] Vol. III, pp. 264 ff.

varsá. In effect, the significance of some of the words has been altered or distorted and rendered meaningless. For instance *karaṇattāṉ* has been read as *kāṇattāṉ* (l. 356)[1], *Pākkaraṉ* has been read as *Pākkāṉ* (l. 276), *Perēmapura* as *Perampura* (l. 156), *ulgum* as *ulakum* (l. 285), *viṛpiḍiyum* as *viraṛpiḍiyum* (l. 285), *pāya-kkalliṉa* as *pāykkalliṉ* (l. 236), *Śiṛiyāṉ Kaḍambaṉ* as *Śiriyāṇa kaḍamban* (l. 244), etc. The formation of *ta* and *na* being almost similar, one has been mistaken for the other. For instance, the proper name *Aṇaiyāṉ* has been read as *aṇaiyāda* (l. 159). As *ḷu* is shaped almost like *nu*, the latter letter has been mistaken for the former, *e.g.*, *nāṭṭōḷukku* and *nāttōḷun* (ll. 173 and 174), for *nāṭṭōmukku* and *nāṭṭōmun*. The *Grantha* letter *bha* being similar to the conjunct *tta*, the former has been mistaken for the latter, *e.g.*, *Tammaḍittaṭṭan* (l. 153) which must be *Tammaḍi-Bhaṭṭaṉ*. Wrong division of words has sometimes resulted in distorting words and obscuring their sense. For instance, what has been read as *brahmadēyamuṅ-Kīṛakuḍi* (l. 265f) ought to be *brahmadēya-Mūṅgiṛkuḍi*, what has been read as *peruttatōraṇaṅgaḷum* (ll. 159-60) ought to be *pēr-ttantōn=tāṅgaḷum* (*pēr tandōn=tāṅgaḷum*) and what has been taken as *pāl tēvavakai* (l. 287) should be *pālad-evvagai*. It is unnecessary to cite more instances as the mistakes are corrected in the revised text given below.

The impressions now obtained show that the inscription has been very neatly executed from beginning to end. It is in **two sections**. The **first section** is in the **Sanskrit** language and written in the **Grantha** alphabet. It contains 111 lines of writing and covers the obverse and reverse sides of **five plates**.[2] Except the first plate, the rest are marked with the numerals 2 to 5 on the obverse sides, near the top of the ring hole, either to its left or right. These numerals are in smaller characters than the letters of the inscription.

The following **orthographical peculiarities** may be noted. The vowel *a* is represented by two separate symbols which could be easily mistaken for *tara*. The finals of consonants are indicated by a slight vertical stroke marked on the right top corner (for instances see *yāvat* in l. 4 and *pratāpavān* in l. 31), except in the case of *m* where it is marked on the top of the left side. The superscribed *rēpha* is denoted by a dot placed over the consonant (*e.g.*, see *śārṅgiṇaś*= in l. 3 and *Ravir=vvi*° in l. 7). The length symbol is invariably separated from the letter to which it belongs. While *kṛi* (see *Kṛishṇa* in l. 43, *kṛita* in l. 66f., *kṛitya* in l. 67), is represented by a hook turned to the right crossing *ka*, *kri* is shaped by bending, at the bottom, the vertical stroke of *ka* to the left (see *chakra* in l. 52). There are many instances of the use of final *m* for *anusvāra*; for example see *sampatabhis*= in l. 44, *Śambhu* in l. 69, *dakshiṇ-āmbhō* in l. 69, *sambhūtēna* in l. 80, *saṃpanna* in l. 101, and *sambhavō* in l. 103. While the medial short *i* is denoted by a concave curve marked over the latter, long *ī* is denoted in two ways by having a closed loop at the beginning or end of the *i* curve. The *u* symbol is formed in three different ways:—(1) In the case of most letters (*n*, *p*, *m*, *y*, etc.), it is indicated by the addition of a tube to the bottom of the letter: the long *ū* in these letters is denoted by the further addition of a convex curve passing from the right of the letter to the left covering its lower portion. (2) In the case of letters like *k* and *r*, which have a tube-bottom, the *u* symbol is represented by the addition of a curve passing at the bottom of the letter with a slight bend on the right side: the long *ū* in these letters is shown by a wavy line added to the letter at the middle of the right side. (3) In the case of *t* and *ś*, the *u* symbol is indicated by the addition of a hook at the bottom turned to the right. *Tū* and *śū* are not represented.

[1] The lines quoted in this paragraph refer to the edition of the text by Burgess and Natesa Sastri.

[2] On each side, the first plate contains 10 lines, the second 11 lines, and the third and the fourth 12 lines. While the obverse of the fifth plate has only 9 lines, the reverse of it contains 12 lines.

The **language** and **alphabet** of the **second section** is **Tamiḷ**, though Grantha letters are used in some words of Sanskrit origin. It contains 332 lines of writing and covers the obverse and reverse sides of **sixteen plates.**[1] These plates are marked with the numerals 1 to 16 as in the Sanskrit portion. The omission of *puḷḷi* or *virāma*, and the shaping of *mu* and *ḷu* alike are the only points worthy of note.

Omission of letters are noticeable in *grām* (l. 49) for *grāmam*, *vija* (l. 67) for *vijaya*, *samāhvaḥ* (l. 97) for *samāhvayaḥ*, *Jayaṅgoṇśōḷa* (l. 108) for *Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa*, in the Sanskrit portion; *pūṇmai* (l. 56) for *pūṇḍamai*, °*yūḍattu* (l. 126) for °*yūḍaṟuttu*, *Kshatriśikhā* (l. 240) for *Kshatriyaśikhā*, *brahmadēṅ-* (l. 212) for *brahmadēyaṅ=*, *Naṇṇimaṅla* (l. 247) for *Naṇṇimaṅgala*, *piśūḷndu* (ll. 232, 253, 268) for *piḍiśūḷndu*, and *eḷudi* (l. 234) for *eḷudiṇēṇ* in the Tamiḷ portion.

Both the Sanskrit and the Tamiḷ portions are in the **script of the 11th century A.D.** The writing of the Sanskrit section and the writing from the latter half of line 323 up to line 332 are alike, and seem to be somewhat in a different hand from the main Tamiḷ section from lines 1 to 323 of the 16 Tamiḷ plates.

We shall now notice the **contents** of the inscription. In the Sanskrit portion, the first verse is in praise of Vishṇu[2] while the second is an invocation to the gods for the continuance of the Chōḷa family. Verses 3 and 4 introduce certain mythical ancestors of the solar family to which the Chōḷas belonged. They are Manu[3] the son of Ahimakara (*i.e.*, Sūrya); his son Ikshvāku; the virtuous Māndhātṛi[4] born in his family; his son Muchukunda[5]; his son Vaḷabha; and Śibi[6] born in his family. Of the last, the poet exclaims "who, excepting Vyāsa, could extol the qualities of this king who protected his life only for the benefit of others!" (v. 5). The eponymous **Chōḷa**[7] is

[1] There are generally 10 lines on each face except on II*b*, VIII*b*, IX*a* and *b*, XIV*b* and XV*a*, which contain 11 lines each, and XV*b*, and XVI*a*, which have 13 lines each.

[2] Verse 9 of Canto VIII of *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* starts the mythical ancestry of the Chōḷas from Vishṇu and carries it in regular succession through Brahman, Marīchi, Kaśyapa, and Sūrya.

[3] Verse 10 of Canto VIII of *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* states that Ikshvāku was the son of Manu who was the son of Sūrya. It refers to the rendering of justice by Manu, to the astonishment of all, by holding the life of his own son as being no better than that of the calf overrun by the wheels of his car. The verse reads:—

Avv-Arukkaṇ magaṇ-āgi Manu mēdini purand ariya-kādalaṇaiy āviṇadu kaṇṟu-nigar-eṇṟ-
e-vvarukkamum viyappa muṟai-śeyda kadaiyum Ikkuvāguv-ivaṇ-maindaṇ-eṇa vanda pariśum [l⁸].

It is interesting to note that the account of the *Periyapurāṇa* of Manu rendering justice to a cow whose calf was run over by the car of his son, by running his own car over the latter, finds mention in an inscription of Vikrama-Chōḷa found at Tiruvārūr (No. 456 of S. I. I.—Texts, Vol. V, pp. 174ff.). This gives some more details that are not found in the hagiology. Here it is stated that a cow having rung the bell put up at the gate (of the palace) of Manu the king sent his minister (*mantrin*) Ubhaiyakulāmalan of Pālaiyūr in Iṅga-nāḍu to know the cause of the ringing. On his reporting that a cow rang the bell, Manu came out, saw the cow and her calf that lay dead, enquired and learnt, that the calf was run over by the car in which his son drove and considering his son's life as being equal to that of the calf, he ordered his minister to run a car over his son. The minister set out with a heavy heart and piercing his ears died. The *dvārapālas* (*i.e.*, gate-keepers) informing the king of the happening, he felt sorry and himself ran the car over his son. At this juncture, the God showed His Grace by restoring to life the calf, the minister and the son of Manu. The king presented the calf to the mother cow and set out for *tapas* with the minister, anointing the revived son in his place and appointing to the office of his minister, the minister's son named Sūrya.

[4] Before Māndhātā, the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* introduces Purandara as being the son of Ikshvāku (VIII, v. 11.).

[5] Māndhātā and Muchukunda are described in verse 12. The former is described as making the fierce tiger and the deer drink together at the same *ghāṭ*.

[6] In verse 13, Śibi is referred to only by his act of cutting his flesh from his body without the least agitation and entering the scales to equal the weight of the dove; and before him is mentioned one (*i.e.*, Pṛithulākshu) who carried the nectar arising from the churning of the ocean to the gods.

[7] Speaking of Chōḷa, the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* (verse 14) states that he formed the Chōḷamaṇḍala and that Suvādhirāja, *i.e.*, Suraguru and others came in his line. The same verse also speaks of Rājakēsarin and Parakēsarin.

then introduced as being born in his family (v. 6). It was after his name that the kings born in the family were called Chōḷas. This is of importance in indicating that the name Chōḷa was first applied to a person, and then to the family, to the people and to the country. In this family was **Rājakēsarin** and in the latter's family was **Parakēsarin** (v. 7). It is stated that the names, or rather the titles, Rājakēsarin and Parakēsarin were borne alternately by kings born in the Chōḷa family (v. 8). Thus it is made clear that only ruling members of the line assumed the said titles and not the others. The next person mentioned as belonging to the family is Suraguru who acquired the name Mṛityujit by conquering the god of death[1] (v. 9). In his family was Vyāghrakētu whose descendant was Pañchapa[2] (v. 10). From here, the information furnished in the plates relates to historical persons. King **Karikāla** who is described as the god of death to his enemies, is said to have been born in his family. The fact noted about him is that he constructed embankments to the river Kāvērī (v. 11). He seems to have won lasting fame by this deed. The composer of the Kanyākumāri inscription draws special attention to the damage caused annually to the country by the river when it was in floods. The building of embankments to it not only alleviated the frequent sufferings of his subjects but turned the very source of evil into good and made the country grow in wealth and prosperity. And posterity never failed to mention with gratitude this noble act of the king.[3] His renovation of the city of Kāñchī, which as we know was the capital of the Pallavas from very early times, is recorded in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates.[4] In these ways Karikāla seems to have used the riches which he must have obtained by his successful fight with Trilōchana-Pallava and the influence which he must have gained thereby. In the first of these works, Karikāla was helped by several of the subjugated kings including Trilōchana-Pallava.[5] The date of Karikāla has been taken to be the 5th century A.D.[6] In Karikāla's family was king **Kōchchaṅgaṇṇāṉ**. He is described as the bee at the lotus feet of Śambhu (v. 12). While the story of Kōchchaṅgaṇṇāṉ's previous birth as spider weaving cobwebs over the *liṅga* at Jambukēśvaram is detailed in the *Periyapurāṇam* and the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates,[7] his building activities and devotion are referred to in the *Dēvāram*. His victory in the battle of Kaḷumalam is fully described in the *Kaḷavaḷi*.[8] After him came **kō-kkiḷḷi**. A descendant of Kiḷḷi was **Vijayālaya** (v. 13). While

[1] Mṛityujit is described in the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* (Canto VIII, v. 15) as " one who showed to Kāla (*i.e.*, the god of death) his way of conduct ". In *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 417, n. 2, it has been pointed out that the poem evidently refers to Suraguru and Mṛityujit as two different kings.

[2] After Mṛityujit, Vyāghrakētu and Pañchapa are the only two kings mentioned in the Leiden plates. The former is referred to in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates by his other name Chitraratha and it is stated that his banner-cloth bore the emblem of the tiger. The *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* evidently speaks of him when it refers to ' one who put in his flag Indra as the tiger '. Pañchapa is described in the Tamiḷ poem as ' he who offered his blood to be drunk forcibly '. The Kanyākumāri inscription speaking of Pañchapa states that he cut open five arteries of his body and fed with blood five Yakshas.

[3] *Tat-kulē Kalikālō-bhūt Kāvēri-tīra-kṛin=nṛipaḥ* (above, Vol. VII, p. 153). *Tasmin kulē samabhavat Kalikāla-Chōḷō viraḥ Kavēra-tanayān=taṭinīṁ vidhātā* (*ibid*, p. 150). *Toḻudu maṇṇarē karai-śey Poṉṉi* (*Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*, VIII, v. 20).

[4] *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, pp. 417*f*., v. 42.

[5] *Charaṇa-sarōruha-vihita-vilōchana-Trilōchana-pramukh-ākhila-pṛithvīśvara-kārita-Kāvērī-tīra* (above, Vol. XI, p. 340, n. 2). *Kavēra-tanayā-[vē]l-ō[l*]laṅghana-praśamana-pramukh-ādy-anēk-ātiśaya-kāriṇaḥ..... Karikālasya* (Puṇyakumāra plates, above, Vol. XI, p. 345).

[6] Above, Vol. XI, p. 340.

[7] See *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 418, verse 43 and note 4. See v. 3 of Tirunāvukkaraśu's *Dēvāram* on Tiruchchāykkāḍu and his hymn on Tirunaṇipaḷḷi, verse 2; also Sundaramūrttināyanār's hymn on Tiruvāvaḍudurai, verse 2. The Māḍakkōyil at Tiruvaigal is said to have been constructed by Śeṅgaṇṇāṉ: see Jñānasambandar's hymn on that place.

[8] K. V. S. Aiyer's *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, pp. 187 and 188, and also above, Vol. XI, p. 156, n. 6.

the Kanyākumārī inscription states that he constructed the town of Tañchāpurī[1] in the Chōḷa country, the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates say that he captured that city and built the temple of Niśumbhasūdanī in it.[2] Since we know from the Śendalai pillar inscriptions that Tañchāpurī was one of the principal cities[3] of Perumbiḍugu-Muttaraiyan, who flourished immediately before the time of Vijayālaya, the conclusion is irresistible that the latter must have conquered the Muttaraiyan chief and wrested the town from his possession and made it his capital.[4] As such the information furnished in the Kanyākumārī inscription is not quite correct. And since we know from Vēḷūrpāḷayam plates that Nandivarman III, who was not far removed from Vijayālaya, had a certain Chōḷamahārāja *alias* Kumārāṅkuśa as his *āj̃ñapti*,[5] it is not impossible that this Vijayālaya succeeded him and eventually made himself independent or paved the way for his son to raise the canopy of a dominion in Southern India. Of **Āditya**, the son of Vijayālaya (v. 14), much information is not given in the Leiden plates. But we know from other sources that he was a Rājakēśarivarman[6] and had the name Kōdaṇḍarāma,[7] that he was a great conqueror and knew no defeat,[8] that he was on friendly terms with the Chēra king Sthāṇu Ravi[9] and the Western Gaṅga Pṛithvīpati II,[10] that he extended his territory into Toṇḍai-nāḍu[9] and killed or defeated the Pallava king Aparājita,[7] that he acquired Koṅgu,[11] that he built large temples to Śiva on both banks of the Kāvērī and that he reigned from A.D. 870 to 907.[10] Āditya's son was **Parāntaka** (I.) (v. 15). He is said to have founded big towns, to have effected some conquests and to have covered with gold the temple of Indumauli, *i.e.*, Śiva at Vyāghrāgrahāra (vv. 16-17). His achievements recorded in other places are the signal defeats inflicted on the Pāṇḍya Rājasiṁha, the acquisition of the Bāṇa kingdom and the bestowal of it on his ally the Western Gaṅga Pṛithvīpati II,[12] the conquest of Ceylon,[13] the overcoming of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇarāja III in battle[14] and the establishment

[1] *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 155, v. 54.

[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 418, vv. 45, 46.

[3] Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 134ff.

[4] *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, p. 211. There are ample evidences of the rule of the Muttaraiyans in the Pudukkōṭṭai State and Tanjore and Trichinopoly Districts. See pages 138-39, above, Vol. XIII.

[5] See *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 512, v. 26, and the Tamiḷ portion which follows it. It is said that this Chōḷamahārāja was called the heroic head jewel of the Chōḷa race, that the glory of his prowess was well known, that his liberality was that of Karṇa and that his conduct was upright.

[6] Above, Vol. XV, p. 68, v. 17.

[7] *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 155, v. 55.

[8] Above, Vol. XV, p. 68, v. 18.

[9] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 221.

[10] Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 81ff.

[11] *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, p. 213.

[12] These are recorded in the Udayēndiram plates of Pṛithvīpati II (*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 387, vv. 9 and 10). The charter distinctly refers to two invasions of the Pāṇḍya country, in the earlier of which Parāntaka I. defeated the Pāṇḍya king and captured his city, and in the later he not only defeated the Pāṇḍya but also slew an immense army despatched to his aid by the lord of Laṅkā. Parāntaka's first invasion of Madura may be placed in A.D. 910 when he assumed the title 'Madiraikoṇḍa'. The second invasion referred to above may be placed in about A.D. 918 which is the date of one of his inscriptions mentioning the battle of Vēḷūr in which it is also stated that Parāntaka defeated the allied forces of Pāṇḍya and the king of Ceylon.

[13] The earliest inscription that gives to Parāntaka I., the epithet "*Madiraiyum Iḷamum koṇḍa*" being dated in the 37th year of his reign, his conquest of Ceylon must be said to have taken place in or about A.D. 944. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates referring to this event state that "all the waters of the sea were not enough to quench the fire of the Chōḷa king's anger, which consumed the enemies and which was put out only by the tears of the wives of the king of Siṁhaḷa, cut and killed by the king's weapons" (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 419, v. 52). The Kanyākumārī inscription states that the name Siṁhaḷāntaka was acquired by Parāntaka I., by this achievement (*Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 155, v. 59).

[14] *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 155, v. 58. Parāntaka's conquest of the Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III must have happened before A. D. 944 which is the earliest date of Kṛishṇa III's records in the Tamil country subject to the rule of the Chōḷas (No. 375 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1909).

of several *agrahāras* called after his name Vīranārāyaṇa.[1] The first over-seas invasion—which was to be continued long afterwards—was undertaken by him. He reigned for 48 years[2] from A.D. 907 and paid great attention to the internal administration of his country. Verse 18 states that Parāntaka had three sons named Rājāditya, Gaṇḍarāditya and Ariñjaya. Of these, **Rājāditya** is said to have been the lord of the earth after Parāntaka I. had passed away (v. 19), and fighting with Kṛishṇarāja, *i.e.*, the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III, he is reported to have met with his end (v. 20). The incorrectness of the statement contained in verse 19 that Rājāditya became the lord of the earth after Parāntaka has been clearly shown on pages 82-83 of *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, where, in a footnote, several records of Parāntaka I., dated in regnal years corresponding to A.D. 947, 948, 952 and 953 have been cited. Because the battle of Takkōlam, in which Rājāditya lost his life, took place in A.D. 947 and is referred to in a record of A.D. 949, it is evident that he did not survive his father, who lived and reigned, according to a recently discovered inscription dated in the 48th year, up to at least A.D. 955. From verses 21 and 22 we learn that **Gaṇḍarāditya** reigned over the Chōḷa dominion and founded a city after his name on the north bank of the Kāvērī,[3] and passed away after a son named Madhurāntaka had been born to him. The last statement is significant inasmuch as it indicates that Madhurāntaka was a child at the time of his father's demise. The next seven verses (vv. 23-29) state that **Ariñjaya**, his son **Parāntaka II** who fought a sanguinary battle at a place named Chēvūr[4] (v. 25), and the latter's son **Āditya II** who is said to have played sportively with Vīra-Pāṇḍya while he was yet a youth (v. 28), ruled the kingdom in succession and that **Madhurāntaka** succeeded Āditya II (v. 29). Thus, from the statements of the plates it is evident that the three kings Ariñjaya, Parāntaka II and Āditya II held the reins of government only during the minority of Madhurāntaka and gave him the kingdom when he came of age. Their reigns must accordingly have been short. That this was actually the case can be gathered from a consideration of the time of the rule of Uttama-Chōḷa. His stone inscriptions carry his reign to 16 years and one of them gives Kali 4083 as the equivalent of his 13th year.[5] As such, his rule lasted from A.D. 969 to 985. Therefore, it is certain that the intervening kings between Parāntaka I. to Madhurāntaka, omitting of course Rājāditya, who, as shown above, did not survive his father, must have reigned in the interval A.D. 955 to 970. Verses 30 to 34 speak of **Rajārāja I.**, the successor of Uttama-Chōḷa. He is said to have conquered the countries of Paṇḍya, Tuḷu, Kēraḷa and also Simhaḷēndra and Satyāśraya. The genealogy furnished in the present plates is given below in a tabular form for easy reference along with those supplied by the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, the Anbil plates, and the Kanyākumāri inscription.

[1] *Ibid.*, v. 60.

[2] *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy* for 1932, p. 49.

[3] This place has been identified with Kaṇḍarādittam in the Trichinopoly District.

[4] In some inscriptions he claims "to have driven the Pāṇḍya into the forest". The Kanyākumāri record states that the quivering Pāṇḍya contemporary of his crossed the mountain and fled away. Sundara-Chōḷa's general Parāntakan Śiṟiyavēḷār, a Koḍumbāḷūr chief, is said to have lost his life in a battlefield in Ceylon in the 9th year of the king's reign (above, Vol. XII, p. 124, and note 3).

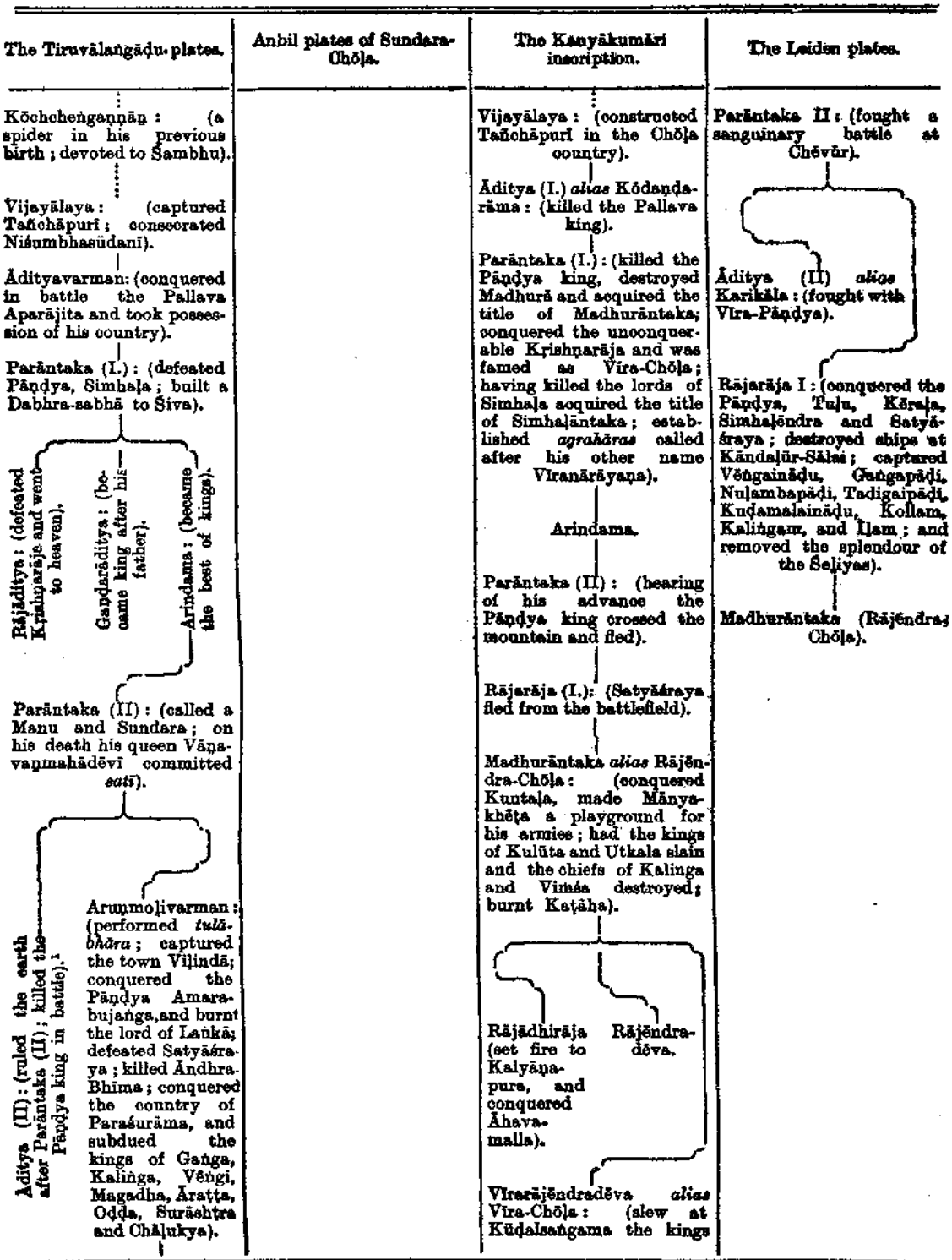
[5] *A. R. on Epigraphy* for 1908, p. 63.

THE TABLE SHOWING THE ANCESTRY OF THE CHOLAS IN

The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates.	Anbil plates of Sundara-Chōḷa.	The Kanyākumāri inscription.	The Leiden plates.
[1]Sun-Manu-Ikshvāku-Vikukshi-Purañjaya *alias* Kakutstha-Kakshīvat-Aryyamā ... Analapratāpa ...Vēna-Prithu...Dhundhumāra...Yuvanāśva-Māndhātṛi-Muchukunda...Vaḷabha-Pṛithulāksha-Pārthivachūḍāmaṇi ... Dīrghabāhu *alias* Chandrajit—Sāṁkṛiti...Pañchapa...Satyavrata *alias* Rudrajit ...Auśīnara Śibi...Marutta ... Dushyanta-Daushyanti (Bharata)-Chōḷa *or* Chōḷavarman.	Vishṇu-Brahmā-Marīchi-Kaśyapa-Aryaman ... Mahāvīra ... Rudrajit-Chandrajit-Uśīnara-Śibi ... Chōḷa.	Brahmā-Marīchi-Kaśyapa-Vivasvān-Manu-Ikshvāku-Vikukshiśrava-Purañjaya... Prithu ... Kuvalāśva ... Māndhātṛi ... Muchukunda ... Hariśchandra ... Sagara ... Bhagīratha ... Rituparṇa ... Dilīpa ... Rāma ... Chōḷa.	Sun-Manu-Ikshvāku ... Māndhātṛi-Muchukunda-Vaḷabha ... Śibi ... Chōḷa.
Rājakēsarivarman *or* Rājakēsarin.	Śeṇṇi, Kiḷḷi, etc.	Rājakēsarin.	Rājakēsarin.
Parakēsarin.	Karikāla, etc.	Parakēsarin.	Parakēsarin.
Chitraratha.	Kōchchaṅgaṇṇāṉ: (built temples for the lord of Gaurī in all countries, v. 13).	Mṛityujit.	Suraguru *alias* Mṛityujit.
Chitrāśva.	Nallaṭikkōṉ.	Vīrasēna.	Vyāghrakētu.
Chitradhanvan: (brought Kavērakanyakā).	Vaḷabha.	Chitra *or* Vyāghrakētu.	Pañchapa.
Suraguru *alias* Mṛityujit.	Śrīkaṇṭha.[2]	Pushpakētu.	Karikāla: (constructed embankments to the Kāvērī).
Chitraratha *alias* Vyāghrakētu.	Vijayālaya.	Kētumāla.	Kōchchaṅgaṇṇāṉ: (a devotee of Śambhu).
Narēndrapati.	Rājakēsarin: (built large temples of stone to Śiva on both banks of the Kāvērī).	Samudrajit.	Kō-kKiḷḷi.
Vasu (Uparichara).	Vīra-Chōḷa: (reduced Madhurā, married the daughter of the Kēraḷa king who was also called Paḻuvēṭṭaraiyar).	Pañchapa.	Vijayālaya.
Viśvajit.	Ariñchika: (married Kalyāṇī, the daughter of the Vaidumba king).	Nṛimṛiḍa.	Āditya.
Perunatkiḷḷi.	Sundara-Chōḷa: (also called Rājakēsarin and Parāntaka; his virtuous rule and his martial glory described in vv. 27-30).	Manōratha.	Parāntaka I: (covered the temple of Śiva at Vyāghrāgrahāra with gold).
Kalikāla (Karikāla): (renovated Kāñchī with gold; constructed embankments to the Kāvērī).		Perunatkiḷḷi.	Rājāditya: (fought with Kṛishnarāja and died in battle).
		Karikāla.	Gaṇḍarāditya: (founded a village after his name on the bank of the Kāvērī).
		Vaḷabha.	Madhurāntaka.
		Jagadēkamalla.	Arinjaya.
		Vyāḷabhayaṅkara.	

[1] The mythical ancestry of the Chōḷas as furnished in these sources is given at the beginning of each list before the eponymous Chōḷa is mentioned. Hyphen after a name indicates 'son and successor' and dots 'a lineal descendant'.

[2] Tiruveṟumbūr was called Śrīkaṇṭha-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.



[1] After Āditya (II), his paternal uncle Madhurāntaka bore the burden of the earth and installed Aruṇmoḷi in the office of heir-apparent : his devotion to Śiva is described.

The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates.	Anbil plates of Sundara-Chōḷa.	The Kanyākumāri inscription.	The Leiden plates.
Madhurāntaka *alias* Uttama-Chōḷa, Rājēndra-Chōḷa and Chōḷēndra-simha : (conquest of the quarters with a powerful army ; invasion of the South, the Pāṇḍya country and the flight of the Pāṇḍya king to the Malaya hill ; his son Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya left in charge of the kingdom ; invasion of the Western region, crossing the Sahya and fighting with and defeating the lord of Kēraḷa and leaving Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya in charge of the west also ; entry into Kāñchi and conquest of Jayasiṁha :		of the Māṇṇāṭa family; conquered the Vēṅgī and the Kaliṅga countries ; established *brahmadēyas* in the Chōḷa, Tuṇḍīra, Pāṇḍya, Gaṅgavāṭi and Kulūta countries ; and saw the back of Āhavamalla three times).	

After tracing the pedigree of the Chōḷas the Sanskrit portion of the inscription states that king **Rājarāja** *alias* **Rājakēsarivarman** gave in the **21st year of his reign** the village of **Aṇaimaṅgalam** to the lofty shrine of the Buddha in the **Chūḷāmaṇivarma-vihāra**, which the ruler of **Śrīvishaya** and **Kaṭāha** named **Māravijayōttuṅgavarman** of the **Śailēndra** family having the *Makara* crest, the son of **Chūḷāmaṇivarman**, had erected in the name of his father at the delightful city of **Nāgapaṭṭana** in **Paṭṭana-kūṟṟam**, a sub-division of **Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-valanāḍu** (ll. 73-86) and that after Rājarāja had passed away, his son **Madhurāntaka** caused a permanent edict to be made for the village granted by his father (vv. 35-36). The Sanskrit *praśasti* given in this inscription was composed by a Brāhmaṇa resident of **Koṭṭaiyūr** named **Anantanārāyaṇa**, of the Vasishṭha family (v. 39) : it was ordered by the officer **Tillaiyāḷi** of **Kāñchivāyil**, otherwise known as **Rājarāja-Mūvēndavēḷ**, to be neatly incised (vv. 40-42). On the direction of the lord of Kaṭāha and at the instance of **Tuvavūravāṉ Aṇukkaṉ**, the son of **Śrīmān Aṭikaḷ** (Aḍigaḷ)[1], the five artisans of the **Bhōvya** family at **Kāñchīpura**, *viz.*, **Vāsudēva** *alias* **Rājarāja-Mahāchārya**, **Śrīraṅga** and **Dāmōdara**, the two sons of **Kṛishṇa**, **Kṛishṇa** son of **Vāsudēva**, and **Purushōttama**, the son of **Āravamuṟṟa** incised the *praśasti* and affixed their signatures to it (vv. 43-48).

A word may now be said about the composer of the *praśasti* and the engravers of the grant. Since it is stated that this permanent edict was caused to be made by **Madhurāntaka** (*i.e.*, Rājēndra-Chōḷa I., the son of Rājarāja I., there is no doubt that the *praśasti* was composed during his reign by his court poet. The composer's name given in it is Anantanārāyaṇa and not Nandanārāyaṇa as Messrs. Burgess and Natesa Sastri have it. He was a Vāṇiahṭha and a resident of Koṭṭaiyūr. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant, which was issued in the early part of the same reign, *i.e.*, in the 6th or the 7th year, is said to have been drawn up by Nārāyaṇa the son of Śaṅkara. The village of Koṭṭaiyūr, to which the composer of the *praśasti* in the Leiden plates belonged, is renowned as the birth place of **Pūvattabhaṭṭa**-Sōmayājiyār, one of the Chōḷa officers that conducted enquiries in temples[2]. It is indentical with the village of that name in the Kumba-

[1] On this word, see note 1, p. 243 *below*.

[2] No. 227 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1921.

konam Taluk of the Tanjore District. From one of the inscriptions of the place it is learnt that it was situated in Innambar-nāḍu[1]. While the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant was incised by four persons, the Leiden plates were engraved by five. The proper names that occur in both are Śrīraṅga (Tiruvaraṅgan) and Dāmōdara, who were the sons of Kṛishṇa, and Purushōttama the son of Ārāvamṛita. While the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates give the additional name Ārāvamurta, the son of Kṛishna, the Leiden plates furnish the names Vāsudēva, son of Kṛishṇa, and his son Kṛishṇa. The attribute *a-kṛishṇa-charitaḥ Kṛishṇa-sambhavō-pi mahāmatiḥ* is given to Ārāvamurta in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, which distinctly state that Śrīraṅga and Dāmōdara were his younger brothers, whereas it is applied to Vāsudēva *alias* Rājarājappērāchāriyaṉ in the Leiden plates which mention Śrīraṅga and Dāmōdara immediately after him without specifying any relationship. The common application of the epithet cannot point to the identity of the individuals Vāsudēva and Ārāvamurta. But it is not unlikely that both Vāsudēva and Ārāvamṛita were the elder brothers of Śrīraṅga and Dāmōdara. The title Rājarājappērāchāryyaṉ borne by Vāsudēva might have been granted by Rājarāja I. himself, during whose reign the gift recorded in the Leiden plates was actually made, though the document was finally issued in the reign of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I. This grant might even be slightly earlier than the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant issued in about the 6th year. In the Sanskrit portion, the word *hōvya* is used to denote the family (*anvavāya*) of the persons that incised the inscription on the plates and they are also called *chitrakāriṇaḥ*. In mentioning their names in the Tamiḻ portion which follows, the persons that incised the edict get the epithet *ōviyachchittirakāri*. It is thus made clear by the inscription itself that *hōvya* is only a variant of the Tamiḻ *ōviya*. The word *ōviyam* occurs in the Tamiḻ classical work *Maṇimēgalai*[2] in reference to a treatise called *ōviya-nūl* and this is made evident by the commentary of Aḍiyārkkunallār on *Vēṇiṛkādai*[3] of *Śilappadikāram*. Thus, we are led to think that *hōvya* or *ōviya* is not the proper name of a family or caste but is the name of a profession, and that profession, we know from the inscription, to be ' painting ' (*chittirakāri*). This sense of the word *ōviya* is clearly obtained from two other references in the *Maṇimēgalai*[4] and *Jīvakachintāmaṇi*.[5] In the second reference, the commentator Nachchinārkkiṇiyar furnishes the synonym ' *chittirakārar* ' for *ōviyar*, as in the Leiden plates. In this connection, it is also worth noting that *ōvu* is used in the sense of " a painting " in *Maduraikkāñchi*.[6] From what has been said above, it looks as if inscriptions were in the first instance painted on the materials, stone or metal, by painters, though the incising might have been left to be done by carvers on stone or metal. But it is not unlikely that both painting and carving were done by the same individuals; that is to say that *lēkhakas* knew both painting and carving.[7]

In the **Tamiḻ portion** of this grant it is said that on the **92nd day after the 21st year of his reign**, king Rājarāja, while he was in the pavilion, on the southern side of his palace called Rājāśrayan, erected in a suburb of Taṉjāvūr, declared that the income of 8,943 *kalam*, 2 *tūṇi*, 1 *kuṟuṇi*, and 1 *nāḻi* of paddy accruing from the payment of the assessment on 97 *vēli*, 2 *mā*, 1¼ *kāṇi*, 1 *mundirigai*, *kīḻ* of three *mā*, three *kāṇi* and one *mundirigai* and *kīḻ* of half and 2 *mā* of land comprising the village of Āṉaimaṅgalam,—including such as had ceased to be *paḷḷich-*

[1] No. 241 of the same collection for 1927.

[2] Canto II, ll. 30-31, which read *nāḍaga-magaḷirkku naṅgaṇam vaguttav-ōviya-chchennūl-urai-nūr-kkiḍakkaiyum*.

[3] See ll. 23-26.

[4] Canto 5, l. 7.

[5] Verse 102 of the *Gāndaruvatattaiyār-Ilambagam*.

[6] See l. 365.

[7] This is evident from the use of the words *veṭṭiyōm*, *āchāriyaṉ* and *chittirakāri* used in connection with the writers of this document.

chandas (*i.e.*, grants made to Buddhist or Jain temples), and omitting such as had been excluded in survey,—should be given as a tax-free *paḷḷichchanda* to meet the requirements of the *paḷḷi*, *i.e.*, the shrine of the Buddha in the Chūḷāmaṇivarmavihāra which was being constructed by Chūḷāmaṇivarman, the king of Kaḍāram, at Nāgapaṭṭaṇam in Paṭṭaṇakūṟṟam, a sub-division of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu. This oral order of the king was committed to writing by the official who generally writes down the royal orders, was signed by four persons who bore the designation *tirumandiravōlai-nāyagam*, *i.e.*, Superintendents of Royal Writs, and was issued. In accordance with it, it was ordered to be entered in the accounts by the officials bearing the designation *karumamārāyum*, *i.e.*, Secretary, and *naḍuvirukkum*, *i.e.*, arbitrators. Four officials of the tax department styled *puravuvari* and three others styled *varippottagam* (*i.e.*, maintainers of tax registers) being present, the entry in the state registers was made. This done, arrangements were made for drawing up the deed of gift, giving it to the donee and effecting the necessary changes in the divisional or village accounts. For the ceremony of walking along the boundaries taking round a female elephant, pointing out the limits and marking them with stones and milk-bush, one official called *kaṇkāṇi-naḍuvirukkum*, *i.e.*, superintendent of arbitrators, four *Bhaṭṭas* and one *puravuvari* officer were nominated ; and a royal order was issued to the *nāṭṭār*, *i.e.*, the members of the Divisional Assembly stating that they should be present with the nominated persons, point out in detail the boundaries and draw up and give the deed of assignment to the donee (ll. 49-50). On hearing the approach of the royal mandate, the administrative body of the division went in advance, and paying obeisance to the order, received it on their heads and acted as directed in the order. The deed drawn up by them is actually what is incised on plates I to XVI (Tamiḷ portion), which, after reciting the contents of the royal order noted above, gives in detail the boundaries of the lands comprising the village of Āṉaimaṅgalam which is the object of the grant, specifies the conditions to be observed by the donees and the privileges to be enjoyed by them and bears the signatures of the persons that were present at the time of its being drafted. The names of the officials of Rājarāja I. that figure in this inscription, their designations and the villages with district and subdivision, to which they belonged, are given in List A ; and the names of the persons who signed the deed, with their official designations, and the *sabhā* or *ūrār* of villages on whose behalf they attested it, are given in List B.

Here king Rājarāja I. is surnamed Rājarājakēsarivarman and is said to have cut off the ships at Kāndaḷūr-Śālai, to have taken Vēṅgai-nāḍu, Gaṅgapāḍi, Nuḷambapāḍi, Taḍigaipāḍi, Kuḍamalai-nāḍu, Kollam, Kaliṅgam and Ĭḷamaṇḍalam with the aid of his highly powerful and victorious army, and to have deprived the Śeḷiyas of their splendour. In the numerous collection of stone inscriptions of Rājarāja I., Kāndaḷūr-Śālai sometimes occurs in the shortened form Śālai. That it was an important place in the Chēra kingdom is made clear from the epithet " *Vīra-Pāṇḍyaṇ talaiyum Śēralaṇ Śālaiyum Ilaṅgaiyum koṇḍa* " (who took the head of Vīra-Pāṇḍya, the Śālai of the Chēra king and Laṅkā) applied to the Chōḷa king Rājādhirāja I.[1]; and that it was a port town having a large number of ships is evident from the phrase " *eṇṇalil vēlai-keḷu Kāndaḷūr-Śālai* " occurring in the historical introduction of the same king in describing his campaign against the Chēras.[2] As the destruction of the ships at Kāndaḷūr-Śālai is first recorded in Rājarāja's stone

[1] *A. R. of the Trav. Arch. Department* for 1920-21, p. 65.

[2] Though *Śālai* and *kalam* mean also ' feeding house ' and ' vessel ' it seems improper to introduce this sense of the words in the phrase *Śālai-kalam-aṟutta* and to say that the Chōla king caused the discontinuance of " the feeding house or boarding school of the Chēras " (*Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. II, p. 3f.) for, it would turn one of the important military achievements of that king, on which he may be said to have prided himself by repeating it in his deeds of glory (*i.e.*, the historical introduction), into an ignoble act which the king would hardly have allowed to be mentioned in his *meykirti*.

inscriptions dated in the 10th year of his reign, it must have taken place in about A.D. 994. Though the epithet *Kāndaḷūr-Śālai kalam-aṟutta* is applied in most records to Rājarāja I., there is but a single inscription which states that the king " by ordering his army, effected the destruction of ships at Kāndaḷūr-Śālai[1] ". Vēṅgai-nāḍu is the country of the Eastern Chālukyas; Gaṅgapāḍi is the territory of the Western Gaṅgas of Talakkāḍ; and Nuḷambapāḍi is the province subjected to the rule of the Noḷambas. Kuḍamalai-nāḍu occurs in the form Kuḍagumalai-nāḍu in one of the Mysore State inscriptions[2] and may be the same as Coorg. But, it may also be interpreted as Malai-nāḍu (*i.e.*, the hill country) lying on the western side (*kuḍa* or *kuḍagu*). In this case, Malai-nāḍu or Kuḍamalai-nāḍu may be taken to represent the country of the Chēras.[3] And it is worthy of note that some of the Tanjore inscriptions of Rājarāja I. state that he defeated the Chēra king (*Chēramāṉ*) and the Pāṇḍyas in Malai-nāḍu and presented the booty obtained there to the temple of Rājarājēśvara which he built at Tañjāvūr.[4] The conquests of the places mentioned above are registered in the king's records dated between the 12th and the 14th years as having been effected with the help of his highly powerful and victorious army. Thus between A.D. 997 and 998 Rājarāja seems to have overcome the Western Gaṅgas, the Noḷambas, the chief of the Coorg province or the Chēras, and the Eastern Chālukyas. Inscriptions dated between the years 14 and 15 (A.D. 998-999) add Kollam and Kaliṅgam to the king's conquests. Bearing the name Kollam there were two places on the West coast. They had the distinguishing epithets Kurakkēṇi and Pandalāyani.[5] The former is Quilon, a station in the Shencotta-Trivandrum line of the South Indian Railway, and the other is Pandalāyani near Quilandy, a station in the Mangalore line of the same Railway. Both appear to have been cities of considerable importance in early times. According to the Kōṭṭayam plates of the Chēra king Sthāṇu Ravi, a contemporary and ally of the Chōḷa sovereign Rājakēsarivarman Āditya I. (A.D. 870-907), a Christian Church—the earliest that is known from lithic records—was built at Kurakkēṇi-Kollam, which was subject to the immediate rule of the Vēṇāḍu Chief Aiyanaḍigaḷ-Tiruvaḍi and his heir-apparent Rāma-Tiruvaḍi.[6] The Vēṇāḍu Chiefs are often called Kōḷambhādhīśas from the fact that they were the lords of Kōḷambha, *i.e.*, Quilon.[7] Pandalāyani-Kollam or Kōlam is said to have been made the capital of a kingdom by Rāmaghaṭa-Mūshikēśvara.[8] The chiefs of this place are called in lithic records ' Irāmakuṭa-Mūvar '[9]. If Kollam referred to as having been captured by Rājarāja I. in his historical introduction is Kurakkēṇi-Kollam, *i.e.*, Quilon, he must have got it from the chief of Vēṇāḍu after defeating him, and if it is Pandalāyani-Kollam, he must have wrested it from Irāmakuṭa-Mūvar. Both these chiefs were subordinate to the Chēra king. Probably, referring to the conquest of the Chēras herein noted as having been effected by the army of Rājarāja I., the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant says that the commandant of the king captured the town of Viḷinda whose moat was the sea, whose extensive ramparts were glorious and high, (and) which was impregnable to the enemy warriors, thus omitting Kollam but mentioning Viḷiñam (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 421, v. 79). The Sēṉūr inscription of Rājarāja I., which is somewhat differently worded from the rest, states that the Chōḷa sovereign conquered the haughty kings of Kollam, Kolladēśam and Koḍuṅ-

[1] No. 121 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1923.
[2] *Ep. carn.*, Vol. III, Tn. 122.
[3] Kielhorn's *Southern List*, Nos. 704 and 764.
[4] See Tanjore temple inscription mentioning this conquest.
[5] See *J. R. A. S.*, 1922, p. 172.
[6] *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. II, pp. 63 and 70.
[7] *A. R. of the Trav. Arch. Department* for 1920-21, p. 54, para. 29.
[8] *J. R. A. S.*, 1922, p. 166.
[9] *A. R. on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1930, Part II, para. 46.

gōḷūr (Cranganore) and that the kings of the sea (*kaḍal-araiśar*) waited on him[1]. Here must be noted one other event, which seems to have taken place in the king's 14th year of reign (A.D. 998) and which seems to have furnished the king with the grandiloquent epithet *taṇṇeḻil vaḷar ūḻiyuḷ eliḍ yāṇḍum toḻutaga viḷaṅgum yāṇḍē Śeḻiyarai=ttēṭṭu-koḷ* meaning that " in the very year of his growing prosperity when he became the object of adoration in all quarters, he took away the splendour of the Śeḻiyas (*i.e.*, the Pāṇḍyas) ". This event was considered to be of such prime importance that it was ever afterwards inseparably associated with his title and name in all his later inscriptions and the epithet bodily removed to the end of the introduction giving place to the mention of later additional conquests before it. It is not unlikely that the king himself was engaged in the fight against the Pāṇḍyas and secured such unqualified success which gave him the permanent epithet while the additional conquests effected by the army were inserted before the phrase *tiṇḍiral veṉṟi taṇḍār=koṇḍu*.[2] An exact parallel to this may be found in the epithet *Śōṇāḍu koṇḍu Muḍikoṇḍaśōḻapurattu vīrābhishēkam paṇṇiy-aruḷiya*,[3] which was similarly associated with the name of Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I., and taken to the end of his introduction giving his later conquests an earlier place. The Śēṇūr inscription adds that the Chōḷa sovereign destroyed Madura, *i.e.*, the capital of the Pāṇḍyas and places that event before the conquests of Kollam, Kolladēśam and Cranganore.[4] Speaking of the Pāṇḍya conquest the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant says that when Rājarāja I. set out to conquer the South, the moon as if to afford protection to the Pāṇḍya king born in his family, became the white parasol of the invader; and records also that Amarabhujaṅga was seized[5]. The last item of conquest mentioned in the Leiden plates is Iḷamaṇḍalam, *i.e.*, the province of Ceylon. This was effected with the help of the army. Perhaps Rājarāja himself did not go to Ceylon. As the event is mentioned for the first time in the historical introduction of the 16th year, it has to be placed in A.D. 1001. Quite in agreement with the stone inscriptions that it was the highly victorious army which effected the conquest of this item also, the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant registers the event in these words:—" This terrible General of that (*king Aruṇmoḻivarman*) crossed the ocean by ships and burnt the Lord of Laṅkā (Ceylon) ".[6]

Since no additional conquests are recorded in Rājarāja's inscriptions from the 16th to the 20th years and since the annexation of Raṭṭapāḍi 7½ lakhs is noticed in the inscriptions of the 21st year and after,[7] it seems that the invasion against the Western Chālukya country took place in some part of the 21st regnal year of the king (A.D. 1005). As the Leiden plates are also dated in the 21st year and 92nd day and as they do not mention Raṭṭapāḍi 7½ lakhs, it is evident that the conquest was effected in the latter part of A.D. 1005, after the date of this grant, *i.e.*, after the 92nd day of the 21st year of reign. The greatness of Rājarāja I. as a conqueror is evident from the fact that he was able to bring under subjection not only the rulers of almost all the provinces of South India but also the king of Ceylon. It would thus appear that Rājarāja I. was the greatest sovereign of the day, greater than any of his predecessors and had a high claim for imperial honours. However much the valour of this king and the conditions that were prevailing in the various

[1] *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1912, Part II, para. 22.

[2] The 16th year inscriptions of Rājarāja I., add Iḷam to the list of conquests effected with the help of the army and this is inserted before *tiṇḍiral* and the epithet *taṇṇeḻil* taken after it. In the records of the 21st year and later, another conquest effected with the help of the army, *viz.*, that of the Western Chālukya country or Raṭṭapāḍi 7½ lakhs, is mentioned. We find it also similarly entered after Iḷam and the epithet of the king taken to the end of the introduction.

[3] See above, Vol. VI, p. 302.

[4] *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1912, Part II, para. 22.

[5] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 421, vv. 77-78.

[6] *Ibid.*, v. 80.

[7] *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1892, para. 6.

provinces of the Deccan in his day might have contributed to the success of his arms (in his vast scheme of conquests), credit must necessarily be given to "the highly powerful army" with whose aid he is expressly stated in hundreds of inscriptions to have effected the enlargement of his dominions.

A word about the conditions of the various states of the Deccan may not be out of place here. In fact it is necessary to know them to understand what opportunities presented themselves to Rājarāja I. and how he availed himself of them. During the period when Rājarāja I. was heir-apparent, which according to the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant covered the reign of Uttama-Chōḷa[1] (A.D. 970-985), there reigned over the Pāṇḍya country a king named Vīra-Pāṇḍya who boasts of "having taken the head of the Chōḷa king".[2] As opposed to this, more than one ruler of the Southern provinces, who could be regarded as his contemporaries, have assumed the title "who took the head of Vīra-Pāṇḍya". One of these latter was the Chōḷa king Āditya II *alias* Karikāla and about him the grant under publication states that though a young boy he played sportively with Vīra-Pāṇḍya[3]. Others are the Koḍumbāḷūr chief Vikramakēsari and Pārthivēndravarman[4], both of whom appear to have been the Chōḷa king's allies. From this it can be safely said that there were hard fights between the parties. In some of these, Vīra-Pāṇḍya must have been successful and in others his opponents. In ascertaining the actual truth in such a matter, the places of distribution of their inscriptions may be regarded as a sure test of their claims. This seems to be in favour of neither party. So far, we have not come across any inscriptions of Vīra-Pāṇḍya in the Chōḷa country. Nor have we any record of his opponents in the Pāṇḍya territory, as we do find in the case of Parāntaka I. and Rājarāja I. The struggle between the Chōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas was a hard and continuous one. It commenced in the reign of Chōḷa Parāntaka I. against Rājasiṁha-Pāṇḍya and his ally the king of Ceylon and was continued ever afterwards. Parāntaka II *alias* Sundara-Chōḷa is said to have driven the Pāṇḍya into the forest; and of his general Parāntakan Śiṟiyavēḷār it is reported that he gave up his life in a battle in Ceylon[5]. Āditya Karikāla's claim to have conquered Vīra-Pāṇḍya has just been noted. Rājarāja I. had to renew the struggle and his success was better than that of his predecessors. The numerous inscriptions of his found all over the Pāṇḍya country—*i.e.*, Madura and Tinnevelly districts—testify to the fact that his overlordship was acknowledged in that quarter[6]. Even the very name of the territory was changed into Rājarāja-Pāṇḍināḍu[7]. For this continuance of hatred between the Chōḷas and Pāṇḍyas there were good grounds. From the time when the ancient Chōḷas ceased to be a ruling power and lost their hold of their ancient possessions in Trichinopoly and Tanjore districts and until Vijayālaya started a new line at Tanjore, their original home was occupied by the Pāṇḍyas on the one side and the Pallavas on the other: and there were severe fights between these two powers themselves. To wrest back from the new incumbents the kingdom, which had become theirs by long enjoyment and which they would not easily yield, led the Chōḷas to be continually at war with the Pāṇḍyas.

While this was the case with the kingdoms in the extreme south of the Peninsula, the state of affairs in the countries of Vēṅgi, Kaliṅga and Raṭṭa, *i.e.*, the dominion of the Rāshṭrakūṭas was

[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 420, v. 70.

[2] Nos. 163 of 1894 and 65 of 1896 which are dated in the 4+2nd year and 15+4th year of this king.

[3] See below, p. 241, verse. 28. Stone inscriptions of Parakēsarivarman "who took the head of Vīra-Pāṇḍya" have been attributed to this king.

[4] *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, pp. 235-236.

[5] See above note 4, p. 219.

[6] See his inscription at Āṉaimalai near Madura published in *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 239, No. 106; also No. 119 of 1905.

[7] See Madras Epigraphical Collections Nos. 408 of 1906, 70 of 1907, 392 and 613 of 1912.

anything but satisfactory. In the last quarter of the 10th century A.D., these countries were thrown into confusion, being torn by internal dissensions, and were subjected to wars and counter-wars bringing in their train all the evils of an unsettled life, reducing to the position of subordinates the dynasties that wielded once an extensive power and enjoyed high prosperity, and resulting in the deposition of rightful heirs, affording scope for rising into prominence of families which held but subordinate and feudatory positions and leaving some of the legitimate rulers to seek the aid of others to regain their lost position and country. The years 972-5 were highly eventful in the history of these countries. In A.D. 972-3, Śiyaka Harsha, the Paramāra king of Mālwā, it is said, gained a victory over the Rāshṭrakūṭa Khōṭṭiga and the latter's capital Mānyakhēṭa, *i.e.*, Mālkhēḍ, was plundered and pillaged either by him or by his successor Muñja[1]. This was followed by the rising of the Western Chālukya Taila II, who, in A.D. 973-4 overthrew Khōṭṭiga's successor Kakkala and acquired the fortunes of the Rāshṭrakūṭas, leaving the once flourishing Raṭṭa rule to remain only in the memory of the people[2]. At the very time when the Rāshṭrakūṭa rule was wiped out, the Vēṅgī country, deprived of its legitimate ruler by the deposition of Dānārṇava, was experiencing a feverish desire to obtain a suitable lord and, it is said, it was only assuaged after 27 years, by the appearance of Chālukya-Chandra, *i.e.*, Śaktivarman. The earlier opinion as regards the interregnum in the Vēṅgī country was that it was caused by the Chōḷas. Dr. Burnell, speaking of this period, said that it was a period of anarchy and suggested that it should be attributed to a Chōḷa invasion; and Dr. Fleet suspected that the Vēṅgī country must have been conquered by the Chōḷas but considered that the claim of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I. to have conquered Vēṅgī was merely an honorary one based on some previous king's conquests, as that scholar was under the impression that Rājarāja's reign began in A. D. 1003 or 1004[3]. That the country of Vēṅgī, though deprived of its legitimate ruler Dānārṇava, was not subject to anarchy is established by the rule of Bādapa, Tāḷa and others belonging to the collateral line of the Eastern Chālukyas; and that the claim of Rājarāja I. to have conquered Vēṅgī was only honorary and must be based on a prior Chōḷa ruler's conquest is disproved by the fact that none of the predecessors claims it. On the other hand, the fact that Dānārṇava ruled for the short period of 3 years (970-972-3) and the evidence of the Conjeeveram inscription, that he killed (or defeated) Kāmārṇava, who must be no other than his contemporary the Eastern Gaṅga king Kāmārṇava IV (A.D. 950-980) might be reasonably taken to show that the latter made a counter invasion of the Eastern Chālukya dominion and brought about Dānārṇava's deposition[4]. The accession of Śaktivarman, the son of Dānārṇava, to the Vēṅgī throne immediately following Rājarāja's invasion suggests that the very object of the invasion might have been to secure the country to its rightful owner and was probably undertaken on behalf of the deposed Dānārṇava.

Here it may be remarked that the Sanskrit portion of the inscription on the Leiden plates, which contains the *praśasti* of the Chōḷa family, was composed later than the Tamiḷ portion and during the time of Madhurāntaka, the son and successor of the donor, *i.e.*, the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I. The *praśasti* seems to have been added on as a learned preface to the matter of fact Tamiḷ portion which, as stated already, sets forth in detail everything relating to the grant of the village of Āṇaimaṅgalam to the *paḷḷi* in the Chūḷāmaṇivarma-vihāra at Nāgapaṭṭaṇam. While according to the Tamiḷ portion the *vihāra* was in the course of construction by Chūḷāmaṇivarman, the chief of Kaḍāram, at the time of the grant, *i.e.*, the 21st year of the reign of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I. (A.D. 1005), the Sanskrit introduction states that it was built by Māravijayōttuṅgavarman, the son of Chūḷāmaṇivarman, in the name of the latter. This apparent discrepancy

[1] Above, Vol. I, pp. 225 f.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 269; Vol. IV (Nīlgund Inscr.), p. 206; and Vol. XII, pp. 311 f.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 272.

[4] Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 29 ff. For *parituḷḷa* (p. 34, l. 48) read *pariṭuḷḷa*.

may be explained by saying that the construction of the Chūḷāmaṇivarma-vihāra was undertaken by the Kaṭāha king Chūḷāmaṇivarman himself in about the 21st year of the reign of Rājarāja I. but was completed by Chūḷāmaṇivarman's son Māravijayōttuṅgavarman in the reign of Rājarāja's son Rājēndra-Chōḷa I. The number of years taken for the building of the *vihāra* which is not less than 9 and the munificent grant made to it by Rājarāja I. of the entire income from the village of Āṇaimaṅgalam amounting to 8943 and odd *kalam* of paddy for a year for the upkeep of the *paḷḷi* in it, speaks to the loftiness of the structure which in the words of the *praśasti* writer is said to have lowered Kanakagiri, *i.e.*, Mount Mēru. In connection with this building we may note the following observation of Sir W. Elliot made in 1878 :—

" Till within the last few years there was to be seen on the Coromandel coast, between one and two miles to the north of Negapatam, a tall weather-beaten tower, affording a useful landmark to vessels passing up and down the coast. It went by various names, as the Puduveligōpuram, the old pagoda, Chinese pagoda (Valentyn mentions it Pagood China in 1725) and in the map of the Trignometrical survey (sheet 79) it stands as the Jeyna (Jaina) pagoda. But save in name it has nothing in common with Hindu or Mahommedan architecture, either in form or in ornament. Tradition is silent as to its origin or purpose, and although it has been the subject of frequent speculations, no satisfactory theory has been formed to account for it." In 1846 Sir W. Elliot saw it. He describes : " I found it to be a somewhat four sided tower of three stories, constructed of bricks closely fitted together without cement, the first and second stories divided by corniced mouldings, with an opening for a door or window in the middle of each side. At the top of the lowest story were marks in the wall showing where the floor of the second had been fixed. The top was open. The base of the ground story was worn at the angles, from collision with passers-by and cattle, but the structure was solid and firm. No trace of sculpture or inscription was visible." (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 224.)

The history of its disappearance is shortly this :—The Jesuits expelled from Pondichery settled in its vicinity and applied for permission in 1859 to dismantle it. Captain Oakes, the District Engineer, recommended its demolition stating it to be an old ruin, crumbling to decay and not deserving the name of an ancient monument, as it had neither sculpture nor inscription. Sir W. Elliot protested against it and the Governor deferred final orders until he saw it himself. Meanwhile Sir W. Elliot left India. Sir Charles Trevelyn went to Negapatam, was not impressed with its high antiquity, thought that expenditure on it was a waste of public money, did not concur in the recommendation for demolition but directed its being fenced round with an enclosure to secure its safety and at the same time ordered photographs of it to be taken. These orders were not carried out. In 1867 the Jesuits renewed their petition, the Chief Engineer recommended repairs and the tower was allowed to stand. He added " there is no doubt that it is used as a landmark for vessels approaching the Negapatam road-stead " and the Master Attendant of the port had expressed the opinion that " the native population objected to its removal". Then came the final order (28th August 1867) : " The Governor in Council is pleased to sanction the removal of the old tower at Negapatam by the officers of St. Joseph's College, at their own expense, and the appropriation of the available material to such school building purposes as they appear to have in contemplation ". Sometime after, Lord Napier visiting Negapatam was presented with a bronze image found in the excavation connected with the college.

The construction of the Chūḷāmaṇivarma-vihāra and the *paḷḷi* in it, to which the grant of the village of Āṇaimaṅgalam, registered in these plates, was made, is referred to in lines 6-7, 13-15, and 200-1 and in all these places, the building is said to be in the course of construction by Kaḍārattaraiyaṉ, and not even once as having been built. In the first of the references given above, Kaḍārattaraiyaṉ is also called Chūḷāmaṇivarman. King Rājarāja I. gave his oral order on the

92nd day after the 21st year of his reign that the grant should have effect from that very year. After the due observance of all the formalities, which took full two years and seventy-two days, the deed was finally drawn up and presented on the 163rd day after his 23rd year (ll.322f.). It is only from the later Sanskrit introduction, composed during the reign of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I., that we learn that Kaḍārattaraiyaṉ was not a mere local chief but was a member of the Śailēndra family and the lord of the country of Śrī-Vishaya and that he was ruling over Kaṭāha and had the *Makara* crest. Now the question arises as to how Chūḷāmaṇivarman, the lord of Śrī-Vishaya and the ruler of Kaṭāha or Kaḍāram, came to erect a big *vihāra* for the Buddha at Negapatam in the heart of the distant Chōḷa dominion and how the powerful Chōḷa king came to grant the entire revenues of a village for the upkeep of a *paḷḷi* in it. It is a significant fact that the historical introduction of the Chōḷa king as detailed in these plates does not mention Kaṭāha, *i.e.*, Kaḍāram or Śrī-Vishaya. And therefore the inscription leaves us entirely in the dark as to what kind of relationship existed between Kaḍārattaraiyaṉ (*i.e.*, the lord of Kaṭāha) and the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I. Nor are we given to understand the circumstances under which the grant was made, *i.e.*, whether it was done at the request of the Kaṭāha ruler or on the Chōḷa king's own initiative. But for the somewhat later Sanskrit introduction, any one, reading only the Tamiḻ original grant, might be led to think that Kaḍārattaraiyaṉ must have been a local chief of affluence and subordinate to the Chōḷa king. Now, for aught we know, Rājarāja I. was tolerant of all religious creeds prevalent in his dominion, though his special leaning was towards Śaivism. In this connection, his construction of the Bṛihadīśvara temple, called Rājarājēśvara after his name, at his capital Tanjore, and the immense gifts made to it from the treasures which he had acquired as booty in the conquests of the Chēra and the Pāṇḍya kings in Malai-nāḍu and the Chālukya king Satyāśraya, and his assumption of the significant surname Śivapādaśēkhara, are worth remembering. Rājarāja I. was no mean monarch. It was he that for the first time in the annals of the Chōḷas maintained a large standing army which consisted of 900,000 men and which is spoken of in his inscriptions as "highly powerful and victorious". The power of his arms, as we have seen already, was felt in India from Kaliṅga in the north to the southern cape and beyond the seas in Ceylon; but no mention is made of Kaṭāha. From the conquest of Kaṭāha described in detail in the records of the 16th year onwards of the reign of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I, we learn that it was a kingdom of considerable importance and contained many strongly fortified places such as Śrī-Vijaya, *i.e.*, Śrī-Vishaya of the Leiden plates, Paṇṇai, Malaiyūr, Māyiruḍiṅgam, Ilāmuridēśa, Ilaṅgāśōka, Pappāḷa, Mēvilimbaṅgam, Viḷaippandūr, Takkōḷa, Mādamaliṅgam, Nakkavāram, etc. As such, if Rājarāja I. had really conquered Kaṭāha, it would certainly have found mention in his historical introductions. The ommission seems to indicate that he did not conquer it. On the other hand the fact that Kaḍārattaraiyaṉ was enabled to commence the construction of a monumental Buddhist *vihāra* at Negapatam in the Chōḷa country in the 21st year of Rājarāja I. and that the latter assigned the revenues of a village for the upkeep of a shrine in it might lead one to infer that the Kaṭāha ruler must have made a successful invasion of the Chōḷa country. This is, however, negatived for the reason that the inscription is not issued in the name of the Kaṭāha ruler but in the name of the Chōḷa king. Can it not therefore be said that the Kaṭāha ruler was on friendly terms with the mighty Chōḷa king and obtained his permission to build the *vihāra* in question and that the latter made endowments to a *paḷḷi* in it, which, as we know from the smaller Leiden plates, was called Rājarājapperumbaḷḷi after the name of the Chōḷa king?

One other observation may be made with regard to the connection of the Buddhists with Negapatam. In the traditional account of Tirumaṅgai-Āḻvār, who is described in the *Guruparamparā* as a feudatory of the Chōḷa king of his day, it is stated that he once went to Nāgapaṭṭaṇam, got inside the Buddha temple at the place, carried away the gold image that was

enshrined within it and melting the same utilised the amount in building walls and other structures in the Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam. If there is any truth in this, it would show that long prior to the construction of the Chūḷāmaṇivarma-vihāra, *i.e.*, before the beginning of the 9th century, Negapatam was renowned as a Buddhist centre and had in it a Bauddha monument. We do not know if the *vihāra* that was erected in the days of Rājarāja I., was a new one or was only the renewal of the old monument.

The order of the king granting the village of Āṉaimaṅgalam was addressed to the *nāṭṭār* (the Divisional Assembly), the *brahmadēya-kiḻavar* (*i.e.*, the head men of the *brahmadēyas*), the *ūrgaḻilār* (*i.e.*, the body of *ūr*) of *dēvadānas*, *paḷḷichchandas*, *kaṇimuṟṟūṭṭu* and *veṭṭippēṟu* and to the *nagaras*. It will be shown below that in carrying out this order, men of several *brahmadēyas* and the *ūrār* of several villages, *dēvadānas* and *veṭṭippēṟu* actually took part. It is to be noted that this order, though addressed to all these bodies of men, was in the first instance received by the *nāṭṭār* only and was executed by all as required. The *nāṭṭār* appear to have had a better standing than the rest and the others were all subject to their administrative control. Here are four distinct assemblies, *viz.*, (1) the assembly of the division (*nāḍu*), (2) the assembly of the *ūr*, (3) the assembly relating to the *brahmadēyas*, *i.e.*, the *sabhās*, and (4) the *nagara* by which is perhaps meant the body of merchants. What is meant by a *brahmadēya*, *dēvadāna*, or *paḷḷichchanda* is generally well known. They refer respectively to villages or lands granted to Brāhmaṇas, Hindu temples, and Jaina or Buddhist shrines. The significance of *kaṇi-muṟṟūṭṭu* is not so plain. The word *kaṇi* is used in ancient Tamil works to denote the person or persons that announce to the king the time of day or night. They are also called *nāḻigaikkaṇakkar* or *kaḍigaiyār*[1]. It is not unlikely that their services were paid for by grants of lands or villages as other services were. *Muṟṟūṭṭu* may be taken to mean "complete yield". This sense of the word is obtained from its usage in reference to a piece of land granted to a temple in the text of an inscription from Kiḻappaḻuvūr[2] where we find the phrase "*i-nnilam uḻudu payir-ēṟṟi muṟṟūṭṭum koṇḍuvandu tirumuṟṟattu aḻappadāgavum*". The use of the word *muṟṟūṭṭu* after the group *dēvadāna-paḷḷichchanda-kaṇi* seems to indicate that in the case of lands of villages granted to temples, Buddhist or Jaina shrines, and to the announcers of time to the king, the entire produce without any incidental deductions should be made over to the respective donees. It is not unlikely that we meet with phrases like *dēvadāna-muṟṟūṭṭu*, *paḷḷichchanda-muṟṟūṭṭu*, and *kaṇi-muṟṟūṭṭu*. The separation of *brahmadēyas* from the group is perhaps due to the fact that they had assemblies of their own called *sabhās*, different, of course, from the assembly of the *ūr*, as we see it in this very inscription. That a particular village might have had more than one assembly according to its constitution could also be gathered from the circumstance that Kaḍambaṉūr had both the *sabhā* and the *ūrār* and one person on behalf of each of these assemblies signed the deed in respect of that village.

The transactions of the *nāḍu*, the *sabhā* and the *ūr* are usually recorded by the command of those bodies, by persons who bore the official designations *Madhyastha*, *Karaṇattāṉ* and the like. The functions of these individuals were perhaps similar to those of the secretaries of regularly constituted associations. Sometimes, we find that the order to these individuals is given by a single member instead of by the body collectively. This member is designated by the term *Tiruvaḍigaḷ*. In all likelihood *Tiruvaḍigaḷ* meant the President of the assembly. In this connection it is particularly worthy of note that he is stated to be one of the members constituting the body. This is made evident from the wording of an inscription of Rājarāja I.[3], *viz.*, *sabhaiyuḷḷirundu sabhai-tTiruvaḍi paṇippa eḻudināṉ ivvūr madhyasthaṉ Mantrikuḻōttamaṉ magaṉ Kaṟppagap-*

[1] See *Jīvakachintāmaṇi*, v. 2733, and *Śilappadigāram*, Indira° l. 49.

[2] No. 678 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

[3] No. 34 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII.

piriyaṉēṉ. Since the Secretary is called the *madhyastha* of the village, it may be even said that he was the accountant of the village and had a function in the assembly. In List B (p. 237, below), the official Kuṇavaṉ Nandi *alias* Alaṅkārapriyaṉ occurs thrice (Nos. 4, 15 and 16), firstly as the *madhyastha* of the *sabhā* of Mūṅgiṟkuḍi secondly as the *karaṇattāṉ-madhyastha* of the *sabhā* of Pirambil and lastly as the *karṇattāṉ-madhyastha* of the *ūrār* of Kaḍaṁbaṅguḍi. If all these refer to a single individual, it would show that one could hold the position of a *karaṇa* or *madhyastha* of several villages. Perhaps the three villages Mūṅgiṟkuḍi, Pirambil and Kaḍaṁbaṅguḍi were close to one another.

From a number of inscriptions, we see clearly that the *sabhā* and the *ūr* were transacting their business independently. Though this was the case, they appear to have been completely subject to the orders of the king which they implicitly carried out. In this connection we may draw attention to the fact that the grant of the village of Āṉaimaṅgalam, registered in the Leiden plates, was first made by the king without any reference to these bodies and was even entered in the State accounts, and the bodies were only required to give effect to it. Another point to note is, that as occasion required, the State deputed one or more persons to co-operate with the local bodies in the conduct of their business. Thus, in the matter of marking the boundaries of the village and drawing up the deed of gift, no less than six persons—all State officials, one being a *naḍuvirukkum*, one *puravuvari* and four *Bhaṭṭas*—were nominated. In fact it was one of these officials that actually drew up the deed of gift: it is worthy of note that he was not even a resident of any of the villages of the division of Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam.

From List B it will be seen that the assemblies of no less than 26 villages took part in going round the boundaries of Āṉaimaṅgalam whose revenues were assigned by the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I. to the Bauddha shrine at Nāgapaṭṭaṇam. Like Āṉaimaṅgalam, these villages were also situated in the sub-division Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu. Many of them bear the names given in the inscription even at the present day. Ten of these villages, *viz.*, (1) Kaḍambaṉūr, (2) Nāraṇamaṅgalam, (3) Mūṅgiṟkuḍi, (4) Śaṇṇamaṅgalam, (5) Koṭṭārakkuḍi, (6) Naṇṇimaṅgalam, (7) Poruvaṉūr, (8) Pirambil, (9) Uvarkkuḍi, and (10) Tirukkaṇṇaṅguḍi were administered by *sabhās*; except (4) and (10), the rest are expressly called *brahmadēyas*. Of the remaining places, fourteen, *viz.*, (1) Narimaṇṟam, (2) Śāṭṭamaṅgalam, (3) Kōvūr, (4) Uttūr, (5) Ālaṅguḍi, (6) Tuṟaiyūr, (7) Kaḍambaṅguḍi, (8) Śēndamaṅgalam, (9) Kuṟṟālam, (10) Tirunāvūr, (11) Muñjikkuḍi, (12) Kaḍambavalavāṭkai, (13) Paḷaṅ-Koṟṟaṅguḍi and (14) Veṇkiḍaṅgil were under the control of the administrative bodies of the *ūrār*: it is worthy of note that none of these fourteen villages is called a *brahmadēya*. In the case of two other villages, *viz.*, Vēlaṅguḍi and Śiṟu-Śēndamaṅgalam, neither the *sabhā* nor the *ūrār* is mentioned. But as regards the latter, there is the possibility of its having been subject to the authority of the *ūrār* of Śēndamaṅgalam of which it must have formed part. It is not known why the assemblies of Śīvaḷaiykuḍi (l. 103) and Naḷḷūrchcheri (l. 163) which, according to the boundaries given, were in the outskirts of Āṉaimaṅgalam do not figure among the signatories.

The ceremony of circumambulating the granted village, fixing its limits and marking the latter with stones and milk-bush, was performed by the members of the assemblies of the *sabhā* or the *ūrār* of the abovenamed twenty-six villages, at whose bidding and on whose behalf an official or two invariably signed the document. Besides these, on behalf of the other two villages two persons signed the deed. Āṉaimaṅgalam itself contributed two individuals for the purpose. Of these, one, a Veḷḷāḷa by caste, rode on the back of an elephant, pointed out the boundaries and signed the document, while the other a Brāhman also attested it. The four Bhaṭṭas who were nominated by the Government to co-operate with the representatives of the several divisions of the district in this matter, did so and affixed their signatures to the deed which they helped to be drawn up and given to the donee.

The officials who signed the deed at the command of the *sabhā* or the *ūrār* are variously called *madhyasthaṇ, karaṇattāṇ, vēṭkōvaṇ, karaṇaṭṭāṇ-vēṭkōvaṇ* or *karaṇattāṇ-madhyasthaṇ*.

The deed evidencing the gift, by the king, of the village of Āṇaimaṅgalam, drawn up as aforesaid in accordance with the royal order issued to the *nāṭṭār* of Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam in Kshatriya-śikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, conveying in due form the revenues of the village to the donees, stipulates the conditions (*vyavasthā*) to be observed by, and specifies the privileges (*parihāras*) conferred on, the said donees, *i.e.*, the authorities of the Bauddha *vihāra* at Nāgapaṭṭaṇam. It is interesting to note that the word *parihāra* has been defined by such an early authority as Kauṭilya, in his *Arthaśāstra*, in the following words :—

Jātēr=viśēshēshu purēshu ch=aiva grāmēshu dēśēshu cha tēshu tēshu anugrahō yō nṛipatēr=nidēśāt taj-jñaḥ parihāra iti vyavasyēt ||[1]

That favour, which by the command of the king has been bestowed on special castes, cities, villages or countries, is called a *parihāra* by one who knows it. From the use of the words *parihāra* and *anugraha* as synonyms, it can be gathered that the king refrained from taking the incomes due to him and favoured the donees with their gift.

The conditions for the enjoyment of the grant stated in this inscription are :—

(1) When fresh channels have to be dug, they shall be so done as to admit of an easy flow of water. With their aid, the lands of the village shall be irrigated. After the fields are irrigated, the waste or the excess water shall be collected and led away.

(2) Water passing in the existing channels for irrigating the lands of this village shall be allowed to do so as usual and the excess water shall, consistently with the prevailing custom, be collected. And none shall be permitted to cut any branch channels from them, to dam them across, to put up small picottahs or to bale out their water in baskets.

By these two clauses, the donees are given the sole right to the use of the existing irrigation channels and the privilege of opening fresh channels for irrigation in such a way as to admit of an easy flow of water.

(3) Good water (intended for drinking) shall not be used for common purposes, but that water may be dammed and made to irrigate lands.

This clause prevents the contamination of the sources of water intended for drinking purposes. The sanitary effect of it needs no saying.

(4) Mansions and big buildings shall be constructed with burnt bricks only.

This condition is perhaps intended to secure safety and permanency to stately edifices and to prevent their collapse and consequent loss arising from the use of bad materials such as unburnt bricks.

(5) Large wells shall be sunk.

This is possibly to afford facilities for irrigating dry lands that have no access to the existing irrigation channels.

(6) Cocoanut trees shall be planted in groves.

(7) *Damanaka, maruvu, iruvēli, śeṃbaga, śeṅgaḷuṇīr*, mango, jack, areca-palms, *koḍi* (perhaps vines or betel creepers) and such other useful plants of various descriptions shall be grown.

These two clauses seem to afford facilities for availing to the fullest extent the resources of the village and to add to its wealth and beauty.

(8) Big oil-presses shall be installed.

(9) The irrigation channels passing through the lands of this village to other villages in the outskirts shall be permitted to flow without any impediment by the donee; and similarly also

(10) The channels passing through outside villages to irrigate the lands of this village shall be allowed to flow uninterrupted by the people of the outlying villages.

[1] Dr. Shama Sastri's second ed., p. 73.

The object of the last two clauses is perhaps to secure peace and harmony among the people of the adjacent villages and to safeguard their rights.

The next clause (11) prohibits the Iḷavas from climbing the palmyra and cocoanut trees, possibly for tapping them for toddy : and the last clause (12) allows the use of big drums and ornamental arches by influential or aristocratic families living in the village and accustomed to have them by tradition or by family suffrage. The clause is indirectly meant to secure non-interference by the donees of the rights of privileged persons.

Subject to the above conditions the donees are given the *parihāras, i.e.*, the privilege of realising and enjoying all such incomes as *nāḍāṭchi*[1], *ūrāṭchi, vaṭṭināḷi, pidānāḷi, kaṇṇālakkāṇam, vaṇṇārappāṟai, kuśakkāṇam, nīrkūli, ilaikkūlam, taṟippuḍavai, taragu, taṭṭārappāṭṭam, iḍaippāṭṭam, āṭṭukkiṟai, nallā, nallerudu, nāḍukāval, ūḍupōkku, viṟpiḍi, vālamañjāḍi, ulgu, ōḍakkūli, maṉṟupāḍu, māvirai, tīyeri, īḷampūṭchi, kūttikāl*[2], etc., which the donor, *i.e.*, the king had the right to realise. The inscription states that these incomes shall not hereafter be claimed by the king but that they shall go to the donees.

After the deed had been completed, the following five persons, who were probably Royal officers of high standing, set their signatures to it (last plate : second side) :—

(1) Araiyaṉ Arumoḷi *alias* Rājēndraśōḷa-Pallavaraiyaṉ, the headman of Naḍār in Tiraimūrnāḍu, a sub-division of Uyyakkoṇḍār-vaḷanāḍu (ll. 323-25).

(2) Kṛishṇaṉ Rāmaṉ *alias* Rājēndraśōḷa-Brahmamārāyaṉ of Kēraḷāntaka-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Veṇṇāḍu, a sub-division of Uyyakkoṇḍār-vaḷanāḍu (ll. 325-27).

(3) Īrāyiravaṉ Pallavayaṉ *alias* Uttamaśōḷa Pallavaraiyaṉ of Araiśūr in Pāmbuṇi-kūṟṟam, a sub-division of Nittavinōda-vaḷanāḍu (ll. 327-9).

(4) Dvēdaigōmapuṟattu Dāmōdara-Bhaṭṭaṉ of Kaḍalaṅguḍi in Kuṟukkai-nāḍu, a sub-division of Rājēndrasiṁha-vaḷanāḍu (ll. 329-30).

(5) Araiyaṉ Śīkaṇḍaṉ *alias* Mīṇavaṉ-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ, the headman of Kuṟumbil in Ambarnāḍu, a sub-division of Uyyakkoṇḍār-vaḷanāḍu (ll. 330-32).

In these names, it is particularly worthy of note that Nos. (2) and (3), *i.e.*, Kṛishṇaṉ Rāmaṉ and Īrāyiravaṉ Pallavayaṉ, who bore the titles Mummaḍiśōḷa Brahmamahārāyaṉ and Mummaḍiśōḷa Pōśaṉ respectively in the body of the Tamiḷ document (lines 19f., 21-22, 52 and 53) probably after the surname Mummaḍiśōḷa borne by Rājarāja I., had their titles changed into Rājēndraśōḷa Brahmamārāyaṉ and Uttamaśōḷa Pallavaraiyaṉ when they affixed their signatures at the end of the document (see lines 325-7 and 327-9). The altered titles take after the names of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I. and indicate that when these persons affixed their signatures king Rājēndra-Chōḷa I. had assumed regal powers. It will thus be seen that this is in accordance with the paleographical indications noted on page 17.

Īrāyiravaṉ, Pallavayaṉ, with the surname Mummaḍiśōḷa-Pōśaṉ, figures in a number of inscriptions of Rājarāja I. of varying dates and is styled one of the *Perundaṇam* (of the king). His connection with the temple at Tiruvaḷḷam in the North Arcot District is known from the inscriptions of that place.[3] The village Araiśūr, whence he hailed, is stated to have been situated in the Chōḷa country (*Śōḷa-nāḍu*) and to have belonged to the sub-division Pāmbuṇi-kūṟṟam on the southern bank (of the Kāvērī).[4]

[1] For the significance of these terms see pp. 343 f. of my *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*.

[2] This word may be interpreted as "quarter (*paṇam*)" to be paid by the dancing women (*kūtti*). It has not to be mistaken for *kuttukkāl* which occurs in other records and means 'default'.

[3] Nos. 208 to 210, 216, 219 and 238 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1921.

[4] No. 216 of the same.

Kaḍalaṅguḍi in Kuṟukkai-nāḍu, a sub-division of Rājēndrasiṁha-vaḷanāḍu, to which the officer Dāmōdara-Bhaṭṭaṉ belonged, was also called Viḍēlviḍugu-chaturvēdimaṅgalam[1] and Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam[2] and contained in it the village of Tiru-Vēḷvikuḍi now called Tiruviḷakkuḍi[3] in the Mayavaram Taluk of the Tanjore District. Though several inscriptions state that this Kaḍalaṅguḍi, surnamed Viḍēlviḍugu-chaturvēdimaṅgalam and Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, was situated in Kuṟukkai-nāḍu,[4] two records mention it as being in Nallāṟṟūr-nāḍu.[5] That Rājēndrasiṁha-vaḷanāḍu was also in the Chōḷa country (Sōḷamaṇḍalam) is known from an inscription of Śeṅguṉram[6] in the North Arcot District.

LIST A.

Designation.	Name of person.	Village.	Sub-division.	District.	Lines.
Ōlai-eḻudum or *Mandira-ōlai*	Amudaṉ Tīrttakaraṉ .	Viḷattūr	Āvūr-kūṟṟam	Nittavinōdavaḷanāḍu.	17, 18, 50.
Ōlai-nāyagaṉ or *Mandira-ōlai-nāyagaṉ*	Kṛishṇaṉ Rāmaṉ *alias* Mummaḍiśōḷa-Brahmamahārāyaṉ	Kēraḷāntakachaturvēdimaṅgalam.	Veṇṇāḍu .	Uyyakkoṇḍārvaḷanāḍu.	19-20, 52, 325-327.
Do.	Īrāyiravaṉ Pallavaṉ *alias* Mummaḍiśōḷa-Pōśaṉ	Araiśūr .	Pāmbuṇi-kūṟṟam.	Nittavinōdavaḷanāḍu.	21-22, 53, 327-29.
Do.	Vēḷāṉ Uttamaśōḷaṉ *alias* Maḍurāntaka-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ	Paruttikkuḍi	Neṇmali-nāḍu	Arumoḷidēvavaḷanāḍu.	22, 23, 54.
Karumamārāyum	Ārūraṉ Aravaṇaiyaṉ *alias* Parākramaśōḷa-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ	..	..	..	25, 314.
Do.	Tattan Śēndaṉ *alias* Śembiyaṉ-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ	..	..	..	26, 314.
Do.	Aruṅguṉramuḍaiyāṉ Māppēṟaṉ Poṟkāri	..	..	..	27.
Do.	Piśaṅgaṉ Pāḷūr *alias* Mīṇavaṉ-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ	Kaṟkuḍi .	Tirunaṟaiyūrnāḍu.	Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇivaḷanāḍu.	29, 30, 312.
Do.	Śaṅkaranārāyaṇaṉ Araṅgaṉ	Vaṅganagar .	Puraṅgarambai-nāḍu.	Arumoḷidēvavaḷanāḍu.	30-31.
Do.	Śōḷavēḷāṉ	..	..	..	315.
Do.	Koṟṟamaṅgalamuḍaiyāṉ	..	..	..	312.
Do.	Tēvaṉkuḍaiyāṉ	..	..	..	312.
Do.	Araiśūruḍaiyāṉ	..	..	..	315.

[1] No. 121 of the same collection for 1926.
[2] No. 143 of the same.
[3] No. 108 of the same.
[4] No. 120 of the same.
[5] Nos. 121 and 135 of the same.
[6] No. 149 of 1921.

LIST A—*contd.*

Designation.	Name of person.	Village.	Sub-division.	District.	Lines.
Naḍuvirukkum	Paramēśvara-Bhaṭṭa-sarvakratuyājin	Puḷḷamaṅgalam.	..	..	27, 28, 315.
Do.	Dāmōdara-Bhaṭṭaṉ	Kaḍalaṅguḍi .	..	..	28, 329-330.
Do.	Tammaḍi-Bhaṭṭaṉ	Veṇṇainallūr	..	..	32, 42.
Do.	Tiyambaka-Bhaṭṭaṉ	Paśalai .	..	..	32.
Do.	Pūvatta-Bhaṭṭaṉ	Koṭṭaiyūr .	..	..	313.
Puravuvari	Koṟṟaṉ Poṟkāri	Kiḻinallūr .	..	..	33.
Do.	Śūṟṟiyaṉ Tēvaḍi	Kaḻumalam .	..	..	33, 34.
Do.	Tēvaṉ Śāttaṉ	Paḻuvūr .	..	..	34.
Do.	Aṇaiyaṉ Taḻikkuḷavaṉ	Kaḷḷikuḍi .	..	..	35, 48, 206-7.
Do.	Kōdaṇḍaṉ Śēṇaṉ	Ālaṅguḍi .	..	..	316.
Do.	Iḷavaḍigaḷ Naḷḷāṟaṉ	Pūdamaṅgalam	..	..	317.
Do.	Karpagaṉ Śōlai	Ālattūr	..	..	317f.
Varippottagam	Kumaraṉ Araṅgaṉ	Śāttaṉūr	..	..	36.
Do.	Śiṅgaṉ Veṇkāḍaṉ	Paruttiyūr	..	..	36, 318.
Varippottaga-Kaṇakku.	Mādēvaṉ Būmi	..	..	..	320.
Variyiliḍu	Tāḻi Vīraśōḻaṉ	Uṟuvūr	..	..	320f.
Mugavetti	Kīḻvāy Kaṇavaḍi	..	..	..	319.
Do.	Muṇḍaṉ Araṅgaṉ	..	..	..	319.
Do.	Śaiyaḍaṉ Amalaṉ	..	..	..	319.
Do.	Tattaṉ Śīkiṭṭaṉ	..	..	..	319f.
Paṭṭōlai	Perumāṉ Ambalattāḍi	..	..	..	321.
Do.	Śīkaṇḍaṉ Dēvaṉ	..	..	..	321.
Do.	Mākāḻaṉ Arīñji	..	..	..	322.
Do.	Nakkaṉ Maṇḍagavaṉ	..	..	..	322.
Bhaṭṭa	Pārkkuḷattu Parpanābha-Bhaṭṭaṉ	Tirunallūr	Vēḷā-nāḍu .	Kshatriya-śikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu.	44, 45, 304-5.
Do.	Pērēmapurattu Veṇṇaiya-Bhaṭṭaṉ	Do	Do. .	Do.	46, 307f.
Do.	Dvēdaigōmapurattu Nandīśvara-Bhaṭṭaṉ	Vīranārāyaṇa-chaturvēdi-maṅgalam.	Kāra-nāḍu .	Rājēndra-siṁha-vaḷa-nāḍu.	46-7, 309-10.
Do.	Tūṟpil Śrīdhara-Bhaṭṭaṉ	Śrī-Tuṅga-maṅgalam *alias* Abhimāṇa-bhūshaṇa-chaturvēdi-maṅgalam.	Tirunaṟaiyūr-nāḍu.	Kshatriya-śikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu.	42-44, 301.

LIST B.

No.	Name of person.	Designation.	sabhā or ūrār.	Village.	Lines.
1	Muppattiruvaṉ Yajñan *alias* Karpagādityaṉ	*Madhyasthaṉ*	*sabhā*	Kaḍambaṉūr (*brahmadēya*).	212f.
	Nārāyaṇaṉ Dāmōdaraṉ	*Vaikhānasa*	*ūrār*	Do.	213f.
2	Irunūṟṟuvaṉ Uttamaṉ *alias* Brahmamaṅgalyaṉ	*Madhyasthaṉ*	*sabhā*	Nāraṇamaṅgalam (*brahmadēya*).	216f.
3	Nārāyaṇaṉ Oṟṟi	..	..	Vēlaṅguḍi . .	220.
4	Kuṇavaṉ Nandi *alias* Alaṅkārapriyaṉ	*Madhyasthaṉ*	*sabhā*	Mūṅgiṟkuḍi (*brahmadēya*).	223f.
5	Aimbattiruvaṉ Viḍēlviḍugaṉ	Do.	*ūrār*	Narimaṇṟam	225f.
6	Ediraṉ Śāttan *alias* Nānūṟṟuvapperuṅgōvēḷ	*Vēḷkōvaṉ*	Do.	Śāttamaṅgalam	230f.
7	Durukkaṉ Kamudaṉ	*Karaṇattāṉ-Madhyasthaṉ*	*sabhā*	Śannamaṅgalam	233-35.
8	Ūraṉ Chandraśēkharan *alias* Brahmamaṅgalyaṉ	Do.	Do.	Koṭṭārakkuḍi (*brahmadēya*).	237ff.
9	Aiyyaṉ Aiyyaṉ	Do.	*ūrār*	Kōvūr	240ff.
10	Nakkaṉ Muḷḷi	Do.	Do.	Uttūr	244f.
11	Kaṇṇaṉ Alaṅkārapriyaṉ	Do.	*sabhā*	Naṇṇimaṅgalam (*brahmadēya*).	247ff.
12	Mādēvaṉ Ūraṉ	*Karaṇattāṉ-Vēḷkōvaṉ*	Do.	Poruvanūr (*brahmadēya*).	251-53.
13	Kāśyapaṉ Sūryyaṉ Araṅgaṉ	*Karaṇattāṉ*	*ūrār*	Ālaṅguḍi	255f.
14	Bhāradvāji Tirutti Vaikundaṉ	Do.	Do.	Tuṟaiyūr	258-9.
15	Kuṇavaṉ Nandi *alias* Alaṅkārapriyaṉ	*Karaṇattāṉ-Madhyasthaṉ*	*sabhā*	Pirambil (*brahmadēya*).	261-62.
16	Do.	Do.	*ūrār*	Kaḍambaṅguḍi	263f.
17	Ūrāṉ Aiyyaṉ	*Madhyasthaṉ*	Do-	Śēndamaṅgalam	266f.
18	Eṭṭi Valañjuḷiyaṉ Saṅgaṉ	..	..	Śiṟu-Śēndamaṅgalam.	269f.
19	Dēvaṉ Ūraṉ	*Karaṇattāṉ-Vēḷkōvaṉ*	*ūrār*	Kuṟṟālam	272-3.
20	Chaturmukhaṉ Araṅgaṉ	*Madhyasthaṉ*	Do.	Tirunāvūr	275-6.
21	Mānāgaṉ Nārāyaṇaṉ	*Karaṇattāṉ-Vēḷkōvaṉ*	*sabhā*	Uvarkkuḍi (*brahmadēya*).	278-80.
22	Mānāgaṉ Kaṇṇaṉ	Do-	*ūrār*	Muñjikuḍi	282-3.
23	Atirāmaṉ Irubattunālvan *alias* Muṇṇūṟṟuvaṉ	Do.	*sabhā*	Tirukkaṇṇaṅguḍi	286-7.

LIST B—*contd.*

No.	Name of person.	Designation.	sabhā or ūrār.	Village.	Lines.
24	Ūrāṉ Ūrāṉ	*Karaṇattāṉ-Madyasthaṉ*	*ūrār*	Kaḍambavalavāṭṭkai	290-91.
25	Do.	Do.	Do.	Pāḷaṅkoṟṟaṅguḍi	294-95.
26	Ūrāṉ Nakkaṉ	Do.	Do.	Veṇkiḍaṅgil	297-98.
27	Āritaṉ Śiriyāṉ Kaḍambaṉ	..	..	Āṇaimaṅgalam (*brahmadēya*).	300.

TEXT.

Sanskrit Portion.

Metres :—*Anushṭubh*, vv. 7, 8, 11, 14, 23, 26, 27, 35-37, 40-45, 47 and 48 ; *Mālabhāriṇī*, v. 32 ; *Mandākrāntā*, vv. 12, 21, 30 and 39 ; *Mañjubhāshiṇī*, v. 13 ; *Praharshiṇī*, v. 9 ; *Rathōddhatā*, v. 10 ; *Ruchirā*, v. 24 ; *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*, vv. 1, 4, 18, 19 and 33. *Sragdharā*, vv. 2, 3, 20 ; *Upajāti*, vv. 5, 6, 15, 17, 22, 28, 34, 38 and 46 ; *Vaṁśasthā*, v. 29 ; *Vasantatilakā*, vv. 16, 25 and 31.

First Plate ; First Side.

1 Svasti Śrī ‖ ६

Lakshmī-pīna-payōdhara-dvaya-taṭī-kāśmīra-paṁk-āṁkitā

2 bhrāmyan-Mandara-tuṁga-śṛiṁga-kashaṇa-bhrājiṣṇu-hēm-āṁgadāḥ [|*] rakshaṇtō ha-

3 rinīla-nīla-vapushō lōka-trayaṁ Śārṅgiṇaś=śārṅg-ādy-āyudha-śōbhina-

4 ś=śriyam=alaṁ pushṇantu vō bāhavaḥ ‖[1*] Yāvat Kailāsa-śailē

5 viharati bhagavān= Indumaulis=sva-dēvyā yâvat kshīr-āmburāśau

6 Harir=ahi-śayanē yōga-nidrān=tanōti [|*] yāvad=dhvāntan=nitāntaṁ vyapa-

7 nayati Ravir=vviśva-lōk-aika-dīpas=tāvat pāyād=apāyād=ayam=akhi-

8 la-mahī-maṇḍalañ=Chōḷa-vaṁśaḥ ‖[2*] Āsīd=ādyō nṛipāṇām=Manur=Ahimakarād=viśva-

9 lōk-aika-nētrād=Ikshvākus=tat-tanūjō=jani nṛipa-makuṭa-śrēṇi-līḍh-āṁghri-pī-

10 ṭhaḥ [|*] Māndhātā Dhātṛi-kalpō guṇa-nidhir=abhavat=tat-kulē bhūmipālō yō Lō-

First Plate ; Second Side.

11 kālōka-śail-āvadhi vidhivad=imām pālayāmāsa bhūmim ‖[3*][1] Rāj=āsīn=Muchukunda ity=a-

12 bhihitas=tasy=ātmajō vīryyavāṁs=tat-putrō Vaḷabhō=jani kshitipatiḥ kshatr-aika-

13 chūḍāmaṇiḥ [|*] tad-vaṁśē Śibir=ity=aśēsha-jagati prakhyāta-kīrttir=nṛipaś=śrīmān=āvirabhūd=a-

14 śēsha-nṛipati-vrāt-ārchchit-āṁghri-dvayaḥ ‖[4*] Par-ārttha-saṁrakshita-jīvitasya tasy=ā-

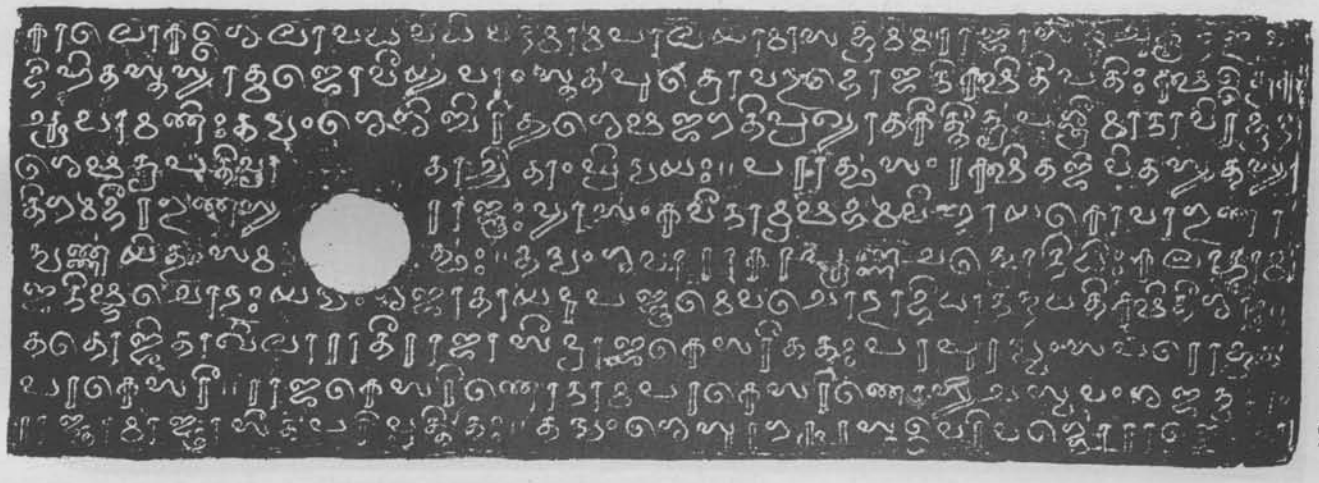
[1] The punctuation-mark, which consists of double vertical strokes, seems to have been omitted at first and then inserted between *bhūmim* and *Rāj*.

The Larger Leiden Plates of Rajaraja I.
Sanskrit Portion.

i,a.



i,b.



ii,a.



N. P. Chakravarti.
Rec. No. 3910 E'35–425.

SCALE : ONE-HALF.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

ii,b.



iii,a.



iii,b.



15 tí-gambhīra-guṇasya rājñaḥ [!*] Vyāsaṁ kavīnāṁ=ṛishabhaṁ vihāya kō vā guṇā-
16 n=varṇṇayituṁ samarttha[ḥ] ||[5*] Tad-vaṁśa-vārākara-pūrṇṇachandrō nidhiḥ kalā-nām=a-
17 janishṭa Chō[ḷa]ḥ [!*] yad-vaṁśa-jātā yad-upajñam=ēva Chō[ḷ]-ābhidhānan=dadhati kshitīśāḥ ||[6*]
18 Tatō jit-ākhil-ārāṭī rāj=āsīd=**Rājakēsarī** [!*] tataḥ para-pura-ddhvaṁsa-parō=bhūḍ
19 **Parakēsarī** ||[7*] Rājakēsariṇō nāma Parakēsariṇō=sya cha [!*] sva-vaṁśa-janma-nāṁ
20 rājñām=ājñ=āsīt parivṛittitaḥ ||[8*] Tad-vaṁśē Suragurur=asta-vairi-varggō rājēn-drō

Second Plate ; First Side.

21 Ravi-kula-kētur=āvirāsīt [!*] yō jitvā raṇa-bhuvi Mṛityum=apy=ajayyan=dushprāpām=alabha-
22 ta Mṛityujit-samākhyām ||[9*] Vyāghrakētur=abhavat=tad-anvayē vairi-vā[ra*]ṇa-mṛigādhi-
23 pō nṛipaḥ [!*] Pañchapō=jani tad-anvayē balī pārtthivō=rtthi-jana-kalpapāda-
24 paḥ ||[10*] Ari-kālō mahīpālaḥ **Karikālas**=tad-anvayē [!*] āvirāsīd=asau chakrē Kā-
25 vērī-tīra-bandhanam ||[11*] **Kōchchaṁkaṇṇān**=abhavad=akhila-kshmādhip-ārādhit-āṁghri-
26 r=vvaṁśē tasya prathita-mahimā Śambhu-pād-ābja-bhṛiṁgaḥ [!*] **Kōkkiḷḷi**-śrīpati-
27 r=amala-dhīr=anvavāyē tadīyē bhūpālō=bhūd=akhila-nṛipati-śrēṇi-chū-
28 ḍ-ārchchit-āṁghriḥ ||[12*] **Vijayālayō**=jani tad-anvayē jayī vijit-ākhil-āvani-talō ma-
29 hābalaḥ [!*] praṇaman-nṛipēndra-makuṭa-sthala-skhalan-maṇi-raśmi-rañjita-pad-āmbuja-dvayaḥ ||[13*]
30 **Ādityō** bhūbhṛitas=tasmād=udagād=amita-dyutiḥ [!*] dhvast-ārāti-mahīpāla-ddhvāṁta-cha-
31 kraḥ pratāpavān ||[14*] Ananta-ratna-prakar-aika-vāsād=udāra-sattvād=udiyāya tasmā-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

32 t [!*] **Parāntakō** viśva-hitāya rājā Rāj=ēva dugdh-āmbunidhēḥ kalābhiḥ ||[15*] Ā-Chakra-
33 vāḷam=avaniṁ sa vijitya sarvvāṁ rakshan sukhēna Kali-kāla-tamō-mśumālī [!*] grā-
34 mān=nivēśya vividhān=mahatō yaśōbhiś=śubhrīchakāra śarad-abhra-nibhair=ddig-antān ||[16*]
35 Śva-bā[hu*]-vi(I)ryy-āvajit-ākhil-āśā-mukh-ōpanīt-āmala-hāṭakēna [!*] samāvṛiṇō-
36 n=mandiram=Iṇḍumaulēr=vVyāghrāgrahārē[1] Ravi-vaṁśa-kētuḥ ||[17*] Tasy=aśēsha-na-

[1] The length of *grā* seems to have been inserted afterwards.

37 [1]rēndra-vandita-pada-dvandvasya putrās=trayas=trē-āgni-dyutayō=bhavan=narapatē-
38 s=Sutrāma-tulya-śriyaḥ [|*] Rājāditya iti kshitau nigaditaś=śrī-Gaṇḍarāditya ity=u-
39 kt=Ōriñjaya ity=aśēsha-jagati khyāt-ābhidhānō balī ||[18*] Saṁrakshya kshitim=ambarā-
40 śi-raśanān=dharmm-ānuyātē divam yātē tatra Parāntakē para-bala-ddhvaṁs-aika-dakshē
41 nṛipē [|*] bhūpāl-āvali-mauli-līḍha-charaṇa-dvandvas=tadīy=ātmajō **Rājāditya** i-
42 ti śrutas=sa balavān=āsīd=avanyāḥ patiḥ ||[19*] Rājādityas=sa vīrō Ravi-kula-tilakaḥ

Third Plate ; First Side.

43 **Kṛishṇarājaḥ**[2] sa-sainyaṁ saṁkshōbhy=ākshōbhyam=ājau nija-niśita-śarai-
44 s=sampatat(d)bhis=samantāt [|*] nāg-ēndra-skandha-varttī vidalita-hṛidayas=tan-niśāt-ēshu-pātai-[3]
45 r=āruhy=ōchchair=vvimānan=tribhuvana-mahitō vīra-lōkañ=jagāma ||[20*] Rājādityē
46 surapura-vadhū-vaktra-paṁkēruhāṇāṁ prītiṁ karttuṁ gatavati mahātējasi kshmā-
47 m=aśēshām [|*] vīrō=rakshat kshapita-sakal-ārāti-sāndr-āndhakārō
48 bhrātā tasya prathita-mahimā **Gaṇḍarādityavarmmā** ||[21*] Utpādya putram[4]= **Madhurāntak-ā**
49 khyaṁ Kavēra-kany-ōttara-tīra-bhūmau [|*] grā[ma*]m=mahāntañ=cha nijēna nāmnā pa-
50 ratra-hētōs=sa divañ=jagāma ||[22*] Tasmin=divaṁ gatē dēvē śaśāsa sa-
51 kalām=mahīm [|*] **Ariñjayō**=ri-bhūpāla-vana-dāvānalō balī ||[23*] Ariñjayād=aja-
52 ni Purāntak-ōpamaḥ **Parāntakaḥ** para-nṛipa-chakra-marddanaḥ [|*] apālayaj=jalanidhi-mē-
53 khalām=mahīṁ sukhēna yō nija-guṇa-rañjita-prajaḥ ||[24*] Chēvūra-nāmani[5] purē
54 nija-chāru-chāpa-mukt-[6]ātiśāta-śara-rāśi-nirantar-āśaḥ [|*] śāt-āsi-bhinna-ripu-danti-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

55 girindra[7]-niryyad-rakt-āpagā bahuvidhā niravarttayat saḥ ||[25*] Karikāl-ānya-nāmā-
56 nam=Ādityam=udapīpadat [|*] Rājarājañ=cha rājēndrō Ravi-vaṁśa-śikhā-maṇim ||[26*]
57 Suralōka-paritrāṇa-parē tasmin Parāntakē [|*] naralōka-paritrāṇam=Ā-

[1] The *ē* sign of *rē* is at the end of the previous line.
[2] After *ja* the length sign has been entered and erased.
[3] The letter *t* is entered in the next line.
[4] There is something like a *virāma* mark on the left top of *mma*.
[5] After *ma* in *nāmani*, the length sign has been entered and erased.
[6] After *ta* in *muktāti*, a length sign has been entered and erased.
[7] Read *gir-indra*.

58 **dityō** vidhivad=vyadhāt ||[27*] Sa **Vīra-Pāṇḍyēna** sa-hēlam=ājau chikrīḍha(ḍa) bālō

59 Manu-vaṁśa-dīpaḥ [1*] mataṁgajēn=ēva mad-ōtkaṭēna mṛigēndra-śābō(vō) ba-

60 la-garvvitēna ||[28*] Divaṁ gatē tatra narādhip-ādhipē sa Gaṇḍāraditya[1]-su-

61 tō[2] mahā-bhujaḥ [1*] apālayad=vāridhī[3]-mēkhalām=mahīm=Mahēndra-kīrtti-

62 r=mMadhurāntakō nṛipaḥ ||[29*] Tasmin=yātē Tridaśa-nilayan=trātum=urvvīpat-

63 īndrē vīrō viśva-kshiti-pati-lasan-mauli-līḍh-āṁghri-pīṭhaḥ [1*] dōshṇā Śēsh-ōraga-pa-

64 ti-tanu-śrī-mushā **Rājarājō** gurvvīm=urvvī-dhuram=udavahach=Chōḷa-vaṁśa-pradīpaḥ ||[30*] Ji-

65 tvā sa Pāṇḍya-Ḍ(T)uḷu-Kēraḷa-Siṁha[ḷ]ēndra-Satyāśray-ādi-nṛipatīr=n[4]ija-bāhu-vīryyāt [1*] ā-

66 dāya tat-kari-turaṁgama-ratna-rāshṭrāṇy=āśā daś=āpi yaśasā dhavaḷī-chakāra[5] ||[31*] Kṛi-

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

67 ta-dig-vija[ya*]s=sa Rājarājaḥ karadīkṛitya mahīpatīn=aśēshān [1*] nyavasat[6] sva-purē sukhan=nṛi-

68 [7]pēndras=tridivē lōka-namaskṛitō yath=Ēndraḥ ||[32*] Ā śailād=ahimāṁśu-janma-mahi-

69 tād=ā dakshiṇ-āmbhōnidhēr=ā ch=Āst-āhvaya-parvvatāt[8] giripatēr=ā Śambhun=ādhi-

70 shṭhitāt [1*] rājānō nija-vaṁśa-rakshaṇa-parā bhōktuñ=cha bhōgān=bahūn=nītyā Nitya-

71 vinōda-pāda-kamala-dvandvaṁ samāśiśriyan ||[33*] Yatas=sa rājā nija-pā-

72 da-bhājāṁ rājñām=udārō bahudh=āśrayō=bhūt [1*] ataḥ pṛithivyām=amita-

73 prabhāvaṁ Rājāśrayan=tan=nigadanti santaḥ ||[34*] Sō=yam=akhila-kalā-kalāpa-

74 pārāvāra-pāradṛiśv=āśēsha-nṛipa-chakra-chāru-chāmīkara-kirīṭa-kōṭi-gha-

75 ṭit-ānēka-māṇikya-marīchi-puñja-puñjarīkṛita-pāda-pīṭhō **Rājarājō Rājakēsari-**

76 **varmmā** sva-sāmrājya-varshē ēkaviṁśatitamē nikhila-dharaṇi-tilakāyamānē **Ksha-**

77 [9]**triya-śikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu**-nāmni mahati janapada-nivahē **Paṭṭana-kkūṟṟa**-nāmni janapa-

78 dē=nēka-sura-sadana-satra-prap-ārām-ābhirāmē vividha-saudha[10]-rāji-rājamānē **Nā-**

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

79 **gīpattanē** nija-mati-vibhava-vijita-Suraguruṇā budha-jana-kamala-vana-marīchimālin=ā-

[1] Read *Gaṇḍarāditya*. The length of *rā* seems to have been omitted at first and then inserted wrongly before *r* instead of after it.

[2] The *ē* sign of *tō* is at the end of the previous line.

[3] Read *vāridhi*.

[4] Read *nṛipatīn=nija-*.

[5] After *chakāra*, a *visarga* has been entered and erased.

[6] The letters *vasat* are written over an erasure.

[7] The *ē* sign of *pē* is incised at the end of the previous line.

[8] Read °*tād-*.

[9] From this line, Tamil characters are interspersed with Grantha.

[10] The words *vividha-saudha* are written over an erasure. After *dha*, a length stroke has been erased.

80 rṭṭhi-jana-kalpapādapēna **Śailōdbhava**-vaṁśa-sambhūtēna **Śrīvishay**-ādhipati-

81 nā **Kaṭāh**-ādhipatyam=ātanvatā Makara-ddhvajēn=ādhigata-sakala[1]-rāja-vidyasya **Chūlā-**

82 **maṇivarmmaṇaḥ** putrēṇa śrī-**Māravijayō**[2]**ttuṅgavarmmaṇā** sva-pitur=[3]nnāmnā nirmmāpitam=adha-

83 rīkṛita-Kanakagiri[4]-samunnati-vibhavam=atiramaṇīyañ=**Chūḍāmaṇivarmma-vihāram**= adhiva-

84 satō Buddhāya tasminn[5]=ēva janapada-nivahē Paṭṭaṇa-kkūṟṟa-nāmni janapa-

85 dē kariṇī-parikramaṇa-vispashṭa-sīmā-chatushṭayam=**Āgaimaṅgal**-ābhi-

86 dhānaṁ grāmam=adāt || Itthan=dēvēna dattasya sva-pitrā chakravarttinā [|*] grāmasy=āsya ga-

87 tē[6] tasmin=dēvabhūyam=mahaujasi ||[35*] Tat-siṁhāsanam=ārūḍhas=tat-putrō **Madhu-rāntakaḥ** [|*]

88 śāsanaṁ śāśvatan=dhīmān kārayitv=ādiśa[n*]=nṛipaḥ ||[36*] Śēshō=śēshāṁ=mahīṁ yāva-

89 d=dhattō=śēsh-ōrag-ēśvaraḥ [|*] sthēyāt=tāvan=vihārō=yam vibhavēna sa-

90 h=āvanau ||[37*] Sō=yaṁ **Kaṭāh**-ādhipati[r*]=gguṇānān=nivāsa-bhūmir=mmahita-pra[7]

Fifth Plate ; First Side.

91 bhāvaḥ [|*] āgāminaḥ prārtthayatē narēndrān dharmmaṁ sad=ēmaṁ=mama rakshat=ēti ||[38*] Grāmē

92 samyē jagati mahitē **Kōṭṭayūr**-ābhidhānē Lakshmī-dhāmany=ajani vimalē yō Vasishṭh-

93 ānvavāyē [|*] sat-saṁsēvī vimala-charit=[8]Ō**nantanārāyaṇ**-ākhyas=sō=

94 yan=dhīmān=arachayad=imām=agrajanmā praśastim ||[39*] Tasya rā-

95 jñō[9] mahiṁ[10] sarvvān=dharmmēṇa parirakshataḥ [|*] ajayyasya

96 jit-āśēsha-ripu-bhūpāla-saṁhatēḥ ||[40*] Mahādhikāri(rī)

97 matimāṁs=Tillayāḷi-samāhva[ya*]ḥ [|*] yaj-janma-bhūr=abhūt[11] bhūmau Kāñchi-vāyil=i-

98 ti śrutaḥ ||[41*] Yō Rājarāja-Mūvēndavēḷ=iti prathitō bhuvi [|*] tan-niyō-gād=i-

99 daṁ sō=yaṁ śāsanaṁ sāddhv=akārayat[12] ||[42*]ଓ ||ଓ || ଓ

[1] After *sakala*, a letter has been entered and rubbed out.

[2] The letter *yō* in *vijayō* is a correction

[3] The letter *nnā* is a correction.

[4] Read *giri*-.

[5] The letters *tasminn=ē*° are written over an erasure.

[6] The *ē* sign of *tē* is at the end of the previous line.

[7] The last letter *pra* is a correction.

[8] The proper name seems to be *Anantanārāyaṇa* and not *Nandanārāyaṇa* as Messrs. Burgess and Natesa Sastri have taken.

[9] The *ē* sign of *jñō* is written at the end of the previous line.

[10] Read *makiṁ*.

[11] Read *abhūd=bhūmau*.

[12] The letters *sāddhvakāra* seem to have been entered over an erasure.

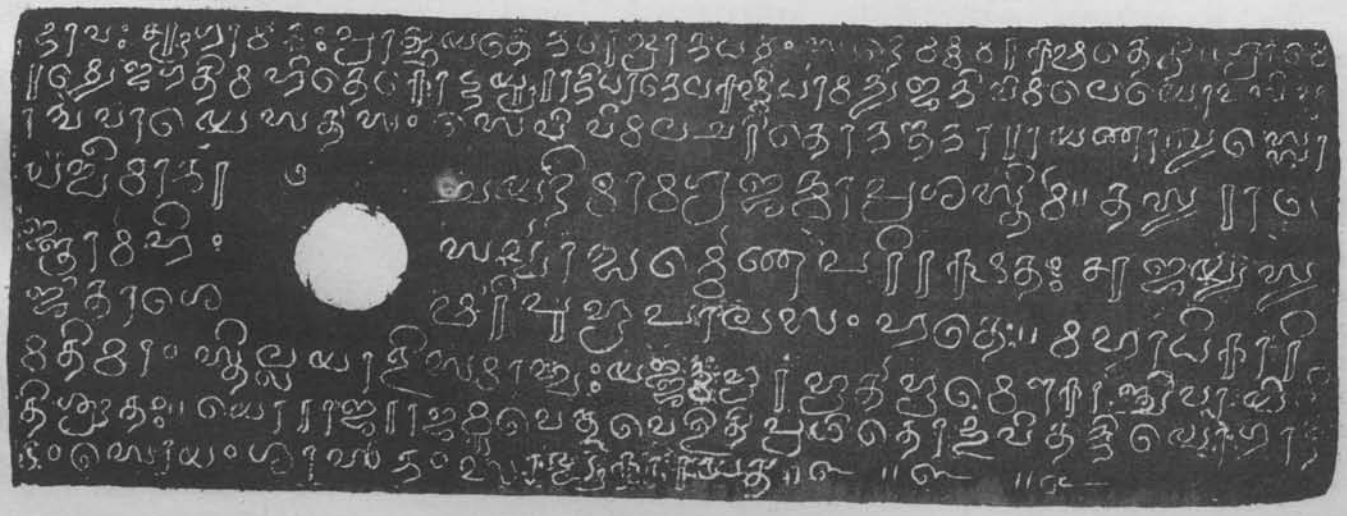
iv,a.



iv,b.



v,a.



N. P. Chakravarti.
Rec. No. 3910 E'35–425.

SCALE : ONE-HALF.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

v,b.



Tamil Portion.

i,a.



i,b.



Fifth Plate ; Second Side.

100 Kaṭāh-ādhipatēs=tasya niyōgāt=Tuvavūravān [*] Aṇukka iti vikhyātaś=śrīmān=
Aṭika[1]-ātmajaḥ ||[43*] ๏–

101 Vinītō guṇa-sampannas=svāmi-karya-hitē rataḥ [*] śāśanaṁ śāśvatam=idam=achīkarad=
udāra-dhīḥ ||[44*] ๏–

102 Rājarāja-mahāchāryyō Vāsudēv-āpar-āhvayaḥ [*] a-kṛishṇa-charitaḥ Kṛi-

103 shṇa-sambhavō=pi mahāmatiḥ ||[45*] Śrīraṁga-Dāmōdara-nāmadhēyau Kṛishṇ-
ātma-

104 jau Kṛishṇa-pad-ābja-bhriṁgau [*] Kṛishṇ-ābhidhānō=pi cha Vāsudē-

105 va-śarīraj[ō] nīraja-chāru-nētraḥ ||[46*] Ārāvamṛita-putraś=cha Purushō-

106 ttama-sa[ṁ*]j[ñitaḥ] [*] sparddhamānō=kshara-nyāsē Chitraguptēna chitraguḥ
||[47*]

107 Hōvy-ānvavāya-tilakāḥ Kāñchīpura=samutbhavāḥ[2] [*] praśastim=ēnām=ali-

108 khan pañch=aitē chitrakāriṇaḥ ||[48*] I-śśāsanam veṭṭinōm Jayaṅkoṇ[ḍa]śō-

109 ḷa-maṇḍalattu śrī-Kāñchipurattu ōviya-chchitrakāri Kṛishṇaṇ Vāsudēvaṇ-āṇa
Rājarāja-ppē-

110 rāchāryyaṇēṇum Kṛishṇaṇ Tiruvaraṅgaṇum Kṛishṇaṇ Dāmōdiraṇum Vāsudēvaṇ
Kṛishṇaṇum

111 Ārāvamirdu[3] [4]Purushōttam[5]aṇṇum||๏–|| ๏–||๏–

Tamiḻ Portion.

First Plate ; First Side.

1 Svasti śrī [||*] ๏– Kōnēriṇmaikoṇḍāṉ Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=

2 pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṟṟattu nāṭṭārkkum brahmadēya-kkiḻavarkkum dēvadāna-ppaḻḻi-

3 chchanda-kkaṇi-muṟṟūṭṭu[6]-veṭṭappēṟṟ-ūrgaḻilārkkum nagaraṅgaḻilārkkum

4 namakku yāṇḍu irubatt-oṉṟāvadu nāḷ toṇṇūṟṟ-iraṇḍināl

5 Tañjāvūr=ppurambaḍi māḻigai Rājāśrayanil teṟkkil maṇḍabat-

6 tu nām irukka=kKiḍāratt-araiyaṉ Chūḷāmaṇipanmaṉ Kshatriyaśikhā-

7 maṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṟṟattu Nāgapaṭṭaṇattu eḍuppikkiṉṟa Chūḷā-

8 maṇipanma-vihārattu=ppaḻḻikku vēṇḍum nivandattukku Kshatri[ya*]śikhāmaṇi-va-

9 ḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṟṟattu Āṇaimaṅgalam paḻḻichchandam iṟaṅgal-uḻpaḍa aḷa-

10 ndapaḍi nīṅgal nīkki nilaṉ toṇṇūṟṟ-ēḻēy=iraṇḍu-mā mukkāṇiy=araikkā-

[1] Abhikaḷa is the reading given in Volume IV of *Archæological Survey of South India*. As the letter *bh* is quite differently shaped from *ṭ*, there is no doubt that the proper name here given is *śrīmān Aṭikaḷ* (Aḍikaḷ) and not Abhikaḷa.

[2] Read *samudbhavāḥ*.

[3] The reading given in the *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 208 is *Ārāvamirtuvum*. The additional *vum* is clearly a mistake. There is no trace of it in the plate. If *vum* is retained, there would be six names; but there must be only five for it is stated in line 108 *pañch-aitē chitrakāriṇaḥ*. Moreover, what is required is a double name like *Kṛishṇaṇ Vāsudēvaṇ*, etc., in which the first component indicates the name of the father. In fact we have it stated in verse 47, that this individual's name was *Purushōttama* and that he was the son of *Ārāvamṛita*.

[4] The letter *pu* is corrected from *pi*.

[5] Read *maṇum*.

[6] The reading of *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, (p. 208, l. 114) is *muṟṟuvaḍ*. It is evidently a mistake. The plate reads only *muṟṟūṭṭu* which is also found in other inscriptions.

First Plate; Second Side.

11 ṇi mundirigai=kkīḻ-mūṉṟu-mā mukkāṇi mundirigai=kkīḻ araiyēy=iraṇ-
12 ḍu-māvināl iṟai-kaṭṭiṉa kāṇikkaḍaṉ nellu eṉṉāyirattu=ttoḻḻāyi-
13 rattu nāṟpattu mu-kkalaṉē iru-tūṇi=kkuṟuṇi oru-nāḻiyum Kaḍāratt-araiyaṉ
14 Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḻanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṉa-kkūṟṟattu Nāgapaṭṭaṉatt=eḍuppi-
15 kkiṉṟa Chūḻāmaṇipanma-vihārattu=ppaḻḻikku iṟuppad-āga yāṇḍu irubat-
16 t-oṉṟāvadu-mudal paḻḻichchanda-iṟai-iliy-āga variyil=iṭṭu-kkuḍukka-
17 v=eṉṟu nām śolla nam ōlai eḻudum Nittavinōda-vaḻanāṭṭu Ā-
18 vūr-kkūṟṟattu Viḻattūr-kiḻavaṉ Amudaṉ Tīrttakaraṉ eḻuttiṉālum nam ō-
19 lai-nāyakaṉ Uyyakkoṇḍār-vaḻanāṭṭu Veṇṇāṭṭu=kKēraḻānta[ka*]-chchaturvvē-
20 dimaṅgalattu Kṛishṇaṉ Irāmaṉ-āṉa Mummaḍiśōḻa-Brahmamāhārāyaṉum[1] Nitta-

Second Plate; First Side.

21 vinōda-vaḻanāṭṭu=pPāmbuṇi-kkūṟṟattu Araiśūr-uḍaiyāṉ Īrāyiravaṉ Palla-[2]
22 vayaṉ-āṉa [3]Mummaḍiśōḻa-Pōśaṉum Arumoḻidēva[4]-vaḻanāṭṭu Neṉmali-nāṭṭu=pParu-
23 ttikkuḍaiyāṉ Vēḻāṉ=Uttamaśōḻan-āṉa Madurāntaka-Mūvēndavēḻāṉum
24 oppiṉālum pukka nan=tīṭṭiṉpaḍiyē variyil=iṭṭu-kkoḻgav=eṉṟu
25 nam karumam-ārāyum Ārūraṉ Aravaṇaiyāṉ-āṉa Parākkiramaśōḻa-Mūvē-
26 ndavēḻāṉum Tattaṉ Śēndan-āṉa Śembiyaṉ-Mūvēndavēḻāṉu-
27 m Aruṅguṉṟam-uḍaiyāṉ Māppēṟaṉ Poṟkāriyum naḍuvirukkum Puḻḻa-
28 maṅgalattu=pParamēśvara-Bhaṭṭa-Sarvvakratuyājiyum Kaḍalaṅguḍi=tTāmōdara-Bhaṭ-
ṭaṉu-
29 m nam karumam-ārāyum Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḻanāṭṭu=tTirunaṟaiyūr-nāṭṭu=kKaṟ-
kuḍai-
30 yāṉ Piśaṅgaṉ Pāḻūr-āṉa Mīṇavaṉ-Mūvēndavēḻāṉum Arumoḻidēva-vaḻanāṭṭu-

Second Plate; Second Side.

31 pPuṟaṅgarambai-nāṭṭu Vaṅganagar-uḍaiyāṉ Śaṅkaranārāyaṇaṉ-Araṅgaṉum naḍuvi-
32 rukkum Veṇṇainallūr=tTammaḍi-Baṭṭaṉum Paśalai=tTiyambaka-Baṭṭanum śo-
33 lla=ppuravuvari=kKiḻinallūr-kiḻavaṉ Koṟṟaṉ Poṟkāriyum Kaḻumalam-uḍai-
34 yāṉ Śūṟṟiyaṉ Tēvaḍiyum Paḻuvūr-uḍaiyāṉ Tēvaṉ Śāttaṉum
35 Kaḻḻikkuḍaiyāṉ Aṇaiyaṉ Taḻikkuḻavaṉum varippottagam Śā-
36 ttaṉūr-uḍaiyāṉ Kumaraṉ-Araṅgaṉum Paruttiyūr-kiḻavaṉ Śiṅgaṉ Ve-
37 ṇkāḍaṉum irundu yāṇḍu irubatt-oṉṟāvadu nāḷ toṇṇūṟṟ-ā-
38 ṟiṉāl paḻḻichchandam iṟaiy-iliy-āga vari[yi*]l=iṭṭu-kkuḍutta taṉga=ṉāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṉa-
39 kkūṟṟattu Āṇaimaṅgalam aḻandapaḍi nīṅgaḷ nīkki nilaṉ toṇṇūṟṟ-ē-
40 ḻēy=iraṇḍu-mā=kkāṇiy=araikkāṇi mundirigai=kkīḻ-mūṉṟu-mā mukkāṇi

[1] Read *Brahmamahā°*.

[2] *Pallavayaṉ* has been taken as *Pallava[rai*]yaṉ* by inserting *rai*, in *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 209. As there is not a single place where *Pallavaraiyaṉ* occurs, the proper name *Pallavayaṉ* needs no correction.

[3] *mma* in *Mummaḍi* is written over an erasure.

[4] The letters *vavaḻa* in *dēva-vaḻa* are damaged.

ii,a.



ii,b.



iii,a.



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SCALE : ONE-HALF.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

iii,b.



iv,a.



iv,b.



41 mundirigai kiḻ-araiyāy=iraṇḍu-māvum [piḍi] śūḻndu piḍāgai naḍappi[p*]pad-ṅga-
kkaṇkāṇi naḍu[1].

Third Plate; First Side.

42 virukkum[2] Veṇṇainallūr=tTammaḍi-Bhaṭṭaṇaiyum[3] Baṭṭaṇ Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-
va-
43 ḻanāṭṭu=tTirunaṟaiyūr-nāṭṭu śrī-Tuṅgamaṅgalam-āṇa Abhimāṇabhūshana-chchatu-
rvvē-
44 dimaṅgalattu=tTūṟpil Śrīdhara-Bhattaṇaiyum i-ṇṇāṭṭu Vēḷā-nāṭṭu=tTirunāllū-
45 r Pārkkuḻattu=pPaṟpanāba[4]-Bhaṭṭaṇaiyum ivv-ūr Pērēmapuṟattu[5] Veṇṇaiya-
46 Bhaṭṭaṇaiyum Rājēndrasiṁha-vaḻanāṭṭu Kāra-nāṭṭu=ttaṇiyūr śrī-Vīranārāya-
47 ṇa-chchaturvvēdimaṅgalattu [6]Dvēdaigōmapuṟattu Nandīśvara-Bhaṭṭaṇaiyum pura-
vuva-
48 ri Kaḻḻikkuḍaiyāṉ Aṇaiyaṉ[7] Taḻikkuḻavaṇaiyum pēr[8]=ttandōn=tā-
49 ṅgaḻum ivargaḷōḍu niṉṟu ellai terittu=ppiḍi śūḻndu piḍāgai naḍandu kallu-
50 ṉ=kaḻḻiyum nāṭṭi aṟavōlai śe[y*]du[9] pō[10]-ttagav=eṉṉum vāśagattāl mandira-
51 [11]vōlai Viḻattūr-kiḻavaṉ Amudaṉ Tīrttakaraṉ eḻuttiṉālum mandiravōlai nā-

Third Plate; Second Side.

52 yakaṉ Kṛishṇaṉ Irāmaṉ-āṇa Mummaḍiśōḻa-Brahmamahārāyaṉum Araiśūr-uḍai-
yāṉ [I]-
53 rāyiravaṉ Pallavayaṉ-āṇa Mummaḍiśōḻa-Pōśaṉum Paruttikkuḍaiyāṉ
54 Vēḷāṉ=Uttamaśōḻan-āna Madurāntaka-Mūvēndavēḷā[12]
55 ṉum oppināḷum [I*] Tiru-magaḷ pōḷa=pperu-[ni]ḻa-chchelviyu-
56 n=taṉakkēy=urimai pūṇ[ḍa*]mai maṉa-kkoḻa=kKāndaḷūr-
57 chchālai kalam=aṟutt-aruḷi Vēṅgai-nāḍuṁ=Gaṅgapāḍiyu[m*] Nu-
58 ḷambapāḍiyun=Taḍigaipāḍiyuṁ=Kuḍamalai-nāḍuṁ=Kollamuṁ=Kali-
59 ṅgamum eṇ-ḍiśai puga[ḷ] tara Ḷḷa-maṇḍalamun=ti[ṇ*]-ḍiṟal-veṇṟi-ttaṉ-
60 ḍār=koṇḍu taṉṉ=eḻil vaḷar ūḻiyuḷ=ellā yāṇḍun=to-[13]

[1] This word is omitted in *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 209, text-line 152.

[2] This word has been incorrectly read as *kaḻukkum* in the above. The official designation *naḍuvirukkum* of *Veṇṇainallūr=tTammaḍibhaṭṭaṇ* actually occurs in text line 142 f. on the same page.

[3] This word has been incorrectly read as *ttaṭṭaṇaiyum* in the *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 209, text-line 153.

[4] The Tamiḻ letters *nāba* are written in smaller characters than the rest and *ba* appears as a convex curve. The traces show that the Grantha letter *bha* was originally written and then erased. The reading given in the *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 209, text-line 156 is *Paraṇa(-la)*.

[5] The reading of this word given in *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, is *Perampura* in line 156 and *Verempura* in line 448 which are clearly inadmissible.

[6] The reading in *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, is *[Dvenda(?)-]kompuṟattu*.

[7] This word has been wrongly read as *aṇaiyāda* in text-line 159 of *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, p. 209.

[8] Read *pēr tandōm* : see, above p. 215.

[9] Without inserting *y*, we may read *śēḍu* which is but the colloquial form of *śeydu*. But as the inscription uses *śeydu* later on (ll. 204 and 206), it is preferable to have here also the grammatically correct form.

[10] *Pōttaṇa* seems to be the contraction of *pōṇa* and *taṇa*.

[11] The *ē* sign of *vō* is entered at the end of the previous line.

[12] The letters in this line are larger in size than those in the other lines.

[13] There is space for the length of *to* at the commencement of the next line, but it is not written.

60 [i]ntaga ṟiḷaṅgam yāṇḍāy Śeḷiyatai-ttēṟu kol śrī-kōv=I-

Fourth Plate; First Side.

62 rājarājakēsarivarmmar-āṇa śrī-Rājarājadēvaṟku yāṇḍu irubatt-oṉṟāvadu nāṭṭō-
63 mukku=tturumugam vara [|*] nāṭṭōmun=tirumugad=kaṇḍu edir-eḻundu śeṉṟu
toḻudu vā-
64 ṉgi=ttaḷai-mēl vaittu=ppiḍi śūḻndu piḍāgai naḍandu ellai teṟṟu kallu-
65 ṇ=kaḷḷiyu[m*] nāṭṭi aṟavōlai śeyda nilattukku=kkīḻpāṟk-ellai Kshatri-
66 yaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṟṟattu=kKōvūr mēl-ellai[1] [|*]
67 Kōvūr=ttachcha=ṇilattukkum Kōvūr=kKāviḍiy-ōḍaikku[m*] mēṟkun=[*]
68 teṟk=iṉṉum ivv-ūr=pPugaiyuṉṉiy=eṉṉum nilattkku mē-
69 ṟkum [|*] teṟk=iṉṉum ivv-ellaiyē kiḻakku nōkki=ppōy i-ṉṉilat-
70 tukku teṟk=iṉṉum Pugaiyuṉṉiy=eṉṉum nilattukku mēṟkum [|*] te-
71 ṟk=iṉṉum mēṟk=iṉṉum Puṉgaiyuṉṉikku=ppāyum vāykkāliṉ mēlaiy-a-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

72 raikkālil nāṯṯukkāl-āga aṭṭi=kkiḍanda śiṟu-varambukku vaḍakkum [|*] iṉṉum ivv-
arai-
73 kkālilēy mēṟku nāṯṯukkāl-āga aṭṭi=kkiḍanda śiṟu-varambukku mēṟkum [|*] iṉṉum
74 i-nnāṯṯukkālukkēy teṟku varamb-āga aṭṭi=kkiḍanda varambukku vaḍakkum [|*]
iṉṉu-
75 m ivv-araikkāliṉ mēl-varambukku mēṟkum [|*] iṉṉum ivv-araikkā-
76 liṉ teṟkil=pPugaiyuṉṉiy-araikkālukku mēṟkum [|*] iṉṉum ida-
77 ṉ teṟkil Kōvūr=kkuśava-nilaṉ oru-māv-araikku mēṟkum [|*] idaṉ teṟkil
78 oru-māv-araikku mēṟkum [|*] idaṉ teṟkil ōḍaiyil [2]naḍuvukku=tteṟkum [*] iṉ-
79 ṟum i-kKōvūr ellaikku mēṟkum [|*] teṟk=iṉṉum Kōvūr veḷḷāḷaṉ A-
80 raiśūr[3] Maṟiyāḍi[4] oru-māvukku mēṟkum [|*] idaṉ teṟkil ōḍai naḍuvukku=tteṟkum [|*]
i-
81 vv-ōḍaiyē teṉ-kiḻakku nōkki=ppōy mēṟ[5]-Paḷḷavāykkāl ivv-ō-

Fifth Plate; First Side.

82 ḍaikkēy viḻunda iḍattukku mēṟkum [|*] iṉṉum mēṟ-Paḷḷavāykkāliṉ teṉ-
83 karaikku=tteṟkum Kōvūr Mēlpaḷḷattu mēl-varambukku mēṟkum [|*] ivv-ūr Mē-
84 lpaḷḷattu veḷḷāḷaṉ Uṟāppaḷi[6] Pākkaraṉ araikkālil vaḍa-varambukku va-
85 ḍakku[m*] [|*] ivv-araikkāliṉ mēlai ōḍaiyiṉ naḍuvukkum veḷḷāḷaṉ Pa-
86 ramēśvaraṉ Naṟaiyūr araikkālukku mēṟkum [*] ivv-ōḍaiyiṉ naḍu-[7]

[1] The letters *mēlellai*, written at the end of this line, are in bigger characters.

[2] The letter *ḍu* almost encircles the previous letter in *naḍuvukku*.

[3] The *ai* sign of *rai* is written at the end of the previous line.

[4] Before *ḍi* in *Maṟiyāḍi* the letter *ṭ* has been entered and erased.

[5] The letters *ṟpa* in *mēṟpaḷḷa* are written over an erasure.

[6] The reading given in *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, text-lines 195 and 276 is *Uṟuppaḷi-ppākkōṉ*. The plate clearly reads *ṟā*, not *ṟu*. It being a double name it has to be read as given in our text.

[7] The letter *ḍu* almost encircles the previous letter.

v,a.



v,b.



vi,a.

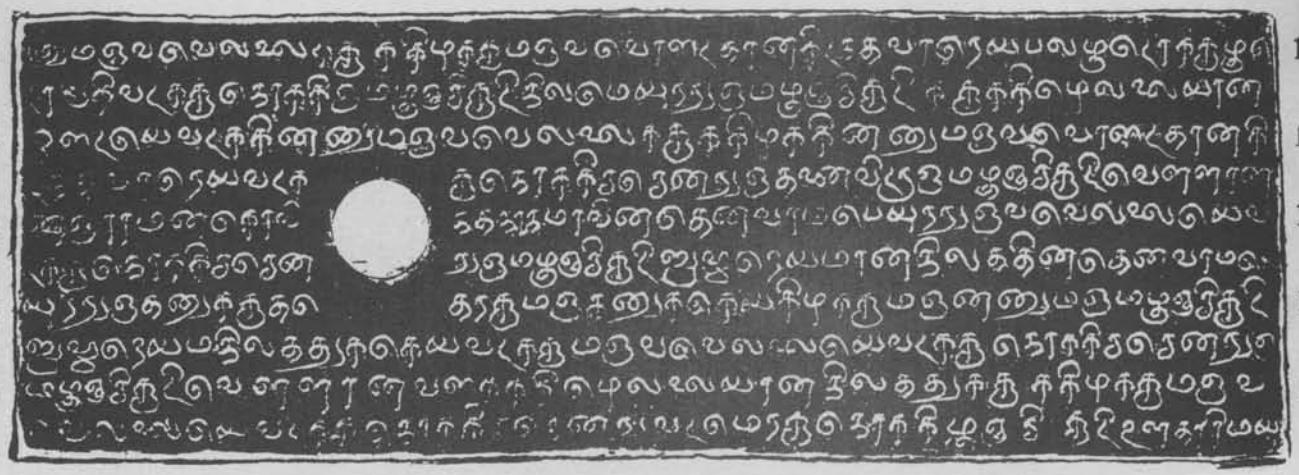


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SCALE : ONE-HALF.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

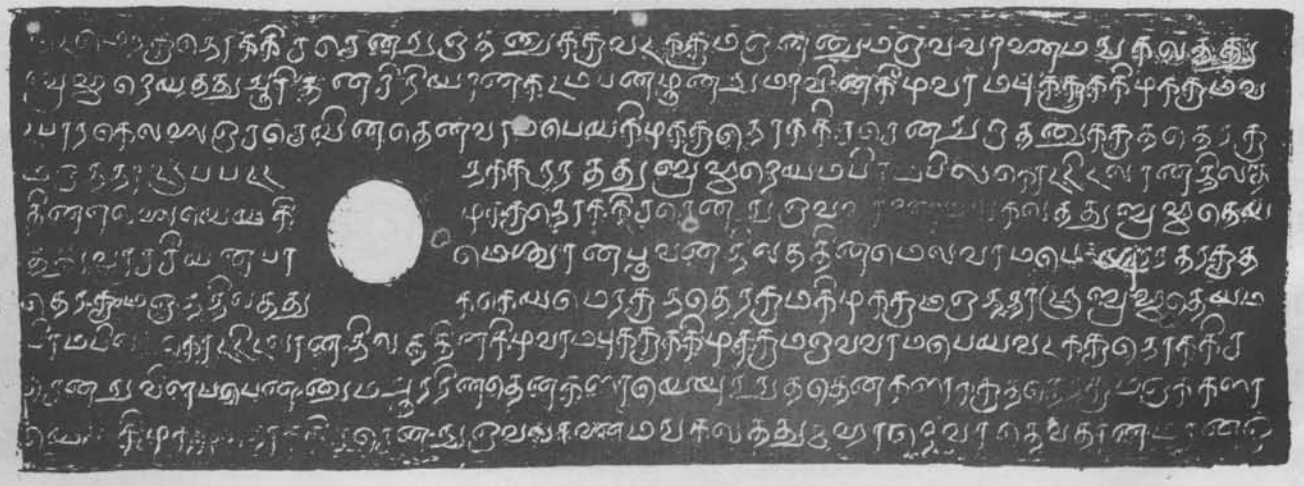
vi,b.



vii,a.



vii,b.



87 vukku mēṟkum [*] Kōvūr veḷḷāḷaṉ-Aiyyāṟaṉ Śēndaṉ araikkāliṉ
88 kottattu ivv-ōḍaikkē mēṟkum [|*] ivv-araikkālukku=tteṟku-
89 m [*] Mēlpaḷḷa-nilattiṉ kottattu ivv-ōḍaikkēy mēṟkum [|*] ivv-ō-
90 ḍai[1] Eṟivaṭṭi-vāykkālukkēy viḷunda iḍattuku mēṟkum [|*] ivv-Eṟivaṭṭi-vāykkā-
91 lukkē mēṟkum [*] iṉṉum ivv-Eṟivaṭṭi-vāykkālukkēy teṟkum [|*] ivv-E-

Fifth Plate ; Second Side.

92 ṟivaṭṭi-vāykkālukkē mēṟkum [||*] Teṉpāṟk-ellai ivv-Eṟivaṭṭi-vā-
93 ykkālukku vaḍakkum [|*] ivv-Eṟivaṭṭi-vāykkālē mēṟku nōkki=chche-
94 ṉṟu i-vvāykkālaiy-ūḍaṟuttu=tteṉ-karaikkēy=ēri teṟk=iṉṉu-
95 m ivv-Āṉaimaṅgalattu brahmadēyattu=ppaḍugai vēli nila-
96 ttiṉ mēl-ellaiyē śeṉṟu te[ṉ]-[3]maḍalāy=kkiḍanda ōḍaik-
97 ku mēṟkum [|*] ivv-ellaiyē [t]eṟku nōkki=chcheṉṟu mēṟk=i-
98 ṉṉum ivv-ōḍaikkēy vaḍakkum [|*] iṉṉum ivv-ōḍaikku
99 vaḍakku nōkkiy=Eṟivaṭṭi-vāykkālu[k]kēy=uṟṟ=aḍaṟku kiḻakkum [|*] ivv-Eṟivaṭṭi-
100 vāykkālaiy=ūḍaṟuttu vaḍa-karaiyēy=ēṟi i-vvāykkāliṉ vaḍa-karaiyē[3]
101 mēṟku nōkki=chcheṉṟu i-vvāykkālukku vaḍakkum [|*] ivv-ellaiyēy

Sixth Plate ; First Side.

102 mēṟku nōkki=chcheṉṟu i-vvāykkāl tāṉ kiḍandavāṟē mēṟku nōkki i-ṉṉāṭṭu-p-
103 Paṭṭaṉa-kkūṟṟattu brahmadēvam Śīvaḷaiykuḍiyil nilaṉ nāṉ-māvil vaḍa-varam-
bēy=uṟ-
104 ṟu i-vvarambē mēṟku nōkki=chcheṉṟu ivv-ellaikku vaḍakkum [|*] ivv-ellai-
105 yē[4] mēṟku nōkki=chcheṉṟu Paḷaviḷapp-āṉa ōḍaiyēy=uṟṟu ivv-ellai-
106 kku vaḍakkum [||*] Mēlpāṟk-ellai vaḍakku nōkki Nāṭṭuppōkku=ttalai-
107 vāyar veṭṭappēṟṟukku=kkiḻakkum [|*] vaḍakk=iṉṉum i-ṉṉāṭṭu=pPaṭṭa-
108 ṉa-kkūṟ[ṟ*]attu Muñjikuḍi nilattiṉ kīḻ-ellaiy-āṉa ōḍaiyēy=uṟṟu-iv-
109 v-ōḍaiyiṉ naḍuvēy vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṉṟu ivv-ōḍaiy=uḷppaḍa ivv-ō-
110 ḍaikku=kkiḻakkum [|*] ivv-ōḍai tāṉ kiḍandavāṟēy vaḍakku nōkki i-mMuñjiku-
111 ḍi nilamēy=uṟṟu i-mMuñjikuḍikku=kkīḻ[5]-ellaiy-āṉa ōḍaiyēy=uṟṟu vaḍakk-iṉ

Sixth Plate ; Second Side.

112 ṉum ivv-ellaikku=kkiḻakkum [|*] ivv-ōḍai tāṉ kiḍandavāṟēy pala muḍokkum[6]-u-
113 ḍoṅgi vaḍakku nōkki i-mMuñjikuḍi nilamēy=uṟṟu i-mMuñjikuḍikku=kkīḻ-ellaiy-āṉa
114 ōḍaiyē vaḍakk=iṉṉum ivv-ellaikku=kkiḻakk=iṉṉum ivv-ōḍai tāṉ ki-
115 ḍandavāṟēy vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṉṟu iḍaṉai viṭṭu i-mMuñjikuḍi veḷḷāḷa-
116 ṉ Irāmaṉ Gōvindaṉ nāṉmāviṉ teṉ-varambēy=uṟṟu ivv-ellaiyē va-

[1] The *ai* sign of *ḍai* is written at the end of the previous line.
[2] Read *maḍalāy*.
[3] At the end of line 100 and at the beginning of line 101 there is unwritten space for one or two letters. It is not clear if some letters were written and erased.
[4] The *ē* sign of *yē* is entered at the end of the previous line.
[5] Read *=kkīḻ-*.
[6] *Muḍokku* and *muḍoṅgi* are perhaps mistakes for *muḍakku* and *muḍaṅgi*.

117 ḍakku nōkki=chcheṉṟu i-mMuñjikuḍi brahmadēyam-āṇa nilattiṉ teṉ-varambē-
118 y=uṟṟu idaṉukku=tteṟkum [|*] idaṉukkēy kiḻakkum [|*] iṉṉum i-mMuñjikuḍi
119 brahmadēyam nilattukkēy vaḍakkum [|*] ivv-ellaiyē vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṉṟu
120 mMuñjikuḍi veḷḷāṉ-vagai=kkiḻ-ellaiy-āṇa nilattukku=kkiḻakkum [|*] iv-
121 v-ellaiyē vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṉṟu vaḍa-mēṟku nōkki Muñjikuḍi Ūdārimaya-

Seventh Plate; First Side.

122 kkal=eṉṉum nilamēy=uṟṟu i-ṉṉilattiṉ kīḻ-varambukku=kkiḻakkum [|*] idaṉ vaḍa-
123 varambēy mēṟku nōkki=chcheṉṟu vaḍa-varambukku vaḍakku[m*|] i-chcheyiṉ mālai-ppa-
124 ṟaiyōḍai vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṉṟu ivv-ōḍaikku=kkiḻakkum [|*] ivv-ōḍaiyē vaḍa-
125 kku nōkki=chcheṉṟu ivv-Āṉaimaṅgalattukku=ppāya=kkalliṉa[1] Rāja-
126 rājaṉ-vāykkālēy=uṟṟu i-vvāykkālaiy=ūḍa[ṟu*]ttu vaḍa-karaikkēy=ēṟi
127 ivv-Āṉaimaṅgalattu brahmadēyattu=kKālavāy=eṉṉum nilatti-
128 ṉ kīḻ-varambukku=kkiḻakkum [|*] vaḍakku nōkki=chcheṉṟu[m*] kiḻakku nōkki=chche-
129 ṉṟu[m*] ivv-Āṉaimaṅgalattu brahmadēyattu=kKiḻāṉ[2] Kiḻāṉ kāṟ-cheyiṉ teṉ-va-
130 rambēy=uṟṟu=tteṉ-kiḻakku nōkki=chcheṉṟu idiṉiṉṟu vaḍa-kiḻakku nōkkiyum
131 kiḻakku nōkkiyum śeṉṟa ellaikku=tteṟkum kiḻakkum [|*] idaṉ vaḍa-varambēy

Seventh Plate; Second Side.

132 vaḍa-mēṟku nōkki=chcheṉṟu idaṉukku vaḍakkum [|*] iṉṉum ivv-Āṉaimaṅgalattu
133 brahmadēyattu Āritan Śiṟiyāṉ Kaḍambaṉ mūṉṟu-māviṉ kīḻ-varambukku=kkiḻakkum [|*] Va-
134 ḍapāṟk-ellai i-chcheyiṉ teṉ-varambēy kiḻakku nōkki=chcheṉṟu idaṉukku=tteṟku-
135 m [|*] i-nnāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṉa-kkūṟṟattu brahmadēyam Pirambil Koṭṭiḍal-āṇa nilat-
136 tiṉ ellaiyēy kiḻakku nōkki=chcheṉṟu ivv-Āṉaimaṅgalattu brahmadēya-
137 ttu Vāchchiyaṉ Paramēśvaraṉ Pūvaṉ nilattiṉ mēl-varambēy[3]=uṟṟ=adaṟku=t-
138 teṟkum [|*] i-nnilattukkēy mēṟkuṉ=teṟkum kiḻakkum [|*] i-nnāṭṭu brahmadēyam
139 Pirambil Koṭṭiḍal-āṇa nilattiṉ kīḻ-varambukku=kkiḻakkum [|*] i-vvarambēy vaḍakku nōkki=ch-
140 cheṉṟu Viḻapp=eṉṉum āṟṟiṉ teṉ-karaiyēy=uṟṟu=tteṉ-karaikku=tteṟkum [|*] i-kkarai-
141 yē[4] kiḻakku nōkki=chcheṉṟu ivv-Āṉaimaṅgalattu Mahādēvar dēvadāṉam-āṇa o-

Eighth Plate; First Side.

142 ru-māv-araiyiṉ mēl-varambēy=uṟṟu i-vvarambukku mēṟkum [|*] i-vvarambēy teṟku
143 nōkki i-ttēvar dēvadaṉam-āṇa Muḻḻivaravaiyiṉ[5] mēl-varambēy=uṟṟu i-
144 vvarambukku mēṟkum [|*] i-vvarambē teṟku nōkkiyuṉ=kiḻakku nōkkiyuṉ=che-
145 ṉṟu i-ttēvar kuḻamēy=uṟṟu i-ttēvar kuḻattukku=ppāyum vāykkā-

[1] The reading *pāykkaliṉ* given in *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV, is due to the mistake of taking *ya* and *ṉa* for *y* and *ṉ*. In so doing, the sense is obscured.

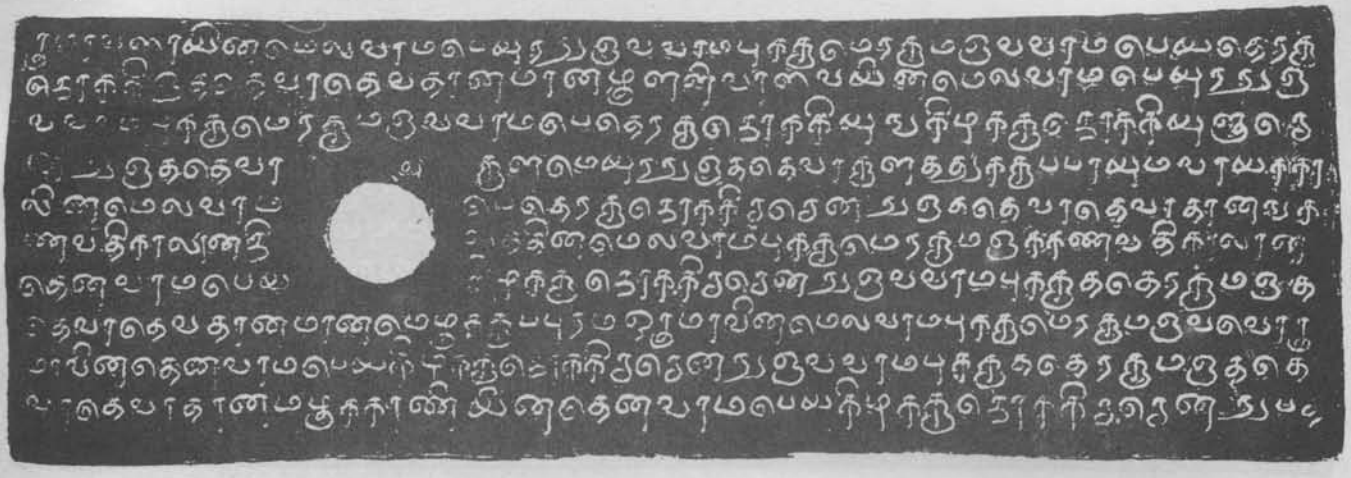
[2] A letter has been entered and erased after *-kki*.

[3] The letters *bēyu* of *bēy=uṟṟ-* are written over an erasure.

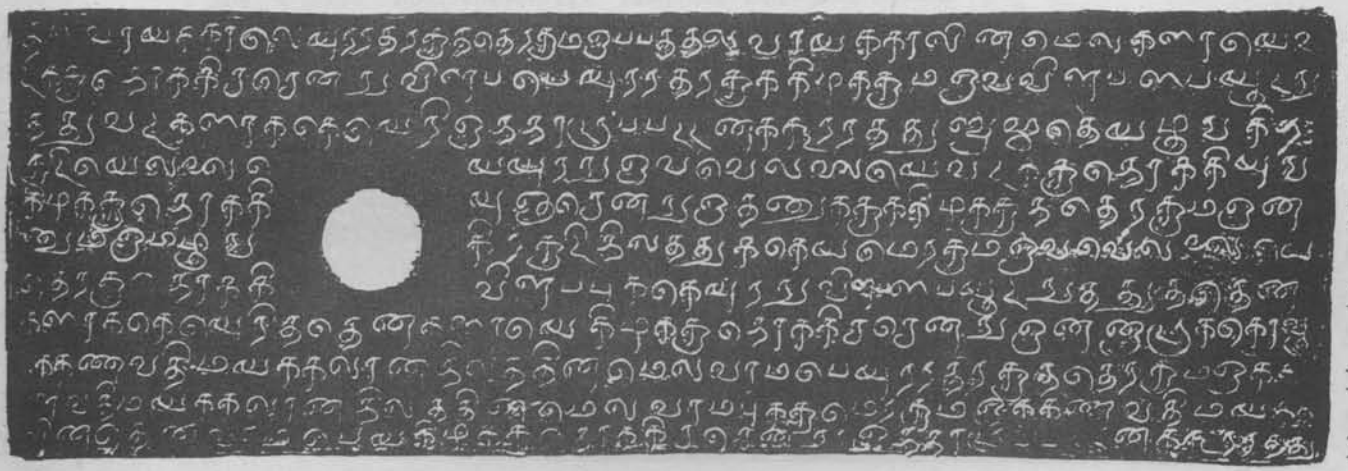
[4] After *yē*, a letter has been entered and erased.

[5] This proper name may also be read *Muḻḻivāvai*.

viii,a.



viii,b.



ix,a.



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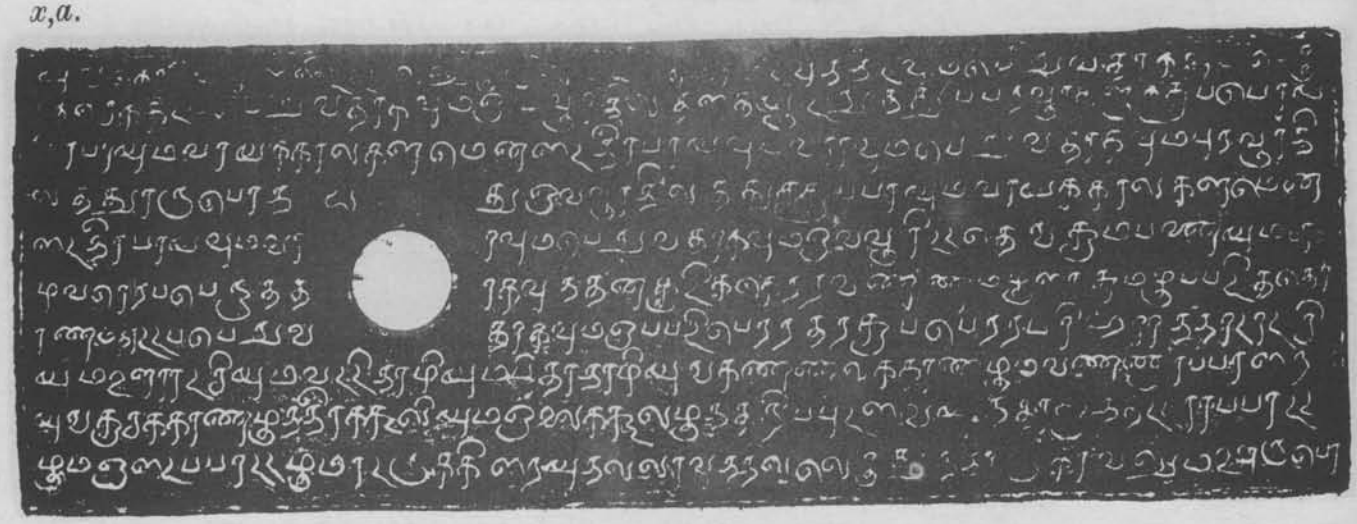
SCALE : ONE-HALF.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

ix,b.



x,a.



x,b.



146 liṉ mēl-varambē teṟku nōkki=chcheṉṟu i-ttēvar dēvadānaṅ=Ka-
147 ṇavadikāl-āṇa nilattiṉ mēl-varambukku mēṟkum [।*] i-kKaṇavadikāl-āṇa
148 teṉ-varambēy kiḻakku nōkki=chcheṉṟu i-vvarambukku=tteṟkum [।*] i-t-
149 tēvar dēvadāṇam-āṇa Meḻukkuppuṟam oru-māviṉ mēl-varambukku mēṟkum [।*] ivv-oru-
150 māviṉ teṉ-varambēy kiḻakku nōkki=chcheṉṟu i-vvarambukku=tteṟkum [।*] i-ttē-
151 var dēvardānam mukkāṇiyiṉ teṉ-varambēy kiḻakku nōkki=chcheṉṟu Pat-

Eighth Plate, Second Side.

152 tal-vāykkālēy=uṟṟ=adaṟku=tteṟkum [।*] i-pPattal-vāykkāliṉ mēl-karaiyē va-
153 ḍakku nōkki=chcheṉṟu Viḻappēy=uṟṟ=adaṟku=kkiḻakkum [।*] i-vViḻappaiy=ūḍaṟu-
154 ttu vaḍa-karaikkēy=ēṟi i-nnāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṟṟattu brahmadēya[m*] Mūṅgiṟ-[1]
155 kuḍiy=ellaiyēy=uṟṟu ivv-ellaiyē vaḍakku nōkkiyuṅ=
156 kiḻakku nōkkiyuṅ=cheṉṟu idaṇukku=kkiḻakkun=teṟkum [।*] iṉ-
157 ṇum i-mMūṅgiṟkuḍi nilattukkēy mēṟkum [।*] ivv-ellaiyē
158 teṟku nōkki Viḻappukkēy=uṟṟu Viḻappaiy[2]=ūḍaṟuttu=tteṉ
159 karaikkēy=ēṟi=tteṉ-karaiyē kiḻakku nōkki=chcheṉṟu i-nnāṭṭu=kKōvū-
160 r=kKaṇavadimayakkal-āṇa nilattiṉ mēl-varambēy=uṟṟ=adaṟku=tteṟkum [।*] i-kKa-
161 ṇavadimayakkal-āṇa nilattiṉ mēl-varambukku mēṟkum [।*] i-kKaṇavadimayakka-
162 liṉ teṉ-varambēy kiḻakku nōkki=chcheṉṟu i-nnāṭṭu=[pPaṭṭa]ṇa-kkūṟṟattu

Ninth Plate; First Side.

163 brahmadēya[m*] Nallūrchchērikku=ppāyum vāykkālaiy=uṟṟ=adaṟku=tteṟkum [।*] i-v-
164 vāykkāliṉ teṉ-karaiyēy kiḻakku nōkki=chcheṉ(ṉ)ṟu i-nnāṭṭu=kKōvūr
165 veḷḷāḷaṉ Uṟāppaḷi Pākkaran=oru-māviṉ teṉ-varambēy=uṟṟu i-tteṉ-
166 varambēy kiḻakku nōkki=chcheṉṟu Kōvūr muṉ=ṟuḍaṅgiṇa tachchaṉ-ṉilattukkēy=u-
167 ṟṟ=adaṟku=tteṟkum [॥*] Āga ivv-iśaitta peru-nāṉg-ellaiyilum=agappaṭṭa nīr-nilaṇu-
168 m puṇśeyum ūrum ūr-irukkai[yu*]ṅ=kuḻamum Śrī-kōyilgaḻum paṟai-chchēri-
169 yuṅ=kammāṉ-śēriyuñ=chuḍukāḍum peṟuvad-āgavum [।*] ivv-ūr maṇaiyum ma-
170 ṇai-ppaḍappaiyuṅ=kaḍai[yu]ṅ=kaḍai-tteruvum maṉṟuṅ=kaṉṟu-mēy-pāḻuṅ=ku-
171 ḻamuṅ=koṭṭagāramuṅ=kiḍaṅguṅ=kēṇiyum puṟṟun=teṟṟiyuṅ=kāḍum pīḍiligaıyuṅ=[ka]-
172 ḻarum uvarum āṟum āṟ-iḍu-paḍugaiyum ōḍaiyum uḍaippum mīṉ-payil-paḻḻamun=tēṉ-pa-
173 yil podumbu[3][m*] mē[।*]-nōkkiya maramum kīḻ-nōkkiya kiṇarum uḻḻiṭṭu nīr pūśi ne-

Ninth Plate; Second Side.

174 ḍum-paramb=eṟindu uḍumb=[4]ōḍiy=āmai tavaḻndad=evvagai[4]-ppaṭṭadum uṇṇilam=o-
175 ḻiv-iṉṟi=kkārāṇmai mīyāṭchiyu[m*] migudi=kkuṟaiyum=uḻḻaḍaṅga ippaḍi peṟṟada-
176 ṟku=ppeṟṟa vyavasthai [॥*] i-ṉṉilattukku nīrkk=īndavāṟu[5] vāykkāl kutti=p-

[1] The reading *brahmadēyamuṅ=Kiṟaḷkuḍi* in *A. S. of S. I.*, Vol. IV (l. 265, p. 212) is a mistake. That the name of the village is *Mūṅgiṟkuḍi* is evident from line 157.

[2] The letters *ḷap* are written in smaller characters after erasing a letter which was probably *ḷa*.

[3] The letters *mbu* are faintly marked over an erasure.

[4] The letters after *bōḍi* and *gai* are written over an erasure.

[5] This is a variant of *iśainda°* or *iyainda°*.

177 pāyttavum vāravum viḍavum peṟuvad āgavum [*] i-ṉṉilattukku-
178 ppāyum vāykkālgaḷ mēṇaḍai nīr pāyavum vāravum peṟuva
179 ḍ-āgavum [*] i-vvāykkālgaḷ aṉṉiyar kuṟaṅg-aṟuttu-kkuttavum
180 vilaṅg-aḍaikkavuṅ-kuṟṟēttam paṇṇavuṅ-kūḍai-nīr-iṟaikkavum
181 peṟādad[1]-āgavuñ-cheṇṇīr-ppoduviṇai śeyyādad-āgavum [*] a-ṉṉīr-aḍaittu-ppā-
182 chcha[2]-ppeṟuvad-āgavuñ-chuṭṭ-ōṭṭāl māḍa-māḷigaiy-eḍukka-ppeṟuvad-āgavun-
183 turavu-kiṇaṟu iḷichcha-ppeṟuvad-āgavuṅ-kāvu teṅg-iḍa-ppeṟuvad-āgavun-damana[ka]-
184 mu[m*] maruvum-iruvēḷiyuñ-cheṇbagamuñ-cheṅgaḷunīrum māvum palāvuṅ-kamugum
paṇai

Tenth Plate; First Side.

185 yuṅ-koḍiyum-uḷḷiṭṭa pall-uruvil payaṉ-maram-iḍavun-naḍavum peṟuvad-āgavum [*] peṟu-
186 ñ-chekk-iḍa-ppeṟuvad-āgavum [*] ivv-ūr nilattaiy-ūḍaṟuttu-ppuṟav-ūrgaḷukku-ppōy
187 nīr pāyum vāykkālgaḷ mēṇaḍai nīr pāyavum vāravum peṟuvad-āgavum [*] puṟav-ūr ni-
188 lattūḍu pōndu ivv-ūr nilattukku-ppāyum vāykkālgaḷ mēṇa-
189 ḍai nīr pāyavum vāravum peṟuvad-āgavum [*] ivv-ūr-iṭṭa teṅgum paṇaiyum ī-
190 ḷavar-ēṟa-ppeṟādad-āgavun-taṉ kuḍikk-ēṟṟa-vaṇṇam muraiśum muppaḍi-ttō-
191 ṟaṇa[mu*]m nāṭṭa-ppeṟuvad-āgavum [*] ippaḍi peṟṟaḍaṟku-ppeṟṟa parihāran-nāḍāṭchi-
192 yum ūrāṭchiyum vaṭṭi-nāḷiyum pidā-nāḷiyuṅ-kaṇṇāla-kkāṇamum vaṇṇāra-ppāṟai-
193 yuṅ-kuśa-kkāṇamun-nīr-kkūliyum ilai-kkūlamun-taṟi-ppuḍavaiyun-taragun-taṭṭār-
ppāṭṭa-
194 mum iḍai-ppāṭṭamum-āṭṭukk-iṟaiyu[m*] nallāvun-nallerudun-nāḍu-kāvalum ŭḍupō-

Tenth Plate; Second Side.

195 kkum viṟpiḍiyum[3] vālamañjāḍiyum ulgum[3] ōḍa-kkūliyum maṇṟupāḍum mā-
196 viṟaiyun-tīyeriyum īḷam-pūṭchiyum kūtti-kālum uḷḷiṭṭu-kkō-ttoṭṭ-uṇ-
197 ṇappālad-evvagaippaṭṭaduṅ-kō-kkoḷḷādēy paḷḷichchandattukkē-[4]
198 y peṟuvad-āgavum [*] ippaḍi peṟṟa vyavasthaiyum parihāramum
199 peṟṟa i-anilaṅ-kārāṇmai mīyāṭchiyu[m*] migudi-kkuṟaimaiyum-uḷḷa-
200 ḍaṅga-pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṟṟattu Nāgapaṭṭaṇattu-kKaḍārat-araiyaṉ eḍuppi-
201 kkiṟṟa Chūḷāmaṇipaṇma-vihārattu-ppaḷḷikku-ppaḷḷichchandam-i-
202 ṟaiy-iliy-āga-kkuḍutta i-ṉṉāṭṭu Āṇaimaṅgalam paḷḷichchanda iṟaṅgal-u-
203 ḷpaḍa yāṇḍu irubatt-oṉṟāvadu-mudal piḍi śūḷndu piḍāgai naḍandu kallu-
204 ṅ-kaḷḷiyu[m*] nāṭṭi aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-va-

Eleventh Plate; First Side.

205 ḷanāṭṭu-pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṟṟattu nāṭṭōm nāṭṭārōḍum uḍa-ṉiṉṟu piḍi śūḷndu piḍāgai naḍandu
kal
206 luṅ-kaḷḷiyu[m*] nāṭṭi aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttēṉ puravuvari Kaḷḷikkuḍaiyāṉ Aṇaiyaṉ

[1] The *e* sign of *pe* is marked at the end of the previous line.
[2] Insert *y* before *chcha* and read *pāychcha*.
[3] For a note on these words see above, p. 215.
[4] The *k* of *kē* is written at the beginning of the next line.

xi,a.



xi,b.



xii,a



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SCALE : ONE-HALF.

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xii,b.



xiii,a.



xiii,b.



207 Taḷikkuḷavaṉēṉ=ivaiy=eṉṉ=eḷutt=eṉṟum [|*] ivv-Āṉaimaṅgalam piḍi śūḻn-
208 du piḍāgai naḍakkiṟapōdu āṇaiy=ēṟi i-[ṉ*]ṟāṭṭārōḍum uḍa-piṟaṟ=ellai
209 terittu=kkāṭṭiṉēṉ ivv-Āṉaimaṅgalatt=irukkum veḷḷāḷaṉ Kōṉ Put-
210 taṉēṉ=ivaiy=eṉṉ=eḷutt=eṉṟum [|*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḻndu piḍāgai naḍandu
211 aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkū-
212 ṟṟattu brahmadē[ya*]ṉ=Kadambaṉūr sabhaiyōm ivargaḷ śolla ivv-ūr maddhyasthaṉ Muppattiru-
213 vaṉ Yaḻñan-āṇa Kaṟpagāditteṉēṉ=ivaiy=eṉṉ=eḷutt=eṉṟum i-kKaḍambaṉūrār śo-
214 lla ivv-ūr Vaikhānasaṉ Nārāyaṇaṉ Dāmōdaraṇēṉ=ivaiy=eṉṉ=eḷutt=eṉ-

Eleventh Plate; Second Side.

215 ṟum [|*] ippaḍi piḍāgai naḍandu piḍi śūḻndu aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm
216 Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṟṟattu brahmadēyam Nāraṇama-
217 ṅgalattu sabhaiyōm ivv-ūr maddhyastaṉ[1] Irunūṟṟuvaṉ Uttaman-āṇa Bra-
218 hmamaṅgalyaṇēṉ=ivaiy=eṉṉ=eḷutt=eṉṟum [|*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḻndu aṟavō-
219 lai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkū-
220 ṟṟattu Vēlaṅguḍi Vēlaṅguḍaiyāṉ Nārāyaṇaṉ Oṟṟiyēṉ
221 ivaiy=eṉṉ=eḷutt=eṉṟum [|*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḻndu piḍāgai naḍandu a-
222 ṟṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṟṟa-
223 ttu brahmadēya[m*] Mūṅgiṟkuḍi sabhaiyōm ivv-ūr maddhyastaṉ[1] Kuṇava-Ṇa-
224 ndiy-āṇa Alaṅkārappiriyaṇēṉ=ivaiy=eṉṉ=eḷutt=eṉṟum [|*] ip-

Twelfth Plate; First Side.

225 paḍi piḍi śūḻndu piḍāgai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhā-
226 maṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṟṟattu Narimaṉṟattu ūrōm ūr[ā*]r śolla eḻu-
227 diṇēṉ ivv-ūr maddhyastaṉ[1] Aimbattiruvaṉ Viḍēlviḍugaṉēṉ ivai eṉ-
228 ṉ=eḷutt=eṉṟum [|*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḻndu piḍāgai naḍandu aṟavōlai
229 śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṟṟattu=ch-
230 Chāttamaṅgalatt=ūrōm ūrar[2] śolla eḻudiṇēṉ ivv-ūr Vē-
231 ṭṭkkōvaṉ=Ediraṉ Śāttan-āṇa Nānūṟṟuvapperuṅgōvēḷā-
232 ṉēṉ=ivaiy=eṉṉ=eḷutt=eṉṟum [|*] ippaḍi pi[ḍi*] śūḻndu piḍāgai naḍandu aṟa-
233 vōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṟṟat-
234 tu brahmadēyam Śannamaṅgalattu sabhaiyōm sabhaiyār śolla eḻudi[ṉēṉ*]

Twelfth Plate; Second Side.

235 ivv-ūr=kkaraṇattāṉ maddhyastaṉ[1] Durukkaṉ Kamudaṉēṉ ivaiy=eṉṉ=eḷu-
236 tt=eṉṟum [|*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḻndu piḍāgai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttō-
237 m Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṟṟattu brahmadēyam Koṭṭārakkuḍi sa-
238 bhaiyōm ivv-ūr=kkaraṇattāṉ maddhyastaṉ[1] Ūraṉ Chandiraśākharan-āṇa
239 Brahmamaṅgalyaṉēṉ ivaiy=eṉṉ=eḷutt=eṉṟum [|*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḻndu

[1] Read *°sthan.*
[2] Read *ūrār.*

240 piḍāgai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatri[ya*]śikhāmaṇi-vaḷa-
241 nāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṟṟattu=kKōvūr ūrōm ūrar[1] śolla eḷi(ḷu)diṇēṉ
242 ivv-ūr=kkaraṇattāṉ maddhyastaṉ[1] Aiyyaṉ-Aiyyaṇēṉ=ivaiy=eṉṉ=eḷutt=e-
243 ṉṟum [|*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḷndu piḍāgai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatri-
244 yaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṟṟattu Uttūr ūrōm ūrar[2] śolla[v]-e-

Thirteenth Plate ; First Side.

245 ḷudiṇēṉ ivv-ūr=kkaraṇattāṉ maddhyastaṉ[1] Nakkaṉ Muḷḷiyēṉ=ivaiy=eṉ-
246 ṉ=eḷutt=eṉṟum [|*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḷndu piḍāgai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍut-
247 tōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṟṟattu brahmadēyam Naṉṉimaṅ[ga*]-
248 lattu sabhaiyōm sabhaiyār śolla ivv-ūr=kkaraṇattāṉ maddhyastaṉ[1]
249 Kaṇṇaṉ Alaṅkārappiriyaṇēṉ=ivai=eṉṉ=eḷutt=eṉṟum [|*] i-
250 ppaḍi piḍi śūḷndu piḍāgai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriya-
251 śikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṟṟattu brahmadēyam Poruvanūr sabhai-[3]
252 yōm sabhaiyār śolla eḷudiṇēṉ ivv-ūr=kkaraṇattāṉ Vēṭkōva-
253 ṉ Mādēvaṉ Ūraṇēṉ=ivaiy=eṉṉ=eḷutt=eṉṟum [|*] ippaḍi pi[ḍi*] śūḷndu piḍā-
254 gai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-

Thirteenth Plate ; Second Side.

255 kkūṟṟattu Āḷaṅguḍi ūrōm ūr[ā*]r śolla eḷudiṇēṉ ivv-ūr=kkaraṇattāṉ Kā-
256 śyapaṉ Sūryya(ya[4])ṉ=Araṅgaṇēṉ ivai eṉṉ=eḷutt=eṉṟum [|*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḷndu pi-
257 ḍāgai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkū-
258 ṟṟattu=tTuṟaiyūr ūrōm ūr[ā*]r śolla eḷudiṇēṉ ivv-ūr=kkaraṇattā-
259 ṉ Bhāradvāji Tiritti Vaikundaṉ eḷutt=eṉṟum [|*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḷndu piḍā-
260 gai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu-[pPaṭ]-
261 ṭaṇa-kkūṟṟattu brahmadēyam Pirambil sabhaiyōm ivv-ūr-kkaraṇatt[ā*]ṉ maddhya-
262 sthaṉ Kuṇavaṉ Ṇandiy-āṇa Alaṅkārappiriyaṇēṉ ivaiy=eṉṉ=eḷutt=eṉṟu-
263 m [|*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḷndu piḍāgai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kaḍambaṅkuḍiy-
ūrō-
264 m ūr[ā*]r śolla eḷudiṇēṉ ivv-ūr=kkaraṇattāṉ maddhyasthaṉ Kuṇava[ṉ*] Ṇandiy-āṇa
Ala-

Fourteenth Plate ; First Side.

265 ṅkārappiriyaṇēṉ ivaieṉṉ=eḷutt=eṉṟum [|*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḷndu piḍāgai naḍandu aṟa-
266 vōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṟṟattu Śēndamaṅ-
267 galattu ūrōm ūrār śolla eḷudiṇēṉ ivv-ūr maddhyasthan Ūrāṉ Aiyyaṇē-
268 ṉ=ivai eṉṉ=eḷutt=eṉṟum [|*] ippaḍi pi[ḍi*] śūḷndu piḍāgai naḍandu aṟavōlai śe-
269 ydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṟṟa[ttu*]=chChiṟuchchēnda-
maṅga-
270 lattu Eṭṭi Valañjuḷiyaṉ Śaṅgaṇēṉ ivai eṉṉ=eḷutt=eṉṟum [|*] ippaḍi piḍi śū-
271 ndu piḍāgai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=

[1] Read °*sthaṉ*.
[2] Read *ūrār*.
[3] The *bh* of *bhai* is entered at the commencement of the next line.
[4] This letter is superfluous.

xiv,a.



xiv,b.



xv,a



N. P. Chakravarti.
Reg. No. 3910 E'35–425.

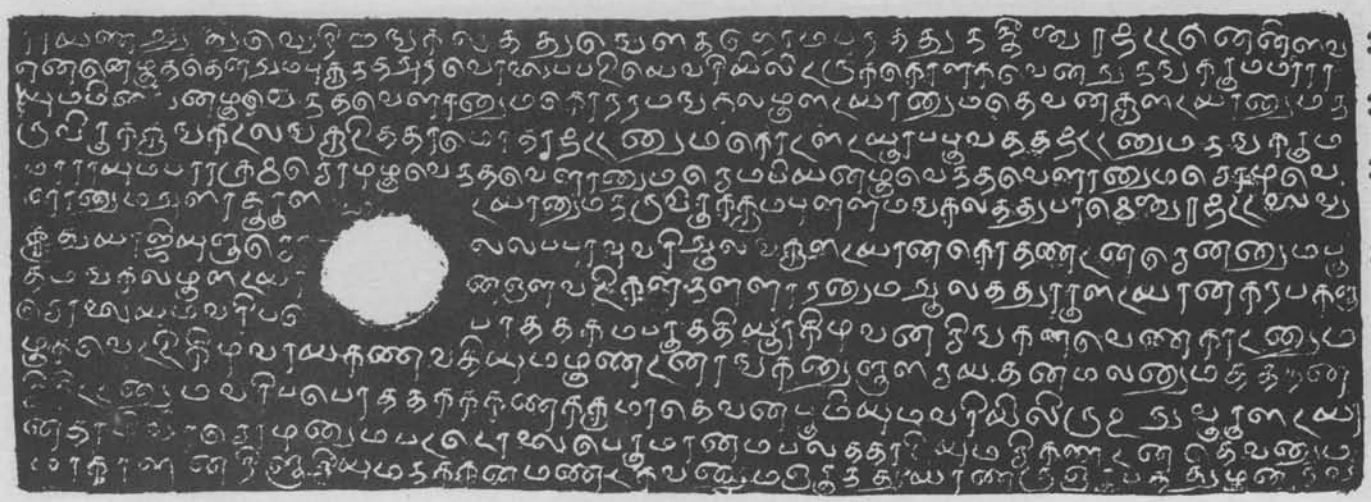
SCALE : ONE-HALF.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

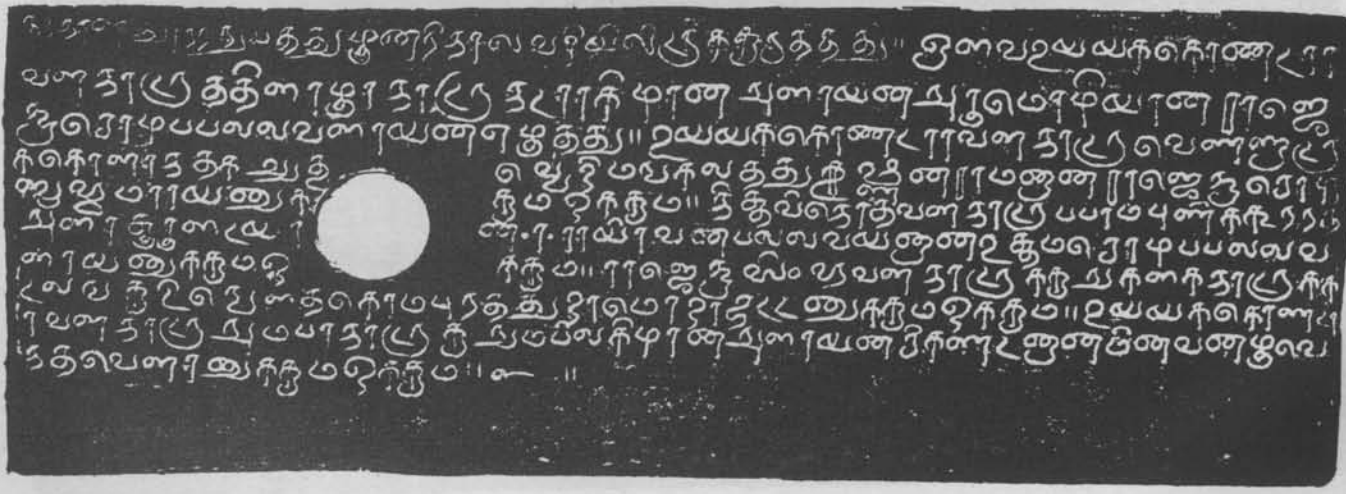
xv,b.



xvi,a.



xvi,b.



pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṟṟattu=kKuṟṟālatt=ūrōm ūrār śolla eḷudiṇēṉ ivv-ūr=kkaraṇattāṉ
Vēṭkōvaṉ Dēvaṉ Ūraṇēṉ=ivai eṉṉ=eḷutt=eṉṟum [*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḷndu piḍā-
gai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭi-[1]

Fourteenth Plate; Second Side.

ṉa-kkūṟṟattu=tTirunāvūr ūrōm ūrār śolla eḷudiṇēṉ ivv-ūr maddhyastha-
ṉ Śadurmugaṉ=Ara[ṅ]gattēṉ=ivai eṉṉ=eḷutt=eṉṟum [*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḷndu
piḍāgai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷaṇāṭ-
ṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṟṟattu brahmadēyam Uvarkkuḍi sabhaiyōm sabhaiyār śo-
lla eḷudiṇēṉ ivv-ūr=kkaraṇāttāṉ Vēṭkōvaṉ Mānāga[ṉ*] N-
ārāyaṇaṇēṉ=ivai eṉṉ=eḷutt=eṉṟum [*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḷndu pi-
ḍāgai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāma-
ṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṟṟattu Muñjikuḍi ūrōm ūrār śo-
lla eḷudiṇēṉ ivv-ūr=kkaraṇattāṉ Vēṭkōvaṉ Mānāgaṉ Kaṇṇa-
ṉēṉ=ivai eṉṉ=eḷutt=eṉṟum [*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḷndu piḍāgai naḍandu a-
ṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṟṟattu Ti-

Fifteenth Plate; First Side.

rukkaṇṇaṅkuḍi sabhaiyōm sabhaiyār śollav=eḷudiṇēṉ ivv-ūr=kkaraṇat-
tāṉ Vēṭkōvaṉ Atirāmaṉ Irubattunālvan-āgiya Muṇṇūṟṟuvaṇē-
ṉ=ivai eṉṉ=eḷutt=eṉṟum [*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḷndu piḍāgai naḍandu aṟavōlai
śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-k-
kūṟṟattu Kaḍambavalavāṭkai ūrōm ūrār śolla eḷudiṇēṉ i-
vv-ūr=kkaraṇattāṉ maddhyasthaṉ Ūrāṉ=Ūrāṇēṉ=ivai eṉṉ=eḷu-
tt=eṉṟum [*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḷndu piḍāgai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu
kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṟṟattu=
pPāḷaṅkoṟṟaṅkuḍi ūrōm ūrār śolla eḷudiṇēṉ ivv-ūr=kkaraṇattā-
ṉ maddhyasthaṉ Ūrāṉ=Ūrāṇēṉ=ivai eṉṉ=eḷutt=eṉṟum [*] ippaḍi piḍi śūḷn-
du piḍāgai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu-

Fifteenth Plate; Second Side.

pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṟṟattu Veṇkiḍaṅgil ūrōm ūr[ā*]r śolla eḷudiṇēṉ ivv-ūr=kkara-
ṇattāṉ maddhyasthaṉ Ūrā[ṉ*] Nakkaṇēṉ=ivai eṉṉ=eḷutt=eṉṟum [*] i-ppaḍi piḍi śūḷndu
piḍāgai naḍandu aṟavōlai śeydu kuḍuttōm ivv-Āṇaimaṅgalattu brahmadē-
yattu Āritaṉ Śiṟiyāṉ Kaḍambaṇēṉ=ivai eṉṉ=eḷutt=eṉṟum i-pparišu[2]-bBaṭṭā-
y niṉṟu piḍi naḍappittu aṟavōlai śeyvittēṉ Kshatriyaśikhāma-
ṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu=tTirunaṟaiyūr-nāṭṭu brahmadēyam śrī-Tuṅgamaṅgalattu=
tTūṟpil Śrīdhara-Bhaṭṭaṇēṉ=ivaiy=eṉṉ=eḷutt=eṉṟum [*] ippaḍi Bhaṭṭā[y*]
niṉṟu piḍi naḍappittu aṟavōlai śeyvittēṉ Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷa-
nāṭṭu Vēḷā-nāṭṭu=tTirunallūr-pPārkuḷattu=pPaṟpanābha-Bhaṭṭaṇēṉ=ivai eṉ-
ṉ=eḷutt=eṉṟum [*] i-pparišu Bhaṭṭāy niṉṟu [piḍi*] naḍappittu aṟavōlai śeyvittēṉ Ksha-
triyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu Vēḷā-nāṭṭu=tTirunallūr Pērēmapurattu Veṉ-

[1] This word is generally written *Paṭṭa°*. [2] Delete *b*.

308 ṇaiya-Bhaṭṭaṇēṉ=ivaiy=eṉṉ=eḷutt=eṉṟum [|*] i-pparisu Bhaṭṭāy niṉṟu pi-
309 ḍi naḍappittu aṟavōlai śeyvittēṉ Rājēndrasiṁha-vaḷanāṭṭu Śrī-Vīranā-

Sixteenth Plate; First Side.

310 rāyaṇa-chchaturvvēdimaṅgalattu Dvēdaigōmapurattu Nandīśvara-Bhaṭṭaṇēṉ=ivai
311 eṉṉ=eḷutt=eṉṟum [|*] pugunda aṟavōlaippaḍiyē variyil=iṭṭu=kkoḷgav=eṉṟu naṅ=
karumam=ārā-
312 yum Mīṇavaṉ-Mūvēndavēḷāṉum Koṟṟamaṅgalamuḍaiyāṉum Tēvaṉkuḍaiyāṉum na-
313 ḍuvirukkuṅ=Kaḍalaṅguḍi=dDāmōdara-Bhaṭṭaṉum Koṭṭaiyūr=pPūvatta-Bhaṭṭanum naṅ-
karuma-
314 m=ārāyum Parākramaśōḷa-Mūvēndavēḷāṉum Śembiyaṉ-Mūvēndavēḷāṉum Śōḷavē-
315 ḷāṉum Araiśūr-uḍaiyāṉum naḍuvirukkum Puḷḷamaṅgalattu Paramēśvara-Bhaṭṭa-sarvva-
316 kratuyājiyuñ=cholla=ppuravuvari Ālaṅguḍaiyāṉ Kōḍaṇḍaṉ Śēṇaṉum Pū-
317 damaṅgalamuḍaiyāṉ Iḷavaḍigaḷ Naḷḷāṟaṉum Ālattūr-uḍaiyāṉ Kaṟpagañ-
318 Chōlaiyum varippottagam Paruttiyūr-kiḻavaṉ Śiṅgaṉ Veṇkāḍaṉum
319 mugavetti Kīḻvāy Kaṇavadiyum Muṇḍaṉ=Araṅganuñ=Chaiyadaṉ=Amalaṉum Tattaṉ
320 Śikiṭṭaṉum varippottaga-kkaṇakku Mādēvaṉ Būmiyum variyilīḍu Uṟuvūr-uḍaiyā-
321 ṉ Tāḻi Vīraśōḻaṉum paṭṭōlai Perumāṉ=Ambalattāḍiyum Śīkaṇḍaṉ Dēvaṉum
322 Mākāḻaṉ=Ariñjiyum Nakkaṉ Maṇḍagavaṉum irundu **yāṇḍu irubattu-mūṉṟāva-**

Sixteenth Plate; Second Side.

323 **du nāḻ nūṟṟ-aṟubattu-mūṉṟināl** variyil-iṭṭu-kkuḍuttadu || Ivai[1] Uyyakkoṇḍār-
324 vaḷanāṭṭu=tTiraimūr-nāṭṭu Naḍār-kiḻāṉ Araiyaṉ Arumoḻiy-āṉa Rājē-
325 ndraśōḻa=pPallavaraiyaṉ eḷuttu || Uyyakkoṇḍār-vaḷanāṭṭu Veṇṇāṭṭu=
326 kKēraḷāntaka-chchaturvvēdimaṅgalattu Kṛishṇaṉ Rāmaṉ-āṉa Rājēndraśōḻa-
327 Brahmamār[ā*]yaṉukkum okkum || Nittavinōda-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPāmbuṇi-kkūṟṟat-
328 [tu*] Araiśūr-uḍaiyāṉ Īrāyiravaṉ Pallavayaṉ-āṉa Uttamaśōḻa-pPallava-
329 raiyaṉukkum okkum || Rājēndrasiṁha-vaḷanāṭṭu=kKuṟukkai-nāṭṭu=kKa-
330 ḍalaṅguḍi Dvēdaigōmapuṟattu Dāmōdara-Bhaṭṭaṉukkum okkum || Uyyakkoṇḍā-
331 r-vaḷanāṭṭu Ambar-nāṭṭu Kuṟumbil-kiḻāṉ Araiyaṉ Śīkaṇḍaṉ-āṉa Mīṇavaṉ Mūvē-
332 ndavēḷāṉukkum okkum || ๑ ||

TRANSLATION.

Sanskrit portion.

(L. 1) Hail! Prosperity!

(V. 1) May the arms of Śārṅgin (*i.e.*, Vishṇu) of the *harinīla*-blue body, which are resplendent with *śārṅga* and other weapons, which are marked with the *kāśmīra* ointment (smeared) on the surface of Lakshmī's two round breasts, whose golden bracelets glitter as they rub against the high summits of the whirling Mandara (*mountain*), (*and*) which protect the three worlds, increase greatly your prosperity!

[1] From this word onwards the writing is slightly different and the letters are more deeply cut. This portion might belong to the time of Rājēndra-Chōḻa I., while the previous portion might have been written at the time of Rājarāja I.

(V. 2) As long as the moon-crested deity (i.e. Śiva) sports with his consort on the Kailāsa mountain, as long as Hari (Vishṇu) performs meditative sleep (*yōga-nidrā*) on the serpent couch in the milk-ocean, and as long as the sun, the sole light of all the worlds, dispels the dense darkness of the world, so long, may the Chōḷa family protect from danger the circle of the whole earth.

(V. 3) From the Sun (*Ahimakara*), the sole eye of the whole world, was (born) Manu the first of kings; (then) was born his son Ikshvāku, whose footstool was licked by rows of diadems of kings. In his family was (born) king Māndhātṛi, who was a storehouse of virtues, who was equal to Dhātṛi (Brahman) and who justly ruled this earth (extending) as far as the Lōkālōka mountain.

(V. 4) His son was the heroic king named Muchukunda. As his son was born king Vaḷabha who was the sole crest jewel of the Kshatra (*i.e.* the Kshatriya race). In his family was born the illustrious king, who was widely renowned throughout the world as Śibi and whose two feet were worshipped by the whole host of kings.

(V. 5) Who, excepting Vyāsa, the best among poets, is able to describe the qualities of that profoundly virtuous king who preserved his own life (*only*) for the benefit of others ?

(V. 6) As a full moon to the ocean of that family, was born (*king*) Chōḷa, who was the repository of all arts (*kalā*) (just as the fullmoon is the repository of the sixteen *kalās*) and the kings born in whose family bore the name Chōḷa after his name.

(V. 7) Then came king **Rājakēsarin,** who conquered all (*his*) enemies. After him came **Parakēsarin,** who was bent on destroying the towns of hostile kings.

(V. 8) The name of Rājakēsarin and (*that*) of this Parakēsarin became alternately the order of kings born in their family.

(V. 9) In that family was born the lord of kings, Suraguru, who destroyed all (*his*) enemies, who was the standard of the Solar race, (*and*) who, having conquered in the battle-field even the unconquerable Mṛityu, acquired the unattainable epithet Mṛityujit.

(V. 10) In his family was born king Vyāghrakētu, who was a lion (*as it were*) to the elephants —(*his*) enemies. In that race was born the strong king Pañchapa (*who was*) the *Kalpa*-tree to (*his*) supplicants.

(V. 11) King **Karikāla,** (*the god of*) Death to his enemies, was born in that family. This (*king*) constructed embankments to the Kāvērī (*river*).

(V. 12) In his family was (*born*) **Kōchchaṁkaṇṇān** of well established fame, the bee at the lotus-feet of Śambhu (Śiva), (*and one*) whose feet were worshipped by all kings. In his family (*there*) was king **Kōkkiḷḷi** of clear intellect, the lord of prosperity, whose feet were worshipped by the crests of the whole host of kings.

(V. 13) In that family was born the victorious **Vijayālaya** of great strength, who conquered the entire surface of the earth (*and*) whose two lotus-like feet were brightened by the lustre of gems emanating from the region of the diadems of prime kings that prostrated before him.

(V. 14) From that king (*also* mountain) came forth **Āditya** (*also* Sun) of great splendour, who possessed (*mighty*) powers (*also* heat) and destroyed the dense darkness, *i.e.*, enemies.

(V. 15) From him, who was the sole abode of countless heaps of gems (*and*) who possessed enormous strength, rose for the benefit of the world, king **Parāntaka** with full glory, just as the moon does with all his rays, to give pleasure to the world, from the milk-ocean (which contains within it countless gems and huge aquatic animals).

(V. 16) Having conquered the earth right up to the Chakravāḷa (*mountain and*) protected the whole (*of it*) with peace, that sun to the darkness, *i.e.* the Kali age, founded various big towns

(*and*) brightened the ends of the quarters with (*his*) fame which was as (*white as*) the clouds of the autumn (*śarad*).

(V. 17) With the pure gold brought from all the quarters which were subdued by the prowess of his own arm, this banner of the solar race (*i.e.*, Parāntaka) covered the mansion of Indumauli (Śiva) at Vyāghrāgrahāra (*i.e.*, Chidambaram).

(V. 18) To that king, whose two feet were worshipped by all the rulers of men, were born three sons prosperous as Sutrāman (Indra) and resplendent as the three fires, the (*one*) called Rājāditya in this world, (*another*) named the glorious Gaṇḍarāditya (*and the third*) Ariñjaya, the valorous, whose name was famous throughout the world.

(V. 19) When king Parāntaka, who was pre-eminent in destroying the armies of (*his*) enemies (*and*) who was a follower of *dharma*, had gone to heaven after having protected the earth girdled by the ocean, there (*was*) his son known as **Rājāditya**, who was strong, (*and*) whose two feet were rubbed by the crests of hosts of kings : he became the lord of the earth.

(V. 20) That heroic Rājāditya, the ornament of the solar race having agitated in battle, the imperturbable **Kṛishṇarāja** along with his army, with his sharp arrows falling in all directions, while (*seated*) on the back of an excellant elephant, had his heart split by the thrusts of his (*i.e.* Kṛishṇarāja's) sharp arrows and mounting a celestial car went to the world of heroes (*vīralōka*) praised by the three worlds.

(V. 21) When Rājāditya (or the sun among kings) of great prowess (or splendour) had gone to give pleasure to the lotus-faces of heavenly damsels, his heroic brother of wide-spread fame, (*named*) **Gaṇḍarādityavarmman**, protected the whole earth dispelling the dense darkness, (*viz.*) all (*his*) enemies.

(V. 22) Having got a son named **Madhurāntaka** and (*having founded*) a big village after his own name in the country on the north bank of (*the river*) Kavērakanyā (*i.e.* Kāvērī), he (Gaṇḍarāditya) went to heaven for achieving the objects of (*that*) other world.

(V. 23) When that lord had gone to heaven, the heroic **Ariñjaya**, a very conflagration in (*consuming*) the forest of enemy kings, ruled the whole earth.

(V. 24) From Ariñjaya was born **Parāntaka**, (*who was*) equal (*in prowess*) to the destroyer of the (*three*) cities (*i.e.* Śiva), (*who was*) the crusher of the circle of enemy kings, (*and*) who, (*causing his*) subjects to be pleased by his good qualities, peacefully ruled the earth girdled by the ocean.

(V. 25) At the city named Chēvūra, he (Parāntaka) had the quarters filled with heaps of sharp and pointed arrows sent forth from his beautiful bow and caused to flow manifold rivers of blood springing from the high mountains, *i.e.* the enemies' elephants cut asunder by (*his*) sharp sword.

(V. 26) This lord of kings (rājēndra) begot (*two sons*), Āditya, otherwise called **Karikāla** and **Rājarāja**, the head-jewel of the solar race.

(V. 27) When that Parāntaka directed his attention to protect the world of gods (*i.e.*, died), **Āditya** justly carried out the protection of the world of men.

(V. 28) That young boy (Āditya), the light of the family of Manu, played sportively in battle with **Vīra-Pāṇḍya**, just as a lion's cub (*does*) with a rutting mad elephant proud of (*its*) strength.

(V. 29) When that chief of kings went to heaven, the son of Gaṇḍarāditya, (*i.e.*) king **Madhurāntaka**, he, of powerful arms and famous as Mahēndra (Indra), protected the earth which had the ocean for its girdle.

(V. 30) When that chief of the rulers of the earth passed away to protect the abode of the gods, the heroic **Rājarāja**, the light of the Chōḷa race, whose footstool was licked (*i.e.* rubbed)

by the glittering crests of all kings, bore the heavy burden of the earth on his arm which was surpassing the lustre of the body of Śēsha, the lord of serpents.

(V. 31) Conquering the kings of the Pāṇḍya, Tuḷu and Kēraḷa (*countries and*) **Siṁhaḷēndra** and **Satyāśraya** and others by the power of his arm and taking possession of their elephants, horses, gems, and kingdoms, he caused to glow all the ten quarters with (*his*) fame.

(V. 32) Having accomplished the conquest of the regions and made all kings tributary, that lord of kings, Rājarāja, lived happily in his town, honoured by (*his*) people, just as Indra, worshipped by the world, was in heaven.

(V. 33) As far as the mountain which has the glory of bringing forth the Sun, as far as the Southern ocean, as far as the mountain named Asta and as far as the lord of mountains (*i.e.*, the Himālaya) occupied by Śambhu (Śiva), the kings that were concerned in the protection of their own families sagaciously sought refuge in the pair of lotus-feet of Nityavinōda, in order to enjoy many pleasures.

(V. 34) Because that sovereign was liberal to, (*and*) in many ways the refuge of, the kings that sought his feet, the good men in this earth call him **Rājāśraya** of boundless magnanimity.

(Ll. 73 to 86) He, this **Rājakēsarivarman Rājarāja**, who had seen the other shore of the ocean of the collection of all sciences, whose foot-stool was made yellow by the cluster of rays (*emanating*) from many a gem set on the borders of the beautiful gold diadems worn by the entire circle of kings, gave, in the twenty-first year of his universal sovereignty,

to the Buddha residing in the surpassingly beautiful **Chūḷāmaṇivarma-vihāra**, of (*such*) high loftiness (*as had*) belittled the Kanakagiri (*i.e.* Mēru), which had been built—in the name of his father, by the glorious **Māravijayōttuṅgavarman**, who, by the greatness of his wisdom, had conquered the teacher of the gods, who was the sun to the lotus-forest (*viz.*) the learned men, who was the *Kalpa*-tree to supplicants, who was born in the **Śailēndra** family, who was the lord of the **Śrī-Vishaya** (*country*), who was conducting the rule of **Kaṭāha**, who had the *Makara* crest, (*and*) who was the son of **Chūḷāmaṇivarman** that had mastered all state-craft—at **Nāgī-pattana**, delightful (*on account of*) many a temple, rest-house, water-shed, and pleasure garden and brilliant with arrays of various kinds of mansions, (*situated*) in the division called Paṭṭana-kūṟṟa (*included*) in the big group of districts named **Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu**, which was the forehead-mark of the whole earth,

the village named **Aṇaimaṅgalam** (*which had its*) four boundaries defined by the circumambulation of the female elephant and (*which was situated*) in the division called Paṭṭana-kūṟṟa (*included*) in the same group of districts (*as had been named above*).

(Vv. 35-36) When that powerful (*Rājarāja*) had obtained divinity, his wise son, king **Madhurāntaka**, who ascended on his throne, caused an enduring edict (*to be made*) for this village, which had thus been granted by his father, the king-emperor, and ordered thus :—

(V. 37) As long as Śēsha, the lord of all serpents, holds the entire earth, so long may this *vihāra* last in (*this*) world with its endowment.

(V. 38) This lord of Kaṭāha of great valour, the abode of virtues, thus prays to all future kings :—

"Protect (*ye*) for ever this my charity."

(V. 39) In the delightful village called Koṭṭaiyūr, famed in this world, that intelligent Brāhman of stainless character named Anantanārāyaṇa, the follower of the wise, born in the spotless family of Vasishṭha, which was the abode of prosperity, composed this *praśasti*.

(Vv. 40-42) Of that king who was justly protecting the entire earth, who was invincible and who had subdued the whole host of hostile kings, the chief officer was the wise person called **Tilla-**

yāḷi, whose birth place in this earth was known as **Kāñchivāyil** and who was known in the world as Rājarāja-Mūvēndavēḷ: At his (*i.e.* the king's) injunction, he caused this edict to be neatly executed.

(Vv. 43-44) At the direction of that lord of Kaṭāha, Śrīmān Aṭikaḷ's son, who was well known as **Tuvavūravān Aṇukka**, who was modest, endowed with virtues, devoted to his master's concerns and of generous mind, caused to be made this lasting edict.

(Vv. 45-48) The most intelligent Rājarāja-Mahāchārya, otherwise called Vāsudēva, who, though born of Kṛishṇa, was not of black (*kṛishṇa*) conduct; the two sons of Kṛishṇa, called Śrīraṅga and Dāmōdara, who were the bees (*as it were*) at the lotus-feet of Kṛishṇa; and also the son of Vāsudēva, named Kṛishṇa, who had beautiful lotus-like eyes: and the son of Ārāvamṛita, called Purushōttama, of excellent speech (?), who was vying with Chitragupta in stamping (*i.e.* engraving) letters—these five artists, who were the forehead-marks of the Hōvya family and born in Kāñchīpura, wrote this eulogy.

(ll. 108f.) This edict was incised by us, the engraving sculptors of the prosperous (*city of*) Kāñchīpura in Jayaṅgoṇḍachōḷamaṇḍalam, *viz.*, Kṛishṇaṉ Vāsudēvaṉ *alias* Rājarājappērāchāryaṉ, Kṛishṇaṉ Tiruvaraṅgaṉ, Kṛishṇaṉ Dāmōdaraṉ, Vāsudēvaṉ Kṛishṇaṉ and Ārāvamirdu Purushōttamaṉ.

Tamiḷ portion.

(l. 1) Hail! Prosperity! (*This is the order of*) Kōnēriṉmaikoṇḍāṉ (*issued*) to the *nāṭṭār* (*i.e.*, the members of the Divisional Assembly) of Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam, a sub-division in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, the headmen of *brahmadēyas*, the representatives of the *ūr* in *dēvadānas*, *paḷḷichchanda*, *kaṇimuṟṟūṭṭu* and *veṭṭippēṟu* (villages) and the *nagaraṅgaḷilār* (*i.e.*, the body of merchants).

(l. 4) In the twenty-first year and ninety-second day of our (*reign*) when we were in the pavilion to the south of the palace of Rājāśrayan (*situated*) outside Taṉjāvūr, we having declared that, (*in order to meet*) the necessary requirements of the *paḷḷi* (*attached to*) the Chūḷāmaṇivarma-vihāra which is being built by the Kiḍāra king Chūḷāmaṇivarman at Nāgapaṭṭaṇam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, the income of eight thousand nine hundred and forty-three *kalam*, two *tūṇi*, (one) *kuṟuṇi* and one *nāḻi* of paddy accruing from the payment of land assessment on ninety-seven (*vēli*), two *mā*, one and a half *kāṇi*, one *mundirigai*; *kīḻ* (*i.e.* 1/320) of three *mā*, three *kāṇi*, and one *mundirigai* and *kīḻ* (*i.e.* 1/320) of half and two *mā* of land, inclusive of those that had ceased to be *paḷḷichchanda* and exclusive of those that had been removed in survey, which formed the village of Āṉaimaṅgalam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu shall be entered in the (*revenue*) register as a tax-free *paḷḷichchanda* from the twenty-first year (*of our reign*) and the taxes paid over to the *paḷḷi* in the Chūḷāmaṇivarma-vihāra which (*as aforesaid*) is being erected by the Kaḍāra king at Nāgapaṭṭaṇam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, (*this*) our order was written by Amudaṉ Tīrttakaraṉ, the headman of Viḷattūr in Āvūr-kūṟṟam (*a sub-division*) of Nittavinōda-vaḷanāḍu, who writes our orders, signed by the superintendents of our writs (*viz.*,) Kṛishṇaṉ Rāmaṉ *alias* Mummaḍichōḷa-Brahmamārāyaṉ of Kēraḷāntaka-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Veṇṇāḍu (*a sub-division*) of Uyyakkoṇḍār-vaḷanāḍu, Īrāyiravaṉ Pallavayaṉ *alias* Mummaḍichōḷa Pōśaṉ, (*a native*) of Araiśūr in Pāmbuṇi-kūṟṟam (*a sub-division*) of Nittavinōda-vaḷanāḍu and Vēḷāṉ Uttamachōḷaṉ *alias* Madurāntaka Mūvēndavēḷāṉ (*a native*) of Paruttikkuḍi in Neṇmali-nāḍu (*a sub-division*) of Arumoḷidēva-vaḷanāḍu, and was issued: and in accordance with it, it was ordered to be entered in the accounts by our Secretaries Ārūraṉ Aravaṇaiyāṉ *alias* Parākramachōḷa-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ, Tattaṉ Śēndaṉ *alias* Śembiyaṉ-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ (*and*) Māppēraṉ Poṟkāri (*a native*) of Aruṁkuṇṟam, the arbitrators Paramēśvara-Bhaṭṭa-Sarvakratuyājin of Puḷḷamaṅgalam and Dāmōdara-Bhaṭṭaṉ of Kaḍalaṅguḍi, our

Secretaries Piśaṅgaṉ Pāḷūr *alias* Mīṇavaṉ-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ of Kaṟkuḍi in Tirunaṟaiyūr-nāḍu (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, and Śaṅkaranārāyaṇaṉ Araṅgaṉ of Vaṅganagar in Puṟaṅgarambai-nāḍu (*a sub-division*) of Arumoḷidēva-vaḷanāḍu, and the arbitrators Tammaḍi-Bhaṭṭaṉ of Veṇṇainallūr and Tiyambaga-Bhaṭṭaṉ of Paśalai.

(l. 33) The *Puravuvari* (*officers*) Koṟṟaṉ Poṟkāri, the headman of Kiḷinallūr, Śūṟṟiyaṉ Tēvaḍi (*a native*) of Kaḷumalam, Tēvaṉ Śāttaṉ (*a native*) of Paḷuvūr and Aṇaiyaṉ Taḷikkuḷavaṉ (*a native*) of Kaḷḷikkuḍi, the *varippattagam* (*i.e.* officers in charge of Tax registers) Kumaraṉ Araṅgaṉ (*a native*) of Śāttaṉūr and Śiṅgaṉ Veṇkāḍaṉ, the headman of Paruttiyūr, being present, Āṇaimaṅgalam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam (*a sub-division*) of their district, comprising of ninety-seven (*vēli*), two *mā*, one and a half *kāṇi*, one *mundirigai*, *kiḻ* (*i.e.* 1/320) of three *mā*, three *kāṇi* and one *mundirigai* and *kiḻ* (*i.e.* 1/320) of half, and two *mā* of land, after deducting those that had been removed in survey, was entered in the revenue register as a tax-free *paḷḷichchandam* on the ninety-sixth day of the (*said*) twenty-first year.

(l. 41) We furnished the names of (*the following persons*) for going round the hamlets accompanying the female elephant :—

-Our (*officer*) *Kaṇkāṇi-naḍuvirukkum* Tammaḍi-Bhaṭṭaṉ of Veṇṇainallūr and the Bhaṭṭas (*viz.*) Śrīdhara-Bhaṭṭaṉ of Tūṟpil residing at Śrī-Tuṅgamaṅgalam *alias* Abhimānabhūshaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Tirunaṟaiyūr-nāḍu (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, Paṟpanābha-Bhaṭṭaṉ of Pārkkuḷam (*residing at*) Tirunallūr in Vēḷānāḍu (*a sub-division*) of the same *nāḍu*, Veṇṇaiya-Bhaṭṭaṉ of Pērēmapuram (*residing*) in the same village and Nandīśvara-Bhaṭṭaṉ of Dvēdaigōmapuram (*residing*) at Śrī-Vīranārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, a free village in Kāranāḍu (*a sub-division*) of Rājēndrasiṁha-vaḷanāḍu and the *Puravuvari* (*officer*) Aṇaiyaṉ Taḷikkuḷavaṉ (*a resident*) of Kaḷḷikkuḍi.

(l. 49) A royal order (*tirumugam*) embodying the above and with the words "it behoves you also to be with these persons, to point out the boundaries, to go round the hamlets accompanied by a female elephant, to set up (*boundary*) stones and milk-bush and to draw up and give the deed of gift," having been sent to us, the *nāṭṭōm* (the assembly of the district), in the writing of the Royal scribe (*mandiravōlai*) Amudaṉ Tirttakaraṉ, the headmen of Viḷattūr, and with the signatures of the Superintendents of Royal Writs (*tirumandiravōlai-nāyakam*) Kṛishṇaṉ Rāmaṉ *alias* Mummaḍiśōḷa-Brahmamārāyaṉ, Īrāyiravaṉ Pallavaraṉ *alias* Mummaḍiśōḷa-Pōśaṉ (*a resident*) of Araiśūr and Vēḷāṉ Uttamaśōḷaṉ *alias* Madurāntaka-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ (*a resident*) of Paruttikuḍi, in the twenty-first year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Rājarājakēsarivarman *alias* Rājarājadēva, who having conceived in his mind that, like the goddess Lakshmī, the great goddess of the Earth had become his own, was pleased to destroy the ships at Kāndaḷūr-Śālai, took, with (*the aid of*) his highly powerful and victorious army, Vēṅgai-nāḍu, Gaṅgapāḍi, Nuḷambapāḍi, Taḍigaipāḍi, Kuḍamalai-nāḍu, Kollam, Kaliṅgam and the province of Īḻam (*i.e.* Ceylon), famous in the eight quarters, and who carried away the splendour of the Śēḻiyas (*i.e.* the Pāṇḍyas) in the year of his acquiring excessive glory fit for being praised till the end of time, we, the *nāṭṭōm* (*i.e.*, the assembly of the district), seeing it (*i.e.* the order) being brought, respectfully advanced (*towards*) received and carried (*it*) on our heads and accompanying the female elephant, walked round the hamlets, set up (*boundary*) stones and milk-bush and drew up and gave the deed of gift.

(l. 65) The eastern boundary of the land (*thus granted*) forms the western boundary of Kōvūr in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu ; (*it is*) to the west of the land of the carpenter of Kōvūr and of the (*stream*) Kāvidi-ōḍai of Kōvūr ; further south (*it is*) to the west of the field called Pugaiyuṇṇi (*belonging to*) the same village ; further south, proceeding in an easterly direction on the same boundary and further south of the same field, (*it is*) to the west of the field called Pugaiyuṇṇi ; further south and further west, (*it is*) to the north of the

small ridge (*which had been*) converted into a nursery (*and made to form part*) of the one-eighth (*vēli of land lying*) to the west of the channel irrigating the (*land called*) Pugaiyuṇṇi ; further, (*it is*) to the west of the (*said*) small ridge which had been converted into a nursery at the western side of this one-eighth (*vēli*) ; further still, (*it is*) to the north of the ridge made on the southern side of the same nursery ; further on, (*it is*) to the west of the western ridge of this one-eighth (*vēli*) ; further, (*it is*) to the west of the one-eighth (*vēli*) of Pugaiyuṇṇi (*lying*) on the southern side of the said one-eighth (*vēli*) ; further south of this, (*it is*) to the west of the one *mā* and a half of land belonging to the potter of Kōvūr ; on the south of this (*land*), (*it is*), to the west of the one *mā* and a half (*of land*) ; on the south of this, (*it is*) to the south of the middle of the stream ; further on, (*it is*) to the west of the boundary of this (*village of*) Kōvūr ; further south, (*it is*) to the west of the one *mā* of land of Araiśūr Maṟiyāḍi, a *Veḷḷāḷa* of Kōvūr ; on the south of this, (*it is*) to the south of the middle of the stream ; going in a south-easterly direction along this stream, (*it lies*) to the west of the spot at which the western Paḷḷavāykkāl falls into this very stream ; further on, (*it is*) to the south of the southern bank of the western Paḷḷavāykkāl and to the west of the western ridge of (*the land called*) Mēlpaḷḷam of Kōvūr ; (*further*), it is to the north of the northern ridge of the one-eighth (*vēli of land*) of the Veḷḷāḷa Uṟāppaḷi Pākkaraṉ in Mēlpaḷḷam of this village ; (*it is also*) to the west of the middle of the stream at the western side of this same one-eighth (*vēli*) and of the one-eighth (*vēli of land*) of the Veḷḷāḷa Paramēśvaraṉ Naṟaiyūr ; (*it is*) to the west of the middle of this stream ; (*further, it is*) to the west of this same stream which forms the boundary(?) (*kottam*) of the one-eighth (*vēli of land*) of Aiyyāraṉ Śēndaṉ, a Veḷḷāḷa of Kōvūr ; (*it is also*) to the south of the same one-eighth (*vēli of land*) ; (*further, it is*) to the west of this stream at the boundary(?) (*kottam*) of the land (*called*) Mēlpaḷḷam ; and (*also*) to the west of the spot at which this stream falls into the (*channel*) Eṟivaṭṭi-vāykkāl and to the west of this Eṟivaṭṭi-vāykkāl ; further, (*it is*) to the south of this Eṟivaṭṭi-vāykkāl and to the west of this Eṟivaṭṭi-vāykkāl.

(l. 92) The southern boundary is to the north of this Eṟivaṭṭi-vāykkāl ; and going in a westerly direction along this Eṟivaṭṭi-vāykkāl, crossing the same channel and getting up (*its*) southern bank, and going further south along the western boundary of the (*one*) *vēli* of *paḍugai* land belonging to the *brahmadēya* of this (*village of*) Āṉaimaṅgalam, (*it lies*) to the west of the stream which (*here*) lies in the direction of south-north ; going then in a southerly direction along this (*same*) boundary, (*and proceeding*) further west, (*it is*) to the north of the same stream ; again (*going*) in a northerly direction along the said stream and reaching this Eṟivaṭṭi-vāykkāl, (*it is*) to the east of it ; crossing the Eṟivaṭṭi-vāykkāl and getting up its north bank and proceeding (*then*) in a westerly direction along the north bank of this channel, (*it lies*) to the north of the channel ; passing in a westerly direction along this boundary, and then in a westerly direction in the course of the stream, and reaching the northern ridge of the four *mā* of land in Śīvaḷaikuḍi, a *brahmadēya* of Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam in this *nāḍu*, and (*then*) passing along the same ridge in a westerly direction, (*it lies*) to the north of this boundary ; proceeding in a westerly direction along the same boundary and reaching the stream (*called*) Paḷaviḷappu, (*it lies*) to the north of this boundary.

(l. 106) The western boundary is to the east of the *veṭṭappēṟu* (*granted to the men in charge of*) the head sluice of the Nāṭṭuppōkku-(*channel*) which runs in a northerly direction ; going further north and reaching the stream which forms the eastern boundary of the lands of (*the village of*) Muñjikuḍi in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam of the same district and going then in a northerly direction along the middle of the same stream as it lay, (*it lies*) to the east of this stream, and includes the stream also ; proceeding thence in a northerly direction along the stream, as it lay, till reaching the lands of the same (*village of*) Muñjikuḍi, and reaching also the stream which formed the eastern boundary of this Muñjikuḍi, and proceeding further north, (*it is*) to the east of the same boundary ; going through the several turnings of the stream as it lay and then passing in a northerly direc-

tion till reaching the lands of this Muñjikuḍi (*village*), and proceeding further north of the stream which forms the eastern boundary of the same village of Muñjikuḍi and further to the east of the same boundary, and going then in a northerly direction along this stream as it lay, and leaving this (*stream*) and reaching the southern ridge of the four *mā* of land (*belonging to*) Rāmaṇ Gōvindaṇ, a Veḷḷāḷa of this Muñjikuḍi and passing (*then*) in a northerly direction along the same boundary and reaching the southern ridge of the lands which formed the *brahmadēya* of this (*same*) Muñjikuḍi, (*it lies*) to the south of it and also to the east of it; further on (*it lies*) to the north of the lands (*belonging to*) the *brahmadēya* of the said Muñjikuḍi; going then in a northerly direction along the same boundary, (*it lies*) to the east of the land forming the eastern boundary of the holding of the Veḷḷāḷas (*veḷḷāṉ-vagai*) of the said Muñjikuḍi; going then in a northerly direction along the same boundary, and then in a north-westerly direction till reaching the field called Ūdārimayakkal in Muñjikuḍi, (*it lies*) to the east of the eastern ridge of the said field; going in a westerly direction along the northern ridge of the same field, (*it lies*) to the north of the northern ridge; going in a northerly direction along the (*stream of*) Paṟaiyōḍai on the western side of the same field, (*it lies*) to the east of the same stream; going then in a northerly direction along the same stream till reaching the channel called Rājarājaṉ-vāykkāl which was dug out to irrigate the lands of this (*village of*) Āṇaimaṅgalam and then crossing this channel and getting up its northern bank, (*it lies*) to the east of the eastern ridge of the field called Kālavāy in the *brahmadēya* of this (*village of*) Āṇaimaṅgalam; going in a northerly direction and (*then*) in an easterly direction and reaching the southern ridge of the quarter (*vēli*) of land of Kiḻāṉ Kiḻāṉ in the *brahmadēya* of this Āṇaimaṅgalam, and passing (*again*) in a south-easterly direction, (*it lies*) to the south and east of the boundary which proceeds from this (*ridge*) in north-easterly and easterly directions; going (*then*) in a north-westerly direction along the northern ridge of the same, (*it lies*) to the north of this (*line*); further, (*it lies*) to the east of the eastern ridge of the three *mā* (*of land*) of Āritaṉ Śiṟiyāṉ Kaḍambaṉ in the *brahmadēya* of this (*village of*) Āṇaimaṅgalam.

(l. 134) Proceeding in an easterly direction along the southern ridge of this (*land*), the northern boundary is to the south of this (*field*); proceeding in an easterly direction along the boundary of the land called Koṭṭiḍal in the *brahmadēya* (*village of*) Pirambil in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam, (*a sub-division*) of the said district (*of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu*) till reaching the western ridge of the land of Vāchchiyaṉ Paramēśvaraṉ Pūvaṉ in the *brahmadēya* of the said Āṇaimaṅgalam, (*it lies*) to the south of it; (*it also lies*) to the west, south and east of the said land; (*it is*) also to the east of the eastern ridge of the land called Koṭṭiḍal in the *brahmadēya* (*village of*) Pirambil in the above said *nāḍu*; proceeding in a northerly direction along the same ridge and reaching the southern bank of the river called Viḷappu, (*it lies*) to the south of its southern bank; proceeding in an easterly direction along this bank and reaching the western ridge of the one *mā* and a half (*of land*) in the *dēvadāna* of (*the god*) Mahādēva of this (*village of*) Āṇaimaṅgalam, (*it lies*) to the west of this ridge; proceeding in a southerly direction along the same ridge and reaching the western ridge of (*the field of*) Muḷḷivaravai which is (*also*) a *dēvadāna* of the same god, (*it lies*) to the west of that ridge; proceeding (*then*) in southern and eastern directions along the same ridge and reaching the tank of this god, and then going in a southerly direction along the western bank of the channel feeding the said tank of this god, (*it lies*) to the west of the western ridge of the field called Kaṇavadi-kāl which is also a *dēvadāna* of (*the above mentioned*) god; proceeding (*then*) in an easterly direction along the southern ridge of this Kaṇavadi-kāl, (*it lies*) to the south of this ridge; (*it is also*) to the west of the western ridge of the one *mā* of the *dēvadāna* land called *Meḻukkuppuṟam*[1] (*belonging to*) this god; proceeding in an easterly

[1] Assignments made for meeting the expenses of supplying oil for the anointing of images of gods and for cleaning the courtyards of temples are called *Meḻukkuppuṟam*.

direction along the southern ridge of this one *mā*, (*it lies*) to the south of this ridge; proceeding (*then*) in an easterly direction along the southern ridge of the three *kāṇi* of the *dēvadāna* land of (*i.e.*, belonging to) this god and reaching the Pattal-channel, (*it lies*) to the south of it; proceeding (*further*) in a northerly direction along the western bank of the said Pattal-channel till reaching the (*river called*) Viḷappu, (*it lies*) to the east of it; crossing the said Viḷappu and getting up its northern bank and arriving at the boundary of Mūṅgiṟkuḍi which is a *brahmadēya* of Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam in the same district and then proceeding in northern and eastern directions along that boundary, (*it lies*) to the east and south of it; further on, (*it is*) to the west of the lands of this Mūṅgiṟkuḍi; proceeding in a southerly direction along the said boundary till reaching (*the river*) Viḷappu, crossing the Viḷappu and getting up its southern bank and then proceeding in an easterly direction along the southern bank and reaching the western ridge of the land called Kaṇavadimayakkal (*situated*) in Kōvūr of this *nāḍu*, (*it lies*) to the south of it; (*it lies also*) to the west of the western ridge of this land (*viz.*), Kaṇavadimayakkal; proceeding in an easterly direction along the southern ridge of this land (*viz.*), Kaṇavadimayakkal and reaching the channel irrigating Nallūrchēri, a *brahmadēya* of Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam of this district (*it lies*) to the south; proceeding then in an easterly direction along the southern bank of the said channel till reaching the southern ridge of the one *mā* of land (*belonging to*) Uṟāppaḷi Pākkaraṇ, a Veḷḷāḷa of Kōvūr in the same district and then going in an easterly direction of this southern ridge and reaching the carpenter's land in Kōvūr where the boundary originally commenced, (*it lies*) to the south.

(l. 167) The donee shall have possession of the wet lands, dry lands, the village, village-site, ponds, sacred temples, the quarters of the Paṟaiyas, the quarters of the artisans and the burning grounds included within the four great boundaries thus described.

(l. 169) The following are the conditions to be observed in thus taking possession of this village inclusive of *kārāṇmai* and *mīyāṭchi* (*rights*) with its excess and deficiency in measurement including in it the houses, house-sites, shops, the bazaar street, assembly grounds, waste lands set apart for grazing calves, ponds, *koṭṭagāram* (*i.e.*, kraals or palaces), valleys and wells, ant-hills, *terṟi*, forests, *pūḍiligai*, barren lands and brackish lands, rivers, arable lands near rivers, streams, breaches, pits containing fish, gardens with their honey (*produce*), trees growing up and wells sunk down, without excluding any of the existing lands covered with water or rolled by the harrow or where the *inguana* runs or the tortoise crawls.

(l. 176) Channels shall be dug (*so as*) to irrigate the lands of the village; and their waste water shall be collected in canals and led away. Existing water courses over channels irrigating these lands shall be allowed to flow and their waste water shall be collected and led away. It is not permissible for others to cut branches, dam them across, put up small picottahs or bale water in baskets. Good (*i.e.*, drinking) water shall not be used for common purposes; but it may be dammed and made to irrigate (*lands*). Mansions and large edifices shall be built of burnt tiles (*i.e.*, bricks). Large wells shall be sunk. Coconut trees shall be planted in groves. *Damanakā*, *maruvu*, *iruvēli*, *śeṇbagam*, *śeṅgaḷunīr*, mango, jack, areca-palm, palmyra, *koḍi* and other useful trees of various descriptions shall be sown and planted. A big oil-press shall be set up. (*Such of*) the irrigation channels as are cut through the lands of this village and (*made to*) pass to outlying villages shall be permitted to flow over and be collected. (*Similarly also*), the channels cut through the lands of the outlying villages (*and made to*) pass into this village for the irrigation of lands shall be permitted to flow over and be collected. *Iḷavas* shall not be permitted to climb the palmyra and coconut trees planted (*on the borders*) of this village. Big drums and ornamental arches in three rows shall be allowed for families, according to traditions.

(l. 191) On receiving the lands as aforesaid, the privileges conferred are as follows:—*nāḍāṭchi* (fee for the administration of the district), *ūrāṭchi* (fee for the administration of the

village), *vaṭṭināḻi* (*i.e.*, one *nāḻi* of grain on each basket), *pidānāḻi*, *kaṇṇālakāṇam* (*i.e.*, fee of one *kāṇam* of gold received on every marriage occasion), *vaṇṇārappāṟai* (*i.e.*, fee on washerman's stones), *kuśakkāṇam* (*i.e.*, fee of one *kāṇam* paid by every potter), water-cess, *ilai-kūlam*, *taṟippuḍavai* (*i.e.*, fee of one cloth on each loom), the fee on brokers, fee on goldsmiths, fee on shepherds, *āṭṭukkiṟai* (*i.e.*, fee for keeping flocks of sheep), good cow and good bull, *nāḍukāval* (*i.e.*, fee for the watch of the district), *ūḍupōkku*, *viṟpiḍi*, *vālamañjāḍi*, *ulgu*, *ōḍakkūli* (*i.e.*, fee on ferries), tolls, *maṉṟupāḍu* (*i.e.*, fee raised for assembly), *māviṟai*, *tīyeri*, *iḷampūṭchi*, *kūttikāl* and such other fees, as the king could levy and enjoy, shall not henceforth be received by the king but shall be taken by the authorities of this *paḷḷi*.

(l. 198) For this land, inclusive of its *kārāṇmai* and *mīyāṭchi* (*rights*), with all excess and deficiency in measurements and including (*such*) lands as had ceased to be *paḷḷichchanda*, forming the village of Āṇaimaṅgalam (*situated*) in this district, which had been granted (*subject to*) the conditions and privileges (*specified*) above, as a tax-free *paḷḷichchanda* to the *paḷḷi* in the Chūḷāmaṇivarma-vihāra which is being built by the Kaḍāra king at Nāgapaṭṭaṇam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam, we, the *nāṭṭōm* (*i.e.*, the members of the Divisional Assembly) of (*the said*) Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanying the female elephant, circumambulated the hamlets, planted (*boundary*) stones and milk-bush, drew up and presented the gift deed (*to have effect*) from the twenty-first year (*of the king's reign*). I, Aṇaiyaṉ Taḷikkuḷavaṉ, (*a resident*) of Kaḷḷikkuḍi (*and*) a *puravuvari* (*officer*), being present with the representatives of the districts while accompanying the female elephant and circumambulating the hamlets, planting (*boundary*) stones and milk-bush, drew up and gave the deed of gift: and this is my signature.

(l. 207) When the *nāṭṭār* were accompanying the she-elephant and circumambulating the hamlets of this Āṇaimaṅgalam, I, Kōṉ Puttaṉ, a Veḷḷāḷa, residing at this Āṇaimaṅgalam, mounted the elephant, was present with them and showed the boundaries clearly: and this is my signature.

(l. 210) In this manner, we, the members of the assembly of Kaḍambaṉūr, a *brahmadēya* of Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At their bidding, I, Muppattiruvaṉ Yaj̃ñaṉ *alias* Kaṟpagāḍittaṉ, the arbitrator of this village, (*have signed this*): and this is my signature. At the bidding of the inhabitants of this Kaḍambaṉūr, I, Nārāyaṇaṉ Dāmōdaraṉ, a Vaikhānasa of this village, (*have signed this*): and this is my signature.

(l. 215) In this manner, we, the members of the assembly of Nāraṇamaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* of Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, circumambulated the hamlets accompanying the she-elephant, and drew up and gave the deed of gift. I, Irunūṟṟuvaṉ Uttamaṉ *alias* Brahmamaṅgalyaṉ, the arbitrator of this village, (*have signed this*): and this is my signature.

(l. 218) In this manner, we, (*the ūrār of Vēlaṅguḍi*?), accompanied the she-elephant and drew up and gave the deed of gift. I, Vēlaṅguḍaiyāṉ Nārāyaṇaṉ Oṟṟi of Vēlaṅguḍi in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu (*have signed this*): and this is my signature.

(l. 221) In the said manner, we, the members of the assembly of Mūṅgiṟkuḍi, a *brahmadēya* of Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. I, Kuṇava-Nandi *alias* Alaṅkāra-priyaṉ, the arbitrator of this village, (*have signed this*): and this is my signature.

(l. 224) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Narimaṇṟam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets

and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Aimbattiruvaṉ Viḍēlviḍugaṉ, the arbitrator of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 228) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Śāttamaṅgalam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, *Vēṭkōvaṉ* Ediraṉ Śāttaṉ *alias* Nānūṟṟuvapperuṅgōvēḷāṉ of this village have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 232) In the said manner, we, the members of the assembly of Śannamaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* of Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the assembly, I, Durukkaṉ Kamudaṉ, the accountant-arbitrator of this village have signed (*this*): and this is my signature.

(l. 236) In the said manner, we, the members of the assembly of Koṭṭārakkuḍi, a *brahmadēya* of Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. I, Ūraṉ Chandraśēkharaṉ *alias* Brahmamaṅgalyaṉ, the accountant-arbitrator of this village, (*have signed this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 239) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Kōvūr in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Aiyyaṉ Aiyyaṉ, the accountant-arbitrator of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 243) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Uttūr in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Nakkaṉ Muḷḷi, the accountant-arbitrator of this village have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 246) In the said manner, we, the members of the assembly of Naṉṉimaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* of Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the assembly, I, Kaṉṉaṉ Alaṅkārapriyaṉ, the accountant-arbitrator of this village, (*have signed this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 249) In the said manner, we, the members of the assembly of Poruvanūr, a *brahmadēya* of Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the assembly, I, *Vēṭkōvaṉ* Mādēvaṉ Ūraṉ, the accountant of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 253) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Ālaṅguḍi in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Kāśyapaṉ Sūryyaṉ Araṅgaṉ, the accountant of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 256) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Tuṟaiyūr in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Tiritti Vaikundaṉ of the Bhāradvāja-(*gōtra*), the accountant of this village, have signed (*this*) : and (*this is my*) signature.

(l. 259) In the said manner, we, the members of the assembly of Pirambil, a *brahmadēya* of Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. I, Kuṇavaṉ Nandi *alias* Alaṅkārapriyaṉ, the accountant-arbitrator of this village, (*have signed this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 263) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Kaḍambaṅguḍi, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Kuṇavaṉ Nandi *alias* Alaṅkārapriyaṉ, the accountant-arbitrator of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 265) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Śēndamaṅgalam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Ūrāṉ Aiyaṉ, the arbitrator of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 268) In the said manner, we, (*the ūrār of Śiṟuchchēndamaṅgalam* ?), accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets, and drew up and gave the deed of the gift. I, Eṭṭi Valañjuḷiyaṉ Śaṅgaṉ of Śiṟuchchēndamaṅgalam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, (*have signed this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 270) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Kuṟṟālam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, *Vēṭkōvaṉ* Dēvaṉ Ūraṉ, the accountant of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 273) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Tirunāvūr in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Chaturmukhaṉ Araṅgaṉ, the arbitrator of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 276) In the said manner, we, the members of the assembly of Uvarkkuḍi, a *brahmadēya* of Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam in Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the assembly, I, *Vēṭkōvaṉ* Mānāgaṉ Nārāyaṇaṉ, the accountant of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 280) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Muñjikuḍi in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, *Vēṭkōvaṉ* Mānāgaṉ Kaṇṇaṉ, the accountant of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 284) In the said manner, we, the members of the assembly of Tirukkaṇṇaṅguḍi in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the assembly, I, *Vēṭkōvaṉ* Atirāmaṉ Irubattunālvaṉ *alias* Muṇṇūṟṟuvaṉ, the accountant of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 288) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Kaḍambavalavāṭkai in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Ūrāṉ Ūrāṉ, the accountant-arbitrator of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 292) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Pāḷaṅkoṟṟaṅguḍi in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Ūrāṉ Ūrāṉ, the accountant-arbitrator of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 295) In the said manner, we, the *ūrār* of Veṇkiḍaṅgil in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. At the bidding of the *ūrār*, I, Ūrāṉ Nakkaṉ, the accountant-arbitrator of this village, have signed (*this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 298) In the said manner, we, (*the members of the assembly of Āṉaimaṅgalam* ?), accompanied the she-elephant, circumambulated the hamlets and drew up and gave the deed of gift. I, Āritaṉ Śiṟiyāṉ Kaḍambaṉ, (*a resident*) of this *brahmadēya* of Āṉaimaṅgalam, (*have signed this*) : and this is my signature.

(l. 300) In the said manner, I, Tūṟpil Śrīdhara-Bhaṭṭaṉ, (*a resident*) of Śrī-Tuṅgamaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* in Tirunaṟaiyūr-nāḍu, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, (*in the capacity*) of a Bhaṭṭa, caused the she-elephant to circumambulate (*the hamlets*) and got the deed of gift to be drawn up. This is my signature.

(l. 303) In the said manner, I, Paṟpanābha-Bhaṭṭaṉ of Pārkkuḷam, (*residing*) at Tirunallūr in Vēḷā-nāḍu, (*in the capacity*) of a Bhaṭṭa, caused the she-elephant to circumambulate (*the hamlets*) and got the deed of gift to be drawn up and given. This is my signature.

(l. 306) In the said manner, I, Veṇṇaiya-Bhaṭṭaṉ of Pērēmapuram (*residing*) at Tirunallūr in Vēḷā-nāḍu, (*a sub-division*) of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, (*in the capacity*) of a Bhaṭṭa, caused the she-elephant to circumambulate (*the hamlets*) and got the deed of gift to be drawn up and given. This is my signature.

(l. 308) In the said manner, I, Nandīśvara-Bhaṭṭaṉ of Dvēdaigōmapuram (*residing*) at Śrī-Vīranārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Rājēndrasiṁha-vaḷanāḍu, (*in the capacity*) of a Bhaṭṭa, caused the she-elephant to circumambulate (*the hamlets*) and got the deed of gift to be drawn up and given. This is my signature.

(l. 311) Our (*i.e.*, the Royal) Secretaries (*viz.*) Mīṇavaṉ Mūvēndavēḷāṉ, Koṟṟamaṅgalamuḍaiyāṉ and Dēvaṉkuḍaiyāṉ ; the arbitrators (*viz.*) Dāmōdara-Bhaṭṭaṉ of Kaḍalaṅguḍi and Pūvatta-Bhaṭṭaṉ of Koṭṭaiyūr ; our Secretaries (*viz.*) Parākramaśōḻa-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ, Śembiyaṉ Mūvēndavēḷāṉ, Śōḻavēḷāṉ and Araiśūruḍaiyāṉ, and the arbitrator Paramēśvara-Bhaṭṭa-Sarvakratuyājin of Puḷḷamaṅgalam, having ordered that (*the necessary*) entries may be made in the Revenue Registers in accordance with the deed that was thus signed and issued ; the *puravuvari* (*officers*) (*viz.*) Kōdaṇḍaṉ Śēṉaṉ of Ālaṅguḍi, Iḷavaḍigaḷ **Naḷḷāṟaṉ** residing at Pūdamaṅgalam and Kaṟpagaṉ Śōlai residing at Ālattūr, the *varippottagam* (*i.e.*, officer in charge of Revenue Registers) (*viz.*) Śiṅgaṉ Veṇkāḍaṉ, the headman of Paruttiyūr, the *mugaveṭṭi* (*officers*) (*viz.*) Kīḻvāy-Kaṇavadi, Muṇḍaṉ Araṅgaṉ, Śaiyadaṉ Amalaṉ, Tattaṉ Śīkiṭṭaṉ (*i.e.*, Śrī-Kṛishṇa), the *varippottagakkaṇakku* (*i.e.*, the accountant in charge of the Revenue Registers) Mādēvaṉ Būmi, the *variyilidu* (*i.e.*, the officer who makes entries in Revenue Registers) Tāḷi Vīraśōḻaṉ, a resident of Uṟuvūr, and the *paṭṭōlai* (keepers of Royal writs) (*viz.*) Perumāṉ Ambalattāḍi, Śīkaṇḍaṉ (*i.e.*, Śrīkaṇṭha) Dēvaṉ, Mākāḷaṉ Ariñji, and Nakkaṉ Maṇḍagavaṉ, being present, entries were made in the Revenue Registers and the deed was given (*to the donee*) on the **one hundred and sixty-third day** of the **twenty-third** *regnal* **year.**

(l. 323) This is the signature of Araiyaṉ Arumoḻi *alias* Rājēndraśōḻa-Pallavaraiyaṉ, the headman of Naḍār in Tiraimūr-nāḍu, (*a sub-division*) of Uyyakkoṇḍār-vaḷanāḍu.

(l. 325) (*This is*) approved by Kṛishṇaṉ Rāmaṉ *alias* Rājēndraśōḻa-Brahmamārāyaṉ of Kēraḷāntaka-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Veṇṇāḍu, (*a sub-division*) of Uyyakkoṇḍār-vaḷanāḍu.

(l. 327) (*This is*) approved by Īrāyiravaṉ Pallavayaṉ *alias* Uttamaśōḻa-Pallavaraiyaṉ, a resident of Araiśūr in Pāmbuṇi-kūṟṟam, (*a sub-division*) of Nittavinōda-vaḷanāḍu.

(l. 329) (*This is*) approved by Dāmōdara-Bhaṭṭaṉ of Dvēdaigōmapuram, (*a resident*) of Kaḍalaṅguḍi in Kuṟukkai-nāḍu, (*a sub-division*) of Rājēndrasiṁha-vaḷanāḍu.

(l. 330) (*This is*) approved by Araiyaṉ Śīkaṇḍaṉ (Śrīkaṇṭha) *alias* Mīṇavaṉ Mūvēndavēḷāṉ, the headman of Kuṟumbil in Ambar-nāḍu, (*a sub-division*) of Uyyakkoṇḍār-vaḷanāḍu.

No. 35.—THE SMALLER LEIDEN PLATES (OF KULOTTUNGA I).

BY K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A., COIMBATORE.

The inscription edited below is engraved on a set of **three copper-plates** now preserved in the Leiden University Museum in Holland. It was once published without plates in the *Archæological Survey of South India*, Volume IV, pp. 224 ff., by Burgess and Natesa Sastri as early as 1886. Though the text of the inscription had been fairly well made out, the translation given in the volume requires to be largely amended. It is also considered desirable to give facsimile plates of the inscription. Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist for India, very kindly obtained from the Museum authorities in Leiden one set of excellent rubbings of the inscription and a photograph of the seal and placed them at my disposal for study and publication in the *Epigraphia Indica*.[1]

The three plates—each of which measures 14·8 inches by 5·3 inches—that form this set, are held together by a strong ring bearing a large **seal** very similar to the one on the Larger Leiden Plates. The following is the reading of the **legend** on this seal by Burgess and Natesa Sastri :—

Śrī-Kulōttuṁga-Chōḷasya Rājakēsarivarmaṇaḥ

puṇyaṁ kshōṇīśvara-sabhā-chūḍā-ratnāyā(ya) śāsanam

The editors note : " whether through mistake on the part of the engraver or from want of room to get the whole inscription into the one line round the circumference, is uncertain, but the syllables—*ḷasya Rājakēsarivarmaṇaḥ* are inserted below *ṁga-Chō* and *puṇyaṁ kshōṇīśvara* between which they must be read, and this, together with the peculiar forms of some of the letters, makes the legend difficult to decipher". The fact that the legend runs round the circular seal and has the syllables *ḷasya*, etc., engraved below in a second line is a clear indication that what is written below forms the end of the legend. And since it is certain that *Śrī-Kulōttuṁga-Chō* must precede the portion contained in the second line, the commencement, *i.e.*, the first half of the verse forming the legend is *Puṇyaṁ kshōṇīśvara-sabhā-chūḍā-ratnāyā śāsanam*. In this legend, the compound *kshōṇīśvara-sabhā-chūḍā-ratnāyā* has been translated as "to the crest jewel of the assembly of earth-rulers" by Messrs. Burgess and Natesa Sastri. There is no doubt that the engraver had made some mistake here as had been supposed by these scholars. It seems to me, however, that the compound must have specific reference to the *saṅgha* of the Buddhist church (*paḷḷi*) erected at Nāgapaṭṭaṇam by king Chūḍāmaṇivarman of Kaṭāha. *Sabhā* in the legend is no doubt a synonym of *saṅgha* : and the term *ratna*, which is often applied to the *Buddha*, *Dharma* and *Saṅgha*, the sole resorts of the Buddhists, is highly suggestive of and favourable to connecting *sabhā* with the Buddhist shrine and creed. There is yet another suggestion contained in the terms used in the same compound : *chūḍāratna* may be taken to stand for *chūḍāmaṇi*, perhaps a contracted form of *Chūḍāmaṇivarma-vihāra*, which was the name of the Buddhist monument called after its royal founder Chūḍāmaṇivarman : but the intervening position of the word *sabhā* between *kshōṇīśvara* and *chūḍāratna* makes the interpretation difficult. Had the word *sabhā* with the appropriate termination been used at the end of the compound, it would have been quite easy to interpret the word into " to the *saṅgha* of (the *vihāra* erected by) king Chūḍāmaṇivarman " which, it seems, was intended to be conveyed by the legend. In fact the inscription on the plates as will be pointed out in the sequel, tells us clearly that the ambassadors from the king of

[1] [The impressions of this inscription also were very kindly prepared by Lt. Col. Th. van Erp of Rijks-Ethnographisch Museum, Leiden, at the request of Prof. J. Ph. Vogel.—Ed.]

Kaṭāha requested king Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa to have a copper-plate issued in favour of the *saṅgha* of the *paḷḷi* of Chūḍāmaṇivarma-vihāra. We have instances of edicts with opening verses of this nature.[1]

The inscription is written in the **Tamiḷ** language and alphabet throughout: but Grantha letters are used here and there where words of Sanskrit origin occur. For instance see *śi* and *sa* in *siṅṅāsa* (l. 3), *ja* and *nma* (l. 3), *śrī* (l. 4), *rāja* (l. 5), *Rājēntra* (l. 6), *Rājarāja* (l. 7), *śēshai* (l. 8), *tāmra-śāsaṇa* (l. 10), *Rājavidyādhara-śrī-sāmanta* and *Abhimānōttuṅga-śrī-sāmanta* (ll. 10-11), *Rājavallabha* (l. 12), *prasāda* (l. 13), *Rājarāja* (l. 14), *brahmadē* (l. 18), *brahma* (l. 28), *Vijayarājēntra* (l. 31), *śrī-Śailēndra-Chūḍāmaṇivarmma-vihāra* (ll. 39-40), *Mahādēva* (l. 42), *santuvigriha* and *Rāja°* (l. 49), and *Rājē°* (l. 50).

Unlike the plates of the Sanskrit and Tamiḷ portions of the Larger Leiden set, the plates of this set are not numbered. The only **orthographical peculiarities** worth noting are: (1) the use of the vowels in some rare places where consonants are needed, *e.g.*, *kāṇiāḷarai* (ll. 9, 38) and (2) the formation of *ū* in cases of *tū*, *ṇū*, *nū*, *lū*, etc., by the addition of the length (vertical stroke) sign to their short. The inscription is not quite well worded and there are possibilities of engraver's mistakes.

The inscription which is dated in the **20th year** of the reign of the Chōḷa king **Rājakēśarivarman** *alias* **Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I**, commences with the historical introduction *pugaḻ-mādu viḷaṅga*, which refers in general terms to the king's conquest of the Chēra (*Villavar*), Pāṇḍya (*Mīṇavar*), Vikkalaṉ, *i.e.*, Vikramāditya VI and Siṅgaṇan, *i.e.*, Jayasiṁha. It records that, while the king was resting on the reclining seat (*paḷḷi-ppīḍam*) called Kāliṅgarājaṉ in the bathing hall of his palace at Āyirattaḷi *alias* Āhavamallakulakālapuram, two messengers (*dūtar*) of the king of Kaḍāram, named Rājavidyādhara-śrī-sāmanta and Abhimānōttuṅga-śrī-sāmanta, petitioned to him that the village granted free from the payment of taxes including *antarāya*, *vīraśēshai*, *paṉmai-paṇḍai-veṭṭi*, *kundāli* and *śuṅgamērā*, as *paḷḷichchanda* for meeting the requirements of the shrines of Rājēndraśōḷapperumpaḷḷi and Rājarājapperumpaḷḷi which were constructed by the king of Kaḍāram at Śōḷakulavallipaṭṭaṇam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam, a sub-division of Geyamāṇikka-vaḷanāḍu, may be entered in a copper-plate document and issued in favour of the *Saṅgattār* of the *paḷḷi*. The messengers also prayed that the *Kāṇiyāḷars* of the *paḷḷichchanda* lands may be removed and the lands be left entirely in the charge of the *paḷḷi* and that this fact may also be noted in the same copper-plate deed. Accordingly, a royal order was issued to the *adhikārin* named Rājēndraśiṅga-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ that he, in conjunction with the *sandhivigrahin* Rājavallabha-Pallavaraiyaṉ, should draw up a copper-plate deed to that effect. After giving a list of the *paḷḷichchandas* belonging to Rājarājapperumpaḷḷi, their situation, extent, *kāṇikkaḍaṉ*, and *nichchayitta-nellu*, the inscription states that (1) the taxes or incomes in money and kind have been assigned to meet the requirements of the monastery and that (2) the previous owners who were holding the lands of these *paḷḷichchanda* villages have now been removed and the same have been vested solely with the *Saṅgattār* of the monastery. The details furnished about the *paḷḷichchanda* villages are given in a separate table. Further, the inscription furnishes the under-mentioned boundaries of the monastery and its surroundings (*paḷḷi-nilai* and *paḷḷi-viḷāgam*) and states that the total extent covered by them was **31¼** *vēli*, 2 *mā* and 1 *mundirigai*:—

Eastern boundary—to the west of the sea-shore inclusive of the sand-hill in it;

Southern boundary—to the north of the well called Pugaiyuṇṇi-kiṇaṟu; to the north of the land belonging to the temple of Tiruvīraṭṭānamuḍaiya-Mahādēva situated to the west of the said well; and to the north of the line passing westwards from the north

[1] Nos. 435, 460, 764, 766-7 of the *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. V.

bank of the channel dug by Paṟavaikkuḷattu-Mārāyaṉ and reaching the high road to Kāraikkāl;

Western boundary—to the east of the said high road to Kāraikkāl;

Northern boundary—to the south of the boundary of the lands in Vaḍa-Kāḍaṉpāḍi of Śōḷa-kulavallipaṭṭaṇam.

The inscription concludes by saying that the royal order had thus been carried out and that, on the direction of the *sandhivigrahin* Rājavallabha-Pallavaraiyaṉ and the *adhikārin* Rājēndra-śiṅga-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ, this copper-plate charter was written by Nilaiyuḍaiya-Paṇaiyāṉ Nigariliśōḷaṉ Madhurāntakaṉ, one of the Vikkiramābaraṇatteṟinda-Valaṅgai-Vēḷaikkāṟas of Uṟkōḍi.

Serial No.	Village.	Division in which situated.	Extent in vēli, mā, kāṇi and mundirigai.	Kāṇikkaḍaṉ in *kalam*, *kuṟuṇi* and *nāḻi*.	Nichchayitta-nellu *kalam*.
1	Āṇaimaṅgalam . .	Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam in Geya-māṇikka-vaḷanāḍu.	97-2-1½	8,943-9-3	4,500
2	Brahmadēya in Āṇaimaṅ-galam.	Do. .	12¾	400	560
3	Muñjikuḍi . . .	Do. .	27¼-3½	2,779-4-4	1,800
4	Āmūr	Tiruvārūr-kūṟṟam . .	106⅛	10,600-9-6	5,850
5	Vaḍakuḍi *alias* Nāṇalūr .	Aḷa-nāḍu. . . .	70¾-4½	6,514-5-1	2,340
6	Kīḻ-Chandirappāḍi . .	Do. . . .	10-2-1½-1 kīḻ ¾-60¾	1,012-5	1,500
7	Pālaiyūr brahmadēya .	....		1,000	
8	Puttakkuḍi . . .	Kuṟumbūr-nāḍu in Jayaṅ-goṇḍaśōḷa-vaḷanāḍu.	87½	8,720-4-4	6,107
9	Udayamārttāṇḍanallūr .	Iḍaikkaḷi-nāḍu. . .	3-3	135-3-3	78-5

Of the villages noted above, whose revenues had been assigned to the *paḷḷi*, Āṇaimaṅgalam, Āmūr, Vaḍakuḍi and Pālaiyūr are in the list of villages of the Negapatam Taluk of the Tanjore District (Madras Presidency) and Muñjikuḍi, which, according to the Larger Leiden plates, formed the South-western boundary of Āṇaimaṅgalam, must also be in the same Taluk.

The historical introduction of Kulōttuṅga's inscriptions commences in different ways. One of them found in his earlier epigraphs begins with the words *tirumaṇṇi, viḷaṅgum* and records that with the sole aid of his arm and sword, he captured herds of elephants at Vayirāgaram (Wairagaḍh in the Chanda District of the Central Provinces), received tribute from Dhārāvarsha of the Chakkarakōṭṭa (country) and brought the earth under his parasol.[1] In these epigraphs, which are dated up to the 4th year of reign, the king is styled Rājakēsarivarman *alias* Rājēndra-Chōḷa-dēva. Another inscription dated in the 6th year of his reign commences with the words *pū-mēl-arivai*.[2] The majority of his other records, dated between the 6th and 49th years, have either (1) the introduction *puṉal-Nīṇda-puṉari*, which gives a detailed account of the king's achievements, or (2) *puṉal-mādu-viḷaṅga*, which refers in general terms to his victory of the Chēra, Pāṇḍya, and Vikramāditya VI and Simhaṇa, *i.e.*, Jayasiṁha.[3] The late Dr. Hultzsch has dealt with the events of the reign of Kulōttuṅga as could be gathered from the *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita* of Bilhaṇa,

[1] *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VII, No. 392.

[2] *Ibid.*, No. 137.

[3] No. 813 of *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. IV; Nos. 874 and 785 of Vol. VII.

the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* of Jayaṅgoṇḍāṉ, the copper-plate grants of the later Eastern Chālukya kings and the inscriptions of his reign and has also attempted to reconcile the discrepancies found in them. The following are categorically the events of his reign :—

(1) While heir-apparent, he captured herds of elephants at Vayirāgaram and defeated Dhārāvarsha of the Chakkarakōṭṭa country.

(2) In or before the 5th year, he defeated the king of Kuntala, crowned himself as the king of the Chōḷa country and decapitated an unnamed king of the south,[1]

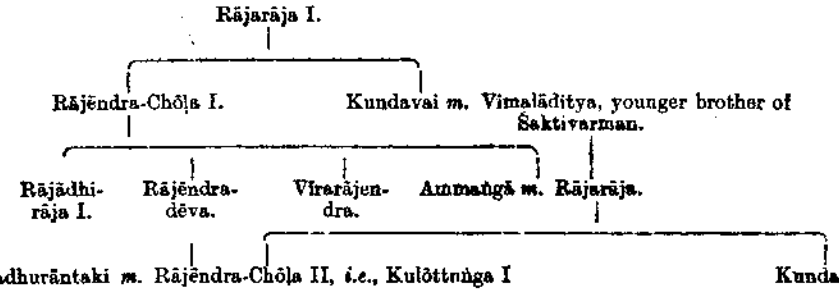
(3) An eleventh year record adds that he drove Vikkalaṉ from Naṅgili by way of Maṇalūr to the Tuṅgabhadrā river and conquered Gaṅgamaṇḍalam and Śiṅgaṇam.[2] Some inscriptions substitute Aḷatti for Maṇalūr and Koṅgaṇam for Śiṅgaṇam.

(4) An inscription of the 14th year states that Kulōttuṅga put the five Pāṇḍyas to flight and subdued the western portion of their country including the gulf of Maṇṇār, the Podiya mountain, Cape Comorin and Kōṭṭāṟu.[3] He is reported also to have limited the boundary of the Pāṇḍya country, to have placed garrisons in the strategically important places of the newly acquired territory, and to have conquered Kuḍamalai-nāḍu.

(5) The conquest of the Kaliṅga country is noticed in the inscriptions of the 26th, 42nd and 45th years of the king's reign.[4]

As the inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga I., unlike those of Rājarāja I., Rājēndrachōḷa I., and others, do not mention the conquests effected by the king in the order in which they occurred—the later inscriptions often omitting the earlier achievements — it is difficult to determine with their aid the actual date of occurrence of the events.

About Rājakēsarivarman Kulōttuṅga's acquisition of the Chōḷa dominions a word may now be said. It will be easy to follow the events if we have before us the pedigree of the Chōḷas from Rājarāja I., and that of the Eastern Chālukyas from Śaktivarman downwards, for it was during the reigns of the kings that followed them, the two families were closely knit together by marriage ties. The following table represents the relationship between the various members of the two families :—



The earliest Chōḷa king that interfered in the politics of the Eastern Chālukya country was Rājarāja I. From his inscriptions it is seen that he conquered Vēṅgi in the 14th year of his reign (=A.D. 999-1000).[5] That it resulted in placing Śaktivarman *alias* Chāḷukya-Chandra on the Eastern Chālukya throne is evident from the fact that the latter's accession took place in that

[1] See Kielhorn's *Southern List* No. 761.

[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 174.

[3] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 144.

[4] See Kielhorn's *Southern List* Nos. 777, 782; *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 72; and Madras Epigraphical collection for 1891, No. 44 (*S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. IV, No. 445), and the same for 1904, No. 608.

[5] *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VII, No. 739.

very year.[1] This is known from the Ranastipūṇḍi grant of Vimalāditya, the son and successor of Saktivarman, which places the coronation of that king on Thursday 10th May, A.D. 1011, and states that Śaktivarman ruled for 12 years before him.[2] Of Vimalāditya's son Rājarāja I. (of the Eastern Chālukya family), the Korumelli plates[3] state that his coronation fell on Thursday, 16th August, A.D. 1022 and the Tēki plates[4] add that he ruled for forty-one years. His younger brother was Vijayāditya VII. And since it is said that after Rājarāja I., Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya ruled for fifteen years, the latter has been assigned to the period A.D. 1063-1077 by Dr. Fleet.[5] There are three inscriptions at Drākshārāma[6] of a certain Vishṇuvardhana ranging in date from the 3rd to the 13th year and furnishing Śaka equivalents which work out for the king's initial year A.D. 1061-2. These inscriptions may have to be attributed to Vijayāditya VII, as there was no other Vishṇuvardhana at the time, Kulōttuṅga being distinctly styled *Saptama Vishṇuvardhana*. It appears that Vijayāditya VII ruled till A.D. 1077. We have three copper-plate charters of the reign of Vijayāditya which state that he succeeded to the throne on the death of his elder brother Rājarāja.[7] There is no room to suspect that Vijayāditya's succession was disputed. Further, a consideration of the facts, that Rājarāja was crowned in A.D. 1022 and reigned for 41 years, that Vijayāditya counted his regnal years, as shown above, from A.D. 1061-2, coupled with the fact that Rājēndra *alias* Kulōttuṅga I., son of Rājarāja, actually assumed regal powers only from A.D. 1070, *i.e.*, several years after the demise of his father and reigned for the long period of nearly 50 years, *i.e.*, till A.D. 1119-20, leads to the irresistible conclusion that Rājēndra must have been in his teens 60 years prior to the end of his reign; and establishes also the necessity for the succession of Vijayāditya after Rājarāja[8] and his quiet succession to the throne of Vēṅgi, as reported in the plates, confirm this conclusion. The dissension between Vijayāditya and Rājēndra, if any, must have arisen only subsequent to the death of Rājarāja, perhaps when Rājēndra came of age.

From what has been said above, it will be seen that the Eastern Chālukya dominion was subject to the rule of the successive kings Śaktivarman, Vimalāditya, Rājarāja and Vijayāditya without any break from A.D. 999-1000 to A.D 1077. For aught we know, Vijayāditya was not a powerful monarch and his rule was not peaceful. Ever since the Chōḷa king Rājarāja I. interfered in the politics of the Eastern Chālukyas and, putting an end to the interregnum, placed Śaktivarman on the throne of Vēṅgi, that country seems to have practically become a principality subject to the authority of the Chōḷas; and the Chōḷa kings appear to have cemented their relationship with the Eastern Chālukyas by ties of marriages. The policy followed by Rājarāja I. and Rājēndra-Chōḷa I. towards the newly acquired country of Vēṅgi, was neglected by the latter's sons Rājādhirāja I. and Rājēndradēva, but was resumed by Vīrarājēndra. This is referred to in the Kanyākumāri inscription in the following terms[9]:—

> "The Vēṅgi and Kaliṅga countries which had come in the family of the Chōḷas for [illegible] generations having been left uncared for by his (Vīrarājēndra's) two brothers and having

[1] Above, Vol. XXI, p. 31.

[2] *Ibid.*, and Vol. VI, pp. 349-51.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 50.

[4] Above, Vol. VI, p. 336.

[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 283.

[6] *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. IV, Nos. 1011, 1012 and 1013.

[7] *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1925, p. 77 and the same for 1914, p. 86.

[8] The pretty long reign of Rājarāja for 41 years and the actual longer reign of Rājēndra for 50 years after an interval of several years making up a total of more than 91 years for the reigns of father and son are worth noting.

[9] *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 57, v. 77.

been encroached upon by powerful enemies, the glorious king Vallabha-Vallabha, *i.e.*, Vīrarājēndra, conquered these highly powerful foes, leaving only those that were frightened, and ruled over the country."

From the inscriptions of Vīrarājēndra we further learn that he conferred the country of Vēṅgi on Vijayāditya and protected him. If these facts are borne in mind, it will be easy to see why, when Vikramāditya VI invaded the Eastern Chālukya dominion, Vīrarājēndra marched against him and his brother and defeated them in many a battle in the Vēṅgi country. Even subsequently Vijayāditya's position in the Vēṅgi country was not secure for it is said that the Eastern Gaṅga king Rājarāja I., the refuge of the distressed, made Vijayāditya, when he was about to sink in the ocean of *troubles caused by the Chōḷas*, to enjoy prosperity by the support which he afforded him.[1]

Speaking of the support given by Vīrarājēndra to Vijayāditya, Dr. Hultzsch correctly suggested that the relations between uncle and nephew, *i.e.*, Kulōttuṅga and Vijayāditya were not so entirely amicable as the panegyrical account of the Chellūr grant would make us believe, but that Kulōttuṅga tried to oust his uncle.[2] This suggestion gains ground by the explicit statement of the plates that the troubles of Vijayāditya *were caused by the Chōḷas* who, during the reign of the Eastern Gaṅga king Rājarāja (A.D. 1070-78), were ruled by none other than Kulōttuṅga I.

From the facts noticed above, it will be plain that Vijayāditya actually reigned over the Vēṅgi country from A.D. 1063 to A.D. 1077, his cause being supported by the Chōḷa king Vīrarājēndra in the earlier years and by the Eastern Gaṅga king Rājarāja in later days. It is also certain that the disturbances in Vēṅgi during the rule of Vijayāditya were on the one hand caused by the invasion of the Western Chālukya Vikramāditya VI and on the other by the attempt of Kulōttuṅga to oust him.

We shall now see if Kulōttuṅga had any position in the Chōḷa country which he eventually succeeded in getting. The Tamiḻ poem *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* indeed states that the queen of Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Chōḷa, *i.e.*, Rājēndra-Chōḷa I., taking up the child of her daughter and observing the marks on his body, exclaimed that he was fit to be her son and to protect the Solar race.[3] From this a theory of adoption of Kulōttuṅga by the queen of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I. had been started. That this theory has no foundation whatsoever on facts but had been newly invented to give a *locus standi* to Kulōttuṅga after he had actually obtained the Chōḷa throne, will be evident from the sequel. Even the panegyrists that wrote the accounts of the copper-plates issued during his reign, in referring to the accession of Vijayāditya which took place already in A.D. 1061-2, speak as if Kulōttuṅga had a claim in the Chōḷa dominions, when they say that Kulōttuṅga being desirous of the Chōḷa kingdom, suffered his uncle Vijayāditya to become the ruler of Vēṅgi, himself holding a second rank in the kingdom, *viz.*, that of the *yuvarāja* or the heir-apparentship.[4] That this is a garbled version of facts will be evident to anyone. We fail to see how the acceptance of the overlordship of Vēṅgi would have interfered with his right, if any, of the Chōḷa dominion. On the other hand, had he been made the ruler of Vēṅgi in the first instance, he would have been in a better position subsequently to push his claim for the Chōḷa throne.

That there was no need for adoption by the queen of Rājēndra-Chōḷa I. of her daughter's son is clear from the facts that Rājēndra-Chōḷa I. had several sons. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates say that this king appointed his son Chōḷa-Pāṇḍya to protect the Pāṇḍya and Kēraḷa countries.[5] The Kanyākumāri inscription adds that "like unto a sacrifice having three fires, there were born

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 171.
[2] *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1892, p. 5.
[3] Canto X, vv. 3 to 6.
[4] *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 59-60.
[5] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 423, vv. 93 and 99.

to Rājēndra-Chōḷa I. three sons, of whom the first was Rājādhirāja I".[1] Rājēndradēva and Vīrarājēndra are distinctly called Rājadhirāja's younger brothers;[2] and they succeeded to the Chōḷa throne one after another.[3]

A careful examination of the lowest and the highest regnal years of the inscriptions of the successive Chōḷa kings Rājēndra-Chōḷa I., Rājādhirāja I., Rājēndradēva, and Vīrarājēndra as well as the results of the calculation of the astronomical details furnished in many of them establishes :—

(1) that Rājēndra-Chōḷa I. counted his regnal years from A.D. 1011,[3] though his actual rule began in A.D. 1014-15[4] and lasted till A.D. 1044,[5] and that he installed his eldest son Rājādhirāja I. heir-apparent in A.D. 1018 ;

(2) that Rājādhirāja I. counted his regnal years from A.D. 1018[6] though his rule actually began in A.D. 1044[7] and lasted till A.D. 1053-4[8] and that in his turn he installed his younger brother Rājēndradēva as his heir-apparent in A.D. 1052 ;

(3) that Rājēndradēva counted his regnal years from A.D. 1052[9] though his rule actually began in A.D.1054 and lasted till A.D. 1065[10] and that he installed his next younger brother Vīrarājēndra as his heir-apparent in A.D. 1062 ; and

(4) that Vīrarājēndra counted his regnal years from A.D. 1062[11] though his rule actually began in A.D. 1064-5 and lasted till A.D. 1069.[12]

Besides the above named kings there were also two others who, as the inscriptions left by them prove, had actually ruled over the Chōḷa dominions, even though it be for short periods only. These are Rājakēsarivarman Rājamahēndradēva and Parakēsarivarman Adhirājēndra. The inscriptions of the first so far found, are dated in the 2nd and 3rd years[13] while those of the second, which are somewhat more numerous, are also dated in the 2nd and 3rd years.[14]

As Rājakēsarivarman Rājamahēndra claims to have defeated Āhavamalla at Muḍaṟkāṟu and gained victory over Jayasiṁha who commanded his forces, it looks pretty certain that he must have reigned after Rājēndradēva.[15] Since he and Vīrarājēndra are both styled Rājakēsarivarman, they may be considered to have ruled conjointly, for otherwise Vīrarājēndra should have borne the title Parakēsari and not Rājakēsari as he is actually called in all his records. Since one of the

[1] *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. III, p. 157, v. 73.

[2] *Ibid.*, vv. 74-76.

[3] Above, Vol. VII, p. 7. It has been shown that the reign was counted from a date between the 26th November A.D. 1011 and the 7th July 1012.

[4] The earliest year found in his inscriptions is the 3rd.

[5] *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1915-16, p. 118, para. 14.

[6] Above, Vol. VII, p. 7. The reign is determined to count from a date between 15th March and 3rd December A.D. 1018.

[7] The earliest year found for him in inscriptions is the 26th.

[8] The latest known date is the 36th year. See No. 262 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1921, where the king is called Rājakēsarivarman *alias* Vijayarājēndradēva which was another name for Rājādhirāja I.

[9] Above, Vol. VII, p. 7. His reign is determined to have commenced approximately on the 28th May A.D. 1052.

[10] Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1927-28, No. 63, which is dated in the 11th year of the king's reign. His earliest inscription is of the 2nd year.

[11] The commencement of his reign is determined to have fallen between the 11th September A.D. 1062 and the 10th September A.D. 1063.

[12] The earliest date known for him is the 2nd year and the latest 8th. See *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 976 and Vol. III, No. 57.

[13] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 56 and Vol. VII, No. 743.

[14] No. 123 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1926 and *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 57.

[15] See text of No. 743 of *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VII.

inscriptions of Adhirājēndra refers to some transactions made in the 8th year of Vīrarājēndra, Dr. Hultzsch has correctly placed him between Vīrarājēndra and Kulōttuṅga I.[1] We may suppose that his actual rule over the Chōḷa dominion commenced in the later part of his 2nd year when perhaps Vīrarājēndra died,— and this must have taken place in A.D. 1069. As his Tiruvallam inscription is dated in the 200th day of his 3rd regnal year, he must have had charge of the Chōḷa territory for very nearly a year. Another inscription of this king found at Kūhūr, dated in this very year, is also very interesting as it tells us that in the latter part of that year there was some concern about the king's health for the recovery of which provision was made for the recital of the sacred hymns (*tiruppadigam*) in the temple of Māmbalamuḍaiya-Mahādēva at the village.[2] Perhaps the disease could not be cured and proved fatal. Two other epigraphs of the king[3] inform us that the village Seṅgēṇi and Āḍaiyūr were under the rule of chiefs who bore the title Karikālachōḷa, which was one of the surnames of Adhirājēndra's father Vīrarājēndra who must have bestowed it on them. That the rule of the predecessor of Kulōttuṅga I. was recognised even in Ceylon, which was then a province of the Chōḷas, is proved by the inscriptions found in the island. From what has been said above, it would be seen that there was absolutely no need for any adoption from A.D. 1044 till the demise of Vīrarājēndra. It may also be added that, there are no indications in Chōḷa inscriptions of the period A.D. 1040-1069 that Kulōttuṅga I. was ever adopted for succession to the Chōḷa throne.

Now as to the **contents** of the inscription. Lines 1-13 form the preamble, lines 13-38 the document proper, and lines 39-48 furnish the boundaries of the lands comprised in the *paḷḷiṉilai* and *paḷḷiviḷāgam*, while what follows is the concluding portion. In the preamble, two *paḷḷis*, named Rājēndraśōḷapperumpaḷḷi and Rājarājapperumpaḷḷi, are mentioned as having been built by the king of Kaḍāram in Śōḷakulavallipaṭṭaṇam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam, a subdivision of Geyamāṇikka-vaḷanāḍu. It is stated that the ambassadors of the king of Kaḍāram made the request that the *Paḷḷichchanda* villages of these two may be entered in a copper-plate deed, the previous Kāṇiyāḷars removed and the lands vested with the Saṅgattār of the *paḷḷi*. The document proper enumerates only the *Paḷḷichchandas* of Rājarājapperumpaḷḷi; and there is no mention of Rājēndraśōḷapperumpaḷḷi at all. We are not sure if the word *Rājēndraśōḷapperumpaḷḷikkum* has been omitted after *eḍuppitta* in line 14. If it had been, the villages given must have belonged to both the *paḷḷis*. In lines 16 and 38, this copper-plate document is said to have been issued in favour of the Saṅgattār of the *paḷḷi* erected by the king of Kaḍāram and in line 39 Rājarājapperumpaḷḷi, which must have been a shrine in the *vihāra*, figures as the surname of Śailēndra-Chūḍāmaṇivarma-vihāra itself. While this is the case here, the grant registered in the Tamil portion of the Larger Leiden Plates is said to have been made 'for the requirements of the *paḷḷi* in the Chūḍāmaṇivarma-vihāra which was then being constructed at Nāgapaṭṭaṇam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam of Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu by Chūḍāmaṇivarman, the king of Kaḍāram'— the Sanskrit portion, however, stating that "the *Vihāra* was built by Māravijayōttuṅgavarman in the name of his father Chūḍāmaṇivarman". On account of the substitution of the names Śōḷakulavallipaṭṭaṇam and Geyamāṇikka-vaḷanāḍu in the Smaller set for Nāgapaṭṭaṇam and Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu of the Larger Leiden Plates, and also on account of the other differences noted above as regards the *paḷḷi* referred to in either set, a doubt may reasonably arise as to the identity of the donee in the two sets. But the fact that the village of Āṉaimaṅgalam with its total extent of 97 *vēli*, 2 *mā* and odd and *kāṇikkaḍaṉ* 8943 *kalam*, which is exactly the grant made in the

[1] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 57.

[2] No. 280 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1917.

[3] *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VII, Nos. 854 and 884. In the later history of the Chōḷas the chiefs of the villages Seṅgēṇi and Āḍaiyūr play an important part.

Larger Leiden Plates, figures as the first item of the *Paḷḷichchandas* belonging to Rājarājapperumpaḷḷi in the Smaller set, proves definitely the identity of the donees of the two sets. Therefore it must be regarded that Śōḻakulavallipaṭṭaṇam and Geyamāṇikka-vaḷanāḍu are but the altered names of Nāgapaṭṭaṇam and Kshatriyaśikhāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu respectively.

Of the terms that occur in the inscription, *kāṇikkaḍaṇ*, *kāṇiyāḷaṇ*, *nichchayitta-nellu* and *Saṅgattār* deserve to be noticed. *Kāṇikkaḍaṇ* is made of *kāṇi*=lands and *kaḍaṇ*=duty, and may be taken to mean "the assessment payable on lands to the king". From the occurrence of this word in the Larger Leiden Plates in this very sense with respect to the total quantity of income from the entire extent of lands in the village of Āṇaimaṅgalam and the repetition of the term and the quantity in our plates, the meaning suggested above seems to be decisive. *Kāṇiyāḷar* means literally "the persons that manage lands" and may be taken to refer to the men employed by the State to lease its lands for purposes of cultivation, to afford facilities to farmers by way of irrigation, etc., and to see to the realisation of rents or assessments. The term *nichchayitta-nellu* is rarely met with in inscriptions. In this record, which relates to an application made to the king to terminate the functioning of the *kāṇiyāḷar* and to transfer the lands from their possession and management to the authorities of the Buddhist monasteries for being dealt with directly by them, there is evidently some further gain to be derived by the monasteries in the proposed change, to wit the rights and privileges which the *kāṇiyāḷar* might have had. Perhaps the term *nichchayitta-nellu* stands for the quantity of paddy settled to be paid by the cultivating tenants to the *kāṇiyāḷar* to meet the cost of affording facilities, etc., and for their remuneration for performing the function as middlemen between the State and the tenants.

It is not unlikely that the term *Saṅgattār* of the *paḷḷi* has the same significance as the Paṇmāhēśvaras (or Māhēśvaras) of Śiva temples and Śrī-Vaishṇavas of Vishṇu temples. In many inscriptions we meet with the clauses "*idu Paṇmāhēśvarar rakshai*", "*idu Śrī-Vaishṇavar rakshai*". In the case of grants of Buddhist or Jaina shrines the above clauses would be altered into "*idu paḷḷich-Chaṅgattār rakshai.*" The translation of these clauses into "This shall be under the protection of all the *Māhēśvaras* or *Śrī-Vaishṇavas* or the *Saṅgattār* or others of the monastery" may not make clear whether by the terms Paṇmāhēśvaras, Śrī-Vaishṇavas and Saṅgattār individuals belonging to the respective sects are meant or whether they have any particular reference to regularly constituted bodies of men drawn from the said sects in accordance with set rules as in the case of the *Sabhā* or other constituted bodies and having concern with the management of the properties of the temple or other institutions with which they are associated. Judging from the single fact that the objects of the grants had to be fulfilled daily or at specified occasions, not for a fixed number of years only, but perpetually "as long as the Moon and the Sun last" as the inscriptions put it, in the manner stipulated by the donors, it can be said that the recipients who undertook to effect them could not have been a chance collection of individuals but could only have been responsible members of regularly constituted bodies whose duties were to accept such gifts and to execute the will of the donors. In this connection a few more facts contained in some of the inscriptions are worth noting. It is stated that the donations made have to be maintained as a whole, undiminished for ever and that the expenses involved in fulfilling the objects of the grants have to be met only from the incomes. It is unnecessary to say that on the part of the recipients, the safe investments of the endowments and the timely realisation of interests and the utilising of the latter without default for the specified purposes involve a very high responsibility and considerable amount of work. Here again we are obliged to think that the recipients must only be members of regularly constituted committees wielding influence and authority and not mere chance collections of individuals. Unless this be the case, it is impossible to perceive how costly gifts of lands, villages and the

like intended to meet the cost of perpetual charities would have been left with them by kings and private individuals and how the donors would have been assured of the fulfilment of their objects. A few inscriptions insert a penal clause stating that in cases of default the Paṇmāhēśvaras shall levy or cause to be levied a fine on the defaulters, to be paid to the Dharmāsana or the king of the day. From this also the irresistible conclusion is that the Paṇmāhēśvaras in the case of the Śiva temples, Śrī-Vaishṇavas in the case of Vishṇu temples and the Saṅgattār in the case of the Buddhist and Jaina temples must have been regularly constituted bodies meant for or invested with the authority of keeping proper accounts of grants, enforcing the regular conduct of the objects and punishing or causing to be punished any one making infringements in the undertaking.

TEXT.

First Plate.

1 ||| Puga[ḷ]-mādu viḷaṅga Jaya-mādu virumba Nila-maga[ḷ] nilava Malar-maga[ḷ] pu[ṇa]ra urimaiyiṟ-chiṟanda maṇi-muḍi śū-

2 ḍi Villavar kulai-tara Mīṉavar nilai-keḍa Vikkalar Śiṅgaṇar mēl-kaḍal pāya=ttikk=aṇaittuṇ[1]=taṇ śakkara naḍāt-

3 ti [2]vīrasiṁhāsanattu=bBuvaṇamuḻuduḍaiyāḷoḍum vīṟṟirunḍ=aruḷiya kōv-Irājakēśari-panmar-āṇa chakka-

4 ravarttiga[ḷ] śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Chōḻadēvarkku yāṇḍu irupad-āvadu Āyirattaḷiy-āṇa Āhava-malla-

5 kulakālapurattu kōyiliṉ=uḷḷāl=ttirumañjaṇa-śālaiyil paḷḷi[p*]pīḍam Kāliṅgarājaṇil eḻund-aruḷi irukka Kiḍārat-

6 taraiyaṉ Geyamāṇikka-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṟṟattu Śōḻakulavalli-paṭṭaṇattu eḍuppitta [3]Rājēntraśō-

7 ḻa-ppṟerum-paḷḷikkum Rājarāja-pperum-paḷḷikkum (p)paḷḷichchaṇḍam[4]-āṇa ūrga[ḷ] paḻam-baḍiy=antarāyamum vīra-

8 śēshaiyum paṇmai-paṇḍai-veṭṭiyum kundāl[i]yum[5] śuṅga-mērāmum uḷḷiṭṭaṇav = ellām tavirn-

9 ḍamaikkum muṇbu paḷḷichchandaṅga[ḷ] kāṇiy-uḍaiya kāṇi-āḻarai[6]=ttavira i-ppaḷḷi-chchaṅgattārkkē kāṇi-

10 yāga=ppeṟṟamaikkum tāmra-śāsaṇam paṇṇi-ttara vēṇḍum-eṉṟu Kiḍārattaṟ[7]iyar dūtaṇ[8] Rājavi-

11 dyādhara-śrī-sāmantaṇum Abhimānōttuṅga-śrī-sāmantaṇum viṇṇappam śeyya ippaḍi sandhivigrahi-

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[1] Read *aṇaittuṇ=*

[2] Read *siṁhāsanattu.*

[3] Read *Rājēndra.*

[4] Read *chaṇḍam-* as in ll. 9 and 15.

[5] The *i*-sign of *li* merges in the bottom curve of *ḷu* of *paḷḷikkum* in the previous line.

[6] Read *kāṇiyāḻarai-*

[7] Here *ṟṟ* looks like *ṟṟa* as the sign of length is separated from *ṟu.*

[8] The letter *m* at the end of the word is entered in smaller character at the right bottom of *ṇa* .

The Smaller Leiden Plates of Kulottunga I.

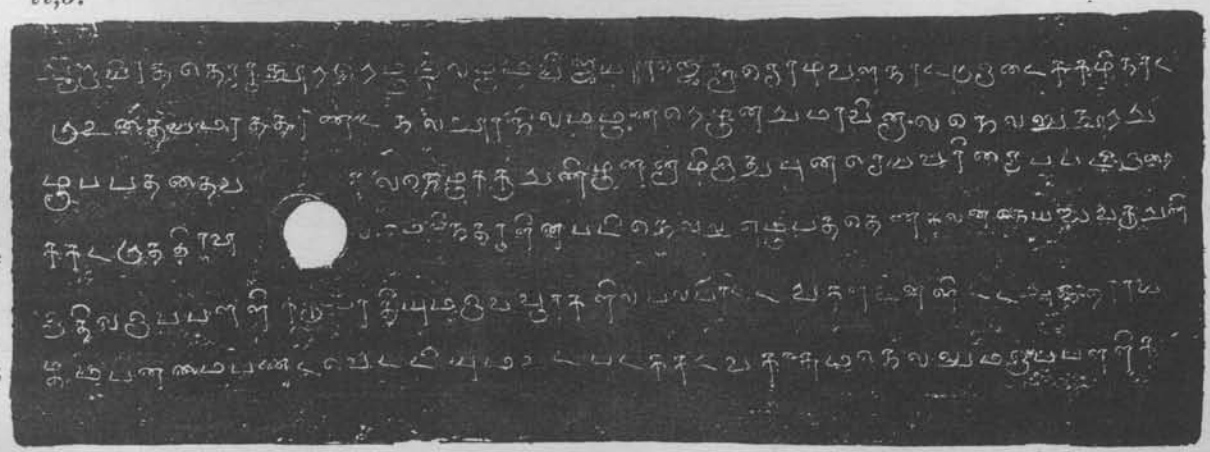
i.



ii,a.



ii,b.

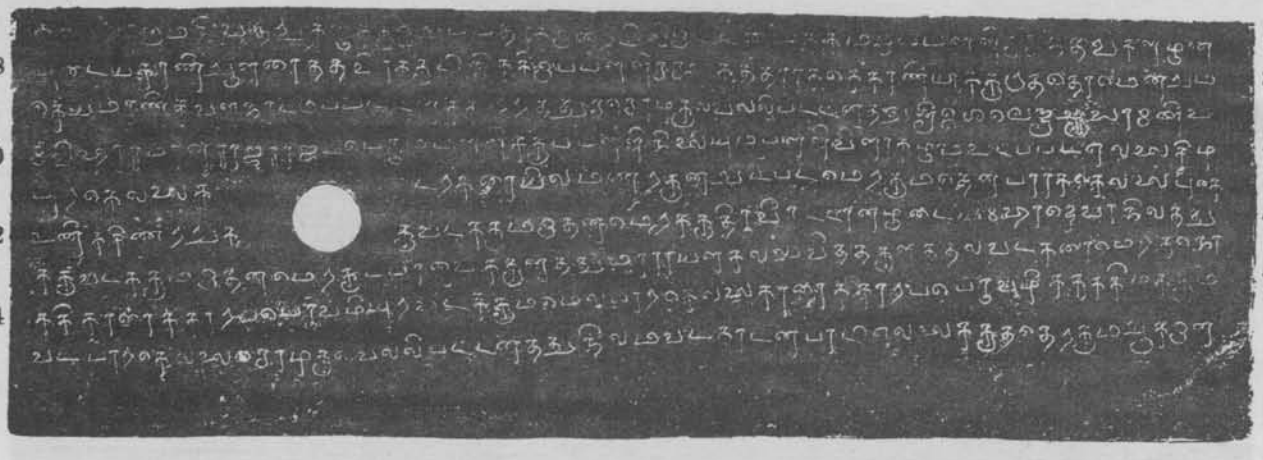


N. P. Chakravarti.
Rec. No. 3934 E'36–425.

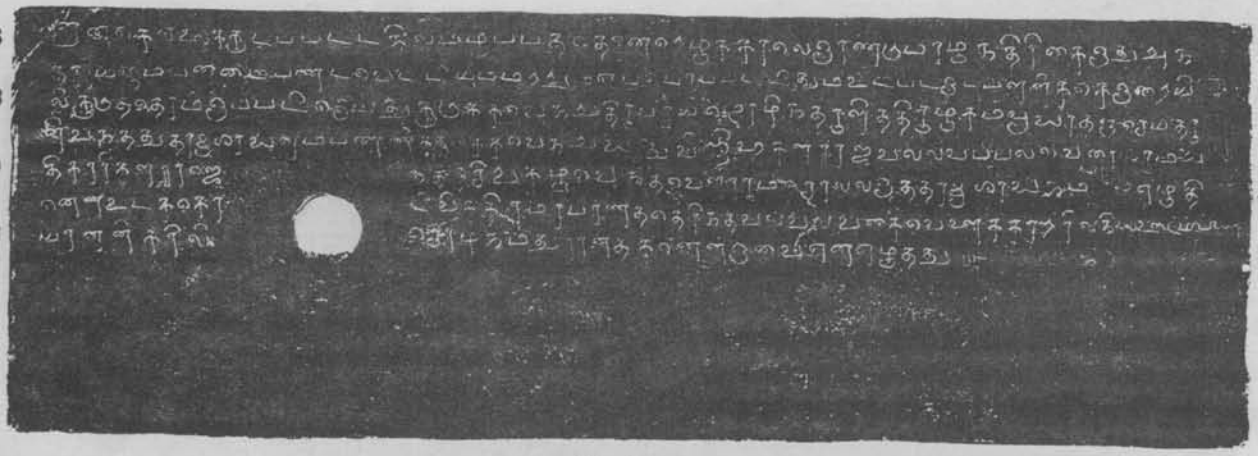
SCALE : FOUR-TENTHS.

Survey of India, Calcutta.

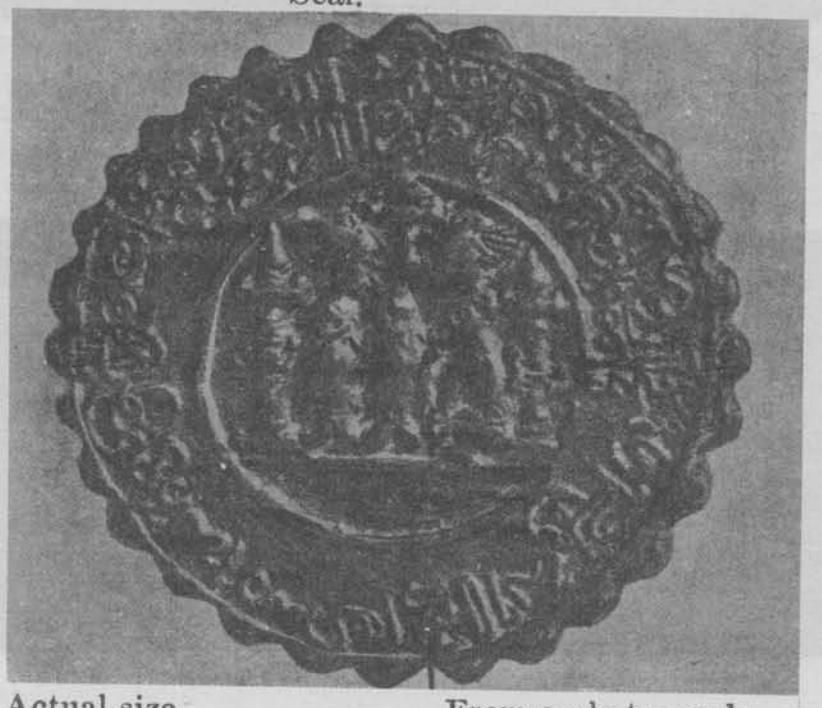
iii,a.



iii,b.



Seal.



Actual size. From a photograph.

12 Rājavallaḅha-pPallavaraiyaṇōḍuṅ=kūḍa irundu tāmra-śāsanam paṇṇi-kkuḍukkav-eṉṟu adikāri-

13 gaḷ [1]Rājēntraśiṅga-Müvēndavēḷārkku=ttirumugam prasādañ=cheyd-aruḷi vara-ttāmra-śāsanañ=cheydapaḍi [।*] Kaḍāratta-

14 raiyaṉ Geyamāṇikka-vaḷanāṭṭu Paṭṭaṇa-kkūṟṟattu Šōḷakulavalli-paṭṭaṇattu eḍup-pitta Rājarāja-[p*]perum-pa[।*]ḷi-

15 kku[2] paḷḷichchandam Geyamāṇikka-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṟṟattu Āṇaimaṅgalam nilan=toṇṇūṟṟ-ēḻē[3] iraṇ-

Second Plate; First Side.

16 ḍu-mā=kkāṇi arai=kkāṇiyum muṇbuḍaiya kāṇi-āḷarai[4]=ttavira i-ppaḷḷi-chchaṅ-gattārkkē kāṇiy-āgavum idu kāṇi-kkaḍaṇ nellu

17 eṇṇ-āyirattu=tto]ḷāyirattu nāṟpattu mu-kkalanē iru-tūṇi=kkuṟuṇi mu-ṇṇāḻiyiṉāl nichchayitta nellu nāl-āyirat-

18 t=aiññūṟṟu=kkalamum Āṇaimaṅgalattu brahmadēyam nilam paṇṇiraṇḍē muk-kāliṉāl nellu nānūṟṟu=kkala-

19 m nichchayitta nellu aiññūṟṟu=aṟupadiṉ kalamum i-ṇṇāṭṭu Muñjikuḍi nilam irubatt-ēḻē mukkālē mukkāṇi a-

20 rai-kkāṇiyiṉāl kāṇi-kkaḍaṇ nellu iraṇḍ-āyiratt=eḻu-nūṟṟ[5]=eḻubatt-oṉbadiṉ ka[la]n[ē] tūṇi[6]

21 nā-nāḻi nichchayitta nellu āyiratt=eṇṇūṟṟu[7]=kkalamum [।*] Tiruvārūr-kkūṟṟattu Āmūr nila-

22 m nūṟṟ[8]=āṟē māgāṇiyil kāṇi-kkaḍaṇ nellu=[9]ppadināyiratt=aṟu-nūṟṟu=kkalanē iru-tūṇi=k-

23 kuṟuṇi aṟu-nāḻi [ni]chchayitta nellu aiyy-āyiratt=eṇṇūṟṟ-aimpadiṉ kalamum [।*] Aḻa-nāṭ-

24 ṭu Vaḍakuḍiy-āna Nāṇalūr nilam eḻupadē mukkālē nāṉ-māv=araiyiṉāl kāṇi-kkaḍaṇ ne-

25 llu āṟ-āyiratt=aiññūṟṟ=orupattu nāṟ-kalanē aiṅ-kuṟuṇi oru-nāḻi nichchayitta nellu iraṇḍ-ā-

26 yiratt=eṇṇūṟṟu [10]nāṟppadiṉ-kalamum [।*] i-ṇṇāṭṭu=kKīḻchchandirappāḍi nilam pattē iraṇḍu-mā=kkāṇi

27 arai-kkāṇi mundirigai kīḻ-mukkāliṉāl kāṇi-kkaḍaṇ nellu āyiratt=orubatt-iru-kalanē[11] aiṅ-kuṟuṇiyum [।*] i-ṇṇā-

---

[1] Read *Rājēndra*.

[2] The engraver seems to have, in the first instance, omitted the word *paḷḷikku* and then inserted it in smaller characters (*paḷi* at the end of l. 14 and *kku* at the beginning of l. 15).

[3] The *ṟē* of *ṟēḻē* is entered below the line in small characters.

[4] Read *kāṇiyāḷarai*.

[5] The ṟ of *ṟe* has been inserted in small character between *e* and *ḻu*.

[6] The length of *tū* is unconnected with *tu*.

[7] The length of *ṇū* is separated from *ṇu*.

[8] The length of *nū* is separated from *nu*.

[9] Cancel the first *p*.

[10] Read *nāṟpadiṉ*.

[11] *kanē* seems to be a correction.

28 ṭṭu=pPālaiyūr brahmadēyam nilam aṟupadē[1] mukkāliṉāl nellu āyira-
kkalam nichchayitta nellu āyiratt=ai-
29 ññūṟṟu kalamum [|*] Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa-vaḷanāṭṭu=kKuṟumbūr-nāṭṭu=pPuttakkuḍi nilam
eṇbatt-ēḻē[2]
30 kāliṉāl kāṇi-kkaḍaṉ nellu eṇṇ-āyiratt=eḻu-nūṟṟ=irupadiṉ=kalanē tīṇi nā-nāḻi
nichchayitta nellu ā-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

31 [3]âṟ-āyiratt=oru-nūṟṟ=eḻu [4]kalamum Vijayarājēntraśōḷa[5]-vaḷanāṭṭu Iḍaikkaḻi-nāṭ-
32 ṭu Udaiyamā[r*]ttāṇḍanallūr nilam mūṇṟē mūṇṟu-māviṉāl nellu nūṟṟu-
33 muppatt-aiñ=kalanē mu-kkuṟuṇi mu-ṇṇāḻi idu puṇśēy variśaippaḍi iṟai=
34 kkaṭṭu=ttiruvāymoḻindaruḷiṉapaḍi nellu eḻupatt-eṇ=kalaṇ(n)ēy aiñ=kuṟuṇi
35 idil i-ppaḷḷikku=ppādiyum ivv-ūrgaḷil pala pāṭṭaṅgaḷ uḷḷiṭṭa antarāya-
36 mum paṇmai-paṇḍa-veṭṭiyum uṭpaḍa=kkaḍava kāśum nellum i-ppaḷḷik-

Third Plate ; First Side.

37 ku vēṇḍum nivantaṅgaḷukku iṟuppad-āga iṟaiy-iḻi iṭṭamaikkum [|*] i-ppaḷḷi-
chchandaṅgaḷ muṇ-
38 buḍaiya[6] kāṇi-āḷarai[7]=ttavira=kkuḍi nīkki i-ppaḷḷi-chchaṅgattārkkē kāṇiy-
āga kuḍuttōm=eṉṟum
39 Ceyamānikka[8]-vaḷanāṭṭu=pPaṭṭaṇa-kkūṟṟattu=chChōḷakulavallipaṭṭaṇattu śrī-Śailēndra-
Chūḍāmaṇiva-
40 rmma-vihāram-āṇa Rājarājapperumpaḷḷikku=ppaḷḷi-nilaiyum paḷḷi-viḷāgamum uṭpa[ṭ]ṭa
ellai kiḻ-
41 pāṟk-ellai kaḍaṟ-karaiyil maṇaṟ-kuṉṟ=uṭpaḍa mēṟkum [*] teṉpārkk-ellai Pugai-
42 uṇi[9]-kkiṇaṟṟukku vaḍakkum idaṉ mēṟkku Tiruvīraṭṭāṇamuḍaiya-Mahādēvar
nilattu-
43 kku vaḍakkum idaṉ mēṟku=pParavaikkuḷattu-Mārāyaṉ kalluvitta kuḷattil
vaḍakarai mēṟku nō-
44 kki Kāraikkāṟ-pperuvaḻiy=uṟa vaḍakkum [|*] mēlpāṟk-ellai Kāraikkāṟ-pperuvaḻikku-
kkilakkum [*]
45 vaḍapāṟk-ellai Śōḷakulavallipaṭṭaṇattu nilam Vaḍa-Kāḍaṉpāḍi ellaikku=tteṟkum [|*]
āga i-ṉ-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

46 ṉāṉg-ellaikk=uṭppaṭṭa[10] nilam muppatt-oṉṟē mukkālē iraṇḍu-mā mundiri-
gai idu an-

[1] The letter *ṟ* is inserted below *pa*.
[2] *Ēppaṭaḻē* had been entered first and *ṭ* and *e* inserted after in small characters.
[3] The initial letter *ā* had also been entered at the end of the previous line. Cancel one of the *â*'s.
[4] The letter *ka* is a correction from some other letter.
[5] Read *Vijayarājēndra*.
[6] The syllables *buḍaiya* have been read as *paḍaiy* in *A. S. of S. I.*
[7] Read *kāṇiyāḷarai*.
[8] The letter *kka* is written as a group, perhaps as an after thought, by raising the top stroke of *ka*.
[9] Read *yuṇṇi*.
[10] Read *uṭpaṭṭa*.

47 tarāyamum paṇmai-paṇḍa-veṭṭiyum maṟṟum eppērppaṭṭidum uṭpaḍa i-
ppaḷḷikkē iṟaiy-i-
48 li kuḍuttōm [|*] ippaḍi śeydu kuḍukkav-enṟu tiruvāymoḻindaruḷi=ttiru-mugam
prasādañ=cheydaru-
49 ḷi vandadu [*] tāmra-śāsaṇam paṇṇi=kkuḍukkav=enṟu santuvigrihagaḷ[1] Rāja-
vallava-pPallavaraiyarum a-
50 dikārigaḷ Rājēndiraśiṅga-Mūvēndavēḷārum śolla i-ttāmra-śāsanam eḻudi-
51 ṇēṉ Uṭkkōḍi Vikkiramābaraṇa-tterinda-(vala) Valaṅgai[2]-vēḷaikkāṟaril Nilai-
uḍaiya-Pa[ṇai][3]-
52 yāṉ Nigariliśōḻan Madurāṇṭakaṇēṉ ivai eṉ eḻuttu |||-

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1 to 13) In the 20th year of (*the reign of*) king Rājakēśarivarman *alias* the emperor Śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷadēva, who was pleased to be seated along with (*his queen*) Bhuvana-muḻuduḍaiyāḷ on his lion throne, wearing the excellent crown of gems belonging to (*the family*), his disc of authority (*i.e.*, sway) extending in all directions, the goddess of fame (*growing in*) excellence, the goddess of victory becoming desirous, the goddess of the earth (*becoming*) bright and the goddess on the (*lotus*) flower (*i.e.*, Lakshmī) espousing (*him*), the *Villavar* (*i.e.*, the Chēra) becoming shattered, the *Mīṇavar* (*i.e.*, the Pāṇḍya) becoming disestablished, and Vikkalaṉ (*i.e.*, Vikramāditya VI) and Siṅgaṇaṉ (*i.e.*, Jayasiṁha) plunging into the Western ocean,

when he was pleased to rest on the reclining couch (*paḷḷippīḍam*) called Kāliṅgarājaṉ in the bathing hall within the palace at Āyirattaḷi *alias* Āhavamallakulakālapuram, the ambassadors of the king of Kaḍāram named Rājavidyādhara-Śrī-Sāmanta and Abhimānōttuṅga-Śrī-Sāmanta having made the request that,

for having been exempted from the payment of (*the customary taxes*) inclusive of *antarāyam*, *viraśēshai*, *paṇmai-paṇḍai-veṭṭi*, *kundāli*, and *śuṅgamērā*, (*all*) the villages which were the *paḷḷichchandas* of Rājēndraśōḻapperumpaḷḷi and Rājarājapperumpaḷḷi constructed by the king of Kaḍāram at Śōḻakulavallippaṭṭaṇam in Paṭṭaṇa-kkūṟṟam (*a sub-division*) of Geyamāṇikka-vaḷanāḍu, for removing the old *kāṇiyāḷars* who were holding the *kāṇis* of the *paḷḷichchandas* and for investing the *Saṅgattār* of the *paḷḷi* with these lands,

a copper-plate charter may be made and given,

a royal order having been issued (*with the approval of the king*) to the *adhiakārin* Rājēndra-siṅga-Mūvēndavēḷār that (*he*) in conjunction with the *sandhivigrahin* Rājavallabha-Pallavaraiyaṉ should draw up a copper-plate charter to this effect,

the following is the copper-plate charter drawn up in pursuance of this order :—

(Ll. 13-35) Ninety-seven (*vēli*), two *mā* and one *kāṇi* and a half of land comprising Āṇai-maṅgalam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam, a subdivision of Geyamāṇikka-vaḷanāḍu, which formed the *paḷḷichchanda* of Rājarājapperumpaḷḷi, erected at Śōḻakulavallipaṭṭaṇam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam, a subdivision of Geyamāṇikka-vaḷanāḍu, have been removed from the possession of its old tenants and made the *kāṇi* of the *Saṅgattār* of the said *paḷḷi*. The *kāṇikkaḍaṉ* on this land is eight thousand nine hundred and forty-three *kalam*, two *tūṇi*, one *kuṟuṇi* and three *nāḻi* of paddy : and the *nichchayitta-nellu* on it is four thousand and five hundred *kalam* of paddy ;

[1] Read *sandhivigrahigaḷ*. The *i*-sign has been inserted on *gr* instead of on *h*. The *A. S. of S. I.* adopts the correct reading in the text itself.

[2] The reading given in the *A. S. of S. I.* is *pala pala vagai* which gives no sense.

[3] The letters *l Nilai-uḍaiya-Paṇai-* at the end of this line are in smaller characters, the last letter being faintly engraved in the margin. The *A. S. of S. I.* has *nalai*.

(the *kāṇikkaḍaṇ*) on lands measuring twelve and three-fourths (*vēli*) in the *brahmadēya* of Āṇaimaṅgalam is four hundred *kalam* of paddy : its *nichchayitta-nellu* is five hundred and sixty *kalam*.

The *kāṇikkaḍaṇ* on twenty-seven and three-fourths (*vēli*), three *kāṇi* and a half of land in Muñjikuḍi of this *nāḍu* is two thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine *kalam*, (*one*) *tūṇi* and four *nāḷi* of paddy : its *nichchayitta-nellu* is one thousand and eight hundred *kalam*.

The *kāṇikkaḍaṇ* on one hundred and six (*vēli*) and one-sixteenth of land in Āmūr situated in Tiruvārūr-kūṟṟam is ten thousand and six hundred *kalam*, two *tūṇi*, one *kuṟuṇi* and six *nāḷi* of paddy : its *nichchayitta-nellu* is five thousand eight hundred and fifty *kalam*.

The kāṇikkaḍaṇ on seventy and three-fourths (*vēli*), four *mā* and a half of land in Vaḍakuḍi *alias* Nāṇalūr situated in Aḷanāḍu is six thousand five hundred and fourteen *kalam*, five *kuṟuṇi* and (*one*) *nāḷi* of paddy : its *nichchayitta-nellu* is two thousand eight hundred and forty *kalam*.

The *kāṇikkaḍaṇ* on ten (*vēli*), two *mā*, one *kāṇi* and a half, one *mundirigai*, and *kīḻ* three-fourths of land in Kīḻ-Chandirappāḍi of this *nāḍu* is one thousand and twelve *kalam* and five *kuṟuṇi* of paddy, and on sixty (*vēli*) and three-fourths of land in the *brahmadēya* of Pālaiyūr of this same *nāḍu* is one thousand *kalam* of paddy : their *nichchayitta-nellu* is one thousand five hundred *kalam*.

The *kāṇikkaḍaṇ* on eighty-seven and one-fourth (*vēli*) of land in Puttakkuḍi of Kuṟumbūr-nāḍu in Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōḷa-vaḷanāḍu is eight thousand seven hundred and twenty *kalam*, one *tūṇi*, and four *nāḷi* of paddy : its *nichchayitta-nellu* is six thousand one hundred and seven *kalam*.

The paddy (*income*) on three (*vēli*) and three *mā* of land in Udayamārtāṇḍanallūr of Iḍaikkaḷi-nāḍu in Vijayarājēndraśōḷa-vaḷanāḍu is one hundred and thirty-five *kalam*, three *kuṟuṇi* and three *nāḷi*. The royal order fixing the income on this, according to the prevailing rate for dry lands, is seventy-eight *kalam* and five *kuṟuṇi* of paddy. Half of this shall be for this *paḷḷi*.

(Ll. 35-40) The several incomes of money and paddy inclusive of *antarāyam*, *paṇmai-paṇḍa-veṭṭi*, etc., arising from the above said villages have been assigned, free from taxes, to meet the expenses of this *paḷḷi*. Also, the *paḷḷichchandas* have been freed from their previous *kāṇiyāḷars*, have their tenants removed and have been given by us to the *Saṅgattār* of this *paḷḷi* as their *kāṇi*. The boundaries of the site and the surrounding ground of the glorious Śailēndra-Chūḍāmaṇivarma-vihāra *alias* Rājarājapperumpaḷḷi at Śōḻakulavallipaṭṭaṇam in Paṭṭaṇa-kūṟṟam, (*a subdivision*) of Geyamāṇikka-vaḷanāḍu are :—

(Ll. 40-52) The eastern boundary is to the west of Sand-hill on the sea-shore.

The southern boundary is to the north of the well called Pugaiyuṇṇi and also to the north of the land belonging to the Tiruvīraṭṭānamuḍaiya-Mahādēva situated to the west of this (*i.e.*, the above said well) as well as to the west of the high road to Kāraikkāl which proceeds westward from the north bank of the tank dug out by Mārāyaṇ at Paṟavaikkuḷam to the west of this (*i.e.*, the land of the Mahādēva).

The western boundary is to the east of the high road to Kāraikkāl.

The northern boundary is to the south of the boundary of the land called Vaḍa-Kāḍaṉpāḍi in Śōḻakulavallipaṭṭaṇam.

The land situated within these four boundaries measure thirty-one and three-fourths *vēli*, two *mā* and one *mundirigai* in extent. And this land has also been given by us free of all taxes to this *paḷḷi* inclusive of the *antarāyam*, *paṇmai-paṇḍa-veṭṭi* and all other (*pāṭṭams*). This has been made in accordance with the royal order issued to us embodying the declaration of the king.

On the direction of the *sandhivigrahin* Rājavallabha Pallavaraiyaṇ and the *adhikārin* Rājēndrasiṅga-Mūvēndavēḷāṉ, this copper-(plate) edict was written by the *Nilaiyuḍaiya-Paṇaiyāṉ*[1] Nigariliśōḷaṉ Madhurāntakaṉ, one of the Vikramābharaṇa-teṟinda-Valaṅgai-Vēḷaikkāṟas of Uṭkkōḍi : this is my signature.

No. 36.—NOTE ON THE SAILENDRA KINGS[2] MENTIONED IN THE LEIDEN PLATES.

By Professor R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph.D., Dacca.

The Larger Leiden Plates of Rājarāja I contain references to two Śailēndra kings, *viz.*, Chūḷāmaṇivarman and his son Śrī-Māravijayōttuṅgavarman. The Śailēndra dynasty is known to have ruled over Malay Peninsula and Java towards the close of the eighth century A.D. An inscription found at Ligor[3] in Malay Peninsula refers to a Śailēndra king named Śrī-Mahārāja, and he had, perhaps, also the personal name Vishṇu. There is internal evidence to show that this inscription is somewhat later than A.D. 775. An inscription found at Kalasan,[4] in Java, dated A.D. 778, refers to the building of a temple of Tārā by *Mahārāja* Panaṁkaraṇa, the ornament of the Śailēndra dynasty. The temple is undoubtedly the famous Chaṇḍi Kalasan, one of the finest temples in Java. Another inscription found at Kelurak[5], in the neighbourhood of the same locality, mentions a Śailēndra king Śrī-Saṅgrāma-Dhanaṁjaya and refers to the setting up of an image of Mañjuśrī by the royal preceptor Kumāraghōsha, a resident of Gauḍa (*Gauḍī-dvīpa-guru*).

Arab writers, from the ninth century onwards, refer to the empire of Zābag or Zābaj, ruled over by the Mahārāja. There is no doubt that under this name they refer to the empire of the Śailēndras, which now extended over nearly the whole of Malayasia (Malay Archipelago and Malay Peninsula), including the famous kingdom of Śrī-Vijaya in Sumatra. There are reasons to believe that for some time this empire also exercised some sort of suzerainty over Kāmbōja (Cambodia) and Champā (Annam).

There can be hardly any doubt that the empire of the Śailēndras, referred to as Zābag by Arab writers, is the same as the kingdom of San-fo-ts'i, referred to in the Chinese Annals from the tenth century onwards.[6]

The Chinese annals refer to no less than twelve embassies sent from San-fo-ts'i to China during the tenth century A.D. The first two embassies during the eleventh century A.D. are

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[1] The expression *Nilaiyuāaiya-Paṇaiyaṉḍ* might indicate a " profession, office or calling ". Its exact meaning is not clear to me and it is therefore left untranslated.

[2] Much has been recently written in French and Dutch journals and books about the Śailēndras. The following note is intended merely to give a very brief outline of their history so far as it is necessary to elucidate the Leiden Plates. For fuller discussion of their history and reference to recent authorities the reader may consult the following articles of mine :—(1) Les Rois Śailēndra de Suvarṇadvīpa, *B.E.F.E.O.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 121-141. (2) The Śailēndra Empire, *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. I, pp. 11-27. (3) The struggle between the Śailēndras and the Chōḷas, *Ibid.*, pp. 71-91. (4) Decline and Fall of the Śailēndra Empire, *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 12-24. Reference may also be made to the following article by Dr. G. Coedès :—(5) On the origin of the Śailēndras of Indonesia, *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 61-70.

[3] *B.E.F.E.O.*, Vol. XVIII, 6, App. 1, pp. 29ff. ; *J.A.S.B., Letters*, Vol. I (1935), pp. 20ff.

[4] *T. B. G.*, Vol. 68 (1928), pp. 57ff.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 1ff.

[6] The Arab and Chinese accounts are collected by Ferrand, *J. A.*, 11-XX, pp. 1ff. They are also quoted in articles Nos. 1-4 mentioned in f. n. 2 above.

of special interest from the point of view of this inscription, and we therefore give short details of them on the authority of the *History of the Sung Dynasty*.

"In the year 1003 A.D., the king Sseu-li-chu-la-wu-ni-fo-ma-tiao-hua sent two envoys to bring tribute."

"In the year 1008 A.D., the king Sseu-li-ma-lo-p'i sent three envoys to present tribute."

Dr. Coedès was the first to point out[1] that the first royal name is a Chinese rendering of Śrī-Chūḷāmaṇivarman, and the second is equivalent to Śrī-Māravi....., the first part of the name of his successor Śrī-Māravijayōttuṅgavarman, referred to in the Larger Leiden Plates. This identification has been universally accepted, and has served to clear up the history of the Śailēndras in many respects.

The Larger Plates refer to the Śailēndra kings as follows:—

(1) *Śailēndra-vaṁśa-sambhūtēna Śrīvishay-ādhipatinā Kaṭāh-ādhipatyam=ātanvatā*..... (Sanskrit portion ll. 80-81).

(2-3) *Kaṭāh-ādhipati* (*Ibid.*, ll.90, 100).

(4) *Kiḍāratt-araiyaṇ* (Tamil portion l.6).

(5-6) *Kaḍāratt-araiyaṇ* (*Ibid.*, ll.13, 200).

It would thus appear that the Śailēndra kings are referred to as kings of Kaṭāha, Kaḍāra, or Kiḍāra, these three being variants of the same place-name. This place has been identified with Keddah in the Malay Peninsula.

Now, in the first passage the king is also called lord of Śrī-Vishaya, which is no doubt the same as Śrī-Vijaya, a kingdom in Sumatra[2] which, as we have noted above, was included in the empire of the Śailēndras. The expression immediately following *viz.*, *Kaṭāh-ādhipatyam=ātanvatā* means, in my opinion, 'who extended the suzerainty (*i.e.*, the kingdom) of Kaṭāha'. The learned Editor of the Plates has translated the passage as "who was conducting the rule of Kaṭāha". But the primary meaning of the Sanskrit root '*tan*' is to 'spread', 'extend' etc., and I see no reason to reject it in this case.

If we accept the normal meaning of the expression, and remember that in all other cases, five in number, the king is simply referred to as king of Kaṭāha (*var.* Kaḍāra, Kiḍāra), no doubt remains that the Śailēndras, according at least to the writers of this inscription, were originally rulers of Kaṭāha, and then extended their suzerainty over Śrī-Vijaya.

The great importance of this point will be obvious to any one who is familiar with the current controversy about the original home-land of the Śailēndras. Dr. Coedès first suggested that the Śailēndras were originally rulers of Śrī-Vijaya, and this view was subsequently regarded as an established fact. Some time ago I demonstrated the weakness of the reasoning on which this theory was based, and Dr. Coedès has now freely accepted my view. He states that 'it is impossible, according to sound methods, to affirm that before the 11th century the kings of Śrī-Vijaya belonged to the Śailēndra dynasty or that they reigned at Śrī-Vijaya'.[3]

[1] *B. E. F. E. O.*, Vol. XVIII, 6, p. 7.

[2] This is the general view. Recently Dr. H. G. Quaritch Wales has suggested that Śrī-Vijaya might be the name of a kingdom in Malay Peninsula itself. He has drawn attention to the fact that "one of the most important ancient sites in the northern part of the Malay Peninsula is still called C'aiya (*i.e.*, Jaya, a shortened form of Vijaya; and not far to the south is situated Śrī-Vijaya Hill)". *Indian Art and Letters*, Vol. IX, p. 4.

[3] See articles mentioned in p. 281, n. 2. That the Śailēndras ruled over Śrī-Vijaya as early as the tenth century A.D. is proved by Arab records, if we regard Zābag as denoting the Śailēndra empire. To this extent, Dr. Coedès' statement requires modification.

As noted above, the evidence of the Leiden Plates fully supports the view that the Śailēndra kings were rulers of Kaṭāha or Kaḍāra (*var.* Kiḍāra) and subsequently extended their suzerainty over Śrī-Vijaya.

The Chinese references to the two embassies from San-fo-ts'i quoted above, taken along with the data supplied by the Plates, leave no doubt that king Chūḷāmaṇivarman died sometime between A.D. 1005 and 1008. The fact that although the formal grant in the Tamil portion was drawn up in the 23rd year of Rājarāja I, yet mention is only made of Chūḷāmaṇivarman and not his son, might be taken to indicate that the former died in A.D. 1007-8. But this is somewhat problematical. In any case Chūḷāmaṇivarman died shortly after A.D. 1005 and this explains the discrepancy noted by the Editor on pp. 228-29 above. It is obvious that soon after the Grant was made in A.D. 1005 by Rājarāja I, and while the construction of the Vihāra was still in progress, king Chūḷāmaṇivarman died, and the work begun by him was completed by his son and successor.

The learned Editor has discussed at length the problem 'how the ruler of Kaṭāha came to erect a Buddhist Vihāra at Negapatam in the heart of the distant Chōḷa dominion, and how the powerful Chōḷa king came to grant the entire revenues of a village for the upkeep of a *paḷḷi* in it' (p. 230 above).

The early history of the Śailēndras and the Nālandā Charter of Dēvapāla of the year 39[1] offer an easy solution to this problem.

It is most likely that the Śailēndra dynasty originally migrated from India; there is at least no doubt that they kept up an intimate intercourse with India and received their religious inspiration from this country. We learn from Hiuen Tsang and I-tsing that even as early as the seventh century A.D. there was a regular religious intercourse between India and Malayasia. The Kelurak inscription, mentioned above, shows that the *guru* or preceptor of the Śailēndra kings in A.D. 778, was a resident of Gauḍa (Bengal). About the middle of the ninth century A.D. the Śailēndra king established a Vihāra at Nālandā, and at his request king Dēvapāla of Bengal granted five villages for its upkeep. The Leiden Plates obviously describe a transaction which is exactly similar to what we find in the Nālandā Charter of Dēvapāla, and, as in this charter, the villages must have been granted by Rājarāja at the request of the Śailēndra king. In the Smaller Leiden Plates also, we find that at the express request of the king of Kiḍāra, communicated by his envoys, the Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga exempted these villages from taxes. In the Larger Leiden Plates there is no express mention of this request, but such a request must be presumed, not only on the above analogies, but also from verse 38 of the Sanskrit portion which may be rendered into English as follows: "This lord of Kaṭāha.....thus prays to all future kings:—'protect (*ye*) for ever this my charity'". The reference to the grant as 'my charity' can only be taken to mean that it was at his request, and on his behalf, that the village was granted by the Chōḷa king. The two persons who composed and executed the edict are mentioned in vv. 39-42, and it is not clear whether their master (*tasya rājñō* *i.e.*, 'of that king'), mentioned in v. 40, refers to the Chōḷa king or king of Kaṭāha. But the verses 43-44 definitely say that 'on the direction of that lord of Kaṭāha, Tuvavūravāṉ Aṇukkaṉ caused to be made (*this*)

[1] Above Vol. XVII, p. 310. The Editor of this inscription has added some notes on "the evasive race of the Śailēndras" (p. 312). But they are neither adequate nor accurate. His statement that the Śailēndras ruled over Sumatra and Java in the seventh century A.D. (p. 313) is not warranted by any evidence known to me. His other remarks need not be discussed here in detail, but the readers are referred to the articles mentioned in p. 281 n. 2 for a general review of the subject. I may note that he pointed out the resemblance between the Nālandā Charter and the Leiden Plates, and took the word '*ātanavatā*' in this inscription in the sense in which I have taken it.

lasting edict'. As the composers and engravers are separately mentioned by name, it is not clear what exact part this person played. But it proves that the lord of Kaṭāha was an interested party in the transaction.

The learned Editor has discussed at length various possible relations, friendly or hostile, between the Chōḷa king and the ruler of Kaṭāha at the time of the grant (p. 230 above). There can be no doubt that the relation of the Śailēndras and Chōḷas was friendly, not only at the time when the grant was first made, but also when the deed was actually executed, early in the reign of Rājēndra Chōḷa. But soon hostility broke out, and there was a prolonged warfare between the two. The first reference to this hostility is contained in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates dated in the sixth year of Rājēndra Chōḷa. From these we learn that the Chōḷa army crossed the seas and conquered Kaṭāha.[1] The Malur inscription of Rājēndra Chōḷa, dated in the thirteenth year, gives a detailed account of his conquest of Kaḍāra and various dominions included in the Śailēndra empire. These details are repeated in other charters of Rājēndra Chōḷa dated in the 19th, 22nd, 23rd, and 27th years of his reign, and some other inscriptions represent him as burning Kaṭāha and ruling over Kaḍāra. There is thus clear evidence that Rājēndra Chōḷa conquered the Śailēndra empire in or before his 13th regnal year, and that hostilities had probably begun as early as the sixth year. The views of the learned Editor of the Plates that the conquest of Kaṭāha is described in detail in the records of the 16th year onwards (p. 230) does not appear to be accurate.

The war between the two kingdoms continued during the reigns of Vīra-Rājēndra and Kulōttuṅga. The former is said to have conquered the kingdom of Kaḍāra, but he gave it back to its king who worshipped his feet. [2]

But the Smaller Leiden Plates show that peace and amity were again established between the two powers by A.D. 1089-90. As already stated above, these Plates inform us that at the request of the king of Kiḍāra, communicated by his envoys Rājavidyādhara Sāmanta and Abhimānōttuṅga Sāmanta, Kulōttuṅga exempted from taxes the village granted by the Larger Leiden Plates. Thus diplomatic relations were again established, and friendly feelings revived, after a struggle of more than half a century during the interval between the two Leiden Charters.

In conclusion, we may refer to a point on which these Plates throw interesting light. Line 81 of the Sanskrit portion refers to the king of Kaṭāha as 'Makara-dhvaja'. Makara, which is a conventional representation of an animal with the body of a fish and the head of an elephant, forms one of the most well-known decorative ornaments in Javanese architecture. The adoption of Makara as the emblem of royal banner by the Śailēndras may explain its frequent occurrence in Javanese architecture.

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[1] The reliability of the inscription, in this respect, has been doubted. I have fully discussed this point in the article No. 3 mentioned in p. 281 n. 2.

[2] *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, Part II, p. 202. This inscription, among others, disproves the statement of the Editor of the Nālandā Charter that "in the documents, known at present, these Śailēndras or the rulers of Śrī-Vijaya are nowhere mentioned as the feudatories of the Chōḷas". (Above, Vol. XVII, p. 313).

No. 37.—CHIRAVA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF SAMARASIMHA OF MEWAR; [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1330

By R. R. Halder, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer.

This inscription was first edited in the *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. XXI, pp. 155 ff. without any notes on historical persons and places mentioned thereiu. In order to bring out the importance of the inscription historically, I re-edit it in English from an ink-impression kindly placed at my disposal by Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar H. Ojha of Ajmer.

The stone containing this inscription is now fixed outside the door of a new temple at **Chīravā**, a village situated about eight miles to the north of Udaipur in Mewār.

The record consists of thirty-six lines of writing, which cover a space of about 1′ 9″×1′ 8″. The **characters** are Nāgarī of the fourteenth century A.D., common in Rājputāna during that period.

The **language** is Sanskrit and excepting a few words in the beginning and the date at the end, the whole inscription is in verse.

The inscription commences with the usual eulogy of the god Yōgēśvara and the goddess Yōgēśvarī (Vv. 1—2). Verse 3 says that in ancient times there was the king **Bappaka** in the family of the sons of Guhila (*i.e.*, Guhilot clan). After many kings came **Padmasiṁha**, who was like a jewel among men (V. 4). Verse 5 speaks of his son **Jaitrasiṁha**, who was like the wind of destruction to other great kings. In verse 6, we are informed that neither the kings of Mālava (Mālwā), Gurjara (Gujarāt), Mārava (Mārwār) and Jāṅgala, nor the ruler of the *mlēchchhas* (Muhammadans) could humble his pride. His (Jaitrasiṁha's) son was **Tējaḥsiṁha**, a devotee of Śiva, whose son was **Samarasiṁha**, an exceedingly brave and dutiful king then living (Vv. 7-8). The text then turns to another family, which rendered conspicuous services to the kings of Mewār. Verses 9-12 state that in the Ṭāṁṭaraḍa family, there was a man named Uddharaṇa who being able to protect the good and punish the wicked was made the *Talāraksha* of **Nāgadrahapura** (Nāgdā) by the king **Mathanasiṁha**, and who had eight sons, the eldest of whom was Yōgarāja who in turn was made the *Talāra* in the same city by the king Padmasiṁha. His (Yōgarāja's) younger brother was Ratabhū, whose son was Kēlhaṇa. Kēlhaṇa's son was Udayī, whose son was Karmaṇa (Vv. 13-14). Yōgarāja had four sons, namely, Paṃarāja, Mahēndra, Chaṁpaka and Kshēma, of whom Pamarāja was killed fighting with the army of **Suratrāṇa** (Sulṭān) near **Bhūtālā**, while **Nāgadrahapura** was destroyed (Vv. 15-16). Verse 17 speaks of Mahēndra having three sons named Bālā (Bālāka), Āhlādana and Vayaja. Bālāka's son was Pēthāka, whose son was Sāmanta, a worshipper of Vishṇu (V. 18). In verse 19 we are told that while **Kōṭṭaḍaka** was being taken and a battle with **Rāṇā Tribhuvana** was being fought, Bālāka was killed fighting in front of the king Jaitrasiṁha. His clever wife Bhōlī, being unable to bear the pains of separation of her husband, became *satī* (V. 20). Chaṁpaka had a son named Rājasiṁha who had a son called Rāmasiṁha whose son was Bhachuṁḍa (V. 21). Verse 22 informs us that, through the favour of the king Jaitrasiṁha, Kshēma secured the post of *Talāraksha* of **Chitrakūṭa** (Chitor). From his guileless wife Hirū he had a son named Ratna, who was killed along with **Bhīmasiṁha** in a battle fought at the foot of the fortress of Chitor. Ratna's son was Lālā and brother was Madana. The latter proved his valour in the battlefield of **Utthūṇaka**, while fighting with *Paṁchaluguḍika* **Jaitramalla** in the cause of the king **Jēsala** (Vv. 23-28). Verse 29 says that Bhīmasiṁha's son Rājasiṁha on being made a minister, paid him (Madana) much respect. Through the favour of the king **Samarasiṁha**, he (Madana) succeeded his father in the post of *Talāraksha* of Chitor, where he worshipped Śiva in the temple of **Tribhuvanānārāyaṇa** built by the king **Bhōja** (Vv. 30-31). Madana's son was Mōhana (V. 32). The

text of the record again changes here and describes the village **Chīrakūpa** (*i.e.*, Chīravā where the inscription is found). Verses 34-40 tell us that, surrounded by hills and beautiful sights, the village Chīrakūpa is situated near Nāgahrada and was given as a gift by the king Padmasiṁha to Yōgarāja serving in his army. The latter built there the temples of *Yōgēśvara* and *Yōgēśvarī*, which were restored later on by **Madana**, who granted some land near the lake **Kālēlāya** (Kālēlā) for the maintenance of those temples. Another beautiful temple of Vishṇu called Uddharaṇasvāmī had formerly been built there by Uddharaṇa (V. 37). In verses 41-42, Vayarāka, Pātāka, Muṇḍa, Bhuvaṇa, Tēja, Sāmanta, Ariyāputra, Madana and their descendants are urged to preserve the grant fully. Then follows the description of the Jain *Āchāryas*, who flourished at that place (Chitor). Verse 44 says that there was at the head of the Pāśupata sect Śivarāśi, who possessed many good qualities and worshipped the (god) Ēkaliṅga. After him Bhadrēśvarasūri of the Chaitra-*gachchha*, Dēvabhadrasūri, Siddhasēnasūri, Jinēśvarasūri, his pupil Vijayasiṁhasūri, Bhuvanachaṁdrasūri, his pupil **Ratnaprabhasūri**, then living, followed in succession (Vv. 45-47). The last-named was highly honoured by **Viśvaladēva** and Tējaḥsiṁha, and composed this *praśasti* at Chitor (V. 48). The name of the writer of this record is given as **Pārśvachaṁdra**, who was the pupil of Ratnaprabhasūri, while that of the engraver was **Kōlisiṁha**, son of Padmasiṁha. **Dōlhaṇa** was the artisan, who did other things connected with it (Vv. 49-50). At the end, the **date** is given as [Friday], the first day of the bright half of *Kārttika*, Saṁvat 1330, corresponding to Friday, the 13th October 1273 A.D

As regards the persons mentioned in the inscription, the name **Bappaka** (V. 3), which seems to be a personal title and not an individual name, refers to the Guhila ruler of Mewār, also known as Bappa,[1] Vappaka,[2] Bāshpa,[3] Bappāka,[4] Bāppa,[5] Bāpā,[6] etc. In the inscription[7] of Naravāhana, dated V. S. 1028 (A.D. 971) he is said to be like a moon among the kings of the Guhila family and a jewel on this earth. He is said to have ruled for some time at Nāgdā, the old capital of Mewār and then taken the fortress of Chitor from the Mori king Māna.[8] The inscription[9] dated V. S. 770 (A.D. 713) shows that Chitor was in the possession of the Mori dynasty till that year, so that Bappaka (Bāpā) must have taken it after that date. According to the *Ēkaliṅga Māhātmya*, also called *Ēkaliṅga Purāṇa* of the time of *Rāṇā* Rāyamala, he is said to have abdicated in favour of his son in V. S. 810 (A.D. 753).[10] This shows that he was the master of Chitor for about 40 years from V. S. 770 to 810 (A.D. 713-753). The accession of Bāpā, according to Col. Tod, also falls within this period.[11]

This date of Bāpā helps in his identification. In the inscriptions of Rāṇapur,[12] Ābu[13] and Chitor,[14] dated Saṁvat 1496, 1342 and 1331 respectively (in which the genealogy of the Mewār

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 347, verse 10.

[2] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 166.

[3] *Bhāvnagar Inscriptions*, p. 118, verse 17.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 141. Inscription, dated V. S. 1557 of the time of *Mahārāṇā* Rāyamala of Mewār.

[5] श्रीमेदपाटवसुधातलपालयद्बाप्पपृथ्वीश: ॥१९॥ *Ēkaliṅga Māhātmya* (Manuscript, dated V. S. 1738) of the time of *Mahārāṇā* Kumbhakarṇa of Mewār.

[6] *Bhāvnagar Inscriptions*, p. 123.

[7] *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XXII, p. 166.

[8] Tod's *Rajasthan* (Ed. Crooke), Vol. I, p. 266. *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, 1917-18, p. 3.

[9] Tod's *Rajasthan*, Vol. II, p. 919, Appendix No. 3.

[10] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 190.

[11] Tod's *Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 269.

[12] *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1907-8, p. 214.

[13] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 347.

[14] *Cunningham A. S. R.*, Vol. XXIII, plate XX, v. 3.

rulers is not complete) he is designated as father of Guhila which is evidently wrong. In the Kumbhalgarh[1] inscription, dated V. S. 1517 he is placed fifth from Guhila which seems also to be wrong, for in the Āṭapur[2] inscription, dated Saṁvat 1034 which is earlier than the Kumbhalgarh inscription and in which the genealogy of the early rulers of Mewār is complete and correct, this (fifth) place is occupied by Śīla, although there is no mention of the name of Bāpā in it. Thus Śīla of the Āṭapur inscription is Bappa of the Kumbhalgarh inscription, so that Bappa or Bāpā may be identified with Śīla (Śīlāditya). But, the discovery of Śīlāditya's inscription,[3] dated V. S. 703, and of his son[4] Aparājīta, dated V. S. 718, annuls this identification of Bāpā with Śīla; there being a difference of about 70 years between this date of Śīla and that of Bāpā specified above. In the Āṭapur inscription, after Aparājīta, come the names of Mahēndra, Kālabhōja and Khumāna in succession. In Rājputānā Khumāna is said to be the son of Bāpā,[5] *i.e.*, Bāpā was the father of Khumāna and hence he is to be identified with Kālabhōja, who is mentioned in all the above-named inscriptions.[6] The date of Bāpā according to this assumption will not differ much from that of Kālabhōja, if an average rule of 25 years be assigned to each of the preceding rulers Aparājīta and Mahēndra (II).

Jaitrasiṁha (V. 5) was one of the most powerful kings of Mewār. He is also known by the names Jayatala,[7] Jayasiṁha,[8] Jayatasiṁha[9] and Jaitsī.[10] His name is not mentioned by Col. Tod in his *Rajasthan*. He was the grand-father of Samarasiṁha, to whose time the present record belongs. He fought many battles with the Sulṭāns of Delhi, Gujarāt, Mālwā and the rulers of Mārwār, Jāṅgala and Sind.[11] The inscriptions of his time show that he ruled at least for 39 years. **Tējaḥsiṁha** (V. 7) was the son and successor of Jaitrasiṁha and ascended the throne between Saṁvat 1309[12] and 1317[13] (A.D. 1253 and 1261). During his time Mewār seems to have been attacked by Vīsaladēva, the Bāghēla *Rāṇā* of Dhōlkā, who afterwards became the ruler of Gujarāt.[14] He died between Saṁvat 1324 and 1330 (A.D. 1267 and 1273). Much is already known about **Samarasiṁha** (V. 8), who succeeded his father Tējaḥsiṁha about Saṁvat 1330 (A.D. 1273). He seems to have protected Gujarāt when it was attacked by the Muhammadans[15] (Sulṭān of Delhi, most probably Ghyāṣuddīn Balban, A.D. 1265-1287).[16] He also protected the Mewār country when Ulugh Khān, the younger brother of 'Alāuddīn, started from Delhi for Gujarāt.[17] The inscriptions of his time range from Saṁvat 1330 to 1358[18] (A.D. 1274 to 1301). There is nothing worth mentioning about **Padmasiṁha** (V. 4) and **Mathanasiṁha** (V. 10) except that they followed in succession on the throne of Mewār and were the father and grand-father respectively of *Rāval*

[1] Noted in *PRAS, WC*, 1905-06, p. 61, No. 2214.
[2] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 187.
[3] Above, Vol. XX, p. 97.
[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 31.
[5] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIX, p. 165, notes 26 and 27. Also Tod's *Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 250, n. 2.
[6] He has been identified with Khōmāna I (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 190).
[7] *Hammīramadamardana* of Jayasiṁhasūri, p. 27.
[8] *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, 1924-25, p. 2, No. III.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 2, No. II.
[10] In bardic chronicles.
[11] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVII, pp. 31-33.
[12] This is the date of the last manuscript of Jaitrasiṁha's time.
[13] This is the date of the first manuscript of Tējaḥsiṁha's time.
[14] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 210, plate I, l. 4 and Vol. LIX, p. 166.
[15] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 350, V. 46.
[16] Edward Thomas, *The Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 7.
[17] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 194-95.
[18] *An. Rep. Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, 1920-21, p. 4, No. VIII.

Jaitrasiṁha of Mewār, who is mentioned in verse 5 of this record, and who is called Jēsala in v. 28 of the same.

Rāṇā **Tribhuvana** (V. 19) was the king of Gujarāt after Bhīmadēva II and was the contemporary of *Rāval* Jaitrasiṁha of Mewār.[1]

Bhīmasiṁha (V. 26) appears to have been the minister[2] of Jaitrasiṁha and was killed in the fight, most probably fought between Tējaḥsiṁha of Mewār and Vīsaladēva of Gujarāt.[3]

Suratrāṇa (V. 16) refers to the Sulṭān Shamsu'ddīn Altamsh of Delhi, who had attacked Mewār and destroyed Nāgdā, its old capital.[4]

Jaitramalla (V. 28) was the Paramāra king Jayatuṅgidēva of Mālwā.[5]

Bhōjarāja (V. 31) was evidently the Paramāra king Bhōjadēva of Mālwā. He lived for sometime at Chitor and built there a temple of Śiva, which is now called Advadjī or Mōkaljī's temple.[6]

Tribhuvananārāyaṇa (V. 31) was the name of the temple as well as the title of the king Bhōja who built it. It was also called **Bhōjasvāmījagatī**.[7]

Viśvaladēva (V. 48) was evidently Vīsaladēva, the younger son of Vīradhavala, the Bāghēla ruler of Dhōlkā. He became the *Rāṇā* after the death of his father in Saṁvat 1294 (A.D. 1238) and in Saṁvat 1300 (A.D. 1243) usurped the throne of Gujarāt after deposing its ruler Tribhuvana (Tribhuvanapāla) referred to in v. 19 of this inscription.[8]

As to the **places** mentioned in this record, **Chīrakūpa** (V. 24) is the present village of Chīravā, about 8 miles north of Udaipur. **Nāgadraha** or **Nāgahrada** (Vv. 10 and 12 respectively) is now called Nāgdā and was the old Capital of Mewār. **Bhūtālā** (V. 16) is a village about twelve miles from Nāgdā. **Kōṭṭaḍaka** (V. 19) is the village of Kōṭṛā, one of the military stations in Mewār. **Utthūṇaka** (V. 28) is the village of Arthūṇā in the Bānswārā State in Rājputāna

TEXT.

Metres :—Vv. 10, 11, 16, 17, 19, 20, 23, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 42, 44, 45, 47 and 48 *Āryā*; vv. 9, 12, 13, 14,15, 18, 22, 25, 32, 37, 49, 50 and 51 *Anushṭubh*; vv. 1, 4, 5, 6, 26, 34 and 36 *Upajāti*; vv. 7, 38, 39, 40 and 43 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 41 and 46 *Gīti*; v. 2 *Indravajrā*; v. 3 *Vaitālīya*; v. 8 *Mālinī*; v. 21 *Rathōddhatā*; v. 24 *Vasantatilakā* and v. 35 *Indravaṁśā*.

1 सिद्धम्[9] ॥ ओं नमः श्रीमद्दादेवाय ॥ श्रीयोगराजेश्वरनामधेयो देवो वृषांकः स
शिवाय वोस्तु । स्तुतः सदा यः प्रमदाप्रसक्तः किं किं प्रभुत्वं न ददाति सद्यः ॥

2 १ योगेश्वरी वो भवतु प्रसन्ना देवी स्वभावानवमप्रभावा । षड्भ्रंसंसाधनलीन-
चित्तैर्योगींद्रवृंदैरभिवंदितांघ्रिः ॥२ गुहिलांगजवंशजः पुरा क्षितिपा-

3 लोत्र बभूव बप्पकः । प्रथमः परिपंथिपार्थिवध्वजिनीध्वंसनलालसाशयः ॥३ व(ब)हु-
ष्वतीतेषु महीश्वरेषु श्रीपद्मसिंहः पुरुषोत्तमोभूत् । सर्व्वांगरूढं यमवाप्य ल-

[1] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVII, p. 33.
[2] His son Rājasiṁha was also made a minister, as is clear from v. 29 of this record.
[3] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LIX, p. 166.
[4] *Ibid.*, Vol. LVII, p. 32.
[5] *Ibid.*, Vol. LVII, p. 33.
[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. LIX, p. 163-4.
[7] *An. Rep. Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, 1920-21, p. 4.
[8] Duff's *Chronology*, p. 189.
[9] Expressed by a symbol.

4 क्ष्मीस्तस्थौ विहायास्थिरतां सहोत्थां ॥४ श्रीजैत्रसिंहस्तनुजोस्य जातोभिजातिभूभृत्य-
लयानिलाभः । सर्व्वत्र येन स्फुरता न केषां चित्तानि कंपं गमितानि

5 सद्यः ॥५ न मालवीयेन न गौर्जरेण न मारवेशेन न जांगलेन । म्लेच्छाधि-
नाथेन कदापि मानो म्लानिं न निन्येवनिपस्य यस्य ॥६ तेजःसिंह इलापतिः

6 समभवत्तस्यात्मजन्मा नयी चातुर्योच्छ्रयवंचिताच्युतवधूवंचप्रपंचोदयः । चंचच्चंद्रमरी-
चिचक्रुरुचिराचारो विचारांचितं चित्तं न्यंचितचापलं च रचयन् श्रीचंद्र-
चूडार्च्चने ॥

7 ७ तदनु च तनुजन्मा तस्य कल्याणजन्मा जयति समरसिंहः शत्रुसंहारसिंहः । क्षितिपतिरतिशूरश्चंद्ररुक्कीर्त्तिपूरः स्वहितविहितकर्म्मा वु(बु)धस्तत्त्वमर्म्मा ॥८ इतश्च ॥
जात-

8 ष्टांटरडग्रामतो पूर्वसुंदरणाभिधः । पुमानुमाप्रियोपास्तिसंपन्नशुभवैभवः ॥९ यं दुष्ट
शिष्टशिक्षणरक्षणदक्षतस्तलारत्वं । श्रीमथनसिंहनृपतिश्चकार नागद्रहद्रंगे ॥१०

9 अष्टावस्य विशिष्टाः पुत्रा अभवन्विवेकसुपवित्राः । तेषु व(ब)भूव प्रथमः प्रथितयशा
योगराज इति ॥११ श्रीपद्मसिंहभूपालाद्योगराजस्तलारतां । नागह्रदपुरे प्राप
पौरस्त्री-

10 तिप्रदायकः ॥१२ बभूवावरजस्तस्य रत्नभूरिति विश्रुतः । केल्हणस्तनयोमुष्य मुख्यः
पौरुषशालिनां ॥१३ उदयीत्याख्यया ख्यातस्तत्सुतो विततोदयी । अभूज्जातस्तु
तत्पुत्रः कर्म्मणः

11 सह्म मर्म्मणः ॥१४ योगराजस्य चत्वारश्चतुरा जज्ञिरेंगजाः । पद्मराजो महेंद्रोथ
चंपकः क्षेम इत्यमी ॥१५ नागद्रहपुरभंगे समं सुरत्राणसैनिकैर्युद्ध्वा । भूता-
लाह्वटकूटे

12 पद्मराजः पंचतां प्राप ॥१६ वा(बा)लाह्लादनवयजा महेंद्रतनुजास्त्रयस्त्वजायंत ।
नयविनयपरपराजयजातलया विहितदोर्न्नैर्दयाः ॥१७ बालाकस्यांगजो जातः
पेथाको वि-

13 लस[ल]लः । सुतोभूत्तस्य सामंतोऽनंतोपास्तौ क्षतोद्यमः ॥१८ बालाकः कोट्ट[ड]क-
ग्रहणे श्रीजैत्रसिंहनृपपुरतः । त्रिभुवनराणकयुद्धे जगाम युद्ध्वा परं लोकं ॥१९
तद्वि-

14 रहमसङ्कमाना भोक्ष्यपि नाज्ञादिमा विदग्धानां । दग्ध्वा दहने देहं तद्भार्यार्या तमन्वगमत् ॥२० चंपकस्य सुरभिः स्वभावतो राजसिंह इति नंदनोभवत् । रामसिंहमथ स प्रसूत-

15 वान् सोजनिष्ट च भचुंडमंगजं ॥२१ क्षेमस्तु निर्म्मितक्षेमस्त्रिचकूटे तलारतां । राज्ञः श्रीजैत्रसिंहस्य प्रसादादापदुत्तमात् ॥२२ हीरूरिति प्रसिद्धा प्रतिषिद्धार्त्तिर्दुर्मतिरभूच्च ।

16 जाया तस्यामायाजायत तनुजस्त्रयो रत्नः ॥२३ रत्नानि संति सगुणानि बहून्यपीह ख्यातानि यस्तदधिको विदधे तु धात्रा । पुंस्त्वाधिरोपणगुणेन गरीयसोच्चै रत्नः स के-

17 न समतां समुपैति शुद्धः ॥२४ रत्नस्य सूनुरल्हूनप्रामानोस्ति मानिषु । लाला-नामा घनश्यामा प्रवराचारशौचवान् ॥२५ विक्रांतरत्नं समरेथ रत्नः सपत्नसंहार-

18 कृतप्रयत्नः । श्रीचित्रकूटस्य तलाहिकायां श्रीभीमसिंहेन समं समार ॥२६ रत्ना-नुजोस्ति रुचिराचारप्रख्यातधीरसुविचारः । मदनः प्रसन्नवदनः सततं कृतदुष्टज-

19 नकदमः(नः) ॥२७ यः श्रीजेसलकार्य्येभवदुत्थूणकरणांगणे प्रहरन् । पंचलगुडिकेन[1] समं प्रकटबलो जैत्रमल्लेन ॥२८ श्रीभीमसिंहपुत्रः प्राधान्यं प्राप्य राजसिं-

20 हो यं । बहुमेने नैकाध्यं प्राक्प्रतिपन्नं दधद्धृदये ॥२९ श्रीचित्रकूटदुर्गे तलारतां यः पितृक्रमायातां । श्रीसमरसिंहराजप्रसादतः प्राप निःपापः[2] ॥३० श्रीभोज-

21 राजरचितत्रिभुवननारायणाख्यदेवगृहे । यो विरचयति स्म सदा शिवपरिचर्यां स्व-शिवलिप्सुः ॥३१ मोल्हनो नाम यस्यास्ति नंदनो विनयी नयी । बालोपि पापि-

22 कर्म्मभ्यः साशंकः शूकम(व)त्तया ॥३२ सविकारः शिववैरी यदस्ति विदितः पुरातनो मदनः । निर्ह्री(र्वि)कृतेः शिवभक्तेरमुष्य तेनोपमा नातः ॥३३ कृतघ्न नागकदर्म-

[1] Seems to be the title of Jaitramalla.
[2] Read निष्पापः.

23 निधाने पदे पदे प्राज्यलक्षविधाने । ग्रामः सुभूमीश्वति चीरकूपनामाख्यदी-
षामलनीरकूपः ॥३४ तस्याधिपत्येन धनाग्निशालिना प्राप प्रसादं गुहिलात्म-
जन्मनः । श्रीप-

24 त्रसिंहक्षितिपादुपासितात्राप्योगराजः किल विप्रवेषवत् ॥३५ स योगराजः प्रथमं
पृथुश्रीरकारयत्तत्र पवित्रचित्तः । श्रीयोगराजेश्वरदेवगेहं योगेश्वरीदेव-

25 गृहेण युक्तं ॥३६ पूर्वमुद्धरणेनेहोद्धरणस्वामिशार्ङ्गि(शार्ङ्गि)णः । धर्म्मं विधापितं रम्यं
पूर्वजोद्धरणार्थिना ॥३७ ज्ञात्वा सत्वरगत्वरं जगदिदं सर्वं गणेभ्यः सतां
पर्यालोच्य वि-

26 षीषतश्च विषमं पापं तलारत्वजं । धर्मे धूर्जटिपूजनप्रभृतिके नित्यं मनो न्यस्त-
वानात्मानं मदनस्त्रिकोर्षुरमलं जन्मन्यमुष्मिन्नपि ॥३८ अस्मद्गोत्रमहत्तमेन शिव(व)-

27 योर्यच्चादमू कारितौ प्रासादौ ननु योगराज इति विख्यातेन पुण्यात्मना । मातु-
र्वसुरयात्मनश्च मदनो वंशोयसे श्रेयसे लक्ष्यालंकृत उद्धार तदिमावाजन्म-

28 शुद्धाशयः ॥३९ वालेलायसरोवरस्य रुचिरे पश्चाद्भवे गोचरे केदारौ मदनो ददौ
प्रमुदितो द्वौ द्वौ विभज्य स्वयं । दुर्गानुत्तरचित्रकूटनगरस्थः क्षेमङ्करू-

29 सुतो नैवेद्यार्थमवद्यमोचनमना देवाय देव्यायपि ॥४० वयराकः पाताको मंडो
भुवनोथ तेजसामंतौ । भरियापुत्रो मदनस्त्विदमभिधैः पालनीयमिदमखिलं ॥

30 ४१ भाविभिरितद्वंश्यैरन्यैरपि रक्षणमात्मपुण्याय । विश्वं विनश्वदेतद्धर्म्मस्थानादिकं
वस्तु ॥४२ यावच्चंद्रविरोचनौ विलसतो लोकप्रकाशोद्यतौ तावद्देवगृहद्वयं विज-

31 यतामित्यदामाख्यदं । उद्वर्त्तीस्य च नंदतु प्रमदवाग्भायादनुध्यायिनीरन्येप्यस्य सनाभयो
गतभया भूयासुरुत्पातनः ॥४३ पाशुपततपस्विपतिः श्रीशिवराशिः सशी[ल]-

32 गुणराशिः । आराधितैकलिंगोधिष्ठातास्ति निष्ठावान् ॥४४ श्रीचैत्रगच्छगगने
तारकबुधकविकलावतां निलये । श्रीभद्रेश्वरसूरिर्गुरुरुदगान्निष्कवर्णांगः ॥[४५]

33 श्रीदेवभद्रसूरिस्तदनु श्रीसिद्धसेनसूरिरथ । अजनि जिनेश्वरसूरिस्तच्छिष्यो विजयसिंह-
सूरिश्च ॥४६ श्रीभुवनचंद्रसूरिस्तत्पट्टेभूदभूतदंभमलः । श्रीरत्नप्रभसूरि-

34 स्तस्य विनेयोस्ति मुनिरत्नं ॥४७ श्रीमद्विखलदेवश्रीतेजःसिंहराजकृतपूजः । स इमां
प्रशस्तिमकरोदिह रुचिरां चित्रकूटस्थः ॥४८ शिष्योमुष्यालिख[त्]-

35 ख्यो वैदुष्येण विभूषितः । पार्श्वचंद्र इमां विदद्दण्यंवर्णालिप्रालिनीं ॥४८ पद्म-
सिंहसुतः केलिसिंहोमूमुचत्कार च । स्थानेत्र देल्हणः शिल्पी कर्म्मांत[रम]-

36 कारयत् ॥५० यावद्विंध्यमरस्यस्मिन्नस्ति रामस्मि पुष्करं । राजहंसयुतं तावत् प्रशस्तिनंद-
तादियं ॥५१ संवत् १३३० वर्षे कार्त्तिकशुदि प्रतिपदि शु[क्रे] [॥*]

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[The figures refer to pages; *n.* after a figure to footnotes and *add.* to additions. The following other abbreviations are also used :—*ca.*=capital; *ch.*=chief; *ci.*=city; *co.*-country; *com.*=composer; *di.*=district or division; *do.*=ditto; *dy.*=dynasty; *E.*=Eastern; *engr.*=engraver; *ep.*=epithet; *f.*=female; *k.*=king; *l.*=locality; *m.*=male; *mo.*=mountain; *myth.*=mythic or mythological; *n.*=name; *N.*=Northern; *off.*=office; *q.*=queen; *ri.*=river; *S.*=Southern; *s.a.*=same as; *sur.*=surname; *te.*=temple; *tit.*=title; *vi.*=village; *W.*=Western.]

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a, initial, ... 208, 215
ā, initial, ... 93
ā, medial, ... 2, 6, 93, 208
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