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Volume XXIX (1951-52)



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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

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सत्यमेव जयते

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page 6, text line 4.—For Śrīmā° read Śrīmā̃°.

„ 9, text line 57.—For Śrīmā° read Śrīmā̃°.

„ 16, text line 13.—For °jvala read °j[*]vala.

„ 17, text line 33.—For dattam read dattam(ttam).

„ 19, line 31.—For i and ī read i, ī, u and ū.

„ 19, line 44.—For for chandraśērshū read for chandra-śīrshō.

„ 23, line 18.—Omit comma after *predecessor*.

„ 24, line 20.—For re-conquest read conquest.

„ 28, text line 13.—For kṛitam read kṛitam(taḥ).

„ 35, line 28.—For Srikakulam read Ganjam.

„ 37, text line 35.—Read (kāḥ |).

„ 41, f.n. 5.—Read yā for yā̃.

„ 45, line 40.—For churṇī read chūrṇī.

„ 45, f. n. 2.—Add note—*Pravarta* is mentioned in an early inscription from Bengal (*Select Inscriptions*, p. 356). It may be the same as *pravarti* mentioned in *Sarvānanda's Amarakōsha-ṭīkā* (under verse 89 of *Vaiśya-varga*) as equal to 5 *Khāris*.

„ 47, lines 2-3.—For Srikakulam District of Madras read Ganjam District of Orissa.

„ 47, line 21.—For Tiruchirapalli read Tiruchirappalli.

„ 47, line 50.—Add at the beginning of the last paragraph—Lines 40-42 of the inscription refer to the king's request to the people addressed as well as to the

„ 54, line 1.—For parts read of parts.

„ 55, text line 24.—For śri read śrī.

„ 58, line 8.—For °ñkuśam read °ñkuśa[h].

„ 59, f.n.2.—For *Cōla Studies* read *Studies in Cōla History and Administration*.

Page 62, f. n. line 3.—*Read* 10th year (1021 A.C.).

- „ 64, line 13.—*For* D(Tā)ḍināḍu *read* Dā(Tā)ḍināḍu.
- „ 64, line 15.—*For* D(Tā)ḍināḍu *read* Dā(Tā)ḍināḍu.
- „ 65, text line 6.—*For* Dēvakīḥ *read* Dēvakīḥ
- „ 65, text line 8.—*For* kānanam *read* kānanam(nam).
- „ 68, text line 60.—*For* sa=dvīpām *read* sa-dvīpām.
- „ 69, text line 85.—*Read* daṇḍēsām=a(sair=a)bhavad°.
- „ 69, text line 86.—*Read* kṣaṇam(nam).
- „ 69, text line 87.—*For* vivṛie *read* vivṛi°.
- „ 69, text line 88.—*For* bhṛitaḥ(tāś=cha)la *read* bhṛitaḥcha(taś=cha)la.
- „ 69, text line 89.—*For* ṛi *read* ṛi°.
- „ 70, text line 95.—*For* Karvnā(nnā)ṭaka *read* Karvnā(rṇṇā)ṭaka.
- „ 70, text line 95.—*For* °n=aśvikō° *read* °na(n=ā)śvikō°.
- „ 70, text line 96.—*For* hastikōna *read* h[ū*]stikōna.
- „ 70, text line 108.—*For* Krovviṇḍlētaiḥ=bāsi *read* Krovviṇḍlētambāsi.
- „ 73, line 10.—*For* impure *read* ill.
- „ 73, lines 11 and 12.—*For* purify *read* cure.
- „ 73, f.n.1, line 1.—Omit comma after *Raṅgāchārya*.
- „ 73, f.n.1, line 2.—*For* engaging *read* engaging themselves.
- „ 73, f. n. 7, line 1.—*Read* born on the occasion.
- „ 74, f. n. 3, line 10.—Omit comma after *Vide*.
- „ 75, line 38.—*For* Kīṭpalāṅu *read* Kīṭpalāṅu.
- „ 75, line 40.—*For* Māṭpalāṅu *read* Māṭpalāṅu.
- „ 76, f. n. 4.—*For* after n *read* after n.
- „ 81, f. n. 5.—*Read* year 70 or 60.
- „ 84, f.n.7.—*For* 820-25 A.C. *read* 831 A.C.
- „ 89, line 24.—*For* importnace *read* importance.

- Page 93, f.n. 6.—*Add editorial note.*—The word *nripēśvara* means 'a ruler'. Rājāditya was the personal name of the executor.
- „ 95, f. n. 9.—*Add editorial note.*—For the correct meaning of the expressions, see *The Successors of the Śātavāhanas*, p. 196.
- „ 99, line 26.—*For has read have.*
- „ 100, line 9.—*For Gorakhapur read Gorakhpur.*
- „ 100, line 28.—*For for read to.*
- „ 101, f.n. 6.—*For danḍa read danḍa.*
- „ 112, lines 17 ff.—*Add editorial note.*—The rule of Gōvinda of the Aihole inscription cannot be assigned to 630-55 A.D. since he is known to have come into conflict with Pulakēśin II about the beginning of the latter's career, i.e. about 610 A.D. Pulakēśin II did not meet Gōvinda in the course of his campaign in the region of the Rēvā and the Vindhya, but in the area about the northern bank of the Bhīmarathī (Bhīmā) much nearer his capital.
- „ 113, line 31.—*Add editorial note.*—There is no proof that Padmanagara was a capital city.
- „ 114, text line 8.—*Read Kāntaḥ=kārunikaḥ=kala.*
- „ 114, text line 9.—*Read rahitaḥ=ketub=karālō.*
- „ 114, text line 11.—*Read patilḥ=kalpa.*
- „ 115, text line 18.—*Add editorial note.*—The reading is *Varmnullaka*.
- „ 115, text line 20.—*For karimā[nta](ntā) read karmā[nta]°*
- „ 115, text line 20.—*Read tachchha(ch=cha).*
- „ 115, text line 23.—*Add editorial note.*—The reading seems to be °*matḥ=chchhivāhalal=ai[ḥhi]°*. The name of the locality was therefore Achchhivāhalalā and not Uchchhī(chhī)vāhalā as assumed by the author (cf. pp. 110, 114).
- „ 115, last line.—*Read Ju(Yu)[ddhā]suraḥ.*
- „ 120, text line 12.—*For grāmakūṭāyayuktaka read grāmakūṭ-āyuktaka.*
- „ 125, line 16.—*Read sima°*
- „ 125, line 32.—*For Meters read Metres.*
- „ 129, f.n. 9, line 2.—*For vijay-avahaḥ read vijay-āvahaḥ.*
- „ 138, lines 3 ff.—*Add editorial note.*—A *pūrṇa-ghaṭa* of this type was discovered in the course of excavations at Kondapur and is now in the Hyderabad Museum. A damaged terracotta female figure from Bhita (near Allahabad) now in the Asutosh Museum (Calcutta) and a bas-relief on the wall of the Vēṅkaṭ-ēśvara temple on the Vaikunthapuram hill in the Guntur District have the lower part fashioned in the same posture.
- „ 138, f.n. 5, line 1.—*For Ehuvaḥ read Ehuva.*
- „ 147, line 4.—*Read Kṛishṇa.*

Page, 147 line 36.—*Read* Chūdāmaṇi.

„ 151, line 34.—*Read* Mahāgaṇi.

„ 152, line 21.—*Read* a geographical.

„ 153.—*For* 135 *read* 153 *in the number of page*.

„ 154, text line 25.—*For* dripta *read* dripta.

„ 155, text line 34.—*For* °bhis=cha *read* °bhiś=cha.

„ 155, f.n.4, lines 4-5.—*Read* °ṣṭkampābhi°.

„ 157, line 38.—*Read* Viṣṇu.

„ 157, f.n.1.—*Read* Purāṇa.

„ 158, line 15.—*Read* subdnars.

„ 160, line 27.—*Read* Dravidian r.

„ 160, line 31.—*Read* °bhujāyamānuṅg=ayina.

„ 162, line 36.—*For* Cuddapah *read* Guntur.

„ 163, lines 18 ff.—*Read*—covering a considerable area extending in a north-easterly direction over a tract from Turimella in the Cumbum Taluk of the Kurnool District right upto Kocherlakōṣṭa in the Darsi Division of the Nellore District.

„ 163, f. n. 11.—*For* was omitted *read* had been omitted.

„ 174, lines 29-30.—*Add editorial note*.—The palaeography of the record seems to suggest a date in the sixth or seventh century A.D.

„ 176, text line 2.—*Add editorial note*.—*Read* °kārasya śrīmatō.

„ 177, text line 3.—*Add editorial note*.—*Read* °rājasy=ānujñayā.

„ 177, text line 4.—*Add editorial note*.—The name Śyāmalāṅgī stands for Sanskrit Śyāmalāṅgī. She made a gift of 50 golden bars as dakṣhiṇā to the donee of the agrahāra granted by Prabhāvatī.

„ 177, text line 6.—*Add editorial note*.—*Read* °kāli(lī)naḥ(nam).

„ 177, lines 7-8.—*Add editorial note*.—The intended reading may be °arthi-jana-hṛday-ānandaṁ samabhiwardhayantyā.

„ 177, text lines 8-9.—*Add editorial note*.—The reading is vamsōnayata for vams-ōnnayantyā. Āryā Prabhāvatī seems to have granted the agrahāra to a Brāhmaṇa whom Śyāmalāṅgī gave 50 golden bars as dakṣhiṇā of the said gift. Prabhāvatī may have been Śyāmalāṅgī's mother-in-law. There is no reason to identify Vibhurāja and Māṇa(na)rāja.

„ 177, line 11.—*Add editorial note*.—*Read* °rjitō(ta)-chāra(ta)-bhaṣa-a(t-ā)prāvētyē(tya)°.

„ 177, line 13.—*Read* °danē(kē)[na*].

„ 177, line 16.—*Add editorial note*.—*Read* °kūṭasya.

„ 178, line 2.—*For* Harkēli *read* Harakēli.

„ 178, line 17.—*Read* inscription.—Omit bracket before Mr.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

- Page 178, line 23.—*For* *nd* *read* *and*.
- „ 178, line 29.—*For* *laces* *read* *places*.
- „ 178, line 30.—*For* *inscriptin* *read* *inscription*.
- „ 178, f. n. 3.—*Read* Vol. III.
- „ 181, text line 11.—*Read* *Hiranyakasi*(*śi*)*pō*°
- „ 186, line 4.—*For* *callecđ* *read* *called*.
- „ 186, line 6.—*Read* *pañcha*.
- „ 186, line 16.—*Omit* *redundant m* before *maṇḍala*.
- „ 186, line 17.—*Add* *full-stop* at the end of the line in the place of *apostrophe*.
- „ 186, line 19.—*Read* *sattva*.
- „ 186, line 20.—*Read* *Sandhi*°.
- „ 186, line 22.—*For* *descriptin* *read* *description*.
- „ 186, line 22.—*For* *Brāhmaḍa* *read* *Brāhmaṇa*.
- „ 186, line 23.—*For* *epither* *read* *epithet*.
- „ 186, line 25.—*For* *śātra* *read* *śāstra* (in two places).
- „ 186, line 36.—*For* *belived* *read* *believed*.
- „ 186, line 40.—*For* *Indēḍḍa* *read* *Indēḍḍā*.
- „ 186, f.n.3, line 3.—*For* °*smṛti* *read* °*smṛiti*.
- „ 188, text line 15.—*For* *ātumajō* *read* *ātmañō*.
- „ 188, text line 16.—*For* *sudha-sarm* *read* *sudhā-sam*°.
- „ 188, text line 21.—*For* *manōhāriṇāy* *read* *manōhāriṇā*.
- „ 188, text line 22.—*For* *pulsṭ-ārāti* *read* *plusṭ-ārāti*.
- „ 188, text line 25.—*For* *pitri* *read* *pitṛi*.
- „ 188, text line 27.—*Read* *Jilōṇḍā*.
- „ 188, text line 27.—*For* *bhavishyād* *read* *bhavishyad*.
- „ 188, text line 27.—*For* °*trā*(*n=rā*)-*japutrān* *read* °*trā*(*n=rā*) *japutrān*.
- „ 188, text line 28.—*For* °*jivinaḥ* *read* °*jivinaḥ*.
- „ 188, text line 29.—*For* *vshaya* *read* *vishaya*.
- „ 190, line 41.—*For* *Jaipur* *read* *Jajpur*.
- „ 191, f.n.2, line 13.—*For* *suggests* *read* *suggest*.
- „ 195, f.n. 4.—*Read* *Āshāḍhasya*.
- „ 196, line 8.—*For* *wich* *read* *which*.
- „ 196, line 11.—*For* *callec* *read* *called*.
- „ 196, line 21.—*For* *Sārdūla*° *read* *Śārdūla*°.
- „ 196, line 22.—*For* *andākrāntā* *read* *Mandākrāntā*.
- „ 196, f.n 3. *For* *ust* *read* *must*.

Page 196, f. n. 7.—*For* who write *read* who wrote the.

„ 198, text line 23.—*Read* Dēlhuka.

„ 200, line 4.—*For* Padmāvatī *read* Padmāvatī.

„ 201, f.n.5, line 5.—*For* has *read* have.

„ 202, f.n.3, line 2.—*For* on *read* at.

„ 216, text lines 9-10.—*Read* °uchitam kāryam.

„ 216, text line 11.—*Read* Harṣh.

„ 222, line 35.—*For* mahādēvī *read* mahādēvī.

„ 224, f.n. 3.—*For* See above...*read* See above, p. 191, note 2.

„ 224, f.n. 5.—*Omit* Above, Vol....

„ 232, line 38.—*For* Goṅkaraja *read* Goṅkarāja.

„ 238, text line 1.—*For* bhīg-ōpama *read* bhūg-ōpama.

„ 238, text line 47.—*For* dbādaśa *read* dvādaśa.

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

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No. 1—TWO PALA PLATES FROM BELWA

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

The village of Belwā lies a few miles to the west of the Hili railway station on the East Bengal Railway, in the eastern fringe of the Dinajpur District, not far from the borders of the Bogra and Rangpur Districts. Some time in 1946, a Santal inhabitant of the village, named Khārē Sñōtāl, discovered two inscribed copper plates while digging the compound of his house with a view to enlarging a fire-place. Mr. Manoranjan Gupta of Calcutta soon secured the plates with the help of Muḥammad Basīr Sarkār who is an official at the Zamindar's Katchery at the village of Kaśīgārī, not far away from Belwā. Mr. Gupta studied the inscriptions and published both of them in the *Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā* (Bengalī), Vols. LIV, B. S. 1354, pp. 41-56; LVI, B. S. 1356, pp. 60-65, with plates.¹ The original plates were also presented to the Museum of the Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishat, Calcutta. One of the records belongs to king Mahīpāla I (circa 988-1038 A. C.) of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihār, and the other to his grandson Vīrahapāla III (circa 1055-90 A. C.). As, however, the inscriptions appeared to me to have been neither carefully read nor correctly interpreted, I requested, several times, the authorities of the Parishat to lend me the original plates for a few weeks for examination or to supply me with a set of good impressions of each of the inscriptions. Unfortunately neither of these requests was complied with.² At last impressions of both the plates were available to me through the kindness of Mr. T. N. Ramachandran, Superintendent, Department of Archaeology, Eastern Circle. I edit the inscriptions from those impressions.

A.—Plate of Mahīpāla I; Regnal Year 5

The record is incised on a single copper-plate, measuring 13"×14·6". The weight has not been recorded. The seal, which closely resembles those attached to other charters of the Pāla rulers, is, as usual, soldered to the upper part of the document. It is the celebrated *dharmachakra-mudrā* of the Pālas who were Buddhists. It has in the centre a circle with raised rim and beaded border which is surrounded by arabesque work and is surmounted by a *chaitya* symbol. The upper half of the inner circle of the seal is occupied by the Buddhist 'Wheel of the Law' having an umbrella above it and a deer couchant on either side. Below the central demarcation line, forming a pedestal for the above, is the legend *śrī-Mahīpāladēvasya*, the space beneath being covered by arabesque foliage. There are altogether 58 lines of writing on both sides of the plate, 33 lines on the obverse and 25 on the reverse. The incision is deep and clear, and the

¹ For an English version of these papers, see *Journ. As. Soc.*, Letters, Vol. XVII, pp. 117-35.

² In December 1950, when I happened to be in Calcutta, I was allowed to examine the original plates in the Parishat's office. My thanks are due to Mr. Gupta and the authorities of the Parishat for this help.

preservation of the plate is fairly satisfactory. Six lines of writing at the top on the obverse and five lines at the top on the reverse have a gap in the middle, owing to the space occupied by the lower part of the seal.

In point of palaeography, language and orthography, the inscription under discussion resembles very closely the only other copper-plate charter of king Mahipāla I so far known to the students of history. This is the Bāngarh plate finally edited by the late Mr. R. D. Banerji in the pages of this journal, Vol. XIV, pp. 326 ff., with plates. The introductory verses at the beginning of the record, the description of the place of issue, the list of officials and others to whom the royal order was addressed, the list of the privileges to be enjoyed by the donee and the imprecatory and benedictory verses about the end are practically the same in both the charters. Indeed most of these are common to all charters of the Pāla family. It is only the actual grant that is different in the Bāngarh record and the charter under review. The present epigraph, like some other Pāla records, usually indicates superscript *r* by a horizontal short stroke below the top *mātrā* of the consonant towards the left, sometimes making the sign almost undistinguishable.

The date of the record, given in one figure in line 49, is the year 5 (of the reign of Mahipāla I), the 26th day of the month of Śrāvaṇa. Line 46 speaks of the grant being made by the king on the occasion of a ceremonial bath taken by him in the waters of the Ganges on the day of the *viśhuvā-saṅkrānti* (i.e., *viśhuvā-saṅkrānti*) which indicates the sun's equinoctial passage into Mēṣha on the 1st day of solar Vaiśākha or into Siṁha on the 1st day of solar Kārttika. In the present case, it is possible to think that the grant had been made on the 1st of Vaiśākha, although the charter was issued a few months later on the 26th of Śrāvaṇa. A ceremonial bath and offering of gifts on the occasion of the *viśhuvā-saṅkrānti* are both enjoined by the Hindu scriptures.¹ The action of the Pāla king, who was a Buddhist, as recorded in the document, no doubt points to the fact, often noted, that there was little difference between the life of a lay follower of Buddhism and that of an ordinary Brahmanical Hindu in the age of the Pālas at least in Eastern India. As we have elsewhere observed, when the Brahmanical and Buddhist philosophers were busy in refuting one another's views, the life of the lay man appears to have been marked by absolute religious toleration and the Buddhist laity was gradually nearing absorption into Brahmanical society.²

The charter begins with the *akṣhara ni* (an abbreviation of the word *nibaddha* meaning 'registered') which is also found at the end of line 1 as in the Bāngarh plate of the same king and in many other records. This kind of double endorsement by the king himself and by one of his officials is also known from other records from Bengal such as those of the Sēnas.³ The first *ni* is followed by the usual symbol for *siddham* and the introductory word *svasti*. Next come 12 verses in lines 1-23 forming the introduction of the charter. It is well-known that the fashion of quoting

¹ Cf. *Brahma Purāṇa* quoted in the *Śabdakalpadrūma*, s.v. *saṅkrānti*: *Nityam dvayōr-ayanayōr-nityam viśhuvātor-dvayōḥ | chandr-ārkayōr-grahayōr-vyatīpātēṣhu parvasu || Ahō-rātr-ōṣhitāḥ snānam brāddham dānam tathā japam | yaḥ karōti prasann-ātmā tasya syād-akṣhayaḥ cha tat ||*

² See *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 235; *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. IX, p. 124; *J.R.A.S.B.*, L., Vol. XV, p. 104. Most of the grants of the Buddhist Pāla kings were made in favour of Brāhmaṇas. The Manahali plate (*Gauḍalēkhamālā*, pp. 148 ff.) records a grant of king Madanapāla to a Brāhmaṇa as *dakṣiṇā* for his recitation of the *Mahābhārata* before the *Paṭṭamahādevī* Chitramatikādevī. The Bhāgalpur plate (*ibid.*, pp. 58 ff.; cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 309) of the *Paramasauvāta* king Nārāyaṇapāla speaks of his Śaivite leanings and records a grant made by the king "for the suitable performance of *pūjā*, *bali*, *charu* and *saṭra*, for the *navakarma* (i.e., repairs or extensions of the temple) and for other requirements of the divine Śiva-bhaṭṭāraka at Kalāśapōta, for whom Nārāyaṇapāla himself has built a *sabha-āyatana* (possibly a temple with thousand pillars) and whom he has put up there (at Kalāśapōta); in order to provide couches and seats, medicines for the sick, requisites, etc., to the congregation of Pāsupata teachers (at Kalāśapōta); and in order to enable the Pāsupatas to bestow blameless enjoyments, consisting of a share fixed by them, on other persons as desired by them".

³ See *Ins. Beng.*, Vol. III, pp. 64, 75, 88, etc.

verses from the introduction of one's predecessor's charter became prevalent in the Pāla house amongst the descendants of Vīgrahapāla or Śūrapāla I (circa 850-54 A. C.) who was the cousin's son and successor of Dēvapāla (circa 810-50 A. C.). The first six verses of our record describe the exploits of Gōpāla I (circa 750-70 A. C.) who was the first imperial ruler of the Pāla dynasty, his son Dharmapāla (circa 770-810 A. C.), his younger brother and general Vākpāla, his son Jayapāla who was a general of Dēvapāla, his son Vīgrahapāla I and his son Nārāyaṇapāla (circa 854-908 A. C.). These verses are noticed for the first time in the charter¹ of Nārāyaṇapāla and are found quoted in all the later grants of the family. It is as yet unknown whether the first five of these verses were quoted by Nārāyaṇapāla from a charter of his father, as no copper-plate grant of Vīgrahapāla I has so far been discovered. We have also as yet no charter of the time of Rājyapāla (circa 908-40 A. C.), son and successor of Nārāyaṇapāla, although the Jājilpārā plate of Gōpāla II (circa 940-85 A. C.), son and successor of Rājyapāla, was published some time ago in the Bengali journal *Bhāratavarsha* (B. S. 1334, part i, pp. 264 ff.).² It is therefore no wonder that verses 7-9 of our record dealing with Rājyapāla and Gōpāla II are also found in the Jājilpārā plate. Verse 10 speaks of Vīgrahapāla II (circa 985-88 A. C.), son and successor of Gōpāla II, and the following two verses (verses 11-12) of his son and successor, the reigning monarch Mahīpāla I (circa 988-1038 A. C.). Verse 11 says that Mahīpāla I recovered his paternal *rājya*, which had become *anadhikṛta-vilupta* (lost owing to the occupation by usurpers), after having killed all the enemies in battle by the prowess of his own arms. Our inscription, dated in the king's fifth regnal year, shows that Mahīpāla attained success against the enemies quite early in his reign. The enemies who dispossessed Mahīpāla I of his paternal kingdom are usually identified with the Kāmbōja rulers of northern and south-western Bengal known from the Bāngarh pillar inscription and the Irda plate, although there is a theory challenging the suggestion of Kāmbōja occupation of parts of Bengal in the second half of the tenth century A. C.³ Whatever be the truth of the suggestion regarding the recovery of northern and south-western Bengal by Mahīpāla I from the Kāmbōjas, we know that the Pāla king very probably reconquered south-east Bengal from the Chandras quite early in his reign. As I have elsewhere shown,⁴ the Chandras originally ruled over Chandradvīpa, otherwise called Vaṅgaladēśa, in the Buckerganj region of southern Bengal; but Śrīchandra, the first imperial ruler of the family, conquered and ruled over wide regions of south-east Bengal in the second half of the tenth century. There was a short eclipse of Chandra power after Śrīchandra apparently owing to the success of Mahīpāla I. This is suggested not only by Mahīpāla's claim referred to above, but also by the Bāghāurā⁵ and Nārāyaṇpur⁶ inscriptions, dated respectively in his 3rd and 4th regnal years, which speak of Mahīpāla's rule over Samatāṭa, i.e., the present Tippera-Noakhali region, although Chandra suzerainty was re-established in eastern and south-eastern Bengal by Gōvīndachandra during the life-time of Mahīpāla I himself. Verse 12 of our record says that the war elephants of Mahīpāla I roamed in the eastern countries, then in the valleys of the Malaya mountain range (the modern Travancore hills), next in the Maru country (i.e., the Marwar region in the Rajputana desert in the ancient Western division of India) and ultimately in the valleys of the Himalayas. This has often been taken to indicate aimless wanderings of the Pāla army owing to a great catastrophe that befell the Pāla kingdom.⁷ But,

¹ *Gauḍalēkhamālā*, pp. 55 ff.

² See *Journ. As. Soc.*, Letters, Vol. XVII, pp. 137-44.

³ *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, pp. 133 ff., 190 f.

⁴ *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VII, pp. 410 ff. The Chandras originally owed allegiance to a dynasty of Harikēla kings possibly represented by Kāntidēva of the Chittagong plate. See also *J.R.A.S.B.*, L., Vol. XVII, pp. 90-91.

⁵ *Above*, Vol. XVII, p. 351.

⁶ *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. IX, pp. 121-25.

⁷ *History of Bengal*, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

as I have demonstrated elsewhere,¹ it refers to the usual conventional claim of *dig-vijaya* over the *chakravartī-kṣhētra* covering the whole of India. That the claim has not much history behind it is clear from the fact that the same verse, describing the exploits of Mahipāla's forces in the present record, has been employed in the Bāngarh plate of the same king to eulogize the achievements of the army of the king's father Vīgrahapāla II. Again, the same verse is also found in the Jājilpārā plate of Gōpāla II as well as the Āmgāchhi² and Belwā plates of Vīgrahapāla III (grandson of Mahipāla I) in the description of the exploits of the armies of the reigning monarchs.

Lines 23-27 of the charter introduce the place of issue which was the *jaya-skandhāvāra* at the city of Sāhasagaṇḍa. It is interesting to note that the same description is employed in all the Pāla charters, beginning with those of Dharmapāla, although the *jaya-skandhāvāras* (probably temporary capitals) themselves were different. This stereotyped description suits only a city on the Bhāgīrathī (i.e., the Ganges) and it suggests that the various *jaya-skandhāvāras*, some of which cannot be satisfactorily indentified, were all situated on the Ganges.³ This is supported by the fact that most of the grants were made by the Pāla kings after taking a bath in the waters of the Ganges. Lines 27-28 introduce the reigning monarch, who was in good health while making the grant, as the *Paramasaugata* (devout Buddhist) *Paramēśvara Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Mahipālādēva* who meditated on (or was favoured by) the feet of the *Mahārājādhirāja Vīgrahapālādēva*.

Lines 28-31 give details regarding the gift land which consisted of three localities all situated in the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti*. The first of the three was Ōsinna-Kaivarttavṛtti which measured 210 and was attached to the territorial unit called Amalakshudduṅga within the Phāṇita *vīthi*. The expression *sva-sambaddh-āvichchhinna-tal-ōpēta* (i.e., 'land that pertains to the king's own self and has its ground not yet alienated'), found in the description of the piece of land, is also known from other Pāla charters. The standard land measure, according to which the area of Ōsinna-Kaivarttavṛtti was calculated to have been 210, has not been specified. The Belwā plate of Vīgrahapāla III, edited below, speaks of the land measures *udamāna*, *āḍhavāpa*, *drōṇa* (i.e., *drōṇavāpa*) and *kulya* (i.e., *kulyavāpa*) as prevalent in the same locality. Of these, 4 *āḍhavāpas* made 1 *drōṇa*, 8 of which were equal to 1 *kulya*. As I have shown elsewhere,⁴ about 45 *udamānas* (otherwise called *udāna* or *unmāna*) probably made an *āḍhavāpa* (originally from 4 to 5 modern Bengal *Bighās* of land). It is difficult to determine as to which of the four land measures has been regarded as the standard one in the record under discussion, especially in view of the fact that all the four are known to have been the standard land measure in different localities, although the area of each may not have been the same in all places. The high number in the specification of the area suggests that the reference is possibly not to the *kulya* or *kulyavāpa*.

The second piece of the gift land comprised the locality called Nandisvāminī which measured 490 of the standard land measure and was situated in Shatṭāpānāyichatra which incorporated Pañchakāṇḍāka and lay in the Puṇḍarikā *maṇḍala*. The third plot of the gift land was the locality called Gaṇēśvara to which some village tanks were attached. The area of this plot was 151 of the standard land measure and it was situated in the Pañchanagarī *vishaya*.

¹ J. R. A. S. B., L., Vol. V, pp. 407-15, especially p. 410.

² Above, Vol. XV, 295 ff.

³ The following *jaya-skandhāvāras* are known to have been places of issue of the Pāla charters: Pātaliputra (near modern Patna), Mudgagiri (modern Monghyr), Rāmavati (near modern Gaur in the Malda District), Vata-parvatāka (modern Vateśvar-parvat near Pātharghātā in the Bhāgalpur District), Vilāsapura and Sāhasagaṇḍa. The name of the place, whence the Āmgāchhi plate of Vīgrahapāla III was issued, is doubtful; but to me it appears to be Vilāsapura.

⁴ I.H.Q., Vol. XXVI, pp. 309-13.

The list of officials and others associated with the above three pieces of the gift land is quoted in lines 31-40. This is practically the same in all Pāla records.¹ In this list is included servants like *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas* (regular and irregular soldiers, or policemen and peons) of various nationalities such as Gauḍa, Mālava, etc. These are for the first time noticed in the Nālandā plate² of Dharmapāla. The privileges to be enjoyed by the donee specified in lines 41-44 are also common with other records of the Pāla kings.³ As in so many other records of the Pālas, the above three villages are said to have been granted in the name of (*uddīṭya*) the lord Buddha-bhaṭṭāraka for the increase of merit and fame of the king and his parents. The specified land was made a permanent rent-free holding in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Jivadhara-dēvaśarman, who belonged to the Hastidāsa *gōtra* having the Āṅgīrasa, Āmbarīsha and Yauvanāśva *pravaras* and was the son of Dhirśēvara-dēvaśarman and grandson of Vishṇudēvaśarman. The king's request to the officials and others as well as to the future rulers of the area for the protection of his grant and his order to the cultivators to offer in due time to the donee all dues including *bhāga*, *bhōga*, *kara* and *hiranya* are couched in the same language as in the other Pāla charters. After giving the date (*Samvat 5 Śrāvāṇa-dīnē* 26) in line 49, the imprecatory verses, found not only in the Bāṅgarh plate of the same king but also in other grants of the Pāla kings, are quoted in lines 50-56. The last two verses of the record mention the *dūtaka* (executor) of the grant and the engraver of the plates. It is said that Mahīpālādēva made the *mantrin* (minister) Lakshmidhara the executor of the charter. The plates are said to have been engraved by the artisan Pushyāditya who was the son of Chandraditya hailing from the village of Pōshali. The artisans of Pōshali are also known to have engraved some other records of the Pāla kings such as the Bāṅgarh plate of Mahīpāla I and the Āṅgāchhi plate of Vīgrahapāla III.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter, the *jaya-skandhāvāra* called Sāhasagaṇḍa-nagara, which was apparently situated on the Ganges, cannot be satisfactorily identified. The gift villages, viz., Ōsinna-Kaivarttavpitti (i.e., Ōsinna which had been once allotted to the Kaivarttas for their service), Nandisvāminī and Gaṇḍāvara cannot also be identified. These three villages

¹ These are: *rājan* (subordinate king); *rājanyaka* (feudatory chief); *rājaputra* (possibly, noble man); *rājāmātya* (minister or executive officer); *mahāsāndhivīgrahika* (minister for war and peace); *mahākshapaṭalika* (accountant); *mahāsāmanta* (feudatory); *mahāsēnāpati* (general); *mahāpratihāra* (officer in charge of the palace-gate); *mahākārtākrūṭika* not mentioned in our record; *daśāsādhasādhanika*; *mahādāṇḍanāyaka* (judge); *mahākumārāmātya* (minister of the rank of a prince of the royal blood); *rājasthān-śparika* (viceroy); *dāsāparādika* (minor judge); *chaurōddharanika* (prefect of the police); *dāṇḍika*; *dāṇḍapāsika* (police officer); *śaulika* (customs officer); *gaṇḍika* (officer in charge of a police station); *kshētrapa* (officer in charge of the royal lands); *prāntapāla* (warden of the marches); *kōṭṭapāla* (governor of a fort); *khaṇḍaraksha* or *aṅgaraksha*; those appointed or commissioned by the above-mentioned; those in charge of elephants, horses, camels, navy and army; those in charge of foals, mares, cows, she-buffaloes, goats and sheep; *dūtaprēshānika*; *gamāgamika*; *abhivaramāpa*; head of a district; head of a village; ferry-man; *chāṭa*, *bhaṭa* and other servants of such nationalities as Gauḍa, Mālava, Khassa, Hūpa, Kulika, Karpāṭa and Lāṭa; other unnamed subjects and servants of the king.

² Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 291 ff.

³ These were: 'up to its boundaries, grass and pasture land' (*sva-sīmā-trīṇayūli-gōchara-paryanta*); 'with its ground' (*sa-tala*); 'with the space (above the ground)' (*s-ōddēsa*); 'with its mango and *madhuka* trees'; 'with its water and dry land'; 'with its pits and saline spots' (*sa-gartū-ōchāra*); 'with the tax from temporary tenants' (*s-ōparikara*), although this is omitted in our record; 'with *dāsāpachāra* (*dās-āparādha* of other records which refers to the fine realised for ten minor offences)'; 'with things recovered from thieves' (*sa-chaur-ōddharana*); 'with exemption from all oppressions'; 'not to be entered by *chāṭas* and *bhaṭas* (usually interpreted as regular and irregular troops, but may be policemen and peons)'; 'nothing to be taken (by way of tax, etc.)'; 'together with all revenues such as *bhāga* (royal share of the produce), *bhōga* (periodical supply of fruits, etc.), *kara* (taxes), *hiranya* (tax to be paid in coins), etc.'; 'according to the maxim of *bhūmi-chakṣhidra*'; 'to last as long a time as the moon, the sun, and the earth shall endure'. *Bhūmichakṣhidra-nyāya* refers to the custom of allowing a person who brings a piece of fallow or jungle land under cultivation to enjoy it without paying rent.

were situated respectively in Amalakshuddunga within the Phāṇita *vīlā* (subdivision),¹ in Shaṭṭā-pāyāichatra incorporating Pañchakāṇḍaka within the Puṇḍarikā *maṇḍala* (smaller district or its part), and in the Pañchanagarī *viśaya* (district). Of these, the Pañchanagarī *viśaya* no doubt had its headquarters at the city of the same name whence the Baigram plate² was issued. We have elsewhere³ suggested that this city is possibly the same as Ptolemy's Pentapolis and is no other than modern Pāñchbibi in the Bogra District. The *bhukti* (province) of Puṇḍravardhana, identified with modern Mahāsthān in the Bogra District, originally comprised northern Bengal, although in later times its jurisdiction is known sometimes to have extended over certain parts of south-eastern and southern Bengal. The village of Pōshālī, whence the family of the engraver hailed, seems to be the same as the Pōshālī *gāṇī* of the Rādhīya Brāhmaṇas of Bengal. The village has been identified with modern Pōshālā about 5 miles to the south-east of Maṅgalkōṭ in the Burdwan District of West Bengal,⁴ although little can be said in favour of the identification.

TEXT*

[Metres : Verses 1, 8 *Sragdharā* ; verses 2, 3, 6 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 4, 7, 10 *Vasantatilakā* ; verse 5 *Āryā* ; verse 9 *Indravajrā* ; verse 11 *Mālinī* ; verse 12 *Mandākrāntā* ; verses 13-17, 20, 21 *Anuśṭubh* ; verse 18 *Sālinī* ; verse 19 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

Obverse

- 1 Ni[*] [Siddham*] Svasti [*] Maitrīṇ-kārunya-ratna-pramudita-hṛdayaḥ prēyaś[ṁ] ni*
- 2 sandadhānaḥ samyak-samvō(mbō)dhi-vidyā-sarid-amala-ja-
- 3 la-kshālī-ājñāna-paṅkaḥ | jītvā yaḥ [kāma*]kāri-prabha-
- 4 vam-abhibhavaṁ śāśvatīm-prāpa śānti[ṁ] sa śrīmā-
- 5 l-Lō(l-Lō)kanāthō jayati daśa-va(ba)lō='nyas-cha Gōpā-
- 6 ladēvaḥ || [1*] Lakshmi-janma-nikētanam sama[ka*]rō vōdhum ksha-
- 7 maḥ kshma-bharam |* paksha-chohḥēda-bhayād-upasthitavatām-ōk-āśrayō bhūbhṛitām |
maryādā-paripālan-aika-nirataḥ śaury-āla-
- 8 yō-smād=abhūd=dugdh-āmbhōdhi-vilāsa-hāsi-mahimā śrī-Dharmmapālō nṛipaḥ || [2*] Rā-
masy-ēva grīhita-satya-tapasas=tasy-ānurūpō
- 9 guṇaiḥ Saumitrēr=udapādi tulya-mahimā Vākpāla-nām-ānujaḥ || [*] yaḥ śrīmān=naya-vikram-
aika-vasatir=bhrātuḥ sthitaḥ śāsa-
- 10 nō sūnyāḥ śatru-patākinibhir= akarōd=ōk-ātapatrā diśaḥ || [3*] Tasmād=Upēndra-charitai[r]=
jagatīm punānaḥ putrō va(ba)bhūva vijayī
- 11 Jayapāla-nāmā | dharma-dvishām śu(śa)mayi[tā] yudhi Dēvapālē yaḥ pūrvajē bhuvana-
rājya-sukhāny=a[n]jaishīt || [4*] Śrīmān-Vigrahapāla-
- 12 s=ta[t]-sūnur=Ajātasatrur=iva jātaḥ || [*] śu(śa)tru-vanitā-prasādhana-vilōpi-vimal-āśi-jala-
dhāraḥ || [5*] Dikpālaiḥ kshiti-pālanāya da-
- 13 dhataṁ dēhē vibhaktā[n-gu]ṇ[ā*]n śr[ī]mantaṁ=janayāmva(mba)bhūva tanayaṁ Nārāyaṇaṁ
sa prabhūḥ | yaḥ ksh[ō]ṇipatibhiḥ śirō-mapi-ruch=āśliṣṭ-ā[ṁ*]ghri-pī-

¹ Mr. Gupta is inclined to identify Phāṇita with Pānituā or Pānitola on the Karatōya and Amalakshuddunga with Amalgāṇī not far from Belwā. He also equates *gandā* in *Sāhasa-gandā* with the *gāṇī*-ending of modern names.

² *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 342.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 498.

⁴ N. N. Vasu, *Vaṅger Jāṭiya Itihāsa*, Brāhmaṇa-kāṇḍa (Bengali), Vol. I, p. 122.

⁵ From an impression.

^{*} *Ni* is a contraction of the word *nibaddha*, "registered," "endorsed."

^{*} Expressed by a symbol.

^{*} The *dāpda* is superfluous.

A.—PLATE OF MAHIPALA I; REGNAL YEAR 5

Obverse

[illegible]

[illegible]

- 14 tñ-ōpalañ nyāy-ōpāttam=alañchakāra charitaiñ svair=ēva dharmm-āsanam(nam) || [6*]
Tōyāsayair=jaladhi-mūla-gabbhira-garbhair[r]=da(r-dē)vālayaiś=cha
- 15 kula-bhūdhara-tulya-kakshaiñ | vikhyāta-ki[r]ttir=abhavat=tanayaś=cha tasya śrī-Rājyapāla
iti madhyama-lōka-pālah || [7*] Tasmāt=pū[r]va-kshiti-
- 16 dhrān=nidhir=iva mahasām Rāshtrakūt-ānvay-ēndōs=Tuṅgasy=ōttuṅga-maulē[r]=duhitari
tanayō Bhāgyadēvyām prasūtañ || [*] śrīmān=Gōpāladēvaś=chi-
- 17 rataram=avanēr=ēka-patnyā iv=aikō bhattrā(rtt-ā)bhūn=naika-ratna-dyuti-khachita-chatuñ-
sindhu-chitr-ānśukāyāñ || [8*] Yām svāminam rāja-guṇair=anūna-
- 18 [m=ā]sēvatō [chā]rutay=ānuraktā | utsāha-mantra-prabhuśakti-lakshmiñ prithviñ sapatnīm=
iva śilayanti || [9*] Tasmād=va(d-ba)bhūva savitur=vasu-
- 19 kōṭi-varshī ¹ | kālēna chandra iva Vīgrahapāladēvañ | nētra-priyēṇa vimalēna kalāmayēna
yēn=ōditēna dalitō bhuva-
- 20 nasya tāpañ || [10*] Hata-sakala-vipakshañ saṅgarē vā(bā)hu-da[r]pa(rpā)d=anadhikṛita-
viluptam rājyam=āsādyā pitryam(tryam) | nihita-charaṇa-padmo bhū-
- 21 bhujām mūrdhni tasmād=abhavad=avanipālah śrī-Mahipāladēvañ || [11*] Dēśē prāchi
prachura-payasi svachchham=āpiya tōyam svairam bhrāntvā ta-
- 22 d-anu Malay-ōpatyakā-chaudanēshu | kṛitvā sāndrair=Marushu jādātām śīkarair=abhra-tulyāñ
Prālēyādrēñ kaṭakam=abhajan yasya sēnā-
- 23 gaj-ēndrāñ || [12*] Sa khalu Bhāgīrathī-patha-pravarttamāna-nānāvidha-nau-vāṭaka-sam-
pādita-sētu-vā(ba)ndha-[nihita-śaila]-śikhara-śrēṇi-vibhra-
- 24 māt ¹ | ni[ra]tisāya-ghana-ghanāghana-ghatā-śyāmāyamāna-vāsara-lakshmi-samāravdha-
(bdha)-santata-jalada-samaya-sandēhāt ¹ | udīchi-
- 25 n-ānēka-narapati-prā[bhṛi]tīkṛit-āpramēya-haya-vāhini²-khara-khur-ōtkhāta-dhūli-dhūsarita-
digantarālāt ¹ | paramēśvara-sēvā-sa-
- 26 māt-āsēha-Jamvu(mbū)dvīpa-bhūpāl-ānanta-pā[dā]ta-bhara-namad-avanēñ śrī-Sāhasagaṇ-
da-nagara-samāvāsi[tā*]t śrīmaj-jayaskandhāvārā-
- 27 [tī¹] paramasaugatō mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Vīgrahapāladēva-pād-ānudhyātāñ paramēśvara-
paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājādhī-
- 28 rājāñ śrīman-Mahipāladēvañ kuśalī ¹ | śrī-Puṇḍravarddhana-bhuktau ¹ | Phāpita-vīthī-samva-
(mba)ddha-²Amala[kshuddu]ṅg-āntaḥpāti-sva-samvā-⁴
- 29 vichchhinna-tal-ōpēta-[da]ś-ōttara-śata-dvaya-pramāṇ-Ausi[nna]-Kaivartta-vṛitti- ¹ | Puṇḍa-
rikā-maṇḍal-āntaḥpa(pā)ti-Pañchakāṇḍak-ādihika-
- 30 Shāṭṭāpānāyichatrō⁵ navaty-uttara-chatuñ-śata-pramāṇa-Nandisvāmini-¹ | Pañchanagari-
vishay-āntaḥpāti-²ēkapañchāśad-uttara-śa-
- 31 ta-pramāṇa-Gaṇēśvara-samēta-grāma-pushki(shka)riṇīshu ¹ | samnagarā(t-ā)śēsha-rājapu-
rushān ¹ | rāja-rājanyaka- ¹ | rājaputra- ¹ | rājāmā-
- 32 tya- ¹ | mahāsāndhivīgrahika- ¹ | mahākshapatalika- ¹ | mahāsāmanta- ¹ | mahāsēnāpati- ¹ | mahā-
[pra]tīhāra- ¹ | dauḥśādhāsādhani-

¹ The *danḍa* is superfluous.

² Originally *nī* was engraved.

³ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

⁴ Read *sambaddh-ā*.

⁵ Better read *chatra*. *Chatra* may be the same as *chaturaka* (cf. *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 94).

- 33 [ka]-¹ mahādāṇḍanāyaka-¹ mahākumārāmātya-¹ rājasthān-ōparika² ³ ¹ dāsāparādhika-¹ chaurōddharanika-¹ dāṇḍika¹ dāṇḍa-

Reverse

- 34 pāsi(śi)ka-¹ śaulkika-¹ gaulmika-kshētrapa-¹ prāntapāla-¹ kōṭṭapā-
35 la-¹ ² aṅgaraksha-¹ tad-āyukta-viniyuktaka-¹ hasty-aśv-ōshtra-
36 nau-va(ba)la-vyāpṛitaka-¹ ki[śō]ra-vaḍavā-gō-mahishy-aj-ā-
37 vik-ādhyaksha-¹ dūtaprēshanika-gamāgamika-¹ ² abhitva[ra*]-
38 māṇa-¹ viśhayapati-¹ grāmapati-¹ tarika-¹ Gauḍa-¹ Mālava-¹
39 Khasa-¹ Hūṇa-¹ Kulika-¹ Karṇāṭa-¹ Lāṭa-¹ chāṭa-¹ bhāṭa-¹ sēvak-ādīn⁴ ¹ anyāmā-oh-
ākīrtitān⁵ ¹ rāja-pād-ōpajīvinah⁶ pratīvā-
40 siao Vrahman-aitarān⁶ ¹ mahattam-ōttama-kutūmvi(mbi)-purōga-Mēd-Āndhra-Chaṇḍāla-pary-
antān⁶ yath-ārham mānayati ¹ vō(bō)dhayati sa-
41 mādisati cha ¹ viditam=astu bhavatām ¹ yath=ōparilikhitāḥ tri-grāmāḥ⁶ sva-sīmā-tṛṇayūti-
gōchara-paryantāḥ sa-tala-
42 s-ōddēsāḥ s-āmra-madhukāḥ ¹ sa-jala-sthalāḥ ¹ sa-gratt-ōsharāḥ ¹ sa-daś-āpachārāḥ ¹ sa-
chaur-ōddharanāḥ parihṛita-sarva-piḍāḥ ¹ a-
43 chāṭa-bhāṭa-pravēsāḥ ¹ a-kiñchit-pragrāhāḥ(hyāḥ) ¹ samasta-bhāga-bhōga-kara-hirany-ādi-
pratyāya-samētāḥ ¹ bhūmi-chohhidra-nyāyē-
44 na ā-chandr-ārka-kshiti-sama-kālām ¹ mātā-pitrōr-ātmanas=cha puṇya-yasō-bhivṛiddhayē
bhagavantam Vu(Bu)ddha-bhaṭṭārakam=uddiśya Ā-
45 āgirae-Āmva(mba)riśha-Yā(Yau)mu(va)nāsava-pravarāya ¹ Hastidāsa-sagotrāya Viśṇudēva-
śarmaṇaḥ pautrāya ¹ Dhīrōśvaradēvaśarmmaṇaḥ
46 putrāya ¹ āri-Jivadhagadēvaśarmmaṇē ¹ viśu(shu)vat-saṅkrāntau vidhivat ¹ Gaṇḍāyām
anātvā śāsanīkṛitya pradattō=smābhiḥ⁷ ¹ a-
47 tō bhavadbhi[s=sa]rvair-ēv=ānumantavyam bhāvibhiś=cha bhūpatibhiḥ ¹ bhūmēr=dāna-phala-
gauravāt ¹ apaharanē cha mahā-naraka-
48 pāta-bhaya(yā)t ¹ dānam=idam=anumōdy=ānupālaniyam ¹ prativāsibhiś=cha kshētrakaraiḥ ¹
ājñā-śravaṇa-vidhēyibhūya yathā-kāla[m]
49 samuchita-bhāga-bhōga-kara-hirany-ādi-pratyāy-ōpanayaḥ kā[rya] iti || Samva(samva)t [5]
Śrāvaṇa-dinē 26 [||*] Bhavanti ch=ātra dha-
50 rmma(rmm-ā)nuśamsinah ślōkāḥ [||*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vasudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ |
yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya [tasya*] tadā phalam(lam) || [13*] Bhū-
51 mīm yaḥ pratigrihnā(hṇā)ti yas=cha bhūmīm prayachchhati | ubhai(bhau) tau puṇya-karmma-
(rmmā)ṇau niyataṁ svarga-gāminau || [14*] Gām=ekā[m] svarṇnam=ē-
52 kaṇ=cha bhūmēr=apy=arddham=aṅgulaṁ(lam) | haran=narakam=a(m=ā)yāti ya(yā)va[d=ā*]-
hūta-samplavam(vam) || [15*] Shashtim=va(shṭim va)raha-sahasrā(srā)ṇi svarggē mōdati
bhūmida-

¹ The *dāṇḍa* is superfluous.

² The designation *rājasthān-ōparika* is found as *rājasthānīy-ōparika* in most of the Pala records.

³ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

⁴ Read *Brāhmaṇ-ōttarān*.

⁵ Originally *paryantāḥ* was engraved.

⁶ **Likkhito=yaṁ grāmāḥ* was originally engraved. All the epithets of *grāmāḥ* in the singular in lines 41-43 were later made plural to suit *tri-grāmāḥ* by the addition of an *ā mātrā*. But *pradattō=smābhiḥ* in line 46 escaped the engraver's notice and was left uncorrected.

⁷ Read *pradattā asmābhiḥ*.

- 53 ḥ | ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt || [16*] Sva-dattām para-dattām [rā*]
yō harē[ta*] vasundharām(rām) | sa viśṭhāyām kṣimir=bhūtvā pi-
- 54 ṭṛibhiḥ saha pachyatē || [17*] Sarvān=ētān=bhāvinaḥ pāṛthiv-ēndrān=bhūyō bhūyaḥ prārthayatē-
(ty=ē)sha Rāmaḥ | sāmānyō=yam dharmma-sōtur=nṛi-
- 55 pāṇām kālē kālē pālanīyaḥ kramēṇa || [18*] Iti kamala-dal-amvu-(l-āmbu)-vinḍu-lōlām
śriyam=anuvichintya¹ ma[nu*]shya-jīvita-
- 56 ā=cha | sakalam=idam=udāhṛitañ=cha vu(bu)ddhvā na hi purushaiḥ para-kirttayō vilōpyā iti ||²
Śrī-Mahīpālādēvēna dvija-śrē-
- 57 śṭh-ōpapādītē [i*] [śrī]māl=La(l=La)kshmidharō mantri śāsanē dūtākāḥ kṛitah || [20*] Pōshali-
grāma-niryāta-Cha[ndrā]dityasya sū(sū)nunā | i-
- 58 dam śāsanam=utkirṇam śrī³-Pushyādityēna śilpinā || [21*]

B.—Plate of Vighrahapāla III ; Regnal Year 11

The inscription is written on a single plate which is of the same size as the Belwā plate of Mahīpāla I, edited above. The seal, which is broken at the top, very closely resembles that of Mahīpāla's plate. The legend on the seal, attached to the charter under discussion, reads *śrī-Vighrahapālādēvaḥ*. There are 54 lines of writing on both sides of the plate, the obverse containing 29 lines and the reverse 25. The preservation of the writing on the plate is not quite satisfactory. Some of the letters have suffered from the effects of corrosion. Five lines at the top on the obverse of the plate and four lines at the top on the reverse have a gap in the middle owing to the space occupied by the lower part of the seal.

Little calls for special mention in regard to the palaeography, language and orthography of the inscription as they very closely resemble those of the Āmgāchhi plate,⁴ the only other copper-plate charter of king Vighrahapāla III so far published. In most cases in our inscription, the left curve of the letter ṇ does not start from its top but from the middle of its central vertical. The letter ś usually resembles in form the conjunct *tḥ* or *vḥ* as found in some inscriptions of the Gupta age.

The charter is dated on the 19th day of Bhādra in the year 11 of the king's reign (line 46). Like the Belwā plate of Mahīpāla I and several other records of the family, the grant under discussion was made by king Vighrahapāla III after having taken a ceremonial bath in the waters of the Ganges on the occasion of the *viskuvat-saṅkrānti*. It appears therefore, as in the case of Mahīpāla's record discussed above, that the grant had been made on the 1st day of solar Vaiśākha, although the charter was issued a few months later.

As in the grant of Mahīpāla I edited above, both at the beginning and at the end of the first line of our charter occurs the letter *ni* which is a contraction of the expression *nibaddha* meaning 'registered.' The actual record begins with the *siddham* symbol and the word *svastī* which are followed by fourteen verses (lines 1-22). These verses are also found in the Āmgāchhi plate of the same king. Of these, twelve verses are common with Mahīpāla's plate edited above. But, as already pointed out, the verse referring to the exploits of the king's elephant force in all the four corners of the *chakravartī-kṣētra* (verse 14) is employed in the description of Vighrahapāla III himself instead of that of Mahīpāla I. (Verse 12 of our record speaks of king Nayapāla (circa 1038-55 A. C.), son and successor of Mahīpāla I, and verse 13 of Nayapāla's son and successor Vighrahapāla III (circa 1055-90 A. C.) who issued the charter under discussion.) These verses are not only found

¹ Read =^o*anuvichintya*.

² Read *vilōpyāḥ* || [19*] *iti*.

³ Omit *śrī* for the sake of the metre.

⁴ Above, Vol. XV, pp. 295 ff.

4 DGA

in the Āmgāchhi plate of Vīgrahapāla III, but also in the Manahali plate¹ of Madanapāla (1144-62 A. C.),² great-great-grandson of Vīgrahapāla III. As no other copper-plate charter of the successors of Vīgrahapāla III, in which the verses are expected to have been quoted, has as yet been discovered and as the text of verse 13 of our record could not be satisfactorily read either in the Āmgāchhi or in the Manahali plate, the charter under discussion offers the correct reading of the verse in question for the first time.

The charter was issued from the *jaya-skandhāvāra* of Vilāsapura which was also the place of issue of the Bāngarh plate of Mahipāla I and possibly of the Āmgāchhi plate of Vīgrahapāla III. Its description (lines 22-26) is the same as in other Pāla charters including the Belwā plate of Mahipāla I, edited above. Lines 26-27 introduces the *Paramasaugata Paramēśvara Paramabhāṭṭāraka Māharājādhirāja śrīmad-Vīgrahapāladēva* as meditating on (or favoured by) the feet of the *Māharājādhirāja śrī-Nayapāladēva* and as enjoying good health at the time of making the grant. The land granted comprised parts (*ardha*) of the village called Lōvanikāma which was then recently cultivated and was attached to the Puṇḍarikā *maṇḍala* (subdivision) within the Phāṇitavīthi *vishaya* (district) of the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti*. Phāṇita was originally the name of a *vīthi* (subdivision); but later Phāṇita-vīthi came to be the name of a *vishaya* or district.³ It is said that Lōvanikāma was partitioned (*riju-khaṇḍikṛita*) and that one part measuring 1 *kulya* (i.e., *kulyavāpa*) 2 *drōṇas* (i.e., *drōṇavāpas*) 3½ *āḍhavāpas* and 3½ *udamānas* was left out, while the other measuring 3 *kulyas* 7½ *drōṇas* and 11 *udamānas* was made the subject of the grant.

↑ The list of officials and others associated with the gift land (lines 29-37) and that of the privileges to be enjoyed by the donee (lines 38-49) are the same as in other Pāla charters including the one edited above. The grant was made in the name of the lord Buddha-bhaṭṭāraka for the increase of the merit and fame of the king and his parents in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Jayānandadēva-śarman who belonged to the Bharadvāja *gōtra* having the Bhāradvāja, Ātگیرasa and Bārhaspatya *pravaras* and was the son of Śrīpatidēva, grandson of Hrishikēśadēva and great-grandson of Mitrakaradēva. The words *śrī* prefixed and *śarman* suffixed only to the name of Jayānandadēva appear to suggest that he was living while his ancestors were all dead and that *śarman* was already regarded as a distinctive Brahmanical name-suffix, although it was not an integral part of the family's cognomen. The donee is said to have been a student of the Pippalāda *sākhā* and to have been reputed for his scholarship in *mīmāṃsā*, grammar and logic. He was an inhabitant of Vēllāvāgrāma, but his family hailed from Vahēḍāgrāma. His epithet *śrī-Ananta-sabrahmachārin* literally means that he was a co-student of a Brāhmaṇa named Ananta. It however seems to me that the reference is here not to a co-student of the donee but to his preceptor.⁴

The king's request to the officials and others as well as to the future rulers of the locality and his order to the cultivators to offer the dues payable to the donee in due time come next in lines 44-46. The date (*Samvat 11 Bhādra-dīnē 19*) is also given in line 46. The usual imprecatory and benedictory verses are quoted in lines 47-53. The two concluding stanzas in lines 53-54 speak of the *dūtaka* (executor) of the grant and the engraver of the plates. It is said that one Trilōchana was made the executor of the charter by king Vīgrahapāla. The plates were engraved by the artisan Prithvidēva who was a son of Haradēva hailing from the village of Tinniḍi.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter, Vilāsapura, whence the grant was issued, cannot be satisfactorily identified, although it was apparently situated on the Ganges. The

¹ *Gaudalēkhamālā*, pp. 147 ff.

² *J.R.A.S.B., L.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 27-31. For the date of Vīgrahapāla III, see our paper on the Bāngarh plate to be published in this journal.

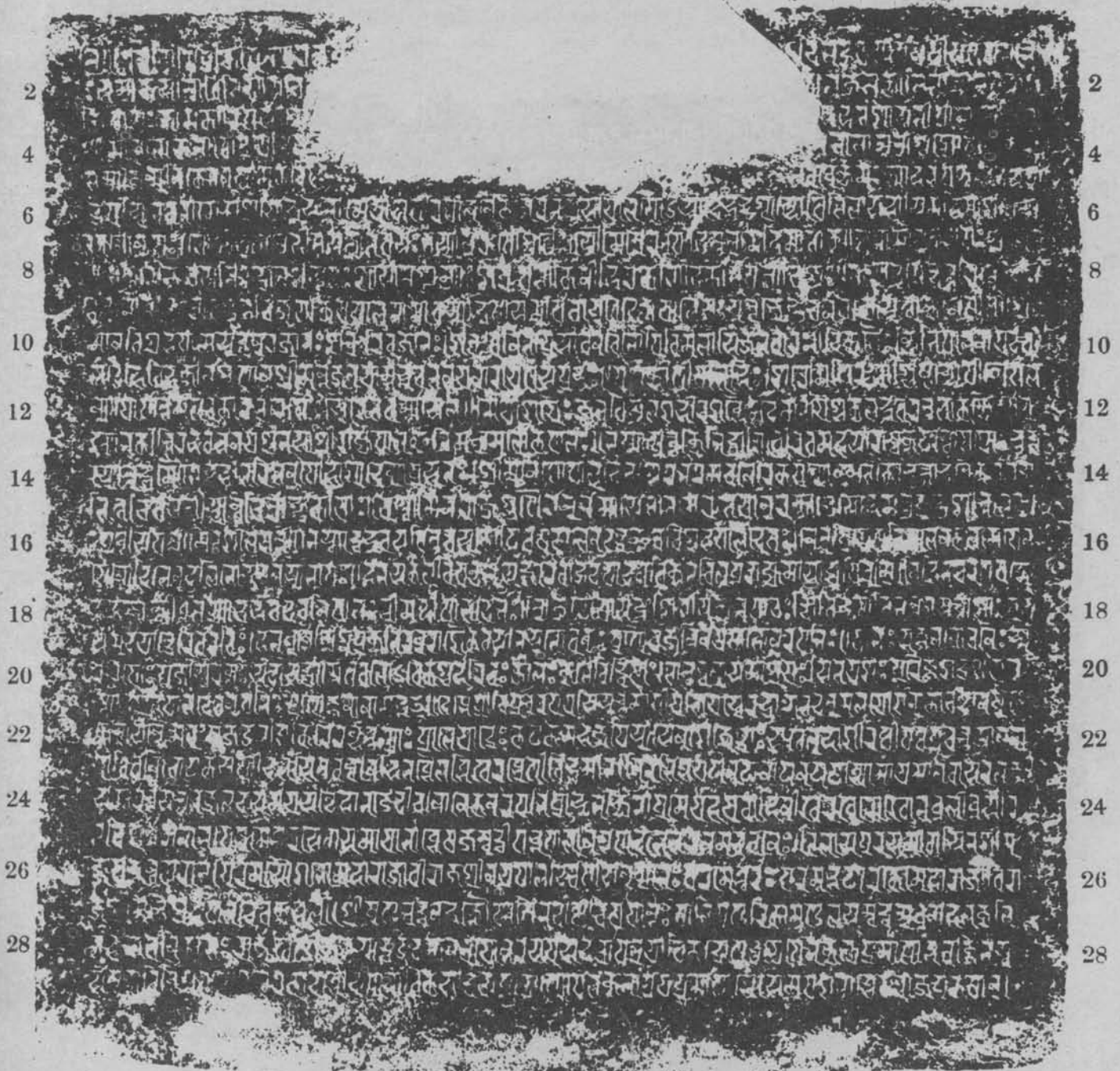
³ Cf. Khēṭak-āḍhara and Khēṭakshāra-*vishaya*; Kudūr-āḍhara and Kudūrāḍhara-*vishaya* in *Successors of the Śālavāhanas*, p. 42.

⁴ See our paper on the Bāngarh plate to be published in this journal.

TWO PALA PLATES FROM BELWA

B.—PLATE OF VIGRAHĀPALA III; REGNAL YEAR 11

Obverse



Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* and the Puṇḍarikā *maṇḍala* are also mentioned in the Belwā plate of Mahipāla I, discussed above. The Phāṇita-vithī *vishaya* of our inscription is mentioned in that record as the Phāṇita *vithī* only. The village of Lavanikāma and that of Tinnidī which was the original home of the engraver's family cannot be identified with any amount of precision. The village of Vāllāvā, where the donee lived, is no doubt the same as the present Belwā, the findspot of the charter; but the village of Vahēdā, whence the donee's family hailed, cannot be identified.

TEXT¹

[Metres : Verse 11 *Mālinī* ; verse 12 *Sikharinī* ; verse 13 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 14 *Mandakrāntā* ; verses 15-19, 22, 23 *Amuṣṭubh* ; verse 20 *Śalinī* ; verse 21 *Pushpātāgrā*.]

Obverse

Lines 1-17²

- 18 bhūbhujāṁ-mūrdhni tasmād=abhavad=avanipālāḥ śrī-Mahīpālādēvaḥ || [11*] Tyajan=dōhā-saṅgam śirasi kṛita-pādaḥ kṣhitibhṛitām vitanvan sarvv-āsāḥ prasa-
- 19 bham=Uday-ādrēr=iva raviḥ | hata-dhvānta[h*] snigdha-prakṛitir=anurāg-aika-vasati[h*] sūtō va(dha)n[y]aḥ puṇyair=ajani Nayapālō narapatih || [12*] Pitaḥ sajjana-lōchanaiḥ Sma-
- 20 raripōḥ pūjāsu raktaḥ sadā saṅgrāmē dhavalō=dhikaś=cha Haritaḥ kālāḥ kulē vidvishām-(shām) | chāturvvarṇnya-samāśrayaḥ sita-yasāḥ-pūrain=jagad=rañjaya[m*]s=ta-
- 21 smād=Vigrahapālādēva-nripatih puṇyā=jānānām=abhūt || [13*] Dēśē prāchi prachura-payasi svaachchham=āpiya tōyam svairam bhrāntvā tad-anu Malay-ōpatyakā-chandanēshu |
- 22 kṛitvā sāndhair=Marushu jādātām śikarair=arvba(bhra)-tulyāḥ Prālēyādrēḥ kaṭakam=abhajayi(n=ya)ya sēnā-gajēndrāḥ || [14*] Sa khalu Bhāgirathī-patha-pravarattamāna-nā-
- 23 nāvidha-nau-vāṭaka-sampādita-sētu-va(ba)ndha-nihita-śaila-śikhara-śrēṇī-vibhramā[t] |³ nirati-śaya-ghana-ghanāghana-ghaṭā-śyāmāyamaṇa-vāsara-lakshmī-
- 24 samāravdha(bdha)-santata-jalada-samaya-sandēhāta(hāt) |⁴ udichin-ānēka-narapati-prābhṛiti-kṛit-āpramēya-haya-vāhini-khara-khur-ōtkhāta-dhūli-dhūsari-
- 25 ta-digantarālāt |⁵ paramēśvara-sēvā-samāyāt-āsēsha-Jamvu(mbū)-dvipa-bhūpāl-ānanta-pādāta-bhara-namad-avanēḥ |⁶ Vilāsapura-samāvāsita-śrīma-
- 26 j-jaya-skandhāvārāt |⁷ paramasaugatō mahārājādhi(dhi)rāja-śrī-Nayapālādēva-pād-ānudhyā-taḥ paramēśvaraḥ paramabhāṭṭārakō mahārājādhira-
- 27 ja-śrīmad-Vigrahapālādēva[h*] ku]śali |⁸ śrī-Puṇḍravarddhana-bhuktau Phā[ṇi]tavithī-vishay-āntaḥpāti-Puṇḍarikā-maṇḍala-samva(mba)ddha⁹-adhunā-hala-kuli-
- 28 [t-ārdha-Lō]vanikāmaḥ(ma)⁹-riju-khaṇḍikṛita-sārdha⁹-udamāna-tray-ōttara-sapad-ādhav tpa-tray-ādhika-drōṇa-dvay-ōpēta-kulya-pramāṇ-āmsa-varjjita-sva-
- 29 samva(mba)ddh-āvichchinna-tal-ōpēta⁹-ēkādaś-ōdamān-ādhika-sārdha-sapta-drōṇ-ōpēta-kz-ly-traya-pramāṇ-āmsā |⁹ samupāgat-āsēsha-rājapurushān |⁹

Reverse

- 30 rāja-rājanyaka-|⁹ rājaputra- |⁹ rājāmātya- |⁹ mahāsāndhivigrahika-|⁹ mahā-

¹ From an impression.

² The reading of these lines is practically the same as that of lines 1-20 of the plate of Mahipāla I, edited above.

³ The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

⁴ The *visarga* was at first omitted and later made on *h*.

⁵ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

- 31 kahapaṭalika-¹ mahāsāṁanta -¹ mahāsēnāpati -¹ mahāpratihāra -¹ dau-
- 32 ḥsādhasādhanī[ka*]-¹ mahādaṇḍanāyaka-¹ mahākumārāmātya-¹ rājasthā-
- 33 n-ōparika-¹ dāsāparādhika-¹ chaurōddharanika-¹ dāṇḍika-¹ dāṇḍa-
- 34 pāsika-¹ sau(śau)lkika-¹ gaulmika-¹ kshētrapa-¹ prāntapāla-¹ kōṭa(tta)pāla-¹ aṅgaraksha-¹
tad-āyukta-viniyuktaka-¹ hasty-asv-ōshtra-nau-va(ba)la-vyāpṛitaka-¹
- 35 kiśōra-vaḍavā-gō-mahishy-aj-āvika-ādhyaksha-¹ dūtaprēshanika-¹ gamāgamika-¹ abhitva-
ramāṇa-¹ viśhayapati-¹ grāmapati-¹ tarika- [[¹] Gauḍa-[[¹]
- 36 Mālava-¹ Khasa-¹ Hūṇa-¹ Kulika-¹ Karnnāṭa-¹ Lāṭa-¹ chāṭa-¹ bhāṭa-¹ sēvak-ādīn ¹
anyāśās-ch-ākīrtitān ¹ rāja-pād-ōpajivinaḥ ¹ prativā-
- 37 sinō Vrā(Brā)hmaṇ-ōttarā[n] ¹ mahattam-ōttama-kuṭumvi(mbi)-[purōga]-Mēd-Āndhra-Chaṇ-
ḍāla-paryantān ¹ yath-ārham mānayatī ¹ vō(bō)dhayati ¹ samādiśati
- 38 cha | viditam=astu bhavatām ¹ yath-ōparilikhitō='yam grāmaḥ sva-sīmā-[tri]payūti-
gōchara-paryantaḥ sa-talaḥ s-ōddēsah s-āmra-madhukaḥ ¹
- 39 sa-jala-sthalaḥ ¹ sa-daś-āpachārah sa-chaur-ōddharanah ¹ paribrita-sarva-pīḍah ¹ a-chāṭa-
bhāṭa-pravēsah ¹ a-kiñchit-pragrāja(hya)ḥ ¹ samasta-bhāga-
- 40 bhōga-kara-hirany-ādi-pratyāya-samētaḥ ¹ bhūmi-chohhidra-nyāyēna ¹ ā-[cha*]ndr-ārka-kshiti-
sama-kālam ¹ mātā-pitrōr-ātmanas=cha puṇya-yaśō-
- 41 bhividdhayē bhagavantam Vu(Bu)ddha-bhāṭṭarakam=uddiśya | Bharadvāja-sagōtrāya ¹
Bhāradvāj-Āngirasa-Vā(Bā)raspatya-pravarāya ¹ śrī-Ānanta-savra(bra)hmachā-
- 42 riṇē ¹ Pippalāda-sākh-ādhyāyinē mīmāṇsā(māmsā)-vyākaraṇa-tarkka-vidē ¹ Vahōdā-grāma-
vini[rgga]tāya ¹ Vellāva-grāma-vāstavyāya ¹
- 43 Mitrakaradēva-prapautrāya ¹ Hrishikēśadēva-pautrāya ¹ Śrīpatidēva putrāya ¹ śrī-Jayā-
nandadēvaśarmmaṇē Vishuvat-samkrāntau vidhivat ¹
- 44 Gaṅgāyā[m] snātvā śa(śā)sanikṛitya pradattō='smābhīḥ | atō bhavadbhīḥ sarvair-ēv-ānuman-
tavyam | bhāvibhir=api bhūpatibhiḥ ¹ bhūmēr-ddāna-phala-
- 45 gauravāt ¹ apaharanē cha mahānaraka-pāta-bhayāt ¹ dānam-idam=anumōdya pālaniyam |
prativāsibhiś=cha kshōtrakaraiḥ ājñā-śrava-
- 46 ṇa-vidhēyibhūya yathā-kāla[m] samuchita-bhāga-bhōga-kara-hirany-ādi-pratyāy-ōpanayaḥ
kārya iti || Samva(Samva)t 11 Bhādra-dinē 19 [||*]
- 47 Bhavanti ch-ātra dharm-ānuśāsinah ślōkāḥ | Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā rājabbis-Sagar-
ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phala-
- 48 m || [15*] Bhūmim yaḥ pratigrihṇāti yaś=cha bhūmim=prayachchhati | ubhau tau puṇya-kar-
māṇau niyataṁ svarga-gāminau || [16*] Gām=ēkām svarṇam=ēka-
- 49 fi-cha bhūmēr=apy=arddham=aṅgulaṁ(lam |) haran=narakam=āyāti yāvad=āhūta-samplavam
|| [17*] shashṭim=va(shṭim va)rsha-sahasrāṇi svargē mōdati bhūmidah | ākshē-
- 50 [ptā] ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēta(sēt) || [18*] Sva-dattām=para-dattām=vā(ttām
vā) yō harēta vasundharām | sva(sa) viśṭhāyām kṛimir=bhūtvā pitribhiḥ saha pa-
- 51 chyatō || [19*] Sarvvān=ētān=bhāvinaḥ pārvhi(rthi)v-ēndrō(ndrān) bhūyō bhūyah prārthayaty-
ēsha Rāmaḥ | sāmānyō='yan=dharma-sētur=ṇripāṇām kālē kālē pāla-

¹ The dāṇḍa is unnecessary.

² The dāṇḍa is unnecessary. Sandhi has not been observed here.

³ The dāṇḍa is superfluous.

⁴ Sandhi has not been observed here.

- 52 ni(nī)yaḥ kramēṇa || [20*] Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vindu-lōlām śriyam=anuchintya
manushya-jivitañ=cha || sakalam=idam=udāhṛitañ=cha vu(bu)ddhvā na hi
- 53 purushaiḥ para-kirttayō vilōpyā iti¹ || Śrīmad-Vigrahapālēna kshmāpāla-kula-mauli[nā] ||
[kritō*]=tra śāsanē dūtaḥ [suma]tiḥ
- 54 śrī-Trilōchanah || [22*] Tinnīḍi-grāma-niryāta-Haradēvasya sū[nu]nā | idam śāsanam=utkīr-
ṇaṁ Prithvī[dēvēna śi]lpinā || [23*]

No. 2—KOLHAPUR INSCRIPTION OF SILAHARA BHOJA II ; SAKA 1104

MORESHWAR G. DIKSHIT, SAUGAR

This inscription, now preserved in the wall of the Hari-Harēśvara shrine in the compound of the famous Mahālakshmī temple at Kolhāpur, was first noticed by me in December 1945, when I visited the place for the excavations on the Brahmapuri mound, near Kolhāpur. The stone bearing this inscription is reported to have been found while digging the foundation wall of Mr. Panditrao's house in close vicinity of the temple several years ago and later built into the outer wall of the above-named shrine for the sake of preserving it. I edited the inscription some years back in Marāṭhī in my book² *Select Inscriptions from Mahārāshṭra*, pp. 73-80. I re-edit it here in English for the sake of a wider circle of scholars. The text of the record presented here is based on the inked estampage³ which I owe to the courtesy of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund. Shri N. Lakshminarayan Rao, Superintendent for Epigraphy, has been kind enough to make several useful suggestions in preparing the article.

The inscribed area of the stone slab is about 4½ feet in length and 2½ feet broad. At its top, figures of the sun, the moon, a *maṅgala kalāṣa*, a milking cow with a calf, and a sword are carved in high relief and are now worshipped daily by the visitors to the shrine. There are 39 lines of writing which is fairly well preserved. Some parts of the record, however, are damaged and worn out, probably on account of the constant watering of the stone resorted to by its worshippers. A few letters at the ends of lines have also been damaged while fixing the slab in its present position.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, of which lines 1-17 and 34-39 are in verse. The rest is in prose as also the concluding sentence in line 39. The characters are the usual type of the Nāgarī alphabet current in the 12th century A.C. and do not call for any remarks.

As regards orthography, the following deserve mention. *Kṣa* is used for *kṣya* in line 5. *Ṣ* is substituted for *s* occasionally ; e.g., *āṣit* in line 2, *yāṣyā* in line 6, etc. The word *Nairṛitya* is spelt as *Naiyiritya* in line 23. The rules of *sandhi* are often disregarded. The style of the inscription is in general agreement with another inscription from Kolhāpur published in this journal previously.⁴

The inscription is dated Śaka 1104, Śubhakṛit-samvatsara, Pushya śuddha 4, Uttara-yāyapa-samkrānti. The date which is expressed in words only in lines 20-21 corresponds regularly to 1st December 1182 A.C.⁵

The inscription refers itself to the reign of Bhōja II, the Śilāhāra ruler of Kolhāpur, who is stated to have obtained a boon from the goddess Mahālakshmī and is styled *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*. It was issued from his residence at Valavāḍa. The object of it is to record several donations by

¹ Read *vilōpyāḥ* || [21*] *iti*.

² Published by the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśodhaka Maṇḍala, Poona, in 1947.

³ *An. Rep. on Ind. Epigraphy*, No. 355 of 1945-46.

⁴ Above, Vol. III, pp. 213-216.

⁵ Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. III, p. 367.

the king to the religious establishment (*maṭha*) founded by Lōkaṇa Nāyaka, a Sahavāsi Brāhmaṇa, in the premises of the Mahālakṣmī temple, for carrying on the worship of the god Umā-Mahēśvara, a form of Amṛitēśvara (Śiva), for maintaining the granary of the *maṭha*, for keeping it in good repair, for feeding the Brāhmaṇas, and for similar other purposes.

The inscription opens with an invocation to the boar incarnation of Viṣṇu. Then comes the genealogy of the Śilāhāra dynasty which commences with the *Vidyādhara* Jīmūtavāhana, its mythical founder, and is brought down to Bhōja II. Most of the verses containing this description are identical with those occurring in the Kāśī plates¹ of the same ruler, dated Śaka 1116, except verses 6, 13 and 14 which are new in the present inscription. Unfortunately these verses are too much damaged to yield any coherent sense. Verse 6, devoted to the praise of Bhōja I, son of Mārasimha, contains the names Gōviṇḍa and Kōṅgaja. As gathered from the Kolhāpur plates² of Gaṇḍarāditya, these persons appear to be some petty chiefs defeated by Bhōja I. Verses 13 and 14 seem to contain the praise of Bhōja II and do not appear to be important historically.

The importance of the present inscription lies in the fact that this is an early dated inscription of the Śilāhāra ruler Bhōja II. An earlier inscription of this ruler, dated Śaka 1101, is said to have been found near Kōṭitīrtha, a sacred tank in the precincts of Kolhāpur; and Major Graham in his *Statistical Account of the Principality of Kolhapur*, pp. 382 ff., gives a kind of a facsimile of this inscription, but its original cannot be traced now.

The *maṭha* founded by Lōkaṇa Nāyaka, referred to in the present inscription, is already known from the town-hall inscription of Bhōja II,³ dated Śaka 1112. Its mention here carries the date of its existence further back to Śaka 1104. It is interesting to observe that the residents of the *maṭha* are practically the same as are mentioned in the town-hall inscription, except Janārdana Bhaṭṭa who appears to have succeeded Lakṣmīdhara.

The Sahavāsi Brāhmaṇas, mentioned in these and other inscriptions, claim to have arrived in the south from Ahichchhatra and Kāśmīr. They seem to have been a fairly well settled community in the Deccan and Karnaṭak as can be gathered from the references to them in several mediaeval inscriptions of this period.⁴ Even now Kolhāpur retains a large population of this class of Brāhmaṇas who are engaged mostly in trading and banking activities.

The following geographical names occur in the present inscription: Tagarapura (line 18), Valavāḍa (line 19), Kollāpura (line 21), Paṇaturage-golla (line 26) and Seleyavāḍa (line 26). Of these the first three are often mentioned in the inscriptions of the Śilāhāras of Kolhāpur. Tagarapura is modern Tēr in the Hyderabad State; Valavāḍa which was the seat of the permanent residence (*sthira śibira*) of the Śilāhāras is taken to be identical with the site of modern Rādhānagarī near Kolhāpur; and Kollāpura is undoubtedly modern Kolhāpur. Paṇaturage, which appears to be the name of a tract (*golla*), may be identified with the village Paṇutrā, 14 miles S. W. W. of Kolhāpur, situated on the bank of the river Dhāmpni. Seleyavāḍa is probably modern Sheloshi, about 7½ miles further S. W. of Paṇutrā, on the bank of the same river.⁵ The change from Paṇaturage to Paṇutrā appears to be natural as suggested by the change from Ājirage to Ājre. Paṇaturage would thus have some form like Paṇutare and this is exactly the form in which the name occurs in certain

¹ *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, Vol. III, p. 393 and the *Annual Report of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśōdhaka Maṇḍala* for Śaka 1835, pp. 222 ff.

² Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 176-82; the plates were earlier edited by Mr. G. H. Khare in his *Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan* (in Marāṭhī), Vol. I, pp. 33 ff.

³ Above, Vol. III, pp. 213-216.

⁴ Cf. for instance *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, Hassan 61; *A. S. I. A. R.*, 1927-28, p. 141.

⁵ Both these villages can be traced on the 1 inch=1 mile Survey Sheets, old Nos. 206 and 240 published by the Survey of India in 1932.

old Marāṭhī documents of the 17th-18th century.¹ The expression *golla* can be equated with Kannada *kolla* which means a valley or low land. The Panaturage *golla* would therefore correspond to the valley formed by the river Dhāmpī, bounded on the east by the Bhōgāvati river and on the west by the Kumbhī river, as seen on the maps. There are several mountainous tracts in this region which appear to have been mentioned in the Tālale copper plates² of Śilāhāra Gaṇḍarāditya, as forming the boundary of this Panaturage *golla*. This *golla* again seems to have been mentioned in the Bāmaṇi inscription³ of Śilāhāra Vijayāditya, where it is read as '...ṇavu[ka]-gego[la]' wherein the village of Mada[lū]ra was situated. The doubtful nature of the reading can be seen from the dots and the square brackets enclosing it. So it is possible to restore the reading as [Pa]natu[ra]ge-golla and Mada[lū]ra may be identified with Mandūr, which is about 3 miles west of Paṇutrā.

My thanks are due also to Sri P. B. Desai, M.A., of the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, for his useful suggestions in connection with this paper.

TEXT*

[Metres: Vv. 1-3, 10, 15, 18-20 *Anuṣṭubh*; vv. 4, 5, 9, 12 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 7, 8, 14 *Upajāti*; v. 13 *Mālinī*; v. 17 *Sālinī*; vv. 6, 11, 16 *Vasantatilakā*.]

- 1 ॥ॐ॥ स्वस्ति श्री ॥ जयत्या[विष्कृतं विष्णोर्व्वाराहं क्षो]⁶भितार्णवं(वम्) ।
दक्षिणोन्नतदंष्ट्राग्रविष्ठा(श्रां)तभुवनं वपुः ॥[१॥*]
- 2 आशी(सी)द्विद्याधरः पूर्वं ना[म्ना जीमूतवाहनः । परार्थ जी]⁶वितं येन
गरुडाय निवेदितं(तम्) ॥[२॥*] शिलाहाराख्यवं-
- 3 शोयं ।⁷ तगरेश्वरभूभृतां(ताम्) [। तद्वंशे जतिगो राजाऽजनि भूभृ]⁶छिछ(च्छि)-
स्वामणिः ॥[३॥*] स्वस्ति श्रीजतिगक्षितीशतनयो ना-
- 4 यिमनामा नृपः ।⁷ पुत्रस्तस्य [च चंद्रराट् पृथुयशास्तस्यापि सुनुः]⁶ किल ।
संजातो जतिगो जगज्जननृतः श्रीमां[श्च]
- 5 तनं(तन्नं)दनो गोकल्लो भुवि [भूमिपालतनयः श्रीमारसिहो नृपः]⁸ ॥[४॥*]
तत्सूनुर्नृपमौलिलालितपद[:*] श्रीगूवलाक्षो(ख्यो)नृप[:*] । तद्भ्राता भुवि
- 6 भोजदेवनृपतिः वैरी[भपंचाननश्चक्रे राज्यमखंडितं पृथु]⁶यशा लंकेशतुल्यः किल ।
॥[५॥*] य[श्चा](स्या)त्मजो कृतनि.....
- 7 गर्गवर्गो गोविदकोगज....यकसुतां....बभूव भुवि विक्रम....॥[६॥*]

¹ Rājwāde, *Marāṭhīyānchya Itihāsāchī Sādhane*, Vol: VIII, p. 194.

² J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIII, pp. 1 ff. In this record the tract is referred to as Panaturage-kholla.

³ Above, Vol. III, p. 212.

⁴ From the original stone and ink impressions.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Readings restored from the Kaśī plates.

⁷ The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

⁸ This reading is restored conjecturally though it is not actually found in the Kaśī plates.

- 8 ॥ तस्यानुजातो विदित[प्रतापो बल्लाळदेवक्षि]¹तिपस्सदैव । श्रीकामिनीनां विनताव-
नीशो दिक्प्रांततापः प्रधि[तप्र]-
- 9 तापः ।[1७॥*] तस्यानुजो धम्मं[धरो धरिच्यां दधार]¹ धर्मानखिलान्स्वधर्मे ।
धैर्याग्रधुर्यो धनदो धनानां श्रीगंडरादित्य इति
- 10 प्रसिद्धः ।[1८॥*] दीनानाथदरिद्रदुःखविकलव्याकीर्णनानाविधः(ध)प्राणित्राणपरायण[:*]
प्रतिदिनं गुप्ताख्यदानेन यः । यः
- 11 कृष्णाजिनधेनुभूम्युभयतोमुक्षा(ख्या)दिदानप्रदः [1*] स(श)श्वद्धर्म्ममतिप्रवीणहृदयो
भूदेवकल्पद्रुमः ।[1९॥*] तुलापुरुषदाना[दिषोड-]
- 12 शक्रतुकारकः । सौ(शौ)चगांगेयकीर्त्ते(त्ये)कनिलयः स्वगुणैर्भुवि ।[1१०॥*]
तनं(तन्न)दन(नः) प्रबलमंडि(ड)लिकद्विपेद्र[पंचाननो]²जनि जगत्त्रितयैकवीरः ।
- 13 प्रत्यर्थाधिबललाटतटस्थपादपीठस्फुटोज्वलयशो(शा) विजयाकर्कदेवः ।[1११॥*] दानाय
द्रविणार्जनं जनपरित्राणाय वीरव्रतं [सत्या]-
- 14 य पृ(प्रि)यभाषणं हरिपदध्यानाय चेत[:*]स्थितिः । संप[त्ति]सु(स्सु)मनोविपद्वि-
[हतये यस्य प्रकामं]¹ कविः [1*] कः स(श)क्तः प्रविविच्य तस्य
विजया[दित्य]-
- 15 स्य वक्तु(क्तुं) गुणाः(णान्) ।[1१२॥*] जगति विजयसूनुर्वैरि[नी]हारभानुनिज
○ ○ ○ ○ — — — ○ वल्लीलवित्रः[1*] विभवविजयशक्रः खंडिता-
राति-
- 16 चक्रो वरनृपकृतसेवो भूपतिर्भोजदेवः ।[1१३॥*] रामो यथा.....
- 17 था.....देवेन तेनाजनि भोजराज्ये ।[1१४॥*] स्वस्ति समधिगतपंच-
[महासे(श)ब्द] महामंडलेश्वर सिलारकुलवंसो(शो)द्भव.....³
- 18 गेय परनारीसहोदर शरणागतवज्रपंजर कलियुगयुधिष्ठिर...विद्याधर श्रीमहालक्ष्मि-
(क्ष्मी)देवीलब्धवरप्रसाद [श्रीतगर]-
- 19 पुरवराधीश्वरो(र) इत्यादिसमस्तराजावलीविराजित[:*] श्रीमन्महामंडलेश्वरो(रः) श्री-
भोजदेवो बलवाडसिबि(शिबि)[रे सुखसं]-

¹ Reading restored from other inscriptions.

² Reading restored from the town-hall inscription.

³ Read वैरिपन्नगवैनतेयशौचगां- as in other inscriptions.

- 20 कथाविनोदेन राज्यं कुर्वाण(ः) शक[नृपकाला]दारभ्य वर्षेषु चतुरो(रु)त्तरशताधिक-
सहस्रेषु निवृत्तेषु वर्तमानशुभकृ[त्संवत्स-]
- 21 [रांतर्गतपुण्य]सु(शु)द्धचतुर्थ्या भौ[म]...[रु]त्तरायणसंक्रमणपर्वणि निज[राज्या]भिवृद्धये
श्रीमत्कोलापुरमहालक्ष्मि(क्ष्मी)दे-
- 22 बालयाभ्यन्तरे पश्चिमद्वारोत्तर[र]...सह[वासिलोकणनायकेन] भ्रमृतेश्वरमूर्त्युमा-
महेश्वरार्थं ब्रा(ह्म)ह्मणभोजनार्थं च [कारितस्य]
- 23 मठस्य कोष्ठागारार्थं तद्दे.....मठस्याभ्यन्तरे नै[यि]रित्य(ऋत्य)दिशो भागे
द्वादशहस्तप्रमाणं गृहमेकं तन्मठनिविष्टसह]-
- 24 वास्यादित्यभट्ट जनार्दनभट्ट [करहाटकप्रभा]¹करघंसास वासियणघंसासेत्येवं
[प्रमुखां(खेभ्यो) ब्राह्मणेभ्यो.....पुरवर्गः दक्षिणदि]-
- 25 [शो ग्रामे] धवलगृहचतुष्टयं.....पूजार्थं.....पूर्व(र्वस्यां) दिशि पुष्पवाटकमेकं
तस्यैव [देवस्य] पूजार्थं ब्रा(ह्म)ह्मण[भोज][ना*]-
- 26 र्थं च पणतुरगेगोस्लांतर्गतसेलेयवाडग्रामसीमाभ्यन्तरंनु(रमु)त्तरदिग्भागे.....शादधिकं
च चतुः[शत]-
- 27 क्षेत्रं तत्प्रतिव(ब)द्धं पंडरंन[न्त]द्ग्रामाभ्यन्तरे द्वादशहस्तप्रमाणगृहमेकं एतत्सर्व्वं
पूर्व्वो.....शासनसहितं [धा]-
- 28 रापूव्वकं सर्व्वम(न)मस्य(स्यं) सर्व्ववा(बा)धापरिहारं राजकीयानामनंगुलिप्रे-
क्षणीयमाचंद्रावर्क.....[त]स्यैव देवस्य [पंचोप]-
- 29 चारपूजार्थं तन्मठखंडस्फुटितजीर्णोद्धारार्थं [त]दीयवा(ह्म)ह्मणभोजनार्थं च
एडेनाड.....
- 30 [त]द्देशद(द)डेन पंचविंशत्यधिकद्विस(श)तवप्रकं क्षेत्रे द्वादशहस्तविस्तीर्णं
निवेशनं च.....प्रतिव(ब)द्धं.....
- 31 निवर्त्तनं क्षेत्रं द्वादशहस्तविस्तीर्णं निवेशनं च अरुवणसहितं अष्टभोग[तेजसाम्य
सहितं काश्यप]सगोत्रस्य उद्ध[वा]-
- 32 यस्य पौत्राभ्यां महत्तरमाधवार्यस्य पुत्राभ्यां नेम[ण]लक्ष्मणयोर्दत्तां तेनैव लोक-
णनायकेन सर्व्वनम-
- 33 स्यसर्व्वबाधापरिहारं सर्व्वयविशु[द्धं] [शासन]सहितं दानक्रयेन(ण) गृहीतं
आचंद्रावर्कतारं चिरं दत्तं ॥छ॥²

¹ Reading restored from the town-hall inscription.² The letter *chha* indicates the end of the topic.

- 34 बहुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिस्सगरादिभिः [॥*॥यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
तदा फल(लम्)[॥१५॥*] मदंशजा[*]परमहीप-
- 35 तिवंशजा वा पापादपेतमनसो भुवि भू[मिपालाः । ये पालयन्ति म]म धर्ममिमं
समस्तं तेभ्यो मया [वि]रचितोजलारेष मू[र्ध्नि] ॥ [१६॥*]
- 36 सामान्ये(न्यो)यं धर्मसेतुर्नुपाणां काले काले [पालनीयो भव]द्भिः । सर्वान्ये-
(ने)तान्भाविना(नः)पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याच[ते राम]-
- 37 चंद्रः ॥ [१७॥*] दानं वा पालनं वापि दाना[त्*] श्रेयोनुपालनं(नम्) ।
दानात्स्वर्गमवाप्नोति पालनादच्युतं पदं(दम्) ॥ [१८॥*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां
वा यो हरे-
- 38 त वसुधरां(राम्) । षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि विष्ठायां जायते कृमिः । [१९॥*]
.....[सयुक्षेप]क्षणक्षय(यि)णि जीविते यो द्विजादाहरे....
- 39 तस्यां वीचीक्ष[यो]क्षयः ॥[२०॥*] अपुत्रिकद्रव्यसहवासि....

No. 3—MASER INSCRIPTION OF A SULKI CHIEF

(1 Plate)

M. VENKATARAMAYYA, OOTACAMUND

This inscription was copied in the year 1930-31 by the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State, at the village of Māser, Basodā Pargana, District Bhilsa.¹ The record is fragmentary and its concluding portion is not traceable. The existing portions of the inscription are contained in two broken pieces of a mutilated stone discovered amidst the ruins of a fallen house of a Brāhmaṇa in the village of Māser. The only other ancient relics found in the locality were a few broken sculptures and carved stone fragments lying near what looked like the basement of a small shrine. From a perusal of the summary of the contents of the inscription published in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior*, for the year 1930-31, I realised the importance of the record for the history of Central India and the Deccan in the 10th century A.C. At my request the Government Epigraphist for India secured two estampages of the inscription which were kindly supplied by the Superintendent, Archaeological Department, Gwalior State. I edit the record here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The epigraph must have been engraved on a large slab which later broke into several pieces. Of them, only two have been found, the rest are not forthcoming. The first of the extant fragments, which forms the beginning of the record, containing, as it does, the opening lines, measures 3' 6" by 11" and bears portions of 10 lines of writing engraved on it. The other piece which is a continuation of the first one and has been put together with the first measures 2' 3" by 1' 1" and contains portions of 12 lines of writing. Both the pieces have suffered considerable damage. Since the ends and beginnings of lines do not follow in sequence, considerable portions of the full inscribed

¹ *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior*, 1930-31, Inss. Nos. 1 and 2: pp. 10 and 22.

stone towards the right side of the existing fragments are missing. On their left side, however, there has been only a slight damage and a little mutilation of the stone extending to a space covering one or two *aksharas* and affecting about five to six lines. In respect of the second fragment which is smaller than the first, still larger portions of the inscribed slab towards its right are missing. Though the impression of the second piece shows some uniform blank space at the end of each line, suggesting thereby that the lines do not continue further, yet it becomes clear from the study of the text of the record, which is metrically composed, that the lines must have continued on to the same extent of space as they do on the first piece of which the second is only a continuation. Evidently the second fragment was touched by some human agency and dressed with a view to its utilisation in some construction. However, it is fortunate that it is possible to judge the extent of the loss on the right sides of the two fragments. The record being in verse, the number of *aksharas* forming the metrical portions of the missing text can be counted. It would appear that about eight to ten *aksharas* in each line up to line 10 are found wanting in respect of the first fragment and about thirty-six to thirty-eight letters from line 11 onwards in the case of the second piece. In addition to these losses, some more *aksharas* are effaced owing to the damage sustained by the extant pieces. Notwithstanding its mutilated condition, the present record embodies much historical information, although its elucidation is rendered difficult owing to the incomplete and disjointed text that is available for study.

Altogether we have portions of twenty-one lines of the inscription.¹ Of these the last three are completely damaged, only a few letters here and there being visible. Except for the obeisance to god Śambhu with which the record opens, the entire inscription to the extent now available is in verse. As many as twenty-five verses composed in different metres can be counted. They are, however, not numbered in the inscription. The first four of them are introductory, in invocation of the mother divine and her consort, lord Śiva. Verse 5 traces the origin of the Śulki *varṇa* and introduces one Bhāradvāja, an early ancestor of the family. Verses 6 to 10 speak of king Narasimha born of the same family and they embody an elaborate description of his conquests. His son Guṇādhyā, famous as Kōsarin, is then introduced in verse 11. Verses 12 to 15 evidently contain a description of this chief and his achievements.

The characters belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of about the 10th century A.C. The size of the letters varies from .6 to .7 of an inch in height. Medial diphthongs and medial vowels (except *i* and *ī*) are indicated by both *śiro-mātrās* and *prishṭha-mātrās*. Medial *i* and *ī* are indicated by *prishṭha-mātrās* alone. The consonant *ph* is written in two forms: *phala*, line 1: *phālāni*, line 7, and *phālāya*, line 18. Similarly *ḍ* has two forms; the *ḍ* in *viḍamvi(bi)tā* in line 8 and in *vudavānalē* in line 19 may be compared with the *ḍ* in *Viḍa*² in line 5, *maṇḍapā* in line 6, and *pushpāḍamvarayā* in line 7.

The language is Sanskrit and except for a few words in the beginning, the rest of the record is in verse. As regards orthography the following points may be noted. The consonant following a *r* is mostly doubled. *B* is indicated throughout by the sign for *v*. *Ṣ* is used in place of *s* in certain cases: e.g., *svarggaukaśām*, line 4; *śruch-aiva*, line 6; *siṅghāśanam*, line 11. *Gh* is used for *h* in *siṅghāśanam*, line 11. The *visarga-sandhi* is not observed in cases like *dharaḥ śrīmān*, line 5; *yah sudhīḥ*, line 13. There is one instance of the use of *jihvāmūliya* in *yutah=Krishṇa*, line 6, where the sign for it resembles *ḍ*. The *anusvāra* has been used mostly for class nasals. The *anuvāra* is conspicuous by its absence. There are practically no scribal errors. What may be counted as one such seems to be in respect of the word *chandra-śērshō* for *chandraśērshō* in line 2. Otherwise the record is composed in faultless Sanskrit.

¹ Line 10 of the text is divided between the two fragments, the first containing only the upper parts of some few letters towards the end.

² This may also be read as *Viḷa*.

After the obeisance to god Śambhu in the words *namaḥ Śambhuvē*, there follow four *maṅgala-līkās*, the first of which is in praise of Dēvī, the divine mother, who pervades the animate and the inanimate. The second, parts of which are not quite clear, seems to contain a prayer for the destruction of sins by Śiva who is described as the bee around the lotus face of Gaurī. The third stanza is also an invocation of Śiva whose glance, though cool and refreshing for Gaurī, acted as the very blazing fire for cupid. The fourth verse invokes the aid of Śiva's consort. Pārvatī, for the destruction of all evils through her eyebrows which were knit in anger at the sight of Jāhnavī (i.e., Gaṅgā).

Then begins the historical portion of the record. It is stated that a certain hero, adorned by the *granthi-trika*, Bhāradvāja by name, emanating from a drop of water that fell out of the hand of Dhātā (Brahmā) adorned the Śulki-varṇa and was a veritable death to hostile kings. In the family of Śulka of the lunar race there arose king Narasiṃha. He was the lord of Viḍa-dvādaśa¹ and had his permanent abode at his Kulagrāma, called Gōlahattī-Chāpaki in the vicinity of Ēlāpura. At the command of Kṛishṇarāja he defeated the enemies in battle, and as if entering a sacrificial *maṇḍapa*² he entered the arena of battle and performed a sacrifice in the form of a great war; and in the sacrificial fire of his rage he offered as ghee the blood of the elephants, slain by him, out of the ladle of his sword; and in such a sacrifice he initiated into widowhood the (women of his enemy). Then his prowess and generosity are described in the succeeding verses. Then a certain Guṇāḍhya³ described as Kēśarin is introduced as son (of Narasiṃha). At the command of Kṛishṇarāja he conquered the king of Lāṭa (Lāṭṣa) and a Kach[ahha]vāha.

Verse 15 seems to refer to the founding of a city called Arkavana which was purified by Lakṣmī and which was, as it were, the birth-place of piety and noble conduct. Verses 16 to 18 contain important allusions to a number of kings with reference to whom some facts are stated; the nature of which it is impossible to make out. Thus Vāḱpati is stated to have done some act and the same verse refers to a *Tantrādhipa* in the nominative case. Muñja and Chachcha are mentioned further on in the genitive case. The hero (Kēśarin ?) is then stated to have met the Hūnas, sent by Lōlukya, in battle at Paṭṭapaka and to have destroyed a large army consisting of horses, elephants, and infantry. Then follows a description of the plight of enemy women who resolved to put themselves to death. In the battles fought by the hero (Kēśarin ?) even the skulls of the fallen enemies were not traceable. There is some allusion to Kṛishṇa who destroyed the pride of Duśāsana and Śalya (v. 21). The facts stated further on are important. The hero (Kēśarin ?) is eulogised as one who kept women's company only for the sake of progeny and as one spending his life for the sake of his master (v. 22). There is again a reference to a Hūna ruler in verse 24, and in the next verse, which is the last extant, the hero is described as a lion to the elephants in the form of hostile kings and as the foremost of the servants of Hara.

Thus the record embodies the eulogy of a family of Śulki (i.e., Chālukya ?) chiefs starting from Bhāradvāja and mentioning Narasiṃha and his son Kēśarin.

While editing the Bargaon temple inscription of Śabara in this journal³ some years ago, Professor Mirashi assigned to king Kṛishṇarāja of the present record the date c. 950 A.C. and thought that he might be identical with a certain Kṛishṇa-nṛipa whose minister Vāchaspati of

¹ This may also be read as *Vīḷa-dvādaśa*.

² Possibly there is a pun on the word *maṇḍapa*, referring to the fort of Māṇḍu which is also called *Maṇḍapa* or *Maṇḍava* in some records. Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 46-7.

³ Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 279-280.

the Kaundinya *gōtra* defeated, according to a fragmentary inscription at Bhilsā,¹ the lord of Chēdi, killed a Śabara chief called Simha and restored the chiefs of Rālā-maṇḍala and Rōdapādi to their dominions. Professor Mirashi further assumed that king Kṛishṇa of the above references was identical with the Chandēlla prince Kṛishṇapa, son of Yaśōvarman, mentioned in the Dudahī inscriptions.² It is quite possible that Kṛishṇarāja, the overlord of Narasimha and of Kēsarin of the inscription under study, and Kṛishṇanripa of the fragmentary Bhilsā inscription are identical inasmuch as both fought a common foe, viz., the Chēdi king and as both lived about the same period, i.e., the middle of the 10th century A.C. But there is a greater possibility of Kṛishṇarāja of the present inscription being identical with the Rāshtrakūṭa king, Kṛishṇa III (939-967 A.C.). This depends upon the identification of Narasimha, the lord of Viḍa-dvādaśa, who was the commander of Kṛishṇarāja's troops.

Now as for the identification of the chiefs, Narasimha and his son Kēsarin, attention may be drawn to a Chālukya family whose origin is traced likewise from Bhāradvāja and which figures in the Bilhārī Chēdi inscription.³ The account given there is as follows. There was a sage Bhāradvāja (Drōṇa) whose conduct roused the wonder of the three worlds. Now, in the water, of which he had taken up a handful (*chuḷuka*) in order to curse Drupada for the insult offered by him, there arose a man from whom proceeded the clan of the Chalukyas and in that powerful family was born Avanivarman who had as his father Sadhanvan and grandfather

¹ P. R. A. S. I., W. C., 1913-14, p. 59. F. E. Hall (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Volume XXXI (1862), page 111, foot-note) writes:

"At Bhilsā, within the fort, I recently found a fragmentary inscription built into the outer wall of a modern house, and looking upon one of the streets of the town. Subjoined is all that remains of a record of which perhaps a full half is missing.

1 śriyam=ayam=api nanv=śrītā n=śrīt=śya
2 gēham mā Vētravatyā niyamita-janatā-kshōbbham=asy=āpy=aśaram |
3 tējōmayy=atra oh=ōchohair=vvitatam=iti viditv=ādarēṇ=ātma-tulyaḥ
4 Bhāillasvāmi-nāmā ravir=avatu bhuvaḥ svāminam Kṛishṇarājam ||
5 Chēdīśam samarē vijitya Śabaram samhritya Simh-āhvayam
6 Rālā-maṇḍala-Rōdapādy-avanipau bhūmyām pratishthāpya cha |
7 dēvam draśtum=ih=āgatō rachitavām(n)=stōtram pavitram param
8 śrīmat-Kṛishṇa-nrip-aika-mantri-pada-bhāk Kaundinya-Vāhaspatiḥ ||
9 Suchiram=iyam kṛitir=āstām ruchirā śrīmad-Gajāṅkuśyaśya |
0 Kākūkēna vilikhitā Kāyastha-śō "

In the Salotgi pillar inscription (A) of Kṛishṇa III, dated Śaka 887 (945 A. C.), mention is made of one Nārāyaṇa *alias* Gajāṅkuśa who is described as belonging to the Kaundinya *gōtra* and as the chief minister and *sandhivigrahin* of this Rāshtrakūṭa king. Above, Vol. IV, pp. 60, 62-3. Kaundinya-Vāhaspati, who in the Bhilsā inscription is described as Gajāṅkuśya (i.e., son or descendant of Gajāṅkuśa) is in all likelihood the son of Nārāyaṇa *alias* Gajāṅkuśa of the Salotgi inscription. This would favour the identification of Kṛishṇarāja of the Bhilsā inscription with Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III.

It is interesting to note in this connection that the exploits claimed by Vāhaspati find some corroboration from other sources. According to an account about Paramāra Siyaka II found in the *Navasāhasāṅkacharita* this prince is credited with the conquest of a certain chief of Rudapāṭi. (Centō XI, v. 89: *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p. 42). Perhaps it was this chief of Rudapāṭi, called *Rōdapādyavanipa* in this Bhilsā inscription, that was restored to his kingdom by Vāhaspati, the minister of Kṛishṇa (III). In regard to the Śabara prince, Simha, killed by Vāhaspati, no satisfactory identification seems possible at present. However, attention may be drawn to the fact that W. Gaṅga Mārasimha II, the feudatory of Kṛishṇa III is credited with a victory over Naraga, a Śabara chief, in an inscription at Śravaṇa-Bejagoḷa (above, Vol. V, p. 171; text lines 21, 54 and 96), which also mentions the northern campaigns of this Gaṅga prince. Prof. Mirashi (above, Vol. XXV, p. 280), however, identifies the illustrious Śabara of the Bargaon temple inscription with Śabara Simha of the Bhilsā inscription.

² Nos. 185, 186, 191 and 194 of the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for 1946-7*; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 237.

³ Above, Vol. I, pp. 251 ff. and vv. 30 ff.

Sinhavarman. The illustrious Nōhalā was born of Avanivarman and she became the beloved of the Kalachuri prince Kēyūravārsha, i.e., Yuvarājādēva I. Queen Nōhalā is stated to have endowed a temple of Śiva with the villages of Viḍā, Pōṇḍi, Khailapātaka and others. It will be seen that although the story of their origin differs in some particulars from that relating to Narasimha given in the present record this much seems certain that both the families were of the same stock and were perhaps even lineally connected.¹ Narasimha was a subordinate of a Kṛishṇarāja who fought against the Kalachuris² and the only Kṛishṇarāja of this period who could answer to this description was Kṛishṇa III (939-967 A.C.) of the Rāshtrakūṭa family.³ Narasimha of our record seems to be a later descendant or a collateral member of the same family since his area of authority was in the same region around Bilhārī over which the Chālukya family of Nōhalā exercised sway. Viḍa-dvādaśa which was the fief of Narasimha seems to be identical with the area around Bilhārī itself since Viḍa may be identified with Viḍā which was one of the villages granted by Nōhalā to the temple of Śiva at Bilhārī, as stated in the Bilhārī Chēdi inscription referred to above. Though I am unable to identify Viḍā, the donated village, with any place near Bilhārī, some of the other villages which the princess granted along with Viḍā are however identifiable. Thus Pōṇḍi and Khailapātaka, two of the gift-villages, are represented by the modern Pondi and Khailwara which are to the north-west and north-east of Bilhārī respectively. Viḍā must be another village in the same locality.⁴ The exact relationship of Narasimha with the Chālukya family to which Nōhalā belonged can only be decided by further researches.⁵

Now, returning to facts stated in the present Māser inscription, it has to be ascertained under what circumstances Narasimha had to encounter the Kalachuris under the orders of Kṛishṇarāja. It has been assumed above that Kṛishṇarāja was Kṛishṇa III who claims in his Karhād plates⁶ a victory over the Kalachuri Sahasrārjuna, who was the elderly relative of his mother and his wife. Kṛishṇa III achieved this victory as Yuvarāja, i.e., sometime between c. 934 and 939 A.C. It was evidently in this campaign of Kṛishṇa III that Narasimha took part and obtained the victory over the Kalachuris as described in the present record. As Prof. Mirashi⁷ and Dr. H. C. Ray⁸ have shown, the Kalachuri adversary of Kṛishṇa III may be identified with Yuvarāja I (c. 914-945 A.C.) who, being a member of the family of Sahasrārjuna, i.e., Kārtavīrya, was referred to as

¹ I later found that Prof. Mirashi had already arrived at this conclusion; see *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 8-9.

² Although the text of our record at this place is mutilated, there seems to be no doubt that the Kalachuri is referred to as the adversary and not as a friend. This would be apparent from the context which refers to the *vaidhavya-dikshā* given to the *chatura-Kalachuri-kshamābhri* . . . etc.

³ Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II was a friend and ally of the Kalachuri king Kokkala. It was Kṛishṇa III who fought the Kalachuris as stated in his Karhād plates (above, Vol. IV, p. 279). The Chandēlla king Kṛishṇapa with whom Kṛishṇarāja of our record has been sought to be identified by Prof. Mirashi (above, Vol. XXV, p. 280) is not known to have fought the Kalachuris, though his father Yaśovarman defeated a Chēdi king.

⁴ If the alternate reading *Viḷa-dvādaśa* for *Viḍa-dvādaśa* is preferred, Viḷa may perhaps stand for Bilhārī itself.

⁵ I was at first inclined to refer Narasimha and his son Kūśarin of the Māser inscription to the Chālukya family of Vēmūlavāḍa, the well-known Rāshtrakūṭa feudatories, and identify these two princes with their namesakes of that family, Narasimha and Arikēśarin II. This does not appear likely since the latter belonged to the solar race and were rulers of a much wider territory, viz., the Sapādalaksha which they were ruling from their capital Lēmbulapātaka, i.e., Vēmūlavāḍa in the Hyderabad State. The Sulki Narasimha of our record was of the lunar race and a small potentate ruling Viḍa-dvādaśa, a region which lies in the Madhya Pradesh, a far cry from Sapādalaksha which was situated in the Hyderabad State (*J.O.R.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 42). Further, in none of the genealogical accounts of the Vēmūlavāḍa Chālukya family is there an allusion to Bhāradvāja or to the *chālukya* story. It seems, therefore, best to view these families as altogether unrelated.

⁶ Above, Vol. IV, p. 279.

⁷ *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XI, p. 371; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXII (1933), pp. 35 ff.

⁸ *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II (1936), p. 762.

Sahasrārjuna in the Karhād plates. The Bilhāri inscription of the rulers of Chēdi¹ expressly refers to the conflict between Yuvarāja I surnamed Kēyūrarsha and the Karnāṭas, who, in this period, could only be the Rāshtrakūṭas themselves or perhaps their Chālukya vassals, the chiefs of Vēmulaṡāḍa. Hence the present Māser inscription affords further confirmation to the conflict that took place between the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Kalachuris in the time of Kṛishṇa III and Yuvarājādēva I, to which the records of both the dynasties bear testimony. The exact causes for the conflict between the two powers, who were even matrimonially connected, are not clearly known. One fact, however, needs elucidation here. How was it that Narasimha of the Śulki family whose area of authority was Viḍa-12 in the Kalachuri kingdom fought as a general under Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III? There is nothing improbable in this. Although Yuvarājādēva I and Kṛishṇa III were adversaries, prior to their advent into the political arena, there were matrimonial relations between the families in the days of their predecessors, Kalachuri Kokkala and Mugdhatunga, and Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa II and Amōghavarsha III, as is well-known. It may also be recalled that Amōghavarsha III, father of Kṛishṇa III, was the son-in-law of Yuvarājādēva I. We have said that the Chālukya family to which Nōhalā, the queen of Yuvarājādēva I belonged, was of the same stock with which Narasimha of our record was connected. It may be supposed that during the early days of friendship and matrimonial alliances between the two families, the Kalachuris and the Rāshtrakūṭas, Narasimha or his predecessor, sought service under the Rāshtrakūṭa king, retaining all the time his fiefdom, the Viḍa-dvādaśa in the Kalachuri kingdom.²

Of Kēsarin, the son of Narasimha, our inscription says that he conquered the king of Lāṭa and a Kach[chha]vāha at the instance of Kṛishṇarāja, i.e., Kṛishṇa III. As to when these events could have taken place two views are possible.

The Kach[chha]vāha spoken of here was evidently a scion of the Kachchhapaghāta family of Gwalior. The Lāṭa country alluded to here may be taken to correspond roughly to the central and southern Gujarāt. This region was included in the principality of Khēṭakamaṇḍala, i.e., modern Kaira and parts of Ahmedabad District.³ In the time of Kṛishṇa II the province was recovered by him from a collateral Rāshtrakūṭa family and remained within the empire of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Malkhed.⁴ From the Kāpaḍvaṇaj grant of Kṛishṇa II dated Śaka 832 (910 A.C.) we know that Prachanḍa of the Brahmvāk(?) family had gained the principality of Khēṭakamaṇḍala by the favour of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Akālavarsha and was ruling at Harshapura (Harsola).⁵ During the reign of Indra III there seems to have been some trouble in the area as we are told that his feudatory, Narasimha II of Vēmulaṡāḍa, fought the Lāṭas.⁶ But the region continued to be under Rāshtrakūṭa control since the Bagumrā (Nausāri) plates of Indra III (both sets), dated Śaka 836 (914 A. C.),⁷ and the Cambay plates of Gōvinda IV,⁸ dated Śaka 852 (930 A. C.) record gifts made by them in Lāṭa-dēśa. Subsequent to this date direct evidence of Rāshtrakūṭa hold over the region is met with in the time of Paramāra Harsha-Siyaka II whose Harsola grants of V. S. 1005, i.e., 949 A. C., issued by him as a feudatory of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III and recording his gifts in Khēṭakamaṇḍala, indicate that the region was under his sway. In one of these grants Siyaka II is stated to have made the gifts when he was returning

¹ Above, Vol. I, p. 256, v. 24.

² It may be pointed out that Jura in the Maihar State of Madhya Pradesh where an inscription of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III was found (above, Vol. XIX, p. 287) is not far from Bilhāri near which Narasimha of the present inscription held a fief.

³ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 240.

⁴ *Rāshtrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 98.

⁵ Above, Vol. I, p. 53, Vol. XIX, p. 240.

⁶ *Journal of the Madras University*, Vol. XV, No. 2, pp. 118-9.

⁷ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 28-9.

⁸ Above, Vol. VII, p. 29.

from his expedition against Yōgarāja, who was none other than the Chāvḍa king of Anhilvādapāṭan and whom scholars have identified with Avanivarman II, the great-grandson of Bāhukadhavaḷa.¹ Bāhukadhavaḷa was a feudatory of the Gūrjara-Pratihāras. Avanivarman II Yōgarāja who continued to be a Gūrjara feudatory, was holding Surāṣṭra and parts of Gujarāt from his capital at Anhilvāḍa.² He seems to have encroached upon Lāṭa and it was evidently to dislodge him from the area that Siyaka II marched against him and drove him back. Owing to his occupation of part or whole of Lāṭa for a while, Yōgarāja Avanivarman II might have acquired the title of Lāṭēśa³ and if this was the person that is referred to as Lāṭēśa in the present inscription as having been the adversary of Kēśarin, Kēśarin must have joined Siyaka II in this expedition, as both were acting on behalf of their Rāṣṭrakūṭa overlord Kṛishṇa III. If so, these events have to be placed sometime about 948-949 A.C., before the issue of the Harsōla grants. The Kachchhavāha prince who was ruling at Gwalior at this date was Lakshmanarāja, the father of Vajradāman of the Sāsabahu inscription, who being a Pratihāra feudatory,⁴ like Yōgarāja, might have been allied with him in his attack on Lāṭa, and was likewise defeated by Siyaka II and Kēśarin. If what has been stated above as the possible trend of events in which Kēśarin of the present inscription encountered the Lāṭēśa and the Kach[chha]vāha is correct, it has to be supposed that the events represent an attempt made by the Pratihāra ruler, who on this date was Mahēndrapāla II, to attack the Rāṣṭrakūṭa empire in the region of Lāṭa which, however, failed to bring any success. On the other hand, the defeat sustained by the Gūrjara feudatories seems to have paved the way for the Paramāra reconquest of Mālwā. For, evidence of Pratihāra control over the region is available only up to 946 A.C.⁵ The absence of their records in Mālwā-territory after this date and the evidence afforded by the Harsola grant of the Paramāras dated V. S. 1005 (949 A.C.)⁶ would show clearly that their hold on it was lost, the Paramāras having established themselves firmly over the area by 949 A.C.

The events detailed above which have been placed round about 949 A.C. would, however, make it impossible for Kṛishṇa III to have been present in person to direct the campaign, for on this date he was in the south fighting the Chōḷas.⁷ Consequently, the reference made to him in the present inscription for the second time in the locative case as *Kṛishṇarājē* may be construed to indicate his absence from the northern campaigns at this date which were fought by Siyaka II and Kēśarin on his behalf.

Or, in the alternative, Kēśarin's conflict with the Lāṭēśa and the Kachchhavāha might have taken place much later in the reign of Kṛishṇa III as shown below.

Now, it is well known that Kṛishṇa III effected a second invasion of North India sometime after 964 A.C. as proved by an inscription of his at Jura,⁸ near Jabalpur, Madhya Pradesh, in the territory of the Kalachuris. It is known that in this expedition he was ably assisted by his Gaṅga feudatory Mārasimha II who, in commemoration of the victories secured by him in the north assumed the title of the 'lord of the Gūrjaras'.⁹ The expedition seems to have been necessitated by the growing challenge to his authority over his possessions in Bundelkhand, Mālwā

¹ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 1 ff, and Vol. XIX, pp. 236-38; see *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, pp. 38-39.

² *History of Kanauj*, pp. 230-1, 338-9.

³ Prof. Mirashi suggests that the Lāṭēśa Chandravarman, whose daughter Mṛigāśākhāvalī married Kēyūravaraha according to the story in the *Viddhasālabhaṅjikā* might be a member of this Chālukya family: See *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XI, p. 365.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 36, v. 5; see also *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 822.

⁵ Pratapgarh inscription of 946 A.C., above, Vol. XIV, pp. 180-1.

⁶ Harsola grant, above, Vol. XIX, pp. 236-8.

⁷ *Colas*, Vol. I, pp. 157 ff.

⁸ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 289; *Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, pp. 120-1.

⁹ Above, Vol. V, pp. 170, 176, text lines 7-8.

and Lāṭa. In fact some successful attempts were made by the neighbouring powers to encroach upon them. The earliest attempt in this direction was made by the Chandēlla ruler, Yaśōvarman (c. 960 A.C.). The Khajurāho inscription (II)¹ of his son Dhaṅga dated V.S. 1011 states that Yaśōvarman captured the fort of Kālāñjara. This fort had been held in his possession by Kṛishṇa III from about 935 A.C. Yaśōvarman followed up this success by overrunning the kingdom of Mālwa which must have been then under the rule of Paramāra Siyaka II. The Khajurāho inscription (II) testifies to this event for it states that Yaśōvarman was the very death to the Mālavas (v. 23). His son Dhaṅga seems to have actually occupied a portion of Mālwa early in his reign as he is stated in the same Khajurāho inscription (v. 45) to have acquired the territory as far as Bhāsvat on the river of Mālava, i.e., Bhilsā on the Vētravati (Betwa) in Gwalior. Besides the Chandēlla ruler, the Chēdi king Lakshmaparāja (c. 945-70 A.C.) setting at naught the authority of the Rāshtrakūṭas over Mālwa and Lāṭa marched across these territories as far as Sōmanātha-Pāṭan in Saurāshṭra, Kathiawar.² Not long after the date of these happenings the Lāṭa country seems to have slipped from Rāshtrakūṭa hold since it is found that Bārappa, the Chālukya chief, evidently taking advantage of the Chēdi king's raid across the country, assumed the title of the king of Lāṭa some time about 960-1 A.C.³ All these encroachments seem to have been made at the instigation of the Gūrjara-Pratihāra ruler. For, we have it explicitly stated in the Kudlūr plates of Mārasimha II of 963 A.C. that Kṛishṇa III set out on an expedition to the north to conquer the Aśvapati.⁴ The Aśvapati was the Gūrjara-Pratihāra king to whom the title of Aśvapati has to be applied at this period.⁵ The distinguishing appellation, 'King of the Gūrjaras' by which Mārasimha II is stated to have become known by conquering the northern region for Kṛishṇarāja (III) would support our surmise that the Aśvapati against whom Kṛishṇa III directed his campaign was the Gūrjara-Pratihāra ruler.⁶ As we have seen, the Jura inscription affords some evidence for the conduct of this expedition. Under the above circumstances, Kēsarī's encounter with the Lāṭēśa and the Kachchhavāha might have taken place during this campaign, the Lāṭēśa being perhaps Chālukya Bārappa, and the Kachchhavāha being Lakshmaparāja, both of whom were Pratihāra feudatories.

The facts stated further on in the last part of the present record are important inasmuch as a number of contemporary rulers are introduced. Thus mention is made of Vākpāti and a Tantrādhipa and of some action relating to Muñja and Chachcha. The Hūṇas despatched by Lōlikya are stated to have been defeated at Paṭṭanaka.

Among the contemporaries (of Kēsarī ?) figure Vākpāti Muñja and Chachcha, both Paramāra chiefs. Muñja was the well-known Vākpāti II Muñja whose known dates range from 974 to 995 A.C. Chachcha was the Paramāra prince of Naddūla, who is mentioned in verse 28 of the Papahera inscription of his descendant Jayasimha,⁷ and whose date falls in this period (c. 950-75

¹ Above, Vol. I, p. 128, v. 31.

² Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 102-3.

³ A. B. O. R. I., Vol. XI, p. 365.

⁴ Mys. Arch. Rep., for 1921, paras. 41 ff. text lines 123-4. Kṛishṇa III is here given the title of *Narapati*.

⁵ See Rapson's article 'Lord of horses, lord of elephants and lord of men' in the *Woolner Commemoration Volume*, pp. 196-9. The title *Hayapati* is actually borne by a Gūrjara-Pratihāra king, Dēvapāti, who was in fact the very contemporary of Kṛishṇa III (see above, Vol. I, p. 124 and Vol. XIV, p. 180).

⁶ Prof. Altekar believes that the Gūrjara king subdued by Kṛishṇa III and Mārasimha II was Paramāra Siyaka II himself. Sten Konow held that he might be Chālukya Mūlarāja (*Rāshtrakūṭas and Their Times*, pp. 120-21).

⁷ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 43.

A.C.). Verse 29 of this inscription tells us that a ruler of the same family, whose name is lost, gave battle to Khoṭṭigadēva at Khalighaṭṭa on the bank of the Rēvā in the cause of Siyaka and went to heaven. Evidently, the same exploit is attributed to the Paramāra prince Kaṅkadēva of the same Naddūla family in the Arthūnā inscription of Chāmuṇḍarāja,¹ verse 19 of which relates that Kaṅkadēva overthrew the army of the king of Kaṇḍā in battle on the bank of the Narmadā and in fighting on the side of Śrī-Harsha of Mālava died a hero's death. It has been assumed by some writers² that Kaṅkadēva is identical with Chachcha and that it was this prince who fought against Rāshtrakūṭa Khoṭṭiga on behalf of Paramāra Siyaka II. It would seem that the facts narrated above with reference to several contemporary princes, including the fight at Khalighaṭṭa, were incidents of one and the same campaign, viz., the one undertaken by Khoṭṭiga against the Pratihāra and other princes of the north, viz., the Chēdi, the Chandēlla and lastly the Paramāra who was his erstwhile feudatory. Kēsarin too may be supposed to have taken part in the expedition as can be deduced from the present Māser inscription. These events pertain to the reign of Khoṭṭiga and must have taken place before 972-3 A.C. As Māser where the present eulogistic inscription is found lies north-east of Khalighaṭṭa (modern Khalghat) on the Narmadā, it may be supposed that Khoṭṭiga was not halted at the Narmadā as a result of this battle but was able to proceed further north victoriously.

Now, the Māser inscription, recounting as it does the exploits of a Rāshtrakūṭa subordinate, must have been set up before Khoṭṭiga's reign came to an end, i.e., before 972-3 A.C., as after this date the chances of a Rāshtrakūṭa subordinate setting up an inscription so far north would be very remote, the area having come under the rule of the Paramāras by this date.

The mention of Muñja (*Muñjōrvvīpa*) in this record, assigned as it has been done to a date before 972-3 A.C., would lead to the conclusion that he had already become king in succession to Siyaka II by that date. Since, neither the latest date of Siyaka II nor the date of accession of Muñja is definitely known yet, it is not unlikely that Muñja ascended the Paramāra throne before 972 A.C., though the earliest date known of his is 974 A.C. It is usually believed that the Mālava king who plundered Mānyakhēta in 972 A.C. was Siyaka II Harsha on the evidence of a reference found in the *Pāyālachchhi*. But as surmised by Fleet the Mālava king might have been Vākpati Muñja himself.³

Another incident of this campaign mentioned in the present inscription is the fight against the Hūṇas sent by Lōlikya which took place at Paṭṭanaka. If Paṭṭanaka is identical with Anahilavāḍa-Pāṭan which at this date was ruled by Chālukya Mūlarāja, it may be supposed that the armies (of Kēsarin?) marched against this Chālukya chief and his Hūṇa vassals. I am unable to identify Lōlikya who despatched the Hūṇas.

Of the places mentioned in the record, Gōlahatṭi-Chāṇaki near Ēlāpura may be identified with Gōla and Chāṇegaon near Ellōrā, i.e., Ēlāpura, in the Aurangabad District, Hyderabad State. Viḍa, as stated already, may be identified with Viḍā near Bilhārī. Or, both Viḍa and Viḍā may stand for Bilhārī itself.⁴ I am unable to locate Paṭṭanaka where the Hūṇas were encountered. Whether it stands for Anahilavāḍa-Pāṭan or Sōmanātha-Pāṭan cannot be determined until more definite data are available. I am also unable to locate Arkavana.

¹ Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 295 ff.

² *History of the Paramara Dynasty*, p. 338.

³ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, pp. 422-3. Above, Vol. XIII, p. 180.

⁴ See above, p. 22, n. 4.

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TEXT

[Metres : Vv. 1, 4, 6, 7, 23 and 24 *Anuṣṭubh*; vv. 2, 3, 8 and 11 *Sragdharā*; vv. 5, 9, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22 and 25 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; v. 10 *Upajāti*; v. 14 *Āryā*; vv. 15 and 20 *Vasantatilakā*.]

- 1 Om* [*] Namaḥ Śambhavaḥ || Sā jayaty-asakṣipad=Devi mātṛikā lōka-vīrutā | yay=ā-
kār-ādibhir=vvarṇṇair=vvyāptam sarvvaṁ charācharam || [1 || *] Dṛiṣṭvā karṇthē
surakshām madana-phala-yutām bhūta-vidrāvaṇ-ākhyām pāpau va(ba)ddhām priyāyā
vishadbara-dama[nā — — — — —]
- 2 kṛityam Nihāra-patnyāḥ sakalam=idam=iti pratyajan=pannag-ādin=Gauri-vakrāmhu(ktr-
āmbu)j-ālīḥ prakiratu duritam chandra-kē(śi)raḥ Bhavō vaḥ || [2 || *] Ātmany-
ātmānam=ēva sphatika-vad=amalē paśyataḥ svair=upāyāḥ svargaukaḥ-prārthanē=pi
[— — — — —]
- 3 pātō dvidhā vaḥ | Kāmē=samprāpta-kāmē bhṛīśa-kapiśa-jatā-dhūma-varṭtēḥ kṛiśānuḥ
Śambhōr=ambhōja-garbha-chchhavir=iva Girij-āsy=āndu-vimvē(bimbē) punātu || [3 || *]
Hantū Haimādri-kanyāyā bhrukutir=duritāni vaḥ | patikē Jāhnavīm dṛiṣṭvā kōpa-rakt-
āti[— — — || [4 || *] [— — — — —]
- 4 [m=ē]chchhatō nanu purā svarggaukaśām(sām) svāminō Dhātuh paṇi-puta-chyut-ōdaka-
lavād=dhīrō=bhavad=bhūtālē | Śulki-varṇśa-mahōdayō=hita-kṛitām sākshād=Yamō
bhūbhṛitām Bhāradvāja iti prasiddha-mahimā granthi-trika-śālmkṛi[taḥ || [5 || *] ✕
✕ ✕ ✕ — — —
- 5 [varb]śē tārādhipa-prabhē | Śulk-ānvaya-dharaḥ śrīmān=Narasimhō=bhavan=ṇipah ||
[6 || *] Sa Viḍa-dvādaś-ādhiśaḥ Kulagrāmē=vasach=chiram | Gōlahatṭyārṇ tu Chāpa-
kyām=Ēlāpura-samipataḥ || [7 || *] Prādād=vaidhavya-dikshām chatura-Kalachuri-
kshamābhṛi — — — — —
- 6 — p[ē ?]dē sakala-guṇa-yutak=Kṛiṣṇarāj-ājñayā yaḥ | vistīrṇaṇ-aj-dhvaj-ādhyā-pravara-
vidhi-kṛitē maṇḍap-āmtaḥ praviśya krōdh-āgnim pūjya² samyag-ghata-kari-rudhir-ājyēna
khaḍga-śru(sru)ch=aiva || [8 || *] Garjjitvā guru dūram=unnati-bhṛi — — — — —
- 7 — dhi gajasya dāna-samayē samjāyatē=ṇur=mmadaḥ | pushp-ādashva(ba)rayā janāya dadati
prāyaḥ phalāni drumā n=ōtsēkō na madō na kāla-haraṇam dānasya yasy=ābhavat ||
[9 || *] Kṛiś-āśay=ātyamta-viruddha-tāpayā vi[paṁ] — — — — —
- 8 — [śi]līmukh-āsvādita-va(ba)ndhujivayā yasy=āri-nārī śaradā viḍamvi(bi)tā || [10 || *]
Tasmād=vair-ibha-kumbha-ethala-dalana-paṭuh Kēsar=iti prajānām bharttā jātō
Guṇādhyāḥ kṣhītisura-śaraṇam kshānti-bhṛit=sūnṛita-jñah | jitvā yō [yō] — — — — —
- 9 — — Kṛiṣṇarājē Lātēśam Kach[chh]avāham samada — — — — —
|| [11 || *] — — va(ba)ddha-jatā-kalāpam=uchitam prēt-ādhivāsa-kriyam tikshṇ-ōd-
bhāṣita-śūla-dārīta-chitam bhaṣm-āvar[ū]ksha-chchhavi [] — — — — —
- 10 — — — m=Umāpatēr=iva vapur=yad=vidvishām maṇḍiram || [12 || *] Kēśaḥ snigdha-
— — — — —
— — — [] * — — — — —

¹ Expressed by a symbol.

³ Better read *pūjanitvā kṛta-kari*, etc.

- 11 tam cha yad-ripu-vadhū-sakhyā chiram āśhitā || [13 || *] Sirmghāśa(hāsa)nam-
adhirūḍham jamvu(bu)kam=ava[lēkā(lōka)]ya dvishām bhavanē | sphuṭitā hridayē-nūna[m]
..... [||14||*] — — — — —
..... [||*] — — — — —
- 12 puṇya-vinay-ōdyama-janma-bhūmim Padmā-pada-prasuchim=Arkkavan=ābhidhānam ||
[15||*] Satya-tyāga-guṇ-ādhikō=dbhuta-yaśāḥ sādhu-[dvi] — — — — —
..... [||*] — — — — —
- 13 ti[ehthā]vatām śrīmad-Vāṅkpatinā kṛtam svaka-va(ba)lē tantrādhīpō yah sudhīḥ ||
[16||*] Muṇi]-ōrvvīpa-mahattamasya sahasā Chachchasya dattā[bha] — — — — —
..... [||*] — — — — —
- 14 havē [ku]nt-āgra-prasit-āmalam na valimam [vyē]pādya kāmāschid=dhathā[t] || [17 || *]
Hūpān=Paṭṭanapakam samētya tarasā Lōlikya-samprēshitān=du — — — — —
..... [||*] — — — — —
- 15 māpra — āva-va[r-ē]bha-patti-vipulām niḥka(shka)[m]takām sv-āsinā || [18 ||*] Vatsē kin
ruditēna yāhi sarasam kurvv-ātmanō vāmchchhitam nītaḥ — — — — —
..... [||*] — — — — —
- 16 yasy-āri-pramadā-janō dṛḍha-matir-mmṛityum prati prasthitah || [19 || *] Ya[t=sa]-
mhyugōshu vara-vīra-śīraḥ-kapālam pātrāya n=ālabhad=ahō sa[ka] — — — — — [||*] — —
..... [||20||*] — — — — —
- 17 t-ā[rgha]-vidhivān=Jishṇv-archohit-āmgghri-dvayō yō Duḥśāśa(sa)na-Śalya-darppa-dalana-
vyāpāra-lavdh(bdh)-āvadhiḥ | durvvār-āhita-ghāta-satya-vibhavō gī — — — — —
..... [||21||*] — — — — —
- 18 na chayeḥ kahātrēpa śatru-kahayaḥ samtānāya su-yōshītāsv=ahar-ahāḥ kōpō va(ba)la-kahānti-
krit | su-svām-śaṣṭa-phalāya jīvita — — — — —
..... [||22||*].....(8 letters lost here).....
- 19 yatr-āri-rva(ba)ḍavānālē | kallōla iva tōyānām sahasā pralayaḥ gataḥ || [23 || *]
Hūpāśvara-mahī[śēna] — — sēnā [di]vam gataḥ | parē (14 letters of this verse lost
here) [||24||*] — — — — —
- 20 h-āhita-kumjarēmdra-nakharī dāsō Harasy-ōttamah | dātā sarvva-janāya — ma — — — — —
..... [||25||*].....
- 21¹

¹ Only the upper parts of many letters are to be seen in this line.

APPENDIX

RAJAPRASASTI INSCRIPTION OF UDAIPUR

(4 Plates)

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, NEW DELHI, AND B. CH. CHHABRA, OOTACAMUND

This abnormally long inscription appears on twenty-five stone slabs, each measuring more or less 3' high by 2½' broad. Twenty-four of them are fixed in a row at short intervals into the wall of the Nauchauki *ghāṭ* at the Rājasamudra, while one is found inside a marble pavilion. Rājasamudra, popularly known as Rāj Samand, is an artificial lake which lies to the north of Kankroli, a railway station on the Mavli-Phulad-Marwar Junction branch of the Udaipur State Railway, and is about 40 miles north-north-east of the city of Udaipur. The lake is a fine sheet of water, extending over three miles in length and a mile and a half in breadth. It is formed by a dam built at its south-western extremity. It is mainly fed by the water of the Gōmati, but is also abundantly augmented by the rain-water draining into it from the surrounding hills.¹

The inscription comprises a *mahākāvya*, entitled *Rājaprasasti*, consisting of twenty-four cantos. Twenty-four of the slabs contain each a canto, while the inscription on the twenty-fifth consists merely of invocations to various deities, and as such it does not form an integral part of the poem proper. This invocatory section occupies the foremost position, though it was composed last of all, as is evidenced by its eleventh stanza wherein the poet invokes blessings for Rājasimha's son Jayasimha as well as for the latter's children. The poet informs us that he composed the *prasasti* by the order of Rājasimha,² but that it was engraved on the stone slabs at the instance of his son and successor Jayasimha.³

Although several instances are known of such lengthy records engraved on stone, yet the present one is perhaps the longest so far discovered. This remarkable poem has not yet been edited entirely⁴ or properly,⁵ though its contents have occasionally been noticed by some scholars.⁶ The work is important more as a narrative of events than anything else. It no doubt conforms to many of the conventional characteristics of a *mahākāvya*, still it exhibits very little real poetic merit.

The script employed is Nāgarī, almost of the type prevalent at present. The language is Sanskrit throughout, except that here and there some phrases or sentences in the local dialect

¹ For a detailed description of the *ghāṭ* as well as of its surroundings see Rai Bahadur G. H. Ojha's *Rājputāna-kā Itihāsa* (Hindi), Vol. I, Ajmer, 1927, pp. 310 f.

² Canto I, Verse 10.

³ Canto V, Verse 51.

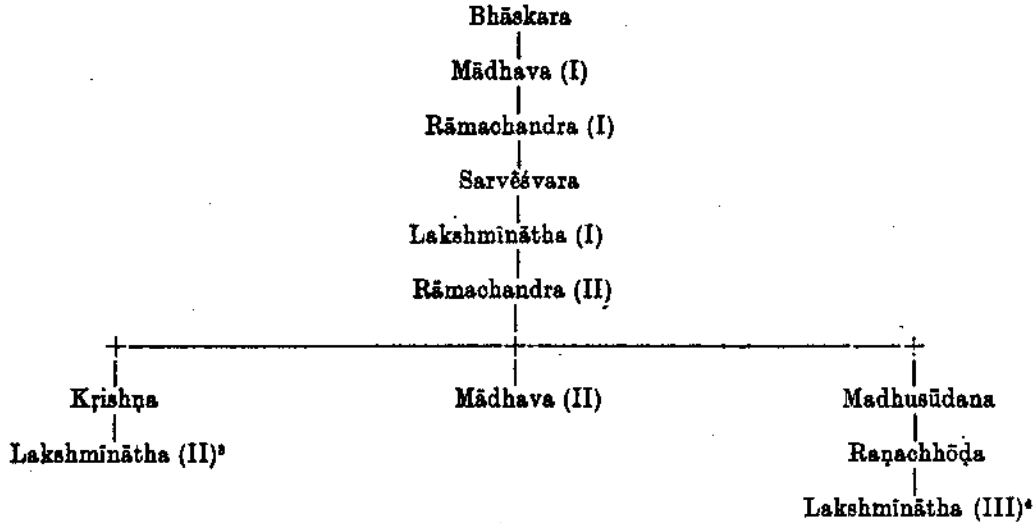
⁴ Two cantos, the second and the third, have been edited in the *Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, Bhavnagar, pp. 145-154; but the text presented there is found inaccurate at several places.

⁵ Prof. Sri Ram Sharma of the D. A. V. College, Lahore, has undertaken to edit it. His work was to appear in the Panjab University Oriental Publications. We have seen a part of it in print and found that his treatment of the record is not strictly scientific. Besides, his readings are not correct throughout.

⁶ Especially by Ojha, *As. Rep. on the working of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, for the year ending 31st March 1918, pp. 2 ff.; *Rājputāna-kā Itihāsa* (Hindi), Vol. II, pp. 676 ff. *et passim*.

are met with. It is, however, noteworthy that the poet not only presents certain Muslim names and titles in their Sanskritized forms, but also treats a few vernacular and even Persian terms as Sanskrit words like *śēra* in the sense of 'a seer,'¹ *laṭṭā* for 'a kick' and *salāma* meaning 'salute' respectively in verse 16 of the Canto III and in verses 41 and 48 of the Canto IV. As regards orthography, the following peculiarities may be noticed : (1) an *anusvāra* is used for a class nasal as well as for a final *m* almost invariably ; (2) a consonant after *r* is very rarely doubled as in *mūrdhānā* (Slab I, 1. 37) ; (3) usually a single *chh* is written where a *choh* is required,² such cases as *vilasachchhatrō* (Canto III, 1. 1) being exceptional ; (4) the sign of *avagraha* is seldom used (Canto II, 1. 18) ; (5) in many cases *v* is employed instead of *b*. (6) Sometimes *sh* stands for *kh*. There are certain other peculiarities, such as the spelling of the name *Bharata* as *Bharatha*, which betrays the poet's place of origin being South India.

The author of the poem is a Tēlaṅga or Telugu Bhāhmana, Raṇachhōḍa,³ by name, born of the Kaṭhōṇḍi family. From the description of his parentage given towards the end of several cantos, we extract the following pedigree :



The poet Raṇachhōḍa also mentions his mother's name as Vēṇī, daughter of a *Gōsvāmin* whose proper name is not given but who presumably belonged to the Vallabha *sampradāya*. It may be pointed out that Vallabhāchārya, the founder of this sect, had also hailed from the Telugu country. His second son Viṭṭhalanātha was the first to assume the title of *Gōsāi* or *Gōsvāmin* which was later held by all the *āchāryas* of the sect. These Vaishnavas had their centres at various places in North India, but the one with which the maternal grandfather of the poet Raṇachhōḍa was connected was probably that of Nāthadvārā, about 30 miles north of Udaipur.⁶ We are further informed in verses 9 and 10 of Canto I that the poet composed the *prāsaṅgi* while teaching a younger brother of his, named Lakshmana, who seems to have had

¹ A certain Indian weight, roughly equal to 2 lbs.

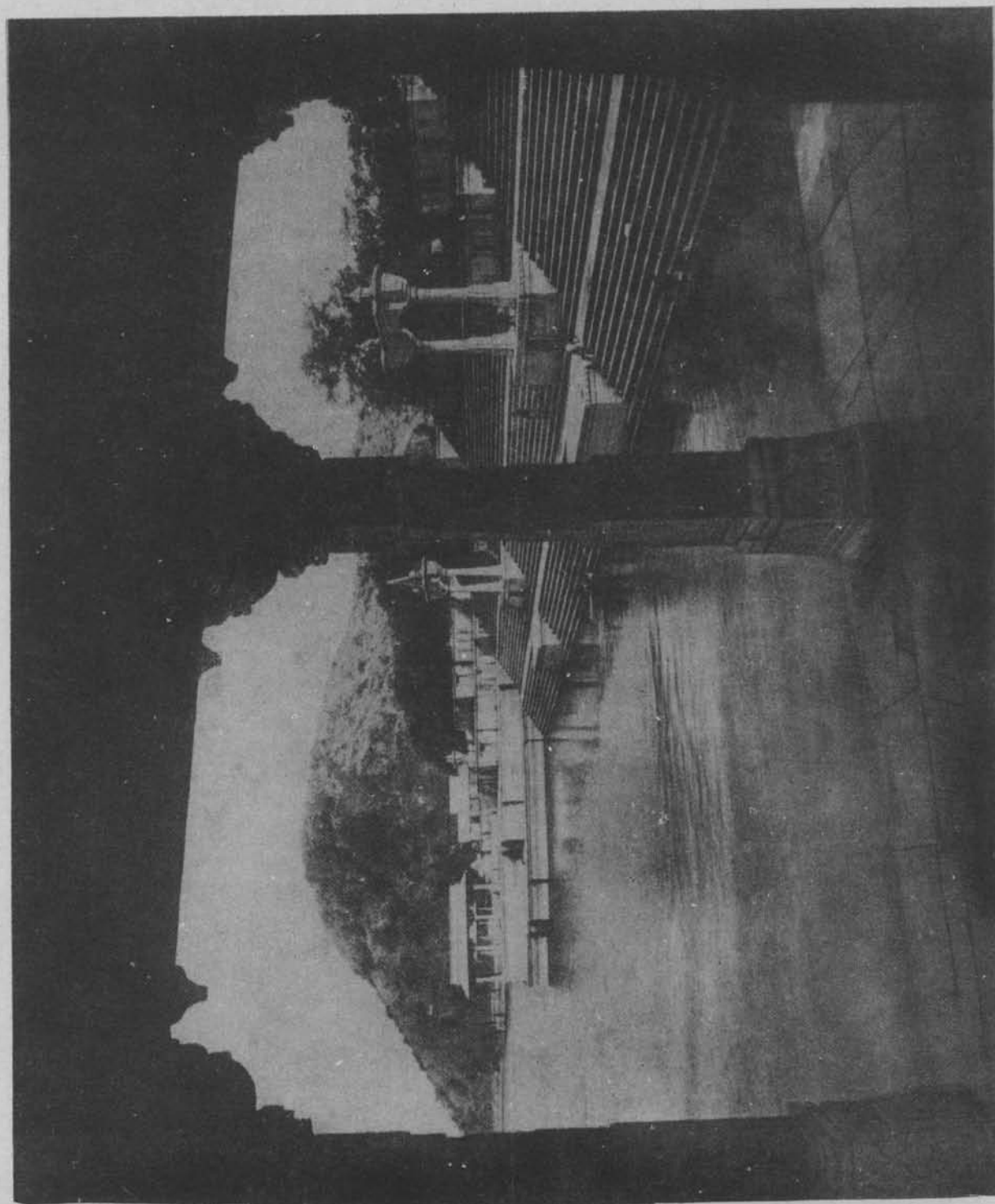
² For metrical requirements, the *chh* in the name Raṇachhōḍa has in most places to be read without the reduplication.

³ This Lakshminātha (II) is, in fact, not at all mentioned in the *Rājaprasasti*, but we know of his existence from the Jagannātharāya temple inscription at Udaipur, of which he is the composer, and in which he gives his genealogy perfectly agreeing with the one given here (see above, Vol. XXIV, p. 83, verse 48).

⁴ He is known from slab IX, ll. 45—46 : slab XXV, v. 16.

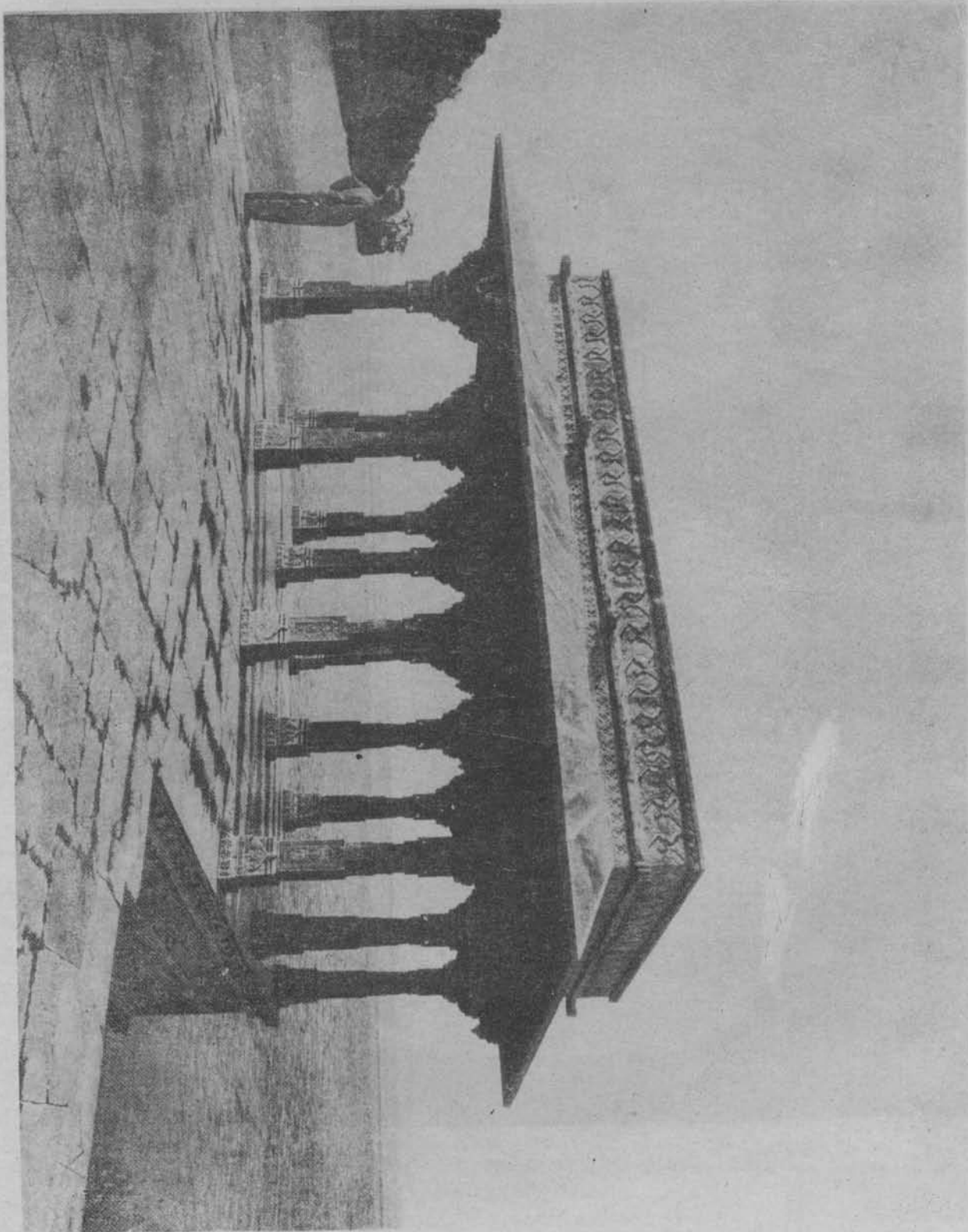
⁵ *Rāṅgulaṇa-kā Itihāsa* (Hindi), Vol. I, pp. 338 ff. See also R. G. Bhandarkar's *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, etc.*, pp. 76 ff.

RAJAPRASASTI INSCRIPTION OF UDAIPUR
I-A VIEW OF THE NAUCHAUKI GHAT, RAJASAMUDRA



(From a photograph)

KALAHASTI INSCRIPTION OF UDAYIR
II-A VIEW OF ONE OF THE PAVILIONS, KALASAMUDRA



(From a photograph)

another elder brother called Bharata,¹ and that he commenced the composition on the 7th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Māgha in the Vikrama year 1718 in compliance with the orders of *Mahārāṇā* Rājasimha who is stated to have at the same time ordered the construction of the Rājasamudra lake as well, while halting at the village of Dhōdhumdā.² The week-day on that date was Budha, as can be ascertained from verse 14 of the Canto IX, where the same date is repeated. It thus regularly corresponds to Wednesday, the 1st January A. D. 1662, taking the month to be *pūrṇimānta*.

It took full fourteen years to complete the work of excavating the lake and constructing the dam and the *ghāt*; for, we are informed that the inauguration ceremony of the Rājasamudra took place on Thursday, the full-moon day of the month of Māgha, in the Vikrama Samvat 1732,³ which regularly corresponds to Thursday, the 20th January A. D. 1676.

The names of the masons who are responsible for the engraving of the present inscription as also perhaps for the construction work are given in the *bhāṣā* portions occurring towards the end of some slabs. They are : *Gajadhara*⁴ Mukamda, *Gajadhara* Kalyāṇa's son Urajaṇa, *Gajadhara* Sukhadēva, *Gajadhara* Keso (Kēśava), Sundara, Lālā, etc.⁵

The pivotal theme of the poem is the Rājasamudra. It records the digging of the lake as well as the building of the dam and the *ghāt* in a very elaborate manner. Besides, it abounds in incidental details upon which it is needless to expatiate here. Since the text will be found simple enough to be self-explanatory, no comments are deemed necessary in this introduction. And a verbatim translation of the whole poem would unnecessarily increase the bulk of the article which is already exceeding usual limits. We shall, therefore, content ourselves by giving an abstract of the contents at the end of the text, adding notes on the historical portions. It may, however, be observed here that whereas the poet's account of the contemporary events appears to be fairly authentic, his descriptions touching the earlier history, for which he had drawn chiefly upon legendary, bardic or traditional sources, are manifestly wrong in several details and are therefore unreliable. The inaccuracies will be pointed out at their proper places.

The text has been prepared from the inked estampages taken by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the then Government Epigraphist for India, in 1934. The present article was ready as early as 1940, but its publication has been delayed due to the suspension of the printing of the journal for some years during and after the World War II.

TEXT*

Slab I ; Invocation

[Metres : vv. 1-14 *Sikharinī* ; vv. 15-21, 24-30 *Sragdharā* ; v. 22 *Upajāti* ; v. 23 *Bhujangaprayāta*.]

१ ॥ ॐ नमः श्रीगणेशाय ॥ यशोहेतुं सेतुं सुकृतिवृत्तितेजं जलनिधौ सुखदं यशस्वे
परमिषरचक्रेण दक्षिणं । दक्षा कामः कामं जनक-

¹ The poem was also intended to be a text book for the poet's own children, Lakshminātha and the rest see Slab XXV, v. 16.

² Possibly it is the same Dhōdhumdā as is mentioned further on in verse 5 of the Canto IX, where it is enumerated as the first of the sixteen villages whose area was included in the lake.

³ This date as well as that of the commencement of the work is given at several places in the poem, but of such instances where week-days are also mentioned one may be seen in ll. 41-44 of Slab IX.

⁴ The term *gajadhara* is equivalent to *sūtradhāra* meaning 'mason', literally 'holder of the yardstick' (*gajaz gaz* 'yard').

⁵ More or less the same list is found towards the close of Slabs III, VI, VIII, IX and XXV.

* From ink impressions.

- 2 तनयावासनवनामुविशामः कामं कलञ्जु स रामः कृतजयः ॥१॥ स्मितज्योत्स्नालेपोऽथ (ज्य)-
सममितकंठः कञ्जयशिशिरस्रूर्जस्पर्शकोज-
- 3 जगत्सितनागो विमसितः । मुये चेलांशोला(नां)सुगत इति भूवाप्रतिकृतेर्भूतेर्गो^१र्वाः सुं(सं)मुः
स्फटिकवचिदेहेतिवचिरः ॥२॥ पुरा राधोदयस्वय (ज्य)रजसरजः
- 4 सेतुविलसत्प्रबं(सं)वं कृत्वाग्निं नवमिह तद्वानं रचितवान् । प्रसिद्धामस्याद्वा तथ
विचरराज्ये भगवति प्रभाषो निधि(विं)ज्मं स गिरिवरमातर्जय जय ॥
- 5 ॥३॥ वराभीत्योर्वात्रीं पुष्पतनकुचां कामवशायां महाकालोरःत्वां ससुखमजयभीत्रिभुता । प्रसन्नाली
इयानां स्मितमयमूर्त्ती
- 6 वक्षिणतमां स्तुवन्कालीं विद्यावितितुतवनानीह लभते ॥४॥ चतुर्भिः कलातत्पूरितकरिभिर्ह-
नसमुपैर्बटैः सुन्दो-
- 7 तिलप्लैः स्मरति कुक्षितिलां कमकमां । वराभीर्ज्वालाभययुतकरां त्वांमु(त्वां)जगतां रमे
भीमते यो मुक्तमपि स मत्तेभवनवान् ॥५॥
- 8 वचंश्चया भास(स्व)स्फटिकहिमकुंदाज्जयकुङ्कुमाना वातो वा मुकुरवचिपद्यासनगता । नवीना
वीणाभुक्तिविहरिहरेर्वाविकनुता स-
- 9 रस्वत्यास्तां [न]ः सुमतिकृतये जावयहृतये ॥६॥ मयं वाणीं सज्जं विवर(व)मपि इयानां
मणिलसत्किरीटैर्बुद्धोतां मणिवटलसत्सज्जवरणां । विनेवां
- 10 स्मेरास्यां समजिज्वकाज्जो(ज्जो)जतकरां अपारस्तां भक्ता भजत मुपनेशीं पुष्पकुचां ॥७॥
वचंश्चालः^१ जंङ्गो(जङ्गो) ललितकमली ह्रीमयमुक्तः क एव ब्रह्मी]-
- 11 इक्(ग्) लघुकलितवामिर्हसकरः । हलांसी हलली मृतसकलमयोऽनलवबूस्तुतिर्नम्र अप्त्वा
जयति चरणीशो ममुरिष ॥८॥ कपो-
- 12 लप्रोहलोलत्कनकविलसत्कुंडलयुगां(गं) मुक्तैर्बुं पि(वि)भ्रानां कनकविकसज्जंयकवचि । गदा-
दीर्गाराति करगरिपुञ्जिह्वा. च बगला-
- 13 मुक्तीं ध्यायेद्यस्तद्विभुजमुक्तसंस्तभनविभिः^२ ॥९॥ शतायुः सिद्धिं वा सवति व(व)हुमुद्धि
विषयतीं प्रसिद्धिं लोके वा सततमृजव-
- 14 द्वि च विगता । मुक्तानामुद्धि वा सुमययुतवृद्धिं वनगिरां समृद्धिं भक्तानां सवति
हरतिद्धिं भव भवः ॥१०॥ सिद्धे राज-

^१ The form *aiṅgāla* is evidently derived from the word *iṅgāla* which is a Prakrit equivalent of *angāra*.

^२ The sign of *visarga* appears above the line : apparently it was first omitted and supplied later on.

- 15 श्यानां जयति समरादौ जयकरी शतायुष्यं रा(रा)णं कलय जयतिह सतनयं । स्थिरं
राणाराज्यं जगति रचयाऽऽचंद्रतपनं प्रशस्तेः स्वयं
- 16 एवं मम सुतगिरायुर्धनसुखं ॥११॥ चतुर्वारं तैत्तर्जनकलकलालंकृततनुं गिरि भुत्वा लोके
तत्र विजयराज्यं स्वमुसितं । ध्रुवं निःसंदे-
- 17 हं रचय नृपदेहं मम वपुः स्थिरं गेहं स्नेहं तनयवपि तेहं निजजनः ॥१२॥ इदं
स्तोत्रं स्तुत्यं पठति मनुजो म(म)गलकं(क)रं सुकार्यादौ यस्त-
- 18 ऊचति सफलं बिम्बरहितं । प्रपूर्णं वा^१ तूयं जननि रणक्षोभेन रचितं पठित्वा भुत्वादौ
जगदखिलमास्तां सुखमयं ॥१३॥ इति भवानीस्तोत्रं [11*]
- 19 सरोलंबे स्तंबेरममुखसंबदे(वे)क्षितमुखे सुहेरवे(वे) त्वं देववति गुणलंबे(वे) त्वयि विभो
[1*] समालंबे कं वेरितवति भुवं वेरितविपत्कदं-
- 20 वेडनालंबे(वे) सुकविनिगुरवे(वे) कुच कृपा ॥१४॥ गच्छः शुभ्राः समुद्राः सलवणसलिलाः^२
कूपवाप्योऽभद्रा वारिद्यं^३ भीक्ष्य वारां किल सुरत-
- 21 रितो वारि गृह्णति लभं । शीबालं केशपंकित शिरसि च शकु(क)लं चंद्रकं रत्नसेतोः
सिंहुरं वा(वा)लुकोयं दधवति गृणिभिः पातु गीतो गणे-
- 22 शः^४ ॥१५॥ कणौ^५ सूर्यद्वयं वाप्यलिखत्यमिवाञ्जालनीं दंतवर्षा(वीं) चंद्रं रीप्यं कडाहं
विधुकरनिकरं पिष्टकं स्निग्धकुंभी । हानं मिष्टं जलं यत्-
- 23 वति वमवलं धूमकेतुं च सर्वैर्लङ्कालि तनुक्तो ह्यसुरसुरमरालंबलंबोदरोज्यात् ॥१६॥
गुंडाबंधं प्रबंधं मदलसदसितं रंभ्रवद्विज्ञास्त्रं
- 24 वि(वि)भाणो धूमकेतुं मधुकरगुटिकादंतमुहं बंधं । तन्मूलं वज्रिज्ञास्त्री वित्तिजह(ह)तिकृते
स्थापितः शंभुमासी भ्रात्या लोकीर्गजास्यः क-
- 25 पित इति मुदे श्रीगणेशः सुवेद्यः ॥१७॥ पूज्योभूद्वक्तुः सुरदितिजनरैः सर्वकार्येषु
कस्मात्तन्मये कीडनेयं जलनिधिमधिकं गुंडया पीत-
- 26 बाण्ये । लंकास्थद्वारकास्था^६सुरसुरमनुजाहीत्रलक्ष्मीस्वयंभूविष्णुस्तोत्रैस्तु मुंचात्कलमिदमतः सर्वबंधो
मुदे सः ॥१८॥ प्रात-

^१ The syllable *vā* is inscribed above the line.

^२ The sign of *visarga* appears above the line : apparently it was first omitted and was supplied later on.

^३ Read *kūpa-vāpyō=py=abhadrā*, as otherwise the line would be short of one syllable.

^४ The words *Lankāsthā* and *Dvārakāsthā* qualify the *asura*, etc., i.e., demons, etc., of *Lankā* as well as of *Dvārakā*.

- 27 भानुं रसालोत्तमफलत(म)तितो निर्मलोद्यत्सिताभिभ्राजत्लङ्कबुद्धया निशि मधुरवि[धुं] चंडया
शुंडया यत् । धृत्वा स्वास्ये वधे तत्प्रहण-
- 28 मिति जनैः स्नायिभिः श्रांत¹मस्मात्पावंत्या मोचिते(तौ) तौ सहसितमवतात्त्वलेशहर्ता गणेशः
॥१६॥ श्रातः किं बाहनस्य प्रकटयसि न वा
- 29 लालनं स्कंदवाक्यादेवं प्रोदंशुंडामुलकलितमहामूषकस्पर्शलेशः । भोक्तुं भोगी किमित्थं ब्रवति
कृतमती मूषकेस्मादकस्मात्स्क-
- 30 धातस्य स्खलनस्खलितमतिवचश्चारु दद्याद्गणेशः ॥२०॥ सत्कुंभो बुंदुभो द्वौ भुजगमुखकरं
वाद्यमुदंशुंडां तालौ वा कण(णं)तालौ त्रिपु-
- 31 रहरमहातांडवाडं(ब)रे यत् । चंडाद्या बाधयन्ति द्विपवनविभोरेष तुष्टो विशिष्टं
स्वाविष्टः(ष्टं) स्पष्टनृत्यं प्रविद्धव²धिकं पातु मामिष्टशिष्टं ॥२१॥
- 32 श्रीवक्त्रुंड(ड)स्तव एष तुंडस्थितः सतां मंडितसूक्तिकुंडः । उदंशवेतंडघटाप्रचंडविद्यामणीकुंड[ड]लवः
सदा स्य(स्या)त् ॥२२॥ इति गणेश(श)स्तोत्रं ।
- 33 स्वनामलजं गायतः स्वस्तरोगानजलं जनान्दलवहं वितम्बन् । जयल्लयान्भूषयन्लमूर्च्छः
सहस्रद्युतिस्संमुदे स्तावुदुल[ः]
- 34 ॥२३॥ सत्पीतं चामरं किं कलयति तपनो धार्यमाणं दिगीशः सूताभावाहभाभिः³ कृतपद-
घटनायापि सूचीसहस्रं । वेदुं तद्धा(द्धा)तदंता-
- 35 वलसव(ब)लव(ब)लं स्वर्णवा(वा)णप्रजं वा तर्पते तर्पणलोकैरिति रविकिरणा येन ते पुत्रदाः
स्युः ॥२४॥ जाते यस्योदयेसावुदय⁴गिरिवरः सू-
- 36 यंवाहारणाभारुवैः शुद्धैर्हिरेण्यैर्मरकतमणिभिः पद्मरागैः कृतं द्राक् । शृंगस्तोमे समस्ते रक्षयति
निचयं भूषणानां यथेष्टं(च्छं)
- 37 यादृग्यत्रोपयुक्तं स भवतु भगवान्भूतये भानुमाली ॥२५॥ प्रा[च्या]मुर्द्धनाना धृतीसी मरकत-
कनकोद्भासितोत्तंस उच्चैर्वृत्तोद्यत्स्वर्ण-
- 38 पत्रं हरिदरुणपटं छत्रकं मूर्द्धिन् मेरोः । वर्वाशंस्यद्रुतं वा हरिधनुरधुना कुंडलीभूतमित्थं
सूतस्वाश्वप्रभाभत्सुम्निभिरुदितं मंडलं पा-
- 39 तु पूषणः ॥२६॥ मुक्तागुच्छं विवस्वद्वपुररुणमणिं विद्रुमं सूतरूपं छत्रं सत्पुष्परानं हरिहरित-
मणीन्दोर्घवैद्युदंडान् । वि(वि)भ्रद्वयस्य चक्रं

¹ The word *hranta* is used in the sense of *avasita* 'understood' or 'inferred'.

² The engraver had dittographically engraved a superfluous *da* after this *da*, which he later on scored out.

³ This expression is not very clear. If the third word in the compound is meant to be *ahan*, the correct form should be *āhar-bhābhiḥ*, which would not fit in with the metre.

⁴ After *ya* is a scored out medial *i*.

- 40 त्वसितमणिधुरं धन्यगोम(मे)दयं च श्रीमानोः स्वदनस्ते मनसि खलु धृतो हंतु
सर्वप्रहातिं(तिं) ॥२७॥ विश्रामच्छयना मूर्द्धिन् लघुगमनकरा ये मेरोर्धुन-
- 41 द्याः कल्लोलोल्लासितेस्मिन्मयु'वरयुवतीसंचये चंचलाक्षाः । हेवासंकेतशब्दैर्विदधति भृशमासक्तमह्नां
गुरुत्वं प्रीप्ते कुर्वति युक्तं हरिहरय इत-
- 42 स्ते धियं ते विशंतु ॥२८॥ व(च)क्राप्रं शक्र सम्यक्(ग) धुरि यम समतामक्षमार्धेहि
रक्षस्त्वं वीतीन्वि(म्बी)तिहोत्रावणमिह वरुण स्थापय त्वं रथे[शं] । वायो वाऽऽयोजय
- 43 त्वं रथमथ धनवाराधन(नं) त्वं हरीणां शम्भो त्वं भो[:*] धियं मे वदति तदरणो
दिक्पतीन् शास्ति सोध्यात् ॥२९॥ आदलेवे पश्चिमाशाकुचयुगविलस[त्कुं-]
- 44 [कु]मालेपसक्तः किं वा बालः प्रवालजलनिधिजठं(ठ)रे स्पृशंनैर्धर्वणैश्च प्रेमणा(म्णा) [वाचछा]दितः
किं हरिहरद्वलापाणिना सत्कुसुभा रक्तेनैवाव(व)रेणा ८
- 45 ८ ८ ८ ८ ८ — — ८ — — ८ — — [॥३०॥]²

Slab II ; Canto I

[Metres : vv. 1, 2, 4, 6, 7 *Mālinī* ; v. 3 *Prīthvī* ; 5, 14, 15, 17-29 *Anuṣṭubh* ; vv. 8, 11, 12, 13 *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 9, 10, 30, 31 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; v. 16 *Śālinī*.]

श्री³[:॥*]

- 1 ॐ नमः श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ मुनिनृपमनुजेभ्यो वरुणं संप्रदातुं परमकरुणयैवागत्य कलास-
शैलात् । तदभुवि कुटिलाया एकलिंगस्त्रि-
- 2 कूटे स्थित इह विवरेद्रो राजसिंहेशमव्यात् ॥१॥ तुहिनकिरणहीरभीरकपूर्वगौरं ।⁴ वपुरपि
जलदाभं कालि-
- 3 कापांगवत्या(ल्या)ः ॥(१) प्रतिकृतिघटनाभिर्वि(विं)भवभ्रातभक्तः ।⁴ कलयतु तव राजन्मंग-
लान्येकलिंगः ॥२॥
- 4 चतुर्मितपुमर्थसद्वितरणाय सद्भूषः सदा ।⁴ चतुर्भुजधरो मुदा किल चतुर्यगोद्यधशाः ॥(१)
चतुर्भुजह-

¹ *Maya* means *kinara*.

² This portion has not come out on the impression. How much matter has been lost after the verse 30 cannot be determined.

³ Engraved on the top.

⁴ This *daṇḍa* is not necessary.

- 5 रिशिरं निजचतुर्भुजाभिः क्षुभं चतुः¹भुतिसमीरितं दिशतु राजसिंहप्रभोः ॥३॥ जगद्विज-
जनानीं पालनावस्ति
- 6 यांवा(वा., निगमवचसि यांवा(वा)जाविकावा किलोक्ता² ॥(१) सुचयतु सहितं त्वां
पुत्रपौत्रप्रपौत्रैरवतु तव तु गोत्रं सावि(वि)-
- 7 का राजसिंह ॥४॥ ऐं(ऐं)दिरं विभवं वचात् ।³ गोपली(गली) भूतिं(ति) वच-
त्यलं ॥(१) बुधे प्रसन्नासीः(सी) स्कूर्णद्वाला भूप प्रबाल-
- 8 भाः ॥५॥ वचवतुलकरे द्राक्षमोवकं यस्य भक्तः ।⁴ कलयति तं(त)कलार्थं मोदकं
राजसिंह । नृपवर स तु विघ्नं वि-
- 9 जनराजो विनिघ्नन् रचयतु तनयस्ते मंगलं मंगलायाः ॥६॥ प्रथमनृपमुनी यः सिद्धिवाता
विघ्नस्वान् ।⁵
- 10 अपरननुमिष त्वां वीक्ष्य सिद्धिं प्रदातु ॥(१) वराशतकरयुक्तो युक्तमेवेत्यहो त्वा- ।¹
मवतु स तु नितातं भूप-
- 11 ते राजसिंह ॥७॥ वीरः कविः स्फुटपुराणबरोनुशास्ता ।² चाता स्फुरद्गुणगणस्य
तमःसपत्नः ॥(१) आदित्य-
- 12 वर्णं इह मां मधुसूदनीव्यात्कार्येतिबुस्तरतरे³ प्रविशतमद्या ॥८॥ इती(ति) मंगलाष्टकं ॥
यस्यासीन्मधुसू-
- 13 वनस्तु जनको जातः कठोडी कुले तैलंगः कविपंडितः सुजमनी बेनी च गोस्वामिना ॥(१)
कुर्वे राजसमुद्रनामक-
- 14 जलाधारप्रशस्तिं त्वहं सोदयं रणछोड एव भरवा(ता)वं लक्ष्मणं शिक्षयन् ॥९॥ पूर्णं
सप्तवर्षो शते समतमी(नो)स्त्वष्टा- ➔
- 15 वराक्येष्टके ।⁴ माघे वामनपक्षके मरयतिः [स]स्वप्तमी वासरे ॥(१) योयुवाचसति
जंलास(श)यमहारं च तस्याल-
- 16 यां प्रारंभं रणछोड एव कृतवांस्तस्य प्रशस्तेस्तथा ॥१०॥ वप्यं त्ववर्धयमि वेति न
वा(वा)लको वा बुद्धार्थसंयक
- 17 एव गलङ्कयश्च । सोहं तथैव गुणबुद्धसंभोपविष्टः किञ्चिद्द्वयानि मम वाच्यार्थमिदं
अमर्थं ॥११॥ जिह्वायु चोत्कण्ठयति-

¹ The syllable *sub* is engraved above the line.

² Perhaps the intended reading is =*abba* = *abba*.

³ This *dayda* is not newer

⁴ The letter *du* is inscribed above the line.

- 18 लिङ्गनेव¹ कार्तवीर्यार्जुने वसति वाक्यतिरेव बाहं ॥१॥ श्रातुं² गुणास्तव तदा निपुणे
मवाप्ति कावित्ततो नृप वदाम्यति-
- 19 साहसेन ॥१२॥ पुण्या जनार्दनहरेस्तु कथास्त पुण्यलोकस्य वा नलनृपस्य मुनि-
ष्ठिरस्य ॥१॥ तादृक्कथा जयति वाण्य-
- 20 नयस्य वक्ष्ये श्रीराजसिंहनृपतेरपि सरकथां तत् ॥१३॥ रामायणे भारतेस्ति प्रोक्तानां
भूभुजां यथाः । यथा राज्ञा-
- 21 मिहोक्तानां स्यात्तथाऽऽचरन्तारकं ॥१४॥ कंडप्रवास्तिर्भुक्ते रामचंद्रस्य लोभते । श्रीचंद्र-
प्रसस्तिस्ते राजसि-
- 22 ह विराजते ॥१५॥ मर्यादुज्ज्वलस्तुल्यनायस्तु भावाग्रजानां स्याद्देवताभारतादेः । देवायुज्ज्वल-
मायुस्ततोहं प्र(प्र)वं कु-
- 23 र्वं राज गीर्वाणवाण्या ॥१६॥ व्यासवाल्मीकिबह्वन्धो वा(वा)नभीर्हृवमभुवैः । त संस्कृतकवी
राज्ञां यशोगत्वापकविचरं
- 24 ॥१७॥ श्रीराजा राजसिंहस्य वर्णनं कर्तुमुद्यतः । भूवाग्वाग्वादिवा[स्व]कर्तुं वक्ष्येहं मुनिसंमति
॥१८॥ वक्ष्ये वायु(वु)पुराणस्य ।⁴ मे-
- 25 इमादीयकंडके ॥१॥ वष्टे(ष्टे)ध्याये त्येकालिगमाहृत्ये वाक्यमीरितं ॥१९॥ अथ शीलात्मजा
म(म)हान् लोकव्याकुललोचना ॥१॥ नै(नै)दिनं प्रय-
- 26 नं वाण्यं लुञ्जती तमुवाच ह ।[१*] २०।[१*] यस्माद्वाण्यं लुञ्जाम्यस्य विद्योगात्⁵ शंकरस्य
च [१*] पूर्ववत्ताण्य मच्छा(ज्जा)पाहाण्यो राजा भविष्यति ॥२१॥
- 27 आराध्य तं जगन्न(जा)वं ।⁴ तीर्थे नागह्रदे कुपे । राज्यं तच्च हव प्राप्य पुनः
स्वर्गमवाप्स्यति ॥२२॥ पुनश्चंडगणं प्राह पार्वती व्याकु-
- 28 लेक्षणा । मर्यादां हृतवानस्य ।⁴ हाररक्षेप्यरक्षणात् ॥२३॥ हारीत इति नाम्ना त्वं
मेदवादे मुनिर्भव । तत्राराध्य शिवं देवं ।⁴ त
- 29 तः स्वर्गमवाप्स्यति ॥२४॥ इति वायुपुराणस्य संमतिस्तत्र विस्तरः ॥१॥ इच्छाम्यो
वाण्यचंडोत्तिम् ।⁴ कार्यः शिष्टैस्तदाहरः ॥२५॥
- 30 न मे विज्ञानतरणी राजसिंहगुणांशुधेः ।⁶ पाराय्यं वक्ष्यमुद्गा(व)मस्याज्ञाकरमाचये⁶ ॥२६॥
सालंकारमणिः सुप्तिमोपितकः सः-

¹ The correct form is *līkhana*.

² Better read *gātham*.

³ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

⁴ This *daṇḍa* is not necessary.

⁵ Both *visarga* and the *daṇḍa* are above the line.

⁶ While composing this verse the poet obviously had in mind Kālidāsa's *Kva śūrya-grabhāvō vamaśō kva-
ch=śīpa-vishayō matiḥ | tīlrekhurmdustaram mādādmuḍupāṇḍamī śaṅgarāṁ ||* (*Raghuvamśa*, 3, 2).

- 31 सामृतः ॥(1) राजप्रशस्तिप्रबोस्ति समुद्रोन्मः* सुवर्णभूः ॥२७॥ सेतिहासो भारतवज्रोक्त-
सूर्यान्वयः समः ॥(1) रामाय-
- 32 जेन पठनाद्ब्रह्मस्तावुकलाय नः ॥२८॥ श्रीराजाराजसिंहस्य महावीरस्य वर्णने ॥(1)
वाष्पः सूर्यान्वयी सर्गे सूर्यवं-
- 33 शं वदेप्रिमे ॥[२९॥*] आसीद्भास्करतस्तु माधवबुधोस्माद्रामचंद्रस्ततः तत्सर्वेश्वर[कः] कठोडि-
कुलजो लक्ष्म्यादिनायस्तुतः¹ । तेलंगस्य तु राम-
- 34 चंद्र इति वा कृष्णस्य [वा*] माधवः पुत्रोभून्मधुसूदनस्य इमे व(व)होशविष्णुपमाः
॥[३०॥*] यस्यासीन्मधुसूदनस्तु जनको बेणी च
- 35 गोस्वामिजा माता वा रणछोड एव कृतवानराजप्रशस्त्याह्वयं । काव्यं सान्वयराजसिंहनृपति-
श्रीवर्णनाड्यं महद्वीरांकं प्रथ-
- 36 मोत्र पूतिमगमस्तर्गोर्ध्वगोत्तमः ॥[1*] ३१॥[1*] इतिभीमधुसूदनभट्टपुत्ररणछोडकृते श्रीराजप्रशस्त्याख्ये
महाकाव्ये [प्रथमः सर्गः ॥]

Slab III ; Canto II

[Metres : v. 1 Mandākṛāntā ; vv. 2-38 Anuṣṭubh.]

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥[1*] गुंजापुंजाभरणनिचयं चंद्रकासीकिरीटं गोत्रं चैत्रं करकमलयोः पुंजितं
चित्रवस्त्रं ॥(1)
- 2 जम्बे पीतं वसनमपरं किंकिणीं वक्त्रवेणीं² नासामुक्तां वधदतिमुदे तेस्तु गोवर्द्धनेन्द्रः
॥१॥ आदौ जम्ब-
- 3 मयं विश्वं³ तत्र नारायणः³ स्थितः । ह(हि)रक्यहारी तन्नाभो⁴ पद्मकोव
इहाभवत् ॥२॥ व(व)ह्ना चतुर्भुव(ल)स्तस्य म-
- 4 रीचिः कश्यपोस्य तु ॥(1) सुतो विश्वा(स्वा)स्तस्यासीन्मनुरिक्ष्वाकुरस्य सः ॥३॥
विकुक्षिः स शशाङ्गान्यनासा
- 5 तस्य पुरंजयः ॥(1) ककुत्स्वापरनामाया⁵मस्यानेनास्ततः पृथुः ॥४॥ ततोभूद्विश्वरथिस्तु
ततश्चंद्रस्ततोभव-
- 6 त् ॥(1) यवनाद्वयोस्य शाबस्तो व(व)हवद्वयोस्य वात्मजः ॥५॥ ततः कुबलयाद्वयोभट्टं
धुमारोपराभिधः ॥(1) दुर्वाद्योस्यास्य ह-

¹ Read °-atah as in l. 35 of Slab IV.² Danda unnecessary.³ Vicarga is above the line.

- 7 ब्रह्मो निबुभस्तस्य वा ततः ॥६॥ व(ब)र्हणाश्चः कुशावस्य सेनजितस्य वा ततः ॥१॥
युवनावस्य मांवाता प्रसह-
- 8 स्युपरामिषः ॥७॥ अकवस्यस्य तमयः पुत्रकुत्तोस्य वा सुतः ॥१॥ प्रसहस्युर्द्वितीयोस्मावम-
रव्यस्ततोभवत् ॥८॥
- 9 हर्षवस्योत्पादयस्तस्य जिबं(ब)धनमुपस्ततः ॥१॥ सत्यवतस्त्रिंशंकुस्तु तस्य^१ नामांतुरं ततः ॥९॥
हरिवर्ध्नो रोहितोस्य
- 10 तस्य वा हरितस्ततः ॥१॥ अंपस्तस्य सुवेयोस्माद्विजयो भवकोस्य वा [॥*] १०[१*]
तस्मादुको वा(वा)हुकोस्य तत्पुत्रः सगरः स च ॥१॥
- 11 अकवर्ती मुमत्यां तु पत्न्या तस्याभवन्मुता[*] ॥११॥ श्रेष्ठा(ष्ठाः) वज्रितहृकोक्षस्तंभ्याः
सागरकारकाः । सगरस्याग्नय-
- 12 रग्रा(रग्रा) तु केशिग्यामस[न]जसः^२ ॥१२॥ ततोऽगुमाग्द्वितीयोस्मात्समाज्जातो भगीरथः ।
ततः [धु]तस्ततो [ना]भः सिधुद्वितीयोस्य
- 13 तत्सुतः^३ ॥१३॥ अयुतायुस्तस्य जात ऋतुपर्णस्तु तत्सुतः । सर्वकामः सुदातोस्य तस्माग्निम-
सहःपति[*] ॥ ॥१४॥^४ मवयस्याः स कस्मा-
- 14 वपादाग्याव्योस्य चावमकः ॥१॥ मूलकोस्माद्दशरथस्तत एवविदस्ततः ॥१५॥ जातो विषवसहस्त-
- 15 स्मात्सदागदवकवस्यतः ॥१॥ दीर्घबाहुद्वितीयोस्य रघुरस्याज इत्यतः ॥१६॥ जातो दशरथ-
स्तस्य कौश-
- 16 त्यायां सुतोभवत् ॥१॥ श्रीरा(रा)मचंद्रः^५ कंकेय्यां भरथो(तो) रामभक्तिमान् ॥१७॥
सुमित्रायां लक्ष्मणवच शत्रुघ्नवच-
- 17 ति ना(रा)मतः ॥१॥ श्रीसीतायां कुशो जातो लवश्चेति कुशा^६दभुत् ॥१८॥ कुमुद-
स्यामतिथिको निषयोस्य स-
- 18 तो नलः ॥१॥ नभोय पुंडरीकोस्य जेमथन्वा ततोभवत् ॥१९॥ देवानीकस्ततोऽग्नीनः
पारियात्रोस्य तत्सुतः ॥१॥ व(ब)-
- 19 तस्तस्य स्थलस्तस्माद्वज्रनाभस्ततोभवत् ॥२०॥ स(सं)गजस्तस्य विधुतिः पुत्रस्तस्य सुतोभवत्
॥१॥ हिरण्यना-

^१ The letter *ta* is engraved above the line.

^२ *Visarga* is above the line.

^३ The figure 14 between two sets of *daṇḍas* appear above the line. The first pair of *daṇḍas* is thus in excess.

^४ Here instead of *Daśaratha* the *Purāṇas* give *Sataratha* which appears to be correct.

^५ The syllable *ma* appears above the line.

^६ A space for one or two letter is left blank between *da* and *da*.

- 20 भः पुष्योस्माद्भुवसिद्विस्ततोभवत् ॥२१॥ सुदर्शनोस्याग्निवर्णस(स्त)स्य शोभस्ततो भवत् ॥(१)
ततः प्रसुभृतस्त-
- 21 स्मारसंघिस्तस्य तु मर्षणः ॥२२॥ ततो महस्वास्तस्याभूद्विष्वसाद्भुः प्रसेनजित् ॥(१)
ततस्ततस्तक्षकोऽ-
- 22 स्माद्(द्)हृद्(ड)ल इति स्वयं ॥२३॥ महाभारतसंग्रामे निहतस्वभिमन्युना ॥(१) एते
स्वतोता व्यासेन संप्रोक्ता भार-
- 23 ते नृपाः [॥*]२४[॥*] अनागताञ्ज(ञ्ज)गार्वं व्यासस्तत्र वदामि तान् ॥(१)
वृ(वृ)हद्(ड)लाद्(ड)हृद्गणस्तस्योरुक्रिय इत्यतः ॥२५॥ वरस-
- 24 वृद्धः प्रतिव्योमस्तस्यास्माद्भानुरस्य वा ॥(१) दिवाकस्तस्य पदवी वाहिनोपतिरित्यभूत् ॥२६॥
तस्यासीत्सहदेवो-
- 25 स्य वृ(वृ)हद्वस्ततोभवत् ॥(१) भानुमान् वा प्रतीकाद्वोस्य तस्मात्सुप्रतीकः ॥२७॥
ततोभून्महदेवोस्म(स्मा)त्सुनक्षत्रो-
- 26 स्य पुष्करः ॥(१) ततोत्तरिजः सुतपास्तस्मान्मित्रजिवस्य तु ॥२८॥ वृ(वृ)हद्भ्राजस्ततो-
व(व)हिस्तस्मात्स्य कृतंजयः ॥(१) तस्माद्-
- 27 जंजयस्तस्य संजयः शाक्य इत्यतः ॥२९॥ शुद्धोदोस्मात्सांगसोस्य प्रसेनजिदथ स्वतः ॥(१)
शुद्धकस्तस्य वृणकस्त-
- 28 स्यासीत्सुरवस्ततः ॥३०॥ सुमित्रस्तु सुमित्रात् इष्वाकोरग्वयोभवत् ॥(१) उक्ता भागवते
स्कांधे नवमे ते मयोदिताः ॥३१॥
- 29 द्वाविंशत्यप्रशतकमेवां संख्या कृता वदे ॥(१) प्रसि[द्धा]त्सू(म्सू)यंबंशस्थान् वज्रनाभो
भवस्ततः ॥३२॥ महारथीति राजेंद्र-
- 30 तस्मादतिरथो नृपः ॥(१) तस्माद्वचसेनस्तु सेनास्य स्वचला रणे ॥३३॥ तस्मात्कनक
सेनोस्य महासेनोऽग [इ]त्यतः ॥(१) त-
- 31 स्माद्विजयसेनोस्याऽजयसेनस्ततोभवत् ॥३४॥ अभंगसेनस्तस्मात्सु मवसेनस्ततोऽभवत् । भूपः
सिहरथस्त्वैते^२ अ-
- 32 योध्यावासिनो नृपाः ॥३५॥ तस्माद्विजयभूपोयं मुक्त्वाऽयोध्यां रणागताम् ॥(१) जिस्वा
नृपावक्षिणस्थानवसहक्षिण-

^१ The letter (a) is engraved above the line.

^२ Sandhi is not observed here.

- 33 किलो ॥३६॥ तत्रास्याकाशवाण्यासीन्मुक्त्वा राजाभिषामय ॥(१) आदित्याख्या तु धर्तव्या
भवता भवदन्वये ॥३७॥ जा-
- 34 ता विजयभूपांता राजानो मनुपूर्वकाः ॥(१) धीरा संख्येरितास्तेषां पञ्चत्रिंशद्युतं शत(तं)
॥३८॥ आसीदित्यादि^१ । द्वितीयः सर्गः ॥
- 35 संवत् ॥१७॥१८ वर्षे(वर्षे) माघमासे कृष्णपक्षे सप्तम्यां त(ति)थौ रामसमुद्रा मुहुरत
(मुहूर्त) राणेराजसीधजी कीधो ॥ संब-
- 36 त ॥१७॥३२॥ वर्षे(वर्षे) माघमासे सुक्ल(शुक्ल)पक्षे १५ तिथे(थौ) राजसमुद्र
प्रतिष्ठा(ष्ठा) कीधो गजधर मुकुंद गजधर कल्याण-
- 37 जी सुत उरजण गजधर सुव(सु)देव गजधर केसो ॥ सु(सु)वर ॥ लाला ।
सोमपुरा^२ [ज]ति ॥ धुतरा पुरम्प ॥ रामराम वाच[ना]जी ॥[११*]

Slab IV ; Canto III

[Metres : vv. 1, 35, 36 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 2-12, 24-27, 32-34 *Anuṣṭubh* ; vv. 13, 14, 16-20, 22, 23, 30 *Upajāti* ; vv. 15, 29, 31 *Indravajrā* ; v. 21 *Indravamśā* ; v. 28 *Upajāti* of *Indravamśā* and *Vamśasthāvila*.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ उत्तोलोभवबुद्धताछ(छ)सुरभीपुछ(छ)छ(छ)टाचामरः सद्गोवर्द्धन-
धर्मगोत्रविलसच्छत्रो जितेंद्रो व(व)-
- 2 ली ॥(१) गोपालः कलितश्च गोपतनयासक्तो निजप्रमथान्पायाद्गोधनभक्तरक्षणपरः सक्क-
कवर्त्ता हरिः ॥१॥ ततो वि-
- 3 जयभूपस्य पद्मादित्योभवत्सुतः ॥(१) शिवादित्योस्य पुत्रोभूद्दरश्चोस्य^३ वा सुतः ॥२॥
सुजसादित्यनामास्मात्सुमु-
- 4 आदित्यकस्ततः । (१) सोमवत्त^३स्तस्य पुत्रः शिलादित्योस्य चारमजः ॥३॥ केशवादित्य
एतस्मात्तारागादित्योस्य चारम-
- 5 जः । भोगादित्योस्य पुत्रोभूद्देवादित्यस्ततोभवत् ॥४॥ आशादित्यः कालभोगादित्योस्मात्तनयोस्य
सु ॥(१) प्रहादित्य इहा-
- 6 दित्याश्चतुर्दशमितास्ततः ॥५॥ प्रहादित्यसुताः सर्वे ग(गु)हिलीताभिषामुताः । जाता युक्तं
तेषु पुत्रो ज्येष्ठो वाण्याभिधोभव-

^१ By this are meant the two stanzas, Nos. 30 and 31, of Slab II, Canto I.

^२ *Sōmapurā* means 'architect'.

^३ The name should end in *āditya* rather than in *datta* in accordance with the information contained in verse 37 of Slab III, Canto II and verse 5 of the present one.

- 7 त् ॥६॥ यं दृष्ट्वा न(नं)दिनं गौरी दृशोर्बाणं पुराऽनुजत् । नदी गणोत्तौ बाण्योरि-
त्रिधावृक्षा(ग्वा)व्यवोऽभवत्^१ ॥७॥ हारी-
- 8 तराशिः सुमुनिवर्चः शंभोर्दणोभवत् । तस्य शिष्योभवद्वाण्यस्तस्याज्ञातः प्रा(प्र)सादतः ॥८॥
नागहृदपुरे तिष्ठन्ने-
- 9 कलिगशिष्यप्रभो । वक्त्रे बाण्योऽर्चनं चास्मै वराण्युद्गो ददौ ततः ॥९॥ चित्रकूटपतिस्त्वं
स्यास्त्वर्चयन्वरणाद्भु-
- 10 वं । मा गच्छ(च्छ)तामिच्छकूटः संततिः स्मयवर्चिता ॥१०॥ प्राप्येत्यादिचराम्बाण्य एकस्मिन्
शतके गते ॥(१) एकाग्रमव-
- 11 तिष्ठच्छे^२ माये पक्षोबलशक्ते ॥११॥ सप्तमीदिनसे बाण्यः स पञ्चदशवत्सं(स्त)रः ।
एकैलिवेशहारीतप्रसादाङ्गाग्यवानभूत् ॥१२॥
- 12 नागहृदबाण्ये नगरे विराजी नरेश्वरः सङ्गधरेषु धन्यः । व(व)लेन देहेन च भोजनेन
भीमो रणे भीमतमो
- 13 रिपूणां ॥१३॥ पञ्चाविकत्रि(त्रि)शदमंदहस्तप्रमाणयुक्पट्टपटं दधानः । व(व)भौ निचोलं
किल षोडशोद्यत्करप्र-
- 14 माणं विमलं वसानः ॥१४॥ श्री^३एकैलिवेन मुवा प्रवत्तं हारीतनाम्ने मुनये च तेन
वत्तं दधानः कटकं च हंसं पञ्चा-
- 15 शबुद्धत्पलमानमास्ते ॥१५॥ द्वात्रिंशदुद्यत्तमडम्बुकाद्यैः प्रस्थ(स्था)भिधैः शेरवरीः कृतस्य ।
मणस्य धैकस्य
- 16 भवं हि चत्वारिंशन्मितैर्वि(विं)ध्वजैः दधानं ॥१६॥ एकप्रहाराम्महिषी महासेर्दुर्गार्चनायां
जयतो विनिघ्नन् । भुं-
- 17 जन्महाङ्गायचतुष्टयं स^४ भगस्त्यश[स्थः] प्रबभूव बाण्यः ॥१७॥ ततः स निजित्य नृपं
तु मोरीजातीयभूषं
- 18 मनुराजसंज्ञं । निचित्रितचित्रकूटं चक्षेत्रं राज्यं नृपधकवर्त्ती ॥१८॥ राज्याति-
पूर्णत्ववरत्नलक्ष्मीमय-

^१ Compare verses 20 and 21 of Canto I above.

^२ Read *svabde*; *su* being prefixed to the word *abda*. *Su, sat, lasat, udyat*, etc., will be found used as mere expletives very commonly in this poem.

^३ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

^४ The correct *sandhi* would be *sō-gastya*-, but *su Agastya*- has been retained for the sake of the metre.

- 19 स्वस्त्यादिमन्त्रयुक्ताः । तां रावलाख्यां पदवीं दधानो बाष्पाभिधानः स रराज राजा
॥१६॥ ततः सुमानाभि-
- 20 चराबलोस्माद्गोविन्दनामाय महेंद्रनामा । आलूनूपोस्मादथ सिंहवर्मा तस्यात्मजः शक्तिकुमार-
नामा ॥२०॥ जा-
- 21 तस्ततो रावलशालिबाहनस्तस्यात्मजोभूषणरबाहनस्ततः । अंबाप्रसादोऽथ च कीर्तिवर्मकस्तत्पुत्र आ-
22 सीधरवर्मनामकः ॥२१॥ ततो नृपालो नरपत्यभिष्यस्त्वथोत्तमोस्मात्पुत्रभैरवोस्मात् । श्रीपुंजरा-
23 जोभवदस्य कर्णादित्यः सुतोऽस्यापि च भार्गवसिंहः ॥२२॥ श्रीमा(गो)त्रसिंहोऽथ स हंसराजः
सुतोऽस्य सूनुः शुभ-
- 24 योगराजः । स वैरडाख्योऽथ स वैरसिंहस्ततोऽस्य वा रावलतेजसिंहः ॥२३॥ ततः
समरसिंहाख्यः पृथ्वीराज-
- 25 स्य भूपतेः[*] ॥(१) पृथाख्याया भगिन्यास्तु पतिरित्यसिंहवर्तः ॥२४॥ गोरीसाहिबबीनेन
गञ्जनीशेन संगरे
- 26 । कुर्बतोऽक्षवर्गवर्तस्य महासामंतशोभिनः ॥२५॥ दिल्लीद्वारस्य जोहाननाथस्यास्य सहायकृत् ।
27 सहायसहस्रत्रैः(क्षैः) स्ववीराणां सहितो रणे ॥२६॥ बच्चा(बच्चा) गोरीपति वैवात्स्वर्वातः
सूर्यविजयित् ॥(१) भाषाराज्ञापुस्त-
- 28 केस्य युद्धस्योक्तोऽस्ति विस्तरः ॥२७॥ तस्यात्मजोभूषणपुर्णरावलः प्रोक्तास्तु यद्विजयतिरावला
इमे । कर्णात्प्रजो
- 29 माहपराबलोभवत्स इंगराखे तु पुरे नृपो बभौ ॥२८॥ कर्णस्य जातस्तमयो द्वितीयः
श्रीराहपः । कर्णनृपाज्ञयोः ।
- 30 बाष्पेन वा शाकुनिकस्य गत्वा मंडोवरे मोकलसीं स जित्वा ॥२९॥ तातातिके
स्थानयति स्म य(ब)टं कर्णस्य राजावित-
- 31 वं गृहीत्वा । नृमोच तं जाय ददौ तदीयं राजाभिधानं प्रियराहपाय ॥३०॥ भव्याशिवा
वा(वा)ह्मणपल्लिवालमातीयविद्व-
- 32 छ(छ)रशस्यनाम्नः । श्रीचित्रकूटे य(ब)ललब्धराख्यं चक्रे ततो राहप एव वीरः
॥३१॥ ततो य(ब)भौ चित्रकूटे राहपा(पो) वाहपोप(य)कः ।
- 33 पूर्वं सीसोदनगरे वासात्सीसोदिया स्मृतः ॥३२॥ राजाविरुद्धलाभेन रानेत्युक्तोऽस्ति त्वं(बं)भौ ।
वंसस्थाद्ये भविष्य-

* This word is spelt here both ways rāṇḍ and rāṇḍ.

- 34 ति रानाविहदिनो नृपाः ॥३३॥ राजेन्द्रराजीपूज्योयं नारायणपरायणः । विशेषणाविर्णाद्विधां
वीरो रानाभिषां वधे ।¹
- 35 ॥३४॥ आसीद्भ्रातृकरतस्तु माधवबुधोऽस्माद्रामचंद्रस्ततः सत्सर्वेश्वरे(इव)रकः कठोडिकुलजो
लक्ष्म्याविनायस्ततः
- 36 । तेलंगोस्य तु रामचंद्र इति वा कुण्डोस्य वा माधवः पुत्रोभून्मधुसूदनस्त्रय इमे
व(व)ह्येवाविष्णुपमाः ॥३५॥ यस्या-
- 37 सीम्भुसूदनस्तु जनको वेणी च गा(गो)स्वामिजाऽभून्माता रणछोड एव कृतबाराज-
प्रशस्त्याह्वयं । काव्यं सान्धयरा-
- 38 अतिहस्तुगुणश्रीवर्णनाद्वयं महद्वीराकं समभूत्तृतीय इह सत्सर्गः सुसर्गः स्फुटं ॥३६॥ इति-
श्रीतेलंगशातीयकठोडीक-
- 39 विपश्चितोपनाममधुसूदनभट्टपुत्ररणछोडकृते राजप्रशस्त्याह्वये मा(म)हाकाव्ये तृतीयः सर्गः ॥
सं १७३२ वर्षे माघी १५ राजसमूहप्रतिष्ठा ॥*

Slab V ; Canto IV

[Metres : v. 1 Mālinī ; vv. 2-50 Anuṣṭubh.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ कलितहलनिघोषो नीललोर्लोटिकेसी तररिति धृतवस्त्रा वेगता
यत्र गोप्यः । विवधति जलकोलं
- 2 य(यं) च सिचंति सोस्मान्सुखयतु यमुनायास्तीर[व*]र्त्ती तमालः ।१। तस्य पुत्रो नरपती
रानास्य असकर्णकः । तत्सु(त्सु)तो नागपा-
- 3 लोस्य पुण्यपालः सुतोस्य तु ।[१२॥*] पृथ्वीमल्लः सुतस्तस्य पुत्रो भुवनसिंहकः । तस्य
पुत्रो भीमसिंहो जयसिंहोस्य तत्सु-
- 4 तः ।३। लक्ष्मसिहस्वे(स्वे)व गडमंडलीकाभिधोस्य तु । कनिष्ठो रत्नसी भ्राता पश्चिमी
तत्प्रियाभवत् ॥४॥ तत्कृतेल्लाववीनेन वधे
- 5 श्रीचित्रकूटके । लक्ष्मसिंहो द्वावशस्त्रभ्रातृभिः सप्तभिः सुतैः ।५। सहितः शस्त्रपु(पू)तोसी
दिवं यातोऽस्य चारु-
- 6 अः । एक उर्वरितोऽजेसी राज्यं चक्रे ततोऽरसी ।[१६॥*] ज्येष्ठः(ष्ठः) सुतः पितुः
संगे यो हतो(तस्) तत्सुतो वधे । राज्यं हमीरो दानीद्रो मर्द्ध-

¹ This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

- 7 गंगप्रदर्शकः ॥७॥ विदूरे त्विन्द्रसरसि श्रीमूर्ति स्फटिकी धृता । न प्राप्तां सुखसमय
एकलिनस्य तद्वशात् ॥८॥
- 8 मूर्तिं चतुर्भुजीमेतां दयामां दयामायुतां ततः । क्षेत्रसिंहस्ततो लावा(ला) सक्षयो मोकल-
स्ततः ॥९॥ भ्रातुरावतबाध-
- 9 स्यान्मनस्यस्य कलाप्तये ॥१०॥ बाधेलाख्यं तडागं तन्नाम्ना भागहृवेकरोत् ॥१०॥ विद्वाचं
स्फटिकाभाभमजुष्टं कैलाशवक्षुपः । प्रा-
- 10 कारमुत्तमाकारमेकलिनप्रभोर्व्यधात् ॥११॥ कृत्वायं द्वारकायात्रां शंखोद्धारं गतस्ततः । सिद्ध
एकोस्य पत्न्यास्तु गर्भे राज्याप्तयेवि-
- 11 शत् ॥१२॥ स कुंभकर्णोभूत्पुत्रो मोकलोत्पास्य मस्तकात् । जवति स्म जलं गगं
प्रसिद्धमिति निद्रयभूत् ॥१३॥ कुंभकर्णोऽपि भूपो-
- 12 भूदुर्गकुंभलमेवकृत् । स[बोड]शशातस्त्रीयकु(युग्) ¹ रायमल्लोय राज्यकृत् ॥१४॥ संग्रामसिंह-
स्तपुत्रः स द्विलक्षमितर्भटैः । युक्तो वा(वा)वर-
- 13 बिल्लीशवेशो कसेपुरावधि ॥१५॥¹ गत्वात्र पीलियाखालपर्यं(पर्यं)[तं*] पर्यंकल्पयत् ।
स्वदेशसीमानमयं रत्नसिंहोय राज्यकृत् ॥१६॥ तद्भूता विक्रमा-
- 14 बिल्लो² भूपोभूतस्या(स्य) सोदरः । राना³ उदयसिंहोय स बिल्लोबं(व)पसागरं ॥१७॥
तयोदयपुरं चक्रे तडागोत्सर्गकर्मणि [१] छोटुभट्टाय सो-
- 15 दयसिद्धीनाथमुताय च ॥१८॥ भूरवाडाग्राममवाध्वरघाटानं तुलादिकं । चित्रकूटेष पौडास्य
राठोडो जैमलो रणं ॥१९॥⁴ पत्ता सीसो-
- 16 दिया चक्रे बिल्लीशेन महायशः । धकम्बरेण भटयुग्वीर ईश्वरदासकः ॥२०॥ कुलकं ।
प्रतापसिंहोय नृपः कछ(छ)वाहेन मा-
- 17 निना । मानसिहेन तस्यासीद्वंमनस्य भुजेर्विषो⁴ ॥२१॥ धकम्बरप्रभोः पार्श्वे मानसिंहस्ततो
गतः । गृहीत्वा तद्व(द्व)लं ग्रामे खं-
- 18 भनौरे समागतः ॥२२॥ तयोर्मुदमभूदो(द्वो)रं लोहकोष्ठगतस्य सः । मानसिंहस्य कुंभीव्रकुंभे
कुंभपराक्रमः ॥२३॥ ज्येष्ठः
- 19 प्रतापसिंहस्य³ धमरेशाभिधः सुतः । कुंतं शकुंतवेणोयं मुमोषाठणलोचनः ॥२४॥ राजा-
प्रतापसिंहोय मानसिंहस्य

¹ This *danḍa* is superfluous.

² The syllable *tyō* is engraved below the line.

³ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

⁴ *Bhuji* has apparently been used here in the sense of food.

- 20 हस्तिनः । कुंभे कुंतं मुमोक्षायु पश्चाद्दत्तं पलायितः ॥२५॥ समयत्र प्रतापेशं शक्तसिंहोत्प
सोदरः । मानसिंहस्य सं-
- 21 गत्वे(स्यो) दृष्ट्वैवं स्नेहलोचनत् ॥२६॥ नीलाश्वस्याश्वचार त्वं पश्चात्पश्य प्रभो ततः ।
प्रतापसिंहो श्वशोस्व(श्व)मेकमय निर्ययी
- 22 ॥२७॥ ततो द्वौ मुगलौ धीरी मानसिंहेन वेगतः ॥(१) प्रेषितौ शक्तसिंहाय गृहीत्वाज्ञां
महाव(व)लः ॥२८॥ मानसिंहस्य मु-
- 23 गली प्रतापेन संगरं । चक्रतुः धीप्रतापेन शक्तसिंहेन तौ ततः ॥२९॥ मिहती
हितकारीति शक्त[सिंहः] सहोदरः ।
- 24 राजेनोक्तं शक्तसिंहवंशा(श्या)स्तद्वाणबलभः ॥३०॥ अकञ्जर इहायातस्ततश्चक्रे स संगरं ।
प्रतापसि(सि)हं व(व)लिनं मत्वा शो-
- 25 कुलुनामकं ॥३१॥ संस्थाप्यात्र सुतं ज्येष्ठमागरं प्रति निर्ययी । अमरेशः खानखाना-
बाराणां हरणं व्यधात् ॥३२॥
- 26 सुवासिनीवस्तोष्य प्रेययामास ततः पुनः । खानखानस्याङ्गुतं तज्जातं शेरूमनस्यपि ॥३३॥
ततः शेरूमहागौरना-
- 27 मा दिल्लीश्वरोभवत् । पुनरत्रागतो युद्धं कृत्वा शूरमनामकं ॥३४॥* संस्थाप्यात(त्र)
सुतं स्वीयं ददं कृत्वा प्रतापिनं । प्रतापसि-
- 28 हं चतुरा(र)शीतिलैर्न्यवृत्तं गतः ॥१* ३५॥* दिल्लीपति^१(दिल्लीपति) प्रतापेशो चट्टे
देवेरनामके । सुलतानं सेरिमाख्यं चकताख्यं(ख्य)गजस्थितं ॥१* ३६॥*
- 29 दिल्लीशस्य पितुर्भ्यं तं वीक्ष्याभूत्संमुखस्ततः । सोलंकिभूत्यन्विच्छे(च्छे)द गजां ह्री पडिहारकः
॥१* ३७॥* प्रताप[प*]सिंहो राजेन्द्रो
- 30 रणे रावणविक्रमः । शकुंतवेगः कुंतेन कुंभि(भि)कुलं(भं) बभञ्ज सः ॥३८॥ पपात
कुंभी सुरगमाहरोहाय सेरिमः । अमरेशः स्वकुंतेन
- 31 न्यहन्सेरिभाभिधं ॥३९॥ स कुंतः सशिरस्त्राणवमार्धं तमलंडयत् । अमरेशकराकृष्टः स
कुंतो न विनिःसु-
- 32 तः ॥४०॥ ततः प्रतापेन्द्राज्ञातो बत्वा(त्वा) लतां पदेन सः । कुंतं चकवामिधेन कुंताप्या
हर्षमादधे ॥४१॥ दर्शनीयः स येनाहं

* The word *pati* appears below the line.

- 33 निहतः सेरिमावदत्¹ । प्रतापसिंहं (सिंह) स्तब्धु (स्तब्धु) स्वाग्ने (स्वाग्ने) वयं [त्वं] चिदुद्भूतं ॥४२॥
भटं तं वीक्ष्य तेनो[क्तं] नायं प्रेक्ष्यः स एव तु । राजे-
- 34 इन्द्रः प्रेषयामास² अमरेशं रणोत्कटं ॥४३॥ तं वृद्धं सेरिमोवा³ सोपमस्ति मये-
स्तिः । युद्धकाले नभोभूमिव्यापिशोर्वशरीरवा-
- 35 न् ॥४४॥ देवो (वा) नेत (न) हतोहं हि यास्ये स्थानं शुभं ततः । कोसीधलाद्ये
वत (तु) रशीतिप्रमिता गताः ॥४५॥^{*} स्थानपालाः प्रतापेन्द्रो महोदयपुरे-
- 36 वसत् ॥४६॥ वानं वदो कोपि भाटः प्राप्योष्णीवादिनं धनं ॥४६॥ प्रतापसिंहादिल्लीशं
द्वष्टुं यातस्तवतिके । यदा प्राप्तुं (त्वं) स्तवा व (व) दं तदुष्णी-
- 37 वं करेदधत् ॥४७॥ गत्वा सलामं कुतवान्दिल्लीशेन तवेरितं । किमिदं सोवद्वानाप्रतापो-
ष्णीवमित्यतः ॥४८॥^{*} न धृतं नू-
- 38 द्विर्न दिल्लीशस्तुतोव ज्ञापिताशयः । तदा समस्ते जगति सर्वे हिंदुतुरककेः ॥४९॥ अन्तः
श्रीप्रतापेन्द्रो वीर इत्युक्त-
- 39 [नौ] चिती । इति राणा प्रतापस्य प्रतापः कथितो मया ॥५०॥ इति श्रीराजप्रशस्त्याह्वये
महाकाव्ये वीराके चतुर्थः सर्गः ॥

Slab VI ; Canto V

[Metres : vv. 1-32, 34-50 *Anuṣṭubh* ; v. 33 *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 51, 52 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणपतये नमः । राना² अमरसिंहाख्योऽकरोद्राज्य (ज्य) त'ततः पुरा । मानसिंहस्य
संप्राने ज्ञानज्ञानावभूतौ ॥१॥
- 2 सेरिमासुलतानस्य वधे प्रोक्तोऽस्य विक्रमः । जहांगीरस्यापि तेन खुरमेनाथ युद्धत् ॥२॥
अबहुलसहस्रानेन व-
- 3 अक्षय्ये रणं ततः । चतुर्विंशतिसंख्यस्तै रयः स्थानेद्वरैरलं ॥३॥ दिल्लीपतेर्भृत्यवरं जघ्ने
कायमलानकं । ऊंढालायां मा-
- 4 सपुरभंग (गं) अक्षेत्र वंडकुत् ॥४॥ पुत्रोऽस्य कर्णसिंहाख्यः सिरोजं मालवाभुवं । वंभे'राक्षसां
व (व) भंजात्र वंडं अक्षेत्रिलुट-
- 5 नं ॥५॥ ततो जहांगीरान्नातः खुरंमो मिलनं⁵ व्यधात् । गोर्धूवायां समायातः²
अमर (रे) शो निजस्थलात् ॥६॥ महोदयपुरास्तत्र ख-

¹ This *ta* is redundant.

² *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

³ The name *Sērimā*, being of foreign origin, is used here *avibhaktika*.

⁴ There is a scored-out *ḍ*-stroke over *ma*.

⁵ The correct form is *mēlana*.

- 6 रंसोपि समागतः । इलाध्यरीत्या सावरं तो सस्नेहो मिलितो ततः ॥७॥ राना¹
अमरसिंहो महोदयपुरेऽवसत् । महाबा-
- 7 नानि विदधे चक्रे राज्यं सुखान्वितं ॥८॥ लक्ष्मीनाथस्यभट्टाय गुरवे मंत्रदायिने । राना¹
अमरसिंहो होलीग्रामं ददौ सु-
- 8 वा ॥९॥ अथ राना कर्णसं(सि)हचक्रे राज्यं पुराकरोत् । सत्कोमारपदे गंगातीरे
कप्यतुला ददौ ॥१०॥ शूकरक्षेत्रविश्रेष्ठो
- 9 ग्रामं पूर्वं तु वि[ड]रे । धंधेरामालबादेशसिरोजपुरभंगकृत् ॥११॥ अक्षेराजं सिरोहीशं
चक्रे शत्रुजितं व(ब)लात् । पद्मलक्ष्मं(क्ष्मां)-
- 10 हिकम²लः कर्णवानपरकमः ॥१२॥*] बिल्लीद्वराज्जहांगीरासस्य क्षुरमनामकं । पुत्रं
विमुक्तः प्राप्तं स्थापयित्वा निजकितौ ॥१३॥ ज-
- 11 हांगीरे दिवं याते संगे भ्रातरमर्जुनं । दत्ता(स्वा) बिल्लीद्वरं चक्रे सोभूस्ताहि-
जंहाभिधः ॥१४॥ युग्मं [॥*] शते षोडशकेतीते चतुःषष्ट्यभि-
- 12 भेदके । भाद्रशुक्लद्वितीया³या कर्णसिंहनुपादभूत् ॥१५॥ जगत्सिंहो महोदय ।
राठोडजसवंतजा । श्रीमज्जाबुवती तस्याः कु-
- 13 क्षेजातो व(ब)ली महान् ॥१६॥ शते षोडशकेतीते पंचाश(शी)त्यभिधेदके । राध-
शुक्लतृतीयायां राज्यं प्राप जगत्पतिः ॥१७॥ जगत्सि-
- 14 हाहाया मंत्री⁴ अक्षेराजो व(ब)लान्वितः ॥१८॥ स डूंगरपुरं प्राप्तः पुंजानाभाय रावतः
॥१९॥ पलायितः पातितं तच्छब्दनस्य गवाक्ष-
- 15 कं । लुटनं डूंगरपुरे कृतं लोकरत्नं ततः ॥२०॥ जगत्सिंहाहाया यातो राठोडो
रामसिंहकः । प्रति देवलियां सेनायुक्तो रावतमु-
- 16 डूटं ॥२०॥ जसवंतं मानसिंहपुत्रयुक्तं जघान सः । पुर्यां देवलियायां च लुटनं रचितं
ज[ने]ः ॥२१॥ शते षोडशकेतीते षडशीत्य-
- 17 भिधेदके । ऊर्जकुण्ड्वितीयायां⁴ जगत्सिंहमहीपतेः ॥२२॥ पुत्रः श्रीराजसिंहोभूहं(ह)वांते¹
अरसी तथा । मेवताधिपराठोडराजसिंह-
- 18 महीभूतः ॥२३॥ पुत्री जनादेनाम्नी तत्कुक्षिजाताविमो सुतः । अभूमोहनबासाख्योऽ-
वार(परि)जीताभिं(त्रि)याभधः ॥२४॥ अक्षेराजं

¹ Sandhi is not observed here.

² This ma is incised above the line.

³ This danda is unnecessary.

⁴ The anusvāra of yām appears over the following letter.

No. 4—SADASIYAGAD PLATES OF KADAMBA VIJAYADITYA ; SAKA 1102

(1 Plate)

P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

This set of copper plates¹ was secured by me for study in the course of my annual tour in the Bombay-Karnāṭak parts in February 1952. It was in the possession of Mr. H. V. Naik, Clerk of the Court, Civil Judge's Court, Karwar. Mr. Naik's family headquarters are at Sadāsivagad, about four miles from Karwar, and these plates were lying there as an heirloom. Details as to how and when this family came to possess them are not known. I am editing the inscription on these plates here for the first time with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The set consists of three plates held together by a circular ring with seal. The writing is found on the inner sides of the first and third plates and on both sides of the second. The rims are raised to protect the inscription which is, however, worn out in many places. The plates measure 8" in length, 6" in breadth and 1/8th inch in thickness. The ring which is 2" in diameter passes through a circular hole, 5/8th inch in diameter. The ends of the ring are soldered into the bottom of a thick circular seal having a rim. The seal, which is 2½" in diameter, contains on the sunken surface the figures of a rampant lion with upturned tail and a dagger in front of it. At the top around are the figures of a *svastika* and the sun, followed by the legend *Śrī-Viṣṇu-dāsaḥ* in Nāgarī characters, and then the crescent. The ring and the seal together weigh 70 *tolas* and the whole set weighs 380 *tolas*.

The characters are Nāgarī of the twelfth century, being normal for the period. The letter *ōm* at the commencement is written like *tum*. Medial *ā* is generally denoted by a side *mātrā*. Exceptions to this are the letters *vā* in line 1 and *mā* in line 44, where a slanting stroke is placed at the top of *va* and *ma* to denote the length. In regard to orthography, the consonant following a *repha*, as a rule, is not doubled. We do, however, note a few instances of doubling also, e. g., *mūrttēḥ* in line 4, *Vijayārkkā-* in line 31 and *suvarṇa-* in line 35. The language is Sanskrit and the composition is in verse, except in lines 39-46 describing the particulars of the gift. The composition is defective in some places.

The epigraph commences with an invocation to god Śiva. After narrating the origin of the Kadamba family, in the usual manner, from the mythical hero Trilōchana Kadamba who was born from the sweat of Śiva, it gives a succinct genealogical account of the Kadambas of Goa. The account stops with Śivachitta Permāḍi and his younger brother Vijayārka or Vijayāditya II, the sons of Jayakēśin II from the Chālukya princess Mailala Mahādēvi. The inscription represents Vijayāditya as the ruling monarch. Its object is to record a gift of land by the king to the goddess Āryā Bhagavati. Though not explicitly stated, it appears from the description of his family and the context that the beneficiary of the gift was a Brāhmaṇa of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, named Gōvinda, who was well-versed in the science of astronomy. The donee's family is described for four generations. The gift property was situated within the boundaries of the village Aruvige included in the tract of Marruvattugadalu.

The record bears the date which is expressed in words thus : *Śaka 1102, Vikārin, Kārttika śu. 12, Sunday*. The Śaka year was current and the date regularly corresponds to Sunday, October 14, 1179 A. C.

¹ No. 2 of the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for 1951-52,

The importance of the epigraph lies in its being unique. Inscriptions mentioning the joint rule of the two brothers, Śivachitta Permāḍi and Vijayāditya II, and also those that refer to the rule of the former only who was the elder of the two, have been discovered. But no inscription referring to Vijayāditya as an independent ruler, has come to light so far. No doubt the second part of the Halsi inscription contains a reference to the regnal year possibly of Vijayāditya ; but it is clear from the earlier portion that his brother Permāḍi was ruling at the time.¹ Hence the present happens to be the first and the only inscription so far discovered, attributing independent rule to Vijayāditya, dissociated from his brother. The reason for this appears to be that Permāḍi was no longer living by this time.² According to the Halsi inscription, Vijayāditya was a devotee of the god Viṣṇu and bore the epithet *Viṣṇuchitta*. But it is revealed from the seal of the present plates that he preferred to describe himself as *Viṣṇudāsa*, i. e., 'an humble servant of Lord Viṣṇu.'

The inscription contains two place-names. One is the region called Marruvattṅgaḍalu or Maruvattṅgaḍalu, and the other the village Aruvige situated therein. It is interesting to note that Maruvattṅgaḍalu is a purely Kannaḍa expression made up of the words *maru*, *paṭṭu* or *maṭṭu* and *kaḍalu*. It means 'the coastal region adjoining the sea.' I am, however, unable to identify this tract. Aruvige appears to be identical with the present day Arage, a village about 4 miles to the south-east of Karwar, on the road to Ankola. The village Arage contains a shrine dedicated to a female deity named Durgā. This deity probably represents the goddess Āryā Bhagavati of the epigraph.

TEXT³

[Metres : Verses 1, 2, 5, 6, 10, 13 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 3, 7 *Upajāti* ; vv. 4, 8, 9, 14-18 *Anuṣṭubh* ; v. 11 *Mandākrāntā* ; v. 12 *Vasantatilakā*.]

First Plate

- 1 ॐ नमः [:] शिवाय [१ *] लक्ष्मीमर्तुरगण्यपुण्यवपुषः [:] क्रीडावरा-
- 2 हाकूतेर्देष्ट्राग्रं शतचंद्रदीधितिमयं — — — [त्राय]-
- 3 तां⁴ [१ *] यत्राना[वि]लशा(शी)लशैलज[ल] — — — — —
- 4 क्षीरांमोनिषिषायिनो मुररिपोर्मूर्त्तः पुषोष [श्रियं] [॥ १ *] पा-
- 5 याच्चंद्रशिखामणिर्जगदिदं य — — — — —
- 6 ओन्नम्रफणी[द्र]सुंदरफणप्रोल्लासिर[त्ता]व[ली] ।
- 7 आगच्छत्सुरसिंधुमंगलविधौ नीराजनाविर्भव[त्प्रौ]-
- 8 ढाहंकृतिदीपराजविकसल्लक्ष्मी दद्यात्युच्चकैः ॥ १२ * ॥ पुरा पुराणां विजये

¹ J. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IX, pp. 279-80 ; compare George M. Moraes, *Kadamba Kula*, p. 189.

² Compare *Kadamba Kula*, p. 201.

³ From the original plates and impressions.

⁴ In this and a few more instances that follow, the final m is changed to anusvāra.

i.
 2 2
 4 4
 6 6
 8 8
 10 10

ii, a.
 12 12
 14 14
 16 16
 18 18
 20 20
 22 22

ii, b.
 24 24
 26 26
 28 28
 30 30
 32 32
 34 34

36	36
38	38
40	40
42	42
44	44
46	46
48	48

SEAL



From a Photograph

9 पुरारेः[*] स्वेदोदवि(विं)दु[च्छ]लतो ललाटे [।*] माविर्व(वं)भूवे गुणमं
[द्रनीतिः सुखाम्]-

10 तैः प्लावयितुं जगति ।[। ३*] ताः कदंब(ब)तलं प्राप्ता लोकोत्तुंगत्रिलोचनं ।

Second Plate ; First Side

- 11 त्रिलोचनकदंबा(बा)स्य चतुर्भुजमजीजनत् ।[। ४*] त[त्संता]नक-
12 दंब(ब)वंशविलसत्क्षीरांबु(बु)धौ [स्थे]यसि प्राकारे शरणागत[क्षितिभुजां]
13 लीलावनौ श्रीपतेः । लक्ष्मीजन्मनिकेतने कुबलय[प्रोत्लास] — — ∪
14 यत्भू(दभू)भृन्मौलिविराजिपादयुगलः[*] श्रीषष्ठदेवोजनि ।[। ५*] एतस्माज्जयकेसि-
15 भूप[ति]रभूदश्रान्तविश्राणनः क्षोणीरक्षणदक्षिण[स्त्रिजग] -
16 तामानंदनिष्यंदनः । यत्पाथोनिधितीररोपितजय[स्तं]भ-
17 प्रलंभां क्षगित्यंभःकुंभिघटाः(टा) धृषति ∪ ∪ — — — ∪ — — ∪
18 लोः ।[। ६*] परस्परं संगररंगचुंचू चालुक्यचोलाधिप[ती] ∪ — — [।]
19 निःशंकमके विरचय्य मित्रे लेभे यशो — ∪ ∪ — ∪ —
20 ह्यां ।[। ७*] ततः समजनि श्रीमान्विजयादित्यभूप[तिः ।]
21 ति यत्कीर्तिकल्पवल्याः पयोधयः ।[। ८*] ततो जगज्जयी ज[ज्ञे ज] -
22 यकेसिमहीपतिः । केनायते [तरां]

Second Plate ; Second Side

- 23 धौ । [। ९*] चालुक्यान्वयमौलिमौक्तिकमणिं सौजन्य — — ∪ — — —
24 [तुं] जगतां श्रियः कुलगृहं पेर्माडिभूपः सुतां । [यस्मै] — ∪ ∪ —
25 म मैललमहादेवीं जगन्मंगलां दासीकुंजरकोश[देशसहितां] द-
26 त्वा(त्त्वा) कृतार्थोभवत् ।[। १०*] तस्मादस्याभजनि विजयी वीर[पेर्माडिदे]-
27 वो गौरीभर्तृप्रणयसदनं त्यागसिंहासनश्रीः । — — — — ∪ ∪
28 भट्टमहादुर्गवर्गः कलीनां जन्मस्थानं विशदयशसां — ∪ — —
29 पतीनां ।[। ११*] तस्यानुजः सकलमंगलजन्मभूमिः श्रीसंपदा प-
30 दमुदारगुणामिरामः । त्रासावमं(न) भृशिरसां(सा)वनिपाल-
31 मौलिमाणिक्यरंजितपदो विजयाकर्कदेवः ।[। १२*] यस्मि [श्रीर(श्रीं)त]-
32 चक्रवर्त्तिनूपतौ क्षोणीभूतामाश्रये वीरश्रीनिजधामनि त्रिज-
33 गतीभाग्याभिरामोदये । लक्षार्धाधिकदानकेलिरतये लो-

34 कोत्तरात्युन्नतौ लज्जते फलभारनम्रशिरसः प्रायो [निर्लिपद्]-

35 माः ।। १३*] यद्वितीर्णसुवर्णोरुमा[र]

Third Plate

36 प्रायः प्रस्थानमनुजा [न] ते ।। १४*] समस्तगुणसंपन्नः केशवाख्यो

37 द्विजोत्तमः । भारद्वाजः सुतस्तस्य गोविदो भूवि विश्रुतः ।। १५*] कपर्दिनामा

38 तत्सूनुस्तत्पुत्रो द्विजपुंगवः । ज्योतिःशास्त्रविदां श्रेष्ठो गोविदः सद्गुणा-

39 श्रयः ।। १६*] श्रीमदार्याभगवयं (त्यं) मरुवट्टुगडलुमध्याख्यविगे ग्राम(मा)दारा-
[दशवि]-

40 गेवत(चतु)[ः*]सीमांतर्गतं बेंकरेक्षेत्रं विशुद्धसीमासमन्वितनिधिनि[क्षेप]-

41 जलवृक्षादिसहितं राजकीयां(या)नंगुलिप्रेक्षणीयं सर्वनमस्यं

42 [ञ्च कृत्वा] शकादिवर्षाणां सहस्रे शते च पूर्णे द्वितीये विकारिसंवत्सरे

43 कार्तिकशुद्धद्वादश्यां रविवारि[र] सोयं सकलगुणालंकृतो वि[जया]-

44 दित्यदेवस्तस्मै शासनं दत्तवान् [।*] त[त्*]क्षेत्रसीमा¹ [वापयादार]

45 यकोणकं तरस्रोतः दक्षिणदिशि नैरुत्येव कोणे पश्चिमदिशि

46 षाणः वायव्यामिक्षुतडागः ।। व(व)हुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । य-

47 स्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ।। १७*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरे-

48 त वसुंधरा ! षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि विष्टायां जायते क्रिभिः ।। १८*] . . . [यं]-

49 शिष्योप[ज्ञ]जंगमसरस्वतिः शासनं रचयित्वैवं ति [ष्ठ]²

No. 5—TWO SAILODBHAVA GRANTS FROM BANPUR

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

In May 1949, I received for examination from Mr. K. C. Pānigrāhī, Curator of the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, two sets of copper plates belonging to the Śailōdbhava dynasty of Kōṅgōda. I prepared transcripts of the inscriptions from the original plates which were in the usual course returned to Mr. Pānigrāhī. It was understood that he would contribute a paper on the above inscriptions to the *Epigraphia Indica*. In December 1950, I met Mr. Pānigrāhī at Nagpur where

¹ The language of this passage is faulty.

² The record is complete except for the last few akṣaras which are indistinct. In this line there is reference to the person who drafted the document. The name of the poet, who bore the epithet *jaṅgama-sarasvatī*, cannot be deciphered fully.

we assembled in connection with the thirteenth session of the Indian History Congress. He then informed me that it was not possible for him, owing to his pre-occupations, to take up the editing of the inscriptions. He requested me to publish them. I take this opportunity of thanking him for his kindness shown to me in this connection.

The plates are now the property of the H.E. School at Bānpur which is a station on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway in the south-western part of the Puri District of Orissa. Mr. Pānigrāhī received them on a temporary loan for examination from the Headmaster of the Bānpur H. E. School. Nothing is known as to the circumstances that brought the plates into the possession of the above institution.

A. Grant of Ayaśōbhita II Madhyamarāja

This inscription was published by Pandit Satyanārāyaṇa Rājaguru with plates in the *Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society*, Vol. II, part i, pp. 59 ff. But his treatment of the subject is rather perfunctory.

The set consists of three plates each measuring 6·6 inches by 3·9 inches. The plates are held together by a ring to which the seal is soldered. The ring was found out open when the set reached me. The seal contains, in counter-sunk surface, the emblem of a couchant bull, facing proper right, and the legend *trī-Madhyamarājadevaḥ* below it. The first and third plates are engraved only on the inner side, while the second bears writing on both the sides. The rims of the plates are raised in order to protect the writing. The first plate is damaged at the top right corner, and a few lines of writing are partly obliterated. The plates weigh 64 *tolas*, while the ring with the seal weighs 38 *tolas*.

The inscription is an incomplete charter of the Śailōdbhava king Ayaśōbhita II Madhyamarāja who seems to have flourished about the second half of the seventh century A.C. (circa 665-95 A.C.).¹ The writing on the reverse of the second plate ends with a verse describing the achievements of king Madhyamarāja. There is only half a line of writing on the obverse of the third plate, which was meant for introducing the customary list of officials and others belonging to Kōṅgōda-maṇḍala, to whom the royal order regarding the grant was intended to be addressed. These letters should have properly been preceded by a prose passage mentioning the king, desirous of making a grant, as *kuśālī*. It is possible to think that this mistake committed by the engraver was the reason why the set was abandoned, at least for the time being. It is well known that plates were often kept ready in the record offices of ancient Indian rulers with the introductory portion of the grant inscribed and a blank for the necessary grant portion to be incised later as occasions arose.²

In respect of palaeography, language and orthography, the inscription under discussion closely resembles the Parikud plates³ (issued in the 26th year of the king's reign), the only other record of Śailōdbhava Madhyamarāja so far known, and hardly anything calls for special mention. With the exception of the incomplete prose passage at the end, just referred to, the *siddham* symbol, the word *svasti* and the reference to the place of issue, the entire record is written in verse. There are altogether twenty verses, no less than eighteen of which are already known from the Parikud plates. The remaining two verses are also not new as they, like many others of both

¹ The 13th regnal year of his father, who ruled at least up to his 50th year, fell sometime after 619 A.C. He himself ruled at least up to his 26th regnal year. See below.

² Cf. the Kēdārpur plate of Śrīcandra, above, Vol. XVII, pp. 188-92; Chittagong plate of Kāntidēva, above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 313 ff., etc.

³ Above, Vol. XI, pp. 284-7. The date given in words in line 45 must have been given in figures in line 54. Unfortunately the preservation of the writing in this part of the plate is unsatisfactory and the figures cannot be deciphered from the published facsimile.

the Parikud and the present charter, have been quoted from the records of Sainyabhīta Mādhavarman II Śrīnivāsa, father of Ayaśōbhīta II Madhyamarāja. The earliest inscription of the Śailōdbhava family is the Ganjam plates¹ issued by Sainyabhīta Mādhavarman II (circa 610-65 A.C.) in the Gupta year 300 (619 A.C.) when he was a feudatory of the Gauda king Śaśāṅka. The other charters of this Śailōdbhava king, so far discovered, were issued without any reference to his overlord apparently after the defeat of the Gauda king, either Śaśāṅka himself or his successor, by king Harshavardhana of Kanauj, allied with king Bhaskaravarman of Kāmarūpa, sometime before 638 A.C.² Of the charters issued by the Śailōdbhava king during this period of his independent rule, the Khurda plates,³ the introduction of which is couched in prose as in the Ganjam plates, appear to be the earliest. The Khurda plates as well as the Buguda plates,⁴ the latter having an introduction in verses composed for the first time by the court poet of Sainyabhīta Mādhavarman II, are not dated. Most of these verses are quoted not only in the later dated charters of the same king (the Puri plates⁵—regnal year 13, doubtfully read as 23 by Basak—and the Cuttack Museum plates⁶—regnal year 50), but also in all later records of the family. Later Śailōdbhava kings developed the habit of quoting the introductory verses from the documents of their predecessors and of adding a few stanzas composed about themselves by their own court poets. This custom can also be traced in many other royal families of ancient India, such as the imperial Gaṅgas of Orissa and the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar.

It will be seen from what has been said above that all the twenty verses quoted in the inscription under discussion are already known from the published records of the Śailōdbhavas. Nevertheless, the present inscription is of considerable importance, as it helps us in correcting the faulty text of the Parikud plates.

The first verse, which is found at the beginning of the later charters of Sainyabhīta Mādhavarman II as well as of all the grants of his successors, is an adoration to Śambhu (Śiva). Verse 2, which is the same as the second verse of the Parikud plates, introduces a king named Mādhavēndra. Thereafter we have the history of the Śailōdbhava family from the very beginning. This style of the introduction, which is found also in the Aihole inscription,⁷ would suggest that this Mādhavēndra (i.e., Mādhavarāja or Mādhavarman) was another name of the reigning monarch, Ayaśōbhīta II Madhyamarāja. It should, however, be pointed out that the same verse is also found in the Buguda plates of Sainyabhīta Mādhavarman II as well as in the Nivāṇa grant of Dharmarāja Mānabhīta who was the grandson of Sainyabhīta Mādhavarman II and the son of Ayaśōbhīta II Madhyamarāja. It therefore seems that all the above three Śailōdbhava kings bore *Mādhavarman* as a secondary name. Or better the verse in question referring to Sainyabhīta Mādhavarman II is out of place and carelessly quoted in the records of Ayaśōbhīta II Madhya-

¹ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

² About 643 A.C. Harshavardhana led an expedition against Kōṅgōda in Orissa probably on behalf of the Gauda king whom he then considered his subordinate ally. Śaśāṅka's death and the discomfiture of the Gauda king took place sometime before 638 A.C. when the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang travelled in East India. See *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, pp. 77 ff. Harsha's victory over the Gauda king seems also to have preceded his encounter with Pulakṣīn II, which took place, according to the Aihole inscription, sometime before 634 A.C.

³ *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LIII, pp. 284 ff.

⁴ Above, Vol. III, pp. 43 ff.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 127-9.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 151-3.

⁷ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 1 ff. This *prastāvi* begins with an adoration to Jinēndra, then introduces the reigning monarch Satyāśraya (Pulakṣīn II), and finally begins the history of the Chālukya family from its earliest illustrious member.

marāja and his son Dharmarāja Mānabhīta.¹ Verse 3, omitted in the Parikud plates but found in the Cuttack Museum plates of Sainyabhīta Mādhavarman II, introduces Mount Mahendra which is intimately associated in literature with the Kalinga country. Verses 4-5 mentioning Pulindasēna as famous among the people of Kalinga and as a devotee of Lord Svayambhū (Śiva) and the following five verses (verses 6-10) speaking of the eponymous Śailodbhava, his *kulaja* or descendant Aranabhīta, his son Sainyabhīta (Mādhavarman I), his descendant (possibly an adopted son²) Ayaśbhīta, and his son Sainyabhīta (Mādhavarman II), are found in most of the later records of the family. Verse 11, which is omitted in the Parikud plates but is found in the versified introduction of the records of Sainyabhīta Mādhavarman II, refers to the achievements of king Sainyabhīta Mādhavarman II. Verse 12 speaks of the same king as Śrinivāsa and attributes to him certain sacrifices including the Āsvamēdha. The horse-sacrifice must have been celebrated by the Śailodbhava king, before the issue of the Puri plates of his thirteenth regnal year, to commemorate the throwing off of the Gauḍa yoke. Verses 13-20 describe the reigning monarch Ayaśbhīta II Madhyamarāja and are all of them found in the Parikud plates and some of them also in the later records of the family. The text of the verses common only to the present charter and the Parikud plates is corrupt in both the records, although the text offered by the record under discussion is better and has helped in restoring the reading intended by the author. Verse 15 describes the king as a royal ascetic. The next verse (verse 16) compares him with the god Śambhu and says that he had discourses with departed saints coming from heaven at his call. Verse 17 says that the king, who was as fair as the moon owing to his fame pervading the earth,³ performed amazing tricks of archery. Verse 18 says how the jewel of Kōṅgōda (i.e., the king) became an equal of the son of Prithā (i.e., Arjuna) by piercing, from a distance, at a time four boards, each covered with two shields, with arrows discharged from two bows simultaneously by his two hands. Verse 19 describes how the king could run with two stout persons on his shoulders in emulation of the monkey hero Hanumat, famous in the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.

Of the names of geographical interest, the inscription mentions Mount Mahendra, Kalinga, Kōṅgōda and Kōṅgōda-maṇḍala. The Mahendra is no doubt represented by the present Mahendragiri peak in the Srikakulam District. Kalinga, in a narrow sense, was the country around it. Kōṅgōda was the name of both the kingdom and the capital of the Śailodbhavas. It was apparently regarded as a part of the Kalinga country. The city of Kōṅgōda stood on the river Sālimā which is the modern Sāliyā running past Bānpur, the findspot of our record. The heart of the Kōṅgōda country, i.e., the dominions of the Śailodbhavas, thus lay about the border between the present Puri and Ganjam Districts of Orissa.

¹ The mention of Mādhavendra in the Parikud and Nivāṇa plates was not explained by the scholars who edited those inscriptions. Pandit Rājaguru is apparently unaware of the fact that the verse in question is found in the records of three successive rulers of the Śailodbhava family and not only in the charter under discussion.

² Cf. *Successors of the Śālavāhanas*, pp. 400-1; *New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, p. 83. Note also that the epic hero Nala, son of Virasēna, is described in the *Naishadhiya*, V, 124, as *Virasēna-kula-dīpa*. There is, however, difference of opinion among scholars as to the genealogy of the Śailodbhavas. For the son represented as a descendant of the father, see also the *Rājataranginī* VIII, 1083 (Stein's translation, Vol. II, p. 512), the Anam plates of Vallabhadēva, line 16 (above, Vol. V, p. 184), etc.

³ I do not agree with Pandit Rājaguru who thinks that *śaśāṅka-dhavalā*, used in the description of king Ayaśbhīta II Madhyamarāja, has to be regarded as one of his names. He further thinks that Mādhava issued his Ganjam grant in the Gupta year 300 (619-20 A.C.) when he was holding the office of *Mahāśamanā* under his father Śaśāṅka *alias* Madhyamarāja. The suggestion is, however, against known facts of history and without any evidence in support of it.

TEXT¹

[Metres :—verses 1, 3, 5, 14, 15, 17-19 *Śārdūlavikrīṭita* ; verses 2, 12, 13, 16 *Sragdharā* ; verses 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 20 *Vasantatilaka* ; verse 6 *Anuśtubh* ; verse 9 *Indravajrā*.]

First Plate

- 1 Siddham² Svasti [[*] vijaya-Kōṅgōda-vāsakāt [[*] Indōr-ddhauta-mṛṇāla-ta[n*]tubhir=iva
- 2 śliṣṭāḥ karai[h*] kōmalai |³ r=vva(r=ba)ddh-āhēr=aruṇai[h*] sphurat-phana(ni)-maṇēr=ddigdha-
[h](gdha)-prabhāsō=ṇśu(sō=rṇśu)bhiḥ [[*]
- 3 Pārsvatyā[h*] sa-kacha-graha-vyatikara-vyāvṛitta-va(ha)ndha-ślathā Gaṅg-āmbha[h*]-pluti-
bhinna-bhasma-ka[n]ikā[h*] Śambhō-
- 4 ja(r=ja)tā[h*] pātu(ntu) vaḥ || [[*] Śrīmān=uechhair=nnabbastō gurur=amara-⁴patā[h*] kshōbha-
jīd=ya[h*] ksha[māyā] gambhī-
- 5 ras=tōyarāsēr=atha divasakarād=bhāsavad=ālōka-kūr[i] hlādi sarvvasya ch=ēndōs=tri-bhuvana-
bha-
- 6 vana-pē(prē)rakaś=ch=āpi vāyō |⁵ rājā ssa(sa) sthānu-mūrttija(r=ja)yat[i] kali-mala-kshālānō
Mādhavēndra[h || 2*]
- 7 Prāchy-āmbhōnidhi⁶-rucha(ddha)-sāndra(nu)r=atula[h*] pushpa⁷-drum-ālī-rvṛi(vṛi)taḥ syandaṁ-
ni(ndan=ni)rjhara-vāri-
- 8 dārīta-darī-phēna⁸-skhalan-[n]is[v]ana[h] svāna-ttrasta-patattri-valgu-virutair=āpū-
- 9 rit-āntar-guṇ(gu)haḥ śrīmā[n*]=Mēru[r]=i[v=ōdgataḥ ku]la-giriḥ khyātō Mahēndra[h*]
kshitaḥ(tau) || [3*]
- 10 Prāṇśu(Prāṇśu)r=mah-ēbha-kara-pīvara-chchū(chā)ru-vā(bā)hu[h*] kṛishṇ-āśma-samchaya-
vibhēda-viśāla-vakshāḥ [[*]
- 11 ā(rā)jiva-kōmala-dal-āyata-lōchan-āntaḥ khyātāḥ Kaliṅga-janatāsu Pulindasēna[h || 4*]
- 12 Tēn=ētthaṁ guṇin=āpi satva(ttva)-mahatā n=ōshtaṁ bhuvō maṇḍalaṁ |⁹ śaktō ya[h*]
paripālanāya jaga-
- 13 taḥ kō nāma sa syād=iti | pratyādishta-vibh-u(bh-ū)ṭsavēna bhagavām(vā)n=ārādhitā[h*]
śāsvatas=tach-chitt-ā-
- 14 nu(nu)guṇa[m*] vidhissu(tsu)r=adiśad-vāñchhām svayambhō(mbhū)r=apiḥ(pi || 5) Sa śilā-sa-
(śa)kal-ōdbhēdī tēn=āpy-ā-
- 15 lōkya dhi(dhī)matā | parikalpita-sad-vaṇśa(d-vaṇśaḥ) prabhuh Śailōdbhava[h*] kṛitaḥ [|| 6*]
Śailōdbhavasya kula-
- 16 jō=raṇabhita āsīd=yēn=āsakṛit=ka(t=kṛi)ta-bhiyā[m*] dvishad-¹⁰aṅganānām(nām) | jyōtsnā-
pravō(bō)dha-samayē sva-dhiy=ai-
- 17 va sārddham=ākampitō nayana-pakshma-jalēshu chandraḥ || [7*]¹¹

¹ From the original plates and their impressions.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

⁴ The Parikud and Nivina plates have *achala-patēḥ*.

⁵ Originally *thi* was engraved in place of *dhi*. This verse is found in the Cuttack Museum plates of Mādhavavarman II.

⁶ The Cuttack Museum plates read *pushya*.

⁷ The Cuttack Museum plates read *pāta*.

⁸ *Ja* was originally incised in place of *da*.

⁹ The rest of the line is blank.

TWO SAILodbhava GRANTS FROM BANPUR

A.—GRANT OF AYASOBHITA II MADHYAMARAJA

i.



ii, a.



Second Plate ; First Side

- 18 Tasy=ābhavad=vivu(bu)dha-pāla-samasya sūnuḥ śrī-Sainyabhīta iti bhūmi-patir-gga-
 19 rīyān | yam prāpy=ānēka¹-āta-nāga-ghaṭā-vighaṭṭa-lavdha(bdha)-prasāda-vijayē(yam) mumudā
 dhari-
 20 ttrih(tri) || 8* Tasy=āpi vanśē(wanśē)=tha yathārtha-nāmā jātō=yasōbhīta iti kshītīśah || 9*
 Yēnā(na) prāru(rū)-
 21 ghō=pi śubhaiś=charittrih mri(ttrair=mri)shṭah kalāṅka[h*] kali-darppanasyah(aya) || 9*
 Jātsaya(s=sa) tasya na(ta)nayah
 22 sa-kṛtī samasta-simantini-nayana-aharpa(t-pa)da-puṇḍarikah || 9* śrī-Sainyabhīta iti bhūmi =
 23 patir=mmahēbha-kumbha-sthali-dalana-durllali(li)t-āst(si)-dhārāh || 10* Jātēna yēna kamal-
 ākara-
 24 vat=va-gōttram=unmlitō(tam) dinakrit=śva mahōdayēnāh(na) | samkshipta-maṇḍala-ruhas-
 cha
 25 gaṭā[h*] prānā(pā)ham=śśu dvishō graha-gaṇā iva yasya diptyāh(ptyā) || 11* Kāṭeyair-bhū-
 tadh[ā]-
 26 tatpatibhir=upachit-ānēka-pāp-āvatāir=nnitā yēhā[m*] kath=āpi prāta-
 27 yam=abhimatā kīrttri(rtti)-mā(pā)lair=ajasram(aram) | yajñair=tair=śśvamēdha-prabhritibhir-
 amarā
 28 lambhitās=triptim=ū(m=ū)rvvī(rvvī)m=urdra(ddri)pt-āstī-paksha-kahaya-kṛtī-paṭunā Śrīni-
 vāsēna yēnāh(na) || 12*
 29 Tasy=ōtkhāt-ākṣil-ārē ma(r=ma)rud=iva janānād=bhāśvad-nahpāmśu-tējā |² jātō³ māni
 dayātur=nae-
 30 rapatir=Ayasōbhītaśśvas=tanu(nū)ja[h*] | mātaṅgān=yō=tituṅgām(ṅān) va(ba)hah-mada-
 muchā(cha)ś=chāru-va-
 31 ktrā[n*] prachandāh(nān) va(ba)ddhv=ākaraśaty=a-khinnaḥ punar=api dayatō⁴ yatnataḥ ssa-
 (sa) pragalbhaḥ || 13* Kēchid=vanya-
 32 mṛigēna sārddham=acharams=tām tām sthitim hīlayā |⁵ kēchich=ch=ōddha(rdhva)-mukhā[h*]
 sahasrakiraṇah(ṇa)-jvā-
 33 l-āvali-prakshīpa[h*] kēchid=vaikālīnas=tath=śjina-dhārāh kēchit=ja(j=ja)ś=dhāriṇa(ṇō) |⁶
 nānā-ru(rū)pa-

Second Plate ; Second Side

- 34 dharās=tapanti munayō divy-āshpa(spa)-d-ākāmkshīnāh || 14* Kēchich=chbaila-guh-ōdarāshu
 niyatā⁷ dhū-
 35 m-āvali-pāyinaḥ⁸ anyē vāyu-phal-āmvu(mbu)-bhakaha-niyatā[h*]⁹ kēchin=nirāhārakā || (kāh |
 ittham
 36 yōga-yu(jū)shō vihāya vasatī[m*] dhyāyanti divyān padanā |¹⁰ chittam Madhyamarājadēva-
 guṇa-dhri-

¹ Read *prāpya* = *aika* for the sake of the metre.

² The *śaṅḍa* is superfluous.

³ Other records of the family usually read *śśrā*.

⁴ For the expressions (1) *dayatē*, (2) *yatnataḥ* and (3) *sa pragalbhaḥ*, some other records of the family have (1) *navatē*, *tapantē* or *tāyātē*, (2) *gat-kṛtāḥ* or *yam-natāḥ* and (3) *sampragalbhaḥ* respectively.

⁵ Some records of the family read *śśrā*.

⁶ The rule of *śandā* has been ignored here apparently for the sake of the metre.

- 37 d-rājyō(jyē)=pi tat=prāptavāmh(vān) || [15*] Yasy=āhvānās=sa(t=sa)mīyuh¹ sura-bhavana-gatā divya-satvā(ttvāh) praga-
- 38 lbhāh tai(bhās=taih) sārddham nitya-kālām sukṛita-guṇa-kath-ālāpa-hṛidya(dyān) prakurvvaḥ-(rvvan |) Śambhōs=tasy=ānu-²
- 39 kārī padam=amaram=ajam āśvataḥ śānta-rūpam lavdh-ō(bdh-ō)tsāhas=sa vīraḥ kshiti-[ta]la-
- 40 vasatē(ti)r³=nnirjīit-ārāti-pakahaḥ || [16*] Sthity-utpatti-vināśa-kāraṇa-param yan=iyō(j-jyō)-tir⁴=avyāhataḥ |⁵
- 41 vyakt-avyaktam=ananta-śakti-niyataḥ dēv-ātīdēvō mahāh(hān |) tasy=ānugraha-kārī-vi-
- 42 krama-dhana(nu)ś-chēshṭāh karōty=adbhutaḥ sa śrīmān=atula[h*] śāśāka-dhavalah kshōṇi-ya-
- 43 śa[h*]-khyāpitaḥ || [17*] Ā karṇpād=atulaḥ vikṛishya tarasā chāpa-dvaya[m*] līlayāh(yā)⁶
- 44 aṣṭābhī[h*] kavachai vi(r=vi)yēshṭya phalakān=ārād=ū(d=u)bhābhyām=api | pāṇibhyām chaturaḥ śilīmu-
- 45 kha-mukhair=bhinta(ttvā) su-tikshṇai bhṛi(r=bhṛi)śah(śa)ñ=jātō ddi(di)vya-gati[h*] Pṛithā-suta-saman(mah) Kōṅgōda-ratna[m*] kshitauḥ(tau) || [18*]
- 46 Varmmahyāmī sakalam śarīram=asakṛit=sa[m*]vēshṭya līl-ānvitaḥ pi(pi)nau dvai(dvau) puruṣhō(śhau) nidhāya yuga-
- 47 pa[t*]skandha-dvayē līlayā | sadya[h*]-śāta-kṛipāna-bhāsura-karō dhāvaty=a-khinno bhṛīśa[m*]
- 48 bhūpālō Hanumat-parākrama iti khyāta[h*] kṣamā-maṇḍalaiḥ(lē) || [19*] Jātēna śubhra-va-
- 49 puṣhā śāśin=ēva yēna samva(samva)rddhitaḥ kumuda-shaṇḍam=iva sva-gōttram(ttram) | saṅkōchita-
- 50 ā=cha ripu-paṅkaja-vṛindam=ārās=sō(t=sō)=yam⁷ ni(nṛi)pō jayati lavdha(bdha)-jaya-pratāpaḥ || [20*]

Third Plate

51 asmin(smin) Kōṅgōda-maṇḍalō mahāsāmanta-śrī⁸

B. Grant of Dharmarāja Mūnabhīta

This is a set of three plates, each measuring 6.35 inches by 3.5 inches, held together by a ring with seal. The seal contains the emblems of the crescent above, the couchant bull facing proper right in the middle, and an expanded lotus below. Between the bull and the lotus there is the legend reading *śrī-Dharmarājādēvaya*. The first plate is written on one side only, whereas the other two plates bear writing on both the sides. The writing on the reverse of the third plate is considerably damaged as portions of the metal on this side have peeled off. The three plates together weigh 61 *tolas*, while the weight of the ring and the seal is 26 *tolas*.

¹ In the Parikud plates of the same king, Banerji reads : *yasy=āhva(hvā)nān=mama[d*]yu[s]=sura*.

² In the Parikud plates, Banerji reads : *Śambhōs=śamethāna-kārī padam=amara-java[h*]*.

³ In the Parikud plates, Banerji reads : *nnatū(hin)*.

⁴ The present record helps us in correcting the reading of the Parikud plates.

⁵ The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

⁶ The rule of *sandhi* has been ignored here for the sake of the metre.

⁷ In the Parikud plates, Banerji reads : *kōpēna yō jayati*. The medial *i* of *ti* is joined with a horizontal stop stroke (here superfluous) at the right of the letter as in the last line of the *Sumaṇḍala* plates and in some other records. See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 85, n. 5.

⁸ The record abruptly ends here. This line containing the beginning of the list of officials to whom the royal order regarding a grant would have to be issued should have been properly preceded by a prose passage mentioning the reigning monarch.

The charter belongs to king **Dharmarāja Mānabhīta** of the **Śailōdbhava** family of **Kōṣā-gōḍa** in modern Orissa and closely resembles the other charters¹ of the same king in respect of **palaeography, language and orthography**. The date of the charter under discussion is uncertain. After the word [*Sam**]*vat*, only the figure *1* can be traced, the writing of the following portion being damaged in the plate. It is therefore doubtful whether the date is year *1* or any other regnal year between *10* and *19*. The **Śailōdbhava** king **Dharmarāja Mānabhīta** seems to have flourished about the close of the seventh century and the beginning of the eighth (circa 695-730 A.C.)².

The draft of the present charter closely follows that of the **Konedda** grant issued by king **Dharmarāja Mānabhīta** in his thirtieth regnal year. The eighteen verses forming the introduction of our charter as well as the lengthy prose passage introducing the king as *kusali* (lines 1-40) are the same as the corresponding part of the **Konedda** grant (lines 1-47), with slight changes (including minor mistakes) in the text and the names of the places whence the charters were issued. Verses 1-11 of the record dealing with the predecessors of the reigning monarch are merely a selection from the introductory stanzas found in the records (cf. the **Bānpur** plates edited above) of his father **Ayaśōbhīta II Madhyamarāja**. Verses 12-18 describe the achievements of **Dharmarāja Mānabhīta** himself. It is well known that only one of these verses (verse 15) gives a valuable historical information. It seems to say how **Dharmarāja** had an elder brother named **Mādhava** (i.e., **Mādhavavarman** probably named after his grandfather) who began to bear ill will against his younger brother as soon as he ascended the throne, how **Dharmarāja** defeated this **Mādhava** at the battle of **Phāsikā**, how **Mādhava** thereupon took shelter under a king named **Tivara**, and how both **Mādhava** and **Tivara** were defeated by **Dharmarāja** in a battle fought at the foot of the **Vindhyas**. This **Tivara** may have been a later member of the **Pāṇḍuvamśa** of South **Kōṣala**.³ Verse 16 discloses the king's secondary name **Mānabhīta**.

The prose passage following the introductory verses in our inscription refers to the place whence the charter was issued. The name of the place is doubtful but may be **Āsiliḍa** or **Siliḍa**. The king is here described as a devout worshipper of **Mahēśvara** (**Śiva**) and as devoted to his parents. Another interesting passage says that he was the son's son (i.e., grandson) of one who took an *avabhritha* bath after the **Āsvamēdha** sacrifice (*āsvamēdh-āvabhritha-snāna-nirvarṭita-sūnōs-tanuyah*) apparently referring to the performance of the horse sacrifice by his grandfather **Sainyabhīta Mādhavavarman II Śrīnivāsa**, already discussed above in connection with the **Bānpur** plates of **Ayaśōbhīta II Madhyamarāja**, father of **Dharmarāja Mānabhīta**.⁴

The passage recording the grant in the inscription under review is defective. The engraver had at first omitted a lengthy passage mentioning the donee, the gift land and the actual donor and later squeezed only the important words and names from the omitted passage in the limited space. The defective description suggests that the real donor of the grant was the queen **Kalyāṇadēvi** (or **Śrīkalyāṇa**) and that her grant was endorsed by the king. The gift land consisted of 3 measures styled *ṭimpīra* in a locality called **Suvarṇarālōṇḍī** situated in the **Thōraṇa vishaya** and

¹ The **Konedda** grant of the 30th regnal year (above, Vol. XIX, pp. 267-70), the **Nivīnā** grant possibly of the 9th regnal year (above, Vol. XXI, pp. 38-41) and the **Puri** plates of a doubtful date (*J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 178 ff). **Bhandarkar's** reading of the dates of the **Puri** and **Konedda** plates is wrong (see *List*, Nos. 2040-41; *Successors of the Śālavāhanas*, p. 401).

² He ruled at least up to his 30th regnal year.

³ This **Tivara** cannot be identified with **Mahāśiva Tivara** of the **Pāṇḍuvamśa** as the latter flourished in the sixth century (circa 565-80 A. C.; see *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XIX, p. 144). **Dharmarāja's** rule (covering not less than 30 years according to the **Konedda** grant) can hardly be placed earlier than the last quarter of the seventh century because, as indicated above, his grandfather performed the *Āsvamēdha* before his 13th regnal year falling sometime after 619 A.C. and ruled for at least 50 years (cf. the date of the **Cuttack Museum** plates) and his father ruled for at least 26 years (cf. the date of the **Parikud** plates).

⁴ The **Parikud** plates suggest that **Madhyamarāja** took part in the performance of his father's horse-sacrifice.

2½ *ṭimpīras* at the village of Madhuvāṭaka attached to the Rāṇḍa *śīman* probably forming a part of the same *vishaya*. The donee was a Jain (?) monk called *ēka-sāṭa* (possibly one who has taken a vow to wear only one piece of cloth; cf. *ēka-chivara*) Prabuddhachandra who was the disciple of the *arhadāchārya* (the most venerable teacher) Nāsichandra. The grant seems to have been actually made in favour of a deity or religious establishment in the residence of Prabuddhachandra. This is suggested by the expression *baḷi-saṭṭra-charu-pravarttanāya*. But the record seems to say that Prabuddhachandra alone would have to enjoy the grant till his death. The gift was thus temporary. Nothing is recorded in regard to the relation that existed between the queen Kalyāṇadēvī (or Śrīkalyāṇa³) and the king Dharmarāja, although the epithet *rājñī* seems to suggest that she was one of the king's wives. The epithet *bhagavatī* used before the word *rājñī* may actually refer to an unnamed goddess established in Prabuddhachandra's residence. In case it was intended for the queen, she has possibly to be taken as the mother or a step-mother of the king. The word *ṭimpīra* (also written *ṭimpīra* or *ṭimpīra*) is found in many records⁴ in the sense of a land measure. It is clear that the engraver omitted a large number of words from the passage detailing the grant in the original draft of the document.

The *dūtaka* or executor of the charter was the *Pañchakaraṇḍaparika-vaiśvāsika-bṛīhadbhōgin* Sāmanta. Apparently the same person is mentioned in the Puri plates of Dharmarāja as the *Bṛīhadbhōgin* Sāmanta who wrote that document. Of the official designations attributed to Sāmanta in our record, *pañcha-karaṇḍaparika* is the same as *pañch-ādhikaraṇḍaparika* of the Gunai-ghar plate⁵ and may indicate 'the chief Superintendent of five administrative offices.' *Vaiśvāsika*, found in records like the Kanas plate⁶ of Lōkavīgraha, possibly means a privy councillor. The designation *Bhōgin* seems to have indicated an *ināmdār*. The plates were engraved by Āditya-dēva who appears to be styled *Akṣhaśālīka*, i.e., a goldsmith.⁷ The document was *lāñchhita*, i.e., endowed or registered with a seal, by the *pētāpāla* (literally, keeper of the boxes, i.e., those containing documents) named Balavarman who is also known from the Puri plates of Dharmarāja.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, the Thōraṇa *vishaya* is also known from other records,⁸ although its definite location is doubtful. The king's *vāsaka* or residence whence the charter was issued cannot be satisfactorily identified. I have also not been able to locate the villages of Suvarṇarālōṇḍī and Madhuvāṭaka as well as the *śīman* or subdivision called Rāṇḍa.

TEXT*

[Metres : verses 1, 3, 11, 14, 18 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 2, 5, 6, 8, 12, 22 *Vasantatilaka* ; verses 4, 13, 16, 19-21 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 7 *Indravajrā* ; verses 9, 10, 15 *Sragdharā* ; verse 17 *Nardatāka* ; verse 23 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

First Plate

1 Siddham⁷ Svastiḥ(sti ||) Indōr-ddhū(r-ddhau)ta-mṛṇāla-tantubhir-iva ślisṭā[h] karai[h]
kōmalaiḥ⁸ vaddh-āhēr-arunai[h] sphu-

¹ Cf. *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVI, p. 181 (Puri plates of Dharmarāja, text, line 49) ; above, Vol. XXIV, p. 153 [Cuttack Museum Plates of Mādhavavarman, text, line 30] , Vol. XXI, p. 41 (Nivāṇa grant of Dharmarāja, text, line 47) , etc.

² *Select Inscriptions*, p. 333.

³ Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 329.

⁴ The same designation is also found in the forms *Akṣhaśālīn* (Bhandarkar, *List*, Nos. 1479, 1497, etc.) and *Arkaśālīn* (ibid., No. 1496). These appear to be Sanskritizations of Telugu and Kannaḍa *agaśālī*, 'a goldsmith.'

⁵ See above, Vol. XXIII, p. 129 (Puri plates of Mādhavavarman II), *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXXIII, part i, p. 285 (Khurda plates of Mādhavavarman II), etc.

⁶ From the original plates and their impressions.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol. [As for *svastiḥ*, with *vīcarga*, see above, Vol. XXVII, p. 140, n. 2.—Ed.]

⁸ Read *°lāir=buddh°*.

B.—GRANT OF DHARMARAJA MANABHITA

 $ii, a.$

ii, b.

iii, a.

38 38
40 40
42 42
44 a. 44 a.
44 b. 44 b.
44 c. 44 c.
46 46
48 48

iii, b.

50 50
52 52
54 54

Seal



- 2 rat-phani-maṇḍar-digdha-prabhāsō-nēubhiḥ¹ [[*] Pārvatyā[h*] sa-kaśha-graha-vyatikara-vyāvṛitta-va(ba)ndha-ślathā [² Gaṅg-ā-
 3 mvu(mbū)-pluti-bhinna-bhasma-kanikā[h*] Sambhōr=jaṭāḥ-pānu(nu) vaḥ [[[1*] Prāsū-
 (Prāsū)r=mahābha-kara-pīvara-chāru-vā(bā)hu[h*] kṛishṇ-āśma-³
 4 saṇḍha(ācha)[ya*]-vibhēda-viśālā(la)-vakshā[h*] rājiva-kōmala-dal-āyata-kōchan-āntaḥ khyā-
 taḥ Kālīṅga-janatāsu
 5 Pulindasēna[h*] [[2*] Tēn=āntham(ttham) guṇinō=pa(n=āpi) satva(tiva)-mahatā n=ācham bhu-
 vōr=maṇḍalam [⁴ śaktō yaḥ pari(ri)pālā[nā]-
 6 ya jagataḥ kō nāma sa syād=iti | pratyādishta-vibhur-bha(bh-ūtsa)vēna bha[ga]vān=⁵
 ārādhitā[h*] āśvataḥ ta(tas=ta)ch-ohitt-ānu-
 7 guṇam vidhissu(tsu)r=adīśad=vāñchām svasa(ya)mhbhō(mbhū)r=api || [3*] Sa śilā-śakal-
 ōdbhēdī tām=āpy=āḷkyā(kya) dhīma-
 8 tā [[*] pari(ri)kalpita-sad-vañśa(d=vañśaḥ) prabhuh Sailōdbhavaḥ kṛitaḥ || 4*] Sailōdbha-
 vaśya kulajō=raṇabhita śait y(d=yē)
 9 n=āsakṛit=kṛitā(ta)-bhiyā[m*] dvishad-aṅganānām(nām) | jyōtanāya⁶-pravō(bō)dha-samayō
 sva-dhiy=aiva sārtham=ākam(ka)rapitō
 10 nayana-pakshma-jalēshu chandra[h*] || [5*] Tasy=ābhavad=vivu(bu)dha-pāla-samasya
 sūnuḥ śrī-Sainyabhita
 11 ti bhūmipatiga(r=ga)riyān [[*] yaṁ prāpya n-aika-śata-nāga-ghaṭā-vighaṭṭa-lavdha(bdha)-
 pratāpa-vijayam ma(mu)maudō
 12 dhari(ri)ttri || [6*] Tasy= āpi vañśō(vañśō)=tha yath-ārtha-nāmā jātō=yaśōbhi(bhī)ta iti kshit-
 śaḥ [[*] yēna pra-

Second Plate; First Side

- 13 ru(rū)ḍhō=pi śubhais=charitraiḥ mṛi(trair=mṛi)śṭaḥ kalakak kal-darppaṇasya || [7*] Jātō-
 tha [tasya tanaya]s=sukṛi-
 14 śi samasta-śmanta(ni)ni-nayana-śadpa(tpa)da-puṇḍarika[h*] | śrī-Sainyabhita [iti bhūmi]-
 patir-mmahē-
 15 bha-kumbhaethali-dalana-durlalit-āsi-dhāraḥ || [8*] Kāśyair=bhūtedhātṛipatibhir=upachit-
 ānēka-pā-
 16 p-āvatārair=aitā yēshārā kash=āpi pralayan=abhimatā kṛtti-mā(pā)hair=ajasraṁ((sram |)
 yajūais=tair=āśvamēdha-
 17 prabhi(bhī)tibhir=amarā lambhitā tri(s=tri)ptim=urvvin⁷=udri(ōdri)pt-ārāti-paksha-kshaya-
 kṛiti-paṭunā Śrinivāsēna
 18 yēna || [9*] Tasy=ōtkhāt-ākhil-āri(rō)r=mmarud-āva janitō bhāsvad-ushṇāśu(ahp-
 āśu)tājā[h*] śūrō māni dayā-
 19 lur=narapatir=Ayaśōbhītadēvas-tanūja[h*] | mātaṅgān-yō=titnūgān=va(ba)hala-mada-mucha-
 20 ś=chāru-vaktrāp=pra(n=pra)chandān va(ba)ddhv=ākarsaty=a-khinnaḥ puṇar=api [da]yatō⁷
 yatnataḥ sampragalbhaḥ || [10*] Kōchi-

¹ Read *prabhāsō=meubhiḥ*. An erased *ś* sign is noticed above *atu*.

² The *daśa* is superfluous.

³ An erased subscript *l* can be traced beneath *śma*.

⁴ *Ga* had been at first omitted and was later engraved above the line in a small form.

⁵ Read *jyōtanā*, omitting *yā*.

⁶ The engraver had begun to incise *mu* close to *revi*, but gave it up to leave some space between the two *aksharas*.

⁷ See above, p. 37, note 4.

- 21 é=chhai(ch=chhai)la-guh-ôdarêshu niratâ¹ dhūm-āvali-pāyinaḥ² anyē vāyu-phal-āmvu-
(mbu)-bhaksha-niratā[h*] kēchchi(chi)n-ti(n-ni)rā-
22 hārakā[h*] | itthaṁ yōga-jushō vihāya vasatīh(tih) dhyāyath(ya)nti divyāh(vya)m-padam
chittra[m*] Ma³hyamarājadēva-
23 guṇa-dhṛid-rājyē=pi tat=prāptavān || [11*] Tasy-ābhavat-sakala-śastra-viśēsha-vēdi śri-
Dharmmarāja
24 iti sūnur-adhi[ta*]-śāstrāḥ | yasy-ātinirmala-yaśaḥ parivarddhamāna[m*] pādaḥ Harē-

Second Plate; Second Side

- 25 r-iva na māyitam=ā tri(tri)lōkyāḥ⁴ || [12*] Nirārayai[h*] prayatnēna guṇais=sa parivāritāḥ
[i*] vaimukhyād-i-
26 rshayā ch=aiva sarvva-dōshair=vvivarjitaḥ || [13*] Kālē hanti ripu(pū)n=mā(n=ma)hāraṇa-
śata-vyāpāra-lavdh-ō(bdh-ō)nnatīna(tin)⁵
27 kālē dharmma-vivēchanāya na(ni)ratō vrā(brā)hmaṇya-madhyē sthitaḥ Krauñchār-iva
yasya chēṣṭitam=alam lōka(kaiḥ)
28 samālōkyatē || [14*] Rājyam lavdhv=ai(bdhv=ai)va darppād-a[vi*]ganita-tayō Mādhavō
jyēṣṭha-bhāvāt(n) dēśām(śā)d=asmād-a-
29 pāstu[n=kṛi]ta-va(vi)shama-matir=vvigrahē Phāsikāyām || (yām) yuddha-kshōbhāṇa bhagnō
nripati-varam=asau samśrita-
30 s=Tivar-a(r-ā)khyam paśchāt=tēn-āpi sārddham punar=api vijitō Vindhya-pādēshu jirṇa-
[h] || [15*] Śauryam śri[r=yau]-
31 vanam rājyam=ēk-aikam mada-kāraṇam(kam)) sarvva[m*] śri-Mānabhītasya nirvvi-
kāram=upasthita[m](tam) || [16*] Turaga-
32 khur-ābhighāta-vidalad-dharaṇi-talajam jaya-gaja-karṇaḥ(rṇa)-chāmara-vidhūnana-vis-
phuritam(tam) | su-bha-
33 ṭa-phara-prasarppapa-niruddha-kakū(ku)d-gaganam va(ba)la-raja ēva yasya jayati dvi-
śatā[m] dhvajinīm(nīm) || [17*] Ā-
34 rachya prasabham ghaṭā gaja-gaṇair=asviya-pa(pā)dātakaiḥ ji(kair=ji)tv=ānyām(nyā)m=va(n=ba)la-sālinō nripa-varān=āgātya
35 dṛiṣṭēr=bhuvā[m](vam) yuddhē bhīma-pa[rā*]kramēṇa vijitē nirvrit-padam prāpitāḥ(tā)
dṛiśyantē bhavan-āṅgaṇē pra[ni-di]nam
36 prātāḥ prapām-ārthinaḥ || [18*] Vijay-Āsili[ḍa]*-vāsakāt śri-Śailōdbhava-kula-tilaka-mahāma-

Third Plate; First Side

- 37 kha-vājapāy-āsvamēdh-āvavabhṛitha⁶-tsna(snā)nā(na)-nirvarttita-sūnōs=tanayō va(ba)-
hu-vividha⁷-matta-vāraṇa-vara-
38 turaga-ma(pa)dāti-śastra-sam(sa)mpāta-saṅkulō(la)-va(ba)hv-āhava-vinihata-śatrur=anēka-
vikram-ākṛānta-sakala-bhū-

¹ See above, p. 37, note 5.

² The rule of *sandhi* has been neglected here for the sake of the metre.

³ The reading of this defective passage is slightly different in different records of the king. The emendations suggested by scholars do not appear to be satisfactory.

⁴ The second *pāda* of the stanza (*kālē kshō-vistatē*), which had been omitted through inadvertence, was later incised about the end of the record in lines 54-55.

⁵ The reading may be *vijaya-Sū*. The last *akshara* of the name may also be *ḍa*, *ḍa* or *ḍu*.

⁶ Read *āvabhṛitha*.

⁷ Better read *baku-vidha*.

- 39 maṇḍalō su(bhu)ja-va(ba)l-ātula-prathita-yaśa(śā)ñ-ohā(ś=cha)turddanta-saṅgrāmād-asakṛil-
lavdha(bdha)-pratāpaḥ paramamāhēśva-
- 40 rō mātā-pitri-pād-ānudhyātāḥ śrī-Dharmmarājadēvaḥ kuśali |¹ Thōraṇa-vishayē | mahā-
sāmanta-
- 41 śrīsāmanta- | mahāra(rā)ja- | rājanska- | rājaputr-āntaraṅga- | dāṇḍanāyaka- | dāṇḍavā(pā)-
śik-aupari[ka*]-sta(ta)dvini-
- 42 yukta[ka]-vyavahāriṇas=sa-karaṇān=anyāñś=cha(nyāñś=cha) Vra(Brā)hmaṇa-purōg-ādi-
vaishayika-janapada(dām)ś=chāṭa-bhaṭa-
- 43 vallabha-jātīyān=yath-ārham-pūjayati mānayat=ājūāpayati oha | viditam=astu bhavatām
ētaḍ-visha-
- 44 ya-samva(mba)ddha-²
(a) d-arbat-ā(d-ā)chārya-Nāsiachandra || tad-āi(ch-ohhi)shya śka-śāṭa-Pravu(bu)ddhachandra
| yāva[t*] jīvati | va(ba)li-śa(sa)ttra:charu-pravarttanāya | bhaga[va*]tī śrī-rājūi
(b) Śrī-Kalyāṇadēvi | Thōraṇa-vishaya-samva(mba)ddha | Suvarṇaparalōṇḍi ṭimpīra tri(tri)ṇi
| 3 | Rāṇḍa-sīma-samva(mba)ddha-Madhuvāṭaka-grāma | ṭimpi-
(c) ra-dvayaṁ 2 pādā(dah) 1
- 45 tad=anumōditō=smābhi[h*]³ . yatas=tām vra(mra)-paṭa(tṭa)ka-darśanāt yathā-kāla-samu-
chita-phalam-upabhūñjānō(nasya) dharmma-
- 46 gauravāt kēnachit=paripatthi(nthi)nā [na*] bhavitavyam=iti | uktañ=cha dharmma-
śāstrē ||⁴ Va(Ba)hubhir=vasudhā dattā rājabhis=aga-
- 47 r-ādibhir=ya(bhiḥ | ya)sya yasya yadā bhūmita(s=ta)sya tasya tadā phala[m*] || 19*
Sva-dā(da)ntā(ttā)m=para-dattām=vā(ttām vā) yō harēta vasundharām(rām |)
- 48 sa vishṭhāyām kṛimir=bhūtā pitribhis=saha pachyatē || 20* | Mā bhūd=a-phala-śaṅkā vaḥ
para-datt=ēti pāṭhivā[h] | sva-

Third Plate; Second Side

- 49 dānāt=phalam=ānantyaṁ para-datt-ānupālanaṁ(nē) || 21* | Vidyud-vilāsa-taralām=ava-
gamyā samya[g*]-lōka-sthitim
- 50 yaśasi [sakta*]-manōbhir=uchchaiḥ ||* | niṭyaṁ pa[r-ōpakṛiti-mātra-ratair=bhavadbhiḥ
dha(dbhir=dha)rmm-ābhirādhanā-parair=anumōdi-
- 51 tavyā || 22* | Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vindu-[lōlā]ñ=chhri(lām śrī)yam=anuchintya manushya-
jīvitam(ta)ñ=cha | sakalam=ida-
- 52 m=udāhṛitam(ta)ñ=chah(ñ=cha) vu(bu)ddhvā na hi purushaiḥ para-kīrttayō rvvi(vi)lōpyā-
[h] ||* | 23* | Dūtako=ttra) pañcha-karaṇ-ōpari[ka*]-vai-
- 53 śvāsika-vṛi(bṛi)hadbhōgi [Sāmantaḥ]* utkṛṇṇā a[kshaśālikēna*] Ādityadēvēna lāñchhi-
- 54 tam peṭāpālā(la)-Va(Ba)lavarmma[nā | Sam*]vat [1]...*[||*] Kālē' sa(bha)[kt*]im=[u]paiti śu-
- 55 bhra=charitaiḥ Śambhōḥ kathā-vistaraiḥ ||.....pritha....iti |

¹ The *daṇḍa*, used so many times in lines 40-41 and 44, is unnecessary.

² The following two lines, marked (a) and (b) are offered in the original as two branches of line 44. The portion, marked (c), is a continuation of (b) and is engraved beneath the beginning of line 44. The engraver noticed after incising the word *samva(mba)ddha* that a lengthy passage detailing the grant had been omitted. He therefore squeezed only the important words of the omitted passage in as small a space as possible.

³ The intended reading seems to be *tad-dānam=anumōditam=asmābhiḥ*.

⁴ Horizontal strokes are here used for interpunctuation instead of the usual vertical ones.

⁵ See the Puri plates, line 60.

⁶ The preserved lower part of two *akṣaras* seems to read *lguśu* which possibly stands for *Phālgunaśudi*.

⁷ See above, p. 42, note 4.

No. 6—ALAGUM INSCRIPTION OF ANANTAVARMAN ; REGNAL YEAR 62

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND, AND S. RATHA-SARMA, PURI

The village of Alagum lies about twenty-three miles from the holy city of Puri, celebrated for the great temple of the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha, and about ten miles from the Sākhigopāl station on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway in the Puri District of Orissa. There is a small temple in the village, in which the god Śiva in the form of a *linga*, styled Garttēśvara, is worshipped. The temple itself is rather unimpressive like so many of its class in the villages in different parts of Orissa. But its importance lies in the existence of two inscriptions on the stones of its wall near the door, one to the right and the other to the left. The inscription on the proper left is in the Telugu script and language while that on the right is in the Gaudīya script and in the Sanskrit language. The second inscription forms the subject matter of this paper.

The inscription covers a space about four feet and four inches in length and about one foot eleven inches in breadth. There are altogether twenty-six lines of writing, the letters being about 1½ inches in height. Originally both the inscriptions were fully covered with cement. Of late the cement plastering was removed ; but there are still traces of it in the lower part of the inscription published here. Some letters, especially in lines 24-26, are not clearly visible.

The characters belong to a cursive form of the Gaudīya class, commonly called Proto-Bengali, and may be assigned to about the twelfth century A.C. or even later. The sign for medial *i*, which resembles that in modern Oriya, and the short type of medial *ā* sign exhibited in a few cases (cf. *Kāsyapa* in lines 5-6) are interesting to note. The initial *a* occurs several times in the inscription (lines 10, 18, 21, etc.) and the sign for *avagraha* only once (line 13). The characters may be compared with those in the records of the imperial Gaṅgas such as the Nagari plates of Anaṅga-bhīma III circa 1211-38 A.C.) edited above.¹

The language of the inscription under discussion is incorrect Sanskrit, its orthography exhibiting considerable influence of the local pronunciation ; cf. words like *dēsa* for *deśa* (line 4), *vaneśa* for *vanśa* (line 7), *māhēśvara* for *māhēśvara* (line 8), etc. The rules of *sandhi* have been sometimes ignored.

The record is dated in the sixty-second year of a king named Anantavarmadēva. The great length of the reign referred to leaves hardly any doubt that the king is no other than the great Gaṅga emperor Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga who is known to have been crowned in 1078 A.C. and ruled for about seventy years up to 1147 A.C. The sixty-second year of the reign of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga would thus correspond to 1140-41 A.C. It may be noted that the reference is to the regnal reckoning and not to the *Aṅga* reckoning in which, as indicated by certain inscriptions of the later rulers of Orissa, a number of regnal years were not to be counted. The details of the date, quoted in the inscription under notice, speak of Thursday, the seventh *tithi* of the bright half in the month of Māgha. The date thus regularly corresponds to Thursday, the 30th of January, 1141 A.C. According to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. III, p. 284, the *abhīṣṭi* *tithi* ended on that date at 19 of the day.

The inscription records certain grants made by a person named Kāmāṇḍi whose epithet *disāpati* (Sanskrit *disāmpati*) looks like an official designation. It is possible to think that Kāmāṇḍi was the governor of a territorial unit of which the present village of Alagum in the Puri District formed a part. Kāmāṇḍi is simultaneously called *Paramamāhēśvara* and *Parama-*

¹ Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235 ff.

vaishnava, which show that he was a devotee of both the gods Śiva and Viṣṇu. His family belonged to the Kāśyapa *gōtra* and to the *pañch-ārshēya-pravara* (i.e., having five sages as *pravaras* or distinguished members of the *gōtra* in question). The Kāśyapa *gōtra*, however, is known to have only three *pravaras*, viz., Kāśyapa, Āvatsāra and Naidhruva. *Pañch-ārshēya* thus appears to be a mistake for *try-ārshēya*. In dealing with the ancestry of Kāmāṇḍi, the inscription rather curiously speaks of *Pitāmaha* Pōtāṇḍi, of the former's son Bhīmāṇḍi and of the latter's *vaṁś-ōdbhava* or descendant Kāmāṇḍi. It seems that Pōtāṇḍi was the *pitāmaha* or grandfather of Kāmāṇḍi and that Bhīmāṇḍi was his father in spite of the fact that he is said to have been merely a descendant of Bhīmāṇḍi. This seems to be suggested by the word *pitāmaha* used in connection with the name of Pōtāṇḍi, by the similar formations of the three names, viz., Pōtāṇḍi, Bhīmāṇḍi and Kāmāṇḍi, and also by the fact that there is hardly any meaning in mentioning only two distant ancestors of the donor when the established custom throughout India was generally to mention only his father and grandfather. It may, however, not be impossible that Kāmāṇḍi was actually the son of a brother of Bhīmāṇḍi who later adopted him as his own son. That is possibly why Kāmāṇḍi is called a *vaṁś-ōdbhava* and not exactly a *putra* of Bhīmāṇḍi. It may be recalled in this connection that the Śailōdbhava king Ayaśōbhita I of Kōṅgōda in Orissa is described in some records in prose as the son of Sainyabhita Mādhavavarman I, but in others in verse as merely a descendant of the latter.¹ A very interesting information about Kāmāṇḍi's family given in the record is that it hailed from a village, the name of which reads like Kaḍamvura, in the Chōla country, which was the modern Tanjore-Trichinopoly region of South India.

Kāmāṇḍi is said to have purchased with his own money a *hala* of land styled Kapālēsvara in the village of Alagumma which formed a part of the Rāmaṅga *vishaya* and made it an endowment in favour of the *maṭha* of the god Garttēsvara. The purchase is said to have been witnessed by certain honest *prajā-lōkas* apparently meaning the people of the locality. The object of the grant was two-fold. In the first place, it was to provide food to an ascetic, possibly living in the *maṭha* referred to, whose name may have been Bhij or Abhij. Secondly, three *pravartas* of paddy were allotted for providing *naivēdya* or the daily ceremonial offering to the god Garttēsvara. In this description of the grant, the word *hala*, known also from other sources, has been used to indicate a piece of land of uncertain area. The exact weight of a *pravarta* of paddy is likewise unknown.²

In addition to the piece of land granted, a sum of money was deposited with the local *adhikārins* (possibly superintendents of the temple) who are said to have been maintaining the *pallī-dēva*, literally 'village deity' (possibly meaning Garttēsvara), for providing an *akhaṇḍa* or perpetual lamp, apparently in the temple, in honour of the god Garttēsvara. The lamp was expected to be the *kula-tārana* (i.e., a thing that ensures easy crossing of the sea of *samsāra* for the members of one's family) of "this *kāparyaka*" probably meaning Kāmāṇḍi himself. The word *kāparyaka* appears to be a mistake for a word like *kāpyaka* meaning 'a penitent'. The amount granted in this connection is described as a hundred *chūrṇis* added by five *purāṇas*. The word *chūrṇi* usually means a hundred cowrie-shells, while *purāṇa* was the old silver *kārshāpaṇa* usually regarded as equal to 1280 cowrie-shells. According to Oriya lexicons,³ however, both the words *chūrṇi* and *purāṇa* are recognised in the sense of *kāhāṇa* (Sanskrit *kārshāpaṇa*) which was equal to 1280 cowrie-shells. There is no doubt that the words have been used in the same sense also in the record under

¹ See *Successors of the Śālavāhanas*, pp. 400 f. Cf. also *ibid.*, p. 250 and note.

² Is it Oriya *paufi* which is equal to ten maunds?

³ Cf. *Prāmōḍa Abhidhāna*, s.v. *chūrṇi* and *purāṇa*. The Mehar plate (above, Vol. XXVII, p. 189, text line 35; cf. p. 191, note 5) spells the word as *chūrṇi* and uses it as a synonym of *purāṇa*. The same word also occurs in line 59 of the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat plate of Viśvarūpasēna (*Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 147), although it was wrongly read as *schūrṇā*.

discussion. This is clearly suggested by the fact that the amount given in words as ' a hundred *chūrṇis* and five *purāṇas* ' is separately mentioned in figures as *pu 105* (i.e., 105 *purāṇas*). Thus the amount granted for making provision for the burning of a lamp perpetually in the temple of Gar-ttēśvara was 105 *chūrṇis*, *purāṇas*, or *kāhāṇas* which were equivalent to 134,400 cowrie-shells.

It is interesting to note that the family of Kāmāṇḍi, who made grants in favour of the village-god of Alagum near Puri and appears to have been an official serving the Gaṅga monarch Ananta-varman Chōḍagaṅga, is said to have hailed from the country of the Chōḷas. It is well-known that Chōḍagaṅga's mother Rājasundarī was a Chōḷa princess and that the very name of the king points to the existence of Chōḷa or Chōḍa blood in his vein. Rājasundarī is described in the Gaṅga records as the daughter of the Chōḷa king Rājendra who is variously identified by scholars with Rājendra I (1016-43 A.C.), Virarājendra (1063-70 A.C.) and Rājendra Kulōttuṅga I (1063-70 A.C. as Eastern Chālukya king; 1070-1118 A.C. as ruler of the united Chōḷa-Chālukya kingdom), although the Gaṅga king's name, Virarājendra-Chōḍagaṅga, found in some records, suggests that he was the grandson of the Chōḷa king Virarājendra after whom he was named.¹ One of the queens of Chōḍagaṅga was the Chōḷa princess Chōḍa-mahādēvī who is known to have granted some *Kulōttuṅga-māḍas* for a lamp at the temple of Bhīmēśa at Drākshārāma and may have been a daughter of Rājendra Kulōttuṅga I.² This seems to suggest that Chōḍagaṅga's mother was a cousin of Kulōttuṅga (son of a daughter of Rājendra I), a granddaughter of Rājendra I and a daughter of Virarājendra. We have also evidence to show that there was considerable Chōḷa influence at the court of some of the early monarchs of the imperial Gaṅga dynasty, who sometimes employed Chōḷa officials.³

There is little doubt that the rise of the imperial Gaṅgas in Kalinga was connected with the expansion of Chōḷa influence in that country.⁴ It is now accepted by most scholars that the Gaṅga dynasty was established at Kaliṅgangara (modern Mukhalingam near Chicacole or Śrikākulam) about the close of the fifth century A.C. The Gaṅgas soon established their power in Central Kalinga; but, in the seventh century, their position was threatened by the expansion of the power of their eastern neighbours, the Śailōdbhavas of Kōṅgōḍa (about the border between the Ganjam and Puri Districts of Orissa) and by the establishment of the Eastern Chālukyas at Piṣṭapura (modern Pithapuram in the East Godavari District) in the south. The authority of the Kalinga-nagara government was also considerably shaken about this time by the rise of collateral viceregal families like that of the Gaṅgas of Śvātaka. The process of decline continued and, in the tenth century, the kingdom seems to have been divided into five states under different branches of the Gaṅga family as well as of viceregal lines.⁵ About the end of the same century, Vajrahasta Ananta-varman (circa 985-1016 A.C.), belonging to one of the branch lines of the Gaṅga family, seems to have consolidated his position in all the five states.⁶ His success may have been due to the help he may have received from the Chōḷas. It has to be noted that this king, the first important ruler of the imperial branch of the Gaṅga family, was a contemporary of the great Chōḷa king Rājārāja (985-1016 A.C.) who claims to have conquered Vēṅgi (the kingdom of the Eastern Chālukyas) by 998 A.C. and Kalinga (the kingdom of the Gaṅgas) sometime before 1003 A.C.⁷

¹ Cf. Subba Rao, *History of Kalinga* (offprint), pp. 130-31.

² Cf. *ibid.*, p. 135.

³ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 126 ff. See also *A. R. S. I. E.*, 1935-36, p. 63.

⁴ Cf. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, p. 450.

⁵ Cf. *J. K. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, p. 220.

⁶ The history of the ancestors of this ruler has been discussed in connection with the Nagari plates of Ananta-bhīma III (above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235 ff.).

⁷ Sewell, *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India*, pp. 56-57.

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His son Rājendra I (1016-43 A.C.) also claims to have defeated the Eastern Chālukya king as well as to have set up pillars of victory on Mount Mahendra in Kalinga (in the present Srikakulam District of Madras). Whether, however, this achievement of Rājendra I should be attributed to his own reign or to that of his father when he may have led the expedition against the Kalinga country as his father's general is uncertain in the present state of our knowledge. But it is extremely interesting to note that, in the description of the expeditions led by the generals of Rājendra I about 1023 A.C. in the countries towards the east as far as South-East Bengal, mention is made of the reduction of Oḍra (Puri-Cuttack area) and Kōsala (the Sambalpur region together with certain western tracts), both then under the Sōmavamśi king of Yayūtinagara,¹ but not of any conflict with the king of Kalinga.² This fact seems to suggest that the early rulers of the imperial Gaṅga family were regarded by the Chōla emperors as their subordinate allies. The real founder of the greatness of the imperial branch of the Gaṅga family was another Vajrahasta Anantavarman (1038-70 A.C.) who was the grandson of his namesake mentioned above and the grandfather of the mighty Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga. But Chōla influence continued in Kalinga as late as the reign of Chōḍagaṅga and even later.

The present inscription is one of the few records of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga that have been so far discovered in the Puri-Cuttack region which was conquered by that monarch from the Sōmavamśis about the beginning of the twelfth century.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, the location of Chōla-dēsa has already been noticed. Kaḍamvura may, as Mr. N. L. Rao has kindly suggested be identified with Kaḍambūr in the Udaiyarpalayam taluk of the Tiruchirapalli District. Alagumma is no doubt modern Alagum which is the findspot of the inscription under discussion. The name is Alaguma even now in Oriya pronunciation. The *vishaya* or district of Rāmaṅga, in which the village of Alagumma is said to have been situated, seems to be the same as the Rāvaṅga *vishaya* mentioned in the Puri plates of Bhānu II.³

TEXT*

- 1 Siddham⁵ Svasti [||*] Śrīmad-Anantavarmadēvasya
- 2 pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājyē ||* dvāshashṭhi(śṭa)-
- 3 samva(samva)tsarē Māgha-śi(si)ta-tithau sapta-
- 4 myām vārē Gurau Chōla-dēsa(śa)-prati-
- 5 va(ba)ddha-Kaḍamvura-grāma-vinirggata-Kāśya(śya)-
- 6 pa-gōtra-pañch-ārsha(rshē)ya-pravara-pitāma-
- 7 ha-Pōtāṇḍi[h*] tat-putra-Bhīmāṇḍi[h*] tad-vans-ō(d-vaiś-ō)-
- 8 dbhava-paramamāhēśva(śva)ra-paramavaishna(śhṇa)va-
- 9 disāpati⁷-Kāmāṇḍi-nāmā khyātaḥ ||*
- 10 idānīm Rāmaṅga-vishaya-prativa(ba)ddha*-Ala-
- 11 guṁma-grāmiya-Kapālēśva(śva)ra-nāma-bhūmi-ha-
- 12 l-aikaṁ sādhu-prajā-lōka(kā)n pramukhikṛi-
- 13 tya sva-dhanēna kritvā-śēsha-dharmma-viva(vṛi)-
- 14 ddhayē śrī-Garttēśva(śva)radēvasya maṭha-prativa(ba)-

¹ See I. H. Q., Vol. XXII, pp. 300 ff.

² Ray, op. cit., pp. 318 ff.; above, Vol. IX, pp. 22 ff.

³ See J. R. A. S. B., Letters, Vol. XVII, pp. 19-26.

⁴ From impressions.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ The *dandas* are superfluous.

⁷ Possibly *disāmpati*.

⁸ The rule of *sandhi* has not been observed here.

- 15 ddhikṛitya tapasvinē Bhijē¹ bhōjan-ārthē
- 16 pradattā(ṭtam |) tan-madhyād=api śrī-Garttēsva(śva)ra-
- 17 dēvasya naivēdy-ārthē dhānya-pravartta-trayaṁ
- 18 niyōjitaṁ(tam) || aparam=api śrī-Ga-
- 19 rttēsva(śva)ra-pritayē pañcha-purāṇ-ādhi-
- 20 ka-chūrṇi-śat-aikēna ētasya kāparya-²
- 21 kasya kula-tāraṇa³-akhaṇḍa-dīpa-pra-⁴
- 22 pradān-ārthē iha samāvāsita-
- 23 palli-dēva-pālit-ādhikāriṇā[m]
- 24 [ha]stē prada[ttā⁵ a]ṅkē hi(pi) pu 105 [l*]
- 25 [ā-chandr-ārka-kāla]-paryantaṁ sādhu-pu-
- 26 [rushaiḥ*] paripālaniyā⁶ ||

No. 7—BANGAON PLATE OF VIGRAHAPALA III; REGNAL YEAR 17

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

Sometime about the beginning of 1951, Pandit Vishṇulāl Śāstrī, a Research Scholar attached to the History Department of the University of Patna, kindly informed me that he had seen a copper-plate inscription at the village of **Bangāon** (P. O. Bariahi, Sub-district Saharsa) in the Bhāgalpur District of Bihār and that Pandit Chhēdi Jhā, President of the Chhēdnārāyaṇ Club at Bangāon, and formerly President of the Bhāgalpur District Congress Committee, might be approached for further information about the inscription. I at once wrote to Pandit Chhēdi Jhā, requesting him to send me a pencil rubbing of the epigraph so as to enable me to have a rough idea of its importance. Pandit Jhā kindly complied with my request and, on an examination of the rubbings sent to me, I found that the plate was issued by king Vigrahapāla III of the celebrated Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihar. I was then eager to have the plate on a temporary loan for a careful examination of the inscription, and Pandit Jhā was good enough to send it to me about the beginning of June 1951. I am grateful to him for this act of kindness as well as for the following information regarding the findspot and discovery of the inscription.

The owner of the plate is Pandit Ghughur Jhā, teacher of the Kalabati High English School, Bangāon. The village is an old one, situated on the bank of the Dhēmurā, a tributary of the Kōsī. To the west of the rivulet, there stands Māhishmatī, the *siddha-pīṭha* of the goddess Tārā and the native place of Maṇḍanamisra, famous in the Śaṅkarāchārya legends. To the north-west lies Kandaha where there is a temple of the Sun-god, said to be founded by a king named Bhavāditya, and to the north there is the Bāpāsvara Śiva-liṅga, installed, according to tradition, by the demon king Bāṇa. To the west of the village is a Gaḍh-Dih where some gold coins of the Mughal times

¹ Or, *tapasvinē*=*bhijē*.

² Possibly the intended reading is *kāpyaka*.

³ The rule of *sandhi* has not been observed here.

⁴ This *pra* is redundant.

⁵ Better read *pradattaṁ pañch-ādhika-purāṇa-bālam*.

⁶ The word seems to qualify *dattir*=*śhā* understood.

were dug out some forty years ago. A poster still hangs at the place forbidding people to dig earth there more than three feet below the surface. There are also several *Gadhs* and *Dih*s to the east and south of the village of Bangāon. The plate under discussion was discovered by Pandit Ghughur Jhā sometime in 1950 accidentally in the south-eastern part of the village, close to the Sharari-Dih. It was found buried in the earth with only the top of it visible above the ground. Pandit Ghughur Jhā dug it up and carefully preserved it in his house.

The inscription is written on both sides of a single plate measuring 13·4" in height, 12·2" in breadth and ·15" in thickness. On the top side of the plate is soldered the Pāla seal (7" in length and ·75" in thickness), shaped like 'the ace of spades' and known to have been called *Dharmachakramudrā*. The legend on the seal runs : *Śrī-Vīgrahapāladēvaḥ*. The copper plate with the bronze seal is in a fairly satisfactory state of preservation and weighs 425 tolas. A portion measuring about an inch in length has, however, broken away from the lower left end of the seal on the obverse of the plate. There are 32 lines of writing on the obverse and 19 lines on the reverse. Considerable space (from 5·4" to 7" in length) in the central part of five lines at the top of both sides of the plate is covered by the lower bifurcated part of the seal, causing a break in the continuous writing of those lines. The seal is fixed to the plate apparently with the help of three knobs passing through holes made in the plate.

The characters belong to the East Indian variety of the Northern Alphabet of about the eleventh century A.C., which I am inclined to call the Gauḍiya script. In regard to palaeography, language and orthography the inscription under discussion closely resembles other Pāla inscriptions of the said age, especially the Āmgāchhī¹ and Belwā² plates of Vīgrahapāla III who also issued the present charter. The letter *g* is written in two different ways (cf., e.g., *samupagat-ā°* in line 26 and *purōga* in line 31), one of which is commonly used and resembles the form of *ś* (cf. *samupagat-āsēsha* in line 26). The letter *ṭ* is also written both in the Bengali and in the Dēvanāgarī fashion (cf. *°sutaḥ* and *uṣ°* in line 50). The superscript *r* is often a short horizontal stroke put below the top *mātrā* towards the upper left corner of a consonant (cf. *niryāta* in line 48) and is sometimes not easily noticed ; but in a few cases it is put above the top *mātrā* (cf. *°r-yaḥvanā°* in line 49). The superscripts in the conjuncts *tt* and *nt* are often undistinguishable (*°āvarttāt* in line 25, *kirttāt* in line 30, *paryanta* in line 32, etc.). Medial *ē* is usually of the Bengali type put to the left of the consonant (cf. *°sēsha* in the line 26) ; but in some cases it is put above the top *mātrā* of the consonant as in Dēvanāgarī (cf. *Mēd°* in line 31), while in a few cases it is indicated by a short downward stroke or curve put at the left end of the *mātrā* (cf. *vōdha°* in line 31, *likhitō* in line 32). Medial *i* is sometimes without the top curve and is undistinguishable from the Bengali type of medial *ē* usually found in the record. The *anuvāra* is written in both the Bengali and Dēvanāgarī fashions (cf. *°rōjam* and *dūtām* in line 48). The sign of *avagraha* has been used in several cases. The engraving is neatly done and there are only a few errors of language and spelling. The letter *nī*, which is a contraction of *nibaddha* meaning 'registered' or 'approved', is found both at the beginning and at the end of the first line on the reverse of the plate. This characteristic is also found in some other Pāla grants, including the Āmgāchhī and Belwā plates on which, however, the signs are seen on the obverse. Similar endorsements on the copper-plate grants of the Varmans and Sēnas of Bengal show that the two 'nī's refer to the approval of the king himself and of one of his high officials.³

¹ Above, Vol. XV, pp. 293 ff.

² *Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, Vol. LVI, pp. 60 ff. The inscription has since been edited by me, see above, pp. 9 ff.

³ N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 21, 64, 75, etc. For an absolutely wrong value attached to the sign, see *Proc. I. H. C.*, 1950, p. 107.

The charter under review is dated in the 17th regnal year of king **Vigrahapāla III** whose reign has been roughly assigned to the period 1055-70 A.C. in the latest authoritative work on the history of Bengal.¹ As will, however, be shown below, this dating requires modification in view of the evidence afforded by the present record.

The inscription begins, as usual, with the symbol for *siddham* and the word *svasti*, which are followed by fourteen verses (in lines 1-21). These verses are found exactly in the same order in both the known charters of **Vigrahapāla III** and have been fully discussed in our paper on the Belwā plates of **Mahipāla I** and **Vigrahapāla III**. Lines 21-23 quote the usual description of the Pāla *jaya-skandhāvāra* (possibly, temporary capital) whence the charter was issued. It is well-known that several of such *jaya-skandhāvāras* are already known from the Pāla charters, the same description (suggesting their situation on the river Bhāgirathī or Ganges) being applied to each one of them. Our record adds a new name to the list of the Pāla *jaya-skandhāvāras* so far known. Lines 24-25 of the inscription say that the charter was issued by the *Paramasaugata* (devout Buddhist) *Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* **Vigrahapāladēva** meditating on (or, favoured by) the feet of his father, **Nayapāladēva**, from the *jaya-skandhāvāra* at **Kāñchanapura** which is as yet unknown from any other Pāla grant. Line 25 speaks of the land to be granted as a part, yielding five hundred of the standard coins (called *Purāṇa*?)² of the locality called **Vasukāvartta** in the *Hōdrēya viśaya* (district) of **Tirabhukti**. The lines that follow (lines 26-31) quote the list of feudatories, officials and others, associated with the above piece of land. The same list is also found in other Pāla grants, including those of **Vigrahapāla III** himself. The charter then goes on to say (lines 32-40), in the well-known style of the Pāla grants, that the above mentioned portion of the village of **Vasukāvartta** was granted in the name of Lord Buddha with the specified privileges (including the right to enjoy the *pratyāyas* such as *bhāga*, *bhōga*, *kara*, *hiraṇya* and others) in accordance with the *bhūmicchhidra-nyāya* (i.e., the principle of the rent-free enjoyment of a piece of land by a person who cultivated it for the first time) by the king, for the increase of the merit of himself and his parents, in favour of a **Brāhmaṇa**. Like many other Pāla grants, this one was also made by the king after having taken a ceremonial bath in the waters of the Ganges on the occasion of the *Vishuvat saṅkrānti*. As expected, this portion of the charter is almost a replica of the corresponding section of the Belwā plate already discussed by me. The donee of the present charter was **Ghāṇṭukaśarmaṇ** who was an inhabitant of **Iṭṭāhāka** or **Iṭuhōka**. He was the son of **Tuṅga** and grandson of **Yogasvāmin**. The original home of the donee's family is stated to have been **Kōlāñcha**. He is described as well-versed in *mīmāṃsā*, *vyākaraṇa* and *tarka* and as belonging to the **Śāṇḍilya gōtra** having the **Śāṇḍilya**, **Asita** and **Dēvala pravaras**. The donee is further said to have been a *sabrahmachārīn* of **Narasimha** and a student of the **Chhandōga śākhā**. It is well-known that, in a similar context, charters of ancient Indian rulers usually speak of a **Brāhmaṇa** as a *sabrahmachārīn* or *adhyāyin*, i.e., a student, of a particular *śākhā* or *charaṇa* of a **Vēda**.³ In later Pāla charters, however, we have often mention of the donee as *sabrahmachārīn* of an individual. It appears that the word in such cases has the sense of 'a pupil'. Thus **Ghāṇṭukaśarmaṇ** was probably a pupil of **Narasimha**.

future rulers of the region not to confiscate the gift land. This is followed by the date of the charter : the 28th day probably of the month of **Āsvayuj** in the 17th regnal year of **Vigrahapāla III**. Next follow in lines 42-47 some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. The two verses that

¹ *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, Vol. I, p. 177.

² The grants of the **Sēnas** of **Bengal** usually refer in a similar context to the annual income of the gift land in *Purāṇas* counted in cowrie-shells (*Ins. Beng.*, Vol. III, pp. 63, 74, 87, etc.). The records of the rulers of ancient **Assam**, however, speak of paddy in the same context (*Kāmarūpa-śāsan-āvalī*, pp. 78, 99). Thus our inscription may also refer to the annual yield in the standard measure of the principal crop.

³ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 97, 103, 105, 120, 179, 190, 248, 298, etc.

follow in lines 47-49 speak of the *dūta* or *dūtaka* (i.e., the executor of the grant) and the engraver of the plate in the usual style of the charters of Vīgrahapāla III. What is, however, very interesting in our record is that its *dūta* is said to have been the *mantriṇ* **Prahasitarāja** described as a son of the king. Why, in the name of this as yet unknown son of Vīgrahapāla III, the ending *rāja* has been preferred to the expected *pāla* cannot be determined.¹ The engraver of the plate was the artisan Śasidēva who was the son of Hṛidēva hailing from Pōshali. We know that several engravers of the Pāla plates hailed from the same village. Indeed the same verse also occurs at the end of the Āmgāchhi plate where, however, Śasidēva is called *Mahidharadēva-sūnu* instead of *Śrimān-Hṛidēva-sūnu*. The passage in our record is, however, grammatically wrong and requires some modification. Whether the reading intended is *śrī-Mahidēva*² cannot be determined, although in such a case Mahidharadēva and Mahidēva may have been regarded as identical.

An interesting feature of the charter under discussion is the peculiar endorsement in two verses at the end (lines 49-50). According to this, the real donor of the land was not, as recorded in the grant, the king but one of his Brāhmaṇa officers, named Ghaṇṭīśa. This man is described as a *vidhēya* or servant of the lord of Gauḍa, i.e., the Pāla king, and as having friendship with several rulers. He is said to have made the grant out of his own *kala*, probably meaning the *jāgīr* under his possession. Ghaṇṭīśa was the son of Yōgēśvara and the grandson of Vivada. This Vivada is said to have been born of Iddhabalā, daughter of Gōhaṇaka and granddaughter of Kāchchha who came [to Tirabhukti or North Bihār] from Krōḍāñcha. There is no doubt that Krōḍāñcha is the same as Kōlāñcha mentioned earlier in the inscription as the original home of Ghāṇṭūkaśarman, donee of the grant. The nature of the present grant seems to be similar to that of such records as the Kailan (otherwise called Kailain) plate,³ according to which an officer of a king got a piece of land (probably by purchase) from his master and parts of it were granted in favour of certain learned Brāhmaṇas and of a Buddhist religious establishment. In the present case, the king merely permitted and ratified the grant making the gift land a permanent revenue-free holding.

Besides the mention of a new Pāla *jaya-skaṇḍhāvāra* and a hitherto unknown son of Vīgrahapāla III serving as a minister of his father, and the interesting nature of the grant actually made by a private individual but represented as a royal gift because the king made the land a rent-free holding, a fact of considerable importance in the Bangaon plate is its date. So long, the latest definitely known date of the reign of this king was his 12th regnal year.⁴ Of course there were the Kurkihār image inscriptions,⁵ dated in the 19th regnal year of Vīgrahapāla, and a manuscript of the *Pañcharakṣā* copied in the 26th year of his reign.⁶ But it was not known whether these dates should have to be referred to Vīgrahapāla III or his great-grandfather Vīgrahapāla II. The recently discovered Naulāgarh image inscription,⁷ dated in the 24th regnal year of Vīgrahapāla, without any indication in regard to his identity, also did not solve the problem. Thus the position was that, while Vīgrahapāla III was known to have ruled at least for about 12 years, either the same king or Vīgrahapāla II may have ruled at least for about 26 years. Under the circumstances, some writers⁸ assigned to Vīgrahapāla II a short reign of less than one year but to Vīgrahapāla III a long reign of about 26 years, while others⁹ assigned the long reign-period to Vīgrahapāla II. In

¹ Was it due to the fact that Prahasitarāja was born of a concubine of king Vīgrahapāla III?

² *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 221-41.

³ *History of Bengal*, op. cit., p. 174; Bhandarkar, *List*, No. 1632.

⁴ *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 36 f., 239 f.; *History of Bengal*, loc. cit.

⁵ *History of Bengal*, op. cit., p. 179.

⁶ *Ganesh Datta College Bulletin*, No. 1, pp. 1-16; *J.B.R.S.*, Vol. XXXVII, parts 3-4, pp. 1 ff.

⁷ Ray (*J. H. N. I.*, Vol. I, p. 385) assigns Vīgrahapāla II to circa 992 A.C. and Vīgrahapāla III to circa 1055-81 A.C.

⁸ Majumdar (*Hist. Beng.*, op. cit., p. 177) assigns Vīgrahapāla II to circa 960-88 A.C. and Vīgrahapāla III to circa 1055-70 A.C.

the total absence of any definite date of the reign of Vighrahapāla II, the attitude of the former group of scholars would no doubt appear to be more reasonable. And the present record showing that Vighrahapāla III ruled at least for about 17 years goes considerably in favour of this view. In the present state of our knowledge, therefore, it is better to think that it was Vighrahapāla III who reigned for at least about 26 years and that Vighrahapāla II had a much shorter reign.

The rule of Vighrahapāla III in Tirabhukti or North Bihār about the third quarter of the eleventh century has now to be reconciled with Kalachuri expansion in that area. Such facts as that the city of 'Banāras' belonged to the territory of Gang' about 1034 A.C. when, according to Baihaqī, Ahmad Niyāltigin, a general of Ma'sūd I (circa 1030-40 A.C.) invaded it,¹ and that the Benares plate (Kalachuri year 793=1042 A.C.) of Kalachuri Karṇa (1041-72 A.C.) records the grant of a village in the Kāśī district² point to the inclusion of the eastern U. P. in the dominions of Karṇa and his father Gāṅgēyadēva Vikramāditya. The Karanbel inscription³ assigns to Karṇa a victory over Gauḍa and the Bheraghat inscription⁴ speaks of his hostility with Vaṅga, while his Paikore pillar inscription⁵ points to his advance as far east as the Birbhūm District of West Bengal. Under these circumstances, the Nepalese manuscript of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, completed in [Vikrama] Saṁvat 1076 (1019 A.C.) when Tirabhukti was under the rule of Gāṅgēyadēva,⁶ may be regarded as proving Kalachuri occupation of North Bihār in the first half of the eleventh century. It should, however, be pointed out that we have inscriptions of Mahīpāla I (circa 988-1038 A.C.) from Sārnāth near Banaras (dated Vikrama Saṁvat 1083=1026 A.C.) in the eastern U.P., from Nālandā, Bodhgayā and Tetrawan (dated in the regnal years 11 and 31 or 21) in South Bihār and from Imādpur (dated in the regnal year 48) in the Muzaffarpur District of North Bihār, while two inscriptions (dated in the regnal year 15) of Nayapāla (circa 1038-55 A.C.) come from Gayā in South Bihār.⁷ The Tibetan life⁸ of the Bengali Buddhist monk Atiśa Dipaṅkara Śrī-Jñāna refers to an invasion of Magadha or South Bihār under Nayapāla; father of Vighrahapāla III, led by 'king Karṇya of the west', i. e., Kalachuri Karṇa. According to this tradition, Nayapāla ultimately succeeded in defeating the invader, while, according to the *Rāmacharita*,⁹ Vighrahapāla III defeated Karṇa and married the latter's daughter Yauvanaśrī. It has been supposed that this refers to a second invasion led by Karṇa against the Pāla empire. In any case, the present inscription shows that North Bihār was reconquered by the Pālas from the Kalachuris at least before the 17th year of Vighrahapāla's reign. Karṇa's son Yaśaḥkarṇa (circa 1072-1125 A. C.), however, claims to have devastated Champāraṇya (modern Champāran in North Bihār) according to the Bheraghat inscription.¹⁰ It seems, therefore, that the Pālas were struggling with the Kalachuris in Bihār, both North and South, for a considerable period of time.

Another interesting fact revealed by the Bangāon plate is the great importance attached by the local Brāhmaṇas of North Bihār to their relation with a Brāhmaṇa of Kōlāṇcha or Krōḍāṇcha. Ghaṇṭīśa, a Brāhmaṇa of Tirabhukti, is found to trace his ancestry to a Kōlāṇcha Brāhmaṇa named Kāchchha through the granddaughter of the latter. His partiality to the Brāhmaṇas of Kōlāṇcha is also indicated by the endowment made by him out of his own land in favour of

¹ Ray, *D. H. N. I.*, Vol. II, p. 773.

² Ibid., p. 738; Bhandarkar, *List*, 1223; cf. the Sārnāth inscription (Kalachuri year 810=1059 A.C.; Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1225) of the same king.

³ Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 778.

⁴ Ibid., p. 784.

⁵ Ibid., p. 774; *ABORI*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 291 ff.; Bhandarkar, *List*, p. 392, note 3.

⁶ See *History of Bengal*, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

⁷ Ray, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 326.

⁸ *Hist. Beng.*, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

⁹ Ray, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 787.

another Kōlāñcha Brāhmaṇa. That Kōlāñcha, together with Tarkārī, apparently not far from it, was one of the most renowned seats of learned Brāhmaṇas in the early medieval period is definitely suggested by numerous charters of East Indian rulers granted in favour of the Brāhmaṇas hailing from that place.¹ The identification of the locality is disputed. Some scholars locate it in the ancient Śrāvastī country, i. e., the district round modern Set-Mahet on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich Districts of the U. P., while others are inclined to place it on the borders of the Dinajpur and Bogra Districts of North Bengal.² The suggestion of the former group of scholars appears to be more reasonable. Equally interesting is the fact that the reverential attitude of East Indian Brāhmaṇas towards the Brāhmaṇas of Kōlāñcha, as evidenced by the record under review, seems to have been an important factor in the growth of the peculiar social institution, known as Kulinism, in North Bihār and Bengal.

According to the *Kulajis* or *Kula-pañjikās*³ of Bengal, the Rādhiya and Vārēndra Brāhmaṇas, who now form the bulk of the Brāhmaṇa community of Bengal, are descended from five learned Brāhmaṇas who came to Bengal from Kōlāñcha (Kānyakubja according to some versions) at the invitation of a king named Ādiśūra because of the dearth of Brāhmaṇas versed in the Vēdas in that country. Different and mutually conflicting genealogies of Ādiśūra are given in different texts. He is said to have been the ruler of Bengal and Orissa, although some authorities include in his dominions Aṅga, Kālīṅga, Karpāṭa, Kērala, Kāmarūpa, Saurāshṭra, Magadha, Mālava and Gurjara. His capital is placed by some at Gauḍa in West Bengal and by others at Vikramapura in East Bengal. Six different religious ceremonies are mentioned by different authorities, for the performance of which the Brāhmaṇas are said to have been invited. The date of the advent of the five Brāhmaṇas is also variously put as Śaka 654, 675, 804, 854, 864, 914, 954, 994 and 999, while no less than three sets of names are offered as those of the five Brāhmaṇas. The nature of the traditions points clearly to their unreliable character. The reference to the Śaka era shows beyond doubt that the stories were fabricated after the popularisation of the use of that era in Bengal about the twelfth century A.C.⁴ There is evidence regarding the rule of a Śūra dynasty in Bengal.⁵ But no genuine ruler named Ādiśūra is known from the Bengal sources. The only Ādiśūra known to East Indian history is a petty chief who flourished in North Bihār or its neighbourhood in the ninth century A.C. Maithila Vāchaspatimīśra refers to this person in his *Nyāyakaṇikā*,⁶ a commentary on Maṇḍanamīśra's *Vidhivivēka*, in the passage: *nija-bhūja-vīryam-āsthāya sūrān-Ādiśūrō jayati*. Vāchaspatimīśra composed his *Nyāyasūchi* in [Vikrama] Saṁvat 898 (*vasu-aṅka-vasu-vatsarē*), i. e., in 841 A.C.⁷ Thus Ādiśūra, contemporary of Vāchaspatimīśra, must also have flourished about the middle of the ninth century. Whether this Ādiśūra was a vassal of the Pāla emperors of Bengal and Bihār cannot be determined; but most probably he was. In any case, he could not have been a mighty ruler. Since, however, the Pālas were Buddhists, this

¹ See *History of Bengal*, op. cit., pp. 479-80. Kōlāñcha or Krōḍāñcha is also called Kōlāñcha, Krōḍāñchi and Krōḍāñja.

² Ibid, loc. cit.

³ Ibid, pp. 625-26.

⁴ See *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XVII, pp. 30-31, 80. Śrīdhara who wrote his *Nyāyakandali* in Śaka 913=891 A.C. was an inhabitant of Dakṣiṇa-Rādha; but there is no proof that the work was written in Bengal. The author's patron Paṇḍudāsa seems to have flourished in an area where the Śaka era was popular (cf. *Hist. Beng.*, p. 583n). The case of Udayana who composed his *Lakṣaṇāvalī* in Śaka 906=885 A. C., is more dubious (cf. *ibid.*, p. 313n).

⁵ *Hist. Beng.*, op. cit., pp. 210-11.

⁶ Benares ed., p. 290; *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, Vol. LVII, p. 68.

⁷ See S. C. Vidyabhushan, *History of Indian Logic*, p. 133. Recent attempts to refer the year 898 to the Śaka era (*J.G.J.R.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 349-53; *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, op. cit., pp. 69-70) are unwarranted as the Śaka era was not prevalent in Mithilā and the neighbouring areas in the tenth century. It has to be noticed that years of the Śaka era are usually not quoted vaguely as 'the year' as in the *Nyāyasūchi*, etc.

Brahmanical king, probably parts of Mithilā and North Bengal, became important in the eyes of Brahmanical writers like Vāchaspatimiśra. It is possible to think that this Ādiśūra, for some unknown activities of his, became famous in the legends regarding the settlement of Kōlāñcha Brāhmaṇas in Bengal. If this suggestion is to be accepted, it is further possible to think that the institution of Kulinism in Bengal was originally at least partially borrowed from North Bihār. This is further suggested by the possible identity of Maithila Brāhmaṇa families of the Gaṅgaulī *mūla-grāma* (the same as the *gāi* of the *kula-pañjikās* of Bengal) and the Rāḍhiya Kulina family styled Gaṅgōpādhyāya (Gaṅguli).¹ There is a strong Maithila element in the upper class Hindus of Bengal including Sylhet. The origin only of the Maithila families that migrated in the late medieval period is, however, remembered; earlier migrations were apparently completely absorbed in the social groups of Bengal.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the location of Kōlāñcha or Krōḍāñcha has been indicated above. *Tirabhukti* is the ancient form of modern Tirhut in North Bihār. The district of Hōdrēya and the village of Vasukāvartta in it are difficult to identify. I have not succeeded in locating Kāñchanapura and the village called Iṭṭāhaka or Iṭubhaka.

TEXT*

[Metres : verses 1, 8 *Sragdharā*; verses 2, 3, 6, 13, 24, 25 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; verses 4, 7, 10 *Vasanta-vīlakā*; verses 5, 22 *Āryā*; verse 9 *Indravajrā*; verse 11 *Mālinī*; verse 12 *Śikharinī*; verse 14 *Mandākrāntā*; verses 15-19, 23 *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 20 *Śālinī*; verse 21 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

Obverse

- 1 Siddham* Maitrīm kārūṇya-ratna-pramudita-h[ri]dayaḥ prēyasīm sandadhānaḥ samyak-samvō(mbo)dhi-
- 2 vidyā-sarid-amala-jala-kṣālit-ājñāna-paṅkaḥ | jivā yaḥ kāmākāri-pra-
- 3 bhavam=abhibhavam śāsvatī[m] prāpa śānti[m] sa śrīmān⁴=Lōkanāthō ja-
- 4 yati Daśava(ba)lō=nyās=cha Gōpālādēvaḥ || [1*] Lakṣmī-janma-ni-
- 5 kētaṇaṁ samakarō vōḍhu[m] kṣamaḥ kṣmā-bhara[m] pa[kṣha*]-chchhēda-
- 6 bhayād=upasthitavatām=ek-āśrayō bhūbhṛitām(tām) | maryādā-paripālan-aika-nirataḥ |⁵ sau-(sau)ry-ālayō=smād=abhūd=dugdh-āmbhōdhi-vilāsa-hāsi-mahimā śrī-Dharmapālō nṛipaḥ|| [2*] Rāma-
- 7 sy=ēva grīhita-satya-tapasas=tasy=ānur[ū]pō gupaiḥ Saumittēr=udapādi tulya-mahimā Vāk-pāla-nām=ānujaḥ | yaḥ śrīmān=naya-vikram-aika-vasatī[r]=bhrātuh sthitaḥ śāsanē sū-
- 8 nyāḥ śatru-patākinibhir=akarōd=ek-ātapatṛā dīśaḥ || [3*] Tasmād=upēndra-charitai[r]=jagatī[m] punānaḥ [pu*]trō va(ba)bhūva vijayī Jayapāla-nāmā | dharma-dvishā[m] śamayitā yudhi Dē-
- 9 vapālē yaḥ pūrvajō(jē) bhuvana-rājya-sukhāny-aṣvai(nai)shīt || [4*] Śrīmān=Vigrahapālas=tat-sūnur=Ajātasatru=iva jātaḥ | śatru-vanitā-prasādhana-vilō(lō)pi-vimal-āsi-jala-dhāraḥ || [5*]

¹ *Proc. Ind. Hist. Rec. Com.*, 1942, p. 89. Cf. Risley, *People of India*, p. 215.

² From the original plate as well as its impressions prepared in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ According to rules of Sandhi the n here should change to the nasal l.

⁵ The *ḍaṇḍa* is superfluous.

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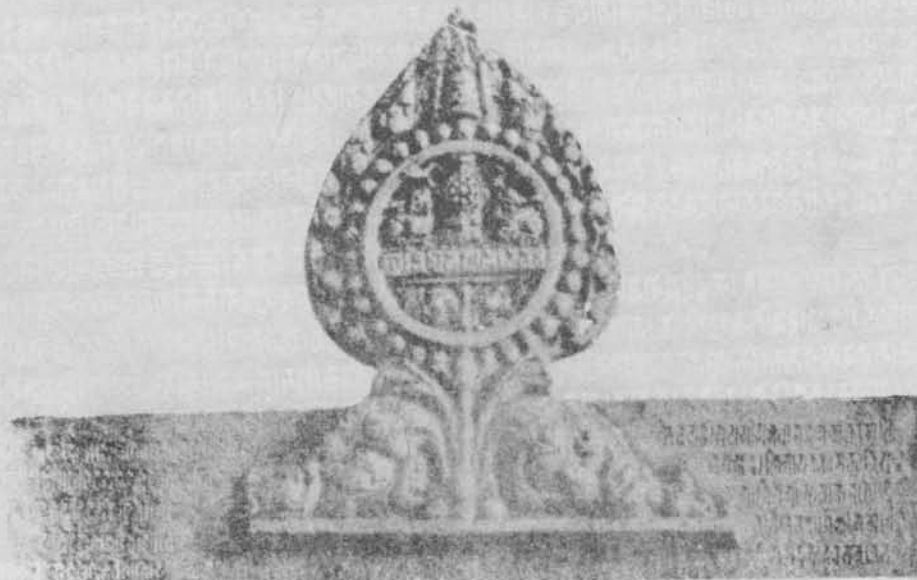
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SEAL



From a Photograph

- 10 Dikpālaih kshiti-pālanāya dadhataṁ dēh[ā] vibhaktān=guṇān śrīmantam janayāmva(mba)-
bhūva tanayaṁ Nārāyaṇam sa prabhūm(bhum) | yaḥ kshōṇīpatibhiḥ śirō-maṇi-ruchā
śliṣṭ-āṁghri-
- 11 pīṭh-ōpala[m*] nyāy-ōpāttam=alamchakāra charitaiḥ svair=ēva dharm-āsanam(nam) || [6*]
Tōyāśay[air]=jaladhi-mūla-gabbhira-ga[r]bhair[er]=dēvālayaiś=cha kula-bhūdhara-tulya-kaksh-
aiḥ | vikhyā-
- 12 ta-kīrttir=abhavat=tanayaś=cha tasya śrī-Rājyapāla iti madhyamalōkapālaḥ || [7*] Tasmāt=
pūrva-kshitiidhrān=nidhir=iva mahasām Rāshṭrakūṭ-ānvay-ēndōs=Tuṅgasy=ōttuṅga-mau-
13 lē[r]=duhitari tanayō Bhāgyadēvyāṁ prasūtaḥ ||[*] śrīmān=Gōpālādēvaś=chiratarām=avanēr=
ēka-patnyā iv=aikō bhartt=ābhūn= naika-ratna-[dyu]ti-khachita-chatuḥ-sindhu-chitr-āmśu-
14 kūyāḥ || [8*] Yam svāminam rāja-guṇair=anūnam=āsēvatē chārutay=ānuraktā | utsāha-mantra-
prabhu-śakti-lakshmīḥ prithvī[m*] sapatnim=iva śīlayanti || [9*] Tasmād=va(d=ba)bhūva
śa(sa)-
- 15 vitu[r]=vasu-kōṭi-varshī ¹ kālēna chandra iva Vighrahapālādēvaḥ | nētra-priyēṇa vimalēna
kalāmayēna yēn=ōditēna dalitō bhuvanasya tāpaḥ || [10*] Ha-
- 16 ta-sakala-vipakshaḥ saṅgarē vā(bā)hu-darpād=ānadhikṛita-viluptam rājyam=āsādyā pitryam-
(tryam) | nihita-charaṇa-padmō bhūbhū(bhūbhū)jā[m*] mūrdhni tasmād=abhavad=
avanipālāḥ śrī-Mahi-
- 17 pālādēvaḥ || [11*] Tyajan=dōsh-āsaṅga[m*] śirasi kṛita-pādaḥ kshitiḥkṛitām vitan[v]an sarvv-
āśāḥ prasabham=uday-[ā]drō[r]=iva raviḥ ||[*] hata-dh[v]āntaḥ snigdha-prakṛitir=anurāgau-
(g-ai)ka-va-
- 18 satī[h*] sūtō dhanyāḥ puṇyair=ajani Nayapālō narapatiḥ || [12*] Pītaḥ sajjana-lōchanaiḥ smara-
ripōḥ pūjāsu raktaḥ sadā ² saṁgrāmē dhavalō=’dhikaś=cha Haritaḥ
- 19 kalam(laḥ) kulē vidvishām(shām) | chāturvvarṇa(rṇya)-samāśrayaḥ śi(si)ta-yasa(śa)ḥ-pūrai[r]=
jjagad-rañjayan ³ śrīmad-Vighrahapālādēva-nripatiḥ puṇyai[r]=jjanānām=abhūta(bhūt)
|| [13*] Dēśē prāchi pra-
- 20 chura-payasi svachchham=āpiya tōyam svairam bhrāntā(ntvā) tad-anu Malay-ōpatyakā-
chandanēshu | kṛitvā sāndhair=Marushu jadatā[m*] śikarair=abhra-tulyāḥ Prālēyādrēḥ
kaṭakam=abha-
- 21 jan=yasya sēnā-gajēndrāḥ || [14*] Sa khalu Bhāgīrathī-patha-pravarttamāna-nānāvidha-nau-
vāṭaka-sampādita-sētuva(ba)ndha-nihita-śaila-śikhara-śrēṇī-vibhramāt ⁴ nirati-
- 22 śaya-ghana-ghanāghana-ghana-ghatā-śyāmāyamāna-vāsara-lakshmī-samāravdha(bdha)-santata-
jalada-samaya-sandēhāt ⁵ udichīn-ānēka-narapati-prābhṛitīkṛit-āpramēya-haya-
- 23 vāhini-khara-khur-ōtkhāta-dhūli-dhūsarita-dig-antarālāt ⁶ paramēśvara-sēvā-samāyāt-āsēsha-
ja[mvū](bmū)dvīpa-bhūpāl-ā[na*]nta-pādātā⁷-bhara-namad-avanēḥ ⁸
- 24 Kāñchanapura-samāvāsi[tā*]t śrīmaj-jaya-skandhāvārāt paramasaugatō mahārājādhirāja-śrī-
man-Nayapālādēva-pād-ānudhyātāḥ paramēśvaraḥ paramabhaṭṭārakō
- 25 mahārājādhirājaḥ śrī-Vighrahapālādēvaḥ kuśali | Tīrabhuk[t]au Hōdrēya-vaishayika-Vasu-
kāvarttāt | yath-ōtpatyā(ttyā) pañcha-śatik-ā[m]śō ||* ||

¹ The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

² The *daṇḍa* is unnecessary. Similarly the *daṇḍas* further on, mostly in lines 25-41, are superfluous.

³ A letter has been cancelled between *sa* and *bha*.

⁴ There is a conventional floral design between the first two pairs of *daṇḍas*, while the space between the second and third pairs is left vacant.

- 26 'samupagat-āsēsha-rājapurushān | rāja-rājanyaka- | rājaputra-rājāmātya- | mahāsāndhi-vigrahi-
- 27 ka- | mahākshapaṭalika- | mahāsāmanta- | mahāsēnāpati- | mahāpratihāra- | dauḥsādha-sādhanika- | mahādāṇḍanāyaka- | mahākumārāmātya- | rājas[th]ān-ōpari-
- 28 ka- | dāsā(śū)parādhika- | chaurōddharaṇika- | dāṇḍika-dāṇḍapāsi(śi)ka- | sau(śau)lkika- | gaulmika- kshētrapa- | prā[m*]tapāla- | kōṭa(tṭa)pāla- | aṅgaraksha- | tadāyukta-viniyukta-
- 29 ka- | hasty-āsv-ōshṭa(shṭra)-nau-va(ba)la-vyāpṛitaka- | kiśōra-vaḍavā-gō-mahishy-aj-āvik-ādhyaksha- | dūta-prēshaṇika- | gamāgamika- | abhitvaramāṇa- | vishayapati- | gā(grā)mapati- |
- 30 tarika- | Gauḍa- Mālava- | Khasa- | Hu(Hū)ṇa- | Kulika- | Karṇṇāṭa- | Lāṭa- | chāṭa- | bhāṭa- | sēvak-ādīn | anyā[m*]ś=ch=ākirttitān | rāja-pād-ōpajivinaḥ prati-vāsinō
- 31 Vṛā(Bṛā)hman-ōttarān | mahattam-ōttama- | kuṭumvi(mbi)-purōga- | Mēd-Āndhra-Chāṇ-ḍāla-paryanta(ntā)n | yath-āha(rham) mānayaṭi | v[ō](bō)dhyati | samādiśati cha | viditam=astu bhavatām
- 32 yath-ōparikhhitō=ya* grām-ārddha-bhūh sva-sīmā-tṛiṇa-pūti-gōchara-paryanta[h](ntā) sa-talaḥ-(lā) s-ōddēsaḥ(śā) s-āmra-madhukah(kā) sa-jala-sthalah(lā) sa-gartt-ōsharah(rā) sa-daś-āpachārah(rā)

Reverse

- 33 'sa-chaurōddharaṇah(nā) | pariḥṛita-sarva-pīḍah(dā) | a-ohāṭa-bhāṭa-pravēśah(śā) | a-ki-
- 34 ūchit-pragrāhaḥ(hyā) | samasta-bhāga-bhōga-kara-hirany-ādi-pratyāya-sa-
- 35 mētaḥ(tā) | bhūmi-chchhidra-nyāyēna ā-chandr-ārka-kshiti-sama-kāla-
- 36 m mātā-pitrōr-ātmanaś=cha puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē bhagavantam
- 37 Vu(Bu)ddha-bhaṭṭarakam=uddiśya | Śāṇḍilya-sagōtrāya | * |
- 38 Śāṇḍily-Āsita-Dēvala-pravarāya | Narasiṃha-savra(bra)hmachārīṇē | Chchha(Chha)ndōga-śākh-ādhyāyīṇē | mīmāṃsā-vyākaraṇa-tarkka-vidyā-vidē |
- 39 Kōlāṇcha-vini[r]ggatāya | Ittāhāka*-vāstavyāya | Yōgasā(svā)mi-pauttrāya | Ttu(Tu)ṅga-puttrāya | śrī-Ghāṇṭukaśarmmaṇē | vimi(shu)vat-saṅkrāntyaṁ vidhivat | Ga-
- 40 āgāyām* snātvā śāsanikṛitya pradattō=(tt-ā)smābhiḥ | atō bhavadbhiḥ sarvair=ev=ānumantavyam bhāvibhir=api bhūpatibhiḥ bhūmē[r]=dāna-phala-gauravāt | apaharaṇ[ē]-
- 41 na cha mahānaraka-pāta-bhayā[t] | dānam=idam=anumōdy=ānumōdy=ānupālaniyam prati-vāsibhiś=cha kshētrakaraiḥ | ājñā-śravaṇa-vidhēyibhūya yathā-kālam samu-
- 42 [ch]ita-bhāga-bhōga-kara-hirany-ādi-pratyāy-ōpanayaḥ kārya iti || o || Sam 17 Avayau dinē' 28 [l*] bhavanti ch=ātra dharm-ānuśa[m*]sinaḥ ślōkḥ || Va(Ba)hubhi[r]=vasudhā dattā rā-

* A space of about four inches is left blank at the beginning of this line.

* Read 'likhit-ēyam'.

* A little above the left and right margins of this line are respectively ni | and ni ||. The akṣara ni is written to resemble na within a circle. Ni is a contraction of nībaddha, 'registered' or 'approved'.

* A little space is left blank between the two daṇḍas.

* The reading may possibly also be Iṣṭhōka.

* The expression Gaṇḍāyām had been originally omitted and was later inserted. For want of space after y the medial ā sign of this letter is indicated above the top mātrā as in older inscriptions.

* The medial i in di had been originally omitted and was later only imperfectly made above the top mātrā. For Avayau, Avayau (Sanskrit Avayajī) seems to be the reading intended.

- 19 तिरोहीर्षं वश्यं चक्रेऽग्रहीदुचं । तोगास्थबालीसाभूपावर्त्तराजेन खंडितात् ॥२५॥ प्रासादं
स्वगृहे चक्रे मेघ-
- 20 मंदिरनामकं । पीछोलाख्यतटाकस्य तटे मोहनमंदिर(रं) ॥२६॥ जगत्सिंहा(ह)नृपाशातो
वी(वी)सबालापुत्रे गतः । प्रधानो भागधुं(धं)-
- 21 द्वाक्यो रावलः साबलो गिरी ॥२७॥ गतः समरसीनामा ततो लक्षद्वयं ददौ । बंडं
रजतमुद्राणां भूत्यभावं सदा दधे ॥२८॥ वृ-
- 22 दीशशत्रुशत्रुस्य भावसिंहाख्यसूनुवे । स्वकन्यां विधिना भूषो दत्त्वा(त्वा)त्रैव ददौ पुनः
॥२९॥ सप्तविंशतिसंख्यास्तु राजन्येभ्योन्यकन्य-
- 23 काः । एकालिगालये चक्रे हेमकुंभध्वजादिकान् ॥३०॥ वत्सरेष्टनवत्याख्ये शते षोडशके
गते । दीपावत्युत्सवे बाई¹ राजजा-
- 24 बुवती व्यधात् ॥३१॥ द्वारकातीर्थयात्रां श्रीरमछोडस्य सेवनं । तथा रुप्यतुलां चक्रे
दानान्यम्यानि सावरं ॥३२॥ गोस्वामिधन्य-
- 25 यदुनाथसुतासुवेर्ष्यं भूमिं हलद्वयमितां पुर ग्राहडाख्ये । तद्वर्तुधीरमधुसूदनभट्टनाम्ना पत्रं
विधाय च ददौ जगतीशमाता ॥
- 26 ३३॥ राज्यप्राप्तेः समारभ्य तुलां रुप्यमयीं व्यधात् । प्रतिवर्षं जगत्सिंहो दानान्यम्यानि
वातनोत् ॥३४॥ शते सप्तदशे पूर्णे चतुराख्येष्टके शु-
- 27 चो । सूर्यपदे जगत्सिंहः संपूज्यामरकटके ॥३५॥ ज्योतिर्लिंगं तु मांघातुसेव्यमोकार-
मीशवरं । सुवर्णस्थ तुलां चक्रे² अथ प्रत्यब्धमातनो-
- 28 त् ॥३६॥ स्वजन्मदिवसे मोदोन्महादानं पु[रा] व्यधात् । कल्पवृक्षं स्वर्णपुष्पीं सप्त-
सागरनामकं ॥३७॥ विश्वचक्रं कर्मा(मा)वस्मिन्वर्षे माता
- 29 जगत्पतेः । श्रीमज्जांबुवतीबाई¹ प्रतस्थे तीर्थवृष्टये ॥३८॥ कार्तिके मधुरायात्रां चक्रे
गोकुलं(ल)दर्शनं । श्रीगोवर्द्धननाथस्य दीपावत्युत्सव-
- 30 दयोः ॥३९॥ अष्टम्यद्वयस्य तूर्जपौर्णमां(मा)स्यां तु शीकरे । क्षेत्रे गंगातटे चक्रे तुलां
रुप्यस्य वातनोत्³ ॥४०॥ बीकानेरीक्षकण[स्य*] सुता रा(रा)मपुरप्र-

¹ This dialectal word is used here *avibhaktika*.

² *Sandhi* is not observed here.

³ Here one of the two verbs *chakre* and *atanoti* seems redundant.

- 31 भोः । हठीसिंहस्य सत्पत्नी¹ उदारानंदकुंदरिः ॥४१॥ भक्तमह्या जांबुवत्याः संघे
रूप्या(प्य)तुलां व्यधात् । पूर्ववर्षे जांबुवत्या भ्राजयानंदकं-
- 32 बरिः ॥४२॥ श्रीजांबुव(व)त्या श्रमे मां स्थापयित्वा मुदा बवौ । रत्नछोडाय मह्यं
सा दानं सोमामहेश्वरं ॥४३॥ प्रयागे राजतुलां
- 33 काश्यपोध्याविदर्शनं । कृत्वा गृहे सा(स)मायाता चक्रे रूप्यतुलागणं ॥४४॥ बेनीमाकाशं
गोस्वामितनयां मधुसूदनं । तत्पति श्रीज-
- 34 गत्सिंहसिंहिया सोमामहेश्वरं ॥४५॥ अदापयत्कृतं दानं श्रीमज्जांबुवती यथा [1*] राजा¹
अमरसिंहस्य राज्ञीभिर्वत्समादितः ॥४६॥
- 35 इदं दानं यथैवाभ्यामद्यावधि मिति(ति) बदे । त्रिशत्संमितदानानि¹ आभ्यां लब्धानि
तत्स्फुटं ॥४७॥ अस्मिन्वर्षे पूर्णिमायां वैशाखे
- 36 श्रीजगत्पतिः । श्रीजगन्नाथे(थ)रायं सत्प्रासादे स्थापयन्बभौ ॥४८॥ गोसहस्रं महादानं दानं
कल्पसताभिधं । हिरण्याश्वमहादा-
- 37 नं ग्रामपंचकमप्यदात् ॥४९॥ मधुसूदनभट्टाय महागोदानमप्यदात् । कृष्णभटा(ट्टा)य सुधानं
भैरवस्तनधेनुवं² ॥[५०॥*] श्रीराजोदयसि-
- 38 हसुनुरभवत् श्रीमत्प्रातापः सुतस्तस्य श्रीअमरेश्वरोस्य तनयः श्रीकर्णसिंहोस्य वा । पुत्रो
रानजगत्पतिः(ति)श्च तनयोस्माद्राजसिंहोस्य
- 39 वा पुत्रः श्रीजयसिंह एव कृतवान्सत्प्रस्तराऽऽलेखितं ॥५०(५१)॥ बीराकं रत्नछोडभट्टरचितं
द्वात्रिंशत्वाक्येभ्यो पूर्वं सप्तदशे शते तपसि वा
- 40 सत्पूर्णिमायां तिथौ । काव्यं राजसमुद्रमिष्टजलधेः श्रीराजसिंहेन वा सृष्टोत्सर्गविधेः सुवर्ण-
नमयं राजप्रशस्त्याह्वयं ॥५१(५२)॥ इति पंचमस्व(स्त)र्ग[ः]
- 41 गजधर उरजग गजधर सुव(ख)देव सुत्रधार केसलाडा सुवर[भण]ज लालाजा[त]
सोमपुरा खूतरा पुर[व्य] — संवत् १७

Slab VII; Canto VI

[Metres : vv. 1-24, 26-31, 33, 34, 42, 43 *Anushtubh* ; v. 25 *Āryā* ; v. 32 *Gīti* ; vv. 35, 36, 44 *Sragdharā* ; vv. 37-41, 45, 46 *Vasantatilakā*.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः । शते सप्तदशे पूर्वं नवाक्येभ्यो करोतुलां ॥(1) रूप्यस्य [मासे]
चक्रेया(थ) काल्गुने कृष्णपक्षके ॥१॥ द्वितीया-

¹ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

² Instead of *bha* first *bhi* was written and later the sign for medial *i* was scored out.

³ Read *Bhaimaḍāṁ Ratnadhēnudaḥ*.

⁴ With this list of masons compare the one given above, Slab III, lines 36-37.

- 2 दिवसे राज्यं राजसिंहो नरेश्वरः । राज्ञो भुवदियाकर्णनाम्नो ज्येष्ठाय सुनवे ॥२॥
अनूपसिंहाय वदो स्वसारं विधि-
- 3 ना नृपः । क्षत्रेभ्योऽबाहू(र्द्ध)युकन्या एकसप्ततिसंभिताः ॥३॥ कुलकं । शते सप्तवशे
पूर्णे वशाख्येन्द्रे [तु] पौषके । कृष्णकाद-
- 4 शिकायां तु राजसिंहनरेश्वरात् ॥४॥ पंवारइंद्रमानाख्यरावस्य तनया तु या । सदा-
कूबरिनाम्नी तत्कुक्षेर्जातो
- 5 जगत्प्रियः ॥५॥ जयसिंहाभिधः पुत्रः पवित्रश्चित्रकेलिकृत् ॥(१) संजातो जगदाङ्गावचंद्रमाः
कीर्त्तिचंद्रवान् ॥६॥
- 6 भीमसिंहः पुत्र आस्ते गजसिंहः सुतस्तथा [१*] सूर्यसिंहाभिधः पुत्र इंद्रसिंहः सुतस्तथा
॥७॥ स बाहादुरसिंहः
- 7 श्रीराजसिंहात्मजास्तथा [१*] स न(ना)रायणदासो वाऽपदिणीताप्रियाभव[ः*] ॥८॥ आरभ्य
कौमारपदात्सर्व(र्व)सुखलब्ध(ब्ध)ये । श्रीसर्व-
- 8 सुंबिलासाख्यं स्वारासं कृतवाभूपः ॥९॥ वाप्यां क्षीरनिधौ धन्यो लक्ष्मीयुक्तो विराजते ।
नारायणगुणो राजा नौका-
- 9 से(शे)वफणाभयः ॥१०॥ शते सप्तवशे पूर्णे वर्षे एकादशे त्रिषे । अजमेरौ साहि-
जंहा(जहा)बिल्लीशं तं समागतं ॥११॥ श्रुत्वाय
- 10 राजसिंहो(सिंहो)द्रश्चित्रकूटे समागतं । तं साबुल्लहखानाख्यं दिल्लीशवरमंत्रिणं ॥१२॥ प्रेषया-
मास तत्पाद्वे भट्टं तु मधुसूद[नं] । कं(का)ठौडीवंश-
- 11 तेलंगे(गः) स गतः खानसंनिधौ ॥१३॥ खानः पंडितसंबु(बु)द्धया भट्टं प्रत्युक्तवान्कथं ।
गरीबदासो राजेन कथमाकारितस्तथा ॥१४॥
- 12 आलाख्यरायसिंहश्च भट्टेनोक्तं सदावितः । जातम(मे)धं प्रतापाख्यरानाभ्राता रणोत्कटः
॥१५॥ शक्तसिंहो मेघनामा रावतो मेघ-
- 13 पाटतः । आयातो स्थापितो दिल्लीनाथेन किल तो पुनः ॥१६॥ मेघपाटे समायातो
वकार परमेश्वरः । इति स्वामिप्रभुस्तानां
- 14 राजन्यानां स्थलद्वयं ॥१७॥ खानेनोक्तं सत्यमेतत्पुनः[*] खानस्ततीववत् । रा^१नेश-
स्याश्ववाराणां संख्यां [कथ]य^२ पंडित ॥१८॥[*]

¹ There is a scored-out sign for medial *ṣ* over *ga*.

² First *tō* was engraved which was later corrected as *tas*—.

³ This letter is *mō* corrected into *mē*.

⁴ This is *stl* corrected into *sta*.

⁵ There is a scored-out *na* between *rā* and *nē*.

⁶ There is a scored-out sign for superscript *r* over *ya*.

- 15 सविंशतिसहस्राणि भट्टेनोक्तं स उक्तवान् । दिल्लीशस्याश्ववाराणां लक्षसंख्यास्ति तत्कथं
॥१६॥ कार्यं स[मा]न(नं) भट्टेन प्रोक्तं
- 16 खान भूषु स्फुटं । दिल्लीशस्याश्ववाराणां लक्षं राणामहीपतेः ॥२०॥ सविंशतिसहस्राणि
साम्यं सुष्टिकृता कृतं । खानो-
- 17 तः कोषवान् खानो जयसिहस्तदोचतुः ॥२१॥ खानसंगे साहिजहा(जही)दर्शनं चेतकरोत्यहो ।
राणाकुमारस्तु तदा चतुर्वंश-
- 18 मिता मया ॥१२२॥* देशा दिल्लीश्वरादाप्या विहारे मधुसूदनः । राणसेवा व्यघादेवं
स्वतन्त्रिधर्मी महोन्नितकृत् ॥२३॥ दिल्लीश्वर-
- 19 कुमारस्य संगेऽस्मत्पूर्वजगमना । कुमारा मिलनं^१ खन् राजसिहो विचार्य तत् ॥२४॥
सुलतानसिहनामकमहाकुमारं तु ठक्कु-
- 20 रैः सहितं । साहिजहा^२सुतदारासकोहसंगेय संग्रेष्य ॥२५॥ एवं साहिजहानेन^३ मिलनं^४
कृतवाञ्छपः । राजसिहो भाग्य-
- 21 दानविकर्मविंशमाकं वत् ॥२६॥ जनावेनामजगनीं चक्रे रूप्य(रुप्यं)तुलास्थिता । तथा(था)
कारितवा[न्य]त्र गजवानस्य निष्कयं ॥२७॥
- 22 इ[व्यं] संकल्पितं रूप्य(रुप्यं) मुदा पंचशतैर्मितं । मधुसूदनभट्टाय दाने(नै)द्वस्तद्वदो धनं
॥२८॥ युग्मं । राठोररूपसिहाख्यं स्वर्मद-
- 23 लगडाइ(इ)लं । वंश्यं राघववासाख्यं प्रेषयन्विद्रुतं व्यधात् ॥२९॥ शते सप्तवशे पूर्णे
त्रयोदशमितेवके । हेम्नः सा-
- 24 द्वेद्विशतक[प]लेनं ह्याडकं कृतं ॥३०॥ कार्लिक्यां पूर्णिमायां श्री'एकलिंगशिवांतिके ।
दत्त्वा(स्वा) वेदोक्तविधिना राजसिहो
- 25 विराजते ॥३१॥ पंचमहाभूतमयं त्र(त्र)ह्याडं मृञ्जली(ला)इयलधु(धु)मूल्यं । मत्वा सुवर्णपूर्णं
कृत्वा त्र(त्र)ह्याडकं त्वया दत्तं ॥३२॥ हे-
- 26 मत्र(त्र)ह्याडवानेन त्रह्याडस्थाः कित्तीश्वर । त्रा(त्रा)ह्यास्तापोविता दानं त्वया त्र(त्र)ह्यापणी-
कृतं ॥३३॥ हेमत्र(त्र)ह्याडवानेन त्र(त्र)ह्याड-
- 27 स्थां धियं भवान् ॥(१) स्थापयन्त्रा(न्त्रा)ह्याणगृहे वारिद्र्यं हृतवास्ततः[*] ॥३४॥ त्र(त्र)ह्याडे
जसिह प्रभुवर भवता वत् एव द्विजेभ्यस्तद्देवास्त-

* The correct form is *mēlana*.

* Read *Sāhijahā*.

* The usual form is *Sāhijahā*, but its variant *Sāhijahāmna* is here used obviously for the sake of ease in
inflection.

* *Nandhi* is not regarded here.

- 28 दग्धे वा परनिजतनुभिर्भुजते भावुकं यत् । शंभुर्भूतैर्विहीनो विधिरपि व(व)हृषा सृष्टि-
कार्यानधीनो भानुर्वाशीतभानुर्धरणि-
- 29 धरमणे¹ भ्रातिदुःखादिमुक्तः ।[1*] ३५ ।[1*] व(व)हृषाडे राजसिंह प्रभुवर भवता वस एव
द्विजेभ्यः [क्री]डायं तत्सुतानां भवत इतिविधु कंठु-
- 30 कैर्लोलगोली । आरोहार्थं च नंदिद्रुहिणसितमहाहंसकौ पञ्चध्वजचिन्नायातेकनेत्रो भ[वति]
सुरपतिस्तर्जनार्थं गजास्यः ।[1*] ३६ ।[1*]
- 31 श्रीराजसिंहनृपतिः कलिक(का)लमप्ये कर्तुं न योग्यमतुलं हयमेधधर्मं प्राप्तुं समस्त-
मधुना हयमेधधर्मं पूर्णं तु सप्तदशके शतके सुव-
- 32 र्धे ॥३७॥ एकोनविंशतिमुनाम्नि च पौषमासे ।² एकादशीशुभदिने किल शुक्लपक्षे ।
मन्वादिदिव्यदिवसे मधुसूदनाय तेलंगसद्गुरुकु-
- 33 लस्थकठोडिकाय ॥३८॥ श्वेताश्वमुञ्जतममुञ्जगुणातिगेयमुच्चैः[*]श्वःसममहो विधिर्नैव दत्त्वा(त्वा)
। पल्याणहेम[गु]णमेरु[समं] च
- 34 भाति प्रायो हरिर्गुरुगुरोर्गुरुवर्धनेन ॥३९॥ संस्थाप्य तत्र नवलाबितुरंगधन्यस्कंधे सद्भुक्तिमधुरं
मधु[सू]दनाय । सत्सप्तविंशतिपदा-
- 35 नि हयस्य गच्छ(च्छ)प्रप्रे[स्थ]³ एव धृतवान्हयमेध(ध)धर्मं ॥४०॥ सिंहासने स्फुरितधामर-
वीज्यमाता(नश)छत्रोपशोभितशिरा रजिताश्वमेध[1*] श्रीरामचं-
- 36 इ इव(व) भाति सुलक्ष्मणाढ्यः श्रीराजसिंहनृपतिनृपसिंह एवः ।[1*] ४१ ।[1*] नवलास्य-
तुरंगस्य हेमपल्याणमेरुगं । कृतवानुचितं भूपो विवु(वु)धं म-
- 37 धुसूदन(नं) ॥४२॥ [मजजी]राजसिंहाव(वि)मुखापाठकमुत्पकैः[*] । अग्नेतरंजनैर्युक्तो विभ्रान्ति
मधुसूदनः ॥४३॥ श्वेताश्वे दत्तम(मा)त्रे रक्षति⁴ हयमखसत्पु-
- 38 प्यतो भास्वरोद्यल्लोक⁵ श्रीमेवपाटोभवदतिललिता ते सभासौ सुधर्मा । जिष्णुस्त्वं सत्सहस्रैक्य
इह विवु(वु)धव्रातकाण्यवृष्टौ तु-
- 39 ष्टो जेतासुराणां गुरुगुणगुरुतास्थापको युक्तमेतत् ॥४४॥ दानस्य चास्य नववि[ध्य]सहत्र-
[सं]ख्या दाया(त्वा) गुणज्ञगुरुरेव सु-

¹ This *pe* is a correction from *pai*.

² This *danda* is not necessary.

³ The letter *th* here looks more like *chh* ; compare *sth* in lines 33, 34 above.

⁴ Better read *trays*.

⁵ Better read *-lōk*.

- 40 रूप्यमुद्राः । काशीनिवासमथ कारितवाभ्ररैः स्वस्थापि पुणा(प्य)कृतये मधुसूदनस्य ॥४५॥
विश्वेशदर्शनविधौ म[णिक*]णिंकया[स्ती ?]-
- 41 — — — ¹यकृति[मु?]समवेवतानां [। पूजा?] सदाशिषमहो नृपराजराजसिंह-
वीरोलुभाय स ददौ मधुसूदनाय ॥४६॥ इति श्लोकः [सर्गः १]

Slab VIII ; Canto VII

[Metres : vv. 1, 3, 4, 12, 20, 22, 25-28, 30, 31, 34-38, 42, 43 *Anushtubh* ; vv. 2, 14-18, 24, 29, 32 *Sragdharā* ; vv. 5, 21, 33, 39, 41 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 6-11, 19, 23 *Bhujangaprayāta* ; v. 13 *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 40, 44 *Upajāti* ; v. 45 *Prithvī*.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः[*] । शते सप्तदशे पूर्णे चतुर्दशमितेऽवके । राधे² शुक्लदश-
म्या(म्यां) तु जैत्रयात्रा(त्रां) नृपो व्यधात् ॥१॥ मध्योद्यद्भानुविवा(विवा) द्विजपतिविनु-
- 2 ता मंगलाद्या बुधातिस्तुत्या जीवाति(व)द्याः कविकृतनुतयोऽमंदरूपप्रकाशः । विस्फूर्जत्संहिकेया
विदधति बल[नं] केतवः किं ग्रहास्ते
- 3 ³[अ]प्रे सोपप्रतापास्तव विजयकृते राजसिंहेति जाने ॥२॥ पाश्व(श्च)स्यगोलकछ(छ)-
ग्रमुंडमाला ग्रन(व)स्थिताः । भाति स्वच्छा(च्छा)ः शत्रुभक्षाः कालिका[ः]
- 4 [कि]ल नालि[काः] ॥३॥ किं मृत्युर्बष्टा(ष्टा)ः किं शत्रुप्राणसंस्थानकंदराः । किं वारि-
लोकभुगक्तव(र)क्तास्यानीह नालिकाः ॥४॥ किं वा वीररसा[ब्धे](ब्धि)रेव विलसत्क-
- 5 ल्लोलमालो — किं वा दिक्तरुणीकटाक्षपटलेनालंवि(व)तः सीक(स्वीकृ)तः । किं
वारैः स्फुटमेकलिंगमतिती नीलाब्जपत्रान्वितो⁴ रानेद्रः कवचं दधत्सुहृचिरं लो-
- 6 कंरिति प्रोच्यते ॥५॥ ततो कुंडुभीनां निनादप्रतानंमहाकाहलानां च कोलाहलेश्च । तथा
संधवैश्चापि वादिशब्दहंपानां च [ची]त्कारवारैरपारैः ॥६॥
- 7 त्रिलोकीमहामंडल(तं) यत्खंडं जनाः खंडखंडं च(व)भूषेत्यथोचुः । धरित्री विचित्रीः⁵
भवत्कंपनार्ता स्फुरद्दिगा(ग)जा[*] ⁷कंडुकीभावमापु[*] ॥७॥ सभूलोकमु-
- 8 ख्याखिला ऊर्ध्वलोकास्तलाद्यास्तथा सप्त लोका ग्रधःस्थाः । सकंपाः समुद्रा[*] प्रक्षंपाः
सशंपास्तदाऽभ्रे वभु(वभू)वुस्तथाभा ग्रशुभ्राः ॥८॥ जवेनोद्य(च्छ)लंति

¹ The lettering of this line is not clear on the impressions ; consequently the reading is very uncertain.

² That is *Vaisākhē*.

³ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

⁴ Perhaps the intended reading is *patr-ārchitō*. There is a superfluous *anusvāra* over *rā*, if that was meant to be placed over *trā* then the reading would be *patr-ārchitō*.

⁵ Instead of *vārair*— read *rāvair*—.

⁶ *Visarga* is superfluous here : read *nichitribhaval*—.

⁷ This *danda* is not needed.

- 9 स्म सर्वे समुद्रास्तथाऽक्षरूपाश्च भद्रास्तदित्यः । महीध्रास्तथा¹[उ]द्धि(च्छि)लीध्रानुकाराः पत-
(तं)ति स्म वुं(वृ)क्षाः सद्भाः क्षतायैः ॥६॥ अलं म्लेच्छ(च्छ)सीमस्थिता[*]
- 10 सर्ववीरास्तथा मानुषा मक्ष(क्षु) दिक्षु स्थिताश्च । विवीणीकृतोद्वक्षसोऽनछ(च्छ)कर्णा वमंति
स्म रक्तं सुरक्तं मुखेभ्यः ॥१०॥ हयालीखुरोद्धूतधूलीमधूली गजा-
- 11 ल्प(ली)मवाद्रां(द्री) च कर्णाशुगोत्थं(त्थां) । पिवं(वं)ति स्फ(स्फु)टं शत्रुपक्षाव(ब)लानां
गुडारूपलोलालकालिद्विरेफा[*] ॥११॥ महोदयपुरादग्रे भांति नाखर्वपर्वताः । त-
- 12 न्मन्ये त्वसुर(रं)गालीखुरेऽक्षूर्णीकृताश्चिरं ॥१२॥ रिंगत्तुरंगखुरराजिरजःसमूहैर्नद्यो जलाशयगणाः
स्थलभावमायुः । दृष्ट्वा जगद्गतजलं सभ-
- 13 यो महोदा(द्रो) ज्येष्ठेऽपि वर्षणमहो सहसा चकार ॥१३॥ युष्मज्जेत्रप्रयाणश्रवणविगलितत्राण-
निःप्रा(निष्प्रा)णकानां म्लेच्छा(च्छा)नां छादनार्थं भवति हयखुरोत्सति(त्सात)धू-
- 14 लीसमूहः । माद्यस्मात्तंगगत्सलस्थलगतदतुलोद्गमवानावु(नावु)धुं(वं) हिंङ्गकानां निवापांजलिसलि-
लकृते म्लेच्छ(च्छ)पक्षस्थितानां ॥१४॥ रिंगद्वंतावला[नां] ष(प)दभरवि-
- 15 गलङ्गूमिसंभ(भू)तगर्ताः प्रोत्सोलत्कर्णवातैः प्रचलितविलसत्पर्वतानामखर्वाः । प्राबाणः प्राणहीन-
प्रतिभटकुठि(टि)सम्लेच्छ(च्छ)कानां तनूनां प्रक्षेपाद्या(च्छा)-
- 16 दनार्थं स्वत इह नृप ते जैत्रयात्रासु जाता[*] ॥१५॥ अंगो जातप्रभंगो भवति भयभू-
तोत्संगरंगः कर्लिंगो बंगः पूर्णासि(सिं)संगः कलकलकलितोप्युत्कली
- 17 निःक(निष्क)लश्च । शैथिल्यं मैथिलेऽपि स्फुरति भयमयक्रोडको गोडलो(लो)को देशः पूर्वो
विगर्ब(वं)स्तत्र विजयक्र(कृ)ते प्रासपाणे प्रयाणे ॥१६॥ लंकार्तकाकुलाभू-
- 18 त्करगलवव(ब)लाक(कं)कणा कुंकणाशा कर्णाटः सत्कपाटश्चल इह मलयो द्राविडो द्रावि-
तेशः देशश्चोलश्च लोलश्चपल इह भयात्केतुवत्सेतुवं(वं)-
- 19 धः श्रीराणाराजसिंह प्रभुवर भवतो जैत्रयात्रोत्स(त्स)वेषु ॥१७॥ सीराष्ट्रो हा(ही)नराष्ट्रः
प्रभवति सकलः वाद्य(कच्छ)देशोप्यनद्य(च्छ)ष्ठ(ष्ट)ट्टा हट्टातिहीना वि-
- 20 गलति वलको रीमघर्ता ८ — — ²। खंधारः सांधकारो धनददिगधुना निर्धना
धावतेद्धा श्रीराणाराजसिंह क्षितिधव भवतो जै[त्र*]यात्रोत्सवेस्मिन् ॥१८॥ वरी-
- 21 बाजनास्ते वरीबा(वा³)सभाजो जना मांडिलस्थास्तथा स्थंडिलस्थाः [1*] जनाः फूलियायाः⁴
शिरोधूलि[या]सास्त्वदोयप्रयाणे खुमानेशरत्न ॥१९॥ राहेला-

¹ Sandhi is not observed here.

² These three syllables are missing.

³ For the sake of the rhetoric embellishment *Yamaka*, we may, as in the original, read this syllable as *ba*.

⁴ There is a superfluous sign of *anusvāra* over this letter.

- 22 यादिचवहेलाऽचीनच(चे)लाः सुयोधितः । सववेलासुत्रोरवेला भर्त्तुहनाकनोभवत्¹ ॥२०॥ एषा
साहिपुरा प्रवाहितसुखा सा केकरी किंकरीभावं वा
- 23 विदधाति [मं]क्षु सभयाऽकुक्षिंश्चरिः सभिरिः । भ्राजज्जाजपुराधिवासनमहो दुःखावरः सावरः
भीरानामणिराजसिंह भवति तज्जैत्रयात्रं(त्रो)त्सवे
- 24 ॥२१॥ गोडजातीयभूपानां देशः क्लेशविशेषवान् । अनक्ष(च्छ)ः कक्ष(च्छ)वाहानां जंत्रया-
त्रासु तेभवत् ॥२२॥ रणस्तंभसंस्थाः रणस्तंभयुक्ताः प्रमत्तेत-
- 25 रास्तेषु फत्तेपुरस्थाः । व(ब)यानाजना वूरसंसृष्टया²ना जयार्थं प्रयाणे खुमानेश ते स्युः
॥२३॥ मेरो लक्ष्म्याजमेरो विषय उरभय(यं) जायते स्फीतफेरी
- 26 कोडाद्या भं(भां)ति तोडाद्यवनिषु गलितत्राणमाना व(ब)याना । घत्ते फत्तेपुरं न क्षणमपि
न सुखं वक्ष्युडे तबाड(डा) श्रीराणाराजसिंह क्षितिप जयक्र(कृ)तेऽमानमानो(ने)
प्रया-
- 27 जे ॥२४॥ पर्वमेवास्ववर्गवर्लु(वर्गवर्लु)टितं भवतो भट्टः । दरीवा(वा)नगरं । शून्यदरीभावं
समावधो(धौ) ॥२५॥ मंडपास्ते मांडिलस्य(लेभ्य)क्षिता योधस्तु तड्डटाः । द्वावि-
(विं)-
- 28 शतिसहस्राणि रूप्यमुद्रावलेखं³ [ः*] ॥२६॥ वनहेडास्थिता वीरा राने(ने)द्र भवत(ते)
वदुः । सद्दि(डिं)शतिसं(स)हस्तो(सो)द्यद्रूप्यमुद्राः करं परं ॥२७॥ धीराः साहिपु-
- 29 दाधीरा रानेद्र भवते वदुः । द्वाविंशतिसहस्र(सो)द्यद्रूप्यमुद्रा[ः*] करे(रं) वरं ॥२८॥
तोडाया(यां) प्रेषयित्वा भटपटलभूतो रायसिंहस्य राज्ञः फत्तेव(चं)वं सहस्र(स्र)-
- 30 त्रयमितसुभटभ्राजमानं प्रधानं । षष्ठि(ष्टि)स्फूर्जत्सहस्रप्रमितरजतसन्मुद्रिकासंख्यवंदं तन्मात्रा-
संप्रणीतं प्रहरदशकतस्त्वं गृहीत्वा वि-
- 31 भासि ॥२९॥ अहो वीरमदेवस्य पुरं महिरवं परं । राजन्वह्नौ जुहोति स्म कोपि कोपो-
द्भूतो भट्टः ॥३०॥ भवान्मालपुरे दानलक्ष्मीमालातिलुट-
- 32 न । शौर्याऽऽसोक्तं रचितवान्लो(वांल्लो)कैर्नवदिनावधि ॥३१॥ युष्मदि(दिं)गतु(त्तु)रंगप्रचु-
रक्षुरपुटंश्चूणितानं(नां) पुरेस्मिन्पूणनां शकंराणां पटुकरटिघ-
- 33 टाकर्णतालप्रवातेः । उड्डीना[नां] समूहेजलनिधय इमे पूरिताः क्षारभावं मुक्ता मिष्टत्वभाजः
क(कृ)त³ इति भ[वता] भूप विलो(डो)पकारः ॥३२॥ जाते माल-

¹ The sense as well as the reading of this verse is obscure. Compare the printed text.

² There is a superfluous sign of anusvāra over this letter.

³ This *krītaḥ* goes with *upakārah*.

- 34 पुरस्य लुटनविधौ सख्(च्छ)कराणां पुरः कर्पूरप्रकरस्य या हयखुरप्रोद्धतमुद्धं रजः । उद्धीनं गगने विभाति भवतो भूयो मया तर्कितं श्रीरानामणि-
- 35 राजसिंहनुपतेः कीर्त्त[ः*] प्रकाशः परः ॥३३॥ गुछ्(च्छ)वद्गुछ्(च्छ)हारास्ते कनकं कन-
कोपमं । प्रवालवत्प्रवालाश्च प्राचुर्याल्लुटनेभवत् । ॥३४॥ सुकर्बुराः
- 36 मुदुर्बर्णाः¹ सद्गरिष्ठाः प्रवालकाः । हृष्ट्य(भ्य)श्च गृहेभ्यश्च संप्राप्ता लुटने जनैः ॥३५॥
मुजातरूपकं तीक्ष्णं श्वेतशोभं जनैर्मुहुः । नानाम्लेछ्(च्छ)-
- 37 मुखं दृष्टं पतितं पथि लुटने ॥३६॥ लुटने लुटनकरंलुटितं येन यत्त्वया । तस्मै प्रदत्तं
तद्दृष्ट्वा तवोदारं(र)चरित्रता ॥३७॥ प्राप्ता भूपालतां रं-
- 38 का निःशंका धनलाभतः । लुटने पुरभूपास्तु ति(नि)र्धना रंकतां गताः ॥३८॥ लक्ष्मी-
सम्मणिकल्पपृक्षसुरभीहालाधनुर्वाजिनः शंखा-
- 39 श्चन्द्रसुधागर्जेन्द्रसुमनःस्त्रीवैद्यविद्याया(ध)राः । लोकैर्मालपुरोल्लसज्जलनिधेमधेषु रत्नान्यत् लब्धा-
नीति विचित्रमत्र न विष(ष)क(के)नापि ल-
- 40 द्धं(ब्धं) तथा के(श्च)चित् ॥३९॥ सुवर्णमूल्यस्य तु रूप्यमुद्रिका सद्गस्तुनो मूल्यमभूत्तिलुटने ।
सद्गुण्यमुद्रामितवस्तुनः पुनः कर्षोपि कर्षस्य(स्य) वरा-
- 41 टकं तथा ॥४०॥ स्वीयवा(वा)ह्मणमंडलीकृतमहाहोमार्गिहोत्रोष्टभिर्यज्ञैर्भूरिधृतादिवस्तुरचिताजीर्णस्य
शांत्यो(त्यं) मुखे । वहे(ह्वे)र्मालपुरं
- 42 [शुभो]प(ष)धमयं होमीकृतं सृष्टवान्मन्ये खांडवमेव पांडव इव श्रीराजसिंहो नृपः ॥४१॥
टोंकं च सांभरिं ग्रामान्ता(मांत्ता)लसोटिं च चाटसू । रानेन्द्रसुभटा जिं(जि)-
त्वा दंडयि-
- 43 [त्वा] व(व)भुर्भुशं ॥४२॥ राना²भ्रमरसिंहोत्र व(व)ली यामद्वयं स्थितः । राजसिंहः
स्थितस्तत्र चित्रं नवदिनावधि ॥४३॥ धनांबु(बु)युक्छादनिनिम्नगाऽऽगता नदी भव-
- 44 त्येव हि नीचगामिनी । विघ्न(घ्नी)कृतो नीचतया तया नतः[*] श्रीराजसिंहः[*] स्वपुरे
समागतः ॥४४॥ मनोज्ञतरुणीगणभित्तगवाक्षपक्षद्वये विचित्रपटघट-
- 45 नाविलसदट्टहट्टे पुनः । समुद्भूटभटैर्युते करटिसद्वटाटोपके महोदयपुरे नयः प्रविशति स्म
वीरोधतः ॥४५॥ इति राजप्रशस्तिमहाकाव्ये सप्तमः[*] सर्गः[*]

¹ Meaning 'undescribable'² Sandhi is not observed here.

46 [गज]धर कल्याणसत(त्)पुत्र र(रं)गन(ना)थ आत्र उरजण तत(त्)पुत्रलाललषाः जसा-
हरजीजातसोमपुरागोत्र¹

Slab IX ; Canto VIII

[Metres : vv. 1-4, 9, 12-16, 18-43, 46-52 *Anushṭubh* ; vv. 5, 6, 44, 45 *Upajāti* ; v. 7 *Indravajrā* ;
vv. 8, 53, 54 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 10, 11, 17 *Bhujāṅgaprayāta*.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः [1*] शते सप्तदश(शे)तीते चतुर्दशमिते²के । शिविरे छाद्मनिनदी-
तीरस्थे ज्येष्ठ(ष्ठ)मासके ॥१॥ आ(ओ)र(रं)गजेव(वं) विल्लीश(शं) जात(तं) भुत्वाप
त-
- 2 न्मुदे । अरिसिंहं प्रपि(हि)तवान् आतर(रं) नृपतिस्ततः ॥२॥ अरिसिंह[*] सिंहनवप-
यत(यंतं) गतवाग्ददौ । अरिसि(सिं)हाय विल्लीशः स डू(डू)गरपुरादिकान् ॥३॥
- 3 देशान्गजादि तत्सर्वं अरिसिंहः सम(मा)पयत् । श्रीराजसिंहचरणे सोऽस्मै योग्यं ददौ मुवा
॥४॥ गते शते सप्तदे(व)शे तु वर्षे चतुर्दशाख्ये व(व)ट्टवा-
- 4 णवर्षं । सूजाख्यसोदयंवर(रे)ण युद्ध(द्धं) श्रीरंगजेव(व)स्य वितन्वतोस्य ॥५॥ मुदे कुमारं
सिरदारसिंहं स प्रेषयामास नृपः पुरेव । श्रीरंगजेव(व)स्य पुरः
- 5 स्थितोसौ रणे कुमारो जयवान्स जान(त): ॥६॥ श्रीरंगजेव(व): सिरदारसि(सिं)हवीराय
देशाश्चगजाद्यवात्सः । रां(रा)णां³हिपथोपयं⁴व(वे)व सब(वं) योग्य(ग्यं) स आस्मै
- 6 प्रवदे नृपत्रः ॥७॥ पूर्णे सप्तदशे शते नरपतिः सत्षोडशाख्ये⁵वदे³ आकार्योत्तमठक्कुरे⁴गिरिधरं
तं डूगराथे पुरे । सद्राज्यं किल रावल विदधता
- 7 कृत्वात्मनः सेवकं ।⁴ प्रेम्णास्मै प्रवदौ सुयोग्यमखिलं सेवां व्यषाद्रावलः ॥८॥ शते सप्तदशे
पूर्णे वषे(वं) वा(षो)डशनामके । आवणे तु वसाडाख्यदेशं द-
- 8 ष्टं नृपो ययौ ॥९॥ भटवडूटं राखलाद्यैवं(वं)लाद्यैः प्रच(चं)ड(डं)श्च वेत(तं)डवर्षे⁵रुपेता-
(तां) । गृहीत्वा महाबाहिनीं राजसिंहः प्रतस्थे वसाडप्रद(दे)शेक्षणाय ॥
- 9 ॥१०॥ ततो बुद्धिप्रोच्चशब्दैर्जिताब्दरवेः पाद्वंदेशस्थितानां जनानां । विदोर्णानि वक्ष्मांसि
वक्षो विभिभं(भं) महाराव(ल)स्यापि नश्यद्द(द्धं)लस्य ॥११॥ आ-

¹ Reading of this line is not certain ; its language is not Sanskrit. The list of masons given here may be compared with that occurring towards the end of Slabs III, VI, IX and XXV.

² The correct form should be *ārpayad*.

³ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

⁴ This *danḍa* is superfluous.

- 10 लोद्यत्तुलतानाख्यं चोहणं तं महाबलं । रावं सबलसिंहाख्यं रघुनाथाख्यरावतं ॥१२॥
चोडापत(तं) मुहकमसिंह(सिंहं) शक्तावतोत्तमं [1*] एतान्पुरा(रो)ग-
- 11 तान्कृत्वा¹ एतेषां वा(वा)हुमाभयन् ॥१३॥ स रावतो हरासिंहो ययी देवलय(या)-
पुरात् । आगत्य राजसिंहस्य राजेंद्रस्य पदेऽपतत् ॥१४॥ रूप्यमुद्रासुपंचाशत्स-
- 12 हत्वाणि न्यवेदयत् । मनरावतनामानं करिणं करिणीमपि ॥१५॥ शते सप्त(प्त)वशे पूर्णे
वर्षे प(पं)चदशाभिधे । वंशाधे(से) कृष्णनवमीदिवसे भौमवासरे ॥१६॥
- 13 महाराजसिंहाज्ञया वीसबालेक्षणार्थं फतेचंदमन्त्री प्रतस्थे । चम्पू प(पं)चराजत्सहस्रावधारमंहाठ-
चकुरंमुठितां ता(तां) गृहीत्वा ॥१७॥ ततः समरास(रसिं)-
- 14 हस्य रावलस्याव(ब)लस्य वी । लक्षस(सं)ख्या रूप्यमुद्रा देशदानं च हस्तिनीं ॥१८॥ गज-
वंडं वसप्रामाण्युत्पातयव(वं)हिषु । राणेंद्रस्य फतेचंदो भू-
- 15 त्य(त्यं) कृत्वंव रावल(सं) ॥१९॥ दश प्रामान्येशदानं रूप्यमुद्रावलेनूपः । सविंशतिसहस्राणि
रावलाय ददौ मुद्रा ॥२०॥ श्रीराजसिंहवचनात्क-
- 16 तेचंदः स ठक्कुरः । चक्रे देवलियाभंग(मं) हरीसि(सिं)हः पलायितं(तः) ॥२१॥ हरिसिंहस्य
माता तु गृहीत्वा पौत्रमागता । प्रतापसिंहं विदधे प्रसन्नं
- 17 राणमंत्रिणं ॥२२॥ रूप्यमुद्रासहस्राणि विंशत्याख्यानि हस्तिनी(नीं) । वंड(वं) प्रकल्प्य स्वल्पं
स फतेचंदो दयामय[ः] ॥२३॥ राणे(णें)द्रवरणाभ्यर्णे ¹आन(ना)यामा-
- 18 स तं व(ब)लात् । प्रतापसिंहं जातस्तत्फतेचंदः प्रभोः प्रिय[ः*] ॥२४॥ अषे(से)राजं
[सि]रोही(शं) रावं भक्ततम(मं) स्फुटं । प्रेम्णैव वश्य(श्यं) कृतवान् राजसिंहो महीप-
- 19 तिः ॥२५॥ शते सप्तवशे पूर्णे षोडशेऽथे फाल्गुने । बंहवारीमहाघट्टे शैलशिलध्दे नृपो
व्यधात् ॥२६॥ द्विद्वक्करपत्राभ(भं) ला(लो)हपत्रोच्चकील-
- 20 युक् । वरिधीपाटन(नं) प्रोच्चकपाटयुगलं दधत् ॥२७॥ अनमलद्विषच्छित्तार्गंलरूपागंलायुता(तां)
सिंहप्रकोष्ठः(ष्ठं) सत्कोष्ठं द्वारं द्विद्वारवारणं ॥२८॥
- 21 कुलकं । शते सप्तवशे पूर्णे वर्षे सप्तवशे ततः । गत्वा [कृ]ष्णगढे दिव्य(व्ये) म[ह]त्या
स(से)नया युतः ॥२९॥ दिल्लीशार्थं रक्षिताया राजसिंहमरे²श्च-
- 22 वः । राठोडरूपसिंहस्य पुत्र्याः पाणिग्रहं व्यधात् ॥३०॥ एकानावशात(एकोनविंशति) स्वब्दे गते
सप्तवशे शते । मेवलं देशमतनां(नो)त्थकायत(सं) वल(बलान्)नृपः ।

¹ Sandhi is not observed here.

² First rō was engraved, but later on it was corrected into rē by scoring out the right hand vertical stroke.

- 23 ॥३१॥ मीनाभिर्जलमीनाभान् दध्वा(द्धा) बध्वा(द्धा)तिरःक(कुष्क)रान् [१*] ल(लं)डयामासुर-
धिकं मीनासे(सै)न्यं महाभटाः ॥३२॥ श्रीराणाराजसिंहेंद्रो भवत्सं
- 24 त्वलिलं ददौ । स्वीयराजन्यधन्येभ्यो वासोह्यधनानि [च*] ॥३३॥ शते सप्तदश(शे)तीते
विंशत्याह्वयवत्सरे । श्रीराजसिंहस्याज्ञातः सा(सि)रोही-
- 25 नगरे गतः ॥३४॥ रानीवतो रामसिंहः सत्संयो रावमाकुल(लं) । पुत्रेणोदयभानेन दद-
कऽमायचतुलात्^१ ॥३५॥ अखेरारजं तस्य राज्ये स्था-
- 26 पयामास तत्स्फुटं । राणा मित्रारिराज्यानां स्थापकोत्थापका इति ॥३६॥ शते सप्तदशे
पूर्णे^२ एकविंशतिनामके । वर्षे भार्गोऽस्तिषट्-
- 27 म्यां राजसिंहा(हो) महीपतिः[ः] ॥३७॥ अनूपसिंहभूपस्य वा(बा)धेलाबांधवप्रभोः । भावसिंह-
कुमाराय कन्यामजवकूवार(वरि) ॥३८॥ संकल्प्य विधि-
- 28 ना दत्त्वा(त्वा) महाराजन्यपंकतये । गोत्रजाधन्यकन्यानामष्टाष्टां नवतिं ददौ ॥३९॥ अथायं
पां(पा)कशास्त्रायां राजसिंहो नरं(रे)श्वरः । भावसिंह-
- 29 कुमारार्धबांधवोयंस्तु वा(बा)हुजैः^३ ॥४०॥ अस्पृशंभोजिभिः साकमुपविष्टो विशिष्टभाः । कु-
र्वाणो भोजनं भाति बांधवोयंस्तदेरित(तं) ।
- 30 ॥४१॥ श्रीराणाराजसिंहस्य यदन्नमतिपावनं । तज्जगन्नाथरायस्य प्रसादान्नं न स(सं)शयः
॥४२॥ तदन्नभोजिन्ये(नो) ह्यद्य वय(यं) प्राप्ताः प-
- 31 विव्रतां । ह्य(य)गजान्मु(न्भू)षणानि वरेभ्योदात्म(न्म)हीपतिः[ः*] ॥४३॥ पूर्णे शते सप्तदशे
सुषर्णे तर्कविंशता(त्य)भिधे तु माघे । सुरुष्यमुद्राद्विसहस्र-
- 32 हेमकृतां शुभोपस्करपूरिता(तां) च ॥४४॥ सूर्योपरागे तु हिरण्यकामधेनुं महादानमवात्स-
रूप्यां । व्याघात(तु)लां वा गजमोक्षिकाख्य(स्यं)
- 33 गजं ददौ वीरव[रो] नरं(रें)[द्रः] ॥४५॥ शत(ते) सप्तदशे पूर्णे पंचविंशतिनामके । वष-
(र्वे) माघे राजसिंहो दशभ्यो(भ्यां) [शुक्लपक्षके ॥४६॥ व ?]डीघामे
- 34 तडागस्थोत्सर्गं रूप्यतुलां व्यधात् । नामाकरोत्सड[ः]गस्य जनासागर इत्ययं ॥४७॥ ददौ
गरीबदासाख्यपुरोहितवराय सः । अ(घा)मं
- 35 तु गुणहंदाख्यं तथा देवपुराभिधं ॥४८॥ षट्(इ) लक्षणि सहस्रानि^२ अष्टाशोतिमितान्यहो ।
सग्नानि रूप्यमुद्राणां तडागे भद्रदाय-

^१ The sign for *avagraha* after *ka* is not required. The intended reading seems to be *ruddham = amôch yad = balat*.

^२ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

^३ *Bāhuja* means *Kshatriya*.

- 36 के ॥४६॥ जनादेनामयुक्तायाः स्वभातु[*] स्वर्गसंस्वितेः । अर्पय[1]मात् सुकृतं राजसिंह
इवं नृप[*] ॥४७॥ तथोदयपुरे त्वस्मिन्नि-
- 37 ने राणनृपोक्तितः । महाराजकुमारभीजयसिंहो महाभिया ॥४८॥ उत्सर्गं रंगसरसस्तवागस्या-
करोम्मुदा । महावानानि
- 38 कृतवान्वीरो वा(वा)त्येतिपुण्यकृत् ॥४९॥ श्रीराजोदयसि(सि)हसुनुरभवत्¹ श्रीमत्प्रताप[*] सुत-
स्तस्य श्री(श्री)²प्रमरेश्चरोस्य तनयः श्रीकर्म-
- 39 सिंहो[स्य] वा । पुत्रो राणजगत्पतिश्च तनयोस्माद्राजसिंहोस्य वा पुत्र[*] श्रीज[म*]-
सि(सि)ह एव(व) कृतवान्वीरः शिलाऽऽलेखितं ॥५०॥ पूर्वे स-
- 40 पवसे शते तपसि वा सत्पुत्रि(र्ज)माख्ये विने द्वाविंशमितवत्सरे नरपतेः श्रीराजसिंहप्रभोः
॥५१॥ काव्यं राजसमुद्रमिष्टज-
- 41 सधेवस्तर्गसङ्गर्णनासंपूर्णं रणक्षोडभट्टरचितं राजप्रशस्त्याह्वयं ॥५२॥ इति श्रीप्रपु(ष्ट)मः स्वर्गः ।
संवत्(त्) १७१८
- 42 ³प्रधरे संवत् सत्तरेसेप्रधारहो⁴तरावरधे माघमासे कृष्णपक्षे सप्तमीदीवसे बुधवारं श्रीराजसमु-
द्रो प्रा-
- 43 रंभरो भोद्वरत कीधोजी । संवत् १७२२ प्रधरे संवत् सत्तरेसेवतीसाविरधे माघमासे
शुक्लपक्षे पुरणमा-
- 44 सीविकसे बृहस्पतिवारं श्रीराजसमुद्ररी⁵ प्रतीष्टा कीधोजी श्रीजीराजसमुद्रमो[शो]रोदीन ६ माहे
मो[शो]रोफेरेने
- 45 पा[छा]पवारंनेतुला सोनारीवेसेने⁶ समस्त ब्राह्मणभाटचारणने दान दीधोजी । भट्टरणक्षोडजीपुत्रमु-
- 46 तसधमीनाथ ॥ ⁷गजधरकल्याणजी गजधरमोहनजी उरजधरजी सुधजी केसोजी सुदरजी
लालाजी जातसोमपुराबास उर्वेपु[र] ॥५३॥

Slab X ; Canto IX

[Metres : vv. 1, 14, 15, 34, 46 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 2-13, 16, 18-32, 36, 38-40, 42, 43, 45, 48 *Anuśṭubh* ; vv. 17, 37 *Upajāti* ; v. 33 *Gīti* ; v. 41 *Mandākrāntā* ; vv. 44, 47 *Sragdharā*.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः [1*] वृत्तास्योदुपशोभितः प्रबिलसत्सत्तावध्यकत्सोलबाग्रोत्सोलम्भकराक्ष(भञ्ज)-
कुंडलधरो राजीवराजाक्षणः । माजि-

¹ Sandhi is not observed here.

² From here to the end the language is the local dialect.

³ This phonetic change of Hindi *ś* into *h* in Rajasthanī may be noted.

⁴ It is the indicative of the genitive same as Hindi *kī*.

⁵ The sense is that it took 6 days to go round the lake, and when Rājasinhha returned, he performed the *śānti* ceremony.

⁶ The names of the masons are also given above, towards the close of Slabs III, VI and VIII as well as below at the end of Slab XXV

1 DGA

- 2 क्योज्व(ञ्ज्व)लहीरकोत्तममहाभूषः प्रबालैर्लसन्(न्) भृ(भृ)गारामृतसापरस्तव मुदे गोवर्द्धनोद्धारकः
॥१॥ महाराजाधिराज-
- 3 श्रीजगत्सिंहे विराजति । वत्सरेष्टनवत्याख्ये शते षोडशके गते ॥२॥ श्रीकुमारपदे पूर्वे(र्वे)
राजसिंहो ययौ प्रति । दुर्गं जैसल-
- 4 मेराख्यं पाणिग्रहकृते तदा ॥३॥ द्वादशाब्दवया एव प्रवया इव वु(वु)द्धिमान् । द्वादशा-
त्मस्फुरत्तेजा इ(ई)दृशी मतिमावधे ॥४॥ धोघु(धुं)दा स-
- 5 नवाडश्च सिवाली च भिगाबे^१दा । मोर्चना च पसों[द*]श्च खेडी छापरख(खे)डिका
॥५॥ तासोल मेडावरको भानो ग्रामो लुहानकः । वांसोल गु-
- 6 ढली^२ एषां^३ कांकरोली मठा^४ इति ॥६॥ ग्रामाणां सीम्नि दृष्ट्वा क्षमां तडागकरणोचिता ।
स्वमनः स्थापयामास व(व)दुमत्र जलाशयं ॥७॥ धर्म-
- 7 कार्ये मतेर्षन्ता शत्रोर्हन्ता सदा रणे । यदा राज्यस्य कर्त्तव्यं भुवो भर्ताभवत्तदा ॥८॥
शते सप्तदशे पूर्णे^२ अष्टादशमितेऽब्देके । मासे मा-
- 8 गे ययौ ब्रह्मं रूपनारायणं हरिं ॥९॥ तदनां बीक्ष्य वसुधां तडागं व(व)दुमुद्यतः ।
पुरोधसाकोन्मन्त्रं कार्यं स्यादिति सोबदत् ॥१०॥ श्र-
- 9 द्वा पूर्णाऽविरोधित्व(त्वं) विल्लीशेन व्ययो व(व)दुः । द्रव्यस्येति भवेच्चेत्स्याद्र[१]जोक्तं स्या-
त्त्रयं ततः ॥११॥ पुरो हितकर[ः*] श्रीमत्पुरोहितपुरः-
- 10 सरः । पुरोहितजयो राजा कार्यं कर्तुमथोद्यतः ॥१२॥ अखर्वयोः पर्वतयोर(रं)तरे गोमतीं
नदी(वी) । रोडुं ज(व)दुं महासेतुं रानेद्रो यत्नमाव-
- 11 धे ॥१३॥ पूर्णे सप्तदशाभिधे तु शतके स्वष्टादशाख्येऽब्देके माघे कृष्णसुपक्षके किल बुधे
सप्तसप्तमीवासरे । इ(ई)दृक्संख्य इहेव-
- 12 शाह्वययुते कलि(काले) तु कार्यं कृते स(सं)ख्यातः खलु नामतोपि च समो मे बांछि-
तार्थो भवेत् ॥१४॥ पूर्णो(र्णे)त्रेति च सप्तसागरदशाशाष्टादश-
- 13 द्वीपकभेष्या(ष्या) स्वीययशःप्रकाशकृतये माऽधो मम स्यात्कवचित् । कृष्णः पक्षकरो बुधाः
स्तुतिकराः सप्तसप्तमीदिग्भ्रुव(व)
- 14 श्रीव्यार्थं तु जलाशयस्य कृतवान्भूपो मुहूर्तग्रहं^४ ॥१५॥ सेतुं व(व)दुं व(व)दुपणैर्वृतचित्रखनि-
त्रकैः । जनैः खननमारब्धं लुब्धैश्च च-

^१ The sign of *anunāsika* over *va* is meant to be over *gā*.

^२ *Ṣandhi* is not observed here.

^३ Syntactically the word *śākhā* should come after *it* at the end of this verse.

^४ In this verse there is obviously a play on the numerals of the date the details of which are contained in the foregoing stanza.

- 15 नलब्धये ॥१६॥ तदोद्भूतः षष्टिसहस्रसंमितः समुद्रसर्गो^१ सगरात्मजैर्यथा [१*] अकारि भूमेः
खत(न)नं तथांबुधिं कर्तुं द्वितीय^२ रचितं नृ-
- 16 कोटिभिः[.] ॥१७॥ असंख्ये खनने तत्र जायमाने जनेः कृते । पृथिव्यां पृथगो जाता
म(मु)सिकोघेन पर्वताः ॥१८॥ महत्कार्यं महाराणा
- 17 मत्वा साधारणेर्जनैः । न भवेत्तत्सुखं स्थित्वा कारयन्भाति युक्तता ॥१९॥ मेत्वा^३ रानो
महा(ह)त्कार्यं सेतुबंध(बंधं) नृब(बं)धहृत् । स्वस्याग्रे^४ का-
- 18 रयामास तथैव कृतवान्प्रभुः ॥२०॥ कार्यस्य महतो ह्यस्य कृत्वा भागाननेकशः ।- राज-
न्यादिकधन्येभ्यो वस्तवांस्तान्धरा-
- 19 पतिः ॥२१॥ सेतोदधिंघकृते पृथ्व्याः पृष्ठे स्थापयितुं शिलाः । जलनिःसारणं कर्तुं प्रयत्नं
कृतवान्प्रभुः ॥२२॥ शक्रं पराक्रमैः क(का)लमा-
- 20 युव[१] धनवं धनैः । जित्वांबु(बु)कथने राणा वरुण(णं) जेतुमुद्यतः ॥२३॥ तदा चक्रभूता
तत्र घटीयंत्र(त्रे)ण यकृ(त्कृ)तं । बृषयुक्तेन कार्यस्य
- 21 साह(हा)य्यमुचितं हि तत् ॥२४॥ क्रियमाणे घटीयंत्रैर्जलनिःसारणे जनैः । तेषां तत्को(स्का)-
यंकरणे सार्धकः स घटीगणः ॥२५॥ स्वतंत्रैश्च
- 22 घटीयंत्रैरस्वतंत्रैः स्फुरद्दृषः । घटीमात्रेण घटितैर्भूरि निःसारितं जलं ॥२६॥ जलयंत्रैर्ब(बं)-
हुविर्धर्यपर्युपरि कल्पितैः । लोकैर्भू-
- 23 पृष्ठयं नीरं सर्वं दू(दू)रीकृतं कृतं ॥२७॥ अस्मिन्भरतखंडे तु यावतः संति सांप्रतं ।
जलनिःसारणोपायास्तावतः कल्पिता इह ॥२८॥
- 24 गुणिभिः सूत्रधारैश्च पामरैरपि ये पुनः । जलनिःसारणोपायाः प्रोक्तास्ते निर्मिता इह
॥२९॥ इतो निःसारितं नीरं सारणीप्रस-
- 25 रैः परैः । ग्रामे ग्रामे जनैर्नीन(तं) ग्रामा नगरतां गताः ॥३०॥ यथा ज्योतिषसारण्या
वास[रः*] श्रेष्ठस(सा)धनं । कृतं तथांबु(बु)सारण्यावस-
- 26 रः श्रेष्ठसाधन(नं) ॥३१॥ एवं नानाप्रकारेण जलं निःसार्य सर्वतः । सेतुबंध(बं)धकृते
लोकैर्भू(भू)पृष्ठं प्रकटीकृत(कृतं) ॥३२॥ प्रत्यस(क्ष)-

^१ The way of writing the syllable *rggē* is peculiar ; one would read it rather *rggrē*.

^२ The *anuvāra* sign meant to be placed over *ya* appears on the following letter, i.e., *ra*.

^३ There is a superfluous *anuvāra* sign over *tvā*.

^४ The expression *svāsy-āgrē* is a literal rendering of the Hindi or Hindustānī idiom *apne sāmnē* denoting 'in one's own presence', which, however, literally means 'in front of one's own self'.

- 27 नीरवर्षो जित इन्द्रो गिरिधरेण कृष्णेन । वरुणः परीक्षपूरितजलो जितो राण तत्त्व-
यो(या) चित्रं ॥३३॥ पु(पू)र्णे सप्तवशे शतेभ्य उदिते दि-
- 28 व्यंकविंशत्यभिध्याप्ताख्ये दिवसे त्रयोवशिकया शस्याख्यया[स्ते] शुभे । वैशाखे सितपक्षके
खलु विधोवरि किलेतावशे काले भा-
- 29 विमुक्तार्थसूचकसमानार्थव्याख्यायते ॥३४॥ जंघ्वीपवदन्यसप्तवशेषु द्वीपेषु कीर्त्याप्तये नि(नि)ष्टो
द्यनि(मि)रयेकविंशतिमहा-
- 30 दुःखस्थलादृष्टये । घञ्शे^१द्युतिलब्धये कुलमह(हा)शाखाविद्धं सदा साभार्यं सितपक्षकस्य
व(व) विधुस्वाङ्गावकत्वाप्तये^२ ॥३५॥ श्रीराणा-
- 31 राजसिंहोयं सेतोः सत्पवपूरणं । कर्तुं मुहूर्तं कृतवाज्रवपुहव(व)लान्वितः ॥३६॥ कुलकं ।
गरीव(व)दासस्य पुरोहितस्य ज्येष्ठः कुमारो
- 32 रणछोडरायः महाशिलां ^३पंचमुरस्नपूर्णाभादी दधे तत्र पदस्य पूर्व(त्वे) ॥३७॥ वृद्धोपलप्र-
दानेन सुधापानेन यत(त्)तः । सतोः पदस्या-
- 33 जरत्त्वममरत्वं कृत(तं) जनैः ॥३८॥ महासेतोः प्रव(व)धेस्मिन्महाकार्ये महागजैः । सुधा-
खूर्णं समानीतं परिपूर्णं न चाद्भुतं ॥३९॥ सर्वतो
- 34 मुखरूपस्य जलस्य मुखमुद्रणं । वीरावरकृता युक्तं राजसिंहं त्वया कृत(तं) ॥४०॥
छिद्राम्बेवी जलगण इह क्माप सर्वं सहोद्यन्मूढिन
- 35 स्वीयं दधतिपवं दृष्टमात्रं त्वया तु । यत्रवात्रोदितमिति शिलाभेणिभिः क्षारखूर्णाऽऽपूर्णा-
भिर्द्राक्षतवतुलमुखोन्मुद्रणं सृष्टमेव
- 36 ॥४१॥ नूनं कामोसि राजेन्द्र यत्र तत्रोदितछ(च्छ)लात् । शंखरं^४ मुद्रितं तन्वन् युक्तं
सेतुप्रव(व)धकृत् ॥४२॥ कव(व)धविक्रमजयी वा^५नरत्रजयो-
- 37 वकः । रामकमाभिरामोसि सेतुं वधमा(वधमा)सि युक्तता ॥४३॥ गोत्रेणकेन वकं
हरिरमितजलं दूरतः शक्रमुक्तं सप्ताहं श्रीम[ता] तद्वरण-
- 38 समुविनं वारि दूरीक(कृ)तं हि । घ्रासप्लाब्धं सुगोत्रातुलितभरभृता ता(स्या ?)रिलो[क*]-
प्रपु(पू)त्तिंस्त्वत्कीर्तिः कृष्णकीर्त्तरेपि भवति परा कृष्णभवतस्य वी-

^१ *Gharēśa is sūrya.*

^२ Again a play on the date mentioned in the preceding verse.

^३ The five conventional gems are : *nīlaka, vajraka, padmarāga, mauktika* and *praeśila*.

^४ Note the double meaning here, *śambara*= water and *Śambara*= the name of the demon who was slain by Prad-
vumna.

^५ *Kobandha* 'a demon slain by Rāma'; *ka-bandha* 'damning of water'.

^६ *Vānara* 'monkey'; *vā nara* 'and man'.

- 39 र ॥४४॥ श्रीराजसिंहः प्रथमं शरीरं(बं)धमकारयत् । महासेतोस्ततः पञ्चास्तेभरो
बं(बं)धन(नं) दृढं ॥४५॥ मत्स्याः पांडररक्षतपीतवचयः सेतो-
- 40 स्त(स्तु) भा[गे] परे पातालाङ्गिकल निर्गताः शुभतरं गर्भोदकं निःसृतं । तेनोक्तं त्विह
सूत्रधारनिपुणंरंभोत्थ¹गाधं भवेद्भूपालाय निवेदितं नरपतिः श्रुत्वा स्मितास्योभवत्
॥४६॥ रामो नाभोपसार्य क्षितिशिरसि न वा कारयामास सेतुं गोत्रे-
- 41 ब्रह्मवानरेवा(र्वा)ऽदृढ इति धनुष(वा ?) वानरामु(रोमुं ?) व(व)भंज [१*] दूरीकृत्यावु(बु)-
पृष्ठे भुव इह सुनरैः सृष्टवान्मूपलंस्त्वं सच्चूर्णं रामवन्दयाधिकवृद्ध
- 42 इति ते तत्कृपातोस्ति सेतुः ॥४७॥ स्थले जलाशयः सृष्टो जले सेतो[ः] स्थलं त्वया ।
कांतारे नग[रं] सृष्टं वीर ते दंबपूर्णता ॥४८॥ इति भट्टरि(ट्टर)-
- 43 णखोडकृते श्रीराजप्रशस्तिकाव्ये नवमः सर्गः ।

Slab XI ; Canto X

[Metres : vv. 1-4, 10-12, 16-19, 22-25, 27, 28, 30, 31, 37-39 *Upajāti* ; vv. 5-7, 9, 13-15, 20, 21, 33-36, 40-43 *Anuṣṭubh* ; v. 8 *Sragdharā* ; vv. 26, 29, 32 *Indravajrā*.]

- 1 ॥श्रीगणेशाय नमः । सुवर्णशत्पुरमात्यमान² श्रीद्वारकायां धनभासमानः । चतुर्भुजो
राजसमुद्रतीरे श्रीद्वारकानाथ-
- 2 हरिः सुनीरे ॥१॥ आनीतमंभः किल राजमंदिरोद्भव(व) वृ(वृ)षाद्यैर्महिषैर्जननजैः । सत्कार्यदयै
व(व)दृशस्तदीवि(चि)ती व्याघ्रे-
- 3 ण वाना(नी)तमिदं तव(द्भु)तं ॥१२॥* सुवर्णशैले किल जिष्णुरूपः श्रीराजसिंहः[ः] कृत-
वान्मनस्वी । जेतु(तुं) जगत्यामसुरान्तं दुर्गं स्वाम(स्वमं)[वि*]-
- 4 रं सुंदरमद्वितीयं ॥३॥ पूर्ण(णं) शत(ते) सप्तदशे तु मार्गे वर्षेत्र शवि(र्वादि)शतिनाम्नि
भूयः । पञ्चो³दशम्या(म्यां) क्षितिमंविरे(रें)द्रः प्रासादमध्ये कृ-
- 5 तवान्प्रवेशं ॥४॥ शते सप्तदशेतीते ष[दि]([दि])शतिमि[ते]वृ(वृ)के । ऊर्जण⁴द्वितीयायो(यां)
राजसि(सि)हो महीपति[*] ॥५॥ हेम्नः पलशतं[*] सृष्टं[*] पं(व)-

¹ The portion within the square brackets, i.e., from *gē* to *tya* was first omitted by the engraver through oversight, who afterwards added it at the end in the last line, indicating the addition by the *kākapada* signs.

² This *pāda* is short of one syllable. The letter *śa* appears more like *rā*. Perhaps the intended reading is *Suvarṇaśailāt-purī bhāty-amānaḥ*.

³ *Pañcō-daśamī* here is only the form in local dialect of *Pāṇḍu-daśamī* in l. 39, p. 51, and means the tenth day of the yellow month, i.e., Māgha. Mr. Shaktidhar Guleri informs me that *paṇḍu-pañchamī* and *paṇḍu-daśamī* are observed as festivals in Kāngrā on the 5th and 10th days respectively of the bright-half of Māgha.—N.P.C.

⁴ Read *Uṛjah-kṛishṇa* ; the first word meaning *Kārtiku*.

- 6 कल्पद्रुमेयुतं । हेमनः पलशतैः स(सु)ष्टं महाभूतघटाभिर्ध ॥६॥ हिरण्यद्वयं रूप्य-
मुद्रावशशतैः कृतं । दत्त्वा(त्त्वा) महादानयुग-
- 7 मेतद्विमानतोषयत् ॥७॥ विप्रेभ्यो राजसिंह प्रभुमुकुट घटः श्रीमहाभूतपूर्वा(र्षो) ब[त्तो]
देवद्रुमाक्षतः सकलसुरमयो
- 8 मेदरेव त्वया य[त्*] । तद्देवाः स्थानहीनाः कृतमतय इतो ब्राह्म(ब्राह्म)णेषु प्रविष्टास्ते
जाता भूमिदेवा [व]धति गृहणो मेरुभोगं त(त्व)-
- 9 द्वीपे ॥८॥ एकादश सहस्रा(स्त्रा)णि षट् शतानि च सप्ततिः । लग्नानि लग्ना¹ रूप्यस्य
मुद्राणां दानधोरिह ॥९॥ पूर्णे शते सप्तद-
- 10 [शे]थ वर्षे चकार षड्वि(ड्वि)शतिनाम्नि राधे । सितत्रयोवश्यभिषेक्षि सेतोर्नृपो मुहूर्त्तं पुरि
का(कां)करा(रो)ल्यां ॥१०॥ ततोत्र खातो र-
- 11 क्षितः पुषिष्यां जनेर्विचित्रैः पुषुभिः खनित्रैः । महाशिलाभिः सनुया(वा)भरानिः सेतोः
पर्वं पुरितमेव तु(सु)गं ॥११॥ पणै(पूर्णे)
- 12 शते सप्तदशोप वर्षे² प्रा[षा]डमासादिक एव जाता । ज्येष्ठेन षड्विंशतिम(ना)म्नि नव्या
जलस्थितिर्वृष्टिभवा तडागे ॥१२॥ [वर्षे]ना-
- 13 बाह्वलपक्षस्म³रतिषो(षो) रवौ । व[र्षा]ष्टकेन वा पंचमासैः षड्विंशतिः कृतं ॥१३॥
मुखसेतोस्तु भूपृष्ठं शि⁴मुधापूर्णशिला-
- 14 गणैः [1*] पुरितभित्तिरूपोच्चं सूत्रधारैर्भुवं कृतं ॥१४॥ ईदृशकालकृतस्यास्य वृष्ट्या
सिध्य(इष्ट)ष्टकं नृणां । पंचेन्द्रियाणां पापातः
- 15 षडूर्निहरण(णं) भव(वे)त्⁵ ॥१५॥ अस्मिन्(न्म)हावत्सर एव नव्य(व्यं) संस्थापितं ज(य)त्
जल(सं) तडागे । दु(द्व)रीकृतं तत्तु समस्तमेव जनैश्च-
- 16 तुष्कीकरणे प्रवीणैः ॥१६॥ आशाच्चतुष्कागतमानवैर्नवैर्नानाचतुष्कः खनिता जलाशये [1*]
वि(द्व)ष्ट्या चतुष्कीयुत एततो-⁶
- 17 कृत नृणा(र्षा) पुमयोश्चतुष्कदो⁷भव(वे)त् ॥१७॥ ततश्चतुष्कीगणनिःसृ(सु)ताना(र्षा) मुदां
समूहा मनुजेषु(र्षु)बाह्यैः । सहस्त(स्र)संख्यैः सु-

¹ *Lagnāni* goes with *sahasrāni* and *śatāni*, while *lagnā* qualifies *saptatiḥ*. It may further be observed that the word *lagna* is used here in the sense of *vyayita* 'spent', which is more common in Hindi than in Sanskrit.

² *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

³ The meaning of the word *smara* here seems to be five from the conventional number of five assigned to the arrows of Kāma.

⁴ The letter *śi* is superfluous.

⁵ There is a play upon the numbers mentioned in this stanza with reference to those of the date occurring in verse 13 above. The six *ūrmis* are enumerated as *śōka-mōhau jarā-mṛityū kṣat-pīpāsā śhād-ūrmayaḥ*.

⁶ Perhaps we have to read *ēsha sō=dbhūtō*, referring to *taḍāga* or *jalāśaya*.

⁷ Again a play on the number four, *pumarih-śchchā-chatushka* means *purushārtha-chatushtaya* : *dharma, artha, kāma*, and *mōksha*.

- 18 खतः प्रणीता मध्यस्य सेतोः परिपूरणाय ॥१८॥ मुदां गणेः कल्पितपर्वतोद्याः सेतो
[वि]लीनाः ख व(च) नेव दृश्याः । यथा पुरा रा-
- 19 घवसेतुबंधे याता विलीनस्थमहो गिरीशः ॥१९॥ शते सप्तदशे पूर्णे सप्तविंशतिशतमके ।
वर्षे स्वजन्मदि-
- 20 वसे हेमहस्तिरथ(थं) शुभं ॥२०॥ हेमनो विंशत्यप्रदशशतलोकनिर्मितं । महादानविधानेन
राजसिंहनृपो
- 21 ददौ ॥२१॥ पूर्णे शते सप्तदशे सुवर्षे सप्तविंशत्यभिधे मुहूर्तः । आषाढमासेऽसि-
तसच्चतुर्था(ध्या) नृपेणे(ण) नोः(नौ)[स्था]-
- 22 पनकस्य सृष्टः ॥२२॥ जनैस्तृतीयादिवसे तु नौकायोग्यं जलं नेति कृते विचारे ।
आगामिवर्ष(र्षे) तु वृ(वृ)हस्पतिः स्यात्ति-
- 23 हस्थितस्तस्मिन्मुहूर्त* एषः ॥२३॥ नाग्योत्र वर्षेस्ति तडागक(का)यं मुख्यस्तु री(रा)णा
वत रामसिंहः । तदा^१कृतवानस्ति हि चोक-
- 24 डीन(ना)^२ मध्य(ध्ये) जलं क्षेप्यमिहाम्यव(वं)भः ॥२४॥ नौकाम(मु)हूर्तो(त्तो)स्तु महापुरोधा गरीब-
दासाभिध उक्तवान(म्ब ?) । अग्रे प्रभोरेष जना
- 25 विचार(रं) कुर्व(वं)ति राजसिति वा महा(हां)त(तः) ॥२५॥ आश्चर्यमेवा(वां) मम भाति
चित्ते स्यात्कार्यमासीत्सुखवाग्नुपस्तत् । अस्मा द्विजा-
- 26 न्वावणसूक्तमंत्र(त्रा)न्^३ जप्तुं स विद्वानविशालपुरोधा[*] ॥२६॥ अंगारपूर्णा प्रविधाय नौकां
मुहूर्तमागामिसुवासरे तु । नौकाधि-
- 27 रोहस्य मुदा विधातुं कृतप्रतिहं नृपराजसिंहं ॥२७॥ समीक्ष्य शक्नोपि संचित एवा-
भवत्तदस्मिन्सय(म)ये मया चेत् ।
- 28 क्रियते वृष्टिर्न तदा ममेव दोषं वदित्थंति जनाः समस्ताः ॥२८॥ इन्द्रात्प्रभुत्वं त्विति
पद्यपाठ(ठं) जित्तेवधार्येति ममांश ए-
- 29 वः । पूर्णास्य कार्येति मया प्रतिज्ञा रक्ष्या द्विजानान(म)पि सुप्रतिष्ठा(ष्ठा) ॥२९॥
ततस्तृतीयादिवसे द्वितीये यामे ववर्षुर्जल-
- 30 वा मुहूर्ता(त्तं) । नौकाधिरोहस्य चकार भूपो मंदाकिनीनीः(नौ)स्थितशङ्खमुल्यः ॥३०॥
उक्तं जनैः कर्तुमयं यदेव समुद्यतस्तत्पर-
- 31 मेद्वरोत्र । करोति चाग्रे सकलं सुकार्यं भविष्यतीत्यस्य तथो(था)भवत्तत् ॥३१॥ पूर्णे शते
सप्तदशे सुवर्षेऽष्टाविंशतिशतजि-

* Read tad=ōktavān=.

* The word chōkaḍī is Marwari chokri, Sanskrit chatuṣkī, meaning here 'excavated square'.

* Sandhi has not been observed here. For the Vāruṇa sūktā, see Rīgveda, I, 25, 19.

- 32 तनामभेये । राक(का)तिथी नालविमुत्रणं द्राक्¹ ज्येष्ठे(ष्ठे) कृतं सूत्रधरेनूपोक्त्या ॥३२॥
शते सप्तदशे पूर्णे¹ एकोनत्रिंशद्वाह्वये ।
- 33 वर्षे विषुवहे माघे दानं कल्पलतात्मकं ॥३३॥ हेम्नः सार्द्धशतद्वयं(प)लेः सुष्ट(ष्टं) ददौ
तथा । हेम्नस्त्वशीत्यप्रशततोलकं:
- 34 परिकल्पितेः ॥३४॥ हस्तस्तु पंचभिर्युक्तं पंचलांगलनामकं । भावलीग्रामसंयुक्त(क्तं) महादानं
ददौ नृपः ॥३५॥ अष्टाविं-
- 35 शत्यप्रदशशततोलकसंमितिः । हेम्नः समभवद्विषयदानयोरनयोरिह ॥३६॥ पूर्ण(र्णं) शते
सप्तदशे सदेकोनत्रिंश-
- 36 दास्याद्वसुफाल्गुनेत्र [१*] कृष्ण(कृष्णो)सप्त(मे)कादशिकादिने वा शुभे भवानीगिरिपाश्वर्देश(क्षे)
॥३७॥ सत्संगिकार्यस्य तु मुख्य-
- 37 सेतो नृपो मुहूर्तं कृतवान्कृतीन्द्रः । इत्यक्षीकृतः पांडरवर्ण[युक्तः*] सुधाधिसिक्तेर्द्वंद्वसंघिबन्धः ॥३८॥
महोपलेः पेशलसूत्रधारः-
- 38 विंस्त्यमान(विंस्तार्यमाणे) किल संगिकार्ये^१ । धृते(तो)दये स(भं)गिनि कार्यंभ्यं नृपस्य चित्तं
सुखसंगि जातं ॥३९॥ शते सप्तदशोत्तीते^१ एको-
- 39 नत्रि(त्रि)शद्वाह्वये । ज्ये(ज्ये)ष्ठस्य सुक्लसप्तमया(न्या) राजसिंहो महीपतिः ॥४०॥ एकविं-
(लि)गालये त्विद(त्विद्र)सर आस्थे जलाशये ।
- 40 ससोपाने जीर्णसेतो प्रतोलीनां धनुष्टय(यं) ॥४१॥ व्यधात्सुवर्णं सत्काय(यं) सुशिला-
गणरां(रं)जितं । अष्टादशसहस्रा-
- 41 णि रूप्यमुद्रावलेरिह ॥४२॥ लग्नानि राणवीरोक्त्या प्रशस्तिर्निर्मिता मया । धृत्वा तां
स देवादाज्ञा(ज्ञां) शिलायां
- 42 लिखनाय^२ म(मे) ॥ इति श्रीराजप्रशस्तिनाममहाकाव्ये रणछोडभट्टविरचिते वस(श)म[ः*]
सर्गः ॥

Slab XII : Canto XI

[Metres : vv. 1, 13, 14 Upajāti; vv. 2-12, 15-48, 51-57 Anuṣṭubh, vv. 49, 50 Gāthā.]

- 1 [॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः । सेतोर्मितिः पंच शतानि हेर्ध्वं मुख्यस्य च पंचदशोत्तराणि ।
तले गजानां च शतानि पंच से(सं)काव्यशीति-

¹ Sandhi has not been observed here.² Better read *lṛkhanāya*.

- 2 प्रमितानि मूर्ध्नि ॥१॥ विस्तरे पंचपंचाशन्मिता निम्नक्षितौ गजाः [1*] दशोपर्युदये संति
द्वाविंशतिमिताः क्षितौ ॥२॥ निम्नाया(यां)
- 3 [५]अयुक्तिशब्दं तत्र क्रमं वदे । भूम्यूर्ध्वमाष्टगजकं पीठं(ठ)मेकोर्ध्वयुगजः ॥३॥ मेख-
लात्रयमानं त्वासाद्धादशसद्वग-
- 4 ज(जाः) ॥(1) तिलकत्रयमग्रथ त्रयोदशगजविधि ॥४॥ चत्वारः संगिकार्यस्थ स्थरा¹ एकस्थरं
प्रति । सोपाननवकं त्वेवं षट्त्रि-
- 5 शे(श)प्रमितिः स्फुटा ॥५॥ सोपानानामित्युदये पंचत्रिंशद्गजंमितिः । सप्तपंचाशदित्येवं गजाः
सर्वोदयस्थितौ ॥६॥ त्रयं
- 6 बुरिज²कोष्ठानां कोष्ठे प्रासादविस्थिते । देध्ये गजास्तु पंचाशन्निगमे पंचविंशतिः³ [1*] ७॥
सत्पंचसप्ततिर्वृत्ते त्रिंशदेवोदये
- 7 गजाः । गर्भकोष्ठं संव(ब)तायां पंचसप्ततिका गजाः ॥८॥ सार्द्धसप्ताष्टकत्रिंशन्निगमे
वृत्तरूपके । शतं सार्द्धद्वादशकं ग-
- 8 जानां च तथोदये ॥९॥ पंचत्रिंशद्गजाः कोष्ठं तृतीयं पूर्वकोष्ठवत् । पंचचत्वारिंशद-
प्रशसमानं गजा मूढः [1*] १०[1*] भू-
- 9 तौ सेतोस्तु पाश्चात्यभागे प्रोक्तास्ति संव(ब)ता । गजसप्तशतीमाना विस्तरे निम्नभतले
॥११॥ गजा अष्टादशबोर्ध्वं(र्ध्वं) पंचवम्-
- 10 दये तथा । अष्टाविंशतिसंख्यास्तु सर्वा सेतोरियं स्थितिः ॥१२॥ षट्त्रिंशदुद्यन्मिति-
शोभमाना सोपानमाला महतो हि सेतोः । वि-
- 11 भाति कोष्ठत्रितयं तदेतद्भूपालपालंव(ब)नकारि नूनं ॥१३॥ धर्माबुधा(धौ) तत्र महास्मृती-
नामुपस्मृता(ती)नां विदधत्सुखं । वेद-
- 12 त्रयं वात्र करोति वासं कलिप्लुतां म्लेच्छ(च्छ)भुवं विमुच्य ॥१४॥ राजमंदि[रदि]-
श्यस्ति स्थानं तु चतुरधकं । सेतो तत्रायवर्णाख्यो
- 13 वेदस्तिष्ठ(ष्ठ)ति मंत्रवान् ॥१५॥ जलहृदमयं तत्र शोभतेत्रारहृदकं । तत्राजमंदिरा[ख्ये]-
स्मिन्दुर्गे वाप्या जलार्थकं ॥१६॥⁴
- 14 आस्ते नवचतुष्कोयुद्धमंडपं त्वत्र सुवरं । जलदर्शगि(ग)वाक्षाक्षतमतिचित्रकरं नृणां ॥१७॥
महासेतौ संगिकार्यवर्गे विजय-

¹ Meaning 'layer'.² Meaning 'bastion'; Hindustāni *burj*.³ *Visarga* is engraved above the line.⁴ This sign of *aragaha* is not required.

- 15 ते परं । युक्तं नवचतुष्कीभी राजमंडप(प)युग्मकं ॥१८॥ नवलंडस्थलोकानां दर्शनाच्चित्रकारकं ।
पट्चतुष्कीविलसितमेकं वा
- 16 भाति मंडपं ॥१९॥ पश्चाद्भागं महासेतोर्मंडपत्रितयं तथा । सभामंडपमेकं हि महा-
सेतोरियं स्थितिः [॥*] २०॥ निबसेतुप्रभा-
- 17 णं तु वक्ष्यामि खितिपाल ते । दैर्घ्ये गजानां द्वात्रिंशदशं शतचतुष्टयं ॥२१॥ विस्तारे
पंचदश वं निम्नभूमौ गजास्तथा । पंचोद्धुमूद-
- 18 ये चैवं वक्ष्याथो भद्रसेतुके ॥२२॥ चतुदशत्वारिंशदशं गजानां दैर्घ्यतः शतं । विस्तारे
द्वादश गजास्तले पंचदश मस्तके ॥२३॥ त्रयोदशोद-
- 19 ये भद्रं सुभद्रं चतुरलकं । कोष्ठकं विंशतिगजा मृदूताविति संस्थितिः ॥२४॥ कांक-
रोलाग्रामसेतो दैर्घ्ये निम्नधरातले । पंचाशद्युक् पंच-
- 20 शती गजानां मूर्द्ध्नि सप्त वं ॥२५॥ शतानि षट्पंचाशच्च पंचत्रिंशच्च विस्तरे ।
निम्नभूमौ सप्त गजा मस्तके तूदये तथा ॥
- 21 ॥२६॥ निम्नभूमौ सप्तदश गजा उपरि वा भुवः । गजा षष्ट्यत्रिंशदेव कोष्ठ(ष्ट)कत्रितयं
त्वह ॥२७॥ सभामंडपदिक्संस्थको-
- 22 ष्टेष्टाविंशतिर्गजाः । विस्तारे निर्गमे माने चतुर्विंश तथोदये ॥२८॥ सार्द्धषट्त्रिंश-
देवाथ सुभद्रे मध्यकोष्ठके । षट्त्रिं-
- 23 शद्विस्तरे पंचदशा(श) निर्गमने गजाः ॥२९॥ उदयेष्टात्रिंशदेव तृतीये पूर्वदिक्स्थिते ।
कोष्ठेष्टाविंशतिर्मने विस्तारे निर्गमे]
- 24 गजाः [॥३०॥*] द्वादशोदये सप्तत्रिंशदेव भूदो भूतो । पंचचत्वारिंशदशं गजानां शतक
ततः [॥*] ३०(३१) [॥*] पाश्चात्यभागे सेतोस्तु गजानां तु [स]-
- 25 हलकं । दैर्घ्ये विस्तारतः पंचदश निम्नक्षितौ गजाः ॥३१(३२)॥ दशमूर्द्धन्यदये त्वद्य
द्वाविंशतिमिता गजाः ॥(१) अत्रोदयस्तु(स्तु) भवित^३
- 26 ^३षष्ट्यत्रिंशद्गजावधि ॥३२(३३)॥ अयोध्यारेणुकाशेऽत्रजभ्यो म्लेच्छ(च्छ)भीतितः । भात्याग-
त्याध्यात्मरूपेस्त्रिरामो कोष्ठकत्रय ॥
- 27 ३३(३४)॥ भूतो जीर्णेशनिलयमामतं स्थापितं हि तत् । भार्गोस्य स्थापितस्तस्य दर्शनं
जायते सदा ॥३४(३५)॥ रामसेतो यथा भाति [श्री*]-

^१ This tu is written in smaller character below the line

^२ The intended reading is *bhavati*

^३ *Bandhi* is not observed here *metricansa*.

- 28 रामेश्वरभंविर् । तस्यत्वं कां लीस्थसेतो भाति शिवाल्यं(यः) ॥३५(३६)॥ कांकरोलीस्थ-
सेत्थप्रभागे वा मंडपास्थयः । चतुःस्तंभा वि-
- 29 शोभते सभामंडप एककः ॥३६(३७)॥ कांकरोलीस्फुरस्सेतोरग्रे तूपरि भूभूतः । शिलाकार्यं
कृतं तत्र वैर्घ्यं गजशतत्रयं ॥३७(३८)॥ विस्तारोद-
- 30 ययोः पंच गजाः पंचाश(घ)नाशकः¹ । गोघट्टपाशवै वैर्घ्येन चतुःपंचाशदुत्तमाः² ॥३८(३९)॥
गजा दशैव विस्तारे³ उदये तु त्रयो गजा । गो[घ]-
- 31 [दृश्य] गजा वैर्घ्यं चतुःपंचाशदेव तु ॥४०॥* चतुःपंचाशदेवात्र विस्तारे घट्टभूतले ।
उदये तु गजाः पंच भा[स्ये]कमिह [मं]ड[पं] ॥३९(४१)॥ [आसा]-
- 32 दिपाग्रामपाशवै सेतोवैर्घ्यं गजावलेः । द्वे सहस्रे⁴ऽष्टषष्टिश्च विस्तारेऽष्टादश स्फुटं ॥४०(४२)॥
तले मूर्द्धन गजाः सप्त चतुर्विंशतिसद्वगजाः । उ-
- 33 दये कोष्ठकद्वंद्वमत्राष्टास(त्र)मथैककं ॥४१(४३)॥ गजा अष्टाविंशतस्तु तत्र वैर्घ्येन
निर्गमे । चतुर्विंशोदये संति चतुर्विंशतिसद्वगजाः ॥४२(४४)॥
- 34 सप्तांगस्यापि राज्यस्य धर्मस्यात्रास्ति सुस्थितिः । राणराज्ये ज्ञापकाष्टरेखाक्तं किमु कोष्ठकं
॥४३(४५)॥ द्वितीयमर्द्धचंद्राख्यं वैर्घ्यं विंशति-
- 35 सद्वगजाः । विस्तारे दश संत्यत्र द्वादशैवोदये गजाः ॥४३(४६)॥ अर्द्धचंद्रधरभीमदु-
व्रकीडास्थलं हि तत् । पंचचता(त्वा)रिंशदप्रश-
- 36 तमाना मृदो भूतो ॥४७॥* गजाः पाश्चात्यभागे तु सेतोवैर्घ्यं त्रयोदश । शतान्येव
ग[जा]ना(ना)⁵
- 37 तु निम्नभूमो(मौ) तथोपरि ॥४४(४८)॥ गजा दशैव विस्तारे उदये पंच वा गजाः ।
वांसोलग्रामपाशवैस्थसेतो वैर्घ्यं गजावलेः । चतुर्विंशतिसंयु-
- 38 क्तमुद्गादशशतानि हि ॥४५(४९)॥⁶ विस्तारेऽष्टादश गजास्तले पंचैव मस्तके । त्रयोदशोदये
कोष्ठत्रयमाद्येन कोणगे ॥४६(५०)॥ गजा विंशत(ति)रेवात्र [दे]-

¹The visarga and the danda appear above the line.

²Visarga is engraved above the line.

³Sandhi is not observed here.

⁴This sandhi is wrong ; it ought to be sahasrē aṣṭa-, which would militate against the metre. Better read sāśk(aśhaśṭi sahasrē dvē.

⁵After this was first inscribed *Āśāṭṭiyā-stha-sētv-agra-bhāgē san-maṇḍapa- [trayaṁ]* which was later scored out, as indicated by a horizontal line running across this portion of the text. This has, however, been re-engraved at the end in line 44 below.

⁶There is an inverted kakapada sign over the last danda, which shows that the portion engraved in 1, 44 is perhaps to be inserted here, forming a part of the verse 46 (50).

- 39 ध्वंविस्तारयोः समाः । द्वादशोदये त्वेतच्चतुरक्षं सुभद्रक(कं) ॥४७(५१)॥ सुभद्रं साऽरहं
सारहद्वतवौचिती । मध्यकोष्ठे द्वादशैव दे[ध्वं]निर्गम[यो]-
- 40 गंजाः ॥४८(५२)॥ उदये सप्तदश वा अर्द्धचंद्राकृति त्विदं यद्दर्शनादर्द्धचंद्रप्राप्तिदुः[खं]
द्वि[षां]¹ गले ॥४९(५३)॥ अष्टालकोष्ठं(ष्ठं) कमलबुरिजाद्वयम-
- 41 न तु । देध्यंविस्तारयोस्त्रिंशद्गजा नव त²[त्रो]दय(ये) ॥५०(५४)॥ अत्राज्व(त्रोज्ज्व)लोप-
तलसन्मंडपं सेतुमंडनं [१*] इष्टाष्टपुत्रिकाष्टक्रीडादृष्टिमनोहरं ॥५१(५५)
- 42 [एता³?] राज[स*]मुदं(दं) हि रत्ना(त्ना)करमिहांबुनि । स्थित्वाष्ट पट्टराज्ञीस्ताः पश्यन्
किं र[म]ति हरिः ॥५२(५६)॥ अत्र सेतोरप्रभागे राजते मंडपत्रयं ॥(१)
- 43 [इ]ति राजसमुद्रस्य वीरेंद्रोक्त(क्त)मया स्थितिः ॥५३(५७)॥ इत(ति) श्रीराजप्रशस्तौ
भट्टरी(र)णक्षोडविरचिते⁴ ऐ(ए)कादशः सर्ग[ः*] ॥५१॥
- 44 आसाट्टियास्थसेत्वयभागे सन्मंडपत्रयं⁵ ॥ जघ्

Slab XIII ; Canto XII

[Metres : vv. 1-17, 19-23, 29-31, 37, 38 *Anuṣṭubh* ; vv. 18, 32, 33, 39, 41 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ;
vv. 24, 25, 28 *Indravajrā* ; vv. 26, 27, 35, 36 *Upajāti* ; vv. 34, 40 *Sragdharā*.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ओटा⁶ त्वेकात्र लंबत्वे सार्द्धद्विशतसंमिताः । गजा दश च
विस्तारे सार्द्धकुसुमजोदया ॥१॥ ओटा द्विती-
- 2 या विस्तारे देध्यं पूर्वसमोदये । सार्द्धद्विगजमानास्ति तृ(तृ)तीयो(यी)टा तु देध्यंतः ॥२॥
गजत्रिशतमानास्ति विस्तरेण गजा दश । उदये
- 3 सगजद्वंदा मंडपत्रयमत्र हि ॥३॥ ओटात्र⁷यमिदं भाति यावद्गजनुविस्तरं । तावद्वा-
मगणं नीरे(रेः) पूर्णं वितनुते ध्रुवं ॥४॥ मोचंणा-
- 4 ग्रामसोमन्यस्ति तटाकतलंघुगिरिः । शृंगेस्य मंडपो दृष्ट्या पश्चिमेयंदमप्यते⁸ ॥५॥
षट्स्थं(स्तं)भो मंडपोस्त्यत्र गोष्ठौ पत्यंक-

¹ This syllable has apparently not at all been engraved, but the space for it is left blank on the stone.

² Being followed by a conjunct consonant, this syllable is long, while metrically a short one is required in its stead. Therefore better read *gajās=latra nav=odayē*.

³ This reading is extremely doubtful.

⁴ Read : *virachitāyām*.

⁵ See notes 5 and 6 on p. 43 above.

⁶ *Ōṭā* is a Rājasthānī word meaning 'a dam'.

⁷ There is a cancelled sign of superscript *r* over *tra*.

⁸ The form *arthadam*, being an adjective of *manjapad*, ought to be *arthadaḥ*. The following word is *Appati* meaning perhaps 'Varuṇa' and not 'ocean'. We may read *paśchimē=riṭhapradā=ppatāḥ*.

- 5 सेवकाः । कुर्वन्ति मंडपास्तत्रेत्येकविंशतिमंडपाः ॥६॥ ग्रामास्तडागेत्रायाताः सिवाली च भिगावदो । भाणो लुहाणो वा-
- 6 सोल गुठलीत्यखिला इमे ॥७॥ मोर्चना च पसोंवश्च खेडी छापरखेडिका । तासोल एषां ग्रामाणां सीमा मंडोवर-
- 7 स्य च ॥८॥ तडागेत्रागता नद्यो गोमती तालनामयुक् । कैलवास्थनदी सिधौ गंगाद्या विविशुर्धया ॥९॥ कां-
- 8 करोली लोहाणास्या सिवालीनां जलाशयाः । निपानवापीकूपाश्च त्रिशं(त्रिंश)त्संख्या इहागता-
[*] ॥१०॥ सर्वसे-
- 9 तुमितिर्द्व्यं चतुःषष्टि(ष्टि)शतानि च । त्रयोदशाग्राणि तथा गजानामपरं वदे ॥११॥ श्रीराजसिंहनृप-
- 10 तेरघ्रे गजधरं कृता । गालायोगेन दैर्घ्येष्ट सहस्राणि गजावलेः ॥१२॥ विश्वकर्मावतवानेवं तडा-
- 11 गानां तु लंबता । कर्तव्या षट्सहस्रोद्यद्गजमानावधिः परा ॥१३॥ तावत्संख्यामितं कोपि तडागं कृत-
- 12 वास्रवा । त्वया सप्तसहस्रोद्यद्गजलंबो(बो) जलाशयः ॥१४॥ सेतुं कृत्वा विरचितो धर्मसेतुर्धरापते । श्रीरा-
- 13 भसेतुप्रतिमः कीर्तितेः प्रभाति ते ॥१५॥ कोष्ठानि द्वादशात्रैतद्वृष्ट्या नृणां फलं भवेत् । पाठस्य द्वादशस्कं-
- 14 ध्युक्तभागवतस्य सत् ॥१६॥ एकविंशतिसंख्यानि मंडपानि तदीक्षणात् । एकविंशतिदुःखाना-
मभावो भवितां
- 15 भवेत् ॥१७॥ चत्वारिंशदष्टयुक् समभवन्सेतो महामंडपास्तेष्वेवो व(व)द्रुमूत्यवस्त्ररचिताः सदाश्मुष्टास्ततः । पाषा-
- 16 णः समुधाभरं विरचिताः केचित्तु तेषु स्थितः स्वाक्षां कार्यकृते दिशन्विजयते श्रीराजसिंहो नृपः ॥१८॥ वस्त्रकाष्ठादम-
- 17 सुष्टाष्टचत्वारिंशन्मितेषु हि । मंडपेष्ववशिष्टी द्वौ शिलाकल्पितमंडपौ ॥१९॥ तद्दर्शनकराणां स्याद्भनधान्य-
- 18 मलं ध्रुवं । इति राजसमुद्रस्य प्राकृता सर्वा स्थितिर्मया ॥२०॥ श्रीराणोदयसिंहैः स्थानेस्मिन्कृतवाम्परा । से-

- 19 तुं व(ब)द्धं मह्यन्तं(स्त्रं) निःफ(निष्क)लं तदभूविह ॥२१॥ ततो जलाशयं चक्रे श्रीमानुबय-
सागरं । तत्राकरोस्तेतुव(बं)धं संबं(बं)धं घ-
- 20 मंपदतेः ॥२२॥ अस्मिन्स्थले राजसिंहो राण[द्रो] राजराजवत् । धनव्ययं वितन्वानः सेतुं
चक्रे तदभूतं ॥२३॥
सेतोस्तु कर्त्ता रघुवंशकेतू रामश्च राणोदयसिंहदेवः । श्रीराजसिंहो नृपतिस्तथैवमन्यो न
भूतो भविता न
- 22 नास्ति ॥२४॥ पूर्णं शते सप्तदशे सुवर्णे त्रिंशन्मिते भाड^१ इहागता द्राक् । वेताल-
सुत्तालजवाय तालना-
- 23 म्नी नदी तालगभीरनीरा ॥२५॥ संस्त्रावितं नीरभरैः पुरं द्राक् तथा गृहान्य(प्य)त्र
विनाशितानि । चकार बं(बं)धं नृ-
- 24 पतिस्तदस्या न्यायेन युक्तं भुवि नीचगेयं ॥२६॥ तथात्र वर्षे त्विष^२ आगता द्राक्^३
निशीथकालेभिनवे तडागे
- 25 श्रीगोमतीधन्यनदीजलं वा व(ब)भूव हस्ताष्टकमात्रमुच्चं ॥२७॥ तद्वक्षितं राणनृपेन(ण) मंगा
स्पृष्टाकिरीयं भुवि
- 26 बद्धमाना । श्रीगंगया सार्द्धमहो तुलार्यं भंपाप्रहाब्धौ(ब्धौ) न्यपतत्तडागे ॥२८॥ शते सप्त-
दशेतीले त्रिंशदाख्याब्दमा-
- 27 धके । पूर्णिमाया(यां) हिरण्यस्य पलपञ्चशतैः कृतां ॥२९॥ ददौ सुवर्णपूथिवीं महादान-
विधानतः । श्रीरा-
- 28 नाराजसिंहाख्यः पृथ्वीनाथो महामनाः ॥३०॥ अष्टाविंशतिसंख्यानि रूप्यमुद्रावलेरिह । सहस्रा-
- 29 णि विलग्नानि महादानस्य भूपतेः ॥३१॥ दत्तायां कनकक्षितौ तु भवता विप्रेभ्य
एव(षां) गृहे रुद्रं सि(मि)क्षु-
- 30 मदेक्ष्य भिक्षुकगणो दिग्दन्तिनामष्टकं । हित्वो ज(जं)तुषयश्च विष्णगरुडं नागप्रजो वेधसं
भूतोद्यो म-
- 31 धवान(वन्त)मेवमहितो दूरं प्रयाति द्रुतं ॥३२॥ दत्तायां कनकक्षितौ तु भवता विप्रेभ्य
एषां गृहे श्रीराणामणिरा-

^१ *Bhāda* appears to be the local term for 'flood'; Hindi *bāḍ* from Sanskrit *bād* to 'overflow'. The word is here used in the feminine gender as it is in Hindi.

^२ *Isha* is *Āsvina*.

^३ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

- 32 जसिह सकल(लं) दुःखं प्रनष्टं ध्रुवं । वल्लेः शीतभवं तमोभवमिनाम्नालिन्यज चाप्यते¹इच्छं-
ब्राह्मीष्मभवं रजोजम-
- 33 निलाच्चैद्राच्च दुर्भिक्षं ॥३३॥ वत्सायां हेमपृथ्व्यां प्रभ(भु)वर भवताराद्विजेभ्यस्तु सर्वं कार्यं
कुर्वन्त्यगवं निखि-
- 34 लसुलकृते तद्गृहे राजसिह । मोविदो दुग्धदोघा पशुपतिरपि वा रक्षकः सत्पशूनां
जीवो² वा(वा)लप्रपाठो रिपुग-
- 35 नविजये षष्मूलः संमुखोभूत् ॥३४॥ पूर्णे शते सप्तदशेऽब्दे एकत्रिंशन्मिते श्रावणशुक्लपक्षे ।
सुपंचमी
- 36 दिव्यदिने तडागे जहाजसंज्ञा विदधुः सुनौकाः ॥३५॥ लाहोरसद्गुर्जरसुरतिस्थाः सत्सूत्रधारा
वह-
- 37 नस्य मन्ये । स[त्वा]द्वितीये जलधौ तु सेतुं द्रष्टुं(ष्टुं) सुहार्बेन समागतस्य ॥३६॥ शते
सप्तदशेतीत एक-
- 38 त्रिंशन्मितेऽब्दे । स्वजन्मदिवसे हेमपलपंचशतैः कृतं ॥३७॥ विश्वचक्रं(कं) महाद(दा)नं
विधिनादाच्च श-
- 39 क्वत् । भूचक्रे राजसिहोस्ति विश्वचक्रेत्य(स्ति) तद्यशः ॥३८॥ दत्ते हाटकविश्वचक्र
उचितं विप्रेभ्य ए-
- 40 षां गृहे³ उच्चै[र्यां]ति तदभंका निशि रात्रिं धृत्वा विष्णुं वा दिने । तद्वाग्री दिनमह्नि
रात्रिरघुना कर्माणि कुर्युः कुतो
- 41 विप्रा धर्मकृता त्वया कथमथ स्थाप्योत्र धर्मः प्रभोः ॥३९॥ सौवर्णे विश्वचक्रे क्षितिधर
भवता दत्त एषां
- 42 द्विजेभ्या(भ्यो) गेहेष्वेकत्र वासं विदधति विष्णु(बु)धास्तत्स्थिता वाहनानि देवानां त-
त्स्थितानि स्फुटमिभवदनो धे-
- 43 नवो राहुर्बुधः सूर्यो वा शेष आलुः सुरगज इति वा शंभुर्नंदी विचित्र ॥४०॥ दत्ते
हाटकविश्वचक्र उचितं विप्रे-
- 44 भ्य एषां गृहे दारिद्र्यं खलु सर्वथैव विगतं श्रीराणवीर त्वया । यत्नक्ष्मीः किल
कल्पवृक्षधनदौ चिंतामणिः

¹ As regards the meaning of *Appati*, see above p. 44, note 8.

² That is *Brihaspati*.

³ *Nandhi* is not observed here.

- 45 कामगोनेवः स्पर्शमणिः खनिश्च निषयो रत्नाकरो[य] ततः ॥४१॥ इति श्रीराजप्रज्ञस्ति-
काव्ये द्वाश(ब)शः रा(स)र्गः ॥

Slab XIV ; Canto XIII

[Metres : vv. 1-4, 6, 8-13, 15-21, 24, 26, 31-35, 37, 38 *Upajāti* ; vv. 5, 14 *Upēndravajrā* ; vv. 7, 25 *Indravajrā* ; v. 22 *Vamśasthāvila* ; vv. 23, 30, 36, 39 *Upajāti* of *Vamśasthāvila* and *Indravamśā* ; vv. 27-29, 40-42 *Anuṣṭubh*.]

- 1 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ एवं प्रतिष्ठाविधियोग्यरूपे कृते तद्गणे क्रियमाणकार्ये । उस्ताहपूर्णे
नृपरा[ज*]सिंहो निर्मन्नं
- 2 पे(प्रे)वितवान्नृपेभ्यः ॥१॥ पूर्णवरं दुर्ग[ग*]जेश्वरेभ्यः स्वगोत्रभूषेभ्य उतापरेभ्यः । अथो
यथायोग्यमहो महाश्वान्¹
- 3 रथास्तथा सारथिवर्ययुक्तान् ॥२॥ शिवोपधानाः ² शिविकावलीस्ताः संप्रेषयामास त³
सुहस्तिनीश्च । विद्वांसयोग्यान्मनु-
- 4 जान्हिजारीन्विशेषवेत्तानयनाय तेषाम् ॥३॥ कुलकम् ⁴ अथो विशालेषु महागृहेषु राणाभ्यः
कार्यकरनरंस्तैः । पट्टा(ब)रा-
- 5 णां च पटाव्रजो(जा)नां⁵ सुवर्णसूत्रोत्तमवाससां च ॥४॥ अलंकृतानां विलसत्कृतानां प्रयत्न-
नीतातुलरत्नकानाम् । मनो-
- 6 [ज]मुषतावलिपुष्परागप्रवालगाश्मत्तहीरकानां(णां) ॥५॥ गोमेदवर्द्धूर्यकनीलकानां रूप्यस्य हेम्न-
आ(श्च) महासम्-
- 7 हः । सुवर्णमुद्रा रजता[ञ्ज]मुद्रा गिरिर्गुरुश्चित्रसुपात्रसंघः ॥६॥* कस्तूरिकाशस्तवयो
गुरुणां कर्पूरपूरश्च गणोऽगुरु-
- 8 णां । काश्मीरजानां निकरः सुगंधद्रव्यस्य नव्यो वि[वि*]धः प्रबं(बं)धः ॥७॥* संस्था-
पितः स्थापितपुण्यकीर्त्तयुपयुक्तं धनप्रपूर्तैः
- 9 ॥(1) sss⁶षान्याविहृताः शिवि(वि)राणि शाखाः कृताः पुनस्तैर्विविधा विशालाः ॥८॥ कुलकं
॥ अनुष्य वस्तुप्रसरस्य लोकेः पू-

¹ After this occurs the sign of *avagraha* six times repeated, possibly only to fill up the blank space and other-wise meaningless.

² *Danda* is unnecessary.

³ This letter was wrongly engraved and is scored off.

⁴ This *danda* appears above the line.

⁵ The word *paṭ-ārraja* perhaps means 'tent'.

⁶ The three *avagraha* signs are superfluous.

- 10 अं कवाप्यानयनं न वृष्टं । पृथक्तया तेन वितर्क एव प्रकल्पितः कर्कशताकि(किं)कीर्षः
॥१६॥ रघोः सकाशात्किल की-
- 11 त्सनाम्ना प्रदातुमद्धा गुरुनशिनां तां । द्रव्यं सुभय्यं व(व)हृ याचितं तन्निभालितं सद्यनि
भूभृता न ॥१०॥ लब्ध(ब्ध) विजेतुं
- 12 धनं प्रतस्ये त[त]: स शीघ्रं धनदस्तदेव । रात्रौ धनं भूरि रघोर्गृहीचे संस्थापयामास
महाभयाद्यः ॥१२(११)॥ युग्मं । तथा रघोर-
- 13 समवंशजस्य श्रीराजसिंहस्य वसु प्रदातुं । कृतप्रतिज्ञस्य गृहे कुवेरः संस्थापयामास धनं तु
युक्तं ॥१३(१२)॥ गोधूमगोत्राश्चनको(की)-
- 14 घशैलाः सत्कु(कु)लानां पृथुपर्वताश्च । क्षमाभृतो मुद्गगणस्य तुंगा गोधूमपिष्टस्य विशिष्ट-
शैलाः ॥१४(१३)॥ धृतस्य तैलस्य तु क्षापि-
- 15 कास्तु महाद्वयो वा गुडमंडस्य । अलंडलंडस्य महामहीध्रा धराधराः प्रोज्व(ज्व)लशर्क-
राणाम् ॥१५(१४)॥ धृतोद्यपयाममहागि-
- 16 रीद्राः शिलोच्चया भीषितकमोवकानां ।¹ दुग्धोल्लसन्मोवकभूधराश्च फलावलेखोदकतुंगसंधाः
॥१६(१५)॥ कृता मुद्रा कार्य-
- 17 करेनरेद्राक्(ग्) जयति चेते नृप राजा(ज)सिंह ।² पाषाणशैलान्व(न्व)ह्वोद्वयस्त(स्ते) देशे
भुतं वृष्टमिहाद्य चित्रम् ॥१७(१६)॥ रसे³रमी-
- 18 भिः पटशैलेश्च रत्नस्तुरंगः करिभिश्च गोभिः । युक्तश्च दानाय धृतप्रवाहं राजस्तवायं
नगरः समुद्रः ॥१८(१७)॥ अ-
- 19 द्वा जनैः द्वासजितः स्वगत्या प्रचंडवे[तं]डगणाः सुशुंडाः । रथास्तथा धन्यवृषेः सं(स)-
नथाः संस्थापिता दानकृते नृ-
- 20 पस्य ॥१९(१८)॥ हेला[ह]केणापि³ गजा महान्तो महामदा विंशतिसंख्ययाः । आनीय
राज्ञे विनिवेदितास्तान् नृ-
- 21 हीतवान्सप्तवश जितीशः ॥२०(१९)॥ तथापरेणापि गजद्वयं सजानीतमीशेन गृहीतमेतत् ।
अलाशपोत्सर्गवि-
- 22 धौ मय(या) ते देया विचार्येति गजाः स युक्तम् ॥२१(२०)॥ नियंत्रितास्ते नरनायसंधाः
समागताः सर्वकुटुंबयुक्ताः । अश्वे-

¹ This *danḍa* appears above the line.

² Between *sai* and *ra* appears a cancelled *la*.

³ The intended word is perhaps *hēlavukka*.

- 23 स्तर्धवां करिभिर्गजे(जं)र्वा रयं: पुरं(रे) दुर्गम एव मार्गः ॥२२(२१)॥ तपे(धं)व सर्वं
मनुजा द्विजातयः प्रचंडविद्याः खल यं-
- 24 दितोत्तमाः । कवीश्वराणा(णां) नि[व*]हास्तु चारणाः सुवर्दिनोऽमंडगुणाः समाययुः
॥२३(२२)॥ पुरं तदा मर्त्यमयं च गोमयं
- 25 स्वनोमयं वापि हयावलीमयं । करेणुपूर्णं करिसदृघटामयं वृष्टं महाश्वय(हंश्वयं)मयं जन-
वज्रं: ॥२४(२३)॥ अग्नस्य पका(क्वा)ग्नगण-
- 26 स्य भूयः समस्तभोज्यस्य समागतेभ्यः ।¹ अनंतसंख्येभ्य इहावरेण कृत(तं) प्रदानं प्रभुणा
समानं ॥२५(२४)॥ स्वायः पर(स्वीयैः परे)वर्षिपि
- 27 निम(मं)त्रणार्थमश्वदि हस्त्यादि विभूषणा[दि] । वस्त्राद्यमानोत्तमथो गृहीत्वा योग्यं परावृत्य
ददौ तदन्यत् ॥२६(२५)॥ एवं व(व)हृ-
- 28 ष्वेव विन(ने)षु लोकेर्निवेद्यमाने हि निमंत्रण(ण)स्थः । वस्तुत्रज(जं) योग्यमहो गृहीत्वा
अन्यत्परावृत्य ददौ वदन्यः ॥२७(२६)॥ ज-
- 29 ते सप्तदशे पूर्णे वर्षे द्वात्रि(त्रिं)शदाह्वये । माघशुक्लद्वितीयायां ।² राजसिंहस्य भूपतेः
॥२७॥* परमारकुलोत्पन्ना श्रीरामरस-
- 30 दे वधूः ॥१॥ राजसिंहनृपाज्ञातो वाप्या उत्सर्गमातनोत् ॥२८(२७)॥ बहुबारीघट्टमध्ये लग्ना
रजतमुद्रिकाः । चतुर्विंशतिसं-
- 31 ख्यायुक्तहस्तप्रमिता इह ॥४०(२८)॥ ततस्तु सेतौ धरणीधरोत्तमो जलाशयोत्सर्गकृते तुलाकृते
हेम्नस्तथा हाट-
- 32 कसप्तसागरत्यागाय वं त्रीणि सुमंडपान्ययं ॥४१(३०)॥ कर्तुं समाज्ञापयदत्र राणा श्रीराज
सिंहो बुधसूत्रधारान् । कृतानि कुंडी(डा)-
- 33 नि नवंच तत्र वेदी चतुर्हस्तमिता कृता वा ॥४२(३१)॥ सु[म]ंडपः वा(षो)डशहस्तमानः³
इ(ई)द्वक्सुसंख्यामितकायसिद्ध(कार्यसिद्धं) । वदाम्यहं तन्नवर्ष-
- 34 उ(कंड)युकु(क्तं) क्षितौ प्रसिद्धं नृपतेः सुतामनः ॥४३(३२)॥ अस्यासु(स्तु) वृष्टधं
चतुःपुमर्थप्राप्तिस्तु योग्ये समये नराणां । यशस्तु वं षोडशसत्कलंबुप्र-
- 35 वं प्रभोर्वेति कृतः प्रकारः ॥४४(३३)॥ स्तंभाः कृताः पो(षो)डशसंमितास्ते दानानि किं
षोडश वां महानि । कृतानि कर्तुं च कृताः प्रतिज्ञालेखा(क्षा) हि दि-

¹ This *danda* is engraved below the line.

² *Sandhi* is not observed here.

³ This *danda* and three *avagraha* signs are unnecessary.

- 36 गिम(गिभ)सिषु भूमिभर्त्रा ॥४५(३४)॥ द्वाराणि चत्वारि कृतानि तेषां संदर्शनांमुक्तिचतुष्टयं
स्यात् । एतावृक्षे मंडपराज एवं कृतः सुयूपोपि च [सू]-
- 37 त्रधारः ॥४६(३५)॥ तुलानिधानस्य च सप्तसागरदानस्य वा मंडपयुग्ममुत्तमं । तुलाक्रमो-
द्भासितमेवमद्भुतं श्रीराजसिंहेन कृतं
- 38 मनोहर(र) [॥*] ४७¹(३६) [॥*] एवं त्रयं मंडितमंडपानां त्वया कृतं हेतुरयं
महीद्व । तापत्रयं दर्शनतोस्त्य नृणां हर्षं त्रिनेत्रप्रियतां न(च) लब्धुं ॥४८(३७)॥
- 39 गते शते सप्तवशे सुवर्षे द्वात्रिंशदाख्ये तपसीति राज्ञा । पांडो वशम्यां च शनौ
गहा(गृही)तो जलाशयोत्सर्गविधेर्मुहूर्तः ॥
- 40 ॥४९(३८)॥ आदौ तु माघे(घे) सितपंचमीतिथौ महीमहेंद्रेण पुरोचसा सह । जलाशयो-
त्सर्गकृतेधिवासन(नं) तद्वृत्ति-
- 41 जां सहरं(र)ण(णं) कृतं मुदा ॥५०(३९)॥ होतारौ जापको द्वारपालावेकां श्रुतिं प्रति
षट् चतुर्विंशतिः संख्या ऋत्विजामिति का-
- 42 सिंता ॥५१(४०)॥ एको ब्रह्मा तयाचार्यः षड्विंशतिरतोऽखिलाः । तेमौ मत्स्यपुराणोक्ता-
स्तत्रप्रोक्तफलप्रदाः[*] ॥५२(४१)॥
- 43 च[तु]र्विंशतितत्त्वा(सु)नां पुंसः स्या[द्वा](ज्वा)नमात्मनः । तद्व्याघरणं वीरः षड्विंशतिसद्वृत्तिर्वा
॥४२॥[*] इति त्रयोदशः [सर्गः]

Slab XV ; Canto XIV

[Metres : vv. 1, 5, 13-16, 20-23, 25, 27-29, 31-37, 39, 40 *Upajūti* ; v. 2 *Vamśasthavila* ; vv. 3, 6, 8, 9, 17, 26, 38 *Upajūti* of *Vamśasthavila* and *Indravamśā* ; vv. 4, 7 *Indravajrā* ; vv. 10, 30 *Upēndravajrā* ; vv. 11, 12, 24 *Anushtubh* ; v. 18 *Upajūti* of *Vamśasthavila*, *Indravajrā* and *Indravamśā* ; v. 19 *Indravamśā*.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः [॥*] श्रीपट्टराज्ञा परमारवंश्यधी^१इ(इं)ब्रह्मनाभिघरावपुत्रा^२ । अज्ञा
सदाकुंवरिनामभाजा कृता मुदा रु-
- 2 प्यतुलाकृते द्राक् ॥१॥ अकारि राजाविह मंडपं जनेरलंडकुंडेरभिमंडितं जवात् । नृणां
महाद्वयमहोभवस्ततोधिवासं(स)द्वं

¹ The figure 47 is written above the line.

² *Sandhi* is not observed here.

³ First was written *tryō*, then the superfluous vowel mark scored off.

- 3 तत्र कृतं विधानतः ॥२॥ गरीव(ब)दासाख्यपुरोहितेन च पुत्रप्रयुक्तेन तु हेमरूप्ययोः ।¹
कर्तुं तुलामंडपयुग्मकं कृतं पुरोरात्र-
- 4 साकारि ततोविधासनम् ॥३॥ राजामणिभी²शमरेशसुनोर्भौमस्य राजस्तु वधूः पवित्रा ।
तोडास्थितेर्भूपतिरायसिंहमाता
- 5 तुलां रूप्यमयीं विधातुम् ॥४॥ आज्ञापयामास तद्वत् सुष्टं रानेद्रलोकेनिशि मंडपं सत्
समस्तवस्तुस्फुरितं कृतं वा-
- 6 विधासनं तत्र तयोक्तरीत्या ॥५॥ चोहानवंशीसमवेवलापुरस्थितेर्बंसूराववरस्य सत्सुतः । स
रामचंद्रः किल तस्य चात्मजः स
- 7 केसररीसिंह इति द्वितीयकः ॥६॥ राजो द्वितीयः कृत एष राजाभीराजसिंहेन
लंबविरस्यः । कर्तुं तुलां रूप्यमयीं
- 8 विचारं भ्रात्राकरोद्धं स बलविसिंहः ॥७॥ उवाच राजोय महान्नहामतिः राजो भवाने[ष
कृतोसि(स्ति) भूभुजा । तुलां करोत्वेष
- 9 तदा तुलाकृते स केसरीसिंह इहोद्यतोभवत् ॥८॥ स केसरीसिंहमहामना मुदा निधाय
वस्तुप्रसरं सविस्तरं । सकुंडस-
- 10 न्मंडलवेदिमंडपं कृत्वाकरोद्वागविधासनं ततः ॥९॥ सुमंडपं चारणवार्हटोना[सत्के]सरीसिंह इतीह
सेतोः ।³ तटेतनोद्रूप्यतुलां वि-
- 11 धातुं तथान्तिके खाव(वि)रवाटिकायाः ॥१०॥ माघेन शुक्लपक्षस्यां राजसिंहनुपप्रिया ।
रठोडरूपसिंहस्य पुत्री जोषपुरी व्यधात् ॥
- 12 ॥११॥ त्रिंशत्सह[स्र]रजतमुद्रासृष्टां प्रतिष्ठितां । वापिकां राजनगरे राजसिंहनुपाज्ञया ॥१२॥
ततो नवम्यां नवचंद्राभ्यां नानाविधानां
- 13 नवकाहलानां । विचित्रवावि(वि)त्रवरजानां सुरजिताः सर्वजना निनावैः ॥१३॥ ततो
महामंडपमध्य ऊर्ध्व(द्व)स्तम्भेषु वेद्या विदधे वितानं [।*]
- 14 नृपो महासत्त्व(स्व)मयः सुयुक्तं रजोनिवृत्त्यं तविहार्यसु(य)ग्मं ॥१४॥ पट्टाव(ब)राणां रचिताः
पताका विचित्ररूपाः शुभमंडपस्य ।⁴ सर्वासु
- 15 वि[स्वर्ध]महो नृपेन जगज्जयत्येति कृतस्य नूनं ॥१५॥ सुगंधिभिर्मात्यगणैः⁵ प्रसूतैः सत्पल्ल-
त्रै(वै)र्वदनमालिकाभिः । माघेप्यघ-

¹ This *daṇḍa* is engraved above the line.

² This *rā* is redundant. Read *parōdhasā*.

³ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

⁴ This *sa* is superfluous. Read *Kēśarisimha*.

⁵ The sign of *visarga* is engraved above the line.

- 16 [डा]वणमंडपेषु वं(व)संत एव प्रविभाति विं(वि)त्रं ॥१६॥ प्रकल्पितं तत्र च रंगवल्सिभिः
सत्यधगर्भं भूतसप्तमंड-
- 17 सं । सषोडशारं शुभवृत्तमद्भुतं व[कं] चतुर्वक्त्रविराजितं पुनः^१ ॥१७॥ समंततो वा
चतुरस्रमद्भुतं सद्वाह-
- 18 णं मंडलमंत्रकारणं । श्रीपद्मनाभस्य सुखाय सप्तद्वीपप्रभोः(भोः) षोडशसत्प्रमाणकैः ॥१८॥
ज्ञेयस्य भूपेन सु-
- 19 वृत्तलब्धये चक्रभ्रिये [वा] चतुरास्यतुष्टये । वीरेण सृष्टं(ष्ट) चतुरस्रवेदिका सङ्गवल्लीनि[भ]-
रत्नपूतये ॥१९॥
- 20 राजाधिराजः स्वपुरोहितेन युक्तः समेतो गृह्णा यथैवः । यथा वशिष्टे(ष्टे)न च रामचंद्रो
विराजते मंडपमध्यवेशे
- 21 ॥२०॥ सहोवराद्यंस्तनयैश्च(श्च) पौत्रैर्नानाश्रितोऽंरपि दुर्गनाथः [१*] निमंत्रणायातनरेशसंघं
वि(विं)शोमि(मि)तो देवगर्जयथैवः ॥२१॥[१*]
- 22 महोमर्हो नृपराजसिंहो धर्मकमूर्तिश्च(र्च)रणीयवेद्यः [१*] कृतकभक्तः प्रथमे दिनेष्ट कृतोप-
वासो नियमी नवम्यां ॥२२॥
- 23 देहस्य शुद्धिं प्रविधाय प्रायश्चित्तं च कृत्वातिथिशु[द्ध*]चितः । श्रुतिस्मृतिप्रेरितकर्मबुद्धे
धर्माभयो वा(वा)ह्मणमानवानः ॥२३॥
- 24 श्रीराजसिंहः कृतवान्प्रायश्चित्तं यदा तदा । प्रायश्चित्तं शुद्धमस्यातिशुद्धमभव[त्*] पुनः
॥२४॥ ततो नृपः स्वस्तिसुवाचनं च पुरो-
- 25 घस(सा) विप्रवरः समेतः [१*] स्वस्तिप्रदं च कृतवान्धरिण्याः पूजां च पृथ्वीश्वर-
भावदायि^२ ॥२५॥ गणेशपूजां पृथिवीश्वरस्फु(स्फु)रद्गणेशता-
- 26 प्राप्तिमहासुखप्रदां । श्रीगोत्रदेव्या अपि गोत्रशुद्धिदां गोवि(विं)दपूजां बहुगोचनप्रदां ॥२६॥
कृत्वा कृतार्थं विससत्पु-
- 27 मर्थं स्वं मन्यमानः क्षितिपेषु वन्यं । रामो वशिष्ठस्य यथाश्रवमेधे चकार पूजां वरणं
तथैव ॥२७॥ गरीव(व)दासाख्यपुरो-
- 28 हितस्य कृत्वा तु पू[वं] वरणं परेषां । निजाभितानां(ना)मखिलद्विजानां सदस्विजां वा
वरणं शुचीनां ॥२८॥ मुदाकरोदत्र तु

^१ For details of procedure, see Hémādri's *Chaturvargachintāmaṇi*, *Dānakhaṇḍa*, *adhya* 13 (*śaḍḡg-ādi-pratishṭhā*).

^२ Read *bhāva-dātrīm*.

- 29 पीठदानं स्वराज्यपीठावलभावकारि । प्राङ्मण्डपपादिकभावनार्थं श्रीविप्रपंक्तेः पदभावनं वा
[11*] कलापकं ॥२६॥^१ प्ररोच-
- 30 नाकुञ्जगतो हि धर्मं सुरोचनाभिस्तिलकं द्विजानां । जियोऽन्ततत्वाय तदक्षता(ते)र्वा प्रसून-
पूजामपि स(सू)मुदात्री ॥३०॥[1*] कृत्वाक-
- 31 भावं मधुपर्कदानं कुसुंभसूत्रं धृतधर्मसूत्रं । आकल्पकीर्तिस्थितये त्वनल्पं स(सं)कल्पना(नी)रं^२
प्रददौ द्विजेभ्यः ॥३१॥ अनर्घ्य-
- 32 ताकारकमर्घ्यवानं कृत्वा ददौ वा द्विजपुंगवेभ्यः । सुदक्षिणाः संगरकमर्घमत्यागेषु वा
दक्षिणभावदात्रीः ॥३२॥
- 33 गरीवदासाख्यपुरोहितस्य पुत्रप्रयुक्तस्य महार्चनायां । वासःसमूहं शुभवासनावं ताभ्यां ददौ
भूपतिराजसिंहः ॥३३॥ मुक्ता-
- 34 मणिभ्राजितकुण्डले च श्रीमंडलाप्यं मणिमुद्रिकाश्च । स्वका(की)जमुद्राचलनाय जंबूद्वीपेक्षिते
स्थोत्कटकं(कां)गवाड्यं ॥३४॥ प्राप्तुं सरत्ना-
- 35 स्कटकांगदाश्च यक्षोपवीतानि सुवर्णवन्ति । जलाशयोत्सर्गमुयक्षसिद्धं(द्धं) ददौ नरेंद्रोन्नतराज-
सिंहः[.] ॥३५॥ युग्मं ॥ नानाविधाम्याजर-
- 36 ज्ञानि नूनं स्वस्य क्षितीशाभरणत्वसिद्धं । जलाशयोत्सर्गविधिप्रसिद्धं जलाक्ष(क्ष)पात्र(त्रा)-
णि सुवर्णवन्ति ॥३६॥ श्रीभोज[कर्ण]विक्रानजाल-
- 37 पुण्याप्तये भोजनपात्रपंकितं । निवेद्य पूज्यं तमपूजयत्सत्पुत्रप्रयुक्तं स्वपुरोहितं सः ॥३७॥
युग्मं । ततो परेभ्यश्च सुवर्णभूषण-
- 38 संध्यामुवर्णस्थितये तदालये ददग्महीशो मणिमुद्रिकागणान्स्थित्यं मणीनां च तदीयम(मं)दिरे
॥३८॥ सुरूपकप्योत्तमपात्र-
- 39 पंकितं रुप्यातिपूस्वं च तदालयेषु [1*] वासःसमूहानतिनूतनाश्च मनस्सु तेषां सुखवाससृष्ट्यं
॥३९॥ एवं स सर्वार्चनमग्न कृ-
- 40 त्वा नानानुपैरर्चितपादप[द्य]ः । शुभाग्र्यभाजं कृतकार्यवर्षं त्वं मन्यमानोऽत्र विभाति वीरः
॥४०॥ कुलकं ॥ इति श्रीचतुर्वंशसर्गः[.] १४[11*]

Slab XVI ; Canto XV

[Metres : vv. 1-4, 7, 9-11, 13-21, 24, 25, 27, 28, 37 Upajāti ; vv. 5, 6, 22, 23, 26, 29, 30, 32-34, 36, 38, 39 Upajāti of Vamśasthavila and Indravamśā ; vv. 8, 31, 35 Vamśasthavila, v. 12 Indravajrā.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः । ततः स चादित्रविधि(चि)त्रनावं कुरंगवेणोच्चतुरंग[ग*]संगं । उ(उ)-
त्तुंगमातंगघटासमेतं नानाजनस्तोम-SS^३

^१ The figure 29 should precede the word *kalāpakam*.

^२ *Sankalpa-nīra* is the same as *hast-ōdaka*, 'libation of water' with which a gift is made.

^३ These marks are engraved to fill up the space.

- 2 समाकुलं च ॥१॥ चलयताकावलिशोभितां संस्थाप्य विप्राम्भुरद्वित्वजश्च । अलंकृतानस्य गजावलीनां स्फप्रदेशे-
- 3 च सुबन्धुरेषु ॥२॥ तान्शो(तांशो)कपालानिच भूरिभूषाभ्यस्यवदयं वसगमितीशः । अप्रेसरां-
स्तान्प्रविधाय सर्वाऽऽन्विचि-
- 4 प्रवावित्रधराभरा(रां)श्च ॥३॥ अलंकृतीभाम्यभूतोतिभम्भा नारीर्विचित्राभरणाश्च तव्याः ।
जलाहृतिप्रोदूतघन्यकुंभाः कृ-
- 5 त्वा पुरस्ताज्जिता(त)विष्यरंभाः ॥४॥ धीरं पुरस्कृत्य पुरोहितं जलयात्रां विचित्रां कृतवाश-
रेश्वरः । युधिष्ठिरस्यापि च रा-
- 6 जसूयके शो'शोभा न चेताता'दुशरीतिरीरिता ॥५॥ कुलकं [॥*] प्रोक्तं जनेलोकधृतोय-
मुन्नतो जलार्णमयोप्यपरोस्ति तं वदे । बाना-
- 7 यतश्च(च)प्रगलत्सुहाटकप्रहं प्रसन्नाद्वरणीकरिष्यति ॥६॥ तथाम कृत्वा वदन्त्य पूजां विधान-
पूर्वं सकलांगयुक्तं ^१॥(१) आना-
- 8 ध्य नीरं कलशेषु कृत्वा नारीः पुरः सकलशः कलौकतीः ॥७॥ महामहोत्साहमवः
स्फुरज्जयो लसद्भयः स्पष्टनयः सविस्मयः [१] द्वि-
- 9 जावलीमंडितमंडपे शुभेऽभवत्य(त्र)विष्ये(स्ये)तिविशिष्टतुष्टिमान् ॥८॥ संस्थाप्य वेद्यां कलशान्
[प्र(च)]लाडयान्वस्त्रावृतानिधु चतुर्भि-
- 10 तासु । स[ध्ये] जग[द्व्ये]यमुक्तो मन्त्रेस्मिन्बिराजते भूपतिराजसिंहः ॥९॥ चतुर्वं कोणेभु
मुमंडपस्याकरोन्नयः स्थापितदेव-
- 11 पूजाम् । तवास्तुपूजां शुभवस्तुपूर्णां वेदी स वेदीस्थितदेवतानां ॥१०॥ नवग्रहास्तानधि-
देवताश्च सं[स्था]पयन्प्रत्यधिदेवताश्च । न-
- 12 वग्रहं सप्तहमेव शत्रु[भि]यः प्रियोऽस्मां प्रकरिष्यतीशः ॥११॥ सं[स्था]पयन्सकलशं च रौद्रं
चक्रं प्रसन्नं सितिपोक-
- 13 रोद्वाक् । रौद्रं भयं शत्रुकृतं न देशे स्यादस्य भद्रं भवतास्तुदेशे ॥१२॥ ततो महा-
मंडपमध्यदेशे विप्रैः समेतो बिलसत्पु-

¹ These marks are engraved to fill up the space.

² This *daṇḍa* is engraved above the line.

³ This *ś* is superfluous. Read *śśhā*.

⁴ This *ā* is superfluous. Read *cā=aitādrīka*.

⁵ These *daṇḍas* are engraved above the line.

- 14 रोषाः । धराधरो जागरणं वितन्वन्बेदोक्तकार्यं(यं) कृतवान्समस्तं ॥१३॥ ततो निशा
प्रविधाय नित्यं स्नानादि रात्र्याम्-
- 15 गिराजसिंहः । जातः प्रविष्टः शुभमंडपे च सहोदरादींश्च तदा कुमाराम् ॥१४॥ पत्नीः
समस्ताश्च पितृव्यजायाः स्नु-
- 16 व(वा)श्च वंशोद्भवसर्वपुत्रीः । पुरोधसां वन्यवधून्पाशां वधूः समाहूय मुक्षोपव(वे)श्य ॥१५॥
सुकर्मणोऽस्याद्भुतदर्शनार्थं(यं)
- 17 श्रीपट्टराजीसहितो हिताडपः । कृत्वा मुदा श्रीवदनस्य पूजां समस्तदेवातुसंपूजनं च
॥१६॥ रत्नाकरं कर्त्तुमिह द्वितीयं
- 18 तडागमेनं ¹नवरत्नराजं । निक्षिप्तवान्मध्य इहास्य शस्यं मत्स्यं पुनः कच्छ(च्छ)पमच्छ(च्छ)मेव
॥१७॥ श्वेयस्करं वा मकरं ततोत्र नि-
- 19 वि[ड]यं स्थापितमेव मन्थे । त(ते)नात्र सर्वे निधयो जवेन समागमिष्यन्ति ततो जलस्य
॥१८॥ नूनं समृद्धिर्भविता सदास्मि-
- 20 न्समुद्ररूपत्वमथास्य भावि । मयास्य च राजसमुद्रनामोत्पत्तौ तु हेतुः कथितोयमेवा(व)
॥१९॥ सिप्तानि रत्नाम्यपरे समु-
- 21 द्रे त्वया तडागेन नृपेन्द्र जातं । रत्ना[करत्वं]² त्वय बाहव्वाग्निसिद्धिं कुरु स्य(स्या)-
दिति पुण्यपूर्तिः [॥*] २० [॥*] गोः पूजनं वत्सयुजो विधानपूर्व(यं) नृपालः कृ-
- 22 तवान्कूर्तौघः । हिंक्रुष्वर्तो गां प्रसमीक्ष्य भूपः पुरोहितं प्रत्यववत्किमेतत् ॥२१॥ शुभं
भवेत्प्रत्यववत्पुरोहिता(तो) बेदोक्तमेतत्
- 23 श[कु]लं यतः प्रभो ³ गोतारचारभ्रमभातमोत्पुनः सत्वि(त्वि)क्सहायो ध[र]णीपुरंदरः
॥२२॥ तडागमध्ये कृतवान्पुनः गोतार-
- 24 चार(रं)भ्रमहो सहीदः [॥*] गोशब्दमात्रस्य तु ये सदर्थस्तन्नामतुल्यार्थककर्मलब्धं ॥२३॥
वृ(वृ)क्षे तदर्थान्भुवि नाकसौख्यलाभा-
- 25 य मृद्धे शरसस्तथार्थं [॥*] गवां च लाभाय मुवागवाप्तं करस्थवज्रेण रिपुक्षयाय ॥२४॥
विष्णु स्फुरत्कीर्तिकृते जनालीने-
- 26 त्रातितोबाय विभाप्ये च । समस्तभूराज्यकृते नृपस्य ⁴ तडागनीरस्य तु पूर्णतार्थं ॥२५॥
लक्ष्येष्टलाभाय च वृष्टितुष्टये

¹ This *na* is written above the line.

² The portion within the square brackets is written below the line, two arrow-heads marking the place for insertion.

³ This *danda* is engraved above the line.

⁴ This *danda* is unnecessary.

- 43 jabhiḥ Sagar-ā[di*]bhiḥ [[*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phala[m](lam) || [15*]
 Bhūmim yaḥ pratigrihṇāti yaś=cha bhūmi[m*] prayachchhati | ubhau tau punya-karmānau
 niyataḥ svarga-gāmi-
- 44 nau || [16*] Gām=ekām svarṇam=ekaṇ=cha bhūmēr=apy=arddham=aṅgūlam(lam) | haraṇ=
 narakam=āyāti yāvad=āhu(hū)ta-saṁplavam || [17*] Shash[ṭ]i-va[r]sha-sahasrāṇi sva[r]gē
 mōdati bhūmidah | ākeḥṣṭā ch=ānu-
- 45 mantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vacāt || [18*] Sva-dattāṁ paradattāṁ vā yō harē[ta*] vasundharām
 | sa viśā(shṭhā)yā[m*] krimi[r]=bhūt[v]ā pīṭhibhiḥ saha pachyatē || [19*] Sarvān=ētān=
 bhāvinah pā[r]thivēndrā[n*]
- 46 bhūyō bhūyah prā[r]thayaty=ēsha Rāmaḥ | sāmānyō=yan=dha[r]ma-sētu[r]=nripāṇā[m*]
 kālē kālē pālanīyah kṛmēṇa || [20*] Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vindu-lōlā[m*] śriyam=
 anuchintya manushya-
- 47 jivitaṇ=cha | sakalam=idam=udāhṛtaṇ=cha vu(bu)ddhyā(ddhvā) nahi purushaiḥ para-kirttayō
 vilōpyā iti¹ Śrīmān Vighrahapālāḥ² kṣhitipatir=akarōt³ sva-dēhajanmā-
- 48 nam(nam |) sa śrī-Prahasitarājaḥ⁴ mantrinam=iha śāsanē dūtām(tam) || [22*] Pōshali-
 grāma-niryāta-śrīmān-Hrīdēva⁵-su(sū)nunā | ida[m*] śāsanam=utkīrṇa[m*] śrī-Śasīdēvēna⁶
 śilpi-
- 49 nā || [23*] || Krōḍāñchān=niriyāya Kāchchha iti yaḥ sad-Vā(d-Brā)hmaṇānām sthitis=taśmād=
 Gōhaṇakō dvij-ōttama-griham⁷=viśrāma-bhūr=yajvanām(nām) | asmād=Iddhahā=ēti
 yatra Viva-
- 50 dau(dō) Yōgēśvarō yat-sutaḥ khyātas=Tuṅga itō=pi nirmala-yaśā Ghaṭṭīśa-nām=ātmajaḥ
 || [24*] Yō Gauḍ-ādhipatēr=asīma-guṇa-bhū rājā⁸ vidhēyō diśām=bhūpālēshu vidhāya
- 51 maitryam=asamaṁ sant[u]shṭā-chitt-āchitah [[*] kṛtvā śāsanatma(m=ē)tad=ātma-dbha(ha)-
 lataḥ kām=apy=avanya(ndhya)-sthitim viśrāmāya cha dīna-duḥkhita-janasy=ābhūd=iha-
 aiv=āśra[ma*]m || [25*]

No. 8—KALIDINDI GRANT OF EASTERN CHALUKYA RAJARAJA I

(2 Plates)

N. VENKATARAMANAYYA, MADRAS

The set of copper-plates which is edited below* was discovered at Kalidindi, a village in the Kaikalur taluk of the Krishna District, by a farmer while digging for earth in 1938. It was handed over to me by the late Sri G. Ramabrahmam Chaudary, the editor of the *Prajāmitra*, who had obtained it from the discoverer, for decipherment and publication. The set consists of five copper-plates of which the last is a broken fragment. The copper-plates measure

¹ Better read *vilōpyā* || [21*] iti ||

² The *danḍa* is superfluous.

³ There is a small vacant space between the two double *danḍas*.

⁴ Read *śrīmān-Hrīdēva*.^o As already noticed, the Āṅgāchhi plate has the same verse reading, however, in the corresponding passage, *Mahīdharadēva*.^o If the reading intended in our record is *śrī-Mahīdēva*, it may be suggested that this Mahīdēva is the same as Mahīdharadēva of the Āṅgāchhi plate.

⁵ Read either *śrī-Śasīdēva-śilpinā* or *Śasīdēvēna śilpinā* to suit the metre.

⁶ There is a floral design between the double *danḍas*.

⁷ Read *griham vi*.

⁸ Originally *jāṇā* was incised.

* This is C. P. No. 5 of the *An. Rep. S. I. E.* for the year, 1937-38.

5" by 10" each, while the length of the broken portion of the fifth plate varies from 2" to 3½". They are all strung on a circular ring about ½" in thickness and 5" in diameter, the ends of which are soldered into the bottom of a circular seal about 3" in diameter with the rim raised all round. The set of plates with the ring weighs 292 *tolas*; and the plates alone weigh 200 *tolas*.¹ The ring had been cut before the plates came to my hands.

The seal : This is a very fine specimen of the seal of the Eastern Chālukya kings. The surface of the seal is countersunk on either side. The base of the seal is moulded into the shape of a four-petalled flower. On the upper face, it bears the legend *Śrī-Tribhuvanāṁkuṣaṁ* in relief across the middle. Above the legend are represented in relief the crest of the Eastern Chālukya royal family, viz., the boar in a running posture facing the proper left, and other symbols of royalty: the elephant goad, the *ḍamaru* or the double drum, the *śaikhā* or the conch shell, two *chauris* or flywhisks and the royal parasol. The figures of the crescent moon and the sun are found at the top. Below the legend are seen three objects, a four-legged stool in the proper right, a four-petalled flower in the centre, and a lotus bud with a stalk in the proper left.

The alphabet is old Telugu, commonly met with in the inscriptions of the period to which the record belongs. The first side of the first plate and the second side of the fifth plate are left blank; the other plates are written on both the sides. A peculiarity which is common to the copper-plate charters of Rājārāja I, the donor of the present grant, may be noticed here. Including the present grant there are three sets of copper-plate records of the king that have come to light so far; and they are all partially palimpsests.

Of the present grant the latter part is a palimpsest. Beginning with line 75 (10th line on the second side of the third plate), traces of earlier writing are distinctly visible up to the very end of the inscription; but the characters have been so thoroughly beaten in that it is almost impossible to make out any letter. The reasons which prompted the adherence to this practice by the secretariat of Rājārāja I are not quite obvious. The first two plates have perhaps been engraved by a different hand; but the form of the characters throughout the inscription is so much alike that it is not possible to lay any emphasis on this point.

The language of the inscription is throughout Sanskrit, both verse and prose, 41 stanzas in different metres and 8 prose passages of varying length interspersed among them. However, a few Telugu words have crept into the text of the inscription, while describing the topography of the village granted, e.g., line 75, *Pallapu-Gudravāra-vishayam*; lines 108-9, *Tāmara-kolani-Krovinḍīlāṁ-bāsina-Tallikroyya-nāma nadī*. Several errors, mostly scribal, are found in the text and they have been noticed in the footnotes. The **date** of the record is either not given or lost in the missing portion. If the date were given,² as in the Nandampūṇḍi grant of the same king, at the end of the record, it must have been lost with the major part of the fifth plate.

The text of the genealogy including the *prasaṁsa* embodied in the inscription under consideration presents close textual affinities, with slight variations here and there with the other Chālukya charters of the period especially the Kōrumelli plates³ and the Nandampūṇḍi grant⁴ of Rājārāja I himself and the Raṇastipūṇḍi grant⁵ of his father, Vimalāditya.

¹ The Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, kindly furnished me, at my request, with the necessary details pertaining to the measurement, weight, etc., of the plates.

² The Superintendent for Epigraphy believes that the Kalidiṇḍi Plates were 'issued shortly after the king's (Rājārāja's) accession in Śaka 944 (A. D. 1022).' See *An. Rep. on S. I. E.*, 1937-38, part ii, para 14.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 48 ff. and plates.

⁴ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 300 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 347 ff. and plates.

The text of the present inscription falls into four divisions: I. the genealogical account of the Eastern Chālukyas up to Rājarāja I; II. the narration of the circumstances in which the grant was made; III. the description of the boundaries of the village which is the subject of the present grant, and IV. the imprecatory verses together perhaps with the names of the author of the *prastāvi* and the scribe.

I. This part further divides itself into two sub-sections:—(a) legendary, and (b) historical.

(a) The legendary genealogy opens with Nārāyaṇa, Brahmā, Atri, Chandra, etc., and proceeds without a break up to Udayana, the son of Śatānika. Then comes a hiatus which the composer of the genealogy bridges up with fifty-nine nameless kings who are said to have ruled at Ayōdhyā. The sixtieth, Vijayāditya by name, migrated to Dakṣiṇāpatha, where, in an encounter with Trilōchana-Pallava, he perished. His posthumous son, Viṣṇuvardhana, however, restored the fortunes of his family and established his authority over the country between the Narmadā and the Sētū.

The first point that has to be considered here is the origin of the legendary genealogy. No traces of it are to be found in the numerous records of the Eastern Chālukya monarchs till we come to the time of Vimalāditya's accession. Certain features of this legendary genealogy are found in some contemporary records of the Western Chālukya kings of Kalyāṇi.¹ The reign of Vimalāditya marks an important stage in the development of the *prastāvi* of the Eastern Chālukya kings. The records of the early monarchs of the dynasty from Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana to Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III embody, with some small variations, the *prastāvi* found in the inscriptions of the Bādāmi Chālukyas, and mention generally the immediate ancestors of the donor without giving any particulars about them. With the accession of Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III there sets in a change; while the preamble retains its original form, the part relating to the donor and his parentage undergoes a change. The names of his immediate ancestors yield place to an elaborate list of all the past kings of the dynasty, in which are set forth the most notable of their achievements, the order of their succession and the exact duration of their reigns. With the passing of each generation, the list increases in length and the *prastāvi* is soon transformed into a family chronicle. This form was adhered to for a long time; and no further change is perceptible in the charters of the subsequent period until the accession of Vimalāditya, when, as pointed out already, a further change was introduced in the form of a long Puranic or mythical pedigree in place of the short preamble embodying their lineage and *gōtra*. The circumstances under which this change was introduced are not known. It is not, however, unlikely that it was due to the Chōla influence on the Eastern Chālukya kings since the restoration to power of the main line in 999-1000 A. C. The latter had political as well as matrimonial relations with the Chōlas.

Another point that deserves consideration is the historicity of Vijayāditya, the ancestor from whom the Chālukyas are said to have descended in the later Eastern Chālukya records. It is believed by some scholars that this Vijayāditya was a contemporary of Trilōchana-Pallava and Karikāla-Chōla;² but the evidence on which the belief is based is quite late and untrustworthy. The Chālukyas of Bādāmi, the parent stock from which the other families branched off, do not refer to Vijayāditya as the progenitor of their race. They trace, on the contrary, their origin to Jayasimhavallabha of whom very little is known. Similarly the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi make no mention of Vijayāditya in this context. The Kaūthēm grant, no doubt, mentions Vijayāditya, not, however, as the founder of the family, but as one of the two additional names or epithets

¹ The Kaūthēm grant of Vikramāditya V, dated 1009 A. C. mentions for instance the rule of fifty-nine nameless kings at Ayōdhyā and the subsequent migration of the family to Dakṣiṇāpatha (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 21).

² The present writer who had subscribed to this view formerly finds it untenable on further investigation. See K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: *Cōla Studies*, pp. 57-61.

especially peculiar to the Chālukyas, the other name being Vishṇuvardhana.¹ And even among the Eastern Chālukyas the name of Vijayāditya as the founder of the dynasty was altogether unknown until the time of Vimalāditya. In view of these facts, it is not possible to accept Vijayāditya as a historical person and regard him as the founder of the Chālukya family.

(b) The historical section of the genealogy constitutes a family chronicle in which are embodied the most outstanding events of the Eastern Chālukya history. The history of the Eastern Chālukyas is traced from Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana to Rājārāja I. It is practically identical with similar accounts found elsewhere. There is, however, a small variation with regard to a minor detail which may be noted here. In this as well as in the Kōrumelli grant, in the description of the succession of early kings from Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana and Jayasimha, we have *tad-anuj-Ēndra-rāja-nandanas=sapta dināni* (line 33)² instead of the usual *tad-anuj-Ēndrarājas=sapta dināni*.

The genealogical account, as embodied in the present charter, discloses certain facts about Rājārāja's reign, unknown from other sources. It refers, no doubt, like the Kōrumelli and the Nandampūṇḍi grants to Vimalāditya's marriage with Kundavai and the birth of a son to them called Rājārāja as well as the coronation of the latter in Śaka 944 (expired) on Thursday, *ba. di. 2*, Uttarābhādra, when the sun was in the sign of the lion (lines 50-51, 53-55). The new information found is that Rājārāja, when still a boy, was invested with the necklace (*kaṇṭhikā*), the insignia of the office of *yuvārāja* (lines 52-53); and that his uncle, the Chōḷa emperor Rājendra-Chōḷa Madhurāntaka, having heard of his great qualities, bestowed on him with affection the hand of his daughter, the princess Ammaṅgā, who became his chief queen (lines 62-64). In this connection occurs an elaborate description of the greatness of the Chōḷa emperor, his supremacy over the kings on the earth, and the extent of the dominion subject to his authority (lines 56-62). The stanzas beginning with the words, *Ekasy-āsīd=api sa Himavān* and *Sa-dvīpām chatur-amburāṣi-parikhāṁ* (lines 58-62), probably allude to Rājendra-Chōḷa's Gangetic expedition and his transmarine conquests respectively.

Thus, four important events of Rājārāja's life are mentioned here : (i) his birth, (ii) investiture as *yuvārāja*, (iii) coronation, and (iv) marriage.

(i) The date of his birth is not known.

(ii) The investiture of Rājārāja as *yuvārāja* must have taken place duly without any obstacle.

(iii) His coronation, however, does not seem to have been performed without obstruction. For the date of this event which is stated to have taken place according to the present inscription in Śaka 944, Bhādrapada, *ba. di. 2*, Guruvāra, corresponding to 16th August, 1022 A.C.,³ is nearly four years later than the last date, i.e., 1018 A.C., August, of his father and predecessor Vimalāditya.⁴ This reveals a gap of four years in the Eastern Chālukya chronology between the close of Vimalāditya's reign and the coronation of Rājārāja I, and the events of this interval are by no means clear. Several scholars who have attempted to bridge up the gap have been at great pains to

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 21. *Samastabhuvanāśraya-Sarvalokāśraya-Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya-ādi-viśeṣa-nāmadān-rāja-raimānām=udbhava-bhūmih*. It may be noted that these two names are alternately assumed by the Eastern Chālukya kings and it may be suggested that these names were assumed at the time of coronation.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 52, l. 37.

³ The date is corroborated by his Kōrumelli and the Nandampūṇḍi grants; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 53; above, Vol. IV, p. 307.

⁴ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 358, 361. According to the Rapastipūṇḍi grant, Vimalāditya, the father of Rājārāja I, was crowned on 10th May, 1011 A.C., and as this inscription is dated in the Simha month of his 8th regnal year, corresponding to August, 1018 A.C., he must have been ruling until this date. How long his rule lasted subsequent to this date it is difficult to discover; but since in all the records of his successors a period of seven years (reckoned in round numbers) is invariably assigned to his reign, he must have died before the end of his 8th regnal year.

extend the reign of Vimalāditya up to the date of the coronation of Rājarāja, taking it for granted that Rājarāja's accession to the throne did not take place earlier than the actual date of his coronation as recorded in his grants.

However, there is good reason to believe that the reign of Rājarāja I began a few years earlier than the date of his coronation in 1022 A. C. Śaktivarman II, the nephew and immediate successor of Rājarāja I, ascended the throne of Vāṅgi on Thursday, 18th October 1061 A. C.¹ Rājarāja is said to have ruled, according to the charters of his descendants, for a period of 41 years and this is corroborated by an inscription dated in his 41st regnal year.² This yields 18th October, 1020 as the starting point of his reign. The following inscriptions of Rājarāja I, which give both the regnal and the Śaka years, point to the same date.

<i>Ins. No.</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Starting point</i>
183 of 1893 (<i>S.I.I.</i> , Vol. IV, No. 1008)	Śaka 969—regnal year 26	Ś. 943
663 of 1920	Śaka 980—regnal year 37	Ś. 943
671 of 1920	Śaka 983—regnal year 41	Ś. 942

These records seem to suggest two different starting points for the reign of Rājarāja. The apparent discrepancy has perhaps to be attributed to the practice of quoting the Śaka dates, either in the expired or in the current year, rather than to any fault in the chronological data given in these records. Of the three, the last one is surely dated in Śaka 983 expired, as shown by the cyclic year *Plava* corresponding to it. The dates of the other two are not capable of verification, as the corresponding cyclic years are not given. If, however, the Śaka year cited in them be taken to be current, all these three dates would yield Śaka 942 (expired) as the starting point of the reign of Rājarāja I and this is in agreement with the evidence of the Telugu Academy plates of Śaktivarman II which terminate Rājarāja's reign with Śaka 983.³ There is, however, one inscription which gives a different and an earlier date as the starting point. In the Pāmulavāka plates of Vijayāditya VII, it is said that after Mummaḍi-Bhīma (i.e., Vimalāditya), his son Rājarāja ruled for a period of twelve years; then, Vijayāditya, Mummaḍi-Bhīma's second son by a different mother, expelled Rājarāja, and having seized the kingdom crowned himself king on Aditisutadina, śu. di. 5, Karkāṭaka, Kanyā, Sūryyabhā (Uttara-Phalgunī or Pūrva-Phalgunī) in the Śaka year 952, corresponding to Sunday, 27th June 1031 A. C.⁴ If Rājarāja I, as stated in this inscrip-

¹ *JAHRS*, Vol. V, p. 40.

² No. 671 of 1920 of the *Mad. Epi. Coll.*

³ *JAHRS*, Vol. V, p. 44.

⁴ *JAHRS*, Vol. II, p. 284. According to the calculation of Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao, the date of Vijayāditya's coronation given in the record corresponds to Thursday, 9th July, 1030 A.C. (*JAHRS*, Vol. V, p. 38); but he does not explain how *Aditisutadina* can be taken to denote Thursday and how the *nakṣatra* denotes *Hastā*. The date has been calculated afresh, at my request, by Mr. K. G. Sankar of the Imperial Library, Calcutta, and the details of his calculation as communicated to me in a letter dated 11-11-1941 are given below:

Śakē drig-ishu-midhi-mitā = Ś. 952 = 1030-31 A. C.

Karkigē Karkāḍ-āṁśan = Sun in Karka (June-July).

śuddha-paṁcamaś = śu. 5.

Aditisuta-dina = Sunday.

Sūryyabhā = Uttara-Phalgunī (Āryamāna) or Pūrva-Phalgunī (Bhaga).

Kanyā-lagnē = Kanyā-lagna = 10 A.M. to 12 noon.

These details correspond regularly to Sunday, 27th June, 1031 A.C.; on that day śu. 5 ended at .87 of the day and Uttara-Phalgunī began at .48 of the day after the Pūrva-Phalgunī ended. At 10-12 A.M. the *śukla* and the *nakṣatra* current were *śukla* 5 and Pūrva-Phalgunī.

tion, did rule actually for 12 years before Vijayāditya's coronation in June 1031 A. C., he must have begun to reign in June 1019 A. C. As Vimalāditya was still ruling at the time of the Rāṣṭripūṇḍi grant in August 1018 A. C., Rājārāja I appears to have succeeded his father almost immediately. As the available evidence regarding the exact starting point of Rājārāja's reign gives two different dates, viz., 1019 and 1020 A. C., it can be safely stated that his rule must have commenced some years before the date of his coronation which took place, as stated in his own records including the present one, on the 16th August, 1022 A. C.

If Rājārāja began to rule either in 1019 or in 1020 A. C., as shown above, there must have been some cause for the postponement of his coronation until 1022 A. C. Although no such reason is disclosed by the Eastern Chālukya records, the contemporary Chōla inscriptions distinctly indicate the existence of political disturbance in Vēṅgi at this time.¹

(iv) The last point of interest to be noted in this section is the marriage of Rājārāja I with Ammaṅgā (lines 64-65), the daughter of his maternal uncle, Rājendra Chōladēva, a fact known hitherto only from the records of his descendants. The marriage was not merely the renewal of an old alliance between the Chōla and Eastern Chālukya royal families. It was also intended to serve a political purpose. Rājendra-Chōla aimed at providing a permanent bond by which Vēṅgi might be attached to his kingdom; therefore, he bestowed the hand of his daughter Ammaṅgā on his nephew.

II. The most important part of the present inscription is the passage which narrates the circumstances in which the gift was made. It states (lines 77-85) that the general Rājārāja Brahma-Mahārāja rose to eminence by the grace of the king Rājendra-Chōla Madhurāntaka and guarded his kingdom like a serpent protecting hidden treasure. No sooner did he receive the orders of his sovereign than he marched into the Āndhra country at the head of a vast army, accompanied by two other generals, Uttama-Chōla Chōlakōṇ and Uttama-Chōla Milāḍuḍaiyān. The three Tamil commanders, who were like the three fires bent upon the destruction of the forest which was the Karṇāṭa army, became engaged in a fierce battle with the commanders of the king of Karṇāṭa. The battle between the two armies is described vividly (lines 85-93). The engagement, however, seems to have ended indecisively or at any rate not in a victory for the Chōla forces; for it is said that the commanders of both the sides who participated in the fight perished with their forces (lines 93-96). It was in these circumstances that the Eastern Chālukya Rājārāja I set up, in memory of Rājārāja Brahma-Mahārāja, a temple dedicated to God Śiva called Rājārājēśvaram in the village of Kalidiṇḍi. Two other Śiva temples were also built in memory of Uttama-Chōla Chōlakōṇ and Uttama-Chōla Milāḍuḍaiyān respectively. For conducting worship in these temples, and for the maintenance of a choultry for feeding fifty students, etc., the village of Kalidiṇḍi renamed Madhurāntakanallūr, together with two other villages called Kaḍaparru and Āvakūru, was granted by the king (lines 96-103).

The place and date of the battle are not stated in the record. It would, however, be possible to fix them with some precision. It may be noted that the record states that memorial temples for the deceased Chōla generals were founded. Such temples are sometimes founded on the

¹ Nos. 23, 24, 30, 31, 751 and 752 of 1917 of the Mad. Epi. Coll. These epigraphs of the reign of Rājendra-Chōladēva from the Madakasira taluk of the Anantapur District, all studied together, allude to an expedition sent by the Chōla emperor Rājendra I against Vēṅgi about the 10th or 1021 A.C.) of his reign to overcome some trouble there, under the leadership of one of his generals, named Areyan Rājārājan alias Vikrama-Chōla Chōliya-varaiyan. Of them No. 31 of 1917 refers probably to a battle which he fought with the Kalingas, Oḍḍas and Telugus, while another (751 of 1917) expressly declares that 'the king of Vēṅgi ran away on hearing that the Chōla king had ordered his general Sōliyavarasan to conquer that country'. These records which, as pointed out by Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, 'obviously belong to the same time' (*Colas*, I, p. 279), allude to a military expedition sent by Rājendra-Chōla about the 10th year of his reign (1021 A. C.) to conquer Vēṅgi.

site, where the persons, to perpetuate whose memory they are built, are interred or cremated. As the memorial temples of the Chōla generals were erected in the village of Kalidindi, they must have been buried or cremated in the place; and consequently the battle in which they were killed might have been fought in the immediate neighbourhood of the village.

The difficulty of fixing the date of the battle is great. However, certain facts mentioned in the record would help us in arriving at a probable date. The inscription contains the date of Rājarāja's coronation, i.e., 1022 A. C.;¹ and alludes perhaps to Rājendra-Chōla's Gangetic expedition and transmarine conquests (vv. 19 and 20). Moreover, at the time when the battle was fought, Rājendra-Chōla (1012 to 1044 A. C.) was still ruling at Gaṅgaikonda-chōlapuram. These would indicate that the battle should have taken place between 1022 and 1044 A. C., the last date of Rājendra-Chōla. But no evidence is available from the Chōla records during this period of 22 years about any war between the Chōlas and the contemporary Western Chālukya king Jayasimha II, of which the battle at Kalidindi might have been a major event. The last we hear of the fights between them is in 1021 A. C., when Rājendra Chōla I's attack on Raṭṭapādi took place.² However, there is one Western Chālukya record at Hoṭṭūr in the Bombay Karnāṭak,³ dated 1037 A. C., which mentions a *Daṇḍanāyaka* of Jayasimha II, Chāvaṇarasa by name who bears the title, "destroyer of the pride of the fort of Bijavadi". If this Bijavadi is taken to be identical with Bezwada⁴ in the Vēṅgi country, it would appear that sometime before this date, i.e., 1037 A. C., the Western Chālukya general invaded Vēṅgi and captured the city of Bezwada. The Karnāṭaka invasion of Āndhra (i.e., Vēṅgi) and the battle described in the present record may have taken place during the same Western Chālukya expedition under Chāvaṇarasa, especially as the distance between Bezwada and Kalidindi is less than 50 miles. As victory was not secured by the Chōla allies of Rājarāja, even as indicated by the record, it is not unlikely that the event may be connected with the disaster which overtook Rājarāja I in 1031 A. C., when he was deprived of his throne by his step-brother and rival Vijayāditya VII.⁵ Although evidence is lacking as to whether the *coup d'état* effected by Vijayāditya was with or without Karnāṭa help, a suggestion may be made that as Rājarāja was supported by the powerful Chōla emperor, his rival, Vijayāditya, secured the help of the Karnāṭa king. Such an alignment is consistent with the political background of this period, as the Chōlas and the Western Chālukyas were always arrayed against each other in support of rival claimants in disputed successions.

Of the persons mentioned in the record, the Karnāṭādhīśa may be Jayasimha II, as the date of the battle is about 1031 A. C. As explained before, the Dramiḷādhīśa is, doubtless, Rājendra-Chōla I who is mentioned by name at another place (line 59) in the record.

Much is not known of the Chōla generals who were killed in the battle. One of them, Uttama-Chōla Milāḍuḍaiyān, figures as the ruler of the hilly tracts in the present South Arcot District in a record of the 4th year (=1016 A.C.) of Rājendra-Chōla, where he is spoken of as Yādava-Bhima of the Bhārgava *gōtra*;⁶ but nothing is known of his subsequent career. Neither of the other two finds mention in contemporary Chōla inscriptions. A *Sēnāpati* called Uttamaśōla Brahma-Mārāyaṇ is mentioned in an epigraph at Kōlār, dated about 1033 A. C.;⁷ he, however, seems to be a nobleman quite distinct from *Sēnāpati* Rājarāja Brahma-Mahārāja of the charter under consideration.

¹ See above, p. 58, note 2.

² *Cōlas*, I, p. 245.

³ Above, Vol. XVI, p. 78.

⁴ Dr. Barnett identifies it with Bijawāḍgi near Hungund, *ibid.*, p. 77.

⁵ Pāmulavāka plates: *JAHRS*, Vol. II, p. 284.

⁶ No. 20 of 1905 of the Mad. Epi. Coll.

⁷ No. 480 of 1911; *EC*, Vol. X, XI, 109-a.

III. *The details of the donation* : For the maintenance of daily worship, celebration of festivals, etc., in the temples built in honour of the three deceased Chōla generals, three villages all situated in the Lower (*Pallapu*) *Gudravāra vishaya*, were granted by Rājārāja I. Though Kalidiṁḍi and Kaḍapaṟṟu are clubbed together and renamed Madhurāntakanallūr, their boundaries as well as those of the third village are separately described. The boundaries of Kalidiṁḍi are given at first in lines 103-6; then follow from *Pallapu-Gudravārē* in line 106 to *simā* at the beginning of line 110 the boundaries of the village of Kaḍapaṟṟu; and finally with *Pallapu-Gudravārē* in line 110 commences the description of the boundaries of the third village Āvakū[ru], which is unfortunately lost with the broken fragment of the fifth plate. The three memorial temples were perhaps given one village each for their upkeep, maintenance of daily service, etc. Of the three, Kalidiṁḍi was situated in the east; it is said to have been bounded by Pōtumbaṟṟu in the north and the north-east, Konneki in the east, . . . lidoggu in the south-east, Koṇṭhama in the south, Vēvāka in the south-west, Kaḍapaṟṟu in the west, and D(Tū)ḍināḍu in the north-west. The second village, Kaḍapaṟṟu, was situated to the west of Kalidiṁḍi. Its boundaries, as described in the inscription, are : Kalvasaṇḍa in the north, D(Tū)ḍināḍu in the north-east, Kalidiṁḍi in the east and south-east, Vēvāka in the south and the south-west, Āvakūru in the west, and the streamlet Tallikroyya (a branch of Tāmarakolani-Krovviṇḍlēru) in the north-west. The boundaries of the third village, Āvakūru, are not definitely known; of the villages that surrounded it, the names of only two, viz., Kaḍapaṟṟu and Koṇḍika-Muṇjaiūru, are found in the extant fragment of the fifth plate. In addition to these, another village called [Du]ggiya[pū]ṇḍi is also mentioned with Kaḍapaṟṟu; but the connection between these two villages is not quite clear.

Two of the three villages which form the object of the present grant, Kalidiṁḍi and Āvakūru, retain their names to the present day and are situated on the eastern fringe of the Colair Lake in the Kaikalur *taluk* of the Krishna District. The third village, Kaḍapaṟṟu, cannot be traced in the available maps and records, but must, however, be looked for in the same locality, as it is said to have been situated between Kalidiṁḍi and Āvakūru.

Among the villages mentioned as boundaries, Tāḍināḍu is identical with Tāḍināḍa which is situated, even as stated in the inscription, to the north-west of Kalidiṁḍi. Pōtumbaṟṟi is not, strictly speaking, the correct name of the village. The suffix 'ti' with which the name of the village ends is the inflexion of the genitive case meaning 'of'. Pōtumbaṟṟi therefore means 'of Pōtumbaṟṟu'. This must be identical with the modern Pōtumbaṟṟu in the same *taluk*. Similarly Vēvāka must be taken to represent the present Vaivāka. Neither the streamlet Tallikroyya nor the other villages mentioned among the boundaries can be traced at present.

IV. The names of the executor, the composer and the scribe are unfortunately lost; but the last line in the broken fragment of the 5th plate, which begins with *sō Rāchiya-Peddēri-[Bhī]*.... is found to form part of the following verse that occurs in the Kōrumelli grant of Rājārāja.¹

Ājñaptiḥ Kaṭakēśō Rāchiya-Peddēri-Bhīma-nāma-tanūjaḥ |
karttā Bētana-bhaṭṭaḥ kāvyānām lēkhakō='sya Gaṇḍāchāryaḥ ||

It may reasonably be assumed that the present grant ended with this same verse and that the remaining part of it was lost with the missing portion of the plate. If so, it may be inferred that the *ājñapti* of the charter was Kaṭakēśa, the composer Bētana-bhaṭṭa, son of Rāchiya-Peddēri-Bhīma, and the scribe, Gaṇḍāchārya. Kaṭakēśa, who is spoken of as the *ājñapti* in several Eastern Chālukya copper-plate charters, is not the name of an individual but that of an office. The term *kaṭaka* denotes an army, a camp, a town, etc. *Kaṭakēśa* may therefore be taken to mean either the commander of an army or the governor of a cantonment. The verse cited above refers

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 55.

to four generations of the family of Bētana-bhaṭṭa,¹ the composer of the inscription. Though nothing is known of the first two members of the family, Bhīma or Bhīmana-bhaṭṭa was a scholar and poet who flourished under Vimalāditya. He was the composer of the new Eastern Chālukya *prastāvi* embodied in the Raṇastipūṇḍi grant.* On his death his son, Bētana-bhaṭṭa, appears to have succeeded him in his office. In point of style and excellence of diction, the present record is superior to the Kōrumelli plates. The passage in which the author describes the greatness of Rājendra Chōla is majestic and dignified; and his description of the battle of Kalidindi also is vivid.

In the preparation of this article, I have received considerable help from the late Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamachari, Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and Dr. V. Raghavan. I have also great pleasure in acknowledging my indebtedness to Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao and Mr. M. Venkataramayya for their valuable help in this connection.

TEXT[†]

[Metres : Vv. 1, 5, 14, 16, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25 and 28 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 2, 3, 6, 7, 10, 11, 17, 27, 31, 32 and 33 *Anuṣṭubh*; v. 4 *Udgīti*; vv. 8 and 18 *Vasantatilakā*; vv. 9 and 19 *Mandākrānū*; v. 12 *Upajāti*; v. 13 *Mālinī*; v. 15, *Āryā*; v. 22 *Gīti*; vv. 26, 29, 30 and 36 *Āryāgīti*; vv. 34 and 35 *Svāgatā*; v. 37 *Vamśastha*; v. 38 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

First Plate

- 1 'Śrīdhāmanah Puruṣhōttamasya mahatō Narāyaṇasya prabhōr=nnābhī-parīkaruhād=babhū[va jagata]s=sraṣṭā [Svayaṁ]-
- 2 bhūs=tata[h] [i*] jajñē mā[na]sa-sūnur=Atrir=iti yas=tasmān=munēr=Atritas=Sōmō var[ṣa]-karas=Sudhā[mēsur=uditaś=Śrika]ṇṭha-chū-
- 3 dāmanih [[1|*] Tasmād=abhūt=Sudhāsūtēr=bBudhō budha-nutas=tataḥ [i*] jātaḥ Purūravā nāma chakra[vartti] sa-vikra-
- 4 mah [2|*] Tasmād=Āyus=tatō Nahushah[‡] tatō Yayātiḥ chakravartti varṣa-karttā tataḥ Purur=iti chakra[va]rtti tatō Ja-
- 5 namējayō=śvamēdha-tritayasya karttā tataḥ Prāchīśaḥ tasmāt Sainyayātiḥ tatō Hayapatiḥ tatas=Sārvabha-
- 6 mah tatō Jayasēnaḥ tatō Mahābhāumah tasmād=Aśānakaḥ tataḥ Krōdhānanaḥ tatō Dēvakiḥ tasmād=Ribhu(chu)-
- 7 kaḥ tasmād=Rikshakaḥ tatō Mativaraḥ satra-yāga-yājī Sarasvatī-nadī-nāthaḥ tataḥ Kātyāyanaḥ
- 8 tatō Nilah tatō Dushyantaḥ tat-sutaḥ | Chakravartti mahātōjā Bharatō yūpa-kānanam | kṛitv=śśvamēdhā-
- 9 n=akarōd=Gaṅgā-Yamunayōs=tatō || [3|*] Tatō Bharatād=Bhūmanyuh | tatas=Suhōtraḥ | tatō Hasti | tatō Virōchanaḥ [i*]
- 10 tasmād=Ajamīlāḥ | tatas=Samvaranaḥ | Samvaranasya Tapana-sutāyās=Tapatyās=cha Sudhanvā | tataḥ Pari(rī)kshit |
- 11 tatō Bhīmasēnaḥ | tataḥ Pradīpanaḥ | tataḥ Śantanuh | tatō Vichitravīryah | tataḥ Pāṇḍa-(ṇḍu)rājah || Putrās=tasya Yu-

¹ Rāchiya, Peddēri, Bhīma, Bētana-bhaṭṭa.

² Above, Vol. VI, p. 358.

³ From impressions.

⁴ [The symbol in the beginning, possibly a lotus, stands for *siddham*.—Ed.]

⁵ Here as well as in several other places further on *śandhi* has not been observed.

- 12 dhashti(dhishṭhi)ra-Bhīm-Ārjuna-Nakula-Sahadēvāḥ | pañcōhēndriyavat=pañcha-sūrvvi-
sa(sha)ya-grāhiṇas=tatra¹ || [4||*] Jitvā yēna Pura-
13 m̄daram hutana(va)hē havyikṛitam kā(khā)ṇḍavam Yaś=Śambhōr=labhatā sma saṁyati
bahūny=astrāṇi divyāni cha | yēn=ādhyāsita-
14 m=āsanam Maghavataś=ch=ārdham sūra²-dvēṣiṇaḥ sarpishy=āgamayat=Kṛitānta-nagarīm
yaḥ Kauravān=vidviṣaḥ || [5||*] tatō=rjunā-
15 d=Abhimanyuḥ | tataḥ Parīkehit | tatō Janamējayaḥ | tataḥ Kshēmukaḥ | tatō Naravā-
hanaḥ | tataḥ Śatānikaḥ | tasmā-
16 d=Udayanaḥ | tataḥ param tat-prabhṛtiṣv=avichehḥinna-santānēshv=Ayōdhyā-simbhāsan-
āsīnēshv=ākānashasṭi-chakravartti-

Second Plate ; First Side

- 17 shu gatēsu(shu) tad=vamśyō Vijayādityō nāma rājā vijigīshayā Dakṣiṇāpatham gatvā
Trilōchana-Palla-
18 vam=adha(dhi)kshipya kālavaśāl=lōkāntaram=agamat | tasmin=samkulō tasya Mahādēvi
garbha-bhār=ālas=āntahpur-ādhikṛi-
19 ta-vanitā-kamchukibhis=sārdham vṛiddh-āmātyaiḥ purōhitēna ch=ānīyamānā kathamchin-
[Mu]divēmu-nām-āgrahāram=upaga-
20 mya tad-vāstavyēna Viṣṇubhaṭṭa-sōmayājinaḥ duhitṛi-nirvvi(rvvi)śēsham=abhiga(ra)kshitā
satī nandanam Viṣṇuvarddhanam=s[sū]ta
21 sā tasya cha kumārasya Mānavya-sagōtra-Hārīti-putr-ādi-ava-kṣatra-gōtra-kram-ōchitāni
karmmāni(ni) kārayitvā ta-
22 m=avarddhayat || sa cha mātṛā vidita-vṛittāntas=san=nirggatya Chālukya-girau Namdām
Bhagavatīm Gaurīm=ārādhya Kumāra-Nārāya-
23 ṇa-Mātrigaṇārhś=cha samtarpya śvēt-ātapatr-aika-ga(śa)mka-pañcha-mahāśabda-pālikētana-
pratiḍhakkā-varāhalāmchchha(chha)ṇa-piṇ-
24 chchha-kumta-simbhāsana-makarātōraṇa-kanakadaṇḍa-Gaṁgā-Yamun-ādīni sva-kulā-kram-
āgatāni nikshiptān=i-
25 va sāmrajya-chihṇāni sā(sa)māsādyā Trilōchana-Pallavam jivā tat-sutām=Uttamadānim=
upaya-
26 mya Kadamba-Gaṁg-ādi-bhūmipān=nirjitya Sētu-Narmadā-madhyam s-ārdha-sapta-lak-
sham Dakṣiṇāpatham pāla-
27 yāmāsa || Tasy=āsīd=Vijayādityō Viṣṇuvarddhana-bhūpatēḥ | Pallav-ānvaya-jātāyā Mahā-
dēvyāś=cha namdanaḥ || [6||*] Ta-
28 t-sūnuḥ Pulakēśi Vallabhaḥ | tat-putrah Kirttivarmmā | tasya tanayaḥ | Śrīmatām sakala-
bhuvana-samstū[ya]māna-Mā-
29 navya-sagōtrāṇām Hārīti-putrāṇām Kauśikī-vara-prasāda-labdha-rājyānām Mātrīm(tri)-
gaṇa-paripālītānām Svāmi-Ma-
30 hāsēna-pādānuddhyātānām Bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-samāsādita-vara-varāhalām[chchha]-
(chha) n-ēkshaṇa-kṣhaṇa-[va*]śi[kṛi]-
31 t-ārāti-maṇḍalānām=āsvamēdh-āvabhṛita(tha)-anāna-pavitrikṛita-vapushāḥ(shām) Chālukyā-
nām ku[lam=alamkarishṇōs=Satyā]-

¹ [The intended reading seems to be *pañcōhēndriya-vat=pañcha svar-vvishaya-grāhiṇas=tatra*.—Ed.]

² The letter *ra* in *sura* has a horizontal stroke inside, which is to be ignored.

KALIDINDI GRANT OF EASTERN CHALUKYA RAJARAJA I

2 2
4 4
6 6
8 8
10 10
12 12
14 14
16 16



ii, a.

18 18
20 20
22 22
24 24
26 26
28 28
30 30
32 32



ii, b.

34 34
36 36
38 38
40 40
42 42
44 44
46 46
48 48



iii,a

50 50
52 52
54 54
56 56
58 58
60 60
62 62
64 64

iii,b

66 66
68 68
70 70
72 72
74 74
76 76
78 78
80 80

iv,a

82 82
84 84
86 86
88 88
90 90
92 92
94 94
96 96

32 śraya-vallabhēndrasya bhrātā Kujja(bja)vishṇa(ṣṇu)varddhanō=sṣṭādaśa varshāṇi Vēṅgi-
dēśam=apālayat=tat-sū(nuḥ) Jaya[sim]-

33 ha-[vallabhas=trayas]trimśatam | tad-anuj=Ēndrarāja-narādanaḥ(nas)=sapta dināni tat-putrō [Vishṇuvarddhanō] nava va-

Second Plate ; Second Side

34 rshāṇi | tat-sūnur=mMamgi-Yuvarājah paṁchaviṁśatiṁ | tat-tanayō Jayasi[m]has=trayōdaśa | tad-a[nuja]h Kō-

35 kilip̄ shaṇ-māsān | tasya jyēshṭhō bhrātā Vishṇuvarddhanas=tam-uchchāṭya sapta-trimśatam=abdān | tat-sutō [Vijayā]di-

36 tya-bhaṭṭārakō=sṣṭādaśa | tat-putrō Vishṇuvarddhanah shaṭ-trimśatam | tat-sūnur=nNarēmdra-mṛigarājō=[sṣṭā(ṣṭa)chatvāriṁśatam]

37 tat-sutaḥ Kali-Vishṇuvarddhanō=dhy-arddha-varsham | tat-tanayō Guṇaga-Vijayādi[tya*]ś-
chatuschatvā[riṁśatam] | tad-bhrātu-

38 r=vVikramāditya-bhūpatēs=sutaś=Chalukya-Bhīmas=trimśatam | tat-putrō Vijayādityash-
shaṇ=māsā[n] | tat-s[ūnur=A]-

39 mmarājas=sapta varshāṇi | tat-sutam Vijayādityam bālam=uchchāṭya Tāḍaparājō māsam-
ēkam | [tam jivā]

40 Chalukya-Bhīma-tanayō Vikramāditya śkādaśa māsān | tat-Tāḍaparāja-sutō Yuddhamallas-
sapta va[rshāṇi | ta]-

41 taḥ || Ammarāj-ānujō Rāja(jā)Bhīmō Bhīma-parākramah | vijitya Yuddhamallam tam
dvādaś-ābdān=dha . . . [||7||*]¹

42 Sat-putrayōr=dDaśaratha-pratimasya tasya Bhīmasya Rāma-Bharat-ōpamayōh-kanīyān |
Dānārṇav[-Āmma]-

43 nripayōh khalu paṁchaviṁśaty=abdān=arakshad=avanitalam=Ammarājah || [8||*] Tasya
jyēshṭhō nripatishu chatu[ṣṣa]-

44 shṭi-vidyā-praviṇō yah Karṇ-ādin=sura-taru-nibhō bhūri-dānēna jivā | lōkē=nvarttham
suchiram=[adadhān]=nāma Dānār[ṇa]-

45 v-ākhyas=sa trin=abdān=avahad=avanīm=arṇava-kshauma-kāntām || [9||*] Tataḥ [pa]rat
patiṁ labdhum=anurūpam=anā[yi]kā [||*] [sa]-

46 ptaviṁśati-varshāṇi va(cha)chār=ēva tapaḥ kshamā || [10||*] Atha Dānārṇava(vā)=jātaḥ
kalāvān dvit-tamō-harah | rāja(jā) Chālu[kya]-Chā[m]-

47 drō yah kshamā-tāpam=apākarōt || [11||*] Balād-grihītvā Balitō dhariēriḥ(trim) girvāṇa-
śatrōr=iva śatru-vargg[āt] śri-

48 Śadti(kti)varmmā sa samās=Chalukya-nārāyaṇō dvādaśa rakshati sma || [12||*] Tad-anu
tad-anujanmā Rājamārttaṇḍa-bhū-

49 pō viśada-ruchir-arāti-dhvānta-vidhvāṁsa-dakshah | sma vahati bhuvam=abdān=sapta Sapt-
āśva-tējās=sa[kala]-va-

Third Plate ; First Side

50 sumati-bhrin-mastaka-nyasta-pādaḥ || [13||*] Lakshmi-bhartṛi²-nibhasya tasya Vimalādityasya
Bhō(Chō)d-ānvaya-kshir-āmbhōnidhi-

51 janmanah śriya iva śri-Rājarājādhipah | dēvyās-eh-āba(ja)ni Rājarāja-duhituḥ Kṛm-
dāmbikāyās=sutō ya-

¹ [The missing letters may have been rām=ādāt.—Ed.]

² One letter between bha and rti was written and erased.

- 52 h Kamdarppa iv=āparaḥ prativasan lōka-trayā stā-hridi || [14|*] Bālyē bhūṣaṇam=abhavad-
ratnamayī yasya ka-
- 53 mṭhikā kamṭhē | guṇa-lubdhay-ēva mālā dharayā dattā patitva[rayā] || [15|*] Vēd-ām-
bhōdhi-nidhi-pramāṇa-gaṇi(ni)tē Sā-
- 54 k-ābda-saṁghē Ravau Simhasthē bahula-dvitiya-divasē vārē Gurō=ātagau | yuktē bh-
ōttarabhadrayādy(a=py=a)ti-vāni-
- 55 j-yāmē tu [sarvva*]-kṣhamān trātum paṭtam=adhatta yō guṇa-nidhiḥ śri-Rājāśjō-nripaḥ
|| [16|*] Yasy=ōttamāṁgam=ābaddha-
- 56 m=ābhāt=paṭṭēna bhūyasā || () bharttum viśvaṁbharā-bhāram janaśā(r-ā)rōpitam
yatā(thā) || [17|*] Api oha || Khyātas=samasta-nara-
- 57 nātha-kiriṭa-kōti-ratna-prabhā-pa[ṭala-pāṭala-pāda-piṭhaḥ] | yas=tyāga-varsha-pariharshita-
sat-samājō Rājōm-
- 58 dra-Chōḍa iti Chōḍa-kul-aika-ratnam || [18|*] Ēkāsy-āsīd=api sa Himavān=Īśvara(ra)sy-
āpatadbhir=mmūrdhnō Gaṁgā-
- 59 vimāla-salilais=sichyamānaḥ pavitraḥ | Rājōm-drō-yaḥ(yam) kim=uta namatām=Īśvarāṇām
bahū[nā]-
- 60 m ratn-ālōka-prakāṣita-jagat-prāṁgaṇō(nō)bhyaś=śirōbhyaḥ || [19|*] Sa=dvīpām catur-
ambusā(rā)śi-parikhām viśvaṁbharām || [19|*]
- 61 layā daṇḍēn=aiṣa vijitya yō di(da)śa-diśi prātishṭhipat=sarvvataḥ | svair-ōdbhrānti-nivāra-
ṇāya vijaya-sta-
- 62 mbbhān=eva-nām-āṁkitān=ālānān=iva badduum=a[m*]dha-manasō darppēna dig-dantiṇaḥ
|| [20|*] Sa śra(śru)tvā paritushyā(śhya) vāmśa-vinaya-
- 63 tyāg-ābhīmān-ōnnati[m] prajñā-vikramā-satyā-śau[oha]-paṭutā-śaurya-kṣham-ādin-guṇā[n] |
Chōḍēśō Madhurā[nta]-
- 64 kaḥ eva-tanayām=Ammāṁga-nāmām satīm Chā[ukv]-ābharaṇasya ch-āgramahishīm snēhōna
yasy-ākārōt || [21|*]
- 65 Yasmin=rājani rakeṣāti bhūchakram=avakram=uchita-mā[r*]ggēṇa | abhavad=abādham-
akalmasham=a[dūshi]tam=a-

Third Plate ; Second Side

- 66 matsaram [prajābharitam]¹ || [22|*] Rājō rāja-Chalukya-vāmśa-latik-ālambasya yasya
svayam śāsvat=kirtti[r=ālamka]-
- 67 rōti nitarā[m lōka-trayī-ka(kā)minīm] | hāra(rā)l=iva sugandhi-chandana-mayī — —
[lālāmaki]-māl=ēv=āmala-[jā]-
- 68 ti-ja(jā)la-kalitā daukūla-Lakshmī=iva || [23|*] Yasya śri-Paragaṇḍabhairava-vibhōr=ddār-
ddaṇḍa-[kaukshēya]ka-prōdbhinn-āhita-ha-
- 69 sti-masti(eta)ka-galan-mastishka-[khād]-āśyā gridhrāḥ paksha-puṭān=visāryya viyati vyā-
baddha-chakrāś=chalat-pichchhā-pa-
- 70 tra-chaya-śriyam vidadhatō vira-śriyas=samtyati || [24|*] Ēkēn=aiva hayi hayēna bahuśō
vāhā-sahasraṇ=ta-
- 71 thā kō vā vira-bhaḥ jayēt pratibhaṭam ch=āstr-ābhivarahais=tathā | kas=siṁhōd=iti vidrutā
raṇa-mukhāśv=āścha²—

¹ The letters within brackets are engraved over an erasure.

² [The intended reading seems to be *prajā-charitam*.—Ed.]

³ [The sense requires *raṇa-mukhāśv=āścharya*.—Ed.]

- 72 ryya-paryyākulā yasy=ārātaya ēva śauryyam=anīśam stuvanti tanvanti [cha] || [25||*]
Svasti [lṣa*]rvalōkā-
- 73 śraya-śri-Vishṇuvarddhana-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka[h] Paramamāhē-
74 śvaraḥ Paramabrahma[ṇya]h mātō(tā)pitri-pād-ānudhyātah Tyāga-simha(hā)śan-[śśinaḥ]
Gāḍevalu-[nā]-
- 75 ma-vishaya-sahitām Pallapu-Gudravāra-vishayam=adhivasataḥ rāshṭrakūṭa-pramukhā-
[n=kuṭu]rribinaḥ sarvvān=sa-
- 76 mähūya mantri-purōhita-sēnāpati-yuvarāja-dauvārika-pravā(dhā)n-ādi-samaksham-i[ttha]m-
ājñā-
- 77 pahayati¹ | yadhā(thā) | Khyātō=sti Rājārāja-Brahma-mahārāja iti mahādanḍapatiḥ [|*]
yō Madhurā-
- 78 ntaka-bhūbhṛit-kaṇṇā-rasa-sikta-varddhita-yaśō-latikah[| 26||*] Rājendra-Chōḍa-bhūpāla-
rājyalakshmī-mahā-
- 79 nidhōḥ [|*] rakshana-kshama-daksh-ōgra-mahābhūja-bhujamgamah [|27||*] Diktō
dakshinataḥ puraskṛita-bṛihad-danḍah prachanḍa-
- 80 s=sa yō vidvi[t=chhō]ṇita-pāna-gridhaur=aparah kālō na v=ēt=ikshitaḥ [1*] Rājendra-
kshitipālakasya mahatō man-mātu-

Fourth Plate ; First Side

- 81 lasy-ā[tu*]lasy=ādēśa[m*] pratipadya tat-kshaṇata ēv=Āmudhra-kshamām prāgamat || [28||*]
Anyō=pi danḍanāthō bhakti-klēśa-praru(hri)-
- 82 śhṭa-nija-nādhā(tha)h [|*] amun=aiv=āgatavān=Uttama-Śōḍa-chChōḍagōn=iti vye(vya)-
padishṭah | [|29||*]² Uttama-Chōḍa-Milād-uḍa[yā]-
- 83 n=ity=any=ōpi ch=ō(ch=ā)gataḥ purushah [|*] yah patir=atha sēnāyāḥ pativratāyāḥ parē-
kshaṇ-āsahanāyāḥ | [| 30||*] Ka-
- 84 rnnāṭika-bal-āraṇyām(ṇyam) tā(da)gdhukāmam=aśōshataḥ | danḍanātha-trayo(ya)m dṛi-
shṭam=agni-trayam=iv=ōjvalam || [31||*] Karnnā-
- 85 ṭa-Dramil-ādhiśa-danḍēsām=abhavad=raṇam [|*] paraspara-chatur-ddanta-pratighaṭṭana-
bhikaram || [32||*] Mushtāmushtī kvachid=dṛi-
- 86 śhṭam kōśākōśy=abhavat=kshaṇam [|*] danḍādanḍi kvachit=prōktaḥ kuntākunti
nirantaram-[|33||*] Jaghnirē nija-śarair=api [kē]chid=dhanvinō
- 87 yudhi samarddhita-śauryyāḥ [|*] sēnayōr=api paraspara-bāṇ-āpāta-[jāta]-java-vāta-vivṛie
[ttaiḥ] [|34||*] Khadgi-khadga=dṛi-
- 88 ḍha-ghaṭṭana-jātē visphuliṅga-nivahē su(śa)labhā[h*] syuh | sad-bhaṭa(tā) bhaya-bhṛitaḥ(tāś-
cha)la-chittāḥ pañcha-sha-
- 89 ○ ○ ○ ○ padātyōḥ || [35||*] Nrityamti(nti) va³ gaja-kabaṇ(n)dhās=turaga-kabandh-
ās=cha nara-kabandha-pramukhāḥ [|*] [ri]
- 90 ṇam=ady=aiva viyu(mu)kta[m*]nija-nāth-āvamdhya-pōshaṇasy=ēti mudā || [36||*] Gajair-
ggajā vājibhir=ēva vājino narai-
- 91 r=nnarās=tatra samam vinākṛitāḥ [|*] dvi-pakshayōḥ kāla-vaśēna samyugē samāna-yuddham
samam=ēva

¹ Read *ājñāpayati*.² [The latter half of this verse is in the *Aryāgiti* metre.—Ed.]³ [This *va* is superfluous.—Ed.]

- 92 naśyati || [37]*] Bhṛīsam=avasara ēsha nah pragantum divam anuehūntya padāti-yugma-
mukhyāh [*] divija-
- 93 yu[va]ti-saṅga-kāmkshay=ōyuh ssa(sa)mam=atha daiva-durihayā [cha bhū]mēh [||38||*]
Etad-Dramila-daṇḍanāthānā-
- 94 m Rā[ra]ja-Rāja-Brahma-Mahārāja-nāmadhēyō sva-mātulasya Madhurāntakadōvasy=ā-
95 tulā(la)sy=ādēśah(m) prāpya Karvā(rnnā)ṭaka-daṇḍanādhai(thai)r=yyuddhvā t[ai]r=ōva
sārdham divam gatavān=aśvi[kē]-
- 96 [na] hastikēna cha balēna [bā]hā-balēna cha sama-balatvāch=cha | tam=uddiśya [Ka]lidiṇḍi-
grā[mē]

Fourth Plate ; Second Side

- 97 Rājarājōvara[m=iti Śi]vāyatana-m=akaravaṁ | Uttama-Śōḍa-chChōḍagōn=ity=Uttama-Chōḍa-
[Mi]-
- 98 lāḍ-udaiyān=iti praviddhāv=anyāv=api ch=ōddiśya Śivāyatana-dvayaṁ [karōmi]
maṁ[ga]-
- 99 l-ōtturūga-sarūgitaka-khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-navakarmma-baly-upahār-ūdy-arttham pa[mchāsach=
chhātrānām]
- 100 śāstrasya śrōṭi(tri)ṇām satr-arttham cha dvay-ādhika-paṁchāsad-vēśyābhiḥ | Brāh-
maṇa-śatēna brahma-[vē]-
- 101 dinā huta-jātavēdasa(sā) vaiśya-śatēna cha Dhanad-ōpamēna śūdra-śatēna Br[ahma-
pāda-kamala]-
- 102 sambhūtē[na*] cha sārddham Madhurāntaka-Nallūri-nāmnā prasiddhaḥ [Ka]lidiṇḍi-
nāma-grāma[h] Māgaḍa[vaṇu]-
- 103 grāmatikayā dattaḥ tasy=āvadhayah [*] Pūrvvataḥ Konnoki sīm=aiva sīmā āgnēya-
[taḥ] lidorru¹-śi-
- 104 m=aiva sīmā | dakṣiṇataḥ Koṇṭhama-sīmā | nairityataḥ Vēvāka-sīm=aiva sīmā | paśchi-
mataḥ Kaḍa
- 105 sīm=aiva sīmā | vā[yav]yata[h] Dāḍināṇṭi sīm=aiva sīmā | uttarataḥ | Pōtu[mbar]ti-
sīm=ai[va] sīmā | [Isānata]-
- 106 h Pōtūmbarti-sīm=aiva sīmā | Pallapu-Gudravārē Kaḍapartu-nāma-grāmaḥ [Du]ggiya-
[pū]ṇḍi [grāma]-
- 107 sya pūrvvataḥ | Kaludiṇḍi-sīm=aiva sīmā | āgnēyataḥ | ēsh=aiva dakṣi[ṇa]taḥ | Vē[vāka-
si]m=aiva sīmā | na(nai)ṇṭi-
- 108 tyataḥ ēsh=aiva | paśchimataḥ | Āvakūru-sīm=aiva sīmā | vāyavyataḥ Tāmara-kolani-
Krovvinḍlētām=bāsi-
- 109 na-Tallikroyya-nāma nadi | uttarataḥ | Kalvasaṇḍa-sīm=aiva sīmā | Isānataḥ | Tāḍināṇṭi-
sīm=aiva

Fifth Plate

- 110 sīmā | Pallapu-Gudravārē Āvakū-
- 111 ta[h] Kaḍaparti-[si]m=aiva sīmā | āgnē
- 112 mataḥ Koṇḍika-Muinjalūra-sīm=ai(va)

¹ The final Rāja in Rājarāja-Rāja appears to be superfluous.

² The name of the village may be Alidorru or Palidorru.

KALIDINDI GRANT OF EASTERN CHALUKYA RAJARAJA I

iv. b.

98	...	98
100	...	100
102	...	102
104	...	104
106	...	106
108	...	108

v.

110	...
112	...
114	...
116	...
118	...
120	...
122	...

Seal



(From a photograph)

- 113 rti-sīni=ē(m=ai)va sīmā | Isānataḥ Kaḍa
 114 sa pañcha-mahāpātakair=yyuktō bha
 115 vā yō harēta vasu[ndha]
 116 bahubhiś=ch=ānupā[li]
 117 rmma-sētur=nripānām kā
 118 bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabha[dra]
 119 bhūpā yē pālayanti mama
 120 pām-ādhikatva-vidhinā śrī-Rāja[rā]
 121 st-ādrēr=aparāt=sad=āsta-vidhinā
 122 śō Rāchiya-Peddēri-[Bhī]

No. 9—SRIRANGAM INSCRIPTION OF SADASIVARAYA ; SAKA 1467

K. G. KRISHNAN, MADRAS

The subjoined inscription¹ is engraved on the inner wall of the north side of the third *prākāra*, to the proper right of *Svargavāsāl* in the Raṅganāthasvāmin temple, *Śrīraṅgam*, Tiruchirappalli District, Madras State. It is dated Śaka 1467, Viśvāvasu, Phālguna, śu. 7, Monday. The English equivalent of this date is A. C. 1546, February 8, Monday.

The importance of the record lies in that it contains a reference to a distinguished person known as *Nalantigaḷ Nārāyaṇa Jiyar* who had for a long time been associated with the administration of the *Śrīraṅgam* temple and also mentions a descendant of *Śrīśailapūrṇa*, who was a preceptor of the royal family of Vijayanagara.

The scripts used are Grantha and Tamil and the language provides a good example of the typical *Vaiṣṇava* style with a fair admixture of Sanskrit and Tamil words, better known as the *maṇipravāla* style employed by the great Tamil commentators. In fact, the expression *Indappāvam aḍikkalaṇṇu poṇ perum* (i.e., this sin is highly valued) in line 7 conveys the same idea as contained in the Sanskrit quotation [*sa*]n-nimitta-kṛitām pāpam=api dharmāya kalpatē, cited immediately above and this Tamil expression is also found in the great commentary known as *Iḍu*². This is a clear testimony also to the fact that Vaiṣṇavaite commentators of the mediaeval period had achieved proficiency in rendering Sanskrit expressions into good Tamil.

The orthography of the inscription presents the following features. The *rēpha* is represented by a vertical stroke above the consonant to which it is prefixed as in *pūrṇa*, *āchārya*, *samarpitta* (lines 3 and 10). But if the consonant following the *rēpha* is doubled as in *sauhārḍḍa* (line 6), *dharmma* (lines 7 and 10) the sign for the *rēpha* is inserted in between the doubled consonants. In line 3 the Grantha letter *pa* is used in the purely Tamil word *perṇa*. This is only an exception since the Grantha alphabet is uniformly employed to indicate Sanskrit words or letters.

The text abounds in scribal errors which have been duly taken notice of and the necessary corrections are indicated in the foot-notes accompanying it.

¹ *ARSIE*, No. 13 of 1936-37.

² *Iḍu* 1, 4, 1. This commentary was written by Vaḍakku-tiruvḍippillai in the name of his teacher Nambiyai.

The use of the ancient form *yāru* of the word *āru* in line 5, meaning river, is peculiar for a record of the 16th century and a similar example can be found in the word *yāṇḍu* used for *āṇḍu* meaning year. The word *kēḷka* is a dialectal variation of the original word *kēṭka* (*kēṭ* + *ka* = *kēṭka*). The word *paṇḍāravāḍai* in line 8 is used in the sense that the income from the lands of this village had for sometime been enjoyed by the cultivators. There is a village today in Tanjore District named Paṇḍāravāḍai. The word *kaṭṭalai* has been used with two meanings, viz., 'order' in line 6 and 'arrangement' in lines 10 and 11. The use of the honorific plural pronoun is not uniformly applied in the latter part of the sentence in lines 9 and 10 as both *namakku* and *nāṇ* are used to denote the same person.

The donor of the grant is Śrīśailapūrṇa Tātāchārya *alias* Avuku Tiruvēṅgaḍayyaṅār. He received a gift of the village Chintāmaṇi from Rāmarāja and Sōmakulatilaka Sadāśiva Mahārāja and in turn granted the same, for the merit of both the Rāja and the Rāja,¹ to the temple for the expenses of offering four dishes of food to the god as was once arranged by Nalantigaḷ Nārāyaṇa Jiyar, allotting a share of the offerings for himself and his descendants. The village is stated to have been in former times given to the temple by a local Chōḷa king after settling a dispute over a stream cut from the main river. Then after a long time the village passed on to the ownership of the cultivators. Again the village was left uncultivated after a short period. Hence Tiruvēṅgaḍayyaṅār, the present donor who had himself received the village as gift, renovated the same and in his turn granted it to the temple.

The role that the members of this Śrīśailapūrṇa family played in the spread of Vaishṇavism since the days of the Vijayanagara ruler Mallikārjuna, as also in the conversion of the royal family itself to the *Śrīvaiṣṇava* faith, has been already discussed² in this journal and elsewhere. Two records at Hampi make mention of this Tātāchārya. One of them³ is dated Śaka 1465, i.e., about two years prior to the date of the present record. There he is stated to have granted a village, some fields and a garden to the god Viṭṭhaladēva. He is described as the son of Tirumala Avuku Tātāchārya. Since no specific mention is made of this teacher as a *guru* of the king, it is probable that he became the royal preceptor only two years later, i.e., about the time of the present record. The other record,⁴ of Śaka 1478 at the same place, states that Aubalarāja, son of Rāmarāja Kōṇṭṭayyaṅār, raised a shrine for Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār, granted a few villages for various services to be conducted for the Ālvār, and placed the endowment in the hands of Tirumaṅjanakālam Rāmānujayaṅgār⁵ and his disciples who were required to conduct the services for the merit of Aubalarāja's preceptor Tirumala Avuku Tiruvēṅgaḍāchārya. The latter is evidently the donor of the present record. He was a descendant of Śrīśailapūrṇa⁶ *alias* Periya Tirumalainambi, the maternal uncle of the great Viśiṣṭādvaita teacher, Śrī Rāmānuja. In the records about the descendants of Śrīśailapūrṇa that are available from the various places to the north and south of Tirupati, the names of the places where they settled are prefixed to their names, as in *Ēṭṭūr* Siṅgarāchārya, *Śrīṭṭai* Tōḷappayyaṅār, etc. Here the name *Avuku* or *Auk* indicates likewise the place where the donor had settled. His father is also called Tirumala Avuku Tātāchārya. Hence it is clear that

¹ There are a number of inscriptions where both the Rāja and the Rāja are mentioned together though in a different manner; e. g., *ARE*, 246 of 1904; *Tirupati Inscriptions*, Vol. V, No. 53.

² Above, Vol. XII, pp. 161 ff; Vol. XIII, p. 3; *Tirupati Devasthanam Epigraphical Report*, p. 313.

³ 707 of 1922, *SII*, Vol. IX, pt. II, No. 607.

⁴ *ARE*, No. 51 of 1889, *SII*, Vol. IV., No. 280.

⁵ *Journal of Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XI, No. 1.

⁶ The earliest reference to Śrīśailapūrṇa in the traditional Vaishṇava hagiologies occurs in the history of Rāmānuja in the *Guruparamparāprabhāva*. Under the directions of his *guru*, Āṣavandār, Śrīśailapūrṇa (Periya Tirumalainambi) migrated from Srīrangam to Tirupati.

a branch of the Śrīśailapūrṇa family had already settled there one or two generations earlier.¹ Avuku is a village in the Koilkuntla taluk of the Kurnool District. About the period of this record, Avuku was the seat of a powerful line of chiefs² under Sadāśivarāya and this Avuku Tiruvēṅgaḍayyaṅgār seems to have wielded great influence over these chiefs and the members of the royal family of Vijayanagara.

The interesting history of the village Chintāmaṇi is narrated in the inscription. It is in this part that the name of the eminent administrator of the Śrīraṅgam temple, Nalantigaḷ Nārāyaṇa Jiyar occurs. He is well known from other sources. He was first known as Kūranārāyaṇa Jiyar and began his life as a devotee at Śrīraṅgam and rendered many services³ to the temple, one of which may be noted here. When a member of the group called *vinṇappam seyvār*⁴ became impure and consequently unfit for the service in the temple, Kūranārāyaṇa Jiyar was called upon to purify him and the Jiyar composed a work known as *Sudarśanaśatakam*⁵ and chanted it to purify the person and make him fit for service. In recognition of this and many other services including the one mentioned in the present record, he seems to have been given the name Nalantigaḷ Nārāyaṇa Jiyar,⁶ i.e., Nārāyaṇa Jiyar, who was eminent in doing good (*nalam + tigaḷ*), and some of the devotees raised him to a new pontifical seat with the designation of Śrīraṅganārāyaṇa Jiyar and it continued to be held in regular succession by devotees chosen from time to time.

The present record deals with another but more benevolent act done by this same Jiyar. The frequent floods of the river Kāvēri south of Śrīraṅgam proved to be almost a permanent problem baffling solution. They were encroaching into the soil of Śrīraṅgam towards the direction of the temple. Nalantigaḷ Nārāyaṇa Jiyar took some steps to prevent the erosion. Some of the measures he took as detailed in our record were spiritual and the rest were methods pertaining to flood control.

The Jiyar fixed a *yantra*, i.e., a disc or plate with the powers of a *mantra* at Āṇaikāttāṇ Karai facing west and also consecrated the deity called Śāstā.⁷ A stream was newly cut out, branching

¹ Similarly, Singārāchārya (Narasimhāchārya) and Raṅgāchārya, of this line migrated from Tirupati to Ēṭṭūr in search of better fortunes by engaging in skilful exposition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Yet dissatisfied with their position the family went to Vijayanagara where they converted the royal family to the *Vaiṣṇava* faith. Doḍḍayāchārya, a descendant of Singārāchārya settled at Sholinghur, N. Arcot District, and Tātāchārya Ayyāvayyaṅgār of this family lived at Ēṭṭūr, Tirumalai (i.e., Tirupati) and also at Kumbakōṇam. Again mention is made of one Soṭṭai Tōḷappayaṅgār in a record at Conjeevaram. In the record under study the family is stated to hail from Auk. In some later records at Kōvilāḍi in Tanjore District, Śrīraṅgam Tātāchārya and Śrīraṅgam Tirumalai Tiruvēṅgaḍa Tātayyaṅgār figure as donors. Lakshmīkumāra Tātāchārya is well known for his activities at Conjeevaram and Tirumālirūṇjōlaimalai (i.e., Alagarkoil, Madura District). Thus it may be seen that this great family spread itself to preach and propagate the *Vaiṣṇava* faith. (*Prapannāṃṛitam*, Chapter 126.)

² *Tirupati Devasthanam Epigraphical Report*, pp. 358-359.

³ *Kōyiloḷugu* (1909, Ananda Press), pp. 108-115. In these pages, there is a confused account of the services done by the various *jīyars* of this line, services to distinguish which one has to proceed with caution. For example it is stated that the renovation of the shrine of Chāndu Nāchchiyār was undertaken by Śrīraṅga-Nārāyaṇa Jiyar. Chāndu is identified with the Muslim princess of Delhi who pined away for the Raṅganātha idol carried away by the Muslim hordes in 1311 A.C. from Śrīraṅgam and later on recovered by the *Vaiṣṇava*ites from the Delhi Sultan. It is highly improbable that Kūranārāyaṇa Jiyar lived till 1311 A.C. the lower limit of his life being 1157 A.C., the year up to which his teacher Kūrattālvār lived. Hence only a successor's action is meant here.

⁴ This class of servants at Śrīraṅgam are engaged in the recital of the hymns before the deities on specific occasions, with music, dance and drama. Their duties are well defined in *Kōyiloḷugu*, vide p. 97.

⁵ Published in the *Kāvyamālā* Series, part VIII, Nirnayasagara Press.

⁶ *Kōyiloḷugu*, p. 115.

⁷ This deity is considered to be the son of Viṣṇu in the form of Mōhini and Śiva, on the occasion of *Aṃṇīra-mathana*. He is called Aiyāṅār and Śāstā. This deity is believed to control all the evil spirits. See also *III*, Vol. II, p. 40, fn.3.

off the right bank of the southern branch of the Kāvērī¹ so that a large volume of water might flow out and the effect of erosion into the soil of Śrīraṅgam, i.e., on the north bank of the Kāvērī, would be minimised. A coarse grass of the penreed type was planted on the left bank. The grass served as a good protection to the boundary on that side. The waters of the Kāvērī were partially dried up along the south bank. Owing to the cutting of the stream² to the right of the Kāvērī, water encroached upon the cultivated fields belonging to the Mahājanas of the village, Chintāmaṇi. They seemed to have raised objection to this step. The Jiyar gave them lands in the Kolakuttai village in exchange for the lands flooded on account of the cutting of the stream. But the Brāhmaṇas were dissatisfied and appealed to the Chōḷa king. The case was taken up and when questioned by the Chōḷa king about the injustice done to the Brāhmaṇas, the Jiyar, in the course of his arguments justifying his action, is stated to have quoted the Lord's own words... *nnimittakṛitam-pāpam(pam)=api dharmmāya kalpatē* as occurring in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*.³ The Chōḷa was much pleased with this representation and exclaimed that if that was the motive the sin was as valuable as pure gold and approved of his action.⁴

The *Kōyilolugu*, a chronicle of the Śrīraṅgam temple, gives with a few differences the details of the same events recorded in the inscription regarding Nalantigaḷ Nārāyaṇa Jiyar, a free translation of which is given below :

'Every year when the Kāvērī is in spate, the *Tirukkuralappaṇ-sannidhi* used to be submerged under the waters flooding into the temple. In order to avoid this the Jiyar having informed the lord of the regions consulted Śrī Sēnāpati Dhurandharar Kandāḍai Tōlappaṇ and excavated a channel to the south of the Kāvērī at the end of the street leading to Punnāga-Tīrtha. The Brāhmaṇas of the village Chintāmaṇi obstructed the operations by lying down across the boundary. The Jiyar told them that it was a sacred service to the Perumāḷ and hence they should not obstruct. But they did not listen to him. The Jiyar looked down upon them. He went on with his work and raised embankments to the channel on both sides after erecting an avenue called *aṇi-arāṅgaṇ-vāṣal*. He made his follower Karuṇākaradāsa stand guard at a point of the breach at the south east of Punnāga-Tīrtha and sacrificed him.⁵ To the north he consecrated the Kshudradēvatā (i.e., Śāstā) and the village goddess known as Tiruvaraṅgachcheḷvi and took similar steps in

¹ It may be noted here that the undivided (*akhaṇḍa*) Kāvērī divides itself into two, just above the town of Śrīraṅgam. The north branch is called Koḷḷiḍam and the south Kāvērī. The present record calls the southern branch 'Teṭtirukkāvērī'.

² A *Chintāmaṇi-ōḍai* is spoken of in the Trichinopoly District Gazetteer, p. 148. But the stream of our record cannot be identified with it because the *ōḍai* is said to fall into the Koḷḷiḍam and this stream flows to the right of the Kāvērī.

³ This is only one half of the verse of which the first letter is missing as the stone is peeled off here ; and the verse is not found in the *Bhagavad-Gītā*. Evidently the missing letter may be *sa* or *ma* yielding the meaning benevolent or done in my (God's) cause. The following instance of another irregular quotation may be noted : Tirumaṅgai Ālvār raised several structures around the shrine at Śrīraṅgam with the help of many architects. They demanded payments of their dues. Luring them with the prospects of treasure trove on the opposite bank, he took them in a boat across the Kāvērī. He had given secret instruction to the ferrymen to capsize the boats in the middle of the river in justification of which the following stanzas were said to have been quoted by him as the lord's own words ; "Ētat-kāryyam mahāpāpa-hētukam n=āvamanyatha | Purā Bhagavat=aiv=ōktam eṭkshma-dharmam=anuttamam || Man=nimittam=idam pāpam=api puṇyāva kalpatē | Mām=anādritya puṇyam vā api pāpāya kalpatē. ||" Vide, *Prapannāmr̥itam*, p. 375.

⁴ *Iduvē niṇaiṇ=āṇāl iṇḍay-pāvam aḍik-kaḷaṇḍu poṇ perum*. The idea of value is conveyed by the word *kaḷaṇḍu* a standard measure in gold and the word *aḍi* adds the idea of the fineness of the material and thus the *āḍa-ghyatā* of the action is indicated.

⁵ The corresponding expression *baḷiy=āga arap-pārtu* as it occurs in *Kōyilolugu*, is not quite clear. In the other context it indicates that Karuṇākaradāsa was sacrificed. It is highly improbable that the Brāhmaṇas of Chintāmaṇi were sacrificed. And our record too tells a different tale.

the east end and thus saw that there was no room for Kshudra elements to interfere and mounted a *yantra* so that nobody could live within the temple.⁷

This account has omitted to mention the important act of compensation arranged by the Jiyar and other technical measures adopted by him. Otherwise it corroborates some of the details given in our record.

About the date of this Jiyar our inscription does not give any indication except that he was a contemporary of a Chōla king. However, the following facts may be stated here. We know of one Śrīraṅga-Nārāyaṇa Jiyar, who flourished in the 13th century A.C. and was connected with the administration of the Śrīraṅganātha temple for a long time.¹ This Jiyar was first known as Kūra-Nārāyaṇa Jiyar in the early years of his career when he composed the *Sudarśanaśatakam*. He was also known as Kūra-Nārāyaṇa Kavi. His original name was Nārāyaṇa. He is stated to have received his initiation from Kūrattālvār* at Tirumālirunṅōlai-malai. Hence he was called Kūra-Nārāyaṇa Jiyar. The *Kōyiloḷugu* places the date of this *Sudarśanaśatakam* in about the same period as that of Naṅṇiyar.² The facts stated about this Nārāyaṇa Jiyar in the *Kōyiloḷugu* and those mentioned in our inscription concerning Nalantigal Nārāyaṇa Jiyar would render it quite possible that the two persons are identical. The date of the events recorded about Nalantigal Nārāyaṇa Jiyar must lie during the period of Kandādai Tōlappar,³ called Senāpati Dhurandharar, who was a contemporary of Nambiḷai, the successor of Naṅṇiyar. Hence Kūra-Nārāyaṇa Jiyar *alias* Nalantigal-Nārāyaṇa Jiyar must have lived as a contemporary of both Naṅṇiyar and Nambiḷai who were great *āchāryas* in the line of Rāmānuja, and even lived further on. His long association with the administration of the temple had made him very popular and his admirers and friends ventured to establish a new pontifical seat named after him in rivalry with the established line of Rāmānuja and succeeded in making him the first Śrīraṅga-Nārāyaṇa Jiyar with special honours. Though the dates of these religious heads have not been settled accurately, it can be safely asserted that Nalantigal-Nārāyaṇa Jiyar of our record lived from the middle of the 12th century up to the middle of the 13th. This inscription does not unfortunately give us any clue about the identity of the Chōla king who is stated to have settled the dispute.

The technical expressions in which the ideas about the methods to prevent erosion are couched deserve special mention. The words *kīḷi-yāru* and *malaḍaṇ-āru* and the cognate verbs from which these nouns are derived are very aptly expressive of the operations involved. The word *kīḷittu* embodies the sense of force conveyed by the action. The expression *malaḍu seyvittu* is both literary and technical. The use of the word *malaḍu* is quite in keeping with the literary tradition of personifying rivers as women. At the same time the ineffectiveness of that section of the river and barrenness of that part of the land are precisely indicated. The names *kīḷi-yāru* and *malaḍa-ṇāru*⁴ remind us of the small rivulets and channels in the vast distributary system of the Kāvēri and also of their names like *koṟaiyāru* (*kuṟaiyāru*), *pettāru* (*perṟāru*) and *vaḷappāru* (*vaḷarppāru*). Perhaps *Kīḷpalāru* is the name of one such kind of water course. *Palāru* in this name may be a corrupted form of *pillaiyāru*, just a variant of *perṟāru*. The divisions named after this *āru* came to be known as *Kīḷpalāru* and *Mēḷpalāru* according to their directions from this *āru*.⁵

¹ Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 289.

² *Kōyiloḷugu*, p. 108. Kūrattālvār was a junior contemporary of the great Rāmānuja and lived till about 1157 A.C.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 108 *et. seq.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

⁵ There is one *malaḷṭāru* in the island of Śrīraṅgam. This flows out from the Kāvēri and runs to the left of and parallel to the main river; *Śrīraṅgam Town Topographical Map*, Reg. No. 25 (1946).

⁶ *SII*, Vol. IV., No. 424. In line 5 of this inscription, both *Kīḷpalāru* and *Mēḷpalāru*, i.e., *Mēḷpalāru* are mentioned as belonging to Pāchchir-kūrram in Rājaraṅga-vaḷanaḍu, while *Dēvaḍānam* of our record belongs to *Kīḷpalāru* of Uṟaiyūr-kūrram.

The expression *aḍikkalaṇḍu poṇ peṇum* is found in the commentary of Nambillai, a contemporary of this Jiyar. Most of the expressions in the *Vaiṣṇava* parlance have been frequently used by the *āchāryas* in their discussions and then incorporated into their commentaries.

The village Chintāmaṇi is situated on the southern bank of Kāvēri opposite to and facing Śrīraṅgam on the other bank. Regarding the other **geographical names** in this record, Dēva-dānam which is said to belong to *Kūpalāru* (division) is evidently the village still bearing the same name. The mud fort of Tiruchchirāppalli referred to as the southern boundary of Chintāmaṇi must have been once raised around the main rock before the date of this record and the lines of these outer defences are marked by scattered remains of the works and the ditch (now filled up).¹

The western boundary of Chintāmaṇi is said to be the road (*veṭṭi*) from Kṛishṇarāya Alavandapuram to Uṇaiyūr. This road can be traced on the map as leading to the south through Uṇaiyūr from the small ferry station of Ammamandapuram on the Kāvēri. Ammamandapuram is probably the Alavandapuram of our record and Kṛishṇarāya may be an addition to the name probably due to some association with Kṛishṇarāya of Vijayanagar, which cannot be traced in the present state of our knowledge. Kolakuttai may be the modern Kulakattaiyudi a village due south of Chintāmaṇi on the bank of a tank near Koraiyār river.² Lands in this village which is more than twelve miles from the river might not have been so fertile as those that were encroached by the stream and hence the Mahājanas of Chintāmaṇi had raised serious objection necessitating the interference of the king.

TEXT³

- 1 Sētuvandyē Śakasy=ābdē Śrīmān-Vēṃkaṭadēśikāḥ | Chintāmaṇi-mahāgrāma[m*] Śrī-Raṅ-gēśāyi(ya) dattavān ||
- 2 Śubham=astu [[*] Svasti [[*] Śrīman-Mahā-irā...irāja-Irāja[pa]ramēśvara-śrī-Virapratāpa-śrīmat-Sadāśiva-Irāja-Mahā-irāyar prithuvi-irājyam-paṇṇi aruḷāṇiṇṇa Śakābdam 1467 idaṇ mēl śellāṇiṇṇa Viśvāvasu-samvatsarattu Phālguna-māsattu śukla-pakshattu sapṭami yum Sōma-
- 3 vāramum peṇṇa Rōhiṇi-nakshatrattu nāl teṇ⁴karaī Pāṇḍikulāsani-vaḷanāṭṭu Viḷavarā-vidividi⁵-vaḷanāṭṭu Tiruvaraṅgantiruppadi-Śrī-Raṅganāthadēvar-Śrī-baṇḍārattukku Śrīśailapūrnāchārya-Tātāchāryar-āṇa Auvukku=tTiruvēṅgaḍāyāṅgār śilāsāsanam paṇṇi samarpitta-
- 4 paḍi [[*] Teṇkaraī Irājagambhīra-vaḷanāṭṭu Taṇjāūr-uśāvaḍi Uṇaiyūr-kūṇṇattu Kūpalāru-Dēvaḍānattukku mēṇku Tiruchchirāppalli maṇkōṭṭaikk-vaḍakku Kṛishṇarāya⁶-Alavandapuram Uṇaiyūr-veṭṭikku kiḷakku tiruk-Kāvērikku teṇku iṇṇāṅ-ellaikk-ulpaṭṭu muṇṇāl Tiruvaraṅgan-tiruppadi piḍāgai-
- 5 y-ākki piṇbu Nalantigaḷ-Nārāyaṇa-Jiyar Tiruvaraṅgan-tiruppadiyai yāru koḷḷuḷiḷadu kaṇḍu mēlmugam Āṇaikāttāṇ-karaikk-yantra-sthāpanamum paṇṇi Śāstāvaiyum pratisṭhittu Kīḷiyāruṇ-gilittu teṇ-tiruk-Kāvēri malaḍu-śeyvittu malaḍaṇ-āru keḍa vaḍakarai nāṇal naḍavum Kīḷiyāruṇkku teṇkaraī nāṇal⁷

¹ Vide *Trichinopoly District Gazetteer*, p. 326.

² Vide No. 139 of *Madras Survey Map*.

³ From impressions.

⁴ After *n* a *n* seems to be written, but this is redundant.

⁵ The second *vidi* is redundant.

⁶ Read *Kṛishṇa*.

⁷ The letter *y* is a mistake for *n*.

- 6 naḍāmaḷ Chintāma[niyil*] idaṅgoḍukka[vum] kaṭṭalai iṭṭu Chintāmaṇi-mahājanaṅgaḷukku-
Koḷa[k]uṭṭai grāmam parivartanai paṇṇikkoduk-kaiyil Śōḷaṇ alaippittu sanniyāsiy-
āṇavaṇ sarvabhūta-sauhārdam=unḍ[āy] irukkavēṇḍi irukka ippaḍi brāhmaṇa-himsai
paṇṇalāmō¹ eṇṇu kēḷka² brāhmaṇa-himsaikkū ā-
- 7 jñai idugiṇa paradēvatai tāṇē...³nnimitta-kṛitam pāpamm(pam)=api dharmmāya⁴ kalpatē
eṇṇu Śrī-Bhagavad-Gītaiyilē sōṇṇadu kaṇḍu śeydōṅgāṇum=eṇṇa adu kēṭṭu śōḷaṇ santōshittu
iduvē niṇaiv=ānāl inda-ppāvam aḍikkalaṇḍu poṇ perum=eṇṇu Śrī-Iraṅganāda⁵-dēvarku
dārai- vāttu ko-
- 8 ḍuttadukku piṇbu neḍu-nāḷaikkū mēl-āga=chch[i]kālām⁶ paṇḍāra-vāḍaiyāy tīrandu-pōṇa
Chintāmaṇi-grāmam 1 kku⁷ dāna-māṇiyam nilam⁸ nañje nilam⁹ 7¹-1/10 puñje nilam [7]¹⁰
āga nilam 14¹¹ 1/10 idukku poṇ¹² 146 Chintā[maṇi*] nattam śey-ttalai-ttiḍar vāstu
vāstu-sēsham āru-pr[ā]ṭi vākkālil-prāṭi Veḷḷāṅguḍi-iruppu
- 9 [i]¹³ maṇṇum eppērpattā sakala-samudāya-prāptiyum utpaḍa nidhi-nikshēpa-jala-pāshāṇ-
ādi ashta-bhōka(ga)-tēja-svāmīyaṅgaḷum ulpaḍa namakku nammuḍaiya priya-sishyanāya
svasti [*] śrīman-mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Sōmakulatilakāyamāṇan=āna¹⁴ Irāma-IrājarSadāsi-
varāya-Mahā-irāyar
- 10 kaiyil ēkabhōgyamāy dhārai vārpittu¹⁵ tarugaiyil nāṇ pūrvan=Nalantigaḷ-Nārāyaṇa-Jiyar
iṭṭa kaṭṭalaippaḍiyilē perumāḷukkē poliūtṭāga Irāyaṇkum¹⁶ Irājavukkum dharmmam=āga
samarpittu inda khilōddhāraṇam paṇṇiṇa grāmattil udaiyaṇ-goṇḍu
- 11 perumāl dinam nālu taḷigai amudu śeydarulī idil nibaddhik-kaṭṭalai arā-paḍi viṭṭavaṇ viḷu-
kkāḍu chaturthāmsam nālu taḷigaiyilē oru taḷigaiyum [Aukku Tiruveṇḍaḍayaṅgār
santāna-paramparai āga chandr-āditya-varaiyum aṇubavittu]¹⁷=
- 12 kkoṇḍu Śrī-Vaiṣṇavargaḷ amudu śeydarulumbāḍikku naḍakka-kkaḍavad=āgavum ippa-
ḍikku inda śilāsāsana[m=eḷudiṇa*]maikkū kōyil-kkaṇakku Śrī-Raṅganārāyaṇa-priyaṇ
eḷuttu [*] Dāna-pālanayō[r=mma]dhyē danāt=chhśrē(ch=chbrē)yō=nupālanam dānāt
svargam=avā[ṇō]-¹⁸
- 13 ti pālanāt (nād=)achyutam padam [*]
- 14 A[u]kkū Tāttai-Ayyaṅgārē santāna-param[pa]rai=āga anubavittu=kkoḷa=kkaḍavar=
āgavum [i]¹⁹

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) In the Śaka year (indicated by) sētuvandya¹⁹ Śrīman Veṅkaṭadēśika gave the village, Chintāmaṇi, to Śrī-Raṅgēśa.

¹ The syllable *ṇna* is written with one *ṇ* below the other.

² A corrupt form of *kēḷka*.

³ The stone is mutilated here. *Sa* or *ma* may be the intended letter.

⁴ The sign for *rēpha* is inserted in between the two consonants.

⁵ The usual prothetic vowel *a* has been replaced here by *i* in *Iraṅganāda*.

⁶ Read *chchilakālām*.

⁷ Represented by a symbol.

⁸ Either 7 is a mistake for 6 or 14 is a mistake for 15.

⁹ The figure 1 seems to have been written later at the beginning of the line.

¹⁰ The letter *r* is a mistake for the ordinary trill.

¹¹ This portion is written over an erasure and hence indistinct; nevertheless it can be read on the impression. This erasure and the last line of the inscription rouse some suspicion about the genuineness of this portion. Usually this share is given to a nominee of the donor. Hence it is called *viṭṭavaṇ viḷukkāḍu*. It is highly improbable that a royal preceptor would have thought of nominating himself or his descendants to receive the share. This portion may be a later interpolation.

¹² The length of the *o* medial sign is engraved at the beginning of the next line.

¹³ Line 14 seems to have been written later after the engraving of the main inscription was completed.

¹⁴ This chronogram yields the number 1467.

(lines 2-3) Be it well ! Hail, Prosperity !

In the **Śaka year 1467**, corresponding to the (*cyclic*) year, **Viśvāvasu**, in the month of **Phālguna**, on Monday which was a day of the seventh *tithi* of the bright fortnight, with **Rōhiṇi-nakshatra**, when **Mahārājādhirāja-Rājaparamēśvara-Śrī-Virapratāpa-Śrīmat-Sadāśivadēva-Mahārāya** was ruling the earth, **Avuku Tiruvēṅgaḍayaṅgār** alias **Śrīsailapūrpa-Tātāchārya** respectfully conveyed the following deed of endowment (*śilāśāsanam*) to the treasury of (*the temple of*) **Śrī-Raṅganātha** at **Tiruvaraṅgam-Tiruppadi** (*situated in*) **Viḷāvaṛāvidi-vaḷanāḍu** in **Pāṇḍikulāśani-vaḷanāḍu** on the southern bank (*of the Kāvērī*) (*to wit*)

(lines 4-7) (*whereas*) the village, **Chintāmaṇi** (*lying*) to the west of **Kiḷpalāru-Dēvadāṇam** in **Uṛaiyūr-kūṛṅgam** in **Taṇjāvūr-uśāvaḍi** in **Irājagambhīra-vaḷanāḍu** on the southern bank (*of the Kāvērī*) to the north of the mud-fort of **Tiruchchirāppalli**, to the east of **Kṛishṇarāya-Alavandapuram**, on the **Uṛaiyūr** road and to the south of the **Kāvērī**, had been, in former days, made into a hamlet of **Tiruvaraṅgam-Tiruppadi** (*and*),

(*whereas*) later, **Nalantigaḷ-Nārāyaṇa-Jiyar** seeing the river encroaching (*on the land up to*) **Tiruvaraṅgam-Tiruppadi**, fixed a *yantra* on the bank at (*a spot called*) **Āṇaikāttāṇ-karai** facing west, consecrated (*the deity*) **Śāstā** there, cut out a stream (*called*) **Kiḷiyāru** (*thereby*) drying up the southern (*branch of the*) **Kāvērī** and in order to permanently dry it up planted *nāṇal* (*grass*) on the northern bank (*of the southern Kāvērī*) while not doing so on the southern bank of the **Kiḷiyāru**, (*thereby*) causing (*some*) land in **Chintāmaṇi** (*to be*) inundated (*by the flow of the water*), and issued a decree (*granting*) the village of **Koḷakuṭṭai** to the **Mahājanas** of **Chintāmaṇi** as exchange (*and*)

(*whereas*) the **Chōla** (*king*) invited the **Jiyar** and questioned whether a *sanyāsīn* (*like him*), who should have compassion on all living beings, could thus do harm to the **Brāhmaṇas**, and (*who*) on the (*Jiyar replying*) that he had done the deed, since the same God who had (*the authority*) to give such an order causing suffering to **Brāhmaṇas** had Himself stated in the **Bhagavad-Gītā** (*thus*), "Anything done for the sake of good (or in devotion to my cause) though sinful, is ordained as proper (*in the interest*) of dharma" was pleased (*with the answer*) and said that, if this was the motive, the deed though sinful was as valuable as fine gold and granted the village (**Chintāmaṇi**) to God **Raṅganātha**, (*and*)

(lines 8-9) (*whereas*) a long time after (*this grant*) the village came under the *paṇḍāravāḍai* (*tenure*) for a short while and then was left uncultivated,

(*whereas*) our loving disciples, Hail ! Prosperity ! **Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Sōmakulatilaka-Rāmarāja** and **Sadāśiva-Mahārāya** were pleased to grant to me on *ēkabhōgya* (*tenure*) this village (*of the extent of*) *naṇjai* (*land*) $7\frac{1}{2}$ (*vēli*) and 2 *mā*, *puṇjai* (*land*) $7\frac{1}{2}$ (*vēli*), (*i.e. in all*) 14 (*vēli*) and 2 *mā* (*yielding an income of*) 146 *poṇ*, inclusive of settlement, fields, mounds, buildings, building-sites, river-(*inundated*) areas, caṇal-(*occupied*) areas, *vellāṅguḍi-iruppu* and all rights over the incomes of the village, as well as over treasure-trove, waters, etc..

(lines 10-13) I, (**Tiruvēṅgaḍayaṅgār** alias **Śrīsailapūrpa-Tātāchārya**) do hereby grant this renovated village in the same way as was endowed formerly by **Nalantigaḷ Nārāyaṇa-Jiyar**, to the God (**Perumāḷ**) as interest-bearing endowment for the daily offering of four dishes (*of food*) out of the produce of the village for the merit of both the **Rāya** and the **Rāja**; (*and do hereby stipulate that*) of the four dishes of food, one-fourth share is to be given to **Avuku Tiruvēṅgaḍayaṅgār** and his descendants as long as the sun and moon endure, the rest of the offered food being distributed among the **Śrīvaiṣṇavas**;

in attestation (*of the above deed*), this is the signature of the temple accountant **Śrīraṅganārāyaṇapriyaṇ**.

(Imprecatory verse)

(line 14) May **Avukku Tātayaṅgār** and his descendants enjoy this !

No. 10 SANTIRAGRAMA GRANT OF DANDIMAHADEVI

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

In May 1949, I received for examination a copper-plate grant from Mr. K. C. Panigrahi, Curator, Orissa Provincial Museum, Bhubaneswar. It was originally in the possession of a gentleman of a village in the Angul Sub-division of the Cuttack District. Mr. Rādhāmōhana Gaṇāyaka of Angul received the plate from him and sent it to the Curator of the Orissa Provincial Museum. The inscribed plate, which was covered with a coating of greenish verdigris, was properly cleaned at the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, and several sets of excellent impressions were prepared.¹ The plate was then returned to the Orissa Provincial Museum where it now lies. I thank Mr. Panigrahi for his kindness in allowing me to publish the inscription in the *Epigraphia Indica*.²

This is a single copper plate measuring 13·8" by 10" with a circular projection at the centre of the proper right end, to which the seal, 4·3" in diameter, is soldered. The seal is designed in the form of an expanded lotus, on the circular pericarpial portion of which are carved, on counter-sunk surface, the emblems of the sun, the moon and a conch-shell and a seated bull facing proper right. In the lower part of this circular space there is also an emblem of an expanded lotus. In the space between the bull and the lotus is the legend *śrīmad-Daṇḍimahādēvyāh*. The plate is written on both sides, the obverse containing nineteen lines of writing and the reverse eighteen lines. The average size of the *aksharas* is ·4" in height and ·3" in breadth. The *aksharas* of the concluding two lines are, however, smaller in size. The incision is deep and the letters are carefully and beautifully cut. The state of preservation of the writing is exceptionally satisfactory. The plate weighs 325½ *tolas*.

The characters belong to the eastern variety of the North Indian alphabet and closely resemble those of other records of the Bhauma-Kara family of Orissa, especially the Gañjām³ and Bānpur⁴ plates of the same queen who issued the charter under discussion. While editing the Gañjām plates, Kielborn opined about half a century ago that the writing "could hardly be older than the 13th century A.D".⁵ With the progress of our knowledge in the ancient history of Orissa, this view has now rightly been discarded. There is hardly any doubt that the imperial Bhauma-Kara dynasty of Orissa flourished earlier than the Sōmavarmanī king Uddyōtakēsarin (c. 1060-85 A.C.)⁶ and the Greater Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.C.).⁷ This is not only suggested by the known facts of Orissan history but also by the use of numerical symbols instead of figures in writing the date of the charter in question. This old system of writing numbers is not usually found in inscriptions of a date later than the tenth century.⁸ On palaeographical grounds, the present inscription may be assigned to a period about the tenth century A.C. The most interesting point in regard to its palaeography is the confusion between the medial signs of *u* and *ū* which is characteristic not only of the epigraph under notice (cf. more than twenty cases of medial *ū* wrongly

¹ This is C. P. No. 63 of the *A. R. I. E.* for 1949-50.

² About the beginning of 1951, I received for examination another plate of Daṇḍimahādēvi lying in the possession of a goldsmith of Ambapuā near Russelkonda in the Ganjam District. The text of lines 1-24 of this inscription is the same as that of lines 1-26 of the record edited here. The rest of the writing on the Ambapuā plate is damaged and cannot be deciphered. This plate is registered as C. P. No. 22 of the *A. R. I. E.* for 1950-51.

³ Above, Vol. VI, p. 137 ff.

⁴ *JBORS*, Vol. V, p. 571 ff.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 136.

⁶ *Cf. IHQ*, Vol. XXII, p. 307.

⁷ Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga was crowned on the 17th of February, 1078 A.C. (Bhandarkar, *List*, No. 1099) and ruled for a period of 70 years.

⁸ G. H. Ojha, *Indian Palaeography* (in Hindi), 1918, p. 115.

written for medial *u* in lines 3, 8-9, 11-16, 22-23, 26, 35-36), but also of practically all Orissan inscriptions of about the same age. The form of medial *u* in *tku* in line 11 is different from the one usually found here. As usual, *b* has been indicated by the sign for *v*. *N* has two different forms; see *nivāsi* in line 3 and *manasi* in line 4. Final *m* occurs in line 16 and final *t* in line 19. *Ta* for final *t* occurs in lines 3 and 18 and *nah'* for final *n* in line 28. Initial *u* has been employed in line 22 while the sign for *avagraha* is found thrice in lines 32 and 37. Medial *ri* has different forms. Its sign in *kṛita* and *sad-drishṭi* (line 4) and *hṛidaya* (line 6) is not the same as in *kṛitāh* (line 7). Note also the sign of the same vowel in *°bhṛitah* (lines 6 and 9). The symbols for 200 and 80 are employed in writing the date in line 37.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It is written partly in prose and partly in verse. The introductory portion of the inscription (lines 1-25 containing fifteen stanzas) is in verse with the only exception of a small prose passage in line 3. These verses are also found in the Bānpur plate, although there are a few omissions in the two Gañjām plates. It is interesting to note that the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses found at the end of charters are conspicuous by their absence in the record under notice. In point of orthography, the present inscription closely resembles the Gañjām and Bānpur plates. There are some errors such as *svē* for *śvē* and *tī* for *ti* (line 1), *vi* for *bhi* (line 7), *n̄tha* for *n̄ta* (line 14), *śri* for *śri* (line 16), *vi* for *vī* (line 17), *ṭṭi* for *ṭi* (line 23), *nī* for *nī* (line 34), *nī* for *nī* (line 37), etc. In some cases, *anuvāra* has been written for final *m* (see lines 4 and 19). In line 9, it substitutes final *n*.

The date of the inscription is given as the year 280 of an unspecified era. The symbol for 200 is a clear *lū* and we know from Nepalese and Bengali manuscripts that, while *lu* indicates the figure 100, *lū* signifies 200.² But the difficulty in regard to the date of the present record is that, in the Gañjām plate (A), as rightly pointed out by Kielhorn,³ "the symbol for 100 is something between *lu* and *lū* just as the symbol for 200 in the Bāmanghāṭi plate (of Raṇabhañja) is *lū*." The case is the same with the first symbol in the date of the Bānpur plate. Now the problem is while the first symbol in the dates of the Gañjām and Bānpur plates have to be read as 100 and while the second symbol indicating 80 is the same in those records as well as in the present charter, the first symbol in the date of the record under discussion is clearly to be read as 200. It can hardly be normal to read the date of one record of a person as 180 and that of another record of the same person as 280, as one is not expected to date one's different records in two different eras with epochs separated exactly by one century. The first symbol in the date of the Gañjām and Bānpur plates as well as of the present record thus seems to have the same value, either 100 or 200. There seems, however, to be strong evidence in favour of the reading 100 instead of 200. It has to be remembered that all the rulers of the Bhauma-Kara family used the same era in dating their documents and that there is no doubt about the reading of many of the dates. The Dhauli inscription⁴ of Śāntikara I is undoubtedly dated in the year 93. The date of the Hindol plate⁵ of his son Śubhākara III is also clearly 103. This king was succeeded by his mother Tribhuvanamahādēvi I, the date of whose Bhīmnaḡarigaṇḡ plate⁶ is probably the year 120. The first symbol in the dates of the records of Śubhākara III and Tribhuvanamahādēvi I is a quite clear *lū*. Now, as will be clear

¹ In this case, the *visarga* may have also been intended to be a part of the mark of interpunctuation that follows.

² Bühler, *Indian Palaeography* (translation), *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII, Appendix, p. 77.

³ Above, Vol. VI, p. 135. Bhandarkar seems to be wrong in interpreting the symbol as 200 (cf. *List*, No. 1413).

⁴ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 264.

⁵ *JBOES*, Vol. XVI, p. 77. The recently discovered Teruṇḡiā plate of Śubhākara II, cousin and predecessor of Śubhākara III, is dated in the year 190. See above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 211 ff. This plate has been registered as C. P. No. 19 of the *A. R. I. E.* for 1950-51.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 421. The second symbol in the date of this record looks like *chum* which would ordinarily be interpreted as 60 (cf. Ojha, *op. cit.*, Plate LXXIII). But dates in the later records of the family and the possible confusion between the *cā* and *tā* symbols suggest 20 in this case.

from the following discussion on the genealogy of the Bhauma-Karas, Śubhākara III who ruled in the year 103 and probably died before the year 120 was the great-great-grandfather of the issuer of the record under discussion ; that is to say, only three generations intervened between Śubhākara III and the issuer of the present charter. As is usual, we may count three quarters of a century for these three generations. This will show that we have to read 180 as the year of the issue of the present charter and certainly not 280, because in that case more than one century and a half for the three intervening generations would be preposterously abnormal. Thus the symbol *lū* in the date of our record actually stands for *lu* indicating 100 and this mistake may be due to the confusion between the medial signs for *u* and *ū* in the present record as well as in others, to which attention has already been invited above. It has been suggested that the Buddhist dynasty of the Bhauma-Karas was accorded a feudatory position in Orissa by Harsha Śīlāditya during his Kōṅgōda expedition about 643 A.C. and that the Bhauma-Karas used the Harsha era of 606 A.C. The present record would thus be dated in the year 180 of the Harsha era corresponding to 786 A.C. Attention may be drawn to the mention of a solar eclipse as the occasion of the grant in line 36 of the charter. There were actually two solar eclipses in the year 786 A. C., one on Monday, the 3rd April, and the other on Wednesday, the 27th September.¹ But as will be seen from further discussions on the Bhauma-Kara chronology below, the above date of the charter under discussion is not free from doubt. It has also to be admitted that the palaeography of the record seems to suggest a much later date.

The charter begins with a verse containing the description of the city of Guhēsvarapāṭaka, the name of which is given in a short passage in prose immediately following. This verse as well as most of those which describe the Bhauma-Kara genealogy is also found in some inscriptions of other members of the family.² The city, otherwise known as Guhadēvapāṭaka, was the capital of the Bhauma-Kara kings of Orissa and is actually mentioned in many of their documents. It has been referred to as a place where the victorious *skandhāvāra* of the reigning monarch is said to have been situated. The word *skandhāvāra* originally indicated 'a camp', but later also 'a royal city or capital.'³ Verse 2 introduces the illustrious king named Unmatṭasimha. From other inscriptions of this family, which is called Bhauma in earlier records and Kara in later epigraphs, we know that its progenitor was a *paramōpāsaka* (i.e., Buddhist) named Kshēmaṅkara or Lakshmīkara.⁴ His son and successor was a *paramatāthāgata* (i.e., devout worshipper of the Tathāgata or Buddha), Mahārāja Śivakara I, also called Unmatṭasimha (or °kēsarin) and Bharasaha. This king is said to have married, according to the Rākshasa form of wedding, the lady Jayāvalī who was the daughter of a ruler of Rādha in the valley of the river Ajay in the Burdwan region of South-West Bengal. Verse 3 of our record speaks of the illustrious king Gayāḍa and others who were born in the family of Unmatṭasimha. Other records of the family represent king Gayāḍa I as the grandson of Unmatṭasimha. We know that Śivakara I-Unmatṭasimha-Bharasaha was succeeded by his son, the *paramasaugata* (devout worshipper of the Sugata or Buddha) Śubhākara I, who is called Mahārāja in his own Neulpur plate,⁵ but is endowed with full imperial titles in the record of his successor. He is represented as the lord of the Utkala country, as the subduer of the Kalinga people and as a grantor of land in Uttara-Tōsalī. He married Mādhavadēvī who gave birth to Mahārājādhirājas Śivakara II and Śāntikara I. King Śāntikara I was also known as Gayāḍa I and Laṭabhāra (or °hāra) I and was probably the founder of Gayāḍapura mentioned

¹ L. D. Swamikannu Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, part II, pp. 174-75.

² See, e. g., the Taltati plate of Dharmamahādēvī, which has all the verses with slight changes in few of them (*IHQ*, Vol. XXI, pp. 217-20).

³ *Successors of the Sālavāhanas*, p. 47.

⁴ Some scholars are inclined to take Kshēmaṅkara and Lakshmīkara as two different members of the family.

⁵ Above, Vol. XV, pp. 1 ff. The date of this record written in one symbol is uncertain, but may be the year 78. Śubhākara I seems to have been the first imperial ruler of the Bhauma-Kara family.

in a later record of the family. We have referred above to his Dhauli inscription dated in the year 93 and to his queen Tribhuvanamahādēvi who is described as a *paramavaishṇavi* and as the daughter of a Nāga chief of the southern country, named Rājamalla. Verse 4 of our record mentions a king named Lōṇabhāra as born in the family of Śāntikara I. It is known, however, from other records that Lōṇabhāra (or Lavaṇa²) was actually the grandson of Śāntikara I. The son of Śāntikara I, surnamed Gayāḍa and Lalitabhāra (or °bhāra), was Śubhākara III otherwise called Kusumabhāra (or °bhāra) and Śimhadhvaja (or °kētu).³ This king is known to have granted lands in both northern and southern Tōsali in the year 103.⁴ The grant of land in Uttara-Tōsali was made at the request of his feudatory, Pulindarāja (either indicating a personal name or less probably signifying 'the king of the Pulindas') in favour of the god Vaidyanātha-bhaṭṭāraka (Śiva) enshrined in the Pulindēśvara temple. The land granted in Dakṣiṇa-Tōsali was actually situated in the Kōṅgōdamandala *viśaya*. This king was probably succeeded first by his mother Tribhuvanamahādēvi I *alias* Sindagaurī I and then by his young son Śāntikara II.⁵ Tribhuvanamahādēvi is said to have been requested by the feudatories to assume the reins of government in the same way as an ancient queen named Gōsvāminī had done.⁶ As noticed above, a date in Tribhuvanamahādēvi's reign probably falls in the year 120. Śāntikara II, who succeeded his grandmother, was also known as Lōṇabhāra (or Lavaṇa²) I and Gayāḍa II. We know that Śāntikara II (*alias* Lavaṇabhāra *alias* Gayāḍa) married Hīramahādēvi, daughter of Śimhamāna, and begot on her two sons, viz., Śubhākara IV (surnamed Kusumabhāra or °bhāra II) and Śivakara III (surnamed Lalitabhāra or °bhāra II) both of whom became kings and are mentioned in our record in verses 5 and 6. By this time the Bhauma-Karas were no longer adherents of the Buddhist religion. *Mahārājādhirāja* Śubhākara IV (Kusumabhāra II) is called a *paramamāhēśvara* in his Talcher plate⁷ of the year 145. His younger brother and successor Śivakara III is known from his records dated in the year 149.⁸ The sons of Śivakara III (Lalitabhāra II) were kings Śāntikara III (surnamed Lavaṇabhāra or Lōṇa² II) and Śubhākara V, both of whom are mentioned in our record in verses 7 and 8.⁹ Śāntikara III married Dharmamahādēvi, while Śubhākara V had two queens, viz., Gaurī and Vakulamahādēvi. Both of these kings apparently died without leaving any male issue and, after the death of Śubhākara V, the throne passed to his queen Gaurī who is mentioned in our record in verse 9. Queen Gaurī was succeeded by her daughter, the *paramamāhēśvari* *Paramabhaṭṭārīkā Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvari* Daṇḍimahādēvi who issued the charter under discussion in the year 180. One of the two Gañjām plates was issued by the same queen in the same year, but the Bānpur plate was issued by her in the year 187. We know that this queen was succeeded by her step-mother Vakulamahādēvi who was the daughter of a Bhañja king.¹⁰ The throne next passed to Dharmamahādēvi, queen of Daṇḍimahādēvi's paternal uncle Śāntikara III (Lavaṇabhāra II). We offer below the genealogy of the Bhauma-Karas in a tabular form for easy reference.

² We have now the Toruṇḍiā plate of Subhākara II, son of Sivakara II, who ruled between Śāntikara I and his son Subhākara III in the year 100.

³ *JBORS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 77 ff.; B. Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 14 ff., 22, and line 25 of plate F.

⁴ According to the recently discovered Baud plates of Prithvimahādēvi *alias* Tribhuvanamahādēvi II *alias* Sindagaurī II, Gōsvāminī (i.e., Tribhuvanamahādēvi I) ascended the throne because her son Subhākara III had died without leaving a son. This fact suggests that Śāntikara II was adopted as son by the chief queen of Subhākara III some time after the death of her husband. The Baud plates have been registered as O. P. Nos. 20-21 of the *A. R. I. E.* for 1950-51.

⁵ The Baud plates of Prithvimahādēvi *alias* Tribhuvanamahādēvi II suggest that Tribhuvanamahādēvi I called herself Gōsvāminī II.

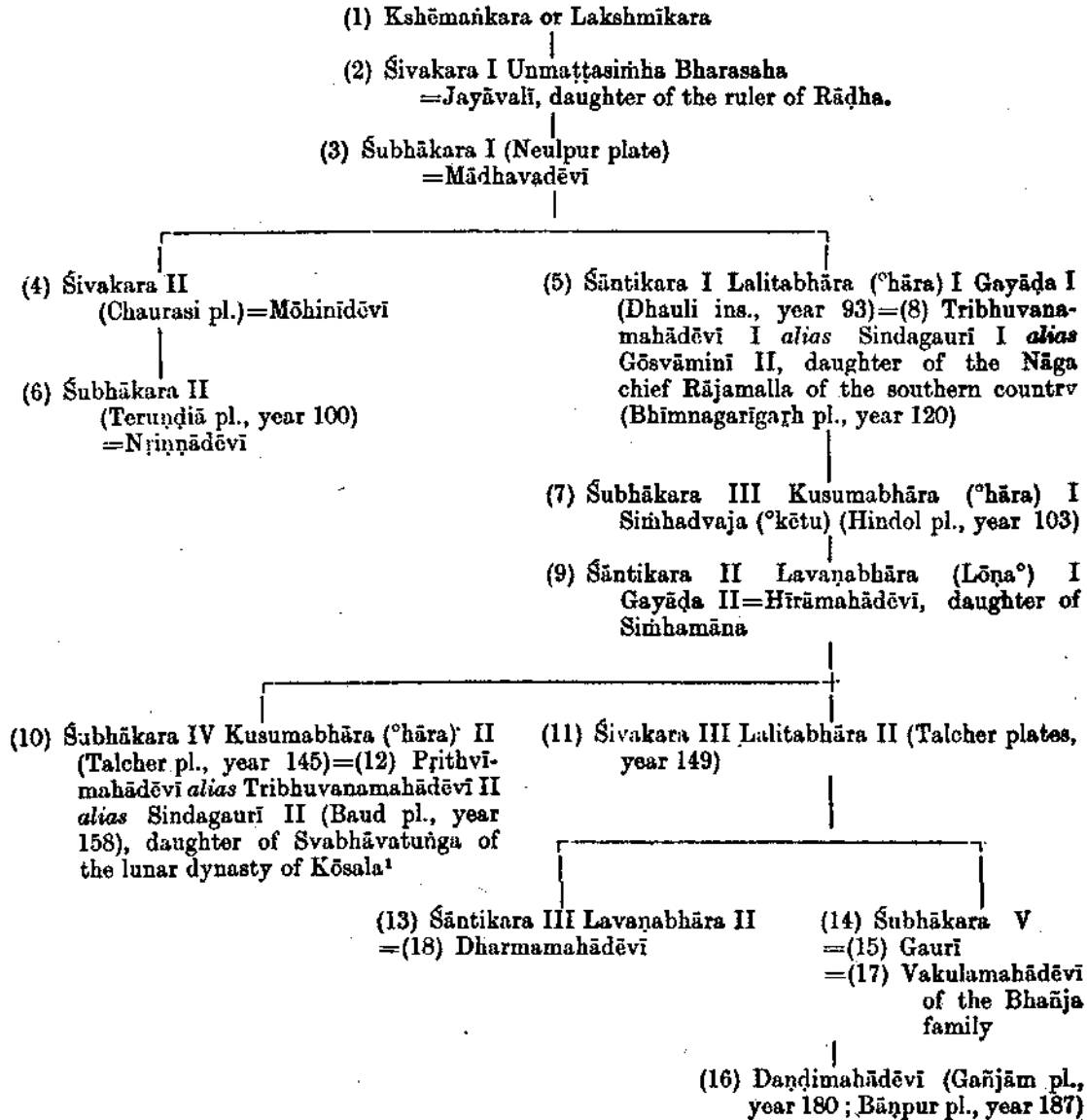
⁶ B. Misra, *op. cit.*, Plate H, line 42. Misra reads the date as 141.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Plate I, line 30, and Plate J (reverse), line 6. The figure read here as 9 has a rather peculiar form.

⁸ The Baud plates of Prithvimahādēvi *alias* Tribhuvanamahādēvi II, dated in the year 158, say that her husband, Subhākara IV, and the latter's younger brother and successor, Sivakara III, both died without leaving sons and therefore she herself ascended the throne. This shows that this queen and her supporters did not recognise Śāntikara III and Subhākara V as sons of Sivakara III. It seems that there was a struggle for the throne after the death of Sivakara III between his sons and the queen of his elder brother and that queen Prithvimahādēvi *alias* Tribhuvanamahādēvi II was ultimately overthrown in favour of Śāntikara III.

⁹ *IHQ*, Vol. XXI, pp. 217-20.

GENEALOGY OF THE BHAUMA-KARAS



Before entering into the details of the grant made by means of the present charter, it is necessary to refer to an important point in regard to the chronology of the Bhauma-Kara kings. The dates of the Bhauma-Kara records would suggest that the family ruled for about two centuries.

¹ The recently discovered Baud plates of the queen say that she was the daughter of Svabhāvatūṅga, who belonged to the race of the moon and was the lord of Kōśala (apparently South Kōśala), from queen Nṛtāmahādēvi, daughter of Yaśōvṛiddhi. The grants were made at the request of Śaśilēkhā (wife of Mahāmaṇḍalādhipati Maṅgalakalaśa), who was born in the Virāṭa family and was married into the Vṛāgaḍi family, for the merit of the deceased father of the lady, in favour of the Nānnōśvara temple (named after the dead man). The gift land was situated in the Tamālakhanda *viśaya* within the Daṇḍabhukti *maṇḍala* (about the present Danton in the Midnapur District of West Bengal). The temple in question, which was a Śaiva institution, seems to have been situated in the same area which was probably being ruled by the husband of Śaśilēkhā.

Elsewhere¹ it was suggested that Śivakara I-Unmaṭṭasimha-Bharasaha, the second ruler of the family, was probably installed by Harsha during his Kōṅgōda expedition about 643 A. C. as his feudatory in Orissa. This date for Śivakara I Unmaṭṭasimha was taken to be supported by the Gañjām inscription² which may suggest that Unmaṭṭakēsarin (°simha), stationed at Virajas, conquered parts of Kōṅgōdamaṇḍala from Gaṅga Jayavarman of Śvātaka with the help of his feudatory *Rāṇaka* Vishavārṇava sometime after the Gaṅga year which may possibly be read as 120 falling in 616-18 A. C.³ Virajas is no doubt the same as Viraja or Virajā, identified with modern Jājpur in the Cuttack District. One of the Parlakimedi plates⁴ of Gaṅga Jayavarman was taken to be a copy of a genuine record of the sixth or seventh century, to which period the original records of the Gaṅga king are palaeographically assigned.⁵ Now the Parlakimedi record referred to above is dated in the year 100 of the Gaṅga era, which falls in 596-98 A.C. Thus the reign of Śivakara I Unmaṭṭasimha was assigned to a date about the second quarter of the seventh century, the end of the dynasty to the early years of the ninth century and the rule of queen Daṇḍimahādēvi to the close of the eighth century. There is, however, some difficulty in accepting this chronology of the Bhauma-Karas of Orissa especially in view of the late date suggested by the palaeography of their records.

In 795 A.C. the Chinese emperor Te-tsung received, as a token of homage, an autographed manuscript addressed to him by the king of Wu-cha (i.e., Ōdra, Orissa) in Southern India, who was a follower of Mahāyāna Buddhism and whose name, translated into Chinese, was "the fortunate monarch who does what is pure, the lion."⁶ This piece of evidence cannot be easily reconciled with the chronology of the Bhauma-Karas indicated above. The original of the name is supposed to be *śrī-Śubhakaradēva Kēsari (Simha)* who is often identified with king Śubhākara I of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty. If this identification is to be accepted, we have to assign Daṇḍimahādēvi's reign to the middle of the tenth century and to suggest that the era used by the Bhauma-Karas started from the regnal reckoning of the founder of the dynasty. As however the names *Śubhākara* and *Śubhakara* are quite different in meaning, it is difficult to be definite on this point. Dr. R. C. Majumdar suggested to me that the king of Orissa mentioned in the Chinese record should be identified with Śivakara I Unmaṭṭasimha (or °kēsari), father of Śubhākara I. It has to be admitted that this is the only known king of early-medieval Orissa who was a Buddhist and at the same time had a name with the word "lion" as one of its component parts. But the word *śiva* does not mean "pure" and *unmaṭṭa-simha* means a "furious lion," *unmaṭṭa* being a Prakrit corruption of Sanskrit *unmatta*, and none of these words can be traced in the Chinese translation of the Indian name. The chronology of the Bhauma-Karas based on the above identification therefore cannot be regarded as absolutely certain. It may not be impossible that the Orissan king mentioned in the Chinese records belonged to a different dynasty of rulers, who flourished in the last decade of the eighth century but had nothing to do with the Bhauma-Karas. It must be admitted that the identification is a mere conjecture and we shall have to wait for further evidence to be definite in regard to the chronology of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty and the identity of the Orissan king mentioned in the Chinese records.⁷

¹ Cf. *Journ. Kal. Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vol. II, pp. 103-05.

² *IHQ*, Vol. XII, pp. 492-93.

³ See *JKHRS*, Vol. I, pp. 219-21; Vol. II, pp. 103-05.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 268-69.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

⁶ Above, Vol. XV, pp. 363-64. Dr. P. C. Bagchi writes to me: "A more literal translation of the king's name and title would be 'the auspicious lord pure-doing-lion king.' The literal Sanskrit restoration looks more sensible: *śrī-śivara-Śubhakarasiṃha-rāja*. The name was evidently understood in Chinese as *Śubhākara*."

⁷ For new evidence regarding the beginning of the Bhauma-Kara era about 820-25 A.C., see our article entitled "Two Grants from Dasapalla" to be published in this journal.

The charter records the grant of the village called *Sāntiragrāma* together with another locality called *Kōmyōsaṅga*, situated in the *Pachhama* (Paśchima) *khaṇḍa* within the *Tamura vishaya* in the *Dakṣiṇa-Tōsalā* (i.e., °Tōsalī) country. The grant was made by the *Paramamāhēśvarī* (devout worshipper of Mahēśvara or Śiva) *Daṇḍimahādēvī*, who is endowed with imperial titles, in favour of *Bhāṭṭa Mākyadēva* (possibly *Bhāṭṭa Māṇikyadēva*), who was the son of *Jālladēva* and grandson of *Purushōttama*. The donee was an inhabitant of *Dharmapātṭī*; but his family had originally hailed from *Ṭakārī*. He belonged to the *Bhāradvāja gōtra*, to the *Āṅgīrasa*, *Bārhaspatya* and *Bhāradvāja pravara*s and to the *Vājasaneyā charaṇa* and was a student of the *Mādhyandina śākhā*. The occasion of the grant was a solar eclipse. It was made at the request of *Paramamāhēśvara Rūṇaka śrībhid-Apsarōdēva* who was the lord of the *Yamagartā maṇḍala*. It seems that *Apsarōdēva* was a feudatory of *Daṇḍimahādēvī* and that the *Yamagartā maṇḍala* formed a part of the *Bhauma-Kara* dominions. We have seen that the kings of this family granted lands in northern and southern *Tōsalī*, the former indicating the *Balasore-Cuttack* region (sometimes with a part of the *Midnapur District* of *West Bengal*) and the latter including parts of the *Cuttack*, *Puri* and *Ganjam Districts*. *Kōṅgōda* about the border between the *Puri* and *Ganjam Districts* is said to have been included in *Dakṣiṇa-Tōsalī*. The *Tuṅga* chiefs *Gayāḍatuṅga* and *Vinītatūṅga*, whose charters have been discovered in *Talcher* and *Bonai*, also called themselves lords of the *Yamagartā maṇḍala*.¹ In this connection it may also be pointed out that the *Tuṅga* ruler *Vinītatūṅga* seems to be mentioned as a feudatory of the *Bhauma-Kara* monarch *Śivakara III*, grandfather of *Daṇḍimahādēvī*, in both of his *Talcher* plates dated in the year 149.² An earlier ruler of the *Yamagartā maṇḍala* was *Jayasimha* who also used the era employed by the *Bhauma-Karas* in dating their records and was very probably one of their feudatories. The date of the *Dhenkanal* plate³ of *Jayasimha* is read as the year 88, although the actual reading may be 128. It seems therefore that the *Yamagartā maṇḍala* was situated in the valley of the river *Brāhmaṇī* to the west and south-west of the territories of the *Bhaṇja* chiefs of *Khiṇjālī-maṇḍala* (in the *Baud-Keonjhar* area) and of *Khiṇjīṅga-kōṭṭa* (in the *Mayurbhanj* region). It appears further that like the chiefs of *Yamagartā*, the *Bhaṇjas* also originally acknowledged the supremacy of the *Bhauma-Karas*. The *Tuṅgas* of *Yamagartā* were probably succeeded by the dynasty represented by *Apsarōdēva*; but, sometime afterwards, the latter seems to have been itself ousted by rulers of the *Śūlkī* dynasty, whose names ended with the word *stambha*.

The record contains two lists of officials to whom the royal order was addressed. Both of these are short but contain a few interesting entries. The first list, mentioned in connection with the country of *Dakṣiṇa-Tōsalā*, includes *Mahāsāmanta*, *Rājasatka*, *Rājaputra*, *Kumārāmātya*, *Uparika* (*Uparika*), *Vishayapati*, *Tadāyuktaka*, *Dāṇḍapātika* and *Sthānāntarika*. In place of *Rājasatka*, other records of the queen read *Antaraṅga*, probably indicating the royal physician. *Rājasatka* may also indicate the same office. *Kumārāmātya* seems to be an *Amātya* or executive officer of the status of a prince of the royal blood. *Uparika* was a viceroy and *Vishayapati* the ruler of a district. *Tadāyuktaka* was probably the ruler of a subdivision of the district, appointed by the *Vishayapati* and not by the crown. *Dāṇḍapātika* was a police officer, its corruption *Daṇḍuāsi* still indicating a village-watchman in *Orissa*. The *Sthānāntarikas* were probably spies. The other list of officials, possibly belonging to the territorial unit called the *Pachhama* (Paśchima) *khaṇḍa* in the *Tamura vishaya*, includes *Mahāmahattara*, *Brihadbhōgin*, *Pustakapāla* and *Kūṭakōlasa*, to whose *adhikaraṇas* or offices the royal order is addressed. *Mahattara* means the headman of a village. *Bhōgin*

¹ Bhandarkar, *List*, Nos. 1745-47.

² B. Misra, op. cit., pp. 40-51.

³ Vide *JBORS*, Vol. II, pp. 417 ff.; Bhandarkar, *List*, No. 1756.

possibly means one enjoying a free holding. *Pustakapāla* was the record-keeper. The word *kūṭakōlasa* is difficult to explain.

The village is said to have been granted together with the *uddēsa* (space above the ground called *tala*), with subjects such as the weavers, *gōkūta* (milkmen, called *Gaūra* in Oṛiyā) and *śauṇḍika* (vintners) and with *gulmakas* (outposts) at the *khēṭa* (village or hamlet), *ghaṭṭa* (harbour) and *naditarasthāna* (ferry). Another interesting passage says that the grant was made *a-lēkhanī-pravēṣatayā bhūmichchhidra-pidhāna-nyāyēna*. The expression *a-lēkhanī-pravēṣatayā* seems to mean that the grant would never in future have to be the subject of another document. That is to say that the village could not be regranted to any other family and that its ownership could not be transferred by the donee to some other family. In inscriptions we usually find the expression *bhūmichchhidra-nyāya*. This *nyāya* was based on the custom according to which a person who brought a piece of fallow or jungle land under cultivation for the first time was allowed to enjoy it as a rent-free holding.¹ The word *chhidra* in this case no doubt refers to the furrowing of the land. But the idea of *chhidra-pidhāna* or 'covering a hole' seems to have developed out of a misunderstanding of the original meaning of the *nyāya*.² The idea in *bhūmi-chchhidra-pidhāna-nyāya* was probably that the loss of lands owing to various causes was thought to be compensated for by making free gifts of some of them. It may, however, also mean the custom relating to the reclamation of fallow land.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the charter, the location of Dakṣiṇa-Tōsalā (i.e., °Tōsalī) and Yamagartā-*maṇḍala* has already been discussed. Guhēsvarapātaka, the capital of the Bhauma-Kara kings, was probably modern Jāipur or a locality in its suburbs. Tamura *vishaya*, Pachhama (Paśchima) *khaṇḍa*, Sāntīragrāma and Kōmyōsaṅga cannot be satisfactorily identified. The headquarters of Tamura may, however, be located at modern Tamur (21°18' N. 85°14' E.) in the former Pal-Lahara State.³ In regard to the name of the *khaṇḍa*, it may be pointed out that one of the Gañjām plates of Daṇḍimahādēvi records the grant of a village in the Pūrva *khaṇḍa* of the Varadākhaṇḍa *vishaya* in the Kōṅgōda *maṇḍala*. This seems to suggest that the Pūrva and Paśchima *khaṇḍas* were merely the eastern and western divisions of a *vishaya*. Dharmapāṭṭi, the native village of the donee, cannot be identified; but Ṭakārī, where his family originally lived, is known from numerous other records as a great seat of learned Brāhmaṇas. It was variously called Tarkārī, Tarkārikā, Tarkāra, Ṭakkāra, Ṭakārī and Ṭakkārikā.⁴ Sometimes⁵ it is said to have been situated in the Madhyadēśa division of India, which comprised, roughly speaking, the present Uttar Pradesh with the eastern part of the Panjab, although sometimes Bihar and North Bengal were included in the division. In one record⁶ the village is specifically described as situated within the limits of Śrāvastī. There is, however, difference of opinion as regards the location of this Śrāvastī. Some scholars favour its identification with Setmahet on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich Districts of the Uttar Pradesh while others suggest its location about the Bogra District in North Bengal. But usually the former identification is supported by scholars and the village of Ṭakārī is located in Oudh.⁷

¹ See Jolly, *Hindu Law and Custom* (trans. by B. K. Ghosh), pp. 196-97. Note that the hunted deer belonged to him who hit it first.

² It is to be noted that the *Vaijayantī* explains *bhūmichchhidra* as 'uncultivable land'. The expression is used in the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya exactly in the same sense. See Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpa-śāsan-śālī*, p. 33, note.

³ See Misra, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

⁴ Above, Vol. I, p. 336; Vol. III, pp. 348, 353; Vol. IX, p. 107; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 118; Vol. XVI, pp. 204, 208.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 118.

⁶ Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 290 ff.; cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 208; Vol. LX, pp. 14 ff.

⁷ *History of Bengal*, Vol. I (Dacca University), p. 579, note.

TEXT¹

[Metres :—Verses 1-4, 14-15 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 5, 7-9, 13 *Vasantatilakā* ; verse 6 *Mālinī* ; verses 10-12 *Anuṣṭubh*.]

Obverse

- 1 Siddham* [[*] Svasti vyasta*-jal-ābhra-vibhrama-dharaiḥ⁴ svē(śvē)t-ātapatr-ōtkarair=aśviya-śrutī(ti)-chāmaraiś=cha hasita-vyākōśa-kā-
- 2 ś-ōdayaiḥ || (|) uddāmair=mmara(da)-saurabhais=cha kariṇām=ākshipta-saptachchhad-āmō-daiḥ sannihitā[m*] sad=aiva śarad-āra-
- 3 mbha-śriyaṁ vi(bi)bhrataḥ || [1*] Śrī-Gū(Gu)hōśvarapāṭaka-nivāsi²-vijaya-skandhāvārāta-(rāt) || Sarvv-āsā-paripūraṇ-ābhi(dhi)-
- 4 ka-ruchir-was=tāpam=astan=nayann=ānanda[m*] kṛitavāñ-janaśya manasi prāpta-pratiśh-ṭhām(shṭham) chiram(ram) || (|) sad-dṛiṣṭi-pratirōdhi yēna
- 5 cha tamō nirmūlam=unmūlitam śrīmān=indur=iv=āvanīpatir=abhūd=Unmaṭṭasimha(h-ā)-hvayaḥ || [2*] Tad-vamśād=abhavann=anindita-guṇ[ā]
- 6 muktāmayāḥ santatāḥ³ sad-vṛittā[h*] sukha-śītalāḥ kṣhitibhṛitāḥ śrīmad-Gayāḍ-ādayaḥ [| *] yān=nītvā⁷ hṛidaya-pra-
- 7 tāpa-śamanē dēv-āṅganābhiḥ svayaṁ karṇ-āślōpa⁸-sukha-sthiti-praṇayinō hār-āvi(bhi)-rāmāḥ kṛitāḥ || [3*] Tad-vam-
- 8 śē=bhavad-ūrjita[h*] prati*-vū(bu)dha-prīta(ti)ḥ pratit-ōdayō dēva[h*] śatru-vadhū-mū(mu)-kh-ēndū(ndu)-taraṇiḥ śrī-Lōpabhārō
- 9 nripaḥ || (|) yasy=ākramya guru-pratāpa-śikhinaḥ, prithvībhṛitāḥ prōddhatām(tān) dūram sarvva-dig-antarēśhū(shu) tarasā svai-
- 10 ram prasasa(sruḥ) karāḥ || [4*] Tasy=ātmajaḥ prapata-pārthiva-chakra-ohūḍā-nivyā(rvyā)-ja-rōpita-padaś=charit-ārtha-nāmā [| *]
- 11 vistāri-sō(sau)rabha-gū(gu)ṇ-ōdaya-pūrit-āsas=tasmād¹⁰-abhūt=Kusū(su)mabhāra iti kṣhi-tīśaḥ || [5*] Abhṛi-
- 12 [ta] Lalitabhāraḥ kṣhmām=bharam¹¹ bhūri-tējā ta(s=ta)d-anū(nu) tad-anū(nu)janmā vyūḍha-bhōg-indra-līlāḥ || (|) anayad=amalimā-
- 13 nam pa(ya)d=yaśaḥ-pūreḥ⁹-ū(m=u)chchair=api ripū(pu)-ramṇi(ma)ṇinām=añjan-ōnxiśram=aśru || [6*] Tasmin=nripē divam=upēyū(yu)shi tat-tanūja[h*]
- 14 śāst=āvanēr=ajani Śāntikara(r-ā)bhīdhānaḥ || (|) yēn=ōddhṛitēshv=akhila-dū(du)rmada-kaṇṭha(ṇṭa)kēśhū(shu) rēmē yathā-sū(su)kham=apā-

¹ From the original plate and impressions.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ The syllable *eta* here looks like *teta*.

⁴ The Gañjām plate A has *haraiḥ*. The top *mātrā* of *dha* in the present inscription was inadvertently incised.

⁵ The word *samāśeṣita* found in numerous other records is better suited in this context, although the grants of the Bhauma-Karas usually have *nivāsin*.

⁶ The Gañjām plate A reads *sadgatāḥ* which Kielhorn corrected to *sangatāḥ*.

⁷ The Bānpur plate reads *yē nītvā* while both the Gañjām plates have *yē nītvā hṛiday-ōgra-tāpa*. On the whole the reading of the Gañjām plates is preferable.

⁸ The Bānpur and Gañjām plates read *kaṇṭh-āślōpa* which is the reading intended.

⁹ The Bānpur and Gañjām plates have the correct reading *kṛita* in place of *prati*.

¹⁰ The Gañjām plates have *śrīmān* in place of *tasmād*.

¹¹ Read *kṣhmā-bharam*.

- 15 sta-bhiyā janēna || [7*] Tasya prasasta¹-charit-ārjita-bhūri-kirttir²=viśva[m]bharā-vibhū-
(bhu)r=abhūd=akū(nu)jas=tatō=pi | śrēyōbhīr=ēkapada-
- 16 m=ity=akhilaiḥ śrī(śrī)t-ātmā yaḥ śrī-Śū(Śu)bhākara iti prathitō yath-ārtham || [8*] Tasya
trivishṭapa-jushaḥ paramēśva-
- 17 [ra*]jaya dēvi(vi) samasta-janatā-nata-pādapadmā || () si[m*]hāsanam śaśi-kar-āmala-kirtti-
Gaurī Gaur=īva gaurava-padam
- 18 chiram=adhyarōhata(hat) || [9*] Tatō Daṇḍimahādēvi sūtā tasyā mahiyasī || () mahim=
ahīna-sāmarthyā³ chira-kālam=apā-
- 19 layat || [10*] Avichchhinn-āyati-prāmēsau⁴ varṣē Kā(Ka)ra-mahābhṛitām(tām) [| *] chihna-
bhūtā patāk=ēva yā va(ba)bhūva vibhūshana[m*] || [11*] Lāvany-āmrīta-

Reverse

- 20 nishyanda-sundaram dadhatī vapa(pu)ḥ [| *] 'yā rājach=cha[n]dra*-lēkh=ēva vilasat-kirtti-
chandrivā(kā) || [12*] Tasyāḥ pratāpa-nata-durmada-śatru-bhūpa-nē-
- 21 tra(tr-ā)mvu(mbu)-dhautā-navayāvaka-maṇḍanāni⁵ || (|) pād-āmvu(mbu)ja-dya(dyū)tir=
anantaram=anvarā(ra)mji⁶ mañjira-lagna-kura(ru)vinda-dal-ā(1-5)ru-
- 22 [bhā*]sā || [12*] Udyānēshū(shu) śilimukhē(kh-ā)vali-ravō hā[rē*]shū(shu) mūkta(muktā)-
sthitir=ōśhā-saṅga-ruchis=tushāra-kiraṇō chi(vi)[jñē*]shū(shu) sad-vēshatā || (|)
- 23 Rāhau tiksha(kshṇa)kara-graham(haḥ) kū(ku)-maṇishu trās-ōdayaḥ kēvalam kāntā-kuntala-
sanna(ṇta)tau kuṭṭi(tī)latā yasyāḥ prabhū(bhu)[tvē*]bhūvi || [14*] Rāmy-ālō-
- 24 k-ōtsukita-nayan-ānanda-pīyūsha-varttiḥ sēv-āsakta-kshitipati-sabhā-padminī-rājahamē ||
kātha(lē)y-ōshma-glapita-sukri-
- 25 t-ālamva(mba)na⁷-svaraṇṇa-yashtir=yā nihēśha-praṇayi-sumanō-Nandan-ōdyāna-lakshmi[h*]
|| [15*] Paramamāhēśvari mātā-pitri-pād-ā-
- 26 nudhyātā paramabhṭārikā mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvari śrīmad-Daṇḍimahādēvi kū(ku)-
śalini ||⁸ Dakṣiṇa-
- 27 Tōsalāyārṇ varttamāna-bhavishya-mahāsāmanta-rājasatka¹⁰-rājaputra-kumārāmāty-aupa-
rika-vishayapati-tadā-
- 28 yuktaka-dāṇḍapāsika-sthānāntarikān=anyān=api rāja-prasādinas=chāṭa-vallabha-jātyānaḥ-
(yān) ||¹¹ Tamura-visha-
- 29 yam(ya)-Pachha(śchi)makhaṇḍa-mahāmahattara-vri(bṛi)hadbhōgi-pustakapāla-kūṭakōlas-
ādy-adhikaraṇam yath-ārham mā-

¹ The Bānpur and Gañjām plates read *prasasta*.

² The Bānpur plate has *kirttir*.

³ Kielhorn read *ahīnasā(yā) matyā* in the Gañjām plates.

⁴ The Gañjām plates read *prāmēsau*. Kielhorn suggested *prāplau varṣa-kara*. This verse and the following stanzas are wanting in the Gañjām plate B.

⁵ The next half of the verse and the following verses are also absent in the Gañjām plate A.

⁶ The Bānpur plate has the correct reading *maṇḍan=āpi*.

⁷ The Bānpur plate reads *dyutir=atarkitam=anvarāṇjī*.

⁸ Na is incised below the line.

⁹ The *daṇḍas* are superfluous.

¹⁰ In place of *rājasatka*, the Bānpur and Gañjām plates have *mahārāja-rājaputr-antaranga*. *Rājasatka* literally means 'belonging to the king'; but the meaning does not appear to suit the context.

¹¹ The *daṇḍas* are superfluous. The *visarga* sign may be a part of the mark of punctuation.

[illegible]

- 30 nayati vō(bō)dhayati samājñāpayati cha viditam=astu bhavata(tā)m=ētat-khaṇḍa-prativa-
(ba)ddha-santi¹
- 31 **Sāntīragrāmam**² **Kōmyōsaṅga**-samētaḥ s-ōddēśaḥ sa-tantuvāya-gōkūta-śaunḍa(ṇḍi)k-
ādi-prakṛitika[h*] sa-khē-
- 32 ṭa-ghaṭṭa-naditarasthān-ādi-gulmakah sarvva-piḍā-varjitō='lēkhani-pravēsatayā bha(bhū)-
michehhidra-pidhāna-nyāyē-
- 33 n=ā-chandr-ārka-kshiti-samakālām mātā-pitrōr-ātmanah sarvva-satvā(ttvā)nāñ=cha puṇy-
ābhi-vṛiddhayē Bhāradvāja-gōtrāy=Āngirasa-
- 34 Vā(Bā)rhaspatya-Bhāradvāja-pravarāya Vājasaneyā-charaṇāya mādhyandina-śākh-ādhyāyinē
Takāri-vinī(ni)rgata-Dharmma-
- 35 pāṭṭi-vāstavya-Bhā(Bha)ṭṭa-Mākyadēvāya Jāladēva-autāya Pū(Pu)rushottamadēva-naptrē
salila-dhārā-pū(pu)raḥsara-hast-ōda-
- 36 kēna sūrya-graham(ṇa)-vēlāyā[m*] **Yamarga(ga)ttā(rttā)maṇḍal-ādhipati-paramamā-**
hēśvara-sakalamahāpū(pu)rushagunavad-Rāṇaka-śrībhid-Apṣarōdēv-ābhārtha-
- 37 nayā='smābhis-tāmraśāsanikṛity-ākshaya-nidhi³-dharmēp=ākaratvēna pradattas=tad=ēśhā=
'smad-datti ddha(r=ddha)rma-gauravād=bhavadbhiḥ paripālani(nī)yā | **Samvat 200⁴**
80 [h*]

No. 11—REYURU GRANT OF PALLAVA NARASIMHAVARMAN ; YEAR 12

(I Plate)

P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

This set of copper plates deposited in the archives of the Rājā of Kālahasti in the Chittoor District, Madras State, was discovered by the late Śrī Vēṭūri Prabhākara Shastri who has edited the inscription on them in Telugu in the *Journal of Śrī Venkaṭēśvara Oriental Institute*, Tirupati.⁵ In view of the importnace of the epigraph which deserves fuller study, I edit it here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.⁶

The set consists of **five plates** held together by a ring with seal. The ring had been cut, apparently by the previous editor, when the plates were received for examination. The writing is engraved on one side of the first plate and both sides of the next two plates. The remaining two plates contain no writing. This is rather unusual ; and this unusual feature may possibly be explained on the assumption that the framers of the document had originally kept these plates ready with the idea that the writing would extend over them, and that their expectation did not materialise. In the alternative, it may be surmised that the two spare plates are a later addition. It has, however, to be noted that traces of a few letters incised in late characters, forming two lines, can be detected on one of these spare sheets. Though the rims of the inscribed plates are not raised, the writing is in an excellent state of preservation. There are 25 lines of writing and these are distributed evenly on the five surfaces engraved.

¹ The engraver began to incise the name of the village, but, as some mistakes crept in, gave it up leaving considerable blank space at the end of line 30. He then engraved it at the beginning of the next line.

² Read 'grāmam'.

³ The usual expression is *ākshaya-nīvi*.

⁴ The actual value of the symbol, as noted above, seems to be 100.

⁵ Vol. VIII, pp. 82-96 and Vol. IX, pp. 25-30.

⁶ I am indebted to the above authority for having kindly secured the original document for my examination and study from the Director, Śrī Venkaṭēśvara Oriental Institute, Tirupati. It is registered as No. 39 of Government Epigraphist's C. P. collection for 1949-50.

The plates measure almost uniformly 8 inches in length, 2.5 inches in breadth and 1/16 inch in thickness. A circular hole about 9/16 inch in diameter is cut at the centre of the margin at a distance of 3/8 inch from the left side of each plate. The ends of the ring which is about 3 inches in diameter, are soldered into the bottom of a circular seal, 1.6 inch in diameter. The seal bears in relief the following figures. A lotus flower with five petals is carved at the bottom. Above this is a couchant bull with hump. Its head facing the front is placed towards the proper right. Two flywhisks fastened by a double chord are shown on either side of the animal. At the top of the seal and above the animal is a crescent. The ring with the seal weighs 26 *tolas*. The whole set together with the ring and the seal weighs 80 *tolas*. Unlike the seal of the Kūram grant no legend is engraved on the present seal.

The charter belongs to a ruler of the Pallava house and the figure of the bull in the above description represents the emblem of the family. From other copper plate records and also coins we know that the bull was the emblem of the Pallavas. This emblem is not clearly visible on the seals of some early copper plate charters of the family. The figure, though somewhat crude, is recognised beyond all doubt for the first time on the seal of the Viṣṇavāṭṭi grant of Simhavarman.¹ We may, however, note one peculiarity. Whereas the bull of the Viṣṇavāṭṭi grant faces the proper left, that of the Kūram grant, the present charter and others of the later period,² faces the proper right. An interesting fact to be observed in regard to the Pallava emblem represented on the seal of the present document is that it is the best of its kind on account of its fine workmanship, surpassing all the rest discovered so far.

The characters are Kannaḍa-Telugu of the early 8th century. The letters are handsomely incised, though uniformity of size is not maintained throughout. In the aspect of their neat and elegant execution, the characters of the present inscription may be compared with those of the Uruvupalli record, though the former are removed from the latter in point of time by over two centuries. The initial *i*, *z* and *ai* are found in lines 19, 18 and 17 respectively; and they are noteworthy. The signs for *t* and *n* are fairly distinguished, the former, which is fully curved with a loop at the top, being akin to its successor of a late period. The final *r* and *n* are used in lines 16 and 21 respectively. The medial short *i* is made up of a complete circle on the top of the letter; and this is differentiated from the long one which is shaped like a spiral with a knot towards the left above the same. The final *m* at the end of a word is changed to *anusvāra* in many cases; while in others, when it is not so transformed, it is represented by a peculiar mark which looks like a vertical stroke with a hook at the bottom towards the left. Instances of the *anusvāra* may be seen in the following words: *ayam* in line 13 and *viṣam* in line 22. The hooked stroke is illustrated by the following cases: *jitam* and *Pallavānām* in line 1, *brahmasvam* in line 22 and *svadattām* in line 23. The *anusvāra* is changed to the appropriate class nasal and involved into *sandhi* in the following cases: *Lōkapālānām=pa°* in line 3 and *tārīran=daṇḍa-* in line 20. The subscripts of the letters *dh* and *v* are not sometimes distinguished; e.g., *bāha* and *ruva* in line 5.

In regard to orthography, it may be observed that the rule regarding the reduplication of the consonant preceded by *r* is implicitly obeyed in all cases.³

The language is Sanskrit and the composition for the major part of the record (lines 1-20) is in prose. The statement relating to the executor of the document (*ājñāpti*) is in verse (lines 20-21). This is followed by the imprecation which is, as usual, in verse (lines 22-25). The text

¹ For a description of the seal of the Viṣṇavāṭṭi grant and discussion on the Pallava emblem, see above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 296-97 and plate facing p. 297.

² The photographs of the seals of the Kūram and Tanḍantōṭṭam plates are published in *S. I. I.*, Vol. XII, plate VII. The seal of the Vēlūrpalaiyam plates is published, *ibid.*, Vol. II, plate facing p. 521.

³ It may be noted that *ā* in the expression *arhātī* in line 20 is not doubled, since this case is not covered by the rule, *acchō rahābhyaṁ dvē* (*Aśhjadhyāy*, VIII-4-46).

is faulty and the composition contains syntactical and other mistakes. These have been corrected either in the body of the text itself or in the footnotes.

As we shall see presently, the charter was issued by the Pallava ruler **Narasimhavarman II** of the Simhavishnu line. The records of the early rulers of this family are generally on stone, until we come to the time of Nandivarman II. Only two exceptions have come to our notice so far; one is the Kūram grant of Paramēśvaravarman I, father of Narasimhavarman II, and the other the present inscription. It has to be noted further that the Kūram grant bears closer affinity with the Udayēndiram¹ or Kaśākuḍi² plates of Nandivarman II in respect of the script and treatment of the subject-matter. The script employed in both is Pallava-Grantha and Tamil. Both contain an elaborate invocation in Sanskrit verse, a legendary account of the origin of the family and a lengthy *prastāvi* and poetic descriptions of kings. In all these aspects, the present record presents a marked contrast. The script employed here is the highly developed southern alphabet which has assumed the distinct shape of Kannaḍa-Telugu. The subject is treated briefly and directly. The invocation and the *prastāvi* are short without the intervention of poetic passages. Thus our charter stands conspicuously as a class by itself, not only among the copper plate records, but also amidst the mass of inscriptions belonging to this Pallava house.

We may on the contrary realise that the formal part of our epigraph bears close resemblance with that of the earlier copper-plate documents of the Pallava princes, which are older by more than two centuries. Like the Pikira³ and Viḷavaṭṭi⁴ grants of Simhavarman, our epigraph opens with the brief invocatory expressions *svasti* and *jītam Bhagavatā*.⁵ A comparison of the specific epithets used for describing the ruling king and his ancestors, as found in the grants of Uruvupalli,⁶ Pikira and Viḷavaṭṭi forming one group on one side and the present charter on the other, reveals a number of striking similarities of expression in the latter, which have been in some cases borrowed directly and in others either paraphrased or modified suitably from the former. For instance, the epithets, *pratāp-śpanata-rāja-maṇḍala*, *Lōkapālānām pañchama* and *rājarshi-guṇa-sarva-sandōha-vijigishu*, are commonly met with in all the epigraphs under reference. The expression *archita*-, *abhyuchchita*-, or *atyuchchita-śakti-siddhi-saṁpanna* of the Uruvupalli, Pikira and Viḷavaṭṭi grants respectively, figures in the modified form *abhyarchita-śakti-siddhi-saṁpanna* in the present inscription. While the phrase *vasudhā-tal-aika-vīra* of the Uruvupalli grant or its equivalent *prithvī-tal-aika-vīra* of the Pikira and Viḷavaṭṭi grants has been amplified into *anēka-samara-saṁghaṭṭa-janita-vikrama-vasudhā-tal-aika-vīra*, the term *bhagavad-bhakti-sadbhāva-saṁbhāviṭa-sarva-kalyāṇa* in the earlier group has been slightly modified and abridged into *bhagavad-bhakti-sadbhāva-samarpiṭa-sarva* in the record under study. Another case of modified contraction is the qualitative *bahu-samara-vijaya-labdha-yaśaḥ-prakāśa* of our charter, which is evidently derived from *anēka-samara-sāhas-āvamarda-labdha-vijaya-yaśaḥ-prakāśa* of the Uruvupalli category.⁷

The present inscription commences with a brief invocation and reference to the Pallavas who belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*. Next are mentioned three members of this family, viz., Mahēndravikramavarman, his son Paramēśvaravarman and his son Narasimhavarman. The last of

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 273 ff.

² *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 342 ff.

³ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 161.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 301.

⁵ In the Pikira grant the word *svasti* comes after *jītam Bhagavatā*. In regard to the expression *Bhagavatām* occurring in line 1 of the Rēyūru grant, see below in the text portion.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 61. It may further be noted that the Pallava *prastāvi* of these charters bears close resemblance with that of the Chendalūr plates of Kumāravishnu II and others; compare above Vol. VIII, pp. 233 ff.

⁷ Thus I have noticed in all thirteen expressions bearing mutual kinship. Besides the seven commented above, six others met with in the present inscription are as follows: *vidhi-vihita-sarva-maryāda*, *śhīti-śhīta*, *yathāvad-abhīrit-āśvamedh-ādya-anēka-kṛatu-yājīn*, *prajā-saṁvraṇjana-paripālana-ādhyōga*, *satata-satya-vrata-dīkṣita* and *Kali-yuga-dōsh-āpahṛita-dharm-ōddharana-nitya-sannaddha*.

these was the ruling king who issued the charter from his headquarters Kāñchīpura. Its object is to record the gift of a village named Rēyūru as a *brahmadēya*, to a Brāhmaṇa named Kumāra-maṇḍasārman who was well-versed in two Vēdas and constantly engaged in studies, by the king for the augmentation of his life, strength, victory and fortune. The donor is described as devoted to the feet of Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka. He is also called *Paramabhāgavata*, *Paramamāhēśvara* and *Paramabrahmanya*.¹

Judging from the genealogical account given above and palaeographical considerations indicated before, it is easy to identify the above-mentioned three kings with Mahēndravarmān II, Paramēśvaravarmān I and Narasimhavarmān II respectively, of the Simhavishṇu line.

Our epigraph happens to be the only dated record of Narasimhavarmān II so far discovered. The date as cited herein is the twelfth year of the increasingly victorious reign of the king, *Vaiśākha, full-moon, lunar eclipse*. These details, however, fall short for verification. For want of necessary data, the reign-period of this king also, like those of other rulers of this family, cannot be fixed with precision. Hence we are left to make what appears to be the most reasonable assumption on the strength of circumstantial evidence. The broad limits of Narasimhavarmān II's reign are indicated by two inscriptions as follows. From the Gadvāl plates² of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya I, dated in 674 A.C., which mention Narasimhavarmān II's father Paramēśvaravarmān I, we can postulate that the former succeeded his father some time after that date. Since Vikramāditya I who ruled from 565 to 680 A.C.,³ had among his contemporaries, also Mahēndravarmān II and Narasimhavarmān I,⁴ the father and grandfather of Paramēśvaravarmān I, we are justified normally in believing that Paramēśvaravarmān I was quite young by this time, i.e., 674 A.C., and that he occupied the Pallava throne at least for a decade or two after this date. Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, has placed the first year of the reign of Paramēśvaravarmān II, the son and successor of Narasimhavarmān II, in 728-29 A.C. with the help of a stone inscription recently discovered by him at Ulichāla, near Kurnool.⁵ This is the outer limit. We may also observe that the Pallava ruler who exchanged embassies with the Chinese emperor in 720 A.C. has been identified with Narasimhavarmān II.⁶ With these facts in view, we may examine the phenomenon of lunar eclipse which invests the above cited date with some definiteness. According to the *Eclipses of the Moon in India*, by Robert Sewell, the lunar eclipse occurred on the full-moon day of Vaiśākha in the years 701, 702, 711 and 720 A.C., which fall within the approximate reign-period of Narasimhavarmān II. Of these the first two yield 690 or 691 A.C. as the first year of his reign. These perhaps would be too early, though there is no absurdity about them. Considering the long-range peaceful activities of this ruler, 720 A.C. which makes 709 A.C. his first year, may appear to be rather unsuitable. So we might pitch upon 711 A.C. as the date of our charter. This would show that his reign commenced in 700 A.C.⁷

Of more than passing interest is the description, in our epigraph, of Paramēśvaravarmān I as the performer of Aśvamēdha and many other *kratus*, i.e., Vedic sacrifices. This leads us to an enquiry into the claim. Let us see how far it is justified. The Kūram grant of Paramēśvaravarmān I himself contains no reference to the performance of the horse sacrifice, and the other

¹ We may as well connect these three epithets with Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka. The joint association of the first two terms with the same person here is noteworthy.

² Above, Vol. X, pp. 100 ff.

³ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II; genealogical statement facing p. 336.

⁴ Above, Vol. X, p. 101.

⁵ *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXX, p. 291.

⁶ K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: *Foreign Notices of South India*, pp. 16 and 116-17.

⁷ It is interesting to note that Mr. Lakshminarayan Rao places his initial year circa 700 A.C. by approximation, *J.I.H.*, Vol. XXX, p. 291.

records of this king are also silent about it. Furthermore, it is seen that with the exception of the present charter and the Śivanvāyal inscription¹ of Simhavarman, no records of the Pallava rulers of the Simhavishnu line, including Nandivarman II and his successors, attribute the performance of horse sacrifice to any of them. If this great achievement were a fact, the ruler himself or his descendants would have legitimately taken credit for it and certainly mentioned the same in their records. We may note in this connection the performance of horse sacrifice by Pulakēśin I of the Western Chālukya family, which is often alluded to in their records.² So the truth appears to be like this. In the Hirahadagalli plates,³ Śivaśakandavarman is stated to have celebrated the horse sacrifice. Here we are at the source. The later descendants of his family took pride over this and duly incorporated the event in their *prastāvi* in general terms as a praiseworthy qualification of the Pallava family. The claim was also exaggerated by multiplying the number of horse sacrifices performed. Thus we find that in the Chendalūr plates⁴ of Kumāravishnu II, Uruvupalli grant and other charters, the Pallavas in general are referred to as the performers of horse sacrifices. In view of these finds we are justified in making the following observation. The drafter of the Rēyūru grant, who, as shown before, was influenced by the texts of the copper plate charters of the earlier period, simply borrowed this expression from them and foisted it on the father of the ruling king, his patron, for his glorification. It would be on similar lines that we shall have to account for the characteristic attribute, 'performer of ten horse sacrifices,' ascribed to the Pallava king Simhavarman,⁵ as noticed for the first time in the Śivanvāyal inscription.

The royal order announcing the gift was addressed to the inhabitants of Rēyūru; and it was enjoined on pain of corporal punishment upon all the ministers along with their subordinate officials (*karanayuktāḥ*), all the officers of the state (*sarvamiyōgakāḥ*) and the courtiers (*rājavallabhāḥ*), that they should collect no dues whatsoever from the village, particularly while on tour (*sañcharantāḥ*). The executor of the order was Iśvara, the chief of Nandakurra, and son of Sōmāditya, who equalled Rājāditya in valour.⁶

The donee Kumāramaṇḍaśarman was a resident of Kuravaśrī and he is referred to as a *Sōmayājīn*. He came from a learned family. Both his father Kumāraśarman and grandfather Kūḷaśarman were proficient in two Vēdas. The latter is said to have known the essence of the Vēdas, Vēdāṅgas, Itihāsa and Purāṇa. He belonged to the Rāthitara *gōtra* and was a student of Āpastamba *sūtra*. We may note here the occurrence of the expression *dvēdapārāga* qualifying all the three members of the family. Evidently it is an abbreviation of *divi-vēda-pārāga* and may be taken to be equivalent of *dvēdin*, i.e., *divi-vēdin*.

Lastly we may consider the geographical information contained in the epigraph. The gift village Rēyūru is stated to have been situated in the Mēl-Muṇḍarāśhṭra. The prefix *mēl* in this expression is Tamil, meaning 'west.' This territorial name occurs for the first time in the present record, though Muṇḍarāśhṭra is already familiar to us through other inscriptions. Judging from its connotation, Mēl-Muṇḍarāśhṭra must have been situated to the west of

¹ Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 62.

² Ibid., pp. 8, 39, 117, 128, etc.

³ Above, Vol. I, p. 5.

⁴ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 235. In the Chendalūr record the adjective *anēka* meaning 'many' qualifies the expression *Āvamaḍḍha*. So also in the Viḷavattī grant. In some charters, e.g., the Uruvupalli grant, this word is omitted.

⁵ The identity of this Simhavarman is problematic. Even assuming him to be Narasimhavarman I, the claim of his having performed ten horse sacrifices appears to be a conventional boast for reasons adduced above. But the claim as it is put forth is unique in the records of the Pallava house.

⁶ This Rājāditya may have been the grandfather of Iśvara. I am inclined to treat the expression *Nandakurra-nrin-Iśvara* as a *Karmadhāraya* compound made up of *Nandakurra-nripa* and *Iśvara*.

and adjacent to Muṇḍarāshṭra.¹ Muṇḍarāshṭra roughly comprised the major part of Kōvūru taluk and the adjoining area to the north and south in the Nellore District, Madras State.² It would, therefore, be reasonable to surmise that Mēl-Muṇḍarāshṭra might have comprised mainly the area of the Ātmakūr taluk of the district, since this taluk is situated to the west of the Kōvūru taluk. This surmise is justified by the existence, in the Ātmakūr taluk, of a village named Rēyūru which may aptly be identified with the Rēyūru of the inscription.³ I am unable to identify the locality called Asidhārapura which was to the south of Rēyūru and presumably in its vicinity. Apparently the name has been Sanskritised and there are no means at our disposal to find out its indigenous appellation.

It is interesting to recall in this context that a village bearing the identical name Rēyūru is mentioned as the object of gift in a copper-plate record⁴ of the Eastern Chālukya king Vishnuvardhana II, dated 664 A.C. This Rēyūru was situated in the area of Karmarāshṭra which comprised the northern portion of the Nellore District and the southern parts of the Guntur District, extending roughly over the Ongole and Bapatla taluks.⁵ Two alternative views are possible under the circumstances. Firstly, Rēyūru of the Eastern Chālukya record might be different from its namesake of the present charter. Secondly, they might be identical. Since scarcely any village answering the name is traceable in the northern taluks of the Nellore District and the southern taluks of the Guntur District, I am inclined to prefer the second alternative. But in this case we shall have to explain the discrepancy in the geographical position of the same village in the two records which are removed by a period of about fifty years only. Here we might note it primarily that Karmarāshṭra formed part of the Pallava dominion and that it figures often in the records of the rulers of the line.⁶ Subsequently, this tract, as indicated by the Koppāram plates,⁷ appears to have been subjugated by Pulakēśin II and passed on to the sway of the Eastern Chālukyas,⁸ some time before 630 A.C. We are, therefore, not facing an anomaly if we surmise that a part of this Karmarāshṭra, particularly the southern or the south-western part, was reconquered either by Narasimhavarman II or his father Paramēśvaravarman I, particularly taking into consideration the ineffective regime of Vishnuvardhana II's successor, Maṅgiyuvarāja.⁹ This newly conquered tract might have been constituted into a separate territorial unit and named Mēl-Muṇḍarāshṭra.

Nandakurra wherefrom the *ājñāpti* Īśvara hailed may be Nandavaram in the Udayagiri taluk of the Nellore District, which has yielded some inscriptions.¹⁰ Kuravaśiri where the donee resided must be the same as Kuravaśiri occurring in the Tanḍantōṭṭam plates of the Pallava king

¹ Another instance of a similar nature denoting the western extension of an original territorial unit is Mēr-Pākkai, nāḍu; see above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 25.

² Compare above, Vol. XXIV, p. 301, and also see V. Rangacharya's *Topographical List of Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, Nellore, Nos. 505, 533, etc., containing references to Muṇḍanāḍu which is a later term for Muṇḍarāshṭra.

³ This identification has been put forth by the late V. Prabhākara Shāstri: *Journal of Śrī Venkaṭēśvara Oriental Institute*, Vol. VIII, p. 92.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, p. 187.

⁵ Above, Vol. XV, p. 250; *A. R. on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1916, part II, para. 3, p. 113.

⁶ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 234; Vol. XV, pp. 251 and 255.

⁷ Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 257-58.

⁸ N. Venkataramanayya: *Eastern Chālukyas of Vēṅgi*, p. 46.

⁹ It must be admitted that no specific evidence is at our disposal at present to show that territorial expansion was accomplished by these Pallava rulers. But the fact that they were brave and indulged in aggressive warfare is proved by the historical events and the titles borne by them, such as *Raṇajaya*, *Samara-Dhanāñjaya*, *Atirāṇa-chanda*, etc., which might not be altogether vainglorious; *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 144-45; Vol. XII, pp. 10-11. Compare *Eastern Chālukyas* (op. cit.), p. 69.

¹⁰ *Topographical List*, etc. (op. cit.), Nellore, Nos. 738-39.

Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman, which was also the home of more than one donee of the record.¹ The same place seems to have been alluded to as Krōvaśrī in the Sātalūru plates of Guṇaga Vijayāditya,² after about a century and a half. One of the donees in this charter, who belonged to this place, was Nārāyaṇaśarman of the Rāthitara *gōtra*. It would appear from this that this place was the resort of learned Brāhmaṇas for generations. It may possibly be identified with Krōsūru in the Sattenapalle *taluk* of the Guntur District.³

TEXT⁴

First Plate

- 1 Svasti [*] Śrīmat⁵ jitam(r̥) Bhagavatām⁶ [*] Kāñchipur-ādhishtā(shṭhā)nāt=**Pallavānām(r̥)**
Bhāradvāja-
- 2 sagōtra(trā)ṇām sva-vīryy-ādhigata-rājyasya⁷ abhyarchchita-śakti-siddhi-sampannasya
- 3 pratāp-ōpanata-rāja-maṇḍalasya Madhyama-Lōkapālasya Lōkapālānām=pali⁸(ñcha)-
- 4 masya⁹ paramabrahmā(hma)ṇyasya Mahārājasya śrī-Mahēndravikramavarmanṇaḥ putraḥ¹⁰
bahu-
- 5 samara-vijaya-labha-yaśaḥ-prakāśasya vidhi-vihita-sarvva-maryyādasya sthiti-sthitasya¹¹

Second Plate; First Side

- 6 amit-ātmanō yathāvad-ābhrit-Āśvamēdh-ādy-anēka-kratu-yājīnas=satya-vratasya dharm-ā-
- 7 tmanō mahimapi¹² Mahēndrasya Paramēśvaravarmanṇaḥ putraḥ¹³ Bhagavad-bhakti-sad-
bhāva-samarppī-
- 8 ta-sarvva[ḥ*]¹⁴ prajā-samraṇ¹⁵jana-paripālan-ōdyōga-satata-satya¹⁶-vratā(ta)-dikshita[ḥ*]¹⁷ Ka-
- 9 liyuga-dōsh-āpahṛita-dharm-ōddharaṇa-nitya-sannaddhō¹⁸ anēka-samara-saṁghaṭṭa-janita-
vikra-
- 10 ma-vasudhā-tal-aiḥ(-ai)ka-vira(rō)¹⁹ rājarishi(jarshi)-guṇa-sarvva-sandōha-vijigishu[ḥ*]²⁰ para-
mabha(bhā)gavata[ḥ*]²¹ pa-

¹ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 532-34.

² *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vol. V, p. 115, lines 60-61.

³ There are other possibilities also, e.g., Kōvūru in the Kōvūru and Kandukur *taluks* of the Nellore District.

⁴ From the original plates and impressions.

⁵ The consonant *t* may be read as *rtā* also. This word should be read either as *śrīmatā* or *śrīmatām*, preferably the former. In the former case it qualifies *Bhagavatā* and in the latter *Pallavānām*.

⁶ Read *Bhagavatā*. The abbreviated invocation *jitam Bhagavatā* is met with in the Uruvupalli and other records.

⁷ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

⁸ This letter is peculiar and looks like *li*. The engraver seems to have incised the wrong form of the intended *akshara* *ñcha*.

⁹ In the Uruvupalli and Ptkira grants the expression reads *Lōkapālānām pañchamasya Lōkapālasya*, whereas it is *Lōkapālānām pañchamasya* only in the Viṣvaṭṭi grant. The expressions *Madhyamalōkapāla* and *Lōkapālānām pañchama* obviously refer to god Varuṇa.

¹⁰ The reading intended is perhaps *mahim-ōpama*.

¹¹ For clarity of sense it is better to separate this compound expression.

¹² This *anuvāsa* is placed wrongly on the *akshara* *ja*.

¹³ The word is *satra* in the Uruvupalli grant.

¹⁴ *Sandhi* is not properly observed here.

¹⁵ This and the following two expressions may also be taken as qualifying *Bappa-bhaṭṭaraka*, in which case we need not separate them.

Second Plate ; Second Side

- 11 ramamāhēśvara[h*] paramabrahmaṇya(ṇyō) Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka-pāda-bhakti[h*] śrī-Narasim-
havarṁma-
- 12 paḥ(varṁmā) Mēl-Muṇḍarāshṭrē¹ Asidhārapurasy=ōttarē |² Rēyūru-nāma-grāmam(masya)
grāmēyakā-
- 13 n=ittham=ājñāpayati [|*] ayaṁ grāma[h*] Kuravaśrī-vastha(vāsta)vyasya Rāthitara-
sagōtrasya¹
- 14 Āpastambha(ba)-sūtr-ādhyāyinaḥ¹ dvēda-pāragasya Vēda-Vēdāṅg²-Ētihasa-Purāṇa-tatva-
(ttva)-vi-
- 15 da[h*] Kūḷaśarmmapasya(paḥ) pautrāya dvi(dvē)da-pāragasya Kumāraśarmmaṇa[h*]
putrāya dvēda-pāragāya

Third Plate ; First Side

- 16 nitya-avādhyāya-niratāya Sōmayājine Kumāramaṇḍaśarmmaṇē¹ asmāka[m*] āyur-
- 17 bala-vijaya¹-aiśvaryy-abhivṛddhayē brahmadēhi(yi)kr̥pity=āsmābhir=ddatta[h*] pravard-
dhamāna-vijaya-
- 18 rājya-sarhvatśarē dvādaśa-varaḥ Vaiśākha-paurṇamāsyē(syār̥h) sōma-grahapa-
nimittē datta ēva(ttaḥ | ēva)-
- 19 m=avagamyē(myā)⁴ imā(ma)[m=a*]mātyā[h*] sarvvāḥ(rvvē) karaṇa-yuktā[h*] sarvva-
niyōgakāḥ¹ rāja-vallabhās=cha sañcharantāḥ(ntaḥ)
- 20 sarvva-kara-parhā(rihā)raḥ(ram) pariharantu [|*] Imām=ājñām=atikramēt=sa pāpaś=śārīra-
daṇḍam=arhati [|*] ⁵Sōmāditya-

Third Plate ; Second Side

- 21 suta[h*] śrīmān=Nandakurra-nrip-Eśvaraḥ [|*] ājñāptiś=āśanasy=āśya Rājāditya-prathā-
(tā)pavān [|1||*] Yatrā(Yad=atra)
- 22 bha⁶ shataḥ⁷ ślōkaḥ(kāḥ) [|*] Brahma-svam(m) ⁸visham ghōraḥ(ram) na visham visham-
uchyatē [|*] visham=ēkākina(nam) hanti brahma-
- 23 svam(m) putra-pautri(tra)kam [|2||*] Svadattām(m) paradattām vā |² yō harēti(ta) vasun-
dharām [|*] shasṭi⁹-va-

¹ Sandhi is not observed here.

² The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

³ This *anuvāra* is placed wrongly on the following *akṣara* *gē*.

⁴ There is some confusion here. If the *akṣara* *myē* is treated as a case of *sandhi*, then the following initial *i* should be deleted.

⁵ This and the following verses are in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre.

⁶ The form of this letter is queer. It is neither *bha* nor *ma*. It is clear that the engraver wanted to make it *bha*.

⁷ Read *bhavanti*.

⁸ Insert *hi* before this word to make the *pāda* metrically correct.

⁹ The subscript *i* of this *akṣara* looks like the subscript *ā* or *v*. Compare, for instance, *nāha* in line 23 and in the following line.

22 ಸುತ್ತಿವಾಸ್ತುಃ ಷ್ಠಾಃ ಸುತ್ತಿವಾಸ್ತುಃ ಸುತ್ತಿವಾಸ್ತುಃ ಸುತ್ತಿವಾಸ್ತುಃ ಸುತ್ತಿವಾಸ್ತುಃ ಸುತ್ತಿವಾಸ್ತುಃ ಸುತ್ತಿವಾಸ್ತುಃ ಸುತ್ತಿವಾಸ್ತುಃ
 ಸುತ್ತಿವಾಸ್ತುಃ ಸುತ್ತಿವಾಸ್ತುಃ ಸುತ್ತಿವಾಸ್ತುಃ ಸುತ್ತಿವಾಸ್ತುಃ ಸುತ್ತಿವಾಸ್ತುಃ ಸುತ್ತಿವಾಸ್ತುಃ ಸುತ್ತಿವಾಸ್ತುಃ ಸುತ್ತಿವಾಸ್ತುಃ
 24 ಸುತ್ತಿವಾಸ್ತುಃ ಸುತ್ತಿವಾಸ್ತುಃ ಸುತ್ತಿವಾಸ್ತುಃ ಸುತ್ತಿವಾಸ್ತುಃ ಸುತ್ತಿವಾಸ್ತುಃ ಸುತ್ತಿವಾಸ್ತುಃ ಸುತ್ತಿವಾಸ್ತುಃ ಸುತ್ತಿವಾಸ್ತುಃ
 ಸುತ್ತಿವಾಸ್ತುಃ ಸುತ್ತಿವಾಸ್ತುಃ ಸುತ್ತಿವಾಸ್ತುಃ ಸುತ್ತಿವಾಸ್ತುಃ ಸುತ್ತಿವಾಸ್ತುಃ ಸುತ್ತಿವಾಸ್ತುಃ ಸುತ್ತಿವಾಸ್ತುಃ ಸುತ್ತಿವಾಸ್ತುಃ

Seal



(From a photograph)

24 rsha-sahasrāṇi |¹ viṣṭa²(shṭhā)yam(yām) jāyatē krimiḥ [|| 3 ||*] Bahubhir=vvasudhā
dattā |¹ bahubhi-

25 á=ch=ānupālita(tā) | yasya yasya yathā³ bhūmi[h] |¹ tasya tasya tathā³ phalam ||⁴ [4 ||*]

No. 12—BILAIGARH PLATES OF KALACHURI PRATAPAMALLA ; YEAR 969

(1 Plate)

L. P. PANDEYA, RAIGARH, AND P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

The credit of the discovery of this copper plate document, the existence of which was known as early as 1940, goes to Pandit L. P. Pandeya, Honorary Secretary of the Mahakosala Historical Society. It was in the possession of Dewan Hardayal Singh, Zamindar of Bilaigarh⁵ in the Raipur District, Madhya Pradesh. Through the kindness of Mr. R. N. Banerjee, Commissioner, Chhattisgarh Division, it was obtained on loan from the owner and sent to the then Government Epigraphist for India, for examination, in November 1942. Subsequently, at the advice of Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, who accorded his kind permission and other facilities, Mr. Desai, a member of his office, was also provided with an opportunity of studying the epigraph. Thus as a result of joint co-operation the inscription is edited here for the first time.

It is a set of two copper plates held together by a ring with seal. The plates measure roughly from 10 to 10½ inches in length and 6½ inches in breadth. A hole with a diameter of about half an inch is bored towards the centre of the top of each plate for the ring to pass through. The plates are engraved on the inner sides only and a margin of about an inch is left out towards the left. The size of the letters on the first plate is bigger than that on the second, the average being roughly ½ and ⅓ of an inch respectively. As a result of this the first plate has accommodated 16 lines and the second 22 lines. The seal is circular measuring about 2½ inches in diameter. It is partly damaged and obliterated towards the left. Its upper portion contains crudely carved figures of a seated goddess, viz., Lakshmi, in the middle and two elephants with jars in their upturned trunks on either side. In the lower portion is incised the figure of a dagger placed across pointing towards the right. In the intervening space is engraved in Nāgarī characters the partly damaged legend *Srī (Śrī) . . Pratāpamalladēva*. In respect of this seal and many other points which will be discussed presently, the present plates bear close resemblance with the Pēṇḍrābandh plates of the same king, already published in this journal.⁶

¹ The *danḍa* is superfluous.

² The subscript *ṭ* of this *akṣara* looks like the subscript *dā* or *v*. Compare, for instance, *ndha* in line 23 and *rvva* in the following line.

³ The words *yadā* and *tadā* are more commonly used for *yathā* and *tathā* of this verse.

⁴ This punctuation in the original is made up of a spiral followed by a wavy line.

⁵ This is the first set of Bilaigarh plates. According to the official sources, the plates were originally unearthed while ploughing his field by one Rāmnāth, son of Gōpi Kahra, a resident of the village Paoni, about 3 miles from Bilaigarh. They were handed over to the agent of the Zamindar of Bilaigarh, who passed them on to his master. The information gathered by Mr. Pandeya reveals that two more sets of copper plates were discovered in the village Paoni in September 1940. One of these, which fell into the hands of a *sādhu*, was subsequently recovered by the said Zamindar. This set was received in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India in 1945. This is styled the second set of Bilaigarh plates for the convenience of description. It belongs to Prithvidēva II and is dated 896 of the Chēdi era. The second set from Bilaigarh is being published in this journal. These plates are now deposited in the Central Museum, Nāgpur.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 1 ff.

The characters are Nāgarī of the thirteenth century being on the whole identical with those of the Pēṇḍrābandh charter. Some of the peculiarities noticed¹ in the case of the latter, such as non-distinction between *p* and *y* as the second members of conjunct letters, scoring off of the superfluous syllable by vertical strokes at the top, besides others, can be detected in this inscription also. The *avagraha* sign is not used in many places; for instance, *Ratnadēvō=bhavat* in line 12 and *tatō=bhūt* in line 13. It is, however, used in *vadanō='jani* in line 8 and a few other expressions. As the first member of a conjunct letter, *n* sometimes looks like *t*, e.g., *-anvayē* in line 2. The subscript *ṭh* is not generally distinguished from *ṭ*; e.g., *°pratisṭ-ṭ-* in line 27 and *viṣṭāyām* in line 33. The form of cerebral *n* is made up of three vertical strokes—the first being slightly curved, the second a wavy line and the third a straight line, similar to its later counterpart. This kind of *n* is not met with in the Pēṇḍrābandh charter. In the Pēṇḍrābandh inscription it is represented by a symbol resembling *l* without its top joint.

In regard to orthography we may note the following. In rare cases the *anuvāra* is replaced by the class nasal, e.g., *°gaṅga* in line 13. *V* is substituted for *b*; e.g., *Vrahma-* in line 1. and *°anvāra-* in line 2. In certain expressions *j* is used for *y* and *vice versa*; e.g., *yātaḥ* for *jātaḥ* in lines 5 and 7, *jaḥ* for *yaḥ* in line 13 and *jasas* for *yatas* in lines 9 and 14. In a majority of instances *s* is written for *ś*; e.g., *sivam* for *śivam* in line 1, *dēsē* for *śēsē* in line 4. The reduplication of the consonant following *r* is resorted to in a large number of syllables, though the exceptions to this practice are not negligible; e.g., *pratyartha(thi)* in lines 3-4, *°sau(śau)rya* in line 6 and *°darpaṇa* in line 10.

The language is Sanskrit. With the exception of the usual salutation to Brahman in the beginning and the date at the end, the whole record is composed in verse. There are thirty verses in all. They are generally punctuated by single *danḍas* at the end of each half and double *danḍas* at their completion. The verses are numbered. An inadvertent omission has occurred in numbering the 16th verse. On account of this the following verses are all numbered less by one than the actual figure. This mistake has been corrected in the accompanying text. Some errors in marking the *danḍas* have also been rectified. The first fourteen verses describing the genealogy of the Kalachuri family down to Pratāpamalla, are identical with those in the Pēṇḍrābandh plates. The next six verses, which are new, give an account of the donee's family and the circumstances of the gift. The following nine verses constitute the familiar praise of land gift and the customary imprecation. The last verse refers to the scribe who wrote the record.

The object of the epigraph is to record the gift, on the date specified below, 'of the village Siralā to a learned and pious Brāhmaṇa, named Haridāsa, by king Pratāpamalla. Pratāpamalla belonged to the Kalachuri family of Ratanpur. The genealogy of the family is traced as usual from the primeval ancestor Manu of the solar descent. This account is identical with that found in the Pēṇḍrābandh inscription. Pratāpamalla was the son of Ratnarāja or Ratnadēva III and great-grandson of Prithvidēva II. From the last part of the otherwise conventional eulogy (verses 13-14), it can be gathered that Pratāpamalla was quite young when he became king. Pratāpamalla is the last known ruler of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur and his existence was brought to the notice of scholars for the first time by Mr. L. P. Pandeya's discovery of copper coins bearing his name on the banks of the river Mahānadi near Bālpur.² Subsequent disclosure of two copper plate charters issued by him, viz., the Pēṇḍrābandh record, and the present one, have placed his reign beyond all doubt.

The date as given in lines 28 and 38 is *Samvat* 969, Āshāḍha, lunar eclipse. The *Samvat* evidently refers to the year of the Chōdi or Kalachuri era. Assuming the above year to be expired

¹ Ibid., p. 1.

² Ibid., p. 3.

and calculating with 247-48 A.C. as the starting point of the era, the lunar eclipse occurred on the full-moon day of Āshāḍha in 1218 A.C., corresponding to July 9, Monday. This appears to be the date of the record. We may, however, note that the lunar eclipse took place also on the fullmoon day of Āshāḍha in 1219 A.C., corresponding to June 29, Saturday. The present charter is dated four years later than the Pēṇḍrābandh epigraph, thus extending the reign period of Pratāpamalla up to 1218 A.C.

Before we proceed to other details, it seems necessary to examine a few facts connected with the history of these Kalachuris, not adequately noticed by scholars. One is the place allotted to Prithvidēva III in the genealogical account of the family. In his *Dynastic History of Northern India*¹ Dr. H. C. Ray postulates that Ratnadēva III was succeeded by Prithvidēva III. The only basis for this assumption is the Ratanpur inscription.² In this record three generations of kings are mentioned, viz., Jājalladēva, his son who might be Ratnadēva who defeated Chōḍagaṅga, and his son Prithvidēva. The characteristic achievement of vanquishing Chōḍagaṅga is attributed in all the records of the family to Ratnadēva II, father of Prithvidēva II. From this it becomes explicit that Prithvidēva of the Ratanpur record is identical with Prithvidēva II and that no grounds exist for the assumption of a Prithvidēva III. The subsequent history of the family as known from other epigraphs,³ reveals that Prithvidēva II was followed by his younger son Jājalladēva II. After a short while the rulership passed on to Jājalladēva II's elder brother Jagaddēva. The latter was in turn succeeded by Ratnadēva III and grandson Pratāpamalla. Thus we are justified in discountenancing the existence of Prithvidēva III.

Dr. Ray tries to support the above view of his by saying that the date of the Ratanpur inscription agrees with the ascription of the epigraph to Prithvidēva III. This argument is fallacious ; for, the date which is taken to be Vikrama Samvat 1247, as read by its editor, the late Dr. Kielhorn, is itself doubtful and his observations⁴ on the same reveal that the record might have been originally dated in the Chēdi era, the first digit of which was 9. As a good number of inscriptions of Prithvidēva II with dates ranging from the Chēdi year 900 to 915, has been discovered,⁵ there should be no difficulty in assigning the Ratanpur epigraph to his reign. Another consideration that has obviously persuaded Dr. Ray to assign the Ratanpur record to Prithvidēva III, is the chronological position of its composer. This was Dēvagana⁶, son of Ratnasimha and grandson of Māmā. Now it might be that this same Ratnasimha was the composer of the Malhār inscription⁷ of Jājalladēva II dated 919 of the Chēdi era. Ascription of the Ratanpur inscription to Prithvidēva II would lead to the result that whereas Dēvagana, the son, drafted the record of the king who was the father, Ratnasimha, his father, composed the charter of the king who was the son. This superficial anomaly can be explained away by pointing out that there exists a difference of only four years between the

¹ Vol. II (1936), pp. 813-14. The same view appears to have been held by other scholars also, though not without diffidence ; compare Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 421 and the genealogical statement on p. 393. It must, however, be noted that in his article on the ' History of the Kalachuris of Southern Kosala,' Mr. Amalananda Ghosh has shown that Prithvidēva of the Ratanpur inscription was Prithvidēva II, and not Prithvidēva III ; *Ācārya Puspāñjali*, pp. 274-75.

² Above, Vol. I, pp. 45 ff.

³ Ibid., p. 40 ; Vol. XXI, p. 762, etc.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. I, p. 49, n. 41.

⁵ Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos. 1234, 1236, etc.

⁶ We may incidentally note the title *Rāyarasimha* of Dēvagana's son, Jagatsimha ; above, Vol. I, p. 51. This is influenced by Kannada. A study of the inscriptions of the period shows that a good many titles of similar origin from Karṇāṭaka were adopted and exhibited by distinguished persons in other parts of India.

⁷ Above, Vol. I, pp. 39 ff.

last known dates of Prithvidēva II and his son Jājalladēva II, viz., K. 915 and 919, and that there would be no absurdity in surmising that both Dēvagana and his father Ratnasimha lived up to an advanced age and composed the two records removed by a brief interval of time.

In his recent study of the inscriptions of the Southern Kalachuris or the Kalachuris of Kārṇāṭaka, rather inappropriately described as the Kalachuryas of Kalyāṇi by the late Dr. Fleet, Mr. Desai has been able to detect a large number of affinities¹ that go to establish closer ties among the southern and the northern branches of the Kalachuri stock. An inscription from Harasūr attributes lunar descent to the Kalachuris of Kārṇāṭaka and this claim is supported by further epigraphical evidence.² Among the northern Kalachuris, those of Tripuri and Gorakhpur trace their descent from the moon.³ In glaring contrast with this comes the statement⁴ in the inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, which commence with an invocation to the sun god who is represented as the originator of the family. It is interesting to note that solar descent is also mentioned in some inscriptions of the Southern Kalachuris.⁵ Some of their records⁶ open with an invocation to the sun god on the analogy of the inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur. It has to be observed further that the Śaivite traditions of the northern families, particularly those of Tripuri and Gorakhpur, such as intensive devotion to the god Śiva and adoption of his vehicle Nandi as their royal emblem,⁷ were preserved intact in the southern family as well.⁸ An inscription from Chaḍachapa⁹ in the Bijapur District, dated 1057 A.C., introduces Bijjala I, the grandfather of Jōgama, as a subordinate of the Western Chālukya king Sōmēśvara I, and as bearing the significant title *Dahaḷa-beḍaṅga* (ornament of the Dahanu country).

The donee Haridāsa belonged to a learned and respectable family. His father was Diyōdāsa, son of Bhṛigu-Paṇḍita. These belonged to the Sāṃkṛita gōtra, having the *pravaras* Sāṃkṛita, Āṃgirasa and Vāchaspatya. After the statement of the gift in verse 19, a renowned teacher of Śaivite persuasion, named Īśānaśiva, is eulogised in the next verse. The position held by this divine in the transaction is not made clear. It is likely that he was the royal preceptor and spiritual guide and introduced here at the behest of the king. Verse 30 contains a description of Pratirāja of the Gauḍa lineage, who wrote the record on the copper plates with clear letters out of natural devotion for the Brāhmaṇas. This Pratirāja is identical with the scribe of the Pēṇḍrābandh plates wherein he is characterised as the light of the Record Office. The gift village Siralā may possibly be identified with Siroli in the Janjgir *Tahsil* of the Bilaspur District.

¹ Fleet has alluded to only two links, viz., the title *Kālāṇjara-puravarādhīśvara* and reference to the Dahanu country in a Harihar inscription; *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 469.

² Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 24.

³ Ibid., p. 25, n. 3; *Kannāḍa Śāhitya Parishat Patrike*, Vol. XXXVI, Nos. 1-2, p. 107.

⁴ It is shown that there is no real contradiction in the divergent claims of lunar and solar descents by the two groups of the same family and that they can be easily reconciled; above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 25, n. 3.

⁵ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 448. Compare the allusion to the solar lineage of Bijjala (I) in a Śilāhāra inscription; above, Vol. XXVII, p. 178.

⁶ Two inscriptions, one from Muttigi and another from Ingaḷśēvar in the Bijapur District; Bombay-Karnatak collection, No. 104 of 1929-30 and No. 11 of 1930-31.

⁷ Above, Vol. II, p. 305; Vol. VII, p. 85; Vol. XII, p. 206; *Dynastic Hist. of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 742.

⁸ The theory of Jaina leanings of Bijjala II is now thoroughly exploded and it is shown on the strength of epigraphic and literary evidence that all the members of the Southern Kalachuri family were staunchly Śaivite in their persuasion. This and other topics briefly referred to above and in the article 'Harasūr Inscription of King Sōma' (above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 23 ff.), have been elaborately discussed in his lectures on the Southern Kalachuris delivered by Mr. Desai in February 1951 at the Kannāḍa Research Institute, Dharwar. These lectures are published in the *Kannāḍa Śāhitya Parishat Patrike*, Vol. XXXVI, Nos. 1-2, pp. 102 ff.

⁹ B. K. coll., No. 17 of 1937-38.

TEXT¹

[Metres : Vv. 1, 7, 9, 11, 15-16, 19, 21-29 *Anushtubh* ; vv. 2, 5, 14 *Upajāti* ; vv. 3, 12 *Sragdharā* ; vv. 4, 6, 30 *Vasantatilakā* ; v. 8 *Mālinī* ; vv. 10, 17 *Śikharinī* ; vv. 13, 18, 20 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.]

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्² [॥*] ॐ व(व)द्वागे नमः ॥ निर्गुणं व्यापकं नित्यं सि(शि)वं
परमकारणं(णम्) । भावग्राह्य(ह्यं) परं ज्योतिस्तस्मै सद्(द्र)ह्यणे
नमः ॥ १ ॥
- 2 यदेतदग्रेसरमंव(व)रस्य ज्योतिः स पूषा³ पु[रु⁴]वः पुराणः । अथास्य⁵ पुत्रो
मनुरादिराजस्तदन्वयेभूद्भु-
- 3 वि कार्त्ति(त्तं)वीर्यं ॥२॥ तस्मात्च्छ्र(च्छ)क्रातिकीर्त्तः सकलगुणधरा हैहया
ने(नै)कसः(शः) को जाताः ।⁶ प्रत्य-
- 4 र्यं(यि)पृथ्वीपतिकरिहर[यो] मार्गणे कल्पवृक्षाः । तद्वंसा(श्या)स्वे(श्चे)-
दिदेसे(शे) कलचुरिरिति च स्या(श्या)तिमीयुर्त्तं⁷(त्तं)रें-
- 5 द्राः(द्रा) या(जा)तः कोकलदेवो नृपतिररिकुलक्ष्माभुजा धूमकेतुः ॥३॥
अष्टादसा(शा)रिकरिकुम्भ⁸।
- 6 विभग्न(ङ्ग)सिंघाः(हाः) पुत्रा व(व)भूवुरतिसौ(शौ)र्यपरास्व(श्च) तस्य ।
तन्नामजो नृपवरस्त्रिपुरीस(श) आसीत्पास्वै(श्च) च मंड-
- 7 लपत्ती(ती)न्स चकार वं(वं)धून् ॥४॥ तेषां(षा)मनूज⁹स्तु कलिगराजः
प्रतापवह्निक्षप्ता(पिता)रिराजः । या(जा)तोन्व-
- 8 ये दुष्टरिपुप्रवीरप्रियाननाभोरुहपावर्णेंदुः ॥५॥ तेनाथ चंद्रवदनोज्ज्वलि रत्न(त्न)-
राजो विस्वो(श्चो)पका-

¹ From the original plates and inked impressions.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ There appears to be an *anusvāra* on this letter ; but this and a few other dots elsewhere have to be ignored, as they are apparently due to the defect in the metal.

⁴ This *ru* is not properly engraved ; it may be compared with other *ru*s in the inscription, e.g., lines 8 and 11.

⁵ There is a scored-out sign for medial *i* before the letter *ya*.

⁶ This *danḍa* is superfluous. By inserting this punctuation mark, the scribe possibly meant that the first quarter of the verse ended with the word *jātāḥ*. This is wrong, as it ends with *kṣu*.

⁷ This is clearly *lla* ; compare *lla* of *Kōkalla* in l. 5. The intended *akṣara* was perhaps *raṣa* which is however wrong for *raṣa*. See above, Vol. XXIII, p. 4, n. 2.

⁸ The word *kumbha* is followed by the two scored-out syllables *vīḥa*.

⁹ The form *anūja* is wrongly used for *anuja* for the sake of metre.

- 9 रकरणाज्जितपु¹ष्यभारः । येन स्ववा(बा)हुयुगनिम्मितविक्रमेण ² नीतं जस-
(यश)स्त्रिभुवने विनिहत्य स(श)-
- 10 नून ॥६॥ [पृ]थ्वीदेवोभवत्तस्मात्तृ(नृ)पः सा(शा)द्वैलविक्रमः । नखदपण-
संक्रान्तनभ[द्]पालमंडलः ॥७॥
- 11 अथ रुचिररुचिली(श्री)रास(श)यः³ सत्कलानामनुपहितकलकोऽनामूर्तिः सुवृत्तः ।
सकलगु-
- 12 णसमूहः[*] [श्री]मतस्तस्य सूनुविधुरिव सुकृतानां घाम जाजल्लदेवः ॥८॥ रत्त-
(त्त)देवो[ऽ*]भवत्तस्मादभूतो-
- 13 पत्रविक्रमः । ज(य)स्वो(श्चो)डगङ्गगोकर्णर्षि युधि चक्रे पराङ्मुखौ ॥९॥
ततो[ऽ*]भूदासीमक्ष(क्षि)तिवलयवि-
- 14 क्रत्त(क्रान्त)महिमा हिमानीवत्का⁴त्तैयं(त्तैर्ज)गदपि जसो(यशो)भिर्द्धवलयन(न्) ।
रणे क्रुद्धा(द्ध)द्वेक्षि(षि)द्विपदलनदीक्षा-
- 15 हरिसमः सुतः पृथ्वीदेवो दनुजदलनस्तस्य नृपतेः ॥ [१०] ॥ प्रचंडाखंडभूपाल-
- 16 युष्(द्ध)कंडूति[सं](खं)डनः । जगद्देवोभवत्तस्मात्तृ(नृ)पः [सा(शा)द्वै]लविक्रमः
॥ ११ ॥ तत्पुत्रस्त्रि(श्चि)त्रकीर्तिः सकलकलचुरि-

Second Plate

- 17 क्षमाभुजां भूव(ष)णस्त्रीः(श्रीः) [स्त्री(श्री)]मानुस्फुल्लत(म)ल्लीनिकरनिभ-
जसो(यशो)रासि(शि)भिर्य्याप्तविस्वः(श्वः) । आसीदासीमभू-
- 18 मी⁵वलयपरिवृढप्रौढदोःका(कां)डलीलानिद्धू(द्धू)तासे(शे)षदैरिक्षितिपतिति(नि)वहा(हो)
[भूपती रत्नराजः] ॥१२॥
- 19 पुत्रस्तस्य यसोद्धि(शोन्धि)लोललहरीनिर्द्धूतदिग्मंडलो मूर्त्या निज्जितमन्मथ[*]
समभवत् स्त्री(श्री)मत्प्रतापो नृपः । भूपा-

¹ This letter is not clear on the impression. The plate is slightly damaged at this spot.

² This *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

³ Better read *āśrayaḥ* for *āśayaḥ*.

⁴ The formation of the letter *tkā* is not normal.

⁵ The word *bhūmi* generally ends in short *i*. The long *i* is necessitated here evidently for the sake of metre.

[illegible][illegible]

Seal



(From a photograph)

- 20 लाल्लं(णं)वसो(शो)षणे मुनिरसौ क्षमापालचूडामणि[दी]ने वं[दि]जने
द्विजे गुणिगणे नित्यं हि चिन्ताव(म)णिः ॥१३॥
- 21 मत्या महत्या महतीं महीसः(शः) प्रतापमल्लो जगद्धे(दे)कमल्लः [1]
पृथ्वीमपृथ्वीमकरोत्कराभ्यां व(ब)लेन वा(बा)लोपि व(ब)लि-
- 22 द्वितीयः ॥१४॥ प्रवरैः सांकृताङ्गिरस[वाच]स्पत्यसंज्ञकैः [1*] संयुते सांकृतगोत्रे
पंडितो भृगुसा(सं)ज्ञकः ॥१५॥ व(ब)-
- 23 भूव सु(श्रु)तिसंपन्नः 1 पुराणस्मृतिसा(शा)स्त्रवित् [1*] आचारमार्गानिरतः
प्रियवाक् साधुस(सं)मतः ॥१६॥ [1*] समुद्भूतस्तस्मा-
- 24 च्छशव²धर इव क्षीरजलधः(धेः) दिवोदासः पुत्रः श(स)कलगुणविज्ञाननिपुणः [1*]
सदामात्यो(न्यो) विप्रैः ज(प्रैजं)ननयनका-
- 25 भं(नं)दजनकः स्फुरकी(त्की)तिलो(लो)के सकलनरपैः पूज्यचरणः ॥१६(१७)॥
तत्पुत्रो हरिदास उत्तममतिर्मन्यः सता-
- 26 प्त(म)ग्रणी[1*] सन्मार्गो(गं)करतो विवेकवसतिः वि(तिवि)प्रेषु चूडामणिः
[1*] सा(शा)स्त्रार्थसु(श्रु)तिधर्मनित्यनिरतो धर्मे(र्मे)कवु(वु)धिः(दिः)
सदा
- 27 लोकानां प्रियदर्शनो निशितधीः प्राप्तः³ प्रतिष्ठो(ष्ठो)दयः ॥१७(१८)॥ तस्मै
प्रतापदेवेत(न) राज्ञा संकल्पपूर्व(व्वं)कः [1*] प्रदत्तः
- 28 सिरलाग्राम प्रा(आ)षाढी(ढी)सोमपर्वणि ॥१८(१९)॥ शैवाचार्यसि-
(शि)रोमणिः कलियुगे दानैकचिन्तामणिः मा(णिर्मा)णिके(क्ये)स्व(स्व)रपाद-
- 29 प[च]मधुपः प्राज्ञो विवेकारणिः [1*] अज्ञानांधन्त(त)मोविनाशतरणिः नू(णिर्नू)नं
गुणानां खनिः 1 हन्त(न्ते)शानशिवो विवेक-
- 30 वसतिवि(र्वि)द्वत्स(त्सु) चूडामणिः ॥१९(२०)॥ सं(शं)खं भद्रासनं च्छत्रं
गजास्व(स्व)वरवाहनं(नम्) [1*] भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि फलं स्वर्गं[1*]
पुरंदर ॥२०(२१)॥

¹ This *dayda* is superfluous.

² This *va* is redundant. Read =*ch-chhasadharma* i.e.

³ The *visarga* after *prāpta* is redundant. Read *prāpta-pratishkṣh-ōdayaḥ*.

- 31 व(व)हुभिर्व्वं(व्वं)सुधा दत्ता राजभिः[*] सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा
भूमिं त(मिस्त)स्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥२१(२२)॥ भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णा(ह्णा)ति
यस्तु(श्च)भू-
- 32 मीं प्रयच्छ(च्छ)ति । उता(भो) द्वौ पुण्यकर्म्मणौ नियतौ(तं) . स्व(स्व)र्ग-
गामिनौ ॥२२(२३)॥ पूर्ध्वं(व्वं)दत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यन्ना(त्ता)द्रक्ष पुरंदरः-
(र ।) मही
- 33 महीभूतां सेष्टः(श्रेष्ठ) दाना[च्छे]यो हि पालनम(म्) ॥२३(२४)॥ स्वदत्तां
परदत्तां^१ वा यो(यो) हरे[द्व](त व)सु(सु)धरां(राम्) [1*] स विष्टा(ष्ठा)यां
कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृ-
- 34 मिः सह मज्जति [1*]२४(२५)॥ तडागानां सहस्रेण वाजपेयस(श)[ते]न च ।
गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्ता न सू(शु)ध्यति ॥२५(२६)॥ षष्टि-
- 35 वर्षसहस्राणि [स्व]र्गे तिष्ठति भू(भू)मिदः । आ[च्छे]ता(त्ता) वानुमन्ता च तान्येष
मरुके वसेत(त्) ॥२६(२७)॥ [ह]ष्टं दत्तं हुतं चैव यत्किंचित ष(चिद्ध)-
- 36 मंसंचितं^२(तम्) । अर्द्धांगुलेन सीमायाः(या) हरणेन प्रणस्य(श्य)ति ॥२७(२८)॥
यथाप्नु^३(प्नु) पतितं स(श)क [तं]लत्रिं(विं)दुवि(विं)सर्पति । प(ए)वं
भूमिकृतं दानं स-
- 37 स्य(स्ये) सस्य(स्ये) प्ररोहति ॥२८(२९)॥ स्वच्छास(श)यः परहितार्थपरः कुलि-
(ली)नो गौडान्वयोचितगुणैर्व्विदितो यथार्थम् । तां^४ द्विजा-
- 38 तिचरणेषु निसर्गभक्त्या व्यक्ताक्षरैर्लिखितवान(न्) प(प्र)तिराजस(सं)ज्ञः
॥२९(३०)॥ संवत् ६६६ [1*]

^१ This *yasya* is engraved above the line.

^२ This *śāh* is a correction from *śām*.

^३ These four letters and the *danḍa* as well as the letter *dha* at the end of the foregoing line appear in the margin. Apparently they were first omitted by the engraver through oversight, who later discovered the omission and made it good.

^४ Or perhaps the original has correctly *paṇ*, the upward stroke of the medial *u* merging into the left hand downward stroke of *s*.

^५ This is obviously meant to be *śāwam*, being the incorrect form often met with in inscriptions.

- 20 अभीषेकमाकौपमवानिवीरः ॥१७॥ पूर्वैरितान्धान्यधराधरास्तान्पश्चात्तशोता(शंसा)नपि शर्कराव्रीन् । पु-
 21 डादिल्लंशदिकपर्वतांश्च ददौ द्विजाविभ्य इहागतेभ्यः ॥१८॥ ततो गिरीणामभवत्त्व(स्व)संभ्यता
 चित्रं हि तेषां(वा)-
 22 मभवज्जनुः पुनः । आनीय धान्यादि सुकार्यकृज्जनः कृतं कृतार्थैरिह सेवया प्रभोः ॥१९॥
 नेताकुशं जन्म
 23 नवाप्यसंभ्यता¹ ईदृगिरीणामभवज्जनुः पुनः । एते स्थिता एव तु यावकावलेगुह्रजे मित्र
 न चित्रमत्र
 24 तत् ॥२०॥ अत्रोत्सवे सव्युत्तवापिकाः पुनः(न)र्मुहुः कृता[*] कार्यकरंमहाजनः [1*]
 मुहुर्मुहुस्ता रिरिचुनं चित्रता
 25 पानीयवाप्यो रिरिचुस्तद्वृत्तं ॥२१॥ अस्य भीमेशिलोकोक्तिविष्णुपाराशर्युतो ह्यय(यं) ।
 इन्द्रप्रचेतोषनवभीशानांशाधिकत्ववान् ॥२२॥
 26 ततो व(व)हृतरं जव्यं द्रव्यं दत्तं पुरोधसे । ऋत्वि[ग्भ्यो] ब्र[ह्म]ह्मणेभ्यश्च प्रभुणा सावरं
 मुदा ॥२३॥ प्रभो राजसमुद्रस्य रिंगत्(सु)गतर(र)गकः । तट-
 27 स्थद्विजदारिद्र्य[द्व]मा बूरीकृता ध्रुवं ॥२४॥ मन्ये राजसमुद्रस्य लोलेः [सलिल-*]संघर्षैः [1]
 यावकावेर्द्विराख्यपंकप्रक्षालनं प्ल(कु)तं ॥२५॥ वसत्या-
 28 जसमुद्रस्य तटे सहावंतीपुरि । द्वावदारिद्र्यसुबान्नो मे भीदः स्याः भीपते नृप ॥२६॥
 तटे राजसमुद्रस्य वसन् भीश नृप भियं । द्वावद-
 29 रिद्रसुबान्नो(न्ने) मे देहि ना(वा)क्(क्तं)दुलापंणात् ॥२७॥ सप्तसागरदानेन तत्संस्तपुषधार्जितं ।
 द्विजानां दीर्घदारिद्र्य प्रभो बूरीकृतं त्वया ॥२७(२८)॥ सम(प्त)सा-
 30 गरदानस्य सुवर्णो घप्रवाहतः । बूरीकृतस्त्वया राजन्निजदारिद्र्यसद्भुमः ॥२८(२९)॥ वत्सहंस-
 तुलास्वर्णः सुवर्णगिरिसंनिभान् । कुर्वन्स-
 31 तां गह्वस्त्व(गुह्वस्त्व) तद्(द्वा)रिद्र(द्रघ)वमनो ध्रुवं ॥२९(३०)॥ तुलामुवर्णदानेन राजसिंह
 प्रभो त्वया । दु(द्व)रीकृतं(ता) द्वाग्विदुषाम्तुला साधमर्णता ॥३०(३१)॥ खं शो-²
 32 ते राजसमुद्ररूपमपरं रूपं दधानोव(वु)धिः ॥३०(३२)॥ मध्ये प्रो[त्सो]लक[त्सो]लः(साः)
 फेनाः स्क(स्फ)टिककूटभाः । सारसाः सरसास्तोरे भांत्यस्य
 33 नवका वकाः ॥३१(३३)॥ मुक्ता(वत्सा) स्वीयं कृजं(गुहं) वं वम(स)ति किल तटे यस्य
 सहा(द्वा)रकांतां कृत्वा रम्यां पुरीं द्वाग्यवनभयमयः केशवो द्वारकेशः ।

¹ Sandhi is not observed here.² After this fifty-six syllables are wanting, which shows that one complete line of the inscription is missing.

- 34 गोमत्युत्तुंगसंगः ॐ ॐ ॐ^१ ?] विगडसछ(छ)लवक्रोछ(छ)पपः श्रीराणाराजसिंह प्रभुवर भवतः
श्रीतडागस(स्त)मुद्रः ॥३३(३४)॥ वि(वि)भाणः सेतुव(व)-
- 35 धं गिरिवरवधिरः पूरितो जीवनौर्धनानद्यात्र(स)संग(गः) शिवसदनयुतः पोतपंक्या(क्या) प्रसक्तः
नैतावल्पास्त(स्यात्स)मुद्रस्तदधि-
- 36 क [ह]ति ते भूपते श्रीतडागो मर्यादां बाडवारिं कलयति न च वा क्षारनार(नीरं)
कडाधित् ॥३३(३५)॥ प्रियतमम[धु]राया मंडलाच्छंड-
- 37 कालयवनकलितभीत्यागत्यगोवर्द्धनेशः । वसति तव तडागस्यावि(ति)के त्वन्मुदे तज्जलधि-
मपरमेनं राजसिंहेति जाने ॥३४(३६)॥
- 38 अमावास्यां विना तं(नं)व त्वु(स्प)श्यः सिंधुः सगर्जनः । तडागस्ते तवधिकः सदा
स्प(स्प)श्यो विगर्जनः ॥३५(३७)॥ समुद्रयातुः स्वीकारो न कलौ
- 39 यातुरत्र तु । त्वया कृत्ये(ते) यत्स्वीकारो वीरायं सिंधुतोधिकः ॥३६॥*] श्रीराणो-
वयसिंहसूनुभक्त^२ श्रीमान्प्रतापः सुतस्तस्य श्री-
- 40 ^२अमेरश्वरोस्य ^३ततनं(न)यः श्रीकं(श्रीक)र्णसिंहोस्य वा । पुत्रो राणजगत्पतिश्च(इव) तनय्ये(यो)-
स्माद्राजसिंहोस्य वा पुत्रः श्रीजयसिंह एव क-
- 41 तता(वा)न्वीरः शिलालेखितं ॥३६(३६)॥ पूर्णं सप्तदशे शते तपसि वा सत्पूर्णमाल्ये दिने
द्वात्रिंशन्मितवत्सरे नरपतेः श्रीराज-
- 42 सिंहप्रभोः । काव्यं राजसमुद्रमिष्टजलधेः सूष्टप्रतिष्ठा(ष्ठा)विधेः स्तोत्राक्तं रणद्योडभट्टरचितं
राजप्रशस्त्याह्वयं [॥४०॥] इति सर्गः(ः) १८॥

Slab XX ; Canto XIX

[Metres : vv. 1, 12 *Sragdharā* ; vv. 2, 3 *Vasantatilakā* ; vv. 4, 42, 43 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 5, 38-41 *Upajāti* ; vv. 6-11, 14-20, 22-23 *Anuṣṭubh* ; v. 13 *Pramāṇikā* ; vv. 21, 34-36 *Rathōddhatā* v. 37 *Śikharinī*.]

१६^४

- 1 ॥ ॐ श्रीगणेशाय नमः [॥*] लक्ष्मीसत्कांतिचंद्रामृतशुभविषसत्कामधुक्शार्ङ्ग(ङ्गं)धन्वप्राकट्यो-
(टपः)^५पारिजातामरयुवतिमणीस-

^१ These three syllables are missing.

^२ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

^३ This *ta* is redundant.

^४ This figure 19 appears on the top.

^५ This sign of *avagraha* is unnecessary and is to be omitted.

- 2 त्वुराद्योदयद्वय [1*] न(शं)बाछो(च्छो)रुर्भःभक्षोयुक्त्रिभक्षणजमहाभंगभ(सं)भूतिरद्वि घन्व(न्व)तयुं-
(युं)द्वयो बांभुभिरिति भवतः क्षीरसिंधु(धु)-
- 3 स्तङ्गागः ॥१॥ कु(कुं)भोद्वयप्रकरकुण्डजलो विशुष्को जातस्ततो लवणनीरमयः समुद्रः कुंभोद्वय-
प्रकरकुण्डजलोतिवृष्टा(द्धो)
- 4 मिष्टस्तव भित्तिप राजसमुद्र एषः ॥२॥ श्रीद्वारकोद्वयकृते परिमुक्तभूमिन्पु(न्युं)नः क्वचि-
तदुवधिः किल कु(ण)या(वा)क्यात् [1*] यत्सी-
- 5 रभिन्नधरणीपुरवासिकुण्डो नूनं सुपूर्ण इति तेऽविषवरस्तङ्गागः ॥३॥¹ खाते वष्टि(ष्टि)-
सहस्रभूपतनयाः पूतो सहस्रारयं(श्राप्य)-
- 6 युमा(री)गाद्या लवणीकृतावपि परोऽन्यः सेतुब(व)धेवु(धेः) ॥३॥¹ खाते पूसिंधु मिष्टसुष्टिधु
भवान्यत्सेतुबंधेस्य तत्सिंधो-
- 7 रेककृतेर[वि]कृतसमयान्मन्यामहे घन्धतां ॥४॥ धत्पस्य साम्यं न वदाति कश्चित्समस्य साम्यं
न च दृष्टमस्य । ततो महत्वे(स्वे)-
- 8 न जलाशयोय(यं) प्रोक्त[*] समुद्रः कविभिर्न खिन्नं ॥५॥ जले निमग्ना ये ग्रामा
न ते मग्ना महीपते । ते लग्ना वरुणद्वारे मग्नास्त-
- 9 त्यापपंक्तयः ॥६॥ येषा(वां) विशिष्टग्रामाणां क्षेत्राण्यत्र जलाशये । मग्नानि तीर्थक्षेत्राणि
तानि जातानि भूपते ॥७॥ ये जन्मिनां
- 10 जीवनदाः स्थले ते जीवनप्रदाः । यावसां च नृणां ग्रामा गुणग्रामभूतोबुधाः ॥८॥
भूस्था वृक्षा जले मग्नास्तेषां बी(बी)जांकुर-
- 11 बुं(द्वुं)भाः । जलेभवन्वाति(टि)कातो वरुणस्य त्वया कृता ॥९॥ वो(वो)धिबु(द्वु)मो जलस्थायी
तपस्तपति दुःकरां(दुष्करं) । प्रवालमालय(या) शा-
- 12 कांगुला(ली)भिः सार्था(र्यं)काह(ह्व)यः ॥१०॥ वट[वृ]क्षाः स्थितास्तोये तप(पं)ति प्रचुरं तपः ।
भालयंति जटाजालं नूनम(मे)तेत्र
- 13 योगिनः ॥११॥ त्वत्का(त्की)त्तिस्वर्णदीभुष्टु[प]तिसहितप्राप्तकालिंदिकायुग्मीलक्षा(च्छा)यानुम(भा)ना-
त्स्तनपनकरगजोत्कुभ-
- 14 सि(सिं)हूरसंगात् । आजत्सारस्थतोयस्तदिति नरपते ते तङ्गागः प्रयागो न्यग्रोधा अक्षयाक्याः
प्रविबध्यति पव(वं) युक्तम-

¹ This numbering ought to have come after स्तङ्गागः in the previous line.

- 15 स्मिनि(त्रि)काम ॥१२॥ यथा स्थले तथा जले बुधा व[सन्ति] जंतवः । विचित्रमत्र
शास्त्रिनस्तथा जय(य)ति भूपते ॥१३॥*] वनस्थिता द्रुमाः सर्व(र्व) व-
- 16 नस्था एव तेऽभवन् । युक्तं विशेषो धर्मोऽत्र वरुणस्योपयोगतः ॥१३(१४)॥ पूर्वं यत्र
वने सिंहगर्जनानि जलाशये । जातेत्र जलकल्लो-
- 17 लगर्जनानि जयंत्यलं ॥१४(१५)॥ वरुणा[ल]यतस्तोयानयनात्स जितस्त्वया । प्रेक्षते तन्म-
(न्म)गाक्ष्यस्त्वां पचछ(च्छ)पकटाक्षकैः ॥१५(१६)॥ कम-
- 18 साध(क्ष)स्त्वयानीतस्तडागे वरुणालयात् । कमलाघ(क्ष) स्थापितोत्र कमलादानतत्पर ॥१६(१७)॥
प्रवक्षिणास्वागता या माला भूपाल तां(ता)-
- 19 स्त्वया । तडागे वरुणप्रीत्यं प्रेषिताः कव[णानिधे] ॥१७(१८)॥ वटानां जलमग्नानां जटा
राजंति तत्र ते [१] मीनाः गृहाणि कुर्व(र्व)ति नीडानि प-
- 20 तगा इव ॥१८(१९)॥ निर्मलो जीवरक्षाकृद्वि(द्वि)[जरक्षण]कृत्वया । नवसूत्राप(पं)णेनोद्ये(नायं)
तडागो द्विजलामितः ॥१९(२०)॥ पूर्वपश्चिममु[दक्षि]-
- 21 णोत्तरदेशभूमिषु न व(व)ष्टिगोचरः । [— ८ —] खलु जलायशो बृधेः सिंधु[रक्षत ?]
इति नात्राच(त्र) वि[त्र]ता ॥२०^१(२१)॥ श्रीराजनगरस्यास्य क ..
- 22 रङ्ग(ङ्ग)तभूतले । विराजते राजसिंहो गाडा(?)मंडलमातनोत् ॥२१(२२)॥ तत्र द्विजा[त]यो
नानावेशास्त्रा[त्ता*]: सुवेषिण[ः]*] वटू(टू)चत्वारि(रि)शदा-
- 23 स्थायुक्सहस्रमितयः स्थिता[ः]*] ॥२२(२३)॥ एताव(व)तो ग्रामनामसहिताः^२ अधिकाः पुनः ।
व्रा(व्रा)ह्मणास्त(स्तु)^२ अस(सं)ख्याता भ्रागता ना-
- 24 त्र त(सं)शयः ॥२३(२४)॥ ततो गरीव(व)दासारूप्यः पुरोहितवरो हितः । तत(त्र) स्थित्वा
स्वयं स्वाज्ञाकारिणः कार्यकारिणः ॥२४॥*] स्थापयित्वा
- 25 स्वहस्ताभ्या(भ्यां) तद्वस्तैर[प्य]हर्निश(शं) । सम्र(प्त)सागरदानस्य तुलादानस्य वा प्रभाः(भोः)
॥२४(२६)॥^३ धन(धनं) श्रीपट्टराश्यां(श्या)श्च तुला[व]यं तथा
- 26 बहु [१*] स्वकल्पित[स्व]र्णतुलादानस्य व(व)ट्ट हटकं ॥२७॥*] रणछोडरायक(क)तं
तुलात्रयं [त]वामितं । दत्त्वा(त्वा) पूर्वोक्त(क्त)[विप्रे*]भ्यः सदापूर्वमुदान्वितः ॥२५(२८)॥
विर्व(वे)कार-

^१ The number 20 between a pair of double *danḍa* appears above the line, while there is a single *danḍa* after *tā*, the last letter of the verse.

^२ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

^३ After this there are two dots and two *danḍas*, which are all superfluous.

- 27 रुपुर्वे(पूर्व) स तान्विद्या(न्यया)तुष्टमानसो(सान्) । अत(प्र)दान(नं) बहुविध(धं) कृतर्थास्तत्र
भूपति(भूपतिः) ॥२६(२६)॥ ततः सभाप(मं)दपस्थो राजसिंहो महीपतिः । द्व(द्वि)-
जेभ्या(भ्यो)
- 28 याचकेभ्यश्च वा(चा)रणे(भ्यो*) द्वि(द्वि)वानिशं [॥३०॥*] व(व)विभ्यः सर्वलोकेभ्यः[*]
सुवर्ण(र्णं) दिव्यवर्णकं । रूप्यसू(सु)द्रास्तथाऽमृता अलंकारा [ॐ — ॐ —]¹
॥२७(३१)॥ वासां-
- 29 सि हेमह(ह)द्यानि वाजिनो जितवाजिनः । उत्तुंगमातंगगणान्वत्वा(त्वा) संमोदमादधे ॥२८(३२)॥
हलानां बहुलानां च ताम्रपत्राणि भूपतिः । धा-
- 30 मार्णा विलसद्धान्यग्रामाणां दत्त(त्त)वस्तथा ॥२९(३३)॥ याचकैः कनकविक्रय(यं) परं
कर्त्तुं(त्तुं)मत्र कनकं प्रसारितं । वीक्ष्य राजनगरं महाजना-
- 31 स्तसुवर्णय(म)यमेवमु(मु)चिरे ॥३०(३४)॥ पा(या)चकस्तुरगविक्रयायताक्षपा(तान् स्था)[पिता]-
न्विपणिषु(षू)च्चवाजिनः । वीक्ष्य राजनगरं जनोव[द]त्सिंधुदे-
- 32 शमिति सि(सि)धुसुंदरं ॥३१(३५)॥ याभ(व)कंभ(भं)वत एव भूपते याचनाभि[ज]ग(गु)णोपि
[वि]स्मृतः स्थापित(पितं) तु धनरक्षणे मनस्तेषंतो विगु-
- 33 णताभि(स्ति) तेवुवतः(व्वतः) ॥३२(३६)॥ तुलाकत्तु(त्तुं)र्द्धं कितिप भवतः प्राप्य गणि-
नस्तुलाकत्ता(त्तां)रोत्पाधिकमितिहृते विक्रयविधौ । स्वविश्वासा-
- 34 र्धं त(ते) व(व)हुलकनकस्य(स्य) प्त(प्र)तिपलं तुलाकत्तुं — —² जयसि रचयन्त्याचकगुणान्
॥३३(३७)॥ पंडिते³ निमंत्रणायातधराधवेभ्यः स्वेभ्यः परेभ्यः
- 35 सकलद्वि(द्वि)जेभ्यः । वंश्यादिकेभ्योऽखिलमानुषेभ्यो वासांसि⁴ गांगेय⁵गुणोत्तमानि ॥३४(३८)॥
अश्वी(श्वां)स्तथा(था) वातगतीनाजेंद्रान्गिरिप्र-
- 36 माणान्मणिभूषणानि दत्त्वा(त्वा) विवेकाद्गमनाय तेभ्य आत्मां ददातो(नो) जयति कर्त्तौः
॥३५(३९)॥ युग्मं । निमंत्रितेभ्योखिलभूमि-
- 37 पेभ्यो कुर्गाधिपेभ्यो निजवं(वां)धवेभ्यः । स्वेभ्यः परेभ्यः कनकोत्तमानि वासांसि चादधान्युश-
(ध)दश्चव(वे)गान् ॥३६(४०)॥ तुगा(तुंगां)श्च मा-
- 38 तंगगणान्मवाहयान्विभूषणालीगंतवूषणाश्च । संप्रेषयित्वा प्रविभात(ति) भूपो महामहोदारचरित्र-
[आदः*] ॥३७(४१)॥ आसीद्भास्करतस्तु भाव-

¹ The intended reading may be *alamkāraṁs=tathā bahūn.*

² Two long syllables are missing here. The intended reading seems to be *tulā-karttīṁs=nam vai.*

³ This word *paṇḍitē* is superfluous and is to be omitted.

⁴ The sign of *avagraha* is unnecessary and is to be omitted.

⁵ The word *gāṅgēya* means 'gold' here.

- 39 वधुधोऽस्म(स्मा)श्रामचंद्रस्ततः सत्सर्वेश्वरकः कठोडिक(कु)लजो लक्ष्म्यादिनाचस्तुतः । तेलंगोस्य
तु रामचंद्र इति वा कृष्णोस्य वा माधवः पू(पु)त्रो-
- 40 भून्मधुसु(सु)वनस्त(स्त्र)य इमे व(व)होशबिष्णुपमाः [॥४२॥] यस्यास(सी)न्मधुसुवनस्तु जनको
बेणी च गोस्वामिजाऽभूमाता रणछोड ए[ष*] कृतवान् राजप्रस(श)स्त्या-
- 41 ह्यं । काव्यं राणगुणीययर्णनमयं वीरांकयुक्तं(क्तं) महत्(त्) द्वावि(वि)शो¹भबद्वयं सगं उदितो
वागर्थसंगंस्कृतः । [१४३॥*]² चतुर्विं(विं)शत्याख्य इहाभवद्भूवमुदे सगोर्ष-
- 42 सगोर्षतः ॥३८॥³ इति ईकानवीदतमसर्ग⁴ १६

Slab XXI ; Canto XX

[Metres : vv. 1, 6-9, 15, 20, 24, 27, 28, 34, 35, 38, 41, 55, *Upagiti* ; vv. 2, 10, 17, 25, 31, 43-46, 48, 52, 53 *Giti* ; vv. 3, 11, 14, 19, 21, 22, 26, 32, 36, 40, 47, 50, 51 *Udgiti* ; vv. 4, 5, 12, 13, 16, 18, 23, 29, 30, 33, 37, 39, 42, 49 *Āryā* ; v. 54 *Anuśtubh*.]

- 1 ॥ उं(अं)सिध(द्धं) [॥*] श्रीगणेशाय नमः(नमः) [॥*] जलव(व)तसिंहनाम्ने राज्ञे राठोड-
नाथाय । सार्द्धंनवसत्सहस्रप्रमितरजतमुद्रिकामूल्य(ल्यं) ॥१॥ परमेश्वरप्रसाद⁵भिष-
- 2 गजं पंचविंशतिप्रमितैः । राजतमुद्राशतकैर्गृहीतमतिनत्त(त्तं)नं तुरंगवर(रं) ॥२॥ कस्तेतुरंगस(सं)ज्ञं
षट्(ट्)[शत]मितरजतमुद्राभिः [॥*] कीतं च कनककलशं-
- 3 ह्यमपरं हेमपूर्णवसनानि ॥३॥ नानाविधानि व(व)हुतरसंख्यानि महादरेण जोषपुरे ।
राणेशः प्र(प्रे)षितवान् हस्ते रणछोडभट्टस्य ॥४॥ अथ राम-
- 4 सिंहनाम्ने राज्ञे किल कछ(च्छ)वाहभूपाय । राजतमुद्रासार्द्धंविंशत(शत)प्रायुतरचितमूल्यं ॥५॥
सुंदरगजानमान(नं) गजोत्तमं ।⁶ रजतमुद्राणां । पंचदशश-
- 5 तैः कल्पितमूल्यं छविसुंदराख्यहयं ॥६॥ अथ सार्द्धंसप्तशतमितराजतमुद्राप्रमितमूल्यं । हयहृ-
नामतुरंगं कनककलितव(व)हुतवसना-
- 6 नि ॥७॥ अंबेरिनगरमध्ये प्रेषितवान् राजपूण्डुः । हस्ते प्रशस्तकीर्तिः स्वपुरोहितरामचंद्रस्य
॥८॥ वी(बी)कानेरिप्रभवे⁷ अनूपसिंहाय रावाय [॥*]

¹ Instead of *dvāviṃśa*, we require here *ekāviṃśa*. Apparently this line of the verse was intended for the 22nd canto and has been wrongly copied here by the engraver.

² This line of verse is redundant. It is meant for the 24th canto.

³ This numbering should be omitted.

⁴ Read *ekāviṃśati sargah*.

⁵ The metre is defective here. Read परमेश्वरप्रसादं नाम गजं etc.

⁶ This *danda* is superfluous.

⁷ The absence of *sandhi* is in favour of the metre.

- 7 साढ्सुप्तसहस्रकराजतमुद्राप्रमितमूल्यं ॥६॥ मन्मूत्ति(त्ति)नामकरिणं साढ्सहस्राष्ट्र(च्छ)रजत-
मुद्राभिः । कृतमूल्यं तुरं(र)गधरं
- 8 साहसिगारस्त(सं)ज्ञमन्यह्यं ॥१०॥ से(स)त्साढ्सप्तशतमितराजतमुद्राचितमूल्यं । तेजनिधाना-
भिष्ट(घ)मपि हेममयान्यंब(ब)राणि
- 9 बहुलानि ॥११॥ प्रेमादरपूवं किल धी(धी)कानेरिस्फुटाभिधे नगरे । प्रेषितक(वा)न् राणेंद्रो
साधवजोसी [सु*?]हस्ते हि ॥१२॥ रावाय भावति-
- 10 हाभिधाय हाडानुपालाय ॥१३॥¹ षड(ट)सप्रत(प्त)युक्त्रिशतः(प्रैः) दशसहस्रेस्तु । राजत-
मुद्राणां कृतमूल्यं द्विरद(दं) तु होणहारास्य(ह्यं) ॥१४॥ सा-²
- 11 ङ्सहस्त(स्त्र)प्रतिक³राजतमुद्राचित(त)मू(मू)ल्यं । तुरगं नत्तंनव(च)तुरं तुंगतर(रं) सर्वशोभास्यं
॥१५॥ सत्साढ्स(ढं)सप्र(प्त)शतमितराजन(त)मुद्राप्रमि(मि)तमूल्य(ल्यं)⁴ ।
- 12 सिरताजाभिधमपरं ह्य(यं) सहेमा(सां)व(ब)राणि राणमणिः । बूंदीनगरे भास्करभट्ट(ट्ट)कर(रे)
प्रेषयामास्म(स) ॥१६॥ चंद्रावतव(चं)द्राय मुद्रुकमसि(सिं)हाभि-
- 13 धाय रावाय । साढ्सद्विशताग्रलसत्सप्तसहस्र(स्त्रा)ष्ट्र(च्छ)सू(रू)प्यमुद्राभिः ॥१७॥ कृतमूल्यं
गजराजं फलेदोलतिशूभाभिधं तुरगं [1*] साढ्स(ढं)सह-
- 14 खप(प्र)मित⁵राज[त*]मुद्राचितमूल्यं ॥१८॥ मोह[न*]सप्त(संज्ञं) साढ्सप्तशतं रूप्यमुद्राणां [1*]
कृतमूल्य(ल्यं) ह्यसरसं ह्यमन्य(न्यं) हेमपूर्णवसनैध(नौधं) ॥१९॥ राजा-
- 15 जया गृहीत्वा भट्टोगाद्वारकानाथः । रामपुरानगरे त्वय सर्व(वं)मिद(वं) ता⁶ सोपयामास ॥२०॥
भाटीभूपालाय⁵ रावलवर⁷भ्रमरसिंहाय । राज-
- 16 गु(त)मुद्रैकादशसहस्रमूल्यं प्रतापशृ(शुं)गारं ॥२१॥ करिणं राजतमुद्रासाढ्सहस्रप्रमितमूल्यं ।
ह्यमुकुटाख्य(ह्यं) स(सा)ढ्स⁸सप्तशतप्रमि-
- 17 तरूप्यमुद्रया(द्रा)भिः ॥२२॥ कृतमूल्यमपरमद्वं सुरतिभूति(त्तिं)च हेमवसनोधां(नौधं) । एतत्सर्व(वं)
जोसीदेवानंबस्य किल हस्ते ॥२३॥ दत्त्वा(त्त्वा) जेसलमेरी
- 18 महापुरे प्रेमपूर्वमपि । संप्रेषितवानेतं स राणवीरो नृपतिधीरः ॥२४॥ जसवंतसि(त्तिं)हनाम्ने
रावलवर्याय षट(ट)सहस्रेस्तु । पंचशताग्रं राज-

¹ The first half of this verse is missing.

² The second quarter of this stanza is too short by four syllabic instants. To set the metre aright we may read =शताग्रंर्विलसद्दशसहस्रेस्तु ।

³ Instead of प्रतिक read प्रमितक.

⁴ This half verse is in excess here. Compare above verse 15 and n. 1.

⁵ The metre requires this syllable to be long.

⁶ This ङ is unnecessary and hence must be omitted.

⁷ The absence of sandhi is in favour of the metre.

- 19 तमुद्राणां रचितमूल्यमिभं(भ)हेम ॥२५॥ शुभसारधारसंज्ञं [दि]वेविहरिजीकहस्ते तु । इ(ई)गरपुरे
नरपतिः प्रेषितव(वा)न्हेमयुक्तवसती(ना)नि ॥२६॥*
- 20 प्रथमं राजसमुद्रोत्सर्गोत्सं रजतमुद्राणां । तत्र सहस्रेण कृतमूल्यं जसतुरगनामहयं ॥२६(२७)॥
पञ्चशतह(रु)प्यमुद्राक(कु)तमूल्य(ल्यं)
- 21 तुरगमपरं च । कनकमयाव(ब)रवृ(वं) म(स) दत्तवाज्याजसिंहनृपः ॥२७(२८)॥ राजत-
मुद्रंकावशसहस्रमूल्यं प्रतापशृंगां(गा)रं । द्विपमंव(ब)राणि
- 22 च वदौ दोसीभोषूप्रधानाय ॥२८(२९)॥ सिरनागं कृतमूल्यं सप्तसहस्रं(लं)स्तु स(रु)प्यमुद्राणां ।
द्विपमंव(ब)राणि स वदौ राण(वत)रां(रा)मसिंहा-
- 23 य ॥२९(३०)॥ राजसमुद्रजलाशयकार्यकृतामप्रगण्याय । राजतमुद्राणां वा कृतमूल्याम्वं(विं)-
शतिं(ति)सहस्रं(लं): ॥३१॥* एकाधिकपञ्चाश-
- 24 द्युतपञ्चशताग्रकैस्तुरगान(न्) । सुखदेकप(ष)ष्टिसंख्यान् कुर^२ राजन्यराज्ये स वदौ ॥३०(३२)॥*
कुलकं । ए[का]ग्रसप्तं(प्त)तिलसत्पञ्चशता-
- 25 श्रे(प्रं)स्तु सप्तविंशतिकैः । दिव्यसहस्रं राजतमुद्राणां रचितसन्मूल्यान् ॥३१(३३)॥ षडधिक-
शतद्वयमितांस्तुरंगमांश्चारणेभ्य इह ।
- 26 दानप्रवाहमध्ये भाटेभ्यो भूपतिः प्रवदौ ॥३४॥* सप्तसहस्रं(लं)वि(विं)रचित[मू]ल्यं [वा*]
रजतमुद्राणां । द्विरवनमनूपरूपं द्विरववरं साद्वनव-
- 27 शतकैः[*] ॥३२(३५)॥ राजतमुद्राणां व(वा) कृतमूल्यं विनयसुंदरक(कं) । हयमत्पं(न्यं)
दिलसारं राजतमुद्राचतुःशतगृहीतं ॥३३(३६)॥ कव(न)कमयाव(ब)-
- 28 र[वृ]वं सुखव(व्य)राज्याय वा(वां)वधेशाय । नृपभावसिंहनाम्ने रा[ज्ञे] संप्रेषयामास ॥३३(३७)॥ -
लाघुमसानि(सोनी)हस्ते लाघुकं तीर्थयात्रार्थं । दत्त्वा(त्वा)
- 29 व(ब)ह्वलं द्रव्यं प्रेषितवान् प्रेमकुङ्कुपः ॥३४(३८)॥ राजतमू(मु)द्राणां वा त्रिशताग्रचतुः-
सहस्रकृतमूल्यान् । स वदेष्टावश उ(तु)रगाभिर्मंत्रणा-
- 30 घातनपतिभ्यः ॥३५(३९)॥ त्रिसहस्ररजतमू(मु)द्रामू(मु)ल्या(ल्यां) करिणी(णीं) सहस्रीति ।
तोडशरायसि(सिं)हनृपस्य मात्र(त्रे) वदौ कुमारैभ्य[*] ॥३६(४०)॥ सा[द्वं]चतु[*]-
- 31 शतयुक्तत्रिसहस्रमु(रु)प्यमुद्रिकामूल्यान् [*] तुरं(र)गास्त्रयोदश वदौ निम(मं)त्रणायतनपतिभ्यः
॥३७॥(४१)॥ एकाग्रषष्टि(ष्टि)संयुतपञ्चशतप्रमितक-

* The metre requires this syllable to be long.

* Instead of कुर perhaps we have to read : ठाकुर .

- 32 व्यमुद्र(द्रा)णां । सप्त ददौ भूपोदवान् निम(मं)वजाप्यातनूपतिभ्यः ॥३८(४२)॥ वदत्रि(त्रिं)-
शवधिकशतयुक्त्रिसहस्र(त्रं)¹ अयुतकूप्यमुद्राणां । द्विशततुष्ट्यान्स
- 33 ददौ शासनयुतचारणौघभाटेभ्यः ॥३९(४३)॥ तत्र विबेफ(वेक)स्त्रिसहितवि(विं)शतितुरं(रं)गाग्ध-
शासनिभ्योवात् [1] पूर्वोक्तसंख्यतुरगान्नाजगत्सिंहशास-
- 34 निभ्योपि ॥४०(४४)॥ श्रीकर्णसिंहशासनिकेभ्योदवानां चतुष्टय(यं) स ददौ । अमरेश-
शासनिभ्योः(भ्यः) तुरंगां(गा)न्प्रतापसिंहस्य सप्त ॥४१(४५)॥ शासनिकेभ्योऽष्टा-
- 35 दश हयानुवयसिंहशासनिभ्यस्तु । अष्टत्रिंशत्तुरगान्हयमेकं विक्रमार्कसाश(शास)निते(ने) ॥४२(४६)॥
युग्म(यं) । हि(ह)यमेकं तु रतनसीशासनिने राणवीरोवात् । शु-
- 36 भसप्तविंशतिहयान् संग्रामनूपस्य शासनिभ्योवात् ॥४३(४७)॥ श्रीरायमल्लशासनिकेभ्योदवानेकवि
(विं)शतिप्रमितान् । कुभाशासनिकायाश्चमेक-
- 37 मेकोनविंशतिप्रमितान् ॥४४(४८)॥ मोकलशासनिकेभ्यस्तुरगान्हमीरशासनिभ्योवात् । पञ्चहयान्सा-
(यांत्वा)वानूपशासनिकेभ्यो हयान्सप्त ॥४५(४९)॥
- 38 युग्मं । वेताञ्जेसीशासनिकाभ्यां(भ्यां) हयमेकमेकमवात् । रावसमुशालिबाहनमहासमरसीकशास-
निभ्यां तु ॥४६(५०)॥ हि(ह)यमेकमेकमेकं रावतवायस्य शास-
- 39 निन(ने) [1*] मोकलसहोदरस्य द्वि(द्वि)शतहयाने²न्भूय एवमत्र ददौ ॥४७(५१)॥ लक्षकट्टा-
विं(विं)शतिसहस्रशतयुग्मसाष्टषष्टिमितः । राजतमुद्रावृद्धेः की-
- 40 ताः शतपञ्चकं द्विपञ्चाशत् ॥४८(५२)॥ तुरगा लक्ष(क्षं)कट्टि³सहस्र(स्र)शतकाष्टकैरिति कीताः ।
करिणीगजास्त्रयोदश दत्ता(त्ता) वीरे(रे)द्राज्ज(ज)सिं-
- 41 हेन ॥४९(५३)॥ पंडितेभ्यः[*] कविभ्यश्च वंदिचारणपंक्तये । अश्वान्धनानि वासा(सां)सि
ददौ⁴ ॥५०(५४) जलाशयोत्सर्गविधानमेवं कृत्वा महाबानस-
- 42 जेतमेव । तथैव नानाविधबानराजो विराजते राजितराजवीरः ॥५१(५५)॥ इति श्रीराजसमुद्ररी
प्रशस्त लीवत रंजभोऽभट सगं २०

Slab XXII ; Canto XXI

[Metres : vv. 1, 40, 42-45 ; *Sārdūlavikriḍita* ; v. 2 *Sragdharā* ; vv. 3-21, 23-25, 28-36 *Anuṣṭubh* ;
v. 22 *Sālinī* ; v. 26 *Gītī* ; v. 27 *Āryā* ; vv. 37, 38 *Sikharinī* ; vv. 39, 41 *Vasantatilakā*.]

- 1 ॥३८ सिध(द्धं) [1*] श्रीगणेशाय नमः(नमः) [1*] पु(पू)र्णे सप्तदशे शते मु(शु)भकरे
त्वष्टावशाख्येददके माये स[द्]धकृष्णसप्तमतिथो(थो) बारभ्यकाला[वितः ।]

¹ The absence of *sandhi* is in favour of the metre.

² This *ne* is scored out. Read हयान्भूय.

³ The metre requires this syllable to be long.

⁴ This line of verse is too short by six syllables. Perhaps we have to read राजसिंहो नृपो ददौ.

- 2 पंचत्रि(त्रिंशदभिषयवर्षे उदिताषाढावधीत्यं ववे लग्नं राजसमुद्रनामकमहानद्यं तडाग(गे) धनं ॥१॥ षट्चत्वारि(रिंशदास्या[न्य]-
- 3 य रजतमहामुद्रिकानां(णां) शुभानां लक्षणीत्यं सहस्राण्यपि हविरचतुःषष्टिसंख्यामितानि । षट्संख्यायुक्शतानि प्रको(क)टित-
- 4 षट्युक्षपंचविंशत्युपात्तस्यप्राण्येवं विलग्नान्युत गणनमिदं¹ त्वेकपक्षे सयोक्तं ॥२॥ विवेकमत्र² यक्ष्यामि स्य(रूप्य)मुद्राष(व)ले[रिह] ।
- 5 सप्तविंशतिल[क्षा]णि षत्रि(दित्र)शतप्रमितानि च ॥३॥ सहस्राणि चतुःसंख्यशतानि नवतिः(ति)स्तथा । सार्द्धसप्ताग्रकाव्यष्ट(ष्यत्र) राम-
- 6 सिंहस्य वै तफे³ ॥४॥ प(प)चलक्षचतुःसंख्यसहस्राष्टशतानि च । सपादाशीतिकाभाङ्ग(न्याहुः) पितृव्यस्य तफे तथ(था) ॥५॥ प्र(पु)त्रमोहम(न)सिहो(हा)व्यरा-
- 7 सोद्यासंगशोभिनः । लक्षद्वयं सहस्राणि द्वादशैव शतानि च ॥६॥ पञ्चाष्टत्रिंशदधिकपद(ई)वा गणनाभवत् । एषा सांवलदासस्य पं-
- 8 चोलीकुलशालिनः , ॥७॥ चतुर्लक्षाण्यष्टयुक्तसप्ततिप्त(प्र)मितानि च । सहस्र(क्षा)प्येकशतकं सप्ताग्रं भरणे मुदां ॥८॥ च-
- 9 तुष्कीनिःसृतानां तु लेपने गणनाभवत् ॥९॥ द्वात्रिंशत्सहस्राणि षट् शतानि सपादकं ॥१०॥ एकमत्रान्यदायातं द्रव्य(प्यं) वा प्र-
- 10 भुपाद्वर्धतः । तथा प्रसाददानादि तल्लेखे गणनात्विद्यं ॥१०॥ सप्त लक्षाणि संक्रानि प्रतिष्ठाकरणे मितिः । एतद्राजसमुद्रस्य पु(पू)वं-
- 11 संख्याप्रमेयं ॥११॥ पु(पू)र्वोक्तद्रव्यगणनाविवेकः क्रियते पुनः । द्वात्रिंशत्संख्यलक्षानि सहस्रद्वितयं तथा ॥१२॥ गण[ना]-

¹ The total sum spent on the actual construction of the lake amounted to Rs. 46,64,025½.

² The details of the expenditure are specified as follows :

Rs. 27,36,497½ in Rāmasiṃha's account (also mentioned in verse 28-29, canto XX).

Rs. 5,04,880½ in pitṛivya's or uncle's account.

Rs. 2,12,538½ in Mōhanasiṃha's account.

Rs. 4,78,107 in carrying the earth thrown out of the quadrangular ditch in Pañchōli Syāmaladāsa's account.

Rs. 32,001½ in plastering.

Rs. 7,00,001 in the inauguration ceremony.

Rs. 46,64,025½

³ The meaning of the word *taphe* is not clear. It seems to be the Sanskritised form of the similar Arabic word *taraf* which is used in the sense of side, direction, etc., and is also spelt as *tarf*. We are told in verse 21, canto IX that Rājasimha, finding the work of construction unmanageable by a single hand, divided it among his officials. The expenditure on items in charge of Rāmasimha, (the ruler's ?) uncle, and Mōhanasimha and Syāmaladāsa seems to have been given in verses 4-9. The word has been used side by side with other items of expenditure. The word *taphe* may therefore be translated as 'in the account of', or 'on items in charge of'.

- 12 षटशतान्यो(न्या)सीत्सपादाशीतिरप्युत । ऐ(ए)षा राजसमुद्रस्य काया(र्षा)र्षं च भूतेः कृते
॥१९॥ सप्त लक्षान्येकवष्टि(ष्टि)सहस्राणि म(च) स-
- 13 प्त वै । चतुश्चत्वारिंशद्वयुक्तानि शतकानि च ॥१४॥ श्रीमद्राजसमुद्रस्य कार्ये ये ठक्कुराः
स्थिताः [१*] तेषां ग्रामोत्पत्तिरूप्यम्-
- 14 द्वाणां गणनाभवत् ॥१५॥ ऐ(ए)वं पूर्वोक्तसंख्याया मेलनं भवति स्फुटं । एकपक्ष
लग्नरूप्यमुद्रासंख्ये(स्ये)यमीरिता ॥१६॥
- 15 वेवाग्रामभुजां मुख्यक्षत्रादीनामहो धनं । चतुष्कीलनने लग्नं धर्म(रतुं) शक्तम्(श्च)तुमुक्तः
॥१७॥ गृहाश्चतुर्गुणं लग्नं तद्भागे वा[स]-
- 16 तो धना(नं) । तद्विप(प्र)क्षत्रियादो(दी)नां श(शे)वोऽश्वं त(व)दिष्यति ॥१८॥ गोभूहिरण्यरूप्याणां
वत्तानामभवाससां । वराहमिहिरश्च(श्च)स्याद्गण[की]
- 17 गणना भवेत् ॥१९॥ इवात्तानां गणनां कुर्याच्छदवासा^१नां सदा तदा । इवसनाऽऽवेगजयिनां
गणनाऽऽवेगवृणी ॥२०॥ म[त्ता]-
- 18 ना(नां) राजवत्तानां कु(तुं)गानां गणनामुक्ता । मत्तगानां गणेशश्चेद्गणना जो(जा)यते
तदा ॥२१॥ एका कोटिः पञ्च लक्षाणि [रूप्य]मुद्रा-
- 19 णां वा सत्सहस्राणि सप्त । लग्नान्यस्मिन्वद् शतान्यष्टकं वै कार्ये प्रोक्त(क्त) पक्ष
एतद्वि(द्वि)तीये^२ ॥२२॥ सहस्रलक्षको[टी]-
- 20 नां संख्या ज्ञाता [तु] या व(व)हुः । तैरत्र लग्नद्वयस्य संख्योक्ता मंतु^३रस्तु मा ॥२३॥
लग्नं राजसमुद्रे तु य(या)वत्तावद्वरनं(ज्जनो)वृधे-
- 21 : । तरंगगणनां कुर्याच्छस्यैव त^४ वाव(व)रेत् ॥२४॥ स्पष्टां लक्ष्मणा सरस्तस्य(स्थत्या)
लग्ना [म*]क्षी तु यावती । न वक्ति तावती(ती) यु-
- 22 क्तं तद्भागेत्र सरस्वती ॥२५॥ सप्त(प्त)व[शश*]तेतीत(ते)प(स्थ) चतुर्स्त्रिंशन्मिताष्ट(ष्ट)नन्मदिने ।
द्विशतपलमिताच्छहटक^५कल्पद्रुमनाम-
- 23 कं महादी(दी)नं ॥२६(२६)॥ सबशीतिलोलमितपूतमुहिरण्याश्वाभिर्घं महावान(नं) । भीराज-
सिंहनी(ना)मा पृथ्वीनाथो रचितवा-

^१ This *śā* is redundant; read *asvānām*.

^२ This presents another view according to which the total expenditure on the construction of the lake, its inauguration and rewards to masons, etc., amounted to Rs. 1,06,07,808.

^३ *Mantu* means 'fault.'

^४ This sign of punctuation is not necessary.

^५ Though the correct form of the word is *hāṣaka*, the author has contracted it into *kaṣaka* for the sake of the metre, relying upon the adage: *Api māśam māśam kuryāch=chhandō-bhāṣam na kārayati*.

- 24 स्तः[*] ॥२७॥ युगं । शते सप्तदशे पूर्णे चतुस्त्रिंशन्मितेऽब्दे । श्री(श्री)वणे राजसिंहो
जीलवाडावधि ब्र(ब)जन् ॥२८॥ बंरा(बंरि)सा-
- 25 लं सिरौहीस्थं शत्रुसंघं(घे)न पीडितं । राजं सिरौहीनृपतिं चक्रे निजपराक्रमैः ॥२९॥
एकलक्षप्रमितिका रूप्यमुद्रास्त-
- 26 तोपहीत् । पंच ग्रामांकोरटादीन्ज^१ग्राहोप्राह्वो नृपः ॥३०॥ राणा सुवर्णकलशचौर्यं तद्देशे
प्रागतं । तद्रूप्य-
- 27 मुद्राः प(पं)चाशत्सहस्राण्यग्रहीस्ततः ॥३१॥ शते सप्तदश(शे)तीते चतुस्त्रिंशन्मितेऽब्दे ।
श्रीराणोद्बोधत्संख्याः राजगृहे
- 28 गज^२ ॥३२॥ त्रिविक्रमाश्रयकृतो विक्रमाकस्य दामतः । वक्तुं कः सुक्रमान् शक्तो राजसिंह-
पराक्रमान् ॥३३॥ राज-
- 29 सिंह विवित्रोयं प्रतापतपनं(न)स्तथ । व[नासि]स्थानपि रि[पुस्ता]पयत्यङ्गुत(त) महत् ॥३४॥
राजन्भवप्रतापानिः शत्रुस्त्री(स्त्री)वा-
- 30 व्यसि(ते)चनैः । उवलस्यत्र न चित्रं तद्विदुःकीर्तिनव—^३मयः ॥३५॥ शत्रुस्त्रीनेत्रपद्मानि संतापयति
संततं । श्रीराजसि(सि)ह भवतः
- 31 प्रतापतपनोद्भूतं ॥३६॥ प्रतापो दीपस्ते किति[प] जगदालोककरणः शिखाभिः शत्रु-
(त्र)णा(णा) वदननिकुरंद(वं) मलिनयन्
- 32 । वशां दिव्यां स्नेहं कवलयति वा प्राणपटलीपतंगालीं वधं कलयति तनूपात्रवसतिः ॥३७॥
यशश्चंद्रे सांघ्रं किर-
- 33 ति करबुंदं रिपुगणः शिबो जातः कर्णस्फटिकविलसत्कुंडलधरः । विधुं भाले गंगां शिरसि
भुजयोः श(श)भुजगान्धधानो
- 34 भस्मांगो वसति धवले शे(शं)लशिलरे ॥३८॥ भूभा ◡ — ◡ भुजयोर्विबधाति पात्री
लङ्गोरगं मुखरघो प्रचुरं प्रतापां(पं) क-
- 35 जेंपि मनि(?) विमलां(ला) विबुशीतला यत् [कीसिस्तबी(बी)श भुवन(ने) तय(व) व(वं)-
भ्रमीति ॥३९॥ राजेंद्रो भवतावयं जयकरो ब(वं)रिजजा-
- 36 नां जवात्(व) गांभीर्यात्किल सिधुरेव हयसईत्पित(प्र)वस्तत्किल । वं(च)के सर्वविशेषजादि-
विलसद्दर्शयंतं नाम ते श्रीराणामणि-

^१ Sandhi has not been observed here.

^२ Three syllables are missing in the latter half of this verse and the sense is not clear.

^३ This long syllable is obliterated beyond recognition. Traces of the medial long f are visible.

- 37 राजसिंहनृपते वेभाः(धाः) सुमेधाधरः ॥४०॥ राष्ट्रप्रदो जलधिजाप्रद उत्तमेभ्यो भाव्य(स्वै)व
सिंहतुलनो हरिसेवतो यत् ।
- 38 आख्यां विज्ञेयगवादिमवर्णयुका(क्तां) व(च)के विधिस्तदुज्जितं तव राजवीर ॥४१॥ श्रीरा-
णोदयसिंहसूनुभव-
- 39 त्¹ । श्रीमं(म)त्प्रतापः सुतस्तस्य आ(श्री)¹अमरेद्वय²रोस्य तनयः [श्रीकर्णसिंहोस्य वा । पुत्रो
राणजगत्पतिश्च तनयोऽस्माद्राजसिंहोस्य वा पुत्रः [श्रीजय*]सिंह एव [कृतवा(वा)न्वीरः
शि[सालेखितं] ॥४२॥ पूर्णं सप्तदशे शते
- 40 तपसि वा सत्पूणिमाख्ये दिने द्वात्रिं(त्रि)शन्मितत(व)त्सरे नरपतेः श्रीराजसिंहप्रभोः [1*]
काव्यं राजसमुद्रमिष्टजलधेः सृष्ट(ष्टं) प्रतिष्ठावि-
- 41 धेः स्ता(स्तो)त्रावत(क्तं) रणछोडभट्टरचित(त्) राजप्रशस्त्याह्वयं ॥४३॥ आसीद्भास्करतस्तु
माधवबुधोऽस्माद्रामचंद्रस्ततः सत्सवे(वै)द्वरकः क-
- 42 ठोंडिकुलजा(जो) लक्ष्मणाविनायस्तु(स्त)तः । तेलंगोस्य तु रामच(चं)द्रा(द्र) इति वा
कृष्णोस्य वा माधवः पुत्रोभून्मधुसु(सु)दनस्त्रय इमे ब्रह्मेशविष्णु(ण्ण)प-
- 43 मा[ः*] ॥४४॥ ज(य)स्यासीन्मधुसूदनस्तु जनको वेणी च गोस्वामिजाऽभून्माता रणछोड
ए[व] कृतवाद्याजप्रशस्त्याह्वयं । काव्यं राजगुणौघ-
- 44 वर्णनमय(यं) वीरा(रां)क[युक्तं महत्*] सर्गोभूदधुर्न कविशतिशुभाभि(भि)ल्योर्ध्ववर्गोत्तमः
॥४५॥*

Slab XXIII ; Canto XXII

[Metres : vv. 1, 26, 30-46 *Anushtubh* ; vv. 27, 28 *Upagiti* ; v. 29 *Giti* ; vv. 47-50 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः(नमः) ॥ स(श)ते सप्तदशोत्तीते प(पं)चत्रिंशन्मितेद्वके । शुक्लकावशिकायां
तु चंसे(त्रे) प्रस्थानमातनोत् ॥१॥ श्रीराजसिंहस्याज्ञातो
- 2 जयसिंहो(हा)भिधो व(व)ली । मा(म)हाराजकुमारोयं अ(यम)जमेरी समागत[ः*] ॥२॥
श्रीरंगजेछं(वं) द्रष्टं(ष्टं) स दिल्लीं दिल्लीपतिं ययौ । पञ्चाजे(जय)कुमारोयं ययौ
- 3 सेनासमापु(पु)तः ॥३॥ दिल्लीतः कोशायुगम्बे³ अर्वाक्षिबिर उत्तमे । दिल्लीद्वरं ददर्शय
सोस्यावरमथाकरोत् ॥४॥ मुक्तामाला

¹ Sandhi has not been observed here.

² This *va* is redundant. Read *Amarēśvarō-sya*.

³ The absence of *sandhi* here is in favour of the metre.

- 4 उरोभूषा अस्मै हंभां(ब)राण्यदात् । महागजैर्दं भूषावत्तं ताव[क्]त्(त्)गदुरंगमान(म्) ॥४॥
आलाख्यचंद्रसेनाय पुरोहितवराय च । गरीबदा-
- 5 ससन्नाम्ने हंमवासांसि वा ह्यान् ॥६॥ महद्वृष्ट(ष्ट)कुरेभ्योवावने(न्ये)भ्योपि या(य)यो-
चितं । ततोयं जयसिंहाख्यो गणयुक्तेस्वरं शिवं ॥७॥ वृ-
- 6 ष्टा गंगातटे स्नात्वा महारूप्यमुलां ध्यात् । करिणीं च ह्यं बत्वा(स्वा) यातो बृंवावनं
प्रति ॥८॥ मयुरां च ततो वृष्टा ज्य(ये)ष्टे(ष्टे) राणपुरंदरं(रः) । वद-
- 7 शं वशीनीयोयं राणैर्दो मोवमावधे ॥९॥ शते सप्तवशोतीते कपे(बे) वदित्रशदाह्वये ।
पौ[ष]स्य कृष्णकावश्यां मेवाडे विल्लिकाप्रतिः ॥१०॥ आ-
- 8 पातस्तस्य पुत्रस्त(स्तु)¹ आदौ² अकबरामि(भ)धः । तथा तहवरः खानः प्राप्ता(प्तः) सेनासं-
भावं(समावृ)[तः*] ॥११॥ सुंदरे रा[ज]नगरे राजमंदिरमंहवः³ । तल्लोकः
- 9 कल्पितास्तत्र शक्रः(वतः) शक्तावतोत्तमः ॥१२॥ पुत्रः सबलसिंहस्य पूर वरस्य
सः । भ्रा[ता] मुहूर्तसिंहस्य घोरं रणमिहाकरोत् ॥१३॥
- 10 वीरश्चोवावतः कोपि तथा विसतिसंक्रुताः । कृत्वा युद्धं विवं याता भित्वा(स्वा)
भास्वा(स्क)[र*]मंडलं ॥१४॥ विधेः कलेर्व(बं)लावाज्ञां ददौ राणापुर(रं)दरः
- 11 । बहवा[रो]महाघट्ट[र]वन्यघट्टाच(च्च) वा(वा)हुजा[ः*] ॥१५॥ आयांतु कृतसंकल्पा अपि
या(यो)द्धुं महु[क्ति]तः । नलिको(का)[गो*]लकलो(स्तो)भाः सो(शू)रसंधा महोश-
- 12 ताः ॥१६॥ राणो[क्ति]तस्तथा जातं ततो विल्लीश आगतः । बहवारीमहाघट्टे क(कृ)त्वा
तद्वारपातन(नं) ॥१७॥ ऐ(ए)कविंशतितिर्य्यंतं स्थितोत्र
- 13 निशि चैकदा [।*] विध्योः(व्यो)दयपुरं पा(प्रा)प्तो मुक्त एवास्त्युपश्रुतिः ॥१८॥ तदा¹
अकबरः प्राप्तो महोदयपुरे ततः । तथा तहव(व)रः खं(खा)नस्त-
- 14 कृत्यं तद्वृष्ट[ः*] कृतं ॥१९॥ ऐ(ए)कलिगं वृष्टुमगाहंवावकव(व)रस्ततः । अंबेरीवीरवाघट्टी
वृष्टा शिविरमागतः ॥२०॥ आलाप्रतापः क-
- 15 कंटपुरवासी गजद्वयं । विल्लीशसे(सं)न्यादानीय राणो(णं)ब्राय न्यव(वे)दयत् ॥२१॥ भदेसरस्था
बल्लाख्या हयोधान्हस्तिनां गजो(वज्रं?) । न्यं(न्य)-
- 16 वेदयग्र(म्)वृष्टू(वृ)दे(वे)नैवारास्थितप्रभोः ॥२२॥ पंचाशत्कसहस्राणि नृणा(णां) नष्टानि तद्विधः ।
विल्लीस्व(व)रस्ततः प्र(प्रा)प्तचित्रकूटेन्यथा

¹ The absence of sandhi here is in favour of the metre.

² Sandhi is not observed here.

³ The meaning of *anhu* is 'sin' or 'crime'.

that *Anivārīta* was a surname of Chālukya Vikramāditya I¹ who ruled from 655 to 680 A.C. It is, therefore, not unlikely that the *sattra* was named after his surname either in commemoration of his having founded it himself or was named after him by some other founder in token of his respect to him as his suzerain.² That Vikramāditya I was a great conqueror is attested by his records in which he claims victory 'in country after country and in all directions'.³ That in the south he went as far as the Kāvērī region is proved by his Gadval Plates.⁴ As for the extent of his possessions in the north, we have as yet no direct evidence. Nevertheless, it can be supposed that in these northern regions he inherited the Three Mahārāshtrakas first acquired by his father, Pulakēśin II, since we have it stated in Vikramāditya's inscriptions that he not only regained possession of his father's kingdom which had been lost to enemies but also acquired the fortune and sovereignty of his ancestors.⁵ Further it is well known that the Western Chālukyas were recognised as overlords by the kings of the Harīschandra family ruling in the Nasik District. One Svāmichandra of this family is explicitly stated as the feudatory (*pāda-prasād-ōpajīvi*) of Chālukya Vikramāditya I.⁶ Rāshtrakūṭa Nannarāja of our grant, though not actually a contemporary of Vikramāditya I, evidently came under Chālukya hegemony at the time of recording the grant under study, i.e., in Śaka 615(-693 A.C.), when his suzerain must have been Vinayāditya, son of Vikramāditya I. It is also interesting to note that it was this Vinayāditya who conducted a successful expedition in the north in which he was ably assisted by his son, prince Vijayāditya.⁷

None of the kings mentioned in our record barring Gōvindarāja is known to us from any other source except the two other grants of Nannarāja referred to above. However, in respect of Svāmīkarāja, attention may be drawn to another person of the same name who figures as *viñāpti* in a 7th century record of Kāpālīvarman of the Bhōja family⁸ who ruled the area around Goa in the west coast. Except the similarity of name and the proximity in point of date between the two persons there is nothing else to connect the two, much less to treat them as identical.

The area of rule of the family of Nannarāja lay as determined by the provenance of their records and the places mentioned in them roughly in the districts of Akola, Amraoti, Betul and Nagpur of Madhya Pradesh, which all lay adjacent to one another. Ancient Vidarbha roughly corresponds to this area. The earliest record of the family, viz., the Nāgardhan Plates of Svāmīrāja, was issued from Nāndīvardhana, the same as Nāgardhan which lies three miles south of Ramtek in the Nagpur District. The family seems to have moved south-west to the region of Amraoti and Akola where they fixed a new capital at Padmanagara from which our inscription is issued. This place may be identified with modern Padmin⁹ lying within the postal jurisdiction of Akola.

¹ Above, Vol. X, p. 101 and n. 4.

² [The word *anivārīta* here is to be taken in its literal sense of 'unhindered'; it is not proper to connect it with the name or title of any person.—Ed.]

³ Ibid., p. 103, text lines 13 ff.

⁴ Ibid., p. 101.

⁵ Ibid., p. 103, text lines 13 ff.

⁶ Ibid., Vol. XXV, pp. 226, 227, 228.

⁷ *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. ii, pp. 368, 371.

⁸ Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 339.

⁹ I was at first inclined to identify Padmanagara with Paunī in the Bhandara District, a place which is also known as Padmapura, and where an early inscription of Bāra Bhagadatta was discovered (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 11). In that case Umbarikā, the gift-village, might be Umrer lying about 15 miles WNW of Paunī. But since there are two other villages of the name of Paunī, one in the Betul District and the other in the Nagpur District near Ramtek, one cannot be sure as to which of these three could be Padmanagara. See Mirashi, above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 7, n. 2.

This identification is supported by the location of Umbarikā, the village mentioned; for, this is Umbari near Akola. Even the findspot of the plates, viz., Sangalooda, lies nearby. The Tiwarkhēḍ Plates mention another capital of the family, viz., Achalapura, the same as modern Ellichpur in the Amraoti District, north-east of Akola.

Of the places mentioned in our charter Padmanagara and Umbarikā have been identified in the foregoing paragraph. Tagara from which the donee hailed might be modern Tēr in the Hyderabad State. Nāgayayi, situated east of Umbarikā, may be Naigaon, near Akola. I am unable to locate Vaṭapuraka, Vaivadraka and Uchchhī(or chhi)vāhala which are stated in the record to be in or near Umbarikā.

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 Svasti [*] Padmanagarād=Vi(rād[*]Vi)stīrṇna(rṇṇa)-stṭhiti-pālan-āpta-yasasiśrī-
- 2 Rāshṭrakūṭ-ānvayō ramyē kshīra-nidhāv-iv-ēndur-abhavach=chhri-Durggarā-
- 3 jō nripaḥ [*] lōk-āhlādana-hētubhiḥ pravitatāis=tējō-viśē-
- 4 sh-ōdayai[r]=yyēn-ōchchaiḥ padavin=vi(vīm vi)gāhya vidhivat=paksha-dva[yaṁ]
- 5 bhāsitaṁ(tam) || (1|*)² Tasya sūnur-āsi(sī)d-anēka-samara-sāhas-ā[vasṭam]-
- 6 bha-yaśā[h] śrī-Vō(Gō)vindarājas=tasy-āsīd-ātmavān=ātmaja ā-
- 7 tmany-āhita-śakti-siddhiḥ śrī-Svāmīkarājap [*]Putras=tasya ma-

Second Plate : First Side

- 8 hānubhāva-charitaḥ śrī-Nannarājap kṛiti(tī) kāntah=kāruṇikah=kala-
- 9 āka-rahitaḥ=kētuh=karālō dvishān=dhaurēyō rapa-sāhas-ā-
- 10 hita-dhiyām=agresarō māninām vaidagdh-ōddhata-chētasām-adhi-
- 11 patih=kalpa-dra(dru)mō yō=rtthinām(nām)² ||(2|*)Yaś=cha samāśra(samāśra)ya-viśēsha-lō-
- 12 bhād=iva sakalair=ābhigāmikair=itaraiś=cha guṇair=upētaḥ
- 13 Paramabrahmanyah Paramabhāgavataḥ śrī-Yuddhāsur-āpara-
- 14 nāmō(mā) sas=sa(sa sa)rvānn-ē(n-ē)va rāja-sāmanta-vishayapati-grāma-bhō-

¹ From impressions.

² Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

2 2
4 4
6 6

ii, a.

8 8
10 10
12 12
14 14

ii, b.

16 16
18 18
20 20
22 22

iii.

24 24
26 26
28 28
30 30



Seal
(From a Photograph)

Second Plate : Second Side

- 15 gika-purillaka-chāṭa-bhaṭa-sēvak-ādīn=samanuvō(bō)dhayaty=astu vū
 16 viditam yath=āsmābhir=mmātā-pitrōr=ātmanas=cha puṇy-āvāptayē Taga-
 17 ra-vāstavya-Vā(or Mā)ruḷa-sagōtra-Kaugi(śi)ka-pravara-Taittirīya-sa-brahmachā-
 18 riṇē Anivārit-ānna-satra(ttara)-pradāyinē Varmulaka-chaturvēda-pautrā-
 19 ya Bhūtagaṇabhaṭṭa-putra-Haragaṇa-dvivēdāya Vāṭapuraka-grāmē
 20 viṇsa(vimśa)ti-karmma[nta](ntā) madhuka-samētā(ṭam) kshētrañ=cha nivarttana-śataṭ
 tachchha (tach-cha)
 21 Umbarikā-grāmō(mē) dakshinī(nē)na Vaivadraka-sīma-maryyādā
 22 uttarah¹ Tatilingichchhi-bhaṭākara(rakaḥ) pūrvvataḥ Nāgaya[yi-maryā]dā²

Third Plate

- 23 paśchimato Chchhivāhala³ [s]bhir=āghāṭanaiḥ⁴ kshētra[m*] bhūmichhi(chchhi)dra-
 24 nyāyēna Kārttika-paurṇa(rṇa)māsyām=udaka-pūrvvaṃ pratipāditam
 25 yatō=asmad-vamśayair=anyair=vv=āgāmi-nṛpati-bhōgapatibhir=asmad-dā-
 26 yō=numantavya[h*] pratipālayitavyas=cha yō v=ājñāna-timira-pa-
 27 ṭal-āvṛita-matir=ā[ch*]chhindyād=āchchha(chchhi)dyamānam v=ānumōdē-
 28 ta sa pañchabhir=mmahāpātakai[s*]=sa[m]yukta[h*] syād=iti [l*] Śaka-kāla-
 29 sa[m]vatsara-śatēshu shaṭshu(tsu) pañcha[da]śān=va(śa-va)rshēshu Kārttika-suddha-
 pau.
 30 [rṇa]mi(māsyām) likhitam=iti [l*]

Seal

Śrī-Ju[ddhā]surah

¹ This may be also read as *uttarataḥ Tilingichchhi*.

² Dā is inserted below this last line at the left end of the plate.

³ This may be also *paśchimatō=chchhivāhala*.

⁴ Some word like *upalakṣitam* is to be added here. A similar omission occurs in the Multai Plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 205, n. 1).

No. 15—MUNDAKHEDE PLATES OF SENDRAKA JAYASAKTI ; SAKA 602

(1 Plate)

V. V. Mirashi, Nagpur

These plates were found several years ago in the possession of a Patil of Mundakhēḍē, a village in the Chalisgaon taluk of the East Khandesh District, Bombay State. They were brought to notice by the late Mr. G. K. Chandorkar, who edited them twice—first in the Marāṭhī magazine, *Prabhāta* of Dhulia, Vol. I, No. 12¹ and afterwards in the *Annual Report of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samāśādhaka Maṇḍala for Śaka 1834*, pp. 169-177. As no facsimile of the record accompanied either of these articles, I was under the impression that it was not published. Several years ago, while I was studying the Bagumrā plates of Nikumbhāllāsakti², I felt the need of critically examining this record in view of its importance for the history of the Sēndrakas, and I tried to trace the original plates, but could not succeed. I was, therefore, agreeably surprised when I received recently a copy of the printed facsimile of the plates from my friend, Dr. M. G. Dikshit. From the date Chaitra, Śaka 1829, as well as from the name *Prabhāta* printed on it, it is clear that the facsimile was published in the same magazine *Prabhāta* in the next issue after the text of the record was first edited by Chandorkar. This facsimile has enabled me to correct the readings of some important words in the transcript published by Chandorkar. Again, Chandorkar did not calculate the date or identify the places mentioned in the grant. For these reasons as well as because this is the only record of the Sēndraka prince Jayasakti and is important for the ancient history of Mahārāshṭra, I re-edit the grant here from the aforementioned facsimile published by Chandorkar.

The copper-plates are two in number, and are inscribed on the inner side only. Their size and weight have not been recorded. From the description given by Chandorkar they seem to have raised rims for the protection of the writing. At the bottom of the first inscribed plate and the top of the second, there is a hole for the ring which strung the plates together. This ring is said to have carried a seal with the legend *Śrī-Jayasakti*, but no photograph of it seems to have been published.

The record consists of twenty-four lines, twelve being inscribed on each plate. The writing is in a good state of preservation. The record is, however, rather carelessly written and contains a few mistakes here and there. The characters are of the western variety of the southern alphabet as in the other records of the Sēndrakas found in Gujarat and Khandesh. The only peculiarities that call for notice are as follows : (1) the initial *ē* resembles *l*, but has a long vertical on the right ; see *ēsha*, line 14 ; (2) the stroke for medial *ā* is turned upward in the case of *j* as in *-dvijāti-*, line 6 ; (3) *l* has everywhere a straight vertical stroke on the right ; see *-labdha-*, line 2 ; (4) *n* generally appears looped as in *samunnatē*, line 1, but it is sporadically unlooped as in *sūnōr-*, line 16 ; (5) a final consonant is shown with a horizontal stroke on the top ; see *vasēt*, line 21. The *jihvāmūliya* occurs in line 10. Punctuation is indicated by single or double dots. The language is Sanskrit. Except for four benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the record is in prose throughout. It may be noted that the writer has used in the eulogy of Bhānuśakti the very expression *śarad-amala-śatāṅka-maṇḍala-yasasah(yasāh)*, which describes Ādityasakti in the Bagumrā plates,³ and Allasakti in the Kāsārē plates.⁴ Again, the expression *Bhava-sūnur-iv-āpratihata-śaktiḥ* which describes Ādityasakti in the present plates occurs in connection with Allasakti in the Bagumrā and

¹ This No. bears the date Phālguna, Śaka 1829 which is plainly a mistake for Śaka 1828. The same mistake occurs on the first page of the previous two issues. As stated above, the facsimile of the plates published in the next number bears the date, Chaitra, Śaka 1829.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 265 ff.

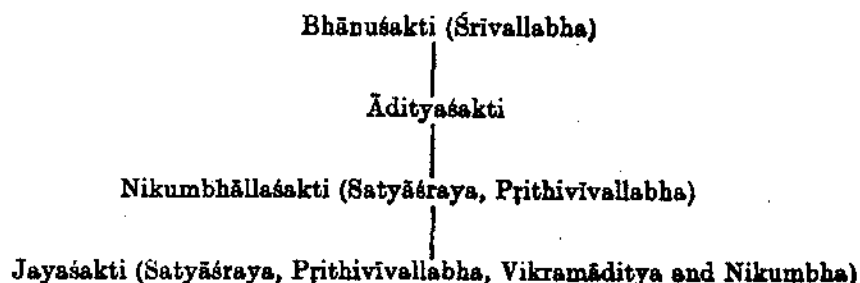
³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 267.

⁴ G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan*, Vol. III, p. 71. Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 197.

Nāgad plates.¹ The drafter of the present grant has thus drawn upon previous records of the family, and, evidently regarding the epithets as conventional, has not scrupled to transfer them from one prince to another. As for **orthography**, we may note that *ṛ* is used for *r* in *Phālguna*, line 24, and the consonant following *r* and that preceding *r* and *y* are reduplicated; see *-chāturdanta-* and *vikkrama-*, line 2 and *-ānuddhyāta*, line 4.

The plates refer themselves to the reign of the **Sēndraka** prince **Jayaśakti**. They were issued from **Jayapuradvārī**. They record the grant, by **Jayaśakti**, of a village the name of which **Chandorkar** read as *Sēṇāpakauasha*. The correct reading of the passage where it occurs is *Sēṇāṇḍēsha grāmaḥ*, not *Sēṇāpakalasha-grāmaḥ*. The village was therefore named **Sēṇāṇḍā**. It was included in the **Kundalikāmala vishaya**. The donee was the **Brāhmaṇa** **Bappasvāmin**, the son of **Rēvasvāmin**, who belonged to the **Kāśyapa gōtra** and the **Hiranyakēśin** branch of the **Taittirīya śākhā** of the **Black Yajurveda**, and resided at **Kallivana**. The gift was made on the occasion of the sun's entering the **Mina-rāśi** on the 10th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of **Phālguna** in the year 602 of an unspecified era. The year and the *tithi* are expressed only in words. From the **Nāgad** plates we know that **Jayaśakti's** father **Allaśakti** was flourishing in **Śaka** 577. The year 602 mentioned in the present grant of **Jayaśakti** must, therefore, be referred to the **Śaka** era, and corresponds to 680-81 A.C. In this period the sun entered the **Mina-rāśi** at 20 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise on the 17th February 681 A.C. The religious ceremonies connected with the *saṅkrānti* must have been performed after sunrise next day, the 18th February 681 A.C., which was the 10th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *amānta* **Phālguna**.² This date shows that the *amānta* scheme of the lunar months was in vogue in Northern **Mahārāshṭra** in the seventh century A.C. The grant was written by the **Sāndhivigrahika Rāma**.

The present grant gives the following pedigree of the donor :—



Chandorkar read the name of the third prince as *Nikumbhallatakti*, being probably misled by **Bühler's** reading of the royal name in the **Bagumrā** plates. The facsimile of the present grant, however, shows the correct reading of the name to be *Nikumbhāllaśakti*. The same reading of the name occurs in the **Nāgad** plates published by **Mr. G. H. Khare**. We now know from the **Kāśārī** plates that the proper name of the **Sēndraka** prince was **Allaśakti**. This occurs not only in the text of the grant, but also on the seal of the plates. *Nikumbha* was evidently a *biruda* prefixed to his name. The same *biruda* is seen to have been assumed by **Allaśakti's** son **Jayaśakti** in the present plates. The *biruda* was evidently derived from the name *Nikumbha* of **Allaśakti's** grandfather, mentioned in the **Kāśārī** plates. He had another name of *Bhānuśakti* which is noticed in the three other grants of the family, including the present one. His descendants **Allaśakti** and **Jayaśakti** seem to have assumed his name *Nikumbha* as a *biruda*, probably because he was the founder of this **Sēndraka** branch which flourished in **Gujarat** and **Khandesh**.

¹ *Sanskṛtśāstra* (Marāṭhī), Vol. VIII (October, 1939); above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 195.

² This *tithi* commenced only 15 m. after mean sunrise on that day.

The present grant describes both Allāsakti and Jayāsakti as *samadhigata-pañcha-mahā-śabda*, i.e., as having attained the right to the five great sounds. They both were evidently subordinate chiefs, owing allegiance to the Chālukya Emperor of Bādāmi. Bhānuśakti, though described in a more grandiloquent style, probably enjoyed no better status.¹ As his grandson Allāsakti was flourishing in 653 and 656 A.C., Bhānuśakti may be referred to the first quarter of the seventh century A.C. He was probably placed in charge of Gujarat and Khandesh by Pulakēśin II after he had conquered these provinces from the Kalachuris. No records of the reigns of Bhānuśakti and Ādityāsakti have yet been discovered, but Allāsakti is known to have made three grants, two of which, recorded in the Kāsārē and Bagumrā plates, are dated in the Kalachuri era and one, viz., that in the Nāgad plates, in the Śaka era. The earliest of these, viz., that in the Kāsārē plates is dated K. 404 (653 A.C.) and registers the donation of some land in the village Pippalikbēṭa, modern Pimpalner in West Khandesh. The second, known as the Bagumrā plates, dated K. 406 (656 A.C.), registers the gift of the village Balisa, modern Wanasa near Tēn in South Gujarat. The third record, viz., the Nāgad plates, though issued from Kāyāvātāra, modern Kārwan in Gujarat, mentions the grant of a village in the *viśhaya* of Nāndipuradvāri which is probably identical with Nandurbār in West Khandesh. This grant is dated in Śaka 577 (655-56 A.C.). These records show that Allāsakti continued to hold Gujarat and Khandesh at least till 656 A.C. Sometime thereafter, he seems to have lost Gujarat; for the next date from that part of the country is K. 421 (671 A.C.), furnished by the Surat plates of Śrīyāśraya-Śilāditya, which register the grant of the village Āsaṭṭigrāma, modern Astgaon, not far from Tēn. From the Mānōr plates,² recently published by Mr. Krishna Deva, we learn that Dharāśraya-Jayasimha, the younger brother of the Chālukya emperor Vikramāditya I, founded the Navsāri branch in 669-70 A.C. Thereafter, the rule of the Sēndrakas seems to have been confined to Khandesh. As shown below, the places mentioned in the present Mundakhēḍē plates can be satisfactorily located near the western border of that district.

It may be noted that Bhānuśakti, Allāsakti and Jayāsakti bore certain *birudas* which are usually associated with their Chālukya suzerains. One of these deserves special notice. Jayāsakti calls himself Vikramāditya in the present grant, dated 681 A.C. His suzerain was Vikramāditya I, who had died just in the preceding year (680 A.C.). As this is the only known grant of Jayāsakti, we do not know whether Jayāsakti had borne the *biruda* previously or whether he assumed it only after the death of Vikramāditya. The absence of any reference to the imperial family in the present grant lends colour to the latter view,³ but we may note that similar *birudas* were assumed by other feudatories of the Early Chālukyas. The Mānōr plates, for instance, show that Maṅgalarasa, the son of Dharāśraya-Jayasimha, had assumed the *biruda Vinayāditya* before Śaka 613 (691 A.C.) during the reign of the Chālukya emperor Vinayāditya. The present grant does not, therefore, give any indication that Jayāsakti had thrown off the yoke of the Early Chālukyas.

No descendants of Jayāsakti are known but, as I have suggested elsewhere⁴, the Sinda kings who flourished in Khandesh in the 10th century A.C. may have belonged to the same lineage. Like the Sēndrakas, they also claimed to have descended from the lord of serpents. Later, a family called Nikumbha is known to have flourished in the Khandesh District. It is known from the

¹ Chandorkar's view that the Sēndrakas were independent kings who helped the Early Chālukyas to establish themselves in the Kanarese country is not supported by any evidence.

² Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 18.

³ Dr. Fleet also inferred that the Bagumrā plates belong to the period when the Western Chālukya sovereignty was in abeyance. See *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 361. Since then we have known of several records of the feudatories of the Western Chālukyas which make no mention of the reigning emperor.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 166 ff.

Pāṭaṇ inscription of Śaka 1128 ; but it is not likely to have been connected with the Sāndrakas, as it traced its descent not from the lord of serpents but from the Sun¹.

As for the localities mentioned in the present plates, *Kundalikāmala*, the headquarters of the *viśaya* in which the donated village was situated, is probably identical with Kundalgaon, 14 miles west of Nāndgaon near the western border of the Khandesh District. No place exactly corresponding to the donated village *Sāpāpā* can be traced in the neighbourhood, but Saundane which lies about 10 miles north by west of Nāndgaon may represent the ancient village. *Jaya-puradvārī*, from where the plates were issued, may be identical with Jeur which lies about 7 miles almost due north of Nāndgaon. *Kallivana* where the donor resided is undoubtedly Kalvaṇ, the chief town of the Kalvaṇ *taluk* of the Nasik District.

TEXT:

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्²[।*] स्वस्ति [।*] जयपुरद्वारीतो मेरुमही[ष]रशिखर[स्त्रि]रुचिरसमुन्नते
विकसितयशस(सि) [म]हति सेन्द्रकरा[ज्ञा](जाना)म-
- 2 न्वयेनेकचातुर्हन्तगजघटाटो[प]समरसंघट्टलब्धविजयी(यो) विजिताशेषरिपुगणः स्वविक्र-
म(मा)-
- 3 कक्रान्तमहीमण्डलः प्रणताशेषसामन्तशिरोमकुटनिष्पृष्टपा[द]पंकजो नयविनयदयादानदाक्षि-
प्यश्री-
- 4 संपदुपेतः शरदमलशशांकमण्डलामलयशसः(यशाः)⁴ श्रीवल्लभभानुशक्तिस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादा-
नुद्धातः स्वभुण(ज)म-
- 5 निमयूखचक्रबलप्रकाशिताशेषदिक्चक्रद्वचक्रवर्तिलक्षणोपेतो विपुलघनपुमयशसः(यशः)-
कुसुमनिकरो-
- 6 पशोभितसकलवसुधातलः समुद्र इव क्षितिस्थितिराजकभूमृत्पालनपरः परमगा(नं)-
भीरो देवद्विजातिस्वजनबां-
- 7 धवोपभुज्यमानविभवो भवसूनुरिवाप्रतिहृतशक्तिः⁵ श्रीमदादित्यशक्तिस्त[स्य] पुत्रस्तत्पा-
दानुद्धमतो व्यपग[तस]-
- 8 जलजलधरव्योमत[ल]शरदिन्दुकिरणधवलतरयशोवितानलंघितांभोधिपरापरः(पारापारः) सेन्द्र-
ककुलगगनच[द्र]-

¹ Above, Vol. I, p. 242.

² From the photo-zincograph published in the *Prabhāta* (Marāṭhī) for Chaitra, Śaka 1829.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ This expression is used to describe *Ādityasakti* in the *Bagumrā* plates, and *Allāsakti* in the *Kisāra* plates.

⁵ This expression occurs in the description of *Allāsakti* in the *Bagumrā* and *Nāga* plates.

- 9 मा[ः*] समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दः सत्याश्रयपृथिवीवल्लभश्रीनिकुंभाल्लशक्तिस्तस्य पुत्र-
स्तत्पादानुद्धृतातो त्रिगतघन-
- 10 पटलेन्दुमण्डलामलकुलतिलक^xकृत^xयुगनरपत्यतिशयितस्तच्चरितः शरणागतार्तिहरः प्रस-
भाभिकृष्टान्य-
- 11 राजश्रीः समधिगतपञ्चमहाशब्दः सत्याश्रयपृथिवीवल्लभविक्रमादित्यनिकुंभश्रीजयशक्तिः
- 12 सर्वानिव राजसामन्तभोगिकविषयपतिराष्ट्रग्रामकूटाययुक्तकमहत्तराधिकारिकादीन्*] समनु-
बोध-

Second Plate

- 13 यत्यस्तु वः संविदित(तं) मया परलोकाप(पे)क्षत्वम(मं)गीकृत्य महत्फलं [हि]
श्रुत्वा] [ततः] कुन्दलिकामलविषयान्त-
- 14 गतसेनाणा एष ग्रामः¹ सोद्वंगः सपरिकरः सर्वदानदित्यविष्टिप्राप्तिमे[दि]कापरिही-
णा[भ्यन्तर]सिद्धि]-
- 15 कः [भू]मिच्छिद्वन्यायेनाचाटभटप्रवेश्य[ः] आचन्द्राकर्णवक्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनः पुत्रपौत्र-
(त्रा)न्वयकक्रमोप-
- 16 भोग्यः कल्लिवान]वास्तव्यकाश्यपसगोत्रतिसिरिक²हिरण्यकेशिब्राह्मणरेवस्वामिसूनोर्बन्धुपत्वा-
मिने बलिचरुवैश्वदेव(दे)-
- 17 [वा*]मिहोत्रपञ्चमहायज्ञादिक्रिय(यो)त्सर्पणात्वं(त्वं) मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशो-
भिदूदये ब्राह्मणमह(हा)जनसमेताय
- 18 [फा]ल्लुण(न)बहुलदशम्यां पुण्ये तिथी³ भगवति सवितरि मि(मी)नराशि संक्रान्ते
उदकातिसर्गेण प्रतिपादितो यतोऽस्मद्वैर-
- 19 स्यैर्वा[गामि]भूपतिभिर्नलवेणुकदलिसारससारजलबुद्बुदोपमं च जीवितमवधाय्यं
शिरीषकुसुमसदृशापायं [च]

¹ Ohandorkar read -ल्लिकककुत्त- but the sign inscribed above कु is that of *jīhāmulliga*.

² Ohandorkar read सेनाजकसधग्रामः but the correct reading is clearly as given above; compare -कोनियाना एष ग्रामः in the Vajñār plates (above, Vol. XII, p. 34) and कुमारिचरुवै एष ग्रामः in the Barasvni plates (above, Vol. VI, p. 289).

³ Read तैत्तिरीय-

⁴ Read पुण्यतिथौ.

[illegible]

14
 16
 18
 20
 22
 24

14
 16
 18
 20
 22
 24

- 20 यौवन(नं) गिर(रि)नदीसलिलगत्वरणि चैश्वर्याप्याकल्या(लया)स्महायोनुमंतव्यः
पालयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तञ्च भगवता वेदव्यास(से)न
- 21 व्यासेन [1*] 'व(ष)ष्टिवर्ष(षं)सहस्राणि स्वर्गं मोदति भूमिदः [1*] आ-
च्छेत्ता चानुम(मं)ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्[॥१॥*] विद्याटवीष्वतोया-
- 22 सु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः[1*] कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हरन्ति ये [॥२॥*]
बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [1*] यस्य य-
- 23 स्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फल(लम्) [॥३॥*] पूर्वदत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो
यत्नाद्रक्ष युधिष्ठिर [1*] महीं महीमतां श्रेष्ठं दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपा-
- 24 लन[म्*] [॥४॥*] संवत्सरशतषट्के द्व्युत्तरके [फा]ल्गुण(न)बहुलः^२ दशम्यां लिखि-
त(तं) चैतत्सान्धिविग्रहिकरा[मे]ने(णे)ति [॥*]

No. 16—CHATESVARA TEMPLE INSCRIPTION

(1 Plate)

B. CH. CHABRA, NEW DELHI

This beautiful *prastasti* is neatly engraved on a well-dressed slab of black granite. It is kept in the temple of Śiva, that goes by the name of Chāṭśvara, in the village of Kisanapur or Kisanpur (Kṛishnapura), in the Cuttack District of Orissa. This village is situated about 12 miles north-east from the town of Cuttack. The inscription seems to have been examined first by Bābu Nagēndranātha Vasu as early as November 1893. He noticed it in Bengali, in 1894, in his *Viśvakōsha*, Vol. VI, p. 229. Later on, in August, 1898 he read a paper on it, giving its full text and translation, which has been published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXVII, 1898, Part I (History, Antiquities, etc.), pp. 317-327. No facsimile of this *prastasti* has so far been published elsewhere.

After Vasu's treatment of this inscription, no other scholar seems to have cared to examine it closely, though it has been referred to by various scholars in connection with the history of Orissa. In the winter of 1938, the writer of this article, in the course of his official tour in Orissa, happened to visit Kisanapur, where he studied the inscription from the original slab. As a result thereof, it was found that the text presented by Vasu is as inaccurate in places as his interpretation of it is erroneous. The present writer had occasion to comment on this inscription in the Hindi monthly *Itihāsa*, September 1951, pp. 155-158, as also in the *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. I, 1952, pp. 11-13, where the importance of the inscription as well as a few examples of the defects in Vasu's treatment of it has been pointed out. These may be considered as enough justification for a re-edition of the inscription.

¹ Metre of verses 1-4 : Anuṣṭup.² This *visarga* is superfluous.

The inscribed surface measures 31"×18". It contains 25 lines of writing. The engraving is beautifully executed, and is fairly well preserved throughout, except a few scratches about the middle of lines 17 and 18. These, however, do not cause any difficulty in the reading of the *akṣaras* affected.

The alphabet of the inscription is the eastern variety, proto-Bengali, of the thirteenth century A.C. Some scholars prefer to give this script the name Gaudī.¹ Forms of *kh*, *j*, *t*, *ṣ*, etc., which resemble the modern Oriya and Bengali forms of these letters, are noteworthy. The forms of initial vowels *ā*, *i*, *u* and *ē* may be seen in lines 6, 8, 22 and 8 respectively. The sign of *visarga* is remarkable inasmuch as it consists of two small circles, one above the other, with a horizontal top stroke on the upper circle. The form of *p* looks somewhat like that of *y*. The forms of some of the conjunct consonants are worthy of note, such as *ttṛa* and *ṣja* in line 1, *rtti* in line 3, *vyū* in line 7, *mbrū* in line 12, and *shṭa* in line 7. This last shows that the subscript *ṭ* resembles *t*. The form of *ṭ* otherwise may be seen in *mukṭṣe* in line 2. The language is Sanskrit, and the composition is in verse throughout, except the obeisance in the beginning. There are altogether twenty-five verses in various metres. The verses are not numbered; but the end of the first half of every stanza is marked off, as a rule, by a single *danḍa*, and the completion of every stanza likewise by a double *danḍa*. The style is highly ornate.

As for orthography, no distinction is made between the signs for *b* and *v*. Properly speaking, the sign for *v* stands also for *b*. In giving the text, I have read it correctly as *b* wherever *b* is required.² A consonant after *r* is generally doubled, cases like *rthi* in line 6 being exceptions. In those like *amarṣa* in line 5 the rule of reduplication does not apply at all. In such cases the consonant after *r* is correctly left single.

Grammatically, the pronominal use of the word *dvaya* in verse 13 is interesting. Such a usage is rare, but we have instances of it in Sanskrit literature, as in Māgha's *Śiṣupālavadha*, III, 57 : *janair=ajāta-skhalanair=na jātu dvayē=py=amuchyanta vinīta-mārgāḥ*. In verse 9, the verbal form *ajani*, in the causative sense, is a solecism, which is repeated in *prajñe* in verse 10. Similar solecisms are not uncommon in Sanskrit inscriptions. On the seals of Bhāskara-varman of Prāgyōtisha, for instance, we have *tēna jāto dēvyām śrī-Ratnavatyām..... Kalyāṇavarmā*.³ To quote an earlier instance, we have *vasundharēśas=tanayam prajñe* in the Mandasor inscription of Mālava Samvat 524, referring to the Gupta king Govindagupta.⁴ The word *buddhām* in verse 7 has possibly to be taken as synonymous with *kēvalām*, which would be of lexical interest. The construction, however, seems to be faulty inasmuch as a *tām* was essential in the subordinate clause and that is absent. Instead of *buddhām*, something like *tām=ēvā* would thus have been better. These observations, it may be admitted, hold good only in case the interpretation of the verse in question as given below be acceptable. The verse no doubt is a hard nut to crack.

The main object of the inscription is to record the erection of a temple of Kāmāntaka, i.e., Śiva, evidently identical with the present Chāṭāśvara temple. There is, however, a difference of opinion as to who exactly was responsible for raising this edifice. Vasu ascribes it to Anaṅga-

¹ Dr. D. C. Sircar, for instance, justifies this designation (above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 236; *IHQ*, XXVIII, pp. 130-1). The script of the present inscription compares well with that of Svapnēśvara's inscription of the time of Anaṅgabhadra II; above, Vol. VI, plate facing page 202.

² The confusion between *v* and *b* is not only a palaeographical feature, but also a phonetic peculiarity, which is noticeable in certain inscriptions even of the Gupta period. See Dr. G. S. Gai's note in the *Journal of the Gangānāth Jha Research Institute*, Vol. VI, pp. 308-309.

³ Dr. Hirananda Sastri's *Nalanda and Its Epigraphical Material* (*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 66, Calcutta, 1942), p. 70.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 15, text 1, line 4.

bhīma II,¹ whereas a careful perusal of the text, even as it is presented by the said scholar, will show that it was Anaṅgabhīma II's (really III's) minister, Vishṇu, who built that temple. Bābu Manomohan Chakravartī, who, by the way, proved this Anaṅgabhīma to be Anaṅgabhīma III (and not II), has evaded the issue by merely observing : "Several years would have elapsed between the minister Vishṇu's fight with the Yavanas and the finishing of the temple."² Bābu Rākhāl Dās Banerji, on the other hand, strikes a discordant note by attributing the construction of the Śiva temple in question to Gōvinda who was the said Anaṅgabhīma's grandfather's minister.³ The confusion is probably due to the fact that Anaṅgabhīma's grandfather's name also happens to be Anaṅgabhīma and that both he and his minister, Gōvinda, also figure in the present inscription, as we shall presently see. Dr. Hemchandra Ray, however, correctly ascribes the erection of the temple to Vishṇu.⁴

Our inscription mentions only four members of the later Gaṅga dynasty of Kalinga : (1) Chōḍagaṅga, (2) his son Anaṅgabhīma, (3) his son Rājendra, and (4) his son Anaṅgabhīma. Not taking the earlier rulers of the lineage into consideration, Vasu took the second of the aforementioned members as Anaṅgabhīma I and the fourth as Anaṅgabhīma II. In the context of the full genealogy, however, these two stand as Anaṅgabhīma II and Anaṅgabhīma III respectively, one of their forefathers (Vajrahasta by name) being Anaṅgabhīma I.⁵ It may further be observed that a variant form of this name, which frequently occurs in inscriptions, is Aniyāṅkabhīma, and that Rājendra of our inscription is to be equated with Rājārāja III. The full genealogy as well as the events connected with the various members of the dynasty has recently been reviewed by Dr. D. C. Sircar in his edition of the Nagari plates of Anaṅgabhīma III ; Śaka-1151 and 1152.⁶ The portion of the genealogy contained in the present inscription stands as follows :

- (1) Anantavarman-Chōḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A. C.)
- (2) Anaṅgabhīma II (4th son of 1) (1190-97 A. C.)
- (3) Anantavarman-Rājārāja III (son of 2) (1198-1211 A. C.)
- (4) Anaṅgabhīma III (son of 3) (1211-38 A. C.)

Again, as indicated above, in connection with Anaṅgabhīma II, our inscription mentions *his* minister Gōvinda ; and in connection with Anaṅgabhīma III, it describes *his* minister Vishṇu. As a matter of fact, the Chātēśvara inscription is a eulogy of this Vishṇu himself. Of the total of twenty-five verses, the poet has devoted as many as thirteen to Vishṇu alone, describing his valour, learning and charities. The first eleven verses, descriptive of the Lunar Race and some of the later Gaṅga rulers belonging to it, serve as introduction, while the concluding stanza mentions the poet's name and fame. A perusal of the whole inscription leaves one with the impression that Vishṇu was that type of a minister who is all in all in a state, while its ruler counts as a mere figure-head.

The contents of the inscription are, briefly, as follows. It opens with a symbol for *siddham* followed by *ōm* and obeisance to Śiva. Verse 1 is in praise of the Ocean and verse 2 in that of the Moon, born of the Ocean. Verse 3 refers, in a conventional way, to the kings descending from the Moon, i.e., those of the Lunar Race. Verses 4 to 6 describe, in a general way, King Chōḍagaṅga

¹ *JASB*, Vol. LXVII (1898), p. 319.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. LXXII (1903), p. 120.

³ E. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1930, p. 255 and p. 262.

⁴ H. C. Ray, *The Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1931, p. 478.

⁵ For a full genealogical list of the later Gaṅgas of Kalinga, see Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, pp. 387-388.

⁶ See above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235 ff.

(i.e., Anantavarman-Chōḍagaṅga). It is of interest to know that, in verse 4, he is described as an incarnation of the Narasimha *avatāra* of the god Viṣṇu. We may parenthetically observe here that, as is known from other inscriptions, Chōḍagaṅga's ancestors were all staunch devotees of the god Śiva, and that Chōḍagaṅga himself was one such in the earlier part of his life; but that, about 1112 A.C., he started adoring Viṣṇu as well, later on becoming a devotee of Viṣṇu alone. His descendants all adhered to the Vaiṣṇava faith.¹ Verse 7 describes Chōḍagaṅga's son Anaṅgabhīma (II) as a peace-loving ruler. Verse 8 mentions his able minister, Gōvinda, a Brāhmaṇa of the Vatsa *gōtra*. Verse 9 introduces Anaṅgabhīma (II)'s son Rājendra (Rājarāja III), whose son Anaṅgabhīma (III) is described, in verses 10 and 11, as a valorous and munificent ruler. Verses 12 to 22 are descriptive of Anaṅgabhīma (III)'s minister, Viṣṇu. In verse 12 he is stated to have stabilised the empire of the lord of Trikaṭiṅga (i.e. Anaṅgabhīma III). Verse 13 represents him as a great warrior. Verse 14 alludes to his having routed a king of Tummāṇa, while in verse 15 mention is made of his fight with a Muslim ruler (*Yavan-āvanindra*). Verse 16 refers to his vigilance and war-preparedness, ensuring safety and security to the empire of the lord of Utkala (i.e., Anaṅgabhīma III). Verses 17 and 18 contain a poetic description of his glory (*yaśas*). Verse 19 adverts to the *Tulāpurusha* gift which, it is indicated, he ceremonially gave on the sea-shore near Puri. Verse 20 contains a poetic description of sea-breezes and informs us that the minister Viṣṇu caused pools and tanks to be constructed along principal roads. Verses 21 and 22 describe his proficiency in the *Vēdas* and various *śāstras*. It may, in passing, be remarked that it is on the strength of these two verses that Viṣṇu may be taken as a Brāhmaṇa. Otherwise, neither his caste nor his parentage is expressly stated in the inscription. Besides, we are not in a position to say whether he was in any way related to Gōvinda, the Brāhmaṇa minister of Anaṅgabhīma II. Verse 23 informs us that Viṣṇu erected the temple of the Destroyer of Cupid (*Kāmāntaka*), i.e., Śiva. In verse 24 a long life is wished to this temple as well as to the *prāsasti*. The author of the *prāsasti*, a poet, Bhāskara by name, introduces himself in verse 25, as the last item.

It may be realised that this eulogy gives us more of poetry than of history. The translation of the text appended hereto will give an idea of the heights of imagery and hyperbole to which the poet Bhāskara has soared. He has exhibited his skill well; but, alas! he has not been understood so well, with the result that what little of historical value his poem contains has suffered distortion. The obscurity that prevailed over the identity of the builder of the temple has already been pointed out. Following Vasu's translation, Banerji says: "According to this inscription either Gōvinda or Anaṅgabhīma III erected several pleasure-houses at Purushōttama or Puri and performed the golden *Tulāpurusha* ceremony at that place. He also constructed many roads and excavated tanks."² Now, this statement is wrong. In the first place, it is neither Gōvinda nor Anaṅgabhīma III, but Viṣṇu, who should be credited with the works of public utility enumerated. These, again, in reality consist only of tanks. He constructed no pleasure-houses and no roads. A perusal of the text and its rendering (of verses 19 and 20) given below will show that the so-called pleasure-houses refer to the toy-hillocks of jewellery for the *Tulāpurusha* gift, magnified by the poetic fancy into so many replicas of the Mount Mēru, the abode of the gods, and that, so far as roads are concerned, Viṣṇu only *dotted* them with tanks here and there, and had nothing to do with their constructions. Besides, even the excavation of tanks may not be taken as a personal charity of Viṣṇu. It was presumably a part of the liberal policy of the government with Viṣṇu as its chief minister. What stands to the credit of Viṣṇu as a person, judging from the description given, is the great gift of *Tulāpurusha*, apart from the building of a Śiva temple, the main object of the inscription. It may be observed that the *Tulāpurusha* is the first of sixteen

¹ Ibid, pp. 239-40.

² R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 262.

mahādānas, 'great gifts,' enumerated and elaborately described in the *Purāṇas*.¹ In the case of the particular gift in question, the donor gives away in charity his own weight of precious metal and stones (gold, silver, ornaments, jewels, etc.).

Historically, the allusions to the wars waged by Viṣṇu on behalf of his master, Anaṅgabhīma III, are more important. They are, however, so vague that they do not add much to our knowledge. Verse 14, shorn of its hyperbole, means to convey that Viṣṇu fought with a king of Tumāṇa and possibly harassed him. We know that Tumāṇa was the capital of a branch of the Haihayas of Mahākōśala, now represented by a small village called Tumāṇa 'in the Lāphā Zamin-dāri of the Bilāspur District in the Chattisgarh Division' of Madhya Pradesh.² We know also that these rulers came into conflict with the Gaṅgas of Utkala (Orissa). In fact, Ratnadēva II of the Haihaya line is known to have inflicted a defeat on the great Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman-Chōḍagaṅga, the great-grandfather of Anaṅgabhīma III.³ It is, however, not known as to who the adversary of Viṣṇu was. It may be argued that the author of the *prastāvi* would have given us a more detailed and definitive information on the point, if the war were really a major one. Chakravartī infers from the poetic description that 'the fight took place in the groves on the banks of the Bhīmā river at the foot of the Vindhya hills'.⁴ It is true that the *Vindhy-ādrēr-adhi-sīma bhīma-taṇinī-kuñjē* of the original does lend itself to that sort of inference, yet it is open to various objections. In the first place, the word *bhīma-taṇinī* may not refer to a river of the name of Bhīmā, as we have taken it to mean. In fact, no river of this name is known to exist in the region concerned. The well-known Bhīmā or Bhimarathī, a tributary of the Kṛishṇā river, is too far in the south. It is thus more probable that the compound *bhīma-taṇinī-kuñjē* is to be rendered by 'in the fearsome groves along rivers.' The choice of the word *bhīma* in this context seems to have been dictated by the poet's liking for alliteration. After all, the poet is describing the bewildered state of his hero's adversary running about in all directions, and not the site of any battle.

The reference to Viṣṇu's encounter with a Muslim ruler in verse 15 is even more obscure. Chakravartī's supposition that this 'refers probably to some inroads of Giyās-ud-dīn Iwaz, the fourth Bengal ruler'⁵ lacks corroboration.

It is needless to dilate upon the faulty text and the free rendering of it presented by Vasu, resulting in misconceptions some of which have been shown above. As indicated above, the inscription is to be treated more as a piece of poetry than as a bit of history.

TEXT*

[Meters: V. 1 Śikharinī; v. 2 Upajāti; v. 3 Sragdharā; v. 4 Mandākrāntā; vv. 5—7, 10—17, 20 *Sārdūlavikrīṇita*; vv. 8, 9, 21, 25 *Vasantatilukā*; v. 18 *Harinī*; v. 19 *Prithvī*; v. 22 *Vaṁśasthābilā*; vv. 23, 24 *Mālinī*.]

1 सिद्धम्⁷ ॐ नमः शिवाय ॥ स यस्मिन्मैनाकः स्मरति जनकक्रोडललितं
यदन्तः श्रीकान्तः श्रयति गृहजामातृपदवीम् । सुरेभ्यस्तन्मन्थव्यसनमनुभूय
व्यधित यस्तुधासत्त्रं सोयञ्जयति सरि-

¹ The sixteen great gifts are: *Tulāpuruṣa*, *Hiranyagarbha*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Kalpapādapa*, *Gōśahasra*, *Hiranyakāmadhēnu*, *Hiranyāśva*, *Hiranyāśvaratha*, *Hēmahastin*, *Pañchalāṅgalaka*, *Dharā*, *Vitvachakra*, *Kalpalatā*, *Saptasāgara*, *Ratnadhēnu* and *Mahābhūtaghaṭi*. For their description, see the *Matsya Purāṇa*, chapters 278-288. Compare also Hēmadri's *Chaturvargachintamani*, *Dānakhaṇḍa*, *Prakaraṇa V*.

² *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. LIII (1924), p. 267.

³ H. C. Ray, *DHVI*, Vol. I, p. 479.

⁴ *JASB*, Vol. LXXII (1908), p. 119.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ From the original and from inked estampages.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

- 2 तामेकसुभगः ॥[१॥*] तस्मादभूद्विस्मयमादधानः कलानिधिर्बिम्बविलोचमाताम् ।
यमर्पयामास गुणानुरागाग्नेत्रे मुरारिर्मुकुटे पुरारिः ॥[२॥*] भूपास्तस्माद्-
भूवुर्विसुमरसमरोदञ्चदाश्चर्यवीर्य्यज्यो-
- 3 तिज्ज्वालावलीढप्रतिभटकरटिस्त्यानदानप्रबन्धाः । येषां कीर्त्तिप्रवाहैः प्रतिपदमुदयत्स्वद्ध-
नीसङ्गसौख्यप्रेङ्खत्कल्लोलकेलिः कलयति जलधिस्तानि लीलायितानि ॥[३॥*]
तेषाम्ब(षां वं)शे विशदयशसा-
- 4 ञ्चोङ्गक्षितीन्द्रव्याजव्यक्तं नरहरितनोज्ज्वलितिराविर्बभूव । दप्पो(प्यो)हामद्विप-
मदनदीतीर्थसंन्यासिना यन्निस्त्रिंशेन प्रतिनृपतयः प्रापिता मोक्षलक्ष्मीम् ॥[४॥*]
धम्मिल्लं करपल्लवे कलितवान्प्रागेव वै-
- 5 रिश्रियः स्मेरामर्षंतरङ्गितेन मनसा निस्त्रिंशवल्लीन्ततः । चक्रे वैरिवधूजनस्तनतटीर्य्यो
मुक्तमुक्ताः पुरः पश्चादुद्धुरगन्धसिन्धुरमदप्रस्यन्दिगण्डस्थलीः ॥[५॥*] यत्कल्लोलित-
मण्डलाप्रकुटिलाटोपस्फु-
- 6 रत्साध्वसैर्यद्वाणप्रकरप्रहारतरलैः प्रत्यधिभिः पार्थिवैः । चण्डांशोर्द्वि मण्डलाप्रपटलं
निभिद्य तन्मन्युना मन्ये निर्व्वृतिगर्ब्वितैरनुसृतो निर्व्वर्णसीमा रसः ॥[६॥*]
आसीत्सूनुरनङ्गभीमनृप-
- 7 तिः पुण्यातपत्रन्ततो न स्पृष्टः कलिकालकल्मषमसीकल्लोललीलायितैः । केयं
मन्त्रकला यदुन्मदकरिव्यूहम्बि(हं वि)हायामुना शुद्धामेकपदे वृषे कलयता
साम्राज्यमासादितम् ॥[७॥*] स्वैरं श्रुति-
- 8 त्रयगवीभिरुपास्यमानो गोविन्द इत्यजनि वत्सकुले द्विजेन्द्रः । राज्ञः क एष महिमा
यदसावनेन साम्राज्यभारवहने विदधे धुरीणः ॥[८॥*] सदा(र्वा)नतप्रतिमहीपति-
केशपाशशेवालवल्लिशिख-
- 9 रे नखराजहंसाः । यत्पादपङ्कजगृहाश्रमिणः स्वपन्ति राजेन्द्र इत्यजनि तेन ततः
क्षितीन्द्रः ॥[९॥*] जज्ञेसी तमनङ्गभोमनृपति यस्य प्रतापानलज्वालासम्ब(संव)लितैः
सुवर्णशिखरी याति द्रवत्वं
- 10 यदि । आदायैनमहंभिशं यदि घना मुञ्चन्ति धारोत्करानाशाः पूरयितुं तथापि
विजयी यद्दानकेलिक्रमः ॥[१०॥*] त्रैलोक्यं विमलीकरोति यदि तत्कीर्त्तिर्मुमुक्षा
स्वर्द्धनी कण्ठे वेदिलुठन्ति

- 11 तद्भूषितयो धिङ्मौक्तिकानां स्रजः । तत्पादाब्जनखद्युतिव्यतिकरैर्भूषाविधिर्यद्य-
भूत्प्रत्यर्थिक्षितिपालभालफलके कः पट्टबन्धग्रहः ॥[११॥*] तस्याथ क्षितिपाल-
भालवडभीनिद्रास्त-
- 12 पादाङ्गुलेर्विष्णुर्विष्णुरिवापरः कलितवान्साचिव्यमव्याहृतम् । श्वेतच्छत्रशतानि यस्य
यशसा निर्मम्य किम्ब्रूमहे साम्राज्यं त्रिकलिङ्गनाथनृपतेरेकातपत्रीकृतम् ॥[१२॥*]
ये याताः शरणं
- 13 रणाङ्गण[शि]रस्त(स्सं)न्यस्तशस्त्राः पुरो [यै]र्वर्षा दुर्दमदोर्विलासरसिकैस्तत्खातखङ्गैः स्थितम् ।
आश्चर्य्यं यदमी द्वयेपि न चिरादासाद्य विष्णोः प[दं] प्राप्ता निर्भर-
निर्वृतिप्रणयितां प्र-
- 14 त्यथिनः पार्थिवाः ॥[१३॥*] विन्ध्याद्वेरधिसीम भीमतटिनीकुञ्जे तटेम्भोनिधे-
र्विष्णुर्विष्णुरसावसाविति भयाद्वै तन्दिशः पश्यतः । योगाभ्यासपरिश्रमेण न
तथा वैखानसानामिदं विश्वं
- 15 विष्णुमयं यथा परिणतं तुम्माणपृथ्वीपतेः ॥[१४॥*] कर्णोत्तंसितसायकस्य
सुभटानेकाकिनो निघ्नतः किम्ब्रूमो यवनावनीन्द्रसमरे तत्तस्य वीरव्रतम् ।
यस्यालोकनकौतुकव्यसनि-
- 16 नां व्योमाङ्गणे नाकिनामस्वप्नैरनिमेषवृत्तिभिरभून्नेत्रैर्महानुत्सवः ॥[१५॥*] साहस्राः
परितः स्फुरन्ति हरयः खेलन्ति यूथैर्गजाः प्रेङ्खद्भिः पथि पुण्डरीकपटलै-
र्द्विक्चक्रमा-
- 17 क्रम्यते । सम्बा(संवा)सः कटकेषु मौलिषु पदन्यासः कुलक्षमाभृतां [क्रु]द्धे यत्र
न काचिदुत्कलपतेः साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीक्षतिः ॥[१६॥*] क्षमापीठं कियदम्बरङ्किय-
दथ स्वःसौधमेतत्कियद्विक्चक्रं किय-
- 18 देतदेव कलय ब्रह्माण्डखण्डङ्कियत् । आस्ते यत्र तनोति यत्र चरणं यत्रे-
दमामोदते यत्र [स्फूर्ज]ति यत्र वा निवसति स्वच्छन्दमेतद्यशः ॥[१७॥*]
तपनतनयामभ्यादत्तेवतंसयितुं शिवः कुवलयकुलं
- 19 कर्णोत्तसेन विभ्रति सुभ्रुवः । विचकिलवनोत्सङ्गे भृङ्गीर्विद[न्त्य]लिनः स्वनैर्जगति
जनितश्वेताद्धौते तदीय[य*]शोभरैः ॥[१८॥*] अनेन पुरुषोत्तमप्रणयिनीषु
बाराभिषेस्तटीषु घटितास्तुलापु-

- 20 रुष[हे]मभूमीभूतः । विलासवसतीश्श[तं] कलयता बलारातिना शचीवदनवारिजे तरलितास्सलीलं दृशः ॥[१६॥*] पन्थानः सरसां शतैस्तत इतस्तेनाङ्किता यत्तदा स्मेराम्भोजगभीरग-
- 21 भर्भकुहरध्वस्ताध्वखेदोम्मयः । अन्तःसौरभसारशीकरमयैः पाथेयभारैरमी मन्दं मन्दमनुव्रजन्ति पथिकानम्भोधिबेलानिलाः ॥[२०॥*] आन्वीक्षिकी कुटिलमैक्षत यं कटाक्षैर्यस्य त्रयो वदनताम-
- 22 रसं चुचुम्ब । स्वरं यदीयहृदये विजहार वार्ता यं दण्डनीतिरपि निर्भर-मालिलिङ्ग ॥[२१॥*] उदग्रदोषादपथप्रवर्तनस्खलद्गतीनि श्रुतिदृष्टिविभ्रमैः । चकार तत्त्व[प्र]तिपत्तिसम्प-
- 23 दाम्पदं पुराणानि पुनर्नैवानि यः ॥[२२॥*] कनककलशभावं भावयामास भास्वानजनि रजनिजानिः स्फाटिकः पूर्णकुम्भः । ध्वजपटचटुलश्रीर्यत्र च व्योमगङ्गा विरचितममुनेदं धाम
- 24 कामान्तकस्य ॥[२३॥*] त्रिभुवनभयशान्तिङ्कतुमेकाणवेन्तर्जलजपमिव यावत्कुर्वन्ते पर्वतेन्द्राः । सदनमिदमुदञ्चत्फेनपुञ्जप्रतिष्ठामिह कलयतु तावद्गीयताञ्च प्रशस्तिः ॥[२४॥*] लोका-
- 25 श्चतुर्दश न माति यशो यदीयं विद्याश्चतुर्दश न तृप्यति यस्य बुद्धिः । मन्वन्तराण्यपि चतुर्दश यस्य सूक्तिर्न म्लानिमेति स कविः किल भास्करोऽस्याः ॥[२५*] ॥

TRANSLATION

Success! Om! Oboisance to Śiva!

(Verse 1) Hail to the Ocean, the sole (lovable) lord of (all) the rivers, (submerged) in whom the famous (mount) Maināka (still) cherishes the memory of his (childhood's) frolics in the parental lap,¹ in whom Viṣṇu is (enjoying himself) as son-in-law at (his father-in-law's) home,² (and) who

¹ Mt. Maināka, son of Mt. Himālaya from Mēnā or Mēnakā, is described here as absolutely care-free, because he was lucky enough to have escaped the calamity when Indra clipped the wings of the mountains. He owes his escape to his friendship with the Ocean. The word *janaka* in the original stands for both *janaka* and *janani*, 'father and mother', according to Pāṇini, I, ii, 67 or I, ii, 70.

² Viṣṇu is known to be Mahādadhīśaya, i.e., 'one who reclines on the waters of the great ocean'. The ocean is his father-in-law, because his wife, Lakṣmī, happens to be the daughter of the Ocean.

freely distributed ambrosia¹ among the gods (even)² after having experienced torture at their hands at the time when they churned him!

(Verse 2) From him (the ocean) was born the Moon, causing wonderment to the eyes of one and all, whom Vishnu placed in his eye, (and) whom Śiva placed on his forehead,³ out of loving regard for his virtues.

(Verse 3) From him (the Moon) sprang kings, the glowing flames of whose amazing prowess manifesting itself on the (ever) expanding battle-fields consumed the swollen stream of rut of the enemy elephants, the union with the celestial Gangā rising every moment through the ceaseless influx of whose fame caused such a (thrill of) joy to the Ocean that he started rollicking with surging waves, the which revels he keeps indulging in (to this day).⁴

(Verse 4) In the family of those (kings) of the spotless fame did the glory of the Narasimha incarnation (of the god Vishnu)⁵ manifest itself in the guise of the king Chōḍagaṅga whose sword a veritable hermit on the sacred banks of the river of rut of the (enemy) elephants flying into a frenzied rage, helped the hostile princes attain the blessing of salvation.⁶

(Verse 5) With his mind agitated by the palpable displeasure, he (Chōḍagaṅga) grabbed, in his hand (so soft) as a fresh leaf, the chignon of the enemy Fortune even before⁷ he clutched his creeper-like sword, (and similarly) he first rendered the gorgeous bosoms of the ladies of his enemies bereft of their pearls (and) afterwards⁸ (he did so) the broad temples⁹ of the boisterous scent-elephants¹⁰ (of his enemies), from which rut was trickling profusely.

(Verse 6) At his indignation, the hostile chiefs, obviously frightened by his scimitar being brandished and looming large (to their horror), (and) shuddering under the volley of the multitude of his arrows, sought after the joy of complete-extinction type, as if priding themselves on eman-

¹ Literally, 'installed an alms-house of ambrosia for the gods.' Ambrosia (*amrita* or *sudhā*) is one of the fourteen gems that the Ocean yielded when churned by the gods and the demons. These include the Moon and Lakshmi as well.

² The implication being that he treated benevolently and generously even those who wronged him grievously.

³ While Śiva's carrying a crescent on his forehead is well known, the idea of Vishnu's bearing the Moon in the eye goes back to the *Vēdas*, where he is described as 'having fire as his head and the sun and moon as his eyes' (*agnir-mūrdhā chakshuṣi chandra-sūryau*). It is on account of this that one of Vishnu's thousand names is *Ravi-lōchana*, i.e., 'one who has the sun as one of the eyes' (see *Vishnusahasranāma*, with Śaṅkarāchārya's commentary, verse 93).

⁴ In order to appreciate the poetic fancy here one must know that *kṛti* (fame) is conceived as a white liquid while the waters of the celestial Gangā (really speaking, the Galaxy or Milky Way in the heavens) are regarded to be milky. The augmentation is thus supposed greatly to add to the gracefulness and charms of the fancied lady, hurrying to her lover, with the heaving bosom.

⁵ *Narahasitanu* of the original is comparable with *Narasimhavapuḥ* of the *Vishnusahasranāma*, verse 3.

⁶ A florid substitute for saying: 'he killed his enemies.'

⁷ The alleged reverse order of *vanquishing* and *molestation*, rhetorically speaking, indicates the agility of action and confidence of victory on the part of the person whose valour is described here.

⁸ As for the temples of elephants having pearls, they are traditionally known as one of the various sources of pearls. The tradition is recorded by Mallinātha as follows: *Karīndra-jīmūta-varāha-sankha-matsy-āhi-bukty-udbhava-vṛṇjāni muktāphalāni prathīṇi lōkē tīṣhām tu bukty-udbhavam-eva bhūri*. 'Pearls are known in the world as emanating from elephants, clouds, boars, conchshells, fish, snakes, oyster-shells and bamboos. Of them, however, those coming from oyster-shells are most common.' For details, see under *muktā* in the *Śabdakal-pādruma*.

⁹ A scent-elephant, *gandha-sindhura*, is supposed to be one of the most excellent kind of elephants. It is defined as *Yasya gandham samāghrāya na tishthanti pratidīpāḥ sa vai gandha-goṣṭha nripatē-vijay-avahat*. 'A scent-elephant is that having smell whose scent the rival elephants take to flight; such a scent-elephant brings victory to the king (who owns it).'

cipation (from the bondage of this world), having pierced through the frontal disc of the orb of the sun in the heaven.¹

(Verse 7) From him (Chōḍagaṅga) was (born his) son, king Anaṅgabhīma, a very parasol of piety,² who was not touched by the spurtings of billows of the ink of sins of the Kali age. What a (wonderful) magic trick was that, leaving aside the array of rutting elephants, (and depending rather) on the one-legged bull (i.e., *dharma*), adopting merely³ that (magic), he had secured the empire?⁴

(Verse 8) In the family of (the Brāhmaṇas belonging to the) Vatsa (*gōtra*) there was born an excellent Brāhmaṇa, called Gōvinda, who was voluntarily adored by the hymns and chants of (all) the three Vēdas.⁵ What an (astonishing) greatness was this of the king that he made him (Gōvinda) the bull-at-the-yoke for carrying the burden of (his) empire?⁶

(Verse 9) Then, from him (Anaṅgabhīma) was born a king, named Rājendra, the swans (in the form) of toe-nails, the house-holders (so to say) of lotuses (in the form) of whose feet, rest⁷ on the top of mossy weeds (in the shape) of locks of hair of all the hostile chiefs who bowed (to him).

(Verse 10) He (Rājendra) begot that king Anaṅgabhīma whose manner of disporting himself by giving charities far excels in fulfilling desires (of the suppliants), even if the mountain of gold (i.e., Sumēru) gets melted by the blasts of the flames of the fire of his prowess, and the clouds, having taken it (molten gold), shower it in milliard streams day and night for filling (all) the quarters (of the space).

(Verse 11) If his fame purifies (all) the three worlds, in vain is there the celestial Gaṅgā! If his utterances roll about in the neck (of the people),⁸ fie upon pearl necklaces! If the purpose

¹ All this means that the enemies fought and fell. Seeing no escape from the sure death, they made a virtue of necessity, hoping to be rewarded in the world hereafter with the reward of a happy warrior. And that reward consists in the attainment of perfect bliss in the solar region, as the tradition has it, which only two can reach, a *yōgin* and a warrior. Compare the couplet: *Dvāv-imau puruṣau lōkē sūrya-maṇḍala-bhēdinau parivṛtā-yōga-yuktāḥ-cha raṇē ch-ābhimukhō hataḥ*. 'There are these two men in the world who burst through the disc of the sun, (one is) a peripatetic *yōgin* perfected in meditation, and (the other is he) who is killed in the battle without turning his back (upon his opponent)'. (*Subhāshitaratnabhāṇḍagāra*, Nirṇayasāgar Press, Bombay, 6th edition, 1920, p. 161, verse 106.) Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, kindly informed me that this couplet is met with in certain Kannaḍa hero-stone inscriptions. See B. Lewis Rice's *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, London, 1909, p. 172. It may be recalled that, among the duties of a *kṣatriya*, a noteworthy one is *yuddhē ch-āpy-apaḥāyanam*, 'not running away in the battle field' (*Śrīmadbhagavadgītā*, XVIII, 43), which is echoed in the *raṇē ch-ābhimukhō hataḥ* of the couplet quoted above.

² This means that the pious people enjoyed special protection and security under Anaṅgabhīma.

³ Mark the use of the word *buddha* in the sense of *kēvala* in the present context. The English word *pure* offers a parallel inasmuch as this likewise is occasionally used in the sense of *sheer* or *mere*. See remarks above, p. 122.

⁴ The implication is that Anaṅgabhīma was a peace-loving and righteous king. Though he possessed war elephants, he never went to war. The bull, symbolic of *dharma*, stood on all the four legs in the *Kṛita* age, on three legs in the *Tretā* age, on two legs in the *Dvāpara* age, and in the present *Kali* age, he stands only on one leg, mythologically speaking. Again, *mantra-kalā* apparently denotes here 'magic trick' or the like, but in reality it stands for *mantra-śakti*, 'the expedient of wise counsel,' which is one of the three expedients well-known in the lore of statecraft, the other two being *prabhū-śakti* and *utsāha-śakti*, referring to the personality of the king himself and the enthusiasm of his forces respectively. The poet astutely tells us in the present verse that Anaṅgabhīma's success as a ruler was due to the wise counsel he used to receive from his ministers, one of whom is described in the verse that follows.

⁵ In other words, he easily acquired proficiency in the Vedic lore.

⁶ Another of the poet's *pēt* conundrums! Being a calf (*Vatsa*), a great favourite of the cows (*gavi*), Gōvinda must indeed have made a fine bull of himself to drag the great burden! Shorn of the poetic embellishment, the circumlocution means that Gōvinda was Anaṅgabhīma's chief minister.

⁷ Mark in this verse and in the following ones the historic present tense, referring to the past events.

⁸ It need not be pointed out that the Sanskrit word *kaṣṭha* means both 'throat' and 'neck'.

of decoration could be served by the sparklings of lustre of the toe-nails of his lotus-like feet, what was the necessity of tying a tiara on the block of a forehead of the hostile chiefs ?

(Verse 12) Now, he (Anāgabhimā), the toes of whose feet used to fall into a slumber (as if were) on the balcony¹ (in the form) of the foreheads of (hostile) princes, had one Vishṇu, like a second (god) Vishṇu (himself), who served him uninterruptedly as his minister. What should we speak of his (Vishṇu's) fame which, having created hundreds of white parasols (all over the world), brought the (whole) empire of the king, the lord of Trikalīṅga, under one single parasol !²

(Verse 13) How wonderful that no sooner had they approached the foot of Vishṇu³ than both (kinds of) the hostile chiefs, those who surrendered to him, laying down the arms in front of him in the forefront of the battle-field, and those who stood their ground with their swords upraised, itching for a trial of strength, achieved the blissful state of complete emancipation !

(Verse 14) The anchorites of the Vaikhāṇasa order, by their striving in the practice of *yōga*, do not so much perceive this universe to be composed of (the god) Vishṇu as indeed it appeared to the king of Tummāṇa to be consisting of (the minister) Vishṇu, who, (in his hallucination) out of fear, saw him (in all) the directions, repeatedly uttering 'there is Vishṇu, there is Vishṇu,' (during his flight from the battle) at the skirts of the Vindhya hills, in the forests along the Bhīmā river, (and) on the shore of the sea.⁴

(Verse 15) How are we to describe that heroism of his (Vishṇu's) during his fight with the Muslim king, while all alone—his arrows appearing as his ear-pendants⁵—he shot dead (many) expert soldiers, which (display of heroism) became a grand feast to the sleepless and unwinking eyes⁶ of the gods who were the interested lookers-on in the heaven above ?

(Verse 16) While he (Vishṇu) is on the alert,⁷ no harm whatsoever (can come) to the sovereignty of the lord of Utkala ; horses in their thousands are prancing on all sides, elephants are playing about in herds, all the quarters of the space are choked with multitudes of lilies swaying on (either side of every) road, residence is in camps (also, on the mountain ridges), (and) tramping is on the foreheads of (hostile) chiefs of noble birth (also, on the peaks of the celebrated mountains).

¹ The term *vaḍabhi* or *valabhi*, properly speaking, means 'topmost part of a building' or 'part of a sloping roof projecting from the outer wall,' which in Hindustani is called *chhajjā*.

² The point of poetic perplexity is the creation of hundreds of umbrellas on the one hand, and on the other the keeping of the government under only one umbrella. It may be pointed out that 'a single parasol' is symbolic of universal sovereignty. Cf. *Ākūṭapatraṃ jagataḥ prabhuvam*, in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa*, II, 47.

³ Vishṇu's *pada* refers to the god Vishṇu's holy feet as well as to the minister Vishṇu's proximity. The verse implies that those of the enemies who dared to oppose were killed downright, and those who surrendered were allowed to enjoy their freedom !

⁴ The poet has cleverly kept up the minister Vishṇu's comparison with the god of that name in this verse as well. For a different interpretation of the expression *bhīma-taṭini-kuñjē*, see above, p. 125.

⁵ That is, pulling the bow-string right up to the ear while shooting arrows.

⁶ The eyes of the gods are traditionally known to be ever wide open, without winking. The poet evidently wishes to convey that, in watching the heroic feat of Vishṇu, the natural winklessness of their eyes proved an extra advantage to the gods, because thereby they did not miss the great sight even for so short a time as the twinkling of an eye.

⁷ 'On the alert' is a free rendering of the original *krudḍha* which literally means 'angry' or 'furious'. This is to be equated with the *udyata-danḍa* ('one with the rod upraised') of the *rājāniti* or statecraft. Expatriating on *rājadharmā*, Manu says : *Nityam-udyata-danḍaḥ syāt*, etc., "Let him be ever ready to strike", etc. (*Manu-smṛiti*, VII, 102 and 103, and G. Bühler's translation in *The Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXV, p. 232). Commentators like Kullūka explain *danḍa* in this context by *hasty-abh-āḍi-śikṣā-abhyāsa*, 'military training and drilling, especially for wars with the help of elephants and horses.' The poet of our *prastāvi* evidently refers to such a war-preparedness on the part of Vishṇu in mentioning the sports of horses and elephants and all the rest of it in the present verse. The lilies and lotuses symbolise the peace with plenty established through his good administration, while the tramping on foreheads points to the proper subjugation of hostile elements in like manner.

(Verse 17) Just think (of it)! How extensive (after all) is the surface of the earth where his (Vishṇu's) Fame can comfortably sit? How spacious is the sky where she can stretch her feet? How big is the mansion of heaven where she can enjoy herself? How roomy are the quarters of the space where she can leap about? And how expansive is this fragment of a universe where she can dwell?

(Verse 18) The world having been (white) washed by the heaps of his fame, owing to the (all-enveloping) whiteness produced (thereby), Śiva grabs at Yamunā for adorning (his head), fair damsels carry blue lilies for their ear-ornaments, (and) in the heart of the jasmine groves the bees make out their mates (only) by the buzzing sound.¹

(Verse 19) On the shores of the sea, favourite of (the god) Purushōttama,² he (Vishṇu) raised many a veritable Mēru (mountain of gold) while performing the *Tulāpuruṣa* ceremonies. (Consequently) Indra, seeing (not one but) a hundred pleasure-resorts (resembling Mēru), cast askance amorous glances on the lotus-like face of (his consort) Śachī.³

(Verse 20) He (Vishṇu) dotted the roads with hundreds of lotus-pools, at convenient intervals. From that time onwards, the sea-breezes, with their fatigue and weariness of the way removed by (their resting in) the deep inner cavities of the blooming lotuses, carrying provisions for the journey—provisions consisting of the spray pregnant with the fragrant essence—gently follow the way-farers.

(Verse 21) Logic regarded him with favour! Lore of the *Vēdas* kissed his ruddy lips! Ethics had a free play in his heart! Statecraft, too, embraced him lustily!

(Verse 22) As for the *Purāṇas* (the old persons, so to say),⁴ he, himself being a repository of the wealth of clear understanding of the real meanings (of the *Vēdas* and the like), revived (and rejuvenated) them; (for), owing to the great defect (and the derangement, attendant on old age, of the humours of the body, known as *tri-dōṣha*) through the perversion of the views about the *Vēdas* (and the decay⁵ in the faculties of hearing and seeing), they were leading (people) on the wrong path and thereby becoming unpopular (and going astray and stumbling).

(Verse 23) This temple of Śiva has been built by him (Vishṇu), where the Sun has assumed the form of its globe⁶ of gold, the Moon has become its crystal pitcher full (of water),⁷ and the celestial Gaṅgā (is apparent in) the fluttering beauty of its banner.

¹ Traditionally, the waters of the Yamunā are black whereas those of the Gaṅgā are white, and it is white lilies that ladies take for making them into ear-pendants. The bees are naturally black. The confusion, such as Śiva reaching for Yamunā instead of for Gaṅgā, is wrought by the fame which has turned everything white, poetically speaking.

² The allusion seems to be the bench near Puri in Orissa, where there is a famous temple of Purushōttama-Jagannātha, so closely associated with the minister Vishṇu's patron, Anangabhimā III.

³ Mythologically, Mount Mēru consists of gold and gems, and is the abode of the gods. In the *Amarakōṣa*, I, 49, we have such significant synonyms of it as *Hemādri* ('mountain of gold'), *Ratnasānu* (gem-peaked) and *Narālaya* ('abode of the gods'). The sight of a hundred such delightful abodes must needs rouse a desire for dalliance in Indra, the lord of the gods.

⁴ The analogy with old persons is kept up in the attributes that are given in this verse to the *Purāṇas*. It need hardly be mentioned that the word *purāṇa* means 'old.'

⁵ The use of the word *vibhrama* in the sense of *bhramśa*, decay or decline, is best illustrated in the *Śrīmad-bhagavadgītā*, II, 63:

*Krōdhād bhavati saṁmōhaḥ
saṁmōhāt smṛti-vibhramah |
smṛti-bhramśāt buddhi-nāśo
buddhi-nāśāt pravāsyati !*

⁶ By this is meant the spherical member of the pinnacle of a Hindu temple, from which rises the bad-shaped spire.

⁷ This obviously refers to the pitcher of water, which is kept suspended or placed on a tripod over the *Śiva-linga* in the *sanctum sanctorum*, the pitcher having a tiny hole at the bottom to allow water constantly to drip on the *linga* below.

(Verse 24) As long as the great mountains¹ remain inside the ocean, as if engaged in the *jala-japa* prayers² for the removal of dangers from and the establishment of peace in (all) the three worlds, so long may this temple keep up the grandeur of swelling heaps of foam³ in this world, and so long may (this) eulogy be sung (as well)!

(Verse 25) That well-known Bhāskara is the poet of this (poem), whose fame is hardly contained in (all) the fourteen worlds⁴ that there are, whose intellect is hardly satisfied with (all) the fourteen lores⁵ that there are, and whose elevated speech never loses its freshness throughout (all) the fourteen aeons⁶ that there are.

No. 17—EPIGRAPHICAL NOTES

B. CH. CHHABRA, NEW DELHI

A.—Kāśyapa Image Inscription from Silao

This inscription has been published by me.⁷ It attracted the attention of Professor Dr. E. H. Johnston of the Balliol College, Oxford, England, who was good enough to offer some illuminating comments on it in a letter, dated the 18th October, 1941, addressed to Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, the then Deputy Director General of Archaeology in India, New Delhi. Dr. Chakravarti kindly supplied me with the relevant extract from that letter. This extract runs as follows:

"Owing to various circumstances I have only recently seen Dr. Chhabra's interesting article in *Epigraphia Indica* on the Kāśyapa image inscription at Silao. On one or two points however he has overlooked references, which would have modified his interpretation. If you would be good enough to send this letter to him, he might be interested to look up those I mention, and if he wishes to publish a supplemental note, he is welcome to make what use of my remarks he likes; there is no need to mention my name.

"On page 330 he refers to *Buddhacaritra*, xvii, 12, in Cowell's edition; but the whole of the text in Cowell from xiv, 33 on is a nineteenth century addition by Amṛtānanda, who was Hodgson's pandit in Khatmandu. Aśvaghoṣa did give a full account of Mahākāśyapa's conversion, and an English translation of it from the Tibetan and Chinese by me is to be found in *Acta Orientalia*, XV, canto xvii, 24 ff. There is also an earlier translation in German from the Tibetan only by Fr. Weller in *Das Leben des Buddha von Aśvaghoṣa*.

¹ The reference here is to the submarine mountains.

² In an ordinary *japa*, the votary sits in a quiet corner and mutters prayer or repeats a formula there in an undertone or inarticulately, but in a *jala-japa*, as the term indicates, he is required to keep sitting under water all the while.

³ One has to imagine that the exterior of the temple was originally white-washed, and that the main item of the up-keep of a temple usually consists of a fresh coat of lime-wash at least once a year. The poet no doubt wished that the temple built by Viṣṇu might be well looked after and might endure for ever, but the *phēna-puñja-pratishṭhā* of the stanza lends itself equally to a totally opposite and undesired sense: the *solidity of a heap of foam*, a mocking reference to the ephemeral nature of man-made things.

⁴ The broad division of the universe into three: earth, heaven and the nether world, is here replaced by its more elaborate classification into the following fourteen sections: *bhū*, *bhuvā*, *svā*, *mahā*, *janas*, *tapas*, *satya*, *atala*, *vitāla*, *svātala*, *rasātala*, *talātala*, *mahātala* and *pātala*. The first one refers to this earth, the next six are above it, one over the other, and the remaining seven are under it, one below the other.

⁵ The fourteen traditional lores are four *Vēdas*, six *Vēdāṅgas*, *Dharma*, *Mīmāṃsā*, *Nyāya* and the *Purāṇas* collectively as the fourteenth.

⁶ The fourteen *manvantaras* constitute but one day of Brahman. They comprise 4,320,000 human years. Six such periods have already passed, we are living in the seventh, and seven more are yet to come.

⁷ Above, Vol. XXV, 327 ff. and plate.

"In verse I, should not *javana* be taken in the technical sense, as described in Rhys Davids-Stade, Pali Dictionary, s. v. ? It is a puzzle to me that the term does not appear to occur in Buddhist Sanskrit. I would suggest the meaning here is "of immeasurable intelligence" (or "power of perception"?).

"The last verse refers to the legend that Mahākali attained Nirvāṇa, but after it his body was preserved by magic, and he entered the Gurupāda mountain, where he awaits the coming of Maitreya. Hiuan Tsang's account of it differs slightly from this and from the verse, in making his Nirvāṇa be deferred till the meeting with Maitreya. For the canonical accounts see Watters, On Yüan Chwang, II, 144, and much more fully in J. Przyluski, La Légende 'Acoka 167 ff. (Is this latter important work not available in Indian Libraries ?) Dr. Chhabra is clearly not satisfied with his own translation and has not seen the significance of *adhiṣṭhāya*, which refers to *adhiṣṭhāna*, the magic spiritual power of Buddha, by which he causes things to endure, or a Bodhisattva to explain the most esoteric points of doctrine. For references see La Vallée Poussin, L'Abhidharmakośa de Vasubandhu, ch. iii, 31, and ch. vii, 119 and E. Lamotte, Notes sur la Bhagavadgītā, 56 ff., and Suzuki, Studies in the Lankavatārasūtra, 377.

"Despite the last, I think it is unusual to find the power attributed to anyone except the Buddha. It is of course a specifically Mahāyāna doctrine, and the Hinayāna adopted it from them. I take it that the verse means "This Kāśyapa, who passed into Nirvāṇa and yet kept his body in existence by his magic power just for the good of the world, resides (lit. shines) in the Beautiful Gurupāda mountain; i. e. inside the mountain, not on it."

I have nothing to add, except one remark in connection with Dr. Johnston's explanation of the last verse. It might be considered right provided the *sō='yam* of the original be taken as referring to Kāśyapa himself. It is, on the contrary, presumed that we are concerned here with the statue and the inscription on its pedestal. And when the latter says *sō='yam=ābhātī Kāśyapaḥ*, it obviously alludes to the stone image of Kāśyapa,¹ and not to Kāśyapa as a person. Such being the case, would it not be correct to say 'on the mountain, not inside it' rather than 'inside the mountain, not on it'?

Further, I am inclined to connect *Gurupādē girau ramiyē* with *nirvṛtaḥ* and not with *sō='yam=ābhātī*.² The difference it makes is as obvious as it is consequential. According to the latter construction, the statue must necessarily have been set up on the Gurupāda hill itself, whereas according to the former it might have been established anywhere else as well. In fact, the possibility of its having been erected in the vicinity of the village of Silao, if not at Silao proper, has already been shown.³

B.—Chandrabandī Rock Inscription, Śaka 803.

This inscription has been edited by the late C. R. Krishnamacharlu.⁴ It is a Kannaḍa record and pertains to the Jaina faith. It consists of only six lines, the last two of which comprise the following *Āryā* in Sanskrit :

अनवरतज्ञास्त्रदानप्रविमलचारित्रजलधरं विचित्रम् ।

दुरितनिवाद्यधिपातं कुर्यात् धीमत्तं (म्ह) नन्दीन्द्रः ॥⁵

¹ It has been pointed out that 'the inscription is virtually a label to the image' (ibid., p. 328).

² Ibid., p. 333, note 12.

³ Ibid., p. 327, para. 1, p. 331, para. 2.

⁴ The Kannaḍa Inscriptions of Koppāl (Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No. 12, Calcutta, 1935), pp. 6-7, plate I (b).

⁵ It may be pointed out that the sign of medial (long) *ī* is not distinguishable from medial (short) *i* in this inscription, and that the rule of *sandhi* has not been observed in *kuryāt īrī*.

The learned editor introduces this verse by remarking that it "expresses a wish that the glorious Sarvanandindra may 'dispel' the drought of sin by the clouds (or waters) of his conduct'. The reading in the photograph appears to be *jaḷa-dhāraiṣ*—, in which case it would refer to the waters of his pure conduct." His translation of the couplet accordingly runs as follows: "May the glorious Sarvanandindra wonderfully effect the destruction of the drought of sin by the clouds (or waters ?) of (his) ceaseless teaching and (his) absolutely pure conduct !"

First of all, the possibility of the reading *jaḷa-dhāraiṣ* is ruled out by the fact that it militates against the metre, not to speak of the dubious nature of the use of *dhāraiṣ* for *dhārābhīṣ*.¹ Secondly, the term *nīdāgha*, that has been taken in the sense of 'drought,' usually means 'heat,' 'summer,' or 'hot weather.' This primary sense of the word appears to be quite appropriate in the given context. In fact, it is doubtful whether the word *nīdāgha* has ever been used in the sense of 'drought.'

It is, however, the last word of the couplet that the present note seeks to draw particular attention to. *Indra* in *Sarvanandindra* is evidently not to be equated with *Bhaṭṭār* in *Sarvanandi-Bhaṭṭār* that occurs in the Kannaḍa portion. The word *indra* appended to the name Sarvanandin plainly refers to Indra, the lord of gods, the god of rains, with whom Sarvanandin is metaphorically identified. The rest of the verse will bear it out that we have here a clear instance of the figure of speech, called *Rūpaka*, and that the very Indra is the mainstay thereof. The idea embodied in the verse thus becomes manifest: as the god Indra allays the oppressive heat by pouring rain, so may the holy Sarvanandin dispel the evil by spreading knowledge and thereby turning the common herd into good characters.

Finally, as implied by the above free rendering, the long compound in the beginning also lends itself to an interpretation slightly different from the one offered by Sri Krishnamacharlu. According to him, it speaks of two diverse things: *śāstra-dāna* and *pravimāla-chāritra*. And the *chāritra* he takes as referring to that of Sarvanandin himself. It would perhaps be preferable to treat the two things not as separate, but the first as the cause and the other as its effect, and thus the *chāritra* as referring to that of the people at large. This would not only justify the plural number employed in the expression, but would also be more in consonance with the adage *vidyā dadāti vinayam vinayād yāti pātratām*, etc. A more literal rendering of the stanza would therefore be: "May Indra, (the god of rains,) (in the guise) of the holy Sarvanandin, in his wonderful way, put an end to the (blazing) heat (in the form) of the evil by means of rain-clouds (in the shape) of perfectly flawless characters (produced) through his ceaseless teaching or continuously disseminating knowledge (among the people) !"

¹ What has been taken for the length mark (or medial ā) on the letter *dhā* seems to have been cancelled by the engraver.

² Considering the religion of the teacher spoken of, the *śāstra* here may be taken as adverting to the Jaina scriptures, but may as well be taken in its broader sense of knowledge as defined in the *nīti* :

अनेकसंशयोच्छेदि परोक्षार्थस्य वार्त्तिकम् ।

सर्वस्य लोचनं शास्त्रं यस्य नास्त्यत्र एव सः ॥

Mr. P. B. Desai, Epigraphical Assistant, has kindly pointed out to me that the inscription is in the nature of an epitaph and that the concluding expression in the Kannaḍa portion, *śanyāsana-nōṇu muḍipidar*, translated as 'completed the vow of renunciation,' implies, as similar expressions in similar Jaina inscriptions do, that Sarvanandin died. In that case, the blessings invoked in the Sanskrit *Ārya* would sound rather inconsistent unless, of course, Sarvanandin's agency as preacher or teacher, after his death, be understood to be continuing through the succession of his disciples.

C.—*Balsāṇḍ Inscription ; Śaka 1106*

This short inscription of four stanzas, rather indifferently engraved, has been published by Dr. M. G. Dikshit.¹ Its text seems to be defective here and there. I had an opportunity of examining Dr. Dikshit's article on it at the time when it was going through the press. I even made a suggestion or two regarding its reading. The observations offered here are the result of a study which I subsequently happened to make of this interesting record. It presents certain difficulties that are still awaiting solution. Dr. Dikshit's provisional identification of the king Kṛishṇa figuring in it, for instance, with a member of the Ābhira family of Bhambāgiri needs corroboration. And his explanation of the line read by him as

यः क्रे(कु)ण्णस्य महीपतेः करतले कर्ताशु पिछा(च्छा)वलं(लाम्)

'who in no time made over the earth...to the possession of the king Kṛishṇa' does not seem to have hit the nail on the head.

In the present note, however, I propose to draw attention to a more obvious point, namely the object of the inscription. "The object of the inscription," says Dr. Dikshit, "is to record that the *Paṇḍita* repaired the Royal Maṭha (*Rāja-maṭha*), standing on the banks of a river, at Balsāṇaka, for the inhabitance of Brahmins."² The relevant text प्रा(प्र)कारवद्राजमठं च भग्नं निरंतरं ब्रह्मनिवासहेतोः has accordingly been translated by him as "he caused to be repaired, for the perpetual inhabitance of Brahmins, the dilapidated Royal monastery."³

The use of the term *maṭha* in the original has given rise to what I may call a misconception as to the exact purport of the record. It has been taken in its ordinary sense of 'monastery,' whereas it has in all probability been employed here in its secondary sense of *devālaya* or 'temple.'

In the very opening sentence of his paper, Dr. Dikshit informs us that the inscription 'is carved on the lintel of the entrance door of a temple.'⁴ And in the absence of any specific reference to the contrary in the inscription, we may be justified in accepting that the *maṭha* mentioned therein refers to the very temple itself where the inscription is found.

Going through the earlier reports on the epigraph, one gets at the root of the confusion. Mr. H. Cousens first drew attention to its existence 'upon the *maṭha*.'⁵ Mr. R. D. Banerji, who happened to examine it later on, has asserted that it is found on a temple and not in the *maṭha*.⁶ It appears that both the scholars in reality referred to one and the same building, the former naming it *maṭha* after the manner of the inscription and the latter calling it temple in accordance with its actual appearance. The mistake, however, seems to lie in the fact that to Mr. Cousens, the term *maṭha* meant nothing else but 'monastery.' To him the building in question was thus a monastery, because it was labelled, so to say, as *maṭha* whatever its form and size. One finds him describe it as such in his *Mediaeval Temples of the Dakhan*.⁷ In this publication he gives also a plan of the *maṭha*,⁸ from which one can see that the modest dimensions of the structure answer more to a simple fane than to a monastery.

It remains to be shown that *maṭha*, meaning 'temple', is found not only in lexicons, but also actually used in old inscriptions. The Dhauli cave inscription of the time of Śāntikara,

¹ Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 309 ff. and plate.

² Ibid., p. 313.

³ Ibid., p. 310.

⁴ Ibid., p. 313.

⁵ Ibid., p. 309.

⁶ *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, p. 55.

⁷ *An. Prog. Report, A. S. I., Western Circle*, 1918-19, p. 45.

⁸ *Archaeological Survey of India, Imperial Series*, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 23, 26-27.

⁹ Ibid., plate XXVIII.

for instance, records the erection of a temple, where the term employed is *maṭha*.¹ The word *maṭha*, occurring in line 8 of the Kaman stone inscription, has been taken as referring to a temple of Śiva.² The Alagum inscription, dated in the sixtysecond regnal year of the Gaṅga monarch Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, obviously refers to a temple of Śiva, under the name of Gartēsvara, again using the word *maṭha* for 'temple'.³ Instances of *maṭhi* and *maṭhikā* (diminutive forms of *maṭha*) in the sense of 'shrine' or 'cell' are also found in inscriptions.⁴

If now, in view of the foregoing discussion, we accept that the *maṭha* of the inscription refers to a temple, the question arises as to which particular deity it was sacred to. The answer is: to Brahman. This is indicated by the very words निरंतरं ब्रह्मनिवासहेतोः which may now be rendered as 'for the permanent residence of (the god) Brahman.' The word *brahman* thus retains its primary sense. This conclusion is substantiated by the fact that the inscription begins with an invocation to the very god Brahman. And, as if to lend conviction to all this, we have a report by Mr. Cousens himself that among the sculptured stones, that lie about at the ancient site of Balsānā, there is an image of Brahman.⁵ It may, therefore, be supposed that this image must originally have been enshrined in the *maṭha* spoken of in the inscription. It is called *rāja-maṭha* or 'royal temple,' which possibly signifies that it was built originally by a king. It may be worth while to investigate as to who this king was. Considering that temples devoted to Brahman are few and far between,⁶ the present specimen though now deserted, may be counted among rarities.

No. 18—NAGARJUNIKONDA IMAGE INSCRIPTION

(1 Plate)

H. K. NARASIMHASWAMI, MADRAS

The sculpture bearing a short one-line inscription engraved at its base, which is published below, was discovered in 1940 at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, Guntur District, Andhra State, by Mr. K. Ramamurti, the Senior Conservation Assistant in the office of the Superintendent, Department of Archaeology, Southern Circle, Madras, who was then in charge of the Archaeological Museum at that place. It is a mutilated image in high relief on a white marble slab that was found half buried in the debris of rubble and stones on the northern slope of the Nāgārjuna hill, overlooking the river Kṛishṇā. In the process of clearing the debris, Mr. Ramamurti discovered traces of a large many-pillared hall, at the extremity of which the image under review was found. The partly exposed pillars of this hall are made of marble similar to that used for the other monuments of this place. The building, of which these pillars are the survivors, perhaps enshrined under its roof the very image which forms the subject matter of this article. A search for the missing portion of the image round about the region proved of no avail. The image is now kept in the Archaeological Museum at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa itself. When I visited this place

¹ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 264.

² Ibid., Vol. XXIV, 330.

³ Ibid., Vol. XXIX, p. 47, text line 14.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 225, text lines 26 and 27.

⁵ *Medieval Temples of the Dakhan*, p. 23.

⁶ An article on The Temple of Brahmā at Kheḍ-Brahma, by Mr. Henry Cousens, in the *An. Rep. A. S. I.* 1906-07, pp. 171-78, may be consulted with advantage on this point.

in 1940, I took a photograph of it and a couple of estampages of the inscription at its base, both of which I publish here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.¹

The lower half is all that is preserved of the image now. Even so, the sculpture is of considerable iconographic interest. It depicts a nude female figure in the sitting posture, with the legs doubled up and wide apart and the feet pointing outwards. The image is profusely ornamented. The broad belt below the navel is highly decorated with what look like rows of pearls or precious stones. The distended belly with the ornamental belt around it very much resembles the decorated *pūrṇa-ghaṭa*, the representation of which is a common feature in the Buddhist sculptural art of this period at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, Amarāvati and elsewhere. The anklets and other jewellery adorning the ankles are again typical of the ornaments portrayed in contemporary sculpture. On the narrow strip of space below the image is engraved an inscription in a single line in **Prākṛit** language and **Brāhmī** characters assignable to the 3rd century A. C.

The inscription does not give us any clue as to the identity of the image. Nevertheless, the recording that it was caused to be made by a queen who is described as an *a-vidhāvā*, 'one who has her husband alive', and a *jīvaputā* (Sanskrit *jīva-putrā*), 'one who has her child or children alive', gives room for the surmise that it must have stood for a cult image and that its sponsor was a follower of that cult. The cult of worshipping the naked forms of either the male or female, the one in the form of the *linga* and the other in the form of the *yōni*, both representing the generative principle in nature, is a very ancient and wide-spread one. The excavations at Mohenjo-daro in Sind have brought to light numerous female terracotta figurines akin to those discovered in Baluchistan and in countries of Western Asia, around the Aegian coast, Elam, Mesopotamia, Asia-Minor, Syria, Palestine, Cyprus, Crete, Cyclades, the Balkans and Egypt. These figurines are identified as the representations of the Great Mother or the Goddess of Nature. India is known to have been the home of the worship of the Divine Mother, *Ādyā-Śakti*, *Prakṛiti* or *Prithivī*, the Earth.* Apart from the terracotta figurines referred to above, an interesting oblong sealing found at Harappa depicts, on one of its faces, a nude female figure, upside down, with legs apart and with a plant issuing from her womb.² This is considered as depicting the Mother Goddess in her role as the author of fertility. Another instance of a figure akin to this is afforded by a small repousse gold plaque bearing the figure of a nude female recovered at Piprahva which is believed to represent the Earth Goddess.³ The inscribed sculpture of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa also seems to be a representation of the Mother Goddess in her aspect as the Goddess of fertility or fecundity. It is in all probability a votive image dedicated as an offering in response to the fulfilment of certain wishes or desires.

As for the contents of the inscription, Queen Khamḍuvulā who figures for the first time in this record is described as Mahādēvī and the wife(?) of Mahārāja Siri Ehavala Chāntamāla. The latter is probably identical with his namesake who is mentioned as a son of Siri Vira Purisadata and Mahādēvī Bhaṭidēvā and as the brother of Queen Kodabalisiri, in inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa itself.⁴ In an inscription from Reṇṭāla, not far from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa,

¹ Photograph No. 1996 of the office of the Government Epigraphist for India; inscription No. 470 of 1940-41 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

² R. K. Mookerji, *Hindu Civilisation*, pp. 19-20.

³ Sir John Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and Indus Civilisation*, Vol. I, p. 52, pl. XII, 12.

⁴ *JRAS*, 1898, p. 579, pl. opp. p. 579, figs. 11 & 15.

⁵ Above, Vol. XX, p. 5 and inscriptions G and H. The king's name occurs variously as Ehuvaḥa Chāntamāla in inscription G (page 24, plate V, line 7) and Ehuvala Chāntamāla (in inscription H, line 10, plate V, reverse).

NAGARJUNIKONDA IMAGE INSCRIPTION



(From Photographs)

the name of this king occurs in a slightly different form as Ehuvala Siri Chāntamūla.¹ The expressions *a-vidhavā* and *jīvaputā* used in describing the queen are noteworthy. The latter occurs in an inscription on brick from Mathurā, assigned to the 3rd or 2nd century B. C.² and also on some inscriptions of the Śuṅga period on the railings from Bodh-Gaya.³ In literature these words are commonly employed either as an auspicious mode of addressing a lady leading a married life or when such ladies are referred to.⁴

TEXT

Sidha[m*]]⁵ Mahādēviya a-vidhavāya j[ī]vaputāya Mahār[ā] ja-siri-
[Ehava]la Chāntamu]la-pati[ya] Khaṇḍuvulāya kārītātī⁶ []⁷

TRANSLATION

Success. (*This image is*) caused to be made by Mahādēvi Khaṇḍuvulā, (*who is*) an *a-vidhavā* (i. e., one with her husband alive) and (*who is*) a *jīvaputā* (Sanskrit, *jīvaputrā*, i. e., one who has her child or children alive) (*and who is*) the wife (?) of Mahārāja Siri Ehava]la Chāntamūla.

No. 19—MORE INSCRIPTIONS AT ABLUR

(1 Plate)

P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

Ablūr is a village about 6 miles north of Hirekerūr, the present day headquarters of Kōḍ taluk, Dharwar District. Traditions are current in these parts asserting that formerly it was a very big city¹⁰ and included within its extent the present day neighbouring villages of Bhōgāvi Sutkōṭi, Nūlgēri, Dūpadhalli and Yattinhalli. According to another tradition Ablūr is the birth place of Sarvajña,¹¹ a popular Kannada poet (circa 1700 A. C.), and a house near the Sōmāśvara temple is shown as the place where he was born. In one of his *tripadī* verses Sarvajña states that he was born at Ambalūru¹² which is identified with Ablūr.

¹ *An. Rep. S. I. E.*, 1936-37, p. 62, para. 11, Ins. No. 349.

² *An. Rep. Archl. Survey of India*, 1911-12, p. 128.

³ *Ibid.*, 1908-09, p. 149, f. n. 3; cf. *Jīva-sulā* in the Nasik inscription of Gautamiputra Śātakarṇi and *Jīva-putra-patrā* in the inscription of Prabhāvatigupta in the *Select Inscriptions*. (These references were kindly pointed out to me by Dr. D. C. Sircar.)

⁴ *Bhartur-mītram priyam=avidhavā—Mēghasandēśa*, v. 99. *Jīva-putrās=tathā striyā—Rāmāyaṇa, Yuddhakāṇḍa*; *Jīva-putrī sutas-tē=yaṁ Dharmaputrō Yuddhishṭhirah—Mahābhārata, Adiparvan*, ch. 144. (I am indebted to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra and Dr. V. Raghavan for these references).

⁵ The punctuation is indicated by a hook-like mark.

⁶ This portion of the inscription bears numerous scratches on the stone somewhat obliterating the letters enclosed in the brackets.

⁷ The stone has slightly peeled off here and with it the lower half of the letter *ya* has gone. There is a distinct mark of an *anusvara* over *tī*. Probably the expression is *patimya*, a corrupt form used in the sense of *patnyā*.

⁸ This expression obviously stands for *kārītā tī*.

⁹ The slanting stroke at the end seems to stand for the punctuation.

¹⁰ The *Abalāra-charitre*, to which a reference will be made in the later part of this article, also says that it was an extensive city.

¹¹ R. Narasimhachar: *Karṇāṭaka Kavicharite*, Vol. II, p. 532.

¹² Channappa Uttangi: *Sarvajña Vachanagaṇa* (3rd edn., 1936), verse 8.

Over half a century ago the late Dr. Fleet noticed in this journal seven inscriptions¹ from this place, three of which were edited in full. In the course of my annual tour during the field season of 1951-52, I visited Ablūr (January 1952) and explored its antiquities. My investigations revealed that this village contained a large number of inscriptions many of which were not known to Fleet and that some important points connected with its antiquities were also lost sight of. In all I discovered thirteen more inscriptions. I propose to study a few of these here briefly.

Most of the interesting facts regarding the activities of Ekāntada Rāmayya,² the militant protagonist of the Śaiva upheaval, are centred in the temple of Sōmāśvara. Besides the epigraph E³ furnishing a graphic account of his miraculous exploits⁴ this temple contains an inscription above a panel of sculptures depicting the scene of Rāmayya's encounter with the Jainas as described by Fleet.⁵ As there are some errors in the understanding and reading of this record (F) by Fleet, I may point them out here in the first instance.

Firstly, it is a label inscription and the word *ṭāvu* appears to have been used in a rather technical sense denoting 'a place representing the scene of.' We meet with its variant *ṭā* and *ṭāvu* in other inscriptions at this temple, which we shall study presently. The expression *ṭāvu* may be derived from the Sanskrit root *sthā*, though it appears to have been influenced in its formation by Prakrit. It is interesting to note in this context that the labels in Tamil incised near the sculptures representing incidents in the Pallava history, found in the Vaikunṭhaperumāl temple at Kāñchīpuram, similarly end with the word *iṭam*⁶ meaning likewise 'a place, etc.'. Secondly, the epigraph is not incomplete and none of its letters is missing as supposed by Fleet. The first line ends properly with the word *kudureya-* and continues in the second. At the end of the second line, again, it is unnecessary to supply some letters through brackets as done by Fleet. For its continuation is found on the front side of the parapet wall and it reads almost exactly as conjectured by Fleet. The whole inscription now reads as follows :—

TEXT (Fleet's F)⁷

- 1 Śrī-Brahmēśva(śva)ra-dēvaralli Ēkāntada-Rāmayyam basadiya Jinan=odḍav-āgi taleyan-arida haḍeda ṭāvu || Saṅka-gāvuṇḍam basadiyan=odeyal=iyade ālum-kudureya-
- 2 n=odḍiralu Ēkāntada Rāmayyam kādi geldu Jinan=odeḍu liṅga-pratiṣṭe(the)yaṁ māḍida ṭā[vu] [||*]

TRANSLATION

This is the place representing how, at (*the temple of*) the illustrious god Brahmēśvara, Ēkāntada Rāmayya laid a wager, at the cost of the Jina of the shrine, of cutting off his head and received it back again. When Saṅka-gāvuṇḍa would not let him destroy the shrine of the Jina,

¹ Above, Vol. V, pp. 213 ff.; inscriptions A to G.

² The epithet *Ēkāntada* appears to have been acquired by Rāmayya after his victory over the Jainas. In lines 28-29 of inscription E the propriety of this epithet is justified on the ground of his firm and single-minded devotion to Śiva. But it appears reasonable to add that he might as well have claimed it to bring into contrast his great achievement which consisted in vanquishing the doctrine of Anēkānta that characterised the Jaina faith.

³ Above, Vol. V, pp. 237 ff.

⁴ It is of interest to note that the achievement of Ēkāntada Rāmayya against the Jainas is also described in one of his compositions in the *Raḡale* metre by Harihara, a Kannaḍa poet of about the 13th century. Harihara's account agrees in many respects with that of the Ablūr inscription E.

⁵ Above, Vol. V, pp. 260-61.

⁶ *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 135.

⁷ *In situ* and from an impression.

MORE INSCRIPTIONS AT ABLUR

Inscription I

இவ்வூர்திருவிழையின்போது
புதுப்பெருங்குளம்

Inscription II

மேற்கூறியபடியின்போது
புதுப்பெருங்குளம்

SCALE: ONE-HALF

Inscription III

First portion


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

Middle portion


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

Last portion


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

arraying his men and horses against him, Ēkāntada Rāmayya fought and vanquished them. He smashed the Jina and installed the *liṅga* (in its place).

Now I will take up two more inscriptions in the same temple. These deal with the same theme as the above, viz., Ēkāntada Rāmayya's victory over the Jainas. These are also of the label category. They are not dated, but evidently belong to the same period as that of the above epigraph. They may be assigned approximately to 1200 A. C. on palaeographic considerations.

INSCRIPTION I

This is incised above a panel of sculptures to the left of the entrance into the inner shrine of the Sōmēśvara temple. The sculptures represent a dignitary with attendants on one side and a row of Śaiva devotees on the other. A person holding a document in his hand is shown prominently in the middle. The epigraph reads :—

TEXT¹

- 1 Śrīmad-Ēkāntada-Rāmayyaṅge Saṁka-gaṁvum-
- 2 ḍaṇ=ōḷeyam kuḍuva t̥hā[vu] [||*]

TRANSLATION

This is the place (*depicting the scene*) of conferring the certificate (*of victory*) upon the illustrious Ēkāntada Rāmayya by Saṁka-gavunḍa.

INSCRIPTION II

This is incised above a panel of sculptures to the right of entrance into the inner shrine of the same temple. The sculptures depict the scene of a Jina placed horizontally ready to be broken amidst a group of local officials and Śaiva devotees. The epigraph reads :—

TEXT²

- 1 Yē(Ē)kāntada Rāmayyaṅgaḷu Jinanan=ōḍedu
- 2 liṅga-pratiṣṭheyam māḍida t̥avu[||*]

TRANSLATION

At this place (*is depicted the scene of*) Ēkāntada Rāmayya breaking the (*image of*) Jina and setting up the Śivaliṅga.

INSCRIPTION III

This is an independent inscription by itself, made up of labels. It is incised above a panel of sculptures to the right side of the parapet wall at the entrance proper into the same temple and just opposite to Fleet's F. The characters are of about the same period as those of the foregoing records. The panels of sculptures as well as the inscription divide themselves into three portions pertaining to different episodes in the lives of Śaiva saints. The first series of sculptures consists of the figure of Śiva in his divine form followed by that of a Śaiva mendicant standing before a devotee holding a long piece of cloth in his hand. The second series represents a devotee with his wife carrying a child in her arms and a Kāpālika *bhikṣu* facing them. The last is the figure of a seated man holding an object like a small round bat. The labels below these sculp-

¹ *In situ* and from impressions.

² *In situ* and from impressions.

tures explain their subject matter. The second line of the inscription commences just below the third label indicating that it constitutes its part. The inscription reads as follows :—

TEXT¹

- 1 (i) Jēḍara Dāsimaṣṣaṅgaḷu dēvarige vastrava kuḍuva ṭāṭu ||
 (ii) Siriyāḷa-seṭṭi Chaṁgaḷavve dēvarige maganan=ikkuva ṭāvu ||
 (iii) Kumbāra Gu[m*]ḍana muṁde
 2 baṁdhā(md=ā)ḍida naṁma Śivanu [||*]

TRANSLATION

- (i) Here is (*depicted the scene of*) Jēḍara (weaver) Dāsimaṣṣa offering cloth to the god (Śiva).
 (ii) Here is depicted the scene of Siriyāḷa-seṭṭi and (*his wife*) Chaṁgaḷavve offering their son to the god (Śiva).
 (iii) Our (god) Śiva came down and danced before Kumbāra (potter) Guḍa.

Jēḍara Dāsimaṣṣa, as the story goes, was a weaver and a devotee of Śiva. By offering a cloth to his deity he received from him the boon of inexhaustible treasure (*tavanidhi*). This episode is frequently referred to in the Virasaiva literature of Karnāṭaka, the earliest allusions being those found in the *Vachanas* or Sayings of Basavēśvara.² Siriyāḷa-seṭṭi is said to have offered the cooked flesh of his son to god Śiva who came to him in disguise as a Śaiva mendicant to test his faith.³ It is interesting to trace the ramifications of this story the roots of which are found in the Tamil country. According to the *Periāpurāṇam*, Parañjōti, the general of Pallava Narasiṁhavarman I (circa 7th century), who in his later life became famous as the Śaiva saint Śiruttōṇḍa Nāyaṇār⁴, had a son named Sirāla. This Sirāla was sacrificed by his father to propitiate Śiva. This legend had several adaptations in Śaiva literature of the Telugu and Kannaḍa countries and also of Mahārāshṭra. In these versions the son's name appears to have passed on to the father who became popular as Siriyāḷa-seṭṭi.⁵ In Mahārāshṭra a festival is observed in the name of Siriyāḷa-seṭṭi on Śrāvaṇa śu. 6 in a queer fashion by the ladies of the household.⁶ Kumbāra or Potter Guḍa, again, mentioned in the above epigraph, was a devotee of highly spiritual status. While beating his earthenware into shape he went into a trance and was absorbed in the meditation of Śiva. Pleased with his devotion Śiva descended from Kailāsa and danced before him.⁷

The accounts of Ēkāntada Rāmaṣṣa, Jēḍara Dāsimaṣṣa, etc., noticed above, along with a host of other Śaiva devotees, are often met with in the Virasaiva literature of the Kannaḍa country. Epigraphical references to them, however, are not so numerous and they belong rather to a late period. The earliest epigraphical notices of some of these devotees, associated with their sculptures, are found for the first time in the inscriptions of Ablūr, as indicated above. Herein lies the main interest and importance of these brief records.

¹ *In situ* and from impressions.

² *Basavannaṇavara Śaṣṭhaḷaḍa Vachanaḡaḷu* (edited by S. S. Basavanā), Nos. 147-48, etc. Jēḍara Dāsimaṣṣa appears to have been referred to as Dāsa in the following inscriptions also; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, Ch. 210 and Vol. XII, Ch. 18.

³ *Ibid.*, Nos. 146-49, 152, etc.; *Basavapurāṇa*, sandhi 24.

⁴ Above, Vol. V, p. 254, n. 6; V. Rangacharya's article 'The Legend of Siruttōṇḍa Nayanar', *The Hindu*, Jan. 3, 1943.

⁵ 'Siriyāḷa Charitra', *Bhārati* (Telugu Journal), 1951 August.

⁶ B. A. Gupte: *Hindu Holidays and Ceremonials* (Calcutta, 1918), pp. 207-08.

⁷ This story is narrated by the Kannaḍa poet Harihara (circa 13th century) in one of his compositions in the *Raḡaḷe* metre. A later epigraphical reference to this devotee is found in the *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. III, Md. 83.

Adverting to Ēkāntada Rāmayya, we may see how his achievements had passed into legend and were considered worthy of representation in sculptures by this time, that is to say, about half a century after his period.¹ We may also note the significant fact that all these inscriptions are found in the temple of Sōmēśvara. This temple, according to the inscription E, was erected by Rāmayya himself. But it would be more reasonable to postulate that he was actually responsible for its main structure only to which additions might have been made subsequently. This surmise gains support from the testimony of other antiquities, tradition and literature. Besides the main shrine dedicated to the god Sōmēśvara, a *linga*, the temple contains two collateral shrines wherein are found two more *lingas*. They are known as Ēkāntada Rāmayya and Agni Honnayya. It becomes evident from this that Rāmayya was consecrated here in the form of a *linga* after his demise. Agni Honnayya, as the tradition avers, was the beloved-guru of Rāmayya, who backed him up in his disputations against the Jainas. He must be identical with Aggaṇi² Honni Tande hailing from Puligere, who figures in the *Raḡale* of Ēkāntada Rāmayya by Harihara and also as Ponni Tande in the *Abalūra-charitre*, a Kannaḡa work of a late period.³ We are told in this work that the temple of Sōmēśvara was erected at the instance of Rāmayya by Śaṅkapāla who must evidently be Śaṅka-gāvunḡa of the inscriptions, along with others, to celebrate the former's victory.⁴ Sōmēśvara appears to have been the favourite deity of Rāmayya. His native place Alande was sanctified by this deity and this place is referred to as the 'town of Sōmanātha' in the inscription E.⁵ This fact is further confirmed by the Aland inscription of Yuvarāja Mallikārjuna, edited by me in this journal. It speaks of Alande as specially favoured by god Sōmēśvara.⁶ Again, according to the inscription E, Rāmayya worshipped the deity Sōmanātha at Huligere before he proceeded to Ablūr.⁷

By the middle of the 12th century Karnāṭaka witnessed the upsurge of a great religious movement emphasizing the superiority of god Śiva and his devotion. Two eminent personalities, one in the south and the other in the north, were instrumental in bringing about this upheaval. These were Ēkāntada Rāmayya of the Ablūr inscriptions and Basavēśvara, the founder of the Virāśaiva faith. The Kalachuri usurper Bijjala II came into contact with both, incidentally with the former as narrated in the Ablūr inscription E, and directly, with long association ending in bitter antagonism, with the latter. In consequence of the zealous activities of the leaders of this Śaiva revival, Jainism, Buddhism, Pāśupata and other faiths prevailing in the land, received a staggering blow. A study of Harihara's *Basavarājadevara Raḡale* reveals that the genesis of the conflict between Bijjala and Basavēśvara was not in the alleged circumstance of the former being either a follower or supporter of Jainism. It is gathered from this work, the testimony of which deserves to be reckoned as authentic on account of its proximity to the scene of events, that

¹ It is of interest to note in this connection a parallel instance from the neighbouring province. With the ascendancy of Śaivism the Jainas of the Tamil country were persecuted and the scenes of such persecutions are depicted in sculptures on the walls of the temple at Tiruvattūr in the North Arcot District (*An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1923, p. 4).

² Aggaṇi is an epithet and it can be derived from Sanskrit *aggaṇi* or *arghyapānīya*, both of which point to the respectable position held by Ponni or Honni Tande. Honni Tande literally means 'Father Honni' or 'Honni's Father'.

³ This work is of the nature of a *Purāṇa* recounting the exploits of Rāmayya in the legendary fashion. It is unpublished. Being popular, its recitations are held on ceremonial occasions among the Virāśaivas of these parts. While at Ablūr I secured a manuscript copy of this work for study.

⁴ In the wake of Rāmayya's victory conversions from Jainism to Śaivism took place on a mass scale, according to the *Abalūra-charitre* and the local tradition. It is interesting to observe that miniature terracotta *lingas* were unearthed in a large number in the locality some years back. One such was shown to me while at Ablūr.

⁵ Above, Vol. V, p. 254.

⁶ Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, p. 36.

⁷ Ibid., Vol. V, p. 255.

whereas Bijjala was a protagonist of the orthodox Brahmanical creeds,¹ Basavēśvara was a reformist directing his attacks against the rigidity of Brahmanical dogmas and practices and preaching his new cult of liberality and equality amongst the devotees of Śiva.² A volume of epigraphical and other evidence is now available to prove that Bijjala, like all members of the Kalachuri house, was a staunch follower of Śaivism and had no particular interest as such in Jainism. Thus the theory of Jaina leanings of Bijjala stands thoroughly exploded.³ When Fleet wrote in this journal more than half a century ago, he expressed his doubt⁴ in regard to the historicity of Basavēśvara on account of the paucity of sources then available to him. Subsequently the discovery and publication of a substantial number of literary works and epigraphs which constitute quite reliable and contemporaneous documents, have established him as a historic figure beyond all doubt.⁵ Of paramount importance in this context is the evidence of the Arjunavāḍa inscription published in this journal.⁶

We are in possession of more epigraphical evidence now to show that besides Rāmāyā and Basavēśvara, there flourished in this century other sponsors of the Śaiva movement, whose aggressive activities must have contributed to its success. We may illustrate these observations from the contents of two inscriptions. An inscription at Annigeri⁷ in the Dharwar District, referring itself to the reign of the Western Chālukya king Virā-Śomeśvara IV and dated in 1184 A.C., introduces a feudatory chief of the Sagara family named Virā-Goggidēva. An ardent upholder of the Śaiva faith, he is described as 'a fire to the Jaina scriptures' and 'a death to the adherents of the Jaina Law.' The record further characterises him as 'an eagle to the snakes which are the Jainas' and 'a hunter of the wild beasts in the form of followers of the Jina.' Another epigraph from Tālikōṭi⁸ in the Bijāpur District, referring itself to the same reign and bearing a date in the same year, furnishes the following facts about another feudatory, Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Viruparasa. This Viruparasa propitiated god Hara by his multifold devotion and was busily engaged with the advocates of the rival faiths. He launched a regular crusade as it were against the adherents of other sects. A conflagration to the forest of Jaina creed and adept in demolishing the Buddhist Canon, he pulverized the Jaina temples and raised the thrones of Śivaliṅgas. Thus did he vindicate his solemn oath and hold aloft the banner of Śiva in the three worlds. By virtue of such achievements he was endowed with the encomium of innumerable Śaiva devotees, both of the past and present generations. Lastly we may note here the significant circumstance that both Virā-Goggidēva and Viruparasa of the above two epigraphs lived in a period slightly later than that of Basavēśvara and that their spheres of activities too were confined to the northern parts of Karnāṭaka. This might have been responsible for the confusion of later writers attributing to Basavēśvara active hostility against the Jaina creed.

¹ I have discussed this topic and illustrated it with extracts from Harihara's above-named work in my lectures on the Kalachuris of Karnāṭaka, delivered at the Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar, in 1951. They are now published; see *Kannada Sāhitya Parishat Patrika*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 102 ff.

² The *Sayings of Basava* are replete with utterances that testify to these observations. They show that his chief opponents were Brāhmaṇas of the orthodox school wielding influence in the society. The Brāhmaṇas and their practices are criticised severely and more often in his utterances than the Jainas to whom only passing references are made. The following among others are a few passages criticising Brahmanism; *Basavanṇa. Śka. Vachanagaḷu* (op. cit), Nos. 571, 576, 583, 588, etc.

³ The 'Kalachuris of Karnāṭaka' referred to above; *Kan. Sāh. Pari. Patrika*, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 113-14. Also see Govind Pai's *Māru Upanyāsagaḷu*, pp. 79 ff.

⁴ Above, Vol. V, p. 242.

⁵ *Māru Upanyāsagaḷu*, pp. 59-62.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 9 ff. and 17.

⁷ Bombay-Karnatak Collection, No. 207 of 1928-29. The text of this and the following inscription are not published. Their short summaries only have been given in the *Annual Reports on S. I. Epigraphy* for the years concerned. But I have utilised their texts with the permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

⁸ Ibid., No. 68 of 1929-30

No. 20—PARBATIYA PLATES OF VANAMALAVARMADEVA

(1 Plate)

P. D. CHAUDHURY, GAUHATI AND D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

A set of three copper plates was discovered by a cultivator while tilling his field at the village of Parbatiyā which lies about three miles from the town of Tezpur in the Darrang District, Assam. It was secured by Mr. Biswadeb Sarma who was then a student of the Law College, Gauhati. Mr. Sarma handed over the plates to his teacher, Mr. S. K. Datta, Barrister-at-Law, then Principal of the Law College. Ultimately they were presented to the Assam Provincial Museum, Gauhati, where they are now deposited.

The plates measure 10" by 6.2". They are held together by a ring to which a seal, similar to those found with the charters of the ancient kings of Prāgyōtisha, is soldered. The seal is oval in shape with its diameter measuring lengthwise 4.7" and breadthwise 4.3". It has a conical projection at the top and contains, on counter-sunk surface, the emblem of an elephant facing front, below which, separated by a cross-bar, is the legend in characters similar to those employed in the inscription on the plates. The legend is written in three lines and reads :

- 1 Svasti [||*] Śrīmān=Prāgyōtish-ādhip-ānva-
- 2 yō mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Vanam[ā]-
- 3 lavarmmadēva[ḥ ||*]

The first and the third plates have writing on one side only, while the second is inscribed on both the sides. There are altogether 59 lines of writing, the first plate having 15 lines, the second 16 on the obverse and 15 on the reverse, and the third only 13. The borders of the plates are raised; but the rims of the first plate are damaged and the last line of the inscription on its face is partially obliterated. The upper border of the obverse of the second plate is also slightly damaged towards the right. With the exception of certain *akṣaras* in the last line on the first plate as well as the vowel-marks of a few *akṣaras* in the first line of the same plate and also of line 1 on the obverse of the second plate, the inscription is in a good state of preservation. The *akṣaras* are neatly and beautifully incised. With the exception of the third plate, all the inscribed faces of the plates have one or more *akṣaras* in the margin opposite the ring-hole or in the space left out near about the hole. In the margin of plate I (reverse) there is the single *akṣara śrī*, while plate II (reverse) has similarly *sa*. But in the space near the ring-hole of plate II (obverse) there are the stray *akṣaras śrī, śrī, sa, sa* and *śa* (?) together with two indeterminable marks, which are all fashioned here and there without any order. They, however, do not appear to have been the *akṣaras* inadvertently omitted in the inscription on the faces of the plates in question. The *akṣara śrī* may of course be taken as a *maṅgala*; but the other *akṣaras* can hardly be accounted for.¹ The plates together with the seal weigh 258 *tolas*, while the seal alone weighs 127 *tolas*.

The characters employed belong to the East Indian variety of the Siddhamātrikā or Kuṭiḷa script of the ninth century, sometimes called Early Nāgarī or Proto-Bengali.² Indeed it is the *Gauḍī lipi* or the East Indian script as known to Al-Birūnī³ and was the source from which the Bengali alphabet and the allied Assamese, Oriya and Maithili scripts gradually developed. The inscription employs several times the initial vowels *a* (lines 2, 5, 58), *i* (lines 4, 10, 19, 22, 23, 53), *u* (lines 41, 50) and *ē* (lines 15, 28, 50, 52). Initial *i* is of the ordinary type in all the cases,

¹ For similar stray *akṣaras* on the lost Tezpur plates of Vanamālavarmān, see P. N. Bhattacharya, *Kāma-rūpa-kāśan-āvalī*, p. 62 and note 2.

² Some of the *akṣaras* (cf. *a, kh, g, j, s*, medial *i* and *sa*, etc.) closely resemble their Bengali-Assamese forms.

³ See also, *Alberuni's India*, Vol. I, p. 173; cf. *JRASS*, L, Vol., XIV, 1948, pp. 115-16; *IRG*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 130-31.

except in line 23 where the lower part has a double curve instead of the usual one. Medial *ā* has no less than three different forms. In addition to the usual sign resembling a *daṇḍa* put at the right of consonants and generally joined above with their top *mātrā* (cf. °*Kailāsa* in line 1), there are some cases where the stroke is a little curved towards the right and reaches only down to about half the length of the consonants (cf. *krīḍā* in line 2), while in others it comes only a little down and then goes up, leaving a sharp curve below and ending in a stroke curved towards the right above the head of the consonants (cf. *pañk-āṇila* in line 1). Medial *u* and *ū* are usually of the ordinary types; but the forms of *chyu* (cf. *chytair°* in line 2), *ru* (cf. *dhvānt-ōru°* in line 23), *rū* (cf. °*ārūḍhair°* in line 11) and others are interesting. *Bhū* has been written in two different ways. The ordinary sign for medial *ū* has been employed in some cases (cf. °*abhūt* in line 53); but often the *ū* sign is formed by joining the sign for *u* with a *daṇḍa* put at the right of *bh*; cf. lines 9 (°*bhūt°*), 12 (°*bhūt*), 18 (*bhūtā*), 20 (°*ādbhūt°* for °*ābhūt°*), 24 (*bhūmishu*) and 25 (*bhūri*). Medial *ē* is formed by lengthening the left end of the top *mātrā* of the consonant in a curve forming almost a loop at the end; but it is yet shorter than the developed sign of the *mātrā* reaching the bottom of the line. The *akshara* *ḥ* has not been distinguished from *v*. The consonant *jḥ*, which is of rather rare occurrence, is found in the conjunct *jḥi* in line 43. The final consonants *t* (lines 5, 12, 54, 57, 59), *n* (lines 51, 53) and *m* (lines 4, 7, 8, 23, 25) occur many times in the inscription.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It is written partly in prose and partly in verse. The prose portion exhibits the quality called *śjaś* in a considerable degree in imitation of the style of masters like Bhaṭṭa Bāṇa (cf. lines 33-46); but the versification is rather weak, there being several cases of metrical errors (cf. verses 8, 9, 19, 26, 27). The formal part of the charter from the beginning down to *Vanamālavarṇmadēvaḥ kuśalī* in line 48 is the same as in another record, viz., the Tezpur plates,¹ of the king who issued the charter under discussion, except that two passages of considerable length have been omitted in the present inscription, perhaps inadvertently. As some mistakes are common to both the records (cf. °*ādyasya* for a word like *yuktasya* in verse 9 and *viḡagrikuh* for *jagrikuh* in verse 21), it seems that they were prepared from the same draft which was faulty. There are altogether thirty verses (actually 29 verses and only the first half of another stanza). Of the five verses in the latter part of the document, two are the common imprecatory stanzas, while the remaining three describing the donee are written in a style which is definitely worse than that of the stanzas in the formal part of the record. Weakness in the composition even of the formal part is exhibited by the repeated use of some expressions; cf. *adhināḥatva* in lines 7-8; *niḡśēsha* in lines 16-17; *āśēsha* in lines 17, 20, 26; *aṅghri* in lines 9, 14, 30; *vairi-vira* in lines 10, 12; *anugā* in lines 13, 19; *vṛāta* in lines 30, 36. The number of orthographical errors, although not many, is not inconsiderable. The conjunct *ṅh* has been written as *nh*. The word *pushkarinī* is found in the form *pushkirinī*. *Anusvāra* has been used instead of the final *m* in the imprecatory verses quoted at the end of the record. As regards other orthographical features, the consonants *g*, *n* and *dh* have been reduplicated after *r*; but *m* and *v* have been only occasionally reduplicated under the same condition, while *th* and *y* have not been subject to reduplication. *T* has been reduplicated when followed by *r*.

The inscription is not dated even in the regnal reckoning of the king who was responsible for its issue, although that was expected considering its age and locality. There is, however, no difficulty in determining the approximate date of the charter. As a record of the father of its issuer, viz., the Tezpur stone inscription of Harjaravarman,² is dated in the Gupta year 510 corresponding to 829 A.C., the inscription under notice has to be assigned to a date about the middle of the ninth century A.C.

¹ See *JASB*, Vol. IX, 1840, pp. 766-67; *Kāmarūpa-śāsan-āvalī*, pp. 58-55.

² *Kāmarūpa-śāsan-āvalī*, p. 187.

The inscription begins with a symbol for *siddham* and the word *svasti* and two verses of adoration, the first in honour of the Lohitya-sindhu, i.e., the river Brahmaputra, and the second in honour of the god Pinākin, i.e., Śiva. Verse 3 introduces Naraka, the son of Ādivarāha (i.e., Viṣṇu) and the goddess Earth, and the next verse says how Kṛṣṇa killed Naraka but allowed to go unpunished the latter's two sons, Bhagadatta and Vajradatta. Verses 5-6 describe how, when Bhagadatta obtained the lordship over Prāgjyōtisha, his brother Vajradatta went to the forest where he propitiated Īśvara (probably the god Śiva) by his penance and obtained through the god's favour the lordship over Uparipattana as well as the future lordship of Prāgjyōtisha for his descendants. Verse 7 introduces a later king of Prāgjyōtisha belonging to Vajradatta's lineage, whose name is given as Sālabha. The following two verses appear to say that, when Sālabha joined in heaven the past kings of the country beginning with Sālastambha and ending with Harsha (i.e., Harshavarman), his brother Arathi became king. Verse 10 describes Arathi's queen Jivadēvi. Verses 11-12 describe king Harjara (i.e., Harjaravarman) who was the son of Arathi and Jivadēvi, while verses 13-15 say how Harjaravarman's queen Maṅgalā was an incarnation of the goddess Lakṣmī on the earth. Verses 16-23 give a description of king Vanamāla (i.e., Vanamālavarman) who was the son of Harjaravarman and Maṅgalā. Verse 24 says how king Vanamālavarman rebuilt a fallen temple of the god Hētuka-Śūlin (i.e., Śiva) into a magnificent building. Lines 47-48 mention Paramēśvara Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Vanamālavarmadeva who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (i.e., Śiva), meditated on (or was favoured by) the feet of his parents and issued the charter from Haḍapēśvara. Lines 33-46 give a lengthy description of the city of Haḍapēśvara in prose. This passage suffers from the omission of a number of words at the end, although they can be restored from the Tezpur plates of the same king, referred to above. The description suggests that the city was situated on the bank of the Lohitya-bhāṭṭāraka (i.e., the river-god Brahmaputra). The river is said to have passed by the Kāmākūṭa hill, on the top of which were installed the god Kāmēśvara and the goddess Mahāgaurī. The following passage in prose and verse in lines 48-58 records the grant which is followed by two imprecatory verses in lines 58-59. The king made a gift of the village called Hapōsagrāma which was attached to the *maṇḍala* or district of Svalpa-Maṅḍōka situated in Uttara-kūla and was bounded by Akṣhidāhikā in the east, the tank of Chandikā (possibly the goddess of this name) in the south-east, Dīrghāṅga in the south, a banyan tree in the south-west, a bush of bamboos or reeds in the west, a *salmali* tree in the north-west, a big *ālī* (possibly an embankment) in the north and the tank of Dhavala in the north-east. The gift village is said to have been made *a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pravēṣa* (i.e., not to be entered by regular or irregular troops, or, more probably, by policemen and peons) and *mukt-ōparikara* (i.e., not endowed with the right to enjoy taxes from temporary tenants). There is no specific mention that the village was made a rent-free gift. The donee was a Brāhmaṇa named Chūḍāmaṇi who was the son of Jājjaṭa and was the eldest of four brothers, the other three being Dēṭōbhā, Garga and Śambhu. It is said that the brothers were all living jointly without separation, because they feared in that the loss of *dharma*. Apparently the grant was made in favour of the head of the family but was meant to be enjoyed by all the four brothers and their descendants. The grant is said to have been made with a view to increasing the merit and fame of the king's parents with the request that it might be approved by all.

As regards the absence of any clear indication in the charter whether Hapōsagrāma was made a rent-free gift, it may be pointed out that the *sāsanas* of ancient Indian rulers were of

¹ Various forms of the mother-goddess are associated with Assam and especially with the Śākta Pīṭha at Kāmākhyā near Gauhati. Cf. *The Śākta Pīṭhas* (JRASB, L, Vol. XIV, 1948, No. 1), pp. 11-16, 47-48, and notes.

several categories. In many cases, land was granted as a free-gift and a rent-free holding.¹ Sometimes a piece of land was sold at a specified price but was made a perpetually rent-free holding.² In some other cases, the land is said to have been 'given'; but a specified rent was fixed for it.³ There were other cases (cf. the charter under discussion) in which land was given without any clear specification whether it was made a free-gift or a rent-free holding. There is little doubt that in many cases the word 'given' actually meant 'sold' and silence about making the land rent-free is an indication that it was revenue-paying, although certain concessions may have often been allowed to be enjoyed by the holders.⁴ In ancient India, often the sale of land was theoretically represented in the form of a gift. This is definitely suggested by the *Mitāksharā* on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, II, 114: *sthāvarasya vikraya-pratishēdhāt... dāna-prasamsāch=chavikraye=pi kartavyē sa-hiraṇyam=udakam dattvā dāna-rūpēna sthāvara-vikrayam kuryāt*.⁵ That Hapōsagrāma was not made a rent-free holding and may have actually been sold seems to be suggested also by the absence of the customary list of officials and subordinates who were usually addressed by the kings while making free gifts of land.

The reference to the joint family in which the four Brāhmaṇa brothers Chūdāmaṇi, Dēṣōbhā, Garga and Śambhu were living together is very interesting. It is said that they did not get separated for fear of the loss of *dharma*. This seems to acknowledge the right of the sons to demand partition of the family property (even during the life time of the father) as provided for in the so-called *Mitāksharā* system of inheritance. It is interesting to note that some early writers on law (e.g., Gautama, 28, 4; Manu, IX, 111) favour partition because it tends to increase *dharma*. Manu says that "the brothers may stay united, or separate in case they desire an increase of *dharma*; by living separate *dharma* increases; therefore separation is meritorious." As indicated by Bṛihaspati and Nārada, when the brothers are undivided the performance of religious acts is single for all of them, but when there is a partition those acts are separately performed by each,⁶ and this explains the reference to the increase of *dharma* by Manu. According to Śāṅkha-Likhita, however, brothers may stay together, since being united they would prosper materially.⁷ This view was no doubt shared by the members of the Brāhmaṇa family mentioned in our record. The fear of *dharma-kṣaya* referred to in the inscription points to the fact that such acts of *dharma* as the worship of the gods and manes and the entertainment of guests were easy for a joint family with its undivided property but difficult for each of the tiny families partitioned out of it with the small resources at its disposal.

The great importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it is the only legible record, besides the Nowgong plates⁸ of Balavarman, of the Mlēcchha dynasty of Prāgyōtisha, which was founded by Śālastambha and was preceded by the Nāraka or Bhauma dynasty, represented by Bhāskaravarman and his predecessors, and succeeded by the Pāla dynasty founded by Brahmapāla, although both the dynasties of Śālastambha and Brahmapāla claimed to be offshoots of the ancient Nāraka or Bhauma line. According to verses 9-10 of the Bargaon plates⁹ of king Ratnapāla of the third dynasty of Prāgyōtisha kings (i.e., the Pāla house of Brahmapāla), the kingdom of the descendants of Nāraka passed to the *Mlēcchhādhinātha*

¹ Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 417.

² Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 347-9.

³ See *JPAB*, Vol. I, pp. 12-13.

⁴ Cf. *JRAS*, 1952, pp. 4 ff.

⁵ Cf. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmasāstra*, Vol. III, p. 587.

⁶ See Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 572.

⁷ Kane, *loc. cit.*

⁸ *JASB*, 1897, Part I, pp. 289-92; *Kāmarūpa-kāsan-āvalī*, pp. 73-80.

⁹ *Kāmarūpa-kāsan-āvalī*, p. 94.

Sālastambha, the twentyfirst king of whose line was Tyāgasimha; this king having died childless, the subjects, preferring a scion of the Nāraka or Bhauma dynasty, made Brahmapāla their king. Of these twentyone rulers of the Mlēcchha house of Sālastambha, mentioned in verse 7 of our record (cf. the expression *tasy-ānuvayē* indicating the relation between Vajradatta and Sālastambha) as a branch of the Nāraka or Bhauma dynasty, we have inscriptions of three kings only, viz., (1) Harjara or Harjaravarman to whom belong the Hayungthal plate¹ and the Tezpur rock inscription²; (2) Harjaravarman's son Vanamāla or Vanamālarvarman who issued the Tezpur plates³ and the charter under discussion; and (3) Vanamālarvarman's grandson Balavarman who issued the Nowgong plates referred to above. Of the four published records of the family, Harjaravarman's inscriptions, one (the Hayungthal epigraph) of which is fragmentary as only one of the plates has so far been found, are both in a miserable state of preservation. The original of the Tezpur inscription of Vanamālarvarman is now lost and its transcript, published as early as 1840 in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, is palpably full of mistakes of all sorts. The late Mr. P. N. Bhattacharya made an attempt to emend the faulty transcript of the record with the help of imagination; but the result could hardly be satisfactory. The only published record of the family, reliable from the historians' point of view, is thus the Nowgong plates of Balavarman, although this epigraph also suffers from a few damaged letters. Under the circumstances, the Parbatīyā plates of Vanamālarvarman under publication remove a number of defects and doubts in the history of the Mlēcchha or Sālastambha family of Prāgyōtisha.

In the first place, from the published wrong text of verses 7-9 of the lost Tezpur plates of Vanamālarvarman, it was so long believed that king Prālabha was the father of Harjaravarman. The clear reading of those verses in our record shows that *Prālabha* was a wrong reading for *Sālabha* and that Harjaravarman's father was not Sālabha but the latter's brother (apparently younger brother) named Arathi. It further shows that the reading of the name *Aratha* in verse 9 is wrong. The theory about the existence in this dynasty of a prince named Aratha, regarded as the son of Arathi who is mentioned in the passage *chakr-ārathi* (Chakra and Arathi) in line 9 of the indistinct Hayungthal plate of Harjaravarman, is thus entirely imaginary.⁴ Secondly, it was so long believed, on the strength of the wrong reading of verse 5, that it was Bhagadatta who is said to have received the lordship of the territory called Uparipattana. It is, however, clear beyond doubt from our record that, while Bhagadatta obtained the kingdom of Prāgyōtisha, his brother Vajradatta secured lordship over Uparipattana through the grace of Iśvara whom he had propitiated.⁵ Thirdly, the name of

¹ Ibid., pp. 48-51.

² Ibid., p. 187.

³ Ibid., pp. 58-65; *JASB*, Vol. IX, 1840, pp. 766-67.

⁴ *Kāmarūpa-sāsan-āvalī*, introduction, p. 20. The reading and interpretation of verse 8 of the Hayungthal plate are not beyond doubt. According to Bhattacharya (op. cit., pp. 48-49, 51-52), Harshavarman, who seems to be placed immediately before Sālabha in our record (cf. *śri-Harsh-dattair* in verse 8), was followed on the throne by his son Balavarman; then in the family were born the princes Chakra and Arathi, and the son of the latter, whose name is not traced in the record but is suggested to be Aratha (on the basis of the wrong reading of verse 9 of Vanamāla's lost plates) became king; Jivadēvi, mentioned in the following verses 9-10 and described as the mother of Harjara in verse 11, was the wife of Aratha's successor Prālabha (sic. Sālabha). We now know that Sālabha was succeeded by his younger brother Arathi, who was the husband of Jivadēvi and the father of Harjaravarman. It seems therefore that the second half of verse 8 of the Hayungthal inscription has to be so interpreted as to indicate that the throne passed to the two brothers named Chakra and Arathi and that the younger of the two brothers was the husband of Jivadēvi. If this has to be accepted, then it has possibly to be suggested that Chakra was another name of Sālabha and that the rule of Balavarman intervening between that of Harshavarman and Sālabha was ignored in Vanamāla's records because that king was succeeded by Chakra *alias* Sālabha after a very short rule.

⁵ Cf. *Journ. Assam Res. Soc.*, Vol. VII, p. 88.

Harjaravarman's queen, who was the mother of Vanamālarman, is given as Śrīmattarā in verse 15 of the published text of the lost plates, while the Hayunthal plate of Harjaravarman (line 24) has it as Maṅgalāśrī. The correct reading of the name in Vanamālarman's inscription is now found to be *śrī-Maṅgalā*. The real name of the queen thus seems to have been Maṅgalā or Maṅgalāśrī. Fourthly, the name of Harjaravarman's mother was read in the lost plates as Jivadā (verse 10), although the Hayunthal plate gives it as Jivadēvī (line 13). The present record shows that *Jivad=ḍi* suggesting the name Jivadā is a wrong reading for *Jivadēvī*. Fifthly, verse 24 of the present record as well as of the lost plates refers to the rebuilding of a fallen temple of Hētuka-Śūlin (Śiva) by Vanamālarman. Whatever may be the real significance of the word *hētuka* in this context, Bhattacharya's emendation *Hāṭapa-Śūlin* to indicate the god installed at the city of Hāṭapēśvara seems to be entirely beside the mark. Sixthly, it is usually believed that the name of the capital city of the second dynasty of Prāgyōtisha kings was Hārūppēśvara. This is no doubt the reading of the name preferred by R. Hoernle in line 29 of the Nowgong plates of Balavarman. It must however, be pointed out that Hoernle did not forget to note that "the first two *aksharas* of the name are not quite distinct; Possibly *sarū*".¹ In line 21 of the Hayunthal plate of Harjaravarman, Bhattacharya reads the name as *Hāṭappēśvara* (although not the slightest trace of *ā* sign on *h* is found in the photograph of the plate published by him) and corrects it to Hārūppēśvara.² In line 1 of the Tezpur stone inscription³ of the same king, the reading seems to be *Hāṭappēśvara*, although Bhattacharya suggests Hārūppēśvara. The late Mahamahōpādhyāya H. P. Sastri reads the name in this record as Hārūppēśvara.⁴ As regards the first *akshara*, however, he says, "The *ā* stroke has been obliterated by a fissure in the rock; but we know from other inscriptions of this dynasty that the name of the capital was Hārūppēśvara." In regard to the second *akshara* of the name, he says, "There is a slight peeling off of the stone close to the left-hand limb of *ra*. Hence the Government Epigraphist (H. Krishna Sastri) read it as *kka*". In a note⁵ on the reading of this damaged inscription, that master epigraphist, F. Kielhorn, read the name as *Ha.ppēśvara* and observed as follows: "Of the name which follows upon *svastī*, the initial consonant (*h*) is clear, but it is uncertain whether the first syllable of the name is simply *ha*, or *hā* or *hu*; and the second syllable, which I have omitted, is quite doubtful. The same name we apparently have in line 5 of Plate IIb of the Nowgong District plates of Balavarmadēva of Prāgyōtisha where by Dr. Hoernle it has been read Hārūppēśvara, with the note that the first two syllables might possibly be *sarū*. But in the published photograph of the plates the second syllable hardly looks to me like *rū*, and in the impressions of our stone inscription to read *rū* seems impossible."⁶ It will thus be seen that the reading of the first two *aksharas* of the name Hārūppēśvara is doubtful in all these cases, though the first of them is probably *ha* and not *hā*. As to the lost Tezpur plates of Vanamālarman, the name is found in the rough transcript published in the *JASB* as *Harayēsana*, although, it may be pointed out, the letter *ç* has always been read by the transcriber as *r* as a result of the

¹ *JASB*, 1897, p. 291, note 29. See also Kielhorn's remarks on the reading of the name, quoted below.

² Vide *Kāmarūpa-kāsan-āvalī*, p. 60 and plates facing p. 47. Cf. *Journ. As. Res. Soc.*, Vol. I, No. 4, p. 111, note 9.

³ Vide *ibid.*, plate facing p. 187.

⁴ *JBORS*, 1917, p. 512, notes 1-2.

⁵ *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, Philologisch-historische Klasse aus dem Jahre 1905, pp. 465-71.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 468.

- 17 प्रयां ॥२३॥ ज्ञापयित्वा¹ अकबरस्था(स्तथा) तत्र समागतः । तथा हसनअलीखीं छप्पआवत्र
नी(बा)गतः ॥२४॥ नाही(ही) प्रति तदायातो राजे-
- 18 ओ रोषपोषितः । कोटडीशमत[*] शीअ(अ) ततः सेनासमो(मा)भूतः ॥२५॥ संप्रेषितो
भीमसिंहः कुमारो राजभूभुजा । ईडरद्वं(ध्वं)सम-
- 19 तनोत्संबहसा(सां) ततो गतः ॥२६॥ बडनगरं लूटित²मथ चत्वारि(रि)शस्तहस्त(अ)मिताः ।
राजतमुद्रा जगृहे बंडविधौ भीमसिंह इह
- 20 ॥२७॥ अहमदनगरे लक्षद्वयप्रमितकप्यमुद्राणां । वस्तूनां लूं(लुं)टनमिहे(ह) कारितवाग्भी-
मसिहा(ह)ब(ब)ली ॥२८॥ एका महामसीवि³।
- 21 बिकंडिता लघु(घु)मसीविभुत्रिफली । बे[बा]लयपातवः प्रकाशित(ता) भीमसिंहबीरेण ॥२९॥
राजामहीमहेद्रस्य⁴ आशया विश उ-
- 22 लुकः । महाराजकुमारभीजयसिंहो नामः(म)⁴ ॥३०॥ आलाख्यचंद्रसेनेन जोहानेन चमूभ(भु)ता ।
तथा सब(ब)लसिहेन रावेण रणसू-
- 23 रिणा ॥३१॥ केसरीसिंहनाम्ना तज्जुआ रावेण जोभितः । राठोडगोपीनाथेन¹ अरिसिंहस्य
सूनुता ॥३२॥ भगवंताविसिहेन अग्य-
- 24 राजम्यराजिभिः । सहितः स्वाहितजयं कर्त्त(र्त्तुं) हितसमीहिते ॥३३॥[*] अयोधस सहजाणि¹
अश्ववारवरबलेः । सद्दिशतिसहजाणि
- 25 पवालीनां महात्मनां ॥३४॥ संगे गृहीत्वा प्रययी चित्रकूटतटीं प्रति । ततस्ते टक्कुरा
रात्री संगरं चकुस(च)ग्मदाः ॥३५॥ सहस्रसंख्या-
- 26 बिहलीशलीकाम् जघ्न(घ्न)गंजअयं । येनागतास्तास्तुरगाभिःसुतस्तबकअवरः ॥३६॥ पंचाशत्तु-
रगाम्बीरा गृहीत्वा ताडयवेदयन(न्) ।
- 27 कुमारजयसिंहाय जयसिंहो मुदं दधे ॥३७॥ जयसिंहः कुमारोप श्रीराजेंद्रस्य वशनं ।
कुतवाक्क(क्क)तकृत्या(त्यो) वा महाराजकुतो
- 28 कुतो ॥३८॥ शक्तावतस्य शक्तस्य केसरीसिंहवर्मनः । गंगकूबर इत्येष कुमारपदवीं दधत्
॥३९॥ अष्टादश द्विपाम्मत्ताम्ह-
- 29 योधानुधुसंजयान् । बिहलीशसंन्यादानीय राजेंद्राद्ये न्यवेदयत् ॥४०॥ राजेंद्रेण कुमारोप
भीमसिंहो बलीनि(लान्धि)तः । प्रथितोऽ-

¹ The absence of sandhi here is in favour of the metre.

² Read *lupitiam*, *lū* would be Hindi.

³ *Masidi* stands for *masjid*, i.e., mosque.

⁴ This fourth quarter is too short by two syllables. Perhaps the intended reading was *Jayasiṅha-Śi-namaka*.

- 30 कदराख्येन तथा सहस्रेण च ॥४१॥ खानेन संगरं चक्रे शकरसोरणोप[मं] । उत्सङ्ग्य
देवसूरीं ता(तां) महानालि नलोप्र(प)मः । ॥४२॥
- 31 खानोरानगरे चक्रे युद्धं योद्धविक्रमः¹ । बा(बी)कासोलंकिबीरोच छद्(छट्ट)रसां रजं व्यधात्
॥४३॥ राणोद्रेण कुमारोच गज ॥²
- 32 सि(सि)हो च(च)लात्कि(न्नि)तः । प्रस्थापितो च(च)भंजायं तद्वे(द्वे)गमपुरं महत् ॥४४॥
राष्ट्रद्वय(यं) कप्यमुद्रालक्षत्रयमवापि वा । दत्तै(स्वै)च मिल-
- 33 न³ कार्यं मया राजेन निश्चितं ॥४५॥ धोरंगजेवो विल्लीश उषतवास्त [त]द्(कु)तरं ।
विधेः कलेर्ब(र्ब)लाज्जातं यत्तदत्र वदाम्यहं ।⁴
- 34 ॥४६॥ श्रीराणोदयसिहसुनुरभवत्⁵ श्रीमं(म)त्प्रतापः सुतस्तस्य श्रीमरेद्वरोस्य तनयः श्रीकर्म-
सिहोस्य वा । पुत्रो राज-
- 35 जगत्पतिश्च तनयोस्मादा(दा)जसिहोस्य वा पुत्रः श्रीजयसिह एव कृतवाल्मीरः शिलाजे(जे)क्षितं
॥४७॥ पु(पु)नं सप्तदशे शते तपसि वा
- 36 सत्पूजिमाख्ये दिने द्वात्रिंशन्मितवत्सरे नरपतेः श्रीराजसिहप्रभोः । काव्यं राजसन्(सु)द्विमिष्टजलधेः
सुष्टप्रतिष्ठा(ष्ठा)विधेः स्तो-
- 37 जायत(स्तं) रणछोदभट्टरचितं राजप्रशस्त्या[ह]यं ॥४८॥ युग्मं । च(चा)सीकूास्करतस्तु
माधवबु(बु)धोऽस्माद्वामचं(चं)द्वस्तत[ः*] स-
- 38 त्व(त्स)र्बेधवरकः कडो(ठो)किकुलजो सस्मदादिमाधस्त(स्त)तः । तेजं(लं)गोस्य तु रा[मचं]द्व
[ह]ति वा कुण्डोस्य वा मादवः पुत्रोभूम्मधु-
- 39 सु(सु)वनस्त्रय इमे च(च)ह्येधविष्णुपम[ः] ॥४९॥ यस्यासा(सी)म्मधुसुवनस्तु जनका(को) वेणी
च गोस्वानिजाऽभूमाता रणछोद ए[व*] कृत-
- 40 वानाजप्रशस्त्याह्वयं । काव्यं राजगुणीयवर्णनमयं वा(वी)राकयुक्त(क्तं) महत्⁶ ।⁴ द्वाविंशोभवदत्र
सर्गं उदितो वागर्थसर्गस्फु(स्फु)टः ॥५०॥⁵
- 41 [बतु]वि(विं)शत्याख्य इहामवबूधमुदे सर्गोर्थसर्गोस्त⁶ ॥५१॥ इति श्रीराजप्र[श*]स्त(स्ती)
श्रीराजसर्ग(गर)श्रीप्रस्त श्रीसर्गद्विचिंशत्यं⁷ स[र्गः]

¹ We have probably to read *yuddam-adbhuta-vikramah*.

² These two *danḍas* are superfluous.

³ A more correct form would be *mīlanam*.

⁴ This *danḍa* is superfluous.

⁵ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

⁶ The portion of verse from *chatur*° to °*natah* is redundant here ; it is meant for the twenty-fourth canto wherein it occurs in the thirty-sixth stanza.

⁷ The meaning of this part is obscure ; this line of writing in any way is superfluous.

Slab XXIV ; Canto XXIII

[Metres : vv. 1-3, 9-43, 45-62 *Anushtubh* ; vv. 4-8 *Bhujāṅgaprayāta* ; v. 44 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.]

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः[*] ॥ शते सप्तदशोतीते सप्तत्रिंशन्मितेऽङ्के । कार्तिके शुक्लदशमीदिने
राणापु[र]वरः ॥१॥ नानाविधानि [दा]-
- 2 नानि द्रव्यं दत्त्वा(त्वा) त्वन्तकं । द्विजादिभ्यो हरि ध्यात्वा जपमालां करे दधत्
॥२॥ हृदि संस्थाप्य च जपन्नामनाम स्वनाम च । सद्यश-
- 3 : स्थापयन्लोकं(यैल्लोके) भूलोकं त्यक्तवाध्रुपः ॥३॥ ददानो महादानबृन्द(वं) द्विजेभ्यस्तथा गाः
सवत्साः सुवर्णादिपूजाः(र्णाः) । तदुक्तं फलं श-
- 4 ब(ब)लं संदधानो नृपो दुर्गमस्वर्गमार्गाय यातः ॥४॥ महादानसन्म(न्म)दपस्तभसंधाः कृता
दारुणा तेभ्यस्त्वर्णरूपः(पाः) । तदा(दी?)योच्च-
- 5 निःश्रेणिकाश्रेणिकानिः क्षितिस्पर्शहीनं विमान(नं) समान(नं) ॥५॥ महद्रेण संप्रेषितं मेदिनीद्रः
समाश्रित्य दिव्यैर्गणैः संवृत्तश्च । स
- 6 नाकं सुखं प्राप धर्मेण साकं -महाराजसिंहो नरेंद्रेषु सिंहः ॥६॥ महद्रेण संमानितस्तेन
दिव्यासने स्थां(स्था)पितो मानितस्तोषितो
- 7 यत् । महादानमालातडागप्रतिष्ठा(ष्ठा)करो विष्णुनामग्रही धर्मपूणेः(र्णः) ॥७॥ ततः स्वीय-
वेकुण्ठलोके त्वकुण्ठप्रभावो हरिः प्रेषयि-
- 8 त्वा विमानं मुद्रा(दा)ऽऽकार्यं संस्थापयामास युक्तं स्वपूर्वोद्भूतैः संयुतं राजसिंहं ॥८॥
ततः(तः) कङ्के नगरे शिविरं व्यातनोद्व(द्व)ली ।
- 9 जयसिंहो जयमयः सत्पञ्चदश वासरान् ॥९॥ उत्लङ्घ्य कृतवाग्धीरो राणसिंहासनसिंघर्षितं(ति) ।
रि(र)रक्ष रणवक्रोद्यं क्षोणा(णी)म-
- 10 क्षौहिणीवतिः ॥१०॥ शते सप्तदशे पूर्णे सप्तत्रिंशन्मितेऽङ्के । मार्गशा(शी)र्षे शौर्यमार्गप्रकाशी
मार्गणार्थदः ॥११॥ वसत्क(क्क)ङ्के नग-
- 11 नगरे जयसिंहो महामनाः । श्रुत्वा तह्वरं खानं देवसूरीं विलङ्घ्य च ॥१२॥ आयात(तं)
धृष्टमर्यादालोपिनं कोपपूरितः । स्वभ्रातरं भीमसिंहं
- 12 भीमं वाऽऽप्रे(वा प्रै)धयत्स तु ॥१३॥ बीकासोलंकिनं वृष्ट्वा तं समाश्रित्य तत्परं ।
महाभीमो भीमसिंहो बीकासोलंकिनं ब(ब)रः ॥१४॥ जघनतु-

¹ This *ga* is superfluous.

- 13 म्लेच्छ(बछ)संस्था(संन्या)नि रुद्रस्तहबरोभब(ब)त् । दिनाष्टकांतं सु[क्तो]य राहुमुक्त(क्त)ं दु-
विच्छ(छ)विः ॥१५॥ धानोरापा^१श्च आयातो जयसिंहो बलेलखां [१*]
- 14 छप्पमवेशशैलेऽवाया(या)तो ह्याग(गो?)बु(बु)तोस्य तु ॥१६॥ मार्गो बत्तो राणलोकं गोगुंवाघट्ट
आगतः । रुद्रा घट्टास्ततो राणालोकं[लोकं]बु विभु-
- 15 तैः ॥१७॥ रत्नसीरावतेनापि स्थितं घदे(ट्टे) शिलोत्कटे । बलेलखां न शक्तोभूत्तवा गंतुं
कथंचन ॥१८॥ अथ श्रीजयसिंह(हे)न झालाख्यो प्र-
- 16 रसाभिधः । प्रेषितो मि(मे)लनं कर्तुं तेनोक्तं मार्गगामिना ॥१९॥ ब[ले*]लख(खा)न(नं)
प्रत्येवं भवान्बिल्लीशमानितः । सहस्राण्यश्ववाराणा(णां) सगय(संगे पं- ?)
- 17 चवशात्र ते ॥२०॥ राणेंद्रस्यैकराजन्यो घट्टं रुद्रा स्थितो भवान् निसरत्व(त्वे) च
निशिचंतो राणेंद्रस्य तव स्फुटं ॥२१॥ स्नेहस्तवप्रपयं तमा-
- 18 घातस्त्वमतः परं । नबावे(वावे)नोच्यते च(चे)लं घट्टाभिःसारयाम्यहं ॥२२॥ उच्यते
चेत्स्थापयामि नबा(वा)वेन तदेरितं । पभीत्सुं(श्चात्सं)न्यं समायाति मा-
- 19 स्तु तेनापि चारणं ॥२३॥ घट्टत्रयस्य मार्गस्य वृष्टघर्षं प्रेषिता भटाः [१*] तंरुनबा(वा)वेन
तु कूड्वृष्टाल्मयोवृडं^२ ॥२४॥ ततो न निसृतस्तत्र [न*]बाव(बाव)-
- 20 स्तवनंतरं सहस्व(स्व) रूप्यमुद्रास्तुवरवं(त्वं)कर्म द्विजातये ॥२५॥ अग्रेसकृत्य च तं^३
नबा(वा)वो रणकेसरी । निसृतोन्मयेन्य(न) मार्गेण रात्रौ त-
- 21 त्रापि सैन्यवान् ॥२६॥ रत्नसीरावतो रत्नं ये(यो)धाना(नां) मार्गतो जवात् । रं(र)णं
चक्रे निसरणं नबा(वा)वः का(क)ष्टतो व्यधात् ॥२७॥ इत्थं बलेल-
- 22 खानस्तु नि[:*]सृतो य(घ)ट्टतच्छलात् [१*] दिल्लीशातिक आयातः पृष्ठो दिल्लीश्वरेण
मः(सः) ॥२८॥ त्व(त्वं) निसृत्य किमायातो सणा(राण)कस्यानु नो
- 23 गतः । बलेलपा(खां) तदोवाय(च) नाभं लब्धं मया प्रभो ॥२९॥ राणे(णें)द्रो मम
[प*]श्चात् हंतुं मां समुपागतः । योधा मे मारितास्तेन नानाहं तेन नि[:*]-
- 24 सू[तः] ॥३०॥[१*] अतना(ना)भावाभित्यमेव लोकानां तु चतु[:*]शता(ती) । मृता हंत त्रिः(निः)सृतस्तत्^४
भ्रुत्वा दिल्लीश आकुलः ॥३०(३१)॥ अथाकबर आयातो मि(मे)ल-
- 25 न(नं) कर्तुमुद्यतः । राणाश्रीकर्णसिंहस्य द्विता(ती)यस्तमयो बली ॥३१(३२)॥ गरीब-
दास्तस्तत्पुत्रः श्यामसिंह इहागतः । कू(कु)त्वा मि(मे)लनवार्ता(तीं) तां

^१ This *pā* appears like *ghā*, while next to it there is a superfluous *danda*.

^२ The reading of this latter half of the verse is not clear; possibly we have to restore it as follows : *fair-uklam tu Navābhēna kṛitam ghaffa-trayam dridham*.

^३ Read *agresaram cha kṛitā tam*.

^४ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

- 26 परावृत्त्य यतो वृडां ॥३२(३३)॥ ततो वऽल्लखानस्तु मिलने^१ बाडर्धमातनीत् । तथा हसनभल्लीका मिलनस्य^२ विवि(धि) व्यधात् ॥३३(३४) जयसिंहो-
- 27 थ मिलन^३ कर्तुमुद्योगमातनीत् [१*] भीमराजसमुद्रस्य^४ अग्रभागे स्थितस्ततः ॥३४(३५)॥ सहस्राण्यश्ववाराणां सप्त स सप्तकस्त्रिधा । मध्ये स्थि-
- 28 तः सप्तसप्तिसप्तमतेजाः समाव(ब)भौ ॥३५(३६)॥ जयसिंहः स्थितः स[प्त]नामसप्तिसमे ह्ये । तत्प्रेक्षा(क्ष)कजनैः प्रोक्तं अश्ववारमयं जगत(त्) ॥३६(३७)॥ प-
- 29 दातीनामयुक्तं संगे स्थापितवाग्रभुः । तथा पत्तिमयं प्रोक्तं जगदृष्ट्वा जनैर्धु(ध्रु)व ॥३७(३८)॥ महावीर्यो महाधैर्यो जयसिंहस्ततो व(ब)ली [१*]
- 30 शालेंद्रं चंद्रसेनाख्यं वो(वो)हानं स्थापयन्पुरः ॥३८(३९)॥ रावसव(व)र्त्तसिंहाख्यं परमार-
शिरोमणि । धेरीसालं महारावं राठोरान्धीरठक्कुरान्
- 31 ॥३९(४०)॥ चौडावताग्रणे चंडान् शकताग्रा^५कतावतांस्तथा । रानावताग्रणाजेयाग्राज^६याज-
म्यदुर्जयान् ॥४०(४१)॥ सबतिलबंदरिद्या^७त्संगे संगे^८
- 32 संस्थाप्य से(सो)त्सवः । राणेंद्रो रणदुर्ध्वो(ध्रु) मिलना^९र्धा(धी) मुडाऽवलत् ॥४१(४२)॥
रक्तचक्रनैः(जैः) शोभमाना भाति नाना मवद्विधाः । सपल्लवद्रुमा
- 33 गोत्रा एकत्र स्थापिताः किमु ॥४२(४३)॥ वे(वै)रिघाहगणे(जै)मंहीधरकुलैः सव्रतबुंदरहो
राजकृष्णव(व)र्धेव बाडवस्ति(शि)लिस्फुर्जप्रतापैव(ध्रु)तः [१*]
- 34 उद्यद्गोविधरमंहि(हो)मिनिवर्हमर्थादयापूर्वया गाभीवे(धै)ण युतो^१ विराजति जयी राणाऽर्णवः^२ कि
पर[१*] ॥४३(४४)॥ ओरंगजेबवीरस्य विल्ली-
- 35 शस्य सुतस्य सः । जगद्याणसुरप्राणप्राजमस्य प्रतापिन[१*] ॥४४(४५)॥ अश्वय-
ति(वि)सर्तासिधुगा(गौ)भीयंगुणसागरः [१*] दल(ले)लला महावीरो हसप्राज(झा)-
- 36 वपुरित[१*] ॥४५(४६)॥ तथा हरा(स)मभल्लीका(का) अ(ध)न्येयि म्मेव(वृ)भुभुजे(जः) ।
राठोडो रामसिंहाख्यो रतलामपुरस्थित[१*] ॥४६(४७)॥ हाडाकिशोरसिंहाख्यो गौडभू-

^१ The sign of *avagraha* is unnecessary.

^२ Though the correct form of this word is *mēlana*, yet our author invariably uses *mīlana* which is Hindi.

^३ *Sandhi* is not observed here for the sake of the metre.

^४ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

^५ The intended reading of this portion seems to be *sarvān-akharva-vīry-ādhyān*.

^६ This *sangē* is redundant.

^७ There is a superfluous *daṇḍa* here.

- 37 पस्त्यापु(प)रे [१*] हिट्ट(हिट्ट)म्लेच्छ(च्छ)महावीरा आयाताः संमुखं सुखात् ॥४७(४८)॥
दिल्लीपतीर्यः स्वीर्यश्च देशपालः समावृतः । जयसिंहो विभाजव^१ दिव्या(क्वा)लमघ-
- 38 वावृतः ॥४८(४९)॥ ततः[२*] श्रीजयसिंहाख्यः पूर्वोक्तैष्ट(ष्ट)कपुरं वृतः । गरीववास्तनाम्ना
स्थपुरोहितवरेण वा ॥५०॥*] भी[षू]प्रधा(धा)नवे(ये)न युक्ते(क्तः) सुयोनिसेज-
- 39 साः(सा) [१*] महाभागो [महा*]शौयो(यो) महोत्साहो महामताः(दाः) ॥४९(५१)॥
हि(हि)म्लेच्छ(च्छ)महावीरवेशनाथविशोभिः(तः) । वमा(आजमा?)ख्यसुरब्राणमणेरंशंमातनो-
- 40 त् ॥५०(५२)॥ आजमाख्यभुस्वा(सुरब्रा)णो रणेद्रव्यावरं भूशं । अकरोद्विनयोपेतस्(स्स)
स्ने(स्ने)हमनुवर्षयन् ॥५१(५३)॥ एकावश गजो(जा)नइवा(इवा)इच्छस्वारिशन्मितान्
- 41 शुभान् । आजमाख्याय राने(ने)[द्रो]प(पं)यामास सुवर्षवान् ॥५२(५४)॥ आजमाख्यः सुरब्राण
एक मदल द्विप(एकं) मवालसं द्विपं(?) । अष्टाविंशतिसंख्याइवान्सहेमवत-
- 42 नेत्रयोः ॥५३(५५)॥ पञ्चाशत्प्रमिता भूषा(षः) समूहं रानभूभुजे(जे) । दवो(दौ) महानहमय^२
मिलनं त्वनयोर्भूत(त्) ॥५४(५६)॥ इलेलषा(षा) तदोवाच तुलतान भु-
- 43 णु प्रभो । अय(य) वीरइचंद्रसेनो राना जालशिरोमणिः ॥५५॥*] रावः सब(ब)लसिंहोयं
रत्नसीनामरावतः । जोडावत रणे चै(च)डाः शपता(क्ताः) शक्तावतास्तथो(था)
॥५६(५८)॥ प-
- 44 रमारश्च राठोस(डा)स्तथा राणावतोत्तमां(माः) । रणे सि(सि)हाः पर्वतेषु मार्गमवदुक्तमाः
॥५६(५९)॥ युयुधुर्म(र्म) महायोधा ज्ञातव्यं विजतां(वु)धे । दिल्लीशेन प-
- 45 रां — —^३ रानोक्ता रक्षितुं धु(ध्रु)वं ॥५७॥*] आजमा(मो)प्युक्तवानेवं सत्यमेव न
संशयः[२*] ॥(१) संतुष्टो जयसिंहा(हो)य वदायाज्ञां कृतादतार(कृतादरः) ॥५७(६१)॥
जे(ज)यसिंहो महाभागो वी-
- 46 [रः शि]तिरमागतः । अस्थासी[ब्रू]तः शीघ्र(घ्र) मिलनं [गजतादरात्?] ॥५८(६२)॥
[पुर्णः] सर्व इति त्रयोविंशतिनामा सर्वः ॥

Slab XXV ; Canto XXIV

[Metres : vv. 1-10, 16-27 *Anuṣṭubh* ; v. 11 *Upajāti* ; vv. 12-15, 33-36 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; v. 28 *Āryā* ; v. 29 *Upagītī* ; vv. 30-32 *Gītī*.]

- 1 ॥ सिव(द्धं) श्रीगणेशाय नम(नमः) ॥१*] प्रेम्णा^४ अमरसि(सि)हाख्यपौत्रयुक्तस्य धर्म(र्मि)णः ।
राणे(ने)द्राजसिंहस्य राजराजस्य संपदा ॥१॥ हेम्नो दश सहस्यो(हन्त्रो)द्यतो-

^१ The two sets of *daṇḍas* and the figure ४१ appear above the line.

^२ The reading of these four syllables is probably intended to be *bubbhā=ājau*.

^३ The sense is not clear here.

^४ This third *pāda* is too short by two syllables.

^५ The absence of *śandhi* here is intentional and is in favour of the metre.

- 2 लक्षैः¹ पूर्णतो भूतः । शुद्धात्मने व(वि)सृष्टायास्तुलाया अतुलाजुषः ॥२॥ मा(म)हासेतो हस्तिनीसत्स्क(त्स्कं)धे वं(वं)धुरमुंदरं । तोरणं भाति गौरी-
- 3 च्वाधोरणं तुलयद्रुवा² ॥३॥ महोज्ज्व(ज्ज्व)लतया किवा³ ऐरावतकुलस्थितिः ॥४॥ हस्तिन्येवा मु(मु)द्धित धत्ते चित्ररूपोच्चभूषणं ॥४॥ वत्ताकुशद्व-
- 4 [याप्ये]वा³ अचलंवाभवत्ततः [१*] दर्शितं तृप्ततीकृत्य हस्तिनेना(नां)कुशद्वयं ॥५॥ मा(म)हातोरणभेतत् गौरीकीर्त्योन्नतीकृतं । प्रांजलं स्रंजलि-
- 5 युगं भुजयोर्भाति भु(भू)पतेः ॥६॥ द्वितीयं तोरणं तत्र पाद्वेस्ति लघु सुंदरं । तया³ अमरसिंहाख्यपौत्रस्यातिविचित्रकृत् ॥७॥ राजेंद्ररा-
- 6 जसिंहस्य पट्टराजा(ज्या)तिविजया । श्रीराणाराजसिंहस्य मात्रा मित्रप्रतापया ॥८॥ सदाकुर्वरि-
नाम्या या तुला रूप्यमयी कृता । आस्ते
- 7 तत्तोरणं चित्रं हस्तिन्यां(न्या) हस्तयुग्मं(गम)वत् ॥९॥ आस्ते गरीव(व)दासस्य पुरोहितशिरोमणेः ।
कृतायाः स्वर्णपूर्णायास्तुलायास्तोरणं महत्
- 8 ॥१०॥ गरीव(व)दासस्य पुरोहितस्य ज्येष्ठः कुमारो रणछोडरायः । आस्ते कृतायाः किल
तेन रूप्यत्रा(त्रा)जत्तुलायाः शुभतोरणं सत् ॥११॥
- 9 श्रीराणोदशसिंहसूनुरभवत्⁴ श्रीर्भ(म)त्प्रतापः सुतरतस्य श्री³अमरेश्वरोस्य तनयः श्रीकर्णसिंहोस्य
वा । पुत्रो राणजगत्पति(ति)श्च
- 10 तनयोस्माराजसिंहोस्य वा पुत्रः श्रीजयसिंह एष कृतवान्वीरः शिलाऽऽलेखितं ॥१२॥ पूर्णं
सप्तदशे शते तपसि वा सत्पूर्णमा-
- 11 क्ये विने द्वात्रिंशन्मितवत्सरे नरपतेः श्रीराजसिंहप्रभोः । काव्य(व्यं) राजसमुद्रमिष्टजलधेः
सृष्ट(ष्टं) प्रतिष्ठाविधेः स्तोत्राष्टं
- 12 रणछोडभट्टरचितं राजप्रशस्त्याह्वयं ॥१३॥ युग्मं [१*] आसीद्भास्करतस्तु माधवबुधोऽस्माद्राम-
चंद्रस्ततः [त*]त्सर्वेश्वरकः क-
- 13 ठो(ठो)डिकुलजो लक्ष्म्याविनायस्तु(स्त)तः । तेलंगीस्य तु रामचंद्र इति वा कृष्णोस्य वा
माधवः पू(पु)त्रोभूग्मधुसूदनस्य इमे व(व)-
- 14 ह्येशविष्णुपदाः ॥१४॥ यस्यासीन्मधुसूदनस्तु जनको वेणी च गोस्वामिजाऽभूमाता रणछोड
ऐ(ए)[व*] कृतवाग्राजप्रशस्त्याह्वय(यं)

¹ In v. 28, Canto XVII, the quantity of gold mentioned is 12,000 *tolas*.

² Perhaps we are to read *tulayud=ruchā*.

³ The absence of *sandhi* here is intentional and is in favour of the metre.

⁴ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

- 15 । काश्यं राणग(गु)णोद्यवर्णनमयं [वीरांकयुक्त*] जतुवि(विं)शत्यास्य इहभब्रूवमुवे सर्गो-
र्थसर्गोक्तः ॥१५॥ राजप्रशस्तिप्रथोय(यं) प्रसिद्धः स्या-
- 16 उजगत्यलं । लक्ष्मीनां(ना)धाविबालानां पाठार्थं जायतां ध्रुवं ॥१६॥ नारायणाविपुष्या-
स्प(रम)राजैर्हान्वयवर्णनं । कर्णस्थितं स्या[रक*]र्णो(र्णो)-
- 17 ऋष्यपुत्रपौत्रसुखप्रबं ॥१७॥ रामाविराजस्तुतिपुष्पाभ्यं रामायणोपमं । श्रुत्वा(त्वा) धने धनेश[*]
स्यात्काव्ये काव्यो गृवर्गिरि ॥१८॥ ना-
- 18 नाराजैतिहासकत्वं प्रथं स्याद्भारतोपमं । भारत्या भारतीतुल्यः पठन्भारतक(क)ठके ॥१९॥
प्रा(प्रा)प्राणो द्र(द्र)ह्यवर्षस्वी वा(वा)हुजो बाहुवी-
- 19 यंबान् । वैश्यो लभेद्भनं श्रुत्वा शु(शू)द्रो भद्रं तयालिलं ॥२०॥ संस्तभ्य विसमन्वेभ्यः
पठन्सभ्यो(भ्य)त्वमाप्नुयात् । इभ्यतां भुवने मर्या
- 20 नालभ्यं तस्य किञ्चन ॥२१॥ विप्रोग्निहोत्रग्रामेभ्यः सत्रियोऽलिलभूमिपः । वैश्यो धनी
स्यात्कायस्थः श्रिया सुस्थो भवे-
- 21 दध्रुवं ॥२२॥ राज(जा) श्रुत्वा चक्रवर्ती शौर्यगाभीर्यधैर्यवान् । वैश्वदेवस्थं लभेद्देरिविजयं
कुर्वते सदा ॥२३॥ पठन्स्फुरद्भ्रातृव-
- 22 तनवमस्कंधसत्कथां । माकंठं सुखभुग्भूत्वा वैकुण्ठं प्राप्नुयादिवं ॥२४॥ दयाल^२ साहबू
कृतवान् खेराबादस्य मारणं । त-
- 23 स्केतुदु(दु)दुभिप्राह(हं) वनहेवास्त्यलुटनं ॥२५॥ धारापुरा(री)मारणं च मसीदिततिपातनं ।
ध्वस्तं [चक्रे]^३ ग्रहमवनगरं लुटने [लिल?]*
- 24 ॥२६॥ महामसीदितनं कृतवाप्तमरे कृतीः(ती ।) इत्युक्तः प्रभुवीराणां पराक्रमविनिर्णयः ॥२७॥
जगदीशमिधं(ध)तनयो
- 25 मायुरहीरामणिर्मेहामिधः [।*] राजसमुद्रजलाशयसूत्रनिवेशो परिक्रमणे ॥२८॥ द्वादशशतमणमितिकं
वाप्तम(म्य)[म*]हीधं
- 26 महासेतो । द्वादशशतमणमितिकं वास्यात्रि(त्रि) कांकरोलीस्थे ॥२९॥ सेतो संस्थाप्य तथा
सायंसहस्राष्ट्र(ष्ट्र)कप्यमुद्राणां ।
- 27 अ(ह)त्वा दध्रुकगणं सकप्यमुद्राविकं तदार्थिभ्यः ॥३०॥ यदिह(द्वि)नपर्यंतमयं — ॐ तदा
राजसिंहवेलेन । उक्तं जनस(सं)म-

* The correct form is *labhā*; better read *vindā*.

^२ Read *Dyāla* for *Dayāla* for the sake of the metre.

^३ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

- 28 [रे] मिथोऽस्मन्निकटतः पुरः कुह(र)ते ॥३१॥ इत्युत्साहेन तदा भ्य(भ)वतया मिथः पुरः
स्थितो नृपतेः । धान्याद्रा(द्रो)ध(न्ध)नमार्यं(मर्थि)-
- 29 वजाय दत्वा(त्वा) प्रियो नृपस्यासीत् ॥३२॥ श्रीराणोदयसिहस्रनुरभवत्¹ श्रीमन्त्र(मन्त्र)ताप[:*]
मुतस्तस्य श्री²अमरेश्वरोस्य
- 30 तनयः श्रीकरण(कर्ण)सिंहोस्य वा । पुत्रो राणजगत्पतिश्च तनयोस्माद्राजसिंहोस्य वा पुत्रः
श्रीजयसिंह एष कृतवान्भी-
- 31 रः शिलाऽऽलेखितं ॥३३॥ पूर्णे सप्तवशे शते तपसि वा सत्पूर्णिमास्थ(स्थे) दिने
द्वात्रि(त्रि)शन्मितवत्सरे नरपतेः श्रीराजसिंह-
- 32 प्रभोः । काव्यं राजसमुद्रमिष्टजलधे[:*] सृष्ट(ष्टं) प्रतिष्ठाविधेः स्तोत्राक्त(क्त) रणछोडभट्टरचितं
राजप्रशस्त्याह्वयं ॥३४॥ मुरमं [॥*]
- 33 आसीद्भास्करतस्तु पा(मा)धवमुधोऽस्माद्रामचंद्रस्ततः सत्सर्वेश्वरकः कठो(ठो)डिकुलजो लक्ष्म्य-
विनायस्तु(स्त)तः । तेलंगो-
- 34 स्य तु रामचंद्र इति वा कुण्डोस्य वा माधवः पुत्रोभून्मधुसूदनस्तत्र इमे व(व)द्योश
विष्णुपमाः ॥३५॥ यस्यासीन्मधुसूद-
- 35 नस्तु जनको वेणी च गोस्वामिजाऽभून्माता रणछोड ए[व*] कृतवाग्राजप्रशस्त्याह्वयं ।
काव्यं राणगुणौघवर्णनमयं [वीरांकयुक्त*] च-
- 36 तुर्वि(र्वि)शत्याख्य इहाभवद्भवमुदे सर्गार्थसर्गोन(न)तः ॥३६॥ बुहा³ ॥ राणी कोडी
रजपूत जेवड ता जायो [?] । समुद्रं के-
- 37 रण स्रुतः राणा तुहीज राजसी ॥३७॥ ऐजो ओरंग काह मेगल मुगल भारिजे ।
राणो रावे राह रजवट भरीयो राजसी ॥३८॥ बुहा(बोहा) [॥*]
- 38 संबत १७१८ माहवदि ७ नीमषोडशरो महुरत हुभोजी अतराठाकर⁴ मेल्⁵ कमः
करवा ॥ राणावत माहासीधजी रामसीध-

¹ Sandhi is not observed here.

² That is *Dōhā*, a couplet. From here onwards the composition is in the local dialect. It begins with two *Dōhās* which, however, do not conform to the metrical scheme. The text, however, is left uncorrected.

³ The sense of these two *dōhās* in Mewārī seems to be :—

1. A great Rājput (*lady*) is the queen who gave birth to a liṅg (*nāhara*)—a son who could turn the ocean—and that is yourself, O Rājastī.

2. You kill all these Mughals of Aurangzeb, O Rānā, thou art the only way, as thou art, O Rājastī, full of martial spirit. Duly Rānā Rājastī, who is full of martial spirit, keeps the boastful Mughals of Aurangzeb under his control.

⁴ *Atarā* means so many, such and such.

⁵ Same as Hindi *mil-kar* 'together'.

- 39 जी राणावत भाउसी[ध]जी ।¹ चुडावत दलपतिजी मोहनसी[ध]जी । रावत लुणकरणजी
चुडावत केसरीसीधजी चुडावत मोक-
- 40 मसीधजी मोज(जा)वत नरसीधदासजी [मो]ज(जा)वत गरीबदासजी राठोड सीधजी राठोड
रामचंदजी राठोड हमीजी राठ(ठो)ड मोकमसीध-
- 41 धितागरा(चित्रकार) ॥ साह रां(रा)मचंद्र चेवाणीसाह कलुपंचोली राम(न)गरामालात सा
मुकदबप्रपंचोली हरराम[सिध] यो लषु(खु) पंचो[ली] बाघ
- 42 २गजधर मुकंद गजधर कित्यानसुत जगनाथ उरजणसुत लालो लघो असोहरजी
जगनाथसुत मेघोमनो [॥*] संवत १७३२
- 43 प्रतिष्ठा(ण्डा) हुडीज सुभ(शुभं) भवतु श्रीरस्तु सु(सु)स्व(व)धार मोहन[जी]सुत सु(सु)प्रधार
सुधजी सु(शु)भं भा . . वतः

¹ The *virāma* is shown here with two dots.

² A similar list of masons is found also towards the close of Slabs III, VI, VIII and IX.

resemblance between the forms of the two letters.¹ The Parbatīyā plates under discussion read the name of the capital city of the second line of Prāgyōtisha kings (i. e., the house of Śālastambha) unmistakably as Haḍapēśvara which was apparently also the reading of the lost plates. This seems to suggest that the readings intended in the records of Harjaravarman and Balavarman were Haṭappēśvara and Haḍappēśvara respectively.

The inscription mentions a number of geographical names including those of a river and a hill. The adoration to the river-god Lōhitya-sindhu (cf. *Lōhitya-bhaṭṭāraka* also in the Tezpur plates), i. e., the Brahmaputra, is very interesting. The same river is also adored as *Lauhitya-vāridhi*, *Lauhitya-sindhu* and *Lauhitya ity-adhipatiḥ sariitām* in the records respectively of Balavarman who was the grandson of Vanamālavarman, of Ratnapāla who was the son of Brahmapāla founder of the Pāla dynasty (the third line of Prāgyōtisha kings), and of Indrapāla who was the grandson of Ratnapāla.² The kings apparently held the river-god in special veneration. But more interesting is the reference to the Lauhitya or Brahmaputra as a 'sea'. This seems to be associated with the tradition about the existence, in early times, of the Eastern Ocean (i. e., the Bay of Bengal) near Dēvikōṭṭa which is modern Bangarh in the Dinajpur District in the northern part of Bengal, and with the presence in the central region of Bengal of large *bils* or lakes like the Chalan.³ Wide areas in the Mymensing District of Bengal (now in East Pakistan), through which the Brahmaputra at present passes, are spoken of as the 'sea' even today. It is a low-lying country which for six or more months of the year is under water; in that area, communication by boats of maundage varying with the stream and season is always possible. The coast line of this 'sea' may be taken to be passing through Bhairab-bāzār, Bājītpur, Nikli, Dōmpārā and Tarāil and then towards the north-east. To the west of this line, the country is a bed of dead and dying rivers. Equally interesting is the mention of the Kāmākūṭa hill, on which the god Kāmēśvara and the goddess Mahāgaurī are said to have been installed. The same deities are also mentioned in the Guākuchi plates⁴ of king Indrapāla of the Pāla dynasty or the third line of Prāgyōtisha kings. The land granted by this charter is described as *Uttara-kūlā Mandi-vishay-āntahpāti-Paṇḍari-bhūmiti*—*'pakṣishṭa-dhānya-dvīśahasr-ōtpattika-bhūmi*, i. e., the land of an inferior quality yielding 2,000 [*drōṇas*] of paddy out of the area called Paṇḍari (modern Pāṇḍuri Mauza in which the Raṅgiyā station on the old Assam Railway is situated) in the Mandi district pertaining to Uttara-kūla. This *Uttara-kūla* (literally 'the north bank') was apparently a division of the kingdom of Prāgyōtisha lying on the north bank of the Brahmaputra. In the description of the boundaries of the above land, the Guākuchi inscription mentions several times *Mahāgaurī-Kāmēśvarayōḥ satka* (or *dēva-satka*)-*śāsana-Paṇḍaribhūmi*, i. e., the land called Paṇḍari which was a gift land belonging to the deities Mahāgaurī and Kāmēśvara. The names of the hill *Kāmākūṭa* and the god *Kāmēśvara* would suggest that the goddess Mahāgaurī was no other than Kāmēśvarī otherwise called Kāmā or Kāmākhyā (literally 'the goddess with the name Kāmā') whose temple stands near Gauhati⁵ in Assam. According to the *Kālikā*

¹ Cf. *Kāmarūpa-śāsan-āvalī*, p. 59, note 1.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 73, 92, 117.

³ Cf. *pūrve kila Dēvikōṭṭa-samlpē pāschimē* (sic. *pūrve*) *Pūrvodadātir*—*deft* in Brīhaspati-Rāyamukuta's *Padachandrikā* (*Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 501). For references to the sea bordering on the country of Prāgyōtisha or Kāmarūpa, see Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, I, p. 201; *Rāmāyaṇa* (Vaṅgavālī ed.), *Kāshikindhā-kāṇḍa*, chapter 42, verse 30, etc.

⁴ *Kāmarūpa-śāsan-āvalī*, p. 136-37.

⁵ Cf. *The Śākta Piṭhas*, pp. 12-13, 15.

Purāṇa,¹ Kāmarūpa was one of the four main Śākta Pīṭhas where resided the god Kāmēśvara and the goddess Kāmēśvarī (installed on the Nīla-parvata). Another passage of the same *Purāṇa*² speaks of the hill, on which the Pīṭha was situated, as Kāmagiri, no doubt the same as Kāmakūṭa. The *Pīṭhanirṇaya* (*Mahāpīṭhanirūpaṇa*), a standard work on the Śākta Pīṭhas, also connects the Yōni-pīṭha with Kāmākhyā on the Kāmagiri.³

It has been suggested⁴ that the capital of the second line of Prāgyōtisha kings, called Haḍapāśvara in our record, was probably situated at Daba-Parbatīyā in the vicinity of modern Tezpur in the Darrang District, Assam. Although nothing can be said definitely on this point, the find of the present record in that area seems to support the suggestion. Hapōsagrāma, which was the village granted by the charter under discussion, cannot be satisfactorily identified. It was situated in the Svalpa-Maṅgōka (literally the smaller Maṅgōka) *maṇḍala* (district) pertaining to the Uttara-kūla division which, as already indicated, is also known from other records of the ancient kings of Prāgyōtisha.⁵ Interesting in this connection is also the mention of another similar division called Dakṣiṇa-kūla, no doubt lying on the southern bank of the Brahmaputra, in Balavarman's inscription.⁶ The name Svalpa-Maṅgōka suggests the existence of another *maṇḍala* called Brīhan-Maṅgōka or the bigger Maṅgōka; but nothing can be said in regard to the territorial unit with the exception of the fact that it lay to the north of the Brahmaputra. Akṣhidāhikā and Dīrghāṅga, which are mentioned as boundaries of Hapōsagrāma and appear to have been names of villages, also cannot be located with any amount of certainty. The word *hētuka* in the name of the god Hētuka-Śūlin, a dilapidated temple of whom was rebuilt by Vanamālarman, may be geographical or personal name referring either to the area where the temple was standing or to the man who was responsible for the original temple and the installation of the god. But it is difficult to be definite on this point, although persons named Hētuka are known from Indian literature.

Prāgyōtisha, famous in ancient literature, was the country, the heart of which lay in the modern Gauhati region of Assam. From the fourth century A. C., sometimes the name of the country is also given as Kāmarūpa, a designation possibly associated with that of the goddess Kāmā, Kāmēśvarī or Kāmākhyā.⁷ According to Chinese sources,⁸ the boundary between this country and Puṇḍravardhana or North Bengal was the river Karatōyā, and to the east of Kāmarūpa "the country was a series of hills and hillocks without any principal city and it reached to the south-west barbarians [of China], hence the inhabitants were akin to the Man and the Lao." The territory called Uparipattana in the records of Vanamālarman is not known from other sources. Since, however, the name seems to indicate literally 'the town above,' the region, which was apparently not far from Prāgyōtisha, may have been no other than the hilly eastern land mentioned by the Chinese and referred to above. In line 46, while showing his knowledge in the science of erotics, the author mentions the women of the Karṇāṭa country which may be roughly identified with the Kannaḍa-speaking area of South-western India.

We are thankful to Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra who has kindly offered some suggestions for the improvement of the transcript and translation of the inscription.

¹ Chapter 64, verse 43: *Kāmarūpaṁ mahā-pīṭhaṁ tathā Kāmēśvarīṁ tīvām | Nīlām cha parvatū-br̥h̥tīṭhaṁ nāthām Kāmēśvarām tathā ||*

² Chapter 18, verse 42: *Kāmarūpē Kāmagirau nyapatad=yōni-maṇḍalam.*

³ Cf. *The Śākta Pīṭhas*, p. 47: *Yōni-pīṭhaṁ Kāmagirau Kāmākhyā tatra dēvatā.*

⁴ *Kāmarūpa-bāsan-āvalī*, introduction, p. 22n.

⁵ Vide *ibid.*, pp. 89, 116, 131.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁷ *The Śākta Pīṭhas*, p. 15.

⁸ See Watters, *On Yuan Chuang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, pp. 185-87.

TEXT¹

[Metres : Verse 1 *Sragdharā* ; verses 2, 18, 29-30 *Anushṭubh* ; verses 3-6, 8-9, 11, 15, 17, 19, 21-23 *Āryā* ; verses 7, 12-13 *Indravajrā* ; verse 10 *Gīti* ; verse 14 *Vasantatilakā* ; verses 16, 25 *Mandākrāntā* ; verse 20 *Rathōddhatā* ; verses 24, 26-27 *Śārdūlavikrūṭa* ; verse 28 *Upajāti*.]

First Plate

- 1 Siddham² Svasti | Śrīmat-Kailāsa-bhūbhṛit-prithu-kanaka-silā-saṅchay-āsphūlan-ōtthair-
āsār[air]=hēma-paṅk-āvila-tu-
- 2 hina-jadaiḥ sikta-vaimāni-sārthaḥ | ambhaḥ-kriḍā-prasakta-pravara-sura-vadhū-kōśa-hasta-
chyutair=vvō nākē-
- 3 śa-dru-prasūnair=aruṇita-salilō-vyāt=sa **Lōhitya**-sindhuh || [1*] Sa punātu Pinākī vō yan-
nātyē swarddhu-
- 4 nī-jalam | kīṇṇam rēchaka-vātēna tārakāprakārayitam || [2*] Naraka iti sūnur=āsīd=
Ādivarāhasya bhu-
- 5 vi tad-uddhārē | Aditēḥ kuṇḍala-haraṇē pratāpam=api yō Harēr=aharat || [3] Kṛishṇēna
tan=nihatya cha sri-
- 6 śṭau³ Bhagadatta-Vajradatt-ākhyau | tasya sutau tad-vanitā-karuṇa-vilūpa-hṛita-
hṛidayēna || [4*] Saṁprāptē Bhagadattē
- 7 śrīmat-**Prāgyōtish**-ādhināthatvam | vanam=itarō=pi tad=ōtya prārādhayad=Īśvaran=
tapasā || [5*] Tushṇē(śṭē)na
- 8 tēna tasmāi dattam=**Uparipattan**-ādhināthatvam | Prāgyōtish-ādhirājyam kālēna ta[d-a*]-
nvayasy=āpi || [6*]
- 9 Tasy=ānvayē=bhūt=kshitipāla-mauli-māṇikyā-rōchi-sphurit-āṅhri-pīṭhaḥ | Prāgyōtish-ē-
- 10 śaḥ kshata-vairi-vīraḥ **Sālabha** ity=uddhata nāmadhēyaḥ || [7*] Sat-pūrvva-nṛpati-guṇa-
sāmpad-augha-rāg-ānu-
- 11 rañjita-dig-antaiḥ | **Sālastambha**-pramukhai[h*] śrī-**Harsh**-āntair=mmahīpālaiḥ || [8*]⁴
Divam=ārūḍhair=ādyasya⁵ bhūbhujō=nē-
- 12 ka-vairi-vīrō=bhūt | bhrātā śaurya-tyāgair=s-samō nāmn=**Arath**-īti nṛpaḥ || [9*] Śrī-Jīva-
dēvi-sa[m*]jñā rājñī
- 13 hṛiday-ānug=ābhavat=tasya | va(ba)hu-jana-vandyā mahataḥ prabhāta-sandhy-ēva tōjasō
jananī || [10*] Tasyān=tasya tu
- 14 rājñah sūtō=bhavan=nṛpa-śīrō-rohit-āṅhri-yugaḥ | śrī-**Harjarō** nṛ(nṛ)p-ēndrah śriyā
svayam yah samupagūḍhaḥ || [11*]
- 15 [Dharmma-pravādēshu*] [Yudhishṭhirō yō Bhī]mō=ri-vargē sa[marē] cha Jish[ṇuh] | ēkō=
py=anēkair=iti sad-[gu]ṇ-ō(ṇ-au)-

¹ From the original plates now preserved in the Assam Provincial Museum, Gauhati, and impressions pre-
pared at the office of the Government Epigraphist for India.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ The word *erishya* has been used here in the sense of *varishya*.

⁴ The metre of verses 8-9 is *Āryā*. But both of them are defective from the metrical point of view.

⁵ A word like *yuktasya* seems to suit the context better than *ādyasya*.

Second Plate ; First Side

- 16 ghair=niśśeśha-Kunti-tanayatvam=ētaḥ || [12*] Gōpijan-ārañjita-mānasasya s-ē[r]shy=ēva vakshaḥ parihri[tya*] Viśṭō(shṇō)ḥ [|*] niḥ-
- 17 śeśha-rāmājana-dēha-samsthā=ādāya saundaryam=ih=ājagāma || [13*] Varṇ-ādy-aśeśha-guṇa-jūtam=ayam=va(m=ba)bhāra patyu-
- 18 r=mam=ātula-va(ba)lasya Rathāṅgapāṇēḥ | tēn=āham=agra-mahishī jagatibhujō=sya bhūtā janē na khalu lāghavam=abhyu-
- 19 paimi || [14*] Iti yasya mahādēvī vigaṇayya maṇō-nug=ābhava=Lakshmīḥ | Śrī-Maṅgal-ābhidhānā pramadā-ratn-ōttaman=nṛi-
- 20 patēḥ || [15*] Tasy=āśeśha-kshitipa-makuṭ-ōdghṛishṭa-pūd-āvja(bja)-pīṭhasy=ādabhū(bhū)-t=sūnur=nṛipa-guṇa-mahāratna-mālā-vibhūsha[h*] ||(|) tasyām(syā)n=dēvyām=akhilabhuvan-ānanda-
- 21 kō yaḥ śas=iva śrīmān=khyātō jagati Vanamāl-ābhidhānaḥ kshiti(t-i)-
- 22 śaḥ || [16*] Jalandhi-taṭa-vana-mālā-sīm-āvadhi-mēdinī-patitvasya | yōgya iti nāma dhātā cha-
- 23 krē Vanamāla iti yasya || [17*] Prachand-ārāti-mattēbha-ghaṭā-dhvānt-ōru-samhatim | divākarāyitam
- 24 yēna vidārya raṇa-bhūmishu || [18*] Kshiti-tanaya-nṛipa¹-vaṁśa-prabhava-narēndra-āmal-āmva(mba)rē yēna | sphu-
- 25 tam=ēva mṛigāṅkāyitam=utsāry=ārāti-ti[mi*]r-ō(r-au)gham || [19*] Bhūri-dripta-ripu-vīra-vāhinī-saila-va-
- 26 jram=uru-vikram-āsinā | yēna rājakam=aśeśham=asyatā śrīr=akūri chiram=ēka-bhartṛikā || [20*] Yasya pratāpa-bhityā
- 27 va(ba)hu-ripu-jayinō=pi mēdinipālāḥ [|*] kēchi[d*]=diśō vijagṛihuh prasabham=alam chāma-rāṇy=anyē || [21*] Rājñām=anyēśhūm
- 28 yē niśītān=ājāv=ishū[n*] nṛipā mumuchuh || (|) yasya ta ēva vibhityā bhūmīr=dūran=nijā vijahuh || [22*] Yair=abhimukham ripu(pū)-
- 29 nār =āghaṭitā matta-kari-ghaṭā-va(ba)ndhāḥ | tair=vikram-aika-bētā[r*]=yasy=ā[m*]-jalayaḥ kṛitā[h*] kshitipaiḥ || [23*] Dhūr=ūhē Nahu-
- 30 shasya yēna patitam kāl-āntarād=ālayam saudham bhakti-nat-ākṣil-āmara-vara-vrāt-ārchit-āḥrēḥ punaḥ | Prālēyā-
- 31 chala-śrīṅga-tuṅgam=ātula-grām-ēbha-vēśyājanair=yukta[m*] Hētuka-Śūlinah kshitibhujā bhaktyā nava[m*] chakrushā² || [24*]

Second Plate ; Second Side

- 32 Yasy-Ānanta-dyutim=atisitā nāga-lōkē hasantī | diṇ-nāgānām śvasita-janitām śikar-ālīn=chadikshu

¹ The word *nṛipati* would suit the metre better.

² There is an ornamental design at this place to cover the space at the end of the verse.

7.

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n.b.

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(From a photograph)



Seal



- 33 || [25*]¹ praprita-samasta-varṇa-āśramād=aparimita-subhaṭa-sādhū-vidvajjan-ādhishṭhānād=
vichittra-gaja-turaga-śivi-
- 34 k-ārūḍhair=mmahānarapatibhir=avanipati-sēv-ārtham gachchhadbhiḥ pratyāgachchhadbhis
=cha saṅkula-mahārājamā-
- 35 rgād=a-saṅkhyā-gaja-turaga-padāti-sādhana-nirantara-niruddha-sakala-digantarād=ubhaya-
vāl-āchal-ō-
- 36 tthit-ōtu(ttu)ṅga-taru-gahana-viśrānta-matta-varhiṇa-kēkārav-ōdbhrānta-bhujaga-vrāta-
mukta-phūtkāra-pavana-pra-
- 37 kampit-āṇeka-latā-vigalita-kusuma-nikara-parimala-surabhi-salilēna]² tad-upavana-lagna-dā-
- 38 vānala-dahyamāna-kriṣṭ-ā(śhṇ-ā)garu-dhūma-sambhav-āmva(mbu)dhara-vṛiṣṭa-sugandhi-
jal-augha-pravāhiṇa |
- 39 *sakala-sur-āsura-makṣa-maṇi-mayūkha-mañjarī-rañjita-charaṇa-piṭhābhyām śrī-Kāmēśva-
40 ra-Mahāgaurī-bhaṭā(tṭā)rikābhyām=adhishṭhita-sīrasaḥ Kāmākṣa-giḥ(gi)rēḥ satata-nitam-
va(mba)-
- 41 kshālānād=adhikātara-pavittra-payaḥ-sampūrṇa-srōtasā | ubhaya-taṭa-mahidhar-ōpavana-
granthiparṇ-ā-
- 42 nkura-bhujām kvachit=svaya[m*] mṛitānām=ā(m=a)nyattra puṇḍarikair= hata-yūthānām=
āparattra vṛika-saṅghai(ōghair-) vinihat-ārdha-bha-
- 43 kaṭita-māṇs-ō(māṇs-ō)jjhitānām kastu(stū)rikā-mṛigāṇām mada-gandhēn=āmōdita-sakala-
tīr-ōpakapṭha-nivāsi-jana-
- 44 padēna | majjan-nō(t-tō)ya-vilāsini-kucha-kalāsa-taṭ-āśliṣṭa-madva(da)-paṅk-āvila-sugan-
dhy-ambhasā | vēśy-āṅganā-
- 45 bhir=iva nān-ābharāṇa-ōbhita-prakaṭ-āvayavābhiḥ | vā(bā)la-kumārikābhir=iva kvaṇat-
kiṅkiṇi-mālā-dhā-
- 46 riṇibhiḥ | Karṇpātibhir=iva kaṭhin-ābhigṛāta-samva(samva)rdhhi[ta*]-vēgābhiḥ | vāra-
strībhir=iva chāmara-dhāriṇibhiḥ[h*]³

¹ As known from the Tezpur plates, this is merely the first half of a stanza in the *Mandākrāntā* metre, the latter half of it running as follows :

sampūrṇ-ēndōr-vigati vimūlām=amṣu-mālām vichitrām
rājō=naipā vicharatitarām kīrttir=ady-āpy-ājasram||

This verse is followed in that inscription by four more stanzas which are not found in the present record. The amended text of these verses as given in the *Kāmarūpa-śāsan-āvalī* (pp. 62-63) runs as follows :

Satya-gāmbhīrya-tuṅgalva-pratāpa-tyāga-vikramaiḥ |
yō-jayad=Dharmaj-ābdhy-adri-bhānu-Karṇa-marutsutān ||
yasya yāśaḥ-śāśin=ēdam bhuvanam dhavalikṛitam vilōkya dṛiṣṭā |
sa-vriḍa iv=ōdēti prālēyamārichir=ady-āpi ||
dēv-āgāram vādya-gīta-praṇādair=nān-ārāmāḥ satirāṇām vyāhṛitaiḥ=cha |
gāyanti=ady-āpy=abja-ramyāḥ suvāpyō dēśē dēśē śālinīm yasya kīrtim ||
bahu-hēma-raupya-gaja-vāji-mahī-pramad-ādi-ratna-nichayaṁ bahusāḥ |
pradādāv= avōram=anīśam nigadan pramit-āksharō=pi bahu-vāg=abhavat ||

² The *daṇḍa* in this case as also in the following lines has been used as a comma is done in English and is really unnecessary.

³ The passage *sakala.....srōtasā* (lines 39-41) is found in the Tezpur plates after *ubhaya.....janapadēna* (lines 41-44).

⁴ A passage has been omitted at this place. In the amended text of the Tezpur plates, as given in the *Kāmarūpa-śāsan-āvalī* (p. 64), the passage missing in the inscription under discussion runs as follows :
Dakṣadan-āntakṣurikābhir=iva ruṣ(rū)ṣhita-santata-dāśanābhiḥ pavana-kāminibhir=iv=ātyanta-vēgavātibhiḥ rama-
ṇīya-daluh-āṅganābhir=iva sakala-jana-mandhāriṇibhiḥ naṣṭibhir=iva narṭaka-purush-ākramaṇa-samvarddhī-ōtkam-
pabhir=durgata-dēvapālībhir=iva satat-ōllāna-ōllāna-kāminibhir=naubhir=atankṛit-ōbhaya-tīr-ōpanta-dēśēna śrī-
Lohitīya-bhaṭṭārakēṇa sanātha°. The expressions *daluh-āṅganābhiḥ* and *dēvapālībhiḥ* are doubtful.

Third Plate

- 47 śrī-Haṇḍapēśavarāt=sa paramamāhēśvarō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyātāḥ paramēśvara-parama-
bhaṭṭārakō mahārājādhirāja-
- 48 śrī-Vanamālavarmanadēvaḥ kuśalī || Uttara-ku(kū)lō Svalpa-Manḡōka-maṇḍala-
prativa(ba)ddha[m*] pūrvvē Akshidāhikā | dakṣiṇa-pū-
- 49 rvvē Chaṇḍikā-puṣhki(shka)ri[pi*] | dakṣiṇē Dīrghāṅga[h*] | dakṣiṇa-paśchimē vaṭa-
vṛikṣa[h*] | paśchimē vēṇu-viṭapa[h*] | paśchim-ōttarē śā-
- 50 lmalī | uttarē vṛi(bṛi)had-ālī | uttara-pūrvvē Dhavala-puṣhki(shka)riṇi | ēvam=ashta-sīmā-
paryantam=a-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pravēśam Ha-
- 51 pōsa-grāmaṁ mukt-ōparikaram kṛitvā ¹ | Tyāgi satya-dhanaḥ par-ōpakṛitimān sādhuḥ
satām sammataḥ śāstr-ā-
- 52 rth-ānmpī(mṛi)ta-tripta-dhīḥ ² | kaliyugē ttraryāḥ³ sa ēka-grihō⁴ vēd-ābhyāsa-rataś=cha Sāma-
charaṇaḥ Śāṇḍilya-gōttrō mahā-
- 53 n bhaṭō(tṭō) Jējjatāḥ(ṭa) ity=abhūt(bhūd) guṇa-nidhiḥ sanmā(mmā)nitō rājabhiḥ ||[26*]
Tasmyai(sy=ai)tē guṇa-sālinō ni-
- 54 ja-kula-pradyōt(ta)-dakṣa-kṛi(kri)yo(yā) jātāḥ satva(ttva)-hit-aika-datta-manasaḥ(sa)ś=
Chūdāmaṇir=Dēṭōbhā⁵ [|*] Garggaś=cha⁶
- 55 tatō=py=a(py=u)dāra-charitā(ṭaḥ) Śambhu[h*] samētāḥ sutāḥ nō bhinnāś=cha paraspara[m*]
vinayinō dharmma-kṣhay-āśaṅka-
- 56 yā || [27*] Tattr-āgrajāya pradadau dvijāya grāmaṁ hi Chūdāmaṇayē praśāsyāḥ(sya)|⁷
Hapōsa-nāmānam=i-
- 57 ha prayatnāt pū(pu)ṇyē=hani prīti-manā narēndraḥ || [28*] mātā-pitṛōr=ātmanaś=cha
puṇya-yasō-bhivṛi-
- 58 ddhayē⁸ ataḥ sarvvair=anumantavyam=iti | Va(Ba)hubhir= vasudhā dattā rājabhi[h*] Sagar-
ādibhi[h*] yasya yasya yadā bhu(bhū)miḥ(mis=)
- 59 tasya tasya tadā phalam(lam) || [29*] Sa(Sva)-dattām para-dattām=vā(ttām vā) yō harēt-
(ta) vasu[m*]dharām(rām) sa viṣṭā(shṭhā)yām kṛimīr=bhūtvā pitṛibhi[h*] saha
pachyatē ||[30*]

TRANSLATION

(Line 1) May there be success ! May it be well (*with us*) !

(Verse 1) May that sea which is the Lōhitya protect you ;—(*the sea*) which wets the host of the riders of celestial cars with its showers that rise from its striking the multitude of big golden rocks belonging to the glorious Mount Kailāsa (*and*) that are icy cold (*and*) mixed with golden mud ;—(*the sea*) the water of which is reddened by the flowers of the trees (*in the garden*) of the lord of paradise, which are fallen from the hands and the (*braids of*) hair of the best heavenly damsels engaged in playing in the water.

¹ There is an ornamental design here between the two *daṇḍas* apparently used to separate the prose portion from the following section in verse.

² The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

³ Possibly the reading intended is *trayyāḥ sa śk-āśrayāḥ*.

⁴ As the first half of the stanza ends here, a *daṇḍa* is necessary after *grihāḥ* which is not required to be joined in *sandhi* with the following word.

⁵ The metre requires a short syllable in the place of *ṭō*. Was the intended name Dēbhaṭa ?

⁶ The metre requires *ch=aiṇa*.

⁷ The word intended may also have been *praśāsyam* (to go with *grāmaṁ*) or *praśāsyāḥ* (to go with *narēndraḥ*).

⁸ This passage may be taken as half of a stanza in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre.

(Verse 2) May (*the god*) Pinākin (i. e., Śiva) purify you ;—(*the god*), at whose dance, the water of the celestial river (i. e., the Gaṅgā hidden in the god's matted hair), being scattered by his exhaling breath, shines like the multitude of stars.

(Verse 3) A son, named Naraka, of Ādivarāha (i. e., the Primeval Boar or Viṣṇu in his boar incarnation) was born of the Earth (*goddess*) at (*the time of*) her rescue ;—(*the son*) who destroyed the prowess of Hari (i. e., Indra) as well in (*the affair of*) the carrying away of Aditi's ear-rings.¹

(Verse 4) After having killed him (i. e., Naraka), Kṛishṇa, his heart being moved by the lamentations of his wife, allowed his sons, named Bhagadatta and Vajradatta,² to go (*unpunished*).

(Verse 5) As Bhagadatta received the lordship of the glorious Prāgyōtisha (*country*), the other (i. e., Vajradatta) then, having repaired to the forest, propitiated Īśvara (i. e., Śiva) by penance.

(Verse 6) The lordship of Uparipattana was granted to him (i. e., Vajradatta) by him (i. e., the god who was pleased) ; (*the god also granted that*) the sovereignty of Prāgyōtisha would belong to his descendants after some time.

(Verse 7) In his family was born one whose foot-stool was shining with the lustre of jewels on the heads of kings ; who was the lord of Prāgyōtisha ; who destroyed the warriors of the enemies ; (*and*) who bore the majestic name 'Sālabha'.

(Verses 8-9) The brother, by name Arathi, the (*very*) fire to numerous enemies (*and*) unequalled in valour and munificence, of the king (i. e., Sālabha) who was joined³ with the monarchs beginning with Sālastambha and ending with Harsha, who had ascended heaven and dyed the horizon with the colour of the flood of the richness of merits of the good kings of old, became king.

(Verse 10) His (Arathi's) queen, bearing the name Sri-Jīvadōvī, became gratifying to his heart :—(*the queen*) who was adorable to a great multitude of people (*and*) was the source of great splendour as the morning twilight is of strong light.

(Verse 11) The son of that king, from her, was the king of kings the illustrious Harjara, whose two feet were worshipped by the heads of kings (*and*) who was embraced by the goddess of fortune of her own accord ;

(Verse 12) who was (*the very*) Yudhisṭhira in religious discourses, Bhīma to the host of enemies, (*and*) Jishṇu (i. e., Arjuna) in fighting ; who, although one, acquired the sonship of Kuntī in its entirety (i. e., became equal to the three sons of Kuntī) by means of the mass of good qualities (*mentioned above*).

(Verses 13-15) The goddess of fortune, having left, like a jealous woman, the breast of Viṣṇu whose heart was amused by the milk-women, (*and*) having gathered (*in herself*) the beauty pertaining to the persons of all women, came here (*and*) became that king's queen gratifying to his heart, by name Śrī-Maṅgalā, the best of jewels that were women, thinking thus : 'He bears⁴ the mass of qualities in their entirety, inclusive of complexion, of the bearer of the discuss (i. e., viṣṇu), my husband of unequalled valour ; for that reason I have become the chief queen of this king ; indeed I have not incurred disrespect in the world'.

(Verse 16) The son of that king (i. e., Harjara), the stool under whose lotus-like feet was touched by the crowns of all kings, was king Vanamāla by name, who was born of that queen ; who

¹ Cf. *Bhāgavata Purāna*, X, section 59.

² The *Mahābhārata* (XIV, sections 75-76) makes Vajradatta a son of Bhagadatta.

³ See note on the text of this stanza.

⁴ For the *lit* or Perfect Tense used here for the Present, see *Kāmarūpa-āṣan-āvalī*, pp. 183-4.

was famous in the world, beautiful (and) the delighter of the whole earth like the moon ; (and) who was adorned with the garland of big jewels that are royal qualities ;

(Verse 17) whose name the god of destiny made ' Vanamāla ' (literally, ' one wearing a forest-garland ') saying, ' (*Verily he is*) fit for the lordship of the earth bordered by the row of forests on the shores of the ocean (*around it*) ' ;

(Verse 18) who, having dispersed on the fields of battle the great mass of darkness that was the assemblage of the intoxicated elephants of the mighty enemies, shone like the sun ;

(Verse 19) who, having dispersed the mass of darkness that was the enemies, shone distinctly like the moon in the clear sky that was the kings born in the family of the monarch who was the son of the Earth (i.e., Naraka) ;

(Verse 20) by whom, having destroyed completely with his sword of great strength the assemblage of kings who were the (*very*) thunderbolt to the hills that were the armies of the warriors of their excessively proud enemies, the goddess of fortune was made for a long time to enjoy only one husband (i. e., his own self) ;

(Verse 21) for fear of whose valour, some of the kings, though they were subduers of numerous enemies, fled importunately towards (*different*) directions while others readily took up the chowrie (*to fan their conqueror*, i. e., to become his servants) ;

(Verse 22) out of fear for whom, even the kings, who in a battle against (*other*) rulers shot sharp arrows, (*themselves*) left their territories far away (*behind them*) ;

(Verse 23) to whom, whose only weapon was his valour, those kings, who effected formations of the assemblage of intoxicated elephants against (*other*) enemies, folded their palms ;

(Verse 24) who was the king that bore the burden of Nahusha¹ by making new again, out of devotion, the palatial temple of Hētuka-Śūlin (i. e., Śiva styled Hētuka) whose feet are worshipped by the host of all the best gods bowing down through reverence ;—(*the temple*), that had become dilapidated owing to the passage of time, was as high as a peak of the snow-mountain (i. e., the Himālaya), (and) was endowed with incomparable villages, elephants and prostitutes (i. e., dancing girls styled *dēvadāsī*) ;

(Verse 25) whose excessively white (fame)² excels the radiance of (*the jewel of*) Ananta in the world of snakes and the row of water particles³ raised by the breaths of the quarter-elephants in (*different*) directions.

(Lines 33-47) From the illustrious Haḍapēśvara which has the people of all the Varṇas (viz. Brāhmaṇa, Kshatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra) and Āśramas (viz. Brahmacharya, Gārhaṣṭhya, Vānaprastha and Bhaiksha) well contented ; which is the abode of innumerable good soldiers, virtuous men (or, merchants) and learned men ; the big main roads of which are crowded by the great kings who are seated on beautiful elephants and horses and in palanquins and are going and coming with a view to attending on the lord of the earth (i. e., Vanamāla) ; which has the whole of its space always obstructed by the armies of innumerable elephants, horses and foot-soldiers ; (*and which has the river Lauhītya running by it*)—

(*the river*) which has its water perfumed by the fragrance of the flowers fallen (*into it*) from the numerous creepers shaken by the hissing sounds produced by the host of serpents frightened by the cries of the peacocks resting in the woods of tall trees rising from the hills on both of its banks ; which carries the fragrant flood-waters showered by the clouds arising

¹ It seems to have been believed that Nahusha was a great devotee of Śiva.

² See note on the text of the stanza.

³ The reference seems to be to the milky-way.

⁴ See note on the text of the section in question.

from the smoke of the black sandal trees (*at the time of their*) being burnt by the conflagration of the forests near the gardens in it (i. e., Haḍapēśvara); which has its current filled by the waters that are purer owing to their constantly washing the slopes of Mount Kāmakūṭa having its head made an abode by the glorious Kāmēśvara and Muhāgauri-bhaṭṭārikā whose footstools are beautified by the foliage that is the lustre of the jewels in the diadems of all the gods and demons; which has the people living in the whole neighbourhood of its banks delighted by the fragrance of the musks of the musk-deer that graze on the shoots of the Granthiparpa plants in the forests on the hills on its two banks—here (*some of the deer*) dead by themselves, there a herd of them killed by tigers (*and*) elsewhere some of them left by a group of wolves after having killed them and eaten up half of their flesh; which has its water scented (*as it is*) mixed with the musk unguent applied to the sides of the pot-like breasts of the girls sporting in the water while taking bath; (*and which has the lands adjoining both its banks adorned with boats*)¹—

(*the boats*) which have their (*upper*) part open and adorned with numerous loads like the prostitutes having their limbs visible and adorned with many ornaments; which are endowed with garlands of tinkling bells like the young girls; the speed of which is enhanced by sharp strokes (*of the oars*) as the passion of the women of Karṇāṭa increases at violent sexual enjoyment; (*and*) which bear chowries like the prostitutes.

(Lines 47-48) That *Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* the illustrious Vanamālavarmadēva, who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (i. e., Śiva), meditates on (or, is favoured by) the feet of his mother and father, (*and*) is in good health;—

(Lines 48-51) having made* (*the village called*) Hapōsagrāma, attached to the Svalpa-Maṅgōka district in Uttara-kūla, unfit for the entrance of policemen and peons (or, regular and irregular troops), (*and*) unendowed with (*the right to enjoy*) the tax on temporary tenants—(*the village*) as far as these eight boundaries: Akṣhidāhikā in the east, the tank of Chaṇḍikā in the south-east, Dīrghāṅga in the south, a banyan tree in the south-west, a bamboo-bush in the west, a Śālmali tree in the north-west, a big embankment in the north, (*and*) the tank of Dhavala in the north-east—

(Verse 26) A great *Bhaṭṭa* (i. e. learned Brāhmaṇa), named Jējjāṭa, was born in the Kālī age, who was munificent, exceedingly truthful, kind to others, honest (*and*) respected by the good people; whose mind was contented by (*drinking*) the nectar that is the meaning of the scriptures; who was the sole repository of the three Vēdas; who was engaged in the study of the Vēdas; who belonged to the *charaṇa* of the Sāman (i. e., Sāmavēda) (*and*) the Śaṇḍilya *gōtra*; who was a store of virtues; (*and*) who was esteemed by the kings.

(Verse 27) These sons were born to him, viz., Chūdāmaṇi, Dēṭōbhā and Garga as well as the noble-minded Śambhu;—(*the sons*) who were endowed with good qualities; who illuminated their own family (*and*) were skilful in the performance of ceremonies; who applied their minds to the good of living beings; who were modest; (*and*) who were united and did not separate from one another for fear of the loss of virtue.

(Verse 28) The king, having delivered his order (*and*) being pleased, now granted by ordering especially the village called Hapōsa on an auspicious day to the Brāhmaṇa Chūdāmaṇi, the eldest among them (i. e., the four sons of Jējjāṭa)—

(Lines 57-58) for the increase of the merit and fame of his parents and himself; therefore (*the gift of the king*) should be approved of by all.

(Verses 29-30) (Two of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses.)

¹ See note on the text of the passage in question.

* This sentence is incomplete; its end can be traced in verse 28 below.

No. 21—TURIMELLA INSCRIPTION OF CHALUKYA VIKRAMADITYA I ; YEAR 2

(I Plate)

H. K. NARASIMHASWAMI, MADRAS.

The inscription¹ edited below with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, was copied by me during my tour in the Telugu Districts in the year 1949-50. It is engraved on a neatly dressed granite slab set up in front of the small dilapidated temple of Surabhēśvara, the earliest among a group of temples situated at the confluence of the Gundlakamma and a small rivulet called Rājjavāgu, about a mile north of the village Turimella in the Cumbum taluk of the Kurnool District. Besides the group of these temples which range in date from the 8th to about the 16th century A. C., the extensive site at this confluence shows marks of early habitation like large-sized bricks, partially exposed brick structures, varieties of potsherds and old coins occasionally discovered, as I am told.

The inscription is engraved on two sides of the slab, the broad side and its adjoining narrow side, the lines of writing running on from one side to the other and the entire inscribed surface occupying a space roughly a foot and half square. The writing is neatly engraved in the typical Telugu-Kannada script of the period. The damage sustained by the edges of the slab has resulted in a few letters of the writing getting obliterated, but otherwise the record is quite well preserved.

The palaeography of the record calls for some remarks, as it forms the main basis for dating it. This inscription, like most of the stone records of the early Chālukyas, does not furnish any details beyond the regnal year of the king to enable us to fix its precise date. Before taking up the question of fixing the date of our record, a few noteworthy features of its palaeography may briefly be recorded. The initial *ā* occurs twice in *āchandra* (line 4) and *Ālakumara* (line 6) and the vowels *u* and *ē* in *Ujēni* (line 7) and *Eruva* (line 8) respectively. It is worth noting that in *u* the ends of the line denoting the serif, instead of pointing upwards, point downwards as if standing for the *o* sign. But for this peculiarity, the form of this letter compares well with its similar forms occurring in the Aihole inscription of Pulakēśin II². The vowel *ē* is almost indistinguishable from the consonant *ch* except that the latter has a broader and more pronounced base than the former. The medial *ā* generally indicated by a downward curve attached to the consonant on its right side as in *rā*, *mā* (line 2), *lā* (line 3), etc., is in the case of *lā* denoted by a shaft at the top of the letter; cf. *lā* in *talāka* (line 7) and *bhaṭṭāra* (line 9). The Dravidian *r* has two forms; in one the circle forming the body of the letter is divided into four equal quadrants by two diameters intersecting at right angles as in *r* in *Eruva* (line 8), while in the other it is divided into three chambers by a horizontal diametrical line cut at its centre by a downward perpendicular line as in *r* in *ayina* (line 6), etc. The forms *°bhujāyamūnṇi-ayina*, *°tanayimṇ-ayina* (line 6), *°ādhiśṭhānūṇ-ayi* (line 8) are to be obviously taken as the honorific plural forms of the corresponding expressions in the singular as *°bhujāyamānūṇḍu*, etc. In *vasumndharām* in line 10, the use of both the class nasal *n* with *dha* in the conjunct consonant *ndha* and the *anusvāra* in place of the one or the other may be noted. The cursive form of mute *m* occurs in *purassaram* (line 4) and *kshētram* (line 9).

Of orthographical peculiarities, the consonant following the *rēpha* is doubled in *rddha* in *pravarddha* (line 3), but not in *rta* in *varta* (line 5); the form *varsham* (line 5) is used for *varshamu* and the use of the *i* sign in *Prii* in *prīṭhavi* (line 1) is redundant.

¹ Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for 1949-50, Stone Inscriptions, No. 30.

² Above, Vol. VI, pp. 6-7, text lines 15, 18.

The language of the introductory portion of the inscription is Telugu and of the operative part of it is Sanskrit. The record ends with the usual imprecatory verse *svadattām paradattām vā*, etc., attributed to Vyāsa. As in early Telugu records¹, we meet here with such archaic expressions as *Bhaṭṭarūḷakun*, *samvatsarambul*, *ēlan*, etc. The donative part of the record consists of a single sentence in Sanskrit which is neither accurate in its syntax nor precise in its expression, using the nominative singular *mātā* in place of the instrumental *mātrā* and the expression *Bhaṭṭārakō*,² for *Bhaṭṭārakāya*. The object of the inscription is a gift of 150 units³ of land to **Gōvri-shāpa-Bhaṭṭāraka** by the mother of Ujēnīpīśācha, the dear son of Ālakumara and the right-hand man of Goggi-Bhaṭṭāra, in the second augmenting year of the reign of *Satyāśraya Prithivīvallabha Mahārājādhirāja Vikramāditya Paramēśvara Bhaṭṭāra* when Ujēnīpīśācha was ruling over the *Ēruva viśaya* with the city (*nagara*) [Turūtātāka as its capital (*adhiśṭhāna*)].⁴

Among the Chālukyas of Bādāmi, only two kings bore the name Vikramāditya. The first was the son of Pulakēśin II, the conqueror of Harshavardhana of Kānyakubja and many other kings both of the north and the south, among whom were the Mājavas.⁵ There are as many as ten copper-plate grants issued by this Vikramāditya,⁶ of which some are spurious. But of stone records pertaining to his reign, strangely enough, there are incredibly few. Indeed the only stone inscription that could be definitely assigned to Vikramāditya I is the Dimmaguḍi record,⁷ for, it is dated in the 27th year of the reign of a Vikramāditya Satyāśraya who could be no other than the first of this name inasmuch as his namesake and great-grandson, Vikramāditya II, reigned only for a little more than a decade, 734 to 747 A.C. This inscription, it is worth observing, gives the latest date so far known for Vikramāditya I, two years beyond the date (680 A. C.) hitherto assigned to him. A close comparison, in the formation of individual letters, of this record⁸ with the Turimeḷḷa inscription reveals certain interesting features. Apart from the similarity of the letters in general in both, a certain development in the palaeographic features of the Dimmaguḍi epigraph such as the later and more developed form, in place of the closed archaic four chambered shape, of *ṛ* marks it definitely later than the Turimeḷḷa record, later at least by a quarter of a century. In other words, the record under review is earlier than the Dimmaguḍi inscription by at least 25 years and therefore belongs to the early years of the reign of **Vikramāditya I**, to wit, his **second year** as the record itself states. That this is indeed so could easily be confirmed by a glance at the general get up and the forms of individual letters in this and in the Aihole inscription of Pulakēśin II.⁹

¹ Above, Vol. XI, p. 346, and Vol. XXVII, pp. 225 ff.

² *Bhaṭṭārakō*, the nominative singular in Prakrit for *Bhaṭṭārakāḥ*, would not fit in here; it should have been *Bhaṭṭārassa* to convey the dative or the genitive sense in Prakrit.

³ The word expressing units of measurement seems to have been omitted in the text after *śata-paṇchāśat* before *kshētram*.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 241. Most of the copper-plate grants of Pulakēśin's successors recount these exploits while describing the king.

⁵ Subsequent to Kielhorn's List (above, Vol. VII, Appendix, p. 5, Nos. 18 to 22), five more records have come to light and they are (1) the Madras Museum plate (C.P. No. 9 of 1906-07); (2) the Talamañchi plates (C.P. No. 8 of 1906-07; above, Vol. IX, pp. 98 ff.); (3) the Gadval plates (C. P. No. 3 of 1909-10, above, Vol. X, p. 109 ff.); (4) the Savanur plates (above, Vol. XXVII, p. 155 ff.), and (5) the Honnur plates (*Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1939, pp. 129 ff.). Of these the first is considered spurious.

⁶ No. 364 of 1920 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection; *SHI*, Vol. X, No. 24, app. p. xxv. An inscription on a hero-stone at Annavaram-agrahāram in the Nellore District has been assigned on palaeographical grounds to this king (*Ann. Rep. on S. I. E.*, 1933-34, p. 29 and plate). But the later developed forms of *j* and *b* found in this record make such an assignment highly improbable. The record may, on the contrary, be assigned to Vikramāditya II in whose inscriptions the later forms of these letters occasionally appear.

⁷ Plate opposite p. 163 below.

⁸ Above, Vol. VI plate opposite p. 4.

The inscription refers to a chief who is described as the righthand man of Goggi-Bhaṭāra and the dear son of Ālakumara. He bears the rather unusual epithet *Ujēnipitācha* (*Ujēnipitāchanāmadhēyūṁḍu*) which sounds more like a title than a name, a title probably acquired by him as a result of a terrorising campaign that he must have undertaken, against Ujēnī (Ujjain). Who could this unnamed hero be? An inscription at Aihole in the Hungund taluk in the Bijapur District of Bombay State mentions a certain Ālekomara-Siṅga (i. e., Ālekomara's son Siṅga) as the founder of a temple.¹ This record which refers itself to the reign of Vikramāditya is undated but could be assigned palaeographically to the period of Vikramāditya I. If this Siṅga, the son of Ālekomara could be identical with the unnamed son of Ālakumara² of our record, it would not be impossible that this Siṅga found an opportunity of following his suzerain in a campaign against Ujjain and of showing his prowess which earned for him the said title as well as the fiefdom of the Ēruva *viśaya*. It may be recalled that it was Pulakēśin II who distinguished himself as the conqueror of Harshavardhana of Kānyakubja. His conquests were by far the most widely spread and included among the conquered, the Mālavas.³ Whether Siṅga *alias* Ujēnipitācha obtained the fiefdom of Ēruva as a reward for his valour from Pulakēśin II himself or from his son Vikramāditya I when the latter re-established his authority in the south after a temporary set-back following the defeat of his father, Pulakēśin II, at the hands of the Pallavas, is more than what could be said at this stage. As regards Goggi-Bhaṭāra who figures in the capacity of a master or leige-lord of Ālakumara's son, a chief of this name born of the Chālukya family and bearing the title *Mahāsāmanta* figures in stone inscriptions of the Mysore State.⁴ It is interesting to note that one of these epigraphs ascribes the title *Ujēnībhujāṅga* apparently to this same chief.⁵ But all these records are assigned to the 10th century A.C. and therefore the chief mentioned in them must be different from Goggi-Bhaṭāra of our record.

Of the place names, [Turū]taṭāka is obviously the present Turimēlla, the findspot of the record. Legend connects it with the mythical story of the sage Jamadagni and his celestial cow Surabhi. The later inscriptions at this village refer to the place as *Jamādagni-āśrama* and mention the temple as that of Surabhēśvara. The story goes that king Kārttavīryārjuna chanced to visit the sage at his *āśrama* once with his retinue and was amazed at the mysterious powers of the celestial cow which granted anything that its owner wished for. Possessed with the desire to own this cow, the king demanded it of the sage and took it from him by force which resulted in dire consequences not only to the king himself but to generations of the Kshatriyas after him at the hands of Paraśurāma, the son of Jamadagni. The word Turumēlla or Turimēlla (*tuṛu*, meaning cow and *mēlla*, corrupted into *mēlla*, 'drive'), as the village name goes, denoted the spot where the 'cow was driven'.⁶

The territorial division *Ēruva-viśaya* seems to find the earliest mention in this record. It was a small principality on the borders of the Kurnool, Nellore and Cuddapah Districts and was

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VIII, p. 286 and plate, text lines 2-3. Dr. Fleet remarks that this record might belong to the reign of either Vikramāditya I or Vikramāditya II.

² Among the early Teṅgu-Chōḷas figures a Śaktikomāra. Except for a vague similarity of this name to Ālakumara, there is nothing to suggest any relationship between them.

³ Among the successors of Pulakēśin II, neither his son Vikramāditya I nor the latter's great-grandson Vikramāditya II claims any campaigns against the Mālavas. Vinayāditya and Vijayāditya no doubt fought with the kings of the north, but they do not specifically mention the Mālavas among them. The later Vikramāditya's pre-occupations seem to have confined themselves mainly to the south, especially to the Pallavas.

⁴ *Ep. Car.*, Vol. III, Mysore 36, 37, Vol. XI, Chitaldurg 74.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, Introd. p. 9.

⁶ Mr. M. Venkataramayya suggests another derivation of Turimēlla from Turutāṭāka: Turutāṭāka would, in Telugu, correspond to Turumaḍugu and this may have undergone changes like Turumaḍugula, Turumaḍla, Turimēlla and Turimēlla.

TURIMELLA INSCRIPTION OF CHALUKYA VIKRAMADITYA I; YEAR 2

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 2
 3
 4
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 8
 9
 10
 11
 12

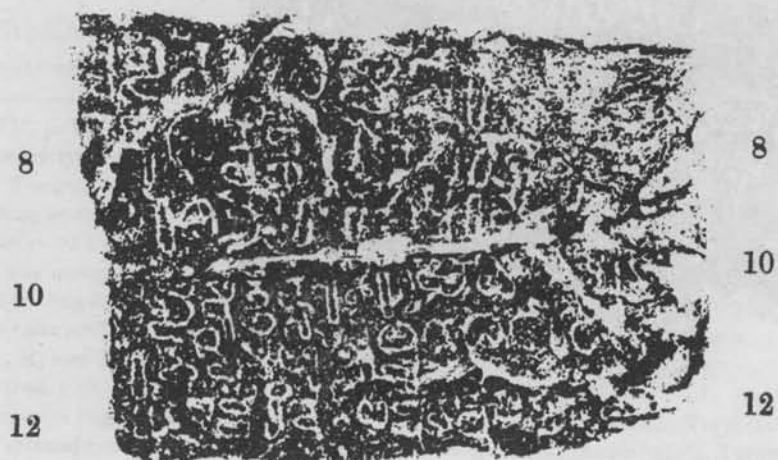
1
 2
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 12

DIMMAGUDI INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMADITYA (I)

First Piece



Second Piece



the dominion of one of the branches of the Telugu-Chōḍa chiefs who held sway over it about the beginning of the 15th century A.C.¹ Members of this branch attached the name Ēṛuva to their own names as a distinctive surname of their family to indicate perhaps their political sway over that territory, or, at times, to distinguish themselves from members bearing similar names but belonging to a different family. That their sway over this division could be traced to a considerably earlier period, almost co-eval with the record under review, is proved by an inscription in characters of the 8th century A. C. on a *saptamātrikā* panel at Turimella itself which mentions the name Ēṛuva-Mahādēvi.² It is not unlikely that this Ēṛuva-Mahādēvi was the wife of Ālakumara and the unnamed mother of the chief who called himself Ujēnīpīśācha and whom we have identified with Śiṅga, the son of Āḷekomara of the Aihoḷe record. A few later records copied in this region furnish some more details regarding this ancient division. A fragmentary inscription of the time of the Kākatiya king Gaṇapatidēva dated in Śaka 1164 refers to this tract as a Thrice-Seventy division with Krochcherulu as its capital.³ Later still, in Śaka 1324 during the reign of the Vijayanagara king Harihara II, it is mentioned as Ēṛuva-nāḍu and as a division in Udayagiri-rājya.⁴ A copper-plate grant of a later date belonging to king Achyutarāya mentions the same nāḍu as situated in Kochcherlakōṭa-sīma.⁵ It will be evident from the statements in these inscriptions that this division which originally covered a small area round about Turimella at the time of the record under review, later spread far wider, covering a considerable area of the western portion of the Nellore District from Kochcherlakōṭa in the Darsi Division right down to the river Pennār.

The gift as well as its recipient deserve a few remarks. The unit of land usually expressed by the word *nivartana* that was generally current at the period of our record⁶ seems to have been omitted here. Another instance where this term is similarly left out occurs in the Dommara-Nandyāla plates of Puṇyakumāra.⁷ The recipient of the gift, Gōvṛishāṇa-Bhaṭṭāraka is possibly identical with the god Surabhēśvara, for *surabhi* is a synonym for *gō*, 'cow'.

TEXT

- 1 Ōm*[*] Svasti[*] śrīmat [* Satyāśraya Śrī-Pṛī¹⁰thivī-
- 2 vallabha-Mahārājādhirāja-Vikramāditya-Paramē-
- 3 śvara-Bhaṭṭarūḷakun śrīmad=unnata-pravarddhamāna-vijaya-
- 4 rājya-samvatsarambuḷ ā-chandra-tāra-purassaram(m)
- 5 dvitīya-varsham=pravarta¹¹mānaṁ kānu [] Goggi-Bhaṭṭarāja dakṣhiṇa-

¹ C. P. No. 8 of 1911-12, above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 14 ff.

² *An. Rep. on Indian Epigraphy* for 1949-50, No. 46.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 40. The relevant portion of the inscription reads *Krochcherulu nelavīḍugān-Ēṛuva-mūṁḍu-ḍebbadulum*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 58; the exact wording in the inscription is *Udayagiri-rājyamandala Ēṛuva-nāṭilō*.

⁵ *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Vol. I, C. P. No. 10, p. 87; text-line 86—*Ēṛuva-nāḍu-e-vikhyāta-Kochcherlakōṭa-sīmani*.

⁶ Above, Vol. X, p. 102, the Gadval plates of Vikramāditya I; *ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 339, the Mālēpāḍu plates of Puṇyakumāra, etc.

⁷ Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 275.

⁸ Represented by a symbol.

⁹ *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

¹⁰ The *i* sign over the consonant is redundant. Read *Pṛithivī*.

¹¹ The syllable *ṛta* was omitted first, but was later introduced below the line between *va* and *ma*.

- 6 bhuja-yamānumr-ayina Ālakuma[ra]¹ priya tanayī(yu)m̐r-ayina
 7 Ujēnīpiśācha-nāmadhēyī(yu)m̐rī [Turu]²-taṭāka-nām-ābhi-
 8 dhāna-nagar-adhī (r-ādhi)shthānumr-ayi Eruva-[visha]³yaṁb-ē[an tasya
 9 mātā(trā) dattam Gōvṛishāpa-Bhaṭṭārahō śata-paṁchāśat kshētram [| *]
 10 Svadattām paradattām vā | ⁴ yō harēti(ta) vasum⁵ndharā[m | *]
 11 aśaṣṭhim(tīm) varsha-sahasrāṇi viśṭhāyām jā-
 12 yatō krimih [||*]

No. 22—PURI PLATE OF KULASTAMBHA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

Sometime before February 1891, the late Mr. Man Mohan Chakravarti secured two copper-plate inscriptions, on temporary loan for examination and publication, from the Rāghavadāsa Maṭha at Puri, Orissa. The results of his study of the inscriptions were published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXIV, Part I, 1895, pp. 123-27. Both the charters were issued by a king named Kulastambha belonging to the Śulki family which Chakravarti identified with the Eastern Chālukya dynasty. He even suggested the identification of the issuer of the charters in question with the Eastern Chālukya monarch Guṇaka-Vijayāditya III who began to rule about the middle of the ninth century and alternatively with the Chālukya-Chōla king Kulōttuṅga I who ruled in the latter half of the eleventh century A.C. and the first quarter of the twelfth, although the plates were assigned by him on palaeographical grounds to the tenth century. The identification seems to have been suggested to him by the occurrence of the name of Kalinga in his transcripts of the two inscriptions. Chakravarti further observed, "The text purports to be in Sanskrit, but has been badly transcribed....The context is not therefore clear everywhere. I have given a verbatim rendering without attempting revision". As the two "inscriptions generally agree till we come to the grant itself", Chakravarti transcribed only one of the two grants (marked by him as A) but quoted the text of six lines from the other charter (marked by him as B), which give details of the grant recorded in the latter. According to him the legend on the seal of A reads *śrīmām Kulastambhadēva* and that on the seal of B *śrīmām Kulastambhadēva*. He also believed that both the grants mention Kulastambha's son or governor (*kōḍālō*), named Kaśchhādēva, and that while A records the grant of the village of Kāṅkanira in the Ulō-khaṇḍa subdivision in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Madhusūdana, son of Vēlu, B records the grant of the village of Pajāra in the same sub-division in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Vēluka or Vēlu.

Unfortunately the facsimiles of the inscriptions were not published along with Chakravarti's paper and it was impossible for scholars to verify the correctness of his transcripts and interpretations of the two Puri plates of Kulastambha. But his identification of the Śulki family with the

¹ This letter is completely damaged on the stone.

² Both these letters are partly damaged on the stone.

³ These two letters are again partially damaged. A part of the lower portion of *v* and part of the *i* sign attached to it are visible on the stone; so also the right half of *sha* is visible.

⁴ The stroke is redundant here.

⁵ The *anusvara* is redundant.

Eastern Chālukya dynasty and of Kulastambha with Gunaka-Vijayāditya III or Kulōttuṅga I has generally been discarded. On the strength of other inscriptions of the family, since discovered, we have suggested, while editing the Hindol plate of Kulastambha in this journal,¹ that Chakravarti's Kōḍālō-Kachchhadēva of the Śulki family never existed as the intended reading of the passage in question is undoubtedly *Kōḍālōkāt sa ēva* (or, *dēva*²).

Recently we had an opportunity to examine the second (B) of the two plates, of which a few lines only were transcribed and translated by Chakravarti. A careful examination, however, enabled us to trace numerous mistakes in Chakravarti's views on the inscription. In the grant portion of the record, he read a passage as *karastaru pla 10* and translated it as "with Karaba tree worth (or rent?) ten pals". The actual reading of the passage is, however, *kara-sāsna ru-pla 10* which shows that the inscription, like those mentioned in connection with the plates of Narēndradhavalā,³ records a *kara-sāsana* (i.e. a grant liable to pay a fixed revenue) for which the rent, apparently annual, was fixed at ten *Palas* of silver. Chakravarti therefore could not realise the nature of the document. It was also noticed that a large number of errors that crept in his transcript and interpretation of the other plate (A), which he fully transcribed and translated, could be easily eradicated with the help of the inscription under review. It will be seen that most of his suggestions (including the one relating to the mention of Kaliṅga) in regard to the two records, which have so long been troubling scholars,⁴ can quite easily be proved to be wrong.

This is a single plate measuring about 9 inches in height, 5 inches in breadth and 0.1 inch in thickness. A circular lump of metal (nearly 2 inches in diameter and 0.4 inch in thickness), soldered on a semi-circular projection in the middle of the top side of the plate represents the seal, on which are counter-sunk the usual emblems of the Śulki family of Ōṛissa. These emblems are much corroded, although the crescent above, the legend in the middle and the standing boar to proper right below can be made out. The legend seems to read either *śrī-Kulastambhadēva* or *śrī-Raṇastambhadēva*. The preservation of the plate and of the writing on it (especially on its reverse) is not quite satisfactory. There is a break in the plate affecting the writing on lines 5-7 on the obverse and lines 24-26 on the reverse. The weight of the plate is 90 *tolas*.

In point of palaeography, language and orthography, the charter closely resembles other grants of the family including the Hindol plate (which belongs, as will be seen below, to the issuer of the charter under review), edited above. Although nothing requires special mention in these respects, a word has to be said now in regard to the date of this record as well as of other inscriptions of the Śulki family. It has been shown in our paper on the Hindol plate that the Śulkis owed allegiance to the Bhauma-Karas and that the Talcher plate of Raṇastambha (grandfather of the issuer of the Hindol plate and of the present charter as well) is dated in the year 103 of the Bhauma-Kara era. But relying on the suggested identification of the era of the Bhauma-Karas with the Harsha era, an earlier date was then assigned to Raṇastambha and his grandson. It has, however, been shown recently that the beginning of the Bhauma-Kara era falls somewhere about the middle of the first half of the ninth century A.C.⁵ The Talcher plate should therefore be ascribed to a date about the middle of the first half of the tenth century⁶ and the inscription under review about the end of that century.

The charter begins with the *Siddham* symbol and the word *svasti*, which are followed by seven verses forming the introductory part of the document. All the seven verses are found exactly in

¹ Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 107 ff.

² Ibid., pp. 44 ff. See also *JRAS*, 1952, pp. 4 ff.

³ Cf. Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. I, pp. 439-40.

⁴ See below, p. 191, note 2.

⁵ As the era in question probably started from 831 A. C., the date of the Talcher plate (year 103) may actually correspond to 934 A.C. See *IHQ*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 148 ff.

the same order as in the Hindol plate of Kulastambha, son of Jayastambha and grandson of Raṇastambha. But the language of the verses in our document is slightly different from that of the Hindol plate. Moreover, the important verse referring to the son of Raṇastambha and father of the reigning king Kulastambha is defective inasmuch as the foot containing the name of Jayastambha as found in the Hindol plate is omitted in the record under review no doubt through the inadvertence of the writer. There is, however, little doubt that Kulastambha who issued the charter under discussion as well as the other Puri (Rāghavadāsa Maṭha) plate published by Chakravarti was no other than the issuer of the Hindol plate.

Another interesting fact worth noticing in this connection is that the text of the introductory part in our record closely follows that in the Bhimnagarigarh (Dhenkanal) plate of Kulastambha,¹ although, where this latter mentions Vikramāditya and his son Raṇastambha, the present record mentions Raṇastambha and his son (name omitted through negligence of the scribe, but known from the Hindol plate to have been Jayastambha). The Bhimnagarigarh plate represents its issuer, king Kulastambha, as the lord of all the Gōndramas with Śaṅkhajōṭī forming the borderland of his kingdom exactly as in the record under notice. Since the relation of Kulastambha, referred to as issuing the charter, with Raṇastambha mentioned in the introductory part is not specified clearly in the inscription, the Bhimnagarigarh plate is generally believed to have been issued by Raṇastambha who is suggested to have had Kulastambha as a second name. But we have elsewhere² remarked, "The Bhimnagarigarh plate represents *Mahārāja* Raṇastambha as the *ātmaja* (line 10) of Vikramāditya. The word *suta* (line 12) again used before the following mention of Kulastambha may suggest that the record in question belongs not to Raṇastambha-Kulastambha but actually to a Kulastambha who was the son of Raṇastambha". The close resemblance of the Bhimnagarigarh inscription with the record under discussion in regard to both language and style, however, now appears to suggest that the corrupt introduction of the former epigraph actually intended to describe, as that of the present charter, Kulastambha, grandson of Raṇastambha. It further appears that the text of the introductory part of the Bhimnagarigarh plate was copied without proper adjustment from a grant of Jayastambha.³

Verse 1 of our inscription, found in most of the Śulki records, is in adoration to the god Girīśa, i.e. Śiva, while verses 2-3 introduce king Raṇastambha of the Śulki family, favoured by the goddess Stambhēśvari, as having constructed some temples probably for the god Sadāśiva. Verses 4-5 describe Raṇastambha's son whose name is inadvertently omitted, while the following two verses (verses 6-7) describe the reigning king Kulastambha, son of Raṇastambha's son, as issuing the charter in question from Kōḍālōka.

The grant portion of the document which is in prose and follows the introduction in verses represents *Mahārāja* Kulastambha, called lord of all the Gōndramas, as in good health. A defective passage in the description of the ruler seems to attribute to him the feudatory title *samadhigata-pañchamahāśabḍa*, although the change introduced in it may have been deliberate. Such deliberate modification of feudatory titles was often resorted to by subordinate rulers who claimed a semi-independent political status.⁴ The future rulers and the present and future administrators, associated with the *maṇḍala* (district) extending up to the Śaṅkhajōṭikā, are then addressed. The way in which the *maṇḍala* is mentioned suggests that it comprised either the whole dominions of the Śulkis or, at least, the central part of the Śulki territories. The lists of the rulers and administrators include the *rājanaka*, *rājaputra*, *mahāsāmanta*, *vishayapati* and others. The charter then

¹ JBORS, Vol. II, pp. 401 ff.

² Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 109.

³ Cf. the text of the Dhenkanal plate of Jayastambha in JBORS, Vol. II, pp. 406 ff.

⁴ Cf. the Mahada plates (above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 283 ff.).

goes on to record the grant of the village of Paḍāra, attached to the Gōilō *khaṇḍa* (subdivision), in favour of *Bhaṭṭaputra* Vēlluka who was the son of Āṇanti and whose original home was at Āviddhā. The village was given along with its boundaries and the space above the ground (*s-ōddēśa*); but it was not made a rent-free holding. It was given as a *kara-sāsana* (i.e. land granted as a rent-paying holding) with a fixed rent of ten *Palas* of silver apparently per annum. It is not stated whether the village was sold or given away free of cost; but it was possibly purchased from its owner with the king's approval with the stipulation of an annual rent as in some other cases known from Orissan inscriptions.¹

The charter ends with some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. The language of these stanzas is extremely corrupt as in the case of the *kaya-sāsana* (the Madras Museum plates of Narēndradhavalā) edited above.

Of the **geographical names** occurring in the inscription, the location of Kōḍālōka has been discussed in connection with the Hindol plate edited above. It is probably modern Koalu near Talcher in Dhenkanal. The expression "all the Gōndramas" or "the eighteen Gōndramas", as indicated elsewhere, was possibly used to signify the same thing as Oriya *aṭhara-gaḍa-jāta*. The Śāṅkhajōtikā has been identified with the Sankha river in the Sundargarh region of Upper Orissa. The exact location of the villages Āviddhā and Paḍāra is uncertain.

TEXT²

[Metres : Verse 1 *Giti*; verses 2 and 4 *Upajāti* (*Indravajrā* and *Upēndravajrā*); verses 3 and 5 *Vasantatilaka*; verse 6 *Upajāti* (*Vamśastha* and *Indravamśā*); verse 7 *Sragdharā*.]

Obverse

- 1 Siddham³ Svasta(sti |) Jayati sur-āsura-vidvad-⁴vidyādhara-makṣa-
- 2 ghrīṣṭa-charaṇ-āmvu(mbu)ja[h [*] śasi(śi)-maṇa(ṇi)-mayūkha-bhāśi(ai)ta-
- 3 piṅga-jaṭā-bhāra-bhāsurō Giriśaḥ [|| 1*] Stambhēśva-
- 4 ri(ri)-lavdha(bdha)-vara-prasādō Śulki-kulē-bhūt-kshi-
- 5 tipa[h*] kṣhat-ārā(ri)ḥ [||*] śrīmāṁ(mān) Raṇastambhadēva⁵ pratītaḥ
- 6 sphurat-pratāp-ōdayaḥ⁶ tāpit-ārī(ri)ḥ || 2). Bhāavavī(d-vi)chitra-
- 7 ruchir-ōjva(jjva)la-ohāru-śōbhau(bhai)r-uchau(chohaiḥ) Sadāśiva-pu-
- 8 r-ōgamaniya⁷-mārggaiḥ [||*] davālaiyair⁸=nniṣa-yaśō-dhava⁹.
- 9 dhavalair-anēkair-yēn=ātmanas=trī(s=tri)divam=udgamit=ōru-ki(ki)-
- 10 rttl(rttiḥ || 3) Tasy=ātma-jō=bhū[j=*] jagad-ōka-vi(vī)raḥ ||¹⁰ ju yaśō la¹¹.

¹ See *JRAS*, 1952, pp. 4-10.

² From the original plate.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ The same seems to be the reading in the Hindol plate.

⁵ Better read 'stambha itī for the sake of the metre.

⁶ Read 'dayas-tāpi', or better 'daya-tāpi' for the sake of the metre.

⁷ Read 'ōpaṅga-aika, or pura-praṅga-aika as in the Hindol plate and other records.

⁸ Read *dēv-ālayair*.

⁹ The *akṣaras dhava* here are redundant.

¹⁰ The second *pāda* of the stanza is omitted through inadvertence. In place of the double *daya*, followed by the *akṣara ju*, we have to read something like *śrīmān Jayastambha itī kṣhīṭaḥ* as in the Hindol plate, line 5.

¹¹ Read *yasy-ōka*.

- 11 sat-khaṅga(dga)-nipāta-bhi(bhī)tāḥ samantatō yānti(nti) raṇē dviśa¹ [|| 4*]
 12 Yō rāja-chakra-tilakaḥ sva-guṇ-āṅgu(ṇ-āṁśu)-pātau² da-kāmini(nī)-
 13 mukha-manōhara-karṇapūraiḥ [||*] śaṅgōchit³-āhita-vadhū-va-
 14 dan-āravindai(r=*)dēś⁴-āndhakāra-bhiduraiḥ saśubhai⁵ śasi(ś=i)-
 15 va [|| 5*] Tasmāt=va(d=ba)l-ōtsārīta-vairi-vārī(ri)taḥ |⁶ parākram-ākrā-
 16 ntā(nta)-samasta-dik-tataḥ [||*] dāna-pravṛit-ārda⁷-kara-pratīti-
 17 mām(mān) dig-vāraṇ-ēndra-pratimō=bhavat=sa(t=su)taḥ [||6*] Kōdālōka(kāt) choḥha(sa)
 dōva-
 18 dvija-guru-charaṇ-ārādhana-śa(sa)kta-chētā[h*] śrīmām(mān) durvvāra-vairi-pra-
 19 vara-kari-ghaṭā-kumbha-kuṭā(ṭṭā)ka-vāraḥ⁸ [||*] dātā satv-ai(ttv-ai)ka-nishṭhō ja-

Reverse

- 20 gati Pri(Pri)thu-sama[h*] ya⁹ pārthivśā(śhu) prati(tī)ta[h*] ka(kṛi)choḥhrē=py=amalāna¹⁰
 21 khaṅga(dga)-prakāṣa-bhuja-valā-trāsītāḥśāśā¹¹-śatru[h || 7*] Śa-
 22 kala-Gōndramōdhithaḥ¹² prama¹³-māhēśvaraḥ samudga-
 23 mit-āsēśha-śavda¹⁴-mahārāja-śrī-Kulastambhadēva[h kuśali*]
 24 Śaṅkhaḥjōṭ[i]kā-valaya-parikaritaḥ¹⁵-paryantē ma-
 25 ṇḍalē=smina(smin) bhāvi(vi)n[ō] rājanka¹⁶-[rāja]putrā(tra)-mahāsāmanta-
 26 nagar¹⁷=anyān=api yathā-kāladdhaṅga[n]ō¹⁸ viśayapati-nidhika¹⁹-
 27 ²⁰rīpaś=cha sa-karaṇa-kalāpa(pān) yathāhrim²¹ vē(bō)dhayatīḥ(ti) kuśala-

¹ Read *dviśantaḥ*.² Read *pātau=dik°*.³ Read *śaṅgōchit-ā°*.⁴ Better read *dēś-ā°*.⁵ Read *śuśubhē*.⁶ The *danḍa* is superfluous.⁷ Read *pravṛit-ārda*.⁸ Read *bāhuḥ*.⁹ This *ya* is redundant.¹⁰ Read *amlāna*.¹¹ Read *bala-trāsīt-āsēśha*.¹² Read *Gōndram-ādhināthaḥ*.¹³ Read *parama*.¹⁴ Better read *śamadhigata-pañcha-mahāśabda* or *śamadhigatāśēśha°*.¹⁵ Read *parikṛiti*.¹⁶ Read *rājanaka* or *rājānaka*.¹⁷ Better read *kumārāmāty-āntaraṅgān=anyān=api*.¹⁸ Read *°kāl-ādhyāsinō*. Chakravarti reads this expression as *kāta(h)ṅgaṅgaṇē* in Plate A and takes it to refer to the Kalinga people.¹⁹ Read *viśayapatiṇ=adhikārīpaś=cha*.²⁰ Chakravarti reads: *rīpa śvava karaṇa kalaya yathāhrim vīdhayatīḥ kuśala*.²¹ Read *yathāhrām*.

PURI PLATE OF KULASTAMBHA

Obverse

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- 28 'yaty=ādīsa(śa)ti cha [i*] viditam=astu bhavatām Gōilō-khaṇḍa-
 29 'sambandhaḥ¹ Paḍāragrāma[h*] saparikarataḥ² s-ōdō(ddē)śa[h*] sa-
 30 'rvva-vādha-virvarjataś=chatuś[t]aya-sīmā-valaya-parika³.
 31 'rata-paryantaḥ [i* kara-sāsna⁴ ru-pa⁵ 10 Āviddhā-
 32 'vinirgata-bhaṭṭapū(pu)tra-Vāllukasya⁶ Āpa-
 33 nti-sutaḥ⁷ Taṭākānāma⁸ saha[erā*]ṇi asva(śva)-
 34 mōddha(dha)-sana chaḥ⁹ [i*] gavā[m*] kōṭi-prā(pra)dānēna bhūmi-
 35 hartā na su(śu)dhyati || yasya¹⁰ yāsyā tasya tasya ta a-
 36 phalaṁ mā¹¹ bhō phalaṁ saṅkā sa sva-datāṁ¹² pālaniā-
 37 t sva¹³-pradām=vā jō harēti vasadhārā [i sa vi]¹⁴

No. 23—BHADRAK INSCRIPTION OF GANA ; REGNAL YEAR 8

(1 Plate)

D. C. SINGAR, OOTACAMUND

Sometime about the middle of the year 1951, reports reached me that Mr. S. C. De, Curator of Archives, attached to the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, had found an inscribed stone in the vicinity of the well-known town of Bhadrak in the Balasore District of Orissa. I also learnt that the stone, believed to have been originally the lintel of the door of a temple, had been secured for the Orissa State Museum and brought to Bhubaneswar. I wrote to the authorities of the Museum requesting them to send me a few impressions of the inscription for examination ; un-

¹ Chakravarti reads : *yathādisati viditam=astu bhavatām Gōilō-khaṇḍa*, but takes the name of the subdivision to be Ulōkhaṇḍa.

² Chakravarti reads : *sambandhaḥ Paḍāragrāma sayari karataḥ sō dīśa sa.*

³ Read *sambaddha*.

⁴ Read *s-ōparikarāḥ*.

⁵ Chakravarti reads : *ōrōḍa-vādha-vivarjita chatuśraya sīmā laya parika*.

⁶ Read *vādha-vivarjitaś=chatuś-sīma-valaya-parikṛiti*.

⁷ Chakravarti reads : *rata paryantaḥ | karastaru pla 10 Āviddhā.*

⁸ The *danda* is superfluous.

⁹ Read *śāsanatvēna dattaḥ*.

¹⁰ I.e., *rūpya-pālāni dāta*.

¹¹ Chakravarti reads : *vinirgata Bhaṭa-putra Vāllukasya āpa*.

¹² The *śaśāṅgi vibhakti* is preferred apparently because Vālluka received the village (possibly by purchase) as a *kara-sāsana* and not as a revenue-free gift.

¹³ Read *sutasya*.

¹⁴ Read *taṭākānām*.

¹⁵ Read *śatāni cha*.

¹⁶ The reading intended is *yasya yasya yadā bhūmiś=tasya tasya tadā phalam*. The first half of the stanza is inadvertently omitted.

¹⁷ The intended reading is *Mā bhūd=a-phala-saṅkā*, etc.

¹⁸ The intended reading is *sva-dātāś=phalam=ānantyaṁ*, etc.

¹⁹ The reading intended is *Sva-dattāṁ para-dattāṁ vā*, etc.

²⁰ The second half of the stanza could not be completed owing to want of space.

fortunately no impression reached me as a result of the correspondence. About the beginning of November in the same year, Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra happened to visit Bhubaneswar in the course of a tour that side. He inspected the Bhadrak stone inscription in the Orissa State Museum and copied it. After his return to Ootacamund, Dr. Chhabra was kind enough to place at my disposal all the impressions of the above inscription for examination. He also permitted me to edit the record in the pages of the *Epigraphia Indica*. I take this opportunity to thank him for his kindness. My thanks are also due to Mr. S. C. De for information regarding the discovery of the inscription. "I discovered the inscription", Mr. De subsequently wrote to me, "in the courtyard of the temple of Bhadrakālī in a locality about five miles from the town of Bhadrak in the Bhadrak Sub-Division on the 17th of March 1951. I noticed the stone buried in the earth and learnt that pilgrims used to wash their feet on it. Certain scars on the stone attracted my attention. I then dug it out and found the inscription. In the month of June we managed to bring the stone to the Museum. Its upper part is damaged as the villagers used to sharpen their axes on it. I was told that the stone had been brought to the Bhadrakālī temple from an adjoining village some years back. The temple of Bhadrakālī is an ordinary thatched cottage. So the stone was probably the lintel of some other temple."

The stone bears an inscription in three lines and is unfortunately broken here and there. The state of preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory. A number of letters in all the three lines have either completely or partially broken away, while some *aksharas* in line 1 have suffered considerably from the effect of corrosion. This corrosion is apparently due to the stone being used as an axe-sharpener. The writing covers a space about 44 inches in length and about 7 inches in height. Individual *aksharas* are about 1.5 inches in height.

The characters resemble those of the so-called eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet, of which the test letters are *m*, *s* and *h*. Of the three letters, *m* and *h* in our record are almost as developed as in the Allahabad pillar inscription¹ of Samudragupta (middle of the fourth century A. C.), although in one case *m* seems to exhibit an earlier form. The letter *s* has its earlier form found usually in the inscriptions of the age of the Kushāṇas. The form of *l* resembles that of the same letter as found in the Allahabad pillar inscription, while letters like *k*, *ṇ*, etc., show pre-Gupta forms. The letter *ṇ* resembles in form the same letter as found in some Mathurā inscriptions of the first and second centuries A.C. and reproduced by Ojha in his *Palaeography of India* (in Hindi), 1918, Plate VI, i (cf. the fourth form of *ṇ*). In a few cases medial *ā* and *ē* seem to be written by lengthening slightly the top *mātrā* of the consonant respectively towards the right and the left. The inscription exhibits the initial vowel *a* and the symbols for the numerals 3, 8 and 80. On grounds of palaeography, the inscription may be assigned to the period between the age of the Kushāṇas and that of the Guptas. I am inclined to assign it to a date about the second half of the third century A.C. This date seems to be supported also by the language of the record.

The language of the inscription is Prakrit. We know that originally the epigraphic language of the whole of India was Prakrit, that Sanskrit is first found in North Indian epigraphs about the beginning of the Christian era and that it gradually ousted Prakrit from the field of Indian epigraphy. The suppression of Sanskrit by Prakrit in the epigraphic records of the lower part of South India took place as late as the middle of the fourth century A.C. In the early Prakrit inscriptions, double consonants are found to be represented by single letters; but gradually the influence of Sanskrit became noticeable in the Prakrit records, not only in their use of double consonants, but also in the occasional inclusion of Sanskritic sounds, words and passages. From a study of the Prakrit inscriptions of the various dynasties holding sway over South India, we find

¹ Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions* (CII, Vol. III), pp. 1ff.; and Sircar's *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 254 ff.

that double consonants began to appear in such records in the third century A.C.¹ As our inscription shows the use of double consonant only in one case (cf. *ayya* in line 2, for Sanskrit *ārya*, instead of the earlier epigraphic Prakrit form *aya*), it may reasonably be assigned to the same third century. That it has to be assigned to a date earlier than the fourth century is suggested again by the Susunia inscription² of king Chandravarman who ruled over South-West Bengal (adjacent to North-East Orissa in which Bhadrak, the findspot of our record, is situated) about the middle of the fourth century A. C. and was defeated by the mighty Gupta emperor Samudragupta. The language of the Susunia inscription is Sanskrit and suggests that Prakrit was ousted from the inscriptions of that area at an earlier date.

The Bhadrak inscription begins with traces of a short horizontal line which appears to stand for the usual *siddham* symbol. This is followed by the word *Mah[ā]r[ā]ja*. The following two *aksharas* read : *sir[i]*, although traces of the vowel-mark are not distinct above the second *akshara*. This is because the stone is broken here. What comes next has to be read as *Gaṇasa*. The tops of all these three letters are damaged owing to the breaking away of a piece of stone as well as to corrosion about the upper parts of the second and third *aksharas* ; but there is hardly any doubt about the reading. Then comes *Sa[m 8 |]*. Traces of the *anusvāra* above *sa* are faintly visible ; but the upper right side of the letter is completely corroded. The symbol for 8, which here resembles the 8 sign reproduced by Ojha from the inscriptions of the Kuhsāna age in his work, Plate LXXI, i (cf. the third symbol for 8) is partially corroded, traces of the lost part being fortunately still slightly visible. The *daṇḍa* that follows the numeral is indicated here by a short vertical line. The first half of line 1, besides the *siddham* symbol at the beginning, thus reads : *Mahārāja-siri-Gaṇasa Sa[m 8, in Sanskrit Mahārāja-śrī-Gaṇasya Sa[m 8 (=samvatsarē ashtamē)*. The inscription is therefore dated in the eighth regnal year of a king called *Mahārāja śrī-Gaṇa*. The name cannot be read as *Gaṇa* as there is absolutely no trace of any *u-mātrā* attached to *g*. With the name of the king mentioned in our record, we may compare that of *Mahāsainyapati śrī-Gaṇa*, known from the Hayunthal copper-plate inscription³ of king Harjaravarman of Assam. In both these cases, *śrī* appears to be an honorific and not an integral part of the name. That the name of the king mentioned in the Bhadrak inscription is most probably *Gaṇa* and not *Śrīgaṇa* seems to be suggested by the fact that, unlike *Śrīgaṇa*, *Gaṇa* (literally meaning the god *Gaṇēśa* or an attendant of *Śiva*)⁴ is actually known to have been used as a personal name in ancient India. *Gaṇa* is the name of the author of the celebrated work entitled *Aśvāyurvēda*,⁵ while the *Matsya Purāṇa*⁶ speaks of a *gōtra-kāra* named *Gaṇa*.

The second half of line 1 of our inscription reads : *[M]ūlajap[ēna] d[ē]vā 3 dat[ā]*. The upper part of *mū* is corroded. Although the traces now visible would rather suggest a slightly earlier form of *m* than that of the other cases of the letter in the record, the *akshara* in question can hardly be read as anything else than *mū*. Parts of *na* are much corroded and the letter is really unrecognisable. *Mūlajapa* (literally meaning 'a mutterer of the *mūla-mantra*, i.e., a particular sacred text or sounds') is a personal name, while the word *dēva* has been apparently used in the sense of 'an image of a god' as in the *Manusmṛiti* (VIII, 87) and other works. Thus the above sentence

¹ For the points raised, see Sircar's *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, 1939., pp. 87 and notes, 166 ; *IHQ*, Vol. XV, pp. 38 ff. ; *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. I, pp. 501-2.

² *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 341-42.

³ See *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, p. 51. Harjaravarman flourished in the first half of the ninth century A.C., as one of his inscriptions is dated in the Gupta year 510 (829-30 A.C.).

⁴ Cf. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. ; *Śabdakalpādruma*, s.v.

⁵ Kieth, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 465.

⁶ Chapter 199, verse 2. The *Mahābhārata* (critical edition, I, 59, 31) seems to mention a demon chief named *Gaṇa*.

of the inscription says that a person named Mūlajapa presented three images for worship to (or installed them in) a particular religious establishment. The name of the establishment is not specifically mentioned in the inscription apparently because the inscribed stone was in view in the temple which housed the images. The temple was probably situated in the modern Bhadrak area which is the findspot of our inscription. Unfortunately the deity or deities represented by the images have not been named and cannot therefore be determined. We know that there was a practice according to which the installation of one or more images of one or more deities would be promised by a person in distress with the hope that he would be relieved of the suffering. Numerous such images, styled *dēya-dharma* or *dēva-dharma* in the records on later specimens, have been discovered. In the terminology of similar dedicatory inscriptions, the three images referred to in our record were the *dēya-dharma* or *dēva-dharma* of Mūlajapa who installed them in a temple in the vicinity of Bhadrak within the dominions of *Mahārāja śrī-Gaṇa* in the eighth year of the latter's reign.

In regard to the reading of the second half of line 1, we have to admit that, since this part follows the regnal year, it is tempting to take *pa* (read *pē*) before the traces of a damaged sign (tentatively read *na*) as a contraction of *pakshē* and *dava* (read *dēvā*) before 3 as meant for *divasē*. In that case, however, we should expect immediately before *pa* the name of one of the seasons (viz. *grishma*, *varshā* and *hēmantā*) or less probably that of a month. But the reading *mūla* is fairly certain, although the sign read as *ja* may possibly also be 3. Unfortunately it is difficult to make out here the name of a season or month in spite of the fact that one of the twenty seven *nakshatras* bears the name *Mūla*. The name *Jyēshthamūla* is sometimes applied to *Jyēshtha*; but *mūla* is never used as the name of a month.

Line 2 of the inscription begins with *vapa 80*. Before this, there are traces of a letter partially broken away along with a piece of stone. Judging from the beginning of the first line of the record, marked by the traces of the *siddham* symbol, it is apparent that one or two letters have been completely broken away at the beginning of the second line. A word ending in *vapa* and followed by a number would suggest an expression like *kulyavāpa*, *khārīvāpa*, *drōṇāvāpa*, *āḍhavāpa* or *nālikāvāpa* all of which were the names of some of the different land-measures of ancient India. Thus the section no doubt refers to eighty measures of land which was apparently granted by Mūlajapa in favour of the temple for the continuation of the worship of the three deities installed by him therein. The partially broken letter before *vapa* cannot be satisfactorily read; but it may be a damaged *ḍha*.¹ In that case the reading intended may be *āḍhavāpa*.

The rest of the second line of the inscription reads: *Mah[ā]kulapati-ayya-Aḡisamēna Pānidē vaḍidam paḍichhidam*. *Paḍichhidam* is the same as Pali *paṭichchhita* meaning 'accepted,' while *vaḍida* seems to be the same as Sanskrit *vaṭita* meaning 'an apportionment', i.e., an apportioned piece of land in the present case. The sentence thus indicates that the eighty measures of land referred to were apportioned in a locality called *Pānida* and that the land was accepted by *Mahā-kulapati-ārya* Agniśarman apparently on behalf of the temple or religious establishment in question. Agniśarman was probably the head of the establishment or less probably the priest in charge of the temple. The epithets *ārya*, 'venerable', and *Mahākulapati* point to his high rank. The expression *kulapati*, which usually means the head or chief of a family, also indicates a sage who feeds and teaches ten thousand pupils.²

The letters of the first half of line 3 are either completely or partially broken away. The first five or six *aksharas* are lost, while only the vowel-marks of the following two *aksharas* (medial *i*

[It looks more like *ha*.—B.C.C.]

See Apte, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v.

in both the cases) remain. Only the upper parts of the next seven letters are visible and they suggest the reading : *adhivāsaka Bhada*. The second half of the line, in which some of the letters are damaged, seems to read : *Apavasa [Mahāsa]ra Ghali Aḍasama []*. The last two letters, *sa ma*, suggest a Brahmanic name ending in the word *śarman* exactly as *Agisama=Agniśarman*. *Aḍasama* may be Sanskrit *Aṭaśarman*. It is thus possible to think that this name is preceded in the record by other names, viz. *Bhada* (Sanskrit *Bhadra*), *Apavasa* (possibly Sanskrit *Apavarsha*), *Mahāsāra* (possibly Sanskrit *Mahāsāra*) and *Ghali* (cf. Sanskrit *Khalin*). The possibility of the existence of the word *adhivāsa(si)ka* in the damaged first half of the line would suggest that it was preceded by the name of the locality where the persons mentioned resided. But what their relation was with the grant recorded in the inscription cannot be determined with certainty. If they were merely witnesses to the transaction, they were probably residents of a locality near the gift land at Pānida.

Mahārāja Gana, during whose reign the inscription was engraved about the second half of the third century A.C., is not known from any other source. He seems to have been a ruler of the ancient Utkala country bounded by the rivers *Vaitaraṇī*¹ and *Kansai* (ancient *Kapiśā*)² and lying between the lands inhabited by the *Vaṅgas* and the *Kaliṅgas*.³ He was probably an independent monarch like the kings of *Pushkaraṇā* (modern *Pokharna* on the *Damodar* in South-West Bengal), who are known from the *Susunia* inscription. As already indicated above, king *Chandravarman* of *Pushkaraṇā* was overthrown by the Gupta emperor *Samudragupta* about the middle of the fourth century A.C. Whether the Utkala country was also conquered by *Samudragupta* about the same time is as yet unknown. The *Sumaṇḍala* plates⁴ of the Gupta year 250 (569 A. C.), however, show that imperial Gupta suzerainty was acknowledged in *Kaliṅga* and presumably also in *Utkala*. Although it is difficult in the present state of our knowledge to ascribe the conquest of *Kaliṅga* and *Utkala* to a particular Gupta monarch, it is possible to suggest that the event took place before the death of *Kumārāgupta I*, grandson of *Samudragupta*, in 455 A.C., as the successors of that monarch do not appear to have been powerful enough to effect the annexation of such far off territories. These conquests should better be attributed to *Samudragupta* or to his son *Chandragupta II* *Vikramāditya* described as *kṛtsna-prithvi-jay-ārtha* in one of the *Udayagiri* inscriptions (cf. also the reference to his *dig-vijaya* in the *Meharauli* inscription).⁵ As however *Utkala* is not mentioned in the *Allahabad* pillar inscription in connection with the victorious campaigns of *Samudragupta*, the second alternative seems preferable.⁶ Whether the rulers of *Āryāvarta*, mentioned in that record as overthrown by the Gupta monarch, included a ruler of *Utkala* cannot be determined.

We have said that the eighty measures of land granted by *Mūlajapa* were apportioned in a locality called *Pānida*. The place may not have been far away from *Bhadrak*, near which the inscription has been found. I have not succeeded in identifying the locality.

TEXT

1 [Siddham]^a []* Mah[ā]r[ā]ja-sir[i]-Gaṇasa sa[m 8] [M]ūlajap[āna] d[ā]vā 3 dat[ā]

¹ Cf. *Mahābhārata*, III, 114, 3 ; above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 179.

² Cf. *Raghuvamśa*, IV, 38 ; above, loc. cit. *Utkala* came later to be known as the *Ōdra* country no doubt after the name of an allied tribe of that name. The *Ōdras* may have originally inhabited parts of Northern Orissa.

³ *Raghuvamśa*, loc. cit.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 79 ff.

⁵ Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 272, 275 ff.

⁶ In this connection, it may be noted that the *Meharauli* inscription attributes to *Chandragupta II* the conquest of a country on the Southern Sea.

⁷ From the impressions kindly supplied by Dr. Chhabra.

^a Expressed by a symbol which is faintly visible

- 2 [āḍha?]vapa 80 [i*] Mah[ā]kulapati-ayya-¹Agisamēna(na) Pāni[dē]² vaḍidaṁ paḍichhidam [i*]
 3i.i. [adhivāsa(si)ka Bhada?] Apavasa [Mahāsa]ra Ghali Aḍasama³ [i*]⁴

TRANSLATION

May there be success ! In the regnal year 8 of the illustrious *Mahārāja Gaṇa*. By *Mūlajapa* are given 3 idols (and also) 80 [āḍha?]vūpas (of land). The apportionment (i.e., the land apportioned) at Pānida is accepted by the venerable Agisama (Agniśarman), the *Mahākulapati*. Bhada (Bhadra), Apavasa (Apavarsha?), Mahāsara (Mahāsāra?), Ghali (and) Aḍasama (Aṭasarman), residents of....

No. 24—HINGNI BERDI PLATES OF RASHTRAKUTA VIBHURAJA ; YEAR 3

(1 Plate)

MORESHWAR G. DIKSHIT, SAUGAR

This copper plate grant is from the collection of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśhōdhaka Maṇḍala, Poona, where it has been deposited for the last 27 years. It is reported to have been found in the possession of a Brahmin at **Hingni Berdi**, a small village on the bank of the Bhīmā river, near Dhond in the Poona District. It was obtained by Śrī P. R. Alegaonkar who passed it on to Prof. Datto Waman Potdar for the purpose of decipherment and publication. At the request of the latter, Mr. P. M. Chandorkar read a short note based on this record before the Sixth Annual Session of the B. I. S. Maṇḍala in 1926.⁵ As the reading given by him is not altogether satisfactory, I re-edit the plates here with the kind permission of the secretaries of the said institute.

The set consists of two sheets of copper, each measuring about 5 inches in length and 2½ inches in breadth. The weight of the two plates is 14 tolas. In the upper margin of each plate there is a small roundish hole, about 2/10 inch in diameter through which a copper ring is passed for holding them together. The two ends of the ring are secured under a lump of copper which is flattened and bears on it the incised figures of an *akṣhamālā*, consisting of eleven beads, a *kamaṇḍalu*-shaped spouted vessel on its left and a *daṇḍa*⁶ on its right, apparently the requisites of a *saṁnyāsin*. The ring weighs 1½ tolas. The inscription on the plates consists of 22 lines of writing, of which 9 are engraved on the second side of the first plate, 10 lines on the first side of the second plate and the remaining 3 on the second side of the latter. As the rims of both the plates are raised, the engraving has remained in a fair state of preservation.

The characters are of the nail-headed variety of the southern alphabet current in the fifth and sixth centuries A. C. The record is very carelessly engraved and exhibits certain peculiarities which deserve close attention. We see mostly nail-headed or acute-angled letters in the first plate, while the second plate shows small circles or pin-heads on the top of certain letters. These

¹ The reading may possibly also be *āyya-Aḡisamēnā*; but I am inclined to ignore the traces about the tail of ā in both the cases.

² What I have read as *dē* may possibly also be 3 or *ja*, although that would hardly give any sense.

³ The first letter in this name may possibly be also read as ā.

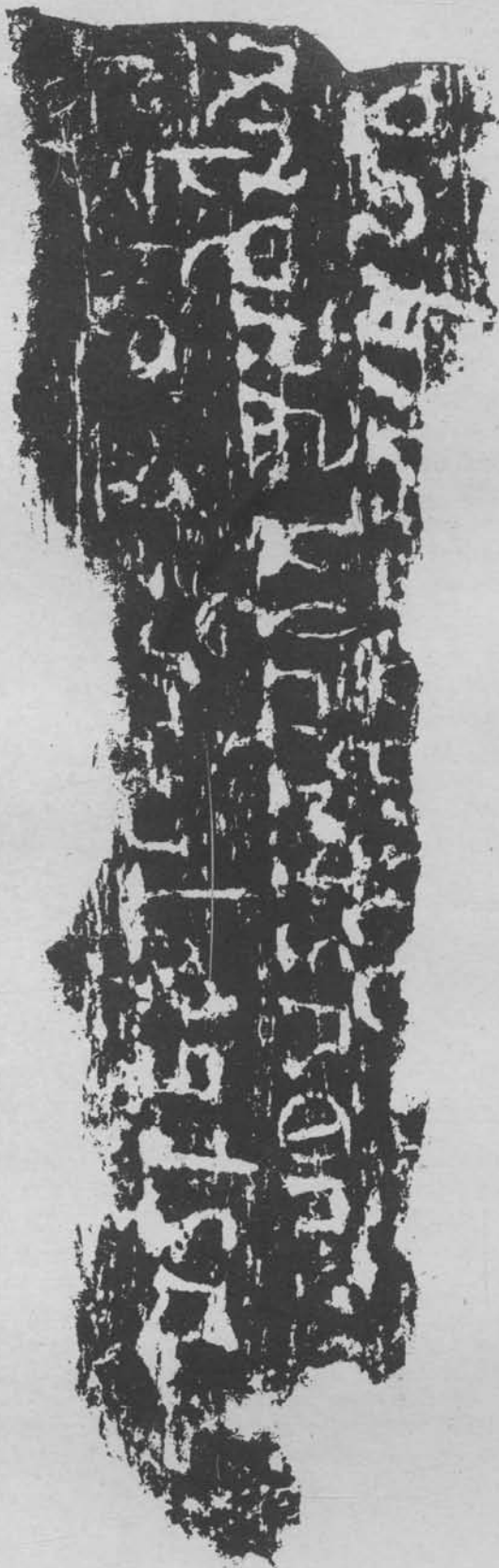
⁴ Full-stop in this case seems to be indicated by a slanting line.

⁵ *Shashṭha Sammēlana Vṛitta* (B. I. S. Maṇḍala), pp. 63-65.

⁶ [What has been described as *daṇḍa* represents possibly only a blade of *kūśa* grass according to Mr. M. Venka-aramayya. Ed.]

BHADRAK INSCRIPTION OF GANA; REGNAL YEAR 8

Left half



Right half



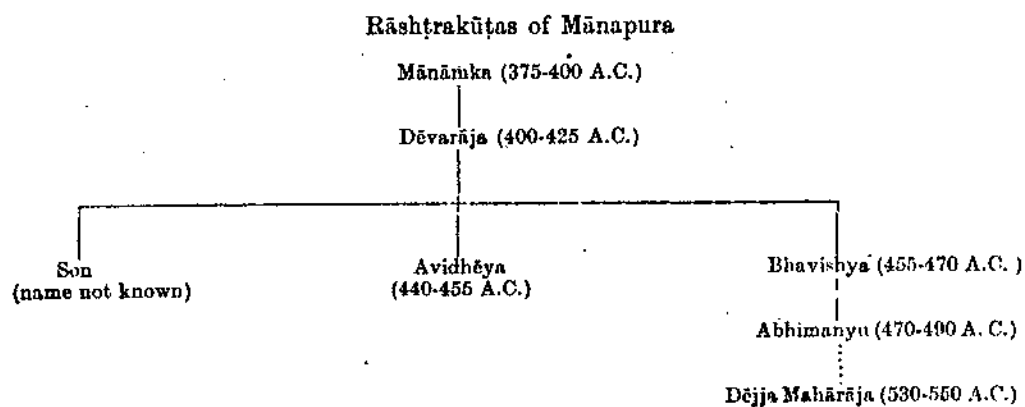
resemble closely the forms of letters found in the Añjanēri plates¹ of Prithvīchandra Bhōgasakti. The writing on the second side of the second plate shows a very crude hand. It is strongly doubted if all the three sides of the two plates were engraved by one and the same person.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. The composition is in prose and is full of mistakes, but the sense can be clear, if proper restorations are made in the text.

The inscription refers to the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty which is styled *Rāshtrakūṭeśvarānām-anavadya* in the initial portion. It is stated that the Rāshtrakūṭa princess *Śyāvalaṅgi Mahādēvi*, the Queen-consort of Rāshtrakūṭa *Dēvarāja* and mother of *Māparāja*, donated an *agrahāra* called Kamalibhūhaka to a Brahmin called Nannasvāmin, belonging to the Agastya *gōtra*, for the purpose of carrying on religious duties. In addition to this land a *dakṣhiṇā* of fifty bars (*śalākā*) of gold was given to the Brahmin with the consent of Rāshtrakūṭa *Vibhurāja*. The grant was made on the full-moon day in the month of Vaiśākha in the third regnal year of king *Vibhurāja*.

The plates refer to the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty thrice (lines 1, 9 and 16) and from the find-spot of the plates it seems certain that the family must have been ruling somewhere in Mahārāshṭra. The royal persons belonging to this family are described in the usual panegyric and as such do not yield any historical information. King *Vibhurāja* is mentioned twice and there is no specific reference to his period, except that the palaeography of the grant, which as stated above, places it in the 5th century A. C. In the absence of these details it would have been difficult to identify this king *Vibhurāja*, as none of the branches of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty anywhere refers to him.

The mention of king *Dēvarāja*, however, affords some clues. Recently Principal V. V. Mirashi, in his article² entitled "The Rāshtrakūṭas of Mānapura", has suggested that there was a minor branch of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty ruling in certain parts of the Satara District during the 4-6th centuries A.C. Hitherto only three copper-plate grants of this family have been found, viz., *Uṇḍī-kavāṭikā* grant³ of Rāshtrakūṭa *Abhimanyu*, *Pāṇḍurangapalli* plates⁴ of Rāshtrakūṭa *Avidhēya*, and *Gokak* plates⁵ of Rāshtrakūṭa *Dējja Mahārāja*. From the identification of the place names recorded in the first two of these grants, it has been shown that the members of this branch of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty were ruling in the *Māṇa tāluk* of the Satara District. The genealogy and the approximate period assigned to them is given as follows :—



¹—Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 225-238 and plates.

² *ABORI*, Vol. XXV, pp. 36-50.

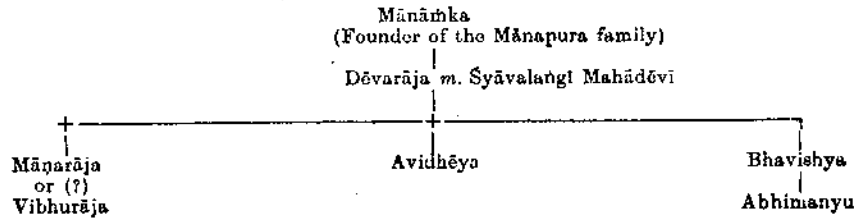
³ *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 88 ff.

⁴ *Mysore Archaeological Report* for 1929, p. 197.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 289.

Since the donor of the present plates is described as the wife of Dēvarāja, it seems plausible to suggest that the Dēvarāja referred to by them is no other than the second person mentioned in the pedigree given above, because the palaeography of the record does not go against the age assigned to that ruler by Prof. Mirashi. In the Uṇḍikavāṭikā and Pāṇḍuraṅgapalli plates, this Dēvarāja is stated to have had three sons, but the names of only two of whom, viz., Abhimanyu and Bhavishya, are known from the inscriptional data available. As the queen of Dēvarāja is also called the mother of Mānarāja in the present inscription, it is clear that **Mānarāja is the name of the hitherto unknown (third) son of Dēvarāja** and he was probably the eldest. And this is quite in keeping with the ancient practice of naming the child after his grandfather, because the name of the father of Dēvarāja is known to be Mānāmka, who founded the Mānapura branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas.

The grant was issued in the third regnal year of king Vibhurāja. His exact relationship with Śyāvalaṅgī Mahādēvī is not explicitly stated in the record. But since the plates are issued in the early part of the career of that king, I believe that Vibhurāja is an *alias* of Mānarāja and that the plates were issued by the queen-mother Śyāvalaṅgī Mahādēvī after the death of her husband Dēvarāja. Whether it was actually so needs further corroboration. In the light of the details at present available, the genealogy of the family can be reconstructed as follows :



The present plates were issued on the Vaiśākha *purnamāsī* day in the third regnal year of king Vibhurāja ; but these details are not quite sufficient to verify the date of the grant.

The mention of golden bars (*suvarṇa-śalūkā*) given as *dakṣiṇā* is also very interesting. It cannot be said if these bars bore any marks as on the bent-bar silver currency, so frequently noticed in ancient sites like Taxila on the North-Western borders of India. At any rate, no currency of the above description is known to have been current in Mahārāshṭra in the period in which the plates were inscribed.

For want of adequate data, the geographical position of Kamalibhūhaka mentioned in the grant cannot be located. It is likely that it was the name of some plot in Hingni Berdi itself where the plates were discovered.

TEXT¹

First Plate

1 ॐ² स्वस्ति श्रीमता धु(?)लितशत्रुबाध³(?)नां राष्ट्रकूटेश्व-

2 राणामन्ववायश्रियोत्कारेण श्रीमता महाराज-

¹ From the original plates and ink impressions.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ I am not sure about the reading of this *akshara*. [Possibly *dalita-śatru-bādhānām* is intended. —B.C.C.]

i.

2 2
4 4
6 6
8 8

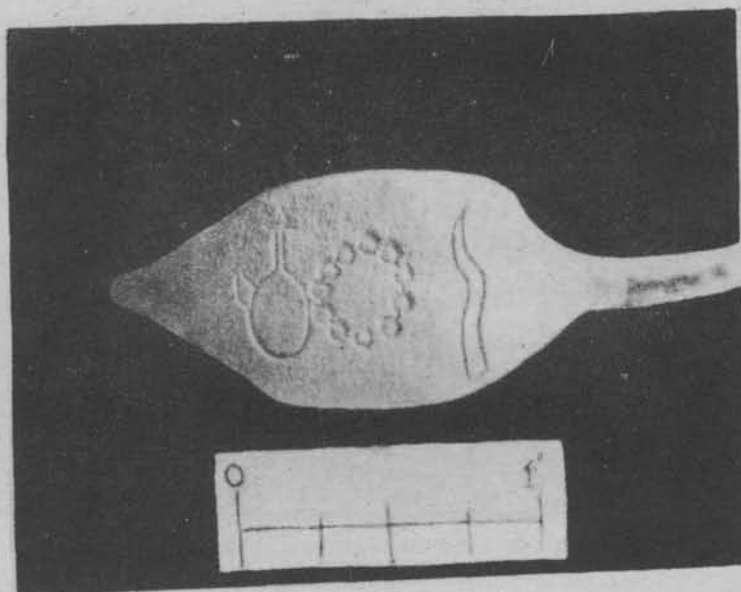
ii.a.

10 10
12 12
14 14
16 16
18 18

ii.b.

20 20
22 22

Seal



(From a photograph)

- 3 विभुराजानुज्ञया¹ स्वकुशल²नभस्तलालंकारिणी(?) (प्या)
- 4 श्यावलङ्गीमहादेव्य (व्या) मातापित्रोः पुण्याभिवृद्धये आ-
- 5 त्मनश्च बलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रकृ (क्रि) योत्स[र्प]णा-
- 6 त्थम (मा) चन्द्राकर्णवक्षितिस्थि (स्थि) तिसमकालि (ली) नः पुत्रपौ-
- 7 त्रस्वामिभक्तार्थिह³ हृदय[ना]दाभिमुखसमराभिये-
- 8 दं श्रीमाणराजस्य मात्रा⁴ सतीत्वाच्चोभयव-
- 9 नशोतभु(वंशोद्भू)तप्रभावत्या[य्य]या श्रीमतो राष्ट्र[कूट*]देवरा-

Second Plate ; First Side

- 10 जस्य पन्या (त्या) [रा]ज्यान्वयभोग्यस्सर्व्वदित्यविषि (ष्टि) परिव-
- 11 जितो चाटभटभ्रप्रावेश्ये (श्यो) भु(भू)म(मि)च्छ(च्छि)द्रन्यायेन
- 12 अगस्त (स्य) सगोत्रब्राह्मणाय नन्नस्वाम (मि) ने स्वहस्त-
- 13 धृत[भू]ङ्गारकोद[ने]के[न*] कमली[भू]हकाग्रा (ग्र) हारस्य दक्षि-
- 14 [णा] सुवर्णशिश (श) ल (ला) कायाः पञ्चाशत्ताम्रशासनन (नि) व-
- 15 द्वा [।*] वर्त्तमाने तृत (ती) ये स (सं) वत्सरे वैशाख[शु]क्लपौ[र्ण]-
- 16 मास्य (स्यां) रा[ष्ट्र]कूटेन महाराजविभुराजस्य [।*] यश्चै[तत्*] [लो]-
- 17 पय (पि) प्य (प्य) ति स प[ञ्च]महापातकसंयुक्तो भविष (प्य) ति[।*] व-
- 18 [ष्टि]वर्षसह[स्रा]णि स्वग्नि (ग्ने) म (मो) दति भूमिद (दः) आच्छेत्ता वा-
- 19 नुम[न्ता] च

Second Plate ; Second Side

- 20 ता[न्ये]व नरके व[से]त् [।*] बहु[भि]र्ज्व[सु]धा [भुक्ता रा]-
- 21 जि(ज)भिस्सा(स्स)गरादिवि(भिः) [।*] यस्य वि(य)स्य यदी(दा) [भू]म(मि)-
व(स्त)स्य(स्य)
- 22 त[स्य] [त]दा फलवि(मि)[ति] [।*]

¹ [The words *alankārēṇa* and *śrīmālā* are obviously intended to qualify *Vibhuraṇa* wrongly compounded here. —B.C.C.]

² The letter *śa* is redundant ; read *svakula*.

³ This *akṣhara* is not necessary.

No. 25—AJMER STONE INSCRIPTION

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

While dealing with the stone inscription containing portions of the Sanskrit drama entitled *Harkeli-nāṭaka*, composed by king Vigharāja (1153-64 A.C.) of the Chāhamāna or Chauhān dynasty of Śākambhārī, F. Kielhorn¹ deplored the strange vicissitudes of fortune that led the stones, on which the royal author made the products of his muse known to the people, to "have been used as common building material for a place of Muhammadan worship by the conquerors of his descendants." Portions of the above drama as well as of the *Lalita-Vigharāja-nāṭaka*, composed in honour of the Chāhamāna king by his court poet, *Mahākavi* Sōmadēva, which were edited by Kielhorn,² were copied from stone slabs embedded in the walls of the Ārhāi-din-kā-Jhōprā, a mosque situated on the lower slope of the Tārāgarh hill at Ajmer. The mosque, as is well known, was built out of the spoils of Hindu structures by Qutb-ud-dīn Aibak (first Sultān of Delhi, 1206-10 A.C.) in 1200 A.C., while Sultān Iltutmish (1211-36 A.C.) subsequently beautified it with a screen.³ Impressions of another inscription on a stone slab from the same mosque were recently supplied to me by Mr. U. C. Bhaṭṭāchārya, Curator of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer. It appears that all these inscribed slabs had originally belonged to some temples or public buildings raised by the imperial Chāhamānas, the materials of which were later utilised in the construction of the Ārhāi-din-kā-Jhōprā.

The impressions of the Ajmer (Ārhāi-din-kā-Jhōprā) inscription, received by me from [Mr. U. C. Bhaṭṭāchārya, had a printed slip attached to them. It assigns the inscription to the twelfth century and mentions it as exhibit No. 256 of the Rajputana Museum. It further says, "This inscription forms the beginning of a Sanskrit poem engraved on slabs. It contains invocation to Nārāyaṇa and various other gods and states that the Chauhāns belonged to the solar race". The description of the contents is, however, not strictly accurate.

The inscription under discussion covers a space nearly 4' 2" in length and 1' 9½" in height. There are altogether 27 lines of writing, each letter being a little above ½" in height. The engraving is neat and beautiful, although the stone is damaged in several places and some letters have broken away. As, however, the engraver is sometimes found to have avoided a damaged part of the stone (cf. the damaged space between *vāha°* and [nō] in line 2, between *vāta-vyādhi* and *yutō* in line 4, between *kumudā°* and *d=ambhōja* in line 24), there is no doubt that the stone was defective in places even when the inscription was incised.

The palaeography and orthography of the inscription resemble closely those of other records of about the twelfth century found in the same area, and nothing calls for special mention. As the mosque, to which the inscribed stone belongs, is known to have been built in 1200 A.C. with the spoils of local structures, it is possible to attribute the date of the record to some time between the accession of the Chāhamāna king Ajayarāja (circa 1110-35 A.C.) who is credited with the foundation of Ajayameru, now known as Ajmer, and with beautifying it with many temples and palaces, and 1200 A.C. when the Ārhāi-din-kā-Jhōprā was constructed, that is to say, somewhere in the twelfth century.

¹ See *IA*, Vol. XX, pp. 201 ff., *Göttinger Festschrift*, 1901, pp. 16-30.

² *IA*, loc. cit.; *Göttinger Festschrift*, op cit., pp. 1-16.

³ *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. p. 581.

⁴ Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, p. 1071.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and, with the exception of the passage *Om namō Nārāyaṇāya* ||, preceded by the symbol for *Siddham* at the beginning, the whole record on the stone is written in verse. There are in all 37 stanzas, all of which, with the solitary exception of the last verse, are consecutively numbered. Considering the want of space at the end of the last verse and the fact that the poem was probably continued on other slabs, it seems that the number of the last verse (i.e., 37) was put at the beginning of the first line of another slab. As is the case with numerous other epigraphic records, a short space at the end of some lines in our inscription (cf. lines, 2, 4, 6, 13, 15-17, 19-26) has often been covered by an unnecessary single or double *daṇḍa* usually endowed with a mark of cancellation.

Out of the 37 verses, which form the text of our record, the first 32 stanzas eulogise the god Viṣṇu. Ten out of these (viz., verses 12-21) refer to the ten incarnations of the god, viz., (1) Kūrma, (2) Mīna, (3) Kōla (Varāha), (4) Nṛsiṃha, (5) Vāmana, (6) Jāmadagnya (Paraśurāma), (7) Daśāyāntakṛt (Dāśarathi Rāma), (8) Kṛishṇa, (9) Buddha and (10) Kalkin. Verse 33 of the record introduces the Sun-god as the right eye of lord Viṣṇu and as the progenitor of the solar dynasty which is itself introduced in the following stanza (verse 34). The next two stanzas (verses 35-36) speak of the glories of the solar dynasty and mention certain ancient rulers of the Sūrya-vamśa such as Ikshvāku and Rāma. The concluding stanza (verse 37) introduces king Chāhamāna, mythical progenitor of the Chāhamāna or Chauhān clan of the Rājputs, as a scion of the solar dynasty. The nature of the inscription supports the conjecture that it formed part of the introduction of a *kāvya*, the theme of which may have been certain achievements of a Chāhamāna king. The principal one of these exploits described in the *kāvya* may have been the construction of a temple in honour of the god Viṣṇu.

The inscription is not of exceptional importance from the historical point of view ; but it has considerable interest as a literary composition of a Chāhamāna court poet of the twelfth century. The author's style, although it is not free from defects, is not poor. He has often shown his skill in employing *ślēṣa* or *double entendre*.¹ In composing the 37 stanzas, he has employed no less than 14 metres, of which *Sārdūlavikṛīḍita* (13 verses) and *Vasantatilakā* (8 verses) are used in more than half of the cases. The metres *Mālinī*, *Śikharinī*, *Anushtubh* and *Upajāti* have each been used in 2 stanzas, while one stanza has been allotted to each of *Prithvī*, *Sragdharā*, *Vamśasthavila*, *Soḍgatā*, *Harinī*, *Mandākrantā*, *Indravajrā* and *Upēndravajrā*.

As regards the eponymous Chāhamāna being represented as a scion of the solar dynasty, it may be pointed out that this is in partial agreement with the tradition recorded in the *Prithivīrājaviṣaya* of Jayānaka (12th century) and *Hammīra-mahākāvya* of Nayachandra (13th-14th century), according to which Chāhamāna sprang from the *Sūrya-maṇḍala* ; but it can hardly be reconciled with the other imaginary accounts regarding the origin of the Chāhamānas, such as the creation of Chāhamāna himself or the Chāhamāna family by the sage Vatsa or Vasishṭha or by the god Indra.² The well known story of the creation of the progenitors of the Paramāra, Chāhamāna, Pratihāra and Chaulukya dynasties by the sage Vasishṭha on Mount Abu was unknown to the Chāhamāna court poets as late as the fourteenth century.

The reference to Kṛishṇa as the eighth of the ten *avatāras* of Viṣṇu is interesting. It is well known that the doctrine of the *avatāras* underwent several stages of development³ and that their number, originally unsettled, gradually came to be recognised as ten. It should, however, be noticed that, even as late as the twelfth century, the same list of ten *avatāras* was not definitely fixed for the whole of India. Thus the author of the record under discussion, who was a twelfth

¹ Cf. verses 5, 8-9, 11, 22-23, 25-26, 35.

² Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 1053.

³ *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. III (The Classical Age), pp. 414 ff.

century court poet of the Chāhamānas of Ajmer, regards Kṛishṇa as the eighth incarnation of Viṣṇu, while the author of the Belāva plate¹ of king Bhōjavarman (12th century) of Eastern Bengal, recognises the same divinity merely as *amśakṛit-āvatāra*, i.e., a partial incarnation. Another contemporary author, Jayadēva, who was a court poet of king Lakshmaṇasēna (circa 1179-1206 A.C.) of Bengal puts Haladhara (i.e., Balarāma-Saṅkarshaṇa) in the place of Kṛishṇa as the eighth incarnation of Viṣṇu in the list of the ten *avatāras* in the *Gītāgōvinda*.²

TEXT³

[Metres : Verses 1, 6, 8-9, 12-13, 20, 37 *Vasantatilakā* ; verse 2 *Prithvī* ; verse 3 *Sragdharā* ; verses 4, 5, 10, 14-16, 18-19, 21, 24, 32-33, 36 *Sārdūlavikṛīḍita* ; verses 7, 17 *Mālīnī* ; verse 11 *Vamśashavilā* ; verses 22, 27 *Śikhariṇī* ; verses 23, 25 *Apushpabh* ; verse 26 *Svāgatā* ; verse 28 *Upēndravajrā* ; verse 29 *Hariṇī* ; verse 30 *Mandākṛāntā* ; verse 31 *Indravajrā* ; verse 34-35 *Upajāti*.]

- 1 Siddham ||⁴ Ōm namō Narāyaṇāya || Ārādhanīyam=amarair=api pātu yushmān=pād-āravimḍa-yugalaṁ Garuḍadhvajasya | vinyasta-kaustubhamaṇēr=urasō=varuhya Lakshmīr=nakh-āṁśu-khachitam bhajatē bhṛīśam yat || 1 || Jagaj-janana-pālana-pralaya-kēli-kārō muhur=mahā-danuja-nāki-
- 2 nām vihitā-nigrah-ānugrahaḥ | vihaṁgapati-vāha[nō] bhujagarāja-talpē-śayaḥ śriyē bhavatu vō bhav-ām̐vu(bu)nidhi-karṇadhārō Hariḥ || 2 || Ōmkārō dānava-stri-samudaya-rudita-vra(bra)hma-pārāyaṇānām kalp-ānt-āravdha(bdha)-bhāra-stanita-jaladhara-śrēṇi-śaky-ānukārah | pāp-āhi-kshvēḍa-pī- ||⁵
- 3 dā-nipatita-sukṛit-ōtthāpan-āmōgha-mamtrō jiyād=yuddhē[shu] [sa] Śrī-sahachara-Murajit-pāṁchajanya-praṇāḍaḥ || 3 || Mūrdhni Śrī-kucha-kumbhayōr=nipatitā muktā kalāpāyatē lagnā talpa-bhujamga-puṁgava-tanau nirmōka- patṭāyatē | nābhī-nīraruhasya sannidhi-chari yā rājahamśāya- ||⁶
- 4 tē sā pāṇi-sthitā-pāṁchajanya-kirāṇa-śrēṇī Harēḥ pātu [vaḥ || 4] || Vāta-vyādhi⁷-yutō vayasy=ati-gurau tishṭhan=va(n=ba)li saṁtataḥ saty-āsakta-matir=jagatra(t-tra)-ya-hitam kurvan=dadhānaḥ kshamām(mām) | āntaḥstham gamayan=dhanamjayam=anauddhaty-ānvitam dipra-bhām(bham) śrēyaḥ-saṁtatayē Purāṇapurushō dē- ||⁸
- 5 vaḥ sad=aiv=āstu vaḥ || 5 || Vakshaḥsthal-ōchchhalita-kaustubha-kām[ti-liptam] pāṇi-sthitam=bhavatu Chakradharasya chakram(kram) | yuddhēshv=anēka-danujōmḍra-kathōra-kamṭha-chchhēd-āvasakta-rudhir-augham=iva śriyē vaḥ || 6 || Vilasita-vanamālō dīpta-Vairōchana-śrī-viratikṛid=anurajyat-Pannagārir=nikāmaṁ(mam) |
- 6 bhuvana-janaka-vidyut-pumja-pit-ām̐va(ba)rō vō ghaṭayatu ghana-kālaḥ [Kē]śavō māṁgalāni || 7 || Śliṣhyat-sudarśana-payōdhara-kṛishṇam=udyad-bhīm-āhava-prakatit-āṁdhaku(ka)-putra-nāśam(śam) | stutyam su-parvvabhir=alamkṛita-dharmma-pākaṁ Vyāsasya kāv-yaru=iva pātu Harēr=vvapur=vvah || 8 || Astr=īti viśva-viditō= ||⁹

¹ N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 14 ff.

² Verse 12. Jayadēva's list of the *avatāras* corresponds to that given in a Puranic verse quoted in an eighth century inscription from Māmallapuram (*Mem. ASI*, No. 26, p. 5).

³ From impressions.

⁴ Expressed by symbol.

⁵ The *danda* is superfluous.

⁶ Some space is left unengraved after *vyādhi*.

⁷ The two *dandās* are unnecessary.

- 7 pi va(ba)bhūva yaḥ stri bhagn-ārjunō=py=akṛita yō hitam=Arjunasya | yaḥ [Śē]sha-bhōga-vihita-sthitir=apy=asēsha-bhōg-ōpabhōga-kṛid=avatv=akhilam sa Śauriḥ || 9 || Vaktram nābhi-sarōja-chāru-hasitam yā pāmchajany-ōjva(jjva)la-jyōtsnam kaustubha-ratna-śōṇam=adharam kēśān=vapur=mēchakān | śa[stam śā]mrga¹.
- 8 dhanur=latā-kuṣilatām dhattē=nukarttum bhruvōr=dvaṁdvam Dānava-sūdānasya dayi[t]ā dēvi śriyē vō=stu sā || 10 || Virōchan-ēmdivaramitra-lōchanām sarōja-hastām kanak-ōjva-(jjva)l-āmsukām(kām) | vi(bi)bharti Lakshmim=iva yaḥ prabhus=tanum sa Vāsudēvō duritāni haṁtu vaḥ || 11 || Udvarttana-pratinipāta-[vaśā]-²
- 9 t=payōdhau dvēdhā-vidirṇa-salilē jala-sāyinā yaḥ | svasy=aiva mūrtti[r=a]parā hata-yōga-nidram=ālōkitō vijayatē sa Murāri-mīnaḥ || 12 || Yasya trasadbhir=avanidhara-tāḍa-nēbhyō yādō-gaṇair=udara-pāda-talē nilīnaiḥ | pīyūsha-mamthana-vipan=niratīryat=āv-dhau(bdhau) Kūrm-ātma-³
- 10 kaḥ sa Harir=astu vibhūtayē vaḥ || 13 || Sūry-ādhishtita-dakṣiṇ-ākṣhi-kira[ṇai]ḥ samvartta-vāty-ōlvanaiḥ samśōshaṁ mukha-mārutaiś=cha sutarām=ēk-ārṇavē gachchhati | prithvīm phēna-kṛit-āspadām=iva dadhad=daṁṣṭr-āmsu-liptām Hariḥ kōl-ātmā vitaratv=a-pūrṇa-salila-kṛidā-sprīhō vaḥ śivam(vam) || 14 || *
- 11 Viśhṇōr=ddhārayataḥ sadā-kavaḥita-skamdhām nṛisimh-ārddhatām dēyāsuh [ka]rapatra-yamtra-niśitāḥ śasvat=sukham vō nakhāḥ | yair=vakṣaḥ-khanatā Hiraṇyakasi(ś)pōr=dēvēna datta-śriyām=utkhātāḥ su-chir-ōtthitō hṛidi mahān=duḥkha-drumō nākinām(nām) || 15 || Yāchām chētasi matsarād=vi-
- 12 rahitasy=ēva śriyā vi(bi)bhrataḥ pratyamgam laghutām cha Vāmana-harēḥ pāda-dvayam pātu vaḥ | hastānām vividh-āyudha-pramathit-āmartya-dvishām=Irshayā nūnam yēna rasātalam pragamitō vikramya Vairōchanah || 16 || Tri-bhuvana-guru-śishyas=chāpa-vēdē manishī niśita-parasu-lūn-āsēsha-rā-
- 13 janya-vamśah | jayati muni-sama-jyā-rajyad-ātmā Sahasrārjuna-bhu[ja]-[vana]-sham(kham)d-āmgāra-kṛij-Jāmadagnyah || 17 || Mayy=āsva(śva)sya tay=ēdam=arpitam=iti prahv-ā(bhv-ā)-tmanā Jānakī-chūdā-ratnam=upāhitam charaṇayōr=mūlē Marut-sūnūnā | grihṇan=sa-praṇayam sa-sāmdra-karuṇam s-āvṛitti sa-pratyayam ||³
- 14 s-ōtsāham sa-va(ba)hu-trapam vijayatē dēvō Daśāsy-āmta-kṛit || 18 || Śr(āvair=dhā)tu-ras-āktam=udyad-upal-āsāmg-āsig-āsāmkayā hā kim jātam=iti pramṛijya paritaḥ svasv-ōttariy-āmchalaiḥ | yam rōm-āmchitam=a-kṣhat-āmgam=api cha vyālōkya gōpyō mudā valgamti sma sa-hēlam=uddhri-²
- 15 ta-giriḥ Kṛishṇaḥ sa pushpātu vaḥ || 19 || Vēda-kriy-āmvu(bu)-rahitam [ka][ruṇā*]-trij-augha-chohhann-ānanam Sugata-darsana-nimnakūpam(pam) | pātāya yaḥ kali-yug-aika-suhric=chakāra lōkasya Vu(Bu)ddha iti rakshatu vaḥ sa Viśhṇuḥ || 20 || Tārکش-ārōhaṇa-nihsprīhasya turagēn=ōḍhas[y]a [va(ba)rha]m=vi(rham vi)-³
- 16 nā kālō yasya karē sthitaḥ kali-samuchchhēdam karishyaty=asiḥ | gō-samlyukta-vṛishām-(sham) vidhāsyati kṛitam sṛishtvā prakṛishṭam yugam Mlēcchhānām=avasāna-kṛit=sa bhagavān=Kalkī Hariḥ pātu vaḥ || 21 || Śubh-ākhyānam ghōr-āhava-ghaṭita-bhīmam śakuninā pradhānēn=ōpētām vijayi-bhuja-⁴

¹ Better read *śārngā*.² The *danḍa* is unnecessary.³ The two *danḍas* are superfluous.

- 17 nihpi(nishpi)ḍita-vṛisham(ṣham) | kram-ōdgachchhad-Gaṁgā-prithuka-mahaniyam Mura-ripōḥ sva-rūpaṁ sampattyai bhavatu bhavatām Bhāratam=iva || 22 || Pātu vō daitya-patibhir=mahā-sēnair=a-piḍitaḥ | Harir=Indra-Hara-Vra(Bra)hma-Mahāsēnair=ap=ḍitaḥ || 23 || Vishṇōḥ pūrta-[pāmcha]janya-kuhara- ||¹
- 18 prōdbhūta-maṁdr-āṇavais=talp-āhi-śvasit-ānilaiḥ prachalatām [nā]bhi-sarōjō gatē | tra-stēn=Āvja(bja)bhuvā tritiya-savanēn=āmuṇya-pāthē kṛitē prāg-udvu(dbu)ddha-payō-dhijā-dhṛita-padō bhūtyai pravō(bō)dhō=stu vaḥ || 24 || Padmā-yuktaḥ sa-padmō=pi vṛishah=āpi vṛish[āya] yaḥ | hat-ārir=ari-
- 19 sampannō=py=astu vaḥ śrēyasē Hariḥ || 25 || Sēvitaḥ sura-ga[ṇai]ḥ sa-suparṇaś=chhāyay=āti-ghanayā ramaṇiyah | āthāsūtām dadhad=alamkṛita-kāmaḥ kalpa-vṛiksha iva pātu Harir=vaḥ || 26 || A-bhārō=yam nūnam yadi janita-khēdō=si tad=a[mu]m [tya]ja tvad-viśrāntyai kṣaṇam=a- ||²
- 20 pi vahāmō vayam=amī(m=imam) | Harir=jāt-āścharyaiḥ kṛita-nuti[bhir=ā]rttaiḥ pramuditair=hasann=uktō gōpair=iti jayati chitraṇ=giri-varaṁ(ram) || 27 || Anāratam yō danujēmdra-yōshid-vilōchan-ārdrakaraṇāya nūnam(nam) | vi(bi)bhartti dhār-āmvu(bu) Ha[rōḥ] karasthō lunātu duḥkhāni ||³
- 21 sa namdakō vaḥ || 28 || Na nava-jalada-śyāmaṁ yad=yan=na k[au]stubha-śōbhitaṁ na jaladhi-autā-sōtkamṭham yan=na yad=Garuḍa-dhvajam(jam) | na yad=ari(si)-gadā-śamkh-ām-bhōjair=niruddha-karam Harēr=jayati gaditam tad=Vēdāntaiḥ pravō(bō)dhamayam vapuḥ || 29 || Daityān=nighnann=anu-Va(Ba)dari- ||⁴
- 22 k-āraṇya-kumjam tapasyan=Śrī-saṁślēṣ-ōtsavam=anubhavan=pālayan=viśṭapāni | tat=tat=kinchit-samam=atīṣay-ōchchhṛimkhalas=tēna tēna vyātanvānō jayati vapuṣhā viśva-vamdyō Mukumda || 30 || Vā(Bā)hur=vidhattām bhavatām śriyam sa [Kam]sa-dvishah Kēsi-[ra]da-vraṇ-āmkaḥ | vichī- ||⁵
- 23 vichitrasya diṇēsa-putri-pūrasya dūram jayati śriyam yaḥ || [3]1 || Nihkrā(Nishkrā)mat-Kamalā-mukh-ēndu-nipatan-nētrasya gātrē Harēr=udbhinnāḥ saha manmathēna bhavataḥ pāmtu śram-āmabhah-kaṇāḥ | māntha-kshōṇidhar-āhati-vyatikarād-utthāya pāthōni-dhēr-lagnānām vima- ||⁶
- 24 la-tvishām dadhati yē muktā-maṇinām bhramam(mam) || 32 || Kamdō v=ā[ma]ra-pādapasya kumud[ā]d=ambhōja-bhājam śriyam nirmmatum pratibhūr=mpigāmka-mukurasy=āmbhōda-kāl-ānilah | tāra-pārada-viprushām huta[vahaḥ] kōki-rata-prakriyā-sākshī dakṣiṇam=i- ||⁷
- 25 kṣaṇam Mura-ripōr=dēvō Raviḥ pātu vaḥ || 33 || Tasmāt=sa[mā]lamva(ba)na-damda-yōni-[r=abh]ūj=janasya skhalataḥ sva-mārggō(rggāt) | vamsaḥ sad=aiv=ōḍha-rasō nṛpāṇam=anudgat-ainō-ghuṇa-kīṭa-randhraḥ || 34 || Samutthitō=rkād=anarāṇya-yōnir=utpanna-punnāga-kadam- ||⁸
- 26 va(ba)-śākhaḥ | āścharyam=amtaḥ-prasarat-kuśō=yam vamsō=rthinām śriphalatām prayāti || 35 || Ādhi-vyādhi-kuvṛitta-durggati-parityakta-prajās=tatra tē sapta-dvīpa-bhujō nṛpāḥ samabhavann=Ikshvāku-Rām-ādayah | yēshām durjaya-dānavēmdra-jayin[ām] tair=Im-dra-mu- ||⁹
- 27 khyair=makṣēshv=āhūtair=upayāchitēshv=iva puroḍāsēna tṛi[ptaiḥ] suraiḥ || 36 || Tasminn=ath=āri-vijayēna virājamānō rāj=ānuraṁjita-janō=jani Chāhamānaḥ | sampūrṇaś=chandra iva chandrikayā triyāmām kirttv=ōjva(jiva)latvam=anayad=bhuvana-trayīm yaḥ || [37*] ||

¹ The two *dandas* are superfluous.² The *danda* is unnecessary.

No. 26—TWO GRANTS FROM DASPALLA

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

About the beginning of October 1952, I received for examination two copper-plate inscriptions from Mr. P. Acharya, Superintendent of Research and Museum, Government of Orissa, Bhubaneswar. I was informed that the inscriptions had been found in the old Daspalla State, now merged in Orissa as a sub-division of the Puri District, and that Mr. Satyanarayana Rajaguru, Assistant Curator of the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, had prepared a paper on them for publication in the *Orissa Historical Research Journal*. Mr. Acharya, however, was kind enough to permit me to edit both the inscriptions in the *Epigraphia Indica*. I am extremely thankful to him for this kindness.

A.—Daspalla Plate of Dēvānanda ; Year 184

This copper plate, as I learnt from Mr. Acharya, was found early in 1951 in the course of the re-excavation of an old tank in the village of **Chikankhandi** in the Jormu Pargana of **Daspalla**. The Pargana is situated on the right bank of the Mahānadi while the town of Daspalla lies on the left bank of the river. The plate was presented to the Orissa State Museum in June 1951 by Mr. Dasarathi Misra who is a teacher of the M. E. School at Jilinda in the Daspalla Sub-division.

The inscription is written on both sides of the **single** plate measuring 10"×7.45"×.13". A bronze seal, having the shape of an expanded lotus and measuring 3.25" in diameter, is soldered about the middle of the proper right end of the plate. It resembles the seal attached to the charters of the family to which the issuer of the grant under discussion belonged. The border of the pericarpial portion (about 2.24" in diameter) of this lotus-shaped seal is raised. In the hollow thus formed, the seal proper is countersunk. The central part of the space on the surface of the seal is occupied by the legend in one line: *śrī-Dēvānandadēvasya*, the subscript *y* in the last *akshara* being considerably lengthened towards the left so that the entire legend looks as doubly underlined. Above the legend is the figure of a couchant bull to proper right, with the emblems of a conch and a crescent above it. Below the legend there is the representation of an expanded lotus. The seal is fixed to the plate by means of two knobs running through holes made in the usual projection of the plate. These are covered by a lump of metal forming the back of the seal. Some eight or nine lines of writing about the middle of the plate on both its sides are shorter owing to the encroachment of the lower part of the seal. The plate together with the seal weighs 143½ *tolas*.

In respect of **palaeography, language and orthography**, the present record closely resembles the published charters of the family to which its issuer belonged. In a few cases (cf. *sarvadā* in line 11, *sarva* in line 23) the superscript *r* reminds us of a similar form of it in the inscriptions of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar.¹ The charter is **dated in the year 100 80 4, i.e., 184** (the symbol for 100 resembling the *akshara lu*) of an unspecified era which appears to be identical with the reckoning used in the records of the imperial family of the Bhauma-Karas of Orissa as well as in those of some of their feudatories. This era is now often identified with the Harsha era of 606 A. C. and in that case the year 184 of our inscription would correspond to 792 A.C. But it has been noticed that the palaeography of the inscriptions dated in the era in question points to a considerably later epoch for it. As will be seen in our discussion on Śatrubhaṅja's plates edited below, the beginning of this era now seems to be nearly two centuries later than that of the Harsha

¹ See above, pp. 2 and 49.

era. This would suggest a date about the beginning of the eleventh century A. C. for the inscription under discussion and such a view seems to be supported by palaeography. The use of numerical symbols instead of figures appears to point to a date not considerably later than the tenth century.

The charter was issued by king Dēvānandadēva II of the Nanda or Nandōdbhava family of Jayapura in the present Orissa State. This ruler is already known from his Baripada Museum, Jurerpur and Narsingpur plates,¹ none of which, however, bears any date in an era as the record under review. The seal of king Dēvānanda is found attached to the Talmul plate² of king Dhruvānanda who belonged to the same family and was apparently a successor of Dēvānanda II. Like the present charter of Dēvānanda, Dhruvānanda's record is dated in the year of an era. This date is usually taken to be the year 293; but, as we have suggested above,³ it may be really 193. This conjecture seems to be supported by the date, year 184, no doubt of the same era, when Dēvānanda II, who appears to have been the immediate predecessor of Dhruvānanda, issued the charter under discussion.

The Baripada Museum plate of Dēvānanda II and the Talmul plate of Dhruvānanda have quoted the same introductory verses. These verses, with the omission of only one, are also quoted in the Jurerpur plate of Dēvānanda II. All these records begin with a prose passage referring to Jayapura which was the capital of the Nanda or Nandōdbhava kings of Orissa. The verses that follow speak of the following rulers: (1) Jayānanda, (2) his son Parānanda, (3) his son Śivānanda, (4) his son Dēvānanda (I), and (5) his son Vilāsatuṅga. The above verses are followed in the Baripada Museum and Jurerpur plates by a prose passage which introduces king Dēvānanda (II) as the issuer of the charters in question, while the same passage substituting the name of Dhruvānanda for that of Dēvānanda (II) is found in the corresponding section of the Talmul plate. It was therefore quite natural to suggest that both Dēvānanda (II) and Dhruvānanda enjoyed the *viruda* Vilāsatuṅga and were the sons of Dēvānanda (I).⁴ But the introductory verses of the charter under discussion clearly state that the reigning king Dēvānanda II was the son of Vilāsatuṅga. As these verses are stated to have been composed by the *Sandhivigrahin* of the Nanda king, they have to be regarded as more authentic and reliable than the introductory portion of the other records of the family, which is full of errors of various kinds. It seems that verses describing the reigning kings are omitted through confusion in the above records of Dēvānanda II and Dhruvānanda.⁵ The correct genealogy of the Nanda or Nandōdbhava rulers of Orissa from Jayānanda, founder of Jayapura, to his fifth descendant Dēvānanda II is thus supplied by the record under review. But the relationship between Dēvānanda II and Dhruvānanda still remains uncertain. Dhruvānanda seems to have been either a younger brother or a son of Dēvānanda II. The genealogical tree of the Nandas of Orissa may therefore be drawn as follows.

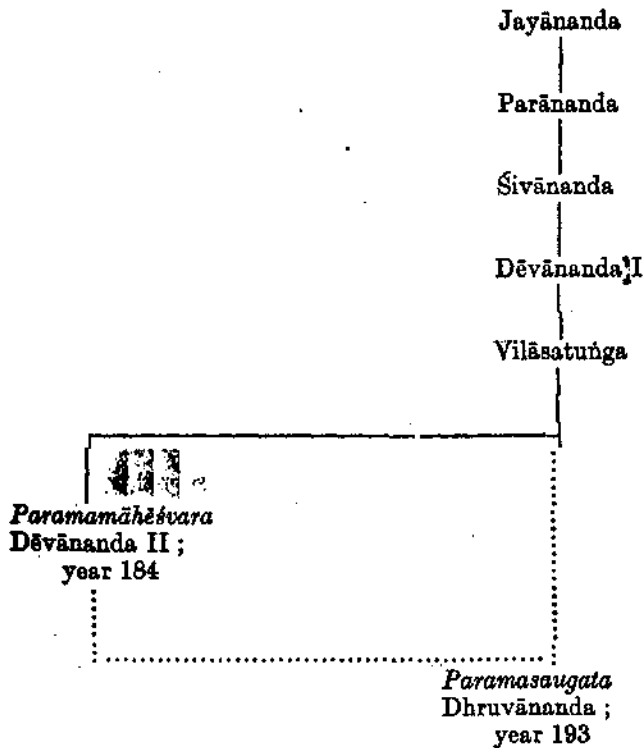
¹ See above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 74 ff.; Vol. XXVII, pp. 225 ff.

² *JBORS*, Vol. XV, pp. 87 ff.

³ Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 327, note 1.

⁴ Cf. above, Vol. XXVI, p. 76, note 2.

⁵ Dhruvānanda appears to have utilised an old plate on which his predecessor's seal was fixed and the introductory stanzas were engraved already.



The Narasingpur plate of Dēvānanda II is a spurious document containing only certain fragments of two genuine charters of the Nanda king. As noticed above,¹ the fragments of verses found in this spurious record suggested the existence of some genuine grants of Dēvānanda having a set of introductory stanzas which were different from those known from the published records of the king. Happily this conjecture has now been justified fully by the discovery of the present inscription. The introductory part of the charter under discussion consists of ten stanzas none of which is found in the common introduction of the Baripada Museum and Jurapur plates of Dēvānanda and the Talmul plate of Dhruvānanda, although fragments of most of them can be traced in the spurious Narasingpur plate of the former. Lines 1-3 and 8-19 of the Narasingpur plate contain fragments of the verses forming the introduction of our charter in the following order: 1, 6, 7, 8, 4, 5 and 6. Lines 16, 18 and 19 of the same plate contain respectively the numbers 4, 5 and 6 which, as we have already pointed out, were meant to indicate the end of the fourth, fifth and sixth verses of some genuine records copied in it. It is now seen that the number 4 is put there actually after the concluding passage of the fourth verse of the present charter, while 5 is placed among certain passages of the fifth verse and 6 between the end of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth stanza apparently through confusion.

The inscription begins with the symbol for *Siddham*. Verse 1 describes the city of Jayapura, capital of the Nandas, while each one of the following six verses describes respectively the rulers Jayānanda, his son Parānanda, his son Śivānanda, his son Dēvānanda I, his son Vilāsatunga, and his son Dēvānanda II, although the description of the reigning monarch Dēvānanda II continues in the following three stanzas (verses 8-10). This introductory part of the record contains hardly anything besides conventional and vague praises of the rulers described. Next follows a prose passage (lines 22-26) introducing again king Dēvānanda II as desirous of making

¹ Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 331.

a grant. This description is substantially the same as found in the Baripada Museum and Jurerupur plates of the same king and the Talmul plate of Dhruvānanda and has been already discussed by us.¹ As regards the slight modification of the language in our record, it may be noted that the king is here called *samadhigatapañchamahāśabda-mahāsāmāntādhipati-vanditaparamabhaṭṭāraka-Nanda-Mahārāja-Rāṇaka-śrī-Dēvānandadēva* instead of *paramabhaṭṭāraka-samadhigata-pañchamahāśabda-mahāsāmāntādhipati-śrī-Dēvānandadēva* as found in the other charters. In connection with the second passage quoted above, we remarked that "the ambiguity (as it may also suggest that the ruler in question was himself a *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*) may be intentional" and suggested that the rulers of the Nanda family may have "originally owned allegiance to the Bhauma-Karas and begun to rule more or less independently after the latter's decline". It will be seen that the epithets applied to Dēvānanda II in the present record (cf. lines 3-4 of the spurious Narsingpur plate) are similarly ambiguous as they may be taken to be a mixture of both imperial and feudatory titles, which is often found to have been adopted by subordinate rulers to indicate their newly achieved semi-independent status.²

Lines 26-33 of our inscription record the grant of a village called *Indēḍḍā* situated in the *Jilōṇḍā vishaya* of the *Airāvatta maṇḍala*, made by the king by means of a copper-plate charter in favour of *Yaśōdatta*, son of *Māhōla*, for the increase of his own merit as well as his parents'. The donee was resident of *Vaniggōtrā*; but his family is stated to have hailed from a locality called *Rāhiyavaḍa*. He is described as *sattva-gēhin*, *śāstr-ōpādhyāya* and *kāyastha*, while verse 16 in line 38 of the inscription seems to suggest that he was the *Sadhivigrahin* (minister for war and peace) of king Dēvānanda II. The fact that *Yaśōdatta's* *gōtra*, *charana*, *śākhā*, etc., are conspicuous by their absence in his description may suggest that the donee of our record was not a Brāhmaṇa and that his epithet *Kāyastha* possibly indicates not his profession but actually his caste. But he is stated to have been not only a *sattva-gēhin*, i.e., 'a virtuous householder', but also a *śāstr-ōpādhyāya*,³ i.e., 'teacher of the *śāstra*', although what *śāstra* is particularly meant is not clear. Since *Yaśōdatta* seems to have been a minister of the king, it is not impossible to think that he was a teacher of the science of politics. If these suggestions are acceptable, the inscription under review gives us valuable information regarding the crystallization of the professional community of scribes into the caste of *Kāyasthas* as well as their honoured social position in early Orissa.⁴

Lines 33-38 quote some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses which are followed by another stanza saying that the *prastāvi* or eulogy (apparently referring particularly to the introductory verses discussed above) was composed by *Yaśōdatta* who was serving king Dēvānanda II as *Sandhivigrahin*. Line 39, with which the document ends, gives the date, year 184, and says that the eulogy was engraved by *Lōgayāka*.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter, the name *Airāvatta-maṇḍala*, which appears to have comprised the kingdom of the Nandas, is believed to be preserved in that of modern *Ratagarh* within the Banki Police Station in the Cuttack District, while, *Jayapura*, capital of the Nanda kings, has been identified with a village of that name in the Dhenkanal District. The name of the district called *Jilōṇḍā* reminds us of modern *Jilinda* in Daspalla. It is difficult to identify the villages of *Indēḍḍā*, *Rāhiyavaḍa* and *Vaniggōtrā*.

¹ Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 329.

² Cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 1555, etc. In the charter under discussion, the king is called *mahāsāmāntādhipativandita-paramabhaṭṭāraka* (i. e., a paramount king worshipped by the feudatories having many subordinates) or *mahāsāmāntādhipati-vanditaparamabhaṭṭāraka* (i. e., a feudatory having many subordinates and worshipping his overlord).

³ The word *upādhyāya* means a teacher or preceptor in general. Sometimes it is used to indicate a sub-teacher who gives instructions for wages only in a part of a Vēda. An *upādhyāya* is often regarded as inferior to an *āchārya*. Cf. *Munismṛiti*, II, 141.

⁴ Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 273.

TEXT¹

[Metres : Verse 1 *Sragdharā* ; vv. 2, 4-10 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; v. 3 *Mālinī* ; vv. 11-13, 16 *Anuṣṭubh* ; v. 14 *Śālinī* ; v. 15 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

Obverse

- 1 Siddham² [||*] Svasti prōttuṅga-mādyat-kari-karaṣa-taṣa-prasravad-dāna-tōyaih saṁsikta-prāyja-mārgād=ghana-samaya-
- 2 vaśa-prāpta-vṛipti(ṣṭi)-prachārāt | viprāṇā[m] veda-sāstra-dhvani-janita-sukhāt=sarvva-lakṣmī[m*] davā(dhā)nād=ratnam(tna)-prākāra-bhi-
- 3 tti-prachura-Jayapurāt=sārthakāt=sarvvad=aiva || [1*] Āsīn=Nanda-kul-ōdbhavaḥ kṣhititala-khyātō visu(śu)ddh-ānvayō bhūpālair=nata-pāda-
- 4 padma-yugalaḥ sat-kīrtti-lakṣmyā vṛitaḥ | vā(bā)hvōr=vvikrama-lavdha(bdha)-śuddha-vi-bhavō vidyā-vinītō mahān=rājā rājita-lōka ē-
- 5 va hi Jayānandō jan-ānanda-kṛit || [2*] Sakala-guṇa-nidhānaḥ khyātaḥ(ta)-saum-ō(my-ō)-nnatō=yam para-hita-nirat-ātmā lōka-mā-
- 6 [r]g-ānuvartti | vigata-Kali-kalaṅkaḥ³ tasya sūnuḥ prasiddhaḥ kṣhitipani(tī)r=atulō=bhūch⁴=chhēp-Parānanda-nāmā || [3*] Atyant-ō-
- 7 nta(nna)ta-śatru-pakṣa-timira-pradhvaṁsakṛin=nirmmalah sa[r]vv-āsā(śā)-paripūraṇ-aika-chaturah saṁtyakta-dōṣh-āśrayah | tasy=[ā]-
- 8 bhūt=tanayaḥ prasiddha-mahimā mitr-ōdayō bhāsurō bhūbhṛid=bhānur=iv=āpa[raḥ] prakatitaḥ śrīmāra⁵-Vivānandaka-
- 9 ḥ || [4*] Sūnus=tasya nirasta-śatrunikaras=tējō-nidhānaḥ sadā lakṣmyā lakṣhaṇa-lakṣhita-[ḥ*] kṣhitibhujām=agrēsaraḥ
- 10 sunderah | jātaḥ sachcharitō vinita-nipuṇō bhūpāla-chūdāmaṇir=Dēvānanda-nṛipō=ti-su(śu)-ddha-mati-
- 11 māna(mān) khyātaḥ kṣhamā-maṇḍalē || [5*] Sa[rvva]-prāṇabhṛitām=abhīṣṭa-vishayē chin-tāmaṇiḥ sarvadā nītau
- 12 Śakra-guruḥ prajāsu nṛipatir=Vēṇuḥ⁶ suputrō mahān | pratvyū(tyā)y-ārjana-saṁchayē cha Dhanadaḥ sad-vikra-
- 13 mē Sūdrakaḥ⁷ tasmād=ēva Vilāsatuṅga-narapō=py=ekō=py=anēkaḥ stha(sthi)taḥ || [6*] Mādyatkuṅjara-pīna-ku-
- 14 mbha-dalana-prāpta-pratāp-ōdayah kṣhmāpāl-ānani(ta)-mauli-ratna-nikara-pradyōtit-āṅghri-dvayaḥ | tyāgai-

¹ From the original plate.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Read *kalaṅka=tasya*.

⁴ Read *°bhūch=chhṛi-Parā°*.

⁵ Read *śrīmāh-Chhied°*.

⁶ Read *nṛipatir=Vaiṇavaḥ*.

⁷ Read *Śūdrakas=tasmā°*.

- 15 r=nyakkṛita-Karṇa-varṇana-kathaḥ śrīmān=ku(n=ku)l-ālaṅka(ākrī)tō Dēvānanda-nṛpō-
ti-sundara-vapus=tasy=ātumajō=bhūn-mahān
- 16 || [7*] Bhūbhṛit-paksha-samasta-rakshaṇa-parō gāmbhīrya-lavdh-ā(bdh-ā)spadō bhī(bhā)svad-
ratna-vi[tā]ma(na)-satva(ttva)-nilayō Lakshmi-sudha-sarm-
- 17 bhavaḥ | tulyō=ya[m] jaladhēr=manōhara-mahā-matt-ēbha-vāji-pradō Dēvānanda-narēsva-
(śva)rō=[ti*]vimalaḥ svachchh-āsa(śa)yō
- 18 h=aiva saḥ || 8*] Nānā-ratna-parīkṣaṇō kila manāk-trāsa-kramō dṛīsyatē varṇānām=iha
lōpa ēva kathitaḥ sā(śā)-
- 19 strē cha savd-āśrayō¹ ni[h*]svatva[m] muni-puṅgavēshu niyataṁ n=ānyatra sambhāvyatē
tasmina (smin) bhūbhūji pā[rtthi]v-ēndē(ndu)-Pri-

Reverse

- 20 thuvāt=sam[sēvamā]nō sadā [9*] Prālēy-āchala-kānta-kānti-vilasat-kunda-prabhā-spardd-
hinā bhāsvat-pūrṇa-śaran-mṛigāṅka-ruchinā
- 21 nitya[m] manōhārīṇāy | asy=ōchchair-ddhavalīkṛitaṁ tri-bhuvanam sō(śō)bhā-yasō(śō)-rāsi-
(śi)nā Dēvānanda-nṛpa[s*]=trilōka-vijayī jīyā-
- 22 ch=chiram sarvadā || [10*] Jājvalyamāna-pratāp-ānala-pulṣṭ-ārāti-chākra(ru)-mūrtti[h*]
sapta-samudra-sa[m*]bhrānta-kīrttir=yath-ōchita-sthā[n]-āvasthāpi-
- 23 ta-varṇa-chatuṣṭayaḥ sampūrit-āsē(śē)sha-praṇayijana-manōrathaḥ sarva-sajjana-
jan-ānanda-dāyī rakt-āmva(mba)ra-pramaṇḍita-ka-
- 24 ladhauta-dōllikā-ohāmara-pralamvi-(mbi)ta-prāntadōśa-vinyasta-mayūra-cha[ndr]ikā-nikara-
śi-(si)ta-chachhatr-āvabhāsamāna[h*] sitadhātu-
- 25 maya-gōdhā-si(śi)kharīkṛita-lōchan-āmva(mba)ra-dhvaja[h*] mahā-ma(mā)hēsva(śva)ra[h*]
mātā-pitri-pā[d-ā*]nudhyāta[h*] samadbigata-pañchamahāsa(śa)vda(bda)-ma-
- 26 hāsāmantādhipati-vanditaparamabhāṭṭāraka-Nanda-[ma]hārāja-Rāṇaka-śrī-Dēvānanda-
dēvaḥ kusa(śa)li | Airāyaṭṭa-maṇḍala-sa-
- 27 mva(mba)ndha(ddha)-Jilōṇḍā-vishayē bhaviṣyād-yathākāla-bhāvino rāja[nya*]kātṛā
(n=rā)-japutrān=Vrā(n=Brā)hmaṇa-purōgā[n*] sāmāntā(nta)-nivāsi-jan[ā]-
- 28 n=adhikārīṇaḥ sa-karaṇān=anyā[m*]ś=cha chāṭa-bhaṭa-vallabha-jātīyā[n]=rāja-pād-ōpajīvināḥ
sarvān=yathārham mānayaṭi vō(bō)dhaya-
- 29 ti kusa(śa)layaty=ādīsa(śa)ti ch=ānyad=vidina(ta)m=astu bhavatām=ētat-vshaya-samva-
(mba)ndhē(ddh-E)ṇḍēḍḍā²-grāmō=yam sa-jala-sthala-ya(yō)-
- 30 gā(gaḥ) sa-gartt-āvaskā(śka)ra-prajñāyamāna-chatuḥ-sīma-paryantō Rāhiyavaḍa-sāmā³-vinir
gata-Vaṇiggōṭrā-vāsa(śa)vyāya sa-
- 31 tva(ttva)gēhi-sā(śā)strōpādhyāya-Kāyastha-Yasō(śō)dattāya Māhola-putrāya mātā-pitrōr=
ātmanas=cha puṇya-yasō(śō)-bhivṛiddha-

¹ Read *savd-āśrayō*.² Originally *rē* with a rather long top-mātrā was engraved in place of *ṇḍē*.³ The intended reading seems to be *grāma*.

Obverse

[illegible]

[illegible]

- 32 yē tāmra-sā(śā)sanikṛitya pa(pra)dattō='smābhir=ataḥ tāmra-sā(śā)sana-pradarsa(rśa)nād=ēv=āsmat-kā[r]y-ānurōdhād=yathākāl-ōpa[bhu]-
- 33 jyamāna-phalasy=āsyā kair=api paripanthibhir=na bhavitavyam || Mā bhūd=a-phala-śaṅkā vaḥ para-datē(tt=ē)ti p[ā]rth[i]vā[h | *] sa¹ vā phala-
- 34 ntyā para-datt-ānupānam² [|| 11*] Sva-dattām paradattā[m vā*] yō harēta vasundharām-(rām |) sa viśṭhāyām kṛimir=bhūtvā pitribhi[h] saba paçhyatē [||] [12*] Va(Ba)hu[bhir=vasu]-
- 35 dhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalaḥ(lam) || [13*] Sāmānyō=ya[m] dharmma-sētu[r]=nṛipānā[m*]
- 36 kālē kāla(lē) pālē(la)nīyō bhavadbhiḥ | sarvvān=ētā[n*] bhāvinaḥ pāṛthivēndrā[n*] bhūyō bhūyaḥ prā[rtha]yaty=ēsha Rāmaḥ || [14*] Iti kama[la*]-
- 37 dal-āmvu(mbu)-vindu-lōlām sri(śri)yam=anuchintya manushya-jīvitam cha sakalam=idam=udāhṛitam cha vu(bu)ddhvā na hi puru[shai]ḥ para-ki[r]ttayō vilō-
- 38 pyāḥ || [15*] Sandhivigrahiṇā rājñō Dēvānandasya nirmmitā | prasa(śa)stih³ param-ōdārā Yaśō(śō)dattēna śrīmatā || [16*] Jē(Jyē)shṭha-
- 39 sudi 5 Samva(Samva)t 100 80 4 yā utkirṇna(rṇṇā) Lōgayākēna ||⁴ Siddham⁵

B.—Daspalla Plates of Śatrubhaṅja Tribhuvanakalasa ; Year 198

According to information kindly supplied to me by Mr. P. Acharya, this set of plates was presented to the Orissa State Museum in June 1951 by Mr. Krushna Chandra Misra who is a clerk in the office of the Sub-Deputy Collector of Daspalla. Nothing is known about its exact findspot or the circumstances leading to its discovery.

The inscription is written on three plates, of which the first and third are inscribed only on the inner side. The writing is in an excellent state of preservation. The plates measure 6·7" × 4·75". The hole in the plates for the seal-ring to pass through, which had been made apparently before the plates were engraved, is 4" in diameter and is 75" inside from the proper right margin of the plates. The copper ring which is 37" in thickness and 2·7" in diameter has its joint covered by a lump of bronze, on which the seal (1·5" in diameter) is countersunk. It resembles the seal found with other charters of the family to which the issuer of the present record belonged. Its upper part is occupied by the figure of a lion to proper right, having its face to front, its left paw raised and its tail curled above its back. Below the above emblem is the legend in two lines : (1) *Śrī-Sa(Śa)trubha-* (2) *ñjadēvasya*. The three plates together weigh 107 *tolas* ; but, as they vary in thickness, their individual weight is not the same. The weight of the first plate is 49 *tolas* and that of the second and third plates 27 and 31 *tolas* respectively. The ring with the seal weighs 38 *tolas*. Thus the weight of the three plates together with the seal-ring is 145 *tolas*.

In respect of palaeography, language, orthography and style, the inscription under review resembles very closely other charters of the Bhaṅja kings of Vaṅjūlvaka, two of which have

¹ Read *sva-dānāt=phalam=ānantyam*.

² Read *ānupālāṇē*.

³ The *visarga* had been at first omitted but was later inserted.

⁴ This sign of punctuation is preceded by a *visarga*-like mark that forms a part of it.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

been recently edited in this journal.¹ But unlike the known records of the family, which are dated usually in the regnal reckoning of the kings issuing the grants in question, the present charter bears the date in the year 198 (written according to the decimal system of writing numerals) of an era. As already indicated above, this era seems to be no other than that used by the Bhauma-Karas of Orissa and their feudatories in dating their charters. The chronology of the imperial family of the Bhauma-Karas has so long remained a disputed problem. But as the exact date of the present record can be determined almost with precision, it seems to throw welcome light on the above problem. We shall see below that the issuer of the charter under discussion flourished about the second quarter of the eleventh century. The epoch of the era in question may thus be assigned to a date in the first half of the ninth century A.C.

The charter was issued by a Bhañja king of **Vañjulvaka**, whose name is given as **Śatrubhañja II² alias Tribhuvanakalasa**. He is stated to have been the son of **Śilābhañja** and great-grandson of **Vidyādharaḥhañja**. As it stands, the description of the issuer's ancestry in our grant is defective inasmuch as it does not speak of the king's grandfather. Under the circumstances, we have to suggest either that the word *prapautra* is a mistake for *pautra* so that **Vidyādharaḥhañja** was really the grandfather of **Śatrubhañja Tribhuvanakalasa** or that the name of the grandfather of **Śatrubhañja** was omitted from the record owing to the inadvertence of the scribe or the engraver. It is unfortunately difficult to be definite on this point in the present state of our knowledge. But the more important fact about this genealogy is that, while **Śatrubhañja Tribhuvanakalasa** (issuer of the charter under review) and his father **Śilābhañja** are as yet unknown from any another source, **Vidyādharaḥhañja**, grandfather or great-grandfather of **Śatrubhañja Tribhuvanakalasa**, is already known to us from several of his own records as well as of his son **Neṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalasa II³**. I have elsewhere⁴ discussed the genealogy and chronology of these Bhañjas. It has been shown how **Raṇabhañja**, who was the great-grandfather of **Vidyādharaḥhañja**, flourished about the middle or the third quarter of the tenth century. I have also shown how the successors of **Raṇabhañja**, viz., his sons, **Neṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalasa I** and **Digbhañja**, and **Digbhañja's** son **Śilābhañja II** and grandson **Vidyādharaḥhañja**, had all very short reigns so that a **Brāhmaṇa** named **Bhaṭṭa Stambhadēva** is known to have served all the four kings while a goldsmith named **Durgadēva** not only served all of them but also **Neṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalasa II**, son of **Vidyādharaḥhañja**. Considering the fact that the active period of the lives of **Stambhadēva** and **Durgadēva** probably covered about half a century, the reign of **Neṭṭabhañja Kalyāṇakalasa II** may be assigned to the first quarter of the eleventh century. **Śilābhañja**, father of the issuer of the charter under review, may not have ruled. **Śatrubhañja Tribhuvanakalasa**, as he was the grandson or great-grandson of **Vidyādharaḥhañja**, may have flourished about the second quarter of the same century. In any case, the date of our inscription does not appear to be later than the middle of the eleventh century. Certain dates in the latest decades of the second century of the era in question (cf. **Dēvānanda's** plate edited about and the grants of the **Bhauma-Kara** queen **Daṇḍimahādēvī**) are written with numerical symbols instead of figures according to the decimal system and the use of such symbols does not appear to have survived considerably long after the end of the tenth century. Moreover the major part of the dominions of the **Bhauma-Karas**, who ruled from **Jaipur** for about two centuries (i.e., upto about the year 200 of the era, so that the date of the present charter, year 198, fell about the latest days of **Bhauma-Kara** rule), appear to have been included in the empire of the **Sōmavamāsis** during the rule of

¹ Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 292 ff.

² The first king of this name in the family was **Śatrubhañja Gandhata** of **Dhṛitipura**.

³ See **Bhandarkar's** List, Nos. 1500-02.

⁴ *IHQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 225 ff.; above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 274 ff.

Chañḍihara Yayāti Mahāśivagupta III (circa 1025-60 A.C.) and his son Uddyōtakēśarin Mahābhavagupta IV (circa 1060-80 A.C.)¹

That Śatrubhaṇḍja Tribhuvanakalasa who issued the charter under review flourished about the second quarter of the eleventh century (so that the Bāhuma-Kara era started about the corresponding period of the ninth century) is further indicated by another interesting piece of evidence that has recently come to light. The unpublished Baud plates of Prithvī-mahādēvi, which were examined by me some time ago, are dated in the year 158 of the Bāhuma-Kara era and state that this Bāhuma-Kara queen was the daughter of king Svabhāvatūṅga of the lunar dynasty of Kōśala (South Kōśala). One of the grants² of the Sōmavarmāśī king Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I (circa 970-1000 A.C.) of South Kōśala seems to apply the name Svabhāvatūṅga to that monarch. There is therefore no doubt that Prithvī-mahādēvi *alias* Tribhūvana-mahādēvi II, who was on the Bāhuma-Kara throne in the year 158 of the era in question, flourished about the last quarter of the tenth century A.C. This would also point to the beginning of the era about the second quarter of the ninth century.

The inscription begins with the symbol for *Siddham* and the expression *Om svasti*, which are followed by three verses known also from all other records of the Bhaṇḍjas of Vaṇḍulvaka. The third of these verses introduces the reigning king under his coronation name Tribhuvanakalasa. Next comes a long passage in prose (lines 10 ff.) in which the *Paramavaishṇava Rāṇaka* Śatrubhaṇḍja (i.e., Tribhuvanakalasa), son of Śilābhaṇḍja and great-grandson (possibly a mistake for 'grandson') of Vidyādhara-bhaṇḍja, is represented as making a grant of the village of Kōṅkaīrā in the Pāśchima (i.e., Western) *khaṇḍa* (sub-division) in the Ramalava *vishaya* (district) in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named *Bhaṭṭa* Ājapāla (or Ajapāla). The donee is stated to have belonged to the Maudgalya *gōtra*, Vājasaneyā *charaṇa* and Mādhyandina *sākhā*. He was the son of *Bhaṭṭa* Nīlakaṇṭha and grandson of *Bhaṭṭa* Madhusūdana. The original home of the donee's family is stated to have been the *Bhaṭṭa* *agrāma* Khaḍuvāvallī in Madhyadēśa; but he was settled in a locality called Santōśhamādhava. The gift village was made a revenue-free holding on the occasion of the Vishuva-saṅkrānti falling on a Sunday when the *nakṣatra* was Mṛgaśīras and the *tithi* the fifth of the dark or bright fortnight of an unspecified month.

Lines 27-39 quote several of the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. They are followed by certain endorsements indicating that the document was *lāñchhita* (registered with the seal) by Prithvī-mahādēvi (apparently a queen of king Śatrubhaṇḍja), *anumata* (approved of) by *Bhaṭṭa* Rājāḍa, *pravēśita* (entered into the donee's possession, i.e., executed) by *Pratihāra* Prabhākara

¹ See *IHQ*, Vol. XXII, pp. 300-07.

² See *JPASB*, 1905, p. 15; cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XX, pp. 76-82; also Vol. XXII, pp. 300 ff. Elsewhere (*IHQ*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 227) we have seen how Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I probably ousted the Bhaṇḍjas from Dhritipura and drove them to Vaṇḍulvaka. These Bhaṇḍjas appear to have been feudatories of the Bāhuma-Karas. This fact points to a struggle between the Bāhuma-Karas and the Sōmavarmāśīs. The success of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I against the Bāhuma-Karas is further demonstrated by one of his charters (above, Vol. III, pp. 351-55) which is dated in his ninth regnal year and records the grant of a village in Dakṣiṇa-Tōśala (within the Bāhuma-Kara kingdom), although the early Sōmavarmāśīs were really kings of Kōśala (South Kōśala). The Baud plates show that Prithvī-mahādēvi ignored the claims of Śāntikara III and Subhākara V for the Bāhuma-Kara throne and may have been engaged in a civil war with the latter. In this she may have been supported by her father. In any case, the grant of a village in the Bāhuma-Kara territory by the Sōmavarmāśī king does not appear to be unconnected with the above fact. If the ninth regnal year of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti I fell near about the year 158 of the Bāhuma-Kara era, the beginning of the era may be roughly assigned to 820-25 A.C. The astronomical details supplied by our record (year 198, Vishuva-saṅkrānti, Sunday, Pāñchami, Mṛgaśīras) suggests March 23, 1029 A. C. (Swamikannu Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. III, p. 60). It has to be noticed that the above combination does not suit any other date in the period in question. It therefore appears that the Bāhuma-Kara era started from 831 A. C.

and *anujñāta* (witnessed) by *Vāguli Ratna*. The document is stated to have been written by the *Sandhivigrahin* Śaṅkara while the plates were engraved by the *akṣhasālīn* (goldsmith) Napa, already known as the engraver of the plates of another king of the family, named *Neṭṭabhañja* III *Tribhuvanakalasa*, which have been edited above.¹ The charter ends with the date, year 198.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, *Vaṇijulvaka* is well known from many other records of the family, although its exact location is as yet unknown. The *Ramalava* district and the villages of *Kōṅkaīrā* and *Santōṣhamādhava* are difficult to identify. The *Bhaṭṭa-grāma* *Khaḍuvāvallī* in *Madhyadēśa* (roughly identical with the modern Uttar Pradesh) cannot be identified.

TEXT*

[Metres : V. 1 *Mālinī* ; v. 2 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; v. 3 *Gīti* ; vv. 4-9 *Anuṣṭubh* ; v. 10 *Push-pitāgrā*.]

First Plate

- 1 Siddham² Ōm Svasti [||*] Jayatu kusumavā(bā)ṇa-prāṇa-vikshōbha-dakṣaṁ ava-ki-
- 2 raṇa-parivēṣa-aurjjitya-jirṇṇ-ēndu-lēkhaṁ(kham |) tribhuvana-bha[va]³n-ānta[r]-dy[ō]-
- 3 ta-bhāsvat-pradīpaṁ kanaka-nikaṣa(sha)-gauram vibhru-nētraṁ Harasya|| [1*]
- 4 Sē(Śē)sh-āhēr-iva yē phaṇāḥ pravilasanty=udbhāsvad-indu-tvishaḥ prālē-
- 5 y-āchala-śrīṅga-kōṭaya iva tvangati(uti) yē=ty-unnatāḥ | nṛity-āṭō-
- 6 pa-vighatṭitā iva bhujā rājanti yē Sā(Śā)mbhavās=tō sa-
- 7 rv-āgha-vighātina[h*] surasari[t*]-tōy-ōrmmayah pāntu vaḥ || [2*] Svasti | Vija-
- 8 ya-Vaṇijulvakād=asti⁴ Śrī-vijaya-nīlaya[h*] prakāṣa-guṇa-gaṇa-grasta-sa-
- 9 masta-ripu-vargah [| *] śrī-Tri(Tri)bhuvanakalasa-nāma-[rā*]jā nirdhūta-kali-kalu-
- 10 sha-kalmasha[h || 3*] Śrī-Vidyādharaḥḥaṇjadēvasya prapautrah⁵ śrī -Si(Śi)[lā]bhañja-⁶

Second Plate ; First Side

- 11 dēvasya sutah paramavaishṇavō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyātō Bha-
- 12 ṇj-āmala-kula-tilaka-Rāṇaka-śrī-Sa(Śa)trubhañjadēva[h*] kusa(śa)-
- 13 li Ramalava-vishaya-Paśchima-khaṇḍa-yathānīvāsi-sa-kara-
- 14 ṇa-sāmanta-bhōgy-ādi-janapadān yathārhi(rham) mānayati vō(bō)dha[ya*]ti

¹ See Vol. XXVIII, pp. 278 ff.

² From the original plates.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ The letter *va* had been at first omitted and was later inserted below the line.

⁵ It is interesting to note that in some records of the family the word *asti* forms the first word of the third stanza while in others (as in this case) it does not form a part of the verse.

⁶ The intended reading may be *pautrah*.

⁷ The *akṣara* *lā* had been originally omitted but was later engraved below the line.

TWO GRANTS FROM DASPALLA (II)

B. DASPALLA PLATES OF SATRUBHANJA TRIBHUVANAKALASA; YEAR 198

i,
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥
 २ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ २
 ४ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ ४
 ६ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ ६
 ८ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ ८
 १० यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ १०

ii, a
 १२ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ १२
 १४ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ १४
 १६ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ १६
 १८ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ १८
 २० यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ २०

ii, b.
 २२ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ २२
 २४ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ २४
 २६ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ २६
 २८ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ २८
 ३० यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ यथा राजा ॥ ३०

iii.

32 32
34 34
36 36
38 38
40 40



SEAL OF A - DASPALLA PLATE OF DEVANANDA; YEAR 184



SEAL OF

B. - DASPALLA PLATES OF SATRUBHANJA TRIBHUVANAKALASA; YEAR 198

- 15 samādīsa(sa)ti [cha | *] viditam=astu bhavatām sarvata[h*] śivam=a-
 16 smākam(ka)m=anyat ētada(tad)-vishaya-samva(mba)ddha-Kōṅkalrā-grā-
 17 ma[h*] chatu[h*]-si(sī)mā-parichchhina(unah) mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha puṇy-ābhivṛdha-
 (ddha)-
 18 yē salila-dhārā-pura[h*]śa(sa)rēṇa vidhinā Maṇḍgalla'-gōtrāya
 19 Vaidhavya²-pravarāya Vājasēna³-charaṇāya Mādhnā⁴-śākh-ādhyāya-
 20 ni Madhyadōśa-prativa(ba)ddha-bhaṭa(tṭa)grāma-Khaḍuvāvallī-vinirggataḥ(ta)-

Second Plate ; Second Side

- 21 Santōshamādhava-vāstavya-bhaṭa(tṭa)-Madhusu(sū)danaśya naptā(ptrē) bhaṭa(tṭa)-Nīla-⁵
 22 kaṇṭhasya suta(tāya) bhaṭa-Ājapālāḥ⁶ Viśu(shu)kha(va)-samkrānti-pañchamyā[m*] Ra-
 23 vi-dinē Mṛi[ga*]śira(rō)-nakshatrēṇa grāmō=yam⁷ tāmva(mra)-śāsani(nī)kritya prada-
 24 ta(tṭa)h yāvata(vach)-chandr-ārka-tā[ra*]kaḥ ā(a)-cha(chā)ṭa-bhaṭa-pravēśēna sarv-āvā(bā)-
 dhā-
 25 varjitēn=ākaratvēṇa bhuñjadbhi[h*] dharma-gauravāt pratipāla-
 26 niya[h | *] ā(a)smat-kula-kramam=udārhadbhi⁸ ānais=cha dānam=i-
 27 dam=asmad=anumōdanīyam(yam |) uktañ=cha dharma-śāstrēshuḥ(shu |) Va(Ba)hubhir=
 vasu-
 28 dhā dattā rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhi[h*] | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya
 29 tasya tadā phalam(lam || 4) Mā bhū[d-a*]-phala-śaṅkā vaḥ para-datē(tt=ē)ti pāṭhivā[
 30 aya-dānāt=phalam=ānantya[m*] para-datā(tt=ā)nupālānē [|| 5*] Sva-dattā[m*] para-

Third Plate

- 31 dattām=vā(ttām vā) yō harēta vasundharām(rām |) sa viśṭhāyām kṛimir=bhu(r-bhū)tvā
 pitri-
 32 bhi[h*] saha pachyati(tē) || [6*] Satyam yajña-hutam ch=aiva yat-kiñchi[d*] dharma-sañchaya-
 [h*] |
 33 ārdha-āṅgalēna⁹ simāyā haraṇēna prana(ṇa)śya(śya)ti || [7*] Sa(Sha)shṭhi(shṭi)-varsha-sa-
 34 hasrāṇi svargē vasati bhu(bhū)midah | ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tānai(ny=ē)va

¹ Read *Maṇḍgalya*.

² Read *try-ārahēya-pravarāya*. The Maṇḍgalya *gōtra* has three *pravaras*, viz., Āngiras, Bhārmīyaśva au-
 Mudgala.

³ Read *Vājasenāya*.

⁴ Read *Mādhyandīna-śākh-ādhyāyīnē*.

⁵ Originally *nīla* was engraved.

⁶ Read *bhaṭ-Ājapālāya*.

⁷ The context does not require this expression.

⁸ Read *udārhadbhir=anyat=cha*.

⁹ Read *ardh-āṅgulēna simā*.

- 35 narakam vrajēt || 8*] Nandanti tasya pitarah pravalganti pitāmā(ma)h[ā]h || 8*] Iti
- 36 bhu(bhū)mi-dātā kulē jātā(ta)h sa nas=trātā bhavishyati || 9*] Iti
- 37 kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vindu-lōlā[m*] śrī(śrī)yam=anuchintya manushya-jivitañ=cha || 10*]
- 38 sakalam=idam=udāhṛitam cha vu(bu)ddhā(ddhvā) na hi purushaiḥ para-ki(ki)rttayō vilōpyā-
- 39 h || 10*] Lā(Lā)ñchhitam Śrī-Prithvīmā(ma)hādēvyā || 11*] ā(a)numatam Bhāṭa(tṭa)-Rājāḍasya
[|| 11*] pravēṣitam prati-
- 40 hāra-Prabha(bhā)karēpa || 12*] ā(a)nujñātam Vāguli-Ratnēna || 13*] Utkīrṇam(rṇam) ā(a)-
kshasālīnā Napēna || 14*] Li-
- 41 khitam Sandhivigrahi-Saṅkarēpa || Samva(Samva)t 198 || 15*]

No. 27—BILAIGARH PLATES OF KALACHURI PRITHVIDEVA ; YEAR 896

(I Plate)

P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

In September 1940, three sets of copper plates were unearthed from a field at the village of Paoni, about three miles from Bilaigarh, Raipur District, Madhya Pradesh. One set was passed on to the then *zamindār* of Bilaigarh. It belongs to the reign of the Kalachuri king Pratāpamalla¹ and is dated K. 969. Another set which fell into the hands of a *sādhu*, was subsequently recovered by the same *zamindār*. Proceeding on this information furnished by Pt. L. P. Pandeya, the plates were secured for examination in April 1945 by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist for India, through the good offices of the Commissioner, Chhattisgarh Division, Raipur.² With the kind permission of the former, I edit the inscription³ here.

The set consists of two oblong copper plates held together by a ring with seal. The ring passes through a hole cut at the centre of one of the edges of the longer sides of the plates. The plates are engraved on the inner sides only and their rims are slightly raised to protect the writing. The plates measure 11½ inches in length and 6½ inches in breadth each approximately. The inscribed faces of the plates contain marginal decorative designs on three sides save the upper one. The diameter of the ring is about 1½ inch. The ring is flattened at the top and given the shape of a round thin disc. This disc comprises the seal which has marginal decoration all around. In its upper half is carved in relief a crude figure of Gajalakshmi in the usual fashion. The lower half contains the following legend engraved in two lines in Nāgarī characters: 1 *Rāja-śrīma-2 t-Prithvidēvaḥ*. The seal measures two inches in diameter. The weight of the two plates together is 137 *tolas* and the ring with the seal weighs 8 *tolas*.

The inscription consists of 36 lines which are distributed equally on the two plates. The average size of the letters is ¼ inch. The characters are Nāgarī of the 12th century A.C. The *daṇḍas* and other punctuation marks are used in their proper places; for instance, to mark the halves and ends of verses, etc. The *avagraha* sign is generally indicated; e.g., -*anvayē-bhūt*

¹ This epigraph is edited in this journal, above, pp. 97 ff.

² For more details about the discovery of these copper plates see above, p. 97 n. 5. It is not known what happened to the third set referred to above.

³ This is registered as C.P. No. 50 of the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, for 1945-46, p. 12.

in line 3. The sign for *ṇ* is invariably the one made up of three vertical strokes, the first being curved at the lower end. *Y* as the second component of a conjunct letter looks more like *p*. The use of *ḍ* proper is detected in two places, viz., *babḥūvar-* in line 6 and *babḥūva* in line 13. This *ḍ* is almost like *p* except that its box is more angular at the bottom.¹ In regard to orthography, with the exception of the two instances noted above, *ḍ* is invariably substituted by *v*. *S* is used for *ś* in some cases; e.g., *sudhyati* and *prasasti* in line 34. The consonant following *r* is generally doubled, there being a few exceptions; e.g., *Kārtavīrya* in line 3, *sau(śau) rya* in line 6 and *sūrya* in line 27. The language is Sanskrit and the composition, except for the salutation to Brahman in the beginning and the date at the end, is in verse. There are 24 verses in all and they are duly numbered.

Like other inscriptions of the Kalachuris of Ratanpur, the epigraph opens with an obeisance to Brahman and recounts the genealogy of the family commencing with the sun god. Prithvidēva II, son of Ratnadēva II, is the last king eulogised (verse 11), and to his reign the record pertains. Verses 1-10 with the exception of one narrating the exploit of Kārtavīrya against Rāvaṇa,² which is omitted, are identical with those in other charters of the family.³ Next comes the description of a distinguished family of learned Brāhmaṇas of the Vatsa *gōtra* (verses 12-15). Three members of this family are described; viz., Hārūka, his son Jimūtavāhana, and the latter's son Dēhūka. In regard to Dēhūka we are told that he was a master of the *Sākambhārī Vidyā* and that learning the secret of this lore from him, the famous feudatory chief Brahmadēva vanquished all his enemies on the fields of battle. The object of the epigraph is to register the gift of the village Paṇḍaratalāi situated in the Evaḍi *maṇḍala*, made in favour of Dēhūka by Prithvidēva II (verse 16). Verses 17-22 contain the usual exhortations for the protection of such gifts and the imprecation. The charter was drafted by Malhana son of Śubhāṅkara, who was learned and had earned reputation on account of his many compositions (verse 23). The copper material was put into shape by Vāmana. The record was written on the plates by the son of Kirti and engraved by the son of Lakshmīdhara (verse 24).

The date as cited in the last line (line 36), is *Saṃvat* 896, evidently referring to the Kalachuri era. After these numerals are engraved the three *akṣaras*, *a mi nē*, the significance of which is not clear.⁴ In line 27 there is a statement to the effect that the grant was made on the occasion of the solar eclipse. If we take 247-48 A.C. as the beginning of the era, K. 896 would correspond to 1144 A.C. In this year there was a solar eclipse on December 26, Tuesday, in the *Pūrṇimānta* month of Māgha. We may note the occurrence of solar eclipses in the *Pūrṇimānta* month of Āshāḍha in the following two years, viz., on June 22, Friday, 1145 A.C., and on June 11, Tuesday, 1146 A.C. The Rājim stone inscription of this king's reign is dated K. 896, Māgha śu. 8, Wednesday, and this date has been shown to correspond regularly to January 3, 1145 A.C. by Kielhorn.⁵ In view of the identical Kalachuri year cited in these two epigraphs, it seems reasonable to assume that December 26, 1144 A.C. is the date of the present inscription.

Verse 11 narrates an historical event relating to Prithvidēva II, when it states rather poetically that, by crushing Chakrakōṭa, he made the illustrious Gaṅga king feel frightfully anxious, since the

¹ Compare similar form and use of *ḍ* occurring in the Daikoni plates of this same king, above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 146.

² Ibid., p. 153, verse 3.

³ Compare for instance the two sets of Amodā plates of Prithvidēva II, *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. I, 405 ff.

⁴ To venture a conjecture, the expression *aminē* may be taken to be a contraction for *Aśāḍhasya* or *Āśvini-mitra-dinē*. But this presumption would not solve the difficulties in the calculation of the date.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 136. In the Rājim inscription Māgha śu. 8 is mentioned as *rathāśhami*. The significance of this name, as noted by Kielhorn, cannot be explained satisfactorily. We may incidentally note another tradition according to which this *tīthi* is termed *Bāhmadāśhami*; *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, pt. I, pp. 64 and 67.

only measure of safety now left to him was to cross the waters of the sea. From the Rājīm stone inscription noticed above, it is known that Prithvidēva II conquered the country of Bhramaravādra,¹ otherwise styled Bhramarakōṭya and identified with Chakrakōṭya or modern Bastar District.² The same victory must evidently have been referred to in the above verse.³ The Gaṅga king who is said to have been terrified by this conquest which he apparently considered to be the precursor of the Kalachuri king's expedition against his own kingdom, might be Jaṭśēvara, son of Ananta-varman Chōḍagaṅga, mentioned in other inscriptions of the family.⁴ Another piece of historical information is contained in verse 15 which incidentally alludes in general terms to the victories of the renowned feudatory Brahmadēva. This chief is obviously identical with his namesake figuring in the Ratanpur stone inscription of this king.⁵

Two places are mentioned in the record. One is the region called Evaḍi-maṇḍala wherein the gift village was situated. I am unable to identify this tract. The other is the gift village Paṇḍaratalā. It appears to be fairly certain that this is identical with the present-day Pandritarai in the Mahasamund Tahsil of the Raipur District.⁶

Lastly, we may note the relationship between the writer and the engraver of this inscription with those of the two sets of Amodā plates of this ruler. The scribe of the latter, as stated therein, was Śrīvatsarāja, son of Kirtidhara,⁷ of the Vāstavya family.⁸ It is not unlikely that the son of Kirti of the present record, whose proper name is not mentioned, was identical with this Śrīvatsarāja. In like manner it is probably that Lakshmīdhara who engraved the first set⁹ of Amodā plates was the father of the engraver of the present inscription.

TEXT¹⁰

[Metres : Vv. 1, 8, 16-22 and 24 *Anuṣṭubh* ; 2 and 5 *Upajāti* ; 3, 9 and 12 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* ; 4, 6, 7, 10, 13-15 and 23 *Vasantatilakā* ; 11 *andākrāntā*.]

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धं¹¹ [।*] ॐ नमो ब्र(ब्र)ह्मणे ॥ निर्गुणं व्यापकं नित्यं शिवं परमकारणं(णम्) ।
भावग्राह्यं परं ज्योतिस्तस्मै सद्ब्र(ब्र)ह्म-
- 2 णे नमः ॥ १ ॥ यदेतदग्रेसरमंब(ब)रस्य ज्योतिः स पूषा पुरुषः पुराणः । अयास्य
पुत्रो मनुरा-
- 3 दिराजस्तदन्वयेऽमद्भुवि कार्त्तवीर्यः ॥ २ ॥ तद्वंशप्रभवा नरेन्द्रपतयः ख्याताः क्षितौ हैहया-

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 137.

² Above, Vol. IX, pp. 178-79 ; Vol. XXVIII p. 151.

³ Chakrakōṭya, as the name of the country, must have been derived from Chakrakōṭa, its chief town. It may be compared with Chakrakōṭarāshṭra mentioned in the Tēmarā inscription ; above, Vol. X, p. 39.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 150.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 257.

⁶ *List of Villages in the Central Provinces and Berar*, p. 125.

⁷ This Kirtidhara is apparently identical with his namesake of Jambūdhara-grāma, who wrote Sarkhī plates, of Ratnadēva II, above, Vol. XXII, p. 167.

⁸ *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. I, pp. 411 and 414.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 411.

¹⁰ From the original plates and impressions.

¹¹ Expressed by a symbol.

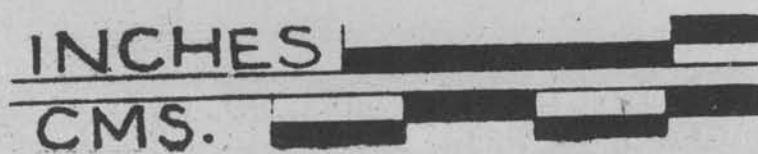
i.

2 ॥ अथ नमो ब्रह्मणे नमो विष्णवे नमो शिवाय नमो कालाया नमो वायुनाय नमो अग्निनाय नमो ॥
 ४ ॥ विष्णोर्नामो देवदेवः स त्रैलोक्येऽपि सर्वत्र भवति ॥ स पूषा पुरुषः पराणः ॥ अथास्युक्तं ॥
 ६ ॥ अथ नमो भगवते नमो विष्णवे नमो शिवाय नमो कालाया नमो वायुनाय नमो अग्निनाय नमो ॥
 ८ ॥ अथ नमो भगवते नमो विष्णवे नमो शिवाय नमो कालाया नमो वायुनाय नमो अग्निनाय नमो ॥
 १० ॥ अथ नमो भगवते नमो विष्णवे नमो शिवाय नमो कालाया नमो वायुनाय नमो अग्निनाय नमो ॥
 १२ ॥ अथ नमो भगवते नमो विष्णवे नमो शिवाय नमो कालाया नमो वायुनाय नमो अग्निनाय नमो ॥
 १४ ॥ अथ नमो भगवते नमो विष्णवे नमो शिवाय नमो कालाया नमो वायुनाय नमो अग्निनाय नमो ॥
 १६ ॥ अथ नमो भगवते नमो विष्णवे नमो शिवाय नमो कालाया नमो वायुनाय नमो अग्निनाय नमो ॥
 १८ ॥ अथ नमो भगवते नमो विष्णवे नमो शिवाय नमो कालाया नमो वायुनाय नमो अग्निनाय नमो ॥

ii.

20 ॥ अथ नमो भगवते नमो विष्णवे नमो शिवाय नमो कालाया नमो वायुनाय नमो अग्निनाय नमो ॥
 २२ ॥ अथ नमो भगवते नमो विष्णवे नमो शिवाय नमो कालाया नमो वायुनाय नमो अग्निनाय नमो ॥
 २४ ॥ अथ नमो भगवते नमो विष्णवे नमो शिवाय नमो कालाया नमो वायुनाय नमो अग्निनाय नमो ॥
 २६ ॥ अथ नमो भगवते नमो विष्णवे नमो शिवाय नमो कालाया नमो वायुनाय नमो अग्निनाय नमो ॥
 २८ ॥ अथ नमो भगवते नमो विष्णवे नमो शिवाय नमो कालाया नमो वायुनाय नमो अग्निनाय नमो ॥
 ३० ॥ अथ नमो भगवते नमो विष्णवे नमो शिवाय नमो कालाया नमो वायुनाय नमो अग्निनाय नमो ॥
 ३२ ॥ अथ नमो भगवते नमो विष्णवे नमो शिवाय नमो कालाया नमो वायुनाय नमो अग्निनाय नमो ॥
 ३४ ॥ अथ नमो भगवते नमो विष्णवे नमो शिवाय नमो कालाया नमो वायुनाय नमो अग्निनाय नमो ॥
 ३६ ॥ अथ नमो भगवते नमो विष्णवे नमो शिवाय नमो कालाया नमो वायुनाय नमो अग्निनाय नमो ॥

Seal





From a Photograph

- 4 स्तेषामन्वयभूषणं रिपुमनोविन्यस्ततापानलः । धर्मध्यानधनानुसंचितयशाः स(श)-
स्व(श्च)त्सतां सौह्य-
- 5 कृत्त्रेयान्सर्वगुणान्वितः समभवच्छ्रीमानसौ कोवकलः ॥ ३ ॥ अष्टादशारिकरिकुम्भ-
विभंगसिंहा-
- 6 :¹ पुत्रा बभूवुरतिसौ(शौ)र्यपराश्च तस्य । तत्राग्रजो नृपवरस्त्रिपुरीश आसी-
त्पास्व(स्व) च मंडलपतीन्स
- 7 चकार व(वं)धून् ॥ ४ ॥ तेषामनूजस्य² कलिंगराजः प्रतापवह्निक्षपितारिराजः ।
जातोऽन्वये द्वि-
- 8 ष्टरिपुप्रवीरप्रियाननांभोरुहपार्ष्णेंदुः । ५ ॥ तस्मादपि प्रततनिर्मलकीर्तिकान्तो
जा-
- 9 तः सुतः कमलराज इति प्रसिद्धः । यस्य प्रतापतरणामुचिते रजन्यां जातानि पंकज-
10 वनानि विकासभांजि ॥ ६ ॥ तेनाथ चंद्रवदनोऽग्रजि रत्नराजो विश्वोपकारकरुणाञ्जि-
- 11 तपुष्यभारः । येन स्ववा(वा)हुयुगनिर्मितविक्रमेण नीतं यशस्त्रिभुवने विनिहत्य
श-
- 12 ब्रून् ॥ ७ ॥ नोनल्लाख्या प्रिया तस्य शूरस्येव हि शूरता । तयोः सुतो नृप-
श्रेष्ठः पृथ्वीदेवो
- 13 बभूव ह ॥ ८ ॥ पृथ्वीदेवसमुद्भवः समभवद्राजल्लदेवीसुतः शूरः सज्जन-
वाञ्छि(छि)तार्थफल-
- 14 दः कल्पद्रुमः श्रीफलः । सर्वेषामुचितोर्चने सुमनसां तीक्ष्णद्विषत्कंटकः पस्य-
(श्य)त्कान्त-
- 15 तरांगनांगमदनो जाजल्लदेवो नृपः ॥ ९ ॥ तस्यात्मजः सकलकोसलमंडनश्रीः
श्रीमा-
- 16 न्समाहृतसमस्तनराधिपश्रीः । सर्वक्षितीश्वरशिरोविहिताह्लिसेवः सेवाभृतां
नि-
- 17 धिरसौ भुवि रत्नदेवः ॥ १० ॥ पुत्रस्तस्य प्रथितमहिमा सोऽभवन्नूपतीन्द्रः
पृथ्वीदे-
- 18 वो रिपुनृपशिरःश्रेणिदत्ताह्लिपयः । यः श्रीगंगं नृपतिमकरोच्चक्रकोटोपम-

¹ These two dots denoting visarga go with the akshara *ā* in the previous line.

² The akshara *nā* in the expression *anāja* here is obviously lengthened for the convenience of metre.

Second Plate

- 19 ह्रीचिन्ताक्रान्तं जलनिधिजलोल्लसंघनैकाभ्युपाये ॥ ११ ॥  ॥¹ गोत्रे
वत्समुनेरनल्पमहिमा हा-
- 20 रुक्तामा पुरा विप्रोऽमूखवनप्रियः श्रुतिविदामाद्योजवद्योन्नतिः । यस्यासो(शो)-
भियशोभि-
- 21 रम्ब(म्ब)रतलं कर्णूरपारिप्लवं श्रीखंडव्रवसोदरैरिव सदा लिप्तं समन्तादपि
॥ १२ ॥ जीमूतवा-
- 22 हन इति प्रथितस्तदीयः पुत्रः पवित्रितधरित्रि दधच्चरित्रं (त्रम्) ।
आसीदसीमगुणगौरवगु-
- 23 फितश्रीः श्रीरेव यत्र च मुमोच निजं चलत्वं(त्वम्) ॥ १३ ॥ देल्हक
इत्यभवदस्य सुतो मनीषी वे-
- 24 दान्ततत्त्व(त्त्व)निपुणा धिषणा यदीया । स्फूर्तिः स्मृतावनुपमा महिमा
च यस्य विश्वोपकारचतुरो(रा)
- 25 चतुरोन्नतस्य ॥ १४ ॥ सा(शा)कंभरीमनुपमा भुवनेषु विद्यां ज्ञात्वा यतो युधि
विजित्य समस्त-
- 26 शत्रून् [1*] यं व्र(त्र)ह्मदेव इति विश्रुतमांडलीको जानाति निज्जैरगुरु(रु)-
पममेकमुच्चैः ॥ १५ ॥
- 27 पंडरतलाइ²भ्रामं ह्यातमेवडिमंडले । पृथ्वीदेवो ददौ तस्मै सूर्यग्रहणपर्वणि ॥ १६ ॥
- 28 सि(शि)रस्तंभसहस्रेण यावद्धते महीमहिः । तावताम्रमिदं पाल्यमेतदन्वय-
जन्मभिः ॥ १७ ॥ का-
- 29 लान्तरेपि यः कश्चिन्नृपोऽमात्योऽथवा भवेत् । पालनीयः प्रयत्नेन घम्मोयं मम तैरपि
- 30 ॥ १८ ॥  ॥³ व(व)हुमिद्वेसुषा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा
भूमिस्तस्य त-

¹ The floral figure and the double *daṇḍas* here are significant. They show that one topic is over, viz., the genealogical account and the *prabasti* of the king.

² A top *mdrnt* is engraved above this vowel 'i' which has perhaps to be ignored. Or it may have been used to make the letter long 'i'.

³ As in line 19 the floral design and the double *daṇḍas* here indicate that the topic dealing with the grant is over.

- 31 स्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥१६॥ पूर्ववत्तां द्विजातिभ्यो यत्नाद्रक्ष पुरंदर । महीं
महीभूतां श्रेष्ठ दाना-
- 32 च्छ्रेयो हि पालनं(नम्) ॥२०॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत् वसुंधरां स
विष्ठायां कृमिभूत्वा पितृ-
- 33 भिः सह मज्जति ॥२१॥ तडागानां सहस्रेण वाजपेयस(श)तेन च । गवां
कोटिप्रदानेन भूमि-
- 34 हर्ता न सु(शु)ध्यति ॥२२॥ ताम्रप्रस(श)स्तिरचनेयमकारि तेन श्रीमत्सु(शु)भंकर-
सुतेन व(व)द्विश्व-
- 35 तेन । श्रीमत्हणेन कविकैरवष्टपदेन भूरिप्रवं(वं)धरचितार्थलभ(स)त्पदेन ॥२३॥
घटितं वा-
- 36 मनेनात्र लिखितं कीर्तिसूनुना । लक्ष्मीधरसुतेनेदमुत्कीर्णं ताम्रमुत्तम[म्]*¹ ॥२४॥
संवत् ८६६ अमिने ।

No. 28—TWO JAINA INSCRIPTIONS IN TAMIL

P. B. DESAI, OOTACAMUND

While surveying the epigraphical sources for my work on Jainism in South India,² I had to go through the Jaina inscriptions in the Tamil country critically. In the course of this study I noticed certain peculiar features regarding the religious history of Jainism in this region, which had a characteristic development of its own. One of them is the evolution of the Yakshi cult. With a view to illustrating this particular point I select here two typical inscriptions³ and try to explain their significance briefly.

INSCRIPTION I

This inscription is engraved on a boulder of the hillock called *Āṇḍimalai* near the village *Chōlavāṇḍipuram* in the *Tirukkōvilur taluk* of the South Arcot District, Madras State. It was copied by the office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, in the field season of 1936-37.⁴ The boulder containing this inscription leans against another boulder thus forming

¹ This verse makes it clear that the record was first written on the plate with ink or similar material and then engraved.

² This volume comprises a detailed survey of the Jaina inscriptions selected from the three main regions of South India, namely, *Āndhradeśa*, *Tamiḻnāḍu* and *Karnāṭaka*. The book which is now in an advanced stage of printing is being published as the third issue of the series *Jivārāja Jaina Granthamālā*, Sholapur.

³ My thanks are due to the Government Epigraphist for India for his kind permission to edit these records here.

⁴ It is registered as No. 251 of the year's epigraphical collection.

a cavity which may be considered to be a natural shrine. On the inner sides of these two boulders facing each other are carved the figures of two Jaina deities, Gommatā and Pārśvanātha. "In the recess between them is found a loose slab about 4 feet high with a fairly archaic sculpture of the Jaina goddess Padmāvatī cut on it in high relief."¹

The inscription comprises four lines. The letters in the first line of the record are bigger and the medial *i* signs of the *aksharas sti*, *śri* and *li* are extended above their tops. In spite of the rough surface of the boulder the inscription is neatly engraved and the writing is in a good state of preservation.

The characters are Tamil of about the 10th century A. C. They stand fair comparison with those of the Tirukkōvalūr inscription of Kṛishṇa III, dated in his 21st year.² The tripartite form of *y*, which is sometimes looped in the inscriptions of the earlier period,³ may be noted herein. The form of the letter *tē* in the expression *tēvāram* in the 4th line is peculiar. This peculiarity is due to the fact that the medial *e* sign, which is normally separated and placed before the main letter as in *che* in the same line, is joined to the bottom of the letter *t*, the left side loop of which is consequently dropped. *Svasti* and *śri* in the first line are inscribed in the Grantha alphabet.

The language is Tamil. The epigraph states that the *tēvāram* was caused to be made by Śrīvelli Koṅgaraiyar Puttaḍigaḷ. No date is mentioned in the record. We may, however, assign it approximately to the 10th century A. C. on palaeographic considerations. The epigraph reads thus :

TEXT⁴

- 1 Svasti [[*] Śrīvelli
- 2 Koṅgaraiyar
- 3 Puttaḍigaḷ
- 4 śeyvitta tēvāram [[*]

The main component of the rather longish name of the author of the *tēvāram* is Puttaḍigaḷ. He appears to have been a person of some importance and the suffix *adigaḷ* denotes his respectable status.⁵ A good number of Jaina inscriptions similarly carved on the rocks of hills have been found in close association with Jaina sculptures in the Tamil districts.⁶ A study of these in comparison with the present one, the Jaina associations of which are quite marked, should leave no doubt in our mind in regard to the nature of the record under study and the identity of Puttaḍigaḷ who might be a Jaina devotee.

An expression of some interest in the epigraph requiring comment, is the word *tēvāram*. Its two familiar meanings are well known, viz., 1) worship and 2) a collection of devotional

¹ *An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1936-37, p. 61.

² Above, Vol. VII, inscription G, plate facing p. 144.

³ Compare the looped form in inscription A and the tripartite one in B and D; above, Vol. III, plate facing p. 284.

⁴ From an impression.

⁵ It is interesting to note that Putta is the Tamil version of the Sanskrit name Buddha. This does not necessarily mean that the individual should be a follower of Buddhism. Buddha is one of the terms denoting the higher status attained by an enlightened soul according to the Jaina philosophical concept. Vide *Pravachanasāra* (edited by A. N. Upadhye, Bombay, 1935), Introduction, p. XXXIV.

⁶ Compare for instance the Jaina rock inscriptions at Pañchapāṇḍavamalai (above, Vol. IV, pp. 136 ff.); the same at Vallimalai (ibid., pp. 140 ff.); Mad. Ep. Coll., Nos. 67-74 of 1903.

songs in honour of Śiva, composed by Appar and others.¹ But here it appears to have been used in a somewhat different sense, viz., a group of sculptures for worship as indicated by the context.²

Having examined the meaning of the term *tēvāram*, we may now ascertain its nature as designed by Puttaḍigal. As seen above, the two boulders meeting each other with intervening space, have themselves improvised a natural shrine. Then we have to turn to the Jaina vestiges therein. These are the figures of Gommatā carved near the present inscription on one boulder, and of Pārśvanātha on the other; and the fairly big sculpture of Padmāvati placed in the intervening hollow. From its very nature, size and the central position, the icon of Padmāvati assumes the principal role among these Jaina relics. We can now see the part played by Puttaḍigal in the making of this *tēvāram*. Being a natural formation, he, of course, had nothing to do in its creation. He simply incised the figures of Gommatā and Pārśvanātha on the adjoining boulders to represent the side deities and installed the main image of Padmāvati in the intermediate spot. It is for doing these things that he takes credit in the epigraph as the maker of the *tēvāram*. We may note here with interest the position of vantage enjoyed by Padmāvati; for she is the *Yakshi* of Pārśvanātha and thus occupies a subordinate place in the hierarchy of Jaina divinities.³

Happily, another similar instance has come to our notice. It is an inscription at Vaḷḷimalai. This record,⁴ which is styled 'A', is similarly carved on the rock of a natural cave, below a group of sculptures, and speaks of the foundation of the Jaina shrine (*vasati*), evidently referring to the cave itself with Jaina relics,⁵ by the Gaṅga prince Rājamalla.

INSCRIPTION II

This epigraph⁶ is incised on a beam of the *mahāmaṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine in the temple of Ādinātha Tīrthaṅkara at Ponnūr, a village in the Wandiwash taluk of the North Arcot District. The inscription is slightly damaged and comprises two lines. The script is both Grantha and Tamil. The characters are late. Medial short and long *e* are distinguished. Medial *ai* is denoted by placing either single-looped two spirals or one double-looped spiral behind

¹ *Tamil Lexicon* (University of Madras, 1929), p. 2069.

² As the precise significance of the expression *tēvāram* used here is not certain, we may take into consideration other possibilities. According to the lexicographer *tēvāram* also means 'deity worshipped privately in a house.' Further, it may not be unreasonable to connect it with the Sanskrit *dēvāgāra*, in which case it would mean 'a shrine'. Use of the word *dēvāra* in the sense of 'a shrine' is found in an 11th century Kannada inscription in the Bellary District; *SHI*, Vol. IX, part i, No. 115. The expression *dēvārā* is current in the Marāṭhi language in the sense of 'a shrine for private worship.'

³ B. C. Bhattacharya : *Jaina Iconography*, p. 82.

⁴ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 140-41.

⁵ This was one of the peculiar aspects of Jainism in the Tamil country, as I have noticed in the course of my survey of the Jaina antiquities. The hill tracts with natural caverns and rocky shelters had a great attraction for the Jaina teacher and the devotee who transformed them into sacred resorts and centres of religious practices. Besides the two places dealt with above, a large number of hill spots invested with Jaina relics has come to light so far; see *An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1923, p. 3; above, Vol. IV, p. 136; *Mad. Ep. Rep.* for 1887, p. 3; etc. From the association of the 'triple umbrella,' which is a characteristic emblem of the Jina, with the rocky beds at Sēdarampaṭṭu in the North Arcot District (*An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1939-40 to 1942-43, p. 11), it can now be safely asserted that at least some of similar couches, popularly known as the 'Pañchapāṇḍava beds', found in a large number in many parts, were the creations of Jaina monks who were pioneers of the faith in the Tamil country. For a detailed description of these relics see *Proceedings and Transactions of Third Oriental Conference*, pp. 275 ff.

⁶ This was copied by the Madras Epigraphist's office in 1929. It is registered as No. 416 of Appendix B in the year's collection and briefly noticed on p. 88 of the year's Report.

the consonant. The language is Tamil, though a few expressions like *Kalyabdal* and *Sakābdal* are used with Sanskrit case endings. Occurrence of familiar abbreviations for *varusham*, *mādam*, etc., may be noted in more than one place. The date is cited thus: Kali year 4834, Śālivāhana Śaka 1655, year 46 starting with Prabhava, namely Pramādicha, Vaigāsi 17. Though agreement prevails among these details, the date is not capable of verification, as the week-day, the *tithi* and the *nakshatra* are not mentioned. The said day corresponded with Tuesday, May 15, 1733 A. C. While engraving the above date the symbol for ten is consistently omitted.

The inscription purports to lay down a rule for the guidance of the Jaina community residing in the village of Svarnapura. It is thus specified. The Jainas of this locality should take in procession the images of Pārśvanātha and Jvālāmālīni from the temple of Ādīśvara (i.e., Ādinātha), every Sunday, for being worshipped on the occasion of service to Hēlāchārya on the Nilagiri hill in the north-western quarter. Svarnapura is evidently identical with modern Ponnūr. The Nilagiri hill which also figures in the legend of Hēlāchārya, has still retained the name, being three miles away from Ponnūr. The icons of Pārśvanātha and Jvālāmālīni mentioned in the epigraph are probably the metallic images preserved in the temple of Ādinātha to the present day¹ or their earlier substitutes. These are evidently intended for being displayed on ceremonial occasions. The specific mention of Jvālāmālīni alongside of Pārśvanātha in the inscription is noteworthy; for the former was originally the *Yakshi* or the attendant deity of Chandraprabha Tīrthaṅkara² and attained unusual importance in later times. Judging from the earlier Jaina inscriptions found here and the tradition connecting it with Hēlāchārya,³ Ponnūr appears to have been a renowned stronghold of Jainism from earlier times.

TEXT⁴

- 1 Svasti śri [*] Śālivāhana-Śak-ābdal 1655 Kaly-ābdal 4834 kku mēl chellā niṅṅa Prabavādi ga(Sa)k-ābdal varusham⁵ 46 [k] ku Pramādicha varusham⁶ Vaigāsi mādam⁷ 17 [U]⁸ eludiya śāsanam = āvadu [*]

Svasti [*] śri-Sva[rṇa]pu[ra]-Kanakagiri Ādīśvara-svāmi-chaityālaya sambandamāna Vāyu⁹-mūlaiyil=i-

- 2 rukku Nilagiri Hēlāchārya-pāda-pūjai¹⁰ Ādivārat(n)-tōṅum mēppaḍi¹¹ ālayattin śri-Pārśva-nātha-svāmi[yai*]yum Jvālāmā[li]*ni-ammanaiyum mēppaḍi¹² Svarnapura-Jainarga[ḷ] eḍuttu[k*]koṇḍu pōy p[ū]jippadu [*] Inda sā(śā)śa(sa)nam Anantasēnadēva[nāl=e]-ludapaṭṭadu [*]

We might in this context take note of one more epigraph, as it is helpful in our study. This is an archaic inscription from Pañchapāṇḍavamalai, dated in the 50th year of the Pallava king Nandipōttarasar, which speaks of the creation of an image of a Golden Yakshi on the hill. It is significant to observe that neither the epigraph nor the sculptures that illustrate its contents have any place for the Jina.¹³

¹ An. Rep. on. S. I. Epigraphy for 1928-29, p. 88.

² Jaina Iconography (op. cit.), p. 62.

³ An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy for 1928-29; Nos. 415 and 417 of Appendix B. The legend of Hēlāchārya is related on p. 88 of the same Report.

⁴ From an impression.

⁵ Familiar abbreviation is used here for this expression.

⁶ This sign is the symbol U denoting abbreviation for the expression *ūdi*.

⁷ Vāyu here stand. for the Sanskrit Vāyavya.

⁸ There is a syntactical flaw here. An expression like *samayattil* is necessary to connect this word with the following.

⁹ This letter looks more like *ne*.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 136-37 and the plate.

These facts are revealing. They show that the Yakshi had gained popularity among the followers of Jainism from very early times and that her images, like those of the Jinas, were installed independently in shrines created for the purpose and placed under worship. This should appear strange if we examine the original status of a Yakshi in the Jaina pantheon. A Yaksha and a Yakshi are the devotees of the Jina and their function is to attend on him. These are depicted in sculptural representations in small figures at the corners of the pedestals adorned by their masters, the Jinas.¹ It thus becomes clear that the Yakshi is a subservient deity and can claim no independent place for herself. The above epigraphical notices therefore go contrary to the original conception of the Yakshi and provide instances of the characteristic evolution of the Yakshi worship.

Inscription II contains reference to Hēlāchārya, which name devoid of phonetic accretion would be Ēlāchārya. Ēlāchārya was an eminent teacher of the Draviḍa-gaṇa and he is regarded as the innovator of the cult of Jvālāmālīnī.² This deity, though a Yakshi in the beginning, was, with the passage of time, attributed mysterious powers including those of the fire-goddess. She was involved in the practices of Tantric worship and works like the *Jvālāmālīnikalpa* were composed around her. It is of interest to note that in an inscription at Sēḍam in the Gulbarga District, Hyderabad State, the *Mahājanas* of the place are described as performing mystic rites for propitiating this deity.³

No. 29—TALANGERE INSCRIPTION OF JAYASIMHA

(1 Plate)

N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, OOTACAMUND and D. L. NARASIMHACHAR, MYSORE

The inscription edited below is engraved on a stone slab lying in front of the big mosque at Talangere near Kasaragod, the headquarters of the *taluk* of that name in the South Kanara District of the Madras State. It was reported that the slab was being used for washing clothes and that consequently a portion of the writing on it was getting worn out. It was, therefore, copied during the winter of the year 1952-53 by Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, Government Epigraphist for India, in the course of his official tour in that district.

The record contains 27 lines of writing. The first four lines embody a Sanskrit verse in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre and are engraved in Grantha characters. The rest of the inscription is in Kannaḍa characters and language. The record may, on palaeographical grounds, be placed in the 10th century A. C. The script does not show any peculiarities calling for special remarks. However, attention may be drawn to the forms of the initial vowels, *a* (lines 9, 23), *ā* (lines 16, 21), *i* (line 7), *ī* (line 20), *u* (line 9) and *ū* (lines 9, 26). The shape of the long *ū* is particularly noteworthy. The form of final *l* (line 6) may also be noted. The specimens of Grantha and Kannaḍa scripts in the record may be compared respectively with those in the Grantha inscriptions of the 10th century, e.g., Udayēndiram Plates of Bāṇa Vikramāditya⁴ and the Kannaḍa inscriptions of the same period, e.g., the Dēvīhosūr inscription of Śaka 884⁵ and the Sogal inscription of the reign

¹ *Jaina Iconography*, pp. 92-93.

² *Pravachansāra*, Introduction pp. 4 and 12.

³ Author's own epigraphical collection. This epigraph which belongs to the 12th century, is under publication in my *Jainism in South India* mentioned above.

⁴ Above, Vol. III, p. 76 and plate.

⁵ Above, Vol. XVI, pp. 285 ff. and plate.

of Taila II: Śaka 902.¹ That the Grantha and the Kannaḍa scripts of the inscription under study can individually be assigned on palaeographical grounds to the end of the 10th century A. C. leaves no doubt that the epigraph must be assigned to this very period. Except palaeographical indications the record does not afford any clue for fixing its date; it bears no date nor does it refer itself to the reign of any king, whose dynasty is specified.

Among the orthographical features may be noticed the use of a superfluous *anusvāra* in the following cases: *taimma* (line 18), =*ettuvoḍamm=ēnānuvaṁ* (line 24). The class nasal is used in *kanda* (line 7), *nandana* (line 12), etc., while it is replaced by the *anusvāra* in *akkum=emdu* (line 9), *paṁcha* (line 17), etc. The consonants following the *rēpha* are doubled in =*ā-chandr-ārkkaiṁ* (line 6), *dharmma* (line 17), *ūrmme* (line 26).

The chief importance of the record lies in the contribution it makes to our knowledge of the state of Kannaḍa language and prosody in the period to which it belongs, i.e., 10th century A. C. Consequently, the special linguistic and metrical features and peculiarities found in the record are discussed at some length here.

The language of the inscription, except that of verse 1 which is in Sanskrit, is old Kannaḍa interspersed with a few forms of middle Kannaḍa, viz., *-aḍe* (line 7), *ippa* (line 10), *toṛeya* (line 13). Of these *-aḍe* comes from the older morpheme *-oḍe* and *ippa* is derived, through assimilation from *irpa*, of old Kannaḍa. The accusative morpheme *-an* of old Kannaḍa has dropped its final nasal in *toṛeya*. The retroflex mid-palatal *ḷ* characteristic of Dravidian, is correctly employed. The retroflex *r* occurs quite regularly. In *beṭṭam* (line 12) the nominative is used instead of the accusative *beṭṭam-am*. *ḷḷdudam* < *irdudam* towards the end of line 11 is a case of back-formation based on analogy and is obviously not correct. Such wrong usages are frequently seen in inscriptions as well as old Kannaḍa manuscripts.² Kēśirāja (1260 A. C.) expressly prohibits the pronunciation of *r* + consonant as *ḷ* + consonant while admitting that older poets have used the two for the purpose of rhyme.³ This suggests that there was a widespread practice among the common folk of pronouncing the *r* + consonant cluster as *ḷ* + consonant group and it may be this that has prompted the composer, the scribe or the engraver, or possibly all the three, to use the form *ḷḷdudam* in the present record.

-um and *-am*, the conjunctive morphemes of old Kannaḍa are seen here in more than one context. One of them attaches itself to all the members entering into a conjunction and the last one takes on the required case suffix, the rest being in the nominative. While interpreting, the case suffix must be deemed to be present in all the other members also. As instances (1) *mane-yu nandana-vanavum-am māḍisi* (ll. 12-13), (2) *pasuvum brāhmaṇaruma* (l. 19), (3) *pullaḍakkan=ettuvoḍum m=ēnānuvaṁ=biḷiḍoḍa* (l. 24) may be quoted from the inscription. In the first two the particle *-um* is used and in the third the particle *-am* is used in *ettuvoḍam* and is absent in *biḷiḍoḍa*, the second member. Such usage as this is rather rare in Kannaḍa, more so in verse than in prose.⁴ According to the grammarians, though not expressly so stated, all the members in conjunction must have the conjunctive particle as also the case suffix.

¹ Ibid., pp. 1 ff. and plate.

² *Aḍuḷde* < *adarde*: A Grammar of the Oldest Kanarese Inscriptions by Dr. A. N. Narasimha, p. 256, No. 21 of about 700 A. C., *peḷchuge* < *perchuge*, ibid., p. 256, l. 8 of about 675 A. C., *peḷdore* < *peridore*, above, Vol. XII, p. 294, *ḷḷḍa* < *irḍa*, above, Vol. XIII, Niḷugandi inscription, l. 16, of 1107 A. C., Ed. L. D. Barnett, etc., manuscripts of *Vaḷḷḍārādhane*: earliest date 1403 A. C. *poḷḷidom* < *poḷḷidom*.

³ *Śabdamanidarpaṇa* (Ed. Kittel, Rev. 1920), sūtra 24.

⁴ See *Vaḷḷḍārādhane* (Prose work of the 10th century) Ed. D. L. Nārasimhachar: *baṁmeyum valitunannum sūhasannum gunda-gunamu-man=urīyal-akkum* p. 29, lines 25-26, *Purige-mūnūrum Belvola-mūnūrum Banaṣe-pannvrchchhāsiramum Kundūr-sāstramumam*: Bombay Karnatak Inscriptions, Vol. I, part II (S. I. I., Vol. XI, part II) Ed. N. Lakshminarayan Rao, No. 127, line 8.

In the sentence *Urmme Jōgavveya vaṁśadoḷ-peṇ-gūsugaḷ-allade gaṇḍu-gūsugaḷa vaṁśakḷ-
aḍihāram=allade salladu*, the second *allade* appears to be superfluous. But such usage might have
been the prevalent idiom as attested to by the double usage of *mēṇ* (meaning 'or' and later on
'and') occurring in the sentences given below : (1) *osege mēṇ munige mēṇ*,¹ (2) *paḷige mēṇ pogalge
mēṇ*,² (3) *ose mēṇ muni mēṇ*,³ wherein the use of *mēṇ* twice is analogous to that of 'either' and
'or' occurring simultaneously in English syntax.

A few words of lexical interest occur in this record and deserve careful study : (1) *mōṇa*
(line 9) seems to be connected with *mōṇaḍi*⁴ and *mōḍu* (Tulu) both meaning 'a hillock' ; (2) *ovaḷ*
from the contexts (lines 10, 13, 15) seems to mean 'brackish'. It appears to be related to the
first member *ulaḷ* of the Tamil compound word *ulaḷ-man*, *ula-man*, meaning 'salty or brackish
soil' ; (3) *chāvugāmi* (line 16) is derived from the Sanskrit *chatur-grāmin* ; (4) *ūrmme* (line 26) has
been translated as 'excellent'. This seems to descend from the Dravidian root *ūru* meaning 'to
increase', by the addition of the suffix *-me* used to form abstract nouns. As the final *-u* of the
root is unstable and not radical the noun *ūrme* is directly formed, meaning 'increase, abundance'.
It is in this sense that Pampa has employed the word in the phrase *vilāsad-urmegāḷ-oḷ*⁵ and the
reading here with short *u* in the beginning may be a mistake. The variant reading *perme* found
in two of the manuscripts of this work is only a substitution of a synonym and is confirmatory of
the meaning deduced above. (5) *Aḍihāra* (line 27) is obviously a corruption of the Sanskrit word
adḥikāra.

The importance of this record to the student of Kannaḍa prosody cannot be over-
stated. The *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* of the first verse and the *Kandas* following are quite familiar in
Kannaḍa metrics ; but verse No. 4 is not so and is a rare specimen. It is called *utsāha* by the
composer of the inscription and demands close scrutiny. Nāgavarma has defined the metre and
the definition itself is the illustration.* According to him the verse has four lines, each consisting
of seven *Brahma-gaṇas* plus one *guru*, with rhyme in the second syllable. Of the four varieties of
the *Brahma-gaṇa* (— —, — — —, — — — —, — — — —) only two containing three syllables or *mātrās*
are used here and the other two consisting of four syllables or *mātrās* are eschewed altogether.
The iambic variety (— —) though containing 3 *mātrās* does not enter into the scheme of *Brahma-
gaṇa*. The *utsāha* of the present record is in conformity with the above definition. The 1st,
3rd and 4th lines are quite regular and it is enough to show the scansion of one of them : viz., the
first line.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Ura	kaḍeya	toṇeya	taḍiya	kariya	kalla	mōṇa
—	—	—	—	—	—	—

The *tāḷa* or accent falls on the first syllable of every foot. The second line, however, has an extra
long syllable in the first foot :

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Puttūra	poleya	r-ippa	kēri	y-ovaḷa	nira	bhūmi
—	—	—	—	—	—	—

¹ *Kavirājamārga* (Ed. Pathak, Bangalore), I-134.

² *Ibid.*, I-135.

³ *Pampa-Bhārata* (Kannaḍa Sāhitya Parishad ed.), VI-26.

⁴ Kittel has spelt this word with a cerebral or alveolar *-ra-* in the middle but it is highly doubtful. Janna, a
famous poet and composer of the Tarikere inscription of 1197 A. C. has in verse 52 definitely used the word with a
retroflex *-ṛa-* in the rhyming place.

⁵ *Pampa-Bhārata* (Kannaḍa Sāhitya Parishad ed.), I-106.

* *Chāṇḍōmbudhi* : Kāvya Kalānidhi edition, verse 258.

Though the line is hypermetrical, its rhythm is not in any way interfered with by the extra syllable as the accent here falls on the second long syllable. While reciting the line the existence of the first syllable is practically obliterated. From this point of view the line may also be considered to agree with the definition of Nāgavarma. Instances of the occurrence of such hypermetrical syllable are found in some of the literary works. The following is a couplet by Pampa (941 A. C.)¹:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Naneya	koneya	talira	mugula	vana-la	tā ni	kuñja diṁ
	1	2	3			
	Pravūna	rajada	puñja		diṁ	
	—	—				

The whole verse contains thirteen such couplets. The first foot of the second line of every couplet has one extra syllable at the beginning, the accent falling on the subsequent long syllable. Similarly Kumudēndu (c. 1275 A. C.) has composed a *ragale* comprising 49 such couplets.² The following is a sample :

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Janaka	tanaye	-yāga	-agra	iūṅ-a	tīva	harsha diṁ
	1	2	3			
	Mudatru	pūra	varsha		diṁ	
	—	—				

It is thus clear that the composer of our inscription attached more importance to the rhythmic effect than to the 'rules regulating this metre ; his is a creative effort. The record is of unique value in the history of Kannaḍa metrics. The *utsāha* verse found here is the only one of its kind known so far in Kannaḍa literature and epigraphy.

The inscription opens with a Sanskrit verse which states that to Gautama, who was renowned in the three worlds, was born Śaradvat. Śaradvat's brother was Śantanu whose son was Kṛipa. After many kings born in the lineage of Kṛipa down to Śalya had passed away, Jayasimha, the crest-jewel among the *Kshatriyas*, is stated to be victorious, i.e., ruling. He was the abode of the goddesses of Fortune, Learning and Victory. The king is then stated to have made a gift of a piece of land situated in the vicinity of Puttūr to Mōchabharasi as *kanyādāna*, i.e., gift to a damsel. The land which was barren and rocky was converted into fertile field by Mōchabharasi. She constructed a house, laid a garden and had a moat dug around the place. After the usual imprecation on those who attempt to destroy the charity, the record ends with a statement to the effect that the right of succession to the ownership of the land should devolve on the female children in the lineage of the excellent Jōgavve and not on the male offspring ; and that in case there were no female issues the right will pass to the male children.

We have no means of ascertaining the family to which the chief Jayasimha, the donor of the grant, belonged or the exact period of his rule. The fact that he does not bear any title indicative of paramountcy would point to the conclusion that he was a local chief. However, we know of a ruler named Jayasīngarasa whose inscription is found at Kariangala (Ammunaje) near Mangalore.³ He bears the titles *Sōmakulatilaka*, *Pāṇḍya-Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara* and *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*. As these titles are usually associated with the later Ālupas, the chief Jayasīngarasa of the record has been taken to be a scion of this family though the record in question does not specifically call

¹ Pampa-Bhārata, I-58.

² Kumudēndu Rāmāyana, IV—after 98.

³ *SI*, Vol. IX, part I, ins. No. 390.

him an Ālupa. Since Talangere, where the record under publication is found, is within a distance of thirty miles, as the crow flies, from Kariāṅgaḷa, the findspot of Ālupa Jayasiṅgarasa's record, it is not unlikely that the Jayasimha of our record belonged to the same family as Jayasiṅgarasa of the Kariāṅgaḷa record did. But, on account of the fact that the Kariāṅgaḷa record, which is also undated, is palaeographically about a century later than the Talangere inscription, the two chiefs cannot be regarded as identical.

It is very well known that from the time of king Vinayāditya¹ of the family of the Western Chālukyas of Bādāmi the Ālupas were feudatories of the Chālukyas. From a record recently discovered² it would appear that the Ālupas were even matrimonially connected with the Chālukyas. The Ālupa chief Chitravāhana seems to have married Kumkuma-Mahādēvi, the sister of the Chālukya monarch Vijayāditya. The inscription states that king Vijayāditya made a grant at the request of Chitravāhana to the *Jinabhavana* at Purigere constructed by this lady who seems to be described as causing delight to the heart of the Ālupa ruler. The request was made when Vijayāditya had come to Banavāsi to visit the Ālupa prince. From an inscription of the reign of Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III³ it is known that a Chitravāhana was administering the Ālupakhēḍa division under him. This Chitravāhana has been rightly taken to be an Ālupa ruler on account of his name and the territory which he was governing.⁴ This was about 800 A. C. Subsequent to this date hardly anything is known regarding the activities of this family. If, however, our Jayasimha is, as suggested above, an Ālupa ruler, the fact that no paramount titles are borne by him would indicate that about the end of the 10th century, the period to which he has been assigned, the Ālupas continued to be vassals either of the Rāshtrakūṭas whose power was declining or the later Chālukyas who were beginning to lay the foundations of their power after overthrowing the Rāshtrakūṭas. However, by the time of Jayasiṅgarasa of the Kariāṅgaḷa inscription, i.e., 11th century A. C., the Ālupas seem to have been independent as this ruler is given all the paramount titles.⁵

Besides Jayasimha, our inscription mentions two other royal personages, viz., *Mōchabbarasi* and *Jōgavve*. The exact relationship which existed between Jayasimha and these two ladies is neither stated in the record nor can it be ascertained from the nature of the reference to them made in the record. Nor do we know how *Mōchabbarasi* and *Jōgavve* were related to each other. Since at the end of the inscription it is specified that the hereditary rights regarding the possession of the land should devolve on female issues it may be gathered that *Mōchabbarasi* was either the sister or the niece of Jayasimha. If she is to be considered the niece, *Jōgavve* might have been the king's sister. It may thus be inferred that this practice of the family property passing from mother to daughter obtained in this part of the country at least as early as the 10th century. This law of inheritance which goes by the name of *alīya-santāna* is in vogue even today in that area.

The only place mentioned in the record is Puttūr. This may be identified with the village of the same name, a few miles to the north of Talangere, the findspot of the inscription.

¹ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sb. 571, *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Dg. 66.

² C. P. No. 49 of *ARIE* for the year 1945-6.

³ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sb. 10.

⁴ Above, Vol. IX, p. 16.

⁵ A later Jayasimha is mentioned as a contemporary of the great Dvaita teacher Madhvāchārya in the literary work *Madhvarijaya* (sarga 13, verses 21 ff.). He was a ruler of Kumbhā. Madhvāchārya is stated to have visited a place called Vishnumāṅgaḷa, about three miles from Kāsaragōḍ, where Jayasimha came and paid homage to him. This village lay within the jurisdiction of prince Jayasimha of Kumbhā. Perhaps he was also an Ālupa chief.

TEXT

- 1 'Svasti Śrī [||*] *Āśāḥ=Chitraśikhaṇḍishu tri-bhuvana-khyātō munir=Gautamas=tat=sūnōś=cha
 2 Śaradvataḥ Kṛipa iti bhrā[tu]s=sutaś=Śantanōḥ [||*] tad-varṇāyēśhv=adhunā ga-
 3 *tēshv=amaratām Saly-ānta-bhadr-ādishu śrēṣṭhaś=śrī-Jayasimha
 4 śsha jayati kshatr-aika-chūdāmaṇiḥ || [1*]
 5 Śrī chapalateya[m] Vachana-śrī Chaturānana-virāmamaṁ bisuṭu Jaya-śrī-chāru-
 6 nētre-y-oḍa-nered-ā-chandr-ārkkam virājīsal Jayasimham || [2*] Vachana [||*] Kanyādāna-
 maṁ nina-
 7 g=ittan¹=endoḍe pettu Mōchabbarasi santōsa[m]-baṭṭ-int=endaḍe | Kanda | Inn-appa
 bhūpar-ellam
 8 ninnorega[m] dorege vārar=adaṇim²=ārum mannisad=ūram guṇa-sampanna samant-ivud=
 enaga³ kanyā-
 9 dānam || [3*] Akkum=erndu || Utsāham || Ūra kaḍeya toṇeya taḍiya kariya kalla mōṇadim
 10 Puttūra poleyar-ippa kēriy=ovaḷa nīra-bhūmiyam sāra-bhūruhamgaḷ=ōḷiy=ōḷage neṇe-
 11 da keṇeyan=am̐bhōruhākshi tanna dhanadin=oppe māḍis-iḷdudam || [4*] Vachana ||
 12 *Nintārum=ollada kalkāḍa beṭṭam sava-talam māḍiy=ōḷila maneyu nandana-
 13 vanavumam māḍisi keṇeyam kaṭṭisi toṇeya seṇey=itt=ovaḷa nela-
 14 nam piridum=āyāsadin sukshētram māḍisidud=adu munna⁴ mūde-
 15 y=ikkuv=ovaḷ-uppu-neladā bhūmiyan=ōḷakonḍ=agaḷan=agaḷi-
 16 ai āsanna chāvugāmigaḷ=ariye kanyādānam-gōṭṭa bhūmiyam
 17 kāla-kālāntaradoḷ=ārānum=i dharmmamam=alidu koḷal=āṭisida paṁcha-mahā-pāta-
 18 kam tanna tāyam koḷal=endu *taṁnna tandeyam kondu *taṁnna makkaḷa nettaram kuḍi-
 19 du pasuvum Brāhmaṇaruma Kurukshētradoḷ=alid=ātana puguva nara-
 20 kamaṁ puguva=akke [||*] i kanyādānamam koṇḍātan=alpāyushyanum=a-
 21 putrikanum=appan=akke || Kandaṁ || Ārādoḍ=akke dhātri-bhārama-
 22 n=ārāmtōr=āmtara kayy-āmtā birānan=irad=ām bēḍiden=ōramtir[e] kāvu-
 23 d=i vyavastheyin=ūram || [5*] Vachana [||*] Adem̐t=erndōḍe [||*] Arasāḷgaḷ=ūram pokkamdu
 24 pullaḍakkan=ettuvodaṁm(ḍam)=ēnānuvaṁ=biḍidoḍa⁵ kolege sāltar=ent=appa
 25 drōham=geydu baṁd=ūram pokkoḍ=avanam mūru-divasam sarvva-parihāram kādu
 26 kaḷipuvudu [||*] [Ū]rmme Jōgavveya varṇādoḷ=peṇ-gūsugaḷ=allade gaṇḍu-gū-
 27 sugaḷa varṇākk=aḍihāram=allade salladu peṇ-gūsugaḷ=illadoḍa⁶ gaṇḍu-makkaḷga¹⁰ salkum-
 (lgum) [||*]

¹ Floral design.

² Metre : Śāradālavikṛīḍita. Lines 1-4 are written in Grantha characters.

³ The medial ḷ sign of iḷ is written at the end of the previous line.

⁴ Read : =ittan=.

⁵ Read : enaga.

⁶ Read : int-ārum=.

⁷ After this there are two horizontal strokes which apparently stand for punctuation.

⁸ Read : tanna.

⁹ Read : oḍe.

¹⁰ Read : ge.

TALANGERE INSCRIPTION OF JAYASIMHA

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TRANSLATION

Lines 1-4. Hail! Prosperity! In the lineage of the Chitrāsikhaṇḍins¹ there existed Gautama, famous in the three worlds. Then there was Kripa, son of Śantanu who was the brother of Śaradvat, the son of Gautama. After some of his illustrious descendants up to Śalya had attained immortality (i.e., gone to heaven), this eminent Jayasimha, the sole crest-jewel of the Kshatriyas is victorious.

Lines 5-9. While the goddess of Fortune, having forsaken (*her*) fickleness, the goddess of Speech, having given up (*her*) resting-place in Chaturānana (i.e., Brahmā) and both, having associated themselves with the fair-eyed goddess of Victory, were resplendent till the moon and sun (*endure*); Jayasimha, having said to Mōchabharasi "I have made you a gift due to an unmarried girl" (*of the family*), she received (*it*), felt glad and said thus: "All those who will be born kings hereafter do not come to your level or equal you, and therefore, Oh! (*you*) rich-in-virtue give me willingly as a gift (*called*) *kanyādāna* a locality which none would value". He replied "Be it so".

Lines 9-11. The brackish² water-logged land (*adjoining*) the street wherein reside the untouchables of Puttūr (*which was situated at some distance*) from the hillock of black stones, on the bank of a stream at the edge of the village and the reservoir complete with rows of essential trees—(*these two*) the lotus-eyed (*lady*), by her own wealth had caused to be finely constructed;

Lines 12-23. thus, having made a level ground of the stony wild hillock which none desired (*to have*), having caused to be made a tiled house and a garden, having imprisoned the stream, (i.e., built a dam across it) and having converted with great effort the brackish soil into fertile land and, prior to that, having caused a moat to be dug (*around*) the land, comprising the brackish salty soil (*used for*) keeping bundles of grain³, made over this land, with the knowledge of the four nearby villagers, as a gift to a damsel; in the course of (*endless*) time, whosoever having destroyed this pious (*deed*), desires to appropriate (*it*) for (*himself*), may that committer of the five great sins go to that hell into which, he, by murdering his father with the intention of appropriating his mother, by drinking the blood of his children (*and*) by destroying cows and Brāhmaṇas in Kurukshetra enters; may he who takes over (*to himself*) this gift to a damsel become short-lived and daughterless.

Whoever he may be that carries the burden of the earth (*in future*), I beseech that hero, who obstructs the hands of (i.e., *prevents*) those who carry away (*the gift*), to regularly protect the village in this manner.

Lines 23-26. If it be asked how it is (*the reply is*): When the king's men enter the village, if they carry off heaps of straw and if they take anything by force they are fit to be killed. He who having committed any kind of crime comes to the village and enters (*it*) must be protected for three days after exempting him from all imposts and (*then*) sent away.

Lines 26-27. In the lineage of the excellent Jōgavve the right (*of succession*) goes to the female children and not to the line of male children; when there are no female issues it goes to the male children.

¹ These are the seven sages, Pulaha, Pulastya, Marichi, Atri, Vasishtha, Angiras and Kratu.

² *Kanyādāna* is a compound word which is usually taken to mean "making over an unmarried girl to a bridegroom in marriage". In this sense the first member of the compound should be construed as having the possessive case suffix. But here it seems to take the dative suffix. That this is the intended sense finds some support in the last two lines of the inscription.

³ This seems to be the meaning of the word *ora*.

⁴ This seems to be the meaning of *māde yiktu*.

No. 39—TWO PLATES OF TRIBHUVANAMAHĀDEVĪ FROM BAUD

(1 Plate)

S. C. DE, BHUBANESWAR

Two single copper plates of Tribhuvanamahādevī of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty of Orissa were received from the Sub-Divisional Officer, Baud, as exhibits for the Historical Exhibition organised on the occasion of the Cuttack Session of the Indian Historical Records Commission and the Indian History Congress in December 1949. They were discovered some years back in a place near the town of Baud and were lying in the treasury. The exact place and the date of their discovery could not be ascertained. I propose to edit them here with the kind permission of Mr. A. Das, the Sub-Divisional Officer, Baud.¹

Of the two plates, one is bigger than the other, the bigger one, to be termed hereafter as plate A, measuring 14.2"×11.3", and the smaller one, plate B, 12.7"×9.8". Both of them are in a fair state of preservation. A circular seal of the form of a full-blown lotus is soldered at the centre of the left side of the plates. The counter-sunk surface enclosed within the rows of petals is circular in shape. The diameter of the counter-sunk space is 3.3" in plate A and 3" in plate B. At the bottom of the sunken surface, another double-petalled open lotus is carved out in relief. Above it, the legend *Tribhuvanamahādevyā(vyāh)* is neatly carved in relief. The lower portion of the subscript *y* in *vyā* is drawn out to form two horizontal lines below the legend. Above the legend there is the figure of a couchant bull with the symbols of the crescent, conch and sun above it. There are two floral designs, one in the front and the other at the back of the bull.

The characters closely resemble those of the Dhenkanal plate² of Tribhuvanamahādevī and the Talcher plates³ of Śivakaradēva (III). As a matter of fact, the Dhenkanal plate and our plate B were both incised by the same person, Harivardhana, while the Talcher plates were engraved by his father Rahasavardhana. On palaeographical grounds the plates may be assigned to the 9th century of the Christian era at the earliest. Both the plates are dated in the year 100 50 8 (i.e., 158) of the era which is known to have been used by the rulers of the Bhauma-Kara family.

The language is Sanskrit. The text of both the plates is practically identical, except for the grant portion. The composition is a mixture of prose and poetry. The descriptive portion consists of fifteen verses in addition to the usual benedictory and imprecatory stanzas. There are a few orthographical or grammatical mistakes and these have been corrected in their proper places. The words *gōhērī*, *jōṭa*, *valitoā*, etc., occurring in the grant portion, seem to be Sanskritised Oriya expressions.

The documents open with the description of the charms of Gubēśvarapāṭaka, the capital of the Bhauma-Kara rulers. Next follows the genealogy of the family. In the Kara dynasty there flourished a powerful king named Unmaṭṭasimha. His son was Śubhākara who erected many lofty *vihāras*. His son was Gayāḍa who was succeeded by Kusumahāra. Gōsvāminīdevī succeeded Kusumahāra who had left no son. The kingdom thrived under her rule, people lived in peace and prosperity. On her grandson, Lōṇabhāra, attaining majority, she retired making over the charge of the kingdom to him. Lōṇabhāra was blessed with two sons, Kusumahāra and Lalitabhāra. The two sons succeeded their father one after another. But, both of them having died childless, Prithvimahādevī (the wife of Kusumahāra), whose father was Svabhāvatunga of Kōsala and mother Nṛitāmahādevī, the daughter of Yaśovṛiddhi, ascended the throne, and was known to the world under the name Tribhuvanamahādevī. She is styled *Paramabhāṭṭarīkā*, *Mahārājādhīrāja-Paramēśvurī* and *Paramavaishṇavī*. At the request of Śaśi-

¹ The plates are now preserved in the Orissa Museum.

² JBORS, Vol. II, pp. 419-27 and Plates.

³ Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 40-50.

lākhā, the moon of the **Vrāgaḍi** family of **Virāṭa** lineage and wife of **Mahāmaṇḍalādhipati Maṅga-lakalaśa**, **Prithvīmahādēvi** made the following grants in the year 158 for perpetual offering of ablution, sandal paste, etc., to the deity **Umāmahēśvara** installed in the temple constructed by **Śaśilēkhā** and named **Nānnēśvara** after her father, for repairs to the temple, for providing garments and medicines to mendicants, for food and clothing to **Brāhmaṇas** and for the maintenance of the family of the **dānapati**.¹

The grant in plate A consists of a village named **Kōṭṭapurā** together with the **Nānnēśvara talapātaka** in the district of **Tamālakhanda** in **Daṇḍabhukti-maṇḍala** situated in **Uttara-Tōsalā**. The grant recorded in plate B is a plot of land called **Utthukā-khaṇḍakshētra** in the district of **Dakshipakhanda** in **Daṇḍabhukti-maṇḍala** of **Uttara-Tōsalā**.

I may here point out that some portions of the text of the records under discussion occur in others as indicated below. Verse 6 of our plates occurs in the Talcher plate of **Śubhākaradēva** of the year 141.² Again verse 15 of our records occurs in the same plate with reference to the mother of **Kusumahāra** or **Śubhākara III**. The *virudas* of **Tribhuvanamahādēvi** as given in the **Dhenkanal** plate³ and in the plates under discussion are identical and the issuer is called **Sindagauri** in both. The passage dealing with the boundaries of the gift land in the present plates is almost the same as that in the Talcher plates of **Śivakaradēva III** of the year 149.⁴

Mahākshapaṭalādhikṛita Rāṇaka Śrī-Mallōka acted as the *dūtaka*, **mahākshapaṭalika bhōgin Śakrasēna** as the writer and **pēṭakapāla Dēvadēva** as the heater in case of both the records under study. Plate A was incised by the brazier **Amṛitavardhana**, son of **Īśvaravardhana**, while plate B was incised by **Harivardhana**, son of **Rahasavardhana**. From the four copper plate charters of the **Bhauma-Kara** dynasty, viz., the two Talcher plates of **Śivakara III**, the **Dhenkanal** plate of **Tribhuvanamahādēvi** and our plate B, we learn that **Harivardhana** was the son of **Rahasavardhana** and the grandson of **Rāmavardhana**.

These plates are very important for the study of the history of the **Bhauma-Kara** dynasty of **Orissa** as they bring to light many new facts. Firstly, they reveal that **Daṇḍabhukti-maṇḍala** was included in the kingdom of the **Bhauma-Karas** of **Orissa**. Secondly, they throw new light on the genealogy of that dynasty. Thirdly, they reveal that the later **Bhauma-Karas** were matrimonially connected with the **Sōmavarṇṣī** kings of **Kōśala**.

The genealogy of the **Bhauma-Karas** obtained from the present plates and that obtained from other plates are given below for a comparative study.

Plates under discussion

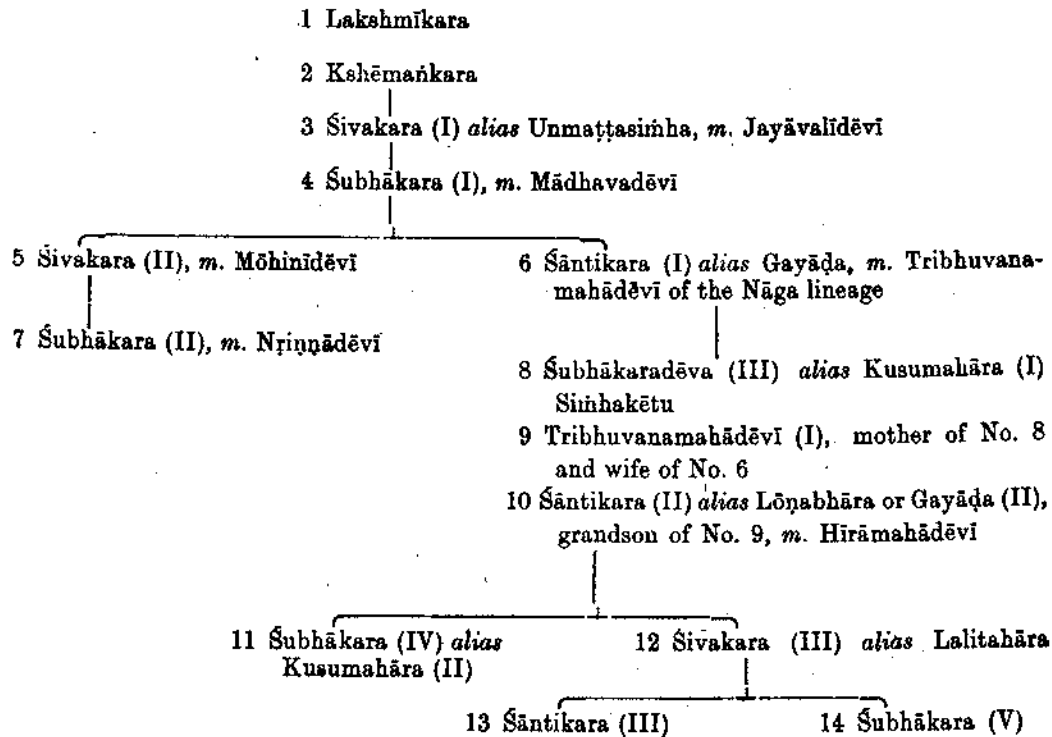
- 1 Unmaṭṭasimha
- 2 Śubhākara
- 3 Gayāḍa
- 4 Kusumahāra (I) (died childless)
- 5 Gōsvāminī (relation with No. 4 is not mentioned)
- 6 Lōṇabhāra (grandson of Gōsvāminī)
- 7 Kusumahāra (II) (childless)
- 8 Lalitahāra (childless)
- 9 Prithvīmahādēvi alias Tribhuvanamahādēvi (wife of No. 7)

¹ I.e., a **Brāhmaṇa** in charge of all functions connected with the making of grant by the King.

² Misra, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

³ Ibid., p. 36.

⁴ Ibid., p. 46.

Plates so far published

A study of the above two genealogies would show that there are certain points of wide and uncompromising difference between them. Firstly, it is stated in the present plates that Kusumahāra(I) died childless and Gōsvāminī took upon her the burden of the realm until she made it over to her grandson Lōṇabhāra. In the Talcher plates of Śubhākara (IV) and Śivakara (III) there is no mention of Śubhākara (III) alias Kusumahāra (I) as having died childless. They simply state that after the death of Śubhākara (III) his mother took up the charge of the kingdom. In the Talcher plate of Śubhākara (IV) it is definitely stated, in the same way as in the present plates, that Tribhuvanamahādēvī made over the charge of the realm to her own grandson Lōṇabhāra on his attaining majority. But in the Talcher plate of Śivakara (III) Lōṇabhāra is not mentioned and so the relationship between Tribhuvanamahādēvī and Lōṇabhāra is not ascertainable. It is simply stated that Gayāḍa became king after her (*tasyā babhūva nripatir=Gayāḍaḥ*, lines 12-13). It would appear to mean that Gayāḍa was born to her; but it was probably meant to convey the sense that Lōṇabhāra-Gayāḍa succeeded Tribhuvanamahādēvī. In the two Talcher plates of Śubhākara (IV) and Śivakara (III) there are no details explaining the reasons for Tribhuvanamahādēvī's assumption of the government after her son; in the present plates it is definitely stated that Gōsvāminī succeeded Kusumahāra (I) as he had died without leaving any issue (lines 8-9). So far it was believed that Tribhuvanamahādēvī assumed the reins of the government during the minority of her grandson Lōṇabhāra. But that assumption is no longer tenable in view of the clear mention of the fact in the present plates that Kusumahāra (I) died childless. This fact conflicts with the relationship between Gōsvāminī and Lōṇabhāra since the latter is described in the present plates as the grandson of the former. Since Śubhākara (III), identical with Kusumahāra (I) of our plates, was childless, Lōṇabhāra was either the son of a brother or sister of the former; otherwise he could not have been called the grandson of his predecessor. It,

however, appears more probable that Lōṇabhāra was the son of a brother of Śubhākara (III). This brother had probably predeceased Śubhākara (III), after whose death his nephew became the sole heir. Tribhuvanamahādēvi ruled the kingdom on behalf of her grandson who was still minor at the time of the death of Śubhākara (III). This assumption alone can explain away the inconsistency of the facts stated above.

As regards the identity of Gōsvāminī it may be noted that she is stated in the present plates to have succeeded Śubhākara (III) *alias* Kusumahāra (I) and made over the kingdom to her grandson Lōṇabhāra on his attaining majority. In the Talcher plate of Śubhākara (IV), the mother of Śubhākara (III) is described as having succeeded her son and made over the kingdom to her grandson Lōṇabhāra. She was also known as Tribhuvanamahādēvi. Thus both Gōsvāminī and Tribhuvanamahādēvi were successors of Śubhākara (III) and grandmothers of Lōṇabhāra. So they cannot but be identical. Gōsvāminī was probably the original name of the wife of Śāntikara (I) *alias* Gayāḍa and mother of Śubhākara (III), and Tribhuvanamahādēvi was her assumed name. This assumption is corroborated by the allusion to Gōsvāminī as having ruled in the past in the Dhenkanal plate of Tribhuvanamahādēvi.

I may here point out that Tribhuvanamahādēvi of the Dhenkanal plate is not the wife of Śāntikara (I), as assumed by Pandit Misra, for the following reasons. For one thing, nowhere is Śāntikara (I) called Lalitahāra. As pointed out above, the name of Śāntikara's wife was, in all probability, Gōsvāminīdēvi. Tribhuvanamahādēvi was an assumed name as is evident from the passage : *yā jagatsu Tribhuvanamahādēv-iti-viśrutā* occurring in Śubhākara (IV)'s Talcher plate, the same passage being employed in the present plates with reference to Prithvimahādēvi. Thus, both Gōsvāminīdēvi and Prithvimahādēvi had the assumed name Tribhuvanamahādēvi. The date of the Dhenkanal plate is clearly 160, as it is represented by the letter symbols *lu* and *chu* which stand for 100 and 60 respectively.¹ Śāntikara (I)'s wife was the first queen in the Bhauma-Kara dynasty to rule over the kingdom, and the reference to Gōsvāminī as having ruled the kingdom in the Dhenkanal plate proves that another queen had reigned prior to Tribhuvanamahādēvi of that plate ; hence she must have been the wife of Śāntikara (I). That Gōsvāminī is not a fictitious figure but the grandmother of Lōṇabhāra is proved by the plates under discussion. As stated before, the inciser of the Dhenkanal plate and the plate B under discussion is the same person, Harivardhana, son of Rahasavardhana. In view of the above facts, Tribhuvanamahādēvi of the Dhenkanal plate cannot be regarded as the wife of Śāntikara (I). She was the wife of Śivakara (III) *alias* Lalitahāra. So it would be quite natural to identify Lalitahāra of the Dhenkanal plate with Śivakara (III), the younger brother of Śubhākara (IV) *alias* Kusumahāra (II). Thus there were three queens bearing the name Tribhuvanamahādēvi. Śāntikara (I)'s wife was Gōsvāminīdēvi *alias* Tribhuvanamahādēvi (I), Śubhākara (IV)'s wife Prithvimahādēvi was Tribhuvanamahādēvi (II) and Śivakara (III)'s wife (original name not known) was also Tribhuvanamahādēvi (III).

After Śubhākara (IV) and Śivakara (III) their wives ascended the throne under the names Tribhuvanamahādēvi. The former was ruling in the year 158 and the latter in 160. This gives credit to the assumption that, after Śivakara (III) there was a quarrel for succession. Prithvimahādēvi ascended the throne probably with the aid of her father Svabhāvatūṅga and, after her, Śivakara (III)'s wife became queen. Her claim was probably backed by her father Rājamalla. The hints of a state of chaos befalling the Bhauma-Kara family are there in the Dhenkanal plate (lines 9-10). Further, it is stated therein that Tribhuvanamahādēvi was approached by the ministers for her accession to the throne (line 20). These hints confirm the belief that there ensued a civil war for succession after Śivakara (III) *alias* Lalitahāra, and the two queens of Kusumahāra and Lalitahāra ascended the throne one after another. Then came Śāntikara (III) and Śubhākara

¹ *Rahler's Tables*, Pl. ix.

(V). Between the year 149, the date of the Talcher plate of Śivakara (III), and the year 180, the date of the Ganjam plate of Daṇḍimahādēvi, we get four rulers, viz., wives of Kusumahāra and Lalitahāra, Śāntikara (III) and Śubhākara (V). Each ruled for about 8 years on average. This quick succession corroborates the suggestion of a civil war.

The most uncompromising point of difference between the two genealogies given above lies in that, while in the present plates Kusumahāra (II), i.e., Śubhākara (IV), and Lalitahāra, i.e., Śivakara III, are said to have died childless, in the copper-plate grants of Dharmamahādēvi and Daṇḍimahādēvi, Śivakara (III) is said to have had two sons, viz., Śāntikara (III) and Śubhākara (V). This difference can be reconciled if it is assumed that Śāntikara (III) and Śubhākara (V) were sons of Śivakara (III) by a second wife of his, the legitimacy of their birth being either not acknowledged by the queen of Śubhākara (IV) and by at least one of the queens of Śivakara (III), or was deliberately ignored. However, there can be no satisfactory solution to this mystery until further discoveries throw more light on the later history of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty.

Some scholars refer the dates in the Bhauma-Kara plates to the Harsha era. The date of the present plates calculated according to that era will be 764 A. C. But on palaeographic consideration this date will be rather too early. As already noted, the present plates can not be assigned to a date earlier than the 9th century. Similarly, if the Neulpur plate¹ is referred to the Harsha era and the numerical figures in it be read as 54, the date of the plate will be 660 A. C. The forms of the signs of medial vowels in this record, as also of some letters like *s*, *n*, *bh*, etc., are more developed as compared with those of the Ganjam plate of Mādhavarāja of G. E. 300. As such the plate can be assigned to the beginning of the 8th century at the earliest. R. D. Banerji assigned it to the latter half of the 8th century on paleographic considerations. Thus the date arrived at by referring the plate to the Harsha era seems too early for it. Hence we may examine the possibility of referring the dates in the Bhauma-Kara records to a later period.

From the Neulpur grant of Śubhākara (I) we know that he was ruling over Northern Tōsalā. The same region was governed by Sōmadatta on behalf of Śaśāṅka, the celebrated king of *Karṇa-sauvarṇa*. Since the plates² of Sōmadatta and Bhānudatta are assignable to a date earlier than the Neulpur plate, it may be presumed that the Bhauma-Kara rule in Northern Tōsalā and Daṇḍabhukti was established subsequent to the rule of Sōmadatta or Bhānudatta. In order to ascertain the time of the establishment of the Bhauma-Kara rule in Northern Tōsalā we have to find out the probable date of the end of the rule of the Datta family in that area.

Sōmadatta was a feudatory under Śaśāṅka. He or his successor, if there was any, must have remained in the feudatory status till the death of Śaśāṅka who is presumed to have maintained his empire to the last. We do not know for certain when Śaśāṅka's death took place; but, from certain references to his anti-Buddhist actions in Magadha as found in Hieuen Tsang's account, it is believed that Śaśāṅka died shortly before the year 637 A. C.³ So up to that date, or thereabouts, the Bhauma-Kara rule had not been established in Northern Tōsalā. After Śaśāṅka's death Bhaskaravarman and Harsha conquered his dominions in and outside Bengal. Harsha led an expedition against Kōṅgōda in 642 A. C. On his way to Kōṅgōda, he would not have left the Northern Tōsalā and Daṇḍabhukti regions unconquered. The rule of Sōmadatta or Bhānudatta in the Northern Tōsalā-Daṇḍabhukti region might have come to an end in this way. Whether Harsha appointed the Bhauma-Karas as his agents in that region or they acquired the kingdom with their might following Harsha's departure cannot be determined. But it seems fairly certain

¹ Above, Vol. XV, p. 1 ff.

² Ibid., Vol. XXIII, p. 197 ff.; *JRASB*, Letters, Vol. XI (1945), p. 1 ff.

³ *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 66.

that their rule was established in North Orissa region in 642 A. C. or thereabouts. Thus the era used in the records of the Bhauma-Kara kings probably started from the date of the establishment of their rule in Northern Tōsalā, that is, from about the year 642 A. C. The date of the Neulpur plate and the present plates calculated from 642 A. C. will be 696 and 800 A. C. respectively. These dates are quite in accord with those arrived at on paleographical considerations.

Svabhāvatūṅga is mentioned as the father of Tribhuvanamahādēvī. He was the ruler of Kōsala, evidently South Kōsala, and belonged to the lunar dynasty. In the Patna plates of Mahāśivagupta Yayāti,¹ his father is said to have acquired the title of Svabhāvatūṅga by his valour (*Sōmakul-ābja-bhānuḥ Svabhāvatūṅgō nija-paurushēṇa*). Svabhāvatūṅga of the plates under discussion and of the Patna plates seems to be one and the same person; as such Prithvīmahādēvī *alias* Tribhuvanamahādēvī was the daughter of Mahābhavagupta Janamējaya, king of Kōsala. From this we come to know for the first time that the Sōmavamśī kings of Kōsala and the Bhauma-Karas of Guhēsvarapāṭaka were matrimonially connected.

In regard to Maṅgalakalaśa, we have so far not come across any such name. We only know that some members of the Bhaṇja dynasty had surnames like Kalyāṇakalaśa, Amōghakalaśa, etc. In view of this we may tentatively assume that this Maṅgalakalaśa belonged to the Bhaṇja dynasty. It may be pointed out here that one Śatrubhaṇja had the surname Maṅgalarāja. Paleographically his Jangalapāḍu plates, in which the above surname occurs, are assignable to about the same period as that of the present plates. It is possible that the fuller form of the surname was Maṅgalakalaśarāja. Śaśilēkhā, the wife of Maṅgalakalaśa, is stated to have come of the Vrāgaḍi family of the Virāṭa lineage. The village of Koinsari in Mayurbhanj is still known as Virāṭapura. "The Nāga family of Mayūrabhaṇja was known by the name Virāṭa Bhujaṅga, or simply the Vairāṭa or Virāṭa family.....the power of Vairāṭa Rājās of Mayūrabhaṇja dates from the seventh century A. D."² Koinsari was probably the capital of the Virāṭa dynasty of Mayūrabhaṇja. The whole tract from Koinsari to Nilagiri was under the rule of the Virāṭa family.³ Some descendants of the old Virāṭa family are still living and they call themselves Bhujaṅga Kshatriya. Vrāgaḍi might have been a section of the Virāṭa family. It is not improbable that marriage connections between the two royal families of Mayūrabhaṇja, the Virāṭas and the Bhaṇjas, were established in course of time.

I have not been able to identify the districts **Tamālakhanda** and **Dakṣiṇakhanda** and the village **Kōṭṭapurā**. I may only suggest that the first may be identified with Tamluk, headquarters of a sub-division of the Midnapore District, and the second with Dakinmal (Dakshin Mahal?), a *pargana* in the Contai sub-division. Tamluk and Dakinmal are mentioned as *parganas* in the Mughal revenue accounts.⁴ The Daṇḍabhukti *maṇḍala* probably comprised the major portion of the Midnapore District.

¹ JPASB, Vol. I (1905), p. 14 ff. (Plate iii a, line 4). I am indebted to Sri S. N. Rajaguru for this reference.

² JKHS, Vol. I, p. 181 ff.

³ Vasu, *Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanja*, Vol. I, introduction, pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.

⁴ Vasu, *Viśvakōśa*, Vol. XVIII, p. 693.

⁵ Fifth Report, Vol. II, p. 457.

⁶ JPASB, Letters, Vol. XI (1945), p. 7.

TEXT

PLATE A

[Metres : Vv. 1, 6, 7 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 2, 23 *Sragdharā* ; v. 3 *Vamśasthāvilā* ; vv. 4, 5 *Vasanta-tilakā* ; v. 8 *Drutavilambita* ; v. 9 *Śikharinī* ; vv. 10-16, 18-27 *Anuṣṭubh* ; v. 17 *Mālinī* ; v. 22 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

Obverse

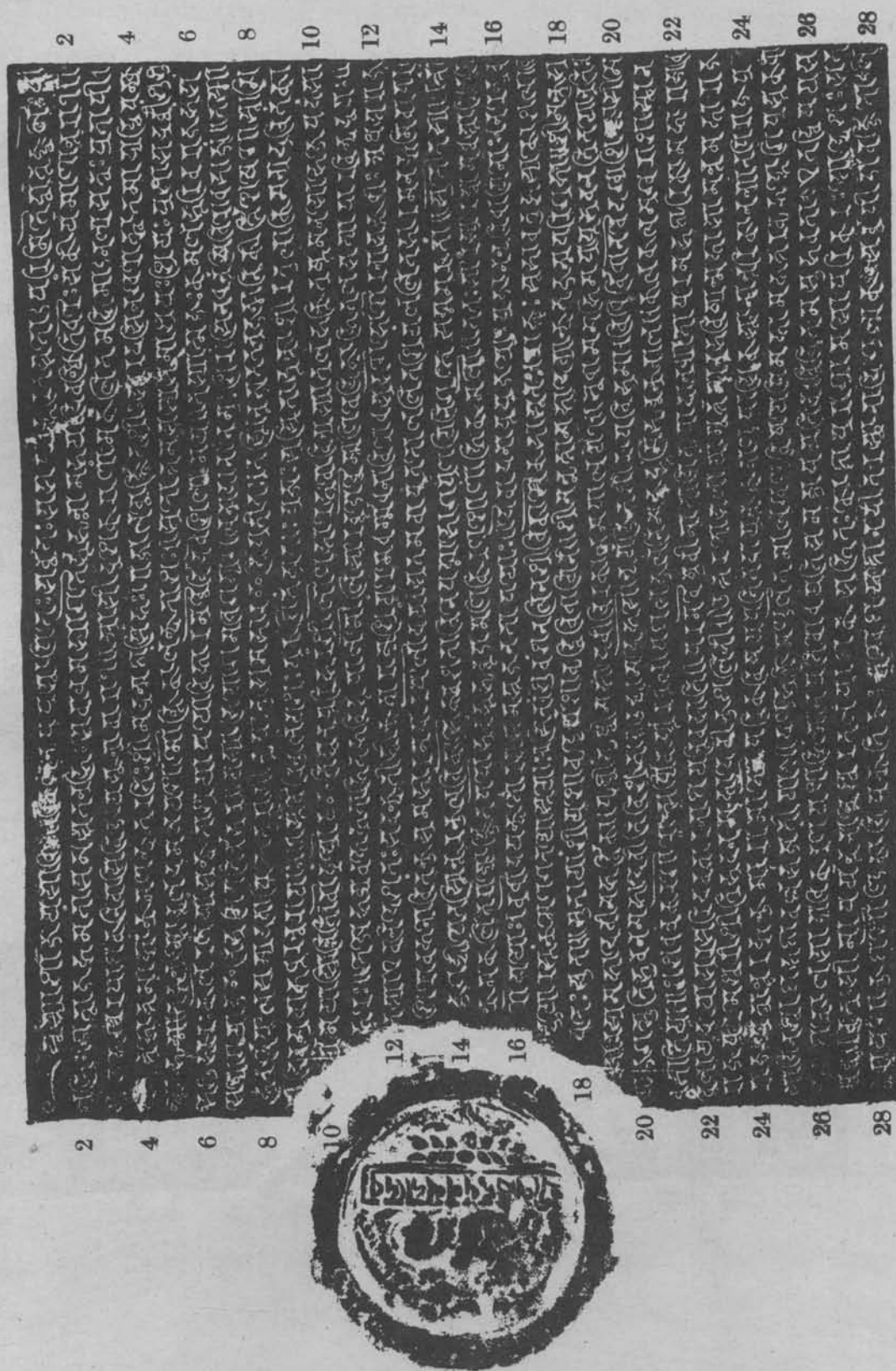
- 1 ओ¹ स्वस्त्याशाजयसाधिताखिलनृपप्रस्थापितैः सर्वतः संसर्पंद्भिरितस्ततोऽपरिमितैर्द्वि-
तूज्ज्वलैः पी-
- 2 लुभिः । गत्वा जङ्गमतां समस्ततनुभिः सेवार्थमभ्यागतैर्भूभृन्नामभयादिव क्षितिधरैः
संकीर्यमाणान्तरात् ॥[१*]
- 3 श्रीगुहेश्वरपाटकनिवासिविजयस्कन्धावारात् ॥ आसीद्वंशे कराणां(णा)मकलितमहिमा-
जल्पसत्त्व(स्त्व)ः प्रतापी ।
- 4 [भूभृ]तुङ्गोत्तमाङ्गाक्रमणकृतरतिः श्रीमदुन्मद्वसिहः । राजा लब्धो(ब्धो)ज्जितश्रीः
स्फुरदसिनखरोत्खातमाद्यद्विपक्ष-
- 5 क्षमाभून्मातङ्गकुम्भोच्छलदमलयशोमौक्तिकालंकृताशः ॥[२*] सुतोत्तमस्तस्य समाश्रय[*]
श्रियः प्रशासदुर्वीं शुशु-
- 6 भे शुभाकरः [1*] कलेरलंघ्यं सुकृताश्रयाय यो विहारमुच्चैर्विदधे शिलामयं(यम्) ॥
[३*] तस्यात्मजः कमलभूरिव राजहंसं(स)-
- 7 सेव्यो गयाड इति भूमिपतिर्व्व(र्व्वं)भूव ॥(1) यस्याभियोगमधिगम्य गलन्मदानां
नेमुः शिरांसि न धनूषि विरोधभाजां(जाम्) ॥[४*] तस्मा-
- 8 त्त्रिवर्गफलसम्पदवाप्तिहेतुरासीन्नृपः कुसुमहार² इति प्रतीतः । तस्मिन्नजाततनुजन्मनि
कीर्तिशेषे गोस्वामि-
- 9 नी चिरमुवाह धुरन्धरायाः ॥[५*] ध्वस्तं वैरिकुलं यशः प्रकटितं जाताः
प्रजाः सुस्थिता भू(भु)क्ता श्रीरतुला किमन्यदुचितं का-
- 10 यं मयास्मिन्निति । वोढुं प्रौढ इति स्वनप्तरि भरं श्रीलोणभारे भुवो
विन्यस्यातुलभक्तितुष्टमनसो भेजे पदं सा
- 11 हरे ॥[६*] तेजो हव्यवहे हुताहितहविर्भूपालमीलिस्फुरच्चूडोच्चैर्मणिवेदिकाहितल-
सत्पादारविन्दद्वयः ॥(1)
- 12 तस्या एव निदेशतः स च कृती स्वीकृत्य राज्यश्रियं रेमे धर्मधनाविरोध-
सुभगैर्भोगैरनासक्तधीः ॥[७*] अथ स राज-

¹ Expressed by a symbol which is also regarded as indicating *siddham*.

² [In the names *Kusumahāra* and *Lalitahāra*, occurring several times in both the plates, what has been read as *h* seems to be really *bh*.—D.C.S.]

BAUD PLATE OF TRIBHUVANAMAHADEVI - A

Obverse



[illegible]

- 13 शिरोबह्नोचितं कुसुमहारमुदारफलोदयं(यम्) । सुतमवाप ततो ललितश्रिय
ललितहारमनङ्गमिवापरं(रम्) ॥[८*]
- 14 जगद्दीपे तस्मिन्करकुलविकासैकवश(स)ताविने पद्माभोगप्रणयिनि गते सद्य
मरुतां(ताम्) ॥(१) सुतौ तस्याधत्तां
- 15 क्रमकलितराज्योर्ज्जितपदौ भुवं भूभृच्चूडामणिकिरणशोणांहिकमलौ ॥[९*] ततः
स्फारस्फुरद्दामध्वस्तारितिमि-
- 16 रौघयोः । वु(बु)धोदयकृतोरस्तसमस्तजनतापयोः ॥[१०*] दैवादनाप्तप्रजयोः
प्रजानन्दविधायिनोः । नरेन्द्रच-
- 17 न्दयोरस्तं क्रमेण गतयोस्तयोः ॥[११*] सितांशुवंशनलिनश्रीविकासैकभास्वतः ।
राज्ञः स्वभावतुङ्गस्य कोशलाधि-
- 18 पतेः सुता ॥[१२*] सुतायां श्रीयशोवृद्धेयशोवृद्धिविधायिनी । श्रीमन्नुत्तामहा-
देव्या(व्यां) कृतजन्मपरिग्रहा ॥[१३*] श्रीमत्कुसु-
- 19 महारस्य महादेवी महर्द्धिका । पृथ्वीं पृथ्वीमहादेवी चिरकालमपालयत् ॥[१४*]
स्वधाममहिमप्राप्तभुवनत्रितयोन्नतिः ।
- 20 या जगत्सु त्रिभुवनमहादेवीति विश्रुता ॥[१५*] उद्दामदेहसौन्दर्यजितश्रीरूपविभ्रमा ।
विधि(धे)विधानवैदग्ध्यशिक्षासीमे-
- 21 व भाति या ॥[१६*] शशधरकरगौरोत्सर्पिकर्णूरधूलिपटलजलनिमज्जद्भूमिभृच्चक्रवाला ।
कलकलमुखराशास्थान-
- 22 वेला यदीया सुरसरिदव[त]ारं नाटयन्ति(न्ती)व भाति ॥[१७*] परमवैष्णवी
सातापिनुपादानुध्याता परमभट्टारिका महाराजाधि-
- 23 राजपरमेश्वरो श्रीत्रिभुवनमहादेवी कुशलिनी ॥ उत्तरतोसलायां म्व(व)र्त्तमान-
भविष्यन्महासामन्तमहाराज-
- 24 राजपुत्रान्तरङ्गकुमारामा[त्यौ]परिकविषयपतितदायुक्तकदाण्डपासि(शि)कस्थानान्तरिकानन्या-
नपि राजप्र-
- 25 सादिनश्चाट्भट्ट(ट)वल्लभजातीयान् ॥ दण्डभुक्तिमण्डले तमालखण्डविषयेपि महामह-
त्तरवृ(वृ)हद्भोगिपुस्तकपा-
- 26 लकुटकोलसाद्यधिकरणं यथाह्लिन्मा(हं मा)नयति वो(बो)धयति सम(मा)ज्ञापयति च ।
विदितमस्तु भवतांम्(ताम्) एतद्विषयस-
- 27 म्व(म्व)द्धा(द्धः) चतुःसीमापर्यन्त[*] नान्नेश्वरतलपाटकसहितः कोट्टपुराग्राम[*]
सोपरिकरः सोद्देशः सत-
- 28 न्नुवायगोकुटशौण्डिकादिप्रकृतिकः सखेटघट्टनदीतरस्थानादिगुल्मकः सर्व्वपीडावर्जिताऽले-

Reverse

- 29 खनीप्रवेस(श)तया भूमिच्छिद्रापिधानन्यायेनाचन्द्रावर्कक्षितिसमकालं महामण्डलाधिपति
श्रीमङ्गलकलशस्य म-
- 30 ह्यादेव्याः ।¹ विराटवक्षो(वंशो)-द्रुवव्रागडिकुलकुमुदशशिलेखायाः श्रीशशिलेखाया
विशप्स्या स्वर्गीभूतनिजतात-
- 31 स्य श्रीनाम्नाभिधानस्य धर्माय स्वकारितश्रीनाम्नेश्वरनामायतने प्रतिष्ठापितस्य
भगवत उमामहेश्वरभट्टा-
- 32 रकस्य सततस्नपनगन्धपू(पु)ष्पदीपधूपनिवेद्यव(ब)लिचरूपूजादिप्रवर्तनार्थं सण्डस्फुटित-
संस्करणार्थं महाव्रतधारि-
- 33 णां तपस्विनां सत्प्रकौपीनोत्तरासङ्गलानभैषज्यार्थं पाटकसहितस्य ग्रामस्यैको भागः ।
एवं ब्रा(त्रा)ह्मणानां आसा-
- 34 छा(च्छा)दनार्थं द्वितीयो भागः । पादमु(मू)लादीनां जीवनभुक्तिपरिधानार्थं
तृतीयो भागः । तथेतरश्चतुर्थो भागो दा-
- 35 नपतिस्वसन्तानपरंपरावर्तनार्थञ्चऽ(ञ्चा)स्माभिस्तां(स्तां) अशासनीकृत्याक्षयनीवीधर्मैणाक-
रत्वेन प्रतिपादितस्तद्देशाऽस्म-
- 36 दति(दत्तिः) धर्मगौरवाद्भवद्भिः परिपालनीया ॥ सम्बत् १००५० ५ कार्तिक-
शुदि ७ । उक्तञ्च धर्मशो(शा)स्त्रे [१*] व(ब)हुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राज-
- 37 भिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) ॥
[१८*] मा भु(भू)दफलशङ्का वः परदत्ते(त्ते)ति पार्थिवाः । स्वदानात्फ-
- 38 लमानन्त्यं परदत्ता(त्ता)नुपालने ॥[१९*] स्वदत्ताम्परदत्ताम्बा(त्तां वां) यो हरेत
वसुधरां(राम्) । स विष्ठायां कृमिभूत्वा पितृभिः सह प-
- 39 च्यते ॥[२०*] व(ब)हुनात्र किमुक्तेन स(सं)क्षेपादिदमुच्यते । स्वल्पमायुश्चला
भोगा धर्मो लोकद्वयक्षमः ॥[२१*] इति कमल-
- 40 दलाम्बु(म्बु)वि(बि)न्दुलोलां शि(श्रि)यमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च । अखिलमिद-
मुदाहृतञ्च वु(बु)द्ध्वा [न] हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो वि-
- 41 लोप्याः ॥[२२*] यावन्मौलीन्दुलेखोज्ज्वलितसुरसरिद्वीचिहारावलीभिर्भस्मस्मेरां स्मरा-
रेद्धवलयतितरामंशुभिः का-
- 42 यकान्ति(न्तिम्) । आसा(शा)चक्रैकचूडामणिरपि तरणिर्द्योतते यावदुज्ज्वेदेव्याः
श्रीसिन्दूरगौर्याः प्रभवतु भू(भु)वने शासनं ताव-

¹ The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

- 43 वेतत् ॥[२३*] दूतकोट्य महाक्षपटलाधिकृतराणकश्रीमल्लोकः । लेखको
महाक्षपटलिकभोगी स(श)क्रशे(से)नः । ता-
- 44 पितम्पे(म्पे)टकपालदेवदेवेने(न) । उत्कीर्णं तट्ठकार(रेण) अमृतवर्द्धनेन इ(ई)श्वर-
वर्द्धनपुत्रेणेति ॥ ग्रामस्य सीमा
- 45 लिख्यते । पूर्वदिश्युत्तरपूर्वकोणादारभ्य दक्षिणाभिमुखं शाखोटकवितपेन स्तोके
गत्वा किञ्चित्पश्चिमाभि-
- 46 मुखं मृगजानुना वलित्वा गोहेर्या स्तोकं गत्वा पूर्वदक्षिणकोणे प्रोप्तशिलां
यावत् । ततो दक्षिणदिशि प-
- 47 पश्चिमाभिमुखं प्रगुणेन दूरं गत्वा वक्रेण दक्षिणाभिमुखं वलित्वा पुनः
पश्चिमाभिमुखं न्यग्रोधवृक्षेण गत्वा शिला-
- 48 कुण्डजोटाद्वन्द्वोत्तसां संपर्गगत्या गत्वा कोट्टपुराधारं प्रविश्य तज्जलाद्वेन गत्वा
दक्षिणपश्चिमकोणे प्रोप्त-
- 49 शिलां यावत् । ततः पश्चिमदिश्युत्तराभिमुखं शिलाख[नि]काप्रगुणेन शरक्षेपमात्रं
गत्वा पश्चिमोत्तरकोणे प्रो-
- 50 प्तशिलां यावत् । तत उत्तरदिशि पूर्वाभिमुखं नरकाधारेण स्तोकं गत्वा
वि(वि)ल्ववृक्षेण वक्रातिवक्रेण गत्वा प्रथम-
- 51 संसूचितसीमां यावत् ॥

PLATE B

Obverse

- 1—24¹
- 25 सि(शि)कस्थानान्तरिकानन्यानपि राजप्रसादिनश्चाटभट्ट(ट)वल्लभजातीयान् ॥ दण्ड-
भुक्तिमण्डले दक्षिणस्व-
- 26 ण्डविषयेपि महामहत्तरवृ(वृ)हद्भोगिपुस्तकपालकुटकोलसायधिकरणं यथार्ह(ह)म्मानयति
वो(वो)-

Reverse

- 27 धयति समाज्ञापयति च । विदितमस्तु भवताम् एतद्विषयसम्ब(म्ब)द्धः॥
(द्धम्) उत्थुकाक्षण्डक्षेत्रं सोपरिकरः(रं) सोद्देशः(शं)
- 28—44²
- 45 देवदेवेन । उत्कीर्णं तट्ठकारहरिवर्द्धनेन ।³ रहसवर्द्धनपुत्रेणेति ॥ खण्डक्षेत्रस्य सीमा
लिख्यते । पु(पू)र्वदिश्युत्तर-

¹ The text of these lines is the same as in lines 1-25 of plate A with negligible variations.² The text of these lines is the same as in lines 27-44 of plate A.³ The *daṇḍa* is superfluous.

- 46 पूर्वकोणादारभ्य दक्षिणाभिमुखं क्षेत्रात्या गत्वा गणेश्वरखातकपश्चिमात्या गत्वा
वक्रातिवक्रेण दु(द्व)रं गत्वा पू-
- 47 र्वदक्षिणकोणे प्रोप्तशिलां यावत् । ततो दक्षिणदिशि पश्चिमाभिमुखं क्षेत्रात्या
स्तोकं गत्वा मृगजानुना शा-
- 48 खोटकविटपेन गत्वा दक्षिणपश्चिमकोणे गोहेरिकां यावत् । ततः पश्चिम-
दिश्युत्तराभिमुखं गोहेर्या
- 49 प्रगुणेन द्वरं गत्वा पश्चिमोत्तरकोणे प्रोप्तशिलां यावत् । तत उत्तरदिशि
पूर्वाभिमुखं क्षेत्रात्या प्रगुणे-
- 50 न द्वरं गत्वा प्रथमसंमु(सू)चितसीमां यावत् ॥¹

No. 31—NOTE ON TWO PLATES OF TRIBHUVANAMAHADEVI FROM BAUD

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

Mr. S. C. De's paper on the inscriptions in question has been published above.² We find it rather difficult to agree with some of Mr. De's suggestions. In the following lines, some comments are offered especially on the most important of them, namely, the one concerning the identity and age of the Bhauma-Kara queen who issued the Dhenkanal plate.³

In the Hindol⁴ and Dharakota⁵ plates of Śubhākara III, both dated in the year 103 of the Bhauma-Kara era, the said king is described as the son of Śāntikara I from *Mahādēvi* Tribhuvanamahādēvi who was *śrīman-Nāg-ōdbhava-kula-lālīma-bhavā*, i.e., 'born in the eminent family sprung from the illustrious Nāga.' All the three Talcher plates⁶ of the great-grandsons of this queen, viz., Śubhākara IV (one grant dated in the year 145, usually read as 141) and Śivakara III (two grants both dated in the year 149), clearly state that Tribhuvanamahādēvi ascended the Bhauma-Kara throne after the death of her son Kusumahāra or Śirṇhakētu, i.e., Śubhākara III. The Talcher plate of Śubhākara IV further says that, when Tribhuvanamahādēvi's *napṭā* or grandson, named Lōṇabhāra *alias* Śāntikara II, became sufficiently aged, she abdicated the throne in his favour. The corresponding portion of the Talcher plates of Śivakara III, which seems to be corrupt in the original and more so in the published transcript, does not specify the relationship between Tribhuvanamahādēvi and her successor Gayāḍa II, i.e., Śāntikara II.

The Dhenkanal plate, issued by Tribhuvanamahādēvi as a ruling queen, bears a date which looks like 160 but may also be read as 120.⁷ The queen, whose other name is given in her record as Sindagaūrī and who was the queen of Lalitahāra, is stated to have been the daughter of Rājamaḥādēva described as the ornament of the southern quarter (*dakṣiṇ-āśā-mukha-tilaka*). It is further stated in the record that the queen ascended the Kara (i.e., Bhauma-Kara) throne after the circle of the *Mahāsāmantus* (feudatories) had pointed out to her the case of an ancient queen

¹ I acknowledge with thanks the help I received from Pandit Banambar Acharya in editing the inscriptions.

² See pp. 210 ff.

³ Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 23 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 12 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 21 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 32 ff., 40 ff., 51.

⁷ See above, Vol. XXIX, p. 81, note 3.

named Gōsvāminī and requested her to assume the reins of Government in the manner of that old ruling queen.¹ Mr. Misra identifies queen Tribhuvanamahādēvi who issued the Dhenkanal plate with the Bhauma-Kara queen of the same name mentioned in the inscriptions of the years 103, 145 and 149, referred to above. Mr. De on the other hand thinks that Tribhuvanamahādēvi of the Dhenkanal plate ruled in the year 160 immediately after Prithvimahādēvi *alias* Tribhuvanamahādēvi who issued the Baud plates in the year 158. We are inclined to favour Mr. Misra's identification as Mr. De's suggestion appears to be doubtful in view of the following facts.

In the first place, the fact that the feudatories cited the instance of an ancient ruling queen named Gōsvāminī to induce Tribhuvanamahādēvi of the Dhenkanal plate to ascend the throne suggests that she was the first ruling queen on the Bhauma-Kara throne. Had there been two other queens previously ruling in the family within less than half a century before her age and had one of them ruled immediately before herself, the reference to an earlier queen's rule by way of illustration was certainly uncalled for and meaningless. Even if such an illustration was necessary at all to induce a third queen of the family to the throne, it is no doubt strange that the ruling queen who flourished immediately before should have been passed over in silence and the case of another reigning more than quarter of a century earlier would have been cited.

Secondly, according to Mr. De, Tribhuvanamahādēvi of the Dhenkanal plate was the wife of Śivakara III who issued his grants in the year 149. If she was thus the mother of Śāntikara III and Śubhākara V, it is only natural to expect a prominent mention of her name in the grants of queen Daṇḍimahādēvi who was the daughter of Śubhākara V. But her name is conspicuous by its absence in the later records of the family. This difficulty has been explained away by Mr. De who thinks that Tribhuvanamahādēvi of the Dhenkanal plate was a step-mother of Daṇḍimahādēvi's father and that she, like Prithvimahādēvi, did not recognise her step-sons' title to the Bhauma-Kara throne. If such was the case, Tribhuvanamahādēvi of the Dhenkanal plate is expected to have been a partisan of Prithvimahādēvi in her struggle with the lawful claimants of the throne and the non-mention of the latter's name in her record becomes doubly inexplicable.

Thirdly, the two known facts (1) that Tribhuvanamahādēvi, mother of Śubhākara III of the Hindol and Dharakota plates (dated 103), was born in the Nāga family and (2) that Tribhuvanamahādēvi *alias* Sindagaurī of the Dhenkanal plate was the daughter of Rājamalla of the southern country appear to suggest that the two were one and the same person. The name Sindagaurī (*i.e.*, Sinda-Gaurī or Gaurī of the Sindas) shows that the issuer of the Dhenkanal plate was born in the Sinda family while it is well known that the Sindas who originally belonged to Karṇāṭaka claimed Nāga origin.² We are inclined to believe that Tribhuvanamahādēvi, who was the mother of Śubhākara III and has to be identified with the ruling queen of the Dhenkanal plate, was the daughter of a Sinda king bearing the name or *biruda* Rājamalla.³ It has to be noticed that Prithvi-

¹ "Dēvi pur=āpi dēvyā śrī-Gōsvāminī...chiram dhārit=aiv=ēyam vasundharā tad=adhun=āpi prasīda tath=aiva suchiram dhāray=sinām kriyatām lōk-ānugrahaḥ svikriyatām=vā(tān vā) prakram-āgata-Kara-rājya-śrīr"=iti sa-rabhasam=abhiskēka-maṅgala-pratipād-ōnmukhēna mahatā mahāsāmanta-chakrēṇa nivēdyamānā...simhāsana=ārūḍhā (Misra, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26, text lines 17-21). An alternative interpretation of this passage may be that the queen's other name was Gōsvāminī and that she had ruled the kingdom for sometime on a previous occasion before the accession of her son (or step-son) Śubhākara III, although there is no indication in favour of such a possibility in the inscriptions of the family.

² Cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 573 ff.

³ We have no knowledge of a Sinda-Nāga ruler named Rājamalla who flourished in the tenth century. But the said name is known to have been popular in the Sinda family. An inscription of 1148-49 A.C. mentions a chief named Imaḍi-Rāchamalla (*i.e.*, Rājantalla the Second, showing probably that there was a Rājamalla I among his predecessors) who claimed the Nāga lineage and enjoyed the *biruda* Sinda-Gōvinda that reminds us of Sinda-Gaurī. See *ARSIE* for 1904, p. 9 (cf. Nos. 50 and 69 of 1904); Kielhorn's *List of Inscriptions of Southern India*, No. 253.

mahādēvi in her Baud plates not only assumes both the names as well as the epithet *Paramavaishnavi* enjoyed by the earlier queen Tribhuvanamahādēvi *alias* Sindagauri but refers to the latter not as Tribhuvanamahādēvi (as in the Talcher plates of her husband and the latter's younger brother) but as Gōsvāminī. The foot of the stanza applying the name Sindagauri to the issuer of the Dhenkanal plate has been actually appropriated by Prithvīmahādēvi in the similar verse quoted in her Baud plates. This attempt on the part of Prithvīmahādēvi to pass herself as the shadow of and at the same time to distinguish herself clearly from the earlier ruling queen Tribhuvanamahādēvi, whom she represents as Gōsvāminī, is not entirely unintelligible. This may have been partly due to her eagerness for strengthening her position against the lawful claim of the sons of her husband's younger brother to the Bhauma-Kara throne. Apparently, she claimed her position on the Bhauma-Kara throne to be exactly similar to that of her earlier namesake although she felt the necessity of avoiding any confusion between the two Tribhuvanamahādēvis. It is interesting to note that Prithvīmahādēvi is silent in regard to Gōsvāminī's relation with her predecessor. The facts that Tribhuvanamahādēvi of the Dhenkanal plate was induced by her feudatories to assume the burden of government by citing the instance of Gōsvāminī and that Prithvīmahādēvi *alias* Tribhuvanamahādēvi of the Baud plates applies the name Gōsvāminī to her earlier namesake (apparently to make a distinction between the two Tribhuvanamahādēvis to avoid confusion) appear to suggest that the issuer of the Dhenkanal plate was called Gōsvāminī II after an ancient or legendary female ruler of Orissa probably having nothing to do with the Bhauma-Karas. It may be pointed out that the assumption of the name Sindagauri, pointing to an association with the Sinda Nāgas, by Prithvīmahādēvi *alias* Tribhuvanamahādēvi, who is known to have been born in a royal family other than that of the Sindas, seems to be explainable only by the suggestion that she adopted it rather arbitrarily just to pass herself as the shadow of an earlier ruling queen of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty. It seems therefore that the issuer of the Dhenkanal plate was the real and original Sinda-Gauri and that she flourished before the imitation Sinda-Gauri who issued the Baud plates.

Fourthly, Mr. De thinks that the real names of the mother of Śubhākara III and the wife of Śubhākara IV were respectively Gōsvāminī and Prithvīmahādēvi and that they both assumed the name Tribhuvanamahādēvi, although he cannot say what the original name of Tribhuvanamahādēvi of the Dhenkanal plate, whom he regards as the third ruling queen of that assumed name, was. We find at least two difficulties in accepting this suggestion. The first is that, if the mother of Śubhākara III assumed the name Tribhuvanamahādēvi when she ascended the throne after her son's death, she could not have possibly been mentioned by that name, as she really is, in the records of her son who preceded herself on the throne. In the second place, if Tribhuvanamahādēvi of the Dhenkanal plate was the third Bhauma-Kara ruling queen of that name, it is rather strange that she, unlike Prithvīmahādēvi, did not feel the necessity of distinguishing herself to avoid a confusion between herself and any of her two past namesakes. This no doubt looks especially dubious when she is supposed to have been immediately preceded by another ruling queen of the same name, because the possibility of confusion in such a case was greater. If her real name was Tribhuvanamahādēvi, it must be regarded as a strange coincidence that she succeeded another Tribhuvanamahādēvi. But if her real name was different, she would have hardly chosen Tribhuvanamahādēvi as her coronation name, because that would lead to a confusion between herself and her predecessor on the throne. That the female rulers of the Bhauma-Kara family had no special liking for the name Tribhuvanamahādēvi is shown by the fact that none of the four later ruling queens of the dynasty (*viz.*, Gaurīmahādēvi, Daṇḍimahādēvi, Vakulamahādēvi and Dharma-mahādēvi) assumed that name. If the issuer of the Dhenkanal plate flourished immediately after Prithvīmahādēvi, she could have hardly called herself only by the name assumed by her predecessor without any attempt to distinguish herself.

Fifthly, the Baud plates of Prithvīmahādēvi *alias* Tribhuvanamahādēvi give the genealogy of the Bhauma-Kara family in which the long line of rulers from Unmatṭasirīha (the second king of the dynasty) down to the ruling queen herself are named and, in the description of the earlier ruling queen Tribhuvanamahādēvi *alias* Gōsvāminī, they actually quote one stanza and a half from the Talcher plate of her husband Śubhākara IV. The Dhenkanal plate on the other hand mentions only Unmatṭakēśarin and Gayāḍa I (the second and fifth rulers of the family) in the reference to the past monarchs of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty and gives the impression quite clearly that the issuer of the charter has to be placed in the earlier part of the genealogical tree. This no doubt goes in favour of the identification of the issuer of the Dhenkanal plate with the mother and successor of Śubhākara III who was the great-grandson of Unmatṭakēśarin (°simha) and the son and successor of Gayāḍa *alias* Śāntikara I. If the Dhenkanal plate was issued in the year 160, that is to say, shortly after the reign of Prithvīmahādēvi of the Baud plates, it is difficult to explain why the description of the Bhauma-Kara genealogy quoted in it does not resemble in any way the same as found in the Baud plates of the year 158 as well as the Talcher plates of the years 145 and 149. As already indicated above, the fact that the issuer of the Dhenkanal plate does not mention Prithvīmahādēvi, who was her immediate predecessor according to Mr. De, but states that the queen was induced to ascend the throne by citing the instance of an earlier female ruler named Gōsvāminī is inexplicable and renders Mr. De's suggestion unconvincing.

One of Mr. De's arguments in favour of assigning the Dhenkanal plate to the year 160 seems to be that it was engraved by the brazier Harivardhana, son of Rahasavardhana, while the two Talcher plates of the year 149 were engraved by the brazier Rahasavardhana, son of Rāmavardhana, and one of the Baud plates of the year 158 by Harivardhana, son of Rahasavardhana. His identification of Harivardhana, engraver of the Baud plates of the year 158, with Harivardhana who engraved the Dhenkanal plate appears to support his contention assigning the latter record to the year 160. But considering the difficulties in ascribing the Dhenkanal plate to such a late date, which have been detailed above, as well as the fact that several records of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty mention the Vardhana family of braziers and the very name Harivardhana occurring in the Chaurasi plate assigned to the year 73,¹ it does not appear improbable that the engraver of the Dhenkanal plate was an ancestor of his namesake who engraved one set of the Baud plates.²

It may be noted here that the circumstances leading to the accession of Tribhuvanamahādēvi I, surnamed Sindagaurī and Gōsvāminī (II), as given in the records of the years 145, 149 and 158, which have been discussed above, are not clearly described in the Dhenkanal plate. The Talcher plate of the year 145, as we have seen, says that Tribhuvanamahādēvi ascended the Bhauma-Kara throne after the death of her son Śubhākara III but abdicated in favour of her grandson as soon as the latter passed over his minority. This gives the impression that the queen ruled for a short period during the minority of her grandson, although, in ancient India, minority was never a bar to one's accession to the throne.³ On this point the Baud plates, which are silent on the relation between Gōsvāminī (Tribhuvanamahādēvi I) and her predecessor Kusumahāra (Śubhākara III), add that Śubhākara III died without leaving any heir. It seems therefore that Śāntikara II, sur-

¹ Misra, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.

² The two may also be one and the same person. The case is similar to that of Vinayachandra, son of Bhānuchandra, who engraved some, but not all, of the Eastern Gaṅgā charters bearing dates between the Gaṅgā years 28 and 91. See *IHQ*, Vol. XIX, p. 235; *JAHRS*, Vol. III, p. 53, etc.

³ See *JRASBL*, Vol. XII, pp. 71 ff.; Vol. XIII, pp. 75 ff.

named Lōṇabhāra and Gayāḍa II, may have been adopted as the son of Śubhākara III by the latter's chief queen sometime after his death and his mother's accession to the throne. Mr. De's speculation in regard to the relation between Tribhuvanamahādēvi I and her successor does not appeal to me.

In our opinion therefore the known inscriptions of the Bhauma-Kara family reveal the existence of two and not three ruling queens named Tribhuvanamahādēvi. Queen Tribhuvanamahādēvi I was the mother of Śubhākara III and ruled for some years after her son's death when her Dhenkanal plate was issued in the year 120. She was the daughter of a Sinda king enjoying the name or *biruda* Rājamalla. Queen Tribhuvanamahādēvi II was the daughter of the Sōmavamśi king Svabhāvatunga of Kosala (South Kosala) who, as we have seen elsewhere,¹ seems to be no other than Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti (circa 970-1000 A.C.²). It has also been noticed how Prithvimahādēvi secured the Bhauma-Kara throne in a temporarily successful contest against the lawful claims of the sons of her husband's younger brother with the active help of her father sometime before the year 158 of the Bhauma-Kara era and how this fact helps us in locating the commencement of the said era about the middle of the first half of the ninth century.³ We have also shown how the Daspalla plates of Śatrubhaṇja of Vañjulvaka, who was a descendant of Raṇabhaṇja of Dhṛitipura (about the third quarter of the tenth century⁴) and probably flourished about the second quarter of the eleventh century, bear the date : year 198 (apparently of the Bhauma-Kara era), Vishuva-saṅkrānti, Pañchami, Sunday and Mṛgaśīrō-nakshatra, suggesting March 23, 1029 A.C., and how this fact helps us in tracing the initial year of the era in 831 A.C.⁵ The date of the Baud plates of the year 158 thus appears to be 988 A.C.

The epithet *Virāṭavamśodbhava-Vrāgaḍikulakumudasaśilēkhā*, applied to the lady Śaśilēkhā at whose request the grants recorded in the Baud plates were made, seems to suggest that she was born in the Virāṭa dynasty but was married into the Vrāgaḍi family. Her husband Maṅgalakalasa therefore does not appear to have been a Bhaṇja prince of the Mayurbhanj region as suggested by Mr. De. The identification of Maṅgalakalasa, taken to be a Bhaṇja prince of Mayurbhanj, with Śatrubhaṇja Maṅgalarāja of the Jangalpāḍu plates is unlikely as the findspot and style of this record show that the chief ruled in the Ganjam region and belonged to the house of the Bhaṇjas of Vañjulvaka.⁶ In the present state of our knowledge, it is difficult to connect him with the Bhaṇjas of Mayurbhanj. The facts that the temple built by Śaśilēkhā was called Nān-nēśvarāyatana after her deceased father Nānna and that a village granted in its favour included a locality called Nānnēśvaratalapāṭaka appear to suggest that both the temple and the gift village were situated in the same area of the Daṇḍabhukti *maṇḍala* (modern Danton region of the Midnapur District, West Bengal). As Śaśilēkhā may have built the temple and arranged for the gift of land in its favour in the area under the jurisdiction of her husband who enjoyed the gubernatorial status of *Mahāmaṇḍalādhipati* under the Bhauma-Karas, it is not improbable to think that Maṅgalakalasa was the ruler of the Daṇḍabhukti *maṇḍala*.

¹ *JASL*, Vol. XIX, No. 2, 1953, pp. 119 ff.

² Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XXII, p. 307.

³ See above, ...; *JASL*, loc. cit.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 46; *IHQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 225 ff.

⁵ Above, Vol. ...; *IHQ*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 148 ff.

⁶ *IHQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 229-30.

No. 32—NANDURU PLATES OF VELANANTI RAJENDRA-CHODA : SAKA 1091

B. V. KRISHNA RAO, RAJAHMUNDY

These plates were found in the village of **Nandūru** in **Bapatla taluk**, **Guntur District**, about fifty years ago and were forwarded by the **Tahsildar** of **Bapatla** to the **Assistant Superintendent** for **Epigraphy**, **Southern Circle**, **Madras**, early in 1917. They were examined and numbered as **C. P. No. 23** of 1916-17, and were reviewed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, 1917*, pages 118-119. The following description of the plates appears in the *Annual Report*.¹

"The plates are 5 in number and are hung on a big ring the ends of which are fixed into the bottom of a seal which bears the legend 'śrī-Tribhuvanāṅkuśa' between two lines with the symbols of the sun, the moon and star, two parasols, the **Chōla Tiger**, *ankuśa*, lotus and the *svastika* (?) above, and the **Chālukyan** boar, the disc (*chakra*), sandals, drum, double-conch, lamp stands and a few other unintelligible symbols below".

It is said that the ring was not cut when the plates reached the **Epigraphist's** office. The **Epigraphist**, the late **Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri**, observed, therefore, "it is curious how despite this the set is incomplete commencing as it does with No. 3, marked on the second side of the existing plate and stopping abruptly with the mention of the donee, omitting the usual imprecations, etc." He, therefore, assumed that the plates had been examined sometime before that and that the now missing plates were lost on that occasion. I am, however, of a different opinion. The two outer plates must have been completely worn out and corroded on account of their extremely bad preservation. They would have crumbled down to pieces and powder at the first touch when they were discovered. The worn out condition of the writing on the inner plates must be due to the bad preservation of the plates. Whatever that might be, it is true as **Krishna Sastri** observed, "the information conveyed by the existing plates is very interesting, giving us, as they do, an account of the later **Chālukya** sovereigns who held sway over the **Vēṅgi** country down to the time of **Rājarāja (II)** and of their subordinates the **Velanāṇḍu** chiefs down to **Rājendra-Chōḍa**". The importance of the plates is further enhanced by the fact that it is the only copper-plate grant of the kings of the **Velanāṇṭi** family who controlled and guided the destinies of the **Chōla-Chālukya** Empire and the fortunes of the country of **Vēṅgi** for nearly a century and half, from about 1070 to about 1210 A.C.

I undertook the editing of these plates several years ago but continued preoccupation with other matters from time to time had prevented me from carrying out the work entrusted to me in 1927 by the then **Government Epigraphist** for India, the late **Dr. Hirananda Sastri**. I now edit the inscription from the ink impressions supplied to me by him. As the ink-impressions are not clear in some places and as the original plates were not available to me for examination, the reading of the inscription in some portions had to be supplemented with the help of some lithic records² of the family found at **Drākshārāma** and other places.

The inscription is engraved on both sides of the five plates which are roughly 9½" long and 5" wide, and rectangular in shape. The writing on the plates is very clumsy. Often the letters are found crammed into one another; they are also irregular and much worn out on account of the bad preservation of the plates. The number of lines on each plate is not uniform: the number varies from twelve to fourteen and even to seventeen lines. The available text of the inscription runs into 137 lines; out of them, however, the last two lines on plate *V-b* (lines 108-9) are wholly unintelligible.

¹ The *Annual Report* states that the original plates were returned to the owner through the **Tahsildar**. I have tried in vain to trace them.

² *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1182.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. The inscription is composed partly in prose and partly in poetry. The poetry is fairly good, though the language contains a few expressions which are opposed to the rules of Pāṇini. Thus for instance : line 4 has *pañcha-Pāṇḍav-ākhaṇḍal-ōpamāḥ* ; line 9 has *pravaktun=naraḥ* ; lines 14-15 have *vallabhān-nirbbhara-garbbha-bhārām* ; and line 27, *suṇnētrā*. The inscription is written in characters which are regular for the period to which it belongs, i.e., the 12th century A.C. According to Dr. Burnell, such characters belong to what he called the "transitional period". The following orthographical peculiarities may, however, be noticed. Vowels *a* and long *ā*, short *i* and *u* and long *ē* occur in the inscription. The long *ā* is distinguished by a vertical stroke at the right side. Vowels *i* and *u* have reached their final forms, and are fully developed. No distinction is yet drawn between *e* and *ē* long. Both are written alike. There is no vertical stroke on the head of *e* to denote the long *ē* as we find at the present day. There is not much distinction between *ḍ* and *ḍh* ; and final forms of *m*, *n*, and *t* are used in the inscription. The *vargānunāsika* is substituted by the *anuvāra* which is denoted by a *bindu* throughout. Sometimes words like *vaṁśa* and *dayitā* are written as *vaṁśya* and *dayityā*, which is apparently in accordance with the local pronunciation of Sanskrit words in the Krishna and Guntur Districts, where the sibilant *ś* is always joined with *y*. The scribe has not followed any principle in doubling the consonants.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village of Inurhgaru as an *agrahāra* to a learned *Brāhmaṇa*, on an auspicious occasion by king Rājendra-Chōḍa II, who is stated to be ruling over Andhra-maṇḍala as commissioned by Rājārāja, i.e., Rājārāja II of the Chālukya-Chōḷa family (Lines 133-4). The name of the donee and the district in which the village was situated have been unfortunately lost on the missing last plate. The village Inurhgaru granted in the record may be identified with Inugurtipādu¹, a village in the vicinity of Nandūru, the findspot of the present plates, in the Bapatla taluk, Guntur District. At the time of making the grant, Rājendra-Chōḍa is stated to be staying in his capital, Dhanaḍapuri, i.e., Chandavolu in Repalle taluk, Guntur District. The date of the grant is given as Śaka 1091 (*indunanda-vijayachandra-gaṇitē*) and as the 23rd year of Rājārāja, i.e., Rājārāja II (lines 133-134). The Śaka year which is an expired year corresponds to 1169-70 A.C.

The inscription divides itself into two parts. The first part (lines 1-67) contains the historical genealogy of the Eastern Chālukyas, treating of Kulōttunga-Chōḷa I and his successors down to Rājārāja II as Chālukyas and not as Chōḷas. The second part (lines 68 ff.) describes the history of the Chiefs of Velanāṇḍu or, members of the Velanāṇṭi family, who enjoyed the position of subordinate kings under the Chōḷa-Chālukyas. There are many new statements in the account relating to the Eastern Chālukyas, which differ from what we know hitherto. Some of them may be explained as errors committed by the scribe who engraved the inscription on the plates. Thus, for example, Narēndra, i.e., Narēndrampigarāja-Vijayāditya or Vijayāditya II is called the son of Vijayāditya I, or Vijayāditya-Bhaṭṭāraka (line 38), while in fact he was the son of Vishṇuvardhana IV. In a similar manner a Vishṇuvardhana is stated to be the son of Vijayāditya II, and is given a reign of thirty-six years (lines 39-40). This king must be Vishṇuvardhana IV, the father of Narēndrampigarāja, and not his son as wrongly described here. Apparently the order in the narration is confused. Again the son of Vishṇuvardhana IV is said to be Kali-Vishṇuvardhana or Vishṇuvardhana V, and is given a reign of half a year (line 41) while it is known from other records of the dynasty that he reigned for one and a half years, or twenty months according to some, and that

¹ Usually when a village is deserted and disappears for a period, the site is denoted by the term *pādu* ; and when a new village springs up on the spot after an interval, it is called with the suffix *pādu* super added to the old name. So it must be with Inugurtipādu, (lit. the *pādu* of Inu(r)guru, or Inuguru).

he was the son of Narēndramrigarāja-Vijayāditya II and not of Vishṇuvardhana V. It would seem that the engraver, while copying the grant on copper-plates, got confused and changed the order or sequence of the verses on the plate. He should have written verse 19 after verse 17; in other words, the proper order of the verses should be, first, verse 17, then verse 19 and lastly verse 18. If the inscription is read in this order the apparent confusion disappears. Krishna Sastri's observation,¹ viz., that "The reign of Vishṇuvardhana IV is altogether omitted and a new Vishṇuvardhana, a son of Vijayāditya (II), is mentioned with a rule of 50 years, followed by Kali-Vishṇuvardhana", need no longer be held as complicating the genealogical position. Another discrepancy is in respect of the reign of Dānārṇava who is said to have ruled for 30 years (line 50), instead of 3 years. The reign of Vira-Vijayāditya or Vijayāditya VIII,² younger brother of Rājarāja I is altogether omitted. Yet another erroneous statement is that Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I is said to have ruled for twenty-five years (line 58) instead of fifty as known hitherto. Except for these errors the genealogical account is accurate. It is noteworthy that the historical account contains some new information about a few kings. Chālukya-Bhīma I is said to have destroyed his enemies on numerous battlefields, and to have built several temples of Mahādēva (Śiva) at sacred spots (lines 42-43). His son Vijayāditya IV who is well known by his surname Kollabhigaṇḍa from the records of the family, is stated to have obtained a decisive victory in the battle of Virajāpuri, captured the city and went to heaven (line 44), a statement which may be taken to indicate that he died shortly after the battle, a fact not known hitherto. Virajāpuri may be properly identified with Jajpur (which is apparently a variant of Virajāpuri) the chief town of the Jajpur *tahsil* of the Cuttack District, Orissa. It lies on the Vaitaraṇī, a tributary of the Mahānadi situated about fifty miles due north-west of Cuttack. During the ancient period, it was a great and renowned *tirtha*, "a place of pilgrimage," according to the *Mahābhārata*.³ Virajā or Virajāpuri was for a long time a provincial capital of the Bhauma-Kara kings of Utkala and the Sōmavarṇśi kings of Dakṣiṇa-Kōsala who bore the epithet, *Trikalingādhipati*.⁴ Kollabhigaṇḍa's son was Amma I who is said to have performed many *Tulāpuruṣa-dānas* (gifts) year after year during his brief rule of seven years (line 44). Vikrama-Chōla, son and successor of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I, is given the correct period of rule, viz., seventeen years (lines 60-61), which is in conformity with the regnal years recorded in some of the inscriptions of the Andhra country and in Tamil inscriptions as well. His son Kulōttuṅga-Chōla II is said to have reigned for fifteen years in succession (lines 64-65). Lastly, the relationship between Kulōttuṅga-Chōla II and Rājarāja II, which has not been hitherto correctly known, is clearly stated in the present record as that of father and son (lines 65-66).

The second part of the inscription contains a brief account of the Velanāṇṭi family. It gives a complete genealogy which in some respects supplements the account given in the Pithāpuram inscription of Velanāṇṭi Prithvīśvara.⁵ The following genealogical table represents the information that is contained in the present inscription.

¹ *ARSIE*, 1917, p. 118.

² Dr. Fleet was not aware of Bādapa the usurper, who was also a Vijayāditya and therefore would be Vijayāditya VII. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 276.

³ *Aranya-Parvan*, 83, v. 6.

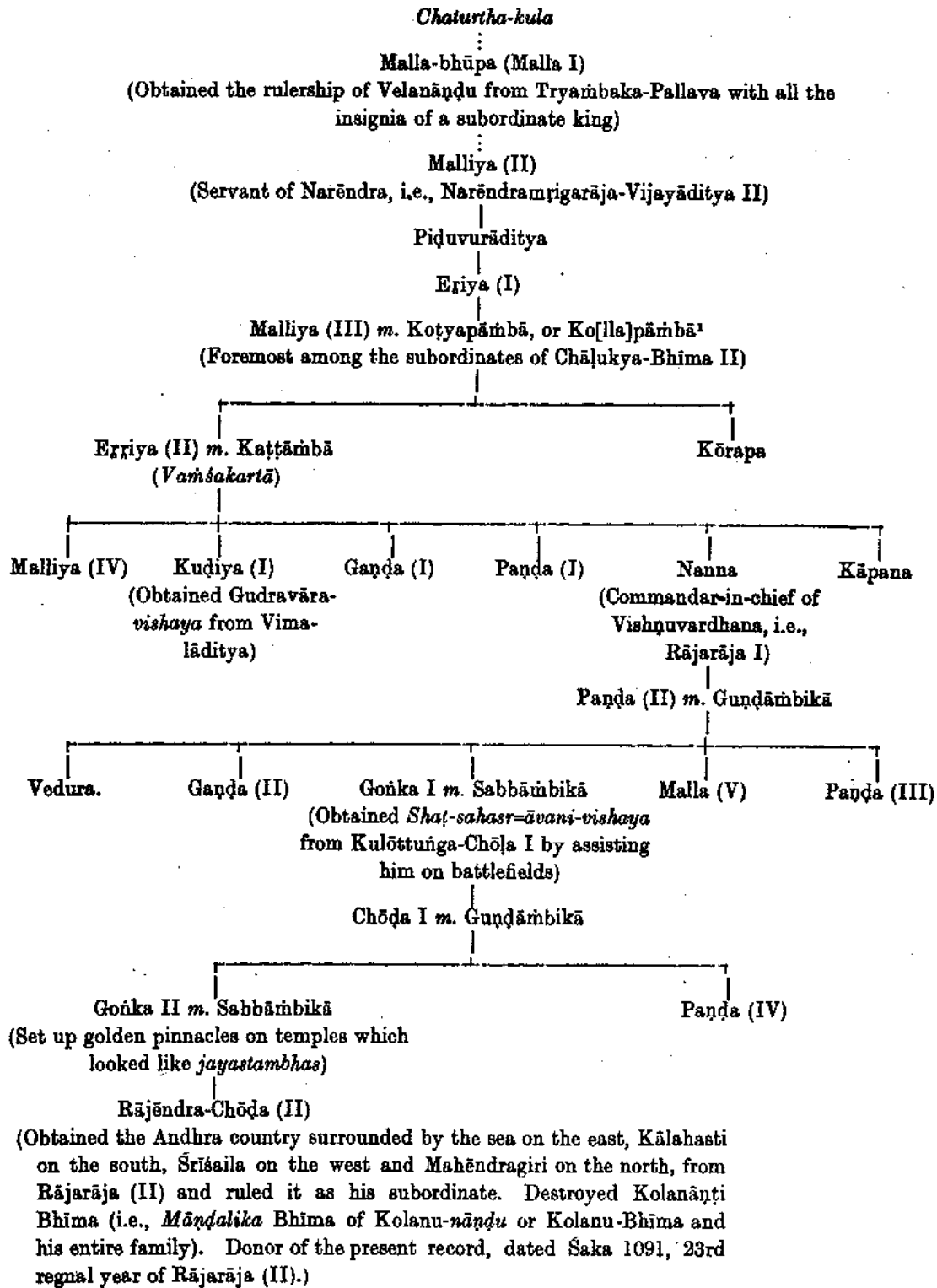
Tatś Vaitaraṇīm gatvā nadīm pāpa-pramōchanīm |

Virajam tīrtham=śāśvata virājati yathā tatś ||

⁴ Above, Vol. III, p. 227.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 131, text-line 17.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 32.



¹ The present inscription is damaged at the place where the name is expected to occur. The name, therefore, is restored from other records of the family which give the genealogy.

The account given in the Piṭhāpuram inscription differs slightly from the pedigree given above. The differences are discussed below. Besides the Piṭhāpuram inscription there are numerous other inscriptions on stone found particularly at Drākshārāma¹ in East Godavari District, at Siripuram² and Chēbrōlu in Guntur District and other places³ which give additional historical information about the family. A stone inscription at Drākshārāma⁴ gives a genealogical account which not only completely agrees with the present record but gives additional information. The historical details found in these inscriptions have not been arranged so far in their proper perspective which I now propose to do.

The first known historical person in the Velanānti family, who may be regarded as the founder of the line in the rulership of Velanāṇḍu is Malla-bhūpa or Malla I. Velanāṇḍu or Velanāḍu is the name of the region now covered by the Repalle and Tenali *taluks* of the Guntur District. The region acquired the name probably because it lay on the sea coast (*velū*), the Sanskrit word being pronounced as *vela* with short vowels by the inhabitants of that region during the early period.⁵ The term *Velanānti* is the genitive form of Velanāṇḍu (nominative form) and means "of Velanāṇḍu" in Telugu. Malla I, it is stated, received as a reward the rulership of Velanāṇḍu with the insignia of a vassal king from Tryambaka-Pallava who was pleased with him for military services rendered for a long time on battlefields. Malla I was probably a soldier of fortune, who came from the north in search of a kingdom, and thus acquired a small kingdom for himself. Several Durjaya chieftains, too, similarly claimed to have obtained from king Tryambaka-Pallava, military fiefs on the southern bank of the Krishnā river as rewards for their military services. King Tryambaka-Pallava, Trinayana-Pallava or Mukkaṇṭi-Kāduvetṭi may not, therefore, be a doubtful historical person as some scholars opine; he need not be regarded as a mere fictitious person, brushing aside a large volume of historical tradition embodied in numerous inscriptions on stone and copper-plates and scattered all over the country. Elsewhere⁶ Tryambaka-Pallava has been identified with the powerful king Vijaya-Skandavarman IV, and allotted a reign period of thirty-five years (c. 460-495 A.C.). Malla I, therefore, would appear to have flourished about the last quarter of the fifth century.

Nothing is known about the immediate successors of Malla-bhūpa I, until we come to Malliya II who is described as a renowned soldier. It is said that he was a follower of Narēndra, who may be identified with Narēndramrigarāja-Vijayāditya II. Malliya II, it is stated, rendered great assistance to king Narēndra (on the battlefields) with the sharp edge of his fierce sword which was like a thunderbolt (v. 36 : lines 72-75). According to Dr. Fleet,⁷ Narēndramrigarāja-Vijayāditya II reigned from 799 to 843 A.C., for forty-four years, while according to my *Revised Chronology of the Eastern Chālukyas*,⁸ the king's period is only forty years, from 808 to 847 A.C. Malliya II would thus appear to have flourished about the first half of the ninth century. In the lineage of Malliya II was born Piḍuvurāditya, or Piḍuvulāditya as the Drākshārāma stone inscription⁹ calls him. The son of Piḍuvurāditya was Eriya (I), and his son was Malliya III. In the Drākshārāma inscription the name of Malla or Malliya is lost in the lacuna. It is stated in that inscription that Malla III (Malliya III) was foremost among the followers of Chālukya-Bhīma who may be identified with Chālukya-Bhīma II (933-945 A.C.). Malla III married Kollapāmbā according to

¹ *SII*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1041, 1094, 1113, 1147, 1138, 1140, 1141, 1153, 1104; 1182, etc.

² *SII*, Vol. X, Nos. 177, etc.

³ *SII*, Vol. VI, Nos. 109, 123, 124, 144, 181, 224, 239, 1200, etc.

⁴ See *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1182.

⁵ [This derivation is doubtful.—Ed.]

⁶ *A History of The Early Dynasties of Andhradesa*, p. 281.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 100.

⁸ *Journal of the Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vol. IX, Part iv, pp. 27-32.

⁹ *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1182.

the present plates but the Drākshārāma inscription gives her name as Koṭyapāmbā. The reading of her name as Kollapāmbā (line 77) in the present charter seems to be rather doubtful, for the second letter in the name is indistinct on the plate. It is probable, therefore, that her name as written there is Kō[tya]pāmbā. There is a marked divergence in the genealogical portion between the account of the Piṭhāpuram inscription and the information given in the present plates. According to the Piṭhāpuram inscription,¹ the founder of the family was No. (1) Malla I, his son was No. (2) Eriyavarman and his son was No. (3) Kuḍiyavarman. The son of No. (3) was No. (4) Malla II surnamed Piḍuvarāditya and the latter's son was No. (5) Kuḍyavarman or Kuḍiyavarman II, who was a vassal of the emperor, Vimalāditya (1011-1019 A.C.).² The Piṭhāpuram inscription thus omits three or four generations, and mentions all the princes from No. 1 to No. 7 Nannirāja in the relationship of father to son. Its information is thus rendered comparatively less probable and not so trustworthy. Its evidence may, therefore, be rejected in preference to the information furnished by the present inscription which agrees in full with the accounts given in the Drākshārāma record that belongs to a period much earlier than the Piṭhāpuram inscription. Malla III, who was foremost among the followers of Chālukya-Bhīma II is altogether omitted in the Piṭhāpuram inscription. The Drākshārāma inscription is contemporaneous with the present record.

To return to Malla III of the present record. He married Koṭyamāmbā (Koṭyapāmbā) and had two sons by her, Eriya II who is described as *jyēshtha* 'the elder' and *vamśakartā*, 'the progenitor of the family', and Kōrapa. Eriya II married Kaṭṭāmbā and had six sons by her, Malla IV, Kuḍiya, Gaṇḍa, Paṇḍa I, Nanna and Kāpana, every one of whom resembled Shanmukha, the six-faced war-god. Kuḍiya, it is said, was a vassal of the emperor Vimalāditya, and received from him the rulership of the province, *Gudravāra-vishaya*. This prince is evidently the same as No. 5 Kuḍyavarman II or Kuḍiyavarman, of the Piṭhāpuram inscription in which he is stated to have rendered assistance for a long time on battlefields to Vimalāditya who then having been pleased bestowed on him the territory, *Gudravāra-dvaya*, "the two provinces of Gudravāra" (vv. 16-18). The two Gudravāras may be identified with the Gudravāra³ corresponding to the Gudivāda *taluk* and with the Pallapu-Gudravāra⁴, 'low lying Gudravāra', corresponding to the Kaikalūru *taluk*, of the Krishna District. Nanna, the younger brother of Kuḍyavarman, is described as a great hero and as a prince of praiseworthy character. It is said that he was the commander-in-chief of all the forces of Vishṇuvardhana, i.e., Rājārāja-Narēndra or Rājārāja I (1022-1061 A.C.). Nanna's son was Paṇḍa I, whose wife Guṇḍāmbikā resembled Kuntī of epic fame. While in the present record Paṇḍa I and Guṇḍāmbikā are stated to have had five sons, Vedula, Gaṇḍa II, Goṅka I, Malla V and Paṇḍa II who were like the five Pāṇḍavas, the Piṭhāpuram inscription, on the other hand, makes these five princes the children of Nanna. There is another discrepancy between the Piṭhāpuram inscription and the present record. Kuḍyavarman II, it is stated in the former (v. 25), had a son named Erraya to whom he transferred his kingdom after having ruled the earth for a long time; and the latter, however, does not mention any son of Kuḍiya, vassal of Vimalāditya. It is, therefore, probable that Kuḍyavarman II or Kuḍiya was succeeded by his younger brother Nannarāja in the rulership of his vassal kingdom. The Drākshārāma record, too, does not mention that Kuḍyavarman II transferred his kingdom to his son Erraya, a fact mentioned only in the Piṭhāpuram inscription. Nanna, the Piṭhāpuram inscription states, had destroyed a crowd of

¹ Above, Vol. IV, p. 35.

² All the records of the family beginning with the reign of Rājārāja I (1022-1061 A.C.) state that Vimalāditya reigned for only seven years. The date of his coronation is known to us from his Raṇastipūṇḍi grant (Above, Vol. VI, pp. 341-361). Hence it is assumed that his seven year's rule came to an end in 1019 A.C.

³ Above, Vol. V, pp. 135-39, *SII*, Vol V, No. 211.

⁴ C. P. No. 5 of 1937-38 : Kalidiṇḍi grant of Rājārāja-Narēndra. See above, p. 69 text-line 75.

enemies, and ruled a kingdom which he acquired by the strength of his arm. There is no agreement, however, between the Drākshārāma inscription and the present record with regard to the order of the five sons of Paṇḍa I. The former record mentions Malla V as the second and Gaṇḍa II as the fourth son, while the latter makes their position *vice versa*. This small discrepancy may be ignored. Of the five sons of Paṇḍa I, Goṅka I was the most distinguished and is also described as the *vaṃśakartā*. The Drākshārāma inscription calls him a great hero. He was a trusted vassal of the emperor, Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I. The Piṭhāpuram inscription (v. 27) states of prince Goṅka I that he was the most distinguished of his brothers and that he ruled the Andhra-maṇḍala as a vassal of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I. The present record, too, corroborates that account by stating that Goṅka I having pleased that emperor by his services on the battlefields and by destroying hosts of his enemies, obtained as a reward from him, the rulership of the province known as *Shaṭsahasrāvanī*, 'the Six Thousand District' on the southern bank of the river Kṛishṇā (v. 46). Goṅka I was appointed *Samasta-sēnādhipati* by Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I according to a stone inscription at Chēbrōlu¹ in Guntur District, dated Friday, the 12th February, 1077 A.C.

Rājendra-Chōḍa I called merely Chōḍa in the present record, son of Velanānti Goṅkarāja I and Sabbāmbikā, was the next illustrious prince of the family. Though the present plates do not mention much about him the Piṭhāpuram inscription on the other hand states that he was adopted as his own son by the Chālukya-Chōḷa emperor, Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I, who furnished him with emblems befitting his own sons and made him the ruler of the kingdom of Vēṅgimaṇḍala-sixteen-thousand (vv. 35-36). The reason for the Chōḷa king's adoption of a prince of the *Chaturchakula*, apparently a well grown up person, himself being a full-blooded *kshatriya* emperor, would seem to lie imbedded in the history of that troublous period. Perhaps Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I had no grown up son at that juncture to take up the burden of ruling the disturbed kingdom of Vēṅgi, apparently in succession to Vira-Chōḍa. This event would seem to have taken place in 1094 A.C., immediately before the expedition against Kalinga was undertaken. And it would appear that within a short time Rājendra-Chōḍa had brought the Kalinga war to a successful close. In the words of the Piṭhāpuram inscription prince Chōḍa "resembled the terrible Bhīma in uprooting crowds of hostile kings (v. 36)." While the *Kalingattupparanī* makes the Pallava chief, Karuṇākara Tonḍaimāṇ, the sole hero of the Kalinga war, the inscriptions of the Andhra country on the other hand reveal altogether a different story. There are reasons to believe that the supreme command of the imperial forces was assumed by Rājendra-Chōḍa himself. All the inscriptions of the Andhra country which refer to the war with Kalinga unmistakably bear testimony to this fact.² The stone inscription at Drākshārāma³ of the vassal chief Pallavarāja surnamed Tiruvarāṅga, gives a vivid account of the Kalinga war. It states that Pallavarāja who bore the secondary name Paṇḍavarāja had obtained prosperity by his devotion to the feet of king Rājendra-Chōḍa who rewarded him with the insignia of royalty and made him a vassal king. The inscription states that Pallavarāja⁴ who is also called Chōḍachandra, having reduced to ashes the whole of Kalinga, subdued the Gaṅga king in battle, and having destroyed Dēvēndravarmān and others together with their vast armies

¹ *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 109. There seems to be a slight error in the date. There was no eclipse of the moon on the full-moon day of Māgha, Śaka 988, when Goṅka I is stated to have made a grant to the temple of Mālesthānādēva at Chēbrōlu. If, however, we assume that Phālguna was intended and that the scribe by mistake engraved Māgha for Phālguna, the date would be regular.

² *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 662 (vv. 8-9), Vol. X, No. 107, Vol. IV, No. 1153, Vol. X, No. 64.

³ *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1239. This has been published with notes and translation. See above, Vol. XXII, pp. 138 ff. In my opinion Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Aiyer has not properly interpreted the inscription. He has made many doubtful identifications.

⁴ Mr. Subrahmanya Aiyer thinks that this Pallavarāja was the same as the hero of Jayamgondār's *Kalingattupparanī*. The identification is improper. There might have been several Pallavarājas in the Chōḷa army. Moreover Jayamgondār's hero does not bear any of the names, Tiruvarāṅga, Paṇḍavarāja or Chōḍachandra.

from Kōsala, planted a pillar of victory (*jayastambha*¹) at the meeting place of the boundaries of Ōdra and Andhra countries in order to proclaim the glory and fame of his overlord, Rājendra-Chōḍa. Dēvēndravarman may be identified with Dēvēndravarman the usurper who, taking advantage of the infancy of Anantavarman-Chōḍagaṅga on the death of Rājārāja-Dēvēndravarman in 1077 A.C., occupied Kalinga; he was the donor of the Kambakāya plates, dated Śaka 1003 expired,² and he was the same as king Dēvēndravarman mentioned in the Gāra stone record.³

It is not known when Rājendra-Chōḍa I died; he was certainly living on the date of the Drākshārāma inscription of Pallavarāja, wherein he is referred to as living at that time. His death may have occurred, therefore, about 1104 A.C. Rājendra-Chōḍa ruled over Vēṅgimaṇḍala from about 1094 to 1104 A.C. He was a devotee of Mukunda or Vishṇu according to the present record (v. 49) and the Piṭhāpuram inscription (v. 36), unlike his natural father Goṅka I and his adoptive parent, the emperor, who were both *parama-māhēśvaras*, i.e., staunch worshippers of Śiva. Rājendra-Chōḍa I married Guṇḍāmbikā and had two sons by her, Goṅkarāja II, who resembled Guha or Kumārasvāmin, and Paṇḍa IV.⁴ On the death of Velanāṇṭi Rājendra Chōḍa I the emperor was once more confronted with the problem of finding a successor to administer Vēṅgi. Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa I did not, however, nominate Goṅkarāja II but appointed another trusted and powerful vassal, Kōṇa Rājendra-Chōḍa,⁵ the Haihaya ruler of Kōṇamaṇḍala, the territory that lay between the two branches of the lower Gōdāvarī, the Vāsishṭhī and the Gautamī.

The next important member of the family, perhaps the most illustrious of all, mentioned in the present plates is Velanāṇṭi Goṅka II, or Goṅkarāja II, Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa-Goṅkarāja or Kulōttuṅga-Chōḍa-Gaṅgōya-Goṅkarāja as he is also called in some inscriptions. He appears as the foremost soldier and powerful vassal in the kingdom during the viceroyalty of prince Parāntaka. A stone record from Tripurāntakam⁶ dated Śaka 1028 in the cyclic year Sarvajit, of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Velanāṇṭi Goṅka II, registers the gift of the village of Cheṭṭapāḍu in Kammanāḍu on the banks of the river Guṇḍēru, to the god Tripurāntakēśvara-Śiva, on the occasion of the full-moon day of Kārttika. The record is interesting: it gives Goṅka II the title *Chāḷukyarājya-bhavana-mūlastambha*, "the chief pillar supporting the edifice which is the kingdom of the Chāḷukyas", and the epithet, *Samadhigata-pāñcha-mahāśabda*, "one who has attained (the status of having) the five great sounds", and speaks of him as the ruler of the *Triśat-ōttara-śat-sahasr-ārūṇi-vishaya*, i.e., "the six-thousand and three hundred country". The date is irregular; the cyclic year Sarvajit did not coincide with the Śaka 1028 expired, but with the following year 1029 expired, corresponding to 1107-08 A.C. Be that as it may, from this date roughly till the day of his death half a century later, Goṅkarāja II remained the most important person in the kingdom. He was the *de facto* ruler of the kingdom which extended from the Mahēndragiri on the north to Kālahasti on the south, though he acknowledged the nominal suzerainty of the Chōḷa-Chāḷukya emperor. The kingdom of Vēṅgi which almost slipped out of the hands of the Chāḷukya-Chōḷas after the death of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I would appear to have been re-conquered by Velanāṇṭi Goṅkarāja II from the commanders of the Western Chāḷukya emperor Tribhuvana-malla Vikramāditya VI who had earlier occupied the country, after a protracted struggle, towards the close of the reign of Vikrama-Chōḷa.

¹ Perhaps it is the same as the one mentioned in *SIH*, Vol. V, Nos. 1351 and 1352.

² *Bhārati*, Vol. VII, No. 5, pp. 115 ff., where Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma edits the record, C.P. No. 9 of 1927-28. The chronogram recorded in the inscription has to be interpreted as yielding the Śaka 1003 and not 1103 as Mr. Sarma believes.

³ No. 391 of 1932-33: *ARSIE*, 1932-3, p. 56, para. 9. See also *ARSIE*, 1936 p. 64.

⁴ *SIH*, Vol. IV, No. 1137 text lines 4 and 16, and the present plates.

⁵ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 83, text line 48.

⁶ *SIH*, Vol. X, No. 63.

It would appear that during the last years of Kulōttunga-Chōla I almost every one of the vassals of Vēṅgi became hostile to the Chōla-Chālukyas, opposed the policy of the emperor and only eagerly waited for a favourable opportunity to overthrow the Chōla-Chālukya suzerainty. On the other hand, the Durjaya and other clans of the *Chaturtha-kula* holding fiefdoms and military holdings in the region lying to the south of the Kṛishṇā river would appear to have remained loyal to the imperial throne of the Chālukya-Chōlas and proudly called themselves, *Chālukya-rājya-bhavanamūla-stambhāyamānulu*,¹ *Vēṅgi-Chālukyan-aṅkakāra*,² "the champion warriors of the Chālukyas (of Vēṅgi)," and lastly *Chālukya-rājya-samuddharulu*,³ "the uplifters of the sovereignty of the Chālukyas." Those who proved refractory and sought opportunity to put an end to the Chālukya-Chōla domination, were the Telugu (Tenugu) Chōḍa clans of the Southern Andhra country, the Haihaya feudatories and other Kshatriya vassals including the descendants of the junior branches of the Imperial Chālukyas who held principalities all over the country.

Shortly before the death of the aged emperor Kulōttunga-Chōla I, it would appear, Parāntaka, his surviving eldest son, returned to the Chōla country. The Piṭhāpuram inscription of Mallapādēva⁴ states that when Vikrama-Chōla, whose other name was Tyāgasamudra, had gone to protect the Chōla-maṇḍala, the country of Vēṅgi became devoid of a ruler. At that juncture, the kingdom of Vēṅgi, it would appear, was divided against itself. The Chālukya emperor, Tribhuvanamalla, who was evidently watching the turn of events in Vēṅgi despatched armies to invade and occupy the country. There are reasons to believe that some of the powerful Kshatriya vassals in Vēṅgi openly joined the invading armies, now led by *Mahāsāmantādhipati Mahāprachandandaṇḍanāyaka* Anantapāla,⁵ and welcomed them. Foremost among the rebels who welcomed the invaders was probably *Mahāmaṇḍalika* Kolanu-Bhīma or Bhīmanāyaka, the Haihaya ruler of the Kolanu *vishaya*, or Sagara *vishaya* which was the other name for the region round the Kollēru lake. He and his confederates particularly the Haihayas of Palnāḍ and Kōna-maṇḍala acknowledged the suzerainty of the Western Chālukyas and quoted the Chālukya-Vikrama year in their records. But Velanāṇṭi Goṅkarāja II, as the commander-in-chief (*samasta-sēnādhipati*) of the king of Vēṅgi, soon assumed the authority of the ruler of Vēṅgi and stoutly opposed the invading armies. The Western Chālukya invasion resulted in the temporary occupation of the kingdom, from about 1117 to 1135 A.C., roughly for a period of two decades.⁷

During the period of confusion and anarchy an Eastern Chālukya prince, Viṣṇuvardhana, probably lord of Niravadyapura (modern Nidadavōlu), or Rājahmahēndravaram, crowned himself king of Vēṅgi and assumed imperial titles.⁸ His coronation would seem to have taken place about Śaka 1046 corresponding to 1124 or 1125 A.C.⁹ It would appear that he was soon brought to subjection and pardoned.¹⁰ Yet another prince, Vijayāditya, lord of Piṭhāpuram and a descen-

¹ *SHI*, Vol. IV, Nos. 668, 796918, 986, 1127, 1128 and 1138.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. IV., Nos. 717, 762.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV Nos. 1167, 1177 and 1242.

⁴ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 226 ff. verse 24, text lines 60-62.

⁵ *SHI*, Vol. IX, Part I, Nos. 193 and 196.

⁶ *SHI*, Vol. III, Part II, No. 79, text line 8; *ARE*, No. 49 of 1909, Above, Vol. IV, p. 32, verse 45.

⁷ There are numerous records on stone dated in the C.V. era scattered all over the Eastern Andhra country which prove the Western Chālukya occupation of Vēṅgi. Notable among them are those found at Tripurāntakam (*SHI*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 213), Kollēru (*ibid.*, Vol. IX, Nos. 193 and 196), Gurizala (*ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 27) and Drākshārāma (*ibid.*, Vol. IV., Nos. 1356 (1120 A.C.), 1308 and 1310 (1121 A.C.), Nos. 1216, 1250, 1311 (1122 A.C.), No. 1357 (1123 A.C.) No. 1255 (1124 A.C.) No. 1264 (1125 A.C.), and 1229 (1126 A.C.) and again, *ibid.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1156, 1156, 1082 and 1090 dated in the years C.V. era, corresponding to 1133-34 and 1135 A.C., and lastly at Chālukya-Bhīmavaram (*SHI*, Vol. V, No. 68).

⁸ *Annual Report on S.I. Epigraphy*, 1912, para. 66, page 79.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ The (Rajahmundry) stone inscription in question is dated the 21st year of his rule, Śaka 1067.

dant of Kaṇṭhikā-Bēta crowned himself king of Vēṅgi and assumed the Imperial Chālukya title Sarvalōkāśraya-Śrī-Vishṇuvardhana-Mahārāja.¹ His coronation took place on the 14th February 1128.² He was the son of Mallapādēva II, and his mother Chandalladēvi was the daughter of Kolanu Brahmarāja³ and probably, therefore, a sister of *Mahāmāṇḍalika* Kolanu-Bhīmarāja, the lord of Sagara *vishaya*, whom the Tamil inscriptions call Teluṅga-Bhīman.⁴ It would appear that Vijayāditya was defeated and reduced to submission after a short time, but restored to his principality by Velanāṇṭi Goṅkarāja II.

It would appear that at this period the operations against *Mahāmāṇḍalika* Kolanu-Bhīma or Kolanāṇṭi Bhīma⁵ as the present record calls him (v. 55 : lines 111-14.), who was the most formidable opponent of the Chōḷa-Chālukyas, were directed by prince Rājendra-Chōḍa, afterwards Rājendra-Chōḍa II, son and successor of Goṅkarāja II. Unable to oppose Rājendra-Chōḍa in the open field, Kolanu-Bhīma would seem to have taken up his position inside the famous *jala-durga* 'fortress in the water', of Kolanupura or Kollēti-kōṭa as it is called even to-day, in the middle of the lake, Kollēru.⁶ Rājendra-Chōḍa II invested the impregnable fortress, captured Kolanu-Bhīma alive and put him to death instantaneously together with all his sons and other near relations (vv. 55-56). The Pithāpuram inscription of Prithivīśvara⁷ gives a graphic description of the storming of Kolanupura. It is stated that Rājendra-Chōḍa II dried up the water of the lake Kollēru and presumably, by constructing a causeway across the water, reached the impregnable fortress, captured Bhīma and killed him just as Rāghava killed Rāvaṇa who terrified the worlds. The present record speaks of Kolanu-Bhīma as haughty and cruel, full of pride, as a thorn to the gods and *Brāhmaṇas*, a man of massive strength, of great prowess and fierce frame of body and as resembling Rāvaṇa. The slaying of Kolanu-Bhīma would seem to have taken place about the beginning of Śaka 1053 corresponding to about April, 1131 A. C., which was the thirteenth year of Vikrama-Chōḷa's reign.⁸ This event paved the way for the final victory of Goṅkarāja II. It enabled the Velanāṇṭi chief to crush the enemies of Vikrama-Chōḷa completely, put an end to the Western Chālukya occupation and restore the sovereignty of the Chālukya-Chōḷas in Vēṅgi (c. 1135 A.C.)

Mahāmāṇḍalēśvara Velanāṇṭi Goṅkarāja was a great soldier, perhaps the greatest military genius of his day. He is said to have defeated and slain a certain Siddhi-Bēta and acquired the title *Siddhi-Bēta-Chīrpuli-hariṇa-mṛigēndrapūṇḍu*, "a lion to the deer Siddhi-Bēta of Chīrpuli."⁹ Siddhi-Bēta would appear to be a Telugu Chōḍa prince of Chīrpuli in Rēnāḍu and a subordinate of Tribuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI. Chīrpuli (now called Chippili) is an obscure village in Chittoor

¹ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 226 ff., verses 35-36.

² *Ibid.*, verses 32-34. The date is expressed as *nidhi-jaladhi-vijayach-chandragē*. Dr. Hultzsch shows his preference for 7 to 4 instead of as the intended meaning of the numeral *jalandhi*, on the ground that 'if he (Vijayāditya) had been crowned in 1049 his reign would have lasted for the unusually long period of 75 years. Dr. Hultzsch's view need not be taken as conclusive. For the word *jalandhi* is more often used to denote number 4 in preference to 7. Moreover two inscriptions found at Drākshārāma (*SII*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1261 and 1201) dated the 2nd and 6th regnal years respectively, of his son Rājanārāyaṇa-Vishṇuvardhana, show that Vijayāditya ruled for about 50 years and that his death took place in or about 1178 A.C. Vijayāditya was perhaps 20 or 25 years old at the time of his coronation in 1128 A.C.

³ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 226 ff. verse 32.

⁴ *SII*, Vol. II, No. 68 and *ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 79.

⁵ *Kolanāṇṭi* is a Telugu expression meaning *Kolanunāṇṭi*, "of the *nāḍu* (subdivision) of Kolanu. To meet the exigencies of metre the poet distorted the word into *Kolanāṇṭi* dropping the intermediate syllable.

⁶ Above, Vol. VI, p. 1, v. 28. Here the poet distorted the word *Kolanu* into *Kaunāla*.

⁷ Above, Vol. IV, p. 32, v. 45.

⁸ *SII*, Vol. II, No. 68.

⁹ *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 675 ; *ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 89.

District, lying within a distance of two miles from Madanapalli. In the numerous inscriptions found at Niḍubrōlu, Drākshārāma and other places, Velanāṇṭi Goṅkarāja II is stated to have vanquished the lords of Marāṭa, Lāṭa, Karnāṭa, Kuntala, Andhra, Katakā and Trikalīṅga, and acquired the rulership of the Andhra country with the insignia of a paramount sovereign (*sāmrajya-chihṇaiḥ*) and enjoyed it.¹ A Drākshārāma inscription² states that Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa II raised Goṅkarāja II, who was till then the commander-in-chief and ruler of the *Tri-śat-ōttara-śaḷ-sahasrāvaṇi-vishaya* on the southern bank of the Kṛishṇā river, to the rulership of the Andhra country which was bounded by the Mahēndragiri on the north-east and Śrīśaila on the south-west, with the insignia of a subordinate king. The former statement is also borne out by the Telugu poem, *Kēyurabāhu-charitramu* of Mañchana.³

Goṅkarāja II married several wives but the chief queen was Sabbāmbikā. To them was born Rājendra-Chōḍa who is described as resembling Kumārasvāmin, the leader of the armies of gods.

It would appear that the latter part of the reign of Goṅkarāja II was peaceful and prosperous, i.e., from 1135 to 1161 A.C. Goṅkarāja was a great builder: he founded temples, established *sat-trālayas* 'charitable feeding houses'; he encouraged learning and granted innumerable *agrahāras* to the learned and the twice-born, i.e., *Brāhmaṇas*. He placed pinnacles over temples all over the land.⁴ He set up a massive golden pinnacle for the *gōpura* of the temple of Bhīmanātha at Drākshārāma which he had built in 1133 A.C., evidently after he became the king of Vēṅgi.⁵ Goṅkarāja II made a rich offering to god Bhīmanātha for a perpetual light of camphor and for five perpetual lights of ghee; for that purpose and for the purpose of *kshīrābhishēchana*, or ceremonial bath to the god with milk, every day, he gave away 500 cows to the temple.⁶ Roughly ten years later, in Śaka 1064, corresponding to 1142-43 A.C., he made a pilgrimage to the great shrine at Drākshārāma, accompanied by his wives, younger brother Paṇḍarāja, his son, prince Rājendra-Chōḍa II and other members of the royal family.⁷ On that memorable occasion, every one of the royal household placed four perpetual lights in the temple.⁸ And roughly six years later, Goṅkarāja II visited the temple of Bhīmanātha again and made a grant of 25 gold coins to be paid annually from out of the royal treasury to the temple for the celebration of the annual festival *daman-ōtsava* for three consecutive days ending with the full-moon day of Chaitra.⁹ On that occasion, probably he built a *gōḷaka* (a globular roof studded with various kinds of gems in the inner shrine of the temple), a *kōshthūgāra*, 'store-house', and a beautiful *maṇḍapa* 'assembly hall' for the god Bhīmanātha. Further, for burning 25 perpetual lights more, with ghee, Goṅkarāja presented as many as 1000 she-buffaloes to the temple. The occasion for these priceless gifts was the Karkāṭaka-*saṁkrānti*, which occurred on the 25th June 1158 in the sixteenth or the closing year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga II. Goṅkarāja II also placed pinnacles of gold on the temples of Purushōttama at Purī in Orissa and Śrī Mallikārjuna-Mahā-dēva at Śrīśailam on the south-west, which shone like *jayastambhas* proclaiming his victories. On yet another occasion, Goṅkarāja II gave away unlimited number of golden utensils for daily use in the worship of the god Bhīmanātha, and covered the roof of the temple *vimāna* with a plate of gold.¹⁰

¹ *SHI*, Vol. IV, Nos. 1113, No. 1164 (Drākshārāma); *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 123 (Niḍubrōlu).

² *SHI*, Vol. IV, No. 1182, text line 12 (verse 28).

³ *Sarasvatī-grantha-mālā*: Kākināḍa, (1902), canto I, (verse 18).

⁴ Above, Vol. IV, p. 50.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

⁶ *SHI*, Vol. IV, No. 1138.

⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 1137.

⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 1140.

⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 1164.

The successor of Goṅkarāja II in the rulership of the Andhra country was his son prince Rājendra-Chōḍa II, the donor of the present plates. In the records of the family as well as in the present inscription (lines 102 ff.) it is stated that emperor Rājārāja II was pleased to appoint him ruler of the Andhra country which is said to have extended at this time from Mahēndragiri on the north to Kālahasti on the south. It would appear that Rājendra-Chōḍa's accession took place towards the end of Śaka 1082 or the beginning of 1161 A.C. For, the last known date on which Goṅkarāja II is said to be alive was the *Uttarāyana-saṁkrānti*, Śaka 1082, corresponding to the 25th December, 1160 A. C., according to a stone record of his minister at Bāpaṭṭa, Guntur District.¹ It would appear that Rājendra-Chōḍa II was associated with his father in the administration of the kingdom from about Śaka 1058 corresponding to 1136-37 A. C.² The subordinates and other vassals of the Chālukya-Chōḷas in the Andhra country would seem to have recognised Rājendra-Chōḍa as their future sovereign even during the rule of Goṅkarāja II and frequently made grants to the temples in the country for his merit as well as for the merit of his father. A stone record from Pamiḍipāḍu-agrahāra, Narasaraopeta taluk, Guntur District, dated Jyēṣṭha, śu. 5, Śaka 1077 expired, corresponding to 8th May, 1155 A. C., records the grant of a piece of land for the temple of Chennakēśava at the village for the merit of the kings Goṅkarāja II and his son Rājendra-Chōḍa, and incidentally states that the latter granted the tolls of the village Pamiḍipāḍu (Pamiḍipāḍu) and the tax on marriages for the benefit of the temple.³

Though the reign of Rājendra-Chōḍa II appears to have commenced in peace, within a short time it soon became troubled and engulfed in internecine wars among his feudatories and wanton incursions by hostile neighbours. About the beginning of Śaka 1085, i.e., about March 1163 A.C., it would appear, a civil war broke out in Kōṇa-maṇḍala, between the two rival branches of the ruling family, which soon threatened to assume large proportions. Kōṇa-maṇḍala is the ancient name for the region of the lower branches of the Gōdāvari, comprising the *taluks* of Amalapuram and Razole, in the East Godavari District. At the time of the civil war, Kōṇa-maṇḍala was ruled by a powerful clan of Haihayas of the Ātrēya *gōtra*.⁴ After the death of Kōṇa Rājendra-Chōḍa I which would seem to have occurred shortly after 1137 A. C.⁵, his elder brother Kōṇa Mummaḍi-Bhīma II and his younger step-brother Kōṇa Satyāśraya I, according to the Piṭhāpuram inscription of Mallidēva and Manma-Satya II,⁶ divided the principality among themselves but ruled it conjointly in peace for a long time. Mummaḍi-Bhīma II was succeeded by his son Lōka-Bhūpa, who died apparently without leaving an heir to succeed him. Lōka-Bhūpa's death would seem to have taken place just about the same time as the accession of Rājendra-Chōḍa II. There are reasons to believe that Bhīma (III) the younger son of Kōṇa Satyārāja I occupied the whole of Kōṇa-maṇḍala to the exclusion of his cousins Bēta and Mallidēva, sons of Kōṇa Rājendra-Chōḍa I,⁷ who would seem to have succeeded to or claimed the principality held by Lōka-Bhūpa. This led to a civil war which necessitated the intervention of Rājendra-Chōḍa II. A large army was despatched under the command of the *Brāhmaṇa* general Dēvana-preggaḍa of Amṛitalūru, early in Śaka 1085 corresponding to 1163 A. C., with instructions to put down the insurrection and

¹ *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 181. The earliest known date for Goṅka II is Śaka 1029 according to a record at Tri-purāntakam. *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 63.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. V, No. 160. See also *ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1137 (Śaka 1064 or 1142-43 A.C., and *ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 109 (Śaka 1063 or 1141-42 A. C.), No. 112 (Śaka 1064 or 1142-43 A.C.), No. 118 (Śaka 1068 or 1146-47 A.C.) and No. 135 (Śaka 1077 or 1155-56 A. C.)

³ *ARSIE*, 1916, para 49, page 124.

⁴ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 83 ff. The inscription contains a detailed account of the Haihaya chiefs of Kōṇa-maṇḍala.

⁵ *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1145 dated Śaka 1059 (1137 A. C.) seems to be the last known date of the prince.

⁶ Above, Vol. IV, p. 83, verses 18 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, page 85 (for the pedigree).

restore peace.¹ The military operations in Kōna-maṇḍala lasted about two years. The fragmentary record at Drākshārāma² dated Śaka 1087, i.e., 1165-66 A. C., reveals that, "having been commanded by his overlord Kulōttuṅga-Rājendra-Chōḍa II, general Dēvana-preggaḍa burnt down the disdainful country (Kōna-maṇḍala) of the enemy with the flames of the fire that was his valour". It would appear that he defeated and killed Bhīma (III) and once more restored peace in the region by settling the country between the lawful claimants. The poem *Kēyūrabāhucharitramu* which has been already referred to and a number of inscriptions reveal the fact that an army of the *Sūmantas* of the Karṇāṭa king, apparently taking advantage of the political unrest in Kuntala and the rise of Kākati Prōla II, in the western Andhra Country, made incursions into the kingdom of Vēṅgi, and that the invaders were completely defeated and forced to retire in a sanguinary battle that was fought at a place called Krottacheruvulakōṭa, Cheruvulakōṭa or simply Kochcherlakōṭa, a village in Vinukonda taluk, Guntur District. These events may be placed about 1164-65 A. C. The king of Karṇāṭa was doubtless Kalachuri Bijjala who usurped the Western Chālukya sovereignty overthrowing his overlord, Nūрмаḍi Taliapa III (1149-1161 A. C.). Stone inscriptions refer to Chaṇḍarāya, a feudatory of the king of Karṇāṭa who was slain in the battle of Krottacheruvulakōṭa, who may be identified as the Sinda chief of Yelburga, who was the husband of Siriyādēvi, a daughter of Bijjala.⁴

The Telugu poem, *Kēyūrabāhucharitramu* gives a vivid account of the reigns of Goṅkarāja II and his illustrious son Kulōttuṅga-Goṅka-Rājendra-Chōḍa II, and of the greatness of their successive ministers Naṇḍūri Gōvinda and his son Naṇḍūri Kommana, and the prosperity of the Andhra country. According to a stone record at Bāpatla, and the present plates (v. 56) the kingdom of Rājendra-Chōḍa II extended from Nagaram, i.e., Kaliṅganagara on the north to Kālahaṣṭi on the south and to Śrīśailam on the west and was bounded by the sea on the east.⁵ It appears that the province of Kaliṅga was governed by the *Brāhmaṇa* general, Meṇṭana-preggaḍa under the orders of the king, Rājendra-Chōḍa II. The general is said to have borne the burden of the kingdom of Rājendra-Chōḍa in Kaliṅga.⁶ It would appear that on the death of Anantavarman *alias* Chōḍagaṅga, c. 1142 A. C., the kingdom or at any rate the southern portion of Kaliṅga extending as far as the Mahēndragiri was annexed to Vēṅgi. It is stated in the poem that the king's treasury always contained nine crores of gold (*coins*), that ninety-nine elephants which looked like huge black clouds roamed about the city, of Chandavōlu, that a cavalry force of forty-thousand was always ready for service on the field and that seventy-five candies of rice⁷ were cooked every day for the army and king's household. Such was the prosperity of Rājendra-Chōḍa II. The poem gives an account of the king's chief *Brāhmaṇa* minister Kommana-mantrin of the Kausika *gōtra*, who was a great soldier. Kommana was a worshipper of Viṣṇu; he built thirty-two temples of Viṣṇu, at the beautiful towns of Śrīkūrmam, Gurudūrti, Krottacharla, Tripurāntakam, Kotyadona, Boggāram, Yelamañchili and other places. Every day he fed a thousand *Brāhmaṇa* guests with *pāyasa* (rice cooked in milk and sugar) at his house, throughout his life, with a religious zeal and devotion. He governed in addition to his office, the province of Pāka-nāḍu twenty-one-thousand. On the battlefield at Krottacherlakōṭa, it is said, he displayed marvellous strength and heroism.

¹ *SHI*, Vol. IV, Nos., 1086 and 1083.

² *Ibid.*, No. 1083.

³ *Kēyūrabāhucharitramu*, Introduction, verses 22-23. *SHI*, Vol. X, No. 151, text lines 31-41., *ibid.*, No. 171; *ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1053.

⁴ *JBBRAS*, Vol. XI, p. 259; Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 477.

⁵ *SHI*, Vol. VI, Nos. 181.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 1200. The inscription is dated Śaka 1097 (1175-76 A. C.)

⁷ One candy or *barua* is equal to 500 lbs. in weight but as a measure of capacity, roughly 14,000 cubic inches.

Like his illustrious father Goṅkarāja II, Kulōttuṅga-Goṅka-Rājendra-Chōḍa II was also a staunch worshipper of Śiva. He made liberal grants to temples of Śiva all over his vast kingdom. He made even richer gifts than his father to the god Bāṁanāthēśvara at Drākshārāma. He presented golden utensils for the daily worship of the god in commemoration of his victories over his enemies.¹ He gave away on one occasion a *prabhā* (aureola) made of solid gold to god Bhīmanātha and covered the huge *liṅga* with a splendid armour of massive gold. On another occasion he presented a *makara-tōraṇa* of gold, studded with priceless gems.² He built a temple for Śiva under the name of Rāmēśvara-Mahādēva at Siripuram in Śaka 1093, i.e., 1171 A. C., and granted the village of Siripuram together with its twelve hamlets and some more land as *dēvabhōga* for the worship of the deity.³ On the banks of the Tungabhadra, a small stream flowing by the side of Appikaṭla, a village in Tenali *taluk*, Guntur District, he built another temple for Śiva under the name Viśvēśvara-Mahādēva and made large grants of land in Appikaṭla, Marripūṇḍi and other villages in the sub-division known as Ōṁgērumārga, for the worship of the god.⁴

Rājendra-Chōḍa II would seem to have reigned till a very ripe old age and died about the beginning of 1182 A. C. The last known inscription which mentions the king as still living on that date but indicating his impending death is a record of his *Brāhmaṇa* officer Mādhava-mantrin of the Śrīvatsa *gōtra* at Drākshārāma.⁵ It is slightly damaged; it registers the gift of a perpetual light to god Bhīmanātha on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon on the fullmoon day of Pushya in Śaka 1003, which corresponds to Monday, the 22nd December, 1181 A. C., when there occurred an eclipse of the moon. Rājendra-Chōḍa's death may, therefore, be placed sometime in January or February, 1182 A. C.

Rājendra-Chōḍa II was also called Vira-Rājendra-Chōḍa.⁶ According to the family records found at Drākshārāma and Palacole (Pālakolanu) Rājendra-Chōḍa had at least four queens, Guṇḍāmbikā, Kuppamā, Paṇḍamā (daughter of the chief of Kōṇa-Kaṇḍravāḍi) and Akkamahādēvī or Aṅkamahādēvī; the first would appear to have been the consort during the early part of Vira-Rājendra-Chōḍa's life.⁷ Akkamahādēvī was the daughter of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi Manma-Maṇḍa or Maṇḍarāja II⁸ who took a heroic part⁹ in the war against Kālīṅga as a follower of Velanāṇṭi Rājendra-Chōḍa I, and the younger sister of *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Koṇḍapaḍumaṭi Buddharāja III.¹⁰ To King Vira-Rājendra-Chōḍa and Akkāmāmbikā was born Goṅkarāja III. His son was Piṭhviśvara of the Piṭhāpuram inscription.

TEXT¹¹Second Plate; First Side¹²

1 १३ज्जितारिस्त्रपुरारितुल्यः यद्धोगिभीगोपमबाहुसंगाज्जराहि-

¹ Above, Vol. IV, p. 37, verses 47-48.

² Ibid.

³ No. 49 of 1909, (same as *SII*, Vol. X, No. 177).

⁴ *SII*, Vol. VI Nos. 124 and 125. Ōṁgēru-mārga appears to be the ancient name for the region lying between Tenali, Guntur and Bapatla *taluks* extending towards south as far as Ongole, Guntur District.

⁵ *SII*, Vol. IV, No. 1366, *Ibid.*, No. 1037. The last digit in the date of the record is lost but may be read as 3. The details of the date then would yield the equivalent, viz., 25th December, 1181 A. C.

⁶ No. 181 of 1897.

⁷ *SII*, Vol. V, No. 161, Vol. IV, No. 1137.

⁸ Above, Vol. VI, p. 268 (274).

⁹ *SII* Vol. IV, No. 682, Vv. 7-8.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. VI, p. 274.

¹¹ From the ink-impressions supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India, the late Dr. Hirananda Sastri.

¹² The first plate of this set is lost.

¹³ Metre : *Uṇjāṭī*. The first pāda is lost on the first plate.

- 2 तो यो वसुमभ्युपैति । [॥१॥*] ततो विचित्रवीर्योभूतस्मात्पांडुर-
- 3 जायत । येनेयं पृथिवी सर्व्वा पालिता धर्मतः पुरा [॥२॥*] युधिष्ठि-
- 4 रादयः पंच पांडवा² खंडलोपमाः [॥३॥*] अभूवन्विनयोपेताः
- 5 खंडितारातिमंडलाः [॥३॥*] तेषु वंशस्य कर्त्तृसीदज्जुनस्सज्जनप्रियः ।
- 6 सुमूर्तिः पुण्यचारित्रः कीर्त्तिव्याप्तजगत्रयः [॥४॥*] तुष्टो य-
- 7 स्य पराक्रमेण भगवान्युद्धे पुराणां रिपुस्त्रैलोक्यैकगुरु-
- 8 र्गुरुस्समभवत् बालेंदुचूडामणिः [॥५॥*] सारथ्यन्नरकारिरादिपुरुष-
- 9 श्चक्रे च विष्णुः स्वयं । को वा तस्य धनंजयस्य विभुतां शक्तः प्रवक्तुन्नरः
[॥५॥*] त-
- 10 स्मादभिमन्युः [॥६॥*] अभिमन्योः परीक्षित् [॥७॥*] ततो जनमेजयः । अथ चतुर्द-
- 11 धिपर्य्यातवसुंधराधुरंधरेषु दिशाहस्तिमस्तकविन्यस्तजयस्तभे-
- 12 षु एकोनषष्ठिवसुधाधिपेषु तद्वश्येषु गतेषु तत्कुलजो विजिगीषु-

Second Plate ; Second Side

- 13 द्विजयादित्यो नाम महीपतिस्त्रिनयनपल्लवेन युद्धा विधनि-
- 14 योगात्त्रिदिवं जगाम ॥ आनीतवतस्तदनु प्रधानां तद्वल्लभान्नि⁶
- 15 [॥८॥*] रगर्भभाराम् [॥९॥*] तन्मन्त्रिमुल्या मुडुवेमुनाम भूदेवजुष्टं
- 16 वरमग्रहारम् [॥१०॥*] तद्ग्राममुख्यः खलु विष्णुभट्टः पुष्टस्समृद्ध्या निज-
- 17 विद्यया च [॥११॥*] ज्ञात्वा याधा(यथा)वृत्तमतिप्रयत्नात्सम्यग्रक्ष क्षितिपालपत्नीम् [॥१२॥*]
- 18 रक्षिता तेन विप्रेण कुमारं लक्षणान्वितम् [॥१३॥*] सुषुवे वासवप्रस्थं
- 19 ह्यातं वंशकरं वरम् । [॥१४॥*] जातकम्मदिकं सर्व्वन्निर्ममे कम्मकम्मठः ।

¹ This and the two following verses are in *Anushṭubh* metre.

² Rule of *sandhi* is sacrificed here for the sake of the metre.

³ Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁴ Read "प्रवक्तुं नरः".

⁵ Metre : *Upajāti*.

⁶ Read "तद्वल्लभा निर्भर".

⁷ This verse and the next two are in *Anushṭubh* metre.

- 20 विप्रो नृपकुमारस्य कुमारसदृशद्युतेः [॥६॥*] अथ जननीमुखाञ्जनकस्य वृ-
 21 तातं विदित्वा तपःकृतनिश्चयस्त कुमारश्चालुक्चधरित्रीधरमारुरो-
 22 ह । तत्र देवभारायणं कुमारं दिवाकरम्(रं) भगवतीन्नदां गौरीं चारा-
 23 [ध्य*] वराहलाच्छनपिच्छकुंतपंचमहाशब्द^१ इवकामकरतोरणश्वेत-
 24 [च्छ*] त्रसितचामरपालिकैकशंखसिंहासनादीनि चक्रवर्तिचिह्नान्यवाप्य

Third Plate ; First Side

- 25 विध्यसेतुमध्यं दक्षिणापथम्(थं) परिपालयामास । ^२अथ पल्लववंश-
 26 संभवा या गुणरत्नाकरविष्णुवर्द्धनस्य महिषी । सुषुवे सुतं ^३सुः
 27 नेप्रा विजयादित्यमद[भ्रशु]भ्रकीर्तिम् । [॥१०॥*] ततः पुलकेशी तस्मात्को-
 त्तिवर्मा
 28 ततस्सत्याश्रयो विष्णुवर्द्धनश्च बभूवतुः । ^४सत्याश्रयः कुंतविभिन्नवैरि-
 29 मत्तेभकुंभो युधि कुंतलानाम् [१*] साम्राज्यलक्ष्मीमधिगम्य^५ सम्यक् पृ-
 30 ध्वीं शशास प्रधि(धि)तप्रतापः [॥११॥*] ^६तयोरवरजो वेगीमंडलं चंडवि-
 31 क्रमः [१*] ररक्षाष्टादश समा विष्णुवर्द्धनभूपतिः [॥१२॥*] जयसिंहस्त्र-
 32 यस्त्रिंशदब्दान्सम्यक्तदात्मजः [१*] अनुजस्तस्य सप्ताहर्मिदि(द्र)राजो विधेर्व्वशा-
 33 त् [॥१३॥*] नववर्षाणि तत्पुत्रो विष्णुवर्द्धनभूपतिः [१*] [तत्पुत्रो*] मंगियुवराट् पं-
 चविंश-
 34 ति वत्सरान् । [॥१४॥*] त्रयोदशाब्दान्तत्पुनुरपालयदिलां बली [१*] सिंहविक्रमसं-
 35 पन्नो जयसिंहो महाभुजः । [॥१५॥*] तत्कनीयान् क्षितिं वीरो ररक्ष
 क्षत्रियाग्रणी-
 36 :[१*] षण्मासान्कोविकलिः पृथ्वीम्मत्तमातंगविक्रमः । [॥१६॥*] ^७ज्येष्ठोस्या(स्य)
 कोविकलेः पृथ्वीं विष्णु-

^१ Read "इवका".

^२ Metre : *Anupachchhandasika*.

^३ Read "सुनेत्रा".

^४ Metre : *Upajiti*.

^५ This and the next six verses are in *Anushubh* metre.

^६ Read "ज्येष्ठोस्य".

37 वर्द्धनभूतिः । षट्त्रिंशदब्दान्बुभुजे भुजवीर्यन्महाभुजः [॥१७॥*] ^१तत्पुत्रो
[वि*]-

Third Plate ; Second Side

38 जया[दित्य]नामाष्टादशवत्सरान् [१*] तत्तनयो [नरेंद्रो] नृपतिरष्टा चत्वारिं-
शद्वत्सरानि (णि)

39 समरशिरसि [वेरिनिकरं विजित्य] तावन्ति गौरीपतेरायतना[नि] यश्चक्रे । [॥१८*॥]
^२तत्सूनुरेता[मथ] विष्णुवर्द्ध-

40 नः षट्त्रिंशदब्दा[भिजववंशवर्द्धनः [१*] संग्रामरंगे रिपुभीतिवर्द्धनः क्षोणीमरक्षक्षितिपो
[यशोधनः] । [॥१९॥*] [त]-

41 त्पुत्रः कलिविष्णुवर्द्धनोऽध्यर्द्धवर्षम् तत्तनयो^३गुणांकविजयादित्यश्चतुश्चत्वारिंशद्वर्षाणि •
। तद्भ्रातुःक-

42 नीयसो विक्रमादित्यनाम्नः पुत्रश्चालुक्यभीम[स्त्रिंशदब्दान्
. संग्रामशिरसि रिपुगणं जित्वा-

43 नेकपुण्यस्थानेषु भगवतो महादेवस्यालयाभिर्मर्मे । तत्सूनु[विजयादित्यो नाम
मास[षट्कमथ]

44 परिपाल्य विरजान्नामपुरीं विजित्य त्रिदिवमगमत् [१*] तदात्म[जोम्मराजः प्रति-
संवत्सरं तुला[पूरुषान्]

45 कुर्वन्सप्तहायनमवनीमपालयत् [१*] तदायादस्ताड[पो मा]समेकम्महीं [श*]शास
[१*] चालुक्यभी-

46 मसुतो विक्रमादित्यस्तु स्ता(ता)डपं जित्वा एकादशमासान् क्षितिं ररक्ष [१*]
ताडपस्यात्मजो युद्धम-

47 लस्सप्तसंवत्सरान् । अम्मराजानुजो राजभीमस्समरशिरसि युद्धमल्लं परिजित्य
द्वादश

48 ममा वसुमतीं शशास [१*] ^४तस्यात्मजौ दीर्घ^५भुजावभूतां दानार्णवाम्मक्षितिपौ
सुरूपो [१*] पंचो-

^१ Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*, only one *pāda*.

^२ Metre : *Indravajrā*.

^३ Read 'गुणगांक' or 'गुणग'.

^४ Metre : *Upajāti*.

^५ Read दीर्घ.

- 49 नरान्विंशतिमत्र सोब्दान् क्षोणी शशासाम्ननृपः कनीयान् । [॥२०॥] ^१द्वैमातुरोम्म-
राजस्य ज्येष्ठो(ष्ठो) दानार्णवो नृपः [१*] २-
- 50 रक्ष क्षत्रियश्रेष्ठस्त्रिशत्संवत्सरान् क्षितिम् । [२१॥*] ^२तस्यानु दानार्णवभूमिपस्य वेङ्गुर्वरेयं
रहितेव भ-
- 51 त्री [१*] रिपुक्षमापालकुलाविलासीत्तदा समास्सप्त च विंशतिश्च । [॥२२॥*] ततस्सुतो
दाननृपस्य पृथ्वीं श्रीशक्तिवर्मा
- 52 श्रितराज्यलक्ष्मीः [१*] संग्रामरंगे स विजित्य शत्रून्संवत्सरान् द्वादश संशशास । [॥२३॥*]
^३अनुजस्तस्य वर्षाणि सप्त सप्ता-
- 53 स्वसन्निभः । विमलादित्यभूपालोपालयत्सकलामिलाम् । [॥२४॥*] ^४तस्मादासीद्राज-
राजस्तनूजो राजीवाक्षो
- 54 निजिर्जितारातिराजः [१*] कीर्तिं शुभ्रां दिक्षु [सम्यक्प्रसार्य लक्ष्म्या युक्तः] ^५कांच[णः]
कल्पवृक्षः [॥२५॥*]

Fourth Plate ; First Side

- 55 ^१एकादशाधिकत्रिशद्वर्षाणि ^२सन्निपायणीः [१*] पालयामास बलवानिला-
- 56 मुदधिमेलाम् [॥२६॥*] ^३तस्मादासीदचिर्वताद्धेदुचूडः पादाक्रांतद्वेषिभूपाल-
- 57 चूडः[१*] नानारत्नश्रेणिनद्धात्मचूडः श्रीमान्वी[रः] श्रीकुलोत्तुंगचोडः [॥२७॥*] ^४हि-
- 58 मवत्सेतुपर्य्यतां पञ्चविंशद्व(ति व)त्सरान् [१*] ^५वसुधां वसुधानाथः शशास
- 59 रिपुशासनः [॥२८॥*] ^६तदात्मजो विक्र[म*]चोडदेवः पराक्रमे शक्रसमस्समासी-
- 60 त्[१*] विनम्रभूपालविलोलमोलिमणिप्रभाभासितपादपीठः [॥२९॥*] ^७स सप्त-
- 61 दश वर्षाणि दधे भारम् भुवः प्रभुः[१*] उवाह बाहुवीर्य्येण निहताराति-
- 62 मंडलः [॥३०॥*] ^८तदनु शशिवदुच्चैस्सत्समेतः कलावानुदयमगमदस्मा-
- 63 दस्तदोषांधकारः [१*] अधिकमखिललोकन्नन्दयन्वर्णनीयस्सहजनितजय-

^१ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

^२ This and the next verse are in Upajāti metre.

^३ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

^४ Metre : Śālinī.

^५ Read "कांचनः".

^६ Read स नृपायणीः.

^७ One letter was written and erased before ra.

^८ Metre : Upajāti.

^९ Metre : Mālinī.

- 64 श्री¹ श्रीकुलोत्तुंगचोडः [॥३१॥*] ^२संतप्यं वसुधाराभिर्व्व[सु]धां वसुधाधिपः[॥*] स पं-
 65 चदश वर्षाणि शशास ^३[शिव]किंकरः [॥३२॥*] ^४नस्मादभूदंबुधिमेखलाया वसुन्धरायाः
 66 पतिरप्रकप्यः[॥*] श्रीराजराजो रजनीशवक्त्रस्संराजगजीवममाननेत्रः [॥३३॥*]
 67 ^५नक्ष्मीपति(ते)र्भुवनपावनपादपद्माद्गंगाप्रवाह इव कीर्तिकरः [॥*]वित्रः[॥*] आ-
 68 मीन्द्रिलोकजनकस्य चतुर्थवंशः (१) पादारविन्दयुगलान्कमला-

Fourth Plate ; Second Side

- 69 मनस्य [॥३४॥*] ^६वंशेस्मिन्नजनीशनिर्मलमणि[स्म]द्वयचूडामणिः....
 70 [प्र]पराक्रमो जितरिपुः श्रीमल्लभूपोभवत्[॥*] येनेयं वेल[नांडुना]-
 71 मविषयस्सामंतचिह्नैस्सह [प्रा*]प्तस्त्र्यंबकपल्लवाद्रणशिरस्म(स्मा)-
 72 हाय्य[सं]तोषितात् [॥३५॥*] गतेषु तद्व्येष्ट्यनेकेषु जितारिपु
 73 मंडलेशेषु पृथिवीमंडनेषु यशोर्द्धेषु । ^७नरेन्द्रानुचरः दूर-
 74 स्तद्वंशे मल्लयोभवत् । चंडामिनाशनिर्य्येनाविडि खडित-
 75 वैरिणा [॥३६॥*] तस्मात्पिडुवुरादित्यनामास्य^८ गुणतोभवन् [॥*] ए^९रत-
 76 त्सुतो जज्ञे ततोभून्मल्लियो नृपः [॥३७॥*] ^{१०}चालुक्यभीमानुचरेषु
 77 मुख्यो यः को[ल्ल]पांवां^८ विधिनोपयेमे [॥*] ताभ्यामभूतां विनयो[प]-
 78 [पद्मो] वीरो सुता[वे]र्य्यकोरपी तु [॥३८॥*] ^{११}ए^९योभूतयोर्ज्येष्ठो वंश-
 79 कर्त्ता सुकीर्त्तनः [॥*] पत्नी प्रिया^{१०} तस्य कट्टांबामीन्मनोहरा [॥३९॥*] ^{१२}ताभ्यामभूवन् ष-
 80 ट्पुत्राः षण्मुखप्रतिमा भुवि [॥*] मल्लियो कुडियो गंडः पंडो तन्नश्च
 81 कापनः [॥४०॥*] ^{१३}कुडियाय ददौ तेषु विमलादित्यभूपतिः [॥*] मंडलं गु-

^१ Read ° श्रीः.^२ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.^३ These two letters शिव are written beneath the line.^४ Metre : Upajāti.^५ Metre : Vasantatilakā.^६ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.^७ Read ° सुगुणतो °. Here the letter ण is written below the line after the letter गु.^८ This name may also be read as कोत्यपांवां.^९ This and the next four verses are in Anuṣṭubh metre.^{१०} Two letters are wanting in this pāda.

82 द्रवाराख्यक्षिति मंडलमंडनम् [1४१॥*] नम्रोपि नुतचारित्रः

Fifth Plate ; First Side

- 83 मंडलः [1*] विष्णुवर्द्धन[भू]पालसेनापतिरभूद्भुवि [॥४२॥*] पंडयो..
 84 [..याधिप]स्तस्य गुंडांबिकाभवत् [1*] दयिता 1¹ पांडुराजस्य कुंतीवात्यं-
 85 तसुंदरा² । [॥४३॥*] 3तयोरघा(या)सन्समरैकशौंडाश्चंडप्रतापा इव पांडु-
 86 पुत्राः[1*] पंचेंद्रकल्पा वेदुरश्च गंडो गोंकश्च मल्लश्च तथैव पंडः [॥४४॥*]
 4निज-

- 87 वंशकरस्स तेषु शूरः क्षपितारातिकुलः कुलाणर्वेदुरक-
 88 लंकमृगांकुल्यकोत्तिस्समभूद्गोंकमहीपतिगु(गु)णांकः [॥४५॥*] 5षट्स-
 89 हस्त्रावनीशत्वं श्रीकुलोत्तुंगचोडतः[1*] येन संग्रामसा-
 90 हाय्यतुष्टात्प्राप्तं जितारिणा [॥४६॥*] तस्य गोंकक्षितोशस्य मृ[गां]-
 91 कवदना वरा [1*] सव्वांबिकाभूद्दयिता सर्व्वलक्षणलक्षिता [॥४७॥*] 6पु-
 92 त्रस्तयोरप्रतिमप्रतापः श्रीचोडभूपः कुलरत्नदीपः [1*] जातस्सतां
 93 रक्षणदक्षदक्षि(?)बाहुर्मुकुंदापिपितचित्तवृत्तिः [॥४८॥*] 7तस्य चंडप्रता-
 94 पस्य मंडलेशशिखामणेः [1*] गुंडांबिकाभूद्दयित्या⁸ चारित्रा[गुण]-
 95 मंडिता [॥४९॥*] 9अजनि गतकलंकश्शंकरश्रीपदाब्जद्वितय[भजन]-

Fifth Plate ; Second Side

- 96 10[भ्रित्य]स्तत्सुतो गोंकभूपः [1*] [विभव]जितघनेशः पालिताशेष[देशः]
 97 समरसमय[शौ]ंडो [दंडिता]रातिराज...[॥५०॥*].....
 98 7विमानशिखरेषु यः(1*)शातकुंभमयान्कुंभान् जयस्यं(स्तं)भानि-

¹ Dandu unnecessary.

² Read ° सुंदरी °.

³ Metre : Upajāti.

⁴ Metre : Aupachchandasika.

⁵ This and the next verse are in Anuashubh metre.

⁶ Metre : Indravajrā.

⁷ Metre : Anuashubh.

⁸ Read ° दयिता °.

⁹ Metre : Matini.

¹⁰ Read ° भृत्य °.

- 99 वाकरोत् । [1५१॥*] ¹तद्वल्लभा सकलसद्गुणपात्रगोत्रा सब्बांबिका विकसदं-
- 100 बुजपत्रनेत्रा [1*] लक्ष्मीरिव प्र[ण]तलोकसमग्रदक्षा — — — — [वि]-
- 101 मलचंद्रसमानवक्त्रा [1५२*] ²ताभ्यामुमाशंकरसन्निभाभ्यां कुमारतुल्यः
- 102 प्रभुशक्तियुक्तः [1*] जातो महासैन्यपतिर्महीपो राजेंद्रचोड[शिख*]-
- 103 तचंद्रचूडः । [1५३*] ¹[य]श्शंखचक्रकलशंकुशकल्पवृक्षवज्राब्जमत्स्या[म*]-
- 104 करांकितपाणिपादः [1*] षट्चक्रवर्त्ति[सद्वि(दृ)श]श्शतपत्रपत्रनेत्रस्सुपूर्ण(र्ण)[श]-
- 105 रदिंदुसमानवक्त्रः [1५४॥*] ³यस्मिन्जाते सुखी जातो लोको वृद्धिमुपा⁴-
..... [वर्म]-
- 106 श्च वृद्धिमगमत्त्रिविक्रमपराक्रमे । [1५५॥*] ⁵.....⁶सदृशो को-
- 107 दंडशिक्षा.....क्षितितलत्राणोन्मुखे यत्करे[1*] सेतोर्भीत....
- 108चोरस्तदा.....[1५६].....
- 109

Sixth Plate ; First Side

- 110 ⁷त्यादपि यन्नसाध्यम् [1*] अंभोधिगंभोरमनंतसत्त्वम्म⁸संप्राप्य तोये-
- 111 न बलाद्रसार्द्धम् । [1५६*] ⁹देवब्राह्मणकंटकः पृथुतरः[शौ]र्व्येण मानी ख-
- 112 लो दुर्गातिर्त्रिलयो भयंकरवपुः[] श्रीरामतुल्योजसौः¹⁰[1*] येनाजो-
- 113 कोलनाटिभीमनृपति[*] पुत्रै[श्च] मित्रैस्सह श्रुद्धो[] रावणसन्निभो भुज-
- 114 बला[न्नि]र्मूलमुन्मीलितः [1५७॥*]⁹ पूर्वार्भोनिधिकालहस्तिशिखरि[श्च]मम्म-

¹ Metre : *Vasantatilakā*.

² Metre : *Upajāti*.

³ Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁴ The missing letters may be read as गमत्.

⁵ This may be a verse. Metre cannot be distinguished.

⁶ The reading is doubtful.

⁷ Metre : *Indravajrā*.

⁸ Read °सत्त्वं संप्रा°.

⁹ Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹⁰ Read °स्त्योजसः.

- 115 हेंद्राचलश्रीशैली¹ व्वलैकृतांध्रविषयं श्रीराजराजस्व-²
 116 यं [1*] यस्मै विक्रमविस्मितस्समदिशत्सामंतचिह्नैस्सह श्रीम-
 117 च्चामरयुग्मसुंदर³वियच्चं[द्रोद]याद्यैर्मृदा [॥५८॥*] ⁴अत्युत्तमो[त्तु]गु-
 118 रंगयूथ(थ)वुराग्रसम्मूर्च्छितरेणुजालं [1*] आमत्तमातंगमदां-
 119 बुद⁵[सेकैः] प्रशाम्यते यस्य जयप्रयाणे [॥५९॥*] ⁶काठिन्यं कुचकुम्भयो-
 120 स्तरल[ता हा]रे भ्रुवोर्वक्त्रा मंदत्वं गमने वरांग्रितलयोर्निर्ग-
 121 त्सनं क्षामतां [1*] वाण्यां तैक्षणमपांगयोश्च समभूत्संग्राम — —
 122 क्षितिः श्रीवोडक्षितिपालकीर्तिरशना यस्मिंश्चिरं शासति [॥६०॥*]
⁷लक्ष्मीर्व-

Sixth Plate ; Second Side

- 123 क्षसि दक्षिणे भुजतटे वी[र]श्रियं यः परां [1*] वामे चैव [भुजोत्त]-
 124 मे [जय]रमां वाग्देवतामान[ने ।] शत्रुध्वंसनकारिणीं — —
 125 शिरस्यत्यंत ○ — ○ — बिभ्रन्माधवपंकजासन-
 126 पुरप्रत्यक्षिचं राजते [॥६१*] ⁸प्रादाद्यश्च महाग्रहारनिकरं संवर्द्धि[भि]-
 127 स्संयुतं विप्रेभ्यः कधिपुंडरीकनिकरप्रद्योतनश्शत्रुहा [1*] भ[द्रा]
 128 राजशिखामणिः क्षितिमिमां शश्वत्समृद्धां जनैर्ममाधाता नृप-
 129 तिर्य्यधा(था) च ⁹मकरश्रीधर्मभुत्रो यधा(था) [॥६२*] ¹⁰दानं यस्य समाग-
 130 [तार्थि]ज[न]तादारिद्र्यविद्रावनं(णं) शौ[र्य्य] यस्य विरोधराजवनि-
 131 तावैधव्यदीक्षागुरु[ः।] कीर्तिर्दिव्यनदीव यस्य विमला व्याप्तत्रिलोकी-

¹ Read °श्रीशैलैर्बलया°.

² Read °राजराजस्व°.

³ Read °सुंदर°.

⁴ Metre : Upajāti.

⁵ Read मदांबुसेकैः.

⁶ Metre : Śārdūlavikīṛita.

⁷ Metre : Śārdūlavikīṛita. Read °लक्ष्मीं व°.

Read सगरः°.

- 132 [स्थिता] श्रीचोडक्षितिपस्य तस्य महिमा न]स्याद्वचोचरम् [॥६३॥*] ^१राजेंद्रचोडभूपा-
133 तस्सोयं परपुरंजयः [१*] नयोगाद्राजराजस्य पालयन्नंघ्रमंडलम् [॥६४॥*]
इंदुनंद(द)-
134 वियच्चंद्रगणिते शकवत्सरे [१*] श्रीमतो राजराजस्य त्रयोविंशकवत्सरे [॥६५॥*] कदाचित्पु-
135 न्ये(ण्ये)[हनि] धनदपुय्यां [स्थितः] [इनुंगळिनामग्रामं] वेदवेदांगपाखगा-
136 य मीमांसा निजमानसाय षट्त्वं
137 [Damaged. The rest is lost.]

^१ Metro: Anushtubh.

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By A. N. LAHIRI, M.A.

[The figures refer to pages and *n.* after a figure to footnotes. The following other abbreviations are also used :—*au.* = author ; *ca.* = capital ; *ch.* = chief ; *ci.* = city ; *co.* = country ; *di.* = district or division ; *do.* = ditto ; *dy.* = dynasty ; *E.* = Eastern ; *engr.* = engraver ; *ep.* = epithet ; *f.* = family ; *fe.* = female ; *feud.* = feudatory ; *gen.* = general ; *ins.* = inscription ; *k.* = king ; *l.* = locality ; *l.m.* = linear measure or land measure ; *m.* = male ; *min.* = minister ; *mo.* = mountain ; *myth.* = mythological ; *n.* = name ; *N.* = Northern ; *off.* = office or officer ; *peo.* = people ; *pr.* = prince or princess ; *q.* = queen ; *rel.* = religious ; *ri.* = river ; *S.* = Southern ; *s.a.* = same as ; *sur.* = surname ; *te.* = temple ; *Tel.* = Telugu ; *t.d.* = territorial division ; *tit.* = title ; *tk.* = taluk ; *tn.* = town ; *vi.* = village ; *W.* = Western ; *wk.* = work.]

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