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Volume XXIV (1937-38)



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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

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Vol. XXIV. 1937-38.

EDITED BY

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

GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPhist FOR INDIA.

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

- Page 8, para. 7, l. 1.—For *Kharṣṣṭhi* read *Kharṣṣṭhi*.
 „ 12, f. n. 1.—For *Deotēk* read *Deotēk*.
 „ 13, para. 1, l. 16.—For *Aptōryāma* read *Aptōryāma*.
 „ 16, f. n. 3.—For *Ranabhañja* read *Ranabhañja*.
 „ 23, para. 4, l. 6.—For *Rājarāja* read *Rājarāja*.
 „ 24, f. n. 8.—For *Elisaimōgaṇ* read *Elisaimōgaṇ*.
 „ 25, l. 2.—For *Śilāvati* read *Śilāvati*.
 „ 27, text l. 3.—For [Vā]ṇilaikaṇḍīsuramudaiya read [Vā]ṇilaikaṇḍīsuramudaiya.
 „ 35, para. 5, l. 2.—For *Tanjai* read *Tanjai*.
 „ 37, f. n. 16, l. 4.—For *Chaturvēdimaṅgalam* read *Chaturvēdimaṅgalam*.
 „ 39, para. 2, l. 18.—For has to be connected read have to be connected.
 „ 46, f. n. 1, l. 4.—For *Irda* read *Irḍā*.
 „ 53, l. 24.—For *Duduia* read *Dudīa*.
 „ 57, para. 2, l. 1—2.—For dip-thongs read diphthongs.
 „ 66, text l. 11.—For *जसोमूक* read *जसोमूक*.
 „ 66, text l. 11.—For *नागपालीमवत्पुत्री* read *नागपालीमवत्पुत्री*.
 „ 70, text l. 46.—For *पूजे* read *पूजे*.
 „ 73, text l. 12.—For *मज्झिमसूत्रे* read *मज्झिमसूत्रे*.
 „ 74, text l. 24.—For *जगत्सिंह* read *जगत्सिंह*.
 „ 76, text l. 41.—For *कल्लदुमा* read *कल्लदुमी*.
 „ 79, text l. 14.—For *महादार्थ* read *महादार्थ*.
 „ 81, text l. 26.—For *सवा(वा)* read *सवा(वा)*.
 „ 90, para. 3, l. 4.—For first fortnight and read first fortnight of the month of Rishabha and.
 „ 90, para. 4, l. 3.—For a new read anew.
 „ 95, para. 1, l. 1.—For *Vaiḍyārī* read *Vaiḍyārī*.
 „ 95, para. 2, l. 11.—For *Śiṅgaṇṇa* read *Śiṅgaṇṇa*.
 „ 108, end of para. 1.—Add the following :—
 “On re-examining the inked impressions of the Rewa Stone inscription of Kārṇa of the Chēdi year 800, I find that the second of the two missing *akṣaras* before *nāmnā* in l. 31 is *va*. The name of the cyclic year was, therefore, *Khara*. This corroborates my reading of the date of this inscription. For the cyclic year corresponding to the expired Chēdi year 800 (A. D. 1048–49) was *Khara* according to the Northern luni-solar system.” (V. V. M.)
 „ 110, l. 7.—For *Mālwa* read *Mālwa*.
 „ 120, para. 2, l. 1.—For *Pēṇḍrābandh* read *Pēṇḍrābandh*.
 „ 120, para. 2, l. 1.—For Vol. XXII read Vol. XXIII.
 „ 133, para. 1, l. 2.—For characters read charters. (B. C. C.)
 „ 140, para. 1, l. 2.—For Uruvupalli plates of Śiṅghavarman read Uruvupalli grant of Śiṅghavarman.
 „ 154, para. 3, l. 8.—For *Uḍaiyāṇ Kūttāḍuvāṇ* read *Uḍaiyāṇ Kūttāḍuvāṇ*.
 „ 154, para. 3, l. 21.—For ‘on which *varagu*,’ read ‘on which *ellu*, *varagu*’.
 „ 154, para. 4, l. 2.—For and borne crops read and had borne crops.

- Page 162, l. 26.—*For* friendly relation *read* friendly relations.
- „ 166, text l. 1.—*For* *Pū-maṭaṭ-tiruvu[m]* *read* *Pūmaṭaṭ-tiruvu[m]*.
- „ 175, text l. 37.—*For* *māmmāyā* *read* *Māmmāyā*.
- „ 176, para. 3, l. 1.—*For* *Kaira* *read* *Kairā*.
- „ 176, para. 3, l. 1.—*For* *Sāṅkhēḍa* *read* *Sāṅkhēḍa*.
- „ 179, para. 5, l. 13.—*For* *Valabhi* *read* *Valabhī*.
- „ 184, para. 4, l. 7. }
 „ 191, para. 1, l. 4. } —*For* *Veluṅgaguṇṭa* *read* *Veluṅguguṇṭa*.
- „ 185, f. n. 2.—*For* No. 453 of 1906 *read* No. 543 of 1906.
- „ 185, f. n. 8.—*For* *Arakatavēmula* *read* *Arakaṭavēmula*.
- „ 188, para. 1, l. 11.—*For* *Kibbenaha||i^s* *read* *Araḷaguppe.^s*
- „ 189 f. ns. 1, 2 and 4.—*For* No. 309 of 1923 *read* No. 309 of 1922 and *for* No. 310 of 1923 *read* No. 310 of 1922.
- „ 211, para. 5, l. 5.—*For* *thier* *read* *their*.
- „ 213, f. n. 6, l. 4.—*For* *Chāmpāner* *read* *Chāmpāner*.
- „ 213, f. n. 7, l. 5.—*For* *goddless* *read* *goddess*.
- „ 214, para. 1, l. 1.—*For* Muslim historians) and *read* Muslim historians (and.
- „ 215, f. n. 7, l. 1.—*For* *ta l-dēśasya* *read* *ta l-dēśasya*.
- „ 217, f. n. 4, l. 2.—*For* verse 21 *read* verse 22.
- „ 218, para. 5.—[In this para. Dr. Sankalia describes Jayadēva as the lord of Bāgūla and seems to hold the view that by Bāgūla the name of a country is indicated. But by the form Bāgūla a race or clan of Rāṭhods seems to be referred to. The origin of the name Bāgūla and its application to a race or clan are explained in *Rāṣṭraudhavarṇasamāhākāvya* of Rudrakavi (1596 A. D.) *vide*: Canto II vv. 27 ff. (M. V. R.)]
- „ 218, para. 6, l. 2.—*For* Śaka 1401 *read* Śaka 1410.
- „ 224, text l. 9.—*For* द चकार *read* द(सं) चकार.
- „ 225, f. n. 1.—*For* *puṇyayam* *read* *puṇyam*.
- „ 233, text l. 15.—*For* *vishay-ṣpabhōgaḥ* *read* *vishay-ṣpabhōgaḥ*.
- „ 239, f. n. 10.—*For* *Ma'hārāja-sva-mūkh-ājñāptyā* *read* *Ma'hārāja-sva-mukh-ājñāptyā*.
- „ 242, corrected text l. 1.—*For* उत्तरैरन् *read* उत्तरैरन्?
- „ 249, para. 1, l. 3.—*For* *Kaubidarikā* *read* *Kaubilārikā*.
- „ 256, l. 8 from bottom }
 „ 257, para. 3, l. 2. } —*For* *Dharanikōṭa* *read* *Dharanikōṭa*.
- „ 259, ll. 3-4.
- „ 261, para. 2, l. 10.—*For* *gotra* *read* *gōtra*.
- „ 263, f. n. 7, l. 2.—*For* *Bēlorā* *read* *Bēlōrā*.
- „ 264, text l. 2.—*For* विष्णुदत्त¹ स गीतस्य सभाट² *read* विष्णुदत्तसगीतस्य सभाट¹.
- „ 279, para. 1, l. 4.—*For* pillar by the wife *read* pillar by Reti, the wife.
- „ 286, f. n. 4, verse l. 1.—*For* भूतभरातु *read* भूतभरातु.
- „ 286, f. n. 4, verse l. 3.—*For* व्यरचय *read* व्यरचय.
- „ 286, f. n. 4, verse l. 11.—*For* कलिकलनया *read* कलिकलनया.
- „ 288, f. n. 5, verse l. 1.—*For* साय्या *read* साय्या.
- „ 299, f. n. 2.—*For* *Uruvupalli* plates *read* *Uruvupalli* grant.
- „ 302, f. n. 7, l. 1.—*For* at the first instance *read* in the first instance.
- „ 315, text l. 6.—*For* यक्षेताया *read* ता.

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME XXIV.

No. 1.—THE BAJAUR CASKET OF THE REIGN OF MENANDER.

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

The inscriptions edited here occur on a steatite casket which comes from **Shinkot** in **Bajaur** territory. The place is about twenty miles to the north-west of the confluence of the Panjkora and Swat rivers, beyond the borders of the North-West Frontier Province, where the casket was discovered by some tribal people while digging the foundations of a new fort. The territory of Bajaur, representing a part of the ancient province of Udyāna, is practically an unexplored country, and the present find is therefore of unusual interest. The only other mentionable object discovered in this region is the seal of Theodamas which was first published by Senart¹. The steatite casket is said to have encased a casket of silver, which in turn contained a gold reliquary and some ashes; but the silver and gold articles are no longer traceable. The outer casket together with some fragments of its lid has been recovered through the efforts of Mian Afzal Shah, son of Khan Bahadur Mian Rahim Shah, C.I.E., of Ziarat Kaka Sahib in Peshawar District. At the request of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director General of Archaeology in India, Mian Afzal Shah has very generously presented the casket to the Archaeological Department and it has been lent for exhibition to the Indian Museum, Archaeological Section, Calcutta. I am deeply obliged to Rao Bahadur Dikshit for having permitted me to edit the inscriptions and also for the help I have received from him in manifold ways.

The casket is a flat, bowl-shaped vessel of dark steatite having a flanged base all round, 1·3" in width. The diameter of the casket at the mouth is 8·8" and at the base 11·3", and the diameter of the lid is also, 11·3". The depth of the bowl is 1·9", and the casket including the lid measures 3·3" in height. Excepting a few indented lines in the form of concentric rings encircling the body of the casket and its lid at six different places, it bears no other decoration.

The characters appearing on the casket are Kharōṣṭhī, as may be expected in the locality from which it comes. The inscriptions are engraved along the rim of the lid (A), around its centre (A¹ and C) and on its inner face (A²), also in the concave portion of the casket (B and D) and on its back (E). The longest one of the inscriptions is marked D, the lines of which are disposed of in the form of a spiral, as in the case of the Relic Casket of the year 303 from Charsadda.² As only a few fragments of the lid have been recovered it has not been possible to restore the entire text of Inscriptions A, A¹, A² and C. The rest of the inscriptions, however, have been completely made out, as the bowl of the casket, although slightly cracked, is in a fair state of preservation.

The engraving of letters has not been carried out in the same uniform style throughout, and from this point of view the inscriptions may be classified under two distinct groups. In A, A¹, A² and B the letters are formed by bold and deeply incised strokes, while in C, D and E the

¹ *Journal Asiatique*, VIII, xiii (1889), pp. 364 ff; and Konow, *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 6.

² See pp. 8 ff. below

writing is shallow, the letters are comparatively small and the strokes in many places no better than superficial scratches. A similar example of superficial engraving of Kharōṣṭhī letters is afforded by the Charsadda Casket inscription of the year 303.

The grouping of inscriptions as suggested above can be justified also on grounds of **palæography**. Inscriptions A-B have in all the instances *ṇ* with a rounded head, but in C-E it shows definitely an acute angle. In the former inscriptions *ṇ* has a long sweep in its top curve, resembling the letter in the Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra Edicts of Aśoka. In the latter inscriptions this curve has taken an angular or hook-like appearance, akin to the type occurring in the inscriptions of the Kushān period. Significant also are the varying shapes of the letter *s* which in A-B is generally of the closed type as in the Asokan inscriptions and Indo-Greek coins, while in C-E it shows in all cases a definite gap at the upper left side of the crowning loop, although in the majority of examples its lower vertical slightly extends upward, beyond the point where it meets the loop. The latter feature is characteristic of the *s* as found in the inscriptions of the Śaka period, while the upward extension of the vertical is absent in the letter occurring in the Kushān inscriptions.¹ While, therefore, Inscriptions C-E are referable to the period of the Śaka Satraps of Taxila and Mathurā, Inscriptions A-B must be referred to a somewhat earlier date. This date is suggested by Inscription A which refers itself to the reign of *Mahārāja Minadra*, i.e., the Greek King Menander, who ruled sometime in the 2nd century B. C. To the same date must also be assigned Inscriptions A¹, A² and B which exhibit palæographic features identical with those of Inscription A. The difference in age between the two sets of inscriptions was probably a little more than fifty years, so that we may suppose that the additional inscriptions C, D and E were engraved sometime in the 1st century B. C.

Apart from the evidence of palæography and the technique of engraving, there is another point in favour of the assumption that some of the inscriptions were incised at a later date. The **position of inscriptions** A¹ and C on the casket shows that A¹ existed already when C was engraved. Had it not been so the engraver of C would have commenced his writing from a point further to the right. Similarly, Inscription B must have existed prior to D; otherwise there would be no need for the engraver of D to leave so much space between lines 1 and 2, just where Inscription B occurs on the casket. This spacing was evidently intended to avoid overlapping of the inscriptions.

The **language** of the inscriptions is the North-Western variety of Prākṛit as in the post-Asokan Kharōṣṭhī documents. Linguistically, the earlier group of inscriptions on the casket cannot be differentiated altogether from the later group; the only mentionable difference is in the case of the word *Śākyamuni* which is rendered as *Śakamuni* in Inscription A². The word appears in this form in the Taxila plate of Patika, Mathurā Lion Capital inscriptions and the Tīrath Foot-print inscription.² It occurs also in a Jauliā inscription which, according to Konow, is a copy of an older record.³ In the Kurram and Wardak Vase inscriptions⁴ the name is Sanskritized as *Śakyamuni*. It is spelt, however, as *Śakimuni*⁵ in Inscription D. Such a difference in the spelling of the all-important word denoting the Buddha's name cannot be without significance and must be attributed to the circumstance that Inscription D was composed by a different man at a date later than Inscription A². Other points concerning the language will be noted where each individual text is discussed.

¹ Majumdar, *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1928-29, p. 171.

² *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Pt. I, pp. 28, 48 and 9.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 97, No. 12.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 155 and 170.

⁵ The letter *mu* in A² is also of an earlier form as compared with that in D.

The question arises why these two sets of inscriptions were engraved on one and the same casket, but at two different dates. This can be answered after we have considered the purpose of the inscriptions and also analysed their individual contents. The earlier portion of the record represented by A, A¹, A² and B refers to the establishment or consecration of (the corporeal relic) of the Buddha in the reign of *Mahārāja Minadra*, on the 14th day of the month of Kārttika of a certain year which is lost. The donor of the casket was a person named *Viyakamitra*. The later portion of the record represented by Inscriptions C-D also refers to the establishment of the corporeal relic of the Buddha, and of the bowl, but by a person named *Vijayamitra*, on the 25th day of Vaisākha of the 5th regnal year. Inscription E of this later group mentions the name of the scribe *Viśpila*. Further details of the inscriptions will be clear from our analysis of the contents as given below.

A.—This inscription must have opened with a mention of the year of consecration of the casket. The portion specifying the year is lost. So also is the concluding portion of the text which probably contained a reference to *śarīra* after the word *prāṇa-samedā*. As mentioned already, the inscription refers itself to the reign of King Menander whose name is spelt here as *Minadra*, allied to the Pāli form *Milinda*. The Pāli text *Milindapañho*, or 'The Questions of King Menander', contains a number of imaginary dialogues between this king and the Buddhist sage Nāgaseṇa. The king's name appears as *Menadra* on his coins, while on a relief from Gandhāra the name of its donor, who is also a Menander, is spelt as *Minandra*.¹ In the present record the title *maharaja* occurs after the name of the king. Similar instances are found also on some of his coins, the Kharoṣṭhī legend on which reads as *Menadrassa maharajassa tratarassa*.² The word *kaṭiassa* is equivalent to Sanskrit *Kārttikasya*. The change of *rt* into *ṭ* occurs also in the Prākṛit of Asokan inscriptions. The day of the month of Kārttika is expressed as 4 4 4 1 1, i.e., 14. This notation is rather unusual, since the customary way to express the number 14 would be to write 10 4. The third digit, viz., 4, which is engraved below the line, appears to have been added later.³

The words *prāṇa-samedā*, i.e., *prāṇa-samēta*, which occur twice, in A and in A², seem to have been used in reference to the *śarīra*, i.e., the corporeal relic of the Buddha. The Buddhist conception regarding his corporeal relic is thus explained in the *Mahāvamsa*:⁴ "If we behold the relics we behold the Conqueror" i.e., the Buddha. Regarding the deposit of his relics in the Thūpārāma-chetiya in Ceylon the Buddha is supposed to have observed: "If my pure relics, filling a doṇa-measure, are laid, they shall take the form of the Buddha, and rising and floating in the air, they shall take their place after having wrought the miracle of the double appearances."⁵ Thus in regard to the relic consecrated in the Thūpārāma-chetiya it is stated that when it was brought to the place on the back of an elephant and was being watched by the people from every side, it "rose up in the air from the elephant's back, and floating in the air plain to view, at the height of seven tālas, throwing the people into amazement, it wrought that miracle of the double appearances, that caused the hair (of the beholders) to stand on end, even as (did) the Buddha under the Gaṇḍamba-tree".⁶ In view of such powers attributed to

¹ C. I. I., Vol. II, Pt. I, pp. 134.

² Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. I, p. 26, No. 77.

³ The second symbol for 1 is longer than the first. A similar example occurs in the Fatehjang inscription of the year 69 (C. I. I., Vol. II, Pt. I, Plate IV, 1).

⁴ Geiger's *Mahāvamsa* (Translation, P. T. S.), p. 116.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 119-120.

the corporeal relic of the Buddha the significance of the expression, *prāṇa-samēta*, i.e., 'endowed with life', becomes clear. The relic was no doubt looked upon as a living organism, as animated as the body of the Buddha before Nirvāṇa. As in the *Mahāvamsa*, the donor here also must have been actuated by the same belief: "By these relics of his body the Master of the World, being already passed into nibbāṇa, truly bestowed salvation and bliss in abundance on mankind."¹

A¹.—The text here consists of remnants of two letters followed by a *ta*. Traces of a horizontal line are discernible in the first two, which enable us to restore the word as *thavita*, the complete word being *pratithavita*, i.e., 'established'. This must have reference to the deposit of the relic in a stūpa.

A².—There are wide gaps here between the words which were probably four in all and arranged in a circle. The first and the last are clear, viz., *prāṇa-samedā* *Śakamuniśa*. Before *Śakamuniśa* there is just a trace of the letter *t* or *r*. If it is *t*, as is more likely, we are perhaps justified in restoring the missing word here as *bhagavato*. The entire inscription would then read: *prāṇa-samedā śarira bhagavatō Śakamuniso*, i.e., 'the corporeal relic of the *bhagavat* Śākyamuni, which is full of life'.

B.—There is no difficulty about the reading of B which runs as *Viyakamitrassa apracha-rajasa*.² It should be noted here that the two dental sibilants are of the later semi-open type, although technically speaking the inscription should be assigned to the date of Inscription A, that is the reign of King Menander. As our analysis shows, in the earlier group the closed type of *s* predominates, while in the later group the predominant form is of the semi-open variety. The first part of the name *Viyakamitra* may represent *Viryaka*, or *Vijjaka* which appears as a personal name in later times. The title *apracha-rajā* perhaps corresponds to *a-pratyag-rāja*, i.e., 'one who has no royal adversary.' It may be compared with such phrases qualifying the king's name as *apadihata* on the Indo-Greek coins and *apratihata-chaka* on those of the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares. The genitive case ending in *Viyakamitrassa*, which has no complementary word after it, shows that here the word *dana* has to be supplied, that is to say a gift of *Viyakamitra* is to be understood. Similar examples are well known from early Indian inscriptions. The gift was no doubt the casket itself containing the relics. *Viyakamitra*, who must have been a vassal chief under King Menander on the North-Western Frontier of India, is not known from any other sources.

C.—It records the name of Vijayamitra in the first line. The second line reads as *pate pradi-thavide*; the word *pate* no doubt stands for *pātra*, i.e., the bowl, referring to the stearite casket. How much of the inscription is missing cannot be guessed from the fragmentary condition of the lid.

D.—This is the principal record that was engraved subsequent to A-B. The opening words *ime śarira* are familiar to us from other Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, but there is no analogy elsewhere of what follows. The words *paluga-bhūdao* correspond to Pāli *palugga-bhūta*,³ meaning 'which has broken or has been shattered.' The words following, *na sakare atrita*, may be taken to represent *na satkāre ādrita*.⁴ The verbal form *śariat(r)ā* may correspond to Sanskrit *śīryat*, Pāli *śarati* from the root *śrī*, meaning, 'to be worn out, to decay', etc. The subscript *r* stroke in the last

¹ Geiger's *Mahāvamsa* (Translation, P. T. S.) p. 121

² The additional stroke at the foot of the letter *sa* in *Viyakamitrassa* cannot be explained.

³ Pāli-English Dictionary (P. T. S.), s. v. *palugga*.

⁴ Cf. the expressions *pūjasi sādaru* 'worshipped with zeal' and *sakkāru-thāna*, 'place of worship' used in reference to the Buddha's relic. Geiger, *Mahāvamsa* (Text), 31. 29 and 31. 62.

letter is superfluous but might have a phonetic significance. It appears several times in this inscription in places where it is not at all expected, e.g., in *grīṇayat(r)i*, *Veś(r)akh(r)asa*, *paṁchaviś(r)aye*, *prat(r)ithaviś(r)e* and *bhag(r)avatu*. Similar examples frequently occur in the Mathurā Lion Capital Inscriptions.¹ The word *kalad(r)e* may stand for *kālataḥ*, 'in course of time,' and *śaṭhro* for *śraddhaḥ*, 'venerated'. The word *piṇḍōdakeyi* would correspond to *piṇḍōdakāḥ*, i.e., 'with alms and water,' and *pītri grīṇayat(r)i* would correspond to *pītrīn grāhayati*, i.e., 'makes the ancestors or manes accept,' or 'propitiates the ancestors'. The inscription means to say that as the relic was damaged, it was no longer zealously worshiped. In course of time it had begun to decay and was not venerated, and the distribution of alms and water for the propitiation of the dead ancestors was no longer taking place. It is further stated that even the receptacle of the *śarīra* (*tasa ye patre*) was *apomva*, i.e., *apomuktaḥ* or 'abandoned'. The offering of *piṇḍōdaka* to the ancestors was no doubt the usual practice even among the Buddhist laity. The regular offering of *petadakkhiṇā*, i.e., 'gifts to dead ancestors,' is enjoined in the *Anguttara-Nikāya* as one of the principal duties of a house-holder.² Offerings to *pubba-petas* are referred to also in the *Milindapañño*³ and in the *Petaravathu*.⁴ In the present case the idea probably is that these offerings used to take place so long as the corporeal relic together with the casket which contained it was deposited in a *stūpa* in an undisturbed condition. But subsequently before Inscription D was written, the relic and the casket had become desecrated and unfit for worship. The inscription goes on to say that in the fifth (regnal) year the same relic was established (in a *stūpa*) by Vijayamitra,⁵ who has the title *apracā-rajā* like his predecessor Viyakamitra of Inscription B. Vijayamitra appears to have belonged to the same family and to have re-consecrated the relic, a record of which he was naturally anxious to perpetuate on the casket itself. A similar example of the re-establishment of a corporeal relic of the Buddha occurs in the Taxila copper-plate of Patika (*apratīḥavita bhagavata Śakamunisa śarīraṁ pratīḥaveti*).

E.—Finally, on the back of the casket is recorded the fact that the writing (that is of C and D) was carried out by one Viśpila. The word *anāmakaṇa* qualifying *Viśpilena* corresponds to *āṇakṛitena*, i.e., *ājñākṛitēna*, 'who was ordered'. It refers of course to his having executed the work under the orders of Vijayamitra. In Central Asian Kharoṣṭhī documents an *anusvāra* is often substituted for a long vowel, e.g., in *viṁṣavayammi* for *viṣṇāvayāmi*. In these documents *ana* regularly stands for *ājñā*.⁶ In the Shahbazgarhi recension of Aśoka's edicts *jñ* is rendered by the lingual *ṇ*, as in literary Prākṛit.⁷ The compound *śp* in *Viśpila* represents Sanskrit *śv*. A similar name *Veśpaśi* occurs in the Mānikiala inscription⁸ of the reign of Kanishka.

From Inscription D of Vijayamitra we can understand why the two sets of inscriptions came to be incised on one and the same casket at two different dates. **The relic casket was consecrated twice:** the original consecration was done by Viyakamitra in the time of King Menander and the re-consecration was carried out later by Vijayamitra, who, as the title shows, must have been a descendant of Viyakamitra. Inscription A, which gives the date, the 14th day

¹ C. I. I., Vol. II, Pt. I, pp. 33-34.

² B. C. Law, *The Buddhist Conception of Spirits*, 1936, pp. 8-9.

³ Ed. by Trenckner (Royal Asiatic Society's Reprint, London, 1928), p. 294.

⁴ Ed. by Minayeff, e.g., I. 4, I. 5.

⁵ The year no doubt refers to the reign of Vijayamitra.

⁶ *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, p. 250, No. 563 and p. 300.

⁷ Hultzsch, C. I. I., Vol. I, p. lxxviii.

⁸ C. I. I., Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 148.

of Kārttika of some year, refers no doubt to the original consecration, while the 25th day of Vaiśākha of the fifth (regnal) year mentioned in Inscription D represents the date on which the re-consecration took place. Both the months Kārttika and Vaiśākha are auspicious from the Buddhist point of view. As pointed out by Fleet,¹ the Sarvāstivādins held that the Buddha attained Parinirvāṇa in the month of Kārttika. On the other hand, according to the Ceylonese tradition, the event happened in the month of Vaiśākha. The former view, which is based on a statement of Yuan Chwang, perhaps represents an earlier tradition. In any case it would be quite natural for a Buddhist to consecrate the corporeal relics of the Great Master on the anniversary of his demise.

As mentioned already, Vijayamitra must have been a ruling prince under Menander. The latter, who belonged to the house of Euthydemus, had his capital at Sākala as stated in the *Milindapañño*. Sākala is said to have been situated in the country of the Yonakas and is usually identified with Sialkot in the Punjab between the rivers Chenab and Ravi. According to the *Milindapañño* Menander was born in Alasanda, identified with the district of Alexandria-under-the-Caucasus between the Panjshir and the Kabul rivers. From the finds of his coins, which are distributed over a very large area, from the Kabul Valley to the United Provinces, there remains no doubt that his empire was an extensive one. According to some scholars the passage in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali regarding the siege of Sāketa (in the United Provinces) and Madhyamikā (in Rājputāna) by a Yavana king refers to an invasion of Menander.² The discovery of the present record in Bajaur³ proves conclusively that it was included within his territory and was under the governorship of Vijayamitra, who, as the name shows, must have been a prince of local origin.

As regards Vijayamitra, Rao Bahadur Dikshit has kindly drawn my attention to a number of coins discovered in the Śaka-Palhava City of Sirkap in Taxila during the excavations of 1931. These are rectangular copper pieces bearing the legend *Vijayamitrāsa*, written in Brāhmī on one side and Kharoṣṭhī on the other, along with the *svastika*, *triratna*, hill and other symbols. The Brāhmī legend, which is the clearer of the two, shows characters of the 1st century B. C.⁴ There is another coin in the British Museum ascribed to 'Vijayamitra's son' (Cunningham, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd series, Vol. X, 1890, p. 127; and Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, Vol. I, p. 168 and Pl. XVII, iii). It is an imitation of the Indo-Parthian type (King on horse-back and standing deity), the Kharoṣṭhī legend on which reads *Vijayamitra(sa) apacha*..... The lower portions of the letters *apacha*..... are cut away. It is probable that these are the remnants of the legend *apacha-rajasa*. This coin, however, must be attributed to the middle of the first century A. D.

Vijayamitra of the Taxila coins may be identified with Vijayamitra of the present casket. His connection with the North-West Frontier is thus independently attested by numismatic

¹ J. R. A. S., 1909, p. 14.

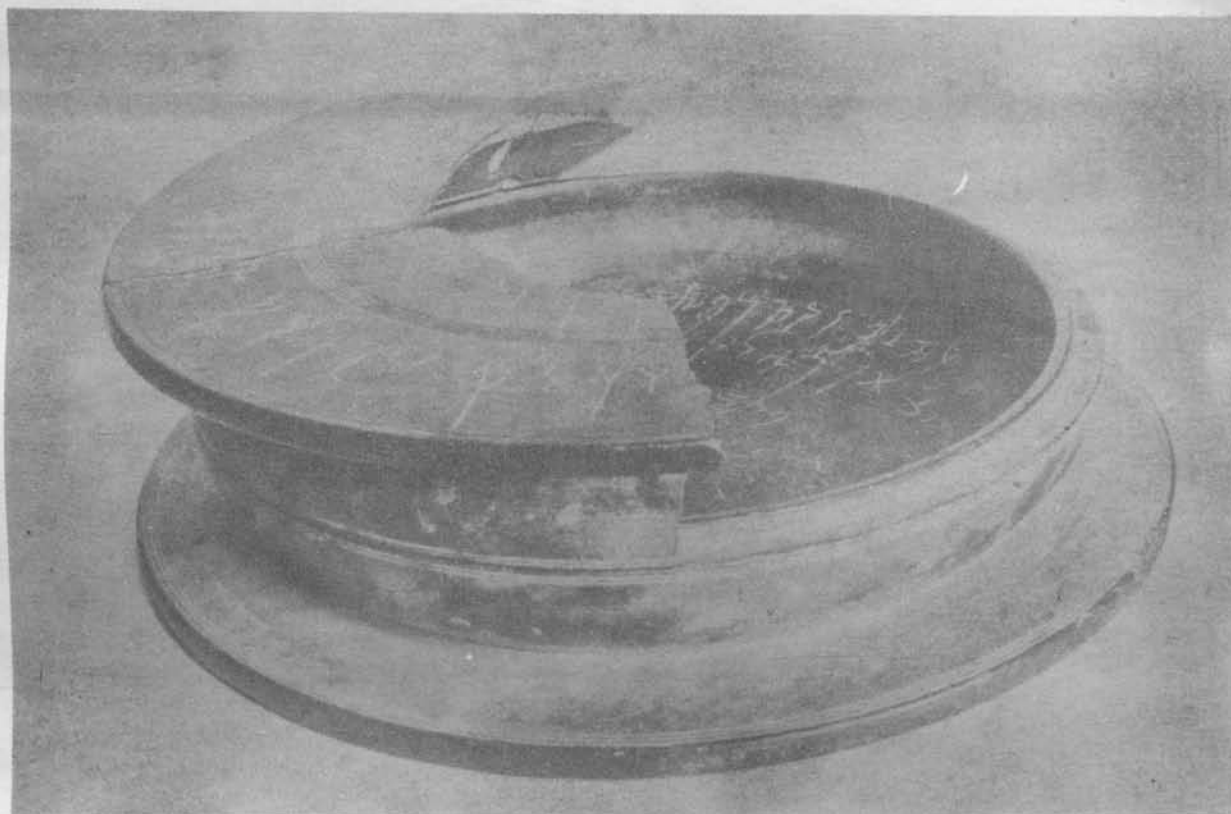
² On Menander see *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 549-552.

³ In the *Buddhavaṃsa* (P. T. S.), p. 68, v. 8, the bowl relic (*pātra*) of the Buddha is supposed to have been deposited at a place called Vajirā. This name might be identical with Bajaur and it is not impossible that the author of the text had actually heard of the story of the consecration of a bowl or relic casket like the present one in a stūpa in that country. Its capital might have been Vajrāvati 'in Uttarāpatha' mentioned in the *Buddhisatta-āvadāna-kālpavālā* (B. C. Law, *Geographical Essays*, 1937, Vol. I, p. 46).

⁴ Along with the coins of Vijayamitra was found a rectangular, bilingual copper piece of an identical type, which belongs to a king named Virayāsas. The Brāhmī characters of this coin also are assignable to the first century B. C. This king should be identified with the *Kulita* Virayāsas who is known from a round copper coin in the British Museum (Allan, *Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India*, 1936, p. 158), found by Cunningham in the Northern Punjab beyond Lahore.

THE BAJAUR CASKET OF THE REIGN OF MENANDER—(I).

a. Relic Casket from Bajaur.



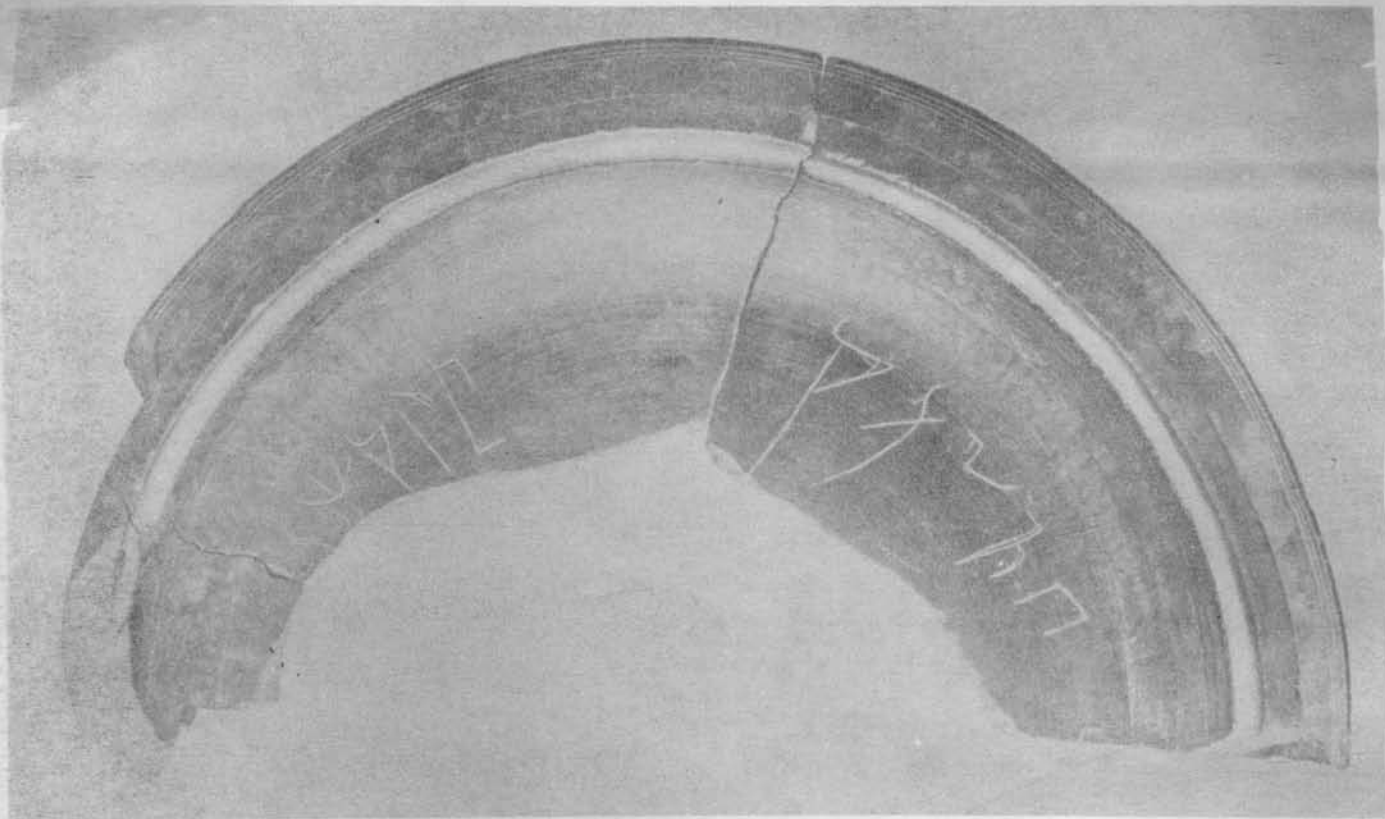
SCALE : THREE-SEVENTHS.

b. The same showing Inscription E on back.



SCALE : THREE-FIFTHS.

Part of lid showing Inscription A2 on the inner face.



Part of lid showing Inscriptions A, A1 and C.



SCALE: ONE-HALF.

THE BAJAUR CASKET OF THE REIGN OF MENANDER—(II).

Inside view showing Inscriptions B and D.



evidence. The British Museum coin must belong to a later prince, most probably of the same dynasty, as appears from the continuity of the epithet *apacha-(rajasa)*.

TEXT.

A. *Rim of Lid.*

. Minadrassa¹ maharajasa Kaṭṭasa divasa 4 4 4 1 1 pra[ṇa]-[sa]me[da].....

A¹. *Centre of Lid.*

. (prati)[thavi]ta

A². *Inner face of Lid.*

praṇa-same[da].....[to] Śakamunisa²

B. *Inside of Casket.*

Viyakamitrassa apracha-rajasa

C. *Centre of Lid.*

1 Vijaya[mit]ra

2 pate pradithavide

D. *Inside of Casket.*

1 Ime śarira paluga-bhud(r)ao³ na sakare atrita [i*] sa śariat(r)i kalad(r)ena śadhro na piṇḍoya-keyi pitri griṇayat(r)i [i*]

2 tasa ye patre apomua [i*] vashaye pañchamaye 4 1 Veś(r)akh(r)asa masasa divasa-pañchaviś(r)aye iyo

3 prat(r)ithavit(r)e Vijayamitrena apracha-rajena Bhag(r)avatu Śakimuniśa sama-sa[m]budhasa⁴ śarira [i*]

E. *Back of Casket.*

Viśpilena aṇamkatena likhit(r)e [i*]

TRANSLATION.

A.

On the 14th day of Kārttika, in the (reign) of Mahārāja Minadra, (in the year), (the corporeal relic of the Buddha), which is endowed with life.....

A¹.

. has been established.

A².

(The corporeal relic) of Śakamuni (i.e., Śākyamuni), which is endowed with life

B.

(The gift) of Viyakamitra, 'who has no king as his adversary'.

¹ There is a scratch looking like the *e* stroke in *π*, which seems to have been due to a flaw in the stone.

² For a proposed restoration see above p. 4.

³ The superfluous *r* stroke has been put within brackets in every case.

⁴ The word *sambudhasa* is quite clear in the original.

C.

Vijayamitrathe bowl has been established.

D.

This corporeal relic having been broken is not held in worship with zeal. It is decaying in course of time, (and) is not honoured; (and here) by the offering of alms and water ancestors are no longer propitiated; (and) the receptacle of that (relic) has been cast aside. (Now) in the fifth year and on the twenty-fifth day of the month of Vaisākha, this has been established by Vijayamitra, 'who has no king as his adversary',—(namely) the corporeal relic of the lord Śākimupi (i.e., Śākyamuni), the one who is truly enlightened.

E.

Written by Viśpila under orders.

No. 2.—INSCRIPTIONS ON TWO RELIC-CASKETS FROM CHARSADEA.

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

The two caskets (marked respectively I and II) on which the subjoined inscriptions are engraved were acquired by Mr. Dilawar Khan, Curator, Peshāwar Museum in April, 1935, from a man of Charsadda in Peshāwar District. The latter had discovered them some time ago in an ancient mound called Kula-dheri near Charsadda, while removing earth for the manure for his fields. The contents of the caskets are however lost, and from the vague reports that reached Mr. Khan he was not able to ascertain the exact nature of the deposits. In May, 1935, the caskets were sent for examination to the Director General of Archaeology in India who kindly placed them at my disposal for study and permitted me to edit the inscriptions in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

The caskets are of blue schist and on the whole well preserved, each bearing a Kharoṣṭhī inscription. The letters, which are made by superficial scratches, often show irregular shapes, due partly to careless engraving, but to a greater extent to the cursive nature of the script itself. The letters being extremely shallow it has not been possible to take estampages. The accompanying plates are based on photographs taken of the caskets in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

1.—Inscription of the year 303 on Relic-Casket I.

The casket on which this inscription is engraved has a diameter of 5·1" and is 1·5" high, with a circular cavity in the centre 7" deep. The writing is disposed of throughout in circular lines according to the shape of the casket. It begins on the rim and is continued inside, covering the base of the hollow, from where again it is carried on to the outer face of the wall of the casket.

The characters are Kharoṣṭhī of the Kushān period. Some remarks are called for regarding the forms of individual letters. The letter *t* in *pradīhareti* and *rahatana* is distinguished from *r* by the shortness of its stem. In *thubao* the letter *b* is angular and does not present the top curve. Similar examples of *b* occur also in the Jauliā inscriptions¹ and in the Loriyān Tangai inscription² of the year 318. The sign for letter *r* in *saḡharami* which more resembles a *b* is rather unusual, although the reading is certain. The ligature read as *ts* in *sabatsa* (i.e., *sambatsara*) is exactly similar to the sign occurring in the Pājā inscription.³ Sten Konow prefers to read it as *tš* which

¹ C. I. I., Vol. II, Part 1, Pl. XVIII.

² Ibid., Pl. XXI, 1.

³ Ibid., Pl. XIII, 1.

he finds also in the Kharōṣṭhī documents from Chinese Turkestan. But this reading has not been generally accepted.¹ The letter *y* in this inscription is in most cases distinguished from *ś* by the curvilinear slanting stroke it shows on the left-hand side; also the head of *y* is more or less conical while that of *ś* is rectangular. In one instance at least (*pracha-Budhaya puyae*) there is a slanting top bar added to the two uprights of *y*.

The language is a form of Prakrit as found generally in the Indian Kharōṣṭhī inscriptions of the Kushān period. The word *etala* in the expression *etak-eta-mite* corresponds to Pāli *ettaka*, meaning 'so much' (cf. Prakrit *ettia*, *ettiya* and *ettika*). The same form *etaka* is well known from the Asokan inscriptions. In *rahataṇa*, which stands for *arahataṇa*, *a* is elided as a result of enphony. The verbal form *sthapapema* represents Sanskrit *sthāpayāmaḥ* (cf. Pāli *sthāpāpeti*).² The use of nominative singular for accusative singular in *thubao* (*thubako*) is irregular (for which cf. *dhammo* for *dhammaṃ* in Aśoka's Rock-edict XII at Shahbazgarhi). Attention may be drawn to a dialectic peculiarity which the language of this inscription bears in common with that of the Kharōṣṭhī *Dhammapada* as preserved in the Dutreuil de Rhins Manuscript.³ This is the *u* termination in *sagharamu* (*saṅghārāmaṃ*) that has its parallels in such forms as *magu* for *maggo*, *dhamu* for *dhammaṃ* and so on of the *Dhammapada*. The Dutreuil de Rhins Ms. has been referred by Senart to the second century A. D., but probably is of a somewhat later age. It may be suggested that the Charsadda casket inscription also belongs to this period. The words *se yema* may be taken to represent *id yad-idam*, meaning 'as follows'. The three letters following *yema* I read as *ṇaviga* (*navaka*, 'a Buddhist novice').⁴ In *Saravaranaṣi* we have evidently an example of the locative singular with *-asi*.

The inscription records the consecration of a reliquary or casket (*dona*, i.e., *drōṇa*)⁵ in a place called *Saravarapa*. Another place *Avaśāūra* is also mentioned in the locative case (*Avaśāūrami*) in connection with the donation. The former was probably the name of the particular locality where the gift was made and the latter that of the town of which it formed part. The casket is stated to have been deposited by the 'novice' *Vesa*, who for this purpose also erected a *stūpa* and a *saṅghārāma*.

The concluding portion of the inscription mentions a personage named *Avakhajhada* to whom honour (*pūjā*) is shown. He is described as *chhatrava* (*kshatrapa*), and also as *grama-svami* (*grāma-svāmin*), i.e., 'the lord of villages,' serving under a *maharaya* (*mahārāja*), that is an independent ruler.⁶ The town *Avaśāūra* must have been included within the jurisdiction of *Avakhajhada*. The inscription is dated in the year 303 of an era which is not specified. Probably it should be referred to the same reckoning to which the year 318 of the Lōriyān Tangai inscription must be attributed. If referred to the Mālava era of 58 B. C. the year 303 corresponds to A. D. 245, a date that agrees well with the language and palaeography of the inscription.

I now place below the text and translation of the record. It should be noted, however, that my transcript of the portion following the date, which occurs on the rim of the casket, is not entirely free from doubt. But at present I am unable to offer a better reading.

¹ *Kharōṣṭhī Inscriptions*, Part III, Oxford 1929, p. 314.

² *Pāli-English Dictionary* (P. T. S.), s. v.

³ Senart, *Journal Asiatique*, 1897; also revised edition by Barua and Mitra, *Prakrit Dhammapada*, Calcutta University, 1921.

⁴ *Pāli-English Dictionary* (P. T. S.), s. v. *navaka*.

⁵ *Drōṇa* is a vessel or measure of capacity; cf. *donadhattu* cited in Childers, *Pāli-English Dictionary*, from the *Mahāvamsa*. The expression *sattadonāni dhātūnam*, i.e., 'seven *drōṇas* full of relics,' occurs in *Mahāvamsa*, 31.22. This is the special sense in which *dona* is used in the present inscription.

⁶ The official title *gāmasāmiko* is mentioned in the *Milindapañho* (Roy. As. Soc. reprint), p. 147, l. 12.

TEXT.

On rim.

Sabatasa 111 100 111 [*] otak-eta-mite tu dona¹ sthapapema [*] se yema nāviga Vesa
 Śaravarapasi [sa]-thuba[o]² sagharamu pradīḥaveti

On inner side, outer circle.

Avaśāṭrami mada pidu puya[e*] sarva-Budhaṇa puyae sa-

On inner side, inner circle.

rva Pracha[ga*]-Budhaṇa puyae sarva-rahataṇa puya[e*]

Along outer face of wall.

putra-darasa puyae mitra-ñadi-salohidaṇa puya[e*] maharayasa gramasamisa³
 Avakhaḥhadasa puyae Chhatravasa

TRANSLATION.

The year 303. And in such and such (*year*) as here specified a reliquary is caused to be consecrated by us. Thus the 'novice' Vesa, establishes a *saṅghārāma*, together with a *stūpa*, at Śaravarapa in Avaśāṭra,⁴ in honour of parents, in honour of all Buddhas, in honour of all Pratyēka-Buddhas, in honour of all *Arhats*, in honour of wife and son (or sons), in honour of friends, kinsmen and blood-relations, and in honour of the *Mahārāja's* village-lord, the Satrap Avakhaḥhada.

2.—Inscription on Relic-Casket II.

This casket is 2·9" in diameter, 1·1" in height and its central cavity is '6" in depth. It bears only one line of inscription in Kharoṣṭhī characters, engraved along the outer side. The letters are formed by shallow incision as on Casket I. As regards the forms of individual letters, the only point to note is that the letter *y* in *puyae* has the top bar as in *ś*. The two caskets are similar in shape and execution and palaeographically there is no difference between this and the foregoing record.

The inscription records the deposit of a corporeal relic (*śarīra*) by a person named Trami.

TEXT.

Tramisa dānamu[khe*] ime śarira presthevida Budhaṇa puyae

TRANSLATION.

The gift of Trami. This corporeal relic is deposited in honour of the Buddhas.

¹ The letter *na* was omitted at first and added later above the line.

² At first the letter *ha* was engraved, which was later changed to *o*.

³ The first *sa* has an additional flourish below, which may have been an attempt to write *sva*.

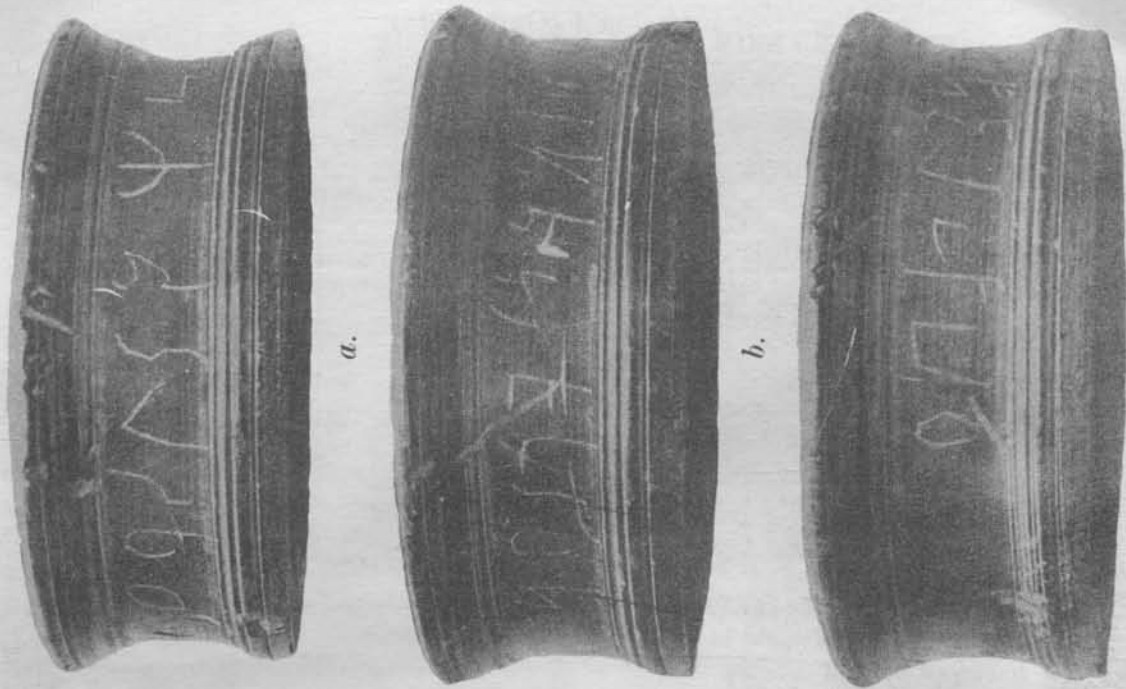
⁴ The syllable *ava* probably stands for *pura*. Cf. *atūra* for *antapura* in the Mathurā Lion Capital inscription No. A. 9.

INSCRIPTIONS ON TWO RELIC-CASKETS FROM CHARSADDA.

Casket I (Rim and inner side).



Casket II.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

SCALE: ACTUAL SIZE.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Casket I (Outer side)



a.



b.



c.

No. 3.—PAUNI STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE BHARA KING BHAGADATTA.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

Pauni is an old town situated on the right bank of the Waingangā about thirty-two miles south of Bhandārā, the headquarters of the Bhandārā District of the Central Provinces. The ancient name of the town is said to be Padmāvati. The town is surrounded on three sides by a moat and a mud-wall, covered in some places with stone battlements, and on the fourth by the river Waingangā. A mound on the south, outside the moat, which was dug some years ago for building a temple, is said to have yielded a stone-box containing some relics and small images, but none of them can now be traced. The present inscription was brought to my notice by Mr. Ichchhapuri Goswami, a retired teacher of Pauni, while I was halting with some friends for a short time at the place on our way to see the inscribed slab at Deotēk, in October 1935. The slab on which the present inscription is incised is now lying in a pit two or three furlongs to the west of the main gate of the town. We were told that it was originally lying flat on the ground, but some years ago some persons dug under it in search of the treasure which they thought was buried under it. They made a large pit, in which the slab is lying now with one end of it stuck into the ground. We could not then take out the massive slab, but we were informed that the underground end of it contained no inscribed letters. At a short distance from the place we found a mound, which, being situated in the midst of a plain, appeared to be artificial.

As already stated, the present inscription is incised on a massive slab. The inscribed portion measures 3' 1" by 4", and consists of a single line containing fifteen *akṣaras*. The size of letters varies from 2½" to 3½". They were deeply incised, but parts of them have now become worn, being exposed to weather for several centuries. For instance, the lower portion of the vertical of *rā*¹ and the upper one of *ya* in *rāyasa* and the middle horizontal stroke of *j* in *pājugā* have left only faint traces. Some other letters, again, like *d* in *Bhagadata*, *pa* and the medial *i* of *paṭi* show partial effacement. The characters belong to the early Brāhmī alphabet. They exhibit an admixture of earlier and later signs. The medial long *i* of *ṣi* in *paṭi*, for instance, occurs exactly in this form in a Girnar rock-edict of Aśoka,² but in other respects the letters show a marked development over the Asokan alphabet. The broadened forms of *bh*, *g* and *t*, the form of *s* in which the right prong of its fork is raised to the same height as the left one, the angular *p* with a shortened left limb and the sign for the medial *u* in *ju*—all these denote a later age. The letters are not, however, so broad or angular as those of the Kushān inscriptions, nor even as those of the Nāsik inscription of Ushavadāta. I would, therefore, refer the inscription to the beginning of the Christian era. The language is early Prākṛit. Double consonants are entirely absent. There is also no elision of inter-vocalic mutes except in *-rāyasa* where we have *ya-śruti*. In *pājugā* (for Sanskrit *pādukā*) we see two changes: the substitution of the palatal *j* for the dental *d*, cf. the Śaurasēnī *chīṭhadi* for *tishṭhadi*, and the softening of *k* into *g*, cf. *mugha* for *mukha* in No. 1217 of Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*.

The object of the inscription is to record the dedication of a slab with foot-prints (*pājugā-paṭi*) by Bhagadata (Bhagadatta) king of the Bhāra (clan). The slab on which the inscription

¹ The *akṣara* cannot be read as *dā*, for the existing vertical stroke is too long to be the upper portion of *dā*. Compare the form of the letter in *Bhagadatasā*. I, therefore, read it as *rā*, its lower portion being effaced like the vertical of the next *akṣara* *ya*. In the present record there are several instances of partial effacement of letters owing to exposure to weather.

² See Table II, IX, 18 in Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie*.

is incised contains, however, no carving of foot-prints, which suggests that it was put up at a shrine where a slab with foot-prints was installed. If this conjecture is correct, the adjoining mound may contain ruins of that shrine. We have an analogous instance in the Deotēk slab, the later of the two inscriptions on which was intended to record the construction of a temple (*dharmasthānam*) at Chikambari, near Deotēk, by Rudrasēna I, a Vākātaka king¹. The word *dānam* which usually occurs in connection with the dedication of foot-print slabs² is again missing in the present record. Its absence can, however, be accounted for on the ground that the present inscription is not a votive tablet recording the gift of a private individual such as would have necessitated the use of the word *dānam*. Bhagadatta, as became his royal position, must have erected a magnificent shrine over the foot-print slab. It must have, therefore, been thought unnecessary to record that it was a *gift* made by him. It was sufficient to mention his name in connection with it. The wording of the Vākātaka inscription on the Deotēk slab,³ which is similar, would also support this conjecture.

We are not told whose foot-prints were carved on the slab, the dedication of which is recorded in the present inscription. *Primā facie* they must have been those of the Buddha. But we must not forget that it was also the custom to install slabs with foot-prints of Hindu deities. We have, for instance, in the Paṭṭan plates⁴ of the Vākātaka king Pravarasēna II, and the Poḍāgaḍ stone inscription⁵ of the Nala king Bhagadatta, clear evidence of the worship of the foot-prints (*pādamūla*) of Viṣṇu. It is true that these inscriptions belong to a later age, but the custom they evidence may go back to earlier times.⁶ The question as to whose foot-prints are referred to in the present inscription cannot, therefore, be definitely answered in the absence of further proof. But the Prākṛit language of the dedicatory inscription, the general prevalence of the custom of dedicating slabs with the foot-prints of the Buddha in the period to which the present inscription can be referred on palaeographic grounds and above all, the discovery of a relic stone-box in a mound at Pauni, to which a reference has already been made, point to the conclusion that the foot-prints were probably intended to symbolize the Buddha.

Another question, which presents itself in connection with the inscription is whether the Bhāra clan to which Bhagadatta belonged, was identical with the Bhāraśivas whose glorious achievements are recorded in Vākātaka inscriptions. The identification *primā facie* may appear unlikely; for the Bhāraśivas, as their name signifies, were devotees of Śiva. In Vākātaka inscriptions their royal family is said to have been created by Śiva who was pleased by their carrying the Śiva-*linga* on their shoulders. On the other hand Bhagadatta the king of the Bhāra clan was

¹ See my article 'New Light On Deotēk Inscriptions' (*Proceedings and Transactions of the Eighth Oriental Conference*, pp. 613 ff.).

² See Nos. 1209, 1217, 1219, 1225 and 1286 in Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*.

³ Compare the wording of the Vākātaka inscription [वाकाटका*]वंश[आ*]तस्सेदं रुद्रसेनरा[जः] धर्मस्थानं with that of the present record भाररायस सगदत्तस पाञ्चमापटी.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 85 ff. The words रामगिरिस्त्रामिनः पादमूलात् ... in the Riddhapur plates of Pravarasēna II indicate that the shrine on Rāmāgiri (modern Rāmṭek near Nāgpur) also contained foot-print of Viṣṇu. Cf. also Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* (v. 12) वन्द्यैः पुंसां रघुपतिपदैरङ्कितं मेखलासु । with reference to Rāmāgiri.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 156.

⁶ [In this connection attention may be drawn to Prof. Bhandarkar's remarks in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 202f.—Ed.]

probably a Buddhist as shown above. Besides, according to the researches of the late Dr. Jayaswal¹ the Bhāraśivas, who belonged to the Nāgavamśa, had their home in the North. It was only when they were pressed by the Kushāns that they migrated to the Central Provinces, where they ruled for half a century before the expansion of their power in the North. It would, therefore, seem that the Bhāras mentioned in the present record were different from those that became known in later history as Bhāraśivas.

Such a conclusion does not, however, appear to be convincing; for, the possibility of the Bhāra clan changing its religion in later times is not altogether excluded. When the Bhāras became staunch devotees of Śiva, whose *linga* they always carried like modern Vira-Śaivas (Ling-āyats), they may have become known by the name of Bhāra-Śivas. It is not again definitely proved that the Bhāraśivas belonged to North India. Dr. Jayaswal's theory that there was a confederacy of Nāga states under the leadership of the Bhāraśivas rests on a slender basis. For, though it is known from epigraphic records that there were several Nāga families ruling in North India before the rise of the Guptas, they are nowhere distinctly said to have been united under the leadership of the Bhāraśivas. From the Vākātaka inscriptions in which alone the name and achievements of the Bhāraśivas are specifically mentioned we know, of course, that they were crowned with the water of the Ganges which they obtained by their valour and performed ten *Āsvamēdhas*, but this description itself suggests that they were a southern power that successfully raided the North for obtaining the water of the Ganges² for their coronation. As for their ten *Āsvamēdhas*, they appear to have been performed in the South³; for, it is only the southern Āndhra, Pallava, Ikshvāku, Vākātaka and Vishnukundin kings that are known to have performed several Vedic sacrifices such as the *Agnishōma*, *Vājapēya*, *Āsvamēdha*, *Āptōryōma*, *Ukthya*, etc., in the early centuries of the Christian era. It may again be noted that in the Gupta records Samudragupta is said to have revived the *Āsvamēdha* sacrifice which had long been in abeyance,⁴ evidently in North India. If the ten *Āsvamēdhas* of the Bhāraśivas had been performed in the North, the palpable falsehood of such a boast would not have escaped notice even in a *prāśasti*. The relationship of the Bhāraśivas and the Vākātakas also suggests that the former had, like the latter, their home in the South. That the Vākātakas were by origin a southern power can be easily shown. All their early inscriptions⁵ are found to the south of the Narmadā. From the Purāṇas we learn that Vindhyaśakti and Pravira who has been rightly identified with Pravarasēna I, ruled from two capitals Purikā and Chanakā⁶. The latter has not been satisfactorily identified, but from the *Harivamśa*⁷ we learn that Purikā, was situated at the foot of the Rikshavat (modern Sātpurā) mountain. Again the phraseology of the formal part of the Vākātaka grants bears a striking resemblance to that of

¹ *History of India 150 A.D. to 350 A. D.*, pp. 16, 29, 40, etc.

² In this connection attention may be drawn to the somewhat analogous instance of Gaṅgai-kouṇḍa Rājendra Chōla I.

³ The statement in the Vākātaka inscriptions does not substantiate Jayaswal's view that the *Āsvamēdhas* were celebrated on the bank of the Ganges (See *History of India*, etc., p. 5). The wording in the Vākātaka grants is पराक्रमाधिगतमगौरवस्यमञ्जसमूहोभिविमानादग्नादग्नेपावथयकानानाम्भारिषवानाद्वहाराजदीमवनागदीहिदस्य, etc.

⁴ See Bilsad Stone Inscription of Kumāragupta, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 42ff. A similar statement may have occurred in the Mathurā fragmentary stone inscription as shown by Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 27.

⁵ The inscriptions at Nachnā and Ganja of a feudatory of the Vākātakas has been referred on palaeographic grounds to the reign of Prithivishēna II, by Prof. Dubreuil and Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit. I have corroborated this view elsewhere. (Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 172 f.).

⁶ See *History of India*, etc., p. 16 n. 3.

⁷ *Harivamśa*, *Vishṇuparvan*, *adhyāya* 38, vv. 21-22. Jayaswal identifies Purikā with Hoshangābād in the Central Provinces, *History of India*, etc., p. 40.

the early Pallava records¹ and this is no matter for surprise, since an inscription of a Vākātaka householder has been discovered on a pillar at Amarāvati in the Āndhra country.² It may again be noted that the earliest Vākātaka inscription known so far was discovered at Deotēk which lies only about twenty miles south-east of Pauni. The proximity of that inscription to the present one accords well with the close relationship which we know from epigraphic records to have existed between the Bhārasīvas and the Vākātakas. It seems probable, therefore, that the Bhāras mentioned in the present inscription belonged to the same clan which came to be known in later times as Bhārasīvas when its members became staunch followers of Śaivism.

TRANSCRIPT.*

भाररायस भगदत्तस पाजुगापटो

Remarks.

(1) The dots over *bha* and *sa* and the curve on *ga* are due to faults in the stone. Similarly the curve which seems to join the two lower limbs of *ta*, thus making the letter look like *va* is due to an accidental depression in the stone. (2) The right limb of *pā* appears to be lengthened by an accidental scratch. Near the top of the left vertical of *pa* in *paṭi* there is a round hole in the surface of the stone, which in some estampages gives the letter the appearance of *pā*. Similarly the horizontal scratch near the top of its right hand curve which makes the letter look like *ha* is unintentional.

TRANSLATION.

A slab with foot-prints of (i.e., dedicated by) **Bhagadata** (Bhagadatta), the king of the **Bhāras**.

The usual technical name for a slab with foot-prints is *paduka-paṭa* (Sanskrit *pādukā-paṭṭa*). See Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, No. 1217. For *paduka* (Sanskrit *pādukā*) the variants *patuka* and *pātuka* are also met with in Amarāvati inscriptions. The *pājugā-paṭi* of the present inscription corresponds to Sanskrit *pādukā-paṭṭi*. In an inscription at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa we have *paṭipadā*, evidently in the sense of foot-prints on a slab, which Dr. Vogel traces to Sanskrit *prati-padā*. But the latter word nowhere conveys that sense. It must evidently be taken to correspond to Sanskrit *paṭṭi-pada* (foot-prints on a slab). In *paṭi-padā*, where one would expect *paṭi-padā* there is a dental letter used for the corresponding lingual as in *anuthitam* for *anuṭhitam* in another inscription (No. H. 1. 14) at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa.

¹ In this connection attention may be drawn to the following points of similarity: (1) Like the Pallava grants Vākātaka plates begin with *drishṭam*. (2) In the beginning of both there is an enumeration of the Vedic sacrifices performed by the donor or his ancestor. (3) There is a close similarity in their phraseology. Compare, for instance, the following Prākṛit expressions in the formal parts of Pallava grants (above, Vol. I, pp. 5-6 and Vol. VI, p. 87) with their Sanskrit counterparts noticed in the Vākātaka grants (above, Vol. XXII, p. 173) viz., *appaṇa kula-gottasa dham-āyu-bala-yaso-vadhanike* with *dharm-āyur-bala-vijay-aśvarya-vīriddhaya*; *a-dūḍha-dadhi-gaṇaṇam* and *a-harita-sāka-puṣpa-gaṇaṇam* with *a-puṣpa-kohira-sandōha*; *a-loṇa-gula-cchhobham* with *a-lavaṇa-kinna-kṛṇi-khanakah*; *apāraṃpara-bali-vadda-gaṇaṇam* with *apāraṃpara-gō-bali-varaḥ*, etc., Notice also the close similarity between *amha-pesaya-ppayutte samckarantaka-bhāda-mahueṣa* with *asmat-santakāḥ sarvādhyakṣa-niyōga-niyuktāḥ ājñā-saṃchāri-kulaputr-ādhitṛitā bhajāt-chhātrās-cha*; and also between *sayam-āpatam* and *ājñā svayam* (contrary to the construction I have proposed, above, Vol. XXII, p. 174). The draftsman of the Vākātaka records has evidently borrowed some expressions from the Pallava grants as the writer of the latter had done from earlier Sātavāhana inscriptions. (See Nasik inscriptions Nos. 3 and 4 and Karle inscription No. 19.)

² Above, Vol. XV, p. 260.

³ From the original stone and ink-impressions.

⁴ Above, Vol. XX, p. 37.

PAUNI STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE BHARA KING BHAGADATTA.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.
Reg. No. 1515 E37. 275.

SCALE: ONE-SIXTH.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

No. 4.—THE JURADA GRANT OF NETTABHANJADEVA.

By C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU, B.A., MADRAS.

The subjoined inscription was first brought to light in December 1927 when a resident of **Phulsara**, a village in the Aṭhagaḍa taluk of the Ganjām District, while digging for the foundations of a kitchen-room for the Svapnēśvara temple at the neighbouring hamlet of Deula-Pēḍi, discovered a pot containing two sets of copper-plates, each containing three plates strung together on a ring of the same metal. The plates were subsequently preserved in the local temple of **Chandraśekhara**. They were obtained on loan from their owner Sjt. Madhava Patro by Pandit Gopabandhu Vidyabhushana, a teacher of the Raja's Sanskrit College at Parlakimedi and published by him in the monthly journal called *Vaiśya-Vāṇī* of the same district. Mr. Satyanarayana Rajaguru subsequently examined the two sets and published¹ an article on them giving only the text of one of them under the caption 'The Phulasara copper-plate grant of Kīrtirājadēva'. Subsequently Sri Lakshminarayana Harichandan Jagadeb, Rajah of Tekkali, edited the present grant giving the text in a rather indifferent manner.² This article is not accompanied by any facsimiles and thus provides no basis for verifying either his transcript or his conclusions. I, therefore, requested the Collector of Vizagapatam to secure both the sets for my examination. At his instance the Deputy Tahsildar of Kodala, Ganjām District, forwarded the two sets to me in December 1934. They have been included and reviewed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year ending 31st March 1935, as Nos. 15 and 16 of Appendix A. The purpose of the present article is mainly to deal with the latter. My reading of the inscription is based on an examination of the original plates and their ink-impressions which have been prepared in my office. As there are also some inaccuracies in the readings of the other grant published by Mr. Rajaguru (No. 15 of App. A), I shall deal with it in a separate article.

The set under review consists of three plates measuring 6" by 2½" with slightly raised rims. A thin copper ring, about 3¼" in diameter, holding the plates together, passes through a ring-hole of about ½" in diameter at the left hand margin. The ends of the ring are pressed together loosely into the tubular bottom of a circular seal 1½" in diameter. On the surface of the seal is carved in high relief the figure of an *amṛita-kalāśa* which Sri Jagadeb takes to be a *pūrṇa-kumbha*.³ The plates with the ring and the seal weigh 79 tolas.

The **paleography** and **orthography** of the plates do not call for any special remarks. Mistakes in the latter are corrected in the foot-notes accompanying the text. The following points may, however, be observed : *s* is used for *ś* as in *saṅkha* and *śabda* in line 4, etc., *kusalinaḥ* (l. 8), *śrī* for *śrī* (ll. 4, 6 and 7), etc. and *ś* for *s* in *samaśta*, in l. 9. *V* is employed instead of *b* as in *erīṃhita* in l. 6 ; *prativaddha* in l. 8. The inscription employs the forms *āmra* (l. 11) and *tāmra* (ll. 19 and 34) for Skt. *āmra* and *tāmra*. The consonant following *r* is generally doubled as in earlier inscriptions, e.g., *varjjita* (l. 11), *arkka* (l. 13), etc. The use of the form *paurṇavāsi* (probably colloquial) for *paurṇamāsi* in l. 19 and of *nṛipti* for *nṛipati* (twice in l. 21) deserves notice.

The inscription belongs to the king *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Nēṭṭabhañjadēva* (not Nēṭṭibhañjadēva as has hitherto been read by several scholars) and registers the gift, by the king, of the

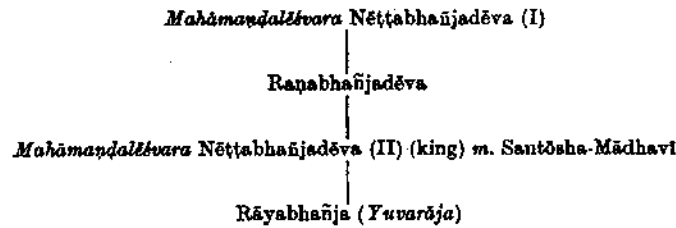
¹ *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. III, p. 30.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 109.

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 111. It may be recalled here that one of the earlier Bhañja kings bears the surname or title 'Kalyāṇakalāśa', see above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 293 and 295 ff. and Bhandarkar's *List of Northern Inscriptions*, No. 1497. Vidyādharaḥaṇḍa of this dynasty bore the title 'Amōghakalāśa' (*ibid.*, No. 1500).

village *Jurādā* in *Gaḍa-vishaya*, which was a subdivision of *Khiṣṭjālī-maṇḍala* to *Pātra śrī-Vā[ppa]nna*, who was the son of *Bhaṭṭa Guhēsvara* and grandson of *Bhaṭṭa¹ Santōsha* of the *Viśvāmitra-gōtra*, the *Kaṇva-śākhā* and the *Yajur-veda* and who was an immigrant from *Gaṅga-vāḍī*. The donee is undoubtedly identical with *Vāpanna*, the donee of the grant of *Kirtirājadēva*, which mentions him, however, without the title *Pātra*. The latter grant refers also to the *tryār-shēya-pravara* and the *pañchārshēy-ānupravara* of the donee which are omitted in our grant. The identity of the donee suggests that *Nēṭṭabhañjadēva* and *Kirtirājadēva* were either contemporaries ruling over adjacent principalities or one of them succeeded the other to the throne of the same principality.²

The king's genealogy is given thus :—



The king is described as a *parama-vaishnava* and appropriately enough the grant commences with an invocation to god *Nārāyaṇa*, who is stated to be the family deity (*kula-dēvatā*) of the *Bhañja* kings.³ He is also mentioned in very respectful terms by the addition of the honorific suffix *pādāḥ* to his name, which is also the case with *Kirtirāja* of the other grant. The charter was issued from *Kumārapura* and was addressed to the *sāmanti* (corrupt form of *sāmanṭa*), *sāmavāji* (corrupt form of *sāmājika* or *sāmavāyika*) and all the residents of the concerned country (or district). *Sāmanta* must refer to the feudal lord of the territory and *sāmājikas* to his councillors. The gift was made with the knowledge and cognizance (*ōparijñāna*) of the chief queen (*mahādēvī*) *śrī-Santōsha-Mādhavi*, the crown-prince (*yuvarāja*) *śrī-Rāyabhañja*, the minister (*pātra*) *śrī-Yaśōdhara*, the *akṣhapāṭala* *śrī-Ajānanda*, the *pratihāra* *śrī-Bhāvillā* and the *vāguṇī* *śrī-Rāṇikāvāsa*. The inscription was engraved on the copper(-plates) by the merchant (*vaṇik*) *Malaka* or *Kamalaka*. The two expressions *rājaki-pralayā rupyā* and *khaṇḍapāla-muṇḍa-mōla-rupyā* are not intelligible. They probably refer to the amount of silver coins meant to be paid (annually) into the royal treasury and to the local (police ?) officers respectively. The symbol or ligature following the expression *rupyā* is perhaps meant as an abbreviation for *rupyā*.⁴

The record is not dated but the occasion of the gift was *Phālguna* full-moon, and lunar eclipse (*sōma-grahaṇa*), which fact alone is not helpful for determining the exact period of the inscription.

The king *Nēṭṭabhañja* of the present inscription evidently belongs to a later period, as evidenced by its palaeography which resembles closely that of the *Antirigam*⁵ plates of *Yaśabhañjadēva*

¹ In *Kirtirāja's* grant *Santōsha* is styled *Bhaṭṭaputra*.

² *Sri Jagadeb* thinks that *Nēṭṭabhañja* conquered *Kirtirāja* and succeeded him; *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VII, p. 110.

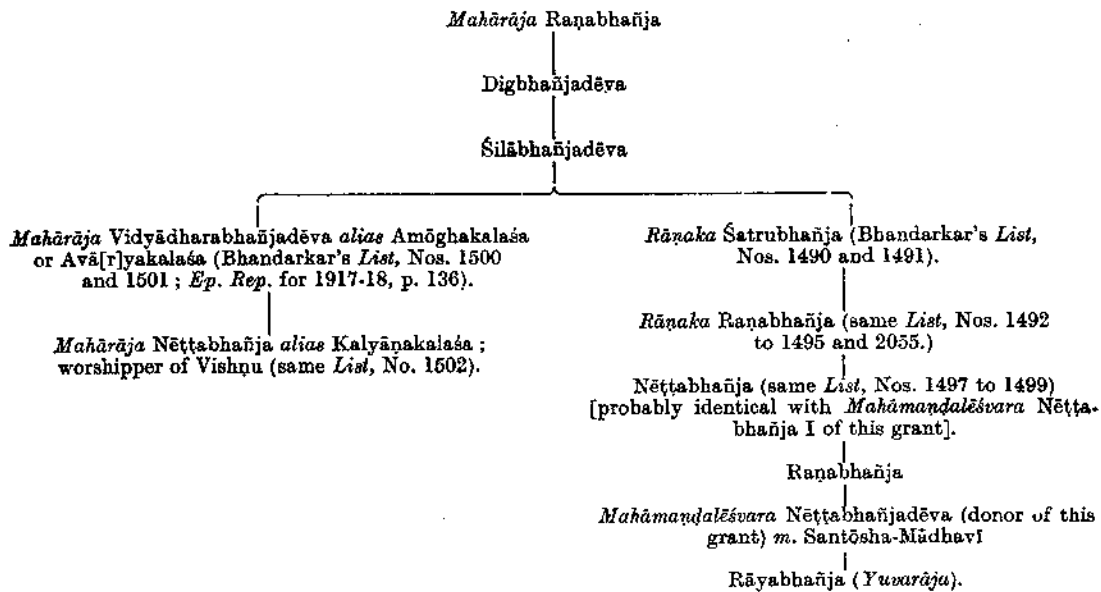
³ Other *Bhañja* kings of the *Vaishnava* persuasion are mentioned in *Bhandarkar's List of Northern Inscriptions*, Nos. 1491 (*Śatrubhañja*), 1492 (*Raṇabhañja*) and 1493 (*Rājaka Raṇabhañja*).

⁴ [See p. 20 n. 1 below.—Ed.]

⁵ Above, Vol. XVIII, pl. opposite p. 288.

and the Antirigam plates of Jayabhañjadēva.¹ He undoubtedly comes of the Vaiṣṇava branch of the Bhañjas who were mostly lords of the Kṣiṇjali- or Ubhaya-Kṣiṇjali-*maṇḍala* and issued the earlier grants from Dhritipura.² A close study of the genealogy of the family would suggest that Nēṭṭabhañja *alias* Kalyāṇakalaśa of Nos. 1497 to 1499 of Bhandarkar's *List*, who was the son of Raṇabhañja and grandson of Śatrubhañja is identical with Nēṭṭabhañja I of our grant.* Nēṭṭabhañja, son of Vidyādharaḥabhañjadēva, the donor of the Dasapalla grant (called also Chakra-dharpur plates, see *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 266) is styled *Mahārāja* and *parama-vaiṣṇava*. The latter epithet might suggest a possible identity of Nēṭṭabhañja I of our plates (who calls himself, a *parama-vaiṣṇava* but only a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*) with Nēṭṭabhañja of Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1502. But the title *Mahārāja* borne by the latter precludes this identity.

In attempting a satisfactory genealogy of the several kings of the family the chief factor to be borne in mind is that the various branches had a special *lāñchhana* or seal, viz., a lion in certain cases, a bull in others and a *kalāśa* in still others.⁴ We may therefore tentatively look upon the kings of the present record as belonging to a junior branch on account of the absence of sovereign titles. The expression *Matta-mayūra-tūrya*, etc., occurring in the eulogy of the kings of our grant seems very strongly to connect the origin of the Mayūra-Bhañja family with this branch. I shall, under the circumstances, suggest the following tentative genealogy for the present and await future discoveries for its confirmation.⁵



¹ Above, Vol. XIX, pl. facing p. 44.

² Vide Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos. 1490 to 1495 and 2055.

³ He would appear to be a solitary devotee of Mahēśvara in this branch. It should be noted that his grants were issued from Vañjūlvaka and not from Dhṛitipura. The change in faith might have been caused by some unknown political causes which also must account for the shifting of his capital from the family city Dhṛitipura to Vañjūlvaka. Similar change of faith from Śaivism to Vaiṣṇavism is suggested in the case of Jayabhañjadēva of the Antirigam plates (see above, Vol. XIX, p. 43, text, verse 3).

⁴ See *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1917-18, p. 136, para. 12.

^a [With the materials at our disposal it is almost impossible to arrive at a definite conclusion about the genealogy and the chronological position of the different Bhañja families. See *An. Bhand. Or. Res. Ins.*, Vol. XII, pp. 231 ff., R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 161 ff, and Bhandarkar's Genealogical Lists in p. 379 of the *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*.—Ed.]

Though I had tentatively suggested in my *Report* for 1934-35 the identity of *Maḥmāṇḍa-ḷṭṭara* Nēṭṭabhañja I of the present inscription with Nēṭṭabhañja *alias* Kalyāṇakalāśa of the above table, on further consideration of the reasons given above, I herein suggest the alternative identity shown in the above table.

The reading 'Nēṭṭibhañja' has till recently been adopted in almost all publications dealing with this dynasty.¹ In the Ganjām plates the reading is clearly Nēṭṭa- and not Nēṭṭibhañja as wrongly adopted. That the second letter in the name is not *ṭṛi* (cf. *ṭṛi* in *pūṭṛi* of line 11 of the grant²) but is *ṭṭa* will be clear from a comparison of this letter with *ṭṭa* in *bhaṭṭa* of line 24 of the grant.³ Thus in all cases it will be seen that the original reads only Nēṭṭa. Even in the imperfect lithograph of the Gumsur plates of Nēṭṭabhañja⁴ the reading 'Nēṭṭibhañja' cannot strictly be justified. In his article on the 'Two Bhañja grants from Dasapalla,'⁵ Mr. Binoytoah Bhattacharya, however, suggests that the king's name might be Nēṭṭabhañja or Nēṭṭabhañja. But he is not definite. Dr. Bhandarkar, in his *List of Northern Inscriptions* adopts the several forms indifferently.⁶ But from a close study of all the concerned grants it will be seen that Nēṭṭabhañja is the correct name and not Nēṭṭibhañja or Nēṭṭabhañja. Pandit Binayak Misra, however, read the name correctly.⁷

The names of the *akṣhapāṭalin* and *pratihāra* respectively read as Ājñā and Bhāvinpa by Sri Jagadeb must be correctly read as Ajānanda and Bhāvilla.

Kumārapura, the place from which the charter was issued, must be identical with the village of that name in the Berhampur taluk of the Ganjām District. *Khiñjali-maṇḍala* is already known from other records of this dynasty. *Gaḍa-vishaya* in which the gift-village Jurādā was situated is evidently identical with the *Khiñjaliya-Gaḍa-vishaya* of the Antirigam plates of Jayabhañjadēva.⁸ *Jurādā* may be identical with *Jarādā*, a Zamindari village in the Kodola taluk of the Ganjām District.⁹

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Siddham*[[*] Yasmāch=chakra-gad-āsi-śaṅkha-dhanushaḥ Śrīvatsa-tārکشāv=api¹⁰dyōntā yē
- 2 Ditidhinātha¹¹-vanitā-vaidhavya-dikshā-kṛitah [[*] sō=yam bhakta-janā[ya*] mōksha-pha[la*]-da[h*]
- 3 śrī-Bhañja-va[mā-ō]dbhavān pāyād-vaḥ kula-dēvatā pratidinam Nārāyaṇō bhūbhujah||
- 4 Svā(Sva)stī [[*] Śrī(śrī)-Kumārapurāt parama-vaishṇava[h*] sa(śa)ṅkh-aika-savd(śabd)-ābhinandita-

¹ *Ep. Rep.* for 1917-18, p. 135 and above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 283 f.

² See above, Vol. XVIII, plate facing p. 292.

³ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VI, p. 686.

⁴ *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 286.

⁵ Nos. 1497 to 1499 and 1502.

⁶ See *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 104 ff.

⁷ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 42.

⁸ It is also possible that Surada, the headquarters of a taluk of that name in the Ganjām District represents the *Jurādā* of the inscription.

⁹ Expressed by a symbol.

¹⁰ Reads unnecessary.

¹¹ Read *dyōntā* *Ditij-adā*.

3.

[illegible]

ia.

10
12
14
16

iib.

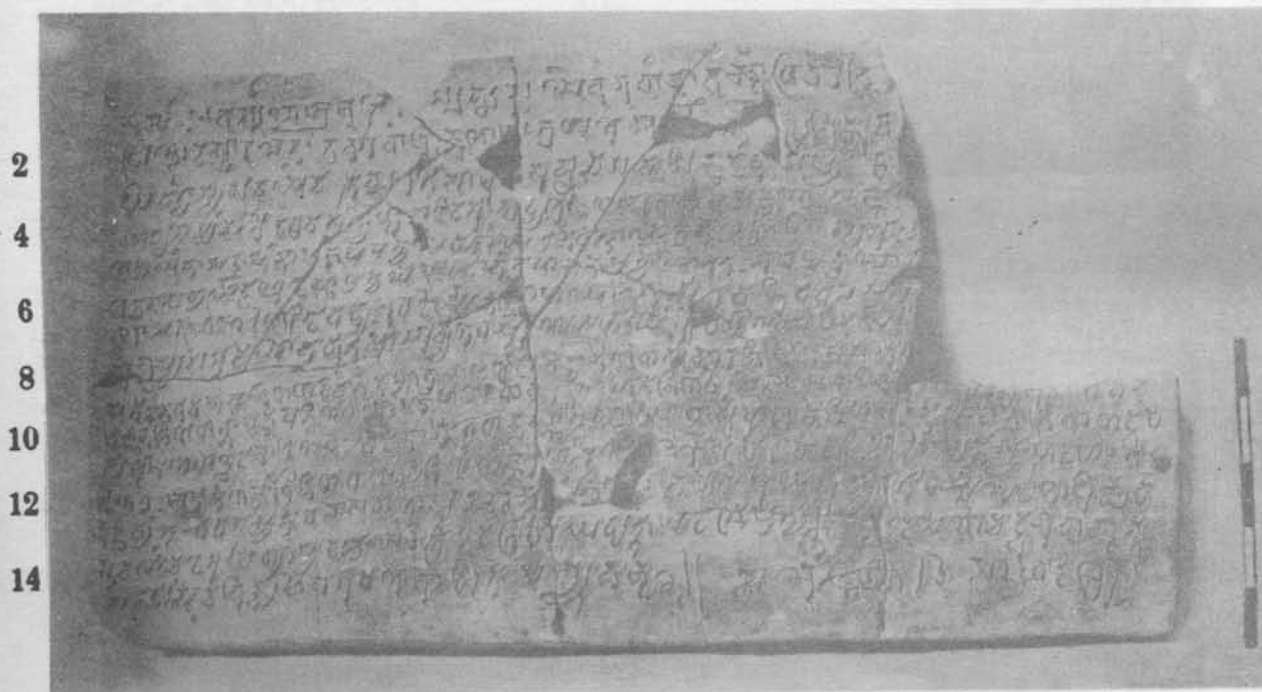
18 वीक्षी प्रशासनं यत्तु ह्यश्विना तान्ता जलानां वाप्या यथा
 विष्णुर्गच्छति तान्तां ह्यश्विना तान्ता जलानां वाप्या यथा
 20 कस्य यद्वा तान्तां ह्यश्विना तान्ता जलानां वाप्या यथा
 22 ह्यश्विना तान्ता जलानां वाप्या यथा
 24 विष्णुर्गच्छति तान्तां ह्यश्विना तान्ता जलानां वाप्या यथा
 26 प्रश्विना तान्ता जलानां वाप्या यथा

iii.

28 धसदाउद्याविताऽसदडाद्यिलांमान्या धसदअगुधांलावाहवत
 हंश्च अत्रिक्तु मीनयुवद्विस्तुमाहृत्तऽसयदीवाकालेय्यासिस्तुश्रीया
 निवृत्तायात्रासदअधसदअध्यात्राहसदस्ययमासासदीयाया
 30 कू मीयुवायिह उरुसहयश्चात्रा॥ नडागायासाहस्यलायात्र
 वि शशात्रयया॥ डावाकोटिपुतानिवसुदीहअनस्यपुत्रि
 32 गाजकांशवोदेमिकंयसुमनसयाइमिहृंहरवृत्तकमाध्यात्रि
 थावोहृत्तयाध्यात्रा॥ रात्रिकेधरायाध्यात्रा॥ ९ ॥ यत्तया
 34 लोकाहृत्तयाध्यात्रा॥ ९ ॥ वीकोमलकिकेवगेषुलिमिहृत्त॥

AN INSCRIBED BRICK FROM NALANDA OF THE YEAR 197.

(From a photograph).



SCALE : ABOUT ONE-THIRD.

- 5 matta-mayūra-tūrya-rav-ō[t*]krasi(śi)t-ārāti-chakra-Bhañj-āmala-kula-ti-
 6 laka-Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara-srī(śrī)mad-vṛi(bṛi)[m*]hita-Nōṭṭabhañjadēśvaya naptṛi(ptā)
 sri(śrī)ma-
 7 d-Rapabhañjadēśvay=ātmajaḥ Mahāmaṇḍalēśva(śva)ra-srī(śrī)man-Nōṭṭabhañjadēśva-
 pādā[h*]
 8 kusa(śa)linah Kṣiñjali-maṇḍala-pratīva(ba)ddha-Gaḍa-vishayīya-Jurāḍā-grāmē sā-
 9 mantī-sāmvāji-pramukha-samaśta(sta)-nivāsinō janapadān samājñāpa-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 10 yantī viditam=astu bhavatām grāmō=yam chatuḥ-sām(sim)-āvachchhinna[h*] sa-jala-sta
 (stha)la[h*] sa-vi-
 11 ṭapa-latā-sa-padr-āranya[h*] s-āmvra(mra)-madhū[h*] sa-mīna-stō(tō)ya[h*] sa[r*]vv-
 ṭpadrava-varjjita-
 12 ḥ (i) achatṭa-bhaṭṭa-pravēsa(śah) bhaviśyat-kara-rashitḥ bhūmi-[ch*]chhidra-pi(vi)dhāna-
 nyāyēna
 13 chandr-a(ā)rkka-paryantam mātā-pitrōr=ātma[na*]ś-cha sarvva-va[nā](rṇā)nām [pu]ḥ-
 nya-yaśō-bhivṛi-
 14 ddhayē Gaṅgavāḍi-viṇirggata-Viśvāmitra-gōtra-pañch-ārisha-(ārshēya)-prava-
 15 ra-Ya[ju]rvvēd-ādhyayana-Kanva-sā(śā)khā-Bhaṭṭa-Santōsha-pautrāya Bha-
 16 ṭṭa-Guhēśvarasy=ātmaja-Pātra-śrī-Vā[ppa]nnāya || Mahādēvi śrī-Santōsha-
 17 Mādhavī | yuvarāja[h*] śrī-Rāyabhañja[h*] | Pātra[h*] śrī-Yaśōdhara[h*] || Akshapāṭa-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 18 li(li) śrī-A[ī]ānanda[h*] Pratihāra[h*] śrī-Bhāvillā[h*] | Vāguṇi* srī(śrī)-Rāṇikāvā[sō-tr-ā]pa
 19 riññānē Phālguna(ma)-pauruṣavā(mā)syārī sōma-grahapō udaka-pūrvakam
 tāmvra(mra)-sā(śā)sanī-
 20 kṛitya pradattō=ama(ā)bbih | Asmad-gauravāt puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē a(ā)gāmi(mi)-nṛi-
 21 pti(pati)bbih paripālaniyah | Asmad-vatsa(vamśē) parikṣhīnō yah kēa(kas)=chi[n*]=nṛipti
 (pati)r=bhavēt ||(i)
 22 tasy-a(ā)ham pāda-[lagnō]=smi mama [da*]tt-ānup[ā]lanāt [(h*)] Bhūmi[m*] yah pratigri-
 hnā(hnā)-
 23 ti yas(ā)=cha bhūmi[m*] prayachchhati | ubhau tau puṇya(nya)-karmāṇau niyataṁ svagga-
 (rgga)-gā-
 24 minau || [Ā*]sphōṭayanti pitarah prava[ga]nti pitāmahāḥ | bhūmi-jā(dā)tā kulē
 25 jātaḥ sa āna(na)s-trātā bhaviśyati [(h*)] Va(Ba)hubhir-vvasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar-
 ādibhiḥ ||(i)
 26 yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam(lam) [(h*)] Mā bhūd=aphala-sa(śa)nkā
 vah ||*

Third Plate.

- 27 para-datt=ē[ti*] pāthivāḥ sva-dattāt=phalam=ānantya[m*] para-datt-ānupālānē Haratē
 28 hārayatē(yēd) bhūmi[m*] mānda-yu(bu)ddhis=tamō-bhṛi(vṛi)taḥ | sa va(ba)ddhō Vāruṇaiḥ
 pāsais=te(ti)ryag-yō-

* The a-sign is indicated more like the one for r; cf. also gu in l. 18 below.

* [We may have to read Vāguṇi= Vāṅgulika of the Ganjām plates of Vidyādharaśhañja.—Ed.]

* Deeds unnecessary.

- 29 nishu jāyatē | (||) Sva-dattām para-dattām=vā yō harēd(ta) vasundharām | sa viśṭhāyām
 30 kṛimīr=bhūtvā pīṭṛibhiḥ saha pachyatē || Tam(Ta)dāgānām sahasrēṇa Vāja-
 31 pēya-śatēna cha || (l) gavām kōṭi-pradānēna bhūmi-ha[r*]ttā na [śu]dhyati [|*]
 32 Gām=ēkām suva(sva)ṛṇṇam=ēkām cha bhūmēr=apy=arddham=aṅgulaṁ(lam)[|] haran=
 narakam=ā(l)pnōti
 33 yāvad=āhri(bhū)ta-sam[plava]m || Rājaki-pralayā [ru]pyā¹ ॐ || ॥² khaṇḍapā-
 34 la-muṇḍa-mōla-rupyā ॐ || ॥³ Vaṇika(g)-Malakēna⁴ tāmvrā(mrē) likhitaṁ ||

No. 5.—AN INSCRIBED BRICK FROM NALANDA OF THE YEAR 197.

By A. GHOSH, M.A., PATNA.

The brick containing the present inscription was found in 1936-37 from the core of a votive *stūpa* attached to the Main Stūpa of Nālandā (Site No. 3). It was recovered in fragments which have been pieced together, but a portion of the upper right corner of the brick is missing. The size of the complete brick is 18"×10"×1½".

The inscription is on one side of the brick and runs to 15 lines. The letters were evidently engraved with a stylus when the brick was still wet, so that the clay thus displaced adhered to the surface of the brick and hardened when the brick was burnt. **Paleographically**, the inscription may be referred to the **sixth century A. D.** The letters are in the cursive style and present much the same features as the other brick inscriptions of Nālandā, two of which have already been published by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti⁴. Some points of difference, however, may be noted here. The vowel *i* (l. 14) does not consist of three dots, but of two dots placed one above the other and of a third member resembling the letter *d*. The triangle representing *ē* (ll. 7 and 13) has its apex pointed to the left. The letter *k* shows the earlier unlooped form when it is an independent member; but both looped and unlooped forms occur indiscriminately when the letter is the second member of a ligature, cf. l. 9, where *saṁskāra* occurs twice. *Y* is tripartite with an additional curve to the left hanging downwards, but occasionally, e.g. *ayam* in l. 13, the curve turns inwards, thus producing the more common form. An important feature is that, unlike those of the published brick, both *śh* and *s* of the present record are of the looped variety, which since Hoernle's time has come to be known as the eastern variety.⁵

As regards **orthography**, the use of *anusvāra* for the final *n* in *bhagavām* (l. 2), *asmim* (l. 4), etc., and the doubling of *m* in *dharmma* (l. 3 et *passim*) may be noted. Rules of *sandhi* have not been regularly observed. Two punctuation marks are found, the first consisting of a short horizontal line (ll. 4, 9, and 13) and the other of two vertical lines (ll. 8 and 15).

¹ [Reading seems to be *-pratyayā rupyā*. The symbol after '*rupyā*' in this line and the next appears to represent a numerical sign and may have to be read as 70.—Ed.]

² There is a symbol between the two pairs of *daṇḍas*.

³ This might also be emended as *Vaṇik-Kamalakēna*.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 194 ff.

⁵ Hoernle, *Bower Manuscript*, pp. xxvii ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 30 ff. For criticisms see Altekar *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 405 ff.; D. R. Bhandarkar, above, Vol. XXI, pp. 1 ff. A very early example of looped *s* occurs in a Sabeth-Maheth brick inscription containing the word *pavarikasya* [*An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1910-11, pl. xi(a)]. The roundish shape of *p* and *v* shows the priority of the inscription to the angular development of the Kushāna period.

A unique interest is attached to the inscription in view of the fact that it is **dated in the year 197**, which its palaeography allows to be referred only to the Gupta era, thus bringing its date to A. D. 516-17. This fact leads to some important conclusions about the date of the Main Stūpa at Nālandā. In its present form the monument is the result of seven successive accumulations, each integument being placed upon the ruins of the earlier one, with the result that each time the size of the Stūpa greatly increased both horizontally and vertically. The stūpa of the fifth period, with its four corner-towers and eastern façade decorated with rows of niches containing well-modelled stucco figures of Buddha and the Bodhisattvas¹ was more carefully constructed, or, at any rate, is better preserved now, than any other. The votive stūpa from the core of which the present record has been found belonged to this period of the Stūpa and was subsequently covered up by the eastern outer wall of the sixth period. It appears, therefore, that we can now ascribe the fifth period of the Stūpa occupation to *circa* A. D. 500 with much greater certainty than was possible with the help of the images mentioned above.²

The inscription gives the text of the *Nidānasūtra* or the *Pratītyasamutpāda-sūtra* together with the *nirōdha* portion,³ called here the *āchaya* and *apachaya* of *dharmma*.⁴ Except the two bricks published by Dr. Chakravarti, which give the *sūtra* together with its *vibhanga*, every brick inscription of Nālandā gives either this *sūtra* (with or without the *nirōdha*) or the famous creed *yē dharmā*, etc., which no doubt refers to this *sūtra*. One brick recovered in two pieces (Site No. 3, Reg. Nos. 230 and 236) repeats the *sūtra* and *nirōdha* thrice; each time the *sūtra* finishes with the sentence *iyam mithyā-prakṛtiḥ saṃskṛita-vartinī* and the *nirōdha* with *iyam samyak-prakṛtiḥ=asaṃskṛita-niyām-āvakkrāntiḥ*. The same votive stūpa which yielded the present record contained another brick (Reg. No. 278B), elliptical in shape, rather carelessly inscribed with five lines of the text of the *sūtra*. For some reason or other the record was never completed.

The following text is transcribed from the original which is now preserved in the Nālandā Museum :—

TEXT.

- 1 Namaḥ [i*] Ēvam-mayā śrutam=ē[ka]sm[i]n=samayē Bhagavām(ū)=chChhrāvastyām viharati [sma] [Jētavanē Anātha*].⁵
- 2 piṇḍadasy=ārāmē [i*] Tatra Bhagavām(n) bhikṣhūn=ā[ma]mtrayatē s[ma]...vō bhikṣhava...⁷ [dēśa*].⁵
- 3 yishyāmy=apachayam cha [i*] Tach=[chhri]uta sādhu [cha*] sushṭhu cha manasi kuru[ta bhā]shishy[ē] dha[rmmā]nām=āchayaḥ katamaḥ [i*].⁵
- 4 Yad=ut=āsmiṃ(n) sat=idam bhavaty=a[s]y=[ō]tpā[d]ād=idam=utpadyatē | Yad=ut=āvidyā-pratyayāḥ saṃskā[rā]ḥ saṃskāra-pratyayam vijñānam vijñāna*].⁵
- 5 pratyayam nāma-rūpaṃ nāma-rūpa-pratyaya[m] shad-āyatanaṃ shad-āyatana-pratyayāḥ sparsāḥ⁸ [sparsa-pratyayā vēdanā*].⁵

¹ For illustrations see *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1925-26, pl. xlix; 1926-27, pls. vii and viii.

² These images are referred to the 7th or 8th century A. D., *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1925-26, p. 103.

³ This all-important *sūtra* occurs in many Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhist texts. For references see Chakravarti, *loc. cit.*, p. 195, n. 2.

⁴ [The text of the *sūtra* here is the same as that found in the Kasia copperplate and the inscribed brick from Gopalpur. See *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1910-11, pp. 76 f and *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1896, pp. 99 ff.—Ed.]

⁵ This portion of the text is lost.

⁶ Same as the text of B published by Dr. Chakravarti. The correction to *bhikṣhūn=āmantrayatē* now appears to be better than *bhikṣhūnām=āmantrayatē*, as the letter *mā* could not have been inadvertently left out in both cases.

⁷ The lacuna may be filled up as *dharmmānām vō bhikṣhava āchayam cha dēśa*.

⁸ There is no doubt that the word is in the plural.

- 6 vēdanā-pratyayā trishṇā trishṇā-pratyayam=upādānam [u]pā[dā]na-pratyayō bhavaḥ bhava-pratyayā [jātiḥ jāti-pratyayā*]¹
- 7 jjarā²-marāṇa-śōka-paridēva-duḥkha-daurmma[nasy-ō]pāyāsāḥ [saṁ]bhavanti [!]* Ēvam=asya k[ēvalasya mahatō duḥkha*]¹
- 8 [skandha]sya samudayō bhavati [!]* Ayam=uchyatē dharmmāṇām=āchayaḥ [!] Dharmmāṇām=apachayaḥ [katamaḥ | Yad=ut=āsmi*]¹
- 9 sat=īda(dam) na bhavaty=asya nirōdhād=idam nirudhyatē | Yad=ut=[ā]vidyā-nirōdhā-[t=sa]mekāra-nirōdhāḥ samēkāra-[nirōdhād-vijñāna-nirōdhāḥ*]¹
- 10 vījñāna-nirōdhān=nāma-rūpa-nirōdhāḥ nāma-rūpa-nirōdhā[ch=chha(t=sha)]d-āyatana-nirōdhāḥ shaḍ-āyatana³-[nirōdhāt=sparśa-ni*]rōdhāḥ
- 11 sparśa-nirōdhād=vēdanā-nirōdhāḥ vēdanā-[n]irōdhāt=trishṇā-[ni]rōdhāḥ⁴ trishṇā-nirōdhād=upādāna-nirōdhāḥ upādāna-nirōdhād=bhava-
- 12 nirōdhāḥ bhava-nirōdhāj=jāti-nirōdhāḥ jāti-nirōdhāj=jarā-marāṇa-śōka-paridēva-duḥkha-daurmma[nasy-ō]pāyāsāḥ
- 13 nirudhyantē | Ēvam=asya kēvala[sya*] mahatō duḥkha-ska[ndhasya] ni[rōdhō] bhavati [!]* Ayam=uchyatē [dharmmāṇām=apachayaḥ !*] Dharmmāṇām vō bhikshava
- 14 āchayaṁ cha dēśayishyāmy=apachayaṁ ch=ēti iti [mē] yad=uktam=[i]dam=ē[tat*] pratyuktam [!]* Idam=avōchad=Bhagavān=ātta-
- 15 manasa=tē cha bhikshavō Bhagavatō bhāshitam=abhyānandan || **sa 100 90 7 Māgha di 20 3.**

No. 6.—SENDAMANGALAM INSCRIPTION OF MANAVALAPPERUMAL; 5TH YEAR.

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

The subjoined inscription⁵ is engraved on the south base of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine in the Āpatsahāyēśvara temple at *Sendamangalam*⁶ in the Tindivanam taluk of the South Arcot District. Though exposed to weather, the record is in a fairly good state of preservation.

It is engraved in the Tamil language and script of the 13th century A.D. with a slight admixture of Grantha letters at the beginning and end. In incising the record, certain scribe's mistakes have crept in and these have been corrected in the text given below. The text of the record has been published in *South-Indian Inscriptions*.⁷

The orthography of the inscription does not call for any special remark. The word *vāṇilai* (l. 3) requires some explanation. In the Tamil classical work *Puṇḍarīk vāṇilai* of Ayyaṇ Āritanār, *vāṇilai* forms the subject matter of one of the twenty-one divisions in the chapter *Vāṇi-ppaḍalam*. It is there explained as referring to the act of sending in advance, at an auspicious moment, the sword of a king who intends to march against his enemies. This is described under

¹ This portion of the text is lost.

² Read *jarā*.

³ Between *to* and *na* intervenes the *ka* of the ligature *skā* of the previous line.

⁴ These three letters had originally been dropped out by the scribe, who subsequently corrected the omission by putting a cross above the letter *shā* and inscribing the necessary letters below the line, slightly to the left of *śi*.

⁵ No. 73 of 1803 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁶ This village must be distinguished from the village of the same name in the Tirukkōyilūr taluk of the same district.

⁷ Vol. VIII, No. 350.

the name *vāṇmaṅgalam*¹ in the *Tolkāppiyam*.² The historical implications of this word and its bearing on our inscription will be discussed in the sequel.

The present inscription is dated in the 5th year of **Sakalabhuvanachchakravarttigal Maṇavālap-perumāl** and it registers a gift, by this chief, of the village **Mōgaṇār Māraṇār**, as a tax-free *tirunāṁattukkāṇi*, for conducting the service called *Elisaimōgaṇ-sandi* newly instituted by him, for celebrating a festival in the month of Puraṭṭādi (September-October) and for burning ten perpetual lamps in the temple of the god *Vāṇilaikaṇḍisuram-uḍaiya-Nāyaṇār* set up by him at *Śendamangalam* after converting it into a military camp.

The importance of this record to South Indian history has not so far been recognised. It is the only record, so far known, issued by *Maṇavālap-perumāl* under this name as an independent chief. Who this chief was and what his position was in South India, when he assumed independence and how long he continued to be in power are points which have not been satisfactorily explained till now. An attempt is now made to elucidate them.

For this enquiry, the present record gives a good start by stating that *Maṇavālap-perumāl* garrisoned his forces at *Śendamangalam* and thus made it an important centre. From the *Tiruvēṇḍipuram* inscription³ and the records of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I (A.D. 1251-71) commencing with the words '*pūmalar vaḷar*', etc., we know that this place was the stronghold of the later Pallava chief *Kōpperuṇṇiṅgaḍēva* II. A record from *Vriḍdhāchalam*⁴ in the South Arcot District mentions our chief in the 28th year of *Kulōttuṅga-Chōla* III. It further states that he was a native of *Kūḍal* in *Kiḷāmūr-nāḍu*, a sub-division of *Tirumuṇaiṇṇāḍu* in *Mērkā-nāḍu* which was a sub-division of *Virudarājabhayaṅkara-vaḷanāḍu*.

This inscription gives *Maṇavālap-perumāl* the following titles :—

- 1 *Elisaimōgaṇ Maṇavālap-perumāl*,
- 2 *Vāṇilaikaṇḍa-perumāl* and
- 3 *Rājarājak-Kāḍavarājaṇ*.

The first name indicates that *Elisaimōgaṇ* was the father of *Maṇavālap-perumāl*. This would explain why *Maṇavālap-perumāl* instituted a service called *Elisaimōgaṇ-sandi*. The god *Vāṇilaikaṇḍisuram-uḍaiya-Nāyaṇār* consecrated by *Maṇavālap-perumāl* at *Śendamangalam* must have been so called after the second name. In this case it may be said that *Maṇavālap-perumāl* of our inscription is identical with *Vāṇilaikaṇḍa-perumāl*. The third appellation was probably assumed about the 28th year of *Kulōttuṅga-Chōla* III after the name of the crown-prince *Rājarāja*.

This chief also figures in a record of the 29th year of *Kulōttuṅga-Chōla* III at *Tiruvadi*⁵ as donor with the additional title *Achalakulōttaman*.⁶ Further it may be inferred that he had also the title '*Aḷagiya-Pallavaṇ*,' because the deity in the *Perumāl* temple at *Tiruveṇṇainallūr* constructed by his wife was named *Aḷagiya-Pallava-Viṇṇagar-Emberumāṇ*.⁷ It will thus be clear that *Maṇavālap-perumāl* alias *Vāṇilaikaṇḍa-perumāl* was a *Kāḍava* chief belonging to *Kūḍal* in *Tirumuṇaiṇṇāḍu*, that his capital was *Śendamangalam* and that he was a subordinate of the *Chōla* king *Kulōttuṅga-Chōla* III about the latter's 29th year, i.e., A.D. 1207.

¹ See also *Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. I, pp. 116-16.

² *Poraḷ-adhikāram*, *Puraṭṭiṇaiyiyal*, sūtra 68.

³ Above, Vol. VII, pp. 160 ff.

⁴ *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 146.

⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 317.

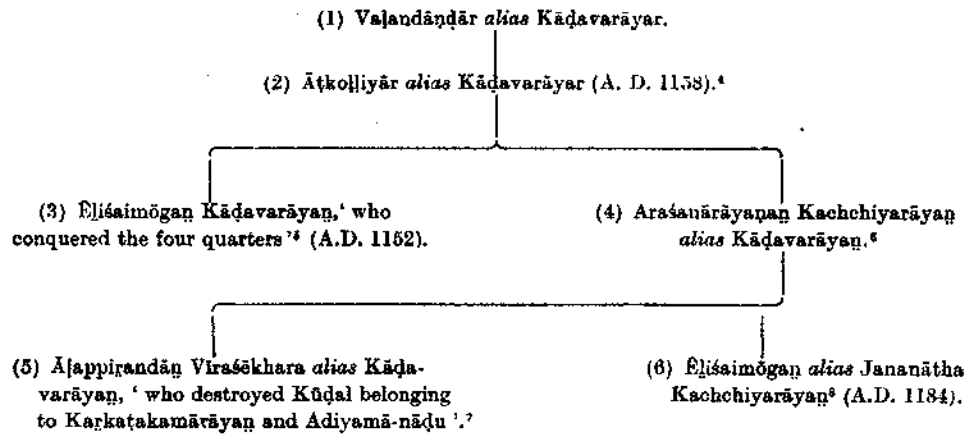
⁶ *Achalakulōttaman* would indicate his connection with the *Malaiyamāṇ* chiefs. *Achalakulōttaman* was also a title of the *Rāshtrakūṭa* king *Kannaradēva* (No. 281 of 1936-37 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection*).

⁷ No. 484 of 1921 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection*.

No regular genealogy of the Kāḍava chiefs in the Tamil country has so far been attempted,¹ but from a few records available, a tentative one can be drawn up, at least for a period of a century and half commencing from the second half of the 12th century A.D.

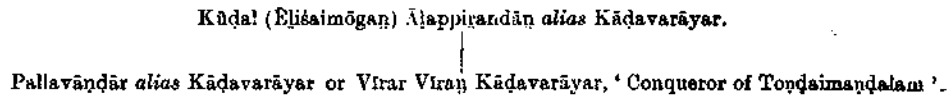
Two lithic records from Vṛiddhāchalam² and Tiruveṇṇainallūr³ which contain the same text furnish the following genealogy except No. (6):—

(a)

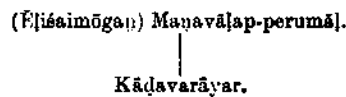


Three other records give the following genealogies:—

(b)⁴



(c)¹⁰



¹ [A genealogy of these chiefs has been given by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri on p. 161 of Vol. II of *The Cōlas* which was issued after this article was sent to the press.—Ed.]

² No. 74 of 1918 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

³ No. 463 of 1921, *ibid.*

⁴ No. 486 of 1921, *ibid.*

⁵ No. 423 of 1921, *ibid.*

⁶ Nos. 254 of 1919 and 467 of 1921, *ibid.*

⁷ *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 121.

⁸ Nos. 413 of 1909 and 157 of 1906, of the Madras Epigraphical Collection; also *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 85. Ēḷisaimōgaṇ No. (6) was another son of Araśanārāyaṇaṇ Kachchiyarāyaṇ.

⁹ Nos. 286 of 1912 and 178 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

¹⁰ No. 494 of 1921, *ibid.*

(d)¹

Jiyamahipati m. Śilāvati.

Mahārājasimha (i.e., Kōpperuñjīnga) of Kūḍal.

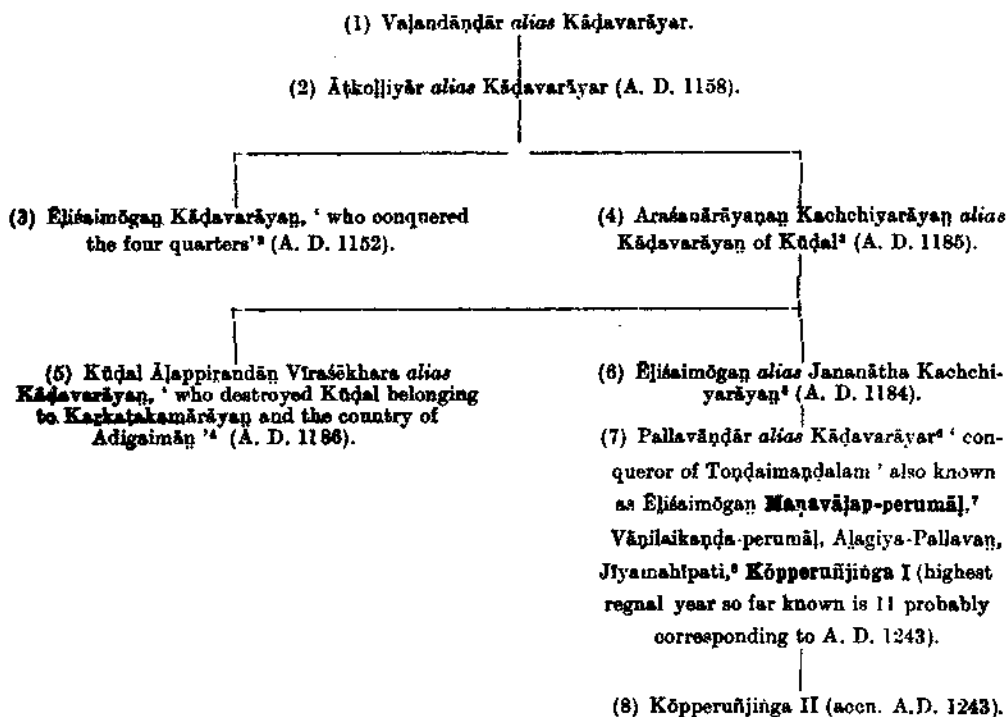
One point connecting the four sets given above is that all the members belonged to Kūḍal Pallavāṇḍār alias Kāḍavarāyar mentioned in the second set is said to have been the son of Kūḍal Elīśaimōgaṇ Ālappirandāṇ in two inscriptions from Tirukkaḷukkuṇṇam² and Atti³. There are two persons with the name Elīśaimōgaṇ in the first set given above, one the elder brother of Araśanārāyaṇa who flourished about A.D. 1152⁴ and the other, his son who figures in inscriptions of about A.D. 1184⁵. Considering the proximity of the latter date to the period of Rājarāja III, the Elīśaimōgaṇ mentioned in that year seems to have been the father of Pallavāṇḍār mentioned in the Atti record. The conquest of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam claimed by Pallavāṇḍār could not have been an independent achievement, for then he would have issued records in his own name in this region; it, therefore, seems probable that this conquest was undertaken on behalf of his overlord Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III. But since Conjeeveram, the capital of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam was under the Chōḷas in the time of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I,⁶ Vikrama-Chōḷa,⁷ Rājarāja II⁸ and Rājādhirāja II⁹, we must presume that it must have been lost to the Chōḷas during the later portion of the reign of Rājādhirāja II or during the beginning of the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III, for the latter says, in a record¹⁰ of his 19th year, that he entered Kachchi 'after prostrating to the ground the kings of the North'. The conquest of Kachchi is definitely included in his record from Tirukkōyilūr,¹¹ dated in the 24th year. Just as another feudatory chief of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III, viz., Ammai-yappaṇ alias Rājarāja Śambuvarāyaṇ styled himself 'the conqueror of the Pāṇḍya country'¹² for assisting the Chōḷa king in his Pāṇḍya war, Pallavāṇḍār must have called himself 'the conqueror of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam' for a similar help rendered to his overlord in the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam region.

The third genealogy noted above helps us further in the identification of Pallavāṇḍār. It has been pointed out that Maṇavāḷap-perumāl, a native of Kūḍal in Kilāmūr-nāḍu, was a subordinate of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III about the latter's 28th¹³ or 29th¹⁴ year, i.e., 1206 A.D. He was called Āḷagiya-Pallavaṇ and had also the name Vāṇilaikaṇḍa-perumāl. Since the word *vāṇila* refers to the despatch of arms in advance of an invading army, evidently under a trusted officer, the name Vāṇilaikaṇḍa-perumāl assumed by this chief would indicate his service to his overlord. Since Maṇavāḷap-perumāl (i.e. Āḷagiya-Pallavaṇ), was an important Kāḍava chief under Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III till about the latter's 35th year¹⁵, we may identify him with Pallavāṇḍār 'the conqueror of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam' of the second set. This identification receives further support

¹ No. 202 of 1905, *ibid.*² No. 187 of 1932-33, *ibid.*³ No. 296 of 1912, *ibid.*⁴ Nos. 166 and 170 of 1906, *ibid.*⁵ No. 413 of 1900, *ibid.*⁶ S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 813 and Vol. III, No. 68.⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 80.⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 822.⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 820.¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 217; also No. 164 of *Pudukkottai Inscriptions* dated in the 31st year of Tribhuvanavira-dēva, i.e., Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III.¹¹ No. 2 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.¹² Nos. 167 and 176 of 1918, *ibid.*¹³ S. I. I., Vol. VII, No. 146.¹⁴ S. I. I., Vol. VIII, No. 317.¹⁵ Nos. 63 of 1919 and 487 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

from the fact that Pallavāṇḍār, like Maṇavālap-perumāḷ, is said to have been the son of Kūḍal Eḷiśaimōgaṇ Ālappirandāṇ.¹

We have seen that Maṇavālap-perumāḷ of the third set was known as Aḷagiya-Pallavaṇ and since Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva was also called Aḷagiya-Pallavaṇ, the identification of Maṇavālap-perumāḷ and Pallavāṇḍār 'the conqueror of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam' with Jiyamahipati of the fourth set is easily established. The whole genealogy can, therefore, be tentatively given thus :



Maṇavālap-perumāḷ, whom we have identified with Jiyamahipati of the Tripurāntakam² inscription, was a subordinate under Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III till about A.D. 1211.³ He strengthened his position in the country and gradually made Śēndamaṇḍalam in the South Arcot District his capital, garrisoned it with forces and declared his independence by issuing records in his own name. The Chōḷa king Rājarāja III was captured and imprisoned in this place and was released only when the Hoysala forces marched against this city threatening destruction. An unpublished record from Villiyanūr in the French territory near Pondicherry, dated in the 6th year of Kōpperuñjiṅgadēva II, refers to an audit of temple accounts from the 37th year of Tribhuvanavīradēva, i.e.,

¹ No. 187 of 1932-33, *ibid.* The name Eḷiśaimōgaṇ Maṇavālap-perumāḷ means Maṇavālap-perumāḷ, son of Eḷiśaimōgaṇ.

² Nos. 423 of 1921; 166 and 170 of 1906 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

³ Nos. 391 and 467 of 1921, *ibid.*

⁴ No. 463 of 1921. It cannot be stated definitely which of the two brothers Nos. (5) and (6) was the elder.

⁵ No. 413 of 1909, *ibid.*

⁶ No. 296 of 1912.

⁷ S. I. I., Vol. VIII, No. 350.

⁸ No. 262 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁹ No. 63 of 1919, *ibid.*

Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III to the 11th year of Aḷagiyaśīyar Kōpperuñjīngadēva (I).¹ Probably 11 was the last regnal year of Kōpperuñjīngadēva I, i.e., Maṇavāḷap-perumāḷ, because we know that he made an attempt to supplant the Chōla power by imprisoning Rājārāja III at Śēndamaṅgalam in A.D. 1232 and that Kōpperuñjīngadēva II came to the throne in A.D. 1243.² He was a quasi independent chief roughly from the 37th year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III to A.D. 1232 when he assumed the role of an independent ruler and continued to be in power till the accession of his son in A.D. 1243. He assumed the title 'Sakalabhuvanachchakravartigaḷ' which was exclusively adopted in inscriptions by his son Kōpperuñjīngadēva II. Some of his records are found at Vailūr, Chidambaram and Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. Maṇavāḷap-perumāḷ, the signatory to the present record, may be identified with the chief himself in whose regime this inscription was issued.

Of the geographical names occurring in the record, Śēndamaṅgalam is identical with the village of the same name where the present inscription is found. Geḍilam is the river that rises in the Kallakurchi taluk of the South Arcot District and flows into the Bay of Bengal under the ruined bastions of Fort St. David near Cuddalore in the same district.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti³ śrī⁴ [i*] 'Sakalabhuvanachcha[kkara]vattigaḷ Śrī⁵-Maṇavāḷap-perumāḷ-Uḍaiyār[kku]
- 2 yāṇḍu aṇchāvadu Śēndamaṅgalattu ūrum paḍaiviḍu śe[y*]du U[ḍaiyār]
- 3 [Vā]ṇilaikaḷ ḍiśuram-udaiya-Nāyaṇāraiyum eḷundaruḷap-pa[n*]ṇi iṇ-nāyaṇārkkku nām kaṇḍa Eḷisaimōgaṇ-śandikkum Puraṭṭādi(Puraṭṭādi) tiru[āu*]kkum tirinundā-viḷakku pattukkum Geḍilattu[k]ku vaḍa[k]ku kurukāl-vaḷikkum mērkku Mōgaṇār Māṇār⁵ nāṇ-
- 4 [g-e]llaikku utpaṭṭa nāṇjai puṇjai uḷḷitta payiru marṅum eppēṇṇaṭṭa aṇaittāyamum utpaḍa tirunāmattukkāṇi iṇaiyiliyāga tandōm[*] ippaḍikkum Chandirādittavar śella ivūr nāṅg-ellaiyilum natta[t*]tilu[m*] tiruchchūla-tāpana[m]-

¹ This is No. 186 of 1936-37 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection. The relevant portion of the record reads:—

1. Svasti śrī [i*] Sakalabhuvanachchakravartigaḷ Śrī Aṇavāḷappkandār Kōpperuñjīngadēvaṅku yāṇḍu 6-vadu ā-
2. āvadu * * * *
3. * * * muppaduvattattu-kkāṇiudaiya śivappirāmaṇa-
4. rōm uḷḷukkuḍatta paritāvadu[i*] iṇ-nāyaṇār kōyil Tirubuvanaviradevaṅku muppaṭṭē[ā]vadu mudal Aḷagiyaśīyar Kōpperuñjīngadēvaṅku paḍipōṇṇāva-
5. du varai i-kōyil nīkki nīlai kāṣam nellum āḍum māḍum āvadu Tai(y)-māḍattu Uḍaiyār Perumaṅ-galam uḍaiyār Uḍaiya-
6. pperumāḷaṇa Kāṣuvettigaḷ kaṇakku kōṭṭu * * *

This record confirms the view expressed in the *Madras Epigraphical Report* as early as 1906 as to the existence of two chiefs of the name Kōpperuñjīngadēva. But Mr. S. R. Balasubrahmanyam has laboured in vain to refute this theory in the *Journal of the Madras University*, Vol. IX, No. 3, pp. 293ff.

² Above, Vol. VII, p. 165.

³ Engraved in Grantha.

⁴ The letters *Sakalabhu* are in Grantha.

⁵ The length of ṇā is indicated, unnecessarily, by a secondary sign. It is possible that the letter ṇā was intended to be engraved.

5 paṇṇi kal[li*]lum śembilum vetṭi[k*]koḷga[*] i[va]i
 6 Maṇavā[la*]ṇ-pe[ru*]mā[e]luttu [*] paṇmāgēśura raiksha¹(rakshai) [! *]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-4) Hail! Prosperity! (In) the fifth year (of our reign), (we) Sakalabhuvanach-
 ohakkaravattigaḷ, the prosperous Maṇavāḷaṇ-perumāḷ-Uḍaiyār, made the village Śēnda-
 maṅgalam a military camp, installed (therein) god Vāṇilaikaṇḍiśuram-uḍaiya-Nāyaṇār,
 (and, for conducting in this shrine), the (service called) Eḷiśaimōgaṇ-śandi (which) we (have)
 instituted to this god, (for celebrating the) Purattādi festival, (and for maintaining) ten sacred
 perpetual lamps, endowed, as a tax-free tirunāmattukkāṇi, (lands) within the four boundaries of
 (the village) Mōgaṇār Māraṇār (situated) to the north (of the river) Geḍilam (and) to
 the west of the kurukāl-vaḷi (pathway marked by kurukāl trees), together with (all the) wet and
 dry crops and other incomes.

(Ll. 4-6) Let the (stones bearing the emblem of the) sacred trident be fixed in the four boun-
 daries of this village (including) dwelling sites, and (the deed) engraved on stone and copper, so
 that (the gift) may continue in this wise (as long as) the moon and the sun (last). This (is)
 the signature (of) Maṇavāḷaṇ-perumāḷ.

(This shall be under) the protection of all Māhēśvaras.

No. 7.—REGULATIONS OF THE SABHA FROM TWO UTTARAMALLUR INSCRIPTIONS.

BY K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A., COIMBATORE.

The early inscriptions of Uttaramallūr in the Chengleput District are found to start from
 the time of the Pallava king Dantivarman and cover the reigns of this king¹ and of his successors,
 viz., Nandivarman,² Nripatuṅga,³ Kampavarman⁴ and Aparājita⁵ and of the Chōḷa kings
 Parāntaka I. and Rājakesarivarman Āditya who is reported to have captured the Pallava country
 and extended his dominions into Tonḍaimaṇḍalam after defeating and killing its last king Aparā-
 jita. The sabhā of the place is referred to in almost all the inscriptions of these kings. And as
 six records earlier than the time of Parāntaka I., viz., one of Dantivarman,⁶ one of Nripatuṅga,⁷

¹ The letters *raiksha* are in Grantha.

² They are dated in the 7th, 9th, 10th and 21st years of his reign. See Nos. 365, 369, 334 and 344 of *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VI.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 356 which is dated in the 24th year of reign. This record was written by Vāstuvidyāmayāṇ Nakkaṇ, son of Kāriśvara. No. 333 is in praise of a renowned architect named Paramēśvara, a carpenter of Pāḍagam. The paleography of this record resembles that of an inscription of Paramēśvaravarman II at Mahābelipuram which shows that it might be earlier than the time of Dantivarman. The mention of Paramēśvara-vadi made in some of the earliest inscriptions of this place would carry the antiquity of Uttaramallūr to the time of the Pallava king Paramēśvaravarman II. A Vāstuvidyāmayāṇ figures as signatory in a record registering a grant made by a certain Malliyaṇ Kārāṇai. The latter figures in an inscription of Kampavarman dated in the 8th year of reign. It is worthy of note also that another record of the same date is said to have been written by Pāḍagattu Peruntacheṇ Muḷḷōraṇ.

⁴ There are 4 inscriptions of Nripatuṅga dated in the 16th, 25th and the 26th years of his reign. *Ibid.*, Nos. 346, 366, 367 and 368.

⁵ No less than 13 epigraphs belong to Kampavarman's reign. They range in date from the 8th to the 26th years of his reign. *Ibid.*, Nos. 347, 285, 287, 288, 370, 290, 294, 314, 325, 375, 348, 371 and 369.

⁶ A grant made in the 14th year of a Rājamārttāṇḍaṇ alias Aparājita is referred to in No. 350.

⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 359, dated in the 9th year of his reign.

⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 346.

three of Kampavarman¹ and one of Rājākēsarivarman²—make specific mention of Committees, there is certainty that the *sabhā* and its committees were functioning in the place during the reigns of at least six kings prior to the accession of Parāntaka I. in A.D. 907, in whose 12th and 14th years of reign the regulations relating to the constitution of committees (published in the *Archæological Survey Report* for 1904-05, pp. 131 ff.), came to be incised. By any modest computation the existence of the *sabhā* of Uttaramallūr and its committees through which it performed its various functions may be taken to at least a hundred and fifty years prior to the said promulgation of the regulations regarding the constitution of the committees. In all fairness, therefore, it may be said that there must have been some kind of regulation to guide the people in their elections and the *sabhā* in discharging its onerous duties, during this long period of 150 years, though at this distant date, we are left entirely in the dark as to what that regulation was. And this is just our position in the case of *sabhās* of all other places also where, according to information supplied by inscriptions, that constitutional body and its committees were functioning. We have every reason to think that the fundamental principles of the working of the *sabhā* as well as other regularly constituted bodies must have been the same, though in details, there might have been some variations suiting the time, place, experience and attainments of the people. It is here enough for our purpose to note that the *sabhā* and some of the committees were in existence at Uttaramallūr long before the publicity given in Parāntaka's time of the committee regulations.

The two inscriptions edited below are engraved on the south wall of the Vaikunṭha-Perumāl temple at Uttaramallūr and they register regulations made by the *sabhā* (village assembly) of the place, one of the time of the Chōḷa king Parāntaka I, relating to settlement of boundaries, and the other dated in the reign of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III, regarding the procedure to be observed in the recovery of fines imposed by the assembly. The texts of these records in Tamil are published in *South-Indian Inscriptions* (Texts).³

A.—Inscription of Dantivarman (circa A. D. 782) detailing Boundary Settlement Regulation.

The first of these inscriptions was copied in 1898.⁴ Only five lines of this record are published in the *South-Indian Inscriptions* (Texts) with the remark that the rest of the inscription is not traceable. To judge only from the penal clauses occurring at the end of the inscription the regulation which it registers seems to be a very important one. It is unfortunate that the epigraph is not fully available but what is missing does not appear to be much.

The inscription under notice is dated in the 21st year of the reign of the Pallava king Dantivarman, and may, therefore, be assigned to the last quarter of the 8th century A.D. According to my scheme of chronology⁵ the date would be A.D. 782.

The record is engraved in the Tamil language and alphabet. A few Grantha letters are however used, viz., *svasti śrī*, *Dantivikra*, *ṛmma*, *sabhāi*, *vyavasāhai*, *bhū* in *bhūmi* and *sā* in *sāmantu* in line 1; *sā* and *ntu* in *sāmantu* and *bhū* in *bhūmi* in lines 2 and 3; *samvatsa* in line 4; and *gra* and *ddhyastha* in line 5. The use of the word *agampaḍi* meaning 'within' is worthy of note. It

¹ *Ibid.*, Nos. 294, 348 and 369.

² *Ibid.*, No. 380.

³ Vol. VI, p. 161, No. 344 and p. 168, No. 362.

⁴ No. 61 of 1898 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁵ Above, Vol. XX, p. 50.

stands for *agattu* or *uḷḷāga* and its antonym would be *purambaḍi*. Both *purambaḍi* and *uḷḷālai* (same as *agampaḍi*) are used in Tanjore inscriptions in the sense of an outer and inner quarter of a village. The phrase *mīlga-varil* may be construed to mean 'if one returns to redeem'. The proper form of the initial part is *mīḷka*.

The wording of the inscription is not quite satisfactory. There is first the indifferent use of the singular and plural, e.g., *bhūmiyuḍaiya kuḍigaḷ* (l. 1), *kuḍipalavim* (l. 2), *ponniḍādār* (l. 2), *bhūmiyuḍaiyāṇ* (l. 2), *avaṇ* (l. 2) and *uḍaiyāṇ* (l. 3).¹ Secondly *Ūr* and *Sabhā* are used to denote the same body; and this is plain by the employment of the first personal termination *ōm* in *Sabhāyōm* (l. 1) and *Ūrōmēy* (l. 2). Coupled with these, there is the difficulty of making out the sense implied by the term *Sāmantu-sey*, which though for all appearance is Tamil, is hardly met with in any Tamil work or Lexicon. For the just appreciation of the regulation contained in this epigraph, a correct interpretation of this obsolete phrase is essential and to this we shall give our attention. The initial part of the compound *Sāmantu-sey* suggests that it is a partial Tamil rendering of a Sanskrit original. If this is so, it is easy to say that the Sanskrit form of *Sāmantu-seydaḷ* must be *Sāmanta-karāṇa*. In this, the ordinary meaning of *Sāmanta*, viz., 'a chief or lord' will hardly suit, applied as it is in connection with a land transaction. The word *Sāmanta* occurs in *dharmaśāstras* in connection with settlements of disputes of lands and villages, and in connection with transfers of properties. Manu says that witnesses in cases of boundary disputes must be examined in the presence of the contending parties and the *Grāmīyaka-kula*²; and the settlement thus made must be recorded in writing with the names of the witnesses entered.³ *Grāmīyaka-kula* is explained by Kullūka-Bhaṭṭa as *grāmika-jana-samūha* which may be taken to mean the assembly of the village. Brihaspati declares that witnesses in cases of boundary disputes are to furnish evidence as to how the lands in question were acquired, their extent, the period of their enjoyment, their names and nature.⁴ In connection with the settlement of boundaries of fields, wells, tanks, gardens situated in a single village, with which our inscription is concerned, Manu rules:—

Kahōtra-kūpa-taḍāgānām-ārāmasya grihasya cha |
Sāmanta-pratyayō jñēyaḥ sīmā-sētu-vinirṇayaḥ ||⁵

It is noteworthy that the testimony of the *Sāmantas* determined the boundaries; and there is no doubt that the *Sāmantas* were well acquainted with them. In cases where there is doubt or suspicion as regards boundaries of villages owing to the removal or absence of boundary marks, evidences of witnesses, says Manu, must be considered primarily the deciding factor: and in the absence of such witnesses, adds Yājñavalkya, *Sāmantas*, the residents of adjoining villages,—four, eight or ten—may fix the boundaries.⁶ Manu limits the number of *Sāmantas* to four and says that the settlement must be made in the presence of the king (*rāja-sannidhau*). The word *Sāmanta*, it may be noted, is explained in the *Manvartha-muktāvalī* thus:—*chatur-diśam samantād-bhavadāḥ sāmantāḥ*.⁷ The *Mitāksharā* also gives the derivation *samantād-bharāḥ sāmantāḥ chu-*

¹ The difficulty of this promiscuous use of singular and plural may be got over to some extent by replacing *ava-avaṇ* and *ava-avaḍaiyāṇ* for *avaṇ* and *uḍaiyāṇ*.

² *Manuśmrīti* (Nirṇayasāgara ed.), ch. VIII, v. 254.

³ *Ibid.*, vv. 255 and 261.

⁴ This is cited in the commentary of *Mitāksharā* under v. 152 of ch. II of *Yājñavalkyaśmrīti* (Nirṇayasāgara ed. pp. 233 f.).

⁵ *Manuśmrīti*, ch. VIII, v. 262.

⁶ *Yājñavalkyaśmrīti* (Nirṇayasāgara ed.), *Vyavahārādhyāya*, v. 152.

⁷ See the commentary under v. 258 of ch. VIII.

*tasishu dikshu=anantara-grām-ādayas=tē cha pratisīmam vyavasthitāḥ.*¹ According to Kātyāyana 'grāma' here means "the *Sāmantas* of the village".² The same authority has

Samsaktās=tu Sāmantās=tat-samsaktās=tath-ōttarāḥ |
samsakta-sakta-samsaktāḥ padmakārāḥ prakīrtitāḥ ||

Sāmantu-śeydal, i.e., the action of the *Sāmantas*, to which our inscription refers, is actually found described in the text of Yājñavalkya³ thus :—

Simnō vivādē kshētraśya sāmāntāḥ sthāvīrādayaḥ |
* * * * *
nayēyur-ētē sīmānam sthā-āngāra-tusha-drumaiḥ |
sētu-valmika-nimn-āsthi-chaity-ādyair=upalakshitām ||

and as such, we may take the phrase to mean the "settlement or marking out of boundaries of lands, villages, etc., made in the presence of the village assembly, by witnesses, *Sāmantas* (i.e., neighbouring land owners) and others". The text of Yājñavalkya and the note of Vijñānēśvara cited above show that in respect of every boundary line there used to be appointed or nominated some persons styled *Sāmantas* on account of their being owners of adjacent fields, who had an intimate knowledge of all boundary marks⁴ set up in the line whether they be hidden from or open to public view; and whenever any disputes arose, these *Sāmantas* were requisitioned to give evidence and to determine the boundaries in accordance with such original marks. It is not unlikely that the *Sāmantas* were furnished in writing with a detailed description of boundary marks, such as are found in the Tiruvālangādu, Leiden and other grants.

It is said that in cases where no *Sāmantas* or *Maulas* are available to give evidence as to the boundaries in dispute, the evidence of others have to be sought.⁵ By *Maulas* are meant the lineal

¹ *Vyavahārādhyāya*, commentary on v. 151.

² Vijñānēśvara quotes the verse

Grāmō grāmasya sāmāntāḥ kshētraḥ kshētraśya kīrtitāḥ |
grihaṁ grihasya nirdiṣṭāṁ sāmāntāt=parirakṣya hi |

and notes grāmādi-śabdēna tat-sthāḥ puruṣāḥ lakṣyaṁ. (Nirṇayasāgara ed. of Yājñavalkya-smṛiti, p. 232)

³ *Vyavahārādhyāya*, vv. 154-5.

⁴ The following verses of Manu name most of the objects used as boundary marks and these are found in many of the land grants :—

Simā-vrikṣhāmś=cha kurvīte nyagrōdh-śāvatthā-kimśukān |
śālmālīn-śāla-tālmāś=cha kaṭṭriṇāś=ch=aiṣa pādapān ||
Gulmān-vēpāmś=cha vividhān=chhamivallī-sthalāni cha |
śārān=kubjaka-gulmāmś=cha yathā simā na naśyati ||
Taḍāgāny=udapānāni vāpyaḥ prasravaṇāni cha |
simā-sandhishu kāryāṇi dēvat-āyatanāni cha || Ch. VIII, vv. 245-245.
Upachchhannāni ch=ānyāni simā-līngāni kārayēt |
simā-jñānē nripāṁ vīkṣya nityam lōkē viparyayam ||
Aśmanō=sthūni gōvālāms=tushān=bhsema-kapālikāḥ |
karisham=ishṭak-āngāra-śarkarā-vālkāś=tathā ||
Yāni ch=aiṣam-prakārāni kālād=bhūmīr=na bhakṣhayēt |
tāni sandhishu simāyām=aprakāśāni kārayēt ||

Ibid., vv. 249-252.

⁵ These are stated by Manu to be :—

Vyādhān-śākunikān=gōpān=kaivartān=mūlakṣhātākān |

vyāgrāhān=ūchhavrittīn=anyān=cha vanagōcharān || *Ibid.*, v. 260.

descendants of such persons as had been originally *Sāmantas* but had since emigrated from the place. Regarding them the following text of *Kātyāyana* may be noted:—

Nishpādyamānam yair=drishṭam tat-kāryam tad-guṇ-ānvitaiḥ |
vṛiddhā vā yadi v=āvṛiddhās=tē tu vṛiddhāḥ prakīrtitāḥ ||
Yē tatra pūrvam sāmantāḥ paśchād=dēśāntaram gatāḥ |
tan-mūlatvāt=tu tē maulā ṛishibhiḥ parikīrtitāḥ ||
Upasṛavaṇa-sambhōga-kāry-ākhyān-ōpachihnitāḥ |
uddharanti punar=yasmād=uddhṛitās=tē tataḥ smṛitāḥ ||

We shall now note how the instructions contained in the *dharmaśāstras* had been faithfully carried out in practice as evidenced by epigraphical records.

We learn from inscriptions that in several corners of lands it was usual to set up stones bearing different marks such as *pullaḍi* (Skt. *haṁsa-pāda*), i.e., the mark of interlineation, *śūla*, i.e., a trident, *chakra*, i.e., the discus, plough (*mēli* or *chitra-mēli*), especially when the lands or any portion thereof had to be sold, assigned or otherwise dealt with.¹ The planting of stones or other distinguishing marks is expressly stated to be one of the observances to precede the actual drawing up of deeds of sale, gift, or assignment and it was used to be done in the presence of many people, the chief among them being the assembly of the village. Invariably in all cases of grants of lands or villages made by kings, we find a royal order issued to the assemblies of the division in which the gift property was situated and the villages under it requiring them (1) to go round the boundaries accompanying a she-elephant, (2) to point out clearly the boundaries and mark them with stone and milk-bush and (3) to draw up and give the deed of gift to the donee. The faithful carrying out of the above order, as we find it described in numerous inscriptions with such minute details that are intended to avoid future troubles, shows clearly the rules followed in all cases of transfers of property. Besides, the village assemblies made the necessary changes in the revenue registers through the village *karanattāṇ* or *madhyastha*. The point that calls for special attention is that even when the king made a grant, the cognition of it by the village assembly was considered essential. Secondly, it is seen that due publicity was given to the grant by the members of the assembly not only of the village in which the property lay but also of all surrounding villages, walking round the boundaries and attesting the document drawn up. The third essential was the pointing out of the boundaries and marking them with stones and milk-bush in the presence of assemblies of that and all the surrounding villages. This shows that the cognition by the neighbours was considered essential for the transfer and gift. The long description of the boundaries indicate that there must have been persons whose duty was to be acquainted with the boundary marks of the lands in the village, to point them out when required and to plant fresh ones in missing places; and this presupposes the maintenance of registers to guide them. In fact we learn from the Larger Leiden plates that in the ceremony of walking round the boundaries of the village of Ānaimaṅgalam, preceding its grant to the Buddhist *vihāra* at Negapatam, two persons of the village went with the procession, and one of them, a *veḷḷāḷu* rode on the back of an elephant and pointed out the various boundaries; and that the assemblies of no less than 27 villages which lay next to the one that was granted, took part in the settlement of the boundaries.² From the Kāsākuḍi plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla we learn that the person who actually pointed out the boundaries in the ceremony of *karuṇi-bhramana* was called *viyavaṇ*.³ *Evuvāṇ*, *vayavaṇ* and *vaḷichchelvāṇ* are synonyms of *viyavaṇ*. In the case of

¹ See Nos. 496, 518 and 1290 of *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. V.

² Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 237 f.

³ The words used here (*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, ll. 110 f.) are *nāḍu-viyavaṇ* *kolliya ellai pōy paḍḍagai valaṇ=cheydu* *kallu=kaḷḷiyum nāḍi=kkoḍuttadarkku*.

the grant registered in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, the assemblies of 3 villages that adjoined the gift property took part in settling the boundaries and recording them.¹ Sometimes even Divisional assemblies took part in determining boundaries and getting them marked by stones and the planting of milk-bush.² The whole procedure described in these charters, viz., the gathering together of the neighbours, walking through the boundaries, marking them with stones and milk-bush inclusive of drawing up a schedule of boundaries and attesting it may be said to be *Sāmantu-śeydal* or *Sāmanta-karaṇa* in the case of big villages. We have already stated that in the case of lands situated within a single village, the testimony of the owners of the neighbouring lands given in the presence of the village assembly of the place and recorded in writing was considered to be a final settlement of boundaries. It may be of interest to note here that the procedure recorded in inscriptions and noticed above is quite in accordance with the injunction laid in a text of *dharmaśāstra* relating to the formalities to be observed in the transfers of immoveable properties.

Sva-grāma-jñāti-sāmanta-dāyād-ānumatēna cha |
hiraṇy-ōḍaka-dānēna śaḍbhira-gachchati mēdini ||

It seems that *grāma* here means 'the village assembly' and *Sāmanta* 'the neighbouring land owners'. The *Mitāksharā* which cites the above text adds "*Grām-ānumatiḥ vyavahāra-prakāśan-ārtham-ēv-āpēkshyatē*", and "*Sāmanta-ānumatis=tu sīmā-vipratipatti-nirāsāya*" thus making it clear that the assent of both the *grāma* and the *Sāmantas* was necessary, the one for giving due publicity and the other for the removal of all doubts and trouble regarding boundaries. The use of the word *Sāmanta* is particularly worthy of note and also its connection with *sīmā*. It seems pretty certain that by *Sāmantas* are meant only the neighbouring land owners.

Having made clear what is meant by *bhūmikku sāmantu-śeyya*, and shown also how it was observed in land grants registered in copper plates and stone inscriptions, we may note the further interesting information which our inscription furnishes. It tells us :—

- (i) that settlement of boundaries of lands used to be taken up by village assemblies on applications made by owners of lands ;
- (ii) that the party applying for it had to pay a fee in gold when the settlement was made ,
- (iii) that this fee, if not paid by the party, was to be met by the village assembly (*śabhā* or *ūr*) ;
- (iv) that the fee became a charge on the land and was recoverable by the sale of such portions as would cover it ;
- (v) that the sale effected in this connection was subject to confirmation only on the expiry of the third year, within which period the defaulting land-owner was given the option of redeeming his land by paying the amount justly adjudged to be due ; this amount perhaps included the original fee plus such other charges as would have been incurred in bringing about the sale of the land : hence the use of the phrase "*niyāyattāl koḷḷa-uḍaiya poṇellām*" instead of '*sāmantu-śeyya vanda poṇ*' ;
- (vi) that after the expiry of the third year the sale is to be ratified and the proceeds utilized for the benefit of the village tank ; and

¹ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 437 f.

² We read in *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 386 "*ipparitu nāḷḷai-kkūṭṭi nila-naḍappittu=kkallun=kaḷḷiyu[m] nāḷḷi * * ** śāsana-śeyvittu=kkūṭṭēn".

- (vii) that if any (future) member directed the return of the land, acting contrary to this (the last-mentioned clause), he was to be treated as a traitor to the village and his entire property sold and the amount realised formed into a fund for the improvement of the said tank.

Here it may be noted that the *Sabhā* looked on the transgression of its regulation by its own members and its officials as more heinous than that of the owner of the land in his failure to pay the fee. The offending member was treated as *grāma-kaṇṭaka* and was ordered to be deprived of his immoveable property. The power which the assembly expressly provided itself with to punish any future member that might transgress the regulation herein made, and which is contained in the last clause, it may be observed, is made in conformity with the ancient rule of practice noticed in the text of Kātyāyana "*mukhya-danḍanē samūhasy-air-ādhi-kārah*". To provide against the contingency of the assembly's inability to punish such members, some inscriptions go further and insert a clause to the effect that the transgressing member or members could be taken before the *dharmāsana*, i.e., the Royal Court, or the then reigning king (*aṅgāl-kō*) by certain persons empowered on that behalf and be made to pay a fixed fine or what the empowered persons may deem fit and that, after the payment of such fines, the members and the assembly may be enforced to observe the terms of the assembly regulation. Insertion of such clauses is done in accordance with the laws pertaining to bodies as laid down in the *dharmasāstras*.¹ The punishment to be meted out to the *madhyastha*, who carried out the order of the offending member, is expressed in the phrase "*veṭṭippōga iduvadāgavum*". Though *veṭṭippōga* may denote capital punishment, I think it may simply mean 'dismissal from office', for this phrase, in common parlance, implies 'striking off or cancelling'. Even in Sanskrit, it may be noted, the lexicographers give *pravāsana*, *parāsana*, *nishūdana* and *nikhīnsana* as the equivalents of the synonymous term *vadha*.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śrī [!]* Dantivikramaparmma[r*]kku yāṇḍu irubattoṇṇāvadū nāl nūṇṇu irubattu irāṇḍu Uttaramēru-chaturvēdimāṅgalattu sabhaiyōm śeyda vyavasthai [!]* Emm-ūr bhūmi-udaiya kuḍiga! bhūmi sāmantu-śeyga ennu vandana eppērppaṭṭana-
- 2 vūm [sāmantu]-śeyya vāṇḍa bhūmiy-udaiyāṇ maṇ-ṇiṇṇu poṇṇ-idādār bhūmikkū sāmantu . . m poṇṇ-ida-māṭṭā[da] kuḍi palavum niṅkamāṭṭādu pōṇamāyil ūrōmēy poṇṇ-iṭṭu avaṇ bhūmiyil . . poṇṇukku vēṇḍum-aḷavu ennu-ūr Vaiyirame-
- 3 ga-tatākattukku bhūmiy-āga sāmantu-śeydu viṇṇu-kkuḍuttu maṇḍagattu kallilē eḷuttu vēttuvadāgavum [!]* ippariśēy Vayiramēga-tatākattukku viṇṇa bhūmi mū-yāṇḍin agampaḍi uḍaiyāṇ mīḷga-varil niyāyattāl!
- 4 koḷḷa-udaiya poṇ ellām koṇḍu viṭṭu-kkuḍuppadāgavum [!]* mūṇṇu sarivatsaramum kaḷindāl i-bbhūmiy=i-Vayiramēgattukkē ara-viṇṇu aṭṭuvad-āgavum [!]* ippariś-aṇṇi āragilum mīḷa-ppaṇippar-ulaṇṇi āvaṇ bhūmiyūm Vayyiramēga(Vayiramēga)-tatākattukkē mudalāga viṇṇu aṭṭuvadāgavum [!]* iṇṇa grāmakaṇṭakaṇ-āvaṇāgavum [!]* idu mīḷa-ppaṇi-kēṭṭa maddhyasthaṇ-ulaṇṇi āvaṇai vēṭṭippōga iduvadāgavum [!]* i-ppariśu śeydu mīḷa-ppaṇiy*

¹ *Manu-smṛiti*, ch. VIII, v. 41. Also *Bṛhaspati*, *Mukhyais-saha samūhānāni vināśitūḥ yadā bhavēt tadā vicārāṇi vṛjā sandharṇāḥ śāpāyach-cha tās :*

* The rest of the inscription is not traceable.

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the **twenty-first year and one hundred and twenty-second day of (the reign of) Dantivikramavarman**, we, *(the members of)* the *Sabhā* of **Uttaramēru-chaturvēdimaṅgalam** made this regulation (*vyavasthā*) :-

Whereas all classes of ryots who own lands in our village had come up to have the boundaries of their lands settled, (*Sāmantu-śeyga*) and when the boundaries had been settled, several of the owners had left *(the village)* without coming forward and paying the amount of gold due (*i.e.*, incurred on their behalf), and whereas we, *(the members of)* the *Ūr* (*i.e.*, the village assembly), had to pay the gold, it had been ruled that *(in such cases)*, we should sell so much extent of the *(defaulter's)* land as would be required to cover the *(amount of)* gold *(expended by us)*, and give *(the land)* to the **Vayiramēga-taṭāka** of our village, determining the boundaries of the portions sold, and have *(the transaction)* engraved on stone in the *maṇḍapa* *(of the temple)*; that, if any owner of the lands, sold in this manner to the **Vayiramēga-taṭāka**, should come within three years to redeem the land, it should be returned to him, on receiving from him *(the amount of)* gold justly adjudged to be due; that after the expiry of three years, the lands should remain permanently sold to the **Vayiramēga-taṭāka**, (*i.e.*, the sale effected before should be confirmed); that, in contravention of this if there should be any *(member)* that order the return of the land *(after three years)*, his lands should also be sold and given to the said **Vayiramēga-taṭāka** as its fund; and he (*i.e.*, the member) should be treated as a traitor to the village (*grāma-kaṇṭaka*); and that if any *madhyastha* carried out such an order of returning the land after three years, he should be removed from office.

B.—Inscription of Kannaradēva (A.D. 964) detailing Fine-recovery Regulation.

The second inscription¹ is in a fairly good state of preservation. It contains nine lines of writing very neatly executed without many flaws of grammar, language or idiom.

The inscription is mainly in the **Tamiḷ** language and alphabet. A few **Grantha** letters are, however, found used in writing words of Sanskrit origin. They are *Svasti Śrī* (l. 1), *chaturvē-* or *saturvē* (ll. 1 and 9), *sabhai* (ll. 1, 3 to 6, and 8), *maḥāsabhai* (l. 2), *dushṭa* and *vyavastai* (l. 2), *grāma-kārya* (ll. 2 f., 5 and 6 f.), *pursha* (l. 4), *madhyastha* (ll. 4, 9), *nyāya* (l. 8) and *Śicadāsu* and *lāditya* (l. 9). The word *daṇḍa* is sometimes written in **Tamiḷ** (ll. 5, 6, 7) and sometimes with the initial letter alone in **Grantha**.

The date of the inscription is the **25th year** of the reign of **Kannaradēva** who took **Kachchi** *i.e.*, **Conjeevaram** and **Tanjai** or **Tanjore**, both of which places were, at the time of the record, important cities belonging to the **Chōjas**. The identity of this **Kannaradēva** with the **Rāshtrakūṭa** king **Kṛishṇa III** is fairly well established. His rule lasted from A.D. 939 to 966-967,* and the 25th year of his reign, to which the subjoined inscription belongs, must correspond to A.D. 964.

The opening sentence of the inscription states that the **Peruṅkuri-Maḥāsabhā** of **Uttaramē-ruchaturvēdimaṅgalam**, assembled during day time, in the *terri* of the *pērambalam* of their village, and (agreeing) among themselves (*emmir-cheyda*), made the regulation (*vyavasthai*), which forms the subject matter of the record. Before noticing the clauses of the regulation, it is necessary to say a few words on the terms employed in this introductory sentence and what they lead us to infer.

¹ It was copied in 1898 and registered as No. 77 of the Appendix to the *An. Rep. on Epigraphy, Madras*, for that year. The text of it in **Tamiḷ** is given in *S. I. I. (Texts)*, Vol. VI, p. 168, No. 362.

* See above, Vol. XXI, pp. 261-62.

The words *Sabhā*, *Mahāsabhā* and *Peruṅkuri-Mahāsabhā* occur in a large number of inscriptions of the Tamil country and denote the class of assemblies that were functioning there, and not a few of these epigraphs mention by name the persons that composed them. Judging from their names alone, which have prefixed to them, the *gōtras* to which they belonged such as Bhūradvāja, Kāśyapa, Harita, Vatsa, etc., and the suffixes Kramavid, Sōmayājī, Vājapēyayājī, Sarvakratu-Vājapēyayājī, Shadāṅgavid, Bhaṭṭa, Bhaṭṭa-Sōmayājī, Dvivēdi, Trivēdi, Chaturvēdi, etc., it may be said that the members that took part in the deliberations of these organizations were Brāhmanas.¹ This fact proves that the qualifications for membership to the *Sabhā*, laid down in the two Uttaramallūr inscriptions published in the *Archæological Survey Report*,² and a few other records of a similar nature, were strictly observed all the time the *Sabhā* lasted. That this class of assemblies had under them several offices and services which were open to other castes of people is quite evident from the numerous inscriptions that register the transactions made by them; and the varied nature of their activities also required their enlistment. In spite of the presence of the people of other castes for carrying out the duties undertaken by the assemblies, there is nothing to doubt that the deliberative body was purely Brahmanical in this case.³ Similarly also the examination of the transactions of the assembly of the *Ur* recorded in a number of epigraphs shows that the deliberative body of that institution was purely non-Brahmanical though in the execution of its functions Brāhmanas may have been employed for some of the offices and services. The duties discharged by both the classes of organisations were in most cases identical. It seems that the locality and the occupation of the people determined the class of organisation that functioned in the place. A point that is worthy of note in our inscription is that the *Peruṅkuri-Mahāsabhā* referred to in the first person in the headline is later on spoken of as *Sabhā* and *Mahāsabhā*. The *Sabhā* is explained in *Manvartamuktāvalī* as *grāma-nagar-ādau niyatam jana-samūha-sthānam* 'the place of meeting of the assembly of a village or town'.

The statement that the assembly met together generally during day time finds an echo in other epigraphs as well⁴ and is suggestive of the fact that, if occasion required it, the body could also meet during nights. It is interesting to find this suggestion proved by an inscription dated in the 40th year of the reign of Parāntaka I. discovered at Kūram which states that the *Sabhā* of the place met together during night in the *kūḍa* of the Tiruvāypāḍi temple in the village.⁵ Unfortunately the inscription is so badly damaged that we are not able to understand clearly from what remains of it, the occasion that necessitated the convening of the body in the night. If the fragment in the same script published as a footnote to the inscription⁶ is connected with the record in question, this much may be gathered that the misbehaviour of an Accountant of the organization in making wrongful entries in the books which led the assembly to the payment of unnecessary taxes on lands that were lying waste, was the occasion for their meeting in the night. The assembly seems to have decided in this case that no member should render to, or receive from, the guilty accountant any kind of help and that if any one acted contrary to this decision he should be taken by the *Śraddhāmantas* before the *dharmāsana* and a penalty of 108 *kōṇam* of gold be obtained from him. Two other inscriptions, one of the time of Rājēndradēva⁷ and the other

¹ *S. I. I. (Texts)*, Vol. V, No. 1003.

² *A. S. I., An. Rep.* for 1904-05, pp. 131 ff.

³ [For a different view see above, Vol. XXII, p. 206.—Ed.]

⁴ *S. I. I. (Texts)*, Vol. VII, No. 412 of the time of Rājārāja I. [Pe]ruṅkuri-sabhaiyōm innāḷai pagal nammūr brahmasthānattu chaturālai Rājārājanilēy niramba peruṅkuri kūḍi-yirundu; and No. 549 of *S. I. I. (Texts)*, Vol. IV, dated in the 6th year of Rājākēsarivarman: pagal ivvūr tiruchchitrakūḍattēy dharmi-ācydu peruṅkuri kūtta kuravara-kkūḍi-yirundu and Nos. 414 and 423 of *S. I. I. (Texts)*, Vol. VII.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 35.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁷ No. 180 of 1919 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

dated in the reign of Kulōttunga-Chōla I,¹ also bear evidence on the practice of holding night sessions of assemblies. The former speaks of a settlement made 'that nobody except the residentiary Vellālas of Vākūr should levy or pay any kind of dues within the village and that those who do so will be considered to have transgressed the Law'. The latter speaks of an alteration of classification of land'.

About the meeting-place of the assembly we may also say a word. This inscription states that the assembly met in the *terri* in front of the *pērambalam* of the village. Though the word *terri*² generally means 'a platform close to the front wall of a house on one or both sides of the entrance', it seems to stand here for a 'hall'. Attached to temples there were put up in ancient times several kinds of halls and pavilions, large and small, befitting the accommodation available and they were perhaps according to their shape and form, variously called *kūḍam*³ or *chitra-kūḍam*⁴, *chaturālai*,⁵ or *chaturālai*,⁶ *ambalam*⁷ or *pērambalam*⁸ and *maṇḍapam*.⁹ Besides these, there were also spacious paved courtyards (*tirumurram*),¹⁰ covered enclosures running all round the main structure (*tiruveḍuttukkatti*),¹¹ as well as *sabhā* or *tiruvlakka-maṇḍapa* and *brahmasthāna*,¹² in most of which places the assemblies used to hold their meetings. The Tamil *Nighaṇṭu* makes *ambalam*, *maṇḍam*, *podī*, *podu* and *sabhā* synonymous, and equates *terri-ambalam* with *chittira-kūḍam* (*chitra-kūṭa*).¹³ Sometimes the members also assembled under trees¹⁴ and water sheds.¹⁵ *Ambalam* or *pērambalam* as well as *chaturālai* are described in inscriptions as forming part of or being built in front of a *brahmasthāna*.¹⁶

The body framing the regulation is called in the first instance by the term *Perunkuri-Mahā-sabhā* (l. 1). It is subsequently referred to once by the term *Mahāsabhā* (l. 2), and several times by the term *Sabhā* (ll. 3 to 6 and 8). That all these three terms denoted one and the same body is made certain by the terms having the first personal termination *ōm*. Though it would thus appear that there was no distinction in the use of the three terms as found in this inscription, yet the qualifying terms *mahā* and *perunkuri* cannot but be said to carry with them some kind of

¹ No. 186 of 1919 of the same Collection.

² The Tamil *Śaduragarādi* gives as synonyms for *terri* both *chittirakūḍam* and *tinṇai*.

³ *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VII, No. 35.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 549.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 440, 1, 17.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 412.

⁷ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 150.

⁸ *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VII, No. 811. *Pērambalam* occurs in the *Periappurāṇa*, v. 8, 'Śēyavaṇ-tiru-ppēram-balam śēyva tūya-ponṇaṇi Śōḷaṇ nīḍūli pār-Āya-ār-Anapāyaṇ-araś-avai.'

⁹ *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VI, No. 297 has *periyamaṇḍapattē*; No. 32 of Vol. VII has *mukamaṇḍapattē*. No. 1003 of Vol. V has *perumaṇḍapattu*. No. 496 of Vol. VII has *tirumaṇḍapattē*.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, Nos. 414, 498, 499, 534 and 1036.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, No. 1034.

¹² *Ibid.*, No. 423; *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 116; and No. 986 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

¹³ See v. 49 of *Idappēyartogudi*.

¹⁴ In No. 57 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI the assembly is said to have met under the mango tree in front of the Vishṇu temple at Mannārguḍi, and in No. 500 of Vol. VII, under a *puṇṇai* tree.

¹⁵ *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VI, No. 267.

¹⁶ *Munmaḍiśōḷa-chaturvēdimāṅgalatu-Perunkuri-perumakkaḷōm ivvēr brahmasthānam Rājēndrāśōḷaṇ-pērambalattē perunguri-mahāsabhaiyōm kūṭa-kkurai-vaṇa-kkūḍiy-irundu* occurs in No. 986 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V. No. 12 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI refers to the construction of an *ambalam* in the *brahmasthāna* of the village of Chandralēkha. *Chaturvēdimāṅgalam* and registers a tax-free grant of land by the *Perunkuri-Mahāsabhā* for expounding the *Bhārata*. *Nammūr brahmasthāṇattu chaturālai rājārāṇiḷḷy niraṇba Perunkuri kūḍiy-irundu* occurs in No. 412 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII.

differentiation and this is clear from a study of numerous inscriptions some of which speak exclusively of the *Sabhā*, while others refer to the *Mahāsabhā* and *Peruṅkūrī-Mahāsabhā*. The term *Sabhā* is used in inscriptions to mean the administrative assembly of a class of villages known as *brahmadēyas*. The Larger Leiden Plates mention as many as nine *brahmadēya* villages and their assemblies and without any exception these assemblies are called by the term *Sabhā*.¹ As found in every association or corporate body in the present day, the ordinary meetings of the *Sabhā*, held to dispose of matters of routine nature, seem to have consisted of a limited number of members; and that when subjects of wider interest came up for discussion and disposal, a larger collection of members was considered necessary and that such a larger gathering—still confined to the members alone—was termed *Mahāsabhā*. Besides these two classes of meetings of the assembly, which were confined to the members, there appear to have been other extraordinary gatherings in which were present not only the members but also the people of the village including the young and the old (*sa-bāla-vṛiddhar*).² These facts could easily be gleaned from the large number of inscriptions which record the transactions of the village assemblies (*Sabhā*). It is further learnt from these epigraphs that notice or intimation of assembly-meetings used to be given by some special signal which, it might be said, was well understood at the time both by the people and the members. The blowing of trumpets was one such device (*kāḷam ūdi* or *ūdivichechu*).³ Sometimes the inscriptions use the phrase *dharmi ūdi* or *ēḷudi*⁴ or *dharmi seydu*⁵ in place of *kāḷam-ūdi*. Though we cannot be certain about the interpretation of this phrase, there is no doubt that it must have reference to the proclamation of the meetings of the village assemblies. The use of the word *ēḷudi* (writing) in some places and *ūdi* (blowing) in others, with the object *dharmi*, seems to show that the announcement of a coming gathering of the assembly was sometimes made by the blowing of an instrument and sometimes by the issue of a written notification. *Dharmi* seems to be connected with *dharma*, and to have reference to the transaction of the assembly. At any rate, it is certain that there was an individual whose duty was to announce the meetings of the assemblies by either of the methods noted above. In this connection it is worth pointing out some specific references to such an official. An inscription of the Chōla king Parakēsarivarmaṇ (probably, Uttama-Chōla), dated in the 16th year of his reign, found at Tirukkalāvūr states that the great men of the *Mūlaparudai* of the village received money from the temple and sold to it, free of taxes, some lands of theirs which were termed '*eṅgaḷ sabhai-kūṭṭuvā-ṇīlam*' and '*eṅgaḷ iraṇḍu māvvum*' and in doing so they also state that the lands were previously tax-free.⁶ Here the phrases '*eṅgaḷ-sabhai-kūṭṭuvā-ṇīlam*' and '*eṅgaḷ iraṇḍu māvvum*' show that the village assemblies sometimes set apart some of their own lands for the maintenance of the person whose duty was to announce the meetings of the assemblies. The Madras Museum Plates of Uttama-Chōla⁷ refer to an official designated *gōshṭhi-seyḍāṇ*, which is but another form of '*sabhai-kūṭṭuvāṇ*' and this is used immediately after *parushai-nāyaṇmār*. Here we are informed that a provision of one *tūṇi* and one *padakku* of rice was made for the *gōshṭhi-seyḍāṇ*, i.e., the convener of the *parishat* (assembly). An inscription of Rājārāja I. of A.D. 1001 states that the members of the village assembly were called together by the blowing of a trumpet and that the herald was entitled to get daily 2 *śōru* from the village.⁸ The Uttaramallūr election regulations show that the convening of the meeting

¹ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 237 and I. 234 (Text).

² *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. V, No. 1003 and Uttaramallūr inscription, *A. S. I. An. Rep.*, 1904-1905. *S. I. I.*, (Texts), Vol. VI, No. 245.

³ *Trav. Arch. Rep.* for 1920, pp. 41 and 49; and No. 156 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1919.

⁴ *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 57. *Dharmi ēḷudi* in No. 458 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 499; Nos. 445 and 549 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV. No. 440 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI.

⁶ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 250.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 271, text-line 106.

⁸ *An. Rep. on Epigraphy*, Madras, for 1919, p. 95, para. 15.

was done through a *madhyastha*. The clause relating to it runs thus: *Vāriyañ-cheyyānīrōrai aparādan-kaṇḍapōdu avanai* (singular for *avargalai*) *olittuvad-āgavum* } *icargal oḷinda avantaram* = *idum vāriyaṅgaḷum paṇṇiraṇḍu tēriyilum dhanmakṛityaṅ-kaḷaikkāṇum vāriyarē madhyastharai* = *kkonḍu kuṟi-kūṭṭi kuḍuppārāgavum* meaning "when any transgression is noticed among the members functioning in the committees, such persons shall be removed and after these have vacated, the members of the committee superintending the dispensing of justice in the twelve *chēris* shall cause the *madhyastha* to have a meeting of the assembly convened and fresh persons chosen (in their places)". It thus appears that at the direction of the *madhyastha* the herald announced the meeting.

The phrase *emmīr=cheyda vyavasthai* "the regulation made among ourselves" may be taken, as the words indicate, that the regulation concerned only the members of the assembly and not others; that is to say, it determined or fixed the duty of a certain section of the assembly on the one hand and the general assembly on the other with regard to the realisation of fines. As the terms of the regulation show, there is absolutely no doubt that the regulation was brought about to define the course of action to be followed by the members in collecting fines. But we may point out that there are a few instances in inscriptions, which record regulations and transactions of a similar nature, where we find the use of the very phrase *emmīr=cheyda* with the addition of the word *ottu* or *iśaindu* (meaning agreeing) inserted after *emmīl* and before *cheyda*. It may be that the word *ottu* or *iśaindu* has to be taken as being understood in our inscription also as in the others. In this case, it would mean that the regulation was passed unanimously by the members of the assembly.

Three other words that are used in this inscription are worthy of note. They are *aḍikkīṇīrpār*, *vāriyam* and *perumakkaḷ*. *Aḍikkīṇīrpār* literally means 'those that stand at the feet'. This is a rare Tamil expression for 'servants or attendants'. It is worth pointing out that the Tamil classical work *Puraṇānūru* uses the word *aḍiyurai* and the commentator has rendered it into *aḍikkīḷ*. The employment of the word *vāriyam* in the two Uttaramallūr inscriptions that record the election regulations leave no doubt as to its sense being 'a body of men chosen to form a committee'. As such, I think it must be connected with the Sanskrit root *vṛi* 'to choose'. In this connection it may also be noted that the Sanskrit word *vāra* means multitude. More interesting is the etymology of the word *perumakkaḷ*. The Sanskrit word *pramukha* assumes the form *pamukha* in Pāli, and occurs as *parumakha* in a number of cave inscriptions of the pre-Christian centuries found in Ceylon.¹ In a few of these inscriptions we also find it so employed as to denote the title of persons who, in all probability, were members of corporate bodies. As such, one can easily recognise this word in the Tamil *perumakan* (pl. *perumakkaḷ*) used in hundreds of inscriptions of the Tamil country along with the words *sabhai*, *nāḍu* or *vāriyam* to denote the members of the respective bodies. Thus then the *pramukhas* mentioned in Sanskrit charters, *perumakkaḷ* used in Tamil inscriptions, *pamukha* of Pāli, and *parumakha* found in Ceylon epigraphs, have the same bearing and indicate the title of persons connected with the assemblies of villages and divisions of countries (*vishaya*, *rāṣṭra* or *nāḍu*). With the word *pramukha* has to be connected the forms *perumān* or *perumānār* and *emperumān* or *emperumānār* (which are used with or without the suffix *aḍigaḷ* corresponding to the Sanskrit *pādāḥ*) to denote persons of rank, kings and gods. The form *ma-parumakha*, used in Ceylon epigraphs as referring to the king, would even suggest that the Tamil prefix *em* or *nam* in *em perumānār* or *nam perumānār* is the same as *ma* (for Skt. *mā* or *mama*) in *maparumakha* and it is worthy of note that they all indicate the first personal pronoun. In this connection, it is worth remembering that the *dharmaśāstras*, in referring to heads or chiefs of

¹ Ep. Zeyl., Vol. III, p. 123.

corporate bodies, employ the word *mukhya* as in *mukhyais=saha samūhārām visamvādō yadā bhāvēt* in Brihaspati,¹ and *mukhya-daṇḍanē samūhasy=aiva adhikārah*.²

The present inscription tells us (1) that the *Mahāsabhā* had the power to form committees by appointing the members therefor (*vāriyapperumakkaḷ*); this, it may be noted, is quite in accordance with what is recorded in the Uttaramallūr inscriptions, regarding the election of members to the committees; (2) that the officials *adikkil-niṣpār*, *madhyasahas* and *pāḍi-kāppār* were carrying out the behests of the assembly and (3) that all these persons as well as individual members taking part in the discussions of the assembly could be fined (whenever they misbehaved) by the assembly as a whole.

The subject of the regulation is to determine the method of collecting and realising the fine imposed by the *Sabhā* on the three classes of persons noticed in the previous paragraph and on the *dushṭas*. The regulation provides that the great men elected annually for carrying out the business of the village (*avv-avv-āṇḍu grāma-kāryam seyyum perumakkaḷ*) should obtain from the assembly the fines that had been paid.

The Uttaramallūr constitution does not mention separately a group or committee for conducting the *grāma-kārya* for each year. But it does mention a committee called *samvatsara-vāriya-perumakkaḷ* the members of which, as the name of the committee indicates, must have been chosen each year; and it is not unlikely that the body was in charge of the *grāma-kārya*. Like *tōṭṭa-vāriyam ēri-vāriyam*, etc., *grāma-kārya* indicates the chief function of this body and *samvatsara-vāriya* indicates the tenure of office. Both the tenure of office and the function of this body are brought out in the name *samvatsara-grāma-kāryam seluttukira kūṭṭa-pperumakkaḷ* used in an inscription of the 4th year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa.³

Though the *grāma-kārya-perumakkaḷ* are clearly made responsible for obtaining the fines, the regulation gives them no independent action in the matter of this collection as it explicitly states that the collection must be effected only by or through the *Sabhā*. It will be perceived that there is an element of easy and successful realisation in thus leaving the responsibility of collecting the fines with the *Sabhā* that imposed them. At the same time the arrangement must have contributed to the disposal, without delay, of the cases in which fines had been imposed and must have prevented further complications and fresh actions that would sometimes have arisen had the collection been left in other hands than those that imposed them. The regulation provides at the end that, if the *grāma-kārya-perumakkaḷ* fail to act in the said manner regarding the realisation of the fines, the *Sabhā* could levy on, and get from, each one of the *grāma-kārya-perumakkaḷ* a fine of 124 *kāṇam* (of gold), and see also to the non-recurrence of such a predicament in the future. Here again, it may be observed that the *Sabhā* had the power to fine the *grāma-kārya-perumakkaḷ*, just as they could the *dushṭas*, as well as the members of the several committees (*vāriyam*) and the (public) servants carrying out their orders.

The employment of the word *dushṭa* in this inscription calls to mind the use of the phrase '*dushṭar keṭṭu śiṣṭar* (or *viśiṣṭar*) *varddhittuṇḍuvadāga* (or *vardhippadāga*)' in the two famous Uttaramallūr inscriptions embodying the rules to be followed in the election of members to village committees⁴. Though all institutions like the *Sabhā*, meant for the maintenance of *dharma* (law

¹ See *S. B. E.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 349, V. 20.

² See *Vīramitrodaya* (Jivānanda Vidyāsagar's Edn.), p. 428.

³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 255.

⁴ *A. S. I. An. Rep.* for 1904-5, pp. 131 ff.

and order), must have the above object as their aim, it is worth noting that *Manu* defines *śiṣṭa* (among Brāhmanas) in the following terms¹ :—

Dharmēṇ-ādhigatō yais=tu Vēdaḥ sa-paribṛimhaṇaḥ ;
tē śiṣṭā brāhmaṇā jñēyāḥ śruti-pratyaksha-hētavaḥ ||

and that Kullūka-Bhaṭṭa² gives the following gloss on it :—

Brahmachary-ādy-ukta-dharmēṇa yair-aṅga-mīmāṃsā-dharmaśāstra-purāṇ-ādy-upabṛimhitō
Vēdō-dhigatas=tē Brāhmaṇāḥ śrutēḥ pratyakshikaraṇē hētavaḥ,
yē śrutim paṭhitvā tad-artham-upadiśanti tē śiṣṭā vijñēyāḥ

Indeed the few inscriptions³ that lay down the requisite qualifications for membership to the *Sabhā*, an institution that was functioning only in Brahminical villages, and the titles expressive of the attainments of the members that actually graced the *Sabhās* at different times and at different places such as Bhaṭṭa, Shaṅgaavid, Kramavid, Sōmayājin, Vājaṇyayājin, Chaturvēdin, Trivēdin, etc., show that the above was actually observed and that only *śiṣṭas* were elected as members.

This inscription bears at the end the signature of the *madhyastha* Śivadāsaṅga Maṅgalādityaṅga, who is said to have written the document at the bidding of the *Sabhā*. Almost all transactions of assemblies are generally committed to writing by persons bearing one or the other of the official designations *madhyasthaṅga*, *karaṇattāṅga*, *karaṇattāṅga-madhyasthaṅga*, *vēṭkōvaṅga*, etc., who affixed their signatures to the written document and in doing so they sometimes stated that, being present in the assembly and having been directed by the *Sabhai-Tiruvāḍi* or the members, they executed the task.⁴ It may perhaps be of interest to note that in ancient times there were *karaṇattāṅga* and *madhyastha* appointed not only for the village assembly but also for every village, temple, divisional assembly and guild of merchants : and it was one among them that was employed by the respective bodies to perform for them the duty of the scribe or secretary.⁵ In the inscriptions of the Malayālam country, the term *madhyastha* figures in the form *Poduvāl* which is but a rendering of the Sanskrit word.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti Śrī [I*] Kachchiyun=Taṣṭaiyud-konḍa [Kaṇ]ṇaradōvarkku yāṇḍu 25-vadu Uttaramēru-chatu[r*]vēdimāṅgalattu=pperuṅkuṇi-sabhaiyōm emm-ūr=ppēr-ambalattu
- 2 muṇbiṛ=terriyilē paṅar=kūḍiy-irundu emmiṛ=cheyda vyavastaiy-āvadu [I*] na[m*]m-ūr mahā-sabhaiyōmāl daṇḍippuṇḍa duṣṭarga| daṇḍam⁶=iṭṭana uḷḷana daṇḍam⁶ avv-av-āṇḍu grāma-

¹ *Manu-smṛiti*, Ch. XII, v. 109.

² See the qualifications mentioned in (1) the two Uttaramallūr inscriptions, (2) the *Mānūr* inscription (above, Vol. XXII, pp. 9-10) and others : *Mantrabrāhmaṇam vallān ōḍuvitt-aṇḍānai*, *Vēdattilum śāstrattilum kāryattilum nīpuṇar-ennoppaṭṭiruppārai* of (1); *Mantrabrāhmaṇam vallār everttarāy iruppārai* of (2); *Mantrabrāhmaṇam vallārāy vāriyāṅ-cheyvārāgavum sabhāmāṇṇāṅ-cholluvārāgavum* : Nos. 240 and 241 of 1922.

³ Above, Vol. XX, p. 237.

⁴ No. 268 of *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VI makes the *madhyastha* of a *ghaṭikā* subject to the orders of the *Sabhā*. For references to *ūr-madhyasthaṅga* see Nos. 537 and 547 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, 289 of Vol. VI, and Nos. 34 and 41 of Vol. VII : the *ūr-madhyastha* wrote the inscription No. 289 of Vol. VI at the command of the *Sabhā*. *Nāṭṭu-madhyastha* figures in No. 489, and *madhyastha* of a Chaturvēdimāṅgalam in Nos. 518, 1002 and 1049 of Vol. V and in No. 189 of Vol. VI.

⁵ Here and in line 5, *daṇḍam iṭṭana uḷḷana* stands for *daṇḍam iṭṭ-uḷḷana*.

⁶ After *daṇḍam*, the word *iṭṭa* is omitted to be engraved : See line 5 where it is supplied.

- 3 kāryañe(ñ=che)yyuna perumakkaḷē sabhaiyōmai=kkonḍu tīrvār-āgavum [*] tīrkka-māṭṭā-
dapa sabhaiyōmaiye konḍu daṇḍaṅgaḷ=iruttu=kkuḍuppār-āgavum[*] sabhaiyi[*]-niṇṇu
sabhā-māṭṭam pēsi=ppa-
- 4 nitta tani-pursharaiyum¹ sabhaiyōm paṇiyāl śeyda vāriya-pperumakkaḷaiyum aḍikkil-
niṇṇaraiyum madhyasthargalaikum pāḍi-kāppārgalaikum ulliṭṭa sabhai-ppaṇi-śe-
- 5 ydār eppērppaṭṭāraiyn=daṇḍam-iṭṭana ullana daṇḍam-iṭṭa av[v-a*]v-āṇḍugaḷ grāma-
kāryaṇ=che[y*]yum perumakkaḷēy sabhaiyōmai=kkonḍu tīrvār-āgavu-
- 6 in [*] tīrv-urādāna sabhaiyōmaiye konḍu daṇḍam iruttu kuḍuppār-āgavum [*] i-ppariṣu
śeyyārāgil daṇḍam=iṭṭa a[v*]v-av-āṇḍugaḷ grāma-
- 7 kāryaṇ=che[y*]dārai mey-vēru-vagai 124-ū-cheydu-kāṇan-daṇḍam=iḍa-pperuvār-āgavum
[*] i-ddaṇḍappattu ivv-a-
- 8 nyāyam vārāmai=ttīrttu=kkuḍuppōmānōm Uttaramēru-śśa(cha)tu[r*]vvēdimāṅgalattu
sabhaiyōm [i*] idu sabhai[yār]
- 9 paṇikka eḷudinēṇ madhyasthan Śivadāsaṇ Maṅgalādityanēṇ [i*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail ! Prosperity ! In the 25th year of (the reign of) Kannaradēva, who took Kachchi (Conjeevaram) and Tañjai (Tanjore), we, (the members of the) *Peruṅkuri-Mahāsabhā*, having assembled during day-time, in the *terri* (i.e., raised platform) in front of the big hall of our village, made the following *vyavasthā* (regulation), agreeing among ourselves :—

The great men conducting the business of the village for each year shall alone collect, through us (i.e., the *Peruṅkuri-Mahāsabhā*), the fines that have been paid out of the fines imposed on the guilty by us (i.e., the members of) the *Mahāsabhā*. Such fines as are not realised, they (i.e., the greatmen conducting the business of the village for the year) shall get only through us (i.e., the *Peruṅkuri-Mahāsabhā*) and pay.

Further, the fines that have been paid by every kind of persons engaged in carrying out the transactions of the *Sabhā*,—including individual members that are present in the assembly (*Sabhā*), partaking in the assembly-discussions (*sabhā-māṭṭam*) and giving their opinions; the great men of the Committees (*Vāriya-pperumakkaḷ*) that have been formed by an order of us (comprising) the *Sabhā*; those that stand at our feet (i.e., the servants of the assembly), the *madhyasthas* and those that watch our village,—the great men conducting the business of the village of the year in which (these) fines have been levied, shall collect them, through us (i.e., the assembly of) the *Sabhā*; such fines as have not been realised (in these cases also), they (i.e., the great men conducting the annual business of the village) shall get only through us and pay.

Failing to act in this wise, the great men conducting the business of the village for the year in which the fines are levied shall individually be liable to a penalty of 124 current *kāṇam*. Imposing this penalty (on them), we, the *Sabhā* of Uttaramēru-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, shall see that the miscarriage does not recur.

Being ordered by the members of the assembly, I, the *madhyastha* Śivadāsaṇ Maṅgalādityaṇ, wrote this (*vyavasthā*).

¹ Read *purusharaiyum*.

² Delete -i.

No. 8.—NOTES ON THE IRDA COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF KING NAYAPALADEVA.

BY JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

Mr. N. G. Majumdar has published the above grant in the *Epigraphia Indica* (Vol. XXII, pp. 150-9). It is very important, inasmuch as it throws interesting light into the political and other conditions of Bengal, in the tenth century.

The charter discloses the names of three kings and a queen, viz., *Paramasaukata-Mahārājā-dhirāja-Paramēśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka* Rājyapālādēva, his queen Bhāgyadēvī, their son king Nārāyaṇapālādēva, and his younger brother *Paramēśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja* Nayapāla, the donor. It records the grant to a Brāhmaṇ, of some land in the Daṇḍabhukti-maṇḍala of the Varddhamāna-bhukti. It was issued from the capital of Priyaṅgu, founded by the king Rājyapāla. The bhukti of Varddhamāna is in Uttara-Rāḍha and the capital of Priyaṅgu, we shall see, lay in Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha, in Bengal. So it is clear that this family of the Pālas ruled in Rāḍha.

Mr. Majumdar thinks that these kings belonged to a Kambōja dynasty, and were different from the Pālas of Bengal. But there exist some very striking similarities between the two dynasties, which can hardly be explained away as mere accidents. Both of them were Buddhists, and have used the Buddhist *Dharmachakra* device in their seals. And both have got the dynastic name of Pāla. These are not all. Like Rājyapāla of the present grant, there was a Rājyapāla among the Pālas of Bengal. Both had a queen named Bhāgyadēvī, and both were styled *Paramasaukata* and *Mahārājādhirāja*.¹ Both the Rājyapālas were great temple-builders. Verse 7 of the Bāṅgarh², Āṅgāchhi³ and Manahali⁴ charters of the descendants of the Rājyapāla of Bengal describe him as having constructed many temples with lofty halls. The opening verse of the present plate also says that Priyaṅgu, the capital, where flourished Rājyapāla, was decorated with temples reaching up to the distant firmament. We shall presently see that the times of both also coincide.

All these raised a great suspicion in our mind, whether Mr. Majumdar has arrived at the right conclusion. In fact the similarities are so very overwhelming that even Mr. Majumdar was inclined to identify the two Rājyapālas as one.⁵ But the epithet of the Rājyapāla of the present plate, *Kambōja-vaṇṣa-tilakaḥ*, as read by him, stood in his way. Our suspicion led us to examine this reading very carefully. The first word *Kambōja* is all right, but the reading of *vaṇṣa-tilakaḥ* seems doubtful. What has been read as *va* seems to us to be nothing but *dha*. If this is conceded, the next syllable cannot be *ṇṣa*, for *dhaṇṣa* is meaningless. It cannot be a mistake for *dhvaṇsa*, as that will spoil the metre. Of the next word *tilakaḥ*, *ti* and the *visarga* attached to the last syllable are there, but the two syllables after *ti* are altogether lost. Mr. Majumdar says that he has found the right-hand flourish of *k* before the *visarga*, in the original, but we find no indication of it, in the facsimile. We read the epithet as *Kambōja-Dhāṅva-atiparaḥ*,⁶ i.e. 'an

¹ The Bengali monthly *Bhāratavareha*, Śrāvaṇa and Āśvina B. S. 1344, pp. 368ff. and 648-50.

² Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 326ff.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 295ff.

⁴ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXIX, Pt. I, pp. 68ff.

⁵ He has since modified his opinion. (*Modern Review*, September, 1937, pp. 323f.)

⁶ [I am inclined to think that the letter after *Kambō(mbō)ja* should be read as *va* though at first sight it appears like *dha*. So far as I can see, it has only a triangular top as in certain other cases (e.g. *ta* in *jēshyat-iti* in l. 13 and *ka* in *katyānt* in l. 14) instead of the ordinary top stroke, while in *dha* no top stroke is found. The next conjunct letter I would prefer to read as *ṇṣa* following Mr. Majumdar and would point out that in conjunct letters the subscript *va* is clearly represented everywhere in this inscription. The next two signs that are visible are *ti* in l. 5 and only the *visarga* in l. 6.—Ed.]

inveterate foe (*atiparah*) of Kambōja and Dhaṅga'. If our reading be correct, the chief difficulty of identifying the two Rājyapālas vanishes at once.

Now who could have been this Dhaṅga, an inveterate foe of this Rājyapāla of Rāḍha? We think that he is no other than the king Dhaṅga of the Chandēllas. The Bengali tendency of changing *a*-endings of personal names into *u*, such as Rāma to Rāmu, Vaṅka to Vaṅku, etc., seems to be responsible for the slight change in the name of Dhaṅga. This identification of Dhaṅga with the king Dhaṅga is not based on the similarity of names only. It is supported by the historical evidence also. This king of the Chandēllas, in his Khajurāho inscription of V. S. 1059 (1002 A.D.)¹ boasts of having thrown into prison the wives of the kings of Kāñchī, Andhra, Rāḍhā and Aṅga. This shows that he had, among others, invaded the kingdom of Rāḍha. We have already seen that Rājyapāla of the present plate was ruling in Rāḍha. So it is very natural for him to declare Dhaṅga as an inveterate foe of his. But were both Rājyapālas contemporaries of Dhaṅga? Mr. Majumdar on palaeographical grounds assigned this charter of Nayapāla to the latter part of the tenth century. Rājyapāla was succeeded by his son Nārāyaṇapāla, who again was succeeded by his younger brother Nayapāla. So Rājyapāla can be assumed to have ruled in the first part of the tenth century. But what was the time of Dhaṅga? The latest known inscription of this king is the one of V. S. 1059 (A. D. 1002) mentioned above. It is stated therein that he lived over hundred years. So he was born sometime about A. D. 900. It is clear from this evidence that Dhaṅga and Rājyapāla of the present inscription were contemporaries.

It now remains to be seen that the other Rājyapāla, father of Gōpāladēva II., also flourished in the first part of the tenth century. We have shown elsewhere² that king Mahipāla I. ascended the throne in A. D. 981. His father Vīrahapāla II. ruled at least 28 years³, and his grandfather Gōpāladēva II. at least 15 years⁴. So the commencement of the latter's reign cannot be later than A. D. 942. The recently published Jājilpārā charter of Gōpāladēva II. was issued in the sixth year of his reign, on the 11th day of the bright half (i.e. *śuklā ṣkādāśī*) of Pausa, on the occasion of *Uttarāyaṇa-saṅkrānti*. The only date, nearer to A. D. 942 satisfying the above data, is A. D. 931. So his first year must be A. D. 925. This should, in the ordinary circumstances, be also the last year of his father Rājyapāla's reign. Rājyapāla ruled at least 24 years⁵. So the period of his reign also falls in the first part of the tenth century, and, therefore, he was contemporaneous with the other Rājyapāla and Dhaṅga.

Now the difficult question arises that if the two Rājyapālas were identical, why Dhaṅga calls him the king of Rāḍha only, and not of Gauḍa and Magadha? A very satisfactory solution of this is possible. The known dates of the Pratihāra Mahēndrapāla I. are 893-907 A. D.⁶ His inscriptions of the years 4 and 19 have been found in the Patna District, of 8 and 9 in the Gayā District, and of 5 in Pāhārpur in the Rājshāhi District of Bengal⁷. These show that Rājyapāla was ousted from Gauḍa and Magadha. The Dighwa-Dubauli (Saran district) inscription of V. S. 955 shows that he lost Tirabhukti also⁸. From these circumstances, R. D. Banerji rightly came to the conclusion that Rājyapāla must have succeeded to a very small principality, either in Rāḍha or in Vaṅga⁹. This plate fully corroborates his view, which was considered at the time no better

¹ Above, Vol. I, p. 140.

² *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. I, p. 291.

³ Bendall, *Cat. of Sans. Mss. in the British Museum*, p. 232; *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, p. 151; Banerji, *The Pālas of Bengal (Memoirs A. S. B., Vol. V)*, p. 67.

⁴ *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, pp. 150-51; *The Pālas of Bengal*, p. 65.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVII, p. 110.

⁶ Above, Vol. I, p. 173 and IX, pp. 4f.

⁷ *A. S. I., An. Rep.*, 1923-4, p. 102; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVII, p. 110; *The Pālas of Bengal*, p. 64; *The Illustrated London News*, Jan. 29, 1927, p. 160.

⁸ *J. R. A. S.*, 1904, pp. 642ff.

⁹ *The Pālas of Bengal*, p. 63.

than a mere surmise. This Pratihāra occupation of the Pāla dominions does not appear to have lasted long. It must have come to an end with the death of Mahēndrapāla I. It appears from the Bargāon (Patna District) inscription of the time of Rājyapāla that he must have recovered at least Magadha on or before the 24th year of his reign. This clearly explains why Rāḍha has been mentioned as a separate entity by Dhaṅga. After Rāḍha, Dhaṅga names Aṅga, which shows that Aṅga also was an independent country at the time. He makes no mention of Magadha, which country he must have had to pass through, to return to his kingdom. This probably shows that he was friendly with the Pratihāras, who occupied that province.

The two Rājyapālas being one, he had at least three sons, viz., Nārāyaṇapāla, Nayapāla and Gōpāla II. Both the first and the third claim to have succeeded their father directly. Both the statements may be true, if we take that Rājyapāla divided his kingdom between Nārāyaṇapāla and Gōpāla, giving Rāḍha to the former, and Magadha to the latter to rule independently. About the other provinces we have no information if they were recovered in the life-time of Rājyapāla. The Jājilpārā inscription shows that Gōpāla was in possession of Gauḍa, at least in the sixth year of his reign. An inscription of the first year of his reign has been discovered in Bargāon¹. Another solution may be that Gōpāla usurped the throne of Nayapāla. As this was not a peaceful succession, he did not mention the names of his brothers. It is not likely that Gōpāla's throne was usurped by either of his brothers. If at all, it must have been for a time only, for we find that he was succeeded by his son, Vighrahapāla II. We are in favour of the first view, for that explains why Nayapāla traces his descent from Rājyapāla, and not from Gōpāla, the founder of the dynasty. Rāḍha, no doubt, was a feudatory state under the Pālas, but it was Rājyapāla who raised it to an independent kingdom and built his capital there. So he was the founder, and Nayapāla, inheriting that kingdom only, traces his descent from Rājyapāla². Gōpāla II., who inherited Magadha, a country ruled by his forefathers directly, names his forefathers from Gōpāla I., like others of the main line.

We think, we have been able to solve satisfactorily all doubts that could be raised against the identification of the two Rājyapālas as one. Now we shall devote our attention to find out, if we can, who this Kambōja, another inveterate foe of Rājyapāla, was. We have seen that the Pratihāras conquered all the important provinces of his forefathers. So who could have been more inveterate enemy than these Pratihāras? Nay, they were hereditary enemies of the Pāla dynasty from the time of Dharmapāla. We find also that Rājyapāla came into direct conflict with them when he reconquered Magadha, on or before the 24th year of his reign. Can these Pratihāras be the Kambōjas? Let us see. Kambōja, according to Pāṇini, meant a king or a Kshatriya of the country of Kambōja. Now where was this Kambōja country? According to the earlier authorities, it was in the north-west of India. But some later works as the *Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa* and the *Bṛhatsamhitā* place a Kambōja country in the south-west, along with Sindhu, Sauvīra and, Ānarta³. *Garuḍa-Purāṇa*, a still later work, mentions it side by side with Lāṭa, in the south-west⁴. This Kambōja might be the same as the Stambha-tīrtha about the Narbadā, mentioned in the *Kūrma-Purāṇa*⁵, and the modern Cambay, on the gulf of that name. It might have derived its name from this Stambha or Khamba-tīrtha. It, no doubt, formed part of the Pratihāra empire. According to some authorities, the Pratihāras were Gurjaras. We find this Kambōja

¹ J. P. A. S. B., Vol. IV, p. 105.

² Mr. Majumdar entertains the last view (*Modern Review*, September 1937). It appears from the Tirumalai inscription that a Pāla king of the name of Dharmapāla ruled in Daṇḍabhukti till the reign of Mahīpāla I. He was probably a grandson of Nayapāla of this plate. So the question of usurpation on either side does not arise.

³ *Mark. P.*, ch. 58, v. 30; *Bṛhat-s.*, ch. 14, v. 17.

⁴ *Garuḍa-P.*, Pt. I, ch. 55, v. 15.

⁵ *Kūrma-P.*, Pt. II., ch. 39, vv. 40 & 50.

was also in Gujarāt. It may be that these Pratihāras coming to live in Kambōja of Gujarāt, before they rose into power, came to be known as Kambōja. It is for this reason, we think, they have been styled as 'Kambōja' in the present plate¹. It must be noted here that the Pratihāras came into contact with the Pālas long before they became established in Kanauj.

Now having said all that we have to say in justification of our differed reading, let us turn our attention to what geographical information we can gather from this plate, about Rāḍha in the tenth century. The golden rampart walls of the city of Priyaṅgu have been described as resplendent as fire (v. 3). This leads us to think that they were built of the red laterite stone. So the capital must have been at a place, where or in the vicinity of which, these stones abound. The district of Midnapur, in Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha, lies on the border of the Balasore District, from where the plate has been obtained. It contains laterite soil, and some forts are still to be found here built of laterite stone. It is not, therefore, unlikely that the seat of the kingdom was here. There are two places in this district, which come nearer to the name of Priyaṅgu. One is *thānā* Pingla, and the other is the village of Pingbani, in *thānā* Garbeta, with ancient remains. The latter seems more likely. The soil here is lateriferous.

The donated village of *Bṛihat-Chattivannā* is described as adjoining to Kaṇṭi, Sarlmāsa and Bāḍakhaṇḍa, within the *Danḍa-bhukti-maṇḍala*, belonging to the *Varddhamāna-bhukti* (Uttara-Rāḍha). Mr. Majumdar identifies this village with Chhatina, near Belyabera and Nayabashan, on the *Suvarṇarēkhā*. It is probably in *thānā* Gopiballabhpur. There is a village named Chatina, in *thānā* Balbani. Besides, there are three villages of the name of Chatna, in *thānā* Daspur. The donated village is said to have contained salt-mines (*lavaṇ-ākara*), which probably means that some part of it was a saline tract, where salt used to be manufactured. This discloses contiguity to sea-coast. Salt is still manufactured in the district. Kaṇṭi may be the modern Contai, which is on the sea-coast. There are, however, two villages of the name Kantichak in *thānā* Danton, and Kanthi in *thānā* Gopiballabhpur. As we find both Chhatina and Kanthi in *thānā* Gopiballabhpur, lying on the western part of the district, Chhatina suggested by Mr. Majumdar may be the donated village. The existence of *madhuka* trees in the donated land also supports this view, as they grow in the western part of the district. But this village must have extended up to the sea-coast of Balasore, along the *Suvarṇarēkhā*, for we have already seen that a portion of it was a saline tract. This also shows that the village was a very big one, which the prefix *Bṛihat* also suggests.

Chhatna is the name of a Jungle Mahal. We do not know, if the donated village Chhatina has anything to do with the name of this Jungle Mahal. Belyabera or Beliaberia is also a Jungle estate, owned by a family of Praharāja Chaudhuri of the Midnapur District. The plate belongs to a Praharāja Chaudhuri of Irdā, in the neighbouring district of Balasore. It is possible that both belonged to the same family, with their original home in Chhatina. It is not known how the plate was acquired by the present owner. It may be that the Praharāja family was in some way connected with the donee, or it might have been found somewhere within their Zamindari.

We do not know anything about the origin of the name of *Danḍa-bhukti*. It seems that originally a village of the name of *Danḍa* was the headquarters of the *bhukti*; which ultimately gave this name to it. There are two names connected with the word *Danḍa*, in the Midnapur District: (1) A village of the name of Bhōgadāṇḍa in *thānā* Sabang. It is the seat of the *Madhya-śrēṇī* Brāhmanas of the district. This might be the original village of *Danḍa*. (2) A temple of Śiva,

¹ Mr. Majumdar has since changed his opinion. He is now almost certain that the two Rājyapālas are identical. He, therefore, holds that the Pālas of Bengal were Kambōjas (*Modern Review*, September, 1937). But there is no other evidence to support this, beyond his own reading of the epithet of Rājyapāla as "Kambōja-saṁśa-silabha". [If the Pratihāras are referred to as Kambōjas in the Irdā plate, it is rather strange that the latter designation for them is not to be met with in any other record so far known.—Ed.]

named Daṇḍēśvara, in Karnagarh, six miles to the north of the Midnapur town, with remains of a fort and several temples.¹ Daṇḍa, though originally a *bhukti*, is found as a *maṇḍala* under the Varddhamāna-*bhukti* in the present plate, and also as a kingdom under a king named Dharmapāla, in the Tirumalai inscription of the first quarter of the eleventh century². This Dharmapāla might be a descendant of Nayapāla of the present grant. If so, this Pāla dynasty of Rāḍha continued for about a century and a quarter at least.

Narayanagarh is a village in the *sadar* sub-division of the Midnapur District, containing the remains of a ruined fort, and some very fine old tanks. The Raj family of this place is said to have had possession of it from the time of the great Pāla kings of Bengal³. It is not unlikely that Nārāyaṇapāla of this plate founded it.

The present charter is also of great interest as depicting the religious condition of Rāḍha, in the tenth century. The Pāla kings of Bengal were well-known Buddhists. But they were not antagonistic to Brahmanism. All their charters record grants to Brāhmaṇs, which bespeaks their liberality to Brāhmaṇs and regard for Brahmanism. Their grants are sealed with the Buddhist *Dharma-chakra-mudrā* and begin with praises to the Buddha. With the exception of the three earliest and the present one, all were granted in the name of the Buddhahattāra. The present king spoke of his father as a *Paramasaugata* and sealed the plate with the dynastic *Dharma-chakra* device. But unlike others, he has begun it with salutation to the Brahmanic god Śiva and granted it in the name of that god. This clearly shows how the Buddhist population were being slowly and gradually merged into Brahmanism. The elder brother of this prince, the king Nārāyaṇapāla, is described as a devotee of Vāsudēva. This conversion of the royal family of Rāḍha reflects no little credit on the Brāhmaṇs of Rāḍha.

In conclusion, we would like to make some remarks about the reading of the date of the plate. Mr. Majumdar read it as "*Samvat 13 Kārtika-dinē 2*". He found no other numeral sign after 2. Dr. Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist, however, notices two digits and reads them as "18". We too find two signs, but read them as 'śu 9'. It appears that the engraver through mistake was repeating the preceding syllable *nē*, but found out his mistake before he could finish and rectified it, by clumsily converting it to *śu*, indicating *śukla*. The subscript *u* of *śu* here is comparable to subscript *u* of *su* of the word *śukṛitinaḥ* (l. 47). The date of issue of the charter, therefore, is the same as the date of the actual gift.⁴

No. 9.—SIRIPURAM PLATES OF ANANTAVARMAN, LORD OF KALINGA.

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

These plates were secured for examination by the Superintendent for Epigraphy from Mr. Manda Narasimham Pantulu of Arasavilli, teacher, Board High School at Chicacole in the Vizagapatam District. They are stated to have been discovered while digging a tank at Siripuram, a village near Chicacole. They have since been purchased by the Government Museum, Madras. Mr. Narasimham has published the inscription on the plates in the Telugu Monthly Journal *Bhārati* for September 1931, and has also reviewed its contents in Vol. VIII of the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society* (p. 153), but the interpretation of the record by him leaves much to be desired. It is now re-edited here from ink-impressions of the plates kindly supplied

¹ Midnapur District Gazetteer, p. 197.

² Above, Vol. IX, p. 232.

³ Midnapur Dist. Gaz., p. 216.

⁴ [I am not convinced of the correctness of the reading suggested here and have no reason to change my views about the date.—Ed.]

to me by the Superintendent for Epigraphy. In his article in this Journal¹ on the Sruṅgavarapukōṭa Plates of the same king, Dr. R. C. Mazumdar has also considered this inscription.

The grant should have consisted of three oblong copper plates of which the last is now missing. They measure $6\frac{1}{4}$ " in length and $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth, and have their rims slightly raised all round to protect the writing which is incised on the inner side of the first plate and on both sides of the second. They are strung together by a ring about 4" in diameter which passes through a hole about $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter near the proper right margin of the plates. The ends of this ring are soldered into the bottom of an oval seal of which the rim bears on one side a slight projection. The surface of the seal which measures $1\frac{1}{2}$ " by $1\frac{1}{4}$ " is completely worn out, so that the emblem or legend that should have been engraved thereon is lost, but judging from the seal of the Sruṅgavarapukōṭa Plates, we may suppose that it should have contained the figure in relief of a conch. The two plates with the ring and the seal weigh 70 tolas.

The alphabet of the inscription belongs to the same type as that of the Kōmarti Plates of Chaṇḍavarman² and the Chicacole Plates of Nanda-Prabhañjanavarman³. It bears a close resemblance to the writing in the Rāmatīrtham Plates of the Viṣṇukunḍin king Indravarmā⁴ who has been assigned to the second quarter of the 6th century A. D.⁵, and, except for one or two letters which look slightly more developed, to that of the Jirjīngi Plates of the Eastern Gaṅga king Indravarmā dated in the 39th year of the Gaṅga era⁶. It also shows a general likeness to the characters of the Pikira grant of the Pallava king Siṃhavarman, son of Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpa⁷. This Siṃhavarman has been placed by Prof. J. Dubreuil in the beginning of the 6th century A.D.⁸

The language of the grant is simple Sanskrit and similar in style to that adopted in the Bṛhatprōṣṭha grant of Umavarman⁹, the Kōmarti Plates of Chaṇḍavarman¹⁰ and the Kōrōṣhaṇḍa Plates of Viśākhavarman¹¹.

The orthography of the inscription calls for a few remarks. Except in the case of the two words *vinirgataṃ* and *ā-chandr-ārka-kāla* in 1.15, the consonants are invariably doubled after the *rēpha*. Other consonants are also doubled, incorrectly in such words as *samppadasya* (1. 3), *dāk-shiṇy-āśeṣā* (1.6), *Tōṇṭāparēssamavētāṃ* (11. 8 & 9), *tēbhya eva ssa idānīm* (1. 10), and *vidhivas-sampradattaḥ* (1. 16), and in place of the *anusvāra* in the words *sappannō* (1. 6) and *sarvatsarē* (1. 13). *Anusvāra* is used in place of the nasal consonant *n* in the expressions *°mām-mahārāja* (1. 5) and *°vētāṃ kutumbinaḥ* (1. 9); and both *anusvāra* and nasal are used together in *Anamntavarmanā* (1. 8) and *vinirgatanā-cha* (1.15). *Upadhāmāniya* is used in place of the *visarga* in the words *°bhūḥ prajā* (1. 7) and *parihārāḥ parihṛīya* (1. 14) and redundantly in the case of the words *karaḥ-prada* (1. 10), *dānaḥ-pratigraha* (1. 11), *°kālaḥ-pratishṭham* (1. 15) and *vachanaḥ-prēṣhaṇa* (1. 17). The final *t* is found in *vibhṛat* (1. 2).

The grant was issued in the year Mah-Āsvayuja, on the day of full moon in the month of Māgha. This method of dating the record in the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, according to which the year commences on the day when Jupiter, after its conjunction with the Sun, rises heliacally at mean sunrise in a particular *nakṣatra* after which it is named¹², is said to have been in vogue to a limited extent only in the 5th and 6th centuries of the Christian era, and found used

¹ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 56 ff.

² Above, Vol. IV, p. 144.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 49.

⁴ Above, Vol. XII, p. 134.

⁵ *J. A. H. B. S.*, Vol. II, p. 157.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 51.

⁷ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 161.

⁸ *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 68.

⁹ Above, Vol. XII, p. 5.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 142 ff.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 24.

¹² Above, Vol. VIII, p. 230.

so far only in a few inscriptions ranging between A.D. 475 and 528¹. In the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1931-32, Mr. C. R. Krishnamachari taking the Gaṅga Era to start with A.D. 493 assigns the Achyutapuram Plates of Indravarman² dated in the 87th year of the era to A.D. 580, and assuming the present record to be about half a century anterior to it gives it the provisional date A.D. 528-9 which was the year in which the Mah-Āśvayuja occurred³. It may be stated, however, that the years A.D. 516 and, before that, A.D. 504 are equally possible for the record.

The inscription registers an order of king **Anantavarman** issued from Dēvapura confirming the grant of the village **Tōṇṭāpara** as a tax-free *agrahāra* to be enjoyed by eight (?) members of the *Ātrēya-gōtra* who were already in possession of it and were paying tax hitherto thereon, after separating it from the sub-division known as **Kharapuri-madamba**⁴ to which it had belonged and also from the bigger division **Pattana-bhōga**.⁵

Anantavarman is called the 'Lord of Kalinga' possessed of many virtues and a great *Mā-hēśvara*. He is stated to have been the son of *Mahārāja Prabhajjana* (Prabhāñjana) **varman** and the grandson of *Mahārāja Guṇavarman* who is described as the Full Moon in the great and spotless (firmament viz., the) *Vāsishṭha* (family). This epithet is however applied to Prabhāñjanavarman in the Sruṅgavarapukōṭa Plates, while Guṇavarman is styled the Lord of *Dēvarāshtra* and is credited with victories in many battles. Anantavarman is said to have acquired the Earth by the strength of his own arms.

Other kings of this region who also called themselves *Kalingādhipati* were Śaktivarman⁶, Umavarman⁷, Chaṇḍavarman⁸ and Nanda-Prabhāñjanavarman⁹. Another king of the same region, who might have been a *Kalingādhipati* though he does not specifically style himself as such was Viśākṣavarman who issued the Kōrōshaṇḍa grant¹⁰ mentioned above, from Śrīpura¹¹. Four new copper-plate grants of the Kalinga kings have been found recently and are reviewed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1934-35. Of these one is the Sruṅgavarapukōṭa Plates mentioned above, of king Anantavarman of our grant. The others are the Tiritthāṇa grant of Chaṇḍavarman¹² issued from Singhapura, in which the king calls himself a *Kalingādhipati*, the Tekkali Plates of Umavarman¹³ issued from Vardhamānapura¹⁴, and the Madras Museum

¹ Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, Introduction, p. 105.

² Above, Vol. III, pp. 128 f.

³ This seems to be borne out by the writing in the Jirjīngi Plates dated in the 39th year of the Gaṅga Era, which, as stated above, bears similarity to the alphabet of the present grant.

⁴ *Madamba* is thus defined in *Śivatatvaratnākara*, *Kallōlu* 6, *Taraṅga* 1, verse 14: *Yuktam-ēkādāsa-grāmair-madambam-parikīrtitam*.

⁵ Cf. *Vōṅkhāra-bhōga* of the Jirjīngi Plates (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, p. 51) and *Mahēndra-bhōga* of the Dha-vaṇapēṭa Plates (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. X., p. 144). The name of the division is evidently derived from *Puttana* which is perhaps an abbreviated form of Kalinga-Pattana (Kalingapatam) a sea-coast town about 20 miles from Chicacole. The ancient Kalinga capital Kalinga-nagari mentioned in the Hāthīgumphā inscription of Khāravela has been identified with this town (above, Vol. XX, p. 77).

⁶ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 4 ff.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 142 ff.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 48 ff.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 23 ff.

¹¹ This has been identified with Siripuram in the Palkonda taluk of the Vizagapatam District. It is possible that it may refer to Siripuram the find-spot of the plates under publication.

¹² *C. P. No. 12* of 1934-35.

¹³ *C. P. No. 13* of 1934-35. In the *An. Rep.* for this year these two kings have been taken to be different from their namesakes who issued the Kōmarti plates and the Brihatprōshṭha grant.

¹⁴ This has been identified with Vaḍama in the Palkonda taluk of the Vizagapatam District (*An. Rep. on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1934-35, Part II, para. 2).

Plates of Ananta-Śaktivarman, issued from Siṅhapura¹. The Dhavaḷapēṭa copper-plates of Umavarman² issued from 'Sunagara' complete the list of these kings.

From the provenance of all these records and the places mentioned therein, it may be surmised that their territory extended in the north to the southern portion of the Ganjām District and in the south to the northern portion of the Godāvari District. It is not, however, possible to state whether it was held intact throughout their rule by this line of kings. The plates of king Ananta-Śaktivarman record the gift of a village in Barāha(Varāha)varṭanī division to two Brāhmanas³. This division which should have comprised portions of the present Vizagapatam District round about Chicacole is mentioned in the Narasiṅgapalli Plates of the Eastern Gaṅga king Hastivarman⁴ dated in the Gaṅga year 79 as having been included in his territory. Sometime later, Piṣṭapura situated in the southern portion of their territory had passed into the hands of a certain Prithivi-Mahārāja, probably a subordinate chief under the Viṣṇukunḍins, who issued his Tāṇḍivāḍa grant from that place⁵, and then to the Chālukyas under Pulikēśin II⁶. It may therefore be concluded that this dynasty of kings calling themselves *Kaliṅgādhipati* should have disappeared before the close of the 6th century A.D. The lower limit may of course be taken to be the middle of the 4th century A.D., when Samudragupta invaded the south and subjugated along with others king Mahēndra of Piṣṭapura and Kubēra of Dēvarāṣṭra.

The relationship of the several kings mentioned above to one another is still obscure, the information contained in their grants being too meagre to throw any light on this point. Similarity in the alphabet or phraseology employed in their different grants, in the epithets applied to the kings and in names of officers occurring in them is our only guide in attempting any genealogy or chronology of these kings, but it seems to be unsafe to make any suggestions on this slender basis.

Of the places mentioned in the record, Dēvapura from where the king issued his grant, may be identified with one of the two Zamindari villages—one named Dēvāḍa in the Sruṅgavarapukōṭa taluk and the other named Dēvāḍi in the Chicacole taluk. Tōṭṭāpara, the village granted, perhaps has its representative in the modern Zamindari village Tōṭāḍa in the Chicacole taluk. It is not possible to identify Kharapuri after which the sub-division was named.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Om^a Svasti [||*] Vijaya-Dēvapurād=Vāsishṭha-vipul-āmala-sakala-chandramasō
- 2 vibhrat-bhū-hiranya-gō-sahasr-ādy-anēka-dāna-dharmm-ābhiratasya śakti-tray-ō-
- 3 panata-rājya-saṃppadasya¹⁰ atyutāmala¹¹-śarach-chandra-chandrik-āvadāt-ōru-
- 4 yasasa[h*] śrī[ma]¹² Mahārāja-Guṇavarmanap ātmajanmanō=nēka-guṇa-gaṇ-ā-

¹ C. P. No. 24 of 1934-35.

² J. A. H. R. S., Vol. X, pp. 143 ff.

³ An. Rep. on S. I. E., for 1934-35, Part II, para. 3.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 63.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 88 ff.

⁶ Ibid., Vol. VI, p. 11.

⁷ C. P. No. 1 of 1931-32.

⁸ Expressed by a symbol.

⁹ Read *bibhrat-bhū-hiranya*. The letter *nya* of *hiranya* is written in smaller size below the line, evidently as a correction of an omission indicated by a small cross above.

¹⁰ Read *saṃpadaḥ*.

¹¹ Read *atyant-āmala*.

¹² Read *śrīman*.

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ॐ शुभं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ शुभं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 शुभं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ शुभं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 शुभं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ शुभं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 शुभं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ शुभं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 शुभं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ शुभं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

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ii.

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ॐ शुभं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ शुभं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 शुभं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ शुभं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 शुभं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ शुभं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 शुभं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ शुभं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 शुभं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ शुभं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

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 10
 12

ii.

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 16
 18

ॐ शुभं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ शुभं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 शुभं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ शुभं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 शुभं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ शुभं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 शुभं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ शुभं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 शुभं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ शुभं नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

14
 16
 18

- 5 bhyalaṁkṛitasya śrīmām¹-Mahārāja-²Prabhajjanavarmanapaḥ sūnur=ṇṇa(nna)ya-vinaya-
6 satya-śauch-āchāra-tyāg-audāryya-dākshīṇy-ōtssāha³-sātva(sattva)-sappannō⁴ sva-bhujā-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 7 vikram-ōpārjjita-bhūḥ prajā-hita-ratō⁵ paramamāhēśvara(rō) mātā-pi-
8 tpi-pādānudhyātō⁶ śrī-Kaliṅgādhipatir=Anarā(na)ntavarmanā Tōṭṭā[pa]rēs (Tōṭṭāparē)
sama-
9 vētām⁷ kuṭumbinas=samājñāpaya[ty=a*] sty=ēshaḥ(sha) pūrvvam=ēv=āgrahārah Kharapuri-
10 madamba-sāmānyaḥ⁸ karaḥ(kara)-pradaḥ tēbhya ēvas⁹=sa idānim=asmābhiḥ puny-āyur-
yya-
11 shasām¹⁰=abhividdhayē yajana-yājana¹¹-yājan-ādhyayan-[ā*]dhyāpana-dānaḥ (dāna)-
prati-
12 graha-niratēbhyō(bhya) [Ātrā]¹²-gōtra-charaṇēbhyō brāhmaṇēbhyah ashtāśśaka(ashtāmśaka?)
sam[khyē]bhya[h]

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 13 Mah-Āsvayujē savvatsarē¹³ Māgha-māsa-paurṇamāsyā[m*]= udaka-pūrvvam kṛitvā
14 sarvva-kara-parihāraiḥ parihṛitya Kharapurisha(puri)-madamba-vinirggataḥ
15 Pattana-bhōga-vinirgataḥ(gataḥ)=cha kṛitvā¹⁴ ā-chandr-ārka-kālah(kāla)-pratishṭham=
agra-
16 hāraḥ kṛitvā vidhivas¹⁵=sampradattaḥ ity=avagamya grāma-phalam=u-
17 paṇiya sarvv-ādarēṇa vachanaḥ(vachana)-prēṣaṇ-ōpasthānaḥ karttavyam=iti :--
18 ājñā apy=uttara-kāla-bhāvi-rājabhiḥ=cha dharmma-dānasy=ānupālānē¹⁶

TRANSLATION.

Om. Hail ! From the victorious (city of) Dēvapura, the glorious Anantavarman, lord of Kaliṅga, who is endowed with wisdom, refinement and truthfulness, with purity of life and good conduct, liberality and magnanimity, and with courtesy, heroism and strength ; who has acquired the earth by the strength of his own arms ; who is (ever) devoted to the welfare of (his) subjects ; who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara ; and who meditates on the feet of (his) parents ;

who is the son of the glorious Mahārāja Prabhajjanavarman richly adorned with a multitude of (good) qualities, the son of the glorious Mahārāja Guṇavarman who was a Full Moon in the broad and spotless (firmament viz., the family of) Vāsishṭha, who took great delight in the performance of the several kinds of gifts like the earth, gold and a thousand cows, who secured the

¹ Read śrīmām.² Read Prabhajjana.³ Read 'tsāha.⁴ Read -sappannaḥ.⁵ Cf. the expression *śaṭ-trimśad-āgrahāra-sāmānya* of the Brīhatprēśhṭha grant.⁶ Read *śva sa*.⁷ Read *puny-āyur-yasādm*.⁸ The word *yājana* is engraved twice by mistake.⁹ Evidently the word *Ātri* or *Ātrēya* is intended.¹⁰ Read *savvatsarē*.¹¹ Cf. the expression *Dantayavāgu-bhōgād=uddhṛitya* of the Brīhatprēśhṭha grant.¹² Read *vidhivat=sam*.¹³ The continuation is lost.¹⁴ Read *ratāḥ*.¹⁵ Read 'dhyātāḥ.¹⁶ Read 'ollān.

prosperity of his kingdom with the threefold regal power and who possessed great fame which was as pure as the light of the exceedingly clear autumnal moon,

(*thus*) commands (*all*) the farmers assembled in **Tōṣṭāpara**: This (*village which*) has been already an *agrahāra* enjoying the privileges (*applicable to the group of villages included*) in **Kharapuri-madamba** and paying tax (*hitherto*), is now given by Us with (*due*) rites preceded by (*libations of*) water for the increase of (*Our*) merit, longevity and fame, on the day of full moon in the month of **Māgha** in the year **Mah-Āsvayuja**, to the same Brāhmaṇas, eight share-holders in number (?) of the Atri-gōtra and *charaṇa*, who are engaged in performing and helping others to perform sacrifices, in study and in teaching, and in making and receiving gifts,—after having completely exempted (*the village*) from all kinds of taxes and having made it separate from the **Kharapuri-madamba** (*sub-division*) and the **Pattana-bhōga** (*division* ?), and conferred it as an *agrahāra* to last as long as the moon and the sun.

Having understood this (*it behoves that you*) should bring the yield of the village (*to these Brāhmaṇas*), and with all (*due*) respect carry out the behests issued (*by them*). (*This*) command (*should be respected*) by the kings who are to come in future as well, in protecting this meritorious gift.

NO. 10.—INDORE PLATES OF PRAVARASENA II.

By SUSHIL K. BOSE, M.A., CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

The plates which are edited here were in the possession of Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, who kindly placed them at my disposal for the present purpose. They were originally in the possession of the late Wamanrao Islampurkar Śāstri of the Indore State along with the grants of *Mahārāja* Svāmīdāsa and *Mahārāja* Bhulunḍa edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV, pp. 286ff.

These are three well preserved copper-plates each of which measures 7" long by 3½" broad. They are quite smooth and their edges not raised or fashioned thicker. About 2" distant from the middle of the proper right margin each plate has a hole about ⅜" in diameter, obviously for a ring with which the plates were strung. Originally, the grant consisted of four plates. The first plate together with the ring and the seal is now missing. From a comparison with the other grants of the same king it would appear that roughly about seven lines of writing are lost. The first plate, therefore, as one would expect, was inscribed on one side only. The first and the second of the remaining three plates that we now possess, that is to say, the second and the third of the original grant, are inscribed on both the sides while the last one is written on one side only. The writing throughout is in an excellent state of preservation. The size of the letters is about ⅜". The characters belong to the southern class of alphabet and are fine specimens of the 'box-headed' variety of the Central Indian script, which is well illustrated in the copper plates of the kings of Śarabhapura as well as in those of Tivaradēva, king of Mahā-Kōśala¹. The script resembles closely that of the Dudia and Siwanī plates, as also of the recently published Tirōḍī² plates of *Mahārāja* Pravarasēna II.

From the standpoint of paleography these plates have some peculiarities which are worthy of note. As in the Siwanī plates, the letter *b* in this grant occurs in two distinct forms. One is the usual type of this alphabet and the other consists of a square and is more archaic. It seems that the scribe was familiar with both and had freely used the two forms, though the usual type

¹ C. I. I., Vol. III, pp. 191 ff. and 291 ff.

² Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 171 ff.

occurs in larger number. For the former type see *Kobidārikā* (l. 12), *balivardda* (l. 21), and *pibati* (l. 33) and for the latter see *brāhmaṇair-* (l. 27) and *bāhula* (l. 33). Both the lingual *n* and the dental *n* occur in different varieties. As regards the dental *n*, it may be noted that, though different forms are discernible, the larger number is of the looped type; see for instance, *n* in *Rudrasēnasya sūnō[h*]* (l. 1). For a different kind of *n* see *Rudrasēna* (l. 6). Likewise, differences exist in the types of *n*; see for instance, *Prithivishēnasya* and *Chakrapāṇē* (l. 5), and *guṇa* (l. 3). A very peculiar form of the letter occurs in *pautriṇa* (l. 4). The *n* of *Gōṇḍāryyāya* (l. 15) is also worthy of note. The letter *v*, in general, has a much smaller rectangle than that of *ch*, even then they could hardly be distinguished in many places, but for the context; see *v* in *prabhavi*^o (l. 30) and compare it with *cha* in *chandr-āditya* (l. 24). Of the ligatures the two forms *ina* and *nta* deserve special notice. Referring to his tables (plate vii, 43, X) Bühler says, "We meet repeatedly with the looped *ta* and the *na* without the loop¹." The ligature to which he has referred has been taken by him to be *nta*. But exactly the same ligature occurs in this plate where the reading is clearly *ina* (*sa[h]chintana*, l. 28 for *sañchintana*). By mistake the scribe put the *t* first and then the subscript *na*. So Bühler's reading of the same ligature as *nta* cannot stand. We have a clear example of *nta* in *atyanta* (l. 2), *santōna* (l. 4) and *santikās-* (l. 9). Incidentally it may be noted here that the subscript *t* in the first of these words shows some peculiarity. The letter *dh* is of the usual square type except, however, in *Yudhishthira* (l. 4), where it is definitely roundish in shape. Similarly the letter *t* which is generally of an angular character, has one exception in *ājñāpayitavyā[h*]* (l. 10) where it is round. As regards the letter *l*, it might be noted that the real box-headed type, which is met with in the Siwani plates, does not occur in this inscription. There is, however, a single instance where the box-headed *l* appears here, in *āyur-llala* (l. 11), if it is not to be read as *-blala* for *-bbala*. With regard to this particular letter *l* our inscription tallies well with the Tirōḍi, Chammak and Dudaia plates of the same king. Lastly we might note that *ā* is denoted in different ways. Usually a slanting stroke attached to the head of the consonant indicates the medial *ā*; see *Vākātakānām-* (l. 8). For a different way of indicating it see *kālīyaḥ* (l. 24).

The language is Sanskrit and except the usual imprecatory verse, ascribed to Vyāsa, in the fourth plate, the inscription is in prose. The composition is not at all satisfactory and shows that the writer's knowledge of Sanskrit left much to be desired. As regards orthography the most prominent features are: (1) the use of *upadhmaniya* in ll. 25, 31 and 33; (2) frequent non-observance of the rules of external *sandhi*; (3) carelessness in the writing of *ā* (medial), *m* and *h*; (4) the doubling of *v* after *anuvāra* as in *para-dattām vva* (l. 32); (5) the doubling of consonant after *r* as in *mārggē* (l. 8), etc., and (6) the interchange between *ri* and *ri* in some cases, e.g., in *Prithivi* (l. 5) and *kriyābhī[h*]* (l. 25). The inscription contains several words whose meaning and grammar are not clear. It seems that the official who was entrusted with the drawing up of the record was responsible for these solecisms. Some of the mistakes, however, are no doubt due to the inadvertence of the engraver.

The inscription is one of the *Vākātaka Mahārāja Pravaraśena II* and is dated (l. 33) the fifth lunar day of the dark half of the month of Vaiśākha in the twenty-third year (of his reign). Its object is to record the grant of a village (l. 12)². The situation of the village is described as being to the north of Ārāmaka, east of Kōbidārikā, south of Kōśambaka and west of Añjanavāṭaka (ll. 12-14). The donees are said to be (ll. 15-17) Gōṇḍāryyā, son of Viśākhāryyā of the Vāji-Kauśika *gōtra* and resident of Ārāmaka, his son Manōrathāryyā, Gōvāryyā, Dēvāryyā, Bāppāryyā, Kumārāryyā and Drōṇāryyā. It has been noted (l. 20) that half of the

¹ Bühler, *Ind. Paleo.* (English version), p. 65.

² [From the details given it is not clear whether the object granted is a village.—Ed.]

village was purchased by a merchant named Chandra from the Brahmins. Beyond this our inscription furnishes no such information as has not already been supplied by the Dudia plates written in the same year as this record as well as by the Chammak and Siwanī plates which were issued in the eighteenth year of the reign of this *Mahārāja* Pravarasēna II. But the similarity of the Tirōḍi plates with the present record is striking. Both these grants were issued in the same year and their language is also very much similar. As a matter of fact some of the terms and words in this inscription can be properly understood only when compared with the Tirōḍi plates. Mistakes due to the engraver are very numerous in this inscription and many of them have been corrected with the help of the Tirōḍi plates.

Like his other inscriptions the present one also supplies us with the stereotyped genealogy of Pravarasēna II. But the first plate being lost the genealogy from Gautamīputra only survives. After the genealogy the details of the grant are given. The inscription ends with the date and the name of the writer.

In one point our inscription offers information which makes it of great interest to students of administrative history. Unlike the other plates of the Vākāṭaka kings this record was written by one Kōṭṭadēva who styles himself as *Rajuka*. This is the first time we meet with the term *Rajuka* in so late a period. *Rajuka* is primarily a term to indicate an officer whose undoubted existence in the 3rd century B.C. is proved by the inscriptions of Aśoka. Up till the middle of the second century A.D. South India¹ at least kept up the use of this official. The reference to *Mahāmātras*, *Rajjukas* and *Saṁchārins* indicates that the old tradition was kept up in Southern India. When the Vākāṭakas came to the forefront, on the decline of the Kushāṇas, they probably made an endeavour to revive the old institutions. The Guptas, who were mainly a North-Indian power, were greatly influenced by the Kushāṇas and adopted many foreign features in their administrative machinery. The Vākāṭakas were more in the south and so could retain the earlier official terms. For this reason we find that in most of the records of this Vākāṭaka king occur certain revenue terms which have not been found in any other copper-plate and of which no satisfactory explanation can yet be offered. It is clear from the record that the *Rajuka* was still an officer mainly concerned with land and revenue. It is strange that in no other records of this period do we meet with this term. The reason seems to be that though all land transactions were negotiated under his jurisdiction, only in very important cases the *Rajuka* himself used to participate, the rest being done by subordinate officers. The date of the record being given in regnal years cannot be verified. None of the places mentioned in this inscription can be identified.

TEXT.²

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 1 d[au]hitrasya Gautamīputrasya putrasya Vākāṭak[ā]nām=mahāra(rā)ja-ārī-Rudrasēnasya
sūnō[h*]
- 2 atyanta-ma(mā)hēśvarasya saty-ārjjava-kārunya-śauryya-vikrama-naya-vinaya-māhātmya-
- 3 dhimatva³-pātragatabhaktitva-dharmmavijayitva-manōnairmmaly-ādi-guṇa-samuditasya
- 4 varsha-śatam=abha(bhi)varddhamāna-kōśa-daṇḍa-sādhana-santāna-putra-pautrīṇa[h*] Yu-
dhishtīra-

¹ See *Epi. Car.* Vol. VII, p. 251, where a *Chufu kul-ānanda* Sātakarpi commands his *Rajjuka*.

² From the original plates.

³ Read *dāimattva*.

iiA.

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iiB.

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iiiA.

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iiiB.

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iv.

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- 5 vpittēr=Vākātakānā[m*]=mahārāja-śrī-Pri(Pri)thivishēṇasya sūṇa(nō)ḥ bhagavatā-Chakra-
pāṇē[h*]
6 prasād-lopārjjita-śrī-samudayasya Vākātakānā[m*]=mahārāja-śrī-Rudrasēna-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 7 sya sūnō[h*] mahārājādhirāja-śrī(śrī)-Dēvagupta-sutāyā[m*] Prabhāvatiguptāyām=utpanna-
8 sya Vākātakānām=mahārāja-śrī-Pravarasēnasya vachanā[t*] Gēpuraka-mārggē asma-
9 t-santikās=sarvvāddhyaksha-niyōga-niyuktāḥ ājñāsamchāri-kulaputr-ādihkritā bhaṭṭo-
10 bh³=chhātrās=cha vyushita-pūrvva-may⁴=ājñay=ājñāpayitavyā[h*] Veditam=astu vaḥ
11 yav⁵=ēh=āsmābhir=ātmanō dhdharm-āyur-blala-ēvaryya-vivṛiddhiya⁶ ih-āmutra-hi-
t-ārtthan
12 vaijayikē dharmma-sthānē Ārāmakasya uttara-pārsvē Kōbidārikāyā[h*] pūrvva-
13 pārsvē māla datām=iti⁷ :—

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 14 Kōśambakasya⁸ dakshīṇa-p[ā]rsv[ē] Añjanav[ā]takasya apara-pārsvē Viśākhāryya-vātaka-
15 sya [Ā]rāmakā-v[ā]stavya-Vāji-Kauśika-sagōtra-Viśākhāryya-putra-Gōṇḍā-
16 ryyāya Gōṇḍ[ā]ryya-putra-Man[ō]rathāryyāya Gōvāryyāya Dēvāryyāya
17 Bāppāryyāya⁹ cha Kumārāryyāya Drōṇāryyāya cha pū[r]vva-dattā iti kṛitvā
18 yatō=sma(smā)bhi[h*] śāsana-nibandham¹⁰=kṛitah apūrvva-dattā(ttyā) udaka-pūrvvam=
atisriṣṭāḥ[h*]
19 uchitā[m*]ś=ch=āsyā pūrvva-rāj-ānumatā[n*] Chāturvaidya-grāma-maryyādām=parihā¹¹
vita-
20 rāmaḥ[h*] Atra vātā(ṭa)k-ārddham vāṇijaka-Chamdrēṇa kraya-kṛitam brāhma[ṇē*]bhyō
Bhagavat-pada[m*]¹²

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 21 Tad-yathā a-kara-dāyī a-bhaṭa-chchhatra-prāvēśya¹³ a-pārāmpara-tō(gō)-balivardda[h*]
22 a-pushpa-kshī(kshī)ra-sa[m*]dōhaḥ a-chāra(r-ā)sana-chamī(rm-ā)ngāra[h*] a-lavaṇa-klitva
(nna)-krēṇī-khanaka[h*]

¹ The formation of medial *ō* in *dō* is noteworthy. It consists of an *ā-mātrā* on the top and an *ī-mātrā* added to the lower left side of *d*.

² Read *santikās*= as in other Vākātaka records.

³ Read *bhaṭṭas*.

⁴ Read *viśruta-pūrvvay*= as in the Siwant and Chammak plates.

⁵ Read *yath*.

⁶ Read *dharm-āyur-bhāl-aitvaryya-vivṛiddhaye*.

⁷ Read *mayā dattām=iti*. [These six syllables seem to be out of place here, and their sense is not clear.—Ed.]

⁸ It is tempting to identify this place with the village of Kōśambakhaṇḍa mentioned in the Tirōḍi plates of the same king.

⁹ [From the impression it can be read as *Bōppāryyāya*.—Ed.]

¹⁰ [The reading may be *nibandham=kṛitah*.—Ed.]

¹¹ Read *-maryyādā-parihārān* as in the Tirōḍi plates.

¹² I am indebted to the Editor for this reading.

¹³ Read *a-bhaṭa-chchhatra-prāvēśya*; the word *chhāra* seems to be somehow connected with the term *chāra* of other inscriptions.

- 23 sarvva-vishṭi-parihāra-parihri(hṛi)taḥ sa-tidhis=s-ōpatithih¹ sa-kli*(kḷi)pt-ōpakli*(kḷi)-ptaḥ.
 24 ā-chandr-āditya-kāliyaḥ putra-pautr-ānugāmī bhuñjatā[m*] na kēnachi[d*]
 25 vyāghātana² karttavayas=sarvva-kriyābhi³ sa[m*]rakshitavyaḥ=parivarddhayitavyaś=cha[|*] yaś=ch=ā-
 26 smach-ohhāsanam=agani(ṇa)yamānā(naḥ) svalpām=api paribādhātku(ā=ku)ryāt=kāra-ghina vā⁴
 27 tasya brāhmaṇair=vvēvi(di)tasya sa-daḍḍa-nigrahaṁ kurvyāmaḥ(ma |) Asmiś=cha⁵ dharmm-[ā]dhi-

Fourth plate ; First Side.

- 28 karaṇḍ⁶ atīt-ānēka-rāja-dattā(tta)-sañchitna(ṇta)na-paripālana[m*] kṛita-puṇy-ānuki(kḷi)-
 29 rttana-parihār-ārttha[m*] na kīrttayāmaḥ saṁkalp-ābhidyōdha⁷-parākrama(m-ō)paḥā
 (ji)tān=vattha(rtta)-
 30 ghātā(mānā)n=ājñāpayāmaḥ śahyatat⁸-kāla-prabhaviṣh[ṇ]ā¹⁰-gauravād=bhaviṣhād¹¹-vijñā-
 31 payāmaḥ [||¹²] Vyāsa-gitaś=ch=ātra ślokaḥ=pramāṇikarttavayaḥ [||¹³ Sva-dattā[m*]
 32 paradattā[m*] vvā(vā) yō harēta vasundharā[m*] gavā[m] śata-sahaasasya hantu-
 33 ḥ=pibati¹⁴ dushkṛitaṁ(tam)¹⁴ [||¹⁵] Saṁvatsarē trayōvimśe Vaiśākha-bāhula-pañchamyām [||¹⁶]
 34 Ājñā svayam [||¹⁷] RAJUKA-Kōṭṭadāvēna likhitam [||¹⁸]

No. 11.—JAGANNATHARAYA TEMPLE INSCRIPTIONS AT UDAIPUR.

BY SAMSKRITI PT. AKSHAYA KRETTY VYAS, M.A., UDAIPUR.

The inscriptions under consideration are fixed on both the sides of the passage leading into the *Sabhā-maṇḍapa* of the Jagannātharāya temple at Udaipur. They are in a fair state of preservation but the engraved letters have been filled up with lime in course of the annual repairs to the temple. At places, the original engraving itself is very shallow. Although Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Ojha has utilized these inscriptions in writing his history of Rajputana (*Rājaputāna*

¹ Read sa-nidhis=s-ōpanidhiḥ.

² [What has been taken as the sign for medial i here is perhaps a mere scratch. Moreover, the form of the subscript character in this syllable differs much from that of the subscript i in *klisna* in the previous line. In view of these considerations it seems probable that we have in this inscription the correct reading sa-kḷipt-ōpakḷiptaḥ.—Ed.]

³ Read vyāghātakaḥ.

⁴ Read kriyābhiḥ.

⁵ Read kārayat=vā.

⁶ Read asmiś=cha [The *anusvāra* meant for *smiś* seems to have been placed on *cha*.—Ed.]

⁷ The Siwani and Tirōḍi plates have also *dharmādāra-karaṇḍ* while the Chamak, Dudia and Riddhapur plates have *dharm-ādara-karaṇḍ*.

⁸ Read *ābhidyōga*; the Riddhapur plates have *ābhidyōga* and the Dudia plates *ābhidyōdha*.

⁹ Read *śahyat-kāla*.

¹⁰ Read *vishṇu*.

¹¹ Read *bhaviṣhād*.

¹² The stop is indicated by a horizontal stroke.

¹³ Instead of *pibati* generally the word *harati* occurs in this imprecatory verse.

¹⁴ Metre: *Śloka* (*Anuśṭubh*).

kā Itihāsa) they still remain unpublished¹, and I edit them here at the instance of Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India.

These inscriptions are engraved on four big slabs of black stone, which we shall call, from left to right on both sides, **A**, **B**, **C**, and **D** respectively, for the sake of convenience. **A** measures 2' 6" broad by 3' 2" high, **B** 2' 10" by 2' 10", **C** 2' 6" by 3' 0" and **D** 3' 2" by 3' 2", and contain sixty, forty-six, fifty-seven and forty-nine lines of writing respectively. It may be pointed out that **D** is made up of as many as ten pieces of stone of different size, shape and variety, and seems to have been engraved after fixation. The writing appears to have been done by different hands as is chiefly perceptible from the upper part of **D**. Carelessness in engraving is particularly visible in the lower part of **D**.

The **characters** are Nāgarī in their modern form and the medial vowels (particularly the diphthongs) which are joined to the consonants are throughout represented by *śirō-mātrās*, the only example of the use of *prishṭha-mātrā* being in *dēvā* (l. 25, **A**). The forms of *y* and *p* are often indistinguishable, not only when the former is joined to a preceding consonant, but also when it occurs independently.

As regards **orthography** we find that in many cases *b* has been distinguished from *v*, while in some cases *b* has been used for *v* as in *kabacha-chh(chchh)ettā* (l. 11, **A**). *Chh* is used in place of *chchh* throughout with a few exceptions particularly noticed in **C**. *T* is almost everywhere reduplicated after a preceding *r*. The sign for *avagraha* has been employed only twice in *vairibhyō-prīyamānau* (ll. 16-17, **C**) and in *dēsē=khālē* (l. 17, **D**).

The **language** of the inscriptions is Sanskrit except the sentence *Śrī Jagannātharāyaji pāṭha padharāyā* at the end of **C** which is in the dialect of Mewār. The verses contain many paronymous words and thus many of them convey two senses. Considering the length of the inscriptions, the historical information they contain is very meagre. The poet has spared no pains in trying to please his patron, the ruling prince, and his work is meant to be more a literary study than history. The composition is, on the whole, free from errors, most of the mistakes appearing in the records being due to the engraver. The first line of each slab is in prose wherein five or six gods and goddesses have been adored. In addition to this, portions of ll. 2 in **B**, 50-51 and 56-57 in **C** and 2 and 47-48 in **D** are in prose. The rest of the epigraphs is in verse.

Before considering the actual contents of the records, let us determine whether all the four slabs contain one single inscription or more than one. From the intended plan of writing and the method of presenting the subject-matter, it will appear that three inscriptions have been incised on these four slabs. **A** and **B** together form what may rightly be called the *Jagatsimha inscription*, for the numbering of the verses in **B** is in continuation of that in **A**² and the subject-matter also is connected with Jagatsimha. **C** and **D** on the other hand, appear to be two different inscriptions with independently numbered verses, intended by the author to pertain to Rājasimha and the temple of Jagannātharāya respectively. That **D**, although intended to look like an independent epigraph, is but a supplement to **A** and **B** is evidenced by a close study of its contents; all these three together, therefore, should properly be regarded to form one inscription. The main **object** of the inscription engraved on these three slabs is to record the installation of the image of Jagannātharāya in the temple by Mahārājā Jagatsimha, on **Thursday, the 15th day of the bright half of Vaiśākha (Mādhava) in V. S. 1709 (l. 18, **D**).**

¹ An imperfect and uncritical transcript of the records was first printed in the *Vīra-vinoda* (Part II, pp. 384-99).

² Below the line containing the last verse in **A**, there are three more lines given to the description of the masons, where the verses are separately numbered. The same procedure of numbering the concluding verses separately is followed in the other slabs also.

Now we may consider the nature and the date of the fourth slab which we have called **C**. It may be pointed out that this slab, as a matter of fact, contains an inscription of the opening years of the reign of **Rājasimha**, the son of **Jagatsimha**, and has no date of its own. Its object is to record the erection of the four small corner-temples outside the main shrine. That the temple was to be one of the *Vishṇu-Pañchāyatana* type seems to have originally been contemplated by **Jagatsimha** himself, an indication of which we find in v. 48 of **A** and v. 12 of **D**. It is not improbable that the actual work of erecting these smaller temples was set afoot by this ruler but could not be completed by the time of the installation of the **Jagannātharāya** image when **Jagatsimha** was alive, and was brought to completion later on by his son **Rājasimha**. It is not, however, certain when this epigraph was fixed in the temple. The date given at the end, viz., "Thursday, the 15th of the bright half of the second **Vaiśākha** in the **Vikrama** year 1708" is really the date of the installation of **Jagannātharājī** as explicitly mentioned beyond it in a sentence in **Mewārī** tongue; and the purpose of mentioning it here can only be to show that the epigraph, although belonging to a later period, was to be taken in continuation of the earlier event of installation. It may be noticed here that the year 1708 recorded at the end of this slab as the year of the installation is at variance with that given in l. 18 of **D**, which is 1709. This can only be explained by regarding the former as *Śrāvaṇādi* (as is the custom prevailing in the **Udaipur** State even now) which would be equivalent to *Chaitrādi* 1709, for it was only in the latter year that there was a second **Vaiśākha** with Thursday on the 15th of its bright half.¹ **Rai Bahadur Ojha** has accepted this date given at the end of **C** as the date of all the four slabs which in his opinion contain one single inscription. But as I have already pointed out, this could not have been the date of the slab **C**, although it may have been that of the remaining three. The date of **C** cannot be earlier than the 13th of the dark fortnight of **Mārgaśīrsha** of V. S. 1710, when **Rājasimha** is stated to have given eighty maidens (in marriage) which is the latest date found in this slab (v. 28). It is possible that the record was put up soon after that date. It may, however, be noted that the authorship of both these inscriptions goes to one and the same person.

With regard to the contents of **A** we find that it opens with three invocatory and benedictory verses in praise of **Karāṇḍrānana**, **Bhava** and **Durgā**; in the fourth verse the poet declares his intention of producing what he calls the *Jagatsimha Prasasti*. Then he attempts at giving a genealogy, chiefly of the **Rānās** of **Mewār**, which begins from **Rāma**, the celebrated hero of the *Rāmāyaṇa* from whom the rulers of **Mewār** claim their descent. In the family of **Rāma** were born **Vijayabhūpa** and his son **Padmāditya**. The latter went towards the south leaving his ancestral capital **Ayōdhyā**. Later on in that family was born **Bāpā** who had the title of *Rājā* and who was a native of South India and thence called to rule over **Mewār**. Then in his family were born: **Rāhappa** (bearing the title of *Rājā* for the first time), **Narapati**, **Dinakara**, **Jasakarna**, **Nāgapāla**, **Pūrṇapāla**, **Prithvīmalla**, **Bhuvanasimha**, **Bhīmasimha**, **Jayasimha**, **Lakshmanasimha**, **Arasī**, **Hamīra**, **Kshētrasimha**, **Lakshasimha**, **Mōkala**, **Kumbhakarna**, **Rājamalla**, **Sāṅga** (*Sāṅgā*), **Udaya**, **Pratāpasimha**, **Amarasimha**, **Karnasimha** and **Jagatsimha**.

It may be noticed here that **Vijayabhūpa** and **Padmāditya** here mentioned are also included in the big list of princes, beginning with **Sumitra** and ending with **Bāpā**, given in cantos II and III of the *Rāja-prasasti* of V. S. 1732 (=A. D. 1675). As this list seems to be based on the bardic accounts with no chronological truth, **Pandit Ojha** has rejected it as unauthentic.²

Bāpā indeed is a historical figure but his description as given here clearly seems to be based on the legendary stories prevalent among people even to-day, according to which his family came

¹ *Rājaputāne kā Itihāsa*, Fasc. II, p. 831, n. 1.

² *Bhāvnagar Inscriptions*, pp. 145-54.

³ *Rāj. Itihā.*, Fasc. I, p. 395, n. 1.

to Mewār from Surāshtra and Valabhī. Col. Tod has closely followed this tradition in his work,¹ but Rai Bahadur Ojhā is of opinion that the family of Bāpā had no connection whatsoever with South India, and has discussed in details the invalidity of the legends.²

The names of the Rāpās as given here next are to be met with in some other records also such as the *Ēkalinga-māhātmya*, the *Rāja-praśasti*, etc., with certain variations. The only point of importance worthy of note with regard to these princes is that till before the time of Hammīra they were the rulers of the small estate of Sesodā and were contemporary to the princes of the Rāval branch of the family ruling over Chitor. It is a mistake to take them as having ruled over Mewār with Chitor as their capital in direct succession to the Rāvals, as has been done chiefly in the chronicles of the bards, which have in their turn been relied upon by most of the inscriptions. It is from the *Ēkalinga-māhātmya* first of all that we learn of the division of this family into two branches in the reign of Rāval Raṇasimha or Karṇasimha³ at the beginning of the twelfth century of the Vikrama era. The first of the Rāpās to govern the territory of Mewār as a whole was Hammīra who regained his ancestral citadel of Chitor in about A.D. 1326 from the Muhammadans by establishing matrimonial alliance with Māldeo Sonagarā to whom was entrusted the famous fort by Khizr Khān, the son of Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī.

The list of the Rāpās which is given here is almost in chronological succession except the omission of Ajayasimha after Lakshmaṇasimha and of Ratnasimha, Vikramāditya and Banabira after Sāṅgā. Lakshmaṇasimha's successor as here recorded is Arasī, his eldest son, but in truth he never succeeded his father, for he together with his father had died in the dreadful sack of Chitor in A.D. 1303. His younger brother Ajayasimha, who somehow escaped from the battle-field, became the next Rāpā.⁴ He was afterwards succeeded by his nephew Hammīra, the son of Arasī.

The description of these princes found here is more poetical than historical. **Kumbha-karṇa** is first of all said to have built the fort of **Kumbhalgarh**.

Record of some tangible historical value is, however, found first in connection with **Sāṅgā**. He is described to have conquered the Sultāns of Mālwa and Gujarāt, although the author has confused their names with relation to both these countries.⁵ Here we find a reference to the victory of Rāpā Sāṅgā over **Mahamūd Khaljī II** of Mālwa when the latter attacked Bhimakarṇa, the viceroys of Mēdini Rāi at Gāgrūn in A.H. 925 (=A.D. 1519).⁶ The intelligence of this attack of Mahamūd having reached Sāṅgā, he at once led a large army against him on account of his friendship with Mēdini Rāi, and a dreadful battle was fought in which, after great bloodshed, the Muhammadan army was utterly defeated and Mahamūd, receiving several wounds, ultimately became a prisoner in the hands of the Rāpā. The latter took his royal prisoner to Chitor, treated him with utmost care and after three months' nominal captivity, honourably sent him back to Māṇḍū.⁷

The other reference is to Rāpā Sāṅgā's victory over **Muzaffar Shāh II**, the Sultān of Gujarāt, with whose army he had to fight more than once. The cause of one of his fights with Muzaffar was his partiality for Rāi Mal, the legitimate heir to the state of Idar, whose rights were usurped during his minority by his uncle Bhima whom the governor of Gujarāt favoured. When Bhima

¹ Tod, *Rājasthān* (W. Crooke's ed.), Vol. I, pp. 247-71.

² *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, pp. 374-90.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 446-7.

⁴ *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, p. 312.

⁵ According to the text (v. 38, A) Mudaphara (Muzaffar II) was the governor of the fort of Māṇḍava (Māṇḍū or Mālwa) and Mahamūnda Khāna (Mahamūd Khaljī II) that of Gujarāt. The poet has here evidently confused both these names and the positions they held.

⁶ Bayley, *History of Gujarāt*, p. 263 and Briggs' *Firishtā*, Vol. IV, pp. 260-1.

⁷ Bayley, *loc. cit.*, p. 261.

died, his son Bhāra Mal (Bihār Mal, according to Bayley) ascended the throne of Idar, but with the help of Rāṇā Sāṅgā, Rāi Mal ousted him and took possession of the land of Idar. This led the Sultān to send Nizām-ul-mulk, the *jāgirdār* of Ahmadnagar, for driving Rāi Mal out of Idar and re-establishing Bhāra Mal.¹ A series of skirmishes followed and Rāi Mal tactfully faced the royal forces, sometimes victorious and sometimes incurring defeat.² The state of Idar was ultimately entrusted to one Malik Hussain Bahmanī entitled as Nizām-ul-mulk, who was a foreigner and was a man of stern temperament. People were not satisfied with him and wished him to be dismissed from office. One day in A.H. 926 (=A.D. 1520) he rebuked Rāṇā Sāṅgā using very improper words for his patronage of Rāi Mal. The news of this insult having reached his ears through a bard, Sāṅgā at once started with an army of 40,000 cavalry³ to avenge himself. Nizām-ul-mulk fled and took shelter in the fort of Ahmadnagar, but Sāṅgā persistently followed him and the former was ultimately defeated in a battle with a great loss of life and property. The town of Ahmadnagar was sacked and that of Bīsalnagar plundered.⁴ Rāṇā Sāṅgā, thus successfully avenging the insult and firmly establishing Rāi Mal on the throne of Idar, went back to Chitor.

Sāṅgā had to face the Sultān of Gujarāt, Muzaffar II, a second time also when the latter himself took the initiative to avenge Sāṅgā's recent ravages wrought in the country of Gujarāt. In A.H. 927 (=A.D. 1520) he despatched two large armies, one under Malik Alāz, the governor of the district of Sōrath and the other under Kiwām-ul-mulk to attack the Rāṇā. Both these armies reached Mandasor through Dūngarpur and Bānswārā, laying waste the countries through which they passed. Rāṇā Sāṅgā, having heard of this, himself set off with a considerable army and encamped at the village of Nadēsi, twelve *kōs* distant from Mandasor. Mahamūd Khalji of Mālwa, too, came to join the Gujarāt forces under Malik Alāz⁵, probably to avail himself of the good occasion of taking vengeance for his previous defeat at the hands of Sāṅgā. All these enormous armies assembled, but this time no genuine warfare could take place and Malik Alāz agreed to make peace with the Rāṇā, the reason for which is attributed by the Muslim historians to the ill feeling entertained against him by Kiwām-ul-mulk and other *amīrs*⁶ which broke down the unity of their aim. But the argument of Rai Bahadur Ojbā to the effect that Malik Alāz had to make peace after having been actually defeated by Rāṇā Sāṅgā, seems to be quite sound.⁷

The next important historical information that we derive from **A** is with regard to the result and the time of commencement of the well-known battle of **Haldighatī** where Rāṇā **Pratāpa** and the imperial army of **Akbar** under the command of **Mānasirha** fought a desperate battle. According to the account of this battle given by Badāyūni who was present in the battle-field, the victory was achieved by the royal forces and Rāṇā Pratāpa was defeated; while the present inscription records the retreat of the Muhammadan army, evidently when defeated by Pratāpa in the field of battle. Thus, each of the conflicting parties claims victory for itself and makes it difficult to arrive at the truth. Rāṇā Pratāpa, as a matter of fact, was insignificant as compared to the mighty Emperor Akbar, who had already annexed much of the fertile portion of the former's territory to his own empire, and it is possible that this powerful ruler might have achieved material victory. But to quote Rai Bahadur Ojbā, the unfailing zeal, the pride, the dauntless bravery and the sense of perfect freedom which Rāṇā Pratāpa faithfully cherished—particularly at the time when everything around him was leading to disappointment—and which caused a sense of terror in the hearts of his enemies, and also the sudden vicissitudes in which he cast the great Imperial

¹ Bayley, *loc. cit.*, p. 284.

² *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. II, p. 661, para. 2.

³ Bayley, *loc. cit.*, p. 273.

⁴ *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. II, p. 670, para. 1.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Bayley, *loc. cit.*, pp. 269-70.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 274.

army often and often, all these go to assign the real conquest to him.¹ As regards the time when the battle actually began, what we find from the *Akbar-nāma* of Abul-Fazl is that it commenced after the first *prahara* (eighth part) of the day², while the epigraph under consideration clearly speaks of it as having begun early in the morning (*pragē*, v. 41, A). The time as recorded here seems to be probable for, it was mid-summer of V. S. 1633 (=A.D. 1576) when this celebrated battle took place, and it would be impossible to indulge in fighting at about mid-day.

The next historical information to be met with here pertains to **Karṇasimha**, grandson of Pratāpa and son of Amarasimha, who is said to have burnt the town of **Sirōmja** (Sironj) which was like the heart of the lord of Delhi. Karṇasimha really could not have done this rebellious deed after being enthroned as the Rāṇā of Mewār, for then he was bound to the terms of the treaty which his father made with the Mughal emperor Jahāngir. This, therefore, was an exploit of Karṇasimha when he was only a crown-prince and his father was in regular warfare with the emperor. This event was contemporaneous with the period in which Jahāngir, himself coming over up to Ajmer, had thence sent his son, prince Khurram with large forces to attack Mewār and reduce the Rāṇā. That Sironj was a town in Mālwa and was an object of Karṇasimha's wrath, together with another town named Dhindhōrā is, however, known from v. 5³, canto V of the *Rāja-prasasti*. It may be noted here that almost all Persian chronicles are silent on this point.

Karṇasimha was succeeded by his virtuous son **Jagatsimha** to whose reign this inscription belongs. It is customary in Mewār to seat the next Rāṇā on the throne in an informal manner, the very day on which the death of his immediate predecessor takes place.⁴ This being so, Jagatsimha's informal accession took place in the month of Phālguna of the Vikrama year 1684 (=A.D. 1627) on the day of his father's demise.⁵ But his coronation, with all its pomp and splendour, was celebrated on the fifth of the bright half of Vaiśākha of V. S. 1684 as recorded in the present inscription (v. 49, A). Now if this year be regarded as *Chaitrādi* as usual, the date of Jagatsimha's coronation would fall before that of his father's death. It is therefore evident that the year is to be regarded as *Śrāvaṇādi* which would be *Chaitrādi* 1685. Thus, Jagatsimha's coronation took place on the fifth of the bright half of Vaiśākha in V. S. 1685 (=Monday, 28th April, A.D. 1628). The only political event of his reign recorded here is the sending of his minister with a big army to subjugate his contemporary ruler of Dūngarpur, **Puñjarāja**, better known as Rāval Punjā (v. 54, A). This officer, having defeated Punjā who fled to the hills, completely ravaged the city of Dūngarpur by plundering and setting fire to it. The cause of this inroad was that the rulers of Dūngarpur had ceased to acknowledge the supremacy of the Rāṇās of Udaipur since the time of Pratāpasimha and had submitted themselves to the imperial throne of Delhi⁶, an act which the Rāṇās of Udaipur were naturally disposed to resent. Jagatsimha, at last, thus avenged the disregard which the Rāvals of Dūngarpur had shown towards him and his predecessors. The name of the minister to whom was entrusted the subjugation of Punjā is, however, not known from this record. But the event is recorded with more clarity in vv. 18-19⁷, canto V of the *Rāja-prasasti*, where the name of the minister occurs as **Akhērāja** (**Akshayarāja**).

Turning our attention to the contents of B we find that it is a mere continuation of A, vividly describing Rāṇā Jagatsimha's pilgrimage to the *Māndhātṛi-tīrtha*, the holy seat of the God Ōmkāranātha, and mentioning his acts of munificence which formed the most outstanding

¹ *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. II, pp. 749-55.

² *Ibid.*, p. 805, n. 1.

³ *Vira-vinōda*, part II, p. 200.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 748, n. 2.

⁵ *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. II, p. 830, n. 1.

⁶ *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. II, p. 833.

⁷ *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. II, p. 833, n. 1.

character of his personality. In consultation with his family priest Rāmarāja¹, he, at the beginning of V. S. 1704, set out of the city in a big procession, for his projected pilgrimage to Ōmkāranātha in the Central Provinces. That day he halted on the bank of the Udayasāgara, a big artificial lake six miles east of Udaipur, constructed by Rāṇā Udayasimha in the period between A.D. 1559 and 1564², and passed the night in his own palace there. Thence he directed his camp on the following auspicious day towards Avantikā (Ujjain), the abode of the God Mahākāla. Having bathed in the holy Sīprā and having visited Avantikā disregarding her ruler, he reached his destination, the bank of the Narmadā with the *ūrtha* of Māndhātā in the neighbourhood. His most distinguished deed of piety here, among others, was his weighing against gold on the occasion of the solar eclipse which fell on the fifteenth of the dark half of Jyēṣṭha in V. S. 1704 (=A.D. 1647, Tuesday the 22nd June), and distributing the precious metal among the people (v. 85). He erected a *Tulā-stambha* there to commemorate this event, which even now stands there. An inscription dated in V. S. 1704, the 15th of the bright half of Āṣāḍha (=A.D. 1647, Tuesday the 6th July), located outside the Ōmkāranātha temple, also records this pilgrimage and the allied charities of Jagatsimha.³ While returning he seems to have entered into some quarrel with the then viceroy of Mālwa as indicated by the text (l. 36, B). We know that by this time Mālwa had been annexed to the kingdom of Delhi and was governed by the viceroys deputed by the Moghul emperors. The name of this particular governor of Mālwa with whom Rāṇā Jagatsimha had an imbroglio is, however, not known.⁴

Jagatsimha performed the charity of a very costly *Kalpa-vriksha*⁵ on the third of the bright half of Bhādrapada of V. S. 1705 (=A.D. 1648, Saturday the 26th August), the anniversary of his birthday. It had five branches below which were placed the images of the gods of the Hindu Trinity together with that of *Ratipati* (the Cupid), which was the fourth. On his birthday anniversary in V. S. 1707 (=A.D. 1650), he performed the *Sapta-sāgara* charity. On the same auspicious day of V. S. 1708 (=A.D. 1651) he gave in charity a *Viśva-chakra* or (a gold replica of) the globe of earth. He also gratified many Brāhmaṇas of Kāśī (Benares) with presents of gold.

In D which is but a sequel to A and B, the poet chiefly describes in detail the beauty and grandeur of the Jagannātharāya temple erected by Rāṇā Jagatsimha. The only important event here recorded is the installation of the image of Jagannātharāya in the temple, which was styled as such by Jagatsimha after his own name. It took place on Thursday, the fifteenth of the bright half of Vaiśākha (Mādhava) in the Vikrama year 1709. As it was Thursday on the 15th of the bright half of the second Vaiśākha in that year, the date corresponds to A.D. 1652, Thursday the 13th May. Rāṇā Jagatsimha gave charities of a golden horse, a *Kalpa-latā* of gold, a thousand cows, five fertile villages together with pieces of cloth, raw food and jewels

¹ The first known predecessor of Rāmarāja was one Sarasala, a Pallivāla Brāhmaṇa of Sānderāo in Mārwar. He came to Mewār in the reign of Rāṇā Rāhappa who made him his priest as desired by the ascetic under whose treatment the Rāṇā is said to have been cured of his disease of leprosy (*Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, p. 510). His present descendant is Amaralāl and is called *baḍā-purōhita* or a high priest.

² *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, p. 311.

³ *Ibid.*, Fasc. II, p. 839. [The date given in this record is Samvat 1704, Tuesday in the dark half of Āṣāḍha, *Ravi-parvan* and corresponds to Tuesday, 22nd June, A. D. 1647 when there was a solar eclipse. Therefore *Śuchi* in v. 85, B has to be taken as meaning the month of Āṣāḍha and the month as Pūrṇimānta.—Ed.]

⁴ [The sense here seems to be the same as indicated in v. 76, i.e., he did not pay any heed to the ruler of Mālwa through whose territory he passed. The context does not appear to indicate any conflict with the viceroy at Mālwa.—Ed.]

⁵ A full description of this and such other charities is to be met with in the *Parāpas* such as the *Linga*, *Matsya*, *Padma*, etc.

on this occasion to the Brāhmaṇas. He used to perform such charities every year in company of his brothers Garibādāsa and Śatruṣiṁha and his sons Rājasimha and Arisimha.

He built a palace called Jagamandira with a beautiful garden attached to it, in the lake at Udaipur. The erection of this palace was first started by Karṇasimha, his father, but was brought to completion by him and called after his own name. He also built the Mōhanamandira in Karṇasāgara, which is a part of the lake at Udaipur. This palace was styled after his natural son Mōhanasimha.¹ The eight carved *Tulā-stambhas* that are to be seen on the left, inside the Baḍī-Pōla gate, the main entrance to the palaces at Udaipur, appear from this epigraph to have been raised by this ruler to commemorate the *tulā* ceremonies (l. 28, D) which he performed annually for some time. He also constructed Rūpa-sāgara, an artificial lake in the vicinity of Āhād. The author has, in course of his description, also touched upon the palaces built by his father Karṇasimha and grandfather Amarasimha. He, again, briefly mentions the temple of Śrī Ēkalingājī and a *kēli-mandira* built there by Jagatsimha, the temple of the goddess Rāthāsēnā on the top of a hill in the neighbourhood of Ēklingjī, the Udaya-sāgara, the goddess Ambikā in the village of Jāwar and the silver mines there. The temple of Ēkalingājī is here believed to have been built by Mōkala, but we know from the Śrīngī-rishi inscription² that it was only the rampart round its site that was built by this prince and not the temple itself.

With regard to C it has already been stated that it is an independent epigraph belonging to the early years of the reign of Rājasimha, the son of Jagatsimha, and was fixed in the temple at a later date. As an independent inscription it opens with the genealogy of the Rāṇās of Mewār very little beyond whose names has been mentioned here. It begins with Bāpā and ends with Rājasimha, the intervening princes being the same as mentioned in A.

Rājasimha's coronation took place on the second day of the dark half of Phālguna in V. S. 1709 (=A. D. 1652, Monday the 1st March), although he informally ascended the throne, as usual, on the fourth day of the dark half of Kārttika (=Wednesday the 24th November) of the same year, the date of his father's demise. Soon after his informal accession he went to Ēklingjī on the fifth day of the bright half of Mārgaśīrsha and weighed himself against gold and jewels. This weighing of the body against jewels is regarded by Rai Bahadur Ojhā to be the only example of its kind ever recorded in the whole of India³. Another fragmentary inscription recording Rājasimha's weighing against jewels at Ēklingjī was found there by Ojhā which is now preserved in the Victoria Hall Museum at Udaipur⁴. When he was only a crown-prince, he weighed himself against gold on the 15th day of the bright half of Vaiśākha in V. S. 1705 (=A. D. 1648, Thursday the 27th April) at the holy site of *Śūkara-kshētra* on the bank of the Ganges. In the Vikrama year 1707 (=A. D. 1650) he, as a crown-prince, built a palace for himself near the lake, which was decorated with fine paintings. No trace of this *kaumāra-saudha* or prince's palace is visible now for, on that very site was erected the modern Śambhu-nivāsa palace by Mahārāṇā Śambhusimha (A. D. 1861-74). The only remnant of the former is a small old building nearby, called *kunvarpadōn kī chhatrī*. On the thirteenth day of the dark fortnight of Mārgaśīrsha in V. S. 1710 (=A. D. 1653, Thursday the 22nd December), he gave away eighty maidens in marriage. He also set up a lovely garden and erected a beautiful palace which is now identified with the Sabarata-vilāsa (Sarvartu-vilāsa), situated in the south-east corner of the city. He brought to completion the erection of the four small temples dedicated to Śiva, Gaṇapati, Sūrya and Śakti situated outside the main Jagannātharāya temple. The inscription under description

¹ *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. II, p. 838, n. 5.

² *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. II, p. 842.

³ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 234 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, n. 2.

mainly stands to record the erection of these four temples which were not apparently ready at the time of the consecration of the main shrine.

The poet who composed these epigraphs and his family, the masons who built the temple of Jagannātharāya also called here *Ratna-śirsha*, and the overseer under whose superintendence it was erected, find mention in the concluding lines of these records. We know from them that the name of the poet was *Lakshminātha*, better known as *Bābū Bhaṭṭa*. He was a Tailāṅga Brāhmaṇa and the designation of his lineage was *Kaṭhaunḍī* after his original home in the village of that name. His genealogical tree for eight generations from these epigraphs is as follows:—*Bhāskara*, his son *Mādhava*, his son *Rāmachandra*, his son *Sarvāśvara*, his son *Lakshminātha*, his son *Rāmachandra*, his son *Kṛishṇabhaṭṭa*, his son *Lakshminātha* or *Bābū*, the author.

From *B* we find that the author's great-grandfather *Lakshminātha* was a contemporary of *Rāṇā Udayasinha* as well as of *Amarasinha*, his grandson, both of whom bestowed upon him, as a token of favour, the villages named *Bhūravādā* and *Hōḷi* respectively. *Kṛishṇabhaṭṭa* the father of the author, received a costly horse named *Mṛigarāja* from *Mahārāṇā Jagatsinha* which was exchanged by the prince for Rs. 4,000. On his birth-day anniversary, the third of the bright half of *Bhādrapada* in V. S. 1706 (=A. D. 1649, Thursday the 13th September), *Rāṇā Jagatsinha* performed the "golden earth" charity and donated the village named *Bhairasaḍā*¹ near *Chitor*, to the same person. On the same day of V. S. 1709 (=A. D. 1652, Friday the 10th September), he performed the charity of *Ratna-dhenu*. He also gave to *Madhusūdana Śarmā* a piece of land measuring two *halas*² in the village of *Āhaḍa* (*Āghāṭapura* or *Āṭapura* of inscriptions) bordering on the city of *Udaipur*. The recipient of this land also appears to belong to the family of our poet and seems to be the father of *Raṇachhōḍa Bhaṭṭa*, the author of the *Rājaprasasti*, who also was a Tailāṅga Brāhmaṇa and belonged to the same lineage, *Kaṭhaunḍī*.³

The masons who erected the temple of Jagannātharāya were *sūtradhāra Mukunda* (*Mukunda*) and his younger brother *Bhūdhara*⁴, sons of *Bhāṇā* or *Bhāṇā* and grandsons of *Rājā*. They belonged to the family of the masons known as *Bhaṅgōra* or *Bhaṅgōrā*. *Rāṇā Jagatsinha* gave a gold and a silver yard to *Mukunda* and *Bhūdhara* respectively, in appreciation of their work, and a village named *Dēvadaha* (modern *Dēvadā*) in the vicinity of *Chitor*. The inscription on *C* was engraved by *Vā(Bā)ghā*, son of *Mukunda*.

The superintendent or the overseer in charge of the construction of the temple was one *Arjuna*, *Pañchōḷī* by caste, whose family designation was *Gughāvata*. The names of his father and grand father were *Kalā* and *Achala* respectively.

It may be pointed out here that according to *Rai Bahadur Ojha*, the author of these inscriptions was *Kṛishṇabhaṭṭa*⁵, but as we have already seen, his son *Bābū*, otherwise known as *Lakshminātha* was the real author. Similarly, he regards *Bhāṇā*⁶ and his elder son *Mukunda* to be the chief masons who erected the temple, but in reality *Mukunda* and his younger brother *Bhūdhara* were the chief architects. He also reads the name of *Arjuna's* father as *Kamala*⁷, which is

¹ [This is also mentioned in the *Rājaprasasti Mahākāvya*, Canto V.—Ed.]

² A *hala* is a measure of land and is said to comprise fifty *bigahs* (*Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. II, p. 837, n. 4).

³ [According to *Rājaprasasti* (Canto XIX) *Madhusūdana* was another son of *Rāmachandra* and therefore the paternal uncle of *Lakshminātha*.—Ed.]

⁴ The ancestors of these masons came in *Mewār* from *Anhilwāra Pattan* in *Gujarāt* in the reign of *Rāṇā Lakṣh* (*Laksha*) in about V. S. 1446, and were the chief architects of the rulers of *Mewār* since then, as evidenced by the record preserved by their present descendant, *Bhanvaralāl*. This family produced the well-known *Marjāna* who built the great Tower of Victory at *Chitor* and was the author of the *Rājavalābha* and many other original treatises on architecture.

⁵ *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. II, p. 838.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 837.

⁷ *Ibid.*

distinctly Kalā. This may be due to his reliance on the imperfect transcript of the records alluded to by me on p. 57, n. 1, above.

Lastly, a word regarding the geographical places mentioned in the inscriptions will not be out of place. In l. 16 of B, Rāṇā Jagatsimha and his company are described to have bathed in the confluence of Rēvā and Kāvērī. This is not possible for Kāvērī is in far south.¹ The villages of Bhairṇasāḍā and Dēvadaha are known from the very text to be near Chitor, and those of Bhūravāḍā and Hōli are in Rājanagar and Girvā districts respectively.

TEXT.²

A.

- 1 ॥³ श्रीमहागणपतये नमः ॥ ॥ ओणकलिंगजीप्रसादात् ॥ ॥ श्रीजग(ग)न्नाथरायजीप्रसादात् ॥ ॥ श्रीभवान्यै नमः ॥ ॥ श्रीविश्वकर्मायै नमः ॥
- 2 ॥ गुणगुरौरीसिंहादसाम्नीता दिशां करिणः ॥⁴ तमपि व्यथयन्वरवैः कोपि करीन्द्राननः पायात् ॥⁵ भवानोभयभृद्भृज्जगभजनाभृतः ॥ भवतो भवतो भूयाङ्ग-
- 3 व्यं भव्यं भवे भवे ॥⁶ अतीव्रतेजोद्युपतीद्रूप्यं व्रतीश्वरैः सप्तशतीभिरर्च्यं(र्च्यम्) ॥ रतीशजीवातुगतिं दधानं प्रतीतदुर्गाङ्गिमतीव वंदे ॥⁷ राणाश्रीमज्जगत्सिंहप्रशस्तिः क-
- 4 णमनुना ॥ कठौडीयामतैलंगलक्ष्मीनाथेन तन्यते ॥⁸ स जयति रघुकुलतिलकः श्रीरामः कीर्त्तिमुक्ताक्तः ॥ काश्यां मुक्त्यै मंत्रं यस्य मुदा शंकरो दत्ते ॥⁹ तदंशे नृपमुकुटस्थायि-
- 5 पदो विजयभूपृथ्वीद्रः ॥ पद्मादित्यस्तम्बस्यत्का(का)योध्यां व(व)भूव दक्षिणगः ॥¹⁰ वा(वा)पाभिधोयोजनि मेदपाटे तस्यान्ववाये शिवदत्तराज्यः ॥ संग्रामभूमौ पटुसिंहरावं लातीत्यतो राव-
- 6 ल इत्यभाणि ॥¹¹ वातीति यस्मात्तिजगत्सु नित्यं वाशब्द(ब्)वाच्यः किल तेन वायुः ॥ तं प्राणवायुं जगतौतलेस्मिन् यत्पाति वापा इति तेन जातः ॥¹² आगच्छ(च्छ)शब्दे किल दक्षिणस्यां राश-

¹ [The place where Jagatsimha bathed is apparently the confluence of two rivers not far from the temple of Ōmkārjī, one of which is the Narmadā and the other locally known as the Kāvērī.—Ed.]

² Transcribed from the original slabs and compared with the impressions.

³ Occasionally lines begin and end with one or two *daṇḍas* which are superfluous.

⁴ In this inscription the half verse has often been indicated by two *daṇḍas* instead of one

⁵ Metre : *Upagiti*.

⁶ Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁷ Metre : *Upēndravajrā*.

⁸ Metre : *Gitā*.

⁹ Metre : *Indravajrā*.

- 7 अ एव क्रियते जनन¹ ॥ वलेति संवृद्धमहाबलिष्ठं [बा]पानृपं तं किल दाक्षि-
णात्यं(त्यम्) ॥८॥² राज्यं प्रदातुं पटुं मेदपाटे यद्रावलेत्याह्वयदेकलिंगः ॥ ततः
प्रभृत्यस्य नृपस्य वंश्या दधुस्तदा-
- 8 स्थां भुवि रावलेति ॥१०॥³ राहृषराणोजनि तस्य वंशे राणेति शब्दं प्रथयन्
पृथिव्यां(व्याम्) ॥ रणो हि धातुः खलु शब्द(ब्)वाची तं कारयत्येष रिपून्मुता-
त्तान् ॥११॥⁴ वज्रैर्वाची यत्प्रमिहो रणब्दो(ब्दो) धा-
- 9 तुष्टास्ते जीवनार्थे ह्यणस्तु ॥ यज्ञैरग्नेर्जीवनादप्यजसं राणः शब्दस्तेषु भूपेषु
वित्तः ॥१२॥⁵ राणाभवन्नरपतिः पटुनामधेयो भूभारदूरकरणाय नरावतारः ॥
यस्याभि-
- 10 मन्वरहतीपि हतः कथंचिच्चंचलृपादिगुरुणाय सुयोधनेन ॥१३॥⁶ राणादिनकरोपूर्वः
सत्संज्ञस्तेजसैव यः ॥ ह्यायया संगतस्यापि न मंदः कोप्यभूत्तुतः ॥१४॥⁷ अ-
भूतपूर्वः
- 11 कर्णाभूजसकर्णाभिधः प्रभुः ॥ परेषां कब(व)चष्टे(ष्टे)त्ता न राधेयोपि योभ-
वत् ॥१५॥⁸ नागपालोभवत्पृथ्वी विधृत्य भुजयैकया ॥ दिग्ना(ङ्गा)गशेषनागानां
पालनात्कार्यकाह्वयः ॥१६॥⁹ अन्धे
- 12 क्षीणस्य पातागः पूर्ण¹⁰पालस्त्वभूत्प्रभुः ॥ धनाध्यक्षादिपूर्णानां पालनात्कार्यकाह्वयः ॥१७॥¹¹
यं वीक्ष्य स्तंभसत्तां सकलमपि जगद्यत्पदाधारपीठं नख्यो(त्यु)नखा(त्वा)पि
वि(वि)भ्रतृयुत्तम-
- 13 निशिकां संगतं वै प¹²दातैः । पृथ्वीत्यं मलरूपा भवति नरपतौ यच्च यस्याङ्ग-
पाकः पृथ्वीमज्ञेत्यभिख्यो [न]रपतिसुकुटालं कतिस्तेन जातः ॥१८॥¹³ यच्चैव स्थीयते
तत्तु सिं-
- 14 हिनान्देन रक्ष्यते ॥ अयं भुवनसिंहोभूद्रक्षितुं भुवनचयं(यम्) ॥१९॥¹⁴ भीमसिंहो
हरिष्यर्क्षी शिवोभूत्करजश्रिया ॥ व(ब)लिप्रज्ञादभिज्ञोके हिरण्यकशिपुक्षमः ॥२०॥¹⁵
एक-
- 15 लिंगप्रभावेन¹⁶ जयसिंहः क्षमाधरः ॥ कृत्स्नगोरक्षकस्तस्या रजः संमार्जनं दधौ ॥२१॥¹⁷
अस्माभिर्गर्हणे गतं बहुविधः क्षेरोपि सोढः परं शत्रुचेन्निरुतः प्लवंगनिव-

¹ [Telugu *rā* means 'come'. This shows how fanciful the derivation is. It may be noted that the poet himself was a Telugu Brahmin.—Ed.]

² Metre: *Upajāti*.

³ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁴ *Ba* was engraved first which was changed to *na* afterwards.

⁵ *Ga* was first engraved and then corrected into *pa*.

⁶ Read *prabhāveṇa*.

⁷ Metre: *Śālīnī*.

⁸ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

¹³ Metre: *Sragdharā*.

- 16 हैः कैचिद्दिनै रावणः ॥ देवेनाशु नखेन सिंहवपुषः तत्रैव शत्रुर्हतस्तस्मात्तस्मिन्-
सिंह एष किमभूद्विजः स रामानुजः ॥२२॥¹ आ(अ)कारवाच्यो भवतीह
विष्णुस्त-
- 17 स्वार्चने यत्सुचिरं प्रवृत्तः ॥ गुणानुधिर्भूमिपतीश्वरो महान् राणा ततोभूदरसीति
वित्तः ॥२३॥² हकारवाच्ये किल कीपवल्ली सा स्नेह(अ)जतिः खलु मीरवाच्या ॥
प्रवेश्य द-
- 18 श्वेति हमीरनामा व(व)भूव राणा जगतीशिरोमणिः ॥२४॥³ परचेचपङ्गीतापि स्त-
चेचनिरतः शुचिः ॥ चेचेषु चेचदाता⁴ यत्केचसिंहस्ततोभवत् ॥२५॥⁴ स्नेहा(अ)
स्नेह(अ)प-
- 19 तिं त्वयस्व पुरुषं कृत्वान्यभूभृन्मृगान् विद्राव्य क्षितिमण्डले द्विजगणान् चेचास्व-
भोक्तुं ददुः⁵ ॥ ज्ञात्वा तान्यवनाभिष्टब्धं क्षपिकान् स चेचभूयः क्रुधा चेचाणि
स्वधमानि ता-
- 20 नि दयश किं न द्विजेभ्यो ददौ ॥२६॥ प्रत्यहं हसति सिंहवाहिनी मां
विलोक्य वृषवाहनं हरं(रम्) ॥ मां धरिष्यति सदैव मूर्त्ययं लक्षसिंह-
मिति किं त्वं व्यधात् ॥२७॥⁶
- 21 पुत्रवत्समहासेना⁷ दुर्गां कृत्वैव पृष्ठतः ॥ लक्षसिंहो द्विषण्डमण्डके(अ)त्ताङ्गतं स्वयं-
(यम्) ॥२८॥⁸ युग्मं⁹ ॥ मकारवाच्यो विधिरेव विष्णुस्त्वकारवाच्योऽथ शिवो
ह्युकारः ॥ क-
- 22 लास्रयाणामिह संति यस्मात्तस्मादभूभोक्तृनामभूयः ॥२९॥¹⁰ श्रीकुंभोद्भवमेव भूमिवलयि
श्रीकंभकर्णं नृपं गत्वा धीरगर्जेद्रमदगमहो सहाडवा-
- 23 त्रि(गिन्) सृधे ॥ भौमं च स्मृतिमानयन् रिपुगणो भुक्तिं निनाय स्वयं नो
चित्रं तदिहास्ति यत्स्वयमपि प्राप्तः क्षणाद्भस्मतां ताम् ॥३०॥¹¹ कांतं कंभं
जगन्मूर्तिं यत्सुवर्णांतरं

¹ Metre : Śīrḍūlavikrīḍita.² Metre : Upajāti.³ There is a superfluous *danda* after *dā*.⁴ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.⁵ *Abhōktum daduḥ* is used here for *na bhōktum daduḥ*, the root *dā* meaning here 'to allow'.⁶ Metre : Rathōddhatā.⁷ The *anusūtra* is very faint.⁸ This word seems to have been used here to show that the preceding two verses have got the unity of description, and not that they form one grammatical sentence.⁹ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.¹⁰ Metre : Upēndravajrā.

- 24 विधिः ॥ अघात्तस्मातरा भूयात्किं खेच्छ(च्छ)सुखदर्शनं(नम्) ॥३१॥¹ दिने दिने
दृढीभूतं शीतलाचलचेतसि² ॥ खेहं पाकोद्भवः कुम्भो जडं त्यक्त्वा(क्षा) न किं
दधे ॥३२॥¹ मेरौ
- 25 देवा न रक्षाः सुररिपुभयतः कुम्भमेवं सुदुर्गं कृत्वा यः कुम्भराजो हरिरिव वि-
वभावप्सरःसत्कुलेन ॥ सत्सन्तानं सकल्यागमदलितमहीपारिजातोत्सवाख्यं नोद्या-
- 26 नं नन्दनं किं स्वयमिह कृतवां(वा)न् सोभिषिक्तं च कुम्भः ॥३३॥³ सुखेच्छां-
(च्छां)धकृपांतरविलविलसज्जीवनधाहिवेगाद्भूलोके कुम्भराजकुलमतुलरसं सं-
- 27 वृषं सङ्गुणौघं(घम्) ॥ कालेस्मिन्नैककाष्ठे प्रतिपलचपले कुम्भयन्त्रे निधाय क्षेपाणि
क्षेमवृक्षान् द्विजकुलमतुलं जीवयामास वेधाः ॥३४॥³ नेत्रे मीनं च कूर्मं प-
- 28 दकमलयुगे पाण्डुकोलं क्षमायां सिंहं मध्ये प्रकोष्ठे गुरुजननमने वामनं संगरेण्य-
(न्यम्) ॥ खेहेन्यं मूर्ध्नि कृष्णं भुवि नरदयने बुद्धमन्यं शकांति पद्मानाथाव-
तारं जग-
- 29 ति जयति को राजमङ्गं नृमङ्गः ॥३५॥³ सर्वेपि संतः सुखिनो भवन्त्विति⁴ न
वारिराशीन् क्षपयन् क्षमातः ॥ मिष्टाननतान्स्वयशीबुधैन् पराङ्कुम्भोद्भवोप्यङ्गुतमा-
- 30 ततान ॥३६॥⁵ भूत्वानंगः कृष्णपुत्रोपि सांगो राज्यं नापत्तेन भूपोत्र भूत्वा ॥
कृत्वा वश्यं शंबरं राज्यमापद्धर्मे मोक्षे चार्यकामे रतिं च ॥३७॥⁶ सोयं
सांगमहीपतिः स्मरत-
- 31 मुः श्रीमांडवाख्यालसदुर्गेशं यवनेश्वरं सुदफरं व(व)ध्वा(क्षा)त्यजत्सत्कपः ॥ व(व)-
ध्वा(क्षा)थो महामूदखानमतुलं खेच्छा(च्छा)धिपं शंबरं जित्वा दुर्जयगूर्जरेश्वरमतः
कीर्त्याभि-
- 32 पित्तोभवत्⁷ ॥३८॥⁸ स शूरः पश्चिमादुद्यन् क्रामन्नकबरः⁹ चित्तिं(तिम्) ॥ न किं
हीनकरो भूयात्प्राप्योदयमहीभूतं(तम्) ॥३९॥⁴ सदोदयोद्भवो भास्वान् प्रतापो
वारुणीं जहौ ॥ भवत्यकबरध्वां-

¹ Metre: *Anushubh.*

² In connection with *kumbha* (the jar), *achala-chēṭaḥ* should be taken to mean earth or clay, for potters generally dig it out for their purpose from the interior (heart) of mounds; and for that very reason it is also cool (*śīṭala*).

³ Metre: *Sragdharā.*

⁴ The word *iti* is superfluous considering the metre.

⁵ Metre: *Upajāti.*

⁶ Metre: *Śālinī.*

⁷ To make it historically correct, we may arrange this verse as सोयं सांग दुर्गेशं महामूदखानमतुलं वहा । वहाथो यवनेश्वरं सुदफरं खेच्छाधिपं ॥ It may be noted here that the use of *baddhvā* with reference to Mudaphara (Muzaffar) is mere exaggeration.

⁸ Metre: *Sārdālamkriṣṭa.*

⁹ The word *Akabarāḥ* may also represent *Arkavarāḥ* for the implied sense.

- 33 ते न संधातो न चास्तभाः ।[¹]¹ ४०॥¹ कृत्वा करे खड्गलतां खड्ग(व)धर्मा
प्रतापसिंहे समुपागते प्रगे ॥ सा खड्गिता मानयती द्विजन्मः संकोचयती
चरणं पराङ्मुखी² ॥४१॥³ वार्द्धिं मथित्वा-
- 34 प्यनुजेन विष्णुना समाहृता श्रीरिति लज्जितः किमु ॥ भूमौ समेत्येत्यमरेद्रभू-
भृता स्नेहा(च्छा)ब्धिमामय्य रमा करे कृता ॥४२।[¹]³ सदा जमापाः ऋरि-
णोपि यस्य करेण सिं-
- 35 चंति पदं मुदैव ॥ यं भूपसिंहं नरपालगव्योप्यहो भजंते दयया व⁴(व)धौकृत-
(तम्) ॥४३॥⁵ जातो भूपामरेद्राभ्यहितगुरुकपचापविज्ञश्चमेता कण्ठोद्वाही सदा-
सौ द्विज-
- 36 कुलसुगवीः पालयन्(यं)स्तीर्थसेवी ॥ जातः श्रीमत्पद्मद्रांगज इति वनदो वाडवाय
चर्मेद्रान्जि(ञ्जित्वा) स्यामर्जुनादप्यधिक इति पुनः किं नु कर्णोपितीर्णः ॥४४॥⁶
राणाञ्चोक्त-
- 37 श्रीसिंहः क्षितिकुलतिलकः क्षोभयन् [क्ष]णिचक्रं सर्वत्रय्याप्तसैन्यं तृणमिव कल-
यन् स्नेह(च्छ)नाथं मदोद्यं(यम्) ॥ जित्वा दग्ध्वा सिरीजाभिधनगरव(व)रं चित्त-
वद्विज्जिभर्तृक्षत्रे का-
- 38 ष्टाः [स]मस्ताः प्रतिरवधिलसद्दुभिध्वानपूर्णाः ॥४५॥⁶ उग्रप्रभावाङ्गुवि यत्पदांति भू⁷भ-
न्मृगा मुक्तमदा लुठंति ॥ कुलीनभूभृच्चमरीमृगाश्च यं भूपसिंहं चमरेरबी-
(वी)ज-
- 39 य[न्] ॥४६॥³ जातस्तस्मात्तद्वाराणाजगसिं(त्सिं)हाभिधः प्रभुः ॥ सौम्योपि सोमभक्तोभू⁸त्
युधिष्ठिर इवापरः ॥४७॥¹ भास्त्रां(स्त्रा)न् भौमो बलिध्वंसो जगन्नाता
विनायकः
- 40 ॥ पू[ज्य]ः [श्री]मज्जगत्सिंहः पंचदेवमयः प्रभुः ॥४८॥¹ वर्षे वेदाष्टशास्त्रक्षितिगणनयुते
माधवे शुक्लपत्रे पंचम्यां राख्यपीठं कलयति शुभदं श्रीजगत्सिंहभूषे ॥ दे-
- 41 वाः [संतु]ष्टचित्ता दधति सुकवयो ग्रामरत्नाखनागान्यास्तान् संख्यातुमीष्टे दशशत-
रसनो नैव शेषः कुतोऽन्यः ॥४९॥⁶ सप्तशं चित्रकूटे शिरसि विक-

¹ Metre: *Anushṭubh*.² This verse is cited by Rai Bahadur Ojha. (*Rāj. Itihā.*, Fasc. II, p. 753, n. 1)³ Metre: *Upajāti*.⁴ Cha was incised first which was afterwards turned into ba.⁵ Metre: *Brāgharā*.⁶ The medial ā was first engraved short which was made long afterwards.

- 42 सि[तन्त्री]जगत्सिंहराजासुदेवस्त्रीकृष्णवर्णी सुजनमणिभृता मेदपाटाख्यनीका(काम्) ॥
वाते देविष्वधर्मे स्त्रियितुमनिशं कर्णधारैकलिङ्गो नीचैरेवाक्षिपत्किं
- 43 दृढ[कम]ठशिलां शृङ्खलां शेषनाग(गम्) ॥५०॥^१ आलानि चित्रकूटे सुकृतपटुगुणैर्द-
(बै)धनीकुम्भमेहं दुर्गं कुम्भखलं किं कलयति भुवि यः शैलकायोतिदानी ॥
भास्व-
- 44 ई[शो]परिस्वधजपटमिहिरोनेकपो मेदपाटः श्रीमानुग्रभाशक्तमवति न किमु श्री-
जगत्सिंहभूपः ॥५१॥^१ भास्वधर्मधरैर्नृपैः परिधृतं सत्कुम्भमग्रे ज-
- 45 गङ्गिहेन प्रतिभूषितं बहुयशोमुक्ताफलैर्मण्डितं(तम्) ॥ सङ्का(ष्ठा)यं पुरुषार्थसत्पद-
महो धैर्यादिभृत्यैर्हृतं मेवाडं सुखपालमाप्य स शिवः शक्रादिवाहासू-
- 46 इः ॥[५२॥^१ सूर्यं स्वर्णवितानमेतदुपरि स्नेतं वितानं विधुं सहशोपरि सङ्गुणै-
र्निधमयन् कीलाद्रिषण्डे कसौ ॥ मेवाडे पटदानशालिनि जगत्सिंहं नृपं
स्वापयं-
- 47 स्व[रुक्ता](ज्ञा) स्नेह(ष्ठा)मदोक्तोत्कटभयं रंता भवान्या भवः ॥५३॥^१ देशे वाग-
डनामके नरपतिः श्रीपुंजराजोजनि श्रीमच्छङ्गरपूर्वकस्य नगरस्त्राधीश्वरो
दुर्जयः ॥ के-
- 48 नाप्यत्र न निर्जितो व(व)हुमतिः सत्कोषवांस्तं पुनर्यन्त्रंभी कृतवान् परासुखमहो
दग्धं पुरं चाकरोत्^१ ॥५४॥^१ सुधिष्ठिरौयं तेनैव विजयेन महात्मना ॥ दु-
- 49 निर्नौ[ल]ोभवद्विह्वलुतो स्नेह(ष्ठा)पतिः समः ॥[१*]५५॥^१ शत्रुस्त्रीभिः स्ववेष्टां
ग्रहणसुसमये दुरजलेक्षो प्रदत्तः कीर्त्तिग्रामो महीयान्सुलिखितपठितो स्नेह-
(ष्ठा)वक्त्रोप-
- 50 पि द्रा[क्] ॥ कल्पस्याय्यस्य सीमा कलयितुमशिलां व(वै)भ्रमंस्वप्नतापः काष्ठा-
स्त्रयापि निखं दशसु तवगुणैर्मापयन्नांतमेति ॥५६॥^१ त्वदनंत[गु]णाव्य(म्)-
दिष्यति तदनंतः कथि-

^१ Metre : *Sragdharā*.

^२ *Sukha-pāla* is a kind of palanquin, having obtained which Śiva is stated to have no desire for any other conveyances.

^३ Metre : *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

^४ The medials & was first engraved short which was made long afterwards.

^५ The *anuvāra* is very faint.

^६ This verse is quoted by Rai Bahadur Ojha. (*Raj. Itih.*, Fasc. II, p. 833, n. 1)

^७ Metre : *Anuvāra*.

- 51 [त]: स्व[य]भुवा ॥ विकलं तदवेक्ष्य शेष^१ शेषवस्तुरभिधां शेष इति
भुवं दधे ॥५७॥^२ भूपेन्द्र त्वत्प्रतापैः पृथुभिरनुदितं^३ छादितायां विलोक्यामत्सूक्तो-
द्देदतोभूत्तवशि-
- 52 रसि ह[रि]चात्रिदेशे स्रवंती ॥ शेषस्वाहो शिरस्य स्फुटमपिमिषतः स्फोटकाः
'प्रादुरासन् भूमौ त्वन्मौलिलोललक्ष्मरजपवनैस्तापशात्वा हि शान्तिः ॥५८॥^४ स्वामि-
नस्वर्मा-
- 53 गर्दभा[न्त]व^५ गुह्यनिकरानामुपेक्षं सुमेरोः संताम्य स्वर्णसूचाद्वतरविष(व)लयं भ्रामयि-
त्यायनाभ्यां(भ्राम्) ॥ विधाः कृत्वांचले ह्वे हिमकरकिररै रौप्यसूत्रैश्च मध्ये
प्रत्यब्द(ब्दं)
- 54 कीर्तिवस्त्रं वयति गवनवं वेष्टनं वारिराशेः ॥५९॥^६ दिक्कालान् दग्ध वीक्ष्य नेच-
दग्धकं आतं कृतार्थं मुहुः शेषं नेचयुगं निरर्थकमहोविघ्नेन धापा कृत-
(तम्) [1*]
- 55 इत्थं चिंतयता चिरं नृपजगत्सिंहं पुनः पश्यता दृग्दंष्ट्रं तु तदेव जम्बफलभाक्
क्रौंचक्षि(ष्कि)दा ज्ञायते ॥६०॥^७ चक्रप्रेमार्ककृष्णाविव वु(डु)धभिषजी सुसुतावि-
भूतिस्त्व' लक्ष्मीभर्त्री-
- 56 धु साधू इव सदसि कवि^८ कोषपूर्णप्रतिष्ठाः(ष्ठः) ॥ संध्याभ्राजी रसेन द्विजपति-
सचिवौ सहिधिवैव यद्वहार्त्तासक्तः सुधीष्टाविव जगति जगत्सिंह जीयाः शतायुः
॥६१॥^९ हुंकारेण कुरंगराजनि-
- 57 करा [व]श्वा दृशा क्षीपिनी भूदाराः सुरवेण तेषु करिणो हस्तेन ते
खड्गिनः ॥ सेव्योष्टापदसंचयैरपि जगत्सिंहस्य तस्याधुना वृक्षस्यैकवृक्षस्य वृक्ष-
कारेण का वा स्तुतिस्तन्यतां(ताम्) ॥६२॥[1*]^{१०}
- 58 भंगो[रा]ज्ञातिराजातनुजविमलधीः सूच[धार]ी हि भाणा तत्पुत्रः श्रीमुक्त(क्तु)दो
वधसकलकला(लो) भूधराख्यो द्वितीयः ॥ याभ्यां ग्रामः प्रदत्तो हतरिपुनि-
करश्रीजगत्सिंहभूपैर्दत्तो

^१ This word has been repeated by mistake and has to be omitted.

^२ Metre: Upajāti of Vaitāliya and Apachchhandasika.

^३ Read 'ranudinam'.

^४ Pra is incised over an engraved śra.

^५ Metre: Sraydhar'.

^६ Read 'dambhā(m)[s-ta]ra. The word svarmārga is used here in the sense of 'milky way'.

^७ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

^८ Read kaviḥ. A narrow medial ī is also to be seen joined to vi.

- 59 सौ[व]र्णरीप्यौ [क्रमत] इह कृपाख्याप[कौ मा]पदडी ॥१५¹ राणाश्रीमज्जगत्सिंहकारितं
मंदिरं शुभं(भम) ॥ ताभ्यामेव कृतं श्रीमज्जगन्नाथाभिधप्रभोः ॥२॥² ताभ्यां श्रीमज्जगत्सिंहा-
60 द्वा[मो देवदहाभि]धः ॥ चित्र[कूटां]तिक³ प्रासः प्रतिष्ठायां रमाप[तः-
(तेः)] [॥३॥*]²

B.

- 1 ॥ श्रीमणेशाय नमः⁴ ॥ ॥ श्रीएकलिंगजीप्रसादात् ॥ ॥ श्रीजगं(ग)न्नाथरायजीप्रसादात् ॥
॥ श्रीश(स)रस्वत्यै नमः ॥ ॥ श्रीविश्वकर्माणे नं(न)मः ॥ ॥ श्री⁵ श्री⁵ ॥
2 अथ राणाश्रीजगत्सिंहस्य मांघात्(वृ)तीर्थयात्राप्रसंगः ॥ अथैकदा तीर्थवरं सुरार्थं
रेवोपकंठे सर्व⁶सार्थदायकं(कम्) ॥ श्रीकारनामप्रभुशंभुपीठं मांघात्नाम ब्र(व्र)-
जितं मनो व्यधात् ॥६३॥⁷
3 श्रीरामराजेन पुरोहितेन(न) वि(वि)चार्य सहानसमूहतो द्विजान् ॥ धनाधिपान्कर्तु-
मनाः पुरादगात् करेणुमारुह्य जगत्पतिर्मुदा ॥६४॥⁷ ततोचलन् देवगजोपमा
गजाः पुरः पताकासमलंकृताः पुरः ॥ सञ्चामरा-
4 लंकृतवक्त्रमंडला यांतीव वर्णानुवसंतसक्ताः⁸ ॥६५॥⁷ उच्चैरादित्यहिलास्तजदुपमितयो
नैव कृष्णं स्वतोभ्यं मन्वाना मुक्तिहीनाः सततमवमतस्थापनास्थाः श्रुतीनां-
(नाम्) ॥ प्रत्यक्षं स्थापयंतः परमिह न परं किं
5 पुनर्मत्तताया नात्मज्ञा बौद्धबुद्धिं धरणिधरपतेर्धारयति द्विपेद्राः ॥६६॥¹ येमौ कर्हम
शायिनस्तृणगृहे स्त्रीणां⁹ रवेर्निष्ठुरेर्धक्का(का)रं गमिताश्च कूपसलिले मं(म)¹⁰ड्ङ्गां
कृतोपक्रमाः ॥ ते-
6 भी को(का)चनमंचिकोपरि ग¹¹ताः सौधे बुधाः ¹²स्त्रीसखा ¹²राजादत्तकरोद्रहं(वृ)द्धि-
तरवैरानंदितास्तेष्वयुः ॥६७॥¹³ ततोचलन् देवहयोपमा ज्ञया येषां न वेगे
समतां दधुर्मृगाः । न वायवो नैव मनांसि भास्वतः कुतो
7 ह्यास्तेपि भवंति तादृशाः¹⁴ ॥६८॥⁷ भास्वतः सततं मृगांकगतयः सङ्गंगलाः संततं
सौम्याः स्वामिमतात् सुजीवकविकाः पत्त्याज्ञया मंदगाः [।*] सिंहीजाः¹⁴ सित-
केसरैः क्षणमपि स्थैर्यायुताः के त-

¹ Metre: *Sragdharā*.² Read *Chitra*[kū-ām]tikaḥ or -āntikā.³ Read *Śrīh*.⁴ Metre: *Upajāti*.⁵ Two letters, viz., *sva* and *ga* are to be seen engraved here, but are cancelled.⁶ Space for one letter is left blank between these two syllables.⁷ A cancelled *vri* is to be seen engraved before *strī*.⁸ Either dissolve *rajā ā* (*samantāt*) *datā*, or regard *rājā* as the instrumental singular of the base *rāt*.⁹ Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.¹⁰ The *visarga* sign is faintly visible.¹¹ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.¹² Read *namāh*.¹³ The syllable is engraved over the top-line.¹⁴ The meaning of this compound is not clear.

- 8 वः(व) पृथ्वीनाथ नवग्रहा इव जयाः संपीडयति द्विषः(षः) ॥६८॥¹ धारयतः
श्रुतीरुचैः शिष्यप्र(प्रा)यमहानृगाः । सदेगस्तिमितस्नाता हरयो मुनिवद्ययुः
॥७०॥⁴ एतादृशान् पुरस्कृत्य तुरंगान् भूपति-
- 9 ब्रजन् ॥ न वासवं हृदानीतं कुशतेन्यं नरं कथं(यम्) ॥७१॥⁴ कंपते शङ्क-
नाथास्तदनु तदव(व)लाः सागराता ततोन्मिः शेषः कूर्मो वराहस्तदनु च
गिरयो दिग्गजेन्द्राः सनाथाः [१*] किं किं जातं किमे-
- 10 तद्भवति जगति हान्योन्यष्टास्तदोपुर्माधातुस्तीर्थराजं जि[ग*]मिषुरजनि श्रीजगत्सिंह-
भूपः ॥७२॥⁶ संगत्योदयसागरस्य सविधे सौधे स्वकीयेयते कैलाशा(सा)धिक-
कांतिपूरकलिते
- 11 भूपोवसत्तद्दिनं(नम्) ॥ यत्स्थं नृपतिं पयोनिधिशयं प⁶प्रापतेस्तं जना जानन्ति
स्य समानमेव सततं श्रीसेवितांघ्रिद्वयं(यम्) ॥७३॥¹ अमानानि समानानि
विमानानीव रेजिरे । शि-
- 12 विराणि ततस्तेषु नृपा देवा इवावसन् ॥७४॥⁴ स्थि(स्थि)त्वापरिषुः(द्युः) सुदिने
ब्रजपन्नस्तीर्थं महाकालनिकेतनं गतः । पर्वतिकां मुक्तिददर्शनां तां सेव्यां
सुरेन्द्रादिगौ(गि)[री*]शर्वद्यां(द्याम्) ॥७५॥⁷
- 13 शिप्रां समासाद्य सुपापहन्त्रीं स्नात्वा दत्वा(त्वा) बहुशो द्विजभ्यः ॥ दृष्ट्वाप्यवन्ती-
मवमत्य तत्पतिं मार्गादगाह्लोकभयं वितन्वन् ॥७६॥⁷ गतोय मांघादसमौपनर्म
- 14 दातुं कियद्भिः सुदिनैर्म(र्म)हीन्द्रः ॥ की वा पृथिव्यां भवतीदृशः परो
मातृश्रवो यः पथि रोधमाचरेत् ॥७७॥⁷ गंगां समानीय सुपापसागरं कुलं
पुनाति स भगौरथो नृपः ।
- 15 सेनां तथैवैष जगत्प्रभुर्नयन् पवित्रयामास सुपापसागरं(रम्) ॥७८॥⁷ नर्मदीसररोध-
सु शिविराणि क्षमापतेः ॥ श्रीकारेश्वरपर्यंतं कावेरीसंगतीभवन् ॥७९॥⁴
- 16 महाराणाजगत्सिंहो राजपुत्राद्य सर्वशः ॥ त्वाकावेरिकासंगे स्नाताः सौख्यं समा-
गताः ॥८०॥⁴ इत्थं सर्वो(र्वे)पि संतुष्टाः स्नात्वा दत्वा(त्वा)प्यनेकशः ॥ अथ
राजा नृपालैः स्वैर्भो-

¹ Metre: Śārdulavikrīḍika.² The syllable seems to be engraved over an erasure.³ Between these two syllables, there is to be seen engraved an unfinished letter. Probably the engraver first intended to write *dya* here.⁴ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.⁵ Metre: Śragdharā.⁶ The syllable is engraved over the line.⁷ Metre: Uṇjāti.

- 17 जनं कर्तुमागतः ॥८१॥¹ अन्वासत्तैर्दुभिर्हरिभक्तैरिव तदा भक्तैः ॥ जलतापयोग-
पाकात्तपैरपि मोददानपरैः ॥८२॥² सभाजनैः सुभाजनैरनेकवस्तुभिः
- 18 स्तुतैः ॥ सभाजनैः सुभोजिता द्विवारमित्यहर्निशं(ग्रम्) ॥८३॥³ अथान्येदुरतुतीयस्मि-
न्यामे सूर्यपद्मोदये ॥ महाराजाजगत्सिंहः कांचनस्य तुलां व्यधात् ॥८४॥⁴
वेदव्योममुनीहृदये(न्दे) शु-
- 19 ची सूर्यपद्मेतुलां(लाम्) ॥ महाराजाजगत्सिंहः कांचनस्य तुलां व्यधात् ॥८५॥⁵
श्रीकारेशसमीपनार्मदतटे श्रीराजकर्णामभूराकटं स्वतुलां हिरण्यकशिपुव्यूहं
विभज्य स्व-
- 20 यं(यम्) ॥ नैवं पूर्वमकारि तेन सुभगो भूत्वा वृत्तिं⁶ पुनः प्रीत्या भूरितया
पलान्यगणयन् शुद्धहिज्जोप्यदात् ॥८६॥⁷ वेगाभारणतो भवेदिदमहो दुःखं
कुलीनस्य तद्वह-
- 21 ध्वा(द्वा) वा(बा)लमथो हिरण्यकशिपुं कृत्वा खरेष्वा⁸स्थितं(तम्) ॥ त्रैलोक्यां च गृहे
गृह⁹ [तत*] इतः संप्रापयन् श्रीपतेर्वा(वी)हुस्तंभसमुद्भवो विजयते श्रीमन्मृत्सिंहः
पुनः ॥८७॥⁷ भास्वान्मृत्(वृत्ती)मज्जग-
- 22 सिंहस्तुलामाकृष्ट्य यद्वाधात् ॥ स्वातिवृष्टिं ततो मुक्ता न ख्युर्ज्योत्स्न(वः)⁴ कथं-
(यम्) ॥८८॥¹ जगत्सिंह महाराज चिंतनादधिकप्रद ॥ चिंतनावधिदाता हि
क्व ते चिंतामणिः समः
- 23 ॥८९॥¹ राजन्नभूतपूर्वैर्यं धनुर्विद्या विराजते ॥ स्वयं लक्षाणि गच्छं(च्छं)ति गृह-
स्थानपि मार्गणान् ॥९०॥¹ न हि चापलतासक्तो न पराङ्मुखमार्गणः ॥
कदापि न गुणहे(च्छे)दौ
- 24 कीदृशस्त्वं धनुर्धरः ॥९१॥¹ कन्यासंपदमास्थाय तुलारोही प्रभाकरः [॥*] शुचैरमा⁹
समासाद्य जगत्सिंह महीपतिः ॥९२॥¹ जगत्सिंह महाराज तुलास्वर्णमिषात्तव ॥
- 25 सिंहोजभयतो भानुर्मन्ये त्वां शरणं गतः ॥९३॥¹ तपनग्रहणे जाते तपनी[य]तुलां
न किं(किम्) ॥ अकरोत्तेजसा दिक्षु जगत्सिंहः क्षमापतिः ॥९४॥¹ अथ दृष्ट्वा
तुलावेदीं शिलास्तं-

¹ Metre: Anushubh.² Metre: Upagiti.³ The syllable seems to be engraved over an erasure.⁴ The medial u in su is represented by a more stroke.⁵ First kin was engraved which was then corrected into sim.⁶ Metre: Pramāṇikā.⁷ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁸ Read grihē.⁹ The expression means *Suchēḥ Jyēṣṭha-māsasya Amām Amā-tithim* (the fifteenth of the dark fortnight of *Jyēṣṭha*), on which day Jagatsimha actually ascended the scales; and it also means *suchēḥ grīṣmasya ramān lakṣmīm*, (the wealth of summer) in correspondence with *Kanyā-sampat* (the wealth of the sixth sign of the zodiac) of the first pāda. [See p. 62, n. 3 above.—Ed.]

- 26 भव्योदितां(ताम्) ॥ देवा नागा मनुष्येन्द्राचक्रवर्त्यैश्च मिथः ॥८५॥¹ दृष्ट्वा त्वाम-
नुरागिणीव व(व)हुधा रामादिकौर्त्तिः सिता भूष त्वत्कृतपांडुरातुलतुलास्तंभद्वय-
व्याजतः ॥ नीत्वोच्चै-
- 27 वंसुधातलांस्करयुगं संमेलयती मिय(थ)स्त्वामालिङ्गितुमुत्तुका प्रतिपलं स्त्रीभावतो
जृम्भते ॥८६॥² रेवामथ प्राप्य सुपुष्पशर्चीं ज्ञात्वा च दत्त्वा(त्वा) व(व)हुषो
द्विजेभ्यः ॥ इत्य(त्यं) स्तु-
- 28 तं भूमिपतिर्व्यतानीच्छत्वा यदेतत्सकलो विपाशा ॥८७॥³ ये दिव्याव(व)रधारिणः
समदृशः सौम्यांगनोपासिता यां गंगामपहाय सेवनपराः श्रीनर्मदायास्तव ॥
- 29 तां दृष्ट्वै(ष्ट्वै)व दिगंबरान्स्त्रिनयनांश्चंडीश्वरान्प्राप्तं कृत्वा मूर्धनि नृत्यति त्रिपथगा
केनाथ सा वार्यतां(ताम्) ॥८८॥⁴ उद्धृत्या मगरस्तुरंगममनो⁵ यत्प्रापयन्मन्त्रवे
तद्देवाद-
- 30 मरेश्वरेण कपिलाभिख्यांतिके पा(प्रा)पितं(तम्) [1*] तस्यानुश्रितपापसागरकुलं
तत्रोपदृष्ट्वा हतं मातर्दक्षिणजाङ्गलि त्वमधुना तस्यान्वयं मोचयेः ॥८९॥⁶
स्मृत्या पातकमाह्वरामि च-
- 31 गतां दृष्ट्वा सुरत्वं ददे स्पर्शादेव ददामि विष्णुतनुतां ज्ञानार्थिने किं ददे ॥
इत्यालोच्य महेश्वरस्य तनया रत्नाकरस्यांगना यन्निघ्नं व्रजति चपाभरवशात्त-
न्निघ्नगा नर्मदा ॥९०॥[11*]⁷
- 32 ततः सुरे⁸न्द्रादिसमर्चनीयमौकारनामेश्वरमाशु गत्वा ॥ सर्वोपचारै रचयन् महा(ह्री)पती
रत्नैः सुवर्णं स्तुतिमप्यगादीत् ॥९१॥⁹ रेवाया¹⁰ वनमध्यतः परिपतन् भित्वा(च्चा)-
[घ]संचं गजं कीलाल-
- 33 स कणान्मुहुः परिव(व)मन् पाथोजसत्केसरौ ॥ यावद्भधवहो ह्यनंतजठरेन
प्रापयेन्मां प्रभो सोमस्तुं क्षपया कुरंगमपि मां तावन्नयस्मांतरे ॥९२॥¹¹
दिनांतरेष्वेवममुं प्रपू(पू)ज्य ज्ञात्वा पुरावत्सुमनो-

¹ Metre: *Anushtubh*.² The syllable is engraved over the line.³ Metre: *Sardulavikrīḍita*.⁴ Metre: *Indravajrā*.⁵ Read °m=ahō.⁶ There is an erased vertical line before *drā*.⁷ Metre: *Upajāti*.⁸ This syllable seems to be engraved over an erasure.

- 34 महीन्द्रः ॥ दत्ता(स्वा) सुवर्षाणि पुरोहिताय ना वर्षनीयाश्च सुराधिपायैः [॥*]
१०३॥¹ देवदेमोद्भवं भव्यं गजाश्वसनादिकं(वाम्) [॥*] विष्णुप्रीत्या ददौ भूप-
स्तस्वस्थाता सहस्रदृक् ॥१०४॥² इत्थं वितौर्य मनसेष्वित्त(त)मर्थजातं भू-
- 35 पीचस्तस्वदिद्यमेव भयान्नमनुः ॥ मार्गेऽपि वृष्टिमनुषां तपनीयसंघैस्तम्बभुपाचततिष्ठ
प्रमदेन सक्तः ॥१०५॥³ गामयोभयमुखी पथिमध्ये यां ददौ द्विजवराय
सुवर्णैः ॥ वर्णनां कथमहो रसनैका
- 36 संतनोति मनुजो हि कवीन्द्रः ॥१०६॥⁴ इत्थं कियन्तिः सुदिनैः चितीन्द्र⁵ सप्ता-
स्वर्षाधिपतिर्विमल ॥ दत्ता(स्वा) पदं मूर्ध्नि रिपोः समागादेशं पुरं इम्य-
वरं धनाब्धं(वाम्) ॥१०७॥⁶ माता प्राचमिव प्रिया इममिव चो-
- 37 श्रीश्वरा नाथमहेष्टारो यमवयजा जनक[५*]इ(ह)ष्टा(द्वा) कृपं चागतं(तम्) ॥ देश-
ग्रामपुरेषु यः प्रतिगृहं जातो महाशुक्लवः कस्तं व(व)र्णयितुं क्षमः सुरपते-
राचार्यतोयः पुमान् ॥१०८॥⁷ अथ द्विजाग्राम्बहुकाश्रिवासि-
- 38 न. स्वर्चस्व वृष्ट्यैव कृतार्थतां नयन् ॥ सुखास्तुराज्यं परिपालयन्नभादसक्तचित्तो
रघुनाथवत्प्रभु⁸ ॥१०९॥⁹ स्फाटिकां वेदिकायां कलयति भुवि यो मूलदेशे
सुनीलं वैडूर्यं मस्तके द्राक् तदनु
- 39 सुशुभाज(म्) हीरकान्धर्वधकेषु ॥ मौलिस्त्रे शास्त्रिकाश्रे मरकतमनुषं वैशु(हु)मा-
न्यमदौघान् सुक्तागुच्छावरणीगजहयमणिगोसत्फलः पञ्चशाखः ॥११०॥¹⁰ ब्रह्मा
रुद्रोऽपि विष्णुस्तदनु रतिपतिः स्वा-
- 40 पिता यस्य नौचैः सोऽयं सत्कल्पः सोऽपरतत्सहितः श्रीजगत्सिंहहस्तात् ॥ वा(वा)-
च्यो(व्यो)मर्षिचंद्रैः समुदितशरदि श्वेतभाद्रे दत्तीयां प्राप्य प्राप्तो द्विजानां
गृहगृहमनिशं रम्यहर्म्याणि कुर्वन् ॥१११॥¹¹ स्वदेहव्य-¹²
- 41 यतोऽपुष्पात्त्रि(द्वि)जान् कल्पदुभा ज्ञसी ॥ जगत्सिंहकरसर्गात् किं च(च)दनगुचं
दधौ ॥११२॥¹³ भास्करमहजमाधवपुत्रश्रीरामचंद्रोद्भूः ॥ सर्वेश्वरस्तदंगाक्षमीनाथः
कठौ(ठौ)डीति ॥११३॥¹⁴ श्रीराचोदयसिंहैः¹⁵ स्तस्वै

¹ Metre: Upajāti.² Metre: Vasanatālakā.³ Read kshīndraś.⁴ Metre: Indrasajrā.⁵ Read 'prabhū.⁶ There is a cancelled anusvāra over sya.⁷ Read 'śikhāi.⁸ Metre: Anushubh.⁹ Metre: Svagatā.¹⁰ Va is engraved below the line.¹¹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹² Metre: Bragdhārā.¹³ Metre: Upajāti.

- 42 ग्रामो हि भूखाड्यः । दत्तोमुने ग्रामो ह्रीलीनामायमरसिंहनृपैः ॥११४॥¹
लक्ष्मीनाथसुतो रामचंद्रः कृष्णस्तु तक्षुतः ॥ अदात्तस्यै जगत्सिंहो मृगराजा-
ह्वयं ह्वयं(यम्) ॥११५॥² चतुःसहस्रीं यन्मूलं दत्त्वा(त्वा)दह-
- 43 दृष्टार्णवं(वम्) ॥ महाराणाजगत्सिंहैः समो नास्ति कुतोधिकः ॥[1*]११६॥[1*]³
वर्षे शास्त्रवियम्मुनींदुगणिते भाद्रे तृतीयातिथौ शुक्ले जन्मदिने निजे मृप-
जगत्सिंहः कृपाया निधिः ॥ दत्त्वा(त्वा) कांचनमेदिनीं सजल-
- 44 घिं श्रीचिचकूटांतिके ग्रामं कृष्णबुधाय सनुणनिधिः श्रीभैसडास्यं ददौ ॥११७॥
राधाश्रीमज्जगत्सिंहो मधुसूदनधर्मणे । प्रददावाहउग्रामे हृदयमितां भुवं(वम्)
॥११८॥² एकां लक्ष्मीमगृह्णां
- 45 तदपि सुरपतिः क्रुद्धस्तेन भूमौ भूत्वा⁴ स्नेच्छाब्धिमाथौ सुगजसुरतकृन् ना
द्विजैभ्यः प्रदाय ॥ कीर्त्तीदुं कृष्णभट्टे⁵ ह्वयमणिममलं भैसडाग्रामचिंतारत्नं
दत्त्वा(त्वा)सरोभिर्जगति विजयते श्रीजगत्सिंहविष्णुः
- 46 ॥११९॥[1*]⁷ ऋषिब्योममुनींद्वन्द्वे जगत्सिंहमहीपतिः । भाद्रशुक्लतृतीयायां सप्ताद(दा)त्⁸
सप्तसागरान् ॥१२०॥² गजब्योममुनींद्वन्द्वे जगत्सिंहः क्षमापतिः ॥ भाद्रशुक्ल-
तृतीयायां विश्वचक्र(क्रं) ददौ प्रभुः ॥१२१॥²

D⁹

- 1 ॥ श्रीमहागणपतये नमः ॥ श्रीजगन्नाथरायजीप्रसादात् ॥ श्रीएकलिंगजीप्रसादात् ॥
श्रीभवान्यै नमः ॥ ॥ श्रीविश्वकर्माणे नमः ॥ श्रीसरस्वत्यै नमः ॥
- 2 ॥ अथ श्रीराणाजगत्सिंहकारितश्रीजगन्नाथरायमंदिरादिवर्णनं(नम्) ॥ श्रीकृष्णभक्तवाध
जगत्सु धर्ष्य देवालयं श्रीकमितुर्ध्वघ(घा)त्स । यं वा¹⁰रवारं¹¹ सुरनागमा¹²म(न)-
वा विले¹³(ली)-

¹ Metre: Giti. The fourth pāda is short by one syllabic instant.² Metre: Anushubh.³ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīṭa.⁴ The stroke on the ellipse of ha is absent.⁵ The medial ā seems to have been engraved later on, and hence is indicated by a very small stroke narrowly drawn.⁶ The locative has been used instead of the dative.⁷ Metre: Sragdharā.⁸ This word which was at first omitted is written below the line.⁹ This slab should rightly follow B. It may be noted here again that it is composed of ten different pieces of stone and is very carelessly engraved. Many of the letters are either obliterated or are not properly engraved.¹⁰ The syllable is engraved over the top-line.¹¹ Vāravārah is ungrammatical. It is used here for vārah vārah.¹² The medial ā is not joined to the top-line.¹³ The mātrā on lē is inverted.

- 3 क चिचोक्षिता इवाभवन् ॥१॥¹ यस्यापि देवा² भुवि वर्णनां सुहुः कर्तुं न
शक्ताः कुत एव मानवाः ॥ तस्य स्वशक्त्या विततीति वर्णनां श्रीकृष्णभट्ट-
त्मज एव बावुः ॥२॥³ गं-
- 4 गात्रेतुयुतः कपर्दघटभाक् भालाक्षिरत्नाकरः ।⁴ कात्यावेष्टित[कं]यकः सुरस⁵हव्याजेन
वैराग्यभाक् । इत्याधाय हरिं तपस्यति हरस्तत्किं वृषं खैर्गुणैर्व(र्ष)धा(त्वा)
भक्तमहाद्विषहृत(ति)यशोमंडेन ना-
- 5 पीवयत् ॥३॥⁷ पुण्यं प्राप्य तदेकलिंगविषये श्रीमेदपाटस्थलं ब्रह्मा भूपमणे[च]तु
र्मुखलसहेवाल्यव्याजतः । वेदाध्यायिजनसन्नेः किमपठहेदान् यदेकाग्रहृतद्रूपं
कमलोपभोगहृदयाः किं राजहं⁸-
- 6 साः श्रिताः ॥४॥⁷ मत्का(त्कार्यं) क्रियते नृपस्य यशसेत्युत्पन्नवैराग्यतः कृत्वा इह-
सहं शिलामयवपुर्देवाल्यव्याजतः ॥ धृत्वातः स हरिं पठद्विजरवेर्मूर्ध्निबु(वु)कुंभं
दध(ध)त् ।⁹ पृ(पू)र्णाभ्यासवश⁹ स्थिर¹⁰ पठति किं वे-
- 7 दान् द्विजेंद्रो विधुः ॥५॥⁷ चारात्रातिगभीरनीरघि(धि)जलादेत्य स्वचित्तं चिराद्विष्णौ
नैव विमुंचति क्षितिपतिः कृत्वा महामंदिरं(रम्) [।*] [ल]ीकानामवलोक-
नाय कृपया तत्रो[न्नते] निर्मले स्निग्धे पौरहृदी¹¹
- 8 व किं प्रतिकृतिं श्रीभर्तुरास्थापयत् ॥६॥⁷ श्रीभ(म)हानिशिरोमणिरुपजगत्किंही
महीमंडले व्याप्तं यद्यशसा व(व)भौ चिजगतीवृंदं सुधांशुप्रभं(भम्) ॥ प्रोसादं
जगदीश्वरस्य रचितं म-
- 9 त्वासुना स्वर्गताः¹² दृष्ट्वा चेतसि विस्मिता इव निजं त्यक्त्वा(क्ता) निमै¹³षं स्थिताः
॥७॥⁷ कर्णसिंहाब्धिसंभूतो जगत्सिंहः ।¹⁴ सुधाकरः ।¹⁴ यस्य मृदुकरस्पर्शं न
प्रजा तापवत्यभूत् ।[।*]८।[।*]¹⁵

¹ Metre : Upajāti.

² There is an *anusvāra* over *vā* which is redundant.

³ Metre : *Indravamśā*. The fourth *pāda* is short by one syllable.

⁴ This *darḍa* is superfluous.

⁵ This *sa* resembles *ya* as it naturally does when written hastily.

⁶ The *r* over *gu* is very faint.

⁷ Metre : *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁸ The stroke on the ellipse of *ha* is absent.

⁹ This omission of *visarga* is grammatical.

¹⁰ Read *sthiraḥ*.

¹¹ The syllable seems to be engraved over an erasure.

¹² Read *avar-gatā*.

¹³ First an *anusvāra* was engraved which was then corrected into the sign for medial *f*.

¹⁴ This *danda* is furnished with a top-line.

¹⁵ Metre : *Anuśṭubh*.

- 10 भूपस्थीकृतविष्णुसङ्गकलशव्याजादिवस्त्रानसौ ज्ञातुं मार्गमहो रयस्य तरसारुढसदुषं
पदं(दम्) ॥ स्थित्वैवात्र जगत्प्र(त्प)काशमघु(धु)ना कुर्यां मुदेति स्थितस्तेन
त्वामरुणो हि सारथिरयं को-
- 11 पोभवत् संश्रितः¹ ॥८॥² खनामाख्यां जगन्नाथराय³ इत्यभिधां हरिः [।*] कल्पयन्
श्रीजगत्किंहः स्थातकीर्तिरभूद्वि ॥१०॥⁴ पांडूचं हरिमंदिरं नृपजगत्किंहिन
- 12 यत् कारितं राजद्वघटं ममेति किमहो भारोच्चिराद् चिंतयन् ॥ भूलोके
विधृते भुजेन नृपतेरीषत्त्व(च)लत्कं(त्कं)चुकं ॥⁵ वातात् केतुमि-
- 13 वा⁶त् सरत्नमनयद्भूमैर्व(र्व)हिः स्वं शिरः ॥११॥⁷ स्वर्वे नो भोगभूमिर्जलधिरपि गुरु
॥⁸ नागराजोतिभौमः कुचाहं सौ[ख्य]युक्तो हरगणपतिवा-
- 14 कान्वितः संवसेयं(यम्) ॥ चित्तेस्त्रागत्य दत्वा(च्चा) नृपमुकुटमणिं कर्णक्षुन् निजाच्चां
प्रसादार्थं विधायाकृत वसति ।⁹ महो श्रीजगन्नाथरायः ॥[१२॥*]¹⁰
- 15 जगत्किंहो राणः कथमिह समागतुममराः समर्थो भूयाहं सकलजन[ता]¹¹रक्षणपरः ॥
जगन्नाथसेत्यं नृपहृदयभावं विदितवानवा-
- 16 वा¹⁰ सौ(सी)दत्रैव खजनकरुणामंदजलधिः(धिः)¹¹ ॥१३॥¹² धर्मोद्धूतयुधि(धि)ष्टि(ष्टि)रं
तदनुजं कीर्तिब्र(व्र)जं ह्यर्जुनं वीर्यैकं जितघा(धा)र्त्तराष्ट्रपुतनं स्त[म्भो]
- 17 हरिर्विस्मयैः ॥ सज्जे हारि रं(र)थे खसद्यमिषतः स्थित्वा चिरं तद्गुणाभासासीत्
पुरुषार्थसार्थतुरगान् देशेऽखिले चारिणः ॥१४॥² श्री[ः][।*]
- 18 ॥१४॥¹³ सन्मु(म्भु)हर्त्ते सुतारार्थे ॥¹⁴ सानुकूले नवपदे ॥ निधि(धि)व्योमसुनीद्वन्द्वे ।¹⁴
पवित्रे मासि मार्घ(ध)वे ॥[१५॥*]⁵ शुक्लपक्षे शुभे योगे पूर्णिमायां तथा
तिथौ ॥

¹ Aruna here has double entendre, 'red' and the name 'Aruna' of the charioteer of the sun. The anger of Jagatsirha towards the sun for the latter's having occupied a more exalted position is fancied as Aruna approaching the king for refuge when no longer required by the sun, as he (sun) resolved to illuminate the world from the top of the temple only.

² Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

³ After ya there are two small hollow squares indicating the erasure of two letters engraved by mistake.

⁴ There is a horizontal stroke on top of the numeral.

⁵ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

⁶ The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

⁷ SAA is represented by three perpendicular strokes only.

⁸ This danḍa is superfluous. Read vasatim=ahō. Metre : Brajharā.

⁹ First pā was engraved which was then corrected into tā.

¹⁰ This vā is superfluous.

¹¹ Metre : Śikharinī.

¹² The mark of punctuation has a top-line.

¹³ The number is wrongly repeated.

¹⁴ This is a superfluous danḍa.

- 19 गुह्वारे प्रतिष्ठा(ष्ठा)प्य विष्णुं ग्रामान्¹ ददौ प्रभुः ॥² हिरण्यार्द्रं कल्पलता गोसहस्र³
च दत्तवान् ॥१३(१६)॥⁴ तच्च प्रतिष्ठा(ष्ठा) परमेश्वरस्य यथाविघा(धा)नं विरचय्य
भूपतिः ॥⁵ स्तुतिं व्यजा(ता)नी-
- 20 अगदीश्वरस्य पुनः पुनः सत्पुलकाकुलः सन् ॥१४(१७)॥⁶ प्रा⁷दुर्भूतचतुर्भुजं कमल-
दृक् पीतांबरं चक्रभृत् पूर्णब्रह्मविकाशि कौस्तुभमणिश्रीवत्ससंदीपितं(तम्) ॥
यक्षीलं जगतां च-
- 21 यस्य जनकौ विस्माप्य सन्प्रौ(त्वी)तिदं तद्रूपं गिरिधारिणः कलयतु प्रायेण लोक-
प्रियं(यम्) ॥१५(१८)॥⁸ पूतनाशकट⁹कार्जुनैस्तृणावर्तकावहणभादिकेशिहन् [१*]
हेमिकालियसमञ्जना-
- 22 गराट्कंससूदन हृदि त्वमिह स्याः ॥१६(१९)॥¹⁰ इत्यादिसु(स्तु)तिमाधाय माधवस्य
महामनाः ॥ दानं दत्वा(त्वा) गृहं प्राप्तः पश्यन् मंगलमुत्तमं(मम्)
॥१७¹¹(२०)॥⁴ वर्षे निध्वं(व)रर्षिचित्तिगणनयुते¹²
- 23 माधवे पूर्णिमायां राणाश्रीकर्णपुत्रः सकलगुणजगत्किञ्चभूपः प्रमोदात् ॥ विष्णुं
[सं]पूज्य चिह्नैः प्रकटतरुत्तरं श्रीजगन्नाथनाम्ना दानं श्रीकल्पवल्गाः(क्षराः)
कनकहयमयो गोसुन्दर(सह)-
- 24 स च दत्वा(त्वा) ॥१८(२१)॥¹³ ग्रामान् दत्वा(त्वा) सङ्गुणान् पंच भूपो वस्त्रैर्धान्यै
रक्षमिर्धैर्दिजाग्रान् ॥ संतोष्यार्थं श्रीजगन्नाथरायं ध्यात्वा ध्यात्वा तोषमाधत्त
भूपः ॥⁵१९¹¹(२२)॥¹⁴ अथ प्रतिष्ठा(ष्ठा) प्रविलोक्य
- 25 कौतुकाद्रमापतेस्तद्विकटे महीपतिः ॥ प्रासादमालोक्य सुरासुरा नरा नागा
चक्रुर्वन्य(अ)हतिं(तीं) सुवर्णनां(नाम्) ॥२०(२३)॥⁶ भूप त्वत्कृतविष्णुसममिषतो
वैकुण्ठलोको ह्ययं ।¹⁵वीक्ष्य त्वत्कृत(कृ)तमेकमदि(द)रगु-

¹ The syllable is engraved over the top-line.

² This and the next half verse may be regarded to constitute one single verse.

³ Read *gō-sahasrah*.

⁴ Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁵ The mark of punctuation has a top-line.

⁶ Metre : *Upajāti*.

⁷ The medial *ā* in *prā* is very faint.

⁸ Metre : *Śārdūlavikṛīḍita*.

⁹ *Ta* is only partly engraved.

¹⁰ Metre : *Upajāti* of *Rathōddhātā* and *Svāgatā*.

¹¹ There is a horizontal stroke on top of the numeral.

¹² The medial *ṣ* sign is only faintly visible.

¹³ Metre : *Brāgharā*.

¹⁴ Metre : *Śālīni*.

¹⁵ This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

- 26 आगूर्वश्रुतानेव हि ॥ तद्वा(द्वा)र्येव विमूर्द्धितः स्थिर इति प्रायेण मंदाकिनी
लोलात्केतुमिषाद्यथाचतितकते तं श्रोतसा सिंचति ॥२१(२४)॥¹ अथालीक्य तदा-
सं(स)न्नां ।²सभां
- 27 मणिमयीं शुभां(भाम्) ॥ इत्यसुखेक्षणं चक्रः सुरा दिशयतो सुहुः ॥२२(२५)॥³
लोको⁴ भूपयशःसुधांशुरनिर्गं प्राकाशयत्[द्र]र्षं त्यक्त्वा(क्त्वा) केतुघटाक्तविष्णुभवनव्या-
(व्या)जं प्रमा(ता)-
- 28 पीशुमान् ॥ क्ष्मां वेगादटति द्विषद्दि(द्वि)षमहस्यसीन् विमुच्यातिके तान्बधुं कृतवा-
न्याकुलतुलासंभाननेकावृणः ॥⁵२३(२६)॥⁶ श्रीराणामरसिंहकारितमिदं सौध-
(धं) गु-
- 29 शौवे(वै)र्महद्वृषस्यास्य यथोजितो विधुरहो मूर्द्धामवाप्यापतत् ॥ तद्(द्वा)[द्वा]
नृपकर्णसिंहरचित⁷शुभांशुहर्म्यत्रजव्याजात् सेवितुमागताः किमुडवः सप्ताधि-
(धि)का विं-
- 30 शतिः ॥२४(२७)॥¹ सौधं मध्येतडागं हृदयमिव सदाराममच्छं महद्वै विष्णोर्वा-
साय दूरं जलधिरिति धिया यज्जगत्सिंहकृतं(सम्) [1*] काले धर्मादिसेवी
नृपतिरयमहं नि-
- 31 त्यनिद्रः स्त्रिया[क्तः] कर्मत्यागोति लब्धोच वसति न हरिः किंतु चित्त(त्ते)स्य
लीनः ॥२५(२८)॥⁷ कृत्वा मोहनमंदिरं मुनिमनोमुत्कर्णसत्सागरे ।⁸ कैलासाधि-
(धि)कमद्भुतं विजगाते ख्या-⁹
- 32 तं स कर्णात्मजः ॥ रुद्रं नंदयिता न मामिति हरिर्वर्द्धी¹⁰ रुजा मूर्द्धितः
शेतेष्वा(द्या)प्यपटेपि शेषशयने शीतोष्णवर्षाहतः ॥⁵ ॥⁸२६¹⁰(२८)॥⁵ अथैकलिंगाख्य-
महाप्रभोर्मुदा
- 33 श्रीमोकलेद्रेण कृतं च मंदिरं(रम्) [1*] द्व[द्वा] न कैलाश(स)गिरिं न चैतर-
(रा)न्¹¹जा(क्त्वा)नंति देवाः स्म महाद्भुतखलं(लम्) ॥२७(३०)॥¹² तत्र(त्रा)गत्य
सु[राः] सर्वे देवदेवमहेशितुः । यथाशक्ति

¹ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīṭita*.² This *danḍa* is superfluous.³ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.⁴ Read *lōkē*.⁵ The mark of punctuation has a top-line.⁶ A long syllable is expected here.⁷ Metre: *Sragdharā*.⁸ The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.⁹ The medial *ā* is not joined to the top-line.¹⁰ There is a horizontal stroke on top of the numeral.¹¹ The *virāma* sign here resembles that of the medial *ā*.¹² Metre: *Upajāti*.

- 34 शक्ति¹ स्तुतिं चक्रुरेकलिंगमहाप्रभोः ॥२८(३१)॥² गिरिगिरिप्रभुतनयां लज्जयां
वि(वि)भ्रजमेकलिंगं जय ॥ गिरितनयासमुदाच[ण]द³ चचङ्कतः प्रजिहदक्षस्व
॥⁴२८⁵(३२)[॥*]⁶
- 35 सहैकलिंगस्व पदारविन्दं भजाम नो याम कदाचिदेव ॥ इत्यं विधाय स्तुति-
मस्य देवताः स्वर्गस्य रक्षाकृतये त्वराकुलाः ॥३०(३२)॥⁷ अथ श्रीमज्जगत्सिंह-
कारितं केलि-
- 36 मंदिरं(रम्) ॥ तदातीवाद्भुतं मत्वा वैजयंतं न मेनिरे ॥३१(३४)॥⁸ अथ दृष्ट्वा
महादेवीमल्लुङ्घयिष्वरिखितां(ताम्) ॥ राठासेनाभिधां वंशां जानन्ति स्मेति द(दे)-
वताः ॥⁹३२⁵(३५)¹⁰ आगत्योदयसागरे-
- 37 जयजले मिष्टाभसि प्रायशो गंभीरे सततं वज्र(स) त्वमङ्गु(धु)ना पक्षस्य रक्षा-
कृते ॥ राठासेनगिरीद्रुजति सततं मैनाकनामानुजप्रोत्थाज्ञानरता न चाव
जग¹¹ तेषायस्त्रिकूटावलात्¹²
- 38 ॥३३(३६)॥¹³ अथ आ¹⁴(श्री)मज्जगत्सि(त्तिं)हकारितं रूपसागरं(रम्) । विहारस्थलमाशोक्य
निनि(निं)दुर्मानसं सरः ॥[३७*]¹⁵ अथ दृष्ट्वोदयसागरमग्रे विद्याप[कं] नृणां-
(णाम्) । श्रीराणीद[य]सिंहै¹⁶ कारितपि(मि)त्यं [स्तु]तिं
- 39 चक्रुः ॥ ४(३८)॥¹⁷ अमृताकरेण्युदयसिंहकारिते कमलाकरेण्युदयसागराभिधे ॥ कमला-
पतिः शयितुमुक्तुकोपि संस्तुत एव विस्मित इवावतस्त्रि¹⁸वान्॥¹⁹[३५](३८)²⁰ रुद्रेणोदयसा-
- 40 गरुड(यु)तिमलं वीक्ष्यनिशं विस्मयस्तुब्धे(ब्धे)न स्थितमत्र नो गिरिभुवः सौख्यं
गिरीन्द्रं विना ॥ तद्गौरीप्रियकाम्यया नरपतिस्तस्यैव तीरेतनोत् कैलाशा(सा)धि-
कनिर्मला(लो)नल(न्नत)म[हो] र[भ्यं]

¹ These two syllables are repeated by mistake.

² Metre: *Anushubh*.

³ Although the number of syllabic instants in the latter half of this verse is complete, there is *yati-bhāṅga* between the third and the fourth quarters.

⁴ The mark of punctuation has a top-line.

⁵ There is a horizontal stroke on top of the numeral.

⁶ Metre: *Gīti*.

⁷ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁸ Read *na ch-āpi naga*.

⁹ According to the *Ēkalinga-māhātmya* this Triakūṭāchala is somewhere near Ēkalingī.

¹⁰ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹¹ The medial ā is not joined to the top line.

¹² Read **sindhāsh*.

¹³ Metre: *Upajāti*.

¹⁴ The medial ī is not completely engraved.

¹⁵ Metre: *Māṅghubhāṅga*.

- 41 सुहृदयं न किं(किम्) ॥३६(४०)॥¹ अथ जावराभिधानग्रामे देवी² महाश्रुता देवा
॥ दृ[द्वा]वि(वि)ज्ञाभिधानां नेसुर्यस्याः प्रभावतः सतत(तम्) ॥३७(४१)॥³ मेद-
पाटमहीद्राणां [ख]सा⁴ न्ये(नी) रूप्यमयी शुभा । अग्नि-
- 42 अ⁵ खन्यमानापि पूर्णैव भुवि द(दृ)श्यते ॥३८(४२)॥⁶ वर्षे निध्वं(व)रर्षिचित्तिगण-
नयुते भाद्रपदक्षितीया⁷ तिथ्यां श्रीकर्णसूनुस्त्रिजगति सुयशा⁸ श्री[ज]॥⁹ [ग*]त्ति-
(त्ति)हभ(भृ)पः [।*] दत्व(त्वा) श्री-
- 43 रत्नधेनुं मणिकनकमयीं कृष्णभट्टाय दुःखादुद्धर्ता पापरूपादृणवरनरका[त्ते]ष भूया-
श्चिरायुः ॥३९(४३)॥¹⁰ भ्रात्रा गरीव(व)दासेन अशुसिंहेन च प्रभोः ॥
राजसिंहार(रि)सौ[चे]¹¹ (सिंहे)ति क(कु)[मा]¹² [राभ्यां*] र¹³ लु(पु)-
- 44 रा ततः [।*]४०(४४)॥⁶ वर्षवर्षांतर(रे)णाय जगत्वि(त्ति)हो यमा(दा)तना(नो)त् [।*]
महादा[ना*]नि सर्वाणि कल्पद्रुम इव प्रभुः ॥४१(४५)॥⁶ जगत्विहो महाराज-
चिंतामणिरिवापरः [।*] पुत्रैः पीत्रैः परि[हृ]तो जीयादाचंद्रतारकं(कम्)
॥४२(४६)॥⁶ [श्रीम]-
- 45 त्कर्णमहीमृदात्मजजगत्विहो(ह)प्रभोराज्या प्रासादं किल मेरु(रु)जातिकमिमं श्रीरत्न-
श्रीर्षाङ्गयं(यम्) । भगोरप्रयिताम्बयौ गुणनिधी भानोस्तनू[ज]ीत्तमौ शिल्पीशौ स¹³
मुकुंदभूधर¹⁴ इति स्या-
- 46 तौ चिरं चक्रतः ॥४३(४७)॥¹ श्रीमन्नास्करपुत्रमाधवसुतश्रीरामचंद्रोद्भवश्रीसर्वेश्वरभट्ट-
सूनुभ[व*]त्पूर्वस्थलक्ष्मी¹⁵ (क्ष्मी)पदः ॥ नाथस्तुतारामचंद्र[त]नुजश्रीकृष्णभट्टांगभूलक्ष्मी-
नाथकृता प्र-
- 47 शस्तिरतुला दद्यात्सतां मंगलं(लम्) ॥४४(४८)॥¹ इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजमहाराणा-
श्रीजगत्सिंहजीकारिता कठौडीयामाधिपकृष्णभ[ट्टांगजतै]लंगलक्ष्मीनाथापरनामबाबूभट्ट-
कृता प्रशस्तिः संपू-

¹ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

² Read *dēvīn*.

³ Metre : *Ōṭi*.

⁴ This syllable is superfluous.

⁵ Read *anīśam*.

⁶ Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁷ Read *trītiyā* though the metre will suffer.

⁸ Read *suyasāh*.

⁹ This *danda* is superfluous.

¹⁰ Metre : *Sragdharā*.

¹¹ There is a dash after *ghē*.

¹² This syllable is only partially engraved.

¹³ Read *cha*.

¹⁴ No *sandhi* is observed here.

¹⁵ The medial *ś* is not joined to the top-line.

- 48 चा(र्वा)॥ ॥ अचल इव च(इवा)चलश[क्तिः] कौर्त्वा बुद्ध्या त्रिया क्रिया यत्तया[1*]
युक्त्या निजपतिभक्त्या कायस्थेशोचलाख्यातः ॥[१॥*]¹ तत्कलकमलदिवाकरतुष्यो-
पूर्वार्थवर्द्धि(द्धि)भवयुक्तिः [1*] कल्याणक-
- 49 अक्षानां कलाभिधानः प्रमाणवचाः ॥[२॥*]¹ सहजादिव² वृक्षो³ कलां(ला)भिरति-
वर्धमाना(न)बहुशास्त्रः [1*] स 'अर्ज(र्जु)नाभिधानोर्जुन [इ]व भव्योर्जुन⁶ पांडोः
॥[३॥*]⁶

C

- 1 ॥ श्रीमहागणपतये नमः ॥ ॥आजगन्नायरायजीप्रसादात् ॥ ॥श्रीएकसिंगजीप्र[सा]दात् ॥
॥ श्रीभवान्धै नमः ॥ ॥ श्रीविश्वकर्माणे नमः ॥श्री[:*] ॥
- 2 ॥ वं(वं)शो रवेरपूर्वीयं यद्भूता भूरिभूयतः ॥ अंतः क्षिप्ता रसांभोधं ररन्तुस्तद्विप-
[क्ष]तः ॥१॥⁶ 'तन्नाम्नवाये शिवदत्तराज्यो बापाभिधानोजनि
- 3 मेदपाटे ॥ संघामभूमौ पटुसिंहरावं लातीत्यतो रावल इत्यभाणि ॥२॥⁸ राहृष्य-
राणा भुवि तस्य वंशे राणेति शब्द(ब्द') प्रथयन् पृथिव्या(व्याम्) ॥ र-
- 4 णो हि धातुः खलु शब्द(ब्द)वाची तं कारयत्येष रिपून् हृतार्त्त[र्त्ता]न् ॥३॥⁹
तस्माच्चरपतिराणा दिनकराणा बभूवाथ ॥ अजनि असकर्णराणा बभूव त-
- 5 स्माच्च नामपालाख्यः ॥४॥¹⁰ श्रीपूर्णपालनामा पृथ्वीमल्लस्ततो जातः ॥ उदितोय
भुवनसिंहस्तपुत्रो भा¹¹(भी)मसिंहोभूत् ॥५॥¹² अजनि जयसिंह-
- 6 राणा जातस्तस्मात्तव(ख)मसोराणा¹³ ॥ अरसी तता¹⁴ हमीरः संजातः जेचसिंहोक्तात्
॥६॥¹ तस्मात्ताव्वाभिच्छो(ख्यो) राणाश्रीमीकलस्तस्मात् ॥ श्रीकुंभ-
- 7 कर्ण उदभूद्राणाश्रीरायमल्लोक्तात् ॥७॥¹² संघामसिंहराणा जातो भूपालमीलमणिः ॥
श्रीराणोदयसिंहः प्रतापसिंहस्ततो जातः ॥८॥¹² अमरस-

¹ Metre : *Aryā*.² Read *ṣa-dvijarād-iva*.³ Read *vrikshab*.⁴ Read *hy=Arjunā*.⁵ Read *Arjunab*.⁶ Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.¹³ The second quarter of this verse is short of one syllabic instant.¹⁴ Read *talā*.

- 8 मोमरसिंहस्ततो नृपः कर्णसिंहोभूत् ॥ गुणगणहरिस्ततोभूद्राणाश्रीमन्मगत्सिंहः ॥८॥¹
जगत्सिंहमहीभर्तुः कथं चिंतामणिः समः ॥ चिंतनावधिदातायं
- 9 चिंतनावधिकदो नृपः ॥१०॥² राणाश्रीराजसिंहोक्ताप्रद्युम्न इव कृष्णतः ॥ यस्य
हृ(ह)ष्टा कृतार्थाभूत्समस्तद्विजसंततिः ॥११॥³ श्रीमान् रामः प्रजायां यशसि
नलनृपः
- 10 सत्यसंधासु पार्थो दाने कर्णः प्रतापे प्रकटदिनमणिर्धर्मसूनुर्दयायां⁴(याम्) ॥ राणा-
श्रीराजसिंहः क्षितिकुलतिलकः [श्री]जगत्सिंहपुत्रो जीयादाचंद्रतारागणरविधर-
- 11 शीशोरपाथोधिषैलं(लम्) ॥१२॥⁵ वर्षे निध्वंवरर्षिक्षितिगणनयुते फाल्गुनस्य द्वितीया-
तिथ्यां कृष्णपक्षे सकलनृपमणि⁶ श्रीजगत्सिंहपुत्रः ॥ राज्यश्रीचिह्नभूतं त्रिज-
- 12 गति सुष(ख)दं हेमसिंहासनं सत्सङ्गनेधिष्टि(ष्ठि)तोभूत्सकलरिपुकुलवासदो राजसिंहः
॥१३॥⁷ वर्षे निध्वं(व)रर्षिक्षितिगणनयुते मार्गशीर्षेपि शुक्ले पंचम्यामेकक्षिंती
कनक-
- 13 मणिमयीं सत्तुलां राजताल्यां(ख्याम्) ॥ राणाश्रीराजसिंहः क्षितिपतिनुकुटः श्रीजग-
त्सिंहपुत्रः कृत्वा तत्र द्वि(द्वि)जापगन्तपदि विहितवान् राजराजेंद्रतुल्यान् ॥१४॥⁸
स्वहृ(हृ)त्वं नोभय-
- 14 च प्रभवति मुकुरे रोचना निध्वजम्भा रक्षित्वं शोचिये नो तुरगवृषभगोहस्तिनो
ज्ञानहीनाः ॥ वज्रि ।⁹ ज्वालाकरालो जलमयमखिलं तीर्थजातं ततोमुं राणा-
श्रीराजसिंहं
- 15 भजत भजत रे मंगलं मंगलार्थं ॥१५॥¹⁰ लक्ष्मीचित्तस्थितं यद्विजपतिसुष(ख)दं
कंटकासंगशोभं फुल्लान्निभं समंतादसुर[कु*]मधुपैने(नै)व सेव्यं कदापि ॥ शूरो-
त्तापप्रदा-
- 16 नं जडकुलरहितं श्रीजगत्सिंहपु[त्र]श्रीराणाराजसिंहाद्भुतपदकमलं राजहंसा भजध्वं-
(ध्वम्)॥१६॥¹¹ यौ नित्यं दापयंतौ त्रिदशतरु(रु)फलाभ्युच्चकैः प्रापयित्वा वैरिभ्योऽ
- 17 प्रीयमाणौ समरभुवि गलाङ्कतयित्वा विविधून् ॥ तिष्ठन्मोचैव दत्तः स(स्त्र)यमिह
सफलं यौ सुहृद्भ्यस्तयोः किं राणाश्रीराजसिंह त्वदतुलकरयोः कल्प-

¹ Metre : Upagiti.² Metre : Anushubh.³ The medial ā is not joined to the top-line.⁴ Metre : Sagdharā.⁵ Read °nripa-maniḥ.⁶ This danda is superfluous.

- 18 तेषां साम्यं(म्यम्) ॥१७॥^१ नता यो हलिनं . द्विजेंद्रचिरं नो रुक्मिणं देविणं
जिष्णौ दत्तसुभद्रको व(व)लरतः सत्त्वात्मनि प्रायशः ॥ शूरोद्भूतसुतः सदा
नरपतिः श्रीमागधप्रस्तुतः
- 19 श्रीकृष्णस्तव मस्तको विजयतां श्रीराजसिंहप्रभो ॥१८॥^२ राणाश्रीराजसिंह त्वदतुल-
विमला दृष्टिरेवै(खै)व गंगा नो चेक्षेशादवासा कथमिह मनुजं पापमुक्तं
विधत्ते ॥
- 20 मूर्ध्निवासा महेशं सपदि करतले पद्मगोहं करोति प्राप्ता चेदंनिदेशे कलयति
स[त*]तं तं नरेशं रमेशं(शम्) ॥१९॥^३ म(मं)यन् मां किल मंदराग इह यक्षस्त्रीं
ददौ मत्सुतां तस्मै श्या-
- 21 मजनादनाय तनुजं चंद्रं कपर्दश्रिये ॥ भूत्वा भूपकरः समुद्र इति रुद्रभूषण-
स्तद्भू(भू)वः पद्माः^४स्वा(स्वा)त्मजभृत्यवाडवकरं तज्ज^५ यशोधोनयत् ॥२०॥^६
राणाश्रीराजसिं-
- 22 हस्य प्रतापो वाडवानलः ॥ देहं गेहं दृष्ट्वाप्रायं जहन्जीवनमाचरत् ॥२१॥^७ राणाश्री-
राजसिंहोयं राजते भूमिमंडले ॥ यक्षतापासहः सूर्यो गमनेभूषणहस्त(स्त्र)-
पात् ॥२२॥^८
- 23 राणाश्रीराजसिंहेंद्र गुणैर्दत्तो भवान् भुवं(वम्) ॥ सहाननीरदो नित्यं व(व)लिभाजी
नतानतः ॥२३॥^९ श्रीमज्जगत्सिंहनवीनभानोः श्रीराजसिंहः प्रतिबिंबरूपः ॥ चित्रं
ज-
- 24 गव्याण्डतोष्यलोहः प्रकाशस्तपकरो^{१०} जडांतः ॥२४॥^{११} अष्टापदतिरस्कारि सदयं
हृदयं प्रभोः ॥ राणाश्रीराजसिंहस्य हरिर्वसति तत्सदा ॥२४(५)॥^{१२} चित्तोन्मेष-
वृषः
- 25 सदा समिधुनः कीर्त्त्या प्रतापेन सत्कर्को नाञ्जि तु सिंह एव हितभूषणगव्यकः
सत्तुलः ॥ सत्त्वालिः सुधनुर्मुखे हि मकरः सत्त्वं(त्वं)भिमीनेक्षणी नित्यं
द्वादशराशिसंगत

^१ Metre : Sragdharā.^२ Read nara-patiḥ.^३ Metre : Śārāṅgavikrīḍita.^४ Read Padmā.^५ Read taj-jam.^६ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.^७ Better read *tapa-harā.^८ Metre : Upajāti.

- 26 इतो भास्वान् नवीनो भवान् ॥२६॥^१ वर्षं वा(वा)णाव(व)रर्षिचित्तिगणनयुते माधवे
शुक्लपद्मे पूर्णयां पूर्णकामः कनकमणिमयी सत्तुलां शूकराख्ये ॥ चेत्ते गंगा-
तटांते
- 27 द्विजगणमहिते श्रीजगन्निहपुत्रः कौमारे संविधाय स्वजनपरजनाम्नाकरोत्किं धनाख्यानं
॥२७॥^२ अवतारमुनीद्वये(द्वे) मार्गस्यासितपक्षके ॥ त्रयोदश्यामथाशी-
- 28 तिं ददौ कन्या महाप्रभुः ॥२८॥^३ राणाश्रीराजसिंह त्वमिह भुवि भवन् कल्प-
वृक्षावतारो दत्त्वा(त्वा)संख्याश्वनामैः कनकमणियुताशीतिसंख्याः सुकन्याः ॥
व्यासेनोक्तं नृ-
- 29 ण्यागजहयमणिदः कल्पवृक्षस्तदेतन्मिथ्येत्युक्तिं नराणां दलयितुमभवत्सु। मुनिस्तस्य
प्राप्तात् ॥२९॥^४ मुनिव्योममुनीद्वये(द्वे) तडागांते स्वमंदिरं(रम्) ॥ राणाश्रीरा-
- 30 जसिंहोयं कौमारे कृतवान्प्रभुः ॥३०॥^३ शक्रः स्वानुजविष्णुमेत्य यदि चेद्याचेत
पक्षि(च्छि)दां नूनं चक्रधरादिहापि जलधौ पक्षस्य रक्षा न तत् ॥
मैनाकः किमु सेवते
- 31 बहुतरङ्गेहाय कौमारतो राणाश्रीयुतराजसिंह भवतः प्रासादवर्यच्छ(च्छ)लात् ॥३१॥^१
व्र(व्र)ह्मा वत्सहतौ हरेरिव गुणान् ज्ञातुं तव प्रायशः संप्राप्तश्चतुरान-
- 32 नोपि न गुणप्राप्तं यदा ज्ञातवान् ॥ वी(वी)डाजाश्रयुतस्तदास्थित इह प्रायो
गवाक्षाननो राणाश्रीयुतराजसिंह भवतः कौमारसौधच्छलात् ॥३२॥^१ मूढा यत्र
वदंति
- 33 चित्रमखिलं यचि(चि)चक्रचिचितं तन्मन्ये न कुमारमंदिरमिदं किंत्वद्भुतं प्रेक्षितं ॥
आयातैस्त्रिदिवाधिपादिकसुरैर्दृष्टा मुहुवि(वि)स्मितैश्चिभूय सदा स्थितं स्थि-
- 34 तमहो पातालदेवैरपि ॥३३॥^१ राणाश्रीराजसिंहोयं वाटी(टि)कामद्भुता(तां) व्यधात् ॥
वैजयंतमिव त्रा(प्रा)प्तं तत्र प्रासादमातनोत् ॥३४॥^३ विष्णोश्च(च)क्रमिव प्रताप-
दहनः श्रीमदपा-
- 35 टप्रभोः सोढुं दुःसह एष मानकलितेर्नस्मानुकापी परं(रम्) ॥ इत्थं चंद्रमसा
विचिंत्य सुचिरं श्रीराजसिंहप्रभोरुघा(द्या)ने स्वकृतादसौधमिषतो नूनं निवासः
कृतः ॥३५॥^१

^१ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.^२ Metre : Śragdharā.^३ Metre : Anuśṭubh.^४ Read *sva-kṛit-śchekha-*.

- 36 राणाश्रीजगदाद्यसिंहरचितं यन्मन्दिरं श्रीपते राणाश्रीधरराजसिंहविहितं तस्यैव पार्श्वतः ॥ शंभुश्रीगणपार्यमाचलतनूजानां सुधांशुच्छविप्रासादाच्छव-
- 37 तुष्टयं कविरिहोत्प्रेक्षमकार्षीदिमां(माम्) ॥३६॥¹ राणाश्रीपतिराजसिंहवृपते² कीर्त्तिर्नटो स्त्रैरिणी स्रु[द्वा] मोहमहो विधास्यति ततः सार्धं महाविष्णुना ॥ वत्सशमः
- 38 किल प(पं)चभिर्भवति यद्युक्तं हि तत्तन्मु(म्मु)खं हृदं स्त्रैर्भवनेर्वस(सं)त्यपि शिवे-
भास्येनशैलात्मजाः ॥३७॥³ द्रष्टुं देहजमर्बु(र्बु)दं हिमवतः श्रीविष्णुसन्नच्छलात् प्रा-
- 39 मत्साच सुपुण्यके स्थितवतः श्रीमेदपाटे चिरं(रम्) ॥ राणाश्रीधरराजसिंहकृतसहेवा-
लयानां मिषात्लो(लो)के भिन्नरुचे[र्द्ध]दैव दधतस्तं तं सुरं तक्षुताः ॥३८॥⁴
राणाश्रीयुतरा-
- 40 जसिंहयशसा व्यासभिलोकीतले मायेशी हरिरेव नीलरुचितां धत्ते न चान्ये
भुवि ॥ नाध्य[चा] वयमेतदंगकधुराः स्यामोत्तमेया अपि प्रायः शंभुगणेश-
सूर्यगि-
- 41 [रि*]जा ऐशानतस्तत्स्थिताः ॥३९॥⁵ देवाः सर्वे सद्गुणैर्वैधमाप्ता गेहान् कृत्वा
श्रीपतेः पार्श्वतः किं(किम्) ॥ कृत्वा शैलीं मूर्त्तिमेवाप तस्यः श्रीमान्शं(शं)-
भुः सन्नजास्त्रेण चंचाः ॥४०॥⁶
- 42 राणाश्रीराजसिंह त्वदतुल्यवतः सद्गुणैस्त्रेण वदः पृथ्वां दत्तात्रजौघात् सजलघनर-
वात्(हं)तिवक्तो गणेशः ॥ सूर्यस्तत्ते प्रतापात् तव भुजबलतर्षङ्गिका शस्त्र-
- 43 देवो कृत्वा गेहान् सलज्जा अभिरुचिरनिलयं पार्श्वतः किं निलीनाः ॥४१॥⁴
सिंचेन्मां करशा⁵(शी)करैः करिमुखो मां वृष्टिकर्त्ता रविर्मेघैरित्यमुभौ गणेशन(त)-
पनौ किं त्वयता-
- 44 पाकुलौ ॥ सिंचेन्मां विधुमौलिरेव सुधया मां चंद्रवक्त्रा शिवा सिंचेदेवमुभौ
हरो हिमगिरेः पुत्री च [ती*] संमुखौ ॥४२॥¹ लोके यास्ति प्रतिष्ठा प्रति-
दिनमुदयम्भोकाया-
- 45 चाकृदेव चातुं तां किं निमज्ज(ज्य) प्रतिरजनि जले वारिधेः साश्वस्तः ॥ भूयो
लज्जालुघ(घ)जनुदिनमवशः प्रायशो याति वेगाद्राणाश्रीराजसिंहमितिपकुल-

¹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.² Read *nripatēb.³ Metre: Śālini.⁴ Metre: Śragdharā.⁵ The medial & is not joined to the top-line.

- 46 मणेः किं प्रतापोपतप्तः ॥४३॥^१ एकं पुत्रं समुद्रः कलयति हृदये वाङ्मव जीवनेः
स्त्रैरन्यं नेत्रे महेशस्युदित इह सुता वारिद(दे)भ्यः प्रदत्ताः ॥ तन्निर्धितो
दि-
- 47 गतान् व्रजति च जवतः प्राप्य दिग्भ्योत्रिसेवी राणाश्रीराजसिंहचितिपकुलमणेः
सखतापोपि वृष्टः ॥४४॥^१ राणाश्रीराजसिंह त्वदतुल्यसुययःसखता-
- 48 पाख्यभूषे कर्त्त(र्त्तुं) चंद्रान् सुवज्रीन् हर इह विवधये स्पर्शवा(का)राय दत्वा-
(आ) ॥ अन्यैर्द्र(द्र)व्यैर्न कुर्यादिति मनसि^२ भिया तत्परीक्षार्चमिंदोः स्तु^३ं
वर्जं च तत्तत्सद(दृ)शमिह दधत् पातु व-
- 49 चंद्रचूडः ॥४५॥^१ राणाश्रीराजसिंहोय पुत्रचयविराजितः ॥ शंभुर्नेत्रचयेष्व जीयादा-
चंद्रतारकं(कम्) ॥४६॥^४ श्रीमन्नास्करपुत्रमाधवसुतश्रीरामचंद्रोद्भवश्रीसर्वेश-
- 50 [र*]भट्टसुतुरभवत्पूर्वस्यलक्ष्मीपतिः^५ ॥ नाथस्तुतुरामचंद्र[तनुजश्रीकृष्णभट्टांगभूलक्ष्मी-
नाथकृतिः सतां(ता)मधिसुदे भूवा(या)दियं निर्मला ॥४७॥^६ इति श्रीम-
- 51 त्रिखिलभूपालमौलिमालामणिमरीचिनीराजितचरणारविंदमहाराजाधिराजमहारां(रा)णाश्री-
[म*]जगत्सिंहस्य पुत्रस्य^७ राणाश्रीराजसिंहस्य प्रशस्ती^८
- 52 ॥ राणाश्रीमज्जगत्सिंहैः कृपया [क]याया^९हितः ॥ प्रासादेक्षिन् महाकार्येप्यधि-
कारी कृतः सुधीः ॥१॥^१ गुचावतकुली(लो)त्पन्नः पंचोली [च*] कलासुतः ॥
अर्ज(र्जु)नो नाम पुण्यः-
- 53 त्वा भूयात्कार्यकरो हरः ॥२॥^४ भंगोराज्ञातिराजातनुजविमलधीः सूत्रधारो हि भाषा
[त]त्पुत्रः श्रीमुकं(कु)दो वशस[कल]^{१०}कलो भूधराख्यो द्वितीयः ॥ याभ्यां
- 54 ग्रामः प्रदत्तो हतरिपुनिकरश्रीजम(ग)त्सिंहभूपैर्दत्तो सौवर्णरौप्यौ क्रम[त*] इह
कृपाख्यापकौ मापदंडौ ॥३॥^१ राणाश्रीमज्जगत्सिंहकारितं मंदिरं शुभं-
(भम्) [।*] ताभ्यां(भ्या)मेव कृतं

^१ Metro : Sragdharā.^२ The medial i is not completely engraved.^३ The anusvāra is very faint.^४ Metro : Anushubh.^५ Read Lakshmi-padak.^६ Metro Śardūlavikrīḍita.^७ Better read Jagatsinha-putrasya.^८ Read prasasti.^९ Read kripayā.^{१०} These two letters are written above the line.

- 55 श्रीमन्नागवाद्याभिधप्रभोः [१*] २(४)॥^१ ताभ्यां श्रीमन्मगत्सिंह(हा)या(हा)मो देवदहा-
भिधः [॥*] चिचकूटांतिकः प्राप्तः प्रतिष्ठा(हा)यां रमापति^२ ॥३(४)॥^३
- 56 सूचसुकं(कुं)दोद्भववा(वा)घा अक्षरौ^३ लिपिअ(म)गमत्^४ ॥ संवत् १७०८ वर्षे
चित्ति(तौ)यवैशाख(ख)सु(शु)दिपु(पू)र्णमासि गुहवास्त्रे श्रीजगन्नाथरायजी पाट
- 57 पधराया [॥*] जन्मभट्टपुचवाडु(वू)त्त(त्ता)ता [॥*]

No 12.—SRIRANGAM INSCRIPTION OF GARUDAVAHANA-BHATTA : SAKA 1415.

By A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

The Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam has been eulogised by several Ālvārs in the beautiful hymns of the *Nāḷāyiraprabandham*.^{*} It was also the place where many eminent *āchāryas*^{*} including the great Rāmānuja and Maṇavāla-Mahāmuni had sojourned.

The subjoined record (A), which is complete and in a good state of preservation, is engraved on three sides of a well-dressed slab of stone set up in front of the Dhanvantari shrine in the fourth *prākāra* of this temple. The documentary portion of this epigraph consists of one long sentence composed in correct Tamil prose; while here and there a few Sanskrit words, engraved in Grantha characters, add a certain piquancy to the style.

The record does not refer itself to the reign of any king or chieftain, but simply states that it was issued in the régime of a certain *Iṇḍakāḷameḍutta-Perumāḷ* alias *Kūḍal Uttama-nambi-Piḷḷai*. It is dated in Śaka 1415, corresponding to the cyclic year *Pramādi*, on a Monday with *pañchami-tithi* of the first fortnight and *Pushya-nakshatra*. These details give the English equivalent A. D. 1493, May 20, Monday.

The object of the inscription is to register a gift of 2 *vēli* of land made by Śrīnivāsa alias Śrīraṅga-Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa, son of Aḷagiyamaṇavāla-Maṅgalādarāya, (a member) of the *bhaṭṭāḷ-kottu* of the temple, who constructed a new the *ārōgyaśālai* which had been formerly erected by an ancestor of his by name Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa in the time of Pratāpachakravartin and had suffered damage during the *vāṇam*, and installed therein an image of Dhanvantari-Emberumāṇ. It is stated that this land, which was situated in *Pāṇḍamaṅgalam*,⁷ had been in the enjoyment of the earlier Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa (and his descendants), having been granted to him as *paḷlakku-mānyam* for having composed a *prabandham* called the *Raṅgaghōṣhaṇai*,⁸ evidently in praise of god Raṅganātha, and that it was now transferred to the temple for conducting worship to the newly installed image of Dhanvantari and for supplying *kuḍinīr-amudu*⁹ to god Perumāḷ (Raṅganātha).

¹ Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.

² Read *Ramāpatē*.

³ Read *aśmarīm*.

⁴ The sentence means that Vā(Bā)ghā got (the task of) engraving (the epigraph).

⁵ Such as Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār, Kulaśēkhara, Toṇḍaraḍiṇṇi, Tiruppāṇālvār and all the others except Madhura-kavi.

⁶ The *Kōyiloḷugu* (Ananda Press, 1909), pp. 39 and 116.

⁷ *Pāṇḍamaṅgalam* is a village near Trichinopoly. It is also mentioned in the Śrīraṅgam plates of Dēvarāya II (above, Vol. XVII, p. 111).

⁸ This work is not extant now, so far as it can be ascertained.

⁹ *Kuḍinīr* is the Tamil word for *kashāya* and is used in this sense in Tamil medical works.

The record is important for Sanskrit literary history, as it helps us to identify this Garuḍavāhana of A. D. 1493, with the author of the hagiological *kāvya* called the *Divyasūri-charitam*, as will be shewn in the sequel, setting aside its traditional attribution to a contemporary of Rāmānuja (12th cent. A. D.), and as it mentions also that the earlier Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa of A. D. 1257 was probably the author of a *prabandham* named the *Raṅgaḥṣhaṇai*. Further interest attaches to this epigraph in its reference to the existence of a temple-hospital at Śrīraṅgam and to the erection of a shrine for Dhanvantari, which is not found elsewhere in South India.

The construction of the *ārōgyasālai* referred to in this record is mentioned in an incomplete inscription, engraved on another slab set up near this, and dated in the 3rd year of the Hoysaḷa king Pratāpachakravartin Vīra-Rāmanāthadēva (corresponding to A. D. 1257). It registers a gift of land by the general [Śi]ṅgadēva Śiṅgaṇṇa-Daṇḍanāyaka to a certain Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa for the maintenance of a *sālai* in the temple. The inscription reads thus :—

(B)

Śrīmat-pratāpachakravattigaḥ Śrī-Rāmanāthadēvar pradhānaril [Śi]ṅgadēva Śiṅgaṇṇa-Daṇḍanāyakaṇēṇ mūṇṇāvadu Kāttigai-māsattu oru-nāḥ Śrīraṅganāthaṇ dhanmam-āga Eḍuttakai-aḷagiya-Nāyaṇār eḷundaruḷi-irukkīra tiru-ggōpurattukku mēl-arugāga-ttiruna-ḍai-māḷigaiyile oru sālaiyum sāmaittu=chchālaippuṇam-āga=pPāṇḍikulaśaṇi-vaḷanāṭṭu Viḷā-nāṭṭup garam=āṇa Mummuḍiśōḷach-charuppēdimāṅgalattu¹ nāṇ inda-kkāṇikkum iṇaiyilikkum-āga śrībhaṇḍārattu oḍukkiṇa varāhaṇ poṇ āyiratt=oru-nūru [*] i-ppoṇ āyirattu oru-nūṇṇukkum ippaḍiyāl koṇḍa nilattil udayaṇ-koṇḍu vaijya-parichāraḱakkum aushadhattukkum chandrādityavarai sēlvadāga Śrīraṅganāthaṇ tandarūḷiṇa tirumugappaḍiyum mahāniyōgappaḍiyilē i-ddhanmam sēyvadāga niśchayit(ta)tu vaijyaril eṇakkum rakshakarāy i-ddharmmam neḍunāḷpaḍa naḍattikkonḍu vanda nāyakaṇ=āṇa Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭarukku aiṇ-guṇuṇi nellum parichāraḱarāy kḍaikkūṭṭāy i-ddharmmam naḍatta Tōḷmālaiyalagiyaṇṇu mu-kkuṇuṇi ne-[*]lum parichāraḱar iruvarkku tūṇi-ppadakku nīkki uḷḷadilē nāḥ oṇṇukku nūru kāsāl vanda aushadham koṇḍu

The *Kōyilōḷugu*,² a late Tamil compilation of about the end of the 18th century, purporting to be a 'chronicle' of the happenings in the Śrīraṅgam temple for several centuries, in which, however, several incidents, historical and otherwise, are found somewhat mixed together in a haphazard sequence,³ also makes mention of the institution of an *ārōgyasālai* in the temple premises and its subsequent repair after its destruction during the Muhammadan raids. The relevant entries are the following :—

- (i) A disciple of Yatipati (Rāmānuja) named Mudaliyāṇḍāṇ having inadvertently added some *jambu* fruits to the curd-rice offering of god Rāṅganātha, Rāmānuja detected signs of indisposition in the face of the image and traced its cause to this injudicious offering. He at once ordered some *kashāya* to be administered to the deity and

¹ There is a village now known as Mummuḍiśōḷamaṅgalam in the Lalgudi taluk.

² This compilation, part 1 of which has been published (Ananda Press, 1909), takes the history of the temple to Śaka 1501, nearly to the end of the 16th century A. D. Further parts are expected to be published. In several places the contents of the inscriptions are seen to have been correctly incorporated.

³ In cases where Śaka dates are also recorded, this jumbling is not harmful; but in cases where the statements are not set off by dates, their chronological sequence is difficult to determine.

arranged for the regular supply of this decoction to the god every night, through the agency of his disciple **Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍita**.¹

- (ii) The benefaction of Gaṅgaidēvar² Śiṅgaṇa-Daṇḍanāyakkar :—

The *ārōgyasālai* and the *tirunaḍaimāḷigai* are the gifts of Gaṅgaidēvar² Śiṅgaṇa-Daṇḍanāyakkar, one of the agents (*kūriyappēr*) of Pratāpachakravartin.³

- (iii) The benefaction of Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍitar :—

The *ārōgyasālai* and the *tirunaḍaimāḷigai*, which had been erected by Gaṅgaidēvar² alias Śiṅgaṇa-Daṇḍanāyakkar, agent of Pratāpachakravartin, and which had been a *kainkarya* of Uḍaiyavar, having been damaged during the *tulukka-vāṇam*, this shrine, *gōpura*, rampart wall (*madil*), *tirumaṇḍapam* and the frontal *muhappu-maṇḍapam* are the benefactions of Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍita. The title of Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍita is in use for the Superintendents of the *ārōgyasālai* from the time of Uḍaiyavar.⁴

As in the *Kōyiloḷugu* a Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍita is stated to have been a disciple of Rāmānuja, who lived (according to the traditional chronograms '*dhīr-labdhā*' and '*dharmō nashṭaḥ*'⁵) from A. D. 1017 to 1137, it is not possible to identify him with the Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa, who was installed as superintendent in the *sālai* in the 3rd year of Vira-Rāmanātha corresponding to A. D. 1257, more than a century later. The incumbent in the hospital figuring in the present record of A. D. 1493 who lived more than two centuries later than the second Garuḍavāhana mentioned above, had also the same surname of Garuḍavāhana attached to his own personal name of Śrinivāsa. Thus, as attested to by the *Kōyiloḷugu* also, the cognomen '*Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍita*' appears to have been in the nature of a hereditary title assumed by the successive superintendents of the *ārōgyasālā*; and so one has to proceed with caution in the matter of identifying persons having this same title.

Now the *Divyasūricharitam*,⁶ a Sanskrit hagiology composed in the classic *kāvya* style and dealing with the lives of the Ālvārs and Āchāryas (*Divyasūris*) up to Rāmānuja, is known to be the composition of a Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍita; and it has been traditionally ascribed to an alleged disciple of Rāmānuja of that name. This work contains the following colophons, one in prose and the other in verse, at the end of its first *sarga* :

- (i) *Iti Kāśyapa-kula-tilakasya Raṅgādhip-ārōgyasālā-vallabhasya Kavi-vaidya-purandar-āpara-nāmadhēyasya Śrīraṅga'-Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍitasya Śrinivāsa-kavēḥ kṛitau Divyasūricharitō mahākāvye prathamā-sargaḥ |*

- (ii) *Yan-nāthah phanirāja-bhōga-śayanō Raṅgēśvarō yat-pitā*

Saumyaśrīsakha-Maṅgalādhipa-vibhuḥ sarvajña-chuḍāmaṇiḥ |

¹ The *Kōyiloḷugu*, p. 43.

² This name appears to be a misreading of Śiṅgaḍēva, given in the records.

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 12. The inscription uses the word *sālai* simply, but apparently an *ārōgyasālā* or 'hospital' was meant.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, p. 120. In both these cases, the dates are not given; but these extracts assuredly refer to the contents of the two records reviewed in this paper.

⁵ *History of Śrīvaiṣṇavas* (T. A. G.), pp. 46 and 47.

⁶ *Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts*, Madras, (1918), Vol. XXI, No. 12150.

⁷ *Ibid.* In some printed versions the word '*Śrīraṅga*' is omitted.

Yan-mātā Bhuvanādhīpā Vihagarāḍvāh-ābhidha-Śrīsadaḥ

Kāvyē divyati Divyasūricharitē sargō='yam=ādir-gataḥ¹ ||

From them we learn that the author of that *kāvya* was called Śrīraṅga-Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍita, that his father's name was Saumyaśrīsakha-Maṅgalādhīpa,² his mother was called Bhuvanādhīpā,³ that he belonged to the Kāśyapa-gotra, that he bore the title of *Kavi-vaidyā-purandara*, and that he was in charge of the *ārōgyaśālā* of god Raṅgarāja. As the donor figuring in the present record (A) is described as the son of Aḷagiyaṁaṁavāla-Maṅgalādarāyar and was called Śrīnivāsa *alias* Śrīraṅga-Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa, we are enabled to identify him with the author of the *Divyasūricharitam*. As this inscription does not, however, specify the title of *Kavi-vaidyā-purandara* to the Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa mentioned in it (not called a 'Paṇḍita' yet ?) in A. D. 1493, we may perhaps infer that this work,⁴ whose composition may have earned for its author the title of 'Kavi' had not been composed yet, and that it may therefore be ascribed to the closing years of the 15th century A. D., i.e., to about A. D. 1500. The hitherto prevailing idea that it was the work of a contemporary of Rāmānuja⁴ may now be given up.

¹ In an article on the *Divyasūricharitam* published in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XIII, pp. 131 et. seq., the following alternative verse-colophon is quoted from the Mysore edition of the work :

Svāmī Raṅgapatir-gurur-Varavarādhīśa-cha yasy-ātulō
Vādhūlō Varadaḥ pitā Varavara-Kaśhēmēśa-Lakshmisakhaḥ |
Lōkēśa janani tu tasya Garuḍaśrīvāhana-Śrīsadaḥ
Kāvyē divvyati Divyasūricharitē sargō='yam=ādir-gataḥ ||

From this we learn that author's tutelary deity was 'Raṅgapatī'; his spiritual guru was Varavarādhīśa; his maternal uncle (*yan-mātulō* has been taken to be the probable correct reading in place of *yasy-ātulō*, which does not give a clear meaning) was Vādhūla-Varada; his father was vara-Lakshmisakha (Aḷagiyaṁaṁavāla) Kaśhēmēśa (Maṅgalādhīpa) (cf. Saumyaśrīsakha-Maṅgalādhīpaḥ of the other verse); his mother was Lōkēśā (cf. Bhuvanādhīpā of the other verse); and that his own name was Garuḍaśrīvāhana-Śrīsadaḥ (cf. Vihagarāḍvāh-ābhidha-Śrīsadaḥ of the other verse). These details agree with those given in the other colophon; while two additional names are mentioned in this verse. There is therefore no discrepancy in the biographical details furnished in the two colophons.

² Saumya-śrīsakha is clearly a Sanskritisation of Aḷagiya-ṁaṁavāla. Another more popular translation was Ramya-jāmātri. Bhuvanādhīpā appears to be a similar artificial translation of a Tamil name, Bhūmiyāṇḍāl, Ulaṅḍaiyāl or some equivalent of it.

³ In *Sarga* 17 of this work, the author refers in an impersonal manner to the *jambu* and *dadhyannam* incident which led to the founding of the hospital under an earlier Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍita thus :

Raṅgēśam yatipatir-ēkadā sva-śiśyād-dadhyann-ānupada-nivēdyamāna-jambum
Śrutvā tan-mīlanavaśād-vishātīrēki prahārid-yatitīlakas=sa Raṅgibhṛityam || (v. 86)
Rājñy-ōpacharaṇa-lālasō Murārau tad-dōsha-prasamam-adāpayat=kashāyam |
Ārōgy-ōpapaḍam-ath-ākalaṁyā śālām śrī-Dhanvantari-haridhāma taoh-ohakāra || (v. 87)

⁴ It is interesting to note that Mr. B. V. Ramanujam, M.A., who has examined the problem from a purely literary view-point has also arrived at the same conclusion. (*Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XIII, p. 186.)

In his *History of Śrīvaiṣṇavas*, (Subrahmanya Ayyar Lectures, 1917), p. 56, Mr. Gopinatha Rao, however, identifies this author with the disciple of Rāmānuja and places him before Pinbalegiyaperumāl-Jīyar, the author of the *Guruparamparā* in Tamil (c. 14th cent. A. D.)

In this connection it may be mentioned that the *Uttamanambivāṁsaprabhāvam* (p. 7) states that a Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍita Śrī-Uttamanambi *alias* Kavivaidyapurandara Śrīnivāsa-mahākavi lived in Śaka 996 (=A. D. 1073) and welcomed Rāmānuja on his first arrival at Śrīraṅgam. This statement appears to have been based on the usual tradition which connects one Garuḍavāhana with Rāmānuja; and the mention of Śrīnivāsa as his personal name appears to be the result of a promiscuous mixing of different facts. He is enumerated as the 74th in descent from Periyālvār of Kali 46. The list of names of Uttamanambis with their respective ages, as tabulated in this pamphlet, cannot stand a critical examination.

It therefore follows that the three Garuḍavāhanas who figure in the above discussion, were different one from the other :—

- (i) A Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍita, traditionally believed to have been a disciple of Rāmānuja, who started an *ārōgyasālā* under instructions from his *guru*, for which we have only the authority of the *Divyasūricharitam* and the *Kōyiloḷugu* ;
- (ii) a second Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa, a contemporary of Vira-Rāmanātha in A. D. 1257, who received endowments of land for the hospital from the Hoysala general Śiṅgaṇṇa-Daṇḍanāyaka, and who was probably the author of a *prabandham* called the *Raṅga-ghōṣhaṇai*¹ ; and
- (iii) a third Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa of A. D. 1493, the hagiographer-author of the *Diryasūricharitam*, who reconstructed the *ārōgyasālā* which had fallen into decay owing to the Muhammadan invasions, and installed therein an image of Dhavantari-Emberumāṇ.

The historical and other facts contained in these two records may now be examined.

(a) As stated already, record (B) of the time of Vira-Rāmanātha states that Śiṅgaṇṇa-Daṇḍanāyaka, the *pradhāna* of the Hoysala king, partitioned off a portion of the covered corridor (*tirunaḍaimāḷigai*) to the west of the Eḍuttakai-aḷagiya-Nāyaṇār-gōpura in the fourth *prākāra* of the Raṅganātha temple, and converted it into a hall for conducting a *sālai*² (a hospital). He then purchased 16 and odd *vēli* of land in Mummuḍiśōḷa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Viḷā-nāḍu, a subdivision of Pāṇḍikulāṣaṇi-vaḷanāḍu, for 1100 *varāhaṇ-poṇ* and arranged that, from the produce of this fairly extensive block of land, the doctor in charge of the temple-hospital, namely Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa, be paid an allowance of 5 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy per day, his assistant and colleague³ Tōḷ-mālaiyaḷagiyaṇ 3 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy, and two men-attendants (*vaidya-parichāraḱar*) 1 *tūṇi* and 1 *pa-dakku* each, while medicines to the value of 100 *kāṣu* per day were prepared. As this record is incomplete, it is not possible to know if this outpatients' dispensary simply ministered to the health-needs of the servants and others of the temple establishment only, or functioned in the more comprehensive sense of a philanthropic institution for the community at large. The famous hospital inscription⁴ of Virarājendra (A. D. 1069) at Tirumukkūḍal in the Conjeevaram taluk of the Chingleput District gives us a fairly detailed idea as to how such an institution worked at that time, and what medicines were prepared and kept in stock for the needs of the students of the Vedic seminary attached to the temple there. The present epigraph does not furnish any such illuminating details, but is, however, of topical interest in that it refers to the existence of a temple-hospital which, in addition perhaps to its usual pharmaceutical activities, also prepared and supplied a *kashāya* as an offering to god Raṅganātha every night, as an item of the temple ritual.⁵ Though the explanation offered for the inclusion of this stomachic in the god's dietary may at first sight appear far-fetched, it shows with what royal pomp and reverence god Raṅgarāja was venerated by his devotees and how the daily routine of worship was regulated with such close adherence to meticulous detail.

¹ See also note 7 on page 100 below.

² *Sālai* ordinarily means only 'a hall, a feeding hall'; but as provision was made for a doctor and drugs, an *āṭalaśālai* is meant. It is actually referred to as an *ārōgyasālai* in record (A).

³ *Kaḍaikkūṭṭaṇ* is the word used in the inscription. It means 'one who actually carries out a certain duty', a 'nirvāhaka'. In Periyavāchchāṇ-Piḷḷai's commentary on *Tiruppāvai* (*Mārgaḷi-nirāḍai*) occurs this sentence : *Kriṣṇaṇ idukku kaḍaikkūṭṭaṇ-āgarum (nirāivēṇri-vaippavaṇ-āgarum) kaḍavaṇ*.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 220 ff.

⁵ The offering of a medicinal decoction to god at night is understood to be in vogue in one or two other temples in South India, at Madura, for instance.

(b) The expression *Vaidyariḥ enakkum rakshakarāy i-dharmnam neḍunālpada nadattikkonḍu vanda nāyakaṇ-āṇa*¹ *Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭar* used in the record (B) in referring to the physician, has perhaps to be understood in the sense that something in the nature of a private hospital was already being conducted by Garuḍavāhana for a long time and that the Hoysala general Śiṅgaṇṇa-Daṇḍanāyaka who had personally benefited by this doctor's services made this munificent donation of land to the hospital in token of his gratitude.

(c) A certain Śiṅgaṇṇa-Daṇḍanāyaka, a general in the army of the Hoysala king Virasōmēśvara is stated to have invaded the Tamil country in about A. D. 1240-41, the 25th year of Rājārāja III, for an inscription² at Vēdāranyam in the Tanjore District dated in the 30th year of this Chōla king (A. D. 1246) refers to the effects of this invasion which necessitated the reconsecration of some images in the temple of Kōḍikkulaḡar at that place; while a general of the same name figures in a Tiruvaṇṇāmalai record³ dated in the 5th year of Rājendra-Chōla III (A. D. 1250). We have no means of determining their identity with the Śiṅgaṇṇa of record (B). In another record⁴ from Śembāttūr in the Pudukkottah State dated in the 23rd year of Virasōmēśvara (A. D. 1256-57), a general described as *Mahāperiyapradhāna* Śiṅgaṇṇa-Daṇḍanāyaka, son of *Mahāpradhāna* Śiṅgaradēva-Daṇḍanāyaka⁵ is mentioned; and he was probably identical with this Śiṅgaṇṇa. It is possible that this Śiṅgaṇṇa was trampled underfoot by the mast elephant of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, as claimed in a record of his at Śrīraṅgam,⁶ and that this event may have happened by A. D. 1261, as the Pāṇḍya king appears to have made his entry into Śrīraṅgam at about this time.

(d) Rāmānuja is mentioned in the *Kōyiloḡugu*⁷ as having been in charge of the Śrīraṅgam temple for over 60 years, and as having regularised the respective duties to be performed by the several groups of temple priests and menials and introduced many salutary reforms in its internal administration. Among the ten sections into which he is stated to have classified the superior service of the temple establishment, the *bhaṭṭāl-kottu* is one; and the duties devolving on the several Brāhman families which were clubbed together into this administrative classification, consisted mainly of chanting the different *Vēdas* and of expounding the *Mīmāṃsā* and the *Śrībhāṣyam*⁸ in the temple. To this *bhaṭṭāl-kottu* Śrīraṅga-Garuḍavāhana⁹ of this record belonged; and being the hereditary physician of the temple, it is but proper that he should have repaired the *ārōgyaśālā*, installed an image of Dhanvantari in it and arranged for the daily supply of *kuḍinīr* to god Raṅganātha of the main temple.

(e) As regards the Dhanvantari-Emberumāṇ stated to have been consecrated in A. D. 1493, it is not definite if an already extant shrine was only renovated now. The incomplete record (B) of the time of Rāmānātha does not contain any allusion to it or to the provision of *kuḍinīr* to god Raṅganātha. The *Kōyiloḡugu*, however, says that a shrine of this deity which had been in existence even long before the time of Rāmānuja (*purāṇasiddha*) and had become dilapidated, was repaired during his trusteeship of the Śrīraṅgam temple and left in charge of his disciple

¹ *Nāyakaṇ* in the sense of 'the head' of the hospital.

² *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1909-10, p. 154 and No. 501 of 1904 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

³ *S. I. I. (Texts)*, Vol. VIII, No. 88. The general is called *Mahāpradhāna* Maṇḍalikariyamarājaṇ Śiṅgaṇṇa-Daṇḍanāyaka.

⁴ No. 215 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁵ The name Śiṅgaradēva appears to be a mistake for Śiṅgadēva.

⁶ *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 507. The verse reads:

Ājau Śimhanam-unmadaṣya kariṇō datvā parārithan-tatō

Driṣṭvā Rāma-mahipatēḥ praśamita-kṣhēm-ābhishāṅgō bhuvah;

⁷ *Kōyiloḡugu*, p. 46 *et. seq.*

⁸ *Loc. cit.*, p. 47.

⁹ In another place it is stated that Garuḍavāhana was included in the *Tiruppdīyār* class.

Garuḍavāhana¹. The correctness of this statement is not now capable of architectural verification, as the present shrine is the result of a somewhat jumbled reassembling made in A. D. 1493 of stones and pillars from older structures.

The shrine of **Dhanvantari-Emberumāṇ** or the 'Divine Physician' is quite an appropriate adjunct to a hospital, as he is the patron-deity of the art of healing. Dhanvantari, the father of Indian Medicine, was produced at the 'churning of the Ocean' and came out with a vessel of nectar in his hands. But according to the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, Dhanvantari was also one of the twenty-two *avatāras*² of god Viṣṇu; and appropriately enough he is represented in this shrine as a four-handed image wielding the discus and the conch in the back pair of hands, while one of the frontal pair of hands is in the *abhaya* pose, and the other carries his special attribute the *amṛita-kalāśa*. Shrines to Dhanvantari have not been met with elsewhere in any of the numerous temples of Viṣṇu in South India, and, as such, this shrine and its deity acquire a special iconographic importance.

(f) Similarly also the image of **Eḍuttakai-aḷagiya-Nāyaṇār** or 'the god beauteous with the uplifted hand' referred to here is of iconographic interest, as it furnishes a rare instance in which an image enconced in the *gōpura* of a temple gets the status of separate worship. This stucco image of Narasiṃha represented with one of his arms raised aloft in the act of striking down Hiranyakaśipu, forms the central figure facing north in the first tier of the northern *gōpura* of the fourth *prākāra*; and a lofty *maṇḍapa* erected on a high platform in front of it serves the purpose of a shrine for the image. In Vaiṣṇava hagiologies, Ālināḍaṇ or Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār is stated to have built this *gōpura* for the god³; but the ascription of the image and the *gōpura* in their present form to such an early date cannot be substantiated by structural or inscriptional evidence. In literary tradition, this deity is said to have nodded his head in appreciation of Kamba's *Rāmāyaṇa*, when that poet expounded it to a literary coterie in the *maṇḍapa* in front of this self-same *gōpura*; and some verses of that work⁴ eulogising the Narasiṃha incarnation are believed to have been composed in specific reference to this deity. Be that as it may, this god and the *gōpura* are described in the *Śrīraṅgarājastava*⁵ of Parāśara-Bhaṭṭa (c. A. D. 1150), the son of Śrīvatsāṅkamīśra (Kūṛattālvār) and the successor of Rāmānuja on the pontifical seat at Śrīraṅgam. The name Eḍuttakai-aḷagiya-Nāyaṇār is mentioned in some inscriptions⁶ of the temple—of Virarāmanātha (c. A. D. 1257), of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I (c. A. D. 1269) and of Māṇavarman Kulāśekhara (c. A. D. 1272).

(g) **Iṇḍakālam-eḍutta-Perumāḷ Kūḍal Chakravāḷanambi alias Uttamanambi-Pillai**, who was evidently the sole Trustee of the temple at the time of this record, belonged to the Uttamanambi family, several of whose members are said to have wielded great influence with the contemporary kings of the Vijayanagara dynasty, perhaps as trustees of their munificent benefactions to the Śrīraṅgam temple. The *Kōyiloḷugu* mentions some of them, such as, Valiyaḍimai-nilaiyiṭṭa-Uttamanambi, his brother Uttamanambi-Chakrarāyar (Śaka 1337), Tirumalainātha-Uttamanambi (Śaka 1366) and Kṛishṇarāya-Uttamanambi (Śaka 1409)⁷.

¹ Loc. cit., p. 43.

² T. A. Gopinatha Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, p. 123.

³ *Kōyiloḷugu*, p. 10. The orthodox date for Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār is B. C. 2714, but he could have lived only about A. D. 800.

⁴ *Kamba-Rāmāyaṇam, Hiranya-vadai-ppaḍalam*.

⁵ Vyāpi rūpam=api gōshpadayitvā bhaktavatsalatay-ōrjjhita-vēlam |

Tad-vishantapa-Nrikēsari-rūpam gōpur-ōpari vijimbhitam=īḍē || (v. 46)

Nivasad=upari-bhāgē gōpuraṁ Raṅga-dhāmnaḥ |

Kvachana nripapīṭi vāsitam kv=āpi sīmham || (v. 47).

⁶ Nos. 99, 80 and 23 of 1936-37 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁷ Loc. cit., pp. 121, 123, 124 and 125.

This family which belonged to the *Pūrvāsikha* community of Brāhmins of the Kāśyapa-gōtra, claims to have migrated to Śrīraṅgam from Śrīvilliputtūr in the Tinnevely District along with the Vaiṣṇava saints Periyālvār and his daughter Kōdaiyāṇḍāl (of the 9th century A. D.). The genealogy of some of its members is given in the Sanskrit work called the *Lakshmīkāvyam*¹ and in a pamphlet entitled *Uttamanāmbivamśaprabhāvam*.² Kūḍal Chakravālanambi of the present record was the brother of Kṛishṇarāya-Uttamanāmbi according to the *Kōyiloḷuḡu*, but the *Lakshmīkāvyam* states that its author Tirumalainātha had a brother named Kūḍal Śaravāla-Nayinār. The *Vamśaprabhāvam*³ noted above mentions that he was Tirumalainātha's son and had the other name of Chinṇa-Kṛishṇarāyar. This Chakravālanambi is stated to have purchased a few villages on behalf of the temple and to have repaired the Rājamahēndran-tiruvāśāl⁴ which had also been damaged during the Muhammadan raids.

The title 'Irāṇḍakālam-eḍutta-Perumāḷ' (he who revived the past) attached to his name does not appear to have been coined after the *biruda* of any king⁵ or chieftain, but may, in all probability, have been bestowed on him by the temple in recognition of his meritorious services in having brought it to its former greatness after its desecration by foreigners. Several instances of similar titles, such as 'Ellai-nilaiyiṭṭa' and 'Rājākkal-perumāḷ' etc., said to have been granted by the god himself for such deserving services, have been mentioned in the *Kōyiloḷuḡu*.

(h) This record which is dated in Śaka 1415, as noted already, does not mention any ruling king. The date falls in the period following the extinction of the first Vijayanagara dynasty and before the accession of Vīra-Narasimha of the Tuḷuva line i.e., during the Sāḷuva interregnum. In the *Kōyiloḷuḡu*⁶ it is stated that 'Sāḷuva Tirumalairāja, the local governor of the Tiruchchirāppalli-śīrmai was succeeded by Kōṇēṭirāja in about Śaka 1393, and the latter who had a partiality for the Śiva temple at Jambukēśvaram imposed certain unauthorised taxes on the Śrīraṅgam temple lands and otherwise coerced the Śrīraṅgam people. A deputation headed by a certain Kandāḍai Rāmānujadāsa went to Narasā-Nāyaka and appealed to him for relief. Thereupon this general marched against Kōṇēṭirāja⁷, killed him in a fight and restored order in the temple administration at Śrīraṅgam'. It is therefore possible that in this period of confusion when the Vijayanagara throne itself was occupied by an usurper and also because the Uttamanāmbis were themselves recipients of several honours including the 'Rāyar-mudrai' from the previous kings⁸ this inscription as well as a few others⁹ of this period which were concerned with simple temple transactions omitted the mention of the Sāḷuva king's name and were issued with the simple quotation of Śaka dates.

(i) As regards the *cāṇam* (*tulukka-rāṇam* of the *Kōyiloḷuḡu*) during which the *ārōgyasālā* had suffered damage, the reference is to the anarchy which followed in the wake of the Muhammadan invasions of South India in the first half of the 14th century A. D.

¹ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 139.

² This pamphlet was compiled and published by S. Narasimhachari in 1912. The reason for the title 'Kūḍal Śaravāla' given in this book that the Trustee ripped open his entrails (*kuḍal*) and measured it out in lieu of the paddy due to the king, is fanciful.

³ *Kōyiloḷuḡu*, p. 125.

⁴ 'Irāṇḍakālam-eḍutta' was a title borne by the later Pāṇḍya king Śrīvallabha of A. D. 1535 (*Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. I, p. 54). Irāṇḍakālam-eḍutta Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷadāsa figures as the Warden of the Śrīraṅgam temple in a record dated in the cyclic year Saumya, probably corresponding to Śaka 1411 (No. 92 of 1936-37 of the Madras Epigraphical collection).

⁵ *Loc. cit.*, p. 129.

⁶ Kōṇēṭirāja's records dated in Ś. 1409 and 1412 are found in the Tamil districts (*Madras Ep. Rept. for 1912*, p. 73).

⁷ *Kōyiloḷuḡu*, p. 115 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 141.

⁸ Nos. 87, 92 and 93 of 1936-37 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

If the *Kōyiloḷugu*'s narrative can be relied on, there were two¹ distinct raids during both of which Śrīraṅgam appears to have fallen a victim to the invaders' rapacity and iconoclastic zeal. It is stated that as a result of the first raid² the image of Raṅganātha was absent from the temple for a period of 59½ years, until its restoration in A. D. 1372 by a 'Chandragiri-prabhu', thus pointing to A. D. 1310-11 coinciding with Malik Kāfūr's southern campaign, as the date of its occurrence. The date of the second sack of Śrīraṅgam is Śaka 1249, and as this coincides with the date of the southern campaign undertaken in the reign of Muhammad-bin-Tughlak in A. D. 1327-28,³ it has been surmised that the Muhammadan army which was sent out from Warangal passed along this route and raided Śrīraṅgam. The Raṅganātha image which escaped capture by being smuggled out of the temple by Pillai Lōkāchārya⁴ had, as described in the *Kōyiloḷugu*, an eventful itinerancy through several places for over forty years, until it was brought back to Śrīraṅgam by Gōpaṇārya of Gingee, an officer of the Vijayanagara prince Kampaṇa in Śaka 1293 (=A. D. 1372). The heroic part played by these two persons, prince and officer, in defeating the Muhammadans at Madura and in restoring the Raṅganātha image to its own habitation, is already known from the *Madhurāvijayam*⁵ of Gaṅgādēvi and from the two Sanskrit verses⁶ engraved on the Dharmavarma's wall in the second *prākāra* of the Śrīraṅgam temple. Epigraphical references to these incidents are also found in records copied at Kaṇṇaṇūr,⁷ Tirupattūr, Tirukkaḷākkudi and several other places.

When Śrīraṅgam slowly recovered from the effects of the *tulukka-vāṇam*, the work of renovating the fallen *gōpuras*, *prākāra* walls and *maṇḍapas*, appears to have been taken in hand in easy stages, and the turn of the *ārōgyasālā* and its annexe the Dhanvantari shrine came when, in Śaka 1415 (=A. D. 1493), Śrīraṅga-Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa, the hereditary Physician of the Śrīraṅgam temple and the author-to-be of the *Divyasūricharitam*, came forward to do his little bit in rehabilitating the Śrīraṅgam temple to its former state.

(A.)

TEXT.

Front Side.

- | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1 * Svasti Śrī [*] Śakā- | 5 mvaṭsarattu Risha- |
| 2 bdam 1415-n- | 6 bha-nāyarru pūru- |
| 3 mēl śellā- | 7 va-pakshattu pañcha- |
| 4 niṇṇa Pramādi-sa- | 8 miyum Sōmavā- ¹⁰ |

¹ Loc. cit., pp. 12 and 103 et. seq. There seems to be some duplication in the *Kōyiloḷugu*'s narrative.

² These facts are dealt with in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 138 and in greater detail in S. K. Aiyangar, *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*, pp. 113 and 155 ff.

³ *South India* etc., p. 158.

⁴ Loc. cit., p. 104. Pillai Lōkāchārya died on the way at Jyōtishkudi.

⁵ Published by G. Harihara Sastri, Trivandrum.

⁶ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 322 ff.

There is some slight vagueness in the *Kōyiloḷugu* narrative. The first image was brought back through the help of a 'Chandragiri-prabhu', while the second image was restored by Gōpaṇa of Gingee. Apparently both these images were restituted on the same occasion, which necessitated the discriminative test applied by the temple washerman for their identification (p. 29). The Sanskrit verses referring to the restoration by Gōpaṇa do not make specific mention of two images, however.

⁷ No. 162 of 1936-37, No. 119 of 1908 and No. 64 of 1916 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁸ A *vaḍagalai* mark (without the central line) flanked by a *Chakra* and a *Śankha* are engraved at the top of the inscription.

⁹ Many of the Sanskrit words are engraved correctly in Grantha letters.

¹⁰ The secondary length of the letter is engraved in the next line.

9 ramum perṛa Pū-
10 śattu-nā| Tiruvara-
11 ṅgaṇ-tiruppati I-
12 ṛandakālam-eḍu-
13 tta-Perumā| [Kū]-
14 ḍal Chakravāḷanām-
15 bi āṇa Uttamana-
16 mbi-Piḷḷai kāla-
17 ttilē 'baṭṭā|-
18 kottu Aḷagiyama-
19 ṇavāḷa-Maṅgalā-¹
20 darāyar putran Śrī-
21 nivāsan āṇa [Śrī]-
22 raṅga-Garuḍav[ā]-
23 hana-'Baṭṭar ka[yi]-
24 ṅkariyam=āga Śrī-
25 [Cha]ntrapushkaraṇikkū²

26 mēlpuram=āga mu-
27 ṇṇā| Pratāpa-
28 chakrava[r*]tti kālam
29 tuḍaṅgi ivaruḍai-
30 ya pūrvā| Ga-
31 ruḍavāhana-Bha[ṭṭa]-
32 r naḍatti-vanda ā-
33 rōgyaśālai³
34 vāṇattilē
35 khilam=āgaiyil
36 ippoḷudu ā-
37 rōgyaśālai⁴
38 yum śamaippi-
39 ttu Dhanvantari-Em-
40 berumāṇaiyum
41 ēri-arulappaṇ-
42 ṇugaiyil

Back Side.

43 nā|tōru-
44 m Perumā|
45 kuḍi[ṇi]r⁵ amudu-
46 śeyd-arulugi-
47 ṛa kattalaikkū-
48 m Dhanvantari-E-
49 mberumāṇ
50 tiruvārādhana-ka-
51 ṭṭalaikkum naḍa-
52 kkumbaḍi muṇṇā-
53 | Garuḍavāha-
54 na-Bhaṭṭar Perumā-
55 ḷukku Raṅgaghō.⁶
56 śaṇai praba-
57 ndham paṇṇi
58 Perumā| tiruvu-
59 ḷam ugandu ti-
60 rukkaivaḷakkam.⁷
61 āga=ppallakku-mā-
62 ṇṇi[ya]m-āga-tti-

63 ruvuḷlam-paṭṭiṇa
64 tirumugappaḍiyilē⁸
65 anubavittu-va-
66 nda tenkarai [ti]-
67 ruviḍaiṭṭam Pā.⁹
68 ṇḍamaṅgalat-
69 tu Irājavibhā-
70 ṭaṇ^{*} nilaṇ iru-vē.^{*}
71 liyum nāḷadu
72 Perumāḷukku
73 viṇṇappaṇi-
74 śeydu Dhanvanta-
75 ri-Emberumāṇu-
76 kku tiruviḍaiṭṭa-
77 m=āga samarppikkai-
78 yil inda nilam
79 iru-vēliyum Dha-
80 nvantari-Emberumā-
81 ṇukku tiruvārā-
82 dhana-kkattalaikkum

¹ The Tamil letter *pa* is used instead of *bha*.

² The secondary length of the letter *la* is engraved in the next line.

³ Correctly 'Chandrapushkarai'.

⁴ The letter *la* is engraved in the next line.

⁵ This should be correctly *kuḍinir* here as well as in line 83 below.

⁶ The secondary length is in the next line.

⁷ *Tirukkaivaḷakkam* ordinarily means 'offerings distributed to devotees etc.' Here it implies that the land had been granted by the god himself.

⁸ 'Rājavibhāṭaṇ' was the title of some king, after which the measuring-rod was so named.

⁹ The letter *va* is in the next line.

83 kuḍiṇī¹-amudukku-
84 m Garuḍavāha-

85 na-Bhaṭṭar adhi-
86 abthānam-āga²

Third Side.

87 putra
88 pau-
89 tra-
90 param-
91 parai-³
92 y-āga
93 āchā-⁴
94 ndrārkkā-
95 sthāyi
96 āga na-
97 ḍatta-[k⁵]ka-
98 ḍavad-ā-
99 gavum [l⁶]
100 inda
101 dharmmat-
102 tukku

103 ahita-
104 m nīṇi-
105 ttavarga
106 l Gaṅgai
107 kkarai-
108 yil ka-
109 vila-
110 yai va-
111 ⁷dhaittavar-
112 gaḷ pāpa-
113 ttilē pō-
114 ga-kka-
115 ḍavarga-
116 l-āgavu-
117 m [l⁸] Śubha-
118 [m]=astu [l⁹]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity!

In the (cyclic) year Pramādi which was current after Śaka 1415, in the month of Rishabhā, on Monday, with pañchamī (-tithi) of the first fortnight and Pushya (-nakshatra): in the time of Irandakālam-eḍutta-Perumāḷ [Kū]ḍal Chakravājanambi alias Uttamanambi-Pīḷai of (the temple of) Tiruvaraṅgaṇ-Tiruppati,—

Śrinivāsan alias Śrīraṅga-Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭar, son of Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷa-Maṅgalādarāyar of the bhaṭṭāl-kottu, reconstructed the ārōgyasālai to the west of the Chandra-pushkariṇī (-tank), which had been conducted in the past by an ancestor of his named Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭar from the time of Pratāpachakravartin and which had become dilapidated during the rāṇam, consecrated (the image of) Dhanvantari-Emberumāṇ (therein), and arranged for the service of (supplying) daily kuḍiṇī-offering to Perumāḷ (god Raṅganātha) and for worship to Dhanvantari-Emberumāṇ, in the following manner:—

The two vēḷi of Rājavibhāṭaṇ-nīlaṇ¹ in Pāṇḍamaṅgalam, a tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam (village) on the southern bank (of the river Kāvērī), which had been in the enjoyment of (the earlier?)² Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa, having been graciously granted to him through the god's tirumugam as pallakku-mānyam,³ for (his) having composed the prabandham (called) Raṅgaghōṣhaṇai to (i.e., in honour of)

¹ Kuḍiṇī is correctly kuḍiṇī. It was intended for being offered to Perumāḷ (Raṅganātha), as specifically mentioned in line 44.

² Adhishṭhānam means 'under the supervision of'.

³ The letter ra is engraved in the next line.

⁴ Read ā-chandr-ārka.

⁵ The ai sign is engraved in the previous line.

⁶ I.e., land, as measured by the Rājavibhāṭaṇ measuring-rod.

⁷ There is a slight vagueness in the wording, which would also admit of considering the Raṅgaghōṣhaṇai as the work of the Garuḍavāhana of A. D. 1493.

⁸ I.e., land granted for the maintenance of a palanquin for his use, as a special honour.

the god, was on this day made over as *tiruvīḍaiyāṭṭam* to Dhanvantari-Emberumāṇ after due intimation¹ to Perumāḷ (Raṅganātha). And it was stipulated that this two *vēli* (of land) was to be utilised, as long as the moon and sun last, for providing worship to Dhanvantari-Emberumāṇ and for *kuḍinīr*-offering (to Perumāḷ), under the supervision of Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa and in his lineal succession of son and grandson.

Those that contemplate evil to this charity shall incur the sin of having killed tawny cows on the banks of the Ganges.

Be it well!

No. 13.—REWAH STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KARNA : THE [CHEDI] YEAR 800.

By PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

This inscription was discovered by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist, at Rewah in 1936. The slab, on which it is inscribed, is now lying in the guard hall of the old palace at Rewah. It is said to have been previously built into a wall of the Zenana Mahal of the same palace, from where it was removed a few years back and preserved in its present place. I edit the inscription here from two excellent impressions kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist.

The record is incised on a large slab. The inscribed surface measures 7'·2" in breadth and 3'·1½" in height. As shown below, the inscription was originally put up at a temple of Śiva and seems to have been brought over to Rewah from somewhere else.² The record has suffered considerably on the right and left hand sides and especially in the lower portion comprising lines 23-31, in which in some places only a word here and there can be read with confidence. Even in other parts, where it is better preserved, the *mātrās*, the *anuvāra*, the sign for the superscript *r* on the top of letters and the horizontal stroke in the body of *śh* have in many cases disappeared. The inscription consists of thirty-one lines and falls into two parts which are separated by an ornamental figure in l. 19. Except for the obeisance to Śiva with which it seems to have opened and a few words recording the date at the end, the whole record is in verse. The first part of it, which eulogizes the reigning Kalachuri king Karṇa and his ancestors, comprises thirty-three verses. As many as twenty-one of these occur in the Goharwa plates³ of that king. In many cases, therefore, the damaged letters of the present inscription can be easily supplied from the latter record. The second part, comprising verses 34-59, contained a legendary account of the origin of the Kāyastha caste as well as the genealogy of the minister of Karṇa, who founded the temple of Śiva at which the present inscription was set up. The mutilation of a considerable portion of the record in this part is very much to be regretted as none of the damaged verses are known to occur anywhere else. We have consequently lost not only an account of the achievements of the minister and his ancestors, but, except in one case, even the names of all of them. Besides, the present record, had it not been so badly mutilated, would have thrown much welcome light on the notions current in the eleventh century A. D. about the caste of the Kāyasthas, which has latterly become a subject of keen controversy. As shown below, the mutilated condition of the present record makes its evidence doubtful.

¹ This means that the formal permission of the god was obtained for the transaction.

² In his report for 1935-36 the Government Epigraphist has conjectured that the slab might have been brought from Gurgi like so many other inscriptions and statues which are now kept in the State Treasury or in the compound of the Prince's Palace'. (A. S. R. for 1935-36, p. 89.)

³ Above, Vol. XI, pp. 142 ff.

The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet. The size of letters varies from '8" to 1". Medial diphthongs have generally been indicated by *prishṭha-mātrās*. *Kh* has attained its fully developed Nāgarī form, see *nikhāta*, l. 8, but *ñ* is still without its dot, see e.g. *Vaṅgāla-bhaṅga*, l. 6; *ṭh* has developed a vertical at the top, see *luṭhantu*, l. 3 and *pīṭha*, l. 6; the upper loop of *th* is closed, see *pāṭhō-mashī*, l. 16; its subscript form, however, is not now laid on its side, see *sthālē*, l. 15. The left portion of *dh* is still undeveloped. The letter is, therefore, distinguished from *v* which it closely resembles by the absence of the horizontal line at the top and in the case of *dhā* by a horizontal stroke joining the two verticals, see *avaidhavya-vidhāna*, l. 15. The right hand curve of *ph* is open and is added at the top of its vertical as in *phala*, l. 3, or a little lower down as in *sphāl*, l. 13. The curve of *s* is joined to its vertical on the right, see *sāsana*, l. 18; the letter can in many places be distinguished from *s* only by its round top. Finally, *h* shows no tail, see *mahati*, l. 4.

The language is Sanskrit. As stated above, except for a few words in the beginning and at the end, the whole record is metrically composed. There are fifty-nine verses in all, of which thirty-three fall in the first and the remaining twenty-six in the second part of the record. In its first part our inscription has as many as twenty-one verses in common with the Goharwa plates of Karṇa, there being only slight variations in their readings here and there as pointed out in the footnotes to the transcribed text. In two cases (vv. 20 and 26) the order of verses in the present inscription differs from that in the Goharwa plates. The verses consequently refer to different kings in these two records¹; but as they contain mere conventional praise, the change does not affect the historical information. As regards orthography we may note that the consonant following *r* is doubled in many cases; see e.g. *Śambhōr=jjatā-maṇḍalam*, l. 2; *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, see *vaddh-ō*, l. 1; *mva* is used for *mra* in *tāmrapattarīḥ*, l. 18. Similarly *n* is wrongly substituted for *anusvāra* in *pāṇtu*, l. 21. In *surā-pāṇa*, l. 11, we have the change of *n* to *ṇ* in accordance with Pāṇini's rule VIII, 4, 10.

The record seems to have opened with an obeisance to Śiva. This is followed by three *maṅgala-śloka*s in praise of Śiva, the last of which describes his *Ardha-nārīśvara* form. After two more verses—one in praise of Brahman and the other in that of poets' speech—begins a description of the ancestors of the reigning king Karṇa of the Kalachuri dynasty. His pedigree is traced to the moon, but the first historical personage, mentioned after such mythical and legendary heroes as Budha, Purūravas, Bharata and Haihaya, is **Lakshmaṇarāja**, who is evidently identical with the homonymous king mentioned as the son and successor of Yuvarājadēva I in the Bilhāri stone inscription² and the Benares plates of Karṇa³. As I have shown elsewhere⁴, his father Yuvarājadēva I was a contemporary of the Rāshtrakūṭa kings Baddiga-Amōghavarsha III and his son Kṛishṇa III and may, therefore, have flourished from circa A. D. 915 to 945. Lakshmaṇarāja has thus to be referred to the period A. D. 945-970. In v. 11 of the present inscription which is also found in the Goharwa plates he is described as one 'who was clever in routing the king of Bengal, who defeated the Pāṇḍya, who was adept in despoiling the king of Lāṭa, who vanquished the Gūrjara king and whose foot-stool was honoured by the heroes of Kāśmīra.' There is no corroboration of Lakshmaṇarāja's raid in Bengal and Kashmīr, but as regards his victory in Lāṭa or Gujarāt we have the statement in the Bilhāri inscription that Lakshmaṇarāja, in the course

¹ An analogous instance is furnished by the Goharwa plates. The verse *Bhū-bhāra-kehana-drik*, etc. employed to describe Yuvarājadēva II in the plates occurs in the eulogy of his grandfather, Yuvarājadēva I, in the Benares plates of Karṇa.

² Above, Vol. I, p. 259.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 307.

⁴ *An. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, Vol. XI, pp. 361 ff.

of his expedition in the west, worshipped the god Sōmēśvara, evidently Sōmanātha near Verāval in Kāthiāwār and dedicated to the deity the effigy of the (Nāga) Kāliya wrought with jewels and gold¹. His invasion of the Pāṇḍya country also seems to be corroborated by a mutilated line² in the contemporary Kārītalai inscription which mentions his forces encamped on the bank of the Tāmraparṇī. It seems rather strange that there should be no reference to Lakshmaṇarāja's victory over the Chōlas who, and not the Pāṇḍyas, were supreme in the South in the latter half of the tenth century A. D., and who must have been attacked and defeated by Lakshmaṇarāja, before he could press as far south as the Tāmraparṇī in the Pāṇḍya country. We have, therefore, to suppose that the Chōlas had not yet recovered from the attacks of the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Kṛishṇa III and that the Pāṇḍya king was raising his head and trying to re-establish his power with the help of the Rāshtrakūṭas³ when his country was raided by Lakshmaṇarāja. The Gūrjara king defeated by him must have been one of the weak successors of Mahipāla II as pointed out by R. D. Banerji⁴. The same scholar found corroboration of this victory in the statement of the Bilhāri inscription that Lakshmaṇarāja defeated the lord of Kōsala⁵. He further identified this prince with his namesake mentioned at the head of the genealogy in the Kahla plates of Śōḍhadēva⁶ and conjectured that he must have placed one of his sons in charge of the country conquered from the Gūrjaras. But these suppositions do not seem to be correct. Lakshmaṇarāja's victory over the king of Kōsala is mentioned in connection with the despoilment of the lord of Ōḍra. The Kōsala appears, therefore, to be Dakṣiṇa Kōsala or Chhattiagarh and the adjoining states. Further, Lakshmaṇarāja, who founded the dynasty ruling in the Gōrakhpur District, U. P., must have flourished long before the Lakshmaṇarāja of our record; for, Rājaputra, the next prince mentioned in the Kahla plates, who, however, was not his immediate successor, must be referred to *circa* A. D. 775, as his third lineal descendant Guṇāmbhōdhidēva I was a contemporary of the Pratihāra king Bhōja I (*circa* A. D. 836-885). Lakshmaṇarāja of the present inscription cannot, therefore, be identified with the homonymous king mentioned in the Kahla plates.

Our inscription next mentions **Yuvarājadēva (II)** as the son and successor of Lakshmaṇarāja. He is evidently the second prince of that name mentioned in the Bilhāri stone inscription and the Benares plates of Karṇa. The name of his elder brother Śaṅkaragaṇa who is known from the aforementioned two records as well as from the Kārītalai stone inscription⁷ has been omitted here probably because he was a collateral. The description of Yuvarājadēva II and his son and successor **Kōkalla II** given here is quite conventional.

After Kōkalla II, his son **Gāṅgēyadēva** came to the throne. Of the four verses devoted to his description in this record, three (*viz.* vv. 18, 20 and 21) occur in the Goharwa plates, but one of them (v. 20) is employed there to describe his son Karṇa. Verse 19 which is not known to occur anywhere else describes in a conventional manner Gāṅgēyadēva's victory near the sea coast. This may refer to his campaign in Orissa which is specifically mentioned in the preceding verse (18).

¹ Above, Vol. I, p. 260.

² Only the lower portions of a few letters in the beginning of this line are preserved. The line has been omitted in Kielhorn's text. I read the letters as *nitarām dalēna || Tāmraparṇī-taṣe*.

³ Compare कर्णा दक्षिणदिग्जयतश्चिदा श्रीलान्दीन्मूलं तद्वर्ति निजभृत्यवर्गपरितयेरन्मपाश्यादिकान् । in the Karṇād plates of Kṛishṇa III (above, Vol. IV, p. 285, v. 35). Perhaps the poet's intention was to name the peoples living on the borders of India, and the Pāṇḍyas are mentioned here as living in the extreme South.

⁴ *The Haihayas of Tripurī and their Monuments* (Mem. A. S. I., No. 23), p. 12.

⁵ Above, Vol. I, p. 260.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, pp. 85 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 179.

The latter gives the following description of Gāṅgēyadēva's achievements—'From him (*i.e.* Kōkalla II) was (*born*) Gāṅgēyadēva who threw into the cage of a prison the king of Kīra, who looked radiant with the mass of wealth of (*the king of*) Aṅga, who was fond of defeating (*the king of*) Kuntala in a (*clever*) manner, and who, strong as he was in the action of breaking open the frontal globes of the best of elephants, made his own arm a pillar of victory on the shore of the (*eastern*) ocean after vanquishing the (*king of*) Utkala'. Most of the statements regarding these victories are substantiated by other evidence. We do not of course know if Gāṅgēyadēva succeeded in actually extending his dominions as far as the Kīra country which comprised the territory round Baijnāth in the east of the Kāngrā District¹; for, references to victories over the king of the Kīra country and even a pun on his name are found in other records², which show that such descriptions were more or less conventional. But Gāṅgēyadēva had certainly the Doāb under his control. He fixed his residence at the holy city of Prayāga (Allahābād) where he lived to the last. It is not therefore unlikely that he extended his sway in the North-West up to the Kāngrā valley, on the downfall of the Gūrjara-Pratihāra king Trilōchanapāla some time after A. D. 1027³. His victory over the king of Aṅga seems to be a historical fact; for, from the colophon of a manuscript of the *Rāmāyaṇa* in the Durbar Library, Nepal⁴, he seems to have established himself in Tirabhukti as early as A. D. 1019 and this country he must have wrested from the contemporary ruler of Aṅga and Magadha, who was probably Mahīpāla I. It seems that there was another expedition against the king of Magadha towards the close of Gāṅgēyadēva's reign. This expedition was led by his son Karṇa. Tibetan tradition tells us that some time before A. D. 1040⁵, which is the approximate date of Atiśa-Dīpaṅkara's departure for Tibet, there was an invasion of Nayapāla's territory by king Karṇa of the West, who is obviously none other than the Kalachuri Karṇa. As Gāṅgēyadēva was ruling till A. D. 1040, this invasion cannot be placed in the reign of Karṇa himself. It seems to have taken place towards the end of Gāṅgēyadēva's reign. In that case Karṇa may have been obliged to patch up a peace with the king of Magadha as his presence was required elsewhere by the approaching end of Gāṅgēyadēva. From the description in v. 18 Gāṅgēyadēva seems to have exacted a heavy tribute from his vanquished adversary.

Gāṅgēyadēva's victory over the king of Kuntala is also referred to in other records. Both the Khairhā⁶ and Jabalpur⁷ plates state that 'wishing to run away in haste from him the king of Kuntala ceased to wield his spear⁸'. Kuntala included the Southern Maratha country and

¹ Above, Vol. I, p. 97.

² See *e.g.* *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 217; above, Vol. II, p. 188.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 33 ff.

⁴ *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Durbar Library of Nepal*, p. 18.

⁵ Lévi, *Le Nepal*, Vol. II, p. 189. Babu Sarat Chandra Das gives A. D. 1038 as the date of Atiśa's visit to Tibet. *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LX, p. 51.

⁶ Above, Vol. XII, p. 211, v. 11.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 6.

⁸ यस्मादकस्मादपयानमिच्छन् कुन्तलः कुन्तलतां व(श)भार ॥ (v. 11). Kielhorn's reading of the hemistich was incorrect probably owing to the unsatisfactory nature of the impressions supplied to him. The correct reading was first given by R. B. Hiralal while editing the Khairhā plates. But his translation 'wishing to run away from whom with dishevelled hair (the king of Kuntala) who was deprived of his country came to possess it again' (above, Vol. XII, p. 215) and his conjecture based on it that Gāṅgēyadēva restored the Kuntala country to its king who was defeated (*ibid.*, p. 205), do not seem to be correct. The hemistich apparently means 'wishing to run away from whom, the Kuntala ceased to be the Kuntala'. This involves contradiction, but it is only apparent, the figure being *virōdhābhāsa*; for the words really mean 'wishing to run away suddenly from whom the king of Kuntala ceased to wield his spear'. There is a pun on the second word *kuntala* here, (1) the king of Kuntala and (2) one who wields his spear, *kuntalāṁ lāt-iti*. For the second meaning compare a similar derivation of *kuśala* (one who handles *kuśa*) referred to in Mammaṭa's *Kāvyaprakāśa* (II, 9). [The term in question is better explained by taking it as a compound of *kuntu* and *latā* on the analogy of *asi-latā*.—Ed.] There is therefore no reference here to the deposition or reinstatement of the king of Kuntala.

the adjoining Kanerese districts and was at this time under the rule of the Later Chālukyas. The king of Kuntala, over whom Gāṅgēyadēva is said to have obtained a victory, was probably Jayasimha II¹ who ruled from about A. D. 1015 to 1042. From the Kulenur inscription² it seems that Gāṅgēyadēva had formed a confederacy with the Paramāra Bhōja and the Chōla Rājendra I to attack Jayasimha from three sides. Victory does not appear to have always attended the arms of the allies ; for, the Kulenur inscription records the defeat of their elephant squadrons by Jayasimha's cousin³ Kundarāja and the Balagāmve inscription⁴ states that Jayasimha searched out, beset, pursued, ground down and put to flight the confederacy of the Mālava.

In his war against the king of Utkala (Orissa) Gāṅgēyadēva was helped by the subordinate branch of the Kalachuri family established at Tummāṇa. The Amōdā plates of Prithvidēva I state that Kamalarāja vanquished the king of Utkala and gave his wealth to his lord Gāṅgēyadēva⁵. The king of Utkala was, it seems, one of the Guptas of Dakṣiṇa Kōsala, perhaps Mahā-Sivagupta-Yayāti who calls himself the lord of Utkala and Trikalīṅga⁶. In one of his grants⁷ Yayāti is said to have obtained a victory over the Chaidyas and devastated the Pāhala country. The war seems therefore to have continued for some time and victory sometimes leaned to one side and sometimes to the other. If Gāṅgēyadēva was ultimately victorious, he may have assumed the title *Trikalīṅgādhipati* after his success. We know that his son Karṇa mentions this title in his first grant issued just a year after Gāṅgēya's death⁸.

Gāṅgēyadēva's son and successor Karṇa is next eulogized in as many as twelve verses. Of these, six (*viz.* 22, 24, 26, 30, 31 and 32) were already known from the Goharwa plates. Of the remaining six, three contain a description of his achievements. The importance of the present inscription lies in this that it provides us for the first time with a contemporary record of some of Karṇa's victories ; for, though two other grants made by the king had already been discovered, they contained mere conventional praise. Our knowledge of his achievements was, therefore, entirely derived from the records of his descendants and his adversaries. Verse 23 states that 'the ship of the king of the Eastern country, being driven by the storm of unparalleled arrogance, was submerged in the ocean of his (*i.e.* Karṇa's) forces, its joints being rent by (*dashing against*) the promontories of the mountains of his elephants.' Stripped of its metaphor, the verse means that Karṇa achieved a decisive victory over the king of the Eastern country, who lost his life in the fierce fight. Who was this king of the Eastern country ? He could scarcely have been a Pāla king, for the kingdom of the Pālas, as shown by their own inscriptions and those of their contemporaries, was restricted to parts of Bihār and North-West Bengal. From the Bherā-Ghāt inscription of Alhaṇadēvi⁹, on the other hand, we learn that when Karṇa gave full play to his heroism, the Vaṅga trembled with the Kālīṅga. Karṇa's victory seems, therefore, to have been obtained over the king of Vaṅga or Eastern Bengal. The tenor of the description suggests that the dynasty of the latter was supplanted and his kingdom was either annexed by Karṇa or placed in charge of his own nominee. As a matter of fact we find the Varmans supplanting the Chandras in Eastern Bengal in the eleventh century A. D. Śrīchandra is the last king of the Chandra dynasty known from inscriptions found in Bengal. The name of one more king, *viz.* Gōvinda-chandra, is known from the Tirumalai rock inscription¹⁰ of Rājendra Chōla I, which mentions him

¹ [If Krishna Sastri's translation of verse 11 of the Khairhā plates of Yaśaḥkarnadēva (above, Vol. XII, p. viii) is correct, the Kuntala king who was the adversary of Gāṅgēyadēva would be Vikramāditya (V).—N. L. R.]

² Above, Vol. XV, p. 330.

³ [It is doubtful if Kundarāja was a scion of the Chālukya family and hence a cousin of Jayasimha II (see *Karnatak Historical Review*, Vol. II, pp. 37 ff.)—N. L. R.]

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 17.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 79.

⁶ *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 45 ff.

⁷ *J. P. A. S. B. (N. S.)*, Vol. I (1906), p. 4.

⁸ Above, Vol. II, p. 309.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 232.

as the ruler of the Vaṅgāla-dēśa. He was defeated in circa A. D. 1021 by Rājendra I, the illustrious Chōla Emperor (A. D. 1012-44). Either this prince or his successor was on the throne when Karṇa invaded Eastern Bengal. After the overthrow of the Chandra prince, Karṇa seems to have placed Vajravarman in charge of the newly acquired territory and given his daughter Virasrī to his son Jātavarman to cement the political alliance. The latter seems to have distinguished himself in the Aṅga country¹ in one of the later campaigns of Karṇa. The present inscription which is definitely dated shows that the dynastic revolution must have been effected before A. D. 1048-9 and thus furnishes us with a landmark in the mediæval history of Bengal.

Verse 25 refers to Karṇa's conquests in the South. 'Overrunning the district of Kāñchī he thoroughly enjoyed the Southern direction, in which the fortune of the Kuntala was shaken by forcible seizure and the low Pallavas were destroyed, as though covering the hips of a woman he was ravishing her, the beauty of whose hair was marred by forcible seizure and whose tender lower lip was wounded (in kissing).' The description here is evidently dictated by the poet's *penchant* for *double entendre*. The earliest verse of this type is traditionally ascribed to Mayūra² and is taken by some scholars³ to contain references to Harsha's expedition in the South. In later times poets composed such verses containing puns on names of countries to flatter their patrons in utter disregard of historical facts. For instance, three such verses, besides the aforementioned one ascribed to Mayūra, have been collected in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛita* of Śrīdharadāsa⁴. It is, therefore, difficult to say how far the description in v. 25 of the present inscription can be taken to be historically true. Besides, the Pallavas, over whom a decisive victory is claimed for Karṇa in the present verse, had long before ceased to be supreme in the South, their kingdom having been annexed by the Chōlas in about A. D. 890⁵. A branch of the Pallavas, no doubt, continued to rule in the Nolambavāḍi 32000 down to the eleventh century A. D.⁶, but they had no control over the territory round Kāñchī and a victory over them would not have brought much glory to Karṇa's arms. Besides, Karṇa's victory over the Pallavas is not referred to in the fairly long lists of his conquests intimated in the records of his descendants. So far as the reference to the Pallavas is concerned, the description in the present verse appears to be more fanciful than real.

The reference to the invasion of the district of Kāñchī is perhaps intended to signify the defeat of the Chōlas; for, though the capital of the Chōlas had been removed to Gaṅgāpurī or Gaṅgaikondachōlapuram since its foundation by Rājendra Chōla I, Sanskrit poets continued to mention Kāñchī as the Chōla capital⁷. Karṇa's victory over a Chōla king is intimated in a verse in the Karanbēl inscription of Jayasimhadēva⁸. R. D. Banerji conjecturally identified the Chōla king defeated by Karṇa with Virarajendra Rājakēśarivarman, who was reigning between A. D. 1062 and 1067⁹. The reference to the invasion of Kāñchī in v. 25 of the present inscription, if historically true, would show that the victory had already been attained in A. D. 1048-9. Karṇa's adversary must therefore be identified with Rājādhirāja I, the son and successor of Rājendra Chōla I, who ruled from A. D. 1018 to 1054.

¹ N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 20.

² See No. 2515 of the *Subhāṣitāvalī* (Bom. Sk. series), p. 429. See also *Karīndra-vachanī-samuchchaya* (Bibl. Ind.), Introd., p. 68. The verse is ascribed to the poetess Vidyā in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛita* (Punj. Or. Series), p. 196.

³ *Ind. His. Quart.*, Vol. III, pp. 788-89.

⁴ See p. 197. Two of these are ascribed to the poets Śabdārṇava and Jayadēva.

⁵ K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Chōlas*, Vol. I, p. 136.

⁶ Sewell, *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India* (ed. S. K. Aiyangar), pp. 371-2.

⁷ See, e.g. Bilhana's *Vikramānka-dēvacharita* I, 115; III, 76; IV, 28, etc. Bilhana mentions Gaṅga-Kuṇḍapura also as a Chōla Capital. *Ibid.*, VI, 21-24.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 217.

⁹ Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri gives A. D. 1063-1069 as the period of his rule. See *The Chōlas*, Vol. I, p. 293.

The account of Karṇa's conflict with the king of Kuntala is substantiated by other evidence. As already observed, Kuntala was then under the rule of the Later Chālukyas. Though the Kalachuris and the Later Chālukyas sometimes combined, as they did for instance when they overran the Mālava country some time after Bhōja's death¹, they frequently came into conflict with each other. Bilhaṇa records that Āhavamalla (Sōmēśvara I) utterly destroyed the power of Karṇa², while an Apabhraṃśa verse mentions Karṇa's victory over the mighty Vikrama³, evidently Vikramāditya VI, the son of Sōmēśvara I-Āhavamalla. The conflict referred to in the present inscription must have occurred during the early part of Āhavamalla's reign when his son Vikramāditya was too young to take the field against Karṇa.

Verse 27 of the present inscription states that 'when Karṇa approached (the Gūrjara country), tears mixed with collyrium flowed on the cheeks of Gūrjara women living in the neighbourhood and colour-marks indicative of thier non-widowhood slipped as it were from their foreheads.' This is, of course, too vague a description to indicate an actual conflict with the king of the Gūrjara country, but, unless it is altogether meaningless, it suggests that Karṇa's relations with the contemporary Gūrjara king were already strained. Later on the two kings seem to have combined for the common objective of crushing out of existence the kingdom of Mālwa, but their amicable relations did not last long; for, Hēmachandra records Bhīma's defeat of Karṇa⁴ while an Apabhraṃśa verse gives Karṇa credit for the extermination of mighty Gūrjara forces⁵. These

¹ cf. तस्मिन्नासवव(व)भुतामुपगते राज्ये च कुल्याकुलि
मधस्तामिनि तस्य व(व)भुदद्यादित्येभवदुपपत्तिः ।
धेनोद्वय महाश्वीयममिलत्वाचाटकर्षप्र[म]-

मुर्वीपालकदर्शितां भुवनिमा श्रीमहराजयितम् ॥ Verse 32 of the Nāgpur *prastāvi*, above, Vol. II, p. 185.

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has recently suggested (see his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 291, n. 4) that Karṇa mentioned in this verse is the Chaulukya Karṇa and not Kalachuri Karṇa. He takes the *svāmin* in the above verse to be Jayasimha, the son of Bhōja. But the Chaulukya Karṇa was not a contemporary of Jayasimha; for, his father Bhīma was reigning till V. S. 1120 (above, Vol. XXI, p. 172), while Jayasimha was succeeded by Udayāditya some time in V. S. 1116 (see Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos. 133 and 134). The later references to Jayasimha are either doubtful (see above, Vol. XXII, p. 56, n. 3) or refer to some other Jayasimha, perhaps the Chaulukya Jayasimha (*ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 57, n. 8). The Kalachuri Karṇa, on the other hand, was a contemporary of the Paramāra Jayasimha. It seems that he invaded Mālwa at least twice. The first invasion occurred in circa A. D. 1055 about the time of Bhōja's death. Karṇa and Bhīma attacked Mālwa from the east and the west. Jayasimha, the son of Bhōja, was then obliged to seek Sōmēśvara-Āhavamalla's help to turn back the invaders (see the *Vikramānkadēvacharita*, III, 67). Karṇa's second invasion seems to have occurred about five years later. His ally this time was probably Sōmēśvara II, the elder brother of Vikramāditya VI. Karṇa achieved greater success this time. Jayasimha was probably killed in battle and parts of Mālwa annexed to the Chālukya and Chēdi kingdoms. In the Sūṇi inscription of Śaka 906 (A. D. 1075) Sōmēśvara is described as a blazing submarine fire to the ocean, that is, the race of the Mālavayaa. An Apabhraṃśa verse in the *Pingalārthapradīpa* to which Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar drew attention long ago (see his *Collected Works*, Vol. II, p. 339) clearly says that the Kalachuri Karṇa had by force uprooted the family of the king of Mālwa (इयं सत्तरगुणरराचटलं दलदलिचयलिचमरद्वडलं । बलमीलिचमालवराचकुला कुलउज्जलकरदुलिकच पुला ।). Such statements could have been made only if Jayasimha being killed in the battle, there was for some time no scion of the royal family on the throne of Mālwa. Though the Chaulukya Karṇa also is said to have waged war on the king of Dhārā, he is nowhere credited with eradication of the family of the Mālava king.

² Bilhaṇa, *Vikramānkadēvacharita*, Canto I, śl. 102-3.

³ जे मंजिच गोलादिवर राउ उट्ट उट्टर सभ पराउ ।

गुहनिहम विहम जिनिच जगता कय परहम कीइ बुज्ज ॥ *Collected Works* of R. G. Bhandarkar, Vol. II, p. 339.

⁴ Above, Vol. II, p. 303.

⁵ See n. 1 above.

statements show that the two kings must have measured swords before A. D. 1063 at the latest, each side claiming victory over the other. Verse 27 of the present inscription suggests that the battle may have been fought even before A. D. 1048-9.

The object of the present inscription appears to have been to record the construction of a temple of Śiva by a minister of Karna, who belonged to the Kāyastha caste. Verse 34, with which commences the second part of the record, states that the twice-born caste undertook the work of a minister to augment the *mantra-śakti* (power of good counsel) of kings who are possessed of the other two powers, viz., the *utsāha-śakti* (personal energy) and *prabhu-śakti* (power derived from their royal position). We next get an account of the origin of the Kāyastha caste. There was a great sage (*mun-indra*) named Kāchāra who derived his holy birth from the three-eyed god Śiva. He made the town Kulāñchā an ornament of three worlds. A person of the fourth caste (*turiya-janman*) respectfully propitiated him on the bank of the heavenly river (*i.e.* Ganges). The next verse, which is partly mutilated, seems to describe the boon granted by the sage apparently to the Śūdra who had been serving him, that he would have a son of well-known and righteous deeds, who having his head sanctified by the dust of earthly gods (*i.e.* Brāhmaṇas) would become almost like the councillor of the lord of heaven (*i.e.* Bṛhaspati). The sage next declared that his caste would thereafter be known by the name of Kāyastha, since he had innumerable merits in his *kāya* (body). Verse 39, which is only partially preserved, refers to the birth of a son (apparently to the Śūdra) from whom sprang the caste of the Kāyasthas. We are next told that in his race were born wise, grateful, virtuous and meritorious diplomats, who gave security from fear to (all) beings. Verse 41 describes a personage of matchless prowess, who was distinguished among the rest as the Kaustubha is among all the gems produced from the milky ocean, but unfortunately his name is lost in the damaged portion¹. Verse 43 also mentions a person whose name again is illegible, but who was apparently an object of veneration to the illustrious king Lakshmaṇarāja as Viṣṇu is to the three worlds. This personage seems to have been eulogized in the next two verses (44 and 45). The preserved portion of v. 46 states that Sōmēśvara who dedicated himself to the welfare of the people was born from the aforementioned personage. The next verse seems to have described some achievements of his through intelligence and personal prowess. From l. 26 the record has unfortunately been too much mutilated to yield any useful information. We have consequently lost even the names of the descendants of Sōmēśvara, of whom the last one mentioned in the present inscription seems to have been a minister of Karna. From the description of the white splendour of a temple in v. 54, that it was as it were due to the laughter of Śiva who rejoiced to have such an excellent abode, it seems that it was a temple of Śiva at which the present inscription was put up. This surmise receives confirmation from the statement in v. 58 that the person, who had caused the temple of the 'enemy of Smara' (*i.e.* Śiva) to be constructed, himself composed the present *prāśasti*. The last verse seems to name him as the great poet Kāchāra, but the reading is not free from doubt. The record closes with the date 800 expressed in numerical figures only². This must evidently be referred to the Kalachuri-Chēdi era and corresponds to A. D. 1048-9. In the absence of the necessary details it does not admit of verification.

As already observed, the present inscription, if it had been in a state of good preservation, would have proved valuable for the history of the Kāyastha caste. Even as it is, it clearly shows that the Kāyasthas had crystallized into a caste in the beginning of the eleventh century A. D.; but we have still earlier records which unmistakably prove the existence of the caste two centuries

¹ His name ended in *kara* and may have been *Prabhākara*.

² The first two figures of the date are certain. The third also is clear in one of the impressions.

earlier¹. The fanciful derivation of the caste name Kāyastha given here occurs also in the *Nai-shadhiyacharita* (Canto XIV, v. 66). The present inscription seems to connect the caste with a sage named Kāchāra. The tendency to trace the origin of royal families to well-known legendary heroes or sages was widely prevalent in the middle ages, but the name of Kāchāra as an eponymous hero occurs nowhere in ancient mythological or legendary literature². It would seem, therefore, that an attempt has been made here to give a legendary explanation of the name of the caste which had become current in the eleventh century A. D.³ From the introductory verse of the second part of the present record, viz. v. 34, the poet's intention seems to have been to show that the Kāyasthas belonged to the Brāhmaṇa caste. It looks strange, therefore, that he should refer in v. 36 to a Śūdra (*turiya-janman*) as a Kāyastha and the progenitor of that caste and describe his son as having his head purified by the dust from the feet of earthly gods (i.e. Brāhmaṇas). Owing to the unfortunate mutilation of the lower part of the inscription it is now impossible to say how the Śūdra origin of the caste referred to in vv. 36-38 was reconciled with the claim to Brāhmaṇa-hood which seems to have been made in v. 34⁴.

The names of the distinguished members of this Kāyastha family, who seem to have served Kalachuri kings as their ministers, have been lost with the single exception of Sōmēśvara. The latter is eulogized in vv. 46 and 47, as one who had dedicated himself to the welfare of the people and distinguished himself by his prowess as well as by intelligence. The mention of Lakshmaṇarāja's name in one of the preceding verses suggests the identification of this Sōmēśvara with the homonymous son of Bhākamiśra, who was a minister of Lakshmaṇarāja as stated in the Kāritālāi stone inscription⁵. A careful comparison of the descriptions in the two records would show, however, that the identification cannot be upheld. For, Sōmēśvara of the Kāritālāi inscription was undoubtedly a Brāhmaṇa, as he is called Bhaṭṭa therein⁶ and is said to have belonged to the Bhāradvāja-gotra⁷. From the lengthy description of his accomplishments in that record we learn that he was proficient in various arts, but we do not find therein a single reference to his skill in the use of arms⁸. Sōmēśvara of the present inscription, however, was a Kāyastha distinguished as much for personal valour as for intelligence. Besides, he does not seem to have been a contemporary of Lakshmaṇarāja himself, but of his successor; for from vv. 43-46 we learn that he was the son of a person who was honoured by Lakshmaṇarāja. He is not, therefore, likely to have been identical with Sōmēśvara of the Kāritālāi inscription.

Of the geographical names occurring in the present record **Baṅgāla**, **Kāśmīra**, **Kāñchi** and **Himālaya** are too well known to need identification. **Aṅga** comprised the country round modern

¹ In his article 'The Nāgar Brāhmaṇs and the Bengal Kāyasthas' (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 48) Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has drawn attention to the Sañjān plates of Amoghavarsha I (871 A. D.) and the Gurmha plates of Jayādityadeva II (870 A. D.) as the earliest records mentioning the Kāyastha caste.

² In the Ajayagaḍh inscription of Nāna, a minister of the Chandella Bhōjavarman, the origin of the Kāyasthas is traced to the sage Kāśyapa (see *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VI, p. 882).

³ Is Kāchāra, like Khachara (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 31), identical with Khazar?

⁴ It is, of course, possible to take *turiya-janmā* in the sense of a Brāhmaṇa by dissolving the compound as *turiyārtham* (*yajñārtham*) *janma yasya saḥ*, i.e. one who is born for (the performance) of a sacrifice, a Brāhmaṇa. Both the *St. Petersburg Lexicon* and the *Vāchaspatyam* give this sense of *turiya*, citing the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* IX, 2, 3, 11, etc. in support of it. But such an explanation would appear forced; since the word does not bear that sense in classical Sanskrit. Halāyudha gives *turiya-varṇa* in the sense of a Śūdra. Note also *agra-janman* (first born) which means a Brāhmaṇa. Besides, the expression *yō bhūmi-dēva-pada-pāṇsu-pavitra-mauliḥ* suggests that the son did not belong to the caste of earthly gods or Brāhmaṇas.

⁵ Above, Vol. II, p. 174.

⁶ *Ibid.*, v. 9.

⁷ *Ibid.*, v. 2.

⁸ It must, however, be stated that v. 16 of the inscription states that Sōmēśvara's deeds were praised by birds in the fore-front of the battle-field.

- 3 — — — — — [र] वपुः ॥ [३४*] [श]हे
हृदयक्षेत्रे व[क्षो]मिव रोषयन्ति यां सुनयः । मीक्षमक्षफलजननौ त्रा(त्रा)-
[क्षी स]क्षमपि सा जयति ॥[४॥*] रसमस्तसुधावचः कवी[नां] सङ्गुणा-
शयाः । लुठन्तु विदुषां कण्ठे [श्वे च?] [वि]ततं यशः ॥[५॥*] क्षीरोद-
क्षेधरि[मि][यसुधानिधानमाविर्व(र्व)भूव भवभूषणमिन्दु-]*¹
- 4 [रेवः । अस्मादजायत वु(वु)धः स किल क्षितीश*]मायं पुरुरवसम्पन्न तनूज-
रत्नम् ॥[६॥*] इति महति सुधामयूख[र्व]मे नृपतिरजायत [मै]क्षिकाय-
मानः । अलभत भरतः स चक्रवर्ती विभुवत्[भूष]चभुषसेक एव ॥[७॥*]
त[चो]दितोदितकुले जगतीपतीना[मी]शः [क्रमा]दजनि [हृदयचक्र][वर्ती ।*]
[यस्य प्रचण्डभुजपञ्चर*]-]
- 5 [मध्यवर्ती कारागृहे धृत इव प्र*]स[भं] दशास्यः ॥[८॥*] वैरिध्वान्तभिदः
सहस्रकरतो भूपालचूडामणि[य]स्मादङ्गुतवा(वा)हुव(व)न्धविधुरो न[क्तं]चरघामणीः ।
हेलोक्षासितवा(वा)हुदण्डविहितयौकण्ठशैलोद्धृति*[:*] प्राग्विक्रान्तममन्यत स्वय
[मपि स्वमिन्द्रजालोपमम्] ॥[९॥*] यन्ना[ग्नि][धूमैः परितोषितेन्द्रास्तस्मा*]
6 [दभूवन्ध(न्ध)हृषो नरेन्द्राः ।*] रा[ज्ये न] ये[षां] विरराम वृ[ष्टिर्वि]पक्षनारी-
नयनान्मु(म्बु)वा[है] ॥[१०॥*] व(व)ङ्गालभङ्गनिपुणः परिभूतपाण्ड्या(ण्ड्यो)
लाटेशलुण्टनपटुर्जितगूर्जरैन्द्रः । काश्मीरवैरमुकुटार्धितपादपीठस्तेषु क्रमादजनि
लक्ष्मण[राजदेवः] ॥[११॥*] आसीद्यद्विजयप्रयाण[जनित][व्यायामस्वेदोदयोन्मज्ज-]
7 [क्षैनिकगात्रसिन्धुरशिरः*][सिन्दूरपूरा]रुणः । त्वङ्गुत्तुङ्गतरङ्गताडितमहाक्षोणीभृदम्बोनिधिः
पूर्णो [वै]रिक्ठोरकण्ठदलनासृक्स्त्रिपूरैरिव² ॥[१२॥*] साहित्यविद्याललना-
भुजङ्गी निःशेषधात्रीधरणाय शेषः । ततः स ज[ज्ञे] जगदेकवन्द्यदेदी[न्द्र]-
च[न्द्रो] युवराजदेवः ॥[१३॥*] [यौ]वनेन त[नौ] य[स्य प्र-]
8 [तापेनारिमूर्धस कुला*][द्रिक्क्षेत्रे]श्वरिभिस्त्रिभिस्तु[ल्यं] प[दं] दधे ॥[१४॥*] दिक्क्य-
न्तनिष्ठातयूपनिचयः स्मापालचूडामणि³स्मादङ्गुतविक्रमः क्रमवशात्कोकलनामा-
भवत् । चक्रे य[द्विजय]प्रयाणपणवः स्वर्गाङ्गनासङ्गमारब्धे मङ्गलतूर्य[का][र्य]-
महितक्षोणीपती[नां] रसन्⁴ ॥[१५॥*] य[स्मिन्मुखैकप्र-]

¹ The letters in square brackets marked with an asterisk in ll. 3-18 are supplied from the Goharwa plates of Karṇa (above, Vol. XI, pp. 142 ff.).

² The Goharwa plates also read यौकण्ठशैलोद्धृतिः, but the sense requires शैलोद्धृतिः.

³ The Goharwa plates also have the same reading as here. Read स्वप्रेन्द्रजालोपमम् as in the unpublished British Museum first plate of Karṇa.

⁴ The Goharwa plates have a faulty reading in this place, which Dr. Hultsch proposed to change as कटोरकण्ठदलनासृक्स्त्रिपूरैरिव. Our reading gives a better sense.

⁵ In the corresponding verse in the Goharwa plates Dr. Hultsch read स्मापालचूडामणि. The asterisks here are quite clear.

⁶ The Goharwa plates read चक्र(चक्र).

- 9 [भवे प्रजाना*] [तेजोनिधौ] चेतसि व[र्त्त]माने । तत्वे(त्वे) परस्मिन्निव योगभा[जां]
नितान्तमन्तस्तमसा प्रलीनम् ॥[१६॥] आक्रामदू[र्द्ध] व्र(त्र)ञ्चाण्डसंघट्टस्फुटि[तं]
यशः । धत्ते यस्वेन्दुनक्षत्रताराद्याकारमस्व(म्)र^१ ॥[१७॥*] कारापञ्चरत्नकौर-
नृपति[र्दी]सोऽङ्गलक्ष्मौषधैस्तथात्कुन्तलभङ्गभङ्गर[सि]को गा[ङ्गे]य-
- 10 [दे*][वी]भवत् । येनाकारि करीन्द्रकुम्भदलनव्यापारसारात्मना नि[र्जि]त्योत्कलम-
न्वि(न्वि)सोन्नि विजयस्तम्भः स्वकीयो भुज[ः] ॥ [१८॥*] यस्मेनाचरचक्रवाल-
दलितञ्चापालदन्तावलम्बेणीशोणित[पं]किले[षु] परितः प्रान्ते[षु] पाथोनिधेः ।
दृष्यद्वारणदारणोदतम[दैर्लीनं] सल[ज्जै]रिव [प्रालेयाचलक-]
- 11 न्दोदरदरी[क्षि]द्रेषु कण्ठीरवैः ॥[१९॥*]^२ यत्कुम्भप्रोतश[चु]स्तुतुधिरसुरापाणमत्तप्रवृत्त्य-
हेतालोत्तालतालारवभरितकुम्भचक्रपर्यन्तसीन्नि । अन्धोन्यालक्ष(स्य)वाचां समि[ति]
सरभसं दत्तहस्तादि[सं]ज्ञाव्यापारिणामरौ[णां] वरवरणविधिः क[ष्ट]^३मासौन्मुद्ग[र्त्त]-
म(म्) ॥[२०॥*] अतिमनो[रथ]म[र्धि]जने
- 12 [धनं दिशति] यश्च स कल्पतरुस्ततः । रिपुयशःकुमुदाकरभास्करः सुतमसूत स
क[र्ण]नराधिपम् ॥[२१॥*] आनन्दमन्दसुमनःसुमनोवकीर्ण[सं]शामरङ्गभुवि भूमि-
भ[तां] पुरस्तात् । वीरस्व वीरचरितं नमृते कव(व)न्मैर्लक्ष्मौष्ठयश्चकटोरभुज-
स्य यस्य ॥[२२॥*] दर्पकदु[र्घा]तरयेण मुच्यो गजाद्वि-
- 13 — — ८ [वि]दोष्णसन्धिः । अन्त[र्य]दीयस्य व(व)लाम्बु(म्बु)राशे[र्म]मञ्ज पूर्वावनि-
राजपोतः ॥ [२३॥*] ना[हं] नाथ विपक्षगोचवसति[र्न] त्यक्तपूर्वस्थितिर्यस्या-
ख्यातुमितीव चेदिमृपतेर्दिव्यक्रमाक्रामतः । प्रान्तभ्रान्तव^४रुथिनीकरिकरास्फालावहे-
लोत्तसत्वाज्ञोलावलिवा(वा)द्दृष्टमुदधिच-
- 14 [क्रन्द साग्नस्वनैः ॥*] [२४॥*] इठपहान्दोलितकुन्तलत्री[र्वि]खरचमानाधरपङ्कवा च ।
आक्रान्तकाक्षीविषयेष येन दिग्दक्षिणा संवु(वु)भुजे प्रकामम् ॥[२५॥*] ^५आशा-
जये समदसिन्धुरगन्धरीषाद्यस्त्रीद्यदायतकरा[ः] ककु[भां] करौन्द्राः । पूत्कारमार्त्त-
मिव खेचरनायकस्य चक्र[ः] कपोल-

^१ The Goharwa plates read the second half of the verse as मन्वे यस्वेन्दुनक्षत्रताराद्याकारतां गतं.


^२ In the Goharwa plates this verse occurs after नाहं नाथ विपक्षगोचवसतिः (v. 24 below) and therefore describes Karna.

^३ The Goharwa plates have कुम्भसासौ° which Dr. Hultzsch proposed to change to कुम्भ आसौ°. Here the *aksharas* are clear except that the horizontal stroke in the square of the superscript *sh* has been obliterated.

^४ Restore कृष्टेयु.

^५ The Goharwa plates read आनन्.

^६ In the Goharwa plates this verse is placed before दक्षिणमुल्लेखप्रभवे etc. (v. 16 above) and is, therefore, intended to describe Kōkalladēva (II).

- 15 [मधुपध्वनिभिर्नि]राशाः[] ॥[२६॥*] यस्मिन्ममासोदति गूर्जरो[णां] गण्डस्थले साञ्जन-
वा[ष्य]लिशः । भालादवैधव्यविधानवर्णाः पर्यन्तभाजां खल्लिता इवासन् ॥
[२७॥*] हरिभिरनधिग[म्य] यत्सटालोजटालै[र्य]दप[रिमि]नख[ङ्ग] वारणैर्द्वीकणं
यत् । विपिनमिव यदीयो दावव[ङ्गिस्तदुच्चै]रदह-
- 16 — — — — — कमेक[ः] प्रताप[ः] ॥[२८॥*] भूर्जत्वचः सङ्कलितेभदानपाथो-
मषीव[र्ण]विशेषभाजः । हिमाचले येन वशीकृतानां भुजिष्यपञ्चाख्यभवन्प्रा-
[णां] ॥[२९॥*] नीतेषु प्रमदावियोगविधिना द्वाग्र[ग्न]श्चाचरि[त] सा[र्ध]ं
व[त्]भुतया गृहस्थपद[वी] कारागृह[स्थापनात्] । वानप्रस्थपदं
- 17 [वनाश्रयवशाद्भिक्षाश्च*] भिक्षो[ः] स्थि[ति] येनै[व] चतुराश्रमैकगुक्ता स्पष्टीकृता शत्रुषु
॥[३०॥*] यस्यार्थिब्रजवाञ्छिताधिकफलप्राप्त्यै निशम्यात्मभूः प्राक्तन्यन्धरणीधरान्त-
रचर[स्फारस्फुरद्वेषणाः] । एतन्निर्मितमा[ः] पुरा परिमि[तं] व[त्]भ्राष्ट्रम[स्मिन्]कर्म
संमास्यन्ति यशान्ति[चे-]
- 18 [दिनृप*]ते[रित्याकुलो]भूचि[रं] ॥[३१॥*] [किं] तस्य क[र्ण]मृपत[ते]र्व्यत
वर्णयामो यस्य द्विजातिजनशासनताम्र[पट्टैः] । उत्कीर्यमाणनिवि[वि]डाक्षरचक्रवा-
लवाचालितैर्व्य[व]धिरभावमियाय विश्वम् ॥[३२॥*] यावद्भूचन्द्र चन्द्रो [रि]पुति-
मिरभिदा [शू]र शूरोस्ति याव[द्याव] — — [रिचक्रकप्रदहन दह]नी या[व]-
- 19 — — — — — यावदब्धि[ब्धि]र्म[रुद]धिपसमस्कन्ध यावन्मह[स्वां]-
स्तावन्नायस्य धात्रीमिति पदमजनि व[त्]भ्राष्ट्रामाशि[षां] यः ॥[३३॥*]  ॥
उत्साहशक्तिप्रभुशक्तिभा[जा] प्रवर्धनायाखिलमन्त्रशक्ते[ः] । द्विजातिरे[षा] पृथि[वी]-
पतीनाममात्यधर्मस्य व[त्]भूव [हेतुः] ॥[३४॥*] रा-
- 20 — — — — — [विमलचिन्नेत्रात्पवित्र]जन्मा किल काशराख्यः । योसौ त्रिलोकीतिल-
कायमा[नां] पु[रं] कुलाश्रमकरोन्मुनीन्द्रः ॥[३५॥*] तमादरादात्मवि[दां] वरिष्ठमा-
राधयामास तुरीयजन्मा [१*] स्व[ः]सिन्धुकूले किल विश्वव[न्द्ये] — — — — —
— — — — — ॥[३६॥*] — — — — —

* The Goharwa plates have प्राक्तन्यन्धरणीधरान्तरस्यपरत which Dr. Hultzsch proposed to emend as धरणीधरान्त-
रस्यपारात

* Read यशान्ति.

* Read ताम्रपट्टैः.

* Restore दृष्टा—.

* This akshara is superfluous.

- 21 ॐ — ॐ ॐ — अयस्य कृतं भविष्यति दिव्यमतिमन्त्रिकस्य । यो भूमिदेव-
पदयान्ध^१पवित्र[मौ]लि[स्त] स्यात्तपुन्वचरितं सुतमाप्नुहीति ॥[१७॥*] संखाम-
तोत्थ काय[स्व]स्वय यन्मातृपो[स्व]रः । अतः[] काय[स्व] इ[त्वा]स्वा[स्वा]
जाति[मात्मभि]^२ — ॐ ॐ ॥[१८॥*] — — ॐ — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ — —
कुले ॐ — — प्रधि-
- 22 त ॐ — — । [च]कीजनपुत्रमन्तकी[र्ति] कायस्त्वर्गः प्रससार तस्मात् ॥
[१९॥*] तस्मान्मये नयमिदः सुखिनः कृतज्ञाः सत्यव्रताः सुकृतिनो गुणिनः
क्रमेण । प्राहुर्वर्ग[र्]भूतुरसमाधिर्[भी]तसकृत्ताभ्याः कमलर ॐ र — ॐ — —
॥[२०॥*] — — ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ — कुलेस्मिन्नेका-
- 23 ॐ^३ — [कर इति प्रचितो] व(व)भूय । [सर्वेषु] दुग्धप्रसारा[मि]समुद्रवे[सु] रत्नेषु
वीक्ष्युम स्वानुपमप्रभायः ॥[२१॥*] सुष्टु पुरो विमलगुणान्विमेयतः सिद्धयतः[]
पुण्यवरा[निहान्]यि । अकार यः [प्रधितगुणान्पु] — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ —
ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॥[२२॥*]
- 24 . [विभुवनस्य] । कोवर्ग[मू]ष इव श्रीसक्यवरावदेवस्य ॥[२३॥*] [मन्त्रा] सुत-
कवीन्द्रा[र्वा] वन्द्यमिन्द्रपतिं [सदा ?] । समास्तन्यसि वत्कीर्तिः कार्त्तिकी[र्ती]
[च]द्र[र्]र्द्रि[र्]की ॥[२४॥*] [कमल ?] किसलका जगन्मुरा[र्गैः] कृतमू[र्त्त ?]
— । मा — ॐ — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — ॐ — ॐ [कलंकितकीटि-
कूटे ?] ॥[२५॥*]
- 25 — — ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — ॐ — — ॐ ॐ ॐ —
ॐ ॐ य[स्व] तस्मात् । — — ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ [लो]क[वि]तात्मकस्य लोमि-
[म्भ]रस्य महितस्य वरं च जन्म ॥[२६॥*] [प्रज्ञा]व(व)[लाङ्ग]जव(व)ला-
ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — — रधिरिव व(व)ला ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — । — — ॐ
— [प्रवरपण्डितपुण्डरीकाः ?] त[स्व]स्व ? इन्द्रपरक[र्ण] ॐ — ॐ — —
॥[२७॥*]

^१ Read पाप-^२ Restore वासति.^३ The name lost here may have been प्रभाकर.^४ Restore पुरःसराय्^५ I am not certain about the metre of this verse. If it is *Uṣṣāṭī*, some *akṣaras* have been dropped before अलव.

28 ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ, ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ —
 — ॐ, जगतीपाल — ॐ ॐ ॥[४८॥*] ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — यच्च ध्याते
 ॐ ॐ य भूमिषां । [यो] व(व)भूव गुणिषा[मैर्षा]मशीलोकवा[न्धवः] ॥
 [४९॥*] व[ज्रा]त इव जातः । धर्मावतारसचिवस्त-
 त्त्वा[धारिभवः ?]

२७ . . ॥[५०॥*] — — ○ — ○ — ○ — ○ — ○ — ○ —
— ○ — ○ — ○ — ○ — [धर्मः] । [भा]ख्याय यस्य भुजदंष्ट्रमखण्ड-
[कीर्त्तः] — — ○ — ○ — ○ — मिव कालकूटात् ॥[५१॥*] — — ○
— ○ — ○ — ○ — निपीता स्वीतारिकण्ठ[बधिर]-

करटेन्दुशेखरस्य ॥[५३॥*] लक्ष्म्येव स्फाटि[कादेः]स्तद्विगुणतयालिङ्ग[नैः] खौरद-
[त्तैः] स्थानप्राप्त्या प्र[मोदं] [दधत इव भवस्याहवासावदातैः] । कौ[र्त्ति]
द[ञ्चो ?]त्यत[न्त्याः] पदमित

29 — — — — —
 — — — — — ॥ [५४॥*] — — — — —
 [कठे] नि[राज]ति पाण्डव[वै]जयन्ती + कपर्दपिङ्गो[श्च]जटाकला[ये] — — —
 — — — — — ॥ [५५॥*] [जती कारितवाञ्छिक्श्च काश्चनेनायकं ?]
 मठः^१ । — — — — — [जमलाकान्तवैकुण्ठ] — — —

[illegible]

31 — प्रकाण्डात् ।*] चैविक्रमं ?] — — — — —
[का ?] इय महाकवि(?) [काचरस्य] ॥५६॥*] — — [नाम्ना महामहर्ष
संवत्सरे] ॥ ८०० ॥

¹ It would perhaps be better to read नडम्.

² The reading appears to be कवे; but it would not suit the metre.

No. 14.—THE EPOCH OF THE KALACHURI-CHEDI ERA.

By PROF. V V MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

The first conjecture about the epoch of the Kalachuri or Chēdi era, which was found used in dating several records in the Central Provinces, was made by Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall who, in his article on the Bherā-Ghāt inscription of Alhanadēvi dated Samvat 907 and the Tēwar inscription of the time of Jayasimhadēva dated Samvat 928, showed that the unspecified era used in the Kalachuri records might have commenced about A. D. 250.¹ Subsequently in 1878 Sir A. Cunningham announced in the Introduction (p. vi) to his *A. S. R.*, Vol. VII, that he had found among the inscriptions collected by his assistant Beglar in the eastern part of the Central Provinces, two, which were specifically dated in the Chēdi Samvatsara, and two others in the Kalachuri Samvat. He identified the two eras, 'as the princes of Chedi were of the Kalachuri branch of the Haihaya tribe'. He also stated that he had examined some eight verifiable dates of the era and had found by calculation that the era began in A. D. 249, the year 250 being the year 1 of the Chēdi Samvat. The details of these eight dates were given by him together with the corresponding Christian dates in the *A. S. R.*, Vol. IX, p. 111 which showed that only four of them were found to be regular, with the epoch of A. D. 249. But Sir A. Cunningham felt satisfied with the result and stated in his *Indian Eras* that A. D. 249=0 and A. D. 250=1 was the true starting point of the Chēdi era.

Cunningham's conjecture about the epoch of the era was corroborated by the dates of the Nausāri plates and the odd Kāvi plate of the Gurjara king Jayabhāṭa III, which on calculation appeared regular with the epoch of A. D. 249-250. No definite suggestion about the month and the *tiṭhi* when the era actually commenced was, however, made until Dr. Kielhorn published his article entitled 'the Epoch of the Kalachuri or Chēdi era' in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII, pp. 215 ff. In that article Kielhorn showed by an examination of 12 dates of the later Kalachuris and their feudatories and of two dates of the Gurjara king Jayabhāṭa III, that 'the only equation which yields correct week-days for those Chēdi inscriptions in which the week-day is mentioned is Chēdi-Samvat 0=A. D. 248-249 and Chēdi-Samvat 1=A. D. 249-250; and that, if we wish to work out the dates by a *uniform* process we must take the Chēdi year to commence with the month Bhādrapada, and must, accordingly, start from July 28, A. D. 249=Bhādrapada śu. di. 1 of the northern Vikrama year 307, current, as the first day of the first current year of the Chēdi era'. In a note Kielhorn remarked that a year beginning with the month Āśvina would suit the dates examined by him as well as that beginning with Bhādrapada but he preferred the latter because 'Albērūnī does mention a year commencing with the month Bhādrapada'. As regards the arrangement of fortnights Kielhorn found that it was the *pūrṇimānta* one in which the dark half of a month precedes the light half.

Kielhorn's calculations made on the basis of the epoch of A. D. 248-249 showed that of the fourteen dates examined by him, in none of which the year was qualified either as current or as expired, eleven were found recorded in current years, two in expired years and one in a year, which is to be taken as expired if the Chēdi year commenced on Bhādrapada śu. di. 1, but as current if it began on Āśvina śu. di. 1. This proportion of current and expired years of the Chēdi era was, however, the reverse of what Kielhorn himself found in the case of other eras, such as the Vikrama, Śaka and Nēwār eras. It was pointed out by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar among others that

¹ *J. A. O. S.*, Vol. VI (1860), p. 501. The article was presented to the Society on October 26, 1859.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 76-77. The grantor of the Prince of Wales Museum plates of the [Kalachuri] year 486 (above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 147 ff.) is the same as of the Kāvi plate. He should, however, be taken as Jayabhāṭa IV and not as Jayabhāṭa III.

"the Hindus' usual, not invariable, way of expressing a date is not 'in the year so and so' but 'after so many years had elapsed since such and such event had taken place'".¹ The case of the Chēdi era, which seemed to be an exception to the general rule, was cited by Fleet² in support of his view that the years of the Gupta era, which were not qualified as current or expired, should be taken as current. This controversy about the general practice of the Hindus in dating their records in the middle ages led Kielhorn to revise his conclusion about the epoch of the Chēdi era. In his article 'Die Epoche der Cēdi-Aera' contributed to the *Festgruss an Roth*³ and in another on the Bherā-Ghāt inscription of Alhanādēvi in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 7ff. both of which were published in 1893, he expressed his opinion that in conformity with the common usage observed in the case of other eras, the epoch of the Chēdi era should be fixed in such a way that all or at least a great majority of the available verifiable dates would be in expired years. He, therefore, proposed A. D. 247-248 as the epoch of the era. As regards the beginning of the Chēdi year he drew attention to the following remark in Colebrooke's letter written at Nāgpur on the 30th October 1799: "The new year begins here with the light fortnight of Āśvina; but opening in the midst of Durgā's festival, the New Year's day is only celebrated on the 10th lunar day⁴." Kielhorn thought that the Āśvinādi year, which was current down to Colebrooke's time in a part of the country previously included in the Chēdi kingdom, might be reminiscent of the Chēdi year and, as such a year suited all the twelve Chēdi dates known till then, he fixed the 5th September (Āśvina śu. di. 1) A. D. 248 as the first day of the first current year and the 26th August (Āśvina śu. di. 1) A. D. 249 as the first day of the first expired year of the Chēdi era. He next showed that all the twelve verifiable Chēdi dates in the inscriptions of the Later Kalachuris and their feudatories, which were known till then, were, without exception, in expired years. The two early dates, 456 and 486, of the Nausāri and Kāvi plates, however, presented difficulties which Kielhorn acknowledged in foot-notes to his *List of Northern Inscriptions*.⁵

Three more Chēdi dates containing the necessary data for verification were subsequently discovered and were calculated by Kielhorn before his death, viz., (1) the Sārṇāth fragmentary stone inscription of the time of Karna⁶ dated *Samvatsarē 8]10 Āsvina (Āśvina) sudi 15 Ravau* (corresponding, for the expired Kalachuri year 810, to Sunday, the 4th October 1058); (2) Tahan-kāpār (first) plate of Pamparāja⁷ dated *Samvata(t) 965 Bhādrapadē vadi 10 Mṛiga-ri(ri)kshē [Sōma]-dinē* (corresponding, for the current Chēdi year 965, to Monday, the 12th August A. D. 1213); and (3) Tahan-kāpār (second) plate of Pamparāja⁸ dated *Samvat 966 Īśva(śva)ra-samvatsarē Kārti(rtti)ka-māsē Chitrā-ri(ri)kshē Ravi-dinē Sūrya-parāgē* (corresponding, for the expired Chēdi year 966, to Sunday, the 5th October A. D. 1214). Besides, he found it necessary to change his reading and the corresponding Christian date in the case of one of the previously known twelve Chēdi dates, viz., (4) that of the Sheorinārāyaṇ image inscription which he now read as *Kalachuri-samvatsarē [898] Āsvina-sudi 7 Sōma-dinē*⁹ from a photograph supplied by Dr. (then Mr.) D. R. Bhandarkar and found by calculation to correspond, for the current Chēdi year 898, to Monday, the 24th September A. D. 1145.

¹ See *Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar*, Vol. III, pp. 388-389. The paper was communicated to the *Bom. Br. R. A. S.* on the 1st August 1889.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX (1891), p. 387.

³ See pp. 53-56.

⁴ See *Life of H. T. Colebrooke* by Sir T. E. Colebrooke, p. 163.

⁵ Above, Vol. V, Appendix p. 57, notes 6 and 7.

⁶ *A. S. I. An. Rep.* for 1906-7, p. 160.

⁷ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 129-130.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

Kielhorn's final view that the epoch of the Chēdi era is A. D. 247-248 was confirmed by these new dates; for while two of them (*viz.*, 1 and 3) might have been taken as current years with the epoch of A. D. 248-249, the other two (*viz.*, 2 and 4) would have appeared irregular according to that epoch. The latter dates again showed that 'Kalachuri years, occasionally and exceptionally, are quoted as current years'.¹

Since 1893 scholars have generally accepted Kielhorn's conclusion that the Chēdi era commenced on Āśvina śu. di. 1 (corresponding to the 5th September) in A. D. 248. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit alone, differing from Kielhorn, has suggested that the Chēdi year might have commenced on the first *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Āśvina.²

Since Kielhorn's time as many as thirteen new dates of the Chēdi era have come to light and though they have been calculated and the corresponding Christian dates have, generally, been given by the scholars who have edited the records in which they occur, none has so far comprehensively dealt with them with a view to see how far they support or go against Kielhorn's view regarding the epoch of the Chēdi era and the beginning of the Chēdi year.

Having recently had to verify all the Chēdi dates I have come to the conclusion that the epoch A. D. 247-248 finally fixed by Kielhorn is correct so far as it concerns the later Kalachuri dates; but taking all the dates into consideration I am convinced that with that epoch the Chēdi year could not have commenced on Āśvina śu. di. 1 as held by Kielhorn. On the other hand some of the lately discovered dates go to show that the year must have begun on some day between Āśvina śu. di. 15 and Phālguna va. di. 7. And since we do not know of any Hindu year beginning in any of the months from Mārgaśīrṣa to Phālguna as current in any of the provinces under the Kalachuris³, I think it probable that, like the Southern Vikrama year, the Chēdi year also commenced on Kārttika śu. di. 1, especially because the era seems to have originated in Western India, where the Kārttikādi variety was the standard one.⁴

To prove my view I give below nine⁵ out of the thirteen lately discovered Chēdi dates together with their corresponding Christian dates according to the epoch of A. D. 247-248. These dates are arranged below under two heads A.—Dates in expired years and B.—Date in current year. As according to my view the Chēdi era commenced on the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika śu. di. 1 in

¹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 130.

² See his *History of Indian Astronomy* (Marāṭhī) (first published in 1896), Second ed. p. 375.

³ Alberūnī mentions a year beginning in Mārgaśīrṣa, but from the account he gives of it, it seems to have been current in the north-west of India from Multān to Sindh and Kanauj (see *Sachau's Tr.*, Vol. II, pp. 8-9).

⁴ Since this article was sent to the press, the Government Epigraphist has, at my request, sent me estampages of the Makundpur stone inscription dated [K.] 772. The existence of this inscription was known to Kielhorn. He has referred to it twice (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 85 and above, Vol. I, p. 354), but had no opportunity to examine its date. The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Kalachuri king Gāṅgēyādēva and is dated *Samvat 772 Kārttika śu di 12 Vu(Bu)dha-dinē*. This date, falling in the month of Kārttika, would have proved invaluable for fixing the later limit for the commencement of the Kalachuri year, but unfortunately the details do not work out satisfactorily. The nearest equivalent is Tuesday the 13th October A. D. 1019 when the twelfth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika ended 11 h. after mean sunrise, *i.e.*, there is a mistake of one day. In A. D. 1020 the *tithi* fell on Monday and in A. D. 1021 on Friday. So neither of these would be more suitable. If we overlook the mistake of one day, this date would show that the Kalachuri year 772 was a current year and that it could not have commenced later than Kārttika śu. di. 12. If the above supposition is correct, this date and the dates Nos. 5 and 6 given below, p. 121, may be said to furnish the necessary evidence to prove that the Kalachuri era commenced on the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika śu. di. 1 in A. D. 248.

⁵ I omit the following four dates for the reason stated in each case: (1) The Goharwā plates of Karpadēva, because they mention no year of the Chēdi era; (2) the Khairhā plates of Yaśaḥkarna, because the date is found to be irregular; (3) the Ghotia plates of Prithivīdēva II, because the numerals of the date are evidently incorrect and (4) the Amōdā plates of Jājallādēva (II), because the last figure of the date is uncertain.

A. D. 248 (corresponding to the expired Śaka year 170), to convert a current Chēdi year into an expired Śaka year we have to add 169 when the date falls in the bright fortnight of Kārttika or in any of the months from Mārgaśīrsha to Phālguna and 170 in all other cases. Similarly, to convert an expired Chēdi year into an expired Śaka year we have to add 170 and 171 respectively in the same circumstances.

A.—Dates in Expired Years.¹

1. The Rewah stone inscription of the time of Karṇa (Bhandarkar's *List* No. 1226) (from an ink-impression with me)—*Samvatsara* 812 *śrīmat-Karṇa-prakāśa* (śa)-*vyavaharāṇayā novama-samvatsarē Māgha-sudī 10 Gurau*, i.e., the year 812, the ninth year of the administration established by Karṇa, the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha, a Thursday. The corresponding Christian date (for the expired Śaka year 812+170=982) is Thursday the 4th January A. D. 1061 when the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha ended 3 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise.

2. The Sheorinārāyaṇ plates of Ratnadēva II (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. IV, pp. 21ff.)—*Samvata* (ś) 878 *Bhādra-sudī 5 Ravau*, i.e., the year 878 the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada, a Sunday. The corresponding Christian date (for the expired Śaka year 878+171=1049) is Sunday the 14th August A. D. 1127. On that day the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada ended 8 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

3. The Sarkhō plates of Ratnadēva II (above, Vol. XXII, pp. 159ff.)—*Tēn=ās(ś)ity-adhik-āshṭa-vatsara-satē jātē dinē Gīhpatēh Kārttikyām-atha Rōhiṇ-ibha-samayē rātrēs=cha yāma-trayē Śrīmad-Ratna-narēśvarasya sadasi jyōtir-vidām=agrataḥ sarva-grāsam=anushṇa-gōḥ pravadatā tīrṇā pratiṇā-nadī* (v. 19), i.e., the expired Chēdi year 880 Kārttika śu. di. 15, a Thursday with a total eclipse of the moon when she was in the constellation of Rōhiṇī. The corresponding Christian date (for the expired Śaka year 880+170=1050) is Thursday the 8th November A. D. 1128. The moon was totally eclipsed in the third quarter of the night. The *nakshatra* Rōhiṇī commenced 13 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise on that day.

4. The Amōdā plates (first set) of Prithvidēva II (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. I, pp. 409ff.)—1. 24, *Chaitrē Sōma-grahē satī*; 1. 33, *Samvat 900*, i.e., the Year 900 with a lunar eclipse in the month of Chaitra. The corresponding Christian date (for the expired Śaka year 900+171=1071) is Friday the 25th March A. D. 1149. On that day there occurred a lunar eclipse visible at Ratanpur.

5. The Amōdā plates (second set) of Prithvidēva II (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. I, pp. 412ff.)—*Samvat 905 Āsvi(śvi)na-sudī 6 Bhaumē*, i.e., the year 905, the sixth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina, a Tuesday. The corresponding Christian date (for the expired Śaka year 905+171=1076) is Tuesday, the 14th September A. D. 1154. On that day the sixth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina commenced 1 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise. With the Chēdi year commencing on Āśvina śu. di. 1 in A. D. 248, this date should fall in A. D. 1152 if the Chēdi year is taken as current and in A. D. 1153 if it is taken as expired. But in A. D. 1152 the *tithi* ended 7 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise on Saturday (the 6th September) and in A. D. 1153 it ended 7 h. after mean sunrise on Friday (the 25th September). In either case it would have to be regarded as irregular.

6. The Jubbulpore Kotwali plates of Jayasīma (above, Vol. XXI, pp. 91ff.)—*Samvat 918 Āśvina-sudī paurṇamāsyām tithau Sa(śa)ni-dinē Tripuryām Sōma-grahāṇē*, i.e., the year 918 the fifteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina, a Saturday, at Tripurī, a lunar eclipse. The corresponding Christian date (for the expired Śaka year 918+171=1089) is Saturday, the 30th

¹ For the verification of dates I have used throughout D. B. S. K. Pillai's indispensable work '*An Indian Ephemeris*.'

September A. D. 1167. On that day the full-moon *tithi* ended 13 h. after mean sunrise and there was a lunar eclipse. With the Chēdi era commencing on Āśvina śu. di. 1 in A. D. 248, this date should fall in A. D. 1165 if the year is current, and in A. D. 1166 if it is expired. But in A. D. 1165 the *tithi* fell on Tuesday (the 21st September) and in 1166 it fell on Monday (the 10th October). Again in neither year was there a lunar eclipse on the given *tithi*.

7. The Rewah plates of the time of Vijayasimha (above, Vol. XIX, pp. 295ff.)—*Samvat 944 Bhādrapada-sudi 1 Śukrē*, i.e., the year 944 the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada, a Friday. The corresponding Christian date (for the expired Śaka year $944+171=1115$) is Friday, the 30th July A. D. 1193. On that day the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada ended 22 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.

8. The Pendrābandh plates of Pratāpamalla (above, Vol. XXII, pp. 1ff.)—l. 26, *grāmō Makara-samkrāntau dattaḥ samkalpa-pūrvakāḥ*; l. 35, *Samvata(t) 965 da Palasādā-samāvāsidi (ta-vi)jaya-katakē | Māgha-sudi 10 Mārgala-dinē* |. As it stands, the date is irregular; for in none of the years 1212-1215 was the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha connected with a Tuesday. If, however, *sudi* is taken to be a mistake for *vadi* it corresponds (for the expired Śaka year $965+170=1135$) regularly to Tuesday the 7th January A. D. 1214. On that day the tenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Māgha ended 10 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise. The Makara-samkrānti had taken place about a fortnight earlier on the 25th December, A. D. 1213.

B.—Date in Current Year.

9. The Amōdā plates of Prithvidēva I (above, Vol. XIX, pp. 78ff.)—ll. 27-28, *Gha(Phā)lguna-krishṇa-saptamyām Ravi-dinē*; l. 41 *Chēd-isa(śa)sya sam 831*, i.e., the year 831 the seventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Phālguna, a Sunday. The corresponding date (for the expired Śaka year $831+169=1000$) is Sunday the 27th January A. D. 1079. On that day the seventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna ended 7 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise.

A careful examination of these nine dates, will show that—

(1) All these dates can be shown to be regular only according to the epoch of A. D. 247-248 finally fixed by Kielhorn; for though the dates 1-8 might also be explained as dates in current years with the epoch of A. D. 248-249, that epoch will not at all do for the date 9. This date, therefore, clearly proves the correctness of the epoch A. D. 247-248. There were only two such dates in current years¹ known to Kielhorn.

(2) The dates 2 and 7 clearly show that with the epoch of A. D. 247-248 the Chēdi year must have begun in some month later than Bhādrapada. There was only one date of this type² known to Kielhorn, which rendered his earlier view about the Chēdi year commencing in Bhādrapada impossible when he changed the epoch to A. D. 247-248.

(3) As seen above, an Āśvinādi year with the epoch of A. D. 247-248 will not at all suit the dates 5 and 6. For them a year beginning in some month later than Āśvina is required. Now the date 9 shows that the Chēdi year must have commenced before Phālguna va. di. 7. The beginning of the Chēdi year must, therefore, lie between Āśvina śu. di. 15 (the *tithi* of the date 6) and Phālguna va. di. 7 (the *tithi* of the date 9). Though it is not yet possible to settle this question definitely, I think it probable that the era commenced on Kārttika śu. di. 1 for reasons already stated.

¹ See above, p. 117, the dates 2 and 4.

² The date of the Rewah copper-plate inscription of Kirtivarman, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 219 and 224ff.

(4) Among the nine dates there are only two (*viz.* the dates 8 and 9)¹ which fall in the dark fortnight. They corroborate Kielhorn's conclusion that the arrangement of fortnights in the Chēdi era was the *pūrṇimānta* one.

(5) The proportion of expired years to current ones is 8 : 1, which is in accordance with that observed in the case of the dates of other eras.

A Kārttikādi year will also suit almost all the dates known to Kielhorn. The only dates that require to be specially considered here are those falling in Āśvina. Only two such dates were known to Kielhorn, *viz.*, (1) the date of the Sārṇāth fragmentary stone inscription of the time of Karpadēva—*Samvatsarē 810 Āśvina-sudi 15 Ravau*, the corresponding Christian date being Sunday the 4th October A. D. 1058; and (2) the date of the Sheorinārāyaṇ image inscription—*Kalachuri Samvatsarē | 898 | Āśvina-sudi 7 Sōma-dinē*, the corresponding Christian date being Monday the 24th September A. D. 1145. Of these the former presents no difficulty. Only, it will now have to be considered as citing a current year and not an expired one as was supposed by Kielhorn. In regard to the latter it may be noted that its reading has been a matter of controversy for a very long time. Sir R. Jenkins first published it in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, p. 505 as *Samvat 898 Ashwin shudh saptami*. Cunningham in his *A. S. R.*, Vol. IX, gave it as *in the Kulachuri Samvat in the year 898, Aswin sudi Some* on p. 86 and as *898 Aswina sudi 7, Monday* on p. 111. Subsequently in his *A. S. R.*, Vol. XVII, plate XX, he published a photozincograph of only part of it which reads *Kalachuriḥ samvatsarē 898*. He again referred to it in his *Indian Eras*, p. 6 where he remarked 'A fresh examination has shown the date to be *Aswin su. di. 2* (and not *Aswin su. di. 7*)'. Kielhorn at first accepted this last statement of Cunningham and on calculation found that the date corresponded to Monday, the 9th September A. D. 1146, on which day the second *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina ended 21 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise. As he was then of opinion that the Chēdi year was Bhādrapadādi and the era commenced in A. D. 249, he concluded that the year 898 of this date was a current year. Subsequently in his article on the era in the *Festgruss an Roth* he confirmed the aforementioned reading from a facsimile and gave the same corresponding date as before, but as he had then come to the conclusion that the Chēdi era commenced on Āśvina *su. di. 1* in A. D. 248, he took the year of the date as expired. Dr. (then Mr.) D. R. Bhandarkar next stated in his notice of the inscription in *P. R. A. S., W. C.* (p. 53) for 1903-4 that the inscription was dated 898 Kalachuri era, Monday, the 7th of the bright half of Āśvina. From a photograph of the inscription supplied by him, Kielhorn also finally read the inscription as *Kalachuri-samvatsarē | 898 | Āśvina-sudi 7 Sōma-dinē* and stated that it regularly corresponded, for the current Kalachuri year 898, to Monday the 24th September A. D. 1145, when the seventh *tithi* of the bright half of Āśvina ended 20 h. 57 m. after mean sunrise. This date seemed to confirm Kielhorn's opinion that the Chēdi year began in Āśvina, for it showed that the month of Āśvina fell, in any case, in the beginning of that year. But the recent discovery of the dates 5 and 6 noticed above, which show that the Chēdi year began in some month later than Āśvina, has rendered the accuracy of the date of the Sheorinārāyaṇ inscription open to question. There is of course no doubt about the reading of the date. I have satisfied myself that the reading finally adopted by Kielhorn is correct; but with that reading the date appears to be irregular; for, with the Chēdi year commencing in some month later than Āśvina, the seventh *tithi* of the bright half of Āśvina would, in the current year 898, fall on Saturday (the 14th September 1146) and in the expired Chēdi year 898, on Friday (the 3rd October A. D. 1147). In neither case was the *tithi* connected with Monday. The question, therefore, arises whether we should take the Chēdi era to be Āśvinādi on the authority of this date and treat the dates 5 and

¹[The actual reading in No. 8 is *sudi*.—Ed.]

6 as irregular or whether on the authority of these latter dates we should take the Chēdi year to have commenced in some month later than Āśvina (probably in Kārttika). I choose the latter course not only because a larger number of dates would otherwise appear irregular but also because the evidence on which Kielhorn relied for taking the Chēdi year to be Āśvinādi is, as shown below, questionable. As for the date of the Sheorinārāyaṇ inscription the conjecture may be hazarded that owing to the similarity in the Nāgarī figures 2 and 7 of the twelfth century A. D., the writer or the engraver committed a mistake in recording the *tithi* and wrote or engraved 7 in place of 2. The confusion in reading the figure of the *tithi*, which persisted for a long time, shows that such a mistake is not unlikely. The intended date Monday the 2nd *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina regularly corresponds, for the current Kārttikādi Chēdi year 898, to Monday the 9th September A. D. 1146.

Let us next turn to the evidence on which Kielhorn relied for his view that the Chēdi year commenced on Āśvina śu. di. 1. As stated above he found the following statement in a letter written by Colebrooke at Nāgpur on the 30th October 1799: 'The new year begins here with the light fortnight of Āśvina, but opening in the midst of Durgā's festival, New Year's Day is only celebrated on the 10th lunar day.' Kielhorn took this usage as reminiscent of the Chēdi year, for according to him the country round Nāgpur was previously included in the Chēdi kingdom. But Colebrooke's statement is clearly due to some misunderstanding. He was appointed Resident at the Court of the Bhonsla Rājā of Nāgpur and he stayed at Nāgpur from the 18th March 1799 to the 19th May 1801. The statement referred to by Kielhorn occurs in the *Journal of Occurrences at Nagpur*, which Colebrooke privately kept and from which some extracts have been printed in the *Life of Colebrooke* by his son Sir T. E. Colebrooke. As the context shows, the statement in question refers to the festival of Durgā which is to this day celebrated with great éclat not only in the Central Provinces but in other parts of India also. In the Mahārāshtra the Dasarā or the Vijayā-daśamī, as the 10th day of the festival is called, was celebrated with great pomp and splendour during the Marāṭhā rule, as marking the end of the monsoon and the commencement of the season for military operations. Under the date 30th October 1799, Colebrooke gives in the *Journal* a graphic description of the Dasarā festival which he attended at the Rājā's invitation. He seems to have thought that the festival marked the beginning of the new year, but he was clearly mistaken in this.¹ The era current in the country round Nāgpur during the 18th century was the so-called Śālivāhana or Śaka era. That the Śaka year did not then begin in Āśvina even at Nāgpur there can be no possible doubt. Dates of contemporary state papers cannot unfortunately be cited to prove this: for the Bhonslas, like other Marāṭhā chiefs, almost invariably used the Muhammadan year in dating their records. But if proof is needed, it would be furnished by the following date which occurs in two Marāṭhī letters² written evidently at Nāgpur by Raghōjī II, the Bhonsla Rājā of Nāgpur and by his brother, Khandōjī alias Chimpājī Bāpu to record a mutual agreement, viz., *Śakē 1701 Vikāri nāma saivatsarē mīti Āśvina bahula pañcāmī, Bhṛīgu-rāsarē*. This date corresponds, for the *amānta* Āśvina, regularly to Friday, the 29th October A. D. 1779. The cyclic year for the Chaitrādi Śaka year 1701 was Vikārin according to the southern luni-solar system. This date clearly shows that the era current in Nāgpur in the time of Colebrooke was the Śaka era, its months were *amānta* and the year commenced in Chaitra and not in Āśvina.

¹ In a note added to the statement the Editor of the *Life of Colebrooke* remarks: 'It would appear too from a passage in Niebuhr's travels that the reckoning in use at Nagpur was followed in Bombay and Gujerat at the time of the traveller's visit. The year is said by him to begin with the month of Kārttika, evidently referring to the Autumnal Equinox.' The Editor is here evidently confounding the Durgā festival in Āśvina with the Divālī festival in Kārttika.

² See *Āitihasika Patra-vyavahāra* (Historical Letters, Marāṭhī, pub. in 1933), pp. 147-48.

Even supposing that in Colebrooke's time the year began at Nāgpur in the month of Āśvina it can have no bearing on the question of the commencement of the Chēdi year for the simple reason that the country round Nāgpur was probably never under the rule of the Kalachuris¹. No inscriptions dated in the Chēdi era have been found in the Marāṭhī-speaking districts of the Central Provinces and Berār. These districts which were evidently comprised in the three Mahārāshtras mentioned in the Aihole inscription of Pulakēśin II were successively under the Early Chālukyas, the Rāshtrakūṭas, the Paramāras, the later Chālukyas and the Yādavas, but never under the Kalachuris of Tripurī or of Ratanpur. In the present Central Provinces the use of that era was confined to the Chhattisgarh and the northern Hindī-speaking districts.

Kielhorn's view that the territory round Nāgpur was once included in the Chēdi kingdom was evidently due to his wrong identification of the kings Simhaṇa and Rāmachandra mentioned in the Rāmṭek Lakshmaṇa temple inscription with the homonymous kings of the Raipur branch of the Kalachuri dynasty². The inscription is fragmentary and has not been edited so far. Kielhorn's knowledge of the kings mentioned in it was derived from a faint rubbing which he obtained from Fleet. My examination of the inscription has convinced me that it belongs to the Yādava (and not the Kalachuri) dynasty; for l. 4 of it names the royal family as *Yādavō vaṁśaḥ*. The kings Simhaṇa and Rāmachandra mentioned in ll. 14 and 19 are evidently the well-known kings of the Yādava dynasty³. That the rule of the Yādavas extended in the east as far as Lāñji in the Bālāghāt District, about 100 miles north by east of Nāgpur, is clear from a fragmentary stone inscription of the dynasty, found at Lāñji⁴, which has now been deposited in the Central Museum, Nāgpur.

There is thus not an iota of evidence to prove that the Chēdi era was current in the Nāgpur District, nor to show that the Chēdi year commenced in Āśvina. On the other hand the testimony of some of the recently discovered Chēdi dates renders it probable that the Chēdi era commenced on Kārttika śu. di. 1 (the 6th October) in A. D. 248.

No. 15.—A DUTCH MEMORIAL SLAB IN INDIA.

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In 1911, Dr. J. PH. Vogel, at present professor in the Leiden University, and at that time the officiating Director-General of Archæology in India, noticed a memorial slab with a Dutch

¹ Some parts of Berār may have been under the Early Kalachuri king Kṛishṇarāja as a hoard of his coins was found at Dhamōri near Amraoti in Berār, but these coins were used by other dynasties also.

² Kielhorn has incidently mentioned this identification at the end of his article on the Khalūri stone inscription of Haribrahmadēva of the (Vikrama) year 1470, above, Vol. II, p. 230. He may also have had in mind the fact that the Kalachuri king Karṇa made his Benares grant (above, Vol. II, pp. 297 ff.) after bathing in the Vēpi. Kielhorn at first identified this river with the Waingāṅgā which flows about 40 miles from Nāgpur, but later on he corrected himself (see, above, Vol. IV, p. 122 n.) and took it to be a tributary of the Ganges which it joins at Allahābād.

³ The late Rai Bahadur Hiralal also, following Kielhorn, at first thought that the princes mentioned in the Rāmṭek Lakshmaṇa temple inscription belonged to the Haihaya dynasty, but he has not asserted that view in the second ed. of his *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*, p. 3. That these princes were of the Yādava dynasty is clear also from the fact that the first eight lines of the inscriptions, though much damaged, intimate the victories of these princes over Rudra, Āndhra, Chōla and perhaps Gurjarēndra also. It is clear that we have here references to the brilliant exploits of the Yādava kings Jaitugi and Siṅghaṇa. The petty kings of the Raipur branch of the Haihaya dynasty who ruled in the fifteenth century A. D. did not distinguish themselves in this way.

⁴ See Hiralal's *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*, (Second ed.) p. 20.

inscription in the wall of the kachahri (court-house) at Chingleput. He drew the attention of the Government of the province of Madras to it, suggesting at the same time that it should be transferred to the Government Museum in Madras. Evidently this hint was taken, for the stone is now preserved in the aforementioned Museum.

The rectangular stone is well preserved, measures 1.40 m. by 50 c.m. and bears the following inscription in letters 3 c.m. high.

TEXT.

- 1 Onder de Hoek van de Flank, hier naast deser Fortificatie, aangelegt
- 2 door den heer, Coenraad Pieter Keller, lieutenant-dessave, en
- 3 ingenieur tot Colombo, ten tyde van Joannes Spits, en Philippus
- 4 Jacobus Dormieux, als opperhoofd, en secunde : is den eersten steen
- 5 gelegd, door Catharina Elizabeth Dormieux, dogter van gem :
- 6 Dormieux, en syn huysvrouw, Elizabeth Maria Mestral d'Meserie,
- 7 op den 14! May a[nn*]o 1749.

TRANSLATION.

Under the corner of the flank, next to this fortress, built by Mr. Coenraad Pieter Keller, lieutenant-dessave of Colombo, engineer, at the time of Joannes Spits and Philippus Jacobus Dormieux, chief and assistant, the foundation stone was laid by Catharina Elizabeth Dormieux, daughter of the mentioned Dormieux and his wife, Elizabeth Maria Mestral de Meserie, on the 14th of May Anno 1749.

So far nothing was known about its origin, but a recent search in the records of the Netherlands-East-India Company has revealed the following facts :

In 1747 and the following years a fierce struggle was going on in the Carnatic Lowlands among the native authorities. Owing to his advanced age, Nabob Annawardi-chan (Nawab Anwar-ud-din) wanted to hand over his office to his eldest son, Mahometh Mafus-chan (Mahfuz Khan), but a number of visiadors (governors) strongly opposed this wish. The managers of the Netherlands factory at Sadraspatnam (usually called Sadras for short) situated about 35 miles south of the Madras city, viz., the Under-Merchant Joannes Spits and his assistant or deputy, the book-keeper Philippus Jacobus Dormieux, approached the Netherlands governor of Coromandel, Mr. Librecht Hooreman, who resided in the castle at Negapatnam, asking his permission to build a fortress in order to be able to protect the Company's money and merchandise. The request was granted and in 1749 a small garrison was drafted from Negapatnam into Sadras, consisting of 1 sergeant-major, 2 corporals, 1 constable, 6 musketeers and 12 common soldiers, armed with a number of small guns. At the same time an order was placed for the building of a small fortress, which was erected by an engineer, named Coenraad Pieter Keller, "borrowed" for this purpose from the governor of Ceylon. The building was started in 1749, the memorial slab referred to was placed in it and towards the end of the same year the fortress was completed. A report was forwarded to the High Government in Batavia, who sent a message of thanks and satisfaction to Spits, for his tactful action through which he had succeeded in obtaining permission from the native ruler to build the fortress, and by way of reward promoted him to the rank of Merchant. Keller, however, came in for a rebuke, because he had built the fortress in so grand a style that the cost of it stood the Government in over 10,000 gold pagodas.

The way, in which the memorial slab, placed in the fortress, found its way to Chingleput, is described in pages 35f. in the book, written by Jacob Haafner : *Reize van Madras naar Ceilon* (Voyage from Madras to Ceylon) published in Haarlem in 1806. Haafner had been employed in the Company's office at Sadras since 1779. We get the following information from this work. Jacob Pieter De Neys was the chief there at the time. In the fortress there was then still a small garrison, not even 20 strong, in charge of a sergeant. Yet this garrison was sufficiently strong to hold it against the Gallouris, a predatory tribe living in the Carnatic jungle. On the 17th of June 1781 De Neys had a party of all the qualified (higher) officials and their wives at his house, to celebrate a birthday. At the height of the revels the arrival of a British officer was announced. De Neys asked him to enter and join them. The young officer, however, was the bearer of a very distressing message. The British had received an intimation of a war that had broken out between England and the Dutch Republic. He had been sent by his chief, Captain George Mackay, the Commander of the strong garrison of Chingleput, situated 3 miles north-west of Sadras, who with the whole of his troops had marched to within a mile's distance. Mackay demanded the Dutch fortress and lodge to surrender at discretion. The alarm of the guests may be easily imagined. De Neys immediately held a meeting and all the persons present realised that it would be useless to offer resistance to the British, who outnumbered them ; yet, a surrender at discretion was out of the question. Only if fair conditions of capitulation should be granted, would they open the gates. The assembled company stated their terms : A. the property of the officials and inhabitants should be held in respect ; B. fair treatment of the prisoners-of-war should be guaranteed up to the conclusion of peace or the time of their exchange. Haafner being the only one who could speak English well, was sent to Mackay, who, at first, refused stubbornly and scornfully to sign the conditions of capitulation, but in the end proceeded to do so, when the Dutch stuck to their point.

The same evening the British troops marched into the fortress and now that it was in their possession, Mackay did not hold to the conditions he had signed. He had the prisoners taken to Madras without allowing them to take their possessions which they never saw again. Before their departure they witnessed how Mackay blew up the whole of the fortress. Though Haafner does not say anything about the memorial slab, it is obvious that the British troops took it as a trophy with them to Chingleput, where it was noticed in 1911 by Dr. Vogel.

It is common knowledge that in 1784, at the conclusion of peace in Paris, Sadras and the other conquered places, with the exception of the important settlement of Negapatnam, were restored to the Dutch Company.

In conclusion we are able to give the following information about the persons, whose names are stated on the tablet.

Coenraad Pieter Keller. born in Steynfeld in Germany, sailed for the Indies as a *lanspassaat* (non-commissioned officer) on board the *Watervliet* in 1735. In the same year he entered the Civil Service in Batavia as an assistant and in 1737 was appointed assistant-surveyor in the same town. The High Government decided in 1740 upon sending him to Ceylon as an engineer, with the rank of Under-Merchant. He worked for several years in Colombo and in 1746 was appointed lieutenant-dessave (dessave being the title of the Governor of a province in Ceylon). On the 13th of September 1754 he was promoted to the rank of Merchant. Soon afterwards he went to Coromandel, where he took part in building a fortress at Bimlipatnam. In 1765 he got into trouble ; the Governor suspended him and afterwards imprisoned him in consequence of an effort made by him to run away. On his trial the public prosecutor demanded that he should be executed, but the Governor not being convinced of his guilt, sent him to Batavia with all the documents bearing on the case. He came up for trial before the Superior Court of Law and finding the charges

against him not proven, his case was dismissed. On the 27th of March 1767 the Government decided to reinstate him in his former rank on the same salary. Soon after that his death must have taken place, because after 1767 his name does not occur any more in the registers of the Company.

Joannes Spits was born in Negapatnam about 1677, and in 1695 he entered the service of the Company as a soldier. Owing to his clever penmanship he obtained a clerkship and after five years he finally entered the Civil Service as an assistant. In succession he occupied the following posts : 1705, book-keeper ; 1708, senior clerk in the Negapatnam police-office ; 1712, Under-Merchant and Secretary in the same place ; 1717, Adigar (Collector) of the suburbs ; 1724, Chief in Palliacatta (Pulicat) and in 1725, Chief in Sadras. This last position he held for more than 25 years. In 1750, on the 12th of June, he was promoted to the rank of Merchant. At that time he was over 70 years old and soon afterwards he died. He was in the employ of the Company on the coast of Coromandel for about 55 years.

Philippus Jacobus Dormieux was born about 1708 in Porto Novo, where his father, who had a large family, was Secretary to the Company. In 1726 Philippus started life as a soldier, was soon given a clerical job, became a provisional assistant in 1728, and assistant in 1732 and a book-keeper in 1737, in which capacity he was employed in Sadras for many years. He, too, was for a long time, about 50 years, in the service of the Company on the coast of Coromandel. He rose to greater heights than Spits, although in the 18th century promotion was slower than in the 17th century. His record of service reads : 1751, Under-Merchant ; 1754, Merchant ; 1763, Chief in Palliacatta ; 1769, titular rank of Chief-Merchant ; 1775, substantive rank of Chief-Merchant, Senior Administrator at Negapatnam and Second in the Coromandel Government. As such his name is mentioned for the last time in 1777, when he was about 70 years old. Soon after that his death must have occurred.

The memorial tablet records the name of his wife : Elizabeth Maria Mestral de Meserie, a name, which is not mentioned in the registers of the Company. Very likely she was not a Dutch woman, but probably the daughter of one of the many Frenchmen who lived along the coast at that time. For that matter the Dormieux, too, were supposedly of French origin.

No. 16.—NOTES ON THE NANDAPUR COPPER-PLATE OF THE GUPTA YEAR 169.

By JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH, CALCUTTA.

The above grant has appeared in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 52-56. We congratulate Mr. N. G. Majumdar, the editor of the plate, for his fine critical acumen. Although he has not been able to identify the village of Ambila, from where the charter was issued, nor the village of Jaṅgōyikā, in which lay the donated land, the indication he has given of their locality has come very true. He, from a study of the nature of the script, the phraseology used in the Baigrām and other contemporary inscriptions discovered in North Bengal, and the standard measuring reed used, came to the conclusion that the land given away must have belonged to North Bengal, although the donee came from Nandapura in the Monghyr District of Bihār.

We find that a village named Ambulia or Ambalia still exists in *thānā* Rajarampur of the Dinājpur District, in North Bengal. There is also a village named Jaṅgai in *thānā* Nāwābganj of the same district. Baigrām is also in this *thānā*.¹ The village of Jaṅgōyikā seems to be a very ancient one. Kauṭilya in the *Arthaśāstra* speaks of a variety of sandal wood, a variety of

¹ *Village Directory*, Dinājpur (1885).

agaru (resin of aloe) and also a kind of *tailaparnika* (leaves producing oil such as Eucalyptus) named *Jōngaka* which might have taken this name from its place of origin. The commentator says that all these are the products of Kāmarūpa¹. We do not know the time of this commentator. He might have flourished in the seventh century, when this part of Bengal was under Kāmarūpa. It is interesting to note that a variety of *agaru* is named *Dōngaka*, and a variety of *tailaparnika* as *Asōkagrāmika*². This Dōngaka might be the same as the Dōngā-grāma in *Himavachchhikkhara*, occurring in the Dāmodarpur plate No. 4³. The commentator placed Asōka-grāma also in Kāmarūpa⁴, but we find a village of this name in *thānā* Gaṅgārāmpur of the Dinājpur District⁵.

We would now like to make some observations on some of the terms used in the first two lines of the plate. For ready reference, we give below the text and the translation by Mr. Majumdar :—

TEXT.

- 1 Svasty=**Amvi(mbi)la**-grām-āgrahārāt=sa-viśvāsam=adhikaraṇām(ṇam) **Jaṅgōyikā**-grāmē
Brāhmaṇ-ōttarān=samvyavahā-
2 ry-ādi-kuṣumvi(mbi)naḥ kuśalam=anuvārṇya bōdhayanti(ti) likhanti(ti) cha[*] Vijñāpayati
naḥ viśhayapati- **Chhattramahaḥ**.

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1-2) Hail ! From the (*royal*) grant (*agrahāra*) of **Ambila** village, our Head of the District (*Viśhayapati*) **Chhattramaha**, with confidence intimates, addresses in writing and informs the Court (*Adhikaraṇa*), as well as the Brāhmaṇas, the chief officers and others, and also the householders, at the village of **Jaṅgōyikā**, after having enquired about their well-being :

Agrahāra—This has been translated as ‘(*royal*) grant’. The word, no doubt, ordinarily conveys this meaning. But it is doubtful if it has been used here in the same sense. Charters are usually issued from some headquarters or camps. There appears no reason why the present charter should be issued from a village of royal grant. In the Mallasārul plate of Vijayasēna, issued in the third year of the reign of *Mahārājādhirāja* Gōpachandra (c. 508 A. D.), we find the designation of an officer as *Āgrahārika*. In the same plate the grant has been made by addressing several ‘*Āgrahārīṇa-mahattaras*’ of the neighbourhood⁶. So it seems that *Agrahāra* was meant to be the headquarters of a *Mahattara*, who was also an *Āgrahārika*, or *Āgrahārīṇ*.

Let us see what *agrahāra* literally means. It is derived from *agra*=first or prior and *hri*=to take. *Agra* here has to be taken in the sense of *agra-bhāga*, i.e., king’s share, because the king has got the priority or the first charge on the produce of land. *Agrahara* means ‘one who takes or collects king’s share’. The *Śukranīti* has used the words *bhāgahara* and *bhāga-grāhī* in this sense⁷. *Agrahāra*, therefore, means ‘the place of business or headquarters of the *Agrahara* or *Agrahārīṇ*’.

¹ *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. II, ch. 11.

² *Ibid.*

³ Above, Vol. XV, p. 140.

⁴ *Arthaśāstra* (Gaṇapati Śāstri’s ed.), p. 189.

⁵ *Vill. Diry.*, Dinājpur.

⁶ *Baṅgīya Sāhitya-Parishat-Patrikā* (B. S. 1344), pp. 17-21; above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 155 ff.

⁷ *Śukranīti* (Venk. Press), ch. II, vv. 120, 419.

Now we shall try to see how *agrahāra* came to mean 'a grant made to a Brāhmaṇa.' We have seen that in the Mallasārul grant *Agrahārins* were *Mahattaras* also. The title *Mahattara* implies 'a head-man of a village.' When he performs also the function of 'a revenue-collector,' he is called *Agrahārīṇa-mahattara*.¹ Manu says that the king should appoint a head-man for every village, every ten villages and so on. The head-man of one village will get as his remuneration what food and drink the villagers are to pay to the king every day. The head-man of ten villages will get land which requires six bulls to cultivate, and so on.² Kautilya also says that the *Adhyakshas* or 'Superintendents of departments' should be endowed with lands.³ The *Sukranīti* again says '*grāmapō Brāhmaṇō yōjyāḥ*'⁴ i.e., 'a Brāhmaṇa should be appointed as the head-man or *Mahattara* of a village'. In this way the land granted as maintenance for the *Agrahārīṇa-mahattaras* who were invariably of the Brāhmaṇa caste came to be known as *agrahāra*.

Sa-viśvāsam—This has been translated as 'in confidence'. No question of confidence comes in here. We think that Dr. Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist, has rightly raised the point that after *agrahārāt* some officers should be mentioned. We take *Viśvāsa* to be the designation of some officer. '*Sa-karaṇān*', a word similar to '*sa-viśvāsam*', is found in the Khālimpur plate of Dharmmapāladēva, as '*jyēsthā-kāyastha-mahāmahattara-mahattara-dāśagrāmik-ādī-vishaya-vyavahārīṇaḥ sa-karaṇān*'⁵, i.e., 'the District-Officers such as the *Jyēsthā-Kāyastha*, etc., with their *Karaṇas*, i.e., Sub-Departments or the officers constituting their respective Sub-Departments.' Here it appears that the *Mahattara* was an officer higher than the *Dāśagrāmika* or the head of ten villages' and the *Jyēsthā-Kāyastha* was at the head of the *Vishaya-Vyavahārins* or 'officers of the district', probably employed in the work of revenue collection. *Viśvāsa* literally means 'trust,' hence 'any officer in charge of some work of trust.' Here it probably refers to the post of revenue-collector of the Ambila *agrahāra*.

Let us see if there is any evidence to show that there really existed any post of the name of *Viśvāsa*. The present-day surnames such as *Viśvāsa*, *Niyōgi*, *Bhāṇḍārī*, *Biśī* (*Vishayī*), *Majumdar* (correctly *Majmuādār*), *Munshī*, etc., are nothing but the names of posts, which were held by some forefathers, probably for some generations, of the present holders of these surnames. Arjuna Miśra, the Bengali commentator of the *Mahābhārata*, says that he wrote the *Mōkshadharma-mā-rhādīpikā* under orders of the '*Gauḍēśvara-mahāmantri-śrīmad-Viśvāsa-rāya*'⁶. Again Rāmachandra Guha, the poet of the *Aindavānanda-Nāṭaka*, says that he was the son of '*Gauḍēndra-mahāmātya-kavi-panḍita-prāpta-Viśvāsa-sthāna(khāna)-padavika*'⁷. We find that both *Viśvāsa-rāya* and *Viśvāsa-khāna* held high posts under the king of Gauḍa. Rāmachandra clearly states that his father held the post (*padavī*) of *Viśvāsa-khāna*. *Padavī* literally means 'a situation, a place,' but surnames after the post-designations have become so very common in Bengal that *padavī* means 'a surname'. The term again is so very popular that surnames such as Banerji, Ghosh, etc., which are not strictly *padavis* go by the name of *padavī*. *Viśvāsa-rāya* and *Viśvāsa-khāna* seem to be similar to the modern 'Lord Chancellor of the Exchequer.' After this there cannot be any doubt that *Viśvāsa* in the present plate has been used as the designation of an officer.

¹ [*Agrahārīṇa* of the Mallasārul Plate evidently stands for *agrahārīka* and has been formed on the analogy of *grāmīka*.—Ed.]

² *Manu-smṛiti*, ch. VII, vv. 115-19.

³ *Arthasāstra*, Bk. II, ch. 1.

⁴ *Sukranīti*, ch. II, v. 420.

⁵ Above, Vol. IV, p. 250, text l. 47.

⁶ *Notices of Sans. MSS.*, H. P. Sastri, 2nd. Series, Vol. I, No. 295.

⁷ *Des. Cat. of Sans. MSS.*, Tanjore, Vol. VIII, No. 4335.

Adhikarapam—This has been translated as 'court'. We think it would be more suitable to say 'department' or 'officers constituting the department'. Court ordinarily carries the sense of 'a Court of Justice.' Kaṭilya has used this word in the sense of 'a department.'¹

Brāhmaṇ-ōttarān—This has been rendered as 'the Brāhmaṇas and others.' In the charters of the Sēna and the Varman kings of Bengal, we have '*Brāhmaṇān Brāhmaṇ-ōttarān*,' which has been translated by Mr. Majumdar as 'Brāhmaṇas, and the best or chief among Brāhmaṇas'². Again in the Rāmapāl copper-plate of Śrichandra occurs only '*Brāhmaṇ-ōttarān*.' This has also been rendered as 'the best among Brāhmaṇas.'³ We think in the first case '*Brāhmaṇ-ōttarān*' means 'other than the Brāhmaṇas,' and in the second case as 'the Brāhmaṇas and others,' as has been interpreted in the present case. No other rendering will be suitable to the context.

Samivyaavahāry-ādi-kuṭumbinaḥ—This has been translated as 'the chief officers and the householders'. In the Dāmōdarpur plate No. 3 a distinction has been made between the *adhikaraṇa-grāmika-kuṭumbinaḥ*, and the *-prakṛiti-kuṭumbinaḥ*.⁴ The first seems to refer to those, who by virtue of their position in society held some office, such as *mahattara*, etc., while the second are the lay or ordinary householders. In the present plate these householders are not the ordinary householders, but belonged to the first class.

Kuśalam-anuvārppya—This has been interpreted as 'enquiring about the well-being of'. This is the same as '*kuśalam=uktvā*' of the Dāmōdarpur plate mentioned above. It should, we think, be translated as 'after saying or wishing well-fare' such as '*śubham=astu bhavatām*'. Maṇu ordains that *kuśala* should be enquired of the Brāhmaṇas only, and not of the other *varṇas*.⁵ Here in the assembly people other than the Brāhmaṇas were also present. So enquiring of *kuśala* of all would have been against law and etiquette.

No. 17.—SVALPA-VELURA GRANT OF GANGA ANANTAVARMAN.

BY B. CH. CHEABRA, M.A., M.O.L., Ph.D. (LUGD.), OOTACAMUND.

This grant is one of the nine sets of copper-plates which were acquired by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, Superintendent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta, in the year 1935, and seven of which have already been published.⁶ Their exact find-spot is not known, but, as stated above,⁷ they were unearthed in a village of the **Badakhimedi Estate** in the Ganjām District.

The charter consists of **three copper plates**, each measuring about 7" × 2½". They were strung on a ring, about 3½" in diameter, to which was fixed a **seal**. This is now badly defaced, but it probably contained the figure of a recumbent bull. The plates together with the ring and the seal weigh 108½ *tolas*. The first and the last plates are engraved only on the inner face, while the second plate bears writing on both the sides. Their rims are left flat, still the inscription on them is intact. There are altogether thirty lines of writing, each face of the second plate containing eight and the other two seven each.

¹ *Arthashastra*, Bk. II, ch. IX.

² N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 24, 66, 78 and 90.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁴ Above, Vol. XV, p. 136.

⁵ *Manu-smṛiti*, ch. II, v. 127.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 73 ff.; 78 ff.; 141 ff. and 261 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

The characters belong to the northern variety of alphabet, which is generally found in the Gaṅga records. The script of the present inscription resembles to a great extent that of the Vishmagiri plates of Indravarmadēva,¹ and, at the same time, appears to be somewhat more archaic than the latter. It is, however, decidedly much later than that of the Dhanantara plates of Sāmantavarman.² With regard to the formation of individual letters, it may be observed that *k*, *dh*, *p*, *m*, *y*, *r*, *l*, *s* and *h* have two signs each, as found in the following examples : *Śvētaka-* and *śakala* (l. 1) ; *-ādhiśthā*³ (l. 1) and *°dhirāja* (l. 7) ; *°parika* (l. 10) and *janapa*⁴ (l. 11) ; *māhēśvarō* and *mātā* (l. 6) ; *pralaya* (l. 2) and *nāyaka* (l. 10) ; *°dhirāja* and *paramē*⁵ (l. 7) ; *śakala* (l. 1) and *kamal-* (l. 4) ; *nivāsi*⁶ (l. 3) and *sāmanta* (l. 5) ; *hētō*⁷ (l. 2) and *māhe*⁸ (l. 6). Similarly *n* is represented by two distinct forms one of which is identical in shape with the same letter in Nāgarī, while the other looks like Nāgarī *v*. Both of them may be compared in *nivāsina* (l. 3). The same word also illustrates the two ways in which the medial *i* is expressed. The medial long *ī* is likewise denoted in two ways, cf. *śrī* (l. 3 *et passim*) and *kusalīh* (l. 8). Attention may be called also to *śrī* in l. 29 the form of which totally differs from the sign of the same word occurring several times in the rest of the inscription. As to the signs for initial vowels, *a* is met with in ll. 8, 22, 27, *i* in ll. 24, 26, 29, and *u* in ll. 18, 29. Here again, two diverse forms of initial *i* are seen in *itī*, appearing twice in l. 29. The sign for final *t* (ll. 15, 23) is equally noteworthy.

The language of the record is Sanskrit and the composition is in prose, except that five of the customary verses occur in ll. 19-26. Concerning orthography the following points are noticed : (1) In certain cases *sandhi* rules have been disregarded, as in l. 15. (2) In a few instances the *sandhi* observed is wrong, as in *°rājyō parama-* (l. 6). (3) *Anusvāra* has taken the place of a final *m*, as in *phalaṁ* (l. 20) and (4) occasionally also of a class nasal, as in *Kaliṅg-* (l. 6), (5) whereas in some cases it appears redundantly before a nasal, as in *Gaṁg-* (l. 7) and *bhavatūmm=etad=* (l. 13). (6) *Visarga* is sometimes omitted, as in *nivāsina* (l. 3), (7) while it is wrongly used in *kusalīh* (l. 8). (8) The letter *t* preceding *r* in *śakti-uraya* (l. 4) and in *attra* (l. 27) is reduplicated. (9) A consonant after *r* is in most cases doubled, as in *Gōkarn*⁹ (l. 3), and (10) left single in others, as in *-ārka* (l. 16). (11) As in many other records of this period, no separate sign for *b* has been employed in this inscription, it being invariably expressed by the sign for *v*. The composition of the record also shows a few mistakes such as wrong spellings or incorrect grammar, which have been rectified in the transcribed text.

The document is issued by the illustrious *Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Paramabhāṭāraka Anantavarmadēva* from his capital or seat of government (*adhishṭhāna*) *Śvētaka*. Its object is to record the grant, made by the king himself, of a village called *Svalpa-Vēlura* (or *Svalpa-Vēlurō*), included in the district (*vishaya*) of *Khalgukhaṇḍa*, to one *Bhaṭṭa Nānaśārman* belonging to the *Vatsa gōtra*, the *Vājasaneyā charaṇa*, and the *Kāṇva śākhā* (of the white Yajurveda). *Mahāsāmanta Aśōkadēva* acted as the *Dūtaka* for this charter, while it was composed by *Mahāsādhivigrahika* *Gōvindadēva*, registered (*lāñchhita*) by the chief queen (*Mahādēvī*) *Vāsabhāṭṭārikā* and engraved by *Mahindrabhīma*. The date of the record, which is given at the end, is the fifth day of the bright half of the month of *Phālguna* in the nineteenth year which, in all probability, refers to the regnal year of the king.

The donor, *M. P. P. Anantavarman*, belonged to the Early Gaṅga dynasty of *Kaliṅga*. One of the conventional attributes attached to his name describes him as 'one who wields the supreme power over the entire *Kaliṅga* (country) conquered by the strength and might of his own arms', but this in common with a number of other Gaṅga grants has no special significance

¹ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 134 ff.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 275 ff.

here. Although several of the Early Gaṅga kings are known to bear the same name Anantavarman,¹ none of them appears to be identical with the grantor of the present charter. Unfortunately there still prevails a good deal of uncertainty with regard to the chronology of the Early Gaṅga kings, in spite of the fact that the number of their known records, which was already not a mean one, has during recent years been appreciably augmented by fresh discoveries. From the varied and extensive data available divergent opinions have been formed in respect of the many vexed problems connected with the history of the Gaṅgas, which it will serve no useful purpose to repeat here. Hence a brief and relevant discussion may suffice.

It has been supposed that there were at least five collateral branches of the Early Gaṅgas, ruling over different parts of Kalinga. Even an attempt has been made to fix the genealogy of each of them.² A verse appearing in Vajrahasta's grants³ has been cited in support of that. There is indeed nothing against such a supposition. In fact, there is an additional piece of evidence in its favour. We know that there were various capitals from where the Gaṅga records have been issued. This diversity of capitals is better explained by accepting the above view than by assuming, with Mr. T. C. Rath, 'that the capital was changed from time to time'.⁴

Latterly, it has been suggested⁵ that one branch of the Early Gaṅgas had Śvātaka as its capital, whence it ruled over the surrounding territory. It may parenthetically be pointed out that Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma asserts that the name of the city has hitherto been 'wrongly read as Śvātaka' but 'is really Śchātaka'.⁶ His assertion is based on his examination of the four grants then available to him. There is no gainsaying that the forms of conjuncts *śva* and *ścha* are often very similar to and hardly distinguishable from each other in those records, as is the case in many others for the matter of that. Again, the evidence of the Vishmagiri plates, as adduced by Mr. Sarma, even substantiates his alleged reading *Śchātaka*. In spite of all that the latter does not seem to me acceptable. Considering that the names of the other Gaṅga capitals are purely Sanskrit ones, one would expect in the present instance also a familiar Sanskrit word as *Śvātaka* rather than a quasi-Sanskrit term like *Śchātaka*. This in itself, I admit, is not a sufficiently cogent argument for the acceptance of the former reading, but, as we shall presently see, it is strengthened by concrete evidence. As remarked above, Mr. Sarma had only four charters for comparison, whereas we have now six or seven more issued from the self-same capital city. If the *śv* of *Śvātaka* is not clear enough in any of the previously known four grants, it is absolutely clear in at least three⁷ of the latter group. It will be seen that the conjuncts *śva* and *ścha* there have distinct forms. We have, therefore, to treat the reading *Śchātaka* of the Vishmagiri plates as a mistake for *Śvātaka*.

Assuming now that the kings who issued charters from Śvātaka belonged to a separate branch of the Early Gaṅga rulers, we find that Anantavarman of the present grant is the only king of that name so far known in that line. The earliest known prince of this family is

¹ See above, Vol. III, pp. 17 ff.; Vol. XXIII, pp. 56 ff. *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 273 ff.

² *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, p. 38.

³ Above, Vol. IV, p. 189; Vol. IX, p. 96; Vol. XXIII, p. 71. The verse runs as follows:

पूर्वं भूपतिभिर्विजित्य वसुधा या पद्मभिः पद्मधा भुक्ता भूरिपराक्रमो भुजबलात्मानिक एव स्वयम् ।

एकीकृत्य विजित्य बहुनिबन्धान् श्रीवज्रहस्तवसुधत्तारिश्मतमद्युदारचरितः सर्वामरबीर्यवान् ॥

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 276.

⁵ *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. XI, pp. 60 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 59 and n. 9.

⁷ Above, Vol. XXIII, plates facing pp. 80, 262 and 267.

Sāmantavarman, as would appear from his Dhanantara plates,¹ which are not dated but are assigned to the seventh century A.D. on the evidence of their more archaic characters. Two points are noteworthy in this last-mentioned record; firstly Sāmantavarman does not bear any royal title; secondly he is described as *sva-bhuja-bala-parākram-ākṛānta-sakala-Śvētaka-ādhirājya*. This latter epithet, we know, occurs in connection with many other Gaṅga kings, with the only difference that there it has *Kaliṅga* instead of *Śvētaka*. From the above observation we may conclude that Sāmantavarman must have been a petty chief, ruling over a small territory called Śvētaka after the name of the capital city. Incidentally, this last reference further supports the theory of the separateness of the Śvētaka branch of the Early Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅga. As will be seen below, Sāmantavarman later on rose from his humble position to considerable power.

Recently, an important discovery has been made in the shape of a copper plate grant.² The charter is likewise issued from Śvētaka. It is dated and records the gift of a village, named Phērava, to four Brāhmaṇas. The donor is *Mahārāja* Sāmantavarman who has been rightly identified with Sāmantavarman of the Dhanantara plates. The identification is vouched mainly by the similarity of the script used in both the records. It may be noticed that in the Phērava grant Sāmantavarman is styled *Mahārāja* and bears the more common epithet *sva-bhuja-bala-parākram-ākṛānta-Kaliṅga-ādhirājya*, whereas in his Dhanantara plates he bears no such title as *Mahārāja* and his corresponding epithet there contains *Śvētaka* and not *Kaliṅga*. This indicates that, during the interval between the times of the issue of his Dhanantara plates and Phērava grant, Sāmantavarman somehow or other managed to have his dominions expanded and thereby to acquire more authority. We have at present no means to ascertain either the exact duration of that interval or the circumstances that led to his success and achievements.

As has already been remarked, the Phērava grant is dated; and that is again a point inviting controversy. The date³ is expressed only by three numerical symbols which the editor, Mr. Sarma, has read as 185. The first and the last figures no doubt represent 100 and 5 respectively. The middle one, however, answers neither to 8 nor to 80, as a comparison of it with the known symbols of those numerals⁴ will prove. Mr. Sarma's reading of the date as 185 is thus not warranted. The precise value of the disputed symbol cannot be determined unless we come across the same sign used elsewhere in a Gaṅga record in a date expressed both in words and in numerical symbols. Tentatively, however, I propose to explain the sign under discussion as representing 6, because it closely resembles the symbol for *six* occurring in the Kōmarti Plates of Chaṇḍavarman of Kaliṅga.⁵ The date would thus be the year 165 and not 185. No era has been specified in the record, but the year 165 possibly refers itself to the Gāṅgēya era.

According to Mr. Sarma's reading of the date as the year 185 of the Gāṅgēya era, Sāmantavarman becomes contemporaneous with Guṇārjuna's son Dēvēndravarma, a Gaṅga king of Kaliṅganagara, whose records of the years ranging from 183 to 195 of the same era are known.⁶

¹ Above, Vol. XV, pp. 275 ff.

² This has been edited by Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma in *Bhāratī* (Telugu), Vol. XIV, Pt. I, 1937, pp. 223 ff. and Plates; and *J. O. R.*, Vol. XI, Pt. I, 1937, pp. 55 ff. (and Plates, *ibid.*, Pt. II).

³ The date portion has come out more distinct on the plates accompanying Mr. Sarma's article in Telugu.

⁴ For the signs of 8 and 80 see above, Vol. XVII, plate facing p. 333, text l. 23; Vol. III, plate facing p. 120, text l. 23, has the symbol for 80, and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, plate facing p. 121, text l. 20, has that for 8.

⁵ Above, Vol. IV, plate facing p. 145, text l. 20. It will be seen that in both the cases the symbol is identical in form with the letter *ka* of the alphabet used, but that in the case of the Kōmarti Plates it has the sign of medial *k* added to it.

⁶ See Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, Nos. 1478, 1479 and 2048; also *I. H. Q.*, Vol. X, p. 301.

Mr. Sarma is inclined to believe that Sāmantavarman's subsequent rise was presumably due to a successful invasion by him on Dēvēndravarman's territory. This belief is not tenable in view of the fact that the reading of the date as the year 185 of the Phērava grant is not correct.

Besides *Mahārāja* Sāmantavarman and *M. P. P.* Anantavarman, the following are the names of the other Gaṅga rulers of the Śvētaka branch as known from their respective characters: *Mahārāja* Indravarman;¹ *Mahārāja* Prithivivarman, son of Mahindravarman;² *M. P. P.* Indravarman, son of Prithivivarman;³ *Mahārāja* Jayavarman;⁴ *P. M. P. Rāṇaka* Dānārṇava, son of Prithivivarman;⁵ *M. P. P.* Bhūpēndravarman;⁶ *Rāṇaka* Jayavarman;⁷ and *Mahārāja* Indravarman.⁸ Sufficient data are not yet available for determining the chronology of these kings.

As regards the localities mentioned in the present inscription, no satisfactory identification is forthcoming. Commenting upon Śvētaka, Mr. R. Subbarao says: "It would appear from the *Śthalapurāṇa* that the region round about Śrī-Kūrmam was called *Śvētaka Puṣhkarayī* (sic); and probably the donor had his capital at Śrī-Kūrmam".⁹ Mr. Sarma, on the other hand, identifies Śvētaka with the modern Chīkaṭi Zamindari in the Sōmpēṭa taluk of the Ganjām District.¹⁰ *Khalgukhaṇḍa viśhaya* of the present grant is evidently the same as *Khalugakhaṇḍa viśhaya* occurring in the charters of Bhūpēndravarman and *Rāṇaka* Jayavarman,¹¹ but it has not yet been identified. The name of the granted village, *Svalpa-Vēlura*, suggests that there must have been two villages of the name Vēlura, one *svalpa* (small) and the other *brihat* (large). I am unable to offer any plausible identification of either.

Finally we may consider in brief the significance of the designations of some of the officers figuring in this record, as they illustrate in a way the administrative history of India. The list of officials to whom the charter is addressed is headed by *Mahāsāmanta* and *Śrīsāmanta*. From the context they appear to be some dignitaries rather than 'feudatory chiefs' as the term *sāmanta* ordinarily signifies. Moreover, I am inclined to take *śrī* in the latter term as an integral part of the designation and not as merely an honorific prefix. The first of these two ranks appears to be superior to the second one. May be they denote 'officers in charge of or posted on the frontiers'. *Danḍanāyaka*¹² is probably the same as *Sēnāpati* 'army-leader' or 'general'. *Danḍapāsika*

¹ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 134 ff.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 78 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 263 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 267 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 198 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 261 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 265 ff.

⁸ He is known from a recently discovered copper-plate grant which has not yet been published. As the characters of this record are much earlier in appearance, *Mahārāja* Indravarman of this does not seem to be identical with either of the two rulers of the same name mentioned in the above list.

⁹ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, p. 184.

¹⁰ *J. O. R.*, Vol. XI, p. 58. It may be recalled that Mr. Sarma reads *Śchēlaka* instead of *Śvēlaka*. The latter reading may not upset his identification of the place with Chīkaṭi, *śvē* being equally transmutable into *chē* through the supposed intermediary forms *śē* (which actually occurs in one instance, see above, Vol. XXIII, p. 268) and *chē*. He observes that "the term *Śchēlaka* can be explained philologically to be the same as the modern Chīkaṭi, the intervening forms being, *Śchēkata* (through metathesis), *Chēkata* *Chēkata* and finally Chīkaṭi in popular parlance." Further on in his essay he also connects *Sēdā-* or *Sōdā-maṇḍala* with *Śchēlaka* (*op. cit.*, p. 61).

¹¹ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 266 and 268.

¹² Mr. N. G. Majumdar thinks that *Danḍanāyaka* means 'a judge'. *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 185. The same term has been rendered by R. G. Basak as 'magistrate'. Above, Vol. XII, p. 43. The title *Mahādānāyaka*, which denotes a higher rank than that of *Danḍanāyaka*, appears also in the famous Allāhābād Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta, where Fleet takes it for a military title and discusses its significance in detail. *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 16, n. 5. Prof. Vogel, however, renders this *Mahādānāyaka* by 'prefect of police' in *Antiquities of Chamba*, Pt. I, p. 123, where he discusses the title *Kumārāmātya*.

may mean 'an officer entrusted with the punishment of criminals'.¹ The term *Antaraṅga* is not of frequent occurrence and has been subjected to much discussion. It possibly signifies 'a court physician'.² The title *Kumārāmātya* has been explained as to denote 'councillor of the crown prince'.³ No satisfactory explanation of the term *Uparika* has yet been found, though it is met with in many inscriptions and several scholars have discussed it.⁴ The office of *Uparika* seems to have existed even in very olden days, for we find it defined by so ancient an authority as *Bṛhaspati* who is quoted by *Viśvarūpachārya* in his commentary *Bālakriḍā* on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* while commenting on the verse 307 in the *Rājadharmaprakaraṇa* of this work.⁵ The definition runs as follows: *avikāryō=vikal-ēndriyaḥ pratāpavān subhagaḥ sumukhō=kṛipāṇō=pramādī dakṣhō dākṣhīnya-chāritra-rakṣaṇ-ārtham=adhikaraṇa-sandigdha-vivēka-kṛid=uparikaḥ syād, i.e., 'a man who is resolute, sane, energetic, biasful, personable, generous, vigilant, dextrous and capable of administering justice in legal disputes should be (appointed as) Uparika in order to maintain impartiality and morality'. The office of an Uparika may thus correspond to that of 'a magistrate'. *Viśayapati* and *Grāmapati* are 'district-officer' and 'village-head' respectively. The meaning of the terms *Bhōgin* and *Bhōgin* is not very clear. They are apparently the same as *Bhōgika* and *Bhōgika*, occurring elsewhere.⁶ They possibly denote 'collectors of revenue'. Explaining the latter designation Mr. Vaidya writes: "the collector of the *Bhōga*, i.e. the state share of the land produce taken in kind, as a rule, one sixth. The term *Bhōga* is still in use in Kathiawad for the share usually $\frac{1}{6}$ th which land-holders receive from land-cultivating tenants".⁷ The *chāṭas*, *bhaṭas* and *vallabhas* belong to the inferior staff. The first two have often been rendered as 'irregular soldiers' and 'regular troops' respectively. Prof. Vogel has, however, shown that the office of *chāṭa* still exists in the Chamba State where the corrupt form *chār* is used and it means 'the head of a *parganā*', while *bhaṭa* is taken in the sense of 'an official subordinate to the head of a *parganā*'.⁸ *Vallabhas* are mentioned also in Kautilya's *Arthasāstra* where the word is translated as 'courtiers'.⁹*

TEXT.¹⁰

First Plate.

- 1 Om¹¹ Svasti [I*] Śvōtak-ādhishtānād=bhagavataś=char-āchara-gur[ō]h śakala-
- 2 śāśāṅka-śekhara-dharasya sthity¹²-utpatti pralaya-kāraṇa-hētō-
- 3 r-Mmahēndr-āchala-śikhara-nivāsina[h*] śrīmad-Gōkarṇṇēśvara-bhaṭṭāraka-
- 4 sya charaṇa-kamal-ārādhan-āvāpta-punya(nya)-nichayasya¹³ śakti-ttraya-

¹ Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 254, n. 2; J. Ph. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

² N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 183; N. N. Das Gupta, *A Note on the Term 'Antaraṅga'* in *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, pp. 684 ff.

³ J. Ph. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

⁴ *Ibid.*; N. G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 183, here also see under *Antaraṅga*.

⁵ *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* with the commentary *Bālakriḍā* edited by T. Ganapati Sastri (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. LXXIV), pp. iv and 184.

⁶ See J. Ph. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

⁷ C. V. Vaidya, *History of Medieval Hindu India*, Vol. I, p. 157.

⁸ J. Ph. Vogel, *op. cit.*, pp. 130 ff.

⁹ R. Shamasastry's English translation, *Kautilya's Arthasāstra* (2nd edition), p. 52.

¹⁰ From ink-impressions.

¹¹ Expressed by a symbol.

¹² The letter *i* in this conjunct appears to be doubled, but in reality it is single; cf. the same in **kṛitya*, l. 17.

¹³ Read *-nichayash*.

$\ddot{ii}a.$ *ib.*

iii.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

- 5 prakarsh-ānurañjit-āsēsha-sāmantha-chakra[h*] sva-bhuja-va(ba)la-parākrama-[ji]-
 6 ta-sakala-Kalimṅ-ādhirañjyō(jyah) paramamāhēśvarō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānu-
 7 dhyāta(tō) Gaṁṅg¹-āmala-kula-tilaka(kō) mā(ma)hārājādhi²rāja-paramēśvara-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 8 parama[bha*ttā]raka-śrī-⁴Anantavarmmadēva[h*] kuśali⁵ Khalgukhaṇḍa-viśha-
 9 yē⁶ Varttamāna(nān) bhaviṣyamāñcha(shyāmś=cha) vrā(brā)hmaṇa-purōgaḥ(gān)
 mā(ma)hāsāmanta-śrīsāma-
 10 nta-daṇḍanāyaka-daṇḍapāśik-āntaraṅga-kumārāmāty-ōparika-vishaya-
 11 pati-grāmapati-bhē(bhā)gi-bhōgy-ādi-vishaya-janapadā⁷m=anyāmś(nyāmś)=cha chāṭa-
 12 bhāṭa-vallabha-jātiyām(yān) yath-ārham⁷ mānayat-ādiśati cha viditam=a-
 13 stu bhavatā⁸m=ētaḍ-vishaya-samvandha(ubaddha)-Svalpa-Vēlurō grāmō-yam cha-
 tuḥ-si-
 14 m-ōpalakshitō⁹ Vājasanē[ya*]-charaṇāya Kāṇva-śākhāya Vachchha(tsa)-gōtrā-
 15 ya Bhṛigu-vat⁴ Dairda-vat⁴ Chyavana-vat⁴ Jā(Ja)madagni-vat⁴ pravarāya¹⁰

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 16 bhāṭa-Nānāśarmmaṇāya¹⁰ salila-dhārā-puraḥsarēṇ¹¹=ā-chandr-ārka-kṣiti-sa-
 17 ma-kālam=akarīkṛitya pratipādītēma¹²=smābhir-yataḥ¹³ tāmva(mra)-śāsana-darśa-
 18 nād=dharma-gauravācha(ch=cha) na kēnachit=paripanthinā bhavitavyaḥ(vyam) |
 ukta¹⁴mū=cha d¹dharma-śāstrē-
 19 shu Va(Ba)hubhir=vasudhā⁴ datā(ttā) rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [*] yasya yasya
 20 yadā bhu(bhū)mis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) | [l]* Mā bhu(bhū)d=aphala-
 śāṅkā vaḥ para-

¹ Here the *anusvāra* is redundant.

² The letter *dh* here is in fact single, but it looks doubled as compared with the one in *-ādīśātīśānād-*, l. 1, and *-ārādhan-*, l. 4. The form in question may be compared with the same letter in *dhārasya*, above Vol. III, pl. facing p. 18, text l. 3.

³ Here *bha* is reversed and is engraved upon a partly erased letter which was perhaps *śrī*, while *ttā* is differently shaped from that in *-bhāṭāraka*, l. 3.

⁴ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

⁵ Here *visarga* is superfluous. Read *kuśali*.

⁶ This *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

⁷ There is a superfluous sign after the letter *ham*.

⁸ The *Vatsa gōtra* is known to have the following *pañc-āśhēya pravara* : Jamadagni-Urva-Apnavāna-Chyavana-Bhṛigu (see the *Gōtrapravarānibandhakadamba* (Bombay edition), p. 25). In the present instance, while Apnavāna has obviously been omitted through inadvertence, Urva is replaced by Dairda which is not a well-known name. In the case of the donee in the Ganjām plates of Jayavarmadēva (who likewise belongs to the Vājasanēya *charaṇa*, the Kāṇva *śākhā* and the Vatsa *gōtra*), Apnavāna and Urva are substituted by Vatsa and Dairda respectively, as he is described to be *Vatsa-vat Dairda-vat Bhṛigu-vat Jā(Ja)madagni-vat Chyavana-vat pañcha-pravar-ātmaka* (see *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XII, plate facing p. 492, text ll. 23-24).

⁹ These *daṇḍas* are unnecessary.

¹⁰ Read *bhāṭa-Nānāśarmmaṇē*.

¹¹ Better read *-puraḥsaram-*.

¹² Read *pratipādītō*.

¹³ There is a superfluous sign of final *t* after the syllable *taḥ*.

¹⁴ Here *d* is redundant. Read *dharma-*.

- 21 datā(tt=ē)ti pāṛthivāḥ [*] sva-dānāt=phalam=ānantyaṁ para-datt-ānupāla-
nān(nā)| [2 [*] Sa(Sha)hṭī(hṭī)-
22 m=varsha-sahasrāṇi svargē mōdati bhu(bhū)midaḥ [*] a(ā)kshēptā ch=ānumantā
cha tāny=ē-
23 va narakam=v[r]ajēt [13] Sva-dattām=para-dattām=vā yō harēti(ta) vasumddharām¹
[*] sa

Third Plate.

- 24 viśṭhāyām kṛmir=bhu(bhū)tvā pitṛibhiḥ[*] saha pachyatē || [4[*] Iti kamala-da-
25 k-ānru(mbu)-vi(bi)ndu-lōlām śriyam=anuchintya manushya-ji(ji)vita²rhñ=cha sakalam=i-
26 dam=udāhṛitāñ=cha vu(bu)ddhvā na hi purushaiḥ[*] para-kīrttayō vilōpya(pyāḥ)
[15[*] iti]
27 du(dū)takō=ttra mā(ma)hāsāmanta-śri(śrī)-³Aśōkadēvaḥ | likhitañ=cha mā(ma)hā-
28 sandhivigrihī(grahi)ka-Gōvindadēvēna | lam(lā)ñchhita[m] mā⁴(ma)hādēvyā śrī-Vāsa-
bhaṭṭā-
29 rikaya iti⁵ | utkīrṇaṇ=cha śrī-Mahindrabbhīmēna⁶ iti [*] samva⁷ 19
30 Phāla⁸śudi 5 [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-8) Om Hail! From the (*capital*) city of Śvātaka, the illustrious Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Paramabhāṭṭāraka Anantavarmadēva, who has a store of religious merit acquired by worshipping the lotus-like feet of the illustrious lord Gōkarṇēśvara-Bhaṭṭāraka (*i.e.*, Śiva), who⁹ is the cause in bringing about the creation, preservation and destruction¹⁰ (of the universe) (and) who¹⁰ resides on the summit of the mount Mahēndra, who¹⁰ has the entire circle of feudatory chiefs loyally attached (*to himself*) through the excellence of his¹⁰ three-fold power¹¹, who¹⁰ has the supremacy over the whole Kālīnga (*country*) conquered by the strength and force of his¹⁰ own arms, who¹⁰ is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (*i.e.*, Śiva), who¹⁰ has meditated on the feet of his¹⁰ parents, (and) who¹¹ is an ornament of the pure family of the Gaṅgas, being in good health,

(ll. 8-12) duly honours and commands the present as well as the future (*officers*) of the district and of the country, headed by the Brāhmaṇas, (*namely*) Mahāsāmanta¹² Śrīsāmanta, Daṇḍa-

¹ Read *vasundharām*.

² Here the *anuvāda* is redundant.

³ *Samhī* has not been observed here.

⁴ This *mā* is engraved over an erasure.

⁵ Read *rikaya-iti*.

⁶ Read *utkīrṇaṇ*. The sign after *samva* cannot be read as final *t*, because the form of this letter occurring in the present inscription is altogether different as may be seen in l. 15 and l. 23. No doubt the sign in question is to be read as the numeral 1, while the next one is the numerical figure 9.

⁷ This evidently stands for *Phālguna*.

⁸ This refers to Gōkarṇēśvara-Bhaṭṭāraka.

⁹ The order in the original is: preservation, creation and destruction. The same is seen also in the other known Gaṅga records wherever the phrase in question occurs. The proper order, however, should be as given in the translation.

¹⁰ This refers to Anantavarmadēva.

¹¹ The three *śaktis* are *prabhu-śakti* (majesty), *mantra-śakti* (good counsel) and *udāha-śakti* (energy).

¹² The significance of this and the following titles has been discussed in the introduction.

nāyaka, Daṇḍapāśika, Antaraṅga, Kumārāmātya, Uparika, Viśayapati, Grāmapati, Bhāgin Bhōgin and so forth, as well as others belonging to the class of *chāṭas, bhāṭas* and *vallabhas* in the district of **Khalgukhaṇḍa** (as follows) :—

(ll. 12-18) “ Be it known to you that this village of **Svalpa-Vēlura** (or **Svalpa-Vēlurō**), belonging to this district (of **Khalgukhaṇḍa**), (and) marked by (its all the) four boundaries, has been donated by Us, after making it rent-free, with libations of water to **Bhaṭṭa Nānaṭasārman** of the **Vājasaneyā charaṇa**, the **Kāpva śākhā**, the **Vata gōtra** (and) the **Bhṛigu-Ūrva-Chyavana-Apna-vāna-Jamadagni pravara**, to last as long as the moon, the sun and the earth (endure) ; wherefore seeing the copper charter and out of respect for the *dharma* no one should become an obstacle (to it).

(ll. 18-26) “ Moreover, it is declared in the *dharmaśāstras* : [Here follow five of the customary verses.] ”

(ll. 27-30) The *Dūtaka* here is the illustrious **Mahāsāmanta Aśōkadēva**. And (it) is written by **Mahāsandhivigrahika Gōvindadēva** (and) registered by the illustrious chief queen **Vāsabhaṭṭārikā**. And (it) is engraved by the illustrious **Mahindrabhīma**. The year 19, the 5th day of the bright fortnight of **Phālguṇa**.

No. 18.—CHURA GRANT OF PALLAVA VIJAYA-VISHNUGOPAVARMAN.

By C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU, B.A., MADRAS.

The grant edited below is engraved on **three copper-plates** strung on a circular ring bearing an oval seal. The plates were forwarded to the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, Government Epigraphist for India, by J. N. Roy, Esq., I.C.S., Collector of Guntur, in 1913 and were reviewed in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy, Madras*, for the year 1913-14.¹ Though a set of impressions was forwarded to Professor Hultzsch in October 1913, no article appears to have been contributed by him on the record. I am now editing it for the first time here from the original plates recently borrowed for the purpose and from the impressions preserved in my office.

The plates measure 6 inches by 2½ inches each and the ring is ½ inch in thickness and 3 inches in diameter. The seal measures approximately 1½ inch by 1 inch. The plates are very much worn out and slightly damaged also. Some holes are visible in the first and the third plates, while a portion in the top margin of the first plate is broken. The ring attached to the plates was not cut when they were first received for examination. The oval seal, into the bottom of which the ends of the ring are fixed, is slightly broken and on its face bears in relief the figure of a couchant bull facing the proper right. The first plate is engraved on one side only, while the second and the third plates are engraved on both the sides. The plates together with the ring and the seal weigh 31 *tolas*.

The Revenue Divisional Officer of Narasaraopet, who secured the plates at the first instance, reported that they were brought to him by Mulla Sheik Mirem of Narasaraopet who said that the plates were granted to his ancestor (!) one Mulla Abdul Fateh, “ as title-deed for some *Jaghir* in Daggupāḍu, a village of the Bapatla taluk ”. It is probable that the plates were originally discovered in Daggupāḍu itself or its vicinity, since *Ḥagubamṛu* (evidently modern Daggupāḍu) figures among the boundaries mentioned in the grant.

¹ No. 3 of App. A ; vide also page 6, para. 9 and page 82, para. 1.

The inscription is composed in Sanskrit language and the characters belong to the Southern class of alphabets. As remarked by Krishna Sastri, though the record is full of mistakes, it is important enough for supplying information for Pallava genealogy prior to the time of the Śiṅha-viṣṇu line of Conjeeveram. A few Telugu expressions occurring in the description of the boundaries are noticed below. The mistakes in *sandhi*, etc., are corrected in foot-notes accompanying the text. The following orthographical peculiarities deserve to be noticed :—

The *anusvāra* is often replaced by the class nasal, which is joined on to the following consonant in a conjunct letter : e.g., *Jitam=bhagavatā*, (l. 1), *Pallavānān=dharma*, (l. 16), *paran=dānan=na bhūtan=na* (l. 31), *pāpan=na bhūtan=na* (l. 32), etc. In this respect this record resembles the Māṅgaḍūr grant of Siṅhavarman. The letter *ja* is often miswritten as *jā* with the central cross-bar elongated. Consonants following *r* are doubled in certain places (e.g., *bal-ārjji-ārjita*, in l. 2, *māryyādasya* in l. 3, *varmma* in ll. 10, 16, etc. and *dharmma* in ll. 8, 16, etc.), but not in others (e.g., *nidhēr=vidhi* in l. 3, *nivartana* in l. 25). The word *pūrva* is invariably written as *purva* (ll. 19, 28) and *uttara* as *utara* (l. 22). The following corrupt forms are worthy of notice : *Kandavarma* (ll. 4 f.), *rātrē* (ll. 16 f.), *sañcharantakā* (ll. 17 f.), *grihahtāna-thtita* (l. 24), *pauvutra* (l. 26), etc. The expression *naiyāvika*¹ (l. 17) appears to be meant for *naiyāmika* derived from *niyama* and used for *naiyamika* or *niyāmika* signifying 'law officers'. The word *kshētra* is wrongly used in the masculine form (l. 24) and *kshētran* for *kshētram* in l. 25. The *upadhmanīya* is employed in *yasaḥ-prakāśaḥ* (ll. 12-13). The use of the Telugu expressions *muyūru* (*r-kūṭuva* i.e., the meeting-place of three villages) and *mēḷitāpa* in l. 21 are also noteworthy. *Mēḷitāpa* is perhaps used in the sense of a stepped platform to stack ploughs (*mēḷi*=modern *mēḍi*). *Mudiṭi-taḷākāḥ* (l. 24) is another mixed expression probably meant to indicate an ancient (*mudi*) tank.

The inscription records the gift of one hundred and eight *nivartanas* of land and a house-site with a garden (*vāṭikā*) in the village of **Churā** in *Karmma-rāṣṭra* by the *Dharma-mahārāja Vijaya-Viṣṇugōpavarman* of the Bhāradvāja line and the Pallava family, to the Brāhman **Chāsamiśarman**, who was the son of *Dvēdaya*²-*Vṛiddhasarman* and grandson of *Viṣṇu-sarman* and was a resident of *Kuṇḍūru*, who belonged to the *Kāśyapa-gōtra* and was well-versed in the four *Vēdas*, as a *brahmadēya*, exempting it from all obligations or endowing it with all exemptions (*parihārair-upēta*) on the occasion of the *Uttarāyana*. The gift was made for the increase of the king's life, strength and success.

The record commences with salutation to the Bhagavat as in some other early Pallava copper-plates, and this is followed by the name of the place of issue, viz., **Vijaya-Palātkaṭa-ādhishtāna**, i.e., the prosperous capital Palātkaṭa. The genealogy of the king is given thus :—

Kandavarman (Skandavarman)
|
Viṣṇugōpavarman
|
Siṅhavarman
|
Vijaya-Viṣṇugōpavarman

¹ Cf. (1) *neyika* of the Hirehādagali plates (above, Vol. I, pp. 5 and 8) and (2) *naiyōpika* of the Chendaḷūru plates of Kumāravishṇu II (*ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 235).

² The village name *Dvēdaigōmapuram* occurs in the Tanḍantōṭṭam plates of *Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman* : *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 519 and 532 and in certain Chōḷa inscriptions : *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 259 and above, Vol. XXII, p. 54. *Dvēdai* and *Dvēdaya* are perhaps corrupt but *rūḍha* forms of *Dvīdēda*.

Comparing this table with the list of succession given in allied Pallava grants, the king would appear to be the son of Simhavarman, who issued the Pikira, Māṅgaḍūr and Uruvupalli grants and also the Ōṃgōḍu grant¹ discovered by me in 1916, although the last is only a copy. Of Vishnugōpavarman we have no copper-plate grants known so far besides the one under review which again from its palaeography clearly appears to be a copy made some time in the beginning of the seventh century A.D. and has, therefore, some value as such.² A closer comparison of the letters would reveal great affinity between these and the letters of the Koṇḍaṇagūru grant of the Eastern Chālukya Indravarman³ and the Īpūru plates of Vishnūvardhana III.⁴ It would, therefore, be accurate to assign the writing of the present grant to the early part of the seventh century A.D. Vishnugōpavarman, the donor of the present grant, may be designated **Vishnugōpa III** of the Pallava dynasty.

We are not in a position to guess the actual political or natural causes for the origin of the copies of grants of this king and his father Simhavarman (i.e., the Ōṃgōḍu grant). It is possible that the intrusion of the Eastern Chālukyas into the Karmma-rāshṭra in the first quarter of the 7th century under Kubja-Vishnūvardhana was one of the circumstances that contributed to the loss of the original grants and the subsequent issue of their copies which have been left to us.

Krishna Sastri mentions a difficulty in the identification of *Mahārāja* Vishnugōpavarman, the grandfather of Vijaya-Vishnugōpavarman of our grant, with *Yuvamahārāja* Vishnugōpa of the Māṅgaḍūr, Pikira, Uruvupalli and Ōṃgōḍu grants.⁵ But beyond the difference in the title there is no insurmountable difficulty in the understanding of the succession list. We have a similar analogy in the Eastern Chālukya line in the instance of Maṅgi-Yuvarāja, always being mentioned as a *Yuvarāja* in the dynastic lists, though we have definite evidence to show that he ruled for 25 years under the royal name or title 'Vijayasiddhi'.⁶ Moreover, in the light of the present grant applying to Vishnugōpa the title '*mahārāja*', we will have to give up the supposition made by Dr. Hultzsch⁷ that the king never ascended the throne.⁸

The title *Dharma-mahārāja* applied to the early Pallava⁹, Gaṅga and Kadamba¹⁰ kings is somewhat interesting and seems to call for some remarks. The title occurs also in the form *Dharma-mahārājādhirāja* applied to the early Pallava king Śivaskandavarman in his Prākṛit Hirehaḍagali plates¹¹ and to the early Kadamba king Śivakhadavarman Hāritiputta in his Prākṛit Malavalli pillar inscription.¹² The title was borne also by the early Western Gaṅga king Satyavākya-Koṅgaṇivarman.¹³ This king is also given the title *Dharma-mahādhirāja* in another

¹ Above, Vol. XV, p. 252.

² *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1913-14, page 82, para. 1. [The late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri while reviewing this grant in the *Epigraphical Report* assigned it to the 7th century A.D. but held that this Vishnugōpavarman was a later member of the Pallava line. Subsequently he modified his opinion and considered that the plates under publication could not be used for the purpose of obtaining a continuous Pallava succession after Simhavarman I as they were 'decidedly later by reason of their palaeography and were otherwise also untrustworthy'. (See above, Vol. XVIII, p. 148)—Ed.]

³ Above, Vol. XVIII, No. 1 and plate opposite page 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 6 and plate opposite page 60.

⁵ *Madras Ep. Rep.* for 1914, page 82, para. 1.

⁶ Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 58 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 160.

⁸ See n. 2 above.

⁹ Above, Vol. XV, p. 252.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 265, 269, 270, etc.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 5.

¹² *Ibid.*, Vol. X, App. No. 1196.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 58 and Vol. X, p. 56, f. n. 2.

epigraph.¹ The early Kadamba kings Kṛishṇavarman, his son Viṣṇuvarman, and Ravivarman also bore the title *Dharma-mahārāja*.² Similarly the early Kadamba king Vijaya Śiva-Mādhātṭivarman is entitled *Dharma-mahārāja*.³ The title *Dharma-Yuvamahārāja* also occurs in some Pallava inscriptions.⁴ Dr. Fleet commenting upon the significance of the title '*Dharma-mahārājādhirāja*' says that it means 'a *mahārājādhirāja* by or in respect of religion' or by free translation 'a pious or righteous *mahārājādhirāja*'.⁵ Aśoka is believed to have borne the surname or title *Dharmarāja*.⁶ But the titles *Dharma-mahārāja*, *Dharma-mahādhirāja* or *Dharma-mahārājādhirāja* are not known to have been applied either to him or assumed by any other early king in North or South India besides those noted above. They are not known either to the Epics or the *Purāṇas* which deal with the most pious kings. These titles appear, in my opinion, to have been based upon or evolved from the earlier title *Dhamma-mahāmāta* of the Asokan inscriptions.⁷ These officials, according to the monarch's own statement, were appointed by him for the first time and they were primarily 'officials in charge of morality'. It appears to me that the early Pallava, Gaṅga and Kadamba kings, having succeeded to the sovereignty of the territories over which Aśoka might have appointed some of his *dhamma-mahāmātas* (*dharma-mahāmātras*) assumed the titles *dharma-mahārāja* or *dharma-mahārājādhirāja* as and when their political circumstances permitted. This explanation seems also to be borne out by the context in which the title occurs in the early Kadamba inscription of Śiva-Mādhātṭivarman in the form '*Vaijayantyām Dharma-mahārājaḥ*',⁸ even before the family of the king is introduced. Just as in the Vijayanagara times vassals or ministers who were originally entitled '*mahārāja*' assumed the paramount title '*mahārāja*' when they gained sovereignty,⁹ so too the successors of the Asokan *Dharma-mahāmātras* must have adopted the title *Dharma-mahārāja* or *Dharma-mahārājādhirāja* when they became independent kings but were willing or even proud to maintain the earlier traditions of their political power and associations with the great Mauryan emperor's time.¹⁰

The grant was issued from Vijaya-Palātkatādhishṭhāna, i.e., the victorious capital Palātkatā. Palakkāḍa-sthāna was the place of issue of the Uruvupalli plates of Simhavarman, the father of the present king.¹¹ Whether we can definitely identify Palātkatā with Palakkāḍa as suggested by Krishna Sastri¹² and assumed also by Professor Dubreuil¹³ is doubtful, though the possibility of the identity is not altogether precluded. Prof. Dubreuil suggested once personally to me that Palakkāḍa might be identical with the modern village of Peda-Palakalūru in the Guntur taluk. It is also possible that Palukūru in the Kandukūr taluk of the Nellore District might be the ancient Palakkāḍa or alternatively Palātkatā. From the Postal Directory we see that in the vicinity of Kandukūr town are villages of the name Pallava, Pallava-Bālagōpālapuram and Pallava Bhuvanagirivāri-khandrika. These names definitely point to the association of this tract with the Pallavas.

¹ Above, Vol. XII, p. 50, Text, l. 4.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 18 and Vol. VIII, pp. 30 and 147.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 14.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 51; above, Vol. VI, p. 16, f. n. 1.

⁵ Above, Vol. V, p. 163, f. n. 2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 167.

⁷ Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, Gir. V; Kal. V, XII, etc.

⁸ E.g. Tirumala I.

⁹ [There is not sufficient evidence to support this view.—Ed.]

¹⁰ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 51.

¹¹ *Madras Ep. Rep.*, 1924, p. 82, para. 1.

¹² *Pallavas*, table on p. 73.

The boundary villages **Ḷagubārḥu**, **Pāgubūru** and **Nāgoḷāmi** mentioned in the inscription may be identified respectively with the modern villages Daggupāḍu, Pāvulūru and Nāgaḷla, all in the Bapatla taluk of the Guntur District. The gift-village **Churā** would therefore be the deserted village shown in the New Atlas sheets between Nāgaḷla and Daggupāḍu. In the older sheets this is shown as Sūrāvāripāḷem. **Irāḍi-mahāpatha** cannot be identified. **Kamma-rāshṭra** of the inscription is very well known in early Eastern Chāḷukya inscriptions and in still later epigraphs it is known by the name **Kamma-nāḍu**. But attention may be drawn to the fact that it was still earlier known as **Kammāka-raṭha** in the Jaggayyapēṭa Prākṛit inscriptions of the Ikḥāku king Sirivira Purisadata.¹

TEXT.²

First Plate.

- 1 Jitam=Bhagavatā[ta³] [*] Svasti [*] Śrī-vijāya⁴-Palātkaṭ-ā[dhishṭānā]t⁵=pa-
- 2 rama-brahmanyasya sva-bāhu-bal-ārjīṭ-ōrjīta-kshātra-tapō-ni-
- 3 dhē[r*]-vidhi-[vi]hita-sarvva-maryyādasya sthiti-sthi[ta]sy-amitt-ā]tmanō⁶ ma-
- 4 h[ā]rājāsya⁷ pratāp-ōpanata-rājā-maṇḍalasya⁸ śrī-Ka-⁹
- 5 ndavarmanap¹⁰ pra-pautraḥ siddhi-sa[m*]pamna(nna)sya vasudhā-tal-aika-vi-
- 6 rasya ¹⁰mahārājāsya śrī-Vaṣṭugōpava[r*]manap¹⁰ pautra[h] dēva-dvi-
- 7 jā-guru-vṛidh-āpachāyinō¹¹ [vivṛi]rddha-vanayasya nēka¹²-gō-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 8 hiraṇya-bhūmy-[ā]di-pradānaiḥ pravṛiddha-dharmma-saṅchayasya
- 9 prajā-pālana-pakshasya¹³ lōkapālān[ā]m pañchamasya [lōkapālasya*] satya(ty-ā)tma-
- 10 nō mahārājāsya śrī-Siṅgha[va*]rmanap¹⁰ putra[h] bhagavat¹⁴-bha[kti]-sa-
- 11 dbhāva-sadbhā(sambhā)vita-sarvvā(rva)-kalyāṇa-sa[m]dōga¹⁵ satata-satra-
- 12 vrata-dikshītō anēka¹⁶-samara-sahas-avamarddha¹⁷-labdha-vijaya-yasa¹⁸.
- 13 ḥ-prakāśa[h*] Kali-yuga-dōsh-āvasa[nna]-dharmm-ōddharāṇa-nitya-sannaddhō rāja-
- 14 rsha(rshi)-guṇa[h*] bhagavat-pad-ānudhyā[tō] bappa-bha[t*]āraka-pāda-bhakta[h*] pa-

¹ Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, Nos. 1202 to 1204 ; Hultzsch, above, Vol. IX, p. 50.

² From the original plates and ink-impressions.

³ Read *Bhagavatā*. The last letter looks like *ta* without the top-bar. As it is not small in size it cannot be read as *t*. It might even be read as *Om* or *Siddham*.

⁴ Read *vijaya*.

⁵ Read *ādhiṣṭhānāt*.

⁶ Read *āmīt-ātmanō*.

⁷ Read *mahārājāsya*.

⁸ Read *rāja-maṇḍalasya*.

⁹ The original shows an accidental and superfluous stroke after *Ka*.

¹⁰ Read *mahārājāsya śrī-Vaṣṭugōpa-*.

¹¹ Read *viṣṭu-guru-vṛiddh-āpachāyinō*. This is the expression adopted in the Uruvupalli grant, while others read *vṛiddhōpachāyinō* (vide above, Vol. XV, p. 254, text, line 10 and f. n. 8).

¹² Read *vivṛiddha-vinayasya-nēka*. The traces in the impression seem to give *vivṛiddha*.

¹³ Read *dakṣasya*.

¹⁴ Read *bhagavad-bhakti*.

¹⁵ Read *sandōhaḥ*.

¹⁶ Read *dikshītō-nēka*.

¹⁷ Read *sahas-avamardda*.

¹⁸ Read *yasaḥ*.

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 15 rama-bha(bhā)gavatō Bha(Bhā)radva(dvā)jāh śmī-nīlayānā[m*] anēk-Āśvamēdhānā[m] Pa-
 16 llavānān=dharmma-mahārājāh¹ śrī-Vijā(ja)ya-Vishṇugōpavarmma² Karmma-r[ā]-
 17 t[ā]([sh]tā) Churā-nāma-[grāmē*] grāmēyakān=atr=ādhih(dhi)kṛita-sarvvē(rvva)-
 naiyāvi(mi)kā[n*]=sa-
 18 ācharamtakā rājāvalabhas³=ch=ājñāpayat[y*]=asya grāmē(grāmasya) pāschima-
 tatā
 19 Jagubārṇu-nāma-grāmāḥ tasya pu(pū)rvva-sīmā pu(pū)rvva-tatākē purvvata⁴
 20 Irāḍi-mahāpatha-sa[m*]yukta[h*] dakṣhiṇata[h*] Pāguh[ū]r[u]-grāma-sīmāh(mā)-
 21 svarita-muyurur⁵-kuṭuva mē[ī]tāpaḥ pāschimata(tō) Nāgō[ā]mi-gr[ā]-

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 22 ma-sīmā[h*] u[t*]tara-[sīmā] ū(u)[t*]tara-tatāka ū(u)[t*]tara[tā] ēva[m] chatur-avadhi-
 dhri[tā]([tāp])
 23 ashtō[t*]tara-sata⁶-nivarttana-kshētra⁷=-[ta]sminn=ēva grāmē madhyama-vaṭā-gr[ā*]ma-
 24 madhy-[ō]pētā⁸ dakṣhiṇata griha-thāna-thīta-kshētraḥ Muditi-tatāka[h*]
 25 [da]kṣhiṇata(tō) vāṭika-thāna-thīta ēka⁹-nivarttana-kshētra[n]¹⁰ Kuṇḍū-
 26 r-vva(vvā)stavyāya [Kā]sya(śya)pa-gōtr[ā]ya¹¹ Vishṇusarmmana pauvutra Dvēdaya-
 12Vridhasa-
 27 [r*]mmaṇa[h*] putr[āya*]chatru-vvēdiya[tē]¹² Chēsamiśarmmaṇē¹³ 14ūtarayāṇa-nimi-
 28 t[ē] udaka-15purvvaṁ dattam brahmadēya-16mayyadayā sarvva-parihārai-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 29 r=[u]pētō¹⁷ āyu[r]-bala-vijā(ja)y-ābhivṛiddhayē(vṛiddhayē)=smin=sampri(mpra)ttō¹⁸
 yaś=ch [-aitāḍ-a]-
 30 [ama]śchāsanam(ch=chāsanam)=atīkramēta sa pāpa[h] śārīram daṇḍa[m=arheti] [i*]
 [Senty-a]-
 31 pi ch=ātr=āreḥā¹⁹ 20ślākā [i*] Bhūmi-dānāt=paran=[dā]na(m)n=na bhūtan=na bhavi-
 32 shyaty=asy(bhaviṣhyati)asy=aiva haraṇāt=pāpan=na bhūtan=na bhaviṣhyati [i*]
 21Bhū-

¹ Read mahārājāh.² Read varmmā.

³ Read saśchārakān rājavallabhāmā. The Uruvupalli grant of Siṃhavarman the father of the present king, reads saścharantakās=cha as in our grant. The draft for the latter was perhaps adopted from the former. Saśchārakas must denote 'circuit officers'.

⁴ Read tatākā.⁵ Read purvvata.⁶ Read -muyūru-kūḍuva or kūḍika.⁷ Read -sīmā.⁸ Read -sata.⁹ Read kshētram tasminn=ēva.¹⁰ Read opētām dakṣhiṇottaram griha-sthāna-sthiti kshētram.¹¹ Rea kshētram.¹² Read vāṭikā-sthāna-sthiti-aika.¹³ Read Vridhasarmmaṇah.¹⁴ Read Vishṇusarmmaṇah paṇḍrāya.¹⁵ Read Uttarāyāṇa-nimittam.¹⁶ Read chatur-vēdavatā.¹⁷ Read -mayyādayā.¹⁸ Read purvvaṁ.¹⁹ Read samprattam.²⁰ Read -upētām.²¹ Read ślākā.²² This verse occurs with a slight variation in the Pīkita grant of Siṃhavarman : above, Vol. VIII, p. 162.

i.

2
4
6

2
4
6

iii.

8
10
12
14

8
10
12
14

iib.

16
18
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16
18
20

iii.a.

22 22
24 24
26 26
28 28



iii.b.

30 30
32 32
34 34



- 33 mi-dānāt=para[n=dā]nam(dānam)=iha lōkē na vidyatā [*] yaḥ prayachohhati [bhā]
 34 miṁ hi sarvvān=kāmān=dad[ā]ti saḥ [||*] Bahubhir=vvasuda(dhā) dattā bahubhi-
 35 ś=ch=ānupālītā [*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmi[h*] tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ [||*]

No. 19.—SIRODA PLATES OF DEVARAJA.

By C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU, B.A., MADRAS.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on **three copper plates** strung together on a ring which bears a circular seal fixed on to it. The plates belong to Mr. Gopala Sinai Gudo and they were discovered during casual excavations made at the village of **Siroda de Ponda** in the Portuguese territory of Goa. They are rectangular in shape and measure about 5½" by 1½". The ring passes through a hole near the proper right-hand top corner of the plates and the circular seal attached to it has the relief figure of a **swan** executed in a conventional style and facing our left.

The plates were first brought to my notice by Mr. Panduranga Pissurlencar, M.A., Archaeologist to the Portuguese Government of Goa in August 1933, at the suggestion of Mr. G. V. Acharya, Curator of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. In spite of his best efforts Mr. Pissurlencar could not obtain a loan of the original plates for my examination but sent me only photographs of the inscribed sides of the plates. The photographs were not quite clear and the ink-impressions which Mr. Pissurlencar supplied later on were also not distinct and therefore not helpful. However, at his urgent request I furnished Mr. Pissurlencar, in March 1934, with a short note on the contents of the grant and a tentative transcript of it so far as it could be made out from the photographs. Mr. Pissurlencar utilised this note and transliteration for a note on the grant published by him in Portuguese language in *O Oriente Português* in 1934. But from the early nature of the grant and its mention of a hitherto unknown dynasty, viz., Gōmins, I intended to examine the original plates. With the permission of the Director General of Archaeology in India I visited Nova Goa in July 1934 and verified the text of the grant with reference to the plates, but for want of facilities I could not get good ink-impressions of these. Subsequently attempts were made in January 1937 through the Government of India to obtain a loan of the plates from the Portuguese Government but these were of no avail as their owner was unwilling to part with them. So the illustrations accompanying the present article had to be based on photographs only. A brief note on these plates was recently contributed by me to the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference under the caption 'A New Dynasty of the West Coast.'

The **characters** of the inscription belong to the archaic variety and from their general shape and style of execution they somewhat resemble the script of the Mayidavōlu Plates of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman¹ and more closely that of the Koṇḍamudi Plates of Jayavarman². There is also a slight resemblance between the characters of this grant and those of the plates of the Pallava kings Vijaya-Skandavarman and Vijaya-Buddhavarman³. All the above charters are written in Prākṛit, while the present plates though written in Sanskrit, have some Prākṛit ex-

¹ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 84 ff. and Pls.² *Ibid.*, pp. 315 ff. and Pls.³ *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 143 ff. and Pls.

pressions interspersed here and there. On this account the inscription may be assigned to the period following the age to which the Prākṛit charters of the Pallavas have been ascribed i.e. to the period of the mixed Prākṛit charters like the Maṭṭepād Plates of king Dāmōdaravarman¹. The late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri has, on valid grounds, ascribed these latter to about the 4th century A. D.², to which period may be assigned the present inscription also.

The following Prākṛit forms used in the record may be noticed :—*śaṭṭhim* (l. 12), and *tiṭṭhaṭi* (l. 13). Of orthography the use of the *jihvāmūliya* in the expression, *Kōṭṭikayyā* (l. 3) and of the *upadhmāniya* in *amūṭyaḥ-puṇyō* (l. 5) and *°kṛtaḥ-parama-* (l. 14) deserve to be noticed.

In his article Mr. Pissurlencar states that the emblem on the seal is a peacock. But I have to differ from him and suggest that it is only a swan in a very conventionalised style. It is noteworthy that similar objects in tile or wood are adopted as house-top crests or gable-ornaments in Nova Goa even at the present day.

The charter is addressed by (king) *Dēvarāja* of the *Gōmins* from the prosperous *Chandrapura* to the future *bhōgikas*, *āyuktakas* and *sthāmyas* (?) (ll. 1 and 2). The object of the inscription is to record the gift of tolls, etc. (?) in (the village) *Thānniyarka-Kōṭṭikayyā* in the country or division of *Jiyayā*, to two Brāhmins named *Gōvindasvāmin* and *Indrasvāmin* of the *Bhāradvāja-gōtra*, with the income accruing (?) in the village (*parivṛitta*) and also the income realised on things brought (*ānita*) into it, evidently articles of merchandise, together with a house-site (*griha-sthāna*) and pasture-land for cows (*gō-prachāra*) to each (ll. 3 to 7). The charter further enjoins on the proper supply to the donees of the grass from the pastures and of fuel (*kāshṭha*) (ll. 7 and 8).

From the wording of the record it appears as if the king proclaims his ratification or sanction of the above-mentioned gifts made by *Prabhu Nāga-Bhōgikāmātya*, for the acquisition of (his own) spiritual salvation (*puṇya*) (ll. 4f.).

The executor of the grant (or the royal ratification) is the *Sarvatantrādhiprīta* (Superintendent of all Departments) *Amarśūvara*, who was a very righteous man (*parama-dhārmika*) and one devoted to truth (*satyasandha*) (ll. 14 and 15).

The charter was written or composed (*likhitam*) by the *Rahasyādhiprīta*⁴ (Private Secretary) *Prabhākara* (ll. 15 and 16).

The inscription is dated in the twelfth year of the victorious and prosperous reign of the king, on the twelfth day (*dvādaśī*) of the dark fortnight of the month of *Māgha* (ll. 17 and 18). At the end comes the invocation of prosperity which partly reminds us of the closing expression in the Hirehadagalli Plates of the early Pallava king Śiva-Skandavarman⁵.

The king *Dēvarāja* who is compared to *Indra* (*Dēvarāja*) is not known from other sources so far. The family of the *Gōmins* is also new and may be the one with which the patronymic *Gōmāyana* is connected.

¹ Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 327 ff.

² *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, Madras, 1920, page 95, para 1. See also above, Vol. XVII, p. 328.

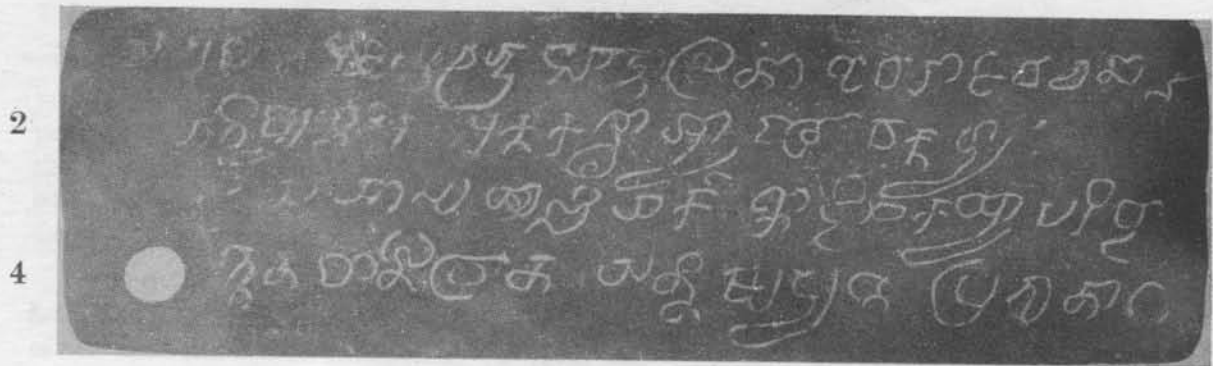
³ The original reads *sthāmy-ādayō* which may be a clerical mistake for *grāmy-ādayō* cf. *grāmika* (C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 112n) and *grāmēyakāḥ* (above, Vol. XVII, p. 327). Or it may be a mistake for *sthāmyas* derived from *sthāman* meaning 'a seat' or 'place' and denote the 'local officials'. This may correspond to the *sthānādhikarīkas* of the later inscriptions (cf. above, Vol. III, p. 323) and *sthānādhiprītas* (*ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 185n).

⁴ For other early instances of this officer being employed to compose copper-plate charters see above, Vol. I, p. 7 and Vol. VI, p. 13.

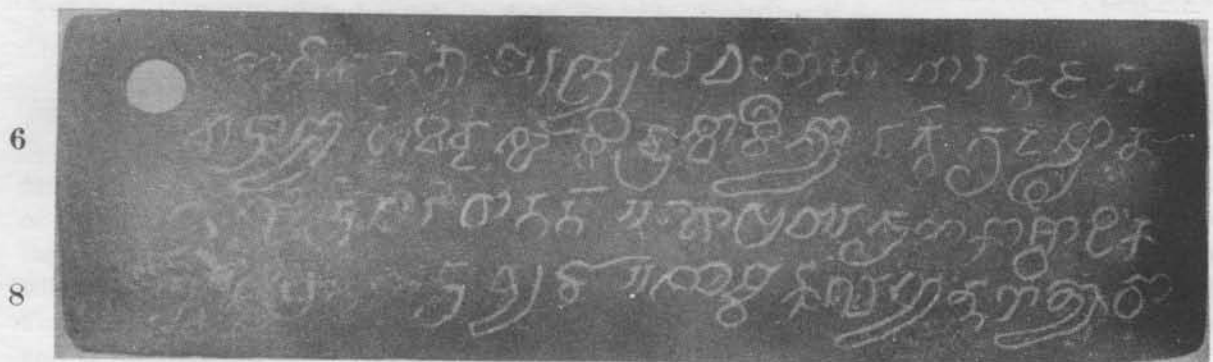
⁵ Above, Vol. I, page 7, Text I. 52.

SIRODA PLATES OF DEVARAJA.

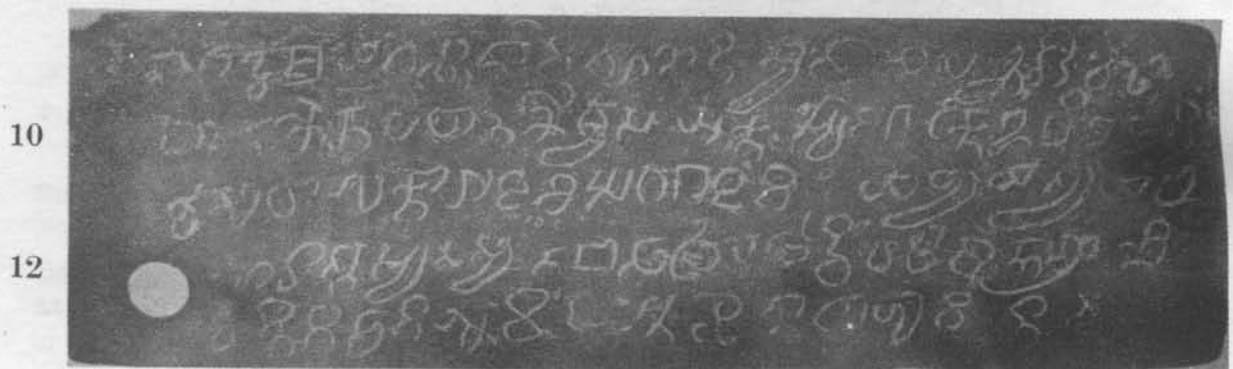
i.



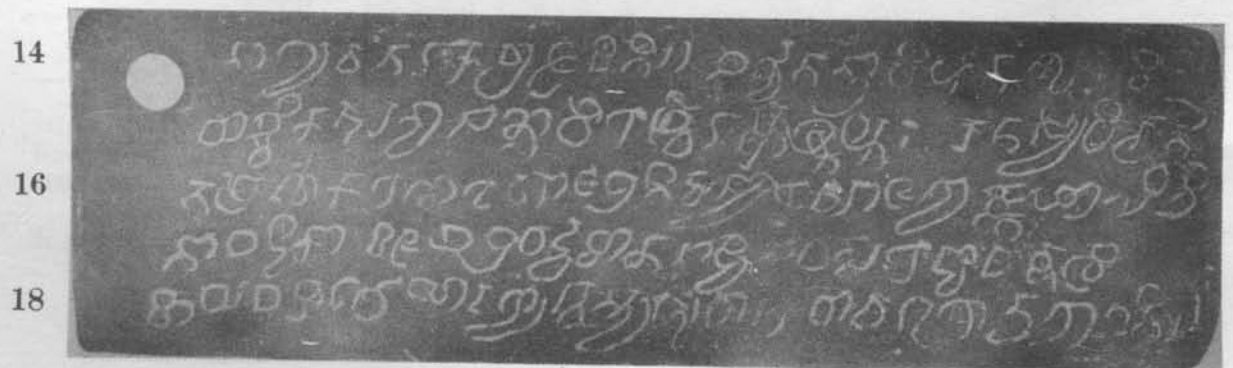
ii. a.



ii. b.



iii.



The localities mentioned in the inscription are Chandrapura, the town from which the charter was issued, the territorial division Jiyayā and (the village granted) Thānniyarka-Kōṭṭikayyā. It is not possible to identify any of them definitely. Regarding these Mr. Pissurlencar informs me that the places are in Goa, chiefly in Salsette. He is not able to identify or explain Jiyayāsu which evidently indicates some local territorial division but thinks that Salsette may represent it. He thinks that Chandrapura is Chandor of Goa and identifies Thānniyarka-Kōṭṭikayyā with Tanem-Kuttal in Salsette.

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 ☉² [Svasti] [!]³ [Śrī-vijaya]-Chandrapurād-Gōminām Dēvarāja-vachanāt
- 2 bhavishya[d-bhōgik]-āyuktaka-sthāmy-āda[yō] vaktavyāḥ [!]⁴
- 3 Jiya[yā]su Thānniyarka-Kōṭṭikayyā-parivṛi-
- 4 ttēna ch=ānithēna⁵ yan=nishpadyatē [tat⁶] Prabhu-Nāga-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 5 Bhōgik-āmātyaḥ(†vaiḥ)=puṇy-ōpachayāya Bhāradvāja-sa-
- 6 gōtrā[bhyām Gō]vi[nda]svām-'Indrasvamibhyām dattam griha-sthāna-
- 7 ñ=cha gō-prachārāv=ātataḥ⁸ || Gō-prachāra-trīṇa-kāsth(shṭh)-ādika-
- 8 ñ=cha [su]-prati[ba]ddhavyam || Yō=smat-kul-ābhyantarō=nyō vā

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 9 rāga-dvēsha-lōbha-mōh-ābhibūtō hi[m]syāt sa pañchabhir=mmahā-
- 10 *bātakair=upapātakaiś=cha sa[m]yuktaḥ syāt || Uktañ=cha || Bahubhi-
- 11 r=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [!]⁹ yasya yasya yadā
- 12 bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā [pha]lām | Shatṭhīm¹⁰ varsha-sahasrāṇi
- 13 svarggē tiṭṭha(shṭha)ti bhūmidāḥ [!]¹¹ āchhēttā ch=ānumantā cha

Third Plate.

- 14 tāny=ēva narakē vrajēd=iti¹² || Sarvatantrādhikṛitaḥ=parama-
- 15 dhārmikas=satyasandhō=marśēvara¹³ ā[jña]ptiḥ [!]¹⁴ Rahasyādhikṛitē-
- 16 na Prabhākaroṇa [Dē]varāja-pratimasyā¹⁵ [Dē]varājasy=ājñayā likhi-
- 17 tā [pa]ṭṭikā [!]¹⁶ Vijaya-pravarddhamāna-rājya-samvatsarē dvādaśam¹⁷
- 18 Māgha-bahula-dvādaśyā[m] [!]¹⁸ Svasty=astu dhāraka-vāchaka-śrōṭṛibhya¹⁹ iti ||

¹ From a photograph supplied by Mr. Pissurlencar.

² The spiral at the commencement of the line probably stands for 'Śrī'; see above, Vol. XVIII, p. 349, n. 9.

³ Read =ānithēna.

⁴ Read -Indrasvāmibhyām.

⁵ Read ātatau or *prachārāv=ch=ātataḥ.

⁶ Read pītakair=.

⁷ Read Shatṭhīm varsha-sahasrāṇi.

⁸ Read āchhēttā or ākshēptā.

⁹ Read vāsēd=iti.

¹⁰ The name is Amarśēvara.

¹¹ Read -pratimasya.

¹² The Hirehadagalli plates have the expression Svasti gō-brāhmanā-lēkhaka-vāchaka-śrōṭṛibhyaḥ iti: see n. 5, p. 144.

No. 20. KOSAM INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF MAHARAJA VAISRAVANA OF THE YEAR 107.

BY THE LATE MR. N. G. MAJUMDAR, M.A., F.R.A.S.B., CALCUTTA.

This inscription, which is engraved on a small stone pillar, was discovered in January, 1938, near Kosam (ancient Kauśāmbi) in Allahābād District, where I was camping at the time for conducting excavation. It was found lying in the house of a Muhammadan Zemindar named Gulzar in the village of Hasanpur or Hajiapur, about a mile and a half to the north-west of the Kosam Pillar. The actual findspot could not, however, be ascertained, although there is little doubt that it came originally from the immediate neighbourhood of the place of discovery. The pillar has now been deposited by me in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, with the consent of the Director General of Archaeology in India.

The pillar, which has four faces, is 3' 9" in height, and measures 8" square at the top with a maximum width of 9½" at the base. The inscription is engraved on one of the faces, covering a space of about 2' 2" by 7", and the size of the letters generally varies between ½" and 1½". In all there are 16 lines of writing. The pillar is broken into two halves, one containing lines 1 to 12 and the upper part of line 13 and the other containing the rest of the record. A few letters have partially broken off from the beginning and end of line 1, while some of the letters of line 13 are damaged owing to the crack running through its entire length. But there is no difficulty in restoring almost the entire text.

The characters belong to the Northern class of alphabets, which developed in this region out of such forms as those in the Kosam inscription of Kanishka.¹ Palæographically, the present record appears to belong to the same group as the Giñja inscription of Bhīmasēna and the Kosam inscriptions of Bhādrāmagha, Śivāmagha and Bhīmavarman, the dates of which range between the years 51 and 139 of some unspecified era.² The forms of the letters *ma*, *la*, *śa* and *ha* of this record are clearly akin to those appearing in the Gupta inscriptions. It contains also the looped form of *n* together with the more archaic form of the letter in which it has bent base line. The letter *s* is uniformly of the looped type and *h* is of the form which is usually taken to be characteristic of the Eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet. Judging from palæography the inscription may be assigned to the fourth century A.D.

The language of the inscription is a mixture of Sanskrit and Prākṛit. The Prākṛitic forms occurring in it are : *śatime* for *śatatamē*, *grishma* for *grīshma*,³ *elāya puruvaya* for *elasyām pūrvāyām*, *negamasya* for *naigamasya* and *Sorāṭhakasya* for *Saurāṣṭrakasya*. The form *puruvaya* is found also in a few other inscriptions discovered in Kosam. The term *negama* occurs here probably in the sense of 'the merchant' and is similarly used, along with a specification of the domicile of the donor⁴, in the Kanheri inscriptions. As regards orthography, it may be noted that the medial *ā* stroke is frequently omitted, e.g. in *Badarikaramē* (ll. 10-11). Such spelling,

¹ See *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. X, pp. 575-76. A good facsimile of the inscription has not yet been published.

² Sahni, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 159, 160; cf. A. Ghosh, *Indian Culture*, Calcutta, Vol. I, pp. 715 ff. and Vol. III, pp. 177 ff.; G. Chatterji, *Jha Commemoration Volume*, pp. 101 ff. and above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 247 f. I am informed by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti that a set of inscriptions recently discovered in the Rewah State, which are being edited by him, are dated respectively in the reign of Bhīmasēna (year 51), his son Poṭhasiri (year 86) and grandson Bhādadēva (year 90). These years, as well as those of the Kosam inscriptions, are perhaps to be referred to the same reckoning.

³ Both *śatime* and *grishma* occur in the inscription of Bhīmavarman of the year 130.—*Indian Culture*, Vol. III, p. 182.

⁴ In the present inscription the term *Sorāṭhaka*, originally denoting 'an inhabitant of Surāṣṭra', is used as a personal name. Such instances are not rare.

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OF THE YEAR 107

2 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॐ
 ४ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॐ
 ६ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॐ
 ८ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॐ
 १० ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॐ
 १२ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॐ
 १४ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॐ
 १६ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॐ

however, should perhaps be regarded as a linguistic feature and not necessarily an orthographic irregularity. Separate signs are used to denote *b* and *v*, e.g. in *Buddha* in ll. 12 and 15, and the letter *v* following a superscript *r* is invariably doubled.

The purpose of the inscription is to record the establishment of an umbrella (i.e. a stone umbrella) in honour of the lord Buddha by the merchant *Māgha*, son of the merchant *Śurpāya* (*Śurpāya*) and grandson of the merchant *Soraṭhaka* (i.e., 'one who hailed from *Surāṣṭra*'), an inhabitant of *Śuktimatī*. The donor is described as a *śrāvaka*, i.e. a lay hearer. The umbrella was installed within a temple called *Pūrvvasiddhāyatana* in *Badarikārāma*. The small pillar on which the record is engraved probably represents the staff of the umbrella which is missing. The inscription refers itself to the reign of the *Mahārāja Vaiśravapa* and is dated in the year 107, the first day of the 7th fortnight of the summer. The year is expressed in words as well as in symbols.

Mahārāja Vaiśravapa, obviously one of the rulers of *Kauśāmbī*, is known from this inscription for the first time. The year 107, when he was reigning, is referable, judging from the palaeography of the inscription, to the *Kalachuri* era of 248 A.D. and is thus equivalent to 355-56 A.D. I am unable to identify *Śuktimatī*¹ which was probably in the neighbourhood of *Kauśāmbī*. *Badarikārāma*, where the umbrella was dedicated, is mentioned in the introductory portion of the *Tittira-Jātaka*² as a locality situated in the vicinity of *Kauśāmbī*. The first epigraphical reference to this locality occurs in the present inscription. Another *ārāma* adjoining *Kauśāmbī* was the *Ghōṣhitārāma* which is well known from Buddhist literature, being the place where the Buddha spent some time during his sojourn in the *Vatsa* country.

TEXT.

- 1 [Ma]h[ā]r[ā]jasya³ śrī-Vaiśrava[nasya]⁴
- 2 sarhvarsarē sapt-ōttara-śati-
- 3 [mē]⁵ 100 7 grī(grī)shma-pakshē sapta-
- 4 mē 7 divasē prathamē⁶ [l*]
- 5 etāya puruvaya Śukti-
- 6 mati-va(vā)stavyasya negama-
- 7 sya Soraṭhakasya naptā ne[ga]-
- 8 masya⁷ Śurpāya⁸-putrō vani(ṇi)ja-
- 9 kaḥ aviruddha-śr[ā]vakō Māghaḥ
- 10 Pūrvvasiddh-[ā]yatanē Badari-
- 11 k[ā]r[ā]mē bhagavatō(taḥ) pitāma-

¹ [Śuktimatī or Śuktisāhvaya is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as the Chēdi capital—see Sørensen, *Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata*, etc., p. 221. In Pāli literature this city is mentioned as *Sotthivati-nagara*—see *Oketiya-jātaka* (No. 422).—Ed.]

² Fausboll, *Jātaka Text*, Vol. III, p. 64: *Kosambiyam nissāya Badarikārāme*. [Also mentioned in the *Tippa-lāṭhamiya-jātaka* (*Text*, Vol. I, p. 160) and *Saṃyutta-nikāya* (ed. P. T. S.), pt. iii, p. 126.—Ed.]

³ There are only traces of the upper portion of the letter *ma* on the stone.

⁴ This portion is damaged; only traces of the letter *ṣa* and a part of the subscript *y* are visible.

⁵ The left portion of the last letter is damaged.

⁶ Usually one should expect here the numeral 1 after *prathamē*. If it originally existed it has peeled off.

⁷ For the reading of the first two letters I am indebted to Dr. N. P. Chakravarti.

⁸ The name perhaps represents *Śurpāya* of uncertain meaning.

- 12 hasya sammyak¹-sambuddhasya daśa.²
 13 lam(?)=ashtābhijñāsyā pūjā[rttham]
 14 chhattram pratishṭhāpayati [*]
 15 nama(mḥ)=stu sarva-Buddhēbhya[h*] [*]
 16 punyam(ṇyānā) varddhatu [*]

TRANSLATION.

- (Ll. 1-4) (In the reign) of the *Mahārāja Vaiśravaṇa*, in the year one-hundred-exceeded-by-seven, 107, the seventh fortnight of the summer, 7, on the first day.
 (Ll. 5-14) On this (date) as aforesaid, the merchant *Māgha*, the unobstructed lay hearer³, a son of the merchant *Śūrpāya* and grandson of the merchant *Sōrathaka*, who is an inhabitant of *Śuktimati*, consecrates an umbrella in the temple of *Pūrvvasiddha* in *Badarikārāma*, for the worship of the lord, the *pitāmaha*,⁴ i.e., the Buddha, who is perfectly enlightened and experienced in the Eightfold (*Path*).
 (Ll. 15-16) Salutation to all the Buddhas! May virtue increase!

[*Postscript*: I am obliged to Mr. Krishnadeva, Archæological Scholar, for having drawn my attention to certain Kosam coins which partly preserve the name of *Vaiśravaṇa* (Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 156-57). Evidently these are to be attributed to *Mahārāja Vaiśravaṇa* of this inscription. Recently his name has been traced also in an inscription discovered in the Rewah State.—N. G. M.]

No. 21.—CUTTACK MUSEUM PLATES OF MADHAVAVARMAN.

By the late Mr. N. G. Majumdar, M.A., F.R.A.S.B., CALCUTTA.⁵

The actual provenance of this copper-plate charter, which is edited here for the first time, is not known. It appears to have been for a long time in the custody of the Mohant of Kenduāpādā Maṭh in Cuttack District, Orissa, and was shown in an exhibition held at Banki in the same district in February, 1937. Subsequently it came into the hands of Pandit Artatran Misra, who has now presented it to the Provincial Museum, Cuttack. I take this opportunity of thanking the authorities of the Museum for having placed the record at my disposal for publication.

It consists of three sheets of copper each measuring about 8·7" × 4·7". They are held together by means of a copper ring, to which is affixed a seal, bearing in relief the figure of a seated bull and below it the legend *trī-Sainyabhīṭasya*, i.e., 'of the illustrious (King) Sainyabhīṭa'. *Sainyabhīṭa* was the *biruda* of some of the kings of the Śailōdbhava dynasty of Kōṅgōda. In the present case it refers to Mādhavavarman who, as will be seen below, issued this charter.

¹ Read *sammyak*.

² It is not clear if the reading should be *daśa* or *dśa*. There may have been another letter at the end of the line where the stone has flaked off. Could the word be *Daśabala*, a name of the Buddha, and the reading intended *Daśabalasy-āṣṭābhijñāsyā*?

³ [*Aviruddha* I would take in the sense of 'free (from greed, passion, etc.)'. For an explanation of this term see *Mahāśālistra* (ed. P. T. S.), p. 239.—Ed.]

⁴ The title *pitāmaha* as well as *sammyak-sambuddha* is applied to Buddha also in a Mathurā inscription of the reign of Kanishka (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 97). Palaeographically it is impossible to refer this inscription to Kanishka I, that is to say to the Early Kushān period, as its alphabet shows predominantly 'Gupta' forms.

⁵ [I record with deep regret that Mr. Majumdar had met with his tragic end in his exploration camp at Nai Gaj in the Dādā District of Sind before the proof of this article reached him. By his death we have lost a promising scholar and a valuable contributor to the pages of this journal.—Ed.]

Two other grants of his, namely the Buguḍā and Purī plates,¹ have already been published. The inscription consists of 46 lines of writing which is engraved on the inner face of the first and third plates and on both the faces of the second or the middle one. Although a few letters are worn out and damaged here and there, the inscription is on the whole in a good state of preservation.

The characters of the inscription are a variety of the Northern alphabet which are hardly distinguishable from those of the Gañjām plates of Mādhavarāja of the Gupta year 300, i.e., A. D. 619-20 and his Khurdā plates.² Its style of writing, so far as reflected in the engraving, is quite dissimilar to that of the Purī plates of Mādhavarman. In the former letters are formed by continuous lines, while in the latter by sharp and detached strokes. The alphabet of the Purī plates cannot therefore be regarded as quite normal, while in the characters of this record we should recognize the writing typical of Orissa in the first half of the seventh century A. D. In spite of this difference in style of engraving the characters of the two sets of copper-plates do not reveal any material difference in palaeography. In this connection it should be noted that the alphabet of the Buguḍā plates of Mādhavarman is definitely of a later type, which Kielhorn thought could not be placed earlier than the tenth century A. D. A contrary view is expressed however by Dr. Basak who has edited the Purī plates. According to him the characters are assignable to the seventh or eighth century A. D., and "mostly resemble those used in the Buguḍā plates".³ Although Kielhorn's opinion is not acceptable, it must be admitted that there is a marked difference in form between some of the important letters occurring in the Buguḍā plates and the two other records. Letters such as *n*, *m*, and *l*, have a decidedly later appearance in the Buguḍā plates. The enigma presented by these plates is to be attributed, however, to a factor not yet taken note of by epigraphists. As pointed out by Kielhorn, the Buguḍā plates 'originally bore another inscription, the letters of which probably were beaten in to make room' for the inscription which they now bear.⁴ It is possible that the original inscription engraved in the reign of Mādhavarman was re-engraved on the same plates in a subsequent period for some reason or other, a practice of which there are several well-known examples. The text of the document, as we find it now, presents many inaccuracies and lapses of the scribe, to which due attention has been drawn by Kielhorn. These presumably might have occurred in the process of re-engraving. If this view be accepted, the apparent incongruity in the palaeography of the three copper-plate grants of Mādhavarman could be satisfactorily explained.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Excepting a few lines of prose it contains as many as twenty-two verses, seven of which (vv. 2, 5, 6, 7, 15, 16 and 22) are quite new. Of the remaining fifteen verses three are the customary donative ones and twelve occur in other land-grants of the Śailodbhava dynasty. Among those that are common notable textual variations appear in vv. 13, 14, 20 and 21 of the present record. In v. 20 the word *lakkha* is used in the sense of *lakkha*, which probably has to be taken as an instance of *matvarthiya* acc.⁵ It is so used also in v. 16 of the Purī plates and in v. 18 of the Buguḍā plates.

¹ Above, Vol. VII, Pls. between pp. 100-101, and Vol. XXIII, Pls. between pp. 128-29. The Purī plates are dated in the regnal year of Mādhavarman which has been doubtfully read as 23 (Basak, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 124). An examination of the original shows that the figures cannot be anything but 13.

² Above, Vol. VI, Pls. between pp. 144-45; J. A. S. B., Vol. LXXIII (1904), Part I, p. 293 and Pl. VI.

³ Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 123.

⁴ I have not had the occasion to examine the original plates which are kept in the Madras Museum. But judging from a set of excellent photos kindly supplied to me by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran I can definitely endorse the opinion expressed by Kielhorn. [I had an occasion of examining the original plates. There are certainly a few traces of an earlier inscription and this also seems to have been a Śailodbhava record.—Ed.]

⁵ *Mahābhāṣya*, under Pāṇini, 3, 4, 67. [The word is probably *lakkha*, the nominative singular form of *lakkha*.—Ed.]

As regards orthography we should note particularly the following : the same sign is used for *b* and *v* ; consonants following a superscript *r* are doubled in the majority of cases ; the letter *t* preceding a subscript *r* is often doubled e.g., in *ttayōvīṣṭi*, l.30 ; occasionally a *visarga* is omitted e.g., *bhavishyata(h)* l.27 ; the sign of *avagraha* is never used ; before *ś* and *h* a guttural nasal is used for *anusvāra* e.g., in *vanśaḥ*, l.14 and *Jayasinhēna* l.44 ; and final *n* is changed into *anusvāra* in *vishayē-smim*, l.27. Orthographic irregularities and scribal errors have been duly pointed out in the body of the text.

The document opens with the formula *ōm svasti* followed by a verse asking for the benediction of the god Śiva in communion with Pārvatī. Verse 2 mentions the Mahēndra mountain and the Eastern Ocean, the two prominent topographical features of Kaliṅga introduced in the next verse (v. 3), which refers to Pulindasēna, an inhabitant of this country. He worshipped the god Svayambhū (v. 4), as a result of which was born out of rocks (v.5) the victorious king Sailōdbhava (v.6). The dynasty was so called after him (v. 7) ; and in it was born (A)rapabhīta (v. 8) whose son was Sainyabhīta (v. 9). In the latter's lineage was born King (A)yaśōbhīta (v. 10). Ayaśōbhīta's son Sainyabhīta (II) issued the present land-grant. Vv. 11-13 give an eulogistic account of the royal donor, which are, however, not of any historical interest. The following verse (v. 14) states that he was called also Mādhavavarman and that he resided in the city of Mādhavapura. It may be noted in passing that Mādhavavarman had an additional title 'Śrīnivāsa', which is mentioned in his Purī and Buguḍā plates.¹ It is repeated also in the Koṇḍēḍa and Nivīnā plates of Dharmarāja,² a later member of the family, but does not occur in the present record.

In vv. 15-16 are addressed the various officers, Brāhmaṇas and others of the Jayapura-vishaya. Then begins the formal part of the grant which is in prose (ll. 29-36). Herein we are told that the village of Tamataḍā situated in the Vyāghrapura-bhukti of this vishaya, consisting of twenty-three *timpīras* of land, was granted by means of this charter to the undermentioned Brāhmaṇas : Skandādityasvāmin, Rudrasvāmin, Daddasvāmin, Vēdasvāmin, Mahēndrasvāmin, Khadirādityasvāmin, Pradyumnasvāmin, Pāṇḍaramātrīsvāmin, Ādityasvāmin, Yajñiasvāmin, Agrasvāmin, Chharampasvāmin, Kāyavarasvāmin, Śarvasvāmin, Mātṛichandrasvāmin, Vōntēlvādityasvāmin, Gōlasvāmin, Madhvasvāmin, Mātṛichandrasvāmin (II), Dattasvāmin, Dharmmasvāmin, Vāmadēvasvāmin, Śrīsvāmin and Svāmichandrasvāmin. The prose portion conveying this information is followed by three of the customary stanzas (vv. 17-19). Then in v. 20 are mentioned Guhachandra, a *rīvik* and *upādhyāya*, who served as the *dūtaka*, and also Upēndrasimha, son of Kuṇḍabhōgin, who acted as the scribe or draughtsman of the record. This Upēndrasimha, son of Kuṇḍabhōgin, drafted also the Purī and Buguḍā plates. V. 21 speaks of the charter (*tāmra-paṭṭa*) as having been engraved by Skandabhōgin and 'heated' by Jayasimha. The two other documents mention that they were *lāñchhita*, i.e., 'endowed with the *lāñchhana* or emblem' by Jayasimha. This seems to convey the same idea as that suggested by *tāpita* i.e., 'heated' occurring in the present charter. The latter evidently refers to the process of soldering the seal containing the royal emblem to the ring of the plates, which could be done only by means of heating.

Verse 22 of the record states that the king issuing this charter resided in the city of Śrīdhara, evidently the same as Mādhavapura mentioned in v. 14. It further describes him as a friend of the Lōkanātha who had been graciously disposed towards him. By the term *lōkanātha* we are probably to understand the paramount sovereign to whom Mādhavavarman owed allegiance. It

¹ V. 10 and v. 11 respectively.

² Above, Vol. XIX, p. 268, v. 9, and Vol. XXI, p. 39, v. 10.

is not clear, however, which dynasty at this time held paramount sway over Orissa. The first time that we hear of a Śailōdbhava prince ruling over this part is in the Gañjām plates, dated in the Gupta year 300, i.e., A.D. 619, which mention his overlord *Mahārājādhirāja Śaśāṅka*, undoubtedly the same king who is described as 'the lord of Gauḍa' in Bāṇa's *Harshacharita*.

The last line of the charter, immediately after v. 22, specifies the date of the grant the 24th day of Śrāvapa of the year 50. As already pointed out, the present record palaeographically resembles the Gañjām plates of Mādhavarāja of A. D. 619-20. I consider this Mādhavarāja and Mādhavavarman of the present charter to be identical, and would refer the year 50 to the Harsha era of A. D. 606 which makes the date equivalent to A. D. 656.

In the Khurdā and Gañjām plates Mādhavarāja's father is stated to be Ayaśōbhita. This is also the name of Mādhavavarman's father as given in the Purī, Buguḍā and the present copper-plates. The Khurdā plates mention Ayaśōbhita's father to be Sainyabhita, and the king mentioned immediately before Ayaśōbhita in the dynastic lists in the Buguḍā, Purī, Parikud and the present grants is also Sainyabhita, but these records state that Ayaśōbhita was born 'in the lineage of' Sainyabhita, without specifying further that the relationship between the two was that of father and son. From this circumstance some scholars are disposed to regard Mādhavarāja and Mādhavavarman as two distinct persons.¹ But it is significant that the three names Sainyabhita, Ayaśōbhita and Mādhavarāja or Mādhavavarman occur exactly in this order in all the copper-plates and the presumption is that this Sainyabhita was really the father of Ayaśōbhita and that Mādhavavarman and Mādhavarāja are identical. It may be added further that both Mādhavarāja and Mādhavavarman had the *biruda* 'Sainyabhita'. As regards the possibility of the name Mādhavavarman appearing as Mādhavarāja, there are similar instances elsewhere, as in the case of the Chālukya kings Vijayavarman and Kirttivarman who in some of their copper-plates are called Vijayarāja and Kirttirāja respectively.² I do not therefore think that the identification of Mādhavavarman with Mādhavarāja of the Khurdā and Gañjām plates involves any real difficulty.

Jayapura-vishaya may be the same as Jayakaṭaka-vishaya of Kōṅgōda-maṇḍala mentioned in the Dharakota plate of Śubhākaradēva.³ It may be identified with the present Jeypore estate contiguous to the Gañjām District in Orissa. The rest of the localities mentioned in the grant I am unable to identify.

TEXT.⁴

[Metres : Vv. 1, 2, 4, 6, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 3, 8, 9, 11, 12, 17, *Vasantatilaka* ; vv. 5, 14, 22, *Āryā* ; vv. 7, 15, 16, 18-21, *Anuṣṭubh* ; v. 10, *Indravajrā* ; v. 13, *Sragdharā*.]

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm^a svasti [*] Indōr=dhauta-mṛṇāla-tantubhir=iva ślishtāḥ karaiḥ kōmalair=vva(bba)ndh-āhēr=aruṇaiḥ
- 2 sphurat-phāṇa-maṇēr=digdha-prabhāsō=ñ(m)śubhiḥ [*] Pārvvatyā sa-kacha-graha-vyatikara-vyāvṛitta-vandhaḥ(bandha)-
- 3 ślathā Gaṅg-āmbhaḥ-pluti-bhinna-bhasma-kaṇikāḥ Śambhōr-jatāḥ pāntu vaḥ || [*] Prāchy-āmbhōnidhi-ruddha-

¹ Basak, *History of North-eastern India*, 1934, p. 171 ; above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 125-126. See also R. C. Majumdar, *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. X (1937), p. 3.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 232-253.

³ B. Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 21.

⁴ From the original copper-plates.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

- 4 s̄anur=atulaḥ pushya-drum-āli-vṛitaḥ syandan-nirjjhara-vāri-dārīta-dārī-pāta-skhalan-
[n]isvanah [*]
5 svāna-ttrasta-patattri-valgu-virutair=āpūrit-āntar-guhah śrīmān=Mēsur=iv=ōdgataḥ kula-
giriḥ
6 khyātō Mahēndrah kshītau || [2*] Prān(m)śur=mmah-ēbha-kara-pīvara-chāru-vā(bā)huḥ kṛi-
shṇ-āsma-
7 sañchaya-vibhēda-viśāla-vakshāḥ [*] rājīva-kōmala-dal-āyata-lōchan-āntah khyāta[h]
8 **Kaliṅga-janatāsu Pulindasēnah** || [3*] Tēn=sttham guṇin=āpi satva(ttva)-mahatā n-
ēshtam bhuvō maṇḍalam
9 śaktō yah paripālānāya jagataḥ kō nāma sa sya(syā)d=itī [*] pratyādishta-vibh-ūtsavēna
bhagavā-
10 n=ārāgi(dhi)taḥ śāsṛvataḥ tach-chitt-ānugūṇam vidhitsur=adiśad=vāñchām Svayambhūr
=api || [4*] Lōka-pratīti-
11 vā(bā)hyaḥ śakala-śilā-samputāt=prasūta iva [*] dēva-kumār-ānyatamō [Hara]-
nirmāṇ[ā]t=tatō dṛishtaḥ || [5*]
12 Sō=py=āścharya-manōbhuv=ādhipatinā Śambhōḥ prasādāt=kshaṇam bhīt-ōdbhrānta-sa-
visma[ya]-sthitī-

Second Plate : Obverse

- 13 matā sambhāvyā saumyāḥ vapuḥ [*] bhūt-ānanda-karah kṛitās=cha vijayī **Śailōdbhavaḥ**
kshamāpatih śāstā dushpatha-
14 gāmināḥ sukṛitināḥ rūp=iva dharmmah svayam(yam) || [6*] Śailōdbhava iti khyātas-tatō
vañ(m)śah śubhaḥ kshītau [*] utsav-ā-
15 tiśaya-sthānam=adbhūtānām=iv=ādbhutam(tam) || [7*] Śailōdbhavasya kulajō=**raṇabhīta**
āsīd=ya(yē)n=āsakṛit-kṛita-bhiyām
16 dvishad-aṅganānām [*] jyōtsnā-pravō(bō)dha-samayē sva-dhiy=aiva sārddham=ākam-
pitō nayana-pakshma-jalēshu
17 chandraḥ || [8*] Tasy=ābhavad=vivu(bu)dhapāla-samasya sūnuḥ śrī-Sainyabhīta iti bhū-
mipatir=garīyān [*]
18 yam=prāpya naika-śata-nāga-ghatā-vighaṭṭa-lav(b)dha-prasāda-vijayam mumudē dharittri
|| [9*] Tasy=āpi
19 vañ(m)śē=tha yath-ārtha-nāmā jātō=**yaśōbhīta** iti kshītīśah [*] yēna prarūdhō=pi śubhaiś-
charittrai-
20 r=mr̥ishtaḥ kalaṅkaḥ Kali-darppaṇasya || [10*] Jātas=sa tasya tanayas=sukṛitī samasta-
sīmū(ma)nti-
21 nī-nayana-shatpada-puṇḍarikah [*] śrī-Sainyabhīta iti bhūmipatir=mmah-ēbha-kumbha-
sthali-dalana-durllali-
22 t-āsi-dhārāḥ || [11*] Jātēna yēna kamalākaravat=sva-gōttram=unmīlitaḥ dinakṛit=ēva ma-
hōdayēna [*] saṅkshipta-
23 maṇḍala-ruchas=cha gatāḥ praṇāśam=āśu dvishō graha-gaṇā iva yasya di[pt]yā || [12*]
Kālēyair=bhūta-dhāttri-
24 patibhir=upachit-ānēka-pāp-āvatārair=yēshām nītā kath=āpi pralayam=abhimatā kīrtti-
25 mā(pā)lair=aja[sraṇ] [*] yajñais=tair=Aśvamēdha-prabhṛitibhir=asakṛit=ma(sa)myag-ishtair
=akāri sphītām tṛiptim surō(r-au)gha[h*]

i.



ii, a.



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गुणितोऽयं चतुर्दशसूत्राणां सूत्रानाम् । यथावत्प्रतिष्ठितं त्रिपुरारविन्दम् ॥
 उद्गीतायां चतुर्दशी सूत्राणां प्रथमः सूत्रः । अथैकस्मिन् सूर्यादिपञ्चमस्तु
 द्वेष्टि सूर्यं चतुर्दशी सूत्राणां प्रथमः सूत्रः । अथैकस्मिन् सूर्यादिपञ्चमस्तु
 त्रैष्टुके पञ्चमस्तु द्वेष्टि सूर्यं चतुर्दशी सूत्राणां प्रथमः सूत्रः । अथैकस्मिन् सूर्यादिपञ्चमस्तु
 चतुष्टुके पञ्चमस्तु द्वेष्टि सूर्यं चतुर्दशी सूत्राणां प्रथमः सूत्रः । अथैकस्मिन् सूर्यादिपञ्चमस्तु
 पञ्चमस्तु द्वेष्टि सूर्यं चतुर्दशी सूत्राणां प्रथमः सूत्रः । अथैकस्मिन् सूर्यादिपञ्चमस्तु
 षष्ठमस्तु द्वेष्टि सूर्यं चतुर्दशी सूत्राणां प्रथमः सूत्रः । अथैकस्मिन् सूर्यादिपञ्चमस्तु
 सप्तमस्तु द्वेष्टि सूर्यं चतुर्दशी सूत्राणां प्रथमः सूत्रः । अथैकस्मिन् सूर्यादिपञ्चमस्तु
 अष्टमस्तु द्वेष्टि सूर्यं चतुर्दशी सूत्राणां प्रथमः सूत्रः । अथैकस्मिन् सूर्यादिपञ्चमस्तु
 नवमस्तु द्वेष्टि सूर्यं चतुर्दशी सूत्राणां प्रथमः सूत्रः । अथैकस्मिन् सूर्यादिपञ्चमस्तु
 दशमस्तु द्वेष्टि सूर्यं चतुर्दशी सूत्राणां प्रथमः सूत्रः । अथैकस्मिन् सूर्यादिपञ्चमस्तु

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[illegible]

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Seal



Second Plate : Reverse.

- 26 pratihata-va(ba)lavach-chhatra(ttru)-pakshēṇa yēna || [13*] Mādhavapura-vihita-sthitir-
amv(b)uda-nirmukta-chandra-sita-kirttiḥ [*]
27 sa śrī-Mādhavavarmam ripu-māna-vighaṭṭanaḥ kuśali || [14*] Vishayē=amir(n) Jayapurē
varttamāna-bhaviṣhyata[h] [*]
28 dvijāti-pūrvvān=ṇipatīn=rājasthāniya-samhyutān || [15*] Kumārāmātyam=āyuktāt(n)=
karṇ-ōparikān=api [*]
29 tathā janapadaṁ sarvvam=arhayaty=ānupūrvyataḥ || [16*] Veditam=astu bhavatām=ētaḍ-
vijs(sha)ya-samv(b)addha-Vyāghrapura-
30 bhuktau Tamataḍḍa-grāmaś=chatuḥ-sīmṇā ttra(tra)yōvīn(m)ṣati-timpira-parimāṇaḥ Skandā-
dityasvāmi-Rudra-
31 svāmi-Daddasvāmi-Vēdasvāmi-Mahēndrasvāmi-Khadirādityasvāmi-Pradyumnasvāmi-Pāṇḍa-
ramātri-
32 svāmy-Ādityasvāmi-Yajñasvāmy-Agrasvāmi-Chharampasvāmi-K[ā]yavarasvāmi-Śarvvasvāmi-
Mātri-
33 chandrasvāmi-Vōntēlvādityasvāmi-Gōlasvāmi-Madhvasvāmi-Mātrichandrasvāmi-Dattasvāmi-
34 Dharmmasvāmi-Va(Vā)madēvasvāmi-Śrīsvāmi-Svāmichandrasvāmibhyō dvijātibhyaḥ mātā-
pittrōr=ātmanaś=cha
35 puṇy-ābhivṛddhayē pratipāditaḥ tad=ētach-chhāsana-darśanād=ēśhām yath-ōchitaṁ tām-
vra(mra)-paṭṭa-dānaṁ
36 datvā(ttvā) bhuñjānānām dharmma-gauravān=[na] kēnachid=vighātai(tē) varttitavyam=
api cha || Vidyud-vilāsa-
37 taralām=avagamya samyag=lōka-sthitim yasasi ma(sa)kta-manōbbhir=uchchaiḥ [*] ēsha
dvij-ā(ō)pakṛiti-

Third Plate.

- 38 mā(ttra)-ratair=bhavadbhir=ddharmm-ānurōdhana-parair=anumōditavyaḥ || [17*] Uktam
cha Mānavē dharmma-śāstrē ||
39 Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā va(ba)hubhiś=ch=ānupālītā [*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-
tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ(lam) || [18*]
40 Api [cha] | [Mā] bhūd=sphala-śaṅkā vaḥ para-datt=ēti pārthivāḥ [*] sva-dā[nā]t=phalam=
ānātyam para-dān-ānupā-
41 lanēm(nē) || [19*] Abhūd=ritvig=upāddhyāy[ō] Guhaachandrō=ttra dūtakaḥ [*] lēkhit =O-
42 pēndrasīn(m)haś=cha tanayaḥ Kuṇḍabhōgināḥ || [20*] Utkirṇpas=tāmra-
43 paṭṭō=yam durita-pratighāta-kṛit [*] Skandabhōginā(nā) samyak¹
44 Jayasīn(m)hēna tāpitaḥ || [21*] Jayati Jayanta-pratimaḥ prasabha-samākṛiṣṭa-
45 ripu-ṇripa-śrikaḥ [*] Śrīdhara-{pō(pau)}raḥ kṣhitipō varadīkṛita-lōkanātha-
46 sakhaḥ || [22*] Samvat 50 Śrāvapa-dina 20 4

No. 22.--TINNEVELLY INSCRIPTION OF MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA II.

By K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR, B.A., COIMBATORE.

The inscription edited below is engraved on the inside of the north wall of the second *prākāra* of the Nelliappar temple at Tinnevelly. It was copied by the Epigraphical Department in

¹ This *pāda* is short by one letter. [I see faint traces of the letter *śrī* at the beginning of this *pāda*.—Ed.]

1894. A text of it is given, in Tamil, in the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Volume V, pp. 170-171. On account of the important information which it furnishes, it is taken up here for publication. It may be noted also that no inscription of this king with the introduction *Pū-malar-tiruvum* has yet been edited in the pages of this journal.

The record contains 24 lines of writing and is in Tamil, verse and prose. Here and there a few Sanskrit words are found written in Grantha characters. The verse portion is almost free from mistakes; and the few errors of spelling that are found in the record are corrected in foot-notes. The introductory portion is purely eulogistic and calls for no remark.

The only words of lexical interest are *mudal* (ll. 11 and 14), *kār* (l. 14) and *tiramam* (l. 15). Of these *mudal* is used in the sense of 'yield' or 'produce'. This sense is preserved in the usage *kaṇḍu-mudal* which is current in several places of the Tamil districts. *Kār* is used to denote the paddy harvested in the *kār* season, i.e., the months of Āvaṇi and Purattāsi. The word *tiramam* is derived from *dramma*, 'a coin.' The ordinary meaning of *pō* in Tamil is 'to go'. In lines 7 and 15, its participle, i.e., *pōy* is used with *Vēdamum Sāstramum* meaning 'learned in the *Vēdas* and *Sāstras*'. This use of it is not common in Tamil. We have the use of the word *pōy* with *Vēdamum Sāstramum* qualified by *poruṭpaḍa* in another inscription where the meaning is clearly 'having learnt, with meaning, the *Vēdas* and *Sāstras*'.¹

The object of the inscription is to register the grant of a *brahmadēya* village. In the 8th year and 988th day of the reign of the Pāṇḍya king Māṇavarman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravartin Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva, when he was seated on Maḷavarāyaṇ in his palace at Madura on the eastern side of Māḍakkulam in Madurōdaya-vaḷanāḍu, 224 Chaturvēdi-Bhaṭṭas, versed in the *Vēdas* and *Sāstras* and capable of expounding them, approached him and said that Kūḍalār in Murappu-nāḍu and the villages comprised in Kīlai-Kūḍalār—with the exclusion of 4 mā of land forming the *paḷlichchanda* (i.e., land granted to Jaina or Buddhist shrines), as well as the old *dēvadāna* and the lands purchased by Uḍaiyāṇ Kūttāḍuvāṇ *alias* Villavadaraiyaṇ of Vaḷugūr residing in Kulaśekhara-pperunteru at Paṭṭina-Marudūr in Śūraṅguḍi-nāḍu and given as *dēvadāna* to the temple of Ulaguṇyavanda-Iṣvaramuḍaiyār—might be constituted into a new village called Pōṣaḷa-Vira-Sōmidēva-chaturvēdimāṅgalam after the name of the king's uncle (*māmaḍi*) and given as a *brahmadēya*, divided into 244 shares, so that the 224 Chaturvēdi-Bhaṭṭas mentioned above might have a share each, and 20 shares might be assigned to those that had to do service in the *dēvadāna*. As regards the assessment of the lands of this new village, it is stated that the king's uncle had enjoined that the lands should be measured by the rod called *Sundara-Pāṇḍiyaṇ-kōl* of 24 feet length, the kind of crop raised should be examined, and for such of the lands as had yielded produce, tax should be levied at the following rates, on each mā :—

- (1) $\frac{1}{2}$ *kāṣu* for *antarāya*, *vinīyōga*, *achchu*, *kāriyavārāyichchi*, *veṭṭi-pāṭṭam*, *paṇchupīli*, *sandhivighraḥappēru* and all other payable dues, and three *kalam* of paddy for *kār*;
- (2) half of this rate shall be charged for lands sown in *Tulā* and crops realised;
- (3) 2 *tiramam* (*dramma*) shall be paid on lands on which *varagu*, *tiṇaiṇṇu* and *iṇṇu* had been harvested;
- (4) for *paṣāṇam*, the above rates should prevail.

One of the most salient rules framed in early days with regard to land revenue is that the assessment should be charged only on lands that had been cultivated and borne crops, and that the charge should be made after inspecting the crops raised, and determining the extent of cultivation by a measuring rod of fixed length. The land-tax was paid both in kind and in money.

¹ S. I. I., Vol. V, No. 446, text-lines 6 and 13.

In the case of wet lands on which two crops were generally raised in a year, one in *paṣāṇ* and the other in *kār*, the assessment appears to have been paid in two instalments, the first in the month of Chittirai when the *paṣāṇ* yield was secured, and the second in the month of Aippaṣi when the *kār* crop was harvested.¹ The money payment was made to cover a number of small duties. In the present instance, it is stated that $\frac{1}{4}$ *kāṣu* covered the duties of *antarāya*, *vinīyōga*, *achchu*, *kāriyavārāychechi*, *vetṭi-pāṭṭam*, *pañchupili*, *sandhivighrahappēru* and all other payable dues. It is learnt from this record that the revenue paid in kind was three *kalam* of paddy on each *mā* of land. That this was the prevailing rate is also known from other epigraphs. A Tiruvīḍaimarudūr inscription states that 5 *kalam* and 3 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy was the assessment (*dēvar-kaḍamai*) on one *mā* and three *kāṇi* of land.² This works out to 3 *kalam* for each *mā*. No. 272 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907 states that for each *vēli*, the paddy determined to be given was 60 *kalam*.³ This also yields three *kalam* on each *mā*, since 20 *mā* equalled one *vēli*. The fractional terms *mā* (one-twentieth) and *kāṇi* (one-eightieth) are still in use in some of the Tamil districts but their extents vary according to localities as do the *kalam* and *vēli*. Therefore, they are not of much value in giving us an idea as to the rate of assessment of lands in ancient times. One of the medieval Pāṇḍya inscriptions of Tinnevely states in clear terms that a *mā* is the extent of a square field measuring 288 feet in length which works out to nearly one acre and 90½ cents.⁴ Therefore, the assessment of 3 *kalam* in *paṣāṇ* and 3 *kalam* in *kār* on such a field, paid in kind, and that too when the crops had been raised, could not have caused much hardship to the land owner. Besides, he had no necessity for immediately converting his produce into money to pay off the land revenue.

The present inscription furnishes an instance of the formation of a new village and the grant of it as a *brahmadēya* to a number of Brāhmaṇas. It is stated that the village of Pōśaḷa-Vīra-Sōmidēva-chaturvēdimāṅgalam in Murappu-nāḍu was formed out of the lands which had originally belonged to a number of villages—with the exclusion of a small extent that had been previously endowed to temples. In the constitution of the new village, the donees, it is said, desired that the previous owners (*muṇṇ-uḍaiyār*) of the lands, the old names (*paḷam-peyar*) of the villages and their lands, their cultivating ryots (*uḷavu*) and the head of classification (*mudal*), should be removed; that all the lands should be clubbed into one single village with a single *puṟavu*; that these lands should be divided into the required number of shares, and that with the right to build houses in the *nattam* fit for residential purposes, specified in writing, the new village should be granted as a *brahmadēya*. There is no doubt that the procedure herein briefly described should have involved considerable labour and work in the actual carrying out. The removal of the previous owners must necessarily have been followed by providing them with other sites or by awarding adequate compensation after ascertaining the correct extent of their lands and their yield. The division of the lands into equal shares and the entry of the changes of classification in the departmental and village registers could not but have taken some time.

¹ See Nos. 438 and 439 of *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. V, p. 162.

² No. 130 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1895. We note the words used “*nilan oru-mā muk-kāṇiyum aiñjāvadu-varai payir-chelav-iṇṇiyēy kollaiyāy kiḍandamaiyil iṇṇa taṇ svam iṭṭu-ttirutti nivanda-ttukku nel aiñ-kalanēy mu-kkuṇiyum dēvar-kaḍamaikku nellu aiñ-kalanē mu-kkuṇiyim=āga nellu-ppadiñ-kalanēy tūni-ppadakkum āṭṭāṇḍu-tōrum iruppadāga viṭṭa nilam kuḷi nūreṇbatt-aiñchiṇāl nilan oru-mā muk-kāṇi* (*S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 694).

³ This is an inscription of the time of Vikrama-Chōla and the text runs as follows:—Tiruvīḍaimarudūḍaiyār Śrī-Kōyil-ppuṇambil periya-tirumuraṭṭu Ēkanāyakan tiruveḍuttikkattiyil..... muppattettāvadū vēli oṇṇukku nellu aṟupadiñ kalamāga nichcheyitta nella.

⁴ See *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 411, dated in the 5th year of the reign of Māḍavarman Kulāśekhara. The words used are “*padinett-āḍi-kkōlāl padinārukku-ppadināru koṇḍadu oru-māvāga*” meaning “land measuring sixteen by sixteen of the rod measuring eighteen feet in length being one *mā*.”

The whole course of action described here may be compared with the procedure that is being adopted at present in the working of the Act for the acquisition of lands for specific purposes. That the owners of the lands, who were dispossessed of their holdings should have been given other lands in exchange, is made plain by a statement in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates¹, where it is noted that when Paḷaiyaṇūr—which was previously given as a *brahmadēya* to the members of the assembly (*sabhaiyār*) of Siṅgaḷāntaka-chaturvēdimaṅgalaṁ—was converted into a *dēvadāna* of the temple of Tiruvālaṅgāḍu, the *sabhaiyār* were promised to be given another village in exchange. The same plates may be referred to explain the meaning of the phrase *mudal tavirndu* occurring in lines 11 and 19. The actual words employed in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates viz. *Ṣavai-yārkkū brahmadēyamāy varuṅṅapaḍi * * * * * tavirndu veḷḷāṇ-vagaiyil mudalāṇa * * * * ** Paḷaiyaṇūr in one place,² and *Paḷaiyaṇūr vēru-mudalāy brahmadēyamāy varuṅṅapaḍi tavirndu veḷḷāṇ-vagaiyāy brahmadēyam-iṅṅi* in another place,³ make it plain that *brahmadēyam* and *veḷḷāṇ-vagai* are two different heads of classification. This sense of the word *mudal* is not common in modern usage. The other uses of the word *mudal* in the inscription under publication are found in *ivv-āṇḍu-mudal* (ll. 15 and 22) and *mudal Vīrapāṇḍiyaṇāl nellu mukkalamum* (ll. 14 and 22), the former meaning 'commencing from this year' and the latter 'the yield of three *kalam* of paddy as measured by the measure Vīrapāṇḍiyaṇ'.

Different views have been expressed in the *Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy* regarding the identity of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya, whose inscriptions begin with the introduction *pū-malar-tiruvum*. Remarking on the very inscription under publication, the late Venkayya declared that he must be different from, and later than, the Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya of the Tiruppuvaṇam grant which has the introduction *pū-maruviya-tirumaḍandai*.⁴ This view was at first adopted by the late Krishna Sastri, who, later on, finding the mention of the seat Maḷavarāyaṇ in his records as in those of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, came to the conclusion that the king with the *pū-malar-tiruvum* introduction must be the same as the one that had the introduction *pū-maruviya-tirumaḍandai*, i.e., Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. Add to this, it may be noted that some of the signatories that figure in the records of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. figure also in the records of *pū-malar-tiruvum*. These are reasons sound enough for holding the view expressed by Krishna Sastri. It was accordingly adopted in subsequent Epigraphical Reports and by Swamikkannu Pillai in his *Indian Ephemeris*. In reviewing certain inscriptions of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya with *pū-malar-tiruvum* introduction and of the Hoysala king Vīra-Sōmēśvara found at Aḷagarmalai, in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1929-30, I pointed out some valid objections to this view and showed that Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya with *pū-malar-tiruvum* introduction is the second of that name and different from Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. The paragraph alluded to is extracted hereunder as it decides the question once for all:—

"No. 291 (of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1929-30) from Aḷagarmalai states that, at the request of his *māmaḍi* (i.e., uncle) Hoysala Vīra-Sōmēśvara, the Pāṇḍya king Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya ordered the assignment of the revenue of the village of Tirukkōṭṭiyūr in Kēraḷāśiṅga-vaḷaṇāḍu to the temple of Tirumālirūṇjōlai-niṅṅaruḷiya-Paramasvāmin for conducting the Vīra-Sōmēśvaran-*śandī* instituted in it by the Hoysala king. This order was issued in

¹ The words used viz., "*ṣavaiyārkkū brahmadēyamāy varuṅṅapaḍi Paḷaiyaṇūriṅ talaimāru ṭr kuḍuppadāga*," may be noted.

² See text-lines 63-66 on p. 403 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. III.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 402, ll. 10-19.

⁴ *Ann. Rep. on Epigraphy*, Madras, for 1900, p. 6, paragraph 13.

the 8th year and 988th day (*i.e.*, the 11th year) of the Pāṇḍya king's reign. From a record of Vira-Sōmēśvara himself found in the same temple, we learn that this service was instituted in the 10th year of his reign, *i.e.*, in A.D. 1243-4.¹ As such, the grant made to it by Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya in compliance with the Hoysala king's request, must have been a subsequent event. If, as held by Mr. Sastri, the introduction *pū-malar-tiruvum* belongs to Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. who ascended the throne in A.D. 1216, the date of the Aḷagarmalai inscription would fall in A.D. 1227, *i.e.*, 16 years prior to the establishment of the service itself. It is thus evident that inscriptions with the introduction *pū-malar-tiruvum* do not belong to Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, but are clear records of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II whose accession took place in A.D. 1238. In this case, the date of the epigraph under consideration will be A.D. 1249, which is about five years after the institution of the service. Another decisive proof for saying that the records with the introduction *pū-malar-tiruvum* are not those of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. is afforded in the omission in them of the conquest of the Chōḷa country (*Sōṇḍu konḍaruliya*) which is invariably mentioned in inscriptions definitely attributable to him."

The different introductions *pū-maruviya-tirumaṇḍandai* and *pū-malar-tiruvum* which do not in any way recount the same historical facts, and the results of calculation of the details of dates furnished in Pāṇḍya inscriptions of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya, having definitely pointed out the existence of two kings bearing the same name, one closely following the other, there is reason for the same officials figuring as signatories in the records of both the kings. The names of seats and halls cannot be made use of to prove the identity of kings, for two kings not far removed from each other in time may occupy them one after the other.

To understand the political situation of the various powers of South India at the time of our record, it is necessary to follow closely the trend of events consequent on the Pāṇḍya civil war and the dynastic connection which existed between them. The outstanding political event of the century commencing with the end of the reign of Māṇavarman II, is the civil war alluded to above, which, while it lasted, did not confine itself within its own limits, but threw the whole of South India into a restless state and rudely disturbed its peace. Begun at first between two rival parties of the royal house of the Pāṇḍyas, it soon made the heads of all the chief kingdoms to range themselves on a side which seems to have been weak but just, while the other was very strong and derived its support chiefly from the foreign country of Ceylon. It exhausted the resources of the Chōḷas, sowed seeds of discontent among their chieftains and turned them into open rebellion and brought about the destruction of the mighty empire which had been built up by the military genius of the members of the revived Chōḷa line of Vijayālaya and the aid of "the victorious standing army" that won laurels wherever it was sent. The permanent outpost of the Hoysalas in the Tamil country was also an offshoot of this war. In about A.D. 1167 two hostile branches of the Pāṇḍya family put forth rival claims to the throne of Madura. At first, the parties were headed by Parākrama-Pāṇḍya and Kulaśekhara. The Sinhalese chronicle gives indeed a very full description of the help which the Ceylon king Parākramabāhu gave to Parākrama-Pāṇḍya and his son Vira-Pāṇḍya, and recounts the many deeds of valour performed by the Sinhalese army.² From this very account, which is naturally one-sided, one does not fail to gather that the cause of Kulaśekhara was espoused by other kings of the mainland, principal among them being the Chōḷa, whose country was threatened with immediate danger. Inscriptions of Rājādhirāja II tell us that the Chōḷa supported the cause of

¹ No. 292 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1929-30.

² *Maḷdvanta* (Wijesinha's transl.), Chs. 76 and 77.

Kulaśekhara.¹ The hostility between the parties of Vira-Pāṇḍya and Kulaśekhara continued in the reign of Rājādhirāja's successor Kulōttuṅga III (A.D. 1178-1217). The position was the same. Vira-Pāṇḍya, who was now joined by his son, was supported by the Sinhalese, while Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, probably the son of Kulaśekhara, applied to and obtained the help of the Chōlas. The earliest mention of this war in the records of Kulōttuṅga III is dated in the 4th year of his reign,² i.e., in A.D. 1182. It states that the son of Vira-Pāṇḍya was defeated with the allied forces of the Sinhalese, that he was deprived of his kingdom and crown and forced to flee from the field of battle, that his country and crown were taken by the Chōla and given to Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, and that a pillar of victory was set up in the Pāṇḍya capital Madura. Later records tell us that Vira-Pāṇḍya, sometime after his first flight, revolted and tried another chance with Kulōttuṅga III but was defeated again at a place called Neṭṭūr.³ The treatment meted out to Vira-Pāṇḍya and his son in this war by the Chōla king was anything but satisfactory. The Pāṇḍya queen was made to enter the harem of the Chōla and when the Pāṇḍya king himself, along with his ally the Chēra, came, bowed, and sat down at the foot of the Chōla throne, the Chōla king placed his feet on his head and dismissed him. It is impossible to expect the defeated party to put up with the extreme humiliation and insult meted out to him, for any length of time. Now, if there was a counter-invasion of the Chōla country, directed against the very sovereign that behaved in a most remorseless manner in the treatment of a fallen adversary appearing before him with all humility, it would not be difficult to find out who the invader must have been, and what the cause of the invasion was. The invader Māra-varman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, who, in the last years of Kulōttuṅga III, did unto him and his son all that had been done to the latter's Pāṇḍya adversary a few years previously, might in all probability be the unnamed son of Vira-Pāṇḍya, who, along with his father, was ignominiously treated by Kulōttuṅga III. In our opinion, it will be extremely unnatural, and impossible to a high degree, that Māra-varman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, a weakling who owed his very being as a monarch to Kulōttuṅga III, or a son of his, would, without any cause, ever rise against the Chōla benefactor. Thus, it will be seen that the civil war begun by Parākrama-Pāṇḍya in about A.D. 1167 was pursued by his son Vira-Pāṇḍya, and pushed to a decisive end by Māra-varman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. The other hostile party counted Kulaśekhara and his son Māra-varman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya and perhaps one other member. In the account of the Pāṇḍyan civil war that has come down to us, both from the Sinhalese source and from South Indian epigraphs, we are able to see very clearly that the side of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya,—represented mostly by Vira-Pāṇḍya, his son, and Māra-varman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.—was very resourceful, was of undaunted spirit and performed noble deeds of valour, while that of Kulaśekhara, represented by himself and Māra-varman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, was weak to a degree and had to be propped up again and again by the Chōlas.

¹ Four records of Rājādhirāja II refer to the war of Pāṇḍya succession. They are dated in the 5th, 8th and 12th years of his reign. While the earlier two state that the Chōlas prevented the Pāṇḍya country from becoming a part of the kingdom of Ceylon by helping Kulaśekhara with men and money, the two others dated in the 12th year are said to add that Kulaśekhara turned inimical to the Chōla who deposed him and placed Vira-Pāṇḍya on the throne (above, Vol. XXI, p. 186). If this is true the enmity does not seem to have lasted long, for early in the reign of Kulōttuṅga III we find the Chōlas supporting this party of Pāṇḍyas against the very Vira-Pāṇḍya.

² *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 436. The date of this inscription is not given at the beginning as usual. It registers an order to the effect that what was granted in the 4th year may be incised on stone; and generally such records are relegated to the dates specified.

³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, Nos. 87 and 88.

Is there anything to suggest or support the view that Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. might be of the line of Kulaśēkhara and Māṇavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya? An inscription of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. refers to Vikrama-Pāṇḍya by the term *Periyanāyīṇār* and another of Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara refers to the same king by the term *Periyadēvar*.¹ From these references it has been inferred that both Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. and Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara I. must have been the sons of Māṇavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, the king that was set up on the Pāṇḍya throne by the Chōla Kulōttuṅga III. The inference, however, lacks support. Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. having ascended the throne in A.D. 1216 and Māṇavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya having been set up as ruler nearly 35 years prior to that date, the latter was certainly a senior member and perhaps also one that immediately preceded Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. and Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara I. As such, it is quite natural that he must be referred to by the term *Periyadēvar* or *Periyanāyīṇār* which in English may be rendered 'senior' in age or office. *Periyavar* with regard to ordinary persons, and *Periyadēvar* or *nāyīṇār* with regard to kings, may be applied to any elderly person, be he father, elder brother or one that preceded. The term does not exclusively mean 'a father'. If the relationship of a father were intended definitely, the inscription would have used the term *ayyar* and if an elder brother *aṇṇar*. To show that the use of *Periyadēvar* or *Periyanāyīṇār* is indefinite and that of *ayyar* and *aṇṇar* is definite, the following instances of the employment of the terms in inscriptions may be noted :—

- i. An inscription dated in the 3rd year and 81st day of the reign of the later Pallava king Peruñjiṅga refers to gifts of cows made in the 3rd and 4th years of the reign of *Periyadēvar* to *Kulōttuṅgan-tiru-gōśālai*.² Here *Periyadēvar* must refer either to Kulōttuṅga III in whose time and under whose name the *gōśālā* must have been formed or to Rājarāja III who was the predecessor of Peruñjiṅga and in whose reign some gift of cows might have been made to the said *gōśālā*, but certainly not to any relation, not to say father, of Peruñjiṅga. Numerous instances may be cited where *Periyadēvar* is used to denote the immediate predecessor of a reigning king, who may happen to stand in the relation of 'father' to the reigning king; but that the term *Periyadēvar* need not necessarily indicate 'a father' will be quite evident from the inscription cited above. The use of *Periyadēvar* with reference to Rājarāja II in an inscription of Rājādhirāja II (above, Vol. XXI, p. 189) will bear out this view.
- ii. We have a specific instance in an inscription of Virarājendra which shows that when a reference had to be made to the king's father the term '*ayyar*' is used and that when referring to an elder brother '*aṇṇar*' is employed.³ In this inscription, Rājendra-Chōla I. is called '*ayyar*'⁴ and Rājendradēva is called '*aṇṇar*'.⁵ Another inscription of Virarājendra also uses the term '*ayyar*' in referring to his father Rājendra-Chōla I.⁶

These references are sufficient to show that the allusion to Māṇavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya as *Periyadēvar* in the inscriptions of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. and Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara I. does not prove that the latter two were the sons of the former. All that the allusion can indicate is that Māṇavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya was a predecessor, a fact which we know from

¹ See No. 47 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1926 and No. 83 of the same collection for 1927.

² *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 54.

³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 529.

⁴ *Ibid.*, text-lines 51 and 172.

⁵ *Ibid.*, text-lines 189 and 190.

⁶ No. 110 of 1903.

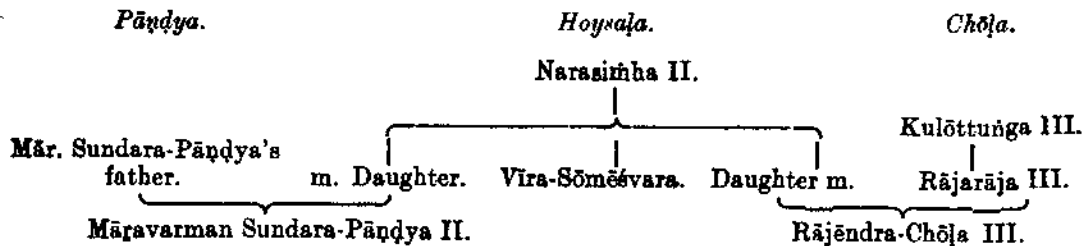
the circumstance that Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. ascended the throne in A.D. 1216 and that Kulōttuṅga III snatched from Vira-Pāṇḍya his crown and kingdom and set up Vikrama-Pāṇḍya as ruler in or before A.D. 1182. As has been shown already, there are good grounds for holding that Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. must be of the line of Vira-Pāṇḍya and that the cause of his invasion of the Chōḷa country was to pay its king in his own coin. If Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I be not the unnamed son mentioned in the inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga III, there is a possibility of his being the son of one of the collateral Pāṇḍya kings that took up the cause of Vira-Pāṇḍya in the war against the Chōḷas and had a share of the defeat inflicted by Kulōttuṅga III or his predecessor Rājādhirāja III. For all these considerations, I think the question of the parentage of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya must be regarded as unsettled and must remain open till decisive evidences are forthcoming. The Pāṇḍya invasion was a thorough success. The very Chōḷa emperor, who, not long after his accession, deprived Vira-Pāṇḍya of his crown and country and put him to flight, defeated him a second time at Neṭṭūr, and finally gave a public audience at the capital of the enemy and placed his feet on the head of the vanquished monarch when he appeared with all humility, bowed and sat down at the foot of his throne, was now, in his turn, deprived of his crown and country, was forced to run to a forest, his capital cities of Uraiyūr and Tanjore being set on fire, his country damaged, and finally, when the victor gave a State audience at Ponnamarāvati, the Chōḷa was bid to attend it on a promise of being restored. 'On hearing this', says the inscription, 'the Chōḷa returned with his wife and presenting his son first, himself remaining behind, prostrated before the victorious lion throne of the conqueror and begged.' The Pāṇḍya then gave back to the Chōḷa king's son the crown and an expansive territory. The terms to be abided by the suppliant were embodied in a royal writ bearing the fish-seal which was conferred on him along with the title of *Chōḷapati*,¹ which he had formerly lost, as well as his old city and crown. Kulōttuṅga III did not long outlive these disgraceful proceedings, and his son Rājārāja III, adds the record, did not at first mind remaining submissive under the feet of him who formerly gave him his crown, but subsequently refused to obey his commands, denied him tribute and sent a large army against the Pāṇḍya. In dealing with the Tinnevely inscription of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, I had stated that this second encounter between that Pāṇḍya king and the Chōḷa should have taken place in about A.D. 1222 when the Hoysaḷa Narasiṃha II marched on Śrīraṅgam and assumed soon after the title of 'establisher of the Chōḷa'² which signifies the help rendered by him to the Chōḷa. Siding with the Chōḷa means, in terms of the Pāṇḍyan civil war of which this was one of the issues, espousing the cause of Vikrama-Pāṇḍya's party against that of Vira-Pāṇḍya, i.e., against Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. who was then representing it. Narasiṃha's voluntary help to the Chōḷa is suggestive of his prior marriage alliance with Rājārāja III, as much as it is suggestive of his own interest in that party of the Pāṇḍyas which was favoured by the Chōḷas all along and with which he had contracted marriage alliance. Here we may note the dynastic connection that existed among the Hoysaḷas, Chōḷas and Pāṇḍyas at the time. The inscription under publication shows that Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II's contemporary and uncle was the Hoysaḷa king Vira-Sōmēśvara who ascended the throne in A.D. 1233 and reigned till A.D. 1255. That the same Hoysaḷa king stood in the relation of uncle to the Chōḷa Rājendra-Chōḷa III (A.D. 1246-1267) also, is known from the latter's records.³ From these it may be gathered that Vira-Sōmēśvara had two sisters one of whom was the mother of

¹ This title is far inferior to "Tribhuvanachakravartin" which the Chōḷas usually bore, and is indicative of the position Rājārāja was made to hold as a result of the invasion of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.

² Above, Vol. XXII, p. 44.

³ S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 512, where Rājendra-Chōḷa III is called 'Māma-Sōmēśvara-pratikūla-kīladanḍa'.

Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II and the other was the queen of the Chōḷa king Rājārāja III. The following table shows the dynastic connection of the three families :—



Besides the above dynastic connection, the titles assumed by the Hoysala kings Narasimha II and Vira-Sōmēśvara and those claimed by the Pallava Peruñjiṅga bring out the exact position of the various powers of South India at the time of which we are speaking. It has been noted already that Narasimha II styled himself 'the establisher of the Chōḷa' soon after A.D. 1222 which shows that the political relationship between him and Rājārāja III was one of cordiality. Another of his titles was 'the uprooter of the Makara kingdom'.¹ The late Prof. Hultzsch was of opinion that this kingdom must be somewhere in the Coimbatore or Salem District. If it could be the same as Magadai, we are to understand that the Hoysala, who sided with the Chōḷa, was hostile to the king or chieftain of Magadai. Since we know from numerous inscriptions that the chieftains of Magadai called themselves Bāṇas (Vāṇaṇ in Tamil) and since it was to a Bāṇa that Sundara-Pāṇḍya I gave the conquered territory of the Chōḷas in the first instance, it is but natural that the ally of the Pāṇḍya must figure as an enemy of Narasimha II. Among other enemies of Narasimha II figuring in inscriptions of A.D. 1222-24, is the Kāḍava by which is no doubt meant the Pallava Peruñjiṅga, who in several records is said to be of the Kāṭhaka or Kāḍava family.² It goes without saying that the enemies of Narasimha and the Chōḷas were the friends and allies of the Pāṇḍya Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. It is quite in consonance with this, and expressive also of the attitude of the Pallava Peruñjiṅga, that he styled himself *Karṇāṭa-bhūpa-māna-mardīn*, *Pāṇḍya-maṇḍala-sthāpana-sūtradhāra* and 'the rut elephant to the forest, viz., the Chōḷa'.³ From all that has been said above, it will be clear that the chief powers of South India were divided into two parties one of which counted in its ranks the Chōḷa and Hoysala kings with their generals and chiefs supporting the members of the line of Kulāśekhara-Pāṇḍya, and the other had in its file the members of the line of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya and Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, supported by Pallava and Bāṇa chiefs of the mainland and the Sinhalese forces which last, as will be shortly shown, had come to stay in South India till the final issues of the civil war which brought them there, were settled. Though we do not hear much of this Sinhalese army after Kulōttuṅga had succeeded in putting down Vira-Pāṇḍya and his son, and though it is expressly stated in the historical introduction of Kulōttuṅga's records that the Sinhalese soldiers had been driven into the sea with their noses cut off there is clear evidence to show in the Tiruvēndipuram inscription of A.D. 1232-3 that among the forces of the Pāṇḍyan ally, the Pallava Peruñjiṅga, there were four Sinhalese generals of Parākramabāhu whom the generals of the Hoysala Narasimha II put to death.⁴ After the rise of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, the Pāṇḍyan civil war, though it still lingered, was turned into one chiefly between the Pāṇḍyas and the Chōḷas aided by their respective allies. The principal aim of Narasimha II in establishing a capital in the Tamil country just on the border of the Pāṇḍya

¹ Kielhorn's *Southern List*, No. 434.

² Above, Vol. VII, pp. 163-4.

³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 1342-B.

⁴ Above, Vol. VII, pp. 167 f.

and Chōla territories with a powerful prince invested with independent authority stationed there seems mainly to support his two sons-in-law, viz., the Chōla Rājārāja III, and the Pāṇḍya who was the father of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II, both of whom were weak, and not fit to combat their powerful enemy Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, allied as he was with the Pallava Peruñjiṅga and other chiefs and the Sinhalese army. Here we may consider and dispose of two apparently contradictory titles assumed by the Hoysaḷa Narasiṃha II and Vira-Sōmēśvara. Narasiṃha's claim to the title of 'a thunderbolt in splitting the rock that was the Pāṇḍya'¹ has to be understood with reference to his action against Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, undertaken in support of his son-in-law, the father of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II, while Vira-Sōmēśvara's title *Pāṇḍya-kula-samuddharaṇa*² with its variant *Pāṇḍya-rājya-pratishṭh-āchārya* has to be construed with reference to his action in successfully piloting his brother-in-law Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II to the Pāṇḍya throne. Thus, it will be seen that both the father and the son, i.e., Narasiṃha II and Vira-Sōmēśvara, pursued a consistent policy, viz., the lifting up of the family of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. That Vira-Sōmēśvara should have taken part in Narasiṃha's military campaign in the Tamil country undertaken to establish Rājārāja III in his kingdom, when worsted by both Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I and the Pallava Peruñjiṅga is evident from the title *Chōlārājya-sthāpan-āchārya* which he assumed. The Hoysaḷa general Appaya-Daṇḍanāyaka that took a prominent part in the war against Peruñjiṅga is reported in one of the inscriptions of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II to have invaded Kāṇa-nāḍu, an ancient subdivision in the Pudukkottai State.³ It is not unlikely that this invasion was undertaken in aid of the same Hoysaḷa protégé. The existence of inscriptions of Vira-Sōmēśvara in the Pāṇḍya country, the institution of the service called *Vira-Sōmēśvaran-śāndi* at Aḷagarmalai in the Madura District, the grant of the village bearing the name Pōśaḷa-Vira-Sōmidēva-chatur-vēdimāṅgalam in Murappu-nāḍu in the Tinnevely District and the implicit obedience paid to his behests by the Pāṇḍya king Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II show clearly that that Pāṇḍya king acknowledged his overlordship and maintained friendly relation with him.⁴

The aim of the Hoysaḷa Narasiṃha II to prop up his two sons-in-law, i.e., the waning Chōla lord Rājārāja III and the father of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II, both of whom much needed his support, was only partially successful. In spite of all the efforts made by himself, his son and generals, the decline of the Chōlas could not in any way be prevented. The very Pallava who was daring enough to capture the Chōla emperor and confine him at Śēndamaṅgalam, though defeated by the Hoysaḷas in several engagements and brought under subjection almost at the end of the reign of Narasiṃha II, soon assumed regal powers and proclaimed himself king.⁵ Vira-Sōmēśvara followed his father's policy of supporting his Pāṇḍya relation and Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II was crowned in A.D. 1238, and throughout the major portion of his reign, he was keeping watch and ward.⁶ So long as Rājārāja III lived, there was no conflict between the Chōlas and the Hoysaḷas. But, as is apparent from the historical introduction of Rājēndra-Chōla's inscriptions, the Chōla nephew of Vira-Sōmēśvara assumed a different attitude and became an open enemy not only of the Pāṇḍya but also of the friendly Hoysaḷas.⁷ Without counting his own strength and the weakened state of the empire brought on chiefly by the Chōla subordinates

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 507.

² *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 421. He is called *Pāṇḍya-rājya-pratishṭh-āchārya* in No. 435.

³ *A. R. on Epigraphy*, Madras, for 1907, Part II, paragraph 26.

⁴ See Nos. 291 and 292 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1929 and the record under publication.

⁵ *Above*, Vol. VII, p. 165. The accession of a Peruñjiṅga is placed in A.D. 1243, between 4th February and 30th July.

⁶ His Nuggahalli inscription states that his army was encamped on the Tāmraparai.

⁷ *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 511, 512.

who, following the example of Peruñjiṅga, shook off their allegiance to the Chōla throne and became independent, each in his own region,¹ Rājendra-Chōla III formed a design to chastise all those that formerly despised the family of the Chōlas. He claims to be a very Rāma in destroying the northern part of Laṅkā (i.e., Ceylon), which, as we have seen, supplied in the past valiant generals who supported that party of the Pāṇḍyas that was opposed to the Chōlas and stood also on the side of Peruñjiṅga. Rājendra-Chōla boasts of having killed a Rājarāja after making him wear a double crown for three years, and of having subdued the Pāṇḍyas and the Kēraḷas, of having plundered the country of the former, of having taken the Pāṇḍyan crown, and of placing his feet on his jewelled crown. He claims to be Death to the Karnāṭa kings and states that on his legs, Vira Sōmēśvara, the wrestler on hill forts, placed the anklet of heroes.* Whatever may be the truth of these high claims, this much may be gathered that Rājendra-Chōla made some sporadic attempts to revive the power of the Chōlas. But his effort was past remedy. The reign of Māraḍvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II is important as being the one in which the Pāṇḍyan civil war ended, and as showing how in the final issues of it, the Hoysaḷas came to play the part which the Chōlas did earlier.

Besides the Chōlas and the Hoysaḷas, the kings of Koṅgu were also taking up the side of Kuḷaśekhara-Pāṇḍya and were helping him and his descendants in the fight against the members of the family of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya. Like the Hoysaḷas, the Koṅgu kings were also connected by marriage with the kings of the Kuḷaśekhara line. A regular succession of Koṅgu kings are known to us from inscriptions for nearly ten generations which include the period of the Pāṇḍyan war of succession. To show the connection between the two families, we give hereunder five kings of the Koṅgu line who regularly succeeded one another and whose period of rule extended from A.D. 1135 to 1263. These are :—

Viranārāyaṇa (Uttama-Chōla)—A.D. 1135 to 1149.

Kulōttuṅga (Rājakēsari)—A.D. 1149 to 1183.

Vira-Chōla, 'who ruled the two Koṅgus'—A.D. 1183 to 1206.

Virarājendra (Rājakēsari), 'who ruled the two Koṅgus'—A.D. 1206 to 1255.

Vikrama-Chōla—A.D. 1255 to 1263.

One of the inscriptions of the Koṅgu country states that Rājakēsari Kulōttuṅga was the grandson of Vira-Chōla.* This information is useful in establishing the fact that Viranārāyaṇa was the son of Vira-Chōla and the father of Kulōttuṅga, for the three kings ruled in succession the Koṅgu country as their dates clearly prove. We learn from a lithic record at Neṇṇuvūr that the Koṅgu king Rājakēsariḍvarman Kulōttuṅga-Chōla, on the eve of setting out on an expedition against Madura to capture it for his sister's son (*marumaṇṇ*) Kuḷaśekhara-Pāṇḍya, directed the *sabha* of the place to make a *brahmadēya* gift of some lands in Maṇiyamaṅgalam, which had been the camping ground of the king, as a *yātrādāna* to his *purōhita* Ālvār Śrībalidēva. This shows that Kuḷaśekhara-Pāṇḍya's father had married the sister of the Koṅgu king Kulōttuṅga. The Sinhalese chronicle *Mahāvamsa*, besides confirming this, supplements the epigraphical account by letting us know that Kulōttuṅga had another brother who was ruling over North Koṅgu, for it is stated that Kuḷaśekhara gathered together the forces of his mother's brothers who were in Ten-Koṅgu and Vaḍa-Koṅgu.* That this cordial relationship between the Koṅgu king and

¹ Rājānārāyaṇa Śambuvārāya in A.D. 1245, and Gaḍḍagūpāla in A.D. 1249. Somewhere about the same time Yādava Narasimha and Magadōpperumāl.

* S. I. I., Vol. IV, Nos. 511, 512.

* No. 336 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1927-28.

* Wijesinha's Translation, p. 245.

the Pāṇḍyas of the Kulaśekhara line which commenced in the days of Kulaśekhara's father continued to exist is proved by the presence of Śōḷaṇ Śilamban *alias* Virachōḷa Laṅkēśvaradēva, a *sāmanta* of the next Koṅgu king Vira-Chōḷa in the vicinity of Madura, and the interest taken by him in making gifts to the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Tenkarai, a village 15 miles from Madura, in the 3rd year of the reign of Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara with *pūṭala-maṇḍai* introduction.¹ This *sāmanta* continued to live in the reign of Vira-Chōḷa's successor Virarājendra who, like his predecessor, ruled the two Koṅgus together² and who, in the 25th year of his reign corresponding to Śaka 1153 (A.D. 1231) made a gift of land in the Koṅgu country for conducting a festival in the temple at Tirumāḷirūṇjōlai (i.e., Alagarmalai) in Kiḷ-Iraṇiyamūṭṭa-nāḍu, a subdivision of Pāṇḍi-maṇḍalam.³ During Virarājendra's reign a further, and this time a double, marriage alliance was brought about between the Koṅgu and Pāṇḍya kings. Virarājendra, it would appear, had two daughters whom he gave in marriage to Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II and Māṇavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, for both of them call Vikrama-Chōḷa—who, to judge merely from the dates of these contemporaries, must be no other than the next Koṅgu Chōḷa king of that name—their brother-in-law (*maṇḍaḥṇār*).⁴ Vikrama-Chōḷa's presence in the Pāṇḍya country and the influence which he wielded with both the Pāṇḍya relations of his are amply evidenced in inscriptions.⁵ The position held and the part played by the Hoysala Vira-Sōmēśvara and the Koṅgu Vikrama-Chōḷa in the politics of the Pāṇḍya country seems to have been quite identical. The names of the Pāṇḍya kings that espoused Koṅgu princesses, viz., the two Kulaśekharas and Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, strongly suggest that the Koṅgu kings were allied with that party of the Pāṇḍyas who were opposed to the members of the Parākrama line. Be this as it may, there is no doubt that Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II was helped both by his uncle the Hoysala Vira-Sōmēśvara and by his brother-in-law the Koṅgu Vikrama-Chōḷa.

It may be useful to say a word about the attitude of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I towards the two Koṅgu contemporaries of his days, one of whom was Virarājendra the father of Vikrama-Chōḷa and the father-in-law of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. The historical preamble of the inscriptions of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I seems to leave no doubt that he prosecuted a successful war against the two Koṅgu kings and triumphantly returned to his capital with the vanquished kings taken captive in war, and, receiving their homage, dictated to them the terms to be abided by in future and that on pain of death.⁶ The suppliant attitude of the two kings is expressed in unambiguous terms, though the victorious Pāṇḍya is described as being more favourably disposed to the South Koṅgu king. Even here, one cannot but recognise in Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I a powerful rival and a descendant of Vira-Pāṇḍya, up in arms against all those that were ranged on the side of Kulaśekhara's party. The end of the rule of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I and the accession of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II helped, as the latter was by the Hoysala and the Koṅgu kings throughout his reign, seem to mark the final part of the third stage of the civil war in the Pāṇḍya country. The following will show at sight the

¹ *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, p. 110, No. 296.

² No. 106 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

³ No. 135 of the same collection.

⁴ *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 421 and *A. R. on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1930, Part II, paragraph 12. The inference that the two Pāṇḍya kings must have been brothers is wrong.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 42 f.

several stages of the war of Pāṇḍya succession leading up to the accession of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II :—

First stage.

Parākrama-Pāṇḍya and Vira-Pāṇḍya supported by the Sinhalese.	Kulaśekhara-Pāṇḍya aided by the Chōla Rājādhirāja II and the Kongu king Rājakēśari Kulōttuṅga and his brother.
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Second stage.

<i>Earlier.</i> —Vira-Pāṇḍya and his son supported by the Sinhalese and the Chēra.	Māṇavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya aided by the Chōla Kulōttuṅga III.
<i>Later.</i> —Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I	Chōla Kulōttuṅga III.

Third stage.

<i>Earlier.</i> —Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I and Peruñjiṅga aided by the Sinhalese.	The Chōla Rājārāja III supported by the Hoysala Narasimha II who also backed up the father of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II.
<i>Later.</i> —Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I	Hoysala Vira-Sōmēśvara and Kongu Virarājendra supporting Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II and his father.

There is a peculiarity in the method of dating of the inscriptions of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. Records belonging to the first four current years of his reign are dated in the ordinary way,¹ as 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th, while those belonging to the years after the completion of the 4th up to the 8th year are dated as 4+1+1st, 4+1110th day, etc., giving prominence to the expired 4th year or rather counting fresh years from the end of the fourth. Similarly, the dates² of records falling after the expiry of the 8th up to the 11th year are expressed as 8th year and 215th day, 8+1+1st, 8th year and 988th day, etc., thus counting fresh years after the 8th year,³ while those later than the 11th year are cited as 11+1st, 11+3rd, etc.⁴ It looks as if this systematic counting of fresh regnal years after the expiry of the 4th, 8th and 11th years must have been devised to commemorate some important events that marked those fresh years in particular. What those events are is not stated anywhere. Since we know that the accession of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II took place in A.D. 1238-9, the end of his 4th, 8th and 11th years⁵ correspond to A.D. 1242-3, 1246-7 and 1249-50. Some important events of these years are known to us. They are respectively the years of accession of Peruñjiṅga, Rājendra-Chōla III, and Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla. But it will be interesting to know how they were important with reference to Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II and whether there were other important events in his own reign in these years that singled them out for the special treatment they get. It is not, however, contended that the particular events noted above singled out the years in question, i.e., the commencement of 5th, 9th and 12th years.

¹ Nos. 307 and 312 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1927-28.

² *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 734; No. 668 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1916; and Nos. 678 and 679 of the same collection for 1906.

³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, Nos. 400, 446 and 448; and Nos. 209 and 211 of the collection for 1924.

⁴ No. 560 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1916, No. 35 of the collection for 1924 and No. 524 of the same for 1911.

⁵ In all cases where two years are given connected by the word 'adīr' the first expresses completed years and the second the current years.

The reign of Māyavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II lasted till at least A.D. 1252. There are several inscriptions of his dated in the regnal year 11 + 1 + 1st and the details given in one of these¹ take us to A.D. 1251, June 14. But the latest regnal year is furnished in an inscription dated in the 15th year.²

The geographical names that occur in the inscription are Kūḍalūr and Kīlai-Kūḍalūr in Murappu-nāḍu which together were constituted as a *brahmadēya* under the name Pōśāḷa-Vīra-Sōmidēva-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, Muttālāṅkuṟuchchi *alias* Rājasiṅgamaṅgalam, Śēṇālūr *alias* Tiruvaraṅga-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, Taṇṇorunda-āru and Sundara-Pāṇḍiyaṇ-Tēṇṇāru which formed the boundaries of the new village, and Paṭṭina-Marudūr in Śūraṅkuḍi-nāḍu to which the donor of a *dēvadāna* belonged. Murappu-nāḍu is a village in the Śrīvaikuṇṭham taluk of the Tinnevely District, 6 miles east of Palamcottah, and is situated on the right bank of the river Tāmraparṇī.³ As the inscriptions in the Vēdanārāyaṇa-Perumāl temple of this village call the place by the name Sōmidēva-chaturvēdimaṅgalam or Pōśāḷa-Vīra-Sōmidēva-chaturvēdimaṅgalam and as it is stated to be a *brahmadēya*,⁴ there is no doubt about its identity with the place mentioned in our inscription as being newly constituted under that name out of the old villages Kūḍalūr and Kīlai-Kūḍalūr. The name given to the deity of the temple in its inscriptions, *viz.*, Sōmidēva-viṇṇagar-Ālvār, suggests that it must have come into existence in the time of Māyavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II and Vīra-Sōmēśvara and called after the latter king just as the village itself was. Muttālāṅkuṟuchchi still goes by the same name and is in the same taluk. Paṭṭina-Marudūr and Śūraṅkuḍi are zamindari villages in the Kovilpatti taluk of the same District. Taṇṇorunda-āru is the name of the river Tāmraparṇī.

TEXT⁵

- 1 Svasti 6rī [||*] Pū-malar⁶-tiruvu[m] poru-Śeyal(Jaya)-maḍandaiyun=tāmarai-kkuvimulai-śeya(jaya)-ppuyat[t=i]ruppa Vēda-nāvil vell-idaṭ-⁷tāmarai-kkūḍal-mādu kavin-peṇa-ttiḷai[p]pa veṇ-ḍiraiy-uḍutta [ma]n-ḍiṇi-[kiḍak]kai=tiru-nila-maḍandaiya u[ri]maiyiṭ-
- 2 kalippa samai[ya]mm nīdi[yu]n=darumamun=ta[ai]ppav=imaiyavar [vi]ḷā-kko[ḍiy-i]-ḍantoṟum=eḍup[pa]=kkaṟuṇ-Kali-ka[na]l keḍa=kkaḍavu]-vēḍiyar arun-toḷil-vēlvi=chcheṇ-kaṇal vaḷar[p]pa=chchurudiyun-Tamiḷun=tol-vaḷaṇ=kulava poru-tiḷal-āḷi pū-talaṇ=chūḷa¹ oru-kaiy=i-

¹ No. 147 of 1894.

² No. 421 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

³ Sewell's *List of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 312.

⁴ See Nos. 431 to 435 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906 and the *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, Madras, for 1907, Part II, paragraphs 26 and 27. In the alphabetical list of villages of the Tinnevely District two villages are noted bearing the names Murappu-nāḍu-Kōyilpattu and Murappu-nāḍu-pudugrāmam.

⁵ No. 448 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V (No. 156 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1894). For obtaining the correct original of the introductory portion, I have compared the text of this inscription with the readings of two other inscriptions, *viz.*, Nos. 421 and 446 of the same Volume and noted in footnotes the differences. Whenever these numbers occur in subsequent notes they must be taken to refer to *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

Read *malar=ttiruvum*. All the three inscriptions have *r* which is incorrect.

⁶ Read -*ḷānara*.

⁷ *Śūḷ-vara* is the reading in both 421 and 446. Though *śūḷa* is not incorrect, *śūḷ-vara* is better.

- 3 ru-ševi mu-mmada=nār-kōṭṭ=A[yi]rāvata-mudal ¹šeya(Jaya)=[t*]ti[ru]-
[k*]koratt=en-ḍisai-yānaiy=eruttam=ē[ri]=kkaṇḍa nāḍ=emad-eṇa=kkayal kaḷi-kūra²
Kōśalan=Tuḷuvaṇ=Kudiraṇ³=Kuchcharam Pōśala[m*] Maga[da]m Poppaḷam⁴
Puṇḍaraṇ=Kaḷi[n]-gam=ī[la]n=Kaḍāraṇ=Gavudan=Teliṅgaṇ=Chōṇagaṇ=Chīna⁵=mudalā
- 4 vi[ḍi]-muḡai tigaḷa ve[v]vēru⁶ vagutta mudu-ṇila-kkiḷamaiyil mu[ḍi-pu]ṇai-vēndaṛk⁷=
oru-ta[ni]-nāyaka[n]-eṇṇ=ulag-ōtta=ttiru-muḍi [śū]ḍi=chcheṇ-kōl=ōchchi=kkorṇa-ttāa-
kkuḷir-kuḍai ṇiḷaṛ-kil kaṇṇai-kkavari kā[va]lar vi[śa] mi[ḍ]ai-⁸kadir-ṇava-ma[ṇi]
vīrasimhāsa[na]tt=udan
- 5 muḍi śūḍiy=nyar-kula-t[ti]ruv-eṇa=[ppa]ṇḡaya-ma[la]ḡ⁹-kara[ṇ]=kuvittu=ppā[r*]ttivar-
ma[ṇ]gaiyar tiraṇḍu vaṇa[ṇ]guṇ=cheṇ[ṇi¹⁰]-chchudār-oḷi-mauli=chchudār-maṇi mēḷiḍa
viḍa=chchivanda[v-i]¹¹ṇai-mala[r]-[ch*]chir-adi=kkanaḷa-madukaraṇ=ka[mala]m¹² vand=
aṇugum-U[la]gamuḷuduḍai[y]āroḍum viṇ[ri]runda-arū-
- 6 [i]ya śrī-kō-Māraṇmar-[ā]ṇa Tribhuvanachchakrava[r*]ttigaḷ śrī-[Su]ndara-
Pāṇḍiyadō[va]rku yāṇḍu eṭṭu nāl [t]oḷāyiratt-eṇpa[t]t-eṭṭiṇāl Madurō-
daiya-vaḷanāṭṭu Māḍakkuḷa-kkiḷ=Ma[ḍu]rai=kkōyil paḷḷiy-aṇai-kkūḍattu paḷḷi-
ppi[ta]m Maḷavarāya[ṇi]=eḷu-
- 7 nd-arūḷi irundu Vēdamum [Ś]āstramum pōy vyākhyātākkaḷāy=irukkum chatur-
vvēdi-Bha[t]targaḷ pēr iru-nūṇṇ-i[ru]pattu-nūḷ[va]r šeyya-t[ti]ruvāymolind-arūḷiṇa-
paḍi [Vē]damum Śāstra[mu]m pōy vyākhyā[tā]kkaḷāy=irukkum chaturvvēdi-
Bhaṭṭargaḷ pēr iru-nūṇṇ-irupa-
- 8 ttu-nālvaṛkku¹³ paṇḡu iru-nūṇṇ-irupattu-[n]ālum dēvadāna-ppaṇi-šey [vi]rutti paṇḡu
irupadum āḡa-ppaṇḡu iru-nūṇṇu nār[pa]ttu nālukkum [Mu]ra[p]pu-nāṭṭu=kKūḍa-
[lū]rum kḷai-Kūḍalūr¹⁴-uḷiṭṭa ūḡaḷukku=kkī[ḷ]-ellai Taṇporunda-āṇṇukku mēḡ-
kum teṇṇ-ellai Mut-
- 9 tālaṇkuruchchey-āṇa Rāja[simha]maṇḡalattu eḷaikkum Śōḷalūr-āṇa Tiruva-
raṇḡa-chchaturvvēdi[ma]ṇḡalattu eḷaikkum [va]ḷakkum mēl-ellai i-mMurappu-
nāṭṭu=kkāl-āṇa Sundara-[P]āṇḍi[ya]ṇ-[t]ennāṇṇukku kḷakkum vaḍav-ellai Taṇporunda-
āṇṇukku=tteḡkum āḡa nā-

¹ The reading given in No. 421 is *seydi* which is wrong. It must be *šeya-tiru* of which the last syllable is omitted to be engraved. In No. 446 these words are wrongly given as *seydak*.

² This word is spelt in the same way in No. 421, but No. 446 has *kūḡa* with two dots after, which are unnecessary. Both the spellings are admissible.

³ *Kudiram* is omitted in No. 421 but is given in No. 446. Metrically the word is required.

⁴ *Poppaḷam* is also the reading in both Nos. 421 and 446. It seems to be the correct form as it furnishes proper *mōnai*.

⁵ The reading in No. 421 is *Chīnaka* which is evidently wrong.

⁶ *Vēruvēru* is the reading in No. 421. Both are identical in meaning and metrically admissible.

⁷ Read *vēndaṛk*.

⁸ The reading given in No. 421 is *viḍe-kadir* which is an evident mistake. It ought to be *viḍu-kadir* or *miḍai-kadir*.

⁹ Read *malar-kkaraṇ*.

¹⁰ The reading in No. 421 is *cheṇṇiyil*.

¹¹ *Vīṇ-malar* is the reading in No. 421 which is incorrect.

¹² *Kamalam-eṇṇ-aṇugum*, the reading furnished in No. 421, is better.

¹³ Read *nālvaṛkku*.

¹⁴ Read *Kūḍalūrum*. This reading is correctly given in 1. 16.

- 10 ng-ellaikk=utpaṭṭa nīr-nīlamum karu[ñ]che[y*] puñchey[yu]m nattamun=tōṭṭa[mu]m kuḷamun=kuḷapparippum utpa[t]ṭa nīlattil paḷlichchandam¹ [pa]ḷan-dēvadānamum Śūraṅkuḍi-nāṭṭu=pPaṭṭina-Marudūr-pāl Kulaśēkarapperunteruvi[1] Vaḷugūruḍaiyān Udaiyaṅ Kūttādu[vāṅ-ā]ṇa Vi-
- 11 llavadarai[ya]ṇ vilai-koṇḍ-udaiya[ṇ]y ivv-ūr Ulaguyyavanda-Īśvaramuḍaiyār dē-[va]dānam maṇai tō[t]tamum [na]ttamum utpa[ḍa]-chChundara-Pāṇḍiyaṅ-kōlāl [ni]ḷam nālu-māvum nikki [nik]ki-uḷḷa nīla[m] [m]unṇ-udaiyārum paḷam-pērum uḷavum mudalum=tavirttu
- 12 ōr-ū[r] oru-purav=ākki=kkuḍiy=irukkal[ā]m nattattilē kuḍiy-irupp-āga=ppaṅgum maṇaiyum=eḷudi [Mu]rappu-n[ā]ṭṭu-pPōṣaḷa-Vira-Sōmidēva-chchaturvvēdimaṅga[la]m-eṇru [m]āmaḍi pe[ya]rāl eṭṭāvaḍiṇ=edirām-āṇḍiṇ=edirām-ā[ṇ]ḍu-mudal brahmadēyaṇ=cheyya-ppera-vēṇu-
- 13 m-eṇrum i[vv-ū]r i[ru]kkum-idattu irupattu-nāl-aḍiy-āṇa Sundara-Pāṇḍi[ya]ṇ-kōlāl nīlam=aḷandu payir pārttu [vi]ḷaṇda nīlattukku antāyānamum viṇiyō[ga]mun=taruvadāna achchum k[ā]riyavā[r]āchchi[yu]m vetṭi-pāttamum pañchupili sandu-(sandhi)vikkiragappērum
- 14 ma[ṇ]ḷum ep[pe]yarp[pa]ṭṭiṇavum=utpaḍa kārukku māṭ[t]āl kāsu kālum muda[1] Virapāṇḍiyaṇāl nellu mu-kkalamum Tulā viṇai[chu]² viḷaṇda nīlattukku i-vvarisaiyil oṇru-pādiyum eḷḷu varagu tinaippull=iruṅgu viḷaṇda nīlattukku
- 15 [mā]ṭṭāl tira[ma]m iraṇḍum paśā[ṇa]m i-vvarisaiyum-āga ivv-āṇḍu-mudal irup-pad-āga irai kaṭṭa-pperavēṇum-eṇru [mā]maḍi namakku-chchonnamaiyil Vēdamum Śāstramum pōy vyākhyātākkaḷāy=irukkum chaturvvēdi-Bhaṭṭarga[ḷ] peya[r]
- 16 iru-n[ū]r i[ru]pattu-nālvaṅku³ -ppaṅgu iru-nūrr-irupattu-nālum dēvadāna-ppaṇisēy virutti paṅgu irupadum āga=ppaṅgu iru-nūrru-nālpattu⁴ nālukkum Murappu-nāṭṭu=kKūḍalūrum kīlai-kKūḍa[ḷū]rum uḷḷiṭṭa ūrgaḷukku=kkīl-ellai Taṇ[po]-
- 17 ru[ṇ]da-ārrukku mērkum tēṇṇ-ellai Muttālāṅkuṇu[ḷ]chchi⁵ y-āṇa Rājasimhamaṅga-lattu ellaikkum Sēṇālūr-āṇa Tiruvaraṅga-chchaturvvēdimaṅgalattu ellaikkum [va]ḷakkum mēl-ellai i-[m]Murappu-nāṭṭu=kkāl-āṇa [Su]ndara[p]āṇḍiyaṅ-tenṇārru-kku kīlakkum vaḍav-ellai
- 18 Taṇporun[da]-ā[r]ukku t[e]ṇṇum āga nāṅ-ellaikk-utpaṭṭa nīr-nīlamu[m] karuñ-che[y*] puñcheyyu[m]⁶ nattamun=tōṭṭamum kuḷamun=kuḷapparippum utpaṭṭa nīlattil paḷan-dē[va]dānamum paḷlich[cha]ndamum Śūra[ṇ]kuḍi-nāṭṭu Paṭṭina-Marudūr-pāl⁷ Kulaśēkara-pperunteruvil Vaḷugū-
- 19 [ruḍai]yāṇ Udaiya[ṇ] Kū[t]tāduvā[ṇ-ā]ṇa Villavadarai[ya*]ṇ vilai-koṇḍ-udaiya ivv-ūr Ulaguyyavanda-Īśvaramuḍaiyārku⁸ dēvadānam-āṇa tōṭṭamum nattamum=utpaḍa Sundarapāṇḍi[ya]ṇ-kōlāl nīlam nālu-māvum nikki nikki-uḷḷa nīlam munṇ-udaiyārum pa[ḷa]m-pērum⁹ uḷavu[m*] mudalu-

¹ Read *paḷlichchandamum*.

² This is the colloquial form of *viḷaittu* : see l. 22.

³ Read *nālvaṅku*.

⁴ Read *nālpattu*.

⁵ This word occurs in l. 10, above, with the spelling *puñcheyyum*.

⁶ Here and in similar places, the particle *pāi* is used in the sense of 'in or near'. To distinguish a particular place from others bearing the same name, it was usual to mention the place near it or in which it was situated and affix to it the particle. The practice is rarely in vogue now.

⁷ Read *ṅārku*.

⁸ The word *pēr* occurs in l. 11 also. But the form *peyar* is used in *eppeyarpattina* (ll. 14 and 21) and *māmaḍi-peyarūl* (ll. 12 and 20). It seems *pēr* denoted 'number of persons' and *peyar* 'the name' or 'kind'.

- 20 [n=tavirttu ō]r-ūr oru-pura[v]=ākki kuḍi i[ru]kka[ā]m na[ttā]t[ti]lē kuḍi irupp-āga=p[pa]ṅgum maṇaiyum eludi Murappu-[n]āṭṭu=pPōśa[ā]Vira-Sōmidēva-chcha-turvvedimaṅgalam-eṇṇu māmāḍi peyarāl ivv-āṇḍu brahmadēyañ=cheyvad-ā[ga] iḍugav-eṇṇum ivv-ūr irukkum-iḍattu irupattu
- 21 [n]ā[ā]ḍiy-āṇa Sundara-Pāṇḍiyaṇ-kōlāl nilam=a[ā]andu payir pā[r][t*]tu vīlāinda nilattukku [a]ntarāyamu[m] viṇi[y]ōgamum taruvad-āṇa achchum kāriyavārā-chchiyum veṭṭi-pāṭṭamum paṇchupīli sandu(sandhi)vikkiragappērum ma[r]u[m] e[p]pe[ya]rpa[ṭṭi]navum utpaḍa kārukku mātāl
- 22 kāsū kālum mudal Virapāṇḍiyaṇāl neilū mu-kkalamum Tulā vīraichchu vīlāinda nilattukku i-vvarisaiyil [o]ṇṇu-pāḍiyum e[[va]ragu [ti]ṇaippul=i[ru]ṅgu vīlāinda nilattukku mātāl tira[ma]m iraṇḍum [pa]śāṇum-i-vva[r]i[śai]yu[m]-āga ivv-āṇḍu-mudal iruppa-
- 23 d-āga iṭṭu variyilār e[utt]i-ṭṭa u[ḷ]-vari-yum nam ō[lai]yun=tara-chchonnōm [i*] kai-kkonḍu ippaḍi Chandradityavat śelvad-āga-kka[l*]lilum śembilum veṭ[ti]-kkoḷ-gav-eṇṇu tiruvāymo[li]ndaruḷiṇār [i*] i[v]ai [Tirumalli]-nāṭṭu=[t]Taḍaṇkaṇṇi-ch-Chirgūr-uḍaiyāṇ=U
- 24 [y*]yaninṇāḍuvāṇ [Vi]rasō[ā]dēva[n-ā]ṇa Kurukulattaraiyaṇ=e[uttu] [i*] ivai Śevvi-rukkai-nāṭṭu Śakkarapāpinal[lū]r Arayaṇ Viradamuḍittāṇ-ā[ṇa] Palla[varāya]ṇ-e[ḷu]ttu [i*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-6.) Hail! Prosperity! The goddess Lakshmi (*Tiru*) (*that resides in*) the beautiful (lotus) flower¹ and the goddess of Victory (*attendant*) on war, (*now*) resting on (*his*) victorious arms (*having the semblance of*) the lotus-like rounded breast;² the goddess on the tongue of Brahmā (*Vēda*) that loves the white-petalled lotus, gracefully approaching (*him*);³ the goddess of the wide Earth with (*her*) bed of hard ground surrounded by the white-billowed (*sea*), exulting on becoming (*his*) queen;⁴ (*all*) creeds,⁵ politics and law (*luxuriantly*) springing up; flags for the festivals of gods being hoisted up in every place; the fire of the dark Kali (*age*) being extinguished; the fine sacrificial fires accompanied by rare acts performed by saintly Brahmins, rising

¹ As an adjective qualifying *malar*, *pū* means 'beautiful'.

² There is some difficulty in explaining the passage *tamarai-kkuvī-mulai-jaya-pṇuyatt-iruppa*. Here it would be natural to take '*tamarai-kkuvī-mulai*' as a single phrase qualifying '*jaya-bhūja*'. If so taken, the meaning would be, as we have adopted in the translation, that both the goddesses Lakshmi and Victory rested on the arms of the king and the arm is likened to what the combination of the three words *tamarai*, *kuvi* and *mulai* might imply. These words respectively mean 'the lotus', 'well developed or rounded' and 'breast'. Preserving the order of the words the phrase could be rendered into 'lotus-like well developed (or rounded) breast'; and if the order of the words could be altered, for which we do not find any good justification, it would mean 'well shaped breast-like lotus'. Either in this case, or in taking '*tamarai*' and '*kuvi-mulai*' as two separate qualifying terms of *jaya-bhūja* the sense is not much altered. The comparison of *mulai* to *bhūja* seems somewhat far-fetched. It is rather difficult to trace in the passage reference to two different parts of the king's body where the two goddesses rested. If the conjunct *um* combined with the termination of the seventh case *i*, i.e., *ilum* could be taken as understood after *mulai* and *puyam*, it may be possible to say that the king's breast and arm became the resting places of Lakshmi and Victory. That these goddesses would naturally resort to the 'arm' is evident for the arm resembled the lotus which is the residence of one, and is the source of victory also; but the difficulty is the insertion of *kuvi-mulai* after the word *tamarai*.

³ The word *tiḷaiippa* carries the sense 'coming into close touch' or 'enjoy'.

⁴ *Urimai* is used in this sense in many inscriptions.

⁵ On *samaya* see above, Vol. XXII, p. 50, foot-note 7 and Additions and Corrections.

up; *Śruti* and *Tamiḻ*, exhibiting their ancient greatness;¹ (*his*) powerful war-disc circumventing the (*entire*) expanse of earth;² (*his*) fish (*emblem*), mounted on the neck³ of the eight powerful and victorious quarter-elephants that are counted in order from the single-trunked, double-eared and four-tusked Airāvata⁴ with its triple exudation of ichor,⁵ (*now*) exulting greatly⁶ on finding all the visible countries to be their own; the world praising (*him*) as the single matchless lord of (*all*) the kings that are invested with crowns in accordance with the established law and practice,⁷ in order to have their hereditary right⁸ over the different ancient territorial divisions that had been formed, such as Kōsalam, Tuḷuvam, Kudiram, Kuchcharam, Pōśalam, Magadam, Poppalam, Puṇḍaram, Kaliṅgam, Iḷam, Kaḍāram, Gauḍam, Teliṅgam, Sōṇakam and Chinam; wearing the sacred crown and wielding (*his*) just sceptre, with Chiefs waving fly-whisks under the shade of his tāḷa-parasol;⁹ the glorious king **Māṇavarman** alias the illustrious **Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva**, the emperor of the three worlds, was pleased to be seated on the lion-throne set with the radiant nine gems, along with his queen **Ulagamuḷuduḍaiyār**, who was simultaneously invested with a crown, and whose pair of lotus-like feet, being reddened by the rubbing of the gems fastened in the crowns on the heads of the multitudes of royal damsels bowing before her, as they would before the goddess Lakshmi, with their lotus-like palms held together in worshipping attitude, was flocked to by the lotus-frequenting beetles considering them (*i.e.*, the reddened feet) to be lotuses.

(LL 6-24.) In the eighth year and nine hundred and eighty-eighth day¹⁰ (*of his reign*) when he was pleased to remain on the reclining seat called Maḷavarāyaṇ in the hall of the bed-chamber of his palace at **Madura** on the eastern side of **Māḍakkuḷam** in **Madurōdayavaḷa-nāḍu**,¹¹ just as the two hundred and twenty-four persons (*entitled*) Chaturvēdi-Bhaṭṭas, versed in the *Vēdas* and *Sāstras*¹² and capable of expounding (*them*), had been pleased to declare, that these (*i.e.*, the aforesaid) two hundred and twenty-four persons (*entitled*) Chaturvēdi-Bhaṭṭas, versed in the *Vēdas* and *Sāstras* and capable of expounding them, may be given two hundred and

¹ With *Śrutiyaṁ* *kuḷava*, compare *mā-vagai-Tamiḷum muraṁmaiṅṇiḷ viḷaṅga* and *nāl-vagai-Vēdamum naviṇṇudan vaḷara* (above, Vol. XXII, p. 45).

² With *poru-tiṇal-āli*, etc., compare *en-diṣaiy-āḷuvuū-chakkaraū=chella* (*ibid.*, p. 45).

³ *Eruttam* means *piḍar*. Cf. *Yāṇai-eruttatt=āṇi-muraḷ=irīi* (Canto XXIII, l. 130 of '*Silappadigāram*).

⁴ *Nār-kōḍu* stands for the *chatur-danta*. The deity of the eastern quarter is Indra and the elephant of this direction is his vehicle Airāvata which is here described as having a single trunk, two ears, three kinds of ichor exudation and four tusks. In the Gōḍāvari plates of Prithivīmūla, Chaturdanta, Kumuda and Supratika are made to represent the countries lying on the respective directions to which these *dig-gajas* belonged. [The context would show that in these plates *chaturdanta* has to be taken in the sense of *chaturāṅga-sēnā* (see above, Vol. XXII, p. 178, f.n. 4).—Ed.]

⁵ These are the exudations from the *kaṇṭha*, *kapāla* and *bīja*.

⁶ If the reading *kaḷi-kūra* is adopted, it would mean that the fish expressed its joy.

⁷ The phrase *vidi-muraḷ-tigaḷa* may preferably be taken as qualifying *muḍi-puṇai* rather than the immediately following *vevvēru vaḷutta*.

⁸ *Kiḷamai* means *urimai* or headship.

⁹ Made of palm leaves.

¹⁰ This is the actual date when the grant was ordered to be made.

¹¹ The geographical description of Madura here given would fix its position at the place where it now is, for Māḍakkuḷam is still to its west. In an inscription of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. (A.D. 1216-38) Madura is called Māḍa-Madurai (above, Vol. XXII, p. 48). The same term Māḍa-Madurai occurs in several places in the ancient Tamil work *Silappadigāram* (Cantos VIII, l. 3; IX, l. 76; XV, l. 112; XXVII, l. 61). It is called also *māḍūr* 'ancient city' (*ibid.*, VIII, l. 51; XI, l. 188; XXV, l. 677; XXVII, l. 61 and l. 131), *Mā-nagar*, *agaṇṇpali* or *Mā-Madurai* (XI, l. 188; XXV, l. 677) and *Māḍa-Kūḍal* or *Nāṇ-Māḍa-Kūḍal* (*ibid.*, XXI, l. 39 and XXIV, pattu-madai, 5). That it contained the king's palace is noted in our inscription. There is thus no doubt that the present city and its environments must represent the ancient town.

¹² See p. 154, paragraph 2.

twenty-four shares, with twenty (*other*) shares as *vr̥itti* for doing service in the *dēvadāṇa*, making a total of two hundred and forty-four shares, (*and that for this purpose*) Kūḍalūr in Murappu-nāḍu and the villages comprising Kīlai-Kūḍalūr situated within the four boundaries,—the eastern boundary being to the west of the river Taṇ-Porundam, the southern boundary being to the north of the boundary of Muttālāṅkuṇuchchi *alias* Rājasimhamāṅgalam and of Sēñālūr *alias* Tiruvaraṅga-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, the western boundary being to the east of the channel of this Murappu-nāḍu named Sundarapāṇḍiyaṇ-tenṇāru, and the northern boundary being to the south of the river Taṇ-Porundam,—consisting of wet lands (*nīr-nīlam*), *karuñchey* (black-soil land), *punchey* (dry lands), *nattam*, garden lands (*tōṭṭam*), tanks (*kuḷam*) and tank-spread (*kuḷap-parippu*), with the exclusion of the *paḷlichchandam* (*i.e.*, lands given for Jain or Buddhist shrines), and *paḷandēvadāṇam* (*i.e.*, lands assigned for temples) as well as the lands purchased by Uḍaiyaṇ Kūttāḍuvāṇ *alias* Villavadaraiyaṇ of Vaḷugūr residing in (*the street called*) Kulasēkharapperunteru at Paṭṭiṇa-Marudūr in Śūraṅkuḍi-nāḍu and given as *dēvadāṇa* to (*the temple of*) Ulaguyyavanda-Īṣaramuḍaiyār of this village which consisted of house (*maṇai*), garden and *nattam*, might be formed into one village and one *puravu*, after removing their previous owners, (*their*) old names, cultivation and holding, and be given from the year opposite to the first year opposite to the eighth year as *brahmadēya* in the name of the *māmaḍi* (*i.e.*, uncle) as Pōśaḷa-Vira-Sōmidēva-chaturvēdimāṅgalam in Murappu-nāḍu, with the right to inhabit the *nattam*, fit for habitation, being entered as shares and house-sites; and the *māmaḍi* having told us that in respect of payment of taxes of this village, the lands should be measured by Sundara-Pāṇḍiyaṇ-kōl of twenty-four feet length, (*the kind of*) crop examined, and on lands on which crops had been realised, there should be paid from this year one-fourth *kāśu* and three *kalam* of paddy, as measured by Virapāṇḍiyaṇ, on each *mā* of land for *kār*, towards *antarāya* and *viṇiyōga* inclusive of *achchu*, *kāriya-vārūchchi*, *veṭṭi-pāṭṭam*, *pañchupīli*, *sandhivighrahappēru* and all other payable dues, that one-half of this rate should be paid on all lands sown in *Tulā* and crops realised, that two *tiramam* on each *mā* should be paid on lands on which *eḷḷu*, *varagu*, *tinaippul* and *iṇṇu* had been harvested, that this (*same*) rate should be (*fixed*) for *paśāṇam* also, and that this (*i.e.*, the above-mentioned) rate of assessment should be entered in registers; We ordered that for (*providing*) the two hundred and twenty-four persons (*entitled*) Chaturvēdi-Bhaṭṭas, versed in the *Vēdas* and *Sāstras* and capable of expounding them, with two hundred and twenty-four shares, with twenty other shares as *vr̥itti* for doing service in the *dēvadāṇa*, making a total of two hundred and forty-four shares, Kūḍalūr in Murappu-nāḍu and the villages comprising Kīlai-Kūḍalūr, situated within the four boundaries (*specified hereunder*), *viz.*,—the east boundary being to the west of the river Taṇ-Porundam, the southern boundary being to the north of the boundary of Muttālāṅkuṇuchchi *alias* Rājasimhamāṅgalam and of Sēñālūr *alias* Tiruvaraṅga-chaturvēdimāṅgalam, the western boundary being to the east of the channel of this Murappu-nāḍu called Sundarapāṇḍiyaṇ-tenṇāru, and the northern boundary being to the south of the river Taṇ-Porundam,—consisting of wet lands, *karuñchey*, *punchey*, *nattam*, gardens, tank and tank-spread, with the exclusion of the *paḷlichchandam* and *paḷan-dēvadāṇam*, as well as the lands purchased by Uḍaiyaṇ Kūttāḍuvāṇ *alias* Villavadaraiyaṇ of Vaḷugūr residing in (*the street called*) Kulasēkharapperunteru at Paṭṭiṇa-Marudūr in Śūraṅkuḍi-nāḍu and given as *dēvadāṇa* to the (*temple of*) Ulaguyyavanda-Īṣaramuḍaiyār of this village,—in all, four *mā* of land as measured by the (*rod*) Sundara-Pāṇḍiyaṇ-kōl,—should be formed into one village and one *puravu* after removing their previous owners, their old names, cultivation and holding and be given from this year as *brahmadēya* in the name of the *māmaḍi* as Pōśaḷa-Vira-Sōmidēva-chaturvēdimāṅgalam in Murappu-nāḍu, with the right to inhabit the *nattam*, fit for habitation, being entered as shares and house-sites; and that in respect of payment of taxes of this village, the lands

should be measured by Sundara-Pāṇḍiyaṅ-kōl of twenty-four feet length, the crops examined, and on lands on which crops had been realised, there shall be paid from this year one-fourth *kāṣu* and three *kalam* of paddy as measured by (the measure) Virapāṇḍiyaṅ on each *mā* of land during *kār*, towards *antarāya* and *viṇḍiyōga* inclusive of *achchu*, *kāriyavārāchchi*, *veṭṭi-pāṭṭam*, *paṭṭachupili*, *sandhivighrahappēru* and all other payable dues; that one-half of this rate shall be (fixed) on lands sown in *Tulā* and crops raised; that two *tiramam* shall be paid on each *mā* of land on which *eḷḷu*, *varagu*, *tiṇai* and *iṇṇu* had been harvested, that this same rate shall also be (fixed) for *paśāṇam*; and that a copy of the entry in the tax-register¹ signed by the *variylār*² as well as a copy of our order shall be issued. The king had been (further) pleased to say that on receiving these (copies), the same may be entered on stone and copper so that (the order) may be carried out as long as the moon and the sun last. This is the signature of Uyyanirpāḍuvāṇ Virasōḷadēvaṅ alias Kurukulattaraiyaṅ of Taḍaṅkaṇṇi-chChirūr in Tirumalli-nāḍu.³ This is the signature of Arayaṅ Viradamuḍittāṅ alias Pallavarayaṅ of Sakkarapāṇinallūr in Sevvirukkai-nāḍu.⁴

No. 23.—KOMANDA COPPER-PLATES OF NETTABHANJA.

BY KRISHNA CHANDRA PANIGRAHI, M. A.

These copper-plates numbering three were unearthed at the village Kōmapḍa in the Nayāgarh State, Orissa, by a cultivator, while ploughing a paddy-field. Pandit Binayak Misra of the Calcutta University got possession of them and deposited them in the Archaeological Museum at Baripada in the Mayūrbhanj State. I am very thankful to Pandit Misra and to Mr. P. Acharya, the State Archaeologist of the Mayūrbhanj State, for their kindly allowing me to edit these plates.

Each of the plates roughly measures $6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$ and is strung to the rest on a circular copper ring, the circumference of which is 11" and which passes through a hole of about $\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter cut in the left margin of each plate. The ends of the ring are secured by a lump of copper containing the seal which seems to bear the figure of an animal with a line of writing running just below it. The figure is damaged beyond recognition and of the letters, only one can be read as *Ma*. Judging from the similarity of the text of these plates to that of other plates of Nēṭṭabhañja⁵ it can be inferred that the seal contained in relief the figure of a couchant lion and the legend *Śrī-Nēṭṭabhañjadēvasya*. The plates with the ring and the seal weigh about 100 *tolas*. The first and the last plates are engraved only on one side, while the second is inscribed on both the sides. There are altogether thirty-seven lines of writing, the first three faces containing nine lines each and the fourth ten lines.

The characters used in this grant closely resemble in form those used in the other plates of Nēṭṭabhañja⁶ and therefore call for no special remark. The language is Sanskrit, but it contains a number of orthographical errors which will be corrected in their proper places. Only one case may be pointed out here which represents the phonetic peculiarity of the Oriya language: in line 14 *vyēvaḥārīn* has been written for *vyavahārīn*.⁷

¹ The entry in the register was to recite the royal order and note the changes made in accordance with it.

² *Variylār* means 'maintainers of revenue accounts'.

³ These signatures figure in the inscriptions of Māḍavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I also (above, Vol. XXII, p. 54).

⁴ Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 292 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ [See below p. 175 n. 1.—Ed.]

The text opens with two verses invoking Hara. Then it gives out that the grant has been issued from the victorious camp *Vañjulvaka* by *Paramamāhēśvara śrī-Nēṭṭabhañjadēva* sur-named *Kalyāṇakalaśa*. He is described as son of *Raṇabhañjadēva*, grandson of *Śatrubhañjadēva* and great-grandson of *Śilābhañjadēva*. It should be noted here that Rai Bahadur Hiralal misread the name of the donor as *Nēṭṭi*, though the letters standing for it in the inscription distinctly read as *Nēṭṭa*¹.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village *Karañjāḍu* situated in the *viśaya* of *Sāraḍḍā*, to a Brahmin named *Stambhadēva*, belonging to the *Kaṇva-śākhā*, the *Gautama-gōtra*, the *Autathya pravara* and the *Āngirasa anupravara*, whose father and grandfather were *Durgaśarman* and *Hariśarman* respectively. The *dūtaka* of the grant is *Bhaṭṭa Sumaṅgala*. It has been written by *Sandhivigrahin Śavarā[ja*]*, incised by *Akṣhaśōlika Durgadēva* and sealed by *Māmmā* which term seems to be a corruption of *mahāmāyā* or the queen. The names of these officials occur in one of the two *Ganjām* copper-plate grants of *Nēṭṭabhañja*² and the engraver of the second one is also the same *Durgadēva*³.

The village *Karañjāḍu* may be identical with *Kōmaṇḍa*, the find-place of these copper-plates or with *Karaḍā*, a village about sixteen miles north of *Kōmaṇḍa*, and *Sāraḍḍā* may conveniently be identified with *Āraḍā* about ten miles east of *Kōmaṇḍa*. All these villages are situated in the *Nayāgarh* State from which the copper-plates hail. *Vañjulvaka* from which the present charter has been issued has not yet been identified.

The donor of the present charter and those of the same name of the two *Ganjām* copper-plate grants and *Gumsur* copper-plate grant⁴ must be identical in view of the facts that these donors not only issue their charters from the same victorious camp *Vañjulvaka*, but also give the same genealogical account and the names of some officials as occur in this document. But we are faced with difficulties when we attempt to identify *Nēṭṭabhañja* of the grant under discussion with the donors of the same name of the *Bod* (*Baudh*) plates⁵ and *Daspalla* plates⁶, firstly, because in one the genealogical account is omitted and in the other it is quite different and secondly, because the officials mentioned in these grants are entirely different⁷.

Nēṭṭabhañja, unlike other *Bhañja* rulers, bears in all his copper-plates hitherto discovered, the only title *Paramamāhēśvara* which refers to his religious creed. His grants also do not contain the traditional account relating to the origin of the *Bhañjas* as other *Bhañja* records do. The official seals used in his charters are also different from those found on other *Bhañja* copper-plates. All these characteristics of his grants mark him out from other *Bhañja* rulers who issue their charters from *Khijīṅgakōṭṭa* or modern *Khiching* in the *Mayūrbhanj* State. He must, therefore, be taken to belong to a different branch of the *Bhañja* family. If *Śatrubhañja* and *Raṇabhañja*, represented here as the grandfather and the father of *Nēṭṭabhañja*, be taken as identical with *Śatrubhañja* and *Raṇabhañja* of the *Tāsapaikērā* grant⁸, the dominions of this branch of the *Bhañja* family must have comprised the tracts both to the north and to the south of the *Mahānadī* river, because in the *Tāsapaikērā* grant *Raṇabhañja* describes himself as the

¹ Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 282 ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 295.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 296.

⁴ *The Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj*, pp. 146 ff.

⁵ *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 104-118.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 276 ff.

⁷ [The engraver in the *Daspalla* plates, however, seems to be the same *Akṣhaśōlika Durgadēva*.—Ed.]

⁸ *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 167 ff.

lord of the two Kñiñjalis, one of which has been identified with Hijjali in Angula to the north of the Mahānadi and the other with Khijariparā in Baudh to the south of the same river¹.

As has been shown above, Nēṭṭabhañja belongs to a different branch of the Bhañja family. Considerable disagreement prevails among the scholars regarding the origin of this Bhañja family of Orissa. Different interpretations put on the traditional account recorded in some Bhañja copper-plates have led the scholars to arrive at two different views relating to their origin, one connecting it with the Śailōdbhavas of Orissa² and the other with the Imperial Mauryas³. Whatever may be the views of the scholars about the origin, the fact that it goes back to high antiquity is proved by the recent archaeological discoveries at Dengaposhi in the Keonjhar State⁴. Among these important discoveries there is a precious fresco-painting representing a war expedition, which contains a line of writing recording the name of a Bhañja ruler. The palaeography of the writing cannot be later than the fourth century A. D. If the dating of the record and the reading *Bhañja* therein be accepted as correct, we can safely trace back the existence of the Bhañja family at least to the fourth century A. D. Thus it becomes evident that among the known royal families of Orissa, the Bhañja family is only next to the family of Khāravela in point of antiquity.

TEXT.⁵

First Plate.

- 1 Om⁶ svasti [*] Jayati kusumavā(bā)ṇa-prāṇa-vikshōbha-dakṣhaṁ
- 2 sva-kirāṇa-parivēśhō(sh-au)rjijitya-jirṇṇ-ēndu-lēkham(kham) | tri-bhuvana-bhava-
- 3 n-ānta[r*]-dyōta-bhāsvat-pradīpaṁ kanaka-nikasha-gauram vibhru⁷ nē-
- 4 traṁ Harasya | [1*]⁸ Śēsh-āhēr-iva yē phañāḥ praviralanty⁹-udbhāsvar-ē-
- 5 ndu-tvishah¹⁰ prālēy-āchala-śringa-kōṭṭa(ṭa)ya iva tvaṅganti yē=tyu-
- 6 nnatāḥ | npitt-āṭṭō(tō)pa-vighaṭṭitā iva bhujā rājanti yē sāmbhavā-
- 7 s-tē sarvv-āgha-vighātinah¹¹ surasarit-tōy-ōrmmaya[h*] pāntu vah¹² | [2*]¹³ Vija-
- 8 ya-Vaṇjūlvakāt [*] Asti jaya-śrī-nilayah¹⁴ prakatṭa(ṭa)-guṇa-grasta-sarvva-
- 9 ripu-garvvah | Kalyāṇakalāśa-nāmā rājā nirdh[ū]ta-kali-kalu-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 10 ahaḥ || [3*]¹⁵ Bhañj-āmala-kula-tilaka[h*] śrī-Śilābhañjadēvasya pra[pau]traḥ śrī-
- 11 Śatrubhañjadēvasya naptā śrī-Raṇabhañjadēvasya su(sū)nu[h*] Paramamāhē-

¹ *J.B. O. R. S.* Vol. XVII, p. 105.

² Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 290.

³ *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 418 ff.

⁴ *The Modern Review*, Vol. LXIII (March 1938), pp. 301 ff.

⁵ From ink-impressions and the original.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

⁷ [This is the correct reading : vikṛitā bhṛū=yasya tad vibhru. It has been wrongly corrected into babhru, above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 293 and 295.—Ed.]

⁸ Metre : *Mālinī*.

⁹ Read *praviralanty*.

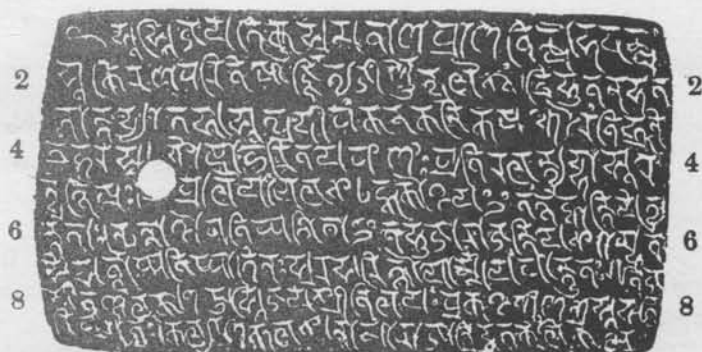
¹⁰ *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

¹¹ Metre : *Śardūlavikṛitā*.

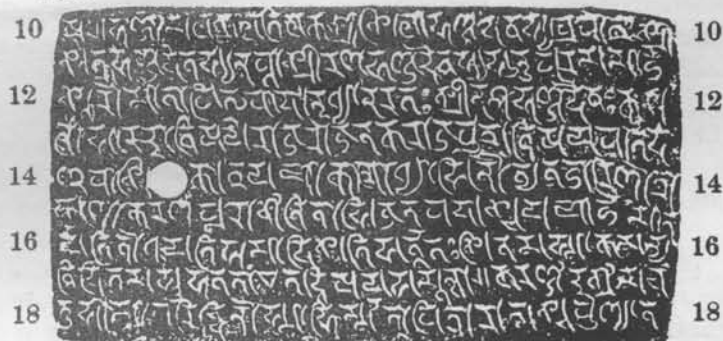
¹² Metre : *Āryā*.

KOMANDA COPPER PLATES OF NETTABHANJA.

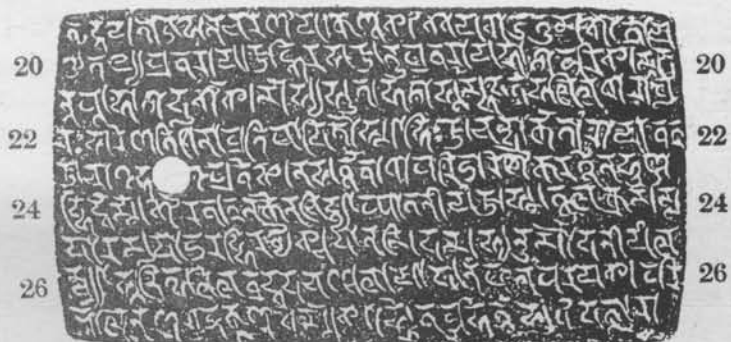
i.



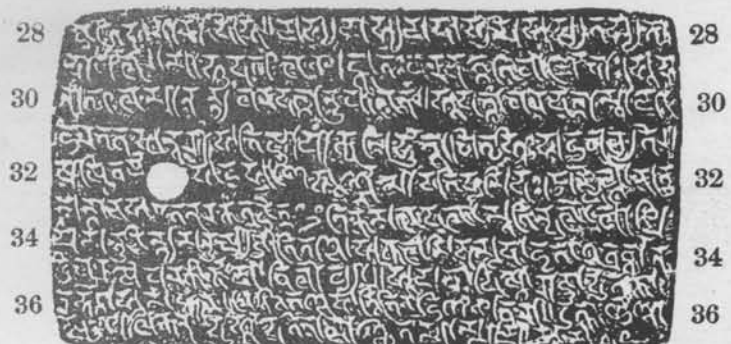
ii, a.



ii, b.



iii.



- 12 śvarō mātā-pitri-pād-ānudhyāna-rataḥ śrī-Nēṭṭabhañjadēvaḥ kuśa-
 13 li [*] Sāraḍḍā-vishayē rāja-rājanaka-rājaputrā[n*] vishayapati-da-
 14 ṇḍapāsikān yathā-kāl-ādhyāsinō vyē(vya)vahāriṇō¹ vrā(brā)-
 15 hmaṇā[n*] karaṇa-pū(pu)rōgā[n*] nivāsi-janapadā[m*]ś=cha yath-ārham māna-
 16 yati vō(bō)dhayati samādisati [cha*] sarvvataḥ śivam=asmākam=anya[d*]
 17 viditam=astu bhavatām ētad-vishaya-samvandhā(sambaddha)- [* Karañjāḍu-grāma cha(ś
 cha)-
 18 tu[h*]sīmā-parichchhinō(nnō)=smābbhir=mmātā-pitrōr=ātma[na*]ś=cha puṇy-āva(bhi)-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 19 vṛiddhayē Vājasēna(sanēya)-charaṇāya ² Kaṇva-śākh[ā]ya Gaṭṭu(Gauta)ma-gōtrāya
 20 Autathya-pravarāya ³ A(Ā)ṅgiraśa-a(s-ā)nupravarāya bhā(bha)ṭṭa-Hariśarma[ṇō*]
 21 naptā(trē) bhā(bha)ṭṭa-Durgasarmasya(ṇaḥ) suta(tā)[ya*] ⁴ bhaṭṭa-Stambhadēva(vā)[ya*]
 salila-dhārā-pū(pu)-
 22 raḥsarēna vidhinā pratipāditō=smābbhiḥ [*] a(ā)chandr-ārka-tamrām(tāram) yāvat
 23 a-chāṭṭa(ta)-bhaṭṭa(ta)-pravēśēna sarvva-vā(bā)dhā-parihārēṇ=ākaratvēna bhuñja-
 24 dbhir=ddharmma-gauravāt na kēnachid=vyāghātaniyam(yam)[*] Asmat-kula-kramam=ti-
 (m=u)-
 25 dāram=udāharadbhir=anyaiś=cha dānam=idam=abhyānumōdanīyam(yam)[*] La-
 26 kshmyās=taḍit-salila-vudvu(budbu)da-chañchalāyā dānam phalam para-yasā[h*]-pari-
 27 pālanañ=cha [4*] ū(u)ktañ=cha dharmma-śāstrē [*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā rā-

Third Plate.

- 28 jabhi[h*] Sagar-ādibhi[h*] | (1) yasya yasya yadā bhu(bhū)miś=taśya taśya ta-
 29 dā phalam(lam) | [5*] Mā bhu(bhū)d=aphala-śānkā vaḥ para-datt=ēti pāthivāḥ | sva-dā-
 30 nāt=phalam=ānantyam para-datt-ānupālanam(nē) | [6*] Sva-dattām para-dattām=vā
 (ttām vā) yō
 31 har[ē]ta vasundharām(rām)[*] sa viśṭhāyām kṛimir=bhu(bhū)tvā pitṛibhiḥ saha pachyatō |
 [7*]
 32 Shashṭi-varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmidāḥ | a(ā)kshēptā ch=ānu-
 33 mantā cha sa ēva (tāny=ēva) narakam vrajēt | [8*] Iti kamala-dāḥ-āmva(mbu)-vi(bi)ndu-
 lōlām śrī-
 34 yam=anuchintya manushya-jivitañ=cha sakalam=idam=ū(m=u)dāhṛitañ=cha [vūddhā](bu-
 ddhvā) na
 35 hi-purushai[h*] para-kirttayō vilōpyā[h*] | [9*] svaya[m]=ādishtō rājñā du(dū)tak[ō]=
 36 tra bhaṭṭa(ṭṭa)-Sumaṅgala[h*] likhitañ=cha sandhivigrahiṇā Śavarā[jēna*] | utkīrṇasñ-
 cha=ā
 37 kshaśālikēna Durgadēvēna | lāñchhita[m*] māmmyā sam 30+1⁵.

¹ [Reading is correctly *vyavahāriṇō*.—Ed.]

² This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

³ Metre : *Vasantatilakā*.

⁴ Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁵ Metre : *Pushpitāgrā*.

⁶ This name is read as *Śavarāja* in H. Ganjām Plates of Nēṭṭibhañjadēva, above, Vol. XVIII. 296.

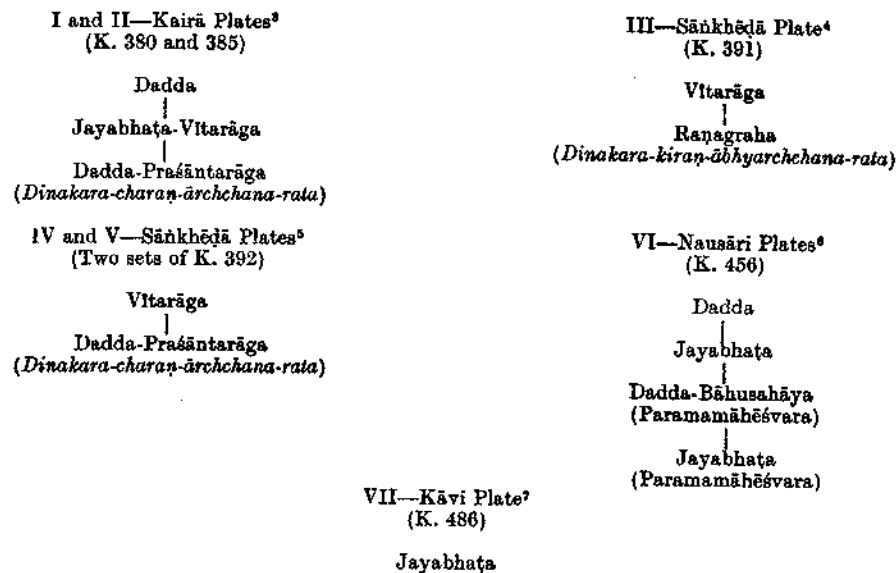
⁷ [I am not certain of the reading of this date.—Ed.]

No. 24.—A NOTE ON THE PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM PLATES OF JAYABHATA (III 1).

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

In his article¹ entitled 'A Grant of the Gurjara King Jayabhata III : [Kalachuri] Year 486' Mr. G. V. Acharya has re-arranged the succession of the Early Gurjara princes. As the subject is of importance for the history of Gujarāt, I propose to examine his views in the light of the published records of the dynasty.

Until the publication of the Prince of Wales Museum plates by Mr. Acharya in the aforementioned article, seven records² of the Early Gurjaras were known to us. The genealogy together with relevant details about the *birudas* and religious creeds of the princes as mentioned in each is given below :—



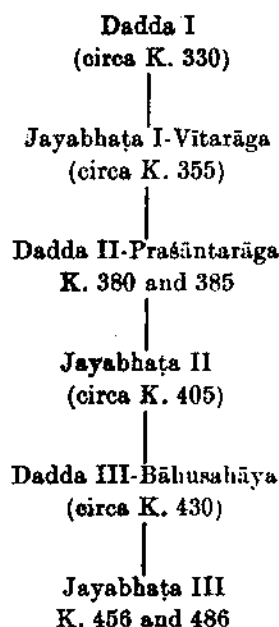
In the Kaira plates of K. 380 and 385 and the Sāṅkhēḍa plates (two sets) of K. 392 the same draft of the eulogistic portion is used with this difference that in the latter the portion descriptive of the donor's ancestors is omitted, the name of the donor's father being known only from the sign-manual at the end. The Sāṅkhēḍā plate of K. 391 being the last plate of its set, contains no genealogical portion, but since it mentions that the grant was written with the permission of the illustrious Dadda who is mentioned separately from the donor Rajagraha, we may take the latter to be a brother⁸ and feudatory of Dadda-Prasāntarāga. In the Nausāri plates of K. 456

¹ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 147 ff.

² Dr. Bhandarkar takes K. 391 as a separate record (Vol. II, pp. 19 ff) as it mentions no king. Similarly the *of Northern India*, p. 161, n. 3. What he proposes to read as *Dadda-pād-āntarjūti[nā]* is really *Dadda-pād-āntarjūti[nā]* which is evidently a mistake for *Dadda-pād-ānujūti[nā]*.

an altogether different draft of the eulogistic portion is met with. It has nothing in common with the extant portion of the fragmentary Kāvi plate of K. 486.

While editing the Nausāri plates Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji showed for the first time that the first Dadda mentioned in them was identical with Dadda-Prasāntarāga on the following grounds. This first Dadda was the great-grandfather of the Jayabhāṭa who issued the plates. Taking 455 as the commencement (*of the latter's reign*), and calculating backwards at the rate of twenty-five years to a generation, we arrive at 380 as the date of the first Dadda of the Nausāri grant.¹ He is therefore identical with Dadda-Prasāntarāga for whom the two sets of Kairā plates furnish the dates K. 380 and 385. As regards the Jayabhāṭa of the fragmentary Kāvi plate of K. 486, Dr. Bhagwanlal identified him with the donor of the Nausāri plates of K. 456, the interval of thirty years not being too long for one reign. Dr. Bhagwanlal thus gave the following genealogy of the Early Gurjara princes :—

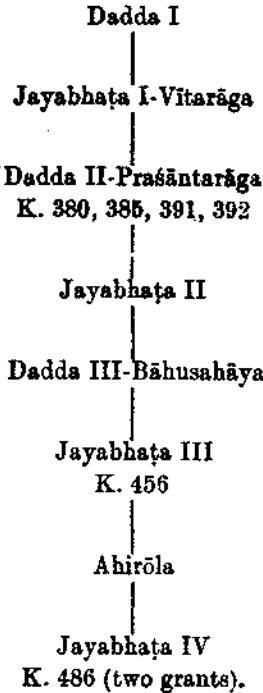


This genealogical list was later on adopted in the *History of Gujarāt* in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 114 and has also been included by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 391. The Prince of Wales Museum plates of Jayabhāṭa, dated K. 486, recently edited by Mr. Acharya have, however, slightly affected it. The draft used in these plates closely agrees with that of the Nausāri plates in the eulogy of the first four princes. It carries the genealogy two generations further, mentioning Ahirōla as the son and successor of the last Jayabhāṭa mentioned in the Nausāri plates and finally Jayabhāṭa (IV) the son and successor of Ahirōla. The concluding eulogistic portion of the grant is identical with that of the fragmentary Kāvi plate which is also dated in the same year. The donor of the latter grant must

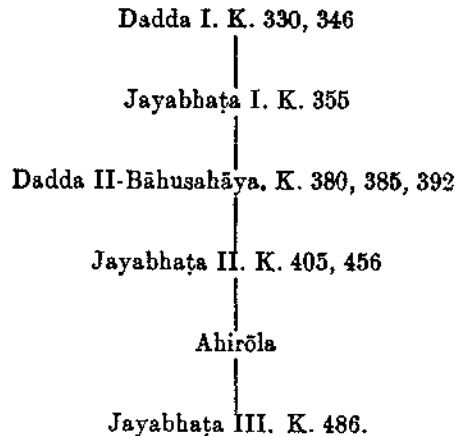
¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 72.

² *Ibid.*, p. 73.

therefore be now called **Jayabhata IV** and not **Jayabhata III**. The genealogical list of the Gurjara princes will, therefore, stand as follows :—



Mr. G. V. Acharya, however, has rejected the genealogy proposed by Dr. Bhagwanlal and has instead arranged the succession of these princes as follows :—¹



It may be noted in this connection that Mr. Acharya nowhere mentions the *biruda* *Prasāntarāga*, but as he assigns the dates K. 380, 385 and 392 of *Dadda-Prasāntarāga* to *Dadda-Bāhusahāya* we must suppose that he identifies the two *Daddas*. The dates K. 330, 355 and 405 assigned by him to *Dadda I*, *Jayabhata I* and *Jayabhata II* are conjectural, as no records of these dates have yet been discovered.

In re-arranging the succession of the Gurjara princes in this way Mr. Acharya seems to have assumed that the *Nausāri* and *Prince of Wales Museum* plates dated respectively K. 456 and 486

¹ Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 149.

begin their genealogy with the same prince as the two sets of Kairā plates of Dadda-Prasāntarāga dated K. 380 and 385. But this view is open to several objections :—

(1) Till now we have not come across a single instance in which a prince of this Early Gurjara dynasty assumed more than one *biruda*. In fact, as pointed out by Dr. Bhagwanlal¹, the use of the *biruda* was the expedient resorted to in order to prevent confusion arising from the use of only two names almost throughout the genealogy. Dadda-Prasāntarāga is not therefore likely to be identical with Dadda-Bāhusahāya.

(2) Dadda-Prasāntarāga is described in the Kairā and Sāṅkhedā plates as *Dinakara-charaṇ-ārchchana-rata* 'devoted to the worship of the rays of the sun', while Dadda-Bāhusahāya is called, in the Nausāri and Prince of Wales Museum plates, *Paramamāhēśvara* 'a most devout worshipper of Śiva'. We have no evidence to hold that Dadda-Prasāntarāga changed his religious creed as we have none to show that he changed his *biruda*.

(3) Dadda-Prasāntarāga whose known dates range from K. 380 to K. 392 may be supposed to have flourished from K. 375 to K. 400. If he is identified with Dadda-Bāhusahāya, his grandfather, viz., the first Dadda mentioned in the Nausāri and Prince of Wales Museum plates, must be referred to the period from K. 325 to K. 350 i.e. from about A. D. 575 to A. D. 600. Now this Dadda is said to have given protection to the lord of Valabhi when the latter was attacked by the Paramēśvara Harsha² who is undoubtedly the great Emperor of that name who ruled at Kanauj (A. D. 606-647). Harsha came to the throne when he was a lad of sixteen years.³ Even if we suppose that his invasion took place towards the end of Dadda I's reign (A. D. 575-600) he could not have been more than ten years of age at the time! It is needless to add that he was not then Paramēśvara (Emperor).

(4) In the proposed succession Mr. Acharya is obliged to assign a reign of more than fifty years to Jayabhata II. Such a long reign is improbable, though not impossible.

If on the other hand we identify the first Dadda, the grandfather of Dadda-Bāhusahāya, mentioned in the Nausāri and Prince of Wales Museum plates with Dadda-Prasāntarāga, he becomes a contemporary of Harsha, as his known dates range from K. 380 to K. 392 (i.e. from about A. D. 630 to A. D. 642). Harsha's invasion of Valabhi during which Dadda gave protection to a Maitraka king must have occurred soon before the Harsha-Pulakēśin war. Dr. Altekar has adduced cogent reasons⁴ to date the latter in the period A. D. 630-34. It may, however, be asked why Dadda-Prasāntarāga is silent in all his records about his glorious achievement if he actually gave protection to the ruler of Valabhi against the powerful Emperor of Kanauj. The reason is not difficult to find. In this matter Dadda was evidently acting at the instance of his suzerain, Pulakēśin II. From the Aihole inscription we know that he had submitted to the Chālukya Emperor. He knew full well that single-handed he was not strong enough to defy the lord paramount of North India. He could not have claimed credit for the protection of the Valabhi ruler during the life-time of Pulakēśin II. As a matter of fact, we find this achievement of Dadda II mentioned for the first time in a record of his great-grandson Jayabhata III. His successors had evidently neither fear nor scruples in giving him credit for defying Harsha.

There would thus be no chronological difficulty in accepting the order of succession first proposed by Dr. Bhagwanlal, with, of course, the addition of the two names which have now been brought to light by the publication of the Prince of Wales Museum plates.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 73.

² See e.g. l. 4 of the Nausāri grant of Jayabhata III (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 77).

³ Cf. Smith—*Early History of India* (Fourth Ed.), p. 349.

⁴ *As. Bh. Or. Res. Inst.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 300 ff.

No. 25.—GAUTAMI PLATES OF GANGA INDRAVARMAN: YEAR 4.

BY KUNJA GOVINDA GOSWAMI, M.A., CALCUTTA.

This set¹ of three copper-plates, which are in a good state of preservation, was discovered in 1937 in the village **Gautami** in the Badakhimedi Estate of the Ganjam District by a villager, while preparing the site for the construction of a house. Mr. Tumul Krishnamurti of Nuapara obtained the plates from the villager and handed them over to Pandit Nilkantha Das, M.L.A. (Central). Mr. Das again gave the plates to Pandit Binayak Misra, Lecturer in Oriya, Calcutta University, and the latter has very kindly made them over to me for publication. I am extremely grateful to Messrs. Das and Misra for thus providing me with an opportunity of editing these plates in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

These three plates together with the ring and the seal weigh 95 *tolas*. Each plate measures $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth. The ring is almost round, and is $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in thickness, with its inner diameter of $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The seal is very small and is $\frac{3}{4}$ inch in diameter. No emblem or legend is any more traceable on it. The plates are strung on the ring passing through the holes which were bored in the middle of the left hand side of each plate. The first and the third plates are inscribed on one side only while the second plate bears writing on both the sides. There are altogether thirty-one lines of writing, the first three sides containing eight lines each and the fourth seven.

The characters belong to the Northern variety showing signs of southern influence at places. Considering its script, the present inscription seems to be one of the early records of the Ganga Kings of Orissa, though not so early as the Dhanantara plates of Sāmantavarman² of the same dynasty. It may be pointed out in passing that the name Padmachandra of the engraver of this latter record happens to be identical with that of the engraver of the present charter. It is, however, extremely doubtful whether one and the same person is meant thereby, as the scripts of the two records exhibit so marked a difference in the style of writing that they cannot be taken to have been incised by an identical hand; the script of the Dhanantara plates on the whole appears to be earlier than that of the plates under consideration.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and the composition is in prose except that two customary verses occur in the concluding portion.

As regards orthography, there are some peculiarities to be noted:—the consonants after *r* are doubled in some cases while in others there is no such doubling, as in *-hēdōr-mMahēndr-āchala-* l. 3, and in *chaturdāsa* ll. 1-2. Again *t* followed by *r* is doubled in *śakti-traya*, l. 7, *kshētra* and *gōtra*, l. 15. The scribe does not make any distinction between the signs for medial short *i* and long *i*. The forms of *b* and *v* also are not differentiated; everywhere we find the use of *v* only for both the letters. In ligatures a class nasal is sometimes used, e.g., *śaśāṅka*, l. 2 and sometimes represented by *anusvāra*, e.g., *Gaṁgā*, l. 5. In certain cases a letter or *visarga* has been wrongly left out. An *anusvāra* almost invariably takes the place of a final *m*, while occasionally it also stands for a final *n*, as in *sa-karaṇām*, l. 12. In l. 16, the sign obviously meant for *va* looks more like that for *va*. Besides, there are certain other errors which have been duly corrected in the transcribed text.

The first four syllables, containing a name, in l. 17 have been rendered obscure by some scratchings over these letters. It may be the correction made by the original scribe himself or somebody might have tampered with it subsequently.

¹ Referred to above, p. 133, n. 8.² Above, Vol. XV, pp. 275 ff. and plates.

i.

2 4 6 8
 ८ सुमिदिद्विभक्तिकारिष्वरान्तरा
 २ अक्षयवर्गवर्गकलकलकलकलकल
 ४ अक्षयवर्गवर्गकलकलकलकलकल
 ६ अक्षयवर्गवर्गकलकलकलकलकल
 ८ अक्षयवर्गवर्गकलकलकलकलकल

ii, b.

18 20 22 24
 १८ सुमिदिद्विभक्तिकारिष्वरान्तरा
 २० अक्षयवर्गवर्गकलकलकलकलकल
 २२ अक्षयवर्गवर्गकलकलकलकलकल
 २४ अक्षयवर्गवर्गकलकलकलकलकल

ii, a.

10 12 14 16
 १० सुमिदिद्विभक्तिकारिष्वरान्तरा
 १२ अक्षयवर्गवर्गकलकलकलकलकल
 १४ अक्षयवर्गवर्गकलकलकलकलकल
 १६ अक्षयवर्गवर्गकलकलकलकलकल

iii.

26 28 30
 २६ सुमिदिद्विभक्तिकारिष्वरान्तरा
 २८ अक्षयवर्गवर्गकलकलकलकलकल
 ३० अक्षयवर्गवर्गकलकलकलकलकल

The inscription records the grant of a piece of land in or near the village Salachapikā¹ of the Hēmvakamatamva district (*vishaya*) by the Gaṅga *Mahārāja* Indravarman, who was a devout worshipper of *Śiva*, to Brāhmaṇas, Vināyakaśarman and . . . śarman of the Vājasanēya *charaṇa* of the Parāśara *gōtra* and of the Śakti-Kāṇva-Vaśishṭha *pravara*,² for the increase of merit of his father, mother and self. The boundaries of the land are specified in the grant. The engraver is *Akṣhaśālin Padmachandra*. The plates were issued from the victorious residence of Śvētaka on the 3rd day of the bright half of the month Phālguna of the year 4 which evidently refers to the regnal year of the king and not to any era.

Among the known charters of the Gaṅga rulers of Śvētaka only a few mention a date. Thus Svalpa-Vēlura grant of Gaṅga Anantavarman³ is dated in the year 19 which has likewise been taken to refer to the king's regnal year. *Rāṇaka* Jayavarmadēva's plates⁴ are dated in the year 100 apparently of the Gāṅgēya era, but as these plates are suspected to be spurious⁵, their date is not reliable. Dhanantara plates of Sāmantavarman are not dated, but are placed in the seventh century A.D. on palaeographical grounds, which has been borne out by a later discovery: the Phērava grant⁶ (held to be) of the same Sāmantavarman dated in the year 185 or 165⁷ which in all probability refers itself to the Gāṅgēya era, the initial point of which is supposed to fall in A.D. 497.⁸ As already observed, the Gautami plates are palaeographically later than the Dhanantara plates. We may place the former in the eighth century A.D.

As regards the localities mentioned, Śvētaka, according to Mr. Tarini Charan Rath, was perhaps the Country adjoining *Kaliṅga* to the west.⁹ Some other scholars identify it with Chikiti¹⁰ or Chikaṭi¹¹ in the Ganjām District. *Mahēndrāchala* probably refers to the hills of this name in the Ganjām District. I am unable to identify the district or *vishaya* of Hēmvakamatamva and the village Salachapikā,¹² mentioned in the grant.

TEXT.¹³

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm¹⁴ svasti [*] Vijaya-Śvētak-ādhisṭhānād-bhagavataś-cha-
- 2 turdaśa-bhuvan-ādhipatē[h*] śakala-śaśāṅka-śekhara-dhara-
- 3 sya sthity-utpatti-pralaya-kāraṇa-hētor¹⁵=mMahēndr-āchala-śi-
- 4 khara-nivāsinaśya(naḥ) śri(śrī)-Gōkarṇṇśvara-svāminaś-charaṇa-
- 5 kamal-ārādhanād=avāpta-punya-nichayō Garhg-ā-
- 6 mala-kul-āṁva(l-āmba)r-ēndu[h*] sva-bhuja-va(ba)la-parākram-ākṛānta-saka-
- 7 la-Kaliṅg-ādhirājya[h*] śakti-ttraya-prakarṣ-ānurañjit-āśē-
- 8 sha-sāmanta[h*] paramamāhēśvarō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ā-

¹ [See below, p. 182, n. 1.—Ed.]

² [The Parāśara *gōtra* does not have Kāṇva in its threefold *pravara* which is Parāśara-Śakti-Vaśishṭha. Kāṇva may be the *gōtra* of the second donee in the present instance.—Ed.]

³ Above, pp. 134 ff. and plate.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 267 ff. and plate.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 268, n. 1.

⁶ *J. O. R.*, Vol. XI, pp. 55 ff.

⁷ Above, p. 132.

⁸ This is according to the latest computation by B. V. Krishna Rao in *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XI, pp. 19 ff. Before this several scholars have offered different dates for the epoch of the Gāṅgēya era, thus A. D. 493 by C. R. Krishnamachari (in *Rep. South Indian Epigraphy*, 1931-32, p. 45), A. D. 494 by R. Subba Rao (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. V, pp. 200 ff.), A. D. 496 by J. C. Ghosh (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXL, p. 237) and between A. D. 560 and 557 by R. C. Majumdar (*Indian Culture*, Vol. IV, p. 179).

⁹ Above, Vol. XV, p. 276.

¹⁰ *J. O. R.*, Vol. XI, p. 58, and above, p. 133, n. 10.

¹¹ From ink-impressions.

¹² The letter *ś* has been engraved below the line.

¹³ *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XII, pp. 490-91.

¹⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 9 nudhyāta(tō) mahārāja-śrī(śr-**I**)ndravarmmadēvaḥ kuśaliḥ(lī) [*]
 10 Hēmvakamaṭamva-vishayē Salachanikā¹- grāmē
 11 yathā-kāl-ādhyāsinō vyavahāriṇa[h*] sa-ka-
 12 raṇām(ṇān) sa-daṇḍanāyaka-pramukhām(khān) nivāsi-
 13 na(nō) janapadām(dān) chāṭa-bhāṭa-vallabha-jātinām² yath-ā-
 14 rha[m*] mānayati viditam=astu bhavatām ēsha³ kha-
 15 ṇḍa-kshēttara[m*] Vājasanēya-charaṇēbhya⁴ gōttra-Pārāśa-
 16 ra-Śaktivat Vāsiṣṭhavat Kaṇvat Vināya⁵kaśarma-Nārā-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 17 — —[rda]śarmapē⁶ mātā-pitrōr=ātmanāś=cha puṇy-ābhi-
 18 vṛidhayēḥ⁷ salila-dhārā-pura[h*]saram=ā-chandr-ārka-sa-
 19 ma-kālatvēna datta[m*] [*] pūrvva-diśām(śi) tūṇi vālmik-āgnēyām⁸
 20 taṭāka-si(sī)mānta[h*] | dakṣhiṇa-diśām(śi) raṇya⁹-si(sī)mānta[h*] | pa-
 21 śchima-diśām(śi) Kōśamva-taṭāka-si(sī)mānta[h*] uta(tta)-
 22 ra-diśām(śi) Udaya-taṭāka-si(sī)māntaḥ ēvaṁ chaturshv¹⁰=a.
 23 pi dikṣhu nirdiṣṭa-spāṣṭa-si(sī)māntaḥ | na kēnachit
 24 paripamthina bhavitavyam | tathā ch=ōktaṁ dharma-śā[stre]

Third Plate.

- 25 Va(Ba)hubhir=vasudhā dattā rājāna¹¹ Sagar-ādibhi[h*] (
 26 yasya yasya yadā bhūmita(s=ta)asya tasya tadā phala[m*] | [*]
 27 Mā bhū-phala¹²-śamkā va[h*] |¹³ paradatā(tt=ē)ti pāthi(rthi)va(vāḥ) | sva-da-
 28 tā(ttāt=) phalam=ānantya[m*] |¹⁴ paradatā(tt-ā)nupālanaṁ(nē) ||
 29 dānam muraḥā[h*] chatvāri¹⁵
 30 utki(tkī)ṇpaṁ akṣaśāli-śrī(śrī)-Padmachandrēṇa | sarṇvaḥ(vat) 4
 31 Phālgu[na*]-śudī 3

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-14) Ōm Hail ! The illustrious *Mahārāja* *Indravarmman*, who has acquired a store of virtues by worshipping the lotus feet of the illustrious god, *Gōkarpōśvara*, the almighty—who is

¹[The name of the village may be read also as *Salavanikā*, because the form of *v* in some cases closely resembles that of *ch*, as in *dēvaḥ*, l. 9.—Ed.]

²Read *jāṇyān*.

³Read *ēta*.

⁴Read *charaṇābhyām*.

⁵The letter *ya* is incised almost below the line in smaller size, which shows that it was first omitted and later supplied.

⁶Read *tarmabhyām*; the preceding portion is not clear.

⁷Read *-vridhaye*.

⁸Read *-vālmikā āgnēyām*. [The reading appears to be *trīṇi vālmik-āgnēyām* which may be corrected as *trīṇi vālmikāṇy*—(or *trayō vālmikā*) *āgnēyām*.—Ed.]

⁹Read *aranya*.

¹⁰Read *chaturshv*.

¹¹Read *rājābhīḥ*.

¹²Read *bhūda-phala*.

¹³This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

¹⁴Read *chatvāri*. The meaning of the expression *dānam muraḥā chatvāri* is not clear. *Muraḥā* generally means a kind of musical instrument such as drum or tambourine. [*Muraḥā* may denote a land measure, the area of the donated land being four *muraḥas*.—Ed.] There is a symbol between the two *daṇḍas* which looks like Nāgarī 6.

the lord of the fourteen worlds, who wears on the forehead the crescent, who is the cause of existence, creation and destruction and who resides on the summit of the hill *Mahendra*,—he a moon in the sky—namely the spotless race of the Gaṅgas, possessing overlordship of the whole of the *Kaliṅga* territory by the strength of his arms, endeared to all his vassals by the excellence of his threefold power, a great devotee of Mahēśvara (Śiva) and meditator upon the feet of his father and mother, being well duly advised from the victorious residence of *Śvātaka*, the existing administrative officers together with the accountant, the *Daṇḍanāyaka* and the like, the inhabiting people of the locality, the officials of the rank of *Chāṭa*, *Bhaṭa* and *Vallabha*—at the village of *Salachanikā* in the *viśaya* or district of *Hēmvakamaṭamva* :—

(Ll. 14-24) “ Be it known to you that this piece of land is given along with the offering of water to Vināyakaśarman and . . . śarman of the Vājasanēya *charaṇa*, Pārāsara *gōtra* and Śakti-Vaśiṣṭha-Kaṇva *pravara*¹ to continue as long as the sun and the moon exist for the increase of merit of mother, father and self. (*It is bounded*) on the east by an ant-hill, which is in the shape of a quiver², on the south-east by the tank, on the south by the forest, on the west by the tank called *Kōśamva* and on the north by the tank named *Udaya*. Thus on all sides it is marked by fixed and clear boundaries. No body should be opposed (*to this grant*). Thus it is said in the religious scriptures ”:—

(Ll. 25-28) Here follow the two verses.

(L. 29) Gift of four *murajas*.

Incised by the illustrious *Akṣhaśālin*³ *Padmachandra*; on the 3rd day of the bright half of *Phālguna* of *Saṁvat* 4.

No. 26.—THREE INSCRIPTIONS OF VAIDUMBA-MAHARAJA GANDATRINETRA.

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

The three subjoined inscriptions which are edited here for the first time were copied by the Office of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, in 1905, 1906 and 1922 respectively and are noticed in the *Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy* for the respective years⁴. They are called in the sequel *A*, *B* and *C* for the sake of convenience.

A.

The record is engraved on a slab set up in a field west of the village *Basinikopḍa* near *Madanapalle*. The alphabet is *Telugu-Kannaḍa* of the 9th century A.D. and resembles the script of the *Bāṇa* and *Chōḷa* records of the period secured in the *Puṅganūr* and *Cuddapah* regions. The language is ancient *Kannaḍa*.

The inscription records the death of a hero named *Kaṇṇa* *Punnapi-māṇi* in a fight with *Noḷambi*, *Daḍiga*, *Rāchamalla*, *Mayindaḍi* and *Guṇḍige-gu[ḷḷa]* who had mustered their forces on the occasion of a raid on the fort of *Sōremaṭi* made by *Mahārāja* (i.e., *Gaṇḍatriṇēṣṭra*) and

¹ [See above p. 181, n. 2.—Ed.]

² [See above p. 182, n. 8.—Ed.]

³ As regards *akṣhaśālin*, we find in Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* a chapter called “*Akṣhaśālayām Suvarṇādhyakṣhaḥ*”. The Commentator interprets “*akṣhaśālayām*” as “*suvarṇa-rūpy-ādi-nirmāṇa-śālayām*.” [The commentary quoted by R. Shamasastry in his translation of Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* (2nd ed., p. 97) runs as follows: *Akṣhaśālayā suvarṇ-ādi-parikarm-āvasthānasya samjñā*, i.e., “*Akṣhaśālā* is a name of the chamber in which the artistic work of gold and other metals is carried out.”—Ed.] So the term *akṣhaśālin* here seems to mean ‘one who is in charge of the goldsmith's office’. [See also above, Vol. XXIII, p. 76.—Ed.]

⁴ Nos. 295 of 1905, 533 of 1906 and 314 of 1922 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

Bāparasa, when **Vaidumba-Mahārāja Gaṇḍatripētra** was ruling the earth. The chief interest of the record lies in the fact that it furnishes a synchronism which, as shown below, helps in determining the date of the battle and of Gaṇḍatripētra.

B.

This inscription is engraved on a slab standing near the ruined Śiva temple in the Yēnugarāti-maḍi field at **Peddatippasamudram** in the Madanapalle taluk of the Chittoor District. The alphabet is **early Telugu-Kannaḍa** and resembles that of A. In respect of **orthography**, it may be noted that the king's name is written as **Kaṇḍatripētra** instead of **Gaṇḍatripētra**. The language is **Telugu of the archaic type**. The nominative singular *ṇu* in *Chelvunṇu* is a precursor of later *ṇu*. The meaning of the expression *Yemmakāla* is not clear though it appears to have some connection with the Telugu word *emmekāḍu* meaning amorous or sportive (*vilāsa-vantuḍu*¹).

The record belongs to the same **Vaidumba** king **Gaṇḍatripētra** and states that **Prabhu Chelvunṇu** distinguished himself in the battle that took place between the **Mahārāja** and **Noḷambi** at **Sōremaṭi** and died after opposing and piercing the **Noḷambi** army. It adds that the **Mahārāja's** servant (*mānisi*) **Muḷamale Dōchayya** also had distinguished himself in a sportive way (?). It is not clear why **Dōchayya** is introduced here. Perhaps **Dōchayya** and **Prabhu Chelvunṇu** both started to oppose the **Noḷambi** army and the latter fell in his attempt to destroy the enemy's forces.

C.

This record is written on a slab in a field at **Veligallu** in the Madanapalle taluk of the Chittoor District. The alphabet is **early Telugu-Kannaḍa** and resembles the one found in the inscriptions of **Bāṇavidyādhara** and **Chōḷa Vikramāditya Satyādityunṇu**. The shape of *l*, however, deserves to be noted (ll. 3, 5, 6, etc.). The language of the record is **archaic Telugu** in lines 1-5 and 14-16 and **ancient Kannaḍa** in lines 6-14. Orthography and idiom are not uncommon to the period and locality where the inscription is found. Lines 4-5 offer some difficulty in interpretation. The passage has been construed in the following order:—*Vaidumba-Mahārāju Chantamāna-Daḍini vedhātubine paṇi gaṇi, Kōṛa-Dēsingambu ēlina rēnikin= edarayna Gaṇḍatripētrani paḍāḍi* velam= *boḍiche*, according to which **Kōṛa-Dēsingambu** would be a servant of **Chantamāna** and an enemy of **Gaṇḍatripētra**. Similarly some of the epithets of **Chantamāna** which are in ancient Kannaḍa are peculiar and archaic in form and do not admit of easy interpretation.²

The inscription introduces **Gaṇḍatripētra Vaidumba-Mahārāja** as ruling over **Rēnāṇḍu-seven-thousand country** and states that **Kōṛa Dēsingambu**, after seeing the act (*paṇi gaṇi*) of the **Mahārāja** killing **Chantamāna-Daḍi** in a conflict at **Mudumaḍuvu** during the fight with **Noḷambi**, struck a blow at or pierced (*poḍiche*) the generals of **Gaṇḍatripētra** who had opposed the king (i.e., **Noḷambi**) who ruled over him. Lines 5-14 extol **Chantamāna-Daḍi** as a great valiant with a string of descriptive epithets. Lines 14-16 refer to **Kōṛa-Dēsinga** again and mention *riṣṭaya-suṅka* and *birāḍāya* at **Veluṅgagunṭa** (possibly modern **Veligallu**). The record was written by **Śrīkanṭhadēva-Āchārjya** (*Āchārya*). Since the grant portion is obscurely worded and badly damaged, the purport of the record is not clear though it appears that **Kōṛa-Dēsingambu** granted these incomes to **Chantamāna's** family in memory of his valour.

From the contents of the records given above, it may be gathered that **Vaidumba-Mahārāja Gaṇḍatripētra** fought with a **Noḷambi** king at **Sōremaṭi** in the course of which he killed **Chantamāna-Daḍi** at **Mudumaḍuvu**. According to A, the combatants that met at **Sōremaṭi**

¹ Vide Telugu Dictionary *Śabdaratnākaram*, p. 111.

² See Translation below, p. 193.

were the Mahārāja and Bāparasa on the one side, and Nolaṃbi, Daḍiga, Rāchamalla, Mayindaḍi and Guṇḍigegulla (?) on the other. A Baṅgavāḍi record¹ of Mahābali Bāparasa adds that Permānaḍigaḷ had joined the party of the Mahārāja in a fight with the same enemies at Māṇḍāvuda. According to the Chadalla inscription² Mahābali-Bāparasa rose against Nolaṃba, Rāchamalla and Mayindaḍi on the battle field of Sōremaṭi on behalf of Permānaḍi. Mayindaḍi's name is substituted by Mayindīramikkirama (Mahēndravikrama) in another inscription of Baṅgavāḍi³ dated in the 24th year of Vijaya Narasimhavikramavarman. The Sōremaṭi battle which took place during the reign of Gaṇḍatrīṇētra must have therefore been of great consequence for the history of the south-eastern Dekkan in this early period. An attempt will be made in the sequel to enquire into the causes that led to the meeting of these powers at Sōremaṭi and to ascertain the probable date when this important event occurred as also the result of this campaign.

Two of the Vaidumba kings, viz., Manujatrīṇētra and Gaṇḍatrīṇētra, are stated to be ruling over Rēnāṇḍu-seven-thousand country which, as we know, had been subject to the administration of the Chōlas under Vikramāditya Satyādityuṇṇu.⁴ The Rēnāṇḍu country comprised a major part of Cuddapah and Kurnool Districts along the valley of the Kundēru river. The Mālepāḍu stone inscription of the Chōla king Satyāditya states that Siddhi-one-thousand (Siddhant country) also formed part of the dominions of the Chōlas.⁵ Since the inscriptions of these early Chōlas are found in the Proddatur taluk of the Cuddapah District, Madanapalle and Puṇḡanūr taluks of the Chittoor District, besides Gōribidanūr of the Kolar District,⁶ Mysore State, it may be surmised that their territory extended almost over the whole of the Cuddapah and Kurnool Districts, part of Chittoor and the north-western portion of the Kolar Districts. This could not have been held by them intact from the beginning of their political career. For Puḷināḍu (in Puṇḡanūr) was mainly a Bāpa district and had been occupied by the Chōlas in the course of their aggressive campaign.⁷ Similarly Gōribidanūr which was included originally in the Gaṅga or Nolaṃba territory had been wrested from them by the Chōlas in a similar campaign. The Rāshtrakūṭas who were engaged in battles with the Gaṅgas, the Eastern Chālukyas and the Pallavas in the 8th and the beginning of the 9th centuries A.D. could not devote their attention to the expansion of their dominion in the south-east of Dekkan, nor could they have done so without subduing the Gaṅgas and the Nolaṃbas who ruled in the intervening province.

The Bāpa (or Bṛihad-Bāpas)⁸ who were originally settled in the Śrīśaila country in the 4th century A.D. lingered on and continued to rule in the Gooty province⁹ in the 7th-8th centuries A.D. as subordinates of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi. After the decline of the Chālukyas, one branch appears to have slowly moved down to the south and taken service under the Pallava kings, protecting the north-western frontier of the latter's country. Their inscriptions are found in the

¹ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Mb. 228.

² No. 453 of 1906 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

³ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Mb. 227.

⁴ Above, Vol. XI, p. 337. No. 342 of 1922 and *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Bāgepalle 62. In the latter, the Kīrūḍoḍe is mentioned as the limit of Rēnāṇḍu. This might be the Kundēru river mentioned below.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 345, Postscript.

⁶ *E.g.*, Nos. 466 and 517 of 1906, 307 and 329 of 1922-23, 299 of 1905, 174 of 1931-32, of the Madras Epigraphical Collection; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Gōribidanūr 69, 72-75, etc.

⁷ Nos. 174 and 183 (probably a Chōla record) of 1931-32. The Chōlas could not have occupied this district without an encounter with the Bāpas.

⁸ Tālgunda Pillar inscription of Kākusthavarmān (above, Vol. VIII, pp. 24 ff.). Perbbāṇavarūṣa is mentioned in an inscription of Śrīvallabha-Mahārājādhirāja, from Arakatavēmula in the Cuddapah District (No. 474 of 1906). This Śrīvallabha is most probably Chālukya Vikramāditya I who according to the Gadval grant acquired the title of Śrīvallabha after defeating the Pallavas.

⁹ Nos. 333 and 343 of 1920 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

North Arcot and Salem Districts as well as in the Kolar and Chittoor Districts. Bāṇavidyādhara figures as a subordinate of Pallava Dantivarman and Nandivarman III and prior to him a certain Bāṇarasa who was probably Jayanandivarman or his son Malladēva held a subordinate position under Nandivarman Pallavamalla. Thus the Bāṇas had at this period thrown in their lot with the Pallavas who were waging constant wars with the Rāshtrakūṭas and Gaṅgas in the north and the Pāṇḍyas in the south. In the 9th century A.D. their territory extended far beyond their ancestral home. A record of Dhavaḷeyarasa of the Mahābalikula dated in Śaka 807 is found at Poṭṭipāḍu which would show that the northern boundary of their dominions extended up to the Jammalamadugu taluk; in the west, portions of Gōribidanūr, Kōlār and Muḷbāgal were included in their province as their inscriptions are found in that area and in the east Kālahasti formed probably the extreme limit of their province. Their original home, however, lay between Kālahasti and Puṅganūr to the north of the Pālār which area constituted the Perumbāṇappāḍi of the Tamil inscriptions.¹ This must have comprised the Vaḍugavaḷi-twelve-thousand and Pulināḍu-sixty. The occupation of the Cuddapah District as far north as Jammalamadugu must have brought them face to face with the Chōḷas of Rēnāṇḍu. Several Chōḷa records are found in this area, but the king is represented by the general epithet Chōḷa-mahārāja which does not help us in determining the period of the inscription or of the chief mentioned therein. After a rule of over 200 years,² the Chōḷa power was probably not strong enough to resist the invasions of the Bāṇas who, as stated above, pushed forward their conquests as far north as Jammalamadugu which was purely a Chōḷa country.

This Bāṇa-Chōḷa conflict must have commenced much earlier. For we find at Chippili a stone record of Puṇyakumāra³ who in all probability was the donor of the Mālepāḍu plates, and in the same place is discovered an epigraph of Śrī-Malladēva⁴ who appears to have been referred to as Bāṇarasa in the record. If Malladēva is a Bāṇa chief, he must be identified with the father of Bāṇavidyādhara who flourished in the first half of the 9th century A.D. This would show that some time after Puṇyakumāra⁵ the Bāṇas must have subjugated the Chōḷas and occupied a portion of their territory. This event must have taken place after the time of Vikramāditya Satyādityunru, who ruled over Rēnāṇḍu-seven-thousand and Siddhi-one-thousand. The Chōḷas were possibly driven to the north towards Cuddapah, Proddatur and Siddhaut,⁶ where, too, their rule was not uninterrupted by the Bāṇas as evidenced by the Poṭṭipāḍu record of Dhavaḷeyarasa. They probably continued as petty chieftains in a portion of Rēnāṇḍu awaiting an opportunity to avenge the defeat inflicted on them by the Bāṇas.

The Nolambas who had become the faithful servants of the Rāshtrakūṭas⁷ by about A.D. 770 and whose territory lay adjacent to that of the Bāṇas could not have remained unaffected by the

¹ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1903-04, Part II, para. 26; *ibid.*, for 1906-07, p. 65, and above, Vol. IX, pp. 231 and 233.

² Huien Tsiang (c. A.D. 642) mentions the Chōḷas as a ruling power in the Cuddapah region. I have shown (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 97) that one branch of the Chōḷas ruled in the Godavari District in the 6th century A.D. and it is likely that another branch ruled simultaneously in the Rēnāṇḍu country which was ultimately overthrown by the Bāṇas in the 9th century A.D.

³ No. 299 of 1905 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 301.

⁵ Recently a record of an early Puṇyakumāra—apparently a Chōḷa—engraved in characters of about the 5th century A.D. has been discovered at Tippalūr in the Kamalapuram taluk of the Cuddapah District. This would show that the Chōḷas were the earliest occupants of Rēnāṇḍu prior to the Bāṇas and the Vaidumbas.

⁶ No Chōḷa records of the 9-10th century A.D. are found in the Madanapalle region whereas a number of Bāṇa epigraphs exists in that locality.

⁷ Two Chāḷakere inscriptions of Prabhūtarasa Gōvinda (II) in which Śhāruponnēra figures as the king's subordinate.

aggressive campaigns of the latter. Poḷalchōra who was a feudatory of Nītimārga Eregaṅga¹ (Śaka 775) invaded Pulināḍu of the Bāṇas who under Prabhumēru Vijayāditya occupied as a counter-measure the Gaṅgaṛusāsira District of the Noḷambas. The conflict assumed a serious turn in the time of Mahēndra-Noḷambādhira who was determined to establish his power by exterminating the Bāṇa race and who accordingly sent a force under the command of Kāḍuveṭṭi and Maduva to seize Pulināḍu.² It may be noted that Bāṇa Vijayāditya's inscriptions are found in a portion of the Kolar District which comprised the Gaṅgaṛusāsira of the Noḷambas. It is significant to find that the Gaṅga king Rāchamalla I had contracted a marriage alliance with the Noḷamba Poḷalchōra by giving his daughter Jāabbe to him, so that their dominion in the south might be safeguarded from the attacks of the Pallavas and the Bāṇas. In one of the Būdikōṭe inscriptions,³ Rāchamalla II is stated to have carried an expedition against Kāñchī, when Gaṅgaṛusāsira was under the administration of a Bāṇarasa who was evidently Prabhumēru Vijayāditya. And Mahēndra is described in a Hindupur record⁴ to have been ruling the country extending up to Kāñchī. These events establish clearly the political hostility between the Gaṅga and the Noḷamba on the one side and the Bāṇa and the Pallava on the other in the period under review.

We know that the Gaṅga throne passed to the line of Vijayāditya, the younger brother of Śivamāra, in supersession of the latter's sons Yuvarāja Mārasimha and Prithvipati I. There are reasons to think that Mārasimha died prior to his father,⁵ but Prithvipati I ought to have, when he came of age, succeeded to his father's kingdom though perhaps he was a minor at the time of Śivamāra's death. Prithvipati I's claim was evidently overlooked by his uncle Vijayāditya 'who had received the Gaṅga kingdom from his brother only as a trust as Bharata had that of Rāma'. Prithvipati had, therefore, out of despair and disappointment, to seek alliance with the opposite party, i.e., the Pallavas by taking service under them and giving his daughter Kundavve in marriage to Bāṇavidyādhara, the most powerful Bāṇa prince who was the servant of Pallava Dantivikramavarman and Nandivarman III. Thus the Bāṇas and the collateral Gaṅga branch became allies by this marriage under the patronage of the Pallavas who were the inveterate foes of the Rāshtrakūṭas, the Gaṅgas and the Noḷambas.

The unsettled political condition in the Rēnāṇḍu country in the 9th century A.D. was favourable for the rise of petty chieftains to power. Some time in the beginning of that century, the Vaidumbas who hailed probably from Vaidumbavrolu⁶ (Madanapalle taluk) tried to measure their strength with the Chōḷas and other powers of the Dekkan. Their history is not known during the period of Chōḷa ascendancy. Since at Chippili, the records of Chōḷa, Bāṇa and Vaidumba

¹ No. 588 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection and *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1913, Part II, para. 13, p. 91.

² Kajakattūr record (*Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1913, No. 306 of 1912).

³ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Bowringpet 86.

⁴ No. 588 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁵ Mārasimha has issued as Yuvarāja the Nelamaṅgala and Ālūr copper-plate charters dated respectively in A.D. 797 and A.D. 799. Śivamāra would not have offered the throne to his brother if Mārasimha the heir-apparent had been alive. It may be remarked that the view that these two charters are spurious is no longer tenable, since the script employed in them is perfectly regular for the period and closely resembles the writing of the Maṇṇa plates of Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, Nl. 61). Further, the historical details mentioned in them are now corroborated by several genuine Gaṅga grants such as the Kūḍalur plates of Mārasimha II and the apparently impossible reference in them to the recrowning of Śivamāra II by Gōvinda III and Pallava Nandivarman III which took place in about A. D. 813 will have to be explained by supposing that the grants actually made by Mārasimha when his father was in prison were issued after the liberation and re-coronation of Śivamāra in A. D. 813, incorporating the events that had happened in the interval.

⁶ Rice has suggested that Tumba in the North Arcot District might be the original habitat of the family.

kings are discovered,¹ that of the Vaidumbas being palaeographically the latest in date, it may be surmised that the Vaidumbas had not yet attained an independent position in the 8th century A.D. and must have consolidated their power only after Malladēva or Bāṇavidyādharā. Accordingly they are found fighting with the Chōlas and the Bāṇas at this period from whom they must have wrested Madanapalle and extended their territory on all sides so as to include in it the whole of Rēnāṇḍu-seven-thousand province. Their aggressive policy is noticeable in their records found in the Bāgepalli taluk of the Kolar District which was included in the Nolaṁba territory. Finally the Chōla-Mahārājas appear to have been driven away from their country to a corner in the Gōribidanūr taluk of the Kolar District where, too, they had to fight constantly with the Nolaṁbas under Mahēndra.²

From the foregoing brief analysis of the political situation in the south-eastern Dekkan in the latter half of the 9th century A.D., it is apparent that the Vaidumbas and the Bāṇas had by their aggressive campaigns created enemies of the Gaṅga, Nolaṁba and Chōla kings of the time and were biding an opportunity to give a decisive blow to the three powers. Such an opportunity offered itself in the cause of the Gaṅga Prithivīpati I whose claims to the hereditary throne had been set at naught by Vijayāditya and his son Rāchamalla I. Prithivīpati appears to have proclaimed himself king, at least temporarily, with the aid of the Bāṇas; for we find him as the reigning sovereign in a few inscriptions of the Punganūr taluk which belong to the 9th century A.D. on palaeographical grounds.³ But Prithivīpati having been killed in a fight with Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa, the struggle seems to have been continued by Nanniya-Gaṅga who, as stated in an inscription of Hirēbidanūr⁴, was the son of Prithivīpati of the Gaṅga family. A record at Kibbenahalli⁵ in the Tumkur District informs us that Nanniya-Gaṅga, evidently the son of Prithivīpati I, fought with Satyavākya Rāchamalla who must be the second prince of that name. We also learn from an epigraph at Rāyakōṭa (Salem District) that Mahābali Bāṇarasa invaded Maṇṇe on behalf of Gaṅga who could be no other than Nanniya-Gaṅga.⁶ The Bāṇa chief, presumably Prabhumēru Vijayāditya, was victorious in the campaign, as some of his inscriptions represent him as ruling over Maṇṇe in addition to Vaḍuga-vaḷi-twelve-thousand province. It must be in the course of this fight that Nanniya-Gaṅga occupied Talakāḍu, the capital of the Western Gaṅgas, and proclaimed himself king, with the regal epithet Nītimārga as shown by a stone record at Arakalgūḍ.⁷ The only Nanniya-Gaṅga known to the Gaṅga genealogy is Būtuga II who was, however, a Satyavākya and not Nītimārga. Hence the Nanniya-Gaṅga Nītimārga of the Arakalgūḍ record must be the son of Prithivīpati only, who must have borne the surname Nītimārga as a rightful successor of Satyavākya Rāchamalla whom he had ousted.⁸ It was on this occasion that Rāchamalla II mustered his forces and sought the assistance of

¹ Nos. 298-301 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection, see also p. 186, foot-note 4 above.

² *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Bāgepalli 62.

³ Nos. 326, 334 and 337 of 1912. Priduvayya-Piḍuvipati-Prithivīpati of these inscriptions has to be identified with Prithivīpati I who sacrificed his life for his friend Aparājita in the battle of Śrīpurambiyam with Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa, since No. 337 bears an apparent reference to this battle in which the Pāṇḍya was one of the contending parties. See also *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1913, part II, p. 93. No. 326 describes Piḍuvipati as the younger brother of Durvinīta. This Durvinīta was evidently different from the son of Avinīta who flourished in the 6th century A.D. Vuvārāja Mārasimha had apparently borne the surname Durvinīta.

⁴ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Gōribidanūr 4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, Tp. 55.

⁶ *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 4. The Bāṇas are not known to have been the friends of the Western Gaṅgas of the main line at this period.

⁷ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, Arakalgūḍ 24.

⁸ The epithets Satyavākya and Nītimārga were borne alternately by the Western Gaṅga kings.

his relatives, the Nolaṃbas, who were in open hostility with the Bāṇas and met on different fronts¹ of battle such as Sōremaṭi,² Mudumaḍuvu,³ Tiruvuḷa,⁴ Māṇḍāvūda,⁵ etc., the Bāṇas and Permānaḍi, i.e., Nanniya Gaṅga who had been joined by the Vaidumbas on account of the common enmity with the Nolaṃbas and the Chōḷas. Since Satyavākya Rāchamalla and Nanniya Gaṅga were the rival claimants to the Gaṅga throne at this period, they both appear to have been called 'Permānaḍi' in the records of their respective subordinates or allies. Thus 'Permānaḍi' of the Kaḷakattūr record of Nolaṃbadiyarasa apparently refers to Rāchamalla while that occurring in the Bāṇa inscriptions such as Baṅgavāḍi, Chadalla and Rāyakōṭa epigraphs mentioned above refers to Nanniya-Gaṅga, the refugee of the Bāṇas who were instrumental in placing him on the Gaṅga throne at Talakāḍu. Among the allies that met at Sōremaṭi, Rāchamalla was evidently Satyavākya Rāchamalla II, Nolaṃbi was Mahēndra and Mayindaḍi, who was otherwise known as Mayindiramikkirama, was probably identical with the Chōḷa king Mayindamachōḷa-Mahārāja who is referred to as king in an inscription at Hirēbidaṇūr.⁶ Daḍiga was possibly the Daḍiga of a Gōribidaṇūr⁷ record who figures as an ally of (Nolaṃba) Mahēndra. It is not impossible that this Daḍiga was Chantamāna-Daḍi who, as stated in inscription C below, fought with Gaṇḍatrīṇētra on behalf of Nolaṃbi.⁸ It must be as a preliminary to or in the course of the fateful battle of Sōremaṭi that Mahēndra sent under the orders of Permānaḍi, i.e., Rāchamalla II, his officers Kāḍuveṭṭi and Maduva to seize Talakāḍu which was now, as stated above, in the hands of Nanniya-Gaṅga and to invade Pulinaḍu on the way. This intensive fight finally resulted in glorious victory to Mahēndra. Pulinaḍu of the Bāṇas was captured, the city Permāvi was burnt,⁹ Nanniya-Gaṅga was dethroned and Rāchamalla re-occupied Talakāḍu. The Bāṇa who was the principal aggressor in the struggle was routed and finally killed by Mahēndra. In the records of Baragūr and Dharmapuri¹⁰, Mahēndra is described as ruling the country in peace and quiet after having eradicated the Chōḷas and other kinsmen and destroyed root and branch the Mahābali race. The latter is dated in Śaka 815 (A.D. 892) by which time the event must have been accomplished. As the event is narrated as a fresh and retent exploit of Mahēndra, the Sōremaṭi battle which formed only an item in the long struggle must have taken place a few years before the destruction of the Mahābali race. Since Rāchamalla II issued his Bīḷiyūr charter in his 18th year corresponding to Śaka 809 (A.D. 887), it may be presumed that the battle was fought in about A.D. 885.¹¹

The battle of Sōremaṭi proved fatal to the confederate allies. After Prabhumēru Vijayāditya, the Bāṇas are thrown into oblivion until the time of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III who

¹ Nos. 309 and 310 of 1923 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection and inscription C below indicate that these were fought during the same period. The Loṅkuḷas figure here as the enemies of Vaidumbas whereas in an archaic inscription copied recently at Teadamu (Puṇḡanūr taluk), a certain Loṅkuḷāditya is represented as administering Sadambu under Vaidumba-Mahārāja. Probably on the eve of the Sōremaṭi battle the Loṅkuḷas availed of the general political chaos, rebelled against their masters and fought against them at Sōremaṭi (No. 310 of 1923) apparently on behalf of the Nolaṃba, etc.

² Inscriptions A and B below; Nos. 543 of 1906 and 310 of 1923 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

³ Inscription C below.

⁴ No. 309 of 1923 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁵ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Mb. 228.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Gōribidaṇūr 69.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Gōribidaṇūr 75.

⁸ The Nolaṃba enemy of Gaṇḍatrīṇētra was Mahēndra.

⁹ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1913, Part II, para. 13, p. 91.

¹⁰ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII, Si. 24 and 38; above, Vol. X, p. 65.

¹¹ *Coorg Inscriptions*, No. 2. See also Arakalḡḍ 24 and 26 the former of which mentions Taddayya as an officer of king Nitimārga Nanniya-Gaṅga while the latter, dated in Rāchamalla's 19th year (A.D. 888), refers to his death in a fight.

reinstated the last prince of the family, viz., Vikramāditya III¹ in a part of the Chōla territory conquered by him. We find one Sambayya of the Mahābali race as an officer under Iriva-Noḷamba in A.D. 961.² Nanniya-Gaṅga himself who was left a destitute after the destruction of the Bāṇas had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Noḷambas. For he figures as a subordinate of Nanniga Bira-Noḷamba³ in an inscription of Hirebidanūr and fights with the Sāntaras on behalf of his master. The Vaidumbas, too, could not have maintained their independence for long after A.D. 885. Though the order of succession and chronology of the several Vaidumba chiefs known to epigraphy cannot be determined for want of sufficient data, their subordination to the Rāshtrakūṭas and Noḷambas in the 10th century A.D. is gathered from the following evidence: A Kijūr inscription⁴ of Kṛishṇa III refers to Vaidumba-Mahārāja Vikramāditya as a governor of Malādu, Vāṇagōppādi, Siṅgapuranādu and Veṅkuṇṇakōṭṭam. A Vaidumba chief Vikramādityaṇ Tiruvayyaṇ is represented as an officer under Iriva-Noḷamba in the records⁵ of Bowringpet and Chintāmaṇi, the latter of which is dated in A.D. 951. Chandraśekhara or Śandayan was also a subordinate of this Noḷamba king.⁶ It is possible that he was the son of Tiruvayya mentioned above. His son Tiruvayya II was ruling in the South Arcot District under Kṛishṇa III in A.D. 961-62.⁷ In one of the Grāmaṇ inscriptions his son Śrīkaṇṭha is mentioned as an officer under the same king in A.D. 965.⁸ Prior to A.D. 951, Vikramāditya who ruled in the Chōla country appears to have been driven away from there in consequence of which his son Tiruvayya I had to take shelter under the Noḷambas. This event must have taken place some time before the famous battle of Takkōlam in A.D. 948 after which date the Rāshtrakūṭa power was acknowledged in the Tamil land at least for some years to come. Since Kṛishṇa's record of his 5th regnal year (A.D. 944) is found at Siddhalingamaḍam in the South Arcot District, it is possible that he conquered the Chōlas soon after his accession to the throne and appointed the Vaidumba chief Vikramāditya in the newly acquired territory. Not long after, Parāntaka I appears to have recovered the lost province from the Rāshtrakūṭas as a result of which the Vaidumba Vikramāditya or his son Tiruvayya had to retreat to the Noḷamba territory and take service under them. Kṛishṇa III, however, not brooking this reverse, led a huge army against the Chōlas in A.D. 947-48 and inflicted a crushing defeat on their king at Takkōlam. Parāntaka I must have repulsed the Rāshtrakūṭas from South Arcot within a few years after this event; for he is known to have issued a record⁹ in his 48th year (A.D. 955) as far north as Puṇṇanūr in the Chittōor District. But Kṛishṇa did not keep quiet. He again marched to the south and camped at Mēlpādi on the Pennār in A.D. 959¹⁰ with the object of distributing his new acquisitions among his trusted servants. Accordingly we find Tiruvayya II as ruling over South Arcot in A.D. 961-62. From an inscription at Pālagiri¹¹ which refers to an early Vaidumba Mahārāja under Chalukya-Nallāta Akālavarsha Kṛishṇa (III), it may be surmised that the main line of the Vaidumbas con-

¹ Above, Vol. XVII, p. 3. See also above, Vol. III, pp. 74 ff.

² *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Mb. 126.

³ *Ibid.*, Gōribidanūr 4. Nanniga Bira-Noḷamba was Ayyapadēva son of Mahēndra, who succeeded his uncle Noḷipayya sometime after Śaka 820, Piṅgaḷa.

⁴ No. 16 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁵ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Bp. 4 and Ct. 49.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Mb. 198. See also above, Vol. VII, pp. 142-144.

⁷ Above, Vol. VII, pp. 142 ff.

⁸ No. 743 of 1905. But another son of his Śaṅkaradēva and grandson Sōmanātha figure as feudatories of the Chōla kings Rājārāja I and Rājēndra Chōla I in certain Tiruvallam inscriptions.

⁹ No. 200 of 1931-32.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. IV, p. 286.

¹¹ No. 323 of 1935-36 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

tinued to hold the Cuddapah District in this period. This is supported by a charter of Vaidumba Mahārāja Bhuvanatriṇētra¹ dated in Śaka 893 (A.D. 971) according to which the king was ruling the country from his palace at Pottappi in Pākanāṇḍu. After the Rāshtrakūṭas, the Vaidumbas were reduced to vassalage by the Chōlas as testified to by a record² of Rājarāja I dated in his 14th regnal year (A.D. 938-99) and the Tiruvallam inscription³ of his 20th year (A.D. 1004-05) in which Nannamaraiyar son of Tukkarai belonging to the Vaidumba family figures as the governor of Ingallūr-nāḍu, a district in Mahārājavāḍi (Cuddapah District). The district of Mahārājavāḍi remained in the hands of the Chōlas under Rājādhirāja I also whose officer Rājēndrachōla-Brahmamārāya was governing it in Śaka 970 from his capital Vallūru in the Cuddapah District.⁴ From the Pālagiri record⁵ of Śaka 978 mentioned above, it is learnt that Vaidumba Mahārāja Kaligetriṇētra Bhīma-Mahārāja, son of Ma[dhu]ka-Mahārāja did not acknowledge a suzerain power while making the gift which probably indicates that he attempted to declare independence during the troublous period consequent upon the warfare between the Chālukyas and Chōlas in the 11th century A.D. This is the latest known date for the Vaidumba chiefs and the history of the family in the subsequent period remains to be cleared up by future discoveries.

Of the localities mentioned in the records proper, **Sōremaṭi** cannot be identified. It must be located in the Nōlamba territory adjoining Madanapalle since Vaidumba and Bāṇa are stated to have laid siege to it. **Mudumaḍuvu** which was one of the scenes of the Sōremaṭi battle may be identified with Mudimaḍugu in the Anantapur District. **Veluṅgagupṭa** is modern Veligallu in the Chittoor District where the inscription C was found. Rēnāṇḍu-seven-thousand comprised a major part of the modern Cuddapah and Kurnool Districts.

TEXT of A.⁶

- 1 Svasty=anēka-samarā(ra)-saṁghaṭṭaṇ-ō-
- 2 palobda(labdha)-jaya-lakshmi-samālingita-vaksha-
- 3 sta(stha)la Gaṇḍatre(tri)ṇētra śri-B(V)aydumba-Mā(Ma)-
- 4 hārājar prii(pri)thivī-rājyam-geye(yye)
- 5 Mahārājaru[m] Bāṇarasaru[m] Sōremaṭi kō[tt]eib(kōṭṭe)
- 6 yittalli Nōlambi Daḍigaṁ Rāchamalla[m]
- 7 Mayindaḍi Guṇḍigegu[lla] ene-⁷
- 8 baru samasta-balaṁ berisi biṭṭo-
- 9 ḍe go[la]-go[ttu] yitt=ajivalli
- 10yadoḍe vallur[bba]yar=apisū-
- 11....Pārvara aṇṇark=**Kaṇṇa Punna-**
- 12 ṇi-māṇi yiridu biḍdan [i:]^{*}

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-4) Hail! when the illustrious Vaidumba-Mahārāja Gaṇḍatriṇētra whose breast was embraced by the goddess of victory obtained in several conflicts of battles, was ruling the earth,

¹ *Am. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1935-36, C. P. No. 7. See also No. 325 of 1903 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection bearing the date Śaka 894 which records the coronation of this chief. Recently a record at Anaima (Kamalapuram taluk, Cuddapah District) has been discovered which is dated in Śaka 898 and belongs to Vaidumba Irigāya-Mahārāja.

² Mēlpāḍi inscription (*S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 29, No. 19).

³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 106.

⁴ *Above*, Vol. V, p. 207.

⁵ From ink impression.

⁶ No. 323 of 1935-36.

⁷ Read *imbura*.

(Ll. 5-9) the **Mahārāja** and **Bāparasa** having attacked (*yīḍu*=to hit) the fort of **Sōremaṭi**, **Noḷarṁbi**, **Daḍiga**, **Rāchamalla**, **Mayindaḍi** and **Guṇḍige-gu[ḷḷa]**—all these having camped with all their armies,—offered battle (*goḷa-goḷḷu*) and destroyed (*the enemies*), after an attack,
(Ll. 10-12) **Kaṇṇa Punnapi-Māpi** elder brother of.....Pārva.....pierced (*the foes*) and fell.

TEXT of B.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī(śrī) [||*] Svasty=anēka-samara-saṅga-²
- 2 ṭṭaṇ-ḍpalabda(bdha)-jaya-lakshmi-samā-
- 3 liṅgita-vaksha-tala³ Kaṇḍatripē-⁴
- 4 tra Vaydumba-Mahārājula Mu-
- 5 ṭṭamale Dōchayya mānisi
- 6 yemmaḷāla meṇesi prabhū-
- 7 Chelvunṇu Mā(Ma)hārājulayu
- 8 Noḷombiyu Sōremaṭi
- 9 kayyambuna meṇesi prabhū
- 10 Chelvunṇu Noḷombi-vāḡū(gu) tā-
- 11 nki(nki) poḍichi [vīra-lō]kā..pōye [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-3) Usual *praśasti* of Vaidumba chiefs,

(Ll. 4-11) Servant (*mānisi*) **Dōchayya** of Muṭṭamale of **Vaidumba-Mahārāja Gaṇḍa-tripētra**, distinguished himself sportively (?) (*yemmaḷāla*)⁵ and Prabhu **Chelvunṇu** shone off in the battle of **Sōremaṭi** (*fought*) between the **Mahārāja** and **Noḷarṁbi**; (*of these*), Prabhu Chelvunṇu met and attacked the **Noḷarṁbi** army and went to the world of heroes (*i.e.*, died).

TEXT of C.⁶

- 1 Svasty=anēka-samara-⁷saṅgashṭaṇ-ḍpalabda(bdha)-jayā(ya)-la
- 2 kshimi(kshmi)-sama(mā)liṅgita-[vo](va)ksha-stala⁸ Gaṇḍa-Tre(tri)ṇētra [śrī]-Baiy-dumba⁹-Mahā-
- 3 ra(rā)ju Rēnāṇḍ-ēḷu-vēḷum(vēlum)=ēḷuchu(ēluchu)m Noḷambi-tōḷi kayyambu[na] Mudumaḍuvuna
- 4 pōṭuna Mahārāju (Mahārāju) Chantamāna-Daḍini vadhimchina paṇi gaṇi paḍa(ḍā)lve-
- 5 [la]m=boḍiche Kō[ra]-Dēsinaṅgarṁbu(Dēsinaṅgarṁbu) ēḷina rēnikin=edarayna Gaṇḍa-Tre(tri)ṇētrani
- 6... raṇa[ṁbu] [||*] urbbiyo=sakaladoḷ=orbbane gaṇḍan śrī-Chantaman=entum=olpi[ḍe].

¹ From ink-impression.

² Read *saṅgha*°.

³ Read *sthala*.

⁴ Read *Gaṇḍa*°.

⁵ The meaning of this word is not clear. Can *Yemmaḷāla* be taken as the name of the servant of Dōchayya (*Dōchayya-mānisi*)? In this case it would be this *Yemmaḷāla* who distinguished himself (*in battle*) as stated in line 6.

⁶ From ink-impression.

⁷ Read *saṅghashṭaṇ*°.

⁸ Read *vaksha-sthala*.

⁹ Read *Vaidumba*.

- 7 yan Gonti-sutarim=parākraman bal[va]de Su(Sū)drakan pra[aya]-dhani mutti aṇi-
 8 ye[m̃]¹ kadivom̃gaṁ chalam-aṇivom̃gaṁ [ā]lmuvom̃gaṁ kuḍal-appom̃gaṁ orbbano(ne)
 āchā-
 9 rjya(yya)n adaṇim kaṭṭāḷ-mānusa-gaṇḍa manṇava-baṇṭaṇa(na)m biḷivom̃ [pe]ḍeyam
 be[la]-
 10 pa bi(bi)ru[d]-appavara birudan=oḍḍalivon biddha(dda) Ba(Bha)gadatti āṇi gaṇḍhu-
 (ndhu)kada ga-
 11 ṇi pokka abba(bbe)ya āma mechchin=ā-gaṇḍan ā[chā]rjya²-puruṣa iṇi-
 12 du basam-aḷi[yade] bi[voran-tere[ra][na] mechchadom̃ piṣuṇara posevo kuthi(ti)-
 13 laṁ vo..va iyade iṇi(iṇi)ya[de] nanni nuḍiyade Naṇḍi(ndi)dōvaṇḡaḷissi muyvam=pa-
 14 ḍedom̃gara aledom̃ mūdalipom̃ ā(a)daṇim Kōṛā Dōsiṇḡav=e[nta]ṇisu ve(vi)shaya-
 sunḡam̃bu Ve-
 15 [lu]ṇḡugurṇṭa[16]...[ddi]yu iṇṇu i [vi] birāḍ-āyam̃bu vēyuva[ṇa] . . m̃bu dinikki(niki)
 vakkrām̃bu vachchuvā-
 16 naṇṇṇu gaṭṭu © Śrika[ṇṭha]dōvā(va)-
 āchārjya(yya)-liki(khi)[taṁ]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-5) Hail! When the illustrious **Vaidumba-Mahārāja Gaṇḍatriṇētra** (with the usual *prasaṣti*) was ruling over **Rēṇāṇḍu-seven-thousand**, having seen the act of the **Mahārāja** killing **Chāntamāna-Daḍi** in a conflict (*pōḷu*) at **Mudumaḍavu** during the fight with **Noḷambi**, **Kōṛa-Dōsiṇḡam̃bu** attacked the generals (*paḍālvelam̃*) of Gaṇḍatriṇētra who had opposed the king that ruled over him.

(Ll. 6-14) **Chantamana** (was) the only hero in the whole earth, a receptacle (*iḍeyan*) of goodness (*oḷpu*), was more valorous than the sons of Gonti (Kuntī), a **Sūdraka** in prowess (?) (or in possessing a strong army), was the only **āchārjya** (teacher or master) to one who should steal the front (*of battle*) after having attacked with great force [lit. raising shouts (*dhani*) as in deluge ?], who knew (*to carry out or stick to*) his determination, who would (*aspire to*) rule and who conferred gifts (*upon supplicants*). Hence he was the hero among persons of great valour, who defeated (lit. threw down) the hero among the chiefs (*manṇava=manṇeya*), destroyed (*oḍḍ-aḷi*) the *biruda* of titled persons who would stretch their head, i.e., come forward (?) (*peḍeyam beḷapa*), was the master to the brave favourites who were the lords of the lady that . . . of the fallen Bhagadatta. (He) was the **āchārjya-puruṣa**, who did not appreciate the conduct (lit. method) of those that attacked without losing themselves, twisted down (i.e., killed) those that were back-biters (*piṣuṇa*), . . . crookedness, and scattered away and mocked at those that obtained reward (*muyvam̃*) from (*issi* ?) **Nandidōva**,³ without making gifts, piercing (*in battles*) and speaking truth.

(Ll. 14-16) Therefore **Kōṛa-Dōsiṇḡa** . . . the income of *birāḍa* (tax), *housetax* (?) . . . (accruable) in the village of **Veluṇḡugurṇṭa** and whatever (*ent-aṇisu*) *vishaya-sunḡa* (tax from the district) was available. Whoever comes crookedly to this (*gift*) . . .

Written by **Śrikaṇṭhadōva-āchārjya(ryya)**.

¹ Read *aṇiyam̃*.

² Read *āchārjya*.

³ Who this Nandidōva was cannot be ascertained.

No. 27.—SEVEN BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS FROM MATHURA AND ITS VICINITY.

BY PROFESSOR H. LÜDERS, BERLIN.

I.—The Mōrā Well Inscription.

Mōrā is a small village 7 miles west of Mathurā City and 2 miles to the north of the road leading from Mathurā to Gōvardhan. In 1882 General Cunningham discovered there a large inscribed slab which formed part of the terrace of an ancient well. In 1908 Dr. Vogel had the slab removed to the Mathurā Museum under supervision of Pandit Radha Krishna. A transcript and a facsimile of the inscription were published by Cunningham, *ASR*. Vol. XX (1885), p. 49 and Plate V, No. 4. At that time the inscription was already fragmentary, more than half of it having peeled away on the right side, but it has since become much more damaged. It was edited again by Vogel, *Cat. Arch. Mus. Mathurā* p. 184, No. Q1. His transcript was reprinted, with a photolithograph of the inscription in its present state, by Ramaprasad Chanda, *MAI*. No. 1 (1919), p. 22, and Plate VI, No. 5, and an attempt to correct the reading of the second line of the inscription was made by the same scholar in *MAI*. No. 5 (1920), p. 166f. The inscription was carefully engraved in 'archaic' characters and Cunningham's transcript and facsimile are apparently in the main correct. The following text is therefore based on them with such corrections as are warranted by a new impression or suggested by general considerations. In the notes I have stated the readings of the impression, of Cunningham's facsimile, of his transcript and of Vogel's transcript.¹ I think that this rather minute treatment is justified by the importance of the inscription.

TEXT.

- 1 \S mahakshatrapasa Rājūvulasa putrasa svāmi
- 2 bhagavatām Vṛishpīnā[*rh*] pañchavīrāṇām pratimā[*h*] śailadevagri
- 3 ya[s]=To[*shā*]yāh śailām śrīmad-griham-atulam-udadhasamadhāra
- 4 ārchādesām śailām pañcha jvalāta iva paramavapushā

NOTES.

Line 1.

Impression: mahakshat[*r*][*a*][*pa*]C.'s facsimile: mahakshatrapasa Rājūvulasa putra[*sa*] .v.

C.'s transcript: Mahakshatrapasa Rajubulasa putrasa Svāmi Va-(Vi)

Vogel: Mahak(sha)t(rapasa Rājūvulasa putra)

As regards the name of the mahākshatrapa Cunningham's facsimile is certainly more trustworthy than his transcript. In the facsimile the *pu* of *putrasa* shows at the top some strokes which might be taken as the sign for *au*, but as the *u*-stroke at the bottom of the letter is quite distinct, *putrasa* must be considered the correct reading. The last word *svāmi* is based only on Cunningham's transcript, the facsimile showing only the subscript *va*. But *svāmi* is exactly what we should expect. Rājūvula's son was Śoḍāsa, who in the Mathurā inscriptions Nos. 59 and 82 of my *List*² and in the Mathurā pillar inscription edited below is styled *svāmin mahākshatrapa*. I have therefore no doubt that Cunningham's transcript is correct as far as *svāmi* is concerned and that the original reading was *svāmisa* (or possibly *svāmi*.) *mahakshatrapasa*.

¹ In Vogel's transcript the portions enclosed within round brackets have been taken from Cunningham's facsimile.

² The numbers of inscriptions quoted in the following pages always refer to my *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*.

SEVEN BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS FROM MATHURA AND ITS VICINITY.

I.—The Mora Well Inscription.



SCALE: ONE-THIRD.

II.—Inscription on the pedestal of a female statue from Mora.



SCALE: ONE-THIRD.

III.—Inscription on a sculptured stone slab from Mathura.



SCALE: ONE-FIFTH.

IV.—Inscription on a sculptured stone slab from Mathura.
Right half.



Left half.



SCALE: ONE-HALF.

V.—Inscription on the pedestal of an image from Ganeshra.



SCALE : ONE-THIRD.

VI.—Inscription on the base of a male figure from Mathura.



SCALE : ONE-THIRD.

VII.—Inscription on a door-jamb from Mathura.



SCALE : ONE-FOURTH.

Line 2.

Impression : *bhagavatām Vri[sh]ñin[ā]. . . [cha]*

C.'s facsimile : *bhagavatā Vrishñ . nā pañchavīrānām pratimā[h] ś[ai]ladev. gri*

C.'s transcript : *Bhagavatā Vrishnena pancha Vairānām pratimu Saila trca-(gra)*

Vogel : *Bhagavatā Vri(śh)ñe(na pañcha Vīrānām pratimā sailatrivagra)*

The *anuvāra* of *bhagavatām* is perfectly clear in the impression, and so is the *i* of *Vrishñinām*, although it has a peculiar form. The two strokes denoting the long *i* are both turned to the left to avoid their running into the *ksha* hanging down from the first line. Similarly in the next word *pañchavīrānām* the two limbs of the *i*-sign are drawn wide asunder on account of the long-tailed *rā* standing in the first line just over the *vi*. The *anuvāra* of *Vrishñinām* has not been noticed by Cunningham and is not visible in the impression on account of a fissure in the stone, but it was no doubt originally engraved. The reading *bhagavato Vrishñeḥ* proposed by Ramaprasad Chanda is impossible. Between *pratimā*, which is quite distinct in the facsimile, and the following word the intervening space is rather large, and the original reading was apparently *pratimāḥ*. A trace of the lower dot of the *visarga* is even visible in the facsimile. The last word is not quite distinct in the facsimile, the *la* lacking the long vertical and the *va* showing a small appendix at the bottom which makes it look like *vu*, but as Cunningham in his transcript renders the two letters as *la* and *va* and as the third letter clearly is the same as the third letter of the fourth line, the reading *sailadevagri* is practically certain, and the word is to be restored to *sailadevagrihe*.

Line 3.

Impression : *ya . to[shā]yāḥ ś[ai]lām ś[ri]mā*

C.'s facsimile : *yas-tohayā[h] sailām śrimad=griham=atulam=u[da]dhasa [ma]dha*

C.'s transcript : *Yasto Shāyāḥ Śailām Sri mad graha mātula mudhadesa madhāra*

Vogel : *yastoshayā ś(ai)le (śrimadgrahamatula muda-dhasa)*

Cunningham's transcript of the first two words is probably correct, although his reading of the second and third *aksharas* cannot be verified completely from the impression. Instead of the *s* of *sto* there is at present little more than a square hole, but traces of the hook to the left of the letter are visible, and I consider the reading *sto* as certain. The *sha* also is much damaged and the sign of the long *ā* is indistinct, but, as we shall see later on, the length of the vowel is confirmed by the metre and Cunningham's reading may therefore be taken as correct. The *visarga*, of which the lower dot only is indicated in the facsimile, is quite distinct in the impression. The next four words are perfectly clear in the facsimile. The facsimile has *śrimad*, but the long *i* is visible in the impression. The last words are uncertain. I can give only Cunningham's reading with the second and third syllables corrected from the facsimile. *Udadhi* would seem to be an obvious emendation of *udadha*, but the word does not fit well into the context.

Line 4.

Impression : *ārchādeśām sailām pañcha jvalata [i]va pa[ramavapushā]*, but the last five *aksharas* are only faintly visible.

C.'s facsimile : *ārchādeśām sailām pacha jvalata iva paramavapushā*

C.'s transcript : *Ārcha deśām Śailām pancha jvalatā Iva parama Vapushā*

Vogel : *archā deśām sailām pachajvalata iva parama vapusha*

All readings divergent from the text derived from the impression are faulty.

Too much is lost of the text to fill up conjecturally the gaps. The extant words may be translated as follows :

TRANSLATION.

- (1) Of the son of *mahākshatrapa* **Rājāvula**, *svāmin*
- (2) The images of the holy *pañchavīras* of the *Vṛishṇis*¹ . . . the stone shrine
- (3) Who the magnificent matchless stone house of **Toṣhā**²
- (4) The five objects of adoration made of stone radiant, as it were, with highest beauty

REMARKS.

As remarked already in the notes on the text, it is most probably the *svāmin mahākshatrapa* **Śoḍāsa** who was mentioned in the first line, and the record has therefore to be dated in his reign, which perfectly agrees with the palaeography of the inscription. I consider it also probable that the words preserved of the first line belong to the date. It will be noticed that there is a marked contrast between the first line and the rest of the inscription as far as the language is concerned. Whereas the first line shows the popular language, the following three lines are apparently in pure Sanskrit. This strange diversity would seem to be best accounted for by assuming that the author of the inscription, even when writing in Sanskrit, for the date used the language customary in the documents of the time.

From the second line it appears that the inscription recorded the setting up of five images representing the holy *pañchavīras* of the *Vṛishṇis* in a stone temple. *Pañchavīrāṇām* hardly means simply 'of five heroes', which at any rate in correct Sanskrit would be *pañchānām vīrāṇām*. *Pañchavīrāḥ* would rather seem to denote a fixed group or body. In this sense the word occurs in the *Daśakumāracharita*, where the meeting or the meeting-house used by a *ganikā* for her musical performances is called *pañchavīragoshṭha*: *Kumāramañjaryāḥ svasā yavīyāsī Rāgamañjarī nāma pañchavīragoshṭhe saṁgītakam anuśīḥṣyati* (ed. K. P. Parab, p. 96). In commenting on the passage *Kavindra Sarasvatī* quotes for the meaning of the word the *Kosāsūtra*: *taḥ pañchavīragoshṭham tu yat tu jānapadam sadah*³. *Pañchavīra*, therefore, would seem to be the designation of some administrative body, perhaps equivalent to the modern *pañchāyat*, but, as far as I am aware, no such body is mentioned in the Epic in connection with the *Vṛishṇis*. When some time ago I was reading the inscription with Dr. Alsdorf, I asked him if the term might perhaps be found in the Jaina scriptures, and he promptly favoured me with the following note:

"In the canonical writings of the Jainas, there occurs what might be called a statistics of the subjects ruled by *Kṛishṇa Vāsudeva* at *Dvāravātī*. In the first chapter of the *Antagaḍadasāo*⁴ it reads as follows: *tattha naṁ Bāravaṇayarie Kaṇhe nāmaṁ Vāsudeve rāyā parivasāi* *se naṁ tattha Samuddavijayapāṁmokkhāṇaṁ dasaṇhaṁ Dasārāṇaṁ, Baladevapāṁmokkhāṇaṁ pañchapharā mahāvīrāṇaṁ, Pajjunnapāṁmokkhāṇaṁ addhuttāṇaṁ kumārakoḍḍāṇaṁ, Sambapāṁmokkhāṇaṁ saṭṭhīe duddantasāhassīṇaṁ, Mahāseṇapāṁmokkhāṇaṁ chhapannāe balavagasāhassīṇaṁ, Viraseṇapāṁmokkhāṇaṁ egavīsāe vīrasāhassīṇaṁ, Uggaseṇapāṁmokkhāṇaṁ solasaṇhaṁ rāyasāhassīṇaṁ, Ruppīṇipāṁmokkhāṇaṁ solasaṇhaṁ devisāhassīṇaṁ, Aṇaṅgaseṇapāṁmokkhāṇaṁ aṇegāṇaṁ gaṇiyāsāhassīṇaṁ, annessim cha bahūṇaṁ isara*⁵ *jāva* *°sattavāhāṇaṁ Bāravaṇe nayarīe addha-Bharaḥssa ya samattāssa āhevackhaṁ jāva viharāi*.

For those who are not too familiar with Jaina Prakrit, I add the translation of Barnett: 'In this city of *Bāravaṇi* dwelt King *Vāsudeva*, hight *Kaṇhe*, Here he held sway over *Samuddavijae* and the rest of the ten *Dasāras* over *Baladeve* and the rest of the five great heroes, over *Pajjunne* and the rest of the three and a half crores of princes, over *Sambe* and the

¹ Perhaps *bhagavatām* is to be construed with *Vṛishṇīnām*.

² I omit the obscure words *udatthasamadhāra*.

³ The quotation is given also, without stating its source, in *Śivarāma's* commentary and in the *Laghutīpikā*.

⁴ P. L. Vaidya's edition, Poona 1932, p. 4f.

rest of the 60,000 fighting men, over Mahāsena and the rest of the 56,000 mighty men, over Virasena and the rest of the 21,000 warriors, over Uggasena and the rest of the 16,000 kings, over Ruppini and the rest of the 16,000 queens, over Apaṅgaseṇā and the rest of the many thousands of courtesans, and over many kings, princes, barons, [prefects, mayors, bankers, traders, captains,] merchants, and others, over the city of Bāravaī and the whole of the southern half of Bhārahe-vāse.¹

In the sixteenth chapter of the *Nāyādhammakahāo*, we are told how King Drupada sends a messenger to Dvāravatī and commands him to invite to the *svayamvara* of his daughter Draupadī “*Kaṇham Vāsudevam, Samuddaviṇayaṇapāṇmakkhe dasa Dasāre, Baladevapāṇmakkhe pañcha mahāvīre . . .*” The list which follows agrees verbatim with that of the *Antagaḍadasāo*, merely omitting the queens and courtesans, inserting Uggasena between Baladeva and Pajjunna, and inverting the order of Mahāsena and Virasena. A third version found in the *Vaṇhidasāo* is also practically identical.

There can hardly be any doubt that the *Baladevapāṇmakkhā pañcha mahāvīrā* included in the canonical list are identical with the holy *pañchavīras* of the Vṛishnis mentioned in the Mōrā inscription, but sought for in vain in Brahmanical literature.

The question now arises : who are the other four *mahāvīras* besides Baladeva ? The canonical list, though it does not give us their names, yet furnishes at least some negative clue for their identification, because it clearly excludes from their number several of the most prominent Vṛishnis known to Jaina tradition, viz., Kṛishṇa, the ten Daśārhas (including Vasudeva), Pradyumna, Śāmba, Ugrasena, Mahāsena, and Virasena. We must obviously look for four names, other than those just mentioned, which must be equally well known to the Jainas and the Brahmins. Further, considering that Baladeva, the leader of the group, is the eldest son of Vasudeva, the conjecture is perhaps not too far-fetched that the other four *mahāvīras* might be looked for among the brothers, or half-brothers, of Baladeva. Now the Jaina *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* gives a long list of Yādava princes who, under Kṛishṇa's command, took the field against Jarāsandha ; the list is found, in almost identical form, in Jinasena's *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* (48, 38-74) and in Hemachandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākā-purushacharitra* (VIII, 7, 155-193). In this list no less than 47 sons of Vasudeva are enumerated. This great number is easily accounted for by the fact that Vasudeva has taken the place of Naravāhanadatta in the Jaina version of the *Bṛhatkathā*, the so-called *Vasudevahinḍī*, which forms also part of the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*. Just like his Brahmanical counterpart, Vasudeva during his “*hinḍī*” wins 26 consorts, and the Jainas apparently thought fit that with each, or at least most of them, he should beget one or more sons. The list of the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* accordingly distributes the 47 sons among 23 mothers. Under these circumstances, it stands to reason that most of those 47 names are secondary Jain inventions not likely to be met with in Brahmanical literature. As a matter of fact, almost all of them are either purely fantastic or, if they do occur in Brahmanical texts, their bearers are certainly no Vṛishnis. The only exceptions to this—apart, of course, from Kṛishṇa and Baladeva—are four names, viz., Akrūra, Anādhṛisṭi, Sāraṇa, and Vidūratha. These four are well-known Vṛishni princes expressly denoted as such in the *Mahābhārata*².

That the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* list of Vasudeva's sons should include, besides Kṛishṇa, Baladeva and neither more nor less than just four younger brothers of his who are recognised as Vṛishni princes in the *Mahābhārata* is no doubt a very remarkable coincidence. It can certainly not be regarded as a cogent evidence, yet I think we may feel justified in assuming that the “five great

¹ *Oriental Transl. Fund*, N. S.—Vol. XVII, p. 13f.

² *Vide Sørensen's Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata*.

heroes" of the canonical list, and therefore probably also the 'five heroes of the Vṛishṇis' worshipped in the temple at Mōrā, were **Baladeva, Akṛūra, Anādhṛṣṭi, Sāraṇa, and Vidūratha.**"

In the following lines the stone-house (*śailām griham*), of course, cannot be anything else but the stone-temple (*śailadevagri(ha)*) mentioned before, and the *ārchādeśām śailām pañcha* must refer to the five images of the Vṛishṇis. I take *ārchādeśa* as a compound of *ārchā* 'adoration' and *deśa* as used here in the sense that in later literature is conveyed by the synonyms *āspada*, *pada*, *sthāna*. The lengthening of the initial *a* before *r* followed by a consonant found in *ārchā* seems to be a peculiarity of the Mathurā dialect; compare the frequent spelling *ārhat*, *ārāhat*, *ārahanta*, *ārāhāta* in Mathurā inscriptions of the Kushān period¹ and *ārthasiddhaye*, *ārtheshu* in the manuscript of the Buddhist dramas dating from the same time². That *archā* was used with special reference to the worship of images is shown by the fact that the word in course of time assumed the meaning 'image of a god'; cf. *dirghanāsiky=archā*, *tuṅganāsiky=archā*, *Mahābhāshya* 2,222,18; *Mauryair=hiranyārthibhir=archāḥ prakalpūtāḥ*, *ibid.* 2,429,3; *ābhyaṁ liṅge=rohitāḥ Sambhur=archāyām bhavatā punaḥ* quoted in the commentary on *Maṅkha* 138. In the Kōśas *archā* is quoted among the words for image (*pratimā*); *Am.* 2,10,36; *Hal.* 1,131, *Hem Abh.* 1463, *An.* 2,54; *Faj.* 220,1. Grammatically *ārchādeśām śailām pañcha* is acc. plur. agreeing with *jvalataḥ*. The spelling with the *anusvāra* instead of *ṛ* is not only quite common in the Central Asian manuscripts of the canon of the Sarvāstivādins, but occurs also in the manuscript of the Buddhist dramas³ and in the manuscript of the *Kalpanāmanditika* written in early Gupta script⁴.

Little as is left of the last two lines, the language of this portion of the inscription will strike the reader as being unusual in a donative record. An expression such as *jvalata iva paramava-pushā* sounds like poetry. Now an examination of the two lines shows that both of them begin like a *Bhujāṅgaviṣṇimbhita* the scheme of which is — — — — — ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ ◡ — ◡ — ◡ ◡ — ◡ — in the quarter. Even the doubtful word *udāhasama-dhāra* conforms to it in Cunningham's reading. That this was really the metre in which the two lines were composed can be shown also in a different way. The writing preserved in line 4 which consists of 19 *akṣaras* fills about 11½". A hemistich of 52 *akṣaras* would fill about 2'7", and allowing 3" or 4" for the blank at the beginning and at the end of the line and between the two quarters of the hemistich, we arrive at a total length of 2' 10" or 2' 11" for the writing of one hemistich, which agrees exactly with Dr. Vogel's statement that the width of the slab is 2' 11". It is thus proved that the stanza was engraved in hemistiches. Our inscription is the earliest example of this mode of writing verses which prevailed in the ornamental inscriptions on pillars and slabs until about the middle of the fifth century A.D. and occasionally occurs still in later times.⁵ As far as I know, it is never found in copper plates, but it was practised

¹ See Nos. 78; 102; 105; 110 of my *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*.

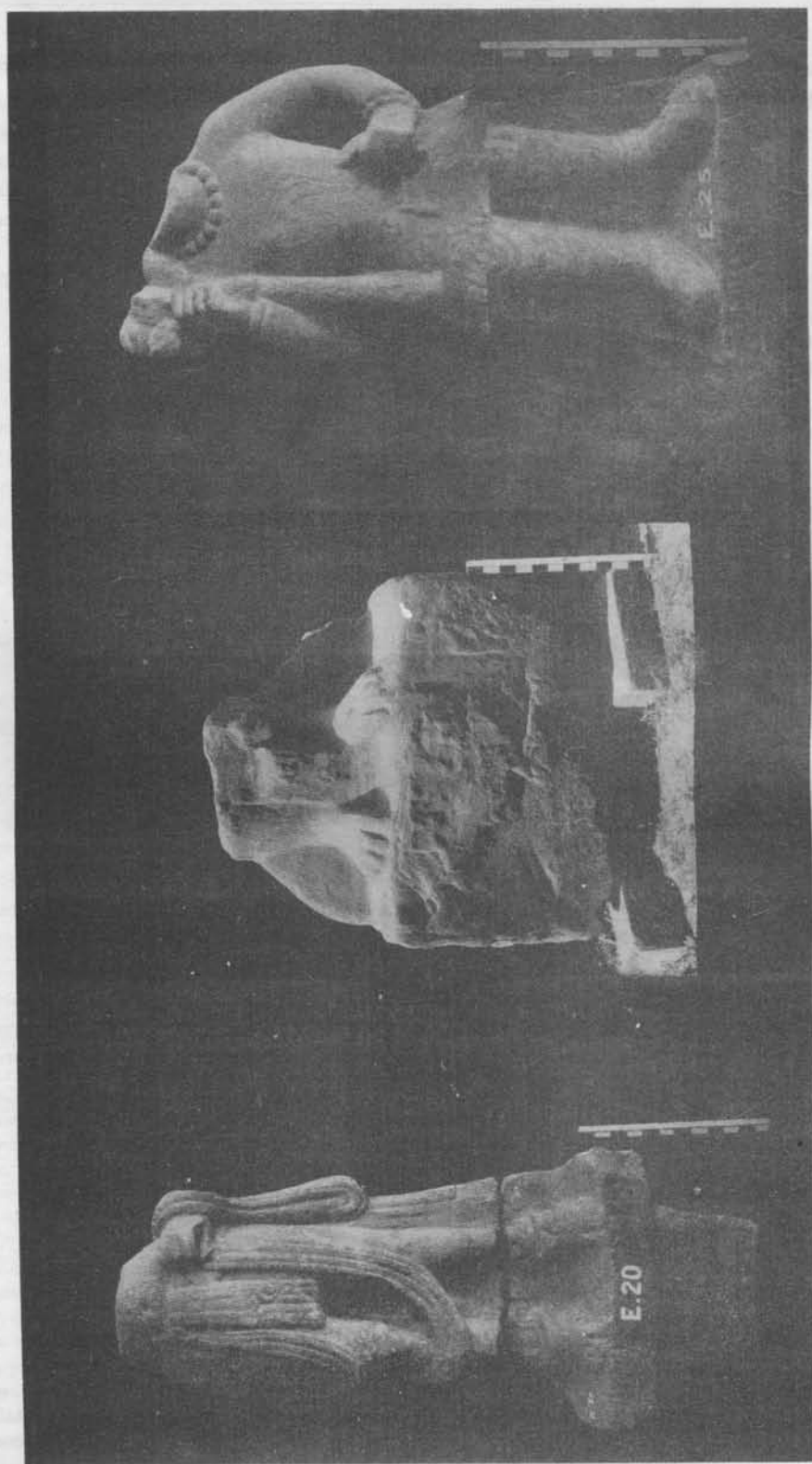
² *Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen*, p. 31. The lengthening bears an analogy to the lengthening of the initial *a* followed by *nt* in the Mathurā inscriptions; see *āntevāsi*, *āntevāsiṁ* in Nos. 93; 99.

³ *Loc. cit.* p. 31: *bhaga(vā)ṁ*, and even *śrīpam* (for *śrīpavan*) *pushpā-*.

⁴ *Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmanditika*, p. 40; *asmiṁ hi*, *jivāṁ hi*, *maṁtrān paramarśibhāṣitāṁ ka-*.

⁵ Cf. Mīsharaul iron pillar inscription of Chandra (GI. No. 32); Allahābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta (GI. No. 1); Eran stone inscription of Samudragupta (GI. No. 2); Udayagiri cave inscription of the time of Chandragupta II. (GI. No. 6); Bilsad pillar inscription of the reign of Kumāragupta I. (GI. No. 10); Bihār pillar the verses partitioned off, while the well inscription dated in V. 589 (GI. No. 35) is written in continuous lines.

SCULPTURES FROM MATHURA MUSEUM.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

↓
E. 28

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

sometimes also in manuscript writing as proved by a palm-leaf manuscript in Gupta characters unearthed in Eastern Turkestan.

The occurrence of this stanza is of considerable interest for the history of Sanskrit literature. The metre *Bhujāṅgaviṣṭhita* is found also in Kumāralāta's *Kaṭpanāmaṇḍitīkā*,¹ but our inscription is about 200 years earlier than that work, and if here a most artificial metre such as *Bhujāṅgaviṣṭhita* is used for a Sanskrit stanza, it is proved that the Sanskrit Kāvya poetry was fully developed in the first century B.C.

There is just enough left of the stanza to show that the first hemistich was mainly devoted to the praise of the stone temple where the five images were set up and that the beauty of the images themselves was extolled in the second half of the stanza. From the epithets conferred on the temple, even if they should be slightly overdrawn, we may infer that it was a remarkably fine building, but there is nothing to show that it was exclusively dedicated to the five Vṛishṇis. It is far more probable that it was a Bhāgavata temple where the five images were established. No trace of this temple has until now turned up at Mōrā. When in 1910 Pandit Radha Krishna examined the site, he found only a number of fragments of very large inscribed bricks from which Dr. Vogel was able to make out the legend : *jīvaputāye rājabharyāye Brahāvātimita-[dhi]tu² Yaśamatāye kārītam*. As stated by Dr. Vogel, the characters of that inscription are those of the third or second century B.C., which is the approximate date also of King Bahasatimita who in all probability is identical with the Brahāvātimita of the brick legend. The bricks therefore must have belonged to a much earlier building than the stone temple spoken of in the inscription. The emphatic, twice repeated, statement that the temple was built of stone leads one to think that it was destined to replace the older brick building. We shall see later on that it is not impossible that a detached piece of the temple has been preserved at Mathurā in another place.

Although the stone temple has entirely disappeared, I think it very probable that some remnants of the five images have survived on the spot. When visiting the Mōrā site, Dr. Vogel noticed some fragments of stone images consisting of two torsos of standing male statues, the pedestal of a standing image of which only the feet remain, and the pedestal and lower half of a standing female statue³. All the images are carved in the round. The two torsos are much alike. Both wear a *dhōṭī* held to the loins with a girdle and a shawl tied round the legs. The main difference lies in the necklace. One wears a double necklace fastened in front by means of a clasp, the other a heavy single necklace tied in a knot at the back. On the pedestal of the female figure is a fragmentary inscription. The four images were transferred to the Mathurā Museum where they bear the numbers E 20-23.

When Dr. Vogel first announced his discovery, he suggested that the sculptures might be connected with the images mentioned in the inscription. Of course, his conjecture that the male figures represent those of the Pāṇḍava brothers and the female statue is an image of Draupadī is based on the wrong idea that the term *pañchavīrah* in the inscription refers to the Pāṇḍavas, and must be abandoned. The female statue must be left out of consideration altogether, at any rate, at present. We shall see later on in what relation it may possibly stand to the other images and the well inscription. For the rest, Dr. Vogel's suggestion is plausible enough. From the inscription we should expect to find at the site of Mōrā five remarkably fine statues originating from

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 55.

² This is the correct reading, not *Brahāvātimita*, as read by Vogel, *ASI. AR.* 1911-12 [Part II] (1915), p. 126, Plate LVIII, fig. 16.

³ *JRAS.* 1911, pp. 151ff.; *ASI. AR.* 1911-12 [Part II] (1915), p. 127f. The two torsos are figured *ibid.* Plate LVII, fig. 12-15, the one with the double necklace also in Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, Plate XLIII (*Asiatica*, XV)

the time of Śodāsa and representing Baladeva and four of his brothers or companions and therefore being probably much alike in appearance. There are actually found at Mōrā images of three male persons. The torsos of two of them show that they were very similar in attitude and dress and certainly represented not foreigners as, e.g., the three Māt statues, but some Hindu personages. They are, moreover, as far as I can judge from the photographs, of superior workmanship and, being carved in the round, cannot be assigned to a later date than the Kushān period, but may be considerably earlier. The identity of the statues and the *pañchavīras* which thus becomes highly probable, would be finally established, if the fragments had been found in the ruins of the *śaila-devagriha*, where, according to the inscription, the *pañchavīras* were set up. But, as already remarked above, there is no trace whatever of a stone temple. The images were found lying round about the remains of a building constructed of bricks, but I do not think that for this reason the identity of the statues and the *pañchavīras* is to be given up. There is no positive evidence that the statues were ever set up within that brick enclosure.¹ It can be easily imagined that at the time when the temple was demolished and its materials were carried away, the statues also were cut up and thrown aside. Dr. Vogel himself seems to have changed his mind. He is now inclined to look at the statues as Yaksha images.² In my opinion they have a better claim to be regarded as the images of the Vrishni heroes, although I admit that this view cannot be definitely proved at present.

There is still one point that requires elucidation, viz., the word *Toshāyāh* in line 3 of the inscription. I have stated already in the notes on the text that there is no reason to doubt the correctness of the reading. Judging from the context *Toshāyāh* can hardly be anything else but the genitive of *Toshā* dependent on the following *griham*. At first sight one would obviously understand 'the house of Toshā' as a shrine dedicated to a goddess called Toshā, but I am not aware that there ever existed a goddess of that name. Under these circumstances, Toshā can only be taken as the name of the lady who caused the shrine to be built. Just as we find here *śailam griham* combined with the name of the founder in the genitive case, we have *mahārājasya rājātirājasya decapūtrasya Hūvishkasya vāhare* in the Mathurā inscription No. 62 of my *List*, or *āchāryya-Somatrāṭasy-edam Bhagavatpādapayojyam kuṇḍam=uparyy-āvasathah kuṇḍam ch=āparam* in the Tūśān rock inscription (GI. No. 67). Toshā does not sound like an Indian name. It is quite probable that Toshā was of Iranian extraction, and there would be nothing strange about the fact that she should have erected a Bhāgavata shrine as we know from the Heliodoros inscription at Bēsnagar that foreigners were adherents of the Bhāgavata religion. We shall probably find the name of Toshā in a different spelling again in the following inscription.

II.—Inscription on the pedestal of a female statue from Mōrā.

The inscription is incised on the pedestal of a standing female figure which was discovered by Dr. Vogel at Mōrā together with the remnants of the three statues discussed above. The image is now in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription was edited by Vogel, *Cat. Arch. Mus. Mathurā*, p. 109, No. E 20. It is figured *ASI.AR.* 1911-12 [Part II], Plate LVIII, fig. 19.

¹ Perhaps this statement has to be modified. Mr. V. S. Agravala writes: "I inspected the Mōrā sites with Loo Bahadur K. N. Dikshit in November 1936. . . . Dr. Lüders' remark that there is no positive evidence that the statues were ever set up within the brick enclosure does not seem to be grounded in fact. From actual inspection of the site we found that the images were set up at that very place, since there still exists *in situ* the stone pedestal in which the images were embedded. Mr. Devi Dayal took a photo of this part of the building and also measured the mortise cut into the stone which once received the image." It is not quite clear from this statement whether the five statues were all embedded in one pedestal and whether the measurement of the mortise can be shown to meet one of the Panchavira statues or perhaps that of the Toshā image.

² *Sculpture de Mathurā*, p. 116.

TEXT.

- 1 *sya*⁽¹⁾ *Kan*(¹)*[sh]ka[sya]*(²) [*r*](³) [*m*](⁴) . .
 2 *etasya* (⁵) *purvaye* *M*[*ā*]thuri *kalavaḍ*[*ā*] o[*ḍakh*]i(⁶) . .
 3 *ye Tośāye patimā* *t*(⁷)

NOTES.

(1) Probably to be restored *mahārājasya*. (2) Vogel: [*H*]uv[*ish*]ka[*sya*]. The first *akshara* is distinctly *ka*. The vowel-sign of the second *akshara* has disappeared, but the *mātrikā* is distinctly *na*. The *sh* of *shka* and the *sya* are blurred, but certain. (3) Probably to be restored as *samvatsare*. (4) Of the seven or eight *aksharas* following [*r*], only the lower half of *ma* is distinct. The *akshara* before *ma* seems to have contained a subscript *ma*, so that the original reading may have been something like *grishmamāse*. (5) Traces of two *aksharas* before *etasya* are still visible, but it is impossible to read them. (6) Vogel: *mathurikalavaḍap* . . The *ā*-sign is not quite certain, but probable. The dot distinguishing the dental *tha* from *ṭha* is indistinct. The seventh letter is certainly *ḍa* as read by Vogel, a similar form occurring in one of the *Māṭ* inscriptions, but there appears to be an *ā*-sign attached to the letter. The reading of the last three *aksharas* is very uncertain. What Vogel reads as *pa* consists, as far as I see, of two letters. The first letter looks like an initial *o*, but in the middle of the vertical line of the letter there is a small horizontal stroke which might suggest to take the letter as *au*; it is, however, probably only accidental. The second letter, the lower portion of which has disappeared owing to an erosion of the stone, may have been *ḍa*. The same erosion has destroyed also the body of the last *akshara* which may have been *khi*. Possibly one *akshara* is lost at the end of the line. (7) The last word also has become illegible on account of the peeling off of the stone with the exception of a subscript *ta* which must have belonged to the third letter of the word. The word is probably to be restored as *patistāpitā*; cf. *pratistapita* in No. 45^a, *prattistāpenti* in No. 149^b. The slanting stroke to the left of the *ta* seems to have been caused by the erosion of the stone.

REMARKS.

It is impossible to offer a connected translation of the inscription, too much of the text being lost to fill up the gaps even conjecturally.

As the date fills half of the text, the numbers of the year, the month and the day were apparently given in words, not in figures. The king's name is distinctly *Kanishka*.

In the third line the only legible words are *Tośāye patimā* after which probably *patistāpitā* is to be supplied. The meaning of the words may be either that an image was set up by *Tośā* or that an image of *Tośā* was set up. If *Tośāye* were taken as the name of the donatrix, the object of the donation would here simply be called *patimā*. However, this would be quite unusual. In no other inscription of this time^a *patimā* alone is used in this way, No. 68, where the second line ends with *Jinādāsiye pratimā*, being apparently incomplete. Everywhere the name of the person represented by the statue is added to *pratimā*, sometimes compounded with it (Nos. 13, 28, 29, 37, 50, 51, 118, 121, perhaps also 72), but oftener in the genitive case (Nos. 18, 24, 26, 34, 43, 45, 45^a, 47, 69^a, 71, 110; in 74 *bhagavato Varddhamānapratimā*). Generally the name in the genitive precedes *pratimā*; a different position of the words occurs only in No. 39 (*dānam pra-*

^a In later times *pratimā* alone occurs occasionally, e.g. in the Mathurā inscription of G. 113 edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 210, No. 39.

timā Vadhmanasya), No. 119 (*pratimā praṭishṭhāpitā Vardhamānasya*) and apparently in No. 68 quoted above. It is therefore not only possible, but even more likely that *Tośāye patimā* means 'the image of Tośā'. Unfortunately the upper half of the statue is lost, and what remains of it is not sufficient to determine exactly the character of the person represented. All that can be said is that it is a woman as shown by the anklets and that she wears a folded cloth with one end tucked up in the waist-belt and the other slung over the left arm. This seems to have been the costume of a fashionable lady of that time. Exactly the same dress is worn by the female worshippers on a doorjamb in the Mathurā Museum (P2)¹; cf. especially the figure in the upper compartment. There is absolutely nothing to show that the statue was meant for a goddess or a Yakshī or a Nāga woman. Nor do we know of any goddess of the name of Tośā. Now, considering that the image which according to the inscription probably represents a lady called Tośā has been found together with the remnants of three statues which probably are mentioned in the well inscription as having been set up in the stone house of Toshā, we can hardly reject the idea that Tośā and Toshā refer to the same person. The difference in the spelling of the name cannot be regarded as a serious obstacle to the identification as the name appears to be of foreign origin and, moreover, we have even in Sanskrit *kūśma* by the side of *kūshma*, *kośa* by the side of *kośa*, etc. There can be no doubt that the well inscription is about a century older than the statue inscription; it shows the 'archaic' writing that is found in all other records of the time of Śoḍāsa, whereas the statue inscription is dated in the reign of Kanishka and written in the typical clumsy characters of that period. As Tośā cannot have set up a statue during the reign of Kanishka, if her shrine was already in existence at the time of Śoḍāsa, the identification of Tośā and Toshā would definitely prove that *Tośāye patimā* means 'the image of Tośā'. On the other hand, we should be compelled to assume that somebody erected the statue of Tośā at her shrine about a hundred years after her death. Such a posthumous honouring by one of her descendants would not seem to be impossible, if we remember that probably a statue of Vima Kadphises was set up at Māt some time after his death, but I admit that the evidence for the identity of Tośā and Toshā is not much more than a chain of possibilities or probabilities that requires substantial strengthening before it can be regarded as conclusive.

The second line of the inscription affords no help in this respect. *Māthuri kalavaḍā* probably means 'the wife of the *kālavāḍa* of Mathurā', although the formation of the second word is unusual. In analogy to such derivations as *sāthavāhinī* from *sāthavāha*, we should expect rather *kālavāḍinī*. As will appear from the following two inscriptions, *kālavāḍa* or *kālavāḍa* was the title of a high official at Mathurā. Owing to the large lacuna of the text in the beginning of the third line, it is impossible to decide whether *Māthuri kalavaḍā* refers to the person who erected the statue of Tośā or to Tośā herself. Nor can I suggest anything with regard to the meaning of the following three syllables which I have tentatively read *oḍakhi*.

III.—Inscription on a sculptured stone-slab from Mathurā.

This inscription is engraved on a sculptured stone-slab from the **Kaṅkāli Tīlā** at Mathurā, now preserved in the Lucknow Provincial Museum. The slab is figured in V. A. Smith's *Jain Stūpa at Mathurā* (*ASI. New Imp. Ser. Vol. XX*), Plate XIII. The inscription was edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 396, No. 33, and Plate, and commented on *ibid.* p. 393f. I first made it the subject of a learned paper, *JRAS.* 1905, pp. 635-655, and R. D. Banerji treated it briefly, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 49.

¹ Vogel, *Cat. Arch. Mus. Mathurā*, p. 173, and Plate IIb; *Sculpture de Mathurā*, Plate XXIIb.

The inscription which is written in the script preceding that of the Kushān period was read and translated by Bühler as follows:

- “1. [na]mo arahato Vardhamānasya Gotiputrasya Poṭhayaśaka-
2. kālavālāsa
3.¹ Kośikiye Śimitrāye² āyāgapato³ pra.i⁴

Adoration to the Arhat Vardhamāna! A tablet of homage was set up by Śivamitrā (of) the Kauśika (family), (wife) of Gotiputra (Gautiputra), a black serpent for the Poṭhayaśas and Śakas.”

Gotiputra's epithet was explained by Bühler as referring to his fights with the Poṭhayaśas and Śakas, in which he proved to them as destructive as the black cobra is to mankind in general. The Poṭhayaśas he identified with the Proshtas, who are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as a nation of Southern India. Fleet, although agreeing with Bühler in the reading and the literal translation of the epithet, tried to show at great length that by the Śakas were meant the Buddhists and by the Poṭhayaśas the Digambara Jains and that Gotiputra, who himself was a Śvetāmbara Jaina, was marked in the record as being particularly successful in disputation with adherents of those rival creeds.

Many grave objections may be raised against these interpretations, but I deem it unnecessary to enter into a detailed discussion, as in my opinion they are untenable, or at least highly improbable, already for general reasons. An epithet with the meaning assumed by Bühler and Fleet is against the style of these dedicatory inscriptions, which in a formulaic language record facts, but refrain from rhetorical embellishments taken from the language of the Kāvya. Secondly, although metonymics are sometimes used instead of personal names, especially in the case of Buddhist saints, I consider it extremely unlikely that in an inscription like this one a private individual should have been called simply by his metonymic. It is far more probable that just as in innumerable other cases the metonymic was followed by the personal name, and there is no reason why Poṭhayaśaka should not be taken as a name formed by compounding the abbreviated form of the asterism Proshtapada and *yaśas*, or rather their Prakrit equivalents, and adding the suffix *-ka*. Personal names the first member of which is the name of a *nakṣatra* are very common in the period to which the inscription belongs. Poṭha itself occurs in Poṭhaghoshā in the Mathurā inscription No. 59, Poṭhadevā in the Sānchi inscription No. 205 and the hypocoristic form Poṭhaka in the Sānchi inscription No. 342. For *yaśas* as the second member of a compound name we have in epigraphical records Kṛishṇayaśa in the Kanhiyā inscription No. 8, Dhamayaśa (fem.) in the Sānchi inscription 410, Śivayaśa (fem.) and Phaguyaśa in the Mathurā inscription No. 100 and Bhadrayaśa in the Mathurā inscription No. 107. As *Phagu* is a shortened form of *Phalguni* and *Bhadra* an abbreviation of *Bhadrpadā*, the last two names are almost exact counterparts of *Poṭhayaśaka* in our inscription.

If we take Poṭhayaśaka as the name of the husband of Śimitrā, we are driven to the conclusion that the original reading was *Poṭhayaśakasa* and that *kālavālāsa* is an independent word characterising Poṭhayaśaka somehow or other. I think that this is fully confirmed by an examination of the outward appearance of the inscription.

The inscription is damaged both at the beginning and at the end. On the left side a piece of the stone is broken off, which has caused the partial loss of the *na* in the beginning of the upper line and the complete disappearance of three *akṣaras* in the beginning of the lower line. Here

¹ Restore *bhāryāye*.

² Read *Śivamitrāye*.

³ (Bühler: *ayāgapato* (misprint).)

⁴ Restore *pratiśhāpito*.

in use already before the time of the Kushāns, and this is confirmed by its occurrence in the inscriptions on the first Stūpa at Sānchi. No. 340 of Bühler's collection reads¹ *Vedisa Datens kalavaḍasa dānam*. There is a second copy (No. 339) which differs only in the writing of the first word: *Vedasa Datens kalavaḍasa dānam*. A third inscription (No. 195) was read by Bühler *Datakalivatasa dānam*. Bühler identified this inscription with Cunningham's No. 172² which Cunningham himself, in accordance with his facsimile, transcribed *Datakalavaḍasa dānam*. There can be little doubt that here also the true reading is *Datakalavaḍasa*. The word is found once more in the Vakālā inscription, No. 971 of my *List*: *Koḍasa kalavāḍasa*. *Kalavaḍa* and *kalavāḍa* are apparently only defective spellings of *kālavāḍa*, and I therefore feel sure that also in the Mōrā inscription *kalavaḍa* is meant for *kālavāḍa*. Additional proof is furnished by the next inscription.

IV.—Inscription on a sculptured stone-slab from Mathurā.

The inscription is engraved on a beautifully sculptured slab found in the Kankālī Tīlā at Mathurā and now preserved in the Lucknow Provincial Museum. The slab is figured in V. A. Smith's *Jain Stūpa at Mathurā* (*ASI. New Imp. Ser. Vol. XX*), Plate VIII. The inscription was edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 200, No. 8, together with a photolithograph from which it appears that the inscription has suffered a good deal since the time when the impression used by Bühler was taken. Judging from the impressions before me it seems that in the second half of the inscription the lower portion of the letters has now almost entirely disappeared. My reading of the text therefore depends to a certain extent on the reproduction in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II.

TEXT.

namo arahato⁽¹⁾ Māhāvīrasa⁽²⁾ — Māthuraka . . . lavāḍasa⁽³⁾ [sā] . . bhayāye⁽⁴⁾ . .
vara[kh]itāye⁽⁵⁾ āyā[gaṇa]to⁽⁶⁾.

NOTES.

(1) There is a cut to the left of the *ra* which makes it look like *na*. (2) Bühler: *māhāvīrasa*, but the sign of length is attached in the same way as in the *mā* of the following word. (3) Bühler: *Māthuraka . . . lavāḍasa*, which agrees with the photolithograph in the *Ep. Ind.*, whereas in the impression before me *lavā* is almost illegible and the last *sa* is strangely distorted. The *akshara* read *ḍa* by Bühler shows a distinct hook to the right in the impression and is therefore more probably *la*. The two words can safely be restored as *Māthurakasa kālavāḍasa*. (4) This is Bühler's reading and it is evidently correct, although the letters are far less distinct now in the impressions than in the photolithograph. Restore *sāhā bhayāye*. (5) Bühler: . . . *va . . . itāye*, where *i* seems to be a misprint for *ī*. The last four *aksharas* may be called certain. Instead of *ra* the reading *ta* would be possible according to the impressions, but the photolithograph shows a plain *ra*. The name is probably to be restored as *Śivarakhitāye*. (6) Bühler's reading, although enclosed in brackets, is quite distinct in the photolithograph and there can be no doubt that it is correct, but the last three *aksharas* are illegible in the impressions.

TRANSLATION.

Adoration to the Arhat Māhāvīra! The tablet of homage (*is the gift*) of the *kālavāḍa* of Mathurā together with his wife Śivarakhitā (*Śivarakshitā*).

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 366ff.

² *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 258.

REMARKS.

For palaeographical reasons the inscription must be assigned to the period before Kanishka. The fixing of an early date is also supported by the language which is pure Prakrit and further by the fact that the inscription records the setting up of an *āyāgapaṭṭa*. In the Kushān times the dedication of *āyāgapaṭṭas* seems to have gone out of fashion, there being no inscription in Kushān characters on any of the sculptured slabs unearthed at the Kaṅkāli Tīlā.

The two words *Māthurakasa kālavāṣa*, which, though partly restored, may be regarded as perfectly certain, are of special interest, because they give us a hint as to the meaning of the term *Māthuri kālavaṣā* used in the Mōrā inscription, and at the same time confirm what I have said about the social position of the *kālavāṣa*. The donor of the slab would hardly have called himself simply by his title, without adding his personal name, if he had not been an official of very high rank.

V.—Inscription on the pedestal of an image from Gaṇēśhrā.

The inscription is on the pedestal of a standing figure of which only the feet remain. It is incised on the top of the pedestal between the feet. The stone was acquired by Pandit Radha Krishna from a Koli who is said to have obtained it from a Brahmin's house in the village of Gaṇēśhrā, three miles north-west of Mathurā City. It is now in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription was edited by Vogel, *Cat. Arch. Mus. Mathurā*, p. 122, No. G42.

TEXT.

- 1 *Maha[daṁḍa]nā[yakasya]*⁽¹⁾ *yamasha-*
- 2 *[heka]s[ya]*⁽²⁾ *[vi]ś[va]saka[sya]*⁽³⁾ *Ulānāśya*⁽⁴⁾ *paṭimā*

NOTES.

(1) Only the first two *akṣaras* are well preserved, the rest of the word is more or less effaced. Vogel reads *maha[hṛ]nā[yanasya]*, but the reading given above is certain with the exception of the *anuvāra*¹. (2) This is Vogel's reading. The first *akṣara* is possibly *yā*, though the *ā*-stroke would be very short. The lower portion of the *he* and the *ka* and the subscript *ya* have disappeared through the breaking off of the stone. The *he* is doubtful, and instead of *ka* we may read *na*. (3) Vogel: *[vi]ś[va]sya*. The lower portion of *vi* and the subscript *va* are mutilated. There may have been an *ā*-sign attached to the *śva*, but it is doubtful. The third and fourth *akṣaras* are almost completely effaced, but from the faint traces they can be read with certainty as *śaka*. There seems to have been no *i*-sign on the top of the *sa*. (4) Vogel: *Ulanāśya*. The *ā*-sign of *lā* is quite distinct.

TRANSLATION.

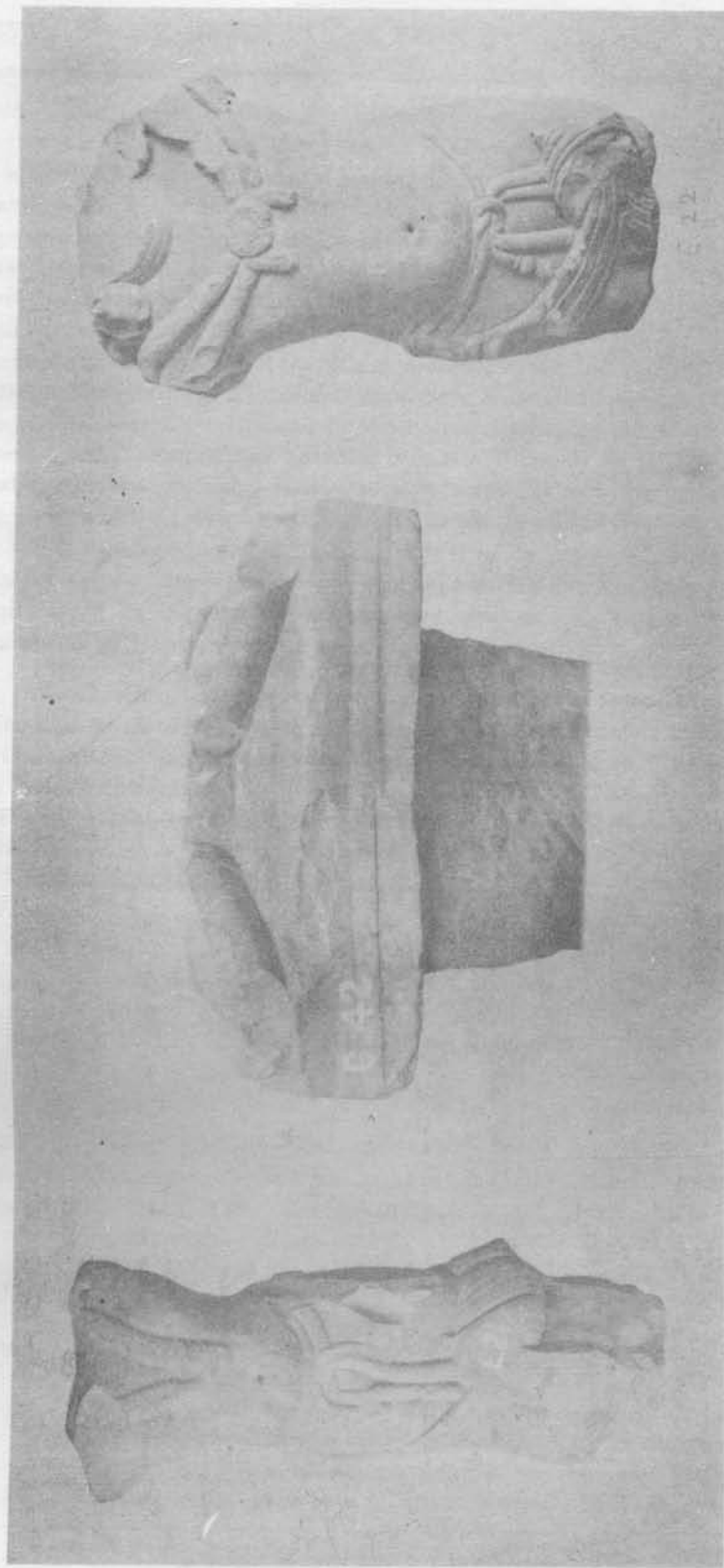
The image of the great general, the *yamashaheka*(?) (and?) *viśvasaka Ulāna*.

REMARKS.

From the inscription it appears that the statue represented the great general Ulāna, who, judging from his name, was certainly a Śaka, *Ulāna* being formed with the suffix *-āna* which is common in the Śaka language. What is left of the statue, points into the same direction. The feet are shod with the same wadded boots that are worn by Kanishka in his well-known statue.

¹ According to Mr. V. S. Agrawala the word was correctly read by Daya Ram Sahni in the *Annual Report Northern Circle*, 1921, p. 3, which is not accessible to me.

SCULPTURES FROM MATHURA MUSEUM.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

As regards Ulāna's titles, *mahādāṇḍanāyaka* occurs again in the Mathurā inscription No. 60 of Sam 74. In my edition of the record¹ I read in ll. 6ff. *mahādāṇḍanāyakasya Vālinasya*, but the true reading appears to be *Valānasya*, and *Valāna* and *Ulāna* being evidently only different spellings of the same name, it is quite possible that the general mentioned in that inscription is identical with the person represented by the statue. The title *viśvasaka* is found in slightly different spellings in several Mathurā inscriptions of the Kushān period. Nos. 127, 128 and 141 record gifts of the *viśvasika* or *viśvasika* Vakamihira, No. 1259 a gift of the *viśvasika* Aśyala or Suśyala. It will be noticed that the title is only borne by persons who by their names are shown to be of foreign descent. Perhaps the correct form of the title is *viśvāsika*. In the *Divyāvadāna* p. 188 it is said of a certain Brāhmaṇa : *sa rājñā Prasenañjitā Kauśalena hastimadhyasy=opari viśvāsikaḥ sthāpitah*, but here also *viśvāsikaḥ* is not warranted by the manuscripts which write either *viśvāsikaḥ* or *viśvāsikaḥ*. *Yamashaheka*, provided the word has been read correctly, would seem to be a foreign title or a local designation, though I cannot suggest anything as to its meaning. But whatever his functions may have been, the title of *mahādāṇḍanāyaka* certainly shows that Ulāna was a high official, and the present inscription, although it is badly preserved and its original place is not known, is yet of great importance as proving that during the Kushān period not only kings, but also dignitaries of lesser rank were honoured by statues. As shown by the following inscription, the statue of Ulāna is not an isolated case.

VI.—Inscription on the base of a male figure from Mathurā.

The inscription, as stated by Vogel, is incised on the base of a male figure, standing, clad in the Indo-Scythian dress : tunic, trousers and boots. He holds a bunch of lotus-flowers in his right hand and an indistinct object in his left. The head is lost. The image was found in a *bāghicha* on the Brindāban road about 1½ miles from Mathurā. It is at present in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription is in a very bad state of preservation, and only the date of the year was read by Vogel, *Cat. Arch. Mus. Mathurā*, p. 110, No. E25. The statue is figured *JRAS.* 1911, Plate VIII, fig. 2.

TEXT.

- 1 sa[va]tsarā⁽¹⁾ 70 2⁽²⁾ h(e) s(e)⁽³⁾ pratha(me)
2 ṛṇasya⁽⁴⁾ pra(timā)

NOTES.

(1) The ā-sign of *rā* is pretty distinct. After *rā* there is a long vertical stroke, apparently caused by a fissure in the stone. (2) The first figure is not quite distinct. Vogel took it to be 40, but it is more probable that it is 70. The second figure is probably 2. (3) The e-sign of *h(e)* and *s(e)*, if they were originally engraved, are entirely obliterated. The word was certainly meant for *hemantamāse*. (4) Before *ṛṇasya* about ten *aksharas* are illegible.

REMARKS.

Although only one complete word and two numerical signs can be read with tolerable certainty, the inscription, in conjunction with the complementary evidence furnished by the dress of the statue, allows us to affirm that, probably in the year 72 of the Kushān era, in the first month of winter the statue of a foreigner, whose name ended in *-ṛṇa*, was set up at Mathurā. The custom of erecting portrait statues seems to have been in vogue among the foreign chiefs at Mathurā

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 242.

during the Kushān period. The Mathurā Museum contains no less than six heads of statues¹ wearing the high conical hata which are an essential part of the Scythian dress. In my opinion, these facts give additional weight to the suggestion that the female statue from Mōrā also represents some lady belonging to a clan of the foreign invaders.

VII.—Inscription on a door-jamb from Mathurā.

The inscription is engraved on the side of a carved door-jamb dug out of an old well in the Mathurā Cantonments in 1913 and is now in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription consists of 12 lines, but the first five lines are so much obliterated that only here and there a letter can be made out with more or less certainty. Each line consisted of nine or ten *aksharas*, of which four or five on the right side are missing. From an examination of the stone Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda came to the conclusion, which undoubtedly is correct, that the epigraph was originally incised on a square pillar which was afterwards cut lengthwise through the inscribed side into two halves and turned into door-jamb. The inscription was first noticed in the *Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March, 1917*, p. 10², and edited by Ramaprasad Chanda, *MAI*. No. 5, pp. 169-173, and Plates XXV and XXVI.

TEXT.

- 1 . [v]
- 2 sa[s]ya⁽¹⁾
- 3 [vas] ⁽²⁾
- 4 [p] . . [ṇa] Śiva⁽³⁾.
- 5 shapu[t]r[e]ṇa Kauśi ⁽⁴⁾
- 6 Vasunā bhaga[va](to Vāsude)- ⁽⁵⁾
- 7 vasya mahāsthāna (śai)-⁽⁶⁾
- 8 laṃ toraṇaṃ ve(dikā cha prati)-⁽⁷⁾
- 9 śtṭhāpito ⁽⁸⁾ prīto [bha](gavān Vāsu)-⁽⁹⁾
- 10 devaḥ svāmi[sya] (mahākshatra)-⁽¹⁰⁾
- 11 pasya Śoḍā[sa](sya) ⁽¹¹⁾
- 12 saṃvartayatām⁽¹²⁾

NOTES.

(1) *Sasya* is distinct, and as we should expect the inscription to begin with the date, the first line is probably to be restored as *svāmisya mahākshatrapasya Śoḍā*. The subscript *va* visible in the first line may have belonged to *svāmisya*. (2) The second *akshara* of this line is *sa* with an indistinct vowel-sign. The preceding *akshara* looks like *va*. Considering that probably the date stood in this line, *vas* is possibly to be restored as *divase*. (3) The reading of the first and third *aksharas* of this line is by no means certain. (*Pra*)*pautreṇa* would be in keeping with the context, but what is visible of the letters can hardly be reconciled with that reading. The fourth *akshara* of the line is *śi* followed by an *akshara* that probably is a *va* of the same shape as in *devaḥ* in l. 10 and *saṃvartayatām* in l. 12, but it may be *ma*. (4) The first *akshara* is clearly *sha* and to the right of it below the line there is a distinct *pu*, so that at first sight one might read *shpu*. However, there seems to be no connecting line between *sha* and *pu*,

¹ G 32, Add. 1252 (from the village of Māt), 1519, 1566 (from Pālī Kherā), 1567, 2122. Two of them are figured in Vogel's *Sculpture de Mathurā*, Plate IV; cf. p. 23; 92.

² This report is not accessible to me.

and I therefore consider it more probable that *pu* was at first omitted by mistake and afterwards inserted below the line. As the second *akshara* certainly had a subscript *ra* and the third *akshara* is *pa*, the reading *shaputrena* naturally suggests itself, and although the upper portion of the second *akshara* is very indistinct, the reading would not seem to be impossible. The fourth *akshara* of the line is *ka* with the ordinary *o*-sign at the top and another very distinct horizontal line to the left. The next *akshara* is *sa*. From the reverse of the inscription it appears that of the two strokes visible at the top of the letter the one to the left is accidental, whereas the stroke on the right seems to be the *i*-sign. Perhaps the two *aksharas* are to be read *Kausi* and the word to be restored as *Kausikīputrena*. (5) The missing *aksharas* were restored by Chanda. (6) The missing portion of the compound *mahāsthāna* can hardly be restored with any certainty. At the end of the line I would supply *sai*. Other possibilities are discussed below. (7) Chanda restores *vedikāḥ* (which seems to be a misprint for *vedikā*) *prati*, but the additional *cha* is indispensable. (8) The *o*-sign of *to* is distinct, but *to* must be a mistake for either *te* or *tāni*. (9) Chanda wrongly restores *bhavatu* instead of *bhagavān*. (10) The missing *aksharas* were restored by Chanda. (11) Something like *aśvāryam* or *āyurbalam* is to be supplied at the end of the line. (12) Chanda read at first *samvartayalam* and afterwards *samvart[e]yālam*. The third *akshara* is undoubtedly *ra*, not *re*, the last *akshara* is *tām*, and the reverse of the impression shows clearly that the supposed *ā*-sign of *ya* is only a flaw in the stone.

TRANSLATION.

. . . by *Vasu*, a gateway of stone (?) and the railing was erected at the . . . of the great temple of *bhagavat Vāsudeva*. May *bhagavat Vāsudeva*, being pleased, promote (the dominion or the life and strength) of *svāmin mahākshatrapa Śoḍāsa*.

REMARKS.

Owing to the extreme uncertainty of the reading, the first five lines of the inscription cannot be translated. As stated above, from the few letters legible in the first two lines it becomes probable that the inscription was dated in the reign of *svāmin mahākshatrapa Śoḍāsa*, and this is borne out not only by palæography, but also by the benediction pronounced on the *mahākshatrapa* in the conclusion. The genealogy of the donor is hopelessly fragmentary. Not a single name can be relied upon, and it is not even quite sure whether the donor's own name was simply *Vasu* or a compound name ending in *-vasu*. Only so much seems to be certain that he was not a foreigner, but a Hindu.

The gift consisted of a gateway (*torāṇa*) and a railing (*vedikā*)¹ and perhaps a third object the name of which ended in *-lam*. Chanda restored *lam* as *chatuṣśālam* which is highly improbable as this term never occurs in inscriptions of this time. Possibly *lam* is the rest of *devakulam* used here in the sense of a small shrine as in the Jaina inscription No. 78, or, more probably, *lam* is to be restored as *śailam*. If the language of the record were quite correct Sanskrit, the predicate would be either *pratiśthāpitāni* or *pratiśthāpīte*. The form actually found in l. 9, (*prati*)*śthāpīto*, is wrong in any case and therefore of no account for the restoration of the subject of the sentence.

The name of the place where the *torāṇa* and the *vedikā* are said to have been erected, is mutilated and cannot be restored, especially because it is doubtful whether one or three syllables are lost after *mahāsthāna*. But whatever the missing syllables may have been, I cannot follow Chanda in taking the term 'the great place of *bhagavat Vāsudeva*' as meaning a spot that was believed to have been either the birthplace of *Kṛishṇa* or the scene of some notable event in his early career.

¹ Chanda translates *vedikā* by 'a square terrace in the middle of the courtyard', but the meaning 'railing' is absolutely certain.

Chanda himself has pointed out that in the Mathurā inscription No. 85 *bhagavato nāgendrasya Dadhikarmasya stāne* means 'in the temple of the holy lord of the serpents Dadhikarma', and I see no reason why *mahāstāna* should not simply denote a large temple or sanctuary also in the present inscription.

As the pillar, perhaps hundreds of years afterwards, was taken away from the large temple of Vāsudeva to be turned into the door-jamb of another building and ultimately to be thrown away into a well, all that can be possibly asserted with regard to the place of that temple is that it stood in Mathurā or somewhere in the environs of the City. The inscription moreover shows that that temple was, if not erected, at any rate enlarged or embellished during the reign of the *mahākshatrapa* Śoḍāsa by a person, who although being a Hindu, seems to have been a high official in the service of the *mahākshatrapa*¹, carrying out the work by order or at the desire of his master, since in the benediction the benefit of the donation is attributed to Śoḍāsa alone. The facts that we can thus ascertain with regard to the temple of Vāsudeva agree in several respects with what we can infer from the Mōrā well inscription about the Bhāgavata sanctuary at that place. There also a temple (*devagriha*) is said to have been adorned with the images of the *pañchavīras* of the Vṛishnis during the reign of Śoḍāsa. If my suggestion that in line 8 of the present inscription *lan* is to be restored as *śālan* should prove correct, this also would be a point of agreement as in the Mōrā inscription also the temple and the images are expressly stated to be of stone (*śūla*). Moreover, as no trace of a stone building has been found at Mōrā, it appears that the temple was intentionally pulled down at some time and the materials carried away and probably used for some other purposes. Of course, these coincidences are no conclusive evidence, but considering everything I think it not improbable that the pillar bearing the present inscription hails from the Bhāgavata temple at Mōrā.

No. 28.—KOSAM INSCRIPTION OF (THE REIGN OF) KANISHKA : THE YEAR 2.

By KUNJA GOBINDA GOSWAMI, M.A., CALCUTTA.

This inscription is engraved on the pedestal of a big standing figure of a Bōdhisattva, which was recovered from the ruins of Kosam (ancient Kauśāmbī). The image is now kept in the Municipal Museum at Allahābād. In 1934, at the time of a visit to the said museum, I came across the image and deciphered the important portions of the inscription. As no photograph or estampage was available at that time, the inscription was first noticed by me in an issue of the Calcutta daily paper, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and subsequently a tentative reading with translation and notes was published in the *Calcutta Review*, July, 1934, without any facsimile. It has, however, now been possible for me to make out the full text of the epigraph with the help of a good photograph and a set of estampages, very kindly supplied by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, Superintendent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta, which he received from the Government Epigraphist for India.

The inscription consists of only two lines of writing. The size of the letters varies between $\frac{3}{4}$ " and $1\frac{1}{4}$ ". The characters are Brāhmī resembling those of the Sārnāth and the Sahēth-Mahēth image inscriptions of the time of Kanishka. The type may be termed "*early Kushana*" after Dr. Vogel, who used this expression in reference to the characters of the Sārnāth inscription of the 3rd year of Kanishka.² It forms a transition between the script of the 'Northern Kshatrapa'

¹ According to the inscription No. 82 the treasurer of Śoḍāsa also was a Brāhmana.

² Above, Vol. VIII, p. 175.

epigraphs¹ and that of the later Kushāṇas.² The middle stroke of *ya* in *pra[tishṭhā]payati* is almost equal in length with the side ones. The subscript *ya* is used here in its full form (e.g. in *rājasya*). In later Kushāṇa inscriptions, this letter, when used in a conjunct is indicated by a cursive form or a loop attached to the left hand side of the central line. The signs for medial *ā* in *rājasya*, *Buddhamitrā* and *trepitīkā*, *e* in *cha(m)kame* and *o* in *-sattvo* are used by horizontal strokes as in the records of earlier period, but *e* in *trepitīkā* and *o* in *bhagavato* show a tendency towards the slanting forms to be found in later Kushāṇa inscriptions.

The stone is much mutilated and although some letters have disappeared, it is not difficult to fill up the lacunæ by means of the clue supplied by associated letters. The first letter *ma* of the word *mahārājasya* in line 1, and the last syllable *ti* of *prati* in the same line have entirely been obliterated ; a portion of the conjunct letter *shṭhā* of *pratiśṭhāpayati* (in lines 1-2) has also been effaced.

The epigraph is dated in the **second year of Mahārāja Kanishka, the second (month) of Hēmanta (winter), the eighth day**, and its purpose is the erection of a *Bōdhisattva* statue by the nun, **Buddhamitrā**, well versed in the *Tripitaka*, at the promenade of the Lord Buddha. So far the records of the 3rd year of Kanishka found at Sārṇāth³ were regarded as the earliest epigraphic evidence of his reign, but now we find that the present one is the earliest Brāhmī inscription of Kanishka, so far discovered.

The language of the inscription is a form of mixed dialect as found generally in the Brāhmī inscriptions of the Kushāṇa period. The genitive case-ending in [*Ma*]hārājasya is a regular Sanskrit termination, but *sa* in *Kanishkasa* and *Buddhasa* is a Prākṛit case-ending.

As I have stated above, the donor of the image is the Buddhist nun Buddhamitrā. We come across the same name among the donors of the Sārṇāth image of the 3rd year of Kanishka.⁴ This name again occurs on an inscribed Bōdhisattva image from Mathurā (now preserved in the Lucknow Museum) of the year 33 of King Huviṣka.⁵ In all these places she is mentioned as well versed in the *Tripitaka*, while in the Sārṇāth and the Mathurā inscriptions, we are further told that she was a female pupil of the monk Bala, who knew the *Tripitaka*. It may be reasonably concluded here that Buddhamitrā of all the records mentioned above, is one and the same person. That she was a very well-known lady appears from the fact that the nun Dhanavatī, donor of a Bōdhisattva image at Mathurā, introduces herself as the sister's daughter of the *Trepitīkā* Buddhamitrā.⁶

The style of the image bearing this inscription is that of the Mathurā school as in the case of the two other Bōdhisattva images found at Sārṇāth⁷ and Śrāvastī.⁸ The material used in each case is the red Agra sand stone. More than three decades ago, Dr. Vogel, while explaining the nature of art of the Sārṇāth image remarked : "Seemingly this Mathurā school created a Bōdhisattva type, specimens of which found thier way to other famous centres of Buddhism."⁹ This statement of his finds corroboration also in the present sculpture.

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 199, plate facing page 200, No. 2.

² The script used in the inscription of the 5th year of Kanishka's reign is similar to that of the later Kushāṇa records. See above, Vol. I, p. 381, No. 1.

³ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 173-179.

⁴ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 176 ; D. R. Sahni, *Cat. of the Sarnath Museum*, pp. 35-36.

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 181f. ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII (1904), pp. 39f.

⁶ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 182.

⁷ D. R. Sahni, *Cat. of the Sarnath Museum*, No. B(a)ii, plate VII.

⁸ Above, Vol. VIII, plate facing p. 181.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

The image is badly damaged. Its head and right arm are broken and lost. The left hand rests on the hip and holds the upper garment, which leaves the right shoulder bare. The folds of the dress are quite prominent. A double girdle tied round the loins keeps in the lower garment which reaches beneath the knees. Five lotus buds tied together, with a full-bloomed flower at the top, are found between the legs. There is another full-bloomed lotus by the side of the left leg of the image.¹ The difference of this sculpture with the one found at Sarnāth is that we find lotuses between the two legs in the former case, while in the latter the same place has been occupied by a lion.

TEXT.

- 1 [Ma]h[ā]rājasya Kaṇ[i]shkasa saṃva[tsa]r[e] 2 h[e] 2 di 8 Bodhisatvo(ttvaṃ) pra[ti]-
2 [shṭhā]payati bhikhuṇi Buddhamitrā trepit[ī]kā bhagavato Buddhasa cha[rṇ]kame²

TRANSLATION.

In the year 2, of *Mahārāja Kaṇishka*, on the 8th day of the 2nd (month) of Hēmana, (Buddhist) nun Buddhamitrā, who is well versed in the Tripiṭaka, sets up (*this image of*) Bōdhisattva at the promenade of the Lord Buddha.

No. 29.—DOHAD STONE INSCRIPTION OF MAHAMUDA (BEGARHA) : V. S. 1545, SAKA 1410.

BY H. D. SANKALIA, M.A., LL.B., PH.D. (LOND.).

This inscription is preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. It is now published for the first time from the stone itself as well as with the help of ink-impressions made available by the courtesy of the Trustees of the said Museum. The editor has also to thank Mr. G. V. Acharya, the Curator of the Archaeological Section, and Mr. R. K. Acharya, for assisting in deciphering a few passages of the inscription. The stone on which it is inscribed measures 3' 3" by 1' 7" and is reported to have come from Dohad, the chief town of the Sub-Division Dohad in the District of the Pāṇch Mahāls, Bombay Presidency, 77 miles north-east of Baroda. Besides the two vertical cracks across the stone, it is chipped off at several other places, which has made the deciphering difficult. The difficulty is enhanced by the application of vermilion or some other pigment on the stone. The record contains 22 lines of writing, a few letters of the first line and many of the last two lines being completely effaced. The average size of the letters is $\frac{1}{4}$ ".

The inscription is dated in **Vikrama 1545, Śaka 1410, Vaiśākha śudi 13** (and perhaps also in the Hijra era which might have been mentioned in the first half of line 21, which including the name of the day is now completely chipped off). This corresponds to Thursday, April 24, A.D. 1488 (and to H. 893 Jamāda'l awwal).³ With regard to the date it is to be noted that the inscription records Śaka as well as Vikrama era and that this is a feature not only of all the Sanskrit

¹ Kern Institute, *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, Vol. IX (1934), pl. II(c).

² Mr. A. Ghosh entertained some doubt about my reading of the year 2, and suggested a symbol for 20, before 2 (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. X, pp. 575-78); but from the photograph and the estampage, it is perfectly clear that his assumption is not correct. The writing immediately preceding the figure 2 is not a symbol for 20, but the last portion of the word *saṃva[tsa]r[e]*. Again the last word of the inscription is *cha[rṇ]kame* and not *paṇkame* as read by Mr. Ghosh. In the estampage and the photograph *cha* is quite clear.

³ Cf. S. K. Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. V, p. 178.

KOSAM INSCRIPTION OF KANISHKA: THE YEAR 2.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTTI.
 REG. NO. 1898 E 38-275.

(From an impression).
 SCALE: TWO-FIFTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

inscriptions¹ of Mahmūd's time found in Gujarāt but also of some other inscriptions of Northern India;² whereas inscriptions found in Kāthiāwār,³ during this period, use only the Vikram era.⁴

The script is Dēvanāgarī and calls for no remarks.

With regard to orthography also there is nothing particular to note, excepting the frequent use of *anusvāra* instead of final *m* and the doubling of consonants after *r* in some cases, for example, *dharmma* (ll. 4 and 18) and *kirtti* (l. 8).

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and with the exception of the introductory invocation and the portion after the stanza 26 the entire composition is in verse.

Unfortunately as the last three lines are badly defaced it is not possible to say with certainty whether the inscription belongs to the reign of Mahmūd Begarhā or whether it is his own, that is, ordered to be inscribed by Mahmūd himself to record his deeds. From the sense that can be gathered from the last lines it appears that the inscription was engraved after the building of the fort of Dadhipadra (Dohad) by Imādalamulaka⁵ (i.e., Imād-ul-mulk), the chief minister of Mahmūd Begarhā, and it incidentally gives the genealogy and the deeds of the Gujarāt Sultāns and particularly those of Mahmūd. It is, however, the first inscription⁶ of the reign of Mahmūd Begarhā or of his predecessors that gives some details of the deeds, viz., of the wars won and buildings constructed by Mahmūd and his predecessors.

The inscription opens with an invocation to a goddess, who is said to be residing in Kashmīr,⁷ after which it mentions one Mudāphara Pātasāha, who seems to be no other than Muzaffar I of Gujarāt.

The inscription then gives the following genealogy of the Sultāns of Gujarāt: (1) Shāh Mudāphara; (2) his son, Mahammada; (3) in his family, Shāh Ahammada; (4) his son, Shāh Mahammada; (5) in his family, Shāh Mahamūda.

¹ Bāi Harīr's Ins., *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 368 and above, Vol. IV, pp. 298ff; Adalja Vāv Ins., *Revised List Antiquarian Remains, Bombay Presidency*, p. 300.

² See Bhandarkar, *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, Nos. 723 and 1121; 736 and 1126; 737 and 1127; 748 and 1128; 757 and 1129; 773 and 1130; 873 and 1136; 901 and 1138; 967 and 1146.

³ See *Revised List, etc.*, pp. 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 245, 246, 248-49, 251, 254, 257, 263.

⁴ This implies that the catholicity, as regards the use of the era, which was noticed in Kāthiāwār at the end of the 13th century had disappeared in the subsequent period.

⁵ For details see below.

⁶ Other inscriptions published so far are:—Arabic Inscriptions: *Revised List, Antiquarian Remains, Bombay Presidency*, pp. 303, 306-07; one is reported in *An. Rep., A. S. I.*, 1927-28, p. 146; it is said to give the names of the Sultāns of Gujarāt who were associated with the completion of the town of Dohad; two from the Halol gate, Chāmpāner, are published in *Ep. Indo-Mos.*, 1929-30, p. 4. Sanskrit Inscriptions: from Adalja, *Rev. List*, p. 310; Bāi Harīr's Inscription, *Rev. List*, p. 300; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 368 and above, Vol. IV, p. 298. Of all the inscriptions—either of the Muslim rulers themselves or of Hindu kings referring to their Muslim overlords—till about A.D. 1500, only one record comes very near to the present one, viz., the Inscription of Sādharā of V. S. 1373 found at Lādṛ in the Jodhpur State. It is in Sanskrit, in verse and though it emanates from a petty chief in Rājputāna it incidentally gives the genealogy of the Muslim emperors of Delhi, from Shihāb-ud-dīn Ghūrī to Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī. For details see above, Vol. XII, pp. 17-27.

⁷ Other inscriptions of Mahmūd's time do not lend us much help in the attempt to identify this goddess. She seems to be Brāhmī alias Sarasvatī, for a Jain writer, Chandraprabhasūri (A. D. 1278) of Gujarāt, uses identical expression *dēvin Kāsmīravāsinīm* in the section on Hēmachandra (Hēmachandrasūripṛabandha), verses 39-48, of his work *Prabhāvakā-charita* (Ed. Hirananda Sharma, Bombay, 1909) for telling us that Hēmachandra worshipped the goddess Brāhmī of Kāsmīra and became a *Siddhacharavata*. [The reference may be to the goddess Durgā—Sarasvatī probably of the Śārada shrine of Kashmīr which was well known in India even in the 15th and 16th centuries. See Stein, *Kalhana's Chronicle of Kashmīr*, Vol. II, pp. 279 ff.—Ed.]

This differs from the genealogy given by the Muslim historians) and also accepted by the authors of the *Cambridge History of India*¹ in some respects) as considered below.

Firishta² and the authors of the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*,³ the *Mirāt-i-Ahmedi*,⁴ and of the *Arabic History of Gujarāt*⁵ give the following list :—

(1) Muzafar Shāh (Muẓaffar I); (2) Ahmad Shāh (Aḥmad); (3) his son, Muhammad Shāh (Muḥammad); (4) his son, Kutub-ud-din (Qutb-ud-dīn Aḥmad Shāh); (5) Daud (Dā'ūd) and (6) Mahmūd (Maḥmūd I), second son of Muḥammad Shāh.

Thus our inscription leaves out Nos. (4) and (5), viz., Kutub-ud-din, son⁶ of Muhammad Shāh, and Daud, a brother⁷ of the latter (No. 3) and an uncle of the former (No. 4). But it does take note of Mahammada (called by the Muslim historians "Muhammada")—a name which was bestowed upon Tātār Khān by his father Zafar Khān before the latter proceeded to Delhi.⁸ This event, however, took place when Zafar Khān was still a governor under the Delhi emperors and not an independent ruler of Gujarāt. Our inscription seems to refer to Mahammada in that capacity when it calls him *Mahipati*, though it is possible that this title merely recalls the short period of Mahammada's sovereignty referred to above. The latter inference is all the more probable because the inscription besides giving him the epithet *Mahipati* does not credit him with any conquests.

But it is not in our inscription alone that the names Kutub-ud-din and Daud are omitted. They are not found also in two Arabic inscriptions—one⁹ of Mahmūd himself and the other¹⁰ from Bāi Harīr's well. They are missing also in the legends on the silver coins of Mahmūd.¹¹ Moreover, these inscriptions refer to Muhammad (Tātār Khān), son of Muẓaffar Shāh, as Muhammad Shāh, implying thereby that he was one of the independent Sultāns of Gujarāt.

Two other points in the genealogy of the present record are worth noting. (1) Though Ahammada (No. 3) and Mahamūda (No. 5) were the sons of Nos. 2 and 4 respectively, they are not explicitly called so as Nos. 2 and 4 are called the sons of Nos. 1 and 3 respectively. They are merely introduced with the words "in the family were born...". (2) The names of Kutub-ud-din and Daud are omitted from the list. The omission of Daud may be understood because his reign was very brief; moreover, he was not the direct descendant. But Kutub-ud-din was the eldest son of Mahammada and had a glorious, though brief, reign of about 7 years,¹² and the reason¹³ for his omission in the epigraphs cannot be easily explained. It is possible that

¹ Vol. III, pp. 295 ff. and p. 711.

² *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power* (Tr. from the Persian by Briggs), Vol. IV, pp. 1 and 9; though on pp. 8-9 Firishta does cite a historian according to whom Muẓaffar Shāh himself, before proceeding to Delhi, conferred upon his son the title 'Gheias-ood-Dowla-ood-Deen Mohamed Shah'.

³ Tr. by Faridi, p. 7; he also says that Zafar Khān had invested Tātār Khān with the title of Nāsirudīn Muḥammad Shāh. But this was before Zafar Khān declared his independence.

⁴ Tr. by Bird, pp. 195, 197, 201-02.

⁵ *Zafar-ul-Wāliḥ bi Muẓaffar wa Aliḥ* (ed. Ross), pp. 1, 3, 14, 909 (see Vol. III, Index).

⁶ See the authorities cited in notes above.

⁷ Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 9; Faridi, *op. cit.*, p. 9. Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 179 (according to Firishta, Tātār Khān imprisoned his father and assumed the title of Mohammed Shāh); Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 904 gives his name as Muḥammad Khān, and Tātār Khān as his title.

⁸ *Ep. Indo-Mos.*, 1929-30, p. 4.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 367.

¹⁰ See *Catalogue of the Coins in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, Sultans of Gujarat*, p. xxii.

¹¹ *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 301-303; Briggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-44; Faridi, *op. cit.*, p. 41; Ross, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 200, 451.

¹² It cannot be that he died in suspicious circumstances, because his father Muhammad also died in similar circumstances (Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 36), though the *Cambridge History of India* (Vol. III, p. 301) says that he died of severe illness.

the inclusion of Muhammad I and the omission of Kutub-ud-din and Daud in all the epigraphs—Sanskrit and Arabic—of Mahmūd's reign may be with a certain motive which we do not know. But it is difficult to say that all of them derived their information from the same source which was not as exhaustive as those of the historians we know of, because Daud and Kutub-ud-din were the immediate predecessors of Mahmūd and thus not so far removed from him that the family records would forget them. On the contrary the family records are likely to possess much more information about them than outsiders should—and that perhaps accounts for the divergent genealogies of the epigraphs and the historians.

Further historical information we can gather from this record is that Muzaffar Shāh is called *Mudāphara* and *Nṛipaprabhu*. This latter epithet perhaps implies the establishment of the independent kingdom of Gujarāt in A.D. 1396 acquired by that Sultān by severing his allegiance to the Delhi emperors.¹ The capital of this kingdom was Pattana, the ancient Anahilapattana of the Chaulukyas of Gujarāt (c. 960-1300 A.D.). His previous conquest over Farhat-ul-Mulk, the disobedient governor of Gujarāt and other kings of the neighbouring provinces,² while still a governor under the Delhi Emperor Muhammad Shāh seems to be referred to by the words *nṛipakulam=akhilam yō vijity=ādhitasthau*.

Mudāphara's son **Mahammada** is merely called a *Mahīpati*. In absence of any other details this epithet does not mean much, and in reality Mahammada did not succeed his father, nor many exploits are credited to him by historians, hence the unembellished epithet seems to be justified.

After Mahammada comes **Ahammada**. He is said to be born to adorn the earth, and one who was omniscient (and knew) the essence of all religions, worldly things and thoughts. Further, not only did he afflict by his prowess and conquer the lord of Mālava but took his land³ as well as wealth. History bears out, to some extent, the truth of these words of praise for Ahmad. As to the other praises, Ahmad may well be called an "ornament of the earth" because he was one of the first great Sultāns of Gujarāt and consolidated his dominions and founded the city of Ahmadābād, though, strange to say, there is no reference to this city among his achievements, but it is perhaps referred to only incidentally in verse 20.

Ahammada was really an eyesore to the King of Mālavas, who, we know from the Muslim historians, was Hūshang Shāh. Twice, in 1411 and 1418, he repulsed the invasions of Hūshang on Gujarāt.⁴ Not content with this he himself invaded Mālwa in 1419,⁵ but was only successful in defeating and compelling Hūshang to take refuge in the fort of Māndū. Once again,⁶ he invaded Mālwa in 1422 when Hūshang had gone to raid Orissa, but did not succeed in capturing Māndū. The result of these invasions was not very fruitful. Ahmad could only plunder and devastate the outlying territory of Mālwa, but not annex it to that of Gujarāt. Epigraphical reference to the seizure of the country of Mālava,⁷ therefore remains unconfirmed by other historical sources.

¹ For details see *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 294-95.

² For details see *ibid.*, and Briggs, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 4-10 and Faridi, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-7; 9-10; Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

³ See below n. 7.

⁴ Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 16, 18; Faridi, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-15; *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 296-7.

⁵ Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 21-22; Faridi, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.

⁶ Briggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-25; Faridi, *op. cit.*, p. 18; *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, p. 296.

⁷ Expressed by *jayrāha tad-dēśa-dhanam cha paśchāt*; but if this expression is dissolved as *tad-dēśasya dhanam* and not as a *Dvandva* compound: *tad-dēśam cha dhanam cha*, then it merely means that Ahammada seized the wealth of the country, i.e., plundered the country. For details see Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 17, 26, 30; Faridi, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 17, 19, 21; Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 183; *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 296-99. [See p. 223, n. 3.—Ed.]

It is remarkable that the inscription is silent about some of the other wars¹ of Ahmad, particularly with those of the Chūdāsāmā Chief of Gīrnār, King Nasīr of Khāndesh, Rājā of Chāmpāner² whom he made a vassal in 1422, and the Bahmani king, Alā-ud-dīn Ahmad of the Deccan.

About Ahammada's son, **Mahammada**, the inscription has not much to say and rightly so. For though he is credited with victories³ over Rājā Bīr of Idar, Rājā Kumbha of Mewār, and Rājā Gaṅgādās⁴ of Chāmpāner, some Muhammadan historians describe him as a coward who turned his back when attacked by Sulṭān Mahmūd of Mālwa and as a result of his cowardice was poisoned and killed by his wife⁵ at the instigation of some officers. Mahammada's one virtue was that he was exceedingly generous,⁶ for which he was called "Karīm"⁷ by the Muslims.

Immediately after Mahammada, we are introduced to **Mahamūda**, omitting, as mentioned above, his two immediate predecessors. Mahamūda is popularly known as Mahmūd Begarhā (Gujarātī *Begardā*). The inscription says that he was noble⁸ in warfare and further speaks something of **Gyāsaddīna**, and it is not clear whether it refers to Mahamūda or to some one in his family. If it does refer to Mahamūda then it is surprising to find this title, meaning "the Aid of the Faith" (Ghiyās-ud-dīn), given to Mahmūd, because the title given to him in his coins⁹ and inscriptions¹⁰ is usually Nasir-ud-duniyā Wa-ud-din meaning "Defender of the Faith and the World," whereas Muhammad II, son of Ahmad I, alone is called by the epithet "Ghiyās-ud-dīn" in his coin legends.¹¹

Unfortunately there are some breaches in the lines dealing with his wars, which make it difficult to identify them in all cases. Verse 8 says something about Mahmūd's relation with the 'Lord of the South' and the Chief of **Damana** (?) and his subjugation of the earth (?) till the **Raivata**. The first reference seems to be the help that Mahmūd gave to Nizām Shāh, the King of the Deccan against the two attacks of Mahmūd Khilji of Mālwa in 1462 and 1463.¹² The second reference appears to relate to the submission of the King of Pārdi, near Daman, to Mahmūd in 1464.¹³

The mention of **Raivata**, that is, Mt. Girnar at Junāgarh, has reference, perhaps, to the first invasion of that state by Mahmūd in 1466, when its chief Rao Māṇḍalik was compelled to pay tribute and to discontinue even the insignia of royalty.¹⁴ The next verse says that Mahmūd conquered that impregnable fort (?) of Junāgarh (**Jīrpa**) and to commemorate this victory, the mountain **Raivata** itself was made a pillar of victory. This implies the final conquest of the Junā-

¹ See *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 296-99.

² See below, p. 217, n. 4.

³ *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 300-01; Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 35; Faridi, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24.

⁴ See below, p. 217, n. 4.

⁵ Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 36; Faridi, *op. cit.*, p. 26 attributes this action to one Sayad.

⁶ In *Mīrāt-i-Sikandarī*, p. 23, it is said that he earned for himself the name of "Gold Giver".

⁷ Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 36, "Kurreem or the Merciful". Cf. Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 196, "Zir-Baksh".

⁸ See below, p. 217 and Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 69-70.

⁹ *Catalogue, Sultans of Gujarat*, p. xxii.

¹⁰ *Ep. Indo-Mos.*, 1929-30, pp. 3-5; *Rev. List*, p. 253.

¹¹ *Catalogue, op. cit.*, p. xxi.

¹² *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 304-05; Briggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-51; Faridi, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-52; Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 206 mentions one encounter (1461-2) only; Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 305; not mentioned in Bird, *ibid.*; Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 51 does not mention Daman but refers to a march between Gujarāt and Kōṅkan in 1465; Faridi, *op. cit.*, p. 52 mentions a march against the Barodar mountains and the conquest of a rock fortress; Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 18, mentions the conquest of Bardu, "on hill-top overlooking Daman".

¹⁴ *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, p. 305; Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 52, places the first invasion in 1469; Faridi, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54 and Bird, *op. cit.*, place it in about 1467; Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

garh fort, and the annexation of Sorath to Gujarāt, in December 1470.¹ Muslim historians further tell us that the King of Gīrnār was compelled to surrender. He then accepted Islam, and was given the title of Khān Jahān. At the foot of the hill Mahmūd founded the city of Mustafābād, which became one of his capitals and also a favourite residence.²

Verses 10-12 tell us that Mahmūd then took **Chāmpaka**(*padra* ?), i.e., modern Chāmpāner, conquered the fort of **Pāvaka**,³ i.e., Pāvāgarh, captured its chief alive and ruled in that city. Here we have an allusion to the principal events in the final conquest of Chāmpāner and its hill fortress Pāvāgarh by Mahmūd. Chāmpāner held a strategic position between Mālwa and Gujarāt. Its rulers were Rājputs of the Chauhān clan,⁴ and the only Hindu principality near the Gujarāt capital. So whenever the King of Mālwa wanted to attack Gujarāt he first instigated the Chief of Chāmpāner, or when the latter felt aggrieved he himself harassed the Gujarāt Sultāns by plundering their territory. Skirmishes and even serious battles had often taken place in the past between these two neighbours, but none of the Sultāns before Mahmūd could conquer Pāvāgarh and subdue its chiefs for long.

Mahmūd was aware of the rebellious deeds of the Chāmpāner chief, who was perhaps Jayasinhha,⁴ but he did not get a suitable opportunity to attack that kingdom. He got this in 1482 when one of his governors, Malik Sūdhā, in charge of the country neighbouring Chāmpāner was killed by Patāi, the Rājā of that kingdom. Enraged by this action he invaded Chāmpāner, occupied it and built a mosque there. Patāi thereafter took shelter in Pāvāgarh, to which Mahmūd laid siege. This lasted for 21 months and at the end of which the fort was stormed by a strategy. Betrayed by this the Rājputs who were already reduced to their last straits, performed *jauhar* burning alive the women (to this a reference seems to have been made by the inscription), and marched forth to give an open battle to the Muslims. It is said that all of them were slain, but Rājā Patāi and a minister named Dungarsi were captured alive. Mahmūd was pleased with their courage and brave defence and after they were cured of their injuries in war, they were asked to embrace Islam. On their refusal to do so Mahmūd imprisoned them, and gave them time to think over his offer. But when they persisted in their resolve not to become Muslims,

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 305-06; p. 55; p. 57 and p. 209 (in 1472) respectively.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 306-07; p. 56, p. 57, p. 209 and pp. 20, 25, 26 respectively.

³ According to an inscription of Jayasinhha V. S. 1525, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 2. See also Rawlinson, *Rās Mālā*, Vol. I, p. 357; *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. III, p. 304; Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 66. They are now represented by the rulers of the Chhota Udepur and Devgad Baria States.

⁴ He was ruling at Pāvakadurga (according to the inscription cited in the note above) in V. S. 1525 and was perhaps still the ruler of the place when Mahmūd attacked it. In fact verse 21 of our inscription does speak of one Jayadēva, and, I believe, these two are identical kings. For their names tally very closely with 'Jay-singh' who according to the authors of the *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī* (as cited by Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 212) and *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* (Faridi, *op. cit.*, p. 59) was the King of Chāmpāner whom Mahmūd defeated. Moreover, the name of his father and forefathers as mentioned in the inscription and by the Muslim historians also tally. Thus:

Inscription of Jayasinhha of V. S. 1525.

Muslim Historians.

Viradhavala = Virsingh (*Tabakāt-i-Akbarī*); perhaps contemporary of Ahmad Shāh.

Trimbakabhūpa = Trimbakdās (*Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*, pp. 15-17); also contemporary of Ahmad Shāh.

Gangarājēsvara = Gangadās (*Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*, pp. 24 and 30); contemporary of Kutb-ud-din.

Other chroniclers (for instance, Firishta, Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 66) call him 'Beny Ray'; Faridi, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-67, also calls him 'Rāwāl Patāi'; Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 212, calls him 'Rawal Tuppai'; Bayley, *Local Muhammadan Dynasties, Gujarat* (1886), p. 211, "Rai Patāi". From this it appears that the chiefs of Chāmpāner were known as Rāya, as the kings of other Chāhamāna or Chauhān families were called. 'Patāi' seems to be the contraction, as Watson has rightly said *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 2), of the word 'Pāwāpati' or the lord of Pāvā.

they were executed at the end of five months.¹ And after that Mahmūd founded the city of Muhammadābād and a fort around it called Jahān panāh.

The purport of verses 13-15 seems to be that Imādala was appointed to govern (?) (this newly acquired) province.

The next few verses continue to speak of Malika Imādala, his conquest of Pallidēsa and the construction of a fortress there. A reference to the same fort, built by the orders of Imādala as well as to the excavation of (two) tanks seems to be contained in verse 19. This Pallidēsa seems to be, as shown below,² some part of the Godhrā District and not the famous district of this name in Rājputāna.

Verse 20 speaks of a well, apparently caused to be dug by Imādala, at Ahammadapura, which probably refers to Ahmadābād and not to Ahmadnagar.³

Verse 21 again tells us that Imādala constructed an excellent fort and an artificial lake [at Champakapura (Chāmpāner) ?] with the consent of (?) Mahamūda Shāh. The former perhaps refers to the outer wall and special fortification that Mahmūd ordered to be built round Chāmpāner.⁴

Verses 22 and 25 mention the lord of Bāgūla, called Jayadēva in v. 22, and the complete destruction of his forces by Imādala. Verse 23 mentions the conquest of Rāyadurga or 'the fort of the Rāya (king),' probably belonging to the same ruler. Verse 24, however, again speaks of the destruction and capture of a fort. Now, it is not quite clear whether all these verses refer to the same conquest of the Pāvāgarh Chief, whose name was Jayadēva and who is to be identified with the Jayasimhadēva of the Pāvāgarh inscription, or Jayadēva, the lord of Bāgūla, was a person different from the Chief of Pāvāgarh. The only point in favour of accepting the first suggestion is the use of the word *divvijaya* in v. 23. The victory over Pāvāgarh may have been considered a *divvijaya* (world-conquest), as it was not accomplished so far by any of the Gujarāt Sultāns; and it was, further, the last Hindu kingdom which had remained independent so far. It cannot be argued that the conquest of Champakapura has once been referred to, and a further detailed reference is not expected as we find the mention of Pāvaka again in v. 25. This question, however, cannot be satisfactorily decided till Bāgūla remains unidentified. It may have been another name of the tract over which the Chāmpāner Chief ruled possibly due to a confusion with the name of the adjacent territory known as Vāgaḍa or it may be the same as Bāglān, which was a petty Rājput State between Gujarāt and the Deccan.⁵ There is, however, no reference to a victory over 'Bāgūla' in Muslim chronicles.

Verse 26 which is only partly legible, speaks of the beautiful fort at Dadhipadra, modern Dohad, probably built by Imādala Mulaka in Śaka 1401 and Vikrama 1545. Line 21, however, seems to refer to its repair by Imādala Malika on a particular day, the details of which are obliterated.

¹ C. H. I., Vol. III, pp. 309-10; Faridi, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67; Firishta, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 66-70; Ross, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-31.

² For details see p. 221 below.

³ For details see p. 219 below.

⁴ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. i, p. 247 and Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 212; Bayley, citing *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī*, *op. cit.*, p. 210. It is strange that there is no reference to this in *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*, which is usually followed by the author of *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*; C. H. I., Vol. III, p. 612 and pl. XXV. A note in Bayley, *op. cit.*, p. 212, says that "this appears to have been an upper citadel; apparently the remains of the upper fort now existing are of Muhammadan construction, and are attributed to Mahmūd Bigarha, who is said to have named the citadel Mān Mahēsh". See *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. III, p. 190.

⁵ South and perhaps contiguous to the Pallidēsa (modern Godhrā tālukā) of the inscription. For details see pp. 220-21 below.

Verse 26 seems to give us a totally new information. None of the Muslim historians attributes the construction of or repairs to a fort at Dadhipadra (Dohad) to Mahmūd or to any of his friends whose deeds are described at length by the author of the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*.¹

The inscription, it will be found, records all the important conquests of Mahmūd till about A.D. 1490, the date of the record, but omits Mahmūd's expeditions to Sind and Jagat (Dwārka) in A.D. 1472 and 1473 respectively.²

The inscription, in lines 11, 13, 15-17, 20 and 21, refers to the deeds of a person designated as (1) Imādala, (2) Imādala Malika, (3) "Vira" Imādala, (4) Imādala Mulaka and (5) Imādala Malika respectively.

The context in which the first is mentioned is not clear. He seems to have been entrusted with the 'protection of a country', probably the newly acquired country of Chāmpāner. The second, Malika Imādala, conquered Pallidēsa and built a fort there. The third built a fort at Champakapura; whereas Imādala Mulaka, the fourth, made a gift (in connexion with the fort at Dadhipadra). The last, Malika Imādala, repaired the same (?) fort in his possession (*malikīm*?).

From the context it appears that all these deeds were performed by one and the same person, namely, Imādala Mulaka, which are described chronologically in the inscription—from the time of his appointment 'to protect a country' to his repairing a fort at Dadhipadra in Śaka 1410.

This Imādala Mulaka may be identified with Imād-ul-Mulk,³ which was a designation for the post resembling premiership. During Mahmūd's regime there were three⁴ such 'Imād-ul-Mulks': (1) Imād-ul-Mulk Sha'bān, (2) Imād-ul-Mulk Hāji Sultāni, and (3) his son Buda. It was the first who helped Mahmūd to fight the conspiracy at the time of his accession to the throne; while Buda must be the person who assisted Mahmūd in his conquest of Chāmpāner, etc., and who built and repaired the fort of Dadhipadra (Dohad), because his father, Hāji Sultāni had died just before the invasion of Chāmpāner.⁵

The inscription refers to the following places: Ahammadapura, Champaka(padra), Champakapura, Dadhipadra; (the lords of) Gurjara, Mālavaka, Damana and Bāgūla; the forts of Pāvaka and Jirpa (?); and the mountain Raivataka.

The context in which Ahammadapura is mentioned is not clear, nevertheless it probably refers to the city of Ahmadābād, founded by Ahmad Shāh on the site of the old city of Asāwal,⁶ and not to Ahmadnagar, (also built by him⁷), because Mahmūd is not credited with the construction of any building at Ahmadnagar, while at the former city he erected a number of splendid edifices⁸ and surrounded it with a wall and bastions just after the conquest of Chāmpāner.⁹

Champaka(padra) or Champakapura is the modern Chāmpāner, the ancient splendour of which is vividly described by historians.¹⁰ There are still some ruins of the buildings constructed

¹ See Faridi, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-88; Bayley, *op. cit.*, pp. 238 ff. This historian, however, mentions one 'Imād-ul-Mulk Malik 'Alm who built 'Alm pūrah, "one of the most beautiful of the suburbs of Ahmadābād". But as Dadhipadra is to be definitely identified with Dohad this information does not help us much.

² *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 306-07.

³ According to the kind suggestion of my friend, Mr. Gyani, of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

⁴ See *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 304 and 309.

⁵ See *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, p. 309.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 300.

⁷ Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

⁸ *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, p. 612.

⁹ Cf. Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 70, "at this period".

¹⁰ Abul Fasl, *Āin-i-Akbari*, Vol. II, pp. 241 and 242.

by Mahmūd at Chāmpāner. Of these—the walls of the citadel, its bastions and gateways, custom house, mosques and tombs—the finest is the *Jāmi Masjid*.¹

Dadhipadra is identified with Dohad, and literally means a village (*padra*) on the Dadhi. The latter may be identified with the river Dadhimati, on which Dohad now stands.² Dadhipadra is also mentioned in the inscriptions³ of Jayasimha and Kumārapāla found at Dohad.

Our inscription settles the question regarding the construction of the fort at Dohad, which was left vague by the Muslim historians. The author of the *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, for instance, says at one place⁴ that Ahmad Shāh built a fort in "the market town of Dahmod, among the mountains;" while at another place⁵ the construction of the fortifications at Dohad is credited to Muzaffar II. But it appears from the account of the author of the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* that Dahmod and Dohad refers to one and the same place and that the fort at Dohad was built by Ahmad I⁶ while the same was repaired by Muzaffar on his way to Mālwa in about 1514.⁷

From the context in which the fort at Dadhipadra occurs in our inscription it appears that a fort was already there⁸ (perhaps built by Ahmad I as shown above), but it was in ruins and was subsequently repaired⁹ in the reign of Mahmūd I by Malika Imādala.

As I have mentioned before, the country of **Bāgūla** may be the same as Buglana mentioned by Firishta¹⁰ or Bāglāna by Abul Fazl and others.¹¹ According to the former, it was a 'district contiguous to Surat'; according to the latter, it was a mountainous, well-peopled country between Surat and Nandarbar. These descriptions correspond to one of the subdivisions of the modern Nāsik District¹² known as Bāglān. Muslim historians tell us that the chiefs of this place belonged to a Rāshtrakūṭa family, perhaps identical with that of the Rāṭhōḍs of Kanauj¹³; and that their hereditary title was Baharji—which may be the same as Baaurah, a family name of the ruling house of Kanauj, according to Masudi.¹⁴ They also mention that the country had seven forts, two of which, viz., Mulher and Sāler, were places of unusual strength.¹⁵

From very early times Bāglān was a half-way house between the Deccan and the Gujarāt coast. At the end of the 13th century it had given protection to its overlord Karṇa, the last Hindu ruler of Gujarāt. Later it was always a bone of contention between the Sultāns of Gujarāt

¹ For description of this and other buildings see *Arch. Sur. West. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 41 and pls. LVI, LVIII, LXI and XIV; and *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 612-13 and pl. XXV.

² Mythologically the town was called Dudhipuranagara after the temple of Dudhēśvara Mahādēva on the banks of the river Dadhimati. The latter was so named in honour of the sage Dadhichi who lived there. As shown above Dadhipadra is the most natural etymology of the name; Dudhipuranagara seems to be a later attempt to show the antiquity of the Śiva temple at the place.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 159.

⁴ Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

⁶ Faridi, *op. cit.*, p. 17. Cf. "fortified a thāna at Dohad, which was among the hills".

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

⁸ Cf. *Dadhipadrē ruchiratarām durgam vai* in l. 19.

⁹ Cf. *uddharēt* in l. 21.

¹⁰ Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 19 and 30.

¹¹ *Āīn-i-Akbarī* (Gladwin), Vol. II, p. 73 first cited in the *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XVI, p. 188; Vol. VII, p. 65; *ibid.*, p. 189.

¹² *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XVI, p. 399.

¹³ *Mānsira-l-umarā* (*Memoirs of the Nobles*) cited in Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 122. But its other statement that the Zamindar held the ... country for fourteen hundred years is doubtful.

¹⁴ As suggested in *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XVI, p. 184, note 8.

¹⁵ Many of them exist even now; cf. *ibid.*, p. 400: "Most of the ridges are crowned by perpendicular ledges of rock, and the tops of many are fortified, the chief being Sāler in Baroda territory in the extreme west and Mulher about 10 miles east of Sāler."

and those of the Deccan, now owned by the former and now by the latter, and at times independent. Our inscription seems to refer to its one of such conquests by the Sultāns of Gujarāt (before it was subdued in about 1487 by the brothers Malik Wagi and Malik Ashraf, the governors of Daulatābād), which is not mentioned by Muslim historians.

The context in which **Pallidēśa** is mentioned (l. 13) is not clear. It appears, however, that a fort was built there by Imādala. Now there is a place called Pāli in the Godhrā *tālukā*,¹ which seems to preserve the name of the ancient *Pallidēśa*. The reason for identifying with this Pāli and not with the famous place and district of that name in Rājputāna² is that the context favours it. In conquering Chāmpāner Mahmūd must have conquered the territory now comprised by the modern Godhrā *tālukā*, (then known as *Pallidēśa*), while no conquests are credited to Mahmūd in Rājputāna, unless it be the proposed invasion of Sanchor and of Jalor in Mārwar, entrusted to Imād-ool-Moolk and Keisur Khān with a view to levying tribute "on the rājās of Julwara and Aboogur."³ But it is doubtful if this invasion took place at all. Godhrā, on the contrary, is known as a separate province under Mahmūd. Its governor was Kowam-ool-Moolk.⁴ However, the reference to the building of a fort in this country cannot be explained at present.

The **Pāvakadurga** (l. 9) is to be identified with the hill fort of Pāvāgarh "about 25 miles south of Godhrā and by road 29 miles east of Baroda,"⁵ in the Pānch Mahāls District of the Bombay Presidency. It is also called by this name in an inscription of its rulers mentioned above.⁶

Before Mahmūd, Ahmada Shāh and his son Mahammad Shāh had attempted to take this fort but had failed. After a protracted siege Mahmūd succeeded in storming and forcing open its gates in November 1484. It is said that on gaining possession of the hill Mahmūd strengthened the defences of the upper and lower forts⁷ and built there a city called Mahmūdābād⁸ which was known as Mahmūdābād Chāmpāner.⁹ Our inscription perhaps refers to these deeds of Mahmūd by merely saying that he ruled in that city.

Jirṇa(durga) is not to be identified with the modern Junāgarh, but it is to be identified with one of the forts at the place mentioned by the Muhammadan historians and also noticed in other epigraphs. According to these, in the 15th century there were two forts¹⁰ and a city. The latter was presumably called Girinagara¹¹ as it was in the past—in the 2nd¹² and 8th¹³ centuries A.D. respectively. The fort within the city, on the outskirts of the Dāmodar Ghāt¹⁴ and on the rising slope of the Girnār (or the mountain Raivata), was known as **Jirṇadurga**¹⁵ or

¹ See *Rev. List, Ant. Rem. Bom. Pres.*, p. 98.

² In Jodhpur State; see *Rājputāna Gazetteer*, (Imp. Gaz. of India, Provincial Series), p. 203. Hēma-chandra mentions one *Pallidēśa* in his *Dvyāśraya-mahākāvya*, *sarga* XX, v. 33. But, probably, this too, is identical with the country of that name in Rājputāna.

³ Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 64; *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, p. 309; Bayley, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

⁴ Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

⁵ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. III, p. 185, n. 1.

⁶ See above p. 217, notes 3 and 4.

⁷ For a plan of the hill and the fort of Pāvāgarh, see *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. III, p. 196.

⁸ Firishṭa, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 7; Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 212; Faridi, *op. cit.*, p. 67. *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, p. 310.

⁹ Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

¹⁰ See Faridi, *op. cit.*, p. 52 and p. 54; Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

¹¹ Cf. Briggs, (Firishṭa), *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 52-53, "Mahmūd Shah towards the country of Girnāl, the capital of which bears the same name."

¹² Inscription of Rudradāman, above, Vol. VIII, p. 45.

¹³ Grant of Jayabhata, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 78, line 19.

¹⁴ Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 53.

¹⁵ Chōrwāḍ Ins. of Malladēva, V. S. 1445, *Rev. List, Ant. Remains, Bom. Pres.*, p. 250; above, Vol. XXI, Appendix, p. 103, No. 731. Hathasni Ins. of Mēhara chief Thēpaka, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 380; above, Vol. XIX, Appendix, p. 98, n. 1.

Jhimjharakōṭa¹ or Joonagarh²—presumably the modern Uparkoṭ.³ Evidently it was a fortified palace, or a citadel, like the fortresses of the Mughals, probably built under the Chūdāsamā kings of Gīrnār. The second fort was situated higher up the mountain⁴ of which no traces now remain. The transference of the name Girinagara to the mountain (suppressing the latter's ancient names Raivata and Ūrjayat) and that of the citadel Jirṇadurga to the city—now known as Junāgarh—probably took place after the 15th century.

Raivataka seems to be another name for the mountain Gīrnār. In one of the inscriptions found from the place the mountain is called Ūrjayat.⁵ Both of these names, however, are mentioned in the inscription of Skandagupta.⁶ Fleet identified Raivataka with one⁷ of the two hills of Gīrnār and not with Gīrnār proper.⁸ After this no epigraphical references are found, so far⁹, till about 1300 A.D. Henceforward the inscriptions seem to identify Raivata with Ujjayanta.¹⁰ In early times therefore Raivata and Ūrjayanta might have been names of two different hills at Gīrnār, but in later times they came to be regarded as identical.¹¹ The Raivataka in the present inscription therefore seems to refer to the hill on which there are temples, etc., and which is now known as Gīrnār.

TEXT.

[Metres : vv. 1, 10, 26 *Āryā* ; vv. 3, 11, 12, 16-18, 20, 22, 23 *Anuṣṭubh* ; vv. 5, 6 *Indravajrā* ; vv. 4, 13, 14, 15, 25 *Upajāti* ; v. 2 *Sragdharā* ; vv. 7-9, 19, 21, 24 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.]

1 . . .¹² ओ¹³ ॥ काक्षीर¹⁴वासिनीं देवीं नत्वा साहि¹⁵ सुदा[फ]र-
स्वादौ । वंशं जगति विशु[द्धं] — —¹⁶ च पातसाहीनां(नाम्) ॥१॥*] आदौ
ओ[गू]¹⁷जरेयो नृपकुलतिलक[:*] प्राप्तु-

¹ *Rev. List, Ant., Remains, Bom. Pres.*, p. 361 ; *Ins. No. 35, line 6.*

² *Briggs, op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 53.

³ This is stylistically Hindu, probably of the 13-14th century or even of an earlier period. See *Arch. Surv. West. India*, Vol. II, p. 94.

⁴ Cf. Firsihta (*Briggs, op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 53), "on a mountain . . . the strongest fortress . . ."

⁵ Inscription of Rudradāman, above, Vol. VIII, p. 42.

⁶ *Gupta Inscriptions, C.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 60.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 64, n. 1, "The hill opposite to Ūrjayat or Gīrnār" ; whereas in the *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 441-42, it is said that Rēvatāchal is the name of the hill immediately over the Rēvata Kuṇḍ (and also the Dāmodar Kuṇḍ) ; that the hill was so called after Rājā Rēvat, who after marrying his daughter Rēvatī to Baladēva, brother of Kṛṣṇa, came and resided at Gīrnār from Dwārakā. *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, skandha X, adhyāya 52, mentions part of this story. There Rēvata is called the 'lord of Ānarta'. But it does not say that Rēvata went to Gīrnār and stayed there.

⁸ Perhaps after the *Gīrnārā Māhātmya*. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 239.

⁹ From Gujarāt. Otherwise Raivataka is mentioned in the Jaunpur Stone Inscription of Śivaravarman, *Gupta Inscriptions, C.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 230.

¹⁰ See *Ins. No. 14* found in the temple of Nēminātha, *Rev. List, Ant. Rem., Bom. Pres.*, p. 355 and Chōr-wād *Ins. of Malladēva, op. cit.*, p. 260. In an inscription of a Maṇḍalika king both of them are mentioned but it is not clear whether they are the same or different. See *op. cit.*, pp. 347-48.

¹¹ Cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. VIII, p. 441, "The Jains sometimes incorrectly apply the name Revatāchal to the Gīrnār."

¹² Probably there was a symbol at the beginning.

¹³ The top loop of *ś* and the stroke of *r* are faintly visible on the impression ; the word preceding it may have been *svasti*.

¹⁴ Read *Kāsmīra*.

¹⁵ Should be *Śāli*. The scribe has used the correct form in line 3.

¹⁶ [The previous two syllables may have contained some such verbal form as *vakṣyē*.—Ed.]

¹⁷ Only the *ū* of *Gū* is now left.

- 2 [खै]¹कदेश[:] श्रीमान(न्) श्रीर्यादिसारैर्नृपकुलमखिल(लं) यो विजित्याधि[त]स्त्री ।
पश्चात् श्रीपत्तनेस्मिन् प्र[ध]रगुण ७ — — रक्षोर्त्तिर्यशस्वी मानौ भूपाल-
मौलिर्वरसुकटमणि²वीरविख्यातम्-
- 3 [र्त्तिः] १[१*] २[॥*] श्रीमान् वीरोभवत् शास्त्रिमुदापरनृपप्रभुः । तत्पुत्रो वीरवि-
[ख्या]तो महम्मदमहोपतिः १[१*]३[॥*] तस्यान्वये — ७ — प्रसूतः प्रताप-
संतापितमालवेशः । वीरः सदा श्रीमदहम्मददेशो
- 4 राजा महीमंडलमंडनाय १[१*]४[॥*] यः सर्वधर्मार्थविचारसारसर्वज्ञ[शुद्धो नृप]वंश-
जातः । जित्वा महीं मालवकाधिपस्य जघाह तद्देश³धनं च पश्चात् १[१*]-
५[॥*] तस्मात्पुनर्भूमिपतिः प्रधानवी-
- 5 र[:*] सदा साहमहम्मदोभूत् । दाता जगज्जीवनजातकौर्त्ति[र्यस्य प्रभावो] विदितः
पृथिव्यां(व्याम्) १[१*]६[॥*] साहश्रीमहम्मदवीरनृपतिः श्रीग्यास[दीन]प्रभोर्विख्यातः
७ — ⁴ उदारचरि-
- 6 तो जातोन्वये वीर्यवान् । यो राज्यादधि[क] ७ — पपदवी — — घदामिन⁵ वै कर्ष्यं
विक्रमभूपतिं च जितवान् शास्त्रार्थसारे गुरुः[१*]७ [॥*] राज्यं प्राप्य निजं
प्रसन्न⁶ [वद]-
- 7 नो दातातिवौ[र्या]न्वितः पश्चाद(ह)क्षिणदिक्पतिं स्वनगरे सं — ७ जित्वा⁷ रिपं ।
[तप्तो वै] द(द)मनाधिपस्य सकलं देशं समं भूधरैर्नोत्वा श्रीमहम्मदसाहनृपतिश्चक्रे
मतिं
- 8 [रै]वते १[१*]८[॥*] तत्रो शु⁸गनगेंद्रसंगतभटान् वीक्ष्यादरेण [स्वयं] युद्धं चाद्भुत-
विक्रमं [स कृतवान्] भूप(पः) स्वसेनाजनैः । जित्वा दुर्गमशेषवैरिसहितं यो जीर्णं
संसं ७ — ⁹ कौर्त्तिस्तंभमि-

¹ The reading is doubtful.

² The r stroke should be on the following letter vi. Read *manir* = *vira*.

³ [The reading is almost clearly *tad-vēma dhanam cha*.—Ed.]

⁴ These three letters are obliterated. [Reading seems to be *sva-gunair* = *udāra*.—Ed.]

⁵ [Intended readings may be *dānēna* and *Gurum*.—Ed.]

⁶ The *anuvāra* over *sa* is superfluous ; it may be a flaw in the stone.

⁷ [Probably we have to restore *as—dikpatē*[१*] *sva-nagarē samkhyē cha jivā*.—Ed.]

⁸ [The reading seems to be correctly *latr=ōttunga*.—Ed.]

⁹ The letters read *sam samprati*, which yields no sense. [Reading seems to be *Jiranasamjñam puna(nah)*.—Ed.]

- 9 दं चकार इपतिस्तद्वैतं पर्वतं(तम्) ।[1*]८[11*] चंपक — —¹ पश्चात् च — —
 वैरिकुङ्कुहालः[2*] । जित्वा पावक[दुर्गं] पिचा बवं प्रतापतापूर्व[र्वम्] ।[1*]१०[11*]
 महमूदमहोपासप्रतापेनैव पावकं । प्रविष्टः ज्वाहितं
- 10 [सर्व] वैरिहृदं पतंगवत् ।[1*]११[11*] जीवतं तत्पतिं ब[ह्वा] दुर्गं [नौ]त्वा महा-
 बलं । चकार तत्पुरे राज्यं महमूदमहोपास[ः] ।[1*]१२[11*] ज्ञात्वा गुह्यै[ः*]
 कर्मभिरप्युदारैरितं कुलीनं नृपवंशजातं । मुख्यं चका-
- 11 रात्मगृहे महीशः स सेवके[भ्यो]धिकमानंदानैः ।[1*]१३[11*] पश्चादि[मं] सेवक[मि]-
 कवीरमिमादलं कार्यकरं विदित्वा चा — — — सदातिशूरं सदावक्त्र-
 — — — देश[रक्षां]चाम् ।[1*]१४[11*] [पा]-
- 12 मीरवशी नृपतिप्र[धा]न(नः) — — — मोमूदतुलप्रतापः । स—इव या सं(सां ?)
 नागरीतं —² हूयते — — — चावकीर्तिः ।[1*]१५[11*] तस्मात् संवल
 ब्रजेज — — — मन्त्रित चित्ती
- 13 मा(मी) प्रतापवान(न्) वीर(रो) विख्यातः[ः] पुष्पकर्माणि³ ।[1*]१६[11*] मह[मूद]मही-
 पालसेवाप्रौढप्रतापवान् [ः] दानवीरशिरं जीयाभलिकञ्जीर[ः]मादलः ।[1*]
 १७[11*] पक्षीदेशाधिकारं च पुष्पं पुष्पम-
- 14 तिस्तदा दुष्टारिहृदये राज्यं दुर्गमेनं चकार वै ।[1*]१८[11*] [विनादी] — — —
 धौति[विपुलं] गंगोर्मिकञ्जोलवत् पूर्णं पुष्पजलेन सर्वं — — — — —
 — — । कासारं—दक्षीद⁴
- 15 च मनसोज्ञासेन निष्पादितं सोयं वीर इमादले[द्रु]नृप तिर्दुर्गं चकारोत्तमं(मम्)
 ।[1*] १८[11*] अहमदपुरांतस्थः कूपो यस्य विराजते । जनजीवनदानेन
 दक्षीराभिनिबोधहन् ।[1*]२०[11*] य[ः] श्री-

¹ It may be *pallyām* or *padyām*; the former is improbable because place names with the ending *palli* are not met with in later Gujarāt inscriptions, though in this very inscription *Palli* occurs as a complete name of a place, and as will be mentioned in a note on it. *Palliditta* is also mentioned by Hēmaçhandra in his *Dvyātraya-kāvya*. Even in the case of earlier inscriptions, a few cases that are available are limited to the Traikūṭaka, Rāṣṭrakūṭa, Valabhi and Western Chālukya inscriptions. [The reading, however, appears to be *Champaka-paryyām*.—Ed.]

² The sense is not clear and the reading is doubtful.

³ A superfluous *anuvāra* is seen over *mā* of *māna*.

⁴ [On the impression the reading looks like *vīśa*.—Ed.]

⁵ [Reading seems to be - *hvaṛā* (*sam*) *prati* *adgar*-*āmla* *ya*(*ya*),—Ed.]

⁶ The reading according to Dr. Chhabra is *Taarnāj = jāis = śilājast* — 10 — *khā[la]-kālān* | *[śa]mī pra-*
śpavāna(n) vira(rō) vikhyāta(b) puṣpa-karmmaṣi ||

⁷ [The correct reading is *śālā* for *śalyam*.—Ed.]

⁸ The sense is not clear as a few letters of this line are illegible. [Reading may be *khāra-dvayam = khāra-*
 Ed.]

- 16 मन्महमूदशाहकृतपया श्रीचंपकाख्ये पुरे -- —¹ [की]तिविर्वर्धनं सुविपुलं तापच-
योन्मूलनं । सानंदेन चकार मानससमं सत्पुष्करं भूतले सोयं वीर
इमादलेन्द्रपतिर्दुर्गं चका-
- 17 रोत्तमं(मम्) ।[1*]२१[11*] बागूलाधिपतिर्यस्य जयदेवो म — ट ७[1*]²
मिषेर्निन्धे लूषजोवशिर[*] स्वयं(यम्)³ ।[1*] २२[11*] तन्नाशिषा[त्रि]पून् इत्वा
कृत्वा दिग्विजयोदयं । रायदुर्गं समजयत् योसौ वीर इमादलः ।[1*]२३[11*]
- 18 — — (रावल)वेधनेन सकलं तद्देरिदं त[या*] — — — लि — विमुक्तगोलक-
गणे; संहत्य चूर्णीकृतं[*] । दुर्गं पूर्णवली विजित्य सबलं प्रोद्यत्तापेन
यो धर्महारमिदं प्रहारसहितं त-
- 19 ७पा.दिर्दौ⁴ ।[1*]२४[11*] बागू[ल*]भूपालबलं प्रहृत्य प्रचण्डभूमौशरकालकर्त्ता ।
यः पावके पूर्वविहृ⁵भमर्त्ता किं वर्ण्यते चास्य जयस्य वार्त्ता ॥२५[11*]
दधिपद्वे(द्वे) रुचिरतरं दुर्गं वै दुःसह . .
- 20 । श्रीमदिमादलमुलको दान सुंदरशके ॥२६
[11*] श्रीनृपविक्रमाक(मांक)समयातीतसंवत् १५४५⁶ वर्षे शाके १४०१०⁷ प्र-
वर्त्तमाने वैशाख(ख)शुदि १३
- 21 — — — — —⁸ शुभे दिने मलिक श्रीइमादल मलिकिं दुर्गं
उद्धरे[त्]⁹ ॥ [श्रीरस्तु]—जे गढ पीलिनो पारी ते वंतरी¹⁰
- 22 — — — — — तिस

No. 30.—BHOPAL PLATES OF THE MAHAKUMARA HARICHAMDRADEVA.

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

The following set of **two copper plates** was discovered about forty years ago by Dewan Seth Brij Mohon Dass, a leading banker of Bhopāl, while digging the foundations of his house in Chowk Bazar, Bhopāl, at the time of its re-erection and is in his possession at present. The plates are stated to have been found at a depth of about 20 feet, laid one above the other and nailed to the

¹ [Probably to be restored as *punayam*.—Ed.]

² Letters effaced.

³ Sense not clear.

⁴ [Reading seems to be *tasmāi krip-ābdhir=dadan*.—Ed.]

⁵ There appears a cipher between 154 and 5 which is perhaps a scratch in the stone itself.

⁶ The zero before 10 is superfluous.

⁷ All these letters are effaced; probably they contained the date in the Hijra era.

⁸ Should be °m = *uddharēt*.

⁹ The construction of this sentence beginning with *jē* and ending with *vamtari* is identical with the relative clause in the Gujarātī language. The letters *jē* and *li* in *pōlini* look like the modern Gujarātī letters. The sentence seems to contain a curse, as in many Śīlāhāra and Yādava inscriptions, to the effect that he who would tamper with the fort (*gaḍh*), would be a witch (*vamtari*) or afflicted by a *vamtari*, etc.

ground. Nothing can therefore be said as to the place where they originally came from. Mr. M. Hamid, the Superintendent of Archaeology, Bhopāl State, very kindly sent me a set of excellent enlarged photographs of the plates to whom I also owe the details of the measurement, etc., of the plates and also of their discovery. Mr. Hamid himself published an exhaustive note on the record in the *Hindusthan Times*, in its issue of 31st January, 1937. The charter is now edited here with the permission of Mr. Hamid and the consent of the owner of the plates which the former was good enough to get for me.

The plates are $11\frac{1}{2}$ " long by $7\frac{1}{2}$ " broad each, with a thickness of about $\frac{1}{4}$ " at the edges which are fashioned thicker than the inscribed surfaces. The first plate weighs 3 lbs. but the weight of the second plate is only 2 lbs. Each plate has two holes for the passing of two rings with which they were originally held. Both the rings and the seal which was probably attached to one of them, are now missing. The Plates are inscribed on one side only, the obverse of the first and the reverse of the second plate being left blank. The first leaf contains 21 lines of writing and the second only 20. The second plate has the figure of a **Garuḍa**, kneeling and facing right, engraved in the middle between lines 8 and 14. The plates are well preserved. A portion at the end of the last line of the first plate was left uninscribed. The commencement of the second plate which apparently contained the *gōtra* of one of the donees is also illegible. It is doubtful if this portion also was at all engraved. With the exception of this the text of the whole record can be made out with certainty.

The characters are Nāgarī as prevalent in Central India and found in the records of the Paramāra rulers of Mālwa. In a few places *va* can hardly be distinguished from *cha*, e.g., -*lava-chalam*- (l. 13). The final consonant has been indicated by a short slanting stroke at the bottom of the letters concerned, e.g., *tām* (l. 1), -*ādīn* (l. 8), *pitṛin* (l. 11) and -*ētat* (l. 30). The language is Sanskrit and with the exception of two invocatory verses in ll. 1-3 and seven customary benedictory and imprecatory verses in ll. 15-16, 32-38 and 39-40 the rest of the record is in prose. In respect of orthography the following points may be noted : (1) *b* has been denoted by the sign for *v* throughout ; e.g., -*śavdā*° (l. 5), *śaṃvaddhaḥ* (l. 7), *vāhman*° (l. 8), etc. ; (2) while *s* has been used for *ś* in many places, e.g., *sirasā* (ll. 1-2), *Paramēśvara* (ll. 3, 4), *prasasta* (ll. 5, 6), etc., *ś* has been wrongly used for *s* only once in *saptamām* (l. 34) ; (3) though consonants in conjunction with a subscript *r* have never been doubled, those in conjunction with a superscript *r* have very often been doubled, e.g., °*varmma* (ll. 3, 4, 5), *chaturddasa* (l. 9) ; *pūrṇnimāyām*, *sarva*°, *parvvaṇi* (l. 10), *hartavyā* (l. 37), etc., the exceptions being *samabhyarchya* (l. 11), *Gartēsvara* (l. 17), *pārthiv*° (l. 35), etc. ; (4) *anusvāra* has often been used in place of the nasal of the same class, e.g., *aṃdavim* (l. 1), -*āmkura*, *tanvāntu*, *kalpāmta* (l. 2), *paṃcha* (l. 5), *maṃḍalē*, *chandra* (l. 7), etc. In a few places the signs of *anusvāra* and *visarga* and even whole syllables have been dropped, evidently due to the fault of the engraver. The writing, however, has on the whole been executed carefully. All the errors occurring in the text have been corrected by me either in the body of the text or in the footnotes accompanying it. Often a mark has been put by the scribe at the end of a line where the last word could not be fitted into it and had to be continued in the next, apparently to draw attention to the continuity.

As in the case of many Paramāra records, the present inscription opens with the phrases *Om svasti* and *Śrīr-ijayō-bhūdayaś=cha* which are followed by two verses in praise of Śiva. It then introduces the donor, the Mahākumāra **Harichandra**, who had obtained the privilege of the five great sounds (*samadhigata-paṃcha-mahāśabda*) and who had acquired the victorious sovereignty through the favour of (*prasād-āvāpta-vijay-ādhipatyē*) the Mahākumāra **Trailōkya-varmmadēva** who had also obtained the privilege of the five great sounds. The latter is said

to have meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramāśvara*, the illustrious *Yaśōvarmmadēva*, who meditated on the feet of the P. M. P., the illustrious *Naravarmmadēva* (ll. 3-7).

The object of the record is the grant by *Harichamdradēva* of the village *Dādarapadra* belonging to *Vikṣilapadra*-twelve and situated in the *Mahādvādasaka-maṇḍala* (l. 7). The village which was given with its suburbs on the east and the south (*pūrvva-dakshina-tala-dvay-ōpēta*) was divided into 16 shares and given to 19 Brahmins, whose names and *gōtras* along with names of their fathers are given in the record. Of these donees, a list of whom is given in the table below, 13 received one share each and 6 half a share each. Two of the donees were related as father and son (Nos. 4 and 8) and the following as brothers: Nos. 3 and 11, 5 and 7, 6 and 12 and 14 and 16. The last two donees mentioned in the list were only pupils (*vaṭṭaka*).

The date of the record is given in words in ll. 9-10 as *śrīmad-Vikrama-kāl śūta-chaturddas(ś)-ādhika-dvādaśa-sa(śa)-t-ānta[ḥ*]pāṭi-samvatsarē Kārttika(ka)-sudi pūrṇimāyāṁ samjāta-soma-gra-haṇa-sarva-grāsa-parvvaṇi*, i.e., on the full moon day of Kārttika of the Vikrama year 1214, on the occasion of a complete eclipse of the moon. It regularly corresponds to Saturday, the 19th October, A. D. 1157 when there was a lunar eclipse. The grant was made by the ruler with the usual ceremonies after bathing in the river *Vētravati* and in presence of the god *Bhāilasvāmin*.

If *Mukhyādēva* is a proper name, he was the *Dūtaka* of the grant. The record concludes with the sign-manual of the *Mahākumāra Harichamdradēva*.

Of the rulers mentioned in the inscription, the P. M. P. *Naravarmmadēva* and the P. M. P. *Yaśōvarmmadēva* are the well known *Paramāra* rulers of *Mālwa*. For *Naravarmmadēva* we have the latest date as V. S. 1190 in *Ratnasūri's* Life of *Ammasvāmin*.¹ That he died in the same year is certain, as we find his son *Yaśōvarman* making a grant on V. S. 1191 Kārttika sudi 8 on the occasion of the death anniversary of his father.* For *Yaśōvarman* we have the latest date as V. S. 1199 if the reading of the date of the *Jhālrapātan* inscription² is correct and if the record belongs to the time of this ruler.

The next two chiefs mentioned in the record under consideration, viz., *Trailōkyavarman* and *Harichandra* undoubtedly belong to that branch of the *Paramāras* who call themselves *Mahākumāras* in their inscriptions. The earliest ruler known in this family is the *Mahākumāra Lakshmīvarman*. In V. S. 1200 we find him confirming a grant made in V. S. 1191 by the M. P. *Yaśōvarmadēva*, on the anniversary of the death of the latter's father *Naravarman*. *Lakshmīvarman* confirmed this grant 'for the merit of (his) illustrious father' (*śrīmat-pūtri-śrēyōrtham*)³ which shows that he was undoubtedly a son of *Yaśōvarman*. We shall discuss later what might have been the reason for re-issuing the grant after a lapse of nearly nine years. According to the *Bhopāl plates*⁴ of his grandson *Udayavarman*, dated V. S. 1256, *Lakshmīvarman* 'obtained his kingship through the favour of his sword which he held (?) in his own hand' (*nija-kara-kṛita(dhṛita ?)-kara-vāla-prasād-āvāpta-nij-ādhipatya*). The *Piplianagar plates*⁵ of *Harischandra* (V. S. 1235 and 1236), the son of *Lakshmīvarman*, state that the former 'obtained his rulership through the favour of the last mentioned ruler' (*ētasmat-prishṭhatama-prabhōḥ prasādād-avāpta-nij-ādhipatya*), namely, the P. M. P. *Jayavarmadēva*, the son of the *Paramāra Yaśōvarmadēva* of *Mālwa*. In connection with the history of these *Mahākumāras*, Dr. D. C. Ganguly observes: "According to the *Piplianagar*

¹ *Dhar State Gazetteer*, p. 159.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 353.

³ *P. R. A. S.*, W. C., 1905-06, p. 50, No. 2097 and *Bhandarkar, List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 252.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 352 f.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 254 ff. and pl.

⁶ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VII (1838), pp. 736 ff.

grant, *Hariscandra obtained his dominion through the favour of Jayavarman*. The Bhopal grant, on the other hand, expressly states that Hariscandra's father, Lakshmi-varman, made himself master of a principality by the force of his sword *when the reign of Jayavarman had come to an end*. It evidently follows from these two statements that Lakshmi-varman and his son Hariscandra ruled over separate territories. This finds strong corroboration in the fact that Udayavarman, the son of Hariscandra, is described by the Bhopal grant as succeeding to the throne of Lakshmi-varman without the intervention of Hariscandra, who again excludes his father Lakshmi-varman—in the Piplianagar grant—as a ruler preceding him. A critical survey of the epigraphic records will show that all these are deliberate representations and not accidental omissions.¹ Following the same argument are we to hold that Trailokyavarman and Harichandra of the present record held sway over a third principality—a view which would only make the complication in the history of this branch more complicated? But the state of affairs is not so bad as it is made to look. If Yaśovarman was still ruling in V. S. 1199 it is almost certain that Jayavarman's rule could not have come to an end before V. S. 1200 when Lakshmi-varman was already a Mahākumāra. In fact Dr. Ganguly's conclusion is based on a wrong interpretation of the Bhopal plates. They do not mention that Lakshmi-varman became ruler by the force of his arms *when the reign of Jayavarman had come to an end*. The phrase *Jayavarmmadēva-rājyē vyatītē* in l. 5 of the Bhopal plates has no connection whatsoever with Lakshmi-varmmadēva. It qualifies only the concluding portion of the whole sentence *Udayavarmmadēvō vijay-ōdayī* in l. 8. There is, moreover, nothing in the Bhopal plates to prove that Udayavarman succeeded to the throne of Lakshmi-varman without the intervention of Hariscandra, nor do the Piplianagar plates show that Lakshmi-varman is excluded as a ruler preceding Hariscandra. We know that inscriptions do not always give a full genealogy of the ruler to whose reign they refer themselves but may mention the names of one or two or even none of his predecessors.

The real difficulty that presents itself in our record is to establish the identity of the Mahākumāra Harichandrādēva and the Mahākumāra Trailokyavarmmadēva. In my opinion Harichandra can be no other than Hariscandra, the son of Lakshmi-varman. It is, however, more difficult to determine the place of Trailokyavarman in the genealogy of these chiefs. That he belonged to the same line is certain from the titles he is given in the inscription. If he is not identical with Lakshmi-varman, which seems unlikely, he could only be another son or a brother of Lakshmi-varman, probably the latter. It is not impossible that when Lakshmi-varman died, Hariscandra was very young and his uncle Trailokyavarman acted as the regent during his minority. Trailokyavarman, though only the regent, wielded the full power of a chief and is therefore given all the titles connected with the princes of this line. Had he been a son of Lakshmi-varman his name should have been mentioned in some other records of this family. As the Mahākumāras were subordinates of the Paramāra rulers of Mālwa they had to obtain the formal sanction of their overlords at the time of succession. Probably Hariscandra took up the reins of government not long before V. S. 1214, the date of the present grant, and that is why he mentions Trailokyavarman as his predecessor from whom he received the kingdom and to whom he was grateful for managing affairs during his minority. But when he issued his other grant in 1235, when Trailokyavarman was probably dead, he mentioned only the name of his sovereign ruler, viz., Jayavarman, as the one through whose favour he got his kingdom and Trailokyavarman being a collateral, his name was omitted from this and all the later inscriptions of this family.

Now to understand properly the political situation as revealed by the inscriptions of the Paramāra Mahākumāras, it will be necessary to consider the history of the Paramāras of Mālwa from

¹ *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, pp. 179-81. See also *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 212.

Jayavarman down to Vindhavarman. According to the Piplianagar¹ (V. S. 1267) and the two sets of Bhopāl² plates (V. S. 1270 and 1272) of Arjunavarman, Yaśovarman was succeeded by his son Ajayavarman, while in the (incomplete) Plates³ of Jayavarman, the Piplianagar Plates⁴ of the Mahākumāra Hariśchandra (V. S. 1235 and 1236) and the Bhopāl Plates⁵ of the Mahākumāra Udayavarman (V. S. 1256), Yaśovarman is stated to have been succeeded by Jayavarman. From the information supplied by these records Kielhorn came to the following conclusion: "Yaśovarman had three sons, Jayavarman, Ajayavarman, and Lakshmīvarman; and he was in the first instance succeeded by Jayavarman. Soon after his succession (and certainly some time between Vikrama 1192 and 1200), Jayavarman was dethroned by Ajayavarman, who and whose successors then became the main branch of the Paramāra family in Mālava, and continued to style themselves *Maḥārājas*. The third brother, Lakshmīvarman, however, did not submit to Ajayavarman; and, as stated in E (i.e., the Bhopāl grant of Udayavarman), he succeeded by force of arms in appropriating a portion of Mālava, which he and his son and grandson *de facto* ruled over as independent chiefs. At the same time, Lakshmīvarman and, after him, his son and successor Hariśchandra looked upon Jayavarman, though deposed, as the rightful sovereign of Mālava, and, in my opinion, it is for this reason that Hariśchandra, in the grant D. (i.e., the Piplianagar plates), professes to rule by the favour of that prince, and that both Lakshmīvarman and Hariśchandra claim for themselves no higher title than that of *Maḥākumāra*, a title which was handed down to, and adopted by, even Lakshmīvarman's grandson Udayavarman."⁶ Though there is nothing definite to show that Kielhorn is wrong in his assumption, I prefer to agree with Dr. Ganguly⁷ that Jayavarman and Ajayavarman mentioned in the above inscriptions are identical. The later inscriptions, probably those issued after the re-occupation of Dhārā, call him Ajayavarman while the earlier inscriptions mention him as Jayavarman. Prof. Hall's theory that 'Lakshmīvarman sat on the throne with his sire' and was thus the eldest son of Yaśovarman⁸ cannot be substantiated. When Yaśovarman died, Jayavarman as his eldest son must have succeeded to the throne of Mālwa. Sometime before his death Yaśovarman might have placed Lakshmīvarman in charge of a small principality which the latter ruled under the title of a Mahākumāra or, he might have wrested a part of the Paramāra empire which passed into the hands of enemies and established himself as the ruler. In any case, as he adopted a feudatory title he seems to have ruled only as a subordinate of the main branch. The boast of Lakshmīvarman that he obtained his sovereignty by force of arms as found in his Ujjain Plate is, however, not altogether an empty one as borne out by inscriptions. We find from the Bāndā Plate⁹ of the Chandēla Madanavarmadēva that this ruler made a gift in V. S. 1190 when he was encamped near Bhailasvāmin. As I have shown below, this place was in the Mahādvādasaka-*maṇḍala* mentioned in our grant. What led this Chandēla ruler to encamp at the place cannot be ascertained. But it is not unlikely that he was, at this period, leading a campaign against the Mālava ruler and encroached upon the Paramāra territories soon after. Probably we find a confirmation of this in the verse 11 of the Mau stone inscription of Madanavarman¹⁰, which says that 'the ruler of Mālava, full of arrogance, was quickly exterminated' by this ruler. This Mālava ruler was possibly Yaśovarman himself. But that the Chandēlas

¹ J. A. S. B., Vol. V, p. 378.

² J. A. O. S., Vol. VII, pp. 25 ff.

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, pp. 350 f.

⁴ J. A. S. B., Vol. VII (1838), pp. 736 ff.

⁵ Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, pp. 254 ff. and pl.

⁶ Ibid., Vol. XIX, p. 348.

⁷ History of the Paramāra Dynasty, p. 181.

⁸ J. A. O. S., Vol. VII, p. 36 and Ganguly, *op. cit.*, p. 179, n. 3.

⁹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XVI, p. 208 and pl.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. I, pp. 197 ff.

could not keep this part under them for long is clear from the inscription of Lakshmīvarman of V. S. 1200. It appears that the Mahādvādasaka-maṇḍala adjacent to Bhāilasvāmin passed out of the hands of the Paramāra rulers temporarily and was re-conquered by Lakshmīvarman sometime before V. S. 1200 and this necessitated the re-issuing of the grant of 1191 of his father. That Lakshmīvarman also could not keep this maṇḍala in his hands for long is certain. An inscription dated V. S. 1229¹ of the reign of the Chaulukya Ajayapāladēva records the gift by Lūnapasāka, an officer of the king at Udayapura which was included in the Bhāillasvāmi-Mahādvādasaka-maṇḍala. According to this inscription this part of the country was acquired by the Chaulukya ruler 'by his own prowess'. Probably it passed under the Chaulukyas even a little earlier during the reign of Kumārapāla. A fragmentary inscription of this ruler, in which the date has been restored by Kielhorn as V. S. 1220, has been found at Udayapur², which calls him Avantinātha.

Though the Paramāras lost most of their territory in Mālwa to the Chaulukyas, the Mahākumāra branch still retained at least the southern portion of their principality, as their grants issued in V. S. 1235 and 1256 show. It is, however, possible to deduce from the grant of Udayavarman of V. S. 1256 that Vindhyavarman did not yet succeed in regaining the lost possessions of his ancestors as the expression *Jayavarmmadēva-rājyē vyatītē* shows. For, had Vindhyavarman already succeeded in firmly re-establishing himself in Mālwa, one would expect his name to be mentioned in the record of Udayavarman, unless Kielhorn is right in his assumption that Lakshmīvarman and his successors never accepted the rulers of Mālwa from Ajayavarman downwards as their sovereign rulers. But as the former always used the same subordinate titles, and as Dēvapāla, the brother of Udayavarman, seems to have succeeded to the Mālwa throne as a matter of course, it is doubtful if there existed any feud between these two families as suggested by Kielhorn. Āśādharma in his *Dharmāmṛta* states that when the country of Sapādalaksha was conquered by Siḥab-ud-dīn (Muḥammad Ghūri) he left his native country with his family for Mālwa where king Vindhya was ruling.³ Mahammad Ghūri's conquest took place in A. D. 1192, but if my supposition is correct, Āśādharma does not appear to have moved to Dhārā for a few years after the Muslim conquest till things really looked bad for him.

Udayavarman for whom we have only one inscription of V. S. 1256, is the last ruler we know of in the Mahākumāra line. If he is identical with Udayāditya of the Bhopāl inscriptions dated V. S. 1241 (A.D. 1184) and Śaka 1108 (A.D. 1186) respectively, as Dr. Ganguly supposes,⁴ he had already a rule of at least 15 years to his credit when the Bhopāl Plates were issued. We also know that his brother Dēvapāla ultimately succeeded to the throne of Mālwa. As the earliest inscription of Dēvapāla is dated V. S. 1275⁵ and the latest inscription of his predecessor Arjunavarman bears the date V. S. 1272⁶, Dēvapāla probably inherited the Mālwa throne shortly before V. S. 1275. It is significant that in his Harsauda inscription, though the subordinate title of the Mahākumāra is replaced by the Imperial one of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara*, Dēvapāla still retains a part of his original title, viz., *Samasta-praśast-ōpēta-samadhigata-parīcha-mahāśabda* which is missing in all his later records. As we have no record of Udayavarman's successor it may not be unreasonable to suppose that he also had no male heir and his younger brother Dēvapāla first succeeded him as the Mahākumāra and then ultimately was raised to the throne of Dhārā when Arjunavarman also died without a male issue, thus uniting both the houses of the Paramāras.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 347 f.

² *Ibid.*, p. 343 and n. 9.

³ See *Collected Works of R. G. Bhandarkar*, Vol. II, pp. 246 f.

⁴ *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, p. 186.

⁵ The Harsauda Stone Inscription, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, pp. 310 ff.

⁶ The Bhopāl plates (second set), *J. A. O. S.*, Vol. VII, pp. 25 ff.

Of the localities mentioned in the record *Mahādvādaśaka-maṇḍala* must have comprised Udayapur and Bhilsā in the Gwalior State as far as Raisen¹ (Rājāsāyana) to the south in the Bhopāl State. The Udayapur stone inscription of V. S. 1229 calls it the Bhāillasvāmi-Mahādvādaśaka-maṇḍala.² *Vētravati* is the modern Betwa and the temple of Bhāillasvāmin which was situated on the Betwa, must have given rise to the name of the Bhilsā town. According to Dr. Hall, a fragmentary inscription which was originally discovered at Bhilsā, but is now no longer traceable, recorded the erection of a temple of the Sun god, under the name of Bhāillēsa on the Vētravati, by one Vāchaspati, a minister of Rājā Kṛishṇa,³ who is probably identical with the Paramāra Vākpatirāja.⁴ I cannot identify the other localities mentioned in the record. Mr. Hamid, the Superintendent of Archaeology, Bhopāl State, remarks as follows in his note on this inscription, which has been referred to above: "The temple of Bhāillasvāmin was situated on the banks of the Betwa river at Bhilsā in the Gwalior State, 34 miles from Bhopāl and 8 miles from Sānchi. The village Dādarapadra is in the Bhopāl territory. The name was obviously corrupted into Dhara-padra, and later on into Padria, but as there are eleven villages of this name in the various districts of the Bhopāl State, Dādarapadra of our inscription was given the name of Padria Raja Dhar to distinguish it from other Padrias."

List of the Brahmin donees of the Bhopāl plates of Harichandra.

Serial No.	Name of the donee.	Father's name.	Gōtra.	Share in the village granted.
1	Āvasathika Śrīdhara . . .	Agnihōtrika Bhāradvāja . . .	Sāṅkṛitya . . .	1
2	Tripāthi Gartēsvara . . .	Tripāthi Nārāyaṇa . . .	Bhāradvāja . . .	1
3	Dvivēda Uddharana . . .	Dvivēda Kshirasvāmin . . .	Krishṇātrēya . . .	1
4	„ Yaśōdhavala . . .	„ Vatva(tsa?) . . .	Adavāha . . .	1
5	Paṇ ⁵ Madhusūdana . . .	Āvasathika Dēlha . . .	Kāśyapa . . .	1
6	Dvivēda Pāhula . . .	Dvivēda Śilē . . .	Śaunaka . . .	1
7	Paṇ Sōmadēva . . .	Āvasathika Dēlha . . .	Kāśyapa . . .	1
8	Dvivēda Pālhaka . . .	Dvivēda Yaśōdhavala . . .	Adavāha . . .	1
9	Paṇ Rapapāla . . .	Paṇ Dhāmadēva . . .	Gautama . . .	1
10	Dvivēda Gaṅgādharma . . .	Dvivēda Sōtā	1
11	„ Lakshmidhara . . .	„ Kshirasvāmin . . .	Krishṇātrēya . . .	1
12	„ Śrīdhara . . .	„ Śilē . . .	Śaunaka . . .	½
13	Thakura Vāchchuka . . .	Thakura Vil[hv]ē . . .	Bhāradvāja . . .	1
14	„ „ . . .	„ Kuladhara . . .	Śaṇḍilya . . .	1
15	Dvivēda Vālhuka . . .	Dvivēda Gōlhē . . .	Gautama . . .	½

¹ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 352, Text, l. 5.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 397.

³ *P. R. A. S., W. C.*, 1913-14, p. 60.

⁴ See above, Vol. XIX, p. 239.

⁵ *I.e.*, Paṇḍita.

List of the Brahmin donees of the Bhopāl plates of Harichandra—contd.

Serial No.	Name of the donee.	Father's name.	Gōtra.	Share in the village granted.
16	Thakura Rāsala . . .	Thakura Kuladhara . . .	Śaṇḍilya . . .	†
17	„ Viahṇu . . .	Paṇi Sōṇḍala . . .	Kāśyapa . . .	†
18	Āhaḍa, a pupil (pupila) . . .	Thakura Ku[ṇ]ja . . .	Kauṇḍinya . . .	†
19	Mahaṇa „ „ . . .	„ Vijapāla . . .	Kāśyapa . . .	†

TEXT.¹*First Plate.*

- 1 Ōm* svasti[*] Śrīr=jjayō=bhyudayaś=cha | Jayati Vyōmakēśō=sau yaḥ sarggāya vi(bi)-
bhartti tām | aiṇḍavi[m] si(śi)ra.²
- 2 sā lēkhā[m*] jagad-vij-āṇkur-ākṛitima(m) | [*]⁴ Tanvaṇtu va[h*] Smarārātē[h*]
kalyāṇam=anisaṁ(śaṁ) jaṭāḥ | kalpānta-samay-ōddāma-taḍi-
- 3 d-valaya-piṁgalāḥ | [*]⁴ Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśva(śva)ra-śrī-Nara-
varmmadēva-pādānu[dhyā]-
- 4 ta-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśva(śva)ra-śrī-Yaśōvarmmadēva - pādānu-
dhyāta-samasta-pra-
- 5 sa(śa)st-ōpēta-samadhiḡata-paṁcha-mahāśavd(bḍ)-ālaṁkāra-virājamāna - Mahākumāra - śrī-
Trau(Trai)lōkyavarmmadēva-pādā(da)-pra-
- 6 sād-āvāpta-vijñ(jay)-ādhipatyē(tyaḥ ?) samasta-prasa(śa)st-ōpēta-samadhiḡata-paṁcha-
mahāśavd(bḍ)-ālaṁkāra-virājamāna-Mā(Ma)hākumāra-śrī-Hari-
- 7 chaṇḍradēvō Mahādvādaśaka-maṇḍalē Vikhilaṇḍra-dvādaśaka-saṁva(ba)ddhaḥ(ddha)-
Dādarapadra-grāma-nivāsinaḥ pratigrāma-ni-
- 8 vāsina[ś]=cha rājapurusha-vishayika-paṭṭakila-jaṇapad-ādīn vrā(brā)hmaṇ-ōta(tta)rān=
vō(bō)dhaty=astu vaḥ saṁviditaṁ ||⁵ ya-
- 9 d=iha mayā śrī-Bhāilasvāmīdēva-purasthitē[na]⁶ śrīmad-Vikrama-kāl-ātīta-chatur-
ddas(ś)-ādhika-dvādaśa-sa(śa)t-āṁta[h*]pāti-saṁvatsa-
- 10 rō Kārttikē(ka)-sudi pūrṇimāyāṁ saṁjāta-sōma-grahāṇa-sarvva-grāsa-
parvvaṇi Kali-kalusha-hāriṇi Vētravati-vāriṇi snā-
- 11 tvā dēv-arshi-manushya-pitṛīn saṁtarpya charāchāra-gurūṇ bhagavaṁtaṁ Bhavānīpatīṇ
darpa[p]ita-danuj-ēmdra-nidrā-haraṁ Hariṁ cha samabhyarchya til-ā-
- 12 nn-ājy-āhuti[bh]ir=Hī[ra*]nyarētasāṁ hutvā jagad-ānaṁda-dāyīnē śasi(śi)nē arghaṁ
vidhāya sa-vatsa-kapilāṁ triḥ pradakṣiṇīkṛi-
- 13 tya ākala[j(y)]ya saṁsāra[ey=ā*]sāratāṁ parilulita-kamala-dala-tala-jala-lava-chalāma-
ālakṣhya yauvanāṁ yauvana-mada-matta-vāṇi-

¹ From photographs.² Expressed by symbol.³ There is a mark here to show that the word is continued in the next line.⁴ Metre *Anuṣṭubh*.⁵ Mark of punctuation unnecessary.⁶ The omission of *visarga* in *purāṣa* is according to the *vārttika*: *kharparē śari vā visarga-lōpō vaktavyaḥ*.

- 14 [n]i-bhrū-bhaṁga-bhaṁguram=avalōkya draviṇaṁ draviṇa-kaṇik-ānuśaraṇa-vivaśa-viśa-
vilāsinī-chita(tta)-chaṁchalam=adhigamya jivitaṁ
15 | uktam cha [*] Vāt-ābhra-vibhramam=idam bhuvan-ādhipatyam=āpātamātra-madhurō
vishay-ōpahbhōgaḥ | prānās=triṇ-āgra-jala-vimdu-samā narāṇām
16 dharmah sakhā param=ahō paralōka-yānē ||¹ Sā[m]kritya-gōtrāya agnihōtrika-śrī-Bhāradvāja-
suta-a(t-ā)vasthi(sathi)ka-Śrīdharāya pada 1 Bhā-
17 radvāja-gōtrāya tripāṭi(thi)-Nārāyaṇa-suta-tripāṭi(thi)-Gartēsva(śva)rāya pada 1 Kṛishṇā-
trēya-gōtrāya dvivēda-Kshirasvāmi-suta-dvi-
18 vēda-U[ddha]raṇāya pada 1 Adavāha-gōtrāya dvivēda-Va[tva(tsa)]-suta-dvivēda-Yasō-
(śō)dhalāya pada 1 Kāśya(śya)pa-gōtrāya||²
19 āvasthi(sathi)ka-Dēlha-suta-paṁ-Madhusūdanāya pada 1 Śaunaka-gōtrāya-dvivēda-Silē-
suta-dvivēda-Pāhulāya pada 1 Kā-
20 sya(śya)pa-gōtrāya avasthi(āvasathi)ka-Dēl[h]a-suta-paṁ-Sōmadēvāya pada 1 Adavāha-
gōtrāya dvivēda-Yasōdhavala-su³.
21 ta-dvivēda-Pā[h]a[kāya] pada 1 [Gauta]ma-gōtrāya paṁ-Dhāmadēva-suta-paṁ-Raṇapālāya
pada 1⁴

Second Plate.

- 22⁵ dvivēda-Sōtā-suta-dvivēda-Gaṁgādharāya pada 1 Kṛishṇātrēya-
gōtrāya dvivēda-Kshira-
23 svāmi-suta-dvivēda-Lashmī(kshmi)dharāya pada 1 Sau(Śau)naka-gōtrāya dvivēda-Silē-
suta-dvivēda-Śrīdharāya [pada*] ‡ Bhāradvāja-gō⁶.
24 trāya ‡hakura-Vi[lhv]ē-suta-‡hakura-Vā[chchhu]kāya pada 1 Sāmḍi(Śāṇḍi)lya-gōtrāya
‡hakura-Kuladhara-suta-‡hakura-Vāchchhukāya pada 1 Gō(Gau)-
25 tama-gōtrāya dvivēda-Gōlhē-suta-dvivēda-Vālhukāya pada ‡ Sāmḍi(Śāṇḍi)lya-gōtrāya
‡hakura-Kuladhara-suta-‡hakura-Rāsalāya ||⁶
26 pada ‡ Kāśya(śya)pa-gōtrāya paṁ-Sō[n]ḍala-suta-‡hakura-Vishṇavē pada ‡ Kauṇḍinya-
gōtrāya ‡hakura-Ku[n]ja-suta-vaṭuka-Āhaḍāya pada
27 [‡] Kāśya(śya)pa-gōtrāya ‡hakura-Vijapāla-suta-vaṭuka-Mahāṇāya pada ‡ [*] tad-ēvaṁ
yathāyatham vrāhmaṇa ēkōṇna⁷.
28 vimśatinām⁷ pada shōḍas(ś)=āṁkē pada 16 [*] tad-amishām vrā(brā)hmaṇānām=upari-li-
[khi*]ta-grāmaḥ pūrvva-dakshīṇa-tala-dvay-ōpētō ni-
29 dhi-nikshēpa-sahitō nada-nadī-kūpa-taḍāga-vāṭikā-āma-⁸saṁyutaś=char-ādy-āy-ōpētaḥ||⁸
30 sarvv-ābhyaṁtara-śiddhy-ōḍaka-pūrvvakatayā śāsanē[na*] pradattas=tad=ētat(d-)
grāma-nivāsibhiḥ karsha-
31 kais=cha kara-hiraṇya-bhāga-bhōg-ādika[m=*]ā*ñā-śravaṇa-vidhēyair=bhūtvā dēva-vrā-
(brā)hmaṇa-bhu⁹.

¹ Metre: Vasantatilakā.² Mark of punctuation unnecessary.³ There is a mark here to show that the word is continued in the next line.⁴ Space for about four letters is left after this.⁵ Seven or eight letters, probably specifying the gōtra, are completely effaced now.⁶ Daṇḍa unnecessary.⁷ Read brāhmaṇānām=ēkōnavimśatēh.⁸ Read vāṭik-ārāma-⁹ There is a daṇḍa after ā to show that the word is continued on the right side of rectangle containing the Garuda figure.

- 32 kti-varjaṃ sarvvaṃ=amībhyaḥ vrā(brā)hmaṇēbhyaḥ samupanētavyaṃ || yad=uta i Va-
(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā bhu¹-
- 33 ktā rājabbhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaṃ(lam) ||²
Triṇy=ā¹.
- 34 hur=atidānāni gāvaḥ pri[th]vī sarasvatī | ā-sa(sa)ptamaṃ punarṃty=ētā dōha-vāha-nivēda-
35 naiḥ ||³ Sarvvān=ētān=bhāvinaḥ pāṛthiv=ēmdrān bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabhadraḥ [i]⁴
sāmānyō-
- 36 yaṃ dharmma-sē[tur*]=nṛpāṇāṃ kālē kālē pālaniyō bhavadbhīḥ ||⁵ Sva-dattāṃ para-dattāṃ
vā yō harēd=vasuṃ(su)dhā[m*] nṛpaḥ | na tasya pu-
- 37 nar-āvṛittir=nnarakāt=Kumbhipākā(ka)taḥ | [i]⁶ Dēva-vrā(brā)hmaṇa-dvija⁴-pradattā bhūr=
nna harttavyā nṛpai[r*]=yē(ya)taḥ[i]⁷ kēn=āpi saha vēsy(śy)=ēva na
- 38 gatā na chirāṃ sthitā||⁸ Iti purātana-muni-praṇīta-vachana-paripāṭi-śravaṇa-samudbhūta-
prabhūta-vivō(vē)k-ōdayēna mātā-⁹
- 39 pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yaś[ō]-bhivṛiddhayē || Iti jñātvā parair=bhūpair=asmad=va[m]s-
(ś)-ōdbhavē(vai)s=tathā | dharmmo=yam=iha nō¹⁰
- 40 lōpyō yaiḥ kē(kai)śchit(d)=[dharmma]-chintakaiḥ ||¹¹ Dū° Mukhyādēśaḥ || śivam=astu |
Māṃgala[m] mahā-śrīḥ |
- 41 Svahastō=yarḥ Mahākumāra-śrī-Haricakradra-dēvasya || Śrī[h]

No. 31.—SASANAKOTA PLATES OF GANGA MADHAVAVARMAN; 1ST YEAR.

BY C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU, B.A., MADRAS.

The plates on which the subjoined grant is engraved are reported to have been discovered about 4 or 5 years back in the village of Sāsana-kōṭa in the Hindūpūr taluk of the Anantapur District. They were kindly forwarded to me for examination in June 1937 by Khan Bahadur Javad Hussain, Bar-at-Law, Collector of the district, who obtained them from Mr. K. Gopalakrishnamacharlu of his office in whose possession they had previously remained for some time. The plates will be purchased for the Indian Museum, Calcutta, where they will be deposited.

The old village site at Sāsana-kōṭa was subsequently inspected by me in March 1938. Specimens of old pottery and beads and other relics were collected from an extensive mound here. A preliminary note on these antiquities will appear in due course in the *Archæological Survey Report* of India. The area is full of promise and is expected to be explored by the Archæological Department at an early date.

The set consists of four plates measuring 7" by 2" and about $\frac{1}{4}$ " in thickness. At the proper right margin in each plate is a ring-hole of about $\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter through which passes the copper ring bearing the seal. The ring measures about 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter. Its ends are soldered into the bottom of the seal which is oval and measures 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ " by 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". On its counter-sunk surface is carved in relief the figure of a standing elephant facing the proper left. On the top and bottom sides

¹ There is a mark here to show that the word is continued in the next line.

² Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

³ Metre: *Śālīnī*.

⁴ The word *brāhmaṇa* in this *pāda* is superfluous.

⁵ *Danda* unnecessary.

⁶ The left hand stroke of the medial *ō* in *nō* is joined to the preceding *ka*.

of the seal are small projections, of which the one at the bottom side looks like a small knob and bears carved on it a spiral, the significance of which is not apparent. The set with the ring and the seal weighs 60 *tolas*.

The inscription registers the gift of the village **Vēlputtoru** in **Paru-vishaya** as a *brahmadēya* to the Brāhman Dharasārman of the Vatsa-gōtra and Taittiriya-charaṇa by *Mahārāja Mādhava-varman*, son of **Koṭṭaṇṇivarman-Dharma-mahādhirāja** of the **Kāpāyana-gōtra** and the **Jāhnavōya-kula**.

The record is in **Sanskrit** prose except for the usual imprecatory verses attributed here to Manu as in the Penukoṇḍa plates,¹ given in ll. 17 to 23.

The script is an early variety of the Southern class of alphabets and is definitely anterior to that of the Penukoṇḍa plates of Mādhavavarman II (III) of this family discovered in 1914 and published by Mr. Lewis Rice.¹ These plates were then considered to be of special interest as being an admittedly genuine record of the early Gaṅga kings of Gaṅgavāḍi, or Mysore. In subsequent years, i.e., during the last quarter of a century, a number of copper-plate grants purporting to belong to the early kings of this dynasty have come to light, mainly in Mysore, and are reviewed in the *Mysore Archaeological Reports*. Some of these will be noticed in the sequel. But it deserves to be mentioned here that the present grant is the earliest genuine copper plate document discovered so far not only for king Mādhava I but also for his family.

The script resembles very much that of the Ōṃgōḍugrant² of the early Pallava king Vijaya-Skandavarman II, and is more archaic than that of the Penukoṇḍa plates referred to above. The letters of our grant are of a more archaic type than those in the records of the Kadamba king Kākusthavarman whom Dr. Fleet has assigned to a period later than Śaka 360.³ They closely resemble those of the Narsapur plates of Vijaya-Dēvavarman⁴, which are in Prākṛit prose. Our grant may, therefore, be assigned to a time immediately following the period of Prākṛit charters of the Telugu country, i.e., to about the fourth-fifth century A. D. Its characters would appear to be anterior to those of the Pikira grant of Pallava Simhavarman⁵. In this connection see also Krishna Sastri's remarks on the period of the Pallava kings Simhavarman and his son Skandavarman, respectively contemporaries of Āryavarman and Mādhavavarman II (middle of the 4th century A.D.).⁶ The letters of the Penukoṇḍa plates are more developed and ornate and seem to bear evident influence of the so-called Pallava-Grantha style on the Gaṅga alphabets. The alphabet of the Kūḍalūr grant of Mādhavavarman⁷ resembles that of the latter. This grant says explicitly that Āryavarman and his son Mādhava were crowned respectively by the Pallava kings Simhavarman and Vijaya-Skandavarman. Moreover, as a token of the latter's suzerainty the grant bears, at the top, as preamble, the name of Skandavarman of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra and the Pallava-kula.

The horizontal stroke at the top of several letters is not marked in our grant though a few have it. In this respect our grant resembles the Chendalūru plates of Pallava Kumāravishṇu II.⁸ It

¹ Above, Vol. XIV, p. 331.

² Above, Vol. XV, plate between pages 250 and 251.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 23. [But later on he gave up this date (see *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 291 and f. n. 1).—Ed.]

⁴ Above, Vol. IX, p. 57 and plate.

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 158 and plate.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 149. It should be remarked, however, that the statement made here regarding the crowning of the Gaṅga king by the Pallava is at variance with the original (*vide Ep. Rep.* 1914, pt. II, para. 4 and above, Vol. XIV, p. 333). [See correction, above, Vol. XIX, p. vii.—Ed.]

⁷ *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1930, p. 259 and pl. XXIV.

⁸ Above, Vol. VIII, pl. between pages 234 and 235.

must be observed that as in the case of the Āndhra and the early Pallava inscriptions some space is left after every syntactical group in this inscription (see especially lines 1 to 6). This is noticeable to some extent in the Penukoṇḍa plates also. The initial vowel *ā* is written in two forms : one with the length indicated by a curled loop at the bottom of the letter (*āmanaḥ* in line 11) and the other with the length indicated by a small hook at the right bottom of *a* which carries a round loop (*āma* in line 14). The medial short *i* is not a complete loop as in some early grants but is left open on the left side. In this respect our grant resembles the Uruvupalli grant of Simhavarman,¹ the Chendalūru plates of Pallava Kumāravishṇu II,² the Rāgōlu plates of Śaktivarman,³ the Brihat-prōshtha grant of Umavarman,⁴ and the Ōṃgōḍu grant of Vijaya-Skandavarman II referred to above. The *jīhvāmūliya* is used in *duḥkham* (l. 22) and the *upadhmāniya* in *adbhiḥ=pratta[h]* (l. 15). The following mistakes due to oversight in writing may be noticed : *dāraṇ-āri* for *dāruṇ-āri* (l. 3), *vakkri* for *vakti* (l. 9) and *Manu-gatā* for *Manu-gūtā* (l. 18).

The *anusvāra* is replaced by the class nasal of the following consonant in *svan=dātum* (l. 21) and *likhāt=ēyan=tāmra-paṭṭikā* (l. 24). The employment of a conjunct letter with *m* and the following consonant is commonly observed in this as in other early grants : e.g., *Jitam=Bhagavatā* (l. 1), *svadattām=para* (l. 18). The final *m* is indicated by a miniature sign for *ma* in *daśamyām* (l. 13), and *pālanam* (l. 22) as in some early Pallava and other records ; but in other places this is indicated in our grant by a small hook at the right-hand lower corner : *vasundharām* (l. 18) ; *phalam* (l. 21). The letter *nā* is written in two different ways. In one, the length is marked in the middle on the right side of the letter (*vide dāraṇ-āri* in l. 3) and in the other by a small hook added to the upper right arm of the letter (*varmmanā* in l. 11, *kramēṇ=ādbhiḥ* in l. 15 and *śarmmanā* in l. 24). The letter *na* is written in two forms, i.e. with a small loop or without it. Both the forms are seen in *Padmanābhena* in l. 1, while the latter form is distinctly noticeable in *sujana-jaṇapadasya* (l. 3) and *janēna* (l. 11), etc. As in the other grants of this period the consonant following *r* is doubled.

Since Rice published the Penukoṇḍa plates an earlier grant than these came to light in Mysore⁵ in the Kuṭithiyam plates of the Gaṅga king Kṛishṇavarman-Dharmamahādhirāja, son of Mādhavavarman-Mahādhirāja and grandson of Koṅgaṇivarman-Dharmamahādhirāja, who belonged to the Kāṇvāyana-gōtra and the Gaṅga-kula. This king, known to Rice from later epigraphs, was presumed by him to be identical with Āryavarman (Tamil Āyyavarman) and Harivarman of other grants with the supposed variant and synonymous name Kṛishṇavarman. It would not generally be justified to assume identities on the mere basis of *synonymity* in names, because *names as names* must strictly be applied to the particular individuals to whom they are given. In solving the difficulty we must take into consideration the possible causes for the interference of the Pallavas just about the time of this generation. The Penukoṇḍa plates say that the Pallava Simhavarman crowned Āryavarman according to propriety (*yathārham*). But Kṛishṇavarman does not admit or lay claim to such a distinction, if it were a distinction at all. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that Kṛishṇavarman of the Beṇḍigānahalli plates and the Kuṭithiyam grant was a younger brother of Āryavarman who must have, for some unknown reasons, ousted Āryavarman and seized the throne. Āryavarman, thus dispossessed, must have called in the Pallava king Simhavarman for help with which Kṛishṇavarman must have been dispossessed and the result was that Simhavarman crowned Āryavarman. A sort of political overlordship having thus been established by the Pallava over the Gaṅga king, the practice of the former crowning the latter is continued even

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 50 ff.

² Above, Vol. VIII, pl. between pages 234 and 235.

³ Above, Vol. XII, p. 1.

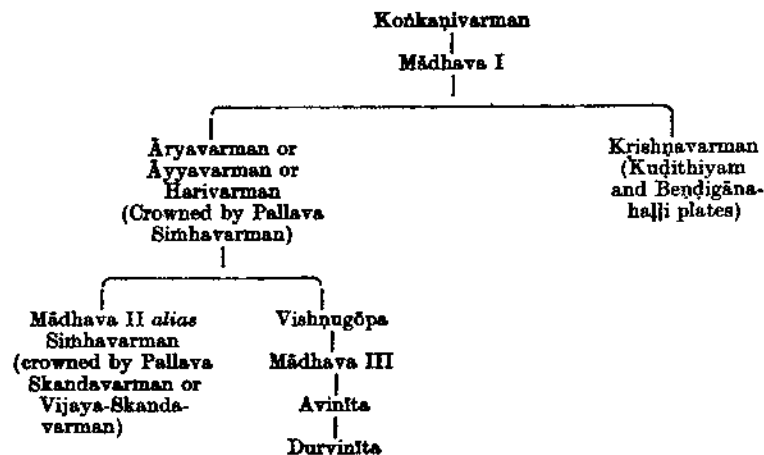
⁴ Above, Vol. XII, pl. between pages 2 and 3.

⁵ *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1932, p. 124 and pl. XXII.

in the next generation and Skandavarman or Vijaya-Skandavarman¹ crowns Mādhavarman who was surnamed Simhavarman² by his father, evidently, as a token of political feudality and personal gratitude also. The fact that Mādhava II, son of Āryavarman, claims in the Penukoṇḍa plates to have been led up to his ancestral kingship (*sva-vamśa-kram-āgata-rājya-praṇīta*) also suggests the correctness of this view.

Rice alternatively designates the later Mādhavarman as Mādhava III on the ground that a comparatively later inscription at Nagar³, containing several traditional and mythological statements, designates Koṅkanivarman also a 'Mādhava' and so he calls him Mādhava I. Since we have no early epigraphical data designating Koṅkanivarman as a Mādhava we need not confuse issues by creating a Mādhava II. It will be clear and precise to consider the latter only as Mādhava II and not Mādhava III.

Collecting the genealogical information furnished in all the known documents of this family and taking into consideration the probable causes for the Pallava intervention suggested above we may tentatively arrange a revised genealogy as follows :—



The names Arivarman and Harivarman occur only in the spurious or later copper-plates and stone inscriptions of this dynasty (Kielhorn, *Southern List* Nos. 108 fl.). These names must be given up in favour of "Āryavarman" of the earlier plates. Professor Dubreuil makes Harivarman a different person from, and a younger brother of, Āryavarman. But in the light of the Tanjore plates Hari might be the same as Ari and the latter a colloquial or pet form of Ārya. Rice's difficulty in allocating to Vishṇugōpa the proper place in the family genealogy is also overcome by adopting the scheme suggested above. His supposition that Vishṇugōpa's name 'was dropped out by mistake' in the Penukoṇḍa plates requires corroboration.

The inscription is dated not with reference to any era but gives the occasion of the grant as *śukla-pakṣa-daśamī* in the month of Phālguna in the first year of the king's reign. In determining the dates of the Penukoṇḍa plates of the present king's grandson Mādhava II, Fleet has given A.D. 475 as a very good date for it.⁴ Shifting back by two generations of 25 years each our plates will have to be assigned to about A.D. 425, which is not improbable in the light of its palaeography which has been fully discussed already.

¹ The name is given in this form in the Kūḍalūr grant of Mādhavarman (*Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1930, p. 259).

² Above, Vol. XIV, p. 335, text-line 11.

³ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Nr. 35.

⁴ Above, Vol. XIV, p. 331.

The localities mentioned in the grant are *Paru-vishaya* and the village *Vēlputtoru*. The former is evidently the same as *Paruvi-vishaya* of the Penukoṇḍa plates which has been identified by Rice with *Parigi*,¹ seven miles north of Hindūpūr in the Anantapūr District. The gift village is evidently identical with the modern village *Vēlpumadugu*² of the Gooty taluk in the same district. The plates must have migrated from *Vēlputtoru* to *Sāsanakōṭa* where they were discovered in course of time.

The engraver of the grant was *Sōmasārman*. Nothing is stated about his official position or status.

TEXT.³

First Plate.

- 1 ④ Jitam⁴=Bhagavatā gata-ghana-gagan-ābhēna Padmanābhēna [*] śrīma-
2 j-Jāhnavēya-kul-āmala-vyōm-āvabhāsana⁵-bhāskarasya
3 [sva-bhuja-jaya-jaya-jani]⁷ta-sujana-janapadasya ⁶dāraṇ-āri-gaṇa-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 4 vidāraṇa-raṇ-ōpalabdhā-vraṇa-bhūṣaṇasya Kānvāyana-sagōtrasya
5 śrīmat-⁸Kōṅgaṇivarmma-dharmma-mahādhirājasya putrēṇa pitur=anvāga-
6 ta-guṇēna sva-bhuja-vīry-ōtpāṭit-āvagrihīt-āri-śrī-yaśasā¹⁰
7 nānā-śāstrattha¹¹-sad-bhāv-ādhiḡama-praṇīta-mati-viśēṣasya¹²

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 8 vidvat-kavi-kāñchana-nikash-ōpala-bhūtasya¹³ viśēṣatō=py=ana-
9 vaśēṣasya nīti-śāstrasya yathāvad=vakkri¹⁴-prayōkṭri-ku-
10 śalēna samyak-prajā-pālana-mātr-ādhiḡata-rājya-prayōjanēna
11 su-vibhakta-bhakta-bhṛitya-janēna śrī-Mādhavavarmmaṇā ātmanah

¹ Above, Vol. XIV, p. 331.

² The term *toru* or *doruvu* is synonymous with *madugu* in Telugu and means a 'pond.' It would be interesting to note that *Vēlpumadugu* is a very ancient settlement. The adjoining 'isolated round-topped granite hill crowned with a fortification of post-neolithic date yielded a good harvest of celts and other neolithic artifacts' (Bruce Foote, *Indian Pre-historic and Proto-historic Antiquities*, p. 99).

³ From the original plates and from ink-impressions prepared in my office.

⁴ This symbol is engraved in the margin as in the Penukoṇḍa plates and probably stands for *Śrī* or *Siddham*. In addition to this the Penukoṇḍa plates have the expression *Svasti* in the margin.

⁵ At the top of *ta* is a dot in the original. This is accidental and due to corrosion and need not be mistaken for an *anusvāra* which in this record is always marked at the right top corner of the concerned letter.

⁶ The Penukoṇḍa plates have *vyōma-bhāsana*.

⁷ The portion enclosed within the brackets is engraved on an erasure like a palimpsest. The Penukoṇḍa plates read *°bhuja-jaya-jaya*.

⁸ Read *dāraṇ-āri*.

⁹ The Penukoṇḍa plates have *Koṅgaṇi*.

¹⁰ After this word is a letter like *pa* engraved and scored out.

¹¹ Read *-śāstr-ārtha*.

¹² Read *-viśēṣēṇa*.

¹³ Read *-bhūtēna*.

¹⁴ Read *vakkri*.

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ii, a.

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ii, b.

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iii, a.

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iii. b.

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18 18

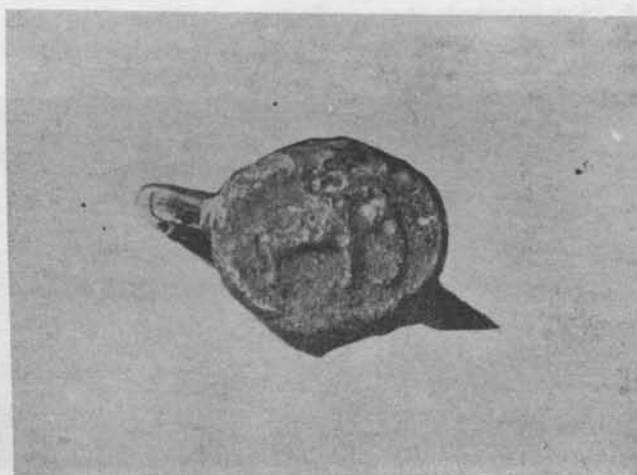
iv. a.

20 20
22 22

iv. b.

24 24

Seal (From a photograph).



Third Plate ; First Side.

- 12 pravarddhamāna-vipul-aśvāryyē prathamō sava[*rh*]tsarō¹ Phālguna-mā-
 13 sē śukla-pakshē tithau daśamyām Vatsa-sagōtrāya² Taittiriya³-
 14 charaṇāya Dharaśarmmaṇē ātmanīśrēyasē⁴ Paru-vishayō⁵
 15 Vēlputtoru-nāma-grāmō brahmadēya-kramēṇ-ādbhiḥ-pratta[*h*]⁶

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 16 sarvva-parihāra-yukta[*h*] [*h*]⁷ *Yō=sya lōbhāt=pramā[dā*]d=v=ābhiharttā
 17 sa pañcha-mahāpātaka-sa[m]yuktō bhavati [*h*]⁸ Api cha Manu-
 18 gatā[*h*]⁹ ślōkāḥ [*h*]¹⁰ Sva-dattām=para-dattām vā yō harēta vasundharām [*h*]¹¹
 19 shaptīm(shṭīm) varsha-sahasrāṇi ghōrē tamasi varttatē [*h*]¹² Bahu-

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

- 20 bhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabbis=Sagar-ādhibhi[*h*]¹³ [*h*]¹⁴ yasya yasya
 21 yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam [*h*]¹⁵ Svan=dātum su-maha¹⁶ch=chha-
 22 kyaṁ dukkham=any-ārtha-pālanam [*h*]¹⁷ dānam vā pālanam v=ēti dānāch=chhrē-
 23 y=ōnupālana[m] [*h*]¹⁸ Sva-mahārāja-mukh-ājñāptyā¹⁹ Sōma-

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

- 24 śarmmaṇā²⁰ likhit=āyan=tāmra-paṭṭikā [*h*]²¹

No. 32.—RANIPUR JHARIAL INSCRIPTIONS.

BY B. CH. CHHABRA, M.A., M.O.L., PH.D. (LUGD.), OOTACAMUND.

Rānipur Jhariāl, a village about 21 miles west of Titilagarh²² in the Pāṭhā State of Orissa, is famous for its numerous old temples, all of which are now deserted and partly dilapidated. They are built on a rocky surface on one side of a big tank close by. The place was first surveyed as early as 1875 by Mr. J. D. Beglar who has left us a vivid description of the buildings and sculptures found at this site.²³ About seven years later Sir A. Cunningham also visited this village and examined its antiquities.²⁴ Lastly, in November

¹ Read *sathotsarē*.

² The donee in the Penukoṇḍa plates also belongs to the same *gōtra* and *charaṇa*.

³ Read *Taittiriya*. The Penukoṇḍa plates also adopt the form *Taittiriya*.

⁴ Read *ātmanāś śrēyasē* or *ātma-nīśrēyasāya*.

⁵ The Penukoṇḍa plates call it *Paruvi-vishaya*. [The same *Paruvi-vishaya* is evidently intended here. The scribe seems to have dropped a *vi* by way of haplography.—Ed.]

⁶ The Penukoṇḍa plates read only *yō=sya haritā*.

⁷ Read *-gītāḥ* as in the Penukoṇḍa plates. The same three imprecatory verses are cited in the said plates but in a different order.

⁸ Read *-ādibhiḥ*.

⁹ This *ka* is written below the line.

¹⁰ Read *Mahārāja-sva-mukh-ājñāptyā*.

¹¹ The writer of the Penukoṇḍa plates was the goldsmith (*suvarṇakāra*) Apāpa.

¹² Titilagarh is a railway station on the Raipur-Vinayapatam line of the Bengal Nagpur Railway.

¹³ Cunningham's *A. S. I. Reports*, Vol. XIII, pp. 128-137, plates XI-XVI.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 64-65.

1936, I went there, while I was touring in that part of the country, specially in quest of inscriptions. I copied there three epigraphs which form the subject of this article.

A.—Mahādēva Temple Inscription.

This record is engraved on the architrave over the entrance to the sanctum of a stone temple which is the largest of the whole group and is locally known as Mahādēva temple¹. It has been noticed by Mr Beglar according to whom it is "the only inscription in the whole of the innumerable temples here". Evidently the other two epigraphs treated of here escaped his notice. Nor has Sir Cunningham noticed them. The inscription under discussion consists of six lines of unequal length, the first four lines measuring more or less five feet each and the last two only one foot. The average size of the letters is $1\frac{1}{4}$ ".

The characters of the inscription belong to the Northern script of about the 10th or 11th century A.D. The language is Sanskrit, but the composition is extremely faulty. Nevertheless the contents are fairly intelligible. No orthographical peculiarity is noticeable, except that the consonant after *r* is occasionally reduplicated, as in *vinirggata* of l. 1, and that the sign of *v* is used for both *b* and *v*.

Lexically, the usage of the word *kirtitām* (A. l. 2) as well as of *prakīrtitā* (B. l. 4) in the sense of 'built' is of interest. In the latter record the term *kīrti* is employed as a synonym of *kīrtana*,² meaning 'a building' or 'a temple'.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of the temple by an *āchārya*, named Gaganasīva, an immigrant from Uttara-Tērambagriha. It is clear from the inscription that the temple contained images of at least four different deities, namely Sōma, Svāmin, Siddhēśvara and Lakshmī. The first of these names is obviously a shortened form of Sōmēśvaradēva which occurs in l. 1 and refers to Śiva, the principal deity of the temple. Svāmin is an epithet of Śiva's son Kārttikēya. As regards the name Siddhēśvara, it probably stands here for Siddhārtha, meaning the Buddha, a figure of whom is found sculptured on the jamb of the entrance of the temple in question. The figure of Lakshmī is found over the entrance. From the presence of relics pertaining to different creeds,³ Beglar concluded "that the temple was first Vaishnavic, next Buddhist, and finally Saivic."⁴ This conclusion is now disproved by the mention of the aforesaid four deities in the inscription itself, which rather shows that they all were installed simultaneously, and that the seeming diversity was the original character of the temple.

It may be pointed out that the inscription was examined both by Mr. Beglar and by Sir A. Cunningham, but their interpretation of it is open to question. For instance, the appellation *Sōmēśvaradēva-bhāṭṭāraka*, occurring in the beginning of the record, has been

¹ For its Buddhist and Vaishnavic associations compare Mr. Beglar's remarks, *loc. cit.*, p. 130.

² The significance of this word has been discussed by Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 228-229, where he has also cited certain instances of its usage in the given sense both in literature and in inscriptions.

³ The word *kīrti* is found used in the same sense also in the Ghōsrāwā Buddhist inscription, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 309 (also p. 308 and p. 312, n. 36), and *kīrti-sthāna* in the Lakkhā Mandal *prāśasti*, above Vol. I, p. 14 and p. 15, n. 21.

⁴ See above, n. 1.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*, p. 131

taken by them as referring to a *rājā* of that name,¹ while, as is clear from the context, it refers in reality to Śiva, the main deity of the shrine.

The only information we get from the inscription regarding *Gaganaśiva āchārya* is that he hailed from Uttara-Tērambagriha. In this connection Dr. N. P. Chakravarti has kindly directed my attention to the Mattamayūra school of Śaiva ascetics, suggesting thereby that *Gaganaśiva* might have been one of them, as the names of some of them likewise end in *śiva*. This argument receives further support from the identification of Uttara-Tērambagriha with Tērambi as proposed below. Tērambi, it may be pointed out, is known from the Rāṇōd inscription to be the seat of an earlier Śaiva saint of the Mattamayūra line, whose name is not given but who is styled *Tērambipāla*, i. e., 'the protector of Tērambi'.²

The saints of the Mattamayūra sect are known to have founded temples, tanks and monasteries at various places, being highly honoured and favoured with munificent gifts by certain Kalachuri rulers.³ The Rāṇōd inscription itself belongs to one such sage, called Vyōmaśiva, who is stated to have restored to Raṇipadra⁴ its past glory⁵ and beautified the *maṭha* there by building in its vicinity a magnificent tank, a temple, a garden and shrines with images of Śiva, Umā, Nātyēśvara and Vināyaka.⁶ Of all these, prominence is given to the tank, the construction of which forms the main object of the record and which is glorified in no less than twenty verses (vv. 45-64). The line of disciples given in this record is as follows:⁷ Kadambaguh-ādhivāsin, Śaṅkhamāṭhik-ādhipati, Tērambipāla, Āmardakātīrtha-nātha, Purandara, Kachaśiva, Sadāśiva, Hṛidayēśa and Vyōmaśiva. Of these Purandara is described to have founded two *maṭhas*, one at Mattamayūra and the other at Raṇipadra. The latter place, it is narrated, was subsequently graced by Sadāśiva by doing penance there, while still later, as has already been stated, its grandeur was revived and enhanced by Vyōmaśiva. From the numerous laudatory verses in praise of Vyōmaśiva we gather that he was an ascetic of a very high order and a profound scholar, well-versed in the *Śaiva-siddhāntas* as well as in the Nyāya, Vaiśeṣhika, Mīmāṃsā and Sāṅkhya *śāstras*, equally proficient in the Lōkāyata, Bauddha and Jaina doctrines, who could easily silence his opponents in a debate, so much so that he is related to be a second omniscient Śāṅkara (i. e., Śiva) incarnate.⁸

Now, considering that *Vyōmaśiva*, so far as the meaning of the word is concerned, is the same as *Gaganaśiva*, one feels suspicious whether the two names refer to one and the same person. And this suspicion is heightened by the fact that *Vyōmaśiva* is variously mentioned in the Rāṇōd inscription by such equivalent appellations as *Gaganēśa* (v. 39), *Vyōmaśambhu* (v. 41), *Vyōmēśa* (v. 50) and *Gaganaśaśimauli* (v. 65). The same will be found in the case of certain other sages. Thus, for example, Hṛidayēśa of the Rāṇōd inscription

¹ The Secretary to the Cabinet, Pātṇā State, has kindly placed at my disposal copies of certain manuscripts by the late Mr. Manbodh Sahu, a resident of that State. One of them contains a transcript of the present inscription, with some notes regarding its contents. I find most of the text read by Mr. Sahu to be correct, except that he has, after the Oriya fashion, used *b* for *v* in his transliteration. As regards the contents of the record, while his explanation of it improves little upon that given by Mr. Beglar and Sir Cunningham, he follows them in regarding *Sōmēśvarādēva* as referring to a royal personage.

² Above, Vol. I, p. 355, v. 9.

³ See R. D. Banerji's *The Haihayas of Tripuri and Their Monuments* (A. S. I. Memoirs, No. 23), pp. 110 ff.

⁴ R. D. Banerji wrongly gives it as Raṇipadra.

⁵ Above, Vol. I, p. 357, v. 29.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 359, vv. 43, 44.

⁷ For a fuller list and a more detailed account the reader is referred to R. D. Banerji's monograph, *loc. cit*

⁸ Compare especially the verses 36-39 of the Rāṇōd inscription.

is called Hridayaśiva in the Bilhari inscription.¹ It is clear from this that with regard to the names of the Mattamayūra sages it was the sense of the word and not the word itself that mattered, so that any synonymous term could be substituted for a personal name, be it though merely to conform to metrical requirements. In view of these considerations, one would naturally conclude that Vyōmaśiva and Gaganāśiva are, in all probability, but two different names of one and the same person. This conclusion is favoured also by the likelihood of Tērambi being identical with Uttara-Tērambagriha. There is yet another point which would lend support to the identification of Vyōmaśiva with Gaganāśiva, and that is the name *Raṇipadra*. Has this name anything to do with Rānipur Jhariāl? Referring to the deserted temples at this latter place, Mr. Beglar points out that 'they are traditionally ascribed to a Rani, but her name has been forgotten'.² But one may as well ask: Can it not be that we have a replica of Raṇipadra itself in Rānipur Jhariāl, with its name, tank, temples and all, owing their origin to one and the same personage, viz., Vyōmaśiva or Gaganāśiva?

However plausible the above argument may appear, the whole question has to be left undecided in the absence of more convincing evidence. The verbal likeness between *Raṇipadra* and *Rānipur* may be as accidental as may the similarity between *Vyōmaśiva* and *Gaganāśiva* be fortuitous. And when we consider how ill compares the faulty and clumsy construction of the present brief record with the chaste and ornate composition of the copious inscription from Rāṇōd, the former depicting Gaganāśiva as a mediocre abbot and the latter representing Vyōmaśiva as a great celebrity among the learned and the holy, the possibility of the two being identical becomes remoter still. There is, however, no such obstacle in accepting Tērambi being the same as Uttara-Tērambagriha and Gaganāśiva being connected with the Mattamayūra sect of Śaiva saints.

As regards the location of the places referred to above, Raṇipadra has been taken to be Rāṇōd itself, an old decayed town in the state of Gwālīor, about half way between Jhānsī and Guna.³ Tērambi, it is suggested, may be identified with Terahi, which is five miles to the south-east of Rāṇōd,⁴ and which seems also to represent the Uttara-Tērambagriha of the inscription under discussion, unless, as a partial phonetic resemblance between the names would suggest, it be identified with the modern Tarbhā, an important mart in the Sonapur State, lying on the borders of the Pāṭṇā State, some sixty-five miles north-east of Rānipur Jhariāl, which seems less probable.

TEXT⁵.

CORRECTED TEXT.

1 [. . . ॐ नमः शिवाय ॥ श्रीसो-
मेखरदेवभट्टारकपरमेस्वरवरप्रसादोः ।
श्री'उत्तरतेरस्वष्टहविनिर्गतगगनशिवा-

ॐ नमः शिवाय ॥ श्रीसोमेखरदेवभट्टार-
कपरमेस्वरवरप्रसादोः'उत्तरतेरस्वष्टह-
विनिर्गतगगनशिवा-

¹ Above, Vol. I, p. 259, v. 34.² Loc. cit., p. 123.³ Above, Vol. I, pp. 351 and 353⁴ Ibid., p. 353.⁵ From ink-impressions.⁶ It cannot be ascertained whether the stone contained any more letters before the conjecturally supplied two syllables ॐ नमः.⁷ Sandhi has not been observed here.

2 'अभिधा[... ..]चार्येन' इदं स्थानं
कीर्तितं सर्वं । तीर्थफलसमायोगं
लोकानुग्राहकं पुंन्यं । सोमसामि-
सिद्धेश्वरं ।

3 लक्ष्मीनामचतुर्थकं ॥ इदं तीर्थं स्नात्वा¹
सर्वपापविमोचनः । श्रीसोमीशना-
थस्तव पादयुगलेः श्राधनैकतत्परः[.]

4 प्रणमति गगनशिवं यदि बद्धो मुक्ति-
न्ददासि शङ्कर । मुक्तो वा बन्ध-
नसमर्थस्तपं किञ्च भवति ॥ स्त-⁶
वापि स्वामिनो ज-

5 गत्पति[र्व]न्ध्वा मोक्षन्ददासि

6 गगनैकस्त्वयं प्रभुः शिवः ॥

भिधा[नसिद्ध?]चार्येण¹ इदं स्थानं कीर्तितं
सर्वतीर्थफलसमायोगं लोकानुग्राहकं
पुण्यं सोमस्वामिसिद्धेश्वर-

लक्ष्मीचतुर्थकं नाम तीर्थं स्नात्वा¹ सर्व-
पापविमोचनम् । श्रीसोमीशनाथ²
तव पादयुगलेः श्राधनैकतत्परः

प्रणमति गगनशिवः । यदि बद्धो मुक्ति-
न्ददासि शङ्कर । मुक्तो वा
बन्धनसमर्थः । तपसि किञ्च भवति ॥
तवापि स्वामिनो ज-

गत्पतिर्वन्धं वा मोक्षन्ददासि

गगनैकस्त्वयं प्रभुः शिवः ॥

TRANSLATION.

Om. Obeisance to Śiva ! The ācharya (or siddhāchārya ?) named Gaganaśiva, an immi-
grant from the glorious Uttara-Tērambagriha, (who has been) favoured with a boon by
the Supreme Master, the Lord, the illustrious god Sōmēśvara, has built this (holy) place which
combines in itself the merit of all the holy places, is beneficent for the people, and is sacred,
containing (the images of the four gods) namely Sōma, Svāmin, Siddhēśvara and Lakshmī as
the fourth. This holy place delivers (one) of all sins, if (one) bathes (here).³ O Śrī-Sōmēśa-
nātha ! Gaganaśiva, being ever full of devotion, bows at your pair of feet. O Śaṅkara !
you bestow salvation (on your devotee), if (he) is in bondage. You are able even to put (one)
into bondage, (if one) is freed. ¹⁰What is not possible through penance ? ...the lord of
the universe you give bondage or liberation. But Gagana alone (is ?) this lord Śiva.

B.—Kēnduvalli Temple Inscription.

At a little distance in front of the Mahādēva temple described above, there is another,
called Kēnduvalli temple, which is much smaller in size. The face of the rock on which

¹ Sandhi has not been observed here.

² Between *pa* and *nya* traces are visible of a cancelled letter which seems to have been a *na*.

³ The reading is probably *Svāmi*-, only the subscript *v* is not clear.

⁴ The usage of this absolute gerund for a conditional clause is unusual.

⁵ This is equivalent to *śrī-Sōmēśvaradēva*.

⁶ This can also be read as *stath-āpi*.

⁷ From here onwards the sense is not very clear to me.

⁸ These names have been discussed in the introduction.

⁹ See above, n. 4.

¹⁰ See above, n. 7.

it stands is carved with figures of *nava-grahas*. The present short inscription is engraved to the left of these carvings. Owing to the exposure, both the drawings and the epigraph are badly weather-worn and can be made out only with difficulty.

The inscription consists of four short lines, each about a foot and a quarter in length, comprising one stanza in the *Anushtubh* metre; thus every line containing one quarter of the verse.

The characters are similar to those of the record A. already dealt with. The inscription can thus be assigned roughly to the 10th century A.D., which would also be the date of the temple the erection of which is recorded in it.

The language is Sanskrit, practically without any mistake. In point of orthography the use of *s* for *ś* in *suddhō* (l. 1) may be noted. The significance of the words *kīrti*= and *prakīrti* has been discussed above.¹

The record simply informs us that one *Dēvānanda*, son of *Jōgēśvara*, has raised this shrine in honour of *Kṛishṇa*, by which evidently the present *Kēnduvalli* temple itself is meant. It cannot be ascertained from the inscription whether the name *Kēnduvalli* is the same as was originally given to the shrine or whether it came to be attached to it later on. It is, however, only from this epigraph that we learn that the shrine was dedicated to *Kṛishṇa*, as the monument itself in its present condition is totally bereft of its original contents. As is evidenced by this as well as by the previous record, the temples of *Rānipur Jhariāl* were devoted to various deities. It must, therefore, have been a place of pilgrimage for Hindu devotees of all persuasions.

No information is given regarding *Dēvānanda* and his father *Jōgēśvara* so as to determine whether the builder of this *Kṛishṇa* temple was also an *āchārya* or simply a layman.

TEXT.²

- 1 जोगेश्वरसुतः सु(शु)द्धो
- 2 देवानन्देति³ विष्णुतः ।
- 3 तेन कृष्णोपचारेण
- 4 कीर्तिरेषा प्रकीर्तिता ॥

TRANSLATION.

Jōgēśvara (*had*) a son, well-known as *Dēvānanda*. This temple is constructed by him in honour of *Kṛishṇa*.

C.—*Rākshasa-parvata* Inscription.

This inscription is cut on the top of a rocky elevation known as *Rākshasa-parvata*, lying opposite the *Kēnduvalli* temple at a short distance. The inscription is accompanied on the left by a line-drawing, representing a pair of human footprints enclosed within a rayed circle. The engraving of both the drawing and the writing is shallow.

¹ See above p. 240.

² From ink-impressions.

³ Strictly speaking, it ought to have been *Dēvānanda īti*, but *sandhi* has been made through the exigency of the metre. Or, the name *Dēvānanda* is used here *aribhaktika*, i.e., without the case-termination.

The writing consists of three very small lines, each about eight inches long, comprising half a *śloka*. The **characters** appear to be somewhat later in date than those of the previous two records, but belong to the same type. The **language** is Sanskrit. The **purport** of the record is the consecration of the foot-marks (at the instance of a *siddhāchārya*?) which are engraved near by, though the text is rather obscure. The nimbus around the foot-impressions denotes the holiness of the person to whom they belong, but there is nothing to show whether the person is a god or a saint.

TEXT.¹

- 1 ॐ² प्र[तिष्ठा]प्यमि-
- 2 दं प[दं] सिद्धा-
- 3 चार्येण वाचितं[1*]

TRANSLATION.

Om. Siddhāchārya has declared this footprint to be consecrated.

No. 33.—ALLAHABAD MUNICIPAL MUSEUM YUPA INSCRIPTION.

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While on a visit to Allahābād, Rai Bahadur Braj Mohan Vyas, B.A., LL.B., the devoted founder and maker of the Allahābād Municipal Museum, showed to me an inscribed fragmentary stone pillar, which had been acquired for the museum some months ago. This interesting monument hailed from the neighbourhood of Kosam, ancient Kauśāmbī, in Allahābād District, which was a well-known and flourishing city in ancient India. Rai Bahadur Vyas kindly supplied to me an ink-impression of the inscription on the pillar, after I had read it from the original, and requested me to edit it in the *Epigraphia Indica*. I am doing so accordingly.

The inscription has been inscribed on a stone pillar, which, in its original form, was obviously intended to be a *yūpa*. The pillar has been sadly mutilated; only one of its facets along with a small part of the adjoining one on its left, has been recovered. To judge from the angles of these facets, it is clear that the pillar was originally an octagonal one. It thus resembled the main shafts of the *yūpas* at Īsāpur, Baḍvā and Bijaygaḍh. For further information about the size, nature and significance of sacrificial pillars, I may refer the reader to my paper on 'Three Maukhari Inscriptions on Yūpas, Kṛita year 295' published *ante*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 42 ff.

As in the case of the Īsāpur *yūpa*, the inscription on this pillar also has been engraved in horizontal lines. In this respect it differs from the rather inconvenient arrangement to be seen on the *yūpas* at Nāndsā, Baḍvā and Bijaygaḍh, where the records have been inscribed in long vertical lines to be read from the top to the bottom or *vice versa*.³ The extant portion of the inscription extends over 16 lines. From its concluding sentence, 'May Mahēśvara, thus honoured, be pleased over and over again', it is clear that the record ends with the last words of the present last line.

¹ From ink-impressions.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ [There are two records on the pillar of Nāndsā containing practically the identical text. One of these is written in vertical and the other in horizontal lines.—Ed.]

It may be recalled that the *Isāpur yūpa* record also ends similarly, 'May the fires be pleased'. We may therefore confidently conclude that our record did not run into any lower line over a facet which has been destroyed.

The general arrangement of the record and the purport of the lines preserved make it further certain that the present first line was preceded by two earlier ones, which referred to the first two sacrifices in the *Sapta-Sōma-samsthā*. This point will be further explained later.

The portion of the inscription that has been inscribed on the completely preserved facet of the pillar and also over a small fraction of the facet on its left, makes it clear that each facet was intended to have one quartrain of the *Anuṣṭubh* metre. It is thus clear that at least the metrical part of the record was inscribed over the four out of the eight facets of the *yūpa*. The same probably was the arrangement in the case of the last five lines, which are in prose.

The **characters** of the inscription, which has been engraved very carefully and beautifully, belong to about the 2nd century of the Christian era. The form of the letters *na*, *ṇa*, *la*, and *sa* makes it quite clear that the record is much earlier than the Gupta period. It would be instructive to compare its characters with those of the *Isāpur*, *Nāndsā* and *Baḍvā yūpas*, erected respectively in the 24th year of emperor *Vaśishka*, and 282nd and 295th year of the *Kṛita*, i.e., *Vikrama* era. Unlike in any of the above dated records, in our epigraph, the forms of the medial short and long *i* are denoted by one and two curvilinear lines respectively, placed over the top of the letter; the later practice of using for this purpose curves turning to the left and right, which we see in *Isāpur*, *Nāndsā* and *Baḍvā* records, is not known to our epigraph. The central stroke of *śa* is still slanting downwards; this is an archaic characteristic and is not to be seen in any of the above records. *Na* and *ṇa* have only a slight bend in the base line; the former has not yet developed a hook, and the latter shows no tendency to develop any curve at the top. The central bar of *la* is still a straight line; it has not become curved as at *Nāndsā* and *Baḍvā*. The vertical of *la* has not yet developed a curve at the top as at *Baḍvā*. *Ya* shows no loop in the left limb as at *Nāndsā* and *Baḍvā*. The letter *da* still retains its archaic form and opens to the left as in the inscriptions of *Ushavadāta* and *Rudradāman*. Palaeography would therefore show that this *yūpa* inscription is earlier than the *yūpa* records, referred to above; we may, therefore, with fair certainty, place it in the first part of the 2nd century A.D., if not even a little earlier.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit, but there are the following mistakes in it. *Chchh* in *uchchhṛitaḥ* or *samuchchhṛitaḥ* has been throughout represented by *chh*; see ll. 1, 2, 7. In l. 7 *°vīmśe* has been wrongly spelt as *°vīmśē*. In l. 10 *dātvēva* is probably a mistake for *dattu=aiva*. At the end of the l. 13, there is a *sandhi* mistake; instead of *tasminn=ēv=āhani* the record reads *tasminnēv=āhani*. The last five lines of the record are in prose, but its first 11 lines are in verse, the metre being *Anuṣṭubh*. The same probably was the case with the first two lines of the record that have now been lost.

Orthography calls for a few remarks only. An *anusvāra* is indicated by a dot above the letter; it is not changed to the nasal of the class of the letter following; see ll. 6, 8. *Va* has been changed into *ba* in the word *Kaubidārikā*, l. 12.¹ Consonants are not doubled when they are conjoined with a preceding *r*; cf. [*chatu*]rthaḥ, l. 2, °r=bhōktavyam, l. 15. The rules of *sandhi* are usually observed; °dbhiḥ charakā° (l. 15) is the only exception. There are no punctuation marks at the end of sentences or verses. At the end of l. 15, there is a small horizontal stroke which was perhaps intended to be a punctuation mark. The verses are numbered at the end. There is a separate numbering for the verses in sections A and B of the record.

¹ [See p. 249, n. 3 below.—Ed.]

Symbols for all the **numerals** from 1 to 9 appear in the record. They are similar to those found in the Nāsik and Kushāṇa inscriptions of the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.

As regards the **date**, it is clear from l. 7 that the record was inscribed in the **23rd regnal year** of a certain king. But as his name is not preserved in the extant part of the inscription, we cannot utilise this information for determining its date. Palaeographical evidence therefore affords the only clue; it points to the early part of the 2nd century A.D. as the probable date of the record, as shown already above.

Though the inscription is very fragmentary, its main purpose can be ascertained fairly satisfactorily. It divides itself into three parts, part A consisting of ll. 1-7, part B of ll. 8-11, and part C of ll. 12-16. Part A commemorates the erection of as many as seven *yūpas* in connection with the performance of seven Sōma sacrifices, technically known as *Sapta-Sōma-saṁsthā*. The sacrificer was almost certainly **Śivadatta**, who was a very trusted minister of a certain king, whose name has been lost. That he performed the various sacrifices comprised in the group of seven Sōma sacrifices becomes clear from the fact that only seven sacrifices are mentioned, and that—to judge from the wording in ll. 3 and 5—they have been counted from *Agnishṭōma*. Line 5 further shows that the 5th sacrifice in the series was *Vājapēya*. Such actually is the case with the sacrifices in *Sapta-Sōma-saṁsthā*. For the sacrifices included in this group are *Agnishṭōma*, *Atyagnishṭōma*, *Ukthya*, *Shōḍaśin*, *Vājapēya*, *Atirātra* and *Aptōryāma*, and they are to be performed in the stated order.¹

In the Vedic age the Sōma sacrifice was very common and its most popular form was *Agnishṭōma*, so called because the last of its twelve chants was called *Agnishṭōma-sāman*. The other six sacrifices included in the *Sapta-Sōma-saṁsthā*, enumerated in the preceding paragraph, differ from *Agnishṭōma* only in minor details. This group of seven Sōma sacrifices seems to have been very popular when the Vedic religion was in ascendancy, for one Dharmasūtra writer has elevated them to the status of the *saṁskāras*.² It is clear that the idea was that these sacrifices should be performed by every householder as regularly as the sacraments like the *upanayana* and *atyēshṭi*. As a matter of fact we sometimes find even the Gṛihya sacrifices, which were very numerous, being artificially grouped into a *sapta-pākayajña-saṁsthā* on the analogy of the *sapta-Sōmayajña-saṁsthā*.³ This would show how great was the importance that was attached to the seven Sōma sacrifices of this group. It is, however, interesting to note that the present is the first case of our having discovered any *yūpa* referring to their performance. The Bijayagadh *yūpa* and the *yūpas* of king Mūlavarman of Borneo do not mention the name of the sacrifice in connection with which they were erected.⁴ The Isāpur *yūpa* commemorates the celebration of a *Dvādaśa-rātra* sacrifice, and the Nāndsā *yūpa* of the *Shashṭi-rātra*, as would appear from the preliminary note published about its inscription by Mr. Haldar.⁵ Each of the three Badvā *yūpa* inscriptions that have so far been published, refers to the *Trirātra* sacrifice and another from the place, which is published below, commemorates an *Aptōryāma* sacrifice. The present record is therefore the first one published so far that refers to the celebration of all the seven sacrifices included in the famous *Sapta-Sōmayajña-saṁsthā*.

¹ *Kātyāyana-Śrautasūtra*, X, 9, 27. In the enumeration of these sacrifices as given in *Gautama-Dharmasūtra*, *Ukthya*, *Atyagnishṭōma*, *Shōḍaśin* and *Atirātra* occupy the 2nd, 6th, 3rd and 4th position respectively.

² *Gautama-Dharmasūtra*.

³ *Baudhāyana-Gṛihyasūtra*, I, 1, 1.

⁴ [In one of the inscriptions of Mūlavarman, Bahusuvāpaka has been taken by Kern as a synonym of Banuhiranya, a Sōma sacrifice.—Ed.]

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, 1929, p. 53. [The sacrifice mentioned in this record is *Ēka-shashṭi-rātra*.—Ed.]

Section A of the record, consisting of ll. 1-7, refers to the erection of seven pillars in connection with the seven Sōma sacrifices referred to above. The first line of the record, which has been numbered 3 at its end, begins with a fragmentary letter which was clearly *t*, and which is followed by *yō yūpa u[ch*]chhrītaḥ*. It is clear that we have to restore the first word as *trityō* and that the line refers to the erection of the third *yūpa* in connection with the third sacrifice of Sōma group, viz., the *Ukthya*. Of the first word in l. 2, which has been numbered 4 at the end, only two letters **rthas=tu* have been preserved. It is however clear that we have to restore the word as *chaturthas=tu* and the line thus refers to the erection of the fourth resplendent *yūpa*. The next line in the inscription, which is numbered 5, refers to the fifth one from *Agnishōma*; as the sacrifices in the *Sapta-Sōmayajña-samsthā* were numbered from *Agnishōma*, its first member, the line refers to the erection of the fifth *yūpa* in connection with the *Vājapēya* sacrifice, which is the fifth one in the series. The next line, which contains the verse numbered 6 in the record, refers to the sixth one from the first sacrifice. Obviously when complete, it described the erection of the 6th *yūpa* in connection with the *Atirātra* sacrifice, which is the 6th member in the Sōma group. The next line, containing the verse 7, refers to the seventh *yūpa* from *Agnishōma*, and obviously must have referred to the *Aptōryāma* sacrifice, which was the last one in the *Sapta-Sōma-samsthā* group. It would now become clear from this that the original record contained two more lines in the beginning, which have been now completely lost and which must have referred to the erection of two *yūpas* in connection with *Agnishōma* and *Atyagnishōma* sacrifices, which were the first and second member respectively in the series of seven Sōma sacrifices.

Though not originally included in the group of Sōma sacrifices by the earlier Samhitās, the 5th sacrifice in this series, the *Vājapēya*, soon assumed very great importance, and became associated with royal coronation. The 6th line of our record [*pratha*] *mād-yajñāt pañchamō Vājapēyikaḥ* refers to something connected with this sacrifice, as its concluding adjective would show. As the record is fragmentary, we cannot be sure about the purport of this line. It is, however, permissible to conjecture that the line referred once more to the *yūpa* of the *Vājapēya* sacrifice, and that it is identical with the one we have discovered. It would appear that though seven *yūpas* were duly set up by the sacrificer, he decided to select the *yūpa* of *Vājapēya* sacrifice for the honour of bearing the inscription, commemorating the performance of the seven Sōma sacrifices. Other *yūpas* were probably merely erected but not inscribed. We can now understand how only one of the sacrificial pillars found at Isāpur bears an inscription. When several *yūpas* were erected in connection with a sacrificial *sutra*, it was customary to inscribe the relevant inscription on only one of them. The *yūpas* at Baḍvā are all inscribed, because they refer to sacrifices performed, no doubt on the same day, but by different sacrificers. Each sacrificer was anxious to commemorate his sacrifice separately.

The 7th line of the record stated the time of the performance of these sacrifices. The date was given not in any era but in the regnal year of a king. Unfortunately for history, the name of this potentate has been lost. The only restoration possible of the first crucial word in the line is [*trayō*] *vīmśē*; the first fragmentary letter may possibly be taken as *pā*, but it can give no word for a numeral in combination with *vīmśē* following. On the other hand it could very well have been a part of the letter *yō*. In that case the word can be restored as *trayōvīm(vim)śē*, as pointed out above. The record therefore was undoubtedly dated in the 23rd year of a king, whose name has now been lost.

Section B of the record, consisting of ll. 8-11, is again in *Anuṣṭubh* metre. It was intended to give us information about the honorarium paid to the Brāhmaṇas, who officiated at these sacrifices. It is almost certain from these lines that the sacrificer was not the king, but a minister of his

His name Śivadatta appears in l. 8 and he is probably once more referred to in l. 11 as 'a friend of the king', the form *rājamitraḥ* being probably a mistake for *rājamitram*.¹ The first word of l. 8 can certainly be restored as *grāmam*. The line, therefore, mentioned a village given to the minister Śivadatta, obviously by the king. In l. 9 the word *grāma* occurs as an object of a sentence and l. 10 refers to the payment of *dakṣiṇā*. It would therefore appear that a village, which had been originally given by the king to his minister Śivadatta, was subsequently transferred by him as *dakṣiṇā* to the priests, who officiated in his sacrificial session. Each Sōma sacrifice required 16 priests; if different sets of priests had officiated at each of the seven Sōma sacrifices performed by Śivadatta, the total number of persons entitled for the sacrificial fee would have been 112. Though an entire village was thus alienated, each donee probably received only $\frac{1}{12}$ th part of its revenues. The total *dakṣiṇā*, which Śivadatta had to pay on the occasion, undoubtedly constituted a big amount, and it will incidentally remind us of the oft-repeated observation that the Vedic sacrifices represented the religion of rich aristocracy and were beyond the means of ordinary individuals.

Section C of the record, consisting of ll. 12-16, is in prose² and these lines have not been numbered. As the lines are fragmentary, their purport can only be conjectured. Line 12 describes the homage paid to *Kaubidārikā* and the first part of l. 13 refers to some merit available in this and the next life. *Kōvidāra* is the name of a tree, favourite to Śiva like Bilva.³ It would appear that Śiva was the tutelary deity of the minister Śivadatta and these lines refer to the planting of a Kōvidāra grove, *Kaubidārikām* [*vāṭikām*], apparently in the garden of a Śiva temple, and the homage paid to it on the occasion. The merit of this religious act was probably described in the greater part of the next line, i.e., l. 13.

Ll. 14-16, along with the last six letters of l. 13, refer to another gift made on the same day. The last line (l. 16) expresses the hope that Mahēśvara, thus honoured, may be pleased over and over again. It would therefore appear that the donee of this second gift was a Śiva temple. L. 15 states that wandering mendicants should be supplied with food. It would appear that this temple of Śiva had a *śāstra* attached to it, and that a portion of the donation was reserved for the expenses connected with it. Epigraphs of later days refer to several such *śāstras* maintained by temple authorities, where poor men, wandering mendicants and students were offered free food.⁴ L. 14 and a portion of l. 15 describe the gift given. The extant portion of the inscription does not specifically describe the object of this gift, but to judge from the expression *sarva-jāta-bhōgyam* and *abhṛta-pravēśyam*, it is obvious that the gift made was of a village. Whether the donor was the king or his minister Śivadatta we do not know; probably it was the latter.

Though the record is very fragmentary, we can thus ascertain its purport almost completely. The loss of the name of the king, whom Śivadatta was serving as a minister, is, however, an irreparable historical loss. Had his name been preserved, we would probably have been able to date the record and get some welcome information about the contemporary history.

The contents of the record, as made out above, would show that it is a very interesting epigraph. It not only refers to the erection of as many as seven *yūpas* in connection with the

¹ [Probably we have to take *Rājamitra* here as a proper name as the case termination indicates.—Ed.]

² [We cannot determine if the whole of this portion is in prose. The opening portion of l. 13 appears to be in *Anuṣṭubh* metre, while the last line decidedly conforms to *Vamśasthavila* metre.—Ed.]

³ कौविदारं च विले च सदा संनिहितः शिवः ।

I am indebted to Pandit Chinnaśwami Śastry, Vice-Principal, Oriental College, Benares Hindu University, for drawing my attention to this line. [*Kōbidārikā* and *Kōśambaka*, apparently as place names, occur in the Indore Plates of *Pravarasēna* II (above, p. 55).—Ed.]

⁴ See *Ante*, Vol. IV, p. 355; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, pp. 129-31, Vol. V, p. 344; *E. C.*, Vol. I, No. 45.

performance of the seven Sōma sacrifices, but also records a donation made on the same day, and probably by the same donor and of the same value, to a temple of Siva. The record thus shows how in the everyday life of the second century Hindu community, Vedic and Paurāṇic religions were harmoniously blended together. The concluding portion of the Isāpur *yūpa* inscription is 'Priyant[ā]m=Agnaya[h]', and it is quite appropriate in a record describing a Vedic sacrifice. In our epigraph, however, the concluding sentence expresses the hope that Siva may be pleased. Of course this is probably due to the last recorded donation being in favour of a Siva temple. It would however also attest to the growing hold of the Paurāṇic religion even on the minds of those who were taking an active part in the revival of the Vedic religion.

TEXT.¹

A

- 1 [हृती²]यो यूप उद्धितः³ [॥*]२⁴ [॥*]
- 2 [चतु*]र्हस्तु श्रीमायूपः समुद्धितः⁵ [॥*] ४ [॥*]
- 3 [त*]तो⁷ विद्वानग्निष्टोमास्तु पंचमम् [॥*] ५ [॥*]
- 4 [त*]तोमेन षष्ठस्तु प्रथमात्मा¹⁰तोः [॥*] ६ [॥*]
- 5 [स्त*⁸]वायूपमग्निष्टोमास्तु सप्तमम् [॥*] ७ [॥*]
- 6 [प्रथ¹¹*]माद्यन्नात्यंचमो वाजपेयिकः [॥*] ८ [॥*]
- 7 [चयो*]¹²वींशे¹³ वर्षे यूपः समुद्धितः¹⁴ [॥*] ९ [॥*]

B

- 8 [द्या¹⁵]मं शिवदत्ताय मंचिषे [॥*] १ [॥*]
- 9 [स*]¹⁶ध्वो दामं राज्ञो महात्मनः [॥*] २ [॥*]

¹ From the original and ink-impression.

² A part of the letter *ti* can be seen in the ink-impression.

³ Read *utchchritāb*.

⁴ Read 3. The upper horizontal line in the symbol for 3 has been destroyed.

⁵ For the restoration proposed, see the introduction.

⁶ Read *samuchchritāb*.

⁷ The first letter *ta* of this line appears to have the mark of a medial *i* above it in the ink-impression. It is, however, merely a crevice in the stone, caused when the pillar was mutilated. There is no clear sign of medial *i* also on the second letter. This letter is, however, the 6th one in an *Anushtubh* quatrain and should therefore be a long one. The reading and restoration *taṭō* seems to be very probable. Compare [*ta*]ṭō-nēna at the beginning of the next line.

⁸ For the restoration proposed, see the introduction.

⁹ Read *shashthas*.

¹⁰ The subscript *kra* of this conjunct has penetrated into the lower line.

¹¹ The right portion of the circle of *tha* can be seen in the ink-impression.

¹² The first fragmentary letter of this line can also be read as *pā*, but when joined to the word *vīmśe* following, it cannot combine into any suitable word. It must therefore be taken to be the right hand portion of *yō*; *trayō-vīmśe* then is the only restoration possible.

¹³ Read **vīmśe*.

¹⁴ Read *samuchchritāb*.

¹⁵ A comparison of the remnant of this letter with the letter *grā* occurring in the next line shows that it could have been nothing else than *grā* when in undamaged condition.

¹⁶ This restoration is rendered probable by the word *namtrigē* occurring in the preceding line.

ALLAHABAD MUNICIPAL MUSEUM YUPA INSCRIPTION.



- 10 -ति¹ दात्वे² कृतदाक्षिणाम³ [॥*] ३ [॥*]
 11 [यश*]सा⁴ राजमिचः त्रिया दृतः [॥*] ४ [॥*]

C

- 12 कौबिदारिकां शिरसा प्रतिगृह्य
 13 - फलाः⁵ प्रेत्य चेह च [॥*] तन्निर्नेवाहनि
 14 - हार⁷ सर्वजातभोग्यमभृत⁸प्रवेशं
 15 [भागच्छ*]भिः⁹ १०चरकैर्भोज्यमिति ॥¹¹
 16 स¹²लूतः पुनः पुनः प्रीतिमियाचहेखर इति [॥*]

No. 34.—FOURTH MAUKHARI YUPA INSCRIPTION FROM BADVA.

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While editing my paper on 'Three Maukhari Inscriptions on Yūpas: Kṛta year 295', I had observed that a fourth sacrificial pillar should have originally existed in the locality. I had thought that a Sati stone, existing not far from the locality and bearing the letters *yajñō* in the characters of about the 3rd century A.D., was probably a fragment of the fourth pillar.¹ Dr. Mathuralal Sharma, the State Historian, Kotah, however, now reports to me that a fourth *yūpa*, complete in every respect, was discovered in another part of the same village. It bears a general resemblance to the three *yūpas* already discovered, whose photographs were published along with my paper on the inscriptions engraved upon them.² The new *yūpa* also

¹ The letter preceding *ñm* had a medial *i* mark which can be seen in the impression. It is, however, not possible to restore the word.

² Read *dañv=aisa*.

³ Read *-dakṣiṇām*.

⁴ The first broken letter was obviously *śa*; compare it with the form of this letter in ll. 7, 8, 12, 14, etc. The restoration *yajñō* is therefore very probable, the metrical irregularity not being a serious one. [The proposed restoration is doubtful. According to the rules of prosody the two syllables preceding *ñō* in this case should ordinarily be long. In fact there seems to be a sign of medial *ē* attached to the seventh syllable of this *pāda*.—Ed.]

⁵ The letters *phalāḥ* are preceded by a fragmentary letter, which looks like *tī*. *Phalāḥ* obviously must have formed the concluding part of a compound, but it is difficult to restore it with confidence.

⁶ Read *tasminn=ēv=āhani*.

⁷ Read *hāram*. The word may have been *agrahāram*.

⁸ Village grants usually use the word *bhāṭa* in this connection; here its original Sanskrit form has been preferred.

⁹ This restoration is conjectural, but it is rendered highly probable by the word *charakaiḥ* following.

¹⁰ Read *abhis=charakais=*.

¹¹ This stop is indicated by a horizontal stroke. It cannot stand for the numeral 1 here as it does in l. 8.

¹² A greater part of the letter *sa* is visible in the impression.

¹³ *Ante*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 42-3.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, plate facing page 53.

bears an inscription written, as on the other *yūpas* in this locality, in a long vertical line. Dr. Mathuralal has kindly sent me an ink-impression of the record with a request to edit it in the *Epigraphia Indica* : I am doing so accordingly.

As in the case of other sacrificial pillars at Baḍvā, the surface of this pillar also is not properly dressed. Some of the letters of the record have not therefore come out well in engraving. The mason was also not very careful in his work. Thus in *ga* of *gava* (l. 2), he has engraved a third slanting stroke ; *nu* in *Dhanutrāta* (l. 1) has been tacked on to its preceding letter and the engraving of *śya* and *sra* is throughout very shabby. The characters of the record show a close resemblance to those on the other sacrificial pillars from this village, already published. Though the record is not dated, on palæographical grounds it can well be placed with confidence in the third century A.D., to which period the other Maukhari records of the locality belong.

The language of the record is Sanskrit. Unlike the other *yūpa* records at Baḍvā, this inscription is composed in poetry. It consists only of a single verse in *Anuṣṭubh* metre. The record, though short, contains several mistakes, which will be indicated in the foot-notes.

The purport of the record is to announce that the pillar upon which it has been engraved, is a *yūpa* erected in *Aptōryāma* sacrifice performed by *Dhanutrāta*, son of Hastin, of the Maukhari clan, and that a sacrificial fee of one thousand cows was paid on the occasion to the officiating Brāhmaṇas. Unlike other *yūpa* records at Baḍvā, this record does not bear any date at its beginning. The name of the sacrificer *Dhanutrāta*, 'one protected by his bow', and of his father Hastin, 'Elephant', would suggest that the family was of the Kshatriya stock. Neither the sacrificer nor his father bears any feudatory or military titles like *Sāmanta* or *Sēnāpati*. It may be that the family of Hastin had not yet risen high in the military or administrative hierarchy like that of Bala, who was a *Mahāsēnāpati* or a commander-in-chief in 239 A.D. Or, it may be that in the short space of a single *Anuṣṭubh* verse, this information could not be imparted by the versifier. The former seems to have been the probable alternative ; had *Dhanutrāta* or his father acquired any feudatory or military rank, the versifier would certainly have been ordered to compose a second verse, announcing this distinction. Another facet of the pillar could have been utilised for this purpose, as has been done in the case of the *yūpa* of Balasimha from this locality.

The Baḍvā *yūpa* records would show that there were several Maukhari families settled in the locality during the 3rd century A.D. They were probably the scions of one and the same stock. Records discovered so far do not establish any blood relationship between the families of Bala and Hastin, apart from the suggestion conveyed by their surname. All the Maukhari families were following the military profession and some of them like that of Bala had risen very high in military hierarchy. Probably several villages, if not Tahsils, in modern Kotah state in the vicinity of Baḍvā and Kotah were assigned to them as military *jāgīrs*.

The sacrifice performed by *Dhanutrāta* was *Aptōryāma*. It is a variety of the one day *Sōma* sacrifice, but occupied, like the *Atirātra* sacrifice, a whole day and extended through the next night. It marks a further elaboration of the *Atirātra* sacrifice, inasmuch as it added four extra *śōtras* and *śāstras* to it at the end.¹ It forms the last member of the famous group of seven *Sōma* sacrifices, technically known as *Sapta-Sōma-saṁsthā*. For further information on this point see my paper on 'Allahābād Municipal Museum Yūpa inscription', *ante*, pp. 245 ff.

¹ Keith : *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, introduction, p. CXVII.

FOURTH MAUKHARI YUPA INSCRIPTION FROM BADVA.
Left Section.



Middle Section.



Right Section.



SCALE : ONE-FOURTH.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

TEXT.¹Mōkharēr=Hastī².puttrasya Dhanuttrā³tasya dhimataḥ [*]Aptō[r]jy[ā]mna[h] kratōh⁴ yūpaḥ sahasrō gava-dakṣhiṇā⁵ [*]

TRANSLATION.

This is the *yūpa* of the Aptōryāma sacrifice performed by the wise Dhanuttrāta, son of Hastin, of the Maukhari clan; an honorarium of a thousand cows (was given on the occasion).

No. 35.—KOSAM INSCRIPTION OF BHADRAMAGHA'S REIGN: THE YEAR 81.

BY KRISHNA DEVA, M.A.

This inscription which is engraved on a large slab of sand-stone, was discovered early in December 1937 in the course of an exploration of the ancient site of Kosam and its neighbourhood in the district of Allahābād by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, Superintendent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta. It was dug out, 2 ft. below surface, from the western bank of an old dried up *nālā*, once draining into the Jumna, near the village Nauhāi, nearly 1½ miles north-west of the well-known Kosam Pillar. I am grateful to Mr. Majumdar for kindly supplying me with an estampage of the inscription and providing me with facilities for editing it.

The epigraph is in an excellent state of preservation. The writing, which is neatly incised in two lines, covers a space of 2' 8" × 4" and is engraved breadthwise at one end of the huge rectangular slab, measuring 7' in length, 2' 9" in width and 6" in thickness. The size of the letters varies in length from 1" to 2".

The characters of the inscription belong to the Brāhmī alphabet of the later Kushāṇa period. The majority of the letters used are Kushāṇa while a few like *m* and *h* show advanced forms which are rare in the Kushāṇa documents but are of common occurrence in the Gupta records. The inscription, however, bears a close resemblance to the Mathurā pedestal inscription of the year 14 of Kanishka⁶ with which it also agrees in the use of *m*, *h* and *s* (e.g. *maharajasya*, l. 1) of the so-called eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet. The signs used for representing the medial vowels—*ā* and *ē* by horizontal side strokes (e.g. *āsana-paṭṭā*, l. 2; *savatsarē*, l. 1), *i* by a curve to left on top of the consonant (e.g. *divasē*, l. 1), *ī* by a U-shaped sign at the top of the letter (e.g. *dvītiya*, l. 1) and *ri* by a line, slanting from the lower right extremity of the consonant towards left (e.g. *grishma*, l. 1)—as well as the forms of the letters *n* and *ṇ* with curved base-lines (e.g. *āsana-paṭṭā* and *śrēṇiya*, l. 2), *g* and *ṣ* with rounded tops (e.g. *grishma-pakṣhē*, l. 1; *śrēṇiya*, l. 2), *gh*, *j*, *p* and *v* with flat angular forms (e.g. *Bhadramaghasya*, *maharajasya*, *pakṣhē* and *savatsarē*, l. 1) and the initial *ā* with the bar denoting its length attached lower down (e.g. *āsana-paṭṭā*, l. 2)—are typical of the Kushāṇa writing. The forms of *g*, *t*, *bh* and *ś* show the pre-Gupta type inasmuch as in each case their verticals are of the same length. Similarly noteworthy is the letter *sh* with unlooped form and archaic round base. Incidentally we may also notice some peculiarities which are evidently due to the engraver's carelessness; the middle horizontal bar of the first *sa* in *savatsarē* (l. 1) is missing

¹ From an ink impression.² Read *Hastī*.³ Owing to the carelessness of the mason, the three letters in *dhanuttrā* have been all joined together.⁴ Read **tōr-yūpaḥ*.⁵ Read *sahasra-gava-dakṣhiṇā*.⁶ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 96 ff.

and the base line of *na* in *āsana-paṭṭā* (l. 2) has on either side been bent so low that it is difficult to distinguish it from *ta*; compare *ēkasītē* (l. 1) for the latter.

The language of the inscription is the usual mixed dialect of the Kushāṇa documents. The form *grishma* for *grīshma* is noteworthy. As regards the expressions *maharajasya* (l. 1) and *sthāpata* (l. 2) we are not sure whether the shortening of the long vowels in these is due to a mistake in spelling or to Prakritism. The plural form in *āsana-paṭṭā* (l. 2) has a parallel in *āyāga-paṭṭā*, occurring in one of the Mathurā inscriptions.¹

The object of the inscription is to record the installation of *āsana-paṭṭas*, i.e. seats by a guild of stone-masons in the year 81, second fortnight of the summer and fifth day, during the reign of *Mahārāja Bhādrāmāgha*. Judging from its shape and enormous size, its well-dressed smooth surface and the position occupied by the inscribed portion, we may safely conclude that the slab itself is being adverted to as one of the *āsana-paṭṭas*. It is interesting to note that two more inscriptions from Kosam, referring to the year 87 of Bhādrāmāgha,² are incised on slabs, similarly labelled as *āsana-paṭṭas*. One of the latter epigraphs explicitly states that the *āsana-paṭṭa* was set up at a tank. The fact that the present inscription has been unearthed from the bank of what looks like an ancient canal confirms that it was customary at the time to set up *āsana-paṭṭas* at the bathing ghāts. The inscription furnishes the earliest known date for the reign of *Mahārāja Bhādrāmāgha*, viz., the year 81. So far only two dates, years 86³ and 87, were known for the reign of this king. The inscription, therefore, shows that *Mahārāja Bhādrāmāgha* had a reign extending over at least seven years.

The record testifies to the existence of a guild of stone-masons in the Kosam region during the early centuries of the Christian era. It is interesting to note in this connection that within two hundred yards of the find spot of the inscription there is a sandstone quarry, popularly known as Pathar Khān, with remains of ancient workings visible on the spot. It is not improbable that this quarry supplied the stone-masons with requisite material for practising their craft.

There is a striking family-likeness in point of script, language, style and the peculiar method of dating, giving in order the year, number of fortnight in the season and the day, between this and a series of dated records, coming from the Kosam region. That these inscriptions together with the present one are dated in a continuous, though unfortunately unspecified, reckoning, ranging from the year 52 to the year 130, seems probable. The inscriptions are as follows:—

1. Ginja inscription of *Mahārāja Bhīmasēna*—year 52.⁴
2. Kosam inscription of *Mahārāja Bhādrāmāgha*—year 81.⁵
3. Kosam inscription of *Mahārāja Bhādrāmāgha*—year 86.⁶
- 4-5. Two Kosam inscriptions of *Mahārāja Bhādrāmāgha*—year 87.⁷
6. Kosam inscription of *Mahārāja Śivāmāgha*—year lost.⁸
7. Kosam inscription of *Mahārāja Vaiśravaṇa*—year 107.⁹
8. Kosam inscription of *Mahārāja Bhīmavarman*—year 130.¹⁰

¹ Above, Vol. I, p. 397, No. XXXV.

² *Jha Commemoration Volume*, pp. 101 ff., above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 245 ff.

³ The year in the Kosam inscription of Bhādrāmāgha, above, Vol. XVIII, p. 160, No. III, is read by Sahni, its editor, as 88, whereas Jaysawal takes it to be 86, *History of India, 150-350 A. D.*, p. 230. The latter reading seems to be preferable. Compare also Dr. Sten Konow's remarks above, Vol. XXIII, p. 247.

⁴ Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 119, Pl. XXX; and above, Vol. III, Pl. facing p. 306.

⁵ The present inscription.

⁶ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 160, No. III.

⁷ *Jha Com. Vol.*, pp. 101 ff.; above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 245 ff.

⁸ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 159, No. II.

⁹ See above, pp. 146 ff.

¹⁰ *Indian Culture*, Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 177 ff.

The question of the attribution of the above to a known era bristles with difficulties. Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni who edited Nos. 3 and 6 was inclined to refer them to the Gupta era.¹ Dr. Jayaswal, on the other hand, followed General Cunningham² who refers No. 1 to the pre-Gupta period and definitely held that these are to be assigned to the Chēdi era of 248 A. D.³ This is supported by Mr. Amalananda Ghosh who refers No. 8 to the same reckoning.⁴ The editor of Nos. 4-5, however, thinks that these might be attributed to the era of either 78 A. D. or 129 A. D.⁵

Now as the whole controversy mainly hinges on palaeographical evidence, it is worth while to examine the exact relationship of the script of our inscriptions to that of the Kushāṇa records on the one hand and the Gupta on the other. No. 1 of our list, which bears the earliest date, is palaeographically earlier than the remaining Kosam inscriptions and is, in fact, hardly distinguishable from the general body of the imperial Kushāṇa documents except for the use of *m* and *h* of the Eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet which links it with the Kosam series. It is to be noted that it shows the archaic unlooped type of the dental sibilant which is invariably replaced by the looped type in all the Kosam records save the last, namely No. 8, where both forms appear side by side. At the other extreme is No. 7 of our list, which though not the latest in date, nevertheless, closely approaches the Allahābād inscription of Samudragupta⁶ in its comparatively mature and cursive style of writing, in the use of pronounced top-strokes and in the representation of some of the individual letters like *n* with a loop, *j* with the bent vertical, *p* with an acute angle, *v*, *d*, *dh*, *y* and *l*, besides *m*, *h* and *s* which are common with the majority of the Kosam records. While noting the likenesses we should also not ignore the points of disagreement between the two which go to show that No. 7 is not exactly as advanced as and consequently slightly earlier than the Allahābād pillar inscription. To illustrate, while the former uses the older forms of *t*, *g*, *ṣ*, and *bh*, with equal verticals, in the latter usually the right limb of each of these is longer than the corresponding left; the letter *sh* in the former is of the archaic unlooped variety while the latter contains the more advanced looped type; *ṛ* in the latter is invariably indicated by its cursive looped or unlooped form while the former always shows the Kushāṇa form of the letter with the curved base-line; the medial *i* in the former as in all the earlier records is represented by a curved stroke at the top of the consonant while in the latter the left limb of the curve is occasionally lengthened below the top line, a feature characteristic of the Gupta script. It will thus be seen that whereas No. 1 appears to be not much posterior to the latest records belonging to the Great Kushāṇas, No. 7 is perhaps not far removed in time from the Allahābād inscription. Within the limit set by these two may be placed the remaining Kosam records including the present one, which bear affinity to the Gupta characters in the case of a handful of signs and to the Kushāṇa in that of a larger number but whose general ductus of hand shows greater maturity than is evident in the Kushāṇa, without approximating the Gupta in cursiveness. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to assume that the Kosam records, which, as already observed above, present striking family-likeness one to the other, belong to the period of transition between the Kushāṇa and the Gupta and may roughly be assigned sometime from the third century to the first half of the fourth century A. D.

This is strikingly corroborated by the stratigraphical evidence of the Bhita sealings of Bhīma-sēna and Śivamagha, which were discovered little above the Kushāṇa level.⁷ The remarkable

¹ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 160.

² Cunningham, A. S. R., Vol. XXI, p. 119.

³ Indian Culture, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 179.

⁴ C. I. I., Vol. III, No. 1.

⁵ An. Rep. A. S. I., 1911-12, pp. 32 and 51, sealings 26 and 27.

⁶ History of India, 150-350 A. D., pp. 229-30.

⁷ Jha Com. Vol., pp. 106-07.

palaeographical similarity between these and the Kosam records has led Dr. Jayaswal to convincingly identify Rājan Vāsishṭhīputra Bhīmasēna¹, and Mahārāja Gautamīputra Śivamagha of the sealings with Mahārāja Bhīmsēna and Mahārāja Śivamagha of Nos. 1 and 6, respectively.² The transitional character of the language employed in the Kosam records also points in the same direction. It reveals an unmistakable tendency towards progressive Sanskritisation without altogether eliminating the Prākṛit forms and expressions. Lastly, there is no evidence to show that the peculiar method of dating uniformly adopted in the Kosam records was continued in Northern India in the Gupta period. Even in the Kushāṇa period its use seems to have been limited. From the foregoing considerations it seems unlikely that our inscriptions should refer themselves to either the Śaka or the Gupta era, as one becomes too early and the other too late. We will, therefore, be not far from right if we provisionally assign our inscriptions to the **Chōdi era** of 248 A. D. which strikes a golden mean between the two extremes. Referred to this reckoning the dates on the Kosam series will be equivalent to 300-378 A. D. and that on the present epigraph to 329 A. D. In this connection the possibility of our having to reckon with a local era, current in the Kosam region, as suggested by Mr. Amalananda Ghosh³ cannot be overlooked. The final solution of the problem, however, is possible only on the discovery of fresh evidence of a more decisive character.

TEXT.

1 Mahārājasya śrī-Bhadramaghasya savatsarē ēkasitē 80 1 grīshma-pakṣṣe⁴
dvitīya(yē) 2 divasē pañchamē 5.

2 ētayē puruvayē Katsa-pastharika-ārēṇiya āsana-paṭṭā sthapata.⁵

TRANSLATION.

In the year eighty—one, 81, (*in the reign*) of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Bhadramagha** in the second, 2, fortnight of the summer, on the fifth, 5, day ; on (*the date specified as*) above the slab-seats were set up by the guild of the stone-masons of Katsa.

No. 36.—DHARANIKOTA DHARMACHAKRA PILLAR INSCRIPTION.

By P. SESHADRI SASTRI, GUNTUR.

It has been my privilege to recover within the last two years three inscribed marble pillars at **Dharanikōṭa** in the Guntur District on the information supplied by a local resident. Subsequently I brought them to the notice of the authorities of the Archæological Department, who have got them removed to Amarāvati where other antiquities of the place are preserved. I edit below one of the three epigraphs at the instance of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director General of Archæology in India, while the remaining two are dealt with by some other scholars.

The shaft or pillar on which the subjoined inscription is engraved is square at its base and hexagonal above. The base is decorated with some carvings, representing a casket and a floral design in the centre, a hooded Nāga on the left and a railing with a sun-window on the right.

¹ [It may be mentioned here that a recently discovered inscription at Bandhogarh in the Rewah State belonging to year 51 of the reign of *Mahārāja Bhīmasēna* styles this ruler as *Vasishṭhīputa*—a fact which makes the identification certain.—Ed.]

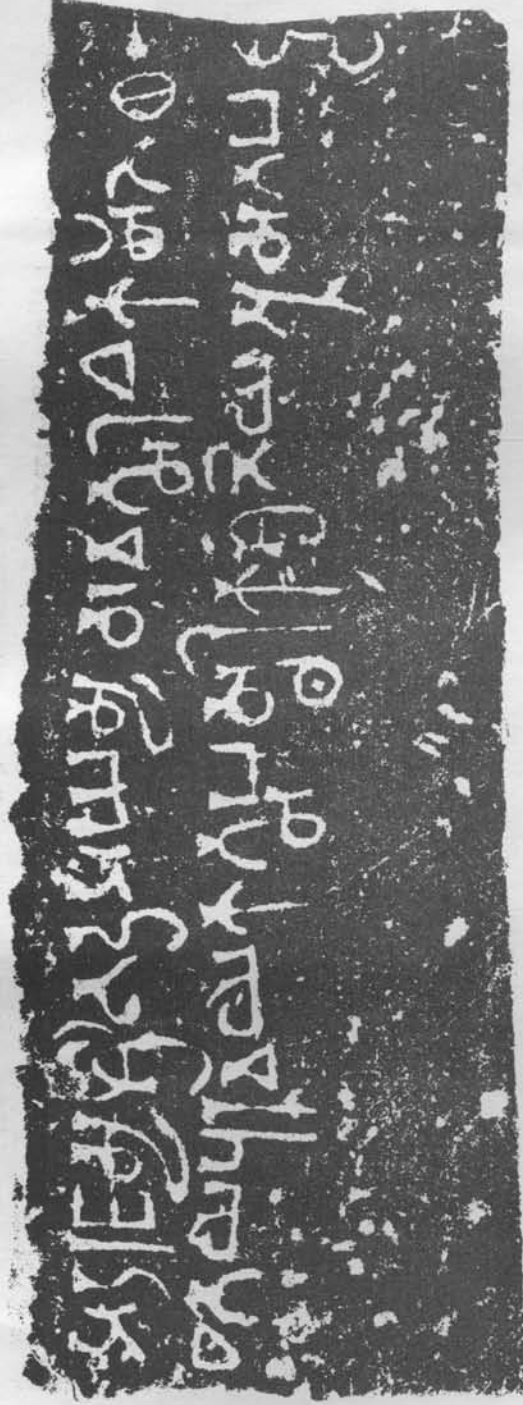
² *Hist. of India, 150-350 A. D.*, pp. 108, 229-30.

³ *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, No. 4, p. 716.

⁴ Read *śhāpūṭāḥ*.

⁵ Read *grīshma-pakṣṣe*.

KOSAM INSCRIPTION OF BHADRAMAGHA'S REIGN: THE YEAR 81.
Left side.



Right side.



BANTIA PLATES OF DHARASENA II: [VALABHI-] SAMVAT 254.

Plate II. (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXI, pp. 180-181).
(From a photograph).



18
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22
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32

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32

SCALE : TWO-THIRDS.

The pillar is called in the inscription *Dhamachaka-dhaya* (Skt. *Dharmachakra-dhvaja*) from which it is evident that it originally had a sculptural device of the *Dharmachakra* on its top. Several *Dharmachakra* pillars of this type have already been discovered at the ancient site of Amarāvati.¹ From a sculptured slab representing a *stūpa* we get some idea of the position which such posts used to occupy. There two very elaborately carved *Dharmachakra* columns are shown flanking an entrance to the *stūpa*.²

Unfortunately, a part of the present pillar is broken off at the top and is missing. As a result thereof a considerable portion of the inscription has been lost to us in the beginning which evidently contained the name of the ruler of the locality as well as the date of the record. Some details of the donor's description are also lost in the missing portion. Besides, a few letters in l. 4 have been obliterated and cannot be restored. The rest of the epigraph, though blurred at places, can be made out fairly.

The alphabet is Brāhmī of about the second century A.D., and resembles that found in many an early inscription from Amarāvati. The language is Prākṛit of the same type as is used in most of the Amarāvati records.

The object of the inscription is to record the erection of the *Dharmachakra-dhvaja* at the eastern gate of the Mahāvihāra at **Dhaññakaḍa**,³ the modern Dharanikōṭa. The Mahāvihāra is stated to have been in possession of the Buddhists of the **Pūrvasāiliya** school, about whom we shall discuss more below.

The name of the donor or the individual who set up the pillar has apparently been omitted in the record. He is, however, stated to be son of Viraskanda (?) and described as an Agalokaka Atapora minister⁴. As to whose minister he was is not explicit. Nor is the reading of his father's name *Virakhada* free from doubt. The epithet preceding this name must have referred to the donor, as is obvious from its case-termination in the instrumental. Before this occurs the name Khadanāga (Skandanāga). This person is said to be a householder (*kōṭubika*, Skt. *kauṭumbika*), but his relation with the donor cannot be ascertained owing to the gap. The meanings of the terms *Agalokaka* and *Atapora* are not clear. As both of them are attributes of the donor, they probably refer to his original home and to his place of residence respectively unless they have been used in some technical sense.

Atapora, as already remarked, perhaps indicates the donor's place of residence. A similar instance is furnished by a short votive inscription from Sānchi, which calls the donor there *Adhaporika*.⁵ This term has been explained as 'inhabitant of Adhapura', while the Sanskrit equivalent for *Adhapura* has been suggested to be *Ardhapura*. The place has, however, not been identified.

¹ Cf. Burgess, *The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, Pl. XXXII, 2; Pl. XXXVIII, 1; Pl. XL, 3, 4; etc.

² *Ibid.*, Pl. I, the frontispiece. Compare also E. B. Havell's *A Study of Indo-Aryan Civilisation*, p. 61, Pl. XII, fig. A.

³ The same place is mentioned under its variant names such as *Dhamñakada*, *Dhamñakasa* and *Dhamñakata* in other inscriptions of about the same period; see Lüders' *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, Nos. 1205, 1225 and 1271; above, Vol. XV, pp. 262-263, Nos. 4 and 5. See also N. L. Dey's *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, s.v. *Dhanakataka*, where it is stated to be a corruption of *Sudhanyakataka*. Hiuen Tsiang mentions T'o-na-kie-tse-kia (*Dhanakataka*) as the name of a country (*Si-yu-ki*, transl. by S. Beal, Vol. II, pp. 221 ff.). T. Watters (*On Yuan Chuang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 216) restores the name to Skt. *Dhānyakataka* on the evidence of the Tibetan rendering of it. In later inscriptions the name of the place is spelt as *Dhānyaghataka* and *Dhānyākapura*; see above, Vol. XV, pp. 261-262. Prof. Vogel suggests that "the remains of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa can possibly represent the ancient capital of *Dhaññakataka* (above, Vol. XX, p. 9).

⁴ See below p. 259, n. 10.

⁵ Lüders' *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, No. 600; above, Vol. II, p. 112, No. 13.

I would rather restore *Adhaporika* to *Ārddhapaurika* and explain it as 'inhabitant of Riddhapura'. This place seems to be identical with the modern Rithpur which is well known to the Indian archaeologist as the provenance of a copper-plate inscription of the Vākātaka queen Prabhāvatiguptā.¹ It is situated in 21° 14' N. and 77° 51' E. in the district of Amraoti, Berār, and is reputed to be an old city of importance.² It is not unlikely that *Atapora* of the present record is likewise to be understood as *Ārddhapaura*, meaning 'inhabitant of Riddhapura'.

A pillar inscription from Amarāvati³ reads *Chetikiyānam* (Skt. *Chaityakiyānām*) where our inscription has *Puvase[?]yāna* (Skt. *Pūrvasailiyānām*). In explaining the import of the former, Burgess has pointed out that 'the Stūpa belonged to the Chaitika school, otherwise called the school of the Pūrvasailas, a subdivision of the Mahāsaṃghikas'.⁴ Mention is made of these ascetics also in a fragmentary Prākṛit inscription from Allūru in the Nandigāma taluk, Kistna District, the last line of which reads as follows : *ayirāna Puvase[?]yāna nigāyasa*.⁵ In the Pāli chronicles of Ceylon the Pubbaseliya and the Aparaseliya are mentioned⁶ among the different sub-sects of the Mahāsaṃghika school. Dr. W. Geiger, in his translation of the *Mahāvamsa*, renders the two terms as 'the first Seliya . . . the other Seliyā,' whereas the words *pubba* and *apara* of the original evidently refer to 'east' and 'west' rather than to 'first' and 'other'. In fact, Hsien Tsiang, while describing the country of Dhanakataka, informs us that 'to the east of the capital bordering on a mountain is a convent called the Pūrvasilā' and 'to the west of the city leaning against a mountain is a convent called Avarasilā'.⁷ In this connection we may cite Prof. Vogel's following remark : "Perhaps it would be preferable to render the names of these two monasteries by Pūrvasaila and Avarasaila, the Sanskrit word for a mountain being *śaila*, whereas *śilā* means "stone".⁸ It becomes thus clear that the two sects Pūrvasailiya and Aparasailiya were so called after the two congregations of monks, one residing in a monastery on the Eastern Hill and the other dwelling in a convent on the Western Hill.⁹ Among the localities mentioned in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription referred to above, we come across 'the name Purvasela which is clearly a Prākṛit form corresponding to Sanskrit Pūrvasaila' and possibly refers to the very mountain on which the Pūrvasailiya monastery was situated. As regards the location of the two mounts, Burgess and Fergusson identified the Amarāvati tope with the Pūrvasilā and the Aparasilā respectively, but their identification has been questioned.¹⁰ There can, however, be little doubt that the situation of the two hills is to be sought in that very neighbourhood.

As has been pointed out above, the record contained a date in the beginning ; but its details are mostly lost in the damaged portion. From the preserved letters we gather that it was dated the first day evidently of the sixth fortnight. While the name of the season cannot be restored at all, an attempt has been made with the help of the surviving portions of the words in that connection to read the year conjecturally as *panatrisa*, i.e., thirty-five. This in all probability referred to the regnal year of the king whose name is again missing. In the *Dharmachakra* pillar ins-

¹ Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 1706.

² See *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, under Rithpur.

³ *Arch. Surv. Southern India*, Vol. I, p. 100.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 191. See also p. 24 where the name of the school is given as *Chaityika* and *Chaityasaila*.

⁵ *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1923-24, p. 97 and *Pl. An. Rep. A.S.I.*, for 1923-24, p. 93.

⁶ *Mahāvamsa*, V, 12. In the *Dipavamsa* (V, 54) they are referred to as *Pubbāparaseliḥa*.

⁷ *Sī-yu-ki*, transl. by S. Beal, p. 221.

⁸ *Above*, Vol. XX, p. 9.

⁹ Compare *The Life of the Buddha* by Rockhill, p. 184. See also G. P. Malalasekera's *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, s.v. *Aparaseliyā* and *Pubbaseliyā*, where it is stated that 'according to the Kathāvatthu commentary they belonged to the Andhaka school'.

¹⁰ T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 218.

DHARANIKOTA DHARMACHAKRA PILLAR INSCRIPTION.



cription of Amarāvati referred to above, while the date portion is completely lost except the only word *savachhara*, the name of the ruler is fully preserved, and it is the king Vāsīṭhiputa (Vāsish-ṭhiputra) Pulumāvi. Judging from the proximity of the two localities Amarāvati and Dharanikōṭa, the resemblance between the scripts of the two records and the high regnal year, it seems very likely that the present record also referred itself to the reign of the very same Āndhra king Pulumāvi of the Śātavāhana dynasty. The latest known regnal year of this monarch is twenty-four.¹ If the reading *panatriśe* proposed in the present record be correct, then we have to conclude that Pulumāvi's reign extended over at least thirty-four years.² The inscription contains the numerals 1 and 6 in l. 3 and l. 2 respectively.

TEXT.³

- 1 chhara⁴
- 2 pana⁵ 6 divasa
- 3 prathame 1 *ka-kotubikasa
- 4 Khadanāgasa a⁷ r[i]kena Agalokakena Virakha . . sa⁸
- 5 putena amachena⁹
- 6 Ataporena¹⁰ Dhañakaḍasa Mahāvihāre puva-dāre pava-
- 7 jītāna bhikhu-saghasa Puvaseḷ[i]yāna nigāyasa
- 8 parigahe dhamachaka-dhayo paḍiṭhapito sava-loka-
- 9 satva-hita-sukhāya¹¹

¹ See Rapson's *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, etc., p. XXXVII.

² *Ibid.*, p. LXVI, where Purāṇic lists of Andhra kings are given. It will be seen there that No. 15 Pulumāvi, according to the *Matsyapurāṇa*, ruled for 36 years and No. 24 Pulumā for 28 years.

³ From ink impressions.

⁴ Restore the word as *savachhara* (*savatsara*). The preceding portion, comprising about eighteen syllables, is lost. It might have contained the name of the king to whose reign the inscription was referred.

⁵ After *pana*, the lower part of the third syllable is visible, which is most probably a subscript *r*, judging from the formation of *pra* in the beginning of the next line. We may restore this word as *panatriśe* (*pañchatrīṣṭi*). The following letters, which are now missing, obviously contained the name of the season and then probably such words as *pañche* *ekādaśi*, as is suggested by the numeral 6 before the word *divasa* in the end of this line.

⁶ The syllable preceding *ka*, only a lower portion of which is now preserved, may have been *ri*. The word however, cannot be restored.

⁷ The right-hand portion of this letter is effaced. It has been read as initial *a*, but the curl at its lower end forms almost a circle, and as such it differs from that found in *a* of *Agaloka* l. 4 and *Ataporena* l. 6.

⁸ The reading of this name is doubtful. The letter *ra* shows on its top something like a hook opening to the left. If that is meant to be the sign for medial *i*, we have to read the syllable as *ri* and not as *ra*. Moreover, the impression shows some faint traces of a letter between *śha* and *sa*. The last syllable appears a little below the line, making it difficult to ascertain whether the intervening letter is conjoined with *sa* or whether it stands independently. The latter is most probably the case, as the word is required to be in the genitive. Thus *Virakhadasa* may have been the intended reading.

⁹ This partial line of writing was inserted later, as is clear from its position. Obviously, the two words contained herein were first left out by the engraver through oversight, who discovered the omission after having incised the whole record and then could do nothing but supply the omitted matter in the manner he has done. The letter *cke* in *amachena* was imperfectly formed due to the insertion between the narrow space below the downward curl of *a* in l. 4. Hence it is read as *amachena* and not *amakhena*. If we adopt *amakhena* it would be a proper name.

¹⁰ The reading is probably *Ataporena*, *Atapora* being a personal name.

¹¹ There is an ornamental design carved here, which marks the conclusion of the record.

TRANSLATION.

On the first day 1, (of the sixth fortnight) 6 (of the . . . season) in the year (thirty-five) (35 of the king . . . , this) shaft (surmounted) with a *Dharmachakra* has been established at the eastern gate in the Great Monastery of *Dharmakaṇṇa*, (which is) in possession of the school of the *Pūrvaśailiyyas*, the monkish order of ascetics, by . . . , the minister, a resident of *Atapura*,* an immigrant from *Agaloka* son of *Viraskanda* (?), . . . of the householder *Skandanāga*, for the benefit and happiness of all the beings in the world.³

No. 37.—TWO INCOMPLETE GRANTS OF PRAVARASENA II.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

In October 1938 Mr. D. R. Gomkale, M. A., LL. B., Pleader of Nagpur, made over to me for decipherment four copper-plates, which he had obtained through the good offices of Mr. S. S. Dapurkar of Kāvli. They were in the possession of Mr. N. H. Jane of Bēlorā, a village in the *Ārvi taluk* of the Wardhā District, which is situated on the left bank of the Wardhā about 6 miles south by east of Mōrsi. On examination I found that they fell into two sets of two plates each, called hereafter Set A and Set B. Each set originally consisted of three plates, but the last plate of Set A and the first one of Set B are not forthcoming now. The first plate of Set A is inscribed on one side only and all the other plates on both the sides. The plates of Set A are slightly larger in size and heavier in weight than those of Set B. The former measure 9.9" by 4.9" each and weigh 67½ *tolas*; while the latter measure 9.6" by 4.8" each and weigh 64 *tolas*. About 2" from the middle of the proper right side of each plate there is a round hole ½" in diameter for the ring which originally held together the plates of each set, but neither the rings nor the seals, which must have been connected with them, are now forthcoming. All the plates are in a state of excellent preservation. The letters are deeply cut and some of them show through on the other side, especially in the case of the first plate. When carefully examined, the grants appear to be *palimpsests*, all the plates showing here and there clear traces of earlier letters, which were beaten in before the present charters were incised on them. These earlier letters were box-headed and of the same type as those which were later engraved in their place. So the earlier charters undoubtedly belonged to the same period. As their letters have been almost everywhere carefully beaten in, it is not now possible to say who issued them, what they recorded and why they were cancelled.

As stated above, both the inscriptions are incomplete. The preserved writing of the first one, which has lost its concluding part, contains 18 lines and that of the second, of which the initial portion is missing, 24 lines. The characters of both are of the box-headed variety and resemble in a general way those of the other grants of Pravarasēna II. They include the numerical symbols for 10, 3⁴ and 1 in ll. 29 and 30 of Set B. The only peculiarity worth noticing here, which is not usually met with in other Vākātaka grants, is the use of the looped *t*. In both the sets *t* appears in the looped and unlooped forms; for instances of the former, see *yātō-* in l. 14 of Set A and *viditam-* in l. 17 of Set B, and for those of the latter, notice *Shoḍaśhy-*

* We expect here the proper name of the person, but it has apparently been left out by the writer of the epigraph, probably through oversight.

² For a discussion about this locality see the introduction.

³ I am indebted to Dr. B. C. Chhabra, Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, for various suggestions in connection with this article.

⁴ The symbol for 3 deserves to be specially noted, as it is not of the usual type. See below p. 267, n. 16.

Atirātra in l. 1 of Set A and *atit-* in l. 25 of Set B. The subscript *t* is usually looped and to distinguish it from *n* its loop is elongated, see e.g. -*Āptōryām-* in l. 1 of Set A, but instances of the unlooped subscript *t* also occur sporadically, see e.g. *kārtta-yuga* in l. 12 and *bhukti* in l. 13 of Set A. The use of the looped form of *t* has led to the confusion of *t* and *n* in some cases; see e.g. *Pravara-sētasya* for *Pravarasēnasya* in ll. 12-13 of Set B, where *n* is shaped exactly like an unlooped *t*. In other respects the characters show the same peculiarities as those of the Tirōḍi¹ and Paṭṭan² plates of Pravarasēna II.

The language is Sanskrit. The existing portion of Set A is wholly in prose; that of Set B is also in prose except for two benedictive and imprecatory verses in ll. 27-29. The orthography of both the sets shows the same peculiarities, viz., (1) the vowel *ṛi* is used for *ri* and vice versa, see *pauṭṛiṇaḥ* and *Prithivisēnasya* in l. 9 of both the sets. In *vishṛita* l. 16 of Set B, the vowel *ṛi* is used for *ru*. (2) Similarly *ḷi* is used for the vowel *ḷi* in *sa-klipt-ṣpaklipt[ṭ*]a* in l. 22 of Set B. (3) The palatal *ś* is used for the dental *ś* in *Sūryya-* in l. 14 of Set A. (4) The consonant following *r* and that preceding *r* and *y* are doubled, see e.g. -*abhiwarddhamāna-* in l. 8 and *sarvvāddhyaksha* in l. 15 of both the sets and *vikkrama* in l. 7 of Set A. Besides these, both the sets show such mistakes as the use of the short for the long vowel, ungrammatical forms of words, etc.

Both the sets of plates were granted by Pravarasēna II of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. His genealogy is traced here from Pravarasēna I exactly as in his other grants, his maternal grandfather Chandragupta II being called Dēvagupta. The plates of Set A were issued from Nandivardhana. The place of issue in the case of those of Set B is unknown owing to the loss of its first plate. The former record the grant of the village Mahalla-Lāṭa in the Asi-bhukti, which was situated on the road to Śailapura, while the latter register the donation of two villages viz., Dīrghadrāha in the Pākaṇa-rāshṭra and Mahallama-Lāṭa. Of these latter villages, the second is plainly identical with the village Mahalla-Lāṭa of Set A as it is specified exactly like it. The grant recorded in Set B is, therefore, later than that of Set A. The donee of both the grants was the same, namely, Sūryasvāmin of the Kāśyapa-gotra and Taittiriya-śākhā, who was a resident of the place Pravarēśvara-śaḍvīmśati-vāṭaka. Both the grants were again made at the victorious place of religious worship (*vaijyikē dharmasthānē*) for the increase of religious merit, life, strength, victory and fortune of the donor. The date of the first record is missing, but that of the second is given at the end. The latter was written, while Chitravarman was Sēnāpati, on the thirteenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika in the eleventh regnal year. This is the earliest known date of Pravarasēna II.

Like the Riddhapur grant of Prabhāvatiguptā this second grant was evidently made on the twelfth tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika after observing a fast on the preceding Prabodhini ekādasi. Pravarasēna II was himself a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Paramamāhēśvara), but that he chose to make a grant on the afore-mentioned tithi, which is sacred to Viṣṇu, shows that he was not a bigoted Śaiva. This is also indicated by his authorship of the Prakrit poem *Satubandha*³ which glorifies Rāma, an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

The Poona plates⁴ were issued by Prabhāvatiguptā as regent for her minor son, the yuvārāja Divākarasēna, in the thirteenth year, evidently from the latter's accession. In her Riddhapur

¹ Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 167 ff.

² Ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 81 ff.

³ Loc. cit., p. 84.

⁴ Above, Vol. XV, pp. 39 ff.

plates¹ the dowager queen describes herself as the mother of Dāmōdarasēna and Pravarasēna². It has been suggested that Divākarasēna, when he came of age, assumed the title of Pravarasēna.³ In that case the regnal years of Pravarasēna II would have to be reckoned from his accession as boy-prince. The second grant edited here, which is dated in the eleventh regnal year and was made by Pravarasēna himself, clearly shows that he is different from Divākarasēna who had not begun to rule independently even in the thirteenth year since his accession. Pravarasēna evidently succeeded Divākarasēna, but how long the latter continued to reign after the issue of the Poona plates cannot be determined unless fresh records bearing on the point come to light.

As stated above, the second set of plates records the grant of two villages, one of which had already been given by the same king to the same donee by the first set. Why it was found necessary to include the village again in the second grant is not known. Cases of the issue of a fresh charter recording again a previously made gift are indeed not unknown, but in such cases the circumstances which necessitated the issue of a fresh charter such as a foreign invasion or the loss or damage of the earlier charter by fire, etc., are generally specified.⁴ No such reasons are given in the present case. In fact both the charters purport to have been granted by the same king and the interval between their dates could not have been more than ten years. This, therefore, raises the question if the second charter, or at least the second plate of it which records the grant of two villages, is a forgery. In favour of such a supposition may be adduced the circumstance that the writing on the second plate of Set B begins and ends with the same words as that on the second plate of Set A, so that the former plate could have been easily substituted for the latter. It may, however, be pointed out that there are no other circumstances suggesting such a forgery. As shown above, both the plates of Set B are smaller in size than those of Set A, so that not one but two plates must have been so substituted. But there was apparently no need to replace the third plate of the first grant. Again, the similar formation of letters and the occurrence of the same orthographical peculiarities and grammatical mistakes in both the records make it highly probable that both the grants were written by the same clerk in the Secretariat of the Vākātakas. The mention of Chitravarman as *Senāpati* in Set B is another point in favour of the genuineness of that set; for from the Chammak plates of Pravarasēna II we learn that Chitravarman held that office till the 18th year at least of Pravarsēna II's reign.⁵ The second set does not, therefore, appear to be spurious. The reason why it includes the name of a previously donated village seems to be that the Brāhmaṇa donee probably made a request to the king to give him a consolidated charter for the two grants.⁶

¹ J. P. A. S. B. (N. S.), Vol. XX, pp. 53 ff.

² According to the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, Pravarasēna was another name of Dāmōdarasēna. See his *History of India 150-350 A.D.*, p. 63.

³ J. R. A. S. (1914), pp. 327 ff. In fairness to Vincent Smith who makes this suggestion, it must be said that he thought it more likely that Divākarasēna died young and that Pravarasēna was his brother.

⁴ See e. g. the Barah copper-plate of Bhōjadēva, above, Vol. XIX, p. 18, and the Nidhanpur copper-plates of Bhāskaravarmen *ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 76.

⁵ C. I. I., Vol. III, p. 240.

⁶ [As the difference in size between the two sets of plates is very little it does not seem impossible to me that three out of the four plates, viz., plates I and II of Set A and plate III of Set B, were meant to form a complete grant of Pravarasēna II. It may be that the grant of two villages in plate II of Set B was found to be wrong on examination and this plate was meant to be replaced by plate II of Set A which was subsequently engraved. This view gains some support from the ornamental work found after *atisriṣṭaḥ* in plate II, Set A, which was apparently engraved with a view to stopping any unauthorised addition in the blank space which could not be utilised by the engraver. But even if this surmise is correct, it is not understood why plate II of Set B was not removed before handing over the charter to the donee unless it is to be assumed that the document for some reason or other did not leave the Secretariat. And as it was not formally issued it was not considered necessary to remove the unwanted plate, or to attach a ring and the royal seal to the document.—Ed.]

As for the localities mentioned in the present grants, Nandivardhana from which the plates of the first set were issued, is probably identical with Nagardhan (also called Nandardhan) near Rāmṭēk as has already been suggested by Hiralal.¹ The place is described as a holy *tīrtha* in the *Sindūragiri-māhātmya*² and retained its ancient name down to the time of the Bhonslas³; for it is mentioned in the Sanskrit play *Purāṇjanancharita* of Krishṇadatta, which was staged at Nāgpur in the 18th Century.⁴ As already stated, both the grants edited here were made at the king's place of religious worship (*dharmasthāna*), and consequently at the royal capital; for this expression is not found in the Tirōḍi plates which, as shown elsewhere⁵, register a grant made at a holy *tīrtha* outside the capital. It may be noted in this connection that the earlier Poona plates of Prabhāvatiguptā also were issued from Nandivardhana. This place was, therefore, the earlier capital of the Vākātakas.⁶ Later on Pravarasēna II removed the seat of his government to Pravara-pura which he seems to have founded and named after himself. Several subsequent charters of Pravarasēna II granted at the capital were issued from Pravara-pura. The earliest of them is the Chammak grant dated in the 18th regnal year. Unfortunately the date of set A is missing. Otherwise it would have enabled us to fix the limits between which the Vākātaka capital was shifted from Nandivardhana to Pravara-pura. Mahalla-Lāṭa or Mahallama-Lāṭa which seems to mean the larger Lāṭa may be represented by Lāḍki or Ghāṭ Lāḍki in the Mōrsi tālukā of the Amraoti District, about 18 miles north by west of Bēlōrā.⁷ Mahalla-Lāṭa lay on the road to Sālapura which may be identical with Sālbarḍi situated in the midst of hills about 15 miles east of Lāḍki.⁸ Asi, the chief town of the *bhukti* (subdivision) in which Mahalla-Lāṭa was situated, may be identical with Asṭi which lies only 10 miles south-east of Bēlōrā. Dirghadraha is probably Dighi on the left bank of the Wardhā about 30 miles south of Asṭi. The name of Pravarēsvara-shaḍvīmśati-vāṭaka which is mentioned in both the grants as the home of the donee seems to indicate that it was the chief village in a group of twenty-six villages. Perhaps it received this name from a shrine of Śiva called Pravarēsvara installed by Pravarasēna I and named after himself.⁹ This place as well as Pākkapa, the headquarters of the *rāṣṭra* (division) in which Dirghadraha, one of the donated villages, was situated, cannot be traced now.

¹ See above, Vol. IX, p. 43.

² Sindūragiri is another name of the hill near Rāmṭēk. It was probably the Rāmāgiri of Kālidāsa's *Megha-dūta*. See above, Vol. XXIII, p. 84.

³ Nandivardhana is also mentioned in the Dōli plates of Krishṇa III. See above, Vol. V, p. 196.

⁴ Sardesai Commemoration Volume (Marāṭhi), p. 148.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 170.

⁶ This suggestion was first made by me while editing the unfinished Vākātaka plate from Drug; see above, Vol. XXII, p. 209. It is corroborated by the present plates. The Rithpur plates of Bhavattavarman who belonged to the Nala dynasty were also issued from Nandivardhana, which indicates his temporary occupation of some Vākātaka territory. See *loc. cit.* p. 210.

⁷ There is another and smaller village called Lāḍgaon on the left bank of Wardhā, about 20 miles south of Bēlōrā.

⁸ Sālbarḍi is an ancient place containing some old caves and hot springs.

⁹ Compare the name Vaṅkō-Tumṣāpa of the first capital of the Kalachuris in Chhattāgarh (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. IV, p. 34). It was so called because of the shrine of Vaṅkēsvara which it contained.

TEXT.¹

SET A.

First Plate.

- 1 द्रिष्टम्² [i*] सिद्धम् सखि [i*] ना(न)न्दिवर्द्धनादग्निष्टोमातोर्ध्वाभोवत्थषोडशति-
राचवाजपेयहृत्सतिसव-
- 2 साख्यस्क(सक)चतुरश्र(श्र)मेधयाजिनः³ विष्णुवृक्ष⁴ सगीचस्य सस्नाट्⁵ वाकाटकानाम्भाराजत्रि-
(त्री)प्रवर-
- 3 सैनस्य सूनी[:*] सूनीः अत्यन्तसामिमहाभैरवभक्तस्य अंसभारसन्निवेशितशिव-
सिङ्गो-
- 4 इह्मनशिवसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवंशानाम्पराक्रममाधिगतभागीरथ्यमखजल-
- 5 मूर्धाभिषिक्तानान्दशाम्भनेधावधृयस्नातानाम्भारशिवानाम्भाराजत्रि(त्री)भवनान्दौहिचस्य
- 6 गौतमीपुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य ।⁶ वाकाटकानाम्भाराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य सूनीरत्यन्तमाहेश्वरस्य

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 7 सत्कार्यवकारुष्यशौर्यविक्रमनयविनयमाहात्म्यश्रीमत्त्व⁷ धीम[स्व*] पाचनतभक्तित्व-
- 8 धर्मविजयित्वम[नो]नैर्मत्वादिगुणै[:*] समुपेतस्य वर्षशतमभिवर्द्धमानकोशद-
- 9 ऋसाधनस[न्ता]नपुत्रपौट(चि)णः सुधिवि(छि)रवृत्ते[:] वाक(का)टकानाम्भाराजश्रीप्रिय-
वीसे-
- 10 नस्य⁷ सु(स्)नोर्भगवत्सङ्क्रपाणि)प्रसादोपा[र्जि]⁸ तश्रीसमुदयस्य ।⁹ महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेन-
- 11 स्य सु(स्)नोर्भहाराजाधिराजश्रीदेवगुप्तसुतायाम्भभावतिगुप्तायामुत्पन्नस्य शम्भो)प्र-
- 12 सादृष्टिकासंयुगस्य¹⁰ वाकाटकानाम्भारममाहेश्वरमहाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य

¹ From the original plates.² Read दृष्टम्.³ Here and in many places below, the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.⁴ Read सुखाजो.⁵ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.⁶ Read श्रीमत्त्व. This word does not occur in other Vākāṭaka grants.⁷ Read श्रीधिवीविचस्य.⁸ The subscript *j* is incompletely incised and looks like *q*.⁹ The mark of punctuation here is superfluous.¹⁰ Read धृतकार्ययुगस्य.

TWO INCOMPLETE GRANTS OF PRAVARASENA II—(SET A).

i.

2 2
4 4
6 6

ii,a.

8 8
10 10
12 12

ii,b.

14 14
16 16
18 18

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 13 वचनात् [1] शैलपुरमार्ग¹ असिमुक्तिमहल्लाटयामिः(मः)² प्रवरेश्वरपद्विशकवाट-
 14 कवस्तव्याय³ ॥⁴ तै[त्ति]रियाय⁵ ।⁶ काशपसगोत्रशूर्यस्वामिने⁷ दत्तः [1*] यतोऽस्त-
 (स्त)काः सर्वा[स्त]-
 15 अनिया(यो)गनियुक्ताः आश्रासचारि⁸कुलपुत्राधिकता भटान्छात्राश्च विभुतपूर्वयात्रय-
 (या)-
 16 आपयितव्याः [1*] विदितमस्तु वः यथेहास्माभिरात्मनो धर्मशुब्ध⁹ विजयेश्वर-
 17 व(वि)हृदये ।¹⁰ इहामुद्व हितार्थमात्मानुग्रहाय ॥⁹ वैजयिके धर्मस्थाने अपूर्वदत्ता-
 (स्या)
 18 उदकपूर्वमतिदृष्टः [1*]¹⁰

Set B.

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 7¹¹ सत्याज्जवकारुण्यशौर्यविक्रमनयविनयमाहात्म(त्प्य)धौमत्व(स्व)पात्रगतभक्तित्वधर्म-
 8 विजयित्वमनोनैम(र्म्)स्यादिगुणै[1*] समुपेतस्य वर्षशतमभिवर्द्धमानकोशदण्डसा-
 9 धनसम्मानपुत्रपौट(त्रि)णः युधिष्ठिरहस्तेर्वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीप्रियविसेनस्व¹²
 10 सूनोभ(र्भ)गवतः¹³चक्रपाणेऽप्रसादोपाज्जितश्रीसमुदयस्य महाराज¹⁴श्रीरुद्र-
 11 सेनस्य सूनोर्म्महाराजाधिराजश्रीदेवगुप्तसुतायाऽ¹⁵प्रभावतिगुप्तायासुत्पन्नस्य
 12 शम्भोऽप्रसाव(द)धृतिकार्त्तसुतस्व¹⁶ 17 वाकाटकानाम्परममाहेस्वरमहे(हा)राजश्रीप्रवरसे-

¹ Read शैलपुर as in L 13 of Set B, below.² In Set B the name of this village occurs in the form महल्लाटयामः.³ Perhaps प्रवरेश्वरपद्विशकवाटकवस्तव्याय is the correct reading.⁴ The mark of punctuation here is superfluous.⁵ The subscribed t of *ti* is not completely incised. Read तैत्तिरीयाय.⁶ Read शूर्यस्वामिने.⁷ Read आश्रासचारि-⁸ Read ज्ञेय-⁹ The mark of punctuation is superfluous here.¹⁰ An ornamental figure is incised here.¹¹ As the first plate, like the others of this Set, must have contained six lines, I have numbered the first line on this side as 7.¹² Read श्रीप्रियविसेनस्व.¹³ This *visarga* is superfluous.¹⁴ Read महाराज.¹⁵ Read सुतायाऽप्रभावति-¹⁶ Read धृतिकार्त्तसुतस्व-¹⁷ The mark of punctuation here is superfluous.

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 13 त(न)स्य वचना[त्*] । पाकचराष्ट्रे दौर्घद्वयं नाम¹ ग्राम[ः*] । शैलपुरमाग्रे असि-
भुक्ति-
- 14 मङ्गलमलाटग्रामश्च एवं ग्रामद्वयं ।² प्रवरक्षरवह्निपतिवाटकवस्तव्य³- ॥⁷
- 15 तैत्तिरीय⁴काग्रयस्योत्त[सु*]स्यसामिनि दत्त[म्*] यतोऽन्त्यतः सार्वभौम⁵नियोग-
- 16 नियुक्ताः आश्विनवारिकुलपुत्राधिकृताः भट्टाश्चात्राव विष्णु(म्)तपूर्वयाज्ञा-⁶
- 17 पयितव्या विदितमस्तु वः ।[*] बवै(धै)हाक्षामिरात्मनो धर्मासुर्वसविजय(दै)स्य-
विद्वद्वये ।⁷ दद्या-
- 18 सुत हितार्थमात्मानुग्रह(दा)य वैजैके⁸ धर्मास्थाने अपूर्वदत्ता⁹ उदकपूर्वमति[सु]ष्टः¹⁰ [*]

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 19 उचितायास्त¹¹ पूर्वराजानुमतां चातुर्वैद्यग्राममर्थादान्वितराम¹²स्तथा अकरदायि
- 20 अभट्ट(श्च)प्रवावेष्ट[म्*] अपारम्परगोवस्तवः¹³ अपूर्वचिर¹⁴सन्तोष[म्*] अचारासनच-
- 21 र्माग्रार[म्*] असवचक्रिबल्लेनिष्ठनकः¹⁵ सार्वभौमपरिहारपरिहृतः¹⁶ सनिधिः¹⁷ सोप-

¹ Read दौर्घद्वयं नाम.² Read प्रवरक्षरवह्निपतिवाटकवस्तव्य-³ Read तैत्तिरीय-⁴ The engraver at first incised सु and then altered it into सु. Read स्यसामिनि.⁵ Read सार्वभौम-⁶ Read पूर्वयाज्ञा-⁷ The mark of punctuation is superfluous here.⁸ Read वैजैके.⁹ Read अपूर्वदत्ता.¹⁰ This should be 'मतिष्ठत्' so as to agree with ग्रामद्वयं in l. 14 above.¹¹ Read उचितां यास्त.¹² Read मर्थादां दितराम-¹³ Read अपारम्परगोवस्तवः. In this and some expressions below the writer has blindly copied the masculine form from the usual draft, referring to the donation of one village (ग्रामः). Here the neuter form is required so as to agree with ग्रामद्वयम्.¹⁴ Read अपूर्वचिर-¹⁵ Read क्रैचिकनकम्.¹⁶ Read सार्वभौमपरिहारपरिहृतम्.¹⁷ Read सनिधि.

TWO INCOMPLETE GRANTS OF PRAVARASENA II—(SET B).

ii, a.

8
10
12

8
10
12

ii, b.

14
16
18

14
16
18

iii, a.

20
22
24

20
22
24

iii, b.

26
28
30

26
28
30

- 22 निधिः¹ सक्तिमोपक्तिप² अचन्द्रादित्यकालीयः³ पुत्रपौत्रानुगामिकः⁴ भुञ्जता(तो)
 23 न केनचिद्वाघात[>क]⁵र्तव्यः सर्वकृत्याभि⁶स्म(स्मं)रक्षितव्य>पर(रि)वर्धयितव्यश्च । यश्च-
 (वा)स्मच्छा-
 24 सनमगणयमानः स्वस्यामपि परिवाधाङ्कुर्व्यात्कारयिर वा⁷ अस्य ब्राह्मणैर्वैदितस्व

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 25 सदृष्टनिग्रह(हं) कुर्व्याम ॥ अस्मि(स्मिं)श्च धर्मादरकरणे अतोतानेकराजदत्तासंक्षिप्त्-
 न⁸परिपा-
 26 स्न(नं) कृतपुण्या(ण्या)नुकीर्त्तनपरिहारार्थ(त्य) न कीर्त्तयामः [।*] व्यासगीतौ
 चाञ्च श्लोकौ प्रमाणी-
 27 कर्त्तव्यौ । स्वदत्ताभ्यरदत्तावा⁹ हरेद्वा¹⁰ वै वसुन्धरा[म् ।*] गवा(वां) शतसहस्रस्य ।¹¹
 हस्तुर्ह-
 28 रति दुष्कृत[म्*]¹² । [।१॥*] षष्ठि¹³ वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं मोदति भूमिदः[*] । आच्छेत्ता
 चा-
 29 नुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [॥२॥*] सव्यक्षरे एकादशमे¹⁴ १० १ कार्तिक-
 शुक्लपक्ष-
 30 त्रयोदश्या¹⁵ १० ३¹⁶ सेन(ना)पती चित्रवर्मा(र्मा)णि ना¹⁷ लिखित[म्*]¹⁸

¹ Read सोपनिधि.

² Read सकुतोपकुतम्.

³ Read आचन्द्रादित्यकालीयम्.

⁴ Read नामिकम्.

⁵ The subscript ka is not completely incised, so that the whole akshara appears like mā.

⁶ Read सर्वकृत्याभि.

⁷ Read परिवाधा कुर्व्यात्कारयेद्य.

⁸ Read राजदत्तसंक्षिप्तम्.

⁹ Read °भ्यरदत्ता वा.

¹⁰ Read °हरेद्यौ.

¹¹ The mark of punctuation¹ here is superfluous.

¹² Metre of this and the next verse : Anuṣṭubh.

¹³ Read षष्टि.

¹⁴ Read सव्यक्षरे एकादशे.

¹⁵ Read त्रयोदश्या.

¹⁶ The symbol for 3 is unusual, but there is no doubt about its value, as the *tithi* is mentioned in words.

¹⁷ Perhaps मणिना was intended, but the writer in copying the draft omitted the aksharas मणि by haplography.

¹⁸ There is an ornamental mark after this followed by two *daṇḍas* and a horizontal stroke.

No. 38.—MASULIPATAM PLATES OF AMMARAJA II.

By B. V. KRISHNA RAO, M.A., B.L., RAJAHMUNDY.

This interesting record of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty was first noticed by the late Robert Sewell when it was found lying in the record room of the District Court of Kistna at Masulipatam.¹ It is not known where the plates were originally discovered and how and when they reached the District Court of Kistna. Dr. J. F. Fleet, who examined these plates at the instance of Robert Sewell, described them as follows:

"A set of five copper-plates, each about 11½" long by 5½" broad with a seal which bears the usual Chālukyan Boar, the motto *Śrī-Tribhuvanāmkusa*, the moon, the sun, a closed umbrella or an elephant-goad and a floral device The whole inscription is very much corroded and very difficult to read."²

These plates came to be included in the collection of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, in 1908, and marked as C. P. No. 8 of 1908-09.³ The late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri described the plates thus: They consist "of five copper-plates (with raised rims) of which the two exposed sides are blank. They are strung on a massive ring whose ends are soldered into the bottom of a circular seal which bears in high relief on a countersunk surface the legend *Śrī-Tribhuvan[āmku]sa*, the standing boar, the elephant-goad, two fly-whisks, the sun and the moon and the lotus flower. The writing on the plates is much worn out and where it is clear the rust has so firmly settled down in the depths of the letters that even the process of allowing the plate to boil in a thick solution of tamarind and salt has not effectively removed it". I now edit this inscription from the ink impressions and photographs supplied to me by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti. The inscription on these plates is written in the Telugu characters of the tenth century. The letters are beautifully engraved; and the plates used for the purpose of the grant are perhaps the largest ever used for the charters of Ammarāja II. The writing on the plates is for a greater part not well preserved: particularly on plates *ii-b*, *iii-b*, *iv-a* and *iv-b*. Some of the characters employed call for a few remarks. Special signs are used for the final *n* (in *māsān*, ll. 9, 15 and 17), but no special sign is employed for the final *t*, which is, however, denoted by the ordinary sign for *ta* with the sign of *virāma* above it. Initial vowels *a* and *ā* (ll. 56 and 57), *i* (ll. 32-34 and 42), *ī* (l. 60) and *ē* (l. 17) also appear in the record and they represent the forms of the transitional period. Orthographical mistakes are few and in one or two cases they appear to be due to the scribe. Thus we find in *śiśyō* (l. 52) the palatal sibilant used for lingual, and in *śadriṣau* (l. 47) the palatal sibilant used for the dental. Signs for both the *jihvāmūliya* and the *upadhmāniya* are found in the present record, the former in l. 11 and the latter in l. 38.

The inscription is written in Sanskrit, partly in prose and partly in verse; and there are altogether twenty-one stanzas including the usual imprecatory verses in lines 65-68 at the end. The inscription also contains some archaic Telugu words, e.g., *dūba* (l. 57), *paḍuva* (ll. 58 and 60), *prānta-parti* (l. 58) and *yisupakāṭṭa* (l. 57), the exact meanings of which are not quite clear. These words occur in the description of the boundaries of the village granted.

The inscription consists apparently of two parts; and though it records a charity to the Jaina religion, it opens with an invocation to the god Viṣṇu, the wielder of the fierce *śārṅga* bow which

¹ *List of Inscriptions and Sketches of the Dynasties of South India*, Vol. II, p. 13; No. 84.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, Madras, 1909, pp. 10 and 108.

protects the three worlds, unlike the Maliyapūṇḍi grant which opens with an invocation to the Jaina religion, being a charity made for the Jaina faith.¹ Lines 2-22 contain the usual *prastasti* and genealogy of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty, beginning with **Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana**, the younger brother of Satyāśraya Vallabhēndra down to **Vijayāditya-Ammarāja II**, the donor of the grant. The genealogical portion does not give us any more historical particulars about the kings that preceded Amma II, than we know from the other records of the family. As usual Jayasinhavallabha I is given a period of 33 years, which Dr. Fleet, however, considered to be incompatible with his adjustment of the reigns of the other kings of the dynasty.² I do not think that Dr. Fleet was justified in reducing the period of Jayasinhavallabha I from 33 to 30 years; and his reasons for so doing are not convincing. There is only a single record which gives the king a reign of 30 years while the entire range of the family charters, which number about fifty, are unanimous in giving him a period of 33 years. Dr. Fleet's calculations and computations are made, as I have shown elsewhere³, upon certain misconceptions. The only record that gives 30 years' reign to the king is the Paḍaṁkalūru grant of Ammarāja II⁴ which was composed by Mādhavabhaṭṭa. The scribe who engraved the charter on the plates must have committed an obvious error in omitting the word *trayaś* before *triṁśatam*, for the edict on the Guṇḍugolanu plates of the same king, which was also the composition of the self-same poet Mādhavabhaṭṭa, gives Jayasinhavallabha a reign of 33 years, which is in conformity with the statements of other records.⁵ Similarly, Narēndrampigarāja-Vijayāditya II is stated to have reigned for 40 years in the present inscription; and this length seems to be the correct period as shown by me in my *Revised Chronology of the Eastern Chālukya Kings*⁶, as against the period of 44 years which was allotted to him in Dr. Fleet's computation.⁶ It is, however, needless to repeat here my reasons for accepting the period of 40 years, which I have stated at length in my *Revised Chronology*; but I consider it necessary to give a summary of the chronology of the kings as fixed by me—from Kubja Vishṇuvardhana to Chālukya Bhīma I, for whose coronation we have a recorded date—alongside with Dr. Fleet's scheme of the Eastern Chalukyan chronology for easy reference.

Order and Names of Kings.	REVISED CHRONOLOGY.	DR. FLEET'S SCHEME.
	Length of reigns (years) and their equivalents in years A.D.	Length of reigns (years) and their equivalents in years A.D.
1. Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana	18 : 624—641	18 : 615—633
2. Jayasinhavallabha I	33 : 641—673	30 : 633—663
3. Indrabhaṭṭāraka	7 days : 673	7 days : 663
4. Vishṇuvardhana II	9 : 673—682	9 : 663—672
5. Maṅgi-Yuvarāja	25 : 682—706	25 : 672—696
6. Jayasinha II	13 : 706—718	13 : 696—709
7. Kokkili	6 months : 718 —719	6 months : 709

¹ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 50 ff.² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, pp. 10 and 12.³ "The Revised Chronology of the Eastern Chālukya Kings" in *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IX, Part 4, pp. 17 and 27 and chart on p. 30A.⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 15 ff.⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 248, text, line 7.⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, pp. 12-13.

Order and Names of Kings.	REVISED CHRONOLOGY.	DR. FLEET'S SCHEME.
	Length of reigns (years) and their equivalents in years A.D.	Length of reigns (years) and their equivalents in years A.D.
8. Vishnuvardhana III	37 : 719—755	37 : 709—746
9. Vijayāditya I or Vijayāditya-Bhaṭṭāraka	18 : 755—772	18 : 746—764
10. Vishnuvardhana IV	36 : 772—808	36 : 764—799
11. Vijayāditya II (Narēndramrigarāja)	40 : 808—847	44 : 799—843
12. Kali-Vishnuvardhana	1½ : 847—849	1½ : 843—844
13. Guṇaka-Vijayāditya III	44 : 849—892	44 : 844—888
14. Chālukya-Bhīma I	30 : 892—921	30 : 888—918

Apart from what has been stated already, the above table shows also that Chālukya-Bhīma I's accession could not have taken place in A.D. 888 as stated by Dr. Fleet, for we have a record of the king that gives the date of his coronation as Ś. 814 (expired), (Mēsha) *Chaitra ba. dvitīyā, Śaśi-dina*, when the moon was in the *nakshatra* Maitra (Anurādhā), which has been equated to Monday, 17th April, 892 A.D.¹ Thus the whole scheme of Dr. Fleet's arrangement falls to the ground.²

Vijayāditya (IV) is given the title *Kaliyattigaṇḍa*, "the hero who raised the sins of the Kali Age". Dr. Fleet who examined these plates read the term as *Kaliyarttigaṇḍa*. The epithets *Kaliyattigaṇḍa* and *Kaliyarttigaṇḍa*, which occurs in the Idēru plates of Amma I,³ have the same meaning, for *aṅka* and *aṅkakāra* are the Telugu-Kannada synonyms of the Sanskrit word *gaṇḍa*, which means 'a hero,' 'a champion' or 'a warrior'. The clue for the correct interpretation of these terms is found in the phrase *aṅkakāras=sākshāt*, which occurs in a passage describing Guṇaka-Guṇaka-Vijayāditya III in the Kaluchumbaggu grant of Amma II.⁴

Of the several enemies whom Chālukya Bhīma (II) is said to have conquered or killed before he became king according to the other records of the family, only four, namely, **Mallapa**, his son, **Rājamārtāṇḍa** and the **Rāshtrakūṭas** are mentioned in the present charter. The inscription states that king **Bhīma**, the son of **Mōlāmbā** and **Kaliyattigaṇḍa-Vijayāditya**, who was endowed with truthfulness, liberality, pride and majesty and all other virtues, conquered in battle **Rājamārtāṇḍa**, defeated the fierce **Mallapa** and his son, and then, having dispelled the darkness (*that overwhelmed the realm*), i.e., the **Rāshtrakūṭas**, reigned in glory for twelve years. Till now **Rājamārtāṇḍa** has not been satisfactorily identified. Dr. Hultzach has suggested that **Rājamārtāṇḍa** might be the same as **Rājamayya**⁵, and the identification may be for the present

¹ C.P. No. 14 of 1917-18; *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1918, App. E, p. 126; also see *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Vol. VI, p. 246.

² [But it is not impossible that, though he was actually crowned in A.D. 892, his regnal year was counted from the date of his accession which might have taken place some years earlier. This custom was widely prevalent in South India.—N.L.R.]

³ S. I. I., Vol. I, No. 36, pp. 36-43, text, line 49.

⁴ Above, Vol. IX, p. 49.

⁵ Above, Vol. VII, p. 180.

accepted as correct. Rājamārtanḍa would appear to be one of the foremost opponents of Chālukya-Bhīma II, for he is mentioned in the latter's own Kōlavennu plates¹. Rājamārtanḍa might be a younger brother of Yuddhamalla II or more probably a son of Vikramāditya II, the younger brother of Kollabhiḡaṇḍa or Kaliyattyaṇka-Vijayāditya IV, who reigned for eleven months after destroying Tāla. If so Rājamārtanḍa would be a *dāyāda* of Chālukya-Bhīma II, being his cousin in the same degree. Mallapa and his powerful son may be identified with Yuddhamalla II and his eldest son *Adhirāja* Bādapa of the Ārṇabāka plates.

Vijayāditya-Ammarāja II is said to have conquered several of his own kinsmen (*dāyādas*) before he became the lord of the country or soon after he had ascended the throne. Verse 6 describes the important event thus: "Having been crowned (as the lord of) the kingdom of Vēṅḡ, having conquered his enemy, the rising and powerful Vijayāditya, who had vanquished on numerous battle fields his own adversaries and whose neck was adorned with the fillet (*kaṇṭhikā-dāma*) (of the dignity of *yuvārāja*),² having defeated the group of his treacherous kinsmen, by the prowess of his arm (or his rays) and having pleased the goddess Lakshmi (or the lotus) by dispelling the darkness viz. his opponents, the sun of the Kshatriya race shines in all splendour". That Kaṇṭhikā-Bēta or Kaṇṭhikā-Vijayāditya, the son of Ammarāja I, was one of the opponents of king Amma II is not known from any of the records hitherto published. It now appears that Bēta or Kaṇṭhikā-Vijayāditya returned to the country, appeared once more as a claimant to the throne on the death of his father's step-brother, Chālukya-Bhīma II, and opposed the accession of the boy king Amma II. Among the other rival claimants whom Amma II had conquered might be the children of Yuddhamalla II, who was driven away into exile by Chālukya-Bhīma II. The rest of the passage which describes Ammarāja II (ll. 30-35) is merely in panegyrical style and does not contain anything historical. The present record is **not dated**; it does not also mention the occasion on which it was issued.

The second part of the inscription (ll. 39-51) opens with a description of a family of feudatory chieftains, who professed the Jaina religion and who flourished during the reigns of Chālukya-Bhīma II and his son Ammarāja II. There was born in the great family known as *Triṇayana-kula*, a nobleman called **Naravāhana** (I), an officer of the Chālukya kings. He belonged to the *gōtra* called *Grēvya*; he enjoyed the privilege and honour of sitting on *simhāsana* or a 'lion seat' like a crowned prince. Prince Naravāhana, like the preceptor of the gods, was a master of the science of Polity. He outshone the glory of Naravāhana, the Regent of the Northern quarter (*Kubēra*). His eldest son was **Mēlaparāja**, who was an embodiment of virtues like liberality, pride and praiseworthy conduct. He, therefore, bore the epithet *Mānavadēva*, 'god amongst men'. He was a worshipper of the lotus feet of the Blessed Lord Jina. His wife was **Mēṇḍāmbā**, who was a *pativrata* (devoted wife) like the epic princess Sītā. She was a fervent follower of the teachings of Lord Jina (*Jainavrata*). To them, Mēlaparāja and Mēṇḍāmbā, were born two sons, **Bhīma** or **Rāja-Bhīma** and **Naravāhana** (II). The former would appear to have been named after Chālukya-Bhīma II³ and the latter after his own grand-father. Both these princes were intelligent and renowned. They were masters of all *śāstras* and skilled in the use of various weapons. They resembled Rāma and Lakshmaṇa (in personal charm), Bhīma

¹ *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 43ff., text, line 18; see also above, Vol. IX, p. 49.

² Compare this passage with *Vijayādityam kṛita-kaṇṭhikā-paṭṭabandh-ābhishēkam* which occurs both in the Masulipatam plates of Chālukya-Bhīma II (above, Vol. V, p. 136) text-lines 15-16 and note 2 on p. 138 and in the Pāṇanavaram grant of Chālukya-Bhīma II (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 213f, text-line 25).

³ Above, Vol. VII, pp. 177ff., text, line 41.

and Arjuna (in might and prowess), Baladēva and Vāsudēva (in strength and wisdom), and equalled Nakula and Sahadēva (in valour and bravery) respectively. They were devoted to the *Jaina-dharma*. They obtained through the favour of Chālukya-Bhīma, i.e., Chālukya-Bhīma II, the insignia of feudal chieftainship (*sāmanta*), namely, the *śrīvāra*, *chhatra* (parasol), *chāmara* (fly whisk), peacock's tail, water-jars, horses, and musical instruments like *kāhala* and others.¹

The inscription then refers (ll. 51-54) to a Jaina pontiff (*āchārya*), the preceptor of the two noblemen Bhīma and Naravāhana II. He was the renowned **Jayasēna**, who bore the surname **Nāthasēna** and was the disciple of the illustrious **Chandrasēna**. Jayasēna was a master of all the *sāstras*. He was well versed in the *Siddhānta*, i.e., *Jaina-siddhānta*, 'the doctrines of the Jainas'. He was a man of excellent and praiseworthy conduct. He attained proficiency in *para-samaya*, that is to say, his soul became absorbed in the non-self for the liberation of mankind from bondage. He was honoured by *śrāvakas*, *kshaparakas*, *kshullakas* and the *ajjakas*. For the benefit of the celebrated Jaina pontiff, who was their religious preceptor, Bhīma and Naravāhana II, constructed two Jaina temples (*Jina-bhavana*) at Vijayavāṭikā; and for that purpose king Ammarāja granted the village of **Pedda-Gāḷīdiparru** having converted it into a *dēvabhōga* and exempted it from all kinds of burdens and taxation.

Some of the names and terms that occur in the inscription are interesting. The family of the two chiefs is called the 'great *Trinayana-kula*', and their *gōtra*-name appears as *Grēvya*. Both these terms have not been met with before either in the inscriptions of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty or in the literature of the Āndhra country. The *Trinayana-kula* seems to belong to the fourth or Śūdra caste, like the Paṇṭa-kula of the Redḍis of Āndhradēśa, whose birth-place is said to be the Gaṅgā which sprang from the feet of Lord Viṣṇu. The *Grēvya-gōtra*, too, is not a Brahmanical *gōtra*, and this fact supports the above conjecture.² Several orders of the Jaina ascetics and lay worshippers are mentioned in the record. The *Śrāvakas*, for instance are Jaina laymen; the *Kshaparakas* are Jaina *yatis* (ascetics) who received proper initiation according to the school of the Digambaras. A Jaina *kshullaka* is one who is a *Śrāvaka* of a high order belonging to the tenth degree, the eleventh degree being that of Ailaka. These seem to correspond to the *dāsas* of the *Bhāgavata-sampradāya*. The next higher order of spiritual stage is that of *muni* or *āchārya*. The term *ajjakā* may be a Prākṛit form of Sanskrit *Āryakā*, "a female ascetic", who, according to Jaina doctrines, wears only a white sari.³ The expression *para-samaya* which occurs in the passage *para-samaya-paṭuḥ sannut-ōkṛishṭa-vṛittāḥ* (l. 53) is apparently used in a highly technical sense here as it rightly belongs to the Jaina philosophical terminology. The *Samayasāra* of Kundakunda Ācharya, which is a discourse that gives a knowledge of the Highest Soul, explains the terms *para-samaya* and *sva-samaya* as follows :

जीवचारितदर्शनज्ञानस्थितं हि स्वसमयं जानीहि ।
पुत्रलक्षणापिदेयस्थितं च तं जानीहि परसमयं ॥

"Know that *sva-samaya* is the soul which is concentrated in right conduct, belief and knowledge and which is self-absorbed. And *para-samaya* is the soul which stands in the condition determined by the operation of the *Karmic* matter or bondage and which is absorbed in the Non-self."

¹ Compare this passage (lines 49-50) with the passage in the Raṇastipūṇḍī grant of Vimalāditya : above, Vol. VI, pp. 357, text, line 83 : "जीवचारितद(र्शन)ज्ञानस्थितं विज्ञेयमस्मिन् विज्ञेयमस्मिन्" etc.

² [No evidence is available to indicate that Bhīma and Naravāhana were Śūdras. The statement that they belonged to the *Trinayana-kula* may only show that they were Śaivas. The Nolamba-Pallavas are described as born of the *Īśvara-varṇa* (*Īśvara-varṇaja*), and the later Pallava chiefs of the Telugu country have the epithet *Parama-varṇa-ōḍbhava*. It is also not certain that Grēvya is not a Brahminical *gōtra*. Griva is known to be the name of a *gōtrarahi*.—N. L. R.]

³ I am indebted to Pandit Ajit Prasad, M.A., LL.B. of Lucknow, for the meaning of these terms. [The term is more likely *ajjaka* Skt. *āryaka*.—Ed.]

The edict states that king Ammarāja II issued the command after having assembled, in the usual manner, the *Rāshtrakūṭas* and *kuṭumbins* of the district of **Velanāṇḍu** and in the immediate presence of several high officials of his government. They are the entire circle of his vassal kings (*samasta-sāmanta*), the *antaḥpura-mahāmātra*, the *pūrōhita*, the *amātya*; the *śrēṣṭhīn*, the *sēnāpati*, the *śrīkarana*, the *Dharmādhyaksha* and the twelve *sthān-ādhipatis*. In spite of his own faith, like a true Hindu sovereign, king Amma II was tolerant of the other faiths of his kingdom, and particularly of Jainism.

The object of the grant was the gift of the village of **Pedda-Gāḷiḍiparṇu**, situated apparently in the **Velanāṇḍu-vishaya**. It is well known in the Āndhra country that **Velanāṇḍu** was the ancient name of the region that is bounded by the sea on the south-east and south, and the *Krishnā* river on the north-east and north and which is now covered by the modern *tālūks* of *Rēpalli* and *Tenāli* in the *Guṇṭūr* District. **Pedda-Gāḷiḍiparṇu** had changed its name during the past nine or ten centuries and is called to-day **Peda-Gādelavarṇu**. It is situated in the *Tenāli tālūk*, about three miles to the east of the *Tsunḍūru* railway station. The boundaries of the villages are according to the edict (ll. 57-61) as follows :—On the east : a *dūba* (probably a mound) in the centre of the tank called *Yisupakattāla-cheruvu*, on the boundary of the village **Maṇḍayūru**. On the south-east : (probably) a cluster *Būruvu-paḍuva* of silk cotton trees (*Eriodendron anfractuosum*) at the meeting place (*muyyalkuṭṭu*) of the boundaries of the villages, **Ālaparti** and **Chūṇṭūru**. On the south : an irrigation tank called *Kuṇḍaviḍḍi-guṇṭha* situated to the north of the ancient village site (*prānta-parti*) of **Chūṇṭūru**. On the south-west : the temple (*guḍi*) of *Pōtyavva* or *Pōṭi-avva*, the *amma* (village goddess) of **Chūṇṭūru**. On the west : On the north-west : a tank called *Gāralaguṇṭha* on the boundary of the village of **Valivēru**. On the north : a marshy swamp (*paḍuva*) (?) belonging to the village of **Tapparāla** On the north-east : an irrigation tank called *Nādupani-guṇṭha*, at the meeting place of the boundaries (*muyyalkuṭṭu*) of the villages, **Kōḍa-Gāḷiḍiparṇu**, and **Valivēru**. All the above-mentioned localities, viz., **Maṇḍayūru**, **Ālaparti**, **Chūṇṭūru**, **Valivēru**, and **Kōḍa-Gāḷiḍiparṇu** may be easily identified to-day. **Ālaparti** is known to-day as **Ālapāḍu**, and **Chūṇṭūru** is changed into **Chunḍūru**. **Tapparāla** had apparently gone out of existence and a new village called **Parimi** had sprung into existence in that neighbourhood. While all the other village names had not materially changed, the names of **Pedda-Gāḷiḍiparṇu** and **Kōḍa-Gāḷiḍiparṇu** alone had altered. And that may be explained by the fact that the hard consonant *ḷa* had merely given place to soft consonant *da* in the pronunciation during the last nine or ten centuries. **Kōḍa-Gāḷiḍiparṇu** is known to-day both as **Kōḍe-Gādelavarṇu** and **China-Gādelavarṇu**, the words *Kōḍe* and *Chinna* being synonymous. All the villages mentioned above are situated round about **Peda-Gādelavarṇu**.

Among the other localities mentioned in the record, **Vijayavāṭikā** is clearly identical with the modern town of **Bezavāda** on the *Krishnā* river. The site or sites on which the two *Jina-bhavanas* or *Jaina* temples once stood cannot be identified; perhaps an extensive exploration of the ancient sites of the locality may help us to discover the spot.

The executor of the charity was the officer known as **Kaṭakarāja**. From the *Maliyapūṇḍi* grant, we know that the office of *Kaṭakarāja* was held during the reign of Amma II by the *General Duggarāja*, a descendant of the celebrated *Paṇḍaraṅga*, the generalissimo of *Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III*. The engraver of the record was **Jayantāchārya**.

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 व्याकुष्टरत्नक³चितायतशा⁴र्वाचापो यस्येन्द्रकार्मुकविनीलपयोदह(ह)न्दम् । ⁵निर्भर्च्छयद्विव
विभा-
- 2 ति सकृण्णकान्ति⁶विष्णुशिवन्दिशतु वोवष्टतचिलोकः ॥[१*] स्वस्ति श्रीमतां सकल-
भुवनसंस्त्यमानमा-
- 3 नव्यसगोत्राणां हारीतिपुत्राणां कौशिकीवरप्रसादलब्धराज्यानाम्मादृगणपरिपालितानां
स्वामि-
- 4 महासेनपादानुध्यातानां भगवन्मारायणप्रसादसमासादितवरवराहलां⁷च्छनेक्ष-
- 5 ण[क्ष]णवशीकृतारातिमण्डलानामश्वमेधावष्टयज्ञानपवित्रीकृतवपुषां चालुक्यानां कु-
- 6 लमलंकरिणीस्त्वाम्रयवक्त्रभेन्दस्य भ्राता कुञ्जविष्णुवर्धननृपतिरष्टादशवर्षाणि
- 7 वेंगीदेशमपालयत् । तदात्मजो जयसिंहस्त्रयस्त्रिंशतम् । तदनुजेन्द्रराजनन्दनो विष्णु-
वर्धनो न-
- 8 व । तत्पुत्रो गियुवराजः पंचविंशतिम् । तत्पुत्रो जयसिंहस्त्रयोदश । तदवर-
- 9 जः कोकिलिष्णवमासान् । तस्य ज्येष्ठो भ्राता विष्णुवर्धनस्तमुच्चाय सप्तविंशतम् ।
तत्पुत्रो वि-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 10 जयादित्यभट्टारकोष्टादश । तत्पुत्रो विष्णुवर्धनःषट्त्रिंशतम् । ⁹नरेन्द्रसगराजा[स्थो] सु-
- 11 गराज[पराक्रमः] । विजयादित्य[भूपालः] चत्वारिंशत्समा ७ — ॥[२*] त-
त्पुत्रो¹⁰कलिविष्णुवर्ध-
- 12 नो[ध्वर्धवर्धम्] । तत्पुत्रो गुणगविजयादित्यश्चतुश्चत्वारिंशतम् । ¹¹तद्भ्रातुर्व्योम्बराज्यो-
क्षतमहि-
- 13 [मभूतो] विक्रमादित्यभूपालात्तच्चालुक्यभौमस्त्रकलनृपगु[णोत्]ष्टचारिचपात्रः । दानी
- 14 ¹⁰— ७ — ७ — ७ — ७ — ७ रसकरः सार्वभौमप्रतापो ।¹¹ राज्यं कृत्वा प्र[या]तः
त्रिदशपतिपदं

¹ From ink-impressions and photographs.² Metre : *Vasantatilakā*.³ Read खचिता.⁴ Read शार्वाचापो.⁵ Read निर्भर्च्छयद्विव.⁶ Read विष्णु.⁷ Read लान्क्षनेक्ष.⁸ Metre : *Anushubh*. The scribe apparently left out the last two syllables of the fourth quarter or *pāda* of the *śloka*.⁹ Metre : *Sragdharā*.¹⁰ I am unable to make out any sense from the faintly visible letters.¹¹ Mark of punctuation is unnecessary here.

(From Photographs).

ii, b.

20

22

24

26



20

22

24

26

iv, b.

56

58

60

62



56

58

60

62

Seal.



- 15 ¹[त्रिंशदब्दा — ८]थ ॥३*॥ तस्युक्तः कलियत्तिगण्डविजयादित्यव्यमासान् ।
तत्सूतुरम्भराजस्य-
- 16 [स]वर्षाणि । तत्सुतं विजयादित्यं कण्ठिकाक्रमायातपट्टाभिषेकं बालमुच्चात्² तालराजो
राज्यमास-
- 17 [मे]कं [१*] चालुक्यभीमसुतो विक्रमादित्यस्तं हत्वा एकादशमासान् । विजयादि-
त्यो वेङ्गीनाथः कलियत्ति-
- 18 गण्डनामा धीमा³ । तस्य सति मे००१०॥१॥ । तज्ज्योराजभीमनृपतिरजेयः ॥ सत्य-
त्वागभिमानाद्यष्टि-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 19 लघुण्युतो राजमार्त्ताण्डमाजो ¹ जित्वोद्यम्यक्षपात्यं ससुतमधिवक्षं द्रोहि[णो]-
प्यन्तकाभो । दिङ्भीमो राष्ट्र-
- 20 कूटप्रबलबलतमर्षाहरो द्वादशाब्दं ² राज्यं कृत्वागमत्सः ³ प्रणिहित[सुयशो] धर्मसन्तान-
वर्माः ॥४*॥ वि-
- 21 णोः पद्मेव शंभोरिव गिरितनया यस्य देवी सपट्टा ⁴ संशुद्धा [हैहया]नामिजकु-
[लवि]प्रये पुण्यला[व]-
- 22 खगण्या । लोकांश्च तत्सुतोभूद्विजितपरबलो वेङ्गिनाथोम्भराजो ² राजद्राजाधिराजो
[जितरिपु]⁵म-
- 23 कुटोद्भूटपादारविन्दः ॥५*॥ वेङ्गो[राज्याभिविक्तो] निजरिपुविजयादित्यसुद्यक्षमर्थं ²
जित्वा[नेकाजिरंग]-
- 24 प्रजितपरबलं [कण्ठिकादामकण्ठं ।] न्दा(दा)यादद्रोहिवर्गानपि सकरबलः क्षत्रि-
[या]दित्यदे-
- 25 वो ² ध्वस्तारिध्वान्तराशिर्विलसितकमलस्रप्रतापो विभाति ॥ [६*] यन्निर्मातु-
न्निमित्तं कृतमिदमखिलं विष्टपं हि
- 26 क्षिप्तमूर्ते ² रात्मानं चात्मनास्मादिह सकलगुणै [राजभी]मोहहोभू । सेजोराशिः
प्रजानां पतिरधिकव-
- 27 [ल]क्षप्रतापोष्टमूर्तिः ² स्तोयन्देवोम्भराजो जनगुणजनकोन[त्य*]राजाप्रचिह्नः ॥७*॥
स्वर्यताः पूर्व-

¹ Read tentatively: त्रिंशदब्दाक्रमेण. [Reading is *triṁśad-abda-pramānam*.—Ed.]

² Mark of punctuation is not necessary here.

³ Read: धीमान् । तस्य.

⁴ Read: सती-

⁵ This verse and the following four are in *Sragdharā* metre.

⁶ [Reading is राजद्राजाधिराजः परमप°.—N. L. R.]

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 28 नाथा नलनहुषहरिसुन्दरामादयोपि ।¹ प्रत्यक्षास्त यशोभिर्गुणवपुरचला खैरिदानौ-
 29 महृष्टाः । यस्त्वोच्चैः कीर्त्तिरा[शिर्भ]गण इव जगत्पद्वितीयोदयोऽस्मिन् । राजद्राजा-
 धिराजस्य ज-
 30 यति विजयादित्यदेवोऽम्भराजः ॥[८*] गद्यम् ॥ स जगतीपतिरम्भराजो राजमहेन्द्रभो-
 गोन्द्रसह-
 31 म्भोगोपहासिदोर्ध्वदक्षिणैकव²सुसान्द्रितविश्वविश्वभराभारः । नारायण
 32 इव निरन्तरानन्तभोगास्यदः । विधुरिव सुखविराजितः । पितामह इव कम-
 33 लासनः । निविरिश³इव धराधरसुताराधितः । रत्नाकार इव समस्त-
 34 शरणागतभूभृदाश्रयः । सुवर्णाचल इव सुवर्णोत्तुंगोदयः । हिमाचल
 35 इव सिंहासनोक्तासितचमरीवालव्यजनविराजमानलीलः ॥ स सम-
 36 स्तभुवनाश्रयश्चोविजयादित्यमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरम-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 37 भट्टारकः । वेलनाण्डविषयनिवासिनो राष्ट्रकूटप्रमुखान्कुटि⁴विनक्षमस्त-
 38 सामन्ता[न्त]पुरम्भमाचपुरोहिताभास्त्रयेहिसेनापति⁵त्रिकरणधर्माध्यक्ष-
 39 द्वादशस्थान(ना)धिपतौऽन्महाह्वये⁶त्तमाज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु वः । श्रीमानुदपा-
 40 दि मा(म)हान्निषयनकुलसाधुर . . . श्रेय्याख्यो [१*] गोत्रो(चः) सिंहासनतो ।⁷
 41 विदितो [न]रवाहनचालुक्ये[शानाम् ॥] [८*] श्रीकरणगुरुर्गुरुरिव ।⁸ विबुधगुरु-
 42 स्स[क]लरा[जसिद्धान्तज्ञः] । नरवाहन इत्यासीत्युक्तनरवाह[नः] प्रकाशित-
 43 यशसा ।[१०*] यस्याग्रसुतो गुणवान् ।⁹ मेसपराजो गुणप्र[भा]वो¹⁰ दानो । मानो मा-

¹ Mark of punctuation is unnecessary here.² Read: कीर्त्ति°.³ Read निरिश.⁴ Read श्रीकरण.⁵ The metre of this and the following 5 verses is *Aryāgāhī*.⁶ The letter seems to read like न for there is a loop-like stroke at the bottom. If this is borne out by the plate, then the name of the chieftain has to be read as नक्षप.¹⁰ [Reading may be *pradhānō*.—Ed.]⁷ Read वाह.⁸ Read कुटुम्बिन°.⁹ Read समाह्वयेत्य°.

iiia.

(From impressions).



iiib.



iva.



- 44 नवचरितो ।¹ मानवदेवो जिनिन्द्रपदपद्मा[र्चको]² ॥ [११*] तस्य सतो मेख्माका ।³
सौतेव पति-
45 व्रता ³जिनव्रतचरिता । सत्त्ववती [वि]नयवती ।⁴ सतताहारप्रदायिनी वृत्तधर्मा ।
[१२*] तज्जी-

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

- 46 [सु]ती प्रसिद्धी ।⁴ बुद्धिपरी ।⁴ सकलशास्त्रयस्त्रविषेकी । भीमनरवाहनाख्यौ ।⁴
विख्यातौ रा-
47 मलक्षणाविव लोके ॥ [१३*] यौ भीमार्जुनश(स)ङ्गौ ।⁴ बलवुतबलदेवकसुदेव-
[समा]नौ । [न]-
48 कुलसङ्गदेवतुङ्गौ ।⁴ तौ जातौ जैनवर्त्मनिरतचरिणौ ॥ [१४*] श्रीमत्वा⁵लुक्कभीम-
[चित्तिपतिक्रप]-
49 या लब्धसामन्तचिह्नौ ।⁴ श्रीद्वारौ र्व्वरणीवन(?)पदविलसत्त्वा(चा)मरच्छत्र[लीली ।] —
50 — — — रिकख्यौ शिखिरुपटलच्छाद्यसत्कर्त्तरीकौ ।⁴ जातौ चालुक्क[चूलौ]
51 उ उ उ करिह्यौ काहलायभ्युपेतौ ॥ [१५*] श्रीनाचार्य्यौ यदीयो गुरुरखि-
52 लगुणचन्द्रसेनाख्यशिष्यौ ।⁴ शशास्त्रज्ञोर्त्ता(ना)यसेनो म्मु(सु)निनुतजयसेनो मुनिर्हीचितात्मा ।
सि-
53 हान्तज्ञः कलाज्ञः परसमयपटुः सत्त्वतोत्कृष्टवृत्त ।⁴ स्तत्पाथः आवकार्णा चपणकसु[ज]-
54 नसुक्ककार्णा(र्या)व्वकानाम् ॥ [१६*] तस्मै ताभ्यां राजभीमनरवाहवा(ना)भ्यां विजय-
वाटिकायां

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

- 55 जिनभवनयुगचिन्मिन्मिन्मिन्मेतद्वर्त्मात्यमन्त्राभिस्सर्व्वकारपरिहारं देवभोगो-
56 क्तव्य पेहगा⁶लिडि⁷पण्णनाम चांमो दत्ता [१*] चस्सावधयः । पूर्व्वतः मण्डयू-

¹ Mark of punctuation is unnecessary here.

² [Reading is पदपद्मसल. — N. L. R.]

³ The word जिनव्रत is written below the line ; obviously the scribe inserted it in revision.

⁴ Danda is unnecessary.

⁵ Metre : *Bragdhara*.

⁶ Read श्रीमन्नालुक्क.

⁷ Read शिष्यशास्त्रिणी.

⁸ The letter ह is written beneath the line ; it appears to have been inserted by the scribe during revision.

⁹ I am inclined to read the letter as ह in preference to दि.

- 57 रिपोलगरुसुन यिसु कडलवेःपुन नडिमि दूव [1] चाम्मेयतः चालपतिंयुं
चूटूरि-
58 युं सुखल्लुडु[न] वूवु पडुव । दक्षिणतः चूटूरि प्रान्त[पति]मुत्तरंनुन कुण्डि-
59 विळिगुण्ड । नैर्दत्ततः चूटूरियमपोव्ववुडि । [पश्चिमतः] रेटि[प]डुमटि-
दरि । वा-
60 यव्वतः वलिवेरिपोलगरुसुन गारलगुण्ड । उत्तरतः तप्परास प[डु]व । ई-
61 शानतः कोडगाळिडि'प'ति युं [वलिवेरियुं सु]खल्लुडुन नडुपनिगुण्ड ॥
तस्स [स्से]यादस्-³
62 धं ग(स)चिरसुत्तरं [शास]नं राजकोत्तं । सत्तो(त्तो)त्तैर्व्विगपस्स प्रकटगुञ्जनि-
धेरम्मराजस्स पूण्यं ।
63 तच्चेदं ग्रा[स]नं [पालित]जिननिगमं⁴ शौर्व्वभीताम्भनावव्रातो[चै]र्म्मोत्तिमालामच्चव(क)-
मकरिको⁵मञ्जि-

Fifth Plate.

- 64 कोत्तासितांनिः(त्रेः) ॥[१७*] अस्सोपरि न केन चिच्चाधा कर्त्तव्वा यः करोति स
पंचमहापातकसं-
65 युक्तो भवति ॥ तथाचोत्तं व्यासेन ॥ बहुभिर्बुध्वा दत्ता बहुभिश्चानुपालिता ।
यस्स य-
66 स्स यदा भूमिस्सस्स तस्स तदा फलं ॥[१८*] खदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत्
वसुध्वा [1*] षट्ठिं व-
67 र्वसहस्राणि विष्ठायां जायते ज्जमिः ॥[१९*] सर्व्वानेताम्भाविनः प्राप्तिवेन्द्राभूयो
68 भूयो याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्धोयं धर्ममेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पाण्णनीयो(यो) भवन्तिः
॥[२०*]
69 मइंशजाः परमहीपतिवंशजा वा पापादपेतमनसो भुवि भाविभूपाः । ये पालय-
70 न्ति मम धर्मं[मि]मं समस्सं तेषां मया विरचित्तौजलिरेव मूर्त्ति ॥[२१*]
पाप्पत्तिः[*] कटकराजः । जयन्ताचा-
71 र्व्वेण लिखितम् ॥⁷

¹ See note 9 on the previous page.² Metre : *Śrugaḥarā*.³ The dot denoting the *anusvāra* on this letter is placed by the scribe at the beginning of the next line.⁴ [Reading is शासनं च क्षित्तिजिननिगमं—N. L. R.]⁵ Read मकरिका.⁶ Read पाप्पत्तिवेन्द्रा.⁷ There is an ornamental design after this.

No. 39.—EPIGRAPHIC NOTES.

BY PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI AND K. GOPALACHARI, M.A., MADRAS.

I. 'Some Unpublished Amarāvati Inscriptions' (above, Vol. XV, pp. 258 ff., No. 6).

Chanda reads: 'Malamāvuka..yā Retiyā thabho', and translates '(This) pillar (is the gift) of.....Reti, an inhabitant of (wife of?) Malamāvuka'. The letter after *ka* is clearly *ja*. The next letter exhibits the outlines of *ya*, and in No. 12 *jāyāyā* occurs. The inscription may then be read, 'Malamāvuka-[jāyā]yā Retiyā thabho' i.e., 'gift of a pillar by the wife of Malamāvuka.'

II. *Op. cit.* No. 9.

Chanda reads: 'Kaṁma . . yā Apakuyā [tha]bho', and adds, 'Two letters after Kaṁma have been broken off' The Editor suggests 'Perhaps they were *bhayā*=*bhāryā*.' The first letter, though much mutilated, has the backbone and limbs of *ja* partially visible. So again the word is *jā[yā]yā*.

III. *Op. cit.* No. 26.

Chanda reads: '[cha]chuli sa[m*]ghāya' and translates '.....to the brotherhoodchachuli'. The *cha* at the beginning indicates that more than one person donated the object on which the inscription is incised. What is read as *chuli* should be read as *chula*; for what is taken as the *i* mark is nothing but the ornamental vertical of *la*. See *li* (No. 41). *Chula* often occurs in Amarāvati inscriptions as part of personal names, and as *Samgha* (also *Hamgha*) is also a name of frequent occurrence: '.....cha Chula-samghāya' is the correct reading. The translation is '.....and to Chula-samgha.'

IV. *Op. cit.* No. 41.

Chanda reads: '.....mahā govalivu bālikāya', and translates 'of the great cowherd's daughter'. What is read as *li* in *govalivu* is only *la* (compare *li* in *bālikāya*) and as *govalava* gives sense, and what is taken as the *u* sign is just a crease on the stone, and as the application of *Mahā* to a *govalava* (Skt. *gōvallabha*), an officer under the king, is more probable than to a cowherd, *govalava* would seem to be the correct reading. Meaning, 'of the daughter of the *Mahā-gōvallabha*'.

The characters resemble those of the inscription of Śivamaka Śātakarṇi.

V. *Op. cit.* No. 56.

What is read as 'Turughura' should be read as 'Turulūra'; see line 39, Bühler's table III. Turulūra is mentioned in another Amarāvati inscription (Lüders: *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, No. 1209).

VI. *Prākṛit Inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa* (above, Vol. XX, p. 24, Inscription H, text l. 11):
Imaṁ chetiyaṁ vihāro cha.

Dr. J. Ph. Vogel reads 'imaṁ khaniyaṁ vihāro cha', and explains *khaniya* by Pāli *khāṇu* 'pillar' (Childers, *Pali-English Dictionary*). The explanation is far from satisfactory. In our epigraphs, a pillar, even a vihāra pillar, is called *khambha* (Inscr. F, B5, C3, etc.). In fact *chetiyaṁ* seems to be the correct reading, only the letter *che* is rather carelessly engraved. The *chetiya* referred to is probably stūpa No. 6. In inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, a *chetiya*, *chetiya-ghara* and *vihāra* often occur together.

VII. *Additional Prākṛit Inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa* (above, Vol. XXI, p. 64. Inscription L, text l. 10) : B[o]dhisiri.

Dr. Vogel has read it as [E]dhisiriya. The letter read doubtfully as *e* is probably *ba* and the name B[o]dhisiri—a name met with in these epigraphs. [The first syllable does not look like *Bo* to me.—Ed.]

VIII. *Op. cit.*, L, l. 3 and M3, l. 5 : Vasasataya.

Dr. Vogel read the term as 'vasasanaya' in inscr. L, and as 'vasasanāya' in inscr. M3, and treated it as a term of uncertain meaning. In a footnote the Editor has asked, 'can it be *vasasatāya*?' The difference between the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa *ta* and *na* is often fairly clear. Though we are not sure of the *ta* in inscr. L, in M3 we have surely *ta* and not *na* (compare *Mahāvīnaseli-yānam*, l. 6) :—*vasasatāya samva 10*. The same term occurs in the Chinna Ganjam inscr. of Gotamiputa siri-Yaṇa Sātakaṇi and the Banavāsi inscr. of the time of Hāritiputa Viṇhukaḍa-Chutukulānamda Sātakaṇi—'vasasatāya samvachhara sata[vi] . . mam 20+7' in the former, and 'vasasatāya savachharam 10+2', in the latter. In our epigraphs also *vasasatāya* occurs before *samvachhara*.

According to Bühler *vasasatāya* has the same import as the phrases *pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsara*, *vijaya-samvatsara*, etc., of the Pallava and Chālukya (and Śālaṅkāyana) grants. This seems to be ultimately connected with the Vedic ideal of *Paśyāma śaradaś=śatam*.

IX. Lüders' List No. 1078.

The inscription may be read with great probability :—

- 1 Nāḍasa Va[ḍha]nāyasa.
- 2 Bhogavatasa gābhō dānam.

The fifth letter in l. 1 is very unlike any other *sa* in the inscription, and seems to be *ḍha*, of which the upper part has peeled off. The present reading is based on a careful examination of the estampage in the office of the Archaeological Superintendent at Poona, and the rather unsatisfactory photozincograph in the *Cave Temples of W. India* (Vol. IV, Plate XLIV) does not contradict it. The inscription may be translated : 'A cell, the gift of Nāḍa Vadhānāya Bhogavata'.

X. Lüders' List No. 1165 : Junnar (ASWI., Vol. IV, p. 97, No. 27 and Pl. L.).

The first letter of what is read as *nesakaresu* and restored as *vasakaresu* is neither *na* nor *va*. It is unlike the three *na*-s in the same inscription; the open base of the letter makes *va* equally impossible. Moreover, it is not proper to ignore the *e* sign over the letter in any emendation of the text. The only possible reading is *tesakaresu* (the Skt. form is probably *tējaskarēṣu*, polishers); Junnar Nos. 24, 25 and 29 have similar *ta*-s. What is read as *pāḍ* is *pāu* and what is read as *pā[do] se[ma]* is clearly *pāu māse*.

So we have

- 1 Seniye tesakare[su]
- 2 māse pāunaduke |
- 3 kāsā(sa)kāresu seniya(ye) p[ā]u māse

meaning : "With the guild of *tesakaras*, monthly, one and three quarters. With the guild of *kāsakāras*, monthly, one quarter". [The derivation of *tesakara* from Skt. *tējaskara* is extremely doubtful.—Ed.]

XI. *Lüders' List No. 1105*: above, Vol. VII, pp. 64 f. (Karla No. 19, text, l. 5,—year 17.)

The unit figure was read as 4 by Bühler and as 8 by Rapson. Senart thinks that it may be any unit number (above, Vol. VII, p. 65). It is certainly not 8 as assumed by Rapson as it is open to the left and not to the right, or 4 as read by Bühler as it is quite unlike the symbol for 4 which occurs in the next line. A study of the inscription from the stone and from a fresh impression (reproduced here) shows that 7 is more probable than any other unit figure. The square characters employed in our inscription may account for the angular form of the symbol. It would appear to be a slightly later form, but such late forms are not unknown in the Karla inscriptions; witness symbol for 1 in the last line of this very inscription.

Rapson's historical argument (*Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, etc. p. xlix) for the figure being read as 18 is based on the word *vijayaṭhasatāḥke* which is now seen to mean not 'from victorious camp' but 'for the sake of victory and prosperity'. (Vide Koṇḍamuḍi plates, above, Vol. VI, p. 319, n. 7.)

XII. *The Koṇḍamuḍi plates of Jayavarman*. (Above, Vol. VI, pp. 315 ff., text, l. 42)
Mahātalavarena.

It was long before the discovery of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, Allūru and Rāmaredḍipalle inscriptions which mention the office of *Mahātalavara* that Hultsch read the word as '*Mahātugivarena*' and conjecturally translated it as 'the best of the Mahātagi family'. In his edition of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscr. (above, Vol. XX, p. 7, n. 1), Vogel, and following him other writers, have merely remarked that '*Mahātugivarena*' is a mistake of the scribe or engraver for '*Mahātavalavarena*'. But the peculiar form of *la* in the word '*Bṛihatphalāyana*' (l. 4) i.e., the vertical starting from the right arm of the curve, leaves no doubt that the letter read as *gi* by Hultsch has to be read as *la* and the word is therefore really *mahātavalavarena* in l. 42.

XIII. *The Kollair plates of Nandivarman II*. (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 175 ff., text, l. 4):
Videṭūrapallikā.

Fleet's reading is *Videnūrapallikā*. But in the plates under reference, e.g., lines 1, 3, etc., as also in the Peddavēgi and Kantēru plates, all Śālaṅkāyana records, the re-ascent in the *ū* sign in *nū* is to the left of the vertical, whilst in the letter read as *nū* in the word under discussion, the re-ascent is to the right as in *bhu* or *bhū*. The letter can only be *tū*. Hence the correct reading seems to be: *Videṭūrapallikā*.

XIV. Above, Vol. IX, pp. 56 ff., *the Ellore plates of Dēvavarman*. *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. V, pp. 31 f., *the Kantēru grant of Nandivarman*; *ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 92 ff., *the Peddavēgi plates of Nandivarman*; and *the Kollair plates* (cited in XIII above). **Mududa(ḍa ?), Mutuda.**

The reading of the word is not settled. Burnell read it as *Munyada* (*S. Ind. Pal.*, p. 14). Fleet was of opinion that for *Munyada* as a common name no meaning could be found, and that *Munyada* as a proper name was out of place (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 176 n). Reading it as '*Mut-yada*' he corrected it to '*Amātyādi*'. While editing the Ellore Prākṛit grant of Dēvavarman, Hultsch read it as *Muḷuḍa* and remarked:—"The plates of Vijaya-Nandivarman seem to readMunuḍa; but the apparent *nu* in the middle of this word may in reality be an obliterated *lu*" (p. 59, n. 4). But *la* has always a short curve attached to it at the right end of its back (the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscr. and the Māṅgaḷūr and Chikkulla plates). What is read as *la* has no such curve. K. V. Lakshmana Rao reads the word in the Sanskrit grants as *Munuḍa*.

The word, which occurs in 4 of the 5 grants of the Śālaṅkāyanas, can have but one reading. In the Peddavēgi, Kollair and Kantēru plates, the re-ascent in the *u* sign in the proper *nu* is to

the left of the vertical, whilst in the letter read as *nu* here, as in *Videśūrapallikā*, the re-ascent is to the right. The letter can only be *tu*. That the last letter is *ḍa* and not *da*, is shown by copper-plate No. 2 of 1924-25 (Madras), where the back of *ḍa* has a notch at the right whilst that of *da* lacks it. *Mutuḍa* being the correct Sanskrit reading, Hultsch's reading must be abandoned in favour of *Muduḍa* which would be the Prākṛit form of *Mutuḍa*.

XV. *The Maṭṭepāḍ plates of Dāmōdaravarman* (Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 327 ff., text, ll. 2-3).

Anōka-gō-sahasr-ānōka-Hiraṇyagarbh-ōdbhav-ōdbhavasya.

Hultsch has read the word preceding *gō-sahasra* as *a[vandhya]*, and translated; 'pregnant'. A careful examination of the plates shows that the proper reading of the phrase is as given above.

Hultsch's translation: "(and) who is the origin of the production (i.e., who has caused the performance) of many *Hiraṇyagarbhas* and of (gifts of) thousands of pregnant cows", must be amended into: "(and) who is born of one who was the cause (or one who was born) of several *Hiraṇyagarbhas* and of several *gō-sahasras*", meaning that Dāmōdaravarman's father made these two *dānas* repeatedly. The play upon the word *udbhava* has special reference to the nature of the *Hiraṇyagarbha* and is untranslatable.

XVI. *A Karla Chaitya Pillar Inscription.*

While all other Chaitya Pillar inscriptions at Karla are incised on octagonal columns having a pot-shaped base, lotus-shaped top, and elephant capital, this inscription is on one of the eight plain octagons in the apse, standing second from the right row. (Marked x on the photograph.)

The letters resemble those on the other pillars. But the cursive *ha* of our inscription, especially the *hi* in *putahi*, is peculiar. Medial *o* is indicated in *bho* by two short strokes one going up and the other going down from the horizontal. The *e* sign in *Je* is attached to the centre of the letter.

The orthography of the inscription calls for very few remarks. In cognate inscriptions *be* is used for *dvē*, e.g., *bitiye* for *dvitīyē* (Karla No. 22, *ASWI.*, Vol. IV, p. 113 and Nāsik No. 2 above, Vol. VIII, p. 60), *bitiyika* for *dvitīyikā* (Junnar Nos. 3 and 18 *ASWI.*, Vol. IV, pp. 93 and 95). In one of the Junnar inscriptions (*ASWI.*, Vol. IV, No. 25, pp. 96-7) we have however *ve*.

The language is Prākṛit.

The personal names, Jebubhūti, Miṭidāsa and Bhayabhūti are names not met with in other records, though the last one may recall to our mind the Bhāya..... of a Nānāghat reliefs inscription. *Dāsa* and *bhūti* enter into the composition of names (Nāsik No. 8, above, Vol. VIII and *ASWI.*, Vol. V, No. 23, pp. 83 ff.).

TEXT.

- 1 Dhenukākāṭa Miṭidāsa-vejasa
- 2 ṭhabho dāna[m] sahā bhariyāya Jayami-
- 3 tāye(ya) sahā ve put[e]hi Bhayabhūtinā
- 4 Jebubhūtinā¹ cha Vasumit[ā]ya cha.

TRANSLATION.

Gift of a pillar by the physician (*vejasa* Skt. *vaidyasya*) Miṭidāsa, of Dhenukākāṭa, with his wife Jayamitā, two sons Bhayabhūti and Jebubhūti¹ and with Vasumitā.²

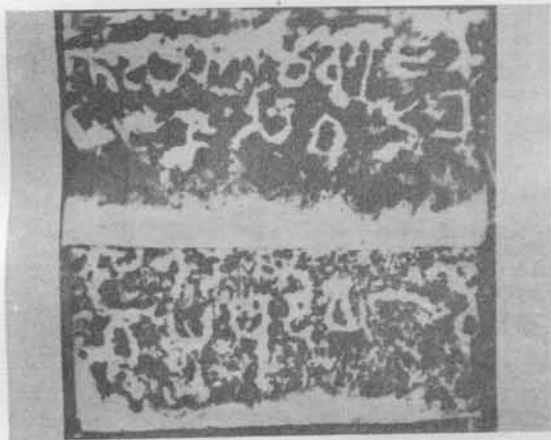
¹ [Reading may be *Jabu-* or *Jambubhūti*.—Ed.]

² She was perhaps a daughter.

TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM KARLA.

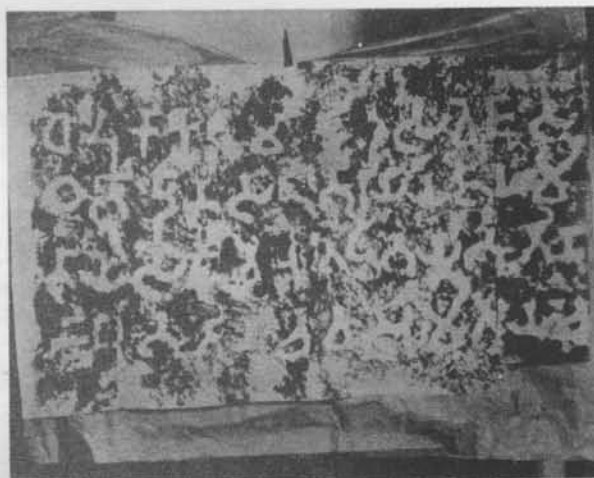
XI.

Karla Inscription of the year 17.



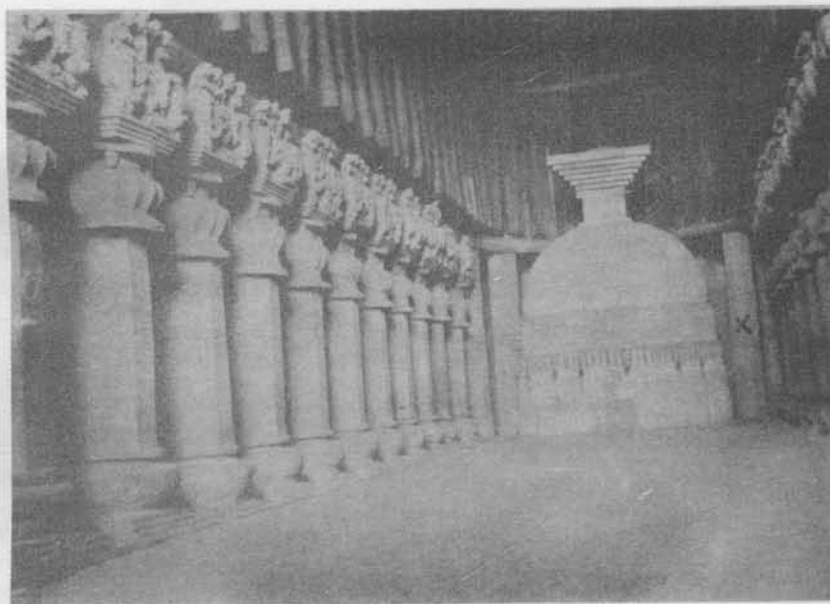
XVI.

Karla Chaitya Pillar inscription.



XVI.

Karla Chaitya showing the inscribed pillar.



(From photographs).

No. 40.—TWO MAUKHARI SEALS FROM NALANDA.

By A. GHOSH, M.A., PATNA.

The two seals edited here for the first time were discovered at Nālandā in 1927-28 in Monastery Site No. 1, which is the exclusive find-spot of almost all the royal seals found there. Both of them are fragmentary, the upper corner of the right portion of the first and the whole of the upper half of the second one being missing. The legends on them, however, can be restored almost in their entirety by a reference to the already known seals of the dynasty.

The writing on the seals presents much the same palaeographical features as the Aśirgaḍh and Nālandā seals of Śarvavarman¹ and does not call for any special remarks. As regards orthography, the only point to be noted is the doubling of consonants in words of which the following may be regarded as typical : *atikkṛānta*, *kīrtti*, *chakkra*, *artti*, *puttra*, and *Śarvavarmma*.² The word *anudhyāta*, however, occurs twice on the second seal (ll. 4 and 5 of the existing portion) without any such doubling.

A perusal of the texts given below will show that the seals carry the **Maukhari genealogy two generations below Śarvavarman**, with whom it stops in the Aśirgaḍh and Nālandā seals mentioned above. Seal A belongs to **Avantivarman** who is distinctly stated to have been the son of Śarvavarman. Avantivarman is already known to historians from his coins³ and Bāṇa's *Harshacharita*, wherein he figures as the father of the ill-fated **Grahavarman** who married Rājyaśrī, the sister of Harsha.⁴ Lack of knowledge about the relation between Śarvavarman and Avantivarman led to various conjectures. It was probably Fleet⁵ who for the first time inserted Susthitavarman (known from the Aphaṣṭ inscription⁶ to have been defeated by Mahāsēnagupta) between Śarvavarman and Avantivarman and has been followed by some modern writers on the subject.⁷ However, with the discovery of the Nidhānpur copper-plate of Bhāskaravarman of Assam,⁸ other scholars have been led to the correct belief that this Susthitavarman was a predecessor of Bhāskaravarman and not a Maukhari prince at all.⁹ But the relation between Śarvavarman and Avantivarman was still uncertain. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri is doubtful about their exact relationship.¹⁰ And similar uncertainty has been expressed by other recent writers.¹¹

The present seals disclose for the first time that **Avantivarman was the son of Śarvavarman and his queen Indrabhaṭṭārikā**. We have thus a complete genealogy of the **Maukharis** from Harivarman to Avantivarman, with some doubt about the position of **Sūryavarman** who is mentioned in the Harṣā inscription as a son of **Isānavarman**.¹² That Sūryavarman's name does not appear on the seals of Śarvavarman and his successors does not conclusively prove that he never came to the throne, for such lists are genealogical and not always dynastic. But this, together with the fact that no coin belonging to him has as yet been found, though there are coins of other *mahārājādhirājas* of the family, makes the incident of his

¹ Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 219; above, Vol. XXI, p. 74.² Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 27.³ *Harshacharita* (ed. Parab), p. 141.⁴ Fleet, *loc. cit.*, p. 15.⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 200 ff.⁶ Cf. Vaidya, *History of Medieval Hindu India*, Vol. I, p. 39; Mookerji, *Harsha*, p. 52.⁷ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 73 ff.⁸ Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, 4th edition, p. 493; Banerji, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 255 ff.⁹ Raychaudhuri, *loc. cit.*, p. 518.¹⁰ Cf. Pires, *The Maukharis*, p. 164; Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 49.¹¹ Above, Vol. XIV, p. 115.

accession extremely doubtful.¹ Probably he was a younger brother of Śarvavarman or else predeceased his father at a young age; at any rate, it is entirely unnecessary to postulate a fraternal war after Īśānavarman.

Attempts have been made² to identify this Sūryavarman with the king of that name mentioned in a Sirpur inscription,³ in which a Sūryavarman figures as a Varman king of Magadha and as the father-in-law of Harshagupta, the nephew of Mahāsiva-Tivara of Southern Kōśala. But the Maukharis of the line of Harivarman are nowhere mentioned as a characteristically Magadhan dynasty, their capital being Kanauj. Moreover, a detailed palaeographical examination of the inscriptions of the Kosalan Pāṇḍavas leads us to place Tivara at a date much later than A. D. 554, to which year the Harāhā inscription belongs. That, however, is a different matter and need not detain us here.

Regarding the history of Avantivarman next to nothing is known. In the present seals he is styled *mahārājādhirāja*, while the Dēō-Baraṇpār inscription⁴ calls him *paramēśvara*. Bāṇa describes him as the 'ornament of the Maukhari race.'⁵ He seems to have continued the imperial traditions of his family.

The second of the present seals introduces us to the son of Avantivarman, only the first two letters of whose name remain and can be read as *Suva* or *Sucha*⁶ This is a fact which does not readily fit in with the known facts of history. Bāṇa unequivocally states that Grahavarman was the eldest son of Avantivarman⁷; as such he is expected to have come to the throne after Avantivarman. It is usually assumed by historians that when Grahavarman was killed by Dēvagupta of Mālwa, the throne of Kanauj fell vacant and was offered to Harsha, who accepted it after some hesitation. This is perhaps stating the complicated course of events too simply. It is possible that the second son of Avantivarman came to the throne after the murder of Grahavarman as the rightful owner before Harsha occupied it in the name of his sister. It is also possible that Grahavarman was still a prince when he was killed⁸ and that some time elapsed between that event and Harsha's occupation of Kanauj, so that on the death of Avantivarman his younger son came to the throne and continued to rule till he was deposed by Harsha. This son, the author of the present seal, might have been the progenitor of the later Maukhari dynasty, a scion of which, Bhōgavarman, 'the crest-jewel of the illustrious Varmans of the Maukhari race', married his daughter to a Nepāl king in the eighth century.⁹ In short, it seems reasonable to hold that there was a legal heir to the Maukhari throne even after the death of Grahavarman; this may explain why Harsha was hesitating to accept the sceptre of Kanauj.¹⁰

The text given below is transcribed from the original seals, now in the Archaeological Museum at Nālandā.

¹ Cf. Pires, *loc. cit.*, p. 97.

² Raychaudhuri, *loc. cit.*, p. 512 n. 1; Mirashi, above, Vol. XXII, p. 19; Mirashi and Pandeya, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 115.

³ Above, Vol. XI, p. 190.

⁴ Fleet, *loc. cit.*, p. 213.

⁵ *Harshacharita*, p. 141.

⁶ The reading has been suggested by the Government Epigraphist for India. [It is curious that the *Mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa* mentions a king Suva after Graha; see Ganapati Sastri's edition (Triv. Skt. Series), p. 626. See also K. P. Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, p. 27 §19 (c). Jayaswal corrects the last pāda of the verse as *Graha-Suvrata* (*āṭh=āparaḥ* which according to the ordinary rules of *Anuṣṭubh* would spoil the metre. As the last visible letter on this seal seems to be a part of *n* and as there seems to be a *rēpha* sign below it I am tempted to restore the concluding portion as *śrī-Sucha(nḍravarmā Maukharīḥ)*.—Ed.]

⁷ *Harshacharita*, p. 141: *tatr=āpi tilaka-bhūtaṣy=Avantivarmanāḥ sūnur-agrajō Grahavarmā nāma*.

⁸ Bāṇa is silent as to whether Grahavarman ever came to the throne, unless the word *dēva*, used in one place (p. 183), is taken to show his royal position.

⁹ Kātmāṇḍu inscription of Jayadēva, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 178 ff.

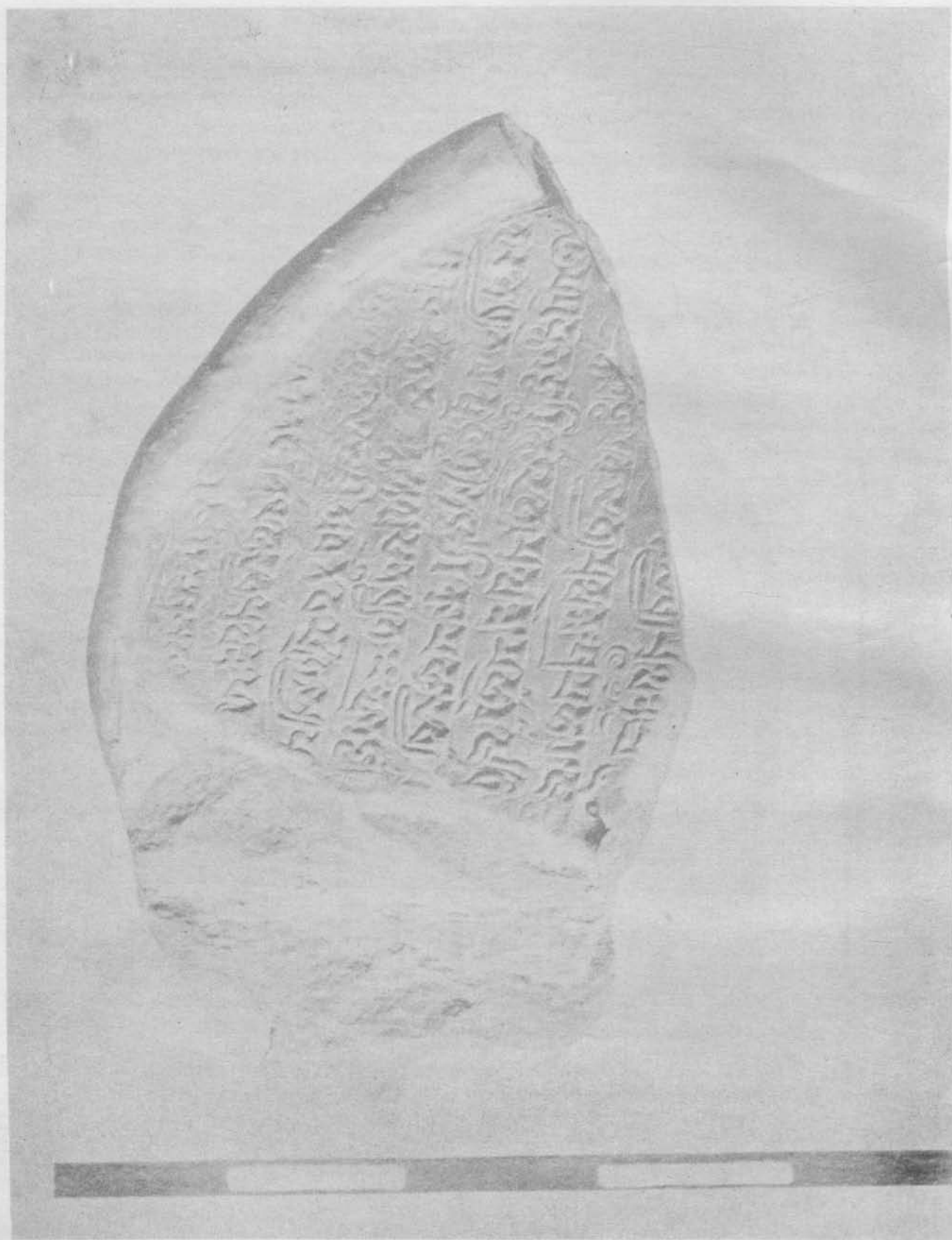
¹⁰ Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, p. 211.

TWO MAUKHARI SEALS FROM NALANDA.

A.



B.



TEXT.

A.—*Seal of Avantivarman* (Reg. No. 852).

- 1 Chatus-samudr-ātikkrānta-k[i]rtt[i]h prat[ā]p-[ā]nūr[ā]g-ōpa[nat-ānya-rājā(jō) varṇa-
āśrama-vyavasthāpana-pravṛtta*]-¹
- 2 chakkras=Chakkradhara iva prajānām=artti-harah śrī-[mahārāja-Harivarmma] tasya
puttras=tat-pād-ānudyātō **Jaya***-¹
- 3 sv[ā]mini-bhaṭṭārikā-dēvyām=utpannaḥ śrī-[mahārāj-**Ādityavarmma**] tasya puttras=tat-
pād-ānudyātō **Harshaguptā***-¹
- 4 bhaṭṭārikā-dēvyām=utpannaḥ śrī-mahārāj-[**Ēśvaravarmma**] tasya puttras=tat-pād-ānu-
dhyāta **Upaguptā**-bhaṭṭārikā*]-¹
- 5 dēvyām=utpann[ō] mahārājādhirā[ja-śrī*]-¹ **Īśānavarmma** tasya puttras=ta[t-pād-
ānudyātō*]-¹
- 6 **Lakshmivati**-bhaṭṭārikā-ma[hādēvyā]m=utpannō mahārājādhirāja-śrī-**Sarvvavarmma**
7 tasya puttras=tat-pād-ā[nudyāta **Indra***]-² bhaṭṭārikā-mahādēvyām=utpannaḥ parama-
māhēśvar[ō]
- 8 [mahārā*]jādhirāja-śrī-**Avantivarmma** **Maukharīh.**

B.—*Seal of the son of Avantivarman* (Reg. No. 855).

- 1*vyām=utpa[n]na....
- 2tār[i]k[ā]-dēvyām=utpannaḥ śrī-mahārāj-**E**....
- 3 **Upaguptā**-bhaṭṭārikā-dēvyām=utpannō mahārājādhi.....
- 4 t-pād-ānudyātō **Lakshmivati**-bhaṭṭārikā-mahādēvyā....
- 5 **Sarvvavarmma** tasya [pu]ttras=tat-pād-ānudyātō **Indra-bhaṭṭā**....
- 6 [mahārājādhirāja]-śrī-**Avantivarmma** tasya pu.....
- 7 [vati?]-bhaṭṭārikā-mahādēvyām=utpannaḥ para.....
- 8 rājā[dhi]rāja-śrī-**Suva**.....⁴

No. 41.—SRIRANGAM INSCRIPTION OF ACHYUTARAYA : SAKA 1461.

BY A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

The subjoined inscription¹ is found on the east wall of the second *prākāra* in the Raṅganātha temple at **Srīraṅgam**, the well-known place of pilgrimage in South India, specially sacred to the Vaishnavas. It is dated in the reign of the Vijayanagara king **Achyutarāya-Mahārāya** in **Saka 1461**, corresponding to the cyclic year Vikārin, and contains astronomical details which give the English equivalent A. D. 1539, August 26, Tuesday.

The record which is engraved in **Tamiḷ** and **Grantha** characters, contains an introductory portion in **Tamiḷ** which states that on the occasion of the king's performing a *tulābhāra* ceremony, his *rājamahishī* **Ōduva Tīrumalaidēvi-Ammaṇavargaḷ** composed two Sanskrit *ślokas*² and had them engraved in several holy places, **Srīraṅgam** being one of them, so that the descendants of prince **Chikka-Veṅkaṭādri** may rule as emperors (*sārvabhaumas*). Then follow the two verses referred to, and the epigraph closes with an epilogic sentence in **Tamiḷ**.

¹ Restored from the Asīrgh and Nālandā seals of Śarvavarmman.

² Restored from the seal B.

³ Of the existing portion.

⁴ [Or *Surha*.... See p. 284, note 6 above. —Ed.]

⁵ Registered as No. 15 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1938-39.

⁶ The *ślokas* refer only to the gift of *Anandanidhi* and not to the *tulābhāra*; and it is possible that both the ceremonies were performed on the same occasion at Hampi.

Several records¹ copied at different places mention that the senior queen (*paṭṭamahishī*) of king Achyuta was Varadādēvi-Amman and that the crown-prince Veṅkaṭādri *alias* Chikkarāya was her son. That the king had another queen named Tirumalāmbā was known only from the references in the two Telugu works *Vijayavilāsam* and *Raghunāthābhyaṇam*,² which also supply the additional information that her sister Mūrtimāmbā was given in marriage to China Chevvappa-Nāyaka, along with the governorship of the Tanjore principality as dowry. The present inscription is important in its furnishing epigraphical confirmation as to the existence of this queen Tirumalaidēvi and in enabling us to identify her with Ōduva (or Vōduva) Tirumalāmbā, the composer of the two Sanskrit verses under reference, as also of another verse³ commemorating the king's gift of *Svarṇamēru* to Brāhmins at Hampi in Śaka 1455. It is possible that the three verses⁴ recording the king's celebration of the *tulābhāra* of pearls at Kāñchīpuram in Śaka 1455, in company with his queen Varadāmbikā and prince China-Veṅkaṭādri, were also her composition.

A Sanskrit *champu-kāvya* called the *Varadāmbikāparināyam* was written by a certain Tirumalāmbā, who describes herself in its colophon⁵ as 'the favourite of king Achyuta'. As indicated by its title, the theme of this work is the marriage of Achyuta with Varadāmbikā, the younger sister of the two brothers bearing the name of Tirumala, narrated in the usual conventional style. It may have been composed in the reign of Krishnadēvarāya⁶ himself, and the portions relating to the birth of a son to Achyuta by name Veṅkaṭādri and the latter's anointment as *yuvarāja* at the time of his father's coronation may probably have been added on later by the same authoress.⁷ Though of average literary merit, the *kāvya* is interesting because of the quasi-historical nature

¹ She is referred to as a *paṭṭamahishī* in a record dated in Śaka 1463 (*Tirupati Devasthanam Epigraphical Report* 1930, p. 245) and in Śaka 1464, Śubhakṛit (No. 330 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1929-30). See also No. 181 of 1922 of Śaka 1455.

² S. K. Ayyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, pp. 255, 285.

³ No. 9 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1904 and No. 708 of 1922.

⁴ These unpublished verses (No. 511 of 1919) may, with advantage, be reproduced here.

याके भूतशराबुधौन्दुगणिते वर्षे पुनर्नन्दने
मासे श्रावणमासके च विमले पक्षे रविवारसरे ।
श्राद्धश्राद्ध हरिसन्निधौ न्यरचयन्मुक्तातुलापूरुषं
दानं श्रीनरसायुतचित्तिपतिः काञ्चीपुराभ्यन्तरे ॥
मुक्तातुलापूरुषदानविधौ विकीर्त्ता-
न्मुक्तामयीन् समधिकां वरदांविधायाः ।
दानांविपुलपरितान् रयसस्तुमेव
रत्नाकरत्वमभज्जगत्करोषि ॥
काञ्ची श्रीचिन्मयेकटादिमणिना दाने तुलाभारके
समन्वयार्चिते विजायन्मभवन्नयतिभाराकुलाः ।
धात्रीयं कलिकल्मषादधिगतादुत्तोग्गभारा जगौ
जीवीपालकुमारकाः(ः)सदितरे भाराय आता सुवः ॥

These verses are also found in No. 178 of 1924 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection from Kālahasti, now under publication in *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX.

⁵ विविधविद्याप्रगल्भराजाधिराजायुतरायसार्वभौमप्रमसर्वस्वविश्रासभुवा तिरुमलाम्बया—(*Varadāmbikāparināyam-champu* edited by Dr. Lakshman Sarup, pp. 179-80).

⁶ *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 170.

⁷ The coronation of Achyuta took place towards the end of A. D. 1529, when Veṅkaṭādri was also anointed *yuvarāja* (*Achyutarāyābhyaṇam*). The *Varadāmbikāparināyam* states that on seeing the prince adorned with all good qualities, the king made him heir-apparent. So the latter portion may have been supplemented after A. D. 1630.

of its contents¹ and the light it throws on contemporary political and social life. We may infer from it that this poetess Tirumalāmbā was identical with Ōduva Tirumalaidēvi-Ammap-avargaḷ (Vōduva² Tirumalammanavarū), who, originally a 'Reader' (Ōduva) at the royal court, subsequently rose to the position of a co-queen (*rājamahishī*) herself.³ It may also be noted that she was one of the galaxy⁴ of poetesses, royal and otherwise, who attained to literary fame under the patronage of the Vijayanagara kings.

The fervent hope expressed in this inscription by Tirumalāmbā that the performance of *dānas* and the engraving of the commemorative verses in holy places would ensure for Venkaṭādrī's descendants the rule of the kingdom as *sārvabhaumas*, implies that doubts had probably begun to be entertained even at this time, as to whether the prince would be allowed to peacefully succeed his father, if such a contingency arose. The danger that threatened his regal hopes came from two quarters.⁵ Towards the end of Achyuta's reign, his ambitious brothers-in-law Salakam Pedda-Tirumalarāja and China-Tirumalarāja had usurped much power into their hands and, in the event of the king's death, were even prepared to wrest the kingdom from their helpless nephew, by fair means or foul. Then there was also the party of nobles led by Aḷiya-Rāmarāja, the son-in-law of the late king Krishnarāja. This astute general, by espousing the cause of Sadāśivarāja on the plea of his being the son of an elder brother of Achyuta, schemed to overthrow the power of the Salakam brothers and concentrate it in his own hands. This tussle for power must have already attained definite shape and proportions at the time of the present record in A. D. 1539, for the co-queen to have voiced her devout prayer. It is, however, unfortunate that the cupidity of the younger uncle China-Tirumalarāja proved stronger than the prayer, for he is believed to have strangled⁶ his royal nephew in A. D. 1543, when the latter was on the throne only for a few months.⁷

As regards the two verses quoted in this epigraph which are couched in the *Śārdūlamikriḍita* metre, it may be mentioned that more than a dozen copies⁸ of them exist in the different scripts of the kingdom, Tamiḷ, Telugu, Kannaḍa, Grantha and Nāgarī, and in several places, so far apart as Anṇigere in the Bombay Presidency and Śrīraṅgam in the Madras Presidency; but in none of them is there the additional information furnished by the Śrīraṅgam copy. While the Sanskrit verses glorify only the gift of *Anandanidhi* made by the king in Śaka 1461, the Tamiḷ portion refers to the performance of a *tulābhāra* on the same day. This was also probably celebrated in the

¹ The information it gives about Narasa's military achievements is particularly useful.

² This is the spelling adopted in the Kannaḍa version of No. 9 of 1904.

³ See *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 170, f.n. and also p. 11 of Introduction, *Varadāmbikāparinaya-champū*.

⁴ Gaṅgādēvi, the authoress of the *Madhurāvijayam* and the wife of Prince Kampana, was a notable example. There was another named Mōhanāṅgi, who wrote the *Mārichiparinayam*.

⁵ For a discussion on these points, vide Dr. N. Venkataramanayya's *Studies in the History of the Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, pp. 76 *et seq.*

⁶ Briggs's *Firishta*, III, p. 83 as quoted in *Studies in the History of the Third Vijayanagara dynasty*, p. 79. The *Mahīsūranarapativijayam* and copper-plate records simply state that after a short reign Venkaṭādrī died. (*Mys. Archl. Rept.* for 1907, p. 14 and above, vol. IV, p. 14.)

⁷ No. 597 of 1929-30 from Handāḍi (South Kanara), dated in Śubhakṛit, mentions that Venkaṭādrirāja was ruling at Vijayanagara.

⁸ Hampi (Nos. 27, 28, 39 and 40 of 1889, and No. 1 of 1904); Anantaśayanagudi (Nos. 684 and 685 of 1922); Kamalāpur (Nos. 17 and 20 of 1904); Harihar (Dāvanagere 24); Nirgunda (Hoalkere 123); Gadag (B. K. Nos. 7 and 14 of 1926-27); Anṇigere (B. K. No. 186 of 1928-29).

Viṭṭhalēśvara temple on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadra at Bhāskara-kshētra (*i.e.*, Hampi), the venue of the *Ānandanidhi-dāna*, mentioned in the following Kannada preamble of the Gadag version.¹

Svasti Samastabhuvanāśraya śrī-prithvī-vallabha Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēśvara śrī-Vīrapratāpa Achyutarāya-Mahārāya Viṣayanagariya neleviṇoḷu sukha-saṁkathā-vinōdadiṁ rājyaṁ-geyyuttam-iḷdu Śaka 1461 (etc.) puṇya-kāladōḷu Bhāskara-kshētra Tuṅgabhadra-tīra Viṭṭhalēśvarana sannidhiyalli Mādhava-prītyarthav-āgi Ānandanidhiy-emba dānavanu koṭṭu samasta-bhūsuraranu santōsha-baḍisida* prāsastiyanu Saṁskṛta-bhāṣā-kavitadalli Śārdūlavikṛīḍitav-emba vṛttaṅgaḷanu Gadagina śrī-Triyambakadēvara sannidhānadalli śilā-śāsanakke barasida dharmma-kīrttiya prāsastiya vṛttaṅgaḷa kramav-entendōḷe || (The two Sanskrit verses follow).

From this it is also clear that *Ānandanidhi* is the name of a particular kind of *dāna* and that it was performed in the temple of Viṭṭhalēśvara on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadra at Bhāskara-kshētra to propitiate god Mādhava and that these laudatory verses were engraved also in the temple of Triyambakadēva at Gadag.* The inscriptions engraved at Śrīraṅgam and other places must have also been of this nature. According to Hēmādri, who describes this gift in some detail in the *Dānakhaṇḍa* of his *Chaturvarga-chintāmaṇi*⁴, the *Ānandanidhi-dāna* consists of presenting to learned Brāhmans, after some ceremonial preliminaries, pots made of the *udumbara* wood (*audumbaram ghaṭam*) and filled with precious stones and coins of gold, silver or copper. The days prescribed⁵ for the performance of this *dāna* are days in the months of Kārttika, Māgha and Mādhava (Vaiśākha), days of Ayana, Vishu, Manvadi and Yugaḍi, and days of the lunar and solar eclipses; and the merit accruing from this ceremony is said to be longevity, perfect health and imperial sovereignty.⁶ It is no wonder therefore that king Achyuta selected this *Ānanda-*

¹ No. 7 of the Bombay-Karnatak Epigraphical Collection for 1926-27.

² Compare *deviṇ Dhanadayann-āmōḷayan-Mādhavam* of the verse.

³ A similar preamble found in the Appigere copy states that the verses were engraved in the Amṛitēśvara temple at that place under similar circumstances; while the Dāvanagere copy has simply the following sentence:—‘Śrīman-Mahārājādhirāja-Rājaparamēśvara-śrī-Vīrapratāpa-śrī-Achyutadēva-Mahārāya-kṛta-Mahānandanidhi-praśamsā-padya-dvayaṁ likhyatē’.

⁴ *Bibliotheca Indica*, No. 34, *Chaturvarga-chintāmaṇi*, *Dānakhaṇḍa*, pp. 583-588; and *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1923, p. 119.

⁵ कारदीक्षाधिकान्ते वा माघा माघनेपि वा ।

चयने विषुवे वापि मन्वादिषु युगादिषु ॥

चन्द्रस्योपरान्ते वा खगलौदुर्बलघटम् ।

पिधान राजर्षे तदन्धज्ये सौवर्चसुत्कृतिम् ॥

मानारब्धवरापुष्पं नालानामभिराहतम् ।

विमराजतताम्योऽसिचैरपि पूरितम् ॥

⁶ तदाश्लिष्यमहीराज्यं प्राप्नोति प्रतसंशयम् ।

निष्ठावन्दनिषिर्दानात्रिष्वानन्दोभिजायते ।

यः कुर्यात् सौम्यतायुःस्वाहीर्षसन्मानमाप्नुयात् ॥

nidhi-dāna for celebration to ensure succession to his son, though unfortunately the actual results completely falsified his expectations.

The final sentence in Tamil states that these verses which were forwarded¹ (*varakkāṭṭi-aruliṇa*) by the king (*svāmi*), were arranged to be engraved during the regime (*adhikārattil*) of **Śrī-raṅgappa-Nāyaka**, son of **Tuḷuva Veṅgaḷa-Nāyaka** and a subordinate (*pādasēvai-paṇṇum*) of king Achyuta, who was probably wielding some authority in the Tiruchchirappalli region. He figures in another record² from Śrīraṅgam dated in Śaka 1460, wherein he is described as the son of 'Madura(Maruda)-arasar-paḍaiviṭṭu Tuḷuva Veṅgaḷa-Nāyaka'. In Śaka 1458, the same officer is stated to have provided for offerings and worship to god Veṅkaṭeśa at Tirupati³, for the merit of Achyutarāya-Mahārāya, his queen Varadāji-Amman and prince Chikka-Veṅka-tādri-Uḍaiyar.

Śrīraṅga-Nārāyaṇapriyaṇ, the temple-accountant, has affixed his signature at the end, in attestation of the fact that the inscription was engraved in the temple with his full cognisance. This name or rather title was borne by all the accountants of the Śrīraṅgam temple in succession, having been bestowed, it is said,⁴ from the time of Śrīraṅga-Nārāyaṇa-Jiyar *alias* Kūra-Nārāyaṇa-Jiyar, the author of the *Sudarśanaśatakam*, who flourished in the 13th century A.D. and was connected with the administration of the Śrīraṅganātha temple for a long time.

TEXT.

- 1 Subham⁵=astu [1*] Svasti śrī [1*] **Śakābdam 1461** idanmēl śellāṇiṇṇa Vikāri-saṁvatsarattu Bhādrapada-māsattu pūrva-pakshattu duvādaśiyum Maṅgalavāramum peṇṇa Tiruvōṇa-nakshatrattu ṇāḷ Śrīman-Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēśvara śrī-Vīrapratāpa śrī-Vira-Achchutarāya-Mahārāyar tulābhāra-mahādāṇam paṇṇi-aruliṇār [1*] idukku Mahārāyar-uḍaiya rājamahishiy=āṇa **Ōduva Tirumalaidēvi-Ammap-avargaḷ** śloka-dvayam śeydaruliṇār [1*]
- 2 Inda dharmmam **Śrīraṅgādi-puṇṇya**(puṇya)-kshētramgaḷilē chandr-ādityavaraiyum prasiddham=āga naḍandāl **Chikka-Veṅkaṭāddirirāyar**-ruḍaiya santānattil ullavargaḷ sārvaḥḥaumarāy prithuvi-rājyam paṇṇuvārgaḷ eṇṇu Perumāḷ Śrīraṅganāthadēvar saṇṇadiyilē silā-sāsanam paṇṇinapaḍi || Śākē chandra-ras-āmarēndra-gaṇitē varshē Vikāryy-āhvayē pakshē Bhādrapadasya pōshita-vidhau dvādaśy-abhikhyē tithau [1*] vārē Bhūmisutasya Vishṇv-adhipatau tāre=chyuta-
- 3 **kshāmāpatir**=ddatv=Ānanta(da)nidhim⁶ dvijān [Dhanada]yann=āmōdayan=Mādhavam ||[1*] Puṇy-aughaiḥ paripālitasya paritō⁷ bhūt-āḷi-saṁvēshṭitas=sadvarggaḷś-sabāḷikṛitasya⁸ satat-ākrāntā bhujāṅga-vrajaiḥ [1*] prāptasy=āti-nava-prasastim=adhika-prakhyāta-śauryy-Āchyuta-kshāmāp-Ānanta(da)nidhēr⁹=nav¹⁰ā=pi nidhayaḥ kin=tē labhantē tulām || [2*] Subha[m=a]stu [1*]

¹ This implies that Achyutarāya was not present at Śrīraṅgam at the time of the record. As stated in another inscription (No. 16 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1938-39), which reads 'Vijaya-saṁvatsarattu Āshādha bahuḷa dvādaśi-nāḷ Śrīraṅgattukku eḷundaruḷi,' the king was at Śrīraṅgam on July 18, A. D. 1533. This was later than the occasion when, according to the *Achyutarāyābhyudayam*, he stayed here for some time, while his brother-in-law Salakam Tirumala had led the expedition down south against the Tiruvaḍi king.

² No. 91 of 1938-39.

³ Tirupati Devasthanam Epigraphical Report (1930), p. 245.

⁴ *Kōyiloḷugu*, p. 72.

⁵ Many of the Sanskrit words in the Tamil portions are engraved in Grantha characters.

⁶ The other copies read *Ānandanidhim* and *Ānandanidhēr*.

⁷ Some of the other copies read *puratō*.

⁸ The other copies read *eva-vaśikṛitasya* and this reading has been followed in the translation.

⁹ Read *nav*.

4 Inda suvāmi varakkāṭṭi-arulṇa ślōkam irañḍum Achchuta(Achyuta)dēva-Mak(h)ārāyar-
uḍaiya pādasēvai pa[n*]ṇum Tuḷuva Veṅgaḷa-Nāyakkar magan Śiraṅgappa-
Nāyakkar adikāratil śilā-śādanam paṇṇiṇa-paḍikku kōvil-kkaṇakku Śrīraṅga-
Nārāyaṇapriyaṇ eḷuttu [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) Be it well ! Hail ! Prosperity !

In the Śaka year 1461 (expired) corresponding to the (cyclic) year Vikārin, in the month of Bhādrapada, on Tuesday, which was a day of the twelfth *tithi* of the first fortnight, with Śravaṇa-nakshatra—Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēśvara śrī-Virapratāpa śrī-Vīra-Achyutarāya-Mahārāya was pleased to perform the *tulābhāra-mahādāna* (ceremony). For (i.e., in commemoration of) this,¹ the queen (rājamahishī) of the Mahārāya named Ōḍuva Tirumalaidēvi-Ammaṇavargal was pleased to compose two (Sanskrit) ślōkas.

(Ll. 2-3) (In the hope that) if this *dharma*² is conducted well, as long as the moon and the sun, in holy places such as Śrīraṅgam, Chikka-Veṅkaṭādrirāya's descendants will rule the earth as emperors (*sārvabhaumas*), this epigraph was thus engraved in the shrine of god Śrīraṅganātha.

In (the) Śaka (year) counted by *candra* (1), *rasa* (6) and *amarēndra* (14), in the (cyclic) year Vikārin, on the day of the *tithi* called *dvādaśī*, in the increasing fortnight of Bhādrapada, which was a Tuesday with the *nakshatra* presided over by Vishṇu (i.e., Śravaṇa) king Achyuta by bestowing (gifts of) *Anandanidhi*³ made Brāhmanas like Dhanada⁴ (Kubēra) and pleased (god) Mādhava.

Though (themselves) *nava* (nine)⁵ how can the *nidhis* (of Kubēra) attain equality with the *Anandanidhi* of king Achyuta of renowned valour, which has earned *nava* (new)⁵ celebrity (or eulogy)—for, while the former are surrounded by hosts of demons and are seized by crowds of serpents, the latter is protected by meritorious deeds and is coveted (only) by the assemblage of the good ?

Be it well !

(L. 4) These two verses which were graciously sent by the *svāmi* (king), were engraved on stone during the regime of Ś[r*]iraṅgappa-Nāyaka, son of Tuḷuva Veṅgaḷa-Nāyaka and a subordinate of Achyutadēva-Mahārāya,—in attestation whereof, this is the writing (i.e., signature) of the temple-accountant Śrīraṅga-Nārāyaṇapriyaṇ.

¹ The word *idukku* is not appropriate, for the verses describe only the *Anandanidhi*.

² There is some ambiguity here, for no *dharma* was actually made at Śrīraṅgam on this occasion ; it appears to be a shortened form of the *dharma-kīrtiṇi prabandhi* of the Gadag and Anpiger versions.

³ The word *ananta-nidhi* means 'inexhaustible treasure', but the more technical *Anandanidhi* of Hēmaḍri appears to have been intended.

⁴ The idea in the first verse is that the Brāhman-recipients of the rich gifts of *Ananda-nidhi* were made to resemble Dhanada (Kubēra), the possessor of the nine *nidhis* ; while the second verse says that king Achyuta's gifts, however, outvalued Kubēra's *nidhis*, for specified reasons.

⁵ A pun on *nava*=nine and *nava*=new.

No. 42.—LUCKNOW MUSEUM PLATE OF JAYACHCHANDRADEVA : V. S. 1237.

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

The record edited below is found on a single copper-plate now preserved in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow. No information is available as to where it was discovered. According to the information kindly supplied by Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal, Curator of the Lucknow Museum, it was purchased at Lucknow from Messrs. Mata Prasad Sita Ram of Benares on the 12th October, 1935.

The plate which is inscribed on one side only, measures 1' 7" × 1' 2". Its edges are fashioned thicker and raised into rims for the protection of the writing. In the upper part of the plate there is a hole for the passing of the ring. Both the ring and the seal which was once affixed to the ring, are now missing. The plate contains 36 lines of writing, the letters being about $\frac{1}{8}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch in height. It weighs about 502½ tolas. A piece in the left hand corner at the bottom of the plate is broken and lost. This has caused damage to the last four lines in each of which five or six letters are lost at the beginning. One letter in l. 13 and two or three letters in ll. 16-17 are also partly damaged. But there is nothing in the plate which cannot be restored from the other known records of the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj to which family the grant belongs.

The characters of the inscription are Nāgarī and the language Sanskrit. There are altogether 26 verses composed in different metres of which one is introductory in praise of Lakṣmī and Viṣṇu found at the commencement of almost all the Gāhaḍavāla grants, 13 are devoted to the descriptions of the different rulers mentioned in the record and the last twelve are imprecatory and benedictory verses. With the exception of these verses the rest of the record is in prose.

The inscription has been carefully written and in respect of orthography the following points may be noted : (1) *B* is denoted by the sign for *v* everywhere except in *babhramur* = in l. 8, e.g. *vāhu-valli-vamdh*° (l. 7), = *āmvu* (l. 8), *Vali* (l. 10), *vahala* (l. 14), etc. (2) Combinations of consonants and nasals are represented by both *anusvāra* and a nasal of the same class without any discrimination, e.g. *akunṭhōṭkanṭha* and *ārambhē* (l. 1), = *Endra*° (l. 4), = *ōṣkūtā* (l. 5), *kumbhi*, *maṇḍala* (l. 6), = *ānumantā* (l. 29), etc., as against *samrambhah* (l. 1), *Mahichandra* (l. 3), *maṇḍalō* (l. 3), *sāmdr* (l. 7), *Gōvīṇḍachandra* (l. 8), = *īndra* (l. 11), *maṁtri* (l. 20), etc. (3) A consonant in conjunction with a subscript *r* has never been doubled but one following *r* has very often been doubled, e.g. *dōr-vikramēṇ* = *ārjītam* (l. 4), *kīrti*, *varṇita* (l. 10), *avatīrṇa* (l. 12), etc., the few exceptions being *jayārīham*, = *ārīhī* (l. 11), *nirjāra* (l. 14), etc. (4) *S* has been wrongly used for *ś* in *anisam* (l. 4), *śatasas* (l. 5), *vasād* (l. 7), *rāsēḥ* (l. 8), etc., and *ś* for *s* in *ōllasitaiḥ* (l. 5), = *āśrig*-, *udbhāsitaiḥ* (l. 7), *tiśriṣhu* (l. 9), *yaśāmśi* (l. 11), *sakaśram* (l. 13), etc. (5) Final *m* is found only in *phalam* (l. 30), *anusvāra* being used in other places. (6) For want of sufficient space in a particular line when a part of a word had to be engraved in the next, sometimes one or two vertical strokes have been used at the end of the former to show the continuity, cf., for example the ends of ll. 21 and 33. The record contains a few other mistakes which have been corrected either in the text or in the footnotes accompanying it.

The donor of the grant is the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Paramamāhēśvara Jayachandradēva*, the Gāhaḍavāla ruler of Kanauj and Benares, of whom we have already sixteen records¹ dating from V. S. 1226 to V. S. 1245 (A. D. 1170-89). The present record does not contain any new information with the exception of what is imparted by the grant portion. The genealogy of the donor is given in verses 2-12 and once again in ll. 14-18 where the names of the first two members of the family are omitted. The list begins, as in the other

¹ See H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, pp. 536-41.

records of this family, with **Yaśōvighraha** (v. 2) whose son was **Mahichandra** (v. 3). The latter's son was the P. M. P. **Chandradēva**, who is stated to have acquired the kingdom of **Kanyakubja** by the prowess of his arm. He is also said to have protected 'the holy *tīrthas* at **Kāśī**, **Kuśīka**, **Uttarakōśala** and **Indrasthāna** (i.e., Benares, Kanyakubja, Ayōdhyā and probably Indraprastha or Delhi)¹ after he had acquired them,' and bestowed to Brahmins his weight in gold in hundreds. His successor was his son the P. M. P. **Madanapāla** and his son was the P. M. P. **Gōvindachandra** who 'by his creeper-like long arms secured the elephant which was the new (ly acquired) kingdom' (v. 8). Commenting on this verse Kielhorn observed: "Attention may also be drawn to the fact that the sovereignty over Kanyakubja is described as having been newly acquired, even when Gōvindachandra, the grandson of Chandradēva, was reigning."² But as this verse is found in the Kamauli Plate of V. S. 1171,³ the earliest known record of this ruler and which is separated by only five years from the last known record of his father Madanapāla,⁴ it is probable that *nava-rājya* in the verse refers to the kingdom to which Gōvindachandra newly succeeded. It was also this ruler who for the first time assumed the *birudas* *āsvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājatray-ādhipati*, originally used by the Kalachuri rulers of Tripuri, the use of which was continued by all his successors. It is significant that these epithets appear for the first time in the Bengal Asiatic Society's plate of V. S. 1177⁵ which records the transfer by Gōvindachandra to one Ṭhakkura Vasishṭha of the village Karaṇḍa in the *Antarāla-pattalā* which was originally granted to the *Rājaguru* Rudraśiva by (the Kalachuri) Yaśaḥkarṇa. As these are not found even in the two grants⁶ of Gōvindachandra issued in V. S. 1176 it is obvious that shortly before the issue of the grant of V. S. 1177 the Gāhaḍavāla ruler wrested a part of the Kalachuri kingdom, probably from Yaśaḥkarṇa himself, and to mark the occasion assumed the *birudas* hitherto used by the Kalachuri kings. Gōvindachandra's son was the P. M. P. **Vijayachandra** whose son was the P. M. P. **Jayachandra**. Vijayachandra is stated to have "swept away the affliction of the globe by the streams (of water flowing) from the clouds in shape of the eyes of the wives of **Hammīra**, the abode of wanton destruction to the earth" (v. 10). There is little doubt that this passage contains a reference to some historical incident not known from other sources. As this event is referred to in the Kamauli Plate of Vijayachandra of V. S. 1224,⁷ the earliest record known of this ruler, it must have taken place between this date and V. S. 1211, the last known date of his father Gōvindachandra, i.e. between A. D. 1154 and A. D. 1167. It is, however, difficult to identify definitely this Hammīra. The earliest numismatic reference to this title is found on the coins of Muhammad bin Sām otherwise known as Muhammad Ghūri, whose invasion of India did not take place till a later period. Probably Hammīra was a popular designation for the Muslim chiefs in India, and therefore Dr. H. C. Ray⁸ may not be wrong in identifying Hammīra of these records with Khusrav Malik Tāj-ud-Daulah (1160-1186), the last prince of the Yamīnī dynasty, who was noted for his weakness as a ruler⁹ and who might have suffered a defeat at the hands of this Gāhaḍavāla ruler.

¹ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 8, n. 46.

² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

³ Above, Vol. IV, p. 102 and n. 3.

⁴ *Viz.*, the Rāhan Plate of V. S. 1166 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 15 ff.).

⁵ *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 123-24.

⁶ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 109 ff. and Vol. XVIII, pp. 218 ff.

⁷ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 118 ff.

⁸ *Dynastic History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 535-36. See also *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 37.

⁹ Major Raverty notices two coins, one of Khusrav Malik and another of his father Khusrav Shāh, but the legends on them give them the titles of Sultān and Bādshāh respectively. See *Tabaqat-i-Nāsiri*, Transl. (Bibl. Ind.), footnote under p. 114.

The date of the record is given both in words and in decimal figures in ll. 22-23 as Sunday, the 7th day of the bright half of Phālguna in the (Vikrama) Samvat 1237, when the sun had entered the Mīna (sign of the zodiac) and regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 22nd February, A.D. 1181.

The object of the grant is to record the gift of the village **Maṇḍara** with **Kaṣāhī** in the **Dēhādūāra-pattalā** by Jayachchandrādēva. The recipient of the gift, which was made by the ruler after bathing in the Ganges at **Vārāṇasī** and performing other ceremonies connected with it, was the Brahmin Paṇḍit **Brahmaśarman** of the **Vatsa-gōtra** and the five *pravaras*, **Bhārggava**, **Chyavana**, **Apnavāna**, **Aurva** and **Jāmadagnya**. He was a son of the Paṇḍit **Gōtrānanda** and grandson of the Paṇḍit **Sarvvānanda**. In l. 27 of the record, among the taxes to be paid to the donee, is found the phrase *yamali-kāmali* which is found also in some other records of this ruler in a slightly different form.³ Its meaning, however, is not clear.

The writer of the plate was the *Mahākṣhapatalika* **Thakkura Śrīpati** who figures as the writer of most of the copper-plate grants of Jayachchandrādēva.

I am unable to identify the gift village and the *pattalā* in which it was situated.

TEXT.*

[Metres : Vv. 1, 3, 15-23, *Anuṣṭubh* ; vv. 2, 26, *Indravajrā* ; vv. 4, 7, 13, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 5, 6, 8, 11, 12, 25, *Vasantatilakā* ; v. 9, *Drutavilambita* ; v. 10, *Mālinī* ; v. 14, *Sragdharā* ; v. 24, *Śālīnī*.]

- 1 Ōm* svasti || Akunṭhōtkanṭha-Vaikunṭha-kanṭhapīṭha-luṭhat-karaḥ | samrambhaḥ surat-ārambhē sa Śriyaḥ śrēyasē=stu vaḥ || [1|*] Āśi(si)d-Asi(śi)tadyuti-[varṇa-jā]ta-kṣhmā-pāla-[mālāsu]
- 2 divaṁ gatāsu | sākshād=Vivasvān=iva bhūri-dhāmnā nāmnā **Yaśōvighraha** ity=udāraḥ || [2|*] Tat-sutō=bhūn=**Mahī[charh]draś=chandrādhāma-nibham** nijam(jam) | yēn=āpāram=akūpāra-pār[ē vyāpā]-
- 3 ritam yaśāḥ || [3|*] Tasy=ābhūt=tanayō nay-aika-rasīkaḥ krānta-dvishan-maṇḍalō vi-dhvas-tōddhata-dhīra-yōdha-timirāḥ śrī-**Charhḍradēvō** nripaḥ | yēn=ōdāratara-pratāpa-śamit-āsēsha-praj-ōpadrava[m]
- 4 śrīmad-**Gādhipur**-ādhirājya=asamaṁ dōr-vvikramēn=ārjjitam(tam) || [4|*] Tirthāni **Kāśi-Kuśik-Ōttarakōśal-Endrasthānyakāni** paripālayat=ādhighamva(mya) | hēm=ātma-tulyam=anisaṁ(śam) dadatā dvij[ē]-
- 5 bhyō yēn=āṅkitā vasumatī śatasa(śa)s=tulābhīḥ || [5|*] Tasy=ātma-jō **Madanapāla** iti kṣhitīndra-chūḍāmanir=vvijayatē nija-gōtra-chāndraḥ | yasy=ābhishēka-kalāś-ōllaśi(si)-taiḥ payōbhīḥ prakṣhā-
- 6 litaṁ kali-rajah-pātalaṁ dharitryāḥ || [6|*] Yasy=āsīd=vijaya-prayāna-samayē tuṅg-āchal-ōchchais-chalan-mādyat-kumbhi-pada-kram-āsama-bhara-bhra[ś]yan-mahī-maṇḍalē | chūḍāratna-vibhina(nna)-tālu-ga-
- 7 lita-styān-āśri(sri)g-udbhāśi(si)taḥ Śēshaḥ pēsha-vasā(śā)d=iva kṣhaṇam=asau krōḍē nilin-ānanah || [7|*] Tasmād=ajāyata nij-āyata-vā(bā)hu-valli-vaṁ(bam)dh-āvaruddha-ṇava-rājya-gajō narēndraḥ | sām̐dr-ām̐ri-

* Probably Kaṣāhī was a *pāṭaka* attached to the village of Mandara.

² See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 137 ff. (Nos. H, I, J and K) and above, Vol. IV, p. 129.

³ From an impression which I owe to the courtesy of Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal, the Curator of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

* Expressed by a symbol.

- 8 ta-drava-muchām prabhavō gavām yō **Gōvindhachandradēva** iti chaṁdra iv=āmvu(mbu)-rās(ś)ēh || [8||*] Na katham=apy=alabhanta raṇa-kshamāms=tiś(s)riṣhu dikshu gajān=atha vajriṇa[h] || [9||*] kakubhi babhramur=Abhramuvallabhah(bha)-
- 9 pratibhaṭā iva yasva(sya) ghaṭā-gajāh || [9||*] Ajani **Vijayachandradēva** nāma tasmān=[na]-rēndrah Surapatir=iva bhūbhrit-paksha-vichchhēda-dakshah | bhuvana-dalana-hēlā-harmmya-**Hammīrha(ra)**-nārī-nayana-jala-¹
- 10 da-dhārā-dhauta-bhūlōka-tāpah || [10||*] Lōka-tray-ākramaṇa-kēli-viśṛimkhalāni prakhyāta-kīrtti-kavi-varṇita-vaiḥbhavāni | yasya Trivikrama-pada-krama-bhāmji bhānti prōjja-(jjriṇ)bhayanti Va(Ba)li-
- 11 rāja-bhayaṁ yaśāmsī(s) || [11||*] Yasmīns=chalaty=udadhi-nēmi-mahī-jayārtham mādyatkar-imdra-guru-bhāra-nipidit=eva | yāti Prajapati-padam sa(śa)raṇ-ārthini bhūs=tvāngat-turaṅga-nivah-ōttha-rajaś-chhalēna || [12||*]
- 12 Tasmād=adbhuta-vikramād=atha **Jaya[ch*]chandradēva** ābhidhānah patir=bhūpānām=avatiṇṇa ēsha bhuvan-ōddhārāya Nārāyaṇah | dvaidhībāvam=apāsya vighraha-ruchim dhikritya sā(śa)nt-āsa(śa)yāh sēvantē yam=udagra-
- 13 varṇ(bam)dhana-bhaya-dhvaṁs-ārthinaḥ pārvivāh || [13||*] Gachchēn=mūrchechhām=atuchchhām na yadī kavalay[ē]t=kūrmma-prishth-ābhigāta-pratyāvṛitta-śram-ārttō namad-akhila-phaṇa-sv(sv)āsa-vā[tyā]²-sahasram(sram) | udyōgē yasya dhāva-
- 14 d-dharaṇidhara-dhunī-nirjhara-sphāra-dhāra-bhāśyad-dāna-dvip-āli-va(ba)hala-bhara-galad-dhairya-mudrah phāṇimdrah || [14||*] Sō=yam samasta-rāja-chakra-saṁsēvita-charanaḥ [1*] Sa cha Paramabhāṭṭāraka-Mahārājā-
- 15 dhirāja-Paramēśva(śva)ra-Paramamāhēśvara-nija-bhuj-ōpārjita-śrī-**Kanyakuvj(bj)**-ādhipati(tya)-śrī-**Chandradēva**-pādā[n]udhyāta-Paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja - Paramēśvara-Paramamāhēśvara-śrī-**Ma-**
- 16 da[napā]ladēva-pādānudhyāta - Paramabhāṭṭāraka - Mahārājādhirāja - Paramēśvara - Paramamāhēśvar-āśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājatray-ādhipati-vividha-vidyā - vichāra - Vāchaspati-
- 17 śrī-[**Gōvindhachandradēva** - pādānudhyāta - Paramabhāṭṭāraka - Mahārājādhirāja - Paramēśvara-Paramamāhēśvar-āśvapati-gajapati-narapati - rājatray - ādhipati - vividha - vidyā-vichāra-Vā-
- 18 chaspati - śrī - **Vijayachandradēva** - pādānudhyāta - Paramabhāṭṭāraka - Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Paramamāhēśvar-āśvapati - gajapati - narapati - rājatray - ādhipati - vividha-vidyā-vichā-
- 19 ra-Vāchaspati-śrīmaj-**Jayachchandradēvō** vijayī|| ||**Dēhaduśra**-pattalāyām | **Kaḍāhi-saha-Marīdarā**-grāma-nivēsinō nikhila-janapadān=upagatān=api cha rāja-rājñi-yuvarāja-
- 20 marītri-purōhita-pratīhāra-sēnāpati-bhāmāgārik-ākshapaṭalika - bhishag - naimittik - āntah-purika-dūta-kari-turaga-pattanākarasthāna-gōkulādhikāri-purushān=ājñāpaya-
- 21 ti vō(bō)dhayaty=ādisati cha [1*] Veditam=astu bhavatām yath-ōparilikhita-grāmaḥ sa-jala-sthalaḥ sa-lōha-lavaṇ-ākaraḥ sa-matsy-ākaraḥ sa-gartt-ōsharaḥ sa-giri-gahana-nidhānaḥ sa-³
- 22 ma[dhuk-ā]mra-vana-vāṭikā-vitapa-triṇa - yūti - gōchāra - paryantaḥ s - ōrddh[v*] - ādha[s*]=chatur-āghāṭa-visu(śu)ddhaḥ sva-simā-paryantaḥ **śa(sa)pta**-[triṇ]sa(śa)d-adhika-dvā-dasa(śa)-śata-samvatsarē **Phālgunē māsi**⁴

¹ There are two *daṇḍas* here to show that the word is continued in the next line.

² This letter is damaged.

³ There is a mark here to show that the phrase is continued in the next line.

⁴ There is a superfluous *daṇḍa* here.

- 23 **śukla-pakṣe** **saptamyān**=tithau **Ravi-dinē** **aṅkatō**=pi **saṃvat 1237** **Phālguna-**
sudi 7 **Ravau** **Mina-gatē** **savitari** | **ady**=ēha' **śrīmad-Vārāpasyārṇ** **Gaṅgāyām** **snātva**
vidhivan=**mantra-dēva-mū(mu)ni**-
- 24 **manuja-bhūta-pitṛigaṇāms**=**tarppayitvā** **timira-pātala-pāṭana-paṭu-mahasam**=**Uṣṇarōchisham**
=**upasthāy**=**Ō(Au)****śhadhipati-śākala-śekharam** **samabhyarchchya** **tri-bhuvana-trātur**=**bhaga-**
vatō **Vāsudēva**-
- 25 **sya** **pūjām** **vidhāya** **prachura-pāyasēna** **haviṣhā** **havirbhujām** **huvā** **mātā-pitrōr**=**ātmanās**=
cha **puṇya-yāśō**-**bhivṛiddhayē** **asmābhir**=**ggōkarṇa-kuśalatā-pūta-karatal-ōdaka-pūr-**
vvakam **Vatsa**-¹
- 26 **gōtrāya** **Bhārggava-Chyavan-Āpnavān-Aurvva-Yā(Jā)****madagny-ēti**-**paṁcha-pravarāya** **paṁ-**
ḍita-śrī-Sarvvānanda-pautṛāya **paṁḍita-śrī-Gōtrānanda-putṛāya** **paṁḍita-śrī-Vra(Bra)-**
hmaśarmmaṇ[ē] **vṛā(brā)hmaṇāya** **chamdr-ā**-
- 27 **rk[kam]** **yāvach**=**chhāsanikṛitya** **pradattō** **matvā** **yathādiyamāna-bhāga-bhōga-kara-pravapi-**
kara-yamali-kāmali-prabhṛiti-niyat-āniyata-samast-ādāyān=**ājñāvidhēyibhūya** **dāsyā**-
- 28 **th**=**ēti** || || **Bhavanti** **ch**=**ātra ślōkāḥ** || **Bhūmim** **yaḥ** **pratigrihṇāti** **yaś**=**cha** **bhūmim** **praya-**
chchhātī | **ubhau** **tau** **puṇya-karmṇānau** **niyataṁ** **svargga-gāminau** || [15||*] **Sam(Śam)-**
kham **bhadṛ-āsanam** **chchhatram** **var-āśvā** **va**-
- 29 **ra-vāraṇāḥ** | **bhūmi-dānasva(sya)** **chihṇāni** **phalam**=**ētat**=**Puramdara** || [16||*] **Shasṭi[m]**
varsha-sahaśrā(śrā)ṇi **svarggē** **vasati** **bhūmidah** | **āchchhēttā** **ch**=**ānumantā** **cha** **tāny-ēva**
narakē **vasēt** || [17||*] **Va(Ba)hubhir**=**vva**-
- 30 **sudhā** **bhuktā** **rājabhiḥ** **Sagar-ādibhiḥ** | **yasya** **yasya** **yadā** **bhūmis**=**tasya** **tasya** **tadā** **phalam**
|| [18||*] **Sva-dattām** **para-dattām** **vā** **yō** **harēta** **vasumdharam** **sa** **vishṭhāyām** **kṛimir**=
bhūtvā **piṭri**-
- 31 **bhiḥ** **saha** **majjati** || [19||*] **Vāri-hin[ē]****shv**=**araṇyēshu** **śushka-kōṭara-vāsinah** | **kṛishṇa-**
sarppās=**cha** **jāyantē** **dēva-vra(bra)hma-sva-hāriṇah** || [20||*] **Na** **visham** **visham**=**ity**=**āhur**=
vra(bra)hma-svam **visham**=**uchyatē** | **visha**-
- 32 **m**=**[kā]kinam** **hanti** **vra(bra)hma-svam** **putra-pautrikam(kam)** || [21||*] **Tadāgānām** **sahaśrē-**
(śrē)ṇa **Vājapēya-śatēna** **cha** | **gavām** **kōṭi-pradānēna** **bhūmi-harttā** **na** **su(śu)dhyati** || [22||*]
Asmad-vamśa(śē) **parikshīṇē** **yaḥ** **ka**-²
- 33 **[ś**=**chin**=**nṛipatir**=**bha***)³**vēt** | **tasy**=**āham** **kara-lagnō**=**smi** **śāsanam** **na** **vyatikramēn(t)** || [23||*]
Sarvvān=**ētāna(n)**-**bhāvinah** **pārthiva(v-ē)ndrān** **bhūyō** **bhūyō** **yāchatē** **Rāmabhadrah** |
sāmānyō=**yam** **dha**-⁴
- 34 **[rma**=**sētur**=**nripā***)³**ṇām** **kālē** **kālē** **pālaniyō** **bhavadbhiḥ** || [24||*] **Vāt-ābhra-vibhramva(ma)-**
m=**idam** **vasudh-ādhipatyam**=**āpāta-mātra-madhurā** **vishay-ōpabhōgāḥ** | **prāṇās**=**trīṇ-**
āgra-jala-vim-
- 35 **[du**=**samā** **narānām***)³ **dharmmah** **sakhā** **param**=**ahō** **para-lōka-yānē** || [25||*] **Yān**=**iha** **dattāni**
purā **narēndrain**=**ddānāni** **dharmm-ārtha-yaśaskarāṇi** | **nirmālya-vānta-pratimāni** **tāni** **kō** ⁴
- 36 **[nāma** **sādhuh** **puna***)³**r**=**ādadīta** || [26||*] **Likhitam** **ch**=**ēdam** **tām[ra]**-**putṭakam** **mahāksha-**
patalika-ṭhakkura-śrī-Śrīpatibhir=**iti** ||

¹ There is a superfluous *daṇḍa* here.

² There is a mark here to show that the word is continued in the next line.

³ The portion within square brackets is lost.

⁴ *Daṇḍa* superfluous.

No. 43.—VILAVATTI GRANT OF PALLAVA SIMHAVARMAN.

By C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU, B.A., MADRAS

The plates containing the grant were brought to my notice by Mr. K. Ramakoteswara Rao, B.A., B.L., Editor, "*Triveni*", Madras, and placed by him in my hands for examination in September 1933. He informed me that they had originally been lent to him by Sri (now Hon'ble) Bezvada Gopala Reddi, Minister for Local Self-Government to the Government of Madras. In reply to my enquiry regarding the history of the discovery of the set Sri Reddigaru informed me that it was discovered at **Vavvēru**, a village one and a half miles to the west of his native village Buchchireddipāḷem in the Kōvūr taluk of the Nellore District, Madras Presidency. The plates were originally unearthed by Satyavēlu Rāmi Reddi of the former village some time about the year 1928 while digging *pāṭimatti* (i.e., earth in the old village-site), at about eight feet below the surface level. Some earthen pots are also reported to have been found along with the plates but as they were broken, they were not preserved. The plates were subsequently purchased by me for the Government Museum, Madras, and are now deposited there.

This inscription has been noticed by me in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1933-34 as No. 1 of App. A and its contents are briefly reviewed in Part II (p. 30) of the same report.

The set consists of **five plates**, four of which measure 9 inches while the fifth measures only $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and all of them measure $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in width. They are held together by a circular ring of the same metal measuring about $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches in diameter, which passes through a ring-hole, measuring $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in diameter, near the left margin of the plates. The ends of the ring are soldered into the bottom of a circular seal measuring roughly one inch in diameter. On its plain surface the seal bears the relief of a couchant bull facing the proper left and seated on a stand which is indicated by a thin horizontal line in relief. Above the bull is a relief carving of a wavy line which may represent the sea, and above it is the figure of what appears to be an anchor. The latter seems to be tied on to what looks like a post on the right hand side.

The first and the last plates are inscribed on one side only, while the rest bear writing on both the sides. The ring had been cut and soldered in one place and cut in another place before the plates reached me. There is, however, no report of impressions of the plates having been taken before.¹ The plates with the ring and seal weigh 121 *tolas*.

The outstanding feature of the document is its elegant execution. The composition is also carefully done observing the rules of *sandhi* in almost all cases.

The script of the plates closely resembles that of the Uruvupalli grant of the same king. Most of the letters in both the grants are **box-headed**,² which is a somewhat rare feature in South Indian epigraphs. For example this characteristic is not noticed in the Māṅgaḷūr grant of this king wherein the top-strokes (*talakattu*) of letters are rather thick but not box-shaped.

In our grant some letters are arrow- or nail-headed as they are sometimes called (e.g., *ka*, *cha*, *ra*, *va*, and *bha*, in lines 3 ff.). Another point to be noticed is that while the plates of the Uruvupalli, Māṅgaḷūr and Pikira grants are numbered in numerical figures cut on their proper right

¹ I understand that Mr. M. S. Sarma of the *Bhārati* Office, Madras, examined the document before he sent them to me at Mr. Ramakoteswara Rao's instance.

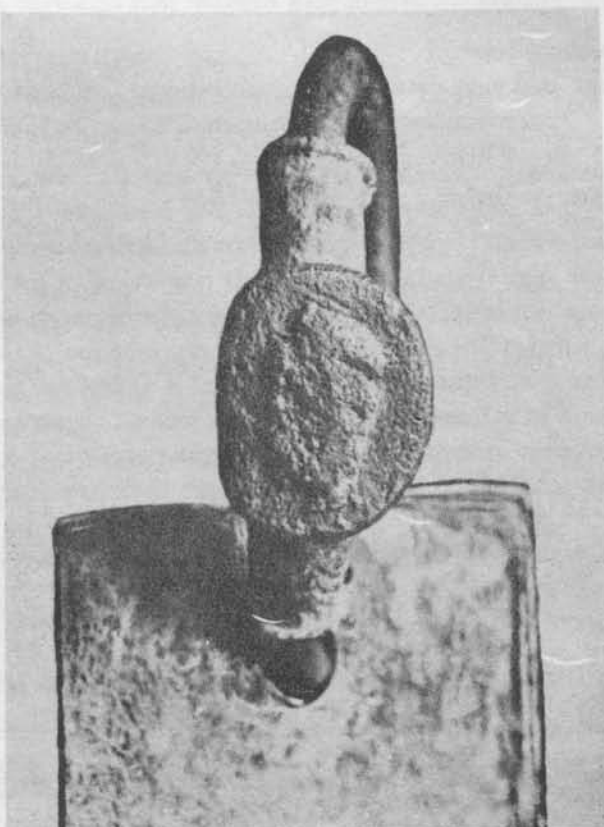
² Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, plate opposite page 50.

SEALS OF THREE PALLAVA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS.

A. Vilavatti Grant of Pallava Simhavarmam.
(Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIV.)



B. Chura Grant of Pallava Vijaya-Vishnugopavarmam.
(Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIV, pp. 137ff.)



C. Pikira Grant of Simhavarmam.
(Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, pp. 159ff.)



margins, the plates under examination are not numbered so. A third noteworthy point is that while all the known grants of the king begin with the invocation *Jitam Bhagavatā* preceded, in two cases (Māṅgaḷūr and Pikira grants), by a spiral which has been rendered by Hultsch as *Om*¹, our grant commences with the expression *Svasti* like the two other known Pallava records, viz., the Ōṃgōḍu grant of Vijaya-Skandavarman² and the Chendalūr plates of Kumāravishṇu.³

The emblem on the seal of the Uruvupalli grant was originally made out by Dr. Fleet to be a 'dog',⁴ but from deference to native opinion he later accepted it to be a 'lion'. The illustration accompanying the facsimiles of the grant suggests a wild animal like a dog or a wolf, sitting on its four legs and about to pounce. The short tail of the animal precludes its being taken for a lion which must conventionally have a long and curling tail.

The seal of the Māṅgaḷūr grant⁵ is not described or depicted but the animal on that of the Pikira grant⁶ appears from the description given by Venkayya to resemble the one on the seal of the Uruvupalli grant. Unfortunately the Ōṃgōḍu grant carries no seal and consequently the seal of the present set gains importance as being the only well-preserved one of this king known so far. The animal here is clearly a bull, with a prominent hump, seated facing the proper left, and having a pretty heavy dew-lap. Above the bull appears to be what looks like an anchor as already stated or, a boat as assumed by me in my *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1934 (p. 30, para. 4). Attention may be drawn here to a Pallava coin bearing the effigy of a bull on one side and that of a double-masted boat on the other, illustrated by Sir W. Elliot.⁷

In the seal of the Prākṛit charter issued by Vijaya-Buddhavarman's queen Chārudēvī, the animal had been originally taken⁸ to be a deer but a closer examination would reveal it to be a standing bull facing the proper right, the hump rather indistinct. The view taken by me on the first examination of Fleet's facsimile is confirmed by an examination of the better illustration of the seal which appears in the plate published by Dr. Hultsch.⁹

A few important orthographical peculiarities may be noticed here. The long *i* attached to the consonants is distinguished by an inward curl. While in some other records of this king the word *jitam* in the invocation *Jitam=Bhagavatā* is written with a final *m* conjoined with the succeeding letter *bha*, here it is incised with an *anusvāra* as in the Uruvupalli and the Ōṃgōḍu grants. But the conjunct letter is employed in *Lōkapālānām=pañchamasya* in l. 6 and in *°yājīnām=Pallavānām=Mahārājah* in l. 13. The *anusvāra* is replaced by the class nasal: *kshētrañ=cha* in l. 14, *śārīran=daṇḍam=* in l. 22, *paran=dānam=* in l. 23, *ghōran=na* in l. 24, etc. Consonants following *r* are invariably doubled as in all early grants, and as in some other earlier ones the consonants preceding *r* are also doubled as for example in *parākkramō* in l. 10. The forms *pādā-nuddhyātō* in l. 11 and *sarvādhyaksha* in l. 14 may also be noticed. Above all, the employment of the Tamil letter for *la* in *Vilavatti* (l. 13) is noteworthy and indicates the influence of Tamil on the composer of this grant though it originated in and related to the Telugu country.

The epithet *vatta* in the expression *vatta-grāmēyakāḥ* (l. 21) meaning the officers of the grouped villages also suggests the influence of Tamil. I understand that in Mahārāshṭra and Hyderābād the expression *vaṭṭam-jāghirdār* is in vogue.

¹ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 161, Text.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 251 f.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 234.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 50.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 154.

⁶ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 160.

⁷ *Coins of Southern India*, Plate 1, No. 38.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 101.

⁹ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 144.

Several wrong forms, evidently due to oversight, are noticeable : e.g., *grama* for *grāma* and *grāka* for *grāsaka* in l. 15, *sumukhājñāptyā* for *svamukhā*² in l. 30 and *vasundhārā* for *vasundharā* in l. 25. The expression *kshētram* in l. 14 appears to be used in the sense of a 'department' or 'committee' in charge of the village. We may compare in this connection the expression *Ōṃgōḍu-grāmas=cha vaktavyāḥ* used in the Ōṃgōḍu grant of Vijaya-Skandavarman.³

The grant was issued from Vijaya-Paddukkar-ādhishtāna by Mahārāja śrī-Sirīhavarman, son of Yuvamahārāja śrī-Vishpugōpa, grandson of śrī-Skandavarman and great grandson of śrī-Viravarman, who belonged to the Bhāradvāja-gōtra and the family of the Pallavas that had performed several *Āsvamedha* sacrifices. It registers the gift of the village *Vilavatti* in *Mupḍa-rāshṭra* together with its hamlet (*sa-grāsakaḥ*), with the several taxes (specified below) which were the property of the king, to (the Brāhman) Vishpuśarman of the Gautama-gōtra and the Chhandōga(-śākhā).

The inscription is dated in the tenth year of the king's increasingly victorious reign (*samē-dhamāna-vijaya-rājya*), on the fifth (*tithi*) of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa (*Śrāvanyām*).

The main interest of the record is in the enumeration of the several taxes which the king was entitled to collect from the village and which are now given away by him. Attention may be drawn in this connection to the eighteen kinds of *parihāras* (*aśtādaśa-jātibhiḥ parihāraiḥ*) mentioned but not enumerated in the Uruvupalli grant. As regards the taxes the king's command runs thus :—“ whichever taxes are payable in this village by metal-workers and leather-workers (*lōha-charmakāra*), the shop-keeping cloth-dealers (*āpaṇa-paṭṭa-kāra*), licensed spies (?) going about in loose masks or garments (*prāvārañchara*), rope-jugglers or dancers (*rajjupratihāra*), shops (in general) (*āpaṇa*),⁴ Ājivikas (a class of Jaina mendicants), the taxes payable by barbarians and outcastes (*nāhala*), *mukhadharakas*⁵ (mask-actors), water-diviners (*kūpa-darśakas*), weavers (*tantravāya*), taxes on gambling (*dyūta*), marriage (*vivāha*) and barbers (*nāpita*), and the taxes or tithes payable by the artisans enjoying the privileges of *sarvaparihāra* (?) and such other taxes that belong to me, have been given to this (Brāhman) as *brahmadēya*. The officers of the *vaṭṭa-grāmas*⁶ shall accordingly do my bidding. Others shall (duly) render and cause the dues to be rendered unto the donee. Whoever transgresses this charter of mine, that sinner will undergo corporal punishment.” The order for the gift was issued orally by the king and committed to writing by the Private Secretary (*Rahasyādhipikṛita*) Achyuta.

¹ Above, Vol. XV, p. 251, Text, l. 10.

² These probably represent the begging *buḍu-bukki* who go about in loose and heavy garments.

³ If *rajjupratihār-āpaṇa* be construed as one compound, it would indicate 'booths of rope-jugglers or dancers'.

⁴ Alternatively we might understand this expression to refer to a particular class of self-mortifying devotees known as *mukhēnādāyīn*.

⁵ [Many of the terms in ll. 18-19 are met with here for the first time and are difficult to explain. It appears to me that tax levied for the maintenance of certain offices is indicated in l. 18. Accordingly, I would prefer to take *paṭṭakāra* not in the sense of 'silk-weaver' but in that of *paṭṭalēkhin* or writer of official documents. *Prāvārañchara* is probably the same as *Sañcharantaka* of the Uruvupalli grant and *Sañcharin* of other early records. I am not certain whether *rajjū* is to be taken separately or to be compounded with the preceding or succeeding word. *Rajju* and *chōrarajju* are found in the *Arthaśāstra* as fiscal terms. *Rajjuka* as an official designation occurs not only in the edicts of Aśoka but also in such later records as belonging to the Āndhra and Vākātaka rulers (see above, p. 54). *Āpaṇa-ājivika* has probably to be taken as one word meaning 'those who live by shops', i.e., shop-keepers in general as distinguished from smiths and leather-workers (*lōha-charmakār-āpaṇa*). *Kūpa-darśaka* may be 'an inspector of wells'.—Ed.]

⁶ If *vaṭṭa* is a Prākṛit form of *vaṇṣa* the expression would mean *bhāga-grāmēyakas*, i.e., officers of the subsidiary villages. Cf. also the Telugu expression *Onṣudāru*.

The epithets and eulogies applied in our grant to the several kings are almost the same as those found in the allied grants, viz., the Uruvupalli, Pikira and Ōṃgōḍu ones with slight interchanges. The phraseology of the Māṅgaḷūr grant is quite distinct from that of the other charters of the king, and its author Nēmi seems to have composed it in an almost independent and original style of his own without borrowing from any of the other grants of the family. The practice in the plates appears to have been to apply a particular set of attributes to the particular generation irrespective of the actual king concerned. If we compare the text of the Uruvupalli grant with the rest we find that the same set of epithets is applied in all to the great grandfather, the grandfather, the father of the king and the king of the grant, irrespective of any particular king. Thus, epithets applied to Skandavarman I, the first member in the Uruvupalli grant, are applied to Viravarman, the first member in the other grants. But the epithets *vasudhā-tal-aika-vīra* or *prithvī-tal-aika-vīra* is applied consistently in all to king Viravarman and this one appears to have been particularly his personal attribute. Skandavarman I, his son Viravarman and the latter's son Skandavarman II of the Uruvupalli grant are mentioned in the earlier Ōṃgōḍu grant of Vijaya-Skandavarman II but with quite a different set of attributes. Viravarman is not therein called the sole hero of the world. Some other epithets of the later grants are traceable in the earlier Ōṃgōḍu grant, viz., *anēka-samara-labdha-vijaya-yasah-pratāpa*¹ (for *prakāśa* of later grants) and *pratāp-ōpanata-rāja-maṇḍalāḥ*,² which are applied to Viravarman. It therefore appears that the ornate eulogy of the several kings was for the first time composed and brought into use in the reign of Viṣṇugōpa and uniformly adopted in all the known grants of his son Simhavarman except in the Māṅgaḷūr grant as already remarked.

In connection with this and the allied grants there exists what we may call the "Simhavarman problem." Dr. Fleet assigned the Uruvupalli plates to Simhavarman, a supposed elder brother of Viṣṇugōpa³ and made him Simhavarman I of the dynasty. Dr. Hultzsch, while editing the Pikira grant of Simhavarman, has attempted to solve the difficulty by assuming the non-existence of an elder brother of Viṣṇugōpa by name Simhavarman and the passing of the succession from Skandavarman II to Simhavarman without Viṣṇugōpa ever having ascended the throne, on the ground that he is entitled only *Yuvarāja* or *Yuvamahārāja*.⁴ If Viṣṇugōpa did not succeed to the throne there is no meaning in saying that he 'made a gift' as the Uruvupalli charter states. I think there is not much justification for Dr. Hultzsch's supposition. The assumption of the title *Yuvarāja* or *Yuvamahārāja* which appears to have been due to some dynastic convention or exigency does not by itself deny accession to Viṣṇugōpa as it did not in the case of the Eastern Chālukya king Maṅgi-Yuvarāja.⁵ The Mayidavōlu plates were issued by Yuvamahārāja Śivaskandavarman. Professor Dubreuil who has made a special study of the Pallava dynasty accepts that Viṣṇugōpa did rule,⁶ but follows Dr. Fleet in assuming a Simhavarman as the elder brother of Viṣṇugōpa. Hultzsch and Dubreuil are partially right and partially wrong. We need not either suppose with the former that Viṣṇugōpa did not ascend the throne or agree with the latter and Dr. Fleet that he had an elder brother named Simhavarman. I would suggest that the difficulty can be solved by supposing that the Uruvupalli grant originally made by Viṣṇugōpa was, for some reasons not known, formally issued by his son Simhavarman

¹ In the Uruvupalli and other plates this epithet is applied to Viravarman's grandson Viṣṇugōpa.

² In the Uruvupalli plates this epithet is given to Viravarman, but in the other grants of Simhavarman, to his son Skandavarman II. The eulogies applied to the several generations of kings in the Uruvupalli plates are indifferently applied to the kings figuring in the Chendalūr plates of Kumāravishṇu II (above, Vol. VIII, p. 235).

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 50 and 154.

⁴ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 160.

⁵ See my remarks in the article on the Churā grant of Vijaya-Viṣṇugōpavarman, above, p. 139.

⁶ *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 63.

captured (preferably re-captured) Kāñchī which had been the Pallava capital in the earlier generations. With sufficient reason are the Chendalūr plates issued from Kāñchīpura and the donee is, very naturally, a native of a village in its vicinity, the name of which though not read by Dr. Hultsch, may, I think, be safely read as Puḷḷaḷūru¹ and identified with the village of that name situated 9 miles north of Conjeeveram.²

Discussing the initial date of Simhavarman Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri remarks: "If the initial date derived from the *Lōkavibhāga* for Simhavarman II is to be accepted there must have been in A.D. 440, the fourth year of the king, a solar eclipse in the month of Chaitra. This, however, does not happen to be the fact."³ I regret, I have to differ from Mr. Sastri and point out that Dr. Schram's Tables of the *Eclipses of the Sun in India* record an eclipse on the 17th of May in A.D. 440. The month of Chaitra in certain years overlaps the month of May and definitely such is the case in the years in which there is an *Adhika* and a *Nija* Chaitra month. So it is quite possible to assume that in the Chaitra of A.D. 440 there was a solar eclipse. Consequently the assumption of A.D. 436 as the initial year for Simhavarman would be fully justifiable. So the date of our grant which is dated in the tenth year of his reign would correspond to A.D. 446.

Munḍa-rāshṭra is also mentioned in the Uruvupalli and Pikira grants of Simhavarman.⁴ It is evidently identical with the later Munḍa-nāḍu or Munḍai-nāḍu of the *Nellore Inscriptions*.⁵ *Vilavattī*, the gift village may possibly be the village Vavvēru where the plates were discovered or with greater probability it may be the village Viḍavalūru, about 12 miles east of it. Both the villages are in the Kōvūr taluk. *Paddukkar-ādhishtāna* from which the charter was issued may be identified with the village Paḍugupāḍu about 9 miles south by east of Vavvēru in the same taluk. This is now a Railway station a little distance from the northern bank of the river Pennār on the Madras-Calcutta line and within a mile from Kōvūr.

TEXT.⁶

First Plate.

- 1 Svasti[*] Jitam Bhagavatā [*] śrī-Vijaya-Paddukkar-ādhishtānē parama-brahma-nyasya sva-bā-
- 2 hu-nirjjit-ārjjita-⁷kshātra-tapō-nidhēḥ vidbi-vihita-sarvva-⁸maryyādā-sthiti-sthita-
- 3 sy-āmit-ātmanō mahārājasya ⁹prithivī-tal-aika-vīrasya śrī-Viravarmmapaḥ prapau-
- 4 trasy-ātyuchchita¹⁰-śakti-siddhi-sampannasya pratāp-ōpanata-rāja-maṇḍalasya Bhaga-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 5 vad-bhakti-sad-bhāva-sambhāvita-sarvva-kalyāṇasy-ānēka-gō-hiranya-bhūmy-ādi-pradānai[h]
- 6 ¹¹pravṛtta-dharmma-saṁchayasya prajā-pālana-dakshasya Lōkapālānām=pañchamasya¹² mahā-

¹ The reading Puṭṭukākā given in *Nellore Inscriptions*, p. 1421d, must be given up.

² Sewell, *List of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 188.

³ Above, Vol. XV, p. 253.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 51 ff. and above, Vol. VIII, pp. 160 and 163.

⁵ *Nellore Inscriptions* :—See *Nellore* 19, 31, 61, 71, 72 and 121. The villages mentioned in connection with this *nāḍu* would all point to the Kōvūr taluk of the Nellore District in which the present plates were discovered. The southern portion of the Kandukūr taluk also would go into this *rāshṭra*.

⁶ From the original plates and ink-impressions prepared in my office.

⁷ Read *-bal-ārjjit-ārjjita-* as in other plates.

⁸ The Uruvupalli and Pikira grants read *maryyādasya*.

⁹ The Uruvupalli grant has *vasudhā-*.

¹⁰ The Pikira grant reads *prapautrō-bhyuchchita-*.

¹¹ Read *pravṛddha* as in the Uruvupalli and Pikira grants.

¹² Read *lōkapālasya* after this as in the above-mentioned grants.

- 7 tmanō mahārājasya śrī-Skandava[r*]mmaṇaḥ pautrasya dēva-dvija-guru-vṛiddh-ōpasē-
vinō¹ vi-
8 vṛiddha-vinayasya=ānēka-saṁgrāma-sāhas-āvamardd-ōpalabdhā-vijaya-yaśaḥ-prakāśasya

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 9 *nirupam-ātmanō Yuvamahārājasya śrī-Vishṇugōpasya putraḥ Kali-yuga-dōsh-ā-
10 vasanna-dharm-ōddharaṇē nitya-sannaddhaḥ* sprihaṇīya-parākkramō rāja[r*]shi-guṇa-sa-
11 rvva-sandōha-vijigīshur-ddharma-vijigīshur-Bhagavat-pādānuddhyātō Bappa-bhaṭṭā-
raka-pāda-
12 bhaktaḥ paramabhāgavatō Bhāradvājaḥ sva-vikram-ākraṇt-ā[gdyā]*śrī-nīlayō yathāvad-
āhṛit-ā-

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 13 nēk-āśvamēdha-yājinām=°Pallavānām=mahārājaḥ śrī-Simhavarmanā Munda-rāshṭrē
Vijayaṭṭi-
14 grāmē tasya=aiva grāmasya kshētraṇ=cha sarvvāddhyakshāmś=cha tat-saṁcārīṇaś=cha
ājñāpayati² a-
15 ya[m] *gramah sa-grākas=sarvva-parihār-ōpētō *dēva-bhōga-hala-varjjam=asmad-āyur-bba-
16 la-vijay-ābhivṛiddhayē samēdhamāna-vijaya-rājyē daśamē samvatsarē Śrāvapāthi
śukla-pa-

¹ The Uruvupalli grant reads -ōpachāyīnō and the Pikira grant has -āpachāyīnō. The Ōngōḍu grant reads -ōpasēvinō as in the present one.

² The Pikira and Ōngōḍu grants read *saty-ātmanō*. The Uruvupalli grant applies the epithets *saty-ātman* and *mahātman* to *Mahārāja Skandavarman*.

³ The Uruvupalli and Pikira grants read -dharāṇa-nitya-sannaddhasya. The possessive form which has evidently been incorporated from the former into the latter of these grants has been left uncorrected into the nominative, though the appositional expressions *putraḥ* (l. 10), *parākkramō* (l. 11), etc., are in the latter case : vide above, Vol. VIII, p. 162, text ll. 10 & 11.

⁴ Read -ānya-nṛipa- as in other grants. The other allied grants make this an attribute of the Pallavas and not of this particular king.

⁵ The Uruvupalli and Pikira grants read -āśvamēdhānām while the Ōngōḍu grant has -ānēka-kratūnām *Sata-kratūnām* (above, Vol. XV, pp. 254 f., text ll. 16 ff.).

⁶ The Pikira grant has *dharma-mahārāja-śrī-* while Ōngōḍu has *vallabhānām Pallavānām dharmma-mahā-rāja-śrī-*.

⁷ The Uruvupalli grant is addressed to the *grāmīyaka*s at the first instance and then to the *āyuktaka*s, *naiyōka*s (probably *naiyōgika*s), *rājavallabha*s and *saṁcārāntaka*s. The Pikira grant is addressed to the *grāmīyaka*s, *adhikṛita-sarvvāddhyakṣa*ḥ, *vallabha*s and *śāsana-saṁcārīṇa*s, almost as in the Māṅgalūr grant.

⁸ Read *grāmāḥ sa-grāsaka*:-.

⁹ Dr. Fleet's translation of the expression *Vishṇuvarman-sēnāpati-kṛita-Vishṇuhāra-dēvakulāya dēva-bhōga*, etc., in the Uruvupalli grant is inaccurate. The grant is not meant for the family of Vishṇuhāradēva which was founded by Vishṇuvarman but for the temple (*dēvakula*) called Vishṇuhāra founded by the general of Vishṇuvarman, as a *dēvabhōga*. This would thus appear to be one of the early temples of Kandukūr founded in Pallava times. A still earlier temple of Pallava times is that of Bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa mentioned in the Prākṛit copper-plate charter of Yuvamahārāja Vijaya-Buddhavarman's queen Chārudēvi dated in the reign of Vijaya-Khandavarman (above, Vol. VIII, p. 145). Dr. Fleet's reading *dēvabhōga* in text l. 26 of the Māṅgalūr grant (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 156) is only a printer's mistake for *dēva-bhōga* (vide his translation, *ibid.*, p. 157). But his reading *vasad-bhōga* (*ibid.*, p. 156, text l. 29 and p. 157 f.n.) is correctly *vasad-bhōgya*. Dr. Fleet stated that the meaning of *vasad-bhōgya-maryādāyā* was rather doubtful. It is possible that it corresponds to the *kuḍinīngā-dēvadāna* of the Tamil inscriptions and perhaps means 'with the tenants' occupancy rights assured'.

i.

1.
2
4
2
4

 $\dot{z}, a.$

၈, ၈.
 ၆
 ၈

ii, b.

10 12

 $\ddot{iii}, a.$

14
16

iii, b.

18 20 18 20

18 20

iv, a.

22 24 22 24

22 24

iv, b.

26 28 26 28

26 28

v.

30 30

30

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 17 **kshē pañchamyāñ** Gautama-gōtrāya Chhandōgāya Vishṇusarmmaṇē dattam(ttaḥ)
 [*] yad=asmin=grāmē
 18 lōha-charmmakār-āpaṇa-paṭṭakāra-prāvārañchara-rajju-pratihār-āpaṇ-Ājivika-ka-
 19 rāṇi Nāhala-Mukhadbaraka-kūpa-darśaka¹-tantravāya-dyūta-vivāha-nāpita-dē-
 20 y-ādini cha sarvva-parihāra-kāru-dēyāni cha yāny=anyāni ch=āsmad-bhāgyāni tāny=asmai

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

- 21 brahmadēyikṛitya dattāni Vaṭṭa-grāmēyakāḥ [asmad-ājñāñ*] kurvvantv=itarē pariha[ra*]-
 ntū parihārayantu
 22 cha[*] yaś=ch=aitad=asmach-chhāsanam=atikrāmēt=sa pāpaḥ ²sārīran=daṇḍam=arhati [*]
 Api ch=ā-
 23 tr=ā[r]shāḥ ślōkā bhavanti || O O ||—³Bhūmi-dānāt=paran=dānam=iha lōkē na vidyatē [*]
 yaḥ praya-
 24 chchhati bhūmi[m*] hi sarvva-kāmān=dadāti saḥ [||*] ⁴Brahma-svañ [hi*] visham
 ghōran=na visham visham=uchayatē [*] visham=ēkākinam

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

- 25 hanti ⁵prahma-svañ putra-⁶bantrikam || Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō harēta vasundhā-
 rām⁷ [*] gavām śata-
 26 sahasrasya hantuḥ [pi]⁸bati kilbisham [||*] ⁹Yathā nirōhanty=uptāni kīrṇāni cha mahi-
 27 talē [*] evam kāmā virōhanti bhūmi-dāna-samārjjitā[h*] || Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā ba-
 28 hubiś=ch=ānupālītā [*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam ||

Fifth Plate.

- 29 ¹⁰Asaṁkhyēyāni varshāni svarggē mōdanti bhūmidāḥ [*] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva
 30 narakē vasēt || Prabhōḥ ¹¹sumukh-ājñāptyā¹² rahasyādhikṛitēn=¹³Āchryutēna likhitam śāsanam||
 31 Svasta(sti) || ¹³—

¹ [See above, p. 298, n. 5.—Ed.]

² This reading is found in the Pīkīra and other grants of the king. The Mayidavōlu Prākṛit plates read *sārī-
 ram śāsanam karējāmo* (above, Vol. VI, p. 87, text, l. 24).

³ The Uruvupalli and other grants quote this verse in a different form. The Pīkīra grant which cites the
 verse reads *Bhūmidāna-saman=dānam*.

⁴ This verse is not quoted in the other grants of the king.

⁵ Read *brahma*.

⁶ Read *-pautrikam*.

⁷ Read *vasundharām*.

⁸ The letter *pi* looks like *bi*.

⁹ This verse does not occur in the other grants of the king.

¹⁰ This verse is not quoted in the other grants of the king.

¹¹ Read *sva-mukh*.

¹² Invariably all the earlier grants adopt the form *ājñāpti* while the later ones, like those of the Eastern Chā-
 lukyas, have *ājñapti*. The former though obsolete seems to be more suitable to the context in the technical sense
 of 'the agency that obtains the command (*ājñāptih*) while *ājñaptiḥ* would strictly refer to the 'agency that
 commands'.

¹³ There is a symbol between these two sets of *daṇḍas*.

No. 44.—FIRST AND THIRD SLABS OF KUMBHALGARH INSCRIPTION : V. S. 1517

By SAMSKRITI PT. AKSHAYA KEERTY VYĀS, M.A., UDAIPUR.

The inscription under description was briefly noticed for the first time by Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Ojha in the *Annual Report, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, for the year 1925-26. It seems to have originally been engraved on five big slabs of stone of which the fifth or the last slab has not yet been discovered. Of the second slab, only a very small piece has been found containing the words *Dvitiya-paṭṭikā* on the top to ensure its being a part of that slab. Of the remaining three slabs, the fourth one (which is the best preserved of whatever has so far been found of this inscription) has already been published¹ by R. R. Halder of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer. I now take up here, at the instance of Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India, the first and the third slabs for edition. Both these slabs were discovered only in fragments and are, therefore, in a very damaged condition. All that has till now been discovered is deposited for preservation in the Victoria Hall Museum at Udaipur.

The inscription belongs to a temple built by Mahārāṇā **Kumbhakarna** on the fort of Kumbhalgarh, originally called the **Kumbhasvāmin** temple but now known as that of **Māmā-dēva**. The first slab is 3' 10" broad by 3' 7" high with a margin of about 2" on all sides, and contains sixty-eight verses (1-68) with short sentences in prose in fifty lines of writing; and the third slab is 3' 1" by 3' 6" with a margin of about 1½" on all sides containing fifty-nine verses (121-179) with some small prose sentences in forty-nine written lines. Unfortunately the slabs are very much damaged and some of the important portions of their contents have altogether been destroyed.

The **characters** are Nāgarī and the medial vowels *ē*, *ai*, *ō*, and *au* which are joined to the consonants are represented by both *śiro-* and *prishṭha-mātrās*. The letters are nicely cut and are on the average about two-fifths of an inch.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and the composition is, on the whole, free from errors. In the first slab, however, we find *sandhi* not observed in *śrī Ēkalīnga-prabhuḥ* (l. 7) and *pralaya-kṛit=yō* (l. 41); and in the third slab in **r=abhūt=śrī-Jaitra** (l. 27). In *yad=akāri Mōkala-nṛipaḥ* (ll. 29-30, slab I) the error of syntax is obvious. Besides, there are some other minor mistakes chiefly pertaining to engraving which are noticed in dealing with the text.

Regarding **orthography** we find that *r* and *b* are usually distinguished, the exceptions being *Vāghēlāva-varṇanām* (ll. 28 and 31, slab I) and *=Amrāprasāda-* (ll. 19 and 20, slab III). The dental sibilant is used for the palatal one in *samspṛisamty=apī* (l. 20) and *sad-dhairyā-saurya-* (l. 39) of the first and the third slabs respectively. The sound of *śh* is twice represented in the first slab by the sign for *kh*, e.g., in *-sarvaṁkakhḥ* (l. 47) and *kalukh-āśayō=ya[m*]* (l. 50). This seems to be based on the analogy of the representation of the sound of *kh* by the sign for *śh* in many of the inscriptions of this period in Rājputāna. The following other features are also to be noticed the examples for which are here drawn from the first slab only. *Anusvara* is throughout used for nasals. *Ṇ* is almost invariably reduplicated after a superscript *r* by drawing a horizontal stroke across the body of the letter; other consonants are very often doubled, e.g., *svargga-Prayāga-* (l. 12), *muktir=jjanair=* (l. 13), **r=rrair=ddānava-* (l. 16), etc., as against *muni-rarair=gītā* (l. 35), *garva-sarvaṁkakh(śh)ḥ* (l. 47), etc. *Jihvāmūliya* and *upadhāmūliya* are sometimes used and represented by a sign which here resembles the sign for *śh* as in *=mṛitanagaḥ=khalu*

¹ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 277-288.

(l. 2), *Takshakak=Kali-yugē* (l. 6), *puṁgavaiḥ=parivṛtam* (l. 16), etc. The sign for *avagraha* is used thrice, only in slab I, in *sarītō=’syā[ḥ*]* (l. 14), *rājatō=’nyō* (l. 18) and *yaśō=’śramukhīḥ* (l. 28).

Before taking up the actual contents of the slabs under consideration, it may be mentioned that the present inscription, the Tower of Victory inscription and the *Ēkaliṅga-māhātmya* have a good number of verses in common. We know for certain that all these three records were composed during the reign of Mahārāṇā Kumbhakarna and are, therefore, contemporary records. Now the former two, viz., the Tower of Victory inscription and the present record, besides belonging to two different localities far off from each other, have got the same date in all particulars which is Monday, the fifth of the dark fortnight of Mārgaśīrsha in Śaṁvat 1517 (=A.D. 1460, Monday the 3rd November). It, therefore, seems improbable that anything from the one may have been borrowed in the other, particularly when we consider the amount of difference found in the plan of writing followed in both of them. The text common in both these records, therefore, seems to have a different source altogether in the *Ēkaliṅga-māhātmya*, the third contemporary record, which seems to have already been compiled borrowing material particularly in its Princes' chapter, from many old inscriptions, viz., the Mahāsati gate inscription¹ at Chitor of the time of Rāval Samarasimha dated in V. S. 1331 (=A.D. 1274), the Samādhīśvara temple inscription² of prince Mōkala of V. S. 1485 (=A. D. 1428) and others. That the *Ēkaliṅga-māhātmya* was composed prior to the present record as well as the Tower of Victory inscription, and has an air of originality around it is also evidenced by the fact that the division of the Guhilōt family in two branches, viz., the Rāval and the Rāṇā, in the reign of Rāval Rānasimha or Karnasimha, is first of all found mentioned only in this work where all other inscriptions, contemporary or otherwise, are silent. Although we do not know much about the Tower of Victory inscription at present, for, all other slabs containing it excepting the two, viz., the first³ and the last but one⁴ (which also are in a very mutilated condition) are lost; but so far as the present record is concerned, much of what we find in connection with the genealogy of this dynasty in its three slabs till now discovered, is almost a reproduction of the *Rāja-varṇana* of the *Ēkaliṅga-māhātmya*. Thus, much of the destroyed portion of the slabs under consideration is restorable from the aforesaid work as well as from records prior and posterior to it, as will be done, wherever possible, in dealing with the text.

Taking up the contents of the first slab we find that it mainly describes in poetical manner some important geographical places of Mewār including lakes, hills, sacred spots, people, etc. It opens with the propitiation of Gaṇēśa, Sarasvatī and Ēkaliṅga in three small prose sentences. Then begins the *Āśīḥ Prakaraṇa* covering verses 1-14, benedictory and invocatory in nature, in praise of many a deity such as [Lambōda]ra, Gajamukha, Vindhyavāsini, Ēkaliṅga, Pinākin, Ina and others. The deity of the first verse is, however, difficult to determine due to the initial portion of the verse being destroyed.

Then begin various descriptions the first of which is the description of *Trikūṭa*. With regard to the method of composition followed, it may be remarked here that the whole of the present inscription is distributed in various *varṇanas*, the commencement and the termination of each of which is indicated by *atha* and *iti* respectively. This *Trikūṭa-varṇana* covers verses 15-17. *Trikūṭa* is a range of hills naturally formed into a triangle within which is situated the temple and the town of *Ēkliṅgaji*.

¹ *Bhāvnagar Skt. and Pr. Inscriptions*, pp. 74-78.

² Above, Vol. II, pp. 410-21 and *Bhav. Inscr.*, pp. 98-100.

³ Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXIII, plate XX.

⁴ *Ibid.*, plate XXI.

Vv. 18-19 contain the description of a rivulet called **Kuṭilā** in inscriptions which rises in the **Trikūṭa** hill nearby and flows only in the rainy season. Its description as given here is simply hyperbolic.

In vv. 20-22 we have the description of the goddess **Vindhyavāsini** whose shrine is situated on the slope of the hill to the north outside the rampart round **Ekaliṅgajī**'s temple.

In vv. 23-24 the poet describes the god **Ēkaliṅga**. The temple of **Ēkaliṅgajī** is, in popular belief, regarded to have originally been built by **Bāpā Rāval**, which, having been damaged in course of a few centuries by the Muslim invaders, was repaired by **Mahārāṇā Mōkala** who also furnished it with a rampart to ensure its protection. **Mahārāṇā Kumbhakarna**, the son of **Mōkala**, is also stated in vv. 239-40¹ in the fourth slab of this very epigraph, to have done something towards reparation to this ancient shrine. The modern structure of the temple, however, is stated to be the work of **Mahārāṇā Rai Mal** who laid fresh foundation and erected the new structure.

Vv. 25-28 give the description of a beautiful tank situated to the east, near **Ekaliṅgajī**'s temple. It is popularly known as **Indra-sāgara**, but it is here called **Indratīrtha-Bhōjasara**. The tank is said to have been in existence since the time of **Indra** who is stated in v. 8 to have meditated on the feet of **Ēkaliṅga** in *Kṛita-yuga*; but it was given its present shape by forming the dam, etc., by **Bhōjabhūpa**, one of the early predecessors of the **Guhila** family, and hence called after his own name.

Then come the descriptions of **Kāmadhēnu** (vv. 29-30) and **Takshaka** (vv. 31-33) who are stated in v. 8 to have attended upon **Ēkaliṅga** in *Trētā* and *Dvāpara* ages respectively. The city of **Nāga**, i.e., **Nāgdā**, the ancient capital of **Mewār**, is here stated to have originally been founded by this lord of the serpents.

Vv. 34-35 describe **Dhārśāvara** whose temple is situated a few paces off the **Ēkaliṅgajī** temple on the base of the western range of the neighbouring hill in front. This small temple with a reservoir attached to it seems from v. 167 of the third slab of this inscription to have been built by **Rāval Samarasimha** as a deed of charity.

Next comes the description of **Vaidyanātha** in vv. 36-37, whose temple must have existed at **Ekaliṅgajī** at the time. No such monument is now popularly known to exist there.

In vv. 38-40 is described another beautiful tank situated to the south of the town of **Ekaliṅgajī**, touching the site of the ancient town of **Nāgdā**, popularly known as **Bāghelā Talāv** but here simply called **VA(BA)ghelāva**. This tank was excavated by prince **Mōkala** in memory of his brother **Bāghasimha**.

From here the poet takes us to the fort of **Chitor** and describes in vv. 41-50 the temple of **Samā-dhīśvara** which is situated a little way to the south-west of **Kumbhā**'s great Tower of Victory. This temple was originally built by **Bhōjarāja**, the **Paramāra** prince of **Mālwa**, in the eleventh century when **Chitor** had already become a **Paramāra** possession in the reign of his uncle **Munja** (**Vākpatirāja**). It was also called **Tribhuvananārāyaṇa** temple after his title *Tribhuvananārāyaṇa*, and **Bhōjasvāmidēva-jagatī**². The temple having been ruined in course of time was repaired by prince **Mōkala** in V. S. 1485 (=A.D. 1428) on account of which it is now generally called **Mōkalajī**'s temple. The present inscription, however, assigns the renovation of the temple to prince **Kumbhā** (v. 49), but this fact is not corroborated by any other record. The poet here evidently appears to have confused this monument with the temple of **Kumbhasvāmin** on the fort which really was built by **Kumbhā**. **Rai Bahadur Ojha** regards this temple as the second

¹ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 286.

² *Ann. Rep., Rajpūtana Museum, Ajmer*, 1920-21, p. 4.

ancient monument on the fort¹, the first being that of Kālikā of the seventh or the eighth century, originally dedicated to Sūrya or the Sun god. But in fact, the temple under description is the third ancient monument on the fort, the second being the temple of Kukkuṭṣēvara as will be seen from the next paragraph.

Then we come to the description of **Mahā-Lakshmi** in vv. 51-54. The temple of this goddess is now generally known as that of Annapūrṇā, but what is worshipped here is the same original image of Lakshmi with a lotus flower in her hand and an elephant on each side of her face. This temple was originally built by Mahārāṇā Hammira (A.D. 1326-1364). These verses also contain the description of **Kukkuṭṣēvara** (Śiva) and **Gadādhara** (Viṣṇu) whose temples are also situated near the Mahā-Lakshmi temple. The temple of Gadādhara is now generally called as that of Chārabhuja (Chaturbhuja). The three big reservoirs of water, viz., *Mātāji kākunḍa*, the *Kukaḍṣēvara-kunḍa* and a third one, all in the vicinity of these three temples, are also briefly mentioned here. It may be pointed out that the original temple of Kukkuṭṣēvara and the adjoining reservoir of the same name date as far back as V. S. 811 (=A.D. 755), an inscription of which date recording the erection and the excavation of the temple and the reservoir respectively was found there by Col. Tod.² Later on, the reservoir being damaged was repaired by Mahārāṇā Kumbhā.

In vv. 55-57 we find the description of **Kumbhasvāmin** now popularly known as Kumbhāśyāmaji, whose temple was erected on the fort of Chitor by Mahārāṇā Kumbhā in V. S. 1505 (=A.D. 1448) and styled after his own name. The temple was originally dedicated to Varāha or the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu as mentioned here (v. 56), but nowadays Viṣṇu in his ordinary form is here worshipped. The temple Kumbhasvāmin to which belongs the present inscription, is not to be confused with the monument under description, for, the former was erected not at Chitor but at Kumbhalgarh and was later in date. Kumbhā evidently erected two temples dedicated to the same god on both the prominent forts of Mewār.

Vv. 58-68 contain the description of the country of **Mēdapāṭa** (Mewār), mentioning in general terms its cities, rivers, hills, lakes, gardens, people, etc.

Lastly is mentioned in prose the date of the inscription which is **Monday, the fifth day of the dark half of Mārgaśīrsha in Śaṅkṛat year 151[7] and Śaka year 1382**, corresponding to A.D. 1460, Monday the third November, taking the month to be Pūrṇimānta. At the end of the first slab we are asked to consult the second slab for further description.

Of the **second slab**, we are in possession of a very small fragment as already stated, which is of no avail for our present purpose. It can, however, be concluded that it must have contained the description of some other important places of Mewār, for we find the central portions of the initial four lines contained in that fragment to be identical with the initial portion of an independent description of Chitrakūṭa extending over a good number of verses, found in another unpublished inscription from Kumbhalgarh whose first slab is preserved in the Victoria Hall Museum which seems to contain in an abridged form all that is found in the first and the second slabs of the present inscription with the same date. The second slab contained fifty-two verses (69-120).

As to the **contents** of the **third slab** we find that it opens with the description of **Mahārāula śrī-Bāpā** which extends over six verses (121-126) on this slab. Vv. 121-122 mention **Hārī-tarāśi**, but much of their text is now lost to us. In v. 122 mention has been made of a person whose surname (*apara-nāmadhēya*) reads in the mutilated text as [śrī] . . [ya]ku[bja] who appears to be the father of Hārītarāśi. What little is, at present, preserved to us of this verse

¹ *Rājaputāne kṛt Itihāsa*, Fasc. I, p. 354.

² *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, Vol. III, p. 1823 (W. Crooke's ed.).

clearly calls Hāritarāśi a *dvijendra* or the best of *dvijas*. We cannot, however, fully believe in it for the date of the present record, as compared to that of the sage under description, is much later; but we can at least believe that at the time of the composition of the record, he was regarded as of Brahmin origin. Rai Bahadur Ojhā's contention that he was an ascetic of the Nātha order¹ does not necessarily contradict the present description, for he, born as a *dvijendra* or the best of *dvijas*, i.e., a Brahmin, might later on have accepted that order.

From v. 123 properly begins the description of Bāpā who is there said to be a *vipra* meditating on the feet of Hāritarāśi who bestowed upon him the kingdom of Mewār (vv. 124-25), and to have migrated to Mewār from Ānandapura. Verse 123 of this slab is also found in Rāval Samarsimha's inscription² at Chitor of V. S. 1331 (=A.D. 1274) located in the western wall of the northern gate of the Mahāsati enclosure. In the Princes' chapter of the *Ēkalinga-māhātmya* we have another verse of the same import composed in a different metre, originally found in the Ātapura inscription³ of Śaktikumāra of V. S. 1034 (=A.D. 977). The only difference between the two verses is that the former mentions Bāpā and the latter Guhadatta in precisely the same terms. Now, in the former record of V. S. 1331, Bāpā is mentioned as the *Purāṇa-purusha* or the progenitor of the family and Guhadatta or Guhila as his son (the same order being followed in almost all other records later to it including the one under consideration); while the latter record of V. S. 1034, which is earlier in date, speaks of Guhadatta as the founder of the family and Bāpā as one of his descendants. This shows that already in the thirteenth century people had forgotten what their predecessors knew a few centuries ago about the genealogy of the ruling family. One point, however, viz. these rulers being described as *vipra* or *mahī-dēva*, is common to both earlier and later records. Guhadatta's description as *mahī-dēva* in the Ātapura inscription referred to above led Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, while editing the record, to conclude that Guhadatta was a Nāgar Brahmin of Vāḍnagar in Gujarāt and that the Udaipur dynasty had a Brāhmanic origin⁴. But instances in inscriptions where the scions of this dynasty are described as *Kshatra-kshētra* (v. 6 of the same Ātapura inscription)⁵, *Kshatriyarambha-mamādana-maṇi* (v. 5 of the Śringī-ṛishi inscription)⁶, etc., are in no way wanting as Rai Bahadur Ojhā rightly points out⁷. The use of such terms as *vipra* or *mahī-dēva* in their connection seems to have some bearing on their habits which they might have acquired through such association as mentioned in certain bardic chronicles⁸, and not on their blood. There are, again, epigraphs of various dynasties in which the ruling princes are described as born in *Brahma-Kshatriya-kula*⁹ which simply hints at their being possessed of both divine and martial virtues, by habit and blood respectively. So also an inscription of the tenth century from Chāṭasū in the Jaipur state describes prince Bhartṛipatta of this very Guhila dynasty as *Brahma-Kshatr-ānvita*¹⁰, hinting thereby at the possession of both the virtues mentioned above.

Next is given the account of Rāula śrī-[Guha]datta (vv. 127-33). He is described as the son of Bāpā and it was after him that the dynasty came to bear the title *Guhila*. He, as has already been noticed, was really the founder of the dynasty and thus an early predecessor of Bāpā. Nothing remarkable of him is mentioned here except that he had a son Lāṭivinōda¹¹ by name who

¹ *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, p. 337.

² *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 191

³ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 234 ff.

⁴ *Muhammāda Nairast's Khayāta*, p. 10.

⁵ Above, Vol. I, p. 397.

⁶ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 13-17.

⁷ Whether Lāṭivinōda is a proper name or simply an epithet is also doubtful, yet here it seems to have the plausibility of being the former.

⁸ *Bhāv. Inscr.*, pp. 74-78.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

¹⁰ *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. I pp. 378-89.

was called as such due to passing his days in enjoyment with ladies of the Lāṭa country. No prince of this name has been found mentioned in any of the inscriptions of the dynasty so far discovered. In A.D. 1869 General Cunningham had found some 2,000 silver coins at Agra¹ bearing the legend *Srī Guhila* which he attributed to Guhadatta.

Then we have the description of Rāula śrī-Sh(Kh)ummāṇa (vv. 134-37). He is said to have weighed himself against gold in company of his wife and children, and given away the precious metal in charity. In vv. 136-37 is mentioned his far and wide conquest (*dig-jaya*) of various countries, viz., Aṅga, Ba(Va)ṅga, Kalinga, Trilinga (Telugu country), Surāshṭra, Chōḍa, Draviḍa and Gauḍa. This description is not free from exaggeration, but the martial spirit with which the name of Khummāṇa is associated in Mewār even to this day may point to some truth therein.

It may be mentioned here that the description of the foregoing three princes, viz., Bāpā, Guhadatta and Khummāṇa as found in this record contains no chronological truth.

We now come to the most important and also the original portion of the whole inscription called *Rāja-varṇana*. At the very outset it is professed that this portion dealing with the genealogy of the ancient rulers of the family, has been prepared after studying many old *prastāvis* (v. 138). The first thing that draws our attention here is the title *Rāja-varṇana* which seems to have been borrowed from the *Ēkalinga-māhātmya* where a whole chapter extending over 204 verses is called *Rāja-varṇana*. Although much of this Princes' chapter of the *Ēk. mht.* is contained in the present record as already mentioned above, this particular portion, at least that preceding the description of Rāval Samarasimha, seems to be genuine and prepared with solemn effort. Here we have another proof of the priority of the *Ēk. mht.*, for, if it had been posterior to the present record as Rai Bahadur Ojha thinks², that portion of the *Rāja-varṇana* under consideration which is original, dealing with the ancient rulers of the Guhila family whose chronology was even then regarded doubtful, would have been totally incorporated in the *māhātmya* being a result of very laborious researches as professed in v. 138 of the present record. On the other hand, it may be assumed that as the genealogy of the early rulers as given in the *Ēk. mht.* was not found to be trustworthy an attempt was made in the record under discussion to make it as authentic as possible.

Now we may take up the contents of this portion. In the family of Guhila was born a prince Bhōja by name. From him were born Mahindra, Nāga, Bappa and Aparājita (v. 139).

It may be noted here that the author has already mentioned Bāpā as the very founder of the family but now he takes him as the son of Nāga. Similarly he has described before Guhila or Guhadatta as the son of Bāpā, but here he evidently believes him to be the real progenitor of the family which he calls the *Guhila-varṇana*. This clearly shows the amount of labour bestowed on the present portion. From the Āṭapura inscription of V. S. 1034 (=A.D. 977) which gives a correct genealogy of the family from Guhila to Śaktikumāra, we learn that the son of Nāga or Nāgāditya was Śīla, and from the Kuṇḍēśvara temple inscription³ of V. S. 718 (=A.D. 661) we find that the father of Aparājita was Śīla, an inscription of whose reign dated in V. S. 703⁴ (=A.D. 646) has been found and is now preserved in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer. Thus, we find that the term Bāpā or Bappa which is now universally believed to be not a proper name but simply a title, is either here accepted by the author as the title of Śīla, or he may have used it as an independent proper name, but in either case he has been clearly mistaken.

¹ A. S. R., Vol. IV, p. 95.

² *Rāj. Itihās.*, Fasc. II, p. 619, n. 2.

³ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 29-32.

⁴ Above, Vol. XX, p. 92.

Then came **Mahindra** (II) and from him was born **Kālabhōja**. After him came in succession **Sh(Kh)ummāpa**, **Mattaṭa**, **Bhartripaṭṭa** and **Allaṭa** (v. 140).

The chronology as mentioned in this verse omits between the last two princes, the names of some five princes, viz., **Smha**, **Khumṃāpa** (II), **Mahāvaka**, **Khumṃāpa** (III) and **Bhartripaṭṭa** (II) mentioned in the inscription of V. S. 1034. This clearly shows that the author did not possess a copy of that inscription at the time of writing this portion. He seems to have studied only some later records such as the Chitor inscription of V. S. 1331, the Rāṇapura inscription of V. S. 1496, etc., which also he seems not to have studied carefully, for, the names of three princes out of five omitted here are to be found in both these records. It may also be mentioned here that **Bāpā** as a title is regarded by different scholars as belonging to the first three princes mentioned in this verse. Thus, **Kavirāja Shyāmaladās** takes the first prince of the verse, viz., **Mahindra** (II)¹, **Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar**, the third prince **Khumṃāpa**² and **Rai Bahadur Ojhā**, the second prince **Kālabhōja**³, to be **Bāpā**. **Col. Tod**, however, with the scanty material he had at his disposal, thought long ago that **Bāpā** was the title of **Śīla**.⁴

Then came **Naravāhana** and then **Śalivāhana**. After him was born **Śaktikumāra** and from him **Amv(b)āprasāda**. **Ambāprasāda** had three brothers **Nṛivarmā**, **Anantavarmā** and **Yaśōvarmā** by name (vv. 141-42).

What is worthy of note here is the name **Anantavarmā** which is not found in any other record so far discovered. Likewise, the name of **Śuchivarmā** found in some of the other records is omitted here. **Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar**, therefore, is inclined to regard the former as identical with the latter⁵. **Ambāprasāda** is named **Āmrāprasāda** in the Chitor inscription of V. S. 1331. Similarly **Nṛivarmā** and **Yaśōvarmā** are called **Naravarmā** and **Kirtivarmā** respectively⁶ in other inscriptions. These three brothers of **Ambāprasāda** mentioned above, also seem to have ascended the throne successively as they are mentioned in order of succession in a few other inscriptions.

Then **Yōgarāja** became the ruler of **Mewār** whose line did not obtain royalty although he himself fully enjoyed it (v. 143). This important fact of the deprivation of throne from the progeny of **Yōgarāja** is known from this inscription only and is mentioned nowhere else. **Rai Bahadur Ojhā** gives the reading of the last quarter of this verse as *tach-**chhā**. [nō divam] gatāh*⁷, with his own omissions and additions and interprets that the line of this prince came to an end during his own lifetime and the throne thus passed on to **Vairāṭa**. He has omitted one syllable in the first word of this quarter which is distinctly visible on the slab as *shā(khā)*. The intention of the **Rai Bahadur** in omitting the syllable seems to be to regard the first word as masculine plural ending in *°nō*, presuming that the word might thus mean 'off-shoots of his family', for which he has also inserted *visarga* after *gatā* at the end to make it plural. But the text as visible on the slab, although partially damaged, clearly seems to be *tach-**chhāsh(kh)**ā nō[**chhri(chchhra)**yaṃ] gatā* (ll. 20-21), which clearly shows that the line of this prince was cut off from the throne evidently due to some internal family feud and the lot finally fell on **Vairāṭa**, one of the progeny of **Allaṭa**. The word *api* in the beginning of this verse also emphasises this conclusion, otherwise there is no justification for its use here.

¹ *Vira-vinoda*, part I, p. 250.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 188.

³ *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, p. 404.

⁴ *Rājasthān*, Vol. I, p. 270 (W. Crooke's ed.).

⁵ See his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 389, n. 1.

⁶ *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, p. 440.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 443, n. 2.

Thus **Vairāṭa** ascended the throne after **Yōgarāja** and was succeeded by **Harṣapāla** after whom came **Vairisimha** (v. 144). This prince erected a rampart round **Āghāṭa-pattana** (v. 145), the modern town of **Āhaḍ** near the city of **Udaipur**, also mentioned in inscriptions as **Āghāṭapura** or **Āṭapura**. He had twenty-two meritorious sons of whom one, a **narēndra**, was the most virtuous (v. 146). Unfortunately we do not find the name of this virtuous **narēndra** mentioned here who must evidently have succeeded his father **Vairisimha**. In the **Bhērā-ghāt** inscription¹ of the **Chādi** year 907 (=V. S. 1212 and A.D. 1155) and the mount **Ābu** inscription² of V. S. 1342 (=A.D. 1285), the son of **Vairisimha** and grandson of **Harṣapāla** is mentioned as **Vijayasimha**, a copper-plate grant and a stone inscription of whose reign dated in V. S. 1164 and V. S. 1173 respectively have been found³. Thus, it can easily be understood that the prince who is anonymously mentioned here in v. 146 is none else than **Vijayasimha**, and the author, due to his apparent ignorance, has not mentioned this name. In the **Rānapura** inscription⁴ of V. S. 1496, however, the name of **Vairisimha**'s successor is given as **Virasimha**; and **Rai Bahadur Ojha** is inclined to accept him and **Vairasimha** of v. 147 of the present inscription whom he regards as the son of **Vairisimha**, as being identical with **Vijayasimha** of the **Bhērā-ghāt** inscription⁵. He does not seem to have given due consideration to v. 146 of this slab which mentions **Vijayasimha** in clear terms as **narēndra** though omitting his name, as already shown above. The present inscription appears to speak of **Vairasimha** not as the son of **Vairisimha**, but as his grandson unless *tasmāt* in v. 147 is meant to refer to **Vairisimha** which from its position and the construction seems improbable. This fact is overlooked also by **Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar** who professes to have taken the names of princes of this dynasty after **Śālivāhana** from this record⁶. It thus becomes almost settled from this epigraph that **Vijayasimha**'s son was **Vairasimha**. This is corroborated by a small inscription which I had found engraved on the pedestal of the **Harṣapāla** image at **Padarādā** which mentions **Virasimha** as the son of **Vairasimha**. The date of that inscription, however, presents some difficulty. I, therefore, leave this point here for further investigation. For the time being, this portion of the chronology has to be regarded as uncertain.

Thus, we find that **Vijayasimha** was probably succeeded by **Vairasimha** and from him was born **Arasimha**. His throne was occupied by **Chōḍa** (v. 147) **Chōḍa** had an elder brother named **Vikramakēśari** whose son was **Rapasimha** (v. 148).

Chōḍa is also called **Chōḍasimha** in the **Rānapura** inscription and nothing more is known of him and his predecessor from any other epigraph. **Vikramakēśari** is here mentioned as the elder brother of **Chōḍa**, but in the **Ābu** inscription of V. S. 1342 he is mentioned as the son⁷ of **Chōḍa** which seems to be more probable. Nothing is mentioned here about **Rapasimha**. The *Ekalinga-māhātmya*, however, attributes to his reign the splitting up of the ruling family into two divisions, viz., the **Rāval** (senior) and the **Rāṇā** (junior), ruling over **Chitor** and **Sesodā** respectively. Although our author has sometimes closely followed the *Ek. mht.*, he has, however, not borrowed the portion dealing with this division, evidently because his object here was to prepare a chronological list of the princes of the main branch who really governed **Mewār** as a whole. He, as a matter of fact, is quite cautious in distinguishing the princes of the one branch from those of the other (as

¹ Above, Vol. II, pp. 10-13.

² *Bhāv. Inscr.*, pp. 84-87; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 347 ff.

³ *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, pp. 445-46; *Bhandarkar, List*, Nos. 176 and 191.

⁴ *Bhāv. Inscr.*, pp. 113-15; *An. Rep.*, A. S. I., 1907-08, pp. 214 f.

⁵ *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, p. 444, n. 3.

⁶ *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 388, n. 7 and p. 389.

⁷ *Bhāv. Inscr.*, p. 86.

will be seen later on), which knowledge he appears to have derived from a close study of the *Ekalinga-māhātmya*.

Rajasingha was succeeded by **Kahomasirha**, the younger brother of **Mahapasirha** who evidently predeceased his father. Then **Sāmantasirha** became the ruler of Mewār (v. 149). Nothing beyond the names of these princes is known from the present epigraph.

Sāmantasirha was succeeded by his brother **Kumārasirha** who turned out of Mewār one **Kitū** who had somehow taken hold of the country (v. 150). He also made Āghātapura his own by acquiring the favour of the ruler of Gujarāt.

Kitū whom Kumārasirha had driven out of Mewār was the third son of Ālhanādēva, the Chauhān ruler of Nāḍol in Mārwār. He was brave and ambitious and had acquired the dominion of Jālōr from the Paramāras through his own might, and had become an independent prince. He was the founder of the Sonagarā branch of the Chauhān race¹. In the inscriptions and the copper-plates of the Chauhāns, his name is mentioned as Kīrtipāla but he was better known as Kītū² in Rājasthān. He seems to have attacked Mewār and taken hold of it in the reign of Sāmantasirha, the predecessor of Kumārasirha, when the former had become weaker owing to being at regular war with the rulers of Gujarāt in order to regain his dominions gone in their possession.³ When Kumārasirha succeeded his elder brother Sāmantasirha, he practically seems to have nothing to govern except the fort of Chitor which the latter seems to have regained from the ruler of Gujarāt through hard struggle. One of the two 'princeships' (*nṛipatvā*, v. 151) which Kumārasirha is here stated to have gained was that acquired by expelling Kītū out of Mewār; the other was gained by recovering the ancient capital of Āghātapura which still remained in the possession of the rulers of Gujarāt.

Āghātapura was lost to Mewār as early as the first half of the eleventh century of the Vikrama era, having been attacked by Vākpatirāja (Muñja), the Paramāra ruler of Mālwā, in the reign of Śaktikumāra, as known from v. 10⁴ of the Hastikunḍī inscription of V. S. 1053 (=A.D. 997). Since then it became a Paramāra dominion along with the famous fort of Chitor which also seems to have been annexed thereto by the same prince, where used to live the celebrated Paramāra prince Bhōja, the son of Sindhurāja and the nephew of Muñja, who built there the great Tribhuvanānārāyaṇa temple (now popularly known as that of Samiddhēśvara and Mōkalajī), so called after his *biruda* of *Tribhuvanānārāyaṇa*.⁵ This Paramāra dominion of Mewār subsequently passed in the hands of the Chaulukya rulers of Gujarāt in the reign of Jayasirha Siddharāja, who, after a hard struggle extending over a period of twelve years defeated Naravarman and his son Yaśovarman, the Paramāra rulers of Mālwā and brought the Mālwā dominion, including Āghātapura and Chitor, under his own control⁶. The rulers of Gujarāt enjoyed an uninterrupted authority over both these important localities of Mewār for a long time, when Sāmantasirha of Mewār, the elder brother of Kumārasirha attacked the ruler of Gujarāt who is supposed to be Ajayapāla, to regain his lost citadels. There is no explicit mention of this fight in any of the records so far discovered, but we find an indication of it in the Ābu inscription of V. S. 1287 (=A.D. 1230)⁷, where the ruler of Gujarāt is stated to have been assisted by Prahlādanādēva, the younger brother of Dhārāvarsha, the Paramāra ruler of Ābu. Through this fight Sāmantasirha appears to have acquired the fort of Chitor

¹ *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, p. 452 and Bhandarkar's *List*, p. 382, n. 8.

² *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, p. 452.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 451.

⁴ Above, Vol. X, p. 20.

⁵ *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, pp. 435-36.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 437.

⁷ Above, Vol. VII, p. 211.

from the Chaulukya Ajayapāla, but had been unable to take back Āghātapura, which task was ultimately carried out by his younger brother Kumārasimha as mentioned here. He was succeeded by **Mahāpasimha** (v. 151) who is mentioned in other inscriptions as Mathanasimha.

Mahāpasimha (Mathanasimha) was succeeded by **Padmasimha**, a prince of great valour whom people even now remember for his manifold merits (v. 152).

Next we come to the description of Rāula śrī-**Jayasimha**, also called **Jaitrasimha**. Though a fresh title is given to the portion dealing with this ruler it has to be regarded as a sub-division of the *Rāja-varṇana* which is still continued. This prince is stated to have governed the four territorial divisions, viz., Chitrakūṭa, Āghāṭa, Mēdapāṭa and Vāgaḍa; and no prince on the surface of the earth is said to have ever thought of humbling his pride (v. 154). He held his court at the capital of **Nāgharada**, the modern Nāgdā near Eklīngajī (v. 155).

Mēdapāṭa as mentioned here seems to have comprised the rest of Mewār excluding Chitor and Āghātapura, both of which are regarded as forming two different divisions. Vāgaḍa, which is described here as the fourth division, is the country to the south of Mewār, now forming two different states, viz., Dungarpur and Bānswārā.

Rāula śrī-**Tējasimha** (vv. 158-159) is spoken of next. Nothing beyond his name and a poetical description of himself is given here. It may be noted that the portion dealing with this ruler has got a new title and a colophon, and has thus been made an independent description although apparently under *Rāja-varṇana*. The poet has evidently not been able to maintain a strict uniformity in the classification of his *varṇanas*.

The account of Rāula śrī-**Samarasimha**, the son of Tējasimha, which comes next extends over seventeen verses (vv. 160-176). It is worthy of note that the portion covered by these seventeen verses is nothing but a reproduction of the corresponding portion of the Princes' chapter of the *Ēkalinga-māhātmya*, in the same order. It has already been stated by me that the latter had been compiled prior to the composition of the record under consideration, borrowing verses from many old inscriptions and arranging them sometimes without the least discrimination. This being so, the present description of our record (being nothing but a copy from the *Ēk. mht.*) has naturally come to have certain verses (particularly v. 168), which, properly speaking, have no bearing on Samarasimha. Nothing of any historical importance is mentioned here of this prince. Simply his valour, munificence and such other virtues are poetically described. His erection of a small temple dedicated to Śiva called Dhārēśvara at Ēklīngajī, however, finds mention in v. 167. The remaining verses of the sub-section, borrowed as they are from other inscriptions through the *Ēk. mht.*, are primarily found in connection with the other princes of this line. In v. 176 which is the last dealing with Samarasimha, he is stated to have gone to heaven having appointed **Ratnasimha**, his son, for protecting the fort of Chitor.

The last ruler recorded on this slab is Mahārāṇā śrī-**Lash(kh)amasī** whose account is continued on the fourth slab. The author here clearly distinguishes Lakhamasī by calling him *Mahārāṇā* from the foregoing princes who are styled *Rāula*, and seems to have critically studied the *Ēk. mht.*, particularly the portion dealing with the division of the family. He has here deliberately omitted the description of all the Rāṇās found just after that of Rāval Samarasimha in the *Ēk. mht.*, and has taken into account only one of them, viz., Lakhamasī who, although not a crowned prince of Mewār just like others of his branch, was conspicuous by his presence with his seven sons, as a gallant defender of the fort when Chitor was sacked by Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī in A. D. 1303. In v. 177 he is stated to have bravely defended the fort as well as the honour of the family which had been cast in a critical situation when Ratnasimha, the ruling prince, had fled (*gutē*, v. 177) from the field of battle in a cowardly manner (*kāpurushair=vinuktām*, v. 177).

This inscription does not speak of Ratnasimha as having bravely fought and died in the battle-field, as Rai Bahadur Ojhā thinks¹. This battle is here stated to have continued for full one year (*saṃvatsaram*, v. 179) before the Muhammadans could capture the fort, while the Muslim historians reduce this period to half its length, i.e., six months². I really could not understand why Rai Bahadur Ojhā has omitted the word *saṃvatsaram* in his citation³ of this verse, which is visible on the slab plainly enough.

Lastly, *Saṃvat 1517* is given as the date of the inscription. Other particulars of the date are not given on this slab as on others, probably for want of space.

Nothing can be said definitely with regard to the authorship of the inscription until the last (i.e., the fifth) slab is brought to light. Rāi Bahadur Ojhā is, however, inclined to regard the author of the Tower of Victory inscription, Mahēsa of Daśapura (Daśōrā)-*jñāni* to be the author of this inscription also, on the ground of the common text found in both these records⁴. But the occurrence of some common text in two records does not necessarily imply the identity of authorship, for some of the verses common in both these records appear to have been borrowed from other ancient epigraphs.

It hardly needs any mention that the present inscription belongs to the reign of Mahārāja Kumbhakarpa of Mewār whose description has been taken up towards the end of the fourth slab and must have been continued on the fifth. Though the main object which the inscription aims at recording, cannot be definitely ascertained till the last slab is discovered, it stands to reason that it recorded the erection of the Kumbhasvāmin temple at Kumbhalgarh.

TEXT.*

First Slab.*

प्रथमपट्टिका १

- 1 श्री ॥ सखि [१] श्रीरक्षसप्रसादात् ॥(१) श्रीरक्षसप्रसादात् । श्री[एक]सिंह-
प्रसादात् । अथ श्री[गो]ः[१] — — सुखमातनोतु जगतां यस्याङ्गिपीठे
सुठम्दासचिदमालिमौलिबिलसद्वक्त्रप्रभादीपिते । सिद्धराक्षसमंडलो दिग्मभिर्भि-
- 2 कैक[चि]तामभिर्भिर्तोर्षासु स[च]सपचिजषां [दि]वांगनागां प्री ॥१० [संबोद*][१]:
प्रथयतादतुलां सुदं यो वासोनुबिंबिततनुं ग्रथिनं विचृष्टुः । लब्धो मया-
सुतमय)खसु मोदकोयमितं नमर्तं गिरिजांगण-

¹ *Raj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, p. 484. [Mr. Vyāsa's interpretation seems far-fetched. *Gaṇ* may mean 'having died'.—Ed.]

² Briggs' *Firishā*, Vol. I, pp. 353-54.

³ *Raj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, p. 484, n. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Fasc. II, p. 632.

⁵ Transcribed from the original stone slabs.

⁶ A portion of the text now missing on these slabs has been restored from other records. We shall, for the sake of convenience, call them in the footnotes by the following abbreviations: the Chaulukya Kumārāpāla inscription of V. S. 1207 at Chitor (above, Vol. II, pp. 422-24)—A; the first slab of the Chitor inscription of V. S. 1331 (*Bhāv. Inscr.*, pp. 74-77 and Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXIII, pl. XXV)—B; the Samādhiśvara temple inscription of V. S. 1485 (above, Vol. II, pp. 410-21 and *Bhāv. Inscr.*, pp. 98-100)—C; the *Princes' chapter* of the *Śhaṅga-Māhātmya* of the time of Kumbhā (a fragmentary manuscript copy of which I have found in my father Samskrit Vyāsa Vishnu Ram Śāstri's collection)—D; the first slab of the Tower of Victory inscription (Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXIII, pl. XX)—E; and the later *Ek. māt.*, of the time of prince Rāi Mal (a manuscript copy of which written in V. S. 1754 I have also found in my father's collection)—F.

⁷ Indicated by a symbol.

⁸ Metre: *Śardūlavikrīḍita*.

- ३ रंगभूमौ ॥२^१ त्रैलोक्यातुल्यरचनैकसूत्रधारः [कल्]। प्रथयतु व[पिनाकापा*]-
णिः । यद्वक्तिप्रवणधियो यदीयनाम्ना सर्वार्थान्मनुजगणाः क्षणाल्लभन्ते ॥३^२
कपोलप्रोदं चन्दमधुरतालुक्त्वमधुपस्फुरद्-
- ४ जामोतिः श्रवण[पट]तालो गजमुखः । चलत्कु[च्छ]डा[दंडा*]^१ कलितकल[कंठः प्रथयता*]^२-
श्रुदं बिभ्रत्सूत्रं त्रिभुवनमहामंडपविधी ॥४^३ कुटिलासरित्समीपे त्रिकूटगिरि-
गहनभूषणी नित्यं [त्यम्] [१*] वाञ्छितफलप्रदा-
- ५ श्री देवी श्रीविंध्यवासिनी जयति ॥५^६ उद्यदिनद्युतिभासि*[कि]रोटा तुंग — —
— — — [यु]क्तां [क्ताम्] । स्मेरमुखी वरदांकुशपाशाभीतिकरां प्रभजे
भुवनेशी(शीम्) ॥६^७ जयति जगच्च[क्ष]यनाथो जगतोपतिपूजितस्तदा शंभुः [१*]
- ६ वाञ्छितफलप्रदोयं श्रीमा[नि]त्येकलिङ्गाख्यः ॥७^८ इन्द्रः स*[र्व]सुरेश्वरः [क्ष][तयुगे भक्त्या
यमाराध*]^९ यज्ञेचायां [स]कलाभिलाषफलिनो धेनुस्तथा द्वापरे । नागेशः किल
तत्त्वक[क्ष]लियुगे हारीतनामा मुनिस्त्रीयं सर्व-
- ७ जगद्गुरुर्विजयते श्री^{१०}एकलिङ्गाग्रभुः ॥८^{११} जयत्येक[श*]^{१२}[र]घातविदारितपुरश्चयः । धनु-
र्हराणां धी*[१२][र]यः^{१३} पिनाकी भुवनत्रये ॥९^{१४} त्रैलोक्यं त्रिपुरांतकोवतु सदा
यन्मौ^{१५}लिमूले अटानूटार्चि[क्ष]परिपिंजरे परिगता भात्युच्चकै-
- ८ जाङ्गवी । कर्पूरामलपट्टिकेव निहिता [जाबूनदे भाज[ने] [हे]मादेवदिते[व]
— — — — — ॥१०^{११} कचिदल्पपटलाभः काल-
कूटासु(नु)वेधात्कचिदमलतराभिर्मूर्तिभिः खेतकायः । विमल इव जलौघो यासु-
- ९ नः स्वार्धनख प्रणदतु दुरितं वो नीलकंठस्य [कंठः ॥११^{१६} ज]य देवि जगन्माता:
.. .. . — । विदद्यान्नाननं दिष्ट्या प्रण-
तामरकंसु(नु)ते ॥१२^{१४} विश्वो[क्ष]का वल्लभा स्वाहा किमु ननु गदितं वर्ष-
संधेग्निबीजं किं वा चार्धेव्ययं

² This verse is no. 1 in E.

* Text within these brackets

* Metre: Sikkharini.

• Metre : Giti.

7 Metre : Doodh

• Metra : Ārva.

- Text within the

* Sandhi is not observed here.

11 Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

* Text within these brackets

13 The vagina seems to have been added later on and hence is

Metre : Anushtubh.

15 The vertical stroke

14 Metre : *Malini*.

— **THE 625** — **11** — **410000**

- 10 वा भवति निशि परं किं च रूपं तदाच । किं सातत्याभिधायि स्फुरति
ननु] प[दं] [श्रे]य[से से]वका[नां दा]त[व्या]शी^१कथं वा वदत मतिमता^२
कुम्भकर्षाय रात्रे^३ ॥१२^४ इनो धिनोतु नो लीनोमीनो धीनो बु(ब)भोपि
नो^५ । विनोदनो मनोधा-
- 11 [न]ोहीनोन्नानो न नोदनो^६ ॥१४^७ इत्याशीःप्रकरणं ॥ अथ [त्रि*]कूटवर्षनं ॥
शिखरेषु पुष्पगुरुभिस्तुभि[स्त्र]दुपत्यकासु विमलैः सलिलैः । मृदुकुजगुञ्जदलि-
भिर्^८लिभिर्द्विरदेस्त्रिकूटशिखरी जयति ॥१५^९ इन्दिरारचितचारुर्मदि-
- 12 रा हेमभूमिसवमत्य तामपि । विन्ध्यवासरुचिरेच्छिकू[टि]नं स्तौमि किं कि[म]परं
तमुत्तमं(मम्) ॥१६^{१०} यत्र मृगविहारिह्रीर^{११}हरितारक्तोत्पलप्रोक्षसत्सक्तोत्तरभूरिभाभिर-
जनि स्वर्गप्रयागभ्रमः । चित्रं तत्र विलोकयन्निरमि[तं] चैतं चिकूटा-
- 13 चले नानायासवतापि दुर्लभतरा मुक्तिर्जनैराप्यते ॥१७^{१२} इति त्रिकूटवर्षनं ॥
अथ कुटिलावर्षनं ॥ पातकविमतविनाशकशंकरतरवारिनिर्मला कुटिला ।
सुरसरिदिव शिवसुपनतमाराधितमुपगता जयति ॥१८^{१३} कचिञ्जीना मौ-

^१ Better read *malimatām* as qualifying *śevakānām*.

^२ This verse, strictly speaking, should go to prince Kumbha's description, but being benedictory in nature it seems to have been included in this *prakaraṇa*. The solution to the riddle contained in this verse appears to be श्रीरस्तु चण्डा सदा.

^३ Metre: *Sragdharā*.

^४ Read *naḥ*. The intentional change of *visarga* to medial *ō* at the end of both the halves of this verse appears to be for the sake of alliteration.

^५ The meaning of this verse appears to be as follows:—

विनोदन इति वीणां अञ्जनां श्रोत्रियाणां पद्मिणां वा नोदनः स्त्रेषु कर्मसु प्रेरकः इनः सूर्यः । मनी-
धानः सिद्धिदायकत्वेन हर्षयित्वा मनसः पीवकः नः शशिशः । अहीनो न हीन इति सर्वैश्वर्यसुभगः, अथवा
अग्निः कालियस्य इनः शास्ता इनः पर्यन्ताः इनः पतिः कृष्णरूपी विश्वरित्यर्थः । अज्ञानो न अथात् परम-
ज्ञानवान्, ही नही नृकृतार्थे हृदयतः, एवंभूतो धीनः धियां सतीनां इनः स्वामी गीष्पतिरित्यर्थः । नोदनः
जीवभक्ष्य अथे प्रापकः वभोपि, अपिः समुद्रयार्थः, वो वायुः नः सकलप्राणिभिः सुतः, अस्य वधासी नयेति
विश्वेवषसमासः, सकललोकप्रशंसाभिराभो जीवनसन्नेषयिता च वायुरित्यर्थः । एष सर्वेपि लीनः आभिमुख्येन वर्त-
मानः सन् नः अस्मान् अस् भटिति धिनोतु मंगलादिप्रदानेन प्रीणयतु इत्यर्थः ।

^६ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

^७ The syllables 'd=alibhi' which were at first omitted by mistake are later on engraved above the line in smaller letters.

^८ The *r* over *ba* seems to have been engraved later on in a very narrow space.

^९ Metre: *Pramitākṣharā*.

^{१०} Metre: *Rathōddhātā*.

^{११} The word *kīra* primarily means 'a diamond', but it is here used in the sense of 'white' which it may mean secondarily.

^{१२} Metre: *Śārdūlavikṛīḍitā*.

^{१३} Metre: *Aryā*.

- 14 ना मकरमहती मध्यजगती पतत्तीरं नीरं तटविट[पि]नो वीतविटपाः । अशक्ते¹ संसक्ते²
नटति कुटिलं म)ध्यनिकटे ततो जाता मध्ये त्रिदिवसरितोऽस्या³ कुटि-
लता ॥१८⁴ इति कुटिलावर्षनं ॥ अथ विंध्यवासावर्षनं ॥ महेशमोहनं
मो-
- 15 हतमोनिर्व्वीसनं महः । गुंजापुंजकृतोत्तंसं विंध्यवासमुपास्महे ॥२०⁵ इन्द्रनीलकुल-
मञ्जुलद्युति[र्ल]या दलितदैत्यसंहतिः । सन्निकूटभुवि चारुहासिनी चंडिका
जयति विंध्यवासिनी ॥२१⁶ धावद्दीर्घ(ध)नुर्धरैरपि महाकुंता-
- 16 सिविचासिभिर्व्वीरैर्हानवपुंगवै ऋ परित्तं सं[या]मरंगोद्धतं(तम्) । आ[कस्याव]टुर्मञ्जिष्ठा
समदहप्रोद्दामशूला[न]लज्वालाभिर्गन्धिषं जगति सततं सा विंध्यवासावतु ॥२२⁷
इति विंध्यवासावर्षनं ॥ अथ श्रीएकलिंगवर्षनं ॥ श्रीवाटे मेदपाटे
- 17 परिहृतकपटे प्राञ्चकूटे त्रिकूटे हारी हारीतरा[शि]रग[णि]ततपसा शंभुराविर्वा[भूव] ।
यस्याद्यापि प्रसादादधिगतयशसो व्यपवशे [न]रेशा निर्व्वैरं भूमिभारं भुजभुज-
गफणमंडलैरुहन्ति ॥२३⁸ काशीभूमौ विकाशी न भवति न गि-
- 18 रो राजते राजतेऽन्यो लंकालंकारभूयं न वहति न गतः शोणिते¹⁰ शोणितेपि ।
इत्ये[कैक] — — f. ७ ७ ७ f. ७ ७ संज्ञयेवादिदिष्टुः प्राप्तप्रौढिस्त्रिकूटे
प्रमथपतिरसावेकलिंगाङ्गयोस्ति ॥२४⁹ इति श्रीएकलिंगवर्षनं ॥ अथ इन्द्र-
- 19 तीर्थभोजसरोवर्षनं ॥ विराजते तत्र च पूर्व्व[सं]ञ्चितं सरस्वुरेन्द्रस्य शशांकसुंद[रं-
(रम्)] । श्रीभोज[भूषे]न सु[केतु]¹¹मंडितं विधाय यज्ञोजसरः स्फुटीकृतं(तम्) ॥२५¹²
रत्नप्रदानसमये तु मया विषेण संभावितोयमिति भोजतडागदंभात् । भोजस्त-
- 20 रंगचमरैरमरप्रवीरं संवीजयन्¹³ज(झ)लधि[रा]विरभूत्किमत्र ॥२६¹⁴ तीरवीरुधि मरालवा-
लि[का] मंजरीमधुकमा[धुरी]शुषः । संस्पृशं(शं)त्यपि न धूलिधूसरं केसरं
सरसि भोजसंज्ञके ॥२७¹⁵ सरसी सुरेशदिशि शंकर¹⁵तो विम-

¹ Read *asaktēh* (genitive singular).

² Read *samsaktēr*=(ablative singular in *hētu* or cause).

³ Read *avaritō=avyāh*.

⁴ Metre: *Śikharinī*.

⁵ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁶ Metre: *Rathōddhatā*.

⁷ Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁸ There is a medial *ē* stroke on top of the syllable *dva*, which is superfluous.

⁹ Metre: *Sragdharā*.

¹⁰ This word as qualifying *Śōnita* or *Śōnitapura* (beyond), the city of *Bāpāsura*, a great devotee of *Śiva*, is used in the indicated sense (*lukshyārtha*) of *anurakta* meaning 'devoted'.

¹¹ The word *kētu* here means 'shape' or 'form'.

¹² Metre: *Uṇjāti*.

¹³ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

¹⁴ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

¹⁵ The syllable *ra* has a superfluous *prishṭha-mātrā*.

- 21 लैरनस्थकमलैस्सलिलैः । सृगनाभिपञ्चमिव भातितरामिह मेदपाटजगती[यु][व*]-
तेः ॥२८^१ इति इन्द्रतीर्थभोज[सरोव]र्षनं ॥ अथ कामधेनुवर्षनं ॥ चक्षी
चारु चकार चिकरमतिं वक्षी विशालानतिं रंभारंभमुपासितुं
- 22 परिणतिं कर्तुं विरंची रुचिं(चिम्) । यस्यां विध्यगिरिचिकूटकुहरोदं चच्छि^२वारा-
धमस्कीतो(ता)[दा]स्पृक्षभाजि सा तनुमतो धेनुर्चि[नोतु] श्रिया ॥२९^३ उपास्य
गुरुकंदराकुहरसंचरं शंकरं जगाम जगतीतलादिह हि कामधेनुर्दिव-
(यम्) । न
- 23 चेदमक्षचंद्रिकाधवलदुग्धधाराभरैः [स्रु]टैरधिधराधरं कथमभावि विंध्याचले ।।[१]३०^४
इति कामधेनुवर्षनं ॥ अथ तक्षकवर्षनं ॥ उ[र्व्वीमं]डलमाविभिद्य सुतला-
दाश्च चिकूटाचले संयम्य स्वमुमापतिं परिगतो भे-
- 24 जे भुजंगाधिपः । तेनालोकित एष ना[ग]नगरं निर्माय विप्राय तद्वत्वा[च्चा]
सन्निजकी[र्त्ति]कौरवकुले चंद्रायते तक्षकः ॥३१^५ शंकरं परिचचार तक्ष[क]ः
स चिकूटधरि(र)णीविहारिणं(णम्) । पश्य तत्फलमनेन वक्षसा चारुहा-
- 25 र इव सोपि धार्यते ॥३२^५ स्वर्गसादक[त य]ः परीक्षितं भूपमप्रतिभयद्वरक्षितं-
(तम्) । त[स्य] शीर्यमद्य किं प्रशस्यते तक्षकस्य सुतवैरदारुणं(णम्) ॥३३^५
इति तक्षक[वर्षनं] ॥ अथ धारिस्वरवर्षनं ॥ एकलिंगनिलयस्य सन्धु(भु)-
र्क्षं पा-
- 26 शिनो हरिति राजते हरः । संततं चि[पव*][भू]मिगाहिनी वाहिनी शिरसि
येन धार्यते ॥३४^६ चिकूटगिरिकंदराकुहरवारिधाराभरैर्जटाघटनलंपटैः शिरसि
यस्य संभूयते । यतेत मनसा परं परिक्षल्य तं शंकरं करोतु
- 27 सुकृती निजं त्रिदशवक्त्रभादुर्लभं(भम्) ।।[१]३५^४ इति* धारिस्वरवर्षनं ॥ अथ
वैद्यनाथवर्षनं ॥ योनादिर्ष परासुसुभ्रक्त(ज्भ)ति न वा वैद्येन संसाध्यते
वीरदक्षकलमूलपञ्चविटपद्मातैरलं योजितैः । [तं] संसारमहागदं तनुमतामा-
मूलमु-
- 28 च्छेदयन्मानध्यानमहौषधेन जय[तु श्री*]वैद्यनाथो हरः ॥३६^५ अधिविध्यमंध[क]-
रिपुर्व्विपुलं यदगापयच्चिजयश्रीऽम्बमुखीः । तदुपाचरन्निदग्भूमितलप्रतिवासिनाम-
खिलतापरुजं(जम्) ॥[३]७^१ इति वैद्यनाथवर्षनं ॥ अथ वा(वा)-

^१ Metre: Pramitākharā.

^२ The conjunct *ch* seems to be engraved later on.

^३ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

^४ Metre: Prīthvi.

^५ Metre: Rathōddhatā.

- 29 चेलाववर्षनं ॥ धौरं नौरं कमलम[म]लं मंजुला वंजुला]लौ स्फोटं गीतं चदु
मधुलिहां वीतशोकाश्च कोकाः । यत्रागाधे सरसरसितं जृंभते सारसानां
काम्यां याम्यां दिशमनु सरः शंकरात्तश्चकास्ति ॥३८^१ यद[कारि^२ मोकल-
- 30 नृपः स[रोवरं ल]सदिंदिरानिल[य]राजिराजितं(तम्) । उपगम्य भालनयनस्तदा[श]यं
जलकेलये अयति नापरं पथः ॥३९^३ हरभालभंगुरशिशुतिभिः कुसुदाकरं
विकचमुद्वहति । दिवसे दिनेशविवशेपि सरस्तदुप[चिक्कट]-
- 31 मतुलं जयति ॥४०^४ [इति] वा(वा)[चे]लाववर्षनं ॥ अथ असमाधोश्चरवर्षनं ॥
स्था[णू(चू)]नां शकसंचतोभयचयः चेवेषु काश्यादिषु स्त्रैरं भक्तजनालये
परिददेभौष्टं समाध्युत्सवे ।^५ क्षेत्रं किं परिचित्य दुर्गमवितं औचिककूटं
वृषैर्यो-
- 32 ध्यास्ते शकघातिभिः स ज[यतादे*]वः समाधोश्चरः ॥४१^६ [मौ]लौ प्रौढो जलौघो
वसति हिमवपुर्वक्रदोषाकरोपि प्रोचस्त्रिधः कपर्दः कुटिलगतिपते^७ फूटकतिः
सत्कणानां(नाम्) । ज्वालीघो दारदोत्योधिगलमिति शिवायुक्समेत्या-
- 33 प रुद्रो दिश्याद्वचिककूटं विभव[म]भयर्दं द्राक् समाधोश्च[तां] सः^८ ॥४२^९ तस्मिन्
देवः [स]र्वलोकैकनाथो वासं प्राप्तः प्रेयसीप्रौतिद्वष्टः । इष्टे दत्ते भुक्तिमुक्तौ
द्रुतं यः पुंभ्यो भाति औसमाधोश्चरः सः ॥४३^{१०} यस्य ध्वजं वीक्ष^{११} पुमान्
मनागप्यवेक्ष-
- 34 तसौ महिषध्वजं न । संपूजयेत्तं [व]षभध्वजं यः प्रपूजयेत्तं ग^{१२}डध्वजोपि ॥४४^{१३}
तं दक्षिणेन प्रकटप्रभावा औजस्कान्धाकलितस्त्रभावा । मंदाकिनौति प्रथि-
तास्ति वापी यां सर्वथा पश्यति नैव पापी ॥४५^{१४} वापी परेयं मणिकर्षि-
केव समा-

^१ Metre: *Mandākrāntā*.

^२ This Passive Voice Aorist form of the verb in the Active Voice construction of the sentence is grammatically incorrect. It may have been used here for the sake of the metre.

^३ Metre: *Mañjubhāshini*.

^४ Metre: *Pramitāksharā*.

^५ This *daṇḍa* being omitted at first was thinly engraved later on.

^६ Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

^७ Read -*patēh*.

^८ There is a little obscurity in the arrangement of words towards the end of this verse. *Āpa* is to be connected with *Chūtrakūjan* and *samādhiśatām*, and *diśyād* with *vibhavam*.

^९ Metre: *Śragdharā*.

^{१०} Metre: *Śālini*.

^{११} Read *vikshya*.

^{१२} There is a medial *ē* stroke on *ḍa*, which is superfluous.

^{१३} Metre: *Upajāti*.

^{१४} Metre: *Indravajrā*.

- 35 धिशुः खलु विश्वनाथः । काशो प्रकाशोपि च चिचकूटः किं नेह तद्यत्
[भ*]वेद्विमुक्तये ॥४६^१ हृत्यावाध्व(ङ्)जदर्शनं महदर्थं स्य(स्व)र्गोमरावासदः पूजा
यस्य विमुक्तिदा मुनिवरैर्गीता सकृद्वा कृता । यथास्ते भगवान् स्वयं स
जगतां भर्ता
- 36 समिद्धेश्वरस्तस्यालं गुणवर्धने[न] महिमास्तुतोपि विज्ञायते ॥४७^२ अ[स्मि]न् समिद्ध-
श्चरदक्षिणमूर्तिसंस्था भक्ता(ङ्)रहारि निपतञ्जलमञ्जदीशा । मंदाकिनीसरि-
दियं सुरनिम्नगाभा स्नानावृणामघनुदेस्त्ववलोकनाच्च ॥४८^३ यच्च श्री-
- 37 मति चिचकूटशिखरे श्रीकुम्भ[मौ]पतिः प्रासादं गिरिजापतेर्व्यर[चय]न्दे(द्)वालयाली-
वृत(तम्) । उन्मीलक्षुपताकङ्कमकलशे रत्नावलीतोरणे यज्ञेशः समवाप्य सौख्य-
मधिकं धत्ते समाधीशतां(ताम्) ॥४९^४ यथासादगिरो न्यस्तध्वजहस्तेन
राज-
- 38 ते । नैसंध्यतूर्यादेन कलिं निर्भर्त्सय[न्निव] ॥५०^५ इति श्रीसमाधीश्वर[व]र्धनं ॥
अथ महालक्ष्मीवर्धनं ॥ शकापहृत्पाविते वसति चिचकूटे शिवः शिवं प्रभजते
दिशन्निति समीक्ष्य लक्ष्मीः किमु । स्थिताच्च शकमर्हितस्थलमलं विहाया-
- 39 स्तु सा सतां परमुदे द्रुतं स(सु)फलदा [शि]वस्य प्रिया ॥५१^६ श्रीकु(कु)-
टेश्वरगदाधरयोः पुरस्ताद्देव्याः त्रियोपि मधुराबुधरैः सरोभिः । क्षीरोदधित्व-
मधिगंतुमिवाप्तभेदः क्षीरोदधिक्षिविधमूर्तिरिहाधुवास ॥५२^७ सौभाग्यैकमहीष-
धिर्भ-
- 40 गवती यस्मिन् भवानी स्वयं जागर्ति [प्रि]यसंनिधानवसतिः सा[ध्वी]जनानां
गुरुः । देवस्योपि समस्तनाकरमणीसंतानदानव्रतप्रसो(स्यो)तन्मकरंदर्बिंदुसुरभि-
प्रस्फारन्तुल्यागणः^८ ॥५३^९ पाव(व)तौमुखपद्मस्य नेत्रभ्रमरशोभिनः ।
- 41 प्रबोधहेतवे नमः^{१०} कुकु(कु)टेश्वरभानवे ॥५४^५ इति महालक्ष्मीवर्धनं ॥*] अथ
कुम्भस्वामिवर्धनं ॥ सूर्याचंद्रमसौ यच्च दधाते कलशत्रिधं(यम्) । प्रासादः
कारितः कुम्भस्वामिनः कु(कु)म्भभुजा ॥५५^६ यस्यैलोक्वजनिस्थितिप्रलयकृत्^{१०}यो-
(यो)

^१ Metre : Upajāti.

^२ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

^३ Metre : Vasantatilakā.

^४ This verse is found in l. 23 of A where the first half of it is destroyed.

^५ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

^६ Metre : Pīṭhī.

^७ The syllable vā is only partially engraved.

^८ This verse is no. 70 in C where variance in reading is in *samtāna-dāna-vraja*. It will be seen that our author has improved the reading.

^९ The sense is *namrō bhavāmi*.

^{१०} Sandhi is not observed here.

- 42 दानवेन्द्रांतको यो विश्वस्थितये बभार दशधा मूर्तिं [सु]नीन्द्रैर्नु[तां(ताम्) । दं]-
द्वाप्रोद्धृतसाद्रिसागरधरो ध्यातश्च यो योगिभिर्विष्णुर्यश्च विराजते स भगवानाद्यो
वराहाकतिः ॥५६^१ सत्यं सति जगत्(क्ष)यीपरिसरे ते ते सुराधीश्वरा
येषां
- 43 संसृतिमात्रमत्र फलदं स्वर्गापवर्गादिनः । अस्माकं तु यदाधि चित्तफलकै^२
संकल्पकल्पद्रुमं कुंभस्वामिपदारवि(विं)दमुदितं तेनैव सर्वमयः ॥५७^१ इति श्री-
कुंभस्वामिवर्णनं ॥ अथ मेदपाटवर्णनं ॥ अथास्ति देशः प्रवरप्रदेशः
- 44 श्रीमेदपाटाभिधया प्रतीतः । स्वर्गोपि यं वीक्ष्य विलक्षभावाद[ल]क्षभावं प्रतिपद्य
तस्थौ ॥५८^३ तौर्धर्मदरकांदरैरिव मनोज्ञयैः पुरैः स्वःश्रियो लावण्यैरिव विस्तृतैः
सितमणिस्त्वच्छैः सरोभिश्च यः । व्योमश्रीमुज्जुरैरिव प्रतिपदं
- 45 स्कीतो जयत्यंगनासौंदर्यैकनिकेतनं जनपदः श्रीमेदपाटाभि[ध]ः^४ ॥५९^१ उच्चैर्द्वैवर्गहैस्स-
रा(रो)भिरमलैः पुण्यापगाभिर्महावापीभिः शरदिदुधामधवलैश्चत्तोरणे(णै)र्मंदिरैः ।
आरा।मैरतुलैर्विचित्रखनिभिश्चाभ्रलिहैरद्रिभिर्व्या
- 46 नूनं हसतीव शक्रवसुधां सनायकालंकृता ॥६०^१ वाह्य यत्र [वि]लीङ्गवा इव नरा
गंधर्वपुत्रा इव स्वर्जाता इव धेनवश्च सुदृशो गौर्वाणकन्या इव । पंचाश्या
इव शस्त्रिणो मणिरिव स्वच्छं मनो धोमतां देशस्तोयमनर्गलामरपुरश्री-
- 47 गर्वसर्वकथः(षः)^५ ॥६१^१ प्रजवितुरगहेषारावभाकण्यं यस्यासहजयुवतिलोके [कान]नातं
प्रयाति । रुचिरवसनहारैः कंटका(क)पावसत्तैर्ध्वजदिरपलाशाः कल्पवृक्षत्व-
मापुः^६ ॥६२^७ यत्र सन्नप्रपाः पांथसार्यविश्रामभूमयः ।^८ प्रति-
- 48 ग्रामं प्रतिपुर^९ प्रतिपत्तनमावभुः ॥६३^{१०} नदोत्तटस्वास्तुरवोध्यचारिणा अमं शुधां
चापहरति हेलया । कुलीनभावात्स्वयमेव देहिनः परोपकारे हि भवन्ति
तत्पराः ॥ ॥६४^{११} सरसा कवयो यत्र गुरवस्तत्त्व(च)वेदिनः । बुधाः सति
प्रमाण-

^१ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

^२ There is a superfluous anusvāra over *kē*.

^३ Metre: Upajāti.

^४ This verse is no. 6 in B.

^५ This verse is no. 7 in B where variance in reading is in °marapuri-śrī-garva.

^६ This verse is no. 16 in B and belongs to the description of prince Bhōja of the Guhila family.

^७ Metre: Mālinī.

^८ This mark of punctuation is incomplete.

^९ Read °puram.

^{१०} Metre: Anuśṭubh.

^{११} Metre: Vamśastha.

40 आस्तदक्षं स्वर्गसंस्तवैः ॥६५¹ सुधा च वसुधा चाश्च समे विष्णुता कृते ।
तयोर्वर्षविशेषेण परमेका विशिष्यते ॥६६¹ मानवा मानवा यश्च प्रमदाः
प्रमदाः सदा । केवलं केवलं प्राप्य तापसास्तापसा न हि ॥६७¹ कलाक²लाप-
प्रथि-

50 तालभूषा जना न जीनाः कलयापि यत्र । तत्तत्कथातः कलुषा(वा)[श]यो³
तुलामलं कर्तुमुपैति चंद्रः ॥६८⁴ एतदन्तरवर्त्तनं [द्वितीय*]⁵पट्टिकाया चंक-
क्रमेण वेदितव्यं ॥ संवत् १५१[७] वर्षे शके १३८२ प्रवर्त्तमाने मार्ग-
शीर्षे वदि ५ सोमे प्रशस्तिः [॥*]

Third Slab.

[वर्तीयपट्टिका २]

- 1 हारीत[रा]शिसु[निपुंगव] — — — — [सि] — — — — सादव — —
— — [॥*] — — — — [मि]विष्य चिरा[य] — — — —
— — — — — [प्रभूर्यः ॥१२१⁶ श्री] — [य]कु[आपरना][मधे-
यास्तपो*]-
- 2 निधाना[दु]दभूजिज्ञेदः ॥(1) [हारी][तराशि] — — नि*[प्ललं]को — गा — —
— — — — — [॥१२२⁷ जीयाद[1]नंदपू[र्व] तदिह पुरमिला[खंड-
[सौंदर्य*][शोभि] [चोणी][पठ*][स्व][मेव*] [चि]द[प्रपुरमधो(धः)] कु[र्वदुचै*]:⁸
- 3 [स]चक्ष्मा ॥(1) यस्मादाग[त्] विप्रच[तु]रुदधिमहीवेदि*[नि]क्षिप्तयूपो व[प्याख्यो
वीतरागचरण*][युगसु]पासीत⁹ हारीतराशिः⁹ ॥१२३¹⁰ सं[प्राप्याहुत]मिक[लि]ग-
[चर]णाभोजप्रसा[दा]स्फ[लं] [यस्मै*]¹¹
- 4 [दि]व्यसुवर्षपादक[टकं] हारीतराशिर्दौ ॥(1) अप्याख्यः[स] पुरा पुराणपुरुषः*[¹²
[पा][र*]¹³][म]निर्वर्¹²ह्यातु[स्वोत्साह]गु[णो] बभूव [ज]ग[ति] श्री]मेदपाटाधिपः
॥१२४¹³ [सदैक*]¹⁴

¹ Metre: Anushṭubh.

² There is a superfluous medial & stroke over this *ka*.

³ Read °sayā-yam.

⁴ Metre: Upajāti.

⁵ Due space for these three syllables is left on the slab.

⁶ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

⁷ Text within these brackets is restored from B where the verse is no. 9.

⁸ Read °m-upāśishā.

⁹ This verse is cited by Rai Bahadur Ojha (Rāj. Itihā., Fasc. I, p. 380, n. 2).

¹⁰ Metre: Sragdharā.

¹¹ Text within these brackets is restored from B and D where the verse is no. 10 and 29 respectively. The difference in reading in the former is in *purāṇa-puruṣa-prārambha-* and in the latter in =*phalam ch=demai* and *babūva nripatib.*

¹² First *ryā* was engraved which was afterwards turned into *rvā*.

¹³ Metre: Śārāṭlavikrīḍita.

¹⁴ Text within these brackets is restored from B where the verse is no. 11.

- 5 लिं । र्चनशुद्धी[धसं]प्रा[स]सा[युज्य*]¹[महोदयस्य] । हारीतराशिरसमप्र*²सादादवाप वप्यो
मवरा[ज्य]लक्ष्मी(स्त्रीम) ॥१२[५]² वप्ये शि[वे] लयसुपे[युषि] नीलकंठ[प्रौढप्र*]³
- 6 [सादम]प[सा]दमवाप्य त[स्य] ॥(1) [वंशी] [जगन्मय*]⁴[प][विचरिषपात्रमद्याप्यखंड*]⁵-³
म[खिलां] जगतीं प्र[शास्ति] ॥१[२६]⁴ इति म[हारा]ज[ल]क्ष्मीवापावर्चनं ॥ ॥
अथ राउलक्ष्मी[गुहद*]-
- 7 [त्तव]र्चनं ॥ तस्यात्मजः [स नृप]तिर्गु[हि][लाभिधानो धर्माच्छास वसुधां
मधु*]⁵[जिह्मभावः ॥(1) यस्मा[ह]धौ गुहिलवर्चनया [प्रसि]द्धा मीहिष्य[वं]श-
[भव]राजगणोद जाति(तिम) ॥१[२७]⁴ य*
- 8 [चा]नंदपु[रि] पूर्व गुह[द]त्ता[भिधो द्विजः] ॥(1) स ले[मे] .. ७ — —
... .. ७ — ७ .. 1*¹॥१२८⁶ [गु]हिलधरणिनायोत्तुंगरंगः⁷ [प्र]ताप-
स्तवत्तरविरि[ष]त्ता[पयन्वैरिचंद्रान्] ॥(1) अचरद[तिविचि*]⁸
- 9 [चं स]ततं यत्पृथि[व्या]मददद[रिवधूटीपद्मिनी][नां सुखानं(जम)*]⁹ ॥१२९*⁹
— — ७ — [चा*]¹[सि]तशत्रुबंधुः प्रतापसंतर्जितपद्मबंधुः ॥(1) [गां]भीर्य[दू]-
रीकृत[सप्तसिंधुर्यशोभर[न्य] ७ ७ — ७
- 10 [सिंधुः] ॥१३०² य[स्मा]दभू[द्ध]वितर[प्रता]पो [भूपा]लमौ[लि*] ७ ७ — ७ — —
[i*] — — ७ — — रघुव[त्सु]ध[न्वा] यस्मा[त्सि]द्धो गुहिलान्ववायः
॥१[३]१² [गुह]प्रदाना[हुह]दत्तनामा वंशी[यसु]क्तो
- 11 गुहिल[स्य] कैचित् ॥(1) स एव गांभीर्य[वशाच्च]भर्ति रत्ना[कर*] — ७ ७ —
७ — — ॥१३२² [ला]टीजनेन मधुरस्वरगीत[के]न पीनस्तनेन रति[काल-
विचरणे]न ॥(1) सार्धं विनोदितदिनो [ग-
- 12 ति]मंथरेण लाटीविनोद इति तस्य ब[भूव] स[नुः] ॥१३३¹ [इति राउलक्ष्मी-
गुहदत्तवर्चन*] ॥ ॥ अथ राउलक्ष्मी[सु]म्नाणवर्चनं ॥ ह[र्षा]द्योतो[य]त्वं
निजसुतगृहिणीसंयुतं कांच[नेन] प्रा-

¹ Text within these brackets is restored from B where the verse is no. 11.

² Metre: *Upajāti*.

³ Text within these brackets is restored from D and E where the verse is no. 30 and 7 respectively.

⁴ Metre: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁵ Text within these brackets is restored from B and D where the verse is no. 13 and 17 respectively. The difference in reading in the latter is in *Śrīmān=abhit=sa*.

⁶ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁷ Better omit the *risarga* and read *°ramga-pratāpas-*.

⁸ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse no. 18 where the difference in reading is in *°!umga-rimga-*.

⁹ Metre: *Mālinī*.

- 13 दा]सद्याचकेभ्यः कनकमिति लस[त्त्वष्ट्रद्वयोपमा][नः । कौर्त्तिं विस्तारयन्त्वां तु*]¹
हिनदधिसुधाक्षीरहीरावदातां स श्रीषु(खु)म्माण[नामा] स[म]भवदवनेर्नायको
भूरिभा[ग्यः] ॥
- 14 १]३४² विलंघयंती सकलं महोत[लं दि]गं[गणं वारि][निधोन् गिरिव्रजं(जम्) ।
षु(खु)*]³म्माणरा[जन्यमिरोम]णिरसावसौ [न]न[र्त्तित्कुतकीर्त्ति]नर्त्तकी ॥१३५⁴ [अंगाः
संप्राप्त]भंगा[ः सम][रक्षु*]⁵
- 15 वि परं दत्तनागाः कलिंगा [बं(वं)गा नष्टा]खलांगा⁶ श[रत्ततिहृतिभिः पाति-
तांगा*]⁷स्त्रिलिंगाः ॥(१) सौराष्ट्रात्य(ख्य)त्तराष्ट्रा [न]रपतितिलकप्रस्थितौ दिग्जयार्थ
[चौ]डाः सं[त्य][त्तचूडा*]⁸
- 16 रणरस[पट]वो द्राविडा [नैव गौडा]ः ॥१३६⁹ प्रा[ञ्चा] — — — — —
[दजग]णको दाक्षिणात्योभवहृद्यो वाचमर्निदितां नरपतेरौदीक्षकोप्याददे ॥(१)
प(पा)द्यात्योपि न [भू][षणानि*]
- 17 [वितर]न्याया[त्यभावं दधौ तस्मि]न्दि[ग्विजयोद्यते न][रपतौ*] — — — — — [त्यजसा]
॥१३७¹⁰ ॥ इति राजलश्रीषु(खु)म्माणवर्णनं ॥ ॥ अथ राजवर्णनं ॥ अतः श्री-
राजवर्णशेख प्र[व्यक्त]ः [प्रो][च्यते*]-
- 18 [धुना] ॥(१) चिरंतनप्र[शस्तो]नाम[नि]का[ना]म[तः(वे)]चणा[त्] ॥१३८¹¹ तस्मिन् गुहि-
लवं[शे]भूजो[जना]मावनीश्वरः ॥(१) तस्मात्त[ही]द्रनागाज्ञो¹² बप्पाख्यचापराजितः ॥१३९¹³
महो[द्रभट्ट(ट)]सं-
- 19 पाला]त्कालभोजस्तोजनि ॥(१) शु(खु)[म्माणो मत्त]टया[सौ]द्वट(तृ)पट्टे(हो)]थ¹⁴ प(च)-
[त्तटः] ॥१४०¹⁵ नरवाहनसंज्ञश्च शालि[वाह]न[भूप]तिः ॥(१) [ज]ज्ञे शक्तिकुमा-
राख्यस्तस्मादंवा(वा)प्रसादतः¹⁶ ॥१४१¹⁷
- 20 . [नृव]र्मानंतवर्मा च यशोवर्मा महोपतिः ॥(१) तयो[प्यंवा(वा)]प्र[सादस्व जप्ति]रे
[भ्रा]तरोस्य च ॥१४२¹⁸ ततश्च योग¹⁹[रा]जोभू[चो]दपाटे महोपतिः ॥(१) अपि
राज्ये²⁰ स्थिते तस्मिन् तच्छाया(खा) नो[कृ(च्छ)य]

¹ Text within these brackets is restored from D where the verse is no. 32.

² Metre: *Sragdharā*.

³ Text within these brackets is restored from D where the verse is no. 33.

⁴ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁵ Text within these brackets is restored from D where the verse is no. 34.

⁶ Read *°khilangāb*.

⁷ Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁸ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁹ Either read *Mahindra-Nāg-āhvau* or *Mahindrō Nāg-āhvō*.

¹⁰ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

¹¹ Read *-prasādakaḥ*.

¹² Space for one letter between these two syllables seems to have originally been defective on the slab and hence not used for engraving.

¹³ Read *rājyē*.

- 21 गता ॥१४१^१ पञ्चादष्टसंताने वैरटोभू[ञ]रेष्वरः ॥(१) ततः [ओईसपाख] वै[रि]-
सिंहो [नृपाय]णोः ॥१४४^१ स्थापितोभि[न*]वो येन श्रीन(म)दाघाटपत्तने ॥(१)
प्राकागश्च चतुर्दिक्षु च[तुर्गोपु][र*]-
- 22 भूषितः ॥१४५^१ द्वाविंशतिः सुतास्त[स्व] बभूवुः सगु(ह)णालयाः ॥(१) तेषां मध्ये
बभूवैको नरेंद्रः पुण्यभाजनं(नम्) ॥[१४६^१ तस्म]त् सुवैरसिंहोभूदरसिंहस्ततोजनि
॥(१) तत्पटे चोडनामा[सौहृद]-
- 23 ई[धु]ईराधिपः ॥१४७^१ चोडस्याप्ययजो [ज]ने बंधुर्विक्रमकेसरी ॥(१) तस्मिन्तो रश्च-
सिंहस्थो राज्ये रंजितसम्राजः ॥१४८^१ [श्री]महर्षिसिंहकनिष्ठ(छ)भ्रातृश्रीवेमसिंह-
स्तस्मिन्^२ ॥(१) सा[मंतसिंह]-
- 24 ना[मा] भूमिपतिभूतले जातः ॥१४९^१ भ्राता कुम(मा)रसिंहोभूत्स्वराज्यधाहिण
परं(रम्) ॥(१) देशाजिज्ञा(ष्ठा)सयामास कौतूहलं नृ[पं] तु यः ॥१५०^१
लोकतमाघाटपुरं गूर्जरनृपतिं प्रसा[द्य मि][श्री*]-
- 25 [घ(घा)त् ॥(१) येन] नृपत्वे लब्धे तदनु श्रीमहर्षिसिंहोभूत् ॥१५१^१ तद्भाता
पद्मसिंहाख्यपृथ्वीशः पृथु[वि]क्रमः ॥(१) अद्यापि संस्मरंतीह [ज]नौघा यस्य
सङ्गणान् ॥१५२^१ यः सदा शौर्य[सौ]दर्यगामी-
- 26 यौदे[र्यमंदिरं(रम्) ॥(१) स श्रीमान् पद्मसिंहोभूत्स्वराज्यधेन समो नृपः ॥ १[५३]^१ अथ
राउलश्रीजयसिंहर्षनं ॥ तत्पुत्रस्तु नि[ज]प्रतापदहनज्वालासुसंघुक्षितः^४ प्रो[हा]म-
प्रतिप[क्षं]-
- 27 तति]रभूत्श्री(ष्ठी)श्रीचसिंहो नृपः ॥(१) यस्याकारि न [कु]च[चित्ति]ति[भुजा के]-
नापि भूमंडले नित्यं देशचतुष्टयीं विलसतः सम्भा(म्भा)नभं[गे] मनः ॥१५४^५
दुर्गे श्रीचिचकूटं समप[रमपरं] भौषणं भौ-
- 28 मद्गुं] चाघाटं मेदपाटं निखिलमपि वरं वागडं — ७ — — [१*श्रीमन्नाग]-
ह्रदेसौ विलसति निजदोर्दंडसा[म]र्थ्यतो यः स्थातः सोयं [जगत्यां चिर]मिह
जयतावै(जै)चसिंहो नर(रें)द्रः ॥१५५^६

^१ Metre: Anushṭubh.

^२ The first and the second quarters are irregular each having a syllabic instant in excess.

^३ Metre: Āryā.

^४ Omit visarga and read -su-samdhukshita-prōddāma-.

^५ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

^६ Metre: Bragdhara.

- 36 [अभयदुर्चितमिदं क]तिवा[साः शिवो][भू]च्छोतांशुः प्रस्थं यत्प्रतिमनिकसुवा*]¹
[युक्त]मितद्वभार ॥१६२^२ अमरनगरजैचं चिचकूटं पुरास्मिन् भवति समरसिंह(हे)
शासति क्षोषिपाक्ष(ले) ॥(i) क-
- 37 [नककलशहे]ला[प्रस्फुरद्वस्मिजा][लेर्दिनमणिकिरणालीसंप्रकाशानपेक्षं(चम)*]³ ॥१६३^४ जयति
कति न संति प्रार्थितार्थप्रदानप्रकटितनिजप्रतिव्यक्तकीर्तिप्रपंचाः ॥(i) परमिह
पर-
- 38 [लोकश्री]वशीका[र]सारं [अयति] समर[सिंहो दानमस्ताभिमानः*]⁵ ॥१६४^६
[कचित्कदाचिद्वा*]^७[नां]दु हस्तो वर्धति वा न वा ॥(i) श्रीमत्समरसिंहस्य
स तु सर्वदा सर्वदा ॥१६५^७ किं कीप्यहो समरसिंह-
- 39 [नरेश]रस्य सद्यैर्यसौ(श्री)[र्य]नयकीर्ति[कलाकलापं(पम्)] । संख्यातुमत्र पटुधीर्भवि-
ताथवास्ते तस्मा*]^८दलं लपनपद्मवलालनिन ॥१६६^९ विद्युद्भिन्नमर्चवर्णं चतु मृचा-
मायुर्धनं यौवनं संचित्वेति चि-
- 40 [रं] विशुद्धमनसा [की]र्तिः परं [स्वायि]नो । चंद्राख्यप्रिययाचितः स्वयमयं
धारिणः कारितो*]^{१०} [ल]क्ष्मीर्वदतीष संनिपतता भाराभसात्मानिर्ग(शम्) ॥१६७^{११}
केकी कक्षादकक्षादनुसरति मुदं
- 41 [किं म]रालः क[रा]लो वाचा[ल]क्ष्मातकः[किं किमिति तद्विष्वांसगतोर्ध्वं वकीटः ।
नैषा वर्षाघना*]^{१२}ली विलसति भुवने किंतु भोजप्रयागे लक्षं नैवांतरिचं
चलितहयसुरोद्धतधू-
- 42 लीपटेन ॥१६८^{१३} तु[रंगलाला*]^{१४}गजदान[नीरप][वाहयोः संगमसुहृदंती । अस्व प्रयागे
निखिलापि भूमिः*]^{१५} प्रयागलक्ष्मीं विभवांभवूव ॥१६९^{१६} चाकस्मं पद्मगीगीतं
यस्य वाहुपराक्रमं(मम्) ॥(i) शिर-
- 43 बालनया मेघ[चक्रे कां]पं [प]रं भुवः^{१७} ॥१७०^{१८} यं त्वाग्नेन मनोहरैश्च कतिनः
कर्णोयमाचक्षते यं पार्थं प्रथयति वै*]^{१९}रिसुभटाः श्रीर्येण सत्वा(जा)चिक(कम्)
॥(i) यं रक्षाकरमामनंति गुणिनो धैर्येण मर्यादया

¹ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 55.

² Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 56.

³ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 57.

⁴ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 58.

⁵ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 59.

⁶ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 60.

⁷ Text within these brackets is restored from B and D, where the verse is no. 17 and 61 respectively. It will be seen that in the former it describes prince Bhōja and not Samarasinha.

⁸ Text within these brackets is restored from B and D, where the verse is no. 34 and 62 respectively. In the former it describes prince Mahāyaka.

⁹ This verse is no. 37 and 63 in B and D respectively. In the former it describes prince Khummaqa.

¹⁰ Text within these brackets is restored from B and D, where the verse is no. 49 and 64 respectively. The difference in reading in the former where it describes prince Śaktikumāra is in *Tyāgēn-ārthi manā-kantāsa*.

² Metre : *Sragdharā*.

⁴ Metre : *Mālinī*.

⁷ Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁹ Metre : *Vasantatilakā*.

¹¹ Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹⁴ Metre : *Ugajāti*.

- 44 यं मेहं हि स[मा]श्रये[ष] विबुधाः शंसन्ति सर्वोच्चतं(तम्) [॥१७१]¹ [भृगुपतिरिव
हस्तः² चक्रसंसारकारी सुरगुरुरिव शम्भु*]³[न]मो(नौ)तिमार्गानुसारौ ॥(१) स्मर
इव सुरतेषु प्रेयसौचित्तहारी शिविरिव स बभूव व्रक्षस-
- 45 त्वो(रवो)पका[री] ॥१७२⁴ यस्य धनुर्गुणकिणवति [विभ्रति विन्धभरां भुजादंष्ट्रे
क्लेशविशेषमशेषं शेषः परिहृत्य सु*]⁵दितोऽस्ति ॥१७३⁶ योर्यान् पुपोषार्थिजनार्थ-
मेव सन्नीतिदक्षो व्यसर्गैर्विहीनः ॥(१) विहीनसं-
- 46 स[र्गप]राक्ष[स]खस्य स्त्रीसंपन्नो यस्य सुतार्थमासीत्*⁷ [॥१७४⁸ [तस्यामतिरतिरभव-
त्तस्य सतीष्वपि वधूषु रम्या*]⁹सु ॥(१) चन्याशु(सु) पुष्पजातिषु जात्यां
खलु मधुकरस्येव ॥१७५⁹ स रत्नसिंहं [त]नयं नियुज्य स्वं
- 47 [चित्र]कूटाचलरक्षणाय ॥(१) महेशपू[जा]हतकक्षपीष इलापतिः स्वर्गपतिर्बभूव*¹⁰
[॥१७६⁹ अयं म*]हाराणाश्रीलष(ख)मसौवर्धन ॥ पुं(खुं)माण्वंशः¹¹ खलु लक्ष्म-
सिंहस्यसि¹² गते दुर्गवरं ररक्ष ॥(१) कुलस्थि-
- 48 [ति] कापुरुषैर्विमुक्तां न जातु धीराः [पुरुषा]स्त्वर्जति¹³ ॥१७७*¹⁴ [क्षित्वा श*]¹⁵
[स्त्रा]णि श[स्त्रै]रय रथनिकरैर्घातयित्वा रथौघानश्चानश्रैर्निहत्य प्रबलतरगजान्
पातयित्वा गजैश्च ॥(१) इत्या योधांश्च योधैरतिश-
- 49 कनिधनाकालकालोपमेयो लक्ष्मीसिंहस्यकारातुलतुमुलम[ल] संगरं सं[गरक्ष]ः ॥१७८¹⁵
इत्यं स्नेहच[य] कृत्वा संख्ये संवत्सरं नृपः ॥(१) चित्रकूटाचलं रक्षन्
शस्त्रपूतो दिवं ययौ¹⁶ [॥१७९¹⁷ सं १५१७ व[र्षे] ॥(१)*]

¹ Metre: Śārdūlavikriṣṭa.

² Better omit *visarga* and read *dripta-kshatra*.

³ Text within these brackets is restored from B and D where the verse is no. 50 and 65 respectively. The difference in reading in the former where it describes prince Āmrprasāda, is in *raṭi-lōla-prēyasi-chitta-chārī*.

⁴ Metre: *Mālinī*.

⁵ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 68.

⁶ Metre: *Aryā*.

⁷ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 67.

⁸ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁹ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 68. The verse obviously seems to contain a partial description of some royal damsel. It is indiscriminately fitted in both these records successively, having been borrowed from some other record.

¹⁰ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 69.

¹¹ Better read *Kṣumdhāra-vamśya*.

¹² Read *°s-tasmin*.

¹³ This verse is no. 77 in D.

¹⁴ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 78.

¹⁵ Metre: *Brāgharā*.

¹⁶ This verse is no. 79 in D.

¹⁷ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

No. 45.—KAMAN STONE INSCRIPTION.

By PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

Kāman, the headquarters of a *tahsil* of the same name in the State of Bharatpur in Rājputāna, is situated in 27° 39' N. and 77° 16' E. about 35 miles North by West from Bharatpur and about 40 miles from Mathurā. There are several derivations given of the place-name. According to one account the old name of the place was Kadambavana from the numerous Kadamba trees found there; another account traces the present name to a mythical Rājā Kāmasēna¹, while according to Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji it is derived from Kāmavana². In the middle of the town there is an old fort which contains a mosque called Chaurāsi Khambā built with materials from Hindu temples. A Sanskrit inscription on one of the pillars built into the inner side of the court-wall of this mosque has been edited by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X, pp. 34 ff. The inscription is undated, but according to the Pandit it can be referred to about the eighth century A.D. It records the building of a temple of Viṣṇu by a prince of the Sūrasēna dynasty.

The present inscription, which is edited here for the first time, was brought to my notice by Mr. V. S. Agrawala, M.A., Curator of the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Muttra, who kindly furnished me with two excellent estampages and a photograph of it. The stone which bears this record is said to have been obtained from a large well situated about half a mile outside Kāman. It is now at Gokul in the possession of Śrī Vallabha Lalji Maharaj Gosai who very kindly allowed Mr. Agrawala to copy it. Kāman is one of the twelve holy places of the Vraja Maṇḍal and is also one of the headquarters of Śrī Vallabha Lalji Maharaj. The same stone contains another record in Persian embossed letters on the reverse side.³ I feel deeply grateful to the Gosai Maharaj for permission to edit the present record.

The writing covers a space 2' 2" broad by 1' 8½" high. There are twenty-four lines in all, of which the last is only one-third of the rest. The inscription has been very badly mutilated especially in lines 1-12 where only about a dozen *aksharas* at either end are now legible. Even in the lower half of the record where the writing is better preserved, a few *aksharas* here and there have been completely damaged, while some others can be read only with patience and perseverance from the faint traces which can still be marked on the back of the impressions. The **characters** belong to the North Indian alphabet of about the 9th century A.D. They are very beautifully written and skilfully incised, the strokes for medial vowels being ornamentally treated as in the Jhālrapāṭan inscriptions.⁴ Especially noteworthy are the signs for the medial ā, i and ī and the diphthongs. These appear in many

¹ *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Rājputāna*, pp. 338-39.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 34.

³ [This record was copied by me in January, 1937, and has been noticed in the *An. Rep.*, A. S. I., for 1936-37. The stone, I was told by the Gosai Maharaj himself, came out of the well which was re-excavated at his instance. A number of broken Hindu images also came out of it some of which were seen placed near the well when I visited Kāman. The inscription seems to have been deliberately damaged, probably by the Muslim invaders. Mr. G. Yazdani has kindly sent me the following translation of the Persian record which is incised on the other side of the stone :

"The well was originally excavated some 50 years ago; but was filled up with stone and earth during the governorship of Muḥammad Hājī. As the scarcity of water was causing trouble to people the well was re-excavated in the month of Ramzān 669 H. (A.D. 1271) during the reign of Ghiyāthud-d-Dīn Balban, and the government of Nusrat Khān, the fief-holder of Bayāna."

This record is under publication in the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*.—Ed.]

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 180 ff.

cases on the top of letters and their flourishes extend to several letters on the right and left, which, owing to the unsatisfactory preservation of the original, cause not a little confusion in decipherment. Some of the letters such as *j* and *r* appear more developed here than in the other inscription from Kāman edited by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji. It may again be noted that the signs for the medial *i* and *ī* in the latter record do not appear wholly over the top of letters as they do in the present one.

The language is Sanskrit. Except for the opening *ōm namaḥ Śivāya* and the particulars of the dates here and there, the whole inscription appears to have been metrically composed. The verses are not numbered and in the present damaged condition of the record it is not possible to state their total number. The orthography shows the usual peculiarities such as the use of *ri* for the vowel *ri* and *vice versa* (see *tritiyāyām* l. 13 and *chatastrīmśan-* l. 18), of *v* for *b* (as in *Kamvali* l. 23), and of *m* for *anusvāra* and *sh* for *visarga* (see *Samvat* l. 13 and *-ārikalpatash-pratimāsām* ll. 16-17), unless the latter is meant to be the sign for *upadhmaniya*.

The present record is of the same type as the Siyaḍōṇī¹ and Āhār² inscriptions, being a collective public copy of a number of deeds recording donations and endowments made from time to time in favour of a deity, apparently Śiva, installed in a temple at Kāmyaka. The record itself is not dated but its preserved portion contains seven dates of an unspecified era ranging from the year 180 to 299. The month, fortnight and *tithi* were stated in each case, but some of these particulars have now become illegible in two cases. As the week-day or the *nakshatra* has not been specified in connection with any of them, the dates do not admit of verification, but the palaeography of the record leaves no doubt that they must be referred to the Harsha era. It may be noted in this connection that Kāman is only about 85 miles south-west of Āhār, the stone inscription of which contains several dates of the Harsha era. If we except the date 563 of the Pañjaur inscription, the year 299 mentioned towards the close of the present record is the latest known date of this era. The dates mentioned here thus range from A.D. 786-87 to 905-06.

The unsatisfactory condition of the inscription does not admit of a detailed and connected account of its contents. It falls into two parts which are separated from each other by an ornamental figure in l. 12³. The first part, which is almost wholly effaced, probably contained a description of the person who built the temple of Śiva where the present record was evidently put up and of the Śaiva Āchāryas who were successively in charge of it, while the second part registers the deeds recording the donations and endowments made to the deity from time to time.

After the customary obeisance to Śiva, the record seems to have had two verses invoking blessings of that deity. The third line mentions a Brāhmaṇa (*Bhaṭṭa*) named Kakkuka, who lived in a place the name of which appears to be Rōhītaka. He is described as a destroyer of his enemies. The next line speaks of several sons, apparently of this Kakkuka, who attained noble fame by their excellent qualities. The eldest of them whose name appears to be Untaṭa⁴ is described in l. 6. The next two lines speak of a temple (*maṭha*), apparently of Śiva, erected by the same person, having realized the transitoriness (of earthly fortune). The following three or four lines (9-12) mentioned some successions of Śaiva ascetics, but unfortunately almost all their names are lost⁵.

¹ Above, Vol. I, pp. 162 ff.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 52 ff.

³ There is a similar figure in l. 11 also.

⁴ One Untaṭa is also mentioned in l. 19.

⁵ The name of one of them mentioned in l. 10 appears to be Guṇarāśi.

The second part of the record which begins in line 12 registers the following documents:—

Document No. I (ll. 12-13). This is ~~undated~~. It records that the *Gaṇadhikṛtā* (members of the Managing Committee) made a permanent endowment of something, which they had acquired, evidently in favour of the deity.

Document No. II (l. 13). This document is dated in the year 22(x)¹ on the third *tithi* of of the bright fortnight of some month, now lost. It records some donation of a merchant named Vajraṭa.

Document No. III (ll. 13-17). This is dated in the year 229 on the third *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha. It records the gift of two plots of land situated inside the *kōṭṭa* (fort) by some one whose name occurring in the beginning of line 15 is now missing. The first of these was bounded on the east by the house of one Kṛishṇāka, on the south by a small well and on the west and north by an old royal road. The second plot of land which was situated in the eastern part of the fort was bounded on the east and the south by a royal road and in the other directions (i.e., the west and the north) by the land of the temple (*śikhāra*) and a small habitation. These gifts were made in favour of a deity (probably Śiva) whose name appears to be Kāmyakēśvara. It is further recorded that a guild of potters living in Kāmyaka, in consideration of a sum of money received in advance, stipulated to pay a permanent cess. Every potter was, without any exception, to pay one *paṇa* per wheel every month.

Document No. IV (ll. 17-18). This is dated in the year 232 on some *tithi* now lost, in the bright fortnight of Vaisākha. It records that the guild of gardeners living in Kāmyaka, in consideration of a sum of money paid in advance, stipulated to supply permanently sixty garlands, of which thirty-four were to be delivered at the temple of Viṣṇu and the remaining (twenty-six) at the shrine of Chāmūṇḍā.

Document No. V (ll. 19-21). This is dated in the year 233 on the 7th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Pausa. It records that the guild of artisans living in the place (i.e. in Kāmyaka), in consideration of an amount received in advance, made a permanent endowment. Every artisan who worked in the place was to pay one *dramma* per month.

Document No. VI (ll. 19-21). This is dated in the year 220 on the 5th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa. It registers that a man named Untaṭa piously denoted three plough-measures of land in his own village, the name of which has not been preserved. The land was previously tilled by the Brāhmaṇas Śhulla, Jajja and others and was, at the time of the gift, cultivated by one Bḍuvāka.

It is further laid down that whatever would be produced in the case of all these permanent endowments should be added to the capital²; for such is the law (*śāstra*) of endowments.

Document No. VII (ll. 21-22). This is dated in the year 180 on the 3rd *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa. It records that two *āvāris* (enclosures), facing the west and situated outside the fort, were donated by a *sāṃkhika* (a worker on conch-shells) named Bhadra by means of a written deed.

Document No. VIII (ll. 22-24). This is dated in the year 299³ on the 2nd *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Phālguna. It records that some *drammas* were formerly (*purā*) made over by

¹ The third figure of the date is illegible.

² The meaning of this is not clear. Perhaps it is intended to provide that if the amount of the endowment or the property increased in value, the benefit of it was to accrue to the donee.

³ Of the three figures of this date I take the last two as denoting 9, though they are dissimilar. Of the two figures in question the second is the usual one for 9; the first also has the same value in l. 21 of the Jōḍhpur inscription of Prathāra Bāṇka (above, Vol. XVIII, plate facing p. 96). In the Chaulukya grant of Tribhāṇapāla (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, plates I and II between pp. 202-203) both the signs are used to denote 9.

Bhōjadēva to Pramāparāśi, which the latter gave to Chāmuṇḍāka. After his (*i.e.*, Pramāparāśi's) death, the *āchārya* (*i.e.*, Chāmuṇḍāka or Chāmuṇḍākarāśi) seems to have paid the amount to the *Gaṣṭhikas*. The latter purchased two *āvārikās* with those *drammas*. The *vīthīs* or shops in the *āvārikās* were situated facing the south in the *Kambali-haṭṭa*,¹ which seems to mean a part of the town where a cattle-market was held. The rent of these *vīthīs* was to be utilised by the *Gaṣṭhikas* in meeting the expenses of white-washing, vermilion and lights for the temples as long as the sun and the moon would endure.

The preserved portion of the inscription does not state the name of the ruling king. If any was mentioned in the introductory part of the record, it has been lost. But Bhōjadēva named towards the close of the record is plainly identical with the well-known Emperor Bhōja I of the Pratihāra dynasty. In the year 299 of the Harsha era (*i.e.*, in A.D. 905-06) Bhōja was dead; for, the Unā plates give Valabhi Samvat 574 (*i.e.*, about A.D. 893-94) for his son and successor Mahēndrapāla. Bhōja I was himself a devotee of Bhagavati and Viṣṇu as is evidenced by his Barah plate² and the Ādivarāha *drammas*. It is therefore interesting to note that he made over a sum of money to a Śaiva *āchārya* for the maintenance of a Śaiva temple.

In view of the foregoing identification of Bhōjadēva, it may be asked if Kakkuka described in line 14 is identical with his namesake who is mentioned in the Gwalior *prastāvi* of Bhōja as the grand-uncle of Bhōja's grandfather Nāgabhaṭa II. He is no doubt called here Bhaṭṭa, but that does not *per se* preclude the identification; for according to the Jōdhpur³ and Ghaṭiyālā⁴ inscriptions the Pratihāras were descended from the Brāhmaṇa Harichandra and an expression in the former record has been taken to refer to the Brāhmaṇa caste of the Pratihāra rulers of Kanauj.⁵ The description in l. 4 that Kakkuka was a destroyer of his foes shows that he was a man of warlike spirit and lends colour to his identification with the aforementioned Pratihāra prince. The damaged condition of the present record, however, makes its evidence doubtful. Besides, the subsequent portion, judging from the few *akṣaras* that are still legible, does not appear to have contained the description of a royal family. I am therefore inclined to think that this Kakkuka did not belong to a royal family. As for the description that he destroyed his foes, it may have been by policy, if not by personal bravery. It is, of course, not unlikely that in that age some members of the priestly caste distinguished themselves on the battlefield, as others preferred the peaceful occupation of a farmer.

There is only one legible place-name, *viz.*, Kāmyaka, in the lower portion⁶ of the record, which is evidently identical with Kāman where the inscribed stone was found. It is now clear that its modern name is not derived from Kadambavana, Kāmasēna or Kāmavana, but from Kāmyakavana⁷. As stated above, Kāman has still an old fort, which is clearly referred to as *kōṭṭa*

¹ *Kambali* means one having a dewlap, a bull.

² Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 17 f.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 95.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 279.

⁵ See Dr. D. C. Ganguli's article entitled 'Origin of the Pratihāra Dynasty' in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. X, p. 343.

⁶ Line 4 of the present inscription mentions a place named Rōhitaka. According to the *Mahābhārata* (Sabhāparvan, 33, 4-5), Rōhitaka, which lay to the west of Delhi, was inhabited by the Mattamayūras. [Rōhitaka, evidently same as Rauhitaka of the *Rājataranginī* (IV, 11) and the Lākṣa Maṇḍal *prastāvi* (above, Vol. I, p. 14), is to be identified with modern Rōhtak, 43 miles N. W. of Delhi.—Ed.]

⁷ This Kāmyakavana is evidently different from the Kāmyakavana of the *Mahābhārata*, where the Pāṇḍavas sojourned for a short time during their exile; for, the latter was situated on the bank of the Sarasvatī. See the *Mahābhārata*, Vanaparvan (Bombay recension), *adhyāya* 8, vv. 1-3. Cunningham has identified it with Kāmōda near Kurukshetra. See his *J. S. R.*, Vol. XIV, p. 100.

in ll. 13 and 15 of the present record. The inscription edited by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji was on a pillar of a temple dedicated to Vishnu. The present record, on the other hand, seems to have been put up at a temple of Śiva under the name Kāmyakēśvara, which must have been situated not far from the well outside the fort where the stone was found. There were, besides, two subsidiary shrines dedicated to Vishnu and Chāmuṇḍā. These temples were evidently placed in charge of Śaiva āchāryas of the Pāśupata sect, though the actual management of them was carried out by a committee (*Gōshṭhi*) appointed for the purpose. That the Pāśupata sect of Śaivism was flourishing in the north-west of India in the time of the Pratihāra Bhōja I is also shown by the Sirsa inscription¹ of his reign, edited by the late Rai Bahadur D. R. Sahni.

Our inscription throws interesting side-light on some transactions of guilds in ancient India. When a donor intended to make a permanent provision for the maintenance of a temple or the supply of materials for the worship of a deity, he either invested the necessary amount in landed property or deposited it with a guild. In the latter case the guild sometimes stipulated to pay perpetually a definite amount or a particular rate of interest on the amount deposited with it. Our inscription shows that the guild sometimes did not pay out of its common fund, but levied a small cess on every member of it working in that particular locality. The inscription mentions three such guilds, viz., those of potters, artisans and gardeners. We find that the members of the last guild were to pay in kind, while those of the first two had to pay a small cess probably because the articles manufactured by them were not regularly required for the use of the temple. We notice again that the guilds comprised all the members of their respective professions; for in two cases our inscription explicitly states that every one who followed the particular profession in Kāmyaka was to contribute a fixed amount. We are not told how the investments received by the guilds were utilised. But it would not be wrong to infer that they were expended on some works, religious or secular, such as those enumerated by Brihaspati,² which were regarded as useful to all the members of the guild. The guilds had evidently the necessary sanctions to secure the timely payment of the cess which they levied on their members. From the *Brihaspati-smṛiti* (XVII, 13)³ we learn that they could impose a fine or even exile a member who refused to perform his part of the agreement. Again, both the *Arthasāstras* and the *Dharmaśāstras* mention *Śrēṇi-bala* or the army maintained by guilds, which even kings were not loth to use for their conquests⁴. The guilds could, therefore, be trusted to collect the stipulated amount from their members and pay it regularly to the beneficiary of the endowment.

TEXT.⁵

1 [चो नमः] शिवाय । — — — — — [वि*]स्तुतफय ० ० — — ० —
— ० — — — — — स्व हस्ते ० ० ० सुतया कंकण भौम-
सुवैः [।*] पाणि[प्रे ?]-

¹ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 294 ff.

² See the *Brihaspati-smṛiti*, XVII, 11 (*S. B. E.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 347-48).

³ Cf. R. C. Majumdar—*Corporate Life in Ancient India*, pp. 51 ff. See also Kātyāyana cited in the *Smṛitichandrikā* (ed. by J. R. Gharpure), p. 226.

⁴ Bhaṭārka the founder of the Maitraka dynasty of Valabhi is, for instance, said to have obtained royal fortune with the help *inter alia* of the *Śrēṇi-bala*.

⁵ From inked impressions.

- 2 — पर(?)वमययचित[दल] — ७ मखे ७ — — — — — ७ — — ७
 ७ ७ ७ ७ — — ७ — — ७ — — 1[१*] 2दन्तुरे: श्रितत-
 रोक्षिन्पास्त-
- 3 . . . सुचितमिरो 3जडावि[कड]जूडको
 4क्षि[ता]: ॥
- 4 [रो]हौतकेभवद्वदः ककुको[रि]विमईनः⁵ 1[१*] 6प्य वपु[र्यो]
 7सदा: पुष्पा-
- 5 [दस्व] व(व)भूवदत्तमगुणप्रख्यातसत्कीर्त्तयः⁶ 1[१*]
 8टका इव ॥
- 6 . . [अ]हो[न ?]टो ज्यैष्ठः सामान्य[प्रगु]चोद[य: ?]¹⁰ 9त
 विशदवेद्या-
- 7 अ[स्वा]ने वाभिजात्य इति जगति वि[शुद्धं दृ]श्यते¹¹ 9भवेत्य
 चलाभि-
- 8 . . ऐकी मठमिदं 12मेतत् । प्रव-
- 9 12क्षिचोभव[त्*] ते योष्या-
- 10 . . [काख्या] मतः । नामाव 13 गुण[राशिस्त[क्षि]भः सच-
 [रि]तैर्यो व(व)भूव गु-
- 11 चराभिः¹⁴ । तक्षिणः 16हरिः स्वयं ।
 प्रेयसीमिव [कुता]कीर्त्तनं भव[त्] तावद[चय]¹⁶ ॥ ७ ॥

¹ Metre: *Brāgharā*.

² Unless stated otherwise, the number of dots approximately represents that of missing *aksharas*.

³ Here about 30 *aksharas* are gone.

⁴ Here about 11 *aksharas* are gone.

⁵ Metre: *Antashubh*.

⁶ Here about 25 *aksharas* are gone.

⁷ Here about 8 *aksharas* are missing.

⁸ Metre: *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁹ Here about 36 *aksharas* are illegible.

¹⁰ Metre: *Anuśubh*.

¹¹ Metre: *Mālinī*.

¹² Here about 44 *aksharas* are gone.

¹³ Here about 35 *aksharas* are lost.

¹⁴ Metre: *Gitī*.

¹⁵ Here about 17 *aksharas* are illegible.

¹⁶ Metre: *Rathōddhata*.

KAMAN STONE INSCRIPTION.

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- 12 चिता[य ?] नव र्णम् सुत
 ¹॥७॥ अयं कारित — — यां [गौष्ठ]कैर्याः पुरार्जिताः ।
 अधुना ताः प्र-
- 13 — — — [सृष्ट ?]येष्वयनीविकाः²॥ ए [स*][म्ब]त्³ [२३]⁴ .
 ⁵मृकचि(त)तीयायां प्र[ददौ] व[म्ब]टो वणिक् । सं २२८
 [मा]घशुदि ३ श्री[का]म्यकीयकीष्ट-
- 14 [भ्यन्तरे प्रा*][चदिशि] [स्थितं ।*] [खण्ड*]द्वयं [भूमिरा][मि*]यस्याघादा व्य-
 [स्थिताः ॥ पूर्व्वेण कण्ठाकण्डं दक्षिणेन तु कूपिका [।*] पश्चिमोत्तरयो-
 स्तस्य राजमार्गश्चिरन्तनः ।[।*] तथान्यत्
- 15 ॐ न ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ यट[सुत][ना । का*][म्यके]खरदेवा[य भूमि*]ख[ड] निधि-
 दितं ।[।*] पूर्व्व[स्वां] दिशि कीदृस्य चतुराघाटशोधितं । पूर्व्वदक्षिणयोस्तस्य
 राजमार्गस्तथान्ययोः ।[।*] दिग्भागयो⁶ स्था-
- 16 [नभूमिस्तथा च] कुटिकापरा [] [त*]धैव [कुम्भका*][राणां] श्रेण्या ⁷काम्यकस्थया
 ।[।*] उत्त[म*] मूल्यमादाय प्रदत्ताक्षयनीविका [॥*] यथाच चक्रव्याहयति⁸
 तेन तेनाविकस्यतप्यति⁹
- 17 [मासं प्रदातव्यं] [प*]णि(णै)कं तु चक्र[क]¹⁰॥* [सं*] २३२ वै[शाख]शुदि ११
 [मा*]लिकानां तथा श्रेण्या काच्यके वसमा[न]वा¹¹ गृहीत्वा पुरतो मूल्यं
 प्रदत्ता[च]यनीविका ।[।*] देया कुसुममालानां
- 18 षष्टिः प्रतिदिनं [शुभा] । चत[स्रं]श[कटे]¹² विष्णोवा[सु]ष्कायास्तथा[परा]ः ।[।*]
 सं २३३ पौष शुदि ७ तथा[प्रो]विनया श्रेण्या स्वपतीनामिहस्थया । गृ-
 हीत्वा पुरतो मूल्यं प्रदत्ताक्षयनी-

¹ A verse of the *Anushubh* metre is almost wholly lost here.

² Metre from here to the end (except for a hemistich in l. 23 below) : *Anushubh*.

³ Read संवत्.

⁴ The third figure of the date is illegible.

⁵ There is space for four *aksharas* here and the last *akshara* looks like *sha*, so the month may be *Mārgaśīrṣa* ; or it may be *Pauṣa* if the name of the month formed part of the following verse.

⁶ The *visarga* is omitted here in accordance with the *Vārtika* on Pāṇini VIII, 3, 36.

⁷ The metre requires an additional *akshara* like *cha* to be supplied here.

⁸ Read चक्रं वाहयति.

⁹ Read तेनाविकस्यतः । प्रति-

¹⁰ Probably प्रतिचक्रकम् is the intended reading.

¹¹ The figure of the *śikhi* is illegible.

¹² This is incorrect for वसन्त्या.

¹³ Read चतुर्विंशकटे.

- 19 विष्णु [१*] यो यो[म] कर्म कुर्वते स्वपति[स्तेन] तेन तु [१*] द्रव्यैक(कर्म)
सामान्यातर्क्य प्रत्येकं सर्वदा [भु]वै ॥ सम्बत् २२० आवत् यदि ॥ स्वभु-
ज्यमानयामि च उन्तः अद्या-
- 20 शितः । यदा[मि]हलि भूमि[क] ॐ ॐ ॐ — [मि]हि ॥ या कथा हिज-
साहुज्जज्जादिभिरसं पुरा । एतुवाकोहुना यावत् वाहयत्वेव शालिकः ॥ यद-
क्षोत्पद्यते किंचित्स-
- 21 आस[वय*][नो]विषु । ॐ ॐ वि ॐ ॐ — योज्ज मध्यमे [शास्त्रमिव] तत् ॥
संवत् १८० आवत् शु २ पश्चिमासुखमावार्योदयं लेख्यविशोधितं [१*]
कोट्याह(ह)हिः शास्त्रिकेन भ-
- 22 द्वे ॐ ॐ — [दित] ॥ [सम्बत्] २८८ फागुन [श २] [पु]रा श्रीभोजदेवेन
ये द्रव्यास्त्रयसादिताः । प्रमाणराशये तेन चासुखकास्य तीर्पिताः ॥ तत-
स्तस्मिन् शिवीभू-
- 23 ते आचार्यो ॐ ॐ — ॐ ना ॥ गोष्ठिकैरपि ते [द्रव्यैः] श्रौतमावारिकाद्यं ॥
कम्ब(म्ब)लिहटे दक्षिणवर्जं वीथीयुग्मं तज्जलम् ॥ सुधासिन्दूरदीपाद्यैर्यज्याद्यौ-
घीप्रभा-
- 24 टके [१*] गोष्ठिकैर्योजनीयस्तथाप्य[म्बा*]र्जयो [स्मि]ति[ः] ॥

1 Read संवत्.

* One *akehara* is missing here. Read चददाजिहलि.

* What look like two *anuvāras* on जज्जा are probably due to faults in the stone.

* Some reading like भदेनेतत्रिहिति is intended here.

* Read संवत्.

* The intended reading may be आचार्योदेवसायिना. The medial vowels of *sā* and *yā* can be marked on the back of the impression.

* This is only a hemistich. Metre: *Mātrāsamāhā*.

* See note 6, p. 335, above.

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By

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[The figures refer to pages: n. after a figure refers to footnotes and add. to additions. The following other abbreviations are also used: ca.=capital; ch.=chief; ci.=city; co.=country; com.=composer; C. P.=Copper-plate; chron.=chronicle; di.=district or division; do.=ditto; dy.=dynasty; E.=Eastern; engr.=engraver; ep.=epithet; f.=female; feud.=feudatory; gen.=general; hist.=historical; ins.=inscription; ins.=inscriptions; k.=king; l.=locality; lit.=literary; l.m.=land-measure; m.=male; min.=minister; mo.=mountains; myth.=mythic or mythological; n.=name; N.=Northern; off.=office or official; q.=queen; rel.=religions; ri.=river; S.=Southern; s.a.=same as; sur.=surname; t.d.=territorial division; te.=temple; tit.=title; vi.=village; W.=Western; wk.=work.]

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