

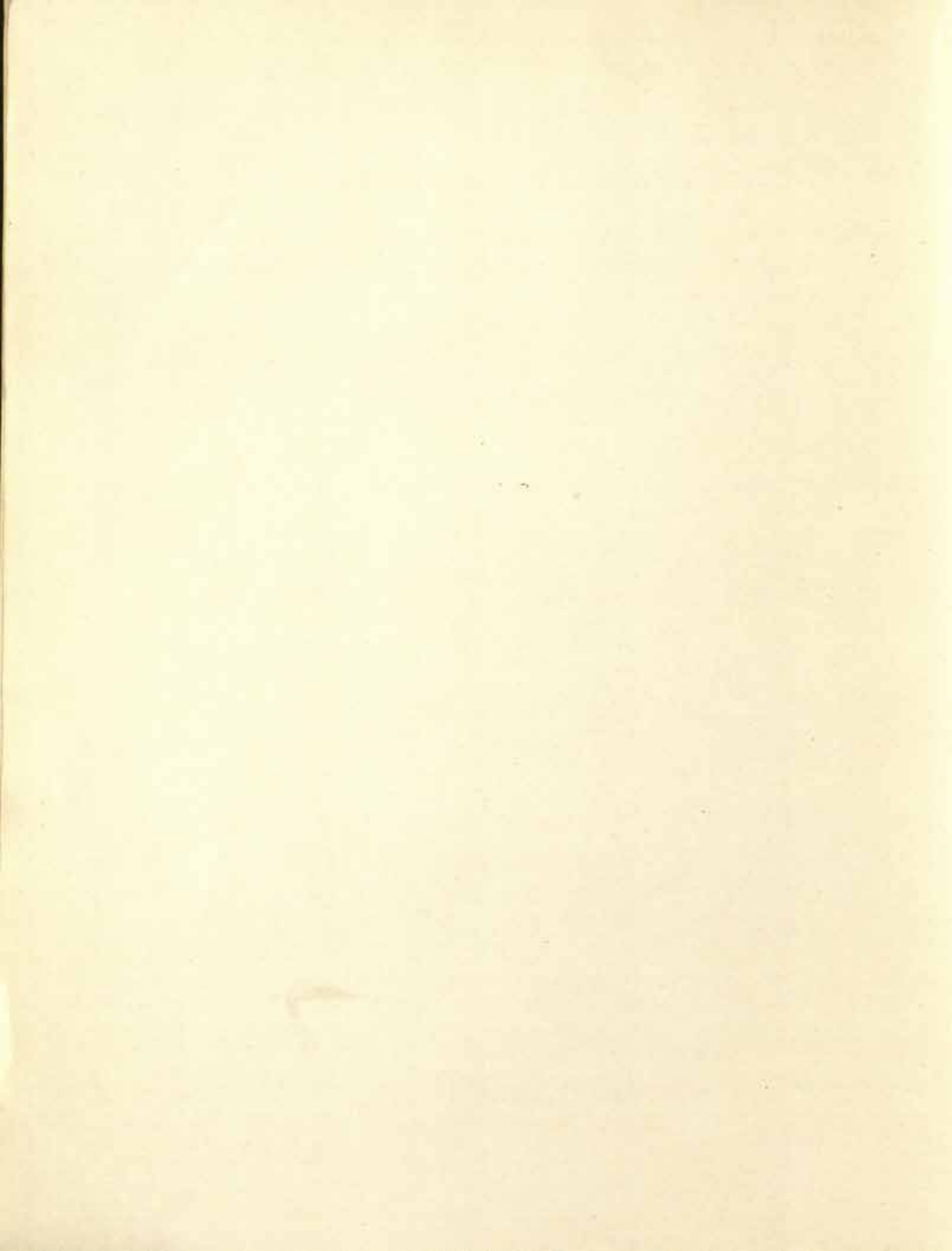
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1975-76



EDITED BY
Dr. K.V. RAMESH, M.A., Ph.D.
DIRECTOR (EPIGRAPHY)



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EDITORIAL

It has been decided, in consultation with the Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, to bring out the arrear volumes of the quarterly journal EPIGRAPHIA INDICA in full volumes instead of issuing them as quarterly parts. Volume XLI, now placed in the hands of scholars, is the arrear volume for 1975-76, covering 8 parts in all which were to have been issued progressively in January, April, July and October of 1975 and 1976. It is hoped that the remaining arrear Volumes will be brought out in the course of next two years.

I record here my grateful thanks to Shri J.P. Joshi, Director General and Shri M.C. Joshi, Addl. Director General, Archaeological Survey of India for the deep sympathy and understanding shown by them towards the Epigraphy branch of the Survey and for their help in overcoming chronic printing problems faced by us. I also wish to record here my grateful thanks to my colleagues, Dr. S.S. Ramachandra Murthy, the then Deputy Superintending Epigraphist, and Dr. S. Subramonia Iyer, Deputy Superintending Epigraphist to whom should go the lion's share of the credit for compiling the present volume and finalising it in record time. Dr. S.S. Ramachandra Murthy, with his customary academic zeal and Dr. M.D. Sampath and Dr. S. Subramonia Iyer have toiled tirelessly with me in editorial work. Shri M.N. Katti, Chief Epigraphist, Dr. M.D. Sampath, Superintending Epigraphist and Dr. S.P. Tewari, Deputy Superintending Epigraphist as also Shri M. Jayarama Sharma now Assistant Director, Institute of Archaeology, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi have helped me in the editing work at different stages and I thank them for the same. Dr. S. Subramonia Iyer corners the credit for preparing the entire illustration material. The preparation of the typescript for the Press has been done under the expert supervision of Shri P. Natarajan, Stenographer. To these gentlemen in particular and to those who have enriched this volume through their learned contributions, I owe a deep debt of gratitude.

I am beholden to Shri J.C. Gupta, Production Officer, Archaeological Survey of India, who has master-minded the scheme for clearing the arrears of epigraphical publications in reasonable time and rendered immense help in the speedy publication of this volume.

K.V. RAMESH
Director (Epigraphy)

17.8.1989

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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOL XLI

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No. 1 – PĀRTHIVAPURAM INSCRIPTION OF (KOLLAM) YEAR 98+1
(1 Plate)

K.G. Krishnan, Mysore

This inscription is engraved on the base of the north pial in front of the Vishṇu temple at Pārthivapuram, a village five miles south-east of Kuḷitturai, the headquarters of the Vilavangodu Taluk in Kanyakumari District, Tamil Nadu. This area was till recently a part of Kerala and was subsequently transferred to Tamil Nadu. The inscription is important enough to be considered as the earliest document dated in Kollam Era. The era is not referred to in the inscription. But we have reiterated here the reasons for considering the same as belonging to the Kollam Era, even as it was considered so by its previous editor Shri Gopinatha Rao in the *Travancore Archaeological Series* (Volume I, pp. 287-88 and plate).

The inscription begins with a Sanskrit verse in Śārdūlavikrīḍita metre engraved in Grantha characters. This is followed by a prose passage in Tamil engraved in Vatteluttu characters. Both the Grantha and Vatteluttu characters may be assigned to the tenth century. The published text has been compared with the facsimile and a fresh reading of the text is reproduced at the end of this article.

The opening verse in Sanskrit forming the first two lines of the inscription states that Nārāyaṇa, a Brahmādhirāja made a gift of 1) two lamps for the deity of Pārthivasēkharapuram and 2) twelve ghaṭas of paddy for being offered to Śārṅgin i.e., Vishṇu on the day of Punarvasu star in the month of Āshāḍha and for feeding students.

The Tamil section from line 3 of the inscription begins with the date expressed simply as the year opposite to the ninety-eighth year. Therefore the date should be reckoned as ninety-ninth year as other double dates are understood. Then follows the statement that Pañchavaṇṇ Brahmādhirājaṇ alias Kumaraṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ of Iḍaikkulattūr in Tūmā-nādu arranged for the burning of two perpetual lamps for the (deity) Bhaṭṭārakar of Pāttivasēkara (Pārthivasēkhara) purar. This endowment was to be maintained, the inscription says, by two persons Kannan Mānikkan and Pāgaṇ-Chivīndraṇ, both described as

paḍaittalaivaṇ, who took charge, each, of seven buffaloes undertaking in turn to supply $3/8$ (*ulakk-ālākkū*) measure, apparently, of clarified butter measured by the standard full measure of the kitchen (*madaippalli*). The buffaloes are described as those that do not die or become aged. This statement is followed by another to the effect that Kāmaṇ Chengōḍaṇ, a potter of Pārthivaśekharaपुरam, his younger brothers and nephews were required to maintain the shrine (*ambalam*), the entrance-porch (*vāyil-mādam*) and the covered halls along the circumambulatory passage (*churru-maṇḍapa*) out of the interest accruing from six *karunkāśu* of Ceylon (Īlam), apparently given by the donor. Last comes the statement about the feeding of students with the endowment of 12 *kalam* of paddy probably on the day of Puṇarpūsa (*Puṇardam*) in the month of Āḍi. The last line containing this statement is engraved faintly in such small characters that not much can be made of it now.

The Tamil section begins with the date expressed as the year opposite to the 98th year without specifying the era in which the year is to be reckoned. We have to explore other means of finding this out. It is obvious that this could not be the regnal year of any king because no king is known to have ruled upto such a long period as 99 years. The characters of the record belong to the tenth century as already pointed out. A comparison of this inscription with those that belong to this period will bring this out. There is another inscription at Pārthivapuram, the findspot of the present record, in Tamil language and Vatteluttu characters.¹ It is dated in the reign of Parakēsarivarman Vīraśōlap-perumāṇaḍiḡal. Due to the broken condition of the stone the regnal year is lost. The king has been identified with Vīrarājēndraśōla. This is not correct. The palaeography is not as late as the reign of that king falling within the third quarter of the eleventh century. Further Vīrarājēndra was a Rājakēsari while the king is described as a Parakēsari in this record.² Therefore, the king Parakēsari Vīraśōla of this record must be identified with Parāntaka who was a Parakēsari and was also known as Vīrachōla. Parāntaka is known to have extended his control over the south, at least in or before his 33rd year i.e., 939-40 A.D. as attested to by his Ānaimalai inscription.³ His records are known to exist at Śuchūndram not far away from Pārthivapuram.⁴ The present record can therefore be compared with that of Vīrachōla also from the same place. It will be seen that the letters are almost alike, there being practically no difference. The ends of letters *ta*, *na*, etc. are not yet connected. It is known that in the subsequent period the forms combine and make a full circle. Therefore, the present record cannot be far removed in point of time from that of Vīrachōla. Therefore, the

1. *T.A.S.*, Vol. I, Text, pp. 295-96 and plate facing p. 291.

2. The letter *ra* before the expression *kēsari* is clear on the facsimile.

3. *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 239 ff.

4. Above, Vol. V, pp. 41-48.

date 940 A.D. sets the later limit for the date of our record. The earlier limit for the present record can also be set by a study of the local evidence. Pārthivapuram is called Pārthivaśekhharapuram in the inscriptions. The Huzur office plates of the king Karunandadakkan of the Āy dynasty dated the 15th day in the 9th year of his reign equated to the 1449087th day from the commencement of the Kali Era record the construction of a temple, the installation of the deity Vishṇu-bhaṭṭārakar and the naming of the area around the temple as Pārthivaśekhharapuram. This Kali day falls on April 28, A.D. 869.¹ The present record registers a grant to Vishṇu-bhaṭṭārakar of the place, undoubtedly identical with the deity consecrated by the Āy king in 869 A.D., as found in the Huzur office plates. Therefore, the year 99 given in the present record should be placed in a date that falls after 869 A.D. Since there is no reference to any era based on the foundation of the temple in this inscription, as a few inscriptions of Kēraḷa do, this year 99 may be reckoned in the Kollam Era, which was the only system current locally. Hence, the date of the record is 923 A.D. Thus this date falls in the 54th year from the date of the foundation of the Pārthivapuram temple i.e. 869 A.D.

No details of date are given, therefore the exact date of the record cannot be ascertained. But the grant is made for an offering on every Punarvasu day of the month of Āshāḍha, according to the prefatory verse in Sanskrit, and on Āḍip-Puṇardam according to the Tamil text. The day of Puṇardam in the month of Āḍi in the year 923 A.D., corresponds to July 15 which was a Tuesday and to Kaṛṇāṭaka 21, in Kollam 99. This day falls also in the lunar month of Āshāḍha. We should note that the Sanskrit name 'Karkataka' for the solar month of Tamil Āḍi was not used, though we cannot comment upon the reason for this in the present state of our knowledge.

The donor is referred to as Nārāyaṇa, a *brahmādhirāja* in the Sanskrit verse. The Tamil section gives additional details about him. His full name was Kumaraṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ ; Kumaraṇ was obviously his father's name. His title *Pañchavaṇ-brahmādhirājaṇ* conveys two ideas. Firstly the word panchavaṇ is known to us to be a title of the Pāṇḍyas, thus suggesting that the donor was a high officer under the Pāṇḍyas and that he had adopted the title or was conferred with the same as a mark of his devoted subordination to the then Pāṇḍya king. Such instances are not unknown to us. In fact there was another person bearing the same title Panchavaṇ-brahmādhirājaṇ and having the name Chēndaṇ-Chāṭṭaṇ hailing from Nellittōḷa in Malainādu i.e. Kēraḷa.² The donor of the present record belonged to Idaikkulattūr in Tūmā-nādu.

Since the donor happens to be a high-ranking officer under the Pāṇḍyas, it is not unlikely that the region including Pārthivapuram, where this officer was possibly

1. I prefer this date to the ones already suggested for this by (1) Gopinath Rao as 855 A.D., (2) Sewell as 858 A.D., June 23, and (3) Iṅgulam Kunjan pillai as 866 A.D., June 22 (*Chilla Kēraḷa Charitra-prasaṅgal*, p.95). These will be examined elsewhere.

2. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XIV, No. 19.

present in 923 A.D. to make the grant, was under the influence of Rājasimha, the contemporary Pāṇḍya king. It coincides with the 21st year in his reign, almost towards the end of his reign after which he had to flee to Ceylon and then to Kēraḷa for help.

The donor is described as being adored by many good qualities and as a man of intellect. One of the gifts made by him is the provision made for feeding students. It is easy to see the connection between this particular endowment, the donor and the place. For, we know from the Huzur office plates that Pārthivaśēkharapuram had a flourishing school (*śālai*) of Vedic studies with 95 students distributed among the three Vedic divisions of Pavīliyam (Rik), Taittirīyam (Yajuś) and Talavakāra (Sāman) founded in 869 A.D. by Karunandaḍakkaṇ. We are also informed that this school was fashioned after the one at Kāndaḷūr.¹ It is obvious that this feeding endowment made by the brāhmaṇa donor must have been made in connection with this *śālai* which might have continued to flourish on the date of this record i.e. Kollan 99. The use of the word *Chhātra* (Prakrit or Tamil *Chattar*) in the Sanskrit preamble of the inscription is significant.

The prefatory Sanskrit verse describes this feeding as *uttamāgram*. This word is met with a large number of early Chōḷa inscriptions.² It seems to mean the best (food supplied) to the most deserving. The recipients of this food were mostly brāhmaṇas well-versed in the *Vēdas* or Śivayogis. It seems to imply also a full-scale meal as detailed in a similar inscription.³ It consisted of two measures of pounded rice, quarter measure each of ghee and dal, plain vegetable one dish and specific vegetable one dish, *akkāravattu* (sweetened rice) preparation two, two plantain fruits, fried vegetable one dish, curd one measure, 10 betel leaves and 4 betel nuts all for one person at a time.

Kumaraṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ *alias* Panchavaṇ-brahmādhiraḷa made a gift of 14 buffaloes of which seven were entrusted to Kaṇṇaṇ Mānikkaṇ and the other seven to Pāgaṇ-Chivīndravaṇ. Both were required each to measure daily $\frac{3}{8}$ (*uḷakkāḷakku*) of a measure of clarified butter for burning two perpetual lamps to be measured by the standard measure kept in the kitchen. Both are designated as *Paḍaittalaivaṇ*. As against the usual practice of entrusting the animals meant for such endowments to shepherds called *maṇṇādi* or tenants called *kudī*, this term had been used in a considerable number of inscriptions in the Pāṇḍya country.⁴ *Paḍaittalaivaṇ* means the head of (a regiment of an) army. It is possible that these persons who were active in the war-

1. See our article on '*Cattāṇam maḍham* - its identification' in the *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, M.S. University of Baroda, Vol. XIX, pp. 346-50, for more details about this famous institution.

2. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XIII, Nos. 16, 27, 33 and 44.

3. *Ibid.*, No. 91.

4. See *A.R.Ep.*, 1958-59, B. Nos. 496, 498 and 499.

field were occasionally engaged in peace times in such civil functions of acting as trustees of endowments.¹ We meet also with cases of endowments involving other forms of wealth such as land or money associated with persons in the army. The *sēnaiyār* of Tiruviḍaimarudūr were entrusted with a 6 *karuṅkāṣu* for providing the deity with the tender cocoanuts after midday food.² The word Chivīndraṇ in the name of the second of these two persons obviously stands for Śuchīndraṇ of which the other is the local form as attested to by records from that place itself.³

The Tamil portion of the inscription records an endowment not mentioned in the Sanskrit verse. It states that the donor gave six *ṭṭak-karuṅkāṣu* as capital to provide for works of repair (*aliṅṅu*) in the shrine (*ambalam*), the entrance porch (*vāyil-māḍam*) and covered halls in the circumambulatory passages (*churru-maṇḍapam*). This responsibility was entrusted to a porter (*vēṭhōvaṇ*) Kāmaṇ Cheṅgōḍaṇ by name, his brothers and nephews. The word *ambalam* is found used also in nearby contemporary inscriptions in the east coast in Tamil Nadu in the sense of a hall which was used for the purpose of conducting the meetings of the local assemblies or to receive the paddy contributed to the temple.⁴ But it is doubtful whether the same sense is conveyed here. For, a provision generally made for the upkeep of a temple could not exclude the main shrine. It is known that even today this word is used in Kēraḷa in the wider sense of a temple while it is not at all in use in Tamil Nadu. *Vāyil-māḍam* evidently stands for the entrance, the approach to which is covered and provided with two raised platforms on its either side. This is typical of, nearly, all the medieval temples in Kēraḷa. The platforms are sometimes seen also extending from the entrance into the *prākāra* and they are being used by the people rendering services such as flowers, sandal paste, playing of musical instruments, etc. The *churru-maṇḍapam* refers to the pavilions erected in the circumambulatory passages outside the central shrine.

The inscription calls the place Pārthivaśēkharapuram now shortened to Pārthivapuram. This name was first given to the locality around the temple where it is engraved, by Karunandaḍakkaṇ in 869 A.D. The locality was called, according to his Huzur office plates, *uḷakkuḍi-ṅilai* which consisted of an area with some cultivated fields. The *sabhai* of Muṅchirai is said to have owned it. It was taken from them in exchange for some other land, measure for measure. This land on which the temple was erected is stated to be situated within the limits of Paṣuṅgaḷam, rightly identified with Paṅguḷam, a mile south of Parthivapuram.⁵ The entire region is stated to fall

1. K.K. Pillay, *The Suchindram Temple*, 1953, p. 257; See also *A.R.Ep.*, 1958-59, Introduction, p. 16, for other reference.

2. *Ibid.*, XIII, No. 38.

3. Pillay, *op.cit.*, p. 100.

4. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, Nos. 466, 475 and 492.

5. Note the analogy of *paimpon* for *paṣumpoṅ*. See *T.A.S.*, Vol. I, p. 5.

within the division of Muḍāla-nāḍu, apparently so called after Muḍālam now met with in the names of two modern places called Mēl-Miḍālam and Kīl-Miḍālam. Idaikkulattūr in Tūmā-nāḍu cannot be identified in the present state of our knowledge.

TEXT

- 1 Svasti 'Sri [||] Datvā pārthiva-pūrvva-śekhara-purē dēvāya . dīpa-dvayam praty-Āshāḍha Punarvasum punar=adād=vṛihīn=gha
- 2 tā[n=d]vādaśa¹ [I*] Chhātrēbhyah punar=uttamāgram=adadān=Nārāyaṇas²=Sārṅgi-
ṇah prītyai sadguṇa-bhūshaṇas=s[va] - vibhavam Brahmādhirājas=sudhīh [I*]
- 3 Ton-nūṛṇettām=āndin edi[r=ā*] m=āṇḍu Pāttivasēkharapurattu bha³ paṭṭarakarkku
Tūmā-nāṭtu Idaikkulāt—
- 4 tūr Pañchavaṇ-Brahmādhirājaṇ=āyiṇa Kumaraṇ Nārāyaṇaṇ amaichcha tiru—
lakku irāṇḍu [I*] irāṇḍilum-o-
- 5 nrukku paḍaittalaivaṇ Kaṇṇaṇ Mānikkaṇ kaiyyil aḍutta erumai ēḷu [I*] ivaiyirṛāl
madaippalliyāl-u-
- 6 lak-ālakkum paḍaittalaivaṇ Pāgañ-Chivīndravaṇ kaiyyil aḍutta erumai ēḷu [I]
ivaiyirṛāl tirunonda vi-
- 7 lakukku madaippalli nāliyaḷ ulakk-ālakku [I*] ivaiy chāgā-mūvāp-pēr-erumai [I*]
'Iur Vētkōvaṇ Kā[maṇ]
- 8 Chengōḍaṇum tambimāru marumakkaḷum ambalamum vāyil-māḍamuñ=chuṛ[ru]
maṇḍa[pamum] a.. āga
- 9 k-kōṇḍa ṭlak-karuṇ-kāśu āru āruṇ-kōṇḍu ivv-achchin poliyāl aḷivu śelak-kaḍavar
[I*] Āḍip-Punarddati=nāl⁴
- 10 pannirukala nell⁴

1. Read *daśan*.

2. The word was originally intended to be written in Grantha but immediately after writing 'bha', the scribe has written in Vatteluttu characters.

3. Major portion of this line has not been read in the text published in *T.A.S.*, Vol. I, pp. 287-88 and plate.

4. There are a few letters, seen after this passage, which do not admit of any sensible reading. The reading (*Ibid*) 'śalalyuḷ-amai... I śā...' is not clear.

PĀRTHIVAPURAM INSCRIPTION OF KOLLAM YEAR 98 + 1

Left Half



Right Half



From Photograph

2
4
6
8
10

2
4
6
8
10

NO. 2 – ŚĀRṄGAPURAM GRANT OF THE TIME OF KĀKATIYA
GANAPATI, ŚAKA 1176

(3 Plates)

S.S. Ramachandra Murthy, Mysore

The copper plate charter edited, here, with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, was noticed in the *Annual Report for South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1936-37 as No. A 5. The text and translation have been already published by Butterworth and Venugopalachetty in their *Nellore District Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 137 ff. without any plates. Since some serious mistakes were committed by them while editing the grant it is proposed to re-edit the same in the following pages.

The exact findspot of the copper plate record is not known. However, this is stated to have been received from the Deputy Tahsildar of Darsi Taluk in Nellore District. This is a set of 5 thick copper plates measuring 26 cms by 13.8 cms and strung together by a ring passing through a ring hole about 1.9 cms in diameter at the left margin of the plates. The ring is about 1.3 cms thick and measures about 10 cms in diameter. Its ends are soldered to the bottom of an oval seal and on its counter sunk surface is the figure of a lion in high relief, standing with its right foreleg upraised and facing proper right. The set weighs 3,638 gms with the ring and seal and 3,148 gms without them. The plates are numbered, the respective numbers being engraved in the left margin of the second side of each plate. In the left margin of the first side of the first plate are engraved a *chakra*, the letter Śrī in Telugu-Kannada characters and a *varāha*, one below the other and in that order. Again towards the end of the 6th line and at the commencement of the 7th line of the innerside of the fifth and last plate are engraved respectively the figures of a *chakra* and a *varāha*. The writing is well preserved except on two sides of the first plate wherein the size of the letters is comparatively smaller and the written surface is somewhat worn out.

The characters belong to the Telugu of the 13th century and are regular for the period to which the charter belongs. Of the palaeographical features the following deserve mention. The sign for medial ā is engraved in two ways. In some instances it runs in line with the head-mark as in *vitaraṭādāchakraṇālam* (line 1), *Kāma-dēva* (line 39), etc. and in some other cases it is attached as a separate sign to the completed head mark of the letter as can be seen, for example, in *yathā*, *Kāmanō* and *Kauṣika* in lines 2, 32 and 34 respectively. The letter *ḍa* is written in two forms, one in regular way (eg. lines 12, 28, 31, 33, 40, 42, etc.) and the other like the letter *l* of the 10th-11th century (eg. lines 57-59, 63, 66, 73, etc.). This latter type of *ḍ* occurs in many inscriptions of the Eastern Gāṅga rulers belonging to the 12th-13th centuries.

The letter *bh* also is engraved in two ways; in some cases the two side lines of *bh*, which take a curve at the bottom, are not joined (egs. lines 4, 6-8, 10-12, 15 etc.) while in some cases these two lines are joined at the bottom with a slight dent (eg. lines 4, 8, 22, 43 etc.). The letter *h* is indicated by adding a broad hook-like stroke, bending downwards to the right side of the letter *p*.

As regards orthography the following peculiarities are observed. Doubling of the consonant following the *rēpha* is noticed only in some instances (eg. *sarvvalōka*, line 6, *sarvvāh*, line 18, *āryya*, line 27) (Contra : *kirir* = *viśvasmai* (line 1), *bhūpatir* = *Mahādēva* (line 8), etc., where this doubling is not seen). It may be noted that in some cases the *sandhi* rules were not followed as in *prabhāvataḥ sarvvalōka*, line 6; *bhuvanapatih svayam*, *nripatih sutō*, line 7, *tējah svāmya*, line 23. The expression *tasya purākṛita tapasām prabhāvataḥ* (line 6) is not a happy construction.¹ The word *Śārngā-* is consistently written as *Śāmr̥ga* (lines 15, 17, 23). *Nair̥iti* is, in all cases, written as *nair̥iti* thus revealing the influence of local pronunciation (lines 53, 62).

The copper plate inscription under discussion is couched in Sanskrit verse throughout except while delineating the boundaries where Telugu prose is used. The composition is not of a high order and in some cases metres are also defective.

This grant is dated Śaka 1176, expressed both in numerals as well as in chronogram (*rasa-mun-iśāna*). Ānamda, Tapasya (Phālguna) śu. 10, Monday corresponding to 1255 A.D., February 17, Wednesday (not Monday).²

The importance of the charter lies in the fact that it introduces a hitherto unknown chief Śārngadhara of Śālaṅkāyana-gōtra who was ruling over Addamki as the subordinate of Kākatiya Gaṇapati (1199-1262 A.D.).

The copper plate grant opens with an invocation to the Boar incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu (verse 1, lines 1-4). In the next verse it refers to the Kākatiya king Prōla who is described as *Kalikāla-Balirāja* (lines 4-6). The third verse refers to his son Mahādēva (lines 6-8). The next three verses describe Gaṇapati, son of Mahādēva in general terms (lines 8-14). Verses 8 to 10 introduce the chief Śārngadhara as the bee who finds happiness in the pollen of the lotus feet of his propitiatory deity, Gaṇapati (*tach-charana-kamala-sēvā-parāga-paritushṭa-mānasa-bhramarah*). He is stated to be the grandson of Śārngadhara and the son of Mādhava-nripati. He belonged to the

1. This has been done obviously to suit the metre.

2. The engraver has probably wrongly engraved *Sōma* for *Saumya*.

Śālaṅkāyana-gōtra and he was the lord of Addamki (lines 14-19). Verse 11 gives the date, the details of which are already given above (lines 19-20). The purport of the charter, *viz.*, grant of the village Śārnigapura to (forty-six) *brāhmaṇas* along with money (*sadakṣhiṇam*) for the merit of his overlord (*svasvāmi*) *i.e.*, Kākatiya Gaṇapati, is recorded in the subsequent three verses (lines 20-24). The next verse is in the nature of imprecation (lines 20-24). This is followed by the details of the donees (lines 26-42) which can be tabulated as follows:

<i>Name of the Donee</i>	<i>Gōtra</i>
1. Śrīdhara	Śrivatsa
2. Kommana	Do.
3. Kosaneyya	Do.
4. Muppana	Hārīta
5. Kēśava	Do.
6. Anamta	Do.
7. Perumādi	Do.
8. Rēmaṇa	Do.
9. Viṭṭhala	Do.
10. Pēkana	Do.
11. Raṅganātha	Do.
12. Kēśava	Do.
13. Mārāya	Do.
14. Prōlidēva	Do.
15. Nāgadēva	Do.
16. Mārāya	Do.
17. Ellaya	Śāṅḍilya
18. Kommana	Do.
19. Muttana	Do.
20. Dēvana	Do.
21. Āditya	Kaundinya
22. Svāmidēva	Do.
23. Kāmana	Do.
24. Mārāya	Do.
25. Vemṇaya	Do.
26. Bōlaya	Do.
27. Prōlaya	Kausika
28. Dēvana	Do.
29. Prōlidēva	Do.
30. Kēśava	Do.

<i>Name of the Donee</i>	<i>Gōtra</i>
31. Dōnaya	Bhārgava
32. Kommana	Kāśyapa
33. Kēsava	Do.
34. Sūrana	Do.
35. Rebbana	Bhāradvāja
36. Rēmana	Do.
37. Nāgadēva	Do.
38. Kommana	Ātrēya
39. Tammena	Gautama
40. Bōlaya	Do.
41. Errapōta	Do.
42. Kāmadēva	Vishnuvridha
43. Bappana	Śāṇḍilya
44. Māraya	Hārīta
45. Nārāyaṇa	Kuṇḍina
46. Sūrana	Do.

It is further stated that all the (forty-six) donees are to enjoy equal shares in the village. Out of these, three persons ending with the number forty two viz. Bōlaya, Errapōta and Kāmadēva were given non-transferable shares (*niśchala-bhāginah*) while Boppanārya who bears the designation *madhyastha* was also to enjoy half share from each of the two groups (*dvayēshv-ardhārdha-bhāk*) (lines 44-45).¹ Thus each donee gets a *kshētra* measuring one *gōcharma*. It is very interesting to note that the actual measurement of a *gōcharma* is given as follows : each *daṇḍa* (measuring rod) was ten hands long. Land measuring 30 such *daṇḍas* was one *nivartana*. Ten such *nivartanas* went into the making of a *gōcharma*. This gives us an idea about the minimum extent of cultivable land (*kshētra*) lying in that village. This is followed by the details of the boundaries of the gift-village in Telugu prose. A few villages and ponds apart from the rivers Guṇḍlakamma and Chilakalēru are mentioned in this connection. Lines 71-73 specify that the land granted to the brāhmaṇas lay in the villages Laṅjepāḍu and Pina-Krūmkupāḍu and that, because this land was not sufficient to distribute among all the donees, some land was additionally given in the village Mogaligumḍāla also. It

1. The terms *sama-bhāga* and *niśchala-bhāga* appear to have been used in this record in a technical sense. While *niśchala-bhāga* clearly means 'a non-transferable share', i.e., a property which cannot be sold or otherwise negotiated, *sama-bhāga* by implication means, in its primary sense, 'an equal share' and in its extended sense 'a share which can be sold or otherwise transferred'. It is thus apparent that while the term *sama-bhāga* as applied to all the forty-six shares primarily meant equal share in the case of the three donees whose shares are described as *niśchala-bhāga*, the power to sell or transfer their respective shares was not vested in them. Boppanārya, who receives the designation of *madhyastha*, was singled out for an equal share half of which was not negotiable while the other half was.

means that the village Śārᅅgapura which comprised the gift-land was created by uniting the villages Laᅅjepāᅇu, Pina-Kruᅅkupāᅇu and a portion of Mogaliguᅇᅇāla. Verses 29 to 34, which follow this, are in the nature of imprecation. The last verse describes the donees as well-versed in *Kalpa*, *Vyākaraᅇa*, *Tarka* and *Nīti* and states that to such *brāhᅇaᅇas* the chief *Chakranārāyaᅇa*, i.e., Śārᅅgadhara, gave away the village Śārᅅgapura.

As has been stated above this is the only record which refers to the chief Śārᅅgadhara (II), son of Mādhava and grandson of Śārᅅgadhara (I) and belonging to the Sālāᅅkāyana-gōtra. This chief must have been administering the region around Addaᅅki as a subordinate of Kākatīya Gaᅇapati. The gift village Śārᅅgapura, which the chief donated for the merit of his overlord, is obviously named after himself.

The following are the geographical names which occur in this charter : Guᅇᅇlakamma and Chilakalēru are two rivulets flowing across certain parts of the present Guntur district and are known by the same name even today. Of the villages mentioned in the grant, Addaᅅki, Anumanamgūru, Gārelakumᅇa, Bommaramu, Māᅇᅇukēśvaramu, Namnūru and Pinna-Kruᅅkupāᅇu are identical with Addaᅅki, Anamanamūru, Gārlapāᅇu, Bommanampāᅇu, Māᅅikēśvaram, Nannūrupāᅇu and Karuᅅkupāᅇu respectively, all situated in modern Ongole Taluk in Prakasam District, Andhra Pradesh. The remaining villages viz., Laᅅjepāᅇu, Nelapāᅇu, Kshētramupāᅇu and Mogaliguᅇᅇāla cannot be identified on a modern map.

TEXT

[Metres : Verse 1, 35 *Śārdūlavikrīᅇita*; verses 2-10 *Āryā*; verses 11-34 *Anuᅅᅇubh*]

First Plate : First Side

- 1 Ōᅅ || Svasti śrī - Dharāᅅ-dharō vitaratāᅇ = āchakraᅇālam kirir=visvasmai
- 2 vasudhā-vadhū-priya-vaᅇaᅅ sas=tāᅅ jagāᅅsuruᅅmudā | tasyai sviya —
- 3 viśāla-kōmala-sitāᅅ damshᅇrām=ariᅅᅇ-āpahāᅅ kēᅇakyāᅅ kusumāᅅ
- 4 yath =āᅇisubhagam | kurvvan = purōpāyanam(nam) || [1 ||*] Śrī-Kākatī-kula-tila-
- 5 kaᅅ Prōlaya-bhūpō=ti viśrutō lōkē | Kalikāla-Balirāᅇaᅅ kēᅇala-
- 6 m=ev=aisha gīyatē kavibhiᅅ || [2 ||*] Tasya purākᅇᅇita-tapasāᅅ prabhāᅇataᅅ sarvvalō-

1. From impressions.

- 7 ka-tapasā cha |¹ samajāyata bhuvana-patiḥ svayam=iva nri-patiḥ sutō
- 8 Mahādēvaḥ || [3||*] Nūnam svayam=ēv=āsau bhuvanapatir=bhūpatir=Mahā-
- 9 dēvaḥ | nō chēd=Gaṇapatidēvaḥ katham=iva tasya svayam sutō bhūyāt || [4 ||*] U-
- 10 ditē Gaṇapati-nri-patau kalānidhāv=amṛita-mūrttau cha |² udamīlad=akhila-bhu-
- 11 vanam kaira [va³] m=iva kumuda-bāmdhavē=bhyuditē || [5 ||*] Nō lambamānam=
udaram
- 12 naiv=āsya janō dvijihvājana-bhāvah |⁴ na cha vaktram=asya tūmdam Gaṇapatir=i-
- 13 ty=uchyatē janaiś=chitraṁ (tram) || [6 ||*] Arthi-jan-ārtha-vidhānāt=pratyarthi-
arthōpanāyanā -

First plate : Second Side

- 14 ch=ch=api | narapati-gaṇa-pālanatō mūnam=asau Gaṇapati[s*]=svayam dēvaḥ ||
[7 ||*] Tach=charaṇa-kama-
- 15 la-sēvā-parāga-paritusṭa-mānasa-bhramarah | 'Śāmr̥gadharā⁵ -vara-tanūjah karuṇā-
- 16 nidhir=astī Mādhavō nri-patiḥ || [8 ||*] Addamki-pur-ēśād=atas=tanūjō=jani praj-ē-
- 17 śānaḥ | Śālmkāyana-gōtras'=Śāmr̥gadharah⁶ śatru-śāśanaḥ suyaśāḥ || [9 ||*] Api
sarvva-
- 18 lōka-pāla-prabhāva-sambhāvitaḥ prajāḥ saṅgvāḥ | ānamdayann=ajasram dvija-rājah
- 19 kīrtyatē sadā tābhiḥ || [10 ||*] Śākē rasa-mun-īśānē 1176 gaṇit-Ānamda-vatsarē |
Tapa-

1. Here metre is defective.

2. Here metre is defective in that four *laghus* or two *gurus* are wanting to complete the second stanza.

3. The letter *va* is engraved below the line under the letter *mī*.

4. Here metre is wrong in that the second 'half' of the stanza contains one *mātrā* extra.

5. *NDI* wrongly reads as *Śaurisuvara*. Read *Śāmr̥gadharā*.

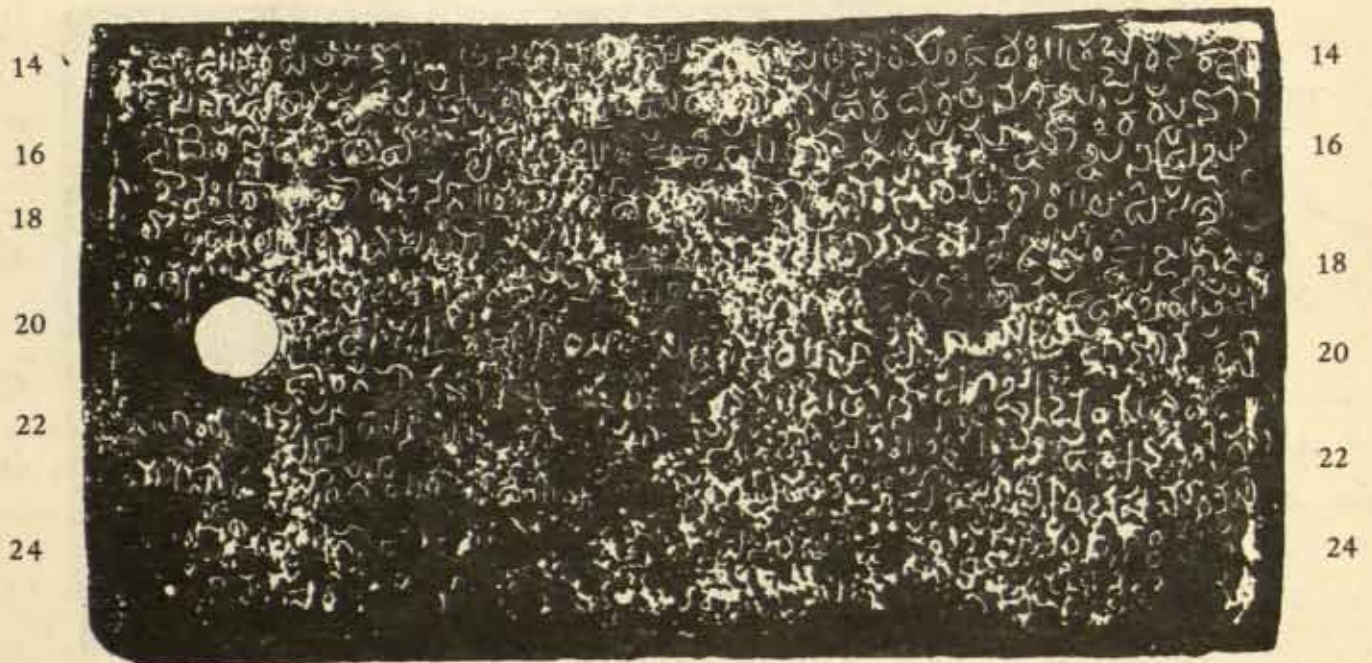
6. Read *Śāmr̥gadharah*.

ŚĀRĀGAPURAM GRANT OF THE TIME OF KĀKATĪYA GAṆAPATI, ŚAKA 1176 —
PLATE I

ia



ib



ii a

26
28
30
32
34
36

26
 28
 30
 32
 34
 36

26
28
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34
36

ii b

38
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 44

38
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42
44

- 20 syē 'sukla-pakshasya daśamyām Sōmavāsarē || [11 ||*] Āhūya brāhmaᅇān=bhaktyā
 21 vēda-vēdāᅇga-pāragān | 'sruta-śīla-guᅇ-ōpētān=sāmpūjya cha yathāvidhi || [12 ||*]
 22 Bhūyāt=sva-svāminē puᅇyam=ity=āśāsya sa bhūpatih | tēbhyaᅇ sa-dakshiᅇaᅇm grā-
 23 maᅇm prādāch=Chhāmrgapur-¹ ābhidham (dham)|| [13 ||*] Ashtabhōga-yutam tējaᅇ
 svāmyābhyaᅇm cha samāyu-
 24 (tam) | ā-sīma-grāmam=ētēbhyaō datvā ha vinay-ānvitah || [14 ||*] Sva-vamśyāᅇ
 'satru-
 25 vamśyā v=āparē vā syur=nnarādhipāᅇ [1*] yē pālayamti mē dharmam tēbhyaō mū-

Second Plate : First Side

- 26 rddhni kritāmjalih || [15 ||*] Tatra pratigrahītāraᅇ āryyau 'Sṛidhara-Kommanau
 Kosane-
 27 yāryya ity=ētē traya[ś=*] Śrīvatsa-gōtrīᅇaᅇ || [16 ||*] Muppanaᅇ Kēśavō=Namtaᅇ
 Perumā-
 28 ᅇś=cha Rēmaᅇaᅇ | Viᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇ Pēkaᅇō Ramganāᅇᅇaᅇ Kēśava-Mārayō || [17 ||*]
 Prōlidē-
 29 vō Nāgadēvō Mārayārya it=iritāᅇ | trayōdaśa-dvijavarā ā-
 30 ryyā Hārita-gōtrīᅇaᅇ || [18 ||*] Ellayāryaᅇ Kommanāryyō Muttanā-
 31 ryyaś=cha Dēvanaᅇ | 'Sāmᅇᅇilya-gōtrīᅇaᅇś=ch=aitē chatvārō dvijapuᅇga-
 32 vāᅇ || [19 ||*] Āditya-Svāmidēvaś=cha Kāmaᅇō Mārayas=tathā | Vemna-
 33 yō Bōlayaś=ch=ēti Kauᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇᅇ shad=dvijōttamaᅇ || [20 ||*] Prōlayō Dē-
 34 vanah Prōlidēvaᅇ Kēśava ity=amī | chatvāraᅇ Kauśikā viprā Dōᅇᅇᅇ-
 35 ryaś=cha Bhārgavaᅇ || [21 ||*] Kommanāryaᅇ Kēśvāryaᅇ Sū-
 36 ranāryyaś=cha Kāśyapāᅇ || (l) Rebbanō Rēmaᅇō Nāgadēvaś=ch=ēti dvijō-

1. Read Chhāmrgapur.

Second Plate : Second Side¹

- 37 ttamāḥ | [| 22 ||*] Bhāradvājās=trayō=py=ēta Ātrēyaḥ Kommanā-
- 38 ryyakaḥ || (|) Tammenāryō Bōlayāryya Erra-pōtāryya
- 39 ity=amī | ||| 23 ||*] Gautamā Vishṇuvṛiddhas=cha Kāmadēvō dvijōttamaḥ || (|)
'Sām-
- 40 dilya-gōtra-sambhūtō Bappanāryō² dvijōttamaḥ | [| 24 ||*] Harit-ānva-
- 41 ya-sambhūtō Mārayāryō mahā-dvijah || (|) Nārāya-
- 42 ṇaḥ Sūranas=cha dvāv=āryyau Kuṁḍin-ānvayau || [25 ||*] Iti prati-
- 43 ggrahītāraḥ sarvvē=pi sama-bhāginah dvi-chatvārimsad=amtyās=tu
- 44 trayō nis̄chala-bhāginah | [| 26 ||*] Madhyasthō Bavva(ppa)nāryas=tu dvayē-
- 45 shv=ardhārdha-bhāg=iha | pratyēkam=ēshām gōcharma-mātram

Third Plate : First Side

- 46 kshētram prakalpitaṁ (tam) || [27 ||*] Daśa-hastēna damdēna trimśad=damḍa nivarta-
- 47 nam(nam) | tāny=ēva daśa-gōcharma [m*] tad=dānād=Achyutam padam(dam)
|| [28 ||*] A-
- 48 tha sīmā-lakshanāny=Amdhra-bhāshayā | tūrpuna Guṁḍa-
- 49 kaṁma | anam̄taram=ā Lam̄japāṭi dakshināna vāmga | a-
- 50 ṭu vachchi dēvata-guḍi tūrpunan=Anumanāmgūri ḍomka rāti
- 51 puṭṭa | aṭu vachchi yasavalakuṁṭa | aṭu maḍupugā vachchi Nam̄nūr=iśā-
- 52 nyāna kuśa-darbha-paḍīya | aṭu vachchi Nam̄nūri vāyavyāna nela-

1. The numeral 2 is engraved at the beginning of the 2nd line on this side indicating the number of the plate.

2. NDI wrongly reads *Oppanāryō*.

ŚARŅGAPURAM GRANT OF THE TIME OF KĀKATĪYA GAᅇAPATI, ŚAKA 1176 —
PLATE II

iii a

46
48
50
52
54

46
48
50
52
54

iii b

56
58
60
62

56
58
60
62

iv a

64 64
 66 66
 68 68
 70 70
 72 72

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Grantha or Tamil, on a dark rectangular plate. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the plate, approximately halfway down.

iv b

74 74
 76 76
 78 78
 80 80

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Grantha or Tamil, on a dark rectangular plate. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the plate, approximately halfway down.

53 paḍiya | aṭu vachchi [Nam*] nūri nairṛiti Gārela-kumṭa | aṭu vachchi

54 Nelapāṭi āgnēyāna puṭṭa | aṭu vachchi Chilukalēṭi tūrpuna

Third Plate : Second Side¹

55 nela-kumṭa | Chilukalēṭi paḍumaṭan=ēṛu vāṅgu kūṭami [i*] a-

56 tu vachchi Kalamala-kumṭa | aṭu vachchi loṃtu-vāṅgu yēṃṭṭam

57 galasina kūṭami | aṭuēṭi² dakshināna madupugāṃ dūrpu

58 vachchi Kōṭikāla gattu paḍumaṭi prāṃtamu | anam̄taram=a

59 Boṃmaramu gatta | aṭu maḍupugāṃ bōyi tū-

60 rpuna vēmūla kāluva | aṭu vachcniy =āgnēyamu

61 mūla dūbala gumṭa | aṭu vachchi Mogaligum̄dāla pa-

62 m̄cha ku[m̄*]ṭla gattu | aṭu vachchi nairṛiti mūla nēla-kumṭa | a-

63 tu maḍupugāṃ vachchi paḍumaṭi sīmalu nēla palla-

Fourth Plate : First Side

64 mu tōḍi dūba | ēṭi dakshinānam boḍaṭi tōḍi dūba |

65 ēṭi y=uttarānam hakkala podaru | aṭu vachchi vrappi-kum-

66 ṭa |³ aṭu maḍupugāṃ dūrpu vachchi gutṭa tōḍi puṭṭa | aṭu

67 aṭu⁴ vachchi rem̄ṭi kum̄ṭalu | aṭu vachchi Chilukalēṭi dakshinā-

1. The numeral 3 is engraved at the beginning of the 5th line on this side indicating the number of the plate.

2. The letter *ṭi* is very thinly engraved below the line.

3. The engraver forgot to engrave this letter and *daṇḍa* and later engraved them in the left margin.

4. This *aṭu* is redundant.

- 68 nam chaṭṭu tōḍi guḍḍa | ēṭi y=uttarānam bakkaḷatōḍi
 69 puṭṭa | atu vachchi vāyavyamu dikku vāṅgu | atu vachchi maṁ-
 70 khyana-kumṭa | atu vachchi īśānyamu dikkuna Māmdūkē-
 71 'svaramu [1*] paḍumaṭa Gaṁḍakamṁma || dīniki sthalamu Lamjepā-
 72 ḍumnu Piṁna-Krumkupāḍumnu | chāla-

Fourth Plate : Second Side²

- 73 ni koṛataku Mogaliguṁḍāla polam=āṁdu beṭṭināru ||
 74 Bahubhir=vasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagarādibhiḥ |
 75 yasya yasya yadābhūmis=tasya tasya tathā pa(pha)-
 76 lam (lam)||[39||*] Śatruṇ=āpi kṛitō dharmmō rakshitavyah prayatna-
 77 taḥ | 'satrur=ēva hi 'sairu[s*]syād=ddharmmaḥ 'satrur=na kasyachit || [30 ||*]
 78 Dāna-pālanayōr=madhyē dānāch =chrē (chhrē)yō nupālanam (am) | dānāt=svarga-
 79 m=avāpnōti pālanād=Achyutaṁ padaṁ (dam)|| [31 ||*] Sva-dattām para-dattā-
 80 m vā yō harēta vasuṁdharām (rām) | shasṭīm varsha-sahasrāṇi
 81 viśṭhāyām jāyatē kṛimih || [32 ||*] Gām=ēkām na(ra)ṭnikā-

Fifth Plate : First Side

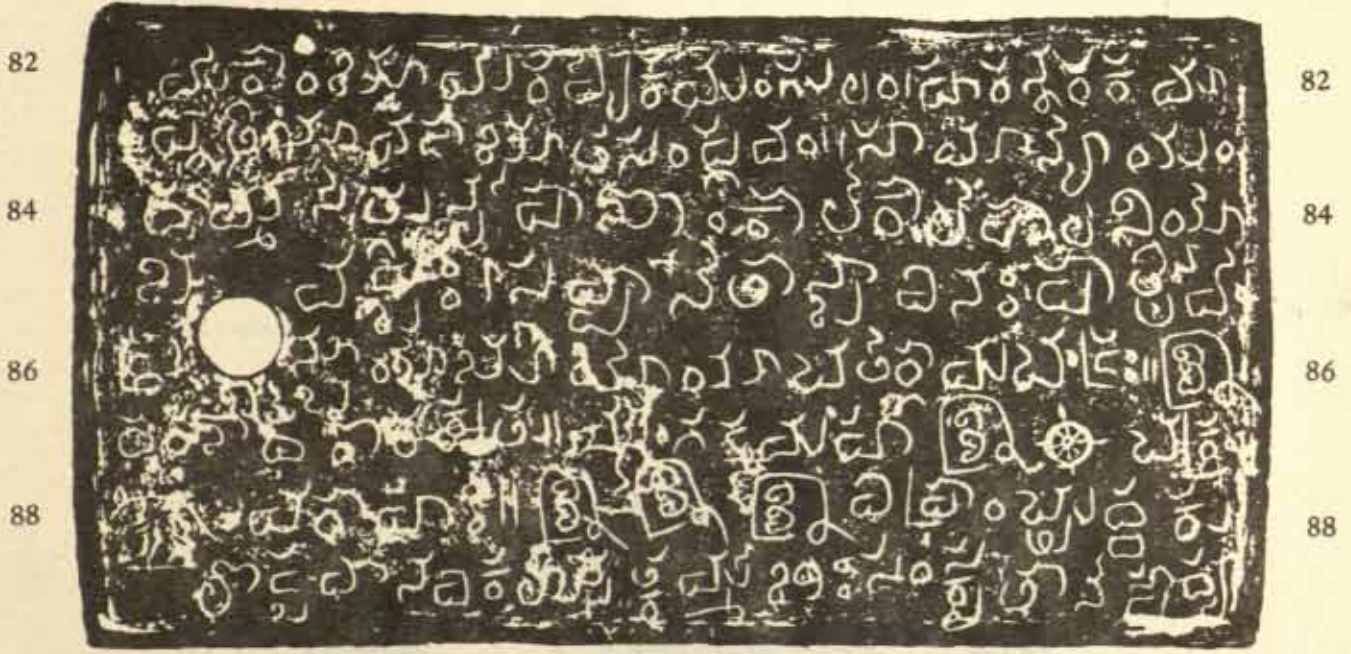
- 82 m=ēkām bhūmēr=apy=ēkam=aṅgulaṁ (am)|haran=narakam=a-
 83 pnōti yāvad=ābhūta-saṁplavaṁ (vam)|| [33||*] Sāmānyē(yō)=yam
 84 dharmmasētur=nṛipāṇām kālē kālē pālaniyō
 85 bhavadbhiḥ | sarvvān=ētān=bhāvinah pārtthivēm-

1. This letter *kka* is engraved below the line.

2. The numeral 4 is engraved at the beginning of the fourth line on this side indicating the number of the plate.

ŚĀRṄGAPURAM GRANT OF THE TIME OF KĀKATĪYA GAṆĀPATI, ŚAKA 1176 —
 PLATE III

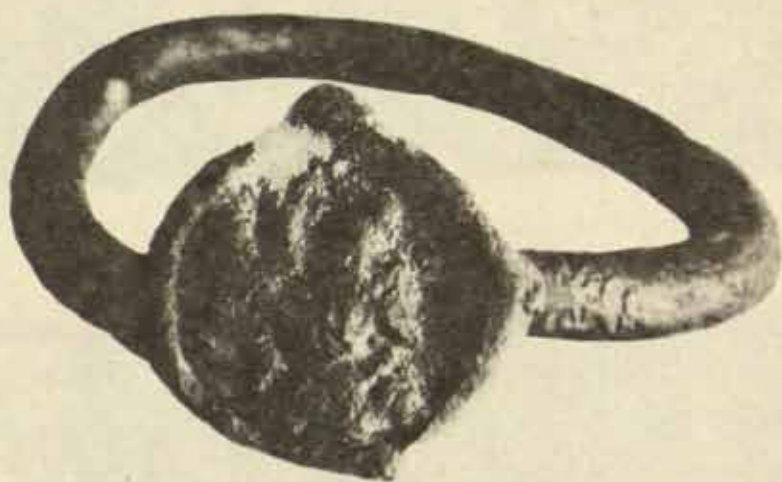
va



vb



SEAL



(From Photograph)

86 drān=bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmachandraḥ || [34 ||*] Śrī-

87 dharaṇī-dharō rakshatu | maṅgala-mahā-śrī¹ Chakraṁ

88 ²Varāhaḥ || śrī-śrī-śrī [||*] Viprāmchchhu (viprāmś = chhu)ddha-ku-

89 lōdbhavān=avikalān=satkarmmahhiḥ saṁskṛitān [||*] svādhyā-

*Fifth Plate : Second Side*³

90 y=ādhyayanē ratān=avikṛitān=dharmmē ratān=samga-

91 tān | kalpa-vyākṛiti-tarka-nīti-nipuṇān=abhya-

92 rchya tēbhyaḥ kṛitī [||*] prādāch-Chamrgapuram⁴ dharā-pa-

93 rivṛidhaḥ Śrī-Chakranārāyaṇaḥ || [35 ||*]

1. The figure of *chakram* is engraved here.

2. The figure of *Varāha* is engraved here.

3. The numeral 5 is engraved at the beginning of the 3rd line on this side indicating the number of the plate.

4. Read *Chārmīgapuram*.

NO. 3 – SIRUGUPPI HERO-STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE
TIME OF VĀNUSATTI-ARASA

(1 Plate)

M.J. Sharma, Mysore

The inscription which is edited here with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, was recently recopied from a stone-slab lying near the Hudeda Hanumān temple at Siruguppi, Hubli Taluk, Dharwar District. It was discovered earlier during 1933-34 and was noticed in *A.R.S.I.E.* under No. B.K. 32 with a plate. Later, it was included in *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVIII, under No. 7 with plate. But the illustration in the above *A.R.S.I.E.* as well as in the *S.I.I.* volume shows that the original estampage covered only the upper half of the slab containing the inscription, which runs into 4 lines, occupying the top portion of the slab, and a panel of figures engraved beneath the writing, depicting two seated male figures, each flanked by two standing female figures. With the recent recopying of the same slab more information has come to light with the exposure of two more panels of figures engraved below the single panel mentioned above, thus giving a complete picture of the commemoration of two heroes killed in a cattle-raid.

These three panels may be described from bottom upwards in the order of their sequence. The lower panel depicts the scene of the cattle-raid, the actual battle being fought and the death of two heroes who are seen lying dead, stretched on their backs, while the middle one portrays the process of their reaching their heavenly abode. Each hero is represented in a separate compartment, standing and being flanked by two standing heavenly damsels who are depicted in the act of pouring down the ceremonial water of purification from the pitchers held upside down. The upper panel, similarly divided into two compartments, depicts the heavenly abode wherein the heroes are seated separately in the *ardha-paryāṅka* pose, on a *piṭha*, and each is seen being flanked by two standing female chauri-bearers. Hero-stone inscriptions belonging to 6th-7th century A.D. are not easy to come across. Perhaps, the present inscription may be one of the earliest in Karnataka and there again, this kind of compartmentalised depiction on a single stone slab of two heroes attaining heaven seems to be unique and uncommon.

As regards palaeography, the letter-forms retain the squarish and angular features more than the cursive. The serifs are formed mostly by thick horizontal bands and, in a few cases, they are represented by box-heads and nail-heads. The characters are Southern or early Kannada and may be placed broadly between the later half of the

6th and first half of the 7th century A.D. The letters are generally comparable with those of the Halsi¹ and Sangoli² plates of Kadamba Harivarman.

The language of the inscription is Kannada and the text is in prose.

Since the inscription ends abruptly there is no clarity in regard to the names of the heroes who were killed in the cattle-raid. It states that when Vānusatti-arasa was ruling over Mūlungunda, his son (whose name is not given) was administering Siri[gu*] ppe. Then it refers to a cattle-raid carried out by a certain Kundasatti-arasa and also mentions two names, viz. Siriguppa of the Kavōdara family and Siri Vākkatakaṇḍēvi.

The importance of the inscription lies in the reading of the name Vānusatti-arasa. Late Shri N. Lakshminarayana Rao had read this name as Vāṇasatti-arasa³ and on the strength of the name-ending *-satti* (Sanskrit *-śakti*) he had identified him to be one of the Sēndraka chiefs.⁴ A closer examination of the letter *na* in Vāṇasatti-arasa, however, reveals that a medial *u* sign has been added by a downward lengthening of the right lower limb of the letter *na* which takes an upward curve to the left thus making the letter finally *nu*. Consequently, the first two letters of the name may be read as *Vāṇu* instead of *Vāṇa*. The word *Vāṇu* with its Sanskrit original *Bhānu* when prefixed to *satti* (=Sanskrit *śakti*) yields the name Vānusatti, its Sanskrit equivalent Bhānuśakti being the name of a Sēndraka chief who is mentioned in the Halsi plates⁵ of Kadamba Harivarman and in three copper plate grants from Southern Gujarat, namely the Bāgumra⁶ and Nāgad⁷ plates of Nikumbh-Āllaśakti and the Mundakhēḍē⁸ plates of Jayaśakti. The name Bhānuśakti as it occurs in the Bāgumra plates is much closer to that of our present record.⁹

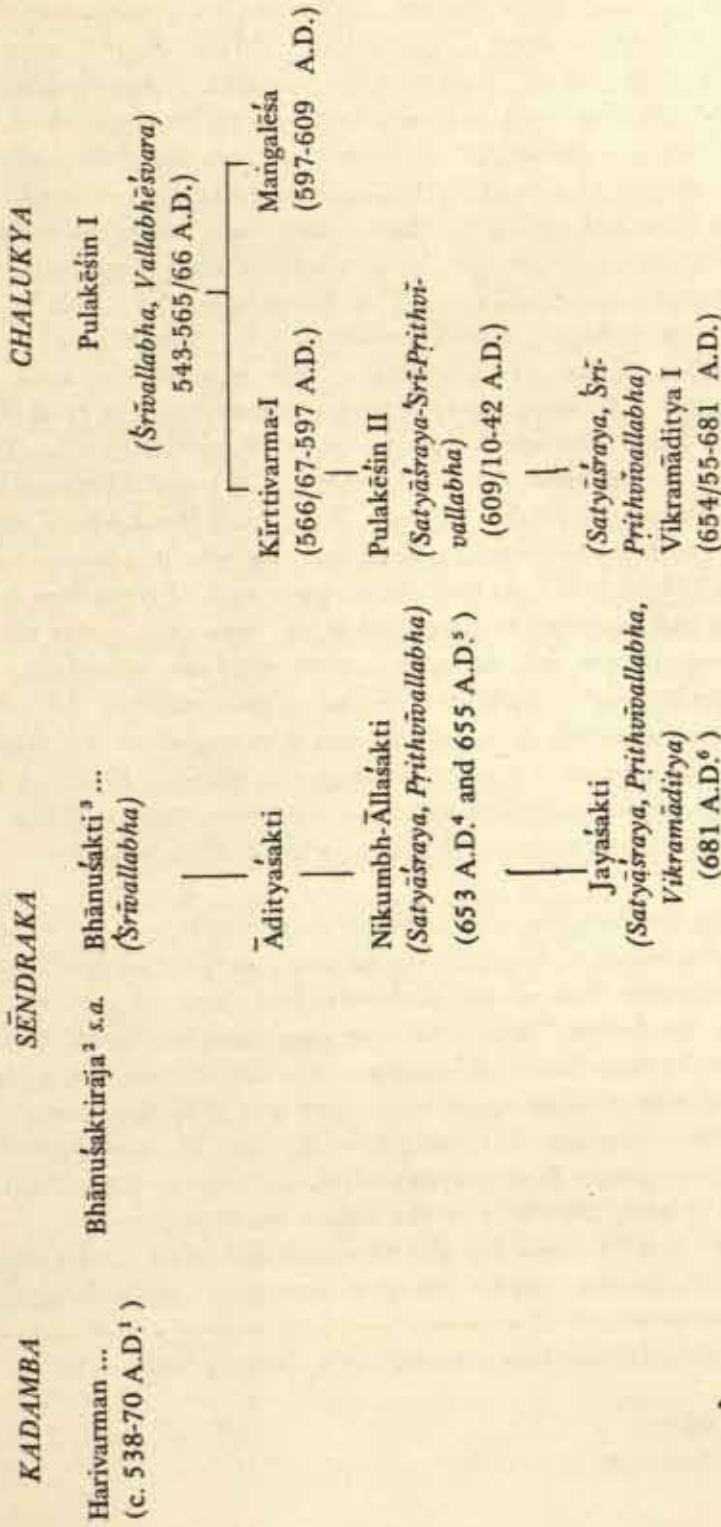
In the Halsi plates¹⁰ Bhānuśakti is mentioned as the glory of the family of the Sēndrakas and as the king (*rāja*) at whose request the gift of the village Marade was made while in the Bāgumra, Nāgad and Mundakhēḍē plates, he is placed as the first

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1. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 30-31 and plate.
 2. Above, Vol. XIV, plate facing p. 166.
 3. See : *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVIII, No. 7, text-line 1.
 4. *Ibid.*, Intro. p. 1.
 5. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pages 31-32 and plate.
 6. *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 265 ff. and plate.
 7. Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 195 ff.
 8. Above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 116 ff. and plate.
 9. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 267, text-line 6.
 10. *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 32.

member in the family pedigree of the Sēndrakas; and in all these three grants he is described in almost similar eloquent terms.¹

In the Mundakhēḍē plates the family pedigree adds one more member namely Jayaśakti² to the list of three members of the Sēndraka family (viz., Bhānuśakti, Ādityaśakti and Nikumbh-Āllaśakti) and some of them are therein endowed with certain *birudas* or titles which are usually associated with their Chalukya suzerains.³ A comparison of these *birudas* of the Sēndraka rulers as also the dates available for them with those of their Chalukya overlords (see the table given below) helps us to determine roughly the contemporaneity of a couple of Sēndraka chiefs and their Chalukya masters.

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1. For example, in the Bāgumra plates he is described as follows: 'in the race of the Sēndraka kings that is free from decay, firmly fashioned and high like mount Mēru, the great fame of which has unfolded itself (there was) he who obtained victory by the furious onslaught of arrays of troops of four-toothed elephants, he who conquered the crowd of all his foes, he who gained the circle of the earth by the valour of his arms, he whose lotus-feet were scratched by the crowns on the heads of all his bending vassals, he who was endowed with political wisdom, modesty, truthfulness, purity, virtuous behaviour, self restraint, mercy, liberality, kindness, glory and wealth, the lord of men (*narapati*), the illustrious Bhānuśakti', See translation in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 269.
 2. Above, Vol. XXIX, p. 117.
 3. Mirashi draws attention to this practice of feudatories assuming the titles of the overlords by adverting to the Manor plates. See, *Ibid.*, p. 118. Also see K.V. Ramesh : 'Chalukya Pulakēsin I', in *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, pages 219-20.



1. N.L. Rao and R.S. Pancharukhi: *Karnāṭakada Arasamanetanagaḷu*, Vol. I, p. 15.

2. Haisi plates of Harivarma (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 32).

3. Mentioned in Mundakhēḍē, Bāgumra and Nāgād plates.

4. Date given in Kāsirē plates of Sēndraka Nikumbh-Āllasakti (Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 200).

5. Date given in Bāgumra (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 26) and Nāgād plates (Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 196).

6. Date given in Mundakhēḍē plates of Jayasakti (Above, Vol. XXIX, p. 117).

From the above table, it is observed that Jayasakti, the great-grandson of Bhānuśakti was contemporary to Chalukya Vikramāditya I and had adopted the name of his master 'Vikramāditya' as one of his titles, while his father Nikumbh-Āllāśakti was not only contemporary to Vikramāditya I as is borne out by his known dates but also to Pulakēśin II as is clearly suggested by his titles *Satyāśraya* and *Prīthvīvallabha* which were so closely associated with Pulakēśin II that he is sometimes referred to in his records only by those titles and not by his name.¹ Ādityaśakti, son of Bhānuśakti, though he is not endowed with any title, may be presumed to have ruled during the times of Pulakēśin II, Maṅgalēśa and Kīrtivarman I and the pedigree shows that he had immediately preceded his son Nikumbh-Āllāśakti whose time is well established by his date and titles. Bhānuśakti, father of Ādityaśakti, thus naturally becomes the contemporary of Kīrtivarman I. He must also have been a contemporary of Pulakēśin I as is suggested by his title *Śrīvallabha* which was also one of Pulakēśin I's titles. Thus being placed in the time of Pulakēśin I (c. 543-565/66 A.D.) and Kīrtivarman I (566/67-597 A.D.), the Bhānuśakti of the Bāgumra, Nāgad and Mundakhēḍē plates stands contemporary to another Bhānuśakti, a Sēndraka king who was feudatory of Kadamba Harivarman (c. 538-70 A.D.). As seen above, since both of them have been praised in eloquent terms and happened to have lived at the same time, it may not be improper to identify them as one and the same person. Similarly, considering his popularity and time, he can be identified with the Vāṇusatti (Bhānuśakti) of the record under study which is palaeographically datable to the very same period. It may thus be safely concluded that during the period in question there was only one Bhānuśakti of the Sēndraka line who began his career as a Kadamba feudatory, later switched his allegiance over to the Chalukyas and is named as Vāṇusatti in our lithic record.

Bühler,² while editing the Bāgumra plates, identified Bhānuśakti of the charter with Bhānuśakti-rāja, the feudatory of Kadamba Harivarman and rightly suggested that the Sēndrakas were feudatories first of the Kadambas and later of the Western Chalukyas who overthrew the former.³ And, as for their appearance in Gujarat, he was of the view that when the Western Chalukyas conquered southern Gujarat, being their feudatories, the Sēndrakas went to that region in the service of their liege lords, and were rewarded with grants of districts. The latter view may not be improbable for, firstly, none of the Sēndraka grants from Southern Gujarat refers to Bhānuśakti or even his son Ādityaśakti as being the rulers of that region and secondly, there are no evidences to say from any other sources that the Sēndrakas had ruled in that region earlier to the Chalukya occupation, which took place sometime during Maṅgalēśa's

1. See *eg. Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 72 (Hyderabad Grant of Pulakēśin); *JESI*, Vol. VII, p. 2 (A New Early Chalukya Inscription).

2. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 266-67.

3. See also Fleet : *Dyn. Kan. Dist.*, p. 10.

regime.¹ As for the former view that the Sēndrakas were feudatories first of the Kadambas and later of the Western Chalukyas, available evidences are in agreement. If we take up the prevailing political scene (see the above table) in about the middle of the 6th century A.D., we have, on the one side, Harivarman (c. 538-70 A.D.), who was the last known Kadamba king of his line and was ruling over the western part of Karnataka, i.e. parts of North Kanara and Belgaum District and, on the other, Pulakēśin I, who had already established himself as an independent Chalukya ruler by 543 A.D.² after performing the *śvāmēdha* and other sacrifices at Vātāpi (modern Bādāmi). And, during 566-67 A.D. the latter was succeeded by Kīrttivarman I who is described as *kālarātri* (a night of death) to the Naḷas, Mauryas and Kadambas and as breaking up the confederacy of the Kadambas.³ He had obviously expanded his kingdom at the expense of the Kadambas and, very probably, Kadamba Harivarman was the main loser. It is not known when exactly the Kadambas were subjugated by Kīrttivarman I. It could have either happened immediately after his coming to power or even before, during the reign of his father.⁴ However, since the Sēndrakas were not included in the list of the defeated rulers like the Naḷas, Mauryas, Kadambas, etc., it may be safely presumed that the Sēndraka king Bhānūsakti might have shifted his allegiance to the Chalukyas even before the great battles were launched for the establishment of a strong Chalukya empire. And it was the opportune time for him to participate, as a Chalukya ally, in those battles and acquire great fame among the Sēndrakas which the records speak of. Further, the matrimonial alliance entered by Kīrttivarman I with the Sēndrakas⁵ serves as yet another proof of the close allegiance of the Sēndrakas to the Chalukyas. The present record refers to Vānusatī (Bhānūsakti) as ruling over Mūḷuṅgunda which may be identified with modern Mulgund in Gadag Taluk, Dharwar District. Mulgund and the region around lie immediately to the South of Bādāmi (Bijapur District) across Ron Taluk (Dharwar District) which is bordered by the Malaprabhā river. This region being geographically vulnerable, it may be inferred that at the very beginning of territorial consolidation, this region was brought under Chalukya sway.

1. *Early History of Deccan*, pp. 209-10. This does not mean that immediately after the occupation, the Sēndrakas were put in charge of this region as the clearer evidence of occupation comes only during the period of Pulakēśin II (Aihole Inscription) and with the rule of Nikumbh-Āllasakti as mentioned in his Bāgumra, Nāgad and Kāsūrē plates. Perhaps, Pulakēśin II, being born to a Sēndraka princess, (*Ibid.*, p. 208) obviously found members of this family to be more dependable as feudatory administrators of a newly acquired territory.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 207.

3. Fleet : *Dyn.Kan.Dists.*, p. 345.

4. *The Classical Age*, p. 233.

5. From the Chiplūṅ grant of Pulakēśin II, we learn that Kīrttivarman I's wife was a sister of Rājā Śrīvallabha-Sēnānanda of the Sēndra family. Fleet : *Dyn.Kan.Dists.*, p. 345. Probably, this Sēndraka chief might have had some relationship with our Sēndraka Bhānūsakti or might have belonged to a collateral branch.

The inscription refers to a cattle-raid by a certain Kundasatti-arasa when Siri[gu*] ppe was being administered by Vānusatti's (Bhānuśakti's) son whose name is not mentioned in the record. Kundasatti (=Sanskrit: Kundaśakti) may be identified with the Sēndraka chief Kundaśakti who is referred to in an inscription¹ from Lakshmēśvar (Shirhatti Taluk, Dharwar District) as the son of Vijayaśakti and father of Durgasakti who was the feudatory of Pulakēśin II.² Of the other two names occurring in the inscription, the first one, Kavōdarā Siriguppa³ may be identified as the name of one of the heroes killed in rescuing the cattle while the other one Siri Vākkatakanadēvi⁴ sounds as a female name with *dēvi*- ending and cannot be easily accepted as the name of the second hero.

TEXT⁵

1. Svasti śrī- Vānusatti⁶-arasarā
2. Mūluṅgund-āle ant=avar-mmakkalā Siri[gu*] ppe ā-
3. le Kundasatti-arasa [n-turī] gole Kavōdarā Sirigu-
4. ppanu[m] siri-Vākkatakanadēvi⁷

1. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XX, No. 3.

2. *Ibid.*, Intro. p. vii.

3. If we take the name-ending *guppa* for a suggested Sanskrit original Gupta, the name can be read as 'Śrīgupta'. See for 'Guppa' in *S.I.I.*, Vol. XX, No. 2, Intro.

4. Late N. Lakshminarayana Rao points out the likelihood of this name being connected with the Vākātaka family. *S.I.I.*, Vol. XVIII, No. 7, Intro.

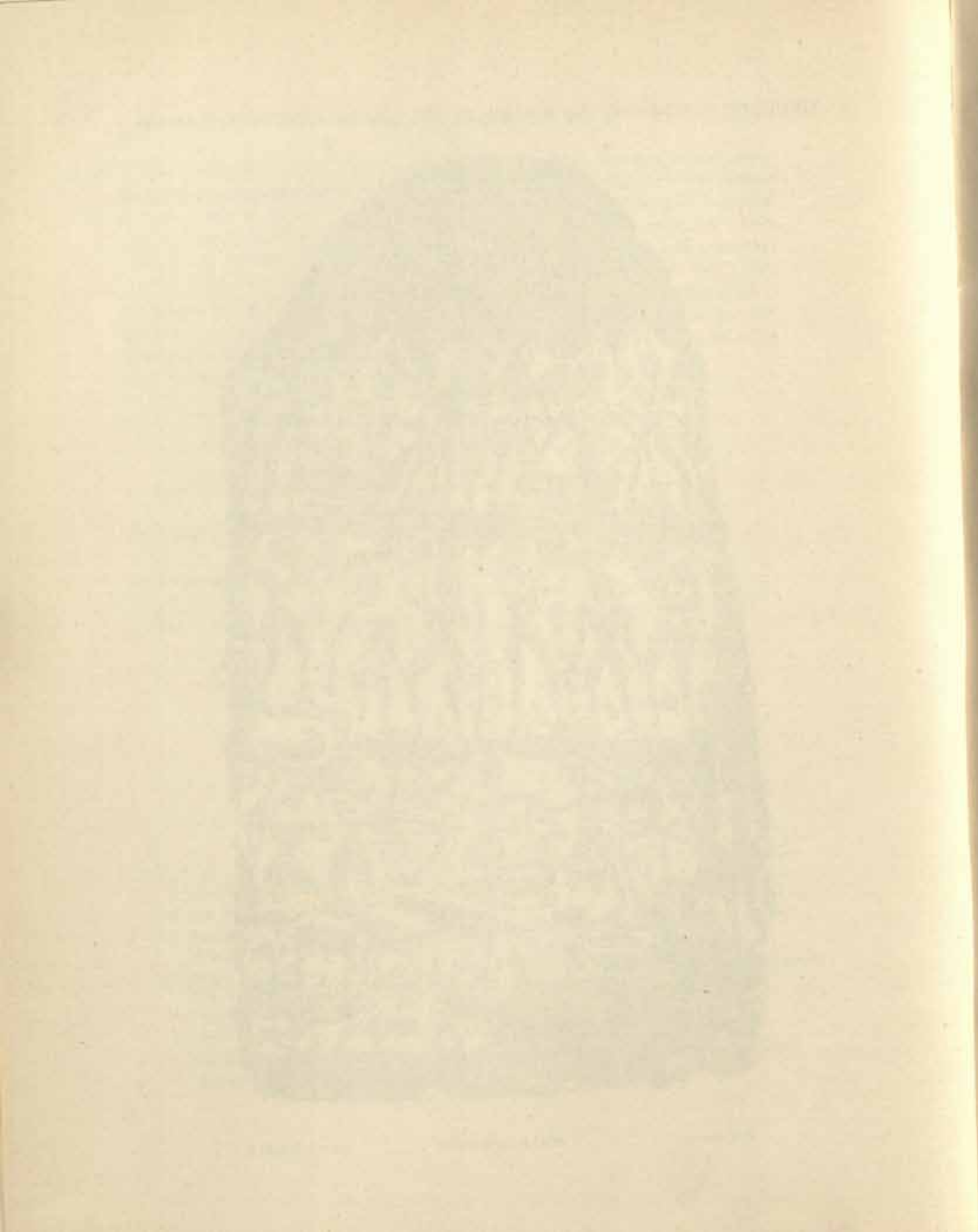
5. From impressions.

6. Late N. Lakshminarayana Rao reads this as *Vānusatti*. *Ibid.*, text-line 1.

7. This can also be read as *Siri-Vākkata[m]ka* (or *rajanadēvi*). In that case the former word (*Siri-Vākkata*) could become the name of the second hero killed in rescuing the cattle.

SIRUGUPPI HERO-STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF VĀNUSATTI – ARASA





NO. 4 – TWO COPPER PLATE CHARTERS OF THE GĀHAḌAVĀLA
KING JAYACHCHANDRADĒVA

(2 Plates)

S. Subramonia Iyer, Mysor.

The two copper plate charters edited below with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore were discovered by a farmer while ploughing his field in the village Asai in Bharthana Tahsil, Etawah District, Uttar Pradesh. The plates are now deposited in the State Provincial Museum at Lucknow. During my visit to Lucknow in November 1974, I had the occasion to examine the plates and prepare good estampages.¹ A brief account of the two charters by V.N. Srivastava has already appeared meanwhile in the Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology, U.P.² The two charters are very important as they disclose for the first time two hitherto unknown feudatory chiefs of the Gāhaḍavāla king Jayachchandra-dēva ruling over the Etawah region. The two charters are, for the sake of convenience, designated here as A and B.

Charter A, Vikrama 1229.

This charter is engraved on only one side of a single copper plate which measures 44.3 cm in length, 32.3 cm in breadth and .4 cm in thickness. There is a perforated projection fixed at the centre of the back of the plate through which a ring passes. There is a sun flower like figure embossed right in the middle at the top of the plate. There are in all 28 lines of writing. The writing is in a good state of preservation excepting the last three lines.

The characters are Nāgarī and the language is Sanskrit. The inscription is partly in verse and partly in prose. There are in all 21 verses. Though the writing is satisfactory, there are some orthographical and scribal errors to which attention has been drawn while editing the text.

Though the charter is written more or less on the same model of Jayachchandra-dēva's other known charters, two verses generally found in them viz. *Lōka-tray-ākramaṇa*, etc. and *Gachchēn=mūrchhām=atuchchām*, etc., are not found. In charter B, only the second verse is found.

The record begins with the well-known *siddham* symbol as expressed by the numerical figure 90 followed by two strokes. After the invocatory verse in praise of the

1. The two charters have been noticed in *A.R.I.E.*, 1974-75 as Nos. A 18 and 19. They have also been briefly noticed in the *Indian Archaeology, A Review*, 1974-75, No. 38, p. 59 and again in the *Review for 1975-76* as No. 45, p. 65.

Bulletin of Archaeology and Museums, No. 10, p. 62.

goddess Lakshmi (verse 1), the inscription gives the usual genealogy of the Gāhaḍavāla family commencing with Yaśovigraha. After recounting (lines 1-13) the eulogy of the successive kings Mahīchandra, Chandradēva, Madanapāla, Gōvindachandra and Vijayachandra, the record proceeds to mention Jayachchandra. In the prose passage that follows (line 14) after the mention of his forbears Jayachchandrādēva is introduced as the reigning king with all his imperial titles. Then follows a verse (line 15) describing the victorious march of a king which is out of context here and which should have found a place in the genealogical portion. In the other charters of Jayachchandrādēva this verse is found immediately after the mention of Madanapāla and therefore the king whose *jaitra-yātrā* is described can be none other than Madanapāla. The royal order is addressed (line 15-17) to the inhabitants of Vakradēvapura situated in Siddhachautapattala as well as the people of the countryside and dignitaries beginning with *Rājas*, *Rājñīs*, *Yuvarājas*, etc. The details of the grant are given in lines 17-29. This portion refers to the gift-land as Lahada-kshētra situated in the south of Vakradēvabhatāgrahāra and also contains an enumeration of its boundaries. The land granted was bounded on the east by Gautamapurī, on the south by Akanauḍā-grāma, on the west by Lashulā-grāma and on the north by Vamkupurī. The date of the grant is given (lines 19-20) both in words and figures. The charter is dated on the 15th day of the bright fortnight of the month Phālguna in Vikrama samvat 1229, the week day being Thursday, the details corresponding to 2nd November 1172 A.D. The charter then records (lines 20-23) that on the day cited above, Rāṇaka Abhayapāla, after taking bath in the Yamunā at Āsatikā and performing other ceremonies, granted the field by name Lahada to *Bhattāraka paṇḍita Kēdārarāsi* who probably received the gift on behalf of the god Sōmēśvarādēva of Āsatī. It is not clear from the record in what way Kēdārarāsi was associated with the temple of Sōmēśvarādēva and in what manner the income from the gift-land was to be utilised. The donor Rāṇaka Abhayapāla is stated (line 22) to have made the grant after getting the approval of his good master (*su-svāmī*) Janārddana, which name obviously stands for Jayachchandra, the imperial Gāhaḍavāla king with whose permission the grant in question would have been issued under normal circumstances. The gift was of a permanent nature and the donee was entitled to all regular and irregular taxes such as *bhāga-bhōga-kara*, *pravanikara*, *viṃśaticchavaṭhā*, etc. (lines 22-23). Then follow nine usual imprecatory and benedictory verses asking people not to tamper in any way with the grant. The charter was written by Jagadhara, the son of *paṇḍita Śrīdhara*.

The charter introduces for the first time Rāṇaka Abhayapāla as a feudatory of the Gāhaḍavāla monarch Jayachchandrādēva and as probably ruling over the Etawah region. It is known from a copper plate grant of Madanapāla and Gōvindachandra dated Vikrama 1166¹ that one Rāṇaka Lavarāpravāha was a feudatory of the Gāhaḍavālas. Judging from the findspot of that charter which is said to be Rahan in

1. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 14 f.

Etawah District, it is quite likely that he too was ruling over the Etawah region. The charters under study are also from the same region. This leads one to conclude that both *Rānaka* Abhayapāla (of charter A) and *Rānaka* Amritapāla (of charter B) belonged to the same feudatory family of *Rānaka* Lavarāpravāha. We do not know the nature of the relationship, if any, between the three *Rānakas*, Lavarāpravāha, Abhayapāla and Amritapāla.

Of the geographical names figuring in this charter *Kāsi*, *Kusika*, *Uttarakōsala*, *Indrasthāna*, *Kānyakubja* and *Yamunā* are too well known to need any identification. *Āsatī* or *Āsatikā* figures in the other charters of Jayachchandrādēva also and is to be identified with the findspot *Asai*. Of the localities stated to form boundaries of the gifted land, *Gautampurī* is no doubt identical with the modern village *Gautampur*.¹ *Akanaudā-grāma*, *Lashula-grāma*, *Vankupurī* and *Bhatāgrahāra* of *Vakradēva* cannot, however, be identified.

TEXT²

[Metres: Verses 1, 3, 13 - 21, *Anushtubh*; verse 2, *Indravajrā*; verses 4, 7, 11, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; verses 5-6, 8, 12, *Vasantatilakā*; verse 9, *Drutavilambitā*; verse 10, *Mālinī*.]

- 1 Siddham³ || Svasti || Akunth-ōtkaṅṭha-vaikuṅṭha-kaṅṭha-pīṭha-luṭhat-karah || (I) samra[m*] bha[h*] mu(su)rat-ārambhē sa sriyah śrēyasē=stu vaḥ || [1*]
 Āsīd=Āsītadyuti-vansa⁴-jāta-kashā(kshma)pāla-mālāsu-divan-gatāsu | sākshād=
 viva-
- 2 svān=iva bhūri-dhāmnā nāmnā Yaso(śō)vigraha ity=udārah || [2*] Tat-sutō=bhūn=
 Mahīchandraś=chandrādhāma-ti(ni)sā(bha)[m*] nni(ni)jam(jam) || (I) yēn=
 āpāram=akūpāra-pārē vyāpāritam yaśah || [3*] Tasy=ābhūt=tanayō nay-aika-
 rasikah krām-
- 3 tta(ta)dvīpa(sha)n-māṅḍalō |⁵ vivv(dhva)svō(st-ō)dhva(ddha)ta-dhīra-yōdha-
 timirah śrī-Chandrādēvō nripah || (I) yēn-ōdāratara-pratāpa-samit-āśēsha praj-
 ōpadrava[m] śrīmad-Gādhīpur-ādhīrājyam=asaman=dōr-vvika(kra)mo(mē)ṇ=
 ārjītam(tam) || [4*] Tīrthāti(ni) . Kāsi(śī)-Kusi(śī)-

1. Census of India, 1951, *District Population Statistics*, U.P., 19, Etawah District, p. 10.
 2. From impressions. This is No. A 18 of *A.R.I.E.*, 1974-75.
 3. Expressed by a symbol.
 4. Read -vansa.
 5. This stroke is redundant.

- 4 k-Ōttarakōsal-Ēmdra-sthāniyakāni paripālayatā=bhigamya || hēm=ātma=ātma-
tulyam=anisam(śam) dadatā dvijēbhūyō yēn=āmkitā vasumatī śataśas=tulābhiḥ ||
[5*] Tasy=ātmaḥ Mandanapāla iti kshitiṁdraś=chūḍāmanir-vvi-¹
- 5 jayatē nija-gōtra-chandraḥ || (l) yasy=ābhishēka-kalāś-ōllasitai [h*] payōbhiḥ
prakshālitaṁ kali-rajah pātalam dharitryāḥ || [6*] Yasy=āsīd vijaya-prayaṇa-
sa [ma*] yē tuṅg-āchal-ōchchais=chalan=mādyat-kumbhi-pada |²
- 6 ¹ | ka(kra)m-āsra(sa)ma-bhara-bhraśyan=mahī-maṇḍalē Chūḍā-ratna-chi(vi)bhinna-
tālu-galita-styān-āsrig-udbhāsitaḥ Śēshaḥ pēsha-vasā(śā) d=iva śrī¹ Chakram(sau)
krōḍē vilin-ānanah || [7*] Tasmād=ajāyata nij-āyata vā(bā)hu-valli(lī)-
- 7 va(ba)ndh-āvaka(ru)ddha -nava-rādhyā(jya)-gajō narēndrah | śā(sā)[m*] dr-āmrita
drava-muchām pra ||² vō gavām yō Gōvindachandra iti Chandra iv=āmvu(bu)-
rāśēḥ || [8*] Na katham=apy=alabhanta raṇa-kshamāms=tisriḥshu dikshu gajān=
atha vajri-
- 8 nah | ḥakubhi babhramur=abhramuvallabha-pratibhatā iva yasya gajā-ghaṭā[h*]
|[| 9*] Ajani Vijayachandrō nāma tasmān=narēndrah surapatir=iva bhūbhrit-
paksha-vichchēda-dakshah || (l) sa(bhu)vana-dalana-hēlā-ha[rmya]-Hamvira-
nārī-na-
- 9 yata(na)-jalada-dhārā-śānta-bhūlōka-tāpaḥ || [10*] Tasmād=adbhuta-vikramād=atha
Jayachandr³-ābhidhāno nripah bhūpānām=avakī(tī)rnna ēsha bhuvannō(n-ō)-
ōdhā(ddhā)rāya Nārāyaṇah [| *] dvaidhī-bhāv am=upāsya vighraha-ruvi(chim)
dhiku(kkri)-
- 10 tya satrāśyā⁴ sēvantē yam=udagra-va(ba)ndhana-bhaya-vvam(dhvam)
s-ārthina[h*] pārhivā(vā)ḥ || [11*] Sō=ya[m*] samasta-rāja-chakra-sā(sam)-
sēm(sē)vita-charaṇah paramabhattārāka-mahārājādhirāja-Paramēsva(śva) ra-
paramamāhēśvara-nija-bhu- |⁵
- 11 j-ōpārjita Kanyakubj-ādhipati-śrī-Chandradai(dē)va-pād-ānudyāta-paramabhattā-
rāka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēsva(śva)ra-paramamāhēśva(śva)ra-śrī-Madanapāla-
dēva-pād-ānu [dhyā] tā-paramabhattārāka-ma- |⁶

1. This stroke is redundant.

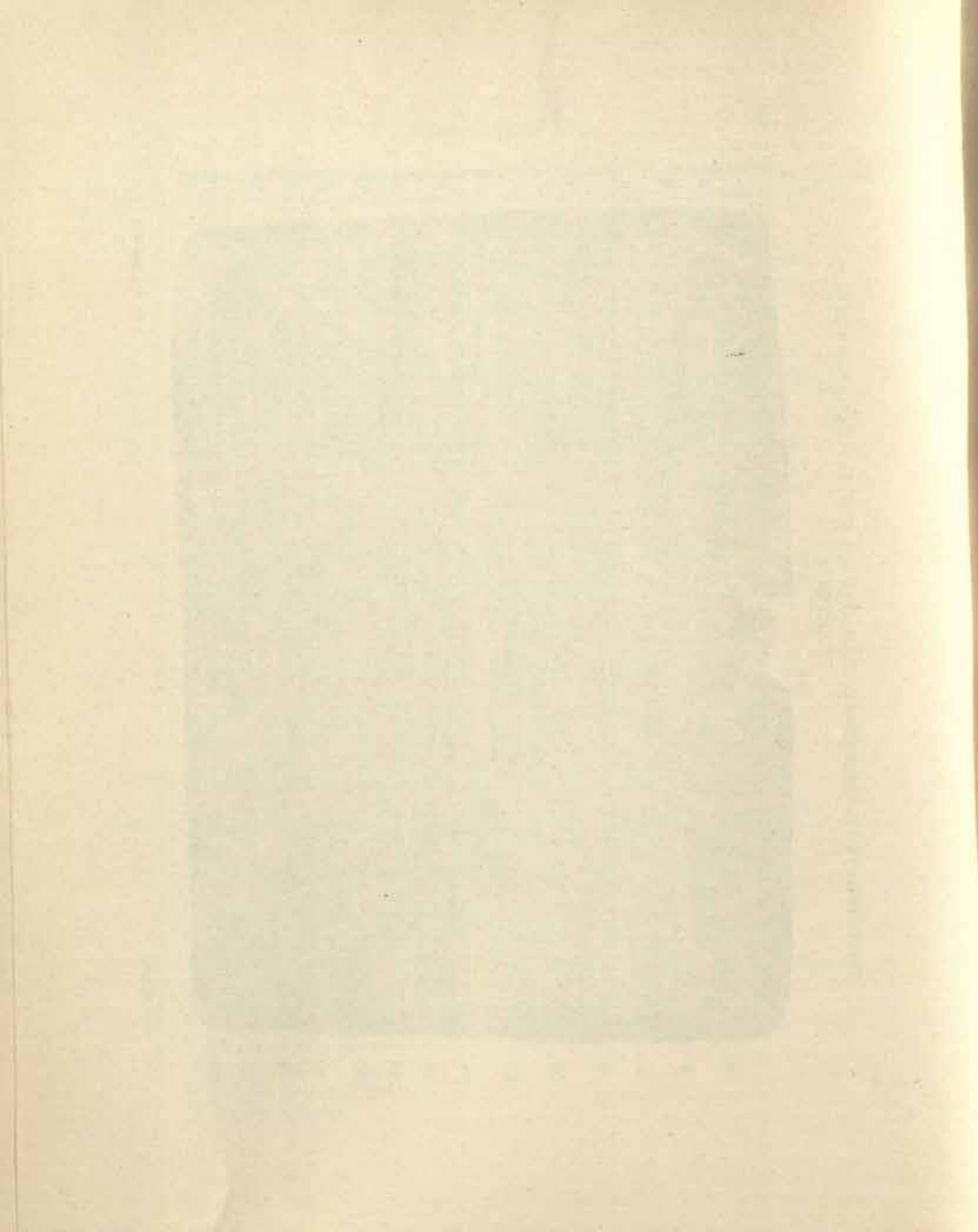
2. Read *bha* in place of these two strokes.

3. For the sake of metre read *Jayachandr*⁰

4. Read *śāntāśyāḥ*.

5. This punctuation mark is redundant.

6. This stroke is redundant.



- 12 hārājādhirāja-paramē'svara-paramamāhēsva(śva) r-āsva(śva)pati-gajapati-narapati-rāja-
tray-ādhipati-vividha-vidyā-vichāra-Vāchaspati-śrīmad-Gōvindachandrādēva-pād-
ānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭā-
- 13 raka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēsva(śva)ra-paramamāhēsva(śva)r-āsva(śva) pati-gajapati-
narapati-rājatray-ādhipati-vividha-vidyā-vichāra-Vāchaspati-śrīmad-Vijaya-
chandra-pād-ānudhyā-
- 14 ta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēsva(śva)ra-paramamāhēsva(śva)r-
āsva(śva)pati-gajapati-narapati-rājatray-ādhipati-vividha-vidyā-vichāra-Vāchas-
pati-śrīmaj-Jayatachandrādēva¹ vijayī [|| *]
- 15 Ta(Ya) smi[m]ś=chaly=udadhi-nēmi-mahī-jayasya² karīndra-guru-bhāra-tipīḍi-
nāyā³ [|| *] yāni(nti) prajāpati-padam sa(śa)raṇ-ārthini bhūs=tat-sainya-vāha-
nivāhōsta(ttha)-rapā(ja)ścha(ś=chha)lēna || [12*] Siddhachautē pattaḷāyam
Vakradēvapura-nivā⁴
- 16 sinā(nō) nishi(khi)la-janapadāh(dā)n=upagatān=api cha || rāja-rājñi-ju(yu) varāja-
māmtra(tri)-purōhita-pratihāra-sēnāpati-bhāṇḍāgārik-ākshapaṭalika-bhishakaḥ (g)-
-naimittik-āntahpurikaḥ (ka)-dūta-kari-turagaḥ(ga)-pattan-ākarasthāna-gōkul-
ādhi-kā-
- 17 ri-purushānām tat=samarpayati | vōdhayitv=ādisa(śa)ti cha | yasya⁵ viditam=āstu
bhavatām yath=ōpari-likhitam || Iha Vakradēvasya Bhaṭ-a(ā)grahārē dakṣhiṇa
diśāyām Lahāḍa-nāma-kshētram sa-jala-sthala[h] sa-lōha-lavaṇ-ākara [h*] {sa*}-
ga(ma) tsy-ā-
18. ||^o kara[h*] sa-gart-ōsharaḥ [sa*]-madhūkaś=ch=āmra-vana-vāṭikā-viṭapa-trīna-
pū(yū)ti-gōchara-paryantaḥ [|| *] Anyē sarvē cha || sva-sīmā-paryantaḥ asy=
āghātāni lishya(khya)ntē pūrvvasyām diggau⁷ tamapuriya sīmā maryādā ||
Dakshi[na*] syām diśim(si) Akanaudā-

1. Read -^oJayachchandrādēvō
2. Read ^oJayārtham
3. Read -^onipīḍit=ēva
4. The single stroke is redundant.
5. The word yasya is redundant.
6. The double *daṇḍa* is redundant.
7. Read *dīu* Gau^o

- 19 ||¹ grāmasya sīmā-maryādā || Paśchimāyām diśi Lashulā-grāmasya sīmā-maryādā || Uttarasyām diśim^(śi) Vamkupuriya-sīmā māryādā || Ēvaṁ chatur-āghāṭa-visu^(su)-ddham Lahada-kshētram bhōktavyam || Samvatsara^(rē) dvādasa^(śa)-sa^(sa)-t-ābdād=ēk=ōna-
- 20 trimsa^(śa)ty=adhikē Kārttikasya su^(śu)kla-pakshē paurṇamāsyā [m*] Guru-vāsarē= sya sa[m]vatsarasya māsa-paksha-divas=ānukrama-pārvvaṇa-tithāv=iha tsām^(sam) vat 1229 Kārttika su^(śu)di 15 Gurāv=ady=ch= Āsatikāyō^(yām) Yamunā^(yām) snātvā vidhivan=mamtra-dē-
- 21 va-muni-manusha^(ja)-bhūta-pitri-gaṇāms=tarppayivā timira-pāṭala-pāṭana-paṭu-mahat=samullasō vipram=upasthāy² =Aushadhipati-sa^(śa)kala-śēsha^(kha) ram-abhyarchya tribhuvana-trātur=bhagavatō Mahādēvasya pūjām vidhāya mātā-pitrōr=ātmanaś=cha pu-
- 22 nya^(nya)-ja^(ya)sō^(śō)-vivardhayē su-svāmī rāja Janārddanasya prasādēna rānaka-śrī-Abhayapālēna gō-karṇa-kuśalātā-pūta-karatal-ōdaka-prakshālita-pūrvva-pravāham=āchamdr-ārka-kshity=udadhi-Gaṁgā -Yamunā-yāvat-pavana-hutāśa^(śa)na [ś=cha]
- 23 pātāl-āva^(mba)rāṇi tāvatsā^(ch=chhā)sanīkri^(kri)tya bhāṭṭāraka śrī-Kēdārarāśi-pamḍita-nāmnā Āsātyām śrī-Sōmēśvaradēvasya pradata^(tta)m³ || matvā yathā dīyamāna-bhāga-bhōgakara-prama^(va)ṇikara-vimsatiddvau chhavath⁴-ā- [chā*]ṭa-bhaṭ-āyu [kta]⁵
- 24 prabhriti-si^(sa)masta-ti⁽ⁿⁱ⁾yat-āniyatā chayā⁶ ājñāvidhēyibhūya dāsyath=ēti || Bhavata[h*] ch=ātra dharmmān-sasita⁷ paurānika-ślōkau⁸ ||⁹ || Bhūmi[m*] yah pratigrihṇāti yaś=cha bhūmim prayachchhati [l*] ubhau tau puṇya-karmāṇō¹⁰ (nau) niya¹⁰

1. The double *daṇḍa* is redundant.

2. Read *śhahasaṁ=ushnarōchisham=upasthāy*⁰

3. The passage is defective and the corrected text will be as follows : *Āsātyām abhyantarasthasya-śrī Sōmēśvaradēvasya-sākshinē bhāṭṭāraka-nāmnē śrī-Kēdārarāśi-pamḍitāya pradattam*. The double stroke at the end is redundant.

4. Read *Vimsatichhavatha*.

5. *chāṭa*, *bhaṭa* and *āyukta* should have been mentioned in the beginning while enumerating the list of officials to whom the royal order is addressed. The mention of these officials in the passage mentioning the taxes to be exempted for the grantee is inappropriate.

6. The letter *yā* is redundant.

7. Read *dharm-ānūsāsita*.

8. Though only two verses are indicated by the dual case ending in this passage there are actually 9 imprecatory verses.

9. There is a numerical sign like 2 engraved in between the two double *daṇḍas*.

10. There is an unnecessary punctuation mark here.

25. tau(tam) svargga-gāminau || [13*] Sam(Śam) kham bhadr-āsanam chchatram var-
āśvā-vara-vāraṇaḥ | bhūmi-dānasya chihnāni phalam=ētat=Puramdara || [14*]
Sarvān=ētān bhāvinaḥ pārthivēdrān bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmachandraḥ |
sāmānyō=yam dharmma-
26. sētur=nripāṇam kālē kālē pālaniyō bhavadbhiḥ || [15*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā
bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yada(dā) bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā
phalam(lam) || [16*] Suvarṇnam=ēkam gām=ēkān. l hūmēr=apy=ēkām=
amgulam(lam) [|*] haram(ran)=narakam=āpnōti yā-
27. vad=āhūta-samplavam(vam) || [17*] Tā(Ta)ḍāgānām sahasrēna Aśvamēdha-sa(sa)-
tēna vā[|*] gavām kōṭi-pradānēna bhūmi-harttā na su(su)dhyati || [18*] Sva-
dattām para-dattām vā yō harēdva (ta va)sumdharā[m |*] sa vishṭhāyām kṛimīr=
bhūtvā pitṛibhis=saha majjati || [19*] Vāri-hīnē-
28. shv=araṇyēshu su(su)shka-kōtarā(ra)-vāsina[h |*] kṛishṇa-sarppa(rppā)[s=tu]
jāyamtē dēva-vra(bra)hmasva-hāriṇaḥ || [20*] Shashṭim varsha-sahasrāni svarggē
mōdati bhūmidah | āchchhētā ch=ānumamta cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt ||
[21*] Likhitam Pamḍita Śrīdhara-putra-Jagadhara(rē)[n=ēti*]

Charter B, Vikrama 1239

This charter is also engraved on one side of a single copper plate which measures 48 cm in length, 40.5 cm in breadth and .5 cm in thickness. The rims of the plate are slightly raised in order to protect the writing. As in the case of charter A discussed above, the present copper plate also has a perforated projection fixed at the centre of its back for a ring to pass through. It contains 29 lines of writing in total. The writing is in a very good state of preservation.

The characters are Nāgarī and the language is Sanskrit. The inscription is both in verse and prose. The verse portion contains 23 verses. Regarding the orthographical and scribal errors, whatever has been stated about charter A holds good here also.

The record begins with the well known *siddham* symbol as found in Charter A followed by the words offering obeisance to Lord Śiva (line 1). After the customary invocatory verse (line 1) in praise of goddess Lakshmī, the inscription gives (lines 1-12) the usual genealogy of the Gāhaḍavālas beginning from Yaśōvigraha and concluding with Jayachchandrādēva, the ruling king. Then follows (lines 12-13) the prose passage which mentions all the imperial titles of Jayachchandrādēva. Unlike in Charter A, the prose passage here is more concise and all references to Jayachchandra's forbears are omitted. This is then followed (lines 13-15) by the royal order addressed to all the

inhabitants of Vahadhōvī-grāma situated in Payidhukā-pattalā as well as the people of the countryside and dignitaries like *rāja*, *rājñī*, *mantri*, etc. After describing (lines 15-16) the usual privileges that generally go with the grant, the charter states (lines 16-20) that in the Vikrama Samvat 1239 in the month of Māgha on the fullmoon day, the week day being Monday (given both in words and figures), which corresponds to 10th January, 1183 A.D., Rāṇaka Amṛitapāla, after taking bath in the river Yamunā at Āsatikā and after performing other ceremonies, made the grant for the merit of himself and his parents to *bhaṭṭāraka* Nīlakaṇṭha, the son of *bhaṭṭāraka* Kēdārarāsi and the grandson of *parama-bhaṭṭāraka* Kīrttivāsa who was a great *Pāsupata*, who followed five types of austerities like *japa* (prayer), *niyama* (discipline), *saṁyama* (control of all sense organs), *dhyāna* (meditation) and *anushṭhāna* (practice of austerities), who was a resident of the *maṭha* at Āsatī and who represented (*sākshin*) the god Mahāliṅga, the presiding deity of the temple of that place. As in the case of charter A, here also the purpose for which the grant was made receives no elucidation. Could it be for the purpose of meeting the expenses for the conduct of worship etc. in the temple of Mahāliṅga or for the Śaiva ascetic Nīlakaṇṭha for the performance of his religious austerities? Added to this confusion is the fact that what is granted is not explicitly stated here. From the statement in the grant portion that what is granted is what has been mentioned above (*yath-ōpari-likhitam*) as well as the fact that the royal order is addressed to the residents of Vahadhōvī-grāma in Payidhukā-pattalā, it can be surmised that Vahadhōvī-grāma is the granted village. Bhaṭṭāraka Kēdārarāsi, the father of the donee Nīlakaṇṭha is no doubt identical with his namesake who figures as the donee in Charter A discussed above. The grant was made after obtaining the permission of the imperial Gāhaḍavāla king Jayachandra (*asya-prasādataḥ*, lines 21-22). It is significant to note that the boundaries of the granted village are not at all mentioned in the present grant. The gift is stated to be permanent and the donee is entitled to all regular and irregular taxes such as *bhāga-bhōga-kara*, *pravanikara akshapaṭalaprastha*, *daśa-bandhaka*, *Vimśatichhavatha*, etc. (lines 20-21). Then follow (lines 22-28) nine imprecatory and benedictory verses asking people not to infringe the grant in any manner. This copper plate charter was written by *paṇḍita* Jagadhara, the son of *paṇḍita* Śrīdhara of the Kāyastha clan (line 28). It was engraved by the goldsmith (*suvarṇakāra*) Thakura Ghudahastika, the son of *sādhu* Jayapāla (lines 28-29). *Paṇḍita* Jagadhara is no doubt identical with his namesake who appears as the writer of Charter A above. *Paṇḍita* Jagadhara and Thakura Ghudahastika do not figure as the writer and the engraver respectively in any of the several charters of Jayachchandrādēva or his predecessors so far known. In two grants of Jayachchandrādēva, dated respectively Vikrama 1231¹ and 1232², the writer and the engraver are respectively *Akshapaṭalika* Thakura Vivika and *lōhara* Sōmēka. For another grant of the same king, the writer was

1. Bhandarkar's List, No. 362.

2. Ibid., No. 368.

Mahākshapaṭalika Śrīpati.¹ A study of these two charters discloses the fact that both Jagadhara and Ghudāhastika were not familiar with the format or text of the Gāhādvāla charters and probably this accounts for the glaring omissions and commissions which abound in these two charters.

Of the geographical names that are mentioned in the grant, only Vahadhōvī-grāma and Payidhukā-pattalā in which the former was situated remain to be identified. There is a village by name Bhachroi² in Bharthana Tahsil in Etawah District. In the absence of any other similar name occurring in the list of villages of Bharthana Tahsil, one is tempted to identify the granted village Vahadhōvī with the above mentioned village though one cannot be certain about this identification. Payidhukā-pattalā, however, cannot be identified.

The present charter is important in as much as it reveals for the first time *Rāṇaka* Amṛitapāla as a feudatory of the Gāhādvāla king Jayachchandra ruling over the Etawah region. The reference to the existence of a Pāsūpata-maṭha at Āsatikā on the banks of the river Yamunā is also of considerable importance. It is quite obvious from the two charters that the feudatory kings of Etawah region viz. *Rāṇakas* Abhayapāla and Amritapāla greatly patronised the Pāsūpata-āchāryas by their benefactions.

TEXT³

[Metres : Verses 1,3, 14-16, 18-23, *Anushtubh*; verses 2,13, *Indravajrā*; verses 4, 7, 13, *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*; verses 5-6, 8, 11-12, *Vasantatilakā*; verse 9, *Drutavilambita*; verse 10, *Mālinī*; verse 17, *Śālinī*]

1. Siddham* || Ōm namah 'Sivāya || Akuṅṭh-ōtkanṭha-vaikuṅṭha-kanṭha-pīṭha-luṭhat-karaḥ [1*] samrambhah surat-ārambhē sa 'śrī(sri)yaḥ 'śrēa(ya)śē=stu vaḥ || 1 || Āsita(d=A)sī(sī) ta- dvi(dy)ti-vaṃsa(sa)-jātaḥ kshmapāla-mālāsu-di-
2. vam gatasu [1*] sākshād-Vivasvān=iva bhūri dhāmnā nāmnā ja(Ya)śōvighraha ity=ūdarah | [2*] Tat-sutō=bhūn=Mahīchandraś=chandra-dhāma-nibham nijam(jam) [1*] yēn=āpāram=akūpara-pārē

1. Ibid., Nos. 369, 374-75, 387-89; Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 293; Ibid., Vol. XXXV, p. 211 f., 214 f., 215 f., 217 f., 218 f. and 219 f.

2. *District Population Statistics*, U.P., 19, Etawah District, p. 9.

3. From impression. This is No. A 19 of *A.R.I.E.*, 1974-75.

4. Expressed by a symbol.

3. vyāpāritam yaśah || [3*] Tasy=ābhūt= tanayō nay-aika-rasikaḥ krānta-dvishan-
maṇḍalē(lō)vidva(dhva)st ōdhara(ddha)ta-dhīra-yōdha-timirah śrī-Chandradēvō
nripah || (l) yēn-ōdāratara-pratāpa-sāmit-āśeśha¹ prayō(j-ō)-
4. padravam śrīmad-Gādhipur-ādhirājyam=asamam dōrvikramēṇ=ārjītam || [4*]
Tīrthāni Kasi(śi)-Kusi(śi)k-Ōttarakōsal-Ēmdra-sthāniyakāni paripālayat-ābhi-
gamyā [l*] hēm=ātma-tulyam=anisam(sām) dada-
5. tā dvijēbhūyō yēn=āmkitā vasumatī sa(śa)tasa(śa)s=tulābhih || [5*] Tasy=ātmajō
Madanapāla iti kshiti[m*] draś=chūḍāmañir=vvijayatē vi(ni)ja-gē(gō)tra-chandraḥ
|| (l) yasy=ābhishēka-kalaś-ōllasitaiḥ payōbhih prakshālī-
6. tam kali-rajah paṭalan=dharitryāḥ || [6*] Yasy=āśi(śi)d=vijaya-prayāta-sama-
yē ttu(tu)ṅg-āchcha(cha)l-ōchchai[ś=*]chalan =mādyat-kumbhi-pada-krama
(m=ā)śra(sa)ma -bhara-bhrasya(śya)n=mahī-māṇḍalē | chūḍā-ratna-vibhūna-
tālu-galita-styān-ā-
7. śrīg-udbhāsitaḥ śeśha[h*] pyē(pe)sha-vasā(śā)d =iva kshama(na)m=asō(sau)
krōḍēna(ni)līn-ānanaḥ || [7*] Tasmād=ājāyata nij-āyata-vā(bā)hu-vallī-va(ba)
dhvā(ndh-ā)varuddha-ṇava-rājya-gajō narēndrah [l*] sām̄dr-āmrita -drava-muchām
prabhavō gavām yō
8. Gōvīmdachandra iti chandra iv=āmvu(āmbu)rāsēh(śēh) || [8*] Na katham=apy=
alabhamta ranē-kshamām tīrīshu dikshu gajān=atha vajri(jri)ṇah [l*] kakubhi
va(ba)bhrama(mu)r=abhrama(mu) vallabhaḥ(bha)- pratibhaṭā iva yasya ghaṭā-
gajāḥ || [9*] Ajani
9. Vijayachandrō nāma tasmān=narēndrah surapatir=iva bhūbhrit=paksha-vichchēda-
dakshah [l*] bhuvana-dalana-hēlā-harmmya-Hamvira-nārī-nayana-jalada-² dhārā-
sā(śā)nta-bhūr-llōka-tāpah || [10*] Lōka-trama(y-ā)kramana-kēli-vibharēmjā-
nāya³ pra-
10. kshā(khyā)ta-kīrtti-vali⁴-varṇnita-vaibhavāni | yasyā(sya) stri(Tri)vikrama-pada-
krama-bhā(bhām)ji bhānti krō(prō)jrimbhayanti Va(Ba)li-rāja-bhayam ja(ya)
sām(śām)si || [11*] Yasmins=chalāty=udadhi-nēmi-mahī-jayārtha(ya)-mādyat-
karindra-guru-bhāra-nipīdit=ē-

1. Read *samit - āśeśha*.

2. The letter *da* is engraved above the line.

3. Read *vijīrīkhalāni*

4. Read *-kavi*^o

5. Read *yasmimś=chala*.

11. va jā(yā)ti prajāpati-padaṁ sa(sa)raṅ-ārthinī bhūstu(s=tv=a)ṅgas=turaṅga-nivah-
ōttha-rajaś=chhalēna || [12*] Tasmād=adbhuta-vikramād=atha Jayachchandr-
ābhidhānō nripaḥ |¹ bhūpānām=avatīrṇṇa ēsha bhuvan-ōddhārāya Nārāyaṇaḥ |
Dvaidhī-bhā-
12. vam=apāsya vigraha-ruchin-dhi[k*]kritya santāsayā² sēvantē yam=udagra-va(ba)
ndhana-bhayā(ya)-dhvaṁs-ārthinah pārthivāḥ || [13*] | Sō=yam samasta-rāja-
chakra-samsēvita-charanaḥ | samasta-rāj-āvalī-virājamānaḥ paramabhata(tṭā)-
13. raka-mahārājādhirāja-paramesvara-paramamaheśvar-asvapati-gajapati-narapati-rāja-
tray-ādhipati-vividha-vidyā-vichāra-Vāchaspati-srīmaj-Jaya chchhandradēvō vijay-
Payidhukā-patta-
14. lāyām Vahadhōvī-grāma-nivāsinō nikhila-janapadān=upagatān=api cha rāja-rājñi-
yuvarāja-mantri-purōhita-pratīhā³ra-sēnāpati-bhāṅḍāgarik-ākshapaṭalika-bhishag-
naimitta(tti)ka-am-
15. tapurika-dūta-kari-turaga-pattan-ākarasthāna-gōkuḷ-ādhipati-purushān=ājñāpayati
vō(bō)dhayitv=ādisati cha yathā viditam=astu bhavatām yath=ōpari-lishi (khi)-
tam samasta-[sa*]jala-sthala[h*] sa-lō-
16. ha-lavaṅ-ākara[h*] sa-gartt-ōshara[h*] sa-madhūk-āmvu(mra)-vana-vātikā-vitapa-
trīṇa-yūti-gōchara-paryantaḥ s-ōrddhv- ādhas=chatur-āghāta-visu(su)ddhaḥ
sva-sīmā-paryantaḥ | samvatsar=ōna-chatvārimsa(sā)tsa(ch=chchha)ta-dvādaśākē
Māgha-
17. sya śī(si)tē pakshē paurṇamāyām(syām) | sōma-vāsarē. anke=pi sa[m*]vatu(t)
1239 Māgha su(su) di 15 sōmē =dy=ch= Āsatikāyām Yamunāyām snātvā vidhivan-
mamtra-muni-manuja-bhūta-pitṛiganāms=ta-
18. rpayitvā timira-paṭala-pāṭana-paṭu-mahatsa(sā)m=ushnarōchisha[m*] samut-
thāy=aushadhipati-sakala-sē(śē)sha(kha)ra[m*] samabhyarchchya tri-bhuvana-
trātur=Mmahādēvasya pūyām(jām) vidhāya prachura-pāyasēna havishā havir-
bhujam hutvā mātā pitrō-

1. The stroke is redundant.

2. Read *śāntāsaya*.

3. The letter *hū* is engraved below the line.

19. r=ātmanas=cha puvya(nya)-yaśo-vivardhayē || Āsatyā[m*] abhyantarasthāya Mahālingāya sūshānē¹ tasya² maṭha-nivāsāya paramapāsu(su)patāya cha || ya(ja)pa-niyama-samja(ya)ma-dhyān-ānushthāna-parāya paramabhāttāraka-
20. śrī-Kīrttivāsa(sa)sa [h*] pautrāya bhāttāraka-śrī-Kēdārarāsi(śi)-putrāya bhāttāraka-śrī-
Nilakamththāya gōkarṇṇa-kuśa-latā -pūta-karatal-ōdakam-āchamdr-ārka-ksha
(kshi)ty=utha(da) dhi-Gaṅgā-Yamunā yāvaty=atha cha su(hu)-
21. tāsanam pātāl-āmva(ba)rāṇi tāvach=chhāsanīkṛitya pradatōm=adha³ yathā dīyanā
(mā)na-bhāga-bhōgakara-prama(va)nikara-shaḍprastha⁴ -dabhaka⁵ -tvimsati-
kāmluga⁶ prabhṛitīn=ājñābhi(vi)dhēyībhūpa(ya) dāsyath=ēti || śrī-
22. ma=Jyayatachandrasya rājñō=py=asya prasādāt rānak=Āmṛitapālēna pradattam
śāsanīkṛitam || [14*] || Bhavanti ch=ātra dharmāt=śam(śam)sitau(tāh)
paurāṇika-slōkāḥ || Bhūmim yah pa(pra)tigrīhṇāti yastu (ś=cha)
23. bhūmi[m*]prayachchhati[*] ubhau tau puṇya-karmmanau niyatau(tam) svargga-
gāminau ||[*] [15*] Sam(śam)khām bhadr-āsanam chchhatram var-āsvā(śvā)-
vara-varāṇāḥ [1*] bhūmi-dānasya chihnāni phalam=ētat=Puramāḍara [16*]⁹ ||
24. Sarvānnē(n=ē)tāni(n) bhāvināḥ pāthivēmdrāḥ(drān)bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāma-
bhadraḥ || (l) sāmānyō=yam dharmma-sētur-nṛipāṇām kalē kalē pālanīyō bhava-
dbhiḥ || [17*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājābhi[h*]
25. Sagar-ādē(di)bhīḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmim(miḥ) tasya tasya tadā phalam(lam)
|| [18*] Gām=ēkām svarṇnam=ēkam cha bhūmēr=apy=ēkam=angulam(lam)
[1*] haran=narakam=āpnōti yāvad=ābhūta-samplavam(vam) || [19*] Tādāgā-
nām sa-
26. hasrēna [a]sva(śva)mēdha-sa(śa)tēna vā | gavām kōti-pradānēna bhūmi-harttā na
su(su)dhyati || [20*] Sva-dattām para-dattām=vā yō harēta vasumdhara[m |*]
sa viśthāyām kṛimir=bhūtvā pitribhiḥ saha ma-

1. Read *Āsatyām abhyantarasthasya mahālingasya sūshānē.*

2. Read *tatra.*

3. Read *pradattam.*

4. Read *akshapatlaprastha.*

5. Read *dāśabhandhaka.*

6. Read *viṃsati-chhavathe.*

7. The metre is *Anuṣṭubh*. The following eight verses are also in the same metre. Since this is the first imprecatory verse numerical figure 1 is engraved here.

8. The letter *rum* is written below the line.

9. Numerical figure 2 is engraved here.

27. j̄jati [|| [21*] *] Vāri-hīnēshv=arannē(nyē)shu |su(śu)shka-kōṭṭa(ta)ra-vāsinah
[*] kṛishṇa-sarapās=cha yā(jā)yamtē dēva-vra(bra)hmasva-hāriṇaḥ || [22*]*]
Shashṭi[m*] kōṭi¹sahasrāṇiṇi svarggē vasati bhūmidah || (l) āchhē(chchhē)-
ttā ch=ānumam-
28. [tā cha] tānnē(ny=ē)va narakē vasēt | [23*] Likhitam=idam tāmra-patṭakam
Kāyastha-paṁḍita- śrī- Jagadhareṇa paṁḍita- śrī- Śrīdhara sūtēna utkīrṇam=
idam tāmra -patṭakam
29. suvarṇnakāra-ṭhakura-śrī-Ghudahastikēna sādhu- śrī-Jayapāla -sutēn=ēti ||² ||

1. Read *varsha-*.

2. There is an ornamental design between these punctuation marks.

NO. 5 – UMARIYA PLATES OF VIJAYASIMHADEVA :
YEAR 944

(2 Plates)

Ku. Usha Jain, Jabalpur

These plates were found buried in a field at Umariya, a small village in Pawai tahsil of Panna district, Madhya Pradesh, by one Baladeva while he was digging for earth. The finder deposited the plates in the Police Station at Pawai from where they were sent to the Curator, State Museum, Dhubela, Nowgong, (M.P.) for examination. Shri H.H.K. Kudeshila, the Curator of the museum brought the plates to the office of the Deputy Director, Archaeology and Museum, Jabalpur for further examination and study. The contents of the inscription were noticed in the local newspapers of Jabalpur dated 30th May 1979. I edit the inscription here, from the photographs and the original plates, with the kind permission of Shri Kudeshila and the Deputy Director.

It is a set of two copper plates, each plate measuring 43 cm in length and 26 cm in width. They were originally held together by a ring passing through a hole in the middle of the bottom of the first plate and top of the second plate but, now the ring and the seal are detached from the plates. The seal has a circular surface and beaded border. In the upper portion of the seal is seen a seated figure of Gaja-lakshmi while the bottom portion shows a bull between two incense-pots. In between the figure of the goddess and that of the bull is engraved the legend 'Śrīmad-Vijayasimhadēvaḥ'. The seal appears to have been badly beaten and is, as a result, somewhat obliterated. The weight of the two plates is 5,050 gms while the seal and the ring together weigh 1,100 gms.

Each of the two plates carries writing on one side only. The inscription is in a very good state of preservation. The rims of the plates are thickened and raised. There are twenty three lines on each plate. The average size of the letters is about 1 cm.

The characters are Nāgarī of the 12th century A.D. and the language is Sanskrit. The record is composed partly in verse and partly in prose. The verses are not numbered. The first twenty three lines contain 32 verses followed by the formal part of the grant in prose upto line forty two. Then come nine benedictive and imprecatory verses followed by one more verse introducing the writer of the text. The record was written on the plates by Kēsava, who was the *arthalēkhin* of the king (Chēdirāja) and son of Dāmōdara and grandson of Vatsarāja.¹ The engraver was *sūtradhara* Sīhada, whose name has been mentioned at the end of the record.

As regards orthography, we may notice that the letter *v* is employed to denote

1. He is mentioned among the officers of the king and among the donees as well.

b, as in *Vrahmanē* in line 1, *vāndhava* in line 2, *vandhau* in line 9, etc. The letter *s* is used for *ś*, as in *rāsi* in line 2, *Āsvina* and *sukla* in line 28, etc. The consonant following *r* is doubled in *ṛarṇava* in line 6, *Karṇna* in line 9, *dharmma* in line 13, *prakurvaan* in line 15, etc.

The plates were issued by Vijayasimhadēva of the Kalachuri dynasty of Tripuri. His pedigree is traced to Vishnu. The mythological and legendary ancestors, Brahmā, Atri, Abdhibandhu (the moon), Bōdhana (Budha), Purūravā, Bharata and Kārtavīrya are mentioned in verses 1-5. The verse 6 mentions the name of the Kalachuri family. In verse 7 we are told that in that family was born king Yuvarājadēva (II) who was ruling at Tripuri. The next verse (verse 8) mentions Kōkalla (II) as son and successor of Yuvarājadēva (II). The qualities of Kōkalla (II) are further described in verse 9. The description of Gāngēyadēva, son of Kōkalla (II), is found in verses 10-11, wherein we are informed that he was famous by the name of Vikramāditya. We are further told that, wishing to run away from him, the king of Kuntala ceased to wield his spear. Gāngēya attained salvation under the banyan tree at Prayāg and was followed on the funeral pyre by his hundred and fifty wives (verse 12). His son and successor was Karnadeva who constructed at Kasi a high temple which he named Karnameru (verse 13). He also established a settlement of the Brāhmaṇas called Karnāvati (verse 14). Verses 15-16 inform that Karṇa married a Huṇa princess named Avalladēvi and from her he had a son named Yaśahkarṇa whom he himself anointed as king. Verses 17 and 19 are in praise of Gayākarṇa, son and successor of Yaśahkarṇa. Gayākarṇa was married to Alhaṇadēvi and from her Narasimha was born (verse 20). The qualities of Narasimha are described in verses 21 to 25. He was succeeded by his brother Jayasimhadēva, who is mentioned in verse 26. Verse 27 states that on hearing of the coronation of the illustrious Jayasimhadēva, the Gūjara king disappeared, the Turushka lost the strength of his arms, the lord of Kuntala suddenly renounced all love-sports and other kings also, leaving the earth through apprehension, crossed the ocean. Jayasimha's queen was Gōsaladēvi. Her qualities are described in verses 28 to 30. She gave birth to two princes named Vijayasimha and Ajayasimha (verse 31). The first named is praised in verse 32, which is followed by the prose portion giving him the imperial titles of *Paramabhattāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara*. He is also called the lord of *Trikalinga* and a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara who mediated on the feet of *Paramabhattāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, the illustrious Vāmadēva.

The plates under study were issued by this Vijayasimha. The object of the inscription is to record the grant of three villages namely Bhāthigrāma situated in Vadigāmpattala, Valahaḍigrāma situated in Khāmta-pattalā and Amilavāḍagrāma to the brāhmaṇas on the first tithi of the bright fortnight of the month of Āsvina in the year 944. The donation was actually made by Rāṇaka Kumārapāla, a feudatory of the king Vijayasimha for the merit of his wife named Mōkhā and later on approved by the king.

The villages were granted with their four boundaries well determined, inclusive of water and land, the mango and *madhūka* trees, together with its pits and barren land and together with mines of salt extending to its boundaries. The inhabitants of the given villages were asked to pay all the taxes to the donees as were paid to the king in the past.

The granted villages were divided into twenty and a half parts. The details of the grant including the names of the donees and shares allotted to them are as follows:

1. Two shares (*padas*) to *Ṭhakkura* Kīrtisimha, who was *Mahāpradhāna* and the son of *dushtasādhya* Padmasimha of Kāśyapa-gōtra with three *pravaras*;
2. One *pada* to *Ṭhakkura* Lakhanapāla who was the son of *Ṭhakkura* Mahāsāndhivigrahika Purushōttama belonging to Bhāradvāja-gōtra with three *pravaras*;
3. One *pada* to *Arthalēkhin Ṭhakkura* Kēsava, grandson of *Mahāpradhāna* *Arthalēkhin Ṭhakkura* Daśamūlika, belonging to Kāśyapa-gōtra with three *pravaras*;
4. One *pada* to *Trivēdī* Vishṇu, son of *Trivēdī* Gaṅgāditya of Pārāsara-gōtra with three *pravaras*;
5. One *pada* to two brothers of Vishṇu named Sūpadhā and Mahāsarman;
6. Half *pada* to *Paṇḍita* Jayapatika, son of *Paṇḍita* Lakshmaṇa belonging to Bhāradvāja-gōtra with three *pravaras*;
7. One *pada* to *Trivēdī* Vēdūka, son of *Trivēdī* Gaṅgāditya belonging to Pārāsara-gōtra with three *pravaras*;
8. One *pada* to Bhāūka, the brother of Vēdūka;
9. Half *pada* to *Dvivēdī* Mahīdhara, son of *Dvivēdī* Rālha belonging to Bhāradvāja-gōtra with three *pravaras*;
10. Half *pada* to *Dvivēdī* Dhārūka, son of *Dvivēdī* Tālhū belonging to Maunasa-gōtra with three *pravaras*;
11. Half *pada* to *Dvivēdī* Tikamva, son of *Dvivēdī* Dālā belonging to Gaurivīta-gōtra with three *pravaras*;
12. Half *pada* to *Dvivēdī* Narasimha, son of *Dvivēdī* Nārāyaṇa belonging to Kauśika-gōtra with three *pravaras*;

13. Half *pada* to *Dvivēdin Ālhaṇa*, son of *Dvivēdin Nārāyaṇa* belonging to *Kausika-gōtra* with three *pravaras*;
14. One *pada* to *Paṇḍita Kākūka*, son of *Paṇḍita Pālhū* belonging to *Vasiṣṭha-gōtra* with three *pravaras*;
15. Half *pada* to *Paṇḍita Kīlhūka*, son of *Paṇḍita Jagana* belonging to *Kausika-gōtra* with three *pravaras*;
16. One *pada* to *Paṇḍita Gaṅgādhara*, son of *Paṇḍita Tīkamva* belonging to *Bhārgava-gōtra* with three *pravaras*;
17. One *pada* to *Dvivēdin Gayādhara*, son of *Dvivēdin Lakshmīdhara*, belonging to *Bhāradvāja-gōtra* with three *pravaras*;
18. Half *pada* to *Vidyādhara*, son of *Gayādhara*;
19. One *pada* to *Trivēdin Pānidhara*, son of *Trivēdin Dāmōdara*, belonging to *Madragāra-gōtra* with three *pravaras*;
20. One *pada* to *Trivēdin Kēlhaka*, son of *Trivēdin Nārāyaṇa* belonging to *Vasiṣṭha-gōtra* with three *pravaras*;
21. One *pada* to *Chauvē (chaturvēdin) Silaṇa*, son of *Chauvē Pāpē* belonging to *Vatsa-gōtra* with five *pravaras*;
22. One *pada* to *Dvivēdin Pīthūka*, son of *Dvivēdin Mādhava* belonging to *Bhāradvāja-gōtra* with three *pravaras*;
23. Half *pada* to *Paṇḍita Sōḍhadēva*, son of *Kāyastha Paṇḍita Sōme*;
24. and half *pada* to *Paṇḍita Salakhaṇa*, son of *Paṇḍita Āmai*;
25. Half *pada* to *Paṇḍita Rālhūka*, son of *Paṇḍita Gālhū* belonging to *Vasiṣṭha-gōtra* with three *pravaras*.

Thus twenty and a half shares of the granted villages were distributed among twenty six donees. The number of shares in each case has been expressed in words.

Among the officers addressed in the inscription (lines 25-28) are the *Mahārājñi*, *Mahārājaputra Ajayasimhadēva*, *Mahāmantrin* and *Rājaguru Vimalasīva*, who was a *Saivāchārya*, *Mahāpurōhita Ratnadhara*, *Dharmapradhāna*, *Mahāmahattaka Ṭhakkura*

Kīrtisīmha, *Sāndhivigrahika Thakkura Lakhanapāla*; *Mahāsāmanta*, *Mahākshapaṭalika*, *Mahāpradhāna* and *arthalēkhin Thakkura Kēsava*, *Mahāpratīhāra Bhīmasīmha*, *Duṣṭa-sādhyā*, *Charādhyaksha*, *Bhāṇḍāgārika*, *Pramattavāra* and *Aśvasādhanika*. Of these *Ajayasīmha* is mentioned in the *Bhērāghāt* inscription,¹ *Kumbhi* plates² and *Bamhani-Jhulapur* plates.³ In the *Kumbhi* plates the title of *Mahākumāra* has been given to him but in the *Bamhani-Jhulapur* plates and in the present charter as well, his title is that of *Mahārājaputra*. Verse 31 of the present inscription clearly states that *Ajayasīmha* was the younger brother of *Vijayasīmha*. Perhaps, *Ajayasīmha* did not get the *Kalachuri* throne of *Tripurī* as we find *Trailōkyamalla* (born in *Kalachuri-Chēdi* year 949)⁴ ruling in *Kalachuri-Chēdi* year 963.⁵ *Saivāchārya Rājaguru Vimalasīva* is mentioned in the *Bamhani-Jhulapur* plates of 949, *Jabalpur* plates of *Jayasīmha* (*Kalachuri-Chēdi* year 918)⁶ *Jabalpur* plates of *Jayasīmha*, (*Kalachuri-Chēdi* year 926),⁷ *Rewa Stone Inscription* of *Vijayasīmha* (*Kalachuri-Chēdi* year 96[.])⁸ and *Dhurēti* plates of *Kalachuri-Chēdi* year 963.⁹ *Mahāmahattaka Kīrtisīmha* is mentioned in the *Bamhani-Jhulapur* plates, *Kumbhi* plates and *Rewa Stone Inscription* of 96[.] of *Vijayasīmha*. *Arthalēkhin Thakkura Kēsava* finds reference in the above *Rewa Stone Inscription*. *Sāndhivigrahika Lakhanapāla* is also mentioned in the *Bamhani-Jhulapur* plates and the *Rewa Stone Inscription*. *Mahāpratīhāra Bhīmasīmha* is known from the *Bamhani-Jhulapur* plates and *Rewa Inscription*.

As stated above the inscription is dated in the year 944, on Sunday, the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Āśvina* in *Hasta-nakshatra*. This date must evidently be referred to the *Kalachuri-Chēdi* era. The *tithi śukla pratipada* of the *Adhika Āśvina* month in the expired *Kalachuri-Chēdi* year 944 regularly corresponds to 1193 A.D., August 29, Sunday.

Vijayasīmha is known from four stone inscriptions¹⁰ and four copper-plate records including the present one.¹¹ In the *Rewa Stone Inscription* (*Kalachuri-Chēdi* year 944),¹² his feudatory chief *Malayasīmha* is said to have subdued two chiefs named

1. *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 69.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 645 ff.

3. Unpublished, Deposited in Mandala Museum.

4. Known from *Bamhani-Jhulapur* plates.

5. *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 72

6. *Ibid.*, No. 63.

7. *Ibid.*, No. 64.

8. *Ibid.*, No. 70

9. *Ibid.*, No. 72.

10. *Rewa Stone Inscription* of *Kalachuri-Chēdi* year 944; *Bhērāghāt* temple inscription; *Gōpālpur Stone Inscription* and *Rewa Stone Inscription* of *Kalachuri-Chēdi* year 96[.]

11. Three other copper plate records are : *Rewa* plates of V.S. 1253, *Kumbhi* plates of *Kalachuri-Chēdi* year 932 and *Bamhani-Jhulapur* plates of *Kalachuri-Chēdi* year 949.

12. *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, No. 67.

Salakshana and Vikrama. In the present record, we find the name of *Rānaka* Kumārapāla, the donor, who appears to be another important feudatory of Vijayasimha.

As regards geographical names mentioned in this inscription, Tripurī is the same as Tewar, a small village 13 kms from Jabalpur. Kuntala, Prayāga, Kāśī, Gūjara, have been already identified. The pattalā of Vadigāmva may be identified with Badagaon, an important Kalachuri centre in the Katni-Murawara tahsil of the Jabalpur district. The donated village Bhāthī is Bhēdā, situated in Patawari circle No. 7 near Badagaon. The pattalā of Khāmta is represented by the modern village of Khāmha near Rithi, a railway station on the Katni-Bina line of the Central Railway. Valahadi may be identified with modern Barahata near Rithi, while Amilavaḍagrāma remains unidentified.

TEXT¹

[Metres : Verses 19,20, 23, 24, 28-31, 34-39 *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 6 *Āryā*; verse 2 *Aupachchandasika*; verses 17 and 22 *Indravajrā*; verses 1, 10, 13, 15, 32 *Mālinī*; verses 14, 33 *Śālinī*; verse 27 *Śardūlavikrīḍita*; verses 9, 11, 18 *Upajāti*; verses 3-5, 7-8, 12, 16, 21, 25-26 *Vasantatilakā*]

First Plate

- 1 Siddham² [1*] Ōm namō Vra(Bra)hmanē || Jayati Jalaja-nābhas-tasya nābhī-sarōjam jayati. jayati tasmāj-jātavān=Abja-sūtiḥ || (l) atha jayati sa tasy-āpatyam=Atris-tad-akshṇas=tad-anu jayati janma-prāptavān= Abdhivam(bam)dhuḥ || [1*] Atha vō (Bō)-
- 2 dhanam-ādi-rāja-putraṁ griha-jāmātaram=avja(bja)-vā(bā)ndhavasya | tanayam janayam babhūva rājā gagan-ābhōga-taḍāga-rājahamsaḥ || [2*] Putraṁ Purūra-vasam =aurasam =āpa sūnūr=ddēvasya sapta-ja[la] rāsī(śi)-rasāyanasya | āśid=ananya-
- 3 sama-bhāgya-sa(śa)t-ōpabhōgyā yasy-Ōrvaś=īva sukalatram=ih=ōrvvarā cha || [3*] Atr=ānvayē kila 'sat-ādihika-sapti-mēdha-yūp-ōparuddha-yamun-ōkta-vivikta-kīrttiḥ | sapt-ābdhi-ratna-rasa(śa)n-ābharan-ābhirāma-viśvam̄bharā-su(su)bha-ratō
4. Bharatō babhūva || [4*] Hēlā-grihīta-punar=ukta-samasta-śayō(strō)[gōtrō*] jayaty=adhikam=asya sa Kārttavīryaḥ || (l) atrē(tr=ai)va Haihaya-nrip-ānvaya-pūrva-puṁsi rāj=ēti nāma śāśalakshmaṇi chakshamē yaḥ || [5*] Sa Himāchal=aiva Kalachuri-vamśam=a-

1. From photographs.

2. Expressed by a symbol.

- 5 sūta kshamābhritām bharttā | muktā-mañibhir=iv=āmala-vṛittaiḥ=pūtam mahī-patibhiḥ || [6*] Tatr=ānvayē nayavatām pravaro narēndrah Pauramdarim=iva purim Tripurim punānah | āsin=mad-āndha-nṛipa-gandha-gaj-ādhirāja-ni-
- 6 rmmātha-kēsari-yuvā Yuvarājah(ja)[dēvah*] [7*] Simhāsane nṛipati-simham=amushya sūnum=ārurupann=avati-bhartur=amātya-mukhyāḥ | Kōkallam=arṇava-chatuṣṭaya-vīchi-samgha-samghaṭṭa-ruddha-chaturāṅga-chamū-prachāram || [8*] Imdu-
- 7 prabhām nindati hāra-guchchham jugu[p*]satē chandanam=ākshipantī | yatra prabhau dūratarām prayātē viyōgin=iva pratibhāti kīrttiḥ || [9*] Marakatamaṇi-paṭṭa-praudha-vakshāḥ smit-āsyō nagara-parigha-deghim¹ lamgham(gha)-
- 8 yan-dōr-dvayēna | śīrasi kulīsa-pātō vairinām vīra-lakshmī patir=abhavad=apatyam yasya Gāṅgēyadēvah || [10*] Sa vīra-simhāsana-mauli-ratnam sa Vikramāditya iti prasiddhah | yasmād=akasmād=apayāna-
- 9 m-ichchhan=na | Kuntalah kuntalatām babhāra || [11*] Prāptē Prayāga-vaṭa-mūlanivēsa(śa)-vam(bam)dhau: sārddham śatēna grihiṇibhir=amutra muktim(ktim) | putrō=sya khaḍga-dalit-āri-karīndra-kumbha-muktāphalaih sma kakubhō=rchchati Karṇadēvah || [12*] Kanaka-
- 10 śikhara-vēllad-vaijayantī-samīra-glapita-gagana-khēlat-khēchari-chakra-khēdah | kim=aparam=iha Ka(Kā)śyām yasya dugdhābdhi-vēlā-valaya-va(ba)hala-kīrttēḥ kīrttanam Karṇamēruh || [13*] Agryam dhāma srē(śrē)yasō vēda-vi-
- 11 dyā-vallī-kamdaḥ svaḥ sravantyāḥ kirītām(tam)·| Vra(Bra)hma-staṅgdho(mbhō) yēna Karnnavati=ti pratyashtā(śthā)pi kshamā-tala-Brahma-lōkah || [14*] Ajani Kalachurinām svāminā tēna Hūṇ-ānvaya-jala-nidhi-lakshmyām śrīmad=Āvalla-dēvyām(vyām) | śa-
- 12 śabhrīd-udaya-śamkā-kshubdha-dugdh-ābdhi-vīchī-sahacharita-yaśah śrīḥ śrī-Yasah(śah)karṇadēvah || [15*] Chamdr-ārka-dīpavati-parvata-rāja-pūrṇa-kumbh-āvabhāsini mah-ābdhi-chatushka-madhyō(dhyē) | chakrē purōhita-puraskṛitipūta-ka-
13. rmmā dharmmātmanō=sya hi pit=aiṅ mah-ābhishēkam(kam) || [16*] Tasy=ātmajō=bhūd=atulapratāpah śrīmad-Gayakarṇa iti pratītaḥ | yasy=āhavēsh=ūddhata-vairi-kamṭha-chchhēd-āsra-pūrṇ=ēva dhar=ānuraktā || [17*] Titāmsunā dikshu ya-

1. Read *datrghyam*.

14. 'sō-vitānam=unnamra-vamśēna guṇ-ānvitēna | yēn=āri-kāmitā-hṛidayēshu gāḍham=ārōpitaḥ samjati¹ sō(sō)ka-sa[m*]kuḥ || [18*] Yat-pratāp-ānalasy=āsau kō-py-apūrvvaḥ kriyā-kramah | pravishṭam varddhayaty=anyam=a-
15. tīva dahati drutaṁ(tam) || [19*] Asāv=Alhanadēvyām 'srī-Narasimha-narēśvaram (ram) | samvēdanam=iv=ēchchhāyām prayatnam sushuvē sutam(tam) || [20*] Uchchair=Hiraṇyakasipu-pratipādanēna prītim parām vibudha-sa[m]hatishu prakurvvan |
16. sau[m*]darya-sāra-vinivārita-Māra-garvvaś=chitraṁ tath-āpy=ayam=ahō Narasimhadēvaḥ || [21*] Yō vrā(brā)hmanām paṇishu paṁchakhā(shā)ni dānāni dhattē payasaḥ prishamti | tair=ēva trishnām=avadhūya tē cha ratnākarē=pi prathā-
17. yaṁty=avajñām(jñām) || [22*] Mahī-bharttā mahā-dānau(nai)s=tē(tai)s=tulāpuruśhādibhiḥ | garimnā Mēsur=atyartham kṛitārthayati yō=rthinah || [23*] Kurvvan=mahim vrā(brā)hmanasād=ari-kshatra-niva(ba)rhanah | sārddham Paraśurāmēna yaḥ spardham=adhirōhati || [23*] Kaḥ
18. kīrttanāya vibhavaty=anayōr=mahatvasy-ōtkriṣṭa-sau(sau)rya-vijay-ōrjjita-kīrttilakshmyōḥ | dhairy-ādharikṛita-mah-ārṇnavayōr=ap=ishṭa-vispashṭa-punya(nya)-janayōr=Ajarāja-kīrttyōḥ || [25*] Tasy=ānujō narapatir=Jjayasimhadē-
19. vaḥ sau(sau)ry-ōjva(jjva)lair=api nṛipaiḥ kriyamāna-sēvaḥ | yad=dāna-lupta-yaśas=ēva sura-drumēna vyadrāvi bhūtala-talē Va(Ba)linā pralīnam(nam) || [26*] Nashṭam Gūrjjara-bhūbhujā[m] bhujā-va(ba)lam mukta[m*] Turushkēna cha tyaktaḥ Kuntala-
20. nāyakēna sahasā kandarppa-kēli-kramah | 'śrutvā 'srī-Jayasimhadēva-nṛipatē rājy-ābhishēkam nṛipāḥ samtrāsād=aparē=py=apāsya jagatim parām yayur=vvāri-dhēḥ || [27*] Kalpavall=īva kalpadrōr=Jāhnav=īva payō-
21. nidhē[h*] | jayatāt=tasya bhūpasya patnī Gōśa(sa)ladēvy=asau || [28*] Kalā-kallōlinim(nī)-punya-prapā saty-ōtsava-sthitih | kṛipā-purī parā-buddhō(ddhi)r=vvisu(śu)ddhiḥ sannidhiḥ sri(sri)yām(yaḥ) || [29*] Dṛishṭir=yasyaḥ sudhā-brishtih sanni-
22. dhis=ch=āpi sa[nni]dhiḥ | vānī chintāmaṇiti(r=ni)tyam jiyād-Gōsaladēvy=asau || [30*] Putram Vijayasimh-ākhyam y=āsūta dyaur=iv=ārunam(nam) | anyam ch-Ajayasimh=ābhidhanam s=ēva sudhā-nidhim (dhim) || [31*] Ramaṇa-

23. gurā(na)-nikētaḥ kētanam maṅgalānām prachuratara-yaśō(śō)bhiḥ sō(śō)bhitas=
tat=tanūjah | nripatir=avani-bhānur=vvisva(śva)-visrā(śra)nta-bhānur=jjayati
Vijayasimhaḥ samhat-ārāti-simhaḥ || [32*] Sa cha parana(ma)bhattā-

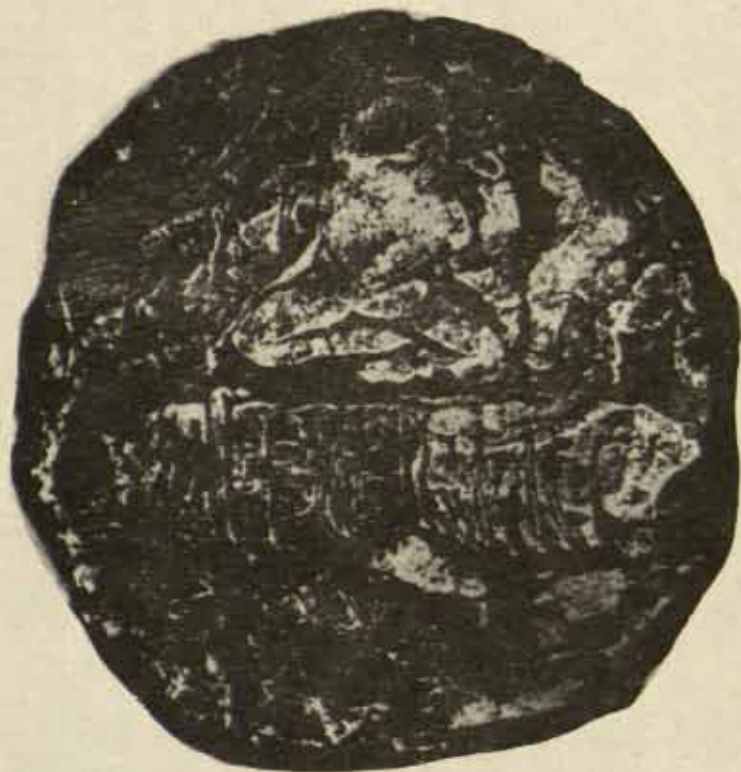
Second Plate

24. raka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Vāmadēva-pād-ānudyāta-paramabhattāraka-
mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-parama-māhēśvara-Trikaling-ādhipati-nija-bhuj-
ōpārjji-
25. t=āśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rāja-tray-ādhipati śrīmad-Vijayasimhadē[va*] ētē vijayi-
naḥ || Mahārājñī-śrī [Mahārājaputra-śrī-Ajayasimhadēva || Mahāmamtri
26. Saivāchārya-bhattāraka-śrīmad=rājaguru- Vimalaśiva || Mahāpurōhita-pāmdita-śrī-
Ratnadhara || Dharmma-pradhāna || Mahāmahattaka Thakkura-śrī-Kirttisimha ||
Sāndhivigrahika-Thakkura-śrī Lakhanapāla || Ma-
27. hāsāmanta | Mahākshapatalika | Mahāpradhān-Ārthalēkhi-Thakkura-śrī-Kēśava
|| Mahāpratihāra-śrī-Bhīmva(ma)simha¹ | Dushtasādhyā | Charādhyā[ksha*]
| Bhāmdāgārika | Pramattavāra | Aśvasādhanika it=yētām(tā)n=anyāmścha-
(ś=cha) pradā-
28. syamāna-grāma-nivāsi-janapadāms=ch=āhūya yath-ārham mānayaṭi vō(bō)dhayanti
(ti) samājñāpayati cha[|*] Yathā viditam=astu bhavatām asmin samvatsarē
Samvat 944 Āsvi(śvi)na-māsi su(śu)kla-pakshē
29. Pratipadi Hastārkke² || Vadi-gāmva-pattalāyām Bhāthi-grāmaḥ Khānta-pattalāyām
Valahadi-grāma tta(s=ta)thā tatrē(tr=ai)va Amilavāda-grāma iti grāma-
trayām sva-sīmā-paryantām chatur-āghāta-visu(śu)ḍḍham sa-gō-prachāram sa-ja-
30. la-sthalam s-āmra-madhūkām sa-lavan-ākaram sa-gartt-ōsharam sa-nirggama-pra-
vēsam(śam) sa-jāṅgal-ānūpam vṛiksh-ārām-ōdbhid-ōdyāna-triṅ-ādi-sahitam
bhōgakara-pravanichari³ rasavati-Kāmata-vāda-damḍamma(m=ma)rgganakā(ka)-
31. viśēnim=ādāya paṭṭakil-ādāya dushtasādhy-ādāya vaishasvi(yi)k-ādāy-ādi-kṛita-
karishya[māna]- sarvv-ādāya-sahitam sa-nadi-parvvatām sa-ghatt-ādāyām sarvva-
vā(bā)dhā-vivarjjitam | rānaka Kumvarapālasy=asmāsiḥ(bhiḥ) sē-

1. These two letters, originally omitted, have been inserted within the narrow space available.

2. Read *Hastarkshē*.

3. Read *pravanikara*.



K V Ramesh

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- 32 vā-prītaiḥ śāsanīkrītya Prattam | Tēna cha sva-priyāyāḥ Mōkh-ābhīdhāyāḥ sreyāḥ
sāmpattayē nānā-gōtrēbhyō vrā(brā)hmanēbhyāḥ udaka-pūrvvakatvēna śāsa-
nīkrītya pradattam | Tad=anumatam=asmākam=iti matvā sarvvaṁ
- 33 sarvādā bhavadbhiḥ(dbhi)r=ājñā-vidha(dhē)yair=bhūtvā paripāla-nīya[m*] ||
Tatas=cha vrā(brā)hmanāḥ || Kāśya(śya)pa-gōtrasya triḥpravarasya Dushtasā-
dhya-śrī-Padmasimha-sutasya Mahāpradhāna-Thakkura-sri-Kirttisimhasya pada-
dvayam Bhāradvāja-gōtrasya
- 34 triḥpravarasya Mahāsāndhivigrahika-Thakkura-śrī-Purushōttama-sutasya Thakkura
śrī-Lakṣanapālasya pravarānasya¹ || Kāśyapa-gōtrasya triḥpravarānasya¹ Mahā-
pradhān-Ārthalēkhi-Thakkura-śrī-Daśamūlika-naptuḥ Ārthalēkhi-Thakkura-śrī-
- 35 Kēśavasya padam=ēkam || Pārāsa(śa)ra-gōtrasya triḥpravarānasya¹ tri | Gaṁgā-
ditya-sutasya tri | Vī(Vi)shnōḥ padam=ēkam | (||) Tathā bhrātri-Sūpadha-
Mahāsa(śa)rmayōḥ padam=ēkam | (||) Bhāradvāja-gōtrasya triḥpravarasya paṁ |
Lakshmaṇa-sutasya paṁ | Jayapatika-
- 36 sya pad-ārdham | (||) pārāsa(śa)ra-gōtrasya triḥpravarānasya¹ | Gaṁgāditya-sutasya
tri | Vēdūkasya padam=ēkam | (||) Tathā bhrātri-Bhāūkasya padama(m=ē)kam
(||) Bhāradvāja-gōtrasya triḥpravarasya dvi | Rālha-sutasya dvi | Mahīdharasya
pad-ārdham | (||) Maunasa-gō-
- 37 trasya triḥpravarasya dvi | Tālhū-sutasya dvi | Dhārūkasya pad-ārdham | (||)
Gaurvīta²-gōtrasya triḥpravarasya dvi(dvi) | Dalā-sutasya dvi | Tikamvasya pad-
ārdham | (||) Gōrvīta²-gōtrasya triḥpravarasya dvi | Nārāyaṇa-sutasya dvi |
Narasimhasya pad-ārdham ||
- 38 Kauśika-gōtrasya triḥpravarasya dvi | Nārāyaṇa-sutasya dvi | Ālhanasya pad-
ārdham | (||) Vasishṭa(ṣṭha)-gōtrasya triḥpravarānasya¹ paṁdita-śrī-Pālhū-
sutasya paṁdita-Kakūkasya padam=ēkam | (||) Kauśika-gōtrasya triḥpravarāna-
sya¹ paṁ | Jagana-sutasya
- 39 paṁdita-Kīlhūkasya pad-ārdham | (||) Bhārggava-gōtrasya triḥpravarānasya¹ paṁ |
Tikamva-sutasya paṁdita-Gaṁgādhara-sutasya padam=ēkam | (||) Bhāradvāja-gā(gō)
trasya triḥpravarānasya³ dvi | Lakshmīdhara-sutasya dvi | Gayādhara-sutasya padam=
ēkam | (||) Tathā tataputra-³

1. Read *pravarasya*.2. Read *Gaurivīta*.3. Read *tat=putra*.

- 40 Vidyādhara-sya pad-ārddham | | Madragāra-gōtrasya triḥpravarasya tri | Dāmōdara-sutasya tri | Pānidharasya padam=ēkam | (||) Vasishṭa(shṭha)-gōtrasya triḥpravara-nasya¹ tri | Nārāyaṇa-sutasya tri | Kēlhakasya padam=ēkam | (|) Vatsa-gōtrasya pañcha-pravarasya
- 41 Chauvē[|*] Pāpē-sutasya Chauvē[|*] Silānasya padam=ēkam | (||) Bhāradvāja-gōtra-sya triḥpravarasya dvi | Mādhava-sutasya dvi | Pīthūkasya padam=ēkam | (||) Kāyastha-paṁḍita-Sōmē-sutasya paṁḍita-Sōḍhadēvasya pad-ārddham | (|) tathā paṁḍita Āmai-sutasya pañ -
- 42 dita Salakhaṇēkasya pad-ārddham | (||) Vasishṭa(shṭha)-gōtra[sya*] tri-pravara [sya*] pañ Gālhū-suta[sya*] pañ Rālhūkasya pad-ārddham | (||) . Atra ch= ābhyarthanā dātur=bhavati yathā ||² || Sarvvān=ētā[n*]=bhāvinaḥ pāṛthivēm-drān=bhūyō bhūyō ryā(yā)chatē Rāmabhadraḥ | sāmāmyō(nyō)=yam dharmma-sētur=nripānī(nām) kālē kālē pā-
- 43 lanīyō mahadbhiḥ || [33*] Va(Ba)hubir=vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhi[h*] Saḡar-ādhi (di)bhiḥ ||(|) yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phala(lam) || [34*] Suvarṇnam=ēkām(kām) gām=ēkā(kām) bhūmēr=apy=ēkam=a[m*] gulaṁ(lam) | haran=narakam=āpnōti yāvad=āhūta-saṁplavam(vam) || [35*] Tadāgānām sahasrēṇa a-
- 44 śvamēdha-śatēna cha | gavā[m*] kōṭi-pradāna(nē)na bhūmi-harttā na su(śu)ddhyati || [36*] Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō hara(rē)ta vasuṁdharām(rām) | sva-vishṭāyām kṛimir=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha majjati || [37*] Phāla-kṛishṭām mahīm dadyāt=sa-vī(bī)jām śa(sa)sya-śālim(li)nīm(nīm) | yāva-
- 45 t=sūrya-kṛitā-lōka(kā)ttā(s=tā)vat=svarggē mahīyatē || [38*] Shashṭim varsha sahasrāṇi svaraggē vasati bhūmidah | āchchēttā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt || [39*] Vāri-hīnēshv=aranyēshu su(śu)shka-kōṭara-vāsinah | kṛishṇa-sarppās=tu jāyantē dēva-vra(bra)hma-
- 46 [sva*]-hārinah || [40*] Anyāyēna hṛitā bhūmir=anyāyēna tu hāritā | haratō hārayāntas=cha dahaty=āsaptamam kulām(lam) || [41*] Vatsarājasya pautrēna śrī Dāmōdara su(sū)nunā | likhinaṁ (tam), Chēdi-rājasya Kēsavēn=ārthalēkhinām (nā) || [42*] sūtradhāra-Sihadēn=ōtkirṇam ||

1. Read *pravarasya*.

2. There is a floral symbol after the double *danda*.

NO. 6 – AN INSCRIPTION OF PRATIHĀRA VATSARĀJA,
'SAKA 717

(1 Plate)

K.V. Ramesh and S.P. Tewari, Mysore

This important lithic record, edited here for the first time, is engraved on the well-dressed surface of a rectangular stone slab now preserved by the Archaeological Survey of India in the Purana Quila, New Delhi. As regards its provenance, the only information available to us is that it comes from the North Western Circle of the Survey which has its headquarters in Śrīnagar. The writing covers an area measuring 41x73 cm and runs into 24 lines. On the raised rim of the bottom of the slab are engraved two lines which are mostly illegible. This part seems to contain one verse in praise of the goddess Bhavānī and also gives the date of the inscription in figures.

The inscription is written in Sanskrit language and the entire text, but for a brief salutation to the Goddess Bhagavatī in line 1, is in verse, there being 26 verses in all, composed in as many as nine different metres. The script employed may be identified as late Siddhamātrikā or even as proto-Nāgarī widely in use in Northern India during the second half of the 8th century. The writing, carefully and neatly executed, is well preserved but for eight letters in line 14, which appear to have been deliberately tampered with, and eleven more letters in line 23 which, though not damaged, are illegible. The literary style and diction of poetic composition conform to the conventional classical *prāsastis* as normally composed under royal patronage and bear testimony to the scholarship and poetic accomplishment of the poet Mādhava. The palaeographical and orthographical features are regular for the period and region to which the record belongs. Attention may, however, be drawn to the fact that while the consonant immediately following the *rēpha* is almost uniformly doubled, in some cases *bhāryā* (line 13), the consonant *y* is not doubled in view of the fact that a single conjunct component has been employed to represent *ry*. Such a conjunct component form for *ry* makes its appearance for the first time during the Gupta period.¹

The object of the inscription is to record the construction, by Gallaka, of a temple for the goddess Chandikā the blue print for which, complete with a variety of trees, well and garden, was duly conceived by the architects on the 10th day of the bright fortnight of Vaisākha in the Śaka year 717 (expressed by chronogram).

As for the contents of the record, line 1 commences with an auspicious spiral symbol, which is only partly preserved, followed by salutation to the goddess

1. See, eg., the Indore plate of Skandagupta, Gupta year 146, *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 70-71 and plate.

(*Bhagavatī*) Durgā (i.e. Chāṇḍikā). Verse 1 (lines 1-2) invokes the blessings of the goddess Chāṇḍikā whose three manifestations as Yōgīśvari, in which form she is close to Brahmā, as the sister of Vishṇu and as the better half of the god Śiva are alluded to. Verse 2 (lines 2-3) contains a prayer that the arms of Chāṇḍikā, which had brought pleasure to the *dēvas* by liquidating the fearsome demon Mahisha, may protect all. Verse 3 (lines 3-4) introduces the king (*rājā*) Nāgabhaṭa (I) as one who had scored victory over the invincible Gurjaras and who, like Vishṇu-Purushōttama, in his Varāha incarnation, had retrieved the earth from calamity by vanquishing his foes. According to verse 4 (lines 4-5) there was born in his family (*anvaya*) the king (*bhūpati*) Vatsarāja who was of unequalled valour and who enjoyed implicit obedience; he expanded his kingdom by defeating enemy kings and cared for those whom he loved. Verse 5 (lines 5-7) alludes to his victories over the Karṇāta and Lāṭa rulers, which took his armies right down to the southern ocean and to his victory over Jayāpīḍa which took his armies right up to the icy Himalayan heights. Verse 6 (lines 7-8) states that Vatsarāja took away from the Lord of Gauda, who was the master of the four seas, the goddess of royalty while, according to verse 7 (lines 8-9), by virtue of his victories over the Gauda king and the emperor of Dakṣiṇāpātha as also by virtue of his victories over the Mlēcchha and Kīra kings, respectively of the western and northern quarters, he attained the status of an emperor (*sārva-bhauma-nrīpatitva*).

Verses 8-11 (lines 9-12) are devoted to the eulogy of Vatsarāja's subordinate Śrīvarmaka. Verse 8 (line 9) states that Śrīvarmaka, the son of Grahīyaka of the royal family (*nṛp-ānvaya*) which had sprung from Kāchāra, was the most beloved servant of Vatsarāja unto whom he was like a son. Verse 9 (lines 10-11) states that Śrīvarmaka defeated the Tājika ruler in battle and took him captive; and, after ridding his other enemy Kēsari of his arrogance and forcing him to pay tribute, he released him; he punished the (rulers of the) hill tribes (*parvatīyāḥ*) and vanquished Vyāghra, the powerful Tōmara king. Verse 10 (lines 11-12) states that Śrīvarmaka, at whose feet lay the prostrate figures of enemy kings vanquished by him, was tormented by the itch for (more) battles. According to verse 11 (line 12) Śrīvarmaka was comparable to the ocean in depth and character, in his eagerness to surge forward and in his zeal to bear the burden of the earth. From verse 12 (lines 12-14) we learn that Śrīvarmaka had a wife named Dēvaśrī who was constant in her fidelity like Lakshmī to Vishṇu, Rōhīṇī to the Moon-god, Pārvatī to Śiva, Paulōmī to Indra, and Sītā to Rāma, who was praised by the people even as Gaṅgā and who was verily like Arundhatī.

From her was born to Śrīvarmaka (verse 13, lines 14-15) a son named Gallaka, an ornament of the earth, who had vanquished all his enemies, who was the very incarnation of Dharma, and who was like the wish-fulfilling tree in the matter of ridding those whom he loved of their tribulations. From verse 14 we also learn that Gallaka was known by the other name of Sadbhāvaśīla. Verses 15 (lines 16-17) and 16 (lines 17-18) are in the nature of conventional eulogy, the first one describing his

good qualities as having provided all the quarters and the second one praising him for setting at nought the evil effects of the Kali age. Verses 17 (line 18) and 18 (lines 18-19) describe the victories registered by him against the forces of the king of Gauḍa and the Vallabha (i.e. the emperor of Karṇāṭaka). Verse 19 (lines 19-20) states that Gallaka installed **Indrabhaṭa** as master of his (i.e. Indrabhaṭa's) own kingdom.

We learn from verse 20 (line 20) that the king Gallaka, wishing for his entry into heaven, caused a temple to be constructed for the goddess Chandikā. The next verse (verse 21, lines 20-21) states that on the tenth day of the bright half of Vaiśākha in the Śaka year 717, expressed in chronogram as *muni* (7), *śaśi* (1) *naga* (7) the plan or blue-print (*mūla-pāda*) of the Chandī shrine, along with a variety of fruit-yielding trees, well and garden was conceived by the architects.

Verse 22 (lines 21-22) informs us that Mādhava, who belonged to a family of poets hailing from the western country, was the son of Harigupta and was, from his very birth, a devoted servant of the king (Gallaka), composed this eulogy. According to verse 23 (lines 22-23), Dēddaka, the son of Dattaka and a notary of the merchants' guild was appointed as the artisan (*kāruka*) of the temple, probably by Gallaka. From verse 24 (line 23), which is not happily composed, we gather that Durgāditya was the architect (*sūtradhāra*), that the learned Śarvaṇandī prepared the beautiful image (obviously of the goddess Chandikā) and that Nāṇna was the stone-cutter (*aśma-kuṭṭaka*). The last quarter of this verse is illegibly engraved and we are unable to give its reading in spite of our best efforts. Verse 25 (lines 23-24) is in the form of an invocation bestowing permanence on the temple (*kīrtti*) while the last verse (verse 26, lines 24-25) states that the *praśasti* was engraved on the orders of the king (Gallaka) by the goldsmith Varāhavarma, the son of Kāna.

The manifold importance of this inscription for the political history of India during the period of transition from the 8th to 9th century cannot be overstated. Its primary importance lies in the facts that it is the earliest hitherto known inscription of the Imperial Pratihāra family and that it is the one and only hitherto known inscription of the reign of Vatsarāja. Of equal importance is the fact that it provides for Vatsarāja the latest as yet known date for his reign, viz. 795 A.D. Only two other dates are known for his reign and both of them are from literary sources. According to the colophon of the *Kuvalayamālā* of Uddyōtana-sūri, that work was composed in the Śaka year 700 (=779 A.D.) at Jāvālipura during the reign of Raṇahastin Vatsarāja.¹ Again, according to Jinasēna, the author of *Harivaṃśa-purāṇa*, Vatsarāja was ruling over the western region (*aparā dik*) at the time of the completion of that work in Śaka 705 (=783 A.D.).² Though we know from other sources³ that Vatsarāja was the son of Dēvarāja and Bhūyikā and grand-nephew of Nāgabhaṭa I, the present inscription omits,

1. *Kuvalayamālā* (Sindhī Jain Granthamālā, No. 45, Bombay, 1959), Vol. I, p. 283, line 1.

2. *Harivaṃśa-purāṇa*, Manikchandra Digambar - Jaina Granthamālā, No. 33, (Bombay), Vol. II, p. 806, verse 52.

3. Bhandarkar's List, No. 25.



the names of his parents and merely states that he was born in the family of Nāgabhata (I).

Nothing tangible was hitherto known about Vatsarāja except that he was one of the most powerful Indian rulers of his times. The record under study provides us with new information of a substantial nature on many important military exploits of Vatsarāja and his subordinates. The victories credited to Vatsarāja in our inscription are against the rulers of Karnāta and Lāta, against Jayāpīḍa, against the Lord of Gauḍa and against the Mlēcchha and Kīra rulers. Of these, the ruler of Karnāta was obviously Vatsarāja's Rāshtrakūṭa contemporary Dhruva (780-93 A.D.) while the Lord of Gauḍa was the Pāla ruler Dharmapāla. These three were the most powerful Indian rulers of their days and were involved in a triangular contest for supremacy. While we have had epigraphical claims registered for Dhruva's triumph over Pratihāra Vatsarāja and for the latter's triumph over the Gauḍa ruler (i.e. Dharmapāla) as also for Dhruva's victory over the last named ruler, the present inscription reveals for the first time Vatsarāja's claim of victory over the ruler of Karnāta by whom, obviously, Dhruva is meant. These claims and counterclaims of victory are, more or less, a conventional part of epigraphical poetry and may indicate either the uncertain nature of the outcome of the battles, giving scope for such contradictory claims, or may pertain to different battles in which the results were successively reversed and for which we do not have tangible evidence.

The mention of the rulers of Karnāta and Lāta together (as *Karnāta-Lātaiḥ*, verse 5) is further illustrative of the already known fact that like the Chalukyas of Vātāpi, their successors, the Rāshtrakūṭas also had established close contacts with and hegemony over the Lāta territory.

One historically important point occurring in our record is Vatsarāja's victory over Jayāpīḍa and his further triumphal progress to the icy heights of the Hīmālayas. Jayāpīḍa, who suffered defeat at the hands of Vatsarāja, may be safely identified with his namesake of the Kārkōṭa family of Kashmīr. According to Kalhana, who is our only source of information on Jayāpīḍa, he was a powerful ruler who, at the very commencement of his reign, conducted a victorious campaign against the Gauḍa country.

The claim of Vatsarāja to have defeated the Lord of Gauḍa seems to be based on facts for even the former's Rāshtrakūṭa adversaries admit that he had defeated the Gauḍa king. The description of the Gauḍa ruler who, in this instance, was in all probability, Dharmapāla, as the Lord of the four seas (*chatur-udadhipati*, line 8) shows that even his enemies considered him to be a powerful monarch.

We are next told that Vatsarāja also defeated the Mlēcchhas of the west and the Kīras of the north. Of these, the Mlēcchhas were no doubt the early Arab Muslim invaders who had carved out settlements for themselves in the Sindh-Multan region. We know that a number of Hindu rulers, including Pratihāra Nāgabhata I and his successors, Avānjanāśraya Pulakēśin of the Chalukya house of Navasārika and Anantadēva of the Hund region in Attock, had successfully fought against these early

Muslim invaders in the 8th century A.D.¹ While the fragmentary Hund inscription² of Anantadēva, actually refers to these Muslim intruders as Turushkas, other records merely mention them either as *Yavanas* or *Mlēchchhas*. The inscription under study reveals for the first time that Vatsarāja had his own contribution to make in stemming the tide of early Muslim invasions in the west. Vatsarāja's wars against Jayāpīḍa and the Mlēchchhas seem to have formed part of a single campaign for we know from Arab sources that the Multan region had been taken away by the Turushkas from the possessions of the Kārkōṭa rulers of Kashmīr in the middle of the 8th century.

The Kīras of the north, whom also Vatsarāja claims to have defeated, may be safely identified as the rulers of Kīra-grāma and the region around it in the Kangra valley. Kīra-grāma finds mention in the Bājnāth *prasasti*³ of 804 A.D. as the headquarters of a family of Rājānaka chieftains. The Khalimpur plate⁴ of Dharmapala includes the Kīra among the rulers who registered their approval of the Gauḍa king's act of installing Chakrāyudha in place of Indrarāja as the ruler of Kānyakubja, much to the chagrin of his vanquished Pratihāra adversary. The great eminence attained by Vatsarāja as a result of his victories over the rulers in all the four directions, over the Karṇāṭa emperor of the south (*Dakṣiṇāpatha*), over the Gauḍa king in the east, over the Lāṭa and Mlēchchha rulers in the west and over the ruler of Kashmīr as also the chieftains of the hills in the north, is fully brought home in verse 7 which declares that, as a result of these martial triumphs, Vatsarāja rose to the status of an emperor (*sārva-bhauma-nripati*).

As has been pointed out above, from verse 8 onwards, the description of events runs around the personality of Vatsarāja's son-like feudatory Śrīvarmaka, the son of Grahiyaka of the family of the king Kāchāra. This is the lone epigraphical reference to this feudatory family and we are unable to say wherefrom they hailed. Śrīvarmaka is stated in our record to have defeated and imprisoned the Tājika ruler and to have released, after extracting tribute, another adversary who is merely mentioned as Kēsari. While we know next to nothing about Kēsari, the Tājika ruler may be identified with Vatsarāja's Mlēchchha or Turushka enemy of the Sindh-Multan region. He is next stated to have defeated the *Parvatīyas*, an expression by which are perhaps meant the minor rulers of the hilly regions of the Himālayas. In all these campaigns, Śrīvarmaka appears to have actively assisted his overlord Vatsarāja.

An important information furnished by our record for the career of Śrīvarmaka is his victory over Vyāghra, a Tōmara chieftain. The Tōmaras were known to have been

1. See, Above, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 96.

2. Above, *Ibid.*, pp. 94-98 and plate.

3. *Ibid.* Vol. I, pp. 97 ff.

4. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 248, Text, verse 12.

ruling in and around modern Delhi from at least the middle of the 8th century¹ though the earliest hitherto known epigraphical reference to them occurs only in the Pehoa inscription² of Pratihāra Mahēndrapāla written either towards the end of the 9th or the beginning of the 10th century A.D. Our inscription thus contains the earliest epigraphical reference to the Tōmaras and also reveals for the first time the name of the Tōmara contemporary of Vatsarāja as Vyāghra. Śrīvarmaka's triumph over Vyāghra seems to have resulted in the reduction of the status of the Tōmaras as feudatories of the Pratihāras for the next few generations.

Again, from verse 13 the description shifts to Gallaka, Śrīvarmaka's son born out of his wife Dēvasrī. Since verse 14 states that Gallaka was ruling over a kingdom which he had properly inherited, we may safely conclude that his father Śrīvarmaka had predeceased his master Vatsarāja and was not alive at the time our inscription was engraved. Like his father, Gallaka also was actively associated with Vatsarāja's campaigns against the Gauda forces (verse 17) and the Karnāṭa ruler (indirectly alluded to in the expression *Vallabh-āśru-dhārāḥ* in line 19, Vallabha being a common appellation for Karnāṭaka emperors particularly during the Vātāpi Chalukya and Rāshtrakūṭa periods). Gallaka was also involved in Vatsarāja's wars for gaining supremacy over the Kanauj region and seems to have played a crucial role in successfully enthroning Indra-bhāṭa (same as Indrarāja, the rival of Chakrāyudha) at Kānyakubja. An important implication is that Indrarāja was safely perched on his throne even as late as the date of the present inscription.

Gallaka, prompted by his keen desire to attain salvation, caused a temple to be constructed for the goddess Chāṇḍī. Since we do not know the exact provenance of the record, we are unable to locate or identify the temple site. Verse 21 is important since it says that on the tenth day of the bright half of the last month of the Vasanta *ritu*, i.e. Vaiśākha in the Śaka year 717, the architects appointed for the purpose duly completed the preparation of the plan or blueprint for the temple complete with such accessories as a grove of different varieties of fruit-bearing trees, a well and a garden. The date is important because it is not the date of the completion of the temple, though on the date of the writing of the inscription, the construction of the temple had been completed. This means that the details of date as furnished by our record pertain to the day of foundation implying thereby that some unspecified length of time had passed before the construction work was completed and the inscription got engraved. We may, therefore, conclude that, allowing a few years for the actual work of construction, which commenced in 795 A.D., the inscription may have been engraved and set up towards the very end of the eighth century A.D.

1. "According to the bardic tradition 'Anangpal Tuar' founded Delhi in V.S. 792 (A.D. 736) and established the Tomara dynasty" — *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 1145.

2. Above, Vol. I, pp. 242-50 and plate.

The contents of verses 22-26 have already been summarised above. Mādhava, the composer of the *praśasti*, claims to have belonged to a family of poets hailing from the Western country (*pāśchātya-dēśa*, line 21). It is likely that he was an inhabitant of the Sindh-Multān region and that he joined the band-wagon of Vatsarāja and Śrīvarmaka and Gallaka when they successfully overran the Turushka kingdom. It is interesting to note that Dēddaka was appointed as the artisan of the Chaṇḍikā temple, obviously in order to keep the new structure from falling into disrepair.

The geographical names occurring in the inscription, viz. Karnāṭa, Lāṭa, Gauḍa and Pāśchātya-dēśa are either too well known or have been commented upon above.

TEXT¹

[Metres : Verses 1, 4, 8, 10, 15-17, 22, 25 *Vasantatilakā*; Verses 2, 5-6, 9, 13 *Sragdharā*; Verses 3, 12 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; Verse 7 *Mātrāsamaka*; Verses 11, 19, 23, 26 *Anushtubb*; Verse 14 *Upēndrāvajrā*; Verse 12, *Aryā*; Verse 20 *Rathōddbatā*; Verse 21 *Mālinī*; Verse 24 *Śālinī*]

1. Siddham[1*]² Ōm namō Bhagavatyai Durgāyai || Yōgīsvārī-vadana-sannihit=āpi
Dhātur=Vvishnōh svasā vividha-Bhūtapatēs-tath=ārddham | ittham sthitām
vividha-mūrttishu Chandī-
2. kāyāḥ mūrttiḥ karōtu bhavatām=atulām vibhūtim || [1*] Prōddāma-syāma-dhāmno
virachita-mahisha-chchhadmanā dānavasya vyāsaktō mūrdhni mūrchchhā-
vasām=iva gatavān=niḥpatat=tāṭakasya [1] pāyād=vaḥ
3. pañka-pūrād=aravikara-bhay=āmbhōruhāhāra-dhārī Yādōr=vāla-pravāla-dyutir=
Aditi-sut=ā[na]nda-kriḥ=Chaṇḍikāyāḥ || [2*] Āsīd=durjjaya-Gurjjar-ārjjita-jayō
rājā jagaty=ūrjjitah śrīmān=Nāgabhatō
4. raṇ=ōtkāṭa-bhataḥ taṅkāriṇām=agranīḥ | sākshād=yah Purushōttamaḥ kshitipatir-
mmagnā vipad-vāridhau hatvā vairi-gaṇān=varāha-vapushā yēn=ōddhritā mēdinī
|| [3*] Tasy=ānvayē samabha-
5. vad=bhuvanaika-vīraḥ śrī-Vatsarāja iti bhūpatir=akshat=ājñah | yō dripta-vairi-
vadha-bhūri-vivridha-rājyaś=chintāmanih pranayinām jagatīm vyajēshtha || [4*]
Pitv=āmbhau dakshin=ābdhēr=virasam=avajit=āśē-

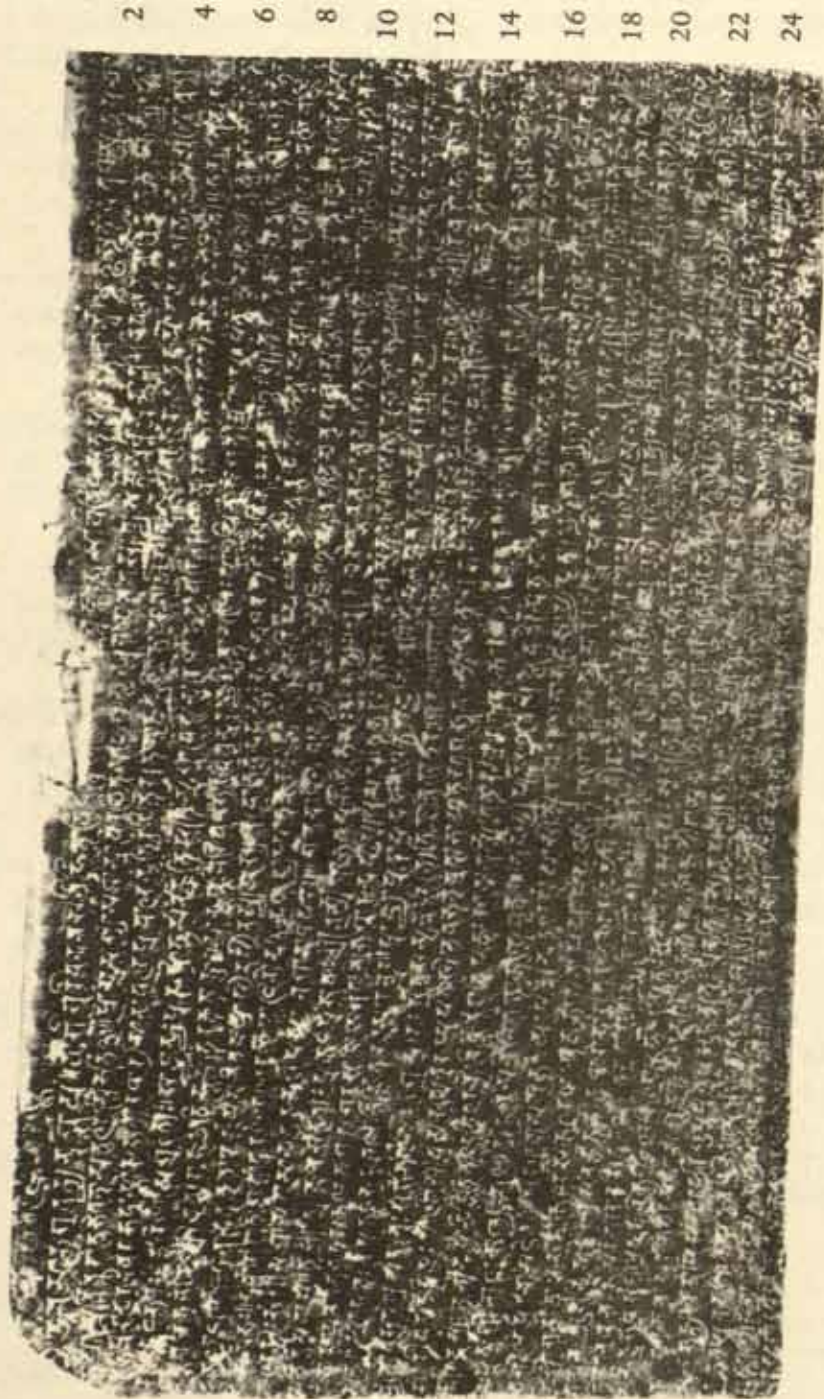
1. Transcribed from the ink-impression.

2. Expressed by a partially preserved spiral symbol.

6. sha-Kā(Ka)rnnāta-Lāṭair=bhāntvā dikshu-kshatārēr=jjaya-janita-Jayāpīḍa-pīḍasya yasya | sēvā nirvvēdayadbhiḥ sphuṭad=adhara-putaiḥ sainikaiḥ sanna-kanṭhaiḥ śītam pītam kathañchit tuhina-giri-gatair-haimatām
7. haimam-ambhaḥ || [5*] Durvvār=ārāti garvv=ōddharaṇa-raṇa-ṇat-kōṭi-kōḍanda-danda-jyāghāta-krūra-dōshnōr-vikāṭa-kari-ghatā-sankat=āntar-nivishṭā | hatv=ājau yōdha-vṛindān=aparimita-balēn=ārjita rā-
8. ja-lakshmīḥ saṅgrāma-grāma-rāmā chatur-udadhi patēr-yēna Gauḍa-ādhipasya || [6*] Gauḍa-nātham=avajitya balād-yō Dakshināpatha-patim cha nṛipēśam | Mlēcchha-Kīram=aparōttaran-diśam sārsvabhauma pa¹ - nṛi-
9. patitvam-avāpa || [7*] Tasy=ātmajēna sadriśaḥ prakāṭa-prabhāvaḥ 'Sṛivarmmakō=bhavad-abhīshṭatamah subhṛityaḥ | śrī-Kāchar-ōdbhava-nṛip-ānvaya-jāta-janmā lakshmivatō Grahiyakasya sutō narēndraḥ || [8*]
10. Jitv-ājau yēna baddhah-krita-sakala-jagaj=jāgaras-Tājikēsō jātyē bhagn-ōru darppasamupahṛita-karaḥ Kēsari yēna muktaḥ | daṇḍam yēna prachandaḥ bhaya-vidhura-dhiyō dāpitāḥ Parvatiyāḥ śrī-
11. mad-Vyāghrō=pi yēna prakāṭa-bhuja-balō nirjjitas-Tōmar-ēndraḥ || [9*] Prājyā(jya)-pratāpa-dahan=ādhika-pachyamāna-vidvēshi-vamśa-nata-pāda-yugasya yasya labdh-ōnnatir-yadiparām hṛita-mānasasya
12. vyachchhō babhūva sumahat-samar=ābhilāshah || [10*] Gambhīraḥ satva-sampannaḥ sthity=atī krānti katarah | Dharanī-dharaṇ-ōdyuktaḥ samudra iva yō=parah || [11*] Vishnōḥ Śrī=iva Rōhinī=iva Śasīnō
13. Gaur=īva Daksha-dvishah Paulōm=īva Marutpatē Raghupatēḥ Sīt=ēva bhartṛivratā | bhāryā tasya babhūva dharmma-niratā Gaṅg=ēva lōkaiḥ śrutā [1] Dēvasrī=iti visrutā kshiti talē sākshād=iv-Ārundha-
14. tī || [12*] Tasyām tēn=ōdapādi kshiti-tala-tilakō nirjīit-ārāti pakshah sākshād-Dharm-āvatārah parigata-kapaṭ-ōpārjīitah bhūtadhātryā | Śrī — — — U — — UU sadriśa-tanur-llōchanaiḥ piyamā-
15. naḥ putrah 'śrī-Gallak-ākhyah pranayi-jana-manō-nirvritau Kalpa-vriksah || [13*] Dvipaty-upakshīma-vīśiṣṭa-varggē datā dayāvān-apañōtuchittam(ttam) [1] kramāgatam rājyam-apālayad-yah Sadbhā-

1. The letter *pa* is redundant.

AN INSCRIPTION OF PRATHIHĀRA VATSARĀJA, ŚAKA 717



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K. V. Ramesh

SCALE : ONE-FOURTH

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16. vāsīl-āpara-nāmadhēyaḥ || [14*] Asmākam-ēsha kṛipay=āpi samēta-lajjam yā=
sīt purā cha gaṇaṇā bhuvī sā=py=apētā | itthaṁ vichintya tarasā vimalair-ggun-
aughair-nnirvvēdavadbhir =iva yasya
17. diśō grihītāḥ || [15*] Bhanktvā Kaliṁ sakala-lōka-kṛit-ōpatāpam yō=yam pravard-
dhita-khal-ōnnatimaty-udāram | Samprāpta-bhīta-saraṇāgata-vatsalēna dharm-
ātmanah nanu kṛitī kṛitam=ē-
18. va yēna || [16*] Āsīd-dvishad-visāsana-kshata-tīkshṇa-dhārō bhāsvat-kar-ō [j*]-
jvala-ruchir=yudhi Gauḍa-vīrah | dṛiṣṭvā vimukta-kariṇaḥ prapalāyamānān-
mukt-āttahāsa iva yasya kṛipāna-pattāḥ || [17*] Mūrtyā-
19. ti-māna-dhanah samara-mukh-ōru-sita Vallabh-āsru-dhārāḥ | yasya ripavō gajā iva
nashtāḥ paramārttha-kēsariṇaḥ || [18*] Yaś=chakāra nija-rājyē sarvva-vyāpinam-
ādarāt [1] guṇinam kārya tattvajñam śrī-
20. mad-Indrabhaṭam bhaṭam || [19] Ishṭatō=dhikah phalam kil=āpūrttam śāstrataḥ
samāvasya sa bhūpaḥ [1] Svar-ggatiṁ bahuphalam-abhivāmchhan Chaṇḍikālayam=
achīkarad=ētam(tam) || [20*] Muni-śasi-naga-samsthē yānti
21. kālē Śakānām surabhi-charama māsē śukla-pakshē daśamyām(yām) | bahu-taru-
phala-kūp=ārāma-Chaṇḍī-grihānām sthapatibhir=iha yatnāt=kalpitō mūlapādaḥ
|| [21*] Pāschatya-dēsaja-kav-īndra-kula-pra-
22. sūtō bhaktyā jan=ōpi parayā Harigupta-putrah | ājanmataḥ prabhṛiti tasya nripasya
bhṛityaś-chakrē prasastim=iha Mādhava-nāmadhēyaḥ || [22*] Vanik-sa mi(vi)paṇau
gaṇyō Dēddakō Dattak =ātmajah || (1) Kārukō-
23. tra kṛitas=tēna Chaṇḍik=āyatanē śubhēḥ(bhē)||[23*] Durggāditya [s*] sūtradhārāḥ
suśilpaṁ yatnāch=chakrē Śarvvanandī cha vidvān [1*] Chaṇḍī-veśmany-asma
kuttakō Nānnaḥ -----U---U--- [24*] yāvad=dharā-nada-nadī-
24. śata-punya-dēsā yāvach=cha Mandara-Himālaya-Mēru-Vindhyāḥ [1] tishṭhanti khē
cha bhagaṇā divi dēva-vṛindās=tāvat-sthirā bhavatu kīrttir=iyam nripasya || [25*]
Varāhavarmanā ch= aishā samutkīrṇṇā nrip-ājñayā | pra-
25. śastih suvarṇnākārēna Kāṇa-putrēna dhīmatā || [26*]

1. Read *svarṇa* for the sake of metre.

NO. 7 – NATIONAL MUSEUM INSCRIPTION OF KĒLACHCHADĒVĪ,

V.S. 1239

(1 Plate)

S.P. Tewari, Mysore

The inscription, edited here with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, is engraved on the front side of the pedestal of a marble stone bearing in deep relief the images of a seated male and female; it was copied by me in October 1979¹ from the ground floor collections of the National Museum (Museum No. L. 200), New Delhi. This record of queen Kēlachchadēvī was first brought to the notice of scholars by late Prof. Dashrath Sharma who presented a paper based on the contents of this record before the Allahabad Session of the Indian History Congress in 1965. From the Proceedings of the Congress which were published in 1967 from Aligarh (pp. 50-51) it appears likely that, along with his paper, Prof. Sharma had also presented the text of the record which was omitted later on when the proceedings were sent to the press. Since Prof. Sharma in his paper had mainly focussed attention on the instance of a queen being successfully dissuaded from committing *sati*, certain peculiarities and shortcomings noticeable in the inscription were not discussed by him. As a result, his paper is silent in regard to palaeographical, orthographical, linguistic and scribal features. This, coupled with the fact that the said Proceedings do not contain the text of the inscription, has prompted me to edit this interesting record in the pages of this journal.

The marble slab described above was acquired by the Museum from Gadh, District Alwar of Rajasthan.² On this pedestal there are four lines of writing in which the fourth line has only one word which was also possibly added later on. So also the details of date, viz., Samvat 1239, written before the ornamental auspicious symbol for *siddham* in line 1 and *Māgha sudi 1* written before the commencement of line 2, were possible engraved afterwards when the engraver realised that he had omitted these details at the time of engraving the record. He merely utilised the marginal space available on the left side of the first two lines, and then, since the word *budhē* could not be accommodated he engraved it below the third line. That the omission was noticed even while the text was being engraved is clearly borne out by the fact that the engraver commences the third line, so as to be in alignment with the commencement of the details of date thus making all the three lines begin at the same vertical point. The writing covers an area of about 45 cms in length and, minus the only word engraved in the fourth line, about 5 cms in height. The space left between lines 2 and 3 is less than the space left between lines 1 and 2. Barring the date portion on the left margin, the size of the letters on each of the three lines progressively diminishes. The only word

1. This inscription is being noticed in Appendix B of *A.R.Ep.*, 1979-80.

2. This information is based on Prof. Sharma's statement in the Proceedings referred to above. He also rightly surmises that the images probably represent the king Prithivīdēva and his queen Kēlachchadēvī figuring in the record.

budhē in line 4 has letters which are the smallest of all and also carelessly engraved. No portion of the engraved surface has suffered damage and the writing is in a good state of preservation.

The characters of the record are Nāgarī of a type which was widely in use in the area of Rajasthan during the period to which the inscription belongs.

The language is Sanskrit throughout and except the date portion which is scattered in lines 1, 2 and 4 the rest of the record is in verse.

In respect of orthography the following points may be noted: *bh* is engraved for *ś* in *yaśhō* for *yaśō* (line 1); and *s* for *ś* in *viśuddha* for *viśuddha* in line 3; subscript *v* in *svargam* and *svā* (in line 1) and *sva* (line 2) is carelessly engraved and looks like *tha*; superscript *r* is not used in *bhatrā* (for *bhartrā*) and *nimmāpyēdam* for *nirmmāpyēdam* (line 2); in *svargāya yatasya* (line 3) the long *ā* vowel mark is wanting. Though the letter *ya* when engraved as a separate letter is very distinct from *pa*, yet in its subscript form this distinction is not maintained as in *nimmāpya* (line 2) and *tasya*, *nṛpasya* and *syandini* (line 3). Though the word *prithvī* (line 3) is read so because of the context, it is wrongly spelt as *prīdyī*. Doubling of consonants like *m* in *nirmmāpya* (line 2) and *nirmmala* (line 3) and *v* in *yaśasōr-vvṛiddhyai* (line 3) is carefully observed. In the same way the rules of *sandhi* have been regularly followed.

The epigraph tells us that the queen Kēlachchadēvī, who was the unsullied source of the abundant prosperity of the kingdom and the abode of righteous deeds and renown decided to put an end to her life by committing *satī* at the death of her husband, king Prithvidēva, thinking of her body as of no greater importance than a piece of straw; she was, however, persuaded and successfully prevented from doing so by her son, the ministers and the learned people of her kingdom. She ultimately abided by their advice and, as a consolation to herself and also for the merit and renown of her departed husband, got a temple of Anaṅgasūdana (Śiva) built on Wednesday, which was the first day of the bright fortnight of the month of Māgha of the year 1239 of the Vikrama era.

A curious point which had somehow escaped the attention of Prof. Sharma is the fact that the queen, who was feeling sad because of the departure of her husband (*tad=vichchhēda kad=arthitēna manasā*, etc., line 3), (also) got this image of the king (*mūrttim tadīyōm=imām*, line 3) made. This clearly shows that the male image above this pedestal is certainly that of the king Prithvidēva. The expression *dēvāmṛita-syandiniṁ* (line 3), which qualifies *mūrttim* is also interesting as it indicates that the image of the king was like a vehicle (*syandini*) for him to reach the heavens and attain immortality though literally it means only an image from which the divine nectar (*dēvāmṛita*) was oozing out.¹

1. The word *syandini*, has a double entendre here, as in its form of *syandin* or *syandini* it means oozing, flowing and trickling, etc. (from the infinitive *syand*) and as a noun: *syandana*, meaning a chariot or a vehicle (formed out of the same infinitive *syand*); it also gives the meaning of a mini-chariot or a *rathikā*.

The importance of the record lies in the fact that, whereas we have so many *sati* stone inscriptions which record the commission of *sati* by women reduced to widowhood, it is probably for the first time that we come across an epigraphical evidence to the effect that a queen who was determined to follow her husband on the funeral pier was successfully dissuaded from acting upon her decision. It becomes even more important when we consider the enormity of the *sati* records from the area of Rajasthan.

Another significant feature of the record is the making of the memorial image of the king Prithvidēva after his death. It is, however, not clear as to whether the date of the record pertains to the death of the king or to the construction of the temple or to the making of the image of the king.

As regards the identity of the king Prithvidēva, known through this inscription for the first time, nothing definite can be stated at the present state of our knowledge. Prof. Sharma has two suppositions. One, that he might have been a Badgūjar and the other, that he was a descendant of Sāvata and Mathanadēva, known to us respectively from the Nilakanṭha and Rājōr inscriptions¹—because both these records hail from the area of Alwar like our present record.

TEXT²

1. Saṁvatu 1239 [1*] Siddham³ || Rājyaprajya-vibhūti-mūlam=amala-śrēyō yabhō(śō)-bhājanam. dēvy=ēsh=ēti vichimtya putra-sachivaiḥ svarggam gatē svā
2. Māgha sudī 1⁴ mini | yāyāmtī sva-tanuṁ vihāya triṇavat=sārdham sva-bhatrā (rtrā) satī samruddhā vivu(bu)dhaiśva(ś=cha) satya-mahishī Kēlachchadēvī tadā || [1*]⁵ Nimmā (Nirmmā)py-ēdam=Anan-
3. gasūdana-griham svargāya ya(yā)tasya vai Prithvidēva-nṛipasya puṇya-yaśasōr=vṛiddhyai visu(śu)ddhātmanah | tad=vichchēda-kad-arthitēna manasā mūrttim [m*] tadīyām=imām sā=smin . kārayati sma vi(ni)rmmala-tarām dēv-āmṛita-syandini[m ||2. *]⁵
4. Budhē

1. See Bhandarkar's list, No. 74 (Vikrama 1016); Above, Vol. III, p. 266 and the references therein.

2. From the impression.

3. Expressed by a symbol.

4. About *saṁvat* (line 1), this portion and *Budhē* (line 4), see the introductory remarks above.

5. The metre is *Śardūlavikṛīṭita*.

NO. 8 – DOORA PLATES OF UDAYAKHĒDI

(1 Plate)

S. Subramonia Iyer, Mysore

and

Snigdha S. Tripathy, Bhubaneswar

The copper plate charter edited below with the kind of permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, was discovered in the village Doora near Berhampur in the district of Ganjam in Orissa in January 1973. The plates were later purchased by the Orissa State Museum where they are at present deposited.¹

The set consists of three copper plates strung together on a copper ring, the ends of which are soldered to the back of a circular seal. The upper part of the seal has a countersunk surface on which are engraved in relief the figures of a crescent moon, an *aṅkuṣa*, a couchant bull facing right and a half blown lotus on the left. The seal does not bear any legend. While the first plate is engraved on only one side, the second and the third plates bear writing on both the sides. Each plate measures 20.5 cm in length and 7.5 cm in breadth. The diameters of the ring and the seal are respectively 10 cm and 4.5 cm. The rims of the plates are slightly raised to protect the writing. Excepting lines 19 and 20 which are slightly blurred, the writing on the whole is in a good state of preservation.

The characters belong to the Kalinga alphabet of about the 9th-10th century A.D. and resemble generally those of the Kambakāya² and Nirakarpur³ plates of Dēvēndravarman. The palaeography of the Telugu-Kannada portion (in lines 33-35) supports this dating. But the forms of the letters *t* and *r* are, however, different from those of corresponding letters seen in the two grants mentioned above. Of the two types of *t* employed in the present grant, one, which is typically East Indian, bears comparison to that in the two grants of Dēvēndravarman. But the other form of *t*, which is also simultaneously used in the charter under reference, is unique and not met with in the inscriptions of this period. In this, the right end of the cup-shaped form goes up to form a loop above. The form of *r* resembles that of the same letter found in the Nagari copper plate inscription of Anaṅgabhīma III.⁴ While the Kalinga alphabet has been used almost in the whole of the inscription, the end of line 33 and the entire lines 34 and 35 in the first side of the third plate have been written in Telugu-Kannada characters.

The language of the record is Sanskrit which, however, is corrupt and faulty. The carelessness of the scribe is seen in the omission of letters in words such as *sukha-ramaṇiyā* for *sukha-ramaṇīyād* in line 1, *'srīmā* for *srīmān* in line 7, etc., and writing of

1. This has been noticed in *A.R.Ep.* 1974-75 as No. A 15

2. *JBHS.*, Vol. IV(1931), pp. 29 ff. and plate.

3. *JBR.S.*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 1 ff. and plate

4. Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235 ff.

extra letters in words like *kārinām=ścha ma* for *kārinām=ścha* in line 10. Besides inscribing letters in a faulty manner, the same letter is often written in several varying forms. The letter *p* is written in the usual form as found in words like *paṇḍita* in line 3, *vipula* and *bhūpāla* in line 4, but it is written differently in words like *Amarapura* in line 1 and *pāshāna* in lines 27, 28 and 29. The letter *ch* is written in the usual manner in words like *°ārchchita* in line 5, but it is written differently in words like *chitta°* in line 5 wherein it resembles the letter *v*. As already mentioned *t* is again written in two forms. In words like *sarvata* in line 1, *paṇḍita* in line 3, the right curve of the cup shaped form goes up to form a loop above. However, in words like *°alamkṛita* in line 3, *sarita* in line 6, *tasya* in line 31, etc., *t* is written in the usual way as found in the other charters of this period. The letter *n* is sometimes difficult to be distinguished from *t* as in *vilāsini* in line 2, *kusālīna* in line 7, etc. The medial *ā* occurs in two forms, a small curved stroke above the right of the consonant as, for instance, in words like *grāmē* in line 8, *disā* in line 28, etc. and a long vertical stroke which is more usually found as, for instance, in words like *mālā*, *vāra*, *vilāsini*, in line 2, *Kōlāda* in line 8 etc. Medial *u* is also written in two ways namely a curve below a consonant as in words like *mukha*, *sura* in line 1, *śuka*, *putra* in line 17, etc., and a loop below the consonant as in words like *pura* in line 1, *pramukha* in line 9, etc. *Anusvāra* and *visarga* have been left out in a number of cases as, for example, in *°ānukārīna* in line 1, *bhūpatibhi* in line 25, *saptamyā* in lines 15-16, *pūrvaka* in line 21, etc. The *dandas* have been used rarely as in lines 25, 33 and 36.

The inscription is not dated. The grant is stated to have been given on the occasion of *Āditya-vijaya-saptami*¹ or *Ratha-saptami* in the dark half of the the month of *Māgha* in the Summer solstice (*Uttarāyana*).

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village *Kōlāda* situated in *Mādhūpa-maṇḍala* to the four *brāhmaṇas*, viz. 1. *Āditya-bhaṭṭaputra*, the son of *Śuka*, belonging to *Sāṅkhya-gōtra*, the *pravara* of three *rishis* and a student of *Yajur-vēda* and *Kāṇva-śākhā*; 2. *Nanēpa-bhaṭṭaputra*, the son of *Khaṇḍāmala*, belonging to *Kāśyapa-gōtra*; 3. *Nānayapa-śarmman*, the son of *Āditya-bhaṭṭa*, belonging to *Parāśara-gōtra*; and 4. *Āditya-śarmman*, the son of *Yōgēśvara*, who was a scholar in the *Vēdas*, who belonged to the *pravara* of five *rishis* and to *Vatsa-gōtra*. The grant was issued by *Rānaka Udayakhēdi*, belonging to the spotless family of *Gaṅga* rulers (*sura-sarit-kula*), from the city called *Hōnarēṅga-nagara*, on the occasion of *vijaya-saptami* already referred to above. Lines 25-32 describe the boundaries of the grant village *Kōlāda*. Lines 33-38 contain the usual imprecatory and benedictory verses. Lines 39-40 mention the name of the engraver of the grant. The grant (*tāmra-pattikā*) was engraved

1. In this expression *Āditya* stands for the week-day Sunday. "A *śukla-saptami* falling on Sunday is called *Vijaya* and is special for donations." *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, part I, p. 66. Our inscription, however, specifies the *paksha* as *krishṇa* which is obviously a mistake for *śukla*. It is also likely that in the expression *Māghē krishṇa*, an *avagraha* is to be understood and the expression read as *Māghē=krishṇa*.

by Rēūka, the son of the goldsmith (*akṣbaśālin*) Pākōsa.

Rānaka Udayakhēdi, who issued the present grant, may be identified with his namesake who figures in the inscriptions of the Kadambas who owed allegiance to the imperial Gaṅgas of Kalinga. The Nirakarpur plates, referred to above, mention Udayakhēdi, the son of Ugrakhēdi and grandson of Dharmakhēdi, who is described as the offspring of Mahārattajadēva, who emigrated from Rāyavanarāyi, who owed allegiance to Dēvēndravarman, the son of Bhūpēndravarman, and who belonged to the Kadamba family, as the donor of the grant. The Parlākimēdi plates¹ refer to one Ugrakhēdi who is described as the ornament of Kadamba dynasty and as born in the family of Nidusanti. This Ugrakhēdi is stated to have been the governor of an area including a village called Hommaṇḍi or Hōmaṇḍi.² But in a later addition³ engraved on the second side of the third plate of the same Parlākimēdi pls., *Rānaka* Udayakhēdi, the son and successor of Ugrakhēdi figures as the donor of the village Vapavaḍā or Vapavāta. The Kambakāya grant of Dēvēndravarman, already referred to, refers to his Kadamba feudatory *Mabāmaṇḍalika* Udayāditya, the son of *Mabāmaṇḍalika* Dharmakhēdi.

On the basis of the identification of Vajrin in the Parlākimēdi plates with Vajrahasta, the father of Bhūpēndravarman and grandfather of Anantavarman Vajrahasta and his brother Dēvēndravarman, and Ugrakhēdi of the same grant with the Kadamba chief of the same name figuring in the Nirakarpur plates, it has been suggested that Udayakhēdi, son of Ugrakhēdi and grandson of Dharmakhēdi, was a contemporary perhaps of Bhūpēndravarman, his son Anantavarman Vajrahasta (of the Kalahandi plates, Gaṅga year 383)⁴ and the latter's brother Dēvēndravarman.⁵

It is possible to identify *Rānaka* Udayakhēdi of the present copper plate charter with his namesake figuring in the Nirakarpur plates. While in the Nirakarpur plates, Udayakhēdi is mentioned as belonging to Kadamba family, in the grant under review he is described as the *tilaka* on the forehead of the Gaṅga ruler who is, however, not named.

The grant village Kōlāda can be identified with the village of the same name situated at a distance of 12 kms north of Bhāñjanagar police station in Ganjam District. Mādhūpa-maṇḍala, in which the grant village was situated, and Hōnarēṅga-nagara whence the grant was issued cannot be identified. However, Hōnarēṅga finds mention as the gift village in the Tambūru plates⁶ of Umavarman of about the 6th century A.D.

1. Above, Vol. III, pp. 220 ff. and plate.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 319.

3. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 222.

4. Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 317 ff.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 319.

6. Above, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 337 ff. and plate.

TEXT¹[Metres : Verses 1-3 *Anushtubb*]*First Plate*

- 1 Siddham² [||*] Svasty=Amarapur-ānukariṇa[h*] sarvata(rtu)-sukha-ramaṇīyā [d*]
=vijayavatava-
- 2 hala³ -sudhā-dhavaḷa-prāsāda-mālād=adhiri(ṣṭhi)ta-vāra-vilāsini-lali-
- 3 ta-lāsyād=urddaṇḍa⁴ -paṇi(ṇḍi)ta-bhu(ku)l-ālamkṛita-śrī-Hōṇarēṅga-nagara-vāsakā-
- 4 t vipula-vikram=ōnnat-ānēka-bhūpāla-mauli-marīchi-rāñjita-
- 5 pāda-padma-yugala[h*] vimala-chitt-ārchchita-Chandramauli-charaṇa-kamala-
- 6 s=taraṇir=iv=āśeṣha-diṅ-mukha-vyāpita [pratāpaḥ*] sura-sarita(t)-kul-āmala-sakala-
- 7 mahārāja-tilakaḥ śrīmān-Udayakhēḍi-rāṇaka[h*] [ku]śalī [i*]na[h] Mādhūpa-ma-
- 8 ṇḍala-prativa(ba)ddha-Kōlāḍa-grāmē vā(brā)hmaṇa-purassaras=samasta-

Second Plate : First Side

- 9 sāmantaji⁵-pramukha-janapadān yathā-kāl-ādhyāyina[h*] vishayapati(tī)n=adhi-
- 10 kārīṇām's=cha ma⁶ karaṇān=anyā[na*]pi . chātṭa-bhaṭṭa-valabha⁷ -jāti(tī)yān
khaṇḍapāla-
- 11 daṇḍapāsi('si)k-ādīn samasa(sta)-rāja-pād-ōpajīvinām sa(ya)th-ārham mānayati
vi(bō)-

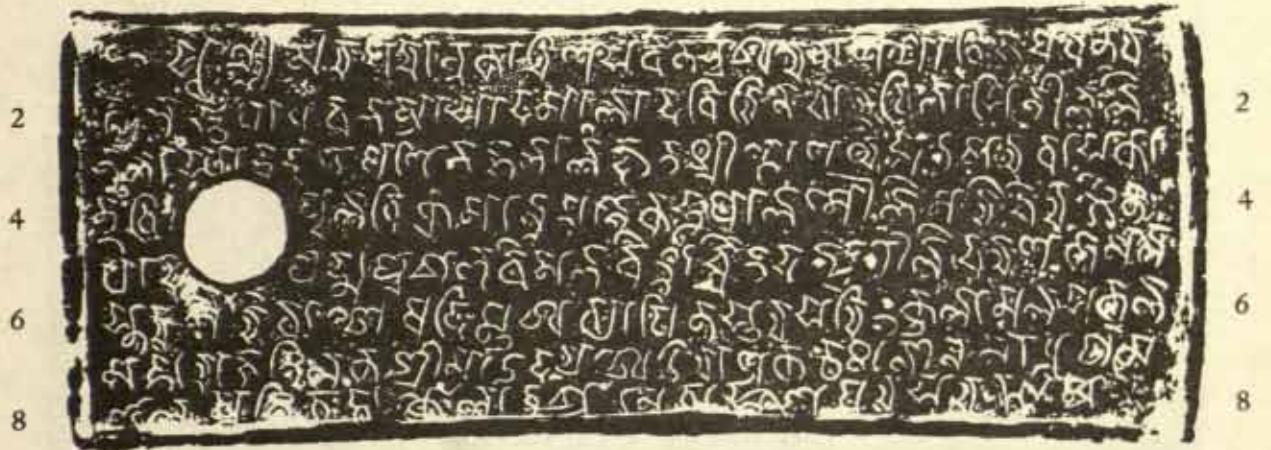
1. From impressions.

2. Expressed by a symbol.

3. Read=*vijaya-vadh-ūdvahana*.4. Read=*uddaṇḍa*.5. Better read *samant-śī*⁰6. The letter *ma* is superfluous.7. Read *chātṭa-bhaṭṭa-vallabha*⁰

DOORA PLATES OF UDAYAKHEDI

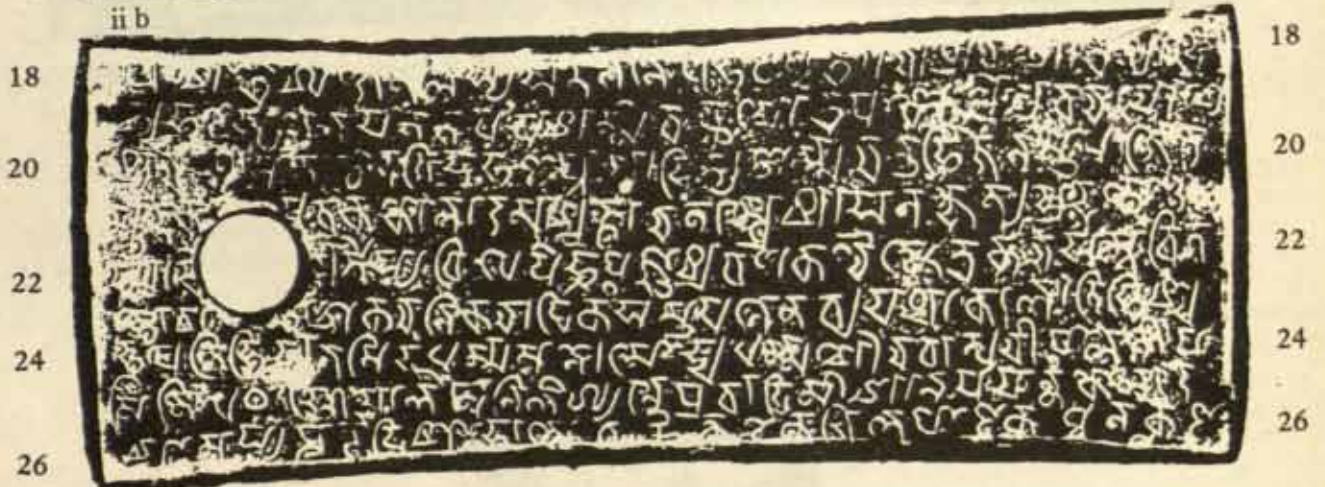
i



ii a



ii b



iii a

28
 30
 32
 34

36
 38
 40

28
 30
 32
 34

36
 38
 40

iii b

36
 38
 40

36
 38
 40

SCALE : THREE-FOURTHS

SEAL



(From Photograph)

- 12 dhayati samājñāpayati viditam=astu bhavatām Kōlāda-gāmōya¹ prasi-
- 13 ddha-chatu(tuh)-sīm-āvachchhinna-sa-jala-sathala-sarva-pīḍa-vā(bā)dha-vívarjita[h*]
achā-
- 14 ṭa-ta(bha)ṭa-pravēśyō chandr-ārkkā-sthiti-samakālah mātā-pitrōr=ātmana[h] pu-
- 15 nya-yaśō=bhivṛiddhasē(y=ē)ha ma(mā)sē Māghē kṛishṇa-pakshē² Āditya-vijaya-
sapta-
- 16 myā[m] Uttarāyaṇē Sāṅkh[y]a-gōtra.....charaṇāya
- 17 Yaju[r*]-vēda-Kanva-śākha³ 'Sukasya tanuj-āditya-bhaṭṭaputa⁴ Kāsya-

Second Plate : Second Side

- 18 pa-gōtra-Khaṇḍamalasya sa(su)ta-Nanēpa-bhaṭṭaputra⁵ Parāśara-gōtra-Ādi-
- 19 tya-bhaṭṭasya tanaya-Nanayapa-śarmma[ṇē*] Vachchha⁶ -gōtra-pañcharsha-pravara
-Yōgē-
- 20 śvarasya suta-vēda-vida(d)-bhaṭṭaputr-Āditya-śarmma[ṇē*] chaturbhi-janam=
uparjita⁷ -
- 21 m=udaka-pūrvaka[m*] Kōlādam=agrahāram tāmvrāśāsana(nī)kṛitya pradatt=ā
- 22 smābhi[h*] [l*] Yatō=sya-vidhēyibhūy=ājñā-śravaṇakarai[h*] kshētra-kara[h*]
samuchita-
- 23 bhōga-bhāga-kara-nikar-ādikaṁ samupanētavya[m] [l*] yathā-kāl-ādibhis=cha
- 24 bha(bhū)patibhir=dānam=idam dharmma-manōmōbhya⁸ dharmma-gauravāt=pati
(ri)pālanīya-

1. Read ⁰grāmō=yaṁ.

2. See n. 1 above, p. 62.

3. Read ⁰Kanva-śākha-ādhyāyīnē.

4. Read tanujāya Āditya-bhaṭṭaputrāya.

5. Read ⁰bhaṭṭaputrāya.

6. Read Vatsa⁰

7. Read chaturbhir=janat=uparjita.

8. Read dharmmam-anumōdya.

25 m=iti¹ sīmā-lingāni likhyantē [||*] P[ū]²rv-ādim=³īśāna-paryantam³ Kōlāḍa-

26 grāmasya pūrvva-diśā-bhāga vṛihat datachila-pāṭaka[h*] [dhū]na-kūṭa-

Third Plate : First Side

27 chila-pāṭaka[h*] pūrva-bhāgē Khula-kuṭika-pāshāna[h*] Varuṇa-maṇḍala Vṛihad=
Varuṇa-maṇḍa-

28 la-kaṭaka[h*] tasya Agni-diśā-bhāgē pāshāna[h*] tasy=aiva dakshina-diśā-bhāgē

29 vāpi(pī) uttara-[diśā-bhāgē*] Pāli Ujjvalū-khāṇḍi[h*] puna[h*] pāshāna-
kudaka [h*] Mahisha-maṇḍala-pāshāna-

30. mō . rūpi udaralamba-gatī vāpi(pī)-pāshāna[h*] nyagrōdha-pādapa-pāshāna[h*]

31 tasya nairitya-bhāgē pāshāna[h*] tasya cha paśchima-diśāyām prāsāda[h*] tasya
vā-

32 yavya(vyē) Chaṇḍa-taṭākī tasya uttara-diśāyā[m*] huli-pāshāna[h*] puna[h*]
pāshāna[h*] ē-

33. tasya grāmasya i(i)śāne(nē) matsya-chanpaka⁴ -kari[dha] -nudi⁵ panthā | iti ¹ ||
Bahubhi-

34 r=basudhā dattā rājā(ja)na(bhih) Sagar-ādibhī(bhih)[|*] yasya yasya yadā bhumis-tasya

35 sta(ta)sya tadā phalarṅ(lam) [|| 1*] Sva-dattā[m*]=para-datta(ttā)m=vā yatād=
raksha Yudhishtira [|*] ma-⁶

1. There are two punctuation marks after the letter *ti*, the first resembling the Nāgarī numerical figure 5 and the second resembling the numerical figure for zero, followed by two *daṇḍas*.

2. The *ū* sign is not clear and there are on both sides at the bottom of the letter one horizontal stroke.

3. Read *pūrvvādiśāna-paryantam*.

4. Read *chanpaka*.

5. *kari-dhanush-ādī sahitā*.

6. From *Bahubhi* in line 33 to this letter, the text is engraved in Telugu-Kannada characters.

Third Plate : Second Side

- 36 hi(hīm) mahimatā[m*] śrēshṭha dānātsrē(ch-chhrē)yā(yō)=nupālanam [2*||]
Sāmānyā(yō)=
- 37 yam dharmma-sētu[r*] narānā(nām) kalē kāl[ē] pālanīrvō(yō) bhava[d*]bhi[h*]
[l*] sa- [l*] sa-
- 38 rvvān=ētā[n*] bhāvina[h*] pāthivēndrā[n*] bhu(bhū)yō bhu(bhū)yō yāchatē
Rāmabhadra[h*]¹ [3*||]
- 39 A[ksha]śāli-Pākōsasya tanayēna Rēūkēna utkīrṇā(nṇā)
- 40 tāmvrā-patṭikā iti [||*]

1. These three imprecatory verses are replete with orthographical errors.

NO. 9—MĀNDHAL COPPER PLATE CHARTER OF PRAVARASĒNA II,

YEAR 16

(2 Plates)

Ajay Mitra Sbastri, Nagpur

Archaeological excavations at Māndhal, a small village situated at a distance of about seventy-five kms. to the south-east of Nagpur, in the Umred Tahsil of the Nagpur District, Maharashtra State, conducted by the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology of the Nagpur University in 1976-77 and 1977-78 have brought to surface important archaeological finds throwing welcome light on the early history and culture of the Vidarbha region. The antiquity and archaeological potential of the site attracted attention as a result of the explorations undertaken in the wake of information about the discovery of three ancient images by the Forest Department in the course of afforestation programme in July 1974. These sculptures representing Lakulīśa, Aṣṭamūrti and Sadāśiva forms of God Śiva are now deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur. The excavations undertaken subsequently with the object of ascertaining the cultural deposit and its nature yielded evidence of habitation dating back to the Sātavāhana and Vākāṭaka periods. The evidence for the Sātavāhana period is quite clear even though it is not as well represented as the Vākāṭaka period for which we have very rich data. The finds dating from the Vākāṭaka-Gupta period include remains of three brick temples, about a dozen sculptures of Hindu gods and goddesses, some of them quite unique in the entire range of early Indian plastic art, and a number of minor antiquities.¹ However, the most important from the point of view of a historian was the discovery of three copper-plate charters of the Vākāṭakas intact with their rings and seals. These plates, which were found in an earthen pot just below the surface at the mound locally known as Bhōlā Huḍkī, throw welcome light on the Vākāṭaka history and constitute nearly one-tenth of the Vākāṭaka epigraphs known to date.

One of these copper-plate inscriptions belongs to Pravarasēna II and two² to his grandson Prīthivīshēna II, both belonging to the main branch of the Vākāṭakas.

Pravarasēna II's charter³ comprises a set of five plates of copper of which the first and the last are engraved on the inner side only, while the remaining three plates bear writing on both sides. The plates measure approximately 12 cms. in height and 18 cms. in breadth. About the middle of the left margin of each plate there is a roughly circular hole through which passes a circular ring which is about .5 cm. thick and about 12.2x 11.5 cms in diameter and holds the plates together. Sliding on the ring is a circular seal of copper with a perforated handle on its back, through which the ring passes. The

1. For a brief account, see *Vidarbha Saṁśōdhana Maṇḍala Vārshika*, 1977, pp. 142-174.

2. [These two charters have also been edited by the same author and included in the present volume-Ed.]

3. This is No. A5 of *A.R.I.E.*, 1976-77.

seal has a diameter of 7.3 cms. and is .4 cm. thick. The edges of the plates are neither raised nor made thicker. Still the writing is excellently well preserved. On the surface of the seal is inscribed a four-line legend in the *Anushtubb* metre as on the seals attached to other known copper-plate charters of the Vākātakas. The total weight of the five plates is 2775 gms. and that of the ring and the seal 370 gms.

The record comprises forty-four lines of writing; the inscribed faces of the first and second plates and the second side of the third plate bear five lines each whereas six lines are incised on the remaining incised faces of the plates.

The characters, like those of the other records of Pravarasēna II, belong to the box-headed variety of the southern alphabet and do not call for any special observation. Still the following points may be noticed: the medial *ā* is usually attached to the top of the box, but in *satyā*, line 9, it is attached to the bottom of the box; that in *jā* and *jñā* it often takes a strong curve and its lower end often touches the left top of *j*, e.g., *jā* in line 14 and *jñā* in lines 22 and 24; in *bā* it is generally in the form of a horizontal stroke to right on top of the box; but sometimes it shows a downward stroke at its right end as elsewhere; see *bā* in *mabā*^o, line 4, and *mabārāja*, line 12. Medial *ī* is indicated by a couple of curved horns, that to the right covering the left one; but in *kī* in *kīrtna*, line 39, the left horn is not fully formed. Medial *au* is bipartite, as in *daubitra*, line 7, *śauryya*, line 9, *kautsa*, line 20. The angular stroke attached to the bottom of the vertical line of *k* is sometimes carried so high up as to almost join the left end of the cross-bar of the letter; see *Vākātaka*^o (second *kā*), line 3, *kārunya*, line 9, *kōśa*, line 11, *kātta*^o and *Vākātaka*^o, line 16, etc. *J* is formed differently at different places. Sometimes we notice a notch in its upper horizontal line; see lines 3, 5, 6, 10, 16, etc. At several places a small vertical downward stroke emanates from the right end of the upper horizontal line: see *rāja* in lines 3 and 5; *jala* in line 6; *ty-ārjjava* in line 9; *vijayitva* in line 10, etc. The subscript *ñ* is correctly formed in *jñā* in line 3 on the seal; but in *jñā* in line 24 it is imperfectly formed without the stroke on the right whereas in *jñā* in lines 22 and 25 and in *jñā* in line 25 it looks exactly like *jb*. There is practically no difference between the letters *ḍ* and *d*; see line 1. The subscript *dh*, line 2, is open in its upper part with the result that it looks like medial *ri*. *N* is invariably looped; but from the upper part of the loop often emanates a downward curve to the right as in *yājinaḥ*, line 2, *sūnōḥ*, line 4, *ktānān*, line 6, etc.; but in other cases the loop is attached on the left to the middle of the vertical line as in *Vākātakanām* and *Pravarasēnasya*, line 3, *dvabana*^o, line 5, *sūnō*^o, line 9, etc. As against this, *t* is always without a loop; but there seems to be a confusion when the two letters are joined with *t* intended as a subscript; see, for instance, *atyatna*, line 4; *santāna*, lines 11-12; or while writing *tt* as in *Taittiri*, line 20, *datna*, line 21, etc. and in writing *nn* as in *sannivēśita*, lines 4-5. The right limb of subscript *y* is sometimes carried so high as to be on a level with the upper part of the other letter; see *sēnasya*, line 3. The angular form of subscript *v* is met with only in *śvamēdba*, line 2, *svāmi*, line 4, *mābēsvara*^o, line 9; *Vvākātakanā*^o, line 12, *pūrvva*^o, lines 28 and 29, *vvidyā*, line 29, and *vvā*^o, line 41, whereas, in all other cases, it is highly cursive with its upper part open in most

cases where it looks like subscript *y*.¹ The sign of *jibvāmūlīya* is met with in line 35 and that of *upādhmānīya* in lines 15 and 35.

The language is Sanskrit, and, but for an imprecatory stanza in lines 41-42 and the verse on the seal, the inscription is in prose throughout. As for orthography, we may note the reduplication of the consonant following *r* which is quite common (e.g., *ptōryyāmō*, line 1; *mūrddbā*, line 6; *°rjjava*, line 9; *°sauryya*, line 10, etc.) and of that preceding it (e.g., *ggrāmō*, line 17) which is very rare. The consonant preceding *y* is also often reduplicated (e.g., *upāddbyāya*, line 21; *°ddbyaksba*, line 23). *V* following intended *anusvāra* is also sometimes reduplicated; see *sāvatsarika*, line 19, and *dattāvā*, line 41. It may be added that the draft of the record is full of errors.

The present record, like several other charters of the Vākātakas, begins with the word *drishṭam*, 'seen', followed by the auspicious word *svasti*. The charter was issued from Pravarapura from which the other grants of Pravarasēna II were also given. It belongs to the Vākātaka king Pravarasēna II who is described as the son of Rudrasēna II born of Prabhāvatīguptā, daughter of Mabārājādhirāja Dēvagupta, i.e., Chandragupta II. His family history from Pravarasēna I to his own time through Gautamīputra, Rudrasēna I, Prithivīshēna I and Rudrasēna II is given in the same manner as in some other records of his reign.

The object of the inscription is to register the grant of the village Mayasagrāma situated in the western division of the district of Bennātata by Pravarasēna II in favour of the brāhmaṇa Upādhyāya Mātrisvāmin, son of *apratigrāhaka* Upādhyāya,² who was an inhabitant of Bennātata and a student of the Taittirīya *śākhā* of the black *Yajurveda* and belonged to the Kautsa *gōtra*. The grant is stated to have been made in the first part of the night (*pradōsba*)³ in the month of Kārttika in the sixteenth year, obviously of Pravarasēna II's reign. The order in respect of the grant was given by the king himself and it was expected to be communicated to the soldiers (*bhaṭas*) and policemen, (*chbbātras*) under the *kulaputras* appointed by the *Sarvādbyaksba*. The grant was accompanied by the privileges and exemptions usually attached to the villages of the brāhmaṇas learned in the four Vēdas (i.e., Brāhmaṇa villages) such as exemption from the payment of taxes, entry of soldiers and policemen, customary obligation to provide cows and bulls, flowers, milk, grass, hides as seats and charcoal and dues on account of the digging for salt and the purchase of fermenting liquors and all kinds of forced labour and right to hidden treasures and deposits and major and

1. The cursive form appears in the Chammak plates of Pravarasēna II which were issued only a year later. *CII*, Vol. IV, pp. 22 ff. and plate VI.

2. The name of the donee's father has been left out by oversight, *apratigrāhaka*, i.e., 'non-acceptor of donations', being only a descriptive epithet. We learn from the Mēndhal grant of Prithivīshēna II's second regnal year that his real name was Drōṇasvāmin.

3. *Pradōsha* means the first part of the night, evening. Monier Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 680. cf. Kālidāsa, *Kumārasambhava*, sarga, 5, v. 44, *vada pradōshē vnikōṇatārakā vlbhāvarī yady-aruvāya, kalpatā*.

minor taxes. The grant was, as usual, made for the increase of the merit, life, strength, victory and prosperity of the king himself, but one-third of the merit accruing from the grant is said to have been intended for Ājñākabhāṭṭārikā, who is described as the mother of one Narindarāja (Narēndrarāja). The inscription was written when Chitravarman held the office of *sēnāpati*.¹ At the end, the date of the record is given as the 10th day of the dark fortnight of the month of Kārttika in the 17th year, evidently of the reign of the donor.

The four-line inscription on the seal, which is met with on the seals affixed to other charters of Pravarasēna II also, gives no information of historical interest.²

It will be noticed that the inscription has two dates, one in connection with the donation (Kārttika in the sixteenth year) and the other in connection with the writing of the record (Kārttika kṛishna 10, seventeenth year,), though the details of the first date have been omitted. The first date evidently refers to the date when the grant was made while the second one gives us the date of the execution of the charter. Now, as the grant was made in the month of Kārttika in the 16th year and the charter was written and issued in the same month in the following year, it will be seen that there was an interval of nearly one full year between the two events. This phenomenon is not unusual and is noticed in some other records also.

These dates are of some interest for the history of the main branch of the Vākātakas. Both the Bēlōra charters of Pravarasēna II, dated in the eleventh year of his reign, like the Jamb plates of his second regnal year,³ were issued from Nandivardhana.⁴ The Chammak grant of the eighteenth year was, on the other hand, given from Pravarapura.⁵ It is, therefore, held that Pravarasēna II shifted his capital from Nandivardhana to Pravarapura sometime between the eleventh and eighteenth years of his reign. The present inscription antedates this even by a couple of years. In the light of the evidence afforded by our record we can now suggest that the capital of the main branch of the Vākātakas was shifted from Nandivardhana to Pravarapura sometime in or prior to the sixteenth but after the eleventh year of the reign of Pravarasēna II.

As stated above, a part of the merit from the grant was intended to accrue to Ājñākabhāṭṭārikā, mother of Narēndrarāja. These two personages cannot be identified in the present state of inadequate information. However, that they belonged to royalty is apparent from the words *bhāṭṭārikā* and *rāja* attached to their names. But whether

1. Chitravarman served as *sēnāpati* under Pravarasēna II from his 13th regnal year to his 18th regnal year and the present charter, coming in between the two periods, dated in his 17th regnal year, corroborates this [Ed.].

2. On the present seal the last word is intended to be *ripu-sāsnaḥ* whereas on other seals we have *ripu-sāsanaḥ*.

3. *CII.*, Vol. V, pp. 10-15.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-21.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-27.

Narēndrarāja is to be identified with Pravarasēna II's son and successor Narēndrasēna, who may have been acting as a crown prince during the period in question, is something that cannot be determined. But if the question is to be answered in the positive, the inscription would provide us the name of his mother and Pravarasēna II's chief queen. However, the manner of their mention does not lend support to such a conjecture. For, had Ājñākabhattārikā been the chief queen, she would not have been referred to simply as mother of Narēndrarāja. Had the two been so closely related to the reigning king, the drafter could not have afforded to omit a specific reference to their relationship. Moreover, if they occupied such a high position in the kingdom, it is inconceivable that the king thought of relegating only one-third of the religious merit to one of them. It appears, therefore, that Ājñākabhattārikā was the person at whose request the grant was made though her exact identity cannot be ascertained at present.¹

As for the localities mentioned in our record, Pravaraपुरा, the place of issue, is generally identified with Paunar on the bank of the river Dham in the Wardha District, Maharashtra. Bennātata, in whose western division the donated village was situated, is apparently identical with Bennākata mentioned in the Tirōdi plates of Pravarasēna II.² The use of the word *tata* in place of *kata*, which shows their synonymity, is interesting linguistically. Bennātata, obviously, denoted the territory on the banks of the river Venā or Wainganga.³ It is noteworthy in this connection that one of the charters of Prithivishēna II found at Māṇḍhal was issued from Bennātata-sthāna which was obviously the headquarters of the administrative division called Bennātata.⁴ We can infer from the nomenclature 'western division' (*aparapatta*) that the area comprised in the district of Bennātata was divided into two parts, Eastern (*Pūrva*) and Western (*Apara*), the river Wainganga forming the dividing line. It may be mentioned here that the village donated by Pravarasēna II through his Tirōdi plates was also situated in the western division of Bennākata. The donated village, Mayasagrāma, cannot be identified definitely. But in all probability, it represents modern Māṇḍhal, the provenance of the record.

1. For similar other instances, see D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphy*, Delhi, 1965, pp. 114 ff.

2. *CIL*, Vol. V, p. 50, text-line 13.

3. Bennākārpara-bhōga, mentioned in the Sivani plates of Pravarasēna II (*ibid.*, p. 30, text-lines 17-18), was another administrative division named after the Wainganga. Varāhamihira mentions Venātata (*Bṛihatsamhitā*, iv 26) on the banks of the Wainganga as a source of diamonds (*ibid.*, LXXIX. 6). See Ajay Mitra Shastri, *India as seen in the Bṛihatsamhitā of Varāhamihira*, pp. 63, 325.

4. *Vidarbha Samśōdhana Maṇḍala Vārshika*, 1977, p. 170, text-line 1.

TEXT¹*First Plate*

- 1 Drishṭa² svasti [||*] Pravarapurād=agnishōm-āptōryām-ōkthya-shōḍaśy-atirātra-
vāja-
- 2 pēya-brihaspatisava-sādyaskra-chatur-āsṣvamēdha-yājinaḥ³ Vishṇuvṛiddha-
- 3 sagōtrasya pa(sa)mrāt⁴ Vākātakānā[m*] mahārāja-śrī-Pravarasēnasya
- 4 sūnōs=sūnōh atyatna(nta)-Svāmi-Mahābhairava-bhē(bhai)rava-bhaktasya
a(am)sam(sa)-bhārasannivi-
- 5 viśita⁵gi(śi)va-lingā(ng-ō)dvaḥana-sīva-suparitya(tu)shta-samutpādita-rājavamśānā-

Second Plate : First Side

- 6 m=parākrama(m-ā)dhigata-Bhāgi(gī)rathy-asa(ma)la-jala-mūrddh-ābhishikta(ktā)
nān=daśāśvamē-
- 7 dh-āvabhṛitha-snātānām=Bhārasīvanām=mahārāja-śrī(śrī)-Bhavanāga-dauhitrasya
- 8 Gō(Gau)tamīputrasya putrasya Vākātakānām mahārāja-śrī(śrī)-Rudrasē-
- 9 nasya sūnōr=atyatta(nta)-māhēśvarasya saty-[ā]rjjava-kārūnya-śauryya-vikrama-na-
- 10 ya-vinaya-ma(mā)hā tmya-dhīmatva(trva)-pātra-gata-bhaktitva- dharmma-vijayi-
tva-manō-nairmma-

Second Plate : Second Side

- 11 ly-[ā] di-guṇō(ṇa)⁶ -samupētasya-varsha-śātam= abhivarddhamāna-kōśa-daṇḍa-
sādhana-sa-

1. From the original plates and impressions.

2. Read *Drishṭam* [||*]

3. Here as well as in many subsequent places, *undhi* has not been observed.

4. Read *smrājō*

5. Read ^o*sannivēśita*.

6. In other Vākātaka charters, the expression generally met with is *gunaih*. (see *CII.*, Vol. V, p. 12, 1.12; *ibid.*, p. 18, 1.8 etc.)

- 12 tnā(ntā)na-putra-pautra(tri)tō (ṅō) Yudhishthira-ya(vri)ttēr=Vvāka(kā)takānā [m*]
mahārāja-śrī-Pri(Pri)thivī[se](shē)-
- 13 ¹ nasya sūnōr=bbhagavataś=Chakrapāṇa(ṅē) [h=pra*] sād-ōpārjita-śrī-samuda-
yasya
- 14 Vākātakānā [m*] mahārāja-śrī-Rudrasa(sē)nasya sūnō [h*] mahārājādhira-
- 15 ja-śrī-Dēvagupta-sutāyām=Prabhāvati(tī)guptāyām=utpannasya śāmbhāḥ²=pra-

Third Plate : First Side

- 16 sāda-dhriti(ta)-kāṭṭa³yugasya Vākātakānām=paramamāhēśvara-mahārāja-śrī-
- 17 Pravarasēnasya vachanā [t*] Bēnnātata(tē) apara-pattē Mmayasagrāmō
- 18 tnā(nā)ma grāma [h*] pu(pū)rvva-sthita-si(sī)ma-parigrahēṇa
- 19 shōdashama-sāvatsarika⁴-Kārttika-pradādhō⁵
- 20 Bēnnātata-vāstavya-Taitni(tti)rika-Kautsa-sagōtra⁶ apratigrāpa(ha)ka-
- 21 Upādhyāya-putra-Upādhyāya-Mātrivāminē datna(tta) [h*]

Third Plate : Second Side

- 22 atra cha dha [r*] mma-tri-bhāgaḥ Narinda(rēndra)rā [ja*] -jananyā Ājñāka-bha-
- 23 ṭṭārikāyā [h*] yatō=smat-sanna(nta)kaḥ(kāḥ) savya(rvā)ddhyā(ddhya)ksha-niyōgaḥ
(ga)-
- 24 niyutnō⁷ ajñā-sañchāri-kulaputr-ādḥikritā [h*] bhaṭā-
- 25 ś=chhātrās=cha vipu(śru)ta=pūrvvay=ājñay=ājñāpayitavyā [h*] viditam=astu

1. The numerical figure 2 is engraved before the letter *na*, in order to indicate the number of the plate [Ed.].

2. Read *Śambhōḥ*.

3. Read *kārtta*.

4. Read *shōdashamē sāvatsarikē*.

5. Read [*Pradōshē* - Ed., See f. n. above].

6. *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

7. Read *niyuktā* [h*]

ii b

12 12

14 14

iii a

16 16

18 18

20 20

26 vaḥ yath-ēh-āsmābhir=ātmanō dharmm=āyur-bya(ba)la-vijayi(y-ai)śya(śva)ryya-

Fourth Plate : First Side

- 27 vivriḍḍhayē ih=āpu(mu)tra-hit-ārttham=ātm-ānugrahāya vaijē(ja) {yi*}
 28 kē dharmma-sthānē mu(a)pūrvva-da[t*] tyā udaka-pūrvvam=atisriṣṭa[h*]
 29 Uchitām* ś=ch=asya. pūrvva-rāj-ānumatāncha (ñ-chā)turvīdyā-grāma-maryyā-
 30 dān=vitarāmas=tad=yathā a-karadāyi (yī) abhaṭa-chchha(chchhā)tra-prāvēśya [h*]
 31 a-pārampara-gō-balivardda[h*] a-pushpa-kshīra-[sa]mūdōha[h*] a-cha(chā)r-ā-
 32 sana-charmm-āngārah a-lavaṇa-klinna-klē(krē)ni(ni)-khanaka[h*] sarvya-va
 (vi)śṭi-

Fourth Plate: Second Side

- 33 pariḥāra-parihṛitaḥ sa-nidhi[h*] s-ōpanidhi[h*] sa-kli(klṛi)pt-ōpakli(klṛi)pta[h*]
 34 ā-chandr-āditya-kāli(lī)yaḥ putra-pautr-ānugāmikaḥ bhuñjātā (tō) nā kēna-
 35 chid=vyāghātāh=kartavyaḥ savva-krayābhissarakshitavyaḥ¹=parivarddha-
 36 yitavyaś=cha² yaś=ch=āsmachchha(ch=chhā)sa(sa)nam=agaṇayamānaḥ (sva-)
 lpām=apī [pa*] ri-
 37 bādḥā[m*] kuryyāt=kārayita vā tasya brāhmaṇai[r*]=vēditasya: sa-daṇḍa-
 nigraha[m*]
 38 kuryyāma[h*]|| Asmi[m*]ś=cha dharmmādara kiranē³ atīt-ānēka-rāja-

1 Read sarvva-kryābhiss-sannakshitavyaḥ

2 There is a *visarga* - like punctuation mark here.

3 Read dharmm-ādara-karaṇē or dharmm-ādḥikaraṇē as in other Vākātaka plates.

Fifth Plate

- 39 datta-sahittyana¹ -paripālana[m*] kṛita-puṇy-ānukīrtna(tta)na-parihār-
 40 ttha [n *]ki(kī)rttayāmah[|*] Vyāsa-gītas=ch-ātra ślōka[h*] pramāni(nī)karttavayah[*]
 41 Sva-dattām=para-dattā[m*] vva(vā) yōrēdyōvai² yasundharām³[|*] gavā[m*] śata-
 sa-
 42 hasrasya hantur=harati dushkatah⁴ [| 1 ||*] svayam=ājñāpta⁵
 43 likhitah(m) Sēnāpati⁶ Chitravarmmaṇi savvatsarē⁷saptadaśame
 44 Kārttika-māsa-bahula-paksha-dasa(śa)myā[m*] *

Seal

- 1 Vākātaka-lama(lā)masya
 2 kkra(kra)ma-prāpta-nṛipa-śriya[h*]
 3 rājña[h*] Pravarasēnasya
 4 śāsana[m*] ripu-śāsana[m*] °

1 Read - *sāñchintana* -

2 Read *yō harēta*.

3 Read *vasundharām*.

4 Read *dushkṛitam*. The metre of this verse is *Anuṣṭubh*.

5 Read *svayam =ājñapti| |* |*.

6 Read *sēnāpatav*.

7 Read *savvatsarē*.

8 There is an arrow like mark on the right side of the letter *myā*, probably standing for a punctuation mark.

9 The metre of this verse is *Anuṣṭubh*.

34
 36
 38

34
 36
 38

40
 42
 44

40
 42
 44

SCALE : THREE-FOURTHS

SEAL



NO. 10 – TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM DĀRĀŚURAM AND THE DATES OF
THREE CHŌLA KINGS

(1 Plate)

N. Setburaman, Kumbakonam

The village Dārāśuram is situated about four kilometres west of Kumbakōṇam. The Airāvātēśvara temple of this village is a protected monument maintained by the Madras Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India. This is a gigantic all-stone *Vimāna* temple built by *Parakēśarivarmaṇ* Rājarāja-Chōla II (1146-73 A.D.).¹ The earliest inscription² in this temple is dated in the 21st year of Rājarāja II corresponding to 1166-67 A.D. Evidently the temple came into existence prior to that date. In this inscription the diety is called Rājarājisvaramudaiyār after the builder of the temple, Rājarāja II. The record refers to the temple groves situated in the *vilāgam* (colony) in *Rājarājan-tiruppati* and to those lying east and west of *Rājarāja-vilāgam*. The treasury *Rājarājan-karuvūlagam* and the garden (*tirunandavanam*) *Chōlēndrasiṅgaṇ*, so named after the surname of Rājarāja II, are also mentioned. From the other Chōla records³ we come to know that the village itself was then called Rājarājapuram after the name of Rājarāja II.

The great Tamil Poet Ottakkūtṭar lived during the reigns of three Chōla kings, namely Vikrama-Chōla (1118-35 A.D.), Kulōttuṅga-Chōla II (1133-50 A.D.) and Rājarāja-Chōla II. In his poem *Takkayāgapparaṇi*, Ottakkūtṭar states that the temple *Rājarājisvaram* was built by Rājarāja II.⁴ The poet also describes the township of Rājarājapuram.⁵ The hero of the poem is Lord Rājarāja-Īsvaramudaiyār.⁶ In the poem the poet praises the fame and glory of Rājarāja (II).⁷

1 *A.R.Ep.*, 1926-27, p. 82, para. 25

2 17/1908. (This and all other similar references are from the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*. The figures to the right of the oblique refer to the year of the *Report* and the figures to the left refer to the serial number given to the concerned inscription in that *Report*). The record (17/1908) is important in another respect. It states that in the beginning of the 21st year of Rājarāja (i.e., in July, 1166 A.D.), the officer Araiyan Niṅṅa Vāṅgi Āḍuvār *alias* Pottappi-Chōlaṅ, the chief of Kaḷaṅivāyil, situated in Mīlājai-kūṟṟam, a sub-division of Rājarāja-Ppāṇḍi-nāḍu, requested the king to award some grants. It is evident from this that as late as in July, 1166 A.D., when the Pāṇḍyan civil war was at its zenith, the Chōlas were still holding their control in the areas east of Madurai. Later, in 1170 A.D., the Chōla chieftains in the Pāṇḍya country were driven out by the Ceylon army. This will be clear from a reference to the initial state of the Pāṇḍyan civil war as narrated in Rājādhirāja II's Ārppākkam record (20/1899), year 5 (*S.I.I.*, Vol. VI, No. 456).

3 266/1927 and 433/1924.

4 *Takkayāgapparaṇi*, verse 772.

5 *Ibid.*, verses 17 and 18.

6 *Ibid.*, verse 778.

7 *Ibid.*, verses 549, 772 to 777, 803, 807 and 812.

Rājarāja II had the surname *Rājagambhīra* and this is evident from many of his inscriptions¹ and also from the poem *Takkayāgapparaṇi*.² Fittingly the label *Rājagambhīraṅ-tirumaṇḍapam* is found on a few pillars³ of the *maṇḍapa* in the Airāvatēśvara temple thus showing its existence from the time of Rājarāja II.

And inscription⁴ of this temple, dated in the 8th year of Kulōttuṅga III (1178-1218 A.D.) refers to the palace *Rājarājaṅ-tirumāligai*. In this inscription the deity is mentioned as Rājarāja-Īśvaramudaiyār.

In the 14th century, when the Chōlas were no more, the Chōla kingdom was under the sway of the later Pāndyas some of whose records are available in this temple. A record⁵ in the 3rd year of Māravarmaṅ Vīra-Pāndya (acc. 1334 A.D.) mentions the deity of the temple as Rājarāja-Īśvaramudaiya-Nāyaṅār in the village Rārāpuram. A record⁶ in the 4th year of Māravarmaṅ Śrīvallabha mentions the name of the deity as Irārāśuramudaiya-Nāyaṅār in the village Irārāśuram. A Vijayanagara record,⁷ dated in 1486 A.D., states that the temple is situated in Irārāśuram. Thus, in course of time, while Rājarāpuram took the corrupt form Rārāpuram, Rājarāja-Īśvaram got changed into Irārāśuram which, in turn, became further corrupted into Dārāśuram by which name the village is known today. Airāvatēśvara, the present name of the deity, is not found in the inscriptions. Probably this name came into existence in the 18th century.

In the beginning of the 19th century Col. Mackenzie visited this temple and collected a few records found on the walls of the *prākāras*. His collections were eye-copies. Later, in 1908, some of the inscriptions of this temple were copied by the Office of the Chief Epigraphist. I compared the collections of Mackenzie and the reports of 1908 with the actual inscriptions engraved on the wall. There are some mistakes and mixing up of the records in the collections of Mackenzie.⁸ The records which Mackenzie mixed up are available on the wall but parts of them are buried under the ground. This prompted me to suspect that some more records could also be found at the bottom of the wall below the ground level. I had discussions on these points with Shri K.G. Krishnan, the then Chief Epigraphist who evinced keen interest in the matter.

In April 1979, Dr. C.R. Srinivasan of the Office of the Chief Epigraphist, accompanied by Mr. Chandu Nair, the Copyist, visited this temple. I was also present on that

1 440/1912; 45/1914; 128/1929; 146/1938 and 4/1946.

2 *Takkayāgapparaṇi*, verse 774.

3 *A.R.Ep.*, 1926-27 p. 82, para. 25 read with 256/1927.

4 20/1908.

5 21/1908; N. Sethuraman: *The Imperial Pandyas - Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology*, p. 201.

6 23/1908; The Palaeography corresponds to the middle of the 14th century. Probably this Māravarman Śrīvallabha was the king who came to the throne in 1351 A.D. See, *A.R.Ep.*, 1939-40 to 1942-43, p. 245.

7 22/1908

8 *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 560, record No. 567. I am quoting Mackenzie because his great work helps us in finding the missing records as well as new ones.

occasion. After a careful survey we found the record which Col. Mackenzie had mixed up with the record of Rājarāja II. The former belongs to Kulōttuṅga III and it states that Kulōttuṅga cut off the head of the Pāṇḍya of the lunar race. The latter is record No. 17/1908. The discovery prompted us to search for some more records. An excavation was conducted in front of the east wall of the first *prākāra*, left of entrance. A trench, approximately 7 metres long, 2 meters wide and 2 meters deep, was dug. Our expectations were amply fulfilled. The sub-joined inscriptions A and B were found at the bottom of the wall, below the ground level. With great difficulty the inscriptions were copied.

The records are in Tamil language and the script is also Tamil with a sprinkling of Grantha letters. The palaeography of the records corresponds to that of late 12th century. The writing is damaged in several places. However, from the available portions much can be made out. As regards orthographic features the two records have much in common. The letters are bold. Quite often a loop is engraved on the top left side of letters like *ka*, *ku*, *ra*, etc., probably for the sake of ornamentation. At any rate the writings are uniform in style and character.

At the outset let us discuss some words of lexical interest occurring in the records. The expressions *kōyil-kaṇakku-kāṇi* (line 5 of A and lines 4 and 5 of B), *ūr-kaṇakkaṇ* (line 2 of B), *ūr-kaṇakku-kāṇi* (line 5 of B) and *sempādi-kāṇi* (line 8 of A and lines 2 and 5 of B) occurring in the records are of technical nature. *Kāṇi* means right of possession or enjoyment of lands granted for a purpose. When the beneficiary was allowed to enjoy half the income from those lands, the grant was called *sempādi-kāṇi*.

Kōyil-kaṇakku means 'temple account'. *Kōyil-kaṇakkaṇ* means 'temple accountant'. Certain specified lands belonging to the temple would be granted to him for his livelihood and such a grant (*kāṇi*) was called *kōyil-kaṇakku-kāṇi*. *Sempādi-kāṇi* in *kōyil-kaṇakku-kāṇi* means that the temple accountant could enjoy half the income from the grant and the rest should be remitted to the temple.

Ūr-kaṇakku means 'village account'. *Ūr-kaṇakkaṇ* means 'village accountant'. He would be granted some lands (*kāṇi*) for his livelihood. Such a grant was called *ūr-kaṇakku-kāṇi*. *Sempādi-kāṇi* in *ūr-kaṇakku-kāṇi* means that the village accountant would enjoy half the income from the lands granted to him and the rest should be remitted into the Government Treasury.

Record A¹ is in nine lines, each of which is approximately 5.3 meters in length. It is dated in the fourth year of the Chōla king *Tribhuvanachakravarti Rājakeśarivarman Rājādhirājadēva* (II). The first three lines contain the king's usual Tamil *prasasti* beginning with *Kaḍal-śūṇḍa-pārmādarum*, etc. The *prasasti* is damaged in many places. However, there is no difficulty in reconstructing the same since the available portions

1. This is the continuation of 18/1908 whose first few lines were copied in 1908. The rest came to light during the excavation in April, 1979.

are clear. The object of the record is to confirm the grants mentioned in lines 3 to 9 which unfortunately are very much damaged. In spite of the serious damages we can extract something out of the available portions.

It is said that the record is the royal letter received in accordance with the oral order made by the king Rājādhirājadēva, in his fourth year. It is further said that the order was made at the request of Pallavarāyar (line 7). The request was to confirm the grants made to the beneficiaries Āḷudaiyāṅ and the temple accountant. It is stipulated that Āḷudaiyāṅ.... should conduct *kudamañṇai* (?) before Lord.... Naṭarāja (line 5, *kūttāḍum perumāṅ muṅ kudamañṇai eḷundarulivikka*...). Probably he was awarded some grants for this purpose, but the relevant portion is damaged and we cannot know the exact nature of the grants. The *'sempādi-kāṇi* in *kōyil-kaṇakku-kāṇi*, for the purpose of keeping the temple account, was also to be granted to the temple accountant in whose name the *kāṇi* (grant) stood. Accordingly the *'sempādi-kāṇi* in *kōyil-kaṇakku-kāṇi* was granted to the temple accountant and it was communicated to the temple authorities. It was also ordered that the grants were to be enjoyed by the beneficiaries and their descendants (line 8, *taṅgalukkun-taṅgal vargattārkum*). The royal deed was written by the royal secretary (*tirumandira ḍalai*) Rājēndraśiṅga-Mūvēnda-vēḷāṅ. The signatories were Nuḷambādirājar, Vayirāgarājar, Chittrarājar, Chēdirājar and Pallavarājar. The record ends by stating that it was engraved on the four hundred and fifty [third] day of the fourth regnal year.

The entire transaction amounts to this. Āḷudaiyāṅ should conduct some service before the image of Lord Naṭarāja. Probably he received as remuneration some grants the nature of which is not known. The temple accountant was enjoying some lands of the temple since he was looking after the temple accounts. It was ordered that he may enjoy half the income from those lands and the rest should be paid to the temple. The above grants were to be enjoyed by the beneficiaries and their descendants. The grants were confirmed by the king at the request of Pallavarāyar.

Since the record is much damaged it is not possible to know the name of the temple in which Āḷudaiyāṅ and the accountant were serving. Probably it was the same Dārāśuram temple where the record is found.

Record B is engraved just below record A. It is in seven lines, each of which is approximately 6.2 metres in length. It is a royal letter (line 1, *'srī-tirumugam*) dated in the [four] hundred and forty third day of the fifth year in the reign of *Tribhuvaṇa-chakravartī Kōṇēriṅmaikoṇḍāṅ*. The object of the record is to confirm the following *'sempādi-kāṇi* grants awarded to Āṅṅurūḍaiya Kūttāṅ (line 1):

- 1 *'Sempādi-kāṇi* in *ūr-kaṇakku-kāṇi* was granted to Āṅṅurūḍaiya Kūttāṅ (the village accountant) for maintaining the accounts of the village Rājarāja-chaturvēdimaṅ-galam situated in a district whose name is lost (line 2).

- 2 *Śempādi-kāni* in *kōyil-kanakku-kāni* (line 4) for maintaining the accounts of the (six) *Pallippadai* (temples, viz.) Rājagambhira-Īśvaramudaiyār temple, Bhuvanamuḷudum-Īśvaramudaiyār temple, Tribhuvanamuḷududai-Īśvaramudaiyār temple, Ēḷuagamulududai-Īśvaramudaiyār temple, Ulagudai-Mukkōkkilānadi-Īśvaramudaiyār temple, and..... Īśvaramudaiyār temple the full name of which is lost (lines 2 and 3). It is said that these temples are situated in the same district in which Rājarāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam is situated (line 2, *innāttu*).

In accordance with the oral order made by the king in the beginning of the fifth year, the grants were confirmed and the order was sent for making necessary entries in the registers. Accordingly, in the *ūr-kanakku-kāni* of the village Rājarāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam and in the *kōyil-kanakku-kāni* of the *pallippadai* temples (lines 5, *pallippadai-kkōyilgaḷil kōyil-kanakku-kāniyilum*), the grants were entered as *śempādi-kāni* in favour of the beneficiary. It is said that in each of the first five temples, an inscription confirming the grant of *śempādi-kāni* in *kōyil-kanakku-kāni* in favour of the beneficiary was also engraved (line 3, *...kōyililum kalvetṭi*). The royal letter was written by the royal secretary Rājendraśiṅga-Mūvēndavēḷāṅ. The signatories were Maḷavarājar, Śiṅgalarājar, Vayirāgarājar, Chēdirājar, Chittrarājar and Rājēndrachōḷa-Kaḷappālarājar. The record ends by stating that the royal order was engraved on the wall on the four hundred and sixty third day of the fifth year.

The sequence of the above transaction is as follows: It is a royal letter issued on the 443rd day of the 5th year of *Tribbuvanaḥbakraḥvartin Kōnērinmaikoṇḍāṅ* confirming the oral order made in the beginning of the fifth year (line 4, *aṅṅjāvadu mudal*). Ārrūrudaiya Kūtṭaṅ was the accountant of the village Rājarāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. He was also the accountant of the six *pallippadai* temples mentioned above. He was awarded *śempādi-kāni* grants as follows:

- 1 Ārrūrudaiya Kūtṭaṅ was maintaining the accounts of the village Rājarāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. He was granted lands for this purpose. He was to enjoy half the income from the lands (and the rest should be paid into the Government Treasury).
- 2 The same individual was also the accountant of six *pallippadai* temples and he was granted lands belonging to those temples for maintaining their accounts. He was to enjoy half the income from the lands (and the rest should be paid to the temples).
- 3 The record states (line 3) that in each of the first five *pallippadai* temples, an inscription confirming the grant of *śempādi-kāni* in *kōyil-kanakku-kāni* in favour of Ārrūrudaiya Kūtṭaṅ, was engraved.
- 4 The order was engraved on the temple wall (of the Dārāśuram temple) on the 463rd day of the 5th year.

Record B is important in several respects. It refers to the existence of six *pallippadai* temples in the same locality. One and the same accountant was looking after the accounts of all these temples. A *pallippadai* temple is a sepulchral temple raised over the mortal remains of a deceased person, usually of royal extraction. Sepulchral temples are known to have been built over the mortal remains of such Chōja kings like Āditya I (871-908 A.D.), Ariñjaya-Chōla (954-60 A.D.), Pañchavan-Mādēvi (who died in 1019 A.D.), one of the queens of Rājendra I (1012-43 A.D.) and Vikrama-Chōla (1118-35 A.D.). Except the last one the others have been identified as extant at Tondaimān, Ārrūr, Mēlpādi and Paṭṭisvaram respectively.¹

Rājagambhira was the surname of Rājarāja II. The Pallippadai-Rājagambhira-Īsvaramudaiyār temple was evidently a sepulchral temple built over his mortal remains. The other four *pallippadai* temples stood in the name of his four queens Bhuvanamuḷudum-Udaiyāl, Tribhuvanamuḷudum-Udaiyāl, Ēlulagamuḷudum-Udaiyāl, and Ulagudail Mukkōkkilānādi. The names of these four queens are found in Rājarāja II's Tamil *praśastis* which begin with "Pūmaruviya-tirumādum" or "Pūmaruviya-polilēlum", etc.² Unfortunately the name of the sixth *pallippadai* temple is lost.

The record states that these six *pallippadai* temples were situated in the same district in which Rājarāja-chaturvēdimāngalam was situated. The name of the district is lost. Since the record is engraved on the wall of the Dārāśuram temple we may not be far wrong if we search for the district in and around that area. Two records, which come from Dārāśuram and Kāñchīpuram and belong to Kulōttuṅga III, state that Ūrrukkādu *alias* Rājarāja-chaturvēdimāngalam was situated in Āvūr-kūrāram, sub-division of Nittavinōda-vaḷanādu. The village Āvūr is about six Kilometers south of Dārāśuram. The village Ūrrukkādu exists even to-day and it is about six kilometers west of Āvūr. Near Ūrrukkādu there is a hamlet called Chaturvēdimāngalam. In the circumstances we can safely surmise that the six *pallippadai* temples were probably situated in the district Nittavinōda-vaḷanādu comprising the southern areas of the Kumbakonam and Papanasam Taluks. As on to-day the six *pallippadai* temples are not indentified. A careful exploration of the southern areas of the Kumbakonam and Papanasam Taluks may reveal their existence at least in the form of ruins if not as full structures.

The king *Kōneriṅmaikondān* of Record B, in whose fifth year the *pallippadai* temple of Rājagambhira-Īsvaramudaiyār and the *pallippadai* temples raised over the

1 *A.R.Ep.*, 1926-27, pp. 76-78. A record which comes from Chidambaram belongs to Kōpperuñjīga (1243-79 A.D.) and it refers to Pallippadai-Vikramasōlanallūr (*S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 710, lines 4-5).

2 *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, Nos. 220, 226 and 285; 369/1911; *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 226, line 18 refers to the grant made by Ulagamuḷudum-Udaiyāl. In his poem *Rājarājasōlan Uḷā* the poet Oṭṭakkūttar mentions Bhuvanamuḷudum-Udaiyāl. Probably she was the Chief queen. Also refer to *The Colas* by Sastri, 1975, p. 351.

3 Dārāśuram, 20/1908, Kulōttuṅga III, year 8, day 64 : (lines 3-4 - *Nittavinōda-vaḷanā[ttu] kūrāratu..... kāḍāna Rājarāja-chaturvēdimāngalam*). Kāñchīpuram, 558/1919, Kulōttuṅga III, year 18 : *Ūrrukkādu alias Rājarāja-chaturvēdimāngalam in Āvūr-kūrāram*, a sub-division of Nittavinōda-vaḷanādu. Also see, Āvūr, 81/1911, Rājendra III, year 3; Pāpanasam, 468/1922, Kulōttuṅga III, year 21.

mortal remains of the queens of Rājarāja are referred to, needs to be identified. This much is definite that *Kōnēriṇmaikoṇḍāṇ* was a later king and he ruled after Rājarāja II. In order to properly identify *Kōnēriṇmaikoṇḍāṇ* we must know, as exactly as possible, the dates of Rājarāja II, and his successors Rājādhirāja II and Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III.

Kielhorn surmised¹ that Rājarāja II came to the throne between the 6th of April and the 11th of July, 1146 A.D. The interval is 96 days. Kielhorn did his calculations on the basis of the then available materials. We can reduce the interval considerably with the help of later discoveries of inscriptions. To do this, however, we should have the correct concept of 'regnal year'. Earlier scholars thought that a regnal year contained 365 days as in the case of a solar or calendar year. On this basis they calculated the accession dates of the kings. Later discoveries of inscriptions reveal that a South Indian Hindu king counted his regnal year on the basis of his accession star.² This was the ancient Hindu calendar system. We shall apply this system in finding the accession dates of the above Chōla kings.

A record³ which comes from Tirumāndurai is dated in the 15th year of Rājarāja II. The other details of date given therein are the month Mithuna, 'su. 11, the star Svāti and Monday. The data agree with 5th June, 1161 A.D. Accordingly the star Svāti in Mithuna of 1146 A.D. falls in the 0th regnal year. The star was current on 20th June of that year.

A record⁴ which comes from Tiruvalāṅjuḷi is dated in the 17th year of Rājarāja II. The other details of date are the month Karkātaka, ba. 12, the star Punarvasu and Wednesday. The data agree with 11th July, 1162 A.D. Accordingly the star Punarvasu in Karkātaka of 1146 A.D. falls in the first regnal year. The star was current on 9th July of that year.

20th June, 1146 A.D. = 0th regnal year

9th July, 1146 A.D. = 1st regnal year

This means that Rājarāja II came to the throne between the 21st of June and the 9th of July, 1146 A.D.

The upper limit of Rājarāja II's reign is under dispute. Different scholars have surmised differently. Some surmised⁵ that Rājarāja II ruled upto 1163 A.D. Some

1. Above, Vol. IX, p. 219.

2. "The Regnal Year" by N. Sethuraman, Vol. V, *Journal of the Epigraphical Society of India*, p. 105; *A.R. Ep.*, 1947-48, page 3.

3. 234/1927.

4. *S.I.I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 226; Kielhorn: Above, Vol. VIII, p. 263.

5. Sadasiva Pandarathar: *Pṛkālā Chōlārgal* (published by Annamalai University), p. 122.

others surmised¹ that he died in 1164-65 A.D. Sastri surmised² that Rājarāja II ruled upto 1173 A.D. Let us re-examine here the issue of the last date of Rājarāja II. The records which belong to the closing years of Rājarāja's reign are tabulated below:

*Records of Rājarāja II
(Closing years)*

Table I

Record No.	Village	Regnal year	A.D.
Pd. 137	Poṅ-Amarāvati	19	1165
411/1909	Siddhalingamadam	19	1165
86/1928	Tiruppugalūr	19	Ist Feb., 1165
151/1926	Tiruviḷakkuḍi	19	1165
S.I.I., Vol. IV, 1050	Drākshārāma	20	1166
132/1917	Penumūli	20	1166
S.I.I., Vol. IV, 1051	Drākshārāma	20	1166
17/1908	Dārāśuram	21	1167
708/1920	Kollūru	21	1167
N.D.I., 0/59	Koṇḍamañchalūru	21	1167
CP. 23/1916-17	Kandūru Copper Plates ³	21	1169
		Śaka 1091	
695/1920	Pedakoṇḍūru	24	1170
704/1920	Kollūru	26	1172
123/1912	Tiruvorriyūr	27	1172-73
191/1899	Koṇidena	28	} July 1173 } or later
S.I.I., Vol. VI, 626		} Śaka 1095	

The above are definitely the records of Rājarāja II as evidenced by either the title or the *praśasti* found in them, or because of other internal evidences. It is generally believed that records of the closing years of Rājarāja's reign are not found in Tamil Nadu.⁴ It is not so. The following records belong to Rājarāja II and they introduce the king as *Tiribhuvanachakravarti* Rājarājadēva. Their astronomical data agree with the accession year of Rājarāja II only:

1 Above, Vol. XXII, p. 86, foot note 5.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 228 and *The Cōlas*, p. 354.

3 Above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 225-47.

4 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 228.

*Records of Rājarāja II from Tamil Nadu
(Last years)*

Table II

Record No.	Village	Regnal year and Data	Date
434/1921	Tiruveṅṅainallūr	19, Tulā, śu. 8, Avittam, Sunday	25th October, 1164 A.D.
195/1908	Kōyilūr ¹	20, Makara, śu. 7, Aśvati, Monday	10th January, 1164 A.D. (The king was sick)
304/1921	Araśarkōyil	21, Simha, śu. Hastā, Monday	1st August, 1166 A.D.
196/1908	Kōyilūr	21, Kumbha	February, A.D.
213/1928-29	Tiruvāduturai	22, Dhanus, ba.7, Pūram, Monday	4th December, 1167 A.D.
121/1940-41	Tiruviḷambudūr	24, Karkaṭaka 4, Sunday	29th June, 1169 A.D.
495/1904	Vēdāraṇyam ²	27, Makara, ba. 15, Pushya, Monday	1st January 1173 A.D.
389/1939-40	Uyyakkonḍān- Tirumalai	27, Rishabha, ba. 11, Rēvatī, Wednesday	9th May, 1173 A.D.

- 1 *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 128. Jacobi assigns 195/1908 to Rājarāja III (acc. 1216 A.D.) and equates the data to 5th January, 1237 A.D. after correcting the regnal year 20 to 21. This is wrong. The regnal year reads *trīśodāśvatu* (Twentieth) in words. The record belongs to Rājarāja II and it is datable to 10th January, 1166 A.D. It states that an image of a goddess was consecrated for the health of the king. Probably the king was sick in January, 1166 A.D. and, in the circumstances, he hastened to crown Rājādhirāja II in June/July, 1166 A.D. as we shall see later. 196/1908 confirms the grants made for the worship and services of the images of the goddess consecrated for the health of the king as stated in 195/1908. Compare 195/1908 with 136/1932 of Rājarāja III, year 20, Makara, Aśvati, Wednesday. See the difference in the week days.
2. 495/1904 is published in *S.I.L.*, Vol. XVII, No. 537. Either the doubtfully restored portion ba. 15 should be śu. 15, since Pushya in Makara is quoted, or ba. 15 is a mistake for śu. 15. Such a mistake is also found in *S.I.L.*, Vol. VIII, No. 243. See, Kielhorn, above, Vol. VIII, p. 271. But the date suggested by Kielhorn for 495/1904 is not convincing since he corrected the regnal year 27 as 21, equated the details of date to 12th January, 1237 A.D. and assigned the record to Rājarāja III. See also Sewell, above, Vol. X, p. 135. No. 291/1907 belongs to Rājarāja III. The details of date, year 27, Makara, śu. 15, Pushya and Wednesday correspond to 7th January, 1243 A.D. The same name of the king, the same details of date but different week-days clearly show that 495/1904 belongs to Rājarāja II.

Tables I and II confirm that Rājarāja II's record written in his closing years are available not only in Andhra but also in Tamil Nadu. We can find some more¹ provided the texts of all the known records of the Chōlas are published in full. Rājarāja II was alive in July, 1173 A.D. We shall now try to fix his last date. Rājarāja II had a trusted Chief Minister whose full name was Kulattulāṅ Tiruchchirrambalamuḍaiyāṅ *alias* Perumāṅ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar, and he was a native of Kārikai-Kulattūr in Śirukunṅra-nāḍu, a sub-division of Āmūr-kōṭṭam in Jayankondaśōla-mandalam. In the 10th year of Rājarāja's reign this Chief Minister built a temple at Kulattūr.² The deity of that temple was called Rājarājeśvaram-Uḍaiyār in honour of his master Rājarāja II. Even to-day the temple exists at Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai near Māyavaram in Tanjore District. Perumāṅ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar protected the children of Rājarāja at a time of stress.³ He played a leading role in the campaigns of the Chōlas against the Pāṇḍyas and the Ceylonese army during the initial stages of the Pāṇḍyan civil war⁴ (1170-72 A.D.). In his poem *Takkayāgapparaṇi* the poet Oṭṭakkūttar praises Perumāṅ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar.⁵ When Rājarāja II was sick⁶ it was Perumāṅ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar who advised the former to crown Rājādhira (II) as heir-apparent.

Rājādhira II came to the throne in June, 1166 A.D. as we shall see later. A record⁷ which comes from Pallavarāyanpēṭṭai belongs to Rājādhira II's 8th regnal year which ended in June, 1174 A.D. The record states that Rājarāja II died first and later his Chief Minister Perumāṅ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar died. It is, therefore, evident that in June, 1174 A.D., Rājarāja II and his Chief Minister were both no more.

A record⁸ which comes from Tiruvalaṅjūli is in the eighth regnal year of Rājādhira II and its date falls on 6th August, 1173 A.D. The record refers to the gift of a lamp made by Jayadhara-Pallavarāyar, a relative or staff of Perumāṅ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar. The record gives the full name and the attributes of Perumāṅ-Nambi. It is evident that Perumāṅ-Nambi was alive in August, 1173 A.D.

1. The Tiruppāburam inscription (No. 90/1911) belongs to the 22nd year of Rājarāja II and it mentions the village as Tiruppāburam. The same name appears in Kulōttuṅga III's 23rd and 27th years (86 and 85/1911). But in the 28th year of Kulōttuṅga the village is called Tiruppāburam *alias* Kulōttuṅga-Chōlachaturvēdimāṅgalam in the name of Kulōttuṅga III (91/1911). In certain records Kulōttuṅga III refers to the transactions done in the 19th, 20th and 23rd year of Rājarāja II's reign (229/1917, 278/1927 and 372/1919).
2. 427 and 434/1924. Incidentally, Ejavānāsūr, 163/1906, Rājarāja II, year 13, refers to a hall called *Pallavarāyan* in the Āyirattali palace.
3. 433/1924.
4. 20/1899 and 433/1924.
5. *Takkayāgapparaṇi*, verse 236.
6. 433/1924 to be read with foot note No. 1 in p. 85 above.
7. 433/1924. Text is published in above Vol. XXI, No. 31.
8. 627/1902. *S.I.L.*, Vol. VIII, No. 227, lines 9 to 11 imply that Perumāṅ-Nambi was alive in August, 1173 A.D. (for the date see Table V below).

To sum up, Rājarāja II was alive in July, 1173 A.D. His Chief Minister Perumāṅ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar was alive in August, 1173 A.D. Both were no more in June, 1174 A.D. Rājarāja II died first. Later his Chief Minister died. Thus we can surmise that Rājarāja II died in the third quarter of 1173 A.D. and Perumāṅ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar died, say, early in 1174 A.D.

Record B refers to the grants made to the accountant of Pallippadai-Rājagambhira-Īṣvaramudaiyār temple. It is evident that the temple came into existence at the end of 1173 A.D. or early in 1174 A.D. Probably, prior to his own death, in honour of his deceased master, Perumāṅ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar built this temple. This is a reasonable guess even though we have no direct evidence. The truth can be found provided the said temple is identified.

The dates of Rājādhirāja II are still under dispute.¹ Kielhorn surmised² that Rājādhirāja II ascended the throne on some day approximately between the 28th February and the 30th March, 1163 A.D. He consulted the following inscriptions and suggested the equivalent dates:

Dates of Rājādhirāja II suggested by Kielhorn

Table III

Kielhorn's Number	Inscription	Regnal year	Dates suggested by Kielhorn
145	538/1904	2	30th March, 1164 A.D.
146	627/1902	8	10th August, 1170 A.D.
147	540/1904	10	27th February, 1173 A.D.
148	394/1902	11	15th August, 1173 A.D.
149	222/1904	13	8th July, 1181 A.D.

The last one is irregular. It yielded the date 8th July, 1181 A.D. which falls in the 19th year, if March, 1163 A.D. is considered as the commencement year of his reign. But the inscription itself states that it belongs to the 13th year. Something is wrong somewhere. In the foot note Kielhorn observed³ that either the regnal year or the solar day as mentioned in the inscription was wrong. This inscription is irregular and it cannot be relied upon. Kielhorn, therefore, relied on the other four inscriptions only.

In 1906 enough source materials were not available; but research work had revealed that Rājādhirāja II reigned as king in between Rājarāja II and Kulōttuṅga III. In the circumstances Kielhorn made compromising calculations and arrived at the above

1 Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 271.

2 Kielhorn, *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 211-13.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 213, foot note 1.

conclusion. However, during his life-time Kielhorn did not publish these calculations. His calculations were published after his demise. This is a vital piece of information which we must remember. He had himself observed as follows:—

A) "I am also keeping back a number of dates of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla II and Rājādhirāja II, because I am not fully convinced of the correctness of my general results. The discovery of additional dates of these kings is highly to be desired and would be of considerable importance".¹ He said this in 1906.

Kielhorn was no more in 1907. In his notes, prepared in 1906, he left certain observations. They were published in 1908. His observations are reproduced below :

B) "Five of these dates (Nos. 145-49) belong to king Rājādhirāja II *Rājakēśari-varmaṇ*, of whom no dates have yet been published, and whose reign these dates with great probability show to have commenced² between (approximately) the 28th February and the 30th March, A.D. 1163".

C) "The first four dates work out regularly on the assumption³ that this king commenced to reign between (approximately) the 28th February and the 30th March, A.D. 1163".

D) "From the materials available, I therefore infer⁴ that Rājādhirāja *Rājakēśari-varmaṇ* i.e., Rājādhirāja II commenced to reign between (approximately) the 28th February and the 30th March, A.D. 1163".

Kielhorn made his surmise in 1906 and it was based on *approximation, probability* and *assumption*. He did not publish his surmise. On the other hand, Kielhorn readily conceded that he was not convinced of the correctness of his general results obtained for the dates of Rājādhirāja II. He kept these dates under reserve. He anticipated that new discoveries will help revise his calculations. Unfortunately he was no more in 1907. Had he lived longer he would himself have certainly revised his surmise. Till date, Kielhorn's calculations are religiously followed inspite of his caution and warning.

Later discoveries of inscriptions did not agree with the initial year March, 1163 A.D. Scholars tried to overcome the problem by correcting at random the regnal years or the astronomical data of the records on the assumption that the records were wrong

1 Kielhorn, *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 261, para 1.

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 207 in continuation from page 274 of *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 211.

4 *Ibid.*, p. 213.

in quoting the relevant data.¹ But nothing could be done in the case of those records which quoted Cyclic or Śaka years and which indicated that the accession took place in 1166 A.D. Scholars explained away this anomaly by stating that two sets of dates are found in the inscriptions, one counting some date in March, 1163 A.D. as the initial year and the other counting some date in the middle of 1166 A.D. as the starting point.² It was surmised that Rājādhirāja II was installed as heir-apparent in March, 1163 A.D. and on the fourth annual asterism of his installation i.e., in the middle of 1166 A.D. he was anointed king. Scholars came to this conclusion by filling up certain gaps (in which, however, there is not enough room for the letters suggested by them) in the much damaged Pallavarāyaṅpēṭṭai record³ of Rājādhirāja II. I studied the inscription *in situ*.⁴ I found that the Pallavarāyaṅpēṭṭai record does not state that Rājādhirāja II was anointed on the fourth annual asterism of his installation.

Lines 11 and 12 of the record are damaged. The available portion states that Rājārāja II followed the precedence and crowned Rājādhirāja (*muṅṅāḷilē kāriyam irundapadi* i.e., in accordance with the practice of the earlier days). The precedence in question was the accession of Kulōttuṅga I (1070-1122 A.D.), son of Ammaṅgā, the sister of Vīra-Rājendra (1063-70). It means that Rājārāja II crowned his sister's son Rājādhirāja. Again the record states that Rājādhirāja was crowned in "...*ti nālām tirunakshattiram*" (line 12). It means that he was crowned at the age of [1?] 4. *Tirunakshattiram* means 'age' and this is evident from line 7 of the Pallavarāyaṅpēṭṭai record and also from the record of the Ceylon king Vijayabāhu.⁵ Line 11 of the Pallavarāyaṅpēṭṭai record states that Rājādhirāja was one of the *pillais* (boys i.e., princes) brought from Gaṅgaikōṇḍachōlapuram. The proper age for a *pillai* (boy or prince) to ascend the throne is fourteen. On this basis I surmised that Rājādhirāja ascended the throne at the age of [1] 4. However it may be, the record merely informs us of the age of

1 There are many cases. See, for example, *above*, Vol. X, p. 127; Vol. XI, p. 123; *A.R.Ep.*, 1914, p. 59; 1918, p. 110; 1921-22, p. 84; 1926-27, p. 62; and 1927-28, p. 45.

2 *Above*, Vol. XXII, p. 86 and Vol. XXXI, p. 271.

3 433/1924. This is discussed in *above*, Vol. XXI, pp. 184-93 and Vol. XXXI, pp. 223-28.

4 I have discussed it in detail in my books "Aruḷudaich Chōla Maṅḍalam" (Tamil) and "The Chōlas-Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology".

5 *S.I.I.*, Vol. IV, 1396. The record equates the 55th regnal year to the age 73 of Vijayabāhu.

Rājādhirāja II at the time of his anointment and does not convey two initial dates¹ for him. So Rājādhirāja II's regnal years are to be counted from only one date which needs to be fixed.

I had elsewhere² surmised that Rājādhirāja II came to the throne between the 5th and the 8th January, 1166. When I did further research, I was convinced that my previous calculations needed revision for the following reasons:

- 1 In making my previous calculations, I had consulted L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai's *Indian Epibemeris*, Volume I, part 1. While doing so I had committed some mistakes. Later I consulted L.D. Swamikkannu Pillai's *Indian Epibemeris* ready reckoner and rectified those mistakes.
- 2 I had relied on the Tiruppāchchūr inscription (134/1930). Later I found that this is an unreliable record.³

I, therefore, visited various temples, read the inscriptions at the respective sites, and consulted many impressions in the Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Mysore. Shri K. G. Krishnan, the then Chief Epigraphist helped me in deciphering the symbols for regnal years in some of the 12th century records. The regnal years in certain records of Rājādhirāja II are engraved in elliptic circles. I deciphered them also with the help of Shri K.G. Krishnan. In the result I found that Rājādhirāja II came to the throne six months later in June/July, 1166 and not January, 1166 as had been surmised by me earlier. In the light of these observations let us reexamine the dates of the records of Rājādhirāja II.

1 Incidentally, above, Vol. XXXI, p. 271 cites the Puṅgaṅūr record (209/1932) of Rājādhirāja. The record quotes the regnal year in a peculiar manner as *padinālavādāna paṅṅirandāvadu*. Scholars interpreted this as the 12th year which is the same as the 14th year and surmised that the 14th year, counted from March, 1163, is the same as the 12th year counted from the middle of 1166. It is not so. The 14th year counted from March, 1163 ends in March, 1177 which does not fall in the middle of 1177; the beginning of the 12th year is counted from the middle of 1166. Further there are no two initial dates for Rājādhirāja I. I surmised that Rājādhirāja came to the throne in 1166. The regnal year in the Puṅgaṅūr record is to be understood as 12th past 14th i.e., 26th year corresponding to 1192. Probably Rājādhirāja, who retired to Āndhra in 1181, came to the Puṅgaṅūr area to help Kulōttuṅga III in the latter's campaign against the Telugu-Chōḍas. This surmise is based on Kulōttuṅga's Rāmagiri record (*S.I.I.*, Vol. XVII, No. 688, year 15, corresponding to 1192-93 A.D.). In this record Kulōttuṅga adopts the titles *Vīra-Rākshasa*, *Kāñchīpura-paramēśvara* and *Vīra-Nulamba*. Perhaps he adopted these titles after defeating the Telugu-Chōḍa chieftain *Bhujabalavīra-Nallasiddhamādēva Chōḷa-Mahārāja* who, in the Kannaḍa record (483/1906) dated 1192 A.D. boasts of having collected tributes from Kāñchīpuram.

2 *The Chōḷas-Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology*, 1977, p. 111.

3 This inscription quotes Saka 1095 and regnal year 9 which do not agree with the dates of his other records (See, above, Table V).

Rājādhirāja ruled in Tamil Nadu upto his 15th regnal year as we shall show below. In his 15th year he retired to Āndhra, lived there for a long time and died in 1215. Some of his Āndhra records contain Śaka years and they are tabulated below:

Rājādhirāja II – Andhra records

Table IV

S.I.I. IV	Regnal Year	Śaka Year	A.D.
1074	16
1223	28	1115	1193-94
1331	28	1116	1194-95
1332	29	1117	1195-96
1218	30	1118	1196-97
1002	31	1119	1197-98
1279	35	1123	1201-02
1257	40	1127	1205-06
1117	46	1134	1212-13
1118	47	1134	1212-13
1330	49	1137	1215-16

1 According to Nos. 1223 and 1331, the 28th year falls both in Śaka 1115 and Śaka 1116. Therefore Śaka 1088 = 1st year and Śaka 1088 also = 0th year. It means that his accession took place some time in the middle of Śaka 1088.

2 As per Nos. 1117 and 1118 the regnal year 46 changed over to 47 in Śaka year 1134. Similarly, the 0th regnal year in Śaka 1088. It further means that the king ascended the throne sometime in the middle of Śaka 1088.

Śaka 1088 covers the period from 25th March, 1166 A.D. to 24th March, 1167 A.D. Rājādhirāja II ascended the throne on some day between these two dates. This is also confirmed by his Nandalūr record¹ of regnal year 12, Cyclic year Hēmalamba, Makara, śu. 1, star Avittam, Saturday which regularly correspond to 21st January, 1178 A.D.

12th year = 21.1.1178

0th year = 21.1.1166

1st year = 21.1.1167

1 571/1907; above, Vol. X, p. 127. Sewell suggested correcting the regnal year 12 as 15. This is not convincing. Also see S.I.I., Vol. XXII, No. 571. The report equates the 12th year to 1175 and equates the data which contain the cyclic year to 21st January, 1178. The 12th year also must be equated only to 1178.

So Rājādhirāja II came to the throne prior to 21st January, 1167 A.D. In other words his accession date falls between the 25th March, 1166 A.D. and the 21st January, 1167 A.D.

The Nandalūr record provides the vital clue in relation to his Andhra records. The regnal year in the Nandalūr record is 12 only. Robert Sewell suggested correcting the regnal year 12 to 15. Had Sewell proceeded on the basis of the quoted regnal year 12, instead of correcting it as 15, he would have correctly arrived at the accession year as 1166 A.D. Why did he suggest the correction? Sewell relied on Kielhorn's surmise of 1163 A.D. as the accession year of Rājādhirāja II. Jacobi too relied on Kielhorn's surmise.¹

As a result everybody accepted 1163 A.D. as the accession date of Rājādhirāja. But, when certain records did not agree with 1163 A.D., scholars suggested correcting the regnal years and the data in those records. These corrections are not at all required. The details of date of Rājādhirāja's records are in agreement with the middle of 1166 A.D. as the starting point for his reign. I furnish below 31 records of Rājādhirāja in which the details of date show such agreement:

Records of Rājādhirāja II

Table V²

Record No.	Village	Regnal year and details of Date	A.D.
1 538/1904	Tiruvārūr	2, Mēhsa, śu. 6, Punarvasu, Monday	15th April, 1168
2 241/1927	Kōṭṭaiyūr	3, Rishaba, śu. 5, Pushya, Saturday	3rd May, 1169
3 421/1912	Valuvūr	5, Karkāṭaka, śu. 13, Saturday	27th June, 1170
4 19/1913	Ādutturai	5, Tulā 15, Viśākhā, Monday	12th October, 1170
3 69/1931	Pandanallūr	5, Tulā, śu. 9, Aviṭṭam, Monday	19th October, 1170
5 607/1902	Munniyūr	6, Dhanus, śu. 5, Śravaṇa, Thursday	2nd December, 1171

1 Above, Vol. XI, p. 123; 172/1908.

2 The table contains the records consulted by Kielhorn. The data of those records agree with the initial year 1166 A.D. The table proves that there are no two initial dates for Rājādhirāja II. Corrections in the dates of the records are not required. In the above table I have not included records in which the details of date given are either irregular or imperfect.

Table V — contd.

Record No.	Village	Regnal year and details of Date	A.D. Date
7 172/1908	Tirunaraiyūr ¹	6, Mīna, 'su. 6, Rōhīnī, Thursday	2nd March, 1172
8 224/1917	Korukkai	6, Mithuna, 'su. 3, Punarvasu, Saturday	17th May, 1172
9 311/1921	Tirukkōyilūr	7, Kaṇṇi 25, Svāti, Thursday	21st September, 1172
10 627/1902	Tiruvalaṅṅulī	8, Simha, ba. 12, Punarvasu, Monday	6th August, 1173
11 158/1932	Tiruppurambiyam ²	8, Viṛchika 24, 'su. Bharāṇi, Monday	19th November, 1173
12 122/1928	Ayyampēttai	8, Dhanus, ba. 12, Viśakhā, Monday	3rd December, 1173
13 343/1921	Tirukkōyilūr	8, Māsi 26, Pūram, Monday	18th February, 1174
14 619/1902	Tiruvalaṅṅulī	9, Kumbha, 'su. 9, Rōhīnī, Saturday	1st February, 1175
15. 403/1896	Tiruvorriyūr	9, Paṅguṇi, 'su. 11, Āyilyam, Wednesday	5th March, 1175
16 340/1921	Tirukkōyilūr	10, Simha, 'su. 1, Pūram, Monday	18th August, 1175
17 134/1936	Terukkāḍu	10, Viṛchika, 'su. 2, Mūla, Monday	17th November, 1175
18 251/1951	Tirukkuvalai	10, Makara, 'su. 12, Rōhīnī, Friday	26th December, 1175
19 540/1904	Tiruvārūr	10, Mīna, 'su. 13, Maghā, Tuesday	24th February, 1176
20 394/1902	Tirunallār	11, Simha, 'su. 5, Svāti, Wednesday	11th August, 1176
21 428/1912	Valuvūr	12, Simha, ba. 8, Rōhīnī, Thursday	18th August, 1177
22 603/1963	Tiruvāymūr	12, Makara, ba. 11, Mūlam, Monday	16th January, 1178

1 See foot note 1 in p. 92 above.

2 The *Report* states that the regnal year in 158/1932 is Ten in words. I visited the temple and verified the inscription. The regnal year is eight and it is in words.

Table V — *concl'd.*

Record No.	Village	Regnal year and details of Date	A.D.
23 571/1907	Nandalūr	12, Hēmalamba Makara, śu. 1, Aviṭṭam, Saturday	21st January, 1178
24 132/19127	Āttūr	12, Kumbha, śu. 13, Pūśam, Thursday	2nd February, 1178
25 451/1912	Kōṭṭūr	13, Karkaṭaka, śu. 7, Svāti, Saturday	22nd July, 1178
26 80/1913	Tiruchcheṅ-gāṭṭaṅkudī	13, Simha, ba. 9, Wednesday	9th August, 1178
27 389/1921	Tiruvadi ¹	13, Viṛchika 20, Śravapa, Thursday	16th November, 1178
28 133/1927	Āttūr	13, Makara, ba. 10, Viśākhā, Thursday	4th January, 1179
29 537/1921	Nidūr	14, Viṛchika, śu. 13, Aśvati, Tuesday	13th November, 1179
30 188/1925	Kidāraṅkondān ²	14, Dhanus, śu. 15, Ārdra, Thursday	15th December, 1179
31 11/1925	Pallavarāyaṅ-pēṭṭai	15, Mithuna, ba. 10, Aśvati, Monday	8th June, 1181

The above table reveals that Rājādhiraṅga II ascended the throne sometime in the middle of 1166 A.D. On the basis of record No. 11/1925, Aśvati in Mithuna of 1181 A.D. falls in the 15th year. Accordingly Aśvati in Mithuna of 1166 A.D. falls in the 0th year. The star was current on 23rd June, 1166 A.D.

On the basis of 451/1912, Svāti in Karkaṭaka of 1178 A.D. falls in the 13th year. Accordingly Svāti in Karkaṭaka of 1166 A.D. falls in the first year. The star was current on 6th July, 1166 A.D.

23rd June, 1166 = 0th year

6th July, 1166 = 1st year

1 The *Report* states that the regnal year in 389/1921 is [16]. I verified the inscription on the temple wall. The regnal year reads [1]3.

2 The reading is śukla pañchadaśī and not śukla pañchamī as reported in 188/1925. I studied the inscription at the site.

Therefore, *Rājakēśarivarman* Rājādhirāja-Chōla II came to the throne between 24th June and 6th July, 1166 A.D. His Pallavarāyanpēttai record is in his 15th year and it belongs to 1181 A.D. His 16th year record appears in Āndhra. It is evident that Rājādhirāja II ruled for 14 full years. In his 15th year i.e., after June, 1181 A.D. he retired to Āndhra where he lived upto 1215 A.D.

Parakēśarivarman Kulōttuṅga III came to the throne¹ in July, 1178 A.D. His records² are available upto year 40. His rule extended upto 1218 A.D. The accession and the termination dates of Rājarāja II, Rājādhirāja II and Kulōttuṅga III are tabulated below:

Table VI

King	Accession (A.D.)	Last year (A.D.)
Rājarāja II	June-July, 1146	July, 1173
Rājādhirāja II	June-July, 1166	Upto June 1181 in Tamil Nadu; From 1182 to 1215 in Andhra
Kulōttuṅga III	July, 1178	1218

The above table reveals that Rājādhirāja II crowned Kulōttuṅga in 1178 and that both ruled jointly for three years.

The Pallavarāyanpēttai record (433/1924) of Rājādhirāja II is in his eighth year corresponding to 1174 A.D. The record states the circumstances under which Rājādhirāja became the Chōla king. In some places the record is damaged. Earlier scholars filled up the gaps and interpreted the record.³ But their interpretations do not agree with the dates of the three Chōla kings. When I studied the inscription at the site I found that the earlier scholars filled up the gaps with certain letters for which there was not enough room in the gaps. So I came to the conclusion that the earlier inter-

1 Kielhorn, Above, Vol. IX, p. 220.

2 Kulōttuṅga's records 489/1912, 273/1914 and 162/1926 are in year forty.

3 Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 184-93; and, *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 223-28.

pretations needed revision. I applied the dates of the three kings and interpreted the record without prejudice to these dates. I surmised as follows:¹

- 1 The Chōla family faced certain dangers in the sixth and seventh decades of the 12th century. The Chief Minister Perumāṅ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar held the two sons of Rājarāja II under his protection in the well-guarded Rājarājapuram palace. At that time the sons were one and two years old.² This happened a few years before 1166 A.D.
- 2 Pallavarāyar removed the dangers. This may have taken a few years. When everything settled down and peace returned, Rājarāja II was pleased to be present in the Rājarājapuram palace. Probably he was sick at that time and hence wanted to appoint his heir-apparent. Since his sons were mere young boys not fit for anointment, Rājarāja II consulted his Chief Minister Perumāṅ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar who advised the king to follow the precedence set up in the earlier days.

The accession of Kulōttuṅga I (1070-1122 A.D.) was the precedence available to Rājarāja II. Vīra-Rājendra ruled from 1063 to 1070 A.D. In 1070 he fell sick.

1 The approach in the interpretation of 433/1924 is important. Venkatasubba Ayyar considered (Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 184-93) that 1163 A.D. was the accession date of Rājādhirāja II. He filled up three gaps and surmised that Rājarāja II was no more in 1163 A.D. But records of Rājarāja II prove that he lived upto 1173 A.D. So Ayyar said that those records were probably issued in the name of the dead king Rājarāja II. But the editor had then observed that the resulting confusion could possibly be cleared by future discoveries (see, *Ibid.*, p. 186, foot note 1, and p. 185, foot note 4). Ayyar settled the last year of Rājarāja II as 1163 A.D. by filling up the gaps of the damaged record. On the other hand, Nilakanta Sastri conceded the historical relevance of the post - 1163 A.D. inscriptions of Rājarāja II, running upto 1173 A.D. But he assumed two initial dates for Rājādhirāja II, namely his installation in 1163 A.D. and his anointment in 1166 A.D. He too filled up the gaps in 433/1924 and arrived at a different conjecture that, just as Kulōttuṅga II was not the actual son of Vikrama-Chōla but was only an adopted one, so also Rājādhirāja, an otherwise unknown prince, was an adopted son of Rājarāja II. Lithic records, copper plate inscriptions and Tamil poems lead to the conclusion that Kulōttuṅga II was the actual son of Vikrama-Chōla and hence, Sastri's surmise, based on his own filling up of the gaps in 433/1924, is not free from doubt. There is no harm in attempting to restore lost letters and phrases of damaged inscriptions provided such attempts do not set at naught the purport and intent of cognate inscriptions. If care is not adopted while making such attempts, there is the danger of wrong restorations receiving acceptance and cognate records containing information to the contrary, though genuine, being dubbed as false. In this connection attention may be drawn to an inscription (Pd. 221) from Kudumiyāmalai. It is a later copy of an early record. But the 13th century scribe, while re-engraving the text of the earlier record, explicitly states that twenty letters are missing in the first gap and seven in the second. It redounds to his credit that he has not tried to restore those lost letters, a constraint worthy of emulation by epigraphists and historians.

2 However, there is a lacuna in line 7 of 433/1924. It implies that when *Periyadēvar* Rājarāja (II) died, his sons were one and two years old and they were brought up in the Rājarājapuram palace. The record

His son Adhirājendra (1068-1071 A.D.) was also sick. Besides, Adhirājendra had no sons. So Vīra-Rājendra crowned his sister's son Kulōttuṅga. This happened in June, 1070 A.D. Vīra-Rājendra died in August of the same year. Adhirājendra died in the middle of 1071 A.D. Kulōttuṅga who was already made crown-prince became the Chōla monarch.¹

Rājarāja followed the above precedence.² He crowned Edirilipperumā, son of Neriyudaipperumā and [great]-grandson of Vikrama-Chōla. Neriyudaipperumā was the sister of Rājarāja II. Edirili was called Rājādhirāja II and he was crowned in June/July, 1166 A.D., probably at the age of fourteen.

proceeds further and states that since the sons were not of proper age Rājādhirāja was crowned. Records prove that Rājarāja II ruled upto 1173 A.D. Rājādhirāja II was crowned in 1166 A.D. It is evident that Rājarāja did not die before 1166 A.D., the accession date of Rājādhirāja. Line 7 of the Pallavarāyanpēttai record is incorrect. The date of the record falls in 1174 A.D. As far as the record is concerned Rājarāja was no more. The intention of the composer was to refer to Rājarāja as "late Periyadēva Rājarāja". Instead, he engraved the passage in a wrong manner. The phrase in line 7 of the record reads *Periyadēvar tuṅṅi arulippil-laigalukku onrum iranḍum tirunakshattiram-āgalyāl*. It means that "Periyadēvar (Rājarāja II) died and his sons were one and two years old". It is the mistake of the engraver. It should read *tuṅṅi aruliyā Periyadēvar pillaiḍalukku onrum iranḍum tirunakshattiram-āgalyāl* to mean "the sons of late Rājarāja were one and two years old". In 1174 A.D. Rājarāja was no more and the record should address him as "late king". The error in the Pallavarāyanpēttai record, dated in 1174 A.D., is to be set right with the help of the earlier records of Rājarāja II.

We come across such kind of mistakes in certain earlier Chōla records also. Parāntaka I ruled from 907 to 954 A.D. His son Rājāditya was killed in the Takkōlam battle in 949. But Rājarāja I's Leyden grant, issued in the reign of his son Rājendra (Acc. 1012 A.D.) states that Rājāditya ruled after the demise of Parāntaka. This statement is contrary to earlier stone records. This is pointed out by K.V. Subrahmanya Ayyar, above, Vol. XIX, pp. 82-83 and *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 219.

Sundara-Chōla ruled from 957 to 974 A.D. His first son was Āditya, and the second son, Rājarāja I. Āditya was murdered in 965 in the lifetime of his father Sundara-Chōla. But Rājendra's Tiruvālangādu plates, dated in 1017 A.D., state that Āditya ruled after the death of Sundara. This is contrary to earlier stone records. See, *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 419 and 420 and also *The Early Chōlas-Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology*, p. 124.

When a later record is incorrect the error is to be identified and rectified with the aid of earlier records. The above three are such examples. An error found in a single record of later date cannot make scores of earlier records null and void.

- 1 Vide the chapter "Accession of Kulōttuṅga I" in *The Chōlas-Mathematics Reconstructs the Chronology*.
- 2 See, above, Vol. XXXI, p. 224, foot note 2. Sastri was at first inclined to consider the accession of Kulōttuṅga I as the precedence but he later rejected it since in his view Kulōttuṅga was an usurper. We must remember here that Kulōttuṅga I died in 1122 A.D. Rājarāja II came to the throne in 1146 A.D. It was Rājarāja, who and not his great-grandfather Kulōttuṅga could be an usurper. The Tamil poem *Kalīṅgattupparanī* and the revised dates of Chōla kings confirm that Kulōttuṅga I came to the throne by right. See, above, p. 96 and foot note 1.

- 3 The Pallavarāyanpēttai record proceeds further to describe in detail the success of Perumāṅ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar in the Pāṇḍyan civil war about which we are not concerned here. Finally the record states that Perumāṅ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar died of some disease. His death occurred after the demise of Rājarāja II.

It has been suggested above that Rājarāja died in the third quarter of 1173 A.D. and Perumāṅ-Nambi-Pallavarāyar died early in the next year. In the Pallavarāyanpēttai record of June, 1174 A.D. Rājādhirāja II speaks about the sons of late Rājarāja II and also the circumstances under which he became the king. Unless the sons were alive in 1174 A.D. there was no need for Rājādhirāja to mention them. Thus we can infer that in 1174 A.D. when Rājarāja was no more his sons would have been young princes.

Rājādhirāja states that a few years prior to 1166 A.D., Rājarāja's sons were one and two years old. Contrary to the general practice he mentions the second son in the first place and the first son in the second place and he does so in 1174 A.D. when the sons of late Rājarāja were young princes. After four years i.e. in 1178 A.D. he crowns Kulōttuṅga III. The sequence indicates that one of the two sons of Rājarāja II was Kulōttuṅga¹ and more probably the second son. This is also confirmed by the Tamil poem *Śaṅkara-Śōlaṅ Ula*.²

Between 1173 and 1178 A.D. Rājādhirāja II ruled as monarch and late Rājarāja's sons were still young in age. Rājādhirāja ruled in the capacity of a guardian for the two sons. He crowned Kulōttuṅga in 1178 A.D. Both of them ruled jointly for three years. In 1181 Rājādhirāja retired to Āndhra and Kulōttuṅga continued his reign. It is against this background that we have to study the poem *Śaṅkara-Śōlaṅ Ulā* (whose author is not known).

Verses 15 to 26 of the *Ulā* describe the Chōla kings who had gone to the heavens. They were namely Vijayālaya, Parāntaka I, Rājarāja I, Rājendra I, Rājādhirāja I, Rājendra II, Rājamahendra, Vīra-Rājendra, Kulōttuṅga I, Vikrama-Chōla, Kulōttuṅga II and Rājarāja II.

Verse 30 equates Śaṅkamaṅ to Rājarāja II who was no more. The invocatory stanza (*kāppu*) states³ that Śaṅkamaṅ made Śaṅkararāja the Chōla king. Verse 38 states that Śaṅkararāja is the hero of the poem. Śaṅkararāja was ruling from Gaṅgaikondachōlapuram. These references indicate that the hero of the poem is Rājādhirāja II. This is

1 Venkatasubba Ayyar surmises that Kulōttuṅga III was probably the son of Rājarāja II. See, above, Vol. XXI, p. 186. The *prasaśi* in the Tiruvālaṅgādu record (81/1926 of Kulōttuṅga III, year 15) describes him as "... tanich-chiṅgam perṛa tani-magaṅ kōṅ" i.e., Kulōttuṅga the unique son of the reputed Śiṅgam (lion). Kulōttuṅga's father Rājarāja II had the surname *Chōlendra-śiṅga* (336/1917 and 17/1908).

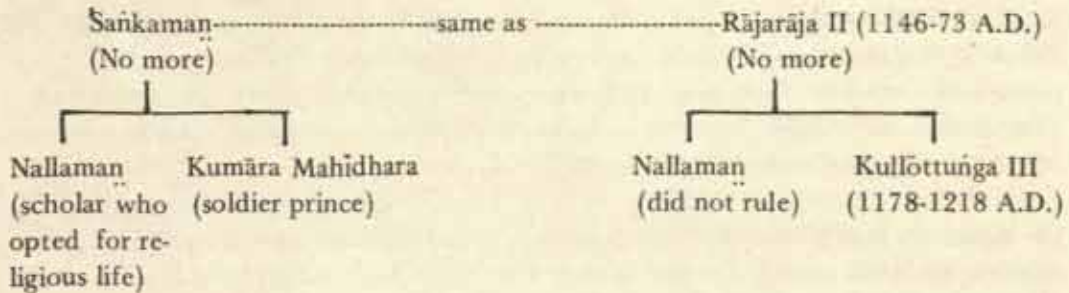
2 *Śaṅkara-Rājendra-Śōlaṅ Ulā* (misnomer for *Śaṅkara-Śōlaṅ Ulā*) published by U.V. Swaminatha Iyer Library, Tiruvanniyur, Madras.

3 *Śaṅkamaṅ tando Tamil Śaṅkara-śōlaṅ.*

also confirmed by verse 389 which states that the ancestors of the hero Śaṅkararāja were praised in the (Tamil) poems *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* and *Mūvar Ulā*¹ (three *Ulās*) a clear indication that Rājādhirāja is the hero of the poem *Śaṅkara-Śōḷaṅ Ulā* according to which,

- 1 In accordance with the earlier prayers of [late] Śaṅkamaṇ (verse 30),
- 2 In order to dispel the darkness of the world (verse 31),
- 3 For Nallamaṇ, the *Nāyaka*, who knows all languages and who is a better expert [in the *śāstras*] than even Ādi-Manu (verse 32),
- 4 And for Kumāra Mahīdhara [the soldier prince] who washed the stain of his sword in the western sea and who made the other kings bow before the fierce tiger [Chōḷa] (verses 36 and 37),
- 5 Śaṅkararāja, the king of Gaṅgaikoṇḍachōḷapuram, is the truthful guardian (verse 38).

The above sequence can be interpreted as follows:

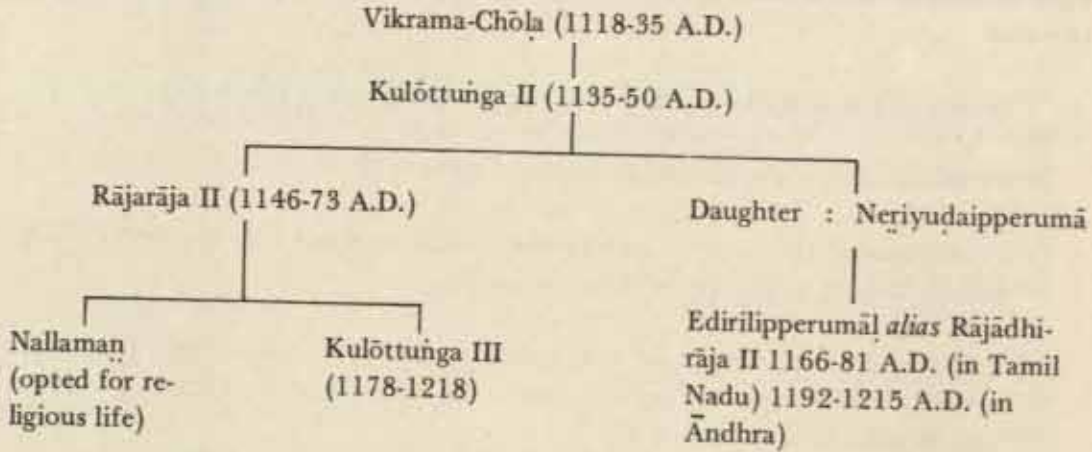


Śaṅkararāja, the truthful guardian of Nallamaṇ and Kumāra Mahīdhara,² is to be identified as Rājādhirāja II who, between 1173 and 1178 A.D., was the truthful guardian to the two sons of late Rājārāja II.

1 Kulōttuṅga I (1070-1122 A.D.) is the hero of the poem *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*. The three *Ulās* are *Vikrama-Śōḷaṅ Ulā*, *Kulōttuṅga-Śōḷaṅ Ulā* and *Rājārāja-Śōḷaṅ Ulā*. They were composed by the poet Ottakkūttar. The heroes of the three *Ulās* are Vikrama-Chōḷa (1118-1135 A.D.), Kulōttuṅga II (1133-50 A.D.) and Rājārāja II (1146-73 A.D.) respectively.

2 Kulōttuṅga III is the hero of the Tamil poem *Kulōttuṅga-Śōḷaṅ Kōval*. The poem states that Kulōttuṅga was the son of king Śaṅkama (*Śaṅkamarāja-Kulōttuṅga*). The poem also states that Śaṅkara was the predecessor of Kulōttuṅga (*Śaṅkaraṇa munnōṅ Kulōttuṅga.....*)

In the light of the Pallavarāyaṅpēṭṭai inscription and the poem *Śaṅkara-śōlaṅ Ulā* the genealogy of the three kings may be constructed as follows:



Rājādhirāja II was a noble king. In the south, when the Pāṇdyas were fighting for power, (Pāṇḍyan civil war, 1166 to 1177 A.D.) Rājādhirāja II gave back the Chōḷa kingdom to the legitimate heir, Kulōttuṅga (III). In turn, the Chōḷa country showed its gratitude to Rājādhirāja. *Śaṅkara-śōlaṅ Ulā* is a fitting compliment to him. Rājādhirāja retired to Āndhra in 1182 A.D. and lived there upto 1215 A.D. During this period Kulōttuṅga III and Rājādhirāja were on cordial terms. In his third year, Kulōttuṅga dug a tank at Valivalam near Tiruvārūr and called it *Rājādhirājaṅ-peruṅguḷam*.¹ At Ayyampēṭṭai near Tiruvārūr, Kulōttuṅga built a new temple and called it *Rājādhirāja-Īśvaram*² in honour of Rājādhirāja. In certain records³ Kulōttuṅga borrows the *praśasti* 'pūmaruviya tiśai mugattōṅ' which belongs to Rājādhirāja. An inscription from Tiruveṅṅainālūr a sacred Śaiva centre, dated in the 17th year of Kulōttuṅga, states, "After writing fully the sacred *praśasti* 'pūmaruviya-tiśai mugattōṅ padaitta perum puvi viḷaṅga' [of Rājādhirāja] - in the 17th year of *Tribhuvanachakravartin* Śrī Kulōttuṅga-chōḷadēva, who took Madurai and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,..."⁴ etc.

In 1195 A.D., Kulōttuṅga states, "Prefix the sacred *praśasti* of Rājādhirāja before reading my inscription" - a clear pointer to the cordial nature of the relationship between Kulōttuṅga III and Rājādhirāja II.⁵

1 110/1911.

2 117/128.

3 176/1908; 423/1912. In these records Kulōttuṅga III borrows Rājādhirāja's *praśasti* which appears in the Kūḷūr record (*S.I.I.*, Vol. VII, No. 890, Rājādhirāja, year 5; 262/1902). Probably in 1192 A.D. Rājādhirāja helped Kulōttuṅga in the latter's Telugu-Chōḷa campaign.

4 313/1902 (*S.I.I.*, Vol. VII, No. 942), Kulōttuṅga, year 17.

5 *Contra*, *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Vol. III, part II, pp. 101, 105 and 127; Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 272; *Pirkāḷa Śōlar Varalāru* by Sadasiva Pandarathar (published by Annamalai University, 1974), p. 388.

On the basis of the above chronology and genealogy of the Chōla kings let us see the sub-joined Dārāśuram records A and B. Record A was engraved on the 453rd day of the 4th year of the reign of Rājādhiraīa II, falling in September, 1170 A.D. The record confirms the grant made to Āḷuḍaiyaṅ and the temple accountant. The royal deed was written by the royal secretary Rājēndraśiṅga-Mūvēndavēḷāṅ. The signatories are Nuḷambādirājar, Vayirāgarājar, Chittrarājar, Chēdirājar and Pallavarājar. The record states that the grant was made at the request of Pallavarāyar who evidently was a more powerful and influential officer than the royal secretary and the signatories. If his is so, then we may not be far wrong if we surmise that Pallavarāyar was probably none other than Perumān-Nambi-Pallavarāyar, the then Chief Minister.

Record B belongs to *Tribhuvanachakravarti Kōnēriṅmaikōṇḍāṅ* and it is dated in his 5th year, 463rd day. The royal deed was written by the royal secretary Rājēndraśiṅga-Mūvēndavēḷāṅ. The signatories are Maḷavarājar, Śiṅgaḷarājar, Vayirāgarājar, Pallavarājar, Chēdirājar, Chittrarājar and Rājēndraśōḷa-Kaḷappālarājar. The record confirms the grants, made in the beginning of the fifth year, to the accountant of the Pallippadai-Rājagambhira-Īśvaramuḍaiyār temple (and of five other *pallippadai* temples). Evidently it means that in the beginning of the fifth year of *Kōnēriṅmaikōṇḍāṅ* of this record, Rājarāja was no more. *Kōnēriṅmaikōṇḍāṅ* could not be Rājādhiraīa II in whose fifth year (1170-71 A.D.) Rājarāja II was alive. *Kōnēriṅmaikōṇḍāṅ* is, therefore, a later king.

The royal secretary Rājēndraśiṅga-Mūvēndavēḷāṅ who figures in record A of Rājādhiraīa also figures in record B of *Kōnēriṅmaikōṇḍāṅ*. This royal secretary served under Rājarāja II, Rājādhiraīa II and Kulōttuṅga III and figures in the records of all of them.¹

The signatory Nuḷambādirājar who figures in record A of Rājādhiraīa also figures in certain records² of Kulōttuṅga III. The signatory Vayirāgarājar of record A figures in record B. He also figures in certain records³ of Kulōttuṅga III.

Chittrarājar, Chēdirājar and Pallavarājar figure in record A as well as in record B. The last one, Pallavarājar, was probably the same Pallavarājar who, after the demise of Perumān-Nambi-Pallavarāyar, took active role in defeating the Ceylonese and the Pāṇḍyas in the protracted struggle of the Pāṇḍyan civil war.⁴ His full name was Vēdavanam Uḍaiyaṅ Ammaiappar *alias* Annan Pallavarājar and he was a native of Paḷaiyanūr situated in Mēṅmalai-Ppaḷaiyanūr-nādu, a sub-division of Jayaṅkōṇḍaśōḷa-maṅdalam. He was an army officer and he served under the three kings⁵ Rājarāja II, Rājādhiraīa II and Kulōttuṅga III.

1 163/1906 of Rājarāja II, year 13; S.I.I., Vol. V, No. 663 of Rājādhiraīa II, year 11; Pd. 145 (290/1969) of Kulōttuṅga III, year 8; and 70/1913 of Kulōttuṅga III, year 10.

2 20/1908, year 8; Pd. 145, year 8; S.I.I., Vol. III, 86, year 9, 113 and 120/1928, year 12.

3 433/1924; Above, Vol. XXII, No. 14.

4 433/1924; Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 86-92.

5 32/1906 of Rājarāja, year 18; 433/1924 of Rājādhiraīa II, year 8; 465/1905 of Rājādhiraīa, year 12; S.I.I., Vol. V, No. 989 of Kulōttuṅga III, year 14.

Maḷvarājar of record B figures in the records¹ of Rājādhirāja II and Kulōttuṅga III. Similarly Singalarājar of record B also figures in an inscription² of Rājādhirāja II.

From the above facts we can safely conclude that *Tribhuvanachakravarti: Kōnēriṅmaikoṇḍāṅ* was the successor of Rājādhirāja II and that he was none other than *Tribhuvanachakravarti: Kulōttuṅga-Chōla* III in whose fifth year (1182-83 A.D.) Rājarāja II was no more. One more witness by name Rājēndrachōla-Kaḷappālarājar figures in record B. This officer borrows the surname Rājēndrachōla, the name of his overlord, for Kulōttuṅga III had another name, i.e., Rājēndra-Chōla, as is evident from his inscriptions.³

In the result I identify *Tribhuvanachakravartin Kōnēriṅmaikoṇḍāṅ* of record B as Kulōttuṅga III. The record is dated in the 463rd day of the fifth year falling in, say, October, 1183 A.D.

In his Śēraṅūr record Kulōttuṅga III states that he gilded the temple dedicated to his father and also the temple of Rājarājisvaramudaiyār. The former was probably the *pallippadai* temple of Rājagambhira-Īsvaramudaiyār.⁴ The latter is the Dārāsuram temple. A record⁵ from this temple, written in the eighth year of Kulōttuṅga III, refers to the grants awarded to the artisans and craftsmen engaged in the gilding operations of the temple.

RECORD A

Inscription of Rājādhirāja II, Year 4

TEXT⁶

- 1 Svasti Śrī [I*] Kaḍal-śūḷnda-pārmādarum pūmādaruṅ-Kalaimādarum-aḍal-śūḷ.....
.....dal por-pugaḷ-parappa ādi
- 2 mudipunaind=aruḷi aru-samaiyamuy=aim-būdamum neriyil [niṅru pāri] ppat-Tenna-
varuṅ-Chēralaruṅchinavargaḷ ti.....ṅḍich-chevippa-vūliy=ūliyoru che-
[ṅgōl]
- 3 lippach-chempon-virasimhasanattu Ulaguḍai-Mu[kkōkki] lānadigaḷ=ōdum virrirunda-
a[ruliya Śrī-kōv-Irā] jakēśaripanma[r-āṅa Tiribhuvanachchakkaravat] tugal śrī-
Rājādhirājadēvarkku [yāṅḍu]

1 465/1905, Rājādhirāja, year 12; *S.I.I.*, Vol. III, No. 87, Kulōttuṅga III, year 11; *S.I.I.*, Vol. XXIII, No. 306, year 13.

2 433/1924, Rājādhirāja, year 8.

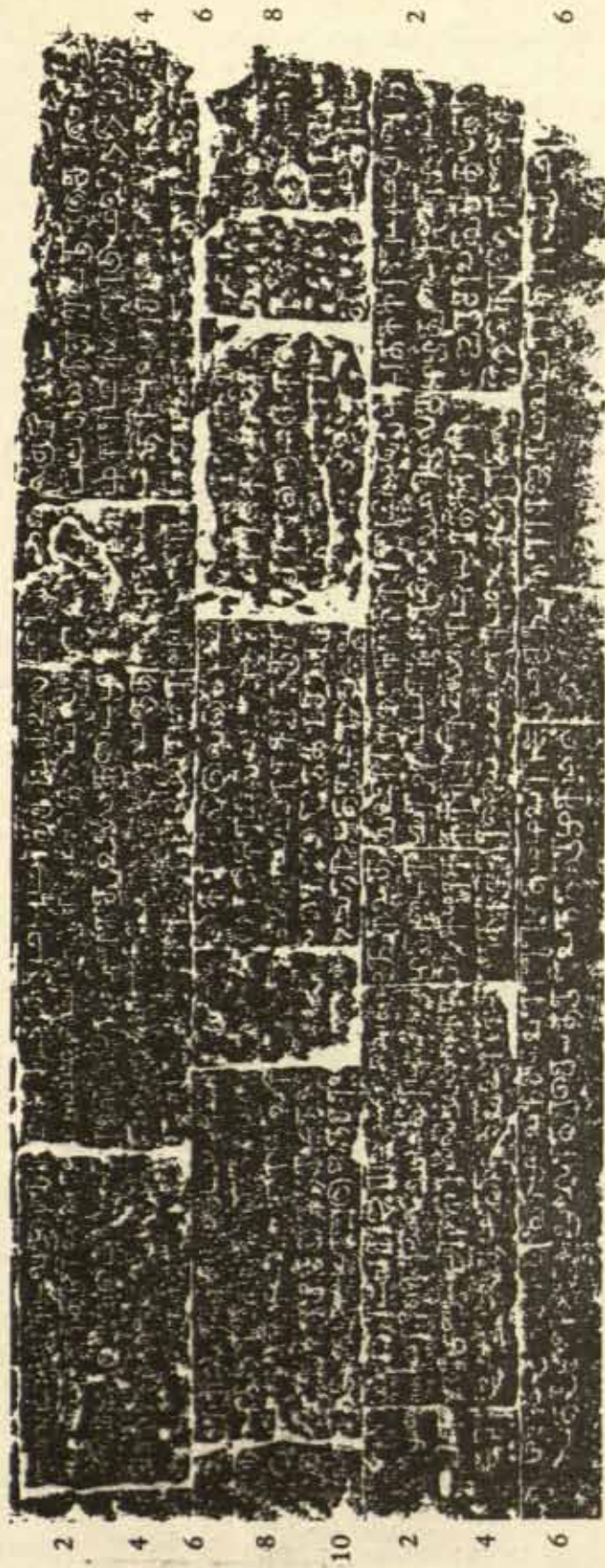
3 168/1908, year 2 and 393/1925, year 5; The officer figures in 123/1928, Kulōttuṅga, year 15.

4 Pd. 163 and Pd. 166 "īraṅḱōl tīrut-tātaikkum Irājarājisvarattārkum kārenna śīraṅḱa kōyil anitigaḷ ponmēyandarūl".

5 20/1908, Kulōttuṅga III, year 8, day 64.

6 From the original and from ink impressions.

TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM DĀRĀSŪRAM AND THE DATES OF THREE CHŌLA KINGS - PLATE I



K. V. Rameth

Ep. Ind. Vol. XII.

TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM DĀRĀŚURAM AND THE DATES OF THREE CHŌLA KINGS — PLATE I



K. V. Ramesh

Ep. Ind., Vol. XII

- 4 [nā][tiruvāymolin] d=aruḷi vanda tirumugappaḍi Tiribhuvanachchakravartti
..... Āḷudaiyānukkup-
- 5 kūtṭāḍum perumāṅ mun kuḍa-māñṅai eḷundaruḷivikka ma uḍaiyār
mayi . kōyirkaṅak [kuk-kāṅiyil]
- 6 [nāṅa kūru] ... yudaiyārkōyililē śe..... na Śivanukkuk-kāṅiyāy varugira
n taṅgaḷukkum taṅgaḷ vargattārkun-kāṅiyāga
- 7 tāyuntā ikkōyilil ka .. 1 vetṭi [kuḍukka] vēṅum=enru Pallavarāyar
yil ippaḍi śeyyak-kaḍavad=āgach-chollak-ka-
- 8 kūru śeyvārgaḷukkuch-chonnōm ke kkaiyudaiyāṅ kāṅiyāna 'sempādi-
yum nālāvadu taṅgaḷukkun-taṅgaḷ vargattārkun-kāṅiyāga kaṅa
- 9 eḷudināṅ tirumandira ōlai Irāḷēndiraśiṅga-Mūvēndavelāṅ [!*] [Nuḷambādi]-
rājarum Vayirāgarājarum Chittrārājarum Chēdirājarum Pallavarājarum yāṅḍu
nālāvadu nāṅūrraimbattu mū

RECORD B

Inscription of Kōṅērīṅmaikondāṅ, year 5.

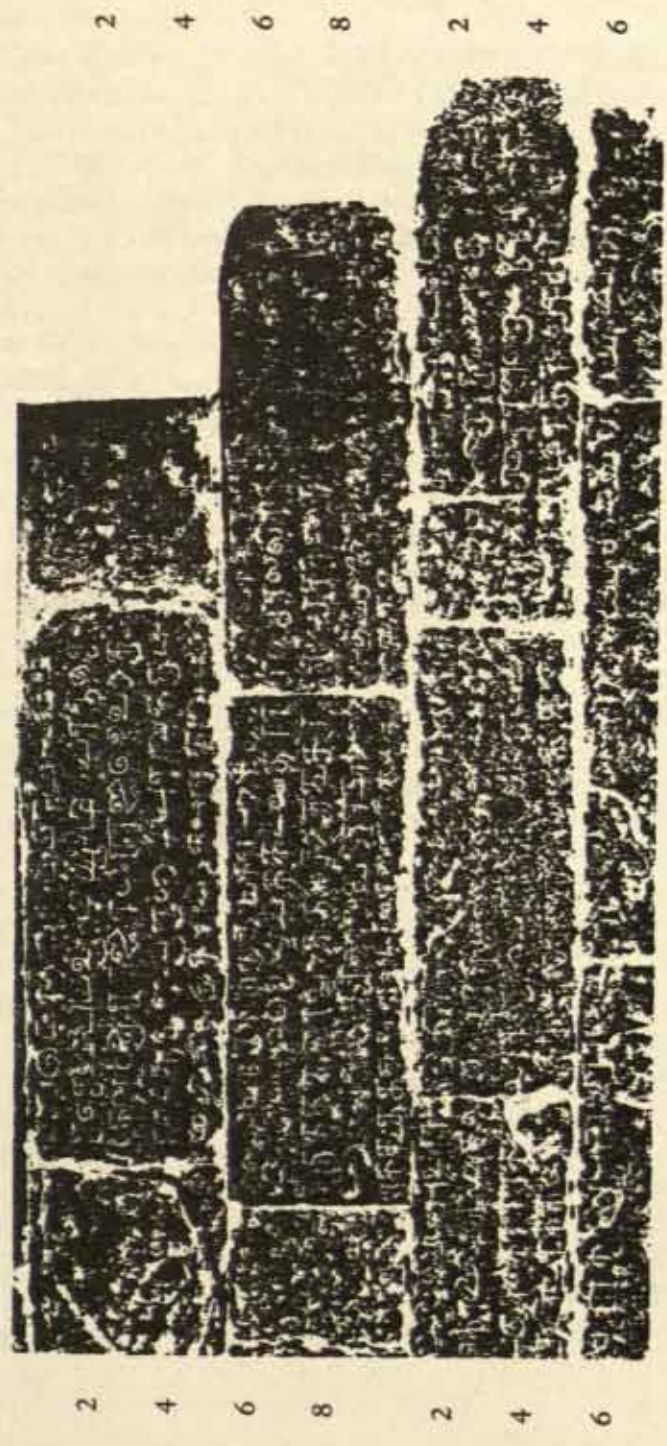
TEXT¹

- 1 Śrī tirumugam yāṅḍu aiṅḷāvadu nāṅūrru nārpattu mūṅriṅal vu ppa tirumuga-
ppaḍi tiribhuvanachchakravartti Kōṅērīṅmaikondāṅ Ārrūr=uḍaiya ... nak-
kūttan
- 2 nāṅṭtu Rājarāja-chaturvēdimaṅgaḷattu ūrkaṅakkak-kāṅiyil 'sempādi kāṅiyum
innāṅṭup-pallippaḍai Rājagembira-iśvaram-uḍaiyār kōyililum Bhuvanamuḷudu-
daiyāl.....
- 3 ramm-uḍaiyār kōyililum Tiribhuvanamuḷuduḍai-iśvaram-uḍaiyār kōyililum Eḷulaga-
muḷuduḍai-iśvaram-uḍaiyār kōyililum Ulaguḍai-Mukkōkkilāṅaḍi-iśvaram-uḍaiyār
kōyililum kalvetṭi..... cheragu tu
- 4 iśvaram-uḍaiyār-kōyililum kōyir-kaṅakkak-kāṅiyil 'sempādik-kāṅiyum aiṅḷāvadu
mudal tā yāgap-perakkadavaṅ=āgach-chonnappaḍi kaṅakkilum-ittuk-kollakka-
davar-āga.... śeyvippaḍ-āgach-chonnōm

1 From the original and from ink impressions.

- 5 jarāja-chaturvēdimāṅgalattu ūrk-kaṅakkak-kāṇiyilum paḷlipadaik-kōyilgaḷiṅ-kōyir-
kaṅakkak-kāṇiyilūṅ-chempādik-kāṇi aiṅjavadu mudal kaṅakku-kāṇiyāgak-.....
tiru-mandirav=ōlai
- 6 Irājēndiraśiṅga-Mūvēndavēḷāṅ eḷuda Maḷavarājarum Śiṅgaḷarājarum Vayirāgarājarum
Pallavarājarum Chēdirājarum Chittrarājarum Irājēndraśōlak-Kaḷappālarāja
ttu nāṅūṛra-
- 7 rupattu-mūṅṛināl prasādaṅ-cheydaruḷi vanda tirumugam

TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM DĀRĀSŪRAM AND THE DATES OF THREE CHŌLA KINGS — PLATE II



K. V. Ramesh

SCALE : ONE-TWELFTH

Ep. Ind. Vol. XLI

NO. 11 – KIRUMOREKŌLI GRANT OF W. GAṄGA MUSHKARA

(2 Plates)

K. V. Ramesh, Mysore

The news of the discovery of this important set of Western Gaṅga copper plate inscription was first brought to my notice by Shri Sitaram Jagirdar of the Institute of Kannada Studies, University of Mysore, Mysore. A few weeks later, through the good offices of Dr. B.R. Gopal, Reader in South Indian Studies, Mysore University and well-known epigraphist, the set was brought to me for study and copying by its present owner, Shri G.A. Sivalingayya, Lecturer, Marimallappa Junior College, Mysore. I am thankful to all these gentlemen, and in particular, to Shri Sivalingayya, for their gesture.

The set consists of five rectangular copper plates, each measuring 19.6 x 6 cms. In the left centre of each plate, about 2 cms away from the edge, is a round hole, 1 cm. in diameter, for the ring to pass through. The five plates together weigh 500 gms. The two ends of the ring, which is about 2.5 cms. thick, are soldered to the bottom of an oval-shaped seal, measuring 3.5 cms at its widest points. The countersunk surface of the seal bears the figure of an elephant in relief, standing facing right. The seal and ring together weigh 140 gms. The rims of the plates are raised in order to protect the deeply engraved writing. The writing is well preserved but for some slight damage suffered by some letters along the edges owing to chemical reaction.

Of the five plates of the set, the first and last bear writing only on the inner sides while the three middle plates are engraved on both sides. There are in all 48 lines of writing, there being six lines on each of the written up sides.

The characters employed in the charter are what may be considered as the Southern alphabet palaeographically assignable to the beginnings of the 7th century A.D. The palaeographical features exhibited by our record are regular for the dynasty, period and region in question. As regards orthography, it may be pointed out that while the consonant immediately following *rēpha* is uniformly doubled, there are three interesting exceptions in which such doubling is omitted in writing the name *Kṛishnavarma* (line 17) in *ōpārjita* (line 22), and *samāvarjita* (line 26); similarly, while in most cases, class nasals are employed, instances where they are replaced by *anusvāra* are not wanting, as, for instance, in *ōāmgasya* (line 13), *paṅk-āvasanna* (line 15) and *Ḳadam̐ba* (line 17). The language is Sanskrit and, but for six imprecatory verses towards the end, the entire text is in prose.

The object of the charter is to register the grant, made by the Western Gaṅga king *Prithivī-Koṅganirāja alias Mushkara*, of the village of *Kirumorekōli* to the brāhmaṇa *Kumba-sarman* on an auspicious day in the month of *Vaiśākha*.

The charter commences with the auspicious word *svasti* (line 1) followed by the salutation to the god *Padmanābha* (line 1), an usual feature of Western Gaṅga charters.

This is followed by the formalised genealogical *praśasti* of the Western Gaṅga dynasty (lines 1-32) in which the eulogistic accounts concerning the kings from Koṅgaṇivarman, the progenitor, upto Durvinīta, the father of the reigning king, are given in much the same fashion as in some other already known Western Gaṅga charters. For instance, the *praśasti* in lines 1-32 of our charter is *verbatim* the same as the *praśasti* as found in lines 1-27 of the Uttanūr plates of Durvinīta, issued in the 20th year of his reign.¹

Lines 32-38 contain the eulogy of Mushkara, the issuer of the charter. According to the first passage (lines 32-33) he was born of the daughter of the 'Lord of the earth' (*Vasumatīndra*) who belonged to the lineage of the illustrious Dagdhacharana, the ornament of the great *ksbatriya* family of Chōlas, and master of Uracapura. The next passage (lines 33-35), which is purely conventional, states that the feet of Mushkara were tinged with the pollen from the floral filets of vanquished and bowing enemy kings. The third passage (lines 35-36), which is also purely conventional, states that the physique of Mushkara was the target of the arrow-like looks of beautiful damsels who were a source of despair to the god of love. Line 36 gives his name as Prithivī-Koṅgaṇi-rāja and states that he was well known by his second name Mushkara and that he was righteous. He had seen the ultimate in all education (line 37) and was a specialist-expert in the science of polity (line 37). His eulogy ends with an appreciative exclamation that he was the very foundation of all excellence (lines 37-38).

The grant portion, in lines 38-41, states that the king made a grant, in the presence of all the great men (*mahāmanushya*)² and with all exemptions, the village of Kirumorekōḷi on the southern bank of (the river) Kappuni, to the brāhmaṇa Kumba-śarman belonging to Taittirīya-charaṇa, Prāvachana-kalpa and Kāśyapa-gōtra.³ The grant was made in the month of Vaiśākha when the date (*titibi*), the time of day (*mubūrta*), the star (*nakṣatra*) and the week-day were all propitious.

Lines 41-46 contain five of the usual imprecatory verses attributed here to Manu. The charter was written by Koṅgaṇi-perndattāra of the lineage of Kūn-āchāryya (lines 46-47). The record ends with the statement that a good piece of land, of the extent of being sown with twelve *kbandukas* of seeds, was granted, in accordance with the *brahmadēya* system, to the writer.

The primary importance of this charter lies in the fact that this is the only epigraphical record of Mushkara that has so far come to light. Our knowledge of Mushkara and his reign is limited to a couple of conventional eulogistic statements contained in formalised Western Gaṅga *praśasti* according to which many vanquished enemy kings

1 *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1916, pp. 35-37 and plate opp. p. 36. The only difference is that the eulogistic phrases concerning Durvinīta end in the instrumental case in the Uttanūr plates because he was the issuer of the charter whereas in the present charter they end in the possessive case.

2 This expression may be a variant, if not fore-runner of *mahājana* of numerous inscriptions.

3 The *gōtra* is mentioned a little later, in line 39 instead of in line 38, almost as an afterthought.

bowed at his feet and a certain Sindhurāja had given his daughter in marriage to him. We also know that he had succeeded his father Durvinīta on the Western Gaṅga throne, that he had a brother by name Polavīra who had also reigned as king and that the regular line of succession to that throne was retained by Mushkara's direct descendants, including Śrīvikrama, his son born of the daughter of Sindhurāja. To this meagre knowledge on Mushkara our charter adds the important information that he was born of the daughter of a Chōla king who belonged to the lineage of Dagdhacharāna, the lord of Uragapura.

Dagdhacharāna is but the Sanskritised form of Karikāla by which causal name the most famous and, in the absence of a contemporaneous epigraphical support, semi-historical if not mythical Chōla ancestor was known. Uragapura of which, according to our charter, Dagdhacharāna and his Chōla descendants were lords, is the same as modern Uraiyūr, a suburb of Tiruchchirāpalli, on the banks of the Kāvērī in Tamilnādu which was one of the capital cities of the Chōlas. Durvinīta, who reigned in the second half of the 6th century, and Mushkara, who must have sat on the Western Gaṅga throne in the first quarter of the seventh century, lived at a time when the Tamil country was under Pallava domination and the ancient Chōlas had been relegated to a state of historical eclipse. This resulted in the Chōlas lying low in their ancestral home, and in some of them fanning out and establishing minor principalities elsewhere, but always adverting to their glorious descent. As Nilakanta Sastri points out "The dispersion, the poor and dispossessed among them going out in quest of fortune, is attested by the occurrence of names of princes and chieftains claiming Chōla connections in places as far removed from one another as Koḍumbālūr (Pudukottah), Śiyyāli (Shiyali), and Mālepādu."¹

Of these minor Chōla families of Mushkara's times, the one for which we have some substantial epigraphical information, ruled over a territory called Rēnāṇḍu-7000 comprising the tract of land lying along the Kundēru river in the Cuddapah and Kurnool districts of Andhra Pradesh, and has been christened by historians as 'Telugu-Chōlas'. Nilakanta Sastri describes in very poignant terms the plight of the ancient Chōlas during the period preceeding their resurrection under Vijayālaya : "We see then that in the long historical night that envelops the Chōlas from the third or fourth to the ninth century A.D., their condition is best described as one of suspended animation. They managed, in some manner hidden from view, to find a second home for themselves in the Rēnāṇḍu country. In their original abode, they bent low before every storm that passed over them and bided their time. For aught we know, they were occupied in finding suitable matches for their children, often with a view to political influence, with their more successful rivals,.....".² One such quest for suitable marriage alliance obviously led to the giving of a Chōla princess in marriage to the

1. *The Chōlas* (II edn.), pp. 100-01.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 106-07.

Western Gaṅga ruler Durvinīta. We have, however, no means of knowing the particular Chōla house to which the princess belonged. The nonmention of the name of the Chōla princess in our charter leads us to believe that, just as in the case of the Chōlas, what really mattered for the Western Gaṅgas was the striking of a marriage alliance with a royal house of ancient standing.

Koṅgani-perndattāra of our charter was also the writer of the Uttanūr plates of Durvinīta referred to above, and the Gummareddipura plates¹ of the 40th year of the same ruler. Whereas he was granted twelve *kbanduk-āvāpa-ksbētras* for writing the present charter, he had received only one *kbanduk-āvāpa-ksbētra* for writing the Uttanūr and Gummareddipura plates. The statement made in our charter that the writer was granted land as per the *brahmadēya* system shows that the Viśvakarma community enjoyed a high reckoning in the caste structure of those days. The caste-suffix *perndattāra* is part-Dravidian (*per*=great) and part-apabhraṃśa (*tattāra* from Sanskrit *tvastṛi* or *tvastṛākāra* meaning 'carpenter'). It is likely that the word *likhitam* is to be taken in the sense of *utkīrnam*, 'engraved' and not in the sense of 'composed'.

Of the geographical names occurring in the charter, two political divisions, Pānnāta and Punnāta are mentioned (lines 30-31) as falling under the hegemony of the Western Gaṅga ruler Durvinīta. Of these Punnāta is described in the incomplete Māmballi plates² as adorned by the Kāvērī and Kapinī rivers. Kīrttipura, which served as its capital city, is the same as Kittūru in Heggadedevanakote Taluk covering the western parts of Mysore District, Karnataka. The territory which bore the name of Pānnāta cannot be positively identified. On the one hand, it may represent the Bāna territory (Bāna=Pāna + nādu=Pānnādu) and, on the other, the name may have resulted from Pān + nādu or Pāl + nādu.

As has been pointed out above, Uragapura is the Sanskritised form of Uṛaiyūr, the name of one of the capital cities of the Chōlas.

Kappuni, the river on whose southern banks the gift-village was situated, is the same as the Kapinī, a tributary of the Kāvērī. In the absence of information on the exact provenance of the charter, I am unable to identify the gift-village Kīrumōrekōli. However, keeping the known extent of the Western Gaṅga territory in view, a suggestion may be thrown. In the name of the gift-village, *kīru* is a prefix meaning 'small', 'junior', etc. Thus the proper name of the village is Mōrekōli. The name of the village with its prefix *kīru* implies the existence of a bigger Mōrekōli. There is, in the present day T. Narasipur Taluk of Mysore District, a village by the name of Dodda-Maragōḍu, in which *dodda* is a prefix meaning 'big'. The proper name Maragōḍu may be the present day transformation of the earlier Mōrekōli. If this is accepted, we may suppose that Kīrumōrekōli was situated in the T. Narasipur Taluk. Alternatively, the gift-

1 *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1911-12, pp. 31-32 and plate.

2 *Ibid.*, 1917, p. 33

village may be identified with Chikkamarali (Hirodu Hobli, Srirangapatna Taluk, Mysore District) in which name the prefix *chikka* is a synonym of *kiru* and Marali may have resulted from the earlier Morekōli.

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 Svasti [!*] Jitam=Bhagavāta gata-ghana-gaganābhēna Padamābhēna [!*] Śrīmaj=Jāhnavēya-kulāmāla-vyṛ-
- 2 m-āvabhāsana-bhāskarasya sva-khādg-aika-prahāra-khaṇḍita-mahā-silā-stambha-labdha-parā-
- 3 krama-yasasah dāruṇ-āri-gaṇa-vidāraṇa-raṇ-ōpalabdha-vraṇa-vibhūshana-vibhūshita-
- 4 Kāṇvāyana-sagōtrasya śrīmat-Koṅgaṇivarmma-dharmma-mahādhiraṇasya putrasya pitur-anvā-
- 5 gata-guṇa-yuktasya vidyā-vinaya-vihita-vṛttasya samyak-prajā-pālana-mātr-ādhigata-rājya-
- 6 prayōjanasya nānā-śāstr-ārttha-sad-bhāv-ādhigama-praṇīta-mati-viśēshasya vidvat-kavi-kāñcha-

Second Plate : First Side

- 7 [na-nikash-ōpa] la-bhūtasya viśē[sha*] tō=py=anavaśēshasya nīti-śāstra[sya*] vaktri-prayōktri-kuśalasya
- 8 su-vibhakta-bhakta-bhṛitya-janasya Dattaka-sūtra-vṛtta(ttē)h=praṇētu[h] śrī-Mādhava-mahādhiraṇasya pu-
- 9 trasya pitri-paitāmaha-guṇa-yuktasya anēka-chaturddanta-yudrā(ddh-ā)vāpta-chaturudadhi-sa-
- 10 lil-āsvādita-yasasa[h] sa-mada-dvirada-turag-ārōhaṇ-ātisāy-ōtpanna-tējasah dhanur-a-

1 From inked estampages.

- 11 bhīyōga-sampad-vīśēshasya śrīmad =Harivarmma-mahādhīrājasya putrasya guru-gō-
 12 brāhmaṇa-pūjakasya Nārāyaṇa-charaṇ-ānudhyātasya śrīmad=Vishṇugōpa-mahādhī-
 rājasya pu-

Second Plate : Second Side

- 13 trasya Tryambaka-charaṇ-āmbhōrha¹-ra²jaḥ-pavitrikṛit-ōttamāṅgasya vyāyām-ōd-
 vṛitta-pīna-kāthi-
 14 na-bhuja-dvayasya sva-bhuja-bala-parākkrama-kkraya- kkrīta-rājyasya kshut-kshām-
 oshtha-pīṣit-āśana-
 15 prītikara-nīṣita-dhārāsēh Kali-yuga-bala-pāmk-āvasanna-dharmma-vrīsh-ōddharāṇa-
 nitya-sa-
 16 nnaddhasya śrīman=Mādhava-mahādhīrājasya putrasy=āvichchinn-āśvamēdh-āva-
 bhṛith-ābhishi-
 17 kta-śrīmat-Kadāmba-kula-gagana-gabhasti-mālinah śrī-Kṛishṇavarma-mahārājasya
 priya-bhāginē-
 18 yasya janānī-dēvat-āmka-paryyamka ēv-ādhighata-rājy-ābhishēkasya vijrīmbhamāṇa-
 śakti-tra-

Third Plate : First Side

- 19 yasya parampar-ānavamarddan-ōpabhujyamāna-trivargga rasya asāmbhram-āvāna-
 mita-sama-
 20 sta-sāmanta-mandalasya nirantara-prēma-baḥumān-ānurakta-prakṛiti-varggasya
 vidyā-vinay-ātīsa-
 21 ya-paripūt-āntarātmana[h*] Kārtta-yugīna-rāja-charit-āvalambina[h*] anēka-
 samara-vija-
 22 y-ōpārjita-vipula-yāsa[sa*] h kshirōd-aik-ārṇnavīkṛita-bhuvana-trayasya niravagraha-
 pradā-

1 Read āmbhōruha-

2 The letter ra, originally omitted, is engraved below the line in between the letters rha and jaḥ.

KIRUMOREKŌLI GRANT OF W. GANGA MUSHKARA - PLATE I

i

2
4
6

2
4
6

ii a

8
10
12

8
10
12

ii b

14
16
18

14
16
18

iii a

20
 22
 24

20
 22
 24

iii b

26
 28
 30

26
 28
 30

iv a

32
 34
 36

32
 34
 36

SCALE : THREE-FOURTHS

- 23 na-śauryyasya avishahya-parākkram-ākkrānta-pratirāja-mastak-ārppit-āpratibata-
śāsanasya
- 24 vidvatsu prathama-ganyasya śrīmat-Kongaṇi-mahādhiraṅjasya ^vinīta-nāmanā
pu(pau)trēna

Third Plate : Second Side

- 25 Punnāṭa-rāja-Skandavarmma-priya-putrikā-janmanā sva-guru-guṇ-ānugāminā pitrā
para-suta-sa-
- 26 māvarjitayā=pi Lakshmyā svayam- abhipra(prē)ty-ālingita-vipula-vaksha-sthalasya
vijimbhamāna-śakti-
- 27 tray-ōpanamita-samasta-sāmanta-maṇḍalasya Andariya-A(Ā)lattūra-Porularea Pern-
na-
- 28 gar-ādy-anēka-samara-mukha-makh-āhūta-prahata-śūra-purusha-pas-ūpahāra-vighasa-
vihastī-
- 29 kṛita-kṛitānt-āgnimukhasya Śabdāvatāra-kārasya Dēvabhāratī-nibaddha-Vaddaka-
thasya Kirātārju-
- 30 nīyē pañcha-daśa-sargga-tikākārasya Durvvinīta-nāmadhēyasya samasta-Pānnāta-
Pu-

Fourth Plate : First Side

- 31 nnāt-ādhipatinō¹ Vaivasvatēnē(n=aiva) Manōr-vvarṇṇāśram-ābhirakshināḥ dakshi-
nān-diśam-abhigōptum pa-
- 32 ryyāptavataḥ prātijanīnasya suprajasaḥ putrēna Uragapur-ādhipa-parama-kshatriya-
Chōla-
- 33 kula-tilaka-śrī-Dagdhacharaṇa-santāna-prasūta-vasumafīndra-sutā-sambhavēna dur-
ddānta-vimardda-
- 34 vimridita-vinamṛi(mra)-vividha-viśvambhar-ēśa-mauli- mālā-makaranda-puñja-piñjarī-
kriyamā-

1 Read ^oādhipatēh.

- 35 na-charaṇa-yugaḷa-naḷinēna Makarakētan-ayāsyamāna-vāmalōchanā-vilōchana-śara-
śaravya-
- 36 jātēna śaririnā dharmmēna śrī-Prithivī-Koṅgaṇirājēna pratīta-Mushkara-dvitiya-
nāmadhēyēna

Fourth Plate : Second Side

- 37 sarvva-vidyā-pāragēna viśēshatō nīti-śāstra-nipuṇa-buddhinā kim bahuna sakala-
sāmpad-ā-
- 38 dhāra-bhūtēna Taittirīya-charaṇāya prāvachana-kalpāya Kumba-śarmmaṇē Kap-
puni-dakshina-ta-
- 39 tē Kīrumoṛekōḷi-nāma-grāma[h*] Kāśyapa-gōtrāya udaka-pūrvvaṁ yathā-vidhi
prādā-
- 40 yi sakala-mahāmanushya-pratyakshaṁ sa-sarvva-parihāraṁ Vaisākha-māsē prasasta-
tithi-
- 41 muhūrttē nakshatrē dinē [1*] api ch=ātra Manu-gītā[h*] ślōkā[h*] Sva-dattāṁ
para-dattāṁ vā yō harēta vasundharāṁ(rām) [1*]
- 42 shashthi(shti)-varsha-sahasrāni ghōrē tamasi varttatē || [1*] Bahubhir-vvasudhā dattā
bahubhis=ch=ānupālītā [1*]

Fifth Plate

- 43 yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam || [2*] Svan-dātum sumahach=
chhakhyam(kyam) duḥkham-any-a-
- 44 rttha- palānam (nam)[1*] dānam vā pālanam v=ēti dānāch=chhrēyō=
nupālanam || [3*] Adbhir-ddattāṁ tribhir-bhuktaṁ sadbhis=cha
- 45 paripālitaṁ(tam) [1*] ētāni na nivarttantē pūrvva-rāja-kṛitāni cha ||[4*] Brahma-
svan=tu visham ghōraṁ nna(na) vi-
- 46 sham visham-uchyatē [1*] visham-ēkākinaṁ hanti brahmasvaṁ putra pautrikaṁ
(kam)¹) [5*] Kūnāchāryy-ānvayēna :

1 All the five imprecatory verses are in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre.

KIRUMOREKŌLI GRANT OF W. GAṄGA MUSHKARA — PLATE II

iv b

38
 40
 42

38
 40
 42

v

44
 46
 48

44
 46
 48

47 Koṅgaṇi-Perndaṭṭārēṇ=ēdan-tā[m] bra-sāsanam likhitam tasmā(smai) dvādaśa-khan-
duk-āvāpa-mātram tatra su-

48 kshētram brahmadēya-kramēṇa dattam ||||

NO. 12 – CHANDAVŌLU PLATES OF VIJAYĀDITYA (III)

(1 Plate)

M.D. Sampath, Mysore

This set of plates¹ strung together on a copper-ring bearing a seal, was found in the village Chandavōlu, Bapatla Taluk, Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh. The set is reported to have been discovered sometime in 1937 by a certain Chellapalli Kotadu while he was digging up some land in the above village. It was first brought to the notice of the then Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund by Shri P. Seshadri Sastri of Guntur. For sometime after its discovery its whereabouts were kept a secret but subsequently brought to light in May 1938 by Sri Yellapragada Hanumanta Rao, Head-Master, Board School, Chandavōlu through the influence of Sri Kalidasu, an advocate of Bapatla.

This is a set of three copper-plates, each measuring 13.7 x 5.5 cms, strung together by a ring which is about .9 cm in thickness and about 6.4 cms in diameter. The ends of the ring are fixed into the arms of the ornamental bracket at the bottom of the circular seal, 4.5 cms in diameter. On the counter-sunk surface of the seal are cut in relief the Sun and the crescent in the centre at the top, below it, a running boar facing proper right.

Below this is the legend *Śrī-Tribbuvanāmkūṣa* and at the bottom, the open petals of an expanded lotus. A slight knot projects at this spot probably to protect the seal from wear and tear. The whole set with ring and seal weighs 629.9 gms while the ring with the seal alone weighs 256 gms.

While the first plate bears writing only on the inner side, plates 2 and 3 have writing on both of their sides though the second side of the 3rd plate has only two lines of writing. Though the rims are not raised the writing is well preserved.

There are altogether 24 lines of writing, distributed as follows: sides I and IIa: 5; sides IIb and IIIa: 6; side IIIb: 2. The characters are Telugu-Kannada of the middle of the 9th century A.D. The palaeographical features of the record are regular for the period to which it belongs though in the case of some letters there is a slight tendency towards ornamentation. In most of the cases the medial *ā* sign is indicated by a thick dot. As regards orthography the only noteworthy point is the uniform reduplication of the consonant immediately following *r*. Further, it may be observed that the text is not free from mistakes. The language is Sanskrit and, except one imprecatory verse and another referring to the *ājñāpti* at the end, the record is composed in prose.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya III² (849-92 A.D.) but bears no date. The object of the charter is to register the royal

1 *A.R.Ep.*, 1938-39, No. A 2.

2 *Contra: A.R.Ep.*, 1938-39, Part II, p. 72, para 4 where the charter is assigned to Vijayāditya II.

grant of lands with the sowing capacity of 10 *kaṅṭikas*: in the village Maṅgavēḍu in Gudravāra-vishaya to the brāhmana Yajña-śarman, son of Bandhu-śarman and grandson of Kuppa-śarman who belonged to Bhāradvāja-gōtra and Āpastamba-sūtra, who was well versed in the Vēdas and who was a resident of Krōvachūru.

The copper plate charter opens with the auspicious word *svasti* followed by the usual Eastern Chālukya *prasasti*, *Śrīmatām sakala-bhuvana samstūyamāna*, etc. (lines 1-7). This is followed by the reference to Vishnuvardhana-mahārāja who is described as the one who gained victory in many battles (lines 7-8). Line 9 mentions Vijayāditya-mahārāja without any titles. Then the donor king Vijayāditya, who is described as the son of Vishnuvardhana and grandson of the above Vijayāditya, is introduced (lines 9-11). He is endowed with the titles *mahārājādhirāja*, *paramēśvara* and *bbattāraka* (lines 11-12). In the next three lines is recorded the king's address to the householders led by *rāsbtrakūta* of the Gudravāra-vishaya (lines 12-14). Lines 14-17 introduce the donee viz., Yajña-śarman, who was the son of Bandhu-śarman and the grandson of Kuppa-śarman and belonged to Bhāradvāja-gōtra and Āpastamba-sūtra and a resident of Krōvachūru. Yajña-śarman is described as well-versed in the *vēdas* (*adbīta-vēdāya*, line 17). Lines 17-18 record the actual purport of the charter i.e., the grant of land wherein 10 *kaṅṭikas* of grain can be sown in the village Maṅgavēḍu. Lines 18-20 delineate the boundaries of the gift land while lines 21-22 record an imprecatory verse. Paṇḍaraṅga, the *ājñapti* of the charter, who is described as the ocean of good qualities and as the bee at the lotus feet of the king Vijayāditya (*Paṇḍara[m*]gō guṇākaraḥ Vijayāditya-bhūpasya pāda-padma-śilīmukhaḥ*) is referred to in lines 23-24.

The donor king of the grant has been identified with Vijayāditya II, who bore the title *Narēndra-mṛigarāja*, in the *A.R.Ep.*, for 1938-39.¹ The report further says, "The executor (*ājñapti*) of the grant is said to be Paṇḍaraṅga, 'the bee at the lotus-feet of Guṇagāṅka-Vijayāditya. These two persons are identical with the famous general Paṇḍaraṅga and his master Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III...."² In this context we suggest that the donor king need not be identified with *Narēndra-mṛigarāja* Vijayāditya II as there is specific indication to that extent in the charter under study. Further, since the *ājñapti* of the present grant Paṇḍaraṅga is already known to us as the *ājñapti* of the Sātālūru and Chimbulūru grants of Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III, we may safely identify the donor king with Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III.³

Of the geographical places, the village Maṅgavēḍu has been identified with Maṅginapūḍi in the Bandar Taluk of the Krishna District.⁴ The residence of the donee,

1 *A.R.Ep.*, 1938-39, pt. II, p. 72, para 4.

2 *Ibid.*

3 The reference to the king as Guṇagāṅka-Vijayāditya, made in the *Report* is probably based on wrong reading of the concerned portion of line 23. The actual reading is *Paṇḍara[m*]gō guṇākaraḥ(karah)* and as such the term Guṇagāṅka need not be taken into consideration.

4 *A.R.Ep.*, *op. cit.*

Krōvachūru is the same as modern Krōsūru in Sattenapalle Taluk, Guntur District. The boundaries of the gift land are Kappurēni-chēnu¹ in the east, Cherukani-chēnu in the south; Chāmana-bōyu-chēnu in the west and Rattōdi-chēnu in the north.

TEXT²

First Plate : Second Side

- 1 Svasti Śrīmā(ma)tām sakala-bhuvana-samstūyamāna-Mā-
- 2 navya-sagōtrānām Harīti³-putrānām Kauśiki-vara-pra[sā*] da-la-
- 3 bdha-[rā]jyānām(nā)m=Mātṛigaṇa-paripa(pā)litānā[m] Svā[mi]-Mahā-
- 4 sēna-pāda(d-ā)nudhya(dhyā)tānā[m] bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasa(sā)da-sa
- 5 māsādita-vara-varāha-lāñcha(ñchha)n-ēkshana-kshana-vaśikri-

Second Plate : First Side

- 6 t-ārāti-maṇḍalāna(nā)m=Asvamedh-āvabhṛitha-snā[na*]-pavitrikri-
- 7 ta-vapushām Chalukyānām kulamam(m-a)la(lām) karishnōh anēka-sama-
- 8 ra-samghaṭṭan-ō[pa*] labdha-vijayasya Vishnuvarddhana-mahā-
- 9 rājasya priya-tanayaḥ Vijaya(yā)ditya-mahārājasya pautra[h*]
- 10 Mēru=iva śamstita-mitr-ōdayaḥ śārṅg=īv=ārāti-bhīti-kṛita-

Second Plate : Second Side

- 11 chakrō [ja]lanidhir=iva Lakshmi-pra[bhā]vah Vijaya(yā)ditya-mahārā-
- 12 jā[dhi]rāja-paramēśvara-bhaṭṭa(ttā)rakah Gudrava(vā)ra-vishē(sha)ya-vāsina(nō)
- 13 rāshtrakūṭā-pramukhān-kuṭu[m] binaḥ sarvva(vvā)n=ittham=ājñāpaya-

1 [Kappu-rēni-chēnu obviously denotes the black cotton soil - Ed.].

2 From estampages.

3 Read Harīti.

CHANDAVÖLU PLATES OF VIJAYĀDITYA (III)

2
 4

ii a

6
 8
 10

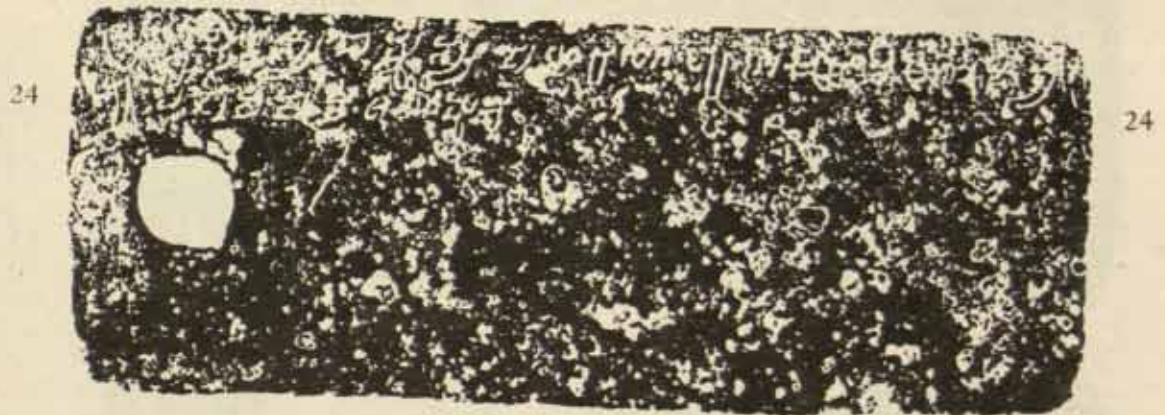
ii b

12
 14
 16

iii a



iii b



ACTUAL SIZE

- 14 ti viditam=astu vō=sma(smā)bhir-dva(r-dvi)ja -bri(bri)ndāarakasya Krōva-
 15 [chū]ri-vāstavyāya Kuppa-śarmmanah pauṭrāya Bandha(dhū)-śarmmanah pu-
 16 trāya Bhāradva(dvā)ja-gōtrāya Yajña-śarmmanē Āpastambha(mba)-sūtrā-

Third Plate : First Side

- 17 ya adhīta-vēdāya Maṁgavēḍu-nāma-grāmē daśā(śa)kaṇṭikā-vrī[hi]-
 18 [bī]jāvāpa --pramā[ṇam] kshētra[m] dattam[!*] tasy=āvadhaya[h*] pūrvvataḥ
 Kappu-
 19 rēni-chēnu dakṣiṇata[h*] Cherukani-chēnu paśchimataḥ bōlu-
 20 [Chamā]na-bōyu-chēnu uttarata[h*] Raṭṭōdi-chēnu ētēsha(shā)m=madhya-
 21 varttī [!*] Sarvān=ēva bhāvina[h*] pa(pā)rttha(tthi)vēndra(rā)n bhūyō bhūyō
 ya(yā)[cha*] tē Rāmabha-
 22 draḥ[!*] sāmānyō=yam dharmma-sētur-nṛipānām(nām) kālē ka(kā)lē pālani[yō*]
 bhava[dbhiḥ] [!]

Third Plate : Second Side

- 23 Ājñaptir=asya dharmmasya Paṇḍara[m*]gō guṇ-ākha(ka)rah [!*] Vijayāditya-
 24 bhūpa[sya*] pāda-padma-śilīmukah(khah) ||¹

1 The metre of the verse is *Anuṣṭubh*.

NO. 13 – KUKKE (SUBRAHMANYA) GRANT OF MĀDHAVARĀJA,
KALI 4488 AND ŚAKA 1309

(2 plates)

K. V. Ramesh, Mysore

This set¹ of plates edited here was secured from Subrahmanya or Kukke, Puttur Taluk, South Kanara District, Karnataka and was in the possession of Shri B.R. Vyasa-rayachar of Mangalore when it was copied by the then Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund in the year 1928-29. It consists of five plates, each measuring 31.4 x 20 cms. On the top centre of each plate is a circular hole, about 1.5 cms in diameter, for the ring of the seal to pass through. No details regarding the ring and the seal and the weight and thickness of the plates are now available. The outer sides of plates I and V do not bear any writing and the text, engraved on the eight remaining sides, runs into 224 lines in all, the distribution of these lines on each side being as follows: I : 25; IIa : 33; IIb : 32; IIIa : 31; IIIb : 29; IVa : 30; IVb : 25; V : 18.

The characters used are Nāgarī of the 14th-15th century and the language is Sanskrit (prose and verse), though the grant portion betrays remarkable Kannada influence. Among orthographical peculiarities, attention may be drawn to the facts that no uniform procedure is observed in doubling consonants immediately following *r* and that Dravidian *r̥* is represented by *rr̥*. The letter *l̥* is differentiated from *l* by a loop-like formation at the left of the latter letter.

The details of date (verses 16-19; lines 28-33), which are rather unusually elaborate are as follows: Kali 4488 (expressed by the chronogram *gaj-ēbb-ābdhi-yuga*), Śaka 1309 (expressed by the chronogram *grab-āmbār-āgni-śītām'su*), the current cyclic year Prabhava, Pausha ba. 3, Friday, 1033935 (expressed by the chronogram *bāna-tritaya-ramdbr-āgni-guṇa-kh-ēṃdu*) days having expired,² Uttarāshādha-nakshatra, Āyushmad-yōga, Bālava-karāna, when the Sun was in Makara (i.e. Capricornus). If *kṛishṇa*⁰ is taken to have been wrongly written for *śukla-paksha*, then the details of date, viz., the Kali, Śaka and cyclic years, the month, *tithi*, week-day and *nakshatra* would correspond to 1387 A.D., December 13, Friday, f.d.t. .37; f.d.n. .41.

The object of the charter is to record a number of grants (details discussed below) made to the temple of Subrahmanya at Kukke which was attached to Kaḍaba-nagara in Tauḷava-maṇḍala by the ruler (*mibīpati*) Mādhav-āryya, the Lord of Gōvāpura.

1 *A.R.Ep.*, 1928-29, App. A, No. 2 and p. 82.

2 In terms of years this date falls in the middle of the second millennium B.C. and, therefore, appears to give the number of days which had elapsed since the *Mahābhārata* war. See Ojha : *Bhāratīya Prāchīna Lipt-mālā*, p. 162.

The charter commences with a salutation to god Mahāgaṇapati (line 1) followed by verses 1 and 2 (lines 1-5) in praise of Śiva. Verse 3 (lines 5-7) is in praise of Vishnu while verse 4 (lines 7-9) eulogises Gaṇapati, the elephant-faced grandson of Himavān. Verse 5 (lines 9-11) refers to the creation of the *dbarma-śāsana* i.e., the copper-plate grant in question. While verse 6 (lines 11-12) states that God Subrahmaṇya, the son of Śiva, is established in His abode at Kumāra-giri, verse 7 (lines 12-14) states that His *alter ego* is established in the village of Kukke, situated in the territory (*pradēśa*) of Tuḷu-maṇḍala. Verses 8-13 (lines 14-24) are devoted to the praise of Kukke-Subrahmaṇya, described, among other things, as surrounded by serpents, as the punisher of the wicked, as addicted to truth, as generous towards brāhmaṇas, as the redeemer of 21 families or communities age after age and as worshipped by brāhmaṇas learned in the Vēdas.

Verses 14-20 (lines 24-34) and half of a stanza in lines 34-35 state that the ruler (*mabīpati*) Mādhavārya, the Lord of Gōvāpura, who had annihilated the circle of his enemies and who had installed (the image of) Saptanātha at Śamkhadvīpa, having heard of the greatness of the God Subrahmaṇya (of Kukke), given in the *Purānas* as narrated by Umā and Mahēśvara, made grants of land in the immediate presence of God Triyam-baka, for the worship of that deity and also to brāhmaṇas, on the date, details of which have been discussed above.

In the prose passage in lines 35-44, it is stated that what follows (in the lines subsequent to line 44) is a detailed account of plots of lands with standing houses, purchased from different villages (and granted) for the conduct of different daily services, such as *naivēdya*, *nivēdana*, etc., to the deity Subrahmaṇya, in the *agraśālā* which had been purchased, by paying a price in keeping with the cost prevalent in those days (*tat-kāla-samuchita-krayamūlyēna gribitāyām agrāśālayām*) from that deity Himself (and then given back to Him as a grant). The *agraśālā*, the boundaries of which are enumerated, is said to be situated in the village of Kukke which is attached to Kaḍaba-nagara in Tuḷu-maṇḍala.

The first grant, recorded in lines 44-45, was six *nishkas* of money which was the amount to be realised *per annum* from the betel groves surrounding the *agraśālā*.

The second grant, recorded in lines 45-53, was a plot of land, yielding two crops *per annum* (*dvi-sasya-kshētram*) and situated in the village of Beḷenele which was included in Edetaḍe-janapada. The gift land was of the extent of being sown with 12 *mūdes* of seeds, each *mūde* having a capacity of 45 measures of seed measured by the bell-metal measure of the temple of Subrahmaṇya (*tad-dēvastbāna-kāmsyamānī-mānēna pañcha-chatvāriṃśatā parimita*, etc.). The said plot of land formed a part of the *śūdravāta-kshētra* purchased by Kukku-veggade and was in turn, purchased from him for making the grant. The annual quantum of produce from the gift land, the boundaries of which are defined, was 50 *mūdes* of rice measured by the same temple-measure.

Lines 53-59 record the third grant which consisted of a plot of land (boundaries specified), situated in the *śūdravāta* Bhūtipāla in Kare-nāḍu and purchased, by paying.

for it at the prevalent rate (*pūrvavat-krayēna-grihitam*), from Ukku-nāyaka, Dattamaimda and Bariya Vīru-mēraṃṭa. The gift land was of the extent of being sown with 41 *mūdes* of seeds and its annual yield was 164 *mūdes* of rice.

The fourth gift, recorded in lines 59-69, consisted of a plot of land (boundaries defined), yielding two crops per year, situated in Kaṃdūru-valaya. This was a *babusvāmika-ksbētra* of the extent of being sown with 39 *mūdes* of seeds and purchased from five joint owners, viz., the person holding the office of *kārya-heggaḍe*, Vedali-kuṃmata, Kuṃmata-śrēshṭhin and *paḍavala* Kōti, the five pieces thus purchased being of the extent of being sown with 8, 6-1/2, 7, 3-1/2 and 14 *mūdes* of seeds respectively. The annual yield of this plot of land was 164 *mūdikās* of rice.

The fifth gift, recorded in lines 69-71, consisted of an excellent (*ākara*) field (boundaries specified) called Kukkuṃgalay-āḍuka, which was attached to the same Kaṃdūru-valaya.

Lines 71-78 record the sixth grant which consisted of a plot of land, yielding two crops annually, which was situated in the Kōṭhāraṃjada-valaya and which was of the extent of being sown with 54 *mūdikās* of seeds and which was purchased from 4 different persons, viz., Kēmaru, the *kāryyada-heggaḍe*, Mamju-heggaḍe and Mittilādedamu, the four pieces thus purchased being of the extent of being sown with 27, 5, 12 and 10 *mūdikās* of seeds respectively. The annual yield from this plot of land was 214 *mūdikās*.

Lines 78-79 record the sixth grant consisting of a plot of land (boundaries specified), parts of it yielding two crops and the rest yielding one crop annually, which was of the extent of being sown with 45 *mūdikās* of seeds and was situated in the Alpa-valaya. This plot of land was made up of pieces purchased from the following nine individuals, the extent of each such piece being given here within brackets at the end of each of the nine names : Paṃji-kēmana (4); *kāryya-heggaḍe* (14-1/2);¹ Ukku (5);² Karmina-heggaḍe (2); Vedali-kuṃmata (3);³ the *heggaḍe* of Eṇmūru (10-1/2); Bīra-kukka (4) and Chemna (2). The annual yield from this plot of land was 168 *dvi-sasya-mūdikās* of rice.

-
- 1 Two pieces of land were purchased from *kāryya-heggaḍe*, one of the extent of being sown with 10-1/2 *mūdikās* of seeds and which was probably a *dvi-sasya-kshētra* and the other, of the extent of being sown with 4 *mūdikās* of seeds and was an *ēka-sasya-kshētra*.
 - 2 From Ukku also two pieces of land were purchased, the first one, of the extent of being sown with 3 *mūdikās* of seeds and was obviously a *dvi-sasya-kshētra* and the other, of the extent of being sown with two *mūdikās* of seeds and was an *ēka-sasya-kshētra*.
 - 3 His name is written as such in lines 86-87, as Bedali-kuṃmata in line 84, as Vedala-kuṃmata in line 81 and as Beṃdali-kuṃmata in line 90. From him three pieces of land were purchased, each of the extent of being sown with 2 *mūdikās* of seeds, two of the pieces being *ēka-sasya-kshētras*. Of these one *ēka-sasya-kshētra* was given up to form part of a field called *beṃdali-kshētra* and the other *ēka-sasya-kshētra* was considered as equal only to 1 *mūdikā bījavāpa-kshētra*. Thus the total extent of land purchased from him was of the extent of being sown with 3 *mūdikās* of seeds.

The seventh grant, recorded in lines 97-104, consisted of a plot of land of the extent of being sown with 30 *mūdikās* of seeds and was situated in Kumjataṭi and known by the name of Chattādi-kshētra. This was made up of three pieces, two of them purchased from the *beggade* of Enmūru and the third from Kēmaru, the two pieces of the *beggade's* land being of the extent of being sown with 18 and 8 *mūdikās* of seeds while that of Kēmaru was of the extent of being sown with 4 *mūdikās* of seeds. The annual yield from this plot of land was 400 *dvi-sasya-mūdikās* of rice.

The text in lines 104-109 is in the nature of summing up the details of the grants thus made. It is again averred (in lines 104-106) that in the case of the donated plots of lands, purchased from seven villages, each *mūdikā* was of the capacity of 45 measures measured by the bell-metal measures of the (Subrahmanya) temple. In lines 106-107, it is stated that the lands granted were together of the extent of being sown with (12 + 41 + 39 + 54 + 45 + 30 =) 221 *mūdikās* of seeds while, in lines 107-109, it is stated that the sum total of the income from the grants made included the annual yield from all these lands, amounting to 866¹ *mūdikās* of rice and 6 *nishkas* of money.

In lines 109-45, are given details covering the apportionment of the above grants of 866 *mūdikās* of rice and 6 *nishkas* for different services in the temple of Subrahmanya. Of the 866 *mūdikās*, 120 were to be utilised for conducting the *saṃgava-kāla-pūjā* called *paṃdīrādī* and for the daily services of *ēka-rudra-pūjā* and *naivēdya*; 34 were to be utilised for *naivēdya*, *rudra-pūjā*, *brāhmaṇa-bhōjana* and for the provision of ghee for sprinkling on the stone; 3 for *rudra-pūjā* and for providing the deity and *brāhmanas* with *tāmbūla*; 8 for the provision of sandal, flowers, incense and lamps; and 36 for the provision of a perpetual lamp in front of the deity.²

Of the remaining *mūdikās* of rice 96 *mūdikās* were to be used, at the rate of 8 *mūdikās* per month, for providing livelihood (*jīvikā*) for the *brāhmaṇa* engaged in the recitation of the Vēdas. The *brāhmaṇa* who benefits by this grant should complete 48 recitations per year at the rate of 4 recitations per month (lines 118-22).

Lines 122-24 state that 8 *tāmbūla-mūdikās* per month were to be utilised for the daily feeding of 12 *brāhmaṇas* in the *agraśālā*; this amounted to 20 *śāli-mūdikās* (per month) and another 4 *mūdikās* were set aside (as payment) for ridding the above 20 *mūdikās* of rice of their chaff or husk (lines 124-26).

Lines 126-30 record the grant of 4-1/2 *nishkas* of money, out of which specified amounts of money (*tāra*) are to be spent everyday for fuel (2 *tāra*), a cover or lid (2 *tāras*), fruits, vegetables and the five ingredients (for preparing *paṃcha-kashāya* ?) (2-1/2 *tāras*), salt, mango, pepper, cumin-seeds, turmeric and asafoetida (3 *tāras*), butter-milk (3 *tāras*), and 12 *tāmbūlas* (1 *tāra*). Thus, at the rate of 10-1/2 *tāras* per day, the total amount was 315 *tāras* per month. Another grant of 2-1/2 *nishkas* is

1 The annual yield of crops actually amounted to (50 + 164 + 164 + 214 + 168 + 400 =) 1160 *mūdikās* of rice.

2 Though this adds up to 201 *mūdikās*, the total figure is wrongly given in lines 116-17 and again in lines 138-39 as 200 *mūdikās*.

recorded in lines 130-33 towards the cost of 60 measures (*prasriti*) (of grain?) at the rate of 2 *kāmsya-prasritis* per day and of 15 bell-metal measures of ghee, each measure being of the capacity of 4 *prasritis*. Thus the money grant totalled $(4\frac{1}{2} + 2\frac{1}{2}) = 7$ *nishkas* per month. For this purpose (i.e. for realising this amount of 7 *nishkas*), 21 *mūdikās* of grains were earmarked (lines 133-34).

For the cook a grant of 6 *nishkas* and the grains remaining unused, on account of fasting on *ekādaśī* days, was made (lines 134-35) as his *jīvikā* (livelihood).

Thirty *mūdikās* of rice were set aside for carrying out annual repairs and renovations in the *agra-sāla* (lines 135-36).

Lines 137-45 give a brief resume of the grants, consisting of 866 *mūdikās* of rice and 6 *nishkas* of money, recorded in lines 109-36.

In lines 145-50 are recorded grants of one bronze lamp-post, one tripod, one vessel for (keeping) the *naivēdya* and one copper jar for purposes of cooking to the god Subrahmanya and of one copper pitcher, one frying vessel, one vessel for cleaning grains, one copper ladle, one water-vessel and 6 she-buffaloes whose milk was to be utilised in the feeding of *brāhmanas*, to the temple choultry.

Four different grants of land and money to be utilised for the feeding of the *brāhmanas* on the occasions of the great festivals of the deity's ceremonial procession on the *śuddha-tritīyā* of *Vṛścika-samkrānti* and *Subrahmanya-sbashṭhi* every year are recorded in lines 151-94. The *brāhmanas* to be thus fed included the 32 village elders (*dvātriṃśad-grāma-mukhyas*), and those who come from the many villages and assemble (at Kukke) for the festival of *Subrahmanya-sbashṭhi*. Of these four grants, the first one (lines 151-67), made by Mādhavāryya, having the epithet of *Upanishan-mārga-prav. ak-āchārya*, consisted of a plot of land (boundaries specified), situated in Belunele in Yedetade-dēśa and purchased from Kukku-veggade of Velunele and Virumanna-veggade of Kumjatati. The plot which was of the extent of being sown with 8 *mūdikās* of seeds and which yielded annually two crops totalling 30 *mūdikās* (of grains), was granted along with its jack, mango and betel-nut trees and 5 *nishkas* of money raised as tax for that land.

The second grant, recorded in lines 167-74, was made by Ajila-Madda of Sirivāgil and consisted of a plot of land, situated in the village Badagere, along with its bower and jack, mango and betel-nut trees and its tax amount of 7 *nishkas*. The land was of the extent of being sown with 11 *mūdikās* of seeds and its twice-a-year yield was 16 *mūdikās* of rice.

The joint donees of the third and fourth grants, details of which are recorded in lines 174-88, were the potters (*kumbbāra*) Mudiya-seṭṭi and Belli-seṭṭi. Of these, the third grant (lines 174-82) consisted of a plot of land called Amḍeyavairiya-bhūmi and situated in Vāgēya-grāma and also included the bowers and betel-nut, mango, jack and pepper groves and the tax amount of 4 *nishkas*. The land was of the extent of being sown with 7 *mūdikās* of seeds and its annual yield of two crops a year was 16 *mūdikās*. The fourth grant (lines 181-88) consisted of a plot of land called Dēsumkukkīya and situated in Vāgi-grāma and included its *āduka*, betel-nut, mango, jack and other trees

and its tax amount of 7 *niskbas*. The land was of the extent of being sown with 16 *mūdikās* of seeds and its annual yield was 32 *mūdikās* of rice. In lines 188-94, a brief resume of the above grants, amounting to 96 *mūdikās* of grains and 23 *niskbas*, is given.

It is stated, in lines 196-203, that at the time of paying the cost of the purchased plots of lands to the land-owners, in accordance with the then prevailing rates, the 32 village elders and the *pādamūlis* of the temple, having arranged for the payment of money to the respective land-owners, thus freeing the gift-lands from all encumbrances, took a vow, in the presence of Mādhavarāja, to act in such a way as to keep the entire grant free from all encumbrances. Lines 203-204 state that, by virtue of this act, the gift lands were thus freed from royal taxes (*rāja-kara*), royal pageantry (*rāj-ōtsava*) and royal demands (*yāñchya*). The king (*rāja*), the 32 village elders, the people of the locality (*deśiyāh*) and citizens in general are then exhorted (lines 204-208) to preserve and protect the grants for all times to come. Lines 208-17 contain five imprecatory stanzas usually met with in such *bbūmi-dāna* grants.

Lines 217-22 state that *upanishan-mārga-pravartak-āchāryya* Mādhavapati, who, by his manifold acts of devotion, had seen Lord Śiva with his own eyes, who had annihilated all his enemies and who had installed (the image of) Saptanātha at Śamkha-dvīpa, had written with his own hands, in the presence of his favourite deity, Triyam-baka, the sign-manual. The record ends with the sign-manual śrī-Triyam-baka (line 223).

The grant under study, which provides us with interesting details regarding temple administration and also contains many technical terms of lexical interest, is also of some historical importance. The prime donor of the grants recorded therein viz., Mādhavārya or Mādhavarāja or Mādhvapati played an important role in the early decades of the history of the Vijayanagara empire. Apart from this grant, there are two other records, one a copper-plate grant¹ from Kātavalli, Sorab Taluk, Shimoga District and the other, a stone inscription² from Hārōmuchchadi-agrahāra, Shikaripur Taluk, Shimoga District which contain references to this Mādhava. The former, issued in 1347 A.D., refers itself to the reign of Mārāpa, one of the younger brothers of Harihara I, over the western parts of the empire from his headquarters at Chandragutti in Vanavāsi-12,000 and mentions Mādhava as his minister. This charter further states that Mādhava had for his *guru* the ascetic Kriyāśakti who was, on the score of brilliance, Triyam-baka himself. The other inscription from Hārōmuchchadi-agrahāra belongs to 1368 A.D. and to the reign of Bukka I. According to this epigraph, Mādhava was Bukka's minister and was ordered by the latter to take over the administration of the western parts of the empire, right upto the sea coast. In this record also Mādhava is mentioned as the disciple of Kāśīvilāsa-Kriyāśakti and is given the epithet *Upanishan-mārga-pratishtā-gurub*, which is almost the same as the epithet given to him in our charter. Again, as is the case with the record under study, this inscription says that

1 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Sb 375.

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, Sk 281.

Triyambaka was Mādhava's *ishtaṅga*. Another inscription from the same *agrabāra* and also dated in 1368 A.D. names Mādhava as Mādarasa-oḍeya and calls him the *mabāpradbāna* of Bukka I. It is clear from these three inscriptions that Mādhava held the post of minister and also the overlordship of the western parts of the empire for at least four decades from 1347 A.D., the date of the Kātavalli grant, to 1387 A.D., the date of the charter edited below.

Of the measures of capacity mentioned in our charter, *mūdā* or *mūdikā* is a Sanskritised form of *mūde* which occurs in many South Kanara inscriptions of the Vijayanagara period and which is known in present day South Kanara as *mudi*.¹ Each *mūdā* or *mūdikā* was, as far as our record was concerned, of the quantity of 45 measures measured by the brass-metal measure of the Subrahmaṇya temple. The term *divisasya-mūdikā* (line 96), *vṛhī-mūdikā* (lines 134-35), *taṁdula-mūdikā* (line 124) and *śāli-mūdikā* (line 125) are only nominal variants of *mūdā* or *mūdikā*.

Another measure of capacity mentioned in the record is *prasṛiti*. As a measure, this Sanskrit term means a handful.² But the expression *kāmsya-prasṛiti* occurring in our inscription shows that this was also a brass-metal measure (*kāmsya-māna*) of capacity.

Of the two numismatic terms occurring in the charter viz., *nishka* and *tāra*, the former is a gold coin and the latter, a copper coin.³

Lands were measured on the basis of the quantity of seeds each given plot of land needed for sowing and the term used for this in our as also in a number of other South Kanara inscriptions is *bijāvāpa*. In modern times this method of measuring lands is known in South Kanara as *bijavari*.⁴ Bijāvāpa may be compared with *drōṇāvāpa*⁵ of North Indian inscriptions which, in effect, is *drōṇa-bijāvāpa* i.e. 'an area of land requiring one *drōṇa* measure of seeds to be sown'.

The expression *babu-svāmikaṁ kshētram* (line 63) is of some interest. It does not merely mean that the plot of land in question was jointly owned by more than two individuals. The word *babu* of this phrase is to be taken here as Sanskrit translation of the Kannada term *balaru* (or *samasta-balaru*), which denotes in South Kanara of the Vijayanagara period, a communion of associations or bodies. Many Vijayanagara inscriptions from South Kanara mention *balara-bhūmi*, *balara-gaḍi*, etc. in the course of defining the boundaries of gift lands. The above equation of *babu* with *balaru* and its interpretation as a collection of associations is further supported by our charter in which a *beggaḍe*, a *śrēṣṭhin*, a *paḍavala* and a *paḍihāri* figure among the joint owners of the plot of land.

1 A KISSAMWĀR GLOSSARY OF KANARESE WORDS, p. 169.

2 M. WILLIAMS : SANSKRIT-ENGLISH DICTIONARY, s.v.

3 F. KITTEL : KANNADA-ENGLISH DICTIONARY, s.v.

4 A KISSAMWĀR GLOSSARY OF KANARESE WORDS, p. 15.

5 D.C. SITCAR : INDIAN EPIGRAPHICAL GLOSSARY, s.v.

Pachi-vritti (line 90) is another term of lexical interest. *Pachi* means 'cooking' and the whole term may therefore mean a plot of land given to a donee either for his livelihood or as a source of income for his profession as a cook.

Among geographical names occurring in the record, the territory (*pradēśa*) of South Kanara is once mentioned as *Tuḷu-maṇḍala* (line 13) and again as *Tauḷava-maṇḍala* (line 35). During the greater part of Vijayanagara sovereignty over South Kanara, that territory was divided into two *rājyas*, viz., Bārakūru and Maṅgalūru-rājyas. In a few inscriptions, both these *rājyas* are sometimes together referred to as *Tuḷu-rājya*.

Kukke^o or Kukkeya-grāma, which is stated to be attached to Kaḍaba-nagara, is the same as Subrahmanya (Puttur Taluk), the village which is famous for its temple dedicated to that deity. Kaḍaba-nagara is represented on the modern map by the village Kaḍaba, also in the same Taluk. When we consider the fact that Kaḍaba and Kukke are separated by a distance of over 10 miles as the crow flies, it is clear that *nagara* is used in the record, not in the sense of a town, but in the sense of a sub-division.

The other sub-divisions mentioned in the record are Eḍataḍe-janapada or *dēśa* (lines 45 and 157) Kare-nāḍu (lines 53-54), Kaṁḍūru-valaya (line 60), Kōṭhāraṁjada-valaya and Alpa-valaya. Of these, Eḍataḍe answers to the modern name of Yedtare which, however, is in the Coondapur Taluk and is, therefore, too far to the north for our purpose; Kare-nāḍu is the region around modern Kārṇāḍu, Mangalore Taluk; Kaṁḍūru-valaya, in all probability, was the region in and around modern Kannūru, Mangalore Taluk; Kōṭhāraṁjada-valaya may have been a sub-division around modern Reṅjalāḍi, Puttur Taluk; Alpa-valaya is represented by the region around modern Alape, Mangalore Taluk.

The villages which are mentioned in the inscription along with their modern equivalents, if available, and the Taluks in which they are situated are given below:

<i>Place name occurring in the record</i>	<i>Modern Name</i>	<i>Taluk</i>
Belenele or Belunele or Veḷunele	Bilinele	Puttur
Bhūtipālu	Mangalore (?)
Kaṁḍūru	Kannūru	Mangalore
Enmūru or Ennūru	Enmūru	Puttur
Kēmakānana	Kemīṅja	Puttur
Chillavalli
Kukkuṅgala	Kukkala	Puttur
Kōṭhāraṁja	Reṅjalāḍi	Puttur
Marakambāḍi	Marakaṅja	Puttur
Putrāḍi	Puttila	Puttur
Kuṁjataṭi	Kuṅjatabail	Mangalore

<i>Place name occurring in the record</i>	<i>Modern name</i>	<i>Taluk</i>
Sirivāgil, Siruvāgil	Shirivāgilu	Puttur
Vāgi or Vāgēya	Puttur (?)
Badagere	Badagannūru (?)	Puttur
Pernu	Perna	Puttur

It is interesting to note that, among the place names occurring in the record, Bhūtipālu is referred to as a *śūdravāta-valaya* (line 54) and again, a plot of land purchased from Kukku-veggade is called *śūdra-vāta-ksbētra*. *Vāta*, among other things, means 'an enclosure of a town or village'. The former expression, therefore, may be interpreted to mean that villages were partitioned into quarters on the basis of the caste of the residents. In this connection, attention may be drawn to the fact that some inscriptions of the Keladi rulers mention *brāhmaṇa-vāda* and *śūdra-vāda*. *Śūdra-vāta-ksbētra* may pertain to those plots of lands which were owned by the residents of the *śūdra-vāta* of a given village.

TEXT¹

[Metres : Verses 1-20, 22-25 *Anushtubb* ; Verse 21 *Śālinī*]

First Plate : Second Side

- 1 Śrī-Mahāgaṇapātayē namaḥ | Namaḥ(ma)s=tum-
- 2 ga-śiraś= chumbi-chandra-chāmara-chāravē |
- 3 trailōkya-nagar-āraṃbha-mūla-stāmbhāya Śāmbhavē || 1 || *] U-
- 4 ttuṃga-vyōma-kēśasya Gaṃgāyās=chandra-chāndrikā | kallō-
- 5 la-kara-jhātākāri chāmar-ālī=va rājatē | [2 || *] Harēr-llī-
- 6 lā-varāhasya daṃshtrā-daṃdah sa pātu vah | hēm-ādri-kala-
- 7 śā yatra dhātrī chchhatra-śriyam dadhau || 3 || *] Mātā-maha-ma-

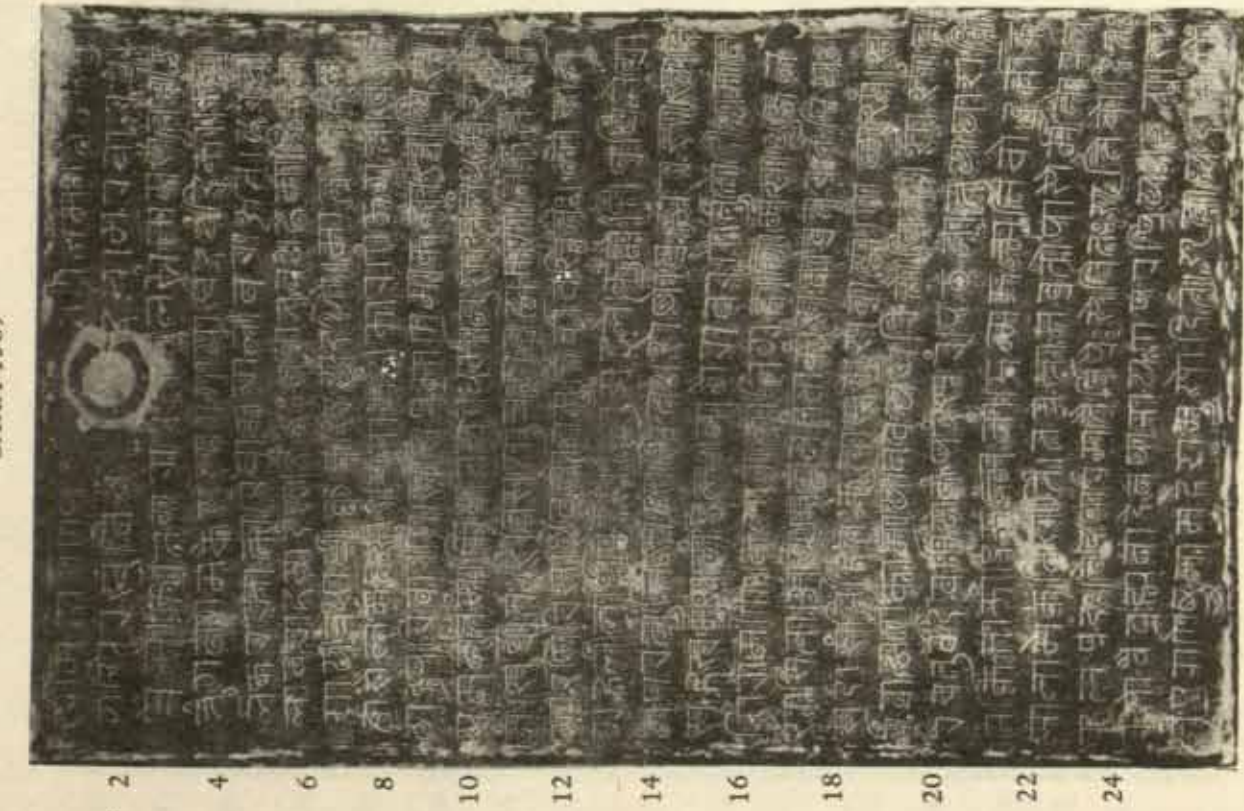
1 From impressions.

2 Immediately after this letter is engraved the Kannada numerical figure 1 indicating the number of the plate.

KUKKE (SUBRAHMANYA) GRANT OF MĀDHAVARĀJA, KALI 4488 AND
 ŚAKA 1309

PLATE I

i



2
4
6
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10
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14
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22
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ii a



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58

- 8 hā-śailam mahahsta(has-ta)d-apī tām-aham kāraṇam jagatām vaṁdē kam-
- 9 thād=upari vāraṇam(nam) | [| 4 ||*] Svasti-pramāṇam-ā-kalpa[m*] sthāyi sthē-
- 10 yam=anuttamam | kriyatē sarva-dharm-ānusāsanaṁ dharmā-śāsa-
- 11 nam(nam) | [5*||] Suprītaḥ Śiva-satputraḥ Subrahmaṇyō nikētanē | Ku-
- 12 māra-giri-saudhē tu yōga-mūrttir=vyā(vya)vasthitaḥ | [6||*] Lōk-ānu-
- 13 graha-līl-ārtham pradēśē Tuḷu-maṁḍalē | Kukḥ=ēti prathitē grā-
- 14 mē=para-mūrttiḥsta(rttis=ta)thā sthitaḥ | [| 7 ||*] Śēshō Brahma-ras-āsvādi-
- 15 sahasra-mukha-maṁḍalaḥ | nāgair-āvaraṇair=bhūtō dīpyamāna-
- 16 śirōmaṇiḥ | [| 8 ||*] Kalāv=ājñā-nigrahābhyām-asādhu-jana-
- 17 śāsītā | aśrīṇvann=anṛitam vākyaṁ satya-vrata-rata-priyaḥ | [| 9 ||*]
- 18 Sada-sam(sa)nnihitaḥ kṛitvā sva-mukham brāhmaṇ-ōnmukham | sa-
- 19 rvaṁ brāhmaṇa-kāmāya nivēdya paritōshitaḥ | [| 10 ||*] Śākh-āṁta-
- 20 rē chatur-vēdē varṇnam=ēkaṁ padaṁ svaram | paṭhanāt=tu yathā śakti
- 21 bhakti-bhājām dvi-janmanām(nām) || [| 11 ||*] Janma-janmani ch=ōddharttā ku-
- 22 lānām=ēka-vimsatim | tatra snāna-vrat-ōpāsair=manōratha-
- 23 phala-pradaḥ | [| 12 ||*] Vēda-pāraṁgatair=vipraiḥ sēvitaḥ śrī(śru)ti-chōditaḥ
- 24 rasō vai brahma-nādēna pārāyaṇa-para-priyaḥ | [| 13 ||*] Ityākya-
- 25 na-purāṇēsh-Ūmāmahēśa-mukh-ōditaṁ | śrī(śru)tvā=tha dāna-śaun-

Second Plate : First Side

- 26 ḍa-śrī-Mādhavāryyō mahīpatiḥ | [| 14 ||*] Śrīmad=Gōvāpur-ādhiśaḥ
- 27 kshapit-ārāti-maṁḍalaḥ | Śāmkha-dvīpē=tha paryyāyāt=Saptanā-

- 28 tha-pratishthitēḥ(tah) || 15 ||*] Agha-ghnam-āśu-kāmārtham dharmalōbhāt=pravarttitah | gaj-ē-
- 29 bh-ābdhi-yuge=tite Kali-varshē tathā punah | || 16 ||*] Grahāambar-āgni-śītāmśau vyatītē
- 30 Saka-vatsarē | varttamānasya varshasya Prabhav-ākhyasya māsy=api || 17 ||*] Paushē pakshē
- 31 tathā kṛishnē tritīyāyām Bhrigōr=ddinē | bāna-tritaya-ramdhr-āgni-guna-kh-ēm̄dau dinē
- 32 gatē | || 18 ||*] Nakshatrē=py=Uttarāshādhē Yōgē ch=Āyushmad=āhvayē | karanē Bālavē chamda-
- 33 kiranē Makarē sthitē | || 19 ||*] It=īdriśē punya-kālē śrīmat=Triyambaka-sam(sa)nni dhau | Su-
- 34 brahmanyasya pūjāyai brāhmaṇēbhyaś=cha mēdinīm(nīm) | || 20 ||*] Sāṅgam prādād=yathā so=yam pra-
- 35 kārō vivarī(ri)shyatē | Tad=yathā | Sakala-jagat-prasiddha-Taulava-mam̄dal-ōpām-
- 36 ta-varttini Kaḍab=ākhyā nagar-ānubam̄dhini Kukkeya-grāmē tad=grām=ādhiśvara-
- 37 sy=Ēśvara-par-āvatārasya śrīmataḥ Subrahmanyadēvasya dētā(vā)lay-ōttar-āimkanā-
- 38 d=udīchyām tad=uttara-dvāra-mārgāt=pūrvasyām tad=uttar-āśvatth-ālavāla-bam̄dhād=dakshi-
- 39 nasyām | tad=agra-pūjā-pūg-ārāmāt=pratīchyām diśi varttamānāyām tat=kāla-sa-
- 40 muchita-kraya-mūlyēna tasmād=dēvadēvat=sā-hirany-ōdaka-kraya-dāna-dhārā-pū-
- 41 rvakām grihitāyām=agraśālāyām pratyaham parivarttyamānām nānā-vi-
- 42 dhānām tad=dēvasya naivēdya-nivēdan-ādīnām nānā-dharmāṇām nirvāhāya ni-
- 43 mitta-bhūta-bahv-ārtha-sampatti-nīdānām nānā-grāmēshu kṛitānām sa-griha-

1 There is also a subscript *y* sign and a stroke on the letter *yam* which looks like a cancellation mark. The engraver seems to have tried to correct the expression as *Śrīmat=Tryambaka*.

- 44 kshētrāṇām vivaraṇām | tatr=ādāv=agraśālā-parisara-kramuk-ākarāt=pra-
- 45 tivatsaram=uttishthamān=ākara[h*] shaṇ-ṇishkī | tadvad=Eḍetadey-ākhyā-janapad-
āmtarga-
- 46 [tē] Beḷenceley-ākhyē Kukku-veggadēna¹ krīta sūdra-vāta-kshētrē kētakī-srōtasa-
- 47 ś=cha Krishnadēva-kēdāra-pūrva-parvata-jala-mukhāch=cha prāk | Dummana-Bācha-
nasya kshē-
- 48 trād=adhastan-ākṛitrima-prastarād=a[r*] vāk Kukkeśvara-dēvasvāt=pratyak tad=
dēvasya
- 49 kshētra-prāṁta-plaksha-kshētra-vṛikshābhyām a[r*] vāchīna-parvatīya-jala-mukhāch=
cha pratyak
- 50 dakshīna-parvatīya-jala-mukhēna saha udak iti chatuh sīm-āmtargata-tad=dēva-
- 51 sthāna-kāmsyamānī-mānēna paṁcha-chatvāriṁsatā parimita-dvādāsa-mūḍ-āva[ch]
chhinna-
- 52 bijāvāpa-yōgyam dvi-sasya-kshētram Kukke-veggadāt-krītam | asmāt=kshētrāt=
prativatsa-
- 53 ram=utpadyamānaṁ tan=mānēna paṁchāśan=mūḍ-āvachchhinnaṁ śāli-dhānyam ||
punah Ka-
- 54 rē-nād-āmtargata Bhū[ti]pāl-ākhyā sūdra-vāṭasya valayē jala-sāraṇītaḥ pratyak
Kēma-
- 55 kānanād=udak Chillavalli-samdhēh prāk rāja-mārggād=āmra-vanā(nā)ch=ch=ā[r*]
vāk iti cha-
- 56 tuḥ sīmā-samanvitamē(tam=ē)ka-chatvāriṁśan-mūḍa-bijāvā[pa*]-paryyāptam
Samartha-kē-
- 57 mana-baliya Ukku-nāyaka Chilla-bāliya Datta-maimda Bariya-Vīru-mēramtā-

1 The letter *ta* was first engraved and then corrected to *na*.

2 The letter *ni* was originally engraved and then corrected to *ti*.

58 bhyām cha pūrvavat=krayēṇa gṛihītam kshētram | tasmāt=prativarsham=utpadya-
mānam

Second Plate : Second Side

- 59 Chatuḥ shashty=adhikam mūdānām¹ 'satam |² 'śāli-dhānyam || — || bhū-
- 60 yaḥ Kaṁdūru-valayē Kukkayadēva-dēvasvāt=pratyak | kāryyada-ve-
- 61 ggadeya kumja-nīra-mukhād=udak Baṁkiyam(ya)ṇṇa-bhāgīyān=nīra-
- 62 mukhāt=prāk | aḍuka-mārgād=a[r*]vāk | ṭśāny-āśvatthāt=paśchima-Kaṁdūru-kā-
- 63 nana-sadhī(mī)chīnam iti chatuḥ sīmā-samanvitam yad=bahusvāmikam kshētram |
tatra
- 64 kāryya-heggade-purushād=ashṭau Vedali Kummma(ma)tat=sārdha-shatt |
Kummma(ma)ta-śrēsthinaḥ
- 65 sapta paḍavala Kōṭitaḥ sārddhā(dhā)s=tisrah | paḍihāra Baṁki[yan*]ṇāch=chatur-
ddasa ēva-
- 66 m=ēkō-na-chatvārimśan=mūdikā bijāvāpa-paryyāptam(pta)m=uktēbhyah kṛitam
dvi-sasya-
- 67 kshētram | tammā(smā)t=prativarsham=utpadyamānam chatuḥ shashty=adhikam
mūdikanām 'satam
- 68 śāli-dhānyam | |punah(na)s=tad=anubam̄dhi-tat=srōtasō vā pratyak cha Yaḍamuna-
kumjā-
- 69 d=udak | amēya-vāgila-jala-kulyāt=prāg=iti chatuḥ(tu) s=sīmā-samanvitam
- 70 Kukkuṁgalay-āḍuka-samjñam ākara-sthalam | tathā Kōṭhāramjada valaya am-
- 71 mma(ma)chabaṁkēna-kshētrāt=pratyak | kāryyada-heggade Vedali-kummma(ma)ta-
Ko-

1 Immediately after this letter the Kannada numerical figure 2 is engraved indicating the number of the plate.

2 This *danda* is redundant.

- 72 rratīnām kshētrād=udak | Marakambāḍiya vaprāt=prāk | Putrāḍiya Madana-nā-
- 73 yaka-parikhātō=rvāk | iti chatuḥ(tu)s=sīmā-samanvitaṁ yat=kshētraṁ | ta-
- 74 tra Kēma[r]ōḥ sapta-vimśatiḥ kāryyada-heggaḍitaḥ pañcha Mamju-heggaḍe-
- 75 tō dvādaśa Mittilādeḍamōḥ daśa ēvaṁ dvi-sasyaṁ kshētraṁ chatuḥ pañchāśaṁ=
mūdi-
- 76 kā-bijāvāpa-paryyāptaṁ uktēbhyah kritāṁ tasmād=vatsaram=utpadyā(dya)-
- 77 mānaṁ chaturddaś-ādhikaṁ dviśataṁ mūdikanām śāli-dhānyāṁ | tathā Alpe-valaye
- 78 Kukkēśvara-dēvasva-bemdaleya-kēdāreṇa saha prāk | Koratiya kumjād-a[r*]vāk |
kaleya-
- 79 tta Kukkaya-dēvasvāt=pratyak | punah(na)s=tatr=aiva | Korati-kshētrāt Kukkēśvara-
kshētrād=arvāk
- 80 kāryyadavara kumjāt=pratyak | Kukkēśvara-kshētrād=udak | jala-srōtasah(sa)mtū
(s=t=ū)daka-
- 81 [ve]dala-kummma(ma)tt-āḍukāt=prāk | Korabana badar=udak | Kukkēśvara-kum-
jāt=prāk |
- 82 iti chatuḥ sīm-ā[m*]taḥpatitānām mūdikanām vivaraṇaṁ Pañji-kēmanāch=chatvāri
- 83 kāryya-heggaḍetaḥ s-ārddham daśa | tasy-aika-sasyāch=chatvāri Ukkōḥ(kkō)s=trīni
punah(na)s=ta-
- 84 syās=tv=ēka-sasya-kshētrā[d*]=dvē | Karmina-heggaḍetō dvē Beḍali-kummma(ma)-
ttād-ēka-sasya-
- 85 kshētrā[d*] dvē | Nagiraṁṇ(ṇē)na Kukkēśvarāya datta bemdaleya kshētrē
bijāvāpāmām(nām) mūdikā-
- 86 nām traya(yā)nām vyatyayēna Eṇmūra-heggaḍād=avāptē mūdikā dvē | Veḍali-
kumma-

1 The letter *ma* was originally engraved and then, there being no space for the medial *a* sign, it was struck off.

- 87 tād=ēka-sasya-nī(bī)jāvāpa-ma(mū)ḍikābhyām dattaīm dvi-sasyam=ēka-mūḍikā-paryyāptaīm
- 88 ittham mūḍikā-parivarttanēma(na) tad-beṁḍali-kshētram kṛitē | Enmūra-heggadi-taḥ kṛi-
- 89 tāsu s-ārdha-dvādaśa-mūḍikāsu madhyād=beṁḍali-kshētrārtham pachi-vṛityā dattē-
- 90 na mūḍikā dvayēna vinā mūḍikā s-ārdhā(rdha)dā(da)śa Beṁḍali-kummatāmmū (n=mū)ḍi-
- Third Plate : First Side*
- 91 kē dvē ēka-sāśya-kshētrāch=cha dvē | ēvaīm mūḍikā-chatusṭayē beṁḍali-kshētra-
- 92 nimittam mūḍikā-dvayam datvā avāśiṣṭa-mūḍikā-dvitayam Bī-
- 93 ra-kukkāt-kṛitam mūḍikā-chatusṭayam [ba]nnaḍa Chemna(nā)n=mūḍikā- dvayam | ittham beṁḍa-
- 94 la-kshētrēna saha bijāvāpa-paryāptānām pañcha-chatvārimśammū (n=mū)ḍikā-
- 95 nām-utpanna-karaḥ | prativarsham dvi-sasya-mūḍikānām-asṭa-shashṭhy- adhika-
- 96 śatam śāli-dhānyam | tathā Kumjataṭēr=amtargatā Chattādi-kshētrasya chatuḥ sīmā vi-
- 97 varaṇam | Temmūra Kummata²-srēṣṭhināḥ kshētrāt=prāk | Ennūra Kumja-veggāḍa-kshē-
- 98 trāt-prāk=cha | Kumja-parvata-jalamukhād-a[r*]vāk | sthāpita-pāshānāt=pratyak |
- 99 Parivāradēva-kshētrāt=pratyak=cha | Parivāradēva-kumja-vaprād=udak | iti cha-
- 100 tuḥ sīmā-samanvitē kshētrē bijāvāpa-paryāpta-mūḍikānām vivaraṇam |
- 101 Ennūra-veggāḍād=ash(ṣṭā)daśa | tasmād=ēva ēka-sasyam | aṣṭau Kēmarō-

1 The letter *æ* is engraved above the line.

2 The letter *na* was written first and then corrected to *ta*.

- 102 ś=chatvāri | iti mūdīkānām trimśatām āgāmī-karaḥ || prativatsa-
- 103 raṁ dvi-sasyasya mūdīkānām chatuḥ śatām śāli-dhānyam | itthaṁ krītēshu sa-
- 104 pta-grāmēshu pratyēka-mūdīkāyās=tad=dēvasya kāmsyamānēna pañcha-cha-
- 105 tvārimśad=gaṇaṇayā parimāṇa klṛiptiḥ | prativarshaṁ dvi-sasyasya
- 106 bījāvāpa-pparyāptā ēka-vimśaty-adhika-dvi-śata-mūdīkāḥ ||
- 107 tad-ēvaṁ nānā-kshētrēbhyaḥ praty-abdam=agraśālām praty-āgāmi śaṭśhasṭy=a-
- 108 śṭhi(dhi)k-āsṭasatī mūdīkā dhānyam | tathā ka[rō]shan -nishkī ch=ādāyaḥ [1*]
Subra-
- 109 hmaṇyanāthasya paṁdīradī=ti prasiddha-saṁgava-kāla-pūj-ārtham prati-
- 110 dinam ēka Rudra-pūjā brāhmaṇ-ārtham naivēdy-ārtham cha pañcha-pānī-tam-
ḍula-
- 111 parikalpanayā prativatsaram vimśaty-uttaram mūdīkānām śatām | Dēva-
- 112 tā-naivēdyā-Rudra-pūjā-brāhmaṇa-bhōjan-ā[gni]-ghāra¹-ghṛit-ārtham chatustrim-
- 113 śan=mūdīkā|Rudra-pūjā brāhmaṇa-dēvatā-tāmbūla-yugal-ārtham mū-
- 114 dikā-trayam | gaṁdha-pushpa-dhūpa-dīp-ārtham mūdīkā s-āsṭam | Dēvasya pu-
- 115 ratō=jasra-dīp-ārtham śaṭ-trimśan=mūdīkā|| ēvaṁ sambhūya prativa-
- 116 tsaram dēva-pūjā-Rudra-pūjā-brāhmaṇa-bhōjan-ārtham cha mūdīkānām dvi-
- 117 śatī | Vēda-pārāyaṇa-brāhmaṇasya śan-āchchhādāna-dakṣiṇ-ā-
- 118 rtham prati-māsam aṣṭa-mūdīkā-kalpanayā prativarshaṁ shaṇṇavati mū-
- 119 dikā jīvikā | tam=ēnām jīvikām=ādāya tēna pratimāsam
- 120 pārāyaṇa-chatusṭaya-kalpanayā prati-vatsaram aṣṭa-chatvārimśad-Vēda-

1 Read bhōjan-āgni-kārya.

121 pārāyaṇāni karttavyaṇi | prati-dinaṁ agrasālayāṁ dvādaśa-

Third Plate : Second Side

122 brāhmaṇa-bhōjan-ārtham taṁḍulaṅḡhām dēvasya kām̐syamānyā [d*] =dvā-

123 daśa | ētat-kalpanayā prati-māsam(sa)m=asṭau taṁḍula-mūḍi-

124 kā | kāsām prakri[p] tir=viṁsati śāli-mūḍikā | tāsām=avapa-

125 tanis=tushikaraṇ-ārtham chatasrō mūḍikā | ēvaṁ prati-māsam chaturviṁ-

126 śati mūḍikā | punaḥ prati-dina-brāhmaṇa-bhōjya-pāk-ārtham imdhana-

127 . . rtham tāram=ēkam | mudg-ārtham tāra-dvayam | phala-śāka-paṁchak-ārtham
s-ārdha-

128 tāra-dvayam | lavaṇ-āmra-māricha-jīraka-haridrā-rāmaṭh-ārtham tāra-dvayam | ta-

129 kr-ārtham tāra-dvayam | dvādaśa-tāmbūl-ārtham tāram=ēkam | ēvaṁ prati-māsam
paṁcha-

130 daś-ādhika-tāra-tri[m] śatyā s-ārdha-nishka-chatusṭkam | punaḥ prati-dinaṁ
kām̐sya-

131 prasṛiti-dvaya-parimāṇēna prati-māsam shasṭi-prasṛitayah | chatuḥ prasṛi-

132 ty-ātmaka kām̐sya-pā(mā)nī-paṁcha-daśa-ghṛitam | tasya mūlyam s-ārdham nish-
ka-dva-

133 yam | ēvam=ubhayathā prati-māsam sapta-nishki | tad=artham ēka-viṁsati-vrīhi-

134 mūḍikā | pāchakasy=ēkādaśy-upavāsa-kāraṇād-avasīṣṭa-

135 taṁḍulaṅḡh s-ārdham ākarōttha shaṇ-nishki jīvikā [l*]prati-va-

136 rsham jīrṇnāyah śalāyā[h*] navīkaraṇ-ārtham triṁsan-mūḍikā [l*]

1 Immediately following this letter the Kannada numerical figure 3 is engraved indicating the number of the plate.

KUKKE (SUBRAHMANYA) GRANT OF MĀDHAVARĀJA, KALI 4488 AND
 ŚAKA 1309

PLATE II

iv n

122
 124
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- 137 ēvaṁ nānā-kshētrēsh-ūtpam̐(pa)nna-sāli-dhānyasya dharmā-vyaya-vivaraṇam̐ [1]
- 138 tatra Subrahmaṇyanāthasya naivēdy-ādi shōḍaś-ōpacharānām
- 139 mūdikanām̐ dvi-satam̐ | Vēda-pārāyan-ārtham̐ mūdikanām̐ sha-
- 140 nnavatiḥ | satrasya prati-dinam̐ dvādaśa-brāhmaṇa-bhōm̐(bhō)jjan-ā-
- 141 rtham̐ chatvāriṁśad-adhikam̐ pañcha-satam̐ mūdikanām̐ | agra-sālā-
- 142 yām̐ nikshēp-ārtham̐ mūdikanām̐ triṁsat | satra-pāchakasya jīvi-
- 143 k-ārtham̐ tatratyām̐ nishka-shatkaṁ | sa(ē)vaṁ sarva-dharma-vyay-ārttham̐ prati-
- 144 vatsaram̐ mūdikanām̐ shatshashty-adhikam̐-ashta-satam̐ tatratyām̐ ni-
- 145 shka-shatkaṁ cha | Subrahmaṇyadēvasya datt-ōpakaraṇānām̐ vivara-
- 146 ṇam̐ | kāmsya-mayō dīpa-stambha ēkaḥ | ēkā tripadī | ēkaṁ nai-
- 147 vēdyā-bhājanam̐ | tāmra-mayaḥ pāk-ārtham-ēkō ghataḥ || satr-āgāra datt-ōp a-
- 148 karanāni | tām̐(tā)mra-manikaḥ(ka)s=tv=ēkaḥ | kaṭāhaḥ(ha)s=tv=ēkaḥ | tam̐dula-
- śōdhan-ā-
- 149 rtham̐ pātram̐=ēkaṁ | tām̐(tā)mra-darvy=ēkā | jala-pātram̐=ēkaṁ | brāhmaṇa-
- bhōjan-ā-
- 150 rtham̐ dōgdhyō mahishyaḥ shat | iti dēta(va)sya dharm-ārtham̐ cha datt-ōpa-
- karanāni |

Fourth Plate : First Side

- 151 tatr=aiva Subrahmaṇya-kshētrē punar=Upanishan-mārga-
- 152 pravartak-āchāryyēṇa Mādhav-āryyēṇa Subrahmaṇy-ōtsa-
- 153 v-ārtham̐ kṛitam̐ dharm-āntaram̐ | tatha prati-saṁvatsaram̐ Vriśchika-saṁ-
- 154 krāmtēḥ śuddha trītiyāyām̐ Subrahmaṇyadēva-yātrāyām̐ dvātriṁśad-grāma-mu-
- 155 khyēbhyo nānā-viśiṣṭa-grāmēbhyō nānā-digam̐tēbhyas=cha samāga-

- 156 tya Subrahmaṇya-shashthī-mahōtsavē militānām brāhmaṇānām bhō-
- 157 jan-ārthaṁ Yedetadey-ākhyā dēś-āmtargata-Beḷuneleya Kukku-veggaditah
- 158 Kumjataṭi Birumaṁ (ma)ṇṇa-veggaditah(ta)ś=cha krīta Beḷuneley āmtargata-
bhūmēḥ(mē)-
- 159 s=chatuḥsīmā- vivaraṇam | Dummana-kshētrād-a[r*]vāk | Perṇṇu Ukku-veggade
Amē-
- 160 ya Baṭṭaladēvaru Ukku-veggade Vīrakānanam ity=uktānām prajānām kshētrē-
- 161 bhyaḥ pratyak | dakshīna-taṭāk-ōdakēna saha dakshīna-kumjād=udak | ta-
- 162 t=taṭāka-pārsvatō jala-nissaraṇa-samīpasth-ākṛitrima-pāshāṇāt=pū-
- 163 rva-parvata-jalamukhēna saha prāk | Dummasya parisā(khā)tō=[r*]vāk | iti cha-
- 164 tuḥ sīm-āmtargata-panas-āmra-kramuk-ādi vṛikshaiḥ saha ashta-mūḍikā bijā-
- 165 vāpa-paryyāptam dvi-sasyam kshētram | tasmāt=prativarsham=utpadyamānā
dēvasya
- 166 kā[m*]syamānimānānām pañcha-chatvāriṁsat-sa[m*]khyayā-paryyāptāḥ tri-
[m*]śa-
- 167 n-mūḍikāḥ tatradya-nishka-pañchakaiḥ saha | punaḥ Sirivāgil-Ājila-
- 168 Maddēna datta Baḍagerray-ākhyā-grāma- bhūmē [sa(ś=cha)] tuḥ -sīmā-vivaraṇam
pū-
- 169 rva-parvata-jalamukhēna saha pratyag=a[r*]vāk Gimmma(ma)-kshētra-sthapita-pā-
- 170 shāṇād=udak | paśchīma-parvata-jalamukhāt=prāk | Uttara-parvata-ja-
- 171 lamukhād=a[r*]vāk | ēvam chatuḥ sīm-āmtargata-kumj-āmra-panasaka-kramuk-ā-
- 172 di vṛikshaiḥ saha ēkādaśa mūḍikā bijāvāpa-paryyāptam dvi-sasyam kshē-
- 173 tram | tasmāt=prati-varsham=utpadyamānam mūḍikānām shōḍaśa-śāli-dhā-
- 174 nyam karah(ra)s=tatradya nishkānām sapta cha | Sirivāgil-ākhyā-grāma-kumbhā-

- 175 rra-Mudiya-Belli-seṭṭibhyām datta Bāgeya-grām-āmtargatē(ta)-Amḍeya vairīya-
bhū-
- 176 mēr=vivaraṇām | pūrva-va(pa)rvata-jalamukhēna saha pratyak | dakṣiṇ-ā[ḍuka]-
- 177 [ta]ḥ sprishṭha-parvata-jalamukhēna sah=ōdak | Kukkana-kēnēḥ prāg-u
- 178 dak | chatuḥ sīm-āmtargata-parva-aḍuka-kumjād=a[r*]vāk | iti
- 179 ta-kuṁja-kramuk-āmra-panasa-maricha-kānanaiḥ saha sapta-mū-
- 180 ḍikā-bijāvāpa-paryyāptam dvi-sasyam kshētram tasmāt=prati-varsham-u-

Fourth Plate : Second Side

- 181 tpadyamānam shōḍaśa¹ mūdika-paryyāptam śāli-
- 182 dhānyam | tatradya nishkāni chatvāri | tadanu Si
- 183 ruvāgila-kumbārra-Mudiya-Belli-seṭṭibhyā[m]
- 184 datta Vāgi-grām-āmtargata-Dēsukukkīya-bhūmēs-chatuḥ(tu) s=simā-
- 185 vivaraṇam | udak-sthita-srōtasah sētōr=a[r*]vāk | tasmāt=srō-
- 186 tasah pratyak | tasmach=ch=ōdak | parikhātah prāk | iti cha-
- 187 tuḥ sīm-āmtargat-aḍuka-kramuk-āmra-panas-ādi-vṛikshaiḥ saha
- 188 shōḍaśa-mūdika-bijāvāpa-paryyāptam dvi-sasyam kshētram | ta-
- 189 smāt=prati-varsham-utpadyamānam dvātrimśan-mūdika-paryyā-
- 190 ptam śāli-dhānyam | tatradyānām nishkānām sapta ity=ēshu tri-
- 191 shu grāmēshu bijāvāpa-yōgyānām mūdikanām pañcha-chatvā-
- 192 rimśatām mūdikanām prati-varsh-ōtpam(tpa)nna-dvi-sasya-mūdi-
- 193 kānām shaṇṇavatīḥ | tatradyāni nishkāni trayōviṁśa-
- 194 tīḥ | ētat=sarvam dvātrimśad-grāmastha-brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ utsavā-
- 195 y-āgata-brāhmaṇēbhyaś=cha Vṛiśchika-māsa-tritīyāyām Su-

1 Immediately following this letter Kannada numerical figure for 4 is engraved indicating the number of the plate.

- 196 brāhmaṇya-mahōtsavē brāhmaṇa-bhōjan-ārthaṁ dattaṁ [|*] ēvaṁ Su-
- 197 brahmaṇyadēvasya dharm-ārtha-vrīhi-bhūmēḥ (mē)s=tat-kāl-ōchita-kraya-
- 198 mauṁ(mau)lya-pradāna-samayē dvātriṁśad-grāma-mukhyāḥ(khyā)s=tad=dēva
p[ā]-
- 199 da-mūliṇaḥ(ṇa)ḥ=tat kshētra-svāmibhyaḥ sarva-bādhā-parihār-ā-
- 200 rthaṁ dhanam dāpayitvā tad=dēvasya purataḥ(ta)s=ta . . Mādhava-rā-
- 201 jāya sa-hiraṇy-ōdaka-dāna-dhārām dāpayitvā sarva-dharma-
- 202 sya sarva-bādhā-parihāram yathā bhavati tath=aiva kurma i-
- 203 ti śapathaṁ chakruḥ | tasmāt=tasyā bhūmē rāja-kara-rā-
- 204 j-ōtsava-yañchhy-ādi bādhā na saṁti [|*] tasmād-rājā
- 205 dvātriṁśad-grāma-mukhyāḥ(khyā)s=tad=dēśīyāḥ prajā ēvaṁ dharm-

Fifth Plate

- 206 m-ā-cham̄dr-ārka-sthāyinaṁ karttum=arhaṁti tasmā-
- 207 d=ēsha dharmah(rma)s=tv=ā-cham̄dra-tāraḥ sarvaiḥ pālani-
- 208 yah | etasminn=arthē śrī-Rāma-vākyaṁ darśayati | Sāmā-
- 209 nyō=yam dharmā-sētur-nripānām kālē-kālē pālaniyō bhavadbhi-
- 210 ḥ | sarvān=ētān bhāvināḥ pāthivēndrān bhūyō bhūyō yā-
- 211 chatē Rāmacham̄draḥ | [| 22 ||*] Dāna-pālanayā(yō)r=madhyē dānāt-śrēyō=nupā-
- 212 lanam(nam) | dānāt=svargam=a vāpnōti pālanād=achyutam padam(dam) | [| 21 ||*]
Ēk=ai-
- 213 va bham̄(bha)ginī lōkē sarvēśhām=ēva bhūbhujām(jām) | na bhōjyā na kara-grā-
- 214 hyā vipra-dattā vasum̄dharā | [| 23 ||*] Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō harēta
vasum̄-

- 215 dharām(rām) shashtir=varsha sāhasrāṇi viṣṭāyām jāyatē krimiḥ | [| 24 ||*]
- 216 Sva-dattā[d*]=dvi-gunam̐ punyam̐ para-datt-ānupālanam̐(nam) | para-datt-āpa-
- 217 hārēṇa svadattam̐ nishphalam̐ bhavēt | [| 25 ||*] Asyāḥ dharmā-sāsa-
- 218 na-patrikāyāḥ(yā) s=tasy=aiv-ōpanishan-mārga-pravarttak-āchāryya-
- 219 sya bahu-vidha-saparyyā-pratyakshikṛita-sāsāmka-sēkharasya
- 220 pratāp-akrām̐ta-vairi-vrajasya Śamkha-dvīpa-pratishṭhāpita-Sa-
- 221 ptanāthasya śrīman-Mādhvapatēḥ sv-ēshta-lim̐ga-Triyam̐baka-
- 222 sam(sa)nnidhau sva-hasta-likhitāny=aksharāṇi | śrī śrī śrī ||
- 223 śrī Triyam̐baka ||¹

1 Engraved in Kannada characters.

NO. 14 – PULIVARRU GRANT OF AMMARĀJA (I)

(2 Plates)

C.A. Padmanabha Sastry, Mysore

This copper-plate inscription is stated to have been received from the Tahsildar of Tenali Taluk, Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh. The other details regarding its actual findspot are not available. This charter, which has been registered in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1923-24 as No. A 3, is edited here with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore.

The set consists of five copper-plates, each measuring 19.5 cms long and 8.3 cms broad. The plates are very thin and a piece at the right top corner of the last plate is broken off and lost. The first and fifth plates are engraved only on the inner sides while the middle three plates carry writing on both sides. All the plates have their rims raised on both sides. The plates are strung to a copper ring measuring about 9.5 cms in diameter, which passes through a hole bored on the left centre of each plate about 2.8 cms away from the edge. This ring is firmly attached to a circular copper-seal fixed on to a flowery bracket on the back. The seal bears on its counter sunk surface the figures of the sun and crescent, a running boar (*Varāha*) and an *ankuśa* in its front. Below these symbols is engraved the legend *śrī-Tribhuvanāmkuśa* and below the legend a lotus of eight petals. The seal is about 6.3 cms in diameter. The five plates together with the ring and seal weigh about 1,108 gms.

This grant contains in all 56 lines. The writing, on the whole, is well preserved except on the top right corner of the last plate which is damaged. The characters of these undated plates belong to the Telugu-Kannada variety of the 9th century A.D. usually met with in the other copper-plate inscriptions of Amma I like the Masulipatnam¹ and Chēvūru² plates. However, a difference is noticeable, particularly in the mode of engraving the letters. In some cases the medial *ā* is indicated by a vertical line drawn on the top of the letter as can be seen in lines 2, 4, etc. It is interesting to note that the medial *ī* is indicated by a dot engraved in the centre of the sign for medial *i*.

The following orthographical features can be noticed in the record. The doubling of the consonant following *rēpha* is observed in the words *mūrttēb* (lines 22-23, 43), *sarvva*⁴ (lines 30, 46); *pūrvvātab* (line 47) and *karttavya* (line 50). The charter contains a few spelling mistakes which are duly corrected while editing the text.

The language of the record is Sanskrit, written in verse and prose with a good sprinkling of Telugu place-names in the context of describing the boundaries of the gift-village.

1 Above, Vol. V, pp. 131 ff. and plates.

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 41 ff. and plates.

The inscription records the gift of a village called Pulivarru, situated in the Velanāndu-vishaya, after making it tax-free, to Indaparāja, the son of Rattiya and Gōindakāmbā and grandson of Indaparāja of the Mahāratta family (*Mahāratta-vamśajab*) and the lord of Mānyakhēta (*Mānyakēt-ādhipatih*).

The record opens with the usual *praśasti* of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty (lines 1-18). It gives a list of kings commencing from Kubja Vishnuvardhana, the founder of the dynasty, down to Ammarāja I, the donor, along with their reign periods as already known to us from some of the Eastern Chālukya charters. The first verse (lines 19-22) describes the king Vijayāditya (IV), son of Chālukya Bhīma (I) as having conquered 'the East' (*vāsavīm jītv-āsām*) i.e. the coastal region of the Āndhra country and set up a pillar of victory at Virajā. The next verse (verse 2; lines 22-24) introduces the donor-king Ammarāja I, who was born to Vijayāditya (IV) and Pallavamahādēvī as Kumāra was born to Śaśi-mauli (i.e. Śiva) and Umā. The next two verses (verses 3-4; lines 25-30) describe the greatness of the king in general terms. This is followed by the statement (lines 30-34) that Sarvalōkāśraya-śrī-Vishnuvardhana-mahārājādhīrāja, (i.e. Amma I), endowed with the imperial titles, addressed his message to the residents of Velanāndu-vishaya headed by the *rāshtrakūtas*.

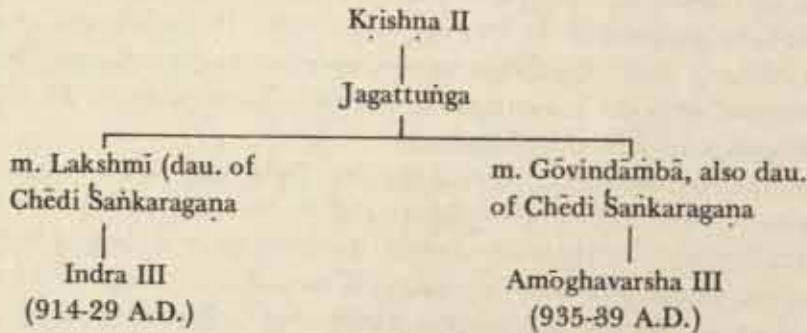
This is followed by the introduction of the chief Indaparāja (I) (verse 5; lines 34-36) who is described as the lord of Mānyakhēta and to have belonged to the family of Mahāratta i.e., Rāshtrakūta. He is stated to be the worshipper of the god Śamkara. His son was Rattiya, whose wife was Gōindakāmbā (lines 37-40). Lines 40-44 introduce the donee Indaparāja (II) who was born to Rattiya and Gōindakāmbā. He is compared to Shanmukha, the son of Umā and Īśa, to Jayanta, son of Śachī and Indra, and to Anānga, son of Upēndra and Lakshmī. In a passage couched in double entendre he is compared with the twins Nakula and Sahadēva in following Dharma (righteousness in his case and Dharmarāja or Yudhishtira in the case of the twins), as being famous all over Bhārata as an expert in all laws (*sarva-dharma*) even as Dharmarāja was famous in the Bhārata (i.e. *Mahābhārata*), as being the head of the army which had defeated unconquerable enemies (*duryōdhan-āri*) even as Dharmarāja was the head of the army against Duryōdhana. Lines 44-46 contain the grant portion according to which the king Ammarāja (I) gave away the village Pulivarru, making it free from taxes (probably as a fief), to Indaparāja (II). Then the inscription delineates the boundaries of the gift-village (lines 47-49). This is followed (lines 49-55) by the customary imprecatory verses. In the concluding part of the charter (lines 55-56) it is stated that the grant was executed by Kaṭṭārāja while the record was composed and written by Mahākāla-bhaṭṭa and Jāntāchārya respectively. Both Mahākāla-bhaṭṭa and Jāntāchārya are already known to us in the same capacity from some other Eastern Chālukya charters. The Chēvūru plates of Amma I¹ refer to Mahākāla-bhaṭṭa while Jāntāchārya is referred to as Jontāchārya in the plates² of Amma II.

1 Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 41 ff. and plates.

2 *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 195 ff. and plates.

Our inscription furnishes the genealogy and other details of the donee Indaparāja (II). His grandfather was Indaparāja (I) who belonged to the family of Mahārāja and was the lord of Mānyakhēta. D.C. Ganguly¹ identified Indaparāja (II) of our grant with the son of Amōghavarsha II, and the grandson of Indra III of the Rāshtrakūta dynasty. According to him when Amōghavarsha II was overthrown by Gōvinda IV, his family took shelter under Amma I. This view goes against the settled chronology of these rulers. For, while D.C. Ganguly says that Amōghavarsha II took shelter under Amma I after he was overthrown, we know that Amma I had ended his reign in 927 A.D. itself, even before Amōghavarsha II lost his throne in 930 A.D.

A recourse to the Paṅgarikā² grant of Amōghavarsha III helps us in offering a better interpretation. The genealogical details given in this grant may be tabulated as follows:



On the strength of the known dates of Amōghavarsha III and Amma I we propose here to identify Indaparāja (II) of our record with Amōghavarsha III of the Paṅgarikā grant. This identification rests chiefly on the fact that the name of the mother of Amōghavarsha III and of Indaparāja (II) is identical. Our identification, however, leads to the conclusion that Krishna II and Jagattuṅga were also known by the names of Indaparāja (I) and Rattīya respectively for which there is no direct supporting evidence. In the case of Krishna II, on the strength of the well established Hindu tradition of naming a child after its grandfather, we may reasonably suppose that Jagattuṅga had given his second son Amōghavarsha III another name viz., Indaparāja because his own father Krishna II also bore that name.

The Ēdēru plates³ of Amma I state that the king ascended the throne of Vēngī after defeating his natural enemies i.e., the Rāshtrakūtas and their allies. Probably Amōghavarsha (III) or Indaparāja (II), the son of Gōīndakāmbā, not finding any openings for himself in the Rāshtrakūta empire switched over to the Eastern

1 D.C. Ganguly, *The Eastern Chālukyas*, p. 73.

2 *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 265, text lines 20-21

3 *S.I.I.*, Vol. I, pp. 36 ff.

Chālukya camp and was rewarded with the fiefdom of Pulivarru. This will mean that Indaparāja II returned to the Rāshtrakūta empire and became king as Amōghavarsha III when the throne fell vacant in 935 A.D.

The executor (*ājñapti*) of the grant was Kaṭṭārāja, whose name is also found in some other copper plate grants, spelt differently as Kaṭakēśvara,¹ Kaṭakarāja² and Kaḍiyarāja.³

Of the geographical names mentioned in this charter the village Virajā is located variously in Utkala⁴ and in the 'division of 6000 villages'.⁵ However, its correct identification seems to be with the village Urjām, Narasannapet Taluk, Srikakulam District, A.P.⁶ The gift village Pulivarru may be identified with the present Peda-Pulivarru in the Repalle Taluk, Guntur District, while the Velamthūru-sīmā can be identified with the region around Vellaṭūru, situated to the north of Peda-Pulivarru in the same Taluk and District. The remaining place-names viz., Māvalūru, Kaṃchekawapūndi and Goravapūndi cannot be identified in the present state of our knowledge.

TEXT⁷

[Metres : Verses 1, 3, 4, *Sārdūlavikrīḍitam*; Verses 2, 6, *Āryā*; Verses 5, 8, *Āryāgītī*; Verses 7, 9, 10, *Anushtubh*]

First Plate

- 1 * Svasti [||*] Śrīmatām sakala-bhuvana-saṃstūyamāna-[Mā]navya-sa-
- 2 gōtrānāmHārīti-putrānām Kauśikī-vara-prasāda-labdha-rājyānā[m]
- 3 Mātri-gaṇa-paripālitanām Svāmi-Mahā[sē]na-pād-ānudhyātā-
- 4 nām Bhagavā(va)n-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-samāsādita-vara-va-
- 5 rāha-lāmcha(chha)n-ēkṣhaṇa-kṣhaṇa-vasīkrit-ārāti-maṇḍalānām (nām)=A-

1 Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 41 ff.

2 *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. XX, pp. 195 ff; Above, Vol. V, pp. 131 ff.

3 *Ep. Andhrica*, Vol. III, pp. 43 ff.

4 Above, Vol. XXXVI, p. 192, Note 2.

5 *Ibid.*

6 *J.E.S.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 23.

7 From the ink impressions.

8 There is a floral design at the commencement of line 1.

- 6 śvamēdh-āvabhri[tha]-snāna-pavitrikṛita-vapushā[m] Chālukyānām kula-
7 m=alamkārish [nōh] - Satyāśraya-Vallabh-ēndrasya bhrātā Kubja-Vishṇuva-

Second Plate : First Side

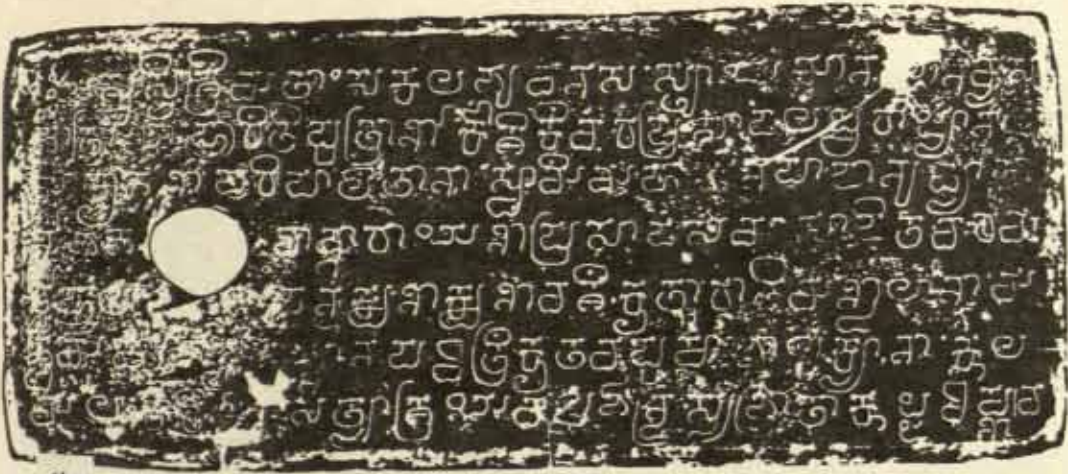
- 8 rddhanō=shtā[daśa]-varshāni Vēmgī-dēśam=apālayat || tad-ātmaḥ
9 Jaya[simha]s=trayas-trimśatām | tad-anuja Indarājah sapta-dināni |
10 tana(tan=na)andanō Vishṇuvarddhanō nava | tat-sūnūr=Mamgi-yuvarāja[h*]
11 pañchavimśatīm | tat-putrō Jayasimhas=trayōdaśa |
12 tad=avarajah Kokkilih shan=māsān | tasya Jyēshthō bhra-
13 tā Vishṇuvarddhanas=tam=uchchātya sapta-trimśatām | tat-putrō Vi-
14 jayāditya-bhattāarakō=shtādaśa | tat-sutō Vishṇuvarddhanah sha-

Second Plate : Second Side

- 15 ttrimśatām | tat-sutō Vijayāditya-narēndra-mrigarajas=ch=ashta-
16 chatvārimśatām | tat-suta[h] Kalī-Vishṇuvarddhanō=ddhyarddha varsham | ta-
17 t-sutō [Gu*]nagāmkā-Vijayādityas=chatucha(s=cha)tvārimśatām tad-anu-
18 ja(jō) yuvarāja]-Vri(Vi)kramāditya-bhūpatē[h*] sūnu[h*] Chalukya Bhī-
19 ma-bhūpālas=trimśatām || Tat-putrah sva-bhujasi-khandita-ripu-
20 kshmābhi(bhri)d-balād-vāśa(sa)vi[m*] jiv=āsa(sām) Virajē pratishti(shtthi)ta-
jayastambha[h*]
21 pratishtthō raṇō(ṇē) | svarnn-ārūdha-tulō=tra bādham-a[tu*]lō dhātrī-talē [ksha-
triyē mitrābhah parira*]¹

¹ This portion of the line is restored with the help of a similar verse found in the A.S.P. plates of Śaktivarman, Above, Vol. XXXVI, p. 196.


2
4
6



2
4
6

iia

8
10
12
14



8
10
12
14

iib

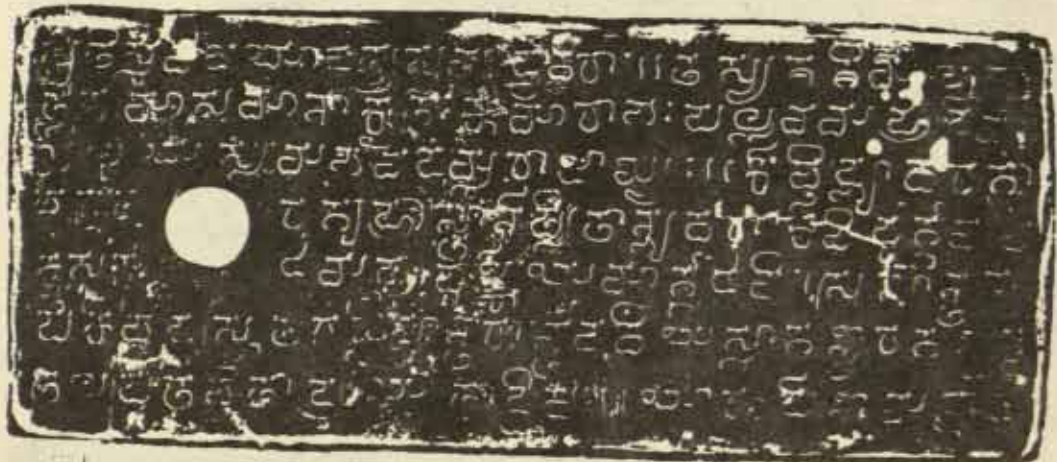
16
18
20



16
18
20

iii a

22



22

24

24

26

26

28

28

iii b

30



30

32

32

34

34

iv a

36



36

38

38

40

40

42

42

SCALE : THREE-FOURTHS

Third Plate : First Side

- 22 kshati sma Vijayāditya[h*] sam-ārddhām dharām || [1*] Tasya śasīmauli-mū-
 23 rttēr=Umā-samān-ākṛitēḥ Kumār-ābhāḥ [1*] Pallava-mahādēvyām
 24 khalu yas=samabhad=Ammarāj-ākhyah || [2*] Kēchid=bhūdharma-gō-
 25 charē varaguhā-sthān=ēpsitān-bhūdharām kēchidu(d=du)rgama-va-
 26 kra-samkata-mahā-durjñēya-mārgg-ātaviṁ(vim) [1*] a(ā)sā(śrā)nta(ntā)n=a
 27 pi kēchid=asru(śru)ta-ra-pāntarāntā vadhī¹ [1*] yasmāga(d=ga)ṇḍaragaṇḍa-bhū-
 28 talapatē bhītā prayātā dvishah || [3*] Yō rūpēṇa Manōja[m*]

Third Plate : Second Side

- 29 vibhavēna Mahēndram=ahimakaram=u[ru*] mahasā Haram=ari-pu-
 30 ra-dahanēndram nyakkurvvan=bhāti vidita-dig-avani-kīrttiḥ || [4*] Sa Sarva-
 31 lōkāśraya-śrī-Viṣṇuvarddhana-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśva-
 32 rah paramabhaṭṭārahāḥ Velanāndu-vishaya-nivāsinō
 33 rāshtrakūṭa-pramukhān=kuṭumbina[h*] samāhūy=ēttham=ā-
 34 jñāpayati || śrī-Mānyakēt-ādhipatir=Indaparāja-nāmā
 35 vidita-Mahāratta-vamśajah prakata-guṇah | śvīr-āvatāra-mū-

Fourth Plate : First Side

- 36 [r*]tti[h*] Śamkara-pada-ka[ma*] la-shaṭpadō ma[ti]mān || [5*] Tata(τ=ta)na-
 yō naya-
 37 vēdi(dī) vṛitāyata-bhuja-gat-āsi-jita-para[nri]pah | Rattiya-nri-

1 The meaning of this quarter of the verse is not clear.

- 38 pati-mṛigapatir=amita-guṇa-gaṇō(nai)r=jjita-śatru[h*] || [6*] Tat=patnī Gō-
- 39 indakā[m*]b=ēti vī(vi)khyātā putra. . . [pa]ti[vra]ta-gu-
- 40 nōpētā dharmmajñā satyavādinī || [7*] Um=Ēśayō[h*] Shanmu(nmu)kha-
- 41 vaj=Jayanta[h*] Śa(Śa)chi(ch=ī)ndrayō[h*] bhūd- yad=Upēndra-[La]kshme(ksh-
myōh) | Anamgaval=lō-
- 42 ka-jan-ābhipūjyaṃ(jya)n=tayōs=sutō Indaparāja nāmā || Naku[la*]-

Fourth Plate : Second Side

- 43 Sahadēva-mūrttē(rttih) Dharmm=ānugatau² cha Bhārata-khyātau sarvva-dha-
[rma*]-
- 44 pravīṇō nirjjita-Duryyōdhan-āri-sē(sai)nika-mukhyaḥ || [8*] tasmai Indapa-
- 45 rāj-ākhyāya bhavad=vishayē Pulivarra-nāma-grāmō mānyikṛitya
- 46 śāsanāru(rū)dhō sarvva-kara-parihāra(rō) datta iti viditam=a-
- 47 stu vaḥ || asy=āvadhayaḥ || pūrvvattaḥ Māvalūru sī-
- 48 mā | daksha(kshi)na[ta*]ḥ Kamchekavvapūṇḍi sīmā | paśchimataḥ Goravapū-
- 49 ṇḍi sīmā | uttarataḥ Velanṭhūru sīmā || Asy=ōpari na kē-

Fifth Plate

- 50 nachid=bā[dhā*] karttavayā [l*] yaḥ karōti sa paṃcha-mahāpāta [ka-yuktō bha*]1-
- 51 vati | tathā ch=ōktaṃ Vyāsēna || Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā bahu-
- 52 bhiś=ch=ānupālītā[l*] ya[sya] yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya

1 It is interesting to note that the *gō* in combination with the following initial vowel *i* has been treated by the composer as one syllable for the sake of metre.

2 Read *Dharmmarāj-ānugatau* for the sake of metre.

PULIVARRU GRANT OF AMMARĀJA – PLATE II

iv b



v



- 53 tadā phalam(lam) || [9*] Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō harēta va-
54 sumda[dha]rā[m |*] shashtīm varsha-sahasrāṇi viṣṭāyām jāyatē kri-
55 miḥ || [10*] Ājñāptiḥ Kaṭṭārājāḥ [|*] Mahākāla-bhaṭṭa-kāvyaṃ [|*] Jāntāchāryya-
56 likhitam [|*]¹

1 There is a floral design at the end.

NO. 15 – ORISSA STATE MUSEUM PLATES OF NARĒNDRADHAVALA

YEAR 189

(2 Plates)

S. Subramonia Iyer, Mysore

and

Snigdha S. Tripathy, Bhubaneshwar

The copper plate charter edited here, with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, was discovered somewhere in the Aska sub-division in Ganjam District in Orissa. The plates are now deposited in the Orissa State Museum at Bhuvanēśvar.¹

The set consists of three plates of which the first plate is engraved only on the inner side. Each plate measures approximately 19.2 cms in length and 9.9 cms in breadth. They are strung together on a copper ring, the two ends of which are soldered to the back of a circular seal. The diameter of the seal is about 4.2 cms. On the seal, there are seen the representations of a crescent moon at the top and a standing boar below. The seal, however, does not contain any legend. The writing on the plates is in a good state of preservation. The inscription contains on the whole 34 lines of writing.

The characters belong to the Kalinga alphabet of about the 11th century A.D. and they can be compared with those of Pandiopathar plates of Bhīmasēna, year 89² and Madras Museum plates of Narēndradhavalā.³ Some letters, however, show certain distinct and noteworthy features. Particularly interesting from the palaeographical point of view are the letters *p*, *y*, *r* and *v*. The letter *p* shows two forms, the first being similar in shape to that of the same letter found in the Pandiopathar and Madras Museum plates as seen in lines 7, 8, 9, etc. The second type of *p* is square shaped as found in lines 2, 5, 9, 11, etc. This type of *p* is, however, not seen in the Pandiopathar and Madras Museum plates. The letter *y* is written in three ways. The first type is akin in shape to the same letter found in the Pandiopathar and Madras Museum plates as found in lines 4, 13, 14, 15, etc. In the second type the left arm takes a direct curve and goes down to join the right arm which also takes a slight curve while descending and this type of *y* is seen in lines 2, 4, etc. This type of *y* is not to be found in the Pandiopathar and Madras Museum plates. The third type of *y* has got the shape of modern Nāgarī variety as seen in lines 16, 17, 22, 23, etc. This variety is found in the Pandiopathar and Madras Museum plates. The letter *r* is also written in two ways. The first type is akin to the same letter found in the Pandiopathar and Madras Museum plates. The second variety of *r* is triangle shaped, the two prongs on the left joining

1 This has been noticed as No. A 14 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1974-75.

2 Above, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 230 ff. and plate.

3 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 44 ff. and plate.

the upper and lower ends of the arm as seen in line 1 only. This type of *r* looks almost like *ch* found in the same record. It is, however, not seen in the Pandiathar and Madras Museum plates. A similar type of *r* is seen in the copper plate charters of *Rānaka Udayakhēdi*¹ and *Anāṅabhīma III*.² The letter *v* is written in three ways. The first type is like that of the same letter found in the Pandiathar and Madras Museum plates as found in lines 6, 9, etc. In the second type, the arm comes slightly down to take a roundish form in the middle and again goes down below as seen in lines 9, 16, 18, etc. This variety is seen in the Madras Museum plates. The third type of *v* has got the shape of *ch* found in the same record and is seen in a very few instances as in line 15. The sign for medial *i* occurs in two forms, one in the usual form of a vertical stroke to the left of the letter (as in *dhi*, line 6) and the other in the form of a semicircle on top of the letter as in *śikhara-nivāsi* (line 3).

The plate is not free from orthographical errors. While writing the second verse in the imprecatory part of the record, the second half of the verse has been omitted, which is an instance of the carelessness of the scribe and engraver of the record.

The charter is dated in the year 189, evidently of the *Bhaumakara era* on the 12th day of the dark half of the month of *Phālguna*. The year 189 will correspond to 1020 A.D., the other details being insufficient for working out the exact date.

The record commences with the auspicious word *siddham* expressed by a symbol followed by the word *svasti* and states that the grant was issued from *Bhīmapura*. Then is introduced the donor of the grant viz. *Mahārāja Narēndradhavalā*, the grandson (*naptā*) of *Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhirāja Prithvībhāṅja* and son of *Ripudhavalā*. The ruler is further described as a devout worshipper of God *Mahēśvara* (*paramamāhēśvara*) and of god *Yamalingēśvara*; he was an ornament of the *Nalā* dynasty.³ It may be pointed out here that *Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Bhīmasēna* of the *Pandiathar* plates, who flourished in the early part of the 10th century A.D. and belonged to the same dynasty, was also a *paramamāhēśvara* and worshipper of *Yamalingēśvara*; he also ruled over *Khiddiraśringa-maṇḍala* and issued his grant from *Bhīmapura*. It is therefore no wonder that the present charter greatly resembles the *Pandiathar* plates of *Narēndradhavalā*'s forbear *Bhīmasēna*. *Bhīmapura*, evidently named after the ruler *Bhīmasēna* referred to above⁴, seems to have been not only his capital but also that of his successors as is evidenced by the present grant.

The royal order pertaining to the grant was addressed to the *brāhmanas*, the *feudatory chiefs* (*sāmanta*), *officers* (*sāmavājina*) and the *residents* of the district

1 *A.R.I.E.*, 1974-75, No. A 15.

2 Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 235 ff. and Vol. XXXVII, pp. 317 ff.

3 Several kings belonging to the *Nalā* dynasty are known to have ruled in the *Chattingadh* and *Bastar* regions of *Madhya Pradesh*. (See, Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 12 ff.; *The Classical Age*, pp. 188-90). But it appears to be different from the present one since those kings flourished much prior to *Narēndradhavalā*.

4 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 225.

(*vishaya*) of Hētṭhāpata. The gift village was Śauchapura situated in the same district. The donee was Gabhīta, son of Uḍḍha and grandson of *Bhattaputra* Balādēva, who belonged to the Parāśara-gōtra, five *pravaras* and the Vājasana-charana and who was an emigrant from Hastipada. This is followed by the injunction addressed to the brāhmanas, priests, chief-queen (*mahādēvī*), chief feudatories (*mabāsāmanta*), feudatories (*sāmanta*), door-keepers (*pratibāra*), minor chieftains (*rājānaka*), petty chiefs (*rājaputra*) and such other inside and outside officials¹ calling upon them not to interfere with the grant. This is followed by six usual imprecatory verses which are ascribed to the Dharma-śāstra of Manu. After mentioning the date, the charter concludes with the statement that it was engraved (*utkīrṇa*) by *Sāndbivigrabi* Vādhyalāka.

The importance of the charter lies in the fact that it discloses for the first time the date of Narēndradhavala, the family to which he belonged, his capital as well as two of his forbears. Already one charter of Narēndradhavala is known. Since it was essentially a *kṛaya-śāsana*, it did not contain any information regarding the king excepting the fact that Khinḍarasīṅgha² formed part of the kingdom of Narēndradhavala. While editing the Madras Museum plates, Dr. D.C. Sircar suggested that Narēndradhavala might have belonged to the Dhavala family on account of his name ending in *dhavala*.³ The present charter shows that Narēndradhavala belonged to the Nala family which flourished in the Ganjam region of Orissa from as early a period as the beginning of the 10th century A.D.⁴ The Pandiathar plates revealed the existence of king Bhīmasēna of the Nala dynasty in Orissa in the beginning of the 10th century A.D. The charter under review shows that the same dynasty continued to rule even in the early part of the eleventh century A.D. Though it discloses the names of the father and grandfather of Narēndradhavala, it is not possible to give a connected chronology of the Nala dynasty from Bhīmasēna to Prithvibhañja, the grandfather of Narēndradhavala since the names of the kings who may have ruled in between are not available to us. Added to this, the nature of the relationship if any between Bhīmasēna and Prithvibhañja is not known. The use of the Bhaumakara era in the present charter shows that the Nalas might once upon a time have been the feudatories of the

1 The expression *antaranga* occurs in a number of inscriptions (see *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 7, l. 30; *ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 215, l. 14; *Indian Epigraphy* by D.C. Sircar, p. 371, f.n. 4 and has been taken to mean 'physician'. The expression *bahir-antaranga* is, however, interesting and not so far met with in inscriptions. In the present context it may be taken to include those 'outside' (*bahiranga*) officers who were not directly connected with the administration of the district in question and those 'inside' (*antaranga*) officers who were directly concerned with the administration of that district.

2 Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 49. There is a slight difference in the spelling of this place. Khinḍarasīṅgha is no doubt identical with Khiddirasīṅgha of the Pandiathar plates and of the charter under review.

3 Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 48.

4 Dr. Sircar's statement that the Nala family seems to have been ousted from the area (Khidḍirasīṅgha) by the Dhavalas who also appear to have owed allegiance to the Bhaumakaras does not appear to be correct in the light of the identification made above (*Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, p. 235).

imperial Bhaumakaras and had begun to rule more or less independently as evidenced by the use of the title *Mahārāja* by the king and the absence of the mention of any imperial overlord.¹

Khiddiraśringa can be identified with the former Khidishingy Zamindari which had its headquarters at Dhārakōta and lay to the south of Bodaguda and to the west of Goomsur now forming part of the Aska region of the Ganjam District where the present charter was originally found. Bhīmapura can be identified with the modern Bhimnagar coming under the jurisdiction of Pattapur police station in the Aska subdivision in Ganjam District. The grant village Śauchapura and Hēṭṭhāpata-vishaya in which the former village was situated as well as other places like Hastipada cannot, however, be identified.

TEXT²

[Metres: Verses 1-5 *Anushtubh*; verse 6 *Pushpitāgrā*]

First Plate

- 1 Siddham³ svasti [||*] śrī-Bhīmapurād-gavatāś⁴=charāchara-guru(rōḥ) śāsā-
- 2 ṅk-ārddha-śekhara-dhara[sya*] sthity-utpatti-pralaya-kāraṇa-hētōḥ śrī-
- 3 Yata(ma)lingēśvarasya bhattāarakasya śikhara-nivāsinaś=cha-
- 4 raṇa-kamal-ārādhana-vyāptasya puṇya-nichayasya⁵ śa-
- 5 kti-traya-prakarsh-ānurañjit-āsēya(sha)-sāmanta-chakrasya
- 6 bhujā-va(ba)l-ākraṇta⁶-sakala-Khiddiraśringa-maṇḍal-ādhi-
- 7 patēḥ paramamāheśvarō mātā-pitri-pād-ānudhyā-

1 See also *ibid.*, p. 48.

2 From impressions.

3 Expressed by a symbol.

4 Read śrī Bhīmapurād-bhagavataś-

5 Read kamal-ārādhan-āvāpta-puṇya-nichayasya.

6 Better read *ivo-bhujā-bala-parākram-ākraṇta* as in the Pandīpathar plates of Bhīmasēna, Year 89, above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 236.

Second Plate: First Side

- 8 tō(tah) parama-bhaṭā(ttā)rakō mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-śrī-Pri-
 9 thvībhañjasya naptā śrī-Ripudhavalā-sutaḥ parama-māhēśvarō
 10 Nala-varṁś-ōdbhava-kula-tilaka-mahārāja-śrī-Narēndradhavalā-
 11 dēvaḥ kuśalī [1*] Hēṭṭhāpatha-vishayē | ¹ sāmanta-sāmātā(vā) ji-
 12 nivāsi-janapadān samādisati sarvvataḥ śivam=a-
 13 s[m]ākam=anyat | viditam=astu bhavatām Śauchapura-grāmō=yam
 14 chatuḥsīmā-paryantā sa-jala-sthala[h*] sa-padrāranya-saha(hi)taḥ Parī(rā)
 15 śara-gōtrāya pañchārishaya² -pravarāya Vājasē (sa)na-cha[raṇāya*]

Second Plate : Second Side

- 16 Hastipada-vinirgatāya Bhīmapura-vāstavyāya bhaṭā(ttā)putra-
 17 Va(Ba)ladēva-naptre |³ Uddha-sutāya bhaṭā(ttā)putra-śrī-Gabhīṭṭā⁴ sa-
 18 lila-dhārā-puraḥ sarēṇa chandr-ārka-vāyu-sthitō(tyā) grāmō=yam pratipādi-
 19 tō=smābhi[h*] yatō bhavadbhir=yadā kālātta(nta)rē brā[hma]ṇa-purō-
 20 hita-mahādēvī-mahāsāmanta-śrī-sāmanta-pratīdā(hā)ra rājaka⁵ -rāja-
 21 putra-va(ba)hir-antarāṅg=ādīnām na ka(kai)śchid=uparōdhād=dharmma-gauravā-
 22 n=na kēn=āpi vā(bā) dhā karaṇīyā [1*] tanta⁶ śāsanatayā paṭhyatē māna-
 23 viyē dharmā-śāstrē | Va(Ba)hubhir=vasudhā dattā rājabhir=va

1 This *danda* is unnecessary.

2 Read *pañch-ārshēya*.

3 This *danda* is redundant.

4 Read ⁰ *Gabhīṭṭāya*.

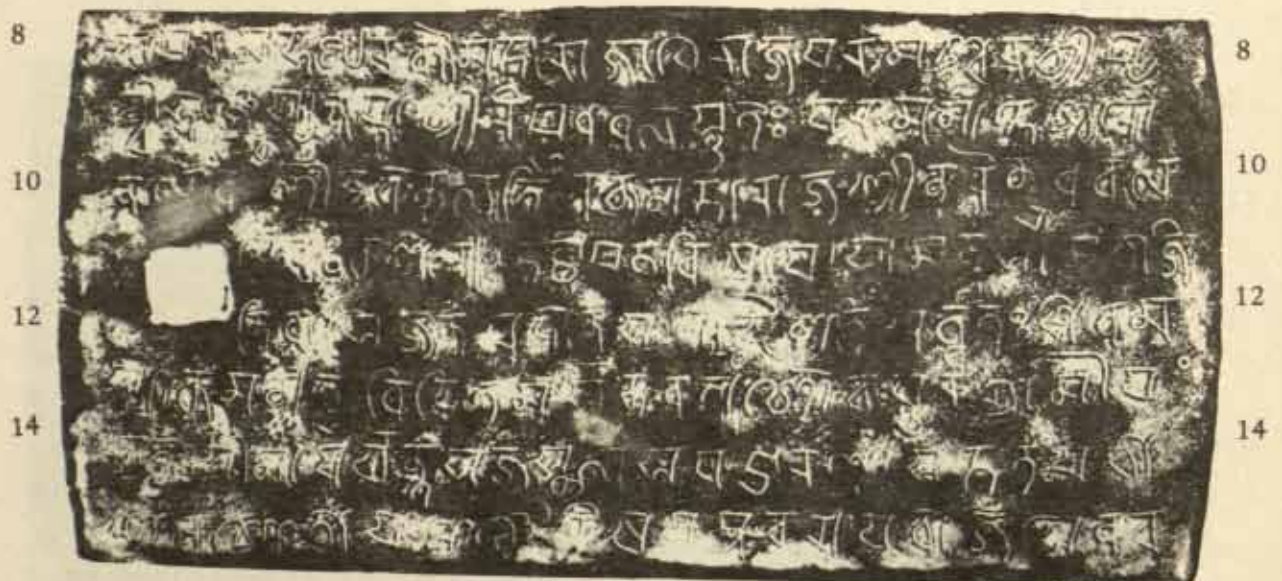
5 Better read *rājānaka*.

6 Read *tathā cha*.

i



ii a



ii b

16
 18
 20
 22

16
 18
 20
 22

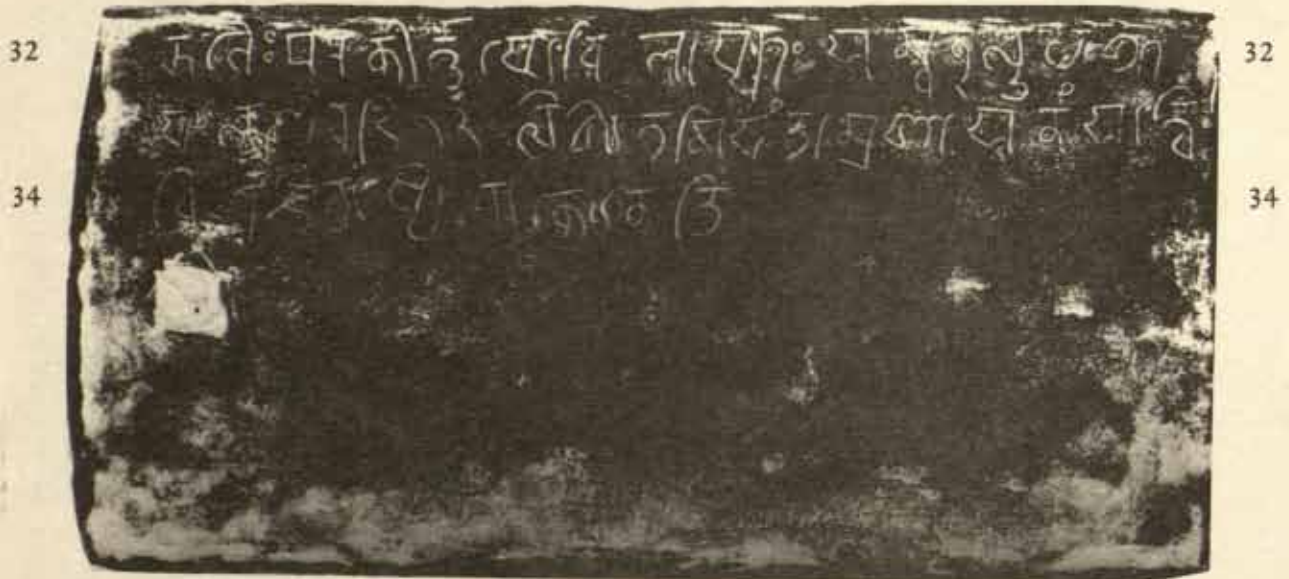
iii a

24
 26
 28
 30

24
 26
 28
 30

SCALE : THREE-FOURTHS

iii b



Third Plate : First Side

- 24 ttā¹ rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhir=yasya² yasya yadā bhūmis=tasā(sya) tasya tadā
- 25 phala[m || 1 ||*] Shashtir=varsha-sahasrāni svargē mōdati bhūmidah [1*]³ Mā
bhūd=apha-
- 26 la-sānkā vah para-datt=ēti pārthivāh [1*] svadānāt=phalam=ānantyaṁ para-dā-
- 27 n-ānupālanam(nam) [|| 3 ||*] Haratē hārayatē bhūmim manda-vu(bu)ddhis=tamā
(mō)vritah [1*] sa
- 28 va(ba)ddhō vāruṇaiḥ pāsais=tiryag-yōnishu jāyatē [||4||*] Sva-dattām
- 29 para-dattām=vā yō harēta vasundharā[m*] [1*] sa-vishthā(shṭā)yām krimir=bhū-
tvā pitribhiḥ
- 30 saha pachyatē [|| 5 ||*] Iti kamala-dal-āmvu-vandu-lālā⁴sriyam=anuchi-
- 31 ntya manushya-jīvitam [cha |*] sakalam=idam-udāhṛitaṁ=cha vu(bu)ddhya(dhvā)
na hi pu-

Third Plate : Second Side

- 32 ruvaiḥ (shaiḥ) para-kīrttayō vilōpyāh [|| 6 ||*] samvat 100 80 9⁵
- 33 Phālguna vadi 12 [1*] Likhitam=idam tāmra-sasanaṁ sādhi-
- 34 vighrahi-Vādhyalākēn=ēti- [||*]

1 The engraver seems to have wrongly engraved the letters *r=vasudhā dattā* by way of repetition and then struck them off.

2 Read *dībhīh* [1*] *yasya*.

3 The scribe has omitted the second half of the verse which is as follows : *ākshēptā ch=ānūmantā cha tāny=ēvu narakē vasēt* [||2*||]

4 Read *kamala-dal-āmbu-bindu-lōlām*

5 The figure for 9 is different from similar figures seen in the Pandiapatthar plates (Above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 238, line 25) and the Dasalla plates of Śatrubhāṅja Tribhuvanakalāsa (*Ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 194, line 41). We are inclined to think that the engraver did not carefully engrave the figure. After imperfectly engraving the figure for 9, he wrote *ya* of the conjunct letter *dhya* as seen in line 7 of the record. However, it may be noted that the figure for 9, indifferently engraved by him also stands for the same number (See *Prāchīnalipi Mālā* (by G.H. Ojha), pl. LXXXVI below).

NO. 16 – VĀSANA INSCRIPTION OF VĀSATHĪPUTA SIRI PULUMĀVI

(1 Plate)

M.J. Sharma, Mysore

The inscription¹ edited below with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, was recently discovered at a place called Vāsana (locally known as Halē-Vāsana) in the Nargund Taluk of Dharwar District, Karnataka, by Shri S.V.P. Halakatti,² Research Scholar, Department of Ancient History and Epigraphy, Karnatak University, Dharwad. It is engraved on a lime-stone pillar, which is octagonal above and rectangular at the base, found lying on a small mound on the bank of the river Malaprabhā. The mound as it exists now has been affected by recurrent floods and erosion caused by the sharp curve in the course of the river which at this point flows from the north-west in a north-easterly direction. The exposed part of the mound reveals the remains of brick structures, possibly of the Sātavāhana times, as also sculptural remains of the medieval period.

There are four lines of writing, two on each side, engraved in vertical alignment with the pillar, running downwards towards the base on prepared surface. The top portion of the pillar is damaged with flakes chipped off resulting in the loss of a few *akṣaras* in the beginning of each line. At the base, where the writing ends, are carved, covering three sides, three semicircular lotus medallions, one below the other and tapering in size, resting on a horizontal band with cross-petalled designs in squares. Though the inscribed surface is slightly damaged and worn out, the letters are clear and well preserved, particularly in lines 1-2. The mean size of the letters excluding the medial signs, varies from 2.5 to 3 cms in height and 2 to 2.5 cms in breadth.

The inscription is written in Brāhmī characters of about the first half of third century A.D. and the language is Prakrit. As regards palaeography, except for some differences in style adopted in the marking of the flourishes and the angular bottoms, the letters are comparable with those of the Nāgārjunakoṇḍa Prakrit inscription³ of Gautamīputra Vijaya Sātakarni, year 6, and basically nearer to the Ikshvāku inscriptions from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa. The flourishes of medial *i* generally run slantingly from the top of the letters towards the left and end up with a slight downward curve resembling a hook⁴ except in line 1, where, due to lack of space, they are bent after the start and drawn horizontally. Noteworthy is the formation of angular bottoms

1 Noticed in *A.R.Ep.*, 1981-82. I am indebted to Dr. K.V. Ramesh, Director (Epigraphy), Mysore, for making some important suggestions.

2 *Deccan Herald*, June 24, 1981, p. 4, Col. 4.

3 Above, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 278 ff. and plate.

4 Similar flourishes are noticed in the Amarāvati Inscriptions, *ASSI*, Vol. 1, plate LVI, No. 2, and in the Banavāsī Inscription of Siva Sirī Pulumāvi, *Studies in Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. 1, No. 8, plate, (line 1., letter *ś* and line 2, letter *v*).

and the artistic curves in letters *t* and *s*. In the former, the vertical line which is sometimes slightly bent towards the left, at the base, takes a sharp angular upward turn on the left side and extends like a semicircular arc towards right across the main stem, while, in the latter, the right limb which diverges obliquely to the right, takes an upward turn at the angular base to extend vertically and on the other hand, the left limb is formed with a pronounced artistic curve. Also, the alternative slanting of the stem in letter *r* is worth noticing. The serifs are uniformly scooped-up triangles. The *anusvāra* is indicated by a small cipher above the letter, a little away to the right. In line 4, at the end, there is a word with five letters reading *sarparāja* in characters of about 6th century A.D.

As pointed above, the inscription has suffered the loss of a few letters at the beginning of every line and, hence, the full purport of the inscription cannot be made out. The record mentions, in line-1, the king Vāsathīputa Siri Puḷumāvi and in line-2 the great lord (*mahādēva*) Chamḍasiva, the inhabitant of the place . . . *yatana*, a name which is only partly preserved. Line-3 refers to a carpenter (*vadhaki*) whose name is lost. In the last line there are only two letters (*tēti*) followed by two vertical strokes, and, apart from that, to the same line is appended a word with 5 letters in 6th century characters, the first four of these letters reading *sarparāja*. As a whole, it may be reasonably concluded that the purpose of the inscription is to record the making ([*kā ?*]*tēti*) of the pillar by a carpenter (*vadhaki*) for the (temple of) the great lord (*mahādēva*) Chamḍasiva, the inhabitant of . . . *yatana*, during the time of the [Sātavā*] hana king Vāsathīputa Siri Puḷumāvi.

The present inscription is important for, firstly, it is only the third Sātavāhana record found as far south as Karnāṭaka, the other two being the Myākadōni¹ (Bellary District) inscription of Siri Puḷumāvi and the Banavāsi (North Kanara District) inscription² of Vāsithīputa Siva Siri Puḷumāvi. Secondly, it helps us to fix positively the place of the king Puḷumāvi of the present epigraph in Sātavāhana genealogy as known from the Purāṇas, epigraphy and numismatics. V.S. Sukthankar, while identifying the Puḷumāvi of the Myākadōni inscription, has given the following list of Puḷumāvis with their possible chronology and adopting the details from V.A. Smith who had worked upon the Puranic material supplied by Pargiter.³

- 1 Puḷumāvi (I), the fifteenth king of the dynasty, who ruled sometime before 59 A.D.
- 2 Puḷumāvi (II), Vāsishthīputra, who came to the throne in about 135 A.D., ruled for around 28 years.

1 Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 153 ff. and plate.

2 *Studies in Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. I, pp. 34 ff. and plate.

3 Above, Vol. XIV, p. 154.

3 Puḷumāvi (III), who came to the throne in about 163 A.D., and ruled for something like 7 years.

4 Puḷumāvi (IV), who came to the throne in about 218 A.D., and ruled for something like 7 years.

The palaeographical features of the present inscription have been already discussed above and the inscription has been placed in about the first half of 3rd century A.D. And hence, the Puḷumāvi of our record may be conveniently identified with the fourth Puḷumāvi of the above list who came to throne about 218 A.D. and ruled for about 7 years i.e., from 218 to 225 A.D. But there is some discrepancy in identifying this ruler as the fourth of that name as, according to *Matsya Purāna*,¹ there were only three Puḷumāvis² viz., Puḷumāvi (I), the 15th king, who succeeded Svātīkarna, Pulōmā (Puḷumāvi (II)), the 24th king who succeeded Gautamīputra and Pulōmā (Puḷumāvi (III)), the 30th king who succeeded Chandaśrī. According to the same *Purāna*, the king who succeeded Puḷumāvi (II) was known by the name of Śivaśrī³ and not as Puḷumāvi whom Sukthankar had listed as Puḷumāvi (III). This has led to a lot of controversy among scholars. However, for our purpose, the Puḷumāvi of the present record may be referred to as Puḷumāvi, the last king of the Sātavāhanas, who succeeded Chandaśrī, because the present inscription has been already assigned palaeographically to the first half of the 3rd century A.D. to which the last Puḷumāvi alone belongs, the other Puḷumāvis having ruled in the earlier centuries. This identification is further strengthened by a clinching clue furnished by the present record which refers to the deity as Chandaśiva (line 2), a name which reminds us of Puḷumāvi's predecessor Chandaśrī, who might have been his father or elder brother, and in whose memory, probably, the temple of the god Chandaśiva was built.

As noted above, according to Puranic sources, Puḷumāvi, the 30th king of the Sātavāhanas, ruled for 7 years and the date assigned to him was C. 218-25 A.D. Sircar

1 See for the names of the kings under *Matsya Purāna*, *Early History of Deccan*, Ed. by Yazdani, p. 85.

2 Even in a recently compiled and reconciled list of the Sātavāhana kings there are only three Puḷumāvis. See *Sātavāhana Names and Dates: A Study in Synthesis* (paper read in Sātavāhana Seminar, Hyderabad, 1981) by Dr. K.V. Ramesh.

3 V.A. Smith and Sukthankar had followed Pargiter's interpretation of the Puranic text. The text pertaining to Śivaśrī reads thus: *Śivaśrī vai Pulōmā tu sapta-āva bhavitā nripāh*. Pargiter had translated it as 'Śivaśrī Pulōmā will be king (for) 7 years'. He had also given, in a foot-note (foot-note 2) another version of the text found in *Matsya Purāna* which reads *māt tu* i.e., *Śivaśrī vai Pulōmāt tu*, etc. It may be noticed that the name Pulōmāt is in ablative case and the expletive word 'vai' separates it from Śivaśrī. Therefore, it may be deduced that the intended meaning was that Śivaśrī, after Pulōmā, ruled for 7 years. Hence, Pulōmā mentioned here was the immediate predecessor of Śivaśrī, who had been identified as Puḷumāvi (II) and who had ruled for 38 years. See: *The Purāna text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, F.E. Pargiter, pp. 42 and 71. D.C. Sircar had referred to him as Śivaśrī Sātakarnī, see: *Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 205, and see: *The Comprehensive History of India*, p. 322 and f.n. 2.

places him between C. 219 and 227 A.D. while Ramesh fixes his date as C. 217 to 224 A.D.¹ But, whatever the dates assigned, the historicity of Puḷumāvi's rule has remained till now a controversy as there were not enough epigraphs to prove his reign, except the one from Myākadōni. But, even the Myākadōni inscription and its assignment have remained subjects of controversy. Sukthankar, in the course of editing this inscription, rightly observed that its characters resembled those of the Jaggayyapēta inscription of Purisadata, a post Sātavāhana Ikshvāku ruler, but, surprisingly enough, pushed it back by about half a century² and assigned it to that Puḷumāvi who had succeeded Gautamīputra in the first quarter of the 2nd century A.D. instead of assigning it to the last of the Puḷumāvis. His only reason for doing so was that, since the Myākadōni inscription was dated in the 8th regnal year, it could not have belonged to the last Puḷumāvi who was credited with a reign of only 7 years by the *Purānas*.³ On the other hand, Dubreuil⁴ ruled out this objection by stating that one must not rely on the duration of the reigns as supplied by the *Matsya Purāna* and reassigned the inscription to the last Puḷumāvi, mainly on palaeographical grounds. Sircar⁵ and other scholars⁶ agreed with this view while some others⁷ did not. Luckily, we are now in a position to put an end to this controversy for, on a careful re-examination of the Myākadōni record it is found that Sukthankar,⁸ while deciphering the regnal year given therein had read it wrongly as Eight instead as Six. The numerical sign given there clearly stands for 6 as may be confirmed by a comparison with the signs for the same digit occurring in the Nāgarjunakonda Prakrit inscriptions⁹ of Vīrapurisadata and in another inscription,¹⁰ from the same place, of Gautamīputra Vijaya Śrī Sātakarṇi, year 6. Now, with the revision of the regnal year from 8 to 6, the Myākadōni inscription can be positively assigned to Puḷumāvi, the last king of the Sātavāhanas, without contravening the Puranic assignment of seven years for his reign.

Another inscription which deserves our attention on grounds of its palaeographical features, which have much in common with those of our epigraph, comes from Banavāsi and belongs to Vāsithīputa Śiva Śiri Puḷumāvi. It records the setting up of the

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- 1 See the Chronological list in '*Sātavāhana Names and Dates : A Study in Synthesis*' (paper read in Sātavāhana Seminar, Hyderabad 1981) by K.V. Ramesh.
 - 2 See the Puranic list, Yazdani, *Early History of Deccan*, p. 112.
 - 3 Above, Vol. XVI, p. 154.
 - 4 Dubreuil, G.J., *Ancient History of Deccan*, p. 51.
 - 5 *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 206.
 - 6 Yazdani, Ed., *Early History of Deccan*, p. 130.
 - 7 L.K. Sharma, *Coinage of the Sātavāhana Empire*, pages 25-26.
 - 8 Above, Vol. XIV, p. 155, text line 1.
 - 9 Above, Vol. XX, Āyaka-pillar inscriptions, C3, C4, B2, B4 and B5, plates and transcripts.
 - 10 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 274 and plate, text line 3.

memorial stone by the king in memory of his queen (*Mahādēvi*). Though the editors of the inscription had compared and contrasted¹ its palaeographical features with those of the inscriptions from Nāgārjunakonda and Jaggayyapēta, they sought to identify the king Vāsīthīputa Siva Sirī Puḷumāvi of the record with Śivaśrī, the 25th king of the list as given by the *Matsya Purāna*.² But this identification is not tenable in view of the suffixing of Puḷumāvi to the name Śivaśrī in the Banavāsi inscription. According to the *Matsya Purāna*, the name of the 25th king was only Śivaśrī without any suffix or prefix while in the *Viṣṇu Purāna* the word Sātakarni is appended to his name.³ Added to this, on grounds of palaeography also the Banavāsi inscription definitely belongs to the first half of the third century A.D. Therefore, the king Vāsīthīputa Siva Sirī Puḷumāvi mentioned in the Banavāsi inscription is to be identified with the king Vāsīthīputa Sirī Puḷumāvi of the present record. The only difference in the name is the absence of the honorific prefix 'Siva' in our inscription. The reason for the use of this optional prefix may be explained by drawing attention to the predilection of the later Sātavāhanas towards Śaivism. Particularly, in the case of Puḷumāvi of the present record, his leaning towards Lord Śiva is evident by the reference to (the temple of) Mahādēva Chaṇḍasīva. Once this identification is accepted, there is a lot of scope to revise the attribution of the coins which bear the legends *Raṅḥo Siva Sirī Puḷumāvīsa* or *Raṅḥo Vāsathīputa Siva Sirī Puḷumāvīsa*. It may not be improbable that all the coins which bear the above legends were issued by the last Puḷumāvi, the successor of Chaṇḍasī, to whom the present inscription, as well as the Myākadōni and the Banavāsi inscriptions, are to be assigned.

TEXT

- 1 ⁴haṅḥa-Raṅḥo Vāsathīputasa Sirī Puḷumāvīsa
- 2 [vā] yatana⁶-vāsīsa mahādēvasa Chaṇḍasīvasa
- 3 [sa]la-vadhakisa
- 4 tēti⁷ || Sarparāja nu⁸

1 *Studies in Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. I, p. 35.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 36.

3 See *The Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. III, Ed. K.A.N. Sastri, p. 322, f.n. 2.

4 The missing portion may be restored as 'Siddham Sātavā': Cf. *Myākadōni Inscription*, Above, Vol. XIV, p. 155, text, line 1.

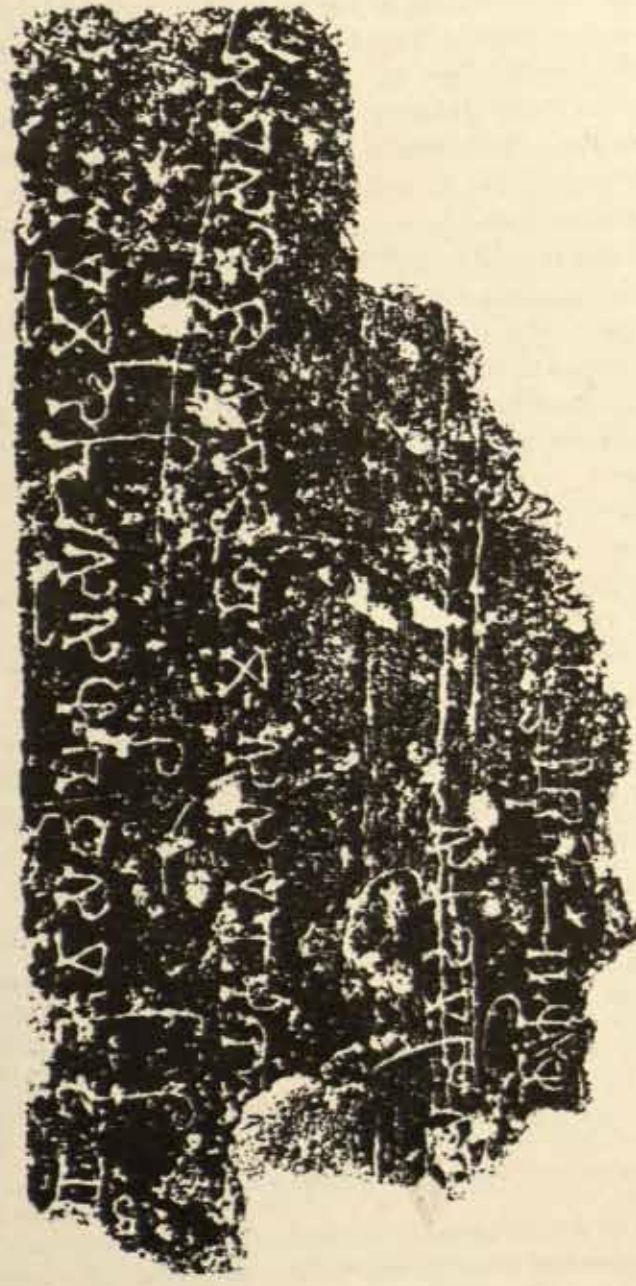
5 The letter *ha* is engraved below the line in small characters.

6 In view of the damage suffered by the preceding letters, it is not possible to say whether the name of a place was engraved here or whether the temple (*āyatana*) itself was referred to.

7 This may be tentatively restored as *katēti* (Sanskrit *kṛita iti*) which may be understood as referring to the making of the pillar bearing the inscription.

8 The word *Sarparāja[nu]* is engraved in characters of about the 6th century A.D.

VĀSANA INSCRIPTION OF VĀSATHIPUTA SIRI PULUMĀVI



2

4

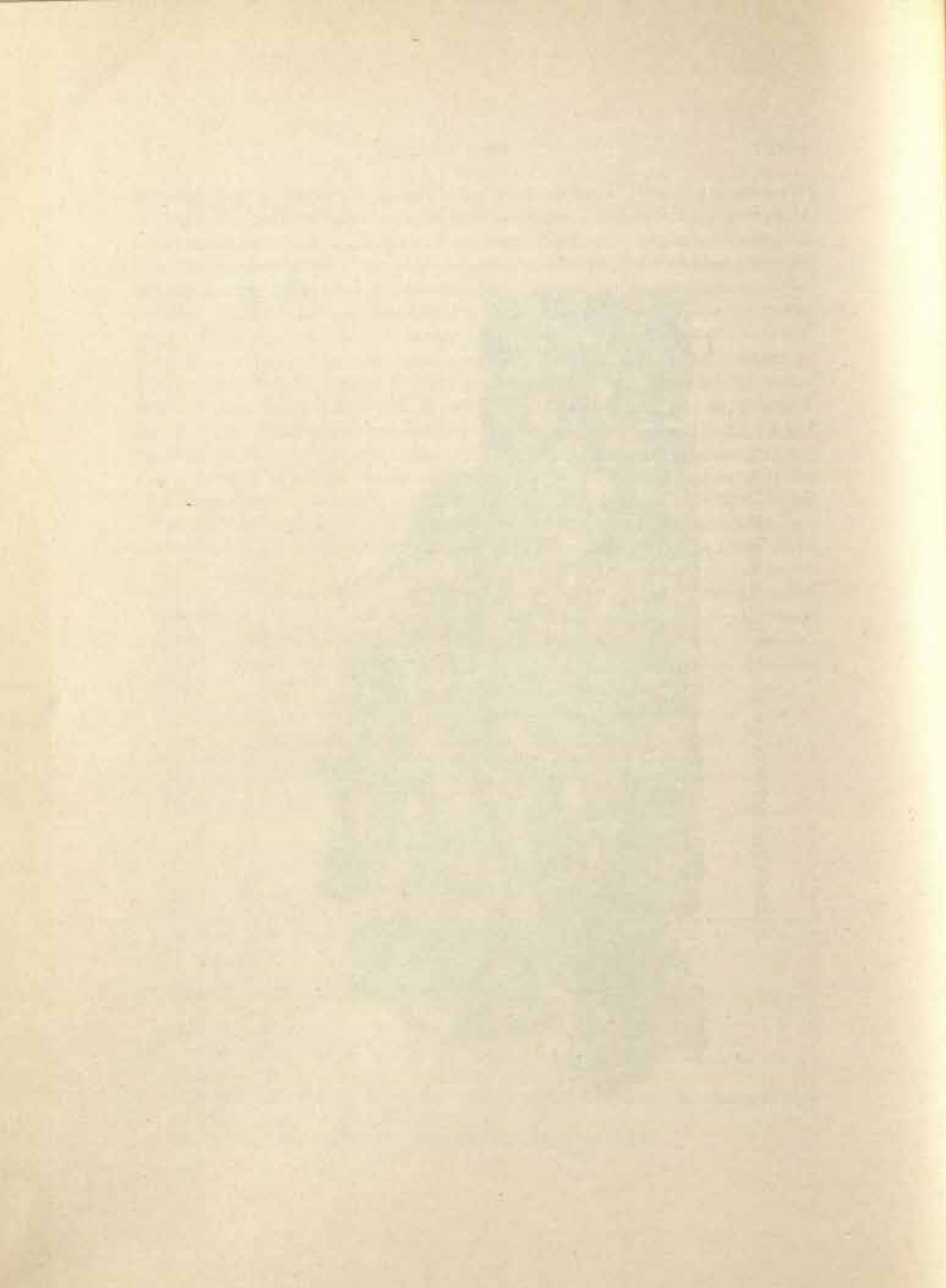
2

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K. V. Ramesh

SCALE : ONE-FOURTH

Ep. Ind. Vol. XLI



NO. 17 – MĀṆḌHAL PLATES OF PRITHIVĪSHĒNA II, YEARS 2 AND 10

(4 Plates)

Ajay Mitra Shastri, Nagpur

The antiquities brought to light as a result of archaeological excavations at Māṇḍhal, about seventy-five kms. south-east of Nagpur, in the Umred Tahsil of the Nagpur District, carried out by the Department of Ancient Indian History, Culture and Archaeology of the Nagpur University in 1975-76¹ included, *inter alia*, three sets of copper-plate charters belonging to the main branch of the Vākātakas. One of them, issued by Pravarasēna II, has been published in the pages of this journal.² The remaining two grants, both of his grandson Prithivīshēna II, are also being edited here.

Till now only two copper-plate grants of Prithivīshēna II have been published—one from Balaghat³ and the other from Mahurjhari.⁴ But the former was, for some reason, left incomplete⁵ and the seal-disc attached to it does not bear any writing. The seal of the latter grant was missing at the time of its discovery. Thus, the seal of Prithivīshēna II was not available so far. As against this, the seals of both the Māṇḍhal grants of Prithivīshēna II are intact. Secondly, the localities from which these charters were issued are mentioned as issuing places for the first time.⁶ And lastly, both these records contain season dates which were not that popular with the later members of the Vākāṭaka dynasty.⁷ It would, thus, follow that Māṇḍhal has contributed two of the three complete grants and the only known seal of Prithivīshēna II.

I. Māṇḍhal Grant of Prithivīshēna II, Year 2

The grant is incised on a set of four plates of copper the first of which is inscribed only on the inner side, whereas the next three plates are engraved on both sides. The length of the first three plates is 18.8 and of the fourth plate 18.7 cms., while the breadth of the four plates is 9.2, 9.5, 9.3 and 9.4 cms. respectively. Their thickness is uniformly 0.3 cms. About the middle of the margin on left on each plate there is a

1 *Indian Archaeology-1975-76-A Review*, pp. 36 and 63. Also see *Vidarbha Samsōdhana Maṇḍala Vārshika*, 1977, pp. 142-174. They have been registered as Nos. A 6 and 7 of A.R.I.E., 1976-77.

2 Above, p. 68 and plates.

3 V.V. Mirashi, *Inscriptions of the Vākātakas, CII.*, Vol. V, pp. 79-81.

4 *Vidarbha Samsōdhana Maṇḍala Vārshika*, 1971, pp. 53-77, pls. 3-10.

5 *CII.*, Vol. V, p. 80.

6 As will be shown, these places are found mentioned in some other Vākāṭaka grants also, but there they are not referred to as places of issue.

7 Only two other Vākāṭaka grants (Washim plates of Vindhyaśakti II, *CII.*, Vol. VI, p. 98, text-lines 28-29 and Dhulia plates of Pravarasēna II, *ibid.*, p. 46, text-line 28) contain season dates. A recently discovered unpublished grant of Rudrasēna II is also dated according to this system.

roughly square hole for the passage of a circular ring, 0.7 cms thick and 9.5 x 10 cms. in diameter, which holds the plates together. A circular seal of copper, which measures 0.4 cm in thickness and 8.3 cms in diameter, is fastened to the ring with the help of a perforated handle on its back. The edges of the plates are neither raised into rims nor made thicker. Yet the writing is in an excellent state of preservation. The upper surface of the seal bears a four-line inscribed legend couched in the *Anushtubh* metre which is found for the first time. It is, of course, true that a flat disc of copper measuring $2\frac{3}{8}$ in diameter was found fastened to the ring of the Balaghat plates also and it was apparently intended to serve as a seal. But it was left uninscribed as the charter was not completed. The four plates together weigh 1,350 gms., while the weight of the ring and seal is 220 gms.

There are in all 41 lines of writing of which the inscribed sides of the first three plates and the first side of the fourth plate bear six lines each, while the outer side of the fourth plate has five lines. Line 3 on the second side of the 4th plate is engraved over an erasure.

The characters, as in the case of most of the Vākātaka records, are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabet. The following points may be noted. The final consonant has a somewhat smaller size without box and has a horizontal line above as in *t* in line 2. The attempt to write in a single stroke sometimes results in the joining of the left limb of the cross-bar and the lower portion of *k* as in *Kautsa*, line 20, and *āhikā*, line 22. The letter *j* is without a box. In many cases its lower limb extends beyond the upper one to left (see lines 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 17, 21, 32 and 35); but the form with both limbs equal is equally common. Sometimes its upper line is slightly notched in the middle as in *vijayīkē*, line 26. In one case (*bhūñjatō*, line 29) the lower line of subscribed *ja* shows a slight notch. The letter *n* is invariably looped;¹ sometimes a curved or straight vertical stroke emanates from the loop (for examples, see lines 1, 2, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 15, 19, etc.). *B* is generally without a notch; but notched *b* can be seen in *bala*, line 27. In many a case a small horizontal stroke to right emanates from the lower portion of the left limb of *bh* as in lines 5, 6, 9, 10, 14, 21, 25, 29, 35 and 36 and line 2 on the seal; this horizontal stroke is joined to the vertical line in *°bbara°* in line 4. The letter is usually angular, but the rounded form is noticed in *°bhiva°*, line 10. Cursive subscribed *m* is met with in lines 7, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 18, 22, 23, 31 and 33. We have a few examples of *y* with the left end of the lower limb turned into a square (see lines 1, 2 and 21). The top of the right limb of the subscribed *y* is usually on a level with the upper portion of the letter to which it is attached as in *°yyāmō°* and *°daśya°*, line 1; *°sādyaskra°*, line 2 and *°sya°* in lines 2 and 4. However, there are a few exceptions; see *kārunya* in line 8. *L* is without a box; but a boxed *l* is seen in *likhitam*, line 41. A cursive subscript *v* is noticed in *Mātrivāmi*, line 21, and

¹ The letter *t* is without a loop; but in many cases when double *t* (*tt*) is intended, there seems to be some confusion and the first letter is often written erroneously as *n*.

^onvitarāmah, line 33. The medial sign for ā is usually attached to the right top of the box; but sometimes it is added to the middle of the letter as in ^osvamēdhā^o, line 6. In the aksbara mā the medial ā is commonly added in the middle but in line 21(mātu^o) it is added to the right top of the box as in the case of other letters. Medial ī is indicated by a circle on top of the letter, and the length of the medial ī by a short vertical stroke (see ^otī^o, line 1; ^odhī^o, line 9; ^ovī^o, lines 12 and 15; ^ośrī, lines 14; ^osī^o, line 19; ^okī^o, line 35, etc.), sometimes curved (see ^otī^o, lines 1 and 34; ^ośrī, lines 12 and 13; ^oñī^o, line 36), attached to the top of the box within the circle. But sometimes it takes the form of a smaller semi-circle within the circle; see, for instance, ^ośrī in lines 3, 6, 11 and 13; ^ogī^o in line 5; ^omī in line 29; and ^ogītau in line 36. Medial ḍ is usually indicated by the signs for ē and ā attached to the left and right tops of the box in such a manner as to appear an extension of the top-line of the box on both sides. However, in ^onō^o in ^osūnō^o in lines 3 and 8, the ā stroke, i.e. the stroke on the right, is attached to the middle of the letter though we have the usual form with top-stroke in ^onō^o, line 25, and ^ondō^o, line 27. In the case of mō, of course, both the strokes are attached lower down. The anusvāra is represented either by a short horizontal stroke as in lines 34 and 38 and line 4 on the seal or by a dot (line 4) on the top of the letter. The visarga takes various forms; (i) a dot above a horizontal line as in lines 2 (yājinaḥ), 8 (sūnōḥ), 11 (pautriṃah), 16 (parataḥ), 17 (ōttarataḥ and pūrvvataḥ), 18 (grāmaḥ) and 35 (kīrttayāmah); (ii) two dots placed one above the other as in lines 3 and 12 (sūnōḥ), 27 (sandōhah), 28 (khanakah), 29 (kliptah), 30 (karttavayah and rakshitavyah) and 33 (nvitarāmah); (iii) two horizontal strokes placed similarly as in lines 13 (sūnōḥ), 17 (hikāyāḥ), 22 (srishtah), 24 (ñāpayitavyāḥ and vah), 28 (parihritah), 31 (mānah), 34 (ryyāmah), 36 (nvijñāpayāmah) and 38 (bhūmidah). In line 1 on the seal it is represented by a horizontal line curved at both the ends above a dot, while in line 2 the horizontal line is straight. The sign of jihvāmūlīya is met with in line 30 and that of upadhmanīya in lines 11, 12, 17, 21 and 38.

The language is Sanskrit and the record is composed in prose throughout except for a couple of imprecatory verses in lines 37-39 and the stanza on the seal. As regards orthography, the following observations may be made: the consonant preceded by r is often reduplicated, e.g., ^omāptōryāmō^o, line 1; ^omūrddhnā^o, line 6; ^osatyārjjava and ^ośauryya, line 8; ^odharmma^o, lines 9 and 22; ^ovarddhamāna, line 10; ^orvvākātakā^o, line 11; ^opārjita^o, line 12; ^ovarjja^o, line 19; ^oapūrvva^o and ^opūrvva^o, line 22, ^osarvvādhyaksha, line 23; ^odharmmāyurbala^o and ^ovijayaiśvarya^o, line 25; ^ohitārttha^o, line 26, etc. The cases of reduplication of the consonant preceding the rēpha are comparatively much fewer, e.g., ^oparākkrama^o, line 5; ^ovikkrama^o, line 8; ^okulaputrā^o, line 23; ^okkriyābhīś^o, line 30. The consonant preceding y is also sometimes reduplicated as in bhāgīratthyā, line 5, ^osarvvādhyaksha^o, line 23; and ^oddhyushita, line 24. V following intended anusvāra is also often reduplicated (see vva, line 37, ^osarvvatsarē, line 39, ^ovaiśānā^o, line 5, presents an example of the use of m where we should expect an anusvāra. Rī is sometimes employed for medial rī as in Prithivishēna, lines 11-12 and 15-16 as well as line 3 of

the seal-inscription. *Sandhi* rules are often not observed, and the record bristles with mistakes as is the case with most of the records of the dynasty.

Like other completed and genuine charters of the Vākātakas, the present record also commences with the word *dr̥ishṭam*, 'seen'¹. The grant was issued from Rāmagiristhāna. No other Vākātaka grant speaks of Rāmagiristhāna as the place of issue. It is no doubt true that the Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatīguptā are also stated to have been issued from the footprints of the god Rāmagirisvāmin,² but there also Rāmagiri is not spoken of as a *sthāna*. Next follows the genealogy of the main line of the Vākātakas upto the issuing monarch, Prithivīshēna II, which up to Pravarasēna II is practically identical with that found in the Māṇḍhal and other plates of Pravarasēna II as well as the other two known copper-plate grants of Prithivīshēna himself. Pravarasēna II's son and successor, Narēndrasēna, is mentioned without any regal title which, in view of the other records of the dynasty where the regal title is employed for him as for other chiefs, is obviously due to oversight on the part of the writer. Other grants of Prithivīshēna II, including the second charter from Māṇḍhal itself, give a somewhat detailed account of the attainments of Narēndrasēna,³ which is conspicuous by its absence in the charter under reference. It seems that the post-Pravarasēna II genealogical account of the grants of Prithivīshēna II was not yet finalised at the time the present grant was issued.⁴ Narēndrasēna's son and successor, Prithivīshēna II, is also referred to only as the *mahārāja* of the Vākātakas. Other known records of Prithivīshēna II state that he was born of *Mahādēvī* Ajjhitabhattārikā, was an abode of valour and forgiveness and had rescued his sunken family twice.⁵ He is further styled *paramabhāgavata*, viz., a devout worshipper of Bhagavat, i.e., Vishṇu. None of these descriptions is found in the present inscription though his mother Ajjhitabhattārikā is mentioned as Ajjhikabhattārikā in line 21. Next is recorded the object of the charter which is to register the grant of a village named Kurubhājaka by Prithivīshēna II, the issuer of the grant, in favour of the brāhmaṇas Mahēśvarasvāmin, Agnisvāmin and Brahmasvāmin, the sons of Mātrisvāmin⁶ and grandsons of Drōṇasvāmin, who are said to have belonged to the Kautsa *gōtra* and the Taittirīya *śākhā* of the *Yajurveda*.⁷ The grant was issued by the order of the king himself. The boundaries of the donated village are given as follows: It was situated to the west of Lavanatailaka, north of

1 In some charters *dr̥ishṭam* is found at the beginning of the first line and in others in the left margin. In the present case it is given at the beginning of the first line.

2 *CIL*, Vol. V, p. 35, text-line 1.

3 *Ibid.*, pp. 80-81, *Vidarbha Saṁśōdhana Maṇḍala Vārshika*, 1971, pp. 53 ff.

4 This may as well be due to the carelessness on the part of the composer or writer.

5 *CIL*, Vol. V, p. 81, text-line 33. Mirashi proposes to correct *dvi-magna-vā(m)s-ōddhartuh* of the original to *nimagna* etc. But we feel that *dvi* is meaningful and need not be regarded as an error.

6 Mātrisvāmin was evidently the donee of the Māṇḍhal plates of Pravarasēna II.

7 The relationship of these personages will be discussed in connection with the next grant.

Ishtākappalli¹, east of the river Bennā, and south of Gōvvasāhikā. The grant was given for the religious merit of the king's mother Ajjhikabhattārikā. The royal order regarding the grant was to be communicated to the *bhaṭas* (soldiers) and *chhātras* (policemen) under the *kulaputras* appointed by the *sarvādhyaksha* (officer-in-charge of general administration). Information about the grant was also communicated to the agriculturist householders (*kuṭumbin*) headed by the brāhmanas. Privileges and exemptions conferred on the donees and traditionally due to the villages of the learned brāhmanas (lit., well-versed in the four Vēdas), which are enumerated, are the same as those found mentioned in other Vākāṭaka charters including the Māndhal grant of Pravarasēna II and need not detain us here. Then are quoted a couple of imprecatory stanzas extolling the grant and its uninterrupted enjoyment.

The grant was made on the 12th day of the 7th fortnight in the second year, evidently of the reign of Prithivīshēna II. It is noteworthy in this connection that the season date is not known to have been recorded in any other record of Prithivīshēna II so far.

At the time of this grant a certain Vishnudatta occupied the office of *sēnāpati*, and the charter was written by one Śarvadatta, apparently under the supervision of the *sēnāpati*. It need hardly be stated that *sēnāpatīs* are often mentioned in Vākāṭaka copper-plate charters in connection with their writing. *Sēnāpati* Vishnudatta is not referred to in any other grant of Prithivīshēna known till now.

The inscription on the seal describes Prithivīshēna II as the son of Narēndrasēna, lord of the royal fortune of the Vākāṭakas and as eager for conquests and the record is said to be his charter of victory (*jayaśāsana*). It will be noticed that the seal inscription is somewhat different in its contents and nature from those of Prabhāvatīguptā and Pravarasēna II, the only other members of the dynasty whose seals are known.

Before these plates were recovered in course of excavations at Māndhal, only two copper-plate charters of Prithivīshēna II were known. Of these the Balaghat plates do not contain any date as well as other pieces of information generally found in the concluding portion because they were never completed. The other record, viz., Mahurjhari grant, is dated the twelfth day of the bright fortnight of Kārttika in the seventeenth year of his reign. The second Māndhal grant, under publication in the following pages, was issued in the tenth year. It would thus follow that the present charter constitutes the earliest known record of Prithivīshēna II's reign.

Lastly, we may advert to the localities mentioned in the record. Most of the villages mentioned in connection with the grant may be identified in the Bhandara District to the east of the river Venā. The granted village Kurubhajjaka may be equated with modern Kurjjhā. Lavanātailaka seems to be identical with modern Lonara. It is note-

1 The reading in the original is *Ishtākappalyōttaratah* which was in all probability intended for *Ishtākappallya uttaratah*, 'north of Ishtākappalli'.

worthy in this connection that, as stated in the record Kurjjhā is actually situated to the west of Lonara. Ishtākāpalli is apparently the same as the modern village of Īmṭagāṃva (commonly spelt as Itgaon) which is to the south of Kurjjhā. This identification agrees not only with the directions specified in the record but is supported by the sameness of the meaning as well. The modern village of Gobī situated to the north of Kurjjhā is apparently the present representative of the village Govvasahikā. This equation also satisfies the geographical location of the village specified in the inscription. Bennā (Vēnā in Sanskrit literature) is undoubtedly the ancient name of the modern Wainganga. As specified in the record, the stream of Wainganga (Bennā) flows to the west of the donated village. The directional specifications found in the inscription and the location of the modern identified villages agree with one another so very closely as to leave absolutely no doubt about the correctness of the proposed identifications. According to the inscription, these villages were included in the Uttara-paṭṭa, which, as indicated by the name itself, denoted the northern part of some administrative unit. Unfortunately, the administrative division in question has been left out unnamed, evidently due to oversight. Or it may not have been felt necessary. No administrative unit called Uttara-paṭṭa is mentioned in any other Vākāṭaka grant reported to date. It is, however, instructive to note in this connection that all the localities mentioned in connection with the grant in the present record are situated in the region on the Wainganga. Then again, in the Māṇḍhal plates of Pravarasēna II we find mention of the Aparā-paṭṭa of the Bennātaṭa division. It therefore appears that here also the Uttara-paṭṭa is mentioned with reference to the river Bennā (modern Wainganga). However, as has been shown above, all the villages mentioned in our record are identifiable in the region to the east of the river Wainganga. It appears therefore that this administrative unit was connected with some other division. In view of these facts it may perhaps be conjectured that, whereas during Pravarasēna II's reign an administrative division was formed with reference to the river Wainganga, two generations later a new administrative division on some other basis in which the area on the eastern bank of Wainganga was included came into existence and was called Uttara-paṭṭa. Alternatively the mention of Uttara-paṭṭa in this record and that of Aparā-paṭṭa in the Māṇḍhal charter of Pravarasēna II may be taken to imply that the administrative division of Bennātaṭa was sub-divided into four units called Pūrvapaṭṭa, Aparā-paṭṭa, Uttarapaṭṭa and Dakṣiṇapaṭṭa. And finally, Rāmagiristhāna, from where the plates were issued, is apparently identical with the well-known Ramtek in the Nagpur District. The word *sthāna* is suffixed to the name Rāmagiri either because of the sanctity attached to it¹ or because it was the chief place of an administrative unit named after it. It may be added that the word *sthāna* is also attached to Bennātaṭa, the place of issue of the second Māṇḍhal grant of Prithivishēna II, edited hereafter.

1 Cf. *Mēghadūta*, Pūrvamēgha, verse one which refers to the hermitages of Rāmagiri as endowed with waters rendered sacred due to the bath of Janaka's daughter, i.e., Sītā, and the Riddhapur plates of Prabhavati-guptā (CIL, Vol. V, p. 35, text-line 1) which were issued from the footprints of Rāmagirisvāmin.

TEXT¹[Metres: Verses 1-2 *Anuṣṭubh*]

First Plate

- 1 ² Dṛiṣṭa [m||*] Rāmagiri-sthānād=agnish³tōm-āptōryyām-ōkthya-shōḍaśy-atirātra-vājapa(pē)ya-
- 2 brīhaspatisava--sādyaskra-chatur-āśvamēdha-yājinaḥ ⁴ Vishṇuvṛiddha-sagōtrasya samrāt(jō)
- 3 Vākātakānām=mahārāja-śrī-Pravarsēnasya sūnōḥ⁵ sūnōḥ atyanta-svāmi-
- 4 Mahābhairava-bhaktasya amsa-bhāra-sanniva(vē)śita-śiva-lingād(ng-ōd)vahana-śiva-su-
- 5 paritushta-samutpādita-rājavamsānām=parākkram-ādihigata-Bhāgīratyā(thy-ā)mala-jala-
- 6 mūrddn⁶-ābhishiktānān=daś-āśvamēdh-āvbhṛitha-snātānāmbha(m=Bhā)rasivānām=mahārāja-śrī-Bhava-

Second Plate : First Side

- 7 nāga-dauhitrasya Gautami(mī)-putrasya [putrasya*] Vākātakānām=mahārāja-śrī-Rudrasēna-
- 8 sya sūnōḥ atyanta-māhēśvarasya saty-ārjjava-kāruṇya-sauryya-vikkrama-naya-
- 9 vinaya-māhātnya(tmya)-dhīmatva-pātra-gata-bhaktitva-dharmma-vijayitva-manō-nai-
- 10 [r*] mā(ma)lya(ly-ā)di-guṇa-samuditasya varsha-satam=abhivarddhamāna-kōbha-(śa)-danda-sa-

1 From impressions.

2 There is a short horizontal stroke before *dṛiṣṭa*.3 There is a superfluous dot in the circle indicating short medial *i* here as well as at many other places below.4 *Sandhi* has not been observed here as well as at several other places.

5 The medial sign on right is attached too much below and is rather unusual.

6 Read *mūrddh-*

- 11 dhana-santāna-putra-pautrinah Yudhisht̄hira-vritt̄r=Vākātākānām=mahārāja-śrīh-
Pri h (Pri)-
- 12 thivīshēnasya sūnōh bhagavatas=Chakrapānēh=prasād-ōpārjita-śrī-samudayasya

Second Plate : Second Side

- 13 Vākātākānām=mahārāja-śrī-Rudrasēnasya sūnōh³ mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Dēva-
- 14 gupta-sutāyām=Prabhāvati(tī)guptāyām=utpannasya⁴ Vākātākānām=mahārāja-śrī-
Pra-
- 15 varasēnasya sūnō[r*] =Nnarēndrasēna[sya*]⁵ satputrasya⁶ ⁷Vākātākānām=mahā-
rāja-śrīh=Pri(Pri)thivi-
- 16 shēnasya vachanāda(d=U)ttara-pat̄tē Lavaṇatailakasy=āparatah Ishtākapa-
- 17 ly-ōttaratah Bennayah=pūrvvatah Gōvvasāhikāyāh dakshinata[h*] Kurubhajja-
- 18 ⁸kan=nāma⁹ nāmnā grāmaḥ atra cha brāhmaṇa-purōga[h*] grāmā- pratinivāsino
(nah) kuṭumbi-

1 There is a superfluous stroke in this letter.

2 The medial stroke for ā is brought down too much below and has an unusual form.

3 Hereafter the expressions *pūrvva-nājanumārggānusārīnah* and *sunayana-bala-parākram-ōchchhinna-sarvva-dvīshah* are found used as adjectives of Pravarasēna II in the Balaghat (CII., Vol. V, p. 81, ll.20-22) and Mahurjhari (VSMV, 1971, p. 75, ll.17-18) plates of Prithivīshēna II. They are also found in the Siwani plates of Pravarasēna II (CII., Vol. V, p. 30, ll.14-15).

4 After this, the Balaghat (ibid., p. 81, ll.23-25) and Mahurjhari (VSMV, 1975, p. 75, ll.19-20) plates have *Vākātaka-vamś-ālamkāra-bhūtasya Śambhōh prasāda-dhṛita-Kārttayugasya*.

5 Before the name Narēndrasēna, one would expect the expression *Vākātākānām=mahārāja-śrī* which appears to have been omitted by oversight. In the Balaghat (CII., Vol. V, p. 81, ll. 26-29) and Mahurjhari (VSMV, 1971, p. 75, ll. 21-23) plates, after *Pravarasēnasya sūnōh*, we find the following epithets *Mōkalā pūrv-ōdhigata-guṇa-vātvātā=apahrīta-vamśa-śrīyah*, *Kōsala-Mālav-ādhipati[bhī]r=abhyarchchita-sūnanasya* and *pratāpa-pranat-ārītasūnasya* employed for Narēndrasēna.

6 In the Balaghat (CII., Vol. IV, p. 81, l. 30) and Mahurjhari plates, we find *sūnōh* in place of *satputrasya* of the present plates.

7 Before this, the Balaghat plates (CII., Vol. IV, p. 81, ll. 30-33) contain for Prithivīshēna II the expression *Kuntalādhipati-sutāyām mahādēvyām=Ajjhīta-bhaṭṭārīkāyām=utpannasya tējah kshamā-sannidhānabhūtasya dvimagna-vamś-ōddhartuh* while in the Mahurjhari plates (VSMV, 1971, p. 76, ll. 25-26), we have *aryanta-bhāgavatsya* between *utpannasya* and *tējah kshamā-sannidhānabhūtasya*.

8 There is a superfluous horizontal line above the letter.

9 The word *nāmnā* is redundant.

TWO MĀNDHAL COPPER PLATE CHARTERS OF PRITHIVĪSHĒNA II

A. Kuruvajjaka Grant, Year 2

PLATE I

i

2 2

4 4

6 6

ii a

8 8

10 10

12 12

ii b

14

14
 16
 18

14

16

18

iii a

20

20
 22
 24

20

22

24

SCALE : THREE-FOURTHS

Third Plate : First Side

- 19 naś=cha vaktavyā[h*] yathē(th=ai)sha grāmaḥ sva-sīmā-parichchha(chchhē)dēn=
ānya-grāma-sīmā-varjja[m*] Tai-
- 20 ttirika-Kautsa-sagōtra-Drōnasvāmi-putra-Māṭṛisvāmi-putrānā² Mahēśvarasvā-
- 21 mi-Agnisvāmi-Brahmasvāminēti³ mātur=Ajjhikabhaṭṭārikāya (yā)ḥ=puṇy-ōpa-
- 22 chayē⁴ aihik-āmushmikē⁵ dharmma-sthānē apūrvadatyā(ttyā) udaka-pu(pū)rvam=
atisriṣṭaḥ[l*]
- 23 yatō=smat-santakā[h*] sarvādhyaksha-niyōgā(ga)-niyukt-ājñā-sañchāri-kulaputr-ādhi-
kritā
- 24 bhatās=chhātrās= ch=ādhyushita-purvā[h] mam=ājñā(jñā)y=ājñāpayitavyaḥ viditam=
astu vah

Third Plate : Second Side

- 25 yath=ch=āsmābhir=ātmanō dharmm-āyur-bbala-vijay-aiśvaryya-vivṛiddhayē ih-
āmutra-
- 26 hitārttham=ātm-ānugrahāya vi(vai)jayikē dharmma-sthānē abhata-chchha(chchhā)
tra-prāvēśya[h*] apā-
- 27 rampara-gō-bala(lī)vardda[h*] a-pushpa-kshīra-sandōha[h*] a-chār-āsana-charmm-
āngāra[h*] a-
- 28 lavaṇa-kiṇva⁶ -krēṇi-khanakaḥ sarvva-vēshtī-parihāra-parihritah sa-parikli(klri)-
- 29 pt-ōparikliptaḥ⁷ ā-chandr-āditya-kālīya[h*] putra-pautr-ānugāmi bhūñjatā(tō)
na kēnachi-

1 Note that the lower stroke on left is joined with cross-bar.

2 Read *putrēbhyō*.

3 Read *svāmihyaḥ iti*.

4 Read *ōpachayārtham*.

5 Read *aihk-āmushmika*. This should have come before *puṇy-ōpachayārtham*.

6 In some grants of the Vākātakas we have *klīna* in place of *kiṇva*. The Mahurjharī plates also have *kiṇva*. The suggestion of V.B. Kolte to correct it to *klīna* is uncalled for.

7 Read *ōpakṛiptaḥ*.

- 30 d=vyāghāṭali=karttavyaḥ sarvva-kkriyābhis=samrakshitavyaḥ parivarddhayitavyas'
cha[|*] yas'=chā-

Fourth Plate : First Side

- 31 smaśchhā(ch=chhā)sanam=agana(ṇa)yamānaḥ svalpām=api paribā[dhā*]nku(n=ku)
ryyāt=kārayitā cha tasya
- 32 brāhmanair=vvēditasya sa-daṇḍa-ṇi(ni)graham kuryyāma[h*|] Uchitā[m*]ś=ch=
āsyā pūrva-rāj-ā
- 33 numatañ=chātur-vvaidya-grāma-maryyādā-parihārān=vitarāmaḥ [|*] tad=yathā a-
- 34 kara-dāyi daṇḍa-ṇi(ni)graha[m*] kuryyāmaḥ [1*] api cha dharmm-ādhi¹ karaṇē
atīt-ānēka-
- 35 rāja-dattā(tta)-sasyāntāna²-paripālan-ārttha[m] kīrttayāmaḥ [|*] ēshya tat-kāla-
prabha-vishnu-
- 36 gauravād=bhavishyān=viññāya(pa)yāmaḥ[|*] Vyāsa-gītau ch=ātra ślōkau pramāñi-
karttavya³

Fourth Plate : Second Side

- 37 Sva-datnā(ttām) para-datnā(ttām) vvā(vā) yō harēta vasundharā[m]* gavā[m*]
śata-sahasrasya
- 38 hantuh=pibati dushkritam(tam) [|1*] Shashṭi-varshi(sha)-sahasrāni svarggē mōdati
bhūmidah[|*]
- 39 a(ā)chchhētā ch ānumantā cha [tā]⁴ny =ēva narakē di⁵ vasēdditi⁶ Sa[m*]vva(va)-
tsarē dviti(ti)yē

1 Read -ādara-

2 Read -sāñchintana-

3 There is a horizontal stroke here for a punctuation mark.

4 After engraving about 15 more letters, the engraver found out that he had inadvertently omitted the letter *tā*. He subsequently erased all those letters and engraved them after engraving *tā*. [Ed.]

5 This letter is redundant.

6 Read *vasēd* [|*] *it*[|*].

TWO MĀNDHAL COPPER PLATE CHARTERS OF PRITHIVĪSHĒNA II

A. Kuruvajjaka Grant, Year 2

PLATE II

iii b

26

26
 28
 30

26

28

30

iv a

32

32
 34
 36

32

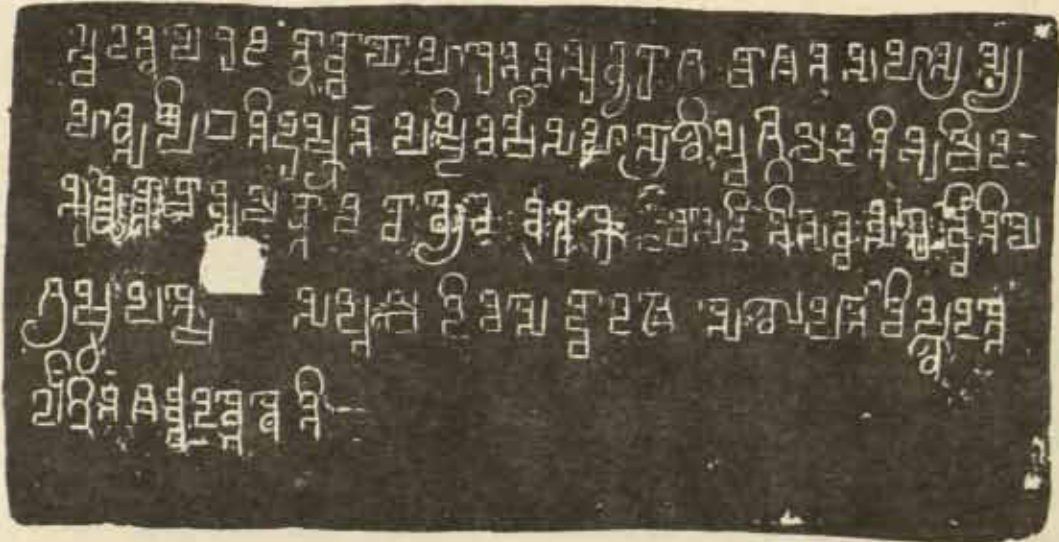
34

36

iv b

38

40



38

40

SCALE : THREE-FOURTHS

SEAL



SCALE : ONE-HALF

40 gra(grī)shma-pakshē saptamē divasē dvādaśē sēnā(nā)patau Vishnudattē

41 likhitam 'Sarvvadantē(ttē)n=ēti [||*]

Seal

1 Narēndrasēna-sat=sūnōh

2 bhartur=vVākāṭaka-śriyah [||*]

3 Pri(Pri)thivi(vī)shēna-nripatē[h*]

4 jīgīshōr=jjaya-śāsanna(nam)¹ [||*]

II. Māndhal Grant of Prithivīshēna II, Year 10

This charter consists of a set of five *plates* of which one plate has been left completely blank on either side. Of the remaining plates, the first is engraved only on the inner side and the remaining three plates bear writing on both sides. The plates are rectangular. Their measurements are not uniform; their breadth (or height), length and thickness slightly vary from each other. The first plate measures 18.2 cms. in length and 9.7 cms. in height and is 0.3 cms. thick. The height, length and thickness of the second plate are 9.6, 18.3 and 0.4 cm. respectively. Plates 3 and 4 are 9.8 cms. high, 18.4 cms. broad and 0.5 cm. thick. The last plate measures 9.8 cms. high, 18.2 cms. broad and 0.4 cm. thick. Nearly in the middle of the left margin of each plate there is bored a roughly circular hole through which is passed a circular ring of copper, 0.6 cm. in thickness, with a diameter ranging between 10.9 and 9.6 cms. On the ring slides a round seal of copper provided with a perforated handle, also of copper, for the insertion of the ring. The seal-disc is 8.4 cms. in diameter and 0.3 cm. thick. The upper surface of the disc, like most other seals attached to Vākāṭaka copper-plate charters, bears a four-line inscription in the *Anushtubh* metre. The total weight of the five plates, ring and the seal is 2700 gms.

There are in all forty-six lines of writing of which the inscribed faces of the first three plates bear seven lines each, while we have six lines on the first side of the fourth plate and five lines on its outer side.

Like those of practically all the Vākāṭaka inscriptions including those of Prithivīshēna II himself, the characters of the present record belong to the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets. In general appearance they agree closely with the earlier grant of Prithivīshēna II from Māndhal. And this is as it ought to be. For, the present plates are removed from the previous ones only by eight years and the *sēnāpati* and the writer of both the records are identical. Only a few points deserve attention. The letter *j* has a box attached to the left top of the letter as a result of which the upper portion

1. The metre of this verse is *Anushtubh*.

becomes larger and assumes a somewhat strange shape. *T* is generally with a box, but one without it can be seen in ⁰vata⁰, line 22. The letter *b* generally takes the form of a plain square, but in line 35 we find its upper portion constricted on the left. The circle indicating medial *i* is sometimes open on the left bottom; for example, see lines 1, 2, 4, 22, 24, etc. Sometimes in the akshara *mē* the medial sign for *ē* is attached on top (see ⁰kkramēchchha⁰, line 14) as in the case of other letters as against the usual practice of attaching it lower down. The *anusvāra* is formed variously by a dot (lines 1, 16), a hollow point (line 34), a semi-circle open at the bottom (lines 5, 4, 36) or to right (line 39) and a vertical (line 19) or oblique stroke (lines 42, 46). This as well as *visarga* which also assumes various forms is evidently due to irregular formation. The sign of *upadhmāniya* is met with in lines 12, 21 and 23. It may be noted that at the right end of most of the lines we find two almost semi-circular strokes placed one below the other, perhaps to indicate the conclusion of the lines.

The record is composed in Sanskrit, and but for a couple of imprecatory stanzas at the end and the metrical legend on the seal the entire record is in prose. From the point of view of orthography, reduplication of the consonant following *r* (eg., ⁰ptōry-yāmo⁰, line 1; ⁰mūrdhā⁰, line 6; ⁰tyārjjava⁰, line 9; ⁰śauryya⁰, line 9, ⁰dharmma⁰, line 10; ⁰nairmmalyā⁰, line 10, etc.) and that of the letter *k* preceding *r* (eg., ⁰parākkramā⁰, lines 5-6; ⁰vikkrama⁰, line 9; ⁰śchakhra⁰, line 12; ⁰parākkramē⁰, line 14; ⁰kkrinē⁰, line 31; ⁰kkriyā⁰, line 34) are noteworthy. The consonants preceding *y* are also sometimes found reduplicated. See, for example, ⁰Bhāgīrathya⁰ in line 6 and ⁰sarvvāddhyaksha⁰ in line 27. The same is true of the letter *v* following a supposed *anusvāra* as in the case of ⁰dattā vvā⁰ in line 42 and ⁰savvatsarō⁰ in line 44. Grammatical errors are too many to be enumerated. This is, of course, true of most of the Vākātaka records.

Like other authentic charters of the dynasty, the present record also commences with the word *drishṭam*, 'seen', followed by the mention of Bennātaṭa-sthāna wherefrom the charter was issued. Thereafter is given the genealogical account of the Vākātakas beginning with Pravarasēna I and terminating with Prithivīshēna II which is identical with that met with in other records of the king with the solitary exception of the previous inscription. It is instructive to note in this connection that some of the adjectival expressions employed for Narēndrasēna and his son Prithivīshēna II in the latter's Mahurjhari and the incomplete Balaghat charters are met with in the present record also. It appears therefore that the portion of Prithivīshēna II's charters describing Narēndrasēna and his son and successor Prithivīshēna was standardised by the time of the present record. The object of the inscription is to register the grant of the village Gōvasāhikā by the king in favour of the brāhmanas Mahēśvarasvāmin, Brahmasvāmin, Harasvāmin and Varāhasvāmin. All the donees were inhabitants of Bennātaṭa and belonged to the Kautsa gōtra.¹ Although it is not stated in the present charter, we learn from the Māndhal plates of Pravarasēna II and the previous charter of Prithivī-

1 Mahesvarasvāmin is referred to as of *Kautsa-gōtra* while the adjective *tat-sagōtra* is employed for Brahmasvāmin and Harasvāmin and no such expression is employed for Varāhasvāmin.

shēna II that all these brāhmanas were attached to the Taittirīya śākhā of the black *Yajuroveda*. In our record there is no reference to the ancestors of the brāhmana grantees. But it is known from the previous Māndhal plates of Prithivīshēna II that Mahēsvarasvāmin and Brahmasvāmin, who along with their brother Agnisvāmin were recipients of the land-grant made through that charter, were the sons of Mātrīsvāmin and grandsons of Drōnasvāmin. In all probability the other two donees, viz., Harasvāmin and Varāhasvāmin, were also similarly related to Drōnasvāmin and Mātrīsvāmin. It is interesting to note in this connection that Mātrīsvāmin was the donee of the Māndhal plates of Pravarasēna II. It would, thus, follow that the grants conveyed through the Māndhal plates of Pravarasēna II and Prithivīshēna II were made in favour of two generations of the brāhmanas. It may further be concluded that Mātrīsvāmin's father, who is simply described as *apratigrāhaka upādhyāya*, was no other than Drōnasvāmin. The donated village, Gōvasāhikā, lay in Uttarapatta and was situated to the west of the village Śulkavata, to the north of Kurubhānjaka, to the east of the river Bennā, and to the south of Pidērikā. Next are mentioned the privileges and exemptions conveyed along with the grant which are the same as those met with in the previous charter. The two imprecatory stanzas found in the previous record are also repeated here. The grant was made on the 'first day of the first fortnight of the summer season in the tenth year of the king's reign. At that time Vishnudatta held the office of *sēnāpati*, and the charter was written by Śarvavadatta. *Sēnāpati* Vishnudatta and Śarvavadatta are mentioned in the same role in the previous charter also. It appears therefore that at least from the second to at least the tenth regnal year of Prithivīshēna II, Vishnudatta occupied the office of *sēnāpati*. It is known from the Mahurjhari plates that in the seventeenth year of Prithivīshēna II this office was held by Ravidatta.¹ It may therefore be reasonably concluded that Vishnudatta was succeeded or replaced as *sēnāpati* by Ravidatta sometime between the tenth and seventeenth years of the reign of Prithivīshēna II.

It would be instructive to discuss here briefly a phrase occurring in Prithivīshēna II's charters. In the present as well as the Mahurjhari plates Prithivīshēna is described as *magna-vams-oddhartri*, 'resurrector of the sunken family'.² In the incomplete Balaghat plates the word *dvi* is found prefixed to this expression.³ This second calamity befell the Vākātaka kingdom obviously sometime after the seventeenth year of the reign of Prithivīshēna II, the date of the Mahurjhari plates. If this point is conceded, it will appear that the Balaghat plates have to be dated sometime after the seventeenth year of his reign. The seal inscription is identical with that on the seal of the previous charter.

1 *Vidarbha Samsōdhana Mandhala Vārshika*, 1971, p. 77, text-line 52.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 76, text-line 26.

3 *CIL*, Vol. V, p. 81, text-line 33. According to Mirashi, however, the intended reading was *nimagna-vams-oddhartuh*, *dvi* being an error for *ni*. See *ibid.*, p. 81, note 7.

It appears therefore that at least from the second to at least the tenth year of the reign of Prithivīshēna II, Vishnudatta occupied the office of *sēnāpati*. It is known from the Mahurjhari plates that in the seventeenth year of Prithivīshēna II this office was held by Ravidatta.¹ It may therefore be reasonably concluded that Vishnudatta was succeeded or replaced as *sēnāpati* by Ravidatta sometime between the tenth and seventeenth regnal years of Prithivīshēna II. The possibility of some other person occupying this office during the intervening period cannot also be altogether ruled out. Only future epigraphical discoveries can settle this point.

It would be further instructive to discuss here briefly a couple of phrases occurring in Prithivīshēna II's charters. The expression commencing with the word *pūrvvā* in line 17 of the present record is met with in connection with the description of Narēndrasēna in the Mahurjhari and Balaghat plates as well. While editing the latter record, which was the first charter of Prithivīshēna II to be discovered, F. Kielhorn doubtfully proposed to restore this portion as *pūrvv-ādhi-gata-guṇa-viśvāsād=apahrīta-vamśa-śriyab*,² and this reading has been adopted by V.V. Mirashi also.³ V.B. Kolte finds the same reading in the Mahurjhari grant, though, as will be pointed out in the sequel, 'erroneously'.⁴ Kielhorn, followed by other scholars, took this phrase to mean that Narēndrasēna, 'from confidence in excellent qualities previously acquired by him, took away (or appropriated) the family's fortune'.⁵ He felt that it contained an allusion to a conflict for succession and that Narēndrasēna took away the kingdom (probably from an elder brother).⁶ Mirashi observed, on the other hand, that no reference to a disputed succession is intended and that this is only a poetic way of saying that Narēndrasēna attracted royal fortune by his noble qualities.⁷ The present inscription affords valuable help to solve this problem. The relevant expression in our record is indubitably *pūrvv-ādhi-gata-guṇavad=dayād-āpahrīta-vaśa-śriyab* which can only be restored as *pūrvv-ādhi-gata-guṇavad=dāyād-āpahrīta-vamśa-śriyah*. On checking we find that although Kolte follows Kielhorn and Mirashi unquestioningly and reads the expression in question as *pūrvv-ādhi-gata-guṇa-viśvāsād=apahrīta-vaśa(vamśa)-śriya [b]*⁸ the facsimile illustrating his article clearly gives the reading *pūrvv-ādhi-gata-guṇavad=dayād-āpahrīta-vaśa(vamśa)-śriya[h]* which is even more correct than that found in the Māndhal plates in question. It appears that the Balaghat plates also contained the same reading though it was badly engraved to make it doubtful. There is absolutely no doubt about the reading *pūrvv-ādhi-gata-guṇa*; the next letter is apparently *va*, though the lower portion of the square

1 *Vidarbha Samśōdhana Maṇḍala Vārshika*, 1971, p. 77, text-line 52.

2 Above, Vol. IX, p. 271, text-lines 26-27 and note 6. Also see p. 269, note 2.

3 *CII*, Vol. V, p. 81, text-lines 26-27.

4 *Vidarbha Samśōdhana Maṇḍala Vārshika*, 1971, p. 75, text-lines 21-22.

5 Above, Vol. IX, p. 269. Mirashi merely dropped the alternative word 'appropriated' and replaced 'the (royal) fortune of (his) family' for 'the family's fortune'. See *CII*, Vol. V, p. 81.

6 Above Vol. IX, p. 269.

7 *CII*, Vol. V, Introduction, p. XXV.

8 *Vidarbha Samśōdhana Maṇḍala Vārshika*, 1971, Pl. VI.

of this letter is not accommodated in the plate; what is read as medial *i* is just a meaningless scratch. The following letter, though looking somewhat like *śvā*, is actually wrongly engraved *ddā* with its right openings closed by oversight. The next letter is clearly *yā*, though in order to make the expression yield sense it was doubtfully read as *sā* by Kielhorn and others who followed him. Thereafter a letter was wrongly engraved and then cancelled. The letter following it is, as read by earlier scholars, *da*. It will thus follow that the correct reading of this portion is *pūrvv-ādhiḡata-guṇavad-dāyād-āpahṛita-vamśa-śṛiyah*, and the word *viśvāsād*, read so far in these charters, disappears altogether. The expression thus restored assumes great historical importance as it refers to an hitherto unknown episode during the reign of Narēndrasēna in which his *dāyādas* were involved. We propose to break this phrase as *pūrvv-ādhiḡata-guṇavad-dāyādēna apahṛitā vamśa-śṛiḥ yasya tasya*.¹ If this is accepted, it would mean that Narēndrasēna had first succeeded to his family fortune, i.e., throne, but was later divested of it by a *dāyāda* (or *dāyādas*). The word *dāyāda* primarily means heirs to property, viz., sons or brothers with reference to each other who are entitled to inheritance: Following this primary meaning, it would appear that Narēndrasēna was deprived of his kingdom by his cosharers (brothers or other close relations) during the later part of his career. It would thus follow that the death of Pravarasēna II was followed by a struggle for succession in which his son (or one of the sons) Narēndrasēna was at first successful, but at a later stage some other *dāyāda* got an upper hand and seized the family fortune. The word *dāyāda*, however, has a secondary meaning also, i.e., a distant relative or kinsman,² and if this meaning were intended here, it may as well allude to some conflict between the two branches (Nandivardhana and Vatsagulma) of the Vākātakas during Narēndrasēna's reign in which Narēndrasēna was ultimately worsted.³ It is not possible to be more precise on this question in the absence of more evidence, but there can be absolutely no doubt that the expression throws welcome light on the history of the Nandivardhana-Pravarapura branch of the

1 This expression can as well be split up as *pūrvv-ādhiḡata guṇavatō dāyādād-āpahṛitā vamśa-śṛiḥ yēna tasya* or *pūrvv-ādhiḡata-guṇavatō dāyādād-āpahṛitā vamśa-śṛiḥ yēna tasya* or *pūrvv-ādhiḡatēna guṇavatō dāyādēna apahṛitā vamśa-śṛiḥ yasya tasya*. But they do not yield a satisfactory sense.

2 For the meaning of *dāyāda*, see *Amara-kōśa* (Nirnaya-Sagar Press, Bombay, 1944), III. 3. 89; Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, p. 474, s.v. *dāyāda*. Also see P.V. Kane, *History of Dharma-Śāstra*, III (Poona, 1946), pp. 543-544.

3 The use of the word *guṇavat* as an adjective of the *dāyāda* who was the source of calamity is rather enigmatic. The intention may have been to say that even though the *dāyāda* was endowed with good qualities, he indulged in an act like seizing his relative's (Narēndrasēna's) throne. Alternatively, the word may have been used in the sense of *gaṇa*, a derivative of *guṇa*, with reference to a member of the Vatsagulma branch of the dynasty.

Vākātakas and gives a rude jolt to the belief that the succession among the Vākātakas was peaceful and the relations between their two branches were invariably cordial.

In the present as well as the Mahurjhari plates¹ Prithivīshēna II is described as *magna-vamś=ōddhartri*, 'resurrector of the sunken family'. In the incomplete Balaghat plates the word *dvi* is found prefixed to this expression.² According to Kielhorn³ and V.V. Mirashi,⁴ *nimagna-vamśasy=ōddhartub* is the intended reading, *dvi* being an error for *ni*. But at the time they wrote no other copper plate charter of Prithivīshēna II was known and the suggestion might have looked plausible. But now that his two earlier records, which have been discovered subsequently, are known to contain the word *magna* without the prefix *ni* or *dvi*, it is obvious that the employment of the word *dvi* is deliberate and that the composer of the Balaghat charter wanted to credit his patron with the resurrection of the sunken family twice as against the other two grants wherein he was just described as the resurrector of the sunken family. This second calamity befell the Vākātika kingdom sometime after the seventeenth year of the reign of Prithivīshēna II when the Mahurjhari plates were issued. While any precision regarding the two calamities is at present out of question, the first calamity was apparently that which had resulted in the dethronement of his father Narēndrasēna by a close relative, and the first task that Prithivīshēna II must have been called upon to face after his accession was to restore fallen family fortunes. The second calamity may have been the Nala invasion which seems to have resulted in occupation of a part of the kingdom of the Nandivardhana branch of the Vakatakas.⁵ Needless to stress that the Balaghat plates have to be dated sometime after the seventeenth year of his reign.

In view of what has been said above the claim that Narēndrasēna's commands were obeyed by the lords of Kōsalā, Mēkalā and Mālava appears somewhat exaggerated. At least no independent evidence to substantiate this claim has come to light so far. The claim in respect of Mēkalā (the Amarkantak region) was till recently sought to be supported on the ground that the Bamhani plates contained a veiled allusion to Narēndrasēna and that Bharatabala, the Pāndava king of Mēkalā, who was till recently supposed to have issued these plates, was regarded as a feudatory of Narēndrasēna.⁶ But the recently discovered Mallar plates have shown convincingly that these assumptions are unfounded. Moreover, as we have shown elsewhere, both Bharatabala and his son Śūrābala *alias* Udīrnavaira flourished considerably after Narēndrasēna and there is no question of any one of them acknowledging his suzerainty.⁷

¹ *Vidarbha Samśōdhanam Maṇḍala Vārshika*, 1971, p. 76, text-line 26.

² Above, Vol. IX, p. 271, text-line 33.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 271, note 15. Kielhorn put an interrogation mark after *ni*.

⁴ *CIL*, Vol. V, p. 81, note 7.

⁵ The Riddhapur charter of the Nala king Bhavadattavarman was issued from Nandivardhana. See above, Vol. XIX, pp. 100 ff.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 137-138; *CIL*, Vol. V, pp. 83-84. This assumption was based on the word *narēndra* in verse 11 of this inscription which was supposed to make a veiled reference to Vākātika Narēndrasēna. But the recent discovery of the Mallar plates of Bharatabala's son Śūrābala *alias* Udīrnavaira (*Studies in Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. III, pp. 183-193) has shown that the Bamhani plates also belong to Śūrābala *alias* Udīrnavaira and that there is no pun on the word *narēndra* which is used simply in the sense of 'king'.

⁷ *Bhārat-Bhānam* (Dr. K.V. Sarma Felicitation Volume), Hoshiarpur, 1980, pp. 439-443.

We may now refer to the localities mentioned in our record. The donated village Gōvasāhikā is referred to as a bordering village in the previous charter and has been identified in that connection. The same is true of the river Bennā. Kurubhāñjaka, spelt as Kurubheñjaka, said to have formed the southern boundary of the donated village, seems to be identical with Kurubhājaka mentioned in the previous record. It has already been identified in connection with that charter. It is difficult to say anything definitely about Sulkavaṭa. It is not impossible that it denoted a banyan tree situated close to an octroi post on the border of the donated village. However, the word *nāman* used after it perhaps indicates that it was the name of a village. It is not possible to identify it at present and the name appears to have undergone a change beyond recognition. But a look at the map of the surrounding area shows that this village was situated about the same place where at present Kōsra is situated. This village is exactly to the east of the village identified with Gōvasāhikā. Piḍērikā situated to the north of Gōvasāhikā seems to be represented at present by the modern village of Peṭāri. Its location agrees exactly with its description in the inscription. The administrative division called Uttara-paṭṭa is referred to in the previous charter also and has been discussed at the proper place. Bennātaṭa-sthāna, wherefrom the grant was issued, was evidently the headquarters of the administrative unit named Bennātaṭa. It may be equated with the village of Ṭhānā situated on the western bank of the river Wainganga in the Nagpur District.

TEXT¹

[Metres : Verses 1-2 *Anuṣṭubh*]

First Plate

- 1 Dṛiṣṭa [m*||] Bēnnātaṭa-sthānād=agnisṭā(shṭō)ma(m-ā)ptōryyāma(m=o)thya
(kthya)-shōḍāśy-atirātra-vājapēya-
- 2 brihā²spatisava-sādyaskra-chatur-aśvavō(mē)dha-yāja(ji)naḥ Vishō(shṇu)vriddha-
sagōtrasya³
- 3 samrā[jō*]Vākāṭakānām=mahārāja-srī-Pravarasēnasya sūnōḥ sūnōḥ atya-
- 4 nta-svāmi-Mahābhairava-bhaktasya a[m] sa-bhāra-sannē(nni)vēśita⁴Siva-la(li)ṅg-ō-

1 From impressions.

2 The form of *ha* is rather unusual as the hook attached to its right is formed by extending to right the top line of the box. It looks more like *pā*.

3 Two semi-circles open to right are found at the end of this as well as other lines

- 5 dvahana-śiva-su-paritushta-samutpādita-rājavamśānām=parākkra-
- 6 m-ādihigata-Bhāgīratthya(thy-ā)mala-jala-mūrddh-ābhishiktānān=daś-āśvamēdh-āva-
bhritha-snā-
- 7 tānām=Bhārasivānām=mahārāja-śrī-Bhavanāga-dauhitrasya Āgautamīputrasya

Second Plate : First Side

- 8 putrasya Vākātākānām=mahārāja-śrī-Ra(Ru)drasēnasya sūnōḥ atyanta-māhēśvara-
sya
- 9 saty-ārjjava-kārāṇḍa¹-śauryya-vikkrama-naya-vinaya-māhātmya-dhi(dhī)pa(ma)tva-
pātra-gata-va(bha)ktitva-
- 10 dharmma-vajayi²-vijayitva-manō-nairmmaly-ādi-guna(na)-samuditasya varsha-satam-
abhivarvra(vardha)-
- 11 māna-kōśa-dadhā(nda)-sādhana-santāna-putra-pautrinah Yudhishṭhīra-vṛittēḥ(ttē)-
- 12 r=Vvākātākānām=mahārāja-śrīh-Pri(Pri)thivishēna(na)sya sūnah(nōḥ) bhagavatas=
Chakrapāṇih(nēḥ)
- 13 prasād-ōpārjita-śrī-samudayasya Vākātākānām=mahārāja-śrī-Rudrasēnasyah(sya)
- 14 sūnō[h] pūrvva-rāj-ānuvritta-mārgga(gg-ā)nusārinah su-naya-bala-parākkramē(m-ō)
chchha(chchhi)nna-sarvva⁴ -

1 Read *kāruṇya* -

2 This word is redundant.

3 In this conjunct letter instead of the subscript letter *th* the sign for medial *u* is wrongly added.

4 An unnecessary curve on top makes the *rēpha* sign appear like the sign for medial *ī*. There is an unnecessary *visarga* mark at the end of this line.

TWO MĀNDHAL COPPER PLATE CHARTERS OF PRITHIVĪSHĒNA II

B. Gōvasāhikā Grant, Year 10

i

2
 4
 6

2
 4
 6

ii a

8
 10
 12
 14

8
 10
 12
 14

ii b

16

18

20

16 16
 18 18
 20 20

iii a

22

24

26

28

22 22
 24 24
 26 26
 28 28

SCALE : THREE-FOURTHS

Second Plate : Second Side

- 15 vvi(dvi)pah(shah) mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Dēvagupta-suta(tā)pā(yā)m=Prabhāvati(tī)-
gupta(ptā)yām=utpanna-
- 16 sya¹Vākātaka-vamś-ālāṅkārabhūtasya mahārāja-śrī-Pravarāsēnasya sūnōh
- 17 pūrvv-ādhighata-guṇavad=da(dā)yād-āpahrita²-va[m*] śa-śriya[h*] Kōsalā-Mēkala-Ma
(Mā)lav-ā-
- 18 dhipati[bhi*] r=abhyarchchita-śāsanasya Vākāṭakānām=mahārāja-śrī-Narēndra-
- 19 sēnasya sūno[h*] Kuntal-ādhipati-sutāyā[m*] mahādēvyām= Ajjhi [ta][bha*]³
ttāri-
- 20 kāyām=utpanu(nna)sya atyanta-bhāgavatasya tēja[h*] kshamā-ya(sa)nnidhā
nabhūt-asya
- 21 [ma*] gga(gna)-va[m*] ś-ōddha[r] tu[h*] Vākāṭakānām=mahārāja-śrīh=Pri(Pri)thivi-
shēna(na)sya vachanā [t*]⁴

Third Plate : First Side

- 22 Uttarapattē Śulkavatānām=aparataḥ Kurubhe(bha)jñā⁵(ñja)kasy=ōttarataḥ Bēnnā-
nadyā-
- 23 h=pūrvvataḥ Pidērikāyā[h*] dakshīnataḥ Gōvasāhikā-nāma namna⁶ grāmah⁷ sva-sī-
- 24 mā-parichchha(chchhē)dēn-ānya-grāmā-si(sī)ma(mā)-varjjah⁷ Bennatataka⁷-Kā(Kau)
tsa-sagōtra-Mahēśvara-
- 25 svāminē ētat=sagōtra-Brahmasvāminē ētat=sagōtra-Harasvāminē
- 26 Varāhasvāmin=eti⁸aihihik-āmushmikē dharmma-sthānē dattaḥ [l*] Yatō=sma-

1 Śambhōh prasāda-dhrita-Kārttayugasya found in the Balaghat and Mahurjhari plates is left out. Other plates have Vākāṭakānām before mahārāja.

2 In other inscriptions this portion has been sought to be restored as pūrvv-ādhighata-guṇa-vīsvāśād=apahrita-

3 A superfluous stroke was incised above this letter and later cancelled. The form of subscribed *jh* is unusual and imperfectly formed.

4 There is a *visarga*-like punctuation after the letter *nā*.

5 The form of *ñā* is unusual.

6 This word is superfluous.

7 Better supply the word *-vāstavya* here.

8 Read *svāminē tti*.

- 27 tya(t=sa)ntakā[h*] sarvvādhyaksha-niyōga-niyukt-ā[jñā] sagvā(nchā)ri-kulaputr-
ādhyakṛita-bhata(tā)-
- 28 ś=chchhā(ś=chhā)trās=ch=āddhyushita-pu(pū)rvvā[h*] mam=ājñay=ājñāpayitavyā[h*]
viditam-astu vaḥ yatō=smāmi(bhi)-

Third Plate : Second Side

- 29 r=ātmanō dharmm-āyur-bbala-vijayē(y-ai)śvāryya-vivriddhayē[i]h-āmutra-hitārt-
tham=ātm-ā-
- 30 nūgrahāya vajjayi.[kē*] dharmma-sthānē abhata-chchha(chchhā)tra-prāvēśyah a-
pārampara-
- 31 gō-kha(ba)la(lī)vardda[h*] a-pushpa-kshīra-sandōha[h*] a-chār-āsana-charmm-āng-
āra[h*] a-lavana-kkri(kli)nē(nna)-
- 32 khanaka[h*] sarvva-vēshti-parihāra-parihrita[h*] sa-parikli(klri)pt-ōpapari-
- 33 kli(klri)pta[h*] krikha¹ a(ā)-chandr-āditya²-kāla(lī)yaḥ putra-pautr-ānugāmi [kah*]
bhuñjatā[m*] na²
- 34 ka(kē)nachiddya(d=vyā)hā(ghā)na(ta)h=karttavayaḥ sarvva-kkriyābhis=samrakshita-
vya[h] para(ri)varddhayitavyaś=cha³
- 35 yaś=ch=asmach=chhāsanam=agana(ṇa)yamānaḥ svalpām=api paribādhānku(ṇ=ku)-
ryyā⁴

1 These two letters are unnecessary.

2 There is an unnecessary *visarga* mark here.

3 There is a *visarga*-like punctuation mark at the end of this line.

4 There is an unnecessary *visarga* mark here.

iii b

30
 32
 34

30
 32
 34

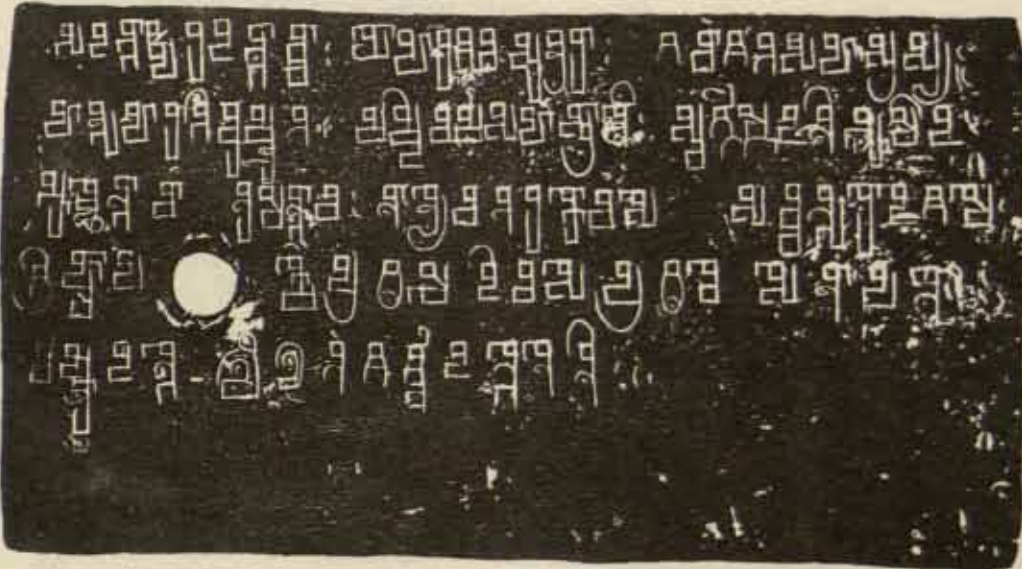
iv a

36
 38
 40

36
 38
 40

iv b

42



42

44

44

46

46

SCALE : THREE-FOURTHS

SEAL



SCALE : ONE-HALF

Fourth Plate : First Side

- 36 t=kārayitā vā tasya khrā(brā)hmana(nai)vvi(r=vvē)dē(di)tasya sa=dadhā(ṇḍa)-
nigrahaṃ kuryyāmaḥ [||*]
- 37 apūrvva-dattā(ttyā) udakapūrvvam=atisṛishṭah¹ [i*] uchitā[m*] ś=ch=āsya
pū[r*] vva-rāj-ānumatā [m*]²
- 38 ś=chātur=vvaidya-grāma-maryyādā-pariharān=vitarāmaḥ [i*] tad=yathā a-kara-vā(dā)yi³
- 39 dadhā(ṇḍa)-ni(ni)graha[m] kuryyāmaḥ [i*] api cha dharmm-adhi³ karaṇa a -
ti(tī)t-ānēka-rā-
- 40 ja-dattā(tta)-sasyāntāna⁴-paripālan-ārttha[m*] kīrttayāmaḥ [i*] ēshya tat=kāla-
prabha-vishu(shṇu)-
- 41 gauravādvad(d=bha)vishyān=viji(jñā)payāmaḥ [1*] Vyasa-gi(gī)tō(tau) ch=ātra ślōkō(kau)
pramāni(nī)-karttavyo(vyau) [i*]

Fourth Plate : Second Side

- 42 Sa(Sva)-dattām=para-dattāvvh⁵ yō¹ harēta vasundharāḥ(rām)[i*] gavāṃ śata-
śahasrasya⁶
- 43 hantu[r=*] harati vu(du)shkrītaḥ(tam) [||1*] Shashti-varsha-sahasrāṇi⁶ svarggē
mōdati bhūmidah [i*]
- 44 āchchhētā ch=ānumantā cha⁶ tāny=ēva narakō(kē) vasē[t ||2*] Savvatsarō⁷ das-
amē
- 45 grī(grī)hmā(shmē) pakshē prathamē divasē prathavē(mē) Sēnāpatau
- 46 Vishṇudattē likhitam Śarvvadattēn=ēti [| |]

1 The sentence beginning with *apūrvva-dattā* should have come in line 30 immediately after *vajjayikē-dharma-sthānē*.

2 There is an unnecessary *visarga* mark here.

3 Read - *ādara*.

4 Read - *sañchintana*.

5 Read *para-dattām vā*,

6 There is an unnecessary punctuation mark here.

7 Read *savvatsare*.

Seal

- 1 Narēndrasēna-sat=sūnōh
- 2 bhartur=Vākāṭaka-sriyaḥ [1*]
- 3 Pri(Pri)thivi(vī)shēna(na)-nṛipatē[h*]
- 4 jigi(gī)shōr=jjaya-śāsana[m ||*]¹

1 The metre of the verse is *Anuṣṭubh*.

NO. 18 – A MAUKHARI SEAL-DIE FROM KANAUI

(1 Plate)

Kiran Kumar Thaplyal, Lucknow

The seal-die under discussion was discovered by Shri Vidya Shankar Misra *alias* Sardar, an amateur archaeologist and antique collector, during his explorations in the ruins of ancient Kanauj. Shri Misra has presented it to the Purātattva Saṅgrahālaya (Archaeological Museum), Kanauj, where it is now displayed in a show-case along with other antiquities.¹

I am grateful to Dr. G.K. Agnihotri, Shri Manoj Awasthi and Shri Prabhakara Pandey, all connected with the Purātattva Saṅgrahālaya in different capacities, who very kindly made the seal-die available for my study at its present location. They were good enough to furnish me information regarding its provenance and also readily supplied the photographs of the seal-die and its impression on the plasticine for use as illustrations.

The seal-die under discussion is fragmentary. A portion of its upper right and the whole of the lower portion have been lost. The maximum measurements of the extant fragment length-wise and width-wise are 11 cms and 6 cms respectively. However, from the contours of the extant piece of the seal-die one can reconstruct fairly accurately the original shape and size of the seal-die. It would appear that the original seal, like other seals of Avantivarman, was oval in shape and measured 15 cms and 13 cms length-wise and width-wise respectively.

In the upper field of the seal² is depicted a robust human figure standing, facing left. In the front is the figure of a bull of which only the hind part is extant. The fore part of the figure and other items of the device are missing. It is nevertheless possible to reconstruct the device with the help of other seals of the Maukhari rulers, viz., the Nalanda clay seal-impression³ and the Asirgadh copper seal-impression of Śarvarman,⁴ and the Nalanda⁵ and Sohmag⁶ clay-seal impressions of Avantivarman.⁷ Each of these bears the same device of which the details are as below:

In the centre is a bull figure standing sideways, facing left, and high above it is pictured a *chhatra* (parasol). On each side is a human figure in walking posture. The

1 Accession No. KNJ/79-92.

2 The description is of device as it is on the seal-impression, and not as it is on the seal die.

3 Hiranand, Sastri, *Above*, Vol. XXI, 73-74, pl. facing p. 74.

4 Fleet, *CII*, III, No. 47, pp. 219 ff., p. XXXA.

5 A. Ghosh, *Above*, Vol. XXIV, pp. 283-85, pl. facing p. 284.

6 M.S. Vats, in *Proc. of Ind. Hist. Congress*, 1946, pp. 74-77.

7 For a general survey of the Maukhari seals, see K.K. Thaplyal, *Studies in Ancient Indian Seals*, pp. 77-79.

one nearer the bull holds a battle-axe and a *chakra*-like standard, and the other near the hind parts of the animal holds a battle-axe and a *chauri*. Since the extant device of the seal under discussion is identical in respect of the human figure and the bull (hind part only), it may be presumed that the other details of the device in the original seal-die were also identical with those of other Maukhari seals.

Scholars have assigned religious symbolism to the device. Dr. H. Sastri, while editing the Nalanda sealing of Śarvavarman, interpreted the figure of the bull as standing for *Dharma* (*vrishō hi bhagavān Dharmah*) and the two human figures as *chandālas* standing in readiness to kill the bull (*Dharma*).¹ According to the same author, the device carried the allegorical implication that tampering with the seal was as sinful an act as the killing of a bull or violation of *Dharma*.² But as Vats pointed out, this interpretation, though ingenious, is not convincing.³ He has his own interpretation to offer. According to him, the bull represents Śiṣṭiva'sull, Nandī, the two human figures, Śiva-ḡaṇas, and what looks like a *chakra* standard could well be taken as a conventional representation of a *pataḡā* or *dhvaja*.⁴ However, to our view, the picturing of *chhatra* (one of the paraphernalias that goes well with royalty and divinity) above the bull would suggest that either the bull-figure is a theriomorphic representation of Śiva, or the *chhatra* itself is a symbolic representation of that deity. Depiction of Śaiva device is obviously quite appropriate as the Maukhari rulers prided to call themselves as *Paramamāhēśvaras* (i.e., most devout worshippers of Śiva).

The writing is in Brāhmī characters of the 6th century A.D. The palaeography of the letters shows markedly florid characters, as in other Maukhari seals, and has been commented upon by Fleet.¹ The language of the epigraph is Sanskrit and the text is in prose. As regards orthographic peculiarities worthy of note, we find duplication of the letter *ṇ* (as in *varṇmāśrama*, line 2) when immediately following the letter *ṛ*.

The name of its owner, which by common practice should have been mentioned at the end, has been lost in this fragmentary seal-die. No doubt, as stated earlier, the shape and size of the original seal can be ascertained more or less accurately; but that in itself would not give us a definite idea regarding the length of the text. A consideration of contemporary and near contemporary royal seals would show that while on some the legend goes right upto the bottom of the seal,⁶ in the case of a few others, a fairly large space, sufficient to accommodate a few lines of writing, is left blank towards the end.⁷ If the name of the owner of the seal under discussion were known,

1 Above, Vol. XXI, p. 73.

2 Sastri in *ibid.*, pp. 73-74.

3 M.S. Vats, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

4 *Ibid.*

5 *CII.*, Vol. III, pp. 219-20.

6 Eg., in the Maukhari seals.

7 See e.g., *MASI*, No. 66, pl. VIII.

and if he were one of the already known Maukhari kings, then the lost portion could be fully reconstructed with the help of other seals of that dynasty, as all of them detail genealogy in a set phraseology. But since we do not know the name of the issuer of the present seal, we have to take recourse to other methods for a reconstruction of the legend.

Taking clue from the text of other Maukhari seals, the following two observations regarding reconstruction can be made with certainty :

- 1 At the end of line 3, Queen Harshaguptā is mentioned. Naturally her son, king Īśvaravarman, must have been mentioned in the missing portion of line 4.
- 2 The word *bhattārikā* occurs at the end of line 4. This must certainly have been preceded by the name of the Queen Upaguptā and line 5 (now missing) would thus have contained the name of her son Īśānavarman.

The Maukhari genealogy upto Īśānavarman can easily be constructed with the help of known Maukhari seals. But since ample blank space would still be left on the seal-die below line 5 (missing in the fragmentary seal-die under discussion), it would be anybody's guess as to how many lines of writing, or none at all, followed thereafter. However, presuming that the legend went right upto the bottom of the seal, then, taking into consideration the blank space and the size of letters, it can be computed that the lost portion of the seal-die contained four lines of writing. Four lines within that space would have just been sufficient to include the text of Avantivarman's seal, that follows [*Upaguptā*]-*bhattārikā*, which occurs at the end of line 4 of our seal-die (see below, the reconstructed text lines 5-8). If we consider the possibility of taking Su....., who was a son of Avantivarman and whose (now) fragmentary seal impression has been found at Nalanda,¹ as the author of the seal, it would mean the inclusion of the following text:

Puttras=tat=pādānudhyātō - (name of queen)
bhattārikā mahādēvyām=utpannaḥ paramamāhēśvarō mahārājādhirāja-Śrī-Su- (full name of the king²), after the name of Avantivarman. But the space is insufficient to include this text.

One may, however, argue that the seal under discussion is one of those in which the legend does not go right upto the end of the lower portion and considerable blank

1 Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 283-85 and plate. The full name of the king is not known as the letters after *Su* are either defaced or missing.

2 Perhaps this was followed by the word *Maukhariḥ* (in which case this word would not have been mentioned in the context of Avantivarman, as in Maukhari seals it is applied to the owner of the seal only).

space is left at the bottom. Hence, one possibility could be that Isanavarman (whose name must have occurred in line 5, as stated above) could be the owner of the seal. We, however, are of the view that the present seal-die belonged to Avantivarman. The view is based on the following grounds :

- 1 In none of the known Maukhari seals is the lower portion of the surface left blank.
- 2 As stated earlier, the space would be just sufficient to fill in the text of Avantivarman's seal.
- 3 A comparison of the extant text of the seal under consideration, line by line, with the Nalanda and Asirgadh seals of Śarvavarman, shows that the seal when intact contained a few more letters in each line than those two seals. To give just one instance, the first line of these two seals end in *vyavasthā* while that of the one under discussion in *vyavasthāpana pravṛitta*. On the other hand, a comparison of the text of the seal with that of Nalanda and Sohnag ones of Avantivarman indicates that the first four lines of our seal must have tallied with theirs, line by line. We have on the seal-die only the end portion of the first four lines for comparison. It is clearly seen that the first, second, third and fourth lines of the present seal-die as also of the Nalanda and Sohnag seal-impressions of Avantivarman end in *pravṛitta*, *Harivarmā*, *Harshaguptā* and *bhaṭṭārikā* respectively. We may justifiably presume that the text of these as also the rest of the lines (which are missing in the seal-die) were also identical with those of the seals of Avantivarman. Thus, in view of the above arguments, we can safely conclude that the present seal belongs to Avantivarman.

The find of material relics pertaining to a particular dynasty at a site is often taken as evidence of its being within the kingdom of that dynasty. However, the type of objects, the context of the find, and corroboration or contradiction by other sources, should also be taken into consideration before arriving at such a conclusion. Sealings, for instance, applied as they are to letters and parcels, are liable to be dispatched to agencies located far away from the place of their origin. Hence, in determining the extent of the territory of a king, or of his dynasty, the evidence of such objects should be taken with extreme caution.¹

1 It is because of this that the find of Maukhari sealings at Nalanda, a great centre of religion and learning, could not in itself be taken as a definite proof of that region being within the Maukhari kingdom. It is on the basis of the Deo Barnark inscription of the later Gupta king, Jīvitagupta II (*CIL*, Vol. III, No. 46, p. 213), which refers to the grant of the village Vārunikā (modern Deo Barnark, Shahabad District, Bihar) by Śarvavarman and Avantivarman, that historians included Nalanda within the Maukhari Kingdom.

A MAUKHARI SEAL-DIE FROM KANAUI

A



K V Ramesh

Ep. Ind. Vol. XI

B



As against this, seal-dies should be, and are, generally found at places of their origin. The present royal seal-die must have been in the custody of the king's office at the Maukhari capital for purposes of sealing royal documents. It is, therefore, reasonable to infer that Kanauj, the findspot of the seal-die, was the capital of the Maukhari kingdom. Though most scholars have also arrived at the same conclusion on the basis of other bits of evidence, dissenting notes and alternate suggestions have been made by a few from time to time. This seal-die which is the first definite archaeological document pertaining to the Maukhari dynasty from Kanauj, and also the first and only seal-die of that dynasty found anywhere so far, would go to establish that Kanauj was the capital of the Maukharis, during the reign of Avantivarman Maukhari, the owner of the present seal-die, if not earlier.

We give below the text of the seal in two parts : (A) partly extant and partly restored, and (B) wholly missing and completely restored.¹

TEXT²

A

- 1 [Chatussamudr-ātikkraṅta-kīrttiḥ pratāp-ānurāg-ōpanat-ānyarā*]jō varṇāśrama-vyavasthāpana-pravṛitta-
- 2 [Chakras=chakkradhara iva Prajānām=arttiharah śrī-mahārāja-Ha*]rivarmmā tasya puttras=tat=pād-ānudhyātō Jaya-
- 3 [svāminī-bhattārikādēvyām=utpannah śrī-mahārāj-Ādityavarmmā tasya puttras=ta*]t=pādānudhyātō Harshagupta-
- 4 [bhattārikā dēvyām=utpannah śrī mahārāja=Ēśvaravarmmā tasya puttras=tat=pād-ānudhyāta Upaguptā*]-bhattārikā-

B

- 5 [dēvyām=utpannō mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Īśānavarmmā tasya puttras=tat=pādānudhyātō
- 6 Lakshmīvatī-bhattārikā-mahādēvyām=utpannō mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Śarvavarmmā
- 7 tasya puttras=tat=pādānudhyāta Indra-bhattārikā-mahādēvyām=utpannah parama-māhēśvarō
- 8 Mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Avantivarmmā Maukhariḥ*]

1 [The available part of the text is given in italics and the missing portions within [*] - Ed.]

2 From photographs.

NO. 19 – A FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION FROM VIDISHA

(1 Plate)

K. V. Ramesh and S. Subramonia Iyer, Mysore

This recently discovered inscription, edited here for the first time is engraved on a stone slab originally found at Besnagar near Vidisha, the well known head-quarters of the District of the same name in Madhya Pradesh. The slab is now preserved in the office of the Superintending Archaeologist, Archaeological Survey of India, Central Circle, Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh. The inscription was copied by Dr. Subramonia Iyer in March, 1979 in the course of his annual collection tour.

The slab is broken off along the top, left and right margins as a result of which none of the five lines of writing is available in full. The writing, which is near ornamental, is carefully executed, though a damage in the middle of the available part of the slab has resulted in the loss of some more letters in lines 1 to 3.

The object of the inscription appears to record the construction of a temple (*kīrtana*) for Lord Śiva by a chief belonging to a Pratihāra family who was, in all probability, a vassal of a Nāga ruler who was endowed with the royal title of *Mahārāja*. The names of the overlord and his vassal are both lost.

The inscription is engraved in what may be described as the Western variety of Late Brāhmī, also known as the Gupta alphabet, which was in vogue in the western and southern parts of the Gupta empire. On grounds of palaeography, this epigraph may be assigned to the 5th century A.D. and the letters may be compared with any standard Gupta alphabet of that period.

The language employed is Sanskrit and, but for a verse in the *Āryā* metre in line five, the text is in prose. The language is faultless. The symbol for *upadhmanīya* and the numerical figure for five occur once each, both in line 2. As regards orthography, the consonant following *r* is uniformly doubled. The doubling of the consonant *n* in *°nānyachalā°* (line 3) and the writing of *yajña-ghna* as *yajña-gghna* are noteworthy.

The first line, which is badly mutilated, refers to a certain Vijayanāga and to his son and grandson, whose names are lost, but who are endowed with the royal title of *Mahārāja*. Though, of the letters which precede the name of Vijayanāga, only the letter *śrī* is now preserved, it may be reasonably supposed that he too was given the title of *Mahārāja* in the portion now irretrievably lost. Since we have no means of knowing the number of letters lost on the left and right sides of the slab, we do not know whether the epigraph contained an account of the generations which followed the grandson of Vijayanāga.

Line 2 mentions, in both word and figure, the fifth year of the prosperous reign, obviously of one of the descendants of Vijayanāga. Then the details of the object of the inscription are set down with the preamble *asyāḥ=pūrvvāyās=sannivēśah*.

The remaining portion of line 2 mentions a certain Bhūtimitra who is described as a Pratihāra, his son Pratihāra (name lost), his son Pratihāra Drōṇa and his son whose name is lost. Since the intention of the record is to refer only to the

prapautra or great-grandson of Bhūtimitra, we may conclude that Drōṇa's son, whose name is, however, not preserved, was the last of the Pratīhāra chiefs intended to figure in the epigraph.

In the first half of line three occurs the description of the religious leanings of an individual. Since each of the descriptive phrases in this part ends in the instrumental case and since Drōṇa's son is also referred to in the same case (cf. *putrēṇa* in line 2), we may safely conclude that the descriptive phrases are applicable only to the son of Drōṇa. These phrases inform us that he had come to realise that the abodes of the gods (*kīrttanāni*, i.e. temples) were of a permanent nature, that he had sought refuge only in religious faith, and that he was an ardent devotee at the feet of Mahēśvara, i.e. Śiva.

These descriptive phrases are followed by others introducing Lord Śiva as the most valorous in all the world, as one endowed with the form of *liṅga* not comprehended even by Brahmā and Hari, as one whose feet were worshipped by some one (details lost) and as one who was a resident of Kailāsa.

Next follows the description, most probably, of the temple of Lord Śiva, built, out of great devotion, by the son of Drōṇa. It was as pure and brilliant as the snow-capped peak; it was the subject of worship for all people, and it had been built in order to secure blessings for the living beings.

The last line says that the foregoing text was thus written and proclaimed. Then follows a verse in the *Āryā* metre in which the builder of the temple appeals to Lord Śiva, who is endowed with the Bull standard, who is the destroyer of (Dakṣha's) sacrifice, who is the best among the gods and is known as Śarvva, to bless him with unflinching adherence to acts of piety (or, to the path of righteousness). This is followed by a floral symbol and the concluding remark *siddhir=astu*, followed, probably, by another floral symbol.

The inscription is of considerable importance for the history of the Vidisha region during the 4th-5th century A.D., when the entire north was dominated by the imperial might of the Guptas. Though, in view of the damaged nature of the record, we have no means of deciding whether the Guptas were at all mentioned at the commencement of the text, the fact that the Nāga rulers were endowed only with the subordinate title of *Mahārāja* proves beyond doubt that they were, in effect, the vassals of the Guptas. It is obvious that the rulers of this particular Nāga family were in charge of the administration of the Besnagar region during the sway of the Guptas.

It is interesting to note that the Mitra feudatories of these Nāga rulers claimed to be of Pratīhāra stock. The earliest so far known reference¹ to rulers of a Pratīhāra stock goes back to the middle of the 6th century A.D. when Harichandra, the brāhmaṇa founder of the Gurjara kingdom, was succeeded by his four sons who were Pratīhāras. The inscription under study is the only source of information on the Nāga and Pratīhāra families of the Besnagar region and more light can be thrown on their history only if and when further epigraphs are brought to light.

1 *The Classical Age*, p. 65.

TEXT¹

- 1 śrī-Vijayanāgas=tat-putrasya Mahārāja-śrī . [ja] . . . s=tat-putrasya
Ma [trasya]
- 2 ddhikara-samvatsarē pañcamē 5 asyāḥ=pūrvvāyās=samnivēśāh[|*]
Pratīhāra-Bhūtimitra-prapautrēna Pratīhā[pau] trēṇa: Pratīhāra-Drōnas=
tat-putrēna
- 3 Kīrttanānny-achalānī=tikṛita-buddhinā dharmmaika-śaranēna atyanta-
Mahēśvara-pāda-bha[ktēna]lōkaika-vīrasya Brahmā-Haribhyām=apy=ana-
dhigata-liṅga
- 4 m-ābhyarchchita-charanasya Kailāsa-vās-ōchitasy=āpya(py=ā)tma-bhak-
tyā śaśi-hima-śikhar-āvādātaḥ sarva-lōka-pūjā-bhājana[h*] bhūt-ānugrah-ārt-
tham=avasādayita[h]
- 5 [ti] likhitam śāsitam [|*] Saurabhēya-kētur-Ggaṅgā-dhṛita-tripura-
Daksha-yajña-gghnaḥ . | Dharmmēshu saṅgam-achalam=mama diśatu surōttamaś=
Śarvva[h*||] iti||² siddhir=astu [||*]²

1 From inked estampages.

2 There is a floral symbol here.

A FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION FROM VIDISHA



K V Ramesh

SCALE : ONE-THIRD

Ep. Ind. Vol. XLI

LEFT HALF



RIGHT HALF



SCALE : TWO-THIRDS

NO. 20 – KANNADA SĀHITYA PARISHAT PLATES OF WESTERN
GĀṄGA SIMHAVARMAN

(1 Plate)

K. V. Ramesh, Mysore

This set of copper plate inscription, edited here for the first time, was copied in 1978¹ by the then Chief Epigraphist, Shri K.G. Krishnan with the kind permission of the authorities of the Kannada Sāhitya Parishat, Bangalore where the set is at present deposited. The set consists of three rectangular plates, each measuring 20.5 x 5.5 cms. In the left centre of each plate, about 2 cms away from the edge is a round hole, about 1 cm in diameter, for the ring of the seal to pass through. No information is available regarding the weight of the plates nor about the seal and ring.

Of the three plates of the set, the first bears writing only on the inner side while both the sides of the second and third plates are engraved. There are altogether 20 lines of writing distributed as follows: I, II a and b: 4 lines each; III a: 5 lines and III b: 3 lines.

The charter is engraved in Southern characters which may be assigned, on grounds of palaeography, to the second half of the fifth century A.D. The language employed is Sanskrit and, but for four imprecatory verses at the end, the rest of the text is in prose. The palaeographical features as well as the diction are normal for the period and region to which the record belongs. Though the text is mostly free from orthographical errors, attention may be drawn to the fact that even in the matter of mentioning the grandfather of the reigning king, his name has been wrongly spelt as Mahādhava instead of Mādhava.

The object of the charter is to register the royal grant of two *nivartanas* of land in a field called Kūttūra-kshētra in the township of Kuvalāla in Kuvalāla-vishaya, made by the Gāṅga king Mahādhirāja Simhavarman to the brāhmaṇa Mātri-śarman.

The charter begins with the auspicious word *svasti* which is followed by the salutation to the god Padmanābha, a feature common to most of the Western Gāṅga copper plates. The progenitor of the Gāṅga dynasty, who is herein named as Koṅkaṇivarman-mahādhirāja, is next introduced² (lines 1-3) as one who illuminated the Gāṅga family, as having acquired exalted position by dint of the prowess of his own arms and as having obtained great fame through his victories in many battles. Next is mentioned (lines 3-4) his son, Mādhava-mahārāja who was an adept in expounding and applying the rules of polity and who had written a commentary on *Dattaka-sūtra*.³ Next is mentioned his son Krishṇavarman-mahādhirāja who was a skilled rider of vicious elephants and was well-versed in the application of twenty six expedients.

1 The charter has been noticed in *A.R.Ep.*, 1978-79.

2 The description of Koṅkaṇivarman as the sun in the firmament of the Gāṅga family (*Jāhnaveya-kul-āmala-vyōm-āvabhāṣana-bhāskarāḥ*) and as belonging to the Kāṇvāyana-sagōtra, usually met with in Western Gāṅga charters, is conspicuous by its absence here.

3 The title of his work, as known from some other Western Gāṅga charters, is *Dattaka-sūtra-vṛtti*.

The charter then proceeds to describe (lines 6-12) the reigning king *Mahādhirāja* *Siṃhavarman* as one whose strong arms supported righteousness, who was sweet, lovely, cool, weighty, forbearing, grave and glowing respectively like milk, the moon, sandal, the Mandara mountain, the earth, the ocean and the sun, who had the greatness (born out) of dexterity, rectitude, purity, valour, liberality, prowess and fortitude, who was of unequalled bravery and fame, who was an expert in the rules and regulations of polity, whose depth of intelligence was more even than that of Śukra and Brihaspati, whose self had been rendered pure by his mastery over many sciences, who had amassed merit through making plentiful gifts of cows, gold and land and who had inherited his kingdom in the proper order of succession.

The grant portion in lines 12-15 records, as pointed out above, the grant, made by the king *Siṃhavarman*, of two *nivarttanas* of land to the brāhmaṇa *Mātri-sarman*. The two *nivarttanas* of the gift-land were made up of four *kēdāra-kshētras* (i.e. wet fields) known by the names of *Maḍavāy*, *Dīrgha*, *Chakra* and *Stala*. The land was situated in *Kūtūra-kshētra* which was under the tank of the town of *Kuvalāla* in *Kuvalāla-vishaya*. The gift was made, for the increase of the donor-king's longevity, strength, victory and prosperity, in accordance with the rules governing *brahmadēya* grants, along with all (usual) exemptions. The donee, *Mātri-sarman* belonged to the *Kāśyapa-gōtra* and *Vājasaneyā-sākhā*.

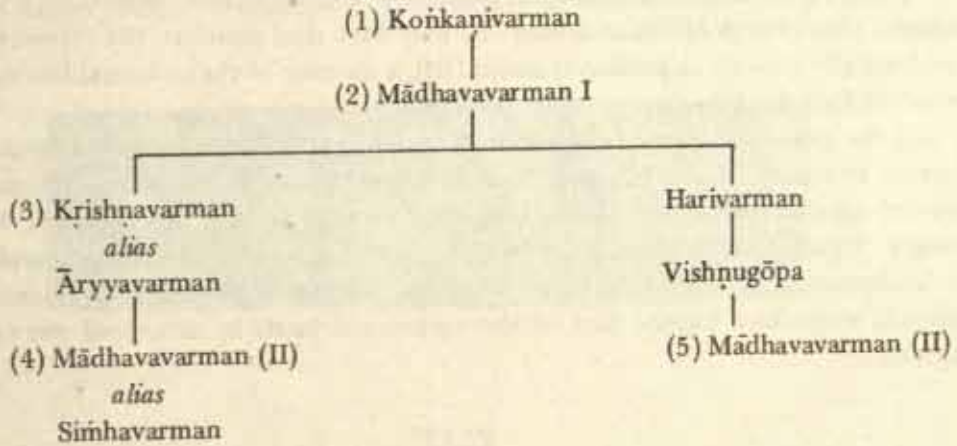
The donor king *Siṃhavarman* is already known to us from his *Chūkuṭṭūru*¹ and *Kūṭalūr*² grants and his *Penukoṇḍa* plates.³ The present charter is the fourth so far known grant of his reign. While the genealogy as given in the *Chūkuṭṭūru* grant has the same names for the four rulers enumerated therein as in the present charter, the *Kūṭalūr* grant and the *Penukoṇḍa* plates give the name of *Siṃhavarman*'s father as *Āryyavarman* instead of *Kṛiṣṇavarman*. Again, the *Kūṭalūr* grant names *Āryyavarman*'s son as *Mādhavarman*. But, we know from the *Penukoṇḍa* plates that one and the same son of *Āryyavarman* had both the names of *Mādhavarman* and *Siṃhavarman*. On the strength of this equation, we also know that *Kṛiṣṇavarman* of the *Chūkuṭṭūru* grant and the charter under study and *Āryyavarman* of the *Penukoṇḍa* plates and *Kūṭalūr* grant were identical.

Siṃhavarman *alias* *Mādhavarman* II appears to have been the last ruler of the main line started by *Koṃkaṇivarman* and he probably died without an issue. For, for the period immediately following *Mādhavarman* II's reign, we find seated on the *Gaṅga* throne another *Mādhavarman*, a third ruler of that name, who is described as the son of *Vishṇugōpa*, grandson of *Harivarman* and great-grandson of *Mādhavarman*(I). It is clear from this that *Mādhavarman* (I) had at least two sons in *Kṛiṣṇavarman* *alias* *Āryyavarman* and *Harivarman*. The genealogy of the first five generations of Western *Gaṅga* princes may be tabulated as follows:

1 *Myx.Arch.Rep.*, 1924, pp. 79-81 and plates between pp. 80 and 81.

2 *Ibid.*, 1930, pp. 259-65 and plate opp. p. 259.

3 Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 331-40 and plate between pp. 334-35.



Of the four known charters of the ruler under discussion, including the present one, only the Chūkuṭṭūru and Kūṭalūr grants carry some details of date. The details given in the former grant are Mārgasīra ba. 8, Chitrā-nakshatra; the Kūṭalūr grant was issued on the 5th day of the bright fortnight of the month Chaitra when the *nakshatra* was Rōhinī and the season Śarat (Autumn). In either case the details are insufficient for verification. The other two grants including the charter under review are not dated in any way.

A point worth noticing here is the fact that though the Western Gaṅga *praśasti*, as given in their early charters, including those of Siṃhavarman, clearly betray attempts at formalisation which later led to the adoption of a stereotyped eulogy, in the matter of eulogising Siṃhavarman himself, there is no such formalised version. His *praśastis*, as found given in his four known charters, are all composed differently. The only substantial information of a historical nature we gather from his *praśastis* is that he was anointed on the Gaṅga throne by the Pallava emperor Skandavarman (as mentioned in the Penukoṇḍa plates) or Vijaya Skandavarman (as mentioned in the Kūṭalūr grant), an important information which is conspicuous by its omission in the charter under study.

Another point of interest worth noticing here is the way in which the description of the acquisition of kingship by Mādhavarman (II) *alias* Siṃhavarman contrasts with that of Mādhavarman (III). The Penukoṇḍa plates describe Mādhavarman (II) as ruling over the kingdom inherited by him in the normal course of succession (*sva-vamśa-kram-āgata-rājya*) while the Kūṭalūr grant says that he was justifiably anointed on the throne by the Pallava emperor (*nyāyatō=bhishiktaḥ*). The charter under study also states that he had come by the Gaṅga throne in the normal course of succession (*kram-ādihigata-rājyaḥ*). In contrast to this, the Western Gaṅga *praśasti*, of which a formalised version begins to appear on most of the charters of the dynasty subsequent to the reign of Siṃhavarman almost invariably says of Mādhavarman (III) that he established mastery over the kingdom which he had obtained by dint of the

strength of his arms (*svabhuja-bala-parākrama-kṛaya-kṛita-rajyaḥ*).¹ From this it may be gathered that though Mādhavarman (II) may have died issueless, the throne did not automatically pass on to Mādhavarman (III), a member of the collateral line and that he had to fight for it.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter, Kuvalāla is the same as the modern township of Kolar. Since it is described as an *adhishthāna*, it must have enjoyed considerable importance at that time, perhaps as a capital city of the Western Gaṅgas. Kuvalāla-vishaya was obviously the name of a district which had Kuvalāla for its headquarters. Kūttūra-kshētra, in which the wet-fields granted to the donee were situated, must have formed part of the agricultural lands in or around the town of Kuvalāla.

TEXT²

First Plate

- 1 Svasti [*] Jitam=Bhagavatā gata-ghana-gagan-ābhēna Padmanābhēna [*] Gamga-vaṁś-ōdyō(ddyō)ta-
- 2 karasya sva-bāhu-vīryy-ōpārjita-vibhavasya ānēka-samar-āvamardda-vijaya-labdha-
- 3 yaśaḥ-prakāśasya śrī-Koṅkaṇivarmma-[ma] hādhi-rājasya prapō(pau)trēṇa sakti-traya-sampannasya nī-
- 4 ti-śāstrasya vaktri-prayōktri³[kuśalasya*] Dattaka-sūtr-ārttha-vyākhyāyinaḥ śrī-Mahādhava⁴-mahārājasya

Second Plate : First Side

- 5 pautrēṇa vyāla-kuñjar-ārōhaṇa-kuśalasya shaḍvimsaty-upāya-prayōga-kuśala-buddhēḥ Kṛishṇa-
- 6 varmma-mahādhirājasya putrēṇa sad-dharm-ōddharaṇa-pralamba-pīvara-vṛitta(tta)-bāhu-yugalēna
- 7 payaś=chandra-chandana-Mandara-pṛithivī-sāgara-bhāskara-tulya-mādhuryya-kānti-tva-śaitya-gaurava-

1 See, *Ep. carn.*, Vol. X, Mr. 73 and plate opp. p. 208.


2 From inked estampages.

3 There is the trace of a diminutive letter to the right of the letter *ktri*, which looks like final *m*.

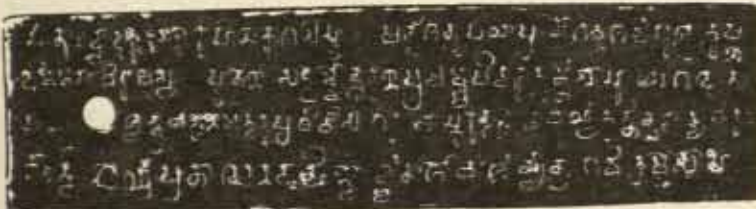
4 Read *Mādhava*.

KANNAḌA SĀHITYA PARSHAT PLATES OF W. GAṄGA SIMHAVARMAṆ

i

		
2		2
4		4

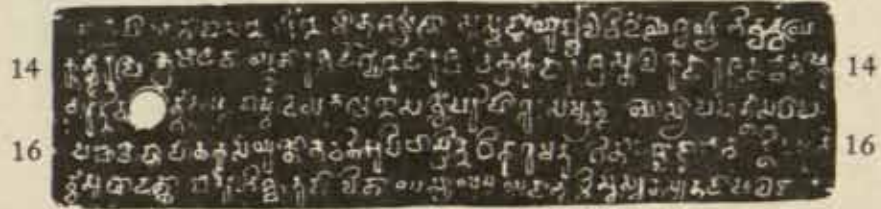
ii a

		
6		6
8		8

ii b

		
10		10
12		12

iiia



iiib



SCALE : ONE-HALF

8 kshānti-dhairyya-pratāpēna dākshiny-ārjjava-śaucha-śauryya-tyāga-vikram-ōtsāha-

Second Plate : Second Side

9 mähātmyēna apratima-parākrama-yaśasā nīti-vī(vi)dhī-niyata-naipunyēna Sukra-
Bṛihaspati-

10 bhyām=apy=āsāsyamāna-mati-vistārēṇa anēka-śāstr-ōdadhi-pārāga-mana-vipul-atm-
anā anē-

11 ka-gō-hiraṇya-bhūmy-ādi dānaiḥ pravṛiddha-dharmma-sañchayēna kram-ādhighata-
rājyē-

12 na Gaṅgānām-mahādhīrājēna 'sri-Si[m*] havarmmaṇā Kuvalāla-vishayē Kupa(va)lāl-
ādhishtānē taṭākasy-ādhasat

Third Plate : First Side

13 Kāśyapāyā Vājasaneyinē Mātri-śarmmaṇē asmad-āyur-bbala-vijay-aisvaryy-ābhivṛi-
ddhayē

14 Kūttūra-kshētrē Maḍavāy-kkētā(dā)ras'=cha Dīrggha-kēdāras'=cha Chakra-kēdāras'=
cha Stala-kēdāras'=cha tach=chatush-kē-

15 dārān=nivartta[na*]-dvayam brahmadēya-kramēna sarvvaiḥ parihāraiḥ samprattam
[l*] yō=sy=āpaharttā sa pāpa²

16 pañcha-mā(ma)hāpātaka-samyuktō bhavati [l*] api ch=āsminn-adhikārē Manuḥ
(nu)-gītāḥ ślōkā[h*] bhavanti[l*] Bahubhi-

17 r=vvasudhā dattā bahubhis'=ch=ānupālītā [l*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya
tadā phalam [|| 1*]

Third Plate : Second Side

18 Adbhīr=ddattān=tribhīr=bhukta[m] sadbhīs'=cha paripālītam [l*] ētāni na nivart-
tantē pūrvva-rāja-kṛitāni cha [|| 2*]

1 The words *Kuvalāla-vishayē*, originally omitted, were engraved subsequently below the line, and a *kākapāda* was engraved on top of this letter *ku* to mark the omission.

2 These two letters are redundant.

- 19 Sva-dattām-para-dattām-vā yō harētō (ta) vasundharām [1*] gavām śata-sā(sa)-
ha(ha)srasya hantuḥ pibati [ta(du)]shkri[tam] [|| 3]
- 20 Bhūmi-dānāt-para-dānaṅna bhūtan-na bhaviṣyati [1*] tasy=aiva haraṇāt=pāpan=
na bhūtan=na bhaviṣyati¹ [|| 4*]

1 The metre of all these four verses is *amishṭubh*.

NO. 21 – MŌDĀSĀ INSCRIPTION OF ARJUNADĒVA, V.S. 1320

(1 Plate)

K.M. Bhadri, Mysore

The inscription¹ edited below, with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore was copied by me at the College Museum, Mōdāsā, Modasa Taluk, Sabarkantha District, Gujarat, during my collection tour in October 1978. As informed by the College Museum authorities, the slate stone fragment bearing the inscription was found on the banks of the river Māzūm at Mōdāsā. It is the left piece of the lower portion of a big slab. Though it is difficult to have an idea of the total lines originally inscribed, an idea of the original length of each line can be had with the help of the metres used in the text of the inscription. The present fragment consists of 14 lines of well preserved writing. Only a few letters of the first and the last two lines remain. This fragment, obviously forms part of a big *prasasti*. Verse numbers 17 (line 2), 1[8] (line 3), 22 (line 5), 23 (line 6), 27 (line 9), 29 (line 10), 32 (line 12) and 34 (line 13) are seen in different lines of the epigraph.

The record is written in beautiful Nāgarī characters assignable to the middle of the 13th century and its palaeographical features are regular for the period and region to which the inscription belongs. The characters of the record compare favourably with the Veraval inscription² of the Chaulukya-Vāghelā ruler Arjuna written in 1264 A.D. Medial *ē* and *ō* are indicated by a *prishthamātrā* except in Sōdhalē (line 7), where a *śirōmātrā* is used to indicate it. There is practically no difference between the forms of the conjunct letter *vva* and the aspirate letter *tha* as may be seen from line 3. The *avagraha* mark is used once in line 5.

The language of the record is Sanskrit and the composition is in verse throughout the extant portion of the slab. As noted above the verses are numbered.

As regards orthography the following points may be noted : The letter *b* has been indicated by the letter *v*. There is no uniformity in the matter of doubling the consonant occurring immediately after the *rēpha*. *Anusvāra* has been used in place of class nasals throughout.

The record is dated in the year 1320 (line 10, verse 29). Though the earlier portion of this verse which may have specified the name of the era is lost there is overwhelming reason to state that the year 1320 was of the Vikrama era. The other details of the date available in the extant portion are the month Māgha and its bright fortnight. These details are insufficient for verification. In the absence of *tithi* and weekday the English equivalent of the date cannot be ascertained.

Though the record is extremely fragmentary, all direct references to the reigning king being lost, the extant portion does contain some clues which help us to identify

1 *A.R.Ep.*, 1978-79, No. B 84.

1 Above, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 141 ff. and plate.

with an amount of certainty the ruler in whose reign the inscription was engraved. As many as four names of individuals, those of Sōdhala, Arjuna, .risimha and Kēlhana, are met with in this record. Among them Sōdhala and Arjuna figure twice and the other two only once in the available portion. None of these persons is endowed with any conventional royal title. Since Sōdhala is expressly stated to be supreme in the council of ministers (*sachiva-maṇḍala-sārvabhaumaḥ*, line 7) he must have been only a high official. Kēlhana figures merely as someone's (name lost) younger brother (line 13) and no other details are available to warrant his identification as the then reigning king. Again, though .risimha's virtues are recounted (line 8) the available portion of the text concerning him has nothing to show his royal descent. This leaves out only Arjuna and let us see if he could be the king to whose reign our record belongs.

The name of Arjuna occurs twice, once in line 6 and again in line 9. Though no royal titles are associated with his name, in line 6 his name is followed by the letter *nri* (continuation lost) and in line 9 by the letter *bhū* (continuation lost). On the strength of the metrical scanning in these two lines the first reference to Arjuna in line 6 could be restored as *nri-pāla* and the second reference as *bhū-bhrīṭ*, both the words meaning 'king'. In view of this Arjuna may be considered as the ruling king in whose reign our inscription was engraved.

As regards the identity of the king Arjuna of the present record and the family to which he belonged there are three factors to be considered viz. the date, the findspot and the characters of the record.

The present record is dated in the [Vikrama] year 1320 (1263 A.D.), which fits well into the reign period of Chaulukya-Vāghēlā Arjunadēva, son of Pratāpamalla and the successor of Vīśaladēva,¹ who ruled between Vikrama year 1318 and 1331.² It has been already noted that the present inscription was discovered at Mōḍāsā which is not far off from Idar. And we know that Arjuna's territory extended as far as Idar in the north.³ The provenance of the present record, which is on the northern borders of the known Chaulukya-Vāghēlā territory lends clear support to the identification of Arjuna of our record with his namesake of that dynasty. Lastly, as already discussed, the characters of the present record closely resemble those of the Vērāval inscription dated 1264 A.D. in the reign of the same king referred to above. Thus it becomes established that the present record is to be referred to the reign of the Chaulukya-Vāghēlā king Arjunadēva, son of Pratāpamalla and nephew and successor of Vīśaladēva.

The object of the inscription as partly gleaned from lines 10-11 is to record the construction of a temple (*prāsāda*), on a large platform (*jagati*) made of huge blocks of stone (*prithulair=upalaiḥ*), within a spacious stone enclosure (*visāla-śaila-prākāra*) and embellished with a gate-way (*pratōli*). Since the inscription mentions Mōḍāsā

1 *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p. 180.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 204.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 180.

(Mudāsana) (line 12) it is quite probable that the temple was constructed in the vicinity of this town.

The present inscription is a valuable addition to the few records of Arjuna so far known, being only the fourth in number.¹ Of all the four inscriptions only the present one refers to the construction of a temple thus providing us with an insight into the architectural activity during Arjuna's reign. However, all other details pertaining to the temple including the identity of the deity for whom it was built are lost. Secondly, it introduces for the first time an official of the king viz. Sōḍhala, described as *sachiva-maṇḍala-sārvabhauma*. He is further described as *apāramahimā* and *sīmā guṇa-grāhiṇām*. From this it can be inferred that there were a number of *sachivas* employed in the royal service and Sōḍhala headed this body of *sachivas* (*sachiva-maṇḍala*) and also that he was a very influential official and a man of great virtues. As regards the status and functions of the *sachiva* the present record does not furnish any information. *Sachiva* is also mentioned in the Kantēla inscription of Arjuna;² but there Sāmantasīmha, who is described as a *sachiva* in verse 11, is called a *mantri* in verse 9. Thus it seems that no distinction was made between these two terms, both being employed to mean a high royal officer.

Lāṭa-dēśa mentioned in line 7 is the same as the Lāṭa-maṇḍala. It "was formed by the southern half of Broach district and the northern part of Thana district".³ Mudāsana can be identified with modern Mōḍāsā, the findspot of the present inscription, in the Sabarkantha district, Gujarat.

TEXT⁴

[Metres : Verses 17-20, 22-24, 27-28, 30-33 *Anuṣṭubh*; Verse 21 *Upajāti*; Verse 23 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; Verses 25-26 *Vasantatilakā*; Verse 29 *Āryā*].

1 Mālava-kavi

2 diva | dur-Daśānana-bhaṅgēna kīrttiṃ Sītām=iv=āpa yaḥ || 17 || api-0000 ---
00000-00000000--000000-00 [18 ||*] 0000

3 sanasthēna'ti(ni)ja dōr-damḍa-vikramaiḥ | pūrvvaṃ pratyarthi-bhūpānām=ākrāntā
bhūr=ath=ātmanaḥ || 1[9 * ||] 00000---000000-0000000-
-000000-00 [|| 20 ||*] --0--

1 The other three being (i) The Vērāval Inscription, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, pp. 241 ff; (ii) Kantēla Inscription, *PO.*, Vol. II, pp. 227 ff; and Ajārī Inscription, noticed in *The History of Rajputana*, Vol. I, p. 223.

2 *PO.*, Vol. II, pp. 227 ff.

3 *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p. 209.

4 From impressions.

- 4 ra-pramukhāni dharmma-kṛityāni sarvvāny=apī nirmītāni | yaśōbhīr=ambhōruha-
garbha-gau[raih] U - U - - U U - U - - [||21[*]] U U U U - - U U U U
U U - U U U U U U - -
- 5 yā dharmmat=pāti sati prajāḥ || 22 || Gōtrē-Rājabhaṭāyanē tri-bhuvana-khyātē=
'bhu(bha)van=nā - - - - - U U - U - U - - U - - U U U - - - - U U - U - U
- - U - - U
- 6 vad=bhāgya-bhūḥ śrīmān-Sōdhala ity=apāra-mahimā sīmā guṇa-grāhinām(ṇām) || 23 ||
Śrīmān-Arjuna-nṛi U U U U U - U U U U U U U - - U U U U U U - U U
[||24*||]
- 7 daṁd-ādhipatyam=adhitiṣṭa(shṭha)ti Lāṭa-dēśyam śrī-Sōdhalē sachiva-maṁdala-
sārvabhū(bhau)mē | lēbhē ka U U U U - U U - U - - - - U - U U U - U U - U
- - [||25*||] - - U - U U U - U
- 8 risimha-nāmā niḥśēshit=ākhila-tamāḥ sa kula-pradīpaḥ | sat-pātra vartti ghana-śud-
dha-guṇa - - - - U - U U U - U U - U - - [||26*||] U U U U U - - U U U U U
U - U U
- 9 vā(bā)latvād=ēva yaś=chakrē dharmmam=ēv=āvināśinām(nam) || 27 || Koshtagara-pade
mudrām dadhatā=rjuna-bhū U U | U U U U U - - U U U U U U - U U [||28*||]
- U U - - U U U U -
- 10 vatsu trayodaśa-śatēshu | vimśēshu Māgha-māsē śuklē pakshē sulagnē cha || 29 ||
Prāsādah U U - - U U U U U U | U U U U U U U - - U U U U U U - U U
[||30*||]
- 11 Pṛithulair=upalair=va(ba)ddhā paritō jagatī pṛithuḥ | visāla-śāila-prākāra-pratōli-
sama[lamkṛitah] [||31*||] U U U U U - - U U U U U U - U U U U U U - -
U U U U U U - U U
- 12 [32 || Muḍāsana iti grāmō yas=tēna sv=ātma[sā] U U | U U U U U - - U U U U U
U - U U [||33*||]
- 13 dvitayam || 34 || :sv=ānuja Kēlhana
.
- 14 . . . n=ārtham

MŌDĀSĀ INSCRIPTION OF ARJUNADĒVA, V.S. 1320

2
 4
 6
 8
 10
 12
 14

2
 4
 6
 8
 10
 12
 14

...लवकावि
 ...गवापय...
 ...विद्वेष...
 ...निरता...
 ...त्रुवन...
 ...मायु...
 ...सखिव...
 ...पृथी...
 ...का...
 ...सुल...
 ...शा...
 ...म...

NO. 22 – KALANDA COPPER PLATE CHARTER OF NAYAPĀLADĒVA

(1 Plate)

K.V. Ramesh and S. Subramonia Iyer, Mysore

The copper plate charter edited below was discovered in the village Kalanda while digging the ground for the construction of a pond. Kalanda is situated in Baliapal P.S. in Balasore District, Orissa. The plate which is at present deposited in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubanēśvar, was copied sometime in the year 1974 by the then Chief Epigraphist, Dr. G.S. Gai and noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for 1974-75, as No. A 12.

This is a single copper plate measuring 17.5 cms in length and 24 cms in breadth. It is engraved on both the sides. There are in all 48 lines of writing, 28 on the first side and 20 on the second. The plate bears at the top a circular seal whose diameter is about 9 cms. As in the seal of the Irdā copper plate charter,¹ the seal in the present charter too is divided into two semicircular panels, the upper panel containing the *dharmachakra*, flanked on either side by a couchant deer and the lower panel bearing the legend *śrī-Nayapa(pā)ladēvasya* which is cut in bold relief.

The writing on both the sides of the copper plate has suffered considerable damage due to corrosion at a number of places. The corrosion might have taken place when the copper plate was long buried under the earth. Consequently the writing in several places has been obliterated. However, wherever possible, lost letters have been restored with the help of the text of the Irdā copper plate with which the text of our charter has much in common.

The characters belong to the proto-Bengali alphabet of about the 10th century A.D. and they compare favourably with those of the Irdā charter mentioned above. The form of *ś* is interesting. It is cursive in form and the loop shows a slight opening at the base as in *Śaṅkara* in line 30. The initial vowels *a*, *ā*, *i*, *ī*, *ē* and *au* are found respectively in lines 17, 35, 43, 23, 13 and 27. As regards orthography, *v* is invariably used for *b*; instead of final *m* the *anusvāra* is generally employed; the class nasals *ṅ*, *ṇ* and *ṇ* are found employed in quite a few cases. Further, instead of the sibilant *s* the palatal *ś* is wrongly used in some cases. The language employed is Sanskrit and the text is mostly in verse.

The charter opens with a salutation to the god Siva (line 1). The first five verses (lines 1-6) are devoted to the description of Priyaṅgu which was, in all probability, the capital city (*rājadhāni*) of the Kāmbōja kingdom. The eleven subsequent verses (verses 6-16) recount the genealogy of the king Nayapāladēva which is exactly the same as the one found in his Irdā copper plate charter referred to above. First is mentioned king

1 Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 150 ff.

Rājyapāla who had a queen by name Bhāgyadēvī. Their son was Nārāyaṇapāla, who was a great devotee of the god Vāsudēva. He was succeeded by his younger brother Nayapāla, the donor of the present grant. In the prose passage that follows, the imperial titles of Rājyapāla and his son and reigning king Nayapāla are given. While Rājyapāla is described as a *parama-saugata* besides being endowed with the imperial titles *Paramēśvara*, *Paramabhaṭṭāraka* and *Mahārājādhirāja*, Nayapāladēva is given only the imperial *birudas* and is described as meditating at the feet of the former.

The object of the inscription, as recorded in lines 21-32, is to record the royal grant of the village Vēttavaṇāvadraka, situated in the northern direction in Kēlāpālī-maṇḍala included in the Dandabhukti-maṇḍala of Vardhamāna-bhukti to the brāhmaṇa donee *bhaṭṭaputra* Mādava-śarmman, son of Vāsudēva-śarmman, grandson of Gaṇeśvara-śarmman and great-grandson of Bhūsha[ṇa]-śarmman, who belonged to Aupamanyagōtra and three *pravaras*, who was an emigrant of Śrāvastī and resident of Vāgghōllāyī and was a student of Yajurveda, for his own merit and that of his parents. The grant in the form of the copper plate charter was made by the king on the vishu-saṅkrānti day (*vishuvati-saṅkrāntau*; line 29). The various privileges and conditions that go with the granted village are described in the subsequent verses (18-21). Then are enumerated in verses 22-24 the various officials and personages of the royal household who are to protect the grant. This is followed by the usual imprecatory verses (verses 25-32) calling upon the present and future generations of people not to tamper with the grant under any circumstances. The charter is dated (line 48) in the king's fourteenth regnal year on the 11th day in the month of Āśvina.

The primary importance of our record lies in the fact that this is only the second copper plate charter of Nayapāladēva discovered so far, the first being the Irdā copper plate. In point of time, the present charter is later to the Irdā copper plate charter, our charter being dated in the 14th regnal year while the latter was issued in the 13th regnal year. Further the present charter sets at rest the controversy that has raged among the scholars regarding the reading of the name of the dynasty to which Nayapāladēva and his forbears belonged.¹ Both in the Irdā copper plate as well as in the charter under study, Rājyapāla is described as the forehead-mark of the family of *Kāmvō(bō)ja* (*Kāmvō(bō)ja-vaṁśa-tilakaḥ*).

Of the geographical names mentioned in the grant, the city of Priyaṅgu which is described at length in the beginning of the charter in no less than five verses, all of which are also found in the Irdā copper plate, has not yet been identified. This much, however, is certain that in the fluid political atmosphere of North India immediately following the reign of Harshavardhana, Rājyapāla, his son and successor Nārāyaṇapāla and the latter's younger brother and successor Nayapāla, members of the Kāmbōja-vaṁśa, had carved out for themselves a kingdom in the Bengal-Orissa region over which they ruled as sovereign kings, as is clearly borne out by their titles, with Priyaṅgu as their capital city (*rājadhāni*). Śrāvastī, from where the donee of the grant originally

¹ Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 43-47; *The History of Bengal*, 1971, pp. 190-91.

emigrated, may be identified with the well known place of that name located in the Gonda District in Uttar Pradesh. Vāgghōllāyī where the donee was residing cannot be identified. Varddhamāna-bhukti and Daṇḍa-bhukti-maṇḍala in which the grant village was located, figure in the Irdā copper plate charter as well. Of these, Varddhamāna-bhukti has been located in the region comprising the major portion of the Burdwan Division of Bengal.¹ Daṇḍa-bhukti-maṇḍala, which is stated to be included in Varddhamāna-bhukti, has to be located somewhere in the Burdwan division.² Kēlāpali-maṇḍala can be identified with the village Kalanda where the grant in question was discovered. Vēttāvaṇāvadraka may be identical with the modern village Vētana in Balasore District.³

TEXT⁴

[Metres : Verses 1-5, 7-11, 13, 18-21, 27-28, 32, *Anushtubh*; verses 6, 12, 16, 23-25, *Vasantatilakā*; verse 14, *Indravajrā*; verses 15, 26, *Upajāti*; verse 17, 22, *Vaitālyā*; verse 29, *Śālinī*; verse 30, *Pushpitāgrā* and verse 31 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*].

Obverse

- 1 Ni li anu jō⁵
- 2 Siddham⁶ [1*] Ōm namaḥ Śivāya || Svāsti | Dūra-vyōm-ōdgama-klāntair=iva yatra surālayaiḥ | chalat-patākā-jihv-āgrair=vvilihyantē
- 3 [payḍ] muchah || [1*] [Ya]syām hōm-āgni-dhūm-aughah ka[rōti] sva(ga)gan-ōdgataḥ | makha-hūta-Sunāsīra-vāhan-āmbhōda-vibhra[ma] m(mam)
- 4 || [2*] [Apām] gāhana-[pānābhyām] jaḍitā iva tōyadāḥ | [hai]mān=agni-ruchō yasyā[m] prātō(kā)rān=adhisē(śc)ratē || [3*] Sphātikā-
- 5 5 [ni sphuṭ-ābhāni gō]purāni bibhartti yā | yaśōbhir=iva liptādi(ni) nitya nirggā-mibhiḥ prabhōh || [4*] Na(Ta)syā visma-

1 Above, Vol. XXIV, p. 43 f; History of Bengal (Ed. by R.C. Majumdar), Vol. I, p. 190 f.

2 *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 153.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 154.

4 From impressions.

5 Of the above four abbreviations *ni* stands for *nibodha* or *nr̥kshītā*, *li* for *likhitam* and *anu* means 'there after'. The expansion and meaning of *jō* is not known. The same letter occurs in the Irdā copper plate charter also. (*Ibid.*, p. 157, text, line 49). In some of the East Indian charters, the expressions like *mahāśāndhi-ni anu mahāksha ni* occur (*Ibid.*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 207, text, line 62; *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 140 text, line 42).

6 Expressed by a symbol.

- 6 [yaniy-arddhēr=vardhamā] na-guṇ-ōdgaṭṭē | nisthāma-dharmma-rājāya rāja ||¹ dhāḥ²
Priyangutaḥ || [5*] Kāmvōja-vaṅśa³tila [kaḥ]
- 7 [sthira-vikrama] śrīr=asrānta-dāna-[mahimā*]-mahita-prabhāvaḥ | kshmapāla-mauli-
chaya-chumbita-pāda-piṭhaḥ prithvī-patiḥ Pri-
- 8 [thur=abhūd=iha] Rājyapālaḥ || [6*] Śrīmatō Rājyapālasya vēlā-valaya-mēkhalām
[1*] nishkaṅṭakam=anāpāyam pari-
- 9 [pāla] yatō bhuvam(vam) || [7*] Sūnuḥ sūnṛita-vāgē(g=ya)sya janaṅī jana-pūjitā |
śrīmatī Bhāgyadēvī=ti dēvī=va Hima[sai]-
- 10 [lajā] || [8*] Yēna pāda-nakha-jyōtsnā-ja(jā)lēn=ālika-sva(sam)sthitāḥ [1*] prakshā-
litā vipakshāṅām=aśubh-ākshara-paṅktaya [h-]
- 11 [||] [9*] [Darppa-jvarō] vīrya-kaṇḍur-ādhmānam yēna mānājam | chikitsitāni
mahatā pratāpen=aiva vidvishām(shām) || [10*] Bhuvam yajñ-āsīnō
- 12 dēvā divam sōma-sutas=tathā | āvasanti nṛipē yasmin=niyamēn=aiva lōkayōḥ || [11*]
Nārācha-ruddha-nabhasām=ari-
- 13 vāhinīnām=angaiś=chaturbhir=api jētum=ayātam=ājau | ēkaḥ prasūnama[ya]-pañ-
cha-sa(sa)ras=tv=Anāṅō yam jēshyat=īti
- 14 [kuta] ēva kathā-pravrittīḥ || [12*] Sa Vāsudēva-pād-āvja(bja)-pūjā-nirata-mānasah |
śrī-Nārāyanapāl-ākhyah kalyā-
- 15 [nī] kshitipō= 'bhavat || [13*] Nārāyanasy=ēva Narō mahātmā Samkarshaṇasy=ēva
cha Sā(Sā)rṅgapānīḥ | Dharmmātmajasy=ē
- 16 [va] Dhanāñjayō=bhūt=tasy=ānujaḥ śrī-Nayapāladēvaḥ || [14*] Lavdhō(bdh-ō)
dayō bhrātur=anantaram yah śriyam sā(sa)māsādya durā-
- 17 sadō='bhūt | astāchalam chandramasi prapadyē(nnē) divam vivasvān=iva gāhamā-
naḥ || [15*] Yēna vidvishā [m]⁴ na gaṇitā-

1 The double *danḍa* is redundant.

2 Read *dhānyāḥ* as in the *Irdā* copper plate.

3 Read *vamśa*.

4 Read *dvishām* as in the *Irdā* copper plate.

KALANDA COPPER PLATE CHARTER OF NAYAPĀLADĒVA, YEAR 14

ia



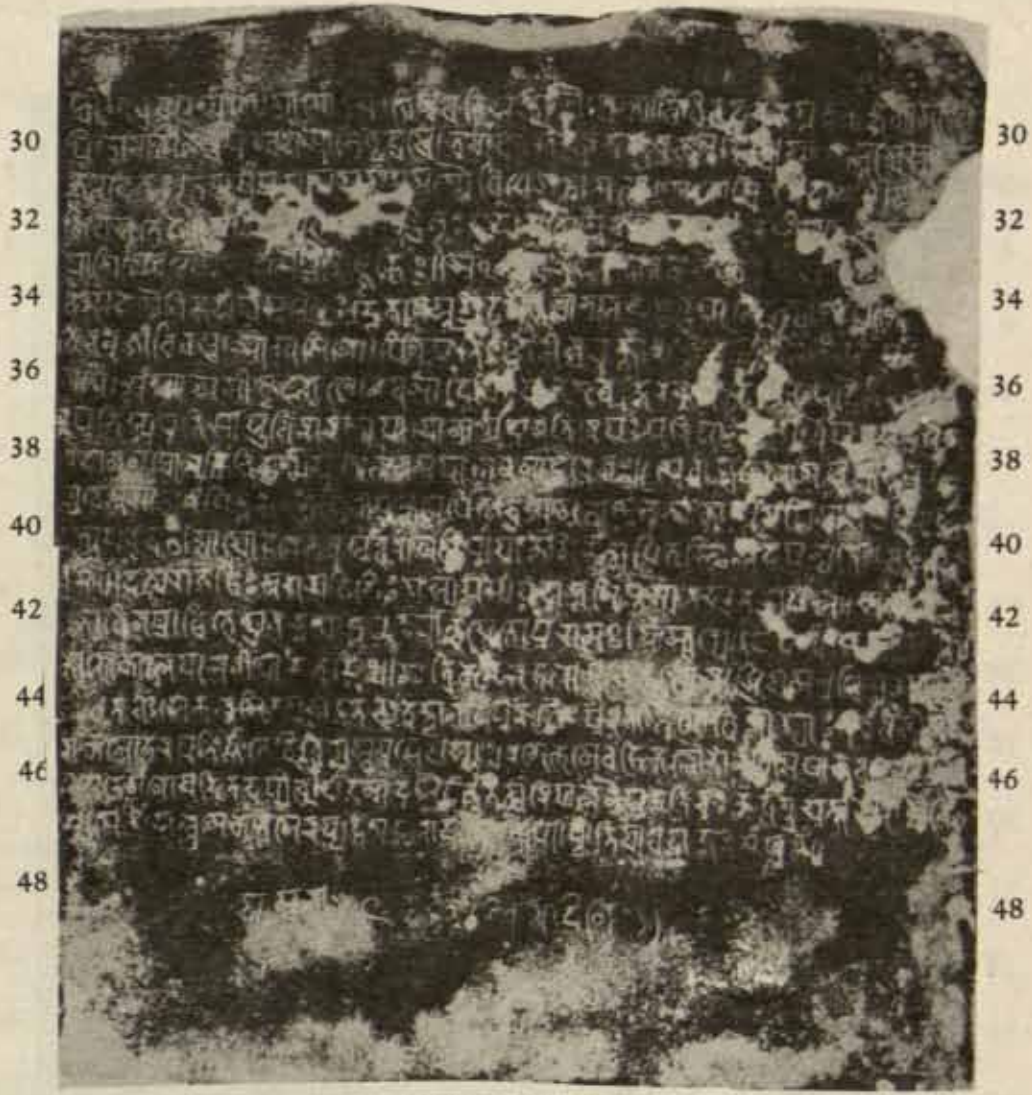
K V Ramesh

Ep. Ind. Vol. XLI



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- 18 [ni] mahā-va(ba)lāni n=āpēkshitaḥ parijanō=pi nijah samīpē | ěkākin=aiva bhujā-
Mandara-mathyamānāl=lavdhā(bdhā)
- 19 [sa] mīka-jaladhēḥ sa(śa)tasō(śō) ja[ya-śrīḥ] [16*] Paramasaugatō mahārājādhirāja ||
paramēśvara-paramabhāṭṭāra-
- 20 ka- śrī-Rājyapālādēva-pād-ānudhyātaḥ paramēśvara-paramabhāṭṭārakō mahārājā-
dhirājāḥ śrīmān=Nayapā-
- 21 [la] dēvah kuśalī | śrī-Varddhamāna-bhuktāv={antaḥ[pā] [ti*]-Daṇḍa-bhukti-maṇḍa-
la-sam̐niva(ba) ddha-Kēlāpālī-maṇḍalē utta-
- 22 ra-disam(śam) Vēttāvanā Vēttāvanā¹vadraka-grāmē | Karanair=vyavahāriṇaḥ samam̐
krishakāms²=ch=aiva nivāsibhi-
- 23 [s=tathā-] | dvija-pūj-ādi-pūrvvam=ādīsaty=avagachchantu bhavanta idṛisa(śam) ||
[17*] Prasiddhayā parichchinnāḥ svayā sīmā(mnā) sama-
- 24 [nta] taḥ | vāstu-kshētra-jalādhāra-gartta-mā[r*] gga-samanvitaḥ || 18*] S-ōshar-āva-
skara-sthāna-nivāta-lavaṇ-ākaraḥ | saha-
- 25 [kāra-madhū] k-ādi-taru-shaṇḍ-ādi-maṇḍitaḥ || [19*] Varjjitaḥ sarvva-pīḍābhir=a-
chāta-bhaṭa-gōcharaḥ | rāja-grāhyēna
- 26 [sarvvēna] pratyāyēna samanvitaḥ || [20*] ā-chandr-ārka-kshiti[m*] yāvat || [21*]³
bhukti-pratyāyēna |³ bhāṭṭaputra-Bhūsha[ṇ] a-sa(śa)rmmaṇa[h*]
- 27 [prapaurā]ya | Gaṇēśvara-sa(śa)rmmaṇaḥ paurāya | Vāsudēva-(śa)rmmaṇaḥ put-
rāya | Aupamāya-gōtrāya tra-
- 28 [yārishaya⁴pravarāya] yajurved-ādhyāyinē | Śrāvastī-vinirgata-Vāgghōllāyī-vāsta-
vya-bhāṭṭaputra-

Reverse

- 29 śrī-Mādhava-sa(śa)rmmanē |³ grāmō='yam |³ Visu(shu)vati-samkrāntau |³
snātvā vidhivad=udaka-pūrvvakam kritvā mātā-

1 The name of the village has been inadvertently twice engraved by the scribe. The correct name of the village appears to have been Vēttāvanāvadraka.

2 This is only one quarter of a verse. This verse is incomplete in the Irdā copper plate also.

3 The *daṇḍa* is redundant.

4 Read *tryārshēya*.

- 30 pitrōr=ātmanas=cha puṇya-yaśō='bhivṛiddhayē bhagavanta[m] Śaṅkara-bhaṭṭāra-
kam=uddiśy=āsmābhis=tāmra-sā(śā)sanī-
- 31 kṛitya dattaḥ | Tappū(t=pū)rvvaṁ pratyāyam samagram=asmai vidhēyatām gatvā
kāl-ōchitam dadānāḥ |¹ sukhē[na]
- 32 nivasat=ēcha || Mahi[shī-yuvarāja]-mantriṇaḥ saha |¹ ritvigbhir=a[thō purō]hitam |
.....
- 33 yōginō dharmmajnāmś=cha saman pradēshṭribhiḥ || [22*] Adhyaksha-varggam=
akhilam karaṇaiḥ samē[tam sēnāpati]-
- 34 ñ=cha sainika-saṅgha-mukhyaiḥ | dūtān sa-gūḍhapurushān saha mantrapālair=
anyān=api kshitipa-
- 35 tēr=anujīvinaś=cha || [23*] Āgāminō=pi nṛipati(tī)n=nīja-tīrtha-yuktān [snēhēna]
vichakshati² vadaty=anu[śāsti]
- 36 ch=āpi | asmān=samīkshya haraṇē [cha*] niva(śa)mya dōshām(shaṁ) dānam bha-
vadbhir=anupālyam=idam śad=aiva || [24*] [Asmā]-
- 37 n=pratisphurati sāsū(dhu)³-vichāraṇāyā[m*] |¹ dānam=mahān=ati |¹ sha(śa)yaḥ
paripālanasya || (l) — — U — U U
- 38 pa-dānam=athō na kiñchid-dharmmas=tu pālanam=apālanam=āhur=ēnaḥ || [25*]
Yē brāhmaṇānām=a-yathā haranti
- 39 pradēśa-mātrām=api bhūta-dhātrīm | purīsha-kūpē pitṛibhis=samētās=tē kalpa-kōṭīr
-api yāpayanti || [26*] Sva-
- 40 dattā[m*] para-dattām vā yō harēta vasundharām | sa viśṭhāyām kṛimīr=bhūtvā
pitṛibhiḥ saha pachyatē || [27*] Va(Ba)hu[bhi]-
- 41 r=vvasudhā datya(ttā) rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ [l*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmī=tasya
tasya tadā phalam(lam) || [28*] Sa[rvvān=ētā]-
- 42 n=bhāvina[h*] prā(pā)rthivēndrān bhūyō bhūyō prārthayē(ya)ty=ēsha Rāmaḥ |
sāmānyō=yam dharmma-sētur=nṛipāṇām

1 The *danḍa* is redundant.

2 Read *vīkshati* as in the Irdā copper plate.

3 In the Irdā copper plate, the reading is *yaś=cha*.

- 43 kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhīḥ || [29*] Iti kamaladal-āmva(mbu)-vi(bi)ndu-lōlām
śriyam=anuchintya [manushya] -
- 44 jīvitān=cha | sakalam=idam=udāhṛitan=cha va(bu)dhvā na hi purushaiḥ para-kīrt-
tayō vilōpyāḥ || [30*] Ēvaṁ bhī[ma-pa] -
- 45 rākramō narapatirvrū(r=brūte) vivichya svayam |¹ śrēyas=sādhanam=ēkam=ēva ni
kalau dānaṁ viśēshāt=tu vaḥ [| dātum n=ō] -
- 46 tsahatē manō yadi tadapy²anyair=yad=asmādṛiśair=dattam tat=paripālanē sukṛitinaḥ
kurvantu yat-ādharāmi(m || 31 I)ti
- 47 Gām=ēkām svarṇṇam=ēkam [va*] bhūmēr=apy=arddham=angulam | haran=nara-
kam=āpnōti yāvad=āhūta-samplavaṁ(vatu) || [32*]
- 48 Samvat 14 Aś[vi]na dinē 11 [||*]

1 The stroke is redundant.

2 Read *tadē=py*.

NO. 23 – A FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION FROM CHIDIYĀ IN HARYANA

(1 Plate)

K. V. Ramesh, Mysore

This interesting but fragmentary stone inscription, edited here for the first time, was copied by me from among the inscribed slabs displayed in the Haryana Prāntīya Saṅgrahālaya attached to the Gurukul at Jhajjar, Jhajjar Tehsil, Haryana during my collection tour undertaken in March-April, 1979. I was informed by the Gurukul authorities that this fragmentary slab was originally discovered in the village of Chidiyā in the Dadari Tehsil of Mahendragarh District, Haryana.

In its present state of preservation, the written surface of the slab contains three incomplete lines in which an unknown number of letters are lost both at the beginning and at the end of each of the lines. Twelve letters are, as at present, preserved in each of the three available lines.

The characters employed in the inscription are what may be called the Kushāṇa-Brāhmī of the 1st-2nd century A.D. The writing is somewhat indifferent. There is a free mixture of angular and rounded forms, not an unusual feature of Kushāṇa palaeography. The serif or headmark in most of the letters is prominent and approximates to what is usually called 'nail-head'. Initial *a* which occurs once in *asakrit* (line 3) has a peculiar, rather casual form, resembling capital Roman 'N' in the negative. The downward curve of the horizontal bar of the letter *k*, with a long, straight vertical, (line 3) is rather pronounced. The letter *g* (lines 1 and 3) is of the angular variety, with a thick mark at left bottom from where obviously the letter began to be written. Of the conjunct letter *ṁō* (line 1), the superscript *j* is angular and with three arms, the medial *ā* sign starting off from the the middle arm while the subscript *ña* has a prominent cursive right hook attached to a rather longish right vertical. The letter *n* (lines 2 and 3) has a prominently bent base from whose centre two tuft-like marks go up, one bending downwards to the left and the other to the right. The angular shaped *t* (lines 1 and 3) has a prominent nail-head. The letter *dh* (line 2) has a vertical stroke to which a semi-circle, tending towards angularity, is attached on the left. The letter *p* (line 1) has a rounded base and equal arms. Two types of the letter *m* are seen, one an open mouthed variety with a curve or half circle at the left (line 2) and the other, also open mouthed, but with a tail-like projection at left bottom (line 3). As in the case of the letter *k*, *r* (lines 1 and 2) also has a long, straight vertical. The letter *v* (line 2) is a triangle, with a well marked nail-head. The outer frame of the letter *s* (line 2) is the same as the letter *g*, the only difference being a downward stroke attached to the centre on the inner side of the left limb. The letter *ś* (lines 1-3) is of the equal armed variety, though the left hook has a greater tendency to turn rightwards.

Of medial vowel signs, the sign for *ā* occurs as an upward stroke slanting to the right in the conjunct letter *ṁō* (line 1). The sign for medial *i*, as employed in *śi* (lines 2 and 3) is attached on the outer side of the right limb and, after proceeding slantingly

upwards takes a turn to the left. The sign for medial \bar{i} , as employed in $p\bar{i}$ (line 3) consists of two strokes proceeding upward from the left limb with a slight rightward disposition, the stroke on the right being longer than the one on the left. In the case of $\bar{s}\bar{i}$, the medial \bar{i} sign in the form of an angular Roman letter 'U' is engraved on the right top of the round-head of the letter \bar{s} . The sign for medial u , as found in the letter pu (line 2), is a long, straight downward stroke attached to the right limb of the letter p . In the letter $k\bar{r}\bar{i}$ (line 3), the medial sign for $\bar{r}\bar{i}$ is a downward stroke attached to the left of the long vertical, just below the semi-circular horizontal limb. The medial sign for \bar{o} (in $r\bar{o}$, line 2 and $g\bar{o}$ and $ts\bar{o}$, line 3) consists of two strokes attached to the top of the letters and proceeding upwards in opposite directions.

Subscript y occurs in two forms. In writing sy twice in line 1, the hooked variety is employed while in the cases of sy in line 2 and kya in line 3 the tripartite y with a frontal loop is employed. The $r\bar{e}p\bar{h}a$ occurs as superscript once in line 2 in rma where it is a straight vertical stroke proceeding upwards from the left limb of the letter m . While in $putr\bar{e}na$ in line 2 the subscript r is indicated by a mere semblance of a leftward bend of the right vertical, in $g\bar{o}tr\bar{e}na$ in line 3 it is clearly marked by a leftward cursive horizontal line attached to the bottom of the right vertical.

The full form of the letter s is employed as subscript in $ts\bar{o}$ in line 3. While all the above features fall more or less in line with the known palaeographical details of the Brāhmī alphabet of the 1st-2nd century A.D., the minor deviations being attributable to the transitional phase or to individual writing style, it is only the form of the initial vowel a in line 3 which marks a complete departure from all known forms.

The language of the text of the inscription, in the available portion, is Sanskrit which is faultless. As an interesting orthographical feature, it may be pointed out that in $\bar{s}arma$ (line 2), the only case in which r precedes a consonant, the following letter m is not doubled unlike in almost all Sanskrit inscriptions of the subsequent periods.

In view of the fragmentary nature of the epigraph, we are not in a position to know its purport. The first line introduces a ruler whose name begins with the letter pa (the rest of the letters being lost) and who is described as $r\bar{a}jan$ and $G\bar{o}tam\bar{i}-putra$. The other two lines mention a priest ($pur\bar{o}dhas$) whose name is lost but who is described as the son of Śivaśarman, as belonging to the [Kauś]ikya-sagōtra and as a constant drinker of the sacrificial $s\bar{o}ma$ juice.

It is well known, from numismatic evidence, that a number of local rulers held sway over different parts of North India, including the Panjab-Haryāṇā region preceding, during and succeeding the Kushāṇa period.¹ Some of these rulers are mentioned in their coins along with their matronyms among which Gōtamīputra is also found. It is very likely that the Gōtamīputra of our inscription was one such ruler administering a minor principality in the region of the Dadari Tehsil. His feudal title $r\bar{a}jan$ is a clear pointer to the fact that he was only a subordinate ruler; his suzerains were, in all probability, the mighty Kushāṇas.

1 *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 159.

The Kushāna period was witness to important religious developments, brāhmanical as well as Buddhist. Our inscription belongs to the brāhmanical school and the royal priest is described as one who had performed innumerable sacrifices entailing the religious imbibing of the *sōma* juice.

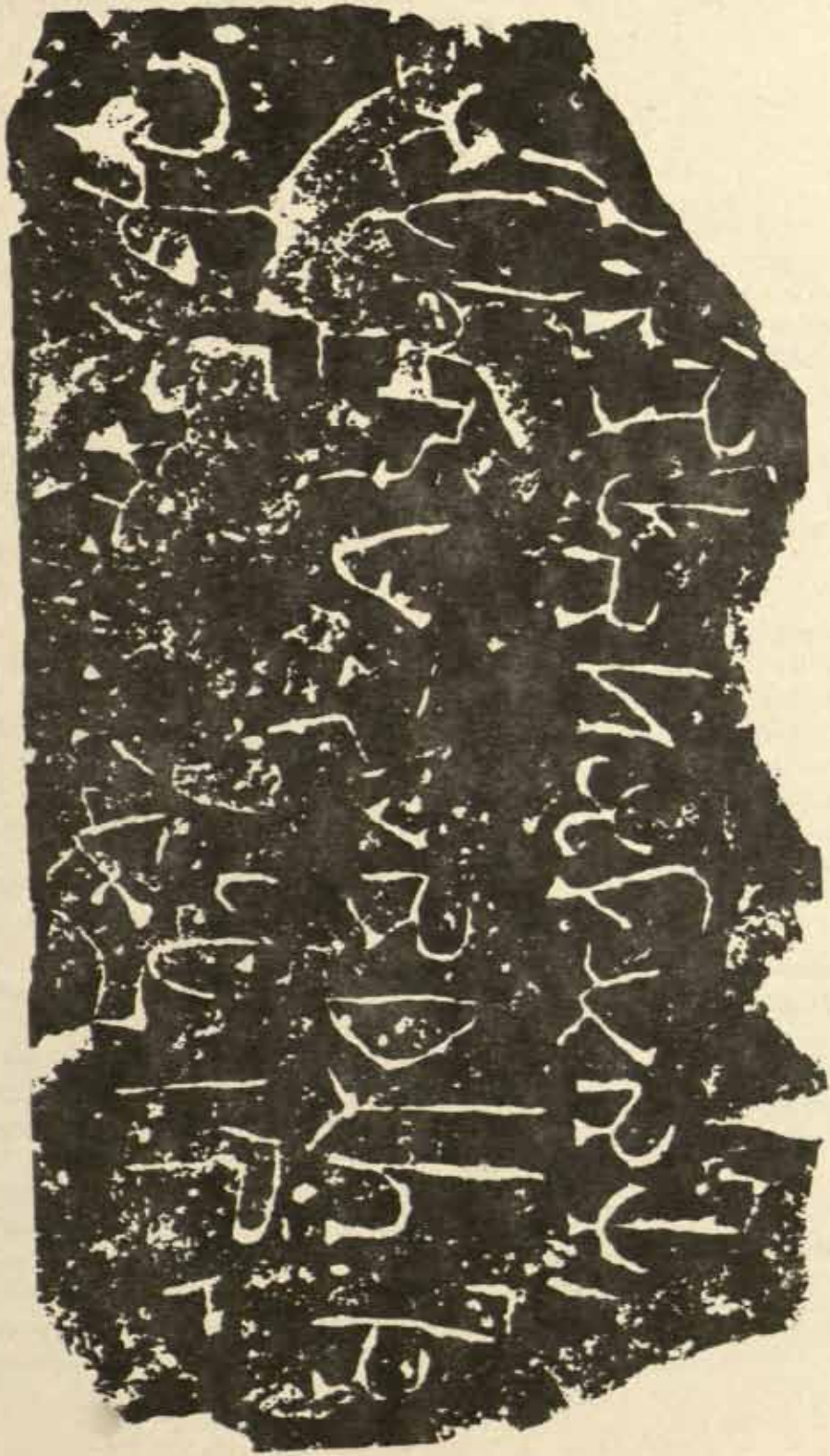
TEXT¹

- 1 [vas]ya r[ā]jñ[ō] Gōta[mīpu] t[rā]ya śrī-Pa.....
- 2 sya purōdhasā Śivasārma-putrēṇa.....
- 3 [Kaus']ikya-sagōtr[ē]² na asakṛit=sōma-[p]ī[thinā*]... ..

1 From inked estampages.

2 There is a mere trace of the medial *ē* sign attached to the left of the top of the letter *tra*.

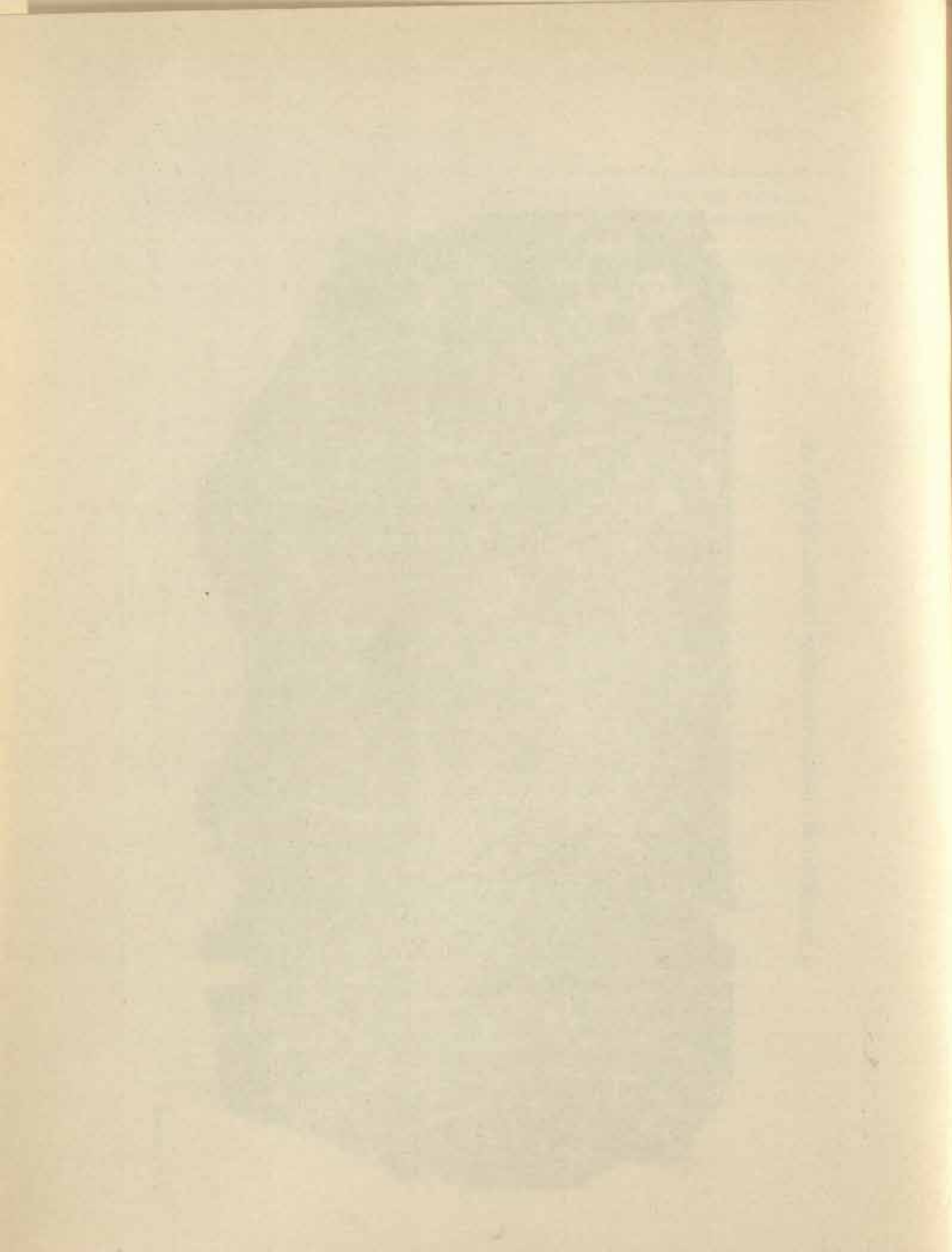
A FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION FROM CHIDIYĀ IN HARYANA



SCALE : ONE-HALF

K. V. Ramesh

Ep. Ind. Vol. XII



NO. 24 – KANNADA SĀHITYA PARISHAT PLATES OF GANGA
MĀDHAVAVARMAN (III), YEAR 1

(1 Plate)

K.V. Ramesh, Mysore

This set of copper-plate inscription, edited here for the first time, was copied in 1978,¹ along with another set² issued during the reign of Simhavarman, another early Western Gaṅga ruler, by the then Chief Epigraphist, Shri K.G. Krishnan with the kind permission of the authorities of the Kannada Sāhitya Parishat, Bangalore where the sets are at present deposited. The set consists of four rectangular plates, each measuring about 20.3 x 5.5 cms. In the left centre of each plate, about 4.2 cms away from the edge, is a round hole, .8 cm in diameter, for the ring of the seal to pass through. No information is available regarding the weight of the plates nor about the seal and ring.

Of the four plates of the set, the first and fourth bear writing only on the inner sides while the other two plates are engraved on both sides. There are altogether 23 lines of writing distributed equally on the six written sides.

The charter is engraved in Southern characters which may be assigned, on grounds of palaeography, to the second half of the fifth century A.D. The language employed is Sanskrit and, but for three imprecatory verses at the end, the rest of the text is in prose. The palaeographical features and the textual diction are normal for the period and region to which the charter belongs. Though the composition and engraving of the text are mostly free from errors, there are a couple of instances of omission and commission, for which necessary corrections have been suggested while editing the text below. One point of palaeographical interest, which could as well be an orthographical peculiarity, is that the engraver has not taken pains to distinguish between medial *i* and *ī* signs.

The object of the inscription is to register the royal grant of three *kēdāra-kshētras* under the tank (of the town) of Kuvalāla in Kuvalāla-rāshtra, made by the Gaṅga king Mādhavavarma-mahādhiraṅga, in the first year of his reign, on the full-moon day of the month Phālguna, when the *nakshatra* was Uttarā, to the brāhmaṇa Divākarasvāmin.

The text opens with the auspicious word *svasti*, engraved in the vacant space on the left margin, before the commencement of line 3. The usual salutation to the god Padmanābha (line 1) is followed by the introduction of the progenitor of the Gaṅga dynasty, Koṅgaṇivarma-dharmma-mahādhiraṅga (lines 1-3). Next are mentioned (lines 3-6) his son Mādhavavarma-[mahā*]dhiraṅga, his son (lines 6-7) Harivarma-mahādhiraṅga

1 The charter has been noticed in *A.R.Ep.*, 1978-79, as No. A. 10.

2 This set is also edited in the pages of this journal. Above, pp. 189 ff and plate.

and his son (lines 7-9) Vishṇugōpa-mahādhīrāja. The charter then proceeds to describe (lines 9-14) Vishṇugōpa's son and reigning king Mādhavarman-mahādhīrāja as one who respected the gods, the twice-born, his elders and the aged, as one who had obtained his kingdom by dint of the strength of his arms, as one who was like nectar in kindness and like poison in rage, as one who had acquired all his wealth through his meditation at the lotus feet of the god Hara (i.e. Śiva), as one who was ever engaged in the task of uplifting righteousness from the mire of the Kali age, as one before whom bowed a circle of powerful kings, as one whose royal wealth had grown because of his possession of the three śaktis, as one who had avidly given sacrificial gifts and grants repeatedly and as one who had become famous for the restoration of *brahmadēyas* which had long since been discontinued.

Lines 14-18 state that on the full-moon day of the month *Phālguna*, when the nakshatra was *Uttarā*, in the first year of his expansive, victorious and prosperous reign, the king Mādhavarman made, for the increase of his own victories, longevity and prosperity, a grant, in accordance with the rules of *brahmadēya*, of three wetfields called *Kurattūra-kēdāra*, *Chemba-kēdāra* and *Chakra-kēdāra*, lying under the tank (of the town) of *Kuvalāla* in *Kuvalāla-rāshṭra*, to the brāhmaṇa *Divākarasvāmin* of the *Vatsa-gōtra* and *Vājasaneyā-śākhā*. The gift-lands were duly exempted from all hindrances.

The imprecatory prose passage in lines 18-19, which states that whoever flouts the grant thus made either out of avarice or inadvertance would have incurred, in effect, the five great sins, is followed (lines 19-23) by three of the usual imprecatory verses ascribed here to *Manu*. The charter is concluded with a prayer for the well-being of cows and brāhmaṇas and for peace.

Until the discovery of the present charter, only one copper-plate inscription was available for the reign of Mādhavarman (III), viz., his *Nonamaṅgala plates*¹ issued in his 13th regnal year and registering royal grants of land made to the temple of the Arhat in the village of *Perbolal* in *Mudukottūra-vishaya*. The present charter, only the second one of his reign to come to light, is also the earliest known record of his reign, dated as it is in his very first regnal year.

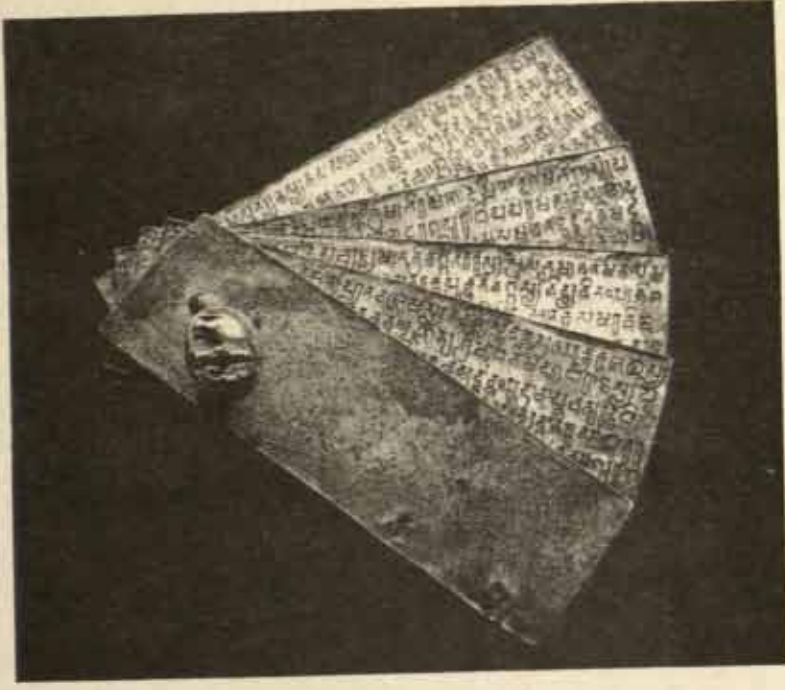
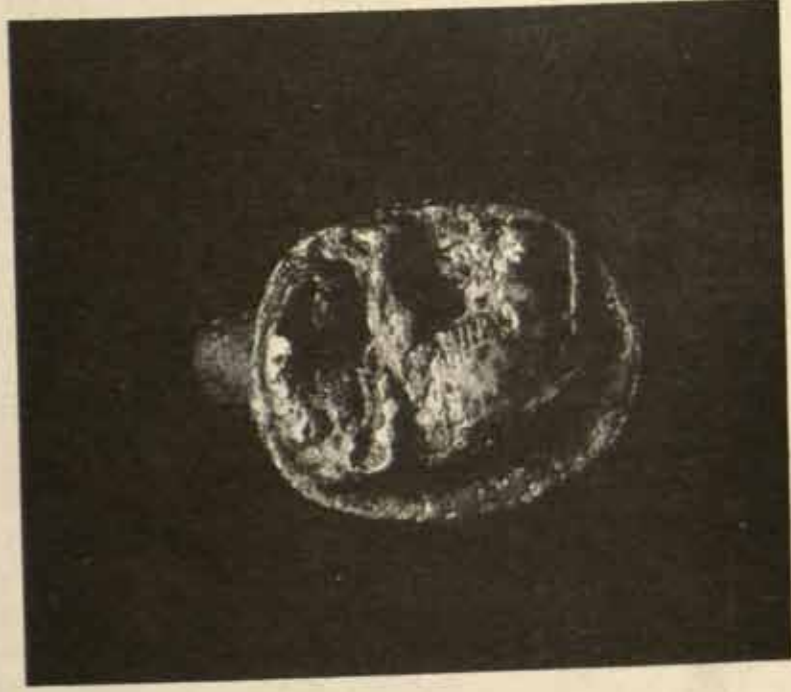
One point of interest in the dynastic history of the Western Gaṅgas is the fact that, with the accession of Mādhavarman II, their genealogical narrative becomes

1 *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Nr. 73 and plate opp. p. 208. There is one other copper-plate set from *Melekōṭe* (*Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1910, p. 17 and pl. opp. p. 16). *Tumkur District, Karnataka*, which may be tentatively assigned to the reign of this Mādhavarman (III). The second plate of this set, which must have contained the eulogies of Mādhavarman (I), *Harivarman*, *Vishṇugōpa* and Mādhavarman (III) as also details of date, if any, is lost. Still, on grounds of palaeography, as also a statement towards the end of the text that the charter belongs to Mādhavarman (*Śrī Mādhavarmanah śāsanam*) it may be assigned to Mādhavarman (III). If this assumption is accepted, we have an interesting position in that the three charters of this king will have three different religious orientation. While the charter edited here records a royal grant of land to a *vaidika* brāhmaṇa in the first year of his reign, the *Nonamaṅgala plates* register the royal grant of lands to a *Jaina* temple of the Arhat. And the *Melekōṭe plates*, on the other hand, record a royal grant of lands, money and cloth to a *Buddhist sthāna*.

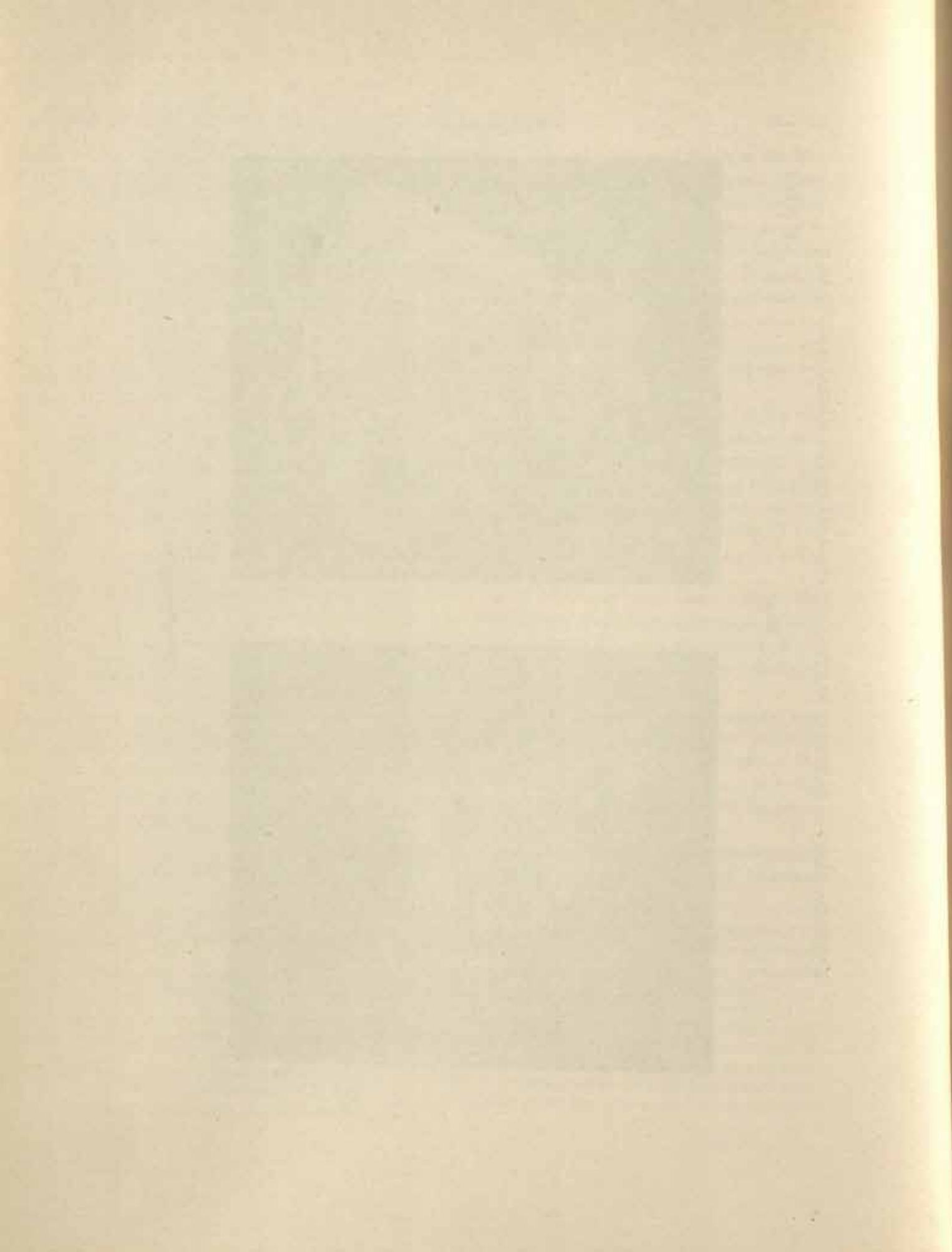
KANNADA SĀHITYA PARISHAT PLATES OF GAṄGA MĀDHAVA VARMAN III, YEAR 1

PLATE I

SEAL



(From Photograph)



extremely formalised and stereotyped. While editing the Kannaḍa Sāhitya Parishat plates of Siṃhavarman above,¹ we had occasion to point out that Mādhavavarman was not the direct descendant of his predecessor Mādhavavarman II *alias* Siṃhavarman. Mādhavavarman II's available charters mark a departure from those of his predecessors in so far as they do not contain a formalised eulogistic account of his personality, reign and achievements. With the accession of Mādhavavarman III, however, the process of formalisation of dyanstic *praśasti* came back into vogue. In that process, Mādhavavarman III as well as his successors chose to omit all references to Mādhavarman II and his father Kṛiṣṇavarman in much the same fashion as the Chalukyas of Vātāpi who, from the time of Polakēśin II, make no mention of the ousted emperor Maṅgalēśa in their genealogical narrative as given in their copper plate inscriptions. This fact, coupled with the claim of Mādhavavarman III that he obtained his kingdom through a show of force (*sva-bhuja-bala-parākrama-kṛaya-kṛita-rājyēna*, lines 9-10) implies that Mādhavavarman III's succession to the Western Gaṅga throne was not a smooth affair and probably took place against the wishes of Mādhavavarman II.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the present charter, Kuvalāla-rāshṭra is the district around the modern township of Kōlār, the headquarters of the Kolar District. Kuvalāla is the same as Kolar and the three gift-fields, Kuraṭṭūra-kēdāra, Chemba-kēdāra and Chakra-kēdāra lay obviously in the vicinity of a tank which was named after the town itself.

TEXT²

First Plate

- 1 Svasti³ [I*] Jī⁴am=bhagavatā gata-ghana-gagan-ābhēna Padmanābhēna [I*] Śrīmaj=
Jāhnavēya-ku-
- 2 l-āmala-vyōma(m-ā)vabhāsana-bhāskarasya Kāṇvāyāna-sagōtrasya śrīmat-Koṅgaṇi-
- 3 varmma-dharmma-mahādhiraṅgasya putrasya pitur-anvāgata-guṇa-yukta-
- 4 sya nānā-śāstr-ārttha-sad-bhāv-ādhiḡama-praṅṅita-mati-visēshasya samya-

1 Above, pp.

2 From inked impressions.

3 This word is engraved on the left margin, before the commencement of line 3.

4 Since the engraver makes no distinction between medial *l* and *ṭ* signs, they have been read here and hereinafter as *l* and *ṭ* as per need.

Second Plate : First Side

- 5 k-prajā-pālana-mātr-ādihigata-rājya-prayōja [na*] sya 'srīman-Mādhavavarmma-[mahā*]
dhirā-
- 6 jasya sūnōr=anēka-yuddha-labdha-yaśah-prakāśasya vasudhā-tal-aika-vīrasya 'srī-
- 7 mad=dHarivarmma-mahādhīrajasya putrasya pitṛi-paitāmaha-guṇa-gaṇ-ā-
- 8 laṁkṛitasya abhyuchchita-śakti-siddhi-sampannasya 'srīmatō Mi(Vi)shnugōpa-ma-

Second Plate : Second Side

- 9 hādhīrajasya putrēna dēva-dvija-guru-vṛiddh-āpachāyinā sva-bhuja-bala-parākrama-
kri(kra)-
- 10 ya-kṛitā(ta)-rājyēna amṛita-visha-sama-prasāda-kōpēna Bhagavad=dHara-chara-
- 11 n-āravind-ārādhana-sampādita-sampādita-sarvva-sampadā Kali-yuga-dosh-āvasanna-sa-
- 12 d-dharmm-ōddharana-kṛita-parikarēna pratāp-ōparata-rāja-maṇḍalēna 'śakti-traya-

Third Plate : First Side

- 13 sampat=pravṛiddha-rājasriyā anēka-yajña-dakshinā-dān-aika-vrata-tatparēna chira-
vichchhinna-
- 14 brahmadēya-pradāna-prathita-kīrttinā 'srīman-Mādhavavarmma-mahādhīrajēna
ātmanah pravarddha-
- 15 māna-vipula-vijay-aiśvaryyē prathamē samvatsarē Phālgunē māsē tithau paurṇamā-
syām
- 16 uttarē(rā)-nakshatrē sva-vijay-āyushy-aiśvaryy-ābhivṛiddhayē Vatsa-gōtrāya Vājasa-
nēyīnē Divā-

Third Plate : Second Side

- 17 karasvāminē Kuvalāla-rāshtrē Kuvalāla-taṭākasy-ādhasat Kurattūra-kēdāras=cha
Chemba-kēdāras=cha Chakra-kēdāras=cha

KANNADA SĀHITYA PARISHAT PLATES OF GANGA MĀDHAVAVARMAN (III)

PLATE II

i

2
4

2 2
4 4

ii a

6
8

6 6
8 8

ii b

10
12

10 10
12 12

iiia

14	14 16 16	14 16
----	----------------	----------

iiib

18	18 20	18 20
----	----------	----------

iv

22	22 24	22 24
----	----------	----------

SCALE : ONE-HALF

18 ētāni trayāni kēdārāṇi brahmadēya-kramēṇa sarvva-parihāra-yuktaḥ¹ sampradattāḥ² [1*] yō=

19 sya lōbhāt-pramādād=vā=pi harttā sa pañcha-mahāpātā(ta)ka-samyuktō bhavati [1*]
api cha Manu-gī-

20 tā[h*] ślōkā[h*] bhavanti ||| Sva-dattām=para-dattām vā yō harēta vasundharām
(rām) [1*] gavām śata-sahasrasya

Fourth Plate

21 hantuḥ pibati dushkrītam || [1*] Bhūmi-dānāt-paran-dānan=na bhūtan=na bhavi-
shyati [1*]

22 tasy=aiva harnāt-pāpan=na bhūtan=na bhavishyati ||| [2*] Brahmasvan=tu visham
ghōram

23 na visham visham=uchyatē[1*] visham-ēkākīnam hanti brahmasvam putra-pautrikam
||| [3*]

24 Svasty-astu gō-brāhmanēbhyaḥ ||| Śāntir-astuḥ(stu) ||³

1 Read ^oyuktāni.

2 Read sampradattāni.

3 The metre of all these three verses is Anuṣṭubh.

NO. 25 – MADUTURRU INSCRIPTION OF RĀJARĀJADĒVA (III)
ŚAKA 1119, YEAR 1

(1 Plate)

Madhav N. Katti and S.S. Ramachandra Murthy, Mysore

The subjoined inscription,¹ edited with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore is engraved on a slab fixed into the wall of the Bhīmēśvara temple in Maduturru, Sarvasiddhi Taluk, Visakhapatnam District, Andhra Pradesh. It is in Telugu characters and language of the 12th-13th century.

The palaeographical features are regular for the period. However, the following letters call for special remarks. The letter *d* is written like *l* in words like *Gadārapattu* (line 5), *Chōḍīśvara* (lines 10-11), *Umbaḍi-rāju* (lines 13-14), etc. The letter *t* has a loop on its left side in two cases as in the words *Malli-setṭi* (line 7), *Settama-setṭi* (line 8) and *°setṭikāra* (line 9) while in all other cases it is without this loop. The letter *bh* is found engraved in two forms. The first variety has both its halves joined as can be seen in *bhūmi* (line 15) while the second variety shows the usual splitting of the two halves as in *bhūmi* (line 35). The letter *bh* in *Bhīma-bōyu* (line 16) belongs to a third variety in which the unsplit bottom has a convex boatbase. The cursive form of the letter *v* can be seen in the words *cheruvu* (lines 21, 30) and *dharmmuvu* (line 41).

Among the orthographical peculiarities the use of class nasal in words like *Anantavarmma* (line 2) *Gaṇḍa*^o (line 6) and *akbaṇḍa-* (line 15); the reduplication of the letter immediately following the *rēpha* as in *°varmma* (line 2), *pravarddhamāna* (line 3), *ā-chamdrārka* (lines 39-40), *dharmmuvu* (line 41) and the reduplication of the letter following *anusvāra* as in *Mamggalavāra* (line 5) *siṅgamu* (line 6), *gattimchchi* (line 12), *umḍḍu*^o (line 15) etc., are worth noticing.

The epigraph belongs to the reign of Anantavarmma Rājarājadēva and is dated in his regnal year 1, Śaka 1119, Kanyā-māsa, śu. 11, Thursday which regularly corresponds to 1197 A.D., September 23.

The object of the inscription is to record the installation of the deity Chōḍīśvara-mahādēva in the temple constructed for him and to register grants of lands and cows for maintaining services and a perpetual lamp respectively in the temple by some members of merchant guilds.

The inscription opens with the auspicious word *svasti* followed by the details of date which include reference to the 1st regnal year of the ruling king Anantavarmarāja-rāja, as discussed above (lines 1-5). Lines 6 to 12 record the consecration of the deity Chōḍīśvara-mahādēva and construction of a temple to him at Marutoditi by Prōli-setṭi, names of whose father, grandfather and great-grandfather are given, Pōti-setṭi and

1. *A.R.Ep.*, 1955-56, No. B. 111.

Vāmi-setti, all belonging to the merchant-guild called *settikāra*. Lines 12-15 register the grant of land (*umḍḍu-bhūmi*) of 2 *puṭṭis* in extent at *Madhudi* by Prōli-setti, obviously for the maintenance of services in the temple. The gift-land is stated to be located near two tanks one belonging to Prōli-setti and the other to Akkama-setti. The gift is stated to have been made for the merit of a certain *Umbaḍirāju*. Lines 15-18 record the gift of 25 cows, probably by Prōli-setti himself, for maintaining an *akhaṇḍa-dīpa* in the temple. Lines 18-19 record the grant of land of 10 *tūmus* (*paṇḍumu*) in extent at *Golavadi*, to Chōḍi Kōnāri who was to maintain the *akhaṇḍa-dīpa* referred to above, probably again by Prōli-setti himself. Lines 19 to 35 record the grant of lands in different localities by different individuals, obviously to the temple for its maintenance. It may be noted in this context that the land granted is of two types viz. *garuvu-bhūmi* (marshy land) and *omḍḍu* (or *umḍḍu*)-*bhūmi* (land of alluvial soil). Lines 35 to 41 state that 12 *sānis* (dancing girls), 2 *mokarulu* (*mukharī* players), *vāmsakāṇḍu* (flutist), *jjāvāri peṭṭina āvajakāṇḍu* (player of *āvaja* combined with *jjāvāri*)¹ and 2 *maddalayakāru* (*mṛidaṅgam* players) and also 4 *ba(pa)nnamkāru* (probably servants)² were to serve in the temple. This is followed by the usual imprecatory verse.

The record mentions the ruling king as Anantavarma-Rājarājadēva without giving any of his imperial titles. Since the inscription refers itself to his first regnal year and to Śaka 1119 (1197 A.D.) the king can be identified with Rājarāja III of the Eastern Gāṅga dynasty.³ This is the first record to mention both his initial regnal year and the Śaka year 1119. It was hitherto presumed that he ascended the throne either in Śaka 1117 (1195 A.D.)⁴ or Śaka 1120 (1198 A.D.)⁵ Our record sets right the controversy by showing that he ascended the throne some time in Śaka 1119, i.e., either in 1196 or 1197 A.D. thus ruling out the possibility of either 1195 A.D. or 1198 A.D. being the year of his accession.

The geographical names mentioned in the epigraph and their probable identification are tabulated below:

<i>Name as it occurs in the epigraph</i>	<i>Probable identification</i>
1 Maruṭodti	Maḍuturru, the findspot of the inscription
2 Madhudi	Madhupām, Chipurupalle Taluk, Visakhapatnam District.

1 The term *jjā* indicates a 'string' and *āvaja* connotes a *tāḷa* instrument; thus the whole combination may refer to a *tāḷa* having a string and provision for *tāḷa*.

2 See C.P. Brown, *Telugu-English Dictionary* (1852), p. 545 where the word *panna* is given as meaning 'a servant'.

3 K.V. Subrahmanya Iyer, *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan*, Vol. II, pp. 171 ff.

4 This is because the Śrīkūrmam inscription dated Śaka 1128 furnishes his 11th regnal year. *SII*, Vol. V, No. 1317.

4 Vide *JASB.*, Vol. LXXII, p. 117.

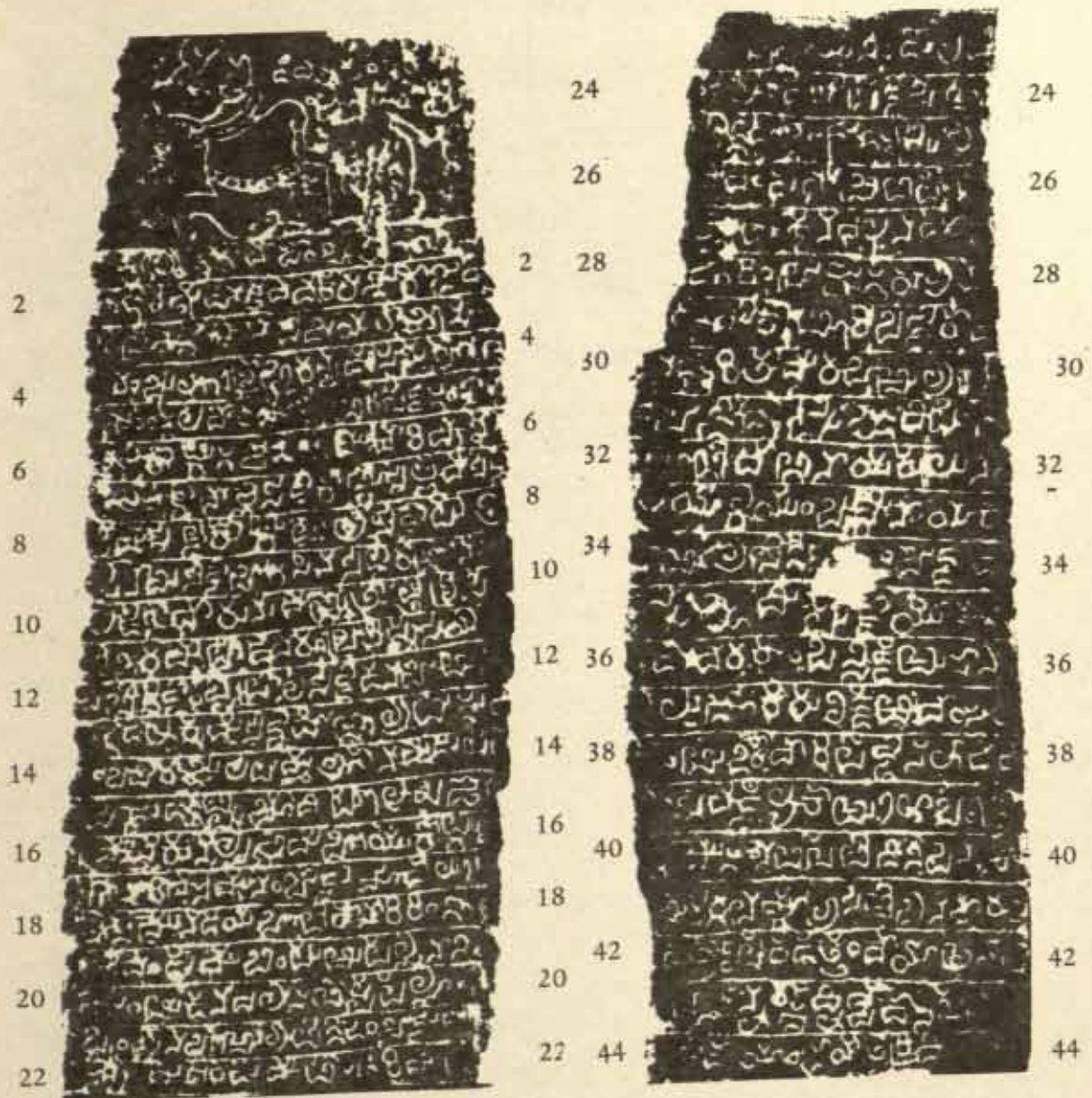
<i>Name as it occurs in the epigraph</i>	<i>Probable identification</i>
3 Chimpurupalli	Chipurupalle, Chipurupalle Taluk, Visakhapatnam District.
4 Kōḍūru	Kōḍūru, Do.
5 Golavaḍi	Gullipāḍu, Sarvasiddhi Taluk, Visakhapatnam District.
6 Doppapalli	Dopperla, Do.
7 Ḍōsūru	Ḍōsalapāḍu-agrahāram, Do.
8 Mā[ru]tūru	Māruṭūru, Do.
9 Gaḍārapattu	Not identifiable
10 Tāmaracheṟuvu	Do.
11 Paṁḍivāḍa	Do.

TEXT¹*First face*

- 1 Svasti [||*] śri-Śaka-varshāmbulu 11[1] 9
- 2 nēṁṭi śrimad=Anantavarmma-Ra(Rā)jarājadē-
- 3 vara pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṁ[va]-
- 4 tsarambulu 1 | Śrāhi Kanya(nyā)-māsa śukla 11
- 5 [lu] Mām (Mam)ggala-vārmunam Gaḍārapatta Gaṁggā[dha]-
- 6 [ra]setti koḍku Gaṇḍa[si] ṁggamuvāri vaṁśa
- 7 Mallisetti Mallisetti koḍku Settamasetti
- 8 [Se]ttamasetti koḍku Prōlisetti Pōti-
- 9 [se]tti Vāmisetti berasina settikārā[nu] -
- 10 la ottivārunu Maṟutoḍti śri-Ch[ō]-
- 11 diśvara-maha(hā)dēvaram bratishta(shtha) sēyim[chi]

1 From inked impressions.

MADUTURRU INSCRIPTION OF RĀJARJĀDĒVA (III), ŚAKA 1119, YEAR 1



- 12 gudi gattimchchi Prōlisetti dana cheru{vu}
- 13 diggita Akkamasetti cheruvu digguta
- 14 [U]mbarirājula dhammuvugā[na](nu) Ma[dhu] di-ū-
- 15 riṁ bettu umḍḍu-bhūmi pu 2 [!*] akhaṇḍa-[di]-
- 16 [pa]munaku Nalla-Bhimabōyuḥ kodku [Chō]-
- 17 [di]kōnāri vasamunam bettu māḍālu 2[5]
- 18 dīpamu na[da] [pē*] yī Chōḍi-kōnārikim Go[la]-
- 19 [va] di paṁdumu [!*] Chimpurupalli Nāgi-[nā]-
- 20 [ya] kuṁḍu dana ēlina Doppapallim[gro]-
- 21 ppimchchina cheruvu diggitam bettu . .
- 22 . bhūmi emḍumu ḍōsūri mā.

Second side

- 23 [cheri] . . m niṁdula ma-
- 24 . . luṁḍi[yu] Peddacheru[vu*]
- 25 diggitam be[ttu unna] nīra-[bhū]-
- 26 mi emḍumu Bidapa-nā[ya]-
- 27 kuṁḍu dana ēl[i]na Mā[ru]-
- 28 tūriṁ bettu garuvu pa[m]-
- 29 dumu Kōḍūri Battirāju
- 30 [nichchi] Tāmaracheruvu di[ggi]-

- 31 [ta] beṭṭi[na¹ om] dḍu-bhūmi pu 1
 32 Paṁdiv[a] da nāyakulu na.
 33 la yēlkiyuṁ Ba[mmi]-nāyaku-
 34 cheṛuvu ḍiggitam beṭṭu um-
 35 dḍu-bhūmi putṭiyunu [||*]
 36 dēvarakuṁ banniddaru sānu-
 37 lu mokaṛuḷ=iddaru vāmsakā-
 38 kā² mḍu jyāvāri peṭṭina āvaja-
 39 kāmḍu maddalyakāru 2 ā-chamdrā-
 40 rkkamugaṁ naḍapeḍi[di*] dīni bannaṁkā-
 41 ru 4[||*] ī dharmmuvu seṛichinavāru Sva-
 42 dattāḥ (ttām) paradattam(ttām) vā yō a(ha)rēti(ta)
 43 vasundharām(rām) [l*] sha³shṭir=varsha-sahāsrāṇi
 44 viṣṭayām jāyatē krimi[h ||]
 45 dēva[ra] kuṁbhaka
 46 . na kuṁḍdu

1 The letter *na* is engraved in smaller size.

2 The letter *kā* is redundant.

3 The letter *sha* is engraved below the *anusvāra*.

4 Lines 45-46 are engraved on the top of the first face above the *nandi* figure.

NO. 26- URUSUKONDA SIDDHA KĀVYA INSCRIPTION

(3 Plates)

V.S. Subrahmanyam, Mysore

The inscription¹ edited below with the kind permission of the Director (Epigraphy), Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore is engraved on a huge boulder at the top of a hillock called Urusugutta situated about two miles south east of the Warangal railway station in Andhra Pradesh. The engraver has prepared the surface of the rock into a large rectangular panel and engraved the inscription in three sections measuring 155x200 cms, 115x200 cms and 120x200 cms respectively, leaving a gap of about 5 cms at the top and 3 cms at the bottom for each section. The inscription has been published in the Andhra Pradesh Government Epigraphy Series² by Shri P.V. Parabrahma Sastri. Since the inscription has not yet been edited properly, the same is being re-edited with a revised text and translation.³

The text consists of 154 lines engraved in the three sections of the rock. The first section contains 48 lines while the second section has 52 lines. The last section consists of 54 lines. But for a major portion of the text in line 1 which is in Nāgarī the characters employed are Telugu of the 13th century and they can be compared with those of the Hanumakoṇḍa *Nirōshṭhya Kāvya* inscription.⁴ The language is Sanskrit, and excepting the last two lines, the entire text is in verse.

The scribe started engraving the text first in Nāgarī and then, for reasons not known, switched over to Telugu characters even before completing the first line.

This inscription is a *laghu-kāvya* containing 62 verses. Verses 1 to 60 are in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre while verses 61 and 62 are in *Sragdharā*.

The poem has as its hero a Siddha-youth and his spouse as its heroine. Their names are nowhere given in the poem. It narrates the story of their separation caused by the magic of a yaksha and their final re-union. The story commences with the separation of a Siddha couple by a mischievous yaksha using his supernatural power while they were sporting on the banks of the river Ganges. The Siddha youth is surprised at the sudden disappearance of his spouse and, stricken by unbearable sorrow, helplessly wanders

1. Noticed in *A.R.Ep.*, 1958-59, No. B 128.

2. No. 2 *Siddhōdvāha of Nṛsiṃha*.

3. I am thankful to Dr. S. Subramonia Iyer and Shri B. Sitaraman for their suggestions.

4. Above, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 209 ff.

hither and thither with a heavy heart. Unable to find solace anywhere, he remembers his beloved and recollects, as a flashback, the story of his love with her from the very beginning. The poet identifies himself with the hero and through him the story is recounted in retrospect. This style of narration is known as *Kavi-nibaddha-vaktri-praudhōkti-siddha*. Here the poet has delineated beautifully the *vipralambha-śringāra*. One evening, during a music concert of the Kinnaras on the Mēru mountain, the hero chances for the first time to see the heroine, in the company of her maids. Love develops between them at first sight. The poet draws a graphic account of how both of them were affected by cupid. The lady's attendants soon come to know of this. Meanwhile, the lady is summoned by a boy. She is in a fix. She does not want either to leave her lover or disobey the instructions brought by the boy. The boy repeatedly prods her to go with him. With a heavy heart, she finally leaves the place and goes to her mansion.

Meanwhile the sun sets and the moon rises in all its glory. The poet is at his best in his description of nature. While describing the rising moon he draws an enthralling picture of the advent of night. At that time, a lady messenger comes to the hero and furnishes him with a touching account of the pangs of separation being undergone by the heroine. Here the poet delineates the various stages of *vipralambha-śringāra* while describing the different stages of the heroine's *viraha*. The hero in turn gives her a message. The lady messenger goes and comes again on the next day with a message from the heroine. The heroine through her message requests the hero to come to the palace at mid-night and climb up the upper storey stealthily by means of a rope which would be kept hanging ready for the purpose. The hero acts accordingly. But alas! he is caught red handed midway while climbing up the upper storey of the palace by the security staff. He is soon produced before the heroine's father Kanakāngada who imprisons him in a remote room in his own palace. Some days pass and fortune starts smiling on the hero. Kanakāngada comes to know of the noble lineage of the hero and decides to give his daughter in marriage to him. On an auspicious day, the marriage is celebrated in all regal splendour. The hero and heroine spend their days happily in each other's company. The poet while describing the amorous sports of the couple effectively brings into play the *Sambhōga-śringāra*. Just then the separation caused by the yaksha's prank occurs. Both of them undergo untold misery. The yaksha seeing their pitiable condition withdraws the magic spell and the couple are reunited. Thus the poem ends on a happy note.

A critical study of the poem reveals the fact that its author is a poet of great order. His descriptions especially of the objects of nature are beautiful and realistic. The skilful and artistic blending of various *alaṅkāras* greatly enhances the appeal of his poem. He has used such *alaṅkāras* as *upamā*, *udātta*, *utprēkshā*, *samāsōkti*, *sahōkti*, etc. in this composition. He is good in the use of longer metres like *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* and *Sragdharā*.

At the end of the inscription in the prose passage is mentioned the name of the poet. His name is given there as Narasimharshi and he is described as the son of Viśveśvara. This Narasimha is no doubt identical with his namesake credited with the composition of the *Nirōshṭhya-kāvya* referred to above.

TEXT¹

First Panel

- 1 Kaśchit=Siddha-yuvā samam dayitayā traisrōtasē saikā²tē rāg-āmdhō rama-
- 2 māna ēva likhitē kāramādvānām padaiḥ | drashṭum durvvishahām manōbhava-
kritām tām tām=ava-
- 3 sthām tayā viślēsham gamitaḥ kutūhalavatā yakshēṇa māyāvinā | 1³ | Śayyāyām=
avilōkya sa
- 4 priyatamām dambhōlin=ēv=āhatō bibhrāṇaḥ patad-aśrunī kisalay-ātāmr-ōdare
lōchanē | aṁsa-nyasta⁴śirāḥ śa-
- 5 nair=upachita-śvāsō vivarn-ānanas=tūshṇim=ēva kam=apy=anēhasam=avijñāy=aiva
tasthau jaḍaḥ | 2 | Bōdham prāpya cha pāthasā-
- 6 m=iva nidhau magn-ōtthitasa(s=ta)t-kshaṇād=vikshipy=āgra-nakhēna bāshpa-kanikaḥ
paksham-āvalī-guṁpi(phi)tāḥ | vyādhēn=ākulitāḥ kuramga-
- 7 ka iv=ākramtaḥ sa chētō-bhuvā dirghām dikshu dṛiśam sasaraja tuhina-klišṭ-āraviṁd-
ōpamām(mām) | 3 | Trisrōtō ja-
- 8 lam=achchham=ātta-rajasō rōdhō-latā-mamjarīr=hamsān=mamju-rutān sthalāmbūja-
vanam sparśā sah-āmtar-ddalam(lam) |
- 9 pushp-āsvāda-kashāyi-kamṭham=alinām brimdam cha dṛiṣṭv=ōtsukō vākyāny=
ēvam=uvācha lakshya-rahitam pūrvv-ā-

1. From ink impression.

2. The engraver commences the writing in Nāgarī characters upto this portion. For some unknown reason he dropped the idea and commenced the same in Telugu characters in the next line.

3. This and the following numerals are engraved in Telugu characters.

4. This *ste* is engraved below the line.

5. The letter *hu* is engraved below the line.

- 10 nubhūtē[h*] smaran¹ | 4 | Mērau Kalpa-tarōḥ prasūna-madhunā mṛishtēna siktē talē sāyam kimnara-yōshitām rasa-vaśād=gīta-
- 11 prasamgē sati | āyāt=āsi samam sakhībhir=atha tē ya [lla]bdham-ālōkitām bālē prāthamikām tad=ētād-adhunā='py=ā-
- 12 likhyatē chētasi | 5 | Hastābhyā UU-UUU- [kṛi] sht-āṅgulibhyām tadā sakhyā gamda-vimṛishṭa-patra-tilakām
- 13 tatr=aiva kṛtvā mukham(kham) | vāsaḥ sraṁsana-sāmi-lakshita-kuch-ōdbhēdān= naman-madhyamam pādaśy=ōpari[ra]²kta-pārshni-vilaga-
- 14 t-pādām tvayā hi sthitām(tam) | 6 | Svair-ō[kū]lita-sauhṛidēna hṛidayēn-ā[nē*]-kaśaḥ prēritair=anyōny-ābhimukhair=gat-āgata-śataih
- 15 śamsamti bhāva-sthitim(tim) | lajjā-kauta(tu)kayōr=vvaśamvadatayā nānā-kramēṇ=ābhavam(va)nā(nn=ā)samnēna sakhī-janēna viditā-
- 16 ny=ālōkitāny=āvayōḥ | 7 | Ākūtēna virōpita-bhru(bhṛi)sa(śa)-rasam sakhyā kay=āpi smitam ta[d*] jñātvā chaturē ta(tva)yā mama mu-
- 17 khād=ākriṣhya yatnād=iva | vṛidā-viklaba-tārakā-gati-rushā kimchit=kashāy-ōdaram tasyām pātitam-ikshanaṁ
- 18 yad=abhaval=lil-āravid-ahātih | 8 | Tad=drishtvā mayi mamdahāsa-sugam-ōtprāsam samālōkayat=āsīr=nna-
- 19 mra-mukhī taramga-marutē kshipt=ēva rājivini | kāryy-āsamgam=upeyushī=va cha tataḥ(tas)=tiryyag=dadhānā mukham³
- 20 svachchhamda-prasaram tvayā sunayanē bhūyō=' pi muktā dru(dri)śaḥ | 9 | Kālē tāvati kākapakshaka-mukhēn-ōmna(nna)ddha-chū-
- 21 dāmanir=bibhran=mau[kti*]ka-kumdalē śṛavanayōḥ kō=py=āgatō bālakaḥ | nakshatra-dvaya-madhyā-pāti śāsinō bimbam pur-Ōṅgā-
- 22 rakaṁ vyākurvvan valana-śriy=ēṁdu-vadanē tvām=āhvayat=sambhramāt | 10 | Āhvānē bahuśaḥ kṛitē sati ba⁴lāt=kṛisṭ-ēva dhṛitvā karē karsham-

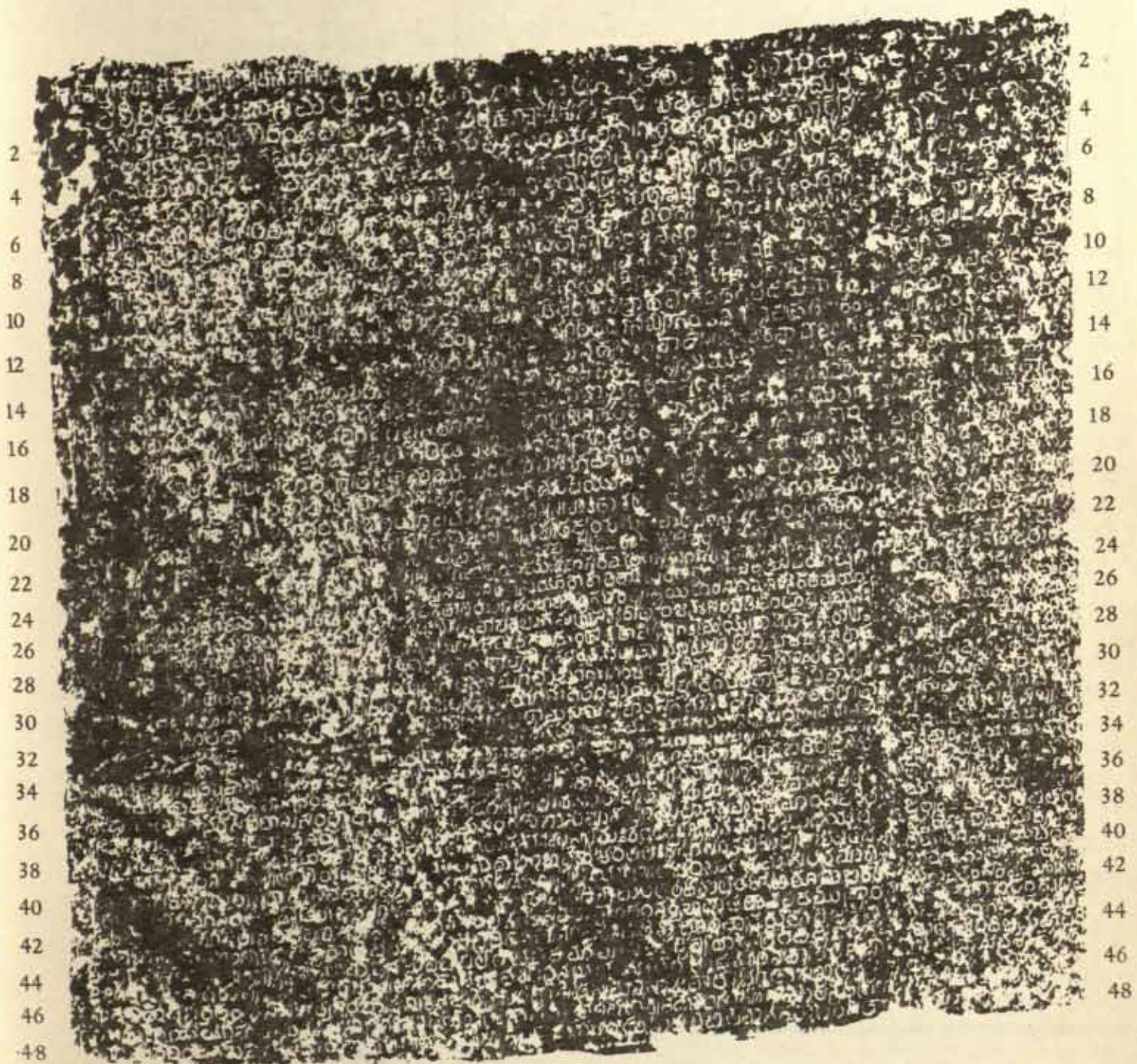
1. Cf. Pāṇini, 2-3-50.

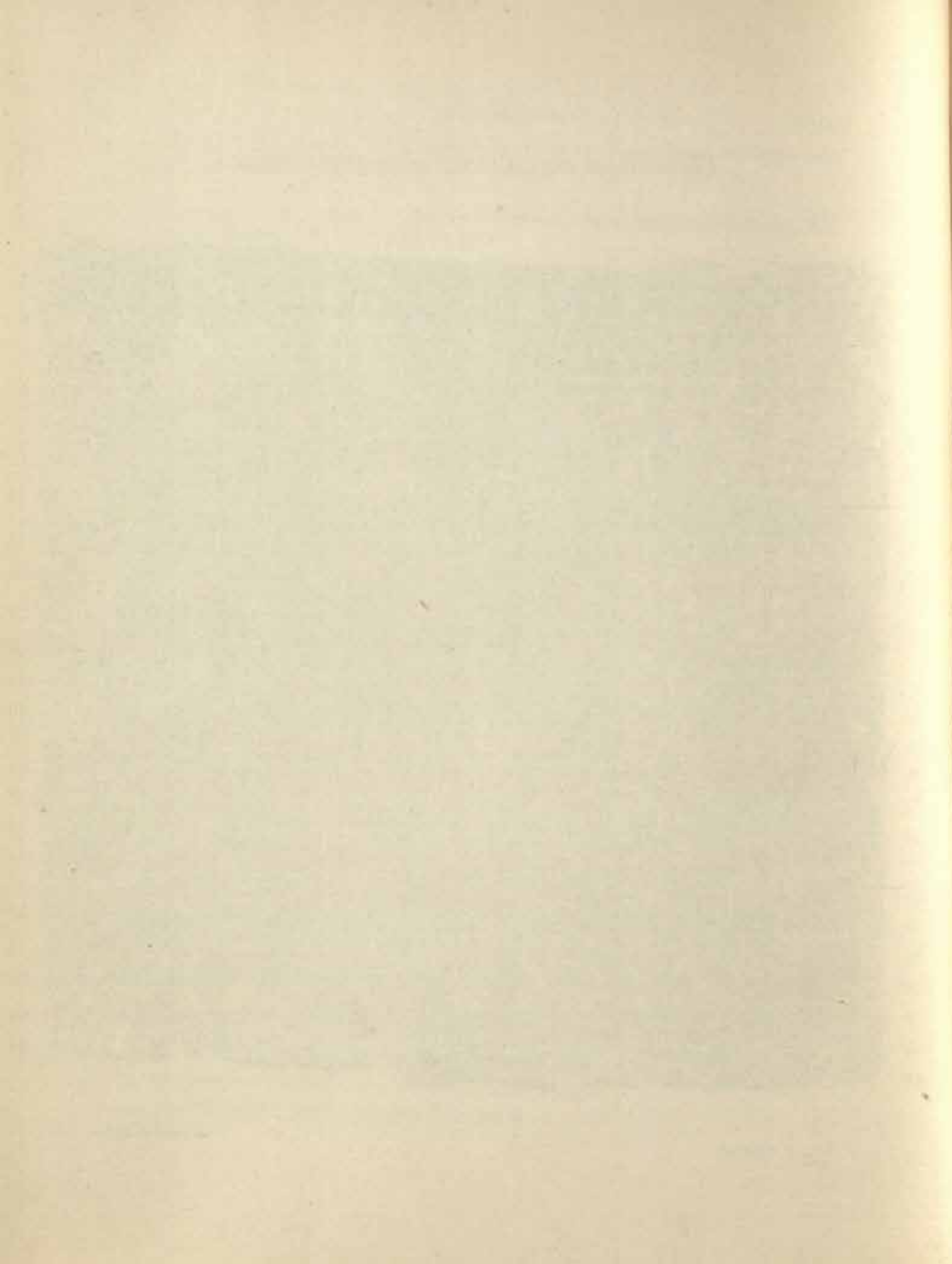
2. The small type letter *ra* is inserted here.

3. *Anusvāra* mark is engraved at the next line which looks like letter *ka*.

4. This letter is first engraved as *ja* and then corrected into *ba*.

URUSUKONDA SIDDHA KĀVYA INSCRIPTION – PLATE I





- 23 ty=utpala-patra-dāma-sadriśē sārddham may=aiv=ākshinī | ams-ōpāśraya-mukta-
hasta-kamalam sakhyāḥ sakhibhiḥ samam sam[la] kshy-ā-
- 24 para-bhāgam=amchita-pada-nyāsam tataḥ prasthitā | 11 | Vēṇī-vēshṭana-sālinī
śrayanayōr=ārōpitāḥ kuṃṭalāḥ kimchit srastatayā bhujau
- 25 na saralau nō vā samākumchitau | hārāḥ kēsara-kalpitaś=cha paratō lambī nitambō
ghanō gachchhamtyā[m*] tvayi hamsa-gāmini śanair=ētē mayā
- 26 lakshitāḥ | 12 | Udvign=ēva mrigī vivartya vadanam mārḡē mriga-prēkshanī svasy=
aiv-āpara-bhāgam=aśru-salilair=dhaut-āmjanaiḥ simchatī | mām=āpīchchhya
punah
- 27 punah prahitayā sakhy=ēva su-snidha(gdha)yaḥ dṛiṣṭya [vī] ta-manaskayā vishami-
tair=ggamtum pravrita(ttā) padaiḥ | 13 | Mayy=ēv=ārpita-dṛiṣṭir=āśri-
- 28 tavatī kāmchit=sakhīm=amgakaiḥ bālē bāla-mṛiṇāla-kōmala-taraiḥ prāptā¹ si gēh-
āmkaṇam(ṇam) | tōy-aughē pratilōma-jāta-śaphar-ōt-
- 29 phāl=ēva¹ śaivālinī² tirtham vāri-nidhēr=mṛiśamty=ubhayatas=tīra-sthalīm-ūrmibhiḥ
| 14 | Bimbam vāriṇi vāridhēr=adhigatā kām³am kaḷ-ēv=aimda-
- 30 vī rāg-ōnmēsha-viśēsha-śāli hridaya[m*] mayy=arppayitvā nijam(jam) | ādāy=ānu-
gataḥ may=āpi hridayam tādrīksham=ēv=ātmanah
- 31 kakshyāvat=sadanaḥ tadā vinimayam kṛitv=ēva kāmtē='viśah | 15 | Paśchā[t*]=
tvām=asamīkshya hamsa-gamanē kakshy-āmtar-āmtarhitām
- 32 slāghyam vastu vināśya vismṛita iva prāptō vimōham param(ram) | svapnē dṛiṣṭam=
iv=aitad=ātmani muhuḥ samchintya chintā-vaśō na sthā-
- 33 tum na cha gamtum=anyad=api vā nō kartum=iśō='bhavam(vam) | 16 | Tad-dēśō
nava-ratna-chitritatala⁴-spars-ānukūl-ānilō hālā hēma-sarō-ru-
- 34 h-ōdha(da)ra-dalēshv=āpīta-śēsh=ālibhiḥ | gītam kimnara-yōshitām su-lalitām kalpa
drumāḥ pushpitā yātāḥ pamchabhir=imdriyai-

1. Cf. *Āmuktamālyada*, Canto. 4, verse 18 'Elamiyugānta-vāri'.

2. The correct form is *Śaivālinī* (i.e. the river). This usage here is for the sake of the metre.

3. The *anusvāra* mark looks like *ra*.

4. The *visarga* is dropped here according to the *Vārttika* 4906:- *Kharparē śāri vā visarga-lōpō vaktavyah*.

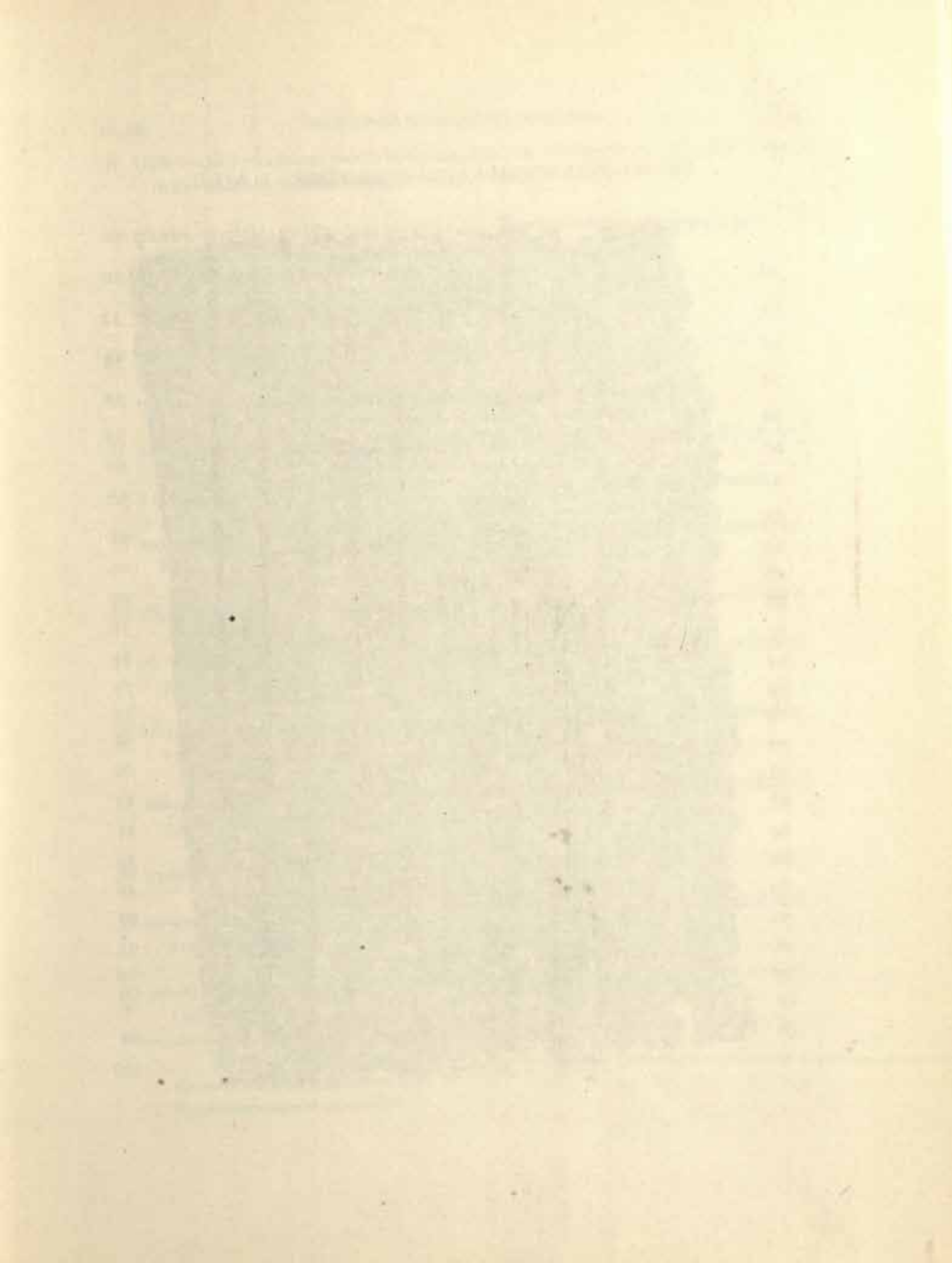
- 35 =mmama yathāpūrvam na bhōgyām daśām(śām) | 17 | Kālē='smin haṭa-pāka-tapta-kanak-ākārēṇa lōlakṛitih samdhyā-mēgha-nava-pravāla
- 36 śayanaṁ rāgī sam-āsēdivān | samtāpād=apar-ādri-kāmdara-jharī-pāthah-[ka*]na(nai)r =āplutō nētrē mīlayati sma Vāsara-pati[h*]
- 37 padm-ākara-chchhadmanā | 18 | S-ārdham chētanayā samasta-jagatām=astam-gatō Bhānumān¹ vyāmōhēna samam tamāmsi paritah
- 38 kāśtāḥ padaṁ chakrirē | vāmaiḥ kāmuka-lōchanaiḥ saha tatas=tārā-gaṇāḥ puspuruḥ Kāmdarppa-jvalanēna sākam=udayam
- 39 yātaḥ kalānām nidhiḥ | 19 | Ādau yāvaka-pamka-pāṭalam=athō bimbī-phal-ābham tataḥ sadyō-lūna-bahiḥ-palāśa-vikacha-
- 40 svarṇ-āraviṁd-ōpamam(mam) | paśchād-āsava-matta-mālava-vadhū-gaṁḍa-sthala-prakriyam bimbam Chāmdramasam kramād-vi-
- 41 rahina(ṇō) vaktr-ōpamānam dadhau | 20 | Jātē nūtana-chāmdrikā-rasa-sirā-vēdhē² diśām=amtarē vēl-ōllamghibhir=ūrmibhi[h*] kala-
- 42 śa-vārāsēr=iva kshālītē | Śvēta-dvīpa iva kshaṇēṇa bhuvanē saṁlakshitē sarvatō dhvāntam na kvachid=ātatāna padam=udbhram-
- 43 tam vinā mē manaḥ | 21 | Dvāmdvai³ rātri-viyōginām vidhi-vasad=anyādṛisaiḥ patriṇām=āslēśhad=garutōr=ajasra-
- 44 ghaṭanā-viśrambhinaḥ prachyutaiḥ | āvābhyām=iva vipralāmbha-vishamām=āsēdiva-dbhīr=vyathām kramādbhiḥ Sura-
- 45 dirghikā-parisarē kā='py=ānaśē dur-daśā | 22 | Ānamd-āmṛita-varshinī nayanayōr=ambōda-lēkhā navā yashtih sau-
- 46 hrida-vīrudhā⁴-sthiratayā sauhitya-sampādinī | Kāmdarpp-ēshu-gavākshitasya manasō jīvātu-bhūtā sakhī tvatta[h*]

1. Cf. *Taittirīya Aranyaka* : praśna 1, anuvāka 14, daśaka 64 – *Assu yō 'stam=ēti ' Sa sarvēśhām bhūtānām prānān=ūdāy=āstam=ēti.*

2. The reading seems to be correct, but it won't give the required sense. Better read 'sirā-dhautē or sir-digdhē.

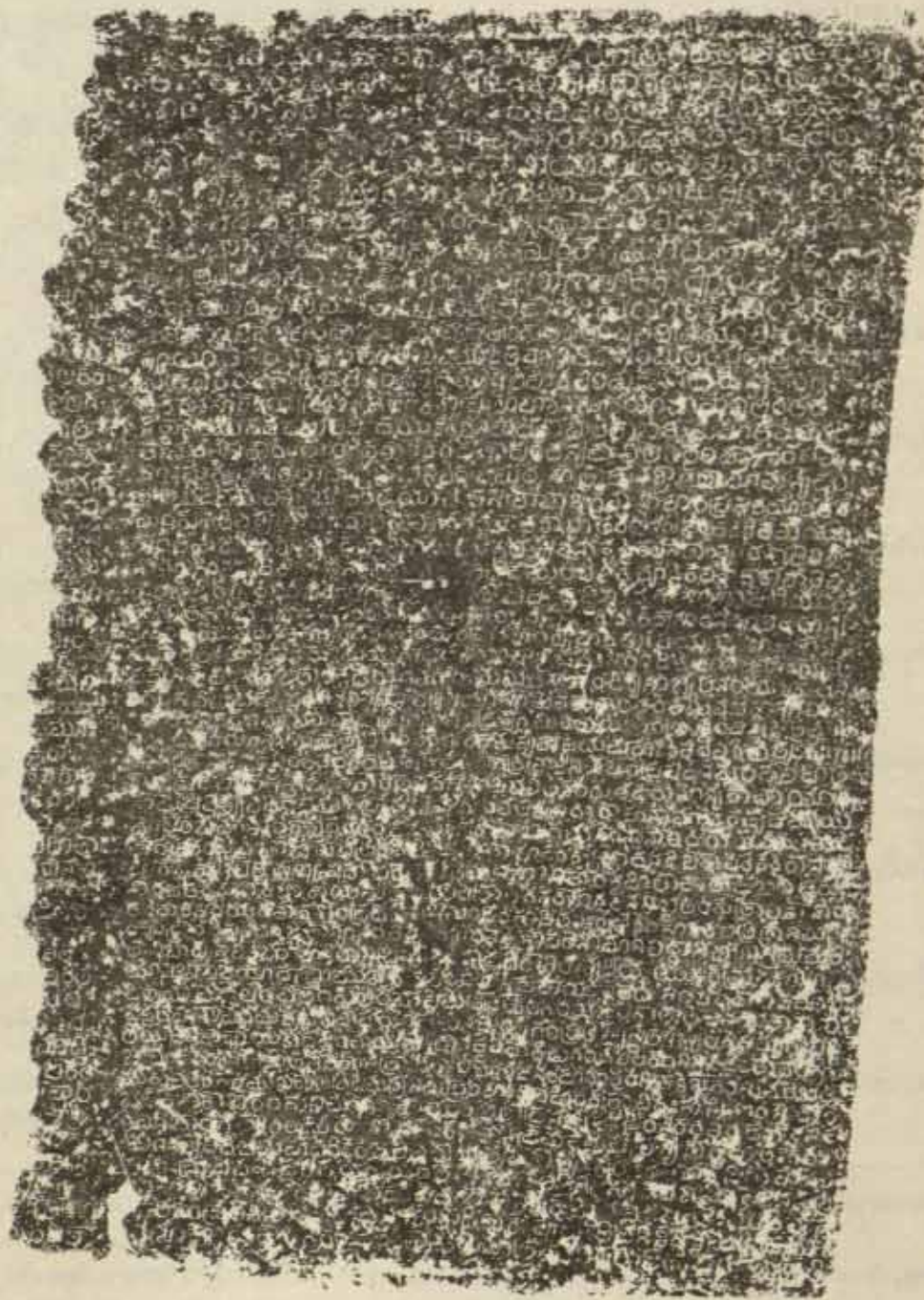
3. The *visarga* is dropped here according to the 8-3-14 and 6-3-111.

4. The *visarga* is dropped here according to the *Vārttika* 4906 : *Kharparē śarī vā visarga-lōpōvaktavyah.*



URUSUKONDA SIDDHA KĀVYA INSCRIPTION – PLATE II

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47 kāchid=upāyayau mama punaḥ kshīn-ātmanah samnnidhim(dhim) | 23 | Jānān=ēva
mam=āvalōkya vadanam s-ākūtam=ātanvatī bhrū-

48 rēkhām=aravimda-garbha-vichalad-bhruṁ(bhṛim)g-āvalī-vibhramam(anam) | sā
smērēṇa mukh-ēmdunā parichit=ēv=ānēka-kālam sthitā

Second Panel

49 visrambh-ōttaram=ādadē giram=imām=āpādayitrīm dha(dhri)tēḥ | 24 | Āyā-

50 t=āsmi tav=āmtikam priya-sakhīm=ālōkya bhagnāśayā magn-āmtaḥ-kara-

51 na(nām) tvad-ānana-ruchau lāvanya-simdhāv=iva | kartavyēshu vimūdhatām=u-

52 pagatām Kamdapa(rpa)-maghnām sakhē bamdhūnām sukha-duḥkhayōr=bhavati ya-

53 sa(s=te)n=aiva hi prānyatē | 25 | Mugdhā-mugdha-mṛināla-kōmala-tanus=tanvī
kathōr-ātmanah

54 [śyēnāsy=e] va sukī mṛig=iva mṛigayō¹ Rāhōr=iv=ēmdōḥ kalā pushyamtya(ti) mana-

55 sō rujām=ati-bhriśām=ajñāta-pūrvvam(rvām) sakhē samprāptā tava darśanāt=
prabha(bhri)[ti*] sā [chē*]-

56 tō-bhuvō gōcharam(ram) | 26 | Prāsadē kshanam=amkaṇē kshanam=atō līlā-sarasa
(s=su)-

57 kshanam krīdā-parvatakē kshanam priya-sakhī-samlāp-gōshṭhyām kshanam(nam)
| śa-

58 yyāyām kshanam=amtarē kshanam=atha dvār=vvēdikāyām kshanam sā tvā-

59 m=ēva vichinvat=iva bahudhā jāt-aratir=vvarttatē | 27 | Tishthaty=uchchalati
prayāti punar=a-

60 py=āyāti sam-bhashatē tūshṇīm²-bhāvam=upaiti paśyati diśah sammīlayaty=akshinī
| udbhrā-

1. The *visarga* is dropped here according to the *nūtra Rō ri* (8-3-14) of Pāṇini.

2. The *anusvāra* is engraved above the line.

- 61 myaty=adhikam dadhāti cha dhṛitim niś-chēshṭatā chēshṭatā hā kasṭam Madanēna dāruṇa taram ki-
- 62 m kim na sā kāryyatē | 28 | Ity=ākarnya halāhalēna sudhayā ch=āplāvitam tad-vacha=
- 63 s=tat-kālē yugapad-grihīta-hṛidayah klēśēna harshēna cha | chē[shṭā] bhir=mmama pūrvam=ēva kathi-
- 64 tām=unmastakām tām daśām Kandarppāpasādasya durvilasitam ch=āśamśam=a-
- 65 syāḥ puraḥ | 29 | Śrī(Śru)tvā mad-vachanam nivēdya cha pura[h*] s=ātō punaś=ch=āgatā mām=anyēdyu-
- 66 r=avōchad=ēvam=avinābhūtām tvayā chētasi | vāchā snigdha-manōhara-prasarayā vīta-[kla]-
- 67 mam kurvati vrishtyā vāri-dhar-āvaḥ=īva vivaśam trishṇā-vaśach=chātakam(kam) | 30 | Prātaḥ śīta-mayūkha-
- 68 kāmī-mṛijayā śūnyam dadhānā vapur-mugdhair=lakshya-vinā-kṛitair=alatatām vyāvṛiṇvati viksha-
- 69 naiḥ | śvāsān=abhy-adhik-ōshmaṇā glapayatō darīta-chchhadam=muñchatī tvadhya (tvad-dhyā)n-aika-parā='dhirōhati pa-
- 70 rām kōṭim Smara-vyāpadah | 31 | Drashṭavyah katham=ēsha dṛiṣṭi-subhagah sambhāshanīyah ka-
- 71 tham śrōtra-svādu-vachāḥ su-samhata-vapuḥ samślēshanīyah katham(tham) | samni(nni)dhy-āvidit-ānva-
- 72 vastu-vishayah sam-sēvitavya[h*] katham s=ēttham tvām pratichim[taya*] ty=aharahaḥ paryyākulā varttatē | 32 |
- 73 Supt-āmtahpurikē niśītha-samayē gāḍhē tamōbhir=ghanair=bhittēḥ samnidhim=īhi nīla-vasanō nīchai[h*]
- 74 padāni kshipan | rajva(jjvā) tvām dṛiḍhayā nayēyam=itī sā samdiśya s-ābhyarta-(rttha)nam yātā tē sa-
- 75 vidham sarōja-vadanē bhriṅgī nalinyā iva | 33 | Yasyāmī(my=ē)vam=iv=āmtar=ēvam=īva cha sthāyāmi ta-

- 76 [syāḥ] purō vakshyāmy=ēvam=iv=āham=ēvam=iva cha drakshyāmi līlayitam(tam)
| ittham pakshmalitair=mmanō-
- 77 [ratha-sa]tair=bhūyō='nusaṃpātibhi[h*] s-ōtkamṭhaḥ katham=apy=ahāpayam=
ahaḥ-śēsham viśēshōtsukaḥ | 34 |
- 78 Ā chamdr-āstamayam katham katham=api sthitvā=|['rdha]-rātrē vraja-ni(n=niḥ)
śabdam prapadēna maṃda-vihita-
- 79 śvāsaḥ pradīpā[t*] trasau | jihm-aikānta-pathas=triṇē='pi chalitē śamkām dadhānō=
'nyathā chhāyām
- 80 svām=api vīkshya vēpita-vapu[h] prāptaḥ śanaś=chōra-vat |[l*] 35 || Ardh-ārōha-
nam=ācharaty=atha mayi
- 81 vyālambamānām kvachi[d*]=dhritvā rajjum=atarkit-ābhigamanam nāmā-vidhair=
āyudhaiḥ vādyai-
- 82 r=dōrumayir=vvachōbhir={uchitair=uchchaiḥ-kvaṇat-kāḥaḥam} kaiśchich=chhō-
dhana-dīpikā-parikarair=āsam [ma*?]
- 83 m=ārakshikaiḥ¹ | 36 | Tvat-sakhyā saha bhīru bhīta-manasā sō='ham grīhitō haṭhād-
ībhir= nishkaru-
- 84 nair=ajāta-karuṇam chōrō='yam=ity=arpitaḥ | pitrā tē Kanakāmgad-eva nibhṛitam
kutr=āpi kōn-ām
- 85 tarē vārī-saṃyata-vāraṇ-ēmdra-vidhinā svē maṃdirē sthāpitaḥ | 37 | Āśamsā-śata-
chitritāni pu[na*]-
- 86 r=apy=udbhramti-saṃmārjjitāny=ānamda-kshana-śōchana-kshana-pariṇāmāni vid-
dhāni cha | śvāsair=mmarmmari-
- 87 tāni bāshpa-salilair=jambālītāni priyē nirvēd-ādy-adhikāni kāny=api yayu[h*]
kri[ch*] chhrād=ahāny=āva-
- 88 yōḥ | 38 | Vijñāy=ātha sakhī-mukhēna sakalam tais=tair=upāy-āmtarai[h*] sam-
bamdha-ōchitam=ābhi-

1 This and the next verse may be treated as *yugma*.

- 89 jātyam=amalaṁ vṛittaṁ kulam ch=āpi-mē | muktaṁ saṁyamanāt=sa tē janayitā
nānā-
- 90 vidhair=arhaṇa(nai)r=mmām=abhyarcha(rchya) vivāha-yōgyam=anaghaṁ lagnaṁ
pratīkshya sthita[h] | 39 | Lagnī samyag=upasthi-
- 91 tē yavanīk-āpāyē cha dṛiṣṭaṁ mayā lōdhr¹-ōnmṛiṣṭa-vipāmḍu gaṁḍa-phalakaṁ
nirnikta-damt-āvalī | svā-
- 92 bhāvyaḍ=arun-ōshṭham=ātta-tilakaṁ nētr-ābhirām-āmjanaṁ dūrv-ōttamsita-śēkha-
raṁ sumukhi tē
- 93 mugdh-āvatamsaṁ anukhaṁ(kham) | 40 | Vēdī-madhya-nivēśitaṁ huta-vahaṁ
kṛitvā vidhēḥ sākshinaṁ svēd-ām-
- 94 bhah-kaṇikābhir=amguli-mukhād=vāmtābhir=ārdras=tava | udbhinnai(dbinnai)r=
araviṁda-nāla-sadri-
- 95 śini=ābhām gataḥ kaṁṭakair=ūrṇā-kaṁkaṇavān pravāḷa-mṛidula-sparsō gṛihītaḥ
karaḥ | 41 |
- 96 Māṁgalyē vidhibhir=mahā-parikarair=jātē vivāhōtsavē s=autsukyam taḥim-ādhirō-
haṇa-
- 97 sukhē prāptē cha s-ārdham tvayā | yātās=tē nava-bhaṁgi-gūḍha-vachanair=ālī-
janasya pri-
- 98 yair=hāsya-prāya-rasair=vivāha-divasā nānā-kramair=narmabhiḥ | 42 | Bālē vāsa-
- 99 nikētanam prati balād=dhātrā(tryā) muhuś=chōditā kupyamt=īva nisāmya mad-
vishayi-
- 100 nīm=ālībhir=uktām giram(ram) | utkaṁṭhām=ati-mātram=amtar=uditām=ābibhratī

Third Panel

- 101 viklabā lajjā-namra-mukhī chirāya bhavatī rā(dhā)trībhir=ānīyatē | 43 | Śayyā(yām)
vinivēśya nirgga-

1. Lōdhra is mentioned here for the lodhra flower dust. Cf. *Mēghasandēśā* of Kālidāsa, Canto 2, verse 2:
nītō lōdhra-prasava-rajāsā pāmdutām=ānanē śrīḥ.

- 102 tavatīr=dhātrīr=anu-prasthitām=āli tvām rudatīm=api sthitavatī kāchin=nishidhya svayam(yam) | āsannē ma-
- 103 yi tānni(tām ni)shēddhum=api cha prāyaḥ priyē lajjitā tūshñim=ēva nivarttit-ānanam=adhō drishtir=nivishṭā-
- 104 kshaṇam(ṇam) | 44 | Ābhāshē yadi sādhasam tava bhavēt=tū[shñim] yadi sthī-yatē syād=ēv=āganam=ēti
- 105 mūḍha-hri(hṛi)dayaḥ kimchid=vichimty=ātmani | tvat-sakhyā saha kāni kāny=api [va]chāmsy=a-jñāta-nidrā-rasō hāsya-prā-
- 106 ya-kathā-prabandha-sarasāny=ākhyātum=ārabdhavān | 45 | Tāvativam(t=tvam) [cha] śanair=mmam-ānya-paratām=anvishya
- 107 samkōchitair=amgair=amśuka-vēshtit-āvara-purō-bhāgair=hriyā mi[śri]tā | nidrā [ṇ=ē]va vimuchya nētra-kamalē tā-
- 108 s=tāh kathāh śru(śri)ṇvatī śayy-āntam bhujā-vallārī-vivalanē=ālimgya jōsham sthitā | 46 | Ēvam pra-
- 109 ty-uras-ōpamarddita-manō-nirvvēśavatyah sukhā nishparyyāya-manōrathā [navanav-ābhya]¹ sā
- 110 bhaya-vyākūḷah | lajjā-gamdhi-samasta-vastu-sarasā lajjāvati prāg=amūs=tvat-sānnidhyam=ih=ābhimā-
- 111 na-suhṛidō bhuktā mayā rātrayaḥ | 47 | Ālīnām=ati-sambhramēṇa vimatau krīdāsu[vā]-
- 112 jiśraṇair=vyāja-sprishṭaka-kēlibhiś=cha namanair=vēṇyā ślathāyā api | gumphair=hāra-guṇasya chitra-chaturais=sārdham tva-
- 113 yā matsarā[d]=visrambhas=tava bhīru kaśchana dinaiḥ kimchin=may=āsāditaḥ | 48 | Ētāsmīn samayē niśānta-
- 114 bhavanād=vyājēna sakhyā bahir=niryātē mama samīm(nni)dhau su-nayanē pūrvv-ādhiakam bibhyatī | nirggamtum²

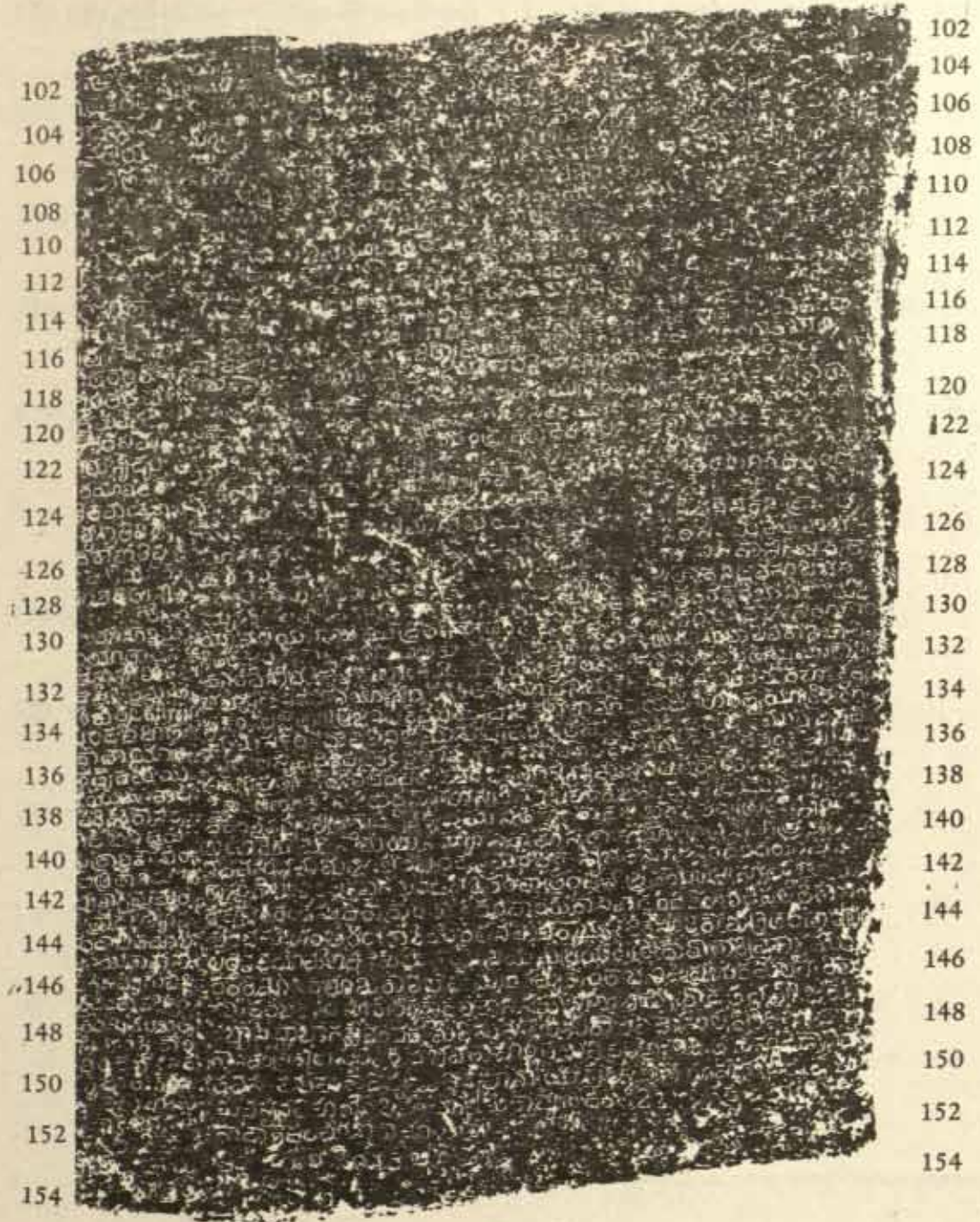
1. These five letters are damaged here. This is restored by me.

2. The *anusvāra* sign is engraved in the next line.

- 115 tvaritā mayā kara-talēn=ālaṃbitā tvaṃ sthitā vāt-ōddhūta-nav-āravimda-sadriṣau
vyāpārayām-
- 116 ti dṛiṣau | 49 | Īshat=tvām tanu-bhaṃgi-bōdhita-manās=tvām kaṃchulī-karshaṇē
prakrāntē='tha nakha-ksha-
- 117 tād=api bhayād=atyāmtam=udvējitā | kāmte kēvalam=aṃgakaiḥ pulakibhi[h*]
kaṃth-ōkta-bhāva-sthi-
- 118 tir=bāshp-ōtpīda-[mishē*]ṇa mīlitavati lajj-ākulē lōchanē | 50 | Sāchībhūta-mukh-
āravimda-ghaṭanā yā-
- 119 vāt=kapōla-sthalē kastūrī makarī-vilāsa-haraṇam sāmukhya-yōgāt=tava |
maugdhyād=a-pratirōdha-[sum-
- 120 dara] m=api smaryēta yat=tat=tvayā hasta-svastika-jāta-rōdham=anati-vyāsaṃgam=
ālimganam(nam) | 51
- 121 Nivī-baṃdha-nivēsitē kara-ta [lē] nirvēsa-taṃdrā-vasād=īshan-mīlana-jāta-śārada-naḍī-
kārsy-ānukārē
- 122 dṛiṣau | āsit-tē sukha-pāravasya-śithilam tad-vāraṇē vyāpṛitō hastō hēma-mayūkha-
mā-
- 123 li-kiraṇa sprishṭa-pravāl-ōpamaḥ | 52 | Krīd-ānamtaram=atta-sādhvasatayā
ni[śchē] shtitair=aṃga-
- 124 kaiḥ kliśyant=īva kuchāni śuk-āvṛita-mukhī vāky-āsahaṃt=īva mē | maṃd-
ōddhūta-daśām-
- 125 chalēna sichayēn=ā-vījyamānā mayā lajjā-mīlita-lochan=ēva 'sanakair=nidrām tva-
- 126 m=āsādayaḥ | 53 | Paryāyād=iva baddha-pa[ashma-hananaṃ] sammīlitē lōchanē
- 127 kā[lē] yaiḥ śrama-vāri-lēśa-lulitaiḥ[nim]n=āmchatē kaṃdharā | srastē vāsasi lakshit-
ām¹
- 128 ga-sushamā-bhēdam cha tām tām vapus=tat=tādrik-priya-samsthiti- ślatha-nij-
āvasthā='pi cha sma-

1 The *anusvāra* sign is engraved in the next line.

URUSUKONDA SIDDHA KĀVYA INSCRIPTION – PLATE III



- 129 ryyatē | 54 | Ālēpair=galitair=nitāmbini dadhē nimna-sthalēsh=āsikā kamṭha[h*]
kambu-nibhō madī-
- 130 yya(ya)-valayēn=ālimganē mudritah | gātram tē parivarttanēna śayanē vāsas-
taramg-ām-
- 131 kitam kāmṭih kāchana sāmi-mukta-jaḍimā nidr-āvasānē daśā | 55 | Mlānam ch=āpi
vikāsi ch=āpi va-
- 132 danam vēnī cha vēshṭa-ślathā bhālaś=cha śrama-vāri-mṛishṭa-tilakō hāsaś=cha samjā-
(jñā)yatē | chhāyā kā='pi
- 133 cha lakshyatē nayanayōh samṃōda-samsūchani bhukt=ās=iti sakhībhir=īrita-
rahaḥ-kṛityā-
- 134 bhṛiśam lajjitā | 56 | Jānishē kimu kalpa-pādapa-bhavām=āpiya hālām² tvayā
krīdamtyā
- 135 mama sannidhāv=api nijām=unmuchya mugdhē trapām(pān) | yad-yaj=jalpita-
mughda-jāta-ma-
- 136 dhurair=ālasyavadbhīh padair=amgair=vvā ślatha-samnivēśa-laghubhir=yad=yat=
kṛitam vyutkramā-
- 137 t | 57 | Praty-amgam nava-champakēshv=iva rajō-māsṛīnyam=unmilitam kāmṭir=
nūtana-kaumu-
- 138 dī kuvalay-āpīt=ēva jāta dṛiśōh | hāsa-śrīr=mmukha-pamkajē madhu-madam=ut-
kūlit=ēv=ā
- 139 dhikam vaidagdhyam sphatikād=iv=ēṃdu-mukhi tē svāmtād=a(d=ba)hir=bim-
bitam(tam) | 58 | Armyam hāri
- 140 khal=ūri(rmi)kā maṇimayī na(śa)yyā ni³rōmā-sa(s=ta)dā hān-ōtkūlana-mātra-
lakshita-

1. The letter *ga* is inserted below the line.

2. The usage *hāla* is an indication that this poet himself was the composer of the *nirōshṭhya kāvya*. cf. Above, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 209 ff.

3. Read *nī* for *nī* which suits the metre.

- 141 nij-āvasthāna [m=etan*]=mama | jātyam Chamdanam=ambarāni cha tanūna]ā
(ny=u)-dham(dgam)dhayō¹ māli-
- 142 kās=tāmbūli-dala-pūga-khamḍa-bharitam pātram cha nah prītayē | 59 | Gūdhā
bhūmi-
- 143 grīhāh karamḍa-sushirā [d=vām] tāś=cha dhūp-āmkurās=tail-ōdgamdhi²śilāśa
(l-āśma)dīpa-[la]tikā sthū-
- 144 lam cha tūl-āmbaram(ram) | kālēy-ēmdhana-pāvakā cha śakadī kastūrikā-misritam
tāmbū-
- 145 lam nava-yauvan-ōsha(shma)la-kuchā tvaṁ cha priyē mē priyam(yam)³ | 60 |
Dhār-ōdhā(dgā)ri-pranālī-mukha-
- 146 ra-kari-mā(mu)kham bhūmikāva=cha(ch=cha) harmyam ramy-aikāntā cha gōshī-
(shthī) prachura-Malaharī-rā-
- 147 gam=isham(ishtam) cha gītam(tam) | sū[kshmam] ślakshnam cha vāsas=taruṇima-
bhīdur-odvṛitta-vakshōja-kum-
- 148 bhā sv-ēchchhā-bhōga-kshamā cha ta(tva)m=ati-sumukhi mē k=āpi varshāsu
rītiḥ | 61 | Bhō-
- 149 gān=ēvam-prakarān=muhur=anubhavatō hamta mē viprayōgō jātaḥ kasmād=
idānīm
- 150 tava [ṣu]tanu hathād=ity=amushmin=bṛi(bru)vāṇē | yakshaḥ saṁdarśya rūham-
(pam) taṭi(di)d-udaya-
- 151 m=iva svam viḥay=āpi māyām=ētābhyām dāmpatibhyām saḥṛidaya[m=adu]-
- 152 dhād=āsisham pūrnnakāmām(mām) | 62 |

1. Cf. Pāṇini sūtra : *Gandhasy=ēt-ut-pūti-su-surebhibhyaḥ.*

2. There is a mark which looks like a cipher above the letter *la* which may be ignored.

3. Cf. : Bhartṛihari's *Śṛīngūṛa śataka*; verse 92:

Taruṇī ch=atshā dīpita-kāma
vikasita-jātī-pushpa-sugandhiḥ |
Unnata-pīna-payōdhara-bhārā
prāvṛishī kurutē kasya na harsham ||

153 Viśveśvara-sūnē[r*] = Narasiṃha-

154 ṛshēh kritih [||*]

TRANSLATION

Verse 1

A Siddha youth, overcome with passion, was in an amorous dalliance, with his beloved on the sand dunes of the river Ganges, where the marks of duck's claws are seen and while he was happy thus, he was separated from his beloved out of curiosity by a yaksha capable of magic.

Verse 2

Not having seen his most beloved next to him in the bed, he became stunned as if struck by a thunder-bolt; the interior of his eyes became slightly reddish like the tender leaf-sprouts with tears flowing, and his head drooped to his side to rest on his shoulder. His breathing became slow, the colour of his face changed and he without knowing what to do kept still and silent for a while losing his consciousness.

Verse 3

At that moment, he came to his senses, like the person who surfaces after diving in the ocean and wiped with the edges of his finger-nails the drops of tears that (are collected and) appear to have been strung in between the hairs that are in a row in the eyelids. He, feeling miserable like the deer distressed by the hunter, overcome by Cupid and with eyes (swollen and with drops) like the lotus faded by the snow, directed his far reaching sight on all four sides.

Verse 4

(Then) having seen the crystal clear water of the river Ganges, the blossoms in the creepers on the banks that emit the pollen dust, the swans that cackle melodiously, the bushes of roses whose inner petals wither on being touched (by hand) and the swarm of bees whose throats sweetened on account of their feeding on the honey from the flowers, he became agitated and with no one (nearby), reminiscing over his past experiences, he muttered to himself the following:

Verse 5

"O Young One ! My first sight of you beneath the *kalpa* tree in Mount Mēru, where the ground was sprinkled with purified flower-honey and where the Kinnara damsels, in the evening were singing passionately, you came there with your companions, that (sight) appears to be engraved in my heart even now.

Verse 6

(The tassel end of your saree being held and pulled with her two hands and fingers by your companion), you looked with your *patra tilaka* on your cheeks erased, your protruding breasts half revealed by the sliding of your cloth, your waist bending slightly and you stood with one foot on which the heel of the other foot coloured red rested.

Verse 7

Our sights, induced by the heart, filled with spontaneous love that broke the barriers wantonly, mutually dashing against each other and passing hundreds of times in between, telling the inclinations of the feelings of the heart, due to subjection to bashfulness and eagerness turned in different modes, and were understood by the companions close by.

Verse 8

One of these (companions) looked with raised eye-brows and with full of intention smiled meaningfully. You, clever one, however, noted this and dragged away your look from my face as though with great effort and with your eye balls whose movement were obstructed by bashfulness and agitation and consequently reddened inside made them follow her as though beating her with roy lotuses.

Verse 9

While I was smiling on seeing this, you bowed down your head like the lotus in the pond, caught in the gentle breeze from the waves. O good-eyed One! Then, as if you are engrossed in something, you turned your face sideways and you directed your uninterrupted looks at me.

Verse 10

At that time a young lad, having a face with side-locks and crest-jewel tied on the top of his knotted-hair and wearing pearl ear-ornaments that seemed to suggest the

moon, embedded between two stars, and adorned on the top by Mars, came hurriedly and called you.

Verse 11

When calls were made many a time, you removed your lotus-like hands, that were resting on the shoulder of your mate, as if you are pulled forcibly by the arm and you dragged away your eyes that were like a garland of blue lotus petals, along with me and started from that place making your backside quite visible and walked in slow paces.

Verse 12

O! One with the gait of swan! While you were going, the following were gradually observed by me : Oh! One who is in the habit of braiding the tresses, you raised your curly hair and placed them over the ears. Your hands were neither straight nor bent; because of their loose dangling, the garland of *bākula* flowers hanged from behind and the buttocks were heavy.

Verse 13

O! One with the looks of a deer! On the way, you turned your face like the shuddering deer and drenched your own back with the tears containing the collyrium that has been washed away; you left me with your sight (that appeared) like the most affectionate mate (as though) sent by you for taking leave of me, again and again, and out of a broken heart, started moving from that place with flattering strides.

Verse 14

O! Young One! With her sight directed towards me and slender limbs, as soft as the tender fibre of the lotus, that are leaning on some mate, you reached the front-yard of your house like the leaping fish cutting across the current in the river, whose banks are touched by the waves while entering the ocean.

Verse 15

O! Dear One! Like the trembling reflection of the crescent-moon on the surface of the ocean, you entered the roomed-mansion after making an exchange of your heart glowing with growing passion, that was really dedicated to me, with my heart, identical with yours, that had followed you and which you took away.

Verse 16

O! Swan-gainted one! After you disappeared into one of the rooms, not being able to see you, I became highly perplexed like the man, who had lost a precious object and became forgetful about it, then, as if seeing it in a dream afterwards, I turned worried by frequently repenting over it and I could neither stay there, nor move away nor do anything else.

Verse 17

The place that is decorated with nine precious gems, the wind that touches gently, the honey that is left over in the petals inside golden lotuses after having been drunk by the bees, the melodious music of the *kinnara* damsels and the blossomed *kalpa* trees could not be enjoyed as they were before, by my five senses.

Verse 18

At this juncture, the red Sun moved down to set like the glittering molten hot gold in a hot oven and he like a love stricken person due to heat seemed to lie down on the couch of the twilight cloud made of the tender sprouts and shut his eyes like the closed lotuses in the lotus pond, after taking bath in the particles of water flushing out of the caves of the western mountains.

Verse 19

The sun had set along with the consciousness of all the beings on the earth; darkness, along with confusion, stepped into the four directions; afterwards, multitudes of stars began to twinkle along with the crooked eyes of the lustful; the moon also arose along with Cupid's fire (of passion).

Verse 20

The orb of the moon was reddish like the paste of red-lac in the beginning; then like the hue of the *bimba* fruit; afterwards, like the *palāśa* bud plucked just then; thereafter like the blossomed golden lotus; afterwards, similar to the cheeks of the Mālava lady, who is intoxicated by wine. Thus gradually, it became (pale in colour) comparable to the face of a person who is separated from his beloved.

Verse 21

When all the directions were smeared with the white solution of the moon-light juice (and) were washed by water from the rising waves of the pot like ocean that

trespasses the shore, when in a moment the entire world on all sides appeared like a white island, the darkness was not able to find a place anywhere except in any distressed mind.

Verse 22

Just then some misfortune took place for many a pair of peculiar birds, that are separated during the night by fate, that have slipped from the belief of everlasting inseparation (created) on account of their intimate contact with each other through their beaks, and which crying near the celestial Ganges reached the unbearable stage of the pangs of separation similar to that of ours.

Verse 23

A companion came towards me from your side who was like the fresh streak of lightning pouring the blissful nectar into the eyes, the pole of ever lasting support to the creeper of friendship and a life giving herb to the mind which has been pierced like a lattice by the piercing of the arrows of Cupid and which has been wrecked.

Verse 24

Looking at my face, as if quite familiar to me, she twitched her eye-brows that were like the row of large black bees which move around the centre of the lotus, and with a smiling face, as if acquainted, she remained there for a long time. After getting some confidence she spoke the following words that would infuse strength (to me).

Verse 25

"O Friend! I have reached your side after seeing my dear mate whose mind is immersed in the countenance of your face which is like the ocean of loveliness, who does not know what to do and who has become a slave of Cupid. If at all, she is alive, it is because of yourself, in whom lies the happiness or misery of (her) relatives".

Verse 26

"Friend! She, who is innocent, whose charming body is like the tender lotus-stalk, who is slender and who, ever since having seen you, is developing the feelings of hitherto unknown pangs of love, has fallen within the range (of the hold) of the merciless Cupid like the female parrot to the hawk, the female deer to the hunter and the crescent-moon to Rāhu.

Verse 27

"As if always contemplating on yourself, (spending) a moment in the terrace and a moment in the courtyard, afterwards a moment in the sporting-pool, a moment in the play-hill, a moment with the group of dear conversing-mates, a moment in bed, a moment inside (the house), a moment in the portico, she is possessed by desire".

Verse 28

"She stands; jumps, walks; comes back; talks; remains silent; sees the quarters; closes both the eyes; gets highly excited; gains courage; becomes inactive; becomes active. Alas! how into which state of cruelty she was not made to fall into, by Cupid?"

Verse 29

Having heard these words that were soaked in the divine poison and ambrosia, and having become one whose heart is filled with happiness and sadness simultaneously I described to the mate the misdeeds of stupid Cupid that went beyond the limit which however were also understood (by you) from my activities even before my telling.

Verse 30

After hearing me, and conveying the same to you, the mate returned the next day from there and spoke to me, whose mind is engrossed in continuous thoughts of yourself the following words that were smooth and pleasant and which removed my sufferings like the shower of rain from the multitude of clouds to the *chātaka* bird suffering from thirst.

Verse 31

She is hearing her paled body which is like the lustreless morning-moon; by her looks that appear innocent and aimless she exhibits her indolence; she breathes very hot air that makes her lower lip dry; thinking only about yourself she has reached the ultimate dangerous stage caused by Cupid.

Verse 32

How to see this one who is good-looking, how to speak to this one whose words are pleasant to the ears, how to embrace this one whose body is well-built, how to serve this one who does not know anyone (except myself), thinking thus about you, she, your love, remains confused every day.

Verse 33

"While the harem is asleep during the night, when thick darkness is pervading, wearing dark clothes and taking slow steps, come near the wall-side; there I will lead you with a strong rope." After conveying these words to me with a humble request, O! lotus faced one! she started from my side towards you, like the bee for the lotus-pond.

Verse 34

I will go like this; inside, I will stand like this in front of her; I will speak like this; I will see her with looks that are sportive." Thus, owing to hundreds of long, frequent and upsurging desires I spent with anxiety the remaining day time longing for the coming event.

Verse 35

Remaining with great effort till the moon sets during mid-night, moving silently by the tip of the toes, breathing mildly, afraid of lights, moving cross-wise, suspecting otherwise when even the grass waved, bodily shivering even after seeing my own shadow, I reached (there) slowly like a thief.

Verses 36-37

Afterwards, snatching a rope that hung from somewhere, while I was climbing half-way, I was caught along with your mate, whose mind was full of fear, O timid One!, by these unkind policemen, who, making clamour with various kinds of weapons, wooden musical instruments, words befitting their status and search lights in their hands, and whom I had not anticipated, forcibly caught me and handed me over to your father telling "this is the thief". I was put, like a male elephant (put) in the stable, by your father Kanakāṅgaḍa in some corner of his house.

Verse 38

Dear One! Some days passed for both of us with great difficulty, which, were long ones because of frustration, were mudded with tears, were replete with the murmuring sounds of breathing, were piercing ones, were transformed into ones of momentary joy and sorrow, were filled with hundreds of thoughts and then again were swept away by illusion.

Verse 39

Your father having learnt, by other means through the mates, everything about me viz., the noble birth qualifying for relationship, pure character and lineage, presented me different objects after being freed from bondage, considering me impeccable in character as suitable for marriage, and was expecting the time at which it will take place.

Verse 40

When the auspicious time arrived and also when the curtain was removed O good-faced one! I saw your face which had innocence as its embellishment, with the head decorated by the *dūrva* (panic) grass, with collyrium beautifying the eyes, with the forehead-mark, with lips having natural scarlet hue, with rows of teeth cleaned very well and with cheeks whitish with the dust of *lodbra* flower.

Verse 41

Having made the fire, kept in the midst of the altar, as the witness for the deeds, your hand, which is wet with the sweat dripping from the finger-tips, which is like the lotus-stalk due to the standing-out of hair-roots (because of horripulation) which is soft like the leaf-sprout, which is having a wollen-bracelet, was held by me.¹

Verse 42

When the marriage took place with tumultuous celebrity, when the pleasure of sitting on the (decorated) platform along with you was obtained,² the marriage-days passed with novel, pleasing and jocular riddles and various games of your mates.

Verse 43

O young one! Often being forcibly induced by your foster mother to go to the residential mansion, remaining as if enraged over the words pertaining to me told by your mates but bearing the over-anxiety that kindled inside, and remaining agitated and lowering the head due to shyness, you were led away by step-mothers.

1. The practice of tying a wollen bracelet around the hand of the bride during marriage is even now prevalent in the Andhra country.

2. *Talimadhurōhāṇa* is a function which takes place in the evenings after the marriage when the bride and bridegroom will sit together in a well decorated place with girls singing round.

Verse 44

Friend! When some lady attempted to stop you and make you stay while you started after the step-mothers, who have made you sit in one-half of the cot, you could not prevent her from doing so being overwhelmed by bashfulness due to my presence and you bowed your head and remained silent down.

Verse 45

Thinking that if I speak to you, you will become alarmed, and if I do not speak, you will think that I am disregarding you, not knowing what to do, I, with a confused heart, thought for some time and started conversing with your mates remaining unconscious of sleep. I began to narrate all and sundry words, which are funny and interesting with your mates.

Verse 46

Noting that I am engaged in something else, overcome with shyness, you covered your front and back parts that were made to contract with your cloth (and) closing your two eyes as if asleep, (and) listening to such of those stories (that I told), you remained silent and embraced the edge of the bed after turning your creeper-like arm.

Verse 47

Shy one! Thus these nights were enjoyed by me earlier like this; the ones, that were friendly because of the self-assurance (created) owing to your presence; in which all things were enjoyable due to their flavour of shyness; that were perturbed because of fear; that consisted of exercises that were always new; that had wishful and pleasant thoughts which had no sequence but were contributing to the happiness of the mind due to the union of the chests in embrace.

Verse 48

Timid one! In course of days your intimacy was attained by me by the excitement of the mates during misunderstandings in games, by horse play, by the game of false touch, by pulling down loose locks of hair, by stringing flowers and by skillful drawings out of competition.

Verse 49

At this juncture, when your mate went out of the house delusively, O good-eyed one! overcome with more fear than ever before in any presence, you started quickly

to move out; having been caught by me by the hand, you remained there directing the sight of your two eyes that were moving like the fresh lotuses blown by the wind.

Verse 50

I brought you to your sense by my gentle touch and when I pulled your corset, you became afraid of (your breasts) being wounded with my nails. O attractive one! expressing, as if through word of mouth your feelings rooted in the heart through the horripulations of your gentle parts, closed both your eyes that were filled with shyness, under the pretext of wiping your tears.

Verse 51

I recollect my embracing you which had the hindrance of your hands folded (in front of me) like the *svastika* fashion (and so) was not tight, and which was beautiful due to non obstruction on your part (while embracing) because of your timidity. Due to the close juxtaposition (of the two faces) the ornamental drawings made of *kastūri* on your cheeks disappeared while you turned your face sideways.

Verse 52

When the hand was placed on the knot of the waist-cloth, enjoying the delight, your two eyes, because of their slight closure, imitated the thinness of the autumn-river; your hand, while trying to arrest that (act of mine), has become languid because of the excessive pleasure, (and) became comparable to the tender leaf touched by the golden rays of the sun.

Verse 53

After the sport was over, owing to fear, with your slender parts that had become immobile, as if undergoing suffering, you covered your face with the upper garment which covers the breasts and when I gently waved with the end of the upper-garment, you closed your eyes as though due to shyness and slowly fell asleep.

Verse 54

The eye-lids that stopped fluttering as though as a sequel to the closing of the eyes, the unguent (made of a yellow fragrant wood) on the neck having been erased by the perspiration caused by exertion, the beauty of the parts of the body that came to be exposed when the dress gave way, the body that has become exhausted, the conduct of you towards such a dear one like me were being (now) recollected by me.

Verse 55

The unguents smeared (all over the body) had slipped (due to perspiration) in the shallow parts; (your) neck, resembling the conch shell, was impressed with my bracelet during (my) embrace; your body, due to rolling in the coach, was impressed with the marks of the waves of cloth; your disposition at the end of sleep had half-ridden apathy and some splendour.

Verse 56

"The face is bloomy as well as dejected; the locks of hair are loosened; the forehead has its mark erased by sweat; the smile is only for the namesake; in the eyes are seen a shadow indicating delight". Thus having been told of your being enjoyed (by your love), by your mates, you became very shy of your acts in secret.

Verse 57

O young one! Do you remember what all the acts you did in irregular order. After having drunk the nectar of the *kalpa-tree*, during our amorous sports prattled by you in my very presence after leaving your shyness when words came delayed and were innocently sweet, the movements of your steps and your weakened parts are slackened due to intoxication.

Verse 58

The smoothness in every part was revealed like the pollen dust of the fresh *champak* flowers; the brightness of the two eyes was like the novel moon-light enjoyed by the lilies; in the lotus-like face the splendour of smile, was as if plucked from the intoxication of wine; artfulness from your heart, O one with the face of a moon! was reflected as though from a crystal.

Verse 59

These things are for my satisfaction; attractive mansion; ring covered with gems; bed (smoothened) without (any pricking material like) hair, status of mine; superior sandal (paste); nice clothes; garlands that are fragrant; vessel filled with betel nut and leaves.

Verse 60

I like these things : Secret underground-chamber; spouts of (incense) smoke emanating from the holes of a covered-vessel; stone lamps filled with incense oil, thick

cotton clothes, oven with fire burning on yellow fragrant wood, *tāmbūla* mixed with *kastūri*, and O! beloved one! you, with the warm breasts of fresh youth.

Verse 61

Oh beautiful faced one! I will spend my time in the rainy season like the following. Mansion with baths in which water spout through elephant-faced taps(?), charming seclusion, song sung in *Malābari* rāga, nice and beautiful dress, you with pot-like breasts which are well developed in your youthful form and to be enjoyed by me at my will.

Verse 62

While I was thus often enjoying similar pleasures alas! Oh my dear, how this separation came to me all of a sudden? While (he was) uttering these words the yaksha showed his real form like the flash of lightning and removing the veil of magic united the (Siddha) couple and after whole heartedly blessing them, granted them all their desires.

This(work) is by Narasimha-ṛishi (the poet Narasimha), the son of Viśvēśvara.

INDEX

By S. Subramonia Iyer, M.A., Ph.D.

The figures refer to pages, 'n' after a figure to foot-notes, and *add* to additions and corrections. The following other abbreviations are also used : *au.* = author; *ca.* = capital; *cb.* = chief; *chron.* = chronicle; *ci.* = city; *co.* = country; *com.* = composer; *de.* = deity; *di.* = division; *do.* = ditto; *dt.* = district; *dy.* = dynasty; *E.* = Eastern; *engr.* = engraver; *ep.* = epithet; *f.* = family; *fe.* = female; *feu.* = feudatory; *gen.* = general; *gov.* = governor; *gr.* = grant, grants; *hist.* = historical; *ins.* = inscription, inscriptions; *k.* = king; *loc.* = locality; *l.m.* = linear measure, land measure; *m.* = male; *min.* = minister; *mo.* = mountain; *myth.* = mythological; *n.* = name; *N.* = Northern; *off.* = office, officer; *peo.* = people; *pl.* = plate; *pls.* = plates; *pr.* = prince, princess; *prov.* = province; *q.* = queen; *reg.* = region; *rel.* = religion, religious; *ri.* = river; *S.* = Southern; *s.a.* = same as; *sur.* = surname; *te.* = temple; *Tel.* = Telugu; *t.d.* = territorial division; *tit.* = title; *tk.* = taluk; *tn.* = town; *vi.* = village; *W.* = Western; *wk.* = work; *wt.* = weight.

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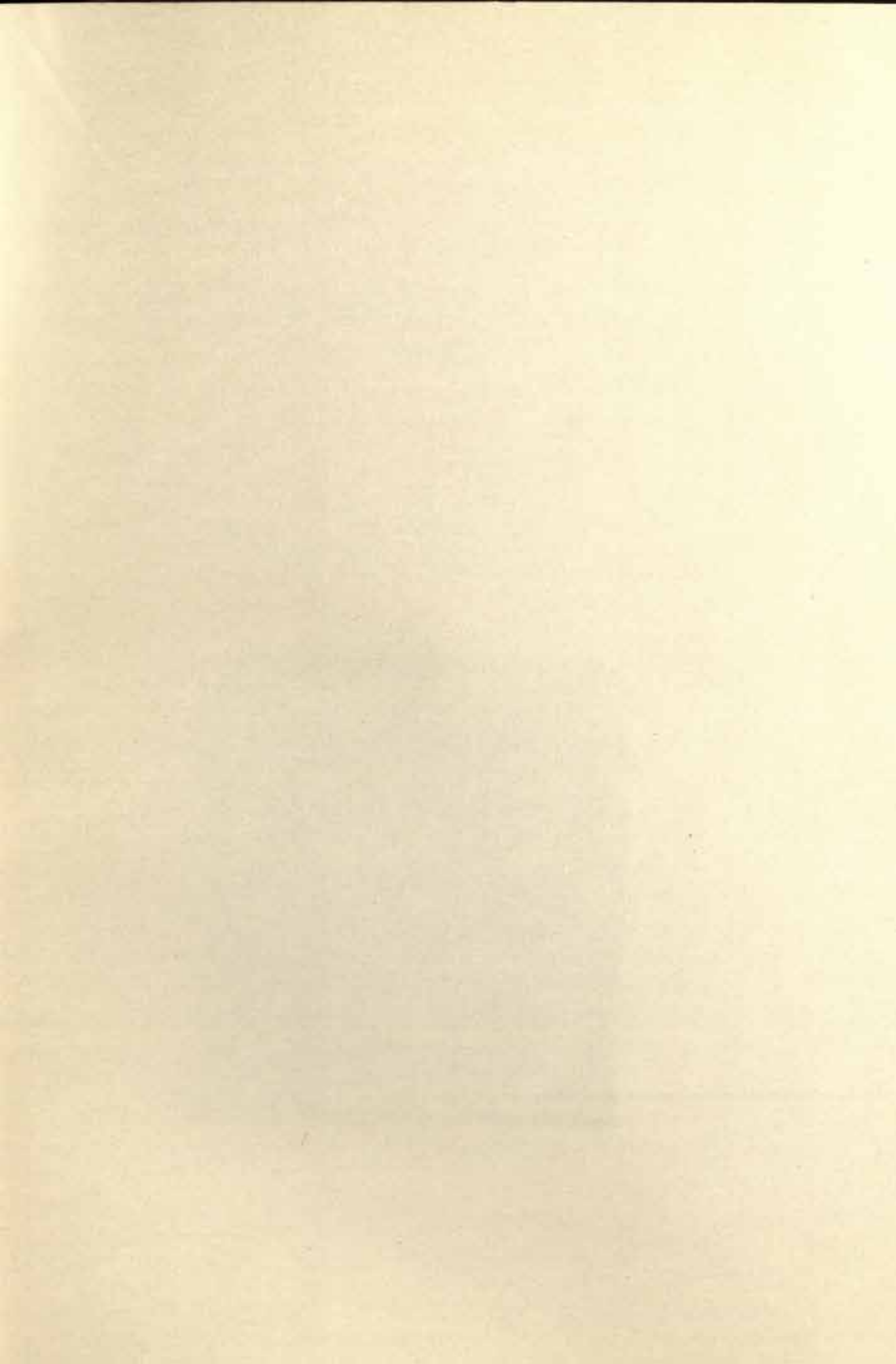
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