

C. J. - H05789 - 14-H9100

PGEI. 1. XXXIX-I (Addl.)
750+250-1983

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOL. XXXIX

PART I

JANUARY 1971

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1981

Published by the Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi-11
Printed at the Government of India Press (Publication Unit),
Santragachi, Howrah, India

Price : Inland Rs. 8.00. Foreign 18 Sh. 8d. or 2 \$ 88 cents.



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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

Volume XXXIX

1971-1972

No. 1—PANGURARIA INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, CALCUTTA

Some time ago, report reached us that a rock inscription of Aśoka¹ had been discovered at the village of Pāngurārīā (Pāngudādiyā) in the Budhni Tahsil of the Sehore District, Madhya Pradesh. It was found in a rock shelter on a slope at the southern side of the Vindhyan range in 22° 43' N and 77° 43' E in a forest unit named after the said village. The hill is called Saru-Marū or Saru-Maru. Under instructions from Shri M. N. Deshpande, Director General of the Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, Shri P. R. Srinivasan, Chief Epigraphist-in-charge, Mysore, was good enough to send me one set each of the inked impressions and photographs of the Pāngurārīā inscription in March, 1976, for editing the record in the *Epigraphia Indica*. I was informed at the time that the discovery of the record was made by a team of three archaeologists belonging to the Prehistory Branch of the Survey stationed at Nagpur. They are Shri B. P. Bopardikar, Technical Assistant, and his colleagues, Shri P. R. K. Prasad and Shri A. J. Nambhiraju. At the same time, Dr. K. D. Banerjee, Superintending Archaeologist, Prehistory Branch, wrote to me that no satisfactory estampage of the writing was possible because of the roughness of the rock surface and that their photographs taken by the Survey officials were better for the purpose of decipherment. On an examination of the material received from Shri Srinivasan, I found that Dr. Banerjee was right. Of course, I succeeded in preparing a tentative transcript of the inscription with the help of the impressions and photographs received from Shri Srinivasan. In July, 1976, I received two sets of good photographs of the inscription from Dr. K. D. Banerjee who also sent me soon afterwards another group of bigger photographs with a description of the hillside and the situation of the writings. These helped me in completing my paper on the inscription, though the transcript was revised with the help of fresh impressions received from Shri Srinivasan a few months later.

The rock shelter stands at a height of 21 m. from the ground at the foot of the hill, which is about 304 m. above the sea level and slopes gradually down to the Narmadā. The hillside is studded with the remains of about thirty monasteries constructed on platforms made of dressed stones, the remains of a big *stūpa* (about 65 m. in diameter) lying below the bottom of the hill. There are also similar remains of a number of monastic cells and other constructions. The said rock shelter is on a platform which is the second from below and has some *stūpas* in front of it. It has an overhanging rock and a vertical uneven back wall which is horizontally broken into two parts due to weathering. Its floor is paved with natural and

¹ Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in this article.

dressed slabs, and there is a thick wall which is made of rubbles and may have been raised to give a support to the overhanging rock serving as a roof for the shelter. The main inscription is engraved in two parts on a section of the lower half of the back wall. There are three lines of writing in the first part and five lines in the second, the gap between the two parts being 11 cm. and the lines of the second part starting from about 27 cm. to the left of the beginning of those of the first and 4 cm. to the right of the left margin of the rock. This means that a considerable space in the upper left corner of the area was left out as unsuitable for incising letters on it.¹

The lines of writing in the first part are 90 cm. long. The *aksharas* are not of uniform size either in the first or in the second part. The length of the full lines in the second part is between 106 and 108 cm. though the second half of lines 4-6 is completely peeled off as is also the case with a considerable portion of the latter half of lines 7-8. The gaps between the lines is not uniform in either of the two parts of the edict.

Another section of the inscription in fairly big characters is engraved in the upper half of the wall on the uneven surface of the facade at a height of 4.25 m. from the floor level of the shelter. However, due to a change in the alignment of the wall, the main edict faces the south, while this part faces the south-west. The area occupied by it is 55 cm. in width and 50 cm. in height. Because the overhanging rock has a leakage at the joint above the writing of this section, the inscription has been suffering for a very long time from the flow of rain water and the growth of lichen, so that most of the letters became visible only after chemical treatment.

The Pāngurārīā inscription is the fifteenth version of Minor Rock Edict I of Aśoka, the other fourteen versions of which have been found at the following places within the dominions of the said emperor. (1) Ahaurā, Mirzapur District, U.P., (2) the village of Bahāpur near Delhi, (3) Bairāṭ, Jaipur District, Rajasthan, (4) Brahmagiri, Chitradurga District, Karnataka, (5) Erraguḍi, Kurnool District, Andhra Pradesh, (6) Gavīmaṭh near Koppal, Raichur District, Karnataka, (7) Gujarrā, Datia District, Madhya Pradesh, (8) Jaṭiṅga Rāmēśvara, Chitradurga District, Karnataka, (9) Maski, Raichur District, Karnataka, (10) Pālkīguṇḍu near Gavīmaṭh in the same District of Karnataka, (11) Rājula-Manḍagiri, Kurnool District, Andhra Pradesh, (12) Rūpnāth, Jabalpur District, Madhya Pradesh, (13) Sahasrām, Rohtas District, Bihar,² and (14) Śiddāpura, Chitradurga District, Karnataka. Of these, the versions, which are at close proximity, were on the whole copied from the same draft, e.g., Nos. 4, 8 and 14 in the Chitradurga District, Nos. 6 and 10 in the Raichur District, and Nos. 5 and 11 in the Kurnool District. These three groups may be regarded as three versions which have their peculiarities like the other eight including the recently discovered Pāngurārīā version under study.

The Pāngurārīā text of Minor Rock Edict I is damaged and fragmentary. Since the inscription has been written here in three sections, it appears that the surface of the rock was found unsuitable for engraving the record in continuous lines of writing of a uniform size in a particular area. Of the three sections, the smallest one at the top consists of only five lines each having about five or six *aksharas* of a fairly big size. This part, as we shall see below, forms a kind of preface to the edict proper just as an address is to a letter.

¹ We know that, at Gujarrā, lines 2-5 of the epigraph begin from a distance of about six inches towards the left of the commencement of line 1.

² In Bihar, in several cases, two or three Districts have been recently created out of an old District. Sahasrām formerly belonged to the Shahabad District which is now divided into the Rohtas and Bhojpur Districts.

The edict proper is engraved below in the other two sections in smaller characters. The inscribed surface is rough, and some letters are incised in depressions. The engraver must have faced considerable difficulty in incising the record at some places.

In spite of its fragmentary nature, Minor Rock Edict I at Pāngurāriā is of **exceptional importance** because it exhibits some peculiarities from the points of view of language and contents as well as the arrangement of the text. As is to be expected, the language of the inscription is **Prakrit** and the script **Early Brāhmī**. The difference of the present text from the other versions of the edict will be seen from our discussion below, in the course of which we shall have to quote a few sentences from the various texts in explaining the contents of the record under study.

It should be noted that the language is not the so-called Magadhan Prakrit, *ra* being retained and not changed to *la*. It is well known that the said change of *ra* to *la* characterises the language of the North Indian versions at Ahaurā, Bairāṭ, Delhi and Sahasrām so that the Western version at Pāngurāriā is found to follow the Northern texts in this respect. While the Southern texts at Gavimāṭh and Pāḷkiguṇḍu as well as in the Chitradurga and Kurnool Districts exhibit the retention of Sanskrit *ra*, the Central versions at Gujarrā, Rūpnāth and Maski exhibit both the characteristics of retaining *ra* in some cases and modifying it in others. Thus Gujarrā is the northernmost place exhibiting the occasional retention of *ra*, while Maski is the southernmost text showing the change of *ra* to *la* in some cases. Another important point in respect of the language of the Pāngurāriā version is that Sanskrit *yatra*, which is found as *yata* (i.e. *yatta*) in the inscriptions of Aśoka and rarely as *ata* with modification of *ya* to *a*, is found in the present record in the form *yatha* (i.e. *yattha* which is the usual Pali form of the word) in line 8, the said Pali form being regarded by scholars as a later development.¹ This type of modification, however, can possibly be traced in the records of Aśoka in the change of Sanskrit *atra* to *heta* and *hetā* which are often noticed in the edicts and in which the aspiration seems to have been transferred from the second to the first *akshara*.² The change of *ha* to *he* (*attha=hatta=hetta*) is supposed to have developed from *itra=atra* on the analogy of *īdriṣa=hedisa*. Another peculiarity of the language of the Pāngurāriā version is the use of *yate* (Sanskrit *yataḥ* in place of *ya*, Rūpnāth, Bairāṭ and the Chitradurga versions), *yam* (Rājula-Maṇḍagiri, Gavimāṭh and Delhi versions) or *am* (Sahasrām and Ahaurā versions)— all standing for Sanskrit *yat* — in line 3. The expression *mahāpa-kāraṇeṇa* (Sanskrit *mahātma-kāraṇeṇa*, 'owing to the exalted position') is found elsewhere as *mahatata* standing for Sanskrit *mahātmatvāt* and *mahatana*, *mahatpena* or *mahatena* which forms stand for Sanskrit *mahātmanā* ('by a person of exalted position'), etc. As regards the forms *vaḍhisiti* and *hositi* in lines 7 and 8, *vaḍhisiti* occurs several times at Rūpnāth and Ahaurā and in the Chitradurga and Raichur Districts, and probably also in the Kurnool District. The form *hesiti* exhibits the influence of *vaḍhisiti*.

As regards the importance of the inscription from the point of view of contents, it should be noted that, in this case, the edict is represented as addressed by Aśoka to the local governor who was *Kumāra*, i.e. a scion of his family and probably not a son of his. We know from the two so-called separate Kalinga Edicts (the second and first of which we call Rock Edicts XV and XVI) that such *Kumāras* were stationed at Tosali in Kalinga and at Ujjayinī and Takshaṣilā which were apparently the headquarters respectively of the western and north-western provinces of Aśoka's empire. Pillar Edict VII (line 27), found only in the Delhi-Topra

¹ Cf. Childers' Dictionary, s.v.

² The aspiration in forms like *hesā* (Sanskrit *eshā*) may be due to the influence of *hetā*, etc.

version, makes separate mention of the *dārakas* (i.e. Aśoka's own sons) and the other *devī-kumāras* probably including the sons of his stepmothers and the wives of his brothers and sons. We also know that the sons of the emperor were mentioned as *Ārya-putra*. The relationship of the king with the *Ārya-putra* and the *Kumāra* may have been different. In any case the said part of the inscription under study reminds us of the fact that, of all the versions of Minor Rock Edict I so far known, only the three in the Chitradurga District of Karnataka (considerably peeled off at Jaṅga-Rāmeśvara) begin with the passage, *Suvarṇagīrite Ārya-putasa Mahāmātānam cha vachanena Isilasi Mahāmātā ārogiyaṃ vataviyā* [*] *Devānampiye ānapatati* (or *heyam āha*) [] [*] This introduces Aśoka's message as communicated by the *Āryaputra*, i.e. the king's son who was the viceroy of the southern province stationed at Suvarṇagiri (near Eṅgaḍi in the Kurnool District, Andhra Pradesh), and the *Mahāmātras* (i.e. the high class administrative officers) under him, to the *Mahāmātras* stationed at Isila (near the inscriptions in the Chitradurga District of Karnataka). Most of the other versions begin with the sentence, "Says the Beloved of the Gods" or "Thus says the Beloved of the Gods" while at Maski and Gujarrā we have "[This is the order] of Aśoka or Aśokarāja, the Beloved of the Gods".

A comparison of the different versions of Minor Rock Edict I shows that some of them are drafted in fewer words than the others.¹ The present version belongs to the shorter type. However, the most important change in respect of the arrangement of the text in the present version is that the reference to the issue of the edict by the king on the passing away of the 256th night (i.e. day) when Aśoka was away from his capital in the course of a tour of pilgrimage is put at the beginning of the edict here. It is well known that this reference is found in either a short or an elaborate form only in the nine versions at Ahaurā, Gujarrā, Rūpnāth, Sahasrām, the three places in the Chitradurga District of Karnataka (peeled off at Jaṅga-Rāmeśvara) and the two places in the Kurnool District of Andhra Pradesh; but it comes at or about the end of the record in all these cases.

The first section of the inscription, forming a sort of preface as we have said above, reads : (1) *Piyadasi-nāma* (2) *rājā kumāra[sa]* (3) *Samvasa Māṇe* (4) *ma-dese* [U or O] *punitha* (5) *vihāra-[ya]tāy[e]*. In Sanskrit, *Priyadarśi-nāma rājā kumārāya Samvāya*² [*uddiśya likhātī*] *Māṇema-deśe upunitha-vihārayātrāyāḥ*. It has to be pointed out that the second *akshara* in line 2 is clearly *jā* and not *ja* so that the reading of the line is not *rājakumārāsa*. Although there is some sign of a damage at the end of line 1, the above fact further precludes the possibility of the reading *Piyadasinā ma[hā*]rāja-kumārāsa* in lines 1-2. Thus if an *akshara* is really damaged at the end of line 1, it may have been *ko* so that the reading of lines 1-2 would be *Piyadasi-nāma[ko*] rājā kumārāsa*, although no such *akshara* may have been actually incised. There is again a mark at the end of line 3 after *Māṇe*; if this is regarded as the remnant of an *akshara* originally engraved at the place, the geographical name in question would be *Māṇema-deśa* and not *Māṇema-deśa*. However, we are doubtful if such an *akshara* was really engraved.

The earlier part of this section shows that it was an address of the king, whose name was Priyadarśin (i.e. king Aśoka), to the *Kumāra* (i.e. a prince of the royal blood, if not actually his son), named *Samva*, who must have been stationed at a city that was situated in the vicinity of the inscribed rock at Pāngurārā. The latter part of the writing seems to refer to one's *yātrā* or pilgrimage to a monastery called U (or O) *punitha-vihāra* situated in a territory, the name of which looks like *Māṇema-deśa*. It is possible to think that Aśoka sent the copy of the edict engraved below to the *Kumāra* or viceroy of the region when he was proceeding to the monastery in question in the course of his pilgrimage probably

¹ This fact has been admitted in Rock Edict XIV.

² For the personal name *Samva*, also spelt *Śamba*, see Monier-Williams, *Sans.-Eng. Dict.*, s.v.

sometime after the promulgation of the edict. Thus the address would mean, "The king named Priyadarśin [speaks] to Kumāra Śaṁva from [his] march [of pilgrimage] to the Upunitha (or Opunitha) monastery in Māṇema-deśa. It should better not be regarded as an order of the king asking the viceroy to visit the monastery in question. It seems clear now that the entire period of pilgrimage was not passed by Aśoka at one monastery or holy place. The importance of the Pāngurāriā inscription lies in the fact that it is the only Aśokan edict that mentions one of his governors by name and describes the king as 'named Priyadarśin.'

The first two sentences of our record after the above address read, *sāvānam viyūthe[na]* 200 50 6 [*] *Devānāmpiye āṇapayati* [*]. In this *viyūtha-viyūtha* is Pāli-Prākṛit *vuttha* (with *vi* prefixed to it), which is the same as *vasita* and *usita*, all the forms being derived from *vaseti* in the sense of 'to spend [time].'¹ Thus the sentences would stand in Sanskrit as [*idam*] *śrāvāṇam [kṛitam mayā] vyushitena 256 [rātri-śatāni] Devānāmpriyaḥ āñāpayati* | The declaration was thus issued by Aśoka when he had passed 256 nights (i.e. days) in the course of a tour of pilgrimage. This meaning is clear from some versions of the edict as we shall see below. That the word *āñāpayati* (Sanskrit *āñāpayati*) stands for *āha* is suggested by the fact that, of the similarly phrased versions in the Chitradurga District, Brahmagiri has *Devānāmpiye āṇapayati* while Siddāpura shows *Devānāmpiye hevaṁ āha*.

As already indicated above, the first of the two sentences is found in some of the versions at or near about the end of the record. However it appears either in a few words or in an elaborate statement. The present inscription offers the shortest form of the sentence. So far the shortest form of it was found as *iyam cha sāvane vivuthena* (Gujarrā), and 256 was added to it in the five versions in the Chitradurga and Kurnool Districts. Its meaning is made clear by the elaboration in the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām and Ahaurā versions. Thus at Rūpnāth we have, *vyuthena sāvane kate* followed by the explanatory sentence *256 sata vivāsā (so) ta (ti)*. Here the word *vivāsa*, from the same root as *vivuttha*, is the same as *pravāsa*, i.e., 'Passing one's time away from home' and *256 sata* refers to the passing away of 256 nights (i.e. days) by Aśoka away from home (i.e. from the capital in the present case)¹. At Sahasrām the corresponding passage reads *iyam cha sāvane vivuthena* which is likewise followed by the sentence *duvē sapamālāti-satāvivuthā ti 256* (Sanskrit : *dve śat-pañchāśad-rātri-śata vuyshitah [aham] iti 256*), "[I am] away from home (i.e. my capital) [on a tour of pilgrimage] for two hundred and fifty six nights 256'.

The concluding sentence in the Ahaurā version, which practically combines the two sentences of Rūpnāth and Sahasrām and gives interesting details, runs as follows : *esa sāvane vivuthena duve sapamālāti-sati am mañche Budhasa salile āloḍhe ti* ; in Sanskrit : *etat śrāvāṇam vyushitena [mayā śrāvitaṁ] dve śatpañchāśad-rātri-śate yat (=yataḥ) mañcham Buddhasya śarīram (deh-āvaśeṣah)ārūḍham iti*, "This declaration is [made by me as I am] away from my capital [on a tour of pilgrimage] for 256 nights (=days) since the relics of the Buddha rose to (i.e. were caused by me to be installed on) the platform".

The next sentences of our record are *adha[ti]yāni vasāni yate sumi upāsake no chu bā[ḍham] pakāṁte husam ti va* [*] *saṁ[vacha]raṁ [s-ādhiḥkaṁ me saḥaya va]te bāḍha ch[ū] sumi pakāṁta* [*] Sanskrit : *ardha-tritīyāni varshāni yataḥ asmi [aham upāsakaḥ no cha tu [aham] bāḍham prakrāntaḥ abhūvam iti eva samvatsaram sādhiḥkaṁ mayā saṁghaḥ yat yataḥ bāḍham cha tu asmi prakrāntaḥ*. It says how Aśoka was a lay worshipper of the Buddha for two years and a half before

¹ See above, Vol. XXXVI, p. 241 ; cf. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, 1965, p. 516, note 2.

² Cf. a similar use of the word *sata* elsewhere e.g., in passages like *samvatsara-sata* 872 in the Buchkala inscription (Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions, No. 22).

the issue of the edict and how he was not zealously active at first in the cause of Dharma. The record further says how the Buddhist church came to be intimately associated with him and how, as a result of that, Aśoka became zealously active for more than a year before the promulgation of the edict. We know that in most versions the word *adhātiyāni* is modified by another word like *adhikāni*, *s-ādihikāni* or *s-ātirekāni* and that, besides Pāngurārīā, Gujarrā is the only version where there is no such word. At the places in the Chitradurga and Kurnool Districts, we have *ekam samvacharam* added to the next sentence, the first group placing these words after *pakamte husam* and the second group before it. For the word which seems to be *yāta* at Pāngurārīā (as at Gujarrā), we have *upagata* (Maski), *upeta* (Rūpnāth, the Chitradurga versions, Gavimaṭh, Erraguḍi and Ahaurā) and *upayāta* (Bairāṭ, Rājula-Maṇḍagiri and Delhi). Another difference is that some versions (Maski and Rūpnāth) prefer *aham saṅgham yātaḥ* (*upetaḥ*, *upagataḥ* or *upayātaḥ*) while the others (Bairāṭ, Brāhmagiri, Siddāpura, Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara, Erraguḍi, Gavimaṭh and Delhi) have it as *mayā saṅghaḥ upetaḥ*, *upagataḥ*, *upayātaḥ*), though both mean the same thing and show, in our opinion,¹ that Aśoka came in close contact with the Buddhist church more than a year before the promulgation of Rock Edict I. Of course, this close contact may have been the result of his visit to a monastery. In place of *bāḍham chu sumi pakamta*, the Maski version has *uthānam cha sumi upagata* (Sanskrit *utthānam cha asmi upagataḥ*) in which *utthāna* means exertion of zealous activity in the matter of Dharma.

The passage that follows runs, *imam cha kalam Jam[budipa]si² devā na [manusehi mi]s[i]bhūtā husu [|*] [te dāni misibhūtā*] [|*] [pakamāsa hi esa pha*]la [|*] no cha esa mahāpa-k[ā]raṇe(na) va [|*] khuda[ke] pi pakama[māne sakiye vipulam svagam ārādhyitum*] [|*] [etāya*] aṭhāya esa sāvanē kitā(ti) khudakā [cha] udārakā cha paka[marantu*] [|*] [amta pi cha jānantu*] kiti ete pi pakameyu ti [|*] ayam hi aṭhe vadhisiṭi vipula [pi cha] vadhisiṭi diyadhān [eva*] [va]dhisiti [|*] chi[ra]thitike cha hositi [|*] Sanskrit, *imam cha kalam [yavat] Jambūdvīpe devāḥ na manushyair miśribhūtāḥ abhūvan | te idānīm [manushyair] miśribhūtāḥ [|*] prakramasya hi etat phalam | no cha etat [mama] mahātma-kāraṇen=aiwa [ārādham*] kshudrakāḥ api prakramamāṇaḥ śakyāḥ vipulam svagam=ārādhyitum | etasmai arthāya etat śrāvaṇam | kim=iti | kshudrakāḥ cha udārakāḥ cha prakramantu | antāḥ api cha jānantu | kim=iti | ete api prakrameyuh iti | ayam hi arthaḥ vadhishyate vipulam cha vadhishyate dvyardham vadhishyate | chira-sthitikāḥ cha bhaviṣyati |* Here we are told that, in former times, the gods were not mingled with men in Jambūdvīpa (i.e. in Aśoka's empire), but that they mingled with men as a result of Aśoka's zealous effort for a little above one year. It is emphasised that the said success was not due to the fact that Aśoka was an eminent or rich person. We are told that even a zealously exerting small or poor man would attain to the great heaven. The object of the declaration is stated to be Aśoka's desire that both the small or poor and the big and rich should zealously exert themselves and that the people living on the borders of the empire should know about it and exert themselves in the matter. We are also told that his purpose was expected not only to get it increased but to get it increased greatly and even to one and half times. Aśoka further wanted that this becomes ever-lasting. In expressing the ideas of this section, the language used in the different versions is not exactly the same.*

The language of this passage is also slightly different in the different versions. For *imam cha kalam*, we have *pure* (Maski), *imāyam velāyam* (Gavimaṭh and possibly also Rūpnāth), *etena cha amtalena* (Sahasrām and Ahaurā; cf. *etena amtareṇa* at Gujarrā),

¹ See my *Maski Inscription of Aśoka*, Hyderabad, 1958, pp. 24-25.

The Gujarrā version adds *Devānāḥ piyasa* after *Jambūdvīpa*. See also above, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 2.

iminā.chu kālena (Chitradurga and Kurnool). Sometimes the mingling is mentioned as that of the gods with the men as in our record; but sometimes it is the mingling of the men with the gods, the meaning of course being the same. The word *misibhūta* occurs at Maski and in the Kurnool District, the idea being expressed in other words elsewhere; e.g. *misā kaṭā (miśrāḥ kṛitāḥ)* at Rūpnāth and Gavimāth; *misamdevā katā (miśra-devāḥ kṛitāḥ)* at Sahasrām, Gujarrā and Ahaurā, and *misā (miśrāḥ)* at Delhi and in the Chitradurga District. The nature of the mingling is indicated at Gujarrā where we have the additional passage, *khudāke chā udāre chā dhammam charaṃtu yogaṃ yumjanṭu*, "Let the poor and the rich [both] practise [the duties associated with] Dharma [and] effect [their] association [with the gods thereby]." This apparently refers to the ancient Indian belief that pious people often succeeded in bringing down the gods on the earth to have conversation with them.¹

The concluding passage in the Pāngurāriā version reads *yatha cha pavatā yatha cha silātha[bhā] [savata lekhape*]tavā(vi)ya ti [|*]* In Sanskrit it is *yatra cha parvatāḥ [santi] yatra cha śilā-stambhāḥ [santi] [sarvatra teshu teshu ayam arthaḥ] lekhitavyaḥ iti ||* Hereby Aśoka instructs his governor of the area around Pāngurāriā to get the edict engraved on rocks and stone pillars wherever they are available within his jurisdiction. We know that only two other versions have a corresponding passage although it is differently worded in them. Thus at Rūpnāth we have *iya cha aṭhe pavatisu lekhāpeta vāyata [|*] ha(hi)da cha aṭhi sa(si)lā-ṭhabhe silā-ṭhambhasi la(li)khaṭava(vi)ya ti [|*]* which stands in Sanskrit as *ayam cha arthaḥ parvateshu lekhaya vāyataḥ | iha cha asti [chet] śilā-stambhaḥ śilā-stambhe lekhitavyaḥ iti |* "And cause this matter to be written (i.e. engraved) on rocks whenever an opportunity offers itself. And [per chance] there is a stone-pillar, [it] should be caused to be written (i.e. engraved) on the stone-pillar." Likewise at Sahasrām, the passage runs, *ima cha aṭham pavatesu likhāpayāthā [|*] yata vā athi hetā silā-ṭhambhā taṭa pi likhāpayatha ti [|*]* In Sanskrit, it would stand as *imam cha artham parvateshu lekhaya | yatra vā santi atra śilā-stambhāḥ taṭa api lekhaya iti [|*]* "And get this matter written (i.e. engraved) on rocks. Or wherever there are stone-pillars here, cause [it] to be written (i.e. engraved) thereon."

The introductory part of the record seems to mention two geographical names, viz. Māṇema-deśa and probably Upunitha (or Opunitha), where there was a Buddhist monastery. The city where Aśoka's viceroy named Śaṃva was stationed must have been situated near the inscribed rock at Pāngurāriā.

TEXT²

Introductory Part

- 1 Piyadasi-nāme³
- 2 r[ā]jā Kumāra[sa]
- 3 Saṃvasa Māpe⁴
- 4 ma-des[e] [U]⁵ punitha.
- 5 vihāra-[ya]tāy[e] [|*]⁶

¹ See the case of the Śailodbhava king Ayaśobhita Mādhyamarāja of Orissa (above, Vol. XXIX, p.35; cf. Vol. XXXVI, p. 233).

² From photographs and impressions.

³ For the possibility of a damaged *akshara* here, see above.

⁴ There is a mark after *pe*. For the possibility of its being the remnant of a lost *akshara*, see above.

⁵ The *akshara* may be *O* also so that the name may be Opunitha.

⁶ There seems to be a *svastika* mark at the end of the line.

EDICT

Section I

- 1 Sāvāṇaṃ viyuthe[na] 200 50 6 [*] Devānāṃpiy[e] ānapayati [*] adha[ti]yā¹
 2 ni vaṣāni yate sumi upāsake no chu bā[ḍham] [pa]kāte husaṃ ti va [*]² saṃ[vachha]-
 raṃ [sā]-
 3 [dhikaṃ me sagha ya yā]te hāḍha ch[u] sum[i] pakamta [*] imaṃ cha kālaṃ ja[m̄bu]-
 [dipa*]si

Section II

- 4 devā na [manusehi mi]s[i]bhūtā husū [*].³
 5 la [| *] no cha esa mahāpa-k[ā]raṇeṇo(na) va [*] khudake pi pakama⁴
 6 aṭhāya esa sāvaṇe kitā(ti) khudakā [cha] uḍārakā cha paka⁵
 7 kiti ete pi pakameyu ti [*] ayaṃ hi aṭhe vaḍhisiti vipula [pi cha] . . . [va]dhi⁶
 8 siti [| *] chi[ra]-thitike cha hositi [*] yatha cha pavatā yatha cha silā-tha[bhā] . . .⁷
 [ta]vā(vi)ya ti [*]

TRANSLATION

The king named Priyadarśin [speaks] to Kumāra Śaṃva from [his] march [of pilgrim-
 mage] to the U(or O)punitha-vihāra in Māṇema-deśa.

[This] declaration [was issued by me when I was] on a tour [of pilgrimage and had stayed]
 away from the capital for] 256 [nights; i. e. days].

The Beloved of the Gods issued the order [thus].

[It is two and half] years since I have been a lay worshipper [of the Buddha].

[However,] I was not zealously active [in the matter of Dharma at the beginning].

[It is now more than a year that] the Buddhist Church has been intimately associated
 with me, and I am zealously active [in the matter of Dharma].

Upto this time, the gods were not mingled with men in Jambū-dvīpa.

[Now they have been mingled with men].

[This is] the result [of my zealous activity].

This has not been caused by me being a big (i.e. rich) man.

The small (i.e. poor) man, if zealously active [in the matter of Dharma], [may attain to
 the great heaven].

For [this] purpose has this declaration [been made] that the small (poor) and the big
 (rich) should be zealously active [in the cause of Dharma].

[The people living on the borders of my empire should also know] that they should also
 be zealously active [in the same cause].

This matter will increase— will greatly increase— will [indeed] increase [to one and half
 times] and will become ever-lasting.

Wherever there are rocks and wherever there are pillars of stone, [everywhere this matter]
 should be written (i.e. engraved).

¹ No word like *sādhikāni* appears before *adhatiyāni*.

² There seems to be a little space here.

³ The *aksharas*, which are peeled off here, are *te dāni misibhūtā [| *] pakamasa hi esa pha°*.

⁴ The missing *aksharas* here appear to have been *°māne sakiye vipulam syagam ārādhayitum [| *] etāya*.

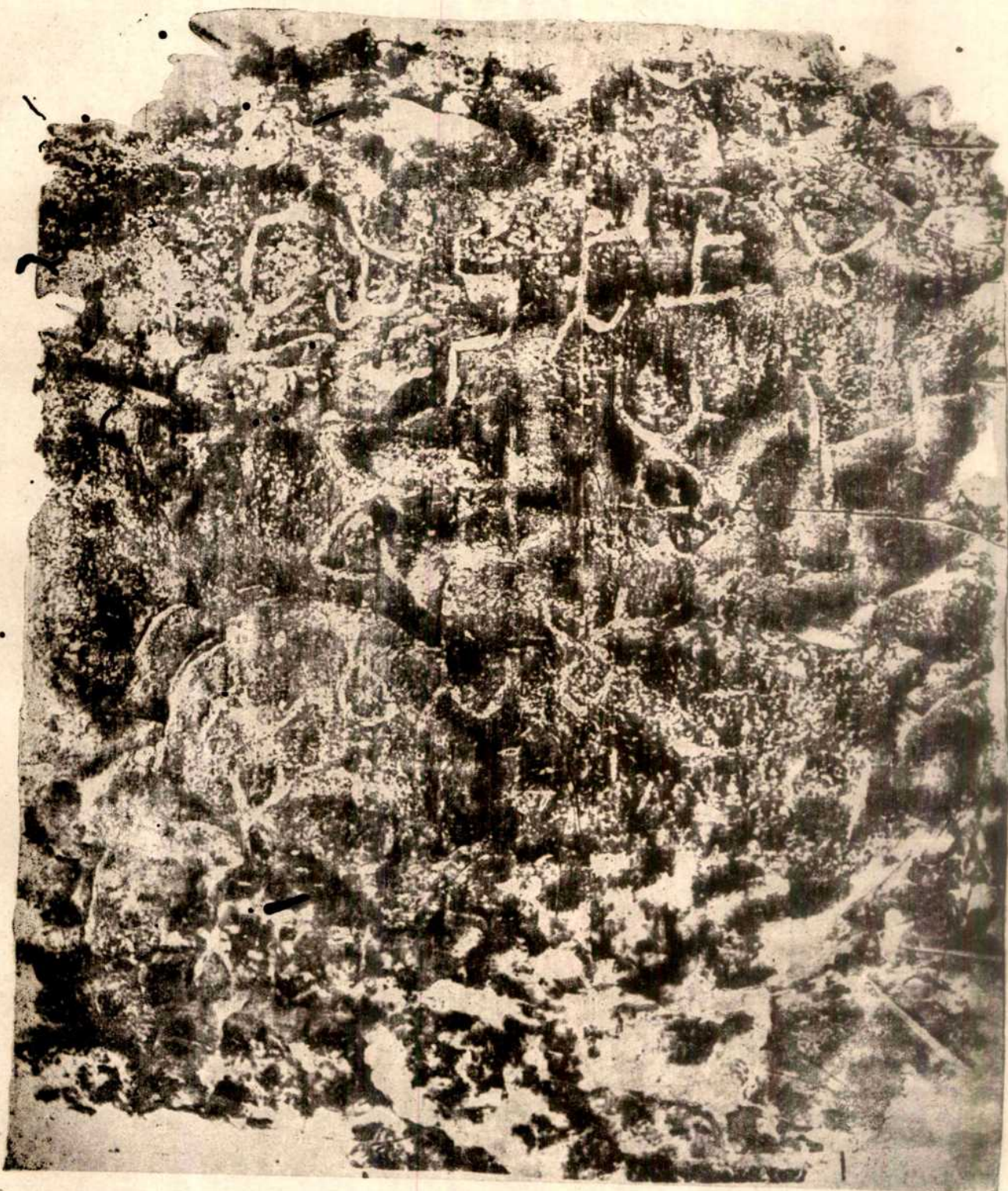
⁵ The lost *aksharas* were probably *°maritu [| *] aritā pi cha jāmaritu*.

⁶ The missing *aksharas* may be restored as *vaḍhisiti diyadhama=eva*.

The lost *aksharas* seem to have been *savāta lekhaṇe°*.

PANGURARIA INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA

INTRODUCTORY PART



2

2

4

4

SCALE : One-fourth

No. 2—TWO BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS FROM MATHURA

(1 Plate)

P. R. SRINIVASAN, MYSORE

The two inscriptions edited here are now deposited in the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā, Mathura District, Uttar Pradesh. I copied them during my collection tour to the town in 1973. Shri R.C. Sharma, the Curator of the Museum was so kind as to bring to my notice these interesting inscriptions which he had recently added, after some sustained effort, to the collections of his institution, and also to allow me to have their impressions taken. I thank him for this. I am editing the inscriptions from these impressions.

1 A Śaivite Inscription of the Pre-Kushāna Period¹

This inscription is engraved on a flat rectangular red-sandstone slab discovered at the place called Chaurāsi at Mathurā. It contains two lines of writing. This epigraph, incised neatly, is preserved well, except for a few slight damages here and there. But the scribe seems to have omitted some letters near the end of line 1 and he had later on engraved them in small characters in continuation of line 1.² It has been published in the *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology*, in Vol. No. 8, pp. 24 ff. with plate. In view of the fact that this article has not brought out the significance and importance of the record in full, it is edited here.

The characters are Brāhmi of about the 1st century A.D. and they are regular for the period. This point coupled with the fact that there is no mention of any date which is generally met in the records of the Kushāna period, makes one believe that this record belonged to a period earlier than the beginning of the Kushāna period which is generally said to begin from 78 A.D. Further, the inscriptions of the Kushāna period are written in a rather crowded fashion, but this one is incised in beautiful letters with good spacing between letters and the lines.

Palaeographically interesting features of this epigraph are as follows: only one vowel, i.e. *a* is met with here: the medial of *ī* is double-pronged; the verticals of *a*, *k* and *r*, and that of the medial *u* are long; the letter *m* is of the type with triangular bottom; the three prongs of *y* are of equal size, none of them showing a thickening at its top to show where and how the letter commences; and the flourish of subscript *r* is sometimes gracefully bent as in *tra*, the fourth letter of the first line. It is to be noted that there is no doubling of *t* in the word *putrasa*, a word occurring more than once here.

The language is Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit. The expression *prīyatām bhagavām* is met with in several inscriptions of this period pertaining to Buddhism and Jainism also.

A special feature of this inscription is that it has finely sketched representations of the symbols representing *śrīvatsa* and *svastika*. The former is engraved on the left margin of the slab while the latter is seen at the end of line 2. The *svastika* is of the anti-clockwise type and the ends of its arms are split up so as to look like the tail of a fish.

¹ This is registered as No. B 389 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1972-73.

² See text line 1 below.

The object of the record is that one Magakujitakheḍa¹ (Skt. Mṛigakūjita-kheḍa), i.e. a villager named Mṛigakūjita, the son of Kotsi (i.e., Skt. Kautsi or a woman of the Kutsa family), and Rahadatta who was the son of Vasi[sh]ti (i.e., Skt. Vāsishthī or a woman of the Vasishṭha family) and Rāhila who was the son of Gotti (i.e., Skt. Gaupṭi or the woman of the Gupta family), (donated) a tank (*pushkirinī*=Skt. *pushkarinī*) probably named Kalpa, a garden (*arāma*=Skt. *ārāma*), a hall (*sabhā*), stone tablets (*śīla-paṭṭā*=Skt. *śīla-paṭṭāḥ*), and shrines of deities (*devakulāni*), for the grace of the lord (*bhagavān*) Maheśvara (i.e., Śiva).

The importance of this epigraph lies in the fact that it is one of the very few inscriptions from Mathurā recording a gift to a Hindu god like Maheśvara, for, this place has been yielding a large number of inscriptions of Buddhism and Jainism all along. This clearly shows that Śaivism was also patronised by the people during this period. Secondly, the five items of the gift are noteworthy and they evidently formed a standard set for donation to a temple.² Of these, *sabhā* may represent the main temple and this term has been used in the sense of a pillared hall sacred to gods by the followers of all the religions. For instance, there is a label inscription at Bharhut reading *Sudhanmā deva-sabhā*³ referring to a representation of a pillared structure on which it is engraved. Perhaps this term in the present inscription also denoted a similar structure, although it is not known whether it was of wood or stone. *Devakula*, usually in the sense of a Hindu shrine is known from some early inscriptions.⁴ *Śīla-paṭṭas* (stone tablets) were gifted probably for lining the exterior of a shrine.⁵ *Arāma* (garden) has been a necessary adjunct to a sacred edifice; it was used, as in modern days, for rearing generally flower plants and trees, the flowers from which were utilised in the worship of the deity. *Pushkarinī* (tank), has also been another invariable adjunct to a temple from very early times.

TEXT⁶

- 1⁶ [Svasti]⁷ Gottiputrasa Rāhilasa potrasa V[ā]sishtīputrasa Rahadattasa putrasa Ko[tsi]-
putrasa Magakuji⁸takheḍasa Kal[pa]-
2 prai(pu)shkirinī ar[ā]ma sabhā śīla-paṭṭā devakulāni priyatām bhagav[ām]
Maheśvaraḥ[||*]⁹

2 A Buddhist Inscription of Amā[ttri]varman, [Gupta] year [1]48

This inscription¹⁰ is incised on a rectangular grey-stone which is broken and in several pieces. The epigraph refers to the installation of an image of a Buddhist deity, and one would, therefore, expect it to have been engraved on the pedestal of such an image. But no such image is known to have survived and this slab, if at all it had formed part of such an image it may have been separately attached to the pedestal of the image. Its findspot is not known. It contains four lines of writing of which the last line is badly damaged.

¹ The macron over *e* and *o* is not used here.

² See Lüders' List, No. 82, for a similar list.

³ *CHI*, Vol. II, pt. II, plate XVIII, B 21.

⁴ Lüders' List, No. 1327.

⁵ From inked impressions.

⁶ *Śrivatsa* symbol is sketched on the left margin.

⁷ These letters seem to have been originally engraved but later on erased.

⁸ There seems to be a mark above *ji* probably indicating that the four letters *°takheḍasa*, originally forgotten and later engraved in small characters at the end of line 1, are to be read after *ji*.

⁹ There is a sketch, after this, of a *svastika* symbol.

¹⁰ It is registered as *A. R. Ep.*, 1972-73 No. B 393.

A SAIVITE INSCRIPTION OF THE PRÉ KUSHANA PERIOD •



SCALE : One-fourth

A BUDDHIST INSCRIPTION OF AMA[TTRI]VARMAN, GUPTA YEAR [1]48



SCALE : One-third

It is written in late Brāhmi characters of the 5th-6th century A.D., showing signs of a very early type of the Siddhamātrikā alphabet, of which the most important characteristic being the wedge-shaped or nail-headed tops of the letters. It may be found that the characters of this record resemble those of the Gwalior inscription of Mihirakula.¹ Its language is Sanskrit. Orthographically the following points are of interest. *Mahārājādhirāja* is spelt as *mahārājāddhirāja* (line 1), consonants are generally doubled after *rēpha*, e.g. *varmmāna* (line 1) and *dharmmo = yam* (line 2), although in one instance it is not done so, e.g. *Āryā* (line 2); and *ba* is used for *va* in *Basanta* (line 2).

It bears a date of which a part of the year, given in numerical symbols, has been badly damaged at the end of line 1. But there the symbol for 40 is clear at the end of line 1 and the symbol for 8 is seen at the beginning of line 2. Before the symbol for 40, traces of a letter with a long vertical line with a faint left-turning hook-like part at the top, are preserved. This represented, in all probability, the symbol for 100. If this is so then the year will be 100 40 8 or 148. From the provenance of the record which may have been some where in the neighbourhood of Mathurā and from the late Brāhmi script employed in it, it is possible to attribute this year 148 to the Gupta era of 319-20 A.D., in which case the Christian equivalent of it would be 467-68 A.D. The other particulars of the date are 2 *Ba(va)santa-māsa* 4, *divasa* 25. Here 2 *Vasanta* may be said to indicate the fact that this record was put up in the 2nd year of the ruler's reign. It is interesting to note that during the period to which the record belongs, the practice of mentioning the name of the summer season as *Vasanta* or some equivalent of it like *Gusuma-samaya*,² for *Grishma* had come into vogue.

If the reading of the year as 148³ is conceded, the importance of this record, from the point of view of history, becomes great. For, the inscription refers itself to the reign of a hitherto unknown ruler whose name seems to read as Amātt[r]ivarmmā. He is given the titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja* after the kings of the Gupta dynasty. These are imperial titles and the bearer of them must, therefore, have been a ruler of some independence and power, for it is well known that the feudatories of this period bore only the title of *Mahārāja*. As no genealogy of the ruler of the record under study is given, it is difficult to know to which dynasty or family he belonged. It is quite likely that he was a feudatory, in the Mathurā region, of the imperial Guptas and when the latter were gradually declining, which happened towards the later half of the 5th century A.D., due to internal dissensions and invasions by the Hūnas, this ruler declared himself to be a paramount sovereign in his region. The political condition of North India soon after the death of Skandagupta who died about 467 A.D.,⁴ was favourable to such a happening, and so, though the ruler Amāttivarman might have been a feudatory, during the first year of rule i.e. in 466-67 A.D., of Skandagupta, in his 2nd year of rule i.e. in 467-68, he had declared himself to be a paramount sovereign. At any rate this is what is indicated by the imperial titles borne by this ruler and nothing more can be said in the matter till we get more epigraphs or information in future about this ruler or his family.

In spite of the fact that the latter half of the third line and a major portion of the fourth line are badly damaged, the object of the inscription is fairly clear. It records the installation of an image of the Buddhist deity Ārya-Avalokiteśvara by some individuals like *Śreshṭhi*

¹ *CII*, Vol. III, plate XXIII B.

² *Ibid.*, p. 154, line 23.

³ If the symbol of the 2nd digit is read as 70 then the year will be 178 or 497-98 A.D. Even then the political condition of North India was favourable enough to enable the ruler of this record assume imperial status.

⁴ *The Classical Age*, pp. 28-29.

Jiveśvara, Dhanapati, etc. The name of the place where the installation took place, which might have been given, has been lost. Had this been preserved it would have given us a clue as to the probable region where the king Amātrivarmā held sway. The usual benedictory passage mentioning that the merit of this deed should accrue to some people or all people, as written in the last line which is, however, badly damaged.

The dedication of an image of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, an important deity of the Mahāyāna Buddhist pantheon, is in accord with the development of this sect of Buddhism during this period.¹ Several sculptures representing this deity are known and some beautiful painted panels showing the deity are known from amongst the wall-paintings at Ajantā² belonging to the period.

TEXT³

- 1 Sv[asti][*] [Paramabha]ttāraka mahārājāddhi(dhi)rāja-śrī-Amā[ttriva]rmmāṇa[h*] rājye samvatsare[shu 100] 40⁴
- 2 8[*] 2 Ba(Va)santa-māse chaturthe divase pañchavi ... deya-dharmmo-yaṁ Āry-Ā
- 3 valokiteśvara-pratimā pratishthāpitā śreshthi-Jiveśvara-Dhanapati [Arke]...shthi
- 4 Daṁdhu.[shthibhih] yad=[atra] pu[nyam] mā na

¹ *The classical Age*, pp. 379-80.

² *Ibid.*, p. 549.

³ From inked impressions.

⁴ This may be read doubtfully as 70 also.

No. 3—THREE INSCRIPTIONS OF VIRA-NOLAMBA

(3 Plates)

K. G. KRISHNAN, MYSORE

The three subjoined inscriptions on hero-stones edited here with the kind permission of the Chief Epigraphist, were copied from Harur Taluk, Dharmapuri District, Tamil Nadu. Inscription A was copied from the village of Muttānūr,¹ B and C from Navalai.²

Inscription A is in Tamil characters relevant to the date Śaka 847 (925-26 A.D.) given in the record. The other two records (B and C) are in Kannaḍa language and characters of about the tenth century to which they have to be assigned as they are dated in the reign of Vira-Nolamba to whom the inscription A also belongs. The use of the consonant *ga* in place of *ka* of the Tamil name Takaḍūr in line 2 of B indicates the true phonetic value of *ka* as spelt medially in this word. This provides one more instance of the utility of Kannaḍa transliteration of Tamil words in settling the question of the phonetic values of some of the letters of the Tamil alphabet.³ The persistent use of *la* in the name Nolamba in both the Kannaḍa inscriptions as against Nuḷambaṅ used in the Tamil record seems to point to the possibility of the former being the original name. The use of the auxiliary *īḍu* in the expressions *āl-īḍu* in line 2 and *chogut-īḍu* in line 3 of B indicating the sense of 'occasion' is noteworthy. This auxiliary *īḍu* is met with in its finite form in *salutt-īḍudu* in line 10 of the text of the Haldipur plates of the Pallavarāja Gōpāladēva, where the sense of continuity is indicated.⁴ The form *irḍdu* in an inscription from Dēvagēri in Dharwar District seems to give us a clue as to the probable origin of the word from the common Dravidian root of *ir* or *iru*.⁵ This meaning is also conveyed by the expression *alli* in line 3 of C and by the suffix *e* in the case of *āle* in line 2 of C. The expression *āluttirē* is also used to convey the same meaning in line 3 of C. The expressions *andu* and *kondu* respectively in lines 1 and 4 of C remind us of the corresponding Tamil forms *aṅṅu* and *koṅṅu*, though the latter are not found to be used in contemporary inscriptions. This expression *aṅṅu* is comparable to *ñāṅṅu* bearing the same meaning but used in a different context. So also the cognate of the expression *sattam* in line 5 of C is not used in the Tamil text (A) where the word *paṅṅār* (line 13) is used, though the former is derived from the common root *sā* or *sāy*. The correspondence between *uḷchu* in line 3 of C and *urittu* or *urichchu* in Tamil both conveying the meaning of 'stripping off' is interesting. This form *uḷchu* is used in some other contemporaneous Kannaḍa records⁶. This got transformed into *uchcha* in an inscription of the eleventh century⁷. The interchange of *l* and *r* is noteworthy. The word *ude* (line 3 of C) meaning dress used in the same context may be compared to Tamil *udai*. This interchange of *e-ai* is also met with in the case of *male* or

¹ This inscription is registered as No. B 225, *A.R. Ep.*, 1975-76.

² These two are respectively No. B 242 of *A.R. Ep.* 1967-68 and No. B 175 of *A.R. Ep.*, 1968-69.

³ See for a detailed discussion on this question by me in *Indo-Iranian Journal*, Vol. XIV, No. 3/4 (1972), pp. 239-46.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 178, Vol. XIX, p. 185, line 23 ; p. 188, lines 17-18.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 192, line 21.

⁶ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Mb. 161 and 163.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Sp. 14.

malai in line 2 of C.⁴ The word *biḍi* in line 3 of B used probably in the sense of 'having fallen upon' is comparable to Tamil *viḷundu*, indicating the well-known interchange of *va* and *bu*. The name, Bīra, of the king spelt as Vira in the Tamil inscription is an instance to the point.

Inscription A in Tamil language and characters relevant to the period is dated in Śaka 847 (925-26 A.D.) equated with the 2nd regnal year of Anṇiyaṇ Vira-Noḷamba. It records the death of Kāmuṇḍar Maḍaiyar Maṇiyamaṇār of Poṇṇaiyūr after rescuing the cattle which were captured by Vallavaraiyar and Nāṭṭār.⁵ Inscription B, in Kannaḍa language and characters of the same period, is not dated but belongs to the reign of Vira-Noḷamba. It records the death of Punnāga, the ruler of Navilūr who fought the robbers probably in the course of his attack and destruction of Tagaḍūr. It seems to indicate that the stone was set up by Bhāvudeya, the son-in-law of Punnāga. Inscription C, also in Kannaḍa language and characters of about the tenth century, records the death of Pṛituva, son of Puḷiyanna ruling over Navilūr, while Kundayya was ruling over Poṛa[maj]le-nāḍu in the 15th regnal year of Vira-Noḷamba. Pṛituva is stated to have died in the course of defending women who were stripped of their dress i.e., when their modesty was about to be outraged.

The contents of these inscriptions are very interesting from the point of view of the chronology of the period of Vira-Noḷamba and that of the contemporary events and social life. Inscription A gives the date Śaka 847 (A.D. 925-26) equating it with the 2nd regnal year of Anṇiyaṇ Vira-Noḷamba, thus indicating that his reign should have commenced sometime during 923 Feb-925 Feb. Two other inscriptions of Vira-Noḷamba from Kurubūru in Chintamani Taluk in Kolar District, Karnataka State cite the Śaka year 853 equating it with the cyclic year Raudri.⁶ The Śaka year does not correspond to Raudri but only to Khara.⁴ The period of reign covered by these two śaka dates is extended further upto 938-40 A.D., if the 15th year cited in record C represents the highest regnal year. It has been surmised that Vira-Noḷamba who is also known as Anṇiga may have commenced to rule from a year between 923 A.D. and 929 A.D.⁵ The present record (A) affords clinching evidence in favour of the earlier of the two dates suggested. This Tamil inscription contains an interesting reference to the capture of cattle by Vallavaraiyar and Nāṭṭār. The name Vallavaraiyar has been used in Tamil inscriptions of this period to denote the Rāshtrakūṭa kings.⁶ It is therefore possible to identify this Vallavaraiyar with the contemporary Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda IV, who is known to have had an alliance with the Chōḷa Parāntaka I.⁷ The association of the Nāṭṭār with the Rāshtrakūṭa king in this cattle-lifting campaign seems to indicate the interest of the local people and the Rāshtrakūṭa relative of the Chōḷa in confronting the Noḷamba. It is possible that the Noḷamba intrusion was resented by the people at large, though the Noḷamba continued to have his hold till at least his fifteenth year. Ultimately he was defeated by Rāshtrakūṭa Kriṣṇa III.

The hero Maṇiyamaṇār is described as Kāmuṇḍar Maḍaiyar. Maḍaiyar is obviously the name of a sub-division of the Kāmuṇḍar community which is often referred to in the later

¹ See for the instance of *kudure*, above, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 278.

² *Contra. Kalveṭṭu*, Ananda, Aippaṣi, *idaḷ* 3, p.1.

³ *Ep., Carn.*, Vol. X, Cm. 43 and 44.

⁴ The details of date given in the second record *viz.*, Mārgaśira śu. 3, Thursday and Rēvaṭi are irregular.

⁵ *QJMS.*, Karnataka Number, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 34-35; see also *A.R.Ep.*, 1968-69, Introduction p.5.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 230 ff; see also above, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 275 ff., for another instance of the use of the name Vallavaraiyar for the Rāshtrakūṭas.

⁷ *Ibid.*

inscriptions of the Koṅgu country. This inscription affords one of the early instances where the name of the community is mentioned.

The sculpture representing this hero is of the usual type obtained in the inscriptions of this area. But this panel contains only the figures of two cattle facing right and a pot with a base and conical lid, obviously representing a pot of liquor or water.

Inscription B records the death of Punnāga in the course of his attack on Tagaḍūr i.e., Dharmapuri. Punnāga is stated to be ruling over Navilūr which is the same as Navalai, the findspot of the inscription. This leads us to surmise that on the date of this epigraph Tagaḍūr was not in the hands of the Nolambas. There is an inscription at Dharmapuri dated Śaka 851 (A.D. 929-30) in the reign of Iṛuḷachōra, the son of Vira-Nolamba.¹ It has been suggested correctly that Iṛuḷachōra was ruling the kingdom jointly with his father.² Therefore it may be surmised that the campaign against Tagaḍūr sometime before 929-30 A.D., was successful and that Vira-Nolamba placed his son Iṛuḷachōra as the governor of the area around the important centre of Tagaḍūr. The circumstances under which Punnāga had to fight the robbers are, however, not clear. His son-in-law probably called Bhāvuḍeya is mentioned at the end of the record. Though the record ends abruptly at this point, it is possible to hold that he erected the stone in memory of the fallen hero.

Inscription C, dated in the 15th regnal year (938-39 A.D.) of Vira-Nolamba refers to Kundayya, the governor of Poṛa[ma]le-nāḍu apparently because Navilūr, the seat of the government of Puḷiyanna, the hero's father, was included in that nāḍu. This is already known to us from the two Gaṅga inscriptions edited in this journal.³ This throws some light on the administrative set up of the area during the Nolamba rule. Navilūr was recognised as an important centre to merit the attention of an independent local ruler.

The circumstance under which Pṛituvā, the hero, died is interesting. It was in the course of the laudable task of defending the honour of women who were molested. The sculpture depicts clearly the women to the left of the hero and the fallen offender to his right. The hero, however, had to give up his life. He is shown as being received with full honours by the celestial women. Recorded instances of this type, especially during this period are not unknown.⁴ But in the case of these instances it is found that this unseemly act of molesting women preceded the capture of cattle, whereas it was not so in the case of the present record. The role of women in keeping watch over the cattle is probably indicated by these instances, thus leading to their modesty being outraged.

Puḷiyanna, the hero's father, is described as Raṁjana-kshatriya. It is not known whether this has reference to his caste. This was probably his epithet denoting his delightful personality.

Kundayya, the governor of Poṛamale-nāḍu seems to be identical with his namesake mentioned in an undated inscription from Nekkundi as the governor of Nekkundi-nāḍu in the reign of Nolambādhirāja who may be identified with Anniga Vira-Nolamba or his father.⁵ There, is however, no other evidence, forthcoming at present, to support this identity.

Among the places mentioned in the inscriptions Poṛṇaiyūr from where the hero of inscription A hailed cannot be identified in the absence of more information. Navilūr

¹ S.I.I., Vol. IX, Pt. I, No. 23.

² QJMS., Karnataka Number, Vol. XLVIII, pp. 34-35.

³ Above, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 277.

⁴ Ep. Carn., Vol. X, Mb. 161 and 163; Sp. 14. The last reference is also the latest belonging to the reign of Rājēndrachōla I.

⁵ *ibid.*, Ct. 36.

mentioned in both the inscriptions **B** and **C** is the same as Navalai, their findspot, as already stated. **Tagaḍūr** is the ancient name of Dharmapuri. The geographical division **Porā[ma]le-nāḍu** which is the same as **Puṛamalai-nāḍu** has been discussed in the context of two inscriptions already edited.¹

TEXTS²

A

- 1 Śvaṣṭi (Svasti)Śrī[|*] Śakarai yāṇḍ-En-
- 2 nūrru nār-patt-ālavadu An-
- 3 niyaṇ Vira-Nuḷambaṇukk-āṇḍ-I-
- 4 raṇḍ-āvadu Vallavaraiya[ru]n=Nāttārun-
- 5 toṛuk-ko³
- 6 ||ap Po-
- 7 nṇaiyūr
- 8 Kamunḍar
- 9 Maḍaiyar-Ma-
- 10 niyamaṇā-
- 11 r toṛu mi-
- 12 tṭup-
- 13 paṭṭār [|*]

B⁴

- 1 Svasti⁵ Śrī [|] Bira-Noḷamba⁶-
- 2 na rāḷyada Navilūr-ā] iḷdu Ta[gaḍū]-
- 3 rg[ge] bildi chogut-iḷdu negava Pu[m]-
- 4 [nā]gaṇ kaḷḷar kādi sattaṁ Punnāga-
- 5 n - aḷiyam Bhāvuḍeye⁷

C⁸

- 1 Svasti Śrī [|] Bira-Noḷambana rāḷyada Padinaydu varisadā(da)-
- 2 ndu Kundayya Porā[ma]le-nāḍ-āle⁹ Raṁjana-kshatriya Puliyanna Navilūrān āḷu-
- 3 ttire ātanā(na) maga⁹|| Prituva peṇḍirā uḍeyan-u]chuv=alli
- 4 kādi kondu
- 5 sattaṁ

¹ See above, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 275 ff.

² From impressions.

³ Lines 5-11 are engraved to the right of the sculpture and lines 12-13, to the left.

⁴ There appear to be two symbols probably standing for the Sun and the Moon, one a full circle over the letter *Bi* and another crescent (?) only the bottom of which is seen, over letter *bā*, both in line 1.

⁵ There is a superfluous sign looking like *ka* at the beginning of the letter *sva*.

⁶ Each line of the text is separated from the following line by a line drawn between the two.

⁷ The last two syllables are engraved one below the other, below the letter *va*.

⁸ There is an unnecessary medial *e* sign on the letter *ḍā*.

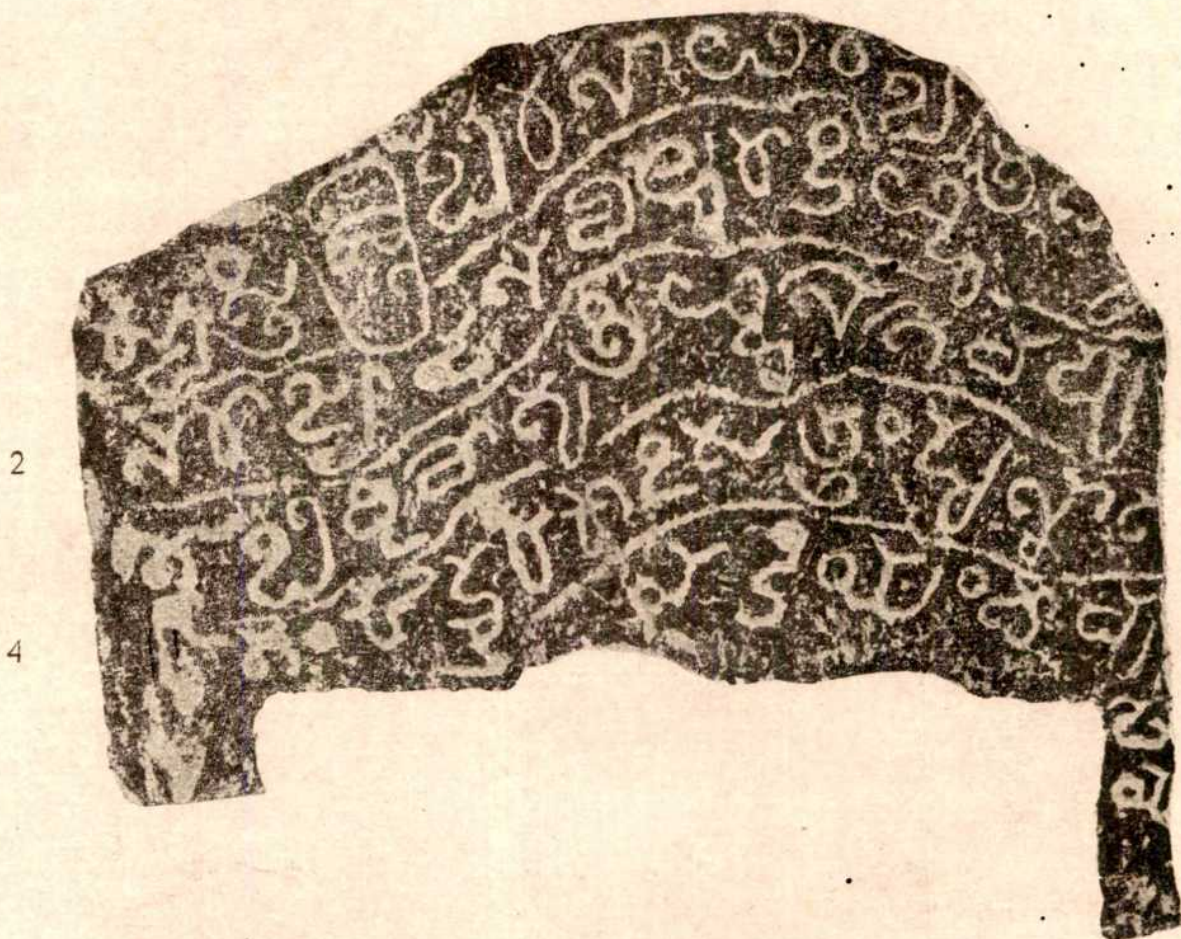
⁹ There is a horizontal hook above *ma* which is unnecessary.

MUTTANUR INSCRIPTION OF VIRA NOLAMBA, SAKA 847



SCALE : One-eighth

NAVALAI INSCRIPTION OF VIRA NOLAMBA



SCALE : One-fifth

No. 4—NANANA COPPER PLATES OF THE TIME OF KUMARAPALA AND
ALHANA, VIKRAMA 1212 AND 1220

(1 Plate)

S. SANKARANARAYANAN, MYSORE

A set of two photographs of the subjoined copper-plate charter was received in the year 1956-57 in the then Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, from the Curator of the Rajaputana Museum, Ajmer and it had been reported in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for that year.¹ The text of the record had since been published with an introduction by Dr. Dasaratha Sharma, in his *Early Chauhan Dynasties* (Delhi, 1959, pp. 182-88). As this charter is very important and its contents deserve a much better treatment, it is edited here with the kind permission of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore.

This charter, stated to have been discovered at the village *Nānānā*, near Bhagawanpur R.S. in the Western Railway, consists of two copper plates with engraving on their inner sides only and with two ring holes each as in the case of a stray copper plate from the same place published already in this journal.² The exact size and weight of the plates are not known to me. The writing on the first plate is corroded in many places and hence the reading in some cases is conjectural. There are 52 lines in total.

The charter is written in *Nāgarī* characters which are regular for the period and area to which they belong. The language is Sanskrit, an admixture of verse and prose. The orthography does not call for any special remarks except that *b* is invariably represented by *v* and the consonants following *r* are at times doubled.

There are altogether four records engraved on these two plates and all of them had been issued by the *Chāhamāna* ruler *Alhana* who figures in the first record as a feudatory of the ruler *Kumārapāla*, evidently of the *Chaulukya* family of *Aṇahilapāṭaka*. The first record is dated in *Vikrama Saṁvat* [12]19, *Pausha* *ba di. 3, Monday* corresponding to the 26th November, 1162 A.D., the month *Pausha* being *Pūrṇimānta*. The last one is dated in [Vikrama] *Samvat* 1220, *Āshāḍha sudi 11, Thursday*, corresponding to the 2nd July, 1164 A.D., the *Vikrama* year being *Kārttikādi*, expired. The other two records are not dated.

The first record, which is the longest (lines 1-41) of the four, may be conveniently divided into four sections. The first section commences with the partly damaged passage recording the details of the date mentioned above. It is followed by a reference to the righteous rule (*Rāma-rājya*) of the [mahārājadhira] *Kumārapāla*, described as the vanquisher of the lord of *Śakāmbhari* (verse 1), and to the administration of that ruler's officer named *Yaśōdha-vala* and designated as *Śrikaraṇa* (verse 2). Then comes the reference to the reign of the issuer of the charter, viz. *Alhana* who is described as ruling over his hereditary kingdom, through the favour of the above *Kumārapāla*, i.e. the overlord (verse 3).

¹ C. P. No. 79 of *A. R. Ep.*, for 1956-57. A short note on this inscription had been published earlier in *ASIAR.*, 1936-37, pp. 120-21; and in *Ann. Rep. Rajaputana Mus., Ajmer*, for the year ending 31st March, 1937, pp. 4-5, para. IX, p. 9, No. 9.

² Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 238 ff. and plate.

Then begins the second section, commencing with a statement that on the date specified was written the present record containing a description of the forefathers of the issuer of the charter (verse 4). It is followed by a description of the genealogy of **Alhaṇa**. It is said that in the family of the **Chāhamānas** there was born the king **Lakshmaṇa**, his son was **Sōhika**;¹ his son **Balirāja** in **Naḍḍūla**; his son **Mahindra**² (verse 5); his son **Anahila** (verse 6); then **Janēndrarāja**'s³ son perhaps named **Prithvipā**⁴ (*i.e.* **Prithvipāla** of other records of the family), who was the destroyer of the horsemen and the elephants of the enemies in the battles,⁵ and was the ruler of the country named **Saptaśata** (verse 7);⁶ (his brother)⁷ **Jōja**; (his brother) **Aśārāja** (verse 8) who on the orders of his overlord (*prabhu*) **Siddharāja** *i.e.* the **Chaulukya** **Siddharāja Jayasīma II** (c. 1093-1143 A.D.) of **Anahilapāṭaka**, went to **Dhārā** for war, and seeing whom the king **Naravarman** (of the **Paramāra** dynasty of **Dhārā**) hid himself out of terror in a secret place within the outer wall of the city (verse 9);⁸ and his son **Alhaṇa** who put down some chiefs of the **Ilachala** country and who thus saved from disaster the **Surāshtra** region of the **Gūrjara** king *i.e.* **Chaulukya** (verse 10).⁹

The above is followed by the third section giving an account of the genealogy of **Alhaṇa** on his mother's side. We are told here that in the **Solar** race there was a king **Būḍha** by name. He was followed by his son **Viprūddhāra** (verse 11); his son **Haravallabha**;¹⁰ his son **Kumārāpāla** (verse 12); his son **Kirttipāla**, the destroyer of the horsemen of certain king (name lost) in the battle at **Visalapura** or **Dēva-vīsalapura**; his brother **Haripāla** who was the terror to one **Hammira** and fearing whom even the horses, probably of the **Mussalmans** (**Turushka**), though very thirsty, did not drink water (verse 13); and his brother **Rudrapāla**¹¹ (verse 14). The latter seems to have been the ruler of **Tēlārasvara**. His daughter was the pious **Dēlhaṇadēvikā**, the mother of the illustrious **Alhaṇa**, the repository of all good qualities (verses 15-16).

The fourth or the last section contains the formal portion of the grant. First, it introduces **Kēlhaṇa** as the *kumāra* or heir-apparent and as a devoted son of **Alhaṇa** (verse 17). Then it is said that being aware of the emptiness of the worldly pleasure (verse 18), the king **Alhaṇa** took bath in the holy waters, worshipped the god **Tripurusha**¹² elaborately (verses 19-20)

¹ For the different spelling of this name, see H. C. Ray, *DHNI*, p. 1105, foot-note 3.

² This name is spelt as *Mahendra* or *Mahindu* elsewhere (see *ibid.*, p. 1106 and foot-note 2).

³ **Janēndrarāja** was the son of **Anahila**. Though his name is spelt differently in different records (see *ibid.*, p. 1107 and foot-note 3), perhaps according to the requirement of the metres in the respective inscriptions, the intended form of the name seems to be **Janēndrarāja**. Cf. the etymology *tasy-ānujō janē jētā Janēndrarājō yatō-bhavat* given in a record. (See *Sharma*, op. cit., p. 189, text line 15).

⁴ In the genealogical accounts furnished by other records of the **Nāḍōl Chāhamāna** family we find, in between **Anahila** and **Prithvipāla**, the description of the former's son **Bālaprasāda** and his younger brother **Janēndrarāja**. See *e.g.* *ibid.*

⁵ Cf. **Anahila**'s description in a fragmentary record, *ibid.*, text lines 13-14.

⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 183.

⁷ The relationship, indicated hereinafter within brackets, though not mentioned in our record, is according to other charters of the family.

⁸ Cf. *Kāñchīpura-prākār-āntarīta-pratāpam-akarōd-yah Pallavānām patim* in the **Aihoje prasāsti** (above Vol. VI, p. 6, verse 29).

⁹ Cf. the description of this event in the **Sundha Hill** stone inscription of the **Chāhamāna Chāchigadēva** (above, Vol. IX, p. 77, verses 32-33).

¹⁰ Cf. *Sharma*, op. cit., p. 183.

¹¹ The name of this prince has been read as **Ratnapāla** and he is taken to be the brother of **Kumārāpāla** (*ibid.*, *ASLAR.*, op. cit.).

¹² In the **Nānāṇā** stray plate the name of this deity occurs always in the plural [form, excepting in one case. It has been identified with a form of **Trimūrti**. (See above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 240 and foot-note).

and gifted away wealth to the Brāhmaṇas and to his own preceptors for the merit of his own parents and of himself (verse 21). Then to the above god Tripurushadēva, he restored what is called *Valādhipā-krama-pad-ābhāvya*,¹ obviously an income from certain tax, of the village *Nānāna* belonging to the same god. It is stated that the above income had been originally enjoyed by that god and that it had been, however, subsequently confiscated by some merciless kings (a prose passage in lines 35-37 and verse 22). The record ends with a verse advising the kings to restore all the pious gifts fallen in disuse (verse 23) followed by a *gārdabha* curse (verse 24).

The second and third records are supplementary in nature. The former of them is in prose (lines 41-42) and registers the gift,² presumably by the king Alhana himself, of what is called *vālādhip-ābh[ā]vya*³ of the village *Bhītala-vāṭaka* to god *Chandalēśvara*.⁴ It is said that this village had been already in the enjoyment of the same deity.

The third record commences with a prose passage (lines 43-45) registering a gift by the *Mahārājādhirāja* Alhana, of four *drammas* to be paid every month from the customs-house⁵ (*śulka-maṇḍapikā*) for the daily offerings (*bhōga*) of the goddess *Gaurī* whose image is stated to have been installed by *Śāṅkaradēvī* the queen (of Alhana) in the sanctum-sanctorum of the god *Chandalēśvaradēva*.⁶ This is followed by an imprecation (verse 25) and by a statement that the king Alhana placed his right hand over the charter, evidently as a mark of attesting his signature on it⁷ (verse 26). The charter was written in the presence of the king by a certain *Khēlādityā*⁸ (verse 27).

The fourth or the last record is in prose (lines 50-52). It gives the details of the date of the grant, already discussed, and registers a gift by the *Mahārājādhirāja* Alhanadēva, (*i.e.* Alhana of the other records) of three *hala* measure of land situated on the western boundary what is called *Nijumhāi-Dumgara* in the village *Sāmvōḍi* for the enjoyment (*bhōgē*)⁹

¹ The meaning of this expression is doubtful. It is evident that the term *vālādhipābhāvya* of the second record is expanded to suit the metre in the first. According to D. Sharma (op. cit., p. 185) they may denote some cases, called *ābhāvyas* accrued to the rulers and feudal chiefs on account of their real or supposed services as *bālādhipas*. However, *vālādhipa* of our record seems to be the same as *bālādhipa* or *bālādhipikā* whose contracted form *bālādhi* is used as a designation to denote the revenue head of a taluk. (See the *Lēkhaṇapaddhati*, GOS, pp. 8, 10). Similarly *bhāvya* is recognised in the sense of *sambhāvanā* or the Gujarati *pāghaḍī* (ibid. p. 99) "payment as a reward". So, *ābhāvya* of our expressions may denote a receipt of such a payment. (Cf. the words *dāna* and *ādāna*). So, it is likely that *vālādhipābhāvya* means "the receipt of the *vālādhipa* or the taluk-revenue officer" while the expanded expression of the first grant may denote such a receipt made at the regular (*krama*) office (*pada*) of the taluk-revenue officer (*vālādhipa*).

² The word *tathā* in the beginning of this record may suggest a renewal of the old gift as in the case of the first record (See ibid. p. 241 *ASI. AR.*, op. cit. p. 121).

³ See above, p. 6, f.n. 3.

⁴ As has been suggested this deity might have been set up by *Chandaladēvī* probably a queen of *Āsārāja* (See above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 241).

⁵ See above Vol. IX p. 63 and foot-note 8. In the present record it is not stated where this customs-house was located. Perhaps it was in *Bhītala-vāṭaka* itself mentioned in the previous record.

⁶ The *Nānāna* stray plate also speaks of an image of *Gaurī* set up by the queen *Chandaladēvī* in the temple of *Chandalēśvara* (above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 244 text line 10).

⁷ Cf. the expression *sva-hastō mama* usually found at the end of copper-plate charters.

⁸ He may be identical with the *Sāmdhivigrahika* *Thakkura* *Khēlāditya*, the writer of the *Kirāḍu* stone inscription of Alhana dated Vikrama 1209 (above, Vol. XI, p. 46, text line 18).

⁹ See the *Lēkhaṇapaddhati*, pp. 9, 102 where *bhōgē* is used in the sense "for the right of enjoyment."

of the god Tripurushadēva. This record is stated to have been written on the king's order by •Tha° (i.e. Thakkura) Śrīdhara.¹

The present records are important in many respects. The first record shows beyond doubt that Alhaṇa, the issuer of the charter was a feudatory of the Chaulukya king Kumārapāla and was enjoying his own ancestral kingdom of Nāḍōl through the favour of his overlord.² This fact, together with the language of the passage recording the restoration of the income of the villages Nandānā etc. seems to support the theory that prior to 1161 A.D. i.e. the date of the Nāḍōl plates (set I) of Alhaṇa,³ the power of the Nāḍōl Chāhamānas had been kept in abeyance, for some time either by the Chaulukya overlord Kumārapāla⁴ or by his rival Śākambharī king.⁵ The latter alternative seems to be more probable in view of the contempt expression *nripair nishkripaih* "merciless rulers" chosen to describe those who had forfeited the god Tripurusha of the above mentioned income. For, it is hardly believable that he would have used such expression to refer to his overlord Kumārapāla, through whose grace (*prasāda*) he had got his own kingdom as he himself professes (verse 3).

Again the help rendered by Alhaṇa's father Āsārāja in Mālava to his Chaulukya overlord Siddharāja Jayasīmha is of course known from the Sundhā Hill inscription of the Chāhamāna Chāchigadēva.⁶ However, the present record is more specific on this point as it tells us that the help meant in that record was during the time of war waged by that Chaulukya monarch against the Paramāra king Naravarman of Dhārā.⁷ Alhaṇa of our record is called as Āhlādāna in the above mentioned Sundhā Hill inscription of V.S. 1319⁸ which praises him to have aided the Gūrjara king (i.e. the Chaulukya sovereign Kumārapāla) by putting down disturbances in the mountainous part of Surāshtra (*girau Saurāshtrē*).⁹ The same has also been alluded to in the Nāḍōl plates of V.S. 1218.¹⁰ But both these records do not give us any clue to know who the Saurāshtra adversary of Kumārapāla could have been. However, the *Prabandhachintāmani* tells us how Kumārapāla's army led by his general Udayana against Sumvara or Sausara, king of Surāshtra, suffered initial defeat; how the general was mortally wounded; and how the enemy was finally vanquished.¹¹ Perhaps the Chāhamāna Alhaṇa also was responsible for the final Chaulukya victory.¹² The present record gives an important additional information by referring to the rulers of the said mountainous region as the rulers of Ilāchala (verse 10), which, though not easy to identify, is to be located somewhere in Saurāshtra.¹³ In this context it may be observed that the *Kīrttikaumudī* of Sōmēśvara speaks of Kumārapāla's victory over what is called "Jāṅgala" country.¹⁴ The word *jāṅgala* is usually

¹ This Śrīdhara may be identical with his namesake who composed the text of the Nāḍōl plates of Alhaṇa dated V.S. 1218 (above, Vol. IX, pp. 63 ff.).

² See below. See also Ray, op. cit., pp. 1115 and 1117.

³ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 63 ff.

⁴ See above, Vol. XI, pp. 70; Ray, op. cit., p. 1115.

⁵ See Sharma, op. cit., p. 134.

⁶ Above, Vol. IX, p. 76, text verse 26.

⁷ See below. Sōmēśvara's *Kīrttikaumudī* (Canto. II, verses 30 ff.) and the Talwāra inscription of Siddharāja himself (Bhandarkar's List, No. 1521) speak of the victory of this Chaulukya emperor over the Paramāra king Naravarman.

⁸ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 66 ff.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 77, verse 33.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 69, verse 5.

¹¹ *The Prabandhachintāmani*, Translation by Tawny (1901), p. 134.

¹² Above, Vol. XI, p. 71.

The name Ilā reminds us of the village Ilāo (Broach district, Gujarat) which has yielded an inscription of the Gūrjara king Dadda II of Śaka 417. See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII, pp. 116 ff.

¹⁴ Canto II, verse 47.

taken to denote a fertile hilly country with strong breeze, high temperature but with insufficient water supply.¹ A hilly tract in Saurāshtra could easily be called *jāngala*. Hence it is likely that the *Kirttikaumudi*, the above mentioned Sundha Hill record and the present charter all refer to the self same military exploits of Kumārapāla in Saurāshtra, in which as we have already seen, Alhana too took part.

Further, ours is the only known charter which gives not only the name of Alhana's mother but also her genealogy consisting of the names of six chiefs belonging to the Solar race. It is difficult to identify any of these kings and the person called Hammira² to whom Haripāla of this line was a terror as described in the record. However, the name 'Tēlārasvara³ of the country over which Alhana's maternal grandfather Rudrapāla is said to be ruling reminds us of the name of the modern Talwārā in the Banswāra district of Rājasthan. If they are identical, then one may surmise that the members of this family also were probably the feudatories of the Chaulukyas of of Anahilapātaka. For Talwārā itself has yielded an inscription of the time of Siddharāja Jayasimha in which the emperor claims a victory over the Paramāra Naravarman.⁴ If so, then the battle at Visalapura, in which Kirttipāla of this family (i. e. Alhana's maternal grandfather Rudrapāla's elder brother) is stated to have taken part, might have been one of the battles fought by the Chaulukya overlords against their Chāhamāna adversaries at an earlier date. It was fought perhaps in a town, which one of the kings, named Visala, of Śākambhari, had founded and named after himself.⁵ In that case the city may be identical with the modern Visalpur (near Rajmahal in the former Jaipur State) wherefrom comes an inscription of V. S. 1244 (1187-88 A.D.) ascribing the foundation of that town to a king called Visaladēva⁶.

The purpose for which Alhana's *kumāra*, or heir-apparent, Kēlhana is introduced in the present record is not clear. May be, it suggests that Alhana had already endowed his son Kēlhana with some important power of administration. This fact had been indicated by an inscription of Alhana himself dated V. S. 1209,⁷ (i.e. ten years earlier than our record), which bears the sign-manual of the king followed by the approval of his sons *Mahārājaputra* Kēlhana and *Mahārājaputra* Rājasimha.⁸ The Nāḍōl plates (set II) of V.S. 1218⁹ say

¹ Cf. *alp-ōdaka-taru-parvatō dēśō jāngalāḥ* in the *Mitāksharā* under the *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti*, Ch. I, verse 321; and *Alp-ōdaka-trinō yas tu pravātaḥ prachur-ātapaḥ sa jñēyō jāngalō dēśō bahu-dhāny-ādi-samyutah* || quoted by Kullūkabhaṭṭa under the *Manusmṛiti*, Ch. VII, verse 69.

² The word *Hammira*, a corruption of the Arabic *Amir* occurs elsewhere also and it had been accepted as a title for the Muhammadan princes during the period of about 1000-1300 A.D. (See Ray, op. cit., p. 681). There fore it is not unlikely that the word is here used as a synonym of *Turushka* as in a verse in the description of the Chaulukya Kumārapāla's conquest found in the *Sukṛitakirttikallōlīnt* of Udayaprabha (see *ibid.*, p. 986 and foot-note 2). The reference to the *Turushka-turaga* along with *Hammira* in our inscription itself seems to support this view.

³ Reading this name as *Sārasvata*, the geographical unit under question has been identified with the territory lying on the banks of the Sarasvatī river in northern Gujarat (Sharma, op. cit., 184). But we know that the *Sārasvatamaṇḍala*, comprising the regions of the modern Mehsana, Radhanpur and Palanpur (see A. K. Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p. 209), was conquered by the Chaulukya Mūlarāja (cf. *nija-bhuj-ōpārjjita-Sārasvata-maṇḍala-see Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 191, text line 7) and that it was the cradle of the Chaulukyan power and remained well under the control of that dynasty to the last.

⁴ Bhandarkar's List, No. 1521.

⁵ See Sharma, op. cit. p. 58, 64.

⁶ See Ray, op. cit., p. 1084.

⁷ Above, Vol. XI, pp. 43 ff.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 46, text lines 17-18.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 66 ff.

explicitly that the eldest son Kēlhaṇa had been made *kumāra*, and was entrusted with a share of the power of administration of the government.¹ From this it is evident that Kēlhaṇa who had been a mere *mahārājaputra* or prince in V. S. 1209, was elevated to the status of the *kumāra* by V. S. 1218. The above Nāḍōl record makes it also clear that the association of the *kumāra* was felt necessary even in the grants made by Alhaṇa himself. However, the Nāḍōl, plates (set I) though dated in V. S. 1218² contain no reference to this *kumāra*. From all these it may be logical to conclude as follows : Kēlhaṇa was made heir-apparent, sometime in V. S. 1218 i.e., during the period that separated the two sets of the Nāḍōl plates from one another. The set I belonged to a date earlier than that of his accession as *kumāra* and the set II to a date later than that. Consequently the details of the date of the set I, viz. V.S. 1218, Śrāvaṇa śu. 14, Sunday, may be equated as done by Prof. Kielhorn with the 6th August, 1161, A. D.³ On the other hand the details of the date, of the set II, viz. V. S. 1218, Śrāvaṇa ba. 5, Monday, may better be equated with the 2nd July, 1162 A.D. (*f.d.t.* 54) rather than with the 25th July 1160 A. D.⁴ Therefore, the Vikrama year of the set II, may be taken better as the expired *Kārttikādi* (as in the case of our present record) rather than as the current *Chaitrādi*.⁵

The third record mentions the name of a hitherto unknown queen of Alhaṇa, viz. Śaṁkarādēvi, while the fourth record furnishes the last known date for Alhaṇa viz. the 2nd July 1164 A. D. This date is later by a year, than the hitherto known last date for him viz. the 3rd July 1163 A.D. furnished by the Bāṁṇēra copper plate (I)⁶ issued by his son Kēlhaṇa as *kumāra*.⁶ As Kēlhaṇa's earliest inscription coming from Sāṅḍērāv' is dated 1st January, 1165 A. D., his father Alhaṇa's reign must have come to an end sometime between the 2nd July, 1164, A. D. and the 1st January, 1165 A.D.⁷

Of the geographical names occurring in the inscription, Śākambhari is the modern Sāmbhār and Naḍḍūla is modern Nāḍōl, Pali District, Rajasthan. The country Saptasata, obviously same as the Saptasata-vishaya of the Sēvaḍi plates of Ratnapāla⁸ may be identified with modern districts of Jodhpur and Pali.⁹ Dhārā is the modern Dhār in Madhya Pradesh. We have tried to identify the Tēlārasvara country and Visalapura. The village Nāṁḍāṇā has already been identified with the modern Nāṁḍāṇā the findspot of the charter¹¹. The villages Bhīṭalavāṭaka (spelt as Bhiṅṭalavāṭaka in the Nāṁḍāṇā stray plate) and Sāṁvōḍi may have to be located in the neighbourhood of Nāṁḍāṇā itself.¹²

TEXT¹³

[Metres : Verses 1-4, 18, 23-24, 26-27 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 5-17, 19-22, 25 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*]

First Plate

1 [19]... [Vi]..... [Śatē]shu¹⁴ ēk-ōna-vimśaty-adhikēshu cha Pausha-vadi
3 Sōmē || A

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 69, verse 8.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 63 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 64. Hence the Vikrama year was the current *Kārttikādi* or the expired *Chaitrādi*.

⁴ Cf. *Ibid.* p. 68.

⁵ Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 207 ff.

⁶ Cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 318 ; Ray, op. cit., p. 1118. See also Sharma, op. cit., p. 134, foot-note 30.

⁷ Above, Vol., XI, pp. 46-47. See Bhandarkar's List, No. 320.

⁸ Cf. Sharma, op. cit., p. 136 and foot-note 57.

⁹ Above, Vol. XI, p. 310, text line 15.

¹⁰ See *ibid.*, p. 308.

¹¹ Above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 243.

¹² See *ibid.*

¹³ From a set of photographs.

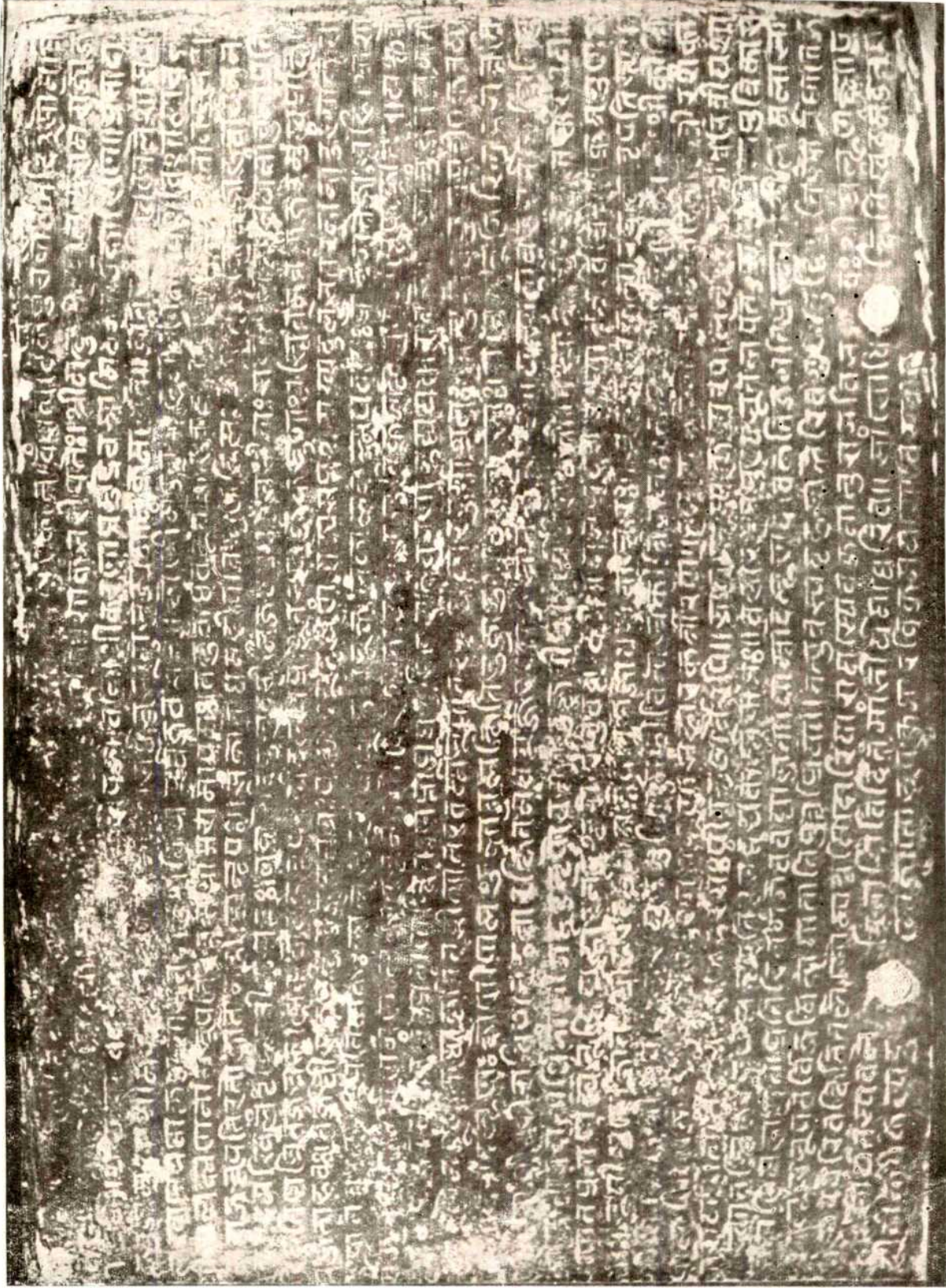
¹⁴ This damaged portion may be restored conjecturally as *Siddham* (expressed by a symbol) 1 *Samvat* 1219 *iriVikrama-kāl-āṭita-samvatsarēshu dvādaśasatēshu*.

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... अत्र तस्यैव ...
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From Photographs

NANANA COPPER PLATE OF THE TIME OF KUMARAPALA
AND ALHANA, VIKRAMA 1212 AND 1220



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- 2 [dy=ē]ha..... || Ma.[rā]....ya¹ jita-Śākambharī-patēḥ | śrīmat-Ku[mārap]ālasye
Rāma-rājyē ja
- 3 [.]pri[yē]² || [1*] Śrī-Yaśōdhav....³ [d]mōpajī vini | Śrīkaraṇ-āpta-mudrē cha
svāmi-dha[rmm-adhi]kāriṇi || [2*] Prasādā-
- 4 [d=bh]ūbhujō=mu[shya?] śrīmad=Alhana....[4].... | sarvva-bhū-bhāgē bhujyamāna-
kram-āgatē || [3*] Jātē ē(ch=ai)vam-vidhē kālē śāsanam
- 5 likhyatē yathā [[*] kṛitvā śāsanā-dātuś=cha [kiyat=p]ūrrvaja-varṇṇanam(nam) ||
[4*] Kshōṇi-maṇḍana-Chāhamāna-vimalē vaṁśē viśāl-āchalē
- 6 śrīma||[1=L]akshmaṇa-nāmā-bhūpatir=a[bhū]t=samgrāma-Rām-ōpamaḥ | tat-putrō=
tha va(ba)bhūva [S]ōhi[ka] ṁpa— — — —t-sutō⁵ Na[d]dūlē [Va](Ba)⁶ |
- 7 lirāja-bhūpatir—atō jātō Mahīndrō nripaḥ || [5*] Samjātō—tha mahīpatis-tv=
Anahilaḥ śrī = ṁ himdr-ātmajō hatva yēna na-
- 8 ⁸re vṛīndam=akhilam - - ṁ vir[ya]s=tataḥ | [ya]dvā(d=dvā)rē ripu-sundari⁹-nija-
dhava-pradhvaṁsa-bhitāḥ sa[d]ā - - - nayan-āmbunā prati-
- 9 dīnam tishṭhanti tēja[h*] [svakam](kam) || [6*][K]āmam [yō] va(ba)hu-bhūpa-[va]ryya
dalana-prōdbhūta - -¹⁰ rjjakas=tuṅg-āśva-sthita-matta-kumjara-mukha-prakshi
- 10 pta-kumt-āhavaḥ¹¹ | tējasvī sa Ja[nē]mndrarāja-tanayaḥ P[ri].¹² ṁ bhū-bhūshaṇam
rājyē Saptasat-ākhyā-durlabhatarē nānā-turaṅg-ākarē || [7*]
- 11 [Bhū]pāla[s=tv=atha J[ō] ?] ṁ bhūpa-tilakaḥ¹³ kālē ṁ - - - ṁ - - - bhūt=Kali-kāla-
kalmasha-va(ba)hiḥ-prōttuṅga-tējāḥ sa hi | Āśā-
- 12 rāja-mahīpatir=[g]uṇa-gaṇ-ālamkāra-bhū-narṇdanō vi[khyā]tō ya[śas] su-vikrama-
[gu]ṇaiḥ Kam[da]rpa-rūp-āk rītiḥ || [8*] Yaśchha (ś=śa ?)trō-
- 13 ¹⁴ ṁ ṁ - ṁ - ṁ ṁ [naś=cha]mḍa-pratāp-ānvitaḥ samprāpa prabhu-Siddharāja-va
[cha]sā yūddhāya Dhārā-talē | - shṭv¹⁵=āmuṁja¹⁶ ṁ - gati-

¹ The word damaged here is obviously *Mahārājadhīrājasya*. Before that there is no trace, in the photograph, of the word *śrīmad-Anahītapātākē* read by Sharma.

² The expression intended is evidently *jana-priyē*.

³ Restore ^o*la-rājavāda-padmō*.

⁴ One is probably to restore something like *Alhana-bhūpatiḥ 1 Nāḍōla*.

⁵ Restore *nripas=tasmād=abhūt=tat-sutō*.

⁶ This punctuation mark is unnecessary.

⁷ Sharma reads *śrīmān-Mahindrātmaḥ* here.

⁸ Probably *narēndra-vṛīndam-akhilam prakhyāta-vīryas* is the intended expression.

⁹ The context requires *sundaryō* which however obstructs the metre. Better substitute *yōshītō*.

¹⁰ Restore *sāmyantō* conjecturally.

¹¹ The intended *vigraha* is *tuṅg-āśva-sthīṭēshu mattakumjara-mukhēshu cha prakshiptēna kumtēna āhavaḥ yasya* (cf. Sharma, op. cit., p. 186, foot note 1). Better read *kumt-āhavaḥ* |

¹² The intended word may be *Prithvīpa* in the sense of *Prithvīpāla*. Sharma reads *tasmād=abhūd=bhūshaṇam*.

¹³ Restore *Jōja-bhūpa*. Sharma reads *Tasyanāntora...bhūvatilakaḥ*.

¹⁴ Sharma's reading here *yach-chhatrōttāna* is metrically defective. The damaged passage may be conjecturally restored as something like *batrōr=dejabala-vīrya-darpa-dalanaśi=*

¹⁵ Restore as *drishṭv* |

¹⁶ Probably we have to ignore the *an nsvāra* mark above *ja*.

- 14 $\circ \circ \circ \circ - \circ - \circ$ nāth-ākṛitim tad-bhītyā Naravarṇama-bhūpatir=abhū[t=prā]kāra-
durgg-āśrayaḥ || [9*] Tat-putrō=tha kula-pradīpakatayā
- 15 - smād¹=abhūd Alhaṇaḥ kshōṇipāla Ilāchāla-kshiti-bhujām=u[tpā]ṭa - - [ksha]mah²-
yēn=ai[tā]n giri-gah[v]ar-ānta-[si]-
- 16 - - - [vi]r-ādhipān³ hatvā rakṣitam=ēva Gūrjjara-patēr=ggrastam S[u] - - [hva]-
yam(yam)⁴ || [10*] Yan-mātāmaha-pūrvvajah kshitibhu-
- 17 jān [j]ētā cha dāt=ārthinām śrīmadvū(d-Bū)dha⁵-n rīpō va(ba)bhūva sukṛiti⁶
śrī-Sūryavamśē kṛiti || () tasy=ā[bhū]t=sthira=chamḍa-Bhāskara-sama-||⁷
- 18 khyāta-pratāpō hy=abhūd=Vi[p]rūddhā[ra]⁸-narēśvarō ripu-vadhū-vai[dhavya]-
dāna-prādaḥ || [11*] [A]smāt=tatra⁹ vichitra-[vi]krama-guṇa-pa-
- 19 dhvasta-bhūmiśvarō jātaḥ śrī-Haravalla[bh]ō manu-patis¹⁰= [t]ējō-dharā-Bhāskaraḥ ||
() sū[nus=tasya] Kumārapāla-nripatis=tyā- |⁷
- 20 gī Śi[va] - $\circ \circ \circ \circ \circ \circ \circ \circ \circ \circ \circ \circ$ - sam[p]rā - $\circ \circ \circ \circ \circ \circ \circ \circ$ mahi¹¹-vinyasta-kīrtti-kramah ||
[12*] Tat-[sūnus=tv=a]tha dēva-[Viśalapurē]¹² śrī-Kīrtti-
- 21 pāl-ābhīdhō jā -¹⁴ - \circ [patē]s-turamgama-nriṇām saṃhāra-karttā raṇē || () tad-
bhrātā Ha[r]ipāla-nāma-viditō Harāmīra-śamkā-
- 22 karō yad-[bh]ītyā na ja[la]m \circ ru \circ turagaiḥ¹⁵ pitaṃ triśh-ārttair=api || [13*] Bhrāt=
ā[s=t]ē=sya Kumārapāla-nripatēḥ putrō dharitri¹⁶-yaśō-
- 23 [vi]khyātas=tv=iha Rudrapāla¹⁷-nripatiḥ sadvaṃdya-karmma-kram[a]ḥ ||¹⁸ [14*]
Tālārasva[ra]¹⁹ -puṇya-bhū-tala-patēḥ prā[ṇa]-priyā putrikā saṃ-

¹ Read *tasmād*=

² The intended reading may be something like *utpāta-karma-kshamaḥ*. Sharma reads *—utpāta-rakshā-kshamaḥ* here.

³ Pratīpal Bhatia (*The Paramaras*, p. 126) follows Sharma's reading ... *bhīra-Dhārādhipān*.

⁴ Evidently *Surāshtrāhvayam* is intended (cf. above, Vol. IX, p. 77, text verses 32-33). However, Sharma reads *grāstam [ma]hāntam dalam*.

⁵ This name may also be read as *Dhūḍha*. (See Sharma op. cit., *ASLAR*, op. cit. *Ibid*.)

⁶ The first half of this verse ends with this word according to Sharma who, however, feels that some words are omitted here.

⁷ This punctuation is unnecessary.

⁸ This name appears to be a corruption of *Viprōddhāra*. *ASLAR*, and Sharma read this name *Vishṇuś-dhāra* and *Vishṇudvāra* respectively.

⁹ Sharma reads *Paśchāt=tatra*.

¹⁰ Sharma reads *Haradatta-nāma-nripati* following perhaps Ojha and the *ASLAR*.

¹¹ Can the intended word be something like *Śivārādhakaḥ*?

¹² Here Sharma reads *yuddham=uchchhrita-mahi*.

¹³ *ASLAR*, and Sharma take respectively this name to be *Vardhamānapura* and *Dēvavarddhanapura*.

¹⁴ The intended word is evidently *jātaḥ* and the context seems to suggest that the next word may be something like *Aśvapatiḥ*.

¹⁵ Sharma's reading *Tururhska-turagaiḥ* may be the intended one.

¹⁶ Sharma reads: *Bhrātā tasya Kumārapāla-nripatēḥ...dharitri, etc.* *ASLAR* also seems to be inclined to read the same.

¹⁷ *ASLAR* reads this name as *Ratnapāla*.

¹⁸ This is only half of the verse.

¹⁹ *ASLAR* and Sharma read *tat-Sārasvata*.

- 24 jātā hi mahā-sa[ti] prati-dinam Gaṅg=ēva vaṁdyā satām(tām) | nāmnā Dālhaṇa-
dēvik=ēti jana-viprakhyāta-śl =āmalā sā
- 25 -- lhaṇa¹ -bhūpatēr=vijayinō māt=ātiputra-priyā || [15*] Tat-putrasya Vā
(Bri)haspatēr=iva gu[ṇā] vu(bu)ddhiś=cha Vi[shṇō]r² = yathā tēja-
- 26 s = u³ Ravēr=iva kshiti-talē saumyatvam=Indōr=iva | Rāmasy=ēva jan-ānurāga-
vibhavaḥ śrī-⁴Alhaṇa-kshmāpa-
- 27 [tē]ḥ sau (sau)ryam tasya Va(Ba)lēr=iv=āsti viditam gāmbhīryam=avdhē(bdhē)r=iva ||
[16*] S-āmbhōdhi-kshiti-khaṇḍa-maṇḍana-ma-
- 28 hi-[d]in-āmdha-kalpadrūmōjātō bhūpa-kumāra-vikrama-yaśō-vikhyāta-⁵

Second Plate

- 29 chūḍā-maṇiḥ | śrīmat-Kēlhaṇa ātma-vaṁśa-kamala-pradyōtan-ārthi Ravir=bhaktō
Rāmavad=Alhaṇasya nripatēḥ putraḥ pa-
- 30 vitrō bhuvi || [17*] Idṛig-vaṁśa-guṇ-ādharāḥ śrīmad-Alhaṇa-bhūpatiḥ | vichiraṁ
tayati saṁsāram=a-sār-ākāra-dustaram(ram) ||⁶ [18*]
- 31 Saṁsār-ēdṛiśa-duḥkha-bhīta-manasā gatv=ātha tīrth-ōdakaiḥ snātvā nirmala-dhauṭa-
pōta-yugalaṁ vinyasya ch=āmgē nijē |
- 32 paśchāt=tam jagatām patim Tripurusham saṁsnapyā pañch-āmrītaiḥ karpūr-ōdaka-
chāru-chamdana-rasair=liptvā samagraṁ tataḥ || [19*] Sadyaś=champa-
- 33 ka-mālati-śata-dala-vyākōśa-pushp-āmbujaiḥ saṁpūjy=ātha yath-ōchitam su-manasā
stutvā cha natvā chiram(ram) |⁷ naivēdyam su-rasam
- 34 pradāya⁸ va(ba)hudhā puṇya-prad-ārātrikam paśchāt=prēkshaṇakam manō-dhvani-
karam taurya-trik-ālamkṛitam(tam) || [20*] Kṛitv=aitad=dvija-dēvatāmka
- 35 svagurūn⁹=abhyarchchya nānā-dhanaiḥ pitrōḥ svasya cha dharmma-kīrtti-yaśasām
saṁvṛiddhayē śraddhayā || [21*]¹⁰ ath=ānantaram cha | Ananya-chēva(ta)sā
- 36 svargg-āpavargga-mārggā(regga)-prayāna-prakāśaka-phalapradaṁ |¹¹ dharmma-sthānakam
tad-upadravaścha(n=cha) kshiti-tala-bhūpāla-tilakō mahīpatir=asau pa -
- 37 ribhāvayati¹² | paribhāvya cha |¹³ bhagavataḥ sakala[m] sur=āsura-gurōḥ śrīma[t]=
Tripuru[sha]dēvasya prabhuḥyamāna=Nandāṇā-grāmasya | Grāma-

¹ Restore as s=ā bhūd=Alhaṇa.

² For the sake of metre the order of two words are changed. Construe Brihaspatēr=iva buddhiḥ Viṣṇōr=yathā guṇāḥ.

³ Probably s=itkshya-is intended.

⁴ Sandhi is not observed here.

⁵ This line is shorter than the previous ones.

⁶ Verses 18-23 form a kulaka.

⁷ Read-dēvatāḥsvaka-gurūn=

⁸ This is only one half of a verse.

⁹ This punctuation mark is unnecessary.

¹⁰ Here the word paribhāvayati is used in the sense of "makes it known". The prose passage from Ananya-chētasā to Nandāṇā-grāmasya seems to have been composed of passages of some verses.

- 38 sy=āsyā paratra bhīru-manasā dṛiṣṭvā grihitam ta[th]ā pratyabdam hi Valādhipa
k[r]a[ma]-pad-abhāvyaṃ-nṛipair=niḥkripaiḥ¹ | paśchyā(śchā)d=Alhaṇa-dēva-bhūtala-
- 39 bhujā chaṃdr-ārka-kālavadhiṃ kṛitv=āsmāi tila-darbha-tōya-vidhinā saṃkalp
[y]a dattam sadā² || [22*] Rājabhiḥ kṛita-dharmā[ṇā]m ja[nma]-kalyāṇa-kāri-
- 40 nām(ṇām) | luptā[nām] [.] pana³ kāryā svar[g]ga-[sau]khyā-pradāyinā[m*] |
[[23*] Ētad=ēvaṃ mayā dattam lōbhād=grihṇāti yō naraḥ | mātus=tasya cha-
taty=ēva rāsabhaḥ pra-
- 41 ti-vāsaram(ram) || [24*] Tathā⁴ cha śrīmach-Chaṃdalēśvara-dēvasya. prabhujya-
māna-Bhītalavātaka-grāmasya Valādhipā[bhā] -
- 42 vyaṃ śubh-ānuviddhayā bhaktyā śrīmach-Chaṃdalēśvara-dēvāya pradatta⁵m=iti||⁶
- 43 Aparam cha mahārājādhirāja-śrīmad-Alhaṇadēvēna Chaṃdalēśvara-dēvakiya-gar-
bhagṛiḥa-madhyē
- 44 rājñi-śrī-Saṃkaradēvyā kārāpita-Gauryai pratidina-bhōga-nimittam śulka-mam-
ḍapikāyam
- 45 prati-māsam pradattā drammas=chatvāraḥ | tē cha chaṃdr-ārka-kālam yavat
paripālaniyāḥ | Luptim yō=
- 46 sya vidhāsyati pragata-dhiḥ pañch-ātīpāp-ālayō yō vā śāsa(sa)na-lōpa-hētu-vacha-
sām vaktā bhavishya-
- 47 ty=api | svar[gga]-bhrashta-sa-kashta-sapta-pitaras=tasy=aiva pāpātmanah Kum-
bhīpāka-niranta-ghōra-narakē
- 48 yāsyanti tē=dhō-mukhāḥ || [25*] Mam=āstē śāsan-ārūḍhaḥ śrīmad-Alhaṇa-bhū-
patēḥ | dān-āmbu-nirmali-
- 49 bhūtaḥ sva-hastō dakṣiṇō hy=ayam(yam) || [26*] Mahārājādhirājasya śrīmad-
Alhaṇa bhūbhujah | puratō li-
- 50 khitam ch=ēdam Khēlādityanē⁷ śāsanam(nam) || [27*] iti | Saṃvat⁸ 1220 Āshāḍha-
guri⁹ 11 Guru-dīnō dēvasya pra-¹⁰
- 51 Ēkādaśi-parvaṇi śrī-Tripurushadēvāya Saṃvōḍi¹¹-grāma-bhūmi-madhyāta¹²
Nijumhāi-Dumgara-paśchima-[sīma*]ni bhōgē Mahārājādhirā-
- 52 ja-śrī-¹³Alhaṇadēvēna hala-3-traya-bhūmi sva-sīmā-paryantā śāsana(nē)na pra-
dattāḥ(ttā) | Likhitam=idam ṭha¹⁴-Śrīdharērā(ṇa) prabhu(bhō)r=ājñavā(yā) ||
[Chha]¹⁵

¹ Read=*nishkripaiḥ*.

² Better read *mudā* or *satā*.

³ Evidently *sthāpanā* is intended.

⁴ This word as well as the succeeding one are engraved in bolder characters.

⁵ There is a small unnecessary stroke after *ita*.

⁶ The rest of this line is left blank.

⁷ Read *Kēlādityēna*.

⁸ This word is engraved in smaller characters.

⁹ Read *Āshāḍha-śudī*.

¹⁰ Probably this *akṣara* is a contraction of *prathama*. And the Āshāḍha śudī 11 is known as *Pratham-*

¹¹ Sharma read this *akṣara* name as *Chāmvōḍi* and *ASI.AR.* as *Chāmvōḍi*.

¹² Read *madhyāt*.

¹³ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

¹⁴ *ṭha* reads for *ṭhakti* or *ra*.

¹⁵ This *akṣara* closes the end of the record.

No. 5—TWO NOLAMBA-PALLAVA INSCRIPTIONS

(1 Plate)

K. V. RAMESH, MYSORE

Of the two inscriptions, edited here with the kind permission of the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, that of Bīra-Noḷamba Aṇṇayyadēva, hereinafter called Inscription A¹, was found engraved on three faces of a broken pillar in a field at Guṇimōrabāgalu, Madakasira Taluk, Anantapur District, Andhra Pradesh, while that of Ēkavākya Eṇiva-Noḷamba, hereinafter called inscription B², was found engraved on a stone slab set up below the tank-bund at Ālavatta, a village in the Sidlaghatta Taluk of Kolar District, Mysore State. The writing in Inscription B is well-preserved but, in the case of Inscription A, the pillar on which it is engraved is broken into two pieces, as a result of which some letters in lines 5, 24, and 45-46 on the south, east and north faces respectively have suffered damage.

The language and characters of the two epigraphs are Kannāḍa, assignable to the 10th century A. D. Their palaeography and orthography are comparable to those of the other available records of the period as, for instance, the Dharmapuri inscription³ of Noḷamba Mahēndra and the Basavanahalli inscription⁴ of Gaṅga Satyavākya-Permmānaḍi II.

The text of Inscription A has already been published in *South Indian Inscriptions Series*, Vol. IX, Part I, under No. 24. Since the published text is defective and also in view of the interesting nature of the record, it is edited afresh below. Inscription B is edited here for the first time.

Inscription A refers itself to the reign of Bīra-Noḷamba Aṇṇayyadēva who is introduced with the usual *praśasti* of the Noḷamba-Pallavas. It is dated Śaka 858; Durmukhi, Āshāḍha ba. 5, Vaḍḍavāra. If the given week day is treated as a mistake for Monday, the other details of date would correspond to 936 A.D., July 11. The inscription records the grant of *bittu-vaṭa* to the tank (*keṛeḡe*) by the *ūru* and *mahājana* including Poḷta-gāvunḍa of Morvala, Voppa-gāvunḍa, Ayyamma-gā[vu*]ṇḍa, the son of Mādava-gāvunḍa, Māḷdeya-gāvunḍa, Nannayya, [the son or servant] of Baṇḍara-oḍeya, Śaṅkarayya, Āychamayya, Duggimayya and Durgga-śarma, as also Varuṇaśiva-bhaṭāra, the administrator of (the temple of) Noḷambēśvara, who had assembled together.

Inscription B refers itself to the reign of Ēkavākya Eṇiva-Noḷamba who is also endowed with the usual Noḷamba-Pallava *praśasti*, and records the grant of *bittu-kaṭu* by the king. It is not dated but belongs, as stated above, to the 10th century.

The primary importance of Inscription A lies in the fact that it is the only known dated inscription directly referring itself to the reign of the Noḷamba-Pallava chieftain; Aṇṇayyadēva, the more popular form of whose name, as gathered from epigraphical records,

¹ *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, App. B No. 759.

² *Ibid.*, 1958-59, App. B 659.

³ Above, Vol. X, Plate between pp. 66-67.

⁴ *MAR.*, 1938, Plate opp. p. 188.

is Anṅiga. He is known to have been ruling over some minor territory in the Chitradurga region as a subordinate of his father Ayyappa as early as in the cyclic year Vikrama, corresponding to) 920-21 A. D.¹ We learn from the Dnarmapuri (Dharmapuri District, Tamil Nāḍu) inscription² of 929 A. D., that his queen was Attiyabbarasi of the Chalūki family and that, by her, he had a son named Iṇḷachōra.

Our inscription, dated in 936 A. D., does not mention any overlord, implying thereby that Anṅayyadēva was at that time ruling in independent capacity. The Kūḍalūr grant³ of Gaṅga Mārasimha, dated in 962-63 A. D., states that Nolamba-Anṅiga was defeated at the battle of Kottamaṅgala⁴ and subsequently granted protection by Mārasimha's paternal uncle Rāchamalla III. Five more undated inscriptions⁵ of Anṅiga's reign, which also do not mention any overlord, may also be deemed to have been written prior to his defeat at the hands of Rāchamalla III.

It is likely that, as a result of his defeat at Kottamaṅgala, Anṅayyadēva became a subordinate of the Gaṅga ruler. The reign of Rāchamalla III, however, did not last long. The Deoli plates⁶ of Kṛishṇa III, issued in 940 A.D., state, while describing the martial exploits of the Rāshtrakūṭa prince prior to his accession, that he uprooted Rāchamalla and placed on the Gaṅga throne (the latter's younger brother) Būtuga (verse 23) and that he also defeated and reduced to a sorry plight the Pallava king Anṅiga (verse 24). The Karhāḍ plates⁷ of Kṛishṇa III, dated in 959 A.D., also mention the defeat of Rāchamalla and Anṅiga by the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor, in two consecutive verses (verses 28-29). This fact that the defeats of Rāchamalla and Anṅiga are described in consecutive stanzas lends support to the above view that Anṅayya had become the subordinate of Rāchamalla III after his defeat at Kottamaṅgala. For, when Rāchamalla was faced with the task of repelling the joint invasion of Kṛishṇa III and Būtuga, it was only natural that Anṅiga, his subordinate, should run to his help. Since the Deoli plates speak of these battles as having been fought before Kṛishṇa III's accession and during the reign of his father Amōghavarsha III (937-39 A.D.), and since, on the strength of our inscription, Anṅiga may be taken to have ruled in independent capacity till 936 A.D., it may be concluded that Anṅayyadēva's defeat at the hands of Rāchamalla III, the acceptance of the latter's sovereignty by the former, Būtuga's usurpation of the Gaṅga throne at the expense of Rāchamalla and the defeat of Rāchamalla and Anṅiga by Kṛishṇa III may all of them have occurred during the period after 936 A.D., the date of our inscription, and before the elevation of Kṛishṇa III to the Rāshtrakūṭa throne in 939 A.D.

Ēkavākya Eṇiva-Nolamba of Inscription B is known to be the younger brother and successor of Anṅayyadēva. It is possible that the latter's son Iṇḷachōra, to whom reference has been made above, either predeceased his father or failed to secure the throne for some reason or the other. At any rate, Eṇiva-Nolamba's elevation to the Nolamba-Pallava throne seems to have come about in the normal course of events and not as a result of any dynastic intrigues. For, in the Hēmāvati (Madakasira Taluk, Anantapur

¹ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, JI. 29.

² *SIL.*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 23.

³ *MAR.*, 1921, pp. 8 ff. and plate.

⁴ This battle is also referred to in an undated hero-stone inscription from Kaladēvapūra, Maddagiri Taluk, Tumkur District (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII, Mg. 71).

⁵ These are *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Cl. 6 and 56; Vol. XII, Si. 59, Pg 80 and Mi 27.

⁶ Above, Vol. V, pp. 188 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.* Vol. IV, pp. 278 ff, verses 28-29.

District) inscription¹ of Iṛiva-Noḷamba, dated in 942 A.D., his elder brother Anṇiga is spoken of in laudatory terms. This inscription, which is the earliest available dated record of Iṛiva-Noḷamba, also shows that Anṇayadēva had ended his reign before 942 A.D. Of the other known inscriptions of Iṛiva-Noḷamba, his Maḍakasira inscription², dated in 948-49 A.D., refers to him as the subordinate of Ballaha i.e. Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III. It is, therefore, possible that ever since Anṇiga's defeat at the hands of Kṛishṇa III, the Noḷamba-Pallavas had become the feudatories of the Rāshtrakūṭas. The reign of Iṛiva-Noḷamba must have come to an end sometime between 950 A.D., to which year another³ of his inscriptions from Maḍakasira belongs, and 951 A.D., the year in which the Kurabūru inscription⁴ of one of his sons and successors, Iṛiva-Noḷamba Nolipayya, is dated.

Besides Ēkavākya, Eṛiva-Noḷamba also had the other name of Diliparasa.⁵ While the other inscriptions give his name as Iṛiva-Noḷamba, it is interesting to note that our inscription names him as Eṛiva-Noḷamba. *Iṛiva* and *Eṛiva* are respectively from Kannada *iri*⁶ and Tamil *eri*⁷, meaning 'to pierce'.

The terms *bittu-vaṭa* of Inscription A (line 38) and *bittu-kaṭu* of Inscription B (lines 6-7) are of lexical interest. *Bittu-vaṭa* has elsewhere⁸ been interpreted to mean 'a grant of land for the upkeep of the tank'. In yet another context, it has been opined⁹ that 'the word *bittu-vaṭa* seems to indicate either a portion of the produce of the lands below a tank or some wet lands below a tank granted to the person who built the tank or repaired it'. The latter interpretation does not hold good in the case of Inscription A in which there is no reference whatsoever to the person who may have built or repaired the tank. On the other hand, the expression *kerege bittu-vaṭamaṁ koṭṭar* clearly shows that the beneficiary of the grant was the tank itself. That the grant of *bittu-kaṭu*, recorded in Inscription B, was also with reference to a tank is clearly borne out by the inclusion of the word *kere* among the objects the destruction of which will amount to an unholy act. It may, therefore, be concluded that *bittu-vaṭa* and *bittu-kaṭu* are variants having the same meaning¹⁰ and that both are with reference to tanks.

Bittu-vaṭa occurs in Tāmīl inscriptions as *vittu-ppāḍu* and *viḍai-ppāḍu* which, more often than not, are used in the context of defining the extent of cultivable lands. A copper-plate inscription of 864 A.D., for instance, states that the servants of the temple of Vishnu-bhaṭṭāraka were given, as *vṛitti*, two grants of *vittu-ppāḍu*, of 8 *kalam* each, together with the privileges *karai*, *kārānmai* and *midāṭchi* which went with those lands¹¹. Another copper-plate grant, assignable to the 9th-10th century A.D., uses the expressions *padiṅgaṅala-vittu-ppāḍu*, *aiṅgala-vittu-ppāḍu*, *mukkala-vittu-ppāḍu* and *muppattiru-kala-vittu-ppāḍu* to denote

¹ *SII*, Vol.VI, No. 561.

² *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, App.B, No. 728.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 726.

⁴ *Ep.Carn.*, Vol.X, Ct. 49.

⁵ *Karnāṭakada Arasumanetanagaḷu*, p. 223.

⁶ Kittel: *Kannada-English Dictionary*, s.v.

⁷ Wilson: *Tamil-English Dictionary*, s.v.

⁸ *SII*, Vol.IX, part I, No23, Introduction.

⁹ *MAR.*, 1941, p.172.

¹⁰ This possibility was suggested in *A.R.Ep.*, 1958-59, Introduction, p.10 wherein, however, *bittu-kaṭu* is wrongly referred to as *bittu-kaṭte*.

¹¹ *TAS.*, Vol. I, *Three Inscriptions of Kōk-Karunandaḍakkar*, p. 7, Text, lines 11-15.

plots of lands which were of the extent of being sown with 15, 5, 3 and 32 *kalam* of seeds respectively¹. It is likely that Tamil *pāḍu* is a derivative of Sanskrit *pāṭa* which means 'expanse', 'extension' etc.² It is obvious that, in the two charters referred to above, the term *vittu-ppāḍu* is used in the sense of Sanskrit *bījāvāpa*³ and Kannaḍa *bījavari*.⁴ On the strength of the above evidence, it may be concluded that *bittu-vaṭa*⁵ and *bittu-kaṭu*⁶ of Inscriptions A and B respectively denote, primarily, the assessed sowing capacity of given extents of lands. At the same time Inscription A, by clearly stating that the *bittu-vaṭa* was granted to the tank (*kerēge*) and that the grains were to be collected from lands which were below or within the area of the tank or were irrigated by picotta (with water from that tank), clearly implies that the beneficiary of the grant of *bittu-vaṭa* was the tank itself and that the grant was in the form of grains collected from such lands as were irrigated with water from that tank. The Kannaḍa terms *bittu-vaṭa* and *bittu-kaṭu* and the Tamil terms *vittu-ppāḍu* and *vidai-ppāḍu* may, therefore, be interpreted to mean, in the first instance, particularly in the case of the Tamil terms, specification of the extent of a given plot of land on the strength of its sowing capacity and, as an extended import of their significance, particularly in the case of the Kannaḍa terms, as denoting the collection of a portion of the produce from such lands as are irrigated by a tank for being granted to that tank for its maintenance, repairs, etc.

A.—*Guṇimōrabāgalu Inscription of Noḷamba Aṇṇayyadēva, Śaka 858*

The text of this inscription, written on three faces of the pillar and running in all to 57 lines, commences with the auspicious word *Svasti* (line 1) followed by the details of the Śaka and cyclic years (lines 1-6). The ruling chieftain Bīra-Noḷamba Aṇṇayyadēva is next introduced with the usual Noḷamba-Pallava *praśasti* (lines 6-12). This is followed by the introduction, in lines 12-24, of *samadhigata-pañchamahāśabda, mahāsāmantādhipatyā, paramēśvara, paramabhāṭāraka* Varuṇaśiva-bhaṭāra who is further described as the *grāvaṇi* (i.e. *grāmaṇi*) of Paḷivāḷa-bāḷu and as the administrator of the temple (*sthāna*) of Noḷambēśvara. In lines 24-27, the other details of date, discussed earlier, are furnished. The grant of the *bittu-vaṭa* is recorded in lines 27-38. As pointed out above, the inscription records the grant of *bittu-vaṭa* to the tank by the *ūru*, the *mahājana*, a number of individuals and Varuṇaśiva-bhaṭāra, who had all assembled together for the purpose. The lands from which *bittu-vaṭa* was to be collected are enumerated in lines 39-52. Lines 52-57 are made up of the imprecatory portion.

¹ Ibid., *The Huzur Office Plate of Viḷramāditya Varaguṇa*, p.2, Text, lines 3-6.

² Monier Williams: *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v.

³ Cf. *drōṇāvāpa*, Sircar: *Ind.Ep. Gloss.*

⁴ *A Kisaṃwār Glossary of Kanarese Words*, p. 15, s.v.

⁵ The *vaṭa* of *bittu-vaṭa*, like the *pāḍu* of Tamil *vittu-ppāḍu* may also have resulted from Sanskrit *pāṭa*. Alternative possibilities are that *vaṭa* is from Sanskrit *vāṭa* 'an enclosure', 'a piece of enclosed ground' (Monier Williams: *op.cit.*, s.v.) or from Kannaḍa *vaṭṭa* which means 'a deduction' or 'a discount' (Kittel: *Kannaḍa-English Dictionary*, s.v.). In the last case *bittu-vaṭṭa* may be taken to mean 'a deduction made from the produce from such lands as are irrigated by a tank, for being granted to that tank for its upkeep and maintenance. Cf. *vaṭṭan-tiṭ* and *vaṭṭan-tiṭ* (Kittel: *Op.cit.*, s.v.) meaning 'to pay discount' with *kuḍuvudu* in lines 41, 43-44 and 45 and *tiruvom* in lines 48 and 52 which are used in Inscription A with reference to *bittu-vaṭa*.

⁶ *Kaṭṭu* is used in Kannaḍa inscriptions in the sense of 'assessment' as in *kuḷu-kaṭṭu* 'to fix the amount of taxes' (See *A Kisaṃwār Glossary of Kanarese Words*, p. 144, *kuḷa*). *Bittu-kaṭṭu*, in which *kaṭṭu* is obviously from *kaṭṭu*, may, therefore, be taken to mean 'tax assessed in the form of a portion of the produce from such lands as are irrigated by a tank for being granted to that tank for its upkeep.'

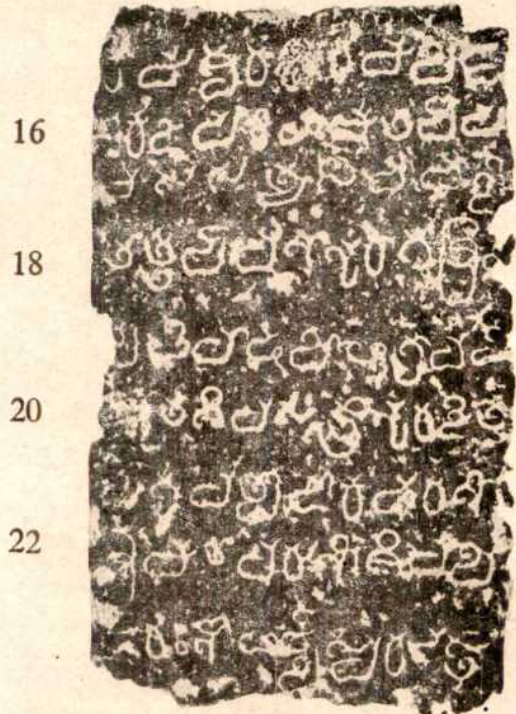
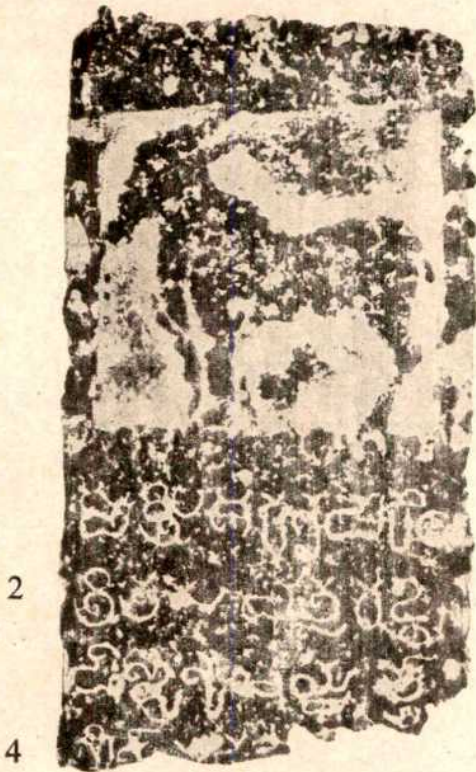
36
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36 46
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40 50
42 52
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56

North Face

SCALE : One-fifth

GUNIMORABAGALU INSCRIPTION OF NOLAMBA
ANNAYYADEVA, SAKA 858



South Face

East Face

It is interesting to note that the religious head Varuṇaśiva-bhaṭāra, the administrator of the Nolambēśvara temple, is endowed with epithets, some of them usually found in the *birudāvaḷi* of powerful feudatory rulers or officials and the others, viz. *Paramēśvara* and *paramabhaṭṭāraka*, found among imperial or sovereign epithets.

Of the geographical names occurring in the record, Morvala (lines 27-28) to which Polla-gāvunḍa belonged, is the same as modern Mōrubāgalu, Madakasira Taluk. I am unable to identify Paḷivāḷa-bāḷu of which Varuṇaśiva-bhaṭāra was the headman.

TEXT¹*South Face*

- 1 Svasti[1*] Śaka-nṛipa-kāl-ā-
- 2 ti(ti)ta-samvatsaraṅga-
- 3 ḷ-entunūr- ayvatt-e-
- 4 ṇṭane[ya] Durmmukhi[y-e]-
- 5 [mba] sam .tsara Prava[rtti]-
- 6 se[1*] Svasti[1*] samadi(dhi) ga[ta-pa]-
- 7 ṅcha-mahāśabda-Pallav-ānma(nva)[ya]-
- 8 śri-pri(pri)thu(thi)vi-vallaba(bha)-[Pa]-
- 9 llava-kula-tilaka[m] śrīmat BI[ra]-
- 10 Nolamban-Anṇayyadōvana r[ā]-
- 11 jy-ābi(bhi)vṛiddhigaḷ=uttarōttaram=ā-
- 12 chandr-ā[r*]kka saluttire[1*] Svasti[1*][sa]-
- 13 madhigata-paṅcha-mahāśa[bda]-
- 14 maha(hā)śa(sā)mantādhīpatya-[Pa]-

East Face

- 15 rama(mē)śvara-[Pa]ramaba(bha)ttā-
- 16 rakam japa-niyama-tap-ōpa-
- 17 vāsa-satya-sau(śau)ch-āchā[r-ā*]nvi-
- 18 ta[r]-ttapōvan-ānurāga-śrīma[t]
- 19 Paḷivāḷa-bāḷa-grāvaṇi
- 20 ta²-śiva-sā(śā)str-ānura[m]jita-

¹ From impression.² The text published in *SII.*, Vol. IX, part I, No. 24 reads : *grāmamāndāta*.

- 21 Ba(Bha)gavat-pād-auka-charaṇa¹-
 22 śrīmat Varuṇaśiva-ba(bha)-
 23 tārara Noḷambēsva(śva)rada stā(sthā)-
 24 [nāman-ā]lutt[i]r[e] tad-var[ish-ābhya]-
 25 [ntara]da Āshāḍa(ḍha) - mā[sada]
 26 [bahu]lada pañchameyu Va-
 27 ḍa(ḍḍa)-vāram-āge Morvva²-
 28 Ia-Polla-gāvunḍanu Vo³-
 29 ppa-gāvunḍanu Mādava-
 30 [gā]vunḍara maga-Ayya-
 31 mma-gā[vu*]nḍanu Māḍeya-gāvunḍa-
 32 nu mahājanamu[r̄n] Baṇḍara-oḍeya-
 33 ra Nannayyanu Sa(Śa)mkarayyanu [Ā]-
 34 ychamayyanu Duggimayya-

North Face

- 35 ṅgaḷu Da[r]gga-sa(śa)[r*]mmanu i-
 36 ntu ūrum=mahājanamu[r̄n*] Varu-
 37 ṇaśiva-ba(bha)tāraru iḷdu⁴
 38 kerege bittu-vaṭa kotta[r]⁵
 39 kereya kelage kattige pāyva
 40 koḷagadoḷ paḍi kuḷa-gey[du]⁶
 41 kuḍuvudu oḷagere-
 42 ya ki(ki)l-kereya k[o]laga[do]-⁷
 43 ḷ mūgaṇḍugaṇḍ geydu kuḍu-
 44 vudu ētadoḷ⁸-ayguḷi ge-
 45 ydu kuḍuvudu Noḷambē⁹-

¹ The published text reads : *bhagavatpādaikābharāṇa*.

² The published text reads : *Porvva*.

³ The published text reads : *Chi*.

⁴ The published text reads : *bhātārarumīḷdu*.

⁵ The published text reads : *kottu*.

⁶ The published text reads : *padirkula geyyūn*.

⁷ The published text reads : *kaḷani*.

⁸ The published text reads : *hantadoḷ*.

⁹ *Noḷambē* has not been read in the published text.

- 46 sva(śva)rake¹ naḍeva om[shil]ya²
 47 mēlpāt-a[da]ke³ poragāgi u⁴
 48 [t-okkal-ellan-tiruvom āra
 49 maṇṇilla pariyāra illa ko-
 50 daṅgey-illa oḷa-geṇeya ki-
 51 [ke(l-ke)reyo]-okkuḷa galde
 52 [pa]ttidon-ellan⁵-tiruvom[*] I-
 53 ḍanā(n-a)līdāta[m] Vāraṇāsi-
 54 yu kavileyuma i(i) keṇe-
 55 yuma ā(a)līdōn - ā pañcha-mahā-
 56 pa(pā)takana ūri[m*] kaḷevudu ūrā-
 57 tan-oḍati⁶ pudu-vāḷa sallam[|*]

B.—Ālavaṭṭa Inscription of Ēkavākya Eṇiva-Noḷamba

The text of this undated inscription, running into 13 lines in all, is engraved in bold Kannada characters. Lines 9-12 are shorter than the rest because of the engraving of the figures of a cow and calf on the lower right side of the slab.

The text commences with the auspicious word *Svasti* (line 1) followed by the introduction of the king Ēkavākya Eṇiva-Noḷamba with the usual Noḷamba-Pallava *praśasti* (lines 1-6). It is then stated that Eṇiva-Noḷamba granted *bittu-kaṭu* (line 6). Lines 6-13 contain the imprecatory⁷ portion.

TEXT⁷

- 1⁸ Svasti[|*] Samadhigata-pa-
 2 ṇcha-mahāśabda-Pallav-ā-
 3 nvaya-śri-P ṛithvivallabha-
 4 Pallava-kula-ti[la*]kam-Ēkavā-

¹ The published text reads *Perake*.

² This is probably a mistake for *ōniya* i.e., 'the lane leading to the Noḷambēśvara temple.'

³ The published text reads : *rvillādanu*.

⁴ The published text reads : *ā*.

⁵ The published text reads : *yintidāneitan*.

⁶ The published text reads : *urātānendātām*. But the meaning of the correct reading, as given above, is that the sinner who flouts the grant should be expelled from the village and should not be permitted to live union with his wife.

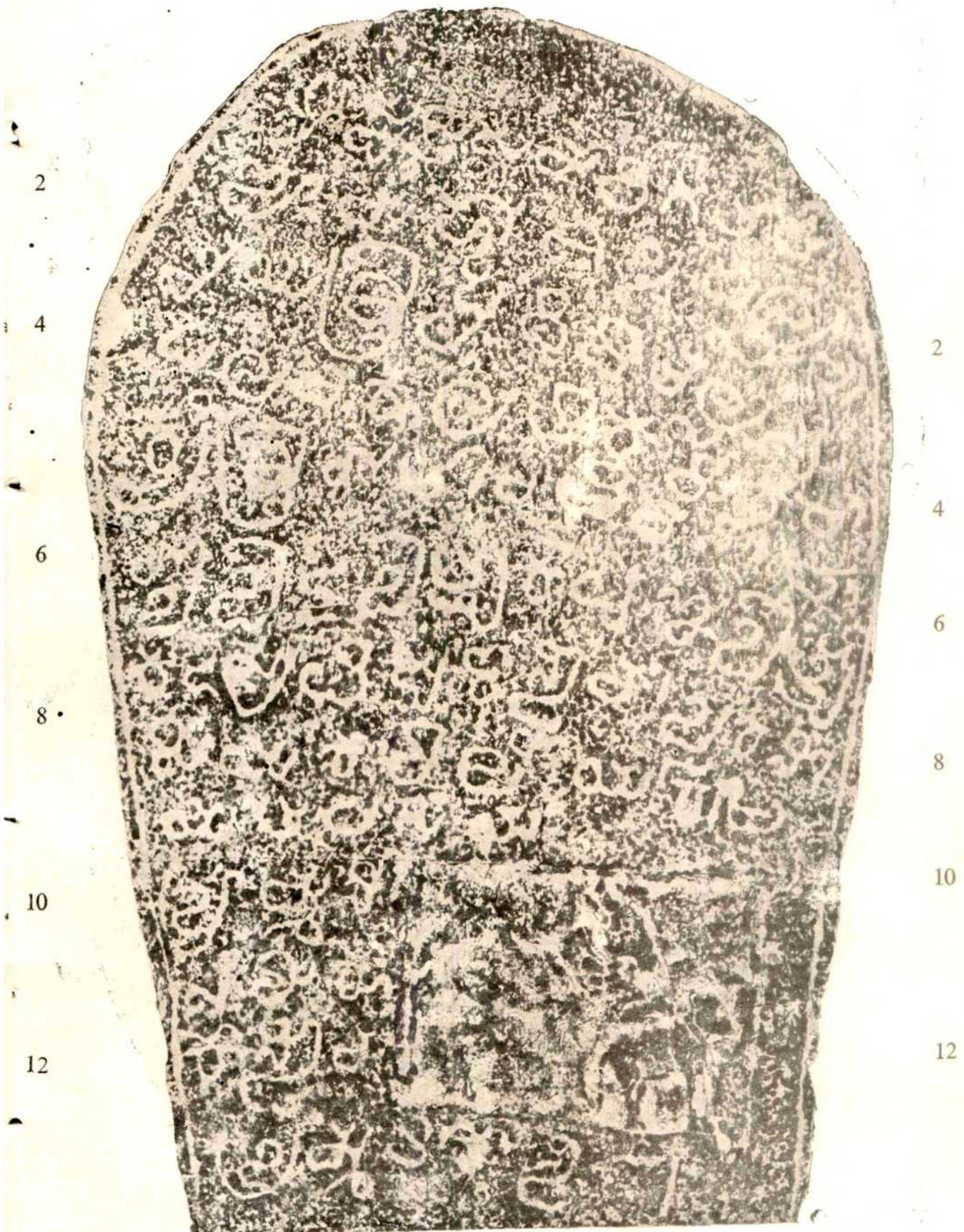
⁷ From the impression.

⁸ There is a floral design at the beginning.

- 5 kyañ śrīmat¹ Eṣiva-Noḷa-
- 6 mba biṭṭa bittu-kaṭu [| *] I (I) bittu-
- 7 kaṭa aḷidu koṇḍavañ | ¹ Bāraṇa-
- 8 siyañ kavileyam keṇ-
- 9 yañ tapas[v]iyam
- 10 brāhmaṇa-
- 11 na[m] lōka
- 12 koṇḍava
- 13 brahmati koṇḍa[va] [ll*]

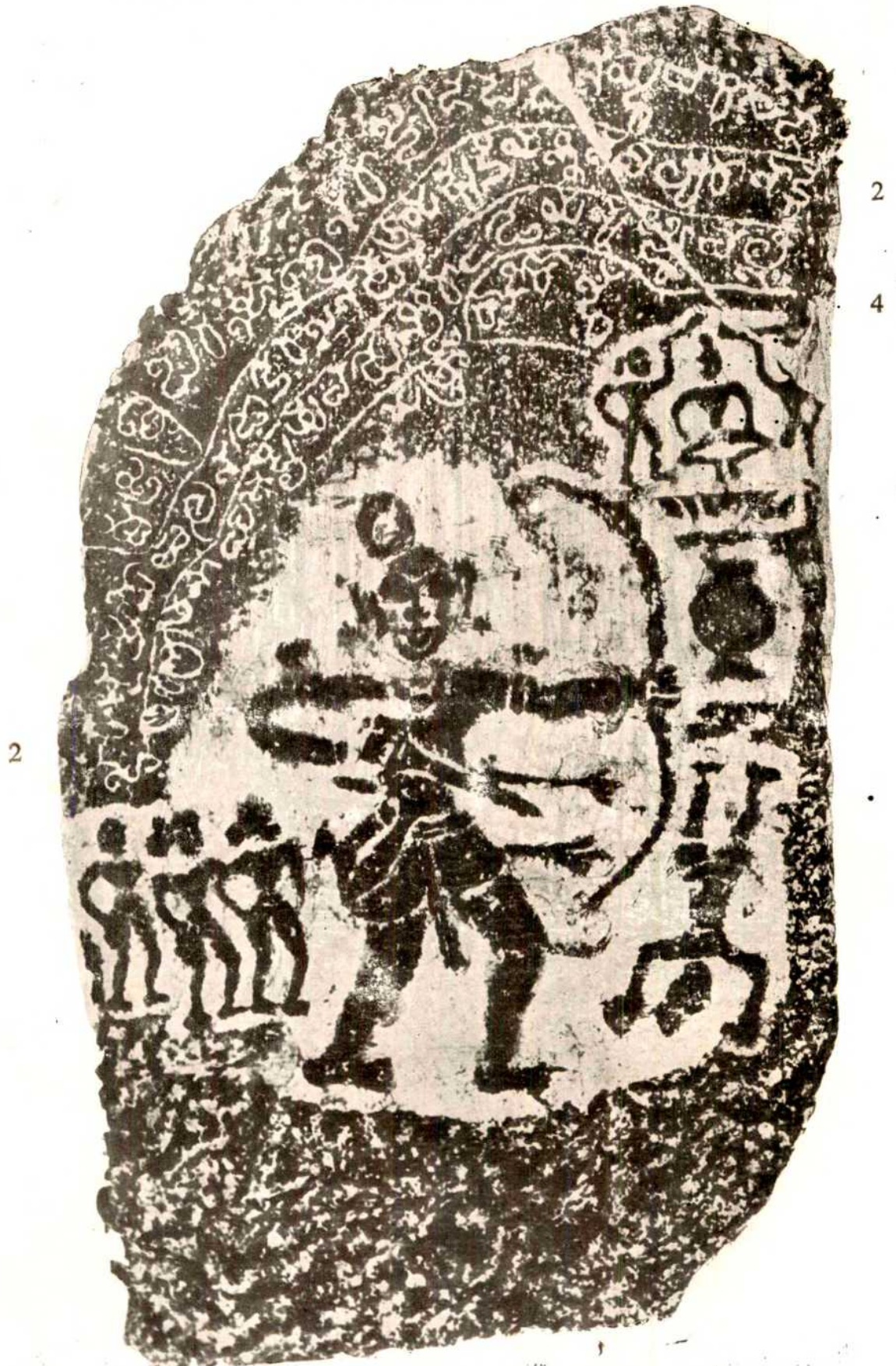
¹ This *daṇḍa* is redundant.

ALAVATTA INSCRIPTION OF EKAVAKYA ERIVA-NOLAMBA



SCALE : One-sixth

NAVALAI INSCRIPTION OF VIRA NOLAMBA, YEAR 15



SCALE : One-sixth

No.—6 VIDISHA STONE INSCRIPTION OF V.S. 1219¹

(1 plate)

BALCHANDRA JAIN, RAIPUR

This inscription was brought to my notice by Shri Rajmal Madavaiya of Vidisha in 1969 when we prepared an impression of it. A tentative transcript of the text prepared from that impression was forwarded by me to the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore for examination. He found the transcript to be fairly satisfactory. In the month of March 1970, Dr. K.V. Ramesh, Deputy Superintending Epigraphist, visited the place and the inscription was again copied by him. I edit the inscription here from the excellent estampage prepared by Dr. K.V. Ramesh and supplied by the Chief Epigraphist.

The present inscription is incised on a stone slab set up above the doorpost of a house in front of the Jaina Temple situated inside the fort area of Vidisha, Madhya Pradesh. The inscription has suffered a great deal by exposure to weather, and also at the human hands. A semi-circular piece was chopped off from the top middle portion of the slab by the builders of the house wherein the stone is now set up, with a view to make accommodation for one of the beams of the house, thus causing loss of many letters in first four lines.

The extant portion of the inscription covers a space 138 cm broad and 22 cm high and consists of 9 lines beautifully written and carefully engraved. The characters are Nāgari of the 12th century A.D. and resemble those of the contemporary Paramāra and Chandēlla records of the region. *Prishthamātrās* have been generally used in cases of medial *ē*, *ai*, *ō* and *au*; but examples of *śirōmātrās* of medial *ō* are also seen as in *Trailōkya* in line 7. The language is Sanskrit and the record is metrically composed except the portion giving the date, etc., at the end and possibly one sentence in the beginning of line 8. The record, in its present state, appears to have contained 15 verses none of which is numbered. As regards orthography, we may note the doubling of the consonants after *r* as in *nirmmala*, *sarvvē* in line 2 and the use of *s* and *v* in place of *ś* and *b* respectively as in *prasasti* in line 8 and *vandhu* in line 3.

The record is dated at the end. It refers to the 12th *tithi* of dark fortnight of the year 1216² of an unspecified era which may be the Vikrama era. The *prasasti* was engraved by Vāsudēva, a *sūtradhāra* (verse 15) but the names of both the composer and the writer are now lost.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple dedicated to Varāha and other charitable works. Verse 3 describes the qualities of the donor but unfortunately his name is lost. The glorious temple of Varāha is described in verses 4 and 5 while in verse 6 we are told that various images of Vishṇu showing his different forms were also set up in that temple. The donor is also said to have raised a beautiful orchard

¹ [The date of the inscription is in fact V.S. 1216 (1159-60 A.D.). This record has been registered as No. B 220 of A.R. Ep., 1969-70.—Ed.]

² [See above, Vol. XXIV, p. 220, note.—Ed.]

on the land near the bank of Vētrāvati, evidently modern Betva river. The orchard is described in verses 7-9. In verses 10 and 11, the qualities of the donor are further described. Verse 12 expresses the hope that the temple of Varāha would last for ever.

In verse 13, a king named Trailōkyavarman is mentioned but due to the mutilation of the verse further information regarding the dynasty to which he belonged or the context in which his name has been mentioned, is not available in the record. As regards the identification of this king, we are therefore not in a position to say any thing definitely in the present state of our knowledge. He cannot be identified with the Chandella prince of that name because the latter was ruling in the first part of the thirteenth century A.D., from about V.S. 1261 (1205) while the present record belongs to V.S. 1216 (1159 A.D.) which would be the reign period of his grandfather, Madanavarman. Among the Paramāras of Malwa, a prince named Trailōkyavarman has been mentioned in the Bhopal copper plate inscription of V.S. 1214¹ and also in a pillar inscription from Gyrapur² near Vidisha. It appears that he was the third son of Yaśovarman Paramāra and perhaps ruled for some time before Hariśchandra, son of Lakshmiarman, the second son of Yaśovarman. If so, we may presume that the present record (which is dated V.S. 1219) was incised during the reign period of Hariśchandra and the name of Trailōkyavarman was mentioned to pay respect as was done in other records of the former.³

In line 8 of the inscription, a reference has been made to a donation of a brass or iron (*āra*) coin called *Vimśōpaka* having the figure of a bull (*vṛishabha*) on it for every vessel that was used in the worship of the God. *Vimśōpaka* was a coin equal to 1/20th part of a *dramma*. It has been referred to in several epigraphs and an inscription from Arthūna mentions the variety named *Vṛishavimśōpaka* like the present record.⁴

TEXT*

[Metres: Verses 1, 5, 6, 8 and 15 *Anuṣṭubh*; Verses 2 and 3 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; Verses 4, 9 and 13 *Vasantatilakā*; Verse 7 *Sragdharā*; Verse 10 *Mandākrāntā*; Verses 11 and 14 *Śikharinī* and Verse 12 *Rathōddhatā*]

- 1 [ओं नमो विष्णवे] ॥ ○○○○○○ - - ○○○○○○ - ○○ | ○○○○○○ -
 - ○○○○○○ - ○○ ॥ [१॥*] - - - ○○ - ○ - ○○○○ - - - ○ -
 ○ - [१*] - - - ○○ - ○ - ○○○○ - - - ○ - - - | - - - ○○ - ○ -
 ○○○○ - - - ○ - द्भुजा । जातो लंकरणं
- 2 [सु] निर्मलगुणैर्पापा ○ - - ○ - ॥ [२॥*] - - - ○○ - ○ - ○○○○ - - - ○ -
 ○ - [१*] - - - ○○ - - - ○○○○ - - - ○ - - - [१] ○○ - ○ - ○ -
 ○○ वान्दुर्व्वारशौचिः शुचिर्यं सर्व्वे युगपद्गुणा गुणनिधिं प्राप्य प्रतिष्ठां ययुः ॥ [३॥*]
 मूलं यशोविटपिनः फल [मिन्दि]

¹ Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 225 ff.

² Ibid., Vol. XXXIII, p. 93

³ Trailōkyavarmmadēva-pāda-prāpta-prasādah.

⁴ For *vimśōpaka*, see *J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XVII, pt. II, pp. 79-82. [In fact the passage under question records the gift of one *vimśōpaka* (of duty) on each bullock-load of merchandise. -Ed].

* From ink impressions.

* The reading is °गुणोपादाद जन्मा—Ed.

VIDISHA STONE INSCRIPTION OF VS 1219



Left half



Right half

SCALE : One-fourth

PGEL. 1. XXXIX. III
1000

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOL. XXXIX

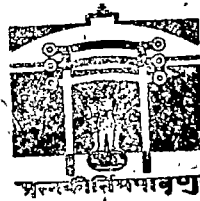
PART II

APRIL 1971

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1982

PUBLISHED BY THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL, ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA,
NEW DELHI-II

PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS (PUB. UNIT),
SANTRAGACHI, HOWRAH, INDIA

Price : Inland Rs. 8.00 Foreign 18 Sh. 8d. or 2 \$ 88 cents.

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119101

No. 7—SIYAN STONE SLAB INSCRIPTION OF NAYAPALA

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, CALCUTTA

About November, 1971, Shri Siddheswar Mukhopadhyay, Assistant Teacher of the Ālbāndhā High School (P.O. Ālbāndhā, via Bōlpur, District Birbhum, West Bengal) wrote to me about the existence of two stone slabs each bearing about 35 lines of writing. Shri Mukhopadhyay discovered the inscribed slabs in the dilapidated Dargah associated with the name of Makhdum Shāh Jalāl at Shāhjāpur in the village of Siyān near Bōlpur. The village lies on the Bōlpur-Nānnur road, about 4 miles from Bōlpur and nearly 7 miles from Nānnur and is not far from the mound locally known as Kālidāser Dhipi (Kālidāsa's mound, i.e. house site) towards Nānnur. Shri Mukhopadhyay also informed me that there is some writing in Arabic characters on the back of the slabs. He further pointed out that one of the two inscriptions is considerably rubbed off and was good enough to send me the photograph of the other record which is better preserved. Shri Mukhopadhyay surmised that the inscribed slabs originally belonged to some Śaiva or Buddhist establishment and that they were utilised in building the Dargah at a later date. This practice is well known from numerous instances in various parts of India, one of the celebrated cases nearer home is the Dargah of Zāfar Shāh at Tribeni near Calcutta.

The photograph received by me from Shri Mukhopadhyay was not satisfactory enough to decipher the inscription; but it showed that the inscription, written in the Gauḍī characters of about the eleventh century A.D., is damaged and fragmentary. Of the few passages that could be deciphered from it here and there, one that attracted my particular attention reads—*Chēdi-nripatēḥ Karṇasya hatvā bhaṭān*, 'having killed the soldiers of the Chēdi king Karṇa'. The story of the struggle of the Pāla kings Nayapāla and his son Vighrahapāla III with the Chēdi monarch Karṇa (1041-71 A.D.) of Tripurī near Jabalpur, the marriage of Karṇa's daughter Yauvanaśrī with Vighrahapāla III and Karṇa's advance into the Birbhum District where we have his inscription on a pillar at Pāikōr are well known to the students of history. This made me conscious about the importance of the inscription, because here was a *praśasti* mentioning certain achievements of a Pāla king of the eleventh century while there are only a few *praśastis* on stone slabs belonging to the monarchs of ancient Bengal, and the findspots even of those few also fall outside the present State of West Bengal. I therefore requested the Eastern Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India in Calcutta to be good enough to contact Shri Siddheswar Mukhopadhyay, to take inked impressions of both the inscriptions and to send them to me for study and publication. As a result, after a few months, I received only one copy of the impression of the better preserved inscription in the Dargah at Siyān. This was also, like the photograph, not quite satisfactory and of course not enough to read the whole of the fragmentary record. I therefore requested the Epigraphical Branches of the Archaeological Survey at Mysore (Sanskritic and Dravidic Branch) and Nagpur (Arabic and Persian Branch) to help me with better impressions of this inscription together with some estampages of the other record at the place. Considering, however, the importance of the inscription I was eager to disclose its contents on the basis of the estampage I received from the Eastern Circle of the Archaeological Survey, even before the receipt of better impressions.

H 9101

An important feature of the inscription, written in **Sanskrit verse**, was its fragmentary nature. Most of the stanzas are incomplete; only a few in the *Ślōka* (*Anuṣṭubh*) metre are complete, e.g., two in lines 28 and 29. The second half of a verse in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* in the latter part of the last line contains only 22 syllables out of the 38, so that at least 16 syllables are lost at the end of the said line. Moreover, between the two double-*daṇḍas* indicating the end of verses in two consecutive lines, there are often only a few syllables seen in the record. Thus a stanza in *Ślōka* (*Anuṣṭubh*) ends with the word *tvishā* || at the end of line 28 while another verse has only the concluding word *saṅgamē* || at the beginning of the following line, i.e. line 29. Thus even if the metre of the damaged stanza was *Ślōka* (*Anuṣṭubh*) of only 32 syllables, the number of missing syllables at the end of line 28 would be about 29. Likewise, *haimañ=cha pīṭhakam* || *Chañḍāṁśu* at the end of line 29 and *haimam nāvagrah-āmbhōjam* || about the beginning of line 30 would show that both the partially preserved stanzas are in *Ślōka* (*Anuṣṭubh*) and that the number of missing syllables at the end of line 29 is about 18. Then again, line 31 ends with the word *bhējē* || which are the concluding syllables of a stanza in *Vasantatilakā*; but the word *nirmamē* | at the beginning of the next line (line 32) is similarly the concluding word of the first half of a stanza in *Ślōka* (*Anuṣṭubh*) so that at least 13 syllables are lost at the end of the previous line. The lines in the extant part of the record contain each a little over 40 syllables so that the above indications appeared to suggest that the original number of syllables in the said lines were near about 69, 58 and 53 respectively. That being, however, obviously impossible since the lines were expected to have contained more or less the same number of syllables, it appeared to me that many more syllables were lost at the end of the lines of the inscription in question.

When I was struggling with the solution of this problem, my pupil, Dr. D.R. Das submitted to me one impression each of both the inscribed slabs in the Dargah at Siyān. These estampages were also not satisfactory; but they showed that the writing on the second slab of stone is much rubbed off in a wide area of the central section. What, however, struck me is that the two slabs are almost of the same size, the lines of writing are of practically the same length on both of them, the *aksharas* are of the same size in both and the number of lines in the two inscriptions is about 35 in each. It therefore appeared to me possible that the two slabs originally belonged to one big slab of stone, the first forming the left and the second the right half, and that the original slab bearing 35 lines of writing each containing more than 80 syllables was cut in the middle in order to make out two slabs. This may have been done, I thought, by those who inscribed the Muslim inscriptions on the back of the slabs and utilised them in the construction of the Dargah at Siyān. Some syllables must have been lost in the process of cutting the original slab into two halves, so that the number of syllables in a line of the original inscription was conjectured by me to have been about 90. This realisation made it clear that we have to account for about 60 missing syllables at the ends of line 28 of the better preserved half and not merely 29 as we supposed on the possibility that the metre of the damaged stanza may have been *Ślōka* (*Anuṣṭubh*). Likewise, at the end of line 29, instead of 18 syllables we have to account for about another 32 syllables. The missing parts of these lines therefore appeared to have each another stanza in the *Ślōka* (*Anuṣṭubh*) metre. Similarly, at the end of line 31, we had to account for about 40 additional syllables. Then I had no doubt that this problem could be finally settled only on a thorough examination of the writings on both the slabs from satisfactory estampages of them; but, while waiting for better impressions of the writings on both the stone slabs, I published an analysis of the contents of the better preserved inscription on one of the slabs, as far as I could decipher the passages, in the *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol.VI (1972-73), pp. 39-47.

Unfortunately, better material for the preparation of a transcript for publication was not forthcoming from any quarter. At length, about the beginning of February, 1975, we were glad to receive one set of inked impressions of the inscription from Dr. G.S. Gai, Chief Epigraphist of the Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, for which we are thankful to him. Although this set of impressions had also its defects, at once we became engaged in the extremely difficult task of finalising a transcript of this damaged inscription. Needless to say that it required considerable time and energy. The determination of the lines of writing on one slab being continued in those on the other had to be done on the basis of the number of syllables missing in the stanzas occurring partly on both the slabs; but this was rendered quite difficult not only by the damaged condition of the writing on the second slab, but also by the fact that the number of the lines of writing on the first slab does not tally with that on the second while a portion of the inscribed stone was lost in the process of cutting it into two halves. Some help was received in this respect from the fact that the beginning and concluding parts of the same words could sometimes be traced respectively at the end of the preceding lines on the second slab and the commencement of the following lines on the first. The condition of the writing is, however, such that repeated attempts are always expected to yield improved readings of damaged passages. Although the conclusions reached by us previously on the basis of unsatisfactory material have been generally found to be correct now, we have been able to read a number of additional passages with the help of Dr. Gai's set of impressions and feel that the contents of the document as we published earlier not only require some additions, but also a few modifications here and there. We have also reconsidered and modified a few of our earlier views on the record expressed in the article appearing in the *JAIH*, Vol.VI.

The number of syllables in a line is now found to be roughly between 89 and 99 without taking into account the difference in size between the simple and conjunct consonants as well as the space occupied by final consonants, *visargas* and single and double *danḍas* in the different lines. The number of stanzas composed in various metres in the 35 lines of writing appear to be 65, though one or two verses may have been lost in the latter part of the last line.

The extant left half of the inscription containing 35 lines of writing is 1 foot 10 inches high and 1 foot 4 inches broad, and the right half, which contains only lines 1-31 of the original 35 lines, is 1 foot 7½ inches high and 1 foot 3 inches broad. About 20 syllables, which appear to have covered a space about 8 inches broad were lost in the process of cutting the stone slab into two parts.¹ Thus the inscribed part of the record originally covered a space 1 foot 10 inches by about 1' 4" + 1' 3" + 8" = 3 feet 3 inches. This space is bigger than that of the so-called Bhubanesvar *praśasti*² of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadēva and the Deopara *praśasti*³ of Vijayasēna. The Bhubanesvar inscription consists of 33 stanzas written in 25 lines which

¹ Because there are Arabic writings on the back of both slabs, my original impression was that the people, who were responsible for the construction of the Dargah, in which the slabs have been found, cut the inscribed stone into two halves in order to engrave two Arabic inscriptions on their reverse. Dr. Z. A. Desai, however, informs me that, like the Sanskrit record, the Arabic inscription dated 1220 A.D. or more probably 1221 A.D., has also been originally incised on the reverse of the entire slab which was later cut into two parts, and that, in this process, about four Arabic words were cut off. It is possible that the slab had broken in to two parts at a later date and then leading Muslims who were in charge of the Dargah had the broken side in the two parts dressed so as to make it straight in both the cases.

² N. G. Majumdar, *Ins. Beng.*, Vol. III, p. 25.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

cover a space of 3 feet by 1 foot $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches and contain each about 85 syllables. Likewise the Deopara inscription consists of 36 stanzas engraved in 32 lines covering a space of 2 feet $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches by 1 foot $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches and containing each about 83 syllables. Thus the Siyān fragmentary inscription, in its original form, was considerably bigger than the Bhubanesvar and Deopara inscriptions. Of course there are bigger stone slab inscriptions in other parts of India. Thus an Ajmer Museum inscription covers a space nearly 4' 2" in length and 1' 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ " in height while the 25 stone slabs of an Udaipur *praśasti* measure each more or less 3' high and 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ' broad ; but the lines of writing in these records contain lesser number of syllables.¹

In our transcript of the Siyān inscription, we have marked the extant left and right sections of the record as A and C while the missing part between the above two portions has been marked as B.

In the matter of palaeography, our inscription resembles other East Indian epigraphs of the eleventh century, including those of king Nayapāla himself. It may be mentioned that, although *p* and *y* have really different forms, the sign of *p* has sometimes been employed to indicate the letter *y*. See, e.g., the different forms of the letters in *jaya-dvip-ālāna* in line 4, but *y* written as *p* in *vīryō* in line 5. There are many other cases to illustrate these. The orthography of the record, written in the Sanskrit language, is also similar to that of the other epigraphs of the period. The *avagraha* has been often used, and final *m* has been represented wrongly by *anusvāra* in a large number of cases. The inscription does not bear any date; but it apparently belongs to the reign of king Nayapāla of Bengal and Bihar, who is known to have flourished about the middle of the eleventh century A.D.

The inscription begins with an adoration to Lord Vāsudēva in prose while the rest of the record is in verse. Verse 1 (damaged) seems to be in continuation of the said Vaishṇavite adoration. The stanza apparently refers to the sun as the right eye of the god Viṣṇu, i.e., Vāsudēva.² It may be pointed out here that the present inscription is primarily a Śaiva record.³ Thus the Vaishṇavite adoration at the beginning may be due to the religious leanings of the author of the *praśasti*.

Verse 2 (damaged) speaks of the **Samaṭaṭa** country (i.e. the present Tippera-Noakhali region of Bangladesh) through which passed a river that is described as full of fear as its bed had been struck by the oars (*aritra*) of somebody's boats and which is stated to have floods once in twelve years probably as a result thereof. The real implication of the stanza is difficult to determine though it seems to allude to the naval exploits of a king who was probably Gōpāla I (c. 750-75 A.D.), the founder of the Pāla house of Bengal and Bihar, because king Dharmapāla (c. 775-812 A.D.), son of Gōpāla I, is introduced in verse 4 (damaged).⁴ The adjectives in the masculine gender show that the name of the river was in the same gender, i.e., one like the Brahmaputra or Lauhitya. Verse 3 (damaged) seems to speak of the hero mentioned in verse 2, as one who 'measured the earth' (probably meaning that he died),⁵ even after having destroyed [his enemies.]

¹ Above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 178ff., App., pp. 1 ff.

² Cf. verse 2 of the Kamauli plate of Vaidyadēva, which represents the Pālas as Sūryavaṁśīs (Maitreya, *Gaudalēkhamālā*, p. 128).

³ [Verses 61 and 63 show that the *n:ṭha* was for *Vaikuṅṭha* (a form of Viṣṇu).—Ed.]

⁴ The *Rāmacharita* (I. 4) speaks of the crossing of the sea by the stone boats of Dharmapāla who is called the light of the Ocean's race.

⁵ [The passage seems to refer to the fame of the king.—Ed.]

Dharmapāla's description says that he was heroic, honest and devoted to *dharma* and that he became king apparently after his father's death. Verse 5 (damaged) introduces *Dēvapāla*¹ (c. 812-50 A.D.) as the son of Dharmapāla and mentions the bank (*rōdhas*) of some river and suggests that he captured his enemy's boats having placed their helms (*kēnipāta*) above them. It is not possible to say whether the reference is to the river of Samataṭa mentioned in verse 2. The following damaged stanza (verse 6) describes *Vigrahapāla* as born in the same family (*anvaya*) to which *Dēvapāla* belonged. This may be either *Vigrahapāla* I (middle of the ninth century A.D.), whom the later Pāla kings represented as their ancestor, or *Vigrahapāla* II (latter half of the tenth century A.D.) who was the grandfather of *Nayapāla* (mentioned in verse 9), during whose reign the present inscription was apparently set up. If the reference is to *Vigrahapāla* I, it would remind us of the controversy about his relationship with *Dēvapāla*. The writers on Pāla history now call *Dēvapāla*'s successor *Vigrahapāla* I and identify him with *Śūrapāla* I. It is well known that the Bhagalpur plate² (second half of the ninth century A.D.) of *Nārāyaṇapāla* (and many other later copper-plate grants of the family) speak of *Dharmapāla* (verses 2-3), then his *anuja* (younger brother) *Vākpāla* (verse 4), then 'his son' (*tasmāt*) *Jayapāla* (verse 5-6)³ who served his *pūrvaja* and *bhrāṭṛi* (i.e. elder brother) *Dēvapāla*, then 'his son' (*tat-sūnu*) *Vigrahapāla* (verse 7). From this, *Jayapāla* was taken to have been the son of *Dharmapāla* by some and of *Vākpāla* by others while *Vigrahapāla* was likewise regarded by some as the son of *Jayapāla* and by others as the son of *Dēvapāla*.⁴ The fact, however, cannot be ignored that, if *Dharmapāla* was succeeded by his son *Dēvapāla* and the latter by his son *Vigrahapāla* I, then the introduction of *Vākpāla* and *Jayapāla* in the above description becomes quite meaningless. Since the words *pūrvaja* and *bhrāṭṛi* may also indicate an elder cousin, the difficulty is not in respect of *Dēvapāla*'s position as the son of *Dharmapāla*; but the description apparently represents *Vigrahapāla* I as the son of *Jayapāla*.⁵ It has also to be remembered that *Nārāyaṇapāla*, who was the son of the said *Vigrahapāla* I, must have felt the necessity of indicating the importance of the branch line to which he belonged. As we have said above, *Vigrahapāla* I is generally identified with *Śūrapāla* I known from the Badal inscription⁶ as a ruler between *Dēvapāla* and *Nārāyaṇapāla* and from the Indian Museum inscription⁷ (discovered in Bihar) of his third regnal year, the Rajaunā (Monghyr District) inscription⁸ of his fifth regnal year and a damaged inscription⁹ from *Nālandā*.

A new element has, however, been introduced in the above controversy, which shows that *Vigrahapāla* I and *Śūrapāla* I are not identical apart from the question that *Vigrahapāla* mentioned in our record may be the second king of that name. The recent discovery of a copperplate grant¹⁰ issued from the camp at Mudgagiri (Monghyr) in the third regnal year of king *Śūrapāla* I shows that he was *Dēvapāla*'s son from queen *Māhaṭādēvi*, daughter of king *Durlabharāja*, and granted 4 villages in the *Śrinagarabhukti* (i.e. Patna region) in favour of a *Śaivaseṣṭabhishtment* of *Vārāṇasī*. This shows that *Śūrapāla* I was the son of *Dēvapāla* and

¹ [*Dēvapāla*'s name is not given but he is compared to *Dēvarāja*.—Ed.]

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, pp. 304 ff.; Maitreya, *Gauḍaiṅkhamāiā*, pp. 55 ff.

³ Verse 6 is omitted in the later Pāla grants.

⁴ Sometimes it was also thought that *Dēvapāla* was the son of *Vākpāla*.

⁵ Cf. R. C. Majumdar, *Hist. Anc. Beng.*, pp. 170-71.

⁶ Maitreya, *op. cit.*, pp. 7 ff.

⁷ Bhandarkar's List, No. 1615.

⁸ Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 140.

⁹ *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 301-02.

¹⁰ *Journ. Bihar Res. Soc.*, Vol. LXI, 1975, pp. 131 ff.

not of Jayapāla of the collateral line. We find therefore, that Vighrahapāla I, son of Jayapāla, grandson of Vākpāla and great-grandson of Gōpāla I, was not identical with Śūrapāla I, son of Dēvapāla. Indeed there was never any real ground for the identification of the two, which was proposed by Hoernlé and accepted by Kielhorn and has since been generally adopted by scholars even though N. N. Vasu and B. C. Sen regarded the two kings as different.¹ It now appears that Vighrahapāla I ousted Śūrapāla I and usurped the throne.

In verse 7 (damaged), someone (possibly Mahīpāla I, father of Nayapāla introduced in verse 9) is compared to Bhṛigupati, i.e. Paraśurāma, as one who imprinted the mark of his strength [on the heads] of the kings of the earth. The next damaged stanza (verse 8) mentions Bṛihadgṛiha which is the same as Kārūsha and included the present Rohtas District

: Cf. Maitreya, *op. cit.*, p. 82, note ; see also Vasu, *Vaṅgēr Jātiya Itihas*, Rājanya-kāṇḍa, pp. 162, 216 ; Sen, *S. Hist. Asp. Ins. Beng.*, pp. 356-57. Sen regards Śūrapāla as another name of Dēvapāla's son Rājyapāla and makes a different Śūrapāla a younger brother of Nārāyaṇapāla. Vasu seems to be supported by the evidence now at our disposal. The genealogy and chronology of the Pāla-kings would stand as follows :

Name of King	Latest known Regnal year	Approximate Reign period
1. Gōpāla I, first king . . . . .	...	750— 75 A.D.
2. Dharmapāla, son of 1	32	775— 812 A.D.
3. Dēvapāla, son of 2	35	812— 50 A.D.
4. Śūrapāla I, son of 3	5	850— 58 A.D.
5. Vighrahapāla I, great-grandson of 1 . . . . .	...	858— 60 A.D.
6. Nārāyaṇapāla, s̄n of 5	54	860— 917 A.D.
7. Rājyapāla, son of 6	32	917— 52 A.D.
8. Gōpāla II, son of 7	17	952— 72 A.D.
9. Vighrahapāla II, son of 8 . . . . .	...	972— 77 A.D.
10. Mahīpāla I, son of 9	48	977—1027 A.D.
11. Nayapāla, son of 10	15	1027— 43 A.D.
12. Vighrahapāla III, son of 11	26	1043— 70 A.D.
13. Mahīpāla II, son of 12 . . . . .	...	1071— 72 A.D.
14. Śūrapāla (Surapāla) II, younger brother of 13 . . . . .	...	1071— 72 A.D.
15. Rāmapāla, younger brother of 14	53	1072—1126 A.D.
16. Kumārapāla, son of 15 . . . . .	...	1126— 28 A.D.
17. Gōpāla III, son of 16	15	1128—1143 A.D.
18. Madanapāla, son of 15	18 (Śaka 1083)	1143— 61 A.D.
19. Gōvīndapāla	4	1161— 65 A.D.
20. Palapāla	35	1165—1199 A.D.

The name of No. 14 is spelt *Surapāla* in the *Rāmacharita*, I, 10, 28.

of Bihar and probably also the region lying to its south.¹ Verse 9 (damaged) mentions *Nayapāla* and refers to his parents. It is said that the god Skanda became weak in the course of time and that is why the Pāla king came to act as the second protector of the world. No important information can be deduced from verses 10 and 11 (both damaged). Verse 12 (damaged) seems to refer to the king's strength that overpowered his enemies and to the dazzling golden *kalāśas* on the top of the upper storeys of buildings (probably temples built by the king)² while verse 13 (damaged) mentions the army and waters in connection with the king. Verse 14 probably speaks of the same army as 'having obtained *digvijaya*' and as protecting the kings and probably also the royal insignia. Verse 15 (damaged) seems to speak of the happiness of a single person³ (probably king *Nayapāla*) becoming fivefold in the matter of killing [his enemies]. Verse 16 (damaged) says that the valiant [king, i.e. *Nayapāla*] destroyed crores of the forces of the *Chēdi King Karṇa* in a battle and brought happiness to the three worlds. That the dominions of the Pāla king *Nayapāla* were invaded by king *Karṇa* (1041-71 A. D.) of the *Chēdi* or country *Dāhala* having its capital at *Tripurī* near modern *Jabalpur*, who was later defeated and driven out, is well known from the Tibetan sources.⁴ What is even more important in this connection is that *Karṇa's* inscription⁵ at *Pāikōr* in the *Birbhum District* points to his success in advancing inside *West Bengal* while the present inscription appears to suggest that he was defeated in the *Birbhum District* itself.⁶ Verse 17 (damaged) refers to a 'moving pillar of victory', on which someone (probably the sun in his daily course) could take rest for a while; but its real implication is uncertain. The reference may be to the dedication of a *ratha* in favour of a temple of the Sun-god. The person responsible for it is compared to *Vyāsa* in spirit and a hero (whose name is lost) in valour.

Verse 18 (damaged) speaks of the king of the *Suhma* country (i. e. *Rādha* in South-West Bengal) as a wicked or crooked (*jihmā*) person and seems to suggest that the *Suhma* king, who must have been a feudatory of the Pāla emperor, committed treachery and sided with *Karṇa*, and that this enabled *Karṇa* to enter the *Birbhum* region probably within the *Suhma* king's territory.⁷ Verse 19 (damaged), which is difficult to understand, mentions *kaśīka-kula* meaning 'a host of owls' which greeted the moving mountains taking shelter in their caves at night.⁸ The poet seems to say that "the moving mountains" (probably meaning elephants of the king's army) entered the caves of mountains at night, and there they caused pleasure to the owls who honoured them. However, the only implication

¹ Cf. Sircar, *Cosm. Geog. E. Ind. Lit.*, pp.81, 104. *Bṛihadgṛiha* and *Chēdi* (see verse 16 below) are sometimes mentioned together in literature. See Sircar, *Stud. Geog. An. Med. Ind.*, 1971, pp. 333-35.

² [There seems to be here only a reference to the valour of the king which has engulfed the power of his enemies including probably *Kalaśa* or *Kāñchana*, just as the fire on the upper storey of a building makes the *Kalaśa* on it invisible.—Ed.]

³ [Here the reference is to the *pratāpa* or valour of the king.—Ed.]

⁴ See R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 138. The event had taken place before *Dipaṅkara* left India for good in 1041 or 1042 A. D.

⁵ See Bhandarkar's List, No. 1579.

⁶ [The exact place where *Karṇa* was defeated is not given here.—Ed.]

⁷ [This verse seems to refer to the establishment of the king's rule at a place after conquering it from *Karṇa* and the king of *Suhma*.—Ed.]

⁸ As suggested below, there may have been reference here to a military expedition led by *Nayapāla*. [These suggestions are not borne out by the verse which apparently describes the miserable plight of the king's enemies who while wandering and hiding themselves in dark caves of mountains had only owls as their companions.—Ed.]

of the stanza which occurs to us is that the Pāla king's elephant force was employed in an expedition against the Suhma country whose king is mentioned in the previous stanza. Verse 20 is much damaged while verse 21, also damaged, mentions Mt. Rōhaṇa and the Kalpa-taru (the mythical wish-fulfilling tree), both famous for munificence in Indian literature, for their comparison with a charitable person, and refers to the sun's fear for something very high (no doubt a temple) that could obstruct his passage in the sky.¹ Verse 22 (damaged) speaks of a king (*pārthiv-ēndu*) who may be the Pāla emperor, though it is difficult to be sure as to who was responsible for the various pious activities mentioned in the following stanzas. Although the Pāla kings were mostly Buddhists, kings Nārāyaṇapāla, Mahipāla I and Nayapāla had Śaiva or Śaiva-Śākta leanings, and Nayapāla is actually stated to have been the disciple of the Śaiva ascetic named Sarvaśiva in the recently discovered Bangarh inscription.² It is therefore not impossible that **the temples, mostly for the god Śiva were built by Nayapāla himself.** That the person responsible for the pious activities was a king seems to be suggested by the language of some stanzas ; cf. verses 22, 26, 40, 45, 60, 61, etc. Moreover, his activities were not confined to one spot but was spread over both Bengal and Bihar which formed parts of the Pāla empire.

Verse 23 (damaged) mentions a white [temple] and the golden lion and jar adorning its top. The last foot of the stanza probably compares the temple with the Himalayaś. To the south of the above temple lay the temple of Purāri (Śiva) according to verse 24 (damaged). The same stanza also speaks of a two-storied *maṭha* (probably a Śaiva monastery) for the accommodation [of ascetics]. Verse 25 refers to a shrine with a *kalāśa* (probably of gold) at the top as well as to the construction of [eleven] stone shrines (*grāva-grihān*) in a temple and of the installation of the eleven Rudras for worship in them. Verse 26 speaks of the topmost part (*valabhī*) of that temple ; it was made of stones and had a golden jar shining at the top and was constructed 'for the mother' meaning probably 'on behalf of the mother of the person (the king) in question' and not 'for the Mother goddess'.³ The word *dēvī* (i. e. queen) at the end of the stanza appears to refer to the said 'mother'.

Verse 27 mentions stone temples resembling the Mandara, and also speaks of the goddesses installed therein. These goddesses are called Chaṇḍikā (cf. *Chaṇḍikāḥ* in the plural number) probably meaning the *mātṛikās* though their number is given as *nava* or nine instead of the usual *sapta* (7) or *ashṭa* (8).⁴ In verse 28, the construction of a high stone temple of the god Hētukēśa Śambhu (i. e. Śiva) at Dēvikōṭa (i. e. modern Bangarh in the West Dinajpur District, West Bengal) is mentioned. Apparently its height and size suggested as if it was [the Vindhya] who forgot the old order of the pitcher-born (Agastya), i. e. not to raise his head to obstruct the passage of the sun. As regards the name of the god, viz. Hētukēśa, Hētuka is the name of an attendant of Śiva, of a Buddha and of a poet, according to the lexicons.⁵ Formerly we were inclined to explain the name Hētukēśa as Śiva installed by and named after a person called Hētuka; but since the god Śiva is often found to be mentioned

¹ [Here is a conventional description of the king's valour and fame. The valour going upward is mistaken by the sun or the Rōhaṇa-giri blocking his way ; and the fame is sung by the celestial nymphs of the grove of Kalpataru.—Ed.]

² See Sircar in *JAIH*, Vol. VII, pp. 135 ff.,

³ [The context seems to suggest that the temple was for the Mātā (i. e. the Mother-goddess or Pārvatī),—Ed.]

⁴ [Here the term *Nava-Chaṇḍikāḥ* evidently refers to the nine aspects of Chaṇḍikā or Durgā, viz., Kumārīkā, Trimūrtī, Kalyāṇī, Rōhiṇī, Kālī, Chaṇḍikā, Śāmbhavī, Durgā and Bhadrā.—Ed.]

⁵ See Monier-Williams' *Sans. Eng. Dict.*, s. v. Hētuka is the name of one of the Kshētrapālas in the *Kālikā Purāna*, 63. 110. The reconstruction of a fallen temple of Hētuka Śūlin is mentioned in the records of King Vanamāla (ninth century) of Assam; cf. above, Vol. XXIX, p. 147).

as the lord of one of his attendants as in *Nandīśa* and *Bhṛīṅgīśa*, the name Hētukēśa meaning 'Śiva as the lord of his attendant Hētuka' may be better, especially in view of the fact that the name Hētuka or Hētukēśa is known to be applied to the god Śiva installed for worship in more than one place in India. Verse 29 (damaged) seems to mention a structure like a *vaḍabhi*¹ which was made of stone (*śailī*), probably at the top of the temple referred to in verse 28. According to verse 30, the stone temple of the god [Kshēmē]śvara was made with a golden jar, dazzling and big, at its top and a large tank nearby. The next stanza, i.e. verse 31, speaks of a tall temple to the south of the one mentioned in verse 30, and it is said that the latter was beautiful owing to a golden jar. The following damaged stanza (verse 32) mentions a *maṭha* or monastery and a tank as well as the high stone temple of the god Śambhu (Śiva) under the name Varākshēśvara. The name Varākshēśvara is based on the name Varākshā which reminds us of personal names like Varāṅga, Varānana, Varāśya, etc.

Verse 33 introduces Vishṇu named after *Uchchādēva* and his wife Rukmiṇī. It is difficult to determine the real implication of their introduction unless they were installed in one of the establishments, although Vaishṇava deities are rare in the record. Verse 34 (damaged) mentions a hospital (*ārōgya-śālā*) for the treatment of sick persons and apparently also a house for the accommodation of the *vaīdya* or physicians. The house seems to have been situated between the temple and the tank nearby.

Verse 35 speaks of the installation of the god Ghaṇṭīśa (a name applied to Śiva) in 'his own city' for the welfare of the people (i. e. perhaps the sick people of the *ārōgya-śālā* or hospital). It is difficult to say whether the city mentioned here was the king's capital or one that may have been named after the god. The second half of the stanza mentioned the installation of Bhairava (a form of Śiva) surrounded by sixty-four Mothers. The sixty four Mothers surrounding Bhairava are the well-known Yōginīs whose shrines have been found at a few places like Bheraghat (Jabalpur District in Madhya Pradesh) and Hirapur (Puri District) and Ranipur-Jhariyal (Bolangir District) in Orissa. The existence of such an establishment in Bengal is a valuable information. There are various conflicting lists of the sixty-four Yōginīs in Indian literature. The *Agni Purāṇa*² gives the following names : (1) Akshōbhya, (2) Rukshakarṇī, (3) Rākshasī, (4) Kṛīpaṇā, (5) Akshayā, (6) Piṅgākshī, (7) Kshayā, (8) Kshēmā, (9) Ilā, (10) Lilālayā, (11) Lōlā, (12) Alaktā, (13) Valākēśī, (14) Lālasā, (15) Vimalā, (16) Hutāsā, (17) Viśālākshī, (18) Huṅkāṛā, (19) Vaḍavā-mukhī, (20) Mahākūrā, (21) Krōdhanā, (22) Bhayaṅkarī, (23) Mahānanā, (24) Sarvajñā, (25) Taralā, (26) Tārā, (27) Rīgvēdā, (28) Hayānanā, (29) Sārā, (30) Rudrasaṅgrāhī, (31) Sambarā, (32) Tālaṅghikā, (33) Raktākshī, (34) Vidyujjihvā, (35) Karaṅkiṇī, (36) Mēghanādā, (37) Prachaṇḍā, (38) Ugrā, (39) Kālakarṇī, (40) Chandrā, (41) Candrāvalī, (42) Prapañchā, (43) Pralayāntikā, (44) Śīśuvaktrā, (45) Piśāchī, (46) Piśītāsā, (47) Lōlupā, (48) Dhamaṇī, (49) Tāpanī, (50) Rāgīṇī, (51) Vikṛitānanā, (52) Vāyuvēgā, (53) Bṛihatkuṅkshī, (54) Vikriā, (55) Viśvarūpikā, (56) Yamajihvā, (57) Jayantī, (58) Durjayā, (59) Jayantikā, (60) Viḍālī, (61) Rēvatī, (62) Pūtanā, (63) Vijayā and (64) Antikā. It is said that these are either four-armed or eight-armed with the hands holding various weapons, and that they have to be worshipped along with Bhairava (Pañchānana, i. e. Śiva), who has matted hair, wears hide cloth and also the moon and the snake as ornaments, sits on a corpse, has his face on its knee and hold in his hands, bearing the sun symbol, the sword, goad, battle-axe, arrow and *abhaya-mudrā* on one (right) side and the bow, trident, *khaṭvāṅga* (skull-topped bone), part of a dice and *vara-mudrā* on the other (left), two of his hands hold-

¹ [The extant portion of the verse refers to the construction with stone (of some building).—Ed.]

² 52, 1 ff.

ing elephant's hide. The *Kālikā Purāṇa*¹ says that the following fifty-six, together with the eight Yōginīs headed by Śailaputrī, are the sixty-four Yoginīs : (1) Brahmāṇī, (2) Chaṇḍikā, (3) Raudrī, (4) Gaurī, (5) Indrāṇī, (6) Kaumārī, (7) Vaishṇavi, (8) Durgā, (9) Nārasirṅhī, (10) Kālikā, (11) Chāmuṇḍā, (12) Śivadūti, (13) Vārāhī, (14) Kauśiki, (15) Māhēśvari, (16) Śaṅkari, (17) Jayanti, (18) Sarvamaṅgalā, (19) Kālī, (20) Kapālinī, (21) Mēdhā, (22) Śivā, (23) Śākambhari, (24) Bhimā, (25) Śāntā, (26) Bhrāmari, (27) Rudrāṇī, (28) Ambikā, (29) Kshamā, (30) Dhātrī, (31) Svāhā, (32) Svadhā, (33) Pūrṇā, (34) Mahōdarī, (35) Ghōrarūpā, (36) Mahākālī, (37) Bhadrakālī, (38) Bhayaṅkari, (39) Kshēmaṅkari, (40) Ugrachandā, (41) Chaṇḍōgrā, (42) Chaṇḍanāyikā, (43) Chaṇḍā, (44) Chaṇḍavati, (45) Chaṇḍī, (46) Mahāmōhā, (47) Priyaṅkarā, (48) Balavikāriṇī, (49) Balapramāthini, (50) Madanōmathini, (51) Damani, (52) Umā, (53) Tārā, (54) Mahānidrā, (55) Vijayā and (56) Jayā. The defective fabrication of such lists without any genuine tradition is clear from the repetition—Raudrī (No.3) and Rudrāṇī (No.27) and Kālī (No.19) and Kālikā (No.10). There are several lists of 'the eight Yōginīs in the same Purāṇa,² though 'the eight Yōginīs beginning with Śailaputrī are listed as (1) Śailaputrī, (2) Chaṇḍikā, (3) Chaṇḍaghantā, (4) Kūshmāṇḍī, (5) Skandamātā, (6) Kātyāyani, (7) Kālarātri, and (8) Mahāgaurī.³ Of these, Chaṇḍikā occurs already in the list of 56 quoted above. That there was no unanimity in the tradition is also proved by other-similar conflicting lists of the sixty-four names found elsewhere.⁴

Verses 36-37, both damaged, refer to temples, the second describing the shrine as huge like the Nihāragiri, i.e. the Himalayas. In verse 38, mention is made of the erection of the stone temple of the god Vaṭēśvara (Śiva) at Champā (within modern Bhagalpur in Bihar), the shrine being described as the ninth *kul-āchala*. Of course the real number of the *kula* mountains is seven,⁵ though the *varsha-parvata* Himavat was sometimes wrongly included in the list by medieval authors so as to give the number 8.⁶ Verse 39 (damaged) refers to the construction of something (probably a temple) with stones, while the next stanza (verse 40) speaks of the construction of a *vaḍabhī* or upper apartment [at the temple] of the goddess Charchā (who is also called Charchikā and is one of the eight forms of the Mother-goddess called Mātṛikā) together with a staircase on some hill. The temple seems to have been founded previously by a king named Mahēndrapāla, probably the Gurara-Pratihāra monarch of that name, who ruled in c. 885-908 A.D. and whose empire included wide areas at least of North Bengal and South Bihar.⁷

Verse 41 (damaged) refers to a jar (probably of gold, at the top of some temple) at Sōmatīrtha, the location of which is uncertain, though it may have been within the dominions of the Pāla king in Bengal and Bihar. We are not sure if we can identify it with the Sobhnath hill which is a part of the Maher hill in the Gaya District, Bihar. Verse 42 (damaged) seems to refer to a structure (possibly a temple endowed with a golden jar at the top) which is stated to have resembled the *Pūrva-saila* (i.e. the mythical Eastern mountain) with the rising sun on it. According to verse 43, Mataṅga's tank was re-excavated in Dharmāraṇya,

¹ 63. 35-42.

² See 61.39, 61.41, 61.47, 61.68, 61.84, 61.92-93. For similar conflicting lists of the eight Yōginīs, see also *Tantrasāra*, Vaṅgavāsī ed., pp. 612-13 and 640-49.

³ See 54. 42-42, 57, 14-17.

⁴ See, e. g., *Skanda Purāṇa*, Kāśī-khaṇḍa, Pu., Chap. 45 ; *ibid.*, Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa, Prabhāsa, Chap. 110 ; also *Nandikēśvarapurāṇ-ōkta-Durgāpūjapaddhati*, quoted in the *Śabdakalpadruma*, s.v. *yōginī*.

⁵ Sircar, *Cosm. Geog. E. Ind. Lit.*, pp. 70, 83 ff.

⁶ Cf. *JAIH*, Vol. VII, pp. 139, 153 (text verse 10).

⁷ See above, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 204 ff.

which is probably the locality of the same name that contains the Dharmēśvara temple and lies about four miles from Bodhgaya in the Gaya District of Bihar. The stanza also mentions the erection of a high stone temple of the god Mataṅgēśvara at the same place. Verse 44 (damaged) seems to refer to a temple of Śrī (probably both Śrī or Lakshmi and her husband Vishṇu) and to the sorrow of one who did not want a separation of the goddess from her father (Śiva), which was avoided by her stay in the temple. If this interpretation is correct, it would be a Vaiṣṇavite installation among the religious activities recorded in the inscription, others being mentioned in verses 44 and 61 below. Verse 45 (damaged) refers to the erection of a golden trident (probably at the top of a Śiva temple) at Sāgara, possibly meaning Gaṅgāsāgara, i.e. the junction of the Bhāgīrathī and the sea.

Verse 46 (damaged) seems to refer to a temple of the Sun-god, and it is feared that the god might like to stay in it in preference to moving along his course in the sky. Verse 47 (damaged) refers to the construction of something, and the next stanza (verse 48) speaks of an expanded cover (*khōla*) made of gold for the god Vaidyanāṭha, probably of Deoghar in the Santal Parganas District, Bihar. The word *khōla* reminds us of the dedication of a *tāmra-khōlī* (copper cover) made for the Sun-god as mentioned in the Sanokhar inscription¹ of the ninth regnal year of Ballālasēna. Verse 48 also speaks of the colouring of the god Sthāṇu (Śiva) red with lac as well as the gift of a golden object (probably a *kalāśa*). Verse 49 is damaged; but the next stanza (verse 50) speaks of a golden jar set up in the temple of the god Aṭṭasāsa (apparently at Aṭṭahāsa in the Birbhum District) so that its dazzling brightness gave the impression of a second sun in the sky. Verses 51-52 are both damaged; but the second of them refers to some pious activity at the Sāgarasaṅgama no doubt meaning the confluence of the Bhāgīrathī and the sea.

Verse 53 speaks of the making of an image of Sadāśiva in silver, of Chaṇḍikā and Vighnanāyaka (Gaṇēśa) in gold and of a seat (*pīṭhaka*) for the latter two deities also in gold. Verses 54 and 55, both damaged, refer to Chaṇḍāmśu (Sun) and Śaśin (moon) while the second seems further to speak of the making of a silver image of Ravi (Sun-god) and also of a golden lotus for [dedication in favour of] the *nava-graha* or nine planets. Verse 56 (damaged) speaks of the golden image (*chāyā*, not *liṅga*) of the god Śambhu, the lustre of its sparkling jewels creating a rainbow in the morning. Of the two verses 57 and 58, both damaged, the first speaks of a gift to the Brāhmaṇas. The second half of the said stanza mentions the gift made of the fort conquered from enemies, though the real implication of the section is difficult to determine.² Verse 59 (damaged) mentions the construction of a *maṭha* or monastery for the accommodation of the aecstics, probably of the Śaiva order, and also the excavation of a tank in 'his own city', i.e. at the primary or secondary capital probably of the Pāla king. Verse 60 (damaged) speaks of the construction apparently of shrines, etc., by the ruler himself as well as by his queen and probably also his son.³ The first half of verse 61 (damaged) ends with the statement, "Therefore he is here the *Chakravartin*", though the context is not clear. The latter half of the stanza says how the king (*dēva*) built a *maṭha*⁴ (a monastery or temple) and installed therein an image of

¹ Above, Vol. XXX, p. 78.

² [The verse 57 means that owing to the gifts made by the king, his sins had, as if due to fear, gone to the forts of his enemies.—Ed.]

³ [This verse has the passage *ishtā-pūrttam mirmmamē svayam yat*—meaning that the king created works both for his benefit and for the benefit of others. Further his queen also caused (such works) to be done. There is nothing in the verse suggesting a son.—Ed.]

⁴ [The word *amun* seems to refer to the *maṭha* where the inscription under study was put up.—Ed.]

Vaikunṭha (i. e. the Vaikunṭha-Chaturmūrti form of Viṣṇu), the temple being compared to Mount Raivata, i. e. Raivataka, modern Girnar hills near Junagarh in Gujarat. This is a Vaishṇava establishment mentioned in the inscription besides another referred to in verse 44. Verse 62 is damaged while the next stanza (verse 63), also damaged, speaks of the making of an *araghṭa* as well as of a high *vaḍabhī* of stone for (i. e. for the temple of) the goddess Piṅgalāryā a form of the Mother-goddess. The *araghṭa* is compared to an *avaṭa* or hole made in the earth by an aquatic animal so that the word should not probably be taken in the sense of a Persian wheel but would mean a deep well. Verse 64 is much damaged.

Verse 65 (damaged) in the concluding part of the record introduces Masānadēva (Sanskrit *Smaśānadēva*) and his wife Padmā who were probably the parents of the poet who composed the *praśasti*. There may have been at least one more verse mentioning the engraver of the record.

The first thing that strikes us in the above analysis of the inscription is the great wealth spent in building the numerous big temples, monasteries, smaller shrines and upper storeys and in excavating tanks as well as in the making of the many golden jars and of images and other objects of gold and silver. Even if it is supposed that some of the religious establishments were made by private individuals with liberal grants made by the king, the kingdom does not appear to be poor owing to the dearth of minted coins and of internal and external trade as is sometimes sought to be made out by some recent writers.¹

The few geographical names mentioned in the inscription have been discussed in connection with the analysis of the various stanzas. They are: (1) Samataṭa, i.e. the present Tippera-Noakhali region of Bangladesh; (2) Bṛihadgṛiha in the Rohtas region of Bihar; (3) Suhmadēśa, i.e. Rāḍha in South-West Bengal; (4) Chēdi, a people and their country located in the Jabalpur region during the early mediæval period; (5) Dēvikōṭa, modern Bangarh (ancient Kōtivarsha) in the West Dinajpur District, West Bengal; (6) Champā, the ancient capital of the Aṅga country in the suburbs of modern Bhagalpur in Bihar; (7) Sōma-tirtha which is difficult to locate; (8) Dharmāraṇya, probably the locality of this name near Bodhgaya; and (9) Sāgara or Sāgarasaṅgama, i.e. Gaṅgāsāgara or the confluence of the Bhāgirathī and the Bay of Bengal.

TEXT*

[Metres.: verses 1, 3, 10, 27, 34-36, 38, 40-41, 43, 49-50, 55, 59 *Ślōka* (*Anuṣṭubh*); verses 2, 12, 22 *Sragdharā*; verse 4 *Pushpitāgrā*; verses 5, 13, 15-17, 21, 23, 44, 48, 61, 65 *Śār-dūlavikrīḍita*; verses 6, 8, 47 *Upēndravajrā*; verse 7 *Mālinī*; verse 9 *Śikhariṇī*; verses 11, 32, 37, 63-64 *Āryā*; verse 14 *Rathōddhatā*; verses 18, 28, 42, 60 *Śālinī*; verses 19, 57 *Vasantatilakā*; verse 20 *Drutavilambita*; verses 26, 29-30, 58, 62 *Indravajrā*; verses 24-25, 45 *Upajāti*; verses 31, 33 *Svāgatā*; verse 39 *Praharṣiṇī*; verse 46 *Prithvī*; verse 56 *Mandākrāntā*.]

1 [A] [Symbol. Namō bhaga*]vatē Vāsudēvāya || Prabōdha-nidrē jagatām yasy=ōnmīlanamīlanē || chhandah-pramēyō × × × × × × × × ×

[B] × × [|| 1*] - - - - - ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ - - - - -

[C] — yō ya[t]ō=bhūd=bhānu - - - - - ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ - - - - - [||*]- - - - - lānām

¹ See, e. g., *The Indian Historical Review*, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 323; cf. Sircar, *Stud. Pol. Adm. Syst. Anc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 18 ff.

* From impressions.

SIYAN STONE SLAB INSCRIPTION OF NAYAPALA

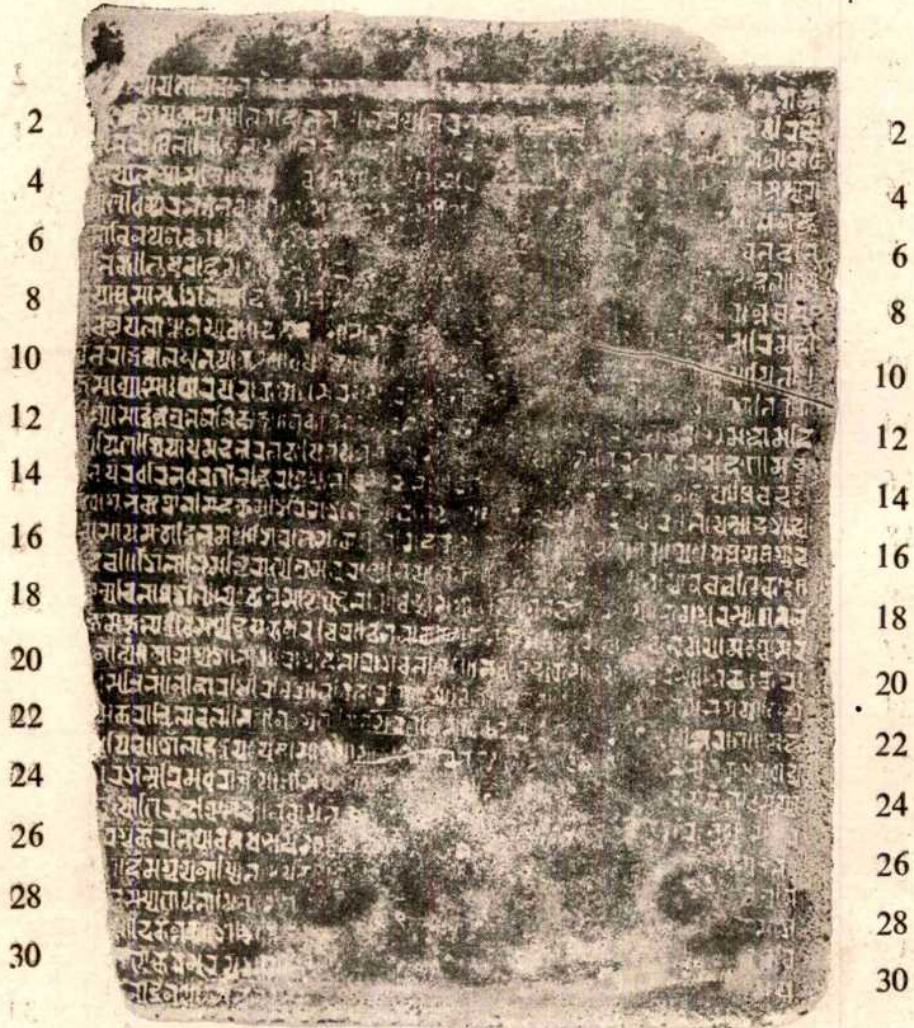
Section A

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SCALE : One-fourth

Section C



- 15 [A] Antar=yatr=āna(nta)rāl-ōnnatir=iha nṛipati - u dharmmē cha n=ābhūd= vā yō=¹
nēn=ēty=udagr-āṅgulir=iva dharay=ōddhāritā bhāti
- [B] -- [[22*] - - - - -
- [C] [dhā]-śubhram kāñchana-simha-kumbha-śirasa[m] [śvēta] u - - - - - [[*] - - - - -
- - - - - tāya svādu śaidya(ty-ā)-
- 16 [A] tatē pādaiḥ sārddham=iv=āśritō Himagiriḥ śva[rṇṇa] u - - - - - yam || [23*] Tad-
dakshinēn=āyatanam Purārē[r]= yēn=ōnnataḥ śai-³
- [B] u - - - - - [[*] - - - - -
- [C] vāsāya maṭhō dvi-bhūmaḥ || [24*] Śirō-lasat-k[umbha] u - - - - -
ḥ | pṛitha(thi)vy= atha ggrāva-
- 17 [A] gṛihān=vidhāya Rudrān=ih=aikādaśa cha nyadhatta || [25*] Mātuḥ kṛitē=⁴tr=[ai]va
[suvarṇṇa-ku]mbha-bharā-jishṇu-mūrdhāmva(rddhām va)labhiḥ śilābhiḥ [[*]
- [B] - - - - -
- [C] dēvi || [26*] Ś[ai]lāni mandirāny=atra Mandar-ā[nkā]ni yān[i] cha [[*] × × ×
× × × × × [kṛi]tā yā Navacaṇḍikāḥ || [27*]
- 18 [A] Dēvikōṭē Hētukēśasya Śambhōr=yah prāsadam śailam=uchchair=akārshīt |
kālēn=āsau [bhū]yasā Kumbhaj-ājñā[m] mvi(vi)smṛity=ēva—
- [B] u - - - - - [[28*] - - - - -
- [C] n̄=cha vyachit=ātha śaili | yah — u - - - - - vidyā - - - - -
|| [29*] [Kshēmē]śvarasy= āyatanam
- 19 [A] prajānā[m*] kshēmaṅkarō grāvamayaḥ mapārēḥ⁵[chakāra] yō mūrdhni dīpt-
āyata-śātakumbha- kumbhamvya(mbham vya)dhāt=tatra [mahāsa]ras=cha || [30*]
Dakshinē[na]
- [B] u - - - - - [[*] - - - - -
- [C] ṅama-kṛit-ōrddhva-visarppad=r[ukma]-kumbha-r[u*]chir-ōchita - u || [31*] × × ×
× × × × × × × × × [ya]yā maṭhañ=cha sara-
- 20 [A] siñ=cha | dhāma Varākshēśvara iti Śambhōr=api śailam= uttālam(lam) || [32*]
Uchhadēva iti yō bhuvi sākshād= Rukmiṇīm [p]ra[ṇa]yatō=⁶sti
- [B] u - - - - - [[*] - - - - -
- [C] n=ādyam(dyam) || [33*] Ārōgya-śālām=ārōgya-hētau rōgavatām n[ṛi]ṇām(ṇām) |
[ta]thā v[ai]dya-vāsa[h*]⁶ [kṛitō mandi*]rasy=āntik[ē]=⁷vārā-

¹ [Reads *abhūn=na vyō* .—Ed.]

² This lost syllable was probably *su*. Thus the word may have been *sudhā*.

³ The word seems to be *śaila-mayaḥ* so that *la* was lost at the beginning of section B.

⁴ The lost word seems to have been *tapasvi*^o.

⁵ [Reads *smārēḥ*.—Ed.]

⁶ [Reads *°dyaka avāsam*.—Ed.]

⁷ [Reads *'kārō*^o.—Ed.]

21 [A] [t] || [34*] Ghantīsam yaḥ sva-nagarē nyadhāt kshēmāya dēhinām(nām) | Cha-
tuḥshashtyā cha Mātṛiṇām paritatta(n= ta)tra Bhairavam(vam) || [35*] Sva-nāma-
la. × ×

[B] × × × × × × × × × × [*] × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × ×¹

[C] dha-sannibham(bham) || [36*] Nihāragiri-viśāla × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × [*]
× × bhaya-pāṇi-gra-

22 [A] hām sarvvatra darśanē matāṁ(tām) || [37*] Vaṭēsvarasya vikataś=Champāyām=
ālayō=śmabhiḥ | yēna vyadhāyāyamaḥ kul-āchala iv=ō[cchri]-

[B] ×² || [38*] . - - - - -

[C] m=akarōch=chhil-āvalībhiḥ | niḥ - - - - - n=narāṇā[m]-
(nām) || [39*] Māhē-

23 [A] [ndra]pāla-Charchchayā Mahēndra-sadṛiś-ōdayaḥ | yaḥ śailīm vaḍabhi[m] śailē
sōpānēna sah=ākarōt || [40*] Sēma-tīrthē=karōt ku[m]bham]

[B] × × × × × × × × [*] ×

[C] pi cha || [41*] Śailād=ū[r]ddhva[m] yaḥ prahās-ākshayāya - - - - - [*]
- - - - - [su]dhā[m]śum]

24 [A] [ni]ndaty=udayat-Pūshaṇām Pūrvva-śailām(lam) || [42] Dharmmāranyē Mataṅgasya
vāpi yēna punar=navā | chakrē śilābhir=uttuṅgaṁ Mataṅgēsvara-

[B] × × ×³ || [43*] - - - - -

[C] v ram gambhirē madhūrā - - - - - [*] - - - - - tarī [y]ā

25 [A] [pa]raṁ mā pitur= bhūd=asyā virahaś=chiraṁ Śriya iti chchhandam-bhajas=tāmyati
|| [44*] yaḥ Sāgare bhūpatir= atra haima-triś[ū]la

[B] - - - - - [*] - - - - -

[C] -t-pāṇir=uda-sthit=ēva || [45*] Na ch=āyata - - - - -
nay[ē] s[v]a-p[u]ra-

26 [A] [sa]nnibhō bhāsvataḥ | yadiya-ruchi-lōbhitaḥ sa bhagavān=nabhaḥ-pānthatām tyajēd=
iti vichintayan=niyatam=āhi

[B] - - - - - || [46*] - - - - -

[C] raś=chakāra | tayō=[r]vana - - - - - || [47*] - - - - -
bh[i]ḥ

¹ The lost syllable here may have been *sau* and the word *saudha*.

² The syllable lost here is apparently *taḥ*.

³ The lost word here may have been *mandiram*.

34 [A] ri-char[ē]ṇ=āvaṭa iva tēn=āraghaṭṭa ēsha kṛitaḥ [iyam=api valabhi(bhi) ggrā-
vabhir=uttuṅgā Piṅgal-āryāyāḥ || [63*] Paryāya-para-

[B C] × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × × [*] × × × × × × × × ×
× × × × × × × × × × × || [64*] - - - - -

35 [A] yō niryātaḥ pṛithivi-tal-aika-tilakō='bhūt=plaksha-puñjō=grataḥ [āsīt=tatra Masāṇa-
dēva iti tat-patnī cha Padm=ēti yā tasyāṁ ta 1

[B C] - - - - - || [65*]

¹ The lost syllable here was possibly *sya* so that the word was *tasya*. The following lost syllables were probably *sutō*=*bhavat*.

No. 8—BARHI PLATES OF YASAḤKARNA, [KALACHURI] YEAR 828

(1 Plate)

P. R. SRINIVASAN, MYSORE

The copper-plate inscription¹ edited here was in the possession of Shri Raghubir Singh, Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India, Central Circle, Bhopal and I thank him for placing the inscription at my disposal for copying and study, during my tour to that place in 1971. The plates were discovered by a farmer of Barhi, Murwara Tahsil, Jabalpur District, Madhya Pradesh, who had deposited the same with the Tahsil Office from where Shri Raghubir Singh obtained them.

This is a set of two plates, each measuring about 27 cm high and 42 cm broad. The rims of the plates are raised to protect the writing and an attempt is made to round off the corners of the plates. There is a ring-hole in the middle at the bottom of each plate for a ring to pass through, which is, however, not available now and it is said that the farmer himself deposited the plates without the ring at the Tahsil office. There are 19 lines of writing on the inside of the 1st plate and 21 lines of writing on the inside of the 2nd plate. The two plates together weigh 20 kg.

The characters are Nāgari and they are regular for the period and dynasty to which the charter belongs. They may be found to resemble very much the characters of the Khairah plates² of Yaśaḥkarṇa, who is also the issuer of the record under study. In language, orthography and the eulogistic verses also, the present plates are similar to the above-mentioned Khairah plates. The importance of the historical matter of the *praśasti* part has been already dealt with by the editor of the Khairah plates.³

The grant contained in the present plates was made by king Yaśaḥkarṇa on the occasion of lunar eclipse, mentioned below, at Vārāṇasī after having bathed according to the rules, at the Daśāśvamēdha-ghaṭṭa, and after having worshipped the god Mahēśvara (i.e., Śiva). The charter records the gift, made by the king, of the village of Khayarigrāma situated in the Dāhalēmkaṇāḍa-pattalā, to the *brāhmaṇa Rāṇaka Āmaṇa*, the son of *Rāṇaka Ḍāṅga* and the grandson of *Rāṇaka Ali*, belonging to Gargga-gōtra with the five *pravaras* of Bhārggava, Chyavana, Aurvva, Āpnavāna, and Yā(Jā)madagnya. The gift of the village was accompanied with the privileges of *jala-sthala*, *āmra-madhūka*, *gatti-ōshara*, *nirggama-pravēśa*, *lavaṇākara*, *jaṅgal-ānūpa*, and *vṛiksh-ārām-ōdbhēdy-ōdyāna-īṛiṇa*.

The date of the present grant is given in line 26, as *saṁvat* 828, Phālguna śu. 15, Friday. There is no doubt that the year is to be referred to the Kalachuri Chēdi era. The details, therefore, regularly correspond to 1077 A.D., February 10, when there occurred a lunar eclipse.

The importance of this grant lies in the fact that the grant was made by the king at the Daśāśva-mēdha-ghaṭṭa (on the Gaṅgā) at Vārāṇasī (i.e., Kāśī) on the occasion of a lunar

¹This is registered as *A.R.Ep.*, 1970-71, No. A 21.

²*C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, pt. I, plate XLV.

³*Ibid.*, pp. 290-91.

eclipse. This is the first record of this dynasty where the *Daśāśvamēdha-ghaṭṭa* is mentioned although *Vārāṇasī* occurs in several other inscriptions. The present record attests to the importance and antiquity of this *ghaṭṭa* which has been known to this day as a sacred spot on the *Gangā* at *Kāśī*, for performing religious observances and making gifts on auspicious occasions like an eclipse.

As has been stated above the grant was preceded by the worship of *Bhagavan Mahēśvara* by the king. This clearly shows that he was devoted to the god *Śiva*.

This record reveals the fact that a *Brāhmaṇa* family of subordinates of the rank of *Rāṇaka* was serving in the kingdom of this dynasty. The members of this family bore names like *Āli*, *Ḍāṅga* and *Āmaṇa*, which are evidently local in character. The *śarman* ending of *Rāṇaka* *Āmaṇa*, the donee of the record indicates that he was a *brāhmaṇa* by caste.

As for the geographical names mentioned in this record, *Tripurī*, *Karṇāvati*, *Kuntala*, *Āndhra-dēśa* and the *Gōdāvarī* are already known from the *Khairah* plates. *Khayirā-grāma* is in all probability the same as *Khairha*, where the copper-plate issued by the same king in *Kālachuri-chēdj* year 823 was discovered. *Dāhalēmkaṇāḍa-pattala* must be the region around this gift village.

TEXT¹

[Metres : Verse 1, 10, 13, 15 and 17 *Mālinī* ; Verses 2 and 3 *Aupachchāandasikh*; Verses 3-5 7-8, 12, 16, 34 and 40 *Vasantatīlakā* ; Verse 6 *Āryā* ; Verses 9, 11 and 35 *Upajāti* ; Verses 14 and 25 *Śālinī* ; Verse 18 *Bhadravirāj* ; Verses 19, 21, 24, 26-33, 37-39 *Anuśtubh.*, Verses 20 and 36 *Indravajrā* ; Verses 22 *Svāgatā* ; Verse 23 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.]

1. ओं नमो ब्र (ब्र) ह्राणे । जयति जलजनाभस्तस्य नाभीसरोजं जयति जयति तस्माज्जातवानब्ज (ब्ज)सूतिः । अथ जयति स तस्यापत्यमन्त्रिस्तदक्षणास्तदनु जयति जन्म प्राप्तवा-
2. नब्धि (ब्धि) व (व) न्धुः ॥ [१ ॥*] अथ वो (वो) धनमादिराजपुत्रं गृह्णामातरमब्ज (ब्ज) वा (वा) न्धवस्य । तनयं जनयां व (व) भूव राजा गगनाभोगतडागराजहंसः ॥ [२ ॥*] पुत्रं पुरुवसमौरसमाप सूनुर्देव-
3. स्य सप्तजलरासि (शि) रसायनस्य । आसीदनन्यसमभाग्यशतोपभोग्या यस्योर्व्वसी (शी) च सुकलत्रमिहोर्व्वरा च ॥ [३ ॥*] अत्रान्वये किल स (श) ताधिकसप्तमि (मे) धयूपोपरुद्धयमुनो-
4. क्तविविक्तकीर्त्तिः । सप्ताब्धि (ब्धि) रत्नरक्षणाभरणाभिरामविश्वभरासु भरतो भरतो व (व) भूव ॥ [४ ॥*] हेलागृहीतपुनरुक्तसमस्तस (श) स्त्रो गोत्रे जयत्यधिकमस्य स कार्तवीर्यः (।*)
5. अत्रैव हैहयनृपान्वयपूर्व्वपुंसि राजेति नाम शशलक्ष्मि चक्षमे यः ॥ [५ ॥*] स हिमाचल इव कलचुरिवंस (श) - मसूत क्षमाभृतां भर्त्ता । मुक्तामणिभिरिवामलवृत्तैः
6. पूतं महीपतिभिः । [६ ॥*] तत्रान्वये नयवतां प्रवरो नरेन्द्रः पौरन्दरीमिव पुरीं त्रिपुरी पुनानः । आसीन्मदान्धनु- पगन्धगजाधिराजनिम्भथिकेसरियुवा यु-
7. वराजदेवः ॥ [७ ॥*] सिंहासने नृपतिसिंहममुष्यसूनुमारुरूपन्नवनिभर्तुरमात्यमुरव्याः । कोकलमण्णवचतुष्टय- वीचिसंधसंधदृरुद्धचतुरंगचमूप्रचा-

1 From ink impressions.

2 This represents *siddham*.

3 The *anusvāra* mark is put on the previous letter.

BARHI PLATES OF YASAHKARNA, [KALACHURI] YEAR 828

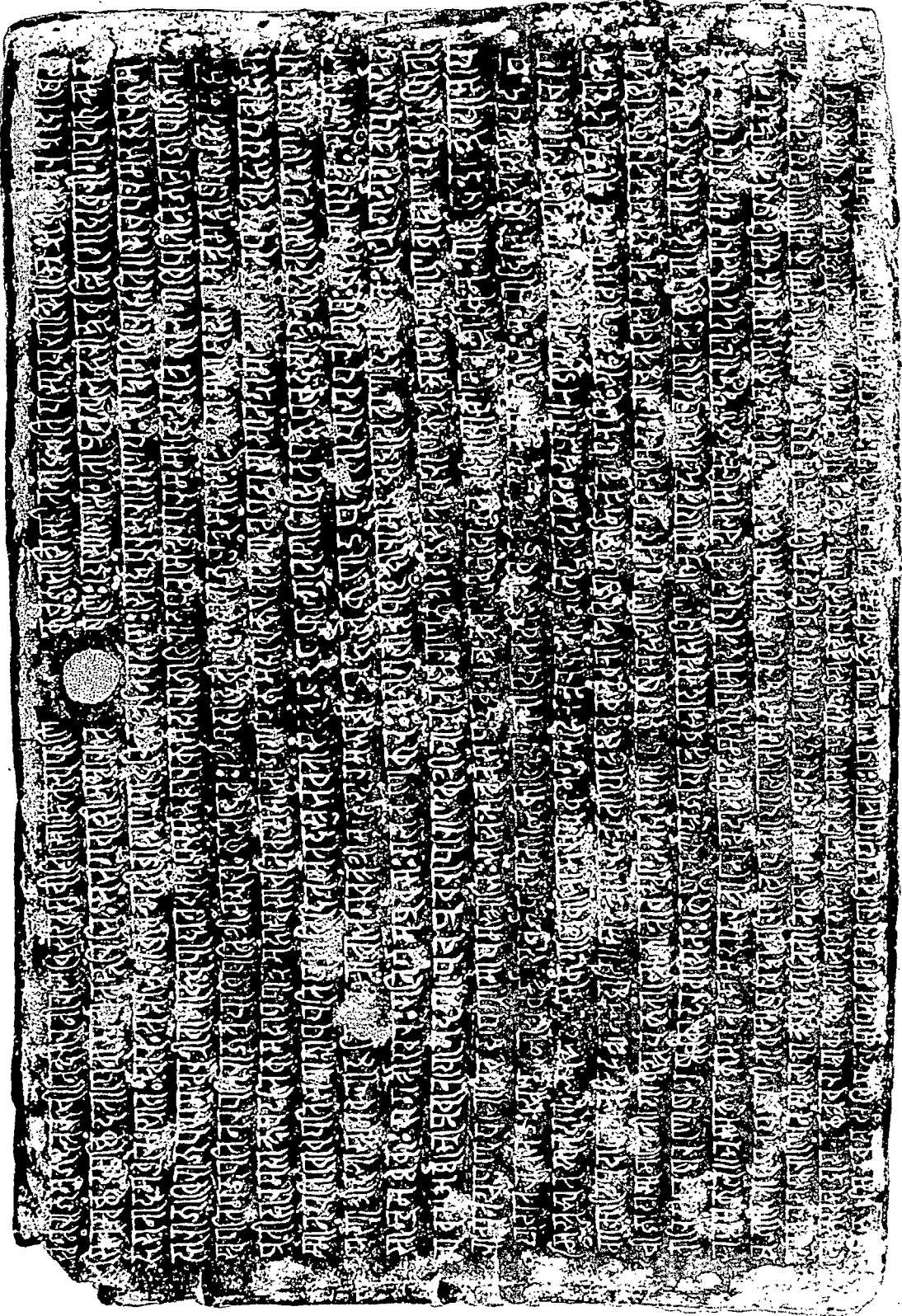
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The image shows a rectangular metal plate with a grid of 18 numbered lines (2-18) on both the left and right sides. The plate contains a single column of ancient Indian script, likely Kalachuri script, which is highly stylized and densely packed. The text is oriented vertically, reading from top to bottom. The plate shows signs of age, with some surface wear and a circular hole near the bottom center.

SCALE: One-half

BARHI PLATES OF YASAHKARNA, [KALACHURI] YEAR 828



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8. रं (रस्) ॥ [८ ॥*] इदुप्रभां निन्दति हारगुच्छं जुगुप्सते चंदनमाक्षिपन्ती । यत्र प्रभौ दूरतरं प्रयाते वियोगिनीव प्रतिभाति कीर्त्तिः ॥ [९ ॥*] मरकतमणिपट्टप्रौढवक्षाः स्मि-
9. ताक्षो नगरपरिधदैर्धी लंघयन्दोर्द्धयेन । सि(शि)रसि कुलिशपातो वौरिणां वीरलक्ष्मीपतिरभवदपत्यं यस्य गांगेयदेवः ॥ [१० ॥*] स वीरसिंहासनमौलिरत्नं स
10. विक्रमादित्य इति प्रसिद्धः । यस्मादकस्मादपयानमिच्छन्न कुन्तलः कुन्तलतां व(व)भार ॥ [११ ॥*] प्राप्ते प्रयागवटमूलनिकेतव(व)न्धै^१ सार्द्धं शतेन गृहिणीभिरमुत्र मुक्तिं(वित्तम्) [१*]
11. पुत्रोस्य खड्गदलितारिकरीन्द्रकुंभमुक्ताफलैः स्म ककुभोर्च्चति कर्णदेवः ॥ [१२ ॥*] कनकसि(शि)खरवेल्ल-
द्वैजयन्तीसमीरग्लपितगगनखेलत्वेचरीचक्रखे-
12. दः । किमपरमिह कास्यां यस्य दुग्धाब्धि(ब्धि)वीचीवलयव(व)हलकीर्त्तः कीर्त्तनं कर्णमेरुः ॥ [१३ ॥*]
अग्रयं धाम श्रेयसो वेदविद्यावल्लीकंदः स्वःस्त्रिवन्त्याः किरिटं(टम्) (१*)
13. ब्र(ब्र)ह्मस्तंभो येन कर्णावतीति प्रत्यष्ठापि क्षमातल-ब्र(ब्र)ह्मलोकः ॥ [१४ ॥*] अजनि कलचुरीणां स्वामिना तेन हूणान्वयजलनिधिलक्ष्म्यां श्रीमदावल्लदेव्यां(व्याम) ।
14. शशभृदुदयशशंकाक्षुब्ध(ब्ध)दुग्धाब्धि(ब्धि)वेलासहचरितयशःश्रीः श्रीयशःकिर्णदेवः ॥ [१५ ॥*] चंद्रा-
कर्कदीपवति पर्वतराजपूर्णकुम्भावभासिनि महाब्धि(ब्धि)चतुष्कम-
15. ध्ये । चक्रे पुरोहितपुरस्कृतिपूतकर्मणा धर्म्मार्त्मनोस्य हि पितृव महाभिवेकं (कम्) ॥ [१६ ॥*] न खलु स(श)-
लभगोष्ठीपक्षपातस्य पात्रं न खलु कलुख(ष)चर्याक-
16. ज्जलादूगारकारः । कलयति कलिनामन्युदूगम(मं) यस्त्रियामातममासि जयति जम्बू(म्बू)द्वीपरत्नप्रद्वी(दी)पः ॥ [१७ ॥*] चिन्तामणिक्लृप्रसु(शु)क्तियुग्मक्रोडे
17. स्याद्यदि कामधेनुदुग्धं(ग्धम्) (१*) दृश्ये(श्ये)त तदास्य^२ दातुः सादृश्यंन्धवलारुणेक्षणस्य ॥ [१८ ॥*] यः
ककुज्जुरालात(न)स्तभसन्न(न्न)ह्याचारिणः । क्ष्मो-
18. पान्तेषु जयस्तंभानुदस्तंभा(भ)वु(य)दुच्चकैः ॥ [१९ ॥*] यो ब्र(ब्र)ह्मणा पाणिषु पंचषाणि दाता निधत्ते
पयसः पृषन्ति । तैरेव तृष्णामवधूय ते
19. च रत्नाकरेपि प्रथयन्त्यवज्ञा(म्*) ॥ [२० ॥*] महीभर्त्ता महादानैस्तैस्तुलापूरुषादिभिः (१*) गरिम्णा
मेरुरत्यर्थं कृतार्थयति शोधिनः ॥ [२१ ॥*]

Second Plate

20. स्वर्गाराजगजदन्तरुचीनि क्षीरनीरनिधिसं(शं)खसु(शु)चीनि । सा(शा):र्द्धितल्पफणिकंचुकभाशि (भांसि)
स्फीततां दधति यस्य यशान्ति (शांसि) ॥ [२२ ॥*] अंधधीसमरंघ्रदोर्ब्बिल-
21. सितं स्वच्छंदमुच्छिदता येनाभ्यर्च्यत भूरिभिः स भगवान्भीमेश्वरो भूषणैः । यस्याभ्यर्णगता प्रनृत्य लहरी
भ्रूवल्लीगोदावरीगायन्त्यन्मद-
22. हंसनादमधुरैः स्रोतःस्वरैः सप्तभिः ॥ [२३ ॥*] कुर्वन्महीं ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणसादरिक्षत्रनिव(व)हृणः । सार्द्धं
परसु(शु)- रामेण-यः स्पर्द्धामधिरोहति ॥ [२४ ॥*] स च परम- भट्टारकम
23. हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवामदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरममाहेश्वरत्रिकलिगाधिपति-
निजभुजोपाज्जिता-
24. स्व(श्व)पतिगजपतिरपतिराजत्रयाधिपतिश्रीमद्यशःकर्णदेवः । श्रीमहादेवो श्रीमहाराजपुत्रमहामंत्रिमहा-
मात्यमहासामन्तमहापुरोहितमहा-

^१ Read वन्धौ ।

^२ Read हृ हृषोस्तदास्य ।

25. प्रतीहारमहाक्षपटलिकमहाप्रमातामहास्व (श्व) साधनिकमहाभांडागारिकमहाध्यक्ष एनानन्यांश्च प्रदास्यमान ग्रामनिवासिजनपदांश्चाहूय यथार्हं स-
26. म्मानयति वो(वो)धयति समाज्ञापयति यथा विदितमेतदस्तु भवतां संवत् 842 फाल्गुने मासि सित्त- पक्षपंचदस्यां(स्यां) सु(शु)क्रदिने सोमग्रहणे श्रीमद्वारा-
27. णस्यां श्रीदशास्व(श्व)मेधघट्टे विधिवत्स्नात्वा भगवन्तं श्रीमहेश्वरमभ्यर्च्य डाहलैकणाडपत्तलायां खयरीग्रामः स्वसीमापर्यन्तः सजलस्थलः
28. साम्त्र(अ)मधूकः सगर्तोख(ष)रः सनिर्गमप्रवेशः(शः) सलवणाकरः सजांगु(ग)ला[नू]पो वृक्षारामोदूभेदो- द्यानतृणादिसहितः ॥ श्रीगर्गगोत्राय । भार्गव-
29. च्यवन । और्व । आप्नवान । या(जा)मदघ्न । पंचप्रवराय । राणक श्री आलीनपत्रे राणक श्रीडाङ्गसुताय राणकश्रीआमणस(श)र्मणे ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मणाय मातापित्रो-
30. रात्मनश्च पुण्यशोविद्वृद्धये ग्रामोयमस्माभिः सा(शा)सनत्वेन सप्रदत्तः ॥ अत्र चाभ्यर्थना दातुर्भवति ॥ सर्वानेतान्भाविनः पाथिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो
31. याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः(ः) ॥ [२५ ॥*] व(व) हुभिर्ध्वंसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः (।) यस्य यस्य यदा भू-
32. मिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) । (।।) (२६ ॥*) सुवर्णमेकं गामेकां भूमेरप्येकम(मं)गुलं(लम्) । हर- न्नरकमाप्नेति यावदाहू(भू)तसप्लव(वम्) ॥ [२७ ॥*] तडागानां सहस्रेणास्व(ण अश्व)मेधशनेन च । ग-
33. वां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्ता न शुद्धयति ॥ (२८ ॥*)स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेव(त) वसुधरां(राम्) । स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह मज्जति ॥ [२९ ॥*] फालकृष्ठां महीं दद्यात्स
34. वी(वी)जां सस्यशालिनीं(नीम्) । यावत्सूर्यदृक्कृतांलोकास्तावत्स्वर्गं महीयते ॥ [३० ॥*] षष्टि वर्षसहस्रा (स्रा)णि स्वर्गं वश(स)ति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता [च ता]न्येवयैव नरके वशे(से)त् ॥ [३१ ॥*]
35. वारिहीनेष्वरण्येषु सु(शु)ष्ककोटरवासिनः । कृष्णसर्पस्तु जायन्ते ब्र(ब्र)ह्मदेवस्वहारिणः ॥ [३२ ॥*] अन्यायेन हता भूमे(मि)रं(र)न्यायेन तु हारितां(ता) । हरतो हारयंतस्य दहत्या
36. सप्तमं कुलं(लम्) ॥ [३३ ॥*] अस्मत्कुलक्रमगताः समुदाहरन्त्य(न्ति अ)न्यैश्च दानमिदमभ्युपमोदनीय(यम्) लक्ष्मीश्चला सलिलवु(वु)द्रु(दूवु)द्र(दव)द्वारायां दानं फलं परमतः परिपालनीयं(धम्) ॥ [३४ ॥*]
37. प्रजाहितार्थं(र्थं) प (स्थि)तयः प्रणीता धर्मेषु विद्वान्परिपाल्ल(ल)येत्त(त) । यो लोभमोहाद्वरण(ते) दुरात्मा सोन्ध(न्धो) ब्रजेद्गुर्गतिमासु(शु) कष्टां(ष्टाम्) ॥ [३५ ॥*] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि ध-
38. म्मार्थयस(श)स्कराणि [।*] निम्मार्थयान्तिप्रमितानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ [३६ ॥*] स्यामि पेः¹ प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणी नियतौ(तं) स्वर्गगामि-
39. नौ[।।३७॥*] सं(शं) खं भद्रासनं च्छ(छ)त्रं वरास्वा(श्वा)वरवाहना (ः) ॥ (।) भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि फलमेत (त्*) पुरंदर[।।३८॥*] अस्मिन्वन्से(न्वंशे) परिशीर्णोयः कश्चिन्नृपतिर्भवेत् । तस्याहं हस्तलग्नोस्मि स्वा(शा)सनं न व्यतिक्रमेत् ॥ [३९ ॥*] वाताव-
40. भ्रविभ्रममिदं वसुधाधित्यमापातमात्रमधुरो विप(ष)योपभोगः । प्राणास्तृणाग्रज्ज(ज)लवि(बि)दुसमा नराणा(णां) धर्मः सखा परमहो परलोक्याने ॥ [४० ॥*] मंगलं महाश्री (**) ॥

¹ Read भूमि यः ।

No. 9—TAMBURU INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMADITYA VI AND
KADAMBA HAKIBALLADEVA

(1 Plate)

MADHAV N. KATTI, MYSORE.

The inscription¹ edited below, with the kind permission of the Chief Epigraphist, was copied² by me at Tambūru, Kalghatgi Taluk, Dharwar District, in the course of my epigraphical survey of the Taluk, during the month of October 1965. The record was copied from a slab lying near the bastion of the fort outside the village. The stone is chloritic schist and the slab measures 190 cm × 90 cm. Above the inscription there is a sculptured panel bearing the figure of the Jaina *Tīrthāṅkara* Pārśvanātha seated in *Padmāsana* and *dhyāna-mudrā*, in a *maṇḍapa* with two pillars (the whole representing the sculptural and architectural features regular for the period). The *maṇḍapa* is flanked by two male figures seated with folded hands to the left and a cow and its calf, to the right. Below the left of these male figures the name *Perggaḍe* Rāchamalla is engraved, and it can be guessed that the name refers to this figure. On the basis of this, it can be said that the figures are those of Rāchamalla and Barmmachayya mentioned in the record as discussed below. Above the *maṇḍapa*, the figures of the sun and moon are carved to the left and right, respectively.

The inscription is in characters of the 12th century and the palaeographical features are regular for this period.

Amongst the orthographical features the following are noteworthy. While both the *anusvāra* and class nasal occur separately in a number of cases, in one case both of them occur together, i.e., in the word °*chamḍraman* (line 37). *Sh* is replaced by *ḷ* in *puḷpa* (line 52). The formation of the letters *rvvī* (in *urvvī-vinutaṁ* and *rvvī* (in *chūt-ōrvvī*) both occurring in the same line (i.e., line 16) calls for a special attention.

The language of the record is Kannaḍa except for the invocatory and imprecatory versēs which are in Sanskrit. The text is both in prose and poetry, the latter in some cases, being, defective in its metrical composition.

The inscription belongs to the reign of Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramāditya VI) of the Kalyāṇa Chāḷukya family and is dated in the Chāḷukya Vikrama year (year not specified), Viśvāvasu, Pushya suddha pāḍiva, Sunday, Uttarāyāṇa-Saṅkramaṇa. The cyclic year corresponds to 1125 A.D. The date is irregular as the details connote November 27 which was a Friday.

Lines 1 to 6 state that while Chāḷukya Tribhuvanamalla was ruling over the earth, his trusted son-in-law Jayakēsidēva, described as *Koṅkaṇa-chakravarti-tiḷaka* and *Kādamba-kaṅṭhīrava* (i.e., Kadamba Jayakēsi II) was governing Koṅkaṇa-900, Palasige-12000 and

¹ *A.R.Ep.*, 1965-66, B. No. 411.

² There are two more inscriptions engraved on the same slab, below the record being edited. They are registered as B Nos. 412 and 413 in the same report.

Kavaḍadvīpa-savālakka¹ (i.e., Lakh and a quarter). Lines 7 to 12 state that Hākiballa dēva, the beloved husband of Padmaladēvi, the elder sister of Jayakēsin II, was governing Banavāsi-12,000. Lines 13 to 17 mention Hākiballa as *vasudh-ādhiśvara* Hākiballa-nṛīpa,² and state that he had two ministers Barmmachayya and Rāchamalla, who were brothers. Barmmachayya, who is described as the sun to the lotus that was the kingdom of the Kadambas (of Hāngal) *Kādamba-rājyambhuj-ōnmiḷana-tigma-jyōti*, was the elder of the two and both followed the Jaina faith. Lines 18 to 27 state that Rāchamalla had Māvulidēva as *Janapati*, Ayyapaṇḍitadēvaru as *guru* and Māliyakka as mother. Hākiballadēva who is here addressed as a *mahā-maṇḍalēśvara* asked these ministers to cause the construction of a *basadi* for the merit of his father Māvulidēva at Tammiyūru, under the jurisdiction of Māvāle-500, a division belonging to Palasige-12,000, as Tāmbrāpura (i.e., Tammiyūru) with its rich grādens, forts, palaces and temples excelled even Maghavanikkeya-paṭṭaṇa (i.e., Amarāvati, the capital of God Indra) in its grandeur. Lines 28 to 33 state that Tammiyūru was administered by Jayakēsi-chamūpa (mentioned also as Jayakēsirāja-daṇḍādhiśa and Jayakēsi) who could gain victory due to (the might of) his own arms (*nija-bhujā-vijayam*). It is further stated that Chaṅgadēva described as *Koṅkaṇa-rājya-nistarāṇan* and *urvvī-prastuta*, was the father of Jayakēsi (i.e., Jayakēsi-chamūpa), Māchaladēvi his (*Jayakēsi's*) mother, Mādirāja, his younger brother (*anuja*) and Nārasimha his (*Jayakēsi's*) son. Lines 34 and 35 state that Barmmachayya (also mentioned as Barmma) and Rāchamalla obtained the land and constructed the *basadi* which was unequalled in beauty and architectural magnificence. Lines 36 to 41 describe the Jaina pontiffs viz. Vāsupūjyamunindra, his disciple Ayyapaṇḍitadēvaru and the latter's co-worker (*saha-dharmi*) Mēghachandra-vṛit-pati (also mentioned as Mēghachandra-paṇḍitadēva),³ who belonged to *Mūla-saṅgha* and *Sūrastha-gaṇa*. It is stated in lines 41 to 49 that a grant of land was made to the *basadi*, after obtaining it by paying obeisance to Jayakēsi-daṇḍanāyaka and Mādirājyaya-daṇḍanāyaka⁴ and after laving the feet of Mēghachandra-paṇḍitadēva, on Pushya *Suddha* Pādiva, Ādiva-vāra, when *Uttarāyana-sankramaṇa* occurred, in the Chālukya Vikrama-varsha. Mēghachandra-paṇḍitadēva is mentioned as the recipient of the grant. It is here stated that Barmmachayya, who had his father Ballirāja, mother Māliyakka, *guru* (preceptor) Gōpanandi, wife Bhagavve, son Śāntivarma, over-lord Hākitala-kshitiśa and younger brother Rāchamalla was a person whose life was fruitful. It is also stated that a grant of land was made by these two brothers for the purpose of food-offerings to the Jaina ascetics in the *basadi*. Lines 50 to 53 register gifts of oil by *telligas*, betel-leaves by *parṇ-ōpajivakas* and paddy by the *nakara* and grant of a garden for the purpose of offering flowers and fruits to the god in the *basadi*, made to Mēghachandra-paṇḍitadēva, by Jayakēsi-daṇḍanāyaka, Mādirājyaya and Nārasimha. Lines 54 to 57 contain the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses.

¹ In addition to these territories, Jayakēsin II is also known to have been administering "the thirty of Uṇakal and Sabbi, the thirty of Kontukuḷi, the five hundred of Hānuṅgal, the thirty of Utsugrāme (and) Kādarvaḷli, the thirty of Paḷalgunde, the seventy of Vējugrāme and the five hundred of Haive", by about 1125 A.D. (*vide* above, Vol. XIII, p.323 and G.M. Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula*, p.192). Cf. *SII.*, Vol. XI, Part II, pp. III and 231 (No. 177) where Gūhalladēva (i.e., Gūhalladēva II) is said to be governing the Palasige and Koṅkaṇa provinces during the month of Pushya of Śaka 1047 (i.e. A.D. 1125). This may confirm the fact that these two governors were joint rulers for a few months (*vide ibid* and cf. p. III) and Jayakēsi II for one reason or the other was crowned while Gūhalladēva was still alive. Cf. also above, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 308 ff. for Gūhalladēva's reign-period.

² Cf. *A.R.Ep.*, 1965-66, B. No. 407 which mentions Hākiballa as *avani-pati*.

³ I am unable to identify these pontiffs.

⁴ *A.R.Ep.*, 1965-66, B. No. 407 mentions Mādirājyaya as *prabhu* indicating his status as a respected administrator.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it brings to light a hitherto unknown feudatory of Chālukya Tribhuvanamalla (i.e. Vikramāditya VI) viz. *Mahāmaṇḍal-ēśvara* Hakiballadēva who is stated to be governing Banavāsi-12000 on the date of this record. Māvulidēva is mentioned as the father (*ayya* line 20) of this chief and as a *janapati* (line 18). This word (*janapati*) indicates that he was a ruler. Though there is no direct mention about the dynasty to which Māvulidēva or his son Hākiballa belonged, the fact that Barmmachayya is mentioned as the sun for the blossoming of the lotus that was Kadamba-rājya (i.e., for the renown that Kadamba kingdom earned during his service to the Kadamba kings), *Kādamba-rājy-āmbuj-ōnmilana-tigma-jyōti*. shows that they belonged to the family of the Kadambas of Hāngal which held sway over Banavāsi and Hāngal provinces for more than three centuries from the later half of the 10th century A.D.¹

Māvulidēva, the father of Hākiballadēva is evidently the same as the eldest son of Jayasīnha and is known through a few records² to have had five brothers of whom Taila I was one.³ Māvulidēva is identified with Mayūrarvarman II, by G.M. Moraes, who states that he was succeeded by his brother Taila I because Mayūrarvarman probably died without a heir⁴. But the present inscription shows that Māvulidēva had a son viz., Hākiballadēva who governed the Banavāsi-12,000 in 1125 A.D. Therefore Taila I may have succeeded his elder brother Māvulidēva because at the time of his accession Hākiballadēva may have been young.

Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Hākiballadēva is also known from another record from the same Taluk⁵ as governing this province in the month of November of the same year (the actual date being Viśvāvasu, Mārgasīra śu. 1[5] of the Chālukya Vikrama year and corresponding to 1125 A.D., November 12). It was hitherto known that Taila II of the Hāngal Kadamba family held sway over this province in the year 1124-25 A.D. and according to Fleet in all probability, in 1125-26 A.D.,⁶ the last year of his rule being 1129-30 A.D.⁷ Fleet does not however give the full details about the date of these inscriptions nor are they noticed anywhere else. Even taking for granted that Taila I was the governor of this province in 1125-26 A.D., it is possible that there was a gap in his rule after the beginning of 1124-25 A.D., and before the end of 1125-26 A.D. due to one reason or the other⁸ and during this intermediary period, Hākiballadēva, we have to take, governed this province. The actual period of his rule cannot be known in the absence of the records consulted by Fleet.

We come across one *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Harikēśarin, who was governing the Banavāsi province as a subordinate of Vikramāditya VI in 1055-56 A.D., when the latter was still a prince.⁹ Fleet treats him under the family of the Kadambas of Hāngal, but without referring to his parentage.¹⁰ The name Hākiballa is obviously made of two parts, viz. *Hāki* and *balla*. *Hāki* is evidently the pet name of this chief and is the colloquial form of *Harikēśarin* and *balla* is nothing but *ballaha* i.e. *vallabha* indicating his status as a ruler. Therefore,

¹ G.M. Moraes, *op.cit.*, dynastic tree, opp. p.93.

² Above, Vol. XVI, p. 355 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, pp. 249 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, and J.F. Fleet, *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 559 and G.M. Moraes, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

⁴ G.M. Moraes, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

⁵ *A.R.Ep.*, 1965-66, B. No. 407.

⁶ J.F. Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 451.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 562.

⁸ This was generally a period of disturbance and change of rulers in this part of the territory was due to various reasons *vide* G.M. Moraes, *op. cit.*, pp. 108 ff.

⁹ Fleet, *op. cit.*, pp. 563-64.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

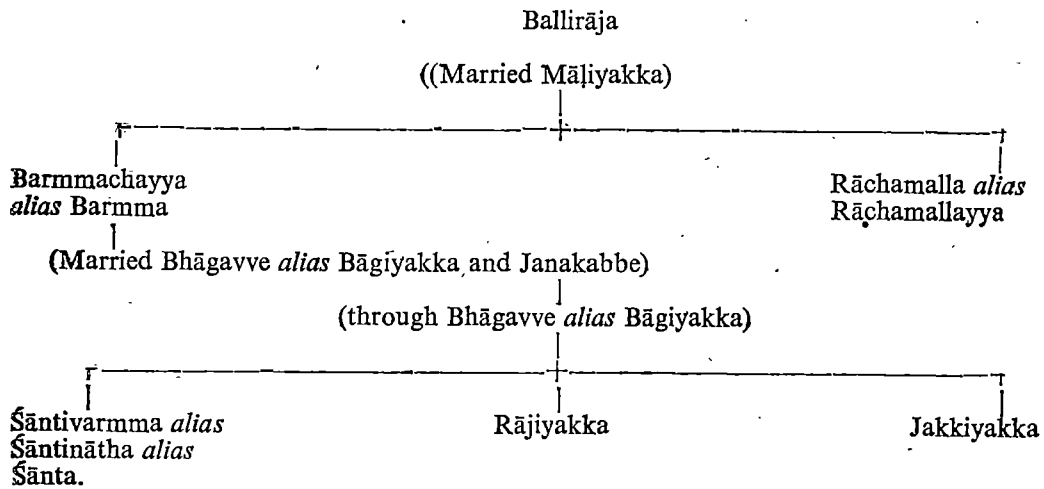
Hākiballa of our inscription was none else but Harikēsarin, referred to by Fleet as a scion of the Kadamba stock. Thus it is clear that this chief was on the political scene for nearly fifty years.

Padmaladēvi,¹ the wife of Hākiballadēva is known for the first time through this record. The record states that she made over a huge presentation of gold to the *vandī-pratati* of Lakshmādēvi who is evidently the same as the chief queen of Vikramāditya VI and who is known to have governed a part of her husband's empire, earlier.²

Hākiballadēva and Padmaladēvi had a daughter, Ratnakarbe (Ratnakabbe) as revealed by the record³ referred to above.

The matrimonial alliance between Hākiballadēva and Jayakēsīn II which is brought to light for the first time by the record under discussion points out that the two families viz., the families of the Kadambas of Hāngal and Goa were of different origins.

Of the two ministers Hākiballadēva viz., Barmmachayya and Rāchamalla the former is mentioned as the *mahāpradhāna*. Our record also states that Māvulidēva was the *janapati* of Rāchamalla. This indicates that Rāchamalla had served Māvulidēva also before serving Hākiballadēva. The inscription referred to above⁴ gives some additional information about Barmmachayya's family. It states that Barmmachayya had another wife viz., Janakabe (i.e., Janakabbe) apart from Bāgavve (mentioned also as Bāgiyakka). Through Bāgavve he had a son named Śāntivarma (*alias* Śāntinātha *alia* Śānta) and two daughters Rājiyakka and Jakkiyakka. On the basis of the inscription being edited and the one mentioned above, the lineage of Barmmachayya and Rāchamalla can be given in a tabular form as :—



Chariṅgadēva, father of Jayakēsī-chamūpa, is mentioned as *Koṅkaṇa-rājya-nistarāṇan* and *Urvvi-prasūta*. These phrases indicate that he had played a significant role in keeping up the glory of the kingdom of Koṅkaṇa. An inscription⁵ belonging to the reign of

¹ *A.R.Ep.*, 1965-66, B. No. 413 mentions *Padumaladēviya jaina gēha*. This Padumaladēvi is evidently the same as Padmaladēvi, the wife of *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Hākiballadēva. *Vide also ibid.*, 1964-65, B. No. 404 where the name Padmāvati seems to denote the same person.

² J.F. Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 448.

³ *A.R.Ep.*, 1965-66, B. No. 407.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1967-68, B. No. 330.

Gūhalladēva II and dated Śaka 1007 (A.D. 1085) addresses Jayakēsi as Jayadēvayya also and states that he was administering Tammiyūru and 12 villages as a *mahāprachanda-daṇḍanāyaka* on the date of the record. The inscription also brings to light for the first time a wife of this general, by name Dēkiyakka, an younger sister by name Chāviyakka and a *Kiriyabbe* by name Chaṭṭikabbe. This suggests that Chaṅgadēva had two wives viz., Māchaladēvi and Chaṭṭikabbe and the latter of these was his junior wife. Jayakēsi is also mentioned as *mah-sāndhivigraha-daṇḍanāyaka* Jayakēsiyarasa in a record¹ belonging to the reign of the Kalyāṇa Chālukyas.

A number of inscriptions² which range in period from A.D. 1124-25 to 1150 and refer themselves variously to the reigns of Kadamba Gūhalladēva II, Jayakēsin II and Virapemāḍi, give the following account about Mādirājayya-daṇḍanāyaka. He was also known by name Mādhava-daṇḍanātha and Mādisvarayya-daṇḍanāyaka. He bore the epithet *mahāprachanda-daṇḍanāyaka* and belonged to the *Kāśyapa-gōtra*. His wife was Āchaladēvi and son Narasiṅga.³ He administered not only Tammiyūru but Pannirppalli, Māvalli, Koḍe, Kiruvatti, Kaggavige, Ammaneyaggabāvi and Nelkunda also. Of these only Tammiyūru and Pannirppalli seem to have been administered by him upto A.D. 1144, the rest being added gradually.⁴

The inscription mentions the *nakara* and *parṇ-ōpajivakas* among the donors of the grants. *Nakara* is the merchant-guild and *parṇ-ōpajivakas* formed traders who lived by selling the betel leaves.

The following geographical names occur in the inscription viz., Banavāsi-12,000 Koṅkaṇa-900, Palasige-12,000 Kavaḍadvīpa-savālakka, Māvāle-500 and Tammiyūru *alias* Tambrāpura. Banavāsi-12,000 was the area that spread over the major parts of the present-day Districts of Dharwar, North Kanara and Shimoga. Koṅkaṇa-900 comprised the present day territory of Gova and the adjacent tracts of Dharwar and North Kanara Districts. Palasige-12,000 roughly corresponds to the present day District of Belgaum, Northwestern and Northeastern parts of Dharwar and North Kanara Districts, respectively. Kavaḍadvīpa-savālakka which is also known as Kapardikādvīpa, formed the northern part of the Koṅkan. This can possibly be identical with the Lakṣadvīpa islands. Māvāle-500 is the area around the deserted village Māvalli in Kalghatgi Taluk; Dharwar District, which was the then headquarters of Māvāle-500, which formed a unit of Palasige-12,000. This division is known for the first time through this record and another⁵ from the same taluk. Tammiyūru *alias* Tambrāpura is the present-day village of Tambūru, the findspot of the record. This Tammiyūru was the headquarters of the sub-division, by name

¹ *A.R.Ep.*, 1964-65, B. No. 403. The record is dated, Chālukya Vikrama.....Krōdhi.....śu. 13, Sunday (other details being lost). The year is obviously A.D. 1124 and the record should belong to the reign of Vikramāditya VI.

² *Ibid.* 1964-65, B. Nos. 402-05, *ibid.*, 1965-66, B. Nos. 385, 408 and *ibid.*, 1967-68, B. No. 329.

³ It cannot be said whether this Narasiṅga is different from Narasiṅha mentioned in the record being edited or not. In case he was the same, we have to presume that Mādirājayya had adopted his elder brother's son.

⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, 1964-65, B. No. 405, and 1965-66, B. No. 385. *Ibid.*, 1964-65, B. No. 406 mentions a certain *Suṅkada* Mādhavarāja-daṇḍanātha. In case he was the same as Mādirājayya, it will be clear that he was an officer in charge of *suṅka* (tolls) on the date of this record viz., A.D. 1156, December 24, in which case this would be the latest date known for him so far.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1965-66, B. No. 385.

Tammiyūru-12,¹ which formed a part of Māvāle-500. The area around Tammiyūru is also mentioned as Tammilagere-nādu in another record² from the same place.

TEXT³

[Metres: Verses 1, 30 and 31 *Anuṣṭubh*; verses 2, 6, 8, 15, 25 and 26 *Mattēbhavikrīḍita*; verses 3, 4, 7, 21 and 24 *Sragdharā*; verses 5, 9, 10, 13, 14, 18, 19, 20, 22, 23, 27 and 28 *Kāṇḍa*; verses 11, 12 and 32 *Chāmpākamāle*; verses 16 and 17 *Mālinī*; verse 29 *Śālinī*]

- 1 ⁴Srīmat-parama-gambhīra-syād-vād-amōgha-lāñchchhanam-[|*]⁵ Jiyāt-trailōkya-nāthasya śāsanam jina-śāsanam⁴ ||1||*
- 2 ⁶Svasti samasta-bhuvan-āśraya-srī-prīthvivallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramabhāṭṭāraka-Satyāśraya-kuja-tīlakam
- 3 Chālukya-ābharanam śrīmat-Tribhuvanamalladēvara vijayarājyam=uttar-ōttar-ābhividdhi-pravarddhamānam=ā-chandr-ārka-tāram saluttam=ire ||
- 4 Tach-chakravartti-vikrama-shāyan=enipa nachchin=aliyam ||Vṛi|| Ari-bhūbhṛit-kari-simhan=arhi-jana-chintāratnan||āśānta-bhāsura-kirtti-pramadā-
- 5 priyam vibhudha-kira-vrāta-Mā[r*]kaṇḍā-bhū[|*]mi-ruhā-Komkaṇa-chakravartti-tīlakam śrī-mūrti-Nārāyaṇam naranātham Jayakēsi-dēvan=esedam Kādam-
- 6 ba-kaṇṭhiravam||2*||Va|| Ā Komkaṇ-ādhiśam Komkaṇa-vambaynūrumam Palasige=panni[r]chchhāsiramumam Kavaḍadvipa-samā(vā)lakkamuman=ēka--chchhatradimḍ=ā|u-
- 7 ttam sukhadin=ire tan-mahiśvaranīm piriyaḷu Padmala-dēviya maṇō-vallabham Hākibālladēvam Banavāsi-pannirchchhāsiraman=ā|uttam
- 8 sukhadin=ire ||Vṛi|| Viditam rūpitṭ-arāti-vrijake vividha-vandi-vraja-karmmasaubhāgyada nachchiṇḍ=irppa yōsi(shi)j-janake turaga-brimḍ-ālig-anmīngelal=sam[|*]pada-
- 9 dimḍ=ārttiyal=entum vasakēdaralk-ārūdado|=dānava-dhvaṃśi Dadhichi-Srī-sutamtān=enal=atisaya-rēvantan=ī Hākiballa[|3*]|| Ā maṇḍalika||trīṇ-
- 10 trana-manō-vallabhe ||Vṛi|| Sudati sadrūpaman=tāldida sura-kuñjam=embante vārāṅganā-rūpada chīntā-ratnam=embant=eseva surabhi-kānt-āva-
- 11 tāratvam=ādant[|*]=uditam śrī-Hākiballa-prīthutara-hṛiday-āvāsi kūrṭt=iva|=ānamdade Lakshmādēvi-vāṇḍi-pratāṭige kanak-ānikamam

¹ Vide *ibid.*, B. No. 412.

² *Ibid.*, 1964-65, B. No. 407. It is very interesting to know from the record referred to earlier (*ibid.*, 1967-68, B. No. 330), that *Mahā-prachāṇḍa-nāyaka* Jayakēsi was administering over Tammiyūru and 12 other villages. This fact clearly shows that the division Tammiyūru-12 had 12 villages under its jurisdiction apart from Tammiyūru (its headquarters). By this it can be suggested that the territorial divisions which were indicated by their own specific numbers comprised the number of villages indicated by such division-numbers apart from the headquarters in cases of very small divisions. For bigger divisions and a general discussion on this topic, vide my article, on 'Numerical Territorial Divisions in Karnataka', published in *J.P.N.S.I* Vol. II. (Mysore 1981), pp. 65 ff.

³ From the original and impressions.

⁴ There is an ornamental floral design at the beginning of lines 1 and 2 and at the end of line 1.

⁵ This mark indicates the completion of half of the verse here and in the following verses.

⁶ The meaning of the expression is not clear.

- 12 rāgadiṁda [||4*]Ka|| Parijana-kalpa-kujātege niraṭṭisayaṁ sukh-ānubhavana
vibhavege dhareyō||[*]=dore yār=Ppadmaladēvige nirantaraṁ Hā-
- 13 kiballan=arasige satiyar[5||*]. Tatt-sachiv-ōt[t*]maṁ||V ri|| Manamaṁ śrī-
Jinarāja-chāru-charaṇ-āmbhōjātadoḷ=niṣṭṭheyam tanuvaṁ jaina-visuddha-
mārgga-cha-
- 14 rita-vyāpāradoḷ=saṁtataṁ [|*] dhanamaṁ sad-budharoḷ yaśō-vaniteyaṁ
dig-bhittiyōḷ kūḍi sajjana-chintāmaṇi Barmmachayyan=esedaṁ
- 15 samyaktva-ratnākaraṁ [||6*||] Jina-pād-āmbhōja-bhṛiṁgam manu-charitan=
apāras-śrut-āmbhōdhi-saṁvardhana-chaṁdraṁ nīti=ratnākaraṁ=amaḷina Kādamba-
rāḷy-āṁ-
- 16 buj-ōnmiḷana-tigma-jyōti vistārita-dhavaḷa-yaśaṁ gōtra-nistāraṁ=urvvi-vinutaṁ
śrī Barmmachayyaṁ sukavi-śuka-phaḷ-ōpēta-chūt-ōrvvi-jātaṁ [||7*||] Tad-a-
- 17 nujaṁ ||Vri|| Asati-saṁgama-dūraṁ=ishta-janatā-kalpa-drumaṁ Jaina-pāda-sarōḷ-
ānata-bhṛiṁgan=ūrjjita-yaśaṁ vārāṁganā-chittajaṁ[|*] vasudh-ādhiśvara-Hā
- 18 kiballa-nṛipān=āmātyaṁ day-āmbhōdhi tān=esedaṁ sadguṇi Rāchamallaṁ=
asuhich-chhaiḷ-Ēndra-vajrāyudhaṁ[||8*] Ka|| Janapati-Māvulidēvaṁ tanag-
āḷda gu-
- 19 rugaḷ=Ayyapaṇḍitadēvar[|*]=vvinaya-nidhi Māḷiyakkaṁ jananiy=enalu
Rāchamallaṁ=ant=ār=ddhanyar [||9*] ||Va|| Ant=ā sachiv=ōttamar=irvvaruṁ
śrīman=mahāmaṇḍa[||ē]ś-varaṁ
- 20 Hākiballadēvaṁge parama-visvā(śvā)sa-bhūmigaḷ=āg=irdd=ōṁdu divasaṁ dharmma-
kathā-prasaṁgadimdam=ire Hākiballadēvaṁ tamm=ayyaṁ Māvuli-
- 21 dēvaṁge parōksha-vinay-ārttham=āg=ōṁdu basadiyaṁ māḷisal=udyuktan=āgi
tamma biyagaṁ¹ Jayakēśidēvan=āḷva Palasige-pannirchchāsi-
- 22 rad=olagaṇa Kaṁpaṇaṁ Māvaley=aynūrakkaṁ viśiṣṭam=enipa Tammiyūroḷ=
māḷisim=ēṁdu tan=mahattarage niyamisuvudum=avar=a-
- 23 ti-prasanna-manaskar=āgi||Kaṁ|| Palasige-viśyāntaradoḷ=phala-bharita--vinamna-
chūta-valli-kuḷadim[|*]mala-virahita-jina-niḷayadin=iḷipudu Tāṁ-
- 24 brāpuraṁ puraṁdara-puramaṁ [||10*] ||V ri|| Sogayipa pūga-saṁkuḷad=
āśōka-mahijada peṁpu-vetta saṁpageya podaḷdu pūta nava-pātaḷad=
oppuva nā-
- 25 ḷikēradim [|*] bagegolis=irppa chūta-late karttalis=irpp=ele-valli-balli-
malligegaḷa ḷile kaṅg=esedu tōrugum=ā-puram=entu nōrppaḍa [||11*||]
Baḷasida-kōte-
- 26 yimḍ=olage sō(sō)bhīpa saudha-gṛihamgaḷim manamgolisuva harmya-rāḷjiyin=
anaṁga-ras-ārṇavad=ēriyaṁt=esam(śam) [|*]-gaḷi-suva sūḷe-gērigaḷin=unnata-

¹ Same as *biga*, relative by marriage, Cf. F. Kittel, *Kannada-English Dictionary*, p. 1126.

- 27 dēva-gṛihaṅgaḥimdam=ēn=iḷipudo Tammiyūr=Maghavanikkeya paṭṭaṇamaṃ²
nirantaram [[12*] ||Kaṃ|| Priya-vākyaṃ Mānu-charitaṃ payasija-sannābha-
pada-payō-
- 28 ruha-bhṛiṅgam[|*] jaya-lakshmikāntan=enisida Jayakēsi-chamūpan=ā purakk=
adhināthaṃ [[13*] Śri-ramaṇyan=asuh ṛid-baḷa-vāridhiyoḷ kaḍedu pa-
- 29 ḍeda nija-bhūja-vijayaṃ[|*] vir-āvatāran=enisida dhiraṃ Jayakēsirāja-
daṇḍādhiśaṃ [[14*] ||Vṛi|| Janakaṃ Koṃkaṇa-rājya-nistarāṇan=urvvi-
prastutaṃ Charṅgadēva-
- 30 n=iḷā-kātegam=oḷpuv-etta giri-rāj-āpatyegaṃ pāṭi tān[|*]=enipem=Māchaladēvi
tāy=enipa vikhyāt-ānviṭaṃ bāppu sajjana-sēvyāṃ Jayakēsiy=ante paṭa-
- 31 r=ār=ddhanyar=ddharā-chakradoḷ[[15*]] ||Tad-anujaṃ|| Sura-taruv=enal=ivaṃ
vaṃdi=b ṛim(v ṛim)ḍakk=amōghaṃ karam=ariyaroḷ=ārggaṃ balt=idam śauryya-
diṃdam [|*] vara-vadhu-nivaha-snē-
- 32 ha-saṃbandhig=itaṃ smara=śara-sadṛis-ākāran=i Mādirājim [[16*] ||Tad=agraja-priy-
ātmaṃ|| Sukavi-nikara-vandi-vrāta-kalp-āvanijaṃ prakupita-ripu-
- 33 rāja-dhvaṃśi-kirty-aṃgnēśaṃ [|*] sakaḷa-guṇa-gaṇ-aḷāṃ-kāra-vāṇi-vilāsaṃ
prakāṭita-Manu-mārggaṃ bāppu rē Nārasimha [[17*] ||Va|| Antu tamma
mūvaru-
- 34 m=ishṭa-vishaya-sukhaman=anaubhavisuttam=ire Mahā-pradhānaṃ Barmmachayya-
nāyakanuṃ Rāchamallayya-nāyakanuṃ dharmma-prasaṅgamaṃ
- 35 māḍi nelanaṃ paḍedu jaina-maṃdiramaṃ samedu ||Kaṃ|| Surapatiya ritu-
vimānamo-dharaṇ-ēṃdrana tōḷa-pabhavanamo¹ khachara-mahī[|*]śvarana
maṇi-kha-
- 36 chita-harmyamo dhareyoḷ nirupamam=id=enisit=i jina gēhaṃ [[18*]] Siddhānta-
trayam=embudu suddhagey=enisidudu Vāsupūjya-munīndraṃ³ [|*]-Siddhānta-
cha-
- 37 kravartī jagad-dhavaḷita-kirttiy=embud-omd=achchariyē[[19*]] Tach-chhishyar||
Jaina-samaya-vārdhhi-chamndraman=anaṅga-bhūja-prabhaṃjanaṃ bhavya-
lasad[|*]-vanaja-vana-
- 38 dinakaraṃ bāpp=ene negarddar=ddhareyoḷ=Ayyapaṇḍita-dēvar [[20*]] Tat-
sahadharṃmigaḷ ||Vṛi|| Madavat-kaṃdarppa-dhātri-ruha-ṇiḷaya-mahā-mārutam
vāgvadhū-
- 39 ṭi sad-aḷaṃkār-āvatāṃsaṃ ṇiḷasita-jina-dharṃm-ōday-ādr-iṃdra-ramy-ā[|*]spada-
śita-dyōti-bhavya-prakara-salalit-ēśṭ-ārttha-siddhi-prada-śrī-pada-padmaṃ Mē-
- 40 ghachandra-vratipati viśad-ōttuṅga-kirtti-pramōdam [[21*]]||Ka|| Atiśaya-ṇinamna-
bhavya-pratati-payōjāta-tivra-tējaṃ mithyā[|*]-pratati-giri- Vajradaṇḍam
kshiti-ta[|a]-

¹ The expression *Maghavanikkeya paṭṭaṇa* has to be taken as *Maghavan=irkeya paṭṭaṇa*, i.e., the city which is the abode of Indra, i.e., Amarāvati.

² Wrong for *pra-bhavaṇa* (i.e., a big house or mansion).

³ The *anusvāra* is redundant.

- 41 do| Mēghachandra-panḍitadēvar[||22*] ||Ant=ā śrī-Mūla-saṅghada Sūrastha-
gaṇa-gagana-chandrar=enisida Mēghachandra-panḍitadēvara pāda-prakshāṇam
mā[ḍi]
- 42 Jayakēsi-daṇḍanāyakaṅgam Mādirājayya-daṇḍanāyakaṅgam pāda-pūjeyam
koṭṭu hosa-geṇeya keḷagaṇa nirvvariyo| Vāvaṇayya-nāyaka[na] [ba*]
- 43 sadiya keyya haḍuvaṇa hattugeyo|akkasāli-ge[re]yim baḍagal piriya-agaḷeyo|=
eraḍu-mattar=ggaddeyman=adaṇa haḍuvaṇa hattugeyo[|=e]-
- 44 raḍu mattaru hakkalumaṅ paḍedu śrīmach-Chāḷukya-Vikrama-varshada
Viśvāvasu saṁvatsarada Pushya śuddha-pāḍiya Ādityavāramum=uttarāyaṇa-
[saṅ][kra*]
- 45 maṇamum samanisi baṁda puṇya-tithiyo|=ā Mēghachandra-panḍitadēvargge
dhārā-pūrvvakaṅ māḍi koṭṭu ||Kaṁ|| Śrīmaj-Jina-samaya-lasad-vyōmā[mbara*]
- 46 tigma-kiraṇan=akhi[a-jana[|*]-prēm-ōdvibhāsi mantri-sikhāmaṇi vikhyāta-lakshmi-
ārmmaṅ¹ Barmmaṅ[||23*]||Antu-m=alladēyum ||V ri|| Janakaṅ śrī-Ballirāja[m*]
- 47 ga(gu)ṇavati tāy=Māḷiyakkaṅ pranū(ṇu)taṅ Jinan=āptaṅ Gōpanandi-vrati
guru sati niṭṭayde Bhāgavv[e] putraṅ[|*] Jana-vamdyam Śā[m]ntivarmmaṅ
pativiśada[n=e]..
- 48 Hākiballa-kshitiśaṅ Manu-mārggaṅ Rāchamallaṅ tanag=a-nujan=enal
Barmmachayyaṅ kṛit-ārtthaṅ [||24*]|| Mattaṅ ||V ri|| Vasudh-āḷaṅkṛitam=appa
jaina-gṛihamāṅ sva[svā][mi*].
- 49 pēḷalke maḍisi taj-jaina-nivāsa-vāsi-munipargg=āhāra-dānakke perh[|*]p=eseyalu
bhūmiyan=ittu sad-vibudhar=aty-ā-nandadiṅ kūrṭtu..
- 50 sali Barmmachayya* Rāchamallaraṅ=ad=inn=ē=vaṇṇiporaṅ baṇṇipa [||25*]
Mattam=ā basidige|| Nakaraṅ saṭṭuga-vattamaṅ² manam=oḷald=ānandadiṅ
telliga-prakaram
- 51 yeṇṇeyam horrege hēḷimṅ=ārttu parnn-c(rṇṇ-ō)paji[|*]vakar=ayvattan=oḷaldu
nūḷ=eleyan=aty-utsāhadim koṭṭar=intu kubhidd-rāja-dharittri-vārdhhi-digi[śa]-
- 52 chandr-ārkkar=u||a=annegaṅ [||26*]|| Mattaṅ Jayakēsi-daṇḍanāyakanuṅ
Mādi[rā]jayanuṅ Narasiṁhadēvanuṅ dēvargge pulpa-pjaḷalke pergeṇeya
baḍagaṇa nirvvar-yyo| māla-
- 53 gā|(r)a tōmḷada mūdāṇa hattugeyoḷu guṇiga[ṇe].....tta tōmḷamaṅ tamage
śreyō=nimittam=āgi Mēghachandradēvargge dhārā=pūrvvakaṅ māḍi koṭṭaru||

¹ °armmaṅ seems to be the wrong form of °ārmmaṅ.

² This form obviously is to be derived from *bhatta* which means paddy (*bhatta-batta-vatta*). Cf. F. Kittel, *op. cit.*, p. 1163.

- 54 Idan=esedire pāḷisidar=mudadiṃ gaṃgādi puṇya=tirtha=stha..[*] Vidita=gō=ni-
kuru(m)baman=uditaṃ sad=[d*]=vijarge koṭṭa phaḷamaṃ paḍevar [||27*] ||Adan=
ollade kiḍisidava=
- 55 r=sadamaḷa=su=gatiyane bisuṭu gōtra=samēta..ksha=śastra=dēhadim̄d=odavida
naraka=duḥkhamam̄ tavey=umbar [||28*]|| Sāmāny=ōyam̄ dharmma=sētu-
- 56 r=nṛipāṇām̄ kālē kāle pālaniyō bhavadbhiḥ [*] Sa. . . .[h] pārtthiv=ēndrān bhūyō
bhūyō yāchate Rāmāchandraḥ [||29*]|| Bahubhir=vasudhā-bhuktvā(ktā) rā-
- 57 jabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ [1*] Yasya yasya yadā bhū. . . .[||30*]|| .. [ttām̄]
para-dattām̄ vā yō herēti vasum̄dharām̄ [1*] shashṭir=vvarsha-sahaśrā(srā)ṇi viśh-
ṭhāyām̄ Jāyatē kṛimiḥ [||31*]||

No. 10—NOTE ON TALAGUNDA INSCRIPTION OF SANTIVARMAN.

P. R. SRINIVASAN, MYSORE

This important inscription has been studied and commented upon by several scholars¹. Kielhorn's article on it has brought out its significance almost completely. However, a re-examination of the record has revealed that a very vital piece of historical information contained in the record has been missed by all scholars. It pertains to the question as to who actually was responsible for the enthronement of Mayūśarman who was the first ruler of the early Kadamba dynasty. Verse 20 of the record says, "Then entering the kings' service, he pleased them by his acts of bravery in battles and obtained the honour of being crowned with a fillet, offered by the Pallavas with the sprouts (*Pallava*) of their hands"². Verse 21 refers to the territory which came under his sway as a result of this compact. Then follows verse 22³ which reads : *vibudha-saṅgha-mauli-saṁmṛiṣṭa-charaṇāraṅḍāśh=Shaḍānanaḥ yam=abhishiktavān=anudhyāya Sēnāpatim Mātrībhīs=saha*. It has been translated by Kielhorn as follows : "Whom Shaḍānana, whose lotus-feet are polished by the crowns of the assembly of the gods, anointed, after meditating on Sēnāpati with the Mothers"⁴. That Kielhorn believed that what is meant here was the anointment of Mayūśarman by the god Shaḍānana is clear both from his observation under foot-note⁴ on page 35 of *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII, and from his statement that "by the circumstance that according to verse 22 Mayūśarman was anointed by Shaḍānana (the six-faced god of war) after meditating on Sēnāpati i. e., the general of the gods (Kārttikēya)", on page 29 in the same place. Though the fine distinction that Kielhorn makes between "the six-faced god of war" and "Kārttikēya", may be all right from the point of view of iconography, it does not appear to be in order in the present context as one cannot imagine how the six-faced god of war meditated on Kārttikēya when both are one and the same. In this interpretation Kielhorn seems to have been influenced by the word *vibudha-saṅgha* which has been translated by him as the assembly of the gods'. Following Kielhorn, however, several scholars⁵ have adopted his meaning and have opined that god Shaḍānana anointed Mayūśarman. Dr. D. C. Sircar has accepted this interpretation with a slight change. According to him verse 22 under study means "Mayūśarman is said to have been favoured and anointed Sēnāpati (general) by Shaḍānana and the Mothers"⁶, by construing the passage in the verse as *Shaḍānanaḥ Mātrībhīs=sahā anudhyāya yam Sēnāpatim abhishiktavān*. That Dr. Sircar still

¹ Fleet, *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pt. II, pp. 286-87; L. Rice, *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 200 ff.; G. Buhler, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 27-28; F. Kielhorn, above, Vol. VIII, pp. 31 ff. and plate; D. C. Sircar, *Successors of Śāta.*, pp. 184 and note, 228, 288.

² Above, Vol. VII, p. 35.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Op. 35.

⁵ *Kadambakula*, p. 16; *A New History of the Indian people*, Vol. VI, (*The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*), p. 239. Fleet who had given the gist of the whole inscription earlier than Rice and Kielhorn (see *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. II, pt. II, pp. 288-87), interprets the verse as follows: "Shaḍānana, (Kārttikēya, as being six-faced) anointed Mayūśarman (to sovereignty) after he had meditated on Sēnāpati (Kārttikēya, as the general) and the Mothers". (*Ibid.*, p. 207, note 1).

⁶ *Successors of the Śātavāhans*, pp. 239 ff.

holds the same view but with another finesse added to it is known from his statement, "Shaḍānana is here said to have favoured and installed the general Mayūraśarman on the throne" (vide *Select Inscriptions*, revised edition, 1965, p. 477, note 3). The finesse of detail to be noted here is that while he said earlier that Mayūraśarman was anointed *Sēnāpati* (general), his recent opinion seems to be that Mayūraśarman who was already a general was installed on the throne. Whatever it is, Dr. Sircar continues to hold his view that the installation of Mayūraśarman was done by Shaḍānana and the Mothers.

True, Dr. Sircar's earlier interpretation of the verse is perfectly all right according to which Shaḍānana and the Mothers blessed Mayūraśarman and anointed him as *Sēnāpati*. There are a number of instances like the Bādāmi Chālukyas and the Imperial Gaṅgas who claim to have got the empire through the grace of divine beings. Similarly Kielhorn's construing of the verse, quoted above, will also be equally all right when the apparent incongruity contained in the interpretation viz., Shaḍānana (the six-faced god of war), whose lotus feet are polished by the crowns of the assembly of the gods, meditating on *Sēnāpati* (Kārttikēya), is resolved. When this is so, it is seen that the composer of the verse has intended *ślēsha* in the verse, and the crucial words in it are evidently Shaḍānana and *vibudha-saṅgha*. So, when the proper significance of these words is understood and employed in the translation given by Kielhorn, then the riddle in the verse will stand solved and the solution thus obtained will go to elucidate, among others, a historical event of great importance. According to us Shaḍānana stands both for the six-faced god and for a person who had a name which was synonymous with Shaḍānana. The synonym intended here in all likelihood was Skanda, rather than Kārttikēya, Kumāra, etc. The word *vibudha-saṅgha* means both an assembly of gods and an assembly of wise men. With the substitution of these meanings for those given by Kielhorn, the translation of verse 22 would be: "Whom Skanda, whose lotus-feet are polished by the crowns of wise-men, anointed, after meditating on *Sēnāpati* and Mothers". As has been stated above, in verse 21 the territory that Mayūraśarman was given to rule over is mentioned while in verse 20, the persons who honoured him with the *paṭṭabandha* are stated to be the Pallavas. Till now, only the verses 20 and 21 used to be taken together and interpreted so as to mean that Mayūraśarman became a feudatory of the Pallavas who honoured him with the *paṭṭabandha*. In the light of our interpretation of verse 22, however, it will become now necessary to interpret the three verses viz., 20, 21, and 22, together. In this case it will be found that Skanda apparently a member of the Pallava family, and one who was praised by wise men, was the person, who actually anointed Mayūraśarman to the rulership of the territory referred to in verse 21.

Now the question arises as to who this Pallava Skanda was. On grounds of palaeography and language the Chandravalli inscription of Kadamba Mayūraśarman has been assigned to the fourth century A. D.¹, and this Mayūraśarman has been identified with his namesake of the Tālagunda inscription². The record from Maḷavalli³, which does not refer to any ruler by name but mentions only a Kadamba king described as *Vaijānti-dhayaṃma-mahārājādhirāja*, has also been assigned on linguistic and palaeographical grounds, to about the same period and to Mayūraśarman⁴ or to his immediate successor⁵. After comparing

¹ *Select Inscriptions*, (revised edition, 1965), p. 473. The genuineness of this record has been doubted by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (see *A New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, p. 238).

² *Successors of Śātavāhanas*, pp. 240 ff.

³ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 264.

⁴ G. J. Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 99.

⁵ *Successors of Śātavāhanas*, p. 248.

the language and alphabet of these Chandravalli and Malavalli records with those of viz., the Mayidavölu¹ and the Hirahadagalli plates² of Pallava Śivaskandavarman and the British Museum plates³, of Vijaya-Skandavarman, it has been suggested that the two Kadamba records are slightly later than the three Pallava charters, and consequently, Mayūraśarman and/or his successor ruled a little later than Śivaskandavarman⁴. It has also been suggested that "Śivaskandavarman was the most powerful king of the early Pallavas"⁵ and that his "kingdom extended upto the Arabian Sea"⁶. Considering the fact that there ruled no such powerful Pallava king subsequent to Śivaskandavarman, it is not unlikely that he was the king who anointed Mayūraśarman as ruler over the territory in the west coast, and that this fact is mentioned in verse 22 of the Tālagunda record under examination. Accordingly it follows that *Shadānana=Skanda* referred to in the verse would be identical with Śivaskandavarman. Then there will arise the problem as to what the real name of this Pallava king was. The employment of synonyms referring to one and the same king is noticed in Pallava inscriptions e. g., Narapatisinha for Rajasinha (*A. R. Ep.*, 1966-67, No. B 188). It appears that the real name of the king was Skanda [varman*], the word *Śiva* in Śivaskandavarman of the Mayidavölu and Hirahadagalli charters being an honorific⁷, just as *śrī* and *vijaya* are honorifics in the name *śrī-Vijaya-Skandavarman* of the British Museum charter mentioned above. In support of this we can adduce one more piece of evidence than what has been given by G. J. Dureuil in his *Anc. Hist. of Deccan*, p.53. Generally in almost all the early inscriptions no honorific precedes the names of the rulers⁸. In the records of the Sātavahanas, however, almost invariably the honorific *siri* is found prefixed to the names of the kings⁹. This is also the case with the records of the Ikshvākus¹⁰ of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. In some records of this category this *siri* is omitted¹¹. This reveals that the practice of prefixing honorifics was just then coming into vogue. In fact in the earliest inscription of the Pallavas so far discovered viz., the one from Mañchikallu¹², no honorific is prefixed to the name of the king. So, when the Mayidavölu and Hirahadagalli charters were drafted the composer of their texts having been influenced by the tradition of employing an honorific to the names of the rulers, appears to have prefixed *Śiva* to the name of Skandavarman in preference to *śrī*. This appears to get confirmation from the British Museum plates where the name of the ruling king is Skandavarman with, however, the prefixes *śrī* and *Vijaya*. G. J. Dureuil¹³ and other scholars seem to be right in identifying this king with Śiva-Skandavarman, and the opinion of others¹⁴ in making him a king later than and

¹ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 84 ff.

² Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 2 ff.

³ Ibid., Vol. VIII, pp. 143 ff.

⁴ *Successors of Sātavāhanas*, pp 185, 223.

⁵ Ibid., p. 184.

⁶ Ibid., p. 184, note.

⁷ G. J. Dureuil had suggested this (*Anc. Hist. Deccan*, p. 53) which was accepted by scholars like Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (*A New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, p. 231). However Dr. D. C. Sircar has strongly argued for the name of Śivaskandavarman (*Succ. of Sāta.*, pp. 161, 166-67), a view which he continues to hold (*The Classical Age*, p. 276; *Select Inscriptions* (revised ed. 1965), p. 457, and note 3).

⁸ *Select Inscriptions* (revised ed. 1965), Book II, Nos. 1, 2, 10, 14, 24, 25, 28, 32, 36A, 37-41, 57-61, 63-67, 75, 91, 93, 93A.

⁹ Ibid., Nos. 83, 85, 86, 87, etc.

¹⁰ Ibid., Nos. 98-100, 102-04, etc.

¹¹ Ibid., Nos. 76, 84.

¹² Above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 87 ff.]

¹³ *Anc. Hist. Decc.*, p. 53.

¹⁴ *Success. of Sāta.*, p. 161. ¶

different from Śiva-Skandavarman requires to be modified. For, having been issued by the queen of the *yuvamahārāja* Buddhavarman, the plates must have belonged to a time later than the date of the Hiraḥaḍagalli plates, and that therefore, there is nothing unnatural in the existence of differences in language, palaeography, the use of titles etc., between the records issued by Śiva-Skandavarman and those issued by his daughter-in-law and others, just as there are similar differences met with between the Mañchikallu inscription¹ of Śimhavarman, said to be the father and predecessor of Śiva-Skandavarman, and the latter's Mayidayōlu and Hiraḥaḍagalli charters. Thus it is clear the primary purpose of verse 22 under study was to record the event of anointment of Mayūraśarman by the Pallava king Śiva or śrī-Vijaya-Skandavarman. The *ślēṣha* contained in the said verse may be interpreted to mean either that Mayūraśarman, the general was anointed ruler after consideration by (the grace of) Shaḍānana along with the Mothers, or that Mayūraśarman was anointed as general after consideration by (the grace of) Shaḍānana along with the Mothers. The above-mentioned fact seems to have been incorporated in the standard *praśasti* of the Kadamba in their later records in the phrase : *Svāmi-Mahāsēna-Mātrigaṇ-ānudhyāt-ābhishik-tānām*. In the light of the foregoing discussion, this phrase may be taken to mean '(those) who have been anointed after meditating on Svāmi-Mahāsēna and the Mothers'. This phrase remains incomplete without the mention of the person who was responsible for this anointment. However, the reason for the non-mention by the later Kadamba rulers in their records of the Pallava ruler who, according to the above discussion, was responsible for the ushering in of the new dynasty is not known.

¹ Above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 87 ff. and plate.

No. 11—A BROKEN PILLAR INSCRIPTION FROM KAMPLI

(1 Plate)

M. J. SHARMA, MYSORE

This inscription,¹ edited below with the kind permission of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore was discovered at the village **Kampli** in Yellapur taluk, North Kanara district, Karnāṭaka. It was found engraved on a broken pillar standing on an elevated area surrounded with trees and shrubs, locally called as 'Pūrdukān', situated on the right side of the Sirsi-Yellapur road. The broken pillar which is of about 3' in height from the ground and of somewhat circular shape retains only a part of the inscription which is engraved on a polished surface. The other half of the pillar which is of 6' long with a rough surface and tapering end lies in a pit a few yards away and bears no inscription.

The extent 10 lines of writing from the latter portion of the record occupy an area of 22" × 12". The letters are boldly engraved and, except in the first line which is partly damaged, well preserved. The size of the letters ranges from .8" to 1.2" in height while the conjunct letters like *rmma* and *ṭṭa* in line 2, *lli* in line 4 vary in height from 1.5" to 2". Final *n* in lines 2, 6 and 7 is of about .5" in height.

The characters belong to an early variety of Kannaḍa alphabet and, on palaeographical grounds, they may be assigned to the latter half of the sixth or the first half of the seventh century. Initial *i* occurs in lines 7 and 9. The aspirate *dha* in line 2 has a projection at the top and appears more or less like *va* of line 2, while *dha* in line 8 has the usual serif at the top. The upright features in letters like *ka*, *ra*, *sa* and *pa* are clearly distinguishable and noteworthy. Some of the letters are comparable individually with those of the Sirsi plates² of Krishṇavarma II and the Tagare plates³ of Bhōgivarma. For instance in the Sirsi plates the letters *ri* or *ra* in the words *giri* and *parihāra* (line 10) has the left limb lifted up and joined to the serif. The letters like *ya*, *ra*, *ka*, *ja* and *i* of the Tagare plates have much resemblance with those of the present record.

The language of the record is Kannaḍa and the text is written in prose. It contains only five sentences and the words in many places are inter-linked.

The grant portion (11. 1-6) of the text is in two parts. While the first part (11. 1-3) registers the grant of the village **Mōriyavalli**, free from all encumbrances, by Dharmasēnavara, the second part (11. 4-7) states that **Ajavarma**, the son of the *Mahārāja*, restored (*nirīsidan*) (the status of) **Kampili** as a *dēvabhōga* which was a gift (*datti*) of Payveyar and which had fallen into misuse (*keṭṭadan*). The name of the deity who benefited from these grants is not preserved. It is stated in line 7 that Dharmasēnavara is the protector of the grant. Lines 7-10 contain the usual imprecatory passages.

The passage *Mahārājana magan-Ajavarman* (11. 5-6) may be interpreted in two ways, namely that Ajavarma was the son of a person named *Mahārāja* or that he was the son of

¹ Noticed in *A. R. Ep.*, 1972-73, No. B. 105.

² Above, Vol. XVI, plate facing p. 271.

³ *Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1918, plate facing p. 40.

the ruling king (*mahārāja*). Since *mahārāja* does not normally occur as a proper name, the latter interpretation appears to be nearer the truth. The exact identity of this Ajavarmma, his father and the family to which they belonged, has become obscure owing to the loss of the top portion of the record. However, an attempt in this direction has been made below, with the help of the available inscriptions of the kings who once ruled over the region in question.

The Tagare plates of the Kadamba king Bhōgivarṃa, referred to above, mentions a certain Ajavarmma, as the son of *mahārāja* Krishṇavarṃa and as the father of *mahārāja* Bhōgivarṃa. So far no other references to Ajavarmma have come to light except in one stone inscription, in characters of about 9th-10th century, from Bārūru,¹ Shikaripura taluk, Shimoga district which belongs to a king named Kannarasa. It refers, while recording a series of gifts to the Gāutamasthāna, to a former gift of lamp made by Kadamba Ajavarmmarasa. The name Ajavamma occurring here is only a Kannada variant of the Sanskrit form Ajavarmma. This Kadamba Ajavarmmarasa may have been the same Ajavarmma of the Tagare plates and he may probably be identical with the Ajavarmma of the present record. His father, who is mentioned here as *mahārāja*, will then be *mahārāja* Krishṇavarṃa, who has been identified with Krishṇavarṃa II² of the early Kadamba family. For his reign we have four copper plate inscriptions coming from Bannehalli,³ Beṇṇūr,⁴ Sirsi⁵ and Kīrukuppatūr⁶ and they also ascribe to him titles like *mahārāja* and *dharmma-mahārāja*.

There is some difficulty in regard to the assignment of this record to the reign of Krishṇavarṃa II, as the characters of this inscription, when compared with those of Krishṇavarman II's charters, appear to be of a latter date. However, attention has already been drawn in regard to the resemblance of some letters with those of his Sirsi plates and with those of the Tagare plates belonging to his grandson. Further, it may be asserted that the cursive tendency, and the shortening of the downward length in some letters like *ka* and *ra* are not necessarily a latter phenomena as they can be traced even as early as about 450 A.D., in the Halmiḍi inscription⁷ of Kadamba Kakutsthavarṃa which is the earliest as yet known inscription in Kannada language. Its close affinity with the present record may also be observed in the construction of sentences, particularly in the interlinking of words and in the rare use of the *anusvāra*⁸. Thus, if this inscription is accepted as of Krishṇavarṃa II, it will become the second earliest inscription in Kannada language.

The Beṇṇūr plates⁹ state that Krishṇavarṃa II was setting out for a military expedition against Vaijayantī, i.e., Banavāsī (*Vaijayantī-vijaya-yātrām-abhiprastitah*) and the Bannehalli¹⁰ plates state that he had regained, by his heroism, his royalty and fortune. The present grant,

¹ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. No. 45 B.

² *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1918, p. 40.

³ Above, Vol. VI, p. 17.

⁴ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, pl. 827.

⁵ Above, Vol. XVI, p. 270.

⁶ *Karn. Ins.* Vol. II, pp. 1 ff.

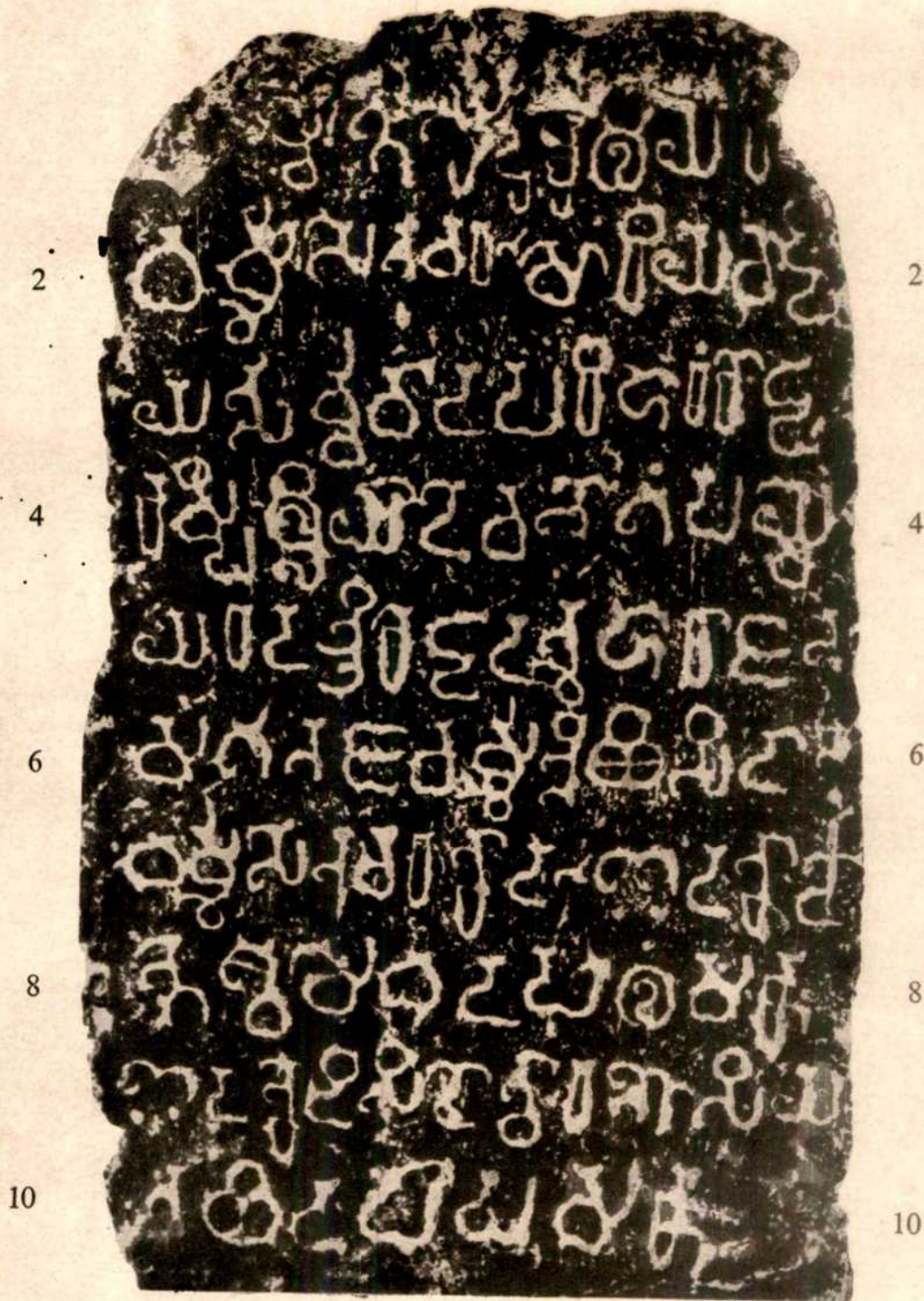
⁷ *Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1936, pp. 72 ff. plate XXII.

⁸ It may be stressed here that it is necessary to take the language also into consideration while comparing the characters of inscriptions. For, the characters of the inscriptions belonging to a particular variety or class, though of the same period, vary in their forms or in development in respect of region, dynasty and language.

⁹ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, p. 827.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. VI, p. 18.

A BROKEN PILLER INSCRIPTION FROM KAMPLI



SCALE : One-third

therefore, could have been issued only after his occupation of Vaijayanti, since the findspot of the present record happens to be situated not far away, to the north of Banavāsi (in Sirsi talu). Ajavarmma is not mentioned in any other inscriptions of Krishṇavarma II. From this record, we can presume that he may have actively assisted his father in his military expeditions and in administration. There is some doubt regarding his succession to the throne and his independent rule as, so far, no inscription of his reign has been discovered, and, further, the Tagare plates¹ of his son Bhōgivarma do not give him the title *mahārāja*. We learn from the Kukupatūr plates² that Krishṇavarma II had another son named Ravivarma who is described as 'priyaputra' (beloved son). It is likely that this Ravivarma, though a younger son of Krishṇavarma II, was liked by his father and may have been chosen as successor to the throne instead of Ajavarmma. Bhōgivarma, in his Tagare plates,³ claims that he had acquired his kingdom by the strength of his own arms and, perhaps, it may be suggested that he got back his kingdom after defeating his uncle Ravivarma.

Dhmma-sēnavara mentioned here seems to be a subordinate officer in charge of local administration as he is stated to be the protector of the gift of Payveyar. The latter part of his name, Sēnavara, is obviously the name of the family to which he belonged. This family name occurs in a few inscriptions hailing from the Chikmagalur and Shimoga districts. One of them, from Kigga (Koppa taluk), in Kannada language and characters of about the 7th century and belonging to the reign of the Ālupa chief Chitravāhana⁴ who is stated therein to be ruling over Poṁbuchcha, refers to a Sēnavara without mentioning his proper name. Another inscription⁵ from Māyitammana Machchaḍi (Shikaripur taluk), belonging to the reign of the Bādāmi Chalukya king Vijayāditya-Satyāśraya, refers to a Pṛithvivallabha Sēnavarabhūvara. One inscription⁶ of the 11th century, from Chittavalli (Chikmagalur talu), records a grant made by Jimūtavāhana-Sēnavara who is described as the 'Sun of the Kichara-vaṁśa' and as 'Lord of Kūḍalūrppura' while another inscription⁷ from the same place and of the same period refers to a Mārasimgha-Sēnavara who, bearing similar epithets, is stated to have avenged the death of his grandfather Jivitavara (wrong for Jimūtavāha?). Mārasimgha-Sēnavara and Mārasimgha-Sēnavara, figuring in two 11th century inscriptions⁸ from Kōtevūru (Chikmagalur taluk) are perhaps identical with the Mārasimgha-Sēnavara of the Chittavalli epigraph.

Though the identity of the other donor, Payveyar, is not known, his name reminds one of Payve (Hayve in its medieval form) which served as the name of a five-hundred division in the North Kanara district during historical times.

Of the localities occurring in the inscription **Mōriyavalli**, which draws more attention, reminds us of the Maurya dynasty and, a branch of which ruled over the parts of Koṅkan.¹⁰ The other place **Kampilli**, as stated above, is modern Kampli, the findspot of our record.

¹ *Mys. Arch. Rep.* 1918, p. 40.

² *Karn. Ins.* Vol. II, No. 1, p. 3.

³ *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1918, p. 40.

⁴ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VI, Kp. 37.

⁵ Above, Vol. IX, p. 16.

⁶ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. No. 278.

⁷ *Ibid.* Vol. VI, Cm. No. 95.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Cm. No. 94.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Cm. Nos. 61 and 62.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 294.

TEXT¹

- 1 ..[l]va[rgge]..mbuliya[ra]
- 2 Dharmmasēnavaran² Mōriyavaḷḷi-
- 3 yan-sarvva-vā³da(dhā)-parihāram kotta[n | *]
- 4 Kampilliyā dēvabhōgam Payve-
- 5 yara-datti keṭṭadan-Mahārājana
- 6 magan=Ajavarmman-niṅṅisidān² [| *]
- 7 Dharmmasēnavaran-kādan² [| *]idan-kādō-
- 8 ng-e(g-a)śvamēdhada phalaṅm⁴=akku [| *]
- 9 idan-keḍḍisidon-Vāraṅsiya-
- 10 n=aḷḷida-pāpam=akku [| *]

¹ From impressions.

² Final *n* is engraved slightly above the lower margin of the line.

³ Read *bā* instead of *vā* which is indifferently engraved.

⁴ The *anusvāra m* is redundant here.

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOL. XXXIX

PART III

JULY 1971

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1983

Published by the Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi-110

Printed at the Government of India Press (Publication Unit),
Santragachi, Howrah, India.

Price: Inland Rs. 8.00 Foreign 18sh. 8d. or 2 \$ 88 cents.

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11-11-20

No. 12—A BRAHMI INSCRIPTION FROM PRATAPGARH

(1 Plate)

P.R. SRINIVASAN, MYSORE

This interesting inscription¹ is engraved on a stone pillar set up in front of the Āmlēśvara temple at Pratapgarh in Pratapgarh Tahsil, Chittorgarh District, Rajasthan. It is edited here from an impression kindly sent to the Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, by Shri R.V. Somani of Jaipur in 1971. From the impression it is seen that the pillar should be long and slender. It is not known if it is two-sided or four-sided. There are 14 lines of writing, but it is clear from the impression that there are, or were, one or two lines at the top. It is not certain if there are some more lines of writing at the bottom also. In view, however, of the great interest of the record from the points of view of its antiquity and contents, it is edited here.

The characters are Brāhmi and they are found to be similar to those of the Besnagar Garuḍa pillar inscription² of the time of the ruler Bhāgabhadra, which is assigned to about the 2nd century B.C. The letters are neatly engraved and the spacing between the lines is carefully done. The language of the record is a mixed dialect of Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit.

The object of the inscription is the making of a stone slab or pillar, probably the one on which the present inscription is engraved. The expression used for the slab or the pillar is *selā-bhujā* (Skt. *śaila²-bhujā*). The person who was responsible for this act is named *Bhagavat*, and he is described variously; in fact the description of this person occupies the major portion of the text. His original name seems to be *Utararakhita* (Skt. *Uttarakshita*) and *Bhagavat* was perhaps his second name. He is stated to be the son of one *Poṇa* belonging to the *Sāḍa-kula*, a true or real *Bhāgavata* (*sachā-bhāgavata*), an inhabitant of *Aparakaḍa*, and one who was famed in all parts of the world (*savesu lokesu viśruta-kīrtin*—Skt. *sarveshu lokeshu viśruta-kīrtin*). His second name *Bhagavat* is repeated in lines 9-10. From the lavish manner in which this person is described leaves no doubt that he was a very important person of the place. The remaining passage of the text seems to name the person for whose merit or welfare the *selābhujā* was made. This person was named *Nāsa* which is rather an unusual name. He is stated to be the son of a woman named *Āparātā* who is described as *bhagavati*, probably meaning that she was a respectable person. Her name *Āparātā* is also interesting and it may be that she was so named because she belonged to the place or region called *Aparātā* (Skt. *Aparānta*). The creation of the stone *bhujā* is stated to be for *Nāsa* together with his son and wife. It is interesting to note that this meritorious act for *Nāsa* and his son and wife was done by a reputed man *Utararakhita* *alias* *Bhagavat* mentioned above. The making (*kāritā*) of the stone slab also perhaps includes its erection and this must have been done at the place where the pillar now stands. Instances are known where such stone pillars were erected in memory of dead persons.⁴ It must be the case in the present instance also, although here the work was performed for *Nāsa* and his family.

¹ This is registered as No. B 370 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1970-71.

² *Select Inscriptions* (1965), plate XI.

³ Macron over *e* and *o* is not used here.

⁴ *Above*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 20 ff., and plate.

Other important points of the record are as follows : The name Bhagavat, the second name of Utararakhita is rarely known as being borne by an individual from ancient Indian records. It is usually applied to the Buddha or Jina or to a sage.¹ The expression *Sādakulina* obviously refers to a family and this is the first reference in epigraphy to this family. The mention made of the pillar or slab as *bhujā*, literally meaning a hand, is interesting. Perhaps this is a practice handed down by tradition from very ancient times. It may be remembered here that the Allahabad inscription² of Samudragupta compares the pillar on which it is engraved as the hand of the earth (*bhuvah bāhuḥ*). If the name of Nāsa's mother Āparātā, as has been stated above, refers to the region Āparātā from where she hailed, it has parallels in such names as Kausalyā of the Rāmāyaṇa fame. The description of Utararakhita *alias* Bhagavat as *sachā-bhāgavata* which term has been taken by us as meaning 'real *bhāgavata*' i.e. the real follower of Bhagavān who is generally identified with the god Viṣṇu is interesting. His further description that he was famed all over the world makes it clear that Utararakhita was a leader of importance, probably in spreading the Bhāgavata cult. It is known from such treatises as the *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali,³ as well as from such epigraphical evidence as the Besnagar Garuḍa pillar inscription⁴ and Hāthi-bādā inscription⁵ belonging to the 2nd-1st centuries B.C. that this Bhāgavata cult was in vogue amongst the people of north India. The present record coming from a part of Rajasthan affords another important piece of evidence for the same. Another noteworthy point of this record is the use of the phrase *savesu lokesu visuta kitinā* which rings like one usually employed by poets in their *kāvya*s and it therefore may be considered to give an inkling about the state of the development of literature in the period as well as the familiarity of the person who composed the brief text of this record with such literature.

The record appears to make mention of two geographical names, viz., **Aparakāḍa**, the place of residence of Utararakhita and **Aparātā** (Skt. Aparānta) from where Nāsa's mother hailed and hence called Āparātā. Of these two names, Aparānta is the well known region on the west coast comprising North Koṅkaṇa, while it is difficult to identify the former.

TEXT*

- 1 tena Utarara-
- 2 khitena Sādaku-
- 3 linena Poṇa-pu-
- 4 tena sachā-bhāga-
- 5 vatena Bhagava-
- 6 ta Aparakāḍa-
- 7 vāsinā savesu
- 8 lokesu visuta
- 9 kitina(nā) Bhagava-
- 10 tā sela-bhujā kā-
- 11 ritā Bhagavati
- 12 Āparātā-pu[ta]-
- 13 Nasa[sa*] sa-putasa
- 14 sa - bhāyasa [11*] ;

¹ Lüders' List, p. 219, s.v.

² *Select Inscriptions* (1965), p. 267, text-line 30.

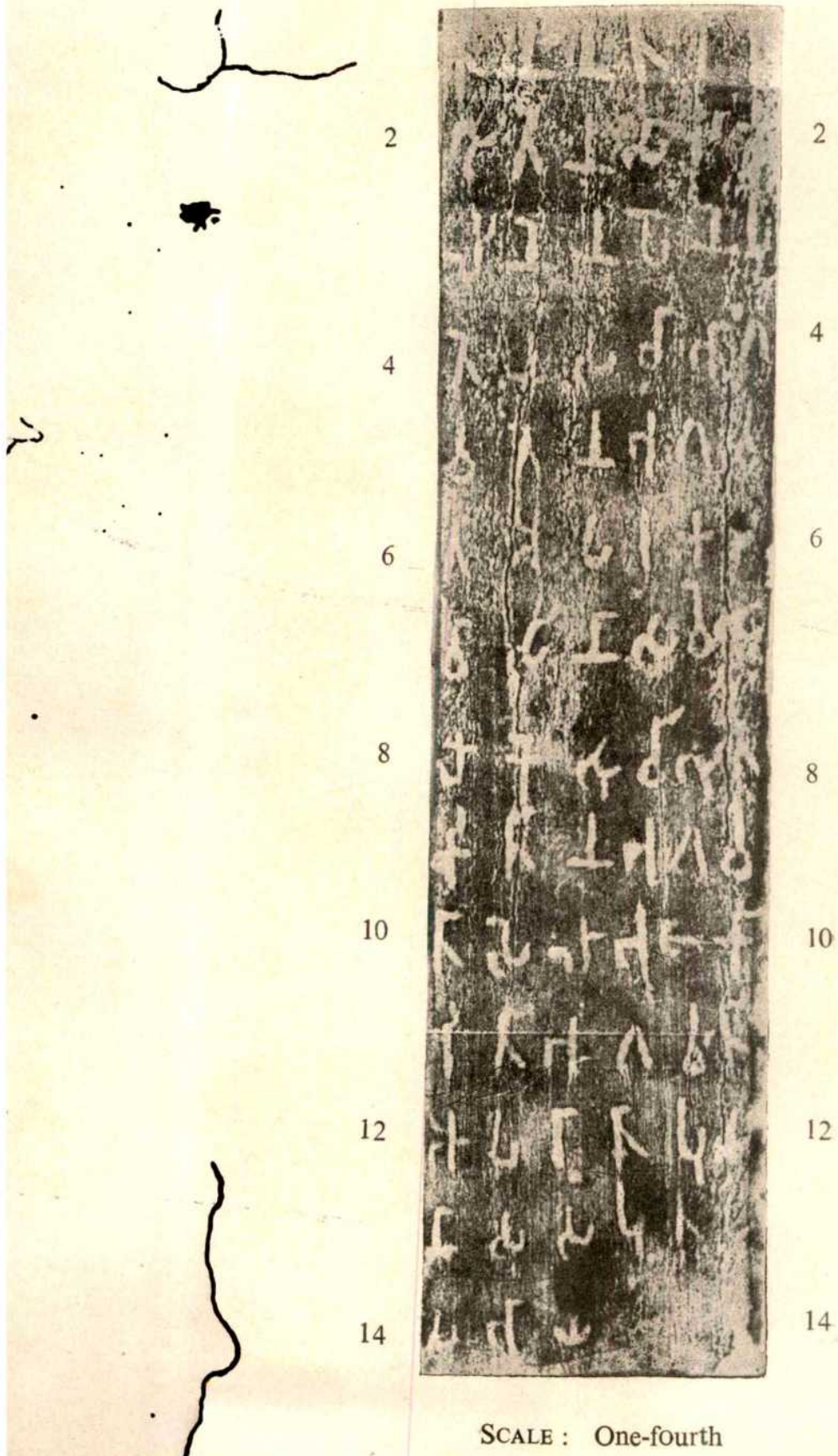
³ B.N. Puri, *India in the Time of Patañjali*, pp. 185 ff.

⁴ *Select Inscriptions* (1965), p. 88, No. 2.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 198-205, and plate.

* From impression.

A BRAHMI INSCRIPTION FROM PRATAPGARH



SCALE : One-fourth

No. 11—TWO COPPER-PLATE CHARTERS OF CHALUKYA BHIMA I
FROM VINNAKOTA

(2 Plates)

S. SANKARANARAYANAN, MYSORE

The subjoined two sets of copper-plates, referred to hereinafter as Set I and Set II respectively for the sake of convenience, belong to the time of the king Bhima I of the Eastern Chālukhya family of Vēṅgī. They were discovered more than a decade ago in the village Vinnakota, Gudivada Taluk, Krishna district, Andhra Pradesh, and they have been since noticed in the *An-Rep. on Ind. Epigraphy for the year 1960-1961*¹. I thank the Chief Epigraphist for kindly permitting me to edit these copper plate charters in the following pages.

SET I

This is a set of five copper plates, each measuring about 10.2" × 5.4". The rims of the plates are raised. The first and the last plates are inscribed on their inner sides only while the other plates bear writing on both their sides. There are altogether 91 lines of writing. The plates are strung on a ring measuring about 6" in thickness and 5" in diameter. The two ends of the ring are fixed into the ornamental bracket of the back of a circular seal, 4.4" in diameter. On the counter-sunk surface of the seal are cut in relief the running boar, turned slightly upward, facing right; the crescent to the right of the face of the boar; the sun to the right of the crescent; an elephant-goad kept in the horizontal position below the sun and the moon; the legend *Śrī-Tribhuvanāmkūṣa* [h*] in a line further below; and a full-blown lotus with nine petals at the bottom. The whole set with ring and seal weighs about 214.5 *tōlas*. The preservation of writing is quite satisfactory.

The characters of the record belong to the southern alphabets quite regular to the time and country to which they belong, and hence they call for no special remarks. In general, however, it may be observed that of the vowel signs which are not quite common, the inscription contains *o*, (lines 1, 37) and *ai*, (line 81). There are special signs for the final consonants *k* (line 49), *t* (line 21), *n* (line 8), and *m* (line 10 etc.), and the signs for the Dravidian *l* (line 89) and *r* (lines 37, 50, 52, 58 etc.). The language of the record is Sanskrit throughout excepting the word *ēruvāka* (line 50) and some proper names in Telugu; and the text is a mixture of prose and verse. The style is simple and clear. Regarding the orthography, it may be noted that the consonants preceding *r* are doubled. *Pri* is written wrongly as *pri* (lines 23, 43).

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the king Chalukya Bhima I (893-921 A.D.) and bears no date. The object of the charter is to register the king's grant of a village to a merchant who, in his turn, divided the same into a number of shares and donated them to Brāhmaṇas.

The record may be conveniently divided into three parts: Part one traces the royal genealogy down to Chālukya Bhima I and refers to the latter's reign (lines 1—36); part two describes the merchant and registers the king's grant of a village to him (lines 36—47); and part three records the merchant's gift to a number of Brāhmaṇas (lines 47—91).

¹ C.P. Nos. 1 and 2 of 1960-61.

The first part commences with an invocation (in prose) of Nārāyaṇa (Vishṇu) and it is followed by a verse praising, in general terms, the ruling monarch Chālukya Bhīma I. Then comes the usual introduction of the Chālukya family in prose and the description of the royal genealogy, in verses starting from Kubja Vishṇuvarhdhana down to Chālukya Bhīma. All these passages, both in prose and verses (excepting verse 1) are exactly identical with the corresponding part of the Kāṭṭaparru grant¹ of Guṇaga Vijayāditya III, the predecessor of Chālukya Bhīma I and they add not much new information to our knowledge.² However as the above Kāṭṭaparru grant is yet to be properly edited,³ some new interesting information supplied by that record as well as by the present one may be studied briefly here.

To begin with it may be noted that Kubja Vishṇuvarhdhana's elder brother, (viz. Pula-kēśi II) is referred to here by the name Vijayāditya. It is stated that the above Vijayāditya was also known by his famous name Satyāśraya (verse 2). Regarding Kubja Vishṇuvarhdhana I, we are informed that he took over the Veṅgi country by driving out one Durjaya (verse 3). Coming to Kokkili the seventh king in the genealogy, we are told that he left the earth (i.e. died) after a short reign of six months only (verse 9). The tenth king in the list viz. Vishṇuvarhdhana IV is credited with a victory over certain Bali and is compared, on that account, with god Vishṇu, in His fifth or Vāmana incarnation (verse 12). The thirteenth ruler Vijayāditya III, better known as Guṇaga-Vijayāditya in the Eastern Chālukyan records,⁴ is called here as Nirupama-Vijayāditya and is endowed with the *biruda Satyaratnākara* (verse 16).

In connection with the ruling monarch Chālukya Bhīma, it is stated that he was the son of Vikramāditya, the younger brother of Vijayāditya and the former's wife Gāmakābā, described as the daughter of a chief called Nissanna (verses 18-20). We are also informed that Chālukya Bhīma was honoured with the *Paṭṭabandha* by the people (not by the king⁵) even when he was in his mother's womb (verse 12). Chālukya Bhīma is further described in general terms (verse 22-25) and is praised to have won victories over the Kaliṅgas i.e. the Northern Circar (the country between Orissa in the north and Āndhra in the South), the Kōśalas (i.e. Dakṣiṇa Kōśala or Raipur-Bilaspur-Sambalpur region), the rulers of the Aṭavi country, the Uḍras (Orissa) Udichyas (i.e. the country beyond Prithūdaka or Pehoa on the river Sarasvatī), the Prāchyas (i.e. the country to the east of Vārāṇasī),⁶ the Lāṭas (Southern Gujarat), the Avantīs (Western part of the modern Mālwa with Ujjayinī as its capital), the Malayajas (i.e. the people of the Malayas or the Travancore hills), the Konkaṇas (i.e. the land between the Western Ghats and the Arabian sea), the Chōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas (both together roughly constituting the modern Tamilnadu) (verse 26). No doubt this description is nothing but a first rate hyperbole and serves nothing more than as an evidence to the knowledge of Indian geography of the Chālukyan *praśasti-kāra*.⁷ Strangely enough, there is no mention of the Raṭṭas (Rāshtrakūṭas) otherwise called Karṇāṭas whose defeat by Chālukya Bhīma looms

¹ C.P. No.3 of 1938-39.

² It was perhaps Guṇaga Vijayāditya III who standardised the usual official pattern of the description of the Eastern Chālukyan records. And the same appears to have been followed by the monarchs of the subsequent period. Hence the discrepancy between Guṇaga's records and Bhīma's charters in giving the reign periods of the respective monarchs is examined while studying the contents of the Set II.

³ See M. Venkataramanayya, *The Eastern Chālukyas of Veṅgi* (Madras, 1950), p. 18 and n.

⁴ See e.g. Kielhorn's *A List of Ins. of South India*, Nos. 560 ff.

⁵ This description has been taken as a mere hyperbole indicating that Guṇaga Vijayāditya III made his brother Vikramāditya's son Bhīma his successor even while he was an infant. *A.R.Ep.*, 1960-61, p.13.

⁶ See Rājasēkhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* (III Ed., GOS) pp. 93-94.

⁷ Indeed, as Rājasēkhara tells us, the knowledge of geography is quite essential to become a good author. (*op. cit.*, pp. 89-98).

large in his inscriptions including the Set II, edited below. On the basis of the said achievements Bhīma is possibly compared with Nirupama (*Nirupama-charitaḥ*) i.e. his paternal under Nirupama-Vijayāditya.¹ The first part ends with a short prose passage referring to the reign of Chālukya Bhīma.

The second part commences with an introduction of a family of the merchant community. It is said that in a locality called Orēyūr, there was one Divākara. He was a pious man and belonged to the family of *mahāsārthavāhas* or great merchants engaged in caravan trade (verse 27). His son Kadiyaśrēshṭhin excelled even the god of wealth Kubēra by his riches and greatness (verse 28). To him and to his wife Ponnakāmbā was born Polayana the leader of the merchant community (verse 29). The latter is stated to have built a Śiva temple and to have given away the same as the Chālukya-Bhīmēśvara-gift (Chālukya-Bhīmēśvaraṁ *dhammain*) for (the welfare of) the king Bhīma at Prayāga, on the bank of the Surasarit i.e. the Gaṅgā, (verse 30). To him the monarch gave the village Kākamrāmu for donating the same to Brāhmaṇas as an *agrahāra* (verse 31 and prose passage lines 42-43). The second part ends with a passage containing the king's order addressed to the householders and the king's officers like the *Rāshṭrakūṭas*, evidently of the district omgērmārga-vishaya, informing them of the above gift of the village, situated in that *vishaya* (lines 44-46).

In the third part we are told that the above Poleyana gave away immediately, the above village to a number of Brāhmaṇas (lines 46). It is said that the entire village was divided into two equal parts out of which one half was given to its former owners, two in number (*sama-pravibhāgatvēna dvau bhāgau kṛitvā purvasvāmibhyām-ēkam-ardham*) in line 47. Thus the present charter seems to be partly a deed of restoration. The other half of the village was divided into a number of *bhāgas* (shares 138 in number) and *khaṇḍikās* (9 in number). The same were distributed to a number of Brāhmaṇas who are stated to have come newly (*āgantukā*) evidently to settle in the village. Then follows a long list of the donees containing the names of 85 Brāhmaṇas and one goldsmith. The *gōtras* of all the donees, excepting a few,² and their respective shares are mentioned. These donees had their names generally ending with *bhaṭṭa* or *śarman*. Some had the title like *chaturvēda*, *trivēdin*, *divēdin*, *śaḍaṅga-vēdavid* and *kramavid*, showing their respective educational achievements. Only in a few cases (i.e. in the case of Nos. 58, 59-61, 65-66) the *sākṣās* of the donees are given and in all cases it is *Vājasanēya*. Only in a solitary instance (No. 62) the name of the donee's parent (here it happens to be the name of the mother) is given. Out of 86 donees in all, as many as nine were named as Vennama. This may indicate the popularity of that name in the region during the period concerned. The number of shares, each donee got varied from 12 (donee No. 57) to 1/2 (donees Nos. 33, 75-78) and to 3 *khaṇḍikās* (Nos. 40, 79 and 86). The list of these donees with their respective *gōtras* and shares may be given as follows :—

Serial No.	Gōtra	Name	No. of shares
1.	Kauśika	Chāmyana	10
2.	Kaundinya	Bhāskara	2
3.	Kāśyapa	Jannāya	1
4.	Harita	Vitṭeyā	1

¹ Cf. the description of Nirupama-Vijayāditya in verse 16.

² It is probable that these donees also belonged to the respective *gōtras* of the donees preceding them in the list.

Serial No.	Gōtrā	Name	No of shares
5.	Bhāradvāja	Vennama	1
6.	Do.	Mēreya	1
7.	Harita	Vennama	1
8.	Kauṇḍinya	Gōvarddhana	1
9.	Bhāradvāja	Kamadēva	1
10.	Do.	Vennama	1
11.	Harita	Do.	1
12.	Kapi	Dāmeya	1
13.	Ātrēya	Kōmereya	1
14.	Bhāradvāja	Vennama	1
15.	Kata	Nandama	1
16.	Kapi	Vīgama	1
17.	Gārgya	Tūrkama	2
18.	Bhāradvāja	Rēvama	1
19.	Do.	Divākara	1
20.	Do.	Ṛuddapa	1
21.	Do.	Sārvaya	1
22.	Do.	Mādhava	1
23.	...	Dōṇapōḍi	1
24.	Chikita	Rēvama	1
25.	Bhāradvāja	Ṛuddapa	1
26.	Kauṇḍinya	Pōteya	1
27.	Harita	Chāmikurra	1
28.	Bhāradvāja	Kannama	1
29.	Kāśyapa	Vennama	2
30.	Do.	Kuṇḍi	1
31.	Do.	Vāmana	3
32.	Do.	Viddama	4
33.	Harita	Kandeya	1/2
34.	Kāśyapa	Bhīma	2
35.	Vatsa	Pōtama	2
36.	Kāśyapa	Siddahma	2
37.	Vatsa	Vikrama	2
38.	Kauśika	Nāgadēva	2
39.	Bhāradvāja	Dāman	2

Serial No.	Gōtra	Name	No. of shares
40.	...	Meṇḍeya	3 <i>Ghaṇḍikas</i>
41.	...	Meṇeya	2
42.	...	Mulaghatika ¹ -subhākara	1
43.	Kaunḍinya	Mayindama	1
44.	Do.	Koṇḍama	1
45.	Kauśika	Divākara	1
46.	Do.	Mādhava	1
47.	Do.	Divākara-Peddaya	1
48.	...	Vennama	1
49.	Harita	Meṇeya	1
50.	Do.	Nārāyaṇa	1
51.	Kaunḍinya	Vimalasamudra	1
52.	Harita	Drōṇa	1
53.	...	Nārāyaṇa	1
54.	Vatsa	Sarvadēva	1
55.	Kāśyapa	Bhavasvāmin	2
56.	Do.	Mahākāla	1
57.	Vājasanēyi-Kāśyapa	Vikramayya	12
58.	Bhāradvāja	Koṇḍyama	1
59.	Vājasanēyi-Kauśika	Beṇayaḍi	3
60.	Do.	Bajayita	3
61.	Do.	Bikyana	3
62.	Vātsāra	Kuṇḍi, the younger son of Nāgamba	2
63.	Parāśara	Paṇḍaraṅga	1
64.	Kauśika	Chāmyana	5
65.	Vājasanēyi-Kāśyapa	Do.	3
66.	Vājasanēyi-Kauśika	Pōtamayya	2
67.	Bhāradvāja	Kāma	1
68.	Do.	Ailama	1
69.	Kauśika	Bhīma	5
70.	Kāśyapa	Dāma	2
71.	Gautama	Dōṇeya	1
72.	Do.	Chāmyana	1-1/2

1 *Mūlaghatikā* is obviously the name of an institution of primary education, *mūla* meaning "beginning".

Serial No.	Gōtra	Name	No. of shares
73.	Kauṇḍinya	Gōleya	1
74.	Harita	Vennama	1
75.	Bhāradvāja	Sarvadēva	1/2
76.	Kāśyapa	Kēśava	1/2
77.	Kauṇḍinya	Do.	1/2
78.	Lōhita	Śrīdhara	1/2
79.	Kauśika	Do.	3 <i>khaṇḍikās</i>
80.	Bhāradvāja	Nandin	1
81.	Śrīvatsa	Bāvvaṇa	1
82.	Do.	Māchyana	2
83.	Bhāradvāja	Tālama	1
84.	Kauśika	Kautama	2
85.	Harita	Vennama	1
86.	...	Bhīmana, the goldsmith	3 <i>khaṇḍikās</i>
Total			138 <i>bhāgas</i> and 9 <i>khaṇḍikās</i>

Of the above list, the donee No. 1 seems to have been given, in addition to 10 shares, two *śulka*s (taxes or dues) evidently the right to collect them from the gift village itself. Of them the first is stated to be connected with the driving of the first plough at the time of the festival of the commencement of cultivation (*ēruvāk-ōtsava-prathamahala-dhāvana*).¹ The other *śulka* goes by the term *Vināyak-ōtsava-mūkapaṭalaka-śulka* (lines 50-51) the meaning of which is rather obscure. However this much is certain. It refers to a *śulka* called *mūka-paṭalaka* connected with the festival of god Vināyaka. It has been suggested elsewhere that the god Vināyaka, otherwise known as Gaṇēśa, was originally a corn deity and was considered to be the lord of harvest.² If that is correct, then it would appear that the above *mūka-paṭalaka-śulka* was to be collected during the Vināyaka festival to be celebrated at the time of the harvest or earlier.³

The last donee is stated to be a *suvarṇakāra* and to have been given three *khaṇḍikās* of land, together with what is called *akkasāla*. This term is usually taken to mean

¹ The term *ēruvāka* here is obviously same as the Telugu *ēruvāka* commencement of 'cultivation'. For different days chosen by different castes for celebrating the *ēruvāka*-festival, see Brown's *Tel. Eng. Dict.*, s.v. *ēruvāka*.

² See the Ninth *All Ind. Ori. Conf.* (Trivandrum, 1937). pp. 998 ff.

The god Vināyaka is always considered to be a *mūshika-vāhana* or a rider on the rat, the arch destroyer of corns. So, can the expression, intended here, be *mūshika-paṭalaka-śulka* meaning 'the dues (believed to serve as) a cover or veil (of the corns) against the rats?'. If so this *śulka* would be, in effect, a sort of *dakṣhiṇā* to be paid with a view to please Vināyaka, who, consequently might protect the corns from the rats. In early literature the word *śulka* seems to have been used as a synonym of *baṭi* which, like *dakṣhiṇā* means a gift. See M. Williams *Skt. Eng. Dict.* (II ed.) s.v. *baṭi* and *dakṣhiṇā*. D. C. Sircar *Ind. Ep. Gössary* (1966), s.v. *śulka*.

'a mint'.¹ Probably he was given, by the present record, the post of a minter. However, in view of the fact that the first donee of the list had been given the right to collect some *śulka*s or dues, it is not unlikely that the expression under question also denotes a right to collect, from the residents of the gift village, charges payable to the mint for minting coins.² The inscription contains no imprecatory passages, no reference to the officers like executor (*ājñapti*) composer, or engraver. However, it may not be altogether wrong if one assumes that the record was, engraved by the last donee himself who is described as goldsmith.

From the point of the study of the Chālukyan history the present epigraph is important in more than one respect. Firstly, the reference to Pulakēśi II by the name Vijayāditya is interesting because this name of that Chālukyan emperor does not appear to have been known from any other source.³ Secondly, that Kubja Vishṇuvardhana conquered the Vēṅgī kingdom from one Durjjaya is an interesting piece of information. For it is often believed that the word Vēṅgī is found only in the later inscriptions since the time of Amma I.⁴ In fact, as we have already pointed out, the major part of the preamble of the present record, including the verse under question, has been taken from the records like Kātṭapaṅṅu grant of Bhima's predecessor Guṇaga Vijayāditya.

Another point of interest is the name Durjjaya of the opponent from whom Kubja Vishṇuvardhana is said to have conquered the Vēṅgī kingdom. It goes against the theory generally advocated by scholars that the country was taken away by the Chālukyas from the Vishṇukuṇḍis.⁵ Moreover, it may also be borne in mind that the Vishṇukuṇḍis are nowhere referred to as adversaries of the Chālukyas in the latter's records including the Aihole *prasasti* of Pulakēśi II,⁶ noted for its vividness of description and details of the conquests of that monarch, nor in the Mārūtūra grant⁷ issued by Pulakēśi II himself from his camp at Kolūra (i.e. probably a place associated with the Kolēru lake)⁸ immediately after he captured Pishṭapura. The present record as well as the above mentioned Kātṭapaṅṅu grant call Kubja Vishṇuvardhana's opponent in Vēṅgī by the name Durjjaya.⁹

Who was this Durjjaya? A direct answer to this question is not possible at present. However, the following may be worth remembering in this context. It has been accepted by scholars that the king Pṛithivīmahārāja, who issued the Tāṇḍivāḍa¹⁰ and Gollāvalli¹¹ grants, asserted independence when the Vishṇukuṇḍi power declined and that he was ruling over Pishṭapura when Pulakēśi II invaded the Eastern Coast.¹² It was most probably from this Pṛithivīmahārāja that the Chālukya wrested Pishṭapura in 616 A.D., i.e. before the date of the Mārūtūra grant referred to earlier. The above mentioned Pṛithivīmahārāja is described

¹ D. C. Sircar *op. cit.* s.v. *akka-sālā*.

² Cf. *akka-sālaivari* of the Tamil inscriptions see *ibid.*

³ Some later epigraphs of the Eastern Chālukyas speak of two Vijayādityas as predecessors of Pulakēśi I, the grandfather of Pulakēśi II. Scholars have taken them to be fictitious persons. See *Bom. Gaz.* Vol. I. pt. ii, pp. 340 ff; *The Classical Age* (Ed. R. C. Majumdar etc.) pp. 230 ff.

⁴ See *Ind. Ant.* XX p. 94; D. C. Sircar, *Successors of Sātavāhanas*, p. 116.

⁵ See D. C. Sircar *op. cit.* p. 116; *The Classical Age* pp. 211 226 238; *The Early Hist. of the Deccan* (Ed. G. Yazdani, Oxford 1960) pp. 215, 472.

⁶ above Vol. VI, pp. 1 ff.

⁷ *Studies in Ind. Hist. and Cult.* (Prof. P. B. Desai's felicitation Vol.), p. 63 ff.

⁸ See *ibid.* p. 67.

⁹ As in the present record so in the Kātṭapaṅṅu grant too the reading is *sa Durjjayaṁ sanuchchāṭya* only with the word *Durjjaya* in singular. Hence there is no reference in the said record to 'the Durjjayas' as believed by some. Cf. N. Venkataramanayya, *op. cit.* pp. 18, 59.

¹⁰ Above Vol. XXIII, pp. 88 ff.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 221 ff.

¹² *A. R. Ep.* 1955-56, p. 3.

in his charters, as the grandson of one *Mahārāja* Raṇadurjjaya. So, taking into consideration (1) the probability of the names Raṇadurjjaya and Durjjaya being identical as suggested by scholars¹ (2) and the common practice of naming the grandsons after their respective grandfathers,² it may be provisionally suggested that the person Durjjaya of our record might be identical with Pṛithivīmahārāja himself.³ In that case it would appear that at the time of the Chālukyan invasion this Durjjaya-Pṛithivīmahārāja was ruling as an independent ruler not only over Piṣṭapura, but also over major part of the Vēngī-maṇḍala.

Again the unequivocal statement in our record that Kokkili died after a rule for six months, and was succeeded by his elder brother Viṣṇuvarḍhana III goes against the theory of the division of the Chālukyan kingdom between Kokkili and his elder brother after the former's six months' reign⁴

Another important new information supplied by our record is the claim of Viṣṇuvarḍhana IV (circa 772-808 A.D.) as a conqueror of one Bali. It is obviously a reference to the king's victory over his contemporary member of the house of the Bāṇa kings who traced their descent from the mighty demon king Bali of the *Purānas*.⁵ The reason of the Bāṇa-Chālukya conflict, though not stated in the record, is not difficult to surmise. For, the Eastern Chālukyas were ruling over the Andhra country and we know that just on the western neighbourhood of it, was situated the Bāṇa territory.⁶ Hence, it likely that Viṣṇuvarḍhana defeated his contemporary Bāṇa' chief in a frontier war.

Besides, the name Nirupama-Vijayāditya applied to Vijayāditya III appears to solve a controversy. For the first part of this name cannot but remind us of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Nirupama-Dhruva. Though it is well-known that the above Vijayāditya's mother Śīlamahādēvī was a Rāshtrakūṭa princess, scholars differ on the question of her parentage. Some are of the view that she was not related to the house of Mānyakhēṭa,⁷ but belonged to the Gujarat branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas.⁸ As against this, others opine that she was probably a daughter of Nirupama-Dhruva (of the Mānyakhēṭa branch) by his queen Śīlama-

¹ Above Vol. XXIII, p. 96.

² See *ibid.* Vol. XVII, p. 338.

³ One Aṭavidurjjaya figures as the *ājñapti* in the Chīpūrapalle plates dated in the 18th year of Kubjā Viṣṇuvarḍhana (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XX, pp. 15 ff). He seems to be quite different from Durjjaya of Vēngī under question. For the former is stated to be a member of the Matsya family ruling over the Oḍḍādi or Oḍḍāvāḍi country i.e. the region around the modern Vaḍḍādi to the north east of Anākapalle in the Viśakhapatnam district far away from the Vēngī country. See *A. R. Ep.*, 1911-12 p. 84. In fact Oḍḍā is one of the names of Orissa. See above Vol. IV, p. 315; Vol. V, p. 108, f.n.2.

⁴ *The Early Hist. of the Deccan*, p. 473 f.

⁵ See above Vol. III pp. 76, 232; Vol. XVII p. 4 Cf. also *apahrīta-Bali-maṇḍala* a description of Indra III signifying the Rāshtrakūṭa's conquest and annexation of the Bāṇa territory. See *ibid.* Vol. XXXVI, pp. 225 ff.

⁶ Cf. *Andhrāt patah paśchimatāḥ kṣitih.* Above Vol. III, p. 76, verse 7.

⁷ There is no direct evidence to show who could have been the Bāṇa adversary of Viṣṇuvarḍhana III. Yet it is known that the Bāṇa chiefs Vidyādhara and his son Vijayāditya Prabhumēru probably ruled sometime during c. 885-920 A. D. (see above Vol. XVII, p. 3). So the former's grandfather Jaya-Nandivaraman the lord of the land west of Andhra may be assigned to the 2nd quarter of the 9th century. In fact he seems to claim a victory over Kālī i.e. the Eastern Chālukya Kālī-Viṣṇuvarḍhana V (c. 846-47 A.D.) (Cf. *nirākṛita-kalinā* *ibid.* p. 4 verse 11). So the Bāṇa contemporary of Viṣṇuvarḍhana IV the grandfather of Kālī-Viṣṇuvarḍhana might be either Bāṇādhirāja or one of his successors who ruled before the said Jaya-Nandivaram. (See *ibid.*, verse 5-6).

⁸ *The Early Hist. of the Deccan*, p. 273.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 476 etc.

hādēvi who was the daughter of Viṣṇuvarddhana IV¹. Our record appears to favour the second view. The name Nirupama-Vijayāditya seems to indicate that the Chālukya king was named after both his maternal grandfather Nirupama-Dhruva and his paternal grandfather Vijayāditya II.

The present epigraph for the first time furnishes the names of Chālukya Bhīma's mother and maternal grandfather, viz. Gāmakāmbā and Nissanna respectively. The latter, was perhaps a feudatory chief (*bhūpāla*), and no other information regarding him is furnished here.

Yet another interesting information lies in the description of a certain Śiva temple named Chālukya Bhīmēśvara as having been built by the merchant Polayana. The passage under question reads :

*Kṛtvā vaś=cha śivālayam Surasarit-tirē Prayāgē=dadāt taṁ dharmman vara-Bhīma- bhūmi-
patayē Chālukya-Bhīmēśvaram||*

This hemistich has been taken to mean that the said merchant built the temple on the bank of the river Gaṅgā at Prayāga for the merit of the king Chālukya Bhīma, after whom it was obviously named.² However, it may be remembered that Chālukya Bhīma (892-921 A.D.) was ruling contemporaneously with Mahēndrapāla (c. 885-910 A.D.), Bhōja II (910-14 A.D.) and Māhipāla (c. 914-42 A.D.) of the Gūrjara Pratihāra dynasty of Northern India and that the place Prayāga, now known as Allahabad, was far away from the Vēṅgī country and was well within the Gūrjara-Pratihāra empire during the period under question. Hence, one may wonder how a temple after the name of Chālukya Bhīma could be built there. For, we have so far no evidence to show that there prevailed a close relationship between the Pratihāras and the Eastern Chālukyas, though both of them are known to have been individually suffering from the Rāshtrakūṭa onslaught during the said period.³ Moreover, while no Śiva temple under the name Bhīmēśvara has come to light in the Allahabad area, a great number of such Bhīmēśvara temples are known to be in existence in many parts of Andhra Pradesh⁴. Therefore the above passage may better be taken to mean that Polayana presumably built the temple somewhere (not mentioned in the record) in Vēṅgī itself and donated it for the welfare of the king when the former visited Allahabad, obviously on a pilgrimage.⁵

Coming to the location of the temple it may be noted that there are many Bhīmēśvara temples in Andhra, as we have just pointed out. However the inscriptions from those temples belong to much later times,⁶ and hence do not help us much in locating temple. Yet there are fortunately two epigraphs associating some Bhīmēśvara temples with Chālukya Bhīma I. The first is the Pīthāpuram Pillar inscription of Mallapadēva III of the Eastern Chālukya house of Pīthāpuram and it is dated in Śaka 1124⁷. Here Chālukya Bhīma is

¹ *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, pp. 133-34.

² *A. R. Ep.*, 1960-61, p. 13.

³ See *The Early Hist. of the Deccan*, pp. 282 ff.

⁴ See e.g. V. Rangacharya *A Topographical List of the Ins of the Madras Presidency* Ap. 97 ; By 303-05 etc. Ct. 193 Gd. 495 593 Gj. 409 ; Gd. 19, 86-100 ; Gt. 118-9 ; 197-99 etc ; Kt. 124, 227-28 ; Kl. 39, 218 etc. ; Nl. 66, 340-41 etc.

⁵ So the locative *Prayāgē* may better be construed with the immediately following verb *dadāt* rather than with the slightly removed *kṛtvā*.

⁶ See e.g. Rangacharya *op. cit.*

⁷ Above Vol. IV, pp. 226 ff.

described to have made a Chālukya-Bhīmēśvara temple famous after his own name,¹ The second is the Pañchadhārī Pillar inscription of Viśvēśvara of the same Piṭhāpuram Chālukya line and it is dated in Ś. 1329.² This record says that Chāluka Bhīma donated liberally to the temple of Bhīmēśvara at Kumārārāma (i. e. the modern Bhīmavaram,³ Cocánada taluk, East Godavari district) and that the temple consequently came to be known as Chālukya-Bhīmēśvara. The present record, perhaps the earliest of the known inscriptions speaking of a Chālukya-Bhīmēśvara temple seems to tell us that the said temple was built and gifted away by Polayana for the welfare of the king Chālukya-Bhīma. Bhīmavaram is the only place that has the Śiva temple under the name Chālukya-Bhīmēśvara.⁴

The present epigraph like all the other known records of Chālukya-Bhīma bears no date as has been already pointed out. However, the following two points are worth remembering : (1) As stated above, the introductory part of the present record, excepting the passages in praise of the ruling king Chālukya Bhīma has been taken in toto from the Kāṭṭaparru grant to Guṇaga Vijayāditya III. (2) There is no reference to Chālukya Bhīma's victory over the Rāshtrakūṭas in the present record while it is described at length in the Vinnakōta set II and other cognate records, viz, the Attili and Masūlipaṭṇam, plates, all composed by *Bhaṭṭa Vāmana*.⁵ These seem to suggest that the record under study might belong to the early part of Bhīma's reign, i. e. before the king won his victory over the Rāshtrakūṭas and *Bhaṭṭa Vāmana* composed his *prasasti* on which the Vinnakōta set II and other records were based.

Almost all the geographical units mentioned in the record have already been identified. The place *Oṛeyūru* from which Polayana's grandfather Divākara hailed is identical most probably with the early Chōla capital of the same name in the Tiruchirapalli district, Tamilnadu. So the present epigraph may also serve as an evidence to the migration of a merchant family from Tamilnadu to Andhra. The other places, viz, the gift village *Kākamrāṇu* and the territorial division *Ōngērmārgga-vishaya* in which the above village was included are difficult to identify.

TEXT*

[Metres : Verse 1 *Āryāgīti* ; verses 2-15, 17-25, 27-29 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 16 and 26 *Srag-dharā*., verse 30 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 31 *Āryā*]

First Plate, Second side

1 'On=namō Nārāyaṇāya | Jayatu nija-khaḍga-sādhita-nikhila-dharāmaṇḍal-aikapātir=anavadya[ḥ | *]

¹ The concerned passage reads *sva-nāmnā prathitam vidhaya Chālukya-Bhīmēśvaradēva-harmyam* (above, Vol. IV., P. 234, verse 11). It has been rendered as "having found a temple (of Śiva), called Chalukya-Bhīmēśvara after his own name" (*ibid.*, p. 240). However in the light of the Pañchadhārī inscription, we are going to see presently, this does not appear to be the meaning intended in the Piṭhāpuram inscription. Thus there is no contradiction between the said two inscriptions Cf. above, Vol. XIX, p. 165.

² *Ibid.*, 164 ff.

³ In an inscription the name *Skandārāma*, a synonym of *Kumārārāma*, is used to denote Bhīmavaram (see, Rangacharya, *op. cit.*, Gd. 20). In the above mentioned Pañchadhārī inscription the expression *Kumārārāma-Bhīmēśvara* means the temple Bhīmēśvara at Kumārārāma and not a temple called Kumārārāma. Cf. above Vol. XIX, p. 165. Cf. also the expression, *Dakshārāma-Bhīmēśa-linga* (*ibid.*, p. 160, verse 15) "the Bhīmēśa-linga (deity) at Dakshārāma." See, *ibid.*, p. 163.

⁴ My colleague Dr. S. S. Ramchandra Murthy draws my attention to some later traditions according to which Chālukya-Bhīma built the said temple at Kumārārāma and the Śiva temples in the other remaining four *ārāmas* in Āndhra. See K. Ísvāradattu, *Prāchināmdhra Chāritra-Bhugolamu* (Telugu), p. 195 ; *A. P. Govt. Arch. Series*, No. 19, preface.

⁵ See below.

* From photographs, impressions and original plates.

† Before this there is a spiral symbol.

- 2 śchā (Chā)lukya-Bhīma-nṛipatir=bhaya nata-ripun ṛipati-makuṭa-lālita-
charaṇaḥ [| *] Svasti [| *] Śrīmatām
- 3 sakala-bhuvana-saṁstūyamāna-Mānavyasagōtrāṇām Hārītiputrāṇām Kauśiki-vara-
pra-
- 4 sāda-labdha-rājyānam=Mātṛigaṇa-paripālītānām Svāmi-Mahāsēna-pād-ānudhyānām
- 5 bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-samāsādita-vara-varāha-lāñchhan-ēkshaṇa-kshaṇa-
vaśīkṛi-
- 6 t-ārāti-maṇḍalānām=Aśvamēdhāvabh ṛitha-snāna-pavitrikṛitta-vapushām(shām) [| =*]
Chālukyāṇam=a-
- 7 bhūd=vamśē Vijayādityavallabhaḥ [| *] Satyāśraya iti khyāta-nāmn-āpī
bhuvi viśrutaḥ [|| 2 ||*] Tasy=ānu-
- 8 jaḥ prabhūḥ khyātō Viṣṇuvarddana-saṁjñītaḥ [| *] sa Durjjayaṁ
samuchchāṭya Vēṅgi-maṇḍalam-āptavan [|| 3 ||*]
- 9 Aṣṭau daśa cha varshāṇi kṛitvā saurājyam=uttamam [| *] yayau nāka vadhū-bhōga-
vāmchhayā marutām
- 10 padam [|| 4 ||*] Tat=putrō Jayasimh-ākhyō bhūri-simha-parākramaḥ [| *]
trayastrīṁśat-samāḥ p ṛithvīm=abhumkt=ā-
- 11 chatur-āmbudhi² [|| 5 ||*] Viṣṇurajas=tadanujasy=Endrarājasya nandanah
[| *] sa dhōtrin=nava varshāṇi pālayāma-

Second Plate, First side

- 12 sa [|] layā [|| 6 ||*] Tasy=āpi tanayō Maṁgi-yuvarāj-ākhyā-bhūpatiḥ [| *]
nyāyēn=āpālayad=dhātri[m vatsarā]-
- 13 n=pañchaviṁśatīm(tim) [| 7 ||*] Tasmāj=jātaḥ sutaḥ śrīmān Jayasimhō
mahīpatiḥ [| *] sa trayō-daśa varshāṇi [] rā-
- 14 jyaṁ chakrē nṛipōttamaḥ [| 8 ||*] Dvaimāturas=tad-anujaḥ Kokkilir=nnāma
viśrutaḥ [| *] śaṇmāsa-mātram=ē[v=ā]-
- 15 sau pālayitv=āmuchad=dharām(rām) [| 9 ||*] Tad-agrajas=tu Vikhyātō
Viṣṇuvarddhana-nānavān [| sapta-trīṁśat-sa[māḥ]
- 16 pri(pri)thvi[m] raraksha sakalām=imām(mām) [| 10 ||*] Sūnus=tadiyō
Vijayāditya-nāmā mahīpatiḥ [| *] sō=pi pāli[ta]-
- 17 vān=urvim=asṭau daśa cha vatsarān [| 11 ||*] Viṣṇu-bhūpas=tatō jātō
Viṣṇuvad=Bali-marddanaḥ [| *] sha-
- 18 ttrīṁśad-vatsarān=dhatrim-āpālya prayayau divam(vam) [| 12 ||*] Tasya sūnur=
abhūd=dhīman=Vijayādi-
- 19 tya-saṁjñītaḥ [| *] aṣṭōttara-śata-khyāta-yuddha-labdha-jay-ōnnatiḥ [| 13 ||*]
Tāvānty=ēva punaḥ kṛitvā Śambhōr=āya-
- 20 tanāny=api [| *] chatvāriṁśat-samāḥ pri (pṛi)thvīm pralīnārim=apālayat [| 14 ||*]
Viṣṇuvarddhana-nām=ābhūt=tat-sūnur=vvi-

¹ Read *pṛithvīm=abhu*.

² The *anusvāra* is engraved above *bu*.

- 21 jit-āhitaḥ [| *] sō=opi varshaṁ / sa-shaṁmāsaṁ bubhujē dharāṇi-talaṁ(lam)
[| | 15 ||*] Jātas=tasy=āpi sūnur=Nnirupama-Vi-
- 22 Jayāditya-nāmā mahīśaḥ prakhyātaś=sārad-ēnd-ūjya-(jjva)la-dhavalā-yaśō-vyāpta-
dik-chakravālah [| *] nānā-
- 23 dvipāntar-ābhyāgata-para-narapa-śrīmad-uttuṅga-maulisth-ān-ūn-āṁghri-dvayābjah
pri(pri)thu-guṇa-ni-

Second Plate, Second side

- 24 layaś=Satyaratnāga(ka)r-āṁkaḥ [| | 16 || *] Sa; chatvāriṁśataṁ ch=ābdānchaturaś=
cha¹ tātaḥ paraṁ(ram) [| *] nyāyēn=āpālya dha-
- 25 raṇīm Purandara-puraṁ gataḥ [| | 17 ||*] Tasy=ānujaḥ praḥhuḥ khyātō
Vikramāditya-saṁjñitah [| *] trāsa-namr-āri-[bhū]
- 26 pāla-mauli-māl-ārchchita-kramaḥ [| | 18||*] Atha Nissanna-bhūpālād=Gāmakāmb³
=ābhavat-sutā [| *] Lakshmir=iva ma-
- 27 hāmbhōdheḥ Pārsvat=iva Himāchalāt [| | 19||*] Tasyām [chā*] Gāmakāmbāyām
Vikramāditya-bhūpatēḥ [| *] Pārsvatyā-
- 28 m=Andhakārātēs=sūnur=Gguha iv=ābhayaḥ [| | 20 ||*] Chālukya-Bhīma-nām-
āṁkaḥ Chālukya kula-varddhanaḥ [| *] garbhha(rbbha)-
- 29 stha ēva bhūrāyja-paṭṭabandh-ārchchitō janaiḥ [| | 21 || *] Yaj-janmamātrēṇ=aiḥ=
ātra dharmmō niśchalatām ga-
- 30 taḥ [| *] vēdā gauravam=atyamtaṁ lōkē satyaṁ praṭishṭhitam [| 22||*] Parjjanyaḥ
kāmarshitvaṁ jagat=sa-
- 31 rvvam nirīṭitām(tām) durjjanā vilayaṁ sarvvē sasyaṁ ch=āk rīṣṭa-pachyatām(tām)
[| | 23 || *] Yasya pratāpa-santāpa-khidyamā-
- 32 nās=sadā dvishaḥ [| *] pādachchhāyān=na munchanti-dvipāntara-samāgatāḥ [| | 24||*]
Yat-prasāda-tarōr=Aindram (ndra)m=apakva-pha-
- 33 lavat=padam(dam) yasya krōdh-ānalasy=āpi vahnir=aūrvvaḥ kaṇāyatē [| 25 ||*]
Kālimgān=Kōsalām(lā)n=apy=Aṭavija-nṛipati-
- 34 n=ōdra-nāthan=Udichyān=Prāchyān=Lātān=Avantin=Malayaja-sahitān=Kōmkaṇān=
Chōla²-Pāṇḍyā[n | *] nsa(sa)rvvan=ētā-
- 35 n=vijitya prakāṭita-mahimā-chāru-kīrtim digantām prāpayy=āsthāpayad=yō
Nirupama-charitaḥ śrī-jayastam-

Third Plate, First side

- 36 bham=āntam [| | 26||*] Tra(ta)tra Chālukya-Bhīma-nṛipatau rājyaṁ kurvvati sati
[| *] Āsīd=Divākarō nāma mahāsā-
- 37 rtth-ākhyā-vāṁśajaḥ [| *] Oreyūr-ggrāma-vāstavyō dharmma-śilō dayāparaḥ
[| | 27 ||*] Tasmāt=tū Ka[di]yaśrēṣṭhi-nā]mā jāta-

¹ Read=ābdāms=chaturaś=cha.² The *anusvāra* is marked above *bā*.³ Read *Kōmkaṇāms=Chōla*.

TWO COPPER PLATE CHARTERS OF CHALUKYA BHIMA I FROM VINNAKOTA

FIRST SET

First Plate : Second Side

i

2		2
4		4
6		6
8		8
10		10

Second Plate : First Side

ii (a)

12		12
14		14
16		16
18		18
20		20
22		22

Second Plate : Second Side

ii (b)

24		24
26		26
28		28
30		30
32		32
34		34

Third Plate : First Side

iii (a)

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

Third Plate : Second Side

iii (b)

48	...	48
50	...	50
52	...	52
54	...	54
56	...	56
58	...	58

Fourth Plate : First Side

iv (a)

60	...	60
62	...	62
64	...	64
66	...	66
68	...	68
70	...	70

TWO COPPER PLATE CHARTERS OF CHALUKYA BHIMA I FROM VINNAKOTA

Fourth Plate : Second Side

iv (b)

72
74
76
78
80
82



72
74
76
78
80
82

Fifth Plate : First Side

v

84
86
88
90



84
86
88
90

SCALE : One-half

- 38 s=sut-ōttamaḥ [| *] ādyatvēna maha[t*]tvēna Kubērañ=ch-āttyaśēta yah [| | 28 ||*]
Tasmād=yah Ponnakāmbāyām jāto [Vai]-
- 39 śyādhīpas=sutaḥ [| *] khyātaḥ Polayan-ākhyō yah satya-vāg-anaghaḥ śuchih
[| | 29||*] Yasya śribhavan-ajira[m]
- 40 dvija-pada-prakshālan-āmbuḥ(bu)sphutaḥ nityaḥ karddamatān=nayaty-atitarān
yēn-ōddhṛitaḥ svaḥ kulam(lam |) [kṛi]tvā ya[s=cha]
- 41 Śivālayaḥ Surasarit-tirē Prayāgē=dadāt=tam dharmam vara-Bhima-bhūmipatayē
Chālukya-Bhi-
- 42 mēśvaram [| | 30||*] Tasmai Vaiśyēśvarāya Poleyana-ākhyāy*=aiva guṇa visishtāya¹
[| | 31*] sa rājā Chalu-
- 43 kya-Bhīma-n-ṛipatiḥ Kākamrānūnāma-grāmaḥ Brāhmaṇēbhyō dātum=agrahāram=
adāt | da[t]tvā cha sa
- 44 ēva rājā rāshtrakūṭa-pramukhān=kuṭumbina āhūy-ētham=ājñāpayati [| *] Viditam=
astu vō=smā[bhir]=
- 45 Omgōr-mmārgga-vishayō Kākamrānu-nāma-grāmaḥ sarvva-kara-
parihārēṇa Brāhmaṇēbhyō dātum Po-
- 46 lēyana-srēśhṭhinē datta iti | sa cha Poleyana-srēśhṭhi tadānim=ēva Brāhmaṇēbhyah
(bha)s=tam grāmam=adā-
- 47 t | tatra samasta-grāmam sama-pravibhāgatvēna [dvau] bhāgau kṛtvā pūrva-
svāmibhyām=ē[kam=arddham=a-

Third plate, Second side

- 48 nyān=guṇavad-Brāhmaṇān shaṭkarmma-niratān śru-(ñ=chru)-ti-sāstra-pāragān=
anvishya tēbhya[h*] aparam=arddham(rddham) | tē
- 49 cha Brāhmaṇāḥ sva-nāma-gōtrābhyām labdhāmsā-pramāṇēna cha pri(pri)thak
pri(pri)thak=kathyantē Kauśika-gōtrā-
- 50 ya Chāmyanabhāṭṭāya Ervāk-ōtsava-prathamahala-dhāvana-Vināyak-ōtsava-
mūkaṭāla-
- 51 ka-śulka-sahitam=² atra grāmē daśa bhāgāḥ | Kauṇḍinya-gōtra-Bhāskarabhāṭṭāya
dvau bhāgau | Kāśyapa-gō-
- 52 tra-Jannayabhāṭṭāya | Harita-gōtra-Viṭṭeyabhāṭṭāya | Bhāradvāja-Vennabhāṭṭāya |
ētat-gōtra-Mēre-
- 53 yabhāṭṭāya | Harita-gōtra Vennama-bhāṭṭāya | Kauṇḍinya-gōtra-Gōvarddhana-bhāṭṭāya
| Bhāradvāja-
- 54 Kāmadēva-trēdi³-bhāṭṭāya | tad-gōtra-Vennama-bhāṭṭāya | Harita-gōtra Vennama-
bhāṭṭāya | Kapi-
- 55 gōtra-Dāmeya-bhāṭṭāya | Ātrēya-gōtra-Komareya-bhāṭṭāya | Bhāradvāja-Vennama-
bhāṭṭā-

¹ This is only a hemistich of an *Āryā*.

² Better read *sahitā atra*.

³ This word probably stands for *trivēdi*.

- 56 ya | Kata-gōtra-Nandama-bhaṭṭāya | Kapi-gōtra-Viṣama-bhaṭṭāya | ētēbhyah
praty-ēkam=ēkaikō bhā-
- 57 gaḥ | Gārgya-gōtra-Tūrkama-bhaṭṭāya dvau bhāgau | Bhāradvāja-Rēvama-nāma-
dvivēdāya | ētad-gōtra-
- 58 Divākara-dvivēdāya | ētad-gōtra-Ṛuddapa-dvivēdāya | Bhāradvāja-Sarvaya-
dvivēdāya | ētad-gō-
- 59 tra-Mādhava-dvivēdāya | Dōṇapoḍi¹-chaturvvēdāya | Chikita-gōtra-Rēvama-
dvivēdāya | [Bhā]ra-

Fourth plate, First side

- 60 dvāja-Ṛuddapa-dvivēdāya | Kauṇḍinya-Pōteya-dvivēdāya | Harita-
Chāmikuṅga-dvivēdāya | ē-
- 61 bhyō dvivēdēbhyah praty-ēkam=ēk-aikō bhāgaḥ | Bhāradvāja-gōtra-Kannama-
kramavidē ēkō bhāgaḥ |
- 62 Kāśyapa-gōtra-Vennamaśarmmaṇē dvau bhāgau | tad-anuja-Kuṇḍi-śarmmaṇē ēkō
bhāgaḥ | Kāśyapa-Vā-
- 63 manāya trayō bhāgā[h*] | tad-gōtra-Viddamaśarmmaṇē chatvārō bhāgaḥ [|] Harita-
gōtra Kandeya-krama-
- 64 vidē arddha-bhāgāḥ(gaḥ) | Kāśyapa-gōtra-Bhīmaśarmmaṇē dvau bhāgau | Vatsa-
gōtra-Pōtama-śarmmaṇē dvau bhā-
- 65 gau | Kāśyapa-Siddhama-śarmmaṇē chatu[r*]-bhāga(gāḥ |) Vatsa-gōtra-Vikrama-
śarmmaṇē dvau bhāgau | Kauśika-gō-
- 66 tra-Nāgadēvāya dvau bhāgau | Bhāradvāja-gōtrāya Dāmaśarmmaṇē dvau bhāgau |
Meṇḍeya-
- 67 dvivēdē(di)[nē*] tri-khaṇḍikā(kāḥ) | Mēreyaśarmmaṇē dvau bhāgau | Mūlaghatika-
Śubhākara-śarmmaṇē | Kauṇḍinya-
- 68 Mayindamaśarmmaṇē | tad-gōtra-Kōṇḍamaśarmmaṇē | Kauśika-gōtra-
Divākaraśarmmaṇē | tad-gōtra-Mā-
- 69 dhavaśarmmaṇē | tad-gōtra-Divākara-Peddēyaśarmmaṇē | Vennama-śarmmaṇē |
Harita-Mēreyaśa-
- 70 rammaṇē | Harita-Nārāyaṇaśarmmaṇē | Kauṇḍinya-Vimalasamudrāya | Harita-
Drōṇaśarmma-
- 71 nē | Nārāyaṇaśarmmaṇē | Vatsa-gōtra-Sarvvadēva-śarmmaṇē | ētēbhyō(bhyah)
praty-ēkam=ēk-aikō bhā-

Fourth plate, Second side

- 72 gaḥ | Kāśyapa-gōtrāya Bhavasvāmi-bhaṭṭāya dvau bhāgau | tad-gōtrāya
Mahākālabhaṭṭā-

¹ This name can also be read as *Auṇapōḍi*.

² This sentence is written on an erasure.

TWO COPPER PLATE CHARTERS OF CHALUKYA BHIMA I
FROM VINNAKOTA

Seal (1st Set)



Seal (2nd Set)



SCALE : One-half

- 73 ya ekō bhāgaḥ | ¹ Vājasanēyi-
74 Kāśyapa-gōtrāya Vikramayyaśarmmanē dvādaśa bhāgaḥ | Bhāradvāja-gōtra-
Koṇḍya[ma]-
75 shaḍaṅga-vēdavidē ekō bhāgaḥ | Vājasanēyi-Kauśika-gōtra-Beṇayaḍiśarmmanē tra-
76 yō bhāgaḥ | tad-gōtra-Bējayita-śarmmanē trayō bhāgaḥ | tad-gōtra-Bikyaṇaśarmma-
77 ṇē trayō bhāgaḥ | Vatsāra-gōtrāya Nāgāmba-putrāya kaniyasē Kuṇḍi-
78 śarmmanē dvau bhāgau | Parāśara-gōtrāya Paṇḍaraṅga-śarmmanē ekō bhāgaḥ | Kau-
79 śika-gōtrāya Chāmyaṇa-bhaṭṭāya pañcha² bhāgaḥ | Vājasanēyi-Kāśyapa-gōtrāya Chā-
80 myanaśarmmanē trayō bhāgaḥ | Vājasanēyi-Kauśika-gōtrāya Pōtamayyaśarmmanē
81 dvau bhāgau | Bhāradvāja-gōtrāya Kāmaśarmmanē ekō bhāgaḥ | tad-gōtrāya Ailama-
82 śarmmanē ekō bhāgaḥ | Kauśika-gōtrāya Bhīmaśarmmanē pañcha bhāgaḥ | Kāśyapa-
gōtrā-

Fifth plate, First side

- 83 ya Dāmaśarmmanē dvau bhāgau | Gautama-gōtrāya Dōṇeya-kramavidē ekō bhāgaḥ |
tad-gō-
84 trāya Chāmyana-kramavidē sārddha-bhāgaḥ | Kauṇḍinya-Gōleya-kramavidē ekō
bhāgaḥ | Harita-Ve-
85 nnama-kramavidē ekō bhāgaḥ | Bhāradvāja-Sarvādēva-kramavidē Kāśyapa-Kēsava-
divivēdāya
86 Kauṇḍinya-Kēsava-kramavidē Lōhita-Śrīdhara-kramavidē praty-ekam-arddha-bhāgaḥ |
Kauśika-
87 Śrīdhara-kramavidē khaṇḍikā-trayaṁ(yam) | Bhāradvāja-Nandiśarmmanē ekō bhāgaḥ |
Śrīvatsa-gōtrā-
88 ya Bavvaṇaśarmmanē ekō bhāgaḥ tad-gōtra-Māchyaṇa-bhaṭṭāya dvau bhāgau —
Bhāradvā
89 ja-gōtrāya Tālamaśarmmanē ekō bhāgaḥ | Kauśika-gōtra-Kautama-bhaṭṭāya
90 dvau bhāgau | Harita gōtra-Vennama-kramavidē ekō bhāgaḥ | Suvarṇnakāra-
Bhīmanāya a-
91 kkasāla-sahitaṁ tri-khaṇḍika-kōdravabija-pramāṇa-kshētraṁ dattam |

SET II

This is a set of five copper plates each measuring about 6.1" × 2.7", with their rims raised a little to protect the writing. The first and the last plates are engraved on their inner sides only, while the other three plates bear writing on both their sides. The plates are strung

¹ Between these two sentences there is a gap containing *Kauśika-gōtrāya Vāliyaśarmmanē ekō bhāgaḥ* written by a different hand, but erased not quite successfully.

² *Ma*, originally engraved after this, has been erased.

on a slightly oval-shaped ring measuring about .35" in thickness and 14" in circumference. The two ends of this ring are fixed into the ornamental bracket of the back of a circular seal, about 2" in diameter, on the counter-sunk surface of which are found shown in relief the following figures and designs : a running boar turned slightly upward facing proper right; a crescent near the face of the boar; the legend *Śrī Tri[bhuvanāṅku]śa[h*]* in a line below; and a full blown lotus with 9 petals at the bottom. The seal is damaged. Hence the other usual signs of the Eastern Chālukyan seals, viz. the sun and the elephant goad are lost. The whole set, together with the ring and seal, weighs 134.5 *tōlas*. There are altogether 56 lines of writing which is fairly well preserved throughout.

The characters of the record belong to the southern class of alphabets, quite normal for the time and the part of the country to which the charter belongs. As regards the individual letters, there is practically no difference between the vowel *ā* and the conjunct *srā* (lines 24-25) and between the conjuncts *dh* and *dv* (lines 8, 14). Of the initials, the inscription has *ī* (line 52). The form of *jh* (line 26), though wrongly used as a subscript of *njha*, is interesting. The inscription contains signs for three final consonants viz., *t*, *n* and *m* (lines 15, 10, 8), and a sign for *upadhmaniya* (line 45).

The language of the record is Sanskrit throughout but for some Telugu proper names of persons and places. The text is written in an admixture of prose and verse. Though here and there we find scribal errors, and though there is a defective construction (line 47), the text, testifies, on the whole to the poetic skill of its composer. Thus, the verse 3, in *Anuṣṭubh*, though not quite relevant to the context, contains a reference in brief to all the kings of the dynasty who preceded Chālukya Bhīma I. The next verse containing as many as eight finite verbs, of which many are aoristic forms, reminds us of the style of the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* of the famous grammarian poet Bhaṭṭi. Verses 8-9 give a vivid description of a woman's physical beauty, a description not often met with in the epigraphical literature. There are also a few rare words like the indeclinable *sat* (line 22) meaning 'well', 'rightly', and *usra* (line 25) meaning 'ray of morning light'. The word *kshita* (line 31) though of uncertain meaning, seems, as the context indicates, to have been used as a synonym of *śrōṇī* 'buttock'.

In respect of orthography, it may suffice to say that *dh* preceding *y*, and the consonants, in general, following *r* are doubled (cf. lines 3, 12 etc.). The use of *t* in the place of its corresponding aspirate is also at times met with (lines 5, 16). The influence of local dialect may be seen in the spelling *siṅgha* (line 17).

This epigraph as has already been stated, is one of the records issued by the Eastern Chālukya king Bhīma I¹ who was also known as *Sarvalōkāśraya* Viṣṇuvarddhana VI, and who styled himself as *Mahārājādhirāja paramēśvara* and *Paramamāhēśvara*. The object of the epigraph is to record the king's grant of the village *Mōga* to a woman named Mahādēvi. Like all the other known copper plate inscriptions of the monarch, the present one too bears no date.

The text of the record conveniently falls into three parts : the first part giving the list of the predecessors of the ruling monarch with their respective reign periods and achievements (line 1-27); the second part, containing the royal order introducing the donee (Lines 27-46); and the third, consisting of the formal portion of the grant (lines 46-56).

¹ Though about half a dozen records of this king have been unearthed (e.g., C. P. No. 14 of 1909; No. 1 of 1914; No. 14 of 1918), only one (viz., the Bezvada plates) has been properly edited by Prof. Kielhorn (see, above Vol. V, pp. 127 ff. and plate). The other record, viz. the Attili grant has been edited by K. V. Lakshmana Rao more than once with erroneous text. See, *JBORS*, Vol. VIII (1922), pp. 83 ff; *Journ. Tei. Academy*, Vol. II (1922), pp. 241 ff.

The genealogical and chronological account given in the first part does not differ from what is found in the corresponding section of the Bezwada plates of Chālukya Bhīma.¹ Hence it would suffice if we confine ourselves only to those points which call for some special remarks.

To begin with it may be seen that the present record belongs to the generality of the Eastern Chālukyan epigraphs which assign 37 years of reign to Vishṇuvarddhana III and does not follow the Sātālūru record of Chālukya Bhīma's predecessor Guṇaga Vijayāditya III,² which seems to be almost a solitary epigraph to assign 35 years to the said king. This discrepancy is rather difficult to explain. For, the Pōṇāṅgy (also spelt as Bonāṅgi) plates of the said Guṇaga Vijayāditya himself³ allot 37 years to Vishṇuvarddhana III. Probably, it is due to the confusion on the part of the author of the Sātālūru plates regarding the third and the fourth Vishṇuvarddhanas. For, as we shall see presently, Vishṇuvarddhana IV might have ruled for 35 years.

Again, like the Pōṇāṅgy plates, the present record and the Masūlipatṇam plates of Chālukya Bhīma I⁴ also allot 19 years of rule to Vijayāditya though Chālukya Bhīma's other records, viz. the Bezwada plates, Vinnakōta plates Set I and Sātālūru plates assign 18 years to that monarch. Similarly, while the Sātālūru plates allot only 35 years of rule to Vishṇuvarddhana IV, the present epigraph, like the Pōṇāṅgy, Bezwada and Attili plates, assign 36 years of reign to this king.

The majority of the above mentioned records assign 40 years of reign to the next king Vijayāditya II, while the Pōṇāṅgy plates of Vijayāditya III and the Eḍēru plates of Amma I give him 41 and 44 years respectively. It is not unlikely again that the assignment of 44 years of reign to this king was due to some confusion between the Vijayāditya II and his next namesake who actually ruled for 44 years according to all epigraphs.⁵ However the difference between 40 and 41 years of Vijayāditya II as that between 35 and 36 years and between 18 and 19 years respectively of two of his immediate predecessors, seen above, may be explained in a way. It might be due to the propensity on the part of the composers of the respective records to round of the fraction of the last years of reigns of the respective kings, with the nearest number, either lower or higher. The same propensity may also be felt in recording the reign period of the next king Kali-Vishṇuvarddhana V in different records. For, while the epigraphs like Pōṇāṅgy plates⁶ give 20 months (*vimsati māsān*), many Chālukyan records, including the present one give one year and a half (i.e. a convenient and nearest fraction) as the duration of that king's reign. This probable practice of rounding off the fractions at the end of each reign in this way is also to be taken into account, besides other things,⁷ while solving the vexed problem of the Eastern Chālukyan chronology.

¹ Above, Vol. V, pp. 127 ff., and plate.

² *Bhārati* Vol. I (1924), pt. i, pp. 101 ff.; *JAHRS.*, Vol. V (1930), pp. 112 ff.

³ C.P. No. 3 of 1908-09.

⁴ C.P. No. 1 of 1913-14.

⁵ However, Dr. Fleet opined that both these Vijayādityas ruled 44 years each (see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, pp. 100 ff). It may be pointed out that the later inscriptions of the family (i.e. since the days of Bhīma II) assign 48 years of rule to Vijayāditya II. This discrepancy may have to be explained by assuming that the period of the additional 8 years denotes the years during which Vijayāditya II was perhaps a crown prince. That is probably why in some of the earliest of those records we have the text *s-aṣṭachalvārimsatam* (above Vol. V, p. 136; *SII* Vol. I, p. 47A; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 249 etc.). For the other view see *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 133. *Sa* is used probably to differentiate the period of 8 years as a crown prince from the period of 40 years as a ruler. Otherwise in all these records *sa* is to be dubbed as irrelevant. See above Vol. V, p. 136, f.n. 8.

⁶ For other references see also N. Venkataramanyya *op. cit.*

⁷ See *ibid* p. 49 ff.; *JOR*, Vol. IX, (1935), p. 38.

Regarding the historical information furnished in this part of the present record it may be observed that almost all the information given here is also found in the corresponding part of the Masūlipaṭṇam plates of Chālukyan Bhīma I himself the contents of which have been dealt with at length by scholars like H. Krishna Sastri¹ and others², and that they need not be repeated here. Yet, verse 5 in our record adds something important to our knowledge. It tells us how Chālukya Bhīma mounted on his rutting elephant named Ādityaprasāda drove out, by showering arrows, the Karṇāṭas³ (i.e., the Rāshtrakūṭas) and the Lāṭakas (i.e., the Lāṭas or the rulers of Southern Gujarat) like the rising sun mounted on the eastern mountain drives out the darkness by means of the rays of his morning light. The name Ādityaprasāda of the elephant of Chālukya Bhīma is interesting. This name also occurs in the Masūlipaṭṇam plates⁴ though it has remained unnoticed so far. Besides, the verse under question informs us that the Chālukya monarch attacked his enemies on the banks of the Gōdā, i.e. the Gōdāvarī, where they were camping. The Masūlipaṭṇam plates too suggest indirectly, more or less the same area for the Chālukya-Rāshtrakūṭa encounter. For, there in that record, Chālukya Bhīma's son Iṣivarttigaṇḍa is stated to have fought and won battles against the Rāshtrakūṭas first at Niravadyapura and then at Peruvaṅgūru which are to be identified respectively with the modern Niḍadavōlu (East Godavari Dt.) and Peda Vaṅgūru (West Godavari Dt.),⁵ i.e., on either sides of the river Gōdāvarī. From the last mentioned record we also learn that the said prince vanquished the Chālukya kinsmen (*nirilāṭya cha dāyādān*)⁶ along with the Rāshtrakūṭas. These Chālukya kinsmen are to be identified with the chiefs of the Vēmūlavāḍa family of the Chālukyas.

In this connection it is interesting to recall that the Parbhāṇi plates of Arikēśarin III of the Vēmūlavāḍa family, dated Śaka 888 describe Baddiga, one of the predecessors of that chief, as a captor of Bhīma the terrible, in a war fought in the midst of water, i.e. in a locality surrounded by water.⁷ Similarly the poet Pampa (the protege of Arikēśarin II) also corroborates to the full extent the above statement of the Parbhāṇi plates.⁸ The waters referred to by these two authorities are to be identified evidently with the Gōdāvarī waters, as indicated by the present Vinnakōṭa record. It may be seen that while the Parbhāṇi plates and Pampa's *Bhārata* credit Baddiga with victory over Chālukya Bhīma, the Chālukya eigraphs including the present one declare Bhīma as the victor. This conflict between these evidences may be due to the fact that they describe two different phases—viz. the earlier and later—of a feud in which were engaged the Rāshtrakūṭas and their Vēmūlavāḍa feudatories on one hand and the Chālukya of Vēṅgī on the other. In the light of all the above evidences indicating the Gōdāvarī region as the place of conflict between the Eastern Chālukya and the Rāshtrakūṭas, one may have to take only with a grain of salt the statement of a Chālukyan inscription

¹ *A.R.EP.*, 1913-14, pp.84-85.

² N. Venkataramanyya, *op. cit.*, pp.25-26, etc.

³ Here the text reads *Karṇātān=durddurūṭān*, in which the second word is an abusive term used in literature denotes atheist. Cf. *Mīmāṃsaka-durddurūṭāḥ* (i.e. *nāstikaḥ* in the *Kāśikā* under *Ashṭādhyāyī*, II, i, 53). In the Masūlipaṭṇam plates also we have *Karṇāṭa durddurūṭāḥ* (see, below f.n. under the verse in question) and the word has been taken to mean 'vile'. See, *A.R.Ep.* 1913-14, p.84. So to read here *Dharddarūṭān* and to take it as a dynastic designation, unknown otherwise require correction. See, *A.R.Ep.*, 1960-61, p.14.

⁴ Cf. *yadv=Ādityaprasāda-dviradavara-guru-skandha-bhāsvat-svamūrttēḥ*, lines 19-20. For other instances of naming of the favourite elephants of kings, see, *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol.I, pt.ii, p.322, f.n. 8 ; p.334.

⁵ *The Early Hist. of the Deccan*, p.481.

⁶ Line 30.

⁷ Cf. *Bhīmān bhīma-parākvam-aika-nīyān yō hēlay=aiv=āgrahid=ugraṇ grāham=iv=āntar-ambu samarē dōrvikramād=Baddigaḥ* | See, *Sources of the Med. Hist. of the Dekkan*, Vol.III, p.49.

⁸ Cf. *moseleyam pidivamire niruḷottī Bhīmam=atigarvitam piḍiye meygali Baddaganannanāvano* | *The Paripa Bhārata*, *Āśvāsa I*, verse 26.

of the subsequent period that on the death of Vijayāditya III, the Vēṅgī was enveloped by the armies of the Raṭṭas and the Chālukyan kinsmen as if by darkness.¹ At the most, it may indicate that many areas in the northern part of Vēṅgī were occupied by the enemies.²

The second part of our record contains the royal order addressed to the *Rāshtrakūṭas* (officers) and the householders of the territorial division *Varavararāshṭra*. Here we learn the following : There was a chief (i.e. under the Chālukya king) named Sarvvarāja. His daughter Tailāmbā (verse 6) was married by the Chief Yuddhamalla, who was the son of the chief Baladakayya and who had the *sūkaralāṅchchha* or the boar-emblem evidently on his seal (verse 7). They had a beautiful daughter, by name Mahādēvi (verse 6-9). She seems to have been married by one Vijayāditya of great virtues. The latter was the son of Niravadya-dhavala and the grandson of Pāṇḍaraṅga and who had the hereditary fillet of *Kaṭakarāja* (verses 10-13).

The third part records the royal grant of the village *Mōga*, free of all taxes, to the above Mahādēvi. It is stated that the grant was made by the king out of his happy memory of the help formerly rendered by the donee's husband and in order to show his sense of gratitude (lines 46-48). The respective eight boundaries of the gift village on its eight directions starting from the east are given as : (1) the tank called Pulliyēru tank ; (2) the Munṭharavula-guṅṭha (pond) ; (3) the field belonging to (*the temple of*) Narēndrēśvara (Śiva) of Chembraṅu ; (4) the field belonging to (*the temple of*) Taila-Śarva (Śiva) ; (5) Dēvula-Cheruvvu (tank) ; (6) the western tank of Charmniāṇḍī (village) ; (7) the *chariya* (precipice or the valley) of Peddapūṅḍī (village) ; and (8) some two trees (?) (lines 48-53). Of the above boundaries, the third is interesting as it testifies to the existence of the temple of Śiva called Narēndrēśvara, evidently named after Narēndramṛigarāja Vijayāditya II to whom some Eastern Chālukyan records attribute the construction of 108 Śiva temples under the name Narēndrēśvara.³ Similarly the name Taila Śarva of the fourth boundary reminds us of the name Tailāmbā of the mother of the donee Mahādēvi.

The donee's husband Vijayāditya is no doubt identical with his namesake who too is mentioned as the son of Niravadyadhavala and as the grandson of Pāṇḍaraṅga, in the Maliyampūṅḍī grant of Amma II,⁴ the great grandson of Chālukya Bhīma I. Similarly it was most probably this Vijayarāja, who figures as the *ājñapti* under his designation alone, viz. *Kaḍēya-rāja* (Skt. *kaṭakarāja*, the Superintendent of the royal camp) in the Bezwada plates of Chālukya Bhīma I,⁵ issued at the time of his coronation.⁶

¹ Cf. *tadaṇu savitary=astamgatē timira-patalēn=ēya Raṭṭa-dāyāda-balēn=ābhivyāptam Vēṅgī-maṅḍalam* in the Eḍēru plates of Amma I. See, *SII*, Vol.I, p.40, text lines 28-29. Dr. Hultzsch first took *Raṭṭa-dāyāda-bala* of the above verse in the sense of the army of the Raṭṭa claimants (*ibid.*, p. 42), and subsequently corrected it as the army of (Krishṇa II), the heir (*or son*) (i.e., *dāyāda*) of the Raṭṭa (viz. Amōghavarsha I). See above, Vol. IV, p.227 f.n. But from what we have seen so far, it is now clear that the expression in fact means 'the army of the Raṭṭa (i.e., Krishṇa II) and the (Chālukya) kinsmen (of Vēmūlavāḍa).'

² See, *The Early Hist. of the Deccan*, p.283. Consequently one may have to reconsider the view that the Rāshtrakūṭa forces overran the Chālukyan territory as far south as Guntur and Nellore districts. See, *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p.135.

³ See, e.g., above, Vol.V, p.128 text-line 15. Cf. also Set I, Verse 13 (above).

⁴ Above, Vol.IX, pp.47-ff.

⁵ Cf. *Ājñaptir=asya dharmasya Kaḍēya-rājāḥ pratāpavān | pitāmahō=bhavad=ṣasya Pāṇḍaraṅgāḥ parāntapoh |* Above, Vol.V, p.130, verse 7.

⁶ See, *ibid.*, p.129, verse 1.

Though the *Kaṭakarāja* family of Pāṇḍaraṅga is thus well known to us already from other records, the other two feudal families, viz. those of Sarvarāja and of Baladakayya,¹ are known from the present record for the first time. It is to be noted that all these feudal families were friendly with each other ; had matrimonial relations among themselves during the period of Chālukya Bhīma, and stood loyal to their overlord. This evidently must have greatly helped the monarch to come out finally victorious in his protracted struggle against the Rāshtrakūṭas. The circumstances under which the present grant was made, probably indicate that the donee's husband Vijayāditya, like his grandfather Pāṇḍaraṅga,² took part and won victories in the wars of the king, that he was no more on the date of the issue of the record under study,³ and that the grateful king had given the present grant in favour of the general's surviving wife Mahādēvi, obviously for her own maintenance.

The third part ends with imprecatory passages followed by references to the *ājñapti* or the executor of the grant designated as *Kaḍēyarāja* ; to the composer of the text of the grant *Bhaṭṭa Vāmana* ; and to the writer Koṇḍāchārya. As we have already seen, the *Kaḍēyarāja* of the Bezwada plates is identical with Vijayāditya himself, whose widow Mahādēvi is the donee of the present record. So, it is likely that the *Kaḍēyarāja* of our record was a son of the above Vijayāditya himself. In the Maliyampūṇḍi plates of Amma II, the donor is one Durggarāja who is described as the son of Vijayāditya, who was identical with his namesake of our record, as we have already seen. Therefore, the *Kaḍēyarāja* of the plates under study was most probably identical with the above Durggarāja himself or perhaps his brother, if he had any. Possibly it was he who figures as the *ājñapti* under the designation alone (i.e. *Kaḍēyarāja*) in the Masūlipaṭṇam plates. *Bhaṭṭa-Vāmana*⁴ and Koṇḍāchārya figure respectively in the capacity of composer and the writer in the last mentioned record also, where they are endowed with the titles [*kavi-vrīshabha*, and *sarva-kal-āgamakuśala* respectively⁵.

The record as has been stated earlier, is not dated. However the approximate period to which it belongs may be arrived at as follows :

Chālukya Bhīma I is known to have ruled for 30 years,⁶ since the Śaka year 814 or 892 A.D.,⁷ when he issued his Bezwada plates, of which Pāṇḍaraṅga's son Vijayāditya

¹ This name no doubt consists of two parts viz, the name Baladaka and Dravidian name-ending ayya (=Skt *aryya*). However, this name as a whole reminds us of the Dravidian *balada-kayya* 'right hand', and of the military units and communities known as valāngai 'right hand' in the Tamil inscriptions of the subsequent ages. See *A.R.Ep.*, 1921, para. 47 ; *ibid.*, 1933, para. 32.

² See, e.g., above, Vol. IX, p. 53, verse 15.

³ There is however nothing to show that the general Vijayāditya lost his life in a war fought by Chālukya Bhīma I. Cf. *A.R.Ep.*, 1960-61, p.14. Cf. also e.g., *Parachakrēṇa yuddhv-ājau datta-prāṇasya bhūpatēḥ | sūnuḥ Kaḍēyarājasya Pāṇḍaraṅgō gunādhikah* || a description of Vijayāditya's great grandfather Kaṭakarāja in the Pōṇāṅgy plates.

⁴ This name has been read as *Chāmana*. See, *A.R.Ep.*, 1960-61, p. 14.

⁵ Cf. *Sarva-vcalāgama-kuśala-Koṇḍāchāryyō hastalipivid-anagham | alēkhayad-āgamavich-chhāsanaṁ=api bhaṭṭa-Vāmanaṁ kavi-vrīshabham* || Some have proposed to identify *bhaṭṭa Vāmana* of Chālukya Bhīma's records with his famous namesake, the author of the reputed work *Kāvya-lāṅkārasūtravṛtti* (see, M. Venkataramanayya, *op. cit.*, p. 143). But, in the *Rājatarāṅginī*, Kalhaṇa describes certain Vāmana as one of the ministers of Jayapīḍa who ruled in Kāshmir sometime in the last quarter of the 8th century, and scholars, in general, basing on the Kashmiri tradition, hold that Vāmana to be identical with the author of the said work. (See, *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, pp. 115, 192). At any rate the famous author Vāmana must have flourished earlier than 850 A.D. (i.e., earlier than Chālukya Bhīma) at least, as he is referred to in the *Dhvanyāloka* which is to be assigned to the second half of the 9th century. See, P. V. Kane, *Hist. of Skt. Poetics*, (1971), p.146.

⁶ Above, Vol. V, p.133, text-line 16.

⁷ I.e., according to the Attili grant. See, *A.R.Ep.*, 1917-18, p.131.

acted as *ājñapti*. The present record is clear enough to indicate that by the date of its issue, the said Vijayāditya was no more and that Bhīma had won his final victory over his Rāshtrakūṭa adversary viz. Kṛishṇa II (880-914 A.D.), in the bitter feud in which the former lost very heavily¹ at an early part of his reign.² According to some, Kṛishṇa II could not have controlled Vēngī for more than a decade³ (i.e., c. 892-902 A.D.), while others assign the success of Bhīma to the latest years of the said Rāshtrakūṭa.⁴ Hence our record may be roughly assigned to a date between 902 A.D. and by 914 A.D.

Regarding the geographical units mentioned in the introductory part of the record it may be said that all the places excepting the Gōdā (i.e., the river Gōdāvari) are also mentioned in the Masūlipatṇam plates of Chālukya Bhima I and they have already been identified by scholars who have dealt with that record. I am not able to identify the gift village Mōga, its boundary-villages, and the district Varavara-rāshṭra that comprised those places.

TEXT*

[Mètres : Verses 1-3, 6-9, 13-14 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 4 *Indravamśā* ; verse 5 *Sragdharā*, verses 10-11 *Aryāgīti* ; verse 12 *Śārdūlavikṛīḍita*]

First Plate, Second side

- 1 Svasti [*] Śrīmatām sakala-bhuvana-saṁstūyamāna-Mānavyasagō-
- 2 trāṇām Hārīti-putrāṇām Kauśiki-vara-prasāda-labdha-rājyānām Mātṛi-
- 3 gaṇa-paripālītānam(nām) Svāmi-Mahāsena-pādānudhyātānām bhagavan-Nā
- 4 rāyaṇa-prasāda-samāsādita-vara-varāha-lāṁchhan-ēkshaṇa-
- 5 kshaṇa-vaśīkṛit-ārāti-maṇḍalānām-Aśvamēdh-āvabhṛita-(tha)-snāna-pavi-
- 6 trikṛita-vapushām Chālukyānām kuḷam=alaṁkārishṇōs=Satyāśrya-va-
- 7 llabh-endrasya bhrātā Kubja-Vishṇuvarddhanō=shtādaśa varshāṇi* [*] tat-sutō Jaya-

Second Plate, First side

- 8 śimhas=trayastrīṁśatam⁷ [*] tad-anuj-Ēndrarāja-nandanō Vishṇuvarddhanō nava [*]
tad ātma-

¹ See, *The Early Hist. of the Deccan*, p.282 f.

² See, the Eḍḍer plates (SII, Vol.I, p.40), lines 28 ff.

³ See, *The Early Hist. of the Deccan*, p.283.

⁴ *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p.135.

⁵ From Original plates, photographs and impressions.

⁶ An expression like *Vēngī-maṇḍalm=apālayat* is to be supplied here and in the succeeding sentences ending in the accusative case.

⁷ The word *varshāṇi* also is to be supplied here and in the following sentences.

- 9 jō Maṅgi-yuvarājaḥ pañchaviṁśati[m*] nta(ta)-t-tanujō Jayasiṁhas=trayōdaśa-
[i*] ta-
- 10 d-anujah Kokkili[h*] shaṇ=māsān [i*] tadā(d-a)grajō Viṣṇurājas=saptatrimśatam(tam |)
tat-ta-
- 11 nujō Vijayāditya ekān-na-viṁśati[m*] nta(ta)- t-tanujō Viṣṇurājash=shaṭtrim-
- 12 śatam(tam|) tat-sūnur=Vvijayādityaś=chatvāriṁśatam [i*] tat-tanayah Kali-Vi-
- 13 [shṇu]varddhanō=dhyarddha-varsham[i*] tad-apatya-mukhyah [i*] yas=tu[i*]
Kāliṁga-Gaṁga-rūpy-ādi
- 14 Kōśalēsha(śa)-dvip-ādi cha [i*] Pāṇḍya-Pallava-hēm-ādir balā[i*] tyāgārtha[m=ā]-

Second Plate, Second side

- 15 harata¹ | [1|*] Gaṁgān=ārōpayad=Gaṁgakūṭam Maṅgiśirō=chchhinat [i*] Kṛiṣṇa[m]-
raṇē=
- 16 jayad=vaktum kas= samarttō(rtthō)=sya sāhasān [2|*] sa Vijayādityas=chatuscha-
- 17 tvāriṁśatam Vēṅgi-dēśam= anuvarsham=avarddhayat |Jayasiṁgha²-dvayē ch=ai-
- 18 vaṁ Viṣṇuvarddhana- pañchakē [i*] Maṁginā Kokkilau Vijayāditya³ - tra-
- 19 ya itē tataḥ | [3|*] tasya Vijayādityasya bhrātur=vvikram-ākṛānta-saka-
- 20 la-bhuvana-talasya Vikramāditya-bhūpatēr=agra-tanayah [i*]
- 21 Adhyasta siṁhāsanam=ārddhid=ripūn=apispaśad=bhūmim=a[naṁdaya]-

Third Plate, First side

- 22 t=prajāḥ [i*] yaśō vyatānit=sad=apūpuja[d*] dvijān= amāṁsta sādḥūn=a-
- 23 vahād=guṇa-jra(sra)jaḥ [4=*] Matt-Ādityaprasāda-dvirada-vara-guru-skandham=ā-
- 24 ruhya kōpāt⁴ chāpād=unmukta-bāṇair=Udayagirim=itō bhānur=u-
- 25 srais=tamisraṁ(sram |) yadvata(t=ta)dvan=nira(rā)sthad=dhṛita-sakāla-bhuvō yas=tu
Gōdā-
- 26 taṭasthān Karnāṭān=durddurūtānjha-(ñ=jha)ṭiti paṭu-naṭad-ghōṭakān⁵ Lāṭa-

¹ Read=āharat

² Read Jayasiṁha.

³ The third quarter is metrically defective as it has 9 syllables instead of 8 as required for *Anuṣṭubh*.

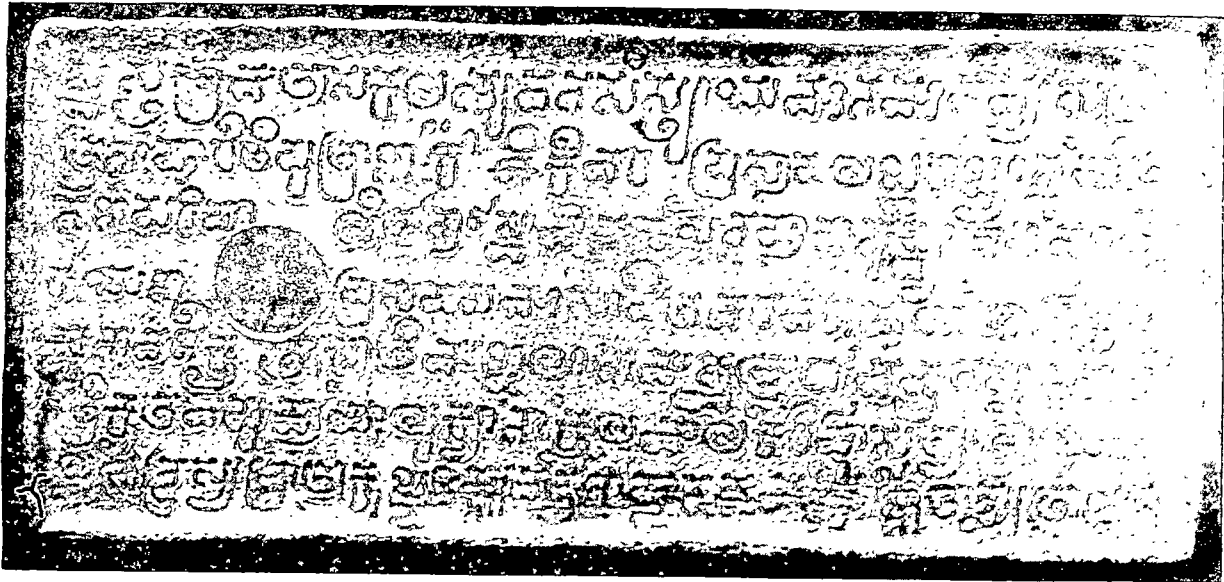
⁴ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

⁵ Cf. *Tigmāśōr=anujāir=udayagiri-jushō vyāpta-lōkās=tamisrah, yadv=Adityaprasāda-dvirada-vara-guruskandha-bhāsvat-svā-mūrtēḥ | yasy=ēshvāsā-pramuktair=ishubhīr=abhīhata-prahva-prishthā vyadhāvan Karnāṭē durddurūtā jhaṭiti paṭu-naṭad-ghōṭakā Lāṭakās=cha ||* in the Masūlipatṇam plates, lines 18-21.

TWO COPPER PLATE CHARTERS OF CHALUKYA BHIMA I FROM VINNAKOTA

SECOND SET

First Plate : Second Side

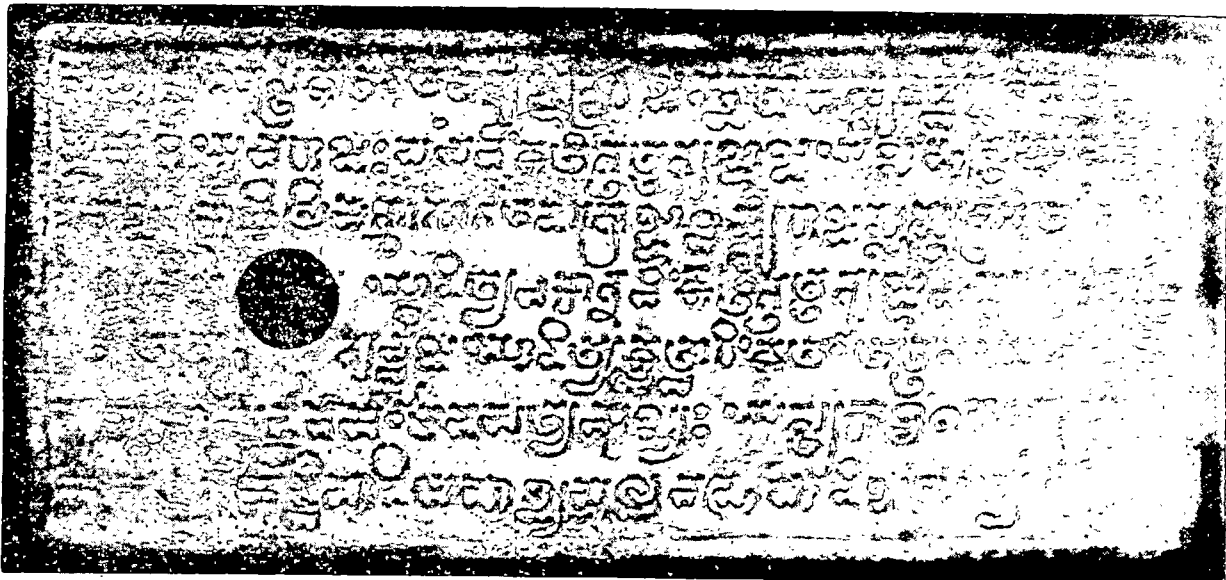


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6

2
4
6

Second Plate : First Side

ii (a)

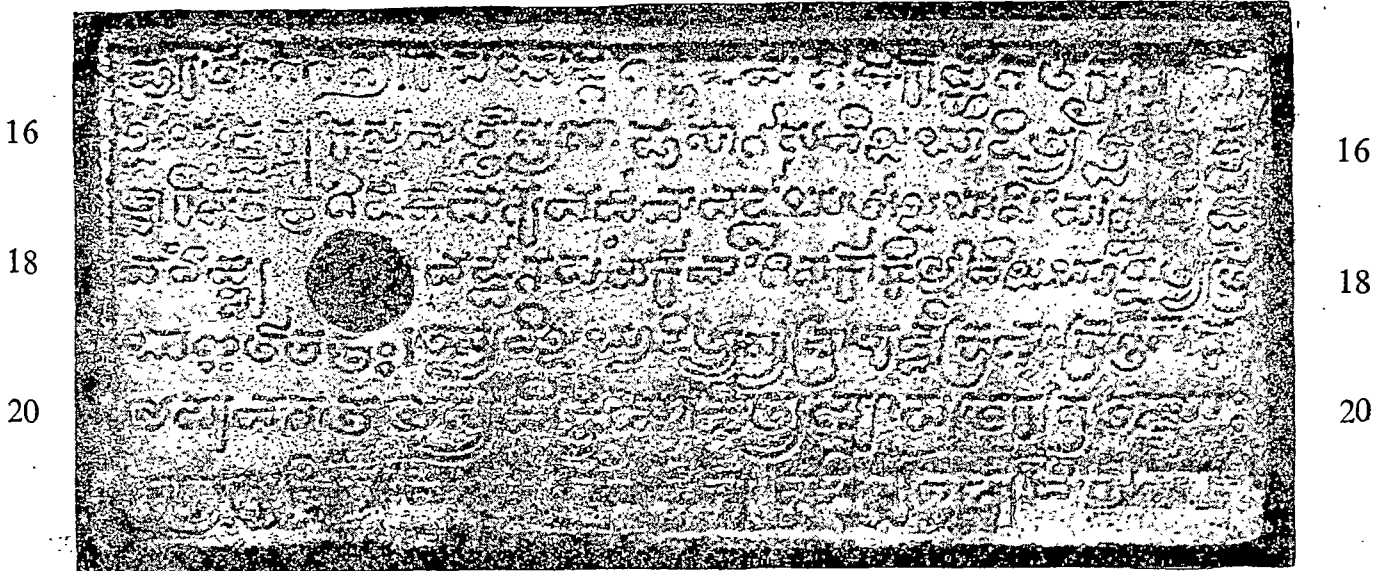


8
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12
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8
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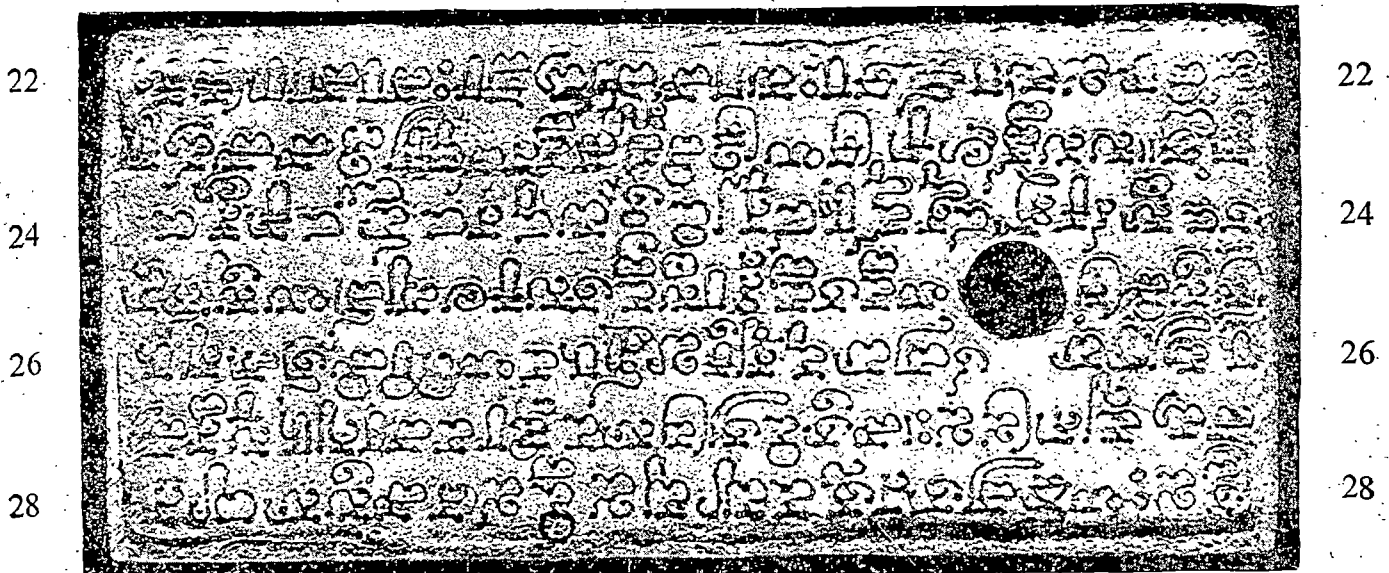
Second Plate : Second Side

ii (b)



Third Plate : First Side

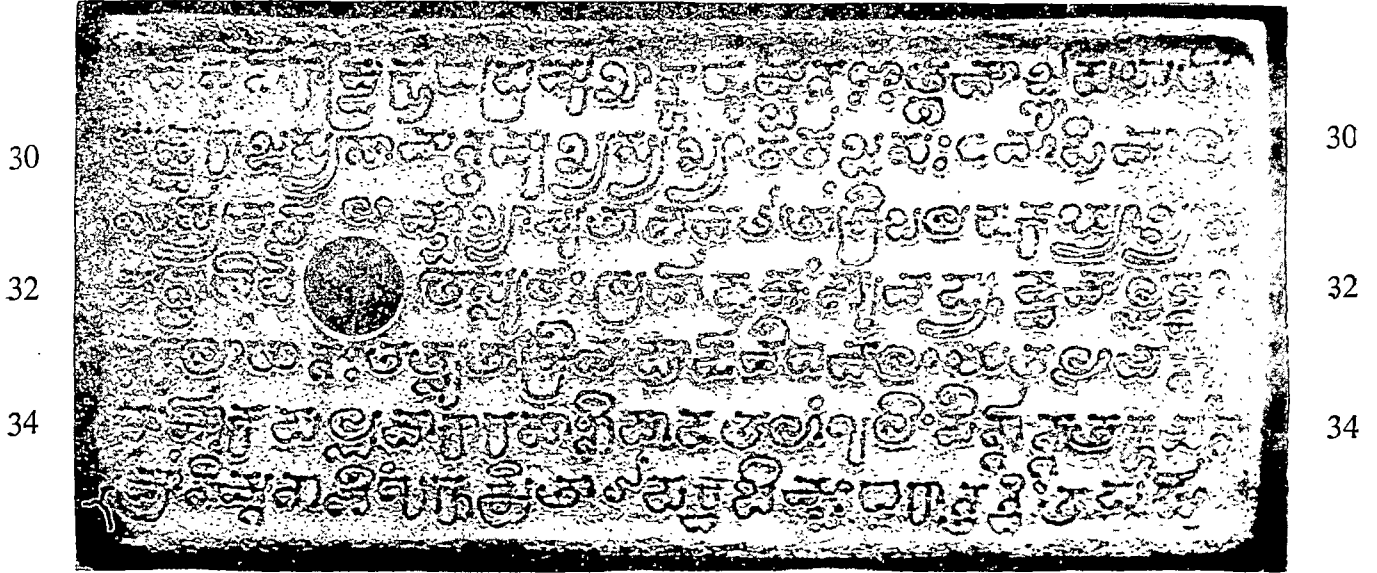
iii (a)



TWO COPPER PLATE CHARTERS OF CHALUKYA BHIMA I
FROM VINNAKOTA

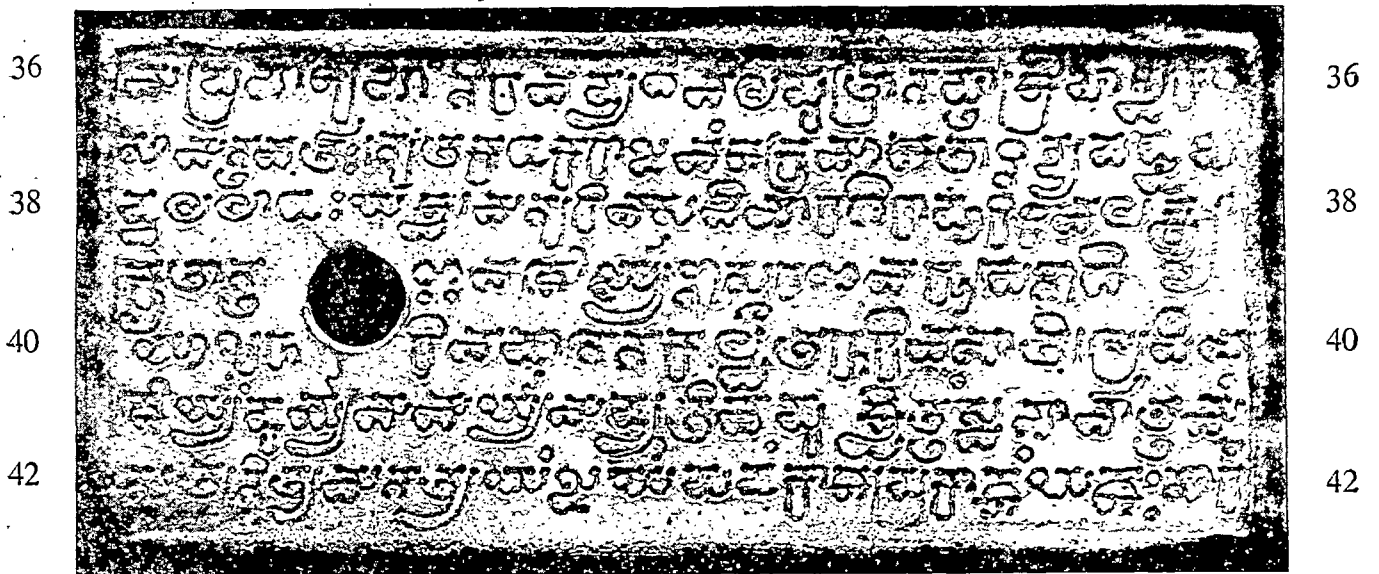
Third Plate : Second Side

iii (b)



Fourth Plate : First Side

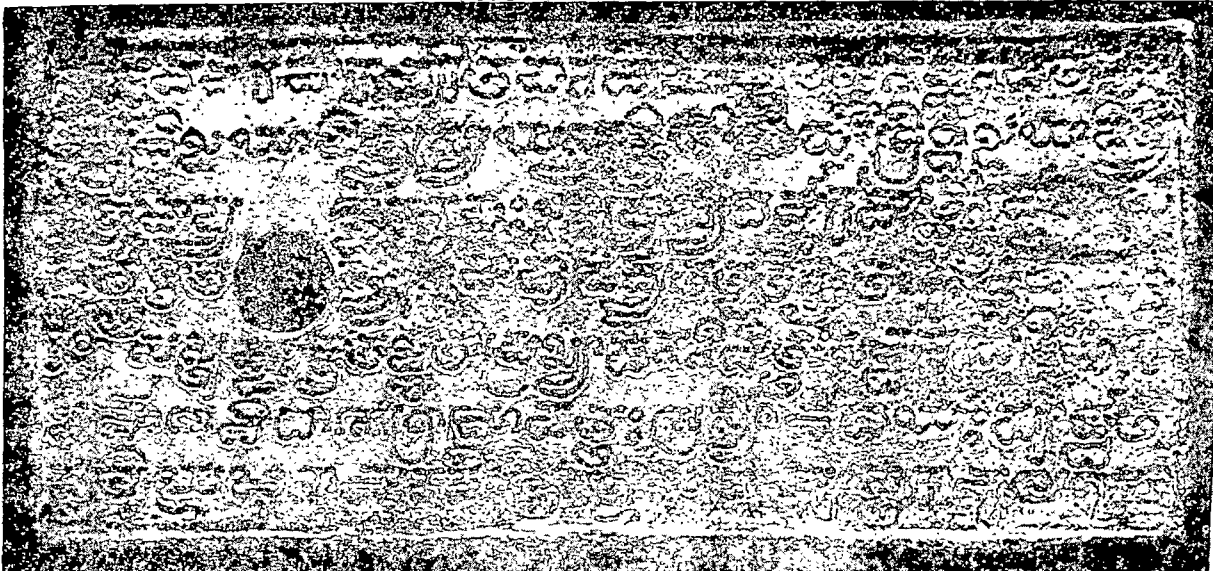
iv (a)



Fourth Plate : Second Side

iv (b)

44
46
48

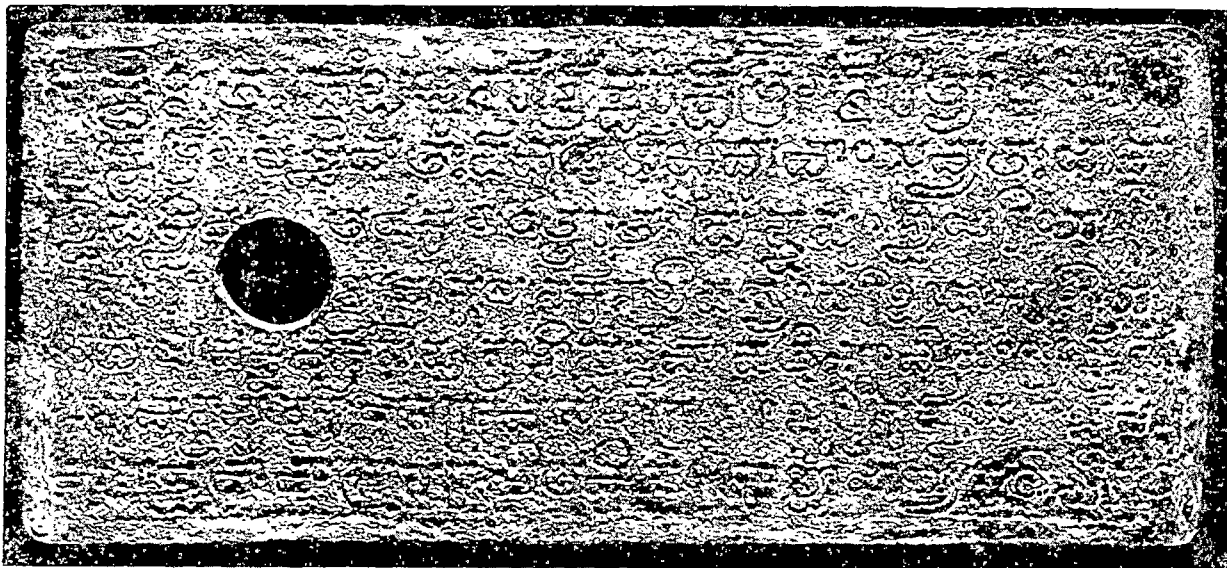


44
46
48

Fifth Plate : First Side

v

50
52
54
56



50
52
54
56

SCALE : One-half

- 27 kāmś=cha ||¹ [5||*] sa Sarvvalōkāsraya-śri-Vi[shṇuvarddhana-Chālukya]-Bhīma-
mahārā-
28 jādhirāja-paramēśvaraḥ Parama-Māhēśvāraḥ Varavara-rāshṭrakū-²

Third Plate, Second side

- 29 niv[ā]sinō rāshṭrakūṭa-pramukhān=kuṭumbina ittham=ājñāpayati [!]*
30 Saryvarājasya sāmanta-mukhyasya khyāta-tējasaḥ [!]* Umā Himāla-
31 yasy=ēva Tailāmb-ākhyā sut=abhavat | [6=*] Tām śri-Baladakayy-ākhyā-sā
32 mant-ādhipatēs=sutaḥ [!]* avōḍha Śāmbhuvad=Yuddhamallaś=śū-
33 kara-³ lāmchhanaḥ [||7||*] Tat-sutām śri-Mahādēvi[m]* dhaval-āyata-lōchanā-
34 m=asōka-pallav-ākāra-pāṇi-pāda-tal-ām-gullim-(lim) [||8||*] Pin-ōnnata-kuch-āna-
35 mrām nimna-nābhīm guru-kshitām [!]* pakva-bimb=ādharān=tanvīm tapta-hē-

Fourth Plate, First side

- 36 ma-prabhām śubhām(bhām) [||9||*] Niravadyadhavala-putrō naptā śri-pāṇḍarāmga-
37 sāmanta-patēḥ | nuta-kaṭakarāja-vaṁśa-kram-āgat-ānindya-paṭṭa-ba-
38 ddha lalāṭaḥ⁴ [||10||*] Yaś=cha | Manur=iva sa vichāra-girā Harir=iva Lakshmyā
39 kṛitānta iva śauryeṇa [| *] Smara iva rūpēṇa dhi
40 yā Gurur=iva dānēna kalpataru=r=iva [bhā[ti | [| 11||*] api cha [!]*
41 Śauryaṁ duryyamam=Aryyama-dyuti vapuś=chittam svabhāv-ōttamaṁ
42 satyan=nityam=anatyayaṁ jayapaṭam kāśa prakāśam yaśaḥ [| *] sāram

Fourth Plate, Second side

- 43 -ri⁵ vichāra chāru charitaṁ dānaṁ chā(cha) dina-stutaṁ jñanaṁ jñanavatām
44 tan=tu⁶ Vijayādityasya yasya kshitau [| 12 ||*] [Sō]=yam śri-Vijayāditya[h]
45 [.]tya⁷ -vādyah=parantapaḥ [!]* ya[h*] prāpya dharmma=kām-ārtthān=kri . . . :

¹ These 7 letters are engraved on an erasure.

² *Kū* is redundant.

³ Read more correctly *sūkara*.

Cf. *Niravadyadhavalaḥ Kaṭakarāja-paṭṭa-śōbhita-talāṭaḥ* in the Mailyaṁpūṇḍi grant, above, Vol IX, P. 53, text-line 45.

⁴ *Bhūri* is evidently intended.

⁵ The intended expression is obviously *matan=ia*.

⁶ The work intended is *satya*. Cf. *tathā saty=asya na mithya-vadyam (Bhārati, I, iv, 16)*.

- 46 .¹tkrītim(tīm) [|| 13 || *] tasy-ai.² Mahādēvyai tat-pati-kṛīta-pūrvv-ōpa[kāra]-sma-
 47 raṇa-santushtaḥ³ kṛītajñatā-prakhyāpana-nimittam sarvva-kara-parihārē-
 48 ṇa Mōg-ābhīdhānō grāmō dattaḥ [||*] asy=āvadhayaḥ [||*] pūrvvataḥ
 49 Puliy-ēru-ṇāma taṭi | Āgnēyataḥ Muṇṭha-rāvula guṇṭha [||*]

Fifth Plate, First side

- 50 dakṣiṇataḥ Chembaru-Narēndrēśvara-kshētram | Nairi(ṛi)tyām Taila-[śa]
 51 rvva kshētram | paśchīmataḥ Dēvulacheṛuva⁴ | Vāyavyataḥ Charmma-
 52 ṇḍi paśchīma taṭākam | uttārataḥ Peddapūṇḍi chariya | I-
 53 śa(śā)nataḥ reṇṭhamrākulu | na kēna chid=asy=ōpari bādhā karaṇiyā |
 54 tatha cha [uktaṁ Vyāsēna*] | Shashṭīm varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmida=
 [||*] ākshēptā
 55 ch=ānumantā cha tany=ēvz narakē vasēt. [|| 14 ||*] asy=ājñapti[h] Kaḍeyarājaē
 56 va | bhaṭṭa-Vāmanēna rachitam=idam Koṇḍachāryyēṇa likhitam [||*]

¹ Restore tentatively *kṛītavān lōka-sa*.

² Restore *va cha*.

³ Read *santushṭēna*, to be in rune with *grāmō dattaḥ* in the next line.

⁴ This expression is engraved on an erasure.

No. 14—AN UNPUBLISHED INSCRIPTION FROM ACHALGARH

(I Plate)

C. L. SURI, MYSORE

This inscription was copied by me at Achalgarh on Mount Abu, Sirohi District, Rajasthan, during my epigraphical tour in 1961. It has been noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for 1961-62.¹ As the record has remained unpublished so far,² it is edited below with the kind permission of the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore.

The inscription is engraved on a black stone slab fixed in a corner along the wall of the hall of Achalēśvara Mahādēva temple at Achalgarh. The inscribed portion which has suffered considerable damage due to the peeling off of the stone, covers an area of about 1.32m by .58m. There are 31 lines of writing in all. Many of the lines, especially those at the bottom portion, have been badly damaged by horizontal lines running through them and thereby give a feeling of their having been erased, perhaps intentionally.

The characters are Jaina Nāgarī of the 13th century and closely resemble those of the Mount Abu inscription³ of Tējāhpāla dated V. S. 1287. The letter *ba* is distinguished from *va* only by a minute dot in the centre (cf. =*avalāmbatē*, line 6). This dot is not seen in some cases (cf. =*labdha*, line 7) when it is impossible to distinguish the two letters. Again, *jña* is distinguished from *ja* only by a small slanting stroke attached to the lower part of the semicircular left limb of *ja* which is often not seen (cf. *sañjñayā*, line 15, and *kaivajñayā*, line 16). The language is Sanskrit, and apart from the introductory passage, a few connecting phrases in lines 4 and 10 and the word *śubham* at the end, the whole inscription is in verse, the total number of stanzas being 88 as is indicated by the numerical figures at the end of line 31. As regards orthography, it may be noted that the consonants following *r* are sometimes reduplicated.

The extant portion of the inscription does not contain any date. It is however, not unlikely that a stanza in the last few lines which have been rendered illegible, contained the date of the record in words. Be that as it may, the inscription can be assigned to a period between 1220 A.D. and 1239 A.D. as it mentions the Chalukya Bhīma II (c. V.S. 1235-1298=A.D. 1178-1241)⁴, Paramāra Sōmasimha⁵ of Abu and Chalukya-Vāghēlā Vīradhavalā⁶ as ruling the earth.

The inscription begins with the symbol for *Om* followed by the expression *Om namaḥ śrī maḥ Achalēśvara-dēvāya*, in prose and an invocation to the god Śāmbhu (verse 1 ; line 1). The following eight verses (verses 2-9 ; lines 1-4) give a genealogical account of the Chalukya family beginning with Mūlarāja (I) and ending with the reigning ling Bhīma (II). The

¹ A. R. Ep., 1961-62, App B. No. 697.

² Pandit Vishwashwar Nath Shastri has quoted two verses of this inscription. Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol XLIII, p. 193, foot note 2.

³ Above Vol. VIII, PP. 208 ff. and plate.

⁴ A. K. Majumdar, *Chalukyas of Gujarat*, P. 203, also see *Delhi Sultanate*, p. 223.

⁵ His known dates range between V. S. 1277-1293 (Cf. above, Vol. XXXVII, p. 209).

⁶ His son Visaladēva is mentioned as *Maṇḍalēśvara Rānaka* in V. S. 1296 (Cf. A. K. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 170).

other kings who are mentioned in these verses are : Chāmuṇḍarāja and his son Vallabharaāja (verse 3); Durlabharāja and his seccessor Bhīma (I) (verse 4) ; the latter's son Karṇadēva and Jayasīṃha who was popularly known as Siddharāja (verses 5 and 6) Kumārapāla (verses 7 and 8); and the latter's son Ajayapāla and his son Mūlarāja (II) whose younger brother Bhīma (II) was the ruling king (verse 9).

The mention of **Ajayapāla as the son of Kumārapāla** in our inscription is interesting. He was so far believed to be the son of Mahīpāla and the nephew of Kumārapāla on the testimony of Mērutuṅga and other chorniclers like Kṛishṇaji, Rājasēkhara and Jinamaṇḍana.¹ A K Majumdar has shown the contradictory nature of the statements made by Mērutuṅga and Jayasīṃha sūri in this regard and has rightly concluded that Ajayapāla was the son of Kumārpāla and not his nephew.² The inscription under study provides the only epigraphical evidence in support of this view.

The following eleven stanzas (verses 10-20 ; lines 4-8) give a genealogical account of the Paramāras, which begins with a description of the **Arbuda** mountain (modern Mount Abu) (verse 10) and the springing of the hero named Paramāra from the altar of the sacrificial fire of Maitrāvaruṅga (i.e. Vasishṭha) (verse 11) and ends with the mention of the ruling king Sōmasīṃha and his son, the *yuvārāja* (heir-apparent) Kṛishṇadēva (verses 18-20). The other Paramāra kings mentioned here are : Dhūmarāja (verse 12) ; Dharmdhu, Dhruvabhāṭa and others (names not given) (verse 13) ; Rāmadēva (verse 14) ; the latter's son Yaśōdhavala who killed the Mālava king Ballāla in a battle (verse 15) ; Dhārāvarsha, the son of Yaśōdhavala, who having smeared the earth with the blood of the lord of Kumkaṇa obtained the kingdom (verse 16) ; and his younger brother Prahlādana who is compared to Kēśava and who is stated to have given away wealth to the Brāhmaṇas.

The lord of the **Kumkaṇa**, killed by Dhārāvarsha has been identified with the Śilāhāra king Mallikārjuna.³ It may be noted that Prahlādana is mentioned here neither as a ruler nor as an heir apparent. It strengthens the view expressed earlier by me while editing the Dhāntā image inscription⁴ that Sōmasīṃha directly succeeded his father Dhārāvarsha.

Verses 21-25 (lines 9-10) describe the rulers of the Chaulukya-Vāghelā family (here called (Chaulukya), viz. Arṇōrāja (verse 21), his son Lāvanyaprasāda (verses 22-23), and the son of the latter, Viradhavala (verses 24-25). Lāvanyaprasāda who is mentioned in the Mount Abu inscription as Lavanaprasāda, is stated to have acted like Śēsha by recovering (lifting up) the Gūrjarā land which was disintegrating (slipping down) on account of troubled times.

Then follows a long account of the family of the ministers **Vastupāla** and **Tējapāla**. This family hailing from the city of **Aṇahillapura**, the city of the Gūrjarā kings, is called Prāgvaṭavarṇśa (verses 26-27) ; lines 10-11). Verses 28-29 which are partially lost, appear to describe the family in glorious terms. The next verse (verse 30) states that the ancestor of the family was Chaṇḍapa who is described as *mātri maṇḍala mārttaṇḍa*. His son was Chaṇḍaprasāda (verses 31-32). He had a son named Sōma who is stated to have crossed the rivers just as Kākutstha i.e. Bhagiratha had changed the course of the rivers (verses 33-35). Sōma's son was Aśvarāja (verses 36-38) whose wife was Kumārādēvī (verse 39). Her first son Lūṅiga is stated to have died when he was still young (verse 40). She gave birth to three more sons named Malladēva, Vastupāla and Tējapāla (verses 41-42). The next ten verses (verses 43-52) give a description of the achievements

¹ Cf. Bhandardar's List, p. 385. Also see A. K. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

² A. K. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

³ Above Vol. XXXV, pp. 90-91.

⁴ Above Vol. XXXVII, pp.

AN UNPUBLISHED INSCRIPTION FROM ACHALGARH



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SCALE : One-sixth

of Malladēva and Vastupāla and of the latter's son Jayatsimha. Of verse 53 which introduces Vastupāla's younger brother only a few *aksharas* are preserved. Verse 54 states that the *laghutā* of the *guru* is heard sometimes in the metrical science, but in these brothers is seen the *gurutā* of the *laghu* meaning thereby that Tējaḥpāla, though the youngest of the three brothers, had attained a higher status than the others. The next four verses (verses 55-58) describe the good qualities of Tējaḥpāla. Verses 59-60 mention his wife and her son Lāvanyasimha.

It will be seen from the above that the genealogical accounts of the Paramāras of Abu, Chāulūkyā Vāghelās and of the family of Tējaḥpāla do not differ from those given in the Mount Abu inscription except in their details.

The following portion of the inscription is badly damaged and most of the stanzas are so incomplete that it is not possible to give a connected account of their contents. The object of the inscription was perhaps to record the construction of new *maṇḍapa* of the god Achalēśvara at Arbudā possibly by Tējaḥpāla and his brother (verse 65). The inscription, however, refers to several other constructions. Thus verse 68 records the construction of two shrines (*āyatana yugma*) in the temple of Jina Ādinātha at Vimalagiri. Verse 69 also refers to some other construction for Ādinātha the exact nature of which is not ascertainable. While verse 70 refers to a new construction (probably a shrine) called Nandiśvara, verse 71 refers to a tank called Anupamāsaras. The next verse (verse 72) speaks of a Vāgbhaṭapura at the foot of the Śatrumjaya hill. Verses 73-74 form a *yugma* as indicated by the expression *yugmaṁ* at the end of Verse 74. While verse 73 is completely lost, the legible portion of verse 74 states that the minister (*maṁtrīṁḍu*) built a strong tank (?) with stone slabs. The minister referred to here is in all likelihood, Tējaḥpāla. The next verse (verse 75) refers to a temple of Yugādi-jina called Vastupāla vihāra. According to verse 77, three *tōraṇas* of marble were built by Vastupāla. Verses 78-79 again speak of the construction of three *tōraṇas* of marble probably attached to the *maṭha* (?) of Kapardin (Śiva) at the back of (the aforesaid) *vihāra*. The next verse (verse 80) the first half of which is lost, also appears to have referred to some construction. The second half of this verse expresses a wish that the holy men paying a pilgrimage to this place should see it in its totality.

Only a few letters are legible in the last three lines (lines 29-31), the name of Tējaḥpāla occurring twice in line 29. The record ends with the word *śubham* preceded by the numerical figures for 88.

Though the extant portion of the inscription does not contain the name of the composer of this record, a careful comparison of its text with that of the Mount Abu inscription reveals that this *praśasti* was also composed by Sōmēśvaradēva, the composer of the said inscription.

TEXT¹

[Metres : Verse 1 *Pushpitāgrā* ; verses 2-9, 12-14, 17, 19, 21-23, 25-80, *Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 10, 16 *Śālinī* ; verse 11 *Indravamśā* ; verse 15 *Vasantatilakā* ; verses 18, 20 *Upajāti* ; verses 24, 68, *Āryā* ; verse 65 *Viyōginī*.]

1 ||²Om³|| Ōm namaḥ śrīmad-Achalēśvaradēvāya ||Sa bhavatu bhavatām śubhāya Śambhuḥ śīrasi kṛīṣaḥ śaśabhṛid=vibhā[ti yasya] nibhṛitam=i]va Śivām vilōkayamtyāḥ Surasaritāḥ sphuritō mukh-aika[dē]śaḥ ||[1] Mūlaṁ Chaulūkyā-vamśē=smin Mūla-rājō mahīpatih | āsid=dāsīkṛit-āśēśhā-vipaksha-kshō. .⁴||[2]

¹ From impressions.

² This and all the following lines begin with two strokes which appear to have been used for symmetry and ornamentation.

³ Expressed by a symbol resembling the numeral figures for 80.

⁴ The intended reading of the four *aksharas* lost due to the peeling off of the stone is *nī-maṇḍaiah*.

- 2 **Chāmum̄darājas**-tat-paṭṭa-mam̄danam̄ mēdinipatiḥ | śrīmān **Vallabharājo**=smād=abhavad=vallabhō bhuvah || 3 Bhuvan̄ **Dur̄labharājo**=tha bhējē bhujava(ba) I-ōrijitah | **Bhūmah** śrīmānis=tatō bhūmi-mam̄dal-Ākham̄dalō-bhavat ||4 Ka[r]ṇadēvah sutas=tasya bhūmi-bhāram=adhāra[yat] | dēvah śrī-**Jayasimhō**=tha tat-sutah kshitim=anvaśā[t]||
- 3 || 5 Satv-āvashṭambha-sambhūtais=charitraitr=bhuvan-ādbhū taiḥ | **Siddharāja** iti khyātir =jātā yasya yaśasvinaḥ ||6 Dēvah **Kumārāpālo**=tha pālayāmāsa bhūtalam̄ | bhū-bhāra-dhāraṇē yasya nyāya-dhāra ||7 ||sana-nirvvirā dhana-mōksh-ādi-kurvātā | pūrvv-ōrvvi-pati-vṛittēsu kṛitāḥ ||rānarāḥ ||8 Tasmā-
- 4 d=**Ajayapālo**=tha **Mularājas**=tad-am̄gajah | tasy=ānujammā śrī-**Bhīmō** bhū-bhāram̄ dhārayaty=asau ||9 Itaś=cha|| Asti śrīmān=**Arvu**(bu)d-ākhyō='dri-mukhyaḥ śrīmga-śrēṇim̄ vi(bi)bhrad-abhram̄liham̄ yah | vṛiddhim̄ [vim̄]-[ka] -- U - d=ity=ādityasya bhram̄tim=am̄tar=vidhattē ||10 Ta[tr]=ātha **Maitrāvaruṇasya** [juhvata]ś=cham̄ḍō=gni=kurū-||²
- 5 dāt-purushah purō='bhavat | matvā munim̄draḥ para-māraṇa-kshamaḥ sa vyāharat=tam̄ **Paramāra**-sam̄jñayā || 11 Purā tasy-ānvayē rājā **Dhūmarāj**=āhvayō='bhavat | Yēna dhūma-dhvajēn=ēva dagdhā vamsāḥ kshmbbhri[tām(tām)]||12|| . . . pa narēmdrās=tē **Dharm̄dhu-Dhruvabbat**-ādayah | jātāḥ kṛit-āhav-ōtsāha-bāhavō bahāvas=tataḥ||13 tad-a- |
- 6 || nam̄taram̄ tarāngita-kirtti-sudhā-sim̄dhu-sim̄dhita-vyōmā | śrī-**Rāmadēva**-nāmā Kāmād=api sum̄darah [sō?]-'bhūt ||14 Tasmāt-mahim̄-avihit-ānaya-kalatra-gōtra-sparśō **Yaśōdhavala** ity=avalambatē [sma |] -- U ra-kshi[tipa]ti\ pratipaksham=ājau **Ballālam**=ālabhata **Mālava**-mēdin=im̄draḥ(ram) ||15 **Dhāravarsas**=tat su-
- 7 ||taḥ prāpa lakshmiḥ lipta-kshōṇiḥ śōṇitaiḥ **Kumkaṇēmdōh** | sarvvatr=ājau svaiś=charitraitr payitraitr=labdhā ślāghā Rāghavēn=ēva yēna ||16 Tasya **Prahādanō** nāma Vāsavasy=ēva [Kēśa]vah | anu-janm=ābhavad=yēna dattā-śrīr=agrajanmanam̄ ||17 **Śrī-Sōmasimhaḥ** pitur=ēsha Dhāravarshasyā rājyam̄ kurutāch=chirāya | nasya [d=hi]-
- 8 ||rājyam̄ gaṇataḥ [sva]rājyam̄ virōdhi[bh]ir=yasya tu dattam=ēva ||18 Sōmasimhō n rīsimhō=yam̄=apūrvvah pṛithivi-talē | yan=nā[mn=aiya] vidiryam̄tē hṛidayāni virōdhinām(nām)||19 **Śrī-Kri**[e]hṇa]dēvah kshitidēva vyāpṛita-[śā]sanō=sau | śrī-Sōmasimhē pitari svarājyavati sthiraḥ yō='vati yauvarājyam̄(jyam) | 20
- 9 Itaś=ch=ātr=aiva Ch[au]lukya-vamsē viśēshakah | **Arṇōrāja** iti khyā[tō] jātās=tējōmayah pumān||[21] **Śrī-Lāvanyaprasādo**=sya putraḥ śirōmaniḥ | jajñē | [nija-pratā]. [āgama]ḥ ||22 Imāni samaya-vaishamyād=bhraśyam̄tim̄ **Gūrjara**-kshitim̄(tim) | dōrddam̄-dēn=ōddharan dhiraḥ sa=isha³ Sēsham̄
- 10 ||vyaśēshayat ||23 Tanayō='sya **Viradhavalō** dhavalayati dharām̄ yaśah-sudha-puraiḥ | kimut=āhita-yuvatinām̄ paśyāmah̄ śyāmatām̄ vadanē ||24 Bhramati bhṛisam=anyāyā-tapa[n-ōttā]pit='ā[dhunā |] d-bhujā-dam̄ḍa-mam̄ḍa[pē] ||25 I[taś=ch |] da-klēda-virājatā puram̄ puram̄ | **Anabi-** |

¹ These *aksharas* are completely lost.

² These *daṇḍas* as well as those in some of the following lines are intended to fill up the line.

³ *Sandhi* has been observed here for the sake of metre vide Panini's *sūtra* : *Sō=pi lōpē chēt pāda-pūranam* (6-1-134).

- 11 ||Ila-puram nāma dhām=āśrayaḥ śriyām=iha||26 Ras-ālaṅka-[ra]ṇē tasminn=āla-vāl-
ānukārinīm(nīm) | prāmsuḥ Prāgvāta-vaṁśō='bhūt-purē [Gū]rjara-[bhūbhu]-
jām(jām) ||27 Śuchisāra-parē vaṁśāḥ sa[dā] patrāṇi . . . [] . . . shas=tu
vaṁśō='yaṁ dhattē pātra-paramparām(rām)||28] bhir=udbhūt=
ādbhuta-kāmtibhiḥ | [vi . . . pitā |]
- 12 ||viśēshēṇa jagati=va Sarasvatī||29 Maṁtri-maṁḍala-mārttaṁḍaś=Chamḍapaḥ pratha-
maḥ pumān | kulē tasmin=udaiti sma tamasām=avasāna=kṛit|| 30 Bhadrāś=Chamḍa-
prasādō='bhūd=Gaṁgādīmḍapi[tām][nam[I] [kū bhā]- [sēna] chakrē
śrī-khamḍa-maṁḍa[laṁ (lam) ||31] pāṇi-padma-gṛihītayā | gēhiny=
ēva vadā- |
- 13 ||nyō='yaṁ nṛipa-vyāpāra-mudrayā ||32 Sōmaḥ samuddhatas=tasmād=ujjagāma
manōramah | savitri-jāta-mātrēṇa yēna dyaur=iva di[k-kṛitā ||33 dadhē guṇa-
ratnānām yatra [chaityaḥ] svayambhuvā | tatra [śrī].....diśat||34 Sāvitraṁ
vi.....riṇīm(nīm) | Kāku[t]sthēn=ēva yēn=āpi naḍi-
- 14 nām [vi]kramaḥ ||35 Amēya-mahimā-śrīmān=Aśvarājas=tatō='bhavat | yēna dan=
ārdra-hastēna Hastirājō=py=ajiyata ||36 Ā[...nitam-śrī] tad-vittam vyayitam
dharma-ka[rmma]su | yaśas=tu jaga.....ti||37 Prāk-kṛitam rēṇukā-bādhām
.....ur=viśēshataś=chakrē bhaktim yaḥ purushōttamaḥ
- 15 ||38 Satatam sachiva-śrēṇi-māṇikyasy=āṁga-saṁgini | kāmtā Kumāradēvi=ti tasya
kāmtir=iv=ābhavat ||39 Prathamas=ta[na]yas=tasyāḥ śrīmān-Lūṇiga-saṁjñayā daivād=
av[āpa] vā(bā)lō=pi sālōkyam Vāsavēna saḥ ||¹40 Svābhāvikēna śauchēna mā
.....[] pravāhā iva Jāhnavyā tayā sūtāḥ suṭās=tra- |
- 16 ||yaḥ||41 Mukhyaḥ śrī Malladev-ākhyō Vastupāl-āhvayas=tataḥ | Tejaḥpāl
ābhidhaḥ paśchāt=trayī bhāti Trayī=va sāl ||42 [Pura] nam=imās=tēshām parēshām=
iva mūrṭtayaḥ | tridhā vibhidyamāna.....ḥ ||43 Tal-labdhām Malladēvēna
[ya].....[1] śiṣṭair=na viṣṭapē dṛiṣṭam Kairavam Kairvajñayā ||44
- 17 ||Iyati Malladēvasya Kaustubhēna vibhinnatā | Jinō hṛidi yadētasya Jinasya tv=
aparaḥ [sadā]||45 Vastutvam Vastupāla[sya n=aiva] vē[ti Sara]svatī | tadiya vadan-
āmbhōjē yā=vagaty=anuvartatē||46 [Va]s-stupālasya maṁtr-īṁdōḥ.....sha sudhī.—
vāparaḥ punaḥ ||47 Shaḍbhir=ēva gu-
- 18 || nair=yēna kā=pi Kirttipadī kṛitā | vasumdharā dharāmbhōdhi-sahitā pihitā yayā
||48 Ahmkarōti n=ātmānam tvam karōti....[] [saḥ] punaḥ [bhamdha]n-āraṁbhē
humkarōti Virōdhimāḥ || 49.....rvvam.....hastī-va yā ||50 Tasmād=amātya-
jīmūtā-
- 19 || t=sukshētrē=smin.āṁkuraḥ | Jayatsimh-āhvayaḥ sō=yaṁ vā(bā)lō=pi phalitaḥ satām
||51 Pūrvvē sarvvē=pi dhāryamṭē.....sy...na pratāryamṭē ||53 Chhamḍaḥśāstrē
śru-
- 20 || tā-smābhiḥ-laghutā=pi kvachid-gurōḥ | tasmin va(ba)ṁdhu-janē dṛiṣṭā gurutā=
sya laghōr=api ||54 Apūrvvam tasya vaidagdhyam ya.....bhūbhujā |
śabhiḥ sārddnam mēnē saṁdhy-āksharāmi [yaḥ ||55]..... karōty=ēva
mat-kṛitam tan-na vakti yaḥ ||56 U-

¹ The aksharas in square brackets are completely lost due to the peeling off of the stone. These have been restored with the help of a verse in the Mount Abu inscription of Tejaḥpāla, A.D. 1230 (cf. above, Vol. VIII, p.209, verse 8, text-line 5), the second half of which is identical with verse 40 of this inscription.

- 21 pak ṛitya kṛitī puṁsām .. tēshām na kēvalam(lam) | api yaḥ stuti-lamchāyām sachiv-
ēṁdur=gata-spṛihah ||57 Apūrvam maṁtri.....nāhi | Vasudhā-valayē yēna mahā
.....[||58].....manyē=ham=ēnām mēnāṁgajām=iva||59 Lāva- |
- 22 ||nyasiṁha-nāmānam [sā lāvany=āvatanśinam(nam) | ta]-nayaṁ janayāmasa. vinay-
āvarjita-prajam(jam)||60 [Sē]-vyaṁ yā.....nyēna cha puṇyēna
yasya[||61] nātma-rājya-bhāra-dhuraṁ-dharaḥ||62 Śrī-[Dhava]-
dhar-ō-
- 23 ||ddhāra-dhurīṇasy=ōpa[kara .] . yuḥ sachivāv=ētau pādaḥ Sura-girēr=iva ||63
Tābhyām.....[rājya-]śrīḥ kuṁḍalābhyām..... | Achalēs-
varamaṁḍapaṁ navam rachayām-chakratur=ēnam=Ārbu(bu)dē |
- 24 ||65 Śatruṁjaya-girēr=[...]tōraṇa-maṁḍitaḥ | pūrvam śrī.....maṁḍapaḥ
||66].....yam | nirmamē nirmma.....[||67].....jinayōḥ |
kṛitavān=āyatana-yugaṁ Vimala-girāv=Ādinātha-Ji-
- 25 ||na-bhavanē ||68 [Purastā]d=Ādināthāsya tushārād=api ni[rumma]lam | ...Tējaḥpāla..
chakrē śrī....[||69].....Naṁdīśvar-ābhidham | navam ṇi.....[||70].....
.....ḥ śrēyasē='nupamāsaraḥ | tatra kshir-ābdhivat=tēna vitēnē va-
- 26 || . . . bhiḥ ||71 [Yad-Vā]gbhaṭa-puram pūrvam Satruṁjaya-gir[rēr=adhaḥ |] ..
lla....līa....[||72] Yasyāḥ.....[||73].....[pavi]tra-salil=ōjvalam
(dam) | . kārayāmāsa maṁṭriṁduḥ śilā-baṁdhēna vaṁ(baṁ)-
- 27 ||dhuraṁ(ram)||74 Yugmaṁ(mam)||Vastupāla-vihār-ā[khyaṁ Yugādi] Jina-maṁdiram |
.....[||75].....sudhiḥ | nyadhād=.....[||76]..... tōraṇa-
trayaṁ | [āraṣaṇ-āśmabhiḥ śubhraiḥ Vastupālō Viniramma-
- 28 ||mē ||77 Pṛiṣṭha-bhāgē vihārasya kaparddi-ma[ṭha]-... | Ma[hā]dēvam=ji.....
.....[||78].....[|]ārāṣaṇ-āśmabhiś=chakrē tōraṇa-trayaṁ(yam) [||79]
.....navam | Yātrāyām=āgatāḥ saṁtas=tat-paśyaṁtu sarvataḥ..||80.....
- 29 ||r-ānukāreṇa prākā.....[Tējaḥ]pālō.....[Tējaḥpālō='tra] maṁtri-
iśaḥ.....
- 30 ||ma..... [maṁdiram]||86
Srimā...
- 31 ||||¹88 Śubham(bham) | ²

¹ The last eight verses are so incomplete that, in most cases, it is impossible to ascertain their metres.

² The inscription ends here. But traces of what appear to be numerals are found below the last line. If it is so, they may have contained the date of the record.

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOL. XXXIX

OCTOBER 1971

PART IV

EDITED BY

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1985

Published by the Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi-11

Printed at the Government of India Press, (Publication Unit),
Santagachi, Howrah, India

Price: Inland Rs. 8-00. Foreign 18 Sh. 8d. or 2 \$ 88 cents.

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No. 15—NITTUR MINOR ROCK EDICT OF ASOKA

(1 Plate)

P. R. SRINIVASAN, MYSORE

Nittūr is a village in Siruguppa Taluk, Bellary District, Karnataka State. It is situated on the Siruguppa-Hospet road at about 10 km south-west of Siruguppa. This village can also be approached from Tekkalkōṭa which is at a distance of 12 km south of Siruguppa. From Tekkalkōṭa, Nittūr is to the west at a distance of 5 km. There are two live rock-boulders of pink granite variety situated about 1-1/2 km south of the village of Nittūr. These boulders are amidst dry-cum-wet lands. They are said to belong to the rock that goes by the name of Chikkudappa-guḍḍa. The inscriptions¹ edited here are engraved on these boulders which were surrounded by bushes before they were located. It is said that Shri C. Viswanath, a Junior Engineer, employed in the Bellary Branch Office of the Mines and Geology Department of Government of Karnataka, located these inscribed boulders, and that he had brought it to the notice of the office of the Superintending Archaeologist, of the Mid-Southern Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India, Bangalore as well as to the Department of History and Archaeology of the Karnatak University, Dharwar early in August 1977. Shri Viswanath's report is said to have contained no mention of the Brāhmī script in which the records are written but it made mention of the writing being in 'Chinese and English' characters. There was naturally some delay on the part of the concerned people to proceed to the place to verify for themselves the importance of the inscriptions. By the last week of August, 1977, however, the Senior Technical Assistant of the Office of the Mid-Southern Circle who was stationed at Kamalāpuram, near Hospet, and also the members of the Department of History and Archaeology of the Karnatak University visited Nittūr, identified the inscriptions as of Aśoka's and reported the fact in the newspapers². I visited the place by the end of August and the beginning of September 1977 and copied the inscriptions. The Tahsildar, and the Block Development Officer of Siruguppa and their Revenue Inspector rendered much help to me while copying the inscriptions.

Boulder No. I is on the northern side while Boulder No. II is on the southern side, at a distance of about 10 metres. Both of them are of irregular cylindrical form. While Boulder No. I is a single piece from the south-eastern top portion of which a big piece has been removed, Boulder No. II is in four pieces, placed one over the other. Boulder No. I has the writing from the floor level to about the height of 1-1/4 m. The edict in this boulder is engraved from the north-eastern corner and continues upto the south-eastern corner. The portion at the beginning is damaged. There are seven lines of writing which is very well seen in its middle portion. The length of the writing is 5.85 m and the maximum height at the middle portion of the writing is 1.3 m. On Boulder No. II the writing is engraved at about the height of 0.5 m. from the ground level. The length of the writing is 6.05 m. The

¹ See *Karnāṭaka Bhārati* (in Kannaḍa), Vol. X, Pt. I, pp. 139-143, for an article on them.

² See the *Hindu*, Weekly magazine, September 16, 1977 for information about this identification and about the discovery.

(III)

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writing consists of five lines. The lines are not regular. It is very much damaged in the middle portion as well as at the end. The letters are not evenly engraved. At some places they are bold and big while at other places they are faint and small. At the place where the writing is bold and well preserved the height is 0.80 m.

Besides these two places containing the inscriptions, the eastern face of Boulder No. I seems to have also borne some writing. Only a few letters are seen of this which was not noticed by others but noticed by me when I was examining the inscriptions *in situ*.

The characters employed in these records are Brāhmi. Though they are of the usual type met with in the other edicts of Aśoka¹ found in the Deccan, some letters call for remark. *A, j, d, r* and *y* are written in various ways; *b* has circular form (Boulder No. I, in *bādham* in line 2) and a near circular form (Boulder No. II, in *bamhanāni* in line 3) and *m* has the form usually met with in Aśokan edicts from North India, which is different from its form showing a circle topped by a rectangular box open at its top found generally employed in the Aśokan edicts belonging to the Deccan.

The language of the inscriptions is Prakrit, and it is akin to that of the other Aśokan edicts of the Deccan. Its close similarity to the language of the Erraguḍi Minor Rock Edict is very apparent. It is called Magadhan dialect² in which *n* is used for *ṇ* and *s* is used for *ś* and *sh* also although in two words *viz.*, *sāvana* (Boulder No. I, line 5) and *vyuthena* (*ibid.*, line 7) *ṇ* is used for *n*. But the chief characteristic of this dialect *viz.*, the change of *r* of Sanskrit to *l* is seen in the word *āchāliya* (Boulder No. II, line 3) and *āchali* (*ibid.*, line 4), while at other places *r* is not changed to *l*. In fact the inscriptions of Niṭṭūr under discussion may be said to be almost a copy of the Erraguḍi version of the Minor Rock Edict, except for a few minor omissions and commissions.

This is a Minor Rock Edict of Aśoka, very similar to the Minor Rock Edicts of the emperor found at Brahmagiri, Siddāpura, Jaṭiṅga-Rāmēśvara and Rājula-Manḍagiri. The importance of this version lies in the following: In many respects this version follows very closely the version at Erraguḍi which contains more passages than the version found at other places mentioned above. In as much the present edict contains one or two more passages not found in the Erraguḍi version, it may be said to be the longest of all. It is in this edict that we meet with the name of the emperor twice, expressed each time, as Rājā Aśoko (Boulder No. I, line 7; Boulder No. II, line 1). No doubt the name Aśoka is already known to us from the Minor Rock Edicts at Maski and Gujarrā. But at Maski the expression is *Devānāmpiyasa Asokasa*³ and at Gujarrā it is *Piyadasino Asokarājasa*.⁴

It is necessary to say the following, whether the texts of the writing on both the boulders together form a single edict or the text on each boulder forms a separate edict. It is known that the texts of the Minor Rock Edicts found at different places differ from each other in language, spelling and the arrangement of the passages. In some versions some passages which are found in others do not find a place, although generally speaking all the different texts are based on a copy prepared at the head-quarters. This shows that when copies of the texts were transmitted from the headquarters, evidently Pāṭaliputra, to distant places, they got disturbed in a variety of ways as mentioned above. It appears that the original of the

¹ The macron over *e* and *o* is not used in this article.

² Above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 4, 5.

³ *CII.*, Vol. I, 1925, p. 174, text-line 1.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 209, text-line 1.

text was more or less of the kind which we find at Brahmagiri, Siddāpura, Jaṅga-Rāmēśvara, Rājula-Manḍagiri, Erraguḍi and Niṭṭur, and the versions met with at Maski, Palki-guṇḍu, Gavimath Gujarrā, etc. contain only one part of the original text. It is apparent from these incomplete versions that they stop with the statement 'this proclamation is issued on tour (for) 256(days).¹ In these versions the text prominently mentions only the fact of Aśoka's exertions in respect of *Dharma* and his anxiety to spread its principles amongst men of all classes of his empire and amongst people living beyond the borders of his empire. What are the principles of *Dharma* which he wanted to spread? This vital information is contained only in the full original text of which the versions are found in the places mentioned above. In this full text, after the passage containing the number of days spent by Aśoka on tour, there commences the passage with the following expressions : At Brahmāgiri it is *Se hevaṃ Devānāmpiye āha*² at Erraguḍi it is *hevaṃ (Devānāṃ) Devānāmpiye āha*,³ and at Niṭṭur it is *Rājā Asoko āhā*. In the case of the Siddāpura version even this passage is omitted and the passage⁴ beginning with *mā[tā]* . . . is given. More significantly in the Jaṅga-Rāmēśvara version, the passage,⁵ after the numerical symbols, starts with *hem=eva mātā-pitusu*, meaning that (the principles of *Dharma*) are "as follows". Interestingly in the edict from Niṭṭur under study, the last sentence of the writing on Boulder No.I, reads as *yathā rājā Asoke āhā thathati* while the first sentence in the writing on Boulder No.II, reads as *Rājā Asoko āha* which is clearly indicative of the fact that the text of Boulder No.I is connected with the text of Boulder No.II. This is paralleled by the passages like *he[vaṃ] (Devānāṃ) Devānāmpiye āha* followed by the passage *yathā Devā[nā]mpiye āhā tathā kaṭaviye* occurring in Erraguḍi,⁶ and a similar passage which is much damaged and only conjecturally restored occurring in the Rājula-Manḍagiri version.⁷ In the light of the above discussion it is clear that the complete versions at the above-mentioned places represent only one edict. Dr. Hultzsch however has stated in his CII., Vol. I (1925), p. xxvi, that the edicts at Brahmagiri, etc. adds one more edict to that already known from such places as Rūpnath, Sahasrām, etc. This is obviously a casual statement because while treating the edict in the text portion of his book he has apparently taken it as a single edict only.⁸ But what appears, on the face of it, to have been stated casually by Dr. Hultzsch has been perpetuated in recent times by Dr. D.C. Sircar,⁹ which require reconsideration in the light of our discussion above.

TEXT¹⁰

BOULDER NO. I

1 (I) Devā[na]m̐piyo¹¹ heva[m̐] āha [| *] (II) adhikāni aḍhātiyāni [va]sāni ya¹²

¹ Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 210, last line.

² CII., Vol. I, 1925, p. 176, text-lines 8-9.

³ Above, Vol. XXXII, p. 7, text-line 12.

⁴ CII., Vol. I, 1925, p. 178, line 16.

⁵ Ibid., p. 180 text-lines 12-13.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXXII, p. 7, text-lines 12-13.

⁷ Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 217, text-lines 7-8.

⁸ CII., Vol. I, 1925, pp. 175 ff.

⁹ Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 211 ff.; Vol. XXXII, pp. 6-10.

¹⁰ From impressions.

¹¹ This is given as *Devānāmpiyasa Asokasa* in Maski (CII. Vol. I 1925 p. 174); as *Devānāmpiya* in Brahmagiri (ibid. p. 175); as *Devānāmpiye* in Siddāpura (ibid., p. 178); as *Devāna...* in Jaṅga-Rāmēśvara (ibid., p. 179); and as *Devānāmpiye* in Erraguḍi (above Vol. XXXII p. 6). In the Rock Edicts and Pillar-Edicts this passage is variously given as *Devānāmpiye*, *Devānāmpiyē piyadasi*, *Devānāmpiye piyadasi lājā*, etc.

¹² After this there should have been written two letters viz. *hakam*, but no trace of them is seen now.

2. ¹upāsake [| *] (III) no [tu] kho bā²ḍham³ pakamte⁴ husam eka[m] samvachharam [| *] (IV) sātireke tu kho samvachhare yam mayā Saṅghe u-
3. ⁵pāyi ...⁵ cha me pakam[te] [| *] (V) iminā chu kālena amisā ... kā munisā Jambudipasi⁶ mī(mi)sā⁷ [dēva hi] [| *]
4. (VI) pakamasa hi i[ya]m phale⁸ [| *] (VII) [no] hi iyam [mahatpane]⁹ va sake¹⁰ pāpotave¹¹ [| *] (VIII) kāmam ...¹² kenā pi pakaminēna¹³ vi[pule] [sva]ge
5. [sa]k[e] [ā]rā . y[i]tave¹⁴ ti [| *] (IX) [e]tāya iyam aṭhāya sāvaṇe sāvāpīte [| *] (X) yathā¹⁵ [khu]dakā cha mahā¹⁶[t]pā cha imam pakameyvu¹⁷(yu) amṭā cha me [jāne]yu¹⁸ ti
6. chirā-ṭhitike¹⁹ [cha] iyam pake(ka)me hota [| *] (XI) iyam aṭh[ē] vaḍhi[siti vipulam] pi cha vaḍhisiti avaradhiyā²⁰ diyadhiyam va[ḍhisiti]²¹ [| *] (XII) iyam cha sāvāpīte[ṇa]²²
7. sāvāpīte v[yū]theṇa . 50[6]²³ .. ²⁴pāṭha vāyam cha vavājite ti [| *] (XIII) yathā rājā Asoko āhā tathā ti [| *]

BOULDER NO. II

- 1 (I) Rājā Asoko hevam āha tathā²⁵ ānapay[i] . [| *] (II) r[ā]j[uka] ānapayisati [jā]-napadam cha janam raṭhikāni cha²⁶ [| *] (III) mātā-pitūsu²⁷ sūsusitaviye²⁸ ti [| *] (IV) hevam=eva²⁹ gurūsu³⁰ [| *]

¹ It seems that no letters were engraved before this letter.

² This letter *bā* is circular in form.

³ This word is not found in the Erraguḍi Edict (above Vol. XXXII p. 6 text-line 2).

⁴ In the Erraguḍi Edict this word is put after *samvachharam* (ibid).

⁵ Here the space is too much for the three letters *te bāḍham*. Since only these three letters are required it may be that these letters were big enough to occupy this space.

⁶ The words *samāna Jambudipasi* are not found in the Erraguḍi Edict (above, Vol. XXXII, p. 6, text-line 4).

⁷ In the Erraguḍi (ibid. line 5) and the Brahmagiri Edicts (CII. Vol. I, 1925, p. 174, text-line 4) *misibhūtā* is the word used.

⁸ This word is missing from the Erraguḍi Edict (above, Vol. XXXII, p. 6, text-line 6).

⁹ This word is put after *sakaye* in the Brahmagiri (CII. Vol. I, 1925, p. 175, text-line 4) and after *saka* in the Siddāpura Edicts (ibid, p. 178, text-line 9).

¹⁰ This word is spelt as *sakiye* in Erraguḍi (above, Vol. XXXII, p. 6, text-line 6) and as *sakye* in Brahmagiri (CII., Vol. I, 1925, p. 175 text-line 4).

¹¹ This word is not met with in Erraguḍi and other places also.

¹² The missing letters must be *tu kho khuda*. The expression *kāmam tu kho* is not found in Erraguḍi.

¹³ In Erraguḍi this word is given as *pakamaminena*.

¹⁴ In other places the word *arāḍhatave* is used.

¹⁵ In Erraguḍi *athā* is found.

¹⁶ In Erraguḍi the expression *khudaka-mahalaka* is used.

¹⁷ This letter is written in a manner so as to look like *yu*. In Erraguḍi *pakameyu* is found while in Brahmagiri and Siddāpura *pakameyu* is met with. The scribe, in the present instance, was apparently in two minds and hence he wrote this letter in a confused way as *yu*.

¹⁸ In Erraguḍi *jānevu* is used.

¹⁹ In Erraguḍi *chira-ṭhitikā* is used.

²⁰ In Erraguḍi *aparadhiyā* is found.

²¹ In Erraguḍi this word is not found.

²² This word is a mistake for *sāvāṇe*.

²³ The symbols for the numerals have been erased except for traces of 50, but there is no doubt that the symbols engraved here were 200 50 6.

²⁴ The passages starting from here are not found in Erraguḍi and other places.

²⁵ The first letter looks like *tu* or *sa* and the second letter looks like *pha* or *phe*. But the context seems to require *tathā* and hence its adoption here.

²⁶ This sentence is not found in the Brahmagiri, Siddāpura and Jaṅgarāmeśvara edicts but met with in the Erraguḍi edict.

²⁷ *Mātā-pitūsu* in Brahmagiri.

²⁸ *Sūsusitaviye* in Brahmagiri and *sūsusitaviye* in Erraguḍi.

²⁹ *Hem=eva* in Brahmagiri Siddāpura, Jaṅgarāmeśvara and Erraguḍi.

³⁰ It is *garusu* in Brahmagiri and Erraguḍi. At the latter place once again *sūsusitaviye* is introduced here and that makes the passage clearer so that it is not connected with the following passage.

2. (V) rpā(prā)nesu dayitaviye¹ ti² [| *] (VI) ime³ dhammagunā pavatitaviyā [| *]
 (VII) ...phe⁴ rajuka ānapayātha [| *] (VII) se dāna⁵ Devānāmpiyasa vachānena
 ānapayisat[i]rta te [| *] (IX) hem=eva ānapayātha hesa hi
3. bamhanāni cha hachh-ārohāni⁶ cha kāranakāni cha yug-ā,...⁷ [| *] (X).....
 [po]rānā pakiti [| *] (XI) ... sa yā[tā] i[yaṃ] susūsitaviye ti [| *] (XII) iyaṃ
 apachāyataviye⁸ ti [ā]chāliye apachāyi-
- 4 teti(vi) ye cha susūsitaviye cha [| *] (XIII) ye pi āchali [t]i ... yathāvaraham¹⁰
 pavatitaviye¹¹ ti yādisi porānā pakiti¹² [| *] (XIV) yathā iyaṃ
- 5 hi sātireke huveyā tathā pavatitaviye [t]i [| *]

TRANSLATION

Inscription on Boulder No. I

- (I) Thus saith the Beloved of the Gods.
- (II) It is (*now*) more than two years and a half that (*I have been*) an *upāsaka* (*i.e.*, lay follower of the Buddha).
- (III) I was, however, not excessively energetic (*in the practice and propagation of Dharma*) for one year (*at the beginning of the above period*).
- (IV) It is (*now*) more than a year that I have been intimately associated with the Saṅgha (*i.e.*, the Buddhist clergy) and have been excessively energetic (*in the cause of Dharma*).
- (V) Those men in Jumbudīpa who were unmingled (*with gods*) during this period, have (*now*) been mingled with gods.
- (VI) This is the result of (*my*) exertion (*in the cause of Dharma*).
- (VII) Indeed, it is not attainable only by a man of high rank.¹³

¹ *Drahyttavyam* in Brahmagiri.

² After this there is the passage *sacham vataviyam* at Brahmagiri, Siddāpura and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara and *sache vataviye* at Erraguḍi, which is missing here.

³ In Erraguḍi it is *ima*.

⁴ As in Erraguḍi, here too the words might be *hevaṃ tumphe*.

⁵ *Dāni* in Erraguḍi.

⁶ *Ḥathiy-ārohāni* in Erraguḍi (above, Vol. XXXII, p. 8, text-line 19).

⁷ The terms beginning with *bamhanāni* etc. are not met with in Brahmagiri, Siddāpura and Jaṭiṅga-Rāmeśvara.

⁸ This portion is completely erased. Probably here was engraved the passage *hevaṃ nivesayā* *yārisā*, etc., met with in the Erraguḍi Edict (above, Vol. XXXII, p. 8, text-lines 19-20).

⁹ *Apachāyanā ya* is found in Erraguḍi.

¹⁰ *Yathārahām* in Erraguḍi.

¹¹ The letter *ye* is engraved in small size below the cracked part of the rock and so its alignment is disturbed.

¹² The Erraguḍi Edict has one or two more passages in this section (above, Vol. XXXII, p. 8, text-lines 21 ff.).

¹³ This meaning seems to suit the context better than 'the rich man'. Cf. above, Vol. XXXII, p. 9.

(VII) Surely [even the lowly (man)¹] if he is energetic (*in the cause of Dharma*), can attain even the great heaven.²

(IX) It is for this purpose that the proclamation³ has been made (*by me*).

(X) So that the man of high rank and the lowly should also be energetic in this exertion (*in regard to the practice and propagation of Dharma*), that the peoples living beyond the borders (*of my empire*) should know (*this matter*) and that (*this matter*) will (*continue to be in vogue*) for long.

(XI) This purpose will increase, will increase to a great extent, and (*it*) will increase (*at least*) roughly to one and a half times.

(XII) This proclamation is being issued by me (*when I have been*) on tour

(XIII) As king Aśoka says, so be it.

Inscription on Boulder⁴ No. II

(I) Thus saith king Aśoka, and so it is ordered thus.⁴

(II) The (*officer called*) Rajjuka will order the people of the countryside as well as the (*officers called*) Rāshtrikas (*in the following words*):

(III) "Obedience must be rendered to mother and father ;

(IV) "likewise to elders ;

(V) "compassion should be shown to animals ;

(VI) "these attributes of Dharma should be propagated"

(VII) Thus the Rajjuka should pass orders.

(VIII) He will now pass orders in the words of the Beloved of the Gods.

(IX) In this way he should pass orders on the Brāhmanas, the elephant-riders, the scribes and the community [of teachers]⁵

(X) ancient usage.

(XI) and this order should be obeyed.

(XII) This honour is to be (enjoyed) by the teacher, and it should be respected and obeyed.

(XIII) This too should be propagated in a proper manner [amongst] by the teacher, in accordance with what is the ancient usage.

(XIV) You should so propagate this (*principle underlying this order*) as to make it grow (*among all*).

¹ The lowly man' seems to suit the context better than 'the poor man'. Cf. *ibid.*, and note 4.

² The great heaven' is indeed the abode of the gods who are said to visit the earth off and on and mingle with the people here. *Contra* above Vol. XXXII, p. 9, note 3.

³ This proclamation is the one contained in the writing on Boulder No. II; and this is the one which is found engraved in continuation of the passage mentioning that "the proclamation is being issued by me 256 (days)" in the Edicts at Erragiḍi and Rājula-Manḍagiri.

⁴ The context suggests that the king's proclamation was addressed to his high officer at the place who in turn instructs his subordinates like the Rajjukas, probably governors of the districts to obey the king's orders.

⁵ This Edict classifies Brāhmanas differently and *yug* (probably *yugy-āchāriyāni* of the Erragiḍi Edict, above Vol. XXXII, p. 8, line 9), differently. Therefore, the meaning given to this passage in *ibid.* p. 10, Passage XI, requires reconsideration.

No. 16—NALANDA INSCRIPTION OF KING PRATHAMASIVA

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, CALCUTTA

Sri Vijayakanta Misra recently published a paper entitled 'A new Sanskrit Praśasti from Nālandā' in the *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. LVIII, 1972, pp. 183-87 and Plate. The beautifully inscribed stone, which is somewhat rubbed off in the central area, was discovered in the course of the clearing operation of a small mound lying on the north of the road leading to the excavated remains at the place and is a rectangular block of black stone, 74 cm. by 45 cm. It was found fixed on a wall in the niche facing east, 2.55 cm. below the present ground level. There are 14 lines of writing, which contain twelve stanzas in various metres with a prose passage at the end. The characters belong to the 7th-8th—century A. D. The inscription uses final *t* several times. As regards orthography *anusvāra* before *ś* and *s* is erroneously changed respectively to *ñ* and *n*. Final *m* is sometimes changed to *anusvāra*.

Sri Misra says that Pandit Jagadīśvar Pandey of the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna helped him in reading the inscription. It seems that the gist of the contents of the record in Hindi, given after the text, was also prepared by the Pandit because I noticed some discrepancies in the small introduction in English and the summary of contents in Hindi.¹

Sometime ago, I was very happy to receive an offprint copy of Sri Misra's article from the author and to note that the inscription is of considerable historical importance. Since I also noticed that there were some palpable mistakes in the published transcript while the interpretation of the text in the Hindi summary of contents exhibits a large number of errors,² I requested Sri Misra to be so good as to send me a few inked impressions of the inscription for my study. Sri Misra obliged me, and I am extremely grateful to him for his kindness. I had an occasion to examine the stone when I visited Nālandā in order to attend the convocation of the Naya Nālandā Mahāvihāra in April 1976, for receiving an honorary degree conferred on me. Later, I received a good impression of the inscription from Sri P. R. Srinivasan, Chief Epigraphist in charge, who was kind enough to allow me to edit the record in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

The inscription begins with the *Siddham* symbol followed by verse 1 which is in adoration of the pair of the feet of the Muni (i.e. the Sage) meaning the Buddha. The said feet are stated

¹ Thus the English section speaks of 'king Bhāśiva Śrī Rāhula and Narapati' while the Hindi part has king Bhāśiva his son Rāhula and king Śiva. Of course both the statements are wrong as will be seen below. Among the wrong statements or suggestions the one that first drew my attention is that a person named Pūrṇavarman who was the maker of the *kīrti*, i.e. an image of the Buddha installed by king Prathamaśiva in the present case, has been regarded as the installer of the image and as identical with Magadhan king of that name mentioned by Hiuen-sang. For an image represented as someone's *kīrti*, see above Vol. XXVIII, p. 185. [See below p. 157, n 1-Ed.]

² Among the mistakes in reading, the first that drew my attention is the word *pāścāhātyān* (line 3) read as *pāśvānyān*. Likewise the second half of verse 10 in line 12, which is wrongly read and very poorly interpreted also attracted my attention almost about the same time: In it the mention of the Śāstri's *pratīkṛiti* (i.e. the image of the Buddha) has been unfortunately missed.

to have borne the auspicious marks of the *chakra* (wheel), *svastika*, *vajra* (thunderbolt), *mīna* (fish), *kalaśa* (jar), *chhatra* (umbrella) and *dhvajā* (banner). Verse 2 introduces king Bhāśiva who was born at the city of Mathurā, just as the god Hari (i.e. Vāsudēva Kṛishṇa) had been born there for serving a particular purpose, and was a kshatriya born in a Vipra or Brāhmaṇa family. The stanza also speaks of king Rāhula, who was Bhāśiva's son, and of king Bhāvi who was Rāhula's younger brother. The following stanzas describe king Prathamaśiva who was the son of Bhāvi. Of these verses, the first two (verses 3-4) credit king Prathamaśiva with a victory over the Pāschātya kings, i.e. the rulers of the western territories, apparently meaning certain kings flourishing in the land lying to the west of Mathurā or, less probably, in the Western Division of India. The stanzas also emphasise his affection towards the people devoted to him and say that he shared his prosperity with all his friends and was like the father to his subjects. In continuation of the description of Prathamaśiva's achievements, verse 5 speaks of his exploits in the Vindhyan region in which he is stated to have employed two categories of elephants, viz. the wild ones which were captured and trained by his people and the others that were obtained from the enemies defeated in battles. The following stanza (verse 6) says how the Prāchyas (Easterners), the Udichyas (Northerners), the Kalachyutis (Kalachuris) and other powers were afraid of king Prathamaśiva's prowess just as the elephants are of the lion. Verse 7 mentions that the heroic deeds of the king, resembling those of Viśvātman (Brahman, Vishṇu or Śiva probably the last one in the present case),¹ reminded people of the exploits of Rāma (any of three Rāmas, viz., Dāśarathi, Haladhara and Bhārgava) and Arjuna (probably the third Pāṇḍava and not Kṛitavīrya's son), and endeared him to the neighbouring rulers who exhibited their devotion to him through messengers and carriers of presents and letters.

Verse 8 says how king Prathamaśiva installed a big image of Lord Buddha in a Buddhist establishment apparently at Nālandā. The image is compared to the nāyaka (i.e. the central gem of a necklace) in the Buddhist establishment described as an ornament of the world. The said Buddhist establishment is indicated by the expression *yati-varāvāsa*, 'the abode of the Ascetic (the Buddha) or of the Monks' so that it may have been a temple of the Buddha or a monastery where the Buddhist monks lived. In any case, the inscription does not claim that the said establishment was also made by king Prathamaśiva. The next stanza (verse 9) refers to the beauty of the image and its establishment at a height by comparing it with the top of the Golden Mountain (Mount Sumēru)². This may suggest that the image was installed on a small pillar in the open. Verse 10 prays for the long life of the said image of the Śāstri (i.e. the Buddha) which is called *kund-āmala* probably meaning 'white like the *kunda* flower'. The description therefore suggest that the Buddha image was either made of white material or was painted white.

The name of the sculptor who made the beautiful image was Pūrṇavarman as mentioned in verse 11. He is called the maker of the said *kīrti* or fame-producing object, i.e. the image, for the king. Verse 12 (i.e. the last stanza) says that the *praśasti* or eulogy was composed by Durgadatta who enjoyed the title *Mahārāja* and was adorning the post of *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* (Minister for War and Peace) under the king, i.e. Prathamaśiva. The prose passage

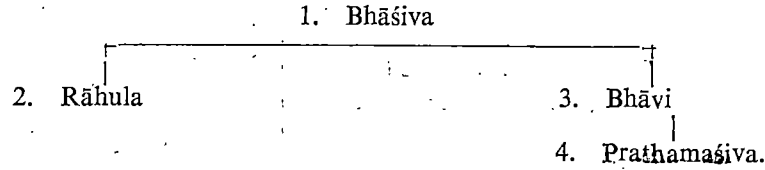
¹ [*Samyuga-śata-vyāpāra-viśvātmanah* seems to mean only 'of (him) whose nature is all-pervading in hundreds of actions of war'. Cf. the all-pervading activities of Rāma and Arjuna in the war described in the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata*.—Ed.]

² [In the present comparison only three enumerated common qualities (*sādhāraṇa-dharmas*) are meant and none of them seems to suggest the establishment of the image at a height.—Ed.]

at the end says that the eulogy was engraved by Mādhiava, son of Vāmana, the epithet *Nāgara-sūtradhāra*, probably meaning 'the carpenter or mason who was a resident of the city (i.e. Mathurā)¹ being applied to either the father or the son, possibly the latter.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it speaks of a line of Buddhist kings apparently of Mathurā,² which was originally a Brāhmaṇa family, but later became Kshatriya obviously because it mixed up its blood with Kshatriya ruling families and became what was usually regarded as Brahma-Kshatriya having the blood of both the Brāhmaṇa and the Kshatriya.³ It is not possible to determine whether Prathamaśiva visited Nālandā on pilgrimage and installed the image on that occasion or installed the Buddha image there through some of his agents who may have been sent to perform the pilgrimage on the king's behalf.⁴ It is also difficult to say whether the image and the inscribed slab were both brought from Mathurā or were made at Nālandā ; but, as we shall see below, the first alternative seems to be more probable.

The following four rulers of three generations of the Vipra-Kshatriya (Brahma-Kshatriya) dynasty of Mathurā are mentioned in the inscription under study :—



Since the present inscription may be assigned roughly to the 8th century A.D. on palaeographical grounds, king Bhāśiva may have flourished in the beginning of the century and his grandson Prathamaśiva about its close. It seems that this family succeeded the Mauryas whose Mathurā inscription, assigned to the seventh century, was recently published.⁵ Probably the rulers of the Vipra-Kshatriya dynasty flourished earlier than those of the Śūrasēna family of Kaman that flourished in the Bharatpur District of Rajasthan about the ninth century.⁶

Prathamaśiva's claim of success against his adversaries in the West, East and North is vague ; but the specific mention of the Kalachyutis (Kalachuris) is interesting though very little is known about the Kalachuri rulers of the eighth century. Probably these Kalachuris were scions of the earlier branch of the family that later claimed descent from Kārtavīrya Arjuna of Māhishmati, modern Maheshwar in the East Nimar District, Madhya Pradesh. Thus they may have been assigned by the poet to the land lying to the south of Prathamaśiva's kingdom probably in order to represent him as a conqueror of all the four quarters. Unfortunately, the latest records of the early branch of the Kalachuri family,

¹ [*Nāgara-sūtradhāra* may as well mean that 'an architect well versed in the Nāgara style (of temple architecture)', which is said, in the *Śilpa* texts, as one of the four important styles of the temple construction. Even if *Nāgara* is taken in the ordinary sense 'a person of the town' that there is nothing to show that, that the town was Mathurā, and not Nālandā.—Ed.]

² [The description of the progenitor of the family as *Kāryārtham Mathurā-purē-Harir=piva prītō-grahij=janma yah* (verse 2) seems to suggest that though he was born at Mathurā he abandoned it subsequently. His *upamā* with Harī seems to be significant.—Ed.]

³ See Sircar, *The Guhilas of Kishkindhā* pp. 6 ff. Cf. *kshatr-ōpētā dvijāti* (*Matsya Purāna* 49.41).

⁴ Cf. cases of pilgrimage by proxy above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 103 ff.

⁵ Above Vol. XXXII, pp. 207 ff.

⁶ Cf. *ibid.* Vol. XXXVI, p. 52 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, pp. 34 ff.

which succeeded in extending its Power over Northern Maharashtra in the south and over wide areas of Malwa and Gujarat in the north, are Buddharāja's Vadner and Sarsavani plates issued respectively in the years 360 and 361 (608 and 609 A.D.) from Vaidiśa (Vidiśa in East Malwa) and Ānandapura (probably modern Vadnagar in Gujarat) while some scholars assign Durgagaṇa of the Jhalrapatan inscription of Vikrama 746 (689 A.D.) to the same dynasty.¹ It may be mentioned here that the Kalachuris are believed to have been foreigners who entered India along with the Hūṇas and Gurjaras and that Indian authors found it difficult to represent this foreign clan name and wrote it variously as Kaṭachchuri, Kalatsuri, Kalachuri, Kalachuti, Kalachurya, Kalichurya, etc.²

Among other points of interest in the inscription, reference should be made to the fact that it contains one of the rare instances of the mention of the name of a sculptor. Pūrṇavarman, who made the image of the Buddha installed by king Prathamaśiva³ of Mathurā at Nālandā, seems to have been a sculptor of the Mathurā School of Indian Art. Another sculptor of the Mathurā School, who flourished in the fifth century, was Dinna mentioned in one inscription from Mathurā and two from Kasia (ancient Kuśinagara),⁴ the Mathurā inscription belonging to the reign of king Nṛipamitra. The installation of the two Buddha images made by Dinna at Kasia in the Deoria District (formerly a part of the Gorakhpur District) of U.P. points to his great eminence as an artist; but we do not know whether he made the images at Mathurā, which were transferred to Kasia, or was deputed or invited to Kasia to make the images at the place. The same uncertainty is noticed in the present case as well, because we do not know whether the image bearing our inscription was made at Mathurā and transported to Nālandā for installation at that locality or it was the sculptor who was deputed by the king to Nālandā to make the image there. It seems, however, that the first alternative was easier than the second because the transportation of heavy objects of merchandise was managed by early Indian merchants for great distances on land and water, and they would not refuse to undertake such tasks if properly paid. Sometimes ready-made eulogies were carried by the pilgrims to be engraved on the temple walls.

Another interesting information supplied by the inscription relates to the auspicious symbols on the Buddha's feet. It is well known that the foot-marks of the Buddha were an object of worship and are sometimes represented in sculpture, one of the excellent representations showing the symbols having been found on an inscribed stone slab from Nagarjunikonda.⁵

The Nagarjunikonda slab bears the representation of the soles of the two feet placed side by side with that of the Bodhi tree in railing on one side. The symbols have been described as follows: "The most prominent symbol engraved on each of the soles is the *chakra*

¹ See Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions Nos. 1207-08 and 14; also p. 393. Among the other early rulers of different branches of the family Kokkalla, the first known king of the Tripuri branch ruled about the close of the ninth and the beginning of the tenth century while Rājaputra, the first known member of the Sarayūpāra branch seems to have flourished in the first half of the ninth century. See *ibid.*, p. 392, note 2, and No. 143.

² Bhandarkar's List of Inscriptions: Nos. 143, 748, 1206; Ray *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 1081, note 4; *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, part II, pp. 293, 468.

³ [Verse 4, the expression *Pūrṇachandraḥ* seems to be used in the sense of *Pūrṇaḥ Chandraśiva* like *nṛipatīndu* in the sense of *nṛipatīḥ indur=iva* (verse 8). Hence it is very likely that Prathamaśiva himself had another name Pūrṇa and that this name Pūrṇa is described to have been written on the full-moon in verse 11, just as Prātāparudra's Boar-crest is described by Vaidyanātha to have been affixed on the moon—Ed.]

⁴ Above Vol. XXXV, p. 200.

⁵ Above Vol. XXXII, pp. 247 ff.

NALANDA INSCRIPTION OF PRATHAMASIVA

2
4
6
8
10
12
14

2
4
6
8
10
12
14

Size : One-fourth

(wheel). Behind this are an *ankuśa* (goad), a Nāga symbol, a *triratna* on *chakra* and a pair of fish with a *śaṅkha* (conch-shell) nearby, while in front of it are two Nāga symbols, a *svastika*, a *śrīvatsa* and a *pūrṇa-ghaṭa* with a *śaṅkha* nearby. The five toes in front of the above bear respectively a *stambha* (pillar), an *ankuśa*, another indeterminable symbol, a pair of fish and a *triratna* on *chakra*." What has been called 'a pair of fish with a *śaṅkha* nearby' seems really to be a second *ankuśa* in the row. Any way, of these symbols, *chakra* or wheel, *svastika*, *mīna* or fish and *kalaśa* or jar (the same as *pūrṇa-ghaṭa*) are clearly mentioned in the list of auspicious symbols on the Buddha's feet in our inscription. It is possible that *dhvajā* is to be traced in the representation of the *stambha* which may have been the *dhvaja-stambha* while what is usually described as the *triratna* may be essentially the *vajra* or thunderbolt symbol. It is also not impossible that the symbol regarded as 'indeterminable' is a particular type of the *chhatra* or umbrella, although it has to be admitted that it does not resemble the umbrella usually found in sculptures.¹

We have seen above how the poet refers in verse 7, to Viśvātman, Rāma and Arjuna. This shows the influence of Brahmanical mythology on the composition. Strangely enough, there is no such influence of Buddhist mythology on this eulogy of a Buddhist king set up at a Buddhist place of pilgrimage. This may have been due to the fact that its author was a Brahmanical Hindu.

The fact that a subordinate of king Prathamasiva, viz., *Mahāsāndhivigrahika* Durgadatta, enjoyed the royal title *Mahārāja* would suggest that the king himself was an independent monarch enjoying such higher titles as *Mahārājādhirāja*. The absence of the proper titles of rulers is sometimes noticed in very few records.

The inscription does not mention any geographical name excepting Mathurā.

TEXT²

[Metres : Verses 1-3, 6-8 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verses 4-5, 10 *Sragdharā* ; verse 9 *Pushpitāgra* ; verse 11 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 12 *Āryā*.]

- 1 Siddham³ [||*] Chakra-svastika-vajra-mīna-kalaśa-chchhatra-dhvajā-lakṣhaṇam
pād-āmbhōja-yugam-sphuran-nakha-maṇi-chchhāy-ābhishēk-āruṇam(ṇam |) bhakti-
prahva-surēśa-dānava-śirō-ratnāvalī-bhāsura[m]
- 2 saṁsāra-chchhiduram dadhātu jagatām śrēyāsi (yāmsi) śāsvan=Munēh || [1*] Āsīd-
Bhāsiva-bhūpatiḥ pṛithu-yaśā Vipr-ānvayeh Kshattriyah kāry[ā]rtham Mathur
[ā]purē Harir-iva pṛitō-grahī-janma yaḥ [1*] puttras-tasya jit-ōddhat-āri-

¹ If the symbol on the Nagarjunikonda slab is really a *chhatra* it has resemblance with the umbrella raised on a Lama's head as sometimes found at Darjeeling and depicted in local pictures. It may be noted in this connection that the thirty-two signs of the Mahāpurusha mentioned in the Buddhist literature excepting one (cf. No. 2 in the list quoted below), have nothing to do with symbols like those mentioned above. Excluding five which are of doubtful implication, those signs are : (1) feet which are firmly placed on earth, (2) wheel marks on the soles, (3) longish heels, (4) long fingers, (5) soft and tender hands and feet, (6) hands and feet with webbed fingers, (7) legs like those of a black antelope, (8) hands touching the knees when one is standing straight, (9) privities concealed, (10) golden complexion, (11) only one hair in a pore on the body, (12) hairs on the body having upright tips, (13) divinely straight limbs, (14) large shoulders, (15) circular in appearance like a banyan tree, (16) rounded shoulders, (17) jaws like those of a lion, (18) teeth numbering forty, (19) even teeth, (20) well-set teeth, (21) very white canine teeth, (22) long tongue, (23) pleasantly deep voice, (24) very dark eyes, (25) eye-lashes like those of a heifer, (26) mark of hairs like white cotton between the eye-brows and (27) head surmounted by an excrescence. Cf. *Dighanikāya* II. 4, III. 7. 1-2 ; Nālandā ed, pp. 14-16, 110.

² From impressions. The mistakes in the published transcript have not been noticed in our transcript of the text printed here.

³ Expressed by symbol.

- 3 rir=abhavat¹ śrī-Rāhulaḥ pārthivaḥ² tasy=āpy=āyatavikramō narapatir-Bhāvīḥ kanyān=abhūt || [2*] Dusht-ārātighatā-vidāraṇa-paṭuḥ śūr-āgraṇis=tat-sutaḥ Pāschātyān=nripatīn=vijitya samarē
- 4 yēn=āpi śinhāsanaṁ³ [|*] siktā yasya yaśas=chhaṭābhir=amala-spashtās=samastā diśō lakshmīr=yēna cha sarvva-va(ba)ndhu-suhridām sāmānya-bhōgyikṛitā || [3*] Śatruśhv=aty-ugra-tējāḥ Pra[tha]maśiva iti khyāta-nāmā
- 5 kshitiśaḥ snigdheśhu snēha-mātrah prakatita-mahimā⁴ tāta-vṛittih prajāsu [|*] yair=drishṭō yē cha śriṇvanty=atula-guṇa-nidhēḥ kirttyamānaṁ guṇ-augham tēshām sākshād=iv=āsau janayati manasām pūrṇa-chandraḥ⁵
- 6 sukhāni || [4*] Vāriya(ba)ndh-ādi-yukti-grahaṇa-vaśa-gataih prājya-sikshā-vinitaih prāptair=anyaiś=cha jtvā praharaṇa-kalilē saṁgarē pratyanīkān || mattair=yasya dvipēndrair=ddalita-guru-śilā-saṁchayō Gairik-ā-
- 7 dri-srōtō-vyājēna Vindhyaḥ kshatajam=iva vamann=ētin=ādy=āpi śāntim(mntim) || [5*] Prāchy-Ōdichya-Kalachyuti-prabhṛitayah śaury-āvaliptā bhṛisām rājānō va(ba) [la]-dēśa-sādhana-dhana-sphīta-pratāpā api [|*] yasy=ōttuṅga-parākrama-
- 8 sya bhuvana-khyāta-prabhāv-ōnnatēḥ śinḥa(simḥa)sy=ēva na gōcharaṁ dviraḍanā yānti sma śānk-ānvitā[h] [6*] [S-ōddeśyā ?] api yasya [saṁ]yu[gva(ga)]-śata-vyāpāra-Viśvātmanaḥ śrutvā karma tathā-vidham yadi kṛitam Rām-Ārjunābhyām bhavēt [|*]
- 9 prīty-āvarjjita-mānasāḥ pulakinō visphārit-ākshā nripāḥ⁶ dūt-ōpāyana-lēkha-vāha-vidhibhir=bhaktih samāchakshata || [7*] Yaḥ khyāt-āyati-bhūri-sāra-vibhavaḥ sat-tējasām=āśrayaḥ prajñā-paurusha-nirjīṭ-ōrjjita-ripuḥ
- 10 ślāghyō nivāsaḥ śriyaḥ [|*] tēn=aitan=ntīpat-īndunā⁶ Yativar-āvāsē jagad-bhūṣaṇē nyastam nāyaka-ratna-vad=bhagavatō Vū(Bu)ddhasya vi(bi)mvam(mbarṁ) mahat || [8*] Atīśayita-samasta-dēva-sampat=sthira-vipul-āyata-punya-
- 11 ratna-rāśi [|*] śaśi-ravi-kara-mūrchchhan-ōru-tējāḥ śira iva Hēmagirēr=idam vibhāti || [9*] Yāvach=chandrāṅśu-(ndr-āṁśu)-pūgaḥ sitayati kakubhaḥ kshuṇṇa-muktā-phala-śrīḥ⁷ yāvan=mūrddhnām sahasr[air]=vvaḥati vasumatī[m*] bhāra-namraṁ(mrah)
- 12 Phaṇindraḥ [|*] yāvad=dyaus=tigma-raśmi-dyuti-visara-sikhā-pātita-dhvānta-jālā tāvat=kund-āmal=ēya[m] pratikṛitir=asamā tishṭhatām Śās[tu]r=[ūrddhv*]jē⁸ || [10*] Nāma śrī Pūrṇavarmṁ=ēti tasy=aitat-kirtti-kāriṇaḥ [|*]
- 13 na kēvalam sthitam prithivyām likhitam chandramasy=api ||⁹ || [11*] Lavdha(bdha)-Mahārāja-padō nripatēr=asy=aiva Sāndhivigrahikaḥ [|*] ētām prāsastim=ararōt¹⁰ bhakti-parō(rah) śrī Durggadatt-ākhyāḥ ||¹¹ [12*]
- 14 utkīrṇṇ=ēyam Nāgara-sūtradhāra-Vāmana-puttra-Mādhavēna ||⁹ ¶

¹ Read °ārit=abhavach=śrī or °abhavach=chrit.

² Read pārthivas=tasya.

³ Read śinhāsanaṁ.

⁴ Read mahimāś=tāta°.

⁵ [Here seems to be a reference to the name of the ruler.—Ed.]

⁶ Sandhi has not been observed here.

⁷ Read śrīr=yāva°.

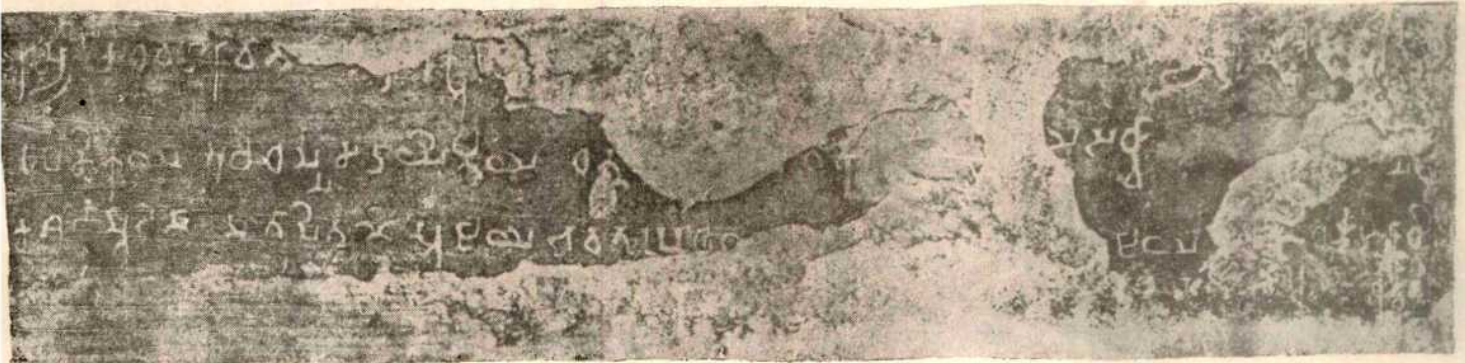
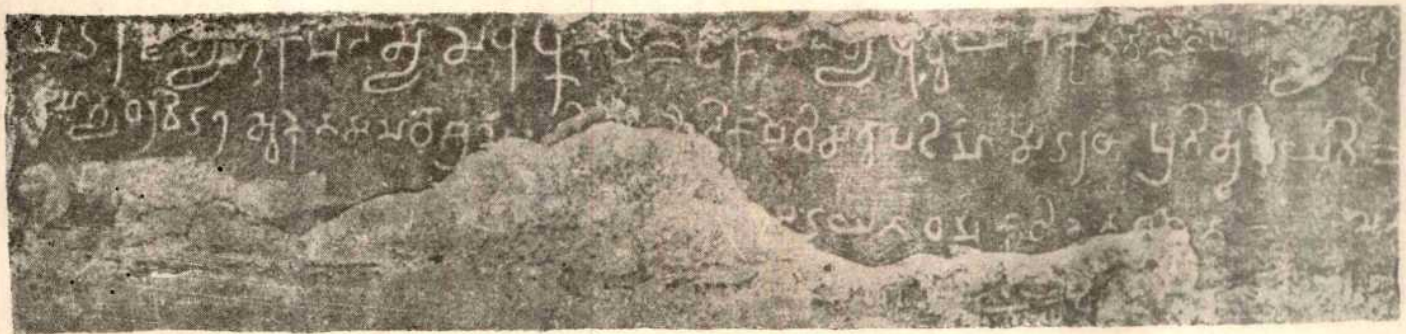
⁸ The restoration of the lost letter has been suggested to us by the extant *ē-mātrā* and the comparison of the image with the top of Mount Sumēru in verse 9. [*Śāstur=uchchait* may as well as be the reading in the original. Here *uchchait* may mean either 'high' or 'famous' or something like that. Regarding the comparison containing in verse 9 see above p. 156 n. 1.—Ed.]

⁹ There is a double-cricle symbol between the double *daṇḍas*.

¹⁰ Read °akarōd°.

¹¹ The intended name may be Durgādatta as read by Misra ; but there is no *ā-mātrā* in the second *akshara*.

BODH GAYA INSCRIPTION OF SAKA YEAR 64



From Photograph

MITHOURI INSCRIPTION OF SAKA YEAR 80



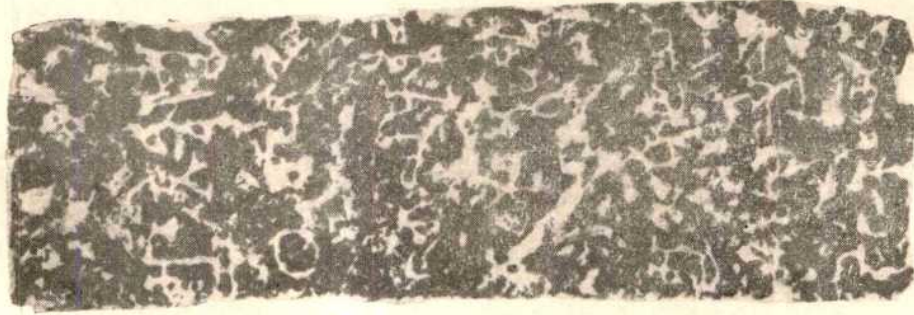
2

4

6

8

First Face



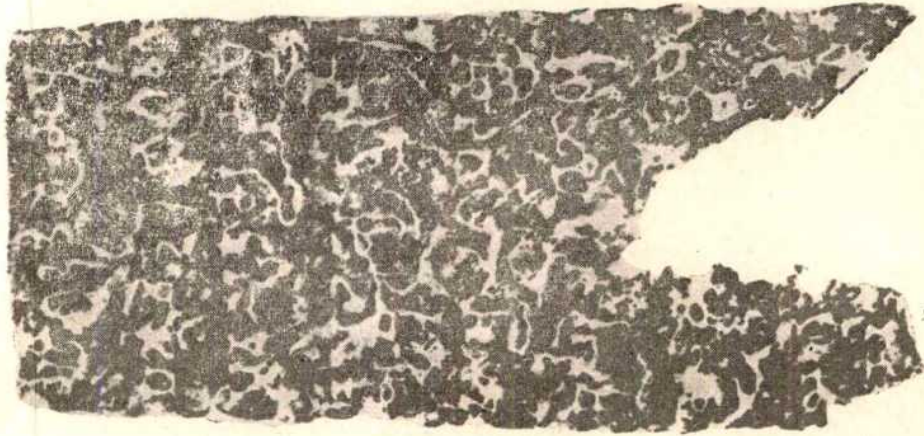
2

4

6

8

Second Face
Size : One-fourth



10

12

14

16

Third Face

No. 17—TWO BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS

(I Plate)

P. R. SRINIVASAN, MYSORE

The two epigraphs edited here are noteworthy in certain respects. But their importance has not been clearly brought out by the scholars who have written on them. Hence they are dealt with below in detail. For the sake of convenience they are referred to as *A* and *B*.

A. Bodh-Gayā Inscription of [Śaka] year 64

Of the two records, *A* is known for a long time. It is engraved on the pedestal of a huge seated Buddha image, measuring about 117.5 cm by 93.75 cm, carved out of red sandstone of Mathurā. This image was discovered by A Cunningham in 1892 near a small ruined temple, close to the south gate of the railing of the Great Temple at Bodh-Gayā, and it is now preserved in the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta.³ It is reported⁴ that by 1898, the inscription, which was already in a damaged condition, has suffered further damage. Lüders had referred to it in a certain context⁵ and later noticed it in his *List*.⁶ Subsequently Ramprasad Chanda published a transcript of it along with his brief comment in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* for 1922-23, p. 169. According to Chanda, this record, on palaeographical grounds, may have belonged to the Gupta times. Following this lead, D.R. Bhandarkar had included this item in his *List*.⁷ Thereafter scholars writing on early Indian Sculpture began to ascribe the Buddha image to the Gupta age.⁸

The inscription is edited here from a photograph of the illustration given in A. Cunningham's work⁹ and it consists of four lines and not three lines,¹⁰ the fourth line having been almost completely obliterated. The characters are Brāhmi and are similar to those of several records of the 2nd-3rd centuries A.D.¹¹ Especially noteworthy are the letters *m*, *l*, *s* and *h* which resemble the same letters occurring in inscriptions dating from the beginning of the Kushāna period.¹² The language of the inscription is Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit. That the engraver of the record was not very careful is indicated by the addition of superfluous *mātrā*-signs to letters¹³ and by the peculiar spelling of the word *pratiṣṭhapiyati* for

¹ The macron over *e* and *o* is not used in this article.

² A. Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, p. 21; plate XXV.

³ *ASIAR*, 1922-23, p. 169.

⁴ *JASB*, Vol. LXVII, 1898, Part I, p. 282.

⁵ *Journal of the Asiatic Society* for 1909, p. 661.

⁶ No. 949.

⁷ No. 1258.

⁸ A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 74; *The Classical Age*, p. 518.

⁹ *Mahābodhi*, plate XXV.

¹⁰ *ASIAR*, 1922-23, p. 169.

¹¹ Above Vol. XIX p. 96 f., and plate facing p. 97; *ibid.* Vol. XXXIV, pp. 9-10, and top figure of plate facing p. 10.

¹² See *Mathurā Inscriptions* by H. Lüders (edited by K. L. Janert), pp. 116 ff. for a discussion on this topic.

¹³ See note 7 of the text below.

pratiṣṭhāpayati, as well as by the omission of some *mātrās* e.g., *viharasyu* (line 1) for *vihārasya*. An orthographical peculiarity noticed in the record is the doubling of the consonant following *r*, e.g. *pūrvvaye* (line 1) and *sarvvā* (line 2). The mixed dialect of the record and the manner in which it commences and the method adopted for stating the particulars of the date are also in the characteristic style of the records of the Kushāna period.¹

The date of the record expressed by numerical symbols is stated as the 5th day of the 3rd (month) of summer in the 64th year (line 1). This statement follows immediately the expression in the genitive case mentioning the ruler, as is usually met with in the records of the members of the Kushāna dynasty.² As in the case of the latter, here also the year does not refer to the regnal reckoning of the ruler but is to be referred to an era. For the palaeographical and other reasons given above, the year 64 may have to be referred to the Śaka era which is now generally believed to have started in 78 A.D., and not to a different era.³ Then the equivalent of the year in the Christian era would be 142 A.D.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of a certain Mahārāja Tṛikamala⁴ who is not known from any other record. As there is no mention in the record of any overlord, it appears that this ruler was either semi-independent or independent. Similar early records⁵ revealing the existence of rulers of this category are already known, and this suggests that such rulers held sway over isolated territories, in North India, more or less in an independent capacity, during this period.

This inscription records the setting up of a (stone?) image of Bodhisattva evidently the one on the pedestal of which the record is engraved. The words *svakēna samartho śrama* . . . , appear to qualify the deity represented, but it is difficult to be sure of their real connection. The word *Sihārathā* following the expression *paṭimām*, probably stands for Simhārathā, the name of a person who was responsible for the setting up of the image. The image appears to have been set up in a *vihāra* of a certain monk whose name ends with *°mātyadhara* and who was a companion of another monk who was a master of *Vinaya* (*Vīnaya* *yadhara*) and who was a resident of another *vihāra* of which the name is not clear. The donor of the image appears to have been a certain lay-woman (*upāsikā*) who was probably assisted by Dhanna who was a teacher of the law (*dharmakathika*). Here, too, the passage *ārtha-dharmā sahāyitiye Dhanna . . .*; which follows the word *upāsikaye*, seems to refer to

¹ Lüders' List Nos. 42, 66, etc. ; especially noteworthy is No. 906. It must be noted here that R. P. Chanda was quite aware of these early characteristics of this record ; but somehow he was led to believe that the characters " are of the Gupta period " and accordingly referred the year to the Gupta era. (*ASIAR*, 1922-23, p. 169). Though D. R. Bhandarkar was also aware of this feature, he could not resist the temptation of including the record in his *List*, perhaps under the influence of R. P. Chanda's remarks (Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1258 and note 4).

² Lüders' List, Nos. 42, 66, etc.

³ R. P. Chanda in *ASIAR*, 1922-23, p. 169 has referred the year to the Gupta era. Also see Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1258 where, after expressing his doubt about the ascription of this year to Gupta era by putting a query after *G.* (Gupta-Valabhī era), D. R. Bhandarkar has suggested in note 4 under that number, whether the date should be referred to the Kalachūri era, apparently oblivious to the far-reaching implications of this suggestion such as the assumption of the spread of the practice of using this era as far east as Bodh- Gayā, which has not so far been proved by any record. However, this vacillation on the part of D. R. Bhandarkar is indicative of the fact that he was not quite convinced of the ascription of the date to the Gupta era.

⁴ A. Cunningham read the name as Tukamāla or Turamāla although he was not sure of the correctness of the reading himself (*Mahābodhi*, p. 21).

Lüders read it as Tṛikamata with a query (*List*, No. 949). R. P. Chanda's reading, adopted here, seems to be fairly correct (*ASIAR*, 1922-23, p. 169).

⁵ Lüders' List, No. 906, above Vol. XXXI pp. 167 ff., and plates.

the lay-woman, but its import is not clear. The concluding passage which is almost completely lost, seems to state that this work was for the worship of the parents (evidently of the female donor) and of the teachers, etc.

The consequence of the attribution of the inscription to the 2nd century A. D. is obvious *viz.*, that the image on the pedestal of which it is engraved becomes an example of the art of the period. It may be said that all the characteristics of the figure, like mass, workmanship, decoration, etc., being in the style of sculptures of the period in question, become meaningful only now.¹ Its facial features, showing closed eyes are, however, not seen in the sculptures of the Kushāna period especially from Mathurā, and such a characteristic is common to sculptures of the Gupta period. But here this feature may be taken as rare and due to the influence of the Magadha school.

TEXT²

- 1 Maharajasya Tr[ika]ma³ [la⁴]sya sa⁵ 60 4 grī 3 di 5 [eta]sya pūrvvaye bh-
[i]ksha (kshu) Vinayadharasya [shṭa]-v[i]ha(hā)[ra]sya sadhav[i]hāri [vina]kshu
.....
- 2 mātyadhara-vihāre sva kena sā(sā)⁶ martho śrama [śai]likām Bodhi-
satva-ṣaṭimām Sīhārathā pratisṭhapiyatī⁷? upāsikaye artha-dharmma-sahāyitiniye
Dhanna... ..[take] ye sarvā
- 3[sa]hāyenā Dham[m]akā(ka)thikena Dhannenā⁸ imena kuśalāmūlenā
mātāpituṇaṃ pūjāye bhavatu upadha[ya].....jāye.. dhar.... dhi]
- 4ya.....

B. Mithouri Inscription of [Śakā] year 80

The second inscription⁹ under study was discovered in Mithouri in the former Rewa State in Madhya Pradesh, in January 1946 by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, the then Government Epigraphist for India. It is stated to have been inscribed on a faceted stone pillar. Due to long exposure to the elements of nature, the pillar has suffered damage. The record is said to be engraved on three of its faces. On account of the damage caused to the pillar the writing is not well preserved. There are 17 lines of writing of which 8 lines are engraved on two faces while the remaining lines are engraved on the third face. The writing in lines 8-11 has suffered damage so much that it is difficult to be sure of the reading of several letters

¹ Stella Kramrisch while clearly noticing these features was led to ascribe the sculpture to the Gupta times obviously because of the ascription of the record, by other scholars to that period. (*Indian Sculpture*, pp. 61, 168-69, and Plate XVIII, Fig. 54).

² From photograph.

³ This form of *m* has a wider belly than the other forms of the letter occurring in this record, and has therefore the appearance of *p* and there seems to be some trace of a line going downward from its right arm which makes the whole *akshara* look like *pu* which is however only an illusion.

⁴ This letter is of a form distinctly different from that of *t*, and its identity with *p* in line 3 is easy to recognise.

⁵ There is an *e-mātrā* also here, but it seems to have been added by inadvertence.

⁶ There is an *e-mātrā* also here but it seems to have been added by inadvertence.

⁷ This *virāma* is indicated by a couple of slightly curved lines in a horizontal position.

⁸ This *virāma* is indicated by a single horizontal stroke.

⁹ *A.R.Ep.*, 1945-46, No. B 206.

in them. A chip from the bottom of the third face has been broken and lost causing the loss of a few letters from lines 16-17. This inscription has been noticed briefly in *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 52 with a facsimile on plate XXXIII. Since it has not been fully discussed so far, it is edited below.

The characters of the inscription are Brāhmī and resemble those of the record *A* dealt with above. Especially noteworthy is the affinity of the letters *m*, *l*, *s* and *h* of the latter with the same letters of the record under study. The tripartite *v* in the conjunct letter *sya* of *maharajasya* (line 1) is another noteworthy early palaeographical feature. Besides, the style of the introductory passage, the manner of giving the date, and the nature of contents, of this record are similar to those of the record *A* and others of the period to which they belong.¹ On these grounds, this record may be assigned to the 2nd century A.D.² The language is, however Sanskrit influenced slightly by Prakrit, e. g., *Vasusya* (line 6), and the composition is in prose. It may be mentioned here that though the majority of the inscriptions of this period are in mixed dialect, records in Sanskrit, dating from this period, are also known.³ As regards orthography, it may be noted that there is reduplication of consonants after *r*; e. g., *Parṇa* (line 10), *Sarvvasenāryyāya* (line 7) and *purvāyām* (line 4). It appears that in some letters the mark for the medial *ā* has not been indicated, e. g., *maharajaya*⁴ (line 2) for *mahārājasya* and *viharaka* (line 5) for *vihāraka*.

The record is dated and the details of the date are given in lines 3-4 as year 80, *varshāpaksha* 5, and *divasa* 10, the numerals being expressed by symbols. In this respect this record is similar to the Giñja⁵ and Bandhogarh⁶ records. Since the record, for the reasons detailed above, may be one of 2nd century A. D., the year 80 of the date may be referred to the Śaka era, in which case its Christian equivalent would be 158 A. D.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of a certain ruler named Jāngata⁷ who bore the titles *Bhāṭṭāraka* and *Mahārāja*. Records of several rulers of this period usually contain the title *mahārāja* only, prefixed to their names, and the records of the members of the Kushāṇa dynasty contain, in addition, sometimes, the other characteristic titles of theirs such as *rājātirāja*, *devaputra*, etc. The presence of the two above mentioned titles in our record is, therefore, interesting. The ruler Jāngata is also described as *Avantiśvara*. Previously this word was read as *Vaṅgēśvara* with a query.⁸ But the letter *nī* is distinctly clear and it is different from the letter *ṅa* occurring in the name Jāngata (line 2). It is also clear that the word *Avantiśvara* is compounded with the previous word as *maharajasy-Avantiśvarasya*. This ruler is known for the first time from this record and it is interesting to note that he is stated to be the lord of Avanti.

Avanti was part of Malwa which was included in the dominions of the Western Kshatrapas⁹ during this period. But about the middle of the 2nd century A.D., and for some-

¹ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 96 ff., and plate; see also Lüders' *Mathurā Inscriptions*, (edited by K. L. Janett), pp. 116 ff.

² See *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 52, where the inscription has been assigned to the pre-Gugpta period.

³ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 96 ff; *ASIAR*, 1910-11, Pt. II, pp. 40-48 and plates 23-24; above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 208-10, No. 7.

⁴ Of course, there are instances where this spelling is also met with, see Lüders' List, Nos. 38, 925, 927.

⁵ Lüders' List, No. 906.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 176.

⁷ In *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 52, this name is given with a query, but the reading seems to be all right.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 184; see also Lüders' List, No. 965.

time thereafter, due probably to the struggle for the throne between the successors of Rudradāman I (circa 130-50 A.D.),² there was confusion in the political life of the kingdom, and this opportunity was perhaps seized upon by the feudatories of the Kshatrapas or other local chieftains to declare themselves independent rulers of some territories, at least for a short period. Jāngata of our record was apparently one of them and he thus became the lord of the Avanti region. Furthermore, the findspot of the present record shows that the sway of this ruler extended in the east upto the Rewa region. This was possible because apparently there was no opposition to this ruler from any local authority in this region. It has been concluded³ that this territory was held by a certain *Mahārāja* Bhīmasenā of the Bandhogarh cave inscription of the year 51⁴, who has been identified with his namesake of the Giñja hill inscription in red paint of year 52⁵ and that his successors continued to rule in that region. It is, however, significant that the earliest date of the successor of Bhīmasena, also known from another Bandhogarh record, is year 86,⁶ and no records of this family with dates in between years 52 and 86 have come to light so far. It appears, therefore, that after the reign of *Mahārāja* Bhīmasena, there was no political authority worth the name in and around Rewa region for about a quarter of a century, and this situation was so propitious for making inroads into this region by rulers like Jāngata of our record, which is dated in the year 80.

The object of the record was the setting up of an umbrella (lines 15-16), obviously of stone, on the shaft of which this inscription is engraved, over an image of the Buddha in a *Vihāra* called the Saptaparṇa-vihāra (lines 9-10). The epithets of the Buddha like, *Bhagavān*, *Pitāmaha*, *Samyakṣambuddha*, *Ātmāriṇishūdana*, *Daśabala*, and *Aparimita-guṇadhara* are contained in lines 10-14. The person who caused the setting up of the umbrella seems to be a certain Peṭṭuka (line 7), the son of Jayasēna and grandson of Vasu who is stated to be a householder residing at the *vātaka* of another *vihāra* called the Svastinikāya-vihāra (line 5), and it seems that this was done for the sake of one named Sarvasen-āryya whose relationship with Peṭṭuka is not stated. The writing in line 8 and in part of line 9 is so much damaged that it is difficult to make out the passage contained in it. It, however, appears to state that Peṭṭuka did the work along with someone else. The passage in lines 17-18 contained the usual benediction for the welfare and happiness of all sentient beings.

The epithet *bhagavān pitāmaha* of the Buddha is rarely found in the Buddhist records of this kind⁷, and Lüders has opined that this is a feature of records discovered in the eastern parts of north India⁸. But the provenance of the record under study suggests that this characteristic had a wider vogue.

There is mention made of two *vihāras* in the record, one called the Svastinikāya-vihāra and the other called the Saptaparṇa-vihāra. It is not known where the former was situated. The latter was evidently situated in Mithouri, the findspot of the record.

¹ *The Age of Imperial Unity*; p. 186.

² Lüders' List, No. 965.

³ Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 167 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 169, 177.

⁵ Lüders' List, No. 906.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 169, 170, 178.

⁷ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 96 f., and plate; *ibid.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 152; Lüders' List, No. 910.

⁸ Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions* (ed. by K.L. Janert), pp. 118-19.

TEXT¹*Two faces on the shaft*

- 1 Siddham[!]*
- 2 Bha[ttā]² raka maharajasy-Āvantiśvarasya
- 3 Jān³gatasya⁴ samvatsare 80 varshā⁵
- 4 pakṣhe 5 divase 10 ēta (tā)yām pūrvvā [yām]
- 5 Svastinikāya-viha(hā) raka-vāṭaka-vastavyasya
- 6 grihapatikasya Vasusya⁶ naptā⁷ Jaya-
- 7 senasya putro Peṭṭuka[h] Sarvva[se]n-āryyāya
- 8 [putre gu śramaṇaka vuddhi guru]⁸ sahi

Third face of the same shaft

- 9 [sahi-ścha dhui]⁹ Sapta-
- 10 parṇṇa-vihāre Bhagavat
- 11 Pi⁹ tā¹⁰ mahasya Samya-
- 12 ksambuddhasy-ātmāriṇishū-
- 13 danasya Daśabalasya
- 14 aparimitaguṇadhara-
- 15 sya chha[traṃ pra] tishṭhāpa-
- 16 yati [sa] rvva-
- 17 [sa]tvānam[nām] [!]*

¹ From impressions.

² This letter is badly formed.

³ The horizontal stroke attached to the left of this letter seems to be due to a flaw in the stone.

⁴ A white patch looking like some broken letter exists above this letter but this is due to flaking off of the stone at the place.

⁵ A space that could accommodate a couple of *aksharas* after this letter is left blank.

⁶ Sanskrit grammatical declension has not been followed due to the influence of Prakrit.

⁷ A *i-mātrā* seems to be attached to this conjunct letter, perhaps by mistake.

⁸ Owing to the damaged condition of the stone at this place, it is difficult to read the letters with certainty.

⁹ This letter is not clear due to damage caused to the stone at this place.

¹⁰ This letter looks like *v*, but the horizontal bar at the bottom requires to be ignored.

NO. 18—TWO SILAHARA GRANTS FROM DIVE-AGAR

(2 Plates)

G. S. GAI, MYSORE

Four sets of copper-plates including the two edited here, were discovered sometime before 1962 at Dive Āgar, a village in Shrivardhan Taluk of Kolaba District, Maharashtra State¹. They were found by one Shrimati Chandrabai *alias* Nauriya Panduranga Nakti in her field in sub-survey No. 4 in survey No. 88. They were first acquired by the Bharat Itihasa Samsodhak Mandal, Poona and then by the Director of Archives and Archaeology, Government of Maharashtra, Bombay, in whose custody they are deposited. The late Dr. M.G. Dikshit, who was Director of Archives and Archaeology, was kind enough to permit me to edit these records in the pages of this journal.

1. Grant of Chhittapa, Śaka 949

This set consists of three plates, each measuring about 15 cm x 10 cm. There is a hole, about 1.5 cm in diameter, in the middle of the upper side of each plate, through which passes a ring, 2 cm in thickness. The ends of the ring are soldered into a seal which is circular in shape and which measures 4 cm in diameter. The seal contains the representation of a seated Garuḍa, facing front with folded hands and spread out wings. The set, together with the ring and the seal, weighs about 655 gm. The first and the third plates are engraved on the inner sides only while the second plate contains writing on both the sides.

The characters are Nāgarī and are regular for the period to which the record belongs, viz., the first half of the 11th century A. D. The language is Sanskrit, prose and verse, and the draft is full of errors. In respect of orthography, it may be observed that the consonant following *r* is usually reduplicated and *v* is used for *b*.

The record refers itself, to the reign of Chhittapa of the Śilāhāras of Northern Konkan and gives his genealogy from Kapardin I. This Kapardin I was succeeded by Pulasati or Phullaśakti who was succeeded by his son Kapardin II and the latter by his son Vappuvanna. The next king is Jhañjarāja whose brother was Goggirāja. The next ruler, whose relationship is not given, is Vajjaḍa I, son of Jhañja and Vajjaḍa's son Aparājita is mentioned by his epithet Dīptimārtāṇḍadēva. Next comes Vajjaḍa II and his brother Kēśidēva who was followed by the ruling king Chittapaiya, son of Vajjaḍa II. In recounting this genealogy, the inscription does not furnish any historical information about these rulers.

The date is given in lines 22-25 as Śaka 949, Prabhava, Pushya vadi 11, Monday, Udagayana-parvan. This corresponds to 25th December, 1027 A. D., though the Udagayana-parvan or Uttarāyana-saṅkrānti occurred on the previous day.

The object of the record is to grant, by the king, the remission of the tax of 20 *drammas* to a certain *brāhmaṇa* named Gōvinda, son of Saudayaiyya of Kāśyapa-gōtra

¹ These have been registered in *A.R. Ep.*, 1962-63, A Nos. 45-48. The two grants edited here are Nos. 47 and 48 and are briefly reviewed on pp. 21-22 of the above Report.

and Bahvricha-śākhā and a resident of Dīpak-Āgara. It is stated that this gift was made for the orchard called Ārāma-Gumma, apparently for its maintenance, situated in the village Vēlāsivāgara in the Mandaraja vishaya and donated by the *daṇḍanāyaka* Nāgavarman.

The record was written by Jōupaiya, the nephew of the treasury officer (*bhāṇḍāgārasēna*) Nāgalaiya who is described as a great poet (*mahā-kavi*). This Jōupaiya figures as a writer in the Bhāṇḍūp plates¹ of the same king.

As regards the place-names, Dīpak-Āgara is the same as Dive Āgar which is the findspot of the plates. I am not certain about the identification of Mandaraja vishaya and the village Vēlāsivāgara situated in it, though it is likely that they might be in the vicinity of Dive Āgar.

TEXT²

[Metres : Verses 1, 2 and 6 Anuṣṭubh; verse 3 Vasāntatilaka; verse 4 Sragdharā; verses 5 and 7 Indravajrā].

First Plate

- 1 Siddham³ [| *] Jayaś=ch=ābhuyudayaś=cha || Labhatē sarvva-kāryēshu pūjayā gaṇa-nāyakaḥ || (|)
- 2 vighnaṁ nighnan-sa vaḥ pāyād=apāyād=Gaṇa-nāyakaḥ ||[1*] Sa vaḥ pātu Śivō.
- 3 nityaṁ yan=maulau bhāti Jāhnavī | Sumēru-si(śi)khar-ōdgachchhad-achchachandra-ka-
- 4 l-ōpamā || [2*] Jīmūtakētu-tanayō niyataṁ dayālurj=Jīmūtavāhana-
- 5 iti tri-jagat-prasiddhaḥ | dēhaṁ nijaṁ tṛṇam=iv=ākalayan=par-ārtthē yō raksha-
- 6 ti sma Garuḍāt=khalu Śaṅkhachūḍam(ḍam) || [3*] Tasy=ānvayē || Ādyaḥ śrīmān=Ka-
- 7 parddi tad=anu Pulasatis=tat-sutō=nyaḥ Kaparddi tat-sūnur=vVappuvannaḥ
- 8 kshitipatir=abhavat=Jhañjharājas=tatō=bhūt | tad-bhrātā Goggirāja-
- 9 s=tad-anu cha nripatir=vVajjaḍāchāryyadēvas=tasmāj=jātas=tanūjas=tribhu-
- 10 vana-tilakō Dipti-mārttaṇḍa-dēvaḥ ||[4*] Śrīmān=abhūd=Vajjaḍadēva-
- 11 nāmā śrī-Kēsi(śi)dēvō nripatis=tatō=bhūta(t) || (|) tad-bhrātrijō
- 12 Vajjaḍadēva-sūnuḥ śrī-Chchhittapaiyō nripatirvva(r=bba)bhūva || [5*]

Second Plate : First Side

- 13 Atha svakiya puṇy-ōdayāt=samadhigata-pañcha-mahā-śavda(bda)-mahā-sā-
- 14 mant-ādhipati Tagarapūra-paramēsva(śva)ra-tyāga-jaga-[j*]jhampa sa(śa)ra-
- 15 nāgata-vajra-pamjara-prabhṛiti-samasta-rājāvali-virājita-śrī-Chchhi-
- 16 ttapaiyadēvarājāḥ sarvvaṅ=e[va*] sva:samva(mba)dhyamāha(na)kān=anyān=api samāgāmi-

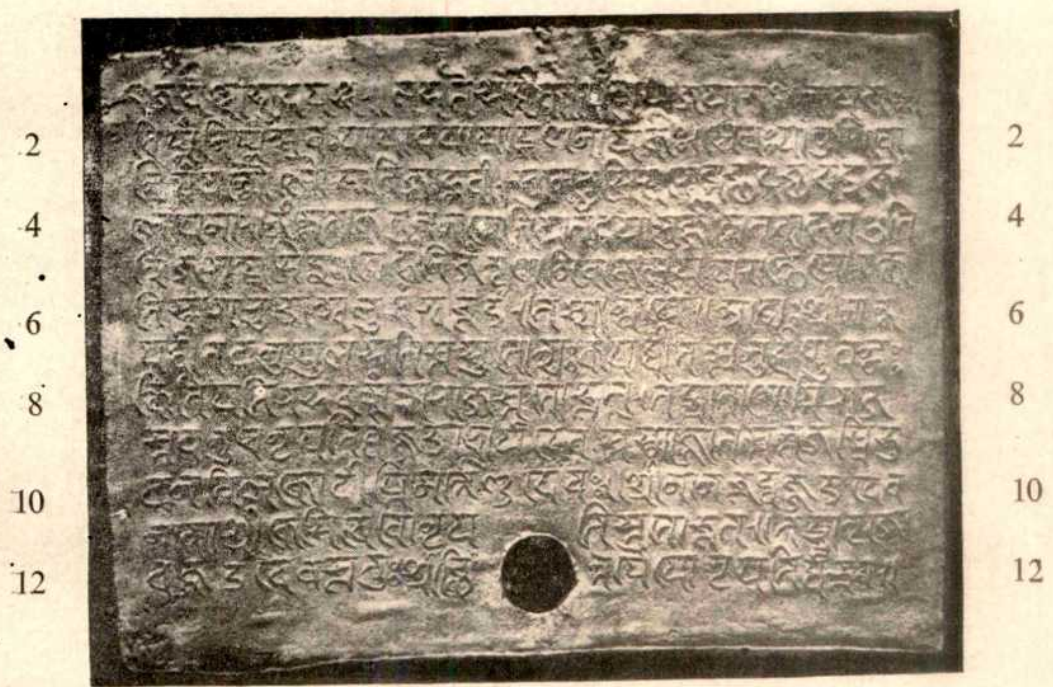
¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 277 ff.

² From the impressions taken under my supervision.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

DIVE AGAR GRANT OF CHITTAPA

i



2
4
6
8
10
12

2
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8
10
12

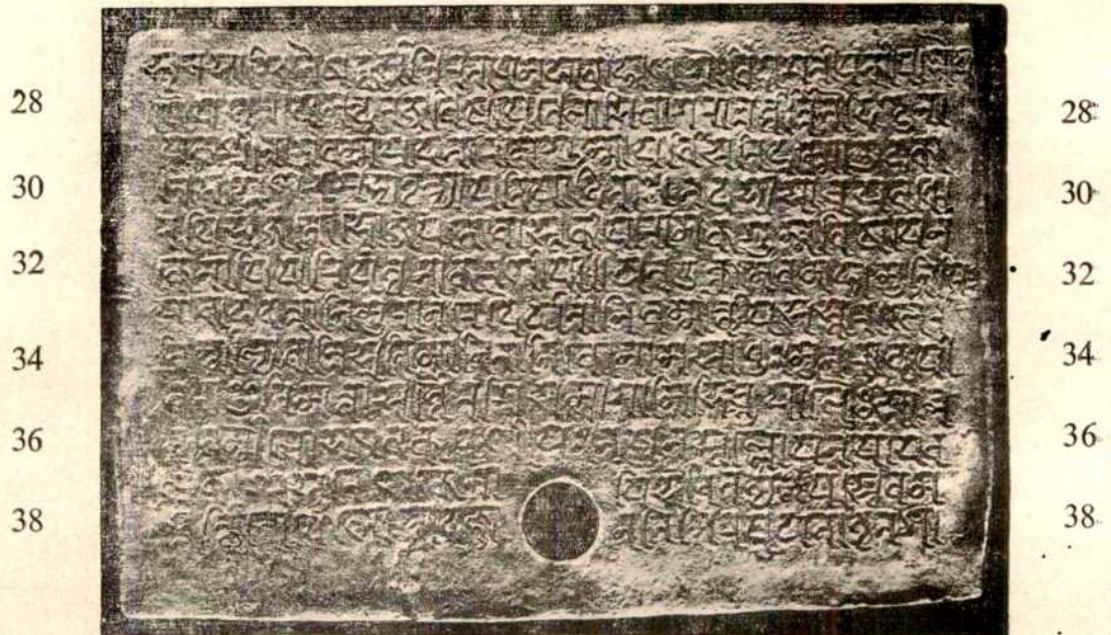
ii a



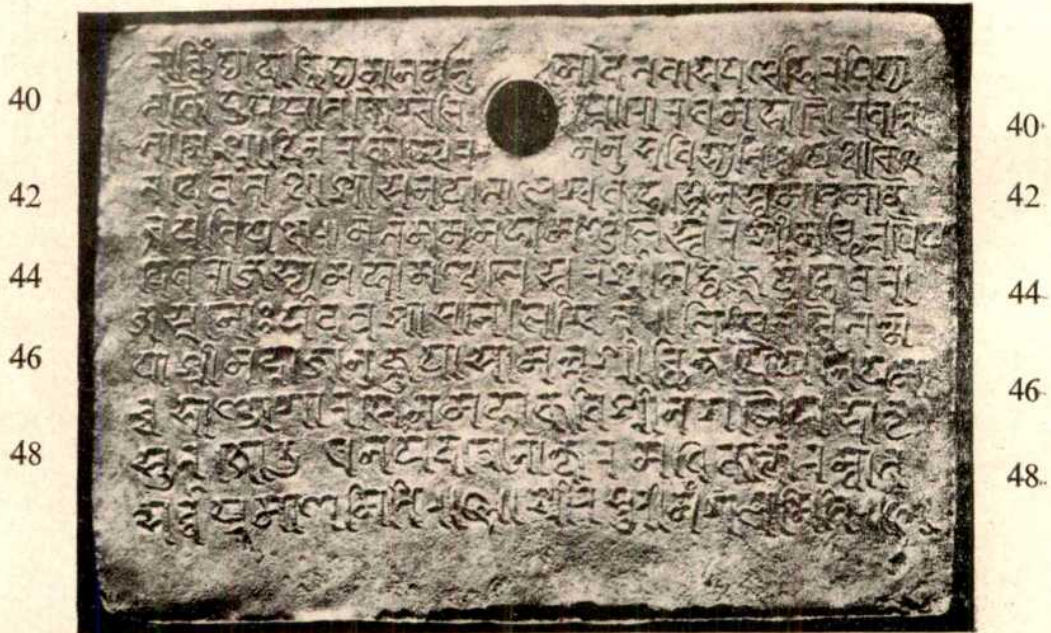
14
16
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24
26

ii b



iii



SIZE : Three-fourth

- 17 pradā(dhā)n=āpradhān=ānusā(śā)yinō lōkān=praṇati-sū(pū)jā-satkāra-sam-ādē-
 18 yaiḥ saṁdīsa(śa)ty=astu vah saviditam¹ yathā || Asārō=yam saṁsārah pavana-cha-
 19 lita-kamalini-dala-gata-jala-lava-tarala-tarēdhan-āyūshi iti matvā
 20 driḍhatara-dikti vuddhyā² saṁgrihyēchchhuñcha³ dāna-phalam(lam) || tathā cha
 Kṛita-Vē(Trē)-
 21 tā-Dvāparēpu(shu) tapō-tyartham prasasyatē | munayō=tva(tra) tu saṁ(śam)saṁti
 dānam=ē-
 22 kam Kalō(lau) yugē || [6*] Iti muni-vachanāni matvā mayā Śaka-nripa-kāl-ā-
 23 tita saṁvatsara-sa(śa)tēpu(shu) navasu ekōna-pañchā[śa*]d-ādhikēshu
 Prabhava-samva-⁴
 24 tsar-āntarggata Pukshā(shya) vadi ekādaśyā[m*] yatrā(trām)katō=pi samvat⁵
 949 Pudya(shya)
 25 vadi || Sōmē saṁjāt-ōdagayana-parvvanī su-titthē(rtthē) snātvā bhagavanta-
 26 m=Umāpatim=abhyarchchya Dīpakāgara--nivāsinē Kāśya(śya)pa-gōtrāya va(ba)-

Second Plate : Second Side

- 27 hvṛicha-sā(śā)khinē shaṭ-karmma-niratāya mahā-vrā(brā)hmaṇa-Gōvindhāga(ya)
 Ti(Di)pakiya Sanda-
 28 yaiya-sutāya Mandaraja-vishayē Vēlāsivāgar -āntarvarttinō⁶ daṇḍanā-
 29 yaka-śri-Nāgavarmma-pradatā(tt-ā)rāma-Gummāya viṁsa(śa)ti-drammā udak-ā-
 30 ti-saggē(rggē)ṇa namasya-vṛittyā pratipāditāḥ | tad=asya sāvaya vadhō-⁷
 31 r=api bhūmjatō bhōjayatō vā svakiy-ārāmaka-Gumma-vishayē na
 32 kēn=āpi pari-panthanā karaṇiyā || yata uktam=ēva mahā-munibhiḥ
 33 yāvāha⁸ dattāni mu(pu)rā narēdrai⁹=ddānāni dharmm-ārttha-yaśas-karāṇē(ṇi) |
 34 nirmmālyavānti sra(pra)timāni tāni kō nāma sādhuḥ |¹⁰ munarādayi-
 35 vatā¹¹ || [7*] Iti matvā sarvvair=agi(pi) samāgāmibhiḥ chū(bhū)pālaih sā(pā)la-
 36 na-dharma-lōbha ēva karaṇiyah | na shu(pu)nas=tal-lōpana pām(pā)pa-va(ka)-
 37 laṁkāścharēṇa¹² kēn=āpi sa(bha)vitavyah(vyam) | yasvēvama¹³
 38 [bhya]rtthitō=pi lōbhād=ajñana-timira-patano vṛita-śa¹⁴

¹ Read *sammviditam*.² The intended reading is—*virakti-buddhyā*.³ Read *saṁgrihy-ēchchhāmś=cha*.⁴ Read *saṁva-*⁵ Read *saṁvat*.⁶ The letter *nō* is superfluous.⁷ Read *s-ānvaya-bandhō-*⁸ Read *yān iha*.⁹ Read *narēndraitr*.¹⁰ This *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.¹¹ Read *punar-ādadita*.¹² Read *kalank-āgrēsarēṇa*.¹³ Read *yas=tv=ēvam-a*¹⁴ Read *paṭal-āvṛita-mati-*

Third Plate

- 39 r=āchchhimdyād=āchchhidyamānam=anumōdēta vā sa pañchabhir=api pyā(pā)-
 40 takaidu(r=u)papātakais=cha liptō rō(rau)rava-mahā-raurav-āntā(ndha)-
 41 tāmē(mi)śrā(sr-ā)di narakāmschē(ś=chi)ram=anubhavishyati || yathā ch=ai¹
 42 tad=ēvaṁ tathā śāsana-dātā lēkhaka-hastēna sva-mātam ānō
 43 cha yavi² yathā || matam mama mahāmaṇḍalēsva(śva)ra śrīmach=Chhittapaiya-
 44 dēvarājasya mahāmaṇḍlēsva(śva)ra-śrīmad=Vajjaḍadēvarā-
 45 ja-sūnōḥ(nō)r=yad=atra śāsane likhitam ||³ ch=aitan=ma-
 46 yā śrīmad-rāj-ānujāyā sāmanta-śrī-Chhittapaiya-niyamā-
 47 ch=cha bhāṇḍāgāra-sēna-mahā-kavi-śrī-Na(Nā)galaiya-bhrāṭri-
 48 suta Jōupa(pē)na yadātrā⁴ [nyū*]n-āksharam=adhik-āksharamvā⁵ ta-
 49 t=sarvvaṁ pramāṇam=iti || chha || śrīr=astu || Maṅgalam=iti || chha ||

2. Grant of Mummupirāja, Śaka 975

This is a single plate measuring 34.5 cm in length, 24 cm in breadth and .3 cm in thickness with slightly raised rims.* A hole, 1 cm in diameter, is found in the middle of the upper part of the plate interrupting the continuity of writing in the first two lines. The ring, with the seal if any, is missing. The weight of the plate is 2780 gm.

There are 18 lines of writing on one side of the plate, neatly executed. The characters are Nāgarī and are similar to those in the grant of Chhittapa edited above. Initial vowels *a* (line 2), *ā* (lines 2, 11, 17), *i* (line 14), and *ē* (line 16) occur in the record. The language is Sanskrit prose. In regard to orthography, *v* is written for *b*, *s* for *r* and vice versa in some places and the consonant following *r* is generally reduplicated.

The date is given in lines 1 and 2 as Śaka 975, Vijaya, Āshāḍha vadi 5. In the absence of the week-day, the date is not verifiable. However, the given *tithi* in the year Śaka 975 corresponded to 8th July, 1053 A.D. when the week-day was Thursday and the cyclic year was Vijaya as stated in the record.

The inscription belongs to the reign of the Śilāhāra king Mahāmaṇḍalēsvar-ādhipati Mummupirāja who was the younger brother of Chittarāja of the record edited above. He bears a string of epithets, some of which are used here for the first time, e.g. *Ḍamara-mēghāḍambara*, *Niśsaṅka-Lankēśvara*, *Vīra-charita-Bhārat-āvatāra*, *taruṇi-hriday-ākriṣṭi-maṅtr-ākshara*, etc.

The charter is in the form of a *vyavasthā-patra* or a deed of settlement issued by the ruler Mummupirāja. It is, in fact, a ratification made by him of a previous *vyavasthā-patra*

¹ An unnecessary punctuation mark indicated by the letter *chha* is engraved after *ch-ai*.

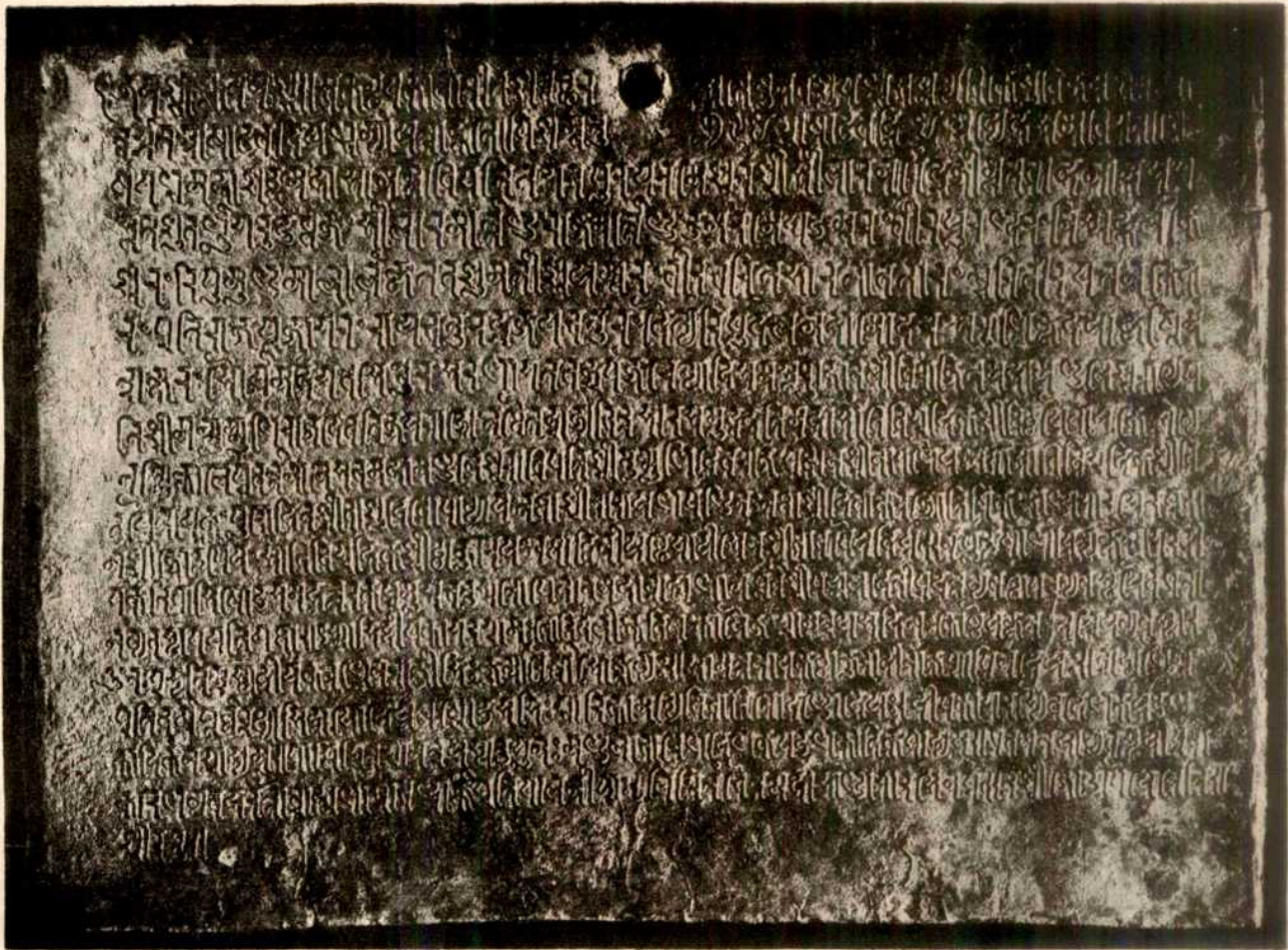
² Read *sva-matam=ārōpayati*.

³ These *daṇḍas* are unnecessary.

⁴ Read *yad=atra*.

⁵ Read *-āksharam vā*.

DIVE AGAR GRANT OF MUMMUNIRAJA



Size : One-half

issued by **Padmaladēvi**. This Padmaladēvi may be identified with Padmai described as the queen of Mummunirāja in his Ṭhāṇā plates¹ dated Śaka 970. The deed of settlement relates to the village of **Dīpakāgara** (also called Āgara-Dīpaka) together with three hamlets called **Vōrivali**, **Kavila** and **Kālaija**. It is stipulated that the queens and the princes as well as the *sāmantas*, *nāyakas* and *ṭhākuras* should not claim any enjoyment of the village and the hamlets. The *brāhmaṇas* should pay the annual levy according to the previous custom. The fine as imposed by the assembly of the sixteen persons should be paid. Only Dīpakāgara was exempted from *dēnaka* (cess) and *paḍanaka* (accommodation), while the three hamlets are not so exempted. This *vyavasthā-patra* was made in the presence of minister (*pradhāna*) Nārāyaṇaiya, *sāndhivigrahika* Viṭṭhapaiya-nāyaka, the priest (*purōhita*) Vāsudēv-ōpādhyāya and Nārāyaṇa-panḍita, the astrologer (*jyōtishika*) Divākara, treasury officer (*bhāṇḍāgāra*) Jōupaiya, *sāndhivigrahika* Ṭhākurēya, and *Chhēpāṭi* Vāchapaiya and the 400 *brāhmaṇa* residents of Āgara-Dīpaka headed by the 16 *Mahattaras*. The grant was written by the treasury officer and minister Jōupaiya who was also the writer of the other grant edited above.

Dīpakāgara or **Āgara-Dīpaka**, which occurs also in the other grant, is identified with Dive Āgar, the findspot of the plates. The three hamlets viz., **Vōrivali**, **Kavila** and **Kālaija**, which must be in the vicinity of Dive Āgar, cannot be identified.

TEXT²

- 1 Siddham³ [||*] Jayaś=ch=ābhyudayaś=cha || Sa(Śa)ka-nripa-kāl-ātita-samvachchhara-⁴
sa(śa)tēshu navaśu(su) pañcha-saptaty-adhikēshu vijaya-samvachchhar⁵-ā-
- 2 ntarggata Āshāḍha vadi pañchamyām yatr=āṅkatō=pi samvatu⁶ 975 Āshāḍha vadi
5 ady=ēha sam-adhi-gat-āśē-
- 3 sha-pancha-mahāśavda(bda)-mahā-sāmant-ādhipati-Tagarapura-paramēśvara-śri-
Silāra-narēndra-Jimūtavāhan-ānvaya-pra-
- 4 sūta-śu(su)varṇṇa-Garuḍa-dhvaja | ⁷ Silāra-mārttaṇḍa | rāja-mārttaṇḍa ḍamara-
mēgha-ḍamva(mba)ra | vira-puraṇḍa(nda)ra | nissa(śśa)ṅka-Laṅkē-
- 5 śvara ripu-muṇḍa-māl-ālamkṛita-vaśu(su)mati-śva(sva)yamva(yamva)ra | vira-charita-
Bhārat-āvatāra ari-vira-patana-Kēdā-
- 6 ra | prati-rājā-prajāgara | rāya-chaturaṅga-jaya-chatura | daitya-ripu-dalana-
Dāmōdara | taruṇihṛiday-ākṛ⁸-isṭi-mam-
- 7 trākshara | sau(śau)rya-mada-gandha-sindhura | sa(śa)raṇ-āgata-vajra-pañjar-
ēty=ādi samasta-rājāvali-virājita-mahāmaṇḍalēśvar-ādhipa-

¹ Above, Vol. XXXVIII, pp. 145 ff.

² From ink-impressions taken under my supervision.

³ Expressed by symbol.

⁴ Read -*samvatsara*.

⁵ Read -*samvatsara*.

⁶ Read *samvat*.

⁷ This punctuation mark is indicated by a cipher and is redundant. Similar marks in the following lines are also redundant.

⁸ Read *taruṇihṛiday -ā*.

- 8 ti-śrīman-Mummunirājadēva-vijaya-rājyē | tath=aitad-rājya-chinta(ntā)-bhāra(ram)
samudvahati mahā-sandhivigrahika-śrī-Viṭṭhapai-nāyakē saty=ē-
- 9 tasmin=kālē pravarttamānē sa cha mahā-maṇḍalēsvar-ādhipati-śrī-Mummunidēva-
rāja(jaḥ) | pradhāna-śrī-Narāyaṇaiyaḥ tathā sāndhivigrahika-śrī-Vi-
- 10 ṭṭhapai-nāyaka(kaḥ) | purōhita-śrī-Vāśu(su)dēv)ōpādhyāya(yaḥ) | tathā śrī-Nārāyaṇa-
paṇḍita(taḥ) | tathā śrī-Divākara-ḥyōtishika(kaḥ) | bhāṇḍāgāra-sēna-pradhā-
- 11 na-śrī-Jōupaiya(yaḥ) | sāndhivigrahika-śrī-ṭṭha(thā)kurēya(yaḥ) | tathā dvitiya-
chchhēpāṭi-sēna-śrī-Vāchapaiya(a)di-pradhāna-purushāṇām pratyakṣam Āgāra-Di-
- 12 paka-nivāsi-shōḍasa(śa)-mahattaraka-pramukha-chatussa(śśa)t-ōpētānu(tān) mahā-
brāhmaṇana(ṇān) pūrvam śrī-Padmaladēvi pradatta-vyavasthā-patra-vyavasthay=
aiva ētā-
- 13 na(tān) vyavasthāpayati yathā ||¹ smābhir=d-Dīpak-āgāra-grāmaḥ Vōrivali |
Kavila | Kālaija | grāma-traya-sahitaḥ Kōshthēya(yaḥ) kṛitaḥ [| *] tatr-
ēyaṁ vyavasthā [| *]
- 14 Itaḥ prabhṛiti asmadiya-karaṇē na rājñibhiḥ kumārair=vvā bhōktavyaḥ || sāmanta-
nāyaka-ṭṭhā(thā)kur-ādinām kasy=āpi na dēyaḥ || vrā(brā)hmaṇaiś=cha
- 15 prati-varshaṁ pūrvva-rūḍhyā siddhāyō dēyaḥ | shōḍasa(śa)bhiḥ smārikā-madhyē
vichāritō daṇḍō dēyaḥ | Dīpak-āgārasya=aiva dēṇaka-paḍaṇa-
- 16 k-ādikaṁ na grāhyam | prāg-likhita-grāma-trayasya tu punaḥ maṇḍalāchārēṇa dēṇaka-
paḍanak-ādikaṁ pā(grā)hyam || ēvam=anayā vyavasthāyā pūrvvā-
- 17 ka(chā)rēṇa vyavaharantō vrā(brā)hmaṇā ā-chandr-ārkkam prati-pālaniyāḥ | likhitaṁ
ch=aitan=mahā-bhāṇḍāgāra-sēna-pradhāna-śrī-Jōupaiyēn=ēti ||
- 18 Śrīr=astu ||

¹ An *ava raha* mark is engraved after the two strokes. Read *yathā=*

No. 19—TWO EARLY TELUGU CHOLA INSCRIPTIONS FROM BADINENIPALLE

(1 Plate)

K. V. RAMESH AND S. S. RAMACHANDRA MURTHY, MYSORE

The two inscriptions edited here with the kind permission of the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore were found engraved on two stone slabs set up at the rear entrance to the Rāmasvāmin temple at Bādinēnipalle, Cumbum taluk, Kurnool district, Andhra Pradesh. Both these inscriptions, hereafter referred to as A¹ and B² for the sake of convenience, are in Telugu language and the early Telugu-Kannaḍa characters palaeographically assignable to the 8th century. While inscription A is in good state of preservation and the text is in 7 lines, inscription B written in 16 lines has suffered some damage at the bottom resulting in the mutilation of lines 14-16. The palaeographical features of both of these records are regular to the period to which they are assigned while the following orthographical features are noteworthy. In both these records *y* is palatalised into *j* in the expression *surjyagra[ha*]ṇa°* (line 7). In inscription A both the class *nassal* and the *anusvāra* are found simultaneously used in the expression *prasādamñchēsini* (line 3).

Attention may be drawn to the imprecatory portions of both these inscriptions wherein the place Gaṭṭu-Kōḍḷapalli (inscription A, lines 4-5) or Kōḍḷapalli (inscription B, line 13) is mentioned as a holy place, the destruction of which will amount to a *mahāpātaka*. Though this place cannot be identified it was obviously a place of great sanctity in those days.

A.—Inscription of Bikramahādityarāju

This undated record, as pointed out above, is palaeographically assignable to the 8th century. The initial letters *ā*, *i* and *u* each occur once in lines 2, 3 and 5 respectively. The record commences with the auspicious word *svasti* (line 1) followed by the introduction (lines 1-2) of the ruling Telugu-Chōla chief Bikramahādityarāju (Vikramāditya) as belonging to the Solar race, Kāśyapa-gōtra and Karikāl-ānvaya. The inscription next records the grant as *pamasa*, of a land of the extent of being sown with 2 *khaṇḍukas* of seed measured by the *rājamāna* to Ālabōḷa Sabisarmma by the chieftain. The gift-land is stated to be situated in Koṇḍuki Nuṅganṛu.³ Lines 3-5 are in the nature of imprecatory passages in Telugu and lines 6-7 contain one and a half imprecatory verses in Sanskrit.

The reference to the chieftain Bikramahādityarāju is of interest. The epithets ascribed to him make it clear that he was a member of the Telugu-chōla family. It is known from a few other inscriptions⁴ that during the 6th-8th centuries a family of the Telugu-Chōlas was holding sway over Rēnāṇḍu-7000, a territory which comprised a major portion of the Cuddapah and parts of the Kolar and the Chittoor districts. The undated record⁵ from

¹ A.R. Ep., 1949-50, No. B 232.

² Ibid., No. B 233.

³ This may be a mistake for Koṇḍuka Pinuṅganṛu, as it occurs in inscription B below.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 220 ff.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 236 ff.

Chilamakūru, Cuddapah district, palaeographically assignable to the same period to which our record belongs, refers itself to the reign of Vikramāditya-chōḷa-mahārāju. It is not unlikely that Bikramahādityarāju of our record is the same as Vikramāditya-chōḷa-mahārāju of the Chilamakūru record. If this is accepted, the provenance of the present record suggests that the Telugu-Chōḷa ruler had extended his sway over parts of the Kurnool region either by conquest or as the feudatory of an imperial ruler of his time.

Of the place-names mentioned in the inscription **Koṇḍuka** Nurmāṅṅu¹ may denote either a village or merely a locality. The name is not found on modern maps.

TEXT²*First piece³*

- 1 Svasti [| *] Surjya(Sūrya)-vaṁś-ōdbhava-kula-tilaka Kāśya(śya)pa-gōtra Karikāl-ānvaya
- 2 śri-Bikramahāditya'rājuḷ Ālabōḷa Sabisārmṁmaku Koṇḍuki Nurmāṅṅa⁵ rāja-
- 3 mānāmbu iru-gaṇḍug-āḍlapaṭṭu pannasa prasādamṁchē(chē)siri [| *] dīniki vakrāmbu
- 4 vachchuvāru Bā(Vā)ranā(ṅā)si ḷachchina(va)vān ṛu Gaṭṭu-

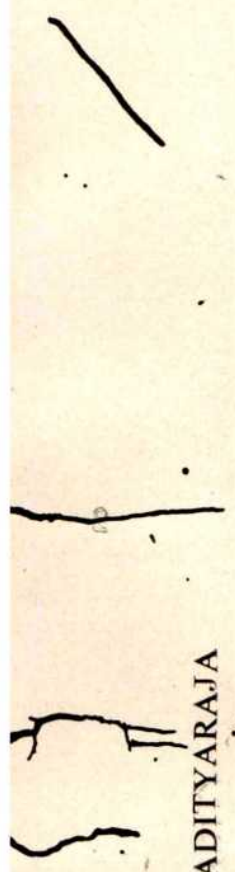
Second piece

- 5 Kōḍlapalli ḷachri(chchi)na pāpāmbagu | uttarāmbuna guṭṭa⁶ vēḷpu⁷ [| *]
- 6 *yasya yasyā(sya) yathā(dā) bhūmi[s*]=tasya tasya tathā(dā) phalaṁ(lam) [||*]
- 7 Saṁdattāṁ⁸ para-dattāṁ(ttām) vā yō harēti vasundharā[m | *] shashṭim varishā¹⁰
sa[ha*]srāṇi narakē pachyatē¹¹ tu saḷ [||*]

B.—Inscription of Bikkirāju

This is also an undated record like inscription A and can be assigned to the same period to which the latter belongs. The only initial vowel that occurs in this inscription is *a* and it occurs thrice in lines 6, 8, and 9. This record commences with the auspicious word *svasti* (line 1) followed by the introduction (lines 1-3) of the ruling Telugu-Chōḷa chief **Bikkirāju** who, as in the case of the ruler referred to in inscription A, is stated to belong to the Solar race, Kāśyapa-gōtra and Karikāl-ānvaya. The inscription records (lines 3-8) the grant as

- ¹ See footnote in p. 135 above.
- ² From the inked estampages.
- ³ To the left side of the piece are engraved a crescent and a circle representing the moon and the sun respectively.
- ⁴ Read *Vikramāditya*^o.
- ⁵ See footnote 3 in page 135 above.
- ⁶ Probably for *guḍḷa*^o.
- ⁷ An expression like *ḷachchina pāpāmbagu* needs to be supplied here.
- ⁸ The first *pāda* of this verse viz., *Bahubhir-vvasudhā* etc., has been omitted here.
- ⁹ Read *Svadattām*.
- ¹⁰ Read *shashṭirvarsha*.
- ¹¹ The letter *cha* has been engraved in a peculiar way.



INSCRIPTION OF BIKRAMADITYARAJA

2 4

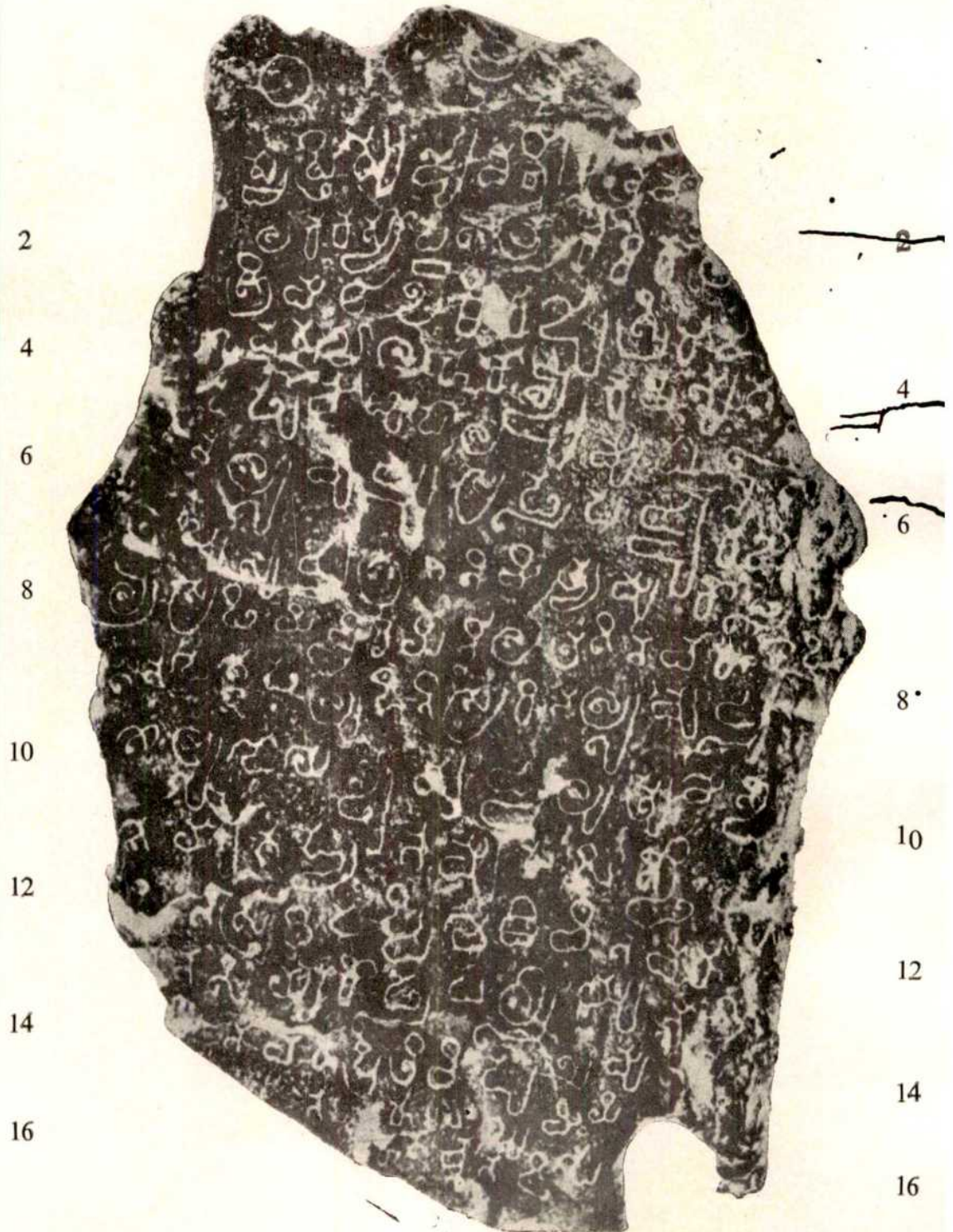
2 4

6

6

Size : One-eighth

INSCRIPTION OF BIKKIRAJU



SIZE : One-fifth

pannasa of a land of the extent of being sown with 4 *puṭṭis* of seeds to the Pūjā[ri]Rēvaṇabōlu in favour of Kōḍḷapalli by the chieftain. The grant was made on account of a solar eclipse and the gift-land is stated to have been situated in Koṇḍuka Pinuṅgaṅṅu. In lines 8-9 it is stated that the proper maintenance of the said grant devolves on Sobagana-peggaḍa. In lines 9-11 it is stated that the tax on the gift-land will be 7 *puṭṭis* of a grain on a field of 4 *puṭṭis* of seeds, 1 *tūmu* of ghee and 1 gold *gadyāṇa*. Lines 12-16 contain imprecatory passage in Telugu.

Since Bikkirāju receives the same epithets as Bikkramahādityarāju of Inscription A and since Bikki is a well known abbreviation of the name Vikramāditya, he may be identified with the ruler mentioned in inscription A and also in the Chilamakūru inscription.¹

It is interesting to note that the donee Pūjā[ri] Rēvaṇabōlu received the grant in the name of the village Kōḍḷapalli. He was obviously a priest of some important temple in that village. Kōḍḷapalli, which is mentioned as Gaṭṭu-Kōḍḷapalli in inscription A, itself appears to have been a place of considerable sanctity, for, it is mentioned in inscription A as well as the present one in the imprecatory portion.

It has already been discussed regarding the identification of the places mentioned in the record.

TEXT²

- 1 Svasti [[*] Surjya (Sūrya)-vaṁśōtbhava (dḥbava) [kula]
- 2 Iaka Kasyā (Kāśya)pa-gōtra Karikal [ā]³ . . .
- 3 śrīmat Bikkiraju śrī-Pūjā.
- 4 Rēvaṇabōlaku Koṇḍuka Pinuga[nṛla]
- 5 paḍumaṅṅu polamu pannasa
- 6 nal(nāl)gu vuṭṭu a(ā)ḍla paṭṭu rāja[mā]-
- 7 naṁbu Surjya(Sūrya)-gra[ha*]ṅa-nimityamu Kōḍḷapa-
- 8 ḷli aḍi yicḥchiri [[*] yin-nela taginavaru Soba-
- 9 gana-peggaḍalu [[*] dīni ari nal (nāl)gu vuṭṭu
- 10 golgu dōyēṅḍu vuṭṭalu tumēṅḍu

¹ *Op. cit.*

² From the inked estampages.

³ Read *Karikālānyaya*.

- 11 neyu gadya(dyā)ṇamu paṣiṇḍiyu []*
 - 12 dīni stithi(sthiti) dappi cheṛichinā(na) va(vā)ru-
 - 13 rana(nā)s'iyu Koḍlapaḷḷiyuṁ-aḷi-
 - 14 sinava(vā)ru pritivi (pṛithivi) dukhamu ...
 - 15 nava(vā)ru || [yi] bumi yi
 - 16 ...ru Gammanāṭi [pe]...
-

No. 20—AN INSCRIPTION OF EHAVALA-CHAMTAMULA
FROM ALLURU, YEAR 8

(1 Plate)

P. R. SRINIVASAN, MYSORE

The inscription¹ is engraved on an octagonal limestone pillar discovered recently at a *stūpa* site at Allūru,² Nandigama Taluk, Krishna District, Andhra Pradesh. It is in two pieces. Its present height is about 2m. Its top portion is broken and missing. At its bottom there is a carving of a half lotus medallion, usually seen on the uprights from the *stūpas* of Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The writing covers three faces of the pillar. Probably due to the fact that the pillar was lying with the face which forms the middle one of the three faces, on the floor, this face has been eaten up by the soil, with the result that almost all the letters engraved on this face have been damaged beyond recognition. Consequently the text of the inscription has lost some important words. Notwithstanding this serious handicap, the purport of the record is fairly clear. There are twelve lines of writing, the spacing between the lines is perfect, and the letters are written neatly and beautifully.

The characters of the epigraph belong to the Ikshvāku alphabet and the language is Prakrit. The writing shows only once a conjunct letter in *Venhusiri*³ (line 2).

It refers itself to the reign of the Ikshvāku ruler Ehaḥala Chāntamūla.⁴ There is no mention made of his father or grand-father. The traces of letters after *rañjño* in line 8, show that the phrase used here was *Ikhākunam siri*. The date is given as the 10th day of the fifth fortnight of the summer season in the eighth year. This is the third inscription dated in the eighth regnal year of the ruler, the two⁵ other inscriptions being found at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa proper. The latter two belonged to the fourth fortnight of the summer season of the year while the inscription under examination belonged to the fifth fortnight of the same season.

The object of the record is stated in lines 1-8. It is the erection of a stone pillar at a place of which the name ends in *°rage*. Probably it referred to Halūra itself where this inscribed pillar is found. The pillar is described as righteous and one which causes the crossing over of the world (obviously the cycle of life and death or *samsāra*). It is stated to have been erected by Venhusiri, a *gāmika* (a villager or more probably the headman) residing at Halūra, for the accumulation of religious merit of his wife Chamdā, of Jakhasiri,

¹ Registered as No. B 13 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1976-77.

² This place has yielded a very interesting inscription in Brāhmi characters of about the end of the 1st century A.D., registered as No. C 331 of *A.R.Ep.* for 1924 and plate facing page 97.

³ The macron over *e* and *o* is not used in this article.

⁴ For his other records see above, Vol. XXXV, p. 6; Vol. XXXI, p. 62, Ins. G 2; *ibid.*, p. 62, Ins. G 3; Vol. XX, p. 23, Ins. G; Vol. XXXV, p. 8, Ins. A; Vol. XXI, p. 9, Ins. B; Vol. XXXIII, p. 149; Vol. XX, p. 24, Ins. H; Vol. XXXV, p. 10, Ins. 3; Vol. XXXIV, p. 19 f.; Vol. XXXV, p. 11, Ins. 4; Vol. XXIX, p. 139; Vol. XXXV, p. 13, Ins. 5. His title is spelt variously as *Ehuvula*, *Ehuvala*, *Ehavalu* and *Ehavalu*, but in a large number of instances *Ehavalu* is used.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXXV, p. 8, Ins. A, and plate; Vol. XXI, p. 9, Ins. B, and plate.

Nāgasiri and another, whose name is lost, belonging to the Balakasa community (?) and of other intimate and close relatives. The name of the ruler and the particulars of date, mentioned above are contained in lines 8-9. The lines 10-12 where also the letters in the middle sections are lost make mention of teachers residing on a hill (*sela-sikhara*) of which the name is not clear, and of a certain Chamdanaka with the suffix *vāsi* (resident ?) and seems to state that this (i. e. the erection of the pillar) was for the religious merit of a group of the Buddhist monks (?) called the [Ka] ratalaparimajakas (Skt. Karatalaparimārjakas—those who use their hands for cleaning).

Regarding the probable reign-period of the Ikshvāku¹ king Ehavala Chāntamūla, nothing can be said definitely. This may, however, be stated from the palaeography and language of this record and other records of his times that his reign-period fell within the third century A. D. itself, and it, at any rate, did not extend much beyond 300 A. D.

This record is important in more respects than one. It shows that Buddhism continued to exist at Allūru at least till the date of this record viz., the 8th year of the Ikshvāku king Ehavala Chāntamūla. It refers to a group of teachers residing on a hill of which the name is lost, known for the first time only from this inscription. Already we know of two groups of teachers called Aparamahāvīnaseliya or Aparaselika, from Nāgārjuna-konḍa inscriptions² and Pūvaseliya from the earlier record from Allūru³ already referred to: The Karatalaparimajakas, probably a group of Buddhists or Buddhist monks (?) are known only from this record. The description of the stone pillar as *loka-samtaraṇa* and *dhammamaya* is noteworthy.

Two geographical names occur here. One is Halūra (line 1) which is evidently the ancient name of Allūru where the present inscription has been found. The other is [Ava]nagaselasikhara (line 10) which is difficult to identify.

TEXT⁴

- 1 Sipamm⁵ [||*] Halūra-vāthavena gāmikena
- 2 Venhusiriṇo apanō bhayāya chaṁdāya
- 3 Balakasanam Jakhasiriya
- 4 Nāgasiriya sa sachatīga
- 5 mita-sāmbadhi bam[dhava]-ja.sa.ma[ta] puṁjñopa-
- 6 chaya-sāmpadāne loka-samtāraṇo
- 7 dhammarayo sela-khaṁbho rage patiṭha-
- 8 pito ramjño [Ikhākunam] siri-Ehavala- Cham
- 9 tamūlasa samvachhara 8 gi-pa 5 diva 10
- 10 āchariyānam [avanā]gasela-sikhara-vāsi-
- 11 nam vāsi-Chamdanaka [ka]ra-tala-parima-
- 12 jakānam amriya⁶-saṁgha[sa puṁjñāye] [||*]

¹ *Contra*, above Vol. XXXV, p. 2.

² Above, Vol. XX, pp. 4, 10, etc.

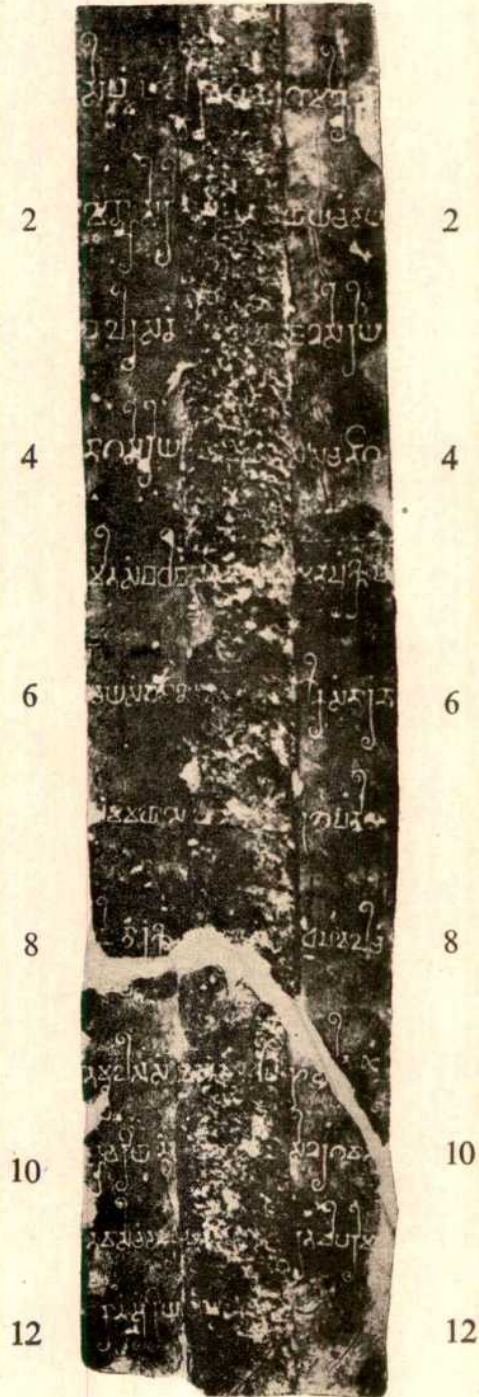
³ *A. R. Ep.*, 1924, No. C 331, line 17.

⁴ From impressions.

⁵ Read *Sidham*. A scratched figure looking like *dha* is seen below *pa*. The final *m* is engraved below this line.

⁶ Read *ariya*.

ALLURU INSCRIPTION OF EHAVULA CHAMTAMULA



Size : One-sixth

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No. 21—JAYARAMPUR PLATE OF GOPACHANDRA

(1 Plate)

P. R. SRINIVASAN, MYSORE

The copper-plate inscription¹ edited below is stated to have been "discovered in 1960 by a certain Syamsundara Jenna while excavating the earth near a mound in the village of Jayarāmpur"² in the Bhogarai sub-division, Balasore District, Orissa. Subsequently it was acquired by the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar. Its impressions were secured by me while I was camping at Bhubaneswar in December 1964 during my annual collection tour. It has been published by Shri Satyanarain Rajaguru in the *Orissa Historical Research Journal* Vol. XI, pp. 206 ff. together with a very unsatisfactory facsimile. Owing to the importance of the charter, it is edited here in greater detail³,

It is a single copper-plate measuring 27.7 cm long and 19 cm broad, with a circular seal having a diameter of 5.2 cm attached to the middle of the left side. The details in the seal are not clear. The plate has writing on both sides, and the rims of the plate have not been raised to protect the writing. Owing to this fact and also to the corrosion the plate has suffered, the writing has not been preserved well in some places, and some letters have therefore been obliterated beyond recognition in those places and consequently the passages there are difficult to make out. This plate weighs 1165 gms.

The writing consists of 51 lines with obverse having 25 lines and the reverse 25 lines. The characters are late Brāhmī and there is a prominent dash-like stroke at the top of each character. They may be seen to be closely akin to those of the Khōh plates of the *Mahārāja Saṅkshōbha* of the year 209. They may also be found to be somewhat similar to those of the Kāritalai plates⁴ of the *Mahārāja Jayanātha* of the year 194, the Khōh plates⁵ of the *Mahārāja Śarvanātha* of the year 193 and the Ēraṇ Boar inscription of Tōramāna.⁶ In all these cases the letter *y* of the characteristic tripartite type with its left arm being curved up slightly or fully. Though the characters of the charter under study are also somewhat similar to those of the three Faridpur plates,⁷ there the letter *y* show not only the more developed form with its left arm having a hook shape but also the still more developed form where the tripartite shape has given place to a shape resembling the letter *p* with an elongated dent at its left bottom. In view of this palaeographical feature, the record may be assigned to about the early part of the 6th century A. D. In respect of other palaeographical features, this record resembles the above-mentioned charters, including the use of two forms of *h*, one with the archaic shape of the letter *r* curving up to left and the other with the more developed shape of curving to right and hooked. The vowels *ā* (line 3), *ā* (lines 43, 45), *i* (line 47),

¹ This is registered as No. A 42 of A. R. P.

² *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. XI p. 206.

³ Dr. D. C. Sircar has given a running text in parts in the recent edition of his *Select Inscriptions* (1965) pp: 530-31 for which he made use of the impressions of the plate prepared by us.

⁴ *CII.*, Vol., III, plate *Xv B* facing p. 112.

⁵ *Ibid.*, plate *Xvi*, facing p. 120.

⁶ *Ibid.*, plate *Xviii*, facing p. 128.

⁷ *Ibid.*, plate *Xiii A*, facing p. 160.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXI, plates I-III between pp. 196-207, and the discussion on the development of letter *y* on pp. 206-208.

H 9104

u (lines 32, 48) and *ē* (line 50) occur. The letter *t* and *bh* are indistinguishable in several places. The medial *i* and *ē* are to be understood in many places only from the context. Similar is the case with *s* and *sh*, the latter being generally shown with a larger loop at left. The subscript *y* is indicated in a right angular as well as a cursive manner.

The language of the record is chaste Sanskrit and the text is partly in prose and partly in verse. Some passages like the one describing the ocean (lines 32-35) are poetic in character. In respect of orthography, the record shows the use of *v* for *b*, and the doubling of a consonant following *r*.

The record contains particulars of date, stated in words (line 10) like the 20th day, in the month of Phālguna of the first increasingly victorious year in the reign of Mahārājādhirāja-śrī Gōpachandra. This date is repeated in symbols in line 50.

The object of the record is that the king at the request of the feudatory Mahāsāmanta-Mahārāja-Achyuta, granted the village of Śvētavālikā-grāma, after purchase, for the construction of a Buddhist monastery, at a place (name not clear) presided over by the Buddhist deity Āryya-Avalōkitēśvara, for worship and offerings at the institution and for the maintenance of the Buddhist community at the place, as a tax-free gift but with the stipulation that the feudatory or the Buddhist establishment should pay annually 100 *Aripīṇḍaka chūrṇikās*, probably a form of currency.

The record begins with the word *svasti*. Then in lines 1-5, there is a beautiful description of the earth. In lines 5-6 there is a description of a family to which one Dhanachandra belonged. His wife was Giridēvī. In lines 7-10, the donor king Gōpachandra is referred to. He was evidently the son of Dhanachandra through Giridēvī. Gōpachandra is styled as Mahārājādhirājā and Paramamāhēśvara and he is described as the cause for the establishment of *varṇa* (casts) and *āśrama* (the stages in life), as *dharma* (justice) incarnate, as one who had obtained the *śakti-traya* (i.e., the *mautra*, *prabhu* and *utsāha*), as one who excused even those who did harm to him as one who had made the whole group of kings bow to him and as one who has a large heart. Further he is described as one who was enthroned as the ruler by the people. The passage in line 10 contains the date expressed in words when the grant was made, viz., the 20th day in the month of Phālguna of the first year in the king's growing and victorious reign. In lines 10-13, the king's appeal to several royal officials both of the present time and of the future at Śvētavālikā-vithī, is contained. The officials included *Kārttikṛitika*, *Uparika*, *Kumārāmātya*, *Rājānaka-Vijayavarmma*, *Vishayapati*, *Tadāyuktaka*, and others subsisting on the grace of the ruler. Vijayavarmma mentioned here may not only be a *Rājānaka* but he may have held the other positions of *Kumārāmātya*, etc., referred to earlier. Any way the real import of the mention of a person named Vijayavarmma at this place is not easy to understand, because usually this passage contains a list of designations of officials only. Furthermore, it is stated that the king appealed to the *mahāmahattaras*, *mahattaras*, *pradhānas* and *adhikaraṇas* of king's station and of the twenty *agrahāras* and from other villages. Then follows (lines 13-14) the statement by the king that he was requested by his feudatory Mahāsāmanta-Mahārāja-Achyuta as follows: "In your vithī, there has been and continues to be the gift of villages, fields and house-sites after purchasing them from you, made by many *sādhus* for the gods, *dvijas* (Brāhmanas), *maṭhas*, *vihāras*, and *hāras-vasathī*. There is the uncertainty of the life of all beings. So I am interested in building a *vihāra* in this place (name not clear) presided over by Āryya-Avalōkitēśvara described as *Ratna-chaityōdbhava*, *khyāpita-asēsha-tribhuvana-pratāpa-māhātmyātīśaya* and *Bhagavān*, and am interested in donating a village for providing the means for *bali*, *chauru*, *gandha*, *pushpa* and *pradipana*, evidently at the *vihāra*, and for providing the Buddhist community

(*Āryya-Saṅgha*) with the necessities for their food, bed, seat, recreation and medicines. So, be pleased to grant through a copper-charter the village of Svētavālikā-grāma by selling". Then follow some passages in lines 20-24 which are difficult to make out owing to the corrosion the plate has suffered at this place. But here occur references to the situation of the village near the sea-shore, to the accruing of one-sixth of the merit of the *dharma* to the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, and to the officials like the *mahāsāmanta*, *mahārāja*, *viniyuktaka*, *kumārāmātya* and *rājānaka* in charge of Daṇḍa-bhukti. The passages in lines 25-28 are also not easy to make out owing to the wearing out of the plate here. But it appears that these passages refer to various district officials by name who were probably to be consulted in connection with the sale of the vilage of Svētavālikā. They included *Mahāmahattara*-Grihasvāmin, *Mahattara*-Dharmasvāmin, *Mahattara*-Dēvasvāmin, *Mahattara*-Ēndrasvāmin and several *pradhānas* and *karaṇikas*. Here figures *Pustapāla* Bhōgabhaṭṭa who is evidently the same as the one mentioned at the end of the record as the heater of the plate. In lines 29-30, mention is made of the completion of the formalities of the sale and of the making of the gift, evidently by the king, for the increase of the merit of his parents and of himself, to the monks of the Mahāyāna order of the *padra* (name of the *padra* is not preserved). In line 30, the *Pustapāla* Chandra and the *Dharammakaraṇika* *Jaṭādhyā*-Sthāyapāla of the Bhārōlāṅgalā-vithi are mentioned, probably as witnesses. Then follows the passage in lines 30-31, which says that the village, made free from all imposts, was given to *Mahāsāmanta*-Achyuta with the stipulation that annually one hundred *Ari-piṇḍaka-chūrṇikās* should be paid in this behalf. This payment was to be made probably by Achyuta, or it may be that it was to be made by the monks of the Mahāyāna order. The boundaries of the gift-villages are stated in lines 32-37. There was the Utkira-khātikā in the east; *Bhagavān* Jananidhiḥ (i.e. ocean), described in a beautiful *kāvya* style, in the south (here the reverential description of the ocean is noteworthy); the house-site of Daṅga-grāma Guṇadēva-maṇḍala in the west; the area (*uddēśa*) called Śrigāla-padrikā in the north west; then in the north upto the gift-field of the *grihādhiṣṭhaka* Ādiyadāsa; then there was the *maṇḍala-kshētra* of *Bhagavān* Gōvēśvara; there were a banyan tree and a couple of Chchharapēta in the north-east; and again in the east there were some tanks. The passage in lines 37-39 relates to the request of the donor to the officials for the protection of the gift and to the warning to a member of his family and to any other person that if he was to harm the gift induced by passion, hatred, or avarice he should incur the sins due to the commission of the *pañcha-mahāpātaka* and *upapātaka*. In lines 40-50, thirteen customary verses are quoted extolling the giver of land and enumerating the sins that would be incurred by one who disturbs or causes hindrance to the gift. The plate is stated to have been heated by *Pustapāla* Bhōgabhaṭṭa and the text written by *Kāyastha* Mānadatta (line 50). Then the date as year 1, *Phālguna* *di* (*divasa*) 20 is given. In line 51 the passage reads as *khatram* *Chillukēna*. Here *khatram* seems to be a mistake for *khastam* meaning 'incised'. Then the passage will mean that the record was incised by Chilluka.

This inscription is important in many respects. From the point of view of political history, it gives a very interesting information that *Mahārājādhirāja* Gōpachandra was enthroned as the ruler by the people (*prajābhir-ārōpit-ādhirājyah*, lines 7-8). In all probability this ruler is identical with his namesake who was the issuer of the Faridpur copper-plate inscription of the year 18¹ and the Mallasārul copper-plate inscription of the year 33.² The present charter being issued in the first year in the reign of the king becomes thus the

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, 1910 pp. 204. ff. and plate; Bhandarkar's List, No. 1724 *Select Inscriptions*, (1965) pp. 370 ff. and note 1 on page 370 where the year of the date is corrected to 18 from 19 read by Pargiter.

Above, Vol XXIII, pp. 159 ff. and plate; *Select Inscriptions*, (1965) pp. 372 ff.

earliest record of his rule. Even in his first year Gōpachandra is given the title *mahārāja-dhirāja* which clearly indicates that the Gupta rule over the region around Jayarāmpūr where the plate was discovered broke down completely and the family to which Gōpachandra belonged which must have been subordinate to the Gupta sovereignty became completely independent when Gōpachandra was installed as the ruler. About his parentage the two other plates of his reign referred to above do not say anything, whereas the present record states that his father was Dhanachandra and mother Giridēvī. Further his family is praised handsomely in some passages, (lines 4-6) and this shows that he belonged to a respectable lineage. Though his family is praised Dhanachandra is not endowed with any royal titles. This shows that he was not a man of importance but only his son became very active and important in the administration of those times so that when there was a break down at the time in the imperial administration, the people chose him to be their ruler. The findspot of the plate shows that his family, in all probability, belonged to this region. The mention made of several officials administering Daṇḍabhukti indicates that Gōpachandra held sway, even at the beginning of his rule, over this area. Gradually Gōpachandra must have extended his sway to the Faridpur District in Central Bengal and the Burdwan District in South West Bengal as can be inferred from the places of discovery of the two other charters of his mentioned above.

As regards his period, there is, as expected, some doubt. According to Pargiter he was later than Dharmāditya of the other Faridpur plate, on palaeographical grounds.¹ But the palaeography of the charter under discussion appears to be earlier than that of the Faridpur plate of Dharmāditya as has been stated above. Further the Mallasārul plate of Gōpachandra was issued during his 33rd regnal year by his subordinate *Mahārāja* Vijayasēna, who is considered to be the same as *Mahārāja-śrī-mahāsāmanta*-Vijayasēna figuring as *Dūtaka* in the Guṇaighar plate of Vainyagupta dated in the Gupta year 188 (=507 A.D.),² and this fact has been taken in to account to place Gōpachandra immediately after 507 A.D.,³ which appears to be a reasonable proposition. In our present plate, too, a *rājānaka* Vijayavarman figures. It is difficult to say whether this Vijayavarman or his family had any connection with Vijayasena or his family mentioned above. If Gōpachandra of our charter is identical with Gōpachandra of the above mentioned charters, then we might say that he, in all probability, started ruling from *circa* 510 A.D., and that he might have ruled upto about 543 A.D. by adding 33 years to his reign as per his Mallasārul charter which is dated in the 33rd year of his reign. The object of the charter under study seems to lend support to this conclusion. In the Guṇaighar plate, referred to above, the gift of land was made to a Buddhist *vihāra* called Āryya Avalōkitēśvar-āśrama-vihāra.⁴ In the present charter which is only a few years later than the above one the gift of the village was made for building a Buddhist *vihāra* presided over by the god Āryya-Avalōkitēśvara and for worship and offerings therein. This is only an expected thing, for it appears that though Gōpachandra was a staunch devotee of Śiva—he is called a *paramamāhēśvara*—he had to support the other faiths like the Buddhism immediately after he was made the ruler, in order to enlist the support of all the subjects under his rule. Interestingly the other two charters of his reign deal with gifts made to brāhmaṇas. The same is the case with the charters of Dharmāditya⁵ and Samāchāradēva⁶ who may have followed Gōpachandra in the rulership of Eastern India.⁷

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XXXIX p. 207; *Select Inscriptions* (1965), p. 370, note 1.

² *Select Inscriptions* (1965), pp. 340 ff.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 372, note 6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 341, text-lines 4-5.

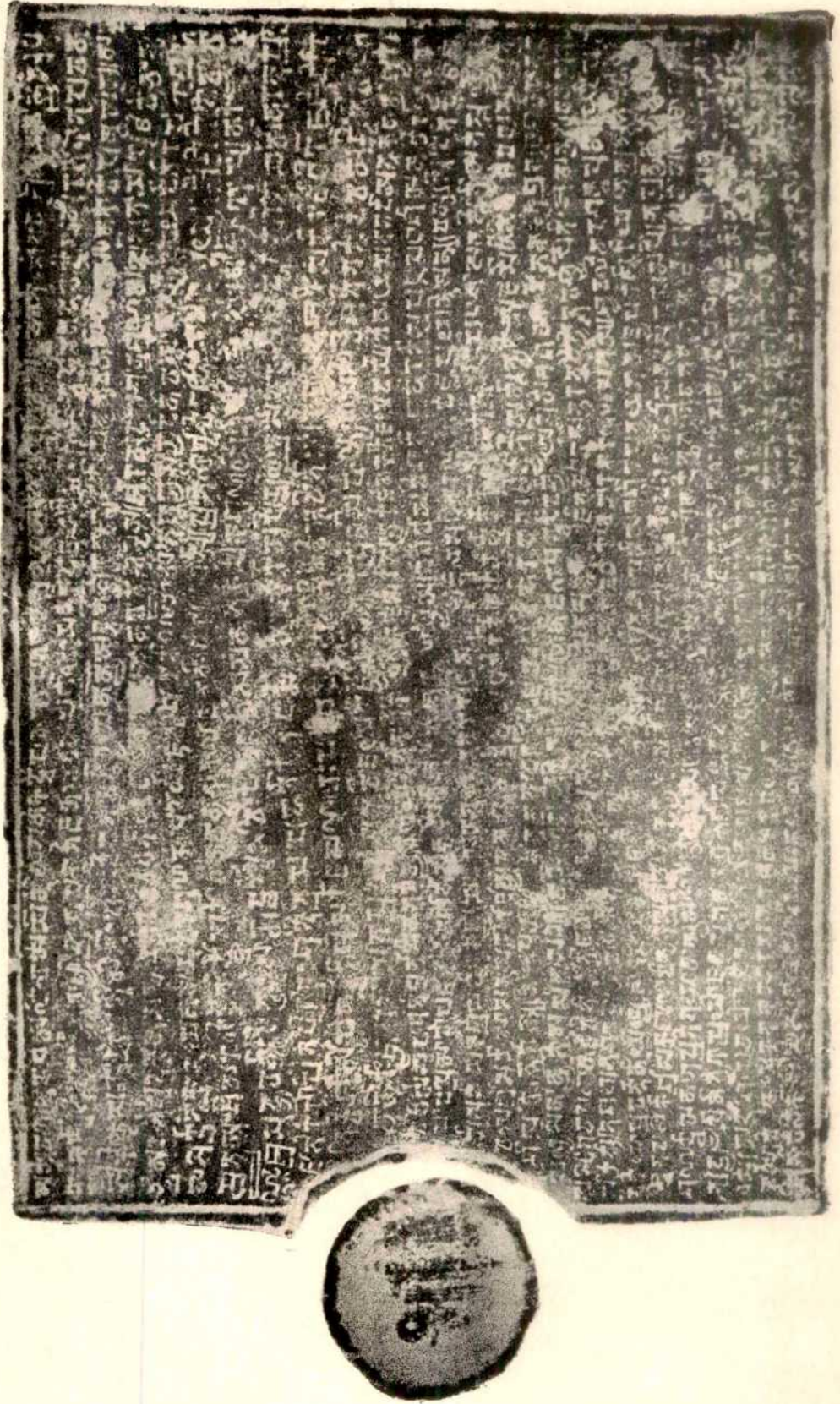
⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 195 ff.

⁶ *Above*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 74-86.

⁷ See *The Classical Age*, pp. 76-77 where this order of the kings is given.

JAYARAMPUR PLATE OF GOPACHANDRA

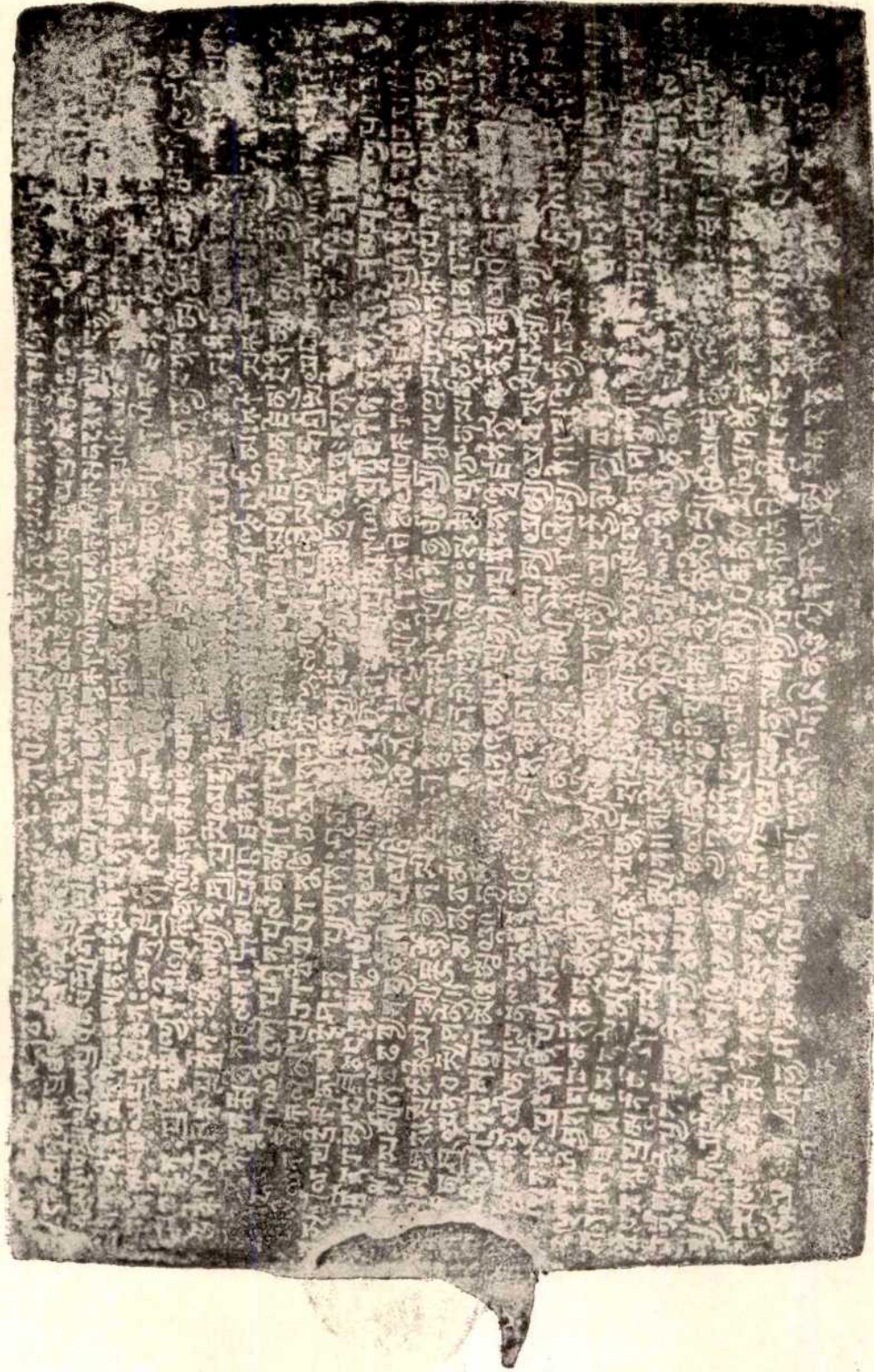
Obverse



2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24

Reverse



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SCALE : Two-third

The plate under study reveals for the first time a feudatory of Gōpachandra, named *Mahāsāmanta-Mahārāja* Achyuta at whose request the former permitted the gift of the village of Śvētavālikā-grāma by purchase as recorded in the charter. Evidently this Achyuta was a local chief just as Vijayasēna of the Mallasārul plate was another chief in that locality.

As has been stated above, the gift was made for erecting a *vihāra* at the site (name not clear) of another *vihāra* presided over by the Buddhist deity Āryya-Avlōkitēśvara, as well as for providing food etc. to the monks of the *Āryya-Saṃgha* there. Āryya-Avlōkitēśvara is one of the Bōdhisattavas or the future Buddhas according to the Mahāyāna sect of Buddhism. The Guṇaighar plate of Vainyagupta, mentioned above, also refers to a *vihāra* of the same deity, and records the provision made for worship and offerings to the Buddha therein. It is clear from this that during those times the Mahāyāna sect of Buddhism and the worship of Āryya-Avalōkitēśvara were popular in the region. Though the village Śvētavālikā-grāma is said to have been given exempting it from the payment of all taxes, a stipulation is made that an amount of one hundred *Aripindaka-chūrṇikas* should be paid annually obviously to the government. Though it is not made clear as to who should pay this amount in respect of the gift of the village, probably the feudatory chief Achyuta was expected to pay this amount. The term *Aripindaka-chūrṇikas* probably refers to a currency that was in vogue in this region at the time but its value is not known. This currency is known for the first time only from this charter.

Among the boundaries of the gift village, mention is made of the *maṇḍala-kshētra* of *Bhagavan Gōvēśvara*. Gōvēśvara is a form of Śiva like Gōkarṇṇēśvara who was the favourite deity of some of the Eastern Gaṅga kings¹. The term *maṇḍala-kshētra*, like *maṇḍala-vāstu* (text line 35), is interesting. It may denote either a circular field or a field in the enjoyment of the deity.

Of the geographical names occurring in this record *Daṇḍabhukti* is already known. The gift village Śvētavālikā-grāma, Bhārōlāngalā-vīthī to which *Pustapāla* Chandra belonged, Śrigālapadrikā which formed a boundary mark, Daṅga-grāma, and Aśunapadra are difficult to identify.

TEXT²

[Metres: Verses 1-9 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 10-12, *Vasantatilakā* ; verse 13 *Āryyā*.]

Obyerse

1 Svasti [[*] Catur[r-u]dadhi-salīla-sīmān-tāyām-anēka-dvīpa-nagara-pattan-ādhisṭhān-
ādri-sarō ...-prava[ha]-siddha-dēvat-āyatana-śrēṣṭhāyām-avanyām sva-dha-
[r*]mma-karma-..... ṇy-āsrama-prākṛiti-janapada-samagrāyām-anēka-dvija-
[var-ē]śvar-āgnihōtra-havana-havir-dhūma-surabhikṛita-pavana³
arck-ēndu-mayūkh=[ēva] bhāsi[tāyām]=avirata-vēd-ādhyayan-āny-āsanvanany-.... yā
tribhuvana-sādhāra[nēna-rtu ?]-vipa[nna ?]-sasya-sarva-
ttra-surabhi-svādu-kusuma-phalabhāra-vividhatara-viṭapa-[latā-pradhā]navaty[ām]
sudṛisya(śya)-[sā]rasa-rūpa-gandha-guṇa-sampatsthītāyām pṛithivyām chatuḥ-

¹ Bhandarkar's List, No. 1528, 2965.

² From impressions.

³ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

- 5 samudr-ātikrānta-yaśasām=udāra-guṇa-samuday-ārūḍha-gauravāṇām...dān-āva-
[li] ... yadāchāra-pa[ri]graha-
- 6 pratyant-āśēṣh-ānalē ch=chhriṃatō [Dha]nachandrāt=sakala-jana-sādhāraṇa-dhārmma-
pratīlabdhā. vīgrahā ... ttr-āryyaḥ śrī-Gīridēvyā[m*] va-
- 7 rṇṇ-āśrama-vyavasthā-hētuh-sākshād=dharmma iv=ōpātta-janmā saman-ābhikāmika-
guṇa-yōgā...sātōrniya ari .. [pra]-
- 8 jābhir=ārōpit-ādhirāyāḥ śakti-tray[ō*]-pa-harttā . tā pakshē=[tya]nt-[ā]pakārishv=api
prānatrāsō=attra sō tsāit-āmarsh-ā-nurakta pra[jñā?]-
- 9 bhir=viśrām-ōpanat-āśēṣha-rājamaṇḍalaḥ pa[rō] -ahhinivishṭa-chētāḥ pararaa-
māhēśvarō mahārājādhirāja-srī-Gōpa-
- 10 chandrō rājya[m] pra[śasa]ta(ti) prāvarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-[samvatsarē]
prathamē Phālguna-māsē vimśatitame divasē Śvētavālikā
- 11 vi[thi]-samupāgatān=varttamāna-bhavishyat-kāliyān=kārttākṛitik-[aupari]ka-kumār-
āmātya-rājānaka-Vijayavarmma-vishayapati-tadāyuktakān=anyāms=cha rāja-
- 12 pāda-prasād-ōpajivi[naḥ] [yāthā]rham mānāyitvā [śirōbhiś=cha] praṇamy=āsmad-
adhivāsa-vimśaty-āgrahāra-tāmra-paṭṭa-paṭa-sāsana-hiranya- ..
- 13 sāmudāyika-grāma-vātakēbhyō [mahāmahattara-mahattara]-pradhāna- ..la adhi-
karaṇāñ=cha vijñāpayanti astu [; *] vas=samviditam prārthitā
- 14 vayan śrī-mahāsāmanta-mahārāj-Achytēna yushmad-vīthyā[m] sādhubhir=anēka-
ir-ā-chandr-ārkkā-kālīna-tāmra-paṭṭa-paṭa-sāsana-sthityā satā mūlyēna
- 15 grāma-kshētra-vāstuni yushmat-[krīva-kṛitvā] dēva-dviya-maṭha-vihāra-vasathē-
bhyō=tisṛisht-āty(ny)=ātisṛijyamānāni tath=aiva samyak prati-
- 16 pālyamānān=īti samīkshya maha[tāñ=cha] isarvva-prāṇinām jala-budbud-
āvasyāya prēshita-gaja-kalabha-ka[ṇṭhā]-āgra-bhujaga-jihva-taḍi-
- 17 t-sampāta-chapalāni jivitān=ity=āja-va.....m-utsā[hō]-jāta[h*] sō=ham=
[ichchhē] Ratna-chaity-ōdbhava-khyāpit-āśēṣha-tribhuvana-pratāpa-
- 18 māhātmy-ātīśaya-bhagavad-Āryy-Āvalōkitēśvar-āddhyāsita...hārē vihāra-karaṇāya
tasmiṃś=cha va(ba)li.charu-gandha-pushpa-pradīpan-ā
- 19 di-kriyā-pravattanāy=āryya-saṃgh=asya cha yathā [kā]lām bhavishya-piṇḍapāta-śayan-
āsana-glāna pratyaya bhāishajya-parīshkārāy=ā[ti]srashṭu[m] [; *] tada[rhatha]
- 20 Śvētavālikā-grāmaṃ krayēṇa dētum tāmra-sāsanaḥkṛity=ēti[; *] yatō=smāyati
sa cha grāmas=samudra(dr-ō)pasarppita-pratyantatvāt=sa ...
- 21 gaṇ-ādhyāsēna [tē] pratibhayānā[stha] sa n[ād=]itthambhūtēna ta . ta .
[rṭhaḥ] as[ti] ch=āsa .. ma.
- 22 tpadyamānāny=aika-prayōjana-prata-sa . dhāna-grāma yatām=asmai
dēyam a[na] . naḥ paramabhāṭṭārakasy=āpi
- 23 dharmma-sha[dbhā]g-ōpachay[a][nē] [dā] . yati Daṇḍabhukty -
ādhiḥkṛita-mahā-sāma[nta] mahārāja- ...
- 24 .. vin[i]yuktaka-kumārāmātya-[rājānaka]- [Śvēta]vālikā .. vyāvahāri-
prāpta..... diśā
- 25 Śvētavālikā-grāmas=sakala-samudayaḥ krayēna(ṇa) [vishayādhikara]ṇa-ma[hā]maha-
ttara-[Griha]-svāmī-ādibhiḥ yata

Reverse

- 26 Bhava mahattara-Dharmmasvāmi-mahattara-Dēvasvāmi mahattar-
Ēndrasyāmi A[śu]napadrakī [ya]-pradhāna
- 27 padrakiya-Tanuka-prā[rtha]na . . drakiya-Vō(Bō)ddhasvāmi-Hulava(ba)lajēya-
chittrakarmaṇa-mukhiya-prathān-āshāḍha-Śvētavāli [kā] . . . ka . . .
- 28 [tri][sha]ṇḍa-Dharmma[shē]ṇa-pradhāna-Dharmma-gōn[a]mak[a]ya-[Ta]varāta-
vanōkaś=cha karaṇika-Datanandi-karaṇika-Anudutta-karaṇik-Āditya dāsa-pu
[stapāla]-[Bhō]ga-[bhaṭṭa]-[sthāya].
29. prabhavē[shṭa]bhīḥ vikritēna nishpannaḥ krītvā mātā¹-pittrōr=ātamanaś=cha sarvva-
satvānām cha puṇy -ābhivṛiddhayē daksha(kshi)ṇāya(yām) diśi padrakā[ya] . .
mahāy-[ānikē]-
- 30 [bhyō] bhikshu-saṁghāya pratipāditaḥ yatra śrī-Bhārōlāṅgalā-vaithēya-pustapāla
Chandra-dharmmakaraṇikā Jaṭāḍhya-sthāyapālas=cha . ś=cha sarvv[ā-dē]-
- 31 ya-varjitaḥ prativarshañ=ch=Āripīṇḍakachūrṇikā-śatam=ēkaṁ dēyam=ity=upaniva(ba)
ddhya śrī-mahāsāmant-Āchyutasya dattama(m ||* a) sya cha grāmasya sīmā-liṅgāni
- 32 Utkira-khāṭikā pūrvvataḥ dakshinasyā(syām) diśy=apramēya-dyutiḥ v[ē]lādharma-nānē
nidhānān-āpa[ma]chintya [mū ?][tā]-vyāya[kshipta]-[sthi]ra . . . prava(ba)la-
- 33 m-āhat-ōddhūta-kshubhita-jalatarān(ra)ṅga-saṁ[gha]ṭṭa-janita-kalakalā-rāva-phēṇa(na)-
puñj-āṭṭahāsaḥ kari-makara-jhasha-nakra-grāhā-[vana]
- 34 dha-vihaga-gaṇā-v[ru]t-ōpagō(gī)ta-pulinas=surāsura-muni-gaṇa-siddha-chāraṇa-
manuja-mānujēndr-ādibhis=samstutō=nyavyōta-vātāni . . [nya]=
- 35 salila-kāli-kalush-āpahara-vividha-ratna-nichayō bhagavān-jalanidhiḥ paśchimatō
Daṁga-grāmiya Guṇadēva-maṇḍāia-vāstu paśchim o[ttara]-
- 36 ta[h*] si(śrī)gālapadrikā-nām-ōddēśaḥ tatō=py=uttarataḥ grīh-ādhishtak-Āditya-
dāsasya vṛitti-kshētram yāvata(t) || tatō=pi bhagavatō Gōvēśvarasya maṇḍāla-
ksh[ētram]
- 37 pūrv-ōttarasyām diśi [va]ṭa-vṛikṣha-chchhara-pēta-[dva]yam=antē pūrvvasyā[m] dig-bhāgē
ganara-pushki(shka)raṇyaḥ pūrvvādir=iti tad=ētad-uddēśa-samudayañ=cha pravēvib-
hajya
- 38 śarīram=asmābhir=vōḍhavyam tad-yushmābhir=api yath=ōpari-likhitakō [ddh]armma-
gauravā[t*]=vishay-ādha(dhi)karaṇān=vijāpy=ādya-pratipālan-ānugrahaparair= . . .
- 39 asmās=cha bhūmidānē yō=smakkrū(t=ku)lyō=nyatāmō vā rāga-dvēsha-lōbha-mōha-
prēritō=nyathā kuryyāt=sa pañcha-mahāpātak-ōpapātak-ādi[bhīh*] sa[m*]yukta[s*]=
sya(syā)d=[iti]
- 40 [ch]=ān[u]śrūyatē dharmma-śa(śā)strē || Shashṭa-var[sha-saharā]ṇ[i] svargē mōdati
bhūmidah [| *] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva naraka(kē) vasē[t* || 1] Svadatta
[m] paradattam va (ttām vā)
- 41 yō harēta vasundharām [| *] sa vishṭhāyā[m*] kṛimir=bhūtva pitṛibhis=saha pachyati ||
[2*] Pūrvva-dattām dvijātibhyō [ya]tnāt=rakshya(ksha) Yudhishṭhira [| *] mahā
(hi)m=mahā(hi)mata(tām) [śrē]-

¹ An unnecessary top *mātrā* is seen here.

- 42 shṭha dānāch=chhrēyō=nupālanam(nam) ||¹ [3*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā [dattā] rājabhis=
Sagar-ādibhiḥ [| *] yasya yasya ya[dā] bhūmi[s*]=tasya tasya ta[dā] phalam(lam) ||
[4*] [Āsphō]ṭayanti
- 43 pitarah pravalganti pitāmahāḥ [| *] bhūmi[dātā]nku-(tā ku)lē jātaḥ sō=smāmvvai
(smān vai) ttā(tā)-rayishyati || [5*] Ādityā Vasavō Rudrā Sōmō Vishṇur=Hutāśa
[naḥ] [| *]
- 44 Daṇḍapāṇiś=cha bhagavān=abhinandanti bhūmi[dam(dam)] || [6*] Bhūmyu .. yō mā
śrūtarasyāya dadvāt=sasyava[tī] sa[tī] [| *] .. ti gṛihitūś=cha punāmy(ty)=
ubhayata[h]
- 45 śata[m*] || [7*] Ā-janman=ā-sahasrēshu pāpam yank ṛi-(t-kṛi)tavānna(tvā na)ra[h* |]
api gō-charmma-mātrēṇa bhūmi-dānēna śuddhyati || [8*] Vṛi(shā) .. [śa]tam
yatra gavātti(sti)shthaty=aya[m*]tritam
- 46 bā(ba)lavat=sa prasūtānām gō-charmma tad=iti smṛitam(tam) || [9*] Bhūmi-dātā yāti
lōkam surāṇā[m*] hatsi(sti)r=yyunuyā kumbha-pakva-thanai(tai)la-
pū[rī]ṇa-
- 47 hartā karaḥ kshipyati kāladūtē [| 10*] Ity=ēvam=anuchintya[| *] Y[ā]n=iha dattāni purā
narēndrair=ddānāni dharm-ārtha-yaśaskarāni [| *].... nṛipa-gauravāch=cha
ma[y=]ā-
- 48 py=anujñāta ya(pha)lāni(ni) tāni [| 11*] Api cha ē[tā]ni dāridratayānma(yā ma)nushyair=
dhanāni(ni) dharm-āyatāni(ni) kṛitāni [| *] utsṛiṣṭavā[tta]-prati ... (kānā) ..
- 49 [ndra]ḥ punar=āvadītaḥ [| 12*] Kshititāla-jala-chandra-lōlām śriyam=anu[chi*]ntya
manushya-dharmma-bhā[va][n*]=cha [| *] nikhilam=idam=udā-hṛita[n]cha buddhvā
na hi baya . pasavi-
- 50 taniyā iti (|| 13*] Ētanya(ch=cha) śāsanam tāpitaṁ pustapāla-[Bhō]ga-bhaṭṭēna likhitaṁ
kāyastha-Mānadattēn=ēti samvatsara 1 [Pho(Phā)lguṇa] di 20
- 51 khatram² Chillukēna [|*]

¹This double *daṇḍa* is peculiar.

²Probably *kshatam* (= incised) is intended here.

No. 22—FOUR INSCRIPTIONS OF SIVAGUPTA BALARJUNA FROM SIRPUR

(2 Plates)

S. SANKARANARAYANAN, MYSORE

AND

BALACHANDRA JAIN, RAIPUR

The subjoined four inscriptions, referred to hereinafter as A, B, C and D for the sake of convenience, come from Sirpur, Mahasamunda Tahsil, Raipur District, Madhya Pradesh. This place has yielded inscriptions which have been already published¹. The following four inscriptions are published for the first time here from the inked impressions kindly supplied to us by the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore, to whom our thanks are due.

All these inscriptions are fragmentary and much mutilated excepting B and are written in what is called the Siddhamātrikā characters, which are assignable to circa 600 A. D. and resemble those of the already known inscriptions of the time of the Pāṇḍuvarṣī king Śivagupta Bālārjuna,² to whose reign undoubtedly these inscriptions belong. Similarly orthography of these records too resemble that of the known records referred to above and hence does not call for any special remarks. The language of all these records is Sanskrit and their texts are written mainly in verse excepting in the case of the short records B and C.

None of these records bears any date.

A. Gandharvėśvara Temple Pillar Inscription of the time of Bālārjuna

This inscription³ is found engraved on the southern face of the left pillar of the *maṇḍapa*, near the central shrine in the Gandharvėśvara temple.⁴ The writing covers a space of about 42 cm in height and 33 cm in breadth. There are altogether 20 lines clearly written and deeply engraved. The preservation of the record is far from satisfactory especially in lines 19 and 20 which are not at all readable.

The epigraph commences with an auspicious symbol for *siddham* followed by a short prose passage invoking the god Śiva. Then comes the first verse invoking once again Śiva described as residing, for the sake of protecting all creatures, on the banks of the cold (*haimī*) holy river Mahāvāhinī. Then we are told as follows : During the reign of the victorious Bālārjuna (verse 2), there was at Sirpur, itself (*atra*) an individual by name Udbhavarāśirudra, preaching his own doctrines or conclusions, presumably of Śaivism (verse 3). His humble and pious disciple named Ambullōka offered garlands to the god Śambhu (Śiva) bearing the name Gāndharva, i. e. Gāndharvėśa (verse 4). It is stipulated that as long as the earth, the sun, and the moon exist these garlands were to be supplied daily by the garland-makers residing in the locality Śrīpura (verse 5). From this, it is clear that the donor created some trust by granting something, like land or money, and entrusted the same

¹ See, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 179 ff; *IHQ*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 233 ff; above, Vol. XI, pp. 184 ff; Vol. XXXI, pp. 103 ff; pp. 197 ff.

² See above, Vol. XI, plate facing p. 190; Vol. XXXI, plate facing p. 198.

³ s. a. No. B 283 of *A. R. Ep.*, for 1954-55.

⁴ This pillar contains also another bigger, but very much worn out inscription consisting of about 51 lines. For details see Hiralal's List (second ed.), p. 99, para. 3.

to the garland-makers of Śrīpura with the above stipulation. Then follows an exhortation on the impermanence of the wordly pleasure and riches and an imprecation for the protection of the gift (verse 6). The next and partly preserved verse referring to one Tāra as the composer of the *praśasti* (verse 7). The inscription ends with a passage, probably in prose, of which almost all letters, excepting the single syllable *lpi*, are lost. Probably it contained a reference to the *śilpin*¹ or artisan who might have been responsible for engraving the record on the pillar.

The king Bālārjuna is no doubt identical with Śivagupta, also called at times as Mahā-Śivagupta,² of the Pāṇḍava family ruling over the South Kōśala country in about 600 A.D. Though some inscriptions call him only as Śivagupta³ and some other⁴ like the present record, only as Bālārjuna, there are inscriptions suggesting that his original name was Śivagupta and that he was famous by his appellation Bālārjuna⁵. The way in which Udbhavarāśirudra is described in the present record seems to suggest that he was perhaps a Śaiva pontiff residing in Sirpūr itself. The °*rudra*-ending of his name reminds us of the *Śambhu*-endings and the *śiva*-endings of the names of the Śaiva pontiffs who are known to be heading their respective *maṭhas* in different parts of Central India in the subsequent age⁶. Regarding the composer of the *praśasti*, all informations, excepting that his name was Tāra are unfortunately lost. Yet it is not unlikely that he was none other than Tāradatta whose son Sumaṅgala is known to have composed the texts of at least three inscriptions of Śivagupta himself—two from Sirpūr itself⁷ and one from Sēnākapāt.⁸ In that case, it may be suggested, tentatively at least, that the present record composed by the father is of earlier date than those composed by the son.

Of the two geographical names mentioned in our record, the first one viz. Mahāvāhinī is no doubt the same as the famous Mahānadi, on the very brink of which on the eastern side,⁹ stands the Gāndharvēśvara temple as stated in the record. The other geographical name Śrīpura, also found mentioned in another record¹⁰ from the Gāndhar vēśvara temple, is the same the modern Sirpūr itself, the find-spot of the record.¹¹

A

TEXT¹²

[Metres : Verses 1, 4 and 5 *Mandākrāntā* ; Verses 2 *Upajāti*; verses 3 and 7 *Indravajrā*; verse 6 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*].

- 1 Siddham¹³ [I*] Namaḥ Śivāya || Y=ēyaṁ [h]aim[ī]¹⁴ pravahati Mahāvahinī puṇya-tō-
2 yā¹⁵ ḍṛiṣṭv=aiv=ālaṁ kshapayati mālāṁ kiṁ punaḥ snāna-pānaiḥ||[I] asyās-ti-

¹ Cf. inscription D, below, line 14.

² Above, Vol. XI, p. 191, verse 12.

³ See, e.g. inscriptions B and C below.

⁴ See, e.g. above, Vol. XXXI, p. 198; *IHQ*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 233.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 198, verses 3-4; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 180, lines 7-8; No. B. 282 of *A.R.Ep.*, for 1954-55.

⁶ See, *CII*, Vol. IV, pp. clii ff.

⁷ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 198; *IHQ*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 223.

⁸ Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 35-36.

⁹ See, Cunningham, *Arch. Rep.*, Vol. XVII, (1881-82) pp. 23 ff. and pl. XIV.

¹⁰ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 180, line 13. Here in that inscription too, as in the present record, Śrīpura is referred to as a place of residence of the garland-makers.

¹¹ See also Cunningham, *op.cit.*, pp. 24, 25.

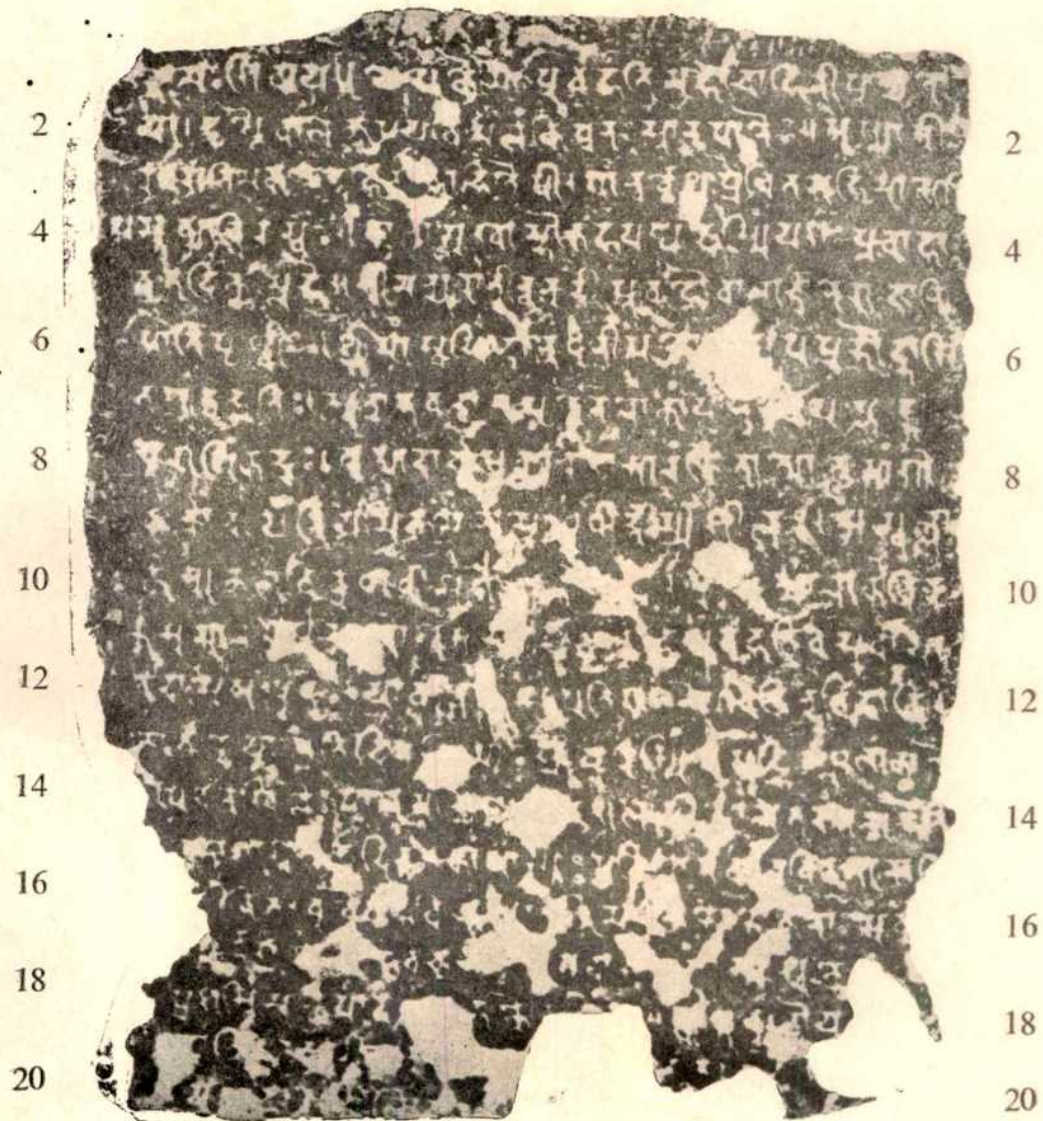
¹² From impressions.

¹³ Expressed by a symbol.

¹⁴ Originally *mi* was written. *Haimi* means "cold".

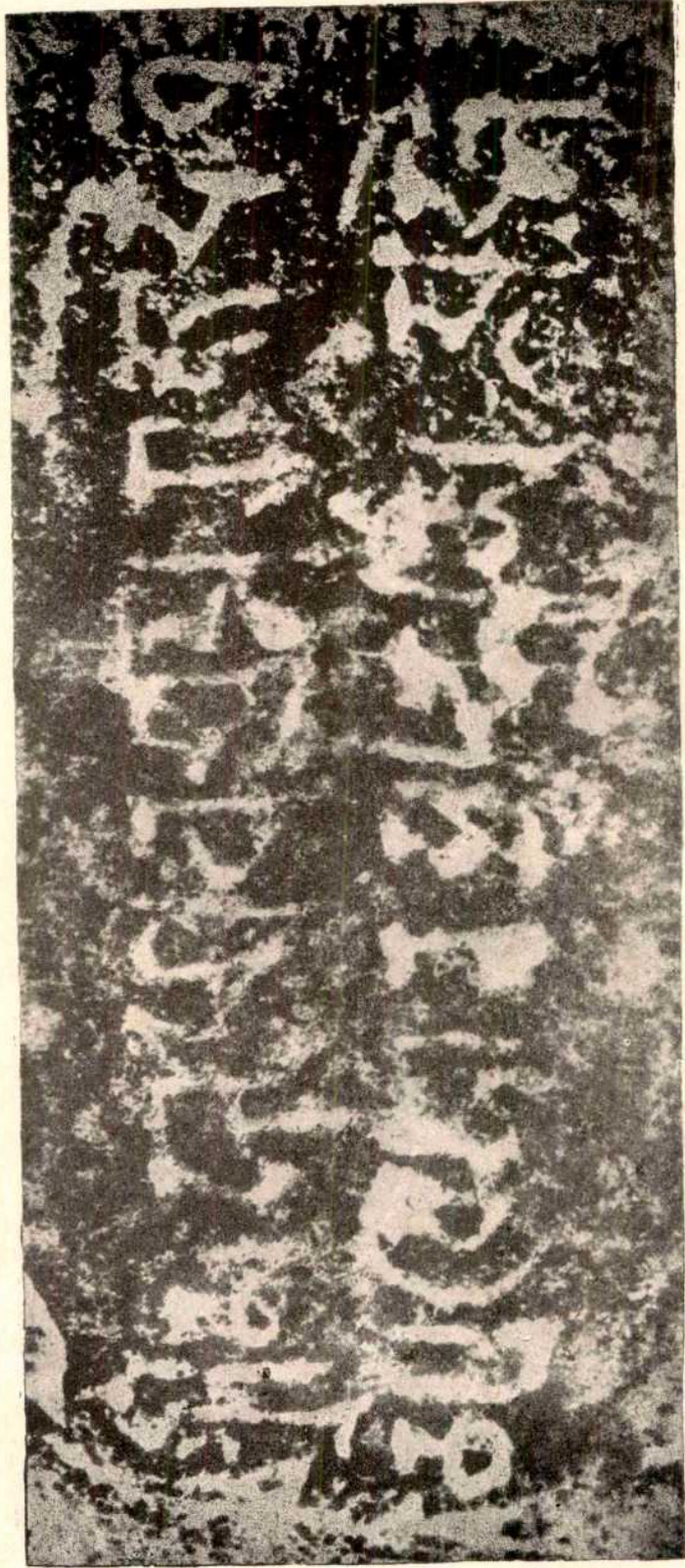
¹⁵ This punctuation is unnecessary.

A—GANDHARVESVARA TEMPLE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF
MAHASIVAGUPTA BALARJUNA



SCALE : One-third

B—GANDHARVESVARA COURTYARD INSCRIPTION OF
MAHASIVAGUPTA BALARJUNA



SCALE : One-half

No. 22] FOUR INSCRIPTIONS OF SIVAGUPTA BALARJUNA FROM SIRPUR 151

- 3 rē vasatim=aka [rō]d¹=dēhinām yō hitaishi | ² Gām(Gā)ndharvvēśaḥ prathita-mahimā śō=
- 4 yam=avyāch=chiram vaḥ³ || [1*] Kāntāmukh-āmbhōruha-shatpadē-smim(smin) yaśaḥ-
pravāh-ā-
- 5 vṛita-dik-samūhē || (|) śrīmaty-arātindhana-dipta-vahnau Va(Bā)lārjunē rājani
- 6 pāti pṛithvim(vim)|| [2*] Śrīmām(mān) sva-siddhānta-dhuni-payō ∪ — pa prabh-
ōdbhāsi-
- 7 ta-śuddha-bhūtiḥ | atr=ābhavad=vāg-amṛitēna lōkaṁ(kān) yas=t[ōsha]yaty=Udbha-
- 8 varāśirudraḥ | (|)[3*] Tat-pādāvja(bja)- prachura-rajasaḥ ramjit-ātm-ōttamāmṅō⁴
- 9 bhaktyā ch-āyam niyamita-manāḥ pu[nya] dhir=ddharmma-śilaḥ | Ambullō-
- 10 kas=sakala-vibudh-ādhiśa-[Gā]-rvva - - - |⁵ prādān=mālā ruchira-
- 11 kusumāḥ Śambha-⁶ [s]āśvatā[ya] || [4*] Yā[va]d=viśvaṁ vahati vasudhām yā-
- 12 vad=āstē samudraḥ |⁷ yāvat=sū[ryya]s=tapati gaganē yāvad=indur=vibhāti |
- 13 tāvad=dēyāḥ prati-dina[m]=imāḥ Śrīpurō=smim(smin) [va]sadbhir=mmālākā[r]ai-
- 14 ∪⁸ pi cha nikhilaiḥ pālayadbhi[h] [sva]m⁹||[5*] Lak[shm]im-ōgha — — taraṅga-
mām[cha] | ni-
- 15 ∪ —¹⁰ bhōgās=cha sa[m]bhēdinaḥ |¹¹ kāmā[h*] syuḥ pari-¹² ma-kāla-virasā n=ā[t]i-
- 16 ∪ —¹³ jivitaṁ(tam) | vudhvaiva[m]¹⁴ h[i] vilā- ∪ — ni ma ∪ —¹⁵ bhō bhō janāḥ s[ā]da¹⁶
- 17 — —[gni?]r=bhagavām(vān) ∪ — ∪[bha]va[hō] — —sadā s[ē] ∪ — m¹⁷ [6*] I[ā]raś=chakrē — ∪ —
- 18 —praśastim [s]ākshēpādā — ∪ bhaktai ∪ — —[||] (|) k[ā] t[ē]=ny i gēya ∪ — —
- 19 ∪ — — — — — ∪ — — — — [||7*]
- 20 Ipi¹⁷

¹ The present tense *karōti* is changed into *akarōti* to suit the metre.
² This punctuation is unnecessary.
³ Read=*chiram vaḥ*.
⁴ Probably *pay-ōttha-dīpa* was intended. One may better expect something like *payōttha-phēna*.
⁵ Restore something like *Gāndharvya-nāmnē*.
⁶ Evidently *vē* is the broken letter here.
⁷ This punctuaation is unnecessary. Read *samudrō*.
⁸ Obviously *r=api* is the intended letter.
⁹ Restore something like *dharmmam(rmmam)*.
¹⁰ *Nitarām* may be the word intended here.
¹¹ Evidently *pariṇāma* is the intended word.
¹² Restore something like *sthiram*.
¹³ Read *buddhv=aiyam*.
¹⁴ Probably *vilasitāni manasā* is the expression mutilated here.
¹⁵ The intended word may be *sādaram*.
¹⁶ This mutilated fourth quarter of the verse may be tentatively restored as *Kāmāgnir=bhagavān śivaś=śubhavaḥ bhaktyā sadā sēvyatām*.
¹⁷ Can the intended word here be *śilpi* ?

B and C. Two Buddhist Inscriptions of Mahā-Śivagupta

Of these two inscriptions, **B**¹ is engraved on a stone now found paved on the floor of the courtyard of the Gandharvėśvara temple. It is in two lines occupying an area of about 40 × 18cm. The writing is well-preserved excepting the first letter in the second line.

The other inscription, viz. **C**² is found incised on a stone built on the floor at the Buddhist monastery in site No. 15. It is in three lines covering an area of about 36 × 20cm. The preservation of the writing is not satisfactory and some of the letters are lost either totally or partially. Both the inscriptions are engraved in bold characters, the height of individual letters, omitting the medial vowel marks, being about 5 cm. Below each of these records is engraved a rectangular diagram divided into two rectangles almost equal in size by a horizontal line in the middle. Each of the two halves, thus formed is again divided into two unequal rectangles by a vertical line. The way of dividing by the vertical lines in **B** is different from that in **C**. It is difficult to be sure about what these four-fold rectangular diagrams indicate. Do they stand for the lands granted as stated in the records?

Both these records belong to Mahā-Śivagupta, who on the basis of the age and area of the records must be identified with the Pāṇḍava ruler of that name who bore the appellation Bālārjuna, as we saw earlier. The inscription **B**, containing single sentence, records that Mahā-Śivagupta grants (*pradattē*)³ to a monastery, obviously a Buddhist monastery whose name seems to read as [Ra]myavihāra. And the inscription **C**, also consisting of only one sentence, records that the same king grants to a monastery, again evidently a Buddhist one, whose name appears to be [Dhar]myavihāra. It may be noted that in both the inscriptions the first letter of the name of each of the *vihāras* is unfortunately not well preserved and hence the reading of the name may be, either, Ramyavihāra or Dharmyavihāra in both the records. However, these names may better be read differently, as has been done by us here, not only because they are the more likely readings, but also because it would do proper justice to the existence of these two different inscriptions of the same king. Or else one may have to take the one epigraph to be a duplicate of the other—a phenomenon, though found at times in the case of votive inscriptions,⁴ is not very easy to explain in the case of land-grants.

These two inscriptions shed welcome light on the policy of religious tolerance of Śivagupta Bālārjuna. He styled himself as *parama-māhēśvara*⁵ and his own Sēnākapāt inscription speaks eloquently of his deep devotion to the god Śiva.⁶ Yet, our two inscriptions reveal for the first time that Śivagupta himself personally patronised at least two Buddhist monasteries (or one) at Sirpur, although we already know from epigraphs that in the Pāṇḍava kingdom, and in Sirpur itself, Buddhist monasteries flourished⁷ side by side with the Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava temples.⁸ No doubt, Śivagupta's well known Mallār plates⁹ record his grant of a village to the inmates of a Buddhist monastery at Taraṇḍaniśāka. But, as that charter claims to have been issued by the king at the request of his uncle Bhāskaravarman,¹⁰ it is very

¹ It has been noticed as No. B 288 in the *A.R.Ep.*, 1954-55.

² This inscription is the same as No. B 118 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1956-57.

³ Note the use of present tense.

⁴ See, e.g. *Arch.Surv. S. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 110 and *Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. III, p. 30.

⁵ See, e.g. above, Vol. XXIII, p. 120, text lines 4-5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 35, verse 3.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 198 and No. B 117 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1956-57.

⁸ See, e.g. inscription A edited above and No. B 119 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1956-57.

⁹ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 120 ff.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 121, text line 13.

C—BUDDHIST MONASTERY: INSCRIPTION OF MAHASIVAGUPTA
BALARJUNA

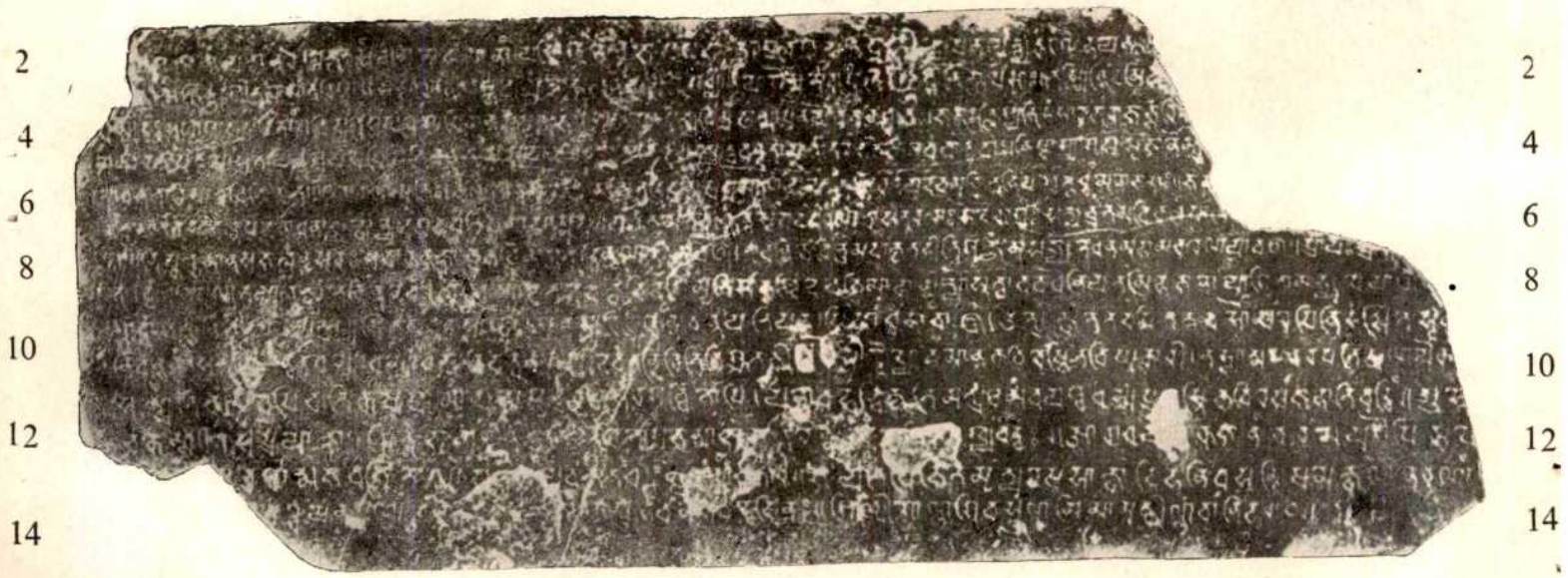


2

2

SCALE : One-third

D— FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION OF MAHASIVAGUPTA
BALARJUNA



SCALE : One-fourth

likely that the village was actually within the *jāgīr* of the latter, who was, therefore, the real donor.¹

Finally, the present locations of these records may indicate this. The stone bearing the inscriptions B must have been brought to the Gandharvėśvara temple and paved into the floor there, after the disappearance of the Ramyavihāra (not easy to identify at present) to which it originally belonged. Again the stone with the inscription C, most probably belonged to the *vihāra* (i. e. the Dharmyavihāra) at site No. 15, where it is found now. Yet it is very likely that it originally formed part of some well, or something belonging to an architectural scheme, after the collapse of which it found its way to the pavement of the floor. For, the inscriptions recording permanent land grants are not likely to be engraved on stones of the pavements, lest they should be lost soon because of the continuous treading on it by the visitors to the establishment.

B

TEXT²

- 1 Śrī-Mahā-Śivaguptarājadēvaḥ
- 2 [Ra]³myavihārasya bhūmiṃ pradattē [||]*

C

TEXT⁴

- 1 ..⁵hā-Śiva..⁶rājāḥ
- 2 [Dhar]⁷myavihārasya bhū-
miṃ pradattē [||]*

D.—*Fragmentary Inscription of [Śivagupta]*

The stone slab bearing this inscription⁸ was originally found fixed on the top of the compound wall outside the river gateway, of the Gandharvėśvara temple, and since 1957 it is being kept in the Mahant Ghasidas Memorial Museum, Raipur.

Regarding the preservation of the inscription one feels sorry to note that an indefinite portion of the upper part of the stone has been cut off and lost. Again the right side of the available part of the stone too is unevenly broken off and lost and the upper and lower corners on the left side have also disappeared. Hence no line of the record is complete and the number of letters lost in each line varies from 35 (line 3) to 7 (line 14). The preservation of the extant writing is also not quite satisfactory. Thus the record, as we have now, is very fragmentary. There are altogether 14 lines left now and the available text shows

¹ See *ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 115.

² From impressions.

³ The reading of the first letter of the name is doubtful.

⁴ From impressions.

⁵ The two letters lost here may be *srīma*.

⁶ Here what is lost is actually the expression *gupta*.

⁷ The reading of the first letter of the name is doubtful.

⁸ This is registered as No. B 285 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1954-55.

that these lines must have originally comprised 24 verses in different metres, though some of them have disappeared totally.

The extant text contains no name of any king.

The partly preserved first three verses of the extant portion speak of some place, used as a residence by those engaged in the difficult task of controlling senses (*samyamanōdyatānām*)—a place which had an auspicious banner (*śubhadhvaja-pata*), the height of which, the record describes in a poetic way, was such as to cause concern even to the sun in the sky ; a place of cool breeze all around ; a place of ascetics (*tāpāsāh*) practising meditation (*dhyāna-yōgaih*). No doubt this description suggests that the place under description was a *maṭha* or temple—may be the Gandharvėśvara temple itself.¹ The next verse (verse 4) is totally lost excepting the expression *tasminn=īdam=īha*, which probably indicates that something was built or set up in that place and that the stone slab bearing the inscription originally formed an integral part of that.

Next 14 verses dwell at length on the hallowness of the worldly life and they remind us of the *Vairāgyasataka* of the third century of Bhartrihari's *Śatakatrāyī*. They impress upon us that not even an iota of happiness for the man between his birth and his death (verse 5) ; that all that are born, though desire to be youthful always, do suffer from old-age (verse 6), and the threefold miseries (verse 8);² that all relatives, including sons, do not come to help when one is taken away from the house evidently by the god of death (verse 9) ; that even the king of gods, viz., Indra is saved at times of danger, only by the tears, obviously of his queens;³ and even the sun is to disappear at the time of the total dissolution of all things (*kalpānta*) ; that men should therefore act suitably without fear (verse 10); that even the gods guarding the quarters, like Indra, Varuṇa etc., and the sun, moon etc., observe and bow in awe to the veracious person (*satyavrata*) (verse 12) ;⁴ that the man-lake (*nṛi-sarah*) can be approached without fear as long as the crocodile in the form of money does not enter it (verse 14) ; and that man foolishly thinks that only somebody else somewhere sometimes become the prey of the Death. This section ends with the advice that on understanding the very nature of the Death one should become *yōgin* or an ascetic (verse 15) ; that one should not mind one's friends and riches (verse 17) ;⁵ and that being bound by the thought of what is right and what is wrong, one should earn money only by righteous method (verse 18).

Verses 19-20 speak of the composer of the *praśasti* whose name is lost. It may however be noted that he is described as the son of a famous expert physician by name Dēvanandī and as a friend of the king, i.e. the ruling king, who, as we shall see presently, was no other than Śivagupta. Hence this *praśasti-kavi* (verse 20) may be identified with Kṛishṇanandī, who is already known to us as the son of the physician Dēvanandī and as the composer of another inscription of Śivagupta from Sirpur itself.⁶ The next two verses (verses 21-22) seem to describe a person (name not preserved) as the author or executor of the pious work (*karmmaṇi-saṁprayōktā*)—obviously the one mentioned in verse 4 above—perhaps in commemoration of which the present *praśasti* was composed and incised on

¹ See below.

² Verses 7, 11 and 13 are lost totally.

³ The idea is that seeing their tears the enemy spares Indra's life, or the supreme gods like Vishṇu, Śiva, etc., save him.

⁴ Verses 7, 11 and 13 are totally lost.

⁵ What is intended to be conveyed by the verse 16 is not clear.

⁶ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 179-81.

No. 23—THREE TELUGU INSCRIPTIONS FROM PULIVENDLA TALUK

(2 Plates)

K. V. RAMESH AND S. S. RAMACHANDRA MURTHY, MYSORE

The three inscriptions edited here with the kind permission of the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore were copied during the years 1945-47. For the sake of convenience the three records will be referred to hereinafter as **A**, **B** and **C**. All the three records are in early Telugu characters and their language is also Telugu. None of these three records is dated. But on grounds of palaeography all of them are to be assigned to the 9th-10th centuries A. D.

While inscription **A** mentions a certain **Davaḷeyarāju**, probably as the ruler responsible for the engraving of the record, inscription **B** refers itself to the reign of **Aggapa**, who receives the usual *Bāṇa prasasti*. Inscription **C** mentions a certain **Aggalaya** who, in all probability, is identical with **Aggapa** of inscription **B**.

As regards palaeography it may be pointed out that initial *a* occurs in inscription **B** (lines 6, 11 and 23) and **C** (line 1), initial *ū* in inscriptions **B** (line 13) and **C** (line 2), initial *i* in inscriptions **A** (line 12) and **B** (line 14) and initial *e* (or *ē*) in inscriptions **A** (line 12) and **B** (lines 16, 19 and 30). It is interesting to note that in inscription **C** the letter *r* occurs in two forms, one having a dent at the bottom and the other without it. As regards orthography, *krochchu*, which is a verbal form meaning 'to engrave', is used in the nominal sense of 'engraver' in inscription **C** (lines 6-7); in inscription **B**, the form *kārhu* is employed (line 14) in the place of the correct form *kāllu* meaning 'feet'; in inscriptions **A** (line 15) and **B** (line 20) the words *kolgu* and *kolugu* respectively are used for 'grain'. In later Telugu this word becomes *kolchu* or *koluchu* as a result of characteristic palatalization.

A.—Balapanūru Inscription of Davaḷeyarāju

This inscription¹ was found engraved on a stone set up inside the compound of the Śiva temple at **Balapanūru**, Pulivendla Taluk, Cuddapah District, A.P. There are in all 15 lines of writing and 9 more very fragmentary lines. The slab has been broken irregularly as a result of which the first five lines have lost a number of letters along the right margin and lines 7-15 have lost a few letters along the left margin.

The record is not dated but, as pointed out above, is to be assigned to the 9th-10th centuries on grounds of palaeography. It mentions a **Davaḷeyarāju** in line 2, probably as the ruling chieftain and records the grant of 100 *marutu* of land as *pannasa* measured by the *rājamāna*, to a donee, the last five letters of whose name were *charikamayya*.

The record is of interest because it mentions **Davaḷeyarāju**. It is likely that this chieftain is identical with the *Bāṇa* chieftain **Dhavaḷeyarasa** whose inscription² from **Poṭṭipāḍu**, Jammalamadugu Taluk, Cuddapah District, Andhra Pradesh is dated in Śaka 807 (wrong for Śaka 804), Śubhakṛit=882 A.D. In that inscription **Dhavaḷeyarasa** is given

¹ A.R. Ep., 1946-47, No. B 2.

² Ibid, 1935-36, No. 306.

the usual Bāṇa *praśasti*. This Dhavaḷeyarasa of the Pottipāḍu inscription has elsewhere¹ been identified with Vijayāditya Prabhumēru belonging to the main line of the Bāṇa family. It is, however, likely that Dhavaḷeyarasa or Davaleyarāju was a member of a minor branch of the Bāṇa family which was administering some principality in the Pulivendla-Jammala-maḍugu-Podili-Tāḍpatri region. This view is supported by the fact that many branches of the Bāṇa family are heard of in inscriptions from Karṇāṭaka, Andhra and Tamil Nāḍu over a long period. Such were the Bāṇa families of Vaṅganūru-vishaya,² Suramaru-vishaya,³ Khāṇḍava-maṇḍala,⁴ etc.

TEXT⁵

- 1 Svasti[|*] śri
- 2 Davaleyarāju
- 3 n=ichchina pannasa
- 4 ṇa-kamā(ma)la(la) śri[ya]
- 5 ṇtha bāḷeyambu
- 6 . ḷaga Veṇṇapa
- 7 . charikamayya
- 8 . rājamānambu nūru .
- 9 . ṛutul=nela yichchina
- 10 . parashtudiyuṁ sū
- 11 . tiyu maṇiya
- 12 . chchunu innā
- 13 . ḍachina kāmṇuḷchi
- 14 . dēyambu reṇḍu vushti⁶
- 15 . koṁbidi vuṭṭu golgu [||*]⁷

¹ Ibid., para.21.

² Ibid., 1958-59, No. B 26; *ibid.*, 1959-60, Nos. B 5 and 10 etc.

³ Ibid., 1958-59, No. B 17.

⁴ *JOR*, Vol. XXI, pp. 98-101.

⁵ From estampages.

⁶ Read *vutti*.

⁷ The following is engraved on another piece probably as imprecatory portion :

- 1 tutta
- 2 ṇdu.
- 3 tu.
- 4 Bara
- 5 yali
- 6 pāpa
- 7 guḍi bu
- 8 tappina
- 9 ki

A—BALAPANURU INSCRIPTION
OF DAVALEYARAJU



B—UDAVAGANDLA INSCRIPTION
OF AGGAPA

First piece

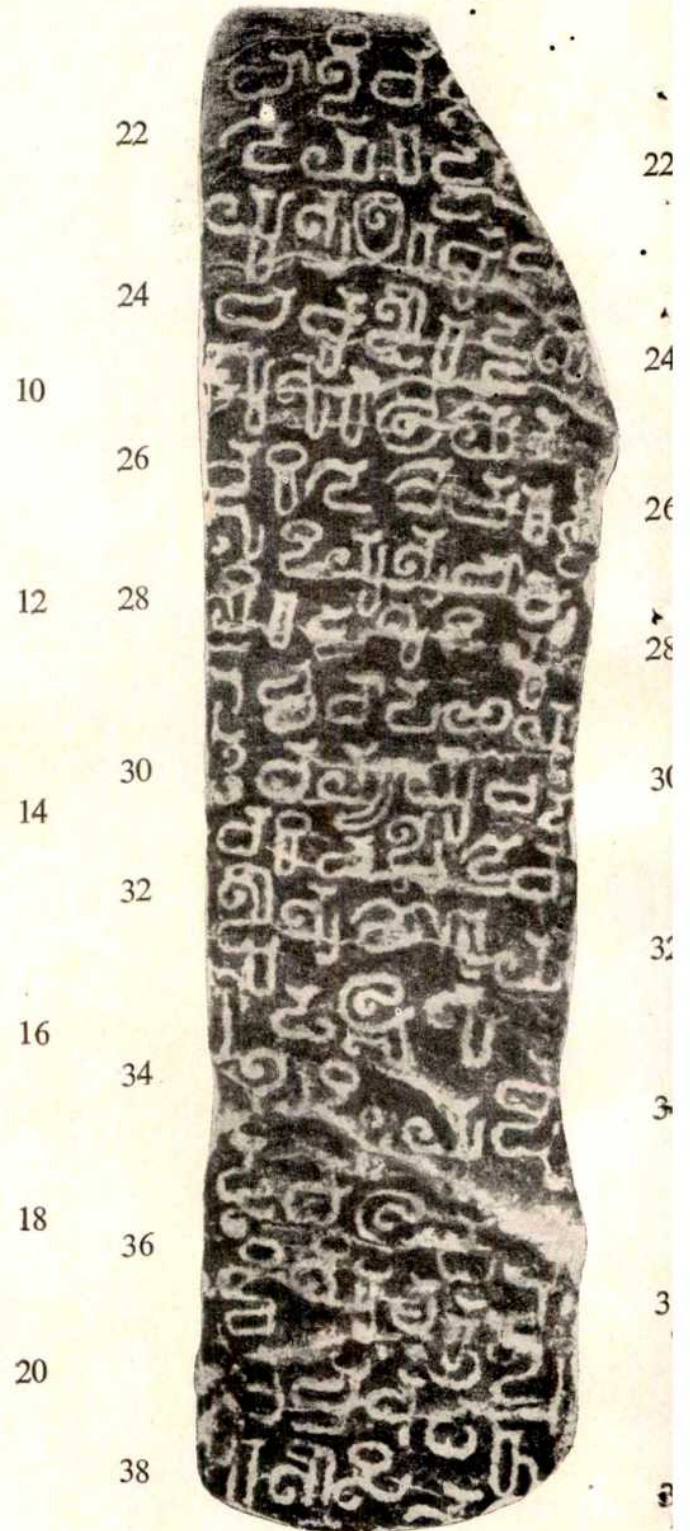


SCALE : One-fifth

Second piece



Third piece



B.—Ūḍavagaṇḍla Inscription of Aggapa

This inscription¹ was found engraved on two fragments of a broken pillar set up at two different places inside the village of Ūḍavagaṇḍla, Pulivendla Taluk, Cuddpah District. There are in all 42 lines of writing and, but for lines 6-8 and 21-22 which are somewhat damaged, the rest of the inscription is well preserved. The inscription is **not dated** but is to be assigned, on grounds of palaeography, to the **10th century A. D.**

It refers itself to the reign of **Aggapa**, who is endowed with the usual Bāṇa *praśasti* (lines 1-6), and records the grant of 50 *marutu* of land measured by *rājamāna* as *panṇasa* to Pishṭamayya of Alikoṇḍlapalla by Bejayitāyya after laving the feet of the donee (lines 10-17). The gift-land is stated to be situated in the village Ūḍugugaṇḍliya (line 13). Lines 17-19 contain the names of two witnesses one of which is that of Ba(Bā) ṇayara(rā)ju. Lines 19-20 state that the *siddhāya* from the gift-land was 7 *puṭtis* of grain (*kolūgu*). Lines 21-35 mention a number of persons, but the context in which they are mentioned is not clear. It is interesting to note that some of these persons had the surname of *raṭṭaguḍi*, which is probably the colloquial form of *rāshtrakūṭa*, an official designation. It is likely that like *pergaḍe* (*pregaḍa*), *sēnabōva* etc., this official designation also came to be a surname in course of time.

The Bāṇa ruler Aggapa is known to us from two more inscriptions, one² of them from Sannamūru, Podili Taluk, Nellore District, and the other³ from Chinapappūru, Tadpatri Taluk, Anantapur District. The Sannamūru inscription probably bears a date in Śaka 890-968-69 A. D. and gives Aggapa the usual Bāṇa *praśasti*. In addition to the epithets given to him in our record, the Sannamūru inscription also has *krishṇadhvaja-virājita*, *paśāchikā-patahaghōshana*, *vṛishabha-lāṅchchhana*, *Nandigirinātha*, *Parigipura-paramēśvara*, *Bānarogaṇḍa* and *Balikulārjuna*. The Chinapappūru inscription, which is badly damaged but which belongs to the 10th century on grounds of palaeography, also gives some of the epithets found in the Sannamūru inscription. It is likely that he belonged to the same ruling house of Dhavaḷeya which was holding sway over parts of the Tadpatri-Jammalamaḍugu-Pulivendla-Podili region.

Of the two geographical names occurring in the record we are unable to identify **Alikoṇḍlapalla**, the village to which the donee belonged. The other village **Ūḍugugaṇḍliya** is the same as modern Ūḍavagaṇḍla, the find-spot of the record.

TEXT⁴

First Piece

1 Svasti [| *] [Sakala-jaga] tri(tra)[yā]-

2 bhivandi[ta-sura(rā)-su]-

3 r-āthī(dhī)sa(śa) Pa[ra]mēsva(śva)ra-

4 pratiha(hā)rikri(kṛi)ta-[Ma]-

5 hābha(ba)li-kul-ōd[bhava]

¹ A.R.Ep., 1945-46, No. B 149.

² NDI, Vol. III, pp. 101-03.

³ A.R.Ep., 1947-48, No. B 6.

⁴ From estampages.

6 śrīmat Agga[pa] ..

7 landunu svastya .

8 . śrī Pi.i.. ka

Second Piece

9 Kānnara(rā)julandunu Mu-

10 reyarājula Beja-

11 yitāyayū Ali-

12 koṇḍalapalla Piṣṭama-

13 yaku Ūdugugamḍiya

14 kāṛlu gaḍigi ichchina

15 pannasa ra(rā) jama(mā)nabu

16 ēbadi maṛutuḷlu

17 nela [| *] di(dī)niki śa(sā)kshi Ba(Bā)na-

18 yara(rā)junu Polla . a

19 yu [| *] di(di)niki Siddha(ddhā)yabu ē-

20 lu vuṭṭu kolugu [| *]

Third Piece

21 Chāndiva ..

22 ḍeya-raṭṭa ..

23 yunu Aramuṭṭa

24 Chamuṇḍa-raṭṭagu[ḍi]-

25 yunu Kāliveḍa-

26 vari Dēveya-raṭṭa-

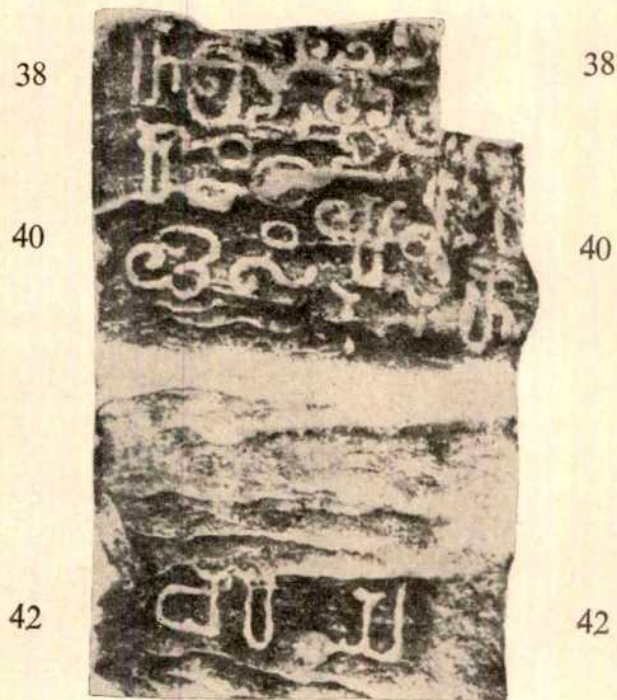
27 guḍiyunu Chāmu-

28 ṇḍi-raṭṭaguḍiyunu

29 Gachchavāpaṛay-U*

B—UDAVAGANDLA INSCRIPTION
OF AGGAPA

Fourth piece



SCALE : One-fourth

C—KASANURU INSCRIPTION OF AGGALAYA



SCALE : One-fourth

- 30 ttavayyayu Eḍa-
 31 vari Chabladēva-
 32 ṇḍunu Chōreya-
 33 [kā]ḍallunu Baliyachchu-
 34 ḍla Mallapavu-
 35 n=ddhī(dī)niki vakrabu
 36 vachchinava(vā)ru
 37 [Vā*]raṇa(ṇā)si[n=]achchinava(vā)]-
 38 ru Śrīpaṛva(rva)ta[muna]
 39 kā(ka)vilayun=a-
 40 ḷisinava(vā)ru [l!]*
 41¹ Mākeya

C.—Kasanūru Inscription of Aggaḷaya

This inscription² was found engraved on a stone slab lying by the side of the road leading to the market in the village **Kasanūru**, Pulivendla Taluk, Cuddapah District. The letters in the record are somewhat indifferently engraved. Though the record is not dated, its characters bear remarkable resemblance to those of inscription **B** above.

This inscription records that the land (probably the one on which the inscribed slab was lying) which was of **Taḷāraṇiḍu**, was granted to **Vamāṇaya** of **Kachchanūru** by **Aggaḷaya** on the former's death in a battle in the village (lines 1-4). Lines 4-6 contain imprecations and lines 6-7 state that the engraver of the record was **Varadhali**.

Though **Aggaḷaya** does not receive any regal titles and epithets, in view of the palaeographical similarity of inscriptions **B** and **C**, he may be tentatively identified with the **Bāṇa** chieftain **Aggapa**.

The gift-land is referred to as *Taḷāraṇiḍi pola*. On the one hand **Taḷāraṇiḍu** could be the name of a village. In this case its representative is not found on the modern map. On the other hand, it is possible that **Vamāṇa** died in the battle, discharging his duties as *taḷāra*, and that the land was granted as compensation, to be enjoyed by the members of his house.

Kachchanūru to which **Vamāṇa** belonged is the same as **Kasanūru** the find-spot of this epigraph.

¹ There is a blank space in between lines 40 and 41.

² *A.R.Ep.*, 1946-47, No. B 10. The gist of this inscription given therein is inaccurate.

TEXT¹

- 1 Svasti[| *] śri Aggaḷaya Kachcha[nū]-
- 2 ra Vamāṇayakū(ku) ūru pō[ra*]
- 3 chachchina Talāravīti po-
- 4 la² vakrabi(bu) vachchuva(vā)ṇḍu Ba(Vā)-
- 5 [ra]na(ṇā)si vrachchinava(vā)ṇḍu pasu[la]
- 6 Bāṛanā[sin=a][i]si[na*]va(vā)ṇḍu [| *] kro-
- 7 chchu Varadhali chaṇḍuko[ma] [||*]

¹ From estampages.

² Here a word like *ichchinadi* is to be supplied.

No. 24—NOTE ON FOUR GUPTA-PERIOD INSCRIPTIONS

P. R. SRINIVASAN, MYSORE

1. *The Gadhwa Stone Inscription of the alleged year 88*

Dr. Fleet has published the inscription under review in his *C.I.I.*, Vol. III on pages 36 ff. The inscription is illustrated on plate *iv B* of the same book. He has read the date, occurring in line 11 of the text, as 88, and this reading has stood unverified all along. In view of the fact that this year 88 falls within the reign-period of Chandragupta II, this record has been attributed by Fleet to this ruler and has been adopted as such by other scholars too.

On a close examination of the numerical symbols of this record, it has been found that Fleet has, by sheer inadvertence, missed to note the real value of the figure representing the tens, and has read it as 80 whereas it actually stands for a different number. The most important feature of the figure for 80 is the presence of a vertical stroke and the absence of a horizontal line in it e.g. the figure 80 in the *Udayagiri Cave Inscription* of the year 82¹. On the contrary, the figure in the record in question displays unmistakably the horizontal line though the vertical line is faint. So, it becomes clear that it is not 80. If this is so, then it has to be ascertained which other figure has, besides being circular in form with a vertical line in it, has a distinguishing horizontal line also. This sort of numerical figure is only that which represents 90. This special feature can be seen very prominently in the *Sāñchī stone inscription of the year 93*² and the *Gadhwa Inscription of the year 98*³. It, therefore, becomes clear that the real date of the record is 90 [+]⁴8, i.e. 98. This correct reading of the date makes the inscription belong to the time of Kumāragupta I. In fact all the three records namely those illustrated on plate *iv B, C* and *D* of *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, belong to the time of this ruler only as is apparently seen from their palaeographic features also. It is very likely that they were all engraved by one and the same person in the year 98.

That there were other similar records at the same place in Gadhwa has been known from the fragmentary records engraved on two faces of a four-sided sand-stone pillar, published by Fleet in *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 264 ff. and illustrated on plate *xxxix B* therein. This inscription has been rightly surmised by Fleet to belong to the time of the Kumāragupta I, on palaeographical grounds. This pillar and the one on which the records dated the year 98, discussed above have been engraved, appear to have belonged to a structure, probably religious in character.

2. *Khōh plates of the Mahārāja Samkshōbha of the year 208, and not the year 209.*

While writing the note on the Bhumarā pillar inscription of Hastin⁴ Dr. D. C. Sircar, has as usual, first corrected the reading of the record which is the most important aspect of the science of Epigraphy. Besides correcting the name of the grandparent of Śivadāsa, Dr. Sircar has corrected the unit figure in the *divasa* date also as 8, which it really is. When

¹ *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, plate *ii B*.

² *Ibid.*, plate *iii B*.

³ *Ibid.*, plate *iv D*.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 167 ff., and plate.

this is done, it naturally raises the question whether the unit figure occurring in the date '209'¹ of the Khoh plates of Mahārāja Samkshōbha is also correct as read by Dr. Fleet². When this unit figure 9 is compared with the unit figure of the *divasa* date of the Bhumarā pillar inscription referred to above it seems to agree in toto with the latter. If this is so then the unit figure in the date of the Khōh plates under discussion also becomes 8, and consequently the date is really 'the year 208'.

3. *Only one set of plates and not two single plates each of a different charter from Khōh of Mahārāja Śarvanātha.*

Dr. Fleet has published two single copper-plate inscriptions, each separately on pp. 129 ff. in his *C.I.I.*, Vol. III. These plates are illustrated also separately on plates *xix*, *A* and *B* in the book. While dealing with the first plate Dr. Fleet has stated on page 130 of his book the following: "The inscription is one of the *Mahārāja Śarvanātha*; and the charter recorded in it is issued from the city or hill called Uchchakalpa. The date is lost, in the second plate." Similarly in dealing with the second plate Fleet has stated on page 133 of his book the following: "The first plate containing the name of the *Mahārāja* and the place, where the charter was issued, is lost; but the date, and other details at the end, show that the inscription is one of the *Mahārāja Śarvanātha* of Uchchakalpa".

It is really surprising to note how such an eminent master of Epigraphy as Fleet has been led to believe that these two plates belong each to a different set of copper-plate charter, of one and the same ruler, in spite of the fact that in shape, size and palaeography both the plates should belong to one and the same set issued by the ruler Śarvanātha in the year 197. Any one can see that the text in lines 15 and 16 of the plate *A*, viz. *yē ch=āsmad-vanś-ōtpa.lyae mānakā-rājānas=tair=iya[m*] dattir=na vilōky (py)=āmumōdaniya* runs perfectly with the text in line 1 of plate *B*, viz. *yathā-kalañ=chā pratipālaniya [|*]*, etc.

In view of the above, the two separate plates illustrated on plate *xix A* and *B* of *C.I.I.*, Vol. III and dealt with as two different records by Dr. Fleet, have to be taken as belonging to only a single set of plates of Śarvanātha dated in the year 197.

4. *The caste of Ravikīrtti of the Mandasor Stone Inscription of Yaśōdharman of the Mālava year 589.*

Dr. Fleet has edited this interesting inscription in his *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, on pp. 150 ff. and plate *xxii*. Regarding the family of ministers figuring in the record he has the following to say: "The genealogy of this family of ministers is given; and it includes a somewhat noticeable name in that of Bhānuguptā, the wife of Daksha's grandfather, Ravikīrtti. Her date would be just about one generation before that of the king Bhānugupta, for whom we have the date of Gupta-Samvat 191 (A.D. 510-11) from the Ēraṇ Posthumous pillar inscription of Gōparāja, No. 20 above, page 91, and plate *xii B*; and the coincidence of name and time is such, that it is almost impossible not to imagine some family connection between him and her. Bhānuguptā, of course, must have been a Kshatriya; and Bhānuguptā's husband, Ravikīrtti, was evidently a Brāhmaṇ. But the ancient Hindu law authorised the marrying of Kshatriya wives by Brāhmaṇas. And we have an epigraphical instance of this practice in the Ghatōtkacha cave inscription of Hastibhōja, a minister of the Vākāṭkas

¹ *C.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 112 ff., and plate *xv B*.

² Above, Vol. XXXIII, plate facing page 167.

Mahārāja Dēvasēna ; it tells us that Hastibhōja's ancestor, the Brāhmaṇ Sōra, "in accordance with the precepts of revelation and of tradition" married a Kshatriya wife, through whom Hastibhōja was descended, in addition to some other wives of the Brāhmaṇ caste, whose sons, and their descendants applied themselves to the study 'of the Vēdas'".

This long quotation may be excused, because it has been found necessary to give it here in order to make the points given below clear. It is apparent from Dr. Fleet's remarks that he wants to make the family of ministers as of Brāhmaṇa caste, wants to connect the name of Bhānuguptā the wife of Ravikirtti, one of the members of the family, with the imperial Gupta family, and that he cites inscriptional and Dharmaśāstra evidence for the marriage of a Kshatriya woman with a Brāhmaṇa.

In ancient records and especially in the records of the Gupta period, if a Brāhmaṇa is mentioned not only he is mentioned as a Brāhmaṇa and his gōtra is given but also he is described as learned in the Vēdas, etc. This appears to be almost an invariable feature. Besides, in many cases, the Brāhmaṇa names end in *śarman*. We may cite here some examples from the records of the period in question, viz. (1) The person Dēvavishṇu figuring in the *Indor Copper-plate Inscription of Skandagupta of the year 146*, is described as Brāhmaṇa and as *satat-Āgnihōtra-[ch*]chhandōgō Rāṇāyaṇī(ni)yō Varṣhagaṇa-sagōtra*,² and (2) the persons, among others, Dēvasvāmin and Śarvasvāmin in the *Khōh Copper-plate Inscription of the Mahārāja Hastin of the year 163*, are described as *Bhāradvāja-śagōtra-Vaiji(ja)sanēya-sabrahmachāru(ri)ṇē*,³ In the case of persons belonging to other castes such distinguishing descriptions are seldom employed, as for instance Parṇadatta of the *Junagadh Rock Inscription of Skandagupta of the years 136, 137 and 138*, and Madra, the son of Rudrasōma *alias* Vyāghra and the grandson of Bhaṭṭisōma and great-grandson of Sūmila of the *Kahaum Stone Pillar Inscription of Skandagupta of the year 141*.

Coming to the record under discussion, the members of the family of ministers figuring in it, including Ravikirtti, are not described as Brāhmaṇas ; neither are they called as belonging to any gōtra ; nor do their names end in *śarman*. Above all none of them is called as learned in the Vēdas etc. This, itself, is enough to show that they were not Brāhmaṇas. That they belonged probably to the Vaiśya community seems to be suggested by the manner they are described as well as by their name endings, like °*datta*, (e.g., Shashṭidatta and Abhayadatta) and °*dāsa*, (e.g., Varāhadāsa). And this seems to get support from the fact that they are stated to have belonged to the "pure race of Naigamas". No doubt the word Naigama may mean, as has been explained by Fleet himself "an interpreter of Vēdic quotations as words", and would thus make the race as of Brāhmaṇa. But in the absence of a specific mention of the members of the race as Brāhmaṇa etc., this word Naigama has to be taken in the meaning of a merchant. So, here the description of Shashṭidatta as "spreader of the pure race of Naigamas" has to be taken as denoting the fact that he belonged to the merchant class. If this is so, then Ravikirtti, a descendant of Varāhadāsa, the son of Shashṭidatta, also should belong to the same class. Interestingly this Ravikirtti is stated to have married a certain woman named Bhānuguptā. The °*guptā* ending of the name, instead of reminding one of the name of imperial Gupta king Bhānugupta, suggests at once that she also belonged to the Vaiśya community as some of its members were also called *guptas*. Now it is clear that Ravikirtti, a member of a merchant class, no doubt an influential group

¹ CII, Vol. III, p. 152.

² Ibid., p. 70, text lines 6-7.

³ Ibid., p. 103, text lines 7-8.

⁴ Ibid., p. 328.

of that, married naturally a woman belonging to his own community. If it were at all true that there was even a remote connection of her with the imperial royal family, the fact could hardly have been omitted by the writer of the record. Now that the caste to which the members of the family of ministers has been decided as above, there is hardly any room for discussion about the permissibility of a Brāhmaṇa marrying a Kshatriya woman as admitted by the *Dharmaśāstras*. As has been stated above, there is no evidence of *varṇa saṁkara* or *anulōma* marriage in this record. On the contrary, the marriage between Ravikīrtti and Bhānuguptā was a perfectly valid one as per the injunctions of the *Dharmaśāstras*. True, there is the instance of a Brāhmaṇa marrying a Kshatriya woman as known from the Ghaṭkacha cave inscription of the Vākāṭaka king Dēvasēna. There the Brāhmaṇa had regular Brāhmaṇa wives also whose sons and their descendent are stated to have "applied themselves to the study of the Vēdas"¹ so that the Brāhmaṇa lineage was continued unbroken. In a note under *A.S.W.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 140, quoted above, Bühler has stated that the custom of "Brāhmaṇas taking wives from other castes prevailed and considered lawful up to the sixth century, though the compilers of the modern *Nibandhas*, such as Nilakaṇṭha and Kamalākara, who are as profoundly ignorant of the history of their country as Hindu schoolmen always are, declare that it is forbidden in the Kali-yuga, i. e. since 3101 B. C. "I think this criticism of the Hindu schoolmen in general and of the *Nibandha-kāras* in particular does not seem necessary. For, the *Dharmaśāstras* have recognised not only the *anulōma* form of marriages but also the *pratilōma* form. These texts are known to be ancient and that Nilakaṇṭha and Kamalākara must not have been ignorant of them in whatever other matters they were ignorant. The *anulōma* and *pratilōma* form of marriages did not stop from taking place with the 6th century but are even now prevalent. All that the *Nibandhakāras* intended seems to be that in the Kali-yuga such marriages should be avoided. Similarly the Hindu schoolmen have been and are there as any other schoolmen in any other part of the world to inculcate in the minds of the people what is enjoined by the scriptures only.

¹ *ASWI*, Vol. IV, p. 140.

No. 25—CHIKKANANDIHALLI INSCRIPTIONS OF VIKRAMADITYA-I

(1 Plate)

B. R. GOPAL, DHARWAR

The two inscriptions, impressions of which were sent to the office of the Government Epigraphist for India (now Chief Epigraphist) by the Superintendent of the South-Western Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India, were found in the village of Chikka-Nandihalli in Byadagi Taluk of Dharwar District. The exact situation of these inscribed slabs are not known.¹ They have been noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1960-61 (App. B Nos. 406-07 and Introduction p. 23-24). I am editing them here with the kind permission of the Chief Epigraphist who got the inscription recopied by Dr. S.H. Ritti, as the ones sent by the Superintendent were not satisfactory.

These records are very important, for, they belong to the reign of Vikramāditya I, of the Chālukya dynasty ruling at Bādāmi, of whom we have very few stone inscriptions. The Dimmagudi² and Turimella³ inscriptions are the only two lithic records which can be assigned, without any doubt, to this king. Both of them are dated respectively in the 27th and 2nd regnal years. The records now being edited are **undated**, but they have a more confirmatory evidence than palaeography to show that they belong to the reign of Vikramāditya I, son of Pulakēsi II. These two records refer to the king as 'Kokkuḷi Vikramāditya' and this is the most interesting feature, for, no record of his till now found described him with the epithet (?) *Kokkuḷi*. Only in the Sanjan plates of his uncle Buddhavarasa Vikramāditya is described as 'Kokkuḷi Vikramāditya'. While editing that record Sten Konow said that "we are justified in making use of the historical information contained in the Sanjan grant and even the attribution of the name *Kokkuḷi* to Vikramāditya I, may very well be justified if we remember that the name *Kōkūḷi* occurs in the genealogy of the Eastern Chālukyas."⁴ For the first time the records under study confirm that Vikramāditya I was known also as Kokkuḷi Vikramāditya.⁵ This, in itself, is enough evidence to attribute the records to that king. It may be noted that the Rūgi inscription dated 1015 A.D. while narrating the genealogy of the Chālukyas also refers to this king as Kokkuḷi Vikramāditya.

The palaeography of the records call for some remarks as it also forms a basis for assigning them to Vikramāditya I. For the sake of convenience, the records are numbered as A and B. The initial *a* occurs in lines 4 and 6 of A, lines 1 (twice) and 3 of B

¹ Dr. Ritti informs me that it is a deserted village and the inscribed slabs were lying near a small Siva temple.

² *SII*, Vol. X, No. 24.

³ Above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 160 ff.

⁴ Above, Vol. XIV, p. 148.

⁵ Ranna while giving the genealogy of his patron Iṅgavabēḅaṅga-Satyāśraya (*Gadāyuddha*, *Āśvāsa* II prose passage after verse 7) refers to Vikramāditya II, son of Vijayāditya as Komkaṇi Vikramāditya. It is not sure, however, whether 'Kokkuḷi' is a mistake for Komkaṇi in which case that epithet must be attributed to Vikramāditya I also. But most probably 'Kokkuḷi' and 'Komkaṇi' are two different epithets, the meaning of which, however, is not clear. It may be noted that a certain Kokūḷi or Kokūḷirāju is known to have been a Telugu Chōḷa chief, from records of the 8th-9th centuries (cf. *ARIE*, 1964-65, Introduction and B. 52).

and *ā* in line 4 of **B**. This latter is somewhat different from the same found in the Turimella inscription. Vowel *i* and *ī* are found in line 6 of **B** and in line 9 of **A** respectively. The downward curve attached to the consonant on its right side to indicate the medial *ā* is not always the same. *Nā* in *sēnā* of line 2 of **A** and in *sēnā* of line 4 of **B** are cases in point. The Dravidian *r* is indicated by a circle which is divided into four quadrants by two lines intersecting at right angles.

The language of both the records is Kannada. The object is to commemorate the death of certain individuals. The meaning of the inscriptions is not very clear, however, so far as the details are concerned. The first record (**A**) refers to Dōsirājagara. Sēnāvarasa as governor of Mūgunda-nāḍu while in **B** the chief is referred to wrongly as Doṣadirājagara-Sēnāvarasa. A damaged record from Elevāka¹ refers to a Sēnāvarasa as ruling the Banavāsi-12000 division. The record is assigned to 1015 A.D. by Mr. Rice though no reason for doing so is stated.² But it looks probable that the king Vikramāditya-Satyāśraya referred to in that record was Vikramāditya I, for, no later Chālukya king suffixes the title *Satyāśraya* to his own name. But the badly damaged nature of the record precludes us from coming to any definite conclusion.

However, we have another record from Māyitammana-muchchaḍi³ in the same District which refers to the chief Sēnavāra who appears to have been governing Mūgunda-nāḍu as a feudatory of Vijayāditya-Satyāśraya, grandson of Vikramāditya I. Though we cannot be sure about it we may possibly identify this Sēnavāra with his namesake of our records. Another inscription from Kigga⁴ in Kadur District refers to a Sēnāvarasa who was contemporaneous with the Ālupa king Chitravāhana. The latter is the husband of Kumkumamahādēvi, granddaughter of Vikramāditya. The record, however, does not say what position Sēnavāra was holding. If he were the same as the Sēnāvarasa of our records, then he would be a senior contemporary of Chitravāhana. That Sēnāvarasa of our records is the earliest member of the family known hitherto is, however, clear.

The records state that he was governing Mūgunda-nāḍu, obviously the same as Mūgunda-nāḍu referred to above in the Māyitammana-muchchaḍi record. A record of Vikramāditya VI from Ukkund⁵ in Ranebennur Taluk of Dharwar District refers to Vijayāditya of the Māṭura family as the governor of Mugunda-12 division, besides others. Another record of the same king from Beḷagāmi⁶ dated 1081 A.D., refers to *mahāpradhāna* Tambarasa, a subordinate of prince Jayasīṃha, as ruling Mūgunda-12 division besides others. This division must be different from Muḷgunda-12 referred to in some records.⁷ The latter division could be identified with the villages round about and inclusive of Muḷgud, in Gadag Taluk, which, however, is far removed from Ranebennur and Byadagi Taluks. There is yet another division comprising of 30 villages and named after its chief place—Mugud. This latter place is identical with Mugad in Dharwar Taluk, which also, for the same reason, cannot be the headquarters of the Mūgunda-nāḍu of our records. It is, however, possible that Mūgunda-nāḍu might be identical with the area round about the village Magod in Ranebennur Taluk. This might be the chief village of the division Mugunda-12 referred to above

¹ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Cb. 381.

² *Ibid.*, translation, p. 67.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 278.

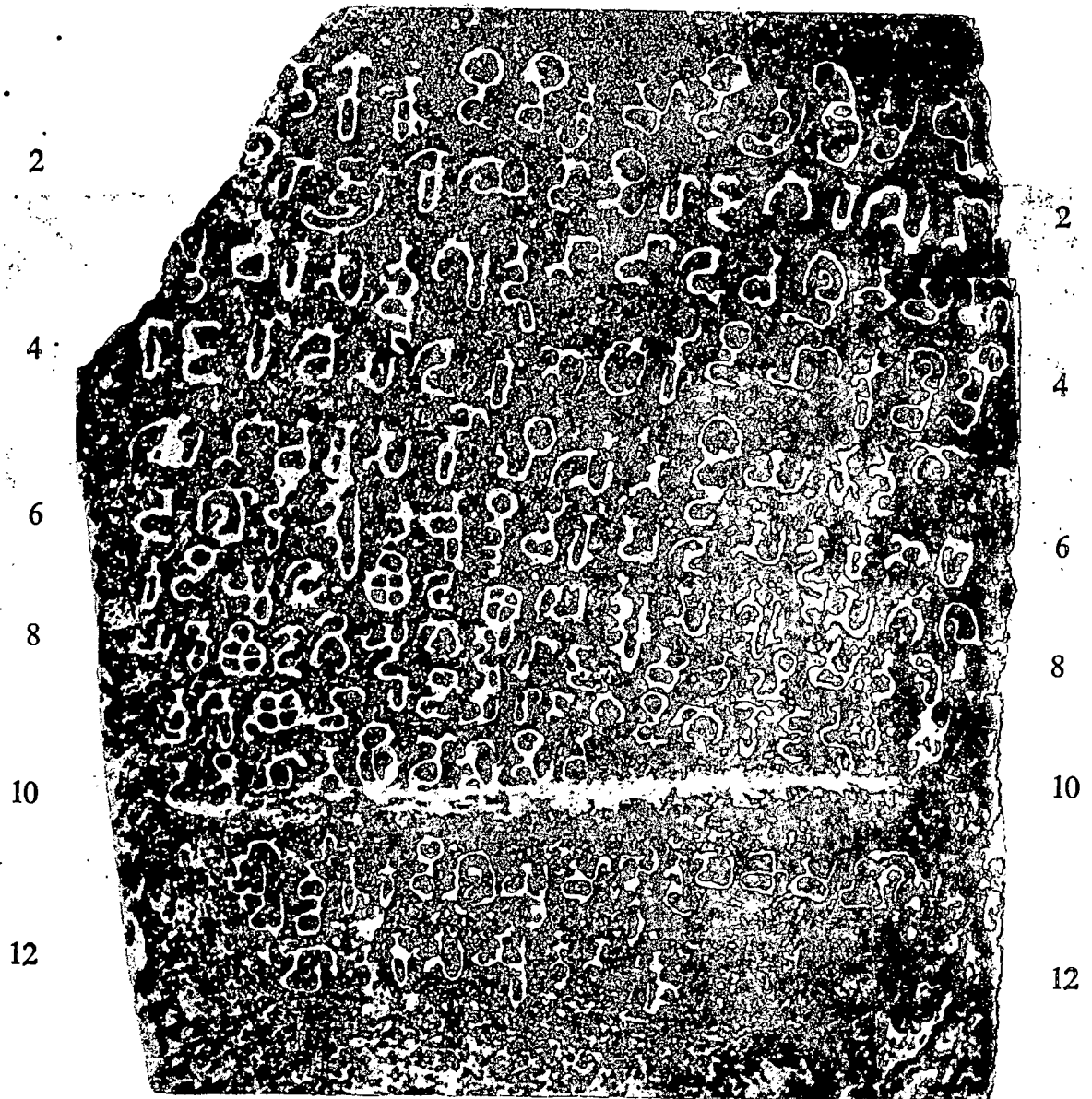
⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, Kp. 37.

⁵ *A. R. Ep.* 1934-35, B.K. No. 66.

⁶ *Mys. A. R.* 1929, No. 65, pp. 131. ff.

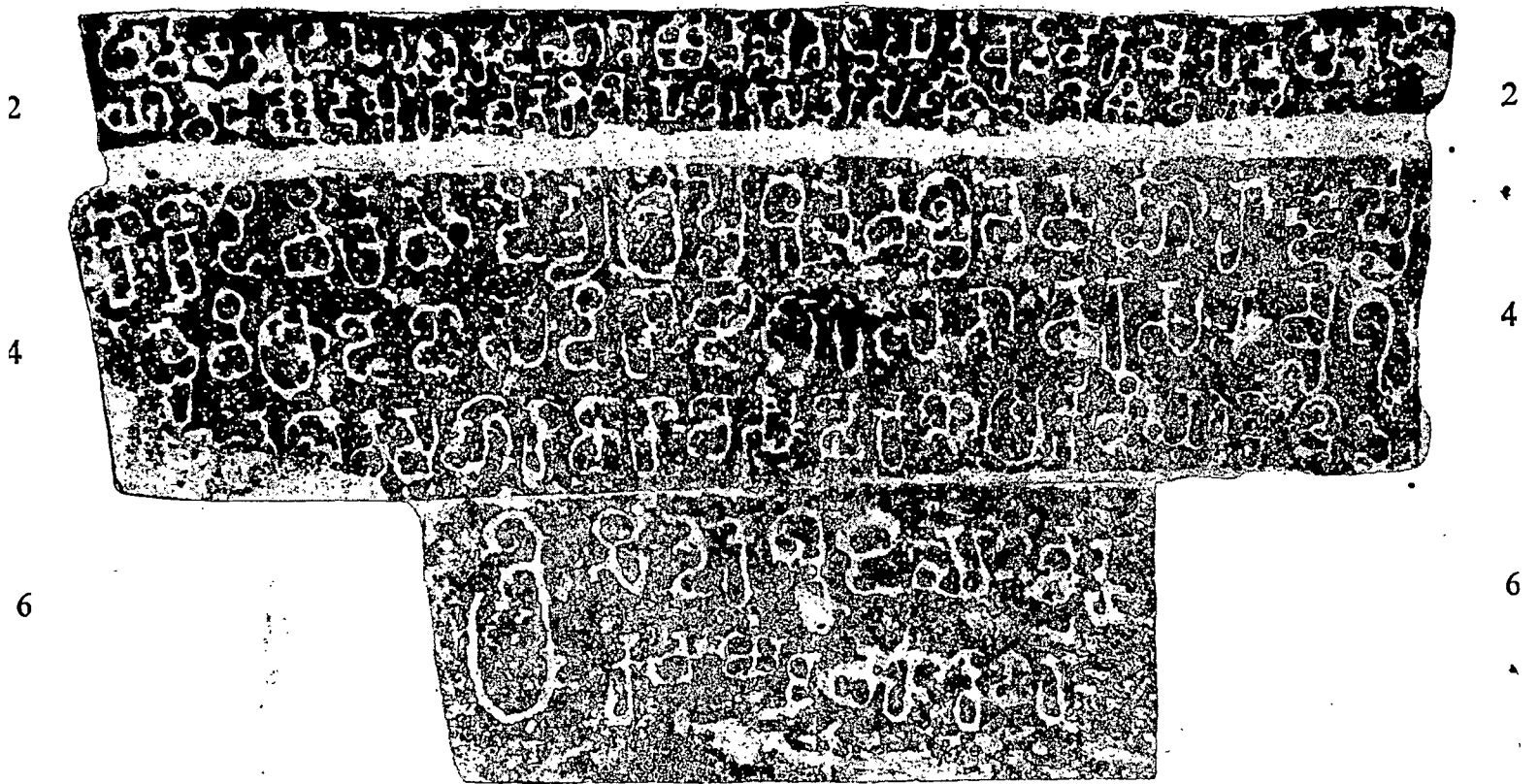
⁷ *III*, Vol. XI, Pt. I, Nos. 28, 65 etc

A—CHIKKANANDIHALLI INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMADITYA



SCALE : One-third

B-CHICKKANANDIHALLI INSCRIPTION OF VIKRAMADITYA



SCALE : One-third

in the record from Ukkund, within ten miles to the west of Magod. But, if this identification is correct, we do not know how the name Mugunda came to be known as Magod later on.

Another badly damaged record from Chikka-Nandihalli¹ also registers the death of a hero and therein refers to Dōsi Sēnāvarasa who is the same as the chief of our records. The inscription, however, does not refer to the ruling king. But from the context it appears as though he was Vikramāditya I.

TEXT²

A

1. [Śrīma]t³—Kokkuḷi Vikkramāditya śrīprithu-
- 2 [vī]-rājyaṃ keye Dōsirājagara Sēnā-
- 3 ⁴varasaṃ=Mūgundu-nāḍ-āḷe- Vallabha-mahā-
- 4 rājarā vesade Kaṇa-Arkadiyān-kolvalli
- 5 Sēnāvarasar-koliseṃnaṭṭiya kundugo-
- 6 [[a]-āḷuttu tamuttirvaraṃ paḍe sandu Kaṇa-A-
- 7 rkadiyuḷ=erīd=erūpettu sat[t*]ju sargāla-
- 8 yakk=ērīdo[m]g=iydug=endu rājamatali matal=pa-
- 9 ttu keṛevodiyarā nāgadige koṭṭadu i
- 10 dattiyān=alivōn=sāsirva-
- 11 r-ppārvvaru kavileyumān=konda pañcha-mahā-
- 12 pātaka-sayuktan-akku [||*]

B

Top panel

- 1 Tāvaman-paḍe-sandu Arkadiyān-erivalli Naṭṭiya tavutirvaruṃ mun-sandu Arkadi-
- 2 yān-vāḷ-erīdu Puradēvana Kīriyaṇanu sat[t*]ju sarggālayakk=ērīdōn

¹ A.R.Ep., 1960-61, No. B 408.

² From impressions.

³ The slab is broken at the top left corner and the extant portion appears to be *t*, being probably a part of *śrīmat*.

⁴ A portion of probably the letter *sti* is seen in the beginning of this line. This might be a part of the word *svasti* which generally appears at the very beginning of inscriptions.

Middle panel

- 3 Kokkoli-Vikkramāditya-śrī-Prithuvi-vallabha-mahārājar-pri-
 4 thuvi āḷe Dosadirājagara-Sēnāvarasan-Mūgu-
 5 [nd=āḷe Valla]bha-mahārājarā vesade Kaṇa-Arkadiyān-kolvaḷli

Bottom panel

- 6 śrī-Sinda-kalkutiya irvvaru
 7 kamaṇa[da]varu kēdor[u] [!]*
-

No. 26—DHUNDISI INSCRIPTION OF KRISHNA III

(I Plate)

MADHAV N. KATTI, MYSORE

The inscription¹ edited below with the kind permission of the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, was copied by me at the village Dhunḍṣi, Shiggaon Taluk, Dharwar District, in the course of my tour of that Taluk, in April 1969. The inscription is on a hero-stone which was brought out in the process of clearing the area about a furlong away from the village, for the construction of a culvert for the Shiggaon-Dhunḍṣi Road. The stone is broken into two pieces and the inscribed portion is slightly damaged.

The inscription is in Kannada language and characters of the 10th century. The palaeography of the record is regular for the period to which it belongs, the letters being indifferently engraved in some cases. The letter *ri* in *parihāra* (line 9) which is having the *i* sign in a triangular form instead of cursive is worth noticing. Amongst the orthographical features, it is interesting to see the use of medial vowel *o* in place of *a* in the word *mūvadimbaru* (line 8).

The date portion of the record has lost a few words pertaining to the Śaka year and month, but on the basis of palaeography, It can be restored as Śaka [8]69, Plava, *ashṭami*, Sunday. These details are not sufficient to give the exact corresponding equivalent in the Christian era. But since *ashṭami* fell on Sunday only four times during the cyclic year Plava, in the said Śaka year, the date can be taken to be May 16 or 30 or October 10 of A.D. 947 or February 20 of A.D. 948. The inscription refers itself to the reign of Kṛishṇarāja, who is obviously Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III as shown below.

The text of the inscription is entirely in prose. It starts with the auspicious word *svasti* and states (lines 1-4) that while Kṛishṇarāja (his epithets given) was the paramount ruler of the earth, his feudatory *mahāsāmanta* Ka[livi]ṭṭara, described as *samadhigata-pañchamahāśabda* was governing the Banavāsi province and the Kuppa[ṭūr] district.² Kaliyugarāma is mentioned as administering Tiyganūr-30 and Kaḍakuppi-grāma. Lines 5-9 state that Kamalāsila of Baradūru lot his life in the raid on the village Dhunḍṣi, on the 8th day of.....(the name of the month is lost), in the Śaka year [8]69, cyclic year Plava, that a stone was set up (in memory of the deceased) by his wife and that the *mūvadimbaru* of Tiyganūr granted some *mattar* of land as *parihāra* to her. Lines 9-11 contain the imprecatory portion.

The record brings to light a hitherto unknown fact that in the year A.D. 947-48 the province of Banavāsi was governed by *mahāsāmanta* Kaliviṭṭara who is mentioned as a feudatory of Kṛishṇarāja. This Kṛishṇarāja bears the epithets *prithuvīvallabha*, *mahārājādhirāja*, *paramēśvara* and *paramahattāraka* and the inscription refers itself to his reign. He is,

¹ A. R. Ep., 1968-69, B No. 77.

² The reading *Banavāsi-Kuppa[ṭūr]nād-āḷe*, has to be taken to mean in this way since Kuppaṭūr was a part of the Banavāsi province.

therefore, Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III who is mentioned as Kṛishṇarāja in a number of records¹ and who ruled over this territory during A.D. 939-67.

It is known from the Kyāsanūr inscription², dated Śaka 868, Viśvāvasu (A.D.945-46) that the Banavāsi province was governed by *mahāsāmanta* Kaliviṭṭa of the Chellakētana family, as a feudatory of Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III. The earliest reference to this chief occurs in an inscription³, belonging to the reign of Kṛishṇa II and dated Śaka 835 (A.D. 913)⁴. He seems to have assisted Gōvinda IV in fighting the Eastern Chālukyas in A.D. 934-38⁵. His last date known to the historians so far is A.D.945-46 furnished by the Kyāsanūr inscriptions⁶ discussed above. *Mahāsāmanta* Kaliviṭṭara of our record, who is stated to be governing the Banavāsi province and Kuppaṭūr district, is the same as Kaliviṭṭarasa of the Chellakētana family referred to above. The inscription states that in A.D.947-48 he himself was in charge of the administration of the Banavāsi province along with Kuppaṭūr district which was not known so far. A damaged inscription from the same District, belonging to the reign of the same ruler (Kṛishṇa III) and dated Śaka 871 Saumya⁷ (A.D. 949-50) states that Kaliviṭṭarasa (particulars of his dynasty or his epithets not given) was governing the province of Banavāsi as a feudatory of Kandharadēva⁸ while the former's subordinate Gavaṇḍiga was administering over Eḍemaḷal-70⁹. This Kaliviṭṭarasa is obviously the same as *mahāsāmanta* Kaliviṭṭara of our record.

The Ātakūr inscription¹⁰ belonging to the reign of Kṛishṇa III and dated Saumya-saṁvatsara, Śaka 872 (current)¹¹ corresponding to A.D.949-50, states that Kṛishṇa III assigned the administration of the Banavāsi province to Gaṅga Būtuga II, in that year. This record and the one¹² discussed above are dated in the same cyclic year, viz., Saumya and it is possible that Kaliviṭṭarasa¹³ had died some time earlier than the date of the Ātakūr inscription.

¹ See above, Vol. II, p. 171; Vol. VI, p. 53; Vol. XIX, p. 289; Vol. XXXII, pp. 55 ff.; *Ind Ant.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 215 ff. and *SII*, Vol. XVIII, No. 26.

² Above, Vol. XVI, pp. 280 ff.

³ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sb. No. 88.

⁴ The other details of date are not given and Moraes takes it as A. D. 912 (*vide, The Kadamba Kula*, p. 85). The inscription gives the cyclic year as Prajāpati which is not regular for the Śaka year.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

⁶ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 420.

⁷ *A. R. Ep.*, 1949-50, B No. 125. The last line of the text seems to indicate that the inscription was engraved on the Chaitra Pūrṇimā (which can be read out of the traces of the wornout letters) and if this is taken to be correct, the date of the inscription would be A. D. 949, March 17, which was a Saturday.

⁸ Read from the impression. In the above *A. R.* the name is read as Kannaradēva.

⁹ This division formed a part of Banavāsi-12000. It is also mentioned as *Eḍevolal-nāḍu* (see above Vol. XVI, pp. 280ff.), *Eḍevolal-vishaya* and *Eḍevolal-bhāga* (J. F. Fleet, *op. cit.*, pp. 309, 369, 370). This district formed a part of Banavāsi-12000 and was to the north-east of Banavāsi. Gavaṇḍiga here referred to as administering over Eḍemaḷal-70, is the same as Gamaṇḍiga mentioned in the Kyāsanūr inscriptions. (above, Vol. XVI, pp. 280 ff.) as governing *Eḍevolal-nāḍu* as a subordinate of *Mahāsāmanta* Kaliviṭṭa in A. D. 945-46.

¹⁰ Above Vol. II, pp. 167 ff. and Vol. VI, pp. 50 ff.

¹¹ Other details of date do not occur in the record.

¹² *A. R. Ep.*, 1949-50, B No. 125.

¹³ It is also known from some records that Kaliviṭṭarasa was the son of Lōkāditya, had an elder brother Sēnāvarasa and a son Rāsanna, the last of whom was the last governor of the Chellakētana family to hold sway over the Banavāsi province (*vide G.M. Moraes, op. cit.*, pp. 85 ff.).

DHUNDSI INSCRIPTION OF KRISHNA III



SCALE : One-third

Kaliyugarāma is mentioned as administering Tiyganūr-30 and Kaḍakuppi-grāma. This word Kaliyugarāma, appears to be the title of this chief. Since, here it occurs in the place of the proper name, we may take that the title replaced the proper name as the concerned chief may have been known well as Kaliyugarāma. *Mūvadimbaru* were the thirty persons who formed the representative body of the village Tiyganūr.

Amongst the geographical names occurring in the record, we come across Banavāsi and Kuppattūr-nāḍu. Banavāsi province is the same as Banavāsi-12000, which spread over the major parts of the present-day Dharwar, North Kanara and Shimoga Districts. Kuppattūr-nāḍu formed a district within the Banavāsi province with its headquarters at Kuppattūru¹ i.e., modern Kuppattūr in Sorab Taluk, Shimoga District. Tiyganūr-30 was also a unit of Banavāsi-12000 and was the area around Tiyganūr which may be identified with modern T. Gōnūr, in Sirsi Taluk, North Kanara District. Kaḍakuppi-grāma may have been within Tiyganūr-30 and can be identified with the modern village Kalkop in the same Taluk and District. Dhunḍāsi is the present day village of Dhunḍāsi, the findspot of the record and Baradūru the present day Baradūr, both belonging to Shiggaon Taluk, Dharwar District.

TEXT²

- 1 Svasti []*Krishnarāja [pri]thuvībha(va)llabha mahārājādhirāja parmēsva(śva)ra³ para[ma*]-
- 2 bhattarakara rājya[m=utta]r-ōttar-ābhivṛddhi sale svasti samadhigata-pāḍha-mahāsa(śa)bda
- 3 mahāsāmanta Ka[livi]ttara Banavāsi-Ku[ppattūr-nāḍ=ā]le Kaliyugarāma
- 4 Kaḍakuppi-grāma. Tiyga[nūr-mū]vatta nā]-ga(gā)vuṇḍu gaya⁴ [] Svasti Sakrinapa-kā[-ā]-
- 5 tīta-sam[va*]tsara-sata[rnga]-ōṇṭu]nūra ā(a)ruvatt-o[m]bhābha(bha)ttaneya Plava-samvatsaram pravartti[se]...
- 6 ..ashṭami ādityavāra yatī[pā]tam⁶-āge Dhunḍāsiya ātikraṇa⁷

¹ *SII*, Vol. XX, 34 In., 7. It is known as Kuppattūr-sāsira in some inscriptions; for e.g. see, *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sb 265 and 377.

² From impressions.

³ Traces of the letter *ra* are seen above the line.

⁴ Wrong for *geyye*.

⁵ Read *Śakanripa*.

⁶ Wrongly written for *vyatipātam*.

⁷ Read *atikramaṇa*.

- 7 ..ṇḍa Baradūra Kama[[]]asīla sattu sagg-ālayakke sanda[*] Ātana peṇḍati-
8 ..niṇṇisidoḍe Tīyanūr=mūvadimborum=iḷḍu biṭṭa keiyu-mattala.
9 ...parihāra[*] Ida kādātaṁ Varā(vāra) ṇasiyoḷ=sūryya-grahaṇadoḷ=panneraḍu ka
10 ... phald idan-aḷidātaṁ brahmāti-geydom kavileya kond[a*]pāpa[ma].
11 biḷḍam[[]]*
-

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOL. XXXIX

PART VI

APRIL 1972

EDITED BY
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©

1985

Published by the Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi-11

Printed at the Government of India Press (Publication Unit),
Santragachi, Howrah, India.

Price : Inland Rs. 8-00 Foreign 18 sh. 8 d. or 2 \$ 88 cents.

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119105

No. 27—NADOL PLATE OF JAYAMTASIMHA, V.S. 1238

(1 Plate)

P. R. SRINIVASAN, MYSORE

The copper-plate inscription¹ edited below was received at the Office of the Chief Epigraphist from Shri K.V. Soundara Rajan, now Director, Archaeological Survey of India, in June 1965. In his letter to the Chief Epigraphist, he has stated that "the copper-plate grant (consisting of two sheets with subject matter only on one face of each) was secured by me from the Sarpanch at Nādōl in the Desuri Taluk, Pali District, Rajasthan, through the good offices of the Collector. The plates were with the Sarpanch for a very long time." No other particulars of its discovery are available. The plates are rectangular in shape, without ring and seal, measuring 13 cm by 8 cm, with a single hole having a diameter of 1 cm. The thickness of the plates is 1 cm. Both plates are engraved on the inner sides only. There are 23 lines of writing, 11 on the first plate and 12 on the second. The writing is well preserved. The two plates together weigh 235 gm.

The characters are Nāgarī and they are regular for the period, although the letters are somewhat squat and not well formed. The language employed is Sanskrit and the text is in prose and verse. The inscription refers itself to the reign of śrīmat-Jayamtasimha of the Chāhamāna family. It is dated in V. S. 1238, Vaiśākha śu. 8, Saturday which regularly corresponds to April 5, 1180 A.D., when V.S. 1238 is taken as *Chaitrādi*.

The inscription commences with the *Siddham* symbol. The first stanza (verse 1) refers to the Chāhamāna family which trampled on the heads of all rulers. The next stanza states that in that family was born king Aṇahila and his son was Jēmdrarāja. Then in verse 3 his son Āśārāja, his son Alhaṇa and the latter's son Kēlhaṇa are referred to. In verse 4 Kēlhaṇa's son śrīmat-Jayamtasimha is mentioned as a flourishing ruler and as a great warrior who has vanquished, with the prowess of his arms, all other valiant warriors. Then follow long passages in prose. In lines 7-8 the particulars of date viz. V.S. 1238, Vaiśākha śu. 8, Saturday are given. The passage in lines 8-13, records the annual gift of a sum of 8 *drammas*, (given also in words), from the *dāny-udgrāṇaka* or the prince's share of the taxes reserved for the purpose of gift of the village of Simāpāṭi, a fief of the prince (Kumāra-pada), to the deity Pārśvanātha of the śrī-Ānala-vihāra at Analapura, which belonged to the Śuddhavatī-gachchha, for the purpose of *bali* offering to the deity on the occasion of *kalyāṇika* festival falling in the month of Pausha. In line 7 it is stated that the king endowed this gift after considering the uselessness of the worldly affairs. In lines 12-13, it is stated that the gift should remain as long as the sun and moon endure. The passage in lines 13-14 states that the aforesaid *drammas* should be paid to the deity by the people of Simāpāṭi from the *udgrāṇaka* tax. Then follows the passage (lines 15-17) which says that this order was accepted on behalf of the deity by four persons of the merchant class, viz. Rālha, the son of Bhābhāṭā, Tilhaṇa, the son of Ālhaṇa, Bahudēva the son of Dāsala and Ālhaṇa, the son of Sōḍhāi. Immediately after this comes the undertaking that (the gift) should be protected by these foremost sons from the encroachment of Rāṇakas or royal

¹ A.R.Ep., 1965-66, No. A 38.

H 9105

people. In lines 18-22, three customary verses are given. The last line (line 23) states that this was written by *Pam* (*Paṇḍita*) Vidyādhara, the son of *Pam* (*Paṇḍita*) Silaṇa.

The inscription is important in several respects. It is the third record belonging to the ruler Jayāntasiṃha, known so far, the other two being (1) the Bhīnmāl inscription of V.S. 1239,¹ and (2) Sādaḍi inscription of V.S. 1251.² In the former he is called as *mahārājaputra* while in the latter he is given the imperial title of *mahārājādhirāja*. This shows that only in the year V.S. 1251 (A.D. 1193-94) he was actually ruling. Since no record of his rule earlier than V.S. 1251 has come to our notice so far, it is difficult to say when he succeeded to the throne of his father Kēlhaṇa. The latter's last known date is A.D. 1193 which is known from his Pālaḍi inscription.³ It may be that his son Jayāntasiṃha became the ruler immediately after this date.⁴ No inscription of Jayāntasiṃha's time dated subsequent to V.S. 1251 has come down to us. This shows that during his time there were political troubles in this region and according to the chronicles of the period, Nāḍōl kingdom was invaded in 1197 by Qutb-ud-din,⁵ which had resulted in the extinction of the family of Nāḍōl Chāhamānas.

Coming to our record, it is the earliest of the three records of this ruler and here his ancestors viz. Aṇahila, Jēmdrarāja, Āsārāja, Alhaṇa and Kēlhaṇa are called simply as *bhūmipati*, *rājā*, *nṛpa*, and *bhūpati*, and Jayāntasiṃha himself is endowed with the customary *śrīmat* and does not have any other title. Further the description of the village of Sīmāpāṭi as the fief enjoyed by the prince (i.e., Jayāntasiṃha) clearly indicates that at this time he was merely a prince without holding any official position. On the other hand in his Bhīnmāl inscription dated V.S. 1239 he is given the title of *mahārājaputra* which means that he being heir-apparent came to hold an important position in his father's administration. D. R. Bhandarkar has stated that "in V. S. 1239, he was probably a *yuvārāja* or heir-apparent, holding Śrīmāla (Bhīnmāl) and the surrounding district, and has, therefore, been called *Mahārājaputra* only in the Bhīnmāl inscription".⁶

The gift of money was intended to meet the expenses of the offering of *bali* on the occasion of the *kalyāṇika* festival of Pārśvanātha, the 23rd Tirthaṅkara, occurring in the month of Pausa every year. According to the Jainas, five auspicious events (*pañcha-kalyāṇas*)⁷ that have taken place each on a specified date in a particular month in a year, are important in respect of every one of the 24 Tirthaṅkaras. On the occasion of the particular auspicious event of Pārśvanātha falling in the month of Pausa every year, the offering of *bali* is to be done to the deity obviously on behalf of the Prince Jayāntasiṃha. For this purpose, he had ordered the payment of eight *drammas* in favour of the deity from the share of taxes due to him from his village of Sīmāpāṭi by the *mahājanas* (merchants?) of the place. The term *dāny-udgrāṇaka* (line 11) is interesting, but in line 14, only *udgrāṇaka* is mentioned. In *dāny-udgrāṇakā*, *dāni* seems to be a mistake for *dāna* meaning 'gift' and *udgrāṇaka* means a kind of tax. So, the term is taken to mean 'share of taxes reserved for gift'.

The deity was obviously in the Ānalapura-vihāra at Ānalapura and it is stated that it was attached to (i.e. worshipped by) the members of the Śuddhavatī-gachchha, a term which was not spelt properly in the text. Śuddhavatī-gachchha may perhaps be another name for Sarasvatī-gachchha.

¹ Bhandarkar's List, No. 397.

² Ibid., No. 429.

³ Ibid., No. 425.

⁴ Above, Vol. XI, p. 73.

⁵ Ibid., *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 87.

⁶ *PRAS WC.*, 1907-08, p. 38.

⁷ *Holy Abu* by Muni Shri Jayantavijayaji, p. 199.

i.

2	2
4	4
6	6
8	8
10	10

५०॥ अथ पादः समसुसमाक शुभदीर्घनां विदुषा
 नाविषः श्रीमान्पुत्रः शशुर्हि प्राज्ञो श्रीमान्गणेश्वर
 भिन्नवृत्तमपतिः कृतापि तांशुशुभपुत्रपुत्रपुत्रपुत्रपुत्र
 ॥॥ लाकारानुपममदाद्यादले पात्रपुत्रिः श्रीमकले ए
 दिरप्रहेतुसुसुतपुत्रपुत्रः ॥॥ श्रीशुभानि रिकृतांशुविशेषा
 दिष्टमः श्रीशुभानि रिकृतांशुपुत्रः श्रीमान्पुत्रपुत्रपुत्र
 श्रीशुभानि रिकृतांशुपुत्रः श्रीमान्पुत्रपुत्रपुत्र
 श्रीशुभानि रिकृतांशुपुत्रः श्रीमान्पुत्रपुत्रपुत्र
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 श्रीशुभानि रिकृतांशुपुत्रः श्रीमान्पुत्रपुत्रपुत्र
 श्रीशुभानि रिकृतांशुपुत्रः श्रीमान्पुत्रपुत्रपुत्र
 श्रीशुभानि रिकृतांशुपुत्रः श्रीमान्पुत्रपुत्रपुत्र

ii

12	12
14	14
16	16
18	18
20	20
22	22

पकमधुतर्षपतिः श्रीशुभानि रिकृतांशुपुत्रः श्रीमान्पुत्रपुत्रपुत्र
 श्रीशुभानि रिकृतांशुपुत्रः श्रीमान्पुत्रपुत्रपुत्र
 श्रीशुभानि रिकृतांशुपुत्रः श्रीमान्पुत्रपुत्रपुत्र
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 श्रीशुभानि रिकृतांशुपुत्रः श्रीमान्पुत्रपुत्रपुत्र
 श्रीशुभानि रिकृतांशुपुत्रः श्रीमान्पुत्रपुत्रपुत्र

ACTUAL SIZE :

The record contains two geographical names, viz. *Ānalapura* where the *vihāra* (temple) called the *Ānalapuravihāra* of *Pārsvanātha* existed and *Sīmāpāṭi* the gift of money from out of the taxes from which is recorded here. I am not able to identify the places.

TEXT¹*First Plate*

- 1 || Siddham [11*]² Nyasta-pādaḥ samastēshu masa(sta)kēshu mahābhṛitām(tām) |
Chāhamā-
- 2 n-ābhidhaḥ śrīmān-vañ(vam)śaḥ prāmspu(su)r=ih=āsty=ahō ||1³ Śrīman-Aṇabilas=ta-
3 sminn=abhūd=bhūpatiḥ krinī(tī) | rājā śrī-Jēmdra(ndra)-rāj=ākhyā(khyō) babhūrā
(v=ā)sya tanūbhava-
- 4 ḥ || 2 Āśā-rāja-nṛipas=tasmād-asmād=Alhaṇa-bhūpatiḥ | śrīmat-Kēlhaṇa-
5 dēvas=tad-dēhabhūr=udabhūn-nṛipaḥ || 3 Bhuj-ōrjja-nirjīit-āsēsha-viśēsh-
6 ōdbhaṭa-sad-bhaṭaḥ | śrīmaj-Jayarīntasimhō=sya putraḥ saubhāgyabhūr=abhūt || 4*]
7 Saṁsāram=asāram-ālōchya tēna kramā[khya-Vikrama]- samvat-1238
8 varshē-Vaiśākha-sudi 8 Śanau śrī-Śuddhavatī⁴-gachchha-prati-va(ba)ddhāya śrī-
9 Ānalapurē śrī-Ānala-vihāra-Pārsvanāthadēvāya Pausha-mā-
10 sina-kalyāṇika-mahōtsavē prativarshaṁ bali-hētōḥ Ku-
11 mārāpada-bhujyamāna-Sīmāpāṭi-grāma-satkā- dānya-udgrā

Second Plate

- 12 ṇaka-madhyhāt varshaṁ prati drammaḥ 8 asṭau dramma ā-
13 chandr-ārkkam śasanēna pradattāḥ | amī drammaḥ Sīmāpāṭi-
14 ya-mahājanēna udgrāṇaka-madhyād=dēvāya dātavyāḥ [| *] ē-
15 tat śāsanam dēvasy=āarthē vaṇika-Bhābhaṭā-suta-Rālha-Ā-
16 lhaṇa-suta-Tīlhaṇa-Dēśala-suta-Bahudēva-Sōḍhā[i]-suta-
17 Ālhaṇa ity=ētai[h*] sūnubhir=maulikai [h*] Rāṇakānām pārsvā-
18 t pālaniyam(yam) || asmaḍ-vaṁsē vyatikrāntē yō=nyah kō=pi

¹ From impressions.

² Expressed by symbol.

³ The verses 1-7 are in *Anushṭubh*.

⁴ Probably *Śuddhavatī* is intended as a synonym of *Sarasvatī*.

- 19 bhavishyati | ahañ tasya karē lagnō na lōpyañ mama śāsanāñ(nam) || [5*]
- 20 Rāma-Rāghava-rājendra sapta-kalpāt=smarāmy=ahañ(ham) | na śrutō na mayā dṛi-
- 21 shṭaḥ svayañ datt-āpahāraḥ | [|| 6*] Viñdhya (ndhy-ā)ṭavishav=a-tōyāsu śushka-kō-
- 22 ṭara-vāsinaḥ | kṛishṇa-sarppāḥ prajāyāntē(ñtē) dēva-dāyāñ haraṃti(ñti) yē || [7*]
- 23 likhitam=idāñ pañ° Silaṇa-putra-pañ° Vidyādhareṇa ||
-

No. 28—VADGAON-MADHAVPUR MEMORIAL PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF
SOMAYASAS, [DAY] 10082

S. SANKARANARAYANAN, MYSORE

In March 1976, Shri P.R. Srinivasan, Chief Epigraphist in charge, visited the Museum attached to the Kannada Research Institute, Karnatak University, Dharwar and got copied there the subjoined pillar inscription. He was good enough to pass on to me the estampages for examination and to advise me to write on it. To him my heart-felt thanks are due.

The pillar in question was discovered as early as 1941-42 by Shri R.S. Panchamukhi the then Director of the Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar. It is said that it was found in an elevated site surrounded by cultivable fields at Vadgaon-Madhavpur about two miles to the east of Belgaum, the headquarters of the Belgaum district, Karnataka. Shri Panchamukhi also noticed the inscription in his report '*Progress of Kannada Research in Bombay Province from 1941 to 1946*', pp. 4-5, 50-51 with a sketch-drawing of the stone pillar [Plate VIII (b)]. On the basis of his own examination, he remarked that the inscription 'which is written in Brāhmī characters and Prakrit language seems to record the erection of the stone pillar, on which the writing is incised to commemorate an event not specified, by a person of Kasapagota (Kāśyapagotra). The pillar bears writing on one face only. The inscription which is damaged may be assigned to the period from the 1st century B.C. to 1st century A.D. on palaeographical grounds. This is the earliest known stone inscription in Bombay-Karnataka, throwing light on the Vedic culture prevalent in the area.' It will be seen in the sequel that a major part of the above statement requires revision. This is mainly because the inscription was not studied fully by Shri Panchamukhi. Unfortunately the record remained undeciphered all these years.

The stone on which the present inscription is engraved is a sort of a hexagonal pillar, not well shaped and well dressed and it is tapering towards the top. The upper part of the stone measuring about 2' 5" in height is broken away diagonally obviously due to an original flaw in the stone. The broken piece is kept separately in the Museum. The lower part of the stone measures about 8' 3" in height above the platform on which the stone is set up in the Museum. The bottom part of this stone is said to have been fashioned like an ill-shaped balloon measuring about 3' 9" in width and 3' 5" in height obviously to set up the stone firm as stated in the record itself.

The pillar bears writing mainly on one face. There are altogether sixteen lines out of which the first line alone is found on the broken upper part of the pillar. The fifteenth line is continued on the side to the proper left of the main writing. In the middle of the stone on the face in the proper right of the inscription there seems to be a *Śivaliṅga* faintly carved in a panel.

The characters of the epigraph belong to the Western Indian variety of the Brāhmī alphabet generally met with in the Sātavāhana and Western Kshatrapa records and may be roughly assigned to the beginning of the second century A.D.

The unique feature of this inscription is this : A major number of lines i.e. lines 4-15 are to be read from left to right as it is usually the case in the epigraphs written in Brāhmī and

its off-shoots. But the first three lines and the last one (i.e. lines 1-3 and 16) are to be read from right to left as in the case of the inscriptions written in the Kharoshthi script.¹ The only other instance where this kind of double treatment is noticed so far is the Erraguḍi Minor Rock Edict of Aśoka, also written in Brāhmī script.² An additional peculiarity in the present record is worth noting. The *anusvāra* marks in the Erraguḍi edict are found to the left side of the letters to which they belong.³ But in our record both the *anusvāra* and the *visarga* marks are added to the right side of the letters to which they belong (cf. *khambhaḥ*, line 3). Coming to the individual letters, it may be noticed that more than one form is employed in the case of *kh* (*khambhaḥ*, line 3 and *sakha*, line 14) and *m* (*soma*, line 5, and *homa-dhūma*, line 10). The rare form *ḍh* (see *gāḍham*, line 6) and the forms of conjuncts *ss* (*kassapa*, line 15) and *ttr* (*gottra*, line 15) are worth noting.

The inscription contains symbols for the numbers 10,000; 80; and 2. The symbol for 10,000 is rather interesting as it is formed by connecting two symbols for 100 denoting one hundred of hundred ($100 \times 100 = 10,000$), just as the symbols for 400, 500 etc. are formed in the early inscriptions by joining the symbols for 100 together with that for 4, 5 etc., as the case may be.

The language of the record is a variety of the mixed dialect, resembling to some extent, that of the Kushāṇas and the Western Kshatrapas. *Sothi*⁴ (Skt. *Svasti*, line 1), *bhaindhu* (Skt. *bandhu*, line 4), *yāyi* (Skt. *yājīn*, line 8) and *anakha-veja* (Skt. *anaksha-vedya*, line 12) are some of the words of phonetical and lexical interest.

The object of the epigraph is to commemorate the death of an individual by name Somayaśas and it bears a date, mentioned probably in days, of an unspecified era. The actual date is mentioned as the 10,082nd day. If this number is divided by the number of days of a year viz. 365, one may get 27 years and 227 days. Thus it would appear that the record is dated in the 227th day of the 28th year (i.e. 27 years having elapsed) of an unspecified era. If the palaeography of the epigraph is taken into consideration one may not be wrong in identifying this unnamed era with the Śaka era that commenced in 78 A.D.⁵ As the Chaitrādi Śaka year 28 (current) probably commenced on the 22nd March, 105 A.D., the 227th day of that year might have corresponded to the 3rd November, 105 A.D.

The epigraph commences with an auspicious *svastika* symbol followed by the auspicious word *sothi*. Then comes the text of the record consisting of three sentences. The first sentence (lines 2-3) contains a brief statement that the pillar in question was (set up in memory) of Somayaśas. The second sentence (lines 4-15) elaborates the above statement. It is said that the pillar was firmly set up [in memory] of Somayaśas by a group of his relatives who are described as *maulas* or indigenous inhabitants.⁷ There are eight adjectives in the sentence,

¹ The macron over *e* and *o* is not marked in this article.

² Above, Vol. XXXII, plate facing p. 7.

³ Cf. e.g. *hakam* (line 2), *devānam* (line 24). Ibid. Of course there is no *visarga* in the Erraguḍi Edict.

⁴ See Buhler's *Palaeographical Charts*, Table IX. Though in the Nānāghāṭ inscription of Nāganikā, the symbol for 10,000 is formed by clubbing the symbols for 1000 and 10 ($10 \times 1000 = 10,000$) (ibid.), the basic principle in forming the numerals in that record and in the present inscription is the same.

⁵ [This is not clear on the stone—Ed.]

⁶ This suggestion may also get some support from the variety of the mixed dialect of the text of the record as in the Kushāṇa and Kshatrapa inscriptions, dated in the Śaka era and from the way of writing resembling to some extent, that of the contemporary Kharoshthi inscriptions also dated in the Śaka era.

⁷ Cf. *maulāḥ* in the *Manusmṛiti* (VIII, 62) which is explained as *tad-deśajāḥ* by Kullūkabhaṭṭa and as *jānapadāḥ tad-deś-ābhijanāḥ* by Medhātithi.

describing Somayaśas. From them we learn as follows : (1) Somayaśas, obviously a Brāhmaṇa, was a scholar of the Kāṭha-śākhā. (2) He had performed as many as eighty Vedic sacrifices including the *Vājapeya* and other wish-fulfilling rites. (3) The smokes arising from his sacrificial fires enveloped all the directions. (4) He knew things that are beyond the ken of the [five] senses (i.e. he had an intuitive knowledge). (5) He had hailed from what is called *Sāketa*. (6) He was a friend of a gentleman (*ārya*) named Balapa. (7) He belonged to the Kāśyapa-gotra. And (8) he had gone to the heavens (i.e. died). The third or the last sentence (line 16) contains the date of the record we examined earlier.

The present record is important in many respects. We have already seen that the record is dated in the 10,082nd day probably of the Śaka era. Thus the present inscription may be the earliest of the southern records, known so far, to be dated in the Śaka era. Probably it is a singular early record to be dated in days of the era as we have seen.¹ This may also suggest that the Vaidikas had started spreading the Śaka era in the south much earlier than the Jains are believed to have done it.²

Besides, the Belgaum region, from which the present epigraph comes, was well within the Sātavāhana empire. But no Sātavāhana record is known to have been dated in the Śaka era while their neighbours and rivals in the north, viz., the Western Kshatrapas used that era in their epigraphs and coins. Hence the present record being dated in that era seems to suggest a strong possibility of the Western Kshatrapa influence in the area during the period. This may furnish a clue to decide, at least to some extent, the much disputed problem of the Sātavāhana chronology. For, it has been accepted on all hands that the Śaka-Kshatrapas of the Western India eclipsed the Sātavāhana power for about a century that preceded the reign of the great Sātavāhana emperor Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi.³ Hence the Śaka date of the record together with the absence of any reference to any ruler in it, may indicate that on the date of the inscription, viz. 105 A.D. Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi had not yet restored the Sātavāhana glory. Thus the present record may support the theory which assigns the said Sātavāhana emperor's rule to c. 106-130 A.D.⁴

Further the present inscription tells us that a person of Sāketa in the far off north viz. Somayaśas, obviously a Brāhmaṇa, not only came down and settled near Belgaum in the far south, but also had relatives, evidently by means of marriage, among the indigenous population of the locality ; and that these relatives set up a pillar, obviously following the custom of the area and of the day, to commemorate his death.⁵ Moreover we learn from the record that Somayaśas was able to perform as many as eighty⁶ Vedic sacrifices. This again reminds us of the Nānāghāt inscription of Nāgaṇikā⁷ of the earlier age, which enumerates the Vedic

¹ Cf. e.g. the Grāmam (Śivalokanātha temple) inscription of Parāntaka Choḷa I containing some details of date including the 1477037th day of the Kaliyuga era. See above, Vol. VIII, p. 261.

² See D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy* (1965), p. 263.

³ See e.g. *The Age of Imperial Unity* (1951), p. 200 ; *A Comprehensive Hist. of India*, Vol. II (1956), p. 312 ; *The Early History of the Deccan* (1960), p. 125.

⁴ See *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 202. According to other views Gautamiputra ruled during c. 62-86 A.D. (*The Early History of the Deccan*, pp. 112, 125 ff.) or c. 72-95 A.D. (*A comprehensive History of India*, p. 312).

⁵ [The act of installing a stone (*pāshāna-sthāpana*) for the dead person by his sons and offering rituals to it during the first ten days after the death of the person, is enjoined by the *Smṛitis*. The present instance seems to be not only an early example of this practice but also an inscribed one of that one—Ed.]

⁶ The significance of this number eighty is difficult to explain.

⁷ *Op. cit.*

sacrifices that Sātavāhana queen claims to have performed evidently along with her husband. No doubt, to perform these sacrifices Somayaśas must have enjoyed the full co-operation and support of the local people, who, therefore, must have held him in high esteem. The Dravidian *apa* (i.e. *appa*) ending of the personal name of Baḷapa, a friend of Somayaśas, suggests that the former was most probably a local gentleman and was perhaps mainly responsible for setting up the memorial pillar in question.

Moreover in the present record we have a rare reference to the Kāṭha *śākhā*, which is a branch of the *Kṛishṇa* or Black Yajurveda. The sage Kāṭha, who perhaps popularised this *śākhā* is believed to have belonged originally to the country on the southern bank of the Godāvārī river somewhere in the region of the present Nanded district, Maharashtra. However, all the twelve divisions of the Kāṭha *śākhā* and people belonging to them are usually said to be *Madhyadeśīyas* or the people of the central region.¹ Our inscription seems to subscribe to this view by describing the Kāṭha-scholar Somayaśas as a person hailing from Sāketa. For, the ancient Indian writers like Varāhamihira and Parāśara include Sāketa in the list of the *janapadas* or countries of the Madhyadeśa.² The city of Sāketa has been identified with, or located in the neighbourhood of, Ayodhyā, i.e. the modern Oudh in Uttar Pradesh.³ Hence the Sāketa country is to be identified with the Ayodhyā region. We have no clue to decide whether Sāketa of our record denotes a city or a country.

TEXT⁴

- 1 ⁵Soth[i] [||*]
- 2 So-⁶
- 3 mayāśasa khambhaḥ. [| *]
- 4 ⁷Mola-bhaṁdhu-vage[na]
- 5 Kāṭhañasa Somayaśasa [kaṁ]-
- 6 [bho] niṭhapito gādham asi-
- 7 ti-Vājapeya-kā[m]ya-
- 8 katu-yāyisya
9. aneka-yañā-
- 10 homa-dhūma-
- 11 [gāhi]ta-disā-[bhāga]-

¹ See the *Kāthasāhītā*, Audh Ed. 1943, Sanskrit Introd. p. 8.

² See *Bṛihatsāhītā*, Ch. XIV, verses 2-4 and Utpala Bhaṭṭa's commentary thereunder.

³ See Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 39.

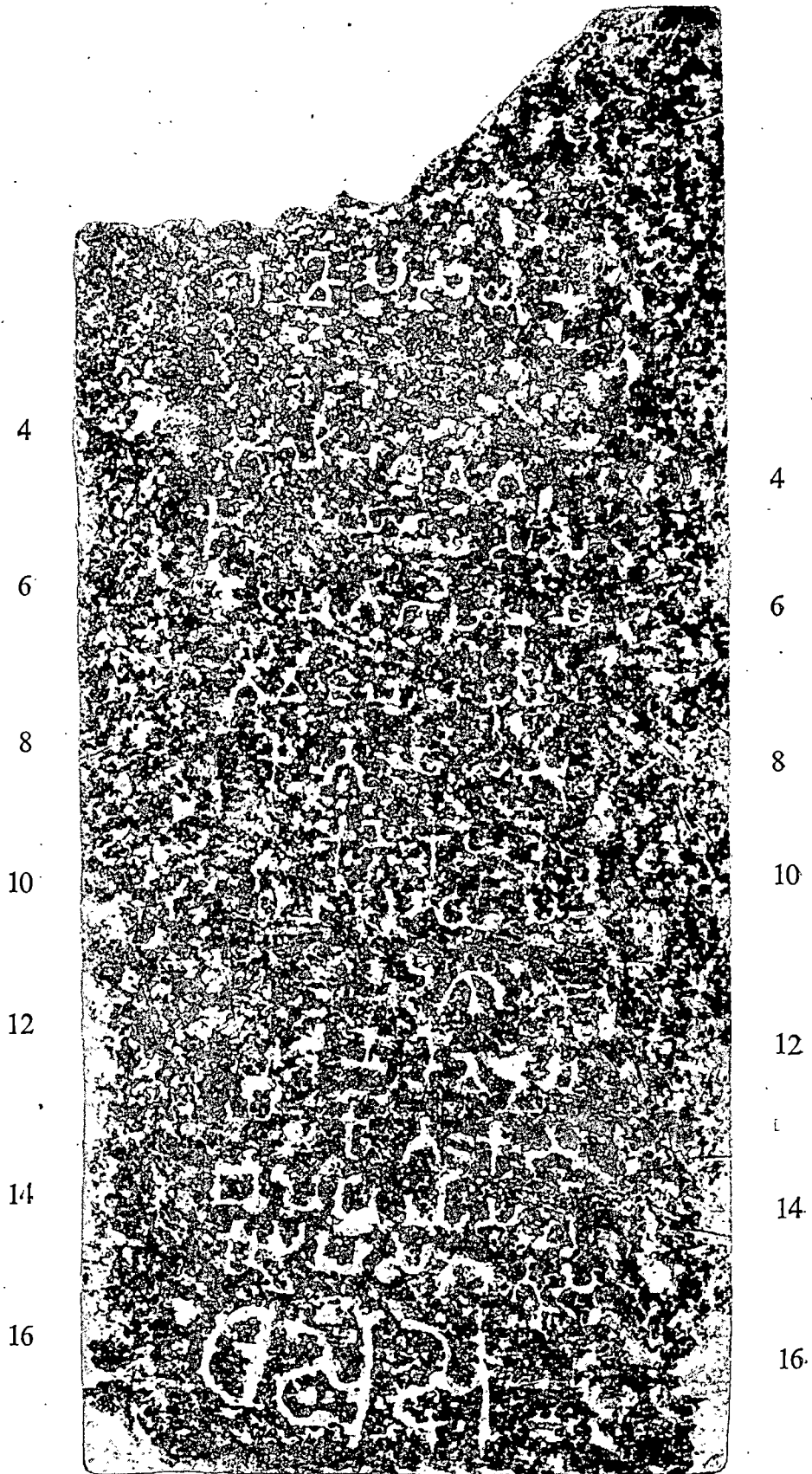
⁴ From the impressions and photographs.

⁵ This word is written to the proper right of a *svastika* symbol and above the break of the stone, not illustrated in the plate. As has already been said the first three lines and the last one are to be read from right to left.

⁶ This letter is written to the proper left of the break in the stone.

⁷ There is space for a line in between the lines 3 and 4.

VADGAON-MADHAVPUR MEMORIAL PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF SOMAYASAS



SIZE · One-fifth

12 [gasya?] anakha-vejas[ya]

13 Sāketakasa

14 Balapārya-sakha-

15 sa Kassapa-sag[o]ttrasa sva[rga?][tasa [[*]

16 [diva] 10000 80 2¹

TEXT SANSKRITISED

1. Svasti [[*]

2 So-

3 mayaśasaḥ skambhaḥ [[*]

4 Maula-bandhuvargena

5 Kāṭhajñasya Somayaśasaḥ skamb-

6 bhō niṣṭhāpīto gādham aśi-

7 ti-Vājapeya-kāmya-

8 kratu-yājinaḥ

9 aneka-yajña-

10 homa-dhūma-

11 grāhita-disā-bhā-

¹ The two dots one above the other, which we have taken to denote the number 2, may as well be taken as a punctuation mark. The 16th line is to be read from right to left.

12 gasya anaksha-vedyasya

13 Sāketakasya

14 Balapārya-sakhasya

15 Kāśyapa-sagotrasya svargatasya [|*]

16 divase 10000, 80 2 [||*]

No. 29—GARH STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF MAHIPALA, V.S. 979

(I Plate)

B. DATTA, NEW DELHI AND C. L. SURI, MYSORE.

The inscription, edited below with the kind permission of the Chief Epigraphist, was found at Garh in the Alwar District of Rajasthan. It has been noticed in *Indian Archaeology* 1961-62—'A Review',¹ as well as in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for 1961-62². The original slab which was lying for sometime with Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra³, the then Joint Director General of Archaeology in India, (now professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Panjab University, Chandigarh) is now preserved in the National Museum, New Delhi. It is in two pieces of almost equal size. due to a vertical break in its centre. Both the pieces joined together cover an area about 79 cm×50 cm. The inscription is engraved leaving a margin of 2 to 3 cm on all sides. It consists of 19 lines of writing which is carefully and boldly executed and which is in a good state of preservation with the exception of some damaged letters along the breach in the middle and a few others here and there. The average size of the letters is roughly 2 cms.

The characters belong to the Kuṭila variety of the Proto-Nāgari alphabet of about the tenth century. Of the initial vowels, *a* (lines 2, 19), *ā* (lines 6, 10, 13, 14) and *i* (lines 6, 16, 17, 18) occur in the record. Medial *ā* is indicated by a vertical stroke to the right of the letters but in some letters like *jā* (line 14), *ṛā* (line 6) and *ṇā* (line 5) it is indicated by a downward curved stroke rising upwards to the right. The form of medial *u* in *ru* (line 15, etc.) is interesting as it is indicated differently in conjunction with other consonants. Medial *ē* and *ō* have invariably been indicated by a *śirōmātrā* except once in *°dēva* (line 10) where *ē* is indicated by a downward curved stroke to the left. On the other hand, medial *ai* and *au* have been indicated by a curved stroke at the top and a downward curved stroke to the left of the letters except in *°janair°* (line 1) and *=asau* (line 4) where two curved strokes at the top have been used. The *anusvāra* and *visargas* are indicated respectively by one and two hollow circles in the first two lines, while in the remaining lines the hollow circles are changed to dots. The forms of subscript *ṇa*, subscript *ṅ* and subscript *tu* are interesting. The subscript *ṅ* in *rṅṅa* (line 1, etc.) lies on its side and its form is not distinguishable from that of subscript *ṅ* (*Jñāna*, line 2) and subscript *tu* (*vāstu*, line 8). The form of the symbol for *ōm* (line 17) is also noteworthy.

The language of the record is Sanskrit and the whole of the text with the exception of the initial *Om namō = 'rhatē* and the portion recording the date in line 17, has been composed in beautiful verses embellished with a profuse use of the various figures of speech. These verses, apart from their historical value, present an elegant style of ornate poetry. The record has been written and inscribed with great care for the number of omissions and commissions is small. The employment of the letter *v* for both *v* and *b*, the reduplication of the

¹ Indian Archaeology, 1961-62, A Review p.85, Serial No. 63.

² A.R.Ep., 1961-62, App. B. No. 128.

³ We are thankful to Dr. Chhabra for allowing us to edit the epigraph. He has also helped us in translating some of the difficult passages in the record.

consonants following *r*, with the exception of *th* in *ar̥thi* (line 4) and of *m* in *sandhi* in *sindhur* = *makara* in line 16 contrary to the reduplication of the consonant *v* in *sandhi* in *bhūpātir* = *vyījayatām*, and the frequent use of the *avagraha* may be noted as the orthographical peculiarities of the record. The word *Sāgaranandī* has been either mis-spelt as *Sāgaranandī* or else it has been taken to be a single *pada* being a personal name to effect the change of *na* into *ṇa*. It may also be noted that the *sandhi* in *Śakrālayaṃ ārōḍhum* (line 4) has not been observed.

The date of the epigraph is given in line 17 as Samvat 979¹, Vaiśākha badi 13, Bhauma. It regularly corresponds to 921 A. D.,² May 8, Tuesday.

The inscription opens with a salutation to the *Arhat*, and the first two verses (verse 1-2) are devoted to Jinendra Śāntinātha mentioning all his virtuous qualities. In the following verse (verse 3) a certain king Mahīpāla, whose feet were adored by a host of feudatories, is introduced. The fourth verse introduces the ruling chief Sāvata. He has been compared with the *Mahābhārata* heroes Karṇa and Bhīma, in philanthropy and valour, respectively and his person is stated to be endowed with the auspicious marks (*lakshman-ānvita-tanu*)³. In the following three verses (verses 5-7) we are introduced to a certain Sarvadēva, son of Dēddulaka, and grandson of Ārdrata⁴ born in the Dharkkaṭa family hailing from Pūrṇatallaka. He is stated to have built a beautiful Jaina temple for Śāntinātha in the city of Simhapadra. In the following verse (verse 8), Sarvadēva has been compared with Viśvakarmā, the divine architect. It is stated that by virtue of his skill in the art of architecture his fame enveloped the three worlds and that he was held in high esteem by the assembly of architects. The following two verses (verses 9-10) state that the great king Pulindra who had realised the transitory nature of the world called Sarvadēva who, at his instance, made a lofty image of Śāntidēva and installed it at Rājyapura. In the 11th verse, Sarvadēva is also credited to have erected a stone house, i.e. a temple. The next two verses (verses 12-13), describe the magnificence and excellence of this temple. This is followed by a statement (verses 14-15) that the temple together with a permanent endowment for worship, was entrusted to the learned *āchārya* Śūrasēna and to the *gōshṭhikas* (i.e. members of a *gōshṭhi*), who were merchants and were devoted to the *Āchārya*. The next verse (verse 16) records a wish that the temple may endure as long as the Jaina Dharma, the Mēru mountain and the sea exist. Verse 17 mentions the two famous poets Sāgaranandī and Lōkadēva as the co-authors of the *prasasti*. Then follows the date discussed above and a particular symbol intended to mark the end of the record.

The above is immediately followed by another record which is in the nature of a supplement to the first. Of this only four complete and one incomplete verses have been preserved. The first verse refers to a mighty earthquake which shook (literally uprooted) even the lofty mountains as also toppled this temple down. The second verse introduces the wise Varāṅga, son of Sarvadēva as the chief of the architects. Next two verses (verses 3-4) speak of his

¹ Cf. *Indian Archaeology* 1959-60- A Review, p. 74; No.56, where the date is wrongly given as 'Samvat 919'.

² The date is given in the current year 979 which is equal to expired 978; Cf. Swami Kannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. II, p.244. However, if the year is taken to be Kārttikādi, the date would correspond to 923 A.D. April 15, f. d.t. 84; cf. *A.R.Ep.*, 1961-62, No.B 128 where the equivalent has been given according to the *Kārttikādi* reckoning, but the day has been wrongly given as Wednesday.

³ The pun used here on the words *lakshman-ānvita-tanu* is noteworthy. Could it also suggest that Sāvata had a brother by name Lakshmaṇa who was generally by his side and gave him a helping hand in administration? But we do not know of any Lakshmaṇa from the political history of the region and period under question.

⁴ This name has been read as Ārbhaṭa in *Indian Archaeology* 1961-62.—A Review, p. 85, No. 63.

beauty, eloquence, wisdom, philanthropy and above all of his adeptness in the science of architecture. The fifth verse which is incomplete states that he was a rich man, perhaps the chief of the architects, and that he was honoured by the king. The record ends here abruptly¹.

The object of this supplementary inscription seems to be that Varāṅga renovated or reconstructed the temple after it was affected by the earthquake. The calligraphic similarities of the two records coupled with the reference to the destruction of the temple by the earthquake in the second record, suggest that both the records were engraved simultaneously and that the first record is only a copy of the original set up by Sarvadēva on the date mentioned at its end. As the extent portion of the second record is not dated, it is not possible to ascertain as to when exactly this slab containing the two records was put up.

Mahīpāla whose feet are stated to have been worshipped by a host of feudatories (*sāmanta-chakra-vihitādara-pāda-sēvaḥ*) was undoubtedly a suzerain king. This is also confirmed by the mention in the inscription of a ruler (*bhūpati*) named Sāvaṭa who must have been a feudatory of Mahīpāla. A sovereign king named Mahīpāla is known to have been ruling at least during 914-17 A.D.² He has been identified with the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Mahīpāla (I). As our record belongs nearly to the same time and mentions Mahīpāla as a sovereign king, there seems to be no doubt in his being identical with the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Mahīpāla I. This is also corroborated by the fact that the feudatory princes ruling at Rājyapura where a temple was built according to our inscription, acknowledged the sovereignty of the Gurjara-Pratihāras as late as V.S. 1096 (960 A.D.), the date of the Rajōrgadh inscription of Mathanadēva. If this identification is accepted, the last known date of the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Mahīpāla which was fixed by the Asni inscription as 917 A.D. would be extended upto 921 A.D., the date of the present inscription.

The Rajōr inscription³ referred to above mentions a certain *Mahārājādhirāja* Sāvaṭa of the Gurjara-Pratihāra family as the father of the ruling chief *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* Mathanadēva who was residing at Rājyapura. The latter was a feudatory of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* Vijayapāladēva who meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* Kshitipāladēva. Prof. Kielhorn who edited the inscription takes Vijayapāla and Kshitipāla as the kings of the Imperial Gurjara-Pratihāra family. As seen above, Sāvaṭa of our epigraph was also a feudatory of the same family and was ruling over the Rājyapura region only thirty-nine years before the date of the Rajōr inscription of Mathanadēva. He, therefore, appears to be identical with *Mahārājādhirāja* Sāvaṭa, the father of Mathanadēva.

Now, if Vijayapāla and Mathanadēva were contemporaries, their fathers or immediate predecessors, i.e. Kshitipāla and Sāvaṭa, could also have been contemporaries. Our inscription which mentions Sāvaṭa as a contemporary of Mahīpāla who was also known by the

¹ That the slab is not broken away at the bottom is evident from the ornamental designs in its lower margin. It is likely that the remaining portion of the second record was engraved on another slab which is not yet available.

² Cf. the Asni stone inscription dated V.S.974(=917 A.D.) (*Ind. Ant.* Vol.XVI, pp. 173 ff) and the Haḍḍālā grant dated Śaka 838(=914 A.D.) (*ibid.*, Vol.XII, pp. 193 ff. and Vol. XVIII, pp. 90-91). While the Asni inscription describes Mahīpāla as a *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara* the Haḍḍālā grant describes him as *Rājādhirāja Paramēśvara*.

³ Above, Vol. III, pp. 263 ff.

synonymous name of Kshitipāla¹ may lend support to this view. Kshitipāla of the Rajōr inscription would, therefore, appear to be identical with Mahipāla I. of the present epigraph.

However, difficulties in the way of the identification suggested above arise due to the existence of a number of intervening kings who are believed to belong to the Gurjara-Pratihāra family. They are : (1) Vināyakapāla,² known from his Bengal Asiatic Society's Copper-plate³ dated V.S. 988 (931 A.D.), (2) Mahēndrapāla (II) of Pratabgarh stone inscription⁴ dated V.S. 1003 (946 A.D.) wherein he is described as the son of Vināyakapāla ; (3) Dēvapāla who according to the Siyaḍōṇi inscription, was the son of Kshitipāla, and ruled in V.S. 1005 (948-49 A.D.) ; (4) Vināyakapāla (II) who in the Khajuraho inscription,⁵ dated V.S. 1011 (953-54 A.D.) and belonging to the time of the Chandella king Dhaṅga is stated to be ruling over the earth ; and (5) Mahipāla (II) of the Bayana Ukhā-mandir inscription⁶ dated V.S. 1012 (956 A.D.) of the queen Chitralēkhā. Mahipāla II was succeeded in 960 A.D. by Vijayapāla, son of Kshitipāla, of the Rajōr inscription. With as many as five kings intervening between Mahipāla I and Vijayapāla, it is difficult to identify the latter's father Kshitipāla with Mahipāla I. It may be assumed that like Mahipāla I, Mahipāla II was also known by the synonymous name of Kshitipāla which has been used in the Rajōr inscription. Kshitipāla of the Rajōr inscription may, therefore, be identified with Mahipāla (II).

It may, however, be pointed out that some scholars do not consider the five intervening kings as distinct rulers. Bhandarkar, for instance, identifies Vināyakapāla I with Mahipāla I *alias* Kshitipāla, Mahēndrapāla II with Dēvapāla and Vināyakapāla II with Mahipāla II *alias* Kshitipāla.⁷ Dr. N. Ray, on the other hand, distinguishes Vināyakapāla I from Mahipāla I whom he identifies with Bhōja II. According to him Dēvapāla was the son of Mahipāla I *alias* Kshitipāla while Vināyakapāla II and Mahipāla II were the sons of Mahēndrapāla II and Dēvapāla respectively.⁸ Dr. Tripathi while accepting the identity of Mahipāla I *alias* Kshitipāla I *alias* Vināyakapāla I takes Mahipāla II to be a vassal chief and not as a Pratihāra king⁹ Thus, according to the chronology of the later Pratihāras proposed by Dr. Bhandarkar and Dr. Ray, Vijayapāla's father Kshitipāla *alias* Mahipāla II was the grandson of Mahipāla I *alias* Kshitipāla. He, therefore, cannot be identical with the latter. But Dr. Tripathi who does not consider Mahipāla II as a Pratihāra king, takes Vijayapāla to be a brother or half brother of Dēvapāla, son of Kshitipāla. Thus, according to him Vijayapāla's father Kshitipāla is no other than Mahipāla I *alias* Kshitipāla. We have already seen above that the evidence of our inscription seems to lend some support to the identification of Kshitipāla of the Rajōr inscription with Mahipāla I. However, the possibility of Vijayapāla's father Kshitipāla being identical with Mahipāla II cannot be completely ignored, for the available evidence is insufficient to prove or disprove any of the identifications.

¹ See, above, Vol. I, p. 171.

² He was identified with Mahipāla (I) by some scholars but this identification has been opposed by some other scholars who believe them to be two different persons. For all the views, see Prof. N. Ray's article entitled 'A note on the chronology of the later Pratihāras', published in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVII, pp. 230 ff.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, pp. 138 ff.

⁴ Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 180 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 162 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 122 ff.

⁷ Bhandarkar's list, p. 400.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVII, p. 234.

⁹ Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, pp. 274-75.

The inscription under study mentions a certain Pulindra who is described as a great king in verse 10. This verse does not tell anything about this king except that he brought the renowned architect Sarvadēva who installed a big image of Śāntinātha at Rājyapura. As the Rājyapura region was being ruled over by Sāvaṭa, there is no possibility of another king ruling over the same territory. Further, the fact that Pulindra is described as a great king precludes the possibility of his being a subordinate of Sāvaṭa. The only possibility is that Pulindra was a secondary name of Sāvaṭa¹ for only the latter could have brought the architect Sarvadēva to construct a temple at Rājyapura.

Our inscription mentions two famous poets Sāgaranandin and Lōkadēva as the authors of the *praśasti*. While the latter is not known from any other source, a poet named Sāgaranandin is known as the author of the *Nāṭakalakṣhaṇaratnakōśa* and probably of a play named *Jānakīharaṇa*. Sylvain Levi², who discovered the manuscript of the *Nāṭakalakṣhaṇaratnakōśa*, and M. Ramakrishna Kavi³ have both shown that Sāgaranandin was earlier than Dhanañjaya. The latter was a contemporary of the Paramāra Vākpatirāja (II) Muñja (A.D. 974-994) during whose reign he is known to have composed the *Kārikās*. Hence the date of Dhanañjaya being the later half of the tenth century, Sāgaranandin has to be placed earlier than that. Again, the fact that the *Nāṭakalakṣhaṇaratnakōśa* contains quotations from Rājaśekhara's *Viddhaśālabañjikā* and the *Karpūramañjarī* proves that Sāgaranandin flourished later than Rājaśekhara who is known to be a contemporary of the Pratihāra kings Mahēndrapāla (I) (A.D. 893-907) and Mahipāla (I)⁴. But Sāgaranandin of our inscription was a contemporary of Mahipāla (I) and consequently of Rājaśekhara also. However, as the latter claims himself to be a *guru* of Mahēndrapāla he must have been a very old man, if at all he was living, at the time of our inscription. On the other hand, Sāgaranandin of our record, who composed even this short *praśasti* jointly with Lōkadēva, seems to have been a young poet who in spite of his claim of being famous, was not yet very well established. He was possibly a junior contemporary of Rājaśekhara (c.875 to 925 A.D.) and belonged approximately to the first half of the 10th century. This date would admirably suit Sāgaranandin, the author of *Nāṭakalakṣhaṇaratnakōśa*, who was earlier than Dhanañjaya and later than Rājaśekhara. Sāgaranandin, of our record may, therefore, be identical with Sāgaranandin, the author of *Nāṭakalakṣhaṇaratnakōśa*.

Now, Sāgaranandin seems to have belonged to some part of eastern India.⁵ As our inscription comes from the Western part of India, the identity of the two Sāgaranandins may be questioned. This does not seem to be a very strong ground to set aside the conclusion

¹ It is also possible to take Pulindra as another name of Mahipāla (I) who was the overlord of Sāvaṭa and who probably bore several names like Vināyakapāla, Hērampāla, Harsha, Chaṇḍapāla and Kārttikēya (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXII, p. 202 and footnotes).

² *Journal Asiatique*, cciii (1923), p. 210.

³ *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II, pp. 412 ff.

⁴ *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 195.

⁵ The *Bālabhārata* or *Prachanda-Pāṇḍava*, a fragmentary play ascribed to Rājaśekhara, contains a verse which states that the play was enacted before an assemblage of guests invited by a king of the lineage of Rāghu, whose name was Mahipāla and who was the son of a king whose *biruda* or title was Nirbhayanarēndra and who was the paramount sovereign of Āryāvarta. Further, Rājaśekhara, in all his four extant plays, declares himself to be the spiritual teacher (*guru* or *upādhyāya*) of a king Mahēndrapāla or Nirbhayarāja. Both Mahēndrapāla *alias* Nirbhayanarēndra and Mahipāla have been identified with the Pratihāra kings Mahēndrapāla (I) and his son, Mahipāla (I) respectively, (*Cl. The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, pp. 33 and 180).

⁶ See *Journal Asiatique*, Vol. cciii (1923) p. 212. Levi considers Sāgaranandin to be a descendant of the family of Nandins mentioned in the Gaya inscription. (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, pp. 343 ff.). He has been quoted mostly by the writers who inhabited Oḍhra, East Magadha, Gauḍa, Kāmarūpa and Dakṣhiṇa Kōśala countries and who probably belonged to or were the followers of the Eastern School of rhetoric (*New Indian Antiquary*, Vol. II, p. 419).

reached above, particularly because no specific place has been mentioned in the epigraph to which Sāgaranandin belonged. The latter might not necessarily be a local man; he might have belonged to some place in eastern India, in which case he might have composed the record and sent it to Rājyapura (Rajōr in Alwar District of Rajasthan).

The Dharkaṭa-jāti to which Ārdrata, the father of Dēddulaka and the grandfather of Sarvadēva, is stated to have belonged is known from many records¹. The Sakrai stone-inscription² dated V.S. 699 provides the earliest instance of the mention of the Dharkaṭa-caste. It is interesting to note that in our inscription the Dharkaṭa-jāti is stated to have hailed from a place called Pūrṇatallaka mentioned in the Bijolia inscription³ which has been identified by Dr. Dasharatha Sharma with Pūntalā in the Jodhpur state of Rajasthan⁴.

Of the place-names mentioned in our record, Pūrṇatallaka has been identified above. The place named Siṅhapadra where Sarvadēva is stated to have built a beautiful Jaina temple cannot be identified⁵. Rājyapura where a temple was built and an image of Śānti-Jina was installed by Sarvadēva, is also mentioned in the Rajōr inscription of Mathanadēva. It has been identified with Rajōr or Rajōrgaḍh, or rather with Paranagar, close to the modern village of Rajōr in Alwar District of Rajasthan.

TEXT⁶

[Metres: Verses 1, 4, 10, 13 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*; verses 2, 8 *Sragdharā*; verses 3, 5, 7 *Vasanta-tilakā*; verses 6, 11, 14-15, 18-21 *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 9 *Upajāti*; verses 12, 16 *Mandākrāntā*-verse 17 *Āryā*.]

- 1 Ōm namō='rhatē || Śrī[mān=yō] mṛiga-lānchhanō='pi sakalaḥ śasvat-kalaṅk-ōjjhitō nishkāmō='p|i [vi]tīrṇa-bhavya-vibhavō yaḥ pūrṇa-kāmō='bhavat | datt-ārghō='pi nīrantaram vu(bu)dha-janair=yo='nargha-
- 2 tāṃ yātavān=sa śrēyāṅsi(msi) samādadhātu bhavatām Śāntir=Jinēndraḥ sadā||[1*].
Avyād=vaḥ Śāntināthaḥ smara-śara-nīkar-ālakshya-vakshō='ṅgabhāsi Lōkālōk=āva-lōka-sphuṭa-haṭad=amala-jūāna-
- 3 [sā]mrājya-sampat | bhakty=āyāt-ānat-Ēndra-ślatha-mukuta-taṭ-ōtk rīṣṭa-ratn-ōtkar=ārchchir-mmālā-vidyōtit-āṅghrīr=ghanatara-durit-ārāti-nirṇāśa-dakshaḥ|| [2*]Yasya-pratāpa-śikhinō jvalataḥ sphuranti
- 4 tārā-chchhalēna ra[ja]nīm paritaḥ sphuliṅgāḥ | jiyād=asau bhuvī chiram Mahī-pāladēvaḥ s[ā]manta-chakra-vihit-ādara⁷-pāda-sēvaḥ|| [3*] Tyāgēn=ārthi-manōrathān=saphalayan=Karṇāyatē yō='nīśam ni-
- 5 ghnān=Kaurava-sam[bhṛi]tam parava(ba)lam Bhimāyatē yō raṇē | sarvatr=āpi-cha Lakshman-ānvita-tanū Rāmāyatē yō bhṛīśam sa sri-Sāvata-bhūpatir=vvijayatām prakhyāta-kirttiś=chiram|| [4*] Śrī-Pūrṇatallaka-

¹ Cf. PRAS, WC, 1908, p. 37, above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 80, and ibid., Vol. XIX, pp. 58, text-line 3 where *Dharakkaṭa-Jātiya* is wrongly read as *Varkkaṭa-jātiya*.

² Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 32.

³ Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 97.

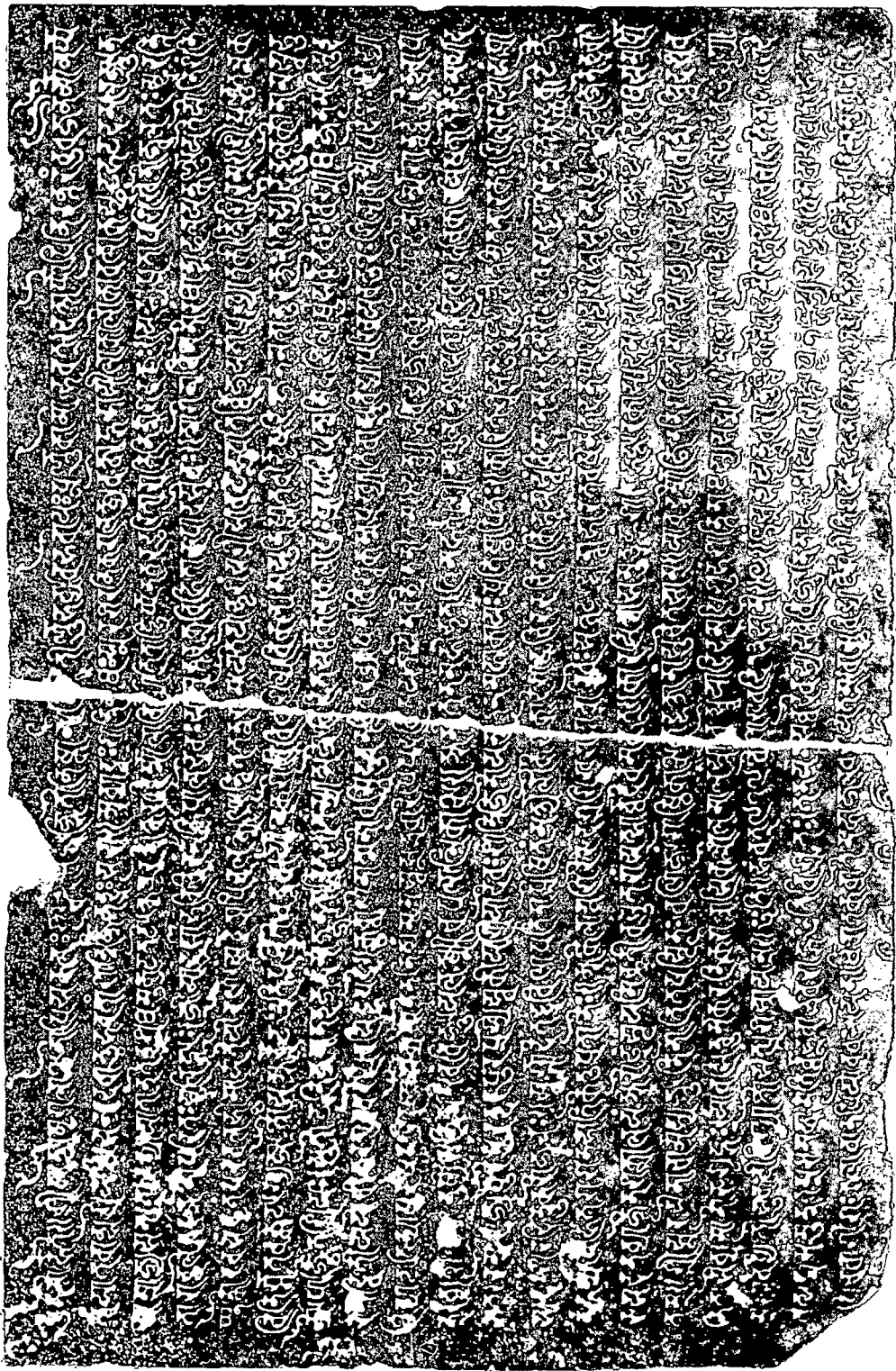
⁴ *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, p. 23.

⁵ It is apparently different from Siṃhaḡōshṭha, a place mentioned in the Harsha stone inscription of Vyāghrarāja (above, Vol. II pp. 119 ff.) which has been identified by D. R. Bhandarkar with Sinhot (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XLII, p. 60).

⁶ From the original stone and impressions.

⁷ The letter *ra* was first omitted inadvertently and was inserted later on between *da* and *pā*.

GARH STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF MAHIPALA



SIZE : One-fourth

- 6 vinirggata-Dharkkaṭ-ākhyā-jātau sa Ārdraṭa=iti prathitō va(ba)bhūva | yō=nēkaśō
vividha-śilpa-vikalpanāsu niṣṇāta-dhir=drishadi Jaina-mat-ānuraktaḥ||[5*] Tasva
Dēddulakō nāma sva-bhu-
- 7 j-ōpārijjita-śriyaḥ | sutō'=jani | jan-ānanda-jananāj=janat-ārchchitaḥ||[6*] Tasy=ātmajō
vidita-sarva-kalā kalāpaḥ | prāp=ādhipatyam=iha śilpishu Sarvvadēvaḥ | vēsm=
ātha Jainam=ati-sunda-
- ra[m=a]dvitīyam yō='chikarat=puravarē='pi cha **Siṅhapadrē**||[7*] Kurvāṇēn=
ātmanō='dhas=tribhuvana-vivara-vyāpinim Viśvakarma-prakhyātim vāstu-vidyā
parichaya-chaturaiḥ śilpa-karm-ōpadēśaiḥ | vidy-ā-
- 9 rthinyā kṛitinyā puruṣa-parishadā sēvyamānēna nityam nāma svam sūtradhār-
ōpapada-vishayatām yēna dhanyēna nītam||[8*] Sandhy-ābhra-vidyuj-jala-
vudvu(bud-bu)d-augha-phēn-ōrmmi-gāndharva-pur-ēndra-chāpā-
- 10 n | vyati|tya mā]nushyam=anīyam=ēvam vijñāya¹ Lakshmiṃ chapal-ātmikāñ=cha||
[9*] Ā[nī]tēna mahibhṛit-āṭimahatā śrīmat-Pulindrēṇa sat-pūrvvē dēva-gṛiham
chikārayishatā tēn=ēdam=aty=āda-
- 11 [rāt] | ram[y]ē [Rā]jyapurē Purandara-pura-prakhyē svakīya-śriyā dēvaḥ
Śāntijjino='yam=uttama-mahā-kāyaḥ pratishṭhāpitaḥ|| [10*] Kāritas=cha samuttuṅga-
śṛiṅg-ōttambhita-tāraḥ | śilāmayō='yam prā-
- 12 sādah śarad-indu-kar-ōjva(jjva)lah|| [11*] Svarggād=ētaḍ=Draviṇapatinā prēshitam
marttya-lōkē [Śa]kr-ādēśād=ruchira-ruchinā kim svayam svam vimānam | n=ēdam
Mērōḥ śikhara-sadṛisair=unnatair=udgha-kūṭair=Jai-
- 13 nam ha[r]mya[m] pihita-gaganam bhāti kētu-pratānaiḥ ||[12*] Ā-Kailāsa-girēr=
udagra-śikharād=ā-vāridhēḥ | sat=taṭād=bhrāntvā Bhāratavarsham=ētaḍ=anagham
śasvad=yaśōbhāsuram | puñjibhūya Jinēndra-chā-
- 14 ru-sadana-vyājēna Śakra-ālayam² āroḍhum svayam=ichchhat=īva sutarām yat=Sār-
vadēvam mahat|| [13*] Kārayitvā samuttuṅgam Śāntibhaṭṭārak-āspadam |
s-ākshaya-nivi pūjāyai tad=aiv=ātha samarppi-
- 15 tam|| [14*] Śrī-Sūrasēn-āchāryasya jñāninō='ti tapasvinaḥ | vañijām gōshṭhikānān³-
cha tad-bhaktānām suchētasām|| [15*] Yāvad=dharmō Jina-nigaditō mōksha-
saukhyā-pradāyi yāvan=Mērus=tridaśa-va-
- 16 nitā-sēvyamān-ōru-śriṅgaḥ | yāvat=sindhur=makara-nikar-ōllāsi-kallōla-mālas=tāvat=
sthēyād=idam=api śubham Śāntināthasya sadma ||[16*] Śrīmān=Sāgaraṇandi
vidvān=api Lōkadēva ity=asyā-
- 17 m | [dvā]v=apy=ētau sukavi vikhyātau sat=praśastāyām ||[17*] iti|| **Sarvat 979**
Vaiśākha vadi 13 Bhaumē|| ||Om⁴[| *]Sransayan=bhūddharān ucchchhaiḥ
kampō bhūmēr=abhūd=atha | chachāla tēn=ā-śikharād=ē

¹ There is an unnecessary *anusvāra* mark on *ya*.

² *Sardhi* is not observed here.

³ The letter *nā* is written below the line between two crosses and a cross is engraved above the letter *kā* to indicate the same.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

- 18 tat=sadma=samunnatam|| [18*] Mahā-matir=vva(bba)-bhūv=ātra Varāṅga=iti viśrutah |
tanayaḥ Sarvva-dēvasya sarvva-vijñāni-nāyakaḥ|| [19*] Yō var-āṅgō=py=anaṅgasya
sadṛṣatvam=avāptavān | bhāsvā-
- 19 [n=a]pi cha vāgīsaḥ kalāvān=api yō vu(bu)-dhaḥ|| [20*] Yēn=ārthi-chātaka-vrātē
mahā-jaladha[rā]yitam | vāstu-vidy-ārtha-samśīti-gahanē dahanāyitam|| [21*]¹
Aśrāntam nṛipa-pūjitēna dhaninā mukhyēna vijñā² . . .

TRANSLATION³

Om | Obeisance to the Arhat.

(Verse 1) :—May Śānti Jinēndra always confer on you all the good things in life—Śānti Jinēndra who even being the veritable glorious full-moon (or having *mṛiga* as his *lāñchhana*) is ever flawless, who even being *nishkāma* (without any desire) was *pūrṇakāma* (one who has fulfilled the desire of others) having granted rich gifts to others, and who even being always *dattārgha* (one to whom homage has been paid) by the learned became *anargha* (invaluable, high in esteem).⁴

(Verse 2) :—May Śāntinātha protect you | —Śāntinātha whose body that had never been a target of Cupid's arrows is resplendent, i.e. who has conquered Cupid, whose sovereign wealth (consists of) pure clear and shining knowledge that could view even the Lokālōka,⁵ whose feet are brightened by the multitude of rays emanating from the excellent jewels set in the loosened crown of the bowing (god) Indra who has approached (Śāntinātha) with devotion, who is an expert in the extirpation of enemies in the form of dreadful sins.

(Verse 3) :—May that king Mahipāla be victorious on this earth for long, at whose feet all the feudatories have respectfully placed their services. These are the sparks of the blazing fire of his prowess that shine forth all around at night in the form of stars.

(Verse 4) :—May the illustrious prince Sāvata of wide renown be victorious for long, who by his generosity, always fulfilling the desires of supplicants, is a veritable Karṇa ; who on the battle-field destroying the earth (*kau*) (for destroying the enemy forces reinforced by the Kauravas) is a veritable Bhīma ; and who also being endowed all over the body with auspicious signs (or accompanied everywhere by Lakshmaṇa?) is very much Rāma incarnate.

(Verse 5) :—There was a renowned person Ārdraṭa by name in the Dharkkaṭa family hailing from the glorious Pūrṇatallaka. He was an expert in carving out various sculptures in stone and was attached to the Jaina faith.

(Verse 6) :—Ārdraṭa who had amassed wealth by dint of (labour and skill of) his arms begot a son named Dēddulaka, who on account of his being a source of delight to all people was respected by them.

¹ This incomplete verse seems to be in *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* metre.

² The record ends here abruptly. The intended reading seems to be *vijñāninā*.

³ The author has displayed his poetic excellence in the choice of diction. The *alamkāra* in this verse is *vyatīrēka* based on *ślēsha*.

⁵ The word *Lokālōka* means 'world and no world, the visible and invisible world'. It is also the name of a mythical belt or circle of mountains surrounding the outermost of the seven seas and dividing the visible world from the region of darkness'. Monier Williams : *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, s.v. *Lokālōka* under *lōka* on p. 872. The term may also signify *lōkākāsa* and *Alōkākāsa* which, according to Jain Cosmographic conception, are the two parts of the space, the universe being situated in the former. This *Lōkākāsa* is composed of two entities of essences called *dharmā* and *adharmā*, the substrata of motion and rest, conceived as the conditions for the presence of all existing beings. The *Alōkākāsa* is described as 'an absolute void impenetrable to anything, material and spiritual' (*JIH.*, Vol. XLVII, Pt. I, p. 53).

(Verse 7) :—His son Sarvadēva who had mastered all the fine arts in their entirety attained supremacy among the architects here. It was he who built the very beautiful and unique Jaina temple at the excellent town Simhapadra.

(Verse 8) :—He, the blessed one, who was always skilful attended upon by the assembly of persons who were his students, and who by his discourses on sculpture replete with the knowledge of the science of architecture outshone the fame of (the divine architect) Viśvakarmā which envelopes the three worlds had got his name always appended with the epithet *sūtradhāra*.

(Verse 9-11) :—Having realised that impermanence of the human existence surpasses (that of) the evening cloud, the lightening, bubble of water, the foam, the wave, the town of Gandharvas (an imaginary town in the sky) and the rainbow, and that fickle is the fortune he (Sarvadēva) who was brought by the great illustrious king Pulindra and who was desirous of building a temple of a Jina(?) installed with devotion the excellent and lofty (image of) Jina Śānti (Śāntinātha) by his own wealth at the beautiful (town of) Rājyapura which equalled the town of (god) Indra, (i.e. Amarāvati), and caused to be built this stone temple glowing like the beams of the autumnal moon and supporting the stars with its lofty peak.

(Verse 12) :—Is it by the orders of Indra that the Lord of Wealth of radiant splendour has himself sent his own vehicle, from heaven to this mortal world? Oh! no; this is the Jaina temple covering the sky and shining by its spreading banners and lofty summits which are as high as the top of Mēru (mountain).

(Verse 13) :—The radiant, great, and eternal faultless glory of Sarvadēva after having travelled the whole of Bhāratavarsha from the high peaks of the mountain Kailāsa to the coast of the sea (now) collecting together very much longs to approach heaven (the abode of Indra) in the guise of the beautiful temple of Jinendra.

(Verses 14-15) :—Having caused the lofty temple of Śāntibhaṭṭāraka to be built (Sarvadēva) entrusted it together with a permanent endowment for worship to the learned and great ascetic Sūrasēnāchārya and to the benevolent merchants who were members of a *gōshṭhi* (i.e. committee of supervisors in charge of the religious institution) and were devoted to him (i.e. Sūrasēnāchārya).

(Verse 16) :—May this auspicious abode of Śāntinātha stand as long as the dharma propagated by Jina, leading to emancipation and bliss (lasts), (as long as) the high peaked mountain Mēru enjoyed by the heavenly damsels and the sea (full of) waves (caused) by the multitudes of crocodiles (exist).

(Verse 17) :—The two famous and noble poets the illustrious Sāgaraṇandin and the learned Lōkadēva (have composed) this *prasasti* ||end|| Saṃvat 979 Tuesday, the 13th day of the dark fortnight of Vaiśākha||

Part II

(Verse 18) :—A mighty earthquake toppling down (even) the mountains occurred and on account of that this high building shook from top to the bottom.

¹ The meaning of the expression *sat-pūrvvē* is not clear.

(Verse 19) :—The wise, renowned, leader of all architects, Varāṅga, son of Sarvadēva, was born.

(Verse 20) :—He (Varāṅga), of beautiful limbs, resembled Cupid (or one devoid of limbs), though handsome (or the Sun) he was master of speech (or the planet Jupiter) and though a learned man (or the moon) he was wise (or the planet Mercury).

(Verse 21) :—Who was the very cloud for the *chātakas* in the form of supplicants, who was the very fire for the forest in the form of problems of Architecture.

(Verse 22) :—By the one, who was rich, held in high esteem by the king and chief among the architects.....

No. 30—MASOD KAMPTI PLATES OF VAKATAKA PRAVARASENA II,
YEAR 19

(2 Plates)

P. R. SRINIVASAN, MYSORE.

The copper-plate inscription¹ edited below is now preserved in the State Archaeological Museum at Nagpur. The charter was kindly sent to my office by Shri P. M. Muley, the Curator of the Museum through Dr. S. Subramonia Iyer, Epigraphical Assistant of my office. According to Shri Muley, the plates were secured from a private individual of the village of Masod Kampti in the Achalpur Taluk, Nagpur District, Maharashtra. The set consists of five plates strung together to a ring, which does not bear any seal. Each plate measures approximately 17.3 cm long and 8.4 cm broad. The diameter of the hole on the left side of each plate is 1 cm. The first plate bears writing on one side only while the other plates have writing on both sides. The writing is preserved well. The weight of the five plates together is 1430 gms., and that of the ring alone is 80 gms.

The characters of the inscription are of the familiar box-headed variety of Southern alphabet. The letters are well written. But in several cases, the writer or the engraver has omitted the *anusvāra* mark. The language is Sanskrit and the text is in prose and verse. The usual orthographic features like doubling of a consonant after *r* are noticed. Generally the texts of the Vākātaka grants are full of mistakes in spelling. They contain many colloquial usages. Similar features are found here also. As examples *jō* (line 46) *āchchhētā* (lines 47-48) and *varisham* (line 48) may be cited. These are corrected in the text.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Vākātaka king Pravarasena II (circa 420-50 A. D.).² Several grants of his time have come down to us. But this is the only plate belonging to his 19th regnal year. The text of this charter is similar to the texts of the king's other charters, like the Wadgaon plates³.

The record commences with the words *Siddham* and *drishṭi* (for *drishṭam*). It was issued from Pravaraपुरa. The genealogy of the king is given exactly as in the above-mentioned Wadgaon plates in lines 1-17 including the fact that the king's maternal grandfather was Dēvagupta. In line 18, King Pravarasēna is described as *Parama-māhēśvara*. The passage in lines 19-20 records that at the request of Aryya-Mahādēvi, a land of 300, (here probably the word *nivartanāni* is left out) measured according to the royal measure situated on the north-western side of the village Matsakadrahān to the west of Padmapura, was granted. In lines 20-27 the names of the Brāhmaṇa donees are given. To begin with, however, two shares are assigned to Mahāpuruṣa, perhaps the deity Vishṇu. The list of the Brāhmaṇa donees includes the following : Bōppa-āryya, a *chaturvedin* and of the Kaundinya-sagōtra, Vishṇu-varyya of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra, Raty-āryya of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra, Bhavāryya of the Parāśara-gōtra, Bhavaputr-āryya of the Parāśara-gōtra, Gōl-āryya of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra, Śriy-āryya of the Bhāradvāja-gōtra, Bōpp-āryya of the Kāśyapa-gōtra, Nārāyaṇ-āryya

¹ A. R. Ep., 1976-77, No. 1.

² CII., Vol. V, Introduction, p. xxiv.

³ Ibid., pp. 54 ff.

of the Kauśika-gōtra, Suval-āryya of the Kauśika-gōtra, Dēv-āryya of the Kauṇḍiya-gōtra, Dām-āryya of the Kauṇḍinya-gōtra, Kēśi(śa)v-āryya of the Kauśika-gōtra, Kumar-āryya of the Vatsa-gōtra, Dām-āryya of the Kāśyapa-gōtra, Gōl-āryya of the Kauṇḍinya-gōtra, Gōl-āryya of the Kāśyapa-gōtra, Kōṭṭiryya (Kōṭṭy-āryya) of the Gautama-gōtra, and Rudr-āryya of the Gautama-gōtra. The passage in lines 28-29 states that a land for *vāṭaka* (garden) in the low lying area in the middle portion of the Rājatintiṇika-nadi was also given to the twenty - four Brāhmaṇas and the deity mentioned above, each a share. This land is said to be situated on the western side (line 29) of the village.

The subsequent passages are similar to those of other charters of his reign. In line 44 *Sēnāpati* Kātyāyana is mentioned and Dēvasakha (or simply *dēva-sakhā*-the friend of the king) as the executor of the grant. This *Sēnāpati* is known from the Paṭṭan plates ¹ of the 29th year of the ruler. There he is referred to as the master of or superior to Kālidāsa² who wrote the text.

At the end (lines 48-49) the particulars of date such as year 19, 2nd fortnight of the rainy season and 5th day are given. This method of giving season dates are met with in the Basim plates ³ of Vindhyaśakti II and the Dudia ⁴ and Pāṇḍhurnā plates ⁵ of Pravarasēna II, who issued the present charter.

The importance of the charter lies in the fact that here figures the deity Mahāpurusha (i. e. Viṣṇu) for whom probably there was a temple at the gift village. Āryya-Mahā-dēvi at whose request the gift was made was apparently a queen of the king. The adjective *āryya* (noble) given to her is noteworthy. Here too figures, for the first time, *Sēnāpati* Kātyāyana. That Padmapura was a town and not a capital which it might have become at a later time is known⁶.

The geographical names mentioned here are Pravarapura, Padmapura and Matsakadrahā and the Rājatintiṇi-nadi. Of these Pravarapura is identified with Pavanār, 10 km from Wardha⁷, and Padmapura may be identical with Padampur near Āmgaon in the Bhandara District. We have to look for Matsakadrahā and the river near Padampura.

TEXT⁸

First Plate

1 Siddham [|*] Svasti [|*] Pravarapurād = Agnishthēm-Āpto[r*]yya(ryyā)-mō-kthya-Shōḍaśy-Atirātra⁹(tra-)

¹ CII., Vol. V, p. 58.

² Ibid., p. 61, text-line 45. Identification of this Kālidāsa with the poet Kālidāsa who wrote the *Abhijñāna Śakuntalam*, *Raghuvamśa*, etc., has been proposed, rather very surely, by Dr. V. V. Mirashi (CII., Vol. V, p. 58). But considering the very defective and stereotyped texts of the Vākātaka grants in general and those of Pravarasēna II's reign in particular, this identification does not seem to be reasonable. Although Dr. Mirashi says "Kālidāsa, no doubt, figures only as a scribe in the present grant, but that does not *per se* disprove his identity with the great Sanskrit poet", if he was really the author of the above mentioned books, he could never have written a text like the one of the Paṭṭan plates, nor would he have been attached to the *Sēnāpati* of the king. A poet of Kālidāsa's eminence should be mentioned as the poet laureate of the kingdom rather than as a writer of a faulty text of a government document.

³ Ibid., p. 95.

⁴ Ibid., p. 44.

⁵ Ibid., p. 64.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 77-78.

⁷ Ibid., p. 23.

⁸ From impressions.

⁹ There are two dash-like marks put one over the other standing for visarga after *tra* and it is superfluous.

- 2 drishṭi(tam) ¹ [| *] Vājapēya-Bṛihaspi(spa)ti-sava-Sādyakra(skra)tu-chatur-Aśva-
mēdha-yājinaḥ
- 3 Vishṇuvṛiddha-sagōtrasya samrājāḥ Vākāṭakānām = mahā-
- 4 rāja-śrī-Pravarasēnasya sūnō[h*] sūnōh atyanta-svāmi-Mahabhāi-
- 5 rava-bhaktasya asambhāra-²sannivēśita-Śiva-liṅg-ōdvahana-Śiva-

Second Plate, First Side

- 6 superitushṭa-samutpādita-rāja-vaṁśānā[m*] parākkram-ādhi(ga)ta-Bhāgi(gi)rathy-
-a-
- 7 mala-jala-mūrdh-ābhishiktānā[m*] daś-Āśva-mēdh-āvabhri³thia-snātānā[m*]
Bhāraśivānā[m*]
- 8 mahārāja-śrī-Bhava-nāga-dauhitṛasya Gō(Gau)tamipu[tra*]sya putrasya
- 9 Vākāṭakānām = mahārāja-śrī-Rudrasēnasya- sūnōr=atyanta-māhēśvarasya
- 10 saty-ārjjava-kārunya-śauryya-yikkramā(ma)-naya-vinaya-ma(mā)hātmya-dhi(dhī)
matva-pātragata-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 11 bhaktitva-dharmma-vijayitva-manō-nairmmaly-ādi-guṇassā(ṇa-sa)mupētē(ta)sya
varsha-śata-
- 12 m-abhivarddhamāna-kōśa-daṇḍa-sādhā(dha)na-santāna-putra-pautra-Yudhisṭi-
(shṭi)ra-vṛittē-
- 13 r=Vvākāṭakānar(nā)m = mahārāja-śrī (śrī)-Pṛithivi-sēnasya sutō bhagavataś
-Chakkra--
- 14 pāṇēḥ = prasād-ōpārjita-śrī(śrī)-samudayasy = ānēka-saṅgrāma-vijayina[h]
- 15 shaḍ-guṇ-ārppaṇa-prasāsta-Vākāṭaka-vaṁś-ālaṅkārahūtasya Va(Vā)kātakānā-

Third Plate, First Side

- 16 m = mahārāja-śrī(śrī)-Rudrasēnasya sūnōr=mmahārajādhirāja-śrī(śrī)-Dēva-
gupta-sū(su)ta(tā)yā[m*]
- 17 Prabhāvatiguptāyām = utpannasya Śambhōḥ = prasāda-śrī(dhṛi)ti-kārttayugasya
Vākāṭa-
- 18 kānām = Paramamāhēśvarā-Mahārāja-śrī (śrī)-Pravarasēnasya vachanā[t* | |

¹ Written below *Siddham* of line 1.

² Read *asambhāra*.

³ This letter is written below the line.

- 19 Padmapurasy = āpara-mārggē Matsakadrahan-nāmna(ma)-grāmaḥ asya ch-
āparōttara-pārsvē
- 20 rājamānēkamānēna bhūmi-śata-trayaḥ a (ā)ryya-Mahādēvi-vijñapya¹ [|*] prā-
tigrā-

Third Plate, Second Side

- 21 haścha (ś = ch = ā)tra Mahāpu[ru*]shasy = ā[rn*] śa-dvaya[rn*] brāhmaṇa(nā)śchā
(ś=cha) Kauṇḍinya(nya)-sagōtraś=chatu-
- 22 rrvēda - Bōppāryya - Bhāradva (dvā) ja - gōtra - Viṣṇu - vāryya² - Bhāradvāja - Raty-
āryya-
- 23 Parāśara - Bhav - āryya-Parāśara-Bhavaputr-āryya-Bharadvāja-Gōl-āryya-
- 24 Bharadvāja-Śriy-āryya-Kāśyapa-sagōtra-Bōpp-āryya-Kauśika-Nārāyaṇō (n-ā)rryya
- 25 Kauśika-Achal-āryya - Kauṇḍinya(nya)-Dēv-āryya Kauṇḍinya(nya)-Dām-āryya-

Fourth Plate, First Side

- 26 Kauśika--Kēśi(śa)v-āryya-Vatsa-Kumār-āryya-Kāśyapa-Dām-āryya-Kauṇḍinya(nya)-
- 27 Gōl-āryya-Kāśyapa-Gōl-a(ā)ryya-Gautama-Kōṭṭi (ṭṭy-ā)ryya-Gautama-Rudr-
āryya(ryyā)[h |*]
- 28 ³ Rājatintinika-nadi-gartta-sabhā-madhyē vāṭaka-bhūmiḥ [|*]
- 29 ēvam = bahāmaṇaṇa⁴ dēv-ānśasyaha⁵ pañcha-viśatyā⁶ -vvā (vā) ṭakaḥ (kāḥ) grāmasya
(y-ā)para - mārggē
- 30 datta(ttā)[h*] yatō = smat = satta(nta)kā[h*] sarvv-ādhyaksha-niyōga-niyuktā
ājñāsañchāri-
- 31 kulaputr-ādhiḥṭitā[h*] bhaṭi(ṭā)ś=chha(chhā)trāś = cha vṛishitapūrvyām = ajñāy-
ājñāpa
- 32 pittarvya⁷

Fourth Plate, Second Side

- 33 yath=ē(ā)smābhir = ātmanō dharmm-āyur-balam-aiśvairyya⁸ vivṛiddhayē ihē (h-ā)-
mutra-hitā-

¹ Read *vijñaptyā*.

² This spelling where the *sandhi* rules have been given the go by is due to local influence.

³ A small cross-mark is seen before this letter on the margin.

⁴ Read *brāhmaṇānām*.

⁵ Probably *dēv-ānśasy-ēha* is meant here.

⁶ Read *pancha-viśati*.

⁷ Read *viśrutapūrvay-ājñāy-ājñāpayitavyaḥ*.

⁸ Read *bal-aiśvairyya*.

MASOD KAMPTI PLATES OF VAKATAKA PRAVARASENA II

i

2

4

Handwritten text in ancient script on a dark rectangular plate, consisting of approximately five lines of inscriptions.

2

4

ii(a)

6

8

10

Handwritten text in ancient script on a dark rectangular plate, consisting of approximately five lines of inscriptions.

6

8

10

ii(b)

12

14

Handwritten text in ancient script on a dark rectangular plate, consisting of approximately five lines of inscriptions.

12

14

iii(a)

16

16
 18
 20

16

18

20

iii(b)

22

22
 24

22

24

iv(a)

26

26
 28
 30
 32

26

28

30

32

iv(b)

34

36

Handwritten text in ancient script on a rectangular plate, consisting of approximately five lines of characters.

34

36

v(a)

38

40

42

Handwritten text in ancient script on a rectangular plate, consisting of approximately five lines of characters.

38

40

42

v(b)

44

46

48

Handwritten text in ancient script on a rectangular plate, consisting of approximately four lines of characters.

44

46

48

- 34 rtham, = ātma-ānūgrahāya vaijayikē dharmmā(mma)-sthānē a-bhāṭa-chchhatra-prā-
vēśya
- 35 a-pārampara-gō-balivardda-a-pushpa-kshi(kshā)ra-sandōha a-chārāśa(sa)na-
- 36 charmm-āṅgāra-a-lavaṇa-kinna-klē(rē)ni-ka(khā)naka-sarvva-vē(vi)sh¹ṭi parinara-
- 37 pariḥṛita sa-parikli(kḷi)pt-ōparikli(kḷi)pta-ā chandr-āditya-kāla(lī)ya-putra-

Fifth Plate, First Side

38. pautr-ānugama-bhuñjatā na kēnachi[d*] = vya(vyā)ghātaḥ = karttavayas = sarvva-
kriyābhi[h*] sa[m*]rakshi-
- 39 tarvyaḥ parivarddhayitavyaś = cha yaś = cha (ch =ā)- smach = chhāśan-ē(na)m = aga
ṇayamāna[s*] = svalpām = api
- 40 paribādhā[m*] kku(ku)ryya(yyā) t = kāri(ra)yitā vā tasya brāhmaṇair = āvēditasya
sa-daṇṭa (ṇḍa) -
- 41 nigrahaṁ =kuryyāma |² apūrvadattāda(tty=ōda)ka-pūrvvam = atisṛishṭa[h*] uchitāś
=ch = āśya
- 42 pu(pū)rvva-rāj-ānumatāś=chā (tām chā)tur-vvē (vvai)dya-maryya(yā)dā(da)[yā*]
parihāra(rā)n = vitara(rā)maḥ [|*] tad = yathā akara-
- 43 dāyi daṇḍō(ḍa)-nigraha[m*] kuryyāmaḥ [|*] api cha dharmmādhikaraṇē ati(ti)tā
anēka-

Fifth Plate, Second Side

- 44 rāja-[da*] ttā[h*] Sēnāpatō (tau) Kātyāyanō (nē) Dēva³ sakha⁴ - mū (mu) kh-ājñā (jñā)
ptē prabha-
- 45 vishṇu-gauravād = vā bhaviśya(shyā)[h*] vijñapayi [ta*]vyā[|*] Vyāsa-gi (gī)tō(tās=)
ch=ātra ślōkō pra -
- 46 māni(nī)-karttavya[h*] sa (sva) dattā[m*] para-dattā[m*] vā jō(yō) hē(ha)rētē(ta)
vasū(su)ndharā[m*] [|*] gavā [m*] śata⁵saha-

¹ The letter *sh* looks like *p*.

² This *daṇḍa* is shown as a hook with the hook portion to left, and it is superfluous.

³ This *va* was originally written as *sa* and later corrected by erasing the right arm of *sa*, although it has not been completely erased.

⁴ This *kha* is shown without the box at the bottom as is seen in the letter following the next one.

- 47 srasya ha[n*]tu[h*] pibati duṣkṛita [m* || 1]¹ Shasṭi-vari(r)sha sahasrāṇi svargga-
(ggē) mōdati bhu(bhū)[mi*]da[h*] āchchē -
- 48 ttā² ch = ānumattā(ntā) cha tāny = ēva narakē [va*]sē [t* || 2 ||]¹ Vari(r)sham
ēku(kō)navi[m*]śad-varshā-pakshā-dviti(tī)ya-
- 49 divasa-pā(pa)ñchama [||*]

¹ The metre of this verse is *anusubh*.

² Read *ākshēptā*-

No. 31—A GRANT OF SAMBHU-CHODA YEAR 50

(1 Plate)

P. R. SRINIVASAN, MYSORE

The copper-plate grant¹ edited below from the impressions kept in my office is stated to have been received from Shri M. Kalidasa-garu, High Court Vakil, Guntur and the plates were reported to have been found in the possession of a private person in the village **Pachchala-Tādiparru** in the Bapatla Taluk of the Guntur District.² The set now consists of three plates and one or two more plates are missing. Hence it is an incomplete record. No seal is found. "They are rectangular in shape with low rims and measure about 21 cm long and 10 cm broad. On the first face are carved two *padmas* (lotus-designs) one above the ring-hole and the other below it. Close to the upper one of these on its proper left is cut a circle representing the sun with the inscription '*Sūryamaṇḍalam*'. The crescent is cut to the proper left of the lower *padma* with the inscription '*Sōmamaṇḍalam*' on its proper left."³ The first plate contains 8 lines of writing on its second side, the second contains 9 lines on each of its sides and the third plate has 8 lines on each of its faces, thus making a total of 42 lines of writing. Though this record has been reviewed somewhat in detail on page 171 in the *A.R.Ep.*, for 1917-18, it is dealt with here afresh owing to its importance from the point of its contents bearing on the history and culture of the period to which it belongs.

The characters are Nāgarī of the type which subsequently developed into the Nandī-Nāgarī script which was widely in vogue in the Vijayanagara period. It has already been suggested that the palaeography of the record indicates a 12th century date for the record.⁴ Its language is Sanskrit and the text is in prose and verse. The composition is couched in a language which is fairly correct. As regards orthography *anusvāra* is employed whenever the class nasal is to be used (e.g., *mamtra*- lines 11, 17, *Kaliṅga-rāja*- line 18 etc.), the consonant following *r* is not doubled in several places and instead of *ri* simple *r* is used in several words (e.g., *pruthvī* for *prīthvī*, line 1, *gruhītvā* for *grihītvā*, line 11, *dāsi-kṛta* for *dāsi-kṛita*, line 17 etc.)

The inscription refers itself to the rule of **Sambhu-chōḍa** (lines 8, 10) and is dated in the 50th year (line 19) of his rule. The object of the record is to grant the village **Kumbhaḍūru** or **Kummaḍūru** on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra, to two deities Agastyēśvara and Shanmukha, to his preceptor and to other servants, each a fourth part of the village.

The record commences with the *siddham* symbol. In verse 1 (lines 1-2) the god Varāha-Vishṇu is praised. In the following verse (lines 2-3), reference is made to the god Sadāśiva described as *nitya*, *satya* and *sthira*, and to Chaturmukha (i.e., the god Brahmā) who is engaged in creation. In the next verse (lines 3-5) Kaśyapa-prajāpati is stated to have been born from Brahmā, and from the former, Vivasvān (i.e., the Sun) who purifies the three worlds. In

¹ A.R.Ep., 1917-18, No. A-4.

² Ibid., p.170.

³ Ibid., pp. 170-71.

⁴ Ibid., p. 171.

verse 4 (lines 5-7) reference is made to the family of Vivasvān which was chosen for the incarnation of an *amśa* of Viṣṇu (obviously indicating the *avatāra* of Viṣṇu as Rāma) and in which were born a number of great and illustrious rulers. Then in verse 5 (lines 7-8) Kuśa (evidently the son of Rāma) is mentioned, and in his family, it is stated, was born Śaṁbhū-chōḍa the son of Rāma-chōḍa. Śaṁbhū-chōḍa's queen Peryyanāchchi, who was the daughter of Chich-chakravarti, is mentioned in lines 8-9. Śaṁbhū-chōḍa is stated to have been ruling the territory between Nellūru and Kaliṅga, residing at the town of Nelluhā (Nellūru) (i.e. with Nellūru as the capital), in lines 9-10 (verse 6). In lines 10-11, the god Bhairava, pleased by the power of the incantations of the ruler, is said to have taken him to the peak of the hill called Kōṭy-adri, where he was shown an inexhaustible treasure. In the second half of verse 7 (line 12) this ruler is stated to have killed his enemies, by means of trident, at the battle-field of Pīṭhapurī. Verse 8 (lines 13-14) states that he performed a sacrifice for begetting children (*putr-ārthi-yajñam*) in front of the god Śaṁmukha of Tāmrapura and in front of the god Agastīśvara (Agastyēśvara) of Kammēru, and obtained two sons who were accordingly named Agastīśvara-chōḍa and Śaṁmukha-chōḍa and who were educated in all knowledge (verse 9). In the prose passage that follows in lines 16-19 the fact of the impending war with the king of Kaliṅga and his preparation made for (participating in) it by Śaṁbhū-chōḍa is given. It was the 50th year of his rule (line 19), and he arranged for anointing both his sons as heir-apparent (before he left on this campaign). In line 20, the main purport of the record, viz., the granting of the village Kumḁḁūru (Kummaḁūru in line 32) on the Tuṅgabhadrā, on this occasion is stated. In the following lines it is stated that this village was divided into four parts. One part which was fertile and on which stood the temple of the deity Agastya-liṅga on the bank of the Jamkāra-nadī and which went by the name of Kammēru was given in favour of the deity Agastyēśvara-liṅga, another part was given in favour of the deity Śaṁmukha of Tāmrapura, and the third part to the ruler's preceptor (*purōhita*) Ruchyaka-śarman and the fourth part to the servants and priests of the two deities mentioned above. The *purōhita* Ruchyaka-śarman was a *chaturvēdin* and he belonged to Harita-gōtra and Āpastamba-sūtra, hailed from Ahichchhātra, and was a teacher of the commentary on the three *Vēdas*, and of Yajurvēda and had performed different kinds of sacrifices.

It is stated in line 27 that the village was given tax-free (*sarvva-kara-parihāram*). This gift was announced by the ruler in the presence of five of his Rāshtrakūṭas (or provincial officers) viz., Sikānāṁḁi, Malayāṁḁi, Kamḁāṁḁi, Periya-Śaṁbhurāya and Chiriya Śaṁbhurāya, and other subjects of his own, and they were requested to protect the same at all times (lines 28-32). Then follows the description of the boundaries of the gift village Kumḁḁūru. It is stated in a running fashion as follows : In the east, leaving out a measure of twenty *dhanus* to the west of the Tuṅgabhadrā, and going towards Inaryya reach the intermediate space of a pond to the west of Chchira-chchēkūru, then going to the south-east, leave out a measure of 2000 *dhanus* to the north-west of the curved corner of the Tuṅgabhadrā then going south of the *vāstu*, leave out a measure of 5000 *dhanus* to the north of Namḁūru, then going towards the south-west of the *vāstu*, reach a measure of 6000 *dhanus*, then in the west of the *vāstu* reach the pond with saltish water to the east of Kākamrānu, then going towards the north-west crossing the series of ant-hills, reach a measure of 4000 *dhanus* in the north-west of the *vāstu* then from there going towards the east, reach a measure of 4000 *dhanus* to the north of the *vāstu*, then to the south of Manva, in the direction of the north-east of the *vāstu* reach a measure of 300 *dhanus* where it is located in the direction of Pōraḁūru.

This charter is important in several respects. Firstly, this is the only record of the chief Śambhu-chōḍa of Kāśyapa-gōtra, who ruled over the region around Nellore having this town as its capital. Like the Telugu-chōḍa families,¹ this family too is said to belong to the solar race. The chief mentioned is stated to have belonged to the family of Kuśa, evidently referring to the son of Rāma. This family too was apparently subordinate to the imperial Chōlas, although there is no mention made of the Chōla overlord of the ruler of the record. This family seems to have preceded in this region the Telugu-chōḍa family of which the earliest known member was Manumasiddhi who was a contemporary of the Chōla king Rājādhirāja II². Since no other record of the chief Śambhu-chōḍa or his successors has so far come to our notice, it appears that this family has not survived after him. The reason for this seems to be that the present record states that Śambhu-chōḍa granted a village at a time when he was about to join the war against the Kaliṅga King. It is known that there were two wars against Kaliṅga waged by the Chōlas, one in the last years of the 11th century,³ and the second about A.D. 1110.⁴ It is not known to which of them the present charter refers. There is the phrase *Kaliṅga-rāja-yuddhē prasaktē* in lines 18-19 of the record, meaning 'when the war against the king of Kaliṅga has begun' and this might refer in all probability to the first war. Since the record is dated in the 50th year of the rule of this chief, it is clear that he was sufficiently old at this time and therefore, he may not have survived this war for long if at all he did. His sons who were anointed as heir-apparent (lines 19-20) were evidently not able to continue the rule as can be inferred from the absence of any records testifying to their rule. Anyway the information contained in this record about the Kaliṅga war is interesting. He was probably in the army headed by Vikrama-chōla, which conquered southern Kaliṅga in the first Kaliṅga war.⁵ That Śambhu-chōḍa was apparently a notable warrior is testified by the statement in line 12, that he killed his enemies at Piṭhapurī. It is interesting to note that this chief was childless and he had obtained two sons after performing a sacrifice for this specific purpose called *putr-ārthi-yajñam*, which is probably the same, as the *putra-kāmēshī* performed by king Daśaratha of the *Rāmāyana*. It appears that Śambhu-chōḍa performed this sacrifice twice, once in front of (the temple of) the deity Agastīśvara of Kammēru and a second time in front of (the temple of) the deity Shanmukha of Tāmrapura, and therefore he had named one son after the former deity and another son after the latter deity.

Among other noteworthy pieces of information, the name of Śambhu-chōḍa's wife is interesting to note. She was called Peryyanāchchi, a variant of Peryyanāchchi, which is clearly a Tamil name of which the Sanskrit equivalent would be Bṛihannāyaki and this is the name of the goddess the consort of Bṛihadīśvara the presiding deity of the famous Bṛihadīśvara temple built by the Chōla king Rājārāja I. Her father is stated to be one Chich-chkravarti, but his identity is not known. Similarly the names of Śambhu-chōḍa's subordinate officials Sikānāṁḍi, Malayāṁḍi and Kamdāṁḍi are again Tamil names. The names of other two officials Periya-Śambhurāya and Chiriya-Śambhurāya suggest that they belonged probably to the Śambhuvarāya family which was another feudatory's house supporting the imperial Chōlas. This fact seems to indicate that these Śambhurāyas had some relationship besides the political one with Śambhu-chōḍa. In this connection the statement that Śambhuvarāyas belonged to the Śambhu-kula⁶ is significant.

¹ *JAHRS.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 48.

² *Ibid.*, p. 69.

³ *The Colas*, (2nd ed.), p. 321.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, but prof. K.A.N. Lakanta Sastri has not mentioned the name of this chief anywhere in his book.

⁶ *Above*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 155.

Another matter of interest is that the Brāhmaṇa priest of this chief is stated to have hailed from Ahichhchhatra which is the modern Ramnagar in Bareilly District in Uttar Pradesh. This shows that during this period such people from North India had migrated to South India and settled down here. This Brāhmaṇa Ruchyaka-śarman is stated to be a teacher not only of the Yajurveda, but also of the commentaries for the three *Vēdas*. It is of great interest to note that there were commentaries for the three *Vēdas* even during the 11th-12th centuries, which were subjects for teaching. Unfortunately no further information is available about this very important matter. We know of the *Vēda-bhāshya* of Sāyaṇāchārya of the early Vijayanagara period¹ and the *Vēda-bhāshya* of Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara of the early 16th century.² The *Vēda-bhāshyas* referred to here being older than those mentioned above should refer to those of some other author. It is not known if these *bhāshyas* originated in North India or were the works of some South Indian author. *Purōhita* Ruchyaka-śarman is said to be a *sarvva-Kratu-yājīn*. It shows that the practice of performing sacrifice was in vogue in South India at that time.

A number of geographical names occur in this charter. There is mentioned Nelloha or Nellohapuri which is evidently the same as Nellore; Kalīṅga is the region now represented by the southern part of Orissa and the northern-most part of Andhra Pradesh; Pīthapuri may be Pithapuram; Tuṅgabhadra is well known; Tāmrapura is identified with Chēbrōlu in the Bapatla Taluk of the Guntur District and Ahichhchhatra has already been identified above. Jamkāra-nadi on the bank of which the deity Agastyēśvara was installed, Kummaḍūru or Kurmbhaḍūru the gift village and several other hamlets mentioned in connection with the description of the boundaries of the gift-village are difficult to be identified.

TEXT³

[Metres; Verses 1, 2, 3 *Anuṣṭubh*; verses 4, 5, 7-9 *Upajāti*; verse 6 *Indravajrā*.]

First Plate, First Side

(a) *Sūryya-maṇḍalam [| *]

(b) *Sōma-maṇḍalam [| *]

First plate, Second Side

- 1 Siddham [||*] Jayati śrī-Varāhātma Vishṇu [h*] Śrīpatir-avyayaḥ [| *] yasya dāmshtṛ-
āṅkurē pru (pṛi)-
- 2 thvī dhuru(dhṛi)tā Lakshmiṁ ch=ōdvahat=va(ba)bhau [|| 1*] Asti Sadāśivō dēvō
nityas=satyas=sthīrā-
- 3 tmakaḥ [| *] tatas=sru (sṛi)shṭy-unma(nmu)kh-ātmā yā (yō) yukt-ātm=abhūch=
Chaturmukhaḥ [|| 2*] tat[ō]
- 4 vāgdhṛita-bhāyuktāt=sa Kaśyapa-prajāpatiḥ [| *] tataḥ prābhūt=sa Vi-

¹ A.D. Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature* (1925), p. 275.

² R. Shama Sastry (ed) *The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa* by Bhaṭṭa-Bhāskara-misra (1921), pp. iii ff.

³ From impressions.

⁴ Preceding this letter there is a circle representing the Sun, and before that is a six-petalled lotus design within a circle.

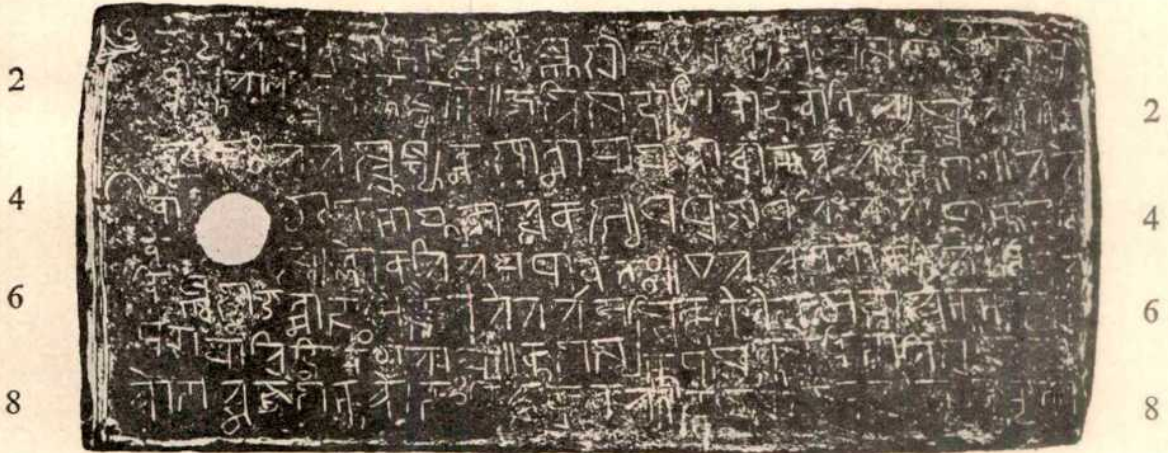
⁵ Preceding this letter there is a semi-circle representing the Moon, and before this a six-petalled lotus design within a circle.

A GRANT OF SAMBHU-CHODA, YEAR 50

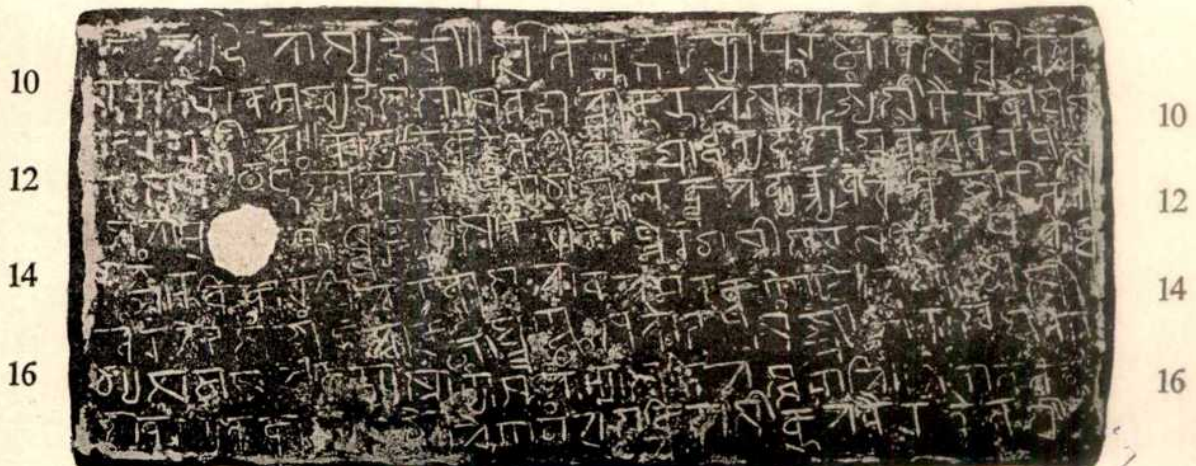
i(a)



i(b)



ii(a)



ii (b)

18



18

20

20

22

22

24

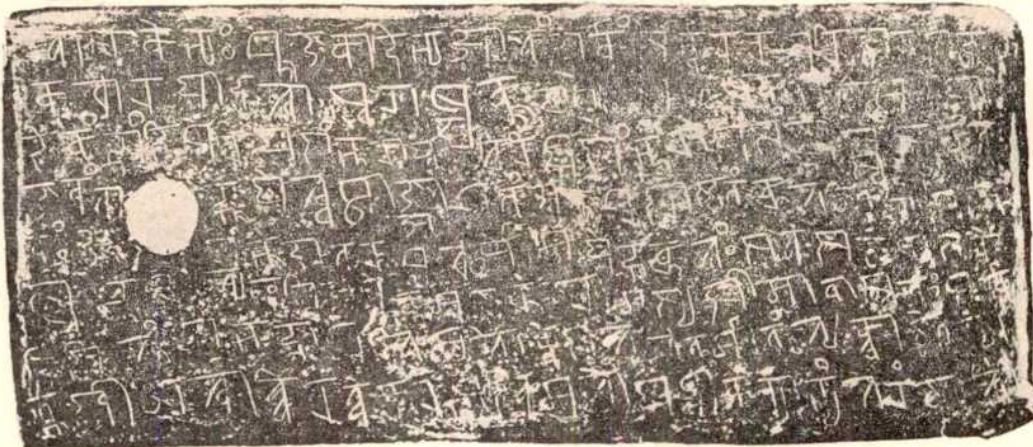
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26

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iii (a)

28



28

30

30

32

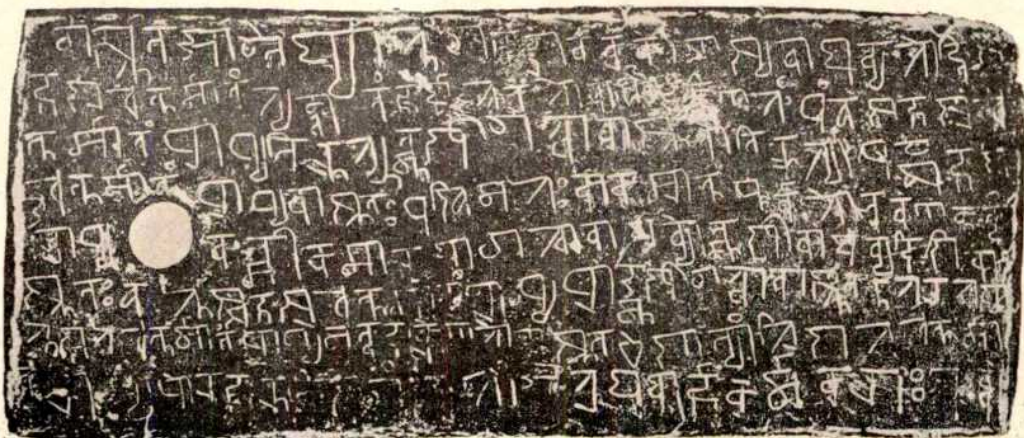
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34

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iii (b)

36



36

38

38

40

40

42

42

Size : Three-fifth

- 5 vasvān=lōka-tritaya-pāvanah ||3*] Ētat=kula[m] lōka-hit-ārtha-yatna[m]
- 6 Vishṇavaṁśa¹ janm-ārham=ih=aiva ētat [| *] asmin=kulē n=aika-mahātma-bhūb-
hṛit=param-
- 7 parāyām tridivam gatāyām(yām) || 4*] Kuśasya bhūpasya kulē vibhāti śrī-Rāma-
- 8 dhōḍ-ātmaja-Śambhu-chōḍah [| *] Chich-chakravarty-āhvaya-rājaputri-śrī-
Peryyanā-

Second Plate, First Side

- 9 [chch]ity=udit=āsya dēvī ||5*] Śrī-Nēlluh-ākhyām(ākhyam) puram=āvasan=śrī-
Nēllā-
- 10 ru-Kā[liṅga]ka-madhyā-dēśam [| *] śāsan=mahātmā kurutē sa rājyam śrī-Bhairavō
yasya
- 11 karam gru(gri)hītvā || 6*] Kōṭy-adri-kūṭē nidhim=akshay-ārtham nyadarśayan=
mantra-vara-prasa-
- 12 nnaḥ [| *] sa Pīṭhapuryyām cha raṇe purōgaś-sūla-kshata-vyakty-avadhīn=
nij-ārīn || 7*]
- 13 Sa Tāmrapūsh-Shaṇmukha-sannidhānē Kammērv-Agastīśvara-sannidhānē [|*||
putr-ār[thi]-
- 14 yajñam bhuvī kārayitvā labdhvā sutāv=uttama-lakshaṇō(ṇau) dvau ||8*] Tayōr=
Agastī-
- 15 śvara-chōḍa-samjñam kṛitvā kramāsh(t)=Shaṇmukha-chōḍa-samjñam [| *] abhyāsayan
=yō-
- 16 gya-samasta-vidyās=tābhyām sutābhyām sahitas=sa bhāti ||9*] Tēn=ānēna Ku-
- 17 śa-vaṁśyēna Kāśyapa-gōtrēna mantra-śakti-dāsikru(kṛi)-ta-Bhairavēna śrī-

Second Plate, Second Side

- 18 Nēlluhāpuri-vasatā, śrī-Śambhu-chōḍa-dēvēna Kalīṅga-rāja-yuddhē pra-
- 19 saktē pravṛiddhamāna²-nija-rājya-paṁchāśat-samvatsarē putrayōr=
yyuvarājya-ābhishēk-ā-
- 20 vasarē Turṅgabhadrā-taṭē Kurṁbhadrūru-nāma-grāmaṁ
chaturddhā vibhajy=aikā(kam)=amśam [Ja]mkā-
- 21 rā-nadi-tir-āmru(mṛi)ta-sarō-gastyalīṅga-sānnidhyēna samru(mṛi)dhyā cha Kō-Mēru
- 22 r=nam=āgra iti jāta-gaurvāl=labdha Ka[m]mēru-nāmakam puryya-Agastyē-
- 23 śvara-dēvāya dvtiyam=amśam Tāmrapura-Kumārasvāmi-dēvāya tru(tri)ti-

¹ Read *Vishṇu-amśa*.

² Read *pravarddhamāna*.

- 24 yam=amśam sva-purōhitāya Harita-gōtrāy=Āpastambiyāy=Ahichhchhatriyā-
- 25 ya vēda-traya-bhāshya-yajurvēdy-āchāryyāya-Ruchya[ka]-śarma-chaturvvēdi-sar-
vva-kratu-
- 26 yājinē chaturtham=amśam vairāgy-āhāryy-ādibhyō dēva-dvaya-na(ni)ja-pari-

Third Plate, First Side

- 27 chārakēbhyaḥ pūjak-ādibhya[h*] ā-chamdr-ārkaṁ sarvva-kara-parihāram=uda-
- 28 ka-dhārayā datvā sva-rāshtrakūṭa-pramukhān [Si]kā[nām]ḍi Malayām-
- 29 ḍi Kamdāmḍi Periya-Śambhurāya Chiriya-śambhurāya śamjñān=sva-sakala-
- 30 janam ch=āhūy=ēttham=ājñāpanam anuprasāsanam kru(kṛi)taṁ [| *] viditam=
astu
- 31 vaḥ ayam bhūdāna-rūpa-dharmō may=ēha kru(kṛi)taḥ sa cha sarvathā sarvai-
- 32 s=samārādhyā iti [| *] atra Kummaḍūru-grāmasya simā vāstunaḥ pūrva-
- 33 diśi Tuṁgabhadrā paśchimatō vvi(vi)mśati-dhanur-mānam tyaktvā [I]naryō-
- 34 nmukhi gatvā Chchirachchēkūru paśchimatō yathākuly-ābhyantaram gatvā

Third Plate, Second Side

- 35 vāstuna āgnēyām Tuṁgabhadrā-vakra-kōṇasya vāyavyatō dvi-sa-
- 36 hasra-dhanur-mānam tyaktvā Namḍūry-uttaratō vāstunō dakshīnataḥ pañcha-sahasra-
dha-
- 37 nur-mānam prāpya nirrūty¹-unmukhi gatvā vāstunō nirrūtyām¹ śaṭ-sahasra-
- 38 dhanur-mānam prāpya vāstunaḥ paśchimataḥ Kākamrānu pūruvatō-lavaṇa-kulyām
- 39 prāpya valmika-mālayā gatvā vāyavy-ōnmukhi-vāyavya-diśi vā-
- 40 stunaḥ chatuś-sahasra-dhanur-mānam prāpya prānmukhi gatvā vāstuna uta(tta)rataś=
cha-
- 41 tuś-śata-dhanur-mānam prāpya Manva-dakshīnatō vāstuna aiśānayām tri-śata-dhanur-
mā-
- 42 nam prāpya Pōraḍūru-diśi samsthitā atra yathārham-karmakarāḥ yathā²

¹ Read *nirrūtyām*.² The continuation is missing.

No. 32—TWO HERO-STONE INSCRIPTIONS FROM IRULAPPATTI

(1 Plate)

K. G. KRISHNAN, MYSORE

The two inscriptions edited here are engraved on two hero-stones in a site locally called Vēdiyappaṅ temple in Pāppāmbādi, the hamlet of the village Irulappatti in Harur Taluk, Dharmapuri District, Tamil Nadu.¹ They are continued to be worshipped even to-day. They are, for the sake of convenience marked as **A** and **B**.²

Inscriptions **A** and **B** are in Tamil language engraved in Vaṭṭeḷuttu characters of about the fifth century A.D. Among these two, the inscription **B** is engraved in slightly later characters. Both may be placed midway between the Arachchalūr record³ and the Tirunātharkuṅṅu inscription⁴ from the point of view of their development. The crucial letters that show definite stages in their evolution from the Arachchalūr record are *ṇ*, *ṇ*, *va* and *l*. The letter *ṇ* is written in the Arachchalūr record by slanting the central vertical stem in continuation of the horizontal line and by curving the lower horizontal line, whereas in the present record this slanting line is written as a full curve resulting in the form of two concaves placed one below the other. *ṇ* assumes the form of a curve in the second part of the letter drawn continuously from and not on the base line. The letter *v* has taken the form in which a vertical line and curve extending from its base upwards to its right joins the line a little lower than its top. *l* has its initial curve accentuated and the right vertical stem reduced completely. Apart from these marked factors, the practice of marking dots over the consonants is also obtained in these records though the place of the dots is not uniform. The medial *o* is marked with a dot in the only example available in Korrandai in the shorter record. The sign for *o* is made up of a leftward sign on the top and a length sign on the cross line of *ka*.⁵ The letters *ṇ* and *ṇ* discussed above are definitely the Vaṭṭeḷuttu forms distinguishable from their counterparts in the Tamil script which are evolved by placing two concave curves horizontally.⁶

It was once considered that these inscriptions along with some others placed during this period may be said to be engraved in a mixed variety of alphabet using both Vaṭṭeḷuttu and Tamil.⁷ It seems that it is better to visualise some stages where some common forms continued to be used in both the scripts retaining at the same time individual letters entitling them to be called Vaṭṭeḷuttu or Tamil as the case may be. Since the forms of *ṇ* and *ṇ* can never be expected to be used in a record engraved in Tamil script at any time during this period on account of the different evolutionary processes, the script of these records may be considered to be Vaṭṭeḷuttu.

¹ They were discovered by the Director of Archaeology, Tamil Nadu and published in *Damilica*, Vol. I, part III, pp. 92 ff. and plate 26.

² They are registered in *A. R. Ep.*, 1967-68, Nos. B 243 and 244 respectively.

³ *A. R. Ep.*, 1961-62, No. B 280 and plate II.

⁴ *SII.*, Vol. XVII, frontispiece.

⁵ But it should be noted that in the case of *Kō* in *Kōḍaṅ* the signs are marked on the top, to the left and to the right.

⁶ See Vallam inscription (*SII.*, Vol. II, plate X, opposite p. 340).

⁷ *A. R. Ep.* 1967-68 pp. 9 and 42; *SII.*, Vol. XVII Introduction p. 8.

Inscription **B** is considered here to be of a slightly later period on account of the following reasons : The curve drawn from the middle of the vertical stem of the letter *t* in inscription **A** is drawn from the base of the stem in this inscription. In the case of *n* the concave curves are accentuated by looping. These two developments cannot be considered to be transitional on any count. Therefore inscription **B** is later to inscription **A**.¹

The inscription **A** provides the earliest use of title *Ēnādi* in Epigraphy, which was bestowed by the king upon generals or ministers. The expression *araiṣaru* affords an early evidence of the use of the euphonic *u* found in Kannaḍa and Telugu records.

The first inscription (**A**) is engraved to the left of the sculptures of the two heroes in whose honour the stone was set up and below the raised right arm of the hero on the left. It records that it is the stone (set up in memory) of *Viṅṅapēr-ēṅādi*² who ruled over *Viṣaiyamaṅgalam* (*Vijayamaṅgalam*), who was the son of *Uḷamu[ṅu]kaṅ* and who was a servant of **Vāṅaparuma-araiṣaru**. Another short inscription engraved on the same slab between the two sculptures states that this (same stone) is the stone (set up in memory) of *Koṅṅandai Kōḍaṅ*, the servant of *Viṅṅap-ēr-ēṅādi*.³ Thus the sculptures represent two heroes, the left being that of the master *Viṅṅapēr-ēṅādi* and the right one being that of his servant. The straight double-edged and pointed sword, the flat shield with a bulging centre, and conspicuous *kuṅḍalas* on his ears, his dress with a sash and the hilt on his belt all distinguish the master from his servant who is shown with a single-edged sword, a simple bent shield etc.

Vāṅaparuma-araiṣaru (*Bāṅavarma-rājā*) is evidently a *Bāṅa* chief. But his name is not revealed. His general's name also is not disclosed; but his title *Viṅṅapēr-ēṅādi* indicates that he has acquired the title obviously after *Viṅṅaṅ* whose relationship with *Vāṅavarmaṅ* is not stated. It is not improbable that *Viṅṅaṅ* or *Viṅṅavarmaṅ* was the supreme ruler though the inscription has not chosen to mention the same.

The second inscription (**B**) is dated in the fourth year in the reign of **Kō-Viṣaiya** (**Vijaya**) **Viṅṅaparumaṅ** (**Viṅṅavarmaṅ**). It records the death of *Vāṅaparuma-araiṣaru* in the course of his attack against the army that came upon *Kaṅgaraiṣaru* (*Gaṅgaraśa*) who was ruling over *Kuṅvagaiyūr-nāḍu*. The hero is depicted in a panel above the inscription in an attacking pose portraying the vigour completely.

We have placed this inscription palaeographically later as pointed out above. It is, therefore clear that *Viṅṅa* after whom *Viṅṅap-ēr-ēṅādi* of inscription **A** was named and *Viṅṅavarmaṅ* of inscription **B** are different and are probably separated by one generation.³ Three persons were involved in the encounter recorded in the second inscription (**B**). *Viṅṅavarmaṅ* was the king. *Gaṅgaraiṣaru*, a chief of the well-known *Gaṅga* family was ruling over *Kuṅvagaiyūr-nāḍu*, which, though not identifiable, should have formed part of *Viṅṅavarmaṅ*'s territories. *Vāṅaparumaraiṣaru* attacked the army of an unnamed enemy that came upon the *Gaṅga* chief and fell. It is indeed interesting to note that *Viṅṅavarmaṅ* was quite powerful enough to have with him two feudatories from the well-known, probably collateral, families of the *Gaṅgas* and the *Bāṅas*. It is not known whether *Viṅṅavarmaṅ* is a personal name or dynastic name. We meet with *Viṅṅa* in the names *Siṅgaviṅṅa* (*Siṅhavishṅu*),

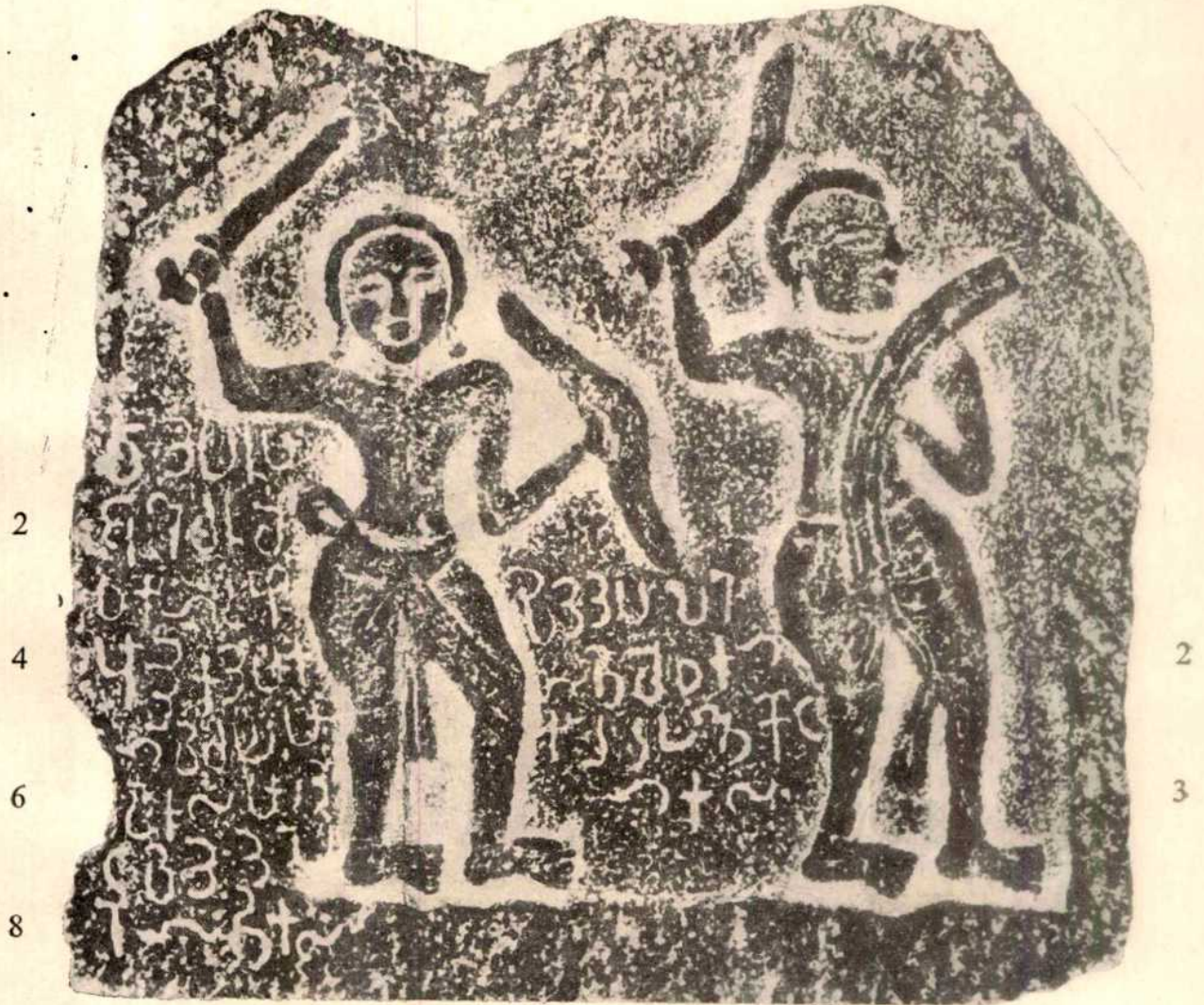
¹ [The style of the bas-relief sculptures of *A* seems to be earlier than that of the sculpture of *B*, which may also be considered a point in support of this statement.—Ed.]

² *Sandhi* is observed in the shorter inscription.

³ *Damīlica*, Vol. I, part III, pp. 92 ff. Both the inscriptions are considered by Nagaswamy as referring to one and the same encounter. According to us both the records were not engraved in the same period. See above for a discussion of their palaeography.

PAPPAMBADI HERO STONE INSCRIPTION

(A)



SIZE : One-sixth

PAPPAMBADI HERO STONE INSCRIPTION

(B)



SIZE : One-fifth

Viṅṅakōvaraiyar, etc., in the later inscriptions.¹ Our attention is drawn to the occurrence of the name Viṅṅa in Atiyaṅ Viṅṅattaṅ who is considered to be the distant ancestor of Viṅṅavarman.² Atiyaṅ Viṅṅattaṅār occurs as the name of the author of a verse.³ It is not known whether he was also a chief, though the two parts of his name belong to chiefs of this region. Atiyaṅ is well-known as a dynastic name. Viṅṅavarman of these inscriptions is considered by Nagaswamy as identical with a Viṅṅaṅ of Paḷāśai referred to in a verse in *Yāpparuṅgala-virutti*, a grammatical work on prosody assignable to about the 9th-10th centuries and as an Atiya chief.⁴

As against this identification, another probability cannot be ignored. The analogy of Siṃhaviṣṇu being written in Tamil records as Siṅgaviṅṅa would suggest that Viṅṅavarman, probably, stands for Viṣṇuvarman (a well-known name among the Kadambas). Viṣṇuvarman was the son of Kṛiṣṇavarman, the younger brother of Śāntivarman who is said to have deputed Kṛiṣṇavarman to rule over the southern districts under the Kadambas.⁵ This led probably to a conflict with the Pallavas resulting also in a matrimonial alliance, not yet recorded. It is borne out by the fact that Viṣṇuvarman named his son Siṃhavarman, doubtless, due to Pallava affiliation.⁶ It is, therefore, not improbable that Viṣṇuvarman had extended his sway into the Tamil country.⁷ The Kadambas had made grants to Jina even as Viṅṅaṅ of the Tamil literary tradition did. The identification, however, requires to be confirmed by further research and future discoveries.

Kuṟuvagaiyūr-nāḍu cannot be identified. **Viśaiyamaṅgalam** may probably be identified with the village Vijayamangalam in Erode Taluk, Coimbatore District in Tamil Nadu.

TEXT⁸

A

I	II
1 Vāṅaparuma-	1 Viṅṅap-pēr-ē
2 araiśaru śē	2 ṅādi śēvagaṅ
3 vagaṅ Uḷa-	3 Koṟṟandai Kōḍa-
4 mu[ṅu]kaṅ maga ⁹	4 ṅ kal

¹ Cf. Śri Siṃhaviṅṅa-pōṭṭrādirājan (*SII.*, Vol. XII, No. 17); Viṣṇugriha as Viṅṅagaram, etc.

² *Damīlica*, Vol. I, part III, pp. 92 ff. Besides the one quoted by Nagaswamy, there are two more references. One Viṅṅaṅ is stated to have gifted away a gem yielded by a serpent to a poet (*Tamil Nāvalar charitai*, No. 194) and another called Viṅṅavaṅ is described as a righteous king. *Yāpparuṅgala virutti*, Bhavanandam pillai Edition, p. 279).

³ *Ahanāṅūru*, No. 301.

⁴ Paḷāśai is identified with Paḷaiyakōṭṭai in Dharpuram Taluk in Coimbatore District. The same verse refers to a *chēḍika* (*chēṭiya*) and the deity *Annal* (evidently Jina).

⁵ *A History of South India*, p. 107.

⁶ The epithet Kō-viśaiya (*Kō Vijaya*) occurring in the inscription (B) also suggests the Pallava influence as most of the Pallava records use this expression as Kō-Vijaya Siṅgaviṅṅa Kō-Vijaya Mayindra, etc. See *Chengam Nadukarkal*; *SII.*, Vol. XII.

⁷ This name Viṣṇuvarman is probably due to the influence of the name Viṣṇugōpa among the Pallavas.

⁸ From impressions.

⁹ Text continued on the next page.

- 5 ṅ Viśaiyama-
 6 ṅgalam-āṅ-
 7 ḍu(ḍa) Viṅṅa-pē-
 8 r-ēṅādi kal

B

- 1 Kō-Viśaiya-Viṅṅaparumaṅku nāṅgu¹ [Ku]-
 2 ruvagayūru nāḍ-āḷḷu(lu)m Kaṅgaraiśaru
 3 mēl vanda taṅḍattoḍu e-
 4 ṅindu paṅṅa Vāṅaparumaraiśaru
 5 kal

¹ Nagaswamy reads the digit 3 and *ku*. According to us the letter *ku* is written twice, the first one forming part of the expression *nāṅgu* and the second one at the end of the line aligning with the last letters of the next three lines.

No. 33—GHAGHSA INSCRIPTION OF GUHILA TEJASIMHA, V.S. 1322

(1 Plate)

C.L. SURI AND S. SUBRAMONIA, IYER, MYSORE

The inscription¹ edited below with the kind permission of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore was found in a well at Ghāghsā in Chitorgarh District, Rajasthan. It was later removed to the Victoria Hall Museum, Udaipur, where it is now preserved.

The inscribed stone measuring 43.9 cm × 45.9 cm contains 28 lines of writing which, though worn out and damaged in a number of places, is in a fairly good state of preservation. The characters are Nāgarī of the 14th century. The language is Sanskrit and the composition is in verse with the exception of the invocatory expression *Ōm namaḥ śrī-Mahā-dēvāya* in the beginning, the words *yugmaṁ || anyach=cha* in line 20 and the date portion at the end which are in prose. The verses are consecutively numbered, the numerical figures being placed after the double *danḍa* at the end of each verse. As regards orthography it may be pointed out that both *prishṭhamātrās* (cf. *dē* in *Mahādēvāya* and *sō* and *thō* in *Sōmanāthō*, line 1) and *śirōmātrās* (cf. *dē* in *dēvaḥ*, line 1 and *rthō* in *sārthō*, line 2) have been used to indicate medial vowels *ē* and *ō*, the latter (*śirōmātrās*) being generally written in an ornamental way. *Va* has been distinguished from *ba* (cf. *vibāhu*, line 7, *babhūva*, line 26, etc.). *Sandhi* has not been observed as in *vaḥ sadā* and *niḥ kalāṅkō*, line 1, *svaḥ sthō*, line 5 and *duḥ kṛitam*, line 24. The reduplication of consonants, though seen in some instances (cf. *sarvva* in lines 4, 7 and 23, *Gūrjjara* in line 5, etc.), is not a regular orthographical feature of the record.

The date of the epigraph is given in line 28 as *Samvat* (i.e. *Vikramā Samvat*) 1322, *Kārttika* *ba*. [1] *Sunday*. This regularly corresponds to 1265 A.D., September 7.

The inscription begins with an auspicious symbol resembling the numerical figure 80 followed by the invocatory passage *Ōm namaḥ śrī-Mahādēvāya*. The first two verses seek the perpetual blessings of *Sōmanātha* (i.e. *Śiva*) and *Viśvarūpa* (i.e. *Vishṇu*). Verse 3 mentions *Bappaka* as the first king of the *Guhila* family. The next verse (verse 4) states that after a succession of many kings, there came *Padmasimha* whom goddess *Lakshmi* sought after, setting aside her characteristic transience. Verse 5 introduces his son *Jaitrasimha* who was like a tornado at the time of deluge to the enemy kings and who caused instantaneous terror in the minds of all. According to the next verse (verse 6), the pride of king *Jaitrasimha* who had gone to the heavens, was not humbled by the kings of *Mālava*, *Gūrjara* and *Śākābhari* as well as the lord of the *Turushkas*. Verses 7 and 8 describe his son the ruling king *Tējahsimha*. It is stated that he, whose sword was resting after destroying the enemies in the battle field, was of irresistible strength and the cause of immense delight to his subjects.

¹ This is noticed in *A. R. Ep.*, 1954-55 as No. B 496 where the date has been wrongly read as *Samvat* 1332. The contents of this record have been briefly given in the *Annual Report of the Rajputana Museum*, 1926-27, p. 3, No. VI.

From verse 9 begins the description of a family probably named *Ḍimḍuha* or *Ḍimḍubha*¹ which is stated to be opulent and which was free from defects like dishonesty and finding fault with others. In this family was born a person named *Rōma*[pāda] who was possessed of good qualities and who fulfilled the desires of the needy people (verse 10). He had a son named *Gālhū* (verse 11). His son was *Mālhū*, who was very proficient in the art of trade (verse 12). *Mālhū* had a son named *Prabuddha-Balabhadra* who was blessed with good luck like *Kēśava* (i.e. *Vishṇu* with his ten auspicious incarnations) (verse 13). The next verse (verse 14) is also in praise of *Prabuddha Balabhadra*. To him were born two sons named *Āhlādana* and *Tṛikrama*. They were known for their good deeds, interest in others' welfare, training in their family tradition and devotion to *Tṛikrama* (i.e. *Vishṇu*). They were handsome in appearance and were respected by the learned (verse 15). *Āhlādana* had a son named *Ratna* who spared no efforts to gain merit, who was without any rivals in contests and who was a jewel among men (verse 16). He (*Ratna*) who had two younger brothers named *Sōḍhala* and *Gaṅga*, was honoured by *Rāṇaka Dhirapāla* (verses 17 and 18). He who had satisfied the desires of the needy, was like the *dramma* (coin) devoid of impurities (verse 19). Verse 20 also describes the qualities of *Ratna*. Verse 21 mentions the three sons of *Ratna's* brother *Tṛikrama*. Their names appear to be *Vijaḍa*, *Rāvaṇa* and *Khimada*. The next verse (verse 22) mentions *Jagatsimha*, *Hari*[drava] and *Vayajala*, the three sons of *Ratna*. Verses 23-24, which form a *yugma*, state that *Ratna* having realised the worthlessness of the whole world from the enlightened, constructed a triple-shrine with *Sivaliṅga* within the site of the temple of *Kumbhēśvara* at *Chitrakūṭa*. He again caused to be constructed near *Dāntāpura* a beautiful step-well brimming with tasteful water and full of glistening fishes with sparkling eyes for the merit of his parents (verses 25-27) and installed in it the images of the Sun and *Jalaśāyin* (*Vishṇu*) (verse 28). Further he constructed a temple of *Sōmanātha* in *Dāntāpura* (verse 29). This is followed by a prayer for the continued prosperity of the well and its builder (verse 30).

The inscription then refers to the *Śvētāmbara* *Jaina Āchārya* *Ratnaprabha-sūri* and his teacher. He belonged to the *Chaitra-gachchha* and was a resident of *Chitrakūṭāchaladurga*. It is stated that he was honoured by the king and that this *praśasti* was composed, by him (verses 31 and 32). The record was written by *Pārśvachandra*, the chief disciple of the aforesaid *Ratnaprabha-sūri*.² The engraver was *Kēlisimha* (verse 33). The date given at the end has already been discussed above.

Among the kings who could not humble the pride of *Jaitrasimha* was the king of *Śākambhari*. As *Śākambhari* was under the sway of the Muslims after the overthrow of the *Chāhamāna Prithvirāja III*, the epithet *Śākambhariśvara* cannot refer, as it ordinarily would, to the *Chāhamānas* of *Śākambhari*. This has given rise to various identifications of the king of *Śākambhari* mentioned in our inscription. While *G.H. Ojha*³ and *Dasaratha Sharma*⁴ take him to be the *Sōngirā Chāhamāna* king *Udayasimha* of *Jalōr*, *H.C. Ray*⁵

¹ The reading of the last *akshara* of the name is uncertain. The name may also be read as *Ḍimḍuha* or *Ḍimḍuma*.

² The *Chūrva* inscription of *Samvat 1330* describes *Ratnaprabha-sūri* as being honoured by *Viśvaladēva* (*Viśvaladēva*) and *Tējāsīmha*. The same record also mentions *RatnaPrabhasūri's* teacher *Bhuvanachandra-sūri* and the former's disciple *Pārśvachandra*, the writer of that record. It may be pointed out that many of the ideas and some of the verses too are common in both these records. cf. above Vol. XXII, p. 291. *Bhuvanachandra-sūri* mentioned here is probably identical with his namesake figuring in a fragmentary record preserved in the *Victoria Hall Museum, Udaipur (ASLAR., 1936-37, p. 125)*.

³ *History of Rajputana* (Hindi), Vol. I, p.460, f.n. 1.

⁴ *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, p. 153.

⁵ *DHNI.*, Vol. II, p. 1188.

and R.R. Halder¹ opine that the reference is to the contemporary Muslim ruler of Śākambhari. Both these identifications are however, untenable. The first identification mainly rests on the evidence of the Sundhā Hill inscription of Chāchigadēva which describes Lakshmaṇa, the founder of the Nāḍōl branch of the Chāhamānas, as Śākambharīndra.² It has been assumed, therefore, that Udayasimha whose territories included not only Jālōr, which was the capital but also Nāḍōl, could also be described in an identical manner. Thus, the expression Śākambhariśvara of this inscription is taken by them to be a substitute for the expression Māravēśa of the Chīrwā inscription. It will be seen that the evidence of the Chīrwā inscription of Guhila Samarasimha dated V.S. 1330 clearly goes against this identification. A verse of this inscription describes Jaitrasimha as follows :

Na Mālavīyēna na Gaurjarēṇa na Māravēśēna na Jāṅgalēna |
Mlēcchhādhināthēna kad=āpi mānō mlānim na ninyē=vanipasya yasya ||³

The epithet Māravēśa in this verse stands for the king of Mārava (i.e. Marwar), who has rightly been identified with Udayasimha of Jālōr on the basis of the Mount Abu inscription⁴ of Guhila Samarasimha dated V.S. 1342 which refers to the destruction of Nāḍḍūla by Jaitrasimha. The epithet Jāṅgala stands for the king of the Jāṅgala country which, as pointed out by Halder, comprised the erstwhile Bikaner State and the northern part of Marwar. The capital of Jāṅgala was Ahichchhatrapurā or Nagaur. The Chāhamānas who held sway over the region, later on shifted their capital to Śākambhari (Sambhar) in the Sapādalaksha country. It is, therefore, obvious that the expression Śākambhariśvara of our inscription has been substituted by the expression Jāṅgala in the Chīrwā inscription. Now, as Māravēśa and Jāṅgala, who have been mentioned together in the verse quoted above, must be taken as two different kings, Śākambhariśvara or its substitute Jāṅgala cannot be identified with the Māravēśa Udayasimha.

The occurrence of the epithet Śākambharīndra for Lakshmaṇa in the Sundhā Hill inscription can be explained by the fact that Lakshmaṇa was the son of Vākpatirāja of the Śākambhari family and therefore he could perhaps be called as such. Ray even suggests that "it may contain a veiled hint that he was also a claimant for the ancestral throne when his brother Sindhurāja succeeded their father".⁵ It is interesting to observe here that none of the successors of Lakshmaṇa get the above appellation.

Ray's and Halder's view that the expression Śākambhariśvara refers to the Muslim ruler of Śākambhari cannot be accepted in view of the separate mention of Mlēcchhādhinātha and Turushka respectively in the Chīrwā inscription and the inscription under study. Halder who draws attention to a statement in the *Tabaqāt-i-Nāṣiri* according to which Ghiyāsud-din Balban alias Ulugh Khān, the ex-minister of Sultān Nāsiruddīn Maḥmūd Shāh, invaded the territory of Ranthambōr, Būndi and Chitrūr (Chitor)⁶ believes that "It is this invasion of Ulugh Khān upon Chitōr which refers to the fight of Jaitrasimha with Jāṅgal".⁷ Apart from the fact that this statement is vague with regard to Ulugh Khān's connections with the Jāṅgala

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVII, p. 33.

² Above, Vol. IX, p. 75, text lines 4 and 5.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 289, verse 6. This verse has been discussed in detail by one of the authors of this article Shri C.L. Suri in the article entitled Note on the Chīrwā Inscription of Samarasimha, V.S. 1330. *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, p. 85 f.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 349, verse 42.

⁵ H.C. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 1105.

⁶ Ravertys *Tabaqāt-Nāṣiri*, p. 892.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVII, p. 33.

territories, it is extremely doubtful if the people who are traditionally described as *Ml̥chchhas* or *Turushkas*, could be referred to as *Śākambhariśvara* or *Jāngala*.

A third suggestion has been put forward by D. C. Ganguly¹ that the expression *Śākambhariśvara* refers to a Chāhamāna king of Rānṭhambhōr. As seen below, there is nothing militating against this identification. It is well known that the Chāhamāna Gōvinḍa, the son of Pṛithvirāja III, after being ousted from Śākambhari continued the line at Raṇastambhapura. Even though Śākambhari was not ruled by the Chāhamānas of Raṇastambhapura, they perhaps continued to be known as *Śākambhariśvara* in view of their long rule over that territory.² It is significant, as has been pointed out by Ganguly, that "the kings of this family claim to have been born in the lineage of Pṛithvirāja III".³ The Chāhamāna ruler of Raṇastambhapura at this time was Vāgbhaṭa. It is known that after the death of Iltutmish in 1236 A.D. he had recaptured the fort of Raṇastambhapura which had fallen into the hands of the Muslims and, in course of time, had become a powerful ruler. It is not unlikely that he had a conflict with the Guhila-Jaitrasimha, which has been referred to in our inscription.

Another king who could not humble the pride of Jaitrasimha was the Gūrjara king. Ray⁴ identifies him with the Chaulukya king Bhima II or his feudatory *Rāṇaka* Viradhavala without adducing any evidence. Ojha⁵ identifies him with Chaulukya Tribhuvanapāla on the basis of the statement in the Chirwā inscription that one Bālāka died in front of Jaitrasimha while fighting with *Rāṇaka* Tribhuvana during the capture of Kōṭṭaḍaka. Halder⁶ and Ganguly⁷ agree with Ojha's identification. But this has recently been questioned elsewhere⁸ on the ground that Tribhuvana of the Chirwā inscription is endowed only with the title *Rāṇaka* which is indicative of a feudatory status,⁹ while the Chaulukya Tribhuvanapāla was a *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*. The former has, therefore, been identified with *Rāṇaka* Tribhuvanēśvara of the Chāhamāna family mentioned in the Menal inscription of *Rājakumāra* Dinakara Mēghanāda, dated V.S. 1312, and this identification appears to be quite probable.¹⁰

Who then was the Gūrjara king? It is known that Jaitrasimha (V.S. 1270-1309=A.D. 1213-52)¹¹ was a contemporary not only of the Chaulukya kings Bhima II (c. V.S. 1235-98=A.D. 1178-1241)¹² and Tribhuvanapāla (c. V.S. 1298-1302=A.D. 1241-45)¹³ but also

¹ *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 90.

² It is difficult to ascertain the signification of the expression *Śākambhari-bhuyalī* in the Rataul plate of Chāhadadēva (above, Vol. XII, p. 224, text line 3) since the charter is fragmentary and the identification of Chāhadā with Vāgbhaṭa is not beyond doubt.

³ *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 84, Cf. also above, Vol. XXX, pp. 45 ff.

⁴ H.C. Ray, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 1187.

⁵ G.H. Ojha, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 461.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 288.

⁷ *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 90.

⁸ Above, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 156-57.

⁹ Cf. above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 142 and 263; Bhanuankar's List, Nos. 434, 447, 547.

¹⁰ If this identification is, correct, as it appears to be, the place Kōṭṭaḍaka [referred to in the Chirwā inscription, which was identified by Ojha and Halder with Kōtrā in Mewad, may possibly be identical with the village called Kotra, Mēghanāth (24° 30' x 76° 53') in Kotah District, Rajasthan. This place-name reminds us of prince Mēghanāda of the Menal inscription. It appears that the Chāhamāna family mentioned in the above inscription was ruling at Kōṭṭaḍaka to capture which Jaitrasimha might have fought a battle with *Rāṇaka* Tribhuvanēśvara or Tribhuvana.

¹¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVII, p. 31.

¹² Majumdar, op. cit., p. 203.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 203-04.

of the Vāghēla king Visaladēva (c. V.S. 1302-18=A.D. 1245-61).¹ Of these only the last is known to have had a conflict with the Guhilas. He (i.e. Visaladēva) is described in his Kadi grant of V.S. 1317 (A.D. 1260) as "(one) who resembled a hatchet on account of his cutting the roots of the creeper-like turbulent government of the Mēdapāṭa country."² The Guhila adversary of Visaladēva has been doubtfully identified with Tējaṣimha.³ As the latter must have ascended the Guhila throne sometime between V.S. 1309 (A.D. 1252), the last known date of his father Jaitrasimha, and V.S. 1317 (A.D. 1260) which is his own first known date, he could have been the opponent of Visaladēva referred to in latter's Kadi grant. But, except for this, there is not other evidence to prove the identity of the king of the Mēdapāṭa country with Tējaṣimha. On the contrary, there is some evidence to prove that he was probably Jaitrasimha who, as has been stated above, was an earlier contemporary of Visaladēva and who, according to the verse of Chīrwā inscription quoted above, had entered into a conflict with the Gūrjara king. The fragmentary Dabhoi *praśasti* of V.S. 1311 (A.D. 1254) states that "Visaladēva kept the hero's vow on the bank of the Sindhu."⁴ This reminds us of Jaitrasimha's exploits against the Sindhuka army which have been referred to in the Mount Abu inscription,⁵ of his grandson Samarasimha. Could it be that the two inscriptions (i.e. the Dabhoi *praśasti* and the Mount Abu inscription) refer to one and the same battle against the ruler of Sind in which both Visaladēva and Jaitrasimha took part as allies?⁶ If it was so, it would follow that a conflict between Visaladēva and Jaitrasimha had taken place sometime earlier than V.S. 1311 (A.D. 1254), the date of the Dabhoi *praśasti*, and that as a result of this conflict Jaitrasimha had possibly to enter into some sort of a treaty with Visaladēva. It is this conflict which seems to have been referred to in the Chīrwā inscription and the inscription under study on the one hand and the Kadi grant on the other. The reference to this conflict in the Kadi grant is couched in words which indicate that it was Visaladēva who had invaded the Guhila territories.⁷ The Chīrwā inscription refers to a battle fought at the foot (*tallāṭṭikā*) of Chitrakūṭa in which one Ratnasimha, the son of Kshēma who had become a *talāra* of Chitrakūṭa (i.e. Chitor) through the favour of king Jaitrasimha, died. This battle may be identical with the one fought between Jaitrasimha and Visaladēva.

The identification of the king of Mālava with the Paramāra king Jaitugidēva of Malwa, of the lord of the *Turushkas* with Sulṭān Iltutmish of Delhi and of the king of Mārava, mentioned in the Chīrwā inscription, with the Sōngirā Chāhamāna Udayasimha ruling at Jabālipura, is generally accepted by scholars.⁸ Rāṇaka Dhīrapāla of our inscription is not known from any other source.

¹ Ibid., p. 204.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 210, text lines 4-5, and p. 212.

³ Majumdar, op. cit., p. 174. Cf. also, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 191; above, Vol. XXII, p. 288.

⁴ Above, Vol. I, pp. 24, (text line 30).

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 349-50, verse 43.

⁶ It is clear from the Dabhoi *praśasti* that the battle was fought on the bank of the Sindhu (i.e. the Sind river). Halder who tried to identify the ruler of Sind in his paper entitled "Rawal Jaitrasimha of Mewar", however, suggests that the force which was despatched towards Nahrwala (Anhilvad Pattan in Gujarat) by Jalaluddin under Khas Khan, in going from Sind to Gujarat 'may have passed through the territory of Mewar, which lay on the route, and fought a battle with Jaitrasimha'. (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI p. 32).

⁷ D.C. Ganguly is, however, of the opinion that it was the Guhila Jaitrasimha who invaded the kingdom of Gujarat during the reign of Tribhuvanapāla and that Visaladēva helped the latter in routing his enemy. *The Struggle for Empire*, pp. 80-81, 90).

⁸ See, for instance Ojha, op. cit., pp. 461 ff.; Halder, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVII, pp. 31 ff., and Dasaratha Sharma, op. cit., pp. 152-53. D.C. Ganguly accepts the above identifications of the king of the *Mlechchhas* and of Mārava but doubts the identity of Mālava king. cf. *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 90.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Chitrakūṭāchaladurga is modern Chitōrghāṭh. The place Dāntapurā has to be identified with Ghāghsā if the step-well stated to have been constructed by Ratna at Dāntapurā is the same as the one where our inscription was found.

TEXT¹

[Metres : Verses 1, 3, 9-12, 14, 16, 18, 26-27, 30, 33 Anuṣṭubh ; verse 2 Mālini ; verses 4, 32 Upajāti ; verse 5 Indravajrā ; verse 6 Gīti ; verses 7, 13, 17, 19, 21-24, 29 Āryā ; verses 8, 15, 25, 28 Sārdūlavikrīḍita ; verse 20 Vasantatilakā ; verse 31 Prithvī]

- 1 Siddham² [||] Ōm namaḥ śrī-Mahādēvāya || Dēvaḥ, śrī-Sōmanāthō=stu su-prasannaḥ sa vaḥ sadā | niḥkalaṃka-kalaṃ Sōma[m=u]ttamāṃgē da[dhā]ti yaḥ ||1 Jalanidhim=a-
- 2 [dhi]śētē svēchchayā yaḥ sukhēna trīdaśa-ṇata-pad-[ābja]ḥ padma-vās-ō[pa]gūdhāḥ | mathita-dītija-sārthō lōkanāthaḥ sad=aiva prathayatu vibhavaṃ vō Viśvarūpaḥ sa dēvaḥ ||2
- 3 Guhil-ānvaya-sambhūtō Bappakō=bhūd=bhuvō vibhuh | Ā[dyō] Dyukēśa-pād-ābja-dvaṃdva-vandana-tatparaḥ ||3 Bāhushv=atītēshu mahīśvarēshu varēshu śrī-Padma-simhaḥ purushōtta[m]ō=bhū-
- 4 t | sarvv-āṅga-hṛidyam yam=avāpya Lakshmiś=tasthau vihāy=ās[thi]ratām sah=ōthām (ttām) ||4 Śrī-Jaitrasimhas=tanujō=sya jātaḥ pratyarthi-bhūbhṛit-pralay-ānil-ābhaḥ | [sa]rvvatra yē[na]
- 5 sphuratā na kēśhām chittāni kāmpani gamitāni sadyaḥ³ ||5 Śrīmad-Gūrjjara-Mālava-Turushka-[Śā]kambhariśvarair=yasya | chakrē na māna-bhaṅgaḥ sa svaḥ-sthō jayatu Jai-
- 6 trasimha-nṛipah' ||6 Apratihata-pratāpas=Tējahsimhaḥ [s]utō=sya jayati chiram(ram) | śrīm[ān=ā]śritajanatā-janit-āmīta-parama-paritōshaḥ ||7 Śrībhājā su-
- 7 manaḥ-stutēna sutarām kṛishṇēna yasy=āsinā sarvva-[prā]ñi[va]dham [v]idhāya vipulē samgrāmna - - - lē | - kō - - - vibāhu-śēsha-śayanē tūṃgē sukham supya-
- 8 [tē] Tējahsimha-narēśvaraḥ sa bhavatu prityai sa[tām] samtataṃ(tam) ||8 Ath=āsti Dīmḍu [bh]-ākhyō=pi va[m]śaḥ [sad-bh]ōga-bhūshitaḥ | dōshair=muktō dvi-jihvatv-ānya-[ch-chhi]dr-ānvē-
- 9 shaṇ-ādibhiḥ ||9 Abhirāma-guṇa . . dhāma-kāma-manōramaḥ | sampūri[t-ā]rthi-hṛit-kāmō Rōma[pāda] ih=ā[bhāvat] ||10 Babhūva nāmdanas=tasya nayan-ānāmdanaḥ
- 10 satām(tām) | Gālhū-nāma samā . . [samgarēshu] Gadādharah || 11 Tad-ātma-bhū[r=a] bhūd=bhū[r]i . . ti mahi[tō]dayaḥ | Mālhūr=ity=ākhyayā khyātaḥ sad-vāñijya-kal-ānvi
- 11 taḥ || 12 Kēśava [iva] puṇya-[daś]-āvatāra-sahitaḥ sutō=bhāvat=tasya | śrīmā[n=gu]ru-guṇa-maṇi-ruchi-rājita-hṛidayāḥ prabuddha-[Ba]labhadraḥ ||13 Sātvika-prakṛi-

¹ From impressions.

² Expressed by a symbol which, though indistinct, appears to resemble the numerical figure 80.

³ Verses 4 and 5 occur also in the Chīrwā inscription ; see above, Vol. XXII, p. 289.

⁴ See footnote No. 1, p. 216.

12. titvēna. yō=bhūd=asta-rajās-tamāḥ | unmilan=mālati-[dā]ma-[dhā]m-ōjva(jjiva)[la-sa]d-
yaśāḥ || 14 Jātau tasya sutau satām=abhimatau khyātau parēśhām hitau śri-
- 13 mattā-sāhitau viśuddha-charitau vid[v]aja(jja)naiḥ sam(stu)tau | [a]bhyasta-kula-kra-
[māu] [suruchirāv]=Āhlādana-Trikramau rūpēṇ=āpratihatāu svabhāva-sumatī
ārādhi-
- 14 ta-Trikramau || 15 Āhlādana[sya] putrō=sti puṁ-ratnam Ratna-samjñakah |
asapatnaḥ parīkshāyām kṛita-yatnō guṇ-ārjjanē || 16 Sōḍhala-nāmā yasya bhrāt=
ābhūd=avara[jaḥ]
- 15 pravara-charitaḥ | Gaṅg-ōdaka-viśuddha-[guṇō] Gaṅg-ākhyō yasya ch=āsty=anujaḥ ||
17 ya[smai] śri-Dhirapālō=dād=r[ā]nakō gauravaṁ param(ram) | akalaṁkām kalām
vikshya
- 16 chaṁdrāya=ēva Vṛishadhvajāḥ || [18] [Sarvvaṁ] sahaḥ suvṛittaḥ sa[d-bhṛity]yaḥ
s-āksharō var-ākārah | yō=sty=ārthi-pūrit-ā[śō dra]mma iv=āpāsta-kūtatvaḥ || [19]
Ratnāni samti sa-
- 17 guṇāni [ba]hūny=ap-īha khyātā[ni] yas=tad-a[dh]ik[ō] vidadhē tu dhātṛā | puṁstv-
ādhirōpaṇa-guṇē[na] gariyas=ōchchai Ratnaḥ sa kēna samatām samupaiti sādhuḥ¹ ||
- 18 20 Jātās=trayas=tanūjās-Trikrama-samjñā[sya] sukṛitinaḥ kṛitinaḥ | Vija[ḍa]-Rāvaṇa-
[Kh]iṁaḍa-nāmānaḥ kshipta-pāpmānaḥ || 21 Ratnasy=ājāyanta [tra]yaḥ sutā gu-
- 19 ṇa-yutāḥ kṛita-sva-hitāḥ | kramātō hi Jagatsimhō-Hari[dravō] Vayajalaś=ch=āmī || 22
Samsārasya viditvā sakalasy=asāratām prabuddhēbhya[h |] matvā cha dharma
[m=]jēkaṁ saram
- 20 śarma-pradam cha sadā || 23 Ratnēna Chitrakūṭē Kumbhēśva[ra-dēva]-maṁdi[ra]-
jagatyām(m) [|] ati-chāru-dēva-grihikā-tritayam=akārayat=ēta[t]sa-Śiva-liṅgam(gam) ||
24 Yugmaṁ(mam) || anyach=cha Pitrōḥ pu-
- 21 nya-vividdhayē tanumatām tāpa-vyapōhāya cha klāntānām parisarppaṇēna saraṇau
trishṇ-ātirēkēna cha | āsrāmāṁ sukṛit-aikatāna-manasā Ratnēna yatnād=iyam
vāpi Dāntapu-
- 22 r-āgra-bhū-parisarē hṛidy-ōdakā kārītā || 25 Mā[lava]-pāmtha-sārthasya vāp=iyam
su-pa[yō]dharā | bhāti saumya-mukhā snigdha-śaphari-sphuraṇ-ēkshaṇā || 26
Pathi-vāpi-mishād=ē-
- 23 shā svasya-saṁpad-iv=ānīśam | sarvva-bhōgyatayā khāytā Ratnēna prakatīkṛitā ||
27 Amtar=vvāpi tathā amunā sumati[n]jā Sūryasya mūrttiḥ sphuran=māhātmyā
jala-śāyinaḥ prati-
- 24 kṛitir=ddēvāsya cha Śrīmataḥ | āsrām[t]jēna par-ōpakāra-karaṇē śrāmṭēna-[dush-ka]
rmaṇi prāj[ā]-ārādhana-[tatparē]ṇa sutarām prītēna nirmā[p]itā || 28 Uddhṛita-
duḥ(sh)kṛitam=u(chchh)ṛita-

¹ This verse also occurs in the Chīrwā inscription wherein the last word *sādhuḥ* has been substituted by the word *suddhaḥ*. Ibid., p. 290.

- 25 m=ā[nu]ddhatēn=āmunā mud=ātr=aiva | grāmē Dāmtapurākhyē bhavanaiṅ śrī-
Sōmanāthasya || 29 Pāvitya-sthairya-gām[bh]jrya-sādhutva-guṇa-sēvadhēh | [ā]-
chamdrārkkam śubham bhūyā[d=vā]pyāḥ
- 26 k[āra]yitus=tathā || 30 Kshma-ādi-guṇa-saṃyutaḥ sujanavatsalaḥ saṃyamī si[t]-āmbara-
śirōmaṇiḥ sakala-[da]rśa[n]i-prīti-bhāk | babhū[va] viditō janair=Bhuvanachandra-
- 27 sūrīr=gurur=yadiya iha Rōhiṇī-ramaṇa-raśmi-[śu]ddh-āśayaḥ || 31 Rājanya-mānyaḥ
sa-sudhiḥ praśastim chakāra Ra[tnapra]bha-[s]ūrīr-ētām(tām) | śrī-Chai[tra]-
gachchh-ārṇava-ratnam=atra śrī-Chitra-kūṭāchala-
- 28 durgga-saṃ[stha]ḥ || 32 Śishyō=mushy=ālikha[n=mu]khyāḥ Pārsvachandr-ābhidhō
budhaḥ | Kēlisimh-āhvayaḥ śilpi mud=āmum=uchchakāra cha || 33 Saṃvat 1323
varshē Kārttika vadi [1] Ravau ||

PGEL. 1. XXXIX: 7.
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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA
EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOL. XXXIX JANUARY 1973 PART VII

EDITED BY
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1985

Published by the Director-General, Archaeological Survey of India,
New Delhi-11
Printed at the Government of India Press, (Publication Unit) Santragachi, Howrah, India

Price : Inland Rs. 8-00. Foreign 18 sh. 8d. or 2\$ 88 cents.

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No. 34.—ENNAYIRAM INSCRIPTION OF RAJENDRACHOLA

C. R. SRINIVASAN AND B. SITARAMAN, MYSORE

The inscription¹ edited below² with the kind permission of the Chief Epigraphist is engraved on the vertical face of the base on the north side of the central shrine in the Aḷagiya Naraśiṅgaperumāl temple at Ennāyiram,³ a village in the Villupuram Taluk of the South Arcot District in Tamil Nadu. The temple which is now in a dilapidated condition contains about twenty-one inscriptions⁴ in Tamil of which fourteen belong to the Chōla and four to the Vijayanagara dynasties. The earliest of these inscriptions⁵ belong to the reign of Chōla Rājendra I (1012-44 A.D.).

The language of the inscription is Tamil. Excepting a few Grantha letters used for Sanskrit words the record is written in the Tamil script in characters of the 11th century A.D. As regards orthography, the following points deserve to be mentioned. The conjunct *m* and consonant-ending *n* are omitted in many instances. The consonants, *l*, *ḷ* and *ḻ* in particular are often doubled (lines 151-52 for *l* lines 64, 66-67 for *ḷ*, and line 68 for *ḻ*). Indifferent usage of the consonants *n* and *ṇ* is noticeable in a number of places. Firstly *n* is employed in the place of *ṇ* in a majority of cases (e.g. *tanattōḍu*, *tanakkuvaiyum* line 11; *paṇmanāgiya* line 17; *munbu* line 90; *onṇinukku* lines 118-19). Secondly *ṇ* is wrongly employed in the place of *n* in a few places (*ṇavaṇedi* line 8; *iṇṇāḷil* line 66; *naṇṇālukku* line 99). Thirdly at the end of the words *n* is used in the place of *ṇ* (*śōḷan* line 105; *vaittaruḷina* line 106; *Rājarājan* line 137; *śembīyan* line 166). Failure to observe the rules of *sandhi* when the following letter is a consonant is noticeable (*naḍuvuḷ pala* line 16; *ōḍuvārkkku pattum* line 111). The *sandhi* rules are not applied in a few instances when the following letter is a vowel (*kari amudu* line 37; *nāl onṇu* lines 40, 42; *varai aḷivu* line 65; *nālēḷukku i vārāṅkaṇṇārru* lines 83-84; *i vūril* lines 101-102; *i viraṇḍu* line 156). There are a few spelling mistakes perpetrated by the engraver (*ri* for *ru* in *jayittariḷiyum* line 104; *ḷ* for *l* in *mahipāḷaṇai* line 14). Tamilisation of a few Sanskrit words is of interest to note (*Muyāṅgi* for *Muśāṅgi* line 7; *nedhi* for *nidhi* line 8; *viḷaiyam* for *vishya* line 11; *Taṇṇapāḷaṇ* for *Dharmapāḷa* line 12; *vayinṇavar* for *vaishṇava* line 58; *Anuḷam* for *Aṇuṣham* line 64; *Mimāṅsai* for *Mīmāṅsai* line 146). A few letters are written in the colloquial form (*naṇṇālu* line 99; *tekku* line 58; *vākkāl* line 154; *Ariṇṇiya* line 157). There are some scribal mistakes which are corrected subsequently either in the text lines themselves or below the lines.

The inscription, which begins with the characteristic Tamil *praśasti*, *Tirumaṇṇi vaḷara* etc., is dated in the reign of Rājendraśōḷadēvar i.e., Parakēsari Rājendra I Chōla (1012-44 A.D.). Since the portion recording the details of date is damaged too badly the

¹ A. R. Ep., 1916-17, No. 333.

² The authors are indebted to Shri K. G. Krishnan, Superintending Epigraphist for Dravidian Inscriptions and Dr. S. Sankaranarayanan, Deputy Superintending Epigraphist for Dravidian Inscriptions for all their help and suggestions.

³ Literally this word in Tamil means 'Eight-thousand'. The local tradition has that 8,000 Jains were executed here. Another tradition, according to which the Jains were not executed but only converted to Brahmanism, thus giving rise to the *Aṣṭasahasram* group, has been referred to by T. M. Bhaskara Tondaiman (vide *Kalaimagal*, January 1949, p. 80).

⁴ A. R. Ep., 1916-17, Nos. 330-33, 335-51.

⁵ Ibid., Nos. 333, 341.

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regnal year cannot be deciphered satisfactorily. Generally the achievements of the king are listed in the Chōla *meykkīrttis* in the chronological order of their happening. Since the *meykkīrtti* portion of the present inscription concludes with the conquest of Kadāram by Rājendra, usually found in the corresponding portion of his other inscriptions dated from the fourteenth year of his reign (1025-26 A.D.) onwards only, we may safely assign this record to the period 1025-44 A.D.¹

The object of the inscription is to record the *pariṣu* (transactions) (line 165), which may conveniently be divided into four parts as below, of the *mahāsabhai* of Rājarāja-chaturvēdi-maṅgalam (line 31), a *brahmadēyam-taṇiyūr* (independent village granted to the Brāhmaṇas) in Jayaṅgoṇḍaśōla-maṅḍalam (line 30) in respect of the following, carried out in the presence of Kāli Ēkāmranār, the administrator of the village (line 164).

Part 1, (lines 32-55) : An endowment of one *vēli* and four *mā* of cultivable land situated in Ānāṅgūr *alias* Rājarājanallūr for (i) expenditure in connection with the worship and food-offerings (*tiruchcheṇṇāḍai*) to, and (ii) the recitation of *Tiruvāymoḷi* by four persons in the presence of god Paramasvāmigaḷ Ūruḍaipperumāl who is said to have been pleased to stand with a fierce appearance (*mahāghōramāy eḷundaruḷi niṇṇu*)² (line 34) in the temple (*tirumurram*) called Śri-Rājarājavaiṅṅaṅgar, located in the centre of the village, by the *mahāsabhaiyār* of the village for the glory of the arms of the king.

Part 2, (lines 56-63) : An endowment of one *vēli* and four *mā* of land in the same village, apparently by the same *sabhaiyār* as *maḍap-puram* (line 63) to twenty-five Śrīvaiṣṇavas who partook food in the *maṭha* set up by the temple.

Part 3, (lines 63-88) : Acquisition, obviously by the temple, of 1/2 *vēli* and 2 *mā* of land in the same village for the expenses in connection with *Āṇi-Āṇuṣham* festival of the god.

Part 4, (lines 88-164) : The purchase of fortyfive *vēli* of land situated in Māmbākkachchēri *alias* Pavitramāṅikkanallūr and Mēlkūḍalūr *alias* Purushōttamaṅ-nallūr, constituent of the hamlet Ānāṅgūr *alias* Rājarājanallūr in Rājarāja-vaḷanāḍu for (a) the provision of food-offerings to god Ūruḍaipperumāl with the specified quantity of rice to be distributed to *Vīrruirundār* (lines 97-98, local residents ?) and *dēsāntarigaḷ* (line 98, pilgrims) and (b) the remuneration of specified quantities of paddy, totalling 30 *kalams* per day, and gold at specified rates to different categories of students and teachers of whom the former partook *uttamāgram* (line 106, excellent food) in the feeding service called *Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōlan*, instituted in commemoration of the king's success in bringing (water of the river) Gaṅgā after defeating the kings of Uttarāpatha.

The present record is very important for the study of the cultural history of South India, specially from the point of view of the history of education and religion, since it is one of the few inscriptions³ found to contain valuable details about the working of an educational institution attached to a temple, where Vedic subjects in the main as well as Sanskrit Grammar and Philosophy were taught, and the mode of conduct of worship in temples.

¹ It may be noted in this connection that another record of this king viz., *A. R. Ep.*, 1916-17, No. 334, engraved on the west and south walls of the central shrine in the same temple, is dated in the 25th year of his reign.

² [This expression evidently refers to the deity Narasiṃha in his *ugra* aspect.—Ed.]

³ Some of the other important inscriptions bearing on the subject of ancient South Indian education are from Bāhur (above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 5-15; *SIL.*, Vol. V, p. 516); Koṇḍuḷi (above, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 190 ff.) Mālkāpuram *A. R. Ep.*, 1917, No. 94), Salōṭgi (above, Vol. IV, p. 60), Tirumukkūḍal (above, Vol. XXI, pp. 220 ff.), Tiruvāḍuṭṭurai (*A. R. Ep.*, 1925, No. 159), Tiruvorriyūr (*A. R. Ep.*, 1912, No. 212) and Tribhuvaṅai (*A. R. Ep.*, 1919, No. 176)

The details of *Tiruchcheṇṇāḍai* (worship and food-offerings) to the god in the temple (lines 36-41) may be tabulated as follows :

TABLE I

Details of *Tiruchcheṇṇāḍai*

Items	Quantity Required	Paddy required			Rate/Remarks
		Ka.	Ku.	Nā.	
1. Ghee (i) for 2 lamps (one <i>uri</i>) and, (ii) food-offerings (<i>amu-ḍu</i>) (one <i>uḷakku</i>).	3 <i>uḷakku</i>	—	3	—	One <i>uḷakku</i> of ghee per one <i>kuṟuṇi</i> of paddy.
2. Vegetable dishes (<i>kari-amuḍu</i>) inclusive of pulse.	—	—	—	4	Four varieties, one <i>nāḷi</i> of paddy for each variety.
3. Curd	3 <i>nāḷi</i>	—	—	3	one <i>nāḷi</i> of curd per one <i>nāḷi</i> of paddy.
4. Salt	—	—	—	1	—
5. Betel nuts	—	—	—	4	—
6. Rice	3 <i>kuṟuṇi</i>	—	7	4	For three services a day at the rate of one <i>kuṟuṇi</i> of paddy for each. The quantity of paddy is calculated by the ratio 5 : 2 (<i>añjiraṇḍu vannaṁ</i>) between paddy and rice.
		1	0	0	

Perhaps this record affords the earliest reference to the practice of the recitation of *Tiruvāymoli* (lines 35-36).² This practice, like that of the recitation of *dēvāram* hymns in Śaiva temples, seems to have become a regular feature in Vaishṇava temples in the succeeding period as the inscriptional evidence indicates.²

The fourth part of the record (lines 88-164) is by far the most important as it contains the details of the different categories of teachers and students and their strength, the various subjects of study, the remuneration paid to the teachers and allowance given to the students both in cash and kind and the conditions of remuneration to certain teachers. These details may conveniently be tabulated as below :

¹ *Tiruvāymoli* is the name given to Nammāḷvar's hymns included in the third section of *Nālāyira-divyaprabandham*. The name of a deity called *Tiruvāymolidevar* occurs in an inscription of Rājarāja I Chōḷa (985-1012 A. D.) from Ukkal (*SII.*, Vol. III, p. 4).

² Maṅṅarkōvil, Tirunelveli District (*A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No. 393), Tirumalāpuram, North Arcot District (*ibid.*, 1906, No. 326), Tirukkōvilūr, South Arcot District (*ibid.*, 1921, No. 343) and Triplicane, Madras District (*ibid.*, 1903, No. 239).

TABLE II (lines 108-164)

Sl. No.	SUBJECTS OF STUDY	TEACHERS' REMUNERATION			STUDENTS' ALLOWANCE			
		Number of teachers	IN CASH	IN KIND	Nature of students	IN CASH	IN KIND	
		Rate	Total	Rate	Rate	Total	Rate	Total
1	R̥ig-vēda	‡ kaṭāñju each		Each [2 ku, 4 nā]* per day	75	—	6 nā each per day	
2	Yajur-vēda	”	”	”	75	—	”	”
3	Chhandōga-Sāma	”	”	”	20	—	”	ka tū ku nā
4	Talavakāra-Sāma	”	”	ka-tū-ku nā	20	—	”	16 2 2 4
5	Vājasaneyā	”	6 kaṭāñju	[2 0 1 0]	20	—	”	”
6	Bandhāyanīya : Grihya, Kalpa and Kāṭaka	”	”	”	10	—	”	”
7	Atharva-vēda	”	”	2 [ku]* per day	[0 0 2 0]*	10	”	”
8	R̥upāvātāra	”	”	3 ku	0 0 3 0	40	”	”
9	Yyākarāṇa	1 kaṭāñju 8 per chap-ter for 8 chapters	kaṭāñju	1 k̄. per day	1 0 0 0	25	‡ kaṭāñju each (ad hoc)	1 ku 2 nā each per day
10	[P̥arva-]M̥imāṇsā i.e. Prabhākaram	Do. for 12 chapters	kaṭāñju	Do.	1 0 0 0	35	”	35 kaṭāñju
11	Yēdānta (i.e. Utiara-M̥imāṇsā)	”	”	1 ka 1 tu per day	1 1 0 0	10	”	”
	Total			26 kaṭāñju	5 2 2 0	350		24 0 2 0

Total of remuneration and allowances : in gold=61 kaṭāñju (see columns 4 and 11). Abbreviations : ka=kalam; tū=tūṭi; ku=kurumi; nā=nāli in paddy=30 kalam per day (see columns 7 and 13).

* Figures within star-brackets are tentatively restored since the details are wanting in the text (see line 135). The text (lines 137-139) gives the figure 10560 kalam of paddy for the year of 360 days at the rate of 30 kalam per day. This is obviously a mistake for 10800 kalam.

From the above table it may be discerned that the college at Enṇāyiram had a total strength of about 15 teachers and 350 students. Of this, the majority of 11 teachers and 230 students belonged to the discipline of Vedic studies. Therefore it may be said that this college was essentially a centre of Vedic studies (*pāthasālā*) attached to the temple, where all the four *Vēdas* were taught. The present record does not specify the two branches of *Yajurvēda*, viz., the *Śukla* (White) and *Kṛishṇa* (Black) *Yajur-vēda*. But from the separate mention of *Vājasaneyā* (line 110), the well-known recension of the *Śukla-Yajur-vēda*, it becomes apparent that the word *Yajurvēda* refers only to the *Kṛishṇa-Yajur-vēda*, the popular and wider study of which, as it may also be derived from the present record, continues up to the present day in South India. The importance given to the study of the *Kṛishṇa-Yajur-vēda* is gleaned further from the mention of the study of the three well-known works of Bōdhāyana, viz., the *Baudhāyana Gṛihya*, *Kalpa* and *Kāṭhaka* (lines 111, 134), which are *sūtras* belonging to the Taittiriya school of the *Kṛishṇa-Yajur-vēda*. No doubt, the word *Kāṭhaka* in this record should be synonymous with *Dharma*, since only the *Gṛihya*, *Kalpa* and *Dharma Sūtras* are chiefly known to have belonged to Bōdhāyana. Moreover the word *Kāṭhaka* is explained¹ as meaning 'Dharma-āmnāya'.

The inscription under study mentions *Talavakāra-Sāmam* and *Chhandōga-Sāmam* among the subjects of study. This shows that each of the two important schools of the *Sāma-vēda*, viz., of the Talavakāras and the Tāṇḍins, gained importance for study at the Enṇāyiram college. The details of subjects of study for *Atharva-vēda* are not given.

The number of students and teachers respectively for the four Vedic subjects are as follows : Seventy-five students and three teachers for *Rig-vēda* ; one-hundred-and-five students and five teachers for *Yajur-vēda* ; forty students and two teachers for *Sāma-vēda* ; and ten students and (obviously) one teacher for *Atharva-vēda*.

The subjects other than the *Vēdas* studied at the college at Enṇāyiram were *Rūpāvatāra*, *Vyākaraṇa* and *Vēdānta*. Of these, *Rūpāvatāra* was an elementary work on Sanskrit grammar, the authorship of which is ascribed to Dharmakīrti, whose identity and date are not well settled. The fact that in the first quarter of the eleventh century A. D., *Rupāvatāram* had already become so popular as to be prescribed for study in the Enṇāyiram college strongly weighs against ascribing this work to the twelfth century A. D.² or referring it to the middle of the 11th century at the latest,³ and favours a much earlier date for this work.⁴

That *Rūpāvatāram* was taught widely all over South India in the 11th and 12th centuries is indicated by other epigraphic evidence as well.⁵ The present record groups *Rūpāvatāram* with other Vedic subjects that were studied by *brahmachāri* students (line 106-107), apparently juniors but however adolescent enough of age. These *brahmachāri* students were given an allowance of 6 *nāli* of paddy in contrast to the *chhātrar* (line 126), evidently senior students, who were given fixed allowance of 10 *nāli* of paddy per day in addition to a cash allowance of 1/2 *Kaḷañju* of gold. Of the teachers, those who taught the Vedic subjects and *Rūpāvatāram*,

¹ s. v., *Kāṭhaka* in Tārānātha's *Vāchaspatyam*.

² M. Rangacharya (ed.) *Rūpāvatāram*, Introduction.

³ Above, Vol. XXXVII, p. 190.

⁴ M. Krishnamachariar refers to a tradition by which Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa and Dharmakīrti jointly composed *Rūpāvatāra* and assigns a date slightly later than 5th or 6th century A. D. to Dharmakīrti (*History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. 733 fn.).

⁵ *A. R. Ep.*, 1925, No. 159 from Tiruvāvaduturai, Thanjavur District; *ibid.*, 1964, No. 358; above Vol. XXXVII, p. 190 from Koṇḍgūli, Bijapur District; and *A. R. Ep.*, 1919, No. 176 from Tribhuvanī, Pondicherry State.

were paid the lowest viz., 2 *Kuruṇi* and 4 *nāli* of paddy per day, which is still 3-1/3 times more than that of the junior students or double that of the senior students. Besides, an *ad hoc* payment of 1/2 *Kalañju* of gold, as made for the senior students, was made to them. The teachers of *Vyākaraṇa* and *Prabhākaram* were paid in paddy nearly four to five times as that of the teachers of Vēdic subject or *Rūpāvataram*. It is significant to note that the teacher of Vēdānta did not receive any remuneration in gold but the quantity of paddy given to him was 25 per cent more than that of the teachers of *Vyākaraṇa* or *Prabhākaram*.

From the mention of the eight chapters of the *Vyākaraṇa* (line 141), it may safely be concluded that it was only the *Sūtrapāṭha* or *Ashṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini that was prescribed for study for the senior students at Eṇṇāyiram. *Prabhākaram* (lines 123-124, 129) is the work of Prabhākara Misra (c. A. D. 650-720)¹ commenting² on the *Mīmāṃsā-sūtra-bhāṣya* of Śābarasvāmin. It is one of the important systems of *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā*. By *Vēdānta*, (lines 125, 130) perhaps the *Āraṇyakas* and the *Upanishads*, as constituting *Uttara-Mīmāṃsā*, was meant. The fact that in the first quarter of the 11th century A. D., works on both the *Pūrva*- and *Uttara-Mīmāṃsā* were studied in a college attached to a Vaishṇava temple, becomes significant for the history of the Vaishṇava philosophy prior to the *Viśiṣhādvaita* school propounded by Rāmānuja.

The temple to which the college was attached, is stated to be located in the centre of the village. The gift-lands are said to be in Māmbākkachchēri *alias* Pavitramāṇikkanallūr and Mēlk-kūḍālūr *alias* Purushōttamaṇ-nallūr, hamlets of Rājarājanallūr. The record also gives the details of the boundaries of the gift lands. All kinds of taxes on the gift lands including *veṭṭi* and *amañji*, with the exception of *mā-tūṇi* and *māp-padaḱku*, were exempted by the king. The only signatory of the record is Tiruvēṅkaḱam *alias* Karuṇākarapriyan, the *madhyastha* of Śrī-Śembiyaṇmahādēvichchēri. The endowment was left to the protection of the residents of Teṅ-chēri called Śrī-Vīraṇārāyaṇa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. Rājarāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam (line 3) is no doubt identical with the modern village Eṇṇāyiram in Villupuram Taluk, South Arcot District, Tamil Nadu. The temple, whose name is given in the record as Naḱuvil-Tirumurram Rājarāja-ṅṅagar, is the same as the Aḱagiya-Narasinṅaperumāḱ temple, where the present record is engraved. Of the other places mentioned in the record, Anāṅgūr may be identified with the village of its namesake in the same Taluk.

TEXT³

- 1 Svasti Śrī[***] Tiru maṅṅi vaḱarav=iru-nila-maḱandaiyum por-chayap-pāvaiyum śirt-tani-chchelviyu[m*]
- 2 taṅ-peru[n-d]ēviyar=āgi iṅb=uṛa neḱud=uyar*ū liyuḱ Iḱaituṛai-nāḱun=tuḱa[r*]-vaṅa-vēli-ppaḱar Vaṅavāsi-
- 3 yum ṣuḱli-ṣūḱ-maḱiṅ=Kollippākkaiyum naṅṅaṅk=aru-muraṅ Maṅṅaikkaḱakkamum poru-kaḱal=Iḱatt=arai-
- 4 śar-tam muḱiyu[m*] āṅg=avar dēviyar=ōṅg-eḱil muḱiyu[m*] munṅ=avar [pa*]kkaṅ=Teṅṅa[va*]r vaitta sundaramu[ḱi*]yum=Indiraṅ=āramun=teṅ-ḱi-

¹ Vāchaspatimīśra's *Tattvabindhu*, ed. by V. A. Ramaswami Sastri, Annamalai University Sanskrit Series, No. 1936, p. 34.

² Two commentaries called *Laghvī* and *Bṛihati* were written by Prabhākara Misra, p 36). Perhaps both these were taught in the Eṇṇāyiram college.

³ From impressions.

⁴ Read *nedid*.

- 5 raivy=lla-mañḍala-muḷvadu[m*] eṛi-paḍaik-Kēraḷa[ṇ*] muṛaimaiyir-śuḍuñ=kula-
danam=āgiya palar puga[l*] muḍiyuñ=cheṅkadi[r*] mālaich=chaṅg=adi[r]-
- 6 vēlait-tol-peruñ-kāvaṛ=pal-palan-tivūñ=cheruviṛ=chiṇavil=irupa[t*]toru=kāl=araśu-kaḷai-
kaṭṭa Paraśurāma[ṇ*] mēv=aru-Śāntimaṛ-ṛiv=ara-
- 7 ṇ-ka[ru]di iruttiya śem-poṛ-ṛirut-tagu-[muḍiyu]m [p*]jayañ=kōḍu paḷi miga Muyaṅgiyil
mudug-itṭ=olitta Śayaśiṅgaṅ-aḷappe-
- 8 rum-pugaḷōḍu piḍiyal= Irattapāḍiy-ēḷ-arai ilakkamum ṇava-ṇedik-kulap-peru-
malaigaḷum vikkirama-virach-Chakkarakkōṭṭamu-
- 9 m mudir-paḍa-va[l]lai Madura-mañḍalamuñ kāmiḍ[ai*]-vaḷai[y] Nāmaṅaikkōṇaiyum
veñ[chi*]lai-virar Paṅjappalli-
- 10 yum pās=aḍaip-paḷaṅa-Māśuṇi-dēśamum ayarv-il-vaṅ-kirttiy-Ādinagar-av[ai]yir= chandī-
raṅ tol-kuḷatt=Indira[ra*]daṅai viḷaiy=amark-kaḷa-
- 11 ttu[k] kiḷaiyōḍum piḍittup=pa[la]-dana[t]toḍu niṛai-kula-danak-kuvaiyum kiṭṭ-arum
śēri-mu[ṇai] Oṭṭaviḷaiyamum¹ pū-surar śēr-[nal]-
- 12 Kōśalai-nāḍum Ta[ṇ]mapāḷaṅai ve[m*]-muṇai aḷittu vaṅḍ=urai-śōlait-Ta[ṇ]ḍaput-
tiyum
- 13 Iraṅaśūraṅai muraṅ-urāt=takkitt=tikk=āṅa[i*]-kirttit Takkaṅa-LāḍamumGov inda-
[chanda*]ṇ mā=iḷind=ō-
- 14 ḍat-taṅgāda-śāral Vaṅgāḷa-dēśamun=toḍu-kaḷal-śaṅguv=ōḍ²=aḍal-Mahipāḷaṅai veñ-
chama-
- 15 r-viḷāgat=añchuvitt=aruḷi oṅ-ṭiṛal yāṅaiyum p[e]ṇḍir-panḍā[ramu*]m nittira(la)-
neḍuñ-ka
- 16 ka³ḍal-Utti[ra*]-Lāḍamum veṛi-malart-tirttatt=eṛi-puṅal Gaṅgaiyum alai-kaḍa-[l]
naḍvuḷ pala
- 17 kalañ-cheluttich=Chaṅgirāmaṅaiyōṭtuṅgaṅaṅman=āgiya Kiḍ[ā]-
- 18 ratt-araiyaṅai Vāgaiyamporu-kaḍā[r] kummak(mbak)kariy oḍum=agappaḍutt=uri-
- 19 maiyil piṛakkiya peru-nedip piṛakkamum [ā]rtt=avaṅ=[aga*]-nagar-[p*]pōrt-to-
- 20 ḷil vāśalil [vich]chādira[tt]-tōraṅamum mo[y*]tt-olī[r*]p-puṅai-ma[ṇi]p-pudavamum-
- 21 ṇ=kaṅa-maṅik-[kadavamum niṛai] [Śri]viśaiyamun=tu[r*]ainīr-ppa]ṇṇaiyum Vaṅmalaiy=ū-
- 22 rum ā[l*]-kaḍal-aga]-śāḷ Māyiriḍiṅgamum kalañ=kāvalviṅai Ilaṅkāśōkamu[m*]
kāpp=[u]ṛu=niṛai-puṅal
- 23 mā-Pa[p]pālamum [kā]val-am=purisasi Mēvilipaṅgamu-
- 24 m viḷai[ppa*]ndū[r=u]ḍai vaḷaippa[n]dūruñ=kalaṅ-takkōrpugaḷ-Talai-

¹ Read *vishaiyamum*.² Read *sang-oḍ*.³ This letter is unnecessary.

- 25 ttakkōr-pugaḷ-Talai^t-takkōlamum tid=amar-val-viṇai Mā[dama]-
- 26 liṅgamu[m ka]lāmuri [kaḍun-tira]l=llāmuri-dēsamum tēṇak-
- 27 ka-[v][ā*]r-poḷil mā-Nakkavāramun=toḍu-ka[ar(ḍar)] kāvaṛ=kaḍu-murat-Kaḍāra-
- 28 [mum] māp-poru-taṇḍār=koṇḍa kōp-Parakēsari van[ma*][r-āṇa]Uḍai-
- 29 yār śrī-Rājēndrasōḷa-dēva[rkku] yāṇ[ḍu] [...]...du
- 30 Jayaṅkoṇḍasōḷa maṇḍalattu brahmadēyam taṇiy=ūr
- 31 Śrī-Rājarāja-chaturv[ē]dimanḅalattu mahāsabhaiyōm
- 32 chandirādityavaṛ niṛka Uḍaiyār śrī-Rājēndrasōḷadēva-
- 33 r śrī-bhujaṅgaḷ varddhikka namm=ūr naḍuvil tiru-muṛram Śrī-
- 34 Rājarāja-vi[ṇṇa]garil mahā-[gh]ōramāy eḷund=aruḷi-niṇṇu tiruv-ārādaṇai koṇ-
- 35 ḍ=aruḷikiṇṇa paramasvāmigaḷ ūr=uḍaip-perumāḷukku nāṅgaḷ tiruch-che[n*]naḍaikkum[m]
Ti[ru]vāy-
- 36 moḷi-viṇṇappa[n*]-[che]yyavēṇḍum nibandha[n]gaḷu[kkum*] tiru-nundā-viḷakku iraṇ-
ḍukku ne-
- 37 yy=uriyum amudukku ney uḷakkum=āga ney mūv=uḷakkukku nellu muk-kuṇṇiyu-
[m*] paṛuppu ulliṭṭa kaṛi-amu-
- 38 du nālukku nellu nāṇ²-nāḷiyum tayir-amudu munnāḷikku nellu³ mun-nāḷiyum-upp-
amudukku nellu
- 39 nāḷiyum aḍaik-kāy-amudukku nellu nā-nāḷiyum amudu-śeyd=a[ru]ḷa pōdu ariṣi
kuṇṇiy-āga
- 40 nāl onru[k*]ku ariṣi muk-kuṇṇikku aṅj=iraṇḍu va[n*]ṇa[t*] tāleḷu-kuṇṇi nā-
nāḷiyum=āga
- 41 .kku nelluk=kalattukkum Tiruvāymoḷi viṇṇappaṅ=cheyvār nālvarukku pērāl
- 42 nāl onṇukku nellu muk-kuṇṇikku nilam mūṇṇu-māv=āga nilam araiyē-iraṇḍu=
māv=āga
- 43 nāṅgaḷ kuḍutta viḷai-nilam=āvadu Āṇāṅgūr=āṇa Rājar[ā*]ja-nallūril Śrī-Kēraḷap-
[peru]vadi[kku*] kiḷa-
- 44 kku Śrī-Kaṇṇa-vāykkāllukkuṭ=teṛku aṅjāṅ-kaṇṇāṇṇu mudar-chadi[ra]-
- 45 m araiyē i-³
- 46 raṇ[ḍu*]-māvum [idu] ti-
- 47 ruch-cheṇ-na-

¹ This passage is redundant.

² This letter is unnecessary.

³ Expressed by symbol.

- 48 \dot{c} aikku itta ni-
- 49 lam= \dot{a} vadu \dot{a} -
- 50 rān= \dot{c} aṇṇāṛru
- 51 m \dot{t} dar= \dot{s} adiraga¹ a-
- 52 raiyēy= \dot{i} raṇ-
- 53 \dot{c} u= \dot{m} āvum āga
- 54 nila[m*] o[ṇ*]rē-nā
- 55 ṇḡu= \dot{m} āvum [| *]
- 56 ivv= \dot{a} lvār vaitt= \dot{a} ruṛu²
- 57 liṇa maḍama² ttil uṇṇu[m]
- 58 Śrivaiyṇṇavar iru= \dot{p} at-
- 59 taiyvar \dot{c} ku itta nila-
- 60 m= \dot{a} vadu
- 61 ivv= \dot{a} rān= \dot{c} aṇṇāṛru= \dot{i} raṇḍān= \dot{c} hadiram araiyē i-
- 62 raṇḍumāvum aṇḡān= \dot{c} aṇṇāṛru iraṇḍān=[\dot{c} hadiram*] araiyē ira-
- 63 ṇḍumāvum āga maḍap= \dot{p} uṛam oṇṛē nāṅgu māvum [l*] iv-
- 64 v= \dot{a} lvār Āṇi Aṇuḷat= \dot{t} irunā(l)²lukku tiruk= \dot{k} ōḍip= \dot{p} uḍavai-
- 65 y= \dot{u} ḷ itta aṛṛai= \dot{n} āl varai aḷivukku poṇ kaḷaṇḡum tiru= \dot{v} i[la]-
- 66 kk= \dot{e} ṇṇai nāl ēḷukku poṇ iru= \dot{k} aḷaṇḡu[m*]m iṇ= \dot{n} ā² (l)il sévikku[m*]
- 67 Vaiyishṇavarkkum Tādarga(l)²lukcum āga uṇbār āyiravark-
- 68 ku nāl ēḷ² ukku nel aṛupadiṇ= \dot{k} alamum ivv= \dot{a} lvār girāma= \dot{p} rada(ta)²l-
- 69 kshiṇattukku= \dot{t} irut= \dot{t} ēr= \dot{e} ṛi aruḷu= \dot{n} āl iyāchakar[k*]ku tiyāgattukku[m*] p²-
- 70 rasādikkum pariṣaṭṭaṅgaḷukku[m*]³ poṇ aiṇ= \dot{k} aḷaṇḡu[m*] śā[t*]tiy= \dot{a} ruḷu
- 71 tirup= \dot{p} ariṣaṭṭam iraṇḍukku poṇ kaḷaṇḡum uṛsava[ttu]-aindu perun-
- 72 tiruv= \dot{a} mudukku-
- 73 m uttamap= \dot{p} adi-
- 74 kkut= \dot{t} iru= \dot{m} aṇḡa-
- 75 ṇattukcum po-

¹ Read *śadiram*.² This letter is unnecessary.³ *kku* is written below the line.

- 76 ṅ araik-kalañju-
 77 m tirup-pallit-
 78 tāmattukku po-
 79 ṅ araik-kalañ-
 80 jum āga it-ti-
 81 ru pra[stha]ttukku¹
 82 koṇḍ-aruliṇa
 83 nila[m*] ivv=āṅāñ-ka-
 84 ṅṅāṅṅu mūn-
 85 ṅāñ=chaduram
 86 araiyev²-
 87 iran[ḍu*] mā-
 88 vum [i]* ivv=ū-
 89 r(r)uḍaip-pe-
 90 rumāḷ munb=amu-
 91 du śeyd=aruḷukiṛa
 92 paḍi pa[ñ]gu-nāḷil
 93 ariśi kuṛuṇi-nā-
 94 nāḷi ēṅṅi pōdu
 95 kuṛuṇi-nā-nāḷi
 96 āga ariśi tūṇi-
 97 nā-nāḷiyum vīṅ-
 98 ṅ=i[ru]ndār[k*]ku pa[n*] gu aiñjum diśāndri-
 99 tigaḷu[k*] ku³ pa[n] gu naṅ-nālu[k*]ku
 100 pōdu ariśi nā-nāḷi amudu śe-
 101 yd=aruḷavum i[v=ū]-
 102 [ri]ḷ [i]p-pe-

¹ The intended reading was perhaps *Utsavattukku*.

² This letter is unnecessary.

³ Read *dēsāntariḷaḷukku*.

- 103 rumā| Uḍaiya[ā*]r śri-Rājendraśō|a-dēvar uttarāpada¹tha-bhūpati-
- 104 yarai jayi[t*]t=ariḷi² yuddh=ōtsava vibhavattāl. Gaṅgrā(gā) parigraham pa[n*]ni-
- 105 Y=ariḷiṇa Gaṅkai-koṇḍa-śō|an=enṇum=tiru-nāmattāl it-tiru-muṅṅattil
- 106 vaitt=aruḷina³ uttam=āgram Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-śō|anil uṅ-
- 107 ṇum [a]ṇait[tu] vēdamum apū[rva]mum ōḍum brahmachā-
- 108 rigaḷil ṛigvēdam-ōḍuvār eḷu-patt=aiṅjum Yajur-vēdam- ōḍuvār
- 109 eḷu-patt=aiṅjum [Chā]andōkara³-Sāmattukku irupadum Talavakāra-si⁴ Sā-
- 110 ma[t*]tukku irupadum Vājaśa[ṇai]ya[t*]tukku irupadum Atharvattukkup=pa-
- 111 ttum Baudhāyanīyam Ḡrihya-kalpamumū(mum) Kāṭa[ka]mu[m*] [o]ḍuvār[k*]ku
pattu[m]-
- 112 apūrvam ōḍum brahmachārigaḷ iru-nūṅṅ-muppadin[ma*]rum Rū-
- 113 pāvātāram
- 114 kē|ppār nā-
- 115 ṛpadiṅmarum=ā-
- 116 ga-iru-nūṅṅ=e
- 117 ḷupadiṅma[r]-
- 118 kkuk=kalam on-
- 119 ṛinukku nel-
- 120 lu aru-n[ā*]liyu-
- 121 m Vyākaraṇam
- 122 kē|ppār iru-pa-
- 123 tt=aiṅjum Pra-
- 124 bhākaram kē|p[pā]-
- 125 [r] mup-pat=aiṅjum Vēdāntam kē|p[pa]va[r] padinmar
- 126 āga ōttuk=kē|kku[m*] chātragaḷ eḷupadukkum kalam-o-
- 127 ṅṛinukku nelluk-kuṅṅi-iru-nāliyum vyākaraṇam
- 128 vakkāṅikkum nambikku nā|=oṅṅukku nelluk-ka-
- 129 [lamum] Prabhā[karam] vakkāṅikkum nambi[kku] nelluk-kāla-

¹ This letter is unnecessary.

Read °aruḷi.

³ Read Chhandōga°.

- 130 mu[m] Vēdāntam vakkāṇippār oruttarkku nellu kalanē-
- 131 tūṇiyum Vēda[m*] apūrvam ō[du*]vi[p*] pār Rīgvēda[t*]tukku mūva-
- 132 rum Yaju[r]-vēdattukku mūvarum Chhandōga-sāmattukku oruvanum
- 133 Talavak[āra*]-Sāmattu[kku] oruvanum Vājasaneyā[t*]tukku oruvanum
- 134 Baudhāyanīyam Gṛīhyamum. Kalpamu[m*] K[ā] takamum ōdu-
- 135 vip[pān] orūvannukku[m] āga ōduvippār upā[ddhy]āya¹-
- 136 Rūpāvatāra[m] vakkā[ṇippān] oruvanukku nellu muk-kuṇṇiyu[m*]
- 137 āga nā=onṇurukku nellu śrī-Rājarājan marakkālāl mu-
- 138 mu² ppadiṇ-kalattukku āṇḍu-vari nā mu[ṇ]ṇūrr=aru-pa-
- 139 dinukku nellu padin=āyira[t*] tu-aiṇ=ṇūrr= aru-padu-kalamum³ Vyākaraṇam vakkā-
- 140 ṇi[p*]pārkkku ad⁴ dhyāyattāl ōr muḍiy vakkāṇittāl poṇ kaḷaṇjā-
- 141 gap-poṇ asht=ādhyāyattukku poṇ eṇ-kaḷaṇjum [Mi] mānsai vakkā-
- 142 ṇippānukkum adhyāyattāl poṇ kaḷaṇjāga dvādaś=ādhyāyattukkup-
- 143 poṇ paṇṇ-īru kaḷaṇjum vēdam apūrvam ōduvikkum upādhy[āya*]r-u-
- 144 lliṭṭa padaṇiruvarkkum⁴ Rūpāvatāram kēlp⁵ vippān
- 145 pērāl poṇ araik=kaḷaṇj=āgap-poṇ aru=kaḷaṇjum. Vyākaraṇa-
- 146 mum Mimaṇśaiyum Vēdāntamum kēlkku[m*] Chāttira[r*] eḷu-padinmarkkup-
- 147 pērāl poṇ arai-[k]kaḷaṇj-āgap pa[t]ṭa mudal-poṇ [muppatt]=aiṇ-kaḷaṇjum

¹ The continuity of the record at this point is not traceable. Obviously a few lines are wanted here.

² This letter is unnecessary.

³ The quantity 10560 *kalam* is a mistake for 10800 *kalam*.

⁴ Read : *padin=oruvarkkum*

⁵ This letter is redundant.

- 148 āgappa[di] mudal-poṇ aṟu-pattu-oru kaḷaṅjukkum ko-
- 149 (ko)²ṅḍa nilam piḍāgai Rājarāja-vaḷanāttāḍu(tu) Āṅāṅgūr-ā-
- 150 ṅa Rājarājanallur-ōḍum=aḍainda Māmbākkach-chēriy-āṅa
- 151 Pavittiramāṅikka-nallūri¹ lum Mēlk-Kūḍalūr
- 152 āṅa Purushōttamaṅ-nallūri(1)²lum ivv-ālvār Koṅḍ-a-
- 153 ruḷiṅa nilam nā[r*]-patt=ai-vēliyum=āvadu śri-Paṅchavaṅ-
- 154 mādēvi-vadikkuk kiḷakkum Chaṅḍēsuvara-vā[y*]kkālukku[t*]-
- 155 te[r*]kkum Tiribhuvanāmādē[vi*]ch-chaturvvēdimaṅgalat[tu*] ellai-
- 156 [k]kkum Kaḷakkuttūr ellaikkum āga i-v=iraṅḍ=ūr el-
- 157 [lai]kku meṟkum Aṟiṅjyap-pēr-āṟṟiṅ teṅ-karait- tuṅḍam=agappaḍa-
- 158 [Mu]ū=āṟṟukku vaḍakkum naḍuvu paṭṭa nilattil(ttil)³ ivv-ālvā[r]-
- 159 [vā]ṅḍāṅ=i[ḍai] i-dhanmam śuṭṭi vilai koṅḍ-arulina nilam nāṟ=pat-
- 160 narpat³ t=ai vēliyilu mumu³m Pavitramāṅikka-nallūrilum Pū
- 161 rushanārāyaṅa=na[1*]lūrilum kuḍi-irundu i-nilamu mu¹m kuḍigaḷai
- 162 vetṭi amaiṅji ulḷ=itta [uḷav=i]ṟai śuṭṭi mā-tūṅi māp-padakk=a[1*] ladu maṟ-
- 163 ṟ=oṅṟum kāṭṭap=peṟār-eṅṟu tiru-āṅai-kuṅi Uḍaiyār śri-Rājēndraśōḷa-
- 164 dēvar tiru-v[ā][y*]-moḷind=aṟuḷa namm=ūr paripālik-kiṅṟa Kāḷi-Ekāmranārum=
irukka

¹ This letter is unnecessary.

² The continuity of the record at this point is not traceable. Obviously a few lines are wanted here.

³ These letters are redundant.

- 165 ip-pariśu śeydō[m*] mahā-sabhaiyōm [1*] karai-pōndu-panittu Śrī-Sundaraśōla-
chchēri
- 166 Venñichcheṭṭu Gaṇasvāmi-kramavittap=paṇiyāl Śrī-Śembiyan-mādēvi-ch-
chēri madhyasthan Tiruvēṅgaḍam=āṇa Karuṇākarapriyaṇṇ¹
- 167 i-dharmman teṇ-chēri Śrī-Vīranārāyaṇach-chatūrvēdi-maṅgalattā-
- 169 r-rakshai {||*}

¹ Read *ṇ-ivai*°.

No. 35—UDEGOLAM MINOR ROCK EDICT OF ASOKA

(2 Plates)

P. R. SRINIVASAN, MYSORE

The Minor Rock Edict of Aśoka¹ edited below was discovered in March 1978 at a place called Uḍegoḷam in Siruguppa Taluk, Bellary District of Karnataka State. The discovery was announced in the *Indian Express* (Bangalore Edition), dated 5-3-1978 by Dr. M.S. Nagaraja Rao, Director of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Karnataka, Mysore. In this report only one boulder with inscription was stated to have been discovered. Later on in the same newspaper dated 11-3-78, this announcement was elaborated and in it was stated that one Shri Shaik Shahavali was responsible for bringing the existence of this inscription to the notice of the Director mentioned above. Action was taken by me immediately to send Dr. M. D. Sampath, Deputy Superintending Epigraphist and Shri N. Nanjundaswamy, both of the Dravidian Inscriptions section of my office to visit the place and copy the inscription. They did so on the 9th and 10th of March 1978, and copied the same. In the course of their work they discovered another boulder at the place, about 40 m, away from the other boulder with an inscription in similar characters, which was not previously noticed and reported anywhere, and they copied it on the 10th March 78. The reports about the discovery of the second inscribed boulder on the 12th March 78, and attributing it to Shri Shaik Shahavali (*Indian Express*, Bangalore edition, dated 15-3-78 and *Deccan Herald*, Bangalore, dated 15-3-78) and to the joint team of the officials of the Department of Ancient History, Karnataka University and the Archaeological Survey of India (*Madras Mail*, dated 17-3-78) are incorrect. As will be seen below, the inscription discovered by my officers is the first part of the edict of which the inscription discovered and reported earlier forms the second part.

The site where the inscribed boulders are found is nearly 5 km from Tekkalkōṭe and to the south of Tekkalkōṭe-Uḍegoḷam road. The rocky outcrop of granite locally called Eṅ-emaṭṭi (red hillock), one of the seven *maṭṭis*, lies at a distance of 3 km, to the south of Niṭṭūr² in the same Taluk where in July-August 1977, a Minor Rock Edict of Aśoka was discovered, and to the East-South-East of Uḍegoḷam village at a distance of 1.6 km. Boulder No. II, (discovered first) slopes from North to South, and the inscribed portion on it covers an area of about 4.5 m by 1 m. Boulder No. I (discovered by my office) is a small outcrop of granite and the writing on it covers an area of about 2.80 m by 1.20 m. This Boulder No. I has six lines of writing while Boulder No. II has seven lines of writing. But the writing on both boulders has suffered much damage, the one on Boulder No. I being more damaged than that on the other. Though, as has been stated above, the texts on both the boulders form one Minor Rock Edict of Aśoka, it is interesting to note that as at nearby Niṭṭūr, here also, half of the edict upto the date portion is engraved on one boulder and the rest on another boulder. The reason for this is not far to seek. The text being long and the letters bold and big, and there being no wide rock-surface, the scribe could not accommodate it on a single boulder. So, he had resorted to split it into two parts, and distributed them one on each of the two boulders, as was done by the scribe at Niṭṭūr.

¹ The macron over *e* and *o* is not used in this article.

² Above, Vol. XXXIX, pp. 149 ff and plate.

The lines of writing are not aligned properly on Boulder No. II, and here the last three lines consist of letters which are less bold and thick than the letters of the first four lines. The characters of the edict are roundish in shape and they are similar to those of other edicts of Aśoka found in this region. The language and orthography of the record are also similar to those of the edicts at Erraguḍi, Rājula-Manḍagiri and Niṭṭūr. Here, however, *r* is changed to *l* in *yathālaham* (lines 11-12), which is a characteristic feature of the Magadha dialect.¹ It may be mentioned that this feature is also met with in the Niṭṭūr Edict also.² *N* is changed to *ṇ* in some places (*kāleṇa*, line 2 ; *mahāptaṇ=eva*, line 3) and *t* is changed to *v* in two places viz., *apāchāvaiye* (line 11) for *apachavitaviye*, and *pavativāviyaṃ* (line 12) for *pavatitaviyaṃ*. The expression *hem=eva* (line 12) occurs in Erraguḍi and Niṭṭūr texts also, and its use in these versions has to be considered as a special linguistic feature. Another important point noticed in the writing is the mark of punctuation, in the form of a vertical *danḍa* put after some phrases. This is present in more places in the writing on Boulder No. I, while it is met with only at some places in the writing on the other boulder. The presence of similar *danḍas* are known only from the Kālsī Rock Edicts Nos. V and XI-XIII³ and from the Mahāsthān tablet inscription.⁴

This is another version of Minor Rock Edict of Aśoka, and its text is very much similar to the one at Niṭṭūr.⁵ But here, the order of the wording is changed in some places and phrases are missing from some contexts. Nevertheless its purport remains the same. As we have stated while editing the Niṭṭūr edict, the texts on both the boulders are to be taken as forming a single record, and so if the inscription on one or the other boulder was not discovered the available text will remain incomplete. The importance of this Edict lies in the fact that here too the name *Rājā Asoko* occurs. This increases the number of places where the name of Aśoka occurs to four, the other places being Maski, Gujarrā, and Niṭṭūr. At Niṭṭūr it occurs twice. The name *Rājā Asoko*, in the present case, is followed by *Devānaṃpiya* whereas at Niṭṭūr it is not so. At Maski⁶, it is given as *Devānaṃpiyasa Asokasa* and at Gujarrā⁷ it is given as *Piyadasino Asokarājasa*. This Minor Rock Edict has been sufficiently discussed with texts and translations in this journal⁸ as well as in the *C. I. I.*, Vol. I (1925), pp. 173 ff. So, here we are content with giving its salient features and the text.

First Boulder

TEXT⁹

1 10... .na, ṇam hakaṃ upāsake † (III) no tu kho¹¹ [bā]dham pa . . . husaṃ [† *]
2¹² cha me pakamte † (V) iminā chu kāleṇa amisā¹³

¹ Above, Vol. XXXII, p.4.

² Ibid., Vol. XXXIX, p. text lines 3-4 on Boulder No. II.

³ *C.I.I.*, Vol. I (1925), pp.32, lines 40-44, and plate facing p.44.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXI, plate facing page 85.

⁵ Ibid., Vol. XXXIX, pp. 149 ff.

⁶ *C.I.I.*, Vol. I (1925), p.174, line 1.

⁷ Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 209, line 1.

⁸ Above, Vol. XXXI, pp.212 ff; Vol. XXXIII, pp.4 ff; Vol. XXXIX, pp. 149 ff.

⁹ From impressions.

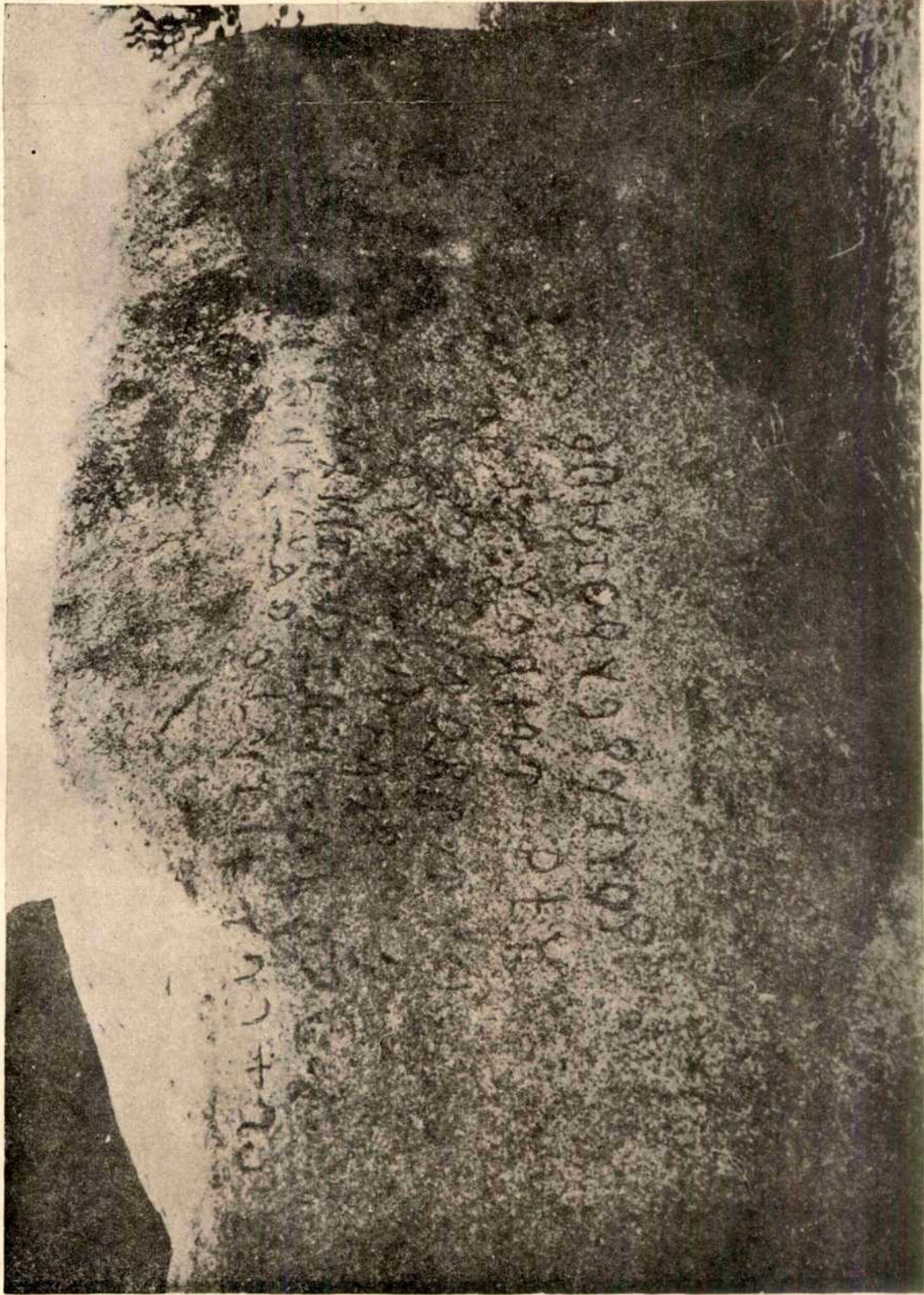
¹⁰ Here the passage (I) *Devānaṃpiye hēv-āha* [† *] has been completely erased.

¹¹ After this '*ekaṃ savachharam*' are the words met with in Erraguḍi (above, Vol. XXXII, p.6, line 2), and *bādham* is not found.

¹² The passage '*s-ātireke chu kho savachhare yaṃ mayā saṅghe upayite*' is completely lost here.

¹³ The passage '*ye munisā devehi te dāni misibhūtā* [† *] (V) *pakamasa*' is lost here completely.

UDEGOLAM MINOR ROCK EDICT OF ASOKA
First Boulder



2

4

6

2

4

6

SIZE: One-twelfth

UDEGOLAM MINOR ROCK EDICT OF ASOKA
Second Boulder
Left Half



8

10

12

8

10

12

RIGHT HALF



SIZE: One-twelfth

8

10

12

8

10

12

- 3 hi iyaṁ¹ [| *] (VI) ²mahāpataṇ=eva sake³ [sa?] dhetave |
- 4..... (IX) etāya [iyaṁ]⁴ athāya sāvaṇē sāvāpīte⁵
- 5 *..... [thi]thiko⁷ cha iyaṁ pakame hōtu (XI) iyaṁ cha a[the]
- 6 *..... [sā]vaṇe sa(sā)vapite vyuthena [200] 50 6 [| *]

Second Boulder

TEXT⁹

- 7 I) **Rājā Asoko Devānarāpiye** hevaṁ¹⁰ āha tath[ā] ānāpayā(yi)thā [| *] (II) rājūka se ānāpayisiti [| *] (III) jānapadaṁ cha jana[m*] rathikāni [| *]
- 8 IV) mātā-pitusu [susū]sitavi[ye] [| *] (V) hevam=eva ga[ru]su¹¹ [| *] (VI) prānesu cha dayita[viye]¹² [| *] (VII) i[me] dhamma-guṇā pā(pa)vatitaviyā [| *] (VIII) he-
- 9 va[m] tum̐phe rājūka ānāpayātha .. ni **Devānarāpiyasa** vachanena [| *] (IX) ānāpayitaviaya .. ta ha[ma]va [| *] (X) ānāpayātha hevaṁ bāṁhan[ā]ni [cha] ha [thiy-ā]rohā-
- 10 ni cha kāranakāni cha yug-ācha[riyāni] [| *] (XI) [he]vaṁ uive[sajyātha am̐tevā- [si] yādisā porānā [pakiti] [| *] (XII) tadisā susūsitaviye ti | iya[m]
- 11 (XIII) iyaṁ apachāyitaviye ti | (XIV) sa āchāriyasa apāchāvaviye cha susūsitaviyā | (XV) [yathā vā] a(ā)chāriyasa nāti.tasu[pi] ya[thā]lahaṁ pavatitaviye ti [| *]

¹ The word *phale* said to have been "omitted after this by the scribe or engraver through oversight" (ibid., note 13) at Erraguḍi, is not found here also.

² The words 'no *hiyaṁ*' have been omitted here.

³ The passage '*khudakena pi pakamamīnena vipule svage-ārā*' is missing after this, perhaps due to the oversight of the scribe or the engraver; or it is here introduced after the letter *ve* which seems to be followed by the letter *khu*⁹

⁴ In other places *cha* is found instead of this word which is put after *athāya* at Erraguḍi, etc.

⁵ At Erraguḍi etc., *sāvite* is put instead of *sāvāpīte*.

⁶ The passage '*athā khudaka-mahalakā imāṁ pi pakameva am̐tā cha me jānevu chira*⁹', is erased here.

⁷ At Erraguḍi, etc., '*chira-thitkā*' is seen.

⁸ The passage '*vipulaṁ pi cha vaḍasitā aparadhiyā diya-dhiyaṁ*' seems to have been lost.

⁹ From impressions.

¹⁰ This word is given at the beginning of the line in the Erraguḍi text (ibid., p.7).

¹¹ The verb *susūsitaviye* is omitted here after this.

¹² The sentence '*sache vataviye*' is omitted after this.

- 12 XVI) hem=eva sa [am]te[vā]sisu pi yathālaham pavatitaviye (|) yādisi por[ānā]
 pakiti [| *] (XVII) yathā iyam sātireke puvaya tathā pavativā(ta)viya[m] | (XVIII)
 heva[m] tumphe ānapayāthā(tha)
- 13 nivesayātha cha amtevasini ti[| *]

No. 36.—A COPPER-PLATE RECORD FROM MAHOBA

(1 Plate)

P. R. SRINIVASAN, MYSORE

The copper-plate record¹ edited below has been listed as item E 58 by Pandit Hirananda Shastri on page 38 of Part I of the *Catalogue of Archaeological Exhibits in the United Provinces Provincial Museum*, Lucknow. There, the findspot of the inscription is stated to be **Mahōbā Fort** and that it was forwarded evidently to the Museum at Lucknow, by the Collector of the Hamirpur District in 1898.² The plate is thin measuring 56 cm long and 20 cm high. It has writing on both the sides. There are 8 lines of writing on the obverse and 12 lines on the reverse. The plate has suffered damage at the top as well as at the bottom. Except for a line or two at the top and bottom of the reverse side, the record is legible as the writing is bold. This record has been the subject matter of a paper entitled "Agrarian Potentates in the Katchar in the 13th century in the light of the Kasrak Copper-plate inscription", presented at the recent Indian History Congress Session held at Bhubaneswar in the last week of December 1977.³ The treatment of the record in the above-mentioned paper is wanting in several respects. Besides, the record contains some interesting pieces of information on the social life of the time to which it belonged. It is, therefore, dealt with here in detail.

The characters of the inscription are Nāgarī which is regular for the period. Vowels like *a* (lines 3, 4 etc.), *ī* (line 2), *v* (line 19), *u* (lines 7, 12, 18) occur. Among the consonants, *s* is written in two forms while the others are normal. The language is corrupt Sanskrit much influenced by local dialect. The words *guḍāmtapatram* probably vulgo of *gūdhāntapatram* (private deed, and *shadtrimśaty-ādāya* written also as *shadtrimśatyā* and *shadtrimśa* (thirty-six kinds of privileges ?) are of lexical interest.

The record contains eleven dates. The first date is **V. S. 1283, chaitra śu. 11, Tuesday** corresponding to **1277 A. D., March 30**, and the last date is **V. S. 1339 (current), Chaitra śu. 9, Thursday** (i. e. **1282 A. D., March 19**). It is evident that this is a record of transactions covering a period of 55 years and that it was committed to writing on 1282 A. D., March 19.

On the obverse the record refers to only one transaction probably done on the first date viz., 1277 A. D., March 30, in the reign of **Suratāṇa-Samasadīna** otherwise called **Itutmish** who is known to have reigned from 1210 A. D. to 1236 A. D.⁴ He is described as *Paramabhāṭṭāraka* which indicates his imperial status. In the first line of the reverse the name of the Suratāṇa is damaged beyond recognition but since the date occurring here viz., 1234 A. D. March 14 falls within the reign-period of the same Samasadīna (Itutmish), here also this ruler's name should have been given. Though the name of the ruler during whose

¹ This is registered as *A. R. Ep.*, 1962-63. Nos. A 51 and 52.

² *The Lucknow Provincial Museum Report*, 1898, p. 3.

³ Dr. Z. A. Desai, Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Nagpur was kind enough to send me a cyclostyled copy of the paper.

⁴ *The Struggle for Empire*, pp. 130-35.

time the record was put to writing has not been stated, the last date viz., 1282 A. D. of the inscription falls in the reign of Balban.¹

The deed recorded on the obverse is stated to have been concluded when Suratāna-Samasa-dīna, whose imperial status has been indicated by the titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Shāhi*, was at Vōdāmayūtā which has been identified with Budaun in Uttar Pradesh. After giving the particulars of date and the mention made of ruler in line 1, there is a reference to a chief (*maluka*) named Istakhāra of the place Śekhōjāmvāda in the *pratigaṇa* of Kasaraka in line 2. In lines 2-3, a money-lender named *Rā(Rāuta)* Chāchē, the son of *Rā(Rāuta)* Pāsala, of the Vāchchhila-gōtra and belonging to Kavaḍā-grāma is stated to have given his money. The exact amount lent by him is however not stated. The receivers of the money from him are then referred to in the following passages in lines 3-5. They were (1) Bhaṭṭa-Paduma, the son of Bhaṭṭa-Sulamgha, described as Brāhmaṇa-Tivāḍi belonging to the Bhāradvāja-gōtra; (2) Bhaṭṭa-Sulakhaṇha, son of Bhaṭṭa-Sulakhaṇa; and (3) Bhaṭṭa-Anaḍū, the son of Bhaṭṭa-Gaṅgēva(śa). These persons were residents of Muralī. They together gave the private deed obviously to the money-lender mentioned above. In lines 5-6, the amount of one *viśōpaka* besides the *śaḍtrimsad-ādāyā* (some privileges ?) per village from the villages of Ikaḍāmvō, Vaṇēlī, Khōḍiā and Dhulēlī, all situated in the Nimōhāra-pratigaṇaka, is mentioned. Though the connection of the passages with the earlier one is not stated, it may be inferred from the context that the money and privileges from each of the villages which may have belonged to the *Bhaṭṭas* were intended to be given to the money-lender to discharge the debt the *Bhaṭṭas* owed him. In lines 6-7, the boundaries of the above-mentioned villages which seem to have formed a group, are given. They were on the east was Vāuḍa; on the south Ūna; on the west Kāshtha-nadī; and on the north Jēmaiḍa. The names of witnesses to the transaction are given in lines 7-8. They are Vipra-Jāsū; Nigōhi-bhaṭṭa, Sahadēva and Pu[n]vāsu who were the sons of Dharamū, Bhaṭṭa, Vilhā-Bhaṭṭa, Lashamna and Mahapū [Mahidra]. They are stated to be *mahājana*s of Kasaraka. The writer of the record was *Pam (Paṇḍita)* Dēhūka.

The reverse also gives in the first line the name of the reigning king which ends in °dīna. The previous letters are difficult to read owing to the damage suffered by the plate here. The details of date are V.S. 1290, Chaitra śudi-13, Tuesday which correspond to 1234 A.D., March 14, f.d.t. '20. The name of the king's representative which is also unfortunately damaged beyond recognition, ends in °phala. Here the same money-lender viz., *Rā (Rāuta)* Chāchē, the son of *Rā* Pāsala, of Vāchchhila-gōtra and belonging to Kavaḍā-grāma (*Kavaḍā-grāma* on the obverse), figures. Interestingly he is stated to belong to Rāuta-jñāti, which is already indicated by the initial *Ra°* placed before his name and the name of his father. This *Rā* Chāchē had given his money to a number of persons mentioned below on different dates under private deeds (*gudānta-patra=gūdhānta-patra*). Even here the exact amount lent by this person is not given. Four persons who received the amount on the above-mentioned dates are mentioned. They were *Maham* Rājū, and Bhōjū, both sons of *Rā* Sīdha and of the Garga-gōtra who were residents of Kōligāmvē-grāma but perhaps originally belonging to Chōtpanā-grāma; and Lohaḍa and Hōlē, both sons of *Rā*. Sūhava (line 11) are stated to have given the private deed.

Then in line 12, three villages are mentioned viz., Unā, Salēlī and Ḍhalhalā. In the same line mention is made of an amount of five *viśōpakā* together with the *śaḍtrimsaty-ādāya*.

¹ Ibid., p. 155.

It is likely that the debtors were owners of the three villages and that they had pledged them on the above-mentioned date to the creditor for the amount to be paid from every village towards discharging their debt. The periodicity of the payment whether it is annual or half-yearly, is not however, stated. Further on, in the same line, the date V. S. 1298, Kārttika vadi 1, Sunday equivalent of 1241 A. D., September 22, is given and this passage is followed by the one in which Bhōjū, the son of Siḍha is mentioned together with the amount $1\frac{1}{2}$ *visōpakā* and *shadtrimśaty-ādāya*. This may be taken to mean that Bhōjū returned this amount on this date to the creditor. In line 13, the date V. S. 1299, Phālguna śudi, Tuesday equivalent of 1243 A. D., February 24 is given, followed by the passage mentioning *Maham* Rājū, Gājū, Bhōjū, Gāgū and Pālḥē who were the sons of Siḍha. They seem to have paid 1 *visōpakā* together with *shadtrimśatyā* to the creditor on this date. In lines 13-14, the particulars of date V. S. 1299, Chaitra śudi 8, Friday corresponding to 1243 A. D. March 30, Monday (not Friday), are given. This is followed by the passage mentioning the same group of persons viz., *Maham* Rājū, Gājū, Bhōjū, Gāgū and Pālḥē, who were the sons of, *Rā* Siḍha. They seem to have paid 1 *visōpakā* together with *shadtrimśatyā* to the creditor on this date.

In lines 14-15 *Maham* Rājū and Pālḥē, the sons of *Maham* Siḍha and Siāura, the son of *Maham* Sahajū are mentioned who seem to have paid the amount of 3 *visōpakā* together with *shadtrimśatyā*, to the creditor on V.S. 1299, Āshāḍha vadi 7 Wednesday corresponding to 1243 A.D., June 10. In lines 15-16, mention is made of the fact that on V.S. 1300 (current), Bhādrapada śudi 13, Saturday corresponding to 1243 A. D., August 29, *Maham* Gāgū, the son of Siḍha, paid the amount of *visōpakā* together with *shadtrimśatyā*. In the same year i.e., V.S. 1300, but on Mārgaśira śudi 5 Wednesday corresponding to 1243 A.D. November 18, Mālḥē, the son of *Rā* Dharamū, paid the amount of 1 *visōpakā*. In lines 16-17, particulars of date viz., V.S. 1302, Pausha śudi 5, Monday equivalent of 1245 A.D. December 25, on which probably, Lōhaḍa, the son of Suhava, paid the amount of 1 *visōpakā* together with *shadtrimśatyā* are given. After this, it is stated that on V. S. 1307, Āśvina śudi 5, Wednesday, equivalent of 1251 A. D., September 20, f. d. t. .63 *Maham* Lōhaḍa, the son of Suhava paid the amount of 2 *visōpakā*. In lines 17-18, it is given that on V. S. 1339, Chaitra śudi 9, Thursday corresponding to 1282 A. D., March 19, *Idāi*, Sūdāna and Madāna, the sons of *Rā* Lōhaḍa, had given, with willingness, a private deed. It is not stated to whom it was given. But it may be inferred that the same was given to the creditor *Rā* Chāchē. Here, however, the three villages viz., Una, Saḷēli and Dhalahalā are mentioned again and also the amount of three *visōpakās*, probably the amount to be got from each of the three villages by the creditor. This will mean that the last mentioned persons had come into the possession of the villages and they belonged to the family of *Rā* Lōhaḍa mentioned in line 11 above. The debt, the family members, one of whom was Lōhaḍa, owed to *Rā* Chāchē, was not cleared even by V. S. 1339, the last mentioned date on this side, so that his three sons had again undertaken to repay it by pledging the villages to the creditor. The passage *ētē maham tishṭha[m]ti ākāśē* meaning that 'these mahants remain in the air', at the end of line 18, may be taken to refer to the fact that the ancestors of the three last mentioned persons had died by the time the deed was put to writing in V. S. 1339. A passage in line 19 is somewhat damaged. It is followed by the passage which contains the names of villages and a river which formed the boundaries of the three villages mentioned above. These were Vāuḍū on the east, Saḷi on the south, Kāshṭha -nadi on the west and Ikaḍāvō on the north. It will be found that of these boundaries, Vāuḍū and Kāshṭha-nadi figure as boundaries to the pledged villages mentioned on the obverse. Interestingly one of the pledged villages, viz., Ikaḍāvō on the obverse figures

here as forming the boundary on the north of the three pledged villages. Only the second half of the writing in line 20 is preserved, the first half having suffered much damage. Even in the preserved portion, only the name of the writer or engraver can be read satisfactorily. It is stated here that *Pam* (*Paṇḍita*) Kuladhara wrote the deed (*pramāṇam*).

The importance of this inscription lies in the fact that it is a record of money transaction between *Rā Chāchē* and two groups of persons. According to the text on the obverse *Rā Chāchē* had lent money to a number of Brāhmaṇas who had perhaps pledged their landed property and had agreed for the repayment of the loan by paying a certain fixed amount probably at certain intervals. Although the duration of the interval is not mentioned, it was in all likelihood, annual. The transaction took place in V. S. 1283 during the reign of Sultan Samasadīna or Iltutmish. His representative stationed at Śekhōjāmvāda of the Kasakpratigaṇa was one Istakhāra who cannot be identified.]

According to the text on the reverse, the same money-lender *Rā Chāchē* lent money to the members of two families who were also *Rāutas*. They were *Maham Rājū* and *Bhōjū*, the sons of *Rā Sīḍha* and *Lōhaḍa* and *Hōlē*, the sons of *Rā Sūhava*. The title *maham* prefixed to some of them, together with the title *Rā*, shows that they were men of nobility, whose wealth had become so diminished as to drive them to go to *Rāuta Chāchē* for raising a loan after pledging their landed property in three villages, and after agreeing to repay the debt at a fixed rate probably annually. The initial transaction took place in V. S. 1290 obviously in the reign of Sultan Iltutmish. The name of the Sultan's local representative is unfortunately not preserved. In the repayment of the loan by the debtors changes had taken place on different dates. In V. S. 1298, *Bhōjū*, the son of *Sīḍha*, had agreed to pay a certain amount; in V. S. 1299, *Maham Rājū*, *Gāgū*, *Bhōjū*, *Gājū* and *Pālḥē*, the sons of *Sīḍha*, evidently the same person mentioned above, had agreed to pay another amount; in a different month of the same year, the same people had agreed to pay a certain amount; in another month of the same year, *Maham Rājū* and *Pālḥē*, the sons of *Maham Sīḍha* and *Siāura*, the son of *Maham Sahajū* had agreed to pay a certain amount; in V. S. 1300, *Maham Gājū*, the son of *Sīḍha* had agreed to pay an amount; in another month in the same year, *Mālḥē*, the son of *Dharamū*, had agreed to pay some amount and in V. S. 1302, *Lōhaḍa*, the son of *Sūhava*, had agreed to pay a certain amount. But it is stated that in V. S. 1339, *Udaī*, *Sūdana* and *Madana*, the sons of *Rā Lōhaḍa*, had given a private deed evidently pledging the same three villages, *Unā*, *Salēli* and *Ḍhalahalā* which were originally pledged in V. S. 1290. This shows that even in V. S. 1339, the loan received by the members of this family earlier was not cleared and that, therefore, there arose the necessity for re-pledging the villages by the descendants of the original debtor. The reason for this is not known, but it appears that there existed in the 13th century, a practice or local law which prescribed a certain time limit for transactions of this type after which the pledge required to be renewed. In the present instance the original transaction took place in V. S. 1290, and the renewal of the pledge took place in V. S. 1339, the period between the two dates being over 49 years. Probably, the time limit for such transactions was 50 years then, and the money-lender being eager to get the life of the deed increased, had obtained its renewal even before the 50 years period expired. In the list of persons given above all appear to belong to the two families of which the heads were *Rā Sīḍha* and *Rā Sūhava*, except two persons one named *Siāura*, the son of *Maham Sahajū* (line 15) and *Mālḥē*, the son of *Rā Dharamū* (line 16). The relationship of these two persons to the members of the families of *Sīḍha* and *Sūhava* is not clear. Probably *Rā Sahaj* and *Rā Dharamū* were also related by blood to the others figuring here. As has

A COPPER PLATE GRANT FROM MAHOBA

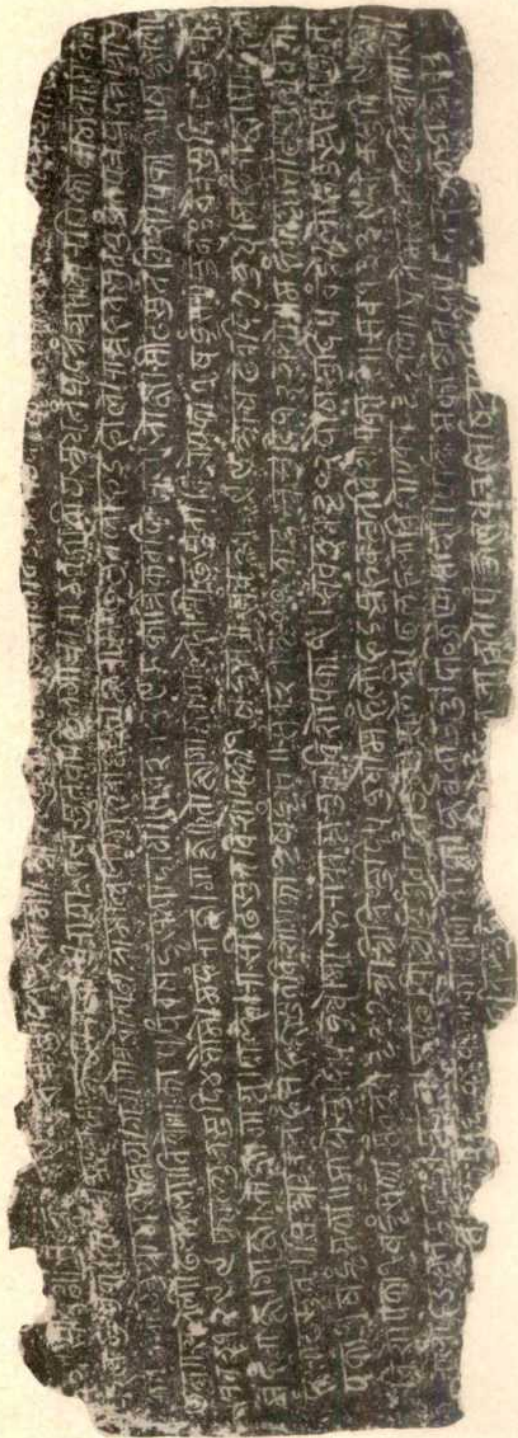
OBVERSE



2 4 6 8

2 4 6 8

Reverse



10 12 14 16 18 20

10 12 14 16 18 20

SIZE : One-third

been stated above, the last mentioned date falls in the reign of Balban although this fact is not recorded in the text of the reverse.

A noteworthy detail relates to the *gōtra* of the money-lender *Rā Chāchē*. He is stated to belong to *Vāchchhila-gōtra*. On the other hand, the other *Rā tas* who had borrowed money from him are stated to have belonged to *Garga-gōtra*. The *gōtra* name *Vāchchhila* is apparently a corrupt form of a *gōtra* like *Vatsa*.

The terms *viśōpakā* and *śaḍtriṁsaty-ādāya* are interesting. The former seems to be the same as *viṁśōpaka* a copper coin which was one-twentieth of the standard silver coin, while the meaning of the latter is not clear, although it might refer to certain privileges associated with the ownership of land in a village.

Of the many geographical terms occurring here *Vōdāmayūta* has been identified with *Budaun* in *Shajahanpur District, Uttar Pradesh*. Other places like *Kasaraka-pratigaṇa*, *Śēkhōjāmvāda*, *Kavaḍā-grāma*, *Muralī*, *Nimōhāra-pratigaṇaka*, *Ikaḍāmvō*, *Vaṇēli*, *Khēḍiā*, *Dhulēli*, *Vāuḍu*, *Ūna*, *Jēmaiḍa Kōligāmvē-grāma*, *Chōtṭana-grāma*, *Ūnā*, *Salēli*, *Dhalhalā* and *Saśi* and the stream *Kāshṭha-nadī* are not easy to identify although they must also be looked for in the vicinity of *Mahōbā*.

Obverse

TEXT¹

- 1 Siddham² || Samvat [1283] Chaitra-sudi 11 Bhaumē | Vōd āmayutāyām | Parama-
| bhattāarakē [shā]hi | Śrīmat-Suratāṇa-Samasadi-
- 2 na-vijāya-rajyē Kasaraka-pratigaṇa [Śē]shō(khō)-jāmvāda-Istashā(khā) ra-maluka³
|| Dhanikō nāma nāmataḥ | Kavaḍā-grāma -vāsta-
- 3 vya | Vāch[chhi]la-gōtra | Rā Chāchē | Rā[Pā]sala-suta [sva]dhanam pradattam |
Asya sakāsā(śā)t Dhāranikō nāma nāmataḥ | Muralī-vāstavya
- 4 Bhāradvāja-gōtra-vrā(brā)hma[ṇa]-Tivāḍi | Bhaṭṭa-Paduma Bhaṭṭa-[Su]lamgha-suta
| Bhaṭṭa-[Su]lashaṁ(kham)mha [|*] Bhaṭṭa-Salasha(kha)ṇa-suta | Bhaṭṭa-Anaḍū
| Bhatta - Gaṁ—
- 5 gēva(śa)-suta | ētē (tair-ē)kamati [bhū]tvā guḍāva(ṇta)-patram pradattam [|*]
Nimōhāra-pratigaṇakē grāmu Ikaḍāmvō | Vaṇēli | Shē (Khē)ḍiā | Dhulē-
- 6 li [|*] ētē grāmachāri viśōpakā 1 pṛithaku śaḍtriṁsa(śa)ty-ādāy-ādhunē | pū[r*]
vvē Vāuḍu | dakshiṇa(ṇē) Ūna | paśchima(mē) Kāshṭha-nadī [|*]
- 7 uttara(rē) Jēmaiḍa | chatur-āgha(ghā)[ṭa*]-visu(su)ddha-bhōktaṁ | Kasaraka-mahā-
jana-vipra-Jāsū Nigōhi-bhaṭṭa | Dharamū-putra-Sahadēva | Pu[n]vā—
- 8 sū Bhaṭṭa-Vilhā Bhaṭṭa-Lasha(kha)[m]na | ha[tē] | maham Mahidram ētē sāshi
(kshi)mu(m-a)ru(nu)vadamti | Pam Dē[hū]ka(kē)na lishi(khi)tam pramāṇam ||

¹ From impressions.² Expressed by a symbol.³ Some scratches are seen on top of this letter.

Reverse

- 9 || ¹Siddh[i]h || Samvat 1290 Chaitra-sudi 13 Bhaumē || Śri..Su....dīna vi[ja]-
[yarājyē] pā shā[hī].....shā....
- 10 phala muluk | Kavāḍā-grāma-vāstavya | Rā Chāchē | Rā Pāsala-suta-Vāchchhila-
gōtra | Rāuta jñātiya svadhanam pradattam [| *] Asā(sya)³ Dharanikō nāma
nāmatah |
- 11 Kōligāmvē-grāma-vāstavya | Garga-gōtru(trā)-Chōtpana-grāmānvalā(?) maham Rājū
Bhōjū Rā Siḍha-suta Lōhaḍa Hōlē | Rā Sūhava-suta guḍāmīta-patra[m*] pradattam |
grāmu
- 12 Unā | Salēli | Ḍhalahalā | viśopakā 5 pañcha shaḍtrimśa(śa)ty-ādāya | samvat
1298 Kārttika-vadi | Ravau | Bhōjū | Siḍha-suta viśopakā | 1/2 shaḍtrimśa(śa)tyā
- 13 Samvat 1299 Phālguna-sudi 4 Bhaumē | Maham Rājū | Gājū || Bhōjū | Gāgū |
Pālhē | Siḍha-suta | viśopakā 1 shaḍtrimśa(śa)tya | punah Chaitra-sudi 8 Su(Śu)
krē
- 14 maham Rājū | Gājū | Bhōjū | Gājū | Pālhē | Rā Siḍha-suta viśopakā | shaḍtrimśa
(śa) || Samvat 1299 Āsha(shā)ḍha-vadi 7 Budhē | maham Rājū | Pālhē ma-
- 15 ham Siḍha-suta | Siāu[ra] maham Sahajū-suta viśopakā 3 shaḍtrimśa(śa) || Samvat 1300
Bhāda(dra)mva(pada) sudi 13 Śanau || maham Gāgū | Siḍha-suta viśo-
- 16 pakā | shaḍtrisa(śa)tyā || Mārga-sudi 5 Vu(Bu)dhē | Mālhē Rā Dharamū-suta viśo-
pakā Samvat 1302 Pausha-sudi 5 Chamdrē | Lōhaḍa Suhava-suta
- 17 viśopakā | shaḍtrisa(śa)tya(tyā) | Samvat 1307 Asvi(śvi)ni sudi 5 Vu(Bu)dhē |
maham Lōhaḍa Suhava suta visopakā 2 || Sa(Sam)va[t] 1339 Chaitra sudi 9
Gurau
- 18 Rā Lōhaḍa-suta Udaī | Sūdana | Madana | prityō(tyā) guḍāmīta-patram [pradaṭtam*]
| Una | Salēli | Ḍhalahalā viśopakā tṛi(tṛi)ṇi || ētē maham tishṭha[m]ti ākase(śē)
- 19[nī]. kē tra[ddi] kaikayākō thavā bhōktaṁ pūrvv[e] Vāuḍu | dakshinē Saśi
paśchim[ē] Kāshṭha - nadi | uta(tta)ra(rē) Ikaḍā [m]ō chatu—
- 20da vi[śu]ddhē.....vvalātmanē | Paṁ Kuladhara lishti(khi)ta-prra-
[māṇa]m ||

¹ Traces of some letters or symbols are seen before this. Probably they represented the symbol for *siddham*.

² The word *sakāsāt* is left out here.

No. 37—SOME BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS FROM GUNTUPALLI

(2 Plates)

P.R. SRINIVASAN, MYSORE

The inscriptions edited below are from Guntupalli a hamlet of Jilakarragudem village in the Chintalapudi Taluk, West Godavari District, Andhra Pradesh. The place is situated near a forest and there is a hill called Nāgaparvata near it. There are several caves excavated into the hill. There are also several Buddhist *stūpas* made of lime-stone slabs, in this place, some of which are intact. The lime-stone pillars on which the inscriptions have been engraved are all *in situ* near the big *stūpa*, except one which is preserved in the store-room of the office of the Archaeological Survey at the place. The site has been known for a long time,¹ but in the nineteen sixties it was again visited and some parts excavated by Dr. R. Subrahmanyam, the then Superintending Archaeologist of the Archaeological Survey of India, Hyderabad. In the course of this excavation he had discovered four pillars with inscriptions which are copies of one and the same text. These inscriptions have been published by Dr. Subrahmanyam in a monograph of the epigraphical series of the Andhra Pradesh Government, No. 3 entitled *Guntupally Brāhmi Inscription of Khāravēla* (1968). This work was commented upon by Dr. D.C. Sircar, in the *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Vol. III, pp. 30-36, with plate. Recently the site was visited again by Shri I. Kartikeya Sharma, Superintending Archaeologist of the Archaeological Survey of India, Hyderabad. He had dug out two other inscribed pillars. One of them has a Brāhmī inscription above and a Śālaṅkāyana record below.² The other one has a Brāhmī inscription. This office had visited the place in 1975 and copied some of the inscriptions one of them being of the king Sada.³ On learning about the discovery of an interesting inscription of the Śālaṅkāyana dynasty, I sent my colleague Dr. M.D. Sampath, Deputy Superintending Epigraphist for Dravidian Inscriptions, to the place in 1978 for copying this inscription, as well as the other inscriptions. He was good enough to bring good impressions of these records on which the article is based.

I.—Inscription of the time of Mahārāja Sada

As has been stated above, a single text of the inscription is copied on all the four pillars found at the place. Each pillar is rectangular in shape and its front and back faces are broader than the faces on the sides. The top of the pillars is broken while at the bottom of each pillar there is a projection probably intended for insertion into a socket of another stone. Just below the writing on each front face there is a half-lotus medallion, of which the design is varied.

The characters of the record are Brāhmī. Palaeographically they have to be assigned to the early half of the second century B.C.⁴ Here, however, the letters *ch*, *d*, *l* and *h* are peculiar in shape, not met with anywhere else. The letter *kh* too has an interesting form. So, the opinion of Dr. D.C. Sircar⁵ that the alphabet has to be assigned to the 2nd

¹ A. Rea,

² This record is dealt with separately.

³ *A.R.Ep.*, 1974-75, No. B 7.

⁴ See Bühler's Palaeographical Tables, Plate III, Columns XXIII and XXIV.

⁵ *J.A.I.H.*, Vol. III, pp. 33-34.

century A.D., by comparing it with that of the Velpuru inscription¹ is not acceptable. For, the characters of the latter record are obviously of the 2nd century A.D. or still later, and they have little or nothing in common with those of our record. The language used here is Prakrit. The use of *kha* for *gha* in *Mahāmekhavāhana*² suggests that the language is Paisāchi.³

The inscription which does not contain any date refers itself to the ruler siri-Sada who is described as *Mahārāja*, *Kaliṅga-Mahishak-ādhipati* and *Mahāmekhavāhana*. It is stated that his scribe (*lekhaka*) named Chula-Goma gifted a *mandapa*, evidently a hall of which the pillars with this inscription formed part.

This record is important in many respects. Firstly the ruler siri-Sada (śrī-Sata)⁴ is known for the first time from this. He is stated to be a Mahāmeghavāhana, i.e. belonging to the family of Mahāmeghavāhanas and *Mahārāja*. Mahāmeghavāhana is considered to be the founder of the royal house of Kaliṅga.⁵ Khāravēla of the Hāthīgumphā inscription is called a *Mahārāja*, and Mahāmeghavāhana, but he is also called a Chedi and his father and grandfather were respectively Vṛiddharāja and Kshemarāja, and the record is generally considered to belong to the middle of the 2nd century B.C.⁶ Though Śrī-Sada of our record is also a Mahāmeghavāhana, he is not said to be a Chedi and his relationship with Khāravēla is therefore not certain. The palaeography of the record suggests a date earlier than that of the Hāthīgumphā inscription. If this is so, then śrī-Sada may have to be assigned to an earlier period⁷ than Khāravēla, and as belonging to a collateral line which had no affiliation to the Chedi family. The fact that Śrī-Sada's scribe was making a gift at a place full of Buddhist antiquities shows that Śrī-Sada, unlike Khāravēla who was a staunch follower of Jainism, was in all probability a patron of Buddhism, which before the time of Khāravēla, must have been the popular religion in the Kaliṅga country too, just as it was in the coastal Andhra country.

Śrī-Sada was the lord of Kaliṅga and Mahishaka and also apparently the region in which the present-day Guṇṭupalli lies. Kaliṅga is known but the identification of Mahishaka is not certain although it must be contiguous to Kaliṅga. If this is so, then the north-western part of the present Andhra Pradesh which lay to the west of Kaliṅga may have to be considered as the territory that went by the name of Mahishaka at the time to which the record belonged. This will mean that Śrī-Sada, a Mahāmeghavāhana, enjoyed the lordship over these two countries, and after his disappearance from the scene of Kaliṅga, Khāravēla, another Mahāmeghavāhana who was also connected with the Chedi royal house⁸, became the ruler. From the fact that the latter is said to be the ruler of Kaliṅga, it is apparent that the Mahishaka country to its west went out of control from him. This was most probably the reason for Khāravēla's military expedition to the western countries immediately after he became the ruler, to be precise, in the second year of his reign, his army during this expedition, going upto the

¹ Above, Vol. XXXII, plate facing page 86.

² The macron over *e* and *o* is not used here.

³ *J.A.I.H.*, Vol. III, p. 32, note 4. Similar feature is met with in the word *lekhaka* (Lüders List, Nos. 209, etc.) and *leghaka* (*ibid.*, Nos. 1149, 1291).

⁴ *J.A.I.H.*, Vol. III, p. 34.

⁵ *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 212.

⁶ E.J. Rapson, *Catalogue of the coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, etc. p. xvii. *Contra*. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 215-16; *J.A.I.H.*, Vol. III, p. 31.

⁷ *J.A.I.H.*, Vol. IV, p. 161 and note 16 where Dr. S. Sankaranarayanan has already suggested this.

⁸ It may be remembered in this connection the instance of Samudra-gupta who was a Gupta and a daughter's son of a Lichchavi ruler.

GUNTUPALLI INSCRIPTIONS
INSCRIPTIONS ON FOUR SIDES OF A PILLAR

A

B

2

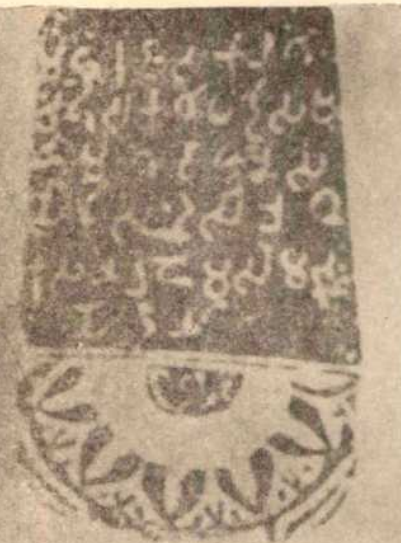
4



2

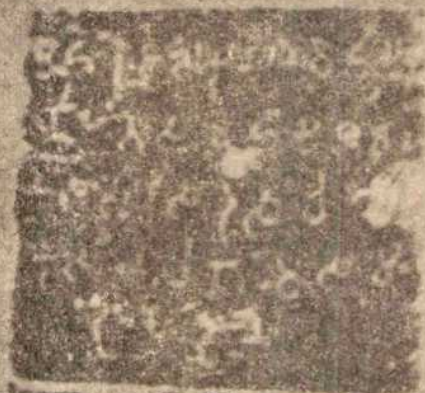
4

6



2

4



2

4



C

D

From Photograph

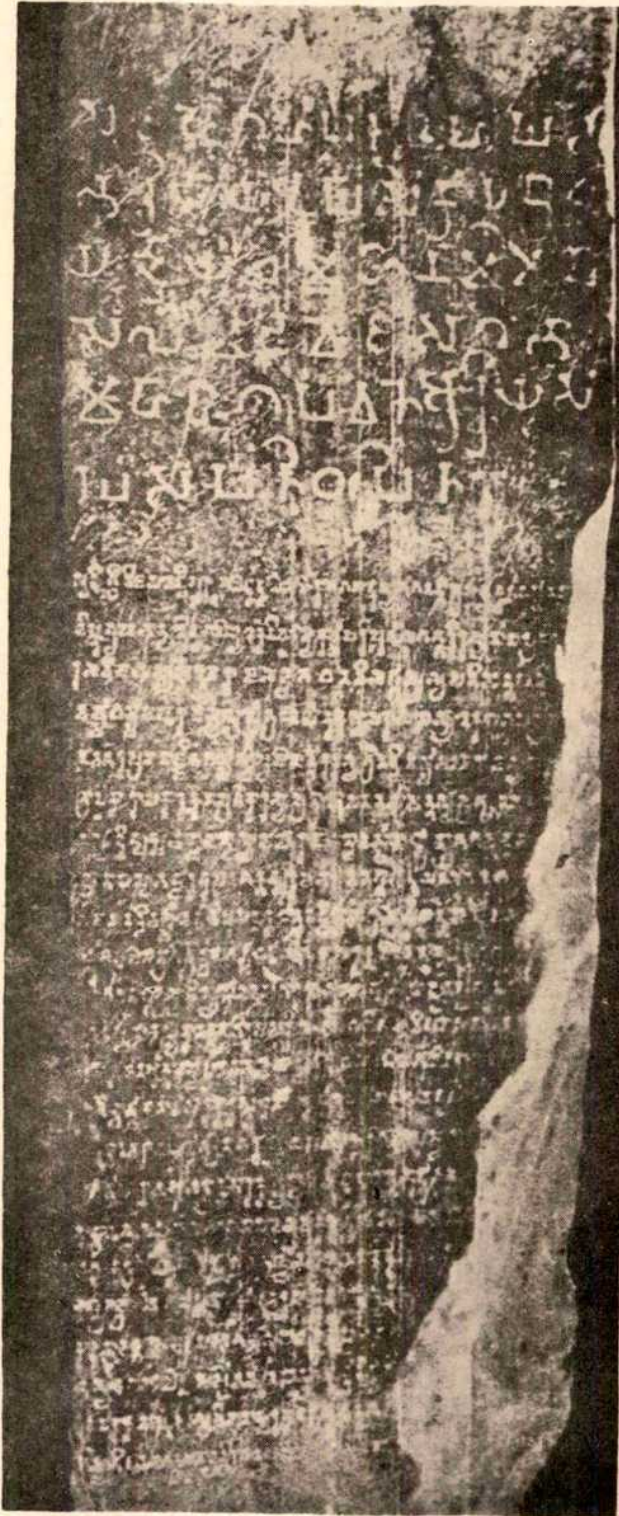
INSCRIPTION ON ANOTHER PILLAR.

II

2

4

6



2

4

6

From Photograph

banks of the Kṛishṇabhā (i.e., Kṛishṇā).¹ During this expedition Khāvela is said to have thought of Śātakarṇi who was no doubt a Śātavāhana ruler. This fact seems to show that Śātakarṇi may have been responsible for annexing the Mahishaka country to his growing empire, and this had provoked Khāvela to launch the expedition.

In view of the fact that Śri-Sada was a ruler of Kalinga in the 2nd Century B.C., and that he belonged to the Mahāmeghavāhana family, it is not possible to connect him with Mānasada of the Velpuru inscription² of the 2nd century A.D. or of a still later time,³ who was also not a Mahāmeghavāhana.

The inscription registers a gift of a *mandapa* by Chula-Goma (Kshudra-Goma) who was the scribe of the ruler Śri-Sada. The *mandapa* as has been stated above may have been only a hall, and its nature is not specified. The inscription does not also contain any indication as to the nature of the complex of buildings where the hall was put up. But since the extant *stūpas* and other ruins at the place are of Buddhism, the hall should also have been put up for the benefit of the Buddhists and others who visited the place. Though there is nothing in the record to indicate the faith of the scribe, the circumstantial evidence mentioned above would go to prove that he was a follower of Buddhism, and that he had, though not mentioned so, come from the capital of Kalinga to this place of pilgrimage where he had put up the hall.⁴ Evidently this was a sacred place of Buddhism in those times, and as has been stated above, the place, in all probability, lay in the kingdom of his ruler.

Two territorial names occur here and they are Kalinga and Mahishaka. Their identification has been discussed above.

A

The texts of the four copies of the inscription are given below, and for the sake of convenience they are called A, B, C and D. The writing of copy A consists of five lines.⁵ The space occupied by the writing measure 27cm × 25 cm.

TEXT⁶

- 1 Mahārājasa Kaliga-Mahi
- 2 sak-ādhipatisa Mahāme-
- 3 khavāhanasa siri-Sada-
- 4 sa le[khakasa] Chula-Go-
- 5 masa maṇḍapo dānaṁ [||*]

B

The writing of copy B consists of five lines, and the space occupied by it measures 30 cm by 28 cm. At the time of discovery the pillar was intact as can be seen from the illustration in the *A.P. Govt. Arch. Series*, No. 3. But subsequently the left side of the inscribed part of the pillar has been broken and missing as is seen from the impression copied by my office.

¹ *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 215.

² Above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 88 ff., and plate.

³ Contra. *J.A.I.H.* Vol. III, p. 34. The title *Aira* borne by Mānasada may simply be an honorific meaning 'noble'.

⁴ A comparable instance is afforded by the Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II, where Virasēna *alias* Śāba, the *sachiva* of the ruler, who was from Pātaliputra caused the cave temple for Śambhu to be done (*C.I.I.*, Vol. I, p. 35).

⁵ At the time of discovery the writing here was preserved well (see plate in Dr. R. Subrahmanyam's monograph on this) but now it has been damaged.

⁶ From impressions and plate in *A.P. Arch. Series*, No. 3.

TEXT¹

- 1 Mahārājasa Kaliga-Mahisak-
- 2 ādhipatisa Mahāmekhavāha-
- 3 nasa siri-Sadasa lekha-
- 4 kasa Chula-Gomasa maṁ-
- 5 ḍapo dānaṁ [||*]

C

The writing of copy C consists of six lines and the space occupied by it measure 27 cm by 27 cm. An orthographical peculiarity is met with here. Instead of *ādhipatisa* the text reads *ādhipadisa* (line 2), the softening of °*tisa* to °*disa* being probably due to Dravidian influence.

TEXT¹

- 1 Mahārājasa Kaliga-
- 2 Mahisak-ādhipadisa Ma-
- 3 hāmekhavāhanasa
- 4 siri-Sadasā(sa) lekha-
- 5 kasa Chula-[Go]masa maṁḍa-
- 6 po dānaṁ [||*]

D

The writing of copy D consists of five lines and the space occupied by it measure 31 cm by 26 cm. This pillar which was intact at the time of the discovery, has been broken at its top and bottom left hand corners, and the first *akshara ma* of line 1 and the first *akshara ma* of line 5 have been damaged partly.

TEXT¹

- 1 Mahārājasa Kaliga-Ma-
- 2 hisak-ādhipatisa Mahā-
- 3 mekhavāhanasa siri-Sad-
- 4 asa lekhakasa Chula-Go-
- 5 masa maṁḍapo dānaṁ [||*]

TRANSLATION

[This] *maṅḍapa* is the gift of Chula-Goma, the scribe of *Mahārāja* siri-Sada, the Mahāmekhavāhana, the lord of Kaliṅga and Mahishaka.

II.—PILLAR INSCRIPTION

This inscription² is engraved on a big rectangular lime-stone pillar. At the top of the pillar a half lotus medallion is carved. This pillar was discovered in the monastery area at the *stūpa*-site near the caves at the place, during a recent excavation by Shri I. K. Sharma. The writing consists of six lines and the space occupied by it measures 37 cm by 27 cm. Below this, another inscription of the Śālaṅkāyana family is engraved which is dealt with in another article. The inscription under discussion is written in Brāhmī characters of about the 2nd

¹From impressions.

²A. R. Ep., 1977-78, No. B 41.

ANOTHER PILLAR INSCRIPTION

III



SIZE : One-third

STONE SLAB INSCRIPTION

IV



SCALE : One-fifth

ANOTHER STONE SLAB INSCRIPTION

V



From Photograph

century A. D., regular for the period. Vowel *i* occurs in line 3. The letter *dh* has a triangular form (lines 2-3). The left bottom line of the letter *nā* in *māhānāga* ° (line 5), has been erased. The letter *ḷ* in the Sakule (line 1) is noteworthy. The language is Prakrit, and the use of *maḍava* for *maṇḍapa* of śrī-Sada's inscription is noteworthy. *Māhānāga* ° is a mistake for *Mahānāga* °.

The inscription records that the pillar on which it is engraved is a *jasakhambha* (*jaya khambha*- pillar of victory), in the great stone-hall called Inammi-mahāsela-maḍava, erected as a pious gift, in favour of the Buddhist community (Ariya-Saṃgha) of the Māhānāgaparvata by Budhā (Buddhā), a lay-worshipper (*upāsikā*) and the wife of the householder Harṅha of Sakule. The name of the hall is noteworthy. What Inammi means is not easy to say. Probably it is the name of a place or of a family. The description of the pillar as *jasakhambha* is interesting, and it does not mean anything more than that its erection was a pious act on the part of the donor. The name Mahānāgaparvata is met with in a few other Brāhmī records found at the place, and it evidently denotes the hill there. It is interesting to note that even today the hill is called by the name Nāgaparvata as has been stated above. Sakule appears to be the place from where the householder Harṅha hailed.

TEXT¹

- 1 Sakule gahapatino Ha[m]ḷgha[sa]
- 2 bhariyāya upāsikāya Budhā-
- 3 ya deyadhama Inammi-mahā-
- 4 sela-meḍava jasakhambhā(bha)
- 5 Mā (Ma) hānāgapavata Ariya-Saṃ-
- 6 ghaṣa patiḥapita[m] [||*]

III.—ANOTHER PILLAR INSCRIPTION

This inscription² is engraved on another pillar very similar to the one on which inscription No. II discussed above is engraved. This pillar was also discovered at the same place as the other pillar. This inscription consists of five lines of writing and the space occupied by it measures 38 cm by 15 cm. The letters are shallow and the impression is therefore smudged. The smudging is too much on the left side of the writing, due to which a letter is not at all clear at the beginning of each of the lines. The characters are Brāhmī of about the 2nd century A. D., but somewhat later than those of the inscription No. II above. The language is Prakrit. The word °*pati* occurring in compounds is spelt as °*pata* in two places (*gahapatasa*, for *gahapatisa*, line 1 ; °*patakāṇam* for °*patikāṇam*, line 4). The use of *maḍava* for *maṇḍapa* of śrī-Sada's inscription, and *thabha* for *khambha* of inscription No. II above is noteworthy.

The inscription records the pious gift of a pillar (*thabha*) obviously the one on which it is engraved in the stone-hall (*maḍava—maṇḍapa*) on the Mahānāgapavata, together with a cave (*sa-ghara*). The gift was made by two persons. One was Naṭaga, who was the son of the householder of Kanamtarabu and the other was Saghākumā (Saghākumāri (?)—Saṅghākumāri), the daughter of the householder Sapasaga (Sarpasaṅga), a *cheṭa-pāchaka* (servant-cook). The gift was made in favour of the community called Doṇadanapatikas which is known for the first time from this record. The name Naṭaga appears to be a variant of

¹ From impressions.

² *A. R. Ep.*, 1977-78, No. B 42.

Naṭaka. A person of this name is known from the Banavāsī Nāga-stone inscription.¹ Kanamtarabu seems to be the name of a place from where the householder, whose name has not been given here, hailed.

TEXT²

- 1 Kanamtarabu gahapata(ti)sa putasa Naṭaga-
- 2 sa cha cheṭa-pā[cha]ka- Sapaśaga gaha[pati]-
- 3 sa duhu Saghākumāya cha Doṇadana-
- 4 pata(ti)kānaṃ Mahānāgapavate sela-ma-
- 5 ḍave thabho deya-dhamam sa-ghara dānam [||*]

IV.—STONE SLAB INSCRIPTION

This inscription³ is engraved on a stone slab found in one of the caves near the stūpa-site at the place. It is now preserved in the store-room of the Archaeological Survey of India there. It is in one line and the space occupied by the writing measures 1 m 8 cm by 7 cm. The letters are neat and bold, each measuring about 6 cm high, the letter *a* being taller on account of its right vertical part. The characters are Brāhmī of the 1st-2nd century A. D., and it is therefore earlier than the inscription No. II dealt with above. Owing to the shallowness of the writing the impression has become smudged. At the beginning and at the end of the line some letters have been damaged very much and they cannot, therefore, be made out. The language is Prakrit.

It records the gift of something (the nature of which can not be determined owing to the loss of some letters at the end), by the nuns who were the pupils (*amtevasini*) of Būdhī whose name was probably different but owing to the loss of some letters at the beginning it has not been preserved in full.

TEXT⁴

Būdhino amtevās[i]n[i]na[m*] bhi[khu]nina[m*] dānam [||*]

V.— ANOTHER STONE SLAB INSCRIPTION

This inscription⁵ is engraved on another stone slab discovered in one of the caves near the stūpa-site at the place. It is now preserved in the store-room of the Archaeological Survey of India, there. It is in one line and the space occupied by the writing measures 75 cm by 5 cm. Each letter is about 5 cm in height. The letters are slanting and tend to be cursive. The characters are Brāhmī of the 2nd century A. D. The writing is preserved well, except for some damage it has suffered at the beginning and at the end. The language is Prakrit. Owing to the damage of the letters at the end of the line the sense of the inscription cannot be made out completely. It refers to a person whose name begins with Mahā⁶ who was a resident of Mahānāgaparvata.

TEXT⁶

Mahānāgapavata-nivāsisa Mahā.....

¹ Lüders' List, No. 1186.

² From impressions.

³ *A. R. Ep.*, 1977-78, No. B 43.

⁴ From impressions.

⁵ *A. R. Ep.*, 1974-75, No. B 8.

⁶ From impressions

No. 38—THREE INSCRIPTIONS OF PARAMARA JAGADDEVA FROM
KOLANUPĀKA

(3 Plates)

P. R. SRINIVASAN AND V. S. SUBRAHMANYAM, MYSORE

The three inscriptions edited in the following pages are from **Kolanupāka**, Bhuvanagiri Taluk, Nalgonda District, Andhra Pradesh. This place is well-known for its old temples and antiquities which testify to its former glory and importance. It has yielded many more inscriptions.¹ The records under study are for the sake of convenience, called *A*, *B* and *C*. Of these *A* has been published in *Andhra Pradesh Government Archaeological Series, No. 3 (Kannada Inscriptions of Andhra Pradesh)*, No. 45, pp. 57 ff., while *B* and *C* are published for the first time here. Several verses of *A* are repeated in *C*. All the three belong to the period of a single chief only. While *A* and *B* are dated in the same year and are almost identical in their contents couched in different texts, *C* is dated two years later than the former two and its grant portion is different.

The characters of inscriptions *A* and *C* are Kannada and those of *B* are Nāgarī and they are regular for the period. The language of these records is Sanskrit, but for a few place-names.

The inscription *A*² is on a slab built into the wall of the main shrine of the Viranārāyaṇasvāmin temple at Kolanupāka. It has 36 lines of writing which is well preserved. The record *B*³ is engraved on a slab built into the inner side of the wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the main shrine of the same temple. It has 49 lines of writing in beautiful Nāgarī characters. Besides, at the bottom of the record and in the middle of lines 42-49, in a rectangular space, a standing figure of the god Viṣṇu is sketched in outline. The deity has four arms, holding probably *chakra* and *śaṅkha* in the two upper hands, a lotus in the lower right hand and the *gadā* in his lower left hand. He wears the *kirīṭa-makuṭa*, a long *hāra*, a long *yajñōpavīta* reaching the knees and other ornaments. The feet are kept facing opposite directions. A circle representing the sun is engraved on the right side of the head of the figure and a crescent representing the moon is engraved on the left side. This figure probably represents the god Viranārāyaṇa of the temple which is its name or Jagaddēvanārāyaṇa referred to in the records. The inscription *C*⁴ is incised on the four faces of a stone pillar lying in the compound in front of the Sōmēśvara temple of the same place. Owing to the breakage at the top of the third and fourth faces of the pillar, the writing in these places has been damaged. There are 107 lines of writing extant.

All the three records belong to the reign-period of the later Chālukya emperor Tribhuvanamalla (i.e. Vikramāditya VI) who is stated to be ruling from Kalyānapura. Of these, *A* and *B* contain the details of date, expressed in words, such as Chālukya-Vikrama year 29, Tāraṇa, Chaitra, Pūrṇimā, Sunday, lunar eclipse, which regularly

¹ See *A. R. Ep.*, 1961-62, Nos. B 60-107.

² *A. R. Ep.*, 1961-62, No. B 89.

³ *Ibid.*, No. B 90.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1966-67, No. B 3.

corresponds to 1104 A. D., March 13. The record C contains the details of date, also expressed in words, viz., Chālukya-Vikrama year[3]1, Vyaya, Vaiśākha śu. Akshaya-tṛtīyā, Sunday, which regularly correspond to 1106 A. D., April 8.

All the three inscriptions refer themselves to the rule of Paramāra Jagaddēva, as a subordinate of the above-mentioned Chālukya Vikramāditya VI. Two other records of this chief have been known, one from Jainad¹ and the other from Dongargaon.² While editing the latter record, Dr. V. V. Mirashi has dealt with several points pertaining to the history of this chief. The records under examination go to substantiate his points besides providing some additional points of interest.

The Paramāra family is called Hutavaha-varṃśa (i. e. Agni-varṃśa) in inscription B (verse 10). The same verse says that Vairisirṃha was born in it. He was followed by his son Śrīharsha, his son Muñja, his brother Sindhurāja, called Sindhala in inscription A and Simdala in inscription C and his son Bhōja. After Bhōja came Udayāditya who is stated to belong to Bhōja's family, But in inscription A, Udayāditya is said to be the son of Gōmdala, a *pitrivya* or paternal uncle of Bhōja. Inscription C simply says that Udayāditya was the son of Gōmdala who was a ruler after Bhōja. So, our inscriptions A clarifies the correct regulationship of Udayāditya, and consequently of Jagaddēva also, to Bhōja. In the light of this statement of the Jainad inscription³ that Bhōja was *pitrivya* (i. e., paternal uncle) of Jagaddēva and the statement of the Dongargaon record⁴ that Bhōja was the brother (*bhrātā*) of Udayāditya may be said to be not very accurate. Inscription B also states that Udayāditya had several sons of whom Jagaddēva was eminent. The information that he was obtained by Udayāditya, after the latter's propitiation of Śiva, as mentioned in the Dongargaon⁵ inscription is not recorded here.

Regarding Jagaddēva's service under the Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalla, our inscriptions A and C say that he was brought out of affection, from Dhārā by the latter, and was given half of the Kuntala kingdom considering him to be his son. Inscription A further says that Jagaddēva helped the Chālukya ruler to become the lord of a vast territory. But inscription B says that Jagaddēva went to Chālukya king when the latter considered him to be his son (*dharma-tanaya*). The Dongargaon record⁶ states that the Kuntala king considered him to be the first amongst his sons, and that he made him ruler of the southern part of his kingdom (*dakṣiṇa-diś-ālamkāra*). The Jainad inscription, on the other hand, does not say anything about this matter. According to our inscriptions Jagaddēva is described not only as *Pratipanna-Karṇṇa* (subduer of Karṇṇa) but also as Hanumān (B line 33). He is also called *Maṇḍalēśvara* (A, line 31) and *Kumāramahāmaṇḍalēśvara* (B, line 43). Jagaddēva's prowess is compared to the three fires of *aurvva*, *pavi* and *dāva*, combined into one, and with this power, it is said that he was able to destroy the three forts of the enemies. Who these enemies were is not indicated in our records.⁷ Probably they were the Kalachuris, the Andhras and the Karāṇṭas (i. e., Hoysaḷas). Inscription B, however, states that Chālukya king's enemy was Vallāla and that he was defeated by Jagaddēva who was riding an elephant (B, lines 35-36). This is elaborated in inscription C which states, in lines 60-67, that Jagaddēva rode the

¹ Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 54^{ff}.

² Ibid., Vol. XXVI, pp. 177 ff., and plate.

³ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 60, text line 7.

⁴ Ibid., Vol. XXVI, p. 183, text lines 2-3.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 183-184, verse 7.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 183, text lines 4-5.

⁷ See *ibid.*, p. 179 for a discussion on this.

elephant called Kālamēgha and when the Karṇāṭaka army was running hither and thither, he killed six thousand soldiers single-handed. These two statements go to substantiate the statement that the Chālukya king was pleased to give half of the Kuntala kingdom to Jagaddēva because he made it possible for the former to be the lord of the earth bounded by the *Lōkā-lōka* mountains (*A*, lines 24-25). The king Vallāla or Vallāḷa referred to in our inscriptions *B* and *C* was Ballāla, the son of Eṇṇyaṅga, the Hoysāḷa.¹ Besides the victory over the Hoysāḷas, Jagaddēva, according to our inscription *C*, is said to have conquered the kings of Vēṅgī, Ḍraviḷa, Chakrakūṭa, and Āhirs, during his *digvijaya* campaign.

Inscription *A* refers to Sōmala, the son of Sādiga who was the son of Siha belonging to Mahishapura in the Pāriyātra country. This Sōmala was holding the post of *Mahāsāṃdhivigrahin* and *Danḍanāyaka*. He is described as a *mahātman* (line 28). He caused the installation of Arkka (the sun), the *Grahas* (the planet), the *Mātrikas* (the Saptamātrās) and Viṣṇu, the lord of the town, all in Sōmēśvara or in the precincts of the temple of Sōmēśvara. He also installed the deities Buddha and Vāk (i.e., Sarasvatī), the former in front of the temple of Sālēśvara and the latter in the Īśāna-maṭha of the north. He also built the temple of Jagaddēvanārāyaṇa at Kollipāka, the capital of the territory ruled by Jagaddēva. It is for the maintenance of this temple and for worship and offerings of the deity that Jagaddēva made a gift of the income from Piriyaṇbaruti-grāma of the group of twelve attached to the *paṭṭana* (town). The income of the village is stated to be 20 *pura-drammas*, meaning probably that the money was given by the town as a whole or the town administration, perhaps annually. Out of this amount, however, a sum of two *drammas* which was previously gifted to the deity Appēśvaradēva was excluded, leaving 18 *drammas* as the amount gifted to the deity Jagaddēvanārāyaṇa. The gift was made on the occasion of the lunar eclipse that occurred on the given date viz., Chālukya-Vikrama year 29, Tāraṇa, Chaitra śu. 15, Sunday corresponding to 1104 A. D., March 13. Besides this, gifts of oil, flower threads and flower garden at Niḍuṅgalūr, probably the same as Niḍuṅgalūr of inscription *B*, were also made to the temple by the chief, and also some rice-fields, though bought out of the gold of the temple, were made to be enjoined by the temple tax-free. There was also the gift of five, four, and three *Uttamagaṇachinnas* respectively for the first, second and last grades of lands from all the villages of Kollipāka-7000.

The text of inscription *B* is different from that of *A* but the purport is almost identical with that of *A*. But the gift was made on the same occasion of lunar eclipse on the same date viz., 1104 A. D., March 13. The gift was made by Jagaddēva who is described as *Samadhigata pañcha-mahāśabda* and *Kumāramahāmaṇḍalēśvara* for the purpose of maintenance of the temple and worship and offerings to the deity therein of Jagaddēvanārāyaṇa built by him evidently the same temple at Kollipāka mentioned in inscription *A* above. Here the gift was the money income from the village of Peddapaṇbaru which was one of the twelve attached to the *pattala* (*paṭṭana*). The money income here is stated to be 20 *griha drammas*, meaning probably the amount paid perhaps annually by each household. It seems that this amount was originally assigned to the temple of Prāgaṇēśvaradēva of the village. Out of this amount, however, a sum of 3 *drammas* which was due to the king was excluded. So, the balance of 17 *drammas* given by the households was by our record assigned to the Jagaddēva-nārāyaṇa temple. A similar amount of 17 *drammas* paid by the *pura*, i.e., town or town administration seems to have been assigned to the same temple. Other gifts like the rice-fields bought from

¹ See above, Vol. XXII, pp. 58-59 for a discussion on this.

out of the money of the temple treasury at the back side of the tank called Jagaddēva-mahō-dādhi at Rāmalacheruvu village, a garden for growing useful fruit trees in the middle of a stream called Usharakuṅṭhi-nadī in Niduṅgalūra-grāma (perhaps the same as Niḍuṅgalūr of inscription A), the five, four and three gold coins, probably the same as the *uttamaṅgaṇḍa-chinna* of inscription A, respectively for the first, second and last varieties of lands in each village, a certain quantity of oil by every oil-monger and three flower threads by every florist were also gifted to this temple, besides the village Maddigaṭṭu of the Pullunūr 70 which was made tax-free.

The text of inscription C has some verses which are the same as found in inscription A. In C, the descriptive part is brief. The description of the exploits of Jagaddēva is detailed (C, lines 58-67). The gift recorded here was made by him who is described as *Mahā-maṇḍalēśvara* to the Traipurushadēvālaya and also to a temple of Brammēśvara and a *Maṭha* of Sōmēśvara, of which the particulars have been lost due to the damage suffered by the inscription at this place. These temples were caused to be built by Brammadēva-nāyaka, the son of Thakkaṇēnāyaka on the northern side of Sōmēśvara at Bhuvanagiri. The gift was made for the maintenance of these temples as well as for the worship and offerings of the deities therein, on the occasion of the Akshaya-tṛitīyā in the Chālukya-Vikrama year 31, Vyaya, Vaiśākha śu.3, corresponding to 1106 A.D., April 8. The gift consisted of the the village of Gōshṭhipāḷu-grāma in Ālēti-kampanaka which was freed from being pointed at (by the officials) and freed from the payment of all taxes. It will be seen that the matter of the records A and B relates to gifts made to the Vishṇu temple called Jagaddēvanārāyaṇa, and the matter of the record C relates to the gift made to Śiva temples. It is interesting to note that the general Sōmala also built temples to Arkka, Grahas, Mātṛigaṇa, Buddha and Vishṇu. It seems that there were already the temples of Sōmēśvara and Śalēśvara at Kollipāka.

Several geographical names occur. Of these Mount Arbudā is Mount Ābu of modern times. Lōkālōka mountains of inscription A are the legendary ones. Kuntala, occurring in all the records comprised of the northern districts of the present Karnataka State and the southern districts of Maharashtra. Kalyāṇapura is Kalyāṇ near Bombay. Dhārā is modern Dhār in Madhya Pradesh. Kollipāka occurring in A and B is the same as Kolanupāka, the findspot of these records. Piriyaṇbaruti, Chiduku-cheruvu, Kaṭṭakrandi-vrayyadōna, Dudde-cheruvu, Erraṅgūṃta, Kaḍitachattu-rāvi, Niḍuṅgalūr, and Rāmalacheruvu of inscription A, are yet to be identified. The Pāriyātra-dēśa of A was the country in the western Vindhyas, but Mahishapura in it is to be identified. Kāvēri, Gūrjjara, Mālava, Bhāgirāthi, Kailāsa, Mahākāla (Śiva at Ujjain), Andhra and Tuṅgabhadrā of inscription B are well known. But Peddapembaru, Rāmalacheruvu, Niduṅgalūra (probably the same as Niḍuṅgalūr of inscription A) Pullunūra and Maddigaṭṭu-grāma of inscription B are to be identified. Vēṅgi, Draviḷa, and Chakrakūṭa of inscription C are well known. But the country of the Āhirs was probably Āhirwāḍa lying between Bhilsa and Jhansi.¹ Bhuvanagiri, is the same as Bhuvanagiri, the headquarters of the Taluk of the same name in which Kolanupāka is situated. Ālētikampanaka and Gōshṭhipāḷu-grāma are yet to be identified.

Inscription A.

This record commences with a symbol for *siddham* or *ōm*. Verse 1 praises the god Śrīnātha or Mahāvarāha and invokes his grace. In the next verse also the same god, here called by his other names like Kēśavamūrti, Ādipurusha and Nārāyaṇa is praised as the

¹ *Select Inscriptions* (1965), p. 474, note 1.

lord of the three worlds and one displaying in his hands lotus, conch, *chakra* and Kaumōdaki (i.e., the club) and his protection is invoked. Verse 3 describes the mountain Arbuda. In the next verse the same mountain is described as peopled by penance-doing *siddhas* and *mutis* and by *kinnaras*. The next verse (verse 5) says that the mountain due to its being covered by the pollen looked like a golden one (i.e., Mount Mēru) often. Verse 6 describes that due to the presence of sheets of bees which had been attracted by the scent of the lotus flowers, even the day looked like night. The verse 7 refers to the Mānasa lake, *rāja-haṁsas*, etc. The next verse describes the lakes there and their water which wore a variegated appearance. In the next verse also the lakes are described as inviting, through the noise of the birds inhabiting them, the sky-roaming couples. Verse 10 describes the breeze blowing there in its three aspects of coolness, gentleness and fragrance. The next verse states that the mountain with the Kinnaris singing, with the waving of the Chamari-deer, and with the presence of the sky-roaming women, appeared like kings. The verse 11 describes again, the mountain as if possessed of white umbrella, by the trees with white flowers on it, and so resembled a-king. The likeness of the mountain to a king is further described in the next verse (verse 13). Verse 14 says that in that mountain which looked like the *tilaka* of the north, there was a renowned hermitage of the sage which looked like the second residence of Padmāsana or Brahmā, and which was full of men learned in all knowledge. Verse 15 describes the hermitage as full of a variety of grains and vegetation and as peaceful. Verse 16 states that in that hermitage the *agnihōtra* was performed in such a manner as to produce large quantities of smoke. The next verse (verse 17) continues the description of the hermitage stating that it was full of deer cubs and babies and pupils, which formed the real part of the place. How the monkeys helped the sage, how the birds with their wings fanned the *hōma* fire with devotion and how the animals naturally inimical to each other lived like friends in the hermitage is described in verse 18. The next verse praises the hermitage as possessing the treasure-house of *puṇya*, as full of compassion and as the seed of the Kṛita-yuga. Verse 20 states that the lord of the hermitage was Vasiṣṭha who was worshipped by the divine sages, who was eminent in discussing the principles of all the Vēdas and who looked like the second Chaturvaktra (i.e., Brahma). That his was the ultimate word in matters relating to *dharma* and *adharmā*, he was the leader in the exegesis of the sacrificial lore, he was the giver of initiation to those good people aspiring for salvation, he had drawn into his self the activities of his sense-organs, he was the friend of all the sentient beings and he possessed the capacity born of meditation, of knowing the position of the past, present and future, is stated in verse 21. Verse 22 states that he created in the *hōma* fire a chief possessing unsurpassed valour who was capable of helping the sages in performing their ordained duties. The fact that he possessed a couple of quivers, and shone with a bow and so resembled the god Pināki who destroyed the three worlds of the enemies of the gods is described in verse 23. That this chief who was born from the fire-pit shone with the title *Paramāra* given to him by the sages on account of his interest in killing the opponents is stated in the next verse. Verse 25 states that the ruler Śrīharsha, the moon incarnate, was born in this family which was the abode of jewel-like qualities, just as the moon was born from the ocean of milk. That he was adored by the subordinate rulers and that his fame reached the ends of the directions is made known by verse 26. Verse 27 states that he ruled the kingdom which gave him happiness both in this world and in the other world by means of the *dharma*, *artha* and *kāma*, that he pleased the gods and the Brāhmaṇas by means of *hōmas* and gifts respectively, that he filled his treasury with gold acquired through proper means for the benefit of the world and that he enjoyed all the proper pleasures together with his own subjects. At his going away to ex-

perience the fourth object desired by every man (i.e., *mōksha*, here meaning his death), his son Mūmja, who was an abode of very good qualities became the ruler of the world bounded by the oceans. This is mentioned in verse 28. Verse 29 states that he, after having ruled peacefully, after having constructed the city of Dhārā which rivalled by its riches the city of the gods, and after having received the title of *Vākpati* by his interest in the poets, reached the abode of fame (i.e., died). Verse 30 states that after him, his brother Simdhiala became the king after vanquishing the opponents by his army which was built by his own valour. The next verse (verse 31) states that after him his son Bhōja who was no other than Madhyama-Pāṁḍava (i.e., Bhīma), who was a *Chakravarti*, who was a *sāhitya-vidyā-guru*, who was a mine of good traditions and valour and who fulfilled the desires of the righteous (*śiṣṭēṣṭa-chintāmaṇi*) succeeded the throne. In the next verse his beauty, his destruction of the enemy rulers and his giving satisfaction to the poets are mentioned. Verse 33 refers to his father's brother Gōmdala as devoted to him. The next verse (verse 34) states that to him was born king Udayāditya. Verse 35 describes that the fire (i.e., his son Jagaddēva) which emanated from him which was the combination of the three fires viz., *aurvva*, *pavi* and *dāva*, was capable of destroying the three forts of the enemies. The fact that to him was born *rājā* Jagaddēva, an incarnation of brilliance, who defeated Karṇa and who was famed for making great gifts is stated. Though he firmly kept in his heart the goddess Ramā (i.e., Lakshmi) who fulfilled the desires of the righteous, the friendly Bhārati (i.e., Sarasvati) in his mouth, and the goddess of heroism on his shoulders and thus capable of ruling over the earth, he was interested only in delighting in his fame that spread in different directions. This is stated in verse 37. Verse 38 is again in praise of him who is here also called as one who had defeated Karṇa.

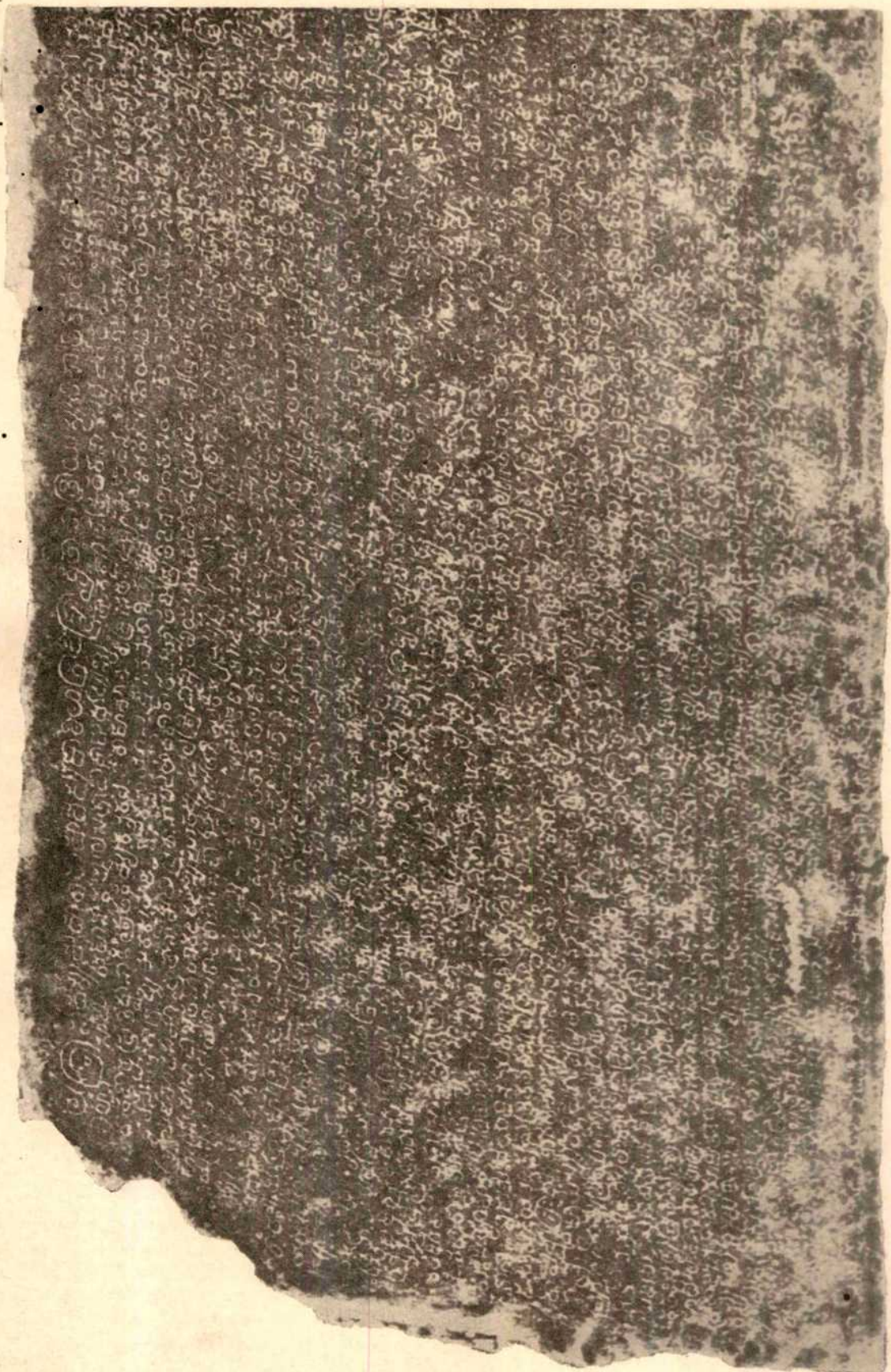
Verse 39 refers to Kuntaladhariṇīśa and compares him to Hēmāchalēśa (i.e., Indra) for his loftiness. Verse 40 describes the same king as Vikrāntachakrēśvara and praises him as the destroyer of the wicked, possessor of the goddess of valour, and as one who protected the subordinate rulers who came to him for refuge. In verse 41, this Chālukya king is stated to have brought to his place, out of friendship, the enjoyer of the pleasures of Dhārā (i.e., Jagaddēva) and to have given him half of the Kuntala kingdom like a father, considering him to be his son, and to have attained the rulership over the earth bounded by the Lōkālōka mountains through his help. Then follows the prose passage which refers to the rule at Kalyānapura, of Tribhuvanamalla-vallabhēndra (i.e., Chālukya Vikramāditya), who is described as *Samasta-bhuvanāśraya*, *Śrī-Prithvī-vallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, *Satyāśraya-kula-tilāka* and *Chālukyābharāṇa*.

Verse 42 introduces Siha of Mahishapura in the Pāriyātra country and states that he had a son named Sāḍiga and that the latter had a son named Sōmala. Sōmala's qualities and abilities are described in the next verse (verse 43). Verses 44 and 45 tell us that he was the *daṇḍanātha* (i.e., the general). Verse 46 states that he caused the installation of the Sun-god, the Planets, the Mother-goddesses and of the presiding deity of the town viz., Vishṇu, all in the Sōmēśvara (i.e., in the temple of the god Sōmēśvara), the deity Buddha in the precincts of Śalēśvara, and the goddess of Vāk (i.e., Sarasvati) in the Iśāna-māṭha of the north.

The prose passage that follows in line 29 mentions that this *Mahāprachanda-daṇḍanāyaka* Sōmala in the capacity of *Mahāmātya* was entrusted with the work of administration of the entire kingdom, that he possessed the three powers, and that he also held the post of *Mahāsāṁdhiviḡrahin*. It is further stated in lines 29-30 that for the repairs to the temple of Jagaddēvanārāyaṇa and for the worship and services of the deity therein and for the pleasures of the sages engaged in learning in Kollipāka-nagara which was the capital of his kingdom, an endowment was made in the Chālukya-Vikrama year 29, Tāraṇa, Chaitra śu. 15, Sunday.

SLAB INSCRIPTION IN THE VIRANARAYANASVAMIN TEMPLE

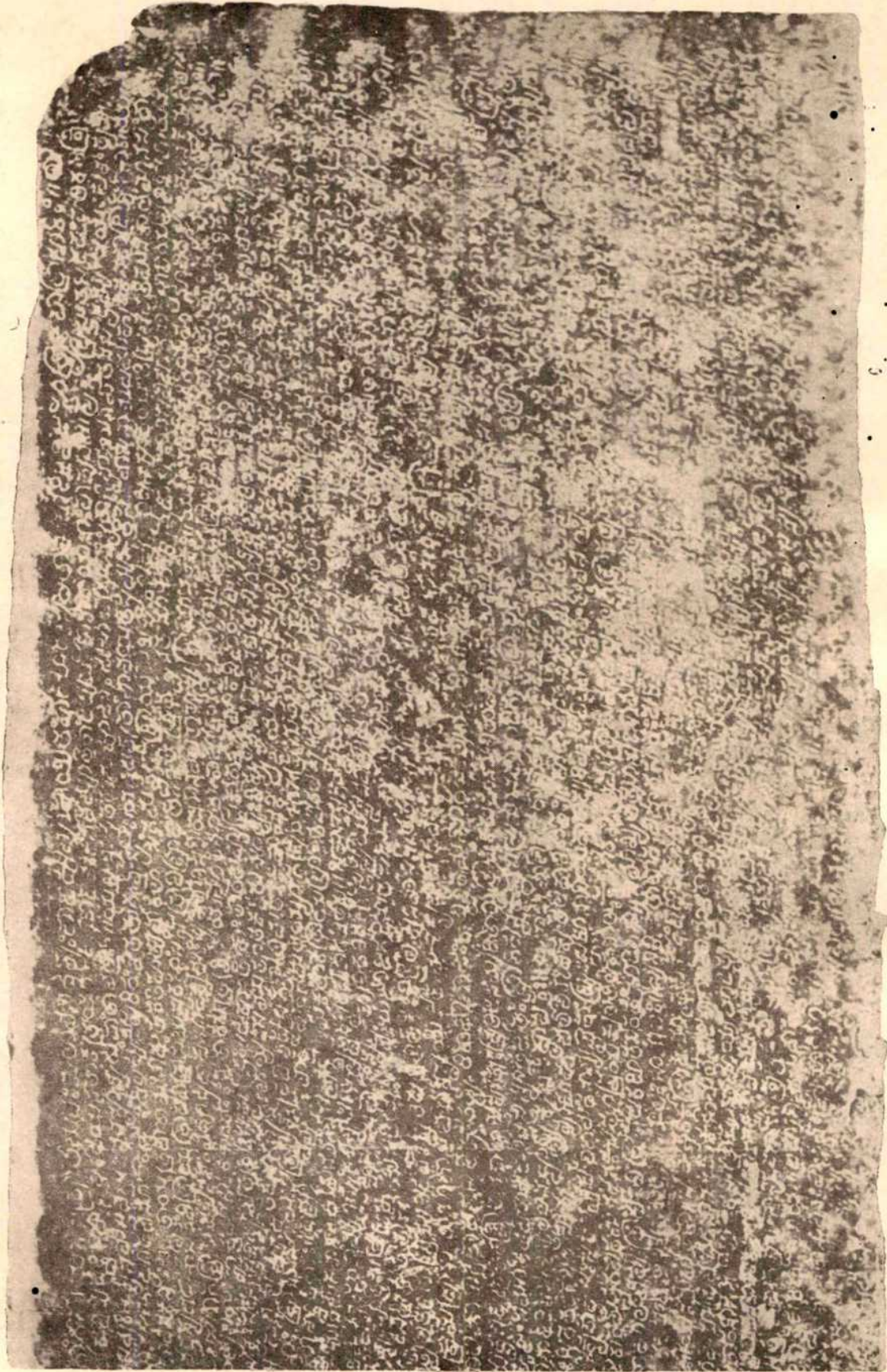
• A—Left half



2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34 36

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34 36

A—Right half



SIZE One-fourth

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34 36

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34 36

(expressed in words), on the occasion of the lunar eclipse. The lines 30-31 state that the endowment consisted of the village of Piriya-pēmbārīti which was one of the twelve villages attached to the *paṭṭana*, after excluding from it two shares, each of the value of 20 *drammas*, given by the town which were gifted to the deity Appēśvara. This was a *dēvabhōga* gift and it was freed from all hindrances to its enjoyment and was tax-free. The gift was made by Jagaddēva, described as *Maṇḍalēśvara* with the permission of the Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalla. The boundaries of the gift village are given in lines 31-32. They were: Chidukucheruvu, and Kaṭṭakrindi-vrayyadōna on the east; Duddē-cheruvu on the west; Erraṅguṃṭa on the south and Kaditachattū-rāvi on the north. It is also stated that the gift of money according to the prevailing rate of five, four and three *Uttamaṅgaṇḍa-chinna* (i.e., a type of coin) in the *maṇḍala* Kollipāka-7000 respectively for the first, second and the last grades of land, was made after making it a *dēvabhōga*. Similarly he ordered that every oil-monger of the town should give a *chāvudu* (a measure of capacity) according to the *dēvamāna* (the measure of the god?) of oil and every florist should give three thread of flowers, evidently to the temple. Line 33 states that he also gave for the purpose of flower etc. offering to the god, a garden in Niḍuṅgalūra. Then there follows the passage containing their request to all the rulers and the officers of the country to protect this gift as if it was theirs. Verses 47-51 (lines 33-35) are the usual imprecatory and benedictory ones.

In lines 35-36, another matter is recorded. It pertains to the purchase of ten *nivarītanās* of rice-fields in Rāmalacheruvu situated to the west of the tank called the Jagaddēvamahōdadhi, from out of the gold belonging to the treasury of the temple of Jagaddēva-nārāyaṇa and making it over to the god to be enjoyed as a tax-free land. The record ends with three auspicious words.

TEXT¹

[Metres : Verses 1-4, 8, 10, 18, 21, 31, 37, 40, 43 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; verse 5 *Chūdāmaṇi*; verses 6, 9, 11, 13-17, 20, 22-24, 26, 36, 44-46 *Upajāti*; verses 7, 33 *Mālinī*; verse 12 *Indravajrā*; verses 19, 35, 47-48, 51-52 *Anuṣṭubh*; verses 25, 28, 32, 38-39, 50 *Vasantatilakā*; verses 27, 29, 34, 41-42 *Sragdharā*; verse 30 *Śikharinī*; verse 49 *Śālinī*.]

1. ओं^२ । [१*] श्रीनाथस्य महाबराहवपुषो लीलाग्रदंष्ट्रोद्धृता घात्री यस्य विभाति केतकशिखालीनेव भृंगांगना । यस्याक्रांतभुवः कुलावनिधरैः पादेषु भूषायितं पायाद्वः स पितामहादिविजस्तोत्रैकपात्रो हरिः ॥ [१*]
2. लीलां सांबुरुहेण कंबुलसता दोष्णा महापुण्यतां रक्षां चक्रधरेण सर्वजगतां कौमोदकीशोभिना । संहारं विभु(बु)धद्विषां प्रकटयन् लोकत्रयाधीश्वरो देवः केशवमूर्तिरादिपुरुषो नारायणः पातु वः ॥ [२*] अस्ति प्रस्तुतसिद्धदंपतिरतिक्री-
3. डारवोत्थप्रतिध्वानालंकृतरम्यकन्दरवरो हेमाचलेद्रोणतः [१*] उव्यामिब्बुदनामधेयविदितः क्षोणीधरः सर्वतः सेव्यः सेव्यसमस्तवस्तुजननस्थानैरुपांतांचलैः ॥ [३*] यस्मिन्विस्मृतहेमकूटनिकटः सानुप्रदेशे स्थिता निर्व्वाणाभिमतान् सिद्धमुनयः कुर्व्वत्यख-
4. व्वं तपः । शं गाग्नेष्वमरक्षमाजशिशिरच्छायासु भृंगीरवं तानीकृत्य मदेन किन्नरगणा गार्याभ्त कांतान्विताः ॥ [४*] वात्या समुद्धृतविनूतकंजकिजल्कपुंजपरिरंजिततुंगशृंगैः [१] यः पश्यतां भावयति स्वमूर्तिं संवासिनामपि मुहुः कनकाद्रिशंकां(काम्) ॥ [५*] य-

¹From impression; *A.R.Ep.*, 1961-62, No. B 89.

²Expressed by a symbol.

- 5 त्रांबुजामोदसमाहृतानां मधुव्रतानां पटलांधकारात् । मत्त्वा तमिस्रेति दिवापि धत्ते सरस्सु कोकद्वितयं वियोगं(गम्) ॥[६*] वनरुहवनकेलिस्वच्छता यत्र वारामभिमतरतिहेतुर्वारलासंगमश्च । प्रियमपि सरसीष्पु(षु) क्वापि न स्मारयति प्रभवति घनकाले मानसं राज—
- 6 हंसान् ॥[७*] हासोद्भासितसारनीरजरजसंघातपीतं जलक्रीडान्वीतवियच्चरीकुचतटश्रीखंडपांडुप्रभं (भम्) । पानस्नानरतावगाढमदवद्वन्येभदानासितं चित्रं यत्र पवित्रमंबु सरसां सर्वत्र विभ्राजते ॥ [८*] रतिश्रमस्विंनतनूनि वारिक्रीडोत्सुकानि स्वविहंगनादैः । वियच्चरीणां मिथुना—
- 7 नि धस्मिन्समाह्वयन्तीव सरोवराणि ॥ [९*] सिक्तो निज्झरजातशीतलकणैर्यत्र स्थलांभोरुहव्रातोद्भूतपरागरागविरुवद्भृगांगनासंगतः । संभोगश्रमजांबरेचरवधूस्वेदापनोदक्षमः स्वैरं वाति समीरणो नवलतालास्यक्रियानन्तकः ॥ [१०*] यः किनरीभिः परिगीयमानो विधूयमानश्चमरी[व]—
- 8 धूमिः । संसेव्यमानश्च नभश्चरीभिर्मर्महीधरत्वं प्रकटीकरोति ॥ [११*] उद्ध्वंसंच्छंसितप्रसूनप्रतैः समुन्तुंगमहामहोजैः । यः स्वोत्तमांगे धरणीधरांकश्चेतातपत्रश्रियमातनोति ॥[१२*] राजाश्रयः संभृतस्व-ङ्गिवर्गः प्रसिद्धबाणासनपं(प)त्रिपात्रः [१*] सिंहासनस्थायित्युतो
- 9 निवासः क्षितीश्वराणामिव यः प्रसिद्धः ॥ [१३*] तत्रोत्तराशातिलकावाभासे पद्मासनावास इव द्वितीयः [१*] ऋष्याश्रमो भास्ति जगत्प्रसिद्धः समस्तविद्याचतुरैः समृद्धः ॥[१४*] उपांतकांतारबहुप्रकार-श्यामाकनीवारसमित्सुसारः [१*] कुशोदकानंतलतांतकांतो विनीतसत्वाचरणैः प्र—
- 10 शांतः ॥[१५*] यत्राग्निहोत्रोद्गतधूमलेखासंतानसंच्छादितदीर्घशाखाः । अश्रांतविश्रांतकपोतराजीविराजमाना इव धारिणीजाः ॥ [१६*] मृगाब्भकैश्चर्वितफेनगर्भैः बालैः समुत्तरवातकशेरूमूलैः [१*] शिष्यैर्विलूनाभिनवप्रसूनैर्द्विर्भाति यः पुण्यतमैर्णिणं(र्त्ति)जाकैः ॥[१७*] चापत्यं सहजं विहा—
- 11 य कपयः कुर्वन्ति सत्यात्मनां शुश्रूषां व्रतिनां स्वमक्षपवनैर्होमानलं पक्षिणः । भक्त्या प्रज्वलयन्ति यत्र सततं विद्वेषिणः प्राणिनो मित्राप्येव विशिष्टसंगतिभतां केषां न किं जायते ॥[१८*] यः पुण्य-कोशसंपन्नो दयांतस्सारपूरितः । बीजमाद्युगं—
- 12 स्येव संगृहीतं विराजते ॥[१९*] अधीश्वरस्तस्य वशि(सि)ष्ठनामा मुनीश्वरो दिव्यमुनीन्द्रसेव्यः [१*] समस्तवेदार्थविचारदक्षः साक्षाच्चतुर्व्वेक इव द्वितीयः ॥[२०*] धर्माधर्मविचारपारगमतिर्याग-प्रयोगप्रभुर्मोक्षापेक्षितचेतसां सुकृतिनां निर्व्वाणदीक्षागुरुः । आत्मातर्त्ति—
- 13 यमा(मः) स्व[बा]ह्यविषयव्यावृत्तपंचेन्द्रियः सर्व्वप्राणिहितः समाधिविभवज्ञातत्रिकालस्थितिः ॥[२१*] अविघ्नतां साधयितुं सा(स)मर्थं धर्म्यक्रियाणां मुनिपुंगवानां ॥ (1) होमानले चैष नृपालमेकं लोकत्रयभ्राजितवीरलक्ष्मीं(क्षमीम्) ॥ [२२*] अक्षय्यबाणांचिततूणयुग्मं प्रचंडकोदंडविराज-मानं(नम्) (1*) पिनाकिनं दैवतशा—
- 14 त्रवाणां पुरत्रयं दग्धुमिव प्रभूतं(तम्) ॥[२३*] स वल्लिकुंडादुदितो महीपतिः प्रवर्त्तमानः परमारणे पर[ः] । रराज लब्ध्वा परमारसंज्ञामन्वर्थभूतां मुनिपुंगवेभ्यः ॥[२४*] लक्ष्मीश्वरस्थिरपदादविलंघ्य सीमनस्तस्यान्वधात्सकलसद्गुणरत्नराशेः [१*] क्षीराणवादिव सुधाद्युतिरात्रिरासीत् श्रीहर्षदेव—
- 15 नृपतिर्नृपरूपचंद्रः ॥[२५*] नमन्महीपालकिरीटमूलरत्नप्रभालंकृतपादपीठः । दिगंतविश्रांतविशुद्धकीर्त्तिः पराक्रमालंकृतदिव्यमूर्त्तिः ॥[२६*] अच्छन्नैर्होमदानैर्बहुविधविधिभिस्तर्पयन्देवविप्रान् कोशं स्वर्णेन पुष्पान् जगदुपकृतं(त)ये धर्ममार्गाज्जितेन । आत्मीयाभिः स—

- 16 मस्तप्रकृतिभिरुचितं निर्व्विशन्सर्व्वभोगानेवं धर्म्मार्त्थकामैरिहपरसुखदं प्राज्यराज्यं चकार ॥ [२७*]
तस्मिंश्चतुर्थपुरुषार्थसुखप्रवृत्ते श्रीहर्षदेवनृपतौ तनयस्तदीयः । मुंजो जगद्विनुतसद्गुणरत्नर्पुजो भूमेर्बभूव
पतिरण्णवमेखलायाः ॥ [२८*] लीलां राज्यस्य वैरव्यतिक-
- 17 पररहितां साधुभिः साधु धृत्वा कृत्वा धाराभिधानं पुरममरपुरररस्पदिं लक्ष्मीसमृद्धया । नाम्ना लब्धा-
न्विताथी कविजननिवहाद्वाक्पतित्वोत्पलत्वे जातः श्रीमुंजदेवः क्षितिपतितिलकः कीर्त्तिलक्ष्मीनिवासः
[२९*] ततस्तस्य भ्राता निजभुजबलोपार्ज्जितबलो बलाद्विद्विष्टानां बलमलघु संहृत्य बलि-
- 18 नां(नाम्) [1*] चकारोर्व्वीमाज्ञाप्रगुणितनिजाचारनिरतप्रजां सर्वामाद्यक्षितिपचरितः सिधलनृपः
॥ [३०*] सनुस्तरस्य पराक्रमप्रणयिनो भोजच्छलेन स्वयं जातो मध्यमपांडवः किमपरं तद्भूपतेर्व्वर्णनं
(नम्) । निर्व्वक्रीकृतचक्रवर्त्तिविभवः साहित्यविद्यागु-
- 19 सः सत्याचारविचारविक्रमखाणिः(निः) शिष्टेष्टचिन्तामणिः ॥ [३१*] आश्चर्य्यजन्मशरणं धरणीशब्दः
सौंदर्य्यसंपदधरीकृतपुष्प(ष्प) चापः [1*] कोपाग्नितापभसितीकृतवैरिराजो भोजः कवीश्वरमनोरथकल्पभूजः
[॥ ३२*] खजनसुजनसेव्यस्तस्य भव्यः पितृव्यः परिहृतपरभामस्त्याग-
- 20 भोगाभिरामः [1*] नयविनयविलासः शौर्य्यलक्ष्मीनिवासः शुभविभवविशालो गण्डलक्षोणिपालः
। [॥ ३३*] तद्भूपालोदयाद्रेभिर्जश्चिनिचयध्वस्तदोषाकरश्रीरानंदावाप्तहेतुः प्रतिदिनमुदितो मित्रपंकेशहाणां ।
लीलापद्माभिरामः परनृपतिमिरध्वंसकः सर्व्वलोकव्यापारोत्साहसंपत्र-
- 21 दगतिरुदयादित्यधात्रीतलेशः [॥ ३४*] चित्रमौर्व्वः पविर्द्वावः शत्रुदुर्गत्रयक्षये । एकोप्यभूत्प्रतापाग्नि-
रुदयादित्यसंभवः । [॥ ३५*] तेजः समूर्त्तीव विराजमानस्तस्यात्मजातः प्रतिपन्नकर्णः । अनूनदानादि-
गुणप्रवृद्धो राजा जगद्देव इति प्रसिद्धः ॥ [३६*] शिष्टेष्टाभिमतामुरस्थिरत-
- 22 रां कुर्वन्मां भारतीमास्यांभोजरतां हितां सुकृतिनां दोर्व्वश्यवीरश्रियं(यम्) । धात्रीरक्षणदाक्षिणामपि
जगद्देवक्षमापालकश्चित्रं भाति दिशास्थकीर्त्तिललनास्वार्थेकनिष्ठापरः ॥ [३७*] दानानुशोभितकरो
धृतभद्रचिह्नः क्षोणीभरोद्धहनकेलिसमर्त्थमूर्त्तिः [1*] प्रख्यातवंशविभवो विबुधा-
- 23 भिवृद्धिहेतुसुरद्विपः इव प्रतिपन्नकर्णः ॥ [३८*] कल्याणमूर्त्तिरवनीधरमुख्यभूतः पादाश्रिताखिलधरो
विबुधाधिवासः । अत्युन्नतः स्थिरतरः स्थितिहेतुरुर्व्या हेमाचलेश इव कुंतलधारिणीशः ॥ [३९*]
हेलोत्खातनिशातखङ्गदलितान्कृत्वा जगत्कंटकान्धृत्वा वक्षसि निश्चलं प्रियतमां सा-
- 24 आज्यराज्यश्रियं(यम्) । भीतायातविनीतभूतलपतीन्दत्वांभयं पालयन्देवः कुंतलवल्लभो विजयते विक्रांत-
चक्रेश्वरः ॥ [४०*] सः श्रीचालुक्यरामः सकलनृपशिरोमंडनाभ्यर्चिर्व्वतांघ्रिः स्नेहेनानीय धारापुरि
विभुविभवं निर्व्विशंतं वसंतं(तम्) [1*] दत्वाद्धं कुंतलोर्व्याः पितृजनचरितैः पु-
- 25 त्रवन्मानयस्तं लोकालोकाद्रिसीमावनिपतिरभवत्तत्कुमारप्रतापात् ॥ [४१*] तस्मिन्समस्तभुवनाश्रय-
श्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभमहाराजाधिराजराजपरमेश्वरं परमंभट्टारकं सत्याश्रयकुलतिलकं चालुक्यभरणं श्रीमन्नि (त्रि)-
भुवनमल्लवल्लभेद्रे कल्याणपुरनिवेशितनिजविजयस्कंधावारे सुखेन राज्य-
- 26 सुखमनुभवति ॥ देशे श्रीपारियात्रे महिषपुरवरे यः संदाधारभूतः ख्यातः स्थानं गुणानां स महिषपुर-
वालान्वयः सीहनामा [1*] लेभे पुत्रं पवित्रं परहितनिरतं साडिगाख्यं समाख्यं तत्सूनुः सोमल-
क्ष्माविनुतसितयशाः श्रीवधूप्राणनाथः ॥ [४२*] त्यागी सत्कविबंधुपोषण-

- 27 रतः सत्यव्रतालंकृतिहूरीभूतपरोपतापिवचनो विक्रांतलक्ष्मीप्रियः [1*] आत्मस्वाम्यविधेयवैरिललनावै-
ध्व्यदीक्षागुरुभस्वच्चंद्रकलावतंसचरणध्यानामलः सोमलः ॥ [४३*] अनिन्दिताचारविचारसारः परोपका-
रादिगुणावतारः [1*] विद्वज्जनाधाररमासनाथो विराजते
- 28 सोमलदण्डनाथः [॥ ४४*] आवाससंवासितकामधेनुः सद्वांगणारोपितकल्पवृक्षः [1*] निधिर्गृहाभ्यं-
तरसंगृहीतः ख्यातः सतां सोमलदण्डनाथः ॥ [४५*] येन महात्मना ॥ सोमेश्वरेर्कर्मग्रहमीतृकाणां
विष्णोः प्रतिष्ठा नक(ग)रेश्वर[स्य] [1*] बुद्धस्य शालेश्वरसनिधाने कृतोत्तरेशानमठे च वाचः
॥ [४६*] तेन समः-
- 29 स्तराज्यभरनिरूपितमहामात्यपदवीविराजमानमानोन्नतप्रभुमंत्रोत्साहशक्तित्रयसंपन्ने [न] श्रीमन्महासंस्थि-
विग्रहिमहाप्रचण्डदण्डनायकसोमलेन निजपादोपजीविनां निजराज्याधिष्ठाने कोल्लिपाकनगरे निजराज्या-
न्वयश्रेयसे भक्तिनिर्मापितजगद्देवनारायणेषु -
- 30 रस्य खण्डस्फुटितनवसुधाकर्म्मनिर्माणात्थं देवांगभोगरंगभोगार्थं मुनिजनस्वाध्यायानदानार्थं श्रीमच्चंवा-
लुक्यविक्रमवर्ष एकोनत्रिंशत्तमे तारणसंवत्सरे चैत्रपूर्णिमायामादित्यवारे [सो]मग्रहणेनिमित्तं पट्टन-
प्रतिबद्धद्वादश[स्थ]ग्राममध्ये पिरियर्पेर्बिर¹तिनामग्रामं पू-
- 31 र्वं पुरद्रम्मं विशतिभक्तभागे भागद्वयमप्येश्वरदेवाय दत्तं परिहृत्य सर्वभोगाभ्यंतरशुद्धया देवभोगीकृत्य
सर्व्वनमस्यं चालुक्यचक्रेश्वरत्रिभुवनमल्लनरेश्वराज्ञातः जगद्देवमण्डलेश्वरो दत्तवान् ॥ ग्रामस्याघाटाः
[1*] पूर्वतः चिदुकुचेरु²वु कट्टिकिन्दि त्रय्यदोन । पश्चिमतः दुहेचेरु²वु । दक्षिणतः
- 32 एररंभुंठ । उत्तरतः कडितचट्टु रावि । कोल्लिपाक सत्पसहस्रमध्ये प्रतिग्राममुत्तममध्यमाधमक्रमेण पंचचत्वारि
त्रीण्युत्तमगंडर्चिनानि देवभोगीकृत्य दत्तवान् । तथैव पट्टने माणवाविलिहुंडिषु देवमानं चावुडुं प्रतिगृहं
मालाकारेषु पु³प(षप)सूत्रत्रयं च दत्तवान्
- 33 देवस्य पु³प(षप)पत्रफलावल्यर्थं निडुंगलुरे⁴वाटिकाक्षेत्रं दत्तवान् । एवमेतत्सर्व्वं स्वध-
र्म्मनिर्व्विशेषं शेषैर्नरपतिभिः देशाधिकारिभिश्च परिपालनीयं (यम्) । बहुमिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता राजभिः
सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं (लम्) ॥ [४७*] स्वद्वत्तां परदत्तां वा
यो हरेत वसु-
- 34 धरां (राम्) [1*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्रणि विष्ठायां जायते क्रिमिः ॥ [४८*] तथा रामचन्द्रेणाप्युक्तं (क्तम्)¹
सामान्योयं धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवतिः । सर्व्वानेतान्भाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो
याचते रामचंद्रः ॥ [३९*] मद्रंशजाः परमहीपतिवंशजा वा पापादपेतमनसो भुवि भाविभूपाः (1*)
- 35 ये पालयन्ति मम धर्म्ममिमं समस्तं तेषाम्मया विरचितो जलिरेष मूर्ध्नि ॥ (५०*) शत्रुणापि कृतो धर्म्मः
पालनीयः प्रयत्नतः (1) शत्रुरेव हि शत्रुस्स्याद्धर्म्मः शत्रुर्न कस्यचित् ॥ (51*) अन्यच्च (1*) श्रीमज्जग-
द्देवनारायणदेवीयभाण्डागारसुवर्णन रामलचेरु²वु-
- 36 ग्रामे बद्धजगद्देवमहोदधिनामतडागपश्चाद्भ्रागे शालिक्षेत्रमध्ये निवर्त्तनदशकमस्य देवस्य सर्व्वनमस्यमाचंद्रा
र्कस्थायि । इति शुभं मंगलं महाश्री⁵

Inscription B

This inscription commences with the symbol for *siddham*, which is followed by an obeisance to Nārāyaṇa. In verse 1, in lines 1-2, which is damaged much, there is apparently

¹ The letter *ri* is written in Telugu characters.

² The letter *ru* is written in Telugu characters.

³ The letter *ram* is written in Telugu characters.

⁴ This portion is damaged and five letters appear to have been lost.

⁵ There is a floral design at the right side.

a prayer to the same god. Verse 2 also contains a prayer to the same god called here Madhuvijayin. Verse 3 describes the mountain Arbuda. Verse 4 describes how in the hermitages of the sages who were learned in the knowledge of the Upanishads the effects of both the Sun-god and the Moon exist together. Verses 5 and 6 state that Vasishtha was doing penance there and that on one occasion Gādhinandana (i.e., Viśvāmitra) took away the former's wishfulfilling cow. Verse 7 states that noticing this bad act of Gādhī, Vasishtha who was pained, performed a *hōma*. In the next verse (verse 8) the birth of a hero with bow and club, from the fire of this *hōma* is described. He attacked the kings of both the solar and lunar races and gave protection to the three worlds. Verse 9 states that Vasishtha blessed him with the rulership of the entire earth. He was able to rescue Nandini from Gādhī and thus pleased her and came to be called Paramāra. Verse 10 describes the birth of the ruler Vairisimha in this Hutavaha-vaṁśa (i.e., Agnikula). The next two verses (verses 11 and 12) speak of his great qualities and his capacity to conquer the enemies. In verse 13, is mentioned the birth of the ruler Śrīharsha to Vairisimha. His (i.e. Śrīharsha's) valour, amorous deeds and the obeisance paid to him by the suppliant rulers are described in verses 14 to 16. That Muñja, the full-moon, born of the ocean of poets, was born to him is referred to in verse 17. His fame is praised in verse 18. Verse 19 refers to his brother Sindhurāja. His valour in war is described in the next two verses. That the king Bhōja was born to him is mentioned in verse 22. Verse 23 describes how his generals were constantly interested in achieving victories, and here is a reference to the Kāvērī. Verse 24 refers to the existence of big lakes in different parts of his country. Verse 25 refers to his conquest of Gūrijara and to the increasing strength of the Mālava soldiers (i. e., his own army). Verse 26 is in praise of this king who is compared here to Pārtha and Rāma. Verse 27 says that his country being full of lofty buildings like that of the temple of the god Mahākāla, even the gods did not feel happy about their own place. In verse 28, reference is made to the king Udayāditya who is stated to have belonged to the family of Bhōja. The former's valour is praised in verses 29-30. Verse 31 states that this king had several sons of whom Jagaddēva was eminent who, like Hanūmān, was capable of destroying by fire the cities of enemy rulers. Jagaddēva's qualities are described in the next verse. Verse 33 states that after the death of his father, he went to Chalukya king who considered him to be like his son. In the next verse Jagaddēva's fight, by riding an elephant, with the famous Vallāla who was an enemy of the king of the Dakṣiṇa country (i.e., the Chalukya king), and vanquishing him is described. Verse 35 praises him again for his valour, and calls him as one who defeated Karṇa. The next verse (verse 36) says that though he was interested in war, he made gifts of villages to *dvijas* (i.e., Brāhmaṇas). Verse 37 says that though he never looked at other's women, he dragged, by their hair, the territories (which are likened to women) of the enemies and enjoyed them. Verse 38 refers to the women of the Aridhra country. In the next two verses he is praised further. Here ends the verse portion.

In the prose passage, in lines 41-42, the reign of Tribhuvanamalla-vallabhendra ruling from Kalyānapura is referred to. He is described as *Samastabhuvanāśraya*, *Sri-Prithvī-vallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhāṭṭāraka*, *Satyāśraya-kula-tilaka* and *Chālukyā-bharaṇa*. In lines 42-43, Jagddēva is mentioned and he is called here as *Samadhigatapaṁchamahāśabda* and *Kumāra-Maṇḍalēśvara*. In lines 43-45, the matter relating to the gift made by him of a village in favour of the (temple of the) god Jagaddēvanārāyaṇa installed by him, for its maintenance and for the worship and offerings to the god; and for the learning of the sages, in the Chalukya-Vikrama year 29, Tāraṇa, Chaitra śu 15. Sunday when there

occurred a lunar eclipse. The gift village called Pedda-Pembaru-grāma was on the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra, in the Kollipāka country, and was included in the twelve villages attached to the *pattala* (*paṭṭana*). In lines 45-46, it is stated that three shares belonging to the king from the share amount of 20 *drammas* due to the Prāṅgaṅeśvaradēva of the village, were excluded from the gift. Probably this amount was paid by every household of the place and hence called *griha-drammas*. Similar was the case with the *pura* i. e., *pura-drammas* (the amount paid by the town). Similarly ten *nivarttanās* of rice-fields in the village of Rāmalacheṇuvu situated at the back of the tank called Jagaddēvamahōdadhi was gifted. A garden for growing useful fruit trees in the middle of the stream called Ūsharakuṅṭhī in the village Nidumgalūra was given. Then every village was to give money according to the rate of five, four and three *svarna-rūpakas*, respectively for the first, second and third grades, evidently of lands. So in the town every household of oilmongers should give a certain quantity of oil according to the *dēvamāna* measure, and similarly three threads of flowers should be given by every florist. Then the village Maddigaṭlu-grāma belonging to Pullunūra-70 group was also gifted as a tax-free grant. All the above mentioned subsidiary gifts too were obviously intended for the temple of Jagaddēvanārāyaṇa.

TEXT¹

[Metres : Verses 1, 9, 11, 15, 20, 21, 25-28, 31, 33-35 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 2 *Harinī* ; verses 3, 4, 8, 12, 14, 18, 23, 24, 40 *Sragdharā*, verses 5, 6, 22, 36-38 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 7, 17, 29, 32, 39 *Vasantatilakā* ; verses 10, 19, 30 *Mālinī* ; verse 13 *Indravajrā* ; verse 16, *Varṇasāstha*].

- 1 सिद्ध² [नमो भगवते] नारायणाय ॥ --- - - - - - पहसितु वाद्वी प्रवाहश्रियं वि(वि)भ्राणः
शतपत्रमित्रदुहितु[ल्लक्ष्मीविलासा] - - - - - निर्व्विघ्ना - - - - -
- 2 - - - - - हंसश्रेणिसवर्णमर्णवसुताकान्तस्य कौक्षेयकः ॥ १ ॥ अधिकमधिकं
प्रादुर्भू(र्भू)ताः प्रभावमहानिधेर्मधु-विजयिनः कायच्छायाः पुनन्तु जगत्त्रयीम् । उदधिदु -
- 3 हितुर्व्वतेन्दुश्रीविकासविलोकनादिव तरलि[त]नीलीरागाणवस्य नवोर्मयः ॥ २ ॥ उदुण्डैः पुण्ड-
रीकैरुचितकटकक्षोणिरक्षीणखङ्गः प्रागल्भी ल-
- 4 वध(ब्ध)कीर्त्तिर्भूप इव तिलकोत्तुङ्गशृङ्गारभङ्गाया । अत्र ख्यातोस्ति शैलोर्व्वु(र्व्वु)द इति जगति
ध्वान्तलुप्टाककान्तिप्राग्भार्य्यस्य मौली द्युमणिरपि मिलन्तनमूर्त्तिं वि(वि)-
- 5 भर्त्ति ॥ ३ ॥ आश्चर्य्यं साहचर्य्यं दिनकरकिरणध्वान्तयोः पद्मरागज्योतिर्व्व्यामिश्रतीलन्मणिनिवहमहश्छ-
द्यना यस्तनोति । यश्चित्रं चन्द्रमूर्द्धा रजनिमनु जनैर्दृश्यमानोऽप्यनु-
- 6 ग्रः स्थाने स्थाने मुनीनामुदयदुपनिषत्सम्बिदामाश्रमेषु ॥ ४ ॥ तत्र कीर्त्तिमिव स्फूर्तिं लरम्यामाश्रमवासिनः ।
तपांसि तप्यमानस्य वसिष्ठस्य महामुनेः ॥ ५ ॥ कौ-
- 7 मुदीमिव पूर्णन्दोः कामदेति हविर्गवीम् । जहार जलदस्पर्द्धी कदाचिद्गाधिनन्दनः ॥ ६ ॥ गाधेरगा-
धहृदयक्षतमात्मजं स निर्णायि दुर्नयविशेषवशं वसिष्ठः । खिन्नोथ याज्ञिकमनोरथलब्धपूर्तिस्फू-

¹From impression ; A.R.Ep., 1961-62, No.B 90.

²This is a symbol for *siddham*.

- 8 त्वं हविर्भुजि हविर्निवहं जुहाव ॥ ७ ॥ वीरस्तस्मादकस्मात्करकलितधनुर्दण्डचण्डप्रभावः कोपि प्रीतात्कृशानो-
र्धनघटितयशोमौक्तिकाभीष्टवृष्टिः । आस्कन्दन्नन्दुवश्यानपि सवित्-
- 9 भुवोप्यक्रमेण प्रकारान्क्षेत्रेण क्षत्रियाणां त्रिजगदभयदप्रौढिराविर्बभूव ॥ ८ ॥ प्रख्यातिः परमार इत्यभिधया
तस्याभवन्नन्दिनीमानन्देत्यपदधर्मस्थितवते तस्मै वसिष्ठो मुनिः ।
- 10 प्रादाद्बुद्धतगाधिनन्दनजिते निःशेषविश्वम्भरासाम्राज्याशिषमाशिषोदिशदहो सत्यं रि(ऋ)षीणामिमाः ॥ ९ ॥
इह हुतवहवंशे कीर्तिकर्णावतसे प्रभवति भुवि राजा वैरिसिं-
- 11 हो बभूव । युधि युधि न हि केषां चकिरे येन शक्रद्रुमघनकुसुमस्रग्वृष्टयो वृष्टपूर्वाः ॥ १० ॥ सूर्याचन्द्र-
मसौ प्रतापयशसोर्यस्योपमानं पुनर्यस्यौपम्यपदं समुद्रमदनौ
- 12 गाम्भीर्यसौन्दर्ययोः । अ(औ)दार्यस्य महोदयस्य च मनोधैर्यस्य शौर्यस्य च प्रायोद्यापि समानमन्यदुचित-
स्पर्द्धं यदीयस्य न ॥ ११ ॥ प्रत्याशं यत्प्रतापज्वलनधनशिखामण्डलप्लुष्ट-
- 13 दुष्टक्षोणीपालप्रवीरप्रवरसहचरीवा (बा)ष्पवारिप्रवाहाः । आक्रान्तानेकतुङ्गक्षितिभृदुस्करत्राभिभ्रा-
जितोद्यद्भास्वत्सन्तापसन्तत्युपशममशम . . राज्येपि चक्रुः ॥ १२ ॥ चन्द्रः समुद्रादिव च-
- 14 षडभानुः प्राचीमहाद्रेरिव जन्म लेभे । श्रीहर्ष इत्यभ्युदयी च तस्माद्यस्माज्जयश्रीर्व्वृधे मृधेषु ॥ १३ ॥
यत्सैन्यैर्देन्यदानोत्सुकमहसि महाहंक्रतीनां रणोर्वीमाक्रा-
- 15 मत्यक्रमेणोद्धरुतरुगखुरोड्डीनरेणुच्छलेन । शत्रूणां भूतधात्री शरणमिव गतप्रत्यवायं स्वकान्तं त्राणया-
न्वेष्टुकामा दिशि विदिशि महासम्भ्रमाद्भ्राम्यति स्म ॥ १४ ॥
- 16 नीवीकर्षणतः पटाञ्चलपरिक्षेपे क्षपासूत्सुकाः कुर्वन्त्यो मणिदीपदीप्तिशमनश्रद्धानुव(ब)न्धम्मुधा । क्री-
डाधाम्नि यदधिनामभिनवव्रीडाविलासस्पृशः कामम्मग्धमृगीदृशः
- 17 स्मरसमुल्लासाय हासाय च ॥ १५ ॥ समस्तसामन्तशिखण्डमण्डनस्फुरन्मणिस्फारमहस्तरंगितौ । विरे-
णतुर्यञ्चरणौ निरन्तरं श्रियोङ्कसङ्गादिव कुङ्कमाङ्कितौ ॥ १६ ॥ तस्मादभूदन-
- 18 नुभूतपराभवोरिभूपालतः कविकुलार्णवपूर्णचन्द्रः । श्रीमुञ्जराज इति यस्य रहस्यमासीद्वंशी मुखा-
म्बुरुहि वागधिदेवतायाः ॥ १७ ॥ द्वारि द्वारि द्विपेन्द्राः कति न सुमनसां यत्प्रसादान्प्रमादादप्यु-
- 19 त्कर्षन्न लेभे रिपुसुभटचमूर्यत्र च क्रोधभाजि । उद्गीयन्ते यदीयाः कुचपुलकभरप्रस्फुटकञ्चुकाभिः
स्वर्लोकप्रेयसीभिः शुचितरश्चयोद्यापि कीर्त्तिप्रतानाः ॥ १८ ॥ अनु च तदनुजोभूदुल्लस-
- 20 हानपाथस्तरलितकरपद्मः सन्न साम्राज्यलक्ष्म्याः । अरितरूपरिपाटीपाटनप्रक्रियायां द्विरद इव समर्थः
पार्थिवः सिन्धुराजः ॥ १९ ॥ यत्प्रस्थानघनाभियोगनिन्दद्वेरीभरत्रासित-
- 21 क्रूरक्षत्रियपक्षपक्षमलदृशाम्बाष्पोदबिन्दूत्करैः । शैलोत्तुङ्गकुचान्तराल[त]रलैर्मने मनोहारिभिः कामम्भू-
रपि भूरिमौक्तिकमणिश्रेणीषु भिक्षोत्सवम् ॥ २० ॥ यस्मिन्नूर्जितचा-
- 22 पतञ्जितरिपुक्षोणीभुजि क्षमाभरं वि(बि)भ्राणे भुजविक्रमेण विजयश्रीकेलिकारौजसा । क्रीडन्ति स्म
दिशां गजाः फणिपतिः श्रीकान्तपर्यङ्कतां चक्रे मुक्तभरव्यथोपि कमठश्चिक्रीड पाथो-

- 23 निधौ ॥ २१ ॥ सिन्धुराजादभूत्कल्पशाखीव त्यागिशेखरः । ततः प्रौढप्रतापौर्व्ववह्नेर्भोजमहीपतिः ॥ २२ ॥ यत्सेनाधीश्वराणामनणुरणजयश्रान्तिजस्वेदबिन्दुनाजच्छेदाय राजप्रण-
- 24 तिघटनयाप्युन्नतप्रौढिभाजां(जाम्) । स्वीचक्रुस्तालवृन्तश्रियमधिकतरान्दोलिताब्धिप्रवाहाः कावेरीतीर-
वीरूत्कुसुमसमुदयामोदिनो गन्धवाहाः ॥ २३ ॥ यस्य प्रत्याशमभ्रलिहलहरिसमाक्षिप्तस-
- 25 प्ताम्बुराशीनुर्व्वोर्भक्तुस्तडागान्परिकलितमहाभूमिभागान् विलोक्य । अन्यश्रीपाञ्चजन्यामरकरिशशभृत्कौ-
स्तुभादानहेतोस्तसाहन्नाकिनोन्तः पुनरपि समुदश्चक्रिरे चक्रिमुख्याः ॥ २४ ॥ य-
- 26 त्सेनापतिपुञ्जकुञ्जरघटासंघट्टघण्टारवत्रासत्याजितगव्वगुर्जरवधूत्ताभिशोपोवितभिः । वद्धन्ते स्म सहैव
वाडवशिखिज्वालासाहाद्द्यायिनः प्रत्यायोधनभीममालवभटप्रौढप्र-
- 27 तापाग्नयः ॥ २५ ॥ पार्थस्येव कृतार्थतां कृतमतेर्यस्याहवे धन्विनस्तन्वन्ति स्म गुणोज्जिता अपि गुण-
प्राग्भारसाराः शराः । रामस्येव च धाम यस्य भुवनानन्दाय सन्तः सदा गायन्ति स्म सवि-
- 28 स्भयं बहुमुखप्रत्यर्थिसार्थच्छिदे ॥ २६ ॥ भूयोभिस्त्रिदिवं किमेति पथिभिर्भागीरथी भूधरः कैलासः
किमुपैत्यनेकगुणतां कामारिकारुण्यतः । यस्याभ्रलिहविभ्रमानिह महाकालादिवैमानि-
- 29 कप्रासादानवलोक्य वि(बि)भ्रति सुराः स्वान्तेषु शंकामिति ॥ २७ ॥ तत्र स्वर्गविलोकनोत्सुकमर्तौः
श्रीभोजदेवेभवत्तद्वश्यः सुभटप्रधानमु(उ)दयादित्याभिधानो नृपः । यस्योद्यत्पुलकावलो[क]-
- 30 निखिलक्षमामण्डलोत्(त्तं)भनप्रागल्भीपटुतां वराहवपुषस्तुष्टाव लोकत्रयी ॥ २८ ॥ यद्वा(द्वा)हुराहव-
महीषु विशेषतोपि शेषः समुद्धृतधरावलयो वभूव । क्रूरप्रहारविषनिर्मितदीर्घनि-
- 31 द्राश्चित्रन्नयन्नमरतामपरान्नरेन्द्रान् ॥ २९ ॥ परनरनिरपेक्षः संख्यसीमास्वसंख्यप्रतिभटपरिपाटीपाटने यः
पटीयान् । अनुसमदकरीन्द्रच्छेदमेको भृगोद्भ्रः प्रतिगिरि यदपेक्षा-
- 32 मीक्षतेन्यस्य नैव ॥ ३० ॥ जातास्तस्य च सूनवः कति न वा संख्यार्णवोत्लघनप्रारम्भप्लवगप्रवीर-
पदवीसंक्रान्तविक्रान्तयः । श्लाघ्यस्तेषु तदप्यभूत्परपुरीनिश्छद्यदाहक्षमप्रोद्धृतप्र-
- 33 तिभावधिर्भु(र्भु)वि जगद्देवो हनूमानिव ॥ ३१ ॥ बाल्येपि शिक्षितमशिक्षितसंख्यकेलिभङ्गेन येन
तपनीयपरंपरायाः । भोगश्च दानमपि दिव्ययशोनिदानमादानमेव रिपुभूपति-
- 34 संपदां च ॥ ३२ ॥ जेतुं यत्पितरि त्रिविष्टपभटव्रातं प्रवीरव्रतव्यापारेण पुराणपूरुषसमख्याती प्रयाते
दिवम् । भीमस्थामकृतार्थमर्जुनयशःकान्तं चलुक्यावनीपूष्णैन्दुर्यममंस्त
- 35 धर्मतनयं देवः समीपागतम् ॥ ३३ ॥ वैरी येन स दाक्षिणात्यनृपतेर्व्वैलाल इत्याख्यया प्रख्यातः
प्रधनस्थलीषु निधनं यातैः स्वसेनाभटैः । आरूढेन गजं पदातिदलनात्प्राणावशेषं कृतः
- 36 किं स्तुत्यं जननी परं न हि सुतं सूते स्म तादृग्विधम् ॥ ३४ ॥ जेतुं शत्रुपरंपरा परिभवं नेतुं विपत्तीः
सतामानेतुं प्रभविष्णुविक्रमनिधौ दोष्णि प्रवीरश्रियम् । उत्पन्नः प्र-
- 37 तिपन्नकर्ण इति यः कर्णावतंसोवनीकामिन्याः कृतधीः श्रियः सुकृतभूर्भोवन्तु च दातुं च ताः
॥ ३५ ॥ संग्रामलोलुपेनापि येन ग्रामपरंपरा । अकारि दानवीरेण द्विजसाहैः सहौजसा ॥ ३६ ॥ वि-

- 38 मुखत्वं परस्त्रीषु कुर्वतापि कुतूहलम् । आकृष्य येन केशेषु विभुक्ताः शत्रुभूतयः ॥ ३७ ॥ दृष्टे
दृग्भयनीरन्ध्रे यस्मिन्नध्रपुरंध्रयः । शत्रुत्वमपि मित्रत्वं कान्तेष्वात्मनि मन्वते ॥ ३८ ॥ दत्वापि
- 39 विस्मरति लक्ष्मलक्षितोपि विज्ञायते बहुषु विग्रहकामदेवः । यश्चित्रमत्रिनयनोदयकान्तिकान्तकीर्तिः
करोति मुदमम्बुजलोचनानाम् ॥ ३९ ॥ शीतांशुश्रीसुधाभिः परिकरितसुप-
- 40 वर्णामुर्वीसुधांशुः प्रासादं दुग्धसिन्धुप्रतिममरचयत्सोऽग्रणीर्द्धर्मिकाणाम् । अन्तर्जगति यस्य त्रिभुवन-
सुकृतोद्भूतये कैटभारिर्यश्चित्रं सम्बधत्ते कलसभवंमहः प्रौढिभिः प्रौढिमानम् ॥ ४०¹ ॥ छ ॥
- 41 ॥ छ ॥ स्वस्ति समस्तभुवनाश्रय श्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभ महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर परमभट्टारक सत्याश्रयकुल-
तिलक चालुक्याभरण श्रीमत्त्रिभुवनमल्लवल्लभे-
- 42 न्द्रे कल्याणपुरनिवेशितनिजविजयस्कन्धावारे साम्राज्यसुखमनुभवति तदनुज्ञया तत्पादपद्मोपजीवी
समस्तप्रशस्तोपेत समाधिग-
- 43 तपंचमहाशब्द(ब्दा)लंकारालंकृत कुमारमहामण्डलेश्वर श्रीजगद्देवः स्वनिर्मापितश्रीजगद्देवनारायणदेवाय
अंगरंगभोगार्थं खण्डस्फु-
- 44 टितनवसुधाकर्मनिर्माणार्थं मुनिजनस्वाध्यायान्नदानार्थं श्रीमन्चालुक्यविक्रमवर्षे एकोनत्रिंशत्तमे तत्परणाख्ये
चैत्रपूर्णिमायांमादिद्वारे सो-
- 45 मग्रहणे तुङ्गभद्रातटे कोल्लिपाकदेशे पत्तलप्रतिव(ब)द्धद्वादशमध्ये पेद्दपेंबरुनामग्रामप्रागणेश्वरदेवीयगृह-
द्रमविंशतिभक्तभागमध्ये
- 46 राजकीयत्रिभागमभ्यन्तरीकृत्य तथा पुरं तथा देवभाण्डागारस्वर्णन रामलचेरुवुग्रामे जगद्देवमहोदधि-
तडागपृष्ठ दशनि-
- 47 वर्तनशालिक्षेत्रं तथा निडुङ्गलूरग्रामे ऊपरकु[ण्ठी]नदीमध्ये पुण्यफलावल्यर्थं वाटिकां तथा प्रतिग्राममुत्तम-
मध्यमाधमक्रमेण पंच चत्वारि ॥
- 48 त्रीणि स्वर्णरूपकानि तथा पत्तने गाणवाविलिहट्टे देवमानं अबुटुं प्रतिगृहं मालाकारेषु पुपं सूत्रत्रयं
तथा व(ब)हिर्देशे पुल्लुनूर्
- 49 सप्ततिमध्ये महिगुलुग्रामं च सर्व्वनमस्यं कृत्वा दत्तवान् (॥*)

Inscription C

This inscription commences with a symbol for *siddham*. Verse 1 invokes the protection of Mahēśa the lord of Achalajā or Pārvatī for his devotees. Mahēśa is stated to be the cause for the god Lakshmiśvara who is the cause for the birth of the god who causes the birth of the world, born of the lotus which emanated from the navel of Lakshmiśvara. Verse 2 describes the Paramāra family which gave birth to jewel-like kings, which protected the suppliant rulers and which by its possessing the goddess of sovereignty looked like the ocean of nectar. Verse 3 states that in that family was born Gōmdala, after the disappearance of several kings like Śrīharsha, Muñja, Siṁdala and Bhōjadēva. His son was Udayāditya who ruled from Dhārā. This is stated in verse 4. Verse 5 states that from him was born

¹ There is a floral design on the right.

a single fiery son who seemed to combine in himself the three fires of *aurva*, *pavi* and *dāva* which were capable of destroying the three forts of the enemies. This son was Jagaddēva who was brilliance incarnate, who possessed good qualities and who had defeated Karṇṇa. His praise is continued in the next verse (verse 7) where also he is called as one who defeated Karṇṇa. Verse 8 refers to Kuntala-dharaṇīśa who resembled Hēmāchalēśa (i.e., Indra) by his loftiness and other qualities. Verse 9 is in praise of the same king who is called here as *Kuntala vallabha* and *Vikrāntachakrēśvara*. The next verse (verse 10) tells us that this king called here as *Chālukya-rāma* brought from the city of Dhārā (obviously Jagaddēva) out of affection and deeming him to be his own son gave him half of the Kuntala kingdom, as a father would do to his son.

Then follows a prose passage in lines 52-58 which are damaged. Here the same king is referred to. It is stated that he who was Tribhuvanamalla, with the *birudas* like *Śrī-Prūthvivallabha*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Parmēśvara*, *Paramahattāraka*, *Satyāśrayakulatilaka*, etc., was reigning from Kalyānapurā. Verse 11 states that Jagaddēva who went on a *digvijaya* conquered the rulers of Vēṅgī, Draviḷa, Chakrakūṭa, Āhirs, and Vallāḷa. Verse 12 describes his valour how when the army of the Karnāṭaka ruler was running helter-skelter Jagaddēva single-handed riding his war-elephant called Kālamēgha killed in the battle, six thousand soldiers of the enemy king Vallāḷa (i.e., the Hoysala king) and obtained victory.

The following prose passage (lines 67-70) states that he was ruling happily at Kollipāka, the capital of his territory. The passage in lines 70-74, refers to the fort of Vallabha at Bhuvanagiri and to the temple of the deity Traipurushadēva built by Brahmaḍēva, the son of Thakkaṇēnāyaka, on the northern side of Sōmēśvara. The text of the passage in lines 75-80 which are badly damaged cannot be made out although the extant words indicate that here is a reference to the purpose for which the gift recorded in a subsequent passage was meant. The passage in lines 81-92 state that in the Chālukya-Vikrama year 31, Yyaya, Vaiśakha śu.3 (Akshaya-tritīyā) Sunday (expressed in words) on account of Akshyaya-tritīyā, Jagaddēva, who is described as *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*, granted Gōshthipāḷu village belonging to Ālētikaṇpaṇaka, as a *dēvabhōga* exempting it from *aṅguliprēkshana* and payment of all taxes. The passage in 92-95 contains a request to the other rulers and officials of the country to protect this gift as if it is theirs. Verses 13-15 in lines 95-107, are the usual imprecatory and benedictory ones.

TEXT¹

[Metres : Verses 1-3, 7-8 *Vasantatilakā*; verses 4-5, 11, 13-14 *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 6 *Upajāti*; verse 9 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; verses 10 and 12 *Sragdharā*; verse 15 *Śālinī*].

First side

- 1 सिद्ध² लक्ष्मीश्वरस्य जगदुद्भवहेतु-
- 2 भूतनाभीप्रभूतकमलप्र-
- 3 भवस्य हेतुः । पायादहेतुर-
- 4 विचित्र्यमह[1*]प्रभावो माहे-
- 5 श्वरानचलजाधिपतिर्महेशः ॥ (१ ॥*) अ-

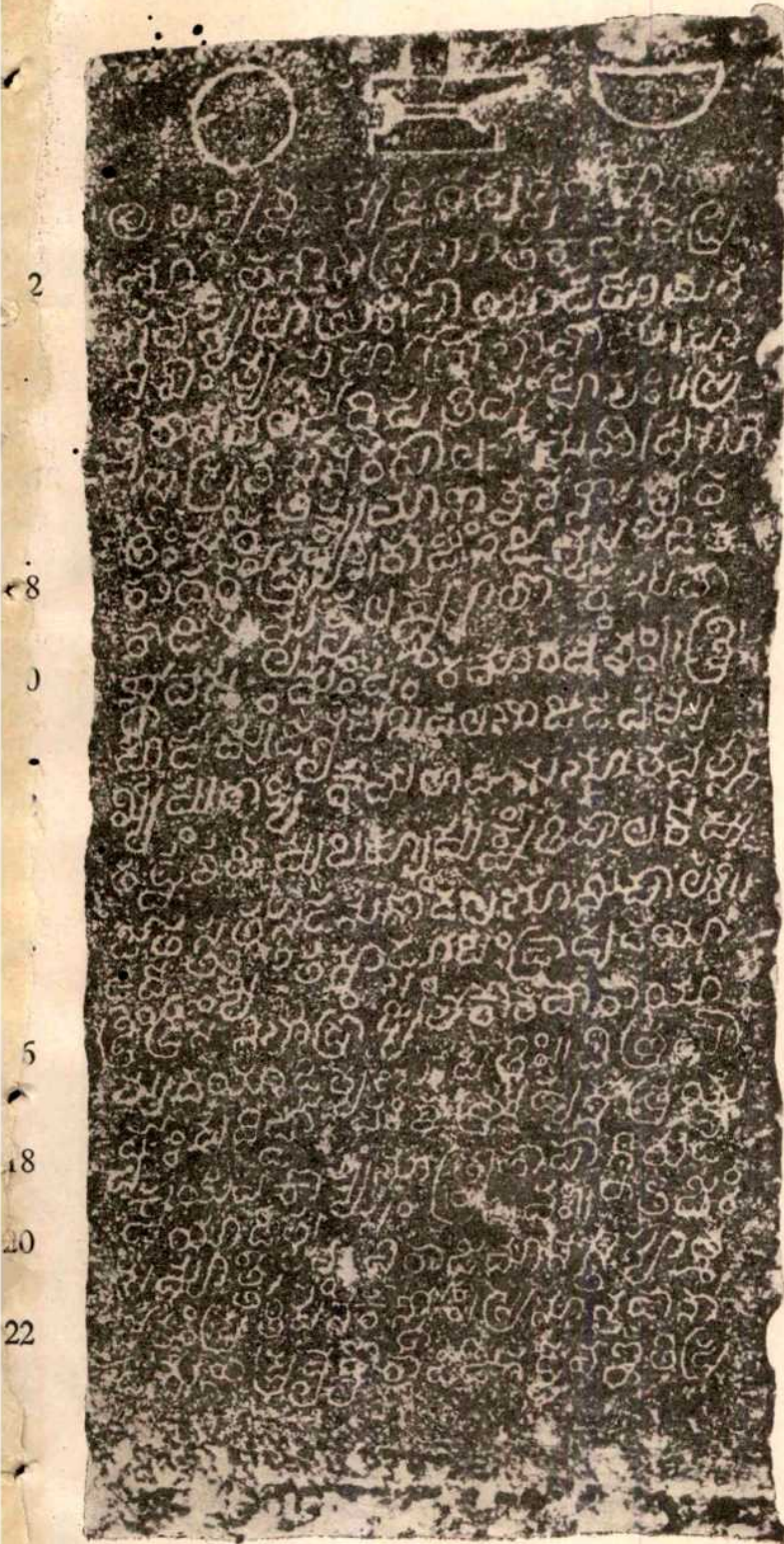
¹ From impressions. *A. R. Ep.*, 1966-67, No. B 3.

² Expressed by a symbol.

INSCRIPTION ON FOUR SIDES OF A PILLAR

A

B



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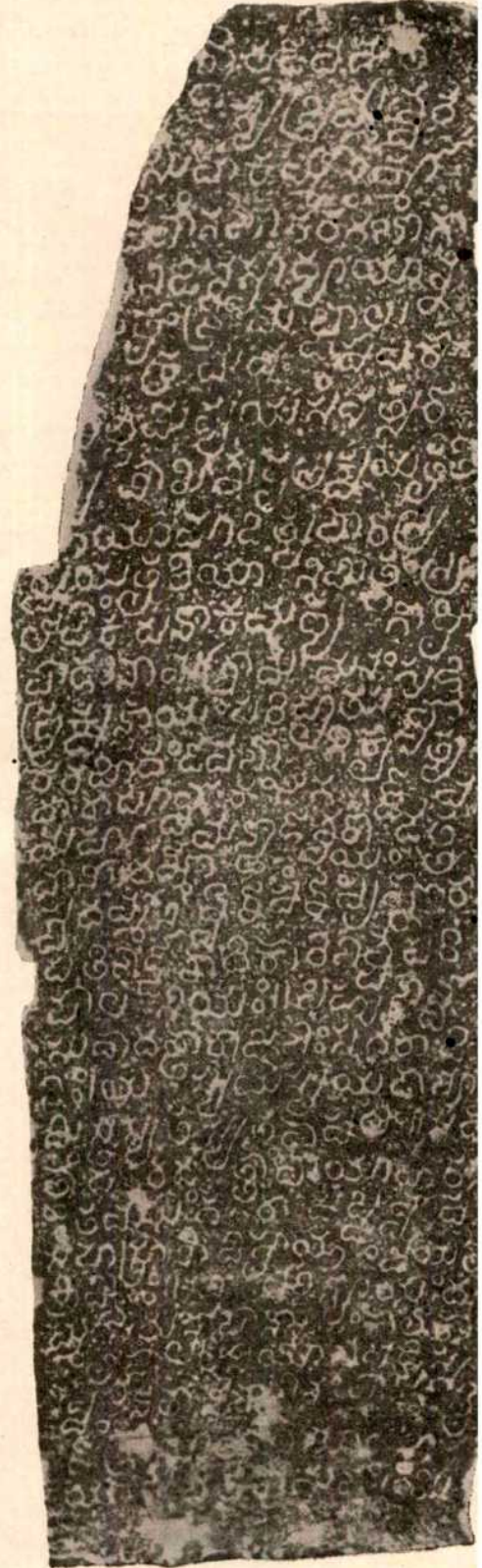
D

C

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106



SIZE : One-fifth

- 6 स्ति प्रशस्तनरपालमणिप्रसू-
- 7 तिः संरक्ष्यमाणशरणात्थिध-
- 8 राधरेन्द्रः । राजनि(जनि)जाभ्युदित-
- 9 राजसमृद्धलक्ष्म्या लोके सुधा-
- 10 ण्वसमः परमारवंशः ॥ [२ ॥*] श्री-
- 11 हर्षमुंजनृपसिंदलभोजदेवमु-
- 12 ख्येषु राजकमलामनुभूतवत्सु [1]
- 13 तद्वंशजेषु बहुषु क्षितिपालकेषु
- 14 जातस्ततस्तदनु गोंदिलभूमिपालः ॥ [३ ॥*]
- 15 उदेत्य तस्माद्भूपेंद्रादुदया-
- 16 व्रीद्रसंनिभाद्रा(भात् । रा)ज्यं चकार वा(धा)राया-
- 17 मुदयादित्यभूपतिः ॥ [४ ॥*] चित्रमौ-
- 18 व्वं : पविर्दिवः शत्रुदुर्गत्रय-
- 19 क्षये [1 *] एकोऽण्यभूत्प्रतापान्निहद-
- 20 यादित्यसंभवः ॥ [५ ॥*] तेजः
- 21 समूर्त्तीव विराजमानस्तस्यात्म०
- 22 जातः प्रतिपन्न(पन्न)कर्णः । अनूनदाना-
- 23 दिगुणप्रवृद्धो राजा जगद्देव इति प्र-

Second side

- 24 सिद्धः ॥ [६ ॥] दानांबुशो [भित्तकरो]¹
- 25 धृतभद्रचिह्नः क्षो [णीभरो]¹
- 26 द्रहनकेलिसमर्थ[मू] [त्तिः 1]¹
- 27 प्रख्यातवंशविभवो [विबु]¹
- 28 धाभिवृद्धिहेतुः सुरद्वि [प]¹

¹ The ends of these lines have been damaged and they have been restored with the help of the inscription A.

- 29 इव प्रतिपन्न(पन्न)कर्णः ॥[७ ॥] [कल्या]
- 30 णमूर्तिरवनीधर²मुख्यभूतः पा-
- 31 दाश्रिताखिलधरो [विबु]¹
- 32 धाधिवासः । [अ]¹
- 33 त्युन(त्युन्न)तः स्थिरतरः स्थितिहे [तु]¹
- 34 र्व्या हेमाचलेश इव कुं-
- 35 तलधारिणीशः ॥[८ ॥] हेलो-
- 36 त्खातनिखातखङ्गदलितान्
- 37 कृत्वा जगत्कंटकान् धृत्वा
- 38 वक्षसि निश्चलं प्रियत-
- 39 मां साम्राज्यराज्यश्रियं(यम्) [।*]
- 40 भीतायातविनीतभूत-
- 41 लपतीन् दत्वाभयं पाल-
- 42 यन्देवः कुंतलवल्लभो
- 43 विजयते विक्रांतचक्रे-
- 44 चक्रे²श्वरः ॥[९ ॥*] स श्रीचालुक्य-
- 45 रामः सकलनृपशि-
- 46 रोमण्डनाभ्यच्चि(चिर्व)तां-
- 47 ध्रिः स्नेहेनानीय
- 48 धारापुरि विभुविभवं निर्व्वि-
- 49 शंतं वसंतं(तम्) [।*] दत्वाद्धं कुं-
- 50 तलोर्व्याः पितृजनच-
- 51 रितैः पुत्रवन्मानयं-

¹ The ends of these lines are damaged and they have been restored with the help of the inscription A.

² This word is repeated twice and therefore, it is redundant here.

Third side¹

- 52श्रय श्रीपृथ्वीव[ल्ल].....
53राजपरमेश्वर पर[म].....
54 ..त्याश्रयकुलतिलक चा[लु].....
55श्रीमन्नि (त्त्रि)भुवनमल्लवल्लभे.....
56 ..णपुरनिवेशितनिजविजयस्कं..
57 [वा]रे सुखेन राज्यसुखमनुभ.
58 ति ॥ वेंगीशं द्रविलाधीशं चक्रकू[टे]-
59 शामाहिरं(रम्।) बल्लालं स जगद्देवो जित [वा]-
60 न् दिग्जयोद्यतः ॥ [११*]सैन्ये कर्णा-
61 टकानां दिशि दिशि निखिले कांदिशी-
62 के स्वकीयेप्येको ब्राह्मलेन प्रबल-
63 मरिबलं षट्सहस्रं निहत्य । बल्ला-
64 लस्याजिरंगे जयमपहतवान्
65 लीलयाभीलमुच्चैरारूढः का-
66 लमेधं निजविजयगजं श्रीजग-
67 द्वेवभूपः ॥ [१२॥*] ततो निजराजधान्यां को-
68 ल्लिपाकायां सुखसंकथाविनोदे-
69 न स्थित्वा राज्यलक्ष्मीमनुभवन् वल्लभ-
70 स्य दुर्गस्थाने भुवनगिरौ दिव्यतीर्थस्य
71 सोमेश्वरस्योत्तरतीरे थक्कणेनायक-
72 स्य पुत्रेण निजान्वयपवित्रेण ब्रम्म-
73 देवनायकेन निर्मापितस्य त्रैपुस्-
74 षदेवालयस्य सोमेश्वरमठाचा-

¹The top portion is broken. Probably two lines are missing. They may be restored with the help of the inscription A as follows : °स्तं लोकालोकान्निर्मावनिपतिरभवत्तद्गुमारप्रभावात् ॥ १० ॥

Fourth side

- 75 ण्डितदेवमत
 76 स्थ ब्रह्मेश्वर-
 77 सुधाकर्म्मनिर्म्मा-
 78 (दे)वांगभोगरंगभोगा-
 79 निजनस्वाध्यायान्न-
 80 .. त्थं श्रीमच्चालु-
 81 .. क्रमवर्ष एक-
 82 .[श] त्तमे व्ययसंवत्सरे
 83 [वै]शाखशुद्धअक्षयतृती-
 84 [या]यामादित्यवारे अ-
 85 क्षयतृतीयानिमित्तं आ-
 86 लेटिकंपणकमध्ये गोष्ठी-
 87 पालुनामभ्राममन्तंगुलि-
 88 प्रेक्षणीयं परिहृतसर्व-
 89 करबाधं देवभोगीकृत्य
 90 धारापूर्वकं जगद्देव-
 91 महामण्डलेश्वरो दत्त-
 92 वान् ॥ धर्म्मोयं
 93 स्वधर्म्मनिर्व्विशेषं शेषैर्ण(क्षै)र-
 94 पतिभिर्द्वैशाधिकारिभिश्च परि-
 95 पालनीयः ॥ बहुभिर्व्व
 96 सुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादि-
 97 भिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भू-
 98 मिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं (लम्) ॥ [१३॥*] स्वद-
 99 तां परदत्तां वा यो हरे-
 100 त वसुंधरां (राम्) [१*] षष्टिवर्ष-
 101 सहस्राणि विष्ठायां जायते
 102 क्रिमिः ॥ [१४॥*] सामान्योयं ध-
 103 र्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले का-
 104 ले पालनीयो भवद्भिस्स(िद्भिः। स)-
 105 र्व्वनितान् भाविनः पार्त्थि-
 106 र्व्वेद्रान्भूयो भूयो
 107 याचते रामचंद्रः ॥ [१५॥*]

Epigraphical Publications of the Archaeological Survey of India.

Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.

Epigraphia Indica.

Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (discontinued).

Epigraphia Indica : Arabic and Persian Supplement.

Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy (discontinued).

Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy.

South Indian Inscriptions.

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1. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Volume II, Part II : *Bharhut Inscriptions*, edited by H. Lüders and revised by E. Waldschmidt and M. A. Mehendale. Price Rs. 30.
2. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Volume IV.—Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Ched, Era : Parts I and II (pages 193+722 with 3 maps and 103 plates), by V. V. Mirashi, M.A., D. Litt., 1952. Price Rs. 125.
3. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Volume V : *Inscriptions of the Vākāṭakās*, by V. V. Mirashi. Price Rs. 40.
4. *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. 10.—The Gavimath and Pāḷkigunḍu Inscriptions of Aśoka (pages 24 and 18 Plates), by R. L. Turner, M. C., M.A., Litt.D., 1952 (second impression) (Reprinted). Price Rs. 10.
5. *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume V (1898-99), with a list of the Inscriptions of Northern India from about A.D. 400, by Prof. F. Kielhorn, C.I.E., Göttingen. Edited by E. Hultzsch, Ph.D. Price Rs. 35.
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