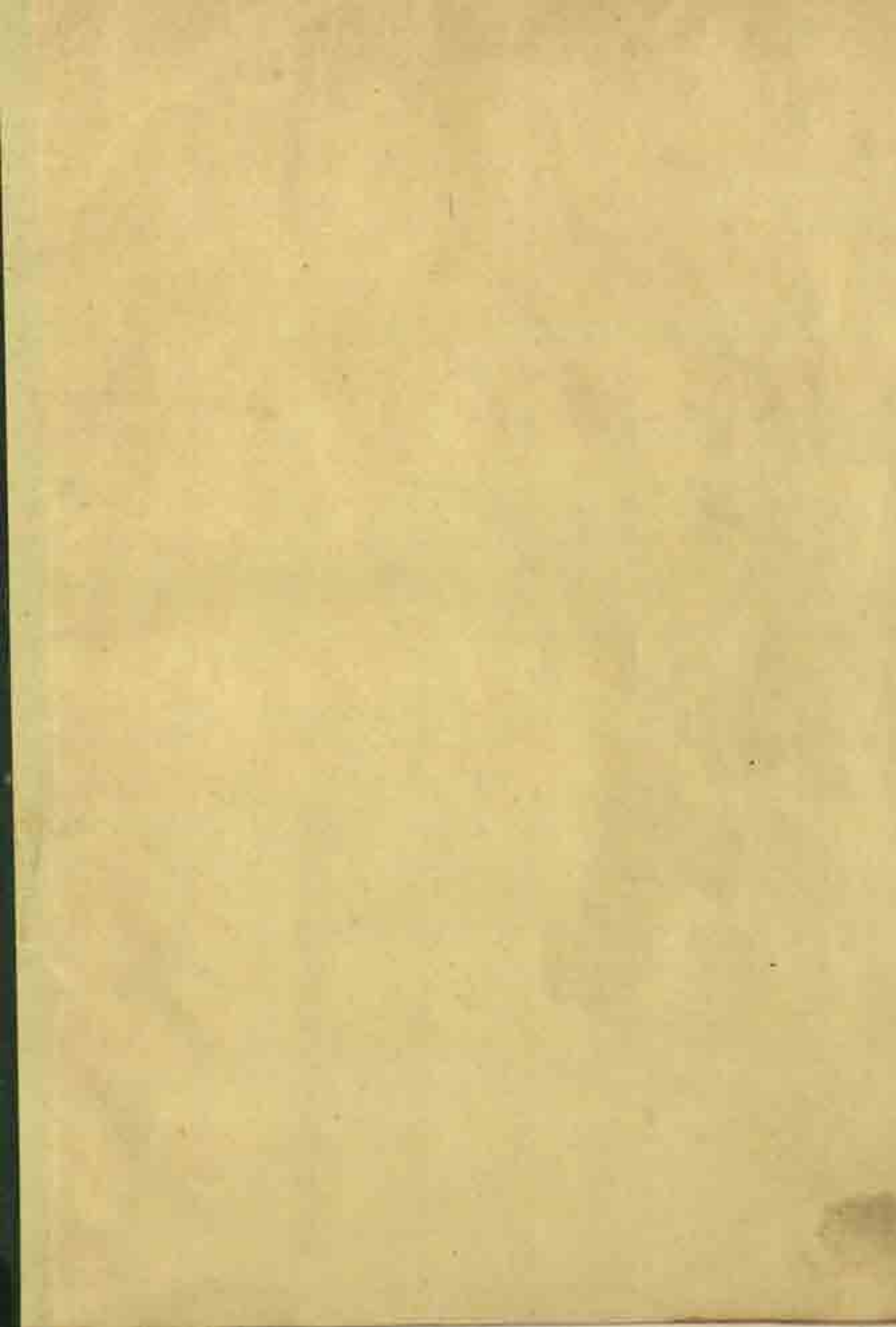


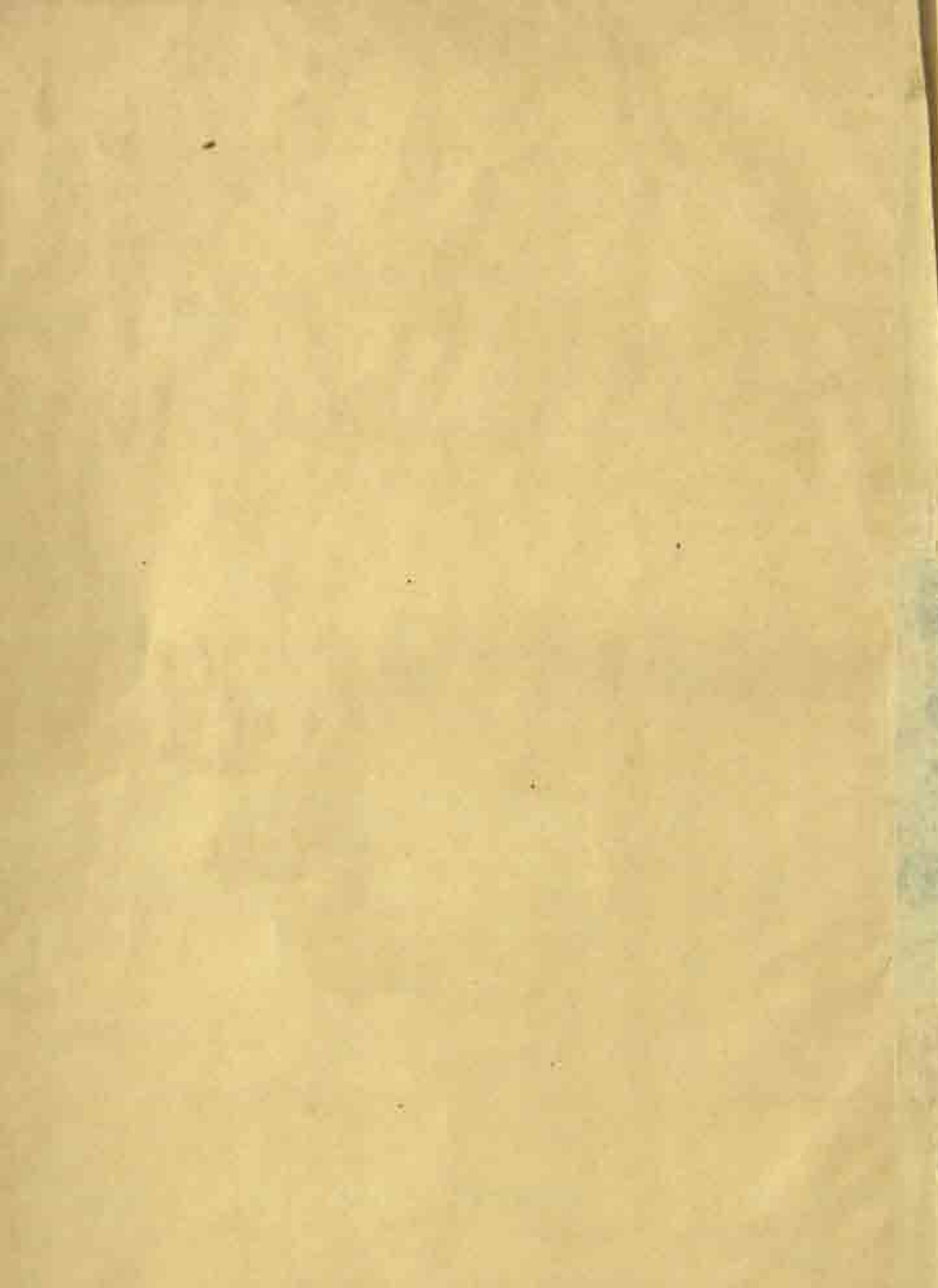
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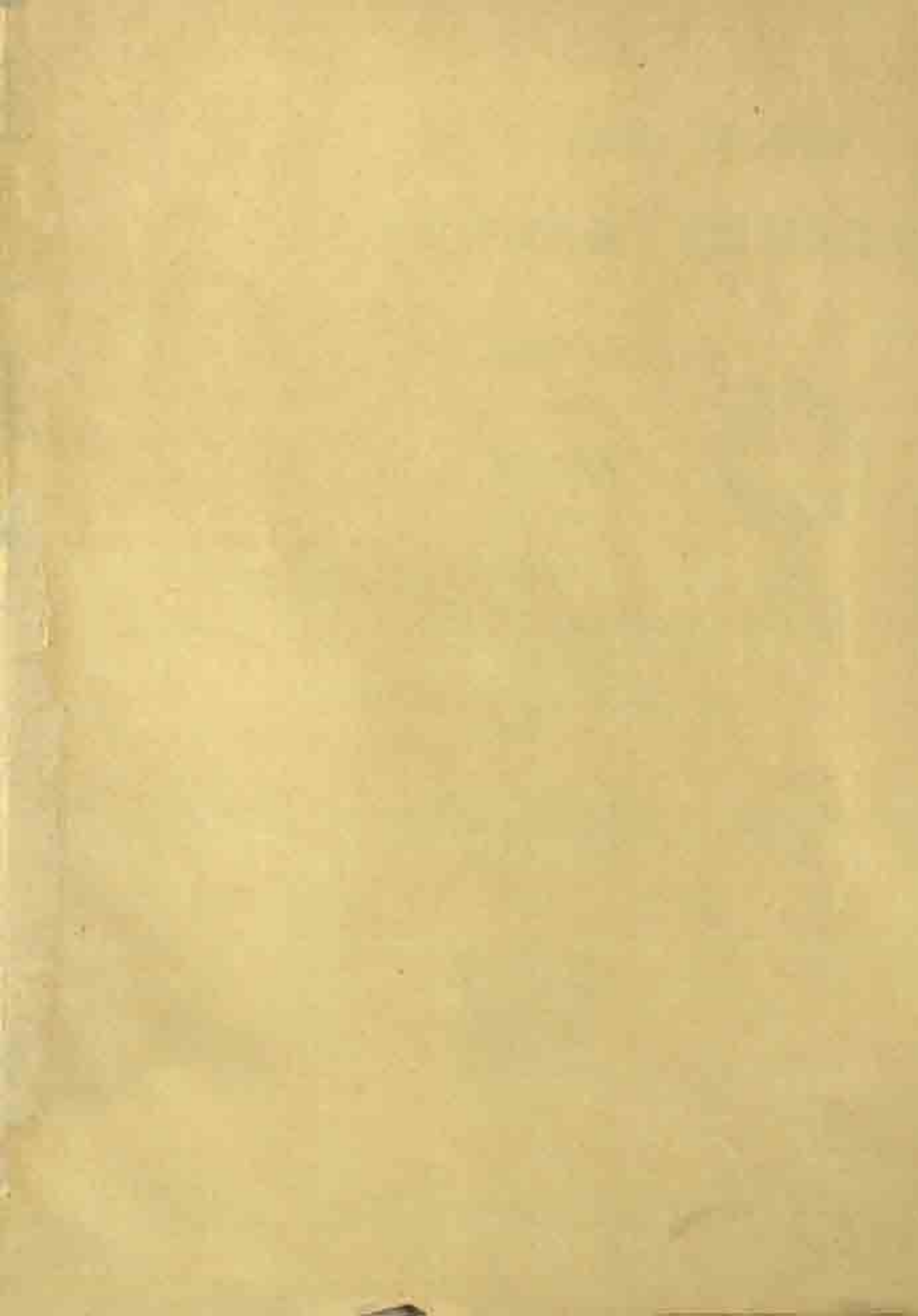
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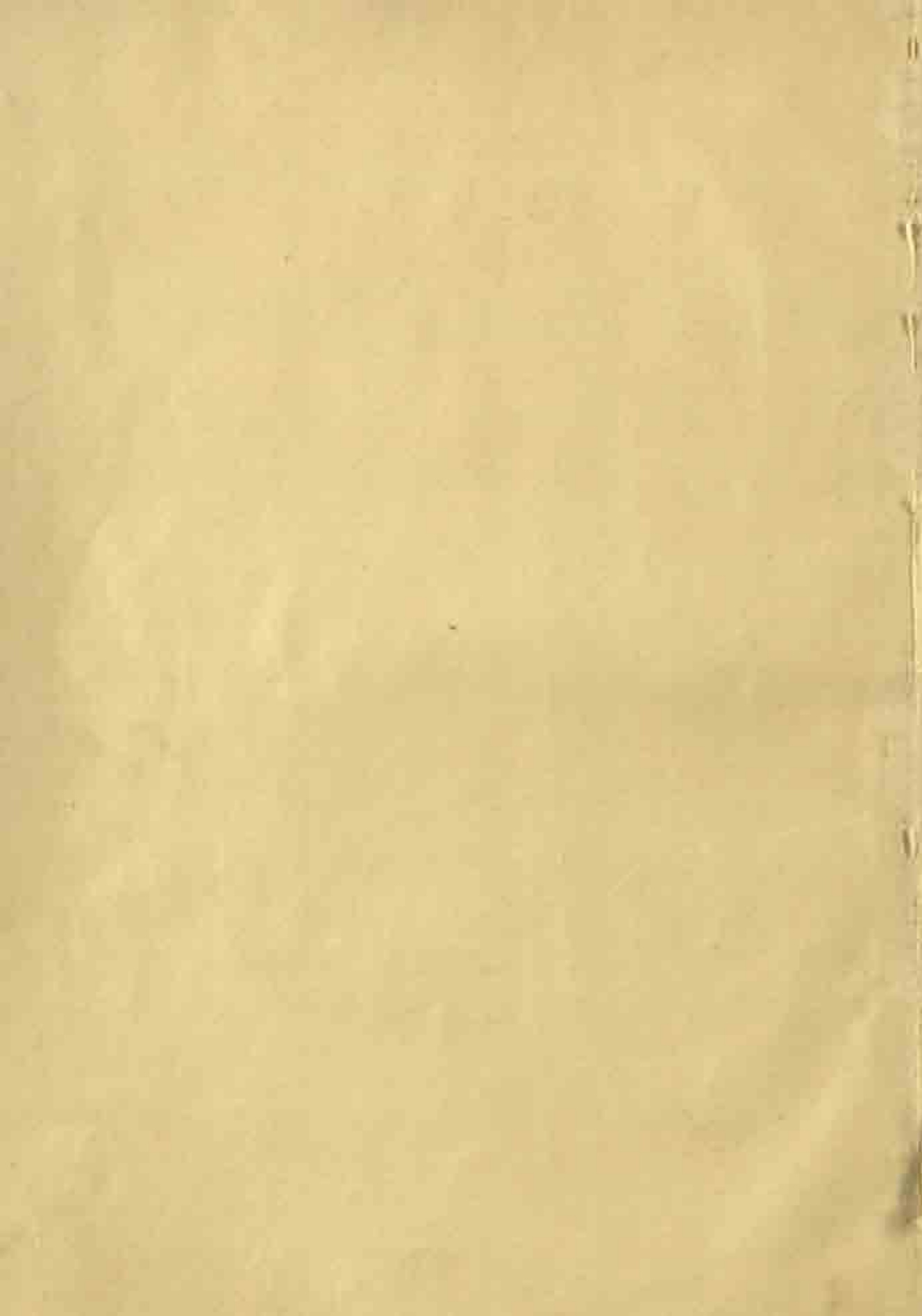
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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

# CHITRAVATI

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- Page 8, line 13.—*Read* i. e. Mādhavarman I, son of Govindavarman and grandson of Vikramādityavarman I.
- “ 8, f.n. 3.—*For his son's read his grandson's*
- “ 26, line 2.—*For sakal read sūkāl*
- “ 31, f.n. 1. (line 2).—*For Niśāṅkamalla's read Niśāṅkamalla's*
- “ 44, f.n. 1.—*For hough read though*
- “ 44, f.n. 7.—*For inn read line*
- “ 46, text line 6.—*For Ārunava read Ārṇava*
- “ 49, line 27.—*For Gullā read Gūllā*
- “ 50, line 8.—*For Fithly read Fifthly*
- “ 50, line 34.—*For that of read those of*
- “ 51, line 1 and text line 6.—*For Gullā read Gūllā*
- “ 51, text line 2.—*For satyavatā(tū) read satyavatām*
- “ 53, line 36.—*For third read thirteenth*
- “ 70, line 33.—*For his may read This may*
- “ 72, f.n. 5.—*For vij-ānuvittiyā read vij-ānuvittiyā*
- “ 76, f.n. 3.—*For Nol. read Vol.*
- “ 83, line 8.—*For Kumāradēvi read Kumāradēvi*
- “ 84, line 31.—*For Sattha-sōma read Sattha-sōma*
- “ 90, text line 5.—*For dēvibhīr= read dēvibhir=*
- “ 96, text line 7.—*For jīvitam= read jīvitam=*
- “ 96, text line 13.—*For -yaś(ś5)- read -yaś(ś6)-*
- “ 106, text line 114.—*For kaiśhad= read kaiśhad(śhid)=*
- “ 106, text line 117.—*For kavimnuta read kavi-nuta*

- Page 108, text line 164.—For *munisvaraya* read *munisvarāya*
- .. 112, f.n. 1 (line 3).—For *lakshanaḥ* read *lakṣhaṇaḥ*
- .. 113, f.n. 2 (line 3).—For *Vaikunṭhaperumāḥ* read *Vaikunṭhaperumā*
- .. 112, f.n. 8 (line 1).—For *inscription* read *inscription*
- .. 110, line 6.—For *-Amiṣṭa-* read *-Amirḍa-*
- .. 115, f.n. 1.—For *nterpretation* read *interpretation*
- .. 116, line 9.—After the date of add some of the poems in
- .. 117, 'A' text: line 1.—Read *-tritaya-vasu-ḥatir-ṣvatsarair-ṣvōda-*
- .. 118, line 36.—For 1099 read 1019
- .. 119, line 33.—For *Vijayāditya* read *Vijayāditya*
- .. 123, f.n. 1 (line 4) and f.n. 2.—For p. 173 read p. 122
- .. 126, text line 5.—For *विपति* read *विपति*
- .. 129, text line 23.—Read *सुवामिनीभ्यः ॥ पूर्वा*
- .. 129, text line 26.—For *पूर्वा (र्वा) कुल* read *पूर्वा (र्वा) कुल*
- .. 132, f.n. 4 (line 1).—For north of the Upper Anicut read west of the Upper Anicut
- .. 133, line 15.—For *Kaupōdaki* read *Kaupōdāki*
- .. 133, note 2, line 4.—For *ṣaiyyō-grihē* read *śaiyyā-grihē*
- .. 134, line 15.—For verse 138 read verse 158.
- .. 134, f.n. 3 (line 3).—For *A Jayavarman* read *A record of Jayavarman*
- .. 134, f.n. 3 (line 4).—For vv. 5 and 6 read v. 5
- .. 135, line 32.—For 710-43 A.D. read 700-30 A.D.
- .. 135, line 32.—For 730-65 A.D. read 730-68 A.D.
- .. 136, line 1.—For 740-65 A.D. read 730-68 A.D.
- .. 136, line 18.—For *Kōchchhadaiyan* read *Kōchchhadaiyan*
- .. 130, f.n. 1 (line 7).—For *ambient* read *ancient*
- .. 137, f.n. 6.—For *Mātra, Āryā* read *Mātra : Gītī*
- .. 137, f.n. 15 (line 1).—For *donote* read *denote*
- .. 137, f.n. 15 (line 1).—For *macc* read *mace*



- Page 137, f.n. 15 (line 2).—For *discu* read *discus*
- .. 138, 'C' text line 2.—For =*auvaya*(ô)=*sthitah* read =*auvaya*(yê) *sthitah*
- .. 138, note 3.—For *Anushûbh* read *Anushûbh*
- .. 142, line 6.—For =*nañu* read =*nāñu*
- .. 145, line 5.—For *noteworthy* read *noteworthy*
- .. 147, f.n. 3.—For p. 196 read p. 146
- .. 148, f.n. 3 (line 3).—For *Topdamān*<sup>o</sup> read *Topdamān*<sup>o</sup>
- .. 149, last line.—For *moveable* read *movable*
- .. 150, line 10.—Read *anyān=adho*(r\*)*mama*-*krityān=evā* *ā**ī**ā*
- .. 150, line 41.—For *tuce* read *those*
- .. 152, text line 6.—For *svānu*(mī) read *svānu*(mī)
- .. 152, text line 11.—For 'chirantar' read 'chirantan'
- .. 152, text line 12.—Read *dharma-kṛity-artihāt*
- .. 153, text line 13.—Read *pratyatsha*(kōka) *Bṛilau*<sup>o</sup> + + + *atsh*(ksh)*svānu*.
- .. 153, text line 22.—For *pañgira=ñju* read *pañg=irañju*
- .. 157, f.n. 2.—Delete the footnote.
- .. 158, text line 135.—Read 'shyān *grihāntu* *pā*(r\*)*thivā*[h\*] || *ivai* *Nayadra*
- .. 161, column 3, line 9.—For *Sāv*[r]ñi read *Sāva*[r]ñi
- .. 161, column 6, line 15.—For *Kā*[haka] read *Kātaka*
- .. 161, column 6, line 16.—For 'Mañisārmay' read 'Mādisārmay
- .. 161, column 6, line 25.—For *Bhṭtan* read *Bhātan*
- .. 162, column 5, line 5.—For *Urdu*<sup>o</sup> read *Urdu*<sup>o</sup>
- .. 162, column 6, line 6.—For 'sarman' read 'sarman
- .. 162, column 6, line 11.—Read *Kōyillāñ Nilakanṭha*
- .. 164, line 28.—For *āvāśchātra* read *āvāśchātra*
- .. 170, line 14.—For *resplendant* read *resplendent*
- .. 171, f.n. 6 (line 1).—For =*āñti=evajana* read =*āñti* *evajana*

- Page 171, f.n. 6 (line 2).—For *gīrā prakāśatā* read *gīrā prakāśatā*—ā<sup>c</sup>
- „ 172, line 37.—For Vol. III, pp. 103 ff. read Vol. II, pp. 93 ff.
- „ 173, f.n. 5 (line 2).—For *checked* read *checked*
- „ 174, Genealogical Table II (line 4).—For *Doḍḍamā* read *Doḍḍamā*
- „ 177, line 14.—For *munificient* read *munificent*
- „ 181, line 2.—For *-tāḥṭa* read *-tāḥṭa*
- „ 187, text line 120.—For *sāubhāgya* read *saubhāgya*
- „ 189, text line 178.—Read *paryaṅgaṅga*(*tanu*)-*tanu*
- „ 192, f.n. 2 (line 6).—For *Vasavim* read *Vāsavim*
- „ 193, line 1.—For *Conjeevatmam* read *Conjeevaram*
- „ 195, text line 2.—For *Kauṣṭki* read *Kauṣṭki*
- „ 203, line 31.—For *thi* read *that*
- „ 213, text line 8.—For *संगिनः* read *संगिनः*
- „ 214, f.n. 3.—For *सरिञ्जापाल* read *सरिञ्जापान्*
- „ 215, text line 23.—For *यदगनाः* read *यदगनाः*
- „ 216, Verse 12.—For *throns* (i.e. full of throns) read *thorns* (i.e. full of thorns)
- „ 219, line 13.—For *\*pūrvaḥkām* and *\*chandr-ārkkām* read *\*pūrvaḥkām* and *\*chandr-ārkkām*
- „ 221, f.n. 5, line 2.—For *Senth* read *South*
- „ 221, f.n. 8.—For *Form* read *From*
- „ 222, text line 26.—For *Sava(sva)* read *Sva-*
- „ 223, line 5.—For *Pohnerkar* read *Phonerkar*
- „ 226, f.n. 1.—For *Sangli* and *Cambay* read *Cambay* and *Sangli*
- „ 239, line 16.—For *discovered* read *discovered*
- „ 239, last line.—For *brokon* read *broken*

- Page 244, line 23.—For \**pañchāśhad-* read \**pañchāśad-*
- .. 250, line 36.—For *glory* read *glory*
- .. 251, line 10.—For *Śivāji* read *Śivāji'*
- .. 251, last line.—For *Mēshī-pāniya* read *Mēshī-pāniya*
- .. 252, line 1.—For *Nāramodāpura* read *Narmadāpura*
- .. 259, f.n. 3 (line 1).—For *सत्वारिशद्* read *बत्वारिशद्*
- .. 260, under names of donors (No. 2).—For *Vāvana* read *Bābana*
- .. 266, f.n. 3.—For *Jadhav a* read *Jadhav of*
- .. 268, text line 22.—For *मुक्त* read *मुक्त*
- .. 274, f.n. 1.—For *fortnight of* read *fortnight (dark) of*
- .. 283, f.n. 5 (line 2).—For *-vēin* read *-vēhin*
- .. 286, f.n. 3 (line 2).—For 730 read 729.
- .. 287, f.n. 4 (line 3).—For 724 read 732.
- .. 288, line 2.—For *cause* read *cause*.
- .. 293, text line 39.—For °*मानकान्नाष्टपति* read °*मानकान्नाष्टपति-*
- .. 299, text line 14.—Read °*pastambha(mba)-*
- .. 300, f.n. 5.—For *dattamē vā* read *dattamē vā*
- .. 301, lines 11 and 21.—For *Parandhōru* read *Paṇandhōru*
- .. 302, text line 11.—For *arī-* read *arī-*
- .. 302, text line 13.—Read [Ā]*pastambha(mba)-*
- .. 302, text line 20.—Read *dattama(tīṣ)=sy-ṣpari-*
- .. 302, text line 20.—For *a pa-* read *sa pa-*
- .. 306, text line 1.—Read *Chandrah pākha-*
- .. 309, line 3.—For with the *līṣa-ghatta*, *naditarsthāna* and *gulmakā*, read with the *oṣṣāna*,  
at the *līṣa-ghatta* and *naditara-sthāna*.



Page 309, line 4.—For *bhūmichchīda* read *bhūmichchīda*.

„ 310, text line 7.—Read °*dhal(dha)-pṛitih*

„ 310, text line 11.—Delete (*śru*) after *aśram*

„ 312, text line 37.—For *Mihadhichāya* read *Mihadhichāya*

„ 312, text line 38.—Read =*śh[ō]-amud*.

„ 312, text line 39.—Delete (*ya*) after *patipālanya*

„ 313, line 1.—For *Amiadi* read *Amiadi*.

# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

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## No. 1—THREE COPPER-PLATE CHARTERS

( 4 Plates )

D. C. SINGAR, OOTACAMUND

( Received on 12.6.1961 )

### 1. Dhārikātūra Grant of Acharjavarman, Year 35<sup>1</sup>

In June 1954, a set of copper plates was received for examination in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India from Shri M. Somanakthara Sarma of the Telugu Encyclopaedia Office, University Buildings, Madras. The inscription was noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1954-55, as No. A 11.

This is a set of four plates held together by a circular ring passing through a hole about the centre of the left one-third part of the plates, 7 inch inside from their left margin. The plates are rectangular in shape and measure each 7.5 inches in length, 2.1 inches in height and .1 inch in thickness. The diameter and thickness of the ring, which was intact when the plates were received in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, are respectively 3 inches and .125 inch. The ends of the ring are soldered to the bottom of an oval seal. The counter-sunk surface of the seal bears traces of the obliterated figure of what looks like a conch shell. The inscription is engraved on the inner side of the first plate and both the sides of the other three plates. Excepting the inner side of plate I, the six inscribed faces of plates II-IV bear the figures 2 to 7 consecutively in their left margin. The weight of the four plates together is 45 tolas while the set together with the ring and seal weighs 59 tolas.

The characters of the inscription belong to the Late stage of Southern Brāhmi resembling those of the Kannakollu plates<sup>2</sup> of the Śālaakāyana king Nandivarman I who was the son of Hastivarman I, a contemporary of Samudragupta (c. 340-76 A. D.) and ruled in the second half of the fourth century A. D. They may also be compared with the alphabet of the Eluru plates<sup>3</sup> of another Śālaakāyana king named Devavarman and of the other records of the Śālaakāyana family. In language and orthography, the present record resembles the said Kannakollu and Eluru charters. But the characters are more cursively and carelessly engraved in the inscription under study than in the other epigraphs while its style is also slightly different from the known records of the family to which its issuer belonged. The preservation of the writing is not satisfactory at some places. The letters on the reverse of the last plate are badly damaged.

The cursive nature of the characters of our inscription is indicated by the fact that very often the same letter exhibits variations of form and several letters are written by the same or

<sup>1</sup> *Matras* over *+* and *+* has not been used in this section.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 1 ff. and Plates.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 56 ff. and Plates.

a similar sign. For the first of these two characteristics, cf. *a* in *Achaṇḍa* in line 4 and *amhalā* in line 12; *k* in *bhaṣṭāraka* and *bhaktā* in line 3; *kula* in line 7, *Kassapa* in line 9; *ch* in *chayaya* in line 14, *cha* in lines 15 and 16, *pacha* in line 17; *t* in *bhagavato* in line 1, *peti* in line 6, *śrāva* in line 11, *kātāya* in line 12; *ḍ* in *Donṅampi* in line 9, *sampadattam* in line 12, *ḍicasa* in line 18; *ṣ* in *ṣpavā-dḍhan-attham* in line 7, *chandra* in line 11, *sātūpa* in line 13; *bh* in *bhagavato* in line 1, *vibhaṣ-ā* in line 7, *bhātukāya* in line 9, *Bhavaskanda* in line 10; *m* in *maḥārāja* in line 4, *amha* in line 6; final *m* in *ṣpīya-attham* in line 8, *bhātukāya* in line 9, *sampadattam* in line 12; etc. As an illustration of the second characteristic, it may be pointed out that the letters *t* and *ṣ* have been written both in their looped and unlooped forms and the looped or unlooped form of one of them resembles the corresponding form of the other. The same letter can also be confused with the looped form of *bh* in *Bhavaskanda* in line 10. The inscription employs the initial vowels *a* (lines 4, 6, 11, 12, 16), *ā* (line 11) and *e* (line 16) and the numerical symbols 2 to 7 and 30 (of the left margin of the inscribed faces of plates II-IV and lines 17-18). The symbols for 3, 5 and 6 occur each twice; of them, 3 (cf. left margin of plate IIb and line 18) and 6 (cf. left margin of plate IVa and line 18) have been engraved in two different forms.

The language of the inscription is Prakrit considerably influenced by Sanskrit with the Sanskrit stanza *Bahubhīr-casudhā dottā*, etc., quoted at the end of the charter. The same linguistic peculiarity is also noticed in the two other Prakrit charters of the Śālaṅkāyana family, viz. the Kanukollu plates of Nandivarman I and the Eluru plates of Devavarman, both referred to above. Reduplicated consonants have been generally used while *śri* and *carma* in line 4 have been used respectively instead of Prakrit *siri* and *carma* (cf. also *samagrū* in line 5). As in the Kanukollu and Eluru charters, *cha* has been represented by *ya* in a few cases only in lines 7 and 16 (cf. also *e* for *ye* in line 16). Interesting are also the words *vāda* for *pāda* (line 3; cf. *pāda* in line 2), *uvāya* for *upāyana* (line 13) and *sa* for *ya* (line 15).

The charter was issued by Yucamahārāja (i.e. the crown-prince) Achaṇḍavarman of the Śālaṅkāyana *gōtes* in the 35th year on the 3rd day of the sixth fortnight of the rainy season probably corresponding to Jyeshtha sudi 3. Since the donor of the charter was a crown-prince, the year of the date seems to refer to the reign of a Śālaṅkāyana king of Vengi, whose name is, however, not mentioned in the record. We know that the early charters of the Śālaṅkāyana kings flourishing about the latter half of the fourth century A. D. (i.e. the grants of Nandivarman I and Devavarman mentioned above) were written in Prakrit while the later records of the family issued by kings who flourished in the fifth century (i.e. the grants of Nandivarman II and Skandavarman to be mentioned below) were written in Sanskrit. Thus the present charter may be roughly assigned to the latter half of the fourth century to which the Kanukollu and Eluru charters also belong, all the three records being couched in the same language which is really an admixture of Prakrit and Sanskrit. No ruler of the Śālaṅkāyana dynasty is, however, known to have enjoyed such a long reign of about 35 years or more; but the king during whose rule our charter was issued is not difficult to identify.

The Kanukollu plates of Nandivarman I were issued in his 14th regnal year, while the Eluru plates are dated in the 15th year of the reign of Devavarman. Since both these charters as well as the one under study appear to be referable roughly to the second half of the fourth century A. D., it is tempting to suggest that the reign of about 35 years or more, referred to in our inscription, began earlier than the middle of that century and that this long reign was enjoyed by the Śālaṅkāyana king Hastivarman I who came into conflict with the Gupta emperor Samudragupta about that time. But, as will be shown below, there is reason to believe that Achaṇḍavarman of our inscription was the son of Nandivarman I who was the son and successor of Hastivarman I, contemporary of Samudragupta. The importance of the present inscription lies in the fact that it



has helped in correcting a longstanding error in the genealogy of the Śālaṅkāyana. This mistake is comparable to the wrong conception regarding the existence of a Śālaṅkāyana king named Buddhavarman, to which attention of scholars was drawn by me in 1933.<sup>1</sup>

There is a Śālaṅkāyana king mentioned in the Kollair<sup>2</sup> and Pedda-Vegi<sup>3</sup> copper-plate grants of Nandivarman II, grandson of Nandivarman I. He is represented in the above records as the son of Nandivarman I and the father of Nandivarman II and his name has been taken to be Chapḍavarman by all writers on Śālaṅkāyana genealogy including the author of these lines. But, as Mr. G. Bhattacharya, one of the Epigraphical Assistants of my office, has recently pointed out to me, the correct name of this Śālaṅkāyana ruler is not Chapḍavarman but Achaḍavarman. In lines 2-3 of the Kollair plates, Fleet read *Mahārājā(ja)-Chapḍavarmanā* apparently because Chapḍavarman appeared to him a more suitable personal name than Achaḍavarman since Chaḍḍa is a well-known name of the god Śiva while the word *achaḍḍa* has no such suitable meaning in the name according to Sanskrit lexicons. After the discovery of the present inscription of Śālaṅkāyana Achaḍavarman, however, it can be said with confidence that the reading *Mahārāj-achaḍavarmanā*<sup>4</sup> of the original does not require any emendation. It is interesting in this connection to note that the same name of a king of Kālīṅga, who was wrongly identified with the said Śālaṅkāyana ruler, was read by Hultzsch in line 2 of the Komarti plates<sup>5</sup> as *Mahārāj(ja)-Chapḍavarmanā*, no doubt following Fleet's footsteps, even though the original correctly has *Mahārāj-achaḍavarmanā*.<sup>6</sup> While editing the Pedda-Vegi plates, R. Subba Rao wrongly read the passage containing the same name in lines 4-5 as *śāmantarāja chaḍavarmanā-mahārājasya*. But, as was shown by me, the reading is *śāmantarāja* and not *śāmantarāja*, although I also followed the footsteps of Fleet and Hultzsch in correcting *spā* to *sva*. Thus here, as in the Kollair plates, the name of the king is given clearly as Achaḍavarman. The above discussion will show that the name of the Śālaṅkāyana king, who was the son of Nandivarman I and the father of Nandivarman II and is known only from the Kollair and Pedda-Vegi plates, as well as of the Kālīṅga king of the Komarti plates is **not Chapḍavarman but Achaḍavarman**. In this name, the word *achaḍḍa* probably means the same thing as *śūta*, 'an ascetic', or a deity worshipped in the regions in question may have borne the name Achaḍḍa.

Achaḍavarman of the Kollair and Pedda-Vegi plates seems to be no other than the homonymous donor of the charter under study. It appears that the Śālaṅkāyana king Nandivarman I ruled for about 35 years or more and that, during the concluding part of his long reign when he was old and infirm, the reins of administration were in the hands of his son (probably, eldest son) *Yuvamahārāja* Achaḍavarman, who was the *de facto* king, and that the present charter was issued at that time. The title *Mahārāja* applied to Achaḍavarman in the records of his son Nandivarman II would suggest that the former ruled also for sometime as the *de jure* king after his father's death.

Another point that requires consideration in this connection is the position of Devavarman of the Eluru plates in the genealogy of the Śālaṅkāyana. Many writers regard him as a successor of Hastivarman I, contemporary of Samudragupta, while we suggested that he 'may have been the immediate predecessor (father ?) of Hastivarman' and ruled in c. 320-45 A.D.<sup>7</sup> Since the long reign of Nandivarman I (about 35 years or more) and that of his son Achaḍavarman (probably

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *IIQ*, Vol. IX, pp. 298 ff.; *The Successors of the Śālaṅkāyana*, pp. 83 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 175 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *JAHNS*, Vol. I, pp. 92 ff.; *The Successors of the Śālaṅkāyana*, pp. 321 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Above*, Vol. IV, p. 144.

<sup>5</sup> Likewise, in the Bobbili plates of the same king, R. K. Ghosal reads *Mahārāj(ja)-Chapḍavarmanā* instead of *Mahārāj-achaḍavarmanā*; cf. *above*, Vol. XXVII, p. 25 (text line 2).

<sup>6</sup> *The Successors of the Śālaṅkāyana*, p. 89, note; cf. p. 292.

a shorter one) appear to cover the latter half of the fourth century A.D. and since Achaṇḍavarman's brother (probably, younger brother) Hastivarman II (father of Skandavarman) is also known to have ruled as a *Mahārāja*; there does not appear to be enough scope to locate Devavarman's rule of about 13 years or more in the said period and it is probably better to assign him to a date immediately before Hastivarman I.<sup>2</sup> The genealogy of the Śālaṅkāyana kings may thus be tabulated tentatively as follows:

1. Devavarman, Year 13 (c. 320-40 A.D.)
2. Hastivarman I (c. 340-50 A.D.)
3. Nandivarman I, Years 14, 35 (c. 350-90 A.D.)
4. Achaṇḍavarman (c. 390-95 A.D.)
5. Hastivarman II, Year 2 (c. 395-400 A.D.)
6. Nandivarman II, Years 7, 10 (c. 400-30 A.D.)
7. Skandavarman, Year 1 (c. 430-50 A.D.)

The charter begins with a reference to the place of its issue, viz. the victorious **Vengipura** which was the capital of the Śālaṅkāyanas, and introduces the donor in lines 1-4 as **Yuvamaḥārāja Achaṇḍavarman** who belonged to the Śālaṅkāyana *gotra* and was devoted to the feet of the lord who was his father (*bappa-bhaṭṭāraka*), a devotee of gods (*parama-devata-parama-dāivata*), and to the feet of the god Chitrarathasvāmin (*Chītarathasvāmi-pād-ayujjhāta-Chītarathasvāmi-pād-ānuḥyāta*). Such details are also available in other charters of the Śālaṅkāyana dynasty and we know that Chitrarathasvāmin was the family deity of the Śālaṅkāyana rulers. But, unlike Achaṇḍavarman, the other Śālaṅkāyana rulers are sometimes represented as *parama-māhēsvara* or *parama-bhāgarata*.<sup>3</sup>

The order of the donor was addressed to the *grāmeyakas* or villagers of **Dhārikāṭūra** (lines 4-6). The grant of the village in question as an *ugrahāra* or revenue-free holding was made for the increase of the donor's religious merit, longevity, army, animal corps, wealth and sovereignty (*amha-dhamm-āyu-bala-vāhana-vibhava-śauriyo-ppar-paddha-atham* in lines 6-7-*asmad-dham-āyur-bala-vāhana-vibhava-viśvārya-puvariddha-ārtham*) and for the prosperity, success and increasing welfare (or, the promotion of the prosperity and success) of the donor's family and clan (*loka-gottassa ya sutthi-sutthiyon-āppōyatham* in lines 7-8-*kula-gotrasya cha svasti-svastiyyan-āppōyan-ārtham*). The donees were two Brāhmana brothers hailing from a locality called **Doṇṇampi**, by name Bhavuskandasarmārya and Bhartṭisarmārya, who belonged to the **Bhēmāṇa-Kāśyapa gotra**.

The expression *Bhēmāṇa-Kāśyapa-sagotra* probably suggests that the family in question belonged to the **Kāśyapa gotra** and had a person called **Bhēmāṇa** as its progenitor.<sup>4</sup> We have understood the expression *Doṇṇampi-bhātukāyam* (*Doṇṇampi-bhāṭṭrikāyāna*), literally 'to the Doṇṇampi brothers', as 'to the brothers hailing from [a locality called] Doṇṇampi'. The expression may also mean 'to the brothers of [a person called] Doṇṇampi', though that is less likely since Doṇṇampi in the present context does not look like a personal name.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 5 and 8 (text line 5); cf. also Vol. XXXV, pp. 145 ff. Nandivarman I had two other sons, viz. (1) the Śālaṅka-Mahārāja-koṣṭha Skandaputta, and (2) Mahārājaputra Kōngalla (ibid., Vol. XXXV, p. 5, text lines 8-9; p. 6, note 9). But there is no evidence that either of them ever succeeded the throne of Vengī.

<sup>2</sup> Devavarman's description as a Śālaṅkāyana and devotee of Chitraratha and the dating of his grant remind us of later records, but are of lesser importance.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos. 2087-89.

<sup>4</sup> The Kamkoḥḥ plates have *svasti-sutthiyasa* which we were formerly inclined to read as *svasti-sutthiyasa* (*svasti-svastiyasa*), i.e. 'good fortune and progress or success' (above, Vol. XXXI, p. 5, note 2; p. 7, note 2).

<sup>5</sup> The *Bhēmāṇa-Kāśyapa gotra* reminds us of the *Śrīrama-Kāśyapa gotra* to which Prīthvī-mahārāja belonged (above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 88 ff.).



i

2 12

Fragment i of a copper plate with three lines of inscribed text in an ancient script. A circular hole is visible on the left side.

ii, a

4 4

6 6

Fragment ii, a of a copper plate with three lines of inscribed text in an ancient script. A circular hole is visible on the left side.

ii, b

8 8

Fragment ii, b of a copper plate with three lines of inscribed text in an ancient script. A circular hole is visible on the left side.

iii, a

10 10

12 12

Fragment iii, a of a copper plate with three lines of inscribed text in an ancient script. A circular hole is visible on the left side.

iii, b



14

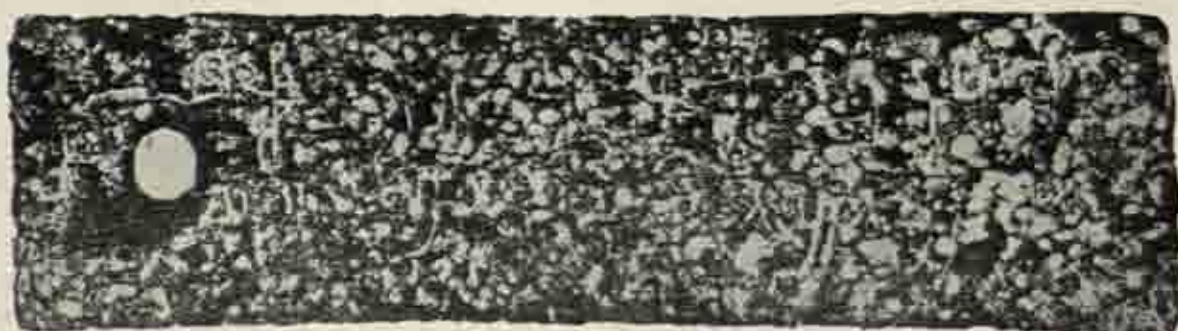
iv, a



16

18

v, b



20

20



The village was made a permanently rent-free holding (cf. *agrahāra ā-chanda-sūra-tāraka-tāhāyi kūtāya* in lines 11-12= *agrahāra-ā-chandra-sūra-tāraka-tāhāyinaṁ kṛitā*). The governor of the district in which the gift village was situated was advised to order the collection of the multitude of tolls and customary offerings (*vaṅg-vaṅg-vāta-chayana vadiveta* in lines 13-14= *vaṅg-vaṅg-vāta-chayana vadiveta*) by the said donees and their descendants (*tāpāṁ putt-ānuputtakāyaṁ* in line 13= *taṅg-putr-ānuputrikayā*). A sentence after the above reads *saṁbhṛta kanti te cā bādha-piṭā karanti* (lines 14-15)= *saṁbhṛtāḥ bhavanti ye cā bādha-piṭāḥ karanti*. In this *saṁbhṛta-saṁbhṛtā* means either 'fallen [from duty or right path]' or 'fried [by the fire of royal wrath]', more probably the latter. The stipulation was that the officers should not cause any obstruction and inconvenience to the donees in the latter's enjoyment of the gift land. The next sentence states that those officers who would exempt the *agrahāra* with all the customary exemptions would be made happy by the donor (*ava-paraibāreḥi e ta pariharanti te amāhāḥi ye amāhāḥi deḥavā ti* in line 16= *ava-parihāraḥi ye taṁ pariharanti te amāhāḥi cā nandaṁ dātavyāḥ ti*).

The **date** of the charter, discussed above, is quoted in lines 17-18 while the document ends with the verse *Bahubhīr-vasudhā dātā*, etc., in lines 19-20.

The **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription are Veṅgipura (modern Pedda-Veṅgi near Elūra in the West Godavari District, Andhra Pradesh) whence the grant was issued, Dhārikātūra which was the village granted by the charter and Doṅṅampi that was the native place of the donees. I am not sure about the location of Dhārikātūra and Doṅṅampi.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>First Plate<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Vijasa(ya)-Veṅgipurā bhagavato Chītarathā-  
 2 sa[m]i-pā[d]-āṅg[ ]j[ ]hātō paramadevata-  
 3 happa-bha[ ]āraka-vāda-bha[ ]to [Sā]<sup>3</sup>lanākāyana-sa-

## Second Plate, First Side

2<sup>4</sup>

- 4 gotto yuvama[h]ū<sup>5</sup>rā[ ]ri[ ]śc[ ]-Achaṇḍavarmma [Dh]āri[k]ā-  
 5 tūra gāmeyakā savva-sama[ ]ggrā[ ]savā<sup>6</sup> [āna]-  
 6 peti [ ]<sup>7</sup>atth-īdāpi<sup>8</sup> anha-dhemmo(mn-ā)yu-bala-vā-

## Second Plate, Second Side

3<sup>9</sup>

- 7 hane(na)-vihav-issariya-ppavaddhan-attham kula-gottassa ya  
 8 satthi-[sa][ ]th[ ]liyaṅ-appāyaṅ-attham Bb[e]māya-  
 9 Kassapa-sagottāya Doṅṅampi-bhātukāyaṁ

<sup>1</sup> From impressions.

<sup>2</sup> This side has not been numbered as the inscribed faces of the other plates.

<sup>3</sup> This *śākhā* has been engraved on something else that was previously inscribed at the place.

<sup>4</sup> This figure is engraved in the left margin against the beginning of line 5.

<sup>5</sup> The letter *r* was originally written in place of *ā*.

<sup>6</sup> *śavā* has not been observed here.

<sup>7</sup> Sanskrit *prameyāḥ-sarva-samagāra-sarvā*.

<sup>8</sup> Sanskrit *ast-īdāte*, in which *ast* is a mere particle introducing the narration of the grant proper.

<sup>9</sup> This figure is inscribed in the left margin against the beginning of line 8.



## Third Plate, First Side

4<sup>1</sup>

- 10 Bhavaskandasammajje-Bhattisammajjanam Bamhasayam  
 11 ag[g]ahāra ā-chanda-sūra-tāmrā-[\*]thāyī  
 12 kātūya a[m]kehi sampadattam [\*] tam-evaṁ

## Third Plate, Second Side

5<sup>2</sup>

- 13 nātūya tāyam putt-ānuputtakāyam saṅg-u[*v*]āna-  
 14 vāta-chayaya sadiseta [\*] sambhettā [ho]ṭi  
 15 ve oha bādha-pi[*d*]ā karatī [\*] sav[*v*]a-pa[r]i[hā]rehi

## Fourth Plate, First Side

6<sup>3</sup>

- 16 e<sup>4</sup> ta oha pariḥara[ur<sup>5</sup>]tī te amhehi ya nazhadu deta[*v*]vā tti [\*]  
 17 samvachchharāni pachatīsa 30 5 vāsa-  
 18 pakkhāni chha[*thā*]rī—6 divasa—tetiyāyam<sup>6</sup> tī 3 [\*]

## Fourth Plate, Second Side

[7]<sup>7</sup>

- 19 Bahu . . . . .<sup>7</sup> [aupāli]tā [\*]  
 20 yasya yasya yadā [bhūmi] tasya [tasya] . . . . .<sup>8</sup> [\*]

## TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-5) From the victorious **Veṅgipura**,—the illustrious **Yuvamahārāja Achaṅḍava-**  
**rman**—who meditates on (or, is favoured by) the feet of Lord Chitrarathasvāmin, who is a devotee  
 of the feet of the lord that was his father and was extremely devoted to the gods, (and) who  
 belongs to the **Śālanākāyana gotra**—orders all the villagers of **Dhārikāṭūra en masse** :

(Lines 5-12) Now (the said village) has been granted by us as a rent-free holding, having made  
 it to last as long as the moon, the sun and the stars endure, to the (two) brothers (hailing) from  
**Donnampī, (name)**, Bhavaskandasarmārya and Bhartrāsarmārya, who are Brāhmanas belonging  
 to the **Bhēmāga-Kāśyapa gotra**, for the increase of our religious merit, longevity, army, animal  
 corps, wealth and sovereignty and for the prosperity, success and increasing welfare (or, for the  
 promotion of the prosperity and success) of our family and clan.

(Lines 12-16) Having known this, (gov, the officer in charge of the district), should order the  
 collection of the multitude of tolls and (customary) offerings by those (dances) and their descendants.  
 Those who cause obstruction and inconvenience (to the dances) should be fined (by royal wrath),  
 Those who exempt it (i.e. the gift land) by all the customary exemptions will get pleasure through  
 us.

<sup>1</sup> This figure is engraved in the left margin against the beginning of line 11.

<sup>2</sup> This figure is incised in the left margin against the beginning of line 14.

<sup>3</sup> This figure is engraved in the left margin against the beginning of line 17.

<sup>4</sup> A letter like *ch* was originally incised for *z*.

<sup>5</sup> Better read *teṅga*.

<sup>6</sup> This figure is engraved in the left margin against the beginning of line 20.

The lost characters are "śālanākāyāni dātā śakābhāṅgā".

The lost characters are *tadda pāṭava*.

(Lines 17-18) Year thirtyfive—35, the sixth fortnight of the rainy season—6, the third day—3.

(Lines 19-20) *Bahubhir-vasudhā dattā*, etc.

## 2. Tūṅḍigrāma Grant of Vikramēndra III, Year 14

The inscription under study was lent to us for a short time for examination by Dr. R. Subramanyam, Superintendent, Nagarjunikonda Excavation Project, Guntur, in January 1957. It was noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1956-57, No. A I. The exact findspot of the inscription is not known to us.

This is a set of five thin plates. The measurement of the different plates is not uniform as expected. Thus the length of the five plates is respectively 6.2, 6, 6.4, 6.4 and 5.95 inches while their height is likewise 1.725, 1.65, 1.725, 1.75 and 1.75 inches. The first plate is inscribed only on the inner side, the other four plates having writing on both the sides. The first and second plates are consecutively numbered in the left margin on the reverse, though the other plates do not bear such numbers. A copper ring (about .3 inch in thickness and 2.5 inches in diameter) runs through a hole (.45 inch in diameter) near the left margin of the plates in order to hold them together. The ends of this ring are soldered beneath a bronze seal with an oval surface measuring 1.05 inches in length and .875" in breadth. It bears the emblem of a standing humped bull facing the proper left and not the lion generally believed to have been the crest of the Vishvakupḍin family to which the charter belongs.<sup>1</sup> There is a crescent symbol above the bull and a damaged solar symbol above the crescent. The ring with the seal weighs 18 *tolas* while the weight of the five plates together is 38½ *tolas*.

There are altogether thirtyfive lines of writing on the nine inscribed faces of the five plates, the reverse of the fifth plate having three lines and the other inscribed faces of the plates four lines each. A passage omitted from line 28 on the reverse of the fourth plate is engraved in the lower margin of the face in question so that it looks like having five lines of writing.

The characters of the record belong to the early Telugu-Kannada alphabet and resemble those of other Vishvakupḍin charters including the Chikkulla plates<sup>2</sup> of Vikramēndra III who was also the donor of the present grant. The use of the symbol for 10 and the figures 1, 2 and 4 is noticed in the inscription, as also of the initial vowels *a* (line 17), *ā* (lines 26, 27 and 30), *i* (lines 21, 29 and 30) and *e* (lines 2, 5) and of final *m* (lines 1 and 34). *Vicarga* is written in two different ways, the two vertically placed dots being joined in some cases by a slightly curved stroke (cf. *ṣṭīṣaṣ*) in line 4). The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. In respect of orthography and style also the present record resembles the Chikkulla plates and other Vishvakupḍin charters. The introductory section, however, is not couched exactly in the same language as the Chikkulla plates, though several passages are common to both the charters.

The grant was issued in the 14th regnal year of the Vishvakupḍin king Vikramēndra III, called Vikramēndrabhadrākavarman in the present record but Vikramēndravarmān in his Chikkulla plates. The exact date is quoted as *ṣṭī 2 śī pratipadī*, i.e. *ṣṭī 2 śī 1* or the first day or *śūhī* of the second fortnight of the summer season. Originally, this season used to be counted as beginning on Chaitra-badī 1 and ending on Āshāḍha-sudī 15, so that the date of our record would be Chaitra-sudī 1. It is, however, difficult to say whether the old calculation was followed during the Vishvakupḍin period in the South. We know that the Chikkulla plates were issued by the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Sec. 82*, pp. 122, 128, 129. The seal of the Chikkulla plates of the same king is stated to bear the figure of a well-executed lion (Above, Vol. IV, p. 194).

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. IV, pp. 193E.



same king in his 10th regnal year on the 5th day of the 8th fortnight of summer (Āshāḍha-sudi 5 according to the old calculation). Thus the present charter was issued nearly four years after the Chikkulla plates. The rule of the Vishnukunḍin king Vikramāditya III was assigned by us elsewhere to c. 620-31 A.D.<sup>1</sup> It was also suggested that this king was extirpated by the Chālukya monarch Pulakēśin II of Badami sometime about 631 A. D. The length of the reign of Vikramāditya III as indicated by the present charter would, however, suggest that he probably ruled in c. 616-31 A.D. The dates of his immediate predecessors as previously suggested by us also require to be modified as follows: his father Indra, c. 587-616 A.D. (not c. 590-620 A.D.); his grandfather Vikramāditya II, c. 535-87 A.D. (not 535-90 A.D.).<sup>2</sup>

The inscription begins with the word *svasti* and introduces the donor **Vikramādityabhāṭṭārakavarman III** of the **Vishnukunḍin** family in lines 1-24 as the son of **Mahārāja Indrabhāṭṭārakavarman**, the grandson of **Mahārāja Vikramādityabhāṭṭārakavarman II** and the great-grandson of **Mahārāja Mādhavavarman** (i.e. Mādhavavarman I, son of Vikramāditya I).<sup>3</sup> It may be mentioned here that the father and grandfather of the donor of the present charter are mentioned as *Rājan* (not *Mahārāja*) in the Ramatirtham plates of his father,<sup>4</sup> while his own Chikkulla plates<sup>5</sup> mention Indrabhāṭṭārakavarman as *Mahārāja* but do not apply the title *Rājan* or *Mahārāja* to Vikramāditya II or Mādhavavarman I. Unlike the Chikkulla plates which are stated to have been issued from the victorious *vāruka* (the king's camp or residence) at Lōndūjūra, the present charter does not indicate the place whence it was issued. It is not impossible that Lōndūjūra was specially mentioned as the place of issue in the Chikkulla plates because it was not the normal residence (i.e. the capital) of the Vishnukunḍin king.

Unlike his predecessors, Vikramādityabhāṭṭārakavarman III is not endowed with the title *Mahārāja*, but is described as *mahī-mahēndra* (king of the earth), etc. He is, however, called *Mahārāja* in the Chikkulla plates of his 10th regnal year. This does not appear to be of any special significance since, besides similar irregularities in the Vishnukunḍin records already referred to, the epithet *Paramamāhātmya* applied to the king in the Chikkulla plates is also wanting in the charter under study. Our inscription describes the donor as 'the dear son' of his father and as 'the crest-jewel on the crown of the Vishnukunḍin dynasty'. As we know, the Chikkulla plates call him 'the dear eldest son' of king Indrabhāṭṭārakavarman.

In the description of *Paramamāhātmya Mahārāja Indrabhāṭṭārakavarman*, the father of the donor, the epithets 'an ornament of the Vishnukunḍin family', 'extremely devoted to the Brāhmaṇas' and 'a righteous conqueror' are not found in the Chikkulla plates. But the reference to his success in many *chāturdanta-samara*s and against certain *dāyādas*, i.e. relatives who may have opposed his accession, are found in both the epigraphs though not exactly in the same language. The epithet *anēka-chāturdanta-samara-saṅghaṭṭa-vijaya* is found in the Chikkulla plates as *anēka-chāturdanta-samara-saṅghaṭṭa-dvīpāda-gaṇa-vijaya*. Since Chāturdanta is the same as Indra's Airāvata, the elephant of the east, Kielhorn suggested that the epithet indicates the Vishnukunḍin king's success against his eastern neighbours.<sup>6</sup> It is, however, not impossible that the expression *chāturdanta-samara* or *chāturdanta-samara* means merely 'a war of elephants'.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Classical Age*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> For another view on the genealogy and chronology of the Vishnukunḍins, see *Ibid.*, p. 206, note 1; pp. 233 ff.

<sup>3</sup> His name is wrongly quoted in his son's Pālamuru plates as *Vikramāditya* (cf. *Soc. Sci.*, p. 335, text line 4).

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XII, p. 134 text lines 5 and 6.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 196.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 193 and note 2; cf. *Soc. Sci.*, p. 113.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *gāthā-sigāhā* in Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 3226. The war of elephants is mentioned also in such other records as the Kadator grant of Mārasintha II (text line 7: *mahe-chāturdanta-gaṇa-dvīpāda-chātor-vijāhā-sati. śaṅghā-gaṇā*).

The epithet *yathāvidhī-viniryāpita-ghaṭik-ācāpta-puṅga-saṅkhya* in his description, also found in the Chikkulla plates, was translated by Kielhorn as 'who acquired a store of merit by emptying water-jars [at donations made] according to precept', though he admitted that the word *viniryāpita* does not have the sense of 'emptying'. It seems that *ghaṭikī* has to be understood here in the sense of a *brāhmapurī* or Brāhmaṇa settlement. Thus *viniryāpita* would appear to be a mistake for *viniryāpita* in the sense of 'donated' (cf. Prakrit *vyāpita*-Sanskrit *viryāpita*).<sup>1</sup> Then the passage in the Chikkulla plates would mean 'who acquired a store of merit by dedicating Brāhmaṇa settlements according to precept'.<sup>2</sup>

The donor's grandfather, *Mahārāja Vikramēndrabhattārahavarman* (Vikramēndra II), is described in our record as one who purified both the Vishnukunḍin and Vākāṭaka families by his birth. The same epithet also occurs in the Chikkulla plates which, however, give the name *Vākāṭaka* as *Vākāpa*. There is no doubt that the mother of Vishnukunḍin Vikramēndra II was a princess of the Vākāṭaka family of Nāndivardhana-Pravastapura or of Vatagūlma. But her father cannot be identified in the present state of our knowledge.

In the description of *Mahārāja Mādhavarman* (I), the great-grandfather of the donor, we are told that the said king was devoted to the god Śrīparvatāsvāmin, the tutelary deity of the Vishnukunḍin family, and that he performed eleven horse-sacrifices, one thousand *kratus* or minor sacrifices, the *sarvamedhā* sacrifice, eleven *bahusuraras*, eleven *paṇḍarīkas*, the *vijayā* and the *parushamedhā* and other *kratus*. Although the performance of eleven horse sacrifices and one thousand *agnishōmas* or *kratus* by king Mādhavarman I is well known from the copper-plate grants of the Vishnukunḍin family, some of the informations supplied by our record (e.g. the number of *bahusurara* and of *paṇḍarīka* quoted in both the cases as eleven) are not found elsewhere.<sup>3</sup> It should, however, be noticed that the Chikkulla plates attribute the performance of such other sacrificial rites to Mādhavarman I as *yādikya* (*ukthya* ?), *śhōḍaṭin*, *prāthivītya* and *prājōpatya*, which are not mentioned in our record. But the most significant and unique epithet of Mādhavarman I in our inscription is *divēditēva*, 'supreme god', which shows that he was regarded as a god at least as early as the 14th regnal year of his great-grandson. That he was regarded as a *paramāshthīn* or saintly being was, however, already known from the Chikkulla plates.<sup>4</sup>

The grant proper is recorded in lines 21-29. It is stated that the village called *Tūṇḍi-grāma*, which was situated in *Vaiyārakara* and in the *pārcas* of *Charnapura*, was granted by king Vikramēndrabhattārahavarman in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Svāmīśarman of *Ākti-grāma*, who was the son of Rudrāśarman and a student of the *Āpastamba sūtra* and belonged to the *Kaundinya gōtra*. The word *pārcas* used in this section may indicate a small territorial unit. It may also mean that *Charnapura* and *Tūṇḍi-grāma* were abutting on each other. If *pārcas* is the same as *prasthā* known from some inscriptions,<sup>5</sup> it may also be supposed that revenue was assessed for the two villages jointly.

Line 30 contains a statement to the effect that the order regarding the execution of the grant emanated from the king's mouth. A passage in prose followed by a verse in lines 30-32 states that the person responsible for the resumption of the gift land would be committing the same sin as the murderer of the mother, a cow, a Brāhmaṇa, an infant, a woman and an ascetic. This is followed by the well-known stanza, *Babūbhīr-vasudhā dattā*, etc., in lines 33-34. The date of the grant, already discussed above, is quoted in line 35 with which the document ends.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 157, text line 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Soc. SM.*, p. 137.

<sup>3</sup> The *Khaspur* plates (above, Vol. XXVII, pp. 313 ff.), ascribed to Mādhavarman I, probably speak of his 'eleven *paṇḍarīkas* and *bahusuraras*'.

<sup>4</sup> Kielhorn understood the word *paramāshthīn*, used in the Chikkulla plates, as 'supremacy'.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 59, note 1.



The importance of the inscription lies in two facts. In the first place, it is dated in the 14th regnal year of Vikramēndravarmān III and shows that the said king ruled at least for about 14 years. As we have already seen, his other known record, viz. the Chikkulla plates referred to above, was issued in the 10th year of his reign. We have also discussed the effect of the date of the present record on the chronology of the Vishnukūṇḍins previously suggested by us.

Secondly, it endows the Vishnukūṇḍin king Mādhavavarman I, the donor's great-grandfather, with the epithet *śū-āśīdīva*, 'the supreme god'. This is not found in any of the known records of the family. The present epigraph which is the latest inscription of the Vishnukūṇḍin dynasty so far discovered thus clearly shows that Mādhavavarman I was deified. Another epigraphic instance of a somewhat similar nature is found in the Bhuvanēswar inscription dated in the 34th regnal year of the Eastern Gāṅga monarch Anāgabhīma III (c. 1311-39 A. D.) who is mentioned in the record as *Bhugavat*.<sup>2</sup> A difference between the two cases, however, is that, while the Vishnukūṇḍin king seems to have been deified after his death, the Eastern Gāṅga monarch was partially deified even during his life time.

As we have seen elsewhere,<sup>3</sup> some legends gradually developed around the glorious name of the Vishnukūṇḍin king Mādhavavarman I. But that he was regarded as a god by his descendants is known for the first time from the present inscription. We had also occasion to notice elsewhere<sup>4</sup> that new elements were introduced in the description of king Mādhavavarman I in the later epigraphs of the Vishnukūṇḍin family. The point is clearly demonstrated by a comparison of the claim regarding the performance of sacrifices by him in his own records with the sacrifices attributed to him in the inscriptions of his great-grandson. Thus the Ipur<sup>5</sup> and Polamuru<sup>6</sup> plates issued respectively in the 37th and the 40th or 48th regnal years of Mādhavavarman I himself have the following passages: (1) *agnishīḍma-sahasra-yājī-hi[ra\*]hira-yagarbha-prasūtaḥ śkādaś-āśvamedh-āvabhṛitha-vidhāta-jagat-kalmashob*, and (2) *kratu-sahasra-yājī hira-yagarbha-prasūtaḥ śkādaś-āśvamedh-āvabhṛitha-māna-cigata-jagat-nashob*. In both these inscriptions, Mādhavavarman I claims to have celebrated one *hira-yagarbha-mahādāna*, eleven horse-sacrifices and one thousand *agnishīḍmas* or *kratus* (minor sacrifices). We have as yet no copper-plate grant issued by Vikramēndra II, son of Mādhavavarman I. The Ramastiratham plates<sup>7</sup> of king Mādhavavarman's grandson Indravarmān do not add to the said claims when they describe the donor's grandfather as *śkādaś-āśvamedh-āvabhṛitha(tha)-vidhāta-jagat-kalmasha-kratu-sahasra-yājīn*. As a matter of fact, the claim of Mādhavavarman I to have celebrated the *hira-yagarbha-mahādāna* is omitted in the Ramastiratham plates. Similar is the description of Mādhavavarman I in the Ipur plates<sup>8</sup> of his other grandson Mādhavavarman II: *śkādaś-āśvamedh-āvabhṛith-āvadhāta-jagat-kalmashasy-agnishīḍma-sahasra-yājīnāḥ*. But, in the Chikkulla plates and the Tūṅḍigūṇḍa grant of Indravarmān's son, Vikramēndravarmān III, we have respectively the following passages referring to the sacrifices performed by the donor's great-grandfather: (1) *śkādaś-āśvamedh-āvabhṛith(ā)-vidhāta-jagatka(t-ka)kalmashasya kratu-sahasra-yājīnāḥ sarvamēdh-ādāpta-sarvaśhūta-svārājyasya bahusucarva-paṇḍarika-purushamēdhā-rāja-rāja-yādīkya(nīkya?)-śhōḍāśī-rājāsūya-prāśkerājya-prājāpaty-ādīy-anēka-cividha-prīthi-guru-sarva-śhūta-sahasra-yājīnā[ḥ\*] kratu-sar-ānush[īḥāta(n-ā)-śhīk[ī]h[āna\*]-pratish[īḥita-parvamēdh[ī]trasya*, and (2) *śkādaś-āśvamedh-āvabhṛith-āvadhāta-jagat-kalmashasya kratu-sahasra-yājīnāḥ sarvamēdh-ādāpta-sarva-śhūta-svārājyasya bahusucarva-aikā-śāśaka-yājīnāḥ śkādaśa-paṇḍarika - prāpta-sarva-ardhāḥ yathāvidhy-anush[īḥita-rāja-rāj-ōpāpādī-*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Sac. St.*, p. 134, note 1; *The Classical Age*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, p. 209. The Khaupur plates recording a grant of land in the Satara region would suggest that the king led a successful expedition against the western parts of the Deccan. But the inscription seems to be spurious.

<sup>3</sup> *The Classical Age*, op. cit., p. 206, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Sac. St.*, pp. 335-36.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 338.

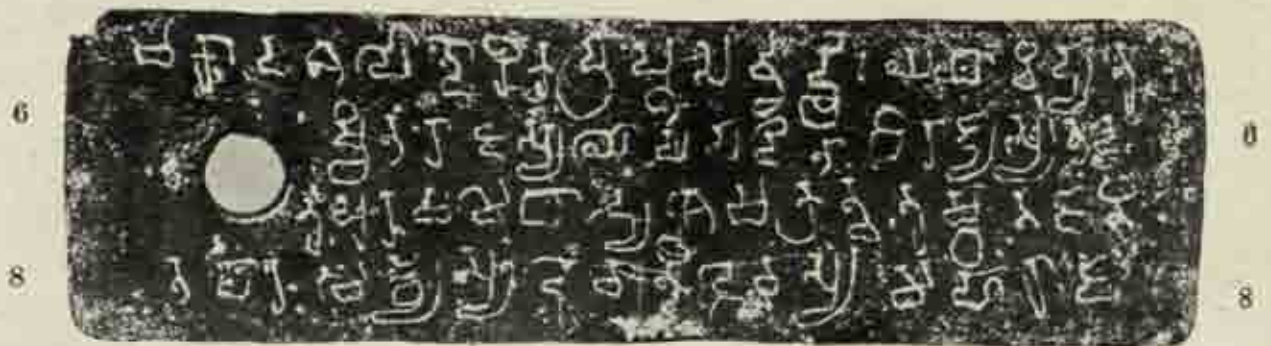
<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. XVII, p. 334.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. XXII, p. 134, text lines 1-4.

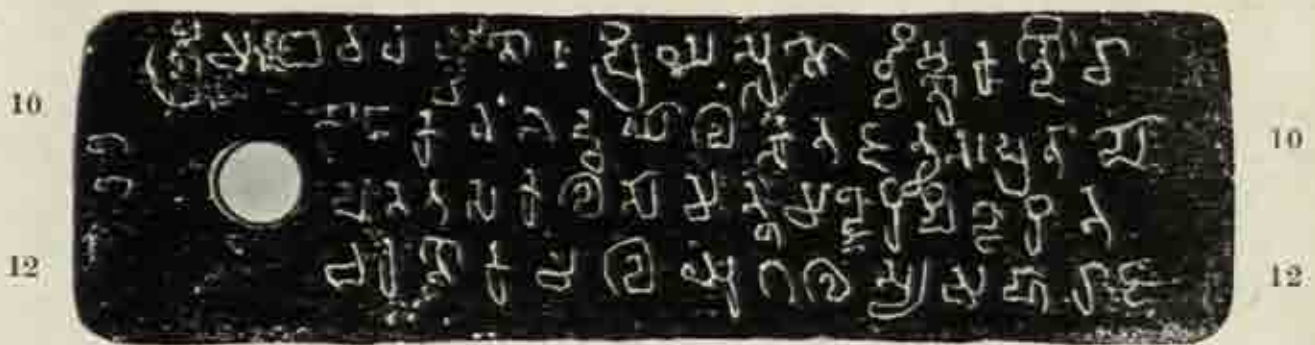
i



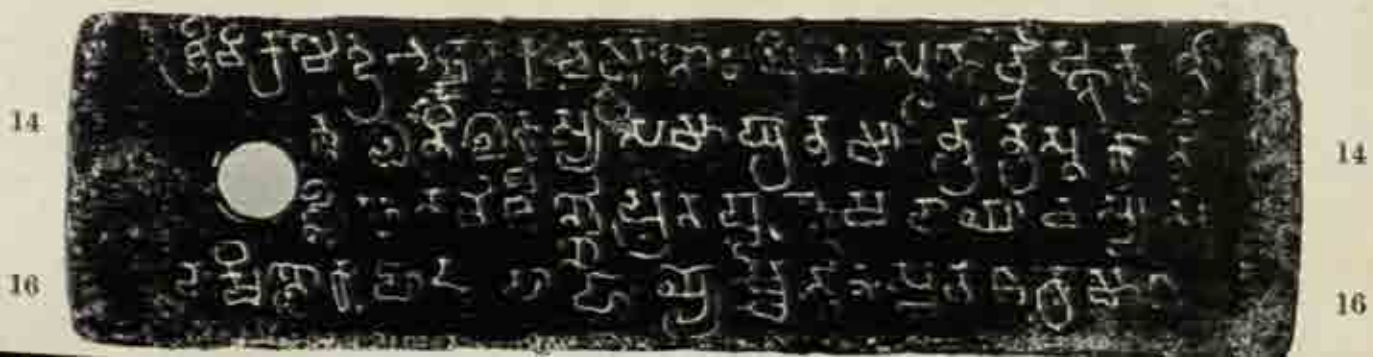
ii, a



ii, b



iii, a





8  
 10  
 18  
 20

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥

22  
 24

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

26  
 28

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

30  
 32

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

18

20

22

24

26

28

30

32

*ādhirājyasya tad-anu purushamēdh-ādy-aśēsha-krate-annabhāna-janita-pāramēshthyasya dēvātīdēvāya.* These records add a number of details, though the *hīranyagarbha* is not mentioned in either of them. Both the epigraphs describe Mādhavarman I for the first time as having obtained the status of a *paramēshthīa* or saintly being. The later of the two epigraphs has a few more details than the earlier one. Thus, in the Tāṇḍi-grāma grant issued four years after the Chikkulla plates, Mādhavarman I is not only called the supreme god additionally but the number of the *bahuvarga* and *paundarika* performed by him is specified as eleven in both the cases. This has to be regarded as a step towards the fuller development of the Mādhavarman saga.

There are four geographical names mentioned in the inscription. They are the localities called Āki, Charnapura and Tāṇḍi-grāma and the district of Vaiyātakara in which Tāṇḍi-grāma is stated to have been situated. We are not sure about the location of these places.

## TEXT

## First Plate

1\*

- 1 Svasti Bhagavah-Chhriparvatasvāmi-pād-ānuddhātasya Vishvukunḍī(ṇḍi)nā[m]
- 2 śkā[da]ś-āvamēdh-āvabhṛith-āvadhaute-jagat-kalma-
- 3 shasya kra<sup>2</sup>ta-sahaara-yājinaḥ sarvamēdh-āvāpta-sarvabhūta-
- 4 sva(svā)rajyasya bahuvarga-āikādaśaka-yājinaḥ

## Second Plate, First Side

2\*

- 5 śkādaśa-paundarika-prāpta-sarv-ard[dhō]ḥ yathā-vidyā(dhy-a)nu-
- 6 shtitām(ta)-rājasya(sū)y-ōpapādit-śāhīrājyasya tad-a-
- 7 nu purushamēdh-ādy-aśēsha-krate-annabhāna-jani-
- 8 ta-pāramēshthyasya dēvātīdēvāya mahārāja-

## Second Plate, Second Side

- 9 śrī-Mādhavava[r]mmaṇaḥ priya-sūnōr-Vishvukunḍī-Va-
- 10 kākaka-vamāc:-divy-ālakṛita-janmanah pratāp-ō-
- 11 panata-sakala-sāmanta-maṇjari-piṇjarita-
- 12 chatana-kamala-yugalasya mahārāja-

## Third Plate, First Side

- 13 śrī-Vikramēndrabhaṭṭ[ā]rakavarimmaṇaḥ priya-sūnōr-Vishvukunḍī(ṇḍi)-
- 14 kula-tilakasya samāghrāta-mātra-trasta-kāndi-
- 15 ābhūta-vishṛṇṇa-pranaah[ī]śāsha-dāyādasya su-
- 16 dakshiy-āika-bāhu-sāhāyy-ō[ch]chair-unlita-sva-va[ḍi<sup>3</sup>]śa-kram-āga-

\* From impression.

\* This is engraved in the left margin.

\* These three aksharas have been engraved beneath the ring-hole between lines 3 and 4.



*Third Plate, Second Side*

- 17 t-ādhirājyaeya anika-chāturdanta-samara-saṅghaṭṭe-vijayina[<sup>b</sup>\*]  
 18 parataamāhāvarasya putamabū(hra)hmapyaeya yathā-vidhi-  
 19 viuiryy[ā]pi(t)la-ghoṭik-āvāpta-punya-saichayasya  
 20 dharmma-vijayika-mahārā]-**Endrabhaṭṭārakavarmmaṇa[<sup>b</sup>\*]**

*Fourth Plate, First Side*

- 21 priya-putra[<sup>b</sup>] śrī-Vishṇukunḍy-anvaya-makuṣa-chūlā(dā)maṇi[<sup>b</sup>]  
 22 Hata iv-ūpatihata-prabhāvaḥ sakala-bhuvana-rakshā-  
 23 bhār-nik-āstraya[<sup>b</sup>\*] mahani(n)ya-guṇō ma-  
 24 hā-mahēnditaḥ **Vikramēndrabhaṭṭārai(ro)kavarmma(rmmā) Vaiyērakarē**

*Fourth Plate, Second Side*

- 25 Tāṇḍi-nāmadhōya-grāmō [grāmō\*]yako[n\*] ēvame-ājñāpaya-  
 26 ti yathā astmai Aki-v[ā]stavyāya Kaunḍinya-  
 27 sugōtrāya Āpastamba-sūtra-pārangatāya  
 28 Rudrasarmmaṇaḥ putrāya Svāmīarmmaṇō [Charmmapūrā(pura)-pārsevō]<sup>1</sup> Tāṇḍi-  
 gr[ā]mō-

*Fifth Plate, First Side*

- 29 smābhīr-dattaḥ sarvva-bāhīa-parihārēya datta ity-śale-ājñā-  
 30 panā [1\*] ājñāptam<sup>2</sup> sva-mukham-ēvaḥ(va) imāni eha pātakāni  
 31 vilōpayatuḥ(taḥ) [1\*] Vi(Ni)ghnatām mātrī-gō-viprah[pra]-bāla-yō-  
 32 shi[<sup>b</sup>\*]-tapaśvīmā[<sup>b</sup>\*] yā gatī-sā bhavēd-vṛitti[m\*] haratō-śāsan-ā[<sup>b</sup>]kitāḥ(tām) [1\*]<sup>3</sup>

*Fifth Plate, Second Side*

- 33 [Bahubhīr-vvasindhō dattā [bahubhī]=ch-āmpālī(tā) ]  
 34 yaaya yaaya yadā bhūmī[s\*]-tasya tasya tadā phalam || [2\*]  
 35 Sarhva 10 4 grī [2] dī pratīpadi<sup>4</sup> [1\*]

**3. Ekallahāra Grant of Trilōchanapāla, Śaka 972**

This set of copper plates was secured by an Exploration Assistant of the Western Circle of the Department of Archaeology, Baroda, who was stationed at Brosch (Bharuch), headquarters of the District of that name in Gujarat. It was received for examination in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India in July 1958 from Mr. S. R. Rao, formerly Superintendent of the Baroda Circle.

<sup>1</sup> These shlokas are engraved in the lower margin of the plate below the central part of line 29.

<sup>2</sup> We have generally ājñāptā in the same context elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> The metre of this stanza and the following one is Anuṣṭubh.

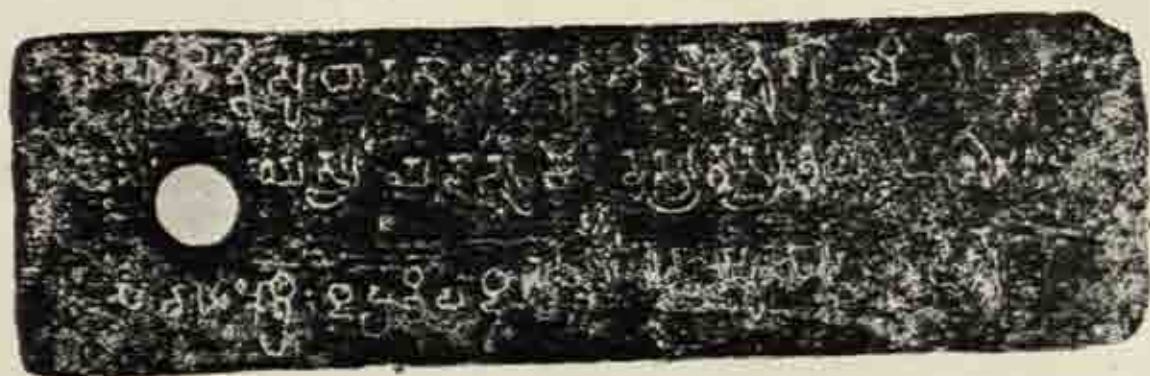
<sup>4</sup> After this, some letters appear to have been rubbed off by the engraver.

THREE COPPER PLATE CHARTERS—Plate III

2. Tāṇḍigrāma Grant of Vikramēndra III, Year 14

v, b

34

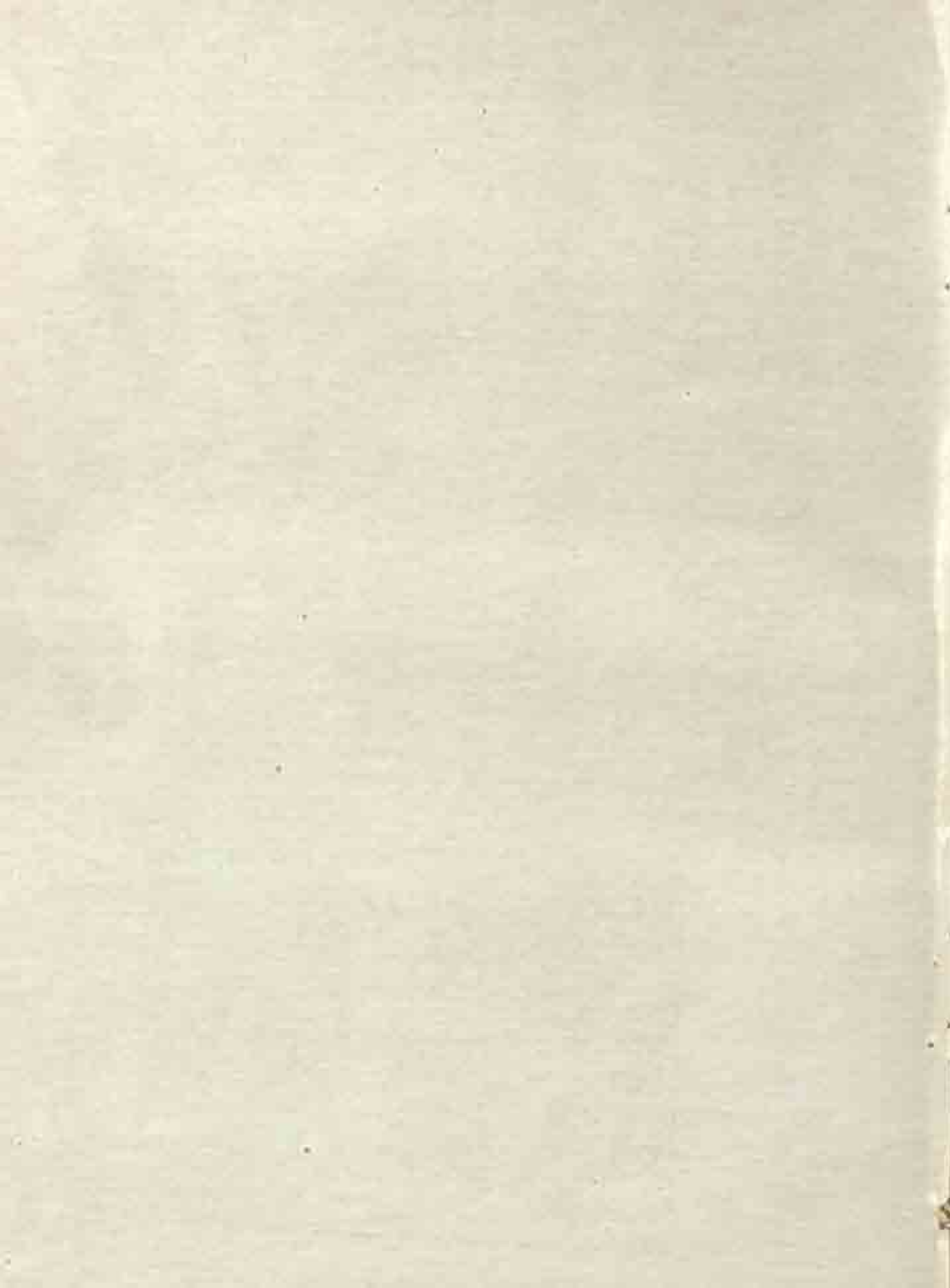


Size : Actual

SEAL



(from Photograph)





There are **three plates** in the set, each measuring 9·7 inches in length and 7·9 inches in height. The plates are consecutively numbered, the first and third bearing the respective numbers in the left margin of the inscribed faces and the second in the corresponding place on its reverse. There is a hole (·5 inch in diameter) about the middle of the upper margin of the plates for the ring holding them together to pass through. The circular seal (about 3·1 inches in diameter) affixed to the ring bears the figure of Garuḍa in the centre facing front. Below this figure, there is the representation of a boar facing proper right. While the crescent, parasol, goad, sword and drum symbols are found to the left of the Garuḍa figure, the representation of the sun, two standards with a bird each on the top, a chowrie and a pair of cymbals are noticed to its right. The first and third plates contain writing only on the inner side, the second plate being engraved on both the sides. There are altogether 56 lines of writing in the inscription distributed on the inscribed faces of the plates in the following order: I—12 lines; IIa—13 lines; IIb—15 lines; III—16 lines. The preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory, a number of letters having suffered from corrosion especially on the first plate and the first side of the second.

In point of **palaeography, language, orthography** and style, the present copper-plate grant closely resembles another charter of its donor, the **Lāṭa Chaulukya chief Trilōchanapāla**, viz. the Surat plates<sup>4</sup> issued in **Śaka 972, Vikṛita**, Pausha-badī 15, solar eclipse, Tuesday, corresponding to the 15th January 1051 A.D. The only point of palaeographical interest worthy of notice is the use of the Bengali type of *causēra* in one case in line 53. This may suggest that the engraver was an East Indian employed under a West Indian government.

The record under study was issued by **Mahāmañjalīśvara Trilōchanapāla**, son of Vataa, grandson of Kirti, great-grandson of Gōgi or Gōggi and great-great-grandson of Bārāpa or Bārappa, in the same year and month, but on **Pausha-sudī 9, Monday**, on the occasion of the sun's entry into the Makara-rāśī. The date corresponds to the **24th December 1050 A.D.**, though the *tithi* in question ended the next day and the *sañkrānti* took place on the previous day. It will be seen that the present grant was issued about three weeks before the Surat plates.

Like the Surat plates, the present record is also composed in verse with only a few small passages in prose. Some of the verses are common to both the charters although in a few cases there are variant readings; cf. verses 1-8, 11-17, 21-23, 27-28, 36-37 of our record respectively with verses 1-7, 13-15, 17, 16, 19, 18, 20, 25-27, 32-33, 41-42 of the Surat plates. These 22 verses do not include the common stanzas in the imprecatory and benedictory section about the end of both the charters. Verse 8 in the description of Bārāpa is found in the Surat plates as verse 15 in the description of his grandson Kirtirāja. Verses 9, 12 and 26 of the Surat plates referring to Lāṭa in association of Bārāpa, Kirti and Trilōchana respectively are not found in our record. Considering the variation in the reading of some of the stanzas, it is interesting to note that the writer of both the documents was the same officer of the Chaulukya chief, viz. *Mahāsārdhivigrahika Śaṅkara* whose name is given as Śaṅkara in the Surat plates and as Sa[ṅ]karaiya in the present record. As pointed out by the editor of the Surat plates, the meaning of some of the stanzas is rather obscure. There are altogether 43 stanzas, of which verses 1-42 are numbered consecutively.

The inscription begins with the symbol for the *prapāna* and the *māṅgalika* passage *jayas-ch-ābhyaḍayaś-cha*. Then follow 37 stanzas in various metres, which may be grouped into such sections as *namaskāra*, genealogy of the donor, description of the donor and particulars of the grant together with date, etc.

Verses 1-3 contain adoration respectively to the gods *Dōvadōva* (Śiva), *Hari* (Viṣṇu) and *Aja* (Brahman), while verses 4-7 describe the mythical origin of the **Chaulukya family**. We are told how the progenitor of the family was born out of the *chuluka* (a small vessel or the palm of the

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 201-02 and Plates; Bhandarkar's List, No. 1002.

hand hollowed to hold water) of the god Virūchi (verse 4), how he, the *Mahārāja Chaulukya*, was advised by the creator to marry a daughter of the Rāshtrakūṭa ruler of Kanyākubja (verse 6) and how a Kūhātra dynasty emanated from the said Chaulukya (verse 7). Verses 8-10 respectively introduce the following three rulers of the Chaulukya family, viz. *Bārāpa* (called *Bārappa* in the Surat plates), his son *Gōggirāja* (or *Gōgirāja*), his son *Kirtirāja*. Verses 11-19 contain vague praises of the last named ruler, viz. Chaulukya Kirtirāja, while verse 20 introduces his son *Vatsarāja*. Verses 21-23 are in praise of the chief Vatsarāja, the last of the stanzas referring to the umbrella made by him in gold and jewels for the god Sōmanātha and to a *śātra* (free feeding institution) that he built at the border of his territory. Sōmanātha may be the celebrated deity of the same name worshipped at Prabhāsa-pattana in Kathiawar. This stanza also occurs in the Surat plates with slight modification of the language in the latter half of it.

Verse 24 introduces the donor of the grant, *Trilōchana*, as the son of Vatsarāja and verses 25-26 are in his praise. Verses 27-37 record the grant made by Trilōchana. The date is given in verses 28-29 as the *Śaka year 972, Vikṛita, Pausa-sudi 9, Monday, sankrama* of the sun meaning his entry into the Makara-rāśi. Verse 30 states that the donee was the Brāhmaṇa Tārāditya who belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gotra* and was the *sthānika* of the *mahāsthāna* called *Rōhiṭā*. *Mahāsthāna* means both a holy place and a great temple while *sthānika* in the same context would mean a temple priest. Thus the donee Tārāditya was the priest of a temple at Rōhiṭā. We know from verse 31 that the Brāhmaṇa had three *pravaras*, viz. *Āgīrasa, Bārhaspatya* and *Bhāradvāja*.

The gift village was *Ēkallahāra* situated in the *Karmāntapura-116* (verse 32) and it was granted with the exclusion of the right involving the following five items of income, viz. *nidhāna, ālipaka, kumāri-sūhṣa, mahā-dōsha* and land previously given to Brāhmaṇas and gods (verse 33). Of these, *nidhāna* often occurs in the passage *widhi-nidhāna* apparently in the sense of *nidhi-wikshēpa* of other records and would therefore mean 'deposits on the surface of the ground'. The word *ālipaka* may correctly be *ālipaka* derived from *alipaka*, 'a bee', probably in the sense of 'income from bees (i.e. wax, honey, etc.)'. The expression *kumāri-sūhṣa* no doubt refers to the power to deal with cases of violation of the modesty of an unmarried girl and *mahā-dōsha* the five great crimes related to the *pañcha-mahāpātaka* (murder of a Brāhmaṇa, etc.). The donee of our grant was not entitled to the privileges involving the items enumerated in the verse.

Verses 34-35 describe the boundaries of the gift village. It was bounded in the east by the localities called *Nikusādhi* and *Vihāpaka*; in the south by the *Kurunālā* (*nālā* in the name probably meaning 'a canal'); in the north-west by *Kuṇḍalikā*; and in the north by *Dadhīsthāna*. This enumeration of the boundaries is followed by two stanzas (verses 36-37) containing the donor's prayer to people for the maintenance of his gift and a statement regarding the merit to be derived from the protection of the grant and the sin resulting from its resumption. Verses 38-43 are some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas introduced by the passage *tathā ch-śktam* (line 47). The name of the donor *Trilōchana* has been inserted by the author in verse 43 of this section.

At the end of the document we have, "This is the signature of the illustrious *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Trilōchanapāladēvarāja*" (lines 54-55) and a statement to the effect that it was written by *Mahāsādhivigrahika Śaṅkaraiya* in the presence of *Mahāmūkyā Ākalaiya* and other officers of the *Śrikarāya* or record department (lines 55-56).

The Chaulukya family represented by Trilōchanapāla of the Surat plates and *Ēkallahāra* grant is also known from other epigraphic and literary sources. The Surat plates<sup>1</sup> of Śaka 940 (1018 A.D.), issued by his grandfather *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Kirtirāja* of *Lāṭa-dōśa*, give the name of Bārāpa's father as *Nimbārka* and mention *Kirti's Rāshtrakūṭa feudatory Śarabhu, son of*

<sup>1</sup> Bhandarkar's List, No. 1088.



Amṛita and grandson of Kunda. The Rewa inscription<sup>1</sup> of the Kalachuri year 812 (1060-61 A.D.) refers to the defeat of Trilōchana, probably the Lāṭa Chauḷukya chief of that name, by Vapula or Vapullaka, a general of Kalachuri Karṇa of Tripuri. Among literary references, the *Ras-Māhā*, mentions Bārappa as a general of 'Telip, the sovereign of Telingana', who is no doubt the Later Chāṭakya king Tailapa or Taila II (973-97 A.D.) of Karpāṭa,<sup>2</sup> from whom the former apparently received the governorship of Lāṭa. According to Mārtuṅga's *Prābandhachintāmani*,<sup>3</sup> the Sōlāṅki king Mūlarāja (c. 961-96 A.D.) was defeated jointly by Bārappa and the [Chāḷamāna] king of Sākambhari and fled to the Kanthā-durga. Hōmachandra's *Dvāpārayakāvya* describes how the Sōlāṅki army entered Lāṭa after crossing the Śvabhṛavati (modern Sabarmati) at the southern boundary of the Sōlāṅki kingdom and advanced as far as Bīṛṅgukachchha (Broach) and how Mūlarāja's son Chāmupā killed Bārappa.<sup>4</sup> But Bārappa's son Gōggi appears to have succeeded in retrieving the fallen fortunes of his house. The Nausari plates<sup>5</sup> (Vikrama 1131-1074 A.D.) of Sōlāṅki Karṇarāja (c. 1061-94 A.D.), descendant of Mūlarāja, however, show that his feudatory Durlabharāja was ruling in that year from Nāgasārikā, probably the same as Navasārikā or Nausari. Thus the Chauḷukya house of Lāṭa, owing allegiance to the Chāḷukyas of Karpāṭa, appears to have been ousted by the Sōlāṅkis before 1074 A.D.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, Karyākubja is the well-known Kanauj in the Farrukhabad District of U.P. We are not sure about the location of the *maḷāsthāna* of Rōhiṇī, the village of Ēkallahāra and the places mentioned in the description of the boundaries of the latter. The territorial unit called Karmāntapura-116, in which the gift village was situated was probably a tract in the present Broach District. It is mentioned in the Surat plates (Śaka 789)<sup>6</sup> of the Rāshṭrakūṭa chief Dhruva III as a tract in which the gift village called Pārāhanaka was situated.

## TEXT

[Metres: verse 1 *Srogdharā*; verses 2-3 *Vaṅśasthasilā*; verses 4-11, 14, 22-23, 27-33, 35-41 *Anuśṭubh*; verses 12-13, 15-16, 19 *Upajūti*; verses 17-18, 20, 42 *Indravajrā*; verses 21 *Śārdūlavikrīṭita*; verse 24 *Vasantatilaka*; verses 25-26 *Ārgyūti*; verse 34 *Upajūti*; verse 43 *Upajūti* (*Śālinī-Upendravajrā*)]

## First Plate

1\*

- 1 [ॐ] || jayāś-śh-ābhyudayaś-śha || Vā(Bā)ṅgāni vṛṅ-ākṣamālā kamalam-śhīm-athō bṛjapūram  
triśū(śū)lām khaṭvāṅgam dāna-
- 2 hastām(śt-ā)bhaya-kara-sahitāḥ pāpāyō dhārayantāḥ\* []\* rakṣamtu vyamjayaṁśaḥ  
śakala-rasa-mayam Dēvadēvaya chi-
- 3 ttaṁ nō śhēd-ēvam kathāni nyā(vā) tribhuvanam-akhilam pūlitam dānavēbhyah || १ ||  
Dadhāti mālām-atha chakra-

\* *Ind. No. 1228*; cf. *UII*, Vol. IV, pp. 278 ff.

\* *Ray, DBNI*, Vol. II, p. 337.

\* *Tawney's trans.*, p. 23.

\* *Jed. As. Vol. IV*, p. 111; *Ray, op. cit.*, p. 339.

\* *Bhandarkar's List*, No. 141.

\* *Jed. As. Vol. XII*, p. 186, text lines 8-9 on Plate III.

\* From impressions.

\* This is engraved in the left margin near the beginning of line 6.

\* The ten-armed Śiva described here is rarely met with in sculpture.



- 4 kaustubhan [gadām] dhanuḥ saṁ(sam)kham-ih-siva pañkajam(jam |) Hariḥ sa pātu  
tndasā(ā-ā)dhīpō bhūba(vam) rasapu<sup>1</sup> sa-
- 5 svvāhu nishanna(ṅṅa)-mānasah || 2 || Kamañjalurū darūdam-atha [arṇham] bi(vi)-  
bhur-ebhīharttī mālām bhuvan-ābhaya-
- 6 pradah || (|) pāyād-Ajō lōkasm-asē(sē)sham=[ūrj]itam samō-pi ś(ś)hai rajitō rasis-tu  
yah || 3 || Kadāchid-dai-
- 7 tya-khōd-ō[1\*]tha-chintā-matī[ds]ra-matī[tha]nādvī(t | Vi)[r]māchōs=chuluk-āmbhōdhō rāja-  
ratnam pumān-abhit(bhūt) || 4 || Dōva
- 8 kiñ karavā-iti natvā prāha tam-ē[va] sah | samādhī-ārttha-sahsiddhan tushṭah  
śraahvā(Śraah-ā)bravich=[cha\*] tam(tam) ||<sup>2</sup>
- 9 || 5 || Kanyākubjō mahārāja [Rāsh]tra[kū]tasaya kanyakān(kām) || (|) lavdhā(bdhvā)  
sukhāya tasyā[m\*] tvam **Chauluky-ā**
- 10 puñi samtatit(tim) || (6 |) [t]tham-a]tra bhavō[t\*] kshātra-samtatir-vvisitā Lila |  
Chaulukyād-vitatā nadyāḥ
- 11 sūtām=iva mahādhāt || 7 || Samtāna-tamtūshu prōtām(tā)ś-Chaulukyō maṅayō  
nripāḥ | tasyāḥ tu ma-
- 12 pi-mālāyā[m\*] nāyakō **Bāba(ra)pō**=bhavatu(vat) || 8 || Tasy-āpi su(su)ddha-  
vañsa(śa)ya **Gōg[gi]rājah**

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 13 sūtō= bhavajji(t | ji)tvā vairi-bala[m\*] yēna prajānām-abhayaḥ kṛtām(tam) || 9 ||  
Tasmād=abhūd-guṇī rājā **KI-**
- 14 rttirājō [ma]hābalah | kirttyā yēna jagat-kṛishṇaḥ dhavalikṛitam-āsu(śu) tat || 10 ||  
Gōḥ puṅḥ pā[r]ttihivā
- 15 bhūri padā[etb-ā\*]yata[n]ḥ gurau | sūtō kshira[m\*] si(śi)rā k-āpi mātya(tā) śrīshu  
tath-siva cha || 11 || Ā-jaṇma dṛishṭā(ahy-ā)ūmanō-
- 16 harasya mu[dā] tath-ā]pūryata sarva-lōkah || (|) yath-āmrit-āpūrṇa-ghaṭ samānath  
n-ārthya(rihya)t-āpi stuti-bh[dn-pā]-
- 17 [tath] || 12 || La[gnat] tathā kshnāpati-pāpi-pādō yuthā sthītam vakshasi ratna-  
sāmī || (|) gōya[m\*] tyajadbhi[ḥ] śroti-
- 18 [koma]lābhayām kṛitvā padam mukhyam-ath-āsu(śu) tam [ta\*]t || 13 || Samō-pi  
eprihanṭyathō(tvō) pakvāḥ(kv-ā)nnasy-ōva yōchitām(tām) | bhō-
- 19 [gus-tō]na para-śripām(pā)m-uchchihāṭasy-āva varjjitah || 14 || Sa y[au]van-  
ōnna[t\*]ta-gajēndra-pārvō(rāvā)d-dhāva[n\*]-manō-mā-
- 20 na(ra)yad-ēvam-ētat | tasmād=ritō h=indriya-khōtakōna vilamghitā vaishayiki na sīmā  
|| 15 || Ālam(b)-
- 21 [nibh]ta-mahādhātās-tān-ullamghya jushṭam patanam guṇō(p-au)ghuḥ | kutō=nyathā  
tō sakajā bahhūvu[ḥ\*] katham cha [tō\*] ta[t\*]-sa-
- 22 ha vridhhi[m]-ōp[ub] || 16 || Kāya(yō)na gōh-ādi-nibhāna jivō vyōm-ōva jaditōe-  
vyavadhīyatē sma | tasmāt=parasm-

<sup>1</sup> Read rasāta.

<sup>2</sup> The mark of penetration is here unnecessary.

<sup>3</sup> The reading may also be Gōgi.

THREE COPPER-PLATE CHARTERS—Plate IV

3. Ekallahāra Grant of Trilōchanapāla, Śaka 972

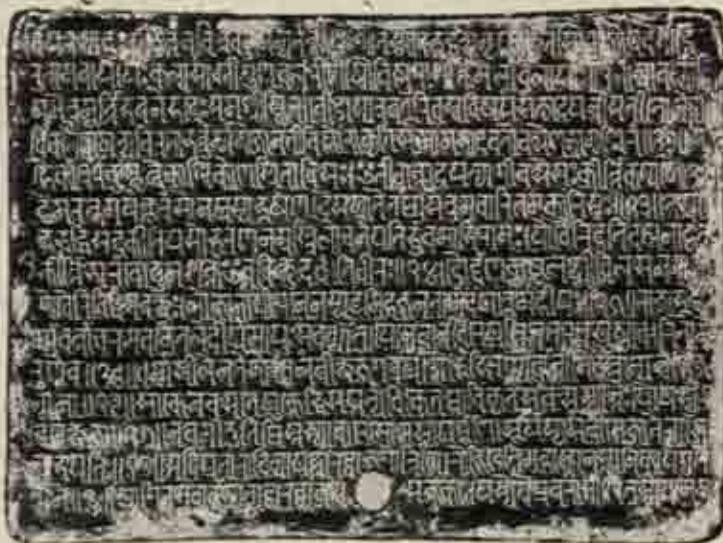
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Scale : One-third

- 23 na(nn-a)hama(m-ē)va ma(tvā) lakshmi[m] samā[m\*] eś-rthi-[ja]nair-a[bbu]mā[ti]a || 17 |  
Yā(Ya)tr-ātma-phā tapasī pradānē eś-
- 24 kō-pi satvā(trvā) d-bhavatōḥ phala(lā)ya | rājyō-pi chintā-vikadō(t-ō)[r]ja-bhāvan pi(pā)  
jākamu yachchhata ēva dharmam |
- 25 | 18 ||| Chittō na kasy-āpi trishakti(śhā) na dātā paraaya jhīm(chhīm)dyād-āmitān mitān  
mitēna ||| atah sa grihā-

## Second Plate, Second Side

2\*

- 26 ti parasya dnb[kham] datta[m] cha vitta[m] va(ba)humanyatō-rtthi || 19 || Taamā  
abhūd-Vatsa-nripah kshitrō(śō) rājy-ōpadō[śā]d-gu-
- 27 rutām-avāpa | yah kalpa-śā(śā)khi guṇa-vala(lā)riṇām yō Vishṇu-āsīt-Kamal-āva(ba)  
lāyāḥ || 20 || Ā ba(bā)lyād-i-
- 28 yamē(m-a)tra mārta-bhavanō bhadrōḥ(draḥ) samam āri sthitā |\* vrid-āpy-ātra vadbūr  
iva sva-vishayam satcchhādayanti satī | tām-ēv-ā-
- 29 dhikatām nayaty-aviratō[m\*] bhartur-mmānō jānati Vishṇō-ākṛiti-śa(śā)myam-asya  
dadhatō Vatsō-nāmnā-chirān(ram) || 21 || Śa-
- 30 b-śik-āruva(ba)ru-dustharvō kōchi[ti\*]-kōpa-śritā disal(śah) | it-iv-āchchhādaya[ti\*]-  
tyāgī Vatsō-sub(śah) kirtti-ka[r\*]ppa[ai]h\* || 22 ||
- 31 Hōma-ratna-mayam chohha(ohha)tram Sō[ma\*]na(nā)thasya bhūshana[m\*] | dēsa(śa)-  
prō[m\*]tā tathā satra(ttra)m-avāritam-akāri śah || 23 || Taamā-
- 32 d-ābhūd-visa(śa)da-kī[r\*]ti-yasō(śō) bhar[ē]ḥa namraśtri(=Tri)lōchana-patir-bhuvamē-  
(n-ā)bhūramah | yō vairi-dadati-dalan-āhṛita-
- 33 kirtti-bhāmō vājūm-śakta<sup>1</sup> iva dikshu dadhāti vīrah || 24 || Dōr-dday[ē\*]a-  
kṛishja-lakshmi-vilasana-subha-
- 34 gō vairi-vidhvamsa-dakshah | lōkānām pālanēna apu(sphu)tam-śha janat-ānanda-pātra[m\*]  
mahipah || 25 || Rāj-ābhūd-śha-
- 35 nma-dhartā cha(chi)ram-avanitālē dīrgham-āyuh sa dadhyāt | yēn-ēdān[m\*] dhar-  
ēya[m\*] sthiratata-vapushā dhāritā Mō-
- 36 ruṇ-ēva || 26 || Dharmna-si(śi)lēna tēn-ēdām va(cha)rah vikah[y\*]a jagat-trayād-  
(yam) | gō-bhā-hiranya-dānāni dattāny-andha<sup>2</sup> dvija-
- 37 nmanā(nō) || 27 || Śā(Śā)lō nava-satō<sup>3</sup> yuktō dvīsaptaty-adhikō tathā ||\*  
Vikṛita-savatsaryāntōḥ<sup>4</sup> Paushasya [śu]-
- 38 ddha-pakshajā || 28 || Navamī tu tithis-tasyā[m\*] vārē Sōmasya parvayī |  
Sūryasya sarik[r\*]amē |\* tē rīsan(śau)
- 39 it<sup>5</sup> bhapatā || 29 || Śa vipra-Tārādityāya Bhāradvāja-śa[ga\*]gōtriṇō | Rōhid-ēti  
mahā-ethāna-ethānikāya guṇ-ā-

<sup>1</sup> This word is redundant.<sup>2</sup> This is included in the left margin near the beginning of line 33.<sup>3</sup> The *dasō* is redundant.<sup>4</sup> Read *vōdhu* or *na śānti* for the sake of the metre.<sup>5</sup> The intended reading may be *etha*.<sup>6</sup> Read *śakti*.<sup>7</sup> Read *vatsavya-dak*.<sup>8</sup> The reading expected here is *Mōkarē*. The word *kāka* of course means the Pūrva-Phalgunī nakshatra.



40 tmanō || 30 || Ā[n\*]ḡitasa-Vā(Bā)rhaspatya-Dvā(Bhā)radvājaścha(j-ṣti)-samjñakāḥ |  
yasyū(sy=ai)tē pravardā=trīpi<sup>1</sup> tasmā grāmam=a-

## Third Plate

3<sup>r</sup>

- 41 dā[n\*]-urīpaḥ || 31 || **Karmmārīntaoura-nāmiya-śatē** tu śhōḡasō(ś-ṣ)ḡtarō || pra-  
dattas-ub-śdakān-a-
- 42 yam-**Śkallahāra**-śa[n\*]jñakāḥ || 32 || Nidhāu-ālpakō vā(bā)hyō kumārī-sāhasa(n\*)  
tathā ||<sup>2</sup>
- 43 mahā-dōya(śhō)ḡira pañch-śdam(yarh) dattis=cha dvija-dōvayōḥ || 33 || Yasya tu  
pūrvasyā[n\*] diś [grāman\*] **Nikusādhi- Vi-**
- 44 **hāpakau** | dakṣhiṇataḥ **Kurmālā** paśchim-ōttarataḥ **Kuñḡalījīkā** ||<sup>3</sup> 34 ||  
U[ī\*]ḡaratō **Dadhishā-**
- 45 nam-[i]ty-śghāta-chaśashayam || [35 ||<sup>4</sup> Tasmā[d\*]-śviḡa-varasy=śaya bhū[n\*]ḡatō  
na vikalpanā | karṭavyō kaścha-
- 46 na mata(rāḥ) śādhv-śādhu-sām-śkhyakāḥ || 36 || Ath=airvam yaḡi ḡpt-āyā(sya)  
śō(śa) tadā pāpō(pa)-bhājana(n)ḡnam) | jā-
- 47 lanō(nō) lu parō dharmō haraḡō pātaka(n\*) urāhat || 37 || tathā ch-ōktam(ktam) |  
Kanyāmakam(m-śkām) govāmakam(m-śkām) bhūmō-
- 48 r-anīdh-śndham-a[n\*]ḡula(n\*) | haran-śrakam-āpnōti yāvad-ābhūta-samplavat(vam)  
|| 38 || Sva-dattāḥ para-dattān vā yō [harō]-
- 49 ta vasuḡharā[n\*] | śhaśṡi-varsha-sahātrā(śrā)pi viśṡhāyā[n\*] jāyatō krimib || 39 ||  
Yas=tu pālayatō bhūmī[n\*] [bhū]-
- 50 nipālas-tath-ōtarāḥ | sa dātūḥ phalam-āpnōti samach dīrgham cha jīvati || 40 ||  
Va(Ba)ḡubhūr-vvasudhā bhā-
- 51 kā rājahīḡ(bhīḡ) Sagar-ādībhīḡ | yasya yasya yaḡā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phala(n\*)  
|| 41 || Agūḡ=śpa-
- 52 tyam prathama[n\*] svaryagḡ bhūr-vvasiḡgavi sūrya-śūtāś-cha gāvaḥ | lōkāś-trayas-  
tḡna bhavānti dattā yaḡ kāmoḡanam<sup>5</sup> gām
- 53 cha mahāś cha śadyāt || 42 || Sāmānyō-yam dharmmā-śa(ś)tu(r\*)-śrīpāḡān kāḡ  
kāḡ pālanīyō bhava-
- 54 dbhīḡ | śva-varḡa(śa)jā vā para-varḡa(śa)jā vā **Trilōchanaḡ** prārīthayatō  
mahāśāḡ(śān) || [43 ||<sup>6</sup> ] śvalastō-yam mahāmūḡ(śa)ḡ-
- 55 śva(śva)ra-śrī-**Trilōchanapālādēvarājasya** cha<sup>7</sup> || chha || śikḡitam śi(śā)namam-  
idam mahāmītya-śrī-<sup>8</sup> ākulaiya-
- 56 pabhīḡī-śrīkarḡa-samakāḡ mahāś[n\*]ḡhivīḡḡahīra-śrī-Sakarāyapa<sup>9</sup> || maḡḡalah  
mahā-śrīḡ ||<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Read 'traya'.<sup>2</sup> This is engraved in the left margin about the beginning of line 46.<sup>3</sup> This is really half of a stanza in *Śvetāśūtrā*.<sup>4</sup> This *śvaśāśa* is of the Bengali type.<sup>5</sup> This word is redundant.<sup>6</sup> *Śvadā* has not been observed here.<sup>7</sup> The intended reading is *Śvalastōyāś-śvalastōyāś*.<sup>8</sup> There is a symbol here looking like the upper right half of a trident.

## No. 2—PRAKASA INSCRIPTION OF SIMHANA'S TIME, SAKA 1156

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR AND V. S. SUBRAMANYAM, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 31.5.1961)

The slab of stone bearing the inscription published here was discovered in the house of Shri Prabhakar Master of Prakāśā which is a prosperous village in the Shahada Taluk of the West Khandesh District, about 9 miles from Shahada and 62 miles from Dhulia. The stone slab is found embedded in the flooring near a well in the compound of Shri Master's house so that people have to stand on it while drawing water from the well. It is therefore quite natural that the writing on the slab is considerably rubbed off.

A photograph of the inscription was received in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India in 1954 and the record was noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, 1954-55*, No. B 89. Since the epigraph could not be fully deciphered from the photograph, the findspot was later visited by the officers of the Epigraphical Branch for copying it.

The inscription is written in 24 lines covering an area about 1 foot 8 inches in breadth and 2 feet in height. The characters of the record are Southern Nāgarī and its language is Sanskrit. No peculiarity of its orthography is worthy of mention. The record is a eulogy written in fifteen stanzas with a few passages in prose. The date of the inscription is quoted in lines 20-21 as the Saka year 1156, Vijaya, falling in the reign of the illustrious Śiṅghana-mahārāja, i.e. the Yādava king Simhana, c. 1210-47 A.D. The year Vijaya of Jupiter's sixty year cycle as calculated in South India corresponded to Śaka 1155 expired and Śaka 1156 current, i.e. 1233-34 A.D. No other details of the date are quoted in the inscription.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple of the Sun-god called Vikramārka by two brothers named Haradēva and Mahādēva who belonged to a family of Brāhmanas of the Ātrēya-gotra.

The inscription begins with the *ustūyita : Ōm svasti*, followed by a passage in prose introducing the sage Atri. Next follows verse 1 (lines 2-3) which introduces Tōjasvī or the Sun-god as the dispeller of the darkness that was the demons at the instance of the said sage. It is difficult to say what particular story of our mythology is referred to here since it is not readily traceable in the epic and Puranic literature besides the vague association of Atri, the Sun-god and the Asuras in the *Mahābhārata*, Anuśāsana-parvan, chapter 146. Prakāśā being a holy place at the junction of the Tāpī and the Gōmī, there was probably a *sthala-purāṇa* recording the mythological traditions of the place and the story referred to in our inscription may have found a place therein.

Verses 2-6 in lines 4-9 introduce the family sprung from the sage Atri and describe the many qualities of its members. Verse 7 (lines 9-11) mentions a ruling chief of the family, by name Prabhuvāra, as well as Abhrāśyāma who was the son of Prabhuvāra. Jagadēvaprabhu, son of Abhrāśyāma, is introduced in verse 8 (lines 11-12) while the following stanza (verse 9 in lines 12-15) apparently mentions Siddhiprabhu and Vaidyanātha respectively as the son and grandson of Jagadēva. Verse 10 (lines 15-16) speaks of Dēvala who was the son of Vaidyanātha and the next two stanzas (verses 11-13 in lines 16-20) mention the two sons of Dēvala, viz. Haradēva and Mahādēva, who are stated to have built the temple of Vikramārka that became an ornament of



**Prakāsā.** The heroes of the eulogy were thus Haradōva and Mahādōva who were Brāhmanas of Ātrōya-gōtra and belonged to a family of ruling chiefs. Whether this family had its headquarters at Prakāsā, the findspot of the inscription under study, although that is quite possible, cannot be satisfactorily determined since Prakāsā is a holy place and it is equally possible to think that the two brothers visited it on pilgrimage and caused the temple to be built on the holy spot.

The following passage in prose in lines 20-22 quotes the date discussed above as falling not only in the reign of **Sīmhapa-mahārāja** but also in the *vyāpāra* or administration of **Sahasralīnga Vajjū-nāyaka** who was no doubt Sīmhapa's viceroy ruling over the district including Prakāsā. The name of this Yūdava subordinate is not known from any other record. The use of the word *vyāpāra* in the sense of administration in the passage in question reminds us of such passages as *amukā mudrā-vyāpāraṃ parispantayati* used in introducing viceroys in certain early medieval inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> The word *vyāpāra* used in the present context obviously means *mudrā-vyāpāra* of the other records.

Verse 14 (lines 22-23) following the above section in prose again refers to the construction of the temple of Vikramārka by Haradōva and Mahādōva while the last stanza of the record (verse 15 in lines 23-24) contains a prayer to the effect that the god Vikramārka may grant prosperity to the two brothers who built his temple and their fame may spread on account of the temple. The record ends with the *maṅgala : śloka*.

There is no **geographical name** in the inscription except Prakāsā where the temple of the Sun-god called Vikramārka was built.

### TEXT<sup>2</sup>

[Metros : verses 1-6, 8, 10, 12-15 *Anuṣṭubh*; verses 7, 9 *Sārdūlavikrīṭita* verses 11, 13 *Vasantatīkṛt*.]

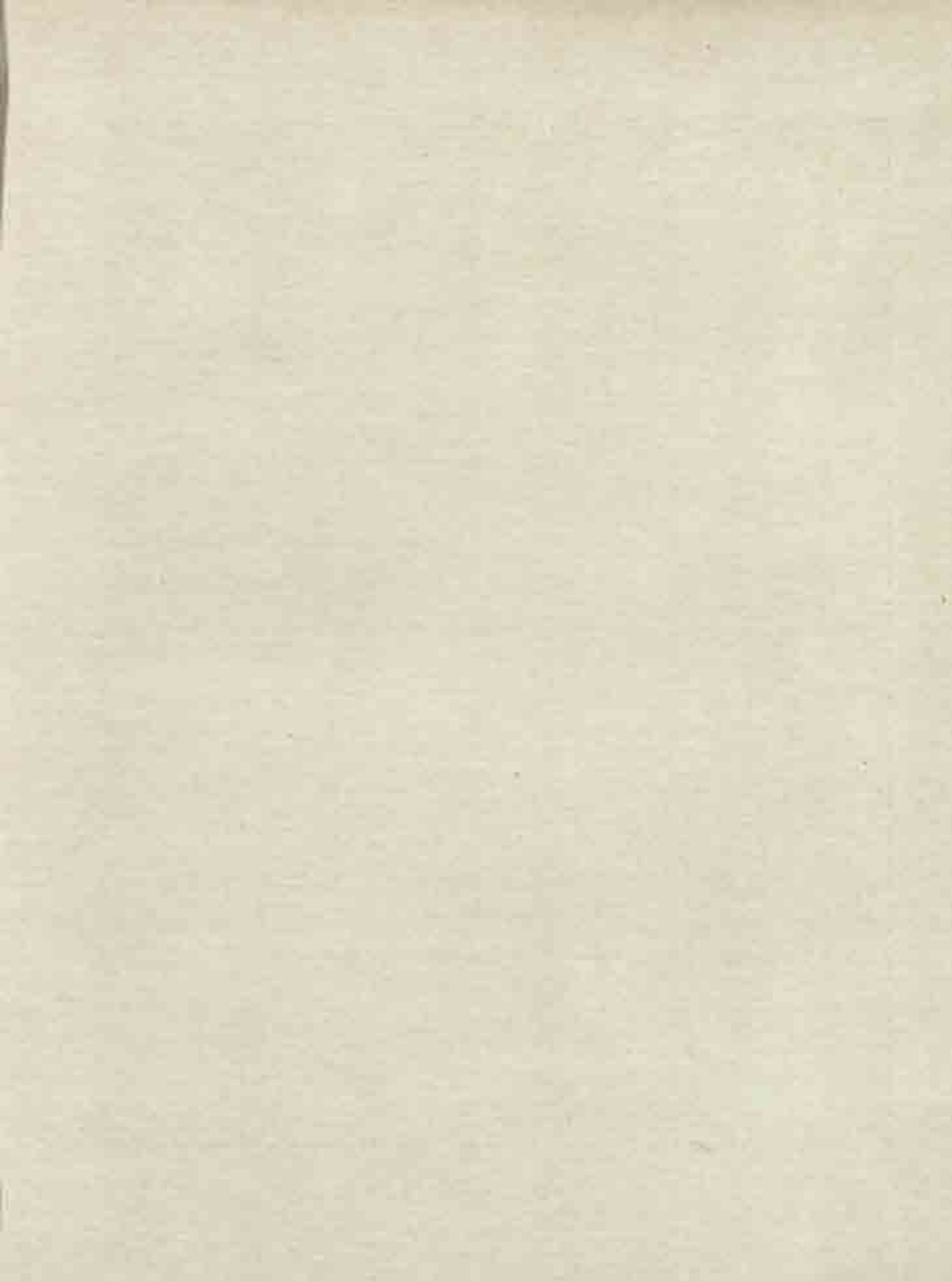
- 1 ओं स्वस्ति समस्त[मुनिमनुज]वृन्दवृन्दारकवंचपदारविददंढः परा(र)-
- 2 मेष्टि(ष्टि)सम[\*] समस्तसद्गुला(णो)पेतोत्रिनामा महर्षिरासीत् ॥ वितृते] सप्ततती तु<sup>3</sup>
- 3 [स्व]सदस्यासुरं तमः । द्व(स्व)मयामास [तजस्वी] महर्षिवचनात्पुरा ॥[१\*]<sup>4</sup>
- 4 आ(अ)स्ति स्वस्तिमती तस्य संततिव्विश्रुता भुवि । यद्योत्पना(जा)ः सुसंपन्ना न-<sup>5</sup>
- 5 येन विनयेन च ॥[२\*] वृत्तवतः प्रभावतः सर्वे सन्मणिसन्निभाः । वेदवेदांगवे-<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 164.

<sup>2</sup> From impressions.

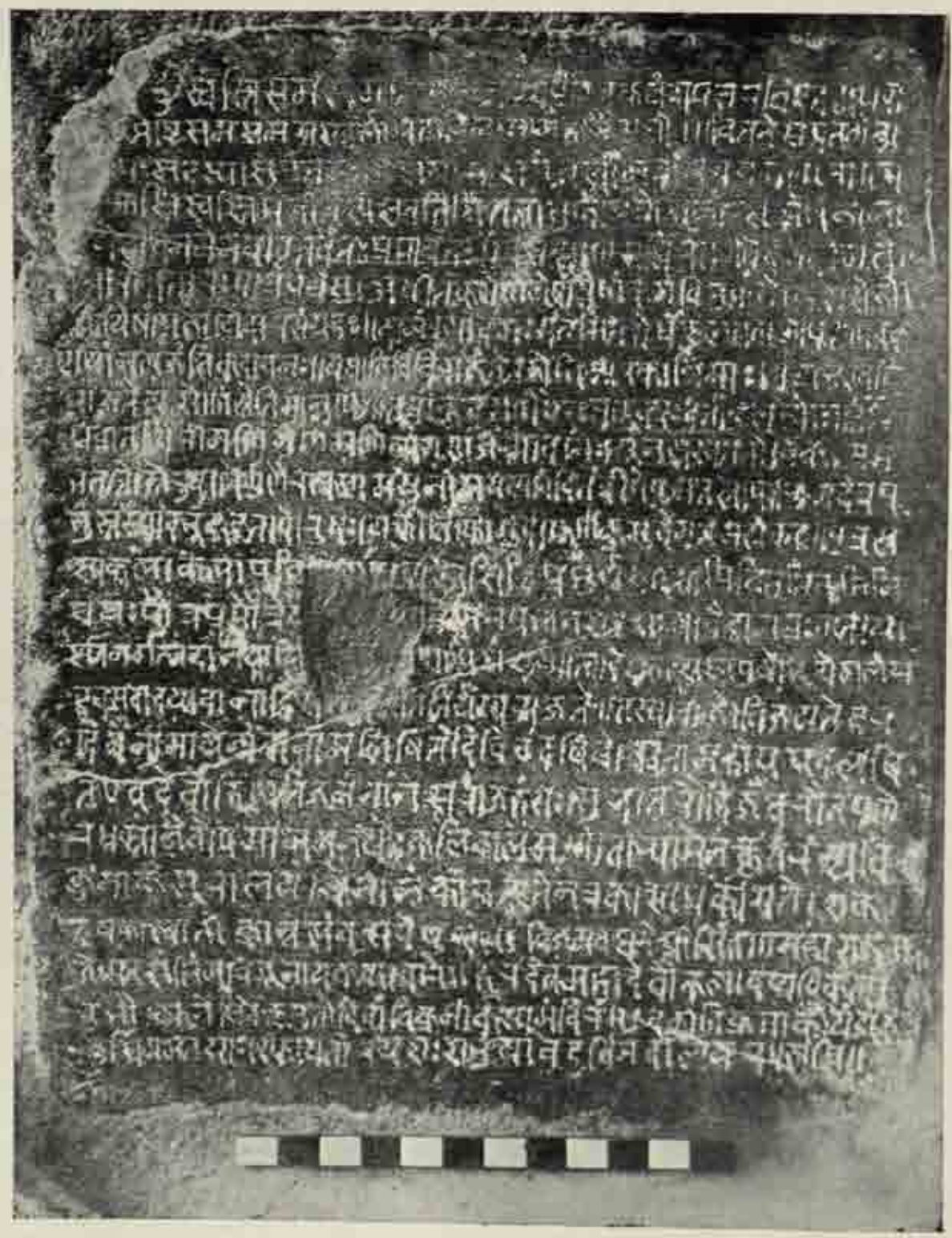
<sup>3</sup> There is a *śloka* at the end of the line to cover a little empty space.

<sup>4</sup> There appear to be traces of an unnecessary *akṣara* at the end of the line.



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(from Photograph)



- 6 सारो दातारः पात्रपर्व्वसु ॥[13\*] अर्घांतं कर्मणे ये[षां] स्त(त)था कर्म विमुक्तये ।  
यशसे जी-<sup>1</sup>
- 7 वितं येषां प्रजायं दारसंग्रहः ॥[14\*] दानं दया दमः [सत्य]मेतद्येषां]  
कुलव्रतं(तम्) । आपद्यपि च क-
- 8 ष्टायां न त्यजति कदाचनः(न) ॥ [15\*] यथा दिवि विराजंते तेजोभि-  
स्तारका[स्त्वि]माः । तथा भुवि वि-
- 9 राजते यसोभिस्तेतिमानुषैः ॥[16\*] तस्याभूज्जगतीधरः प्रभुवरः<sup>2</sup> कर्ता कुलस्योन्नतेवि-
- 10 प्रव्रातशिरोमणिर्गुणमणिप्रामस्य जन्मा[वनिः] । सनुस्तस्य ततोधिकः सम-
- 11 भवत्तंस्तंरुदारैर्गुणैरभ्रस्यामसुनाम यस्य विदितं द्वीपेषु सप्तस्वपि ॥[17\*] जगदेवप्र-
- 12 भुस्तस्माद्भूदद्भूतपौरुषः । यत्कीर्त्तिकीमुदी कर्णकुमुदेमृतमलवत् ॥[18\*] पुत्रस्त-
- 13 स्य कलाकलाप[ति] ७ — — यस्तु सिद्धिप्रभुयस्याद्यापि विभूतिभूतिनि-
- 14 चयः पौत्रप्रगोत्रे ७ — । — — ७ मरुप्रभावसदृशः श्रीवैद्यनाथः कृती स-
- 15 स्यं(स्या)नगंलदानवारि ७ ७ — [ता]द्यापि संशुष्यति ॥[19\*] देव]लस्तस्य पुत्रो-  
भूतेशलं य-
- 16 इच्च[ः] सदा । दयादानावि[स] . . .<sup>4</sup> संततियस्य राजते ॥[110\*] तस्मात्मजो  
विजयते हर-
- 17 देवनामा येनात्मनाम लिपि(लि)तं दिवि चंद्रविधे । आता महोपपदलिपि(लि)-
- 18 त एव देवो [दिव\*]द्विजातिजनना(मा)नसराजहंसः ॥[111\*] सुभ्रातरो द्विजवरो  
स[र]णे-

<sup>1</sup> There is a *dashā* at the end of the line to cover a little empty space.

<sup>2</sup> This verse reminds us of Kālidāsa's *Raghavacharita*, I, 7: *Yadasi vyajlekshyām prajāyai grīhamāhānam* ]

<sup>3</sup> We have taken *Pradhara* as the personal name and *Jagatidhara* as his epithet because the word *pradhā* occurs in the names of Jagatīrāprabhu and Siddhiprabhu who were respectively his grandson and great-grandson.

<sup>4</sup> The intended word is no doubt *sarṇamā*.

- 19 रघुस्तार्क्ष्योऽनाममनयोः कलिकालमध्ये ॥[१२\*]<sup>1</sup> ताभ्यामेतत्कृतं रम्यं वि-
- 20 क्रमाकंसुरालयं(यम्) । येनासकारभूतेन प्रकाशा[सौ\*] प्रकाशते ॥[१३\*] शक-
- 21 नृपकालाती(ति)क्रान्तसंवत्सरेषु ११५६ विजयवत्सरे श्रीसिषणमहाराजरा-
- 22 ज्ये सहस्रं(स)लिंगवैजनायकव्यापारे ॥ हरदेवमहादेवौ कलावप्यविकला-<sup>2</sup>
- 23 बुभौ । कालेस्मिन् कुर्वतो दिव्यं विक्रमाकंस्य मंदिरं(रम्) ॥[१४\*] [न]दको  
विक्रमाकंसं य[च्छ]-
- 24 तु धियमेतयोः । स्थायतां च यशः शुभ्रं वाक्दुर्वि तदालयम् ॥[१५\*]  
स्वस्ति ॥

<sup>1</sup> The latter half of this stanza is omitted through oversight.

<sup>2</sup> Read *śāntam*.

### No. 3—RAMESVARAM INSCRIPTION OF NISSANKAMALLA

(1 Plate)

S. PARANAVITANA, PERADENIYA, CEYLON

(Received on 27.5.1961)

This inscription is engraved on the surface (3 feet 10 inches square) of a stone *śaṅga*, now used as a *baḷi-piṭha* and placed close to the *dhvaja-stambha* of the Rāmanāthasvāmin temple at Rāmeśvaram in the Ramanathapuram District, Madras. It was copied in 1905 by the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, who queried whether it is written in the Vajjajattu script.<sup>1</sup> I learnt of this inscription from Shri K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar when I was attached to the office of the Government Epigraphist for India, from 1923 to 1935, as a scholar of the Ceylon Government. Shri Subrahmanya Ayyar remarked on the peculiar manner in which the writing had been executed and said that the script appeared to him to be Sinhalese. Though I was anxious at that time to have a look at the inscription, I could not get an estampage to be examined before I left India to join the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon. Some time after, when I was Epigraphical Assistant to the Archaeological Commissioner, Ceylon, Shri C. R. Krishnamachari, then Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, kindly sent me, at my request, an estampage of the record. An examination of this revealed that the inscription is in the Sinhalese language and script and that it is of Niśāṅkamalla. A brief notice of this record has been included in the 'Epigraphical Summary' of the *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Section G, Vol. II, Part 2, pp. 105-06. The estampage sent by the Superintendent for Epigraphy is preserved in the collection of the Archaeological Commissioner in Colombo. In January 1960, Shri K. G. Krishnan, Assistant Superintendent for Epigraphy, Ootacamund, who kindly supplied me with a second estampage, requested me to furnish him with the text and translation of the inscription to be included in the *South Indian Inscriptions*. I supplied him with a Romanised transcript and an English translation. The full decipherment of what is still preserved of this record revealed that, in spite of its fragmentary character, it is not without interest to the student of Ceylon history and archæology, and I wrote to Dr. D. C. Sircar, Government Epigraphist for India, for his permission to make it the subject of an article to a learned journal in Ceylon. While very kindly acceding to my request, Dr. Sircar invited me to contribute an article on this record to the *Epigraphia Indica*, and it is as a result of this kind invitation that the present paper has been written.

The letters are inscribed between ruled lines, 1 inch to 1½ inches apart, and range in size between 1 inch and 1½ inch. The writing, commencing at the upper right hand corner, is continued rightwards on all four sides before a second line is begun below and about an inch to the right of the point at which the first began, the result being that the lines progressively decrease in length. The writing is continued in this manner towards the centre of the surface until a space of 5 inches square is left. This space is occupied by the engraving of a lotus, in each of the eight petals of which there had been a Tamil letter. Only one of these is now legible, and their significance is therefore lost to us.<sup>2</sup> In numbering the lines, in the text, each one of them is taken as running through all the four sides of the stone. This peculiar method of arranging the writing is seen on a number of stone *śaṅgas* of Niśāṅkamalla found at Polonnaruwa and other places in the Island.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *A. S. Ep.*, 1905, No. 90; see p. 24.

<sup>2</sup> [They appear to be mason's marks.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> See, e.g. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, Plates 25 and 26.



The use to which the *śasana* has been put for some time has been detrimental to the writing and even when estampages of the record were prepared over half a century ago, about half of it had become almost totally illegible. I understand that the writing on this *śasana* is completely effaced now.

The script is Sinhalese of the second half of the twelfth century and conforms to the type with which we are familiar from numerous epigraphs of that period. The individual letters in this record, however, are somewhat smaller in size than those in other records of the time. The language is Sinhalese of the same period and, as is usual, contains a fair admixture of Sanskrit  *tatsamas*. In style, there is a definite striving after literary effect.

The inscription bears no date; but, as will be shown later, its date can be fixed within the limits of four or five years by internal evidence. It contains an eulogy of a king styled *Kālīnga-chakravartī*, who is referred to in the *Chūḍarāma* by the name of *Kitti Nisēaṅka*<sup>1</sup> and, in the epigraphical records, by the name of *Nisēaṅkamalla* with additions of various magnificent epithets.<sup>2</sup> He was a scion of the *Kālīnga-vaṃśa*, with which a number of Sinhalese rulers, including Mahinda IV and Vijayabāhu I, had contracted matrimonial alliances.<sup>3</sup> The *Kālīnga* from which this royal stock hailed, as I have demonstrated elsewhere,<sup>4</sup> was not the well-known *Kālīnga* in India, but a region in the Malay Peninsula, referred to in Sinhalese historical writings by the name of *Jāvaka* and *Tambaliṅga* (*Tamaliṅgamu*) also.<sup>5</sup> But this Malayan royal family had been founded by immigrants from *Kālīnga* in India and was probably related to the Eastern *Gāḍga*.

*Nisēaṅkamalla*, son of *Śrī-Jayagōpa* and *Pārvati-mahādēvī* of *Sinhapura* (*Singora*), was invited to Ceylon by *Parākramabāhu* and trained in royal accomplishments. He is referred to as the *bīḍa* of *Parākramabāhu*, a term which may mean sister's son (Sanskrit *bhāgīnīya*) or son-in-law. Most probably, he was related to *Parākramabāhu* as son-in-law, having espoused a princess named *Subhadrā* who was actually a daughter of that monarch, or else bore a relationship to him enabling her to be called a daughter of his.<sup>6</sup> *Parākramabāhu*, when he died in 1186 A.D. after a reign of thirty-three years, was succeeded by *Vijayabāhu II*. But this monarch was murdered at the end of one year, and *Nisēaṅkamalla*, assuming control of the Sinhalese kingdom in 1187 A.D. reigned for nine years.<sup>7</sup>

*Nisēaṅkamalla* was no favourite of the chronicler and his reign has been dealt with perfunctorily in only nine verses. But, as if he had a premonition of the treatment he would receive from the author of the *Chūḍarāma*, *Nisēaṅkamalla* makes up for this neglect by the numerous and lengthy epigraphs he has left behind, not only in the capital city of *Polonnaruva*, but also at other places throughout the length and breadth of the Island.<sup>8</sup> These epigraphs extol, in hyperbolic language, the greatness of the family of *Nisēaṅkamalla*, his own accomplishments and virtues, his extraordinary liberality, his solicitude for the welfare of his subjects, the administrative reforms that he effected, his religious benefactions and the magnificent buildings that he erected for the glory

<sup>1</sup> See *Chūḍarāma*, Chapter 80, verse 18.

<sup>2</sup> See *Ep. Zey.*, op. cit., pp. 89, 95, 115, 148, 174 and 288.

<sup>3</sup> *Chūḍarāma*, Chapter 54, verses 9-10; Chapter 59, verses 29-30, 46-50.

<sup>4</sup> See S. Paranavithana, 'Ceylon and Malaysia in Medieval Times' in the *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the R. A. S.*, N. S., Vol. VII, Part I, pp. 1-42.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep. Zey.*, op. cit., p. 115.

<sup>6</sup> For the relationship between *Nisēaṅkamalla* and *Parākramabāhu*, see H.C.P. Bell in the *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, Vol. V, pp. 24-30, and *The Concise History of Ceylon* (University of Ceylon), p. 238.

<sup>7</sup> *A History of Ceylon* (University of Ceylon), Vol. I, pp. 508 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Chūḍarāma*, Chapter 80, verses 18-26. For inscriptions of *Nisēaṅkamalla*, see *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. I, No. 9; Vol. II, Nos. 13-30 and 42; Vol. III, Nos. 11 and 35.

of Buddhism, and his military exploits. The present document is but a brief sample of the magniloquent claims of this monarch. All these effusions of Nissankamalla's panegyrists were due not solely to a desire to satisfy the megalomania of the ruler, but were to a great extent meant to be propaganda designed to secure the Island dominion to the Kalinga dynasty. At least with regard to most of the buildings, for the construction of which Nissankamalla claims credit, the veracity of the statements in the epigraphs is established by monuments yet extant.<sup>1</sup>

In his earlier inscriptions, Nissankamalla refers to Parākramabāhu with respect as his senior kinsman.<sup>2</sup> In many of the later epigraphs, however, he charges Parākramabāhu with oppressive rule, claims to have relieved the people of the burdens of taxation imposed on them by his predecessor, and casts sneers at him. In many matters such as architectural undertakings and religious reforms, he has tried to excel the achievements of Parākramabāhu.<sup>3</sup> Like Parākramabāhu, he claims to have conquered the Pāṇḍya country, to commemorate which achievement he constructed a tank named Paṇḍu-vijaya.<sup>4</sup> Though the loudness with which Nissankamalla has blown his own trumpet has made him suspect with historians, there is no doubt that he was a man of tireless energy and achieved much within his brief reign of nine years.

Among the achievements for which Nissankamalla claims credit in the present epigraph, the tours of inspection within his realm, the *raśābhāra* gifts, the unification of the Saṅgha, the restoration of the Mahāthūpa at Anurādhapura, the standardisation of the grain-tax, the introduction of copper-plate grants, the expeditions to the Pāṇḍya country and the building of a shrine at Rāmsēvaram are referred to in numerous inscriptions of his, published as well as unpublished.<sup>5</sup> But this repetition in the contents of his inscriptions does not allow one to fill the portions illegible in one inscription from corresponding passages in other better preserved records. For his scribes, as if intently to avoid dullness, have introduced variations in vocabulary and phraseology in stating one and the same fact. Thus, in most published records referring to the Pāṇḍya expeditions, the word *de-sare-kā* is used in the sense of 'on two occasions';<sup>6</sup> but the present record has the synonymous *de-ijē-kā* in its place. What is stated succinctly in one document is given with greater elaboration in another.

Thus the paragraph referring to the restoration of the Ruvanvāli Dāgāba (Mahāthūpa) at Anurādhapura opens by quoting the words which the king is said to have uttered, viz. 'Do you see how a certain king has caused it to be re-built'. This is clearly a sneer at his predecessor, Parākramabāhu, who is credited in the chronicle with the restoration of this monument.<sup>7</sup> The stūpa is likened to 'a lotus to the Piñḍi kingdom'. The king is said to have ensured the success of this architectural undertaking of his by pleasing the workmen, evidently by paying them handsome wages. He is also said to have established a monastery encompassing the Dāgāba. These details are probably also given in the Vāndaruppe-vihāra inscription in Muller's *Ann. Ins. Ceyl.*, pp. 102 f.

In the passage referring to the regulation of the grain-tax, this record has the phrase *maḍaran sātara-aka* in place of *maḍaran sātara-aka* in other documents,<sup>8</sup> establishing beyond doubt that *sātara-aka* has to be broken up as *sātara-aka* and that the whole phrase has to be translated as 'four

<sup>1</sup> For the monuments of Nissankamalla, see S. Paranavitana, *Art and Architecture of the Polonnaruwa period*, pp. 23 and 29 ff.; *A History of Ceylon* (University of Ceylon), Vol. I, pp. 594 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 115 and 189.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 84, 95, 118 and 175.

<sup>4</sup> *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Section G, Vol. II, p. 187.

<sup>5</sup> *Cf. Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 120, 178 and 200.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 151 and 154.

<sup>7</sup> *Chālvartāra*, Chapter 78, verse 27.

<sup>8</sup> *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 119 and 284.



aka coins of *maḍaran* and not as four *maḍaras*, as Wickremasinghe has understood it.<sup>3</sup> Similarly, *sakak* and *tuṣaka* have to be analysed as *sa-akak* and *tuṣ-aka* and translated as six *akas* and three *akas* respectively, as Codrington has done.<sup>4</sup> As these are shown to be compounds of a numeral with the designation of a coin or weight, *maḍaran*, which precedes them, cannot mean a coin, as Wickremasinghe's translation leads one to assume.<sup>5</sup> *Maḍaran* should therefore be of the same connotation as the modern 'mad-money', 'a due paid in cash to a landlord by a tenant on being assigned a field for cultivation',<sup>6</sup> or is equivalent to the term *māḥaratan*, 'gold equal in fineness to the māḥa coin', occurring in a Sinhalese literary work of the fourteenth century.<sup>7</sup>

In line 5, we are told that the subjects of Niśaṅkamalla, far from taking part in any traitorous activities, were overjoyed on the reflection that he was a scion of the dynasty to which belonged **Suḷu-Kaliṅga, Veli and Kaḷasa**. 'Suḷu-Kaliṅga' is the Sinhalese form of the Pali *Chulla-Kāliṅga*, the hero of the *Kāliṅgabōdhi-jātaka*, who, after a romantic youth, became a *chakravarti* monarch at Dantapura in Kāliṅga.<sup>8</sup> In numerous inscriptions, Niśaṅkamalla boasts that he was descended from the Kāliṅga-chakravarti who had the power of transporting himself by air, by means of the *chakra-ratna*, as it has to be understood. This Jātaka has received elaborate poetic treatment in Sinhalese prose and has been inserted with little justification in the *Dharmapradīpikā*, a commentary on the Pali *Mahā-bodhisutta*, in explaining the phrase *Dantapurī rājā hūvā*.<sup>9</sup> It is possible that this was a piece of political propaganda by the author who probably appropriated for the purpose a literary work already existing in his time. This fact may not be without significance in deciding the date of the *Dharmapradīpikā* which, on other grounds, has been assigned to the twelfth or thirteenth century.<sup>10</sup> *Veli* and *Kaḷasa* may be names of other kings of the Kāliṅga dynasty well-known at that time; but I cannot find these names, or their Sanskrit or Pali equivalents, in literary or epigraphical sources. This reference to Suḷu-Kaliṅga and others among his forebears has not been met with in any other inscription of Niśaṅkamalla.

The reference to Niśaṅkamalla's introduction of the practice of issuing copper-plate charters contains nothing new. The account of the king's two expeditions to the Pāṇḍya country is introduced with familiar phraseology:<sup>11</sup> but the boast 'who indeed are those over the whole earth that can stand in front of the Kāliṅga-chakravarti', and the statement that the tribute sent by the princes of South India was preceded by an oath undertaking to pay tribute are not found in other records. It is also interesting to note that the word *vela*, found in several other records of Niśaṅkamalla,<sup>12</sup> is used here in a context clearly indicating its meaning to be 'oath'. It is no doubt akin to Tamil *velai* in *velaikēṭṭe*, and may be the same as Sanskrit *oṣṭhā*, 'limit', 'boundary', with the secondary meaning of 'agreement', 'covenant', just as Sanskrit *maryādā*, originally meaning 'limit', 'boundary', etc., developed these secondary meanings. The *Velai-kēṭṭas*, thus, would be the counterparts of the warriors called *Saśāptakas* in the *Mahābhārata*.<sup>13</sup>

The present record gives the information that Niśaṅkamalla remained in the Pāṇḍya country for three months, presumably on two expeditions, and repaired a dilapidated shrine. In the

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 117 and 228.

<sup>4</sup> H. W. Codrington, *Ancient Land Tenure and Revenue in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1935, p. 32.

<sup>5</sup> *A History of Ceylon* (University of Ceylon), Vol. I, p. 548.

<sup>6</sup> H. W. Codrington, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

<sup>7</sup> *Pansaya-pansaya-jātaka*, Colombo ed., 1929, p. 1662.

<sup>8</sup> *Jātaka*, No. 479, Jātaka Translation, Vol. IV by W. H. D. Rouse, pp. 142-148.

<sup>9</sup> *Dharmapradīpikā*, ed. Ven. Sri Dharmarama Nayaka Thero, 6th ed., 1951, pp. 296 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. ii; C. E. Godakumbure, *Sinhalese Literature*, Colombo, 1935, pp. 45-51.

<sup>11</sup> *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 142, 148 and 155.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 111, 112 and 133.

<sup>13</sup> S. Sorenson, *Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata*, London, 1904, p. 811; s.v. *Saśāptakas*.



corresponding statements in other records,<sup>1</sup> the impression given is that the *śaivaya* was built anew by him. The reference to an *alms-hall* built at Rāmēsvaram is also found in other records;<sup>2</sup> the present epigraph states that he acquired a village and dedicated it to the *alms-hall*. The missing portions of the relevant paragraph probably contained a reference to his going through the *śalābhāra* ceremony which, we are told by the Adam's Peak inscription, was conducted at a place named *Dāvakuḷam*,<sup>3</sup> evidently in the vicinity of Rāmēsvaram.<sup>4</sup> The statement that Niśāṅkamalla, during these expeditions, visited the islands of **Puvagu** (modern Puṅguḍutivu), **Miṇinak** (Maṇināga), **Kappa** and **Kāra** (Karaṭivu) occurs only in this epigraph. The *śaiva* itself, we are told, was the one on which the king sat, and was named *Nṛitya-gīta-dāna-vinōda*, obviously after a *vinōda* of the king. It is specifically called *vir-īśvara*, 'a hero's throne'.

The interest of the inscription lies, not so much in what it states, but in its mere presence at the place where it has been found. The contents indicate that it has been found more or less in its original setting. The people of Rāmēsvaram who were then, as now, no doubt Tamils, would not have been able to read and understand the inscription. Even if it was read and explained to them, only those references to Niśāṅkamalla's visits to the Pāṇḍya country, the repair of the temple by him and his charitable activities there would have interested them. What Niśāṅkamalla claims to have achieved in Ceylon would have left them cold. The inscription therefore must have been addressed to Sinhalese who, at Rāmēsvaram, could only have been soldiers in an army of occupation. For, it is difficult to think of Sinhalese who had gone to arid Rāmēsvaram as colonists; nor is there any clear evidence for the presence of a Sinhalese community of traders, or even of pilgrims. And, the presence of a Sinhalese army of occupation at Rāmēsvaram at this time can be explained from the events during the two or three decades preceding the date of this inscription.

We have seen above that Niśāṅkamalla came to the throne in 1187 A.D. and reigned for nine years. This record mentioning, as it does, many of Niśāṅkamalla's activities after he ascended the throne, must have been set up towards the close of his reign, at least during its second half, i.e. in or after 1192 A.D. It is well-known to students of South Indian history that, in or about 1169 A.D. Parākramabāhu the Great, the uncle or father-in-law of Niśāṅkamalla, despatched a powerful expeditionary force to the Pāṇḍya country to fight on behalf of a Pāṇḍya ruler who had solicited his assistance. This army, under the command of Laṅkāpura, landed at a place called *Talabilla* (modern Dhanushkōṭi), captured Rāmēsvaram and entrenched itself in a stronghold at *Kumukal*, a few miles beyond Rāmēsvaram. From this base, the Sinhalese army advanced, crushed all opposition and captured *Madhurā*. Parākramabāhu's nominee was installed on the *Madhurā* throne, and the Sinhalese general advanced beyond the Pāṇḍya borders to the realm of the Chōlas. After a series of brilliant victories, as we are informed by the Chōla records, the Sinhalese army was defeated by a Chōla general and forced to retreat. But the Pāṇḍya prince *Kulaśekhara*, on whose behalf the Chōlas intervened, eventually came to Parākramabāhu's side. And when he was ousted and his rival, the original protégé of the Sinhalese king, was placed on the throne of the Pāṇḍyas, he too, after a short while, allied himself with Parākramabāhu against the Chōlas.<sup>5</sup> This alliance with Parākramabāhu, one after the other, of the Pāṇḍya princes who gained the throne with Chōla support, risking the consequences of Chōla enmity not to speak of being reproached for ingratitude, seems to be inexplicable unless it is believed that the Sinhalese king

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. I, p. 134; Vol. II, pp. 120 and 156.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 126, 178 and 220.

<sup>3</sup> [The word *śalābhāra* means a temple.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> *The Colonial History of Ceylon*, Vol. II, p. 20.

<sup>5</sup> For this war, see *Nīlakaṇṭha Sastri, The Chōlas*, 2nd ed., Madras, 1955, pp. 386-32.

was able to convince them, by a show of military strength, that coming over to his side was to their advantage. And this could not probably have been done if Parākramabāhu had no military forces in South India itself.

It may be true that, as the Chōja inscriptions assert, Laukāpura suffered a crushing blow from the Chōjas, he himself losing his life; but the remnants of the Sinhalese army could have retreated to the strong fortress of Kundukai which they could have defended until reinforcements arrived from Ceylon. It therefore appears that the Sinhalese hold on Rāmēsvaram continued throughout the reign of Parākramabāhu up to that of Niśānkamalla. At any rate, Niśānkamalla himself does not claim to have captured Rāmēsvaram; if he did so, his panegyrista would not have failed to make much out of such an achievement. As his numerous inscriptions are silent on this, the inevitable conclusion is that he retained control of this strategic point as a result of the military campaign of his predecessor. Thus the two visits of Niśānkamalla to South India would have been undertaken to inspect the Sinhalese garrison already stationed there. Prudence would have dictated that, in order to face any possible hostile reception from the Pāṇḍya or an attack by the Chōja, he was accompanied by an adequate force.

Some of Niśānkamalla's records picturesquely describe how, when he arrived in South India, the mother of the Pāṇḍya ruler sent messengers requesting him to take over the whole of the realm, leaving just one village for the maintenance of her family.<sup>1</sup> This may be rhetoric; but the Pāṇḍyas at this time were yet in a weak condition after nearly two centuries of conflict with, and subjection to, the Chōjas. They had to wait for another two decades for their remarkable resurgence under Sundara pāṇḍya. In need at any time of Sinhalese assistance against Chōja aggression, the Pāṇḍyas would have received Niśānkamalla with a show of friendship, if not subservience as claimed by him, when he visited Rāmēsvaram.

On both these visits, Niśānkamalla spent only three months in the Pāṇḍya country. The restoration of the *śrēṇḥḥas* cannot therefore have been carried out while he was sojourning in the Pāṇḍya country. At the time when the present inscription was indited on a throne at Rāmēsvaram, which Niśānkamalla made use of, the restoration was an accomplished fact. He may therefore have issued orders for this undertaking during his first visit; before his second visit, it had been brought to completion. The interval between the two visits must therefore have been considerable, at least two years.

The shrines at Rāmēsvaram figure also in the Chōja account of the campaign of the generals of Parākramabāhu I in the Pāṇḍya country. The Ārpakkam inscription mentions that the Sinhalese troops under Parākramabāhu's general looted the treasures of the temple, and put a stop to the worship.<sup>2</sup> The act of Niśānkamalla in renovating the temple and making liberal donations to the Brāhmanas was no doubt meant to reconcile the local inhabitants. In this also, we see another instance of his adopting a policy diametrically opposed to that of his predecessor.

In his inscriptions, Niśānkamalla also claims to have received presents from the Chōja country on the occasion of his visit to South India.<sup>3</sup> The Chōja inscriptions, on the other hand, claim victories over the Sinhalese about this period. In an inscription<sup>4</sup> of Kulōttunga III (1178-1216 A.D.), it is claimed that the Sinhalese soldiers had their noses cut off and rushed into the sea. A record<sup>5</sup> of the same monarch's twenty-first year states that he 'adorned with his feet the crown

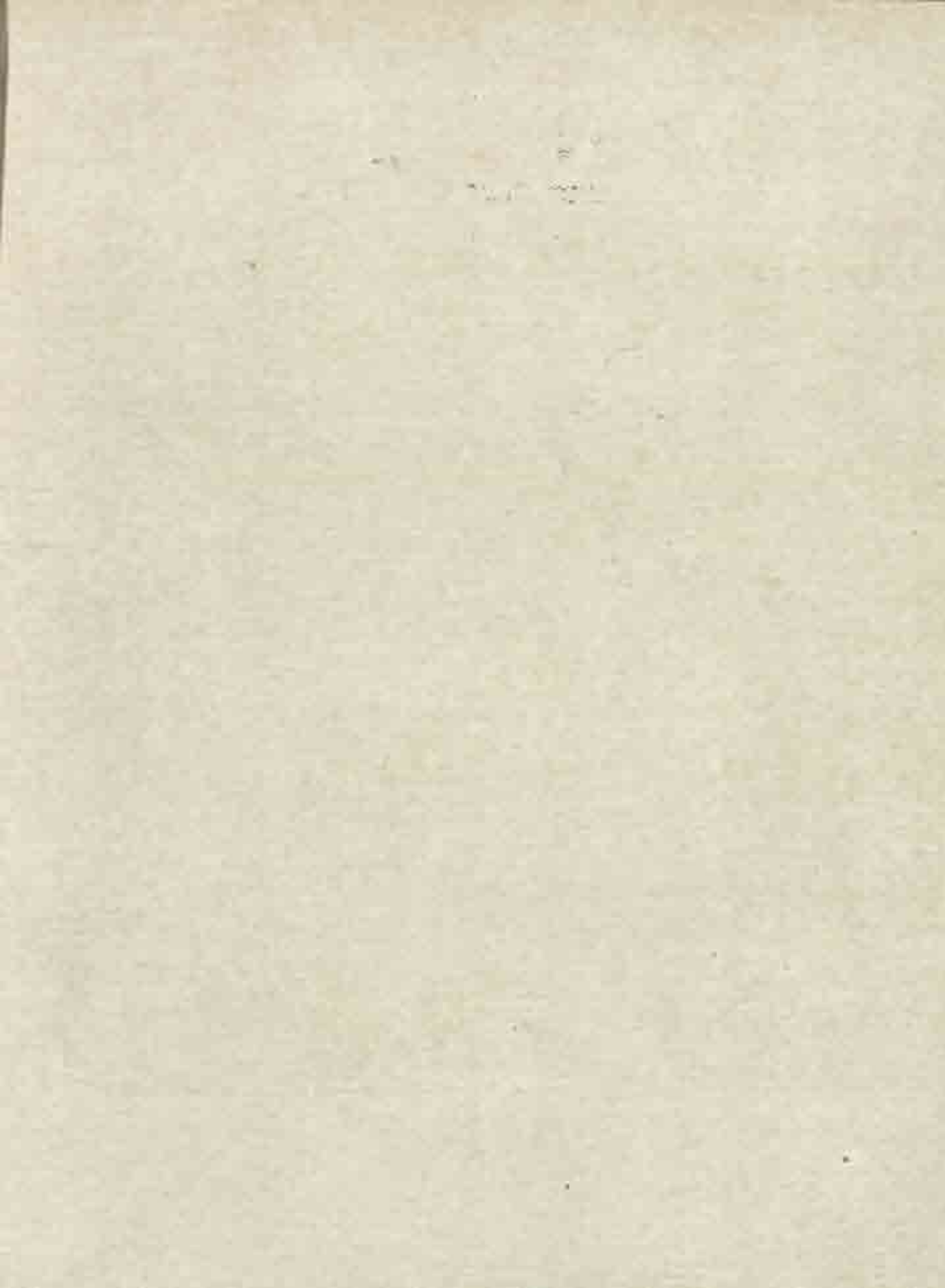
<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 152 and 156.

<sup>2</sup> *A. N. Ep.*, 1893, pp. 5-9.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 152 and 156.

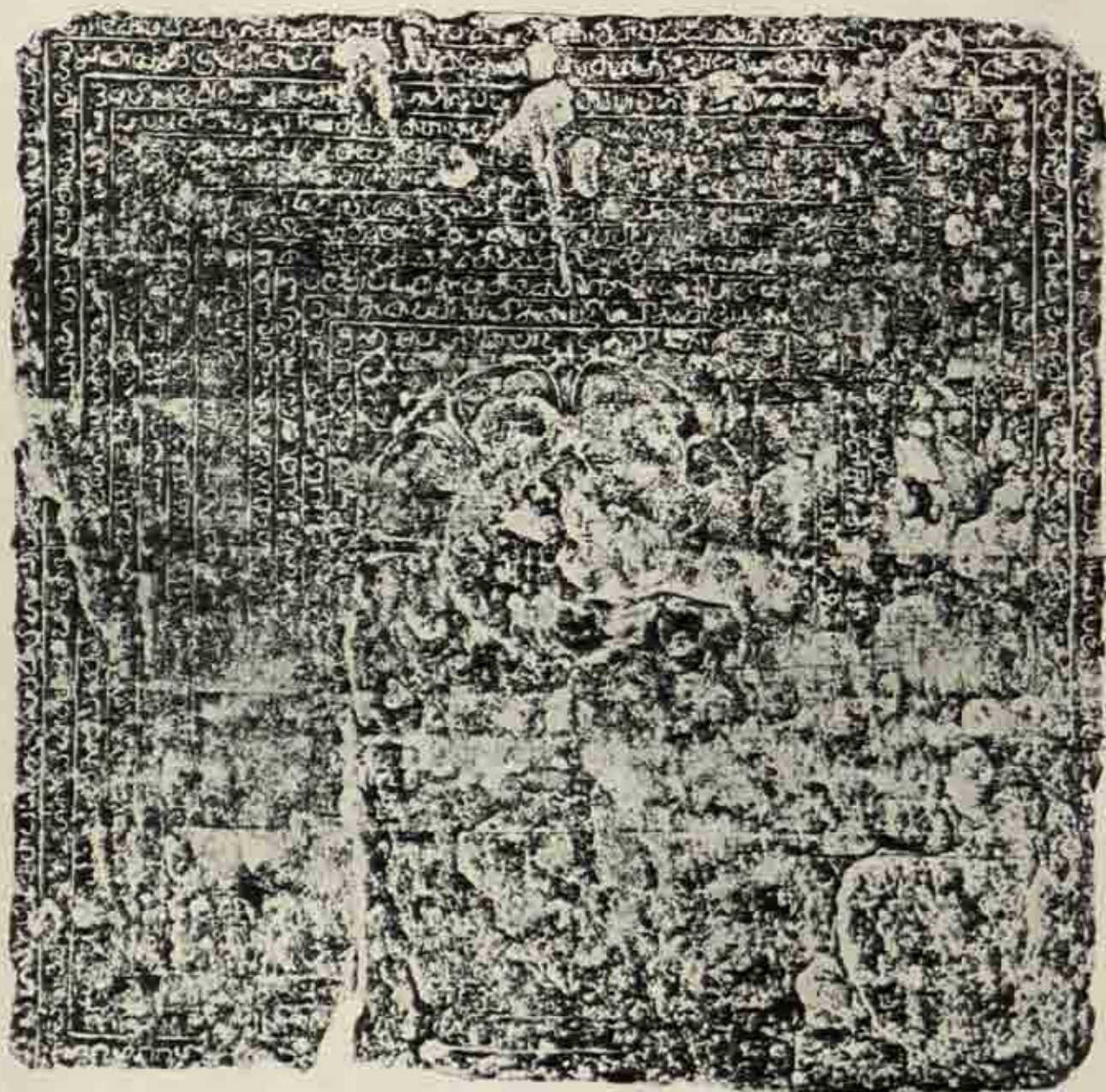
<sup>4</sup> *SIJ*, Vol. III, p. 212.

<sup>5</sup> *A. N. Ep.*, 1902, No. 170.





RAMESVARAM INSCRIPTION OF NISSANKAMALLA



(from Photograph)

of the Ceylonese king in order that it may prosper'. A record of the sixteenth year states that the warriors of Kulōttuṅga began to guard all places in response to the order: 'Capture Iḥam in the South, so that the *teppavar* may come and prostrate themselves and the head of the Siṅga-javan may be cut off.'<sup>2</sup> To what extent this order was carried out we are not told in the later inscriptions. These vague claims, without details as to time and place, do not help us in pursuing the course of hostilities between the Sinhalese and Chōlas towards the close of the reign of Parākramabāhu I and during the reigns of Vijayabāhu II and Niṣṣāṅkamalla. At any rate, the first of these claims refers to a time before Niṣṣāṅkamalla himself came to the throne, and the military operations on which the other statements are based need not have affected the Sinhalese garrison at Rāmeśvaram.

The internal troubles which followed the end of Niṣṣāṅkamalla's reign in 1196 A.D. sapped the military strength of the Sinhalese, and the Chōlas seem to have taken advantage of that position. It is recorded that General Kittī, who maintained Queen Lillivati on the throne from 1197 to 1200 A.D., repulsed the Chōlas on three different occasions when they landed in the island and advanced for some distance into the interior.<sup>3</sup> The Sinhalese after this were no longer in a position to maintain the garrison at Rāmeśvaram. We do not know when and how the Sinhalese troops stationed there relinquished their hold on the fortress. The place must have been occupied, within a decade of the date of this record, either by the Chōlas or by the rapidly recovering Pāṇḍya power.

## TEXT

- 1 Śri niṣha-vikrama āti Tri-Siṅhaleśvara Kāliṅga-chakravartī [avānta-vahana ra]-  
[aya patān patan avu[rudu]ven Lakṣhva sisāra gam nryam-gam rājadhāni śā-  
vū no-ek prasūhita-śihāna hā jala-durgga paṅka-durgga [vāna-durgga] Samanoja  
śādi-vū guri-durgga at-anubulu-pakak se hald vadārē ..... [biṣo-varun-vahan-
- 2 se hā maha[pa]ṅgan vahana-āta[lu-vū pa]ḥ-dena vaha[ne ek vā talābhā]ra nāṅgi havuruḍu  
patā pas-talābhārayak bagin di dukpatūṅa su]vapāt koḥa savapatun śimēt koḥa tuu  
ra[Jayeti no]-ek buddhālaya nāshvā tun-nakē samāṅga koḥa lo-]masuṅ samurūḥa  
[muddha] koḥa, ..... rajadāra-kenakun karavū
- 3 ye pēṅḍe dā yī vadārē ananta-vastrā vijayadam karavū] meḥkaruvan ānanda karavā  
Pihiti-rajaya[ra piyuma]k se vū Ruvan[ra]līnaha]-dahaḡab-vaha[ne] karavū ehi sisārē  
boḥe [saḡḡun pi]rivan ganvā mahā-vihāra yā yī nam tabhā ge[ṅā], .....
- 4 [utte] amuṅa aya ek-amuṅu-tun-pālak hā maḡa-ran sikkak hā mānda ampaḡakā ek-  
simuṅu de-pālak hā maḡaran sātara-aka hā pas[=] amuḡakata aya ek-amuṅu  
pāja hā maḡaran tun-aka bagin aya ganvā myō[ye]ḡu vyava[stā]ḥ koḥa, .....
- 5 ..... [kinttiyen] pata[ra Suḡa-kaliṅgu Veli-Kalavan udh mevun kulā raja-darvo  
namā yī param-ānā[ndas]a[ḡā] [ya]m [kna]kun karana pereḡḡak tabē to[si]ḡa śāḡi  
siti [pre]ḡvan] .....
- 6 hira [-sanda-pamuṅu vēvan] miyan ādin vison sopadra[va] vū talpatā liyē dyeyhē hāndi hiri  
se no koḥa un-an-ge [van]s-ānugata vā [s] ka[avun] [nama] da dun raja-daruvan nama  
da boho kulak pa[ḡ]vatnā myāven tāmbra[ra]śāsana pavat karavū, .....

<sup>1</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1907, No. 288. For a discussion of these references to Ceylon in the inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga III, see Nilakanta Sastri, op. cit., pp. 384 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of R.A.S.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 384-387.

<sup>3</sup> From impressions. Macron over s and o has not been used in the transcript and the foot-notes herein.

<sup>4</sup> The letters missing on the stone from this point have been restored up to *śevēḡ*, according to the passage as it appears in the Dambulla rock inscription. See *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. 7, p. 121.



- 7 ..... [gam-val] nishkaṅṭaka koṭṭi semehi tabā [dva]ndva-[yuddhā]sā[pe]ja Jambu-  
dvīpayāṭa de-ijekā vāḍā tun-masak nuṇullehi vāḍā hindā Apratimalla yana  
virudva....
- 8 ..... Kālīṅga-chaṅkravarttin-vahanse idiriyehi aṭṭino nam; muṇe peḷovā kavuru da  
apa visin kaḷamanā nam paṇḍuru dena veḷa peṭa vā evū paṇḍuru geṇā ni.....  
.....
- 9 ..... [de]ḷayehi jirōṇa devālaya katana pariddem ananta vacca devā mēhi Niśānke-  
śvara nam yut devālayak usāvā.....
- 10 ..... ye ayāṭa nagā gam-varak-ut geṇā entrayāṭa lavā vadārā nāvātā laksha-gaṇan  
suru vālayehi ataruvā maṇḍapaya sarakā ama.....
- 11 ..... Puvagu-divayina Mīpinak-divayina Kappa-divayina Kāra-divayina ādi-vū  
no-ek divayin baḷā vadāra ma.....
- 12 ..... va[ḍan supip]-piyum se karavā nra(nṛi)tya-gīta-dāna-vinoda nam vīra-siḥ-  
[hāsanaye]hi.....

TRANSLATION<sup>1</sup>

(Line 1) Hail! The Sovereign Lord Kālīṅga-chaṅkravartī, who possesses the prowess of a lion and who is the Lord of the Three Siṅghalas,<sup>2</sup> in one year from his accession to the sovereignty toured round Laṅkā and inspected thoroughly, as if they were an āmalaka fruit on (the palm of his) hand, many well-known places such as villages, market-towns, seats of royalty as well as places difficult of access on account of water, places difficult of access on account of marshes, places difficult of access on account of forests and places difficult of access on account of mountains such as Samanoḷa (Sumanakūṭa, i.e. Adam's Peak)<sup>3</sup>.....

(Lines 1-2) He gave annually five *siḍḍhāras*, the five personages including..... Their Majesties the Queens and His Highness the Heir-apparent (*maḷa-pāṇa*)<sup>4</sup> having ascended the scale pans; thus he made the poor affluent and the affluent illustrious. He caused to be erected shrines of the Buddha in the Three Kingdoms<sup>5</sup>; he unified the sects (*of the Saṅgha*)<sup>6</sup> and thus he made the State and the Church prosper.....

<sup>1</sup> In the translation, some of the clauses ending with absolutes have been treated as sentences ending in finite verbs so as to make the style less cumbersome in English.

<sup>2</sup> *Triṭṭi* (Pali *Triṭṭhā*), *Māyā* and *Kubera* (Pali *Kobhā*) were the three kingdoms into which Ceylon was divided in ancient times.

<sup>3</sup> The tours undertaken by Niśānkamalla in his kingdom are referred to in a number of his inscriptions. See *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 141 and 148.

<sup>4</sup> The *siḍḍhāras* gifts of this king are referred to in several of his inscriptions in very much the same phraseology as in this document; see, e.g. *ibid.*, pp. 18 and 175. According to these references, the five personages who ascended the scale-pans were the king, his principal queen Sobhādā, the second queen Kalyāṇavati, his son Virādika, the heir-apparent, and his daughter Sarvāḷasundarī.

<sup>5</sup> The same as 'the Three Siṅghalas'.

<sup>6</sup> The three *Nikāyas* were the Mahāvihāra, Abhayagiri and the Jetavana. The credit of unifying these three sects is given in the chronicle to Parākrāmabāhu I; but, in several of his inscriptions, Niśānkamalla too claims to have done this. See *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. I, p. 134, Vol. II, pp. 81-82.



(Lines 2-3). . . . . Having uttered 'Do you see how<sup>1</sup> a certain king has caused it to be restored' he caused vast treasures to be spent, made the workmen to rejoice and effected the restoration of the great *dāyāba*, the sacred Ruvanvāli,<sup>2</sup> which is like unto a lotus for the Pihīti kingdom. Around that *dāyāba* he made the members of the Saṅgha take up residence in *prīṭhans*, and gave the name of Mahāvihāra (to that monastery). . . . .

(Line 4). He enacted a law that the (grain)-tax on an *amūsa* (sowing extent) of the best grade (of fields) should be (not in excess of) one *amūsa* and three *pālas* and six *akas* as *maḍaran* (levy), on an *amūsa* of middle grade (of fields), one *amūsa* and two *pālas* and four *akas* as *maḍaran*, and on an *amūsa* of the lowest grade (of fields) the tax to be one *amūsa* and two *pālas* and three *akas* as *maḍaran*. . . . .

(Line 5). He caused supreme joy (to the people) by their reflection : King Suju-Kaliṅgu, Veli and Kaḷava of widespread fame are indeed kings of the lineage of this (king) ; and, far from there being any sort of disturbance caused by any one, the subjects being stirred with emotion. . . . .<sup>3</sup>

(Line 6). . . . . He introduced the practice of granting charters written on copper-plates so that heritable lands, granted to last as long as the sun and the moon endure, may not become like lines drawn on water, on account of the grant being written on palm-leaves which are in danger from termites and rats, but ensured that, associated with the lineages of those (concerned) the names of those who have done deeds (to merit such grants), and the names of the kings who granted such gifts do last for a long time. . . . .<sup>4</sup>

(Line 7). . . . . Having eradicated thorns<sup>5</sup> in the villages as well as in the forests, and having placed the country in tranquility, he being desirous of single combats, proceeded to Jambudvīpa (India) on two occasions, and tarried there for the full duration of three months . . . . . his *virāḍa* of Apratimalla . . . . .<sup>6</sup>

(Line 8). . . . . 'Who indeed are those over the whole of the earth that can stand in front of Kāliṅga-chakravartī ? What remains to be done by us therefore is to accept the tribute sent (to us) with an oath of paying tribute (in the future)' . . . . .<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is obviously a sarcastic reference to his predecessor Parīkramabhāṭa I who is recorded in the *Chāḷukyāra* (Chapter 78, verse 97) to have repaired this *dāyāba*. Niśānkamallā's inscription at Ruvanvāliśāya (*Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 70 ff.) gives a detailed account of his work there.

<sup>2</sup> This is the shrine originally built by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi in the second century B. C., and is referred to in the *Mahābhāṣa* as Mahāvihāra.

<sup>3</sup> This paragraph does not appear in any of the king's known inscriptions. What it conveys is that the people were so impressed by the fact that Niśānkamallā was a scion of the Kāliṅga dynasty, to which belonged a *Chakravartī* king of old, that none thought of stirring up trouble in his kingdom. *Suju-Kaliṅgu-Veli-Kaḷava* has been taken as a copulative (*dvandva*) compound with the case-termination *as*, attached to the last name *Kaḷava*. It is also possible to take the stem form of the last name as *Kaḷava* with the case-termination *a* attached to it. In that case, the indeclinable which Edgewood the compound has to be taken as *du* and not *va*, as has been analysed in the above interpretation. *Kaḷava* may be etymologically the same as *Kaḷāḍra*.

<sup>4</sup> For Niśānkamallā's claim to have introduced the practice of granting charters on copper, see *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. I, p. 133 ; Vol. II, pp. 133 and 139.

<sup>5</sup> For similar claims by the king in other inscriptions, see *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 118, 133 and 139. For the expression 'having eradicated thorns' (*śūkhāṅgaṅga* *loṭa*) see, *Arthasastra*, Śhaṅkhaśāstry's text, second ed., pp. 245 ff.

<sup>6</sup> What is stated is that as none accepted the king's challenge to a single combat, he justified his title of *Apratimalla*, which is given in a number of inscriptions, e.g. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, p. 148.

<sup>7</sup> This passage does not occur in any other inscription, though similar boasts are found in many records, *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 129.

(Line 9). . . . . He gave incalculable treasure to repair a dilapidated shrine (*Devōlaya*) in the . . . . . country, and erected here the shrine named Niśānkeśvara. . . . .<sup>1</sup>

(Line 10). Having raised it to the revenue of . . . . . he acquired a gift-village, and assigned it to the *alms-hall* (*śāstra*); again, having spread hundreds of thousands of *suru*. . . . . on the *vīḥa*, and having decorated the pavilion. . . . .<sup>2</sup>

(Line 11). . . . . He was also pleased to inspect numerous islands including Puvagu Island, Miḡinsk Island, Kappa Island and Kāra Island.<sup>3</sup>

(Line 12). . . . . Having made the faces of . . . . . appear like full-blown lotuses. . . . . on this throne of heroes named Nṛitya-gīta-dāna-vinoda (literally one 'who rejoices in dance, singing and gifts').

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 129 and 269.

<sup>2</sup> The words *suru* and *vīḥa* occur nowhere else, and the significance of the phrases is not clear.

<sup>3</sup> These are the Sinhalese names of islets between North Ceylon and South India. Puvagu-divayina is most probably the modern Punguḍu-tivu. Miḡinsk is Maḡināga in Pali and appears to have been used at times for Nāga-dīpa, the ancient name of the Jeffes Peninsula. Kappa-divayina is referred to in old Sinhalese writings; but there does not appear to be a modern name corresponding to it. Kāra-divayina is the Kāra-dīpa of Jātaka No. 480; it is now known as Koral-tivu.

## No. 4—TWO SONGIRA CHAUHAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM BARLUT

(1 Plate)

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(Received on 3.1.1961)

The two inscriptions forming the subject of the paper are engraved, the second in continuation of the first, on a stone slab broken into three pieces. The inscribed slab now lies in the compound of the Śāntinātha temple at **Barlūt** in the Sirōhi District of Rajasthan, about 13 miles to the north-west of Sirōhi. Śhrī Achalmal Modi of Sirōhi drew our attention to the inscription.

The two inscriptions together consist of nine lines of writing which cover an area about 4' 4" in length and between 5'5" and 6" in height. The letters, somewhat indifferently engraved, are not uniform in size. The preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory, some letters here and there being damaged and a few completely lost at some places, especially along the two vertical breaks in the stone.

The characters of the inscriptions belong to the Nāgarī alphabet of about the thirteenth century and are regular for the period and area in question. The two records are engraved on the stone in the form of a single epigraph by the same person at the same time. The language of both the records is Sanskrit. The second inscription, in which a number of abbreviations have been used, consists of two parts. The first record is written in prose and verse, the second being composed in prose only. The composition is rather poor and the language not free from errors. Often two *doṣṭas* have been placed at the end of the first half of a verse and three *doṣṭas* at the end of its second half. The stanzas are consecutively numbered. The orthography of the inscriptions is characterized by the use of *anuvāra* in place of class nasals as well as in that of final *m* at the end of the first and second halves of stanzas. Reduplication of *m* after *r* occurs in some cases. The text exhibits some orthographical errors.

The first record is dated in **Vikrama 1283**, Jyēshtha-śudī 6, Thursday (apparently the 7th May 1226 A. D.), falling in the reign of the Sōngirā Chauhān ruler **Udayasimha** of Jālōr. This ruler, who was the son of Samarasimha, grandson of Kirtipāla (Kītu) and great-grandson of King Ālhaṇa (Vikrama 1209-18) of Nāḍōl, is known from records of his time with dates ranging from Vikrama 1362 to Vikrama 1306.<sup>1</sup> The second inscription, which commences after the end of the first in line 5 is dated **Vikrama 1330**, Phālguna-śudī 11, Sunday (18th February 1274 A. D.), falling in the reign of Udayasimha's son Chāchigadōya whose known dates range between Vikrama 1319 and 1334.<sup>2</sup> The first part of this record ends about the close of line 6, its second part beginning there and ending in line 9. The two inscriptions were apparently engraved together on the stone slab on or shortly after the latter date. Both of them record some pious deeds of a Chauhān chief named **Abhaja** and certain other persons with reference to a Jain establishment, the modern representative of which is the Śāntinātha temple at Barlūt.

### 1. Inscription of the time of Udayasimha, Vikrama 1283

This record consists of nine stanzas and some passages in prose. The last of the stanzas is the well-known verse *Baḥubhīr-śarvadā bhūktā*, etc.

The first three stanzas describe the rulers of the Chauhān dynasty from king Āsarāja of Nāḍōl down to his great-grandson Manayasimha. Verse 1 introduces Āsarāja, the lord of Nāḍōla, who is described as the moon in the growth of the ocean that was the Chōhāna family. Āsarāja's ancestors, who are usually mentioned in the genealogical accounts of the Nāḍōl and Sōngirā Chauhāns, are not referred to in this epigraph.

<sup>1</sup> Bhandarkar's List, p. 382.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 383.



The first half of verse 2 speaks of king **Āhāṇa** who was **Āsarāja's** son, its second half stating that **Gajasimha**, the son of **Āhāṇa**, was the 'lord of **Maṇḍorapura**'. We know from the **Jhāmvrā** inscription,<sup>1</sup> dated **Vikrama 1219**, that **Mahārājaputra** **Gajasimha** was in charge of the administration of **Maṇḍavyapura** (**Māṇḍōr**).

Verse 3 mentions **Bachchālā** (**Vatsalā**) as the wife of **Gajasimha** and states that **Manapasimha** was **Gajasimha's** son. It appears that **Manapasimha** was born of the said queen. This inscription, for the first time, gives the names of the wife and son of **Gajasimha**, son of the **Nāḍōl** **Chauhān** king **Āhāṇa**.

Verse 4 states that, in the *paṭṭa* of **Manapasimha**, there was the noble-minded **Āsaṭa** who had a well dug in a village, the name of which is uncertain. The relationship between **Manapasimha** and **Āsaṭa** cannot be determined. The term *paṭṭa* seems to be used here in the usual sense of 'throne'. It therefore appears that **Manapasimha**, son of **Chāhamāna** **Gajasimha** of **Māṇḍōr**, was ruling over the district around **Berlūt** near **Sirōhī** under the **Sōngirā** (**Jālōr**) branch of the family and that, on his death probably without an heir, the area passed on to another chief named **Āsaṭa**. That **Manapasimha** was dead when the present inscription was incised seems to be supported by the internal evidence of the record as will be seen below. **Āsaṭa** was also a member of the **Chauhān** family as his son **Ābhata** is described as belonging to the **Chāshumāna-varmān** in line 4. Both **Manapasimha** and **Ābhata** are called **Rāja**, an abbreviation of **Rājaputra** or **Rāwat**, in the prose part of the epigraph, though the full title **Rājaputra** is applied to **Ābhata** in verse 7.

Verse 5 is in praise of **Āsaṭa** described as the most valorous among the **Kshatriyas**, while the next stanza (verse 6) introduces **Āsaṭa's** son in whom **Ābhata's** good qualities, which had become destitute (on **Ābhata's** death), are stated to have found their abode. The reference seems to be to **Āsaṭa's** deceased father **Ābhata**, after whom **Āsaṭa** probably named his son. **Āsaṭa's** son **Ābhata** is referred to in the verse as *śka-durga* probably meaning 'one having a unique fort under him'.

Verse 7, which is imperfectly preserved, expresses the desire that **Rājaputra** (i.e. **Rāwat**) **Ābhata**, who was like a father to his subjects, may flourish for a long time. Verse 8 speaks of **Ābhata's** minister and treasurer **Yasōdhara** who probably belonged to the family of a goldsmith named **Nāma**.

The eight introductory stanzas discussed above are followed by a section in prose. It commences with the date which, as we have seen, is given as **Vikrama Saṁvat 1283, Jyēshthasūdi 8, Thursday**. The date corresponds to the **7th May 1228 A. D.**, the *tīkhi* quoted being a mistake for *sūdi* 9. The reigning king then was **Mahārājaka** **Udayasimha** and his minister was **Yasōvīra**. **Udayasimha's** other known inscriptions endow him with the title **Mahārājādhirāja**. **Yasōvīra**, the minister of the **Sōngirā** **Chauhān** ruler,<sup>2</sup> is known to have been a son of **Dasōja** **Udaya** and a minister apparently of the **Sōngirā** of **Jālōr** as early as **Vikrama 1245**.<sup>3</sup>

The following section of the inscription records three different gifts made by **Rāja** (i.e. **Rājaputra**: **Rāwat**) **Ābhata**. The details of the gifts are as follows: (1) gift of land, for the merit of **Rāja** (**Rāwat**) **Manapasimha**, in favour of the god **Sāntinātha** and of the **Manapasimha-vihāra** for a temple (*dēvagrāha*) belonging to the **Bṛihad-gachchha**; (2) gift of a *pīṭha* (probably a raised platform) in favour of the god **Sāntinātha** in the village of **Valadāntha**, i.e. modern **Berlūt**, the *indrapot* of our inscription; (3) gift of [the income of] an *uraghatta* for the expenses of offering worship to the god **Sāntinātha** for the merit of the donor's forefathers. **Ābhata** was joined by his sons and grandsons, including **Harisarā** (**Harsharāja**) and **Rāja** (**Rāwat**) **Prithumarāja** (**Prithivīrāja**), in making the last of the gifts mentioned above. The fact that the gift was made for the merit

<sup>1</sup> *JPASS*, Vol. XII, pp. 102 ff.; *Bhandarkar's List*, No. 314.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sharma, *Early Chauhān Dynasties*, p. 154.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Jayanta Vijaya, *Arbuda-pratīkīna-jaimīnīśāstrakūṭha*, Part II, Nos. 150-51.

of Manavasimha and that the *vishva*, one of the beneficiaries of the gift, was named after him suggest that he was not alive on the date given in the inscription and thus seems to support our interpretation of verse 4. It appears that Ābhata and his father had some reasons to be especially grateful to Manavasimha who seems to be called Ābhata's *pūrnaja* (ancestor) in line 5.

The discovery of the inscription at Barlūt near Sīrōhi is of considerable interest. Kirtipāla, the grandfather of Udayasimha, established himself at Jāhālipura (Jālōr) 38 miles to the north-west of Sīrōhi.<sup>1</sup> The successors of Kirtipāla naturally set their eyes on the possessions of the Paramāras of Chandrāvati and Ābū, who were the feudatories of the Chaulukyas of Gujarat. During the greater part of Paramāra Dhāravaraha's rule, however, the Chauhāns of Jālōr did not succeed in encroaching conspicuously upon the territories of the Paramāras.<sup>2</sup> That the Chauhāns had at last penetrated into the Sīrōhi region of the Paramāra territories was so far known only from the Sundhā hill inscription<sup>3</sup> of Chāchigadāva, dated Vikrama 1319, which includes Rāmasainya (Rāmsēn in the Sīrōhi District, about 23 miles north-west of Sīrōhi) in the territories under the sway of his father Udayasimha. Since Barlūt is situated about 12 miles to the south-east of Rāmsēn, our inscription corroborates the evidence of the Sundhā inscription regarding Udayasimha's hold over the area. The importance of the epigraph under study is that it furnishes the earliest date for the rule of the Sōngirā Chauhāns over the Sīrōhi region.

The circumstances which led to the inclusion of this territory in the Chauhān kingdom are not clear. Udayasimha may have appropriated the Sīrōhi area from the Paramāras sometime before Vikrama 1283. The region around Mount Ābū and Chandrāvati, however, did not fall into the hands of the Chauhāns until the time of the Dēvdā king Langigadāva<sup>4</sup> whose known dates range between Vikrama 1372 and 1377.<sup>5</sup>

We do not know when exactly the Dēvdā Chauhāns established themselves in the Sīrōhi region. Kirtipāla, younger brother of Gajasimha and grandfather of Udayasimha, had a grandson named Mānavasimha or Mahāvasimha.<sup>6</sup> D. Sharma says<sup>7</sup> that 'the founder of Dēvdā line was Mānavasimha' and that 'Mānavasimha's descendants were the founders of the Chauhān kingdom of Chandrāvati and Mount Ābū'. D. C. Ganguly says<sup>8</sup> that Mānavasimha's successors constituted the Dēvdā branch and that the branch was 'founded by Vijaya, also known as Dēvarāja, the son of Pratāpa and grandson of Mānavasimha'. The inscriptions of the Dēvdā Chauhāns trace their descent to Mānavasimha while the bardic chronicles of Sīrōhi state that the family name Dēvdā was derived from Dēvarāja, another name of Vijaya.<sup>9</sup> Ojha regards the Sīrōhi bardic chronicles as unreliable and states that the dynastic name Dēvdā was prevalent even before the time of Vijaya alias Dēvarāja.<sup>10</sup>

It appears that the Dēvdās were originally governing the Rāmasainya area under the Sōngirā Chauhāns of Jālōr. The inscription under study, however, suggests that the branches of the Chauhān family represented by Manavasimha and Ābhata were ruling over the area before the appearance of the Dēvdās in the same region as late as Vikrama 1330. It is therefore possible that Vijaya alias Dēvarāja became a ruler of Rāmasainya sometime after Vikrama 1330 and that

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IX, p. 77, verse 36.

<sup>2</sup> L. B. Desai, *Chauhānśāhānsamraṭ*, p. 201.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. IX, pp. 70 ff.; Bhanderkar's List, No. 561.

<sup>4</sup> Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. II, pp. 919 and 1127; *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX, pp. 79 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Bhanderkar's List, p. 383.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. IX, p. 156, text line 10.

<sup>7</sup> Sharma, *op. cit.*, pp. 174 and 147.

<sup>8</sup> *The Struggle for Empire (History and Culture of the Indian People, Vol. V)*, ed. Majumdar, p. 88.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89.

<sup>10</sup> Ojha, *Sīrōhiśāhānśāhāns*, pp. 102-53.



the power of the Dvādās was firmly established in the region and their territory expanded at the time of Vijaya's son Luṭṭiga.<sup>1</sup>

Of the geographical names occurring in the inscription, Valadaūtha, as stated above, is modern Barlūt, the findspot of our record. The other places are Naḍūlapura and Maṇḍārapura which are the well-known towns of Nāḍūl and Māṇḍūr respectively.

### 3. Inscription of the time of Chāchiga, Vikrama 1330

This record consists of two parts, the first of them being a short passage in prose. It commences with the word *svasti* followed by the date which is given as Vikrama Saṁvat 1330, Phālguna sudi 11, Sunday, corresponding, as already indicated, to the 18th February 1274 A. D. The reigning king Mahāmaṇḍalīśvara Chāchigadēva is described as having crushed the forces of his enemies with his strong arms and as having obtained a boon from Umāpati (i.e. Śiva).

The inscription then states that, when *Maho* (i.e. *Mahattama*) Jāpūka was holding the post of *Srīkavaca*, i.e. was in charge of the department of records under Chāchiga, Bāja (*Rūca*) Ābhata in association with his sons and grandsons including Harisarā (Haraharāja), Rā (*Rāja-Rūvat*) Prithimārā (Prithivīrāja), Rā Ajayasimha, Rā Siṅghala, Rā Anagharā, Sūmatia and Bāja<sup>2</sup> Bānṭharā, built the Manapasimha-vihāra for the merit of Rā Manapasimha. This Manapasimha-vihāra, if it was really 'built' in Vikrama 1330, could not have been the institution of the same name to which Ābhata made a gift of land in Vikrama 1283. But the fact that the two inscriptions, the first recording gifts in favour of the Manapasimha-vihāra and the second recording the construction of a viḥāra of the same name, were engraved on the same stone, which could be fixed for display only at one place, appears to suggest that the second epigraph may really refer to the construction of some additional buildings of the same religious institution.

The language of the second part of the inscription is defective. But it mentions *Srīśāsthis* (banker) Padmasimha who was the son of Dāhapa and Paameiri (Paḍmaāri). He belonged to the Ambūt gōtra, the Nāsala sastaṅga (family) and the Prāgvāta community and was constantly devoted to the Jain Tirthaṅkara Śāntinātha. Padmasimha is stated to have built 'this building' (*ayam yāsāda*), for the sake of *dharma*, apparently along with a number of his relations belonging to the Prāgvāta (modern Pōrwād) and Unisvāla (modern Ūswāl) communities and the members of his family including his wife, the Bāi, his sons Arasimha and Narapāla and his grandsons Jātā, Karmasimha and Tjajhāpāla. The word *Bāi* is an honorific expression used in Western India along with the names of ladies. The personal name of Padmasimha's wife is not mentioned in the record. What building is really indicated by the word *yāsāda* is not clear from the language. It may be that it was a temple of Śāntinātha attached to the Manapasimha-vihāra mentioned in line 6 as having been caused to be made by Ābhata and his sons and grandsons. It is also not impossible that the additional structures in the Manapasimha-vihāra were made jointly by Ābhata, Padmasimha and others.

The persons whose names are mentioned before that of Padmasimha probably as those of his relations are the following: (1-2) *Srīśāsthis* Pāhaja and Prāgvāta *Vyavahāria* (tradesman) Vataarāja, son of Prāgvāta *Srīśāsthis* Bōhadi; (3-4) Kumarasimha and Lākṣapa, sons of *Vyavahāria* Sarapā; (5) Jāsū, wife of Jasarū (Yasōrāja) who was a *śrāvaka* (lay follower of Jainism) of the Brīhad-gachchha, Chakrēsvārī-gōtra and Unisvāla community; (6-11) Jāsū's sons Mahaja, Sadhatapa, Prātha, Mālliga, Sōmasimha and Vijaya; and (12-14) Sāvaja, Guṇapāla and Mōhana, sons of Prāgvāta Dhanadēva.

<sup>1</sup> It is said that two inscriptions containing the dates Vikrama 1225 and 1229 outside the Achalōvara temple at Montil Ābū mention the dynastic name Dvādās (loc. cit.: Lala Sitaram, *History of Sirohi Raj*, pp. 150-60; L. B. Desai, *op. cit.*, p. 197). But no such inscriptions are known to us.



TWO SONGIRA CHAUHAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM BARLUT

Left Side



2 4 6 8



2 4 6 8

Right Side



(from Photographs)

2 4 0 8

2 4 0 8



The building constructed by Padmasimha and others was consecrated by Guṇabhadra-sūri, the disciple of Dhanśvara-sūri of the *śaṅkā* of Sarvadēv-āchārya of the Bṛihad-gachchha. The record ends with the well-known passage : *madgalam mahā-śrīḥ*, and a prayer to the effect that welfare may come to the community of [Jain] monks. This is followed by the names of Chachā, Chāpā and Āihā, the sons of the artisan Gaṅgā. They appear to have been responsible for building the structures and engraving the inscriptions.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

## No. 1

[Metres : verses 1-5, 8 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 6 *Upajāti* ; verse 7 *Māhri*.]

- 1 Siddham<sup>2</sup> || nama[h\*] śri-Sāntāya || svasti śri-jayō-bhūdayas-cha || Chōhān-ānvaya-pāthōdhi-samvaddhana-vidhan vi[dhu][h\*] || Śrīmān-i [h-Ā]sarājō-bhūt<sup>3</sup> śri-Naḍūlapur-ādhipa[h\*] || | 1 Karpūr-ū[bha]-yasūstatvō<sup>4</sup> **Āhaṅaḥ** prithivipati[h\*] || tat-putra- [h\*] śri-Gajasīngha(haḥ) śri-Mamḍōrapur-ōvaru[h\*] || | 3 Sa[tya]-nyāya-va(ha)[lād-bhā]ryā Bāchchha[lo(lā)] kahatriyāya<sup>5</sup> | Gajasīnghā(h=5)ūgajō-bhidhaya śri-Manapa-
- 2 **siṅgha(ha)ka[h\*]** || | 3 Vivēk-ātma-asti tat-patī<sup>6</sup> **Āsaṭ-ākḥō(khyō)** mahāsaya[h\*] || Namvā . . . [dī]pura[ṭṭ] vāpith yaḥ samakārayat || | [4] Yas-cha || Ādhārā(rah) sarva-dha[r\*]-māpām-avadhīr-dāna-śālinā[m\*] | yaḥ pratāpō kahatriyūpām dhārmikūpām ārō-maṅ[h\*] || | 5 Kālō Kalau dōha-gaḥōhu sarpa<sup>7</sup> [sa pu]tra<sup>8</sup> lōbhō mahimānam-ōva | nīrātraya-tv-Ābhaṅa-sadud(d-gu)ḥ-augha-tam-ārurōha prabhu-
- 3 m-āka-durga[m\*] || 6 Yama iva bhaya-hōtur-yō-rishu-—<sup>9</sup> jō ya iha Bali—<sup>10</sup> [rtha]ḥō vādakanam<sup>11</sup> | Avani-ti[la]ka-vahayā<sup>12</sup> pit-ōva prajānāth<sup>13</sup> |<sup>14</sup> so juyatu chira-kāla[ni]<sup>15</sup> **Ābhaḥō** rāja-putra[h\*] || | 7 Tasya viēvāsa-śudama[n\*] kōha-rakshā-vichakshanaḥ | Nāna-sauvarṇa<sup>16</sup>-śud-vaṁśō- [bhūch-cha] maṁtci Yasōdharuḥ | 8 Saṁ<sup>17</sup> 1283 Jyēsh[ha-śudi] 8 Gurau mahārājaka-śri<sup>18</sup>-**Udaya-**
- 4 **siṅhadēva-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyō** maṁtri-śri-Yasōvirō || **Chābumāna-va[m\*]śa-[n]\*** . . . rāja<sup>19</sup>-**Ābhaṭena** śri-Bṛiha[ul-gachchha]-dāvag[h\*]-a[r\*]tam rāja<sup>20</sup>-Munapaśiṅgha[ha]-śra-(āre)yasō dāva-śri-Sāntināthāya śri-Manapaśiṅgha[ha]-vilārāy-āgryā bhūmih pradattē || tathā dēva-śri-Sāntināthāya nē . . .<sup>21</sup> nimittath **Valadaṅṭha-trā(grā)mō** pitha-[h\*] pradattē(ttaḥ) || tathā Śri-Sāntināthāya pūjā-nimi-

<sup>1</sup> From inked impressions.

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>3</sup> *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

<sup>4</sup> The intended reading may be *yasūstatvō*.

<sup>5</sup> The intended reading may be *Kahatriyūpati*; cf. *Mānūsmṛiti* (above, Vol. XXX, p. 122).

<sup>6</sup> The space for the two *akṣaras* looks like a blank.

<sup>7</sup> The author's idea is not quite clear here.

<sup>8</sup> Read *putra* as for the sake of the metre.

<sup>9</sup> The space for the three *akṣaras* looks like a blank.

<sup>10</sup> The space for the four *akṣaras* looks like a blank.

<sup>11</sup> The intended reading seems to be *yachānām*.

<sup>12</sup> The intended reading may be *ōśā yā*.

<sup>13</sup> The *śudā* is redundant.

<sup>14</sup> *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

<sup>15</sup> The reading does not appear to be *Sānena* meaning the *Savarnya pitta*.

<sup>16</sup> The space for three or four *akṣaras* here looks like a blank. The intended reading may be *śākhāśā*.

<sup>17</sup> *Śiṅ* stands for *Śiṅgapatra*—*Śiṅg*.

<sup>18</sup> The intended reading does not appear to be *śāśā* for *śāśā*.



- 5 *ttam rāja<sup>1</sup> Ābhīṣṭāna putra-Harṣi<sup>2</sup> varṣ<sup>3</sup> rāja<sup>1</sup> Prithimārāja-prabhṛiti-putra-pautr-ādi-samētāna pū[<sup>4</sup> \*]vaja-śrēyaśē dēvakā. <sup>5</sup> ghaṭṭa<sup>5</sup> śka 1 pradattah || yathā || Va(Ba)hubhī[r]-vasuḥā bhuktā rājābhīh Śagar-ādībhīh | yasya yasya yadā bhūmīś-tasya tasya tadā phalaś(lam) || 9 ā-chamir-ārka[m<sup>6</sup> \*] pālanīya]h(yam) ||*

No. 2

Sa(Sva)eti [|| \*] Sarīvat

1330 varshē Phāji[\*]guṇa(na)-śudi 11 Ravau dōrda[rū]ḍa-dalīta-sakala-prachanḍa-

- 6 *ripo-bala<sup>7</sup> Umāpati-yam-labdhū-pranḍha-pratāpa-mahāmaṇḍalāśvara-śrīmach-Chāchigadēva-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyē śri-[śrīka]raḡō maha<sup>8</sup> śri-Jāpākō rā<sup>9</sup> Ābhīṣṭāna pu<sup>10</sup> Hē(Ha)-rīśarē rā<sup>11</sup> Prithimārā rā<sup>12</sup> Ajayacūgha(ha) [rā<sup>13</sup>]\* Simūghala rā<sup>14</sup> Anāgharā [Sū]marā rāja<sup>15</sup> Bāhtharē [iti<sup>16</sup> \*] putra-pautr-ādi-[sa]mētāna Manāpasimūha-vihārah rā<sup>17</sup> śri-Manāpa-simūha-śrēyaśē kīrāpīta<sup>18</sup> || Tathā*
- 7 *Prāgrāja-vañś-ōdbhava-śrē<sup>19</sup> Bōhaḍi-putra(trau) sādā-sujana-vachchha(tsa)la-śrē<sup>20</sup> Pāhaḍa-[h<sup>21</sup> \*] Prā<sup>22</sup> vya<sup>23</sup> śri-Vatsarō(rā)ja[h<sup>24</sup> \*] vya<sup>25</sup> Saruḡā-putra-Kuma[rasiṁ]ha-Lāshana-(khaṇau) tathā Umāvala-jūāīya<sup>26</sup> śri-Chakrōśvari-gotrō(trīya) śrē<sup>27</sup> Jasarū-bhā[r<sup>28</sup> \*]yā Jāśū [tat]-putra-Mahaja-Sādharā[ṇa]-Prāśha-Mālāpām[ṇā]-Sōmasimūha-Vījaḍa[ḍāh] va(ta)thā Prā<sup>29</sup> Dhana(na) dōchā(v-ā)hṇaja-Sāvaḍā-Guṇapāla-Mō.*
- 8 *haga(nāh) tathā Prāgrāja-vañśa-gagan-āhṇaga-pū[rñi]m-ōbdu(dau) A[rū]vā(hā)j-gō-[tr]h vya<sup>30</sup> Nāsala-samētānē śō<sup>31</sup> Dōvatiga-anta-Dēlha[ṇa-bhā]ryā Pāñśāīrī<sup>32</sup> ta[t]-putrōṇa śri-Sūmātinātha-sādā-saktēna śrē<sup>33</sup> Pādmasimūghēna<sup>34</sup> śri-Jina-dharmōṇa sād-āvāsit-āntahkaraṇā bhāryā Bā<sup>35</sup> putra[h sa]d-ēivōkī Arasiṁgha-Narapāla<sup>36</sup> pautra(trāh) Jaitā-Karmasī[simū]ha-Tō[ṣ]h<sup>37</sup> pāla-pramukha(khāh) [it<sup>38</sup> \*]y-ādi<sup>39</sup>]-sa.*
- 9 *kala-kutūmrō(mh-ō)potēna sarva-samūgha-samodāyōna Prā<sup>40</sup> śrē<sup>41</sup> Pādmasī[mū]hōna ayam prāsādō dha[r<sup>42</sup> \*]m-ō[r<sup>43</sup> \*]tham kārī[ṭah] pra[stīti]t(āh)ti[ṭah] śri-Bṛihad-gachchhō śri-Sarvadōv-āchārya-samētānē śri-Dhanōśvara-śrī-śāhyāh śri-Pāryabhadrā-sūribhīh [|| \*] maṇḡalath [mahā]-ārīh [|| sū]bhāś bhavatu śri-Śramaṇa-samūghasya [|| sū] Gaṇḡā-putra(trāh) Chāchā Chāṇḍā Āmā [|| \*]*

<sup>1</sup> *Raja* stands for *Rājaputro* = *Rājan*.

<sup>2</sup> The *v*-ending in a name stands for *vija*.

<sup>3</sup> The intended word seems to be *śra* = *śra*.

<sup>4</sup> The intended word is *arūgha* (water-drawing machine).

<sup>5</sup> *Sādā* has not been observed here.

<sup>6</sup> *Mō* is an abbreviation of *Mahātama*. For the globular mark after *sa*, a double *daṇḍa* was originally engraved.

<sup>7</sup> The abbreviation stands for *Rājaputro* = *Rājan*.

<sup>8</sup> The abbreviation stands for *putra*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *hā* / *hā*.

<sup>10</sup> This abbreviation stands for *itihā*.

<sup>11</sup> These abbreviations stand for *Prāgrāja-jūāīya-śrīya-śrīmāhārī*.

<sup>12</sup> This stands for *simūghārī*.

<sup>13</sup> This stands for *Sarūghā-jūāīya*.

<sup>14</sup> This stands for *Prāgrāja-jūāīya*.

<sup>15</sup> Sanskrit *Palmasīh*.

<sup>16</sup> Read *it-putrā śri-Sūmātinātha-sādā-saktē śri-Pādmasīmūhā tasya*.

<sup>17</sup> Read *putra sād-ēivōkī Arasiṁgha-Narapāla*.

<sup>18</sup> This stands for *Prāgrāja-jūāīya-śrīya-śrīmāhārī*.

<sup>19</sup> What looks like the numerical figure 1 is engraved after the double *daṇḍa*.

<sup>20</sup> This is the abbreviation of *sā-rullāra*.

## No. 5—THREE INSCRIPTIONS FROM BIHAR

(I-Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 12.6.1961)

### 1. Silsilā Inscription of Aṅgasīmha's time, Vikrama 1162

There is an inscribed boulder at the foot of a hill belonging to the Kaimur Range near Silsilā which is not far from Bhagwanpur, about ten miles to the south of Bhabua, headquarters of a Sub-Division of the Shahabad District of Bihar. Mr. S. V. Sohoni, Commissioner of the Patna Division, informed me of the existence of the inscribed boulder and I visited the place in December 1960 for copying the writing on it.

There are actually two inscriptions engraved on the boulder, the first containing five lines of writing and the second six lines. The letters of the first record are slightly smaller than in the second, individual akṣaras being about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches high in the former and about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height in the latter. The spaces covered by the two inscriptions, the second engraved below the first, are respectively about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet by 1 foot and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet. There is the representation of a bow with an arrow fixed to it and a spear-head at the end respectively of lines 1 and 2 of the second inscription. The real significance of these symbols cannot be determined, though they may be the insignia of the ruler mentioned in the record.

The preservation of the writing in both the epigraphs is unsatisfactory. Many letters in the first line of the first inscription are damaged. The purport of this record is not quite clear, though it uses the word *va(ba)ḥi*, literally 'an offering', very probably in the sense of 'an offering of animals', i.e. 'an animal sacrifice', as it is usually understood in Eastern India. From the occurrence of the expressions *varāḥ-śāśa* (a pigsty) in line 2, *varāḥa-va(ba)ḥi* (sacrifice of pigs) in line 3 and *va(ba)ḥi datta* (animal-sacrifice was offered) in line 4, it appears that the inscription recorded the sacrifices of certain animals in favour of a deity. The reading and interpretation of the second inscription is also very difficult; but it is of some importance as it throws new light on the early medieval history of the Bhabua region of the Shahabad District. The second inscription is therefore edited in the following pages.

The inscription is written in the Nāgarī characters of about the twelfth century A.D. Its language is Sanskrit, though the orthography exhibits the influence of local pronunciation (cf. *jaṣya* for Sanskrit *yaṣya* in line 5). The date at the end of the record seems to be the year (i.e. Vikrama) 1162, Vaiśākha-sudi 3, Monday. This date corresponds to the 9th April 1106 A.D., though correctly the *tithi* was sudi 4.

The record begins with the *siddham* symbol followed by the word *svasti*. The following passage in lines 1-3 suggests that the transaction recorded below in the inscription was made when Nāyaka Aṅgasīmha was ruling from Vanthiām-Pātharapura. The next passage in lines 2-5 states that some land in the possession of the Nāyaka (apparently meaning Aṅgasīmha of Vanthiām-Pātharapura) lying in the village of Amaramōḥa in the Kasaramōḥa *pattalā* within Vārāṇasī was granted as a *śiva-śāśa* by a person named Vimūrti. The reading of the last part of the name of the village and the first part of the name of the *pattalā* or district is, however, not absolutely



beyond doubt. It appears that Vimūrti purchased the plot of land from the *Nāyaka* and granted it in favour of the god Śiva worshipped in a temple in the neighbourhood of the boulder bearing the inscription. The following passage in line 5 states that, having known the fact relating to the grant, the Brāhmana should be regarded as a friend by the lord of the land. This suggests that the charge of the land granted in favour of the god Śiva by means of the epigraph under study was given to the Brāhmana priest of the Śiva temple in the locality. The record ends with the date in lines 5-6 which has already been discussed above.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it supplies us with the name of a hitherto unknown *Nāyaka* who was ruling in Vikrama 1162 (1106 A.D.) over the territory including the area where the inscription has been found. We have inscriptions<sup>1</sup> of another *Nāyaka* named Pratāpadhavala who belonged to the Khayaravāla (i.e. Kharwar) tribe and ruled from Jāpila (modern Japla in the Palaman District) over the Sasaram-Japla region of the Shahabad and Palaman Districts at least from Vikrama 1214 (1158 A.D.) to Vikrama 1225 (1169 A.D.). The Son-East-Bank plate<sup>2</sup> of the Kadamba *Mahimāśoḍhika* Udayarāja who was the son of Prharāja (the *Pradhāna-sachiva* of a Khadirapāla or Kharwar king) and the grandson of Samarasimha, gives the following genealogy of his overlord Indradhavala of the dynasty of Khadirapāla: (1) Sādava; (2) his son Ranadhavala; (3) his son Pratāpadhavala; (4) his son Sūhasa; (5) his son Vikrama; and (6) his brother Indradhavala. This inscription is dated Vikrama 1254 (1197 A.D.) when Pratāpadhavala's grandson Indradhavala was ruling. Aḅgasimha of our inscription seems to have been ruling over the land to the west of the territory under the Khadirapāla-Khayaravāla-Kharwar *Nāyaka* Pratāpadhavala and may have been a contemporary of the latter's grandfather Sādava. Whether Aḅgasimha was an aboriginal chief like Pratāpadhavala cannot be determined without further evidence, though it is quite likely. It is also not altogether impossible that Pratāpadhavala was actually a descendant of Aḅgasimha.

We have seen above<sup>3</sup> that the relations of Pratāpadhavala with the contemporary Gāhaḅavāla ruler Vijayachemira (1155-70 A.D.) of Banāra cannot be determined with certainty. Since, however, *Nāyaka* Aḅgasimha's territory formed a part of the Vāḅnād district, he was apparently a subordinate of the contemporary Gāhaḅavāla king Madanachandra (c. 1100-14 A.D.). Unfortunately, we have not succeeded in locating Vāḅthiān-Pātharapura and the other geographical names mentioned in our record. They do not appear to have been localities within the present Bhabua Sub-Division of the Shahabad District.

TEXT<sup>4</sup>

1 Siddhant<sup>5</sup> svasti [ ] Vāḅthiān-Pātharapurāt |<sup>6</sup>

2 Nāyaka-<sup>7</sup> Ariga[simha]-<sup>8</sup> patē Vārāna- |<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 298, 338, 340, 1709; also above, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 23 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 222 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXV, p. 135.

<sup>4</sup> From impressions.

<sup>5</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>6</sup> To the right of the *śanda*, which is superfluous, there is the figure of a bow with an arrow fixed to it.

<sup>7</sup> *Śanda* has not been observed here.

<sup>8</sup> Sanskrit *Aḅgasimha*.

<sup>9</sup> Possibly we have to suggest *śāḅpata* (*śānti*\*).

<sup>10</sup> To the right of the *śanda*, which is superfluous, there is the figure of a spear-head.



THREE INSCRIPTIONS FROM BIHAR—PLATE I

1. Silsilā Inscription of Aṅgasimha's time, Vikrama 1162

A

2

4

B

2

4

6

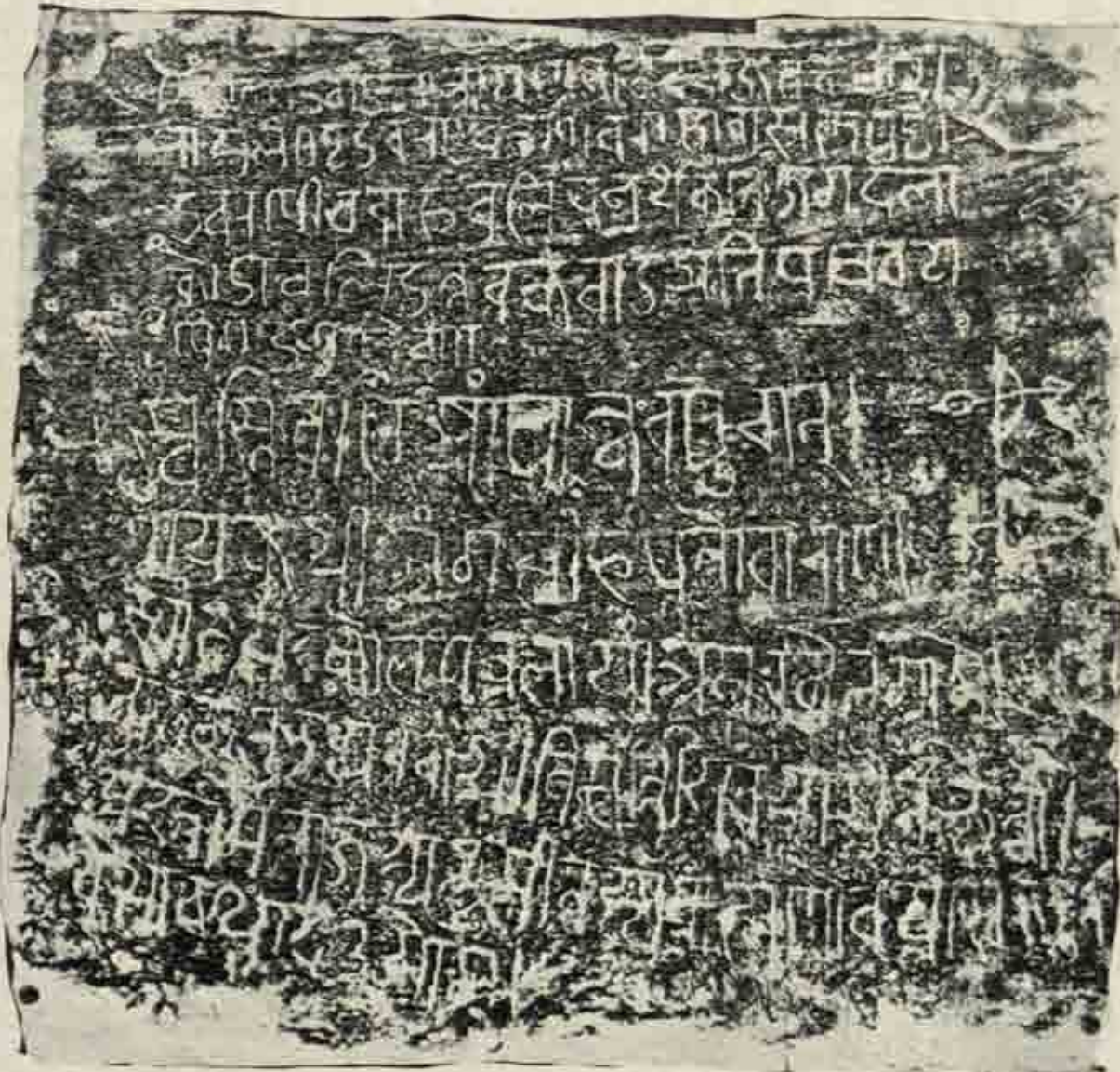
2

4

2

4

6



Size : One-sixth

2. Nōngadh Inscription of Madanapāla's time, Vikrama [1\*]201



Size : Actual



3. syārah [Ka]sa[ra]mōla-pa[ita]lāyāh Amaramē[tha]-grāmā |<sup>1</sup>

4. [nāyaka]-sambhu[jya][mā\*][nakat\*]āt-Vimūrti[nā\*] Śiva-sū[ā]sannāh kṛietvō[trā] |<sup>1</sup>

5. pradattāh |<sup>1</sup> matvā ja(ya)ya bhūmi tasya Vra(Brā)hmaṇē varh(bam)dhū[ḥ\*] | [Sam 1162]

6. Vaisāha(sāka)-[so]d[i]\* 3 Śūmā |

## 2. Nōngadh Inscription of Madanapāla's time, Vikrama [1\*]201

This inscription is engraved on the pedestal of a broken image found at Nōngadh under the Sikandra Police Station within the Jammu Sub-Division of the Moughyr District. It was copied by Mr. A. N. Lahiri, Senior Epigraphical Assistant of my office, in January 1961.

This inscription contains three small lines of writing, the last one of which is much shorter than the others. The writing covers an area about six inches in length and a little above one inch in height. The record is written in Gandiya characters of about the twelfth century A.D. The language is Sanskrit with considerable influence of the local pronunciation on the orthography. The date is quoted as the year 201 of the Pāla king Madanapāla who is known to have ruled in c. 1143-61 A.D. The year of the date apparently refers to some era. But it is difficult to think of any Indian era that would suit the date. It is, however, very probable that the engraver has omitted the figure 1 before 201 through inadvertence and that the year is actually Vikrama 1201. Although inscriptions referring themselves to Pāla rule were generally dated in the regnal reckoning of individual Pāla monarchs, there are a few Pāla inscriptions from U. P. and Bihar, which are dated in the Vikrama or Śaka era; of: (1) the Sarnath (near Banaras) inscription of the time of Mahipāla I dated Vikrama 1083; (2) the Gāyā inscription of Govindapāla's time dated in Vikrama 1232; and (3) the Valgudar inscription of Madanapāla's time dated in Śaka 1083 and regnal year 19.<sup>2</sup> The day of the date is quoted in our record as the 23rd of Mārgaśīrṣha. Since the months were regarded as Pūrṇimānta,<sup>3</sup> the 23rd of Mārgaśīrṣha probably indicates Mārgaśīrṣh and 8. This date seems to correspond to the 4th November 1144 A.D.

As we have seen elsewhere,<sup>4</sup> the 4th May 1161 A.D. fell in the 18th regnal year of Madanapāla, so that the 4th May 1144 fell in the first year of his reign. The date of our inscription would therefore fall in the first or second year of Madanapāla's rule and prove to be the earliest epigraph of his reign so far discovered.

The inscription begins with a *siddham* symbol and states that the image, on the pedestal of which it is engraved, was the *dāna-dharma* of *dānapati* Śōja and his *vadhū* (wife) Aśōkā. The deity was apparently installed at a place called Dakā. We know that the expression *dāna-dharma* was used in Eastern India in the sense of *dāna-dharma* (a religious gift) when the object of the gift was the image of a deity. Likewise, the expression *dānapati* is known to indicate a person who took a vow to get an image of a particular deity made and installed in a shrine on the fulfilment of his desire. In the present case, it appears that the vow was taken by Śōja but that the image was dedicated for installation by his wife Aśōkā.

<sup>1</sup> The *śrāda* is superfluous.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly the word *kakṛant* is to be understood here.

<sup>3</sup> The letter *s* resembles the same letter in *śamānta* in line 4; but it is joined here with the previous character (i.e. *śā*). The *ś*-stroke of *śi* looks like an *ś*-stroke of the previous letter.

<sup>4</sup> See Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 114 and 370; above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 143.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 142, note 3.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 142.



The following passage reading *ja(ya)d=atra pṛṣṭhāṅg(ṣṣṭhāṅg)* is followed by a globular mark often used in the medieval records of Northern India in order to indicate abbreviations of words, e.g. *ṭhā°* for *ṭhakkura*, *Kṣ°* for *Kāyastha*, etc. In the present case, the mark has apparently been used to indicate the omission of a passage like *tad-bhavadu sarva-sattvānām-anuttara-jñān-āp-ṭayē* usually found in Mahāyāna Buddhist records in similar contexts. The phraseology of our epigraph shows that the inscribed object was a Buddhist image. The date, discussed above, comes at the end of the inscription in lines 2-3.

*Dakā* seems to have been the old name of modern Nōngādh or of a neighbouring locality.

#### TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Siddham<sup>2</sup> [||\*] ā[ā]va-dharmmō-yaṁ dā[na°]pati-Sējaṅgja Dakāyāri vadhū<sup>3</sup>-As<sup>4</sup>(45)kā-
- 2 yā ja(ya)d=atra p[u]ṣṭhāṅg<sup>5</sup> [śrī]-Madanapāla-sarimata<sup>6</sup> [1°]201 Māgra<sup>7</sup>-di-
- 3 nō 23 [||\*]

#### 3. Ārmā Inscription of Madanapāla's time, Year 14

This inscription, engraved on what looks like part of a stone pillar, was discovered by Mr. A. N. Lahiri of my office in January 1961 at the village of Ārmā near the Kiul railway station in the Monghyr District. There are altogether twelve lines of writing covering an area about 9½ inches in height and 5½ inches in breadth. The preservation of the writing is not satisfactory. A letter at the beginning and end of the lines is damaged or broken away in some cases. But the break at the beginning of line 6 was there even when the inscription was incised. This is indicated by the fact that no letter appears to have been engraved at that place.

The characters of the inscription belong to the Guṇḍiya alphabet of about the twelfth century A.D. The language is Sanskrit. But there are some errors of orthography and grammar. The date is quoted as a particular day of the month of Vaiśākha in the fourteenth year of the Pāla king Madanapāla's reign. Since Madanapāla began his rule in 1143 or 1144 A.D., his fourteenth year roughly corresponds to 1157 A.D.

The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a village in favour of a Buddhist monastery which must have existed within or in the neighbourhood of Ārmā where the inscription has been found. Besides the reference to the *vijaya-rājya* (victorious reign) of Madanapāla in relation to the date discussed above, mention is also made of the *rājya* or rule of *Piṭhipati Aḥārya Dēvasēna* who was no doubt a feudatory of the Pāla king and ruled over the area including the Ārmā region in the western part of the Monghyr District of Bihar.

Lines 5-12 of the inscription state that a village called *Khaṇḍapātaka-grāma* was granted in favour of the *Dhavalas-saṅgha* by *Sārthadēvikā*, the queen (*rājālī*) of *Mahāmāyājālīka Jashkapāla*. The correct form of the *Mahāmāyājālīka*'s name may be *Yakshapāla*, though we cannot

<sup>1</sup> From impressions.

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>3</sup> *Samāhi* has not been observed here.

<sup>4</sup> Read *paṣṭhāṅg*.

<sup>5</sup> As indicated above, this globular mark was apparently used to indicate the fact that a passage like *tad-bhavadu sarva-sattvānām-anuttara-jñān-āp-ṭayē* has been omitted here.

<sup>6</sup> Read *śarimata* which is an abbreviation of *śarīmāṭa*.

<sup>7</sup> The intended reading is *Māra* which is an abbreviation of *Mārgaśīra*.



THREE INSCRIPTIONS FROM BIHAR—PLATE II

3. Ārmā Inscription of Madanapāla's time, Year 14



Size: One-half.



be sure on this point.<sup>1</sup> Dhavala-saṅgha seems to have been the name of a local Buddhist monastery. The village of Khaṇḍapātaka is stated to have been granted together with its land and waters. It is, however, not stated that the gift village was made a rent-free holding in favour of the donee. The use of the sixth case-ending in *Dhavala-saṅghaya*, instead of the fourth case-ending, may suggest that the monastery did not receive a revenue-free gift, but had to pay rent for the village. It has also to be noted in this connection that the petty local chief, whose wife made the gift, was not himself in a position to create a rent-free holding within his fief without the permission of Dēvasēna or Madanapāla. The passage *eva bhū-sambuddh-āśkam-ā-chand-ārkaṁ kṛtvā*, 'having made [it, i.e. the gift village] a unit permanently attached to her own land', suggests that the lady purchased the village from the ruling authority.

The importance of the inscription lies in the mention of *Piṭhipati Achārya* Dēvasēna as the ruler of the territory including the Ārmā region in Western Monghyr. We have seen above<sup>2</sup> that the *Piṭhipatis* were the rulers of Magadha and generally acknowledged the suzerainty of the Pālas, that the *Piṭhipati* Vallabharāja and his son Dēvarakshita of the Chhārkōra family and a later *Piṭhipati* named Bhīmayaśas were ruling over Magadha or South Bihar about the middle and the latter half of the eleventh century A.D. and that the status of *Piṭhipati* soon passed on to the members of an *Achārya* family represented by Buddhasēna (1234 A.D.) and Jayasēna (1261 A.D.), the son of Buddhasēna. The inscription under study suggests that *Piṭhipati Achārya* Dēvasēna (c. 1157 A.D.) was a predecessor of the *Piṭhipati Achāryas* Buddhasēna and Jayasēna. That the western region of the Monghyr District formed part of the territories under the *Piṭhipatis* of Magadha, generally identified with the Patna-Gaya region, is known for the first time from the inscription under study. It is usually believed that the Monghyr and Bhagalpur Districts of East Bihar formed the ancient country of Aṅga which was, however, a separate province of the Pāla empire under the rule of a viceroy different from the *Piṭhipati* rulers of Magadha. During the reign of the Pāla king Rāmapāla (c. 1080-1125 A.D.), Aṅga was being ruled by the king's Rāshtrakūṭa maternal uncle Mathana or Mahana, while Magadha was first under *Piṭhipati* Dēvarakshita and later under *Piṭhipati* Bhīmayaśas.

We are not sure about the location of *Khaṇḍapātaka-grāma* though it seems to have been situated in the neighbourhood of Ārmā, the findspot of the inscription.

TEXT<sup>4</sup>

- 1 [Ścīman-Mada[na]pāla[d]ṣ-
- 2 [va]-vijaya-rājyē [sa]-
- 3 [ma]ta<sup>5</sup> 14 Vaiś[ā]<sup>6</sup>[kha-dinē
- 4 ..<sup>7</sup> Piṭhipaty-āchārya-Dēva-
- 6 [sēna]<sup>8</sup>-rājyē ]<sup>9</sup> mahāmāpḍa-

<sup>1</sup> A Bāhmana chief named Yakshapāla was ruling at Gayā about 1075 A.D. See Bhandarkar's List, No. 1750.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 80-81.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 82-83.

<sup>4</sup> From impressions.

<sup>5</sup> A symbol for *śiddhāra* seems to have broken away at the beginning of the line.

<sup>6</sup> Read *śakant*.

<sup>7</sup> The number of the day in the month is broken away at the beginning of this line.

<sup>8</sup> The *śakara* at it is re-engraved on something previously inscribed.

<sup>9</sup> The *śandā* is superfluous.

- 6 'lika-irī-Ja[shka]pāla<sup>1</sup>- ||<sup>2</sup>  
 7 aya rājñī(jñyā) irī-Sār[tha]dā-  
 8 vikā(ka)yā Khaṇḍapā[ta]ka-  
 9 grāma<sup>3</sup> |<sup>4</sup> sajala-tha(stha)lēna |<sup>5</sup> [sva]-  
 10 bhū-[sam]vaddh-aikam<sup>6</sup> |<sup>7</sup> ā-cha[n]dir-ākañ.  
 11 kṛitvā [|]<sup>8</sup> Dhavala-saughasya pra-  
 12 datta[ḥ]<sup>9</sup> ||

११११११

<sup>1</sup> The space for an akshara is broken away at the beginning of this line, though nothing was incised at the place.

<sup>2</sup> As indicated above, it is difficult to say whether Yaśodhara was the name intended.

<sup>3</sup> The *śaṅka* are unnecessary.

<sup>4</sup> Read *grāma*.

<sup>5</sup> The *śaṅka* is superfluous.

<sup>6</sup> Read *śaṅka-irī*.

<sup>7</sup> These aksharas are engraved below the concluding part of the previous line.

No. 6—JODHPUR FRAGMENTARY GRANT OF SIMHARAJA, VIKRAMA 1054

(1 Plate)

B. CH. CHHABRA, NEW DELHI

(Received on 12.5.1961)

In January-February 1961, an agent of one Mr. Sampat Singh Jain of Jodhpur, Rajasthan, brought to me three loose inscribed copper plates for examination. He was not in a position to tell me as to when, how and where exactly the plates had been found.

On examination, I found that the three plates contained two records, one *incomplete* and the other complete. The former record, written on the inner side of one plate containing the latter half of a land grant issued by one **Simharāja (Sinhharāja)**, is the subject of the present paper. The other inscription, written on two plates and recording a grant of land by **Kahmarāja**, a *Tantrapāla* of Durlabha, is being published separately.

Simharāja's grant bears a date in **Vikrama 1054** and Kahmarāja's in **Vikrama 1069**. The donee in both the records happens to be one and the same individual, **Namuka** by name, an inhabitant of **Bhillamāla**, modern Bhīmāl in the Jalore District of the Jodhpur Division. Bhīmāl may thus be taken as the provenance of the three plates. It may be of some interest to find out as to how they have come to be in the possession of their present owner.

The original charter was evidently composed of two copper plates, of which only the second is available now. It measures  $21 \times 14\frac{1}{2}$  cm., and weighs 555 grams. It has two holes at the top for the rings which had held the two plates together. The extant plate has 13 lines of writing engraved on it, of which the last line is comparatively very short, having only five syllables. The **alphabet** is **Dōvanāgarī** of the period to which the record belongs. The **language** is **Sanskrit**, except for the donor's sign-manual at the very end, which is in **Prakrit**. The composition is in **prose**, barring the two-and-a-half verses towards the close. It contains many mistakes. As regards **orthography**, the following points call for notice: *anusvāra* mostly takes the place of *para-anusvāra* as in *sasākrāntān* in line 2; *t* is reduplicated before *r* in *frīlōkī* in line 2; a consonant after *r* is often reduplicated; and *ō* is throughout indicated by the sign for *e*.

As for the contents, we learn from the extant portion that a certain village in the district (*paṭhaka*) of **Satyapura** was given as a perpetual gift to a **Brāhmaṇa** teacher (*upādhyāya*), **Nannaka** by name, hailing from **Bhillamāla**, on the occasion of the **Makara saṅkrāntī** falling in the lunar month of **Pausha** in the [**Vikrama**] **year 1054**. The given date corresponds to **Friday, the 24th December 997 A.D.** The purpose of the gift was the increase of the religious merit and fame both of the donor and of his parents. The donor made the gift after a holy bath and after the worship of **Mahādēva**. While the name of the donated village is lost to us (it was evidently given in the first plate now missing), the name of the donor (which was presumably given with some details in the first plate now missing) is known to us from his sign-manual at the end, which reads: *śri-Siharijasi-sekhastakā*, the name *Siharijasi* being the vernacular form of Sanskrit *Śiṅha-rājamaṇi*. **Satyapura**, the district in which the donated village was included, is identical with the modern **Sānchōr**.

It is not possible to state with absolute certainty as to who this **Simharāja** was, but he may tentatively be identified with the **Chāhamāna** monarch of that name. His figure prominently in



the Haras stone inscription<sup>1</sup> of his son Vigharāja. Such an identification will require some chronological re-adjustments in the known history, into which we do not propose to enter for the present.<sup>2</sup>

## TEXT

## Second Plate

- 1 ya[ty-a\*]stu vō viditām yatī-bhātīh(bhīh) sahvatsara-ma(śa)tēshu damaśu(śasu)  
chaduahāmchā(tushpaūchā)sa-
- 2 d-adhikēshu Pausha-māsē nā<sup>3</sup> Sam 1054 Makara-samkrāntau enātvā tīrilōki-  
guru[m\*] Mahā-
- 3 dēvam-abhyarṇcha(rehya) matta-kari-karṇpa-chati\*chalām-abhivikahya imāi(lakalimih)  
giri[na]dī-vēg-ōpamañ yaun-
- 4 vana(nāni)lahya<sup>4</sup> triṇṇ-gata-pidvā(bindv-ā)lōlām jivitadi(ta)m- avalōkya ch-śyam grāmāh-  
(mah) Satyapuri-
- 5 ya-pa[thē]kōb\* pradattam(ttah) śri-Bhīllama(nā)lād-vini[\*]gata-brāhmaṇa-u(ṇ-ō)pūdhya-  
Nannakāya Gō-
- 6 viṇḍa-tu(en)tāya tṇ-pravarāya cānadr-ārkk-ārṇava-tkirṇta(kahitī)-sama-kāl[unatavā\*]  
śō(ā)śaśn-ōdaka-pu(pū)-
- 7 revaṇi parsyā bhaktyā pradattam(ttah) mātī-pitttōr-ātmanś-cha panya(tya)-jūnō(yaśō)-  
bhividdhayē para-
- 8 lōka-[pha]lam-aṅgikṛityō(tya) Aśmat-kula-[kra]manu(m-ō)dārauu(m-ō)dālha\*caḍbhīr-  
anyais-cha dānam-i-
- 9 dam-aya na lōpanyam(yam) ||<sup>5</sup> Yāmī kālēna rājānō mahī punar-avastitā(sthītā) |
- 10 tad-ātādi yā(yō) yadābhūktē sa tadā [pha]lam-śaśutē ||<sup>6</sup> Śva-datām(ttām) para-datām-  
(ttām) vā yā harētā<sup>7</sup>
- 11 vasmāharām(rām) ||<sup>8</sup> śaśbhīr-vvaraha-saharā(śrā)ṇi viśṭā(śhṭhā)yāñ jāyatō kṛimī[ḷ] ||<sup>9</sup>  
Nāgaśāśtu-
- 12 padhīmā<sup>10</sup> likhitōśōdam<sup>11</sup> Drōṇēna Chaitu(dra)-putrēna(ṇa) || dō<sup>12</sup> Chadra(ndra)gupta ||  
śri-Siharā-
- 13 jaśi-avahastah ||<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. II, pp. 116 ff. ; *Jas. As.*, Vol. XLII, p. 60 ff.

<sup>2</sup> [Simhasēka] of the present record appears to have been a local chief of the area in question. The *śakara* read *śa* and corrected into *śva* in line 12 may be śa.—Śā.]

<sup>3</sup> The syllable *śa* seems to be superfluous.

<sup>4</sup> This syllable *śa* looks more like *śa*.

<sup>5</sup> The intended reading possibly is *gunanama-śalōṇya*.

<sup>6</sup> The intended reading is possibly *Satyapuriya-palāśi*.

<sup>7</sup> The metre of this half verse is *Vasantāśakā*.

<sup>8</sup> This syllable *śa* has a superfluous *śr* sign below it.

<sup>9</sup> The sense of this portion (eight syllables) is not clear.

<sup>10</sup> Read *śāśvamaśidam*.

<sup>11</sup> This *dō* is an abbreviation of *dāśakā*.

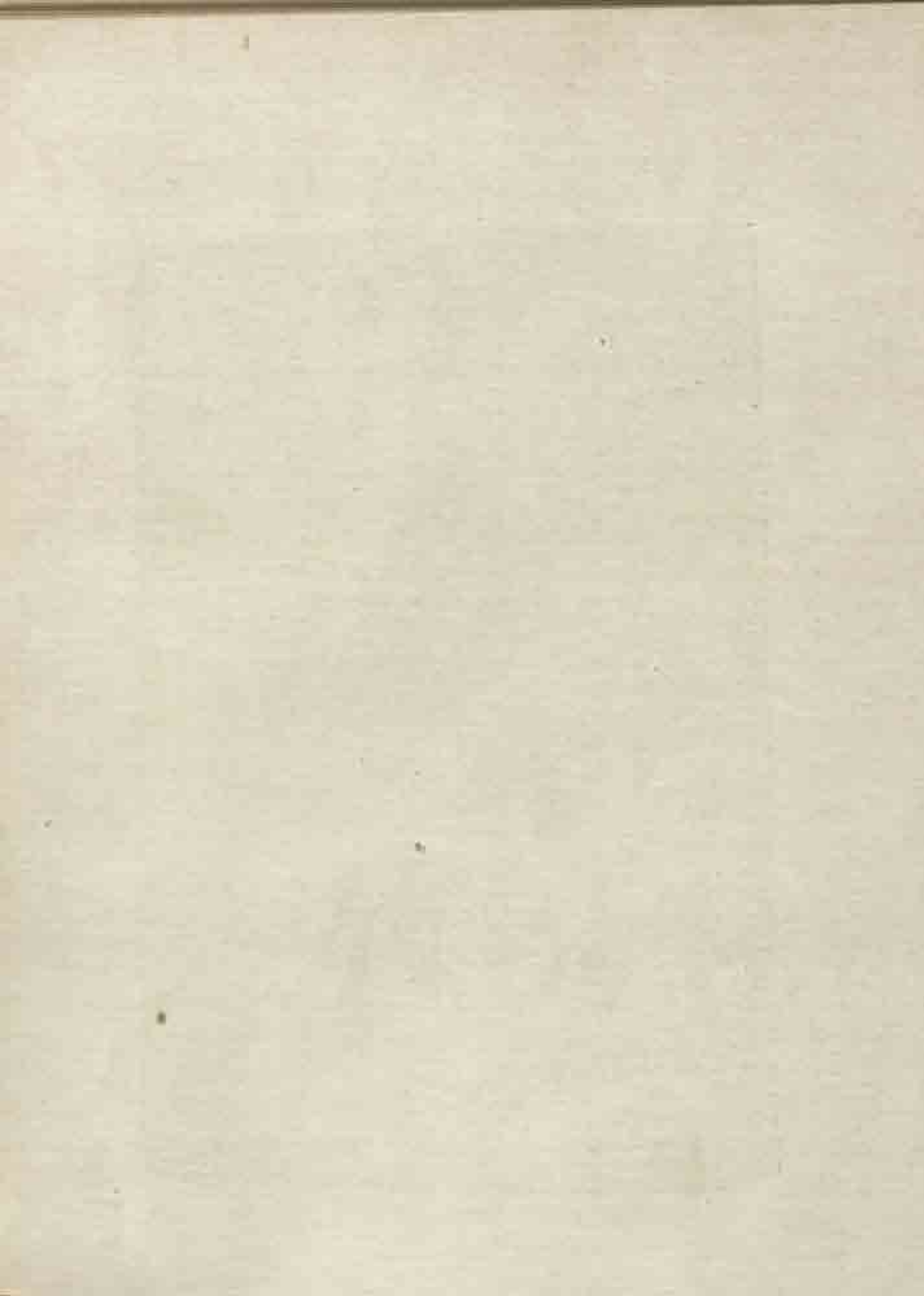
<sup>12</sup> Metre : *śaśāśakā*.

१) धृष्टि विदिंदा ) साभादिः संघराजमीरुस २) चक्रु धारा  
 ३) दधिपुत्रोपयोगेनै ३) ५४ अंकं रं मंकी तै सुवादि ने श्रीभमसु  
 ४) इतल अक्षे म कफपिक म्पुं रला मुदि वी कु ली शोमि न दीठ निायमं  
 ५) व गता किल हू ट म ग र सि द्वा सेले अ वि न म व लो का रा पं प्रा वं पा त्र यु ती  
 ६) दपसकेः अ द प्र शु दि ल म र्वा दि कि म न शु ल्म पा उ पा हा य न न का य या  
 ७) विं द तु ताय दि य रं ना य व द्रा व्वा म्ने व कि न म म का ली या जने नो द क पु  
 ८) र्पा या म् कृ पा प्र द न मा ता धि लो मा अ न श्यु च ग मी दि व द्वा व ष न  
 ९) लो क द ल म शी क्थो अ म्म कु ल कु म नु दान नु दान दि न च शि द्वा न दि  
 १०) द म्म ग्ग व लो थ मी द्वा यो दि का ले न ना जानो क्क री यु नू व मि तो अ  
 ११) न दे नी या दा दा कु कु म न द्वा द न म दि ता श्र व ता य र द्वा वा यो ह न  
 १२) पं दुं व मी ल धि व्वा यं म द्वा ल्पि नि लू या आ य न कु नि ग मी द्वा यो न  
 १३) य वी मी ल्पि न ते व या ल न् व उ पु त्रे ना ॥ ६० ॥ व इ ग प ॥ श्री शो दि का

2 4 6 8 10 12

2 4 6 8 10 12

(from Photograph)





## No. 7—THREE INSCRIPTIONS FROM RAJASTHAN

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OGTACAMUND

(Received on 2.5.1961)

### 1. Kusumā Inscription of [Vikrama] Year 693

About the middle of the year 1959, I received an indistinct photograph of a fragmentary stone inscription from Shri Achalmal Modi of Sirohi, Rajasthan. The inscribed stone was reported to have been discovered in the village of Kusumā in the Reodar Tahsil of the Sirohi District, about 28 miles from the Abu Road railway station. The inscription was later removed to the Jodhpur Museum where it is now preserved. About the beginning of 1960, my colleague Dr. G. S. Gai visited Jodhpur and took impressions and photographs of the inscription. The epigraph was at first examined in my office by Pandit V. S. Subrahmanyam, one of my Epigraphical Assistants.

The inscribed stone is a fragment, its top, upper right and right sides being broken away and lost. The extant part of the record exhibits only twelve lines of beautifully engraved writing with another line at the top almost totally lost excepting traces of the lower part of a few *aksharas* at the beginning. The number of lines lost before this cannot be determined. Roughly speaking, about 90 *aksharas* were engraved in each line of the original inscription, of which only about 50 from the left are now preserved in the lower part of the record (cf. lines 6-12). In lines 2-4 nearly 20 *aksharas* are preserved while more than 25 *aksharas* can be read in line 5. The preservation of the writing in the extant part of the record is also not satisfactory, many *aksharas*, especially in lines 8-9, being more or less badly rubbed off. The last line containing the date is small.

The characters of the inscription belong to the Siddhamātrikā alphabet of about the seventh century A. D. The language is Sanskrit and the record is written in verse with the exception of the date at the end. Unfortunately not even a single verse is completely preserved in the extant part of the inscription. The orthography of the epigraph resembles that of other records of the area and age in question. The year of the date, written in numerical symbols is 693, though the word *zshvatsara* or any of its abbreviations has not been used in introducing the number. The year must be referred to the Vikrama Samvat so that it corresponds to 636-37 A.D. The exact date is quoted as the 5th of the bright fortnight of the month of Chaitra.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a Śiva temple in what is called the hermitage of the sage Kutsa. This temple was built on a hill in the neighbourhood of Kusumā, the findspot of the inscription, probably by a warrior named Satyabhaṭa who was apparently the younger brother of the ruler of the area in question.

Lines 1-7 contain parts of several stanzas in the description of a heroic personage. Line 3 seems to refer to his feet as rubbed by the crowns of a large number of subordinate rulers so that he may be regarded as a king. His name and other details about himself and his family are broken away. But, considering the facts that the date of the record falls in the reign period of king Harshavar-dhana (606-47 A.D.) of Kanauj and that wide areas of Rajasthan appear to have been included in Harsha's empire, it is possible that the ruler referred to in our record was a feudatory of the Kanauj king. A stanza beginning in line 7 speaks of the said ruler's younger brother, by name Satyabhaṭa, who is described as a great warrior.

Line 8 contains parts of a verse referring to a temple (*śivalāṭa*) of 'the conqueror of the city' (*puram vijitā*), i.e. the god Śiva, which was apparently situated on a hill since it is stated to have

been lying in the sky (*pūrṅ-āntarikāśa-sthīta*). It was probably built by Satyabhaṭṭa mentioned above. The same temple is mentioned as *viśāla-dēva-bhavana* at the beginning of line 10 which also speaks of an *āśrama-pada*, i.e. a hermitage, in relation to the shrine. Line 11 contains parts of a stanza which prays for the longevity of the said temple (*śalman*) situated in the hermitage of the sage named Kutas. This hermitage of Kutas is no doubt the same as the *āśrama-pada* mentioned earlier. The *Kuta-āśrama* apparently stands for modern Kusumā.

Line 12 containing parts of two stanzas states that the *pūrā* (i.e. the eulogy quoted above) was composed by Sivagupta, described as the son of a Brāhmana (*Devjanman*) whose name is lost, and that it was engraved by the Kshatriya named Sthāvara who was the son of Rudravatsa and the grandson of Mātṛivishṇu.

The inscription ends with the date already discussed above.

## TEXT

- 1 .....  
 2 yaśat-sakalair-iva pravratā yudhi yasya pabubhu\*—\* .....  
 3 tpuh-āvatārās-ephuta-mukuta-ghaṭā-kōṭi-ghṛiṣṭ-ō .....<sup>1</sup> [ ]\* \*\*\*\*  
 4 \*\*\*sya chirāya tipubhi sthitam(tam) | yēn-ānēkāḥ kriḍat[ā] na [p]ra \*\*\*\*\* [ ]\* ? .....  
 5 d-ānandit-āli-ku[la-pa]lavam-udvahantī [ ]\* paryullasat-kiraṇa-manjari-[ā]si-yaah[ī]ḥ .....<sup>2</sup>  
 6 nūnsir<sup>3</sup>-iva yasya n-ārthibhiḥ kaluṣitām oṣṭakā ||<sup>4</sup> Śasadhara-dhavaḥ-prahh-āvabhāsai-  
 sabalayātō bhuvan-āntara[m] v[ā]sa[r]gaḥ<sup>5</sup> [ ]\* .....<sup>6</sup>  
 7 yasya saṅgrāma-lubdhāna bhūmā dūkhām-āntari(tam) ||<sup>7</sup> ya[sy-ānu]ḥ Satyabhaṭṭō  
 bhāṣānām-agrāsaraḥ saṅgara-sarikojśoḥ | utkhāta .....<sup>8</sup>  
 8 parāgat-ōrn-śikhara[m] pu(pū)[r]oṅ-āntar[īkṣa-sthītam(tam)] | siddhais-ḍṛiṣṭam-udagra-  
 hṛiṣṭa-vadan[ai]s-sandhu[m] Vijētub Purā[ra]m-ētat-tēna samarā nijēna yataś ka[ḥ]ṇa  
 .....<sup>9</sup> [ ]\* .....<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From impressions and photographs.

<sup>2</sup> There is a mistake here; but it is difficult to restore confidently the word intended by the author. Can we suggest *prahh-bhāsai*? But, in that case, the syllable before *pra* has to be regarded as short by a recognised poetical licence.

<sup>3</sup> Metre: *Draṅgīlambita*.

<sup>4</sup> About 63 aksharas are missing in this part.

<sup>5</sup> Metre: *Śaṅkharā*.

<sup>6</sup> About 64 aksharas are missing in this section.

<sup>7</sup> Metre: *Anusṭupā*.

<sup>8</sup> About 64 syllables are missing here.

<sup>9</sup> Metre: *Vasudhātaka*.

<sup>10</sup> Nearly 48 aksharas are missing here.

<sup>11</sup> The intended word seems to be *anāsir*<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> Metre: *Śrīḥ*.

<sup>13</sup> The word seems to be *viśālak* or *viśāpāḥ*.

<sup>14</sup> Metre: *Puṣpāḍḍā*.

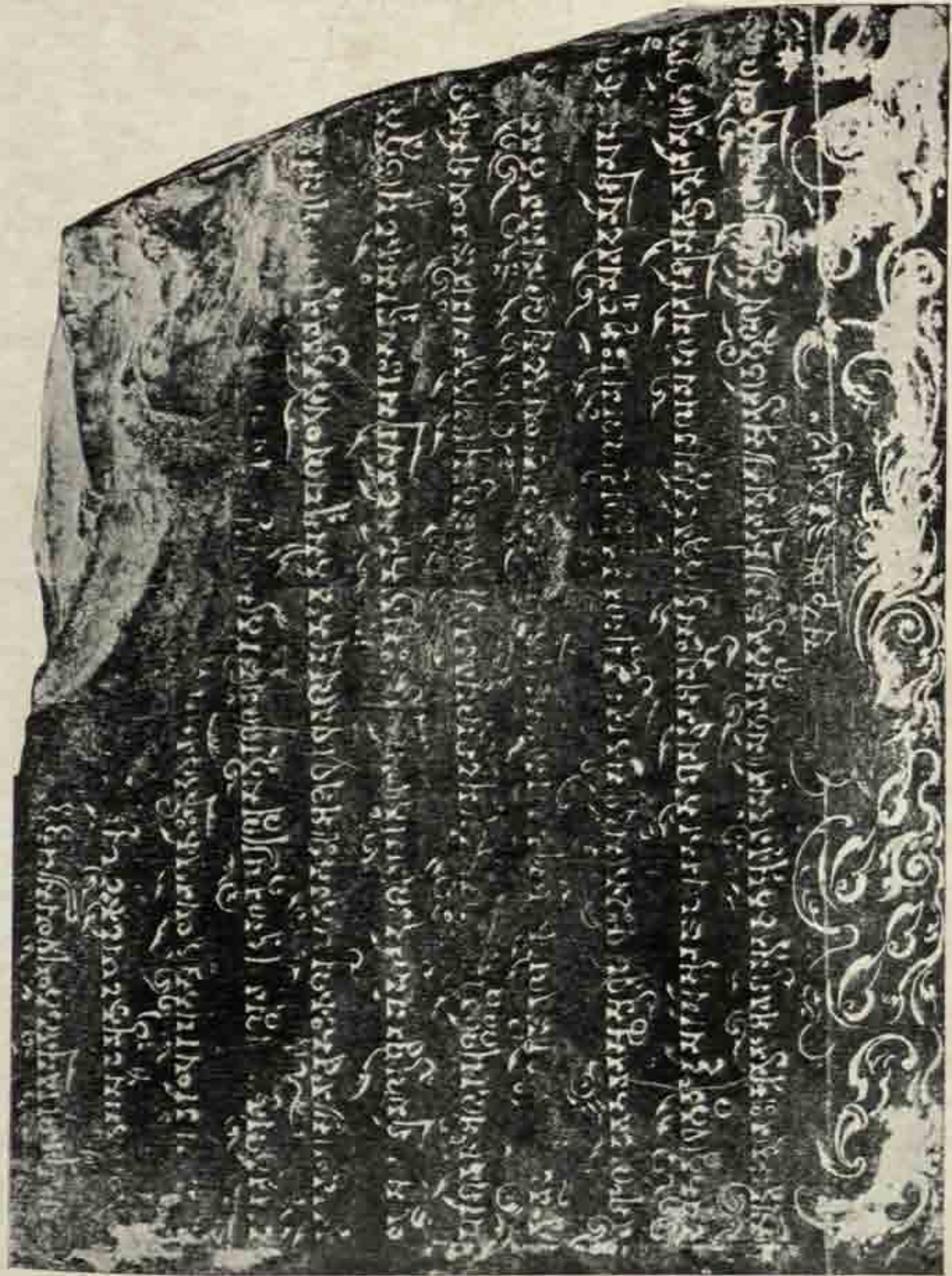
<sup>15</sup> Metre: *Anusṭupā*.

<sup>16</sup> Metre: *Indrasujā*.

<sup>17</sup> Metre: *Śrīśālikāśīḍita*.



1. Kusumā Inscription of [Vikrama] Year 693



2

4

6

8

10

12

2

4

6

8

10

12



2. Tinsai Inscription of [Harsha] Year 182

A



Size : Two-thirds

- 9 tvā vidy[ul-l]o[kh]ā-[cha]m[cha\*]lō jīva-lōkē [||\*]<sup>1</sup> Kusuma-saurabha-lōbha-pari[bhramā  
bhramara-vilhira]ma-dāyini dakṣiṇā | maruti vāti vi[bōdhi]ta—v—v—v—v—v—v—  
v—  
[||\*]<sup>2</sup> —————v—————v—————v—————v—————v—————v
- 10 visāla-dēva-lhavanē stha(sthā)ṣṣu dhvaj-ādhaḥ kṛitām(tam) | siddh-ādhyāśita-randhra-  
guchhā-gahana-chchhann-ōchchhaian-mēkhaṣām Mōrōḥ śringam-iv-ādāt-sārama-pa-  
[dāni] ka[lpa]v—  
v—
- 11 dah bibharti | dhātō bh-ōddāma-rāmā-etana-jaghana-bhar-ābhōgam-arcdhōna Sambhuḥ  
sadm-aitat-tāvad-āstām-achalam-īha munēr-āramō Kutsa-nāma[ḥ\*] [||\* Tāḍavāḥ  
\*\*\*\*\* [||\*] \*\*\*\*\*[||\*] \* \* \* \* \*
- 12 aya dvijanmanah | sūnūā Śivaguptēna kṛitā pūrvv-āvidatipa(ḥ)ṇā<sup>3</sup> [||\* Mātṛivishṇu-tanū-  
jasya Rudravatsasya sūnūā | utkirpā Sthāvā(va)r-ā[kh]yēna<sup>4</sup> Kahattiyē[ṇa] \* \* \* \*  
[||\*]<sup>5</sup>
- 13 \*600 90 3 Chaitra-īn 5 <sup>o</sup>10

## 2. Tasaī Inscriptiōn of [Harshā] Year 182

This fragmentary inscription is engraved on a stone slab which is built into the wall of the Śiva temple at Tasaī near Alwar, Rajasthan. Recently I received a few impressions of the inscription from the Curator, Government Museum, Alwar, and I am editing the epigraph from those impressions. The preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory. Some letters are damaged here and there.

There are fourteen lines of writing in the extant part of the inscription. The writing covers an area about twelve inches in length and twelve inches and a half in height. At least two lines of the original writing are lost above this part and one line below it.

The record was noticed by G. H. Ojha in the *Annual Report on the Working of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, for the year ending 31st March 1920, p. 2. He says, "It is the lower part of a *prastāvi* of some temple of Vishṇu (Vāsudēva-Baladēva) erected by Ragyāditya, son of Halavaṇa (and his wife Gullā), son of Sujaya (and his wife Gōvā), son of Nāgasvāmin, son of Mīya, the names of whose ancestors are lost. . . . . The *prastāvi* was composed by Dēgata, son of Bhāṭṭa Dēddata, and was inscribed by Māhaṭa, son of Chāmundaḍatta, a goldsmith, resident of Śarōdvartta. The *prastāvi* is called *vikaḥ-ākṣarā*, that is engraved in Vikāṭa (Kuṭila) or acute-angled characters, and is dated the year 182. It further mentions the endowments made for the proper performance of worship, namely two *palas* of oil for lamp, two *palas* of *guggula* (incense), forty garlands and eight *māshakas* of saffron, and two *chattikas* (i.e. pitchers) of *sūruṇi* (wine) on the twelfth day of the dark half of [every] month." He further observes, "The endowment of two pitchers of wine shows that the temple was not of Vishṇu proper, but of Baladēva, son

<sup>1</sup> Metre: *Sāli*.

<sup>2</sup> Metre: *Dvayāśambhō*.

<sup>3</sup> Metre: *Sārdāśāśrīṭi*.

<sup>4</sup> Metre: *Sragdhara*.

<sup>5</sup> The intended reading does not appear to be \**śāśāmparā*.

<sup>6</sup> Metre: *Anuśṭubh*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *v-ākhyaṇa*. The *akhyaṇa vākhyaṇa* are written on certain letters that had been previously incised. It appears that *śihāra* was originally written with the omission of *sa*.

<sup>8</sup> Metre: *Anuśṭubh*. It is difficult to say whether this was followed by another stanza recording the date.

<sup>9</sup> This line is engraved below the passage \**nājasya Rudravatsasya sū* in line 12. Better read *sūruṇi* at the beginning of the line.

<sup>10</sup> This globular mark is redundant unless it was used to indicate the end of the writing.



of Vasudēva and half-brother of Krishṇa—who is also an incarnation of Viṣṇu and is represented to be very fond of drink." Unfortunately, many of these details are wrong. In the first place, it is not the lower part of the original inscription since a part of the writing seems to be broken away also from the bottom. Secondly, there is no name in the inscription like Sujaya regarded as the husband of Gōvā who was actually the wife of Nāgaśvāmin. Thirdly, the name of the author of the *prastāvi*, read as Dēgata, seems really to be Dēśata which looks like a more suitable personal name than Dēgata. Fourthly, the geographical name Śārōdvartta, of which the engraver is supposed to have been a resident, is based on a wrong reading. Fifthly, there is no justification for regarding the temple referred to in the record as not one dedicated to Viṣṇu but to Baludēva while the reference to the endowment of two *chattikas* of wine appears to be due to a wrong reading of a passage in line 14. As regards Miya's ancestors, his father was Bhava and it was a Brāhmaṇa family to which he belonged.

We are also inclined to disagree with Ojha when he finds a reference to the Kuṭīla alphabet in the expression *vikaṭ-ākṣarā* and regards Vikata and Kuṭīla as the designations of the alphabet in which the inscription is written. This seems to be due to misunderstanding. It is well known that the expression *prastāvi-vikaṭ-ākṣarā* occurs in the last stanza of the Aṣṣad inscription, which Fleet translated as '[this] eulogy [written] in beautiful letters'.<sup>1</sup> The name Kuṭīla was applied by earlier writers to the alphabet in which this and other inscriptions are written because the upright strokes of the *akṣaras* employed therein have at the bottom a small tail which is 'crooked, curved or bent (*kuṭīlā*)' and the expression *kuṭīl-ākṣarāṅgi*, 'crooked letters', was actually traced in the Dewal inscription<sup>2</sup> of Vikrama 1049. Fleet of course had no objection to the designation Kuṭīla for the alphabet even though he pointed out, "It does not seem to be employed with the specific object of recording a standing name of this style of writing."<sup>3</sup> But Bühler draws our attention to the *Vāgrasāhādhātucakṣarita* (XVIII, 42) referring to people being cheated by the Kāyasthas, 'using crooked letters (*kuṭīla-lipiśīlā*)', to show that *kuṭīl-ākṣarāṅgi* really means 'letters difficult to read'.<sup>4</sup> Both Bühler and Kielhorn were inclined to avoid the use of Kuṭīla as the designation of the alphabet, the proper name of which appears to be Siddhamātrikā.<sup>5</sup> Ojha's *Prācīna Bhāratīya Līpimālā* has really no argument in favour of the use of this nomenclature.<sup>6</sup>

But Ojha rightly assigns the date of the inscription to the Harsha era and takes it to correspond to 788 A.D. We had also occasion to refer to the date of the present inscription along with a number of dates found in records discovered in various parts of Northern India in order to show that they can be referred to no other reckoning but the Harsha era of 606 A.D.<sup>7</sup>

The characters of the inscription belong to the Siddhamātrikā alphabet of about the eighth century A.D. and resemble that of other contemporary epigraphs of the Rajasthan region. The engraving is beautiful as in similar other early records of the area. The record is written in Sanskrit. In orthography also, it resembles other contemporary records of the said area. The composition is entirely in verse but is rather poor in style.

The object of the inscription, which is a eulogy, is to record the construction of a temple of the god Viṣṇu by a person named Ranyāditya (verse 7 in lines 8-9). The name of this person reminds us of the Sun-god worshipped under the name Rannāditya or Ranyāditya in Western

<sup>1</sup> *CIH*, Vol. III, pp. 205, 208.

<sup>2</sup> *Above*, Vol. I, pp. 81, 85.

<sup>3</sup> *CIH*, op. cit., p. 201. He also draws our attention to similar other expressions such as *rashīl-ākṣarāṅgi*, *śūlā*, and *śūlā*, etc.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII, Appendix, p. 59.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 49.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 22 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Above*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 168-69.



India during the early medieval period.<sup>2</sup> This Ranyāditya was the son of Halavasa and Ghullā, mentioned respectively in verses 4 (line 5) and 5 (line 6), and the grandson of Nāgasvāmin and Gōvā who are mentioned in verses 3 (line 3) and 4 (lines 4-5) respectively. Ranyāditya's great-grandfather Miya is mentioned in verse 1 (line 2) as the son of Bhava, though the information regarding the family to which he belonged is broken away. Verse 8 in lines 9-10 states that the record was composed by Dēsaḥa, son of *Bhāṭṭa* Dēddāḥa in the year one hundred and eighty-two. According to Verse 9, it was engraved by the goldsmith Māhaja, the son of Chāmupḍa-datta and an inhabitant of Sarōdhishṭhāna.

Verse 10 in lines 12-13 mentions certain objects which were apparently granted in favour of the deity installed in the temple built by Ranyāditya. They are two *palas* of oil for the lamp, two *palas* of incense called *guggula*, forty garlands and eight *māḥakās* of saffron, which were probably supplied every day. The following stanza (verse 11 in lines 13-15), which is incomplete, refers to the gift of two *śikās* (double-measures) of wine to be made on the twelfth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of every month for the worship of Vāsudēva probably in the Tantric fashion.

TEXT<sup>3</sup>

[Metres : verse 1 *Śārdūlacikrīḍita* ; verses 2-11 *Anuṣṭubh*.]

- 1 [i-ā]le[sail] || p[ā]pta[sū] yaib] sara-sadma-saṅgati-su[kham] vipr-ādibhi[r]-vā[ā]chchhi-  
(chhi)tan(tam) | ———
- 2 [vi]śāhako guṇa-nūlir-Mmīy-ābhāhānō Bhavāt-sūnuḥ satyavatā(tō) vi[bhā]vita]
- 3 matih-pūrṇa-ānu-vimvō(m-ō)jamaḥ || 1\* Nāgasvāmy-ahhvat-tamā-eva-jyā-  
janitas-su[taḥ] ||\*
- 4 Kāsyapād-Dakṣa-kanyāyānī Nāgasvāmīr-iv-ā'paraḥ || 3\* [Sōs(pa)]yemē mahābhāgāh  
Gō-
- 5 vām Gāyatri-sambhānī(bhām) | yasyās-sūnur-ābhān-vidvān(dvān) nūmnā Halavasa-  
sti\* chā || 4\* Tēr-ōjā
- 6 āla-sampannā Ghullā guṇa-bhūshitā | Gauṛ-iva Tīri(Tīri)puraghnēna chchhāy-ōv-ānuḡa-
- 7 [t]ā satī || 5\* Kāhīr-ōdadhōs-samatpannō muktā-maṅir-iv-ā'paraḥ | su[chi]s-avach-  
chhō ga-

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXXV, p. 243.

<sup>2</sup> From impressions.

<sup>3</sup> The line begins with the last three syllables of the first foot of the stanza. This shows that sixteen syllables of this foot (—————) were engraved in the previous line which is totally lost. As each line contained about 24 aksharas, approximately 3 aksharas about the beginning of this lost line may have been the concluding part of a stanza in *Anuṣṭubh*. After the preparation of this paper, I received an impression of another fragmentary stone inscription found near the Tanai temple, which looks like the initial part of the epigraph edited here. It contains about one and a half *Anuṣṭubh* stanzas in two lines of writing beginning with an ornamental and an ordinary symbol for *siddham*. The god Tripurāḍa (cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 249), in whom Brahman, Vishnu and Śiva (Śiva) are combined, is adored in verse 1. The inscription reads as follows:

1 [Two *siddham* symbols.] Ek-ast(n)ka-svartpāya jama-sthity-anta-bhāvō | asmas(T)ri(s)-

2 rusa-ābhāyā Vra(Bra)hmas-Vi(śv)va-Īva(r)-Ītanō || ādiv-s[ka]-[ta]pō[ri]nūlir(yva(r)-bba)hu-  
vachab-pa[ra]ntata[ḥ]b\* |

\* Oja wrongly believed that the personal name Sujaya occurs here. But the intended reading may be *Sajjāyā*.

<sup>4</sup> Read \**śāhā-śā cā-*, the correct expression *Nāgasvā-śā* being unsuitable to the metre.

<sup>5</sup> This passage is grammatically wrong since the name is really Halavasa and not Halavast.

- 8 rimañā(śh/ha)ś=cha guṇa-raśmi-samu||[1\*]valah || [0\*] Rasyādityaḥ sutas-tasmā[d\*]=dvi[[ja]-  
va[ryā]-
- 9 d=s]āyata | tēn-ēdaraṁ kārītaṁ śubhram Viśṅūr=grīham-suṅttamaṁ(mam) || [7\*] Rachitā  
[Dēśa[ā]-<sup>1</sup>
- 10 n-ōyam Bha[ṭta-Dōdīsta-sūnūnā | praśastā<sup>2</sup> vatsara-śatē dvāśītē vi[kat-āksha]rā || [5\*]
- 11 [Chāmu]ḡḡadatta-puttrīna(ṇa) Māhaṭṇa vipāśhitā | utkirṇā su(śva)ṇṇak[ā]rīna(ṇa)  
Śarō-
- 12 rdhishthāna-vāsinā<sup>3</sup> || [9\*] Dvō palē [dū]pa-tailasya gu[g\*]gulasya pala-dva[yaṁ(yam)] |
- 13 chatvāriśā(rimā)ti-mālāś-cha kuṅkumasy-śh[ṭha(śhṭa)-mōshakāḥ || [10\*] Dvāda[śyaṁ]
- 14 'kṛiṣṇa-pakhaśya vāruṇyāś-cha d[v]ikā<sup>4</sup>-dvayaṁ(yam) | p[ṅ]-ā[r]tham Vā[ś]dō[vaśya]<sup>4</sup>
- 15 .....|| [11\*]

### 3. Kāmān Inscription of [Harsha] Year 263

The town of Kāmān, about 35 miles to the north-west of Bharatpur, headquarters of the District of that name in Rajasthan, is well known to the students of Indian epigraphy for the two early medieval stone inscriptions it yielded. The first of these two epigraphs was found on a pillar built into the inner side of the court-wall of the old mosque known as the Chaurāś Khāmbā which was constructed with materials from older Hindu temples of the locality. This is a fragmentary inscription which does not bear any date but is roughly assignable to the 8th or 9th century A. D. on palaeographical grounds. It was edited by Bhagwanlal Indraji in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X, pp. 34 ff. The inscription is known to record the construction of a temple of the god Vishnu by the grandmother of Vatsadāman who was a ruler of the Sūrasēna family. In ancient times, the Sūrasēnas had their capital at Mathurā, about 40 miles from Kāmān. But, later, Mathurā is known to have become the centre of power of other ruling families such as the Śaka Kshatrapas and the Nāgas. The Sūrasēna prince, mentioned in the Kāmān inscription of the 8th or 9th century, may have had his headquarters at Kāmān.

The second early medieval stone inscription from Kāmān, also fragmentary, was obtained from a large well about half a mile from the town and lies in the possession of Vallabh Lalji Mahārāj Gōsāi at Gōkul. This epigraph is of the nature of the Śiyadōṅī and Āhūr inscriptions<sup>5</sup> being a collective record of a number of donations and endowments made on different dates in favour of certain deities. The most important of these deities seems to have been Kāmyakśvara (mentioned in Document No. 3), apparently the god Śiva installed in a temple at Kāmyaka, i.e. Kāmān, while Document No. 8 mentions Pramāparāśi and Chāmuḡḡāka who were no doubt Śaiva ascetics related to Kāmyakśvara's temple. The dates of the different records contained in the inscription range between the years 180 and 279 obviously referable to the Harsha era and corresponding

<sup>1</sup> Ojha reads the name as *Dēśa*.

<sup>2</sup> The word *praśastā* had been used in the sense of *praśasti*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *Sarōdīśhākhāna-śharā*. Ojha here apparently reads *Sarōdīśhā-nīśhā*, 'by an inhabitant of Sarōdīśhā'. It is, however, impossible to read *Sarōdīśhā* since *vāśhīśhā* is quite clear.

<sup>4</sup> The space for an akṣara or two is left blank at the beginning of this line.

<sup>5</sup> The akṣara *dei* does not look like *dēi* (cf. *vā* in line 11). Ojha apparently reads *vāruṇyāś-cha[īśhā]* and explains *cha[īśhā]* as 'a jar'. But cf. *ḡ* in line 10. With *deitā*, cf. *śhā[īśhā]* or quarter-measure (above, Vol. XXX, p. 176).

<sup>6</sup> Only the first part of the second half of the stanza could have been engraved in this space, so that the concluding syllables of the stanza were engraved in another line.

<sup>7</sup> See above, Vol. I, pp. 162 ff. Vol. XIX, pp. 52 ff. See also the Nanana copper-plate inscription edited, *ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 238 ff. Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 19, note 7, and p. 159.



respectively to 786 and 885 A.D., though the latest date was read by V. V. Mirashi as the year 399 while editing the inscription in the pages of this journal, Vol. XXIV, pp. 329 ff. The first of the eight different documents contained in the inscription records the creation of a permanent endowment by the *Gōshthikas* while the last of them also speaks of the *Gōshthikas* as responsible for the utilisation of certain incomes of the temples in meeting the expenses of white-washing, vermilion and lights. These *Gōshthikas* were apparently members of the *gōshthi*, i.e. a corporation or committee of supervisors in charge of the religious institution referred to in the inscription just as the *Pāṇḍās* (superintendents of temples) of today. Although, however, the religious institution in question was principally Śaiva in character, Document No. 4 stipulates the permanent supply of 60 garlands [per day] by the florists of Kām̄yaka, of which 34 were to be supplied at the temple of Viṣṇu and 26 at the shrine of Chāmūṇḍā. This shows that the religious institution at Kām̄yaka contained temples of other deities besides that of Śiva.

The third of the early Kām̄n inscriptions published here is engraved on a stone slab embedded in the outer side of the wall of the Chauṛāṣṭi Khāmbā not far above its plinth. This part of the wall was hidden from the view owing to an accumulation of earth. The Northern Circle of the Department of Archaeology discovered the inscription in the course of a clearing operation a few years back. I received a few impressions of the inscription from the Superintendent of that circle in 1958 and visited Kām̄n in order to prepare better impressions in January 1960. The inscription was first examined in my office by my colleague Mr. S. Sankaranarayanan.

Unfortunately, like the two other Kām̄n inscriptions referred to above, the present epigraph is also fragmentary. There are altogether 23 lines of writing covering an area about 2½ feet in length and a little less than 1½ feet in height. But the first four lines in the upper part and the initial section of all the other lines, about half a foot in length on the left side of the inscribed slab, are almost totally damaged and cannot be read at all. Some passages in line 5 can be made out, though their reading cannot be regarded as beyond doubt. The position is better in regard to the clearer part of lines 6-11, though here also there are some passages, the reading of which is rather doubtful. The difficulty in the decipherment of this part is enhanced by the fact that it contains a number of personal names. The clearer part of the remaining lines can be deciphered without trouble. Owing to the fragmentary nature of the verses, the text of not a single of which is completely preserved, the meaning of the passages is not always clear. Between 60 and 70 akṣaras were originally engraved in each line of the epigraph. But the largest number of them that can be confidently read in a single line now is only about 40.

The fragmentary inscription under study is written in the Siddhamātrikā characters of about the 8th or 9th century as in the case of the other two Kām̄n inscriptions referred to above. The language is Sanskrit and, excepting a passage containing the date at the end, the extant part of the epigraph is written in verse. The date, which is written in words, is the third of the bright half of the month of Jyēṣṭha in the year 263 apparently referable to the Harṣa era and corresponding to 869 A.D.

The decipherable parts of several verses in lines 6-7 refer to the *Gōshthikas* born in respectable families while similar parts of certain other stanzas in lines 8-11 enumerate the names of these *Gōshthikas*. The following names can be made out in the stanzas in question: (1) Dhūṇḍaka, son of Vāṇuka; (2) Tikṣata, son of Viṣṇu; (3) certain persons residing at Avimūlasapura (i.e. Avimōlapura);<sup>1</sup> (4) Dūpūla born of Nasaṛi; (5) Nagguka, son of Nannuka; (6) Jēpuṅga, son of Kōmbaka; (7) Śṛīdhara born of Prayāga; (8) Gaṇḍēvara; and (8) the three brothers named Nāgata, Siddhanāga and Śivaviṣṇu who were the sons of Iśāna. A stanza ending in line 11 states that the *Gōshthikas* mentioned above by name were devoted to the god Mahēśa (Śiva).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hamḍrapura called Hamḍra-kumāra-saipura in the Chirovrolli grant (above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 178).



The section of the inscription in lines 11-20 following the part discussed above, records the object for which the eulogy contained in our inscription was composed. This was the excavation of a step-well (*vāpi*), the construction of a temple (*maṭha*) and the offering of *piṇḍa* by certain persons called 'the sons' so that it must have been offered by them to their deceased parent or parents. These people who offered *piṇḍa* were apparently the persons who were responsible for the creation of the step-well and temple in memory of the deceased. Both the step-well and the temple are referred to again in a stanza ending in line 14 and for a third time in line 15 while the temple alone is further mentioned in line 20. The offering of *piṇḍa* with the waters of the *Gaṅgā* and other things including sesame and flowers is referred to in line 18.

The excavation of the step-well and the construction of the temple are attributed to the *Gōshthikas* (see *sad-Gōshthikairō kūrītāḥ* in line 14 ; cf. *sad-Gōshthik-anghāḥ* in line 19). This may suggest that all the *Gōshthikas*, whose names are enumerated in the upper part of the inscription (lines 8-11 discussed above), were responsible for the pious works. But there are a few points which appear to go against this view. The reference to the offering of *piṇḍa* to the parent or parents by the persons in question suggests that the said two pious deeds were done in memory of their parent or parents not by a large number of people but by a few persons who were brothers. The passage *Nāgaṭ-ādhikar-āpārjīlāḥ* in a verse beginning in line 17 seems again to indicate that one of these brothers responsible for the pious works was *Nāgaṭa*. As we have seen, the three brothers *Nāgaṭa*, *Siddhanāga* and *Sivaviṣṇu*, the sons of *Īsāna*, are mentioned (line 10) at the end of the list of the *Gōshthikas*. It is thus possible that it was these three brothers who were responsible for the excavation of the step-well and the construction of the temple in memory of their deceased father *Īsāna*. The enumeration of all the *Gōshthikas* in the first part of the inscription may, however, suggest that their corporate body as a whole had some responsibility in regard to the step-well and temple. They were probably the trustees of an endowment created for the maintenance of the pious works of the three brothers.

The step-well was excavated in a village (cf. *grāmakē* in line 14), the name of which is lost. Whether this was *Avimśapura*, the only locality mentioned in the record (cf. line 8), cannot be determined. But the place where the step-well was excavated seems to have been in the suburbs or the vicinity of *Kāmān*. The temple appears to have been built by the side of the step-well as in similar other cases known to us.<sup>1</sup> That the temple was not built far from *Kāmān* is probably indicated by the utilisation of its materials for the construction of the *Chaurāsī Khāmhā* mosque at that place.

We have seen above that the *Gōshthikas* are mentioned in line 11 as devoted to the god *Śiva* (*Mahāta-prayāḥ*). They would, therefore, appear to have been superintendents of a Śaiva religious establishment. It may thus be supposed that the deity installed in the *maṭha* or temple referred to in our inscription was the god *Śiva*. But, as we have seen above, one of the *Kāmān* inscriptions, previously published, speaks of the shrines of the deities *Śiva*, *Viṣṇu* and *Chāmundā* in connection with the religious institution in charge of the *Gōshthikas* at *Kāmyaka*. Moreover, the latter part of the last foot of a stanza preserved in line 20 of our record reads — — — *Harau Hari-cha bhagavān sad-gōshthikairō āthāpītāḥ*. The reference here is to the installation of three gods, two of whom were *Hara* (*Śiva*) and *Hari* (*Viṣṇu*). It seems that the word *Harau* in the dual was joined in the *dvandva* compound with the name of another deity. Since, however, metrical requirement shows that the syllable immediately preceding *Ha* was short, the lost word does not appear to have indicated a name of *Śiva*'s consort *Pārvatī*, which would generally end in a long syllable. It is thus not impossible that this lost name was meant to indicate the god *Brahman* who, together

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the excavation of a *vāpi* and a *chūpa* for the god *Śaṅkha* in memory of one's deceased younger brother in the *Narwar* inscription of *Vikrama* 1255 (above, Vol. XXXII, p. 344).

THREE INSCRIPTIONS FROM RAJASTHAN—Plate II

2. Tasai Inscription of [Harsha] Year 182

B



Size : One-half



2

4

6

8

10

12

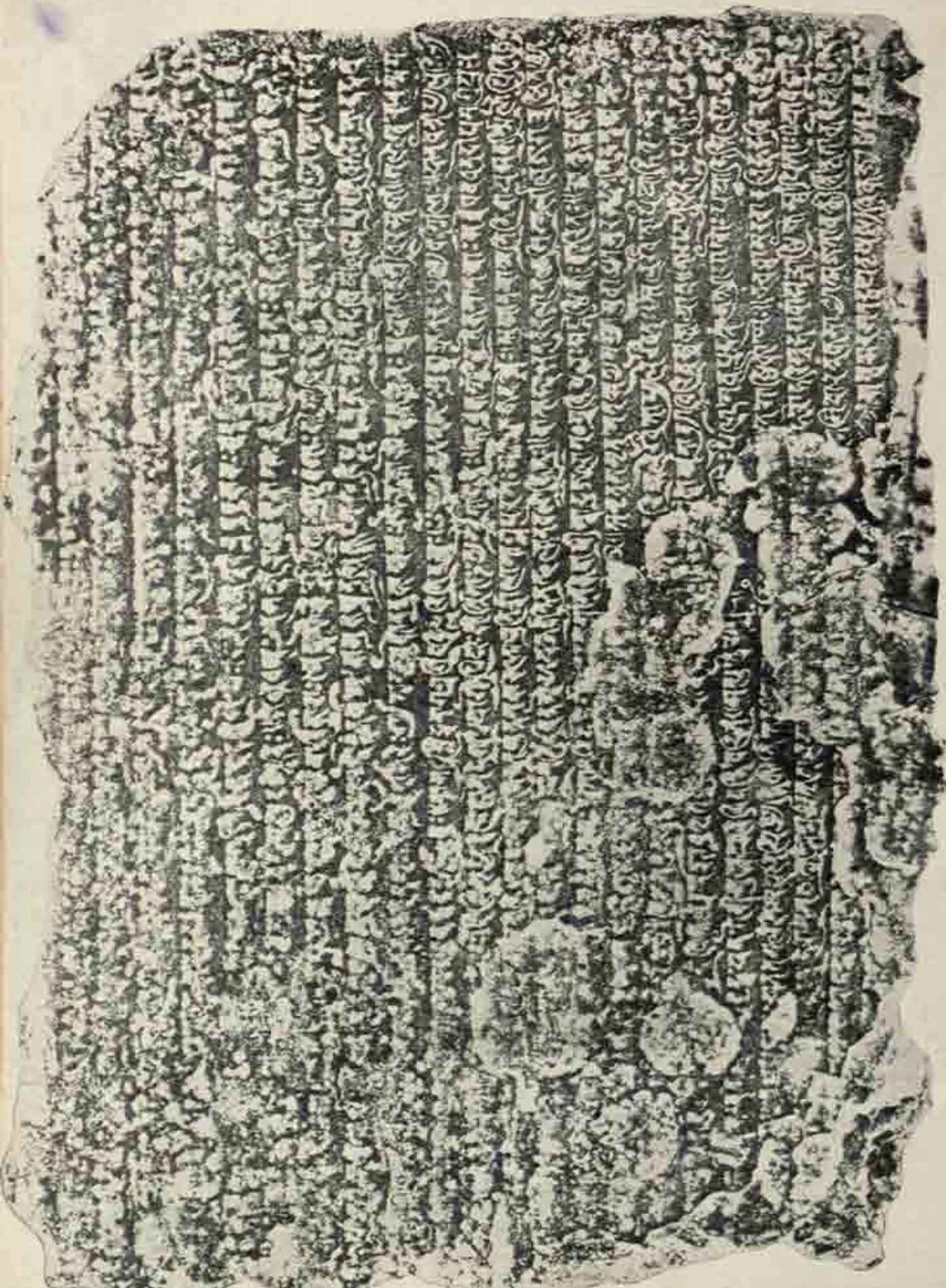
14

16

18

20

22



Size : One-third



with Viṣṇu and Śiva, composed the Brahmanical Trinity. A passage like *Pūjya Brahma-Haru* would suit the requirement of the metre of the stanza. It should, however, be noted in this connection that there are instances of the use of Śiva's name in the dual to indicate Śiva and Pārvatī.<sup>2</sup> We therefore see that, although the *Gōsthikas* responsible for the construction of the temple were specially devoted to the god Śiva, they were not averse to the worship of Pārvatī (or Brahma) and Viṣṇu along with that god.

The only **geographical name** mentioned in the preserved part of the inscription is Avimōlapura, the exact location of which is uncertain.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 . . . . .  
 2 . . . . .  
 3 . . . . .  
 4 . . . . .  
 5 . . . . .  
 6 . . . . . skarāḥ ||\* Jaladhaya iva gambhō(mbhā)ṛā, .nāśāḥ kūrṁ-śyatana-bhūtāḥ  
 ||\* sakal-ātīpūrīt-āsā [nimānti] yā  
 7 . . . . . ||\*<sup>2</sup> ————— √ —m-āvīkārāḥ  
 | saḥ — — — — — chchāir-ggōḥṭhikāḥ śuvbhra(bbhra)-vaṁśāḥ kō — — — — — √ —nāma nāśī  
 ||\* Prakhyā[18] n-ādlianaḥ(na)ś=cha<sup>3</sup>  
 8 . . . . . | Ddhō(Dhō)ndaka-saḥjñō Vāsuka-sūna-Ti[ka]ṣa-nāmā Viṣṇu-  
 tanū(nu)jāḥ ||\* Śrīmad-Avimōlasatpura-nivāsīnō bhāḍṁ-vaḥ<sup>4</sup>  
 9 . . . . . ||\* . . . . . tanayāḥ ||\* Dēpūlō Nāśārāḥ khyāt(ō) Naggukō Nannuk-  
 ātmajāḥ | [Jēpūngō Kōmva(mba)ka]-santāḥ Prayāgō<sup>5</sup> Śrīdharas-tathā ||<sup>6</sup> Gaṇḍēvarō  
 dharmā-ma<sup>7</sup>  
 10 . . . . . ||\* . . . . . ||<sup>8</sup> Nāgaṭas-Siddhanāgaś-cha Śivayī-  
 shgur-iti trayāḥ | [I]śāna[śy-ātma]jāḥ śuvbhṛā(bbhṛā) bhṛātarāḥ puṁ(po)nya-karmuṇāḥ ||<sup>9</sup>  
 Dānavantō-py-alaṅghy-ō  
 11 . . . . . āgā[ḥ] ||\* Mahāśa-priyā gōsthikāḥ kīrtitā ityamī(ant) nā[ma]bhī ||\*  
 Sādhu-karma-nirat-aika-mānasāḥ sarva śva Dhanad-ōpama-śriyāḥ |  
 12 — — — — — ||\*<sup>10</sup> — — — — — ||\*<sup>11</sup> — — — — — m-  
 uttamavā(dhā)raṣaṇa nirvāṭa-mārgga-patamaḥ sakal-ākṣa-varggāḥ<sup>12</sup> | Ītmānam-  
 ātmāni nidhāya sa(su)karmmitō-pi tī[śh]ṭhā<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 163, text line 9. Note also the reference to Chāmūḍā in a Kāmān inscription cited above.

<sup>2</sup> From impressions.

<sup>3</sup> The metre of this stanza is uncertain.

<sup>4</sup> Metre: *Āryā*.

<sup>5</sup> Metre: *Śālist*.

<sup>6</sup> The reading of this *śloka* may also be *śhō*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *tanujā* for the sake of the metre.

<sup>8</sup> Metre: *Āryā*.

<sup>9</sup> The intended word may be *śankā*.

<sup>10</sup> *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

<sup>11</sup> Metre: *Avantpūḥ*.

<sup>12</sup> The intended word may be *śatikā*.

<sup>13</sup> Metre: *Bāhāḥḥāḥ*.

<sup>14</sup> The word *śloka* in this expression means 'an organ of verse'.

<sup>15</sup> The intended word seems to be *śālist*.

- 13 ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ — [ ]\* \* \* \* \* | chitta-sthairyāya ku-  
rvanti tat-phal-ānavalokināḥ ||<sup>1</sup> Vāi-āspāhana-chānchal-ānala-sikhā-lōlan jagach-chē-  
shpitam vṛā
- 14 — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — [ ]\* — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ —  
— ॐ — [ggṛā]makē vāpi svādu-jalā mathas-cha vipulāḥ sad-gōshṭhikaḥ kārītāḥ  
||<sup>2</sup> Bhōktus-sakṣād-iva—
- 15 ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ — [ ]\* — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ —  
ॐ ॐ ॐ — [ ]\*<sup>3</sup> Anṛitam-ampitam-ētat-satyam-asyām su-vāpyām sura-sadanam  
— idam-[ta]—san-mathas-cha
- 16 ॐ — [ ]\* ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ —  
— [ ]\*<sup>4</sup> \* \* \* \* \* chit-sa-lōkhitō-py-a-lōkhitāḥ | a-lōkhitō-pi yō hitāḥ sa \* \* \*
- 17 \* \* \* [ ]\*<sup>5</sup> — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ — [ ]\* — ॐ —  
— ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — sarv-ātmanā vyādhir-iva sva-kāyāt ||<sup>6</sup> Nāga-ādibhir-upārjitām  
śu[bha]m
- 18 — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ — [ ]\* — ॐ ॐ ॐ — (vi)ṛiddhāvō natar-Igukāya vidhivan-  
uvēditam(tam) ||<sup>7</sup> Sat-putrais-[tair-gga] — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ —  
pradattam bhaktyā Gānigaḥ payōbhis-tiḥa-kaṣu[ma]
- 19 ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — [ ]\* — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ —  
ttim tōshām [pāda] ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ —  
chāmara-chāru-chāhna-ruchirē chandra-śrīyaḥ
- 20 — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — bhīrāmē matha[ḥ] [ ]\*<sup>8</sup> kāschin-madhya-kṛit-ālaya  
ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — Harau<sup>9</sup> Hari-cha bhagavām(vān) sad-  
gōshṭhikai sthāpitāḥ ||<sup>10</sup> Yāvad-vār[udhi]
- 21 ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — Śivō tatnam kam-ādhyā-  
tmajam(jam) [ ]\*<sup>11</sup> tāvat-kīrti-kṛitām kavē-cha viśadā
- 22 — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — [ ]\*<sup>12</sup> |  
samva(sarivā)tsara-śata-dvayē tri(tri)-śashty-adhikō Jyōshṭha-śuk[ṭa]-  
t[rayō]<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Metre: Vāsanatikāśa.

<sup>2</sup> Metre: Anukṛpā.

<sup>3</sup> Metre: Śārdūlasikṛitā.

<sup>4</sup> Metre: Indrasyā or Uṇjā.

<sup>5</sup> Metre: Māvat.

<sup>6</sup> Metre: Anukṛpā. This stanza seems to refer to certain conditions which were only partially incorporated in the document under study though even the unwritten conditions were also established (Ain) by convention.

<sup>7</sup> Metre: Uṇjā.

<sup>8</sup> Metre: Rāhōśhā.

<sup>9</sup> Metre: Sragdharā. This stanza refers to the gratitude of the persons responsible for the poem works to those who would maintain them.

<sup>10</sup> The word means Hara and his consort. Otherwise the preceding word was possibly *Brāhmi*.

<sup>11</sup> Metre: Śārdūlasikṛitā. This verse contains a prayer for the long life of the pious works as well as of the poet's composition, i.e. the eulogy under study.

<sup>12</sup> The intended word was apparently *trayōśh*.



## No. 8—RASHTRAKUTA INSCRIPTION FROM RAMESVARA

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND.

(Received on 8.8.1961)

This inscription is engraved on the four faces of a pillar set up in the courtyard of the Rāmalīngēśvara temple at Rāmōśvara near Proddaturu in the Taluk of that name in the Cuddapah District of Andhra Pradesh. A rough transcript of the inscription, described as 'damaged and not dated', appeared in *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IX, Part 1, No. 68 (pp. 39-42) with the following remarks in the introductory note: "It belongs to the reign of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III and records the gift of some land and taxes to the Rāmōśvara temple by Kannayya, the king's *sāmānta*, and some land to Tippayya-gorava. It consists of about 25 Sanskrit verses giving the genealogy of the Rāshtrakūṭa kings and praising Kṛishṇa". This notice contains a few inaccuracies, the most important of them being that the record belongs to the time of Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III (794-814 A.D.) and is not of the reign of Kṛishṇa III (939-67 A. D.). It seems to be assignable to a date about the close of the rule of Gōvinda III on palaeographical grounds.

The inscription is **fragmentary**, a few lines of writing being more or less completely rubbed off at the end of the first, second and third faces of the pillar. There were originally 34 stanzas in the introductory part running from the first side up to the middle of the third. A letter or a few of them at the beginning and end of many of the lines are damaged or lost while some of the stanzas are partly or wholly lost at the end of the first and second sides of the pillar. Since, however, the introductory verses are numbered in the original, it is not difficult to determine the loss on the first and second sides of the pillar. It appears that originally about 41 lines were engraved on the first side and about 40 lines on the second. The writing on the former seems to have originally covered an area about 4 feet 8 inches in height and 1 foot 5 inches in breadth while that on the latter probably occupied a space about 5 feet 3 inches high and 10½ inches broad. Of the lines originally incised on these two sides, 36 are readable on the first and 32 on the second side. Only 35 lines are readable on the third side (5 feet 3½ inches by 1 foot 4½ inches) of the pillar. The fourth side containing 33 lines of writing has not suffered from any damage.

The characters belong to a cursive variety of the Telugu-Kannada alphabet of about the **ninth or tenth century A. D.** The inscription is **bilingual** being partly written in Sanskrit and partly in Kannada. The introductory section in Sanskrit verse records the construction of three temples by a Rāshtrakūṭa chief named Kṛishṇa *alias* Dhuradaṅkakāra who was a subordinate and probably relative of the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor Gōvinda III. The above introductory part is followed by a Kannada section in prose on the latter half of the third and the first half of the fourth side of the pillar. It records the grant of a village made in favour of the god Rāmōśvara apparently installed in one of the said temples by the same Rāshtrakūṭa chief whose name is given here as Kannayya (a modification of the Sanskrit name *Kṛishṇa*) and who is stated to have secured the gift village from Gōvinda (a modification of *Gōvinda*), i.e. Gōvinda III. The same section also records the grant of a few plots of land in favour of two other deities who must have been installed in the remaining two of the three temples built by the chief. The second half of the fourth side contains the usual imprecatory and benedictory section mainly in Kannada, the well-known Sanskrit stanza *Nāmalīngēśvara dharmas-tūra-nṛpāyaka*, etc., being quoted in it. This is



followed by a Kannada endorsement referring to the gift of some land in favour of a Śaiva priest who was probably in charge of the Rāmaśvara temple.

Verse 1 is a *manigala* stanza containing a prayer for the protection of the ruler named **Dhuradankakāra** by the god Rāmaśvara. This Dhuradankakāra, later also called Kṛishṇa, is the hero of the eulogy and the god Rāmaśvara seems to be the same as modern Rāmalingaśvara in whose temple in the village of Rāmaśvara (named after the said deity) the inscription under study has been found. Dhuradankakāra was thus a secondary name of Kṛishṇa.

After the above *manigala* stanza, the inscription introduces the **Rāshtrakūṭa** family, to which the hero of the eulogy, viz. Dhuradankakāra alias Kṛishṇa, apparently belonged, in verses 2 ff. While introducing the said family as a branch of the Yadu clan, verse 2 mentions (1) the god Brahma; (2) from him—Atri; (3) from Atri's eye—the Moon-god; (4) from the Moon-god—Budha; (5) from Budha—Dirghāyus, the first king of the lunar race; and (6) from Dirghāyus—king Yadu who seems to be also called Kukurā and Vṛishṇi not quite accurately. It will be seen that this genealogy is not in keeping with the epic and Purāṇic traditions.<sup>1</sup> The same stanza further mentions (1) in the family of the said Yadu-Kukurā-Vṛishṇi—Vāsudeva (Kṛishṇa), (2) after him—Ratipati (Pradyumna); and (3) Ratipati's son Aniruddha. Verse 3 praises the kings born in the family of the **Yadus** with reference to the help they rendered to the lord of the gods in his struggle with the demons.

Verse 4 introduces the **Rāshtrakūṭa** dynasty which sprang from the said family of the **Yadus**. In regard to the mention of the Rāshtrakūṭas as representing a branch of the Yadu clan, we have elsewhere pointed out that this is not found in the records of Gōvinda III (791-814 A. D.) but appears for the first time in a record of his son Amoghavarsha I (814-78 A. D.).<sup>2</sup> The present record thus appears to be the earliest Rāshtrakūṭa inscription clearly attributing Yādava origin to the Imperial Rāshtrakūṭas.

Verse 5 mentions the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor **Dantidurga** (743-66 A. D.) alias **Sāhasatūga** who is stated to have enjoyed royal fortune as a result of having churned the ocean that was the **Chālukyās**, while the next stanza (verse 6) states that Dantidurga died when young and the sovereignty passed on to king **Kṛishṇa**, i.e. Dantidurga's uncle Kṛishṇa I (c. 756-75 A. D.). Dantidurga's *ereditio* Sāhasatūga and the fact that he died in his youth are interesting informations. Verse 7 speaks of **Prabhūtavarsha** (i.e. Gōvinda II, c. 775-80 A. D.) as the son of Kṛishṇa I and vaguely refers to the exploits of his elephant force in the region watered by the **Ganges**. A Rāshtrakūṭa invasion of the Ganges valley during the reign of Gōvinda II, apparently when king Indrāyudha (783-84 A. D.) was ruling at Kanauj, is not mentioned in any other source. We know that Jinashā's *Harimāla Purāṇa*, composed in Śaka 705 (783-84 A. D.), mentions the Northern ruler Indrāyudha as a contemporary of the Southern king Śrīvallabha, the son of Kṛishṇa, while Pāla and Gurjara-Pratihāra inscriptions suggest that the Pāla emperor Dharmapala (c. 770-810 A. D.) ousted Indrāyudha and installed Chakrāyudha (apparently a member of Indrāyudha's family which may be called the Āyudha dynasty) on the throne of Kanauj.<sup>3</sup>

Of course it is difficult to determine whether Kṛishṇa's son Śrīvallabha ruling in 783-84 A. D. was Gōvinda II or his younger brother Dhruva Nirupama Dhārāvāha who, as we shall presently see, was the *de facto* ruler during his elder brother's reign and became the *de jure* king a few years

<sup>1</sup> For the representation of Purūras as the son of Budha and Ayas as the son of Purūras in the genealogical section of Rāshtrakūṭa inscriptions, see above, Vol. XXXII, p. 46. The Kukurās were a subclan of the Yādava people while Vṛishṇi was a distinguished member of the Yadu family. Yadu was really the son of Yayāti.

<sup>2</sup> Loc. cit., note 1.

<sup>3</sup> See above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 102 ff.





As will be seen below from our analysis of the writing on the second side of the pillar, verse 12 introduces the hero of the eulogy, whose description continues upto verse 24 with which the introductory section ends. It will also be seen that his name was Dhuradāṅkakāra alias Kṛishṇa who was the son of Indra and belonged to the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty. The identification of this Kṛishṇa with the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor Kṛishṇa III is absolutely untenable. In the first place, none of the three Rāshtrakūṭa emperors bearing the name Kṛishṇa was the son of Indra. Kṛishṇa I was the son of Kakka I, Kṛishṇa II (878-915 A. D.) of Amōghavarsha I (814-78 A. D.), and Kṛishṇa III (939-67 A. D.) of Amōghavarsha III (934-39 A. D.). Secondly, it is difficult to believe that the six rulers, viz. (1) Amōghavarsha I (son of Gōvinda III), (2) Kṛishṇa II (son of Amōghavarsha I), (3) Indra III (grandson of Kṛishṇa II), (4) Amōghavarsha II (son of Indra III), (5) Gōvinda IV (younger brother of Amōghavarsha II) and (6) Amōghavarsha III (brother of Indra III), who ruled between Gōvinda III and Kṛishṇa III, could have all been described by the author of the eulogy in only two stanzas, viz. verses 10-11, engraved only in three or four short lines. This is certainly not suggested by his description of Dantidurga-Sāhasatūga, Kṛishṇa I, Prabhūta-varsha Gōvinda II, Dhruva Nirupama and Jagattuṅga Gōvinda III in verses 5-9, five stanzas here being devoted to the five kings. It is unlikely that, while a stanza each is devoted to the description of the earlier kings, the immediate predecessors of the ruling monarch were described summarily in two stanzas since the description of the latter generally occupies more space in the *prakāśita* than that of the former.

Verse 12, which is the first stanza on the second side of the pillar, mentions Kṛishṇa who is compared with Indrānuja (i.e. Upendra or Vishṇu-Kṛishṇa). The words *tatōbhā* in this stanza seems to suggest that the chief's father was mentioned in the previous verse. The next stanza (verse 13) refers to his success against his enemies in general and the Pāṇḍya king in particular and seems also to suggest that Rājāmārtanḍa was one of his enemies. Verse 14 and the first half of the following stanza (verse 15), some parts of which cannot be made out, narrate, in the words of his own mouth, how the said chief was born as the son of his father (cf. *yathābhāva . . . tanayō-nya jātaḥ* in verse 14) and considered the protection of the subjects his main duty as the true son of his father (cf. *tat-sūtrāṃ śi mayā kāryam jagad-rakṣaṇam* in the first half of verse 15). The latter half of verse 15 mentions the ruler Kṛishṇa as the son of Indra and as the ruler of the earth. Verse 16 mentions the same ruler by the name Dhuradāṅkakāra while the next stanza (verse 17), the concluding part of which is illegible, mentions him as Kṛishṇarāja. Verse 18 is lost at the end of this side of the pillar.

Verse 19, which is the first stanza on the third side of the pillar, seems to mention a subordinate of Kṛishṇa, the son of Mahendra (i.e. Indra), by name Sōmaha, who was probably the governor of the area around the locality wherein the inscription has been found. The text of verse 20 is corrupt, though it seems to mention Va labhadōva (i.e. the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor) as the overlord of the hero of the eulogy. Verse 21 states that the chief Rattakandarpa, i.e. Kṛishṇa alias Dhuradāṅkakāra, sent a general (*Dandapati*, the same as *Dandapāyaka*) to occupy Kāñchi which was in the occupation of the Draviḍas apparently meaning the Pallavas. Thus, from verses 14 to 21, we find that Dhuradāṅkakāra, Kṛishṇa was also called Rājāmārtanḍa and Rattakandarpa.<sup>1</sup>

Verse 22 states that the ruler Kṛishṇa, who was a Bhāgavata, built at the Mahārāma (apparently meaning the site of the village of Rāmōvara, the findspot of our inscription) three cloud-touching [temples] which became the ornaments of the valley of the river Veppā (*Veppā-tala-bhūmi*), no doubt referring to the valley of the Pennar running through the Anantapur, Cuddapah and

<sup>1</sup> Rattakandarpa is known to have been the viceroy of the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor Gōvinda IV and Khottiga (*South. Ind.*, Vol. I, Part 6, pp. 387, 416, 422).



Nellore Districts. As a matter of fact, Proddatur and Rāmēśvara in its vicinity both lie near the northern bank of the Pennar. The next stanza (verse 23) seems to mention the said temples as 'the rows of Mahēśvara's shrines'. The chief's epithet *Bhāgavata* in the previous stanza normally means 'a devotee of the *Bhagavat* (i.e. the god Vishṇu)'. But, considering the fact that the epithet has been used in connection with the construction of three Śaiva temples, it is possible to take it in the sense of *Śiva-bhāgavata* (i.e. a devotee of Śiva the *Bhagavat*). As will be seen below, the Kannada section in the latter half of the third and the first half of the fourth side of the pillar speaks of the grant of a village in favour of the god Rāmēśvara and also of a few plots of land to Masiyaṅkadhavaḷa and Kājadōva (or . . . . kājadōva) who were apparently deities like Rāmēśvara. This appears to suggest that the three temples built by Kṛishṇa Dhuradaṅkakāra at Rāmēśvara were dedicated to the three gods Rāmēśvara, Masiyaṅkadhavaḷa and Kājōvara (or . . . . kājōvara). The name Masiyaṅkadhavaḷa means 'the god of white complexion with a black mark', which is the same as Nilakaṇṭha. The last stanza of the section, viz. verse 24, prays for the long life of the three pious works (*dharma-traya*, i.e. the three temples) of the ruler Dhuradaṅkakāra.

The Kannada section in the latter part of the above side of the pillar (lines 28-33) begins with the word *svasti* and states how *Samadhigatapañchamahāsabha Mahāśūmanta Kannayya* (i.e. Kṛishṇa alias Dhuradaṅkakāra-Rājamārtapaḍa-Raṭṭakandarpa) obtained (*paḷedu*) the locality called Naṅgadūru from the illustrious Gōvinda (i.e. Rāshtrakūṭa emperor Gōvinda III Jagattuṅga) and granted it in favour of the god Rāmēśvara for the maintenance of the Brāhmanas (i.e. the priests of the Rāmēśvara temple). Next follows a damaged and incomplete passage in which the donor seems to be described as having also given a plot of land lying to the east of Naṅgadūru to another deity named Masiyaṅkadhavaḷa (lines 33 ff. on the third side). Another plot of land measuring fifty *mattars* was given to the deity Kājadōva (or . . . . kājadōva) probably along with a field measuring a *ḷamma* of land and called Navilu (lines 1-2 on the fourth side). In addition to the above, a piece of land to the west of the village (i.e. Naṅgadūru) was granted to the above-mentioned Masiyaṅkadhavaḷa to be enjoyed as *vīṭā-bhūga* (probably the same as *vīṭā-ṛitti*, *bīḷā-ṛitti*, *bij-ānūṛitti*, etc., known from many Kannaḍa records), the revenue income (*siddhāyga*) of this plot of land being five *paramāśṭhi-gadyāḡas* of gold (lines 3-9 on the fourth side).

The concluding part of the record (lines 18-23 on the fourth side) contains an *enclousement* referring to the gift of 30 *mattars* of land in favour of Tippayya-gotava who was apparently a Śaiva priest probably attached to the temple of Rāmēśvara. He may also have been the head of the group of priests in charge of all the three temples built by Dhuradaṅkakāra Kṛishṇa.

It appears that the Rāshtrakūṭa chief Kṛishṇa, also called Dhuradaṅkakāra, Rājamārtapaḍa and Raṭṭakandarpa, was a general or viceroy of the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor Gōvinda III. His *viruda* Raṭṭakandarpa suggests that he was a scion of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty. That he was introduced in verse 12 while the description of his overlord commences in verse 9, with only two stanzas intervening between them, seems to suggest that he was introduced by the author as a close relation of the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor. But this relationship cannot be determined without further evidence. It is not altogether impossible that Indra, the father of Kṛishṇa Dhuradaṅkakāra was no other than the homonymous Rāshtrakūṭa prince who was a younger brother of Gōvinda III and was made the viceroy of Lāṭa by the latter and that the hero of the eulogy contained in our inscription was the viceroy of the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor in the area around the Cuddapah District.

Among the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, the Ganges is indirectly referred to in connection with the exploits of the army of the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor Gōvinda II and the valley of the Veṅṅā or Pennar is mentioned as the land where the three Śaiva temples were

built by the hero of our eulogy. Kāñchi is indirectly mentioned probably as the capital of the Draviḍas (Pallavas). The well known holy places Śrīparvata and Vāraṇām (Vārāṇasī) are mentioned in the imprecatory section on the lower part of the fourth side of the pillar. We are not sure about the location of the gift village called Naḡgādūru.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

## First Side

- 1 Śrīmā(ma)n-mānasam-ānidhāya vidhivad-dhṛit-padma-sanma[dhṛya]-
- 2 mē chhūtva klēśaka-pāśa-rāśim-anisam [pā]-
- 3 rē-tamas-saṁsthitam | rindhvā mārutam-ūma[naṁ]:
- 4 tī munayas-saṁsāra-vichchittayē |\* yañ [sa]
- 5 śrī-Dhuradamkalāra-nṛpati[m\*] Rāmōva[tō]
- 6 rakahatu | 1 |\* Asti-Brahmā tatō-trō ~
- 7 ~ ~\* nayanataś-ch-Ēndur-Iudēr-Budhō-bhū-
- 8 j-jātas-Sōm-ānvayānām prathama-narapa[ti]-
- 9 s-tasya Dīrghāyur\*-samōt | jāto=an [bhū]-
- 10 mipāndrō Yadur-iti Kukurō Vriśhṇir-asy-āpi [vañ]-
- 11 [śō] jātal-śrī-Vāsoḍvas-tad-anu Ratipati[s-ta]-
- 12 t-sutaś-ch-Ānirmādhah | 2 |\* Ēvam vamaśō Yadūnām [pra]-
- 13 [sa]ceti vīśarad-vikram-aik-āśrayāpāñ bhū-
- 14 pā bhōgīudra-dīrgha-sthira-bhūja-parigha —
- 15 kañ-ō[r]vīm-iv-āsām[sām | ] sa(ā)hāyayā yaiḥ prayā —
- 16 suraripu-samitan śrīmad-Ākhaṇḍa[sya] |\* [śō]-
- 17 maikṣṇōkavṛityā\* kāk-viśāda-yaśō-rāśya-
- 18 [s-sath]balbhūvub | 3 |\* Tasmīn-kuśō saka[a-vāñdhi-chā[ru]-
- 19 vichī- |\* kāñchī-bhṛitō mahita-bhūmi-ma-
- 20 hāmahāyāñ [|\*] bharti-ābhavan-nṛipa-sahastra-

<sup>1</sup> From impressions. The lost or damaged letters at the beginning and end of the lines, which can be restored with confidence, have been shown in squarish brackets. We are indebted for some suggestions to Dr. G. S. Gal and Mr. S. H. Rizal.

\* The śanda is redundant.

\* Metre : Śāndākrītrīgīā.

\* Traces of the three lost syllables suggest epithets which, however, does not offer any sense. Read 'trī-  
śāndā-

\* Cf. above, p. 55, note 1, also Vol. XXVIII, p. 242, text line 13.

\* Metre : Śraḡḡkārā.

\* The śanda is unnecessary.

\* This is erroneous.



RASHTRAKUTA INSCRIPTION FROM RAMESVARA

*Second Side*

*First Side*

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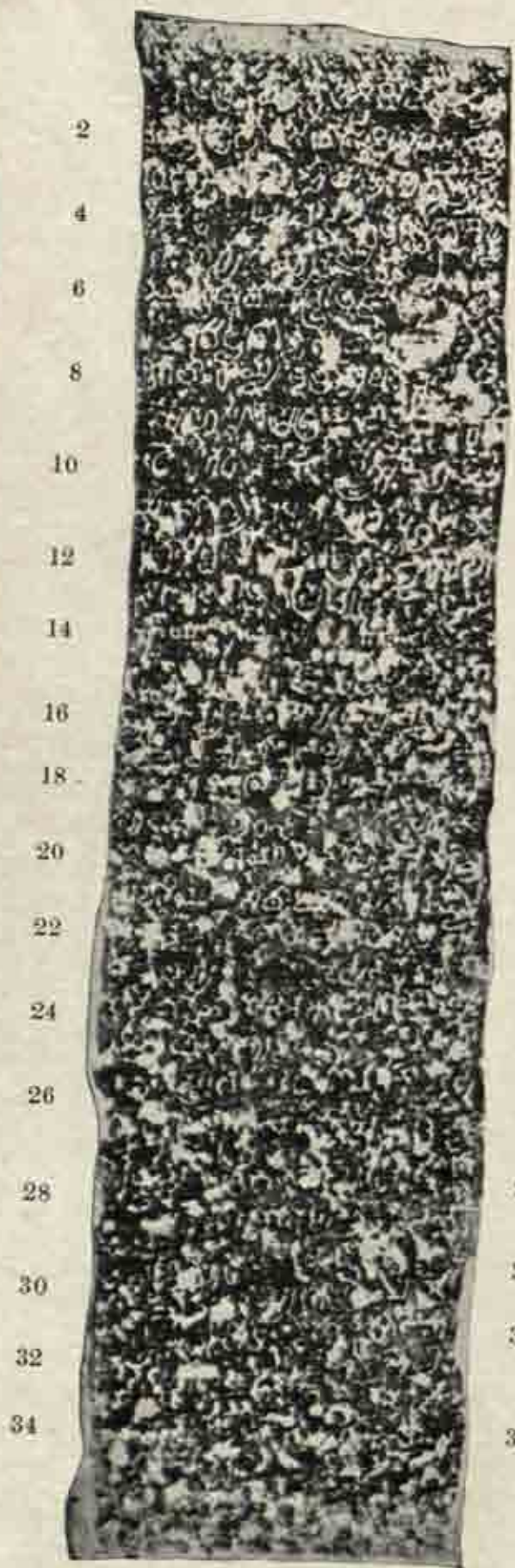
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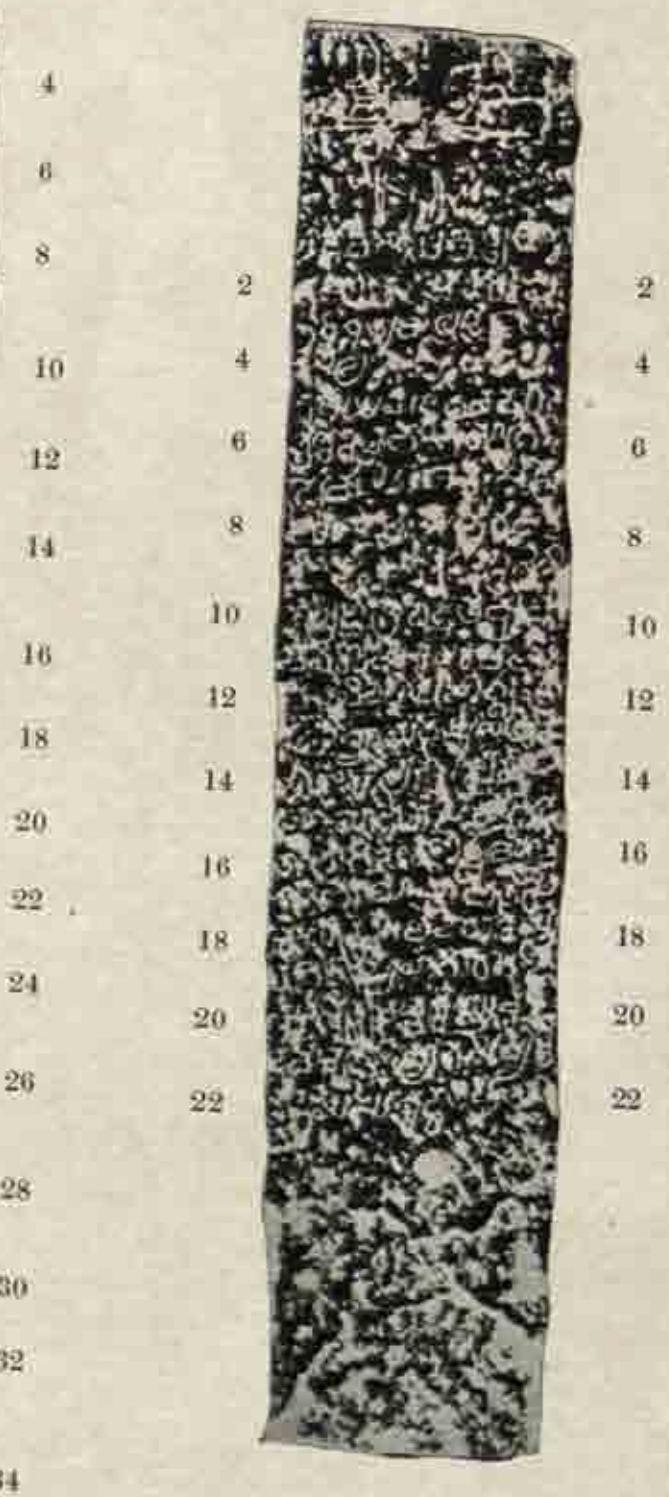
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*Third Side*



*Fourth Side*



- 21 ka-manh-mānyam śri-Rāshtrakūṭa iti nāma nijan-dadhānab || 4 ||<sup>1</sup>
- 22 Tat-ānvayō-py=śhavad-āka-patiḥ pa(pri)thivyām(vyāḥ) śri-Dantidurgga iti
- 23 dardihara-bāhu-viryah || Chālukya-śub-lhu-mathan-śibhava-cāja-
- 24 lakṣmīm |<sup>2</sup> yas-sambabhāra chiram-ātma-ku-śika-kāntām(iām) || 5 ||<sup>3</sup>
- 25 Tasmin-Sāhasatuṅga-nāma-nṛpatau svus-cundari-prā[?]<sup>4</sup>ttih-
- 26 tā yātō yāni divan-divākara-samañ vēśy-ōva Lakṣmīs-ta-
- 27 taḥ | tañ trā(tv=)vāpa(pya) bhūja-dvayāna nibhānā samśāshya ra[mayā]r-gu-
- 28 nāḥ prītyā prāṇa-samañ chiram ramayati śri-Krishṇa-rājādhi-
- 29 pam(pam) | 6 |<sup>5</sup> Tasmād-ābhūt-sūnar-ndāra-kīrti[?]<sup>6</sup> |<sup>7</sup> Prabhātavarshō blu-
- 30 vam-śca(sa)śāsa | yat-sa[?]<sup>8</sup> nāgēndra-mad-āmbuvant[?](tvā)d-Gāṅgarā
- 31 payō Yāmunayad-vibhāti | 7 |<sup>9</sup> Batipatis-uru-
- 32 bhāvō darīata(nā)t-ānhdarīyāti |<sup>10</sup> surata-raka<sup>11</sup>-surati-
- 33 raktō(ktō) tatra bhāpē-mujō(jō)-sya ||<sup>12</sup> Dhruva iti nṛpativā
- 34 matp(tō)bhīs-ch-ābhishiktō(ktō) |<sup>13</sup> Nirupama iti bhūman māpa — —
- 35 budhō-pi | 8 |<sup>14</sup> Tuṅg-ānvay-ōttuṅga-jayadhvajō-ś[mā]-
- 36 ||-jātō Jagattuṅga iti kshitrādrah ||<sup>15</sup> yas-ā[ha]vā—
- 37 √ √ — — — — — √ √ — — — — — || 9 ||<sup>16</sup> \*
- 38 . . . . .
- 39 . . . . . || 10 ||<sup>17</sup>
- 40 . . . . .
- 41 . . . . . || 11 ||<sup>18</sup>

## Second Side

1 — — —<sup>19</sup> Yi(I)ndr-ānija yō(ō)śha sākshā[?]

2 — — — druhā<sup>20</sup> hantun=ih-āvac[?]<sup>21</sup> ||

<sup>1</sup> Metre: *Varanantilaka*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *śakshā*. The *śanda* is redundant.

<sup>3</sup> Metre: *Śāradāntīkṛitā*.

<sup>4</sup> The *śanda* is superfluous.

<sup>5</sup> Metre: *Uṇjāti*.

<sup>6</sup> The *śanda* is superfluous.

<sup>7</sup> These two *śakaras* are redundant.

<sup>8</sup> Metre: *Mālinī*.

<sup>9</sup> Metre: *Uṇjāti*.

<sup>10</sup> These damaged syllables may be *Fanojśō(jō)*. For *gindra* and *yaśa*, cf. *Pāṇini*, VIII, 4, 17-18.

<sup>11</sup> The intended word may be *jayad-druhā*.

- 3 [Kri]shnas-sukrishnikṛita-vairi-nārī[an-ā]-  
 4 nan-ēndu(r)-nṛipatis-tatō-bhūt || 12 ||<sup>1</sup>  
 5 [Sa] Rājamārttaṇḍa-nṛipa[h\*] pratāp[āt-sama]-  
 6 stam-ādāya jagā)-jigīshuh || pra]-  
 7 (tā)pa-santāpita-Pāṇḍya-rū[jō dā]-  
 8 vaa-sanaat-ūri-tamaḥ-keha-  
 9 [yō]-bhūt | 13 |<sup>2</sup> Trivishṭapasthā  
 10 — r-yyath-āhuh |<sup>3</sup> yathā graj-ārthi  
 11 — bhūtajō-pi | vidhātum-ā  
 12 — tāth-āti gatvā |<sup>4</sup> ka — —  
 13 — samayō-sya jātā | 14 |<sup>5</sup>  
 14 — — — sya may-ātmajaṇa vilu(tah)  
 15 pūrevam tath-ā]śāpitā — — —  
 16 tat-antēna hi mayā [kāryam]  
 17 [s]gad-rakshasath(ṇam) | ity-ōvam khalu Kri(Kri)shna-  
 18 nāma-nṛipatis-ch-Ēndr-ātmaja[s-safapratī]  
 19 kṛimānya(s-ē)sha kalau kalauka-rahitāḥ  
 20 pṛithvinī(m-i)tmān rakshati | 15 |<sup>6</sup> Ta-  
 21 smin kṛi-Dhuraḍarṇakāra-nṛipatan [sam]-  
 22 rakshati kalonām-imān satya-tyāga-  
 23 sampiditā-vṛiditā-mahimā sa-  
 24 d-bandhu-baddhāsyadā<sup>7</sup> [i\*] jātō rakshati  
 25 — pradō vacumati[ti\*] asyaauka-  
 26 āsy-ō[va(j)va]ā[m\*] |<sup>8</sup> parjanyaō-pi [dharāh]

<sup>1</sup> Metre: Upejāti.

<sup>2</sup> Metre: Upejāti.

<sup>3</sup> The *śanda* is superfluous.

<sup>4</sup> Metre: Śardūlanīritīka.

<sup>5</sup> The intended reading may be *buddi-ōpadeh*.

<sup>6</sup> The *śanda* is redundant.



- 27 ◡ — ◡ ◡ ◡ — — ◡ — —
- 28 padani(dani) | 16 |<sup>1</sup> Āyōdhan-ārtham=adhiga-
- 29 chehhati **Kṛishnarājē** |<sup>2</sup> kṛishnarābhū[va]
- 30 vadanam ripa-kāmīnān(nām) | |<sup>3</sup> vai-
- 31 dhavya-tāpa-paritāpita-mā-
- 32 uasānām matt-ābha — ◡ ◡ ◡ —
- 33 ◡ ◡ — ◡ — — | | 17 | |<sup>4</sup> . . . . .
- 34 . . . . .
- 35 . . . . .
- 36 . . . . .
- 37 . . . . .
- 38 . . . . .
- 39 . . . . .
- 40 . . . . . | | 18 | |<sup>5</sup>

## Third Side

- 1 — chah tatra niyachchhati dvijavarā dhany[ā]
- 2 vadānya(nyā)=tathā |<sup>6</sup> jātās-tē-pi nidhīvarā Ha-
- 3 ◡ radā-grāmāsvaras-**Sōmahaj** | badulhuś-ch-ātma-
- 4 samas-tath-āśhā-samadrig-bhūtyā(tya)=tathā — ◡
- 5 — |<sup>7</sup> sūkhād-ēva kṛit-ādhipatya[m-a]
- 6 tha yab **Kṛishnē Mahēndr-ātmajē** | | 19 | |<sup>8</sup> Bhaktih
- 7 [Sū]jini Vallabhair-vvasumati<sup>9</sup> divas-cha<sup>10</sup> vi-
- 8 tē ratāh(tih) kāryas-ātra-[gaṅgē<sup>11</sup>]shu [cha<sup>12</sup>] pratipo-
- 9 dan |<sup>13</sup> sūchas-sathō<sup>14</sup> prārayab | |<sup>15</sup> dānab ch-ārthishu du[h]-

<sup>1</sup> Metre: Śāntalāsterīdīpa.<sup>2</sup> The *dhā* is redundant.<sup>3</sup> Metre: Paśāntīdīpa.<sup>4</sup> The *dhā* is superfluous. The previous word in three syllables may be *jātayā* though it seems to be erroneous.<sup>5</sup> Metre: Śāntalāsterīdīpa.<sup>6</sup> The intended reading seems to be *Vallabhē* meaning.<sup>7</sup> The intended reading may be *dīnē* (or *daivē*) etc.<sup>8</sup> Read \*astūm.

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- 10 khitōshu karuṇā dumaṣṭēshu<sup>1</sup> darpam [chiram]
- 11 saubhāgyam vanitāṣu **Kṛishṇa**-nripatēsa-
- 12 [rvva]tra sarvvā(rvve)-rttha-dam(dāḥ) | 20 |<sup>2</sup> **Śrī-Rattakandarppa-**
- 13 [ari]pēṣa tēn-āchirō(ra)-prabhuktam(ktē) Dravidāḥ pri-
- 14 yāyāḥ [ ]<sup>3</sup> kārṅchy-āspadē dakṣhiṇa-diḡ-ramaṇyāḥ
- 15 [ka]rttum ratim daṇḍapatih-prayuktah | 21 |<sup>4</sup> — —
- 16 jya-bhāvō nripatih prayuktah **Kṛishṇas**-cha **Vēnnā-**
- 17 taḷa-bhūmi-bhūṣāḥ | mah-āramō bhāgava[tē].
- 18 [na] tēna kṛitās-trayō-bhṛaṣṭilīla-mūrttayas-tō [ ] 22 [ ]<sup>5</sup>
- 19 Hēḷā-vidhita<sup>6</sup>-rachitā na yatnais-tathā vatā-
- 20 ntārham-īmā<sup>7</sup> na yānti | Mahēśvarasy-āla-
- 21 ya-panta(ūkta)yas-tās-teth-āpi Kailāsa-girōr-yya
- 22 — — [ ] 23 [ ] Yāvat-Padmabharō bhuvam vitanutō
- 23 yāvach-cha Lakṣmīpatih(tir)-lhattē vakhasi kaustuhmaḥ.
- 24 sa Bhagavān Gaur[ō]<sup>8</sup>-nadi[rā]<sup>9</sup> rāḍvaro<sup>10</sup> [ ]<sup>11</sup> yāvach-cha-ām-
- 25 budhi-vichi-[bā]hu-nivahair-āsōvyatē bhū-
- 26 vadhū- [ ]<sup>12</sup> e-tāvat<sup>13</sup> śrī-Dhuradamakāra-nripa-
- 27 tēr-dihamma-trayam tich[hatu] | 24 |<sup>14</sup>
- 28 svasti [ ]<sup>15</sup> samadhigataparichamahāsa-
- 29 bda-mahāśāmantam sahaḥ[bbhūri]-
- 30 śravam . . . . .
- 31 śrīmat-[Ka]ṇayyam śrī-Gōyindara<sup>16</sup> \*

<sup>1</sup> Read *duṣṭēshu*.

<sup>2</sup> Metre: *Śāntilavikṛitā*.

<sup>3</sup> Metre: *Uḡjālī*.

<sup>4</sup> There is a mistake here.

<sup>5</sup> Read *rāḍvaram*.

<sup>6</sup> The *śrōḍa* is superfluous.

<sup>7</sup> *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

<sup>8</sup> Metre: *Śāntilavikṛitā*.

<sup>9</sup> The intended reading is probably *Gōyindarāma*.

- 32 [Brā]hma[ṇa] [de]ṣeyiṁ paṇḍu Rāmāsvata  
 33 ...<sup>1</sup> [ko]ṭṭudu [Na]ḷgaḍūru [||] allinola  
 34 [mū]ḷaṇa Maṣiyaṅkadhavalargge a  
 35 ..... mattarkkeyi .... kayyala  
 36 .....  
 37 .....

*Fourth Side<sup>2</sup>*

- 1 kā|a<sup>3</sup>dōvargge ayvattu matta-  
 2 mavilu saṁmamādhā kaṁmamā [!]  
 3 int-iniṭum-allade ūriṁ pa-  
 4 ḷuvalaṁ .....  
 5 ge Maṣiyaṅkadhava|ata ma-  
 6 ttakke vilā-bhāgam-āge na-  
 7 ḍe(yudu) [!]<sup>4</sup> antu siddh-ā-  
 8 yamaṁ paṭṭha paramāshṭi(śhṭi)-  
 9 gadyāṇa-pōnu [!]<sup>5</sup> int-īsthiṭi  
 10 tappidōṁ Śrīparvatamumamā  
 11 Vāraṇāsiyumamā kavileya-  
 12 maṅ-a|ḷa pāpaṁ sargguṁ [!]  
 13 Sāmānyō-yam dharmma-sōtu[r]-nri-  
 14 pāṇm kālē kālē pā-  
 15 lanfyō bhavadbhīḥ [!]<sup>6</sup> tasmā-d-ō-  
 16 tān(tān)-bhūginal pārtthivōndrō(drān)-bhū-  
 17 yō bhūyō yāchatē Rā-

<sup>1</sup> The letters *ḍ* or *ṣ* would suit the context, though the traces do not clearly support this reading.

<sup>2</sup> The figure of a Śivaliṅga, a bull and a cow are engraved above the writing on this side.

<sup>3</sup> The name of the deity may have been Kāla or something like Kākāla, Māhākāla, etc.



- 18 mabhadrah [[[\*]] Bidirara keyyo-  
 19 ttage Tippayya-goravargge  
 20 nūvattu mattar-kkeyyumañ [makka]-  
 21 [a-makka]ge sishyara-sishyari-  
 22 ge naḍeyisuvudu [[[\*]] tappal=ā-  
 23 gadu [[[\*]]

No. 9—BĪCHAPALLI INSCRIPTION OF BHUVANAĪKAMALLA'S TIME, SAKA 996

(I Plate)

G. S. GAL, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 2.3.1961)

The sub-joined inscription was copied by me when I visited Bīchāpalli in December, 1960.<sup>1</sup> The village, situated on the southern banks of the Kṛishṇā river, is in the Alampur Taluk of the Mahabūnagar District, Andhra Pradesh. The inscription is engraved on three sides of a pillar set up in the compound of the Āṣṭanāya temple.

On the top of the first side of the pillar, where the record commences, are the figures of a Śiva-linga, the sun and the crescent moon while, a little below on the right side, is a couchant bull facing left. This side of the pillar contains 24 lines of writing, while the second side has 31 lines and the third 14 lines only. Thus there are altogether 69 lines of writing which is fairly well preserved. The characters are Telugu-Kannada and are quite regular for the date, viz. 1074 A. D. The language is Kannada prose except the two imprecatory verses at the end which are in Sanskrit. In regard to orthography, it may be observed that the consonant following *r* is usually doubled and that Sanskrit *ś* is represented by *s* in a number of cases.

The date of the inscription occurs in lines 28-33 as Śaka 996, Ānanda, Pushya śu. 8, Sunday. The date corresponds to the 28th December 1074 A. D.

The record belongs to the reign of the Western Chālukya king Bhuvanaīkamaḷlādēva who is also known as Sūmāvara II and ruled from 1068 to 1076 A. D. The king is stated to have been ruling from his capital (*ndarāḍa*) at Baṅkāpura which, we know, was a secondary capital, the main capital being Kalyāṇapura, modern Kalyāṇa in the Bidar District of Mysore State. Baṅkāpura, which has retained its name to the present day, is a big village in the Shiggaon Taluk of the Dharwar District, Mysore State. The place was originally named after Bākerys of the Chellakūtana family, who was the minister of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amōghavaraha (1014-78 A. D.) and was governing the Banavāsi province under that king.

The inscription introduces (lines 11-25) the king's feudatory Maḷḷamaḷlādēva Chidda-chōḷamahārāja as governing the four divisions, of which only the Kanne-nāḍu is mentioned, after obtaining them, evidently from the king, as a fee called *ślo-cyūṭa*, the exact significance of which is not known.<sup>2</sup> The chief is stated to have undertaken an expedition (*śig-vijaya*) against a certain Sēgupa and to have defeated and captured him.

The object of the epigraph, given in lines 34-61, is to register a gift made, on the date discussed above, by Chidda-chōḷamahārāja while he was returning from his expedition referred to above, apparently in commemoration of his victory. The gift, given as a *paramēśvara-datta*, consisted of the village Pariyaja-tirtha on the southern bank of the Perdore or Kṛishṇā and belonged to the Ayaje-300 division. The donation was made to the temple of the god Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa

<sup>1</sup> The inscription is registered as No. B 51 in *A. R. Ep.*, 1960-61.

<sup>2</sup> It is also called *ślo* or *ślo-dārayita* in some records. Sūmāvara II himself is stated to have been ruling Baḷvola-300 and Purigere-300 as his *ślo-dārayita* in a record (*SII*, Vol. XI, Part I, No. 84) of the time of his father Sūmāvara I.

situated in the midst of **Ejarāme-tirtha**. It is further stated that the gift was intended for the services of the god like *aṅga-bhṅga*, *śivōdya* and *vandā-dīpa*, for a *śatra* or alma-house, for the twelve ascetics and for the food and clothing of the twelve students attending on the ascetics. The gift was entrusted to Sūryarāśipañḍita who was in charge of the place.

The feudatory chief Chidda-chōlamahārāja is endowed with a number of epithets. They show that he belonged to the solar race and Kāśyapa-gotra and had the banner of peacock-feather and lion-crest, and that he was called *Kāśī-vallabha* and *Oreyūpucavara-śvara*. We are also told that he was a bee on the lotus-feet of the god Mallikārjuna, evidently of Śrīsailla. From his name and the epithets associated with him, it is clear that he belonged to the family of **Telugu-Chōlas** who were feudatory chiefs under the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa and were governing some territory in the Alampur, Kurnool and Anantapur areas. He is also evidently the same chief as Chiddana-chōlamahārāja known from a few records of Sōmēśvara I and Sōmēśvara II. The earliest mention of the chief which I have been able to trace occurs in a record<sup>1</sup> of Sōmēśvara I dated in 1059-60 A. D. when he was governing the Sindavāḍi-1000 division. Next he is referred to in a record<sup>2</sup> of the same king dated in 1067-68 A. D. as governing the division of Ayaḷe-300. After this, he appears as a feudatory of Sōmēśvara II in a record<sup>3</sup> of 1073-74 A. D. representing him as governing the four divisions called Kanne-300, Peḍekal-800, Naḡuvāḍi-500 and Ayaḷe-300. It has been already observed that our inscription refers to him as governing the four divisions out of which only Kanne-nāḷu is mentioned. The remaining three divisions were, therefore, Peḍekal-800, Naḡuvāḍi-500 and Ayaḷe-300. It may be pointed out in this connection, that one Irugaṇa-chōla of the same family appears as a feudatory of Sōmēśvara I in the records of 1056-57 A. D.<sup>4</sup> probably as governing the same four divisions while a certain Bijjana-chōlamahārāja figures as governing the said divisions as a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI in 1078 A. D.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, Chiddana-chōlamahārāja may be assigned to the period 1058 to 1075 A. D., though his exact relationship to Irugaṇa and Bijjana, his predecessor and successor respectively, is not known at present.

As indicated above, the inscription under study informs us that Chidda-chōlamahārāja was returning, at the time of the gift, from his northern expedition against a Śēgūṇa whom he had defeated and captured. This Śēgūṇa is no doubt a Yādava king and may be identified with Śaṅga or Śaṅgachandra II. In the Bassein<sup>6</sup> and Waghli<sup>7</sup> records of this Śaṅgachandra II dated in 1069 A. D., he assumes subordinate titles showing thereby that he was a feudatory of Sōmēśvara II.<sup>8</sup> Hēmadri's *Pratābharaṇa* states that Paramardhōva, i.e. Vikramāditya VI, was saved from the coalition of his enemies by Śaṅgachandra II and was established by him in the sovereignty of Kalyāṇa.<sup>9</sup> This may suggest that, in the struggle for the Chālukya throne between Sōmēśvara II and his younger brother Vikramāditya VI, Śaṅgachandra II espoused the cause of the latter. Enraged by this act of the Yādava, ruler Sōmēśvara II sent, as revealed by the epigraph under study, his chief Chidda or Chiddana-chōlamahārāja to chastise the traitor. Our record claims that the Chōla chief defeated and captured the Yādava king while Hēmadri's work, written about two centuries later,<sup>10</sup> does not admit it. It is not impossible that Śaṅgachandra II might have

<sup>1</sup> *Ill.*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 123.

<sup>2</sup> *A. B. Ep.*, 1939-66, No. B 115.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, No. B 116.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. B 113 and 114.

<sup>5</sup> *Journ. Indian Hist. Soc.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 60.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 119.

<sup>7</sup> *Above*, Vol. II, p. 222.

<sup>8</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 448 and 515.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 511, verso 29.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 289.



joined Vikramāditya VI to oust Sōmēśvara II in an earlier attempt which must have taken place before 1074 A. D., the date of the present record, and which might have proved unsuccessful. But we know that Vikramāditya VI finally ousted his elder brother and crowned himself sometime in 1076 A. D.<sup>1</sup> It is also stated in the Āṣvi plates of 1098 A. D. of Āirama<sup>2</sup> who was the son and successor of Sōmapachandra II and feudatory of Vikramāditya VI, that he conquered Sōmēśvara II and gave the kingdom to his master.<sup>3</sup> It appears that both Sōmapachandra II and his son Āirama participated, sometime after 1074 A. D., in the successful attempt to gain the Kalyāṇa throne for Vikramāditya VI.

The following **geographical names** are found in the inscription: Kanne which is stated to be one of the four divisions obtained by the chief from the king. As shown above, Kanne-nāḍu was a three-hundred division, while the other three divisions were Peḍekal-800, Naruvāḍi-500 and Ayaje-300. Kanne-nāḍu appears to represent the area about the Nandikotkur Taluk of the Kurnool District.<sup>4</sup> Naruvāḍi-500, which is evidently the same as the ancient Nalavāḍi-vishaya corresponded to portions of the Kurnool and Anantapur Districts.<sup>5</sup> Another part of the Kurnool District was the Peḍekal-800 division which appears as Peḍekal-vishaya in earlier records.<sup>6</sup> Ayaje-300 corresponded to the area round about modern Ayije in the Alampur Taluk of the Mahbubnagar District. Elarāme-tīrtha wherein the temple for which the gift was made was situated may be the modern Bichapaḷli, the findspot of the record. I am not certain about the identification of the village of Pariyaḷa.

#### TEXT\*

##### First Side

- 1 Svasti samasta-bhuvan-āśrayaḥ
- 2 Śrī-pri(pri)thvī-vallabhaḥ mahācāḷā-
- 3 dhīrāja-paramēśva(śva)raḥ parama-
- 4 bhattārakaḥ Satyāśraya-koḷa-tīḷa[karḥ]
- 5 Chāḷukyābharanāḥ śrīmad-Bhuva-
- 6 nāikamalladēvara vije(ja)ya-rājyam=utta-
- 7 r-ōttar-ābhivri(vri)ddhi-pravarābdha(rōdha)mānam-ā-
- 8 chath(cha)ndr-āṅka-tāraḥ-baraḥ saluttam-ire Ba-
- 9 mkāpurada nele-vāḷinoḷ sukha-samkhatā.\*

\* Above, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 193 ff.

<sup>1</sup> *Bhāṣana Tīkha Śaśvatīkha Maṇḍala Quarterly*, Vol. III, No. 1. The editor reads the name as Iranma while Hrnādr's *Pratikāśha* gives it as Pe(A)irama. The plates which I am re-editing in this journal really give the name as Āirama, spelt as *Āirama* for metrical requirement.

<sup>2</sup> A record of 1057 A. D. from the Nandikotkur Taluk refers to the gift of a village in the Kanne-300 Division. Cf. *SH*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 119.

<sup>3</sup> *Bomb. Ori.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 363; above, Vol. XXII, p. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 312.

<sup>5</sup> From impressions.

<sup>6</sup> There is an ornamental design at the beginning of the line.

\* Read *samkhatā*.

- 10 vinōdadāhā rājyathigeyyutt-ire  
 11 samadhigata-patichu-mahā-sa(sa)nda-  
 12 mahāmaṇḍa]śva(śva)raṇ-anēka-ripu-  
 13 durddharaṇi varu-bhuj-śai(si)-bhāsura-pracha-  
 14 ṇḍa[m\*] prahṭyōdinakara<sup>1</sup>-kula-nandanarh  
 15 Kōśya(śya)pa-gōtraṇi mayūra-pānchha-[dhva].<sup>2</sup>  
 16 Kāvāri-vallabhānā kambal-pare-gbōshaya[th]  
 17 simha-lānchhanam-Oreyār-pputava-  
 18 rēva(śva)raṇi parachakra-dhava]raṇi maṇḍa]ika-[si(śi)]-  
 19 khāmapī sa(sa)raṇāgata-rakshāmapī Chō-  
 20 ja-Lāja-sāmanta-śouḍa]raṇ<sup>4</sup> piḍiva Bhīmāna ga-  
 21 nūhavārayaṇi śrīman-Mallikārjjunadēva-pā-  
 22 dēbhja<sup>5</sup>-bhūṇigāṇi śrīman-mahāmaṇḍa]śva(śva)-  
 23 raṇi Chidda-chō]amahārājar Kanne-nāḍ-<sup>6</sup>  
 24 diy-āgi nālkānā nūḍumāṇi v]ja-virtthi(iti)yaṇ<sup>7</sup>

*Second Side*

- 25 da paḍed-uttara-diśāvarakkāṇi  
 26 Sēgunana mōle dig-vijayaṇi  
 27 geyḍ-avama[m] pi<sup>8</sup>ḍai ]jayarh-  
 28 geyḍu baruttu Saka-va-  
 29 rsha 996 sey-Ānanda-  
 30 sarivatsarada Paushya su-  
 31 dhba(ddha) 8 mi Ādityavā-  
 32 rad-uttarāyana-sarh-

<sup>1</sup> The reading given in other records is *prahṭyōḍi(t)pa-dimbara* (cf. *SIJ*, Vol. IX, Part 1, Nos. 122 and 207).

<sup>2</sup> The letter *dhva* is partly broken and the next letter which is completely lost may be restored as *jan*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *śouḍāṇa*, which is derived from Sanskrit *śouḍā*, 'an elephant'.

<sup>4</sup> Read *piḍ-ambhāḍ* or *piḍ-āḍya*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *v]la* or *v]ja-ānāripit(p)ā* which is the same as *v]ja-ānāripit* found in other records.

<sup>6</sup> The letter *pi* is engraved slightly above the line.



BICHAPALLI INSCRIPTION OF BHUVANAİKAMALLA'S TIME, SAKA 996

*First Side*

*Second Side*



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*Third Side*

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Handwritten text in a dark, dense script, likely Kannada, covering the entire vertical strip. The text is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines, with each line corresponding to a number on the left and right margins. The script is highly stylized and difficult to decipher due to the high contrast and density of the ink.

56

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- 33 krānti nimitya(tta)diñ śri-  
 34 mad-Elarāmsya tirttha-  
 35 da naḍuvaṇa Lakṣmaṇē-  
 36 sva(śva)radōvar=amga-bhōgakkam  
 37 nivādyakkam nandā-dīvige-  
 38 gañ maḥhade tapōdhana(ruñ)  
 39 [Svā]dhyāyāśilar=appava-  
 40 ruñ pannirvvarge śa(sa)trakkam=a-  
 41 varge paryyaṣṭi-geyva m[ā]-  
 42 viga[-pannirvvarge=śan=ā-  
 43 chchhādanakkam=end=**Ayije**  
 44 300 ru baḷiya Pe-  
 45 r[ddo]reya dakṣiṇa-thi(t)ra-  
 46 da Pariyaḷamañ sarv-ā-  
 47 bhyantara-sudhhiyūñ pa-  
 48 ranśva(śva)ra-dattiy-āgi  
 49 ā etā(sthā)nakic=adhikāriḡa[-a-  
 50 pp=śchāryyar=Śvasti ya-  
 51 ma-niyam=śa(sa)ra-prā-  
 52 pāyāma-pratyāhā-  
 53 re-dhyāna-llāraṇa-japa=sa-  
 54 mādhū-ś(ś)la-saṃpannat=jaga-  
 55 ti(ti)-praśa(sa)unardhha(e=ddha)mm-śchita-

*Third Side*

- 56 rakṣhar śkūḷa-jana-kalpa(lpa)-vṛikahar=vibudha-  
 57 pāyāha-nadi-pravāhar=ppannag-ā-  
 58 bharaṇa-charaṇ-śravindar=appa śrīma-

<sup>1</sup> Read śiddhigim.

- 59 t-Sūryarāsi-paṅḍitadēvara kālaṁ  
 60 karchchi dhārā-pūrvvakam māḍi koṭṭa-  
 61 r-ī dharmasaman-aḷidavargge Vāra-  
 62 pāḍi(sī)yaḷ-sāsira kavile-  
 63 yuṁ brāhmaṣaran-aḷida dōḥa[m]  
 64 sārggu[m\*] || 0 0 Na vishu[m] visham-ity-āhu-  
 65 r-ddēvasvaṁ visham-uchyatō [i\*] visham-ē-  
 66 kākinam hanti dēvasvaṁ putra-pautṛikam(trikam) [i\*]  
 67 Sva-dattam(ttām) para-dattam(ttām) vā yō harēti(ṭa) vasuṁ-  
 68 dhārā[m]\* sa(sha)stīr-vvaraha-sahasrā(ārā)ṇi miśṭā(vishṭhā)yōm  
 69 jāyatō kṛimī[h\*] || 0 0
-



No. 10—SRISAILAM INSCRIPTION OF KAPILESVARA, SAKA 1382

(I. Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 6.6.1961)

The stone slab bearing this inscription is set up in the eastern courtyard of the Mallikārjuna temple at **Srisailam** in the Nandikotkur Taluk of the Kurnool District, Andhra Pradesh. One half of the slab from top to bottom is occupied by **Oriya** writing and the other half by writing in **Telugu** characters. The inscription was noticed in the Report of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, 1914-15, as No. 30 of 1915 (p. 59; cf. p. 84 for the English equivalent of the date).

Although for reasons to be discussed below, it is difficult to be sure whether the stone slab bears only one inscription or two different epigraphs, it is not impossible that there is really only one record, the first half of which is written in Telugu characters and in an admixture of the Telugu and Sanskrit languages and the second half in the Oriya alphabet and language; that is to say that the Oriya part is probably a mere continuation of the section in Telugu. There are 37 lines of writing in the Telugu portion covering an area about 52 cms. in breadth and 1.32 metres in height, while the Oriya section consists of only 20 lines of writing which covers a space about 38 cms. broad and 1.15 metres high. Of the two parts, the Telugu portion is carefully engraved and its preservation is also fairly satisfactory. On the other hand, the Oriya part is carelessly inscribed and the preservation of the writing in it is also not quite satisfactory. The letters in this part exhibit various forms as in the Oriya section of the Veligaluni grant of Kapileśvara, edited above.<sup>1</sup> They are not uniform in size and a few of them look unlike any letter of the contemporary Oriya alphabet. It is difficult to be sure about the reading of the upper part of the Oriya section of the inscription. The Oriya part appears to have been engraved by a person who was unfamiliar with the Oriya alphabet and drew up the letters as he felt he saw them in the draft before him, which may have been prepared by an Oriya officer of the king whose eulogy is contained in the epigraph.

A feature of the inscription to which attention may be drawn is that, although the Oriya section looks like the latter half of the document the first half of which is the portion in Telugu, a few epithets of the hero of the eulogy already employed in the first section are repeated in the second. Even in the Oriya part, the word *Gajapati* seems to occur twice, once in line 15 and again in lines 17-18. It has also to be noticed that, while the Telugu part looks like the composition of a man of some learning, the author of the Oriya section was a less accomplished person.

Lines 2-6 about the beginning of the Telugu section give the date of the record as **Śālivāhana-Saka 1382**, the cyclic year **Vikrama, Ashāḍha-sudi 15, Thursday**, when there was a lunar eclipse. The date corresponds to the 3rd July 1460 A. D.

The Telugu part of the record is not complete in itself since it ends abruptly in the middle of the description of a royal personage whose epithets show that he was no other than **Gajapati**

<sup>1</sup>See Vol. XXXIII, Plate facing p. 287. Cf. also the Oriya part of the Chitravall grant (*ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, Plate facing p. 185).

**Kapilēśvara of Orissa**, though the king's name is not there. Lines 18-20 at the end of the Oriya section, however, refer to the reign of the Gajapati king Kapilēśvara, though there appears to be no mention of his regnal or Anka year corresponding to Śaka 1382. Since Kapilēśvara ascended the throne in Śaka 1356 (1434-35 A.D.), Śaka 1382 would correspond to his 27th regnal year or 33rd Anka year.

The Telugu part of the inscription begins with two *maṅgala* passages (lines 1-2) which are followed by the date (lines 3-6), discussed above. A passage beginning with the word *suasti* then mentions the god Mallikārjuna alias Mahādēva who is called the best Svayambhu-linga of Śarparvata (lines 6-9). The word *Mahādēviki* (i.e. 'to Mahādēva') at the end of this section in Telugu would suggest that the object of the inscription was to record certain gifts made in favour of the god Mallikārjuna Mahādēva of Śrīśaila. It is interesting to note that the expressions *Śrīparvata*, *Svayambhu* and *Linga-chakravartin* have the honorific word *śrī* prefixed to them while the honorific *śrīmat* is prefixed to *Mallikārjuna* and *Mahādēva*. Thus none of these is without an honorific. The same tendency is also exhibited in lines 16-18 of the Oriya part in which the hero of the eulogy is mentioned as *śrīmat-Karṇāḍēvara śrī-Kalabaraṅgēvara śrī-Vira śrī-Gajapati śrī-Kapilēśvarādīnam-mahārāja*.

The long passage in Sanskrit that follows in lines 9-22 of the Telugu part also begins with the word *suasti* and apparently refers to the heroic members of a royal family by way of introducing the hero of the eulogy as one of them. In this section, there are three lengthy and bombastic compound expressions ending in the sixth case-ending plural (cf. *śampadām* in line 15, *varuṇḍhārāyām* in line 17 and *chakraśīlāḍām* in line 22). Since the next passage introduces a royal personage, the style of the above section seems to follow the pattern of such expressions as *Pallaviśāin Śivabandurāḍ, Vāhīpāṇāḍ Pravarāḍaḍ*, etc. Unfortunately, the name of the dynasty is not mentioned. The person to be introduced is, however, called *Sūryavāḍ-śeṭṭambāsa-stambha* in lines 28-29 of the following section, so that a word like *Sūryavāḍ-śyāṇām* would have been suitable at the end of the previous section.

The rest of the writing in the Telugu section in lines 22-27 are epithets of a king whose name, viz. Kapilēśvara, comes at the end of the Oriya part as already indicated above. It is interesting to note that many of the king's epithets in this section are also applied to him in the Warangal inscription of his nephew and viceroy Raghudēva, edited above.<sup>1</sup> While editing the Warangal inscription, we have pointed out that most of these typical epithets are copied from certain Gāṅga inscriptions like the Draksharama, Bhubaneswar and Kanchipuram inscriptions<sup>2</sup> of Anaṅgabhīma III (1211-38 A.D.) and one of the Kapilas inscriptions<sup>3</sup> of the latter's son Narasiṅha I (1238-65 A.D.).

The Warangal inscription applies to Kapilēśvara the epithets *Mahāśvara-putra*, *Puruṣhōttama-putra* and *Durgā-putra*, though the first of these three epithets is omitted in the inscription under study. But the king is called at the same time both *parama-vaiṣṇava* (a devout worshipper of Viṣṇu) and *parama-māhēśvara* (a devout worshipper of Mahāśvara or Śiva) in our record. This fact coupled with the epithet *Durgā-putra*, i.e. 'son of the goddess Durgā (the consort of Śiva)', would suggest that the Gajapati king Kapilēśvara claimed to have been at the same time a Vaiṣṇava, a Śaiva and a Śākta. While Kapilēśvara's devotion to the god Puruṣhōttama (i.e. Viṣṇu in the shape of Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha of Purī) is known from many records including the one under study, the Warangal inscription suggests that he also shared his ancestors' devotion

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. XXXIII, pp. 125 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *SI*, Vol. IV, p. 467 (No. 1329); above, Vol. XXX, p. 224; Vol. XXXI, pp. 94 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 41 ff.



to the god Mallinātha and goddess Maṅgalachandī or Gaṅgamaṅgalachandī who were probably aspects of Śiva and Durgā. Kapilēsvara appears to have become a devotee of Viṣṇu only after his occupation of the Gaṅga kingdom which, as we know, had been dedicated to Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha of Puri by Gaṅga Ananābhīma III that king and his successors ruling the kingdom as the god's deputies.<sup>1</sup>

While editing the Warangal inscription, we also pointed out that, inspite of their staunch devotion to the god Viṣṇu in the form of Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha of Puri, the Gaṅga king Ananābhīma III and his successor, who ruled Orissa as deputies of the said god, could not dissociate themselves from the Śaiva leanings of their ancestors. It was further pointed out that the representation of Kapilēsvara and his nephew with both Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva epithets, in spite of the fact that Kapilēsvara avowedly ruled his kingdom on behalf of the god Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha like his Gaṅga predecessors, may be due to the fact that the Sūryavamāsi were also Śaivas originally. But, in this connection, we remarked, "It has, however, to be noticed that a similar description of Kapilēsvara is not noticed in any other inscription of the Sūryavamāsi Gajapati family. Are we then to suppose that the reason underlying the above description of Kapilēsvara was the Śaiva leanings of Rāghudēva?"<sup>2</sup> Now that we have a similar representation of Kapilēsvara as both a Śaiva and a Vaiṣṇava at the same time in the record under review, this suspicion may be regarded as unjustifiable.

The last epithet of Kapilēsvara in the Telugu part in lines 36-37 represents him as the lord of the eastern world including countries like **Karṇāṭa, Lāṭa, Draviḷa, Gauḍa, Utkala and Sīmbhala**. This hyperbolic epithet is not found in other inscriptions.

Very little is intelligible in lines 1-5 of the Oriya part though one may suspect that it continues the description of the king. He is apparently called *Puruṣhōttama-putra* in line 6, *Rāṅḍa (Rājā-kula)* in line 7 and *vājarisī (vājarshī)* in line 8. Of these, the epithet *Rāṅḍa* is a feudatory title indicating Kapilēsvara's subordinate position in relation to the god Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha who, as indicated above, was regarded as the master of his kingdom. It may be noted in this connection that lines 25-26 of the Telugu part describe Kapilēsvara as *Paramabhāṭṭāyaka-gajannamāhārāya-śrī-Puruṣhōttama-putra* which may be interpreted in two ways. We may take it to mean that Kapilēsvara himself is endowed with the imperial title *Paramabhāṭṭāyaka* and alternatively also that it is the god Puruṣhōttama-Jagannātha that enjoyed the said imperial title. The first meaning seems to be intended by the author, though the use of the feudatory title *Rāṅḍa* in the description of Kapilēsvara in line 9 of the Oriya part may tempt one to suggest that the second of the two alternative interpretations discussed above is the correct one. We have evidence to show that Kapilēsvara enjoyed imperial titles as well. The corrupt expressions in lines 12-19 of the Oriya section represent him as *Mahārājā Mahārājādhirāja Rājēsvara Paramēvara Gajapati Gauḍācāra kīmat-Karṇāṭācāra śrī-Kalahrāyācāra śrī-Vira śrī-Gajapati śrī-Kapilēsvarādēva-mahārāja*.

From the parts of the inscription that can be made out, it appears to be merely a eulogy of the Gajapati king Kapilēsvara of Orissa. There is no mention of any pious or heroic act of the king in the Telugu portion and in the readable part of the Oriya section of the record. It is also difficult to determine whether the upper part of the Oriya section, the reading of which is dubious, contained any such reference. But, as already indicated above, there is the passage 'to Mahādēva' about the beginning of the Telugu section and this suggests that the object of the epigraph was to record certain gifts in favour of the god Mallikārjuna Mahādēva of Śrīśailam. Moreover,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXX, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 127.



in ancient and medieval Indian records of the *prastāvi* type, the description of the achievements of the hero is offered as an introduction to the delineation of particular pious or heroic acts done by him. Thus the present inscription also does not appear to be a mere eulogy of Kapilēśvara without recording a pious act of the king. It may therefore be concluded that there is reference to the gifts made in favour of Mallikārjuna Mahādēva in the upper part of the Oriya section of the inscription. Of course, it may be suggested that the Oriya part of the record is complete in itself and that the end of the Telugu section containing a record of the donation was engraved on a separate stone slab which has not been available to us. But, even in such a case, i.e. if the Oriya part is regarded as a complete record by itself, its upper part should contain some reference to a pious activity as otherwise the passage 'during the victorious reign of Kapilēśvaradēva-mahārāja', with which it concludes, will be meaningless.

It is difficult to determine whether the present inscription proves Kapilēśvara's presence at Śrīśailam on the date of the record. If he was present to offer his homage to the great Mallikārjuna of Śrīśailam on the auspicious occasion of the lunar eclipse, he should have certainly made some donation in favour of the god and that is expected to have been recorded in the inscription. But the passage referring to [an act performed] during his reign in the Oriya part, referred to above, may also suggest that it was one of his subordinates who had occasion to visit the Mallikārjuna temple and was responsible for setting up the inscription recording the donation of gifts made by him in favour of the deity, though the record of donation cannot be traced in the readable part of the inscription and has also not been as yet traced on any other slab among the votive epigraphs of Śrīśailam. In this connection, reference may be made to the Uyyalavada (Kollkuntla Taluk, Karnool District) inscription<sup>1</sup> recording the erection of a *jaya-stambha* by Kapilēśvara's officer Narasimha-pātra.

The geographical names mentioned in the inscription are all well known.

#### TEXT\*

##### Telugu Part

1. Kalyāṇameśtu | svasti-śrī-jay-ā-
2. bhūdāya | Śālivāhana-Śaka-varṇaha-
3. rābulu 1382 guṇeṣṭi Vikrama-
4. saṁvatsara Āshāḍha-ḥu 15 Gu<sup>2</sup> nā-
5. rīti Sōma-grahaṇa-puṇya-kāla-
6. māṁdu | svasti [1\*] śrī-Śrīparvata śrī-
7. Svayambhū śrī-Liṅga-chakravartī śrī-
8. māṁ(ma)u-Mallikāḥjū(kā)jūna śrīmaṁ(ma)u-Mahādē-
9. vumki [1\*] svasti-śrī [1\*] saṁv-āpāṁvy-ādi-vrīṣhṭa-
10. spāshṭa-sūmākṛīṣhṭa [1\*] jarāṣṭ<sup>3</sup> | kamāṣṭ<sup>4</sup> | nishṭu(śhṭhu)-

<sup>1</sup> J. E. Ep., 1933-36, No. B 277.

\* From impressions.

<sup>2</sup> This is an abbreviation of *Caru-śrī*.

<sup>3</sup> The *śanda* here and below is used generally as a hyphen is used in English.

<sup>4</sup> The lexicon recognizes *jarāṣṭ* or *jarāṣṭī* in the sense of a kind of grass and *jarāṣṭa* is explained as old, drooping, must, yellowish, etc. The intended reading may be *jarāṣṭī*, 'an old or crum female', though the meaning of the section is not clear. Do the words refer to the sound of the bow?

<sup>5</sup> It is uncertain whether the intended word is *śamaṣṭī*, 'a small female tortoise'. As indicated above, the meaning of the section is not clear.



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- 11 r-ō(d\*)daññā(ḍa)- | kōḍaṇñā(ḍa)- | prachaññā(ḍa)- | ray-ā-
- 12 tṛipta- | kshipta- | dṛipta- | śara-viśara- | vihi-
- 13 tu- | ravi-kara-nihita- | timira- | tanisrā-
- 14 pradhyatasa- | saṃppā(pā)ditā- | mukha-hūma-
- 15 śuchi- | saṃppa(pa)dām | satata- | sa-śanda-
- 16 kari-ghaṭ[ā]-ghaṇṭā-rav-ōjjāgarita- | śā-
- 17 garō(r-ā)vadhī | vasuṇḍa(dha)rāpūṇi | ni'ahkṛipa-kṛi-
- 18 pāṇa- | dhārā-dārit-ārātī- | rājanya-ni-
- 19 rañjana-bahaḥa-ni[h\*]ivāsa- | gaṇḍhavā-
- 20 ha- | laheri-pariraṃbha- | paraṃparā-samu-
- 21 ttaraṅgita-pratāpa- | pāvaka- | prasara-
- 22 pradī(dī)pitā- | nikhīla-dik-chaḥkravā[śānti] | samara-
- 23 mukh-āṅka-ripa-darppa-mardana | bhūja-bāla-pa-
- 24 rākrama | paramavaiśyaḥva- | paramamēhēsvara
- 25 paramābhaṭā(tā)raḥa | jagan-mūla-kāraṇa- | śrī-Puru-
- 26 śhōttama-putra | śrī-Duṣṭā-putra | trō(trā)yi-
- 27 samuddharāṇa-parāyāṇa | vasuṇḍa(dha)c-ōddhā-
- 28 ra-Mahāvacaḥa | **Sūryya-vaiśā-āvalarū-**
- 29 **bana-stambha** | dharmama-rakshaka-dakṣha | nava-nav-ānu-
- 30 ra(rā)pa-karma-tulita- | pūrva-patapati-charita |
- 31 meryyādā-mahōdadhi trō(trā)yi-viśy-ānava-
- 32 dya-vidva[ī\*]-jana- | viśāpāt-āśtrivāda | vacana-pra[ti]-
- 33 samaya- | samupadṛyāyāna- | sept-āṅga-
- 34 praḥḥa-jana- | saṃtā(tā)pa-chaṇḍana | san-mitra-hṛidā-
- 35 ya-nahdana | Vaivasvata-Manu-paraṃppa(pa)rā-prasūta-
- 36 [Rāma]chandra-charit-ālanakṛita | **Karnā(rūā)ta-Lāta-[Dra]vi-**
- 37 **ja-[Gauḍ-Ō]t[ka]la-Siṃhala-prabhṛiti** | praḥ-dha[r-ā]dhiśvara

## Oriya Part

- 1 śrī-Rā .....
- 2 śrī || [śr]jma .....
- 3 ānā || .....

\* This akṣara is engraved below the line with a mark.

- 4 japa .....  
 5 .....  
 6 ..... [Pu<sup>2</sup>]rusōtama-putra  
 7 .....  
 8 .....  
 9 ..... rāvula  
 10 ..... rāja-riśa  
 11 .. kṛita prachā-  
 12 ṛṣa-dōradanḍa-[māhā]-  
 13 rē[<sup>3</sup>]śa<sup>1</sup> māhārājā-  
 14 dhivāja rāṣevata pra-  
 15 mevara Gajapata(ti) Gauḍa-  
 16 sma vra(śri)ma .<sup>2</sup> naṣṣma vra(śri)-Kala-  
 17 [va]ragē[sa]ra tra(śri)-Vira tra(śri)-Ga-  
 18 [japati-śri]-Kapilēsara-  
 19 [dēva]-[mā]hārājānkara  
 20 [vijē]-rāṣē-sma[ī]<sup>3</sup> [ ] \*

<sup>1</sup> We have cordā in this context elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> This sign does not look like any letter but may stand for *l*-Ka.

<sup>3</sup> Sanskrit vijaya-vijya-samaya.

## No. 11—INSCRIPTIONS OF TWO BRAHMANA RULERS OF GAYA

(3 Plates)

D. C. SINGAR, ODTACAMUND

(Received on 5.1.1961)

Five stone inscriptions of a Brāhmaṇa ruling family of Gayā are known to have been discovered at that famous holy place. Four of them belong to Viśvarūpa or Viśvāditya, who was the son of Śūdraka and grandson of Paritōṣha, and one to Yakṣhapāla, son of Viśvarūpa or Viśvāditya.

The five inscriptions are the following :<sup>1</sup>

1. Inscription found at the gate of the Kṛiṣṇa-Dvārikā temple at Gayā, recording the erection of a temple for the god Janārdana at Gayā by Viśvāditya in the 15th year of the reign of the Pāla king Nayapāla (c. 1038-55 A.D.), i.e. about 1055 A.D. The *prāśasti* was composed by *Vaijya* Sahasācārya and engraved by the artisan Saṅghasōma, son of Adhīpa-sōma. This inscription was edited by M. M. Chakravarti in *JASB*, Vol. LXIX, Part I, 1900, pp. 180 ff., and illustrated by R. D. Banerji in his *Pālas of Bengal* (Mem. A. S. B., Vol. V, No. 3), Plate XXV. A transcript of the epigraph with translation also appeared in A. E. Maitreya's *Gauḍātthakamṭā*, pp. 110 ff.

2. Inscription inside the small shrine of Narasiṅha in the courtyard of the Viṣṇupāda temple at Gayā, recording the erection of the temple of the god Gadādhara and some other unnamed shrines by Viśvarūpa in the 15th year of Nayapāla's reign. The *prāśasti* was composed by *Vaijya* Vajrapāṇi and 'written' by Śarvānanda. A rough transcript of the epigraph appeared with illustration in R. D. Banerji's work referred to above, p. 78 and Plate XXVI.

3. Inscription on a slab under the image of the god Gadādhara. As the image could not be removed without wounding the religious feelings of the local population, only the first four lines of the epigraph with a part of the fifth could be copied. R. D. Banerji published his transcript of these lines in his *Pālas of Bengal*, pp. 82-83, Plate XXXI(c). The record begins with 5 *nomō* *Mūrtiṅgādāya* and a verse in praise of the Sun-god. But verses 2-3 and the beginning of verse 4 in line 5 show that this part of the epigraph is exactly the same as verses 2-4 of the Narasiṅha temple inscription of Viśvarūpa (No. 2 above), which, however, begins with a stanza in praise of the goddess Lakṣmī. It appears that this inscription also was a *prāśasti* composed by *Vaijya* Vajrapāṇi and that it recorded the erection of a temple by the same Viśvarūpa or Viśvāditya. It is, however, difficult to say whether it was dated in the 15th year of Nayapāla like the Narasiṅha temple inscription.

4. Inscription affixed to the wall of a small shrine under the Akṣaya-vata at Gayā, recording the erection of the Prapitāmahōvara and Vajrōṣa temples and other shrines by Viśvarūpa or Viśvāditya in the 5th regnal year of the Pāla king Vīraṅgapāla (c. 1055-70 A.D.), i.e. about 1060 A.D. The *prāśasti* was composed by *Vaijya* Dharmapāṇi. A rough transcript of the inscription with an illustration was published by Banerji, op. cit., pp. 81-82 and Plate XXVII.

5. Inscription in the Śitalī temple recording the pious activities of Yakṣhapāla without any date either in Yakṣhapāla's reign or in that of the contemporary Pāla emperor. It is a *prāśasti* composed by the Brāhmaṇa Marāri belonging to the family hailing from Āṅg-grāma and was

<sup>1</sup>R. D. Banerji, *Pālas of Bengal* (Mem. A. S. B., Vol. V, No. 3), p. 85.



'written' by Padmapāṇi. The inscription was edited by Kielhorn in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 63 ff., and transcribed and illustrated by R. D. Banerji, op. cit., pp. 96-97 and Plate XXIX.

The text and translation of the Śitalā temple inscription of Yakshapāla published by Kielhorn contain some errors. The most important among the misreadings is that Kielhorn failed to read verses 2 and 12 correctly and recognise the name of the Akshaya-vats in both the stanzas. A serious defect in Kielhorn's interpretation of the inscription concerns the passage describing Śūdraka in verse 3. This passage reads: *mayam-āpiṅgayaṁ-Indrakalpō Gauḍ-ēvarō nripati-lakṣhaṇa-pūjyā yam*, and was translated as: "to him paid homage of his own accord the ruler of Gauḍa, almost equal to Indra, with homage fit for a lord of man." This creates an impression as if Śūdraka was a superior to the Gauḍa king. The appropriate translation of the section would be: "whom the lord of Gauḍa, almost equal to Indra, honoured of his own accord with the honour that was the mark of royalty." It is clear that Śūdraka was recognised as a ruling chief by the contemporary Pāla emperor of Gauḍa. The *nripati-lakṣhaṇa* was no doubt something like a *paṭṭa* (gillet or turban) or *tīlaka* (a mark of sandal paste or some such thing put on the forehead of the subordinate by his master) and reminds us of the passage *tiṣṭhā-bhīpāla-pradatta-paṭṭa-bandha-ribhūṣita* used in respect of the *Rājasthānīyas* (viceroys or feudatory rulers).<sup>1</sup>

Although the recognition of Śūdraka as the subordinate ruler of Gayā meant very little to the Pāla emperor, Kielhorn's translation has influenced most writers on the history of the Pālas. Thus R. D. Banerji quotes Kielhorn's transcript of Yakshapāla's record and asserts, "Most probably Yakshapāla assumed independence during the troublesome (sic) times of the reign of Vīgrahapāla III Mahipāla II and Śūrapāla."<sup>2</sup> H. C. Ray refers to the Gauḍa king's 'homage' to Śūdraka and to the epithets *nripa* and *narādra* applied respectively to Viśvarūpa (Viśvāditya) and Yakshapāla and concludes, "The assumption of royal titles by Viśvāditya and his son Yakshapāla of Gayā shows that the Pāla hold even over Magadha was growing loose. It is likely that this family became practically independent after the death of Rāmapāla (c. 1126 A.D. according to Ray)."<sup>3</sup> This is all imaginary since the words *nripa* and *narādra* would suit even a small Zamindar during the period in question. Even R. C. Majumdar, who rightly thinks that 'the lord of Gauḍa formally honoured Śūdraka by investing him as king with proper ceremony', also refers to Viśvarūpa's epithet *nripa* and to the absence of the date in the regnal reckoning of the contemporary Pāla king in Yakshapāla's inscription and concludes, "A study of these four inscriptions (i.e. Nos. 1-2 and 4-5) shows the gradual decline of the Pāla power in the Gayā District during the reigns of Nayapāla and Vīgrahapāla III. Thus towards the middle of the eleventh century A.D., the fabric of the Pāla sovereignty was crumbling to dust."<sup>4</sup> Of course, the records of Viśvarūpa or Viśvāditya are dated in the 15th regnal year of Nayapāla and the 5th year of the reign of Vīgrahapāla III, while the inscription of Yakshapāla does not bear any date at all. It is, however, significant that Yakshapāla does not date his record in a year of his own reign as an independent ruler is expected to do. We therefore find it difficult to come to the conclusion that Yakshapāla threw off the yoke of the Pālas, even if it is conceded that reference to the date was purposely avoided in his epigraph and that its absence is not due to oversight on the part of the author of the *prasti*.

Another fact that has to be considered in this connection is that, about the middle of the eleventh century A.D., Magadha appears to have been under the rule of a line of chiefs styled *Piṭhīpati* (lord of *Piṭhī* or the *Vajrasana-gūṭha* at Bodhgaya) which is explained in the commentary on Sandhyākaranandin's *Rāmācharita* as *Magadhādhipa* (i.e. the lord of Magadha or South Bihar)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XX, p. 7, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit., p. 97.

<sup>3</sup> *DHN*, Vol. I, p. 248.

<sup>4</sup> *Hist. Rev.*, Vol. I, p. 149.

and that they appear to have had their headquarters at Bodhgaya. Elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> we had occasion to discuss what we know of these rulers. The *Piṭhipati-Magadhādhipa* Bhīmayāsa was a feudatory of the Pāla king Rāmapāla (c. 1080-1125 A.D.)<sup>2</sup> and helped the latter in ousting Kaivarta Bhīma's rule from North Bengal apparently during the earlier part of Rāmapāla's reign. Rāmapāla's maternal uncle and general Mahāpa, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa governor of Aṅga (East Bihar) and the commander of the Pāla forces against Kaivarta Bhīma, is described in the *Rāmapāra* as the vanquisher of *Piṭhipati* Dēvarakṣita who appears to have been a predecessor of Bhīmayāsa in the rule of Magadha.<sup>3</sup> The Sarnath inscription<sup>4</sup> of Kumārādēvi informs us that Mahāpa's daughter Śāṅkarādēvi was given in marriage to *Piṭhipati* Dēvarakṣita, son of *Piṭhikōpati* (*Piṭhipati*) Vallabharāja, and that Śāṅkarādēvi's daughter Kumārādēvi was married to Gūhadavīla Gōvinda-chandra (1114-35 A.D.) of Kananj. Thus Dēvarakṣita was a contemporary of Mahāpa who was an earlier contemporary of Rāmapāla and probably ruled about the eighth decade of the eleventh century. His father Vallabharāja's rule therefore may be roughly assigned to about the seventh decade of that century when Rāmapāla's father Vīrghapāla III (c. 1048-75 A.D.)<sup>5</sup> and Yakṣhapāla of Gayā were also ruling. If the *Piṭhipatis* Vallabharāja and his son Dēvarakṣita were the seigns of the Chhinda family, as has been supposed by some scholars,<sup>6</sup> their ancestors were also probably ruling from their headquarters at Bodhgaya like themselves. It would further appear that these chiefs having their headquarters at Bodhgaya were far more powerful rulers than the minor chiefs of Gayā and, considering the fact that Gayā and Bodhgaya are only about seven miles apart, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the Brāhmana rulers of Gayā were directly under the *Piṭhipatis* of Bodhgaya.

As regards the family to which the Gayā rulers belonged, M. Chakravarti regarded it as low class Brāhmana<sup>7</sup> while A. K. Maitraya seems to suggest that its members were high class Brāhmana.<sup>8</sup> This difference is based on the different interpretations of the expression *mahādēvijarāja-vaśīka* used in the description of Paritōṣha in verse 1 of the Kṛishna Dvārakā temple inscription (No. 1). Although the expression may mean 'a family of great Brāhmana' or 'a great family of Brāhmana', if we rely on the tradition, *Saṅkhe tathā tathā mānasa vāidyā pṛasthikāḥ śreṣṭhā | yātrāyām pakti nīlāyām vaśīka-śhābdō na dīyate*, the expression *mahā-dēija* would mean 'a degraded Brāhmana' such as the Agrahāni-Brāhmanas of Bengal, who accept offerings at *śrāddha* ceremonies.<sup>9</sup> It is therefore not impossible that Paritōṣha was a Gayā Brāhmana, the Gayālas being regarded as of a lower status by high class Brāhmanas of Eastern India because they live on presents made in connection with *śrāddha* ceremonies performed at Gayā which is considered as the most suitable

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 86-87.

<sup>2</sup> Rāmapāla's son Madanapāla ruled in c. 1144-61 A.D. (cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 142) and was preceded on the throne by his brother Kumārapāla (none of whose records has as yet been discovered) and Kumārapāla's son Gūpala III to whom the Rajapur inscription of year 14 is ascribed (above, Vol. XXXV, p. 236). Since Rāmapāla's latest known date is his regnal year 43 (Bhandarkar's List, No. 1635), his rule may thus be roughly assigned to 1080-1125 A.D.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ray, *DBNJ*, Vol. I, p. 330, note.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. IX, pp. 321 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Vīrghapāla III, father of Rāmapāla, was a later contemporary of Kalachuri Karna (1041-71 A.D.) who fought with Vīrghapāla's father Nayapāla and gave his daughter in marriage to Vīrghapāla. The latest known date of Vīrghapāla III is the year 26 of his reign. See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 82. Since Rāmapāla was preceded on the throne by his two brothers Mahipāla II and Śūrapāla II, no records of whose rules have as far been discovered, we may tentatively assign the reign of Vīrghapāla III to 1048-75 A.D.

<sup>6</sup> *JASB*, N. S., Vol. XXIX, p. 43.

<sup>7</sup> *JASB*, Vol. LXIX, Part 1, p. 101; cf. Banerji, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

<sup>8</sup> *Gandakīkhandā*, pp. 116-17 (translation of verses 4-5).

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Saddatāpādrava*, s.v. *vaśīka-brāhmana*. This work does not enter the other expressions involved and wrongly ascribes the convention to the grammarians of Pāṇini's school. P. S. D. Bhattacharya of Calcutta draws my attention in this connection to Śripatidatta's *Kāṣṭhā-parīkṣā*. The Agrahānis are similar to the Achāryas (Achārya)-Brāhmanas of U. P. and the Punjab.



*tirtha* for the celebration of such rites. This is not impossible in view of the fact that nowhere in the inscriptions the proficiency in Vedic studies of any of the members of this family is mentioned nor even their *pitṛa*. On the other hand, the Akshaya-vata inscription (No. 4) mentions Paritōṣha as respected by the Brāhmaṇas and as devoted to the feet of the Brāhmaṇas without mentioning that he was a Brāhmaṇa himself. The poet of the Kṛishṇa-Dvārikā temple inscription therefore may have used expressions like *mahā-dejavarja-varuṣa* and *deja-rāja-kēkhara* (verse 5) purposely. This latter expression may mean 'the best of the Brāhmaṇas' and also 'one who is highly respectful towards the Brāhmaṇas'.

#### 1. Inscription of Viśvāditya, Year 15 of Nayapāla

The inscription is 71 cms. in length and 3 cms. in height and contains 18 lines of writing. It begins with the *siddham* symbol and the *namaskāra*: *Ṣ namo bhagavatē Vāṇudēvya*, which are followed by twentyone stanzas of the *prāśasti*.

Verses 1-2 in adoration of the god Vishṇu while verse 2 refers to **Gayā**, 'the open door to salvation,' as the residence of the god Prajāpati (Brahman). The next stanza (verse 3) describes Gayā as a great centre of Vedic studies and sacrifices.

Verses 4-5 introduces a Brāhmaṇa family of Gayā, which is described as *mahā-deja-rāja-varuṣa*, probably meant to indicate 'the family of great Brāhmaṇas' or 'the great family of Brāhmaṇas' ostensibly, but 'the family of degraded Brāhmaṇas' really. The following stanza (verse 5) mentions a person named **Paritōṣha** born in the said family. He is compared to Śiva and both are described as *dejarāja-kēkhara* meaning 'having the moon on the head' in the case of the god and 'the best of the Brāhmaṇa rulers' or 'one who is respectful towards great Brāhmaṇas' in that of the man. Verse 6 is in praise of Paritōṣha while verse 7 mentions his son **Sūdraka** whose vague praise continues in verses 7-8. It seems that the expression *dejavara* in verse 7 does not refer to Sūdraka as a Brāhmaṇa.

Verses 9-10 introduces the reigning chief **Viśvāditya** (i.e. Viśvarūpa as he is often called in the other records) as the son of Sūdraka. Verses 10-16 contain vague praises of Viśvāditya with references to his qualities such as munificence and heroism, while verse 17 states that he built the temple (*kṛtsam*) of the god Janārdana (Kṛishṇa-Vishṇu; cf. verse 17 of No. 4). The next stanza (verse 18) describes the said temple.

Verses 19-20 mentions **Vāji-saṅḍya** Śaṅadēva as the author of the *prāśasti* and verse 20 the artisan **Sattva-sōma**, the son of Adhira-sōma, as its engraver. The last stanza (verse 21) gives the date of the completion of the temple (*kṛta*) as the **fifteenth year** of the reign of **Nayapāladēva**.

#### TEXT\*

[Metres : verses 1, 4, 17 *Vasantatilakā* ; verses 2-3, 8-11, 13, 18 *Sūdrakavikrīḍita* ; verses 5-6 *Vāḍi-lakṣha* ; verse 7 *Aryā* ; verse 12 *Siddhantī* ; verse 14 *Upajāti* (*Rathakṛtā-Saigalī*) ; verse 15 *Jagati* ; verse 16 *Lālī* ; verse 19 *Saigalī* ; verse 20 *Asvatiṣṭh* ; verse 21 *Upajāti*.]

1 Siddham\* Ṣ namo bhagavatē Vāṇudēvya | Uṇudra-nta-kamalākara-kāya-kāntiḥ svarṇa-  
ābhicāma-ruchira-dyuti-plitavāṅḍh | udhāyāmāna iṣa chañchalayā ghaṇ-anghṛṣ Vishṇoḥ  
priyā-draya-varuṣa yunakto yushmān | [1\*]

\* From inked impression. This is No. B 183 of *A.R. Ep.*, 1937-38.

\* Expressed by symbol.



- 2 Vyānirmāya smasta-vastu-sukhīnō viprān-prajānām patir-yām-udhyāta iv-ātrān-āiva paritō mūrṭi-prapañcham dadhat | uttūgāy sarad-abhira-subhira-suchiśhīy sandhāy kṛt-ālaākṛitir-mmōksha-ivāram-anaragalam ja-
- 3 gati sā śrimad-Gayā gīyatō || [2\*] Vāc-ābhīyāsa-pañīyānu-dvija-guṇ-ōdgrāp-ōgra-pāṭha-kramād-  
uochhair-āchocharita-dhvanī-vyatikarair-yatn-āvadhāryā girāḥ | kiñch-ājasrita-bōma-  
dhūma-pata[la]-dhivānt-āvṛitau sāmpratath dharmnō
- 4 yatramahā-bhayaś-iva Kalōy kālasya samśībhātō || [3\*] Aty-ādṛitair-guṇa-nayai[r-upa]-  
nīta-padmā<sup>1</sup>-nīśohhadma-sadmani satām [ata]r-ābhivandya<sup>2</sup> | nīhāra-hāta-sarad-indu-  
vivu(bu)ddīha-kunda-sandōha-sundara-mahā-ivijarāja-vaśō(vashō)
- 5 || [4\*] Ajāta-lakshma-dvijarāja-śekharaḥ samantatō bhūri-vihūti-bhūshanaḥ | va(ba)bhūva  
dhanyō Girī[r]āja-putrikā-priy-ōpanḍyāḥ Paritōsha-saṅgṛakāḥ || [5\*] Ananya-sāmānya-  
diganta-mandirah(ras)-tri-vargga-samsargga-guṇ-ā-
- 6 śrayair-jagan(gat) | sarat-sudhāndhīma-gubhasti-tasakarāy samantatō yasya yasōbhīr-āvṛi-  
tath(tam) || [6\*] Dvijavara-vinat-ānandaau-niranya-gatikāḥ smāśrī[ti]ō lakshmyā |  
tasya taś-ānu tam-jannā Muratipur-iva Śūdrakō bhūtaḥ || [7\*]
- 7 Dūr-ōdyāta-sarat-sudhāndhī-sodhū-kun[d-ā]bhīrāma-chenhavi-chenhāyāś-(chha)nam-a-  
[bhūō-yaj]ōbhīr-ābhūtō yasya [te]ōkitalam(lam) | karpūrair-iva pūn[taim] malayaja-  
kshōdair-iv-ālapitam kshurvdh(bdha)-kshīra-payōdhi-tuṅga-lahari-śhair-iv-āplā-
- 8 vitam(tam) || [8\*] Satyam Dharmmasatō śhīratvam-achalō [gā]mbhīryam-ambhōidhan  
[Karyō tyā]ga-guṇō<sup>3</sup> matō Suragurau tōjavitā bhōsvati | śtō santi guṇāḥ prithak-  
param-udāñchabhīr-jigishā-rasar-Vviśvādityam-ājjanat-antam-a-
- 9 śāv-ābhīy samastāy śritam(tam) || [9\*] Yas-ōtāp-āntakarāy sudhāndhir-iv-āp[ūr]ṇaḥ ka-  
lānām gāṇair-yas-tuṅg-ābhīyuday-ācītō ravir-iva praudha-pratāp-ōdayāḥ | praty-  
ntah-karaṇ-ābhivāñchīta-phal-ājasra-pradāna-śībhīy śhīhō
- 10 jaṅgama-kalpavriksha iva yō jātah samast-śrībhūbh(nām) || [10\*] Dōc-danḍa-dvaya-chaṇḍa-  
vikrama-kalā-digvā[ji]-sā(tau)ry-ābhūta-krīd-ōmūllita-vairi-vargga-vipina-praudha-  
pratō[dh-ōdā]tyah<sup>4</sup> | vāry-āllāhu yath-āvdhī(bdhī)n-āpudī tathā pravyo-
- 11 kīa-dhairya-kramah kīū-cha prākṛita-sarvva-gorvva-vimukhāy sampatsv-analpā[ev-a]pi ||  
[11\*] [Samā]jūō vyūm[ū]ō<sup>5</sup> viśadrīsa-samśchāra-vikāō janō madyōn-ōva śhalanama-  
upahā-sū-cha bhājatō | iyam sā yasya śrīh samuchīta-vi-
- 12 hā-ābhīyudayini yath-āsth-ā[lat]kārah samādhiha-jan-ānanda-vishayaḥ || [12\*] Yasy-ā —  
— — — — — mahī-paryanta-samvā[ś]ōbhīr-ujīty-āraṁbha-vijimbhāy-  
ōddhata-bhujair-udgīyamānā janah | s-ānand-ōkpolakam vi-
- 13 mānam-asakṛīd-dāvair-veilanvya(taby-a)mvaf(mha)ō<sup>6</sup> Alāghā-ghūrṇāta-mūrdhabhīr-  
nyapabbayath<sup>7</sup> kīrtīy samākarmyatō || [13\*] S-ābhīyasūya-paritōcha-ōśātō vīkshītānī  
tanakāy sa-kāśkshah(ksham) | yasya vidvīd-śukūla-kulōnī prāpnvanti nīdha-
- 14 nānī dhanānī || [14\*] Ninadanti dhanti-vata-hanti yānī kucchānī tān | su[du]r-unayānī |  
atimanda-māndam-ātigahvarīna nīvasanti santi girī-kandārān || [15\*] Samtatēna tatōna  
tējās duranayāya nayāya vidvi-

<sup>1</sup> Chakravarti reads *eva-āla-padmā*. Mātreya takes *eva-ōlā-padmā* to mean *Makōdhaneravati*.

<sup>2</sup> Chakravarti reads *anīty-ōśāntatīy*.

<sup>3</sup> Chakravarti reads *sa(ba)hā-ōśchārya-panā*.

<sup>4</sup> Chakravarti reads *praudhō-pratāp-ōvānō*.

<sup>5</sup> Chakravarti reads *śrīy-ōvya*.

<sup>6</sup> Chakravarti reads *krīdrīma-mālar-ōśrīta*.

<sup>7</sup> Chakravarti reads *vīśmō-āmbarī*.

<sup>8</sup> Chakravarti reads *śīpūtīam*.

- 15 *śhām*(*śhām*) | *Akulāni kulāni durggamād=durggatāni gātāni durggamam(mam)* || [16\*] *Sapt-*  
*ānvu(nibho)rkāśi-visara' ślatha' mākhalāyā asyā bhuvah kati- na bhūmibhājō va(ba)bhūvuh*  
| *siddhīm na kasyachid-agād-yad-analpa-kalpsis-tōn-ātra kirttanam= akā-*
- 16 *ri Janānīdanasya* || [17\*] *Kailāś-śhala-śrīōga-sambhramam= adhaḥ-kurvātprarūdh-ōdaya-*  
*prālōya-ōyuti-kunda-sundara-yasah puṅj-ōpamōy-ākṛiti | yat-ōttuōga-śilch-ōgra-saṅga-*  
*ta-sarach-chandrāntu(ndr-ānka)-śubhra-śribhūir-munūchan-nūtana-maūjarī-iva patā-*
- 17 *kābhīr-nnabdō rājatō* || [18\*] *Vāji-vaidya-Sahadōva-niraktiḥ<sup>1</sup> tat-prāstatir-iyam=astu*  
*nīśatam(utam) | prōma-sauhrīde-sukh-aika-dharitri sajjanasya brīdayō ramay-īva ||*  
[19\*] *Sīmatō-dhīpa-sōmsaya<sup>2</sup> ātmañōn-ārjitam yasah | a-*
- 18 *kārgga-karmmañi śīmat-Saṅgha<sup>3</sup>-sūmāna śūpinā* || [20\*] *Samasta-bhūmaṅgala-nījya-bhā-*  
*ram-īvi(hi)bhṛati śri-Nayapālādēvō | vilkhyamānō dāsa-pañcha-samkhyā-samva-*  
*(samva)tsarē siddhīm-agāch-cha kirttiḥ || [21\*] || \* ||*

## 2. Inscription of Viśvarūpa, Year 15 of Nayapāla

This inscription, which contains 15 lines of writing covering an area about 57 cms. in length and 25 cms. in height, begins with a *siddham* symbol followed by a *prāśasti* composed in thirteen verses. The first of the stanzas is in adoration of the goddess Lakshmi, the consort of the god Purushōttama (Viṣṇu). Verse 2 mentions *Gayā*, created by the god Vādhīś (Brahman), as a *brāhma-purī* probably in the sense of a settlement of Brāhmaṇas.

Verse 3 introduces an inhabitant of the place, by name *Paritōsha*. He is compared to Viṣṇuratha (Garuḍa) both being described as *Achyuta-pāda-śrīn* (worshipper of the feet of Achyuta or Viṣṇu) and *śrīja-rōjya-varya* meaning 'the best among the birds' in the case of Garuḍa and 'the best among Brāhmaṇas of the front rank' in that of Paritōsha. The person is thus mentioned as a Brāhmaṇa. Verse 4 speaks of Paritōsha's son *Sūdraka* who is stated to have protected (i.e. ruled over) *Gayā* for a long time by virtue of the prowess of his arms.

*Sūdraka's* son *Viśvarūpa* is introduced in verse 5 which compares him with the moon and *Viśvarūpa* (Viṣṇu). Verses 6 and 8 contain vague praises of *Viśvarūpa*, while he is described in verse 7 as having raised up *Gayā* from the impurity of the *Kali* age.

Verse 9 refers to the temple of *Gadādhara* (Viṣṇu) and other unspecified shrines which *Viśvarūpa* built at *Gayā*, while the next stanza (verse 10) prays for the long life of *Viśvarūpa's* temples at *Gayā* and of *Viśvarūpa* himself.

Verse 11 states that the *prāśasti* was composed by *Vaidya Vajrapāni* who was captivated by the munificence of *Viśvarūpa* to do the work and was full of regards for the ruler. It is difficult to say whether *Vaidya Vajrapāni* was related to *Vāji-vaidya Sahadōva* who composed the *Krishna-Drāvikā* temple inscription (No. 1). The record is stated in verse 12 to have been 'written' by *Sarvānanda* who was an expert artisan. It is not easy to say whether *Sarvānanda* engraved the epigraph or merely wrote the letters on the stone for the facility of engraving. The concluding stanza (verse 15) gives the date of the record. It says that the *kīrti* or temple of *Gadādhāra* (*Gadādhara*) was completed in the fifteenth year of the reign of king *Nayapālādēva*.

<sup>1</sup> Chakravartī reads *vissat*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *vīrakṣī-tar*.

<sup>3</sup> *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

<sup>4</sup> Chakravartī reads *śaṅka*.

<sup>5</sup> There is an ornamental design here.



INSCRIPTIONS OF TWO BRAHMANA RULERS OF GAYA—PLATE I

1. Inscription of Visvāditya, Year 15 of Nāyapāla





2. Inscription of Visvarūpa, Year 15 of Navapāla



2  
4  
6  
8  
10  
12  
14

2  
4  
6  
8  
10  
12  
14

Scale : One-third\*

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

[Metres: verses 1, 3-8 *Vasantatilaka*; verses 2, 9-10, 13 *Śāradālavikrīḍita*; verses 11-12 *Anuśtubh*.]

- 1 Siddham<sup>2</sup> [1\*] Lakṣmī=chirañ=ja[ya]ti vācinidhīr=snōka-manth-ākulūd=adhigatā Paro-  
shōttamaśya | anihyat-tirōva[ū]ta-sammāda-ghūrṅama(mā)ns-nētr-āvalōkana-nira-  
[sta-sa]masta-vi[ghnā] || [1\*]
- 2 S-ōyam Vra(Bra)hma-purī Gay-āti jagati khyātā svayān Vādhazā athātati vra(bra)hma-  
vidām pur-iva ghaṭitā mōkhaśya saukhyaśya cha | vrū(brū)maḥ kiñ-cha bhavanti  
ya[tra] pitarah prōt-ā-
- 3 lay-āvāsanah pāda-sprishṭa-jala-pradhāna-vidhinā nāk-ānganā-nāyakāḥ [.] || [3\*] Aśyam va-  
(ba)bhūva purī vakragati-dvijarāja-sarppad-bhujāṅga-ripur-Achyata-[pā]da-sōvi | yō
- 4 nāma Vishṇurathava<sup>3</sup>l-dvijarāja-varyah pūtyā salām cha Paritōsha iti prasiddhah  
|| [3\*] Tasmād-Vidhār-iva va(ba)bhūva Sanātkumāraḥ kī-Sō(Śō)drakō vimala-vu(bu)-  
ddhi[r=anōka]-vidyāḥ |
- 5 bhūyō=pi yēna Vidām=aiya kṛitā Gay-ōyam vō(bā)hōvra(r=ba)lāna unchirath paripālītā  
cha || [1\*] Tasmād=ajā[yata] sutah autavad-dvijānām [yō=bhūti] su-vi[smaya]casv-āha-  
kautu]ka<sup>4</sup>
- 6 saha | viśv-āpakāra-ka-nirākṛityō=vatiroṇah śri-Viśvarūpa iti kīrtita-Viśvarūpah || [5\*]  
Yam prāpya ch=śrīti-jana-vṛindam-akalpa-dānam-āpur<sup>5</sup>-bhavat-pulaka-jālam=ana-
- 7 nta-mōdam(dam) | sphīti-sphurad-dhana-kṛitārthatayō durāpa-chintāmani-pra[hlā]ṭikam  
na kad-āpi dadhyau || [6\*] Yō=Āsurāri-charitōns mah-ōdayāna yanti rasātalam-(v)-  
īvani-
- 8 r=ubhṛit<sup>6</sup>-ōyam(yam) || śrīmad-Gayā Kāli-mala-dvijarāja-pakṣa-sukkahōbha-kampita-  
tanur-bhujā-vikramōpa || [7\*] Yasmai viśuddha-charitāya nisagra(rga)-śau[cha-yō]ga-  
[kri]yāya vi-
- 9 nay-āmala-bhūchaṇāya | ā vō(bā)lyataḥ prabhṛiti dōva-manuḥya-lōkō va(ba)dih-ājaliā-  
chicotaram sprīhayāchakāra || [8\*] Tōn-āmās-[tu] Gadādhur-īdi-nālaya-vyājōna tāḥ  
kī<sup>7</sup>
- 10 kīrttayah śvātānō(tāmō)r-iva rasma(śma)yah sughaṭitā[.]<sup>8</sup> santāpa-sāntyai sadā | yāt=cha-  
śubhōmūhi-vichi-vad-dasa-dīdām prakshālan-aika-chohhatāḥ pā[tāla]-prativīsi-ghōra-  
tīm-
- 11 ra-pradhyanā(dhvanā)-dipā iva || [9\*] Ētāḥ santo Gayāpurī-sutaruṇi-bhūā-āvali-kīrttayō  
yāvach-chandra-divākaraḥ cha gaganam(nō) śri-Viśvarūp-āhvayah | [ka]rtt-īdām  
cha tathā pu-
- 12 rīpa-purushān rā]ḥō=pi dhūkritya tad(tān)-yēn-ākasmika-riemay-aika-casikō lōkō mahur-  
mūrochhitah || [10\*] Dākshiyād=aparuddhōna prīti-stāmīta-chōtāā | prāstir-ā-

<sup>1</sup> From impressions. This is No. B 130 of A. S. Ep., 1957-58.

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>3</sup> The akshara va is written above the line.

<sup>4</sup> The unnecessary double put at the end of the line here and elsewhere is ignored in our transcript.

<sup>5</sup> Read āpur<sup>6</sup> for āpur<sup>7</sup> since the subject is in the singular or better read āpurāḥ in place of āpur-āvat<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> A redundant +māra was inserted with the akshara dāpi.

<sup>7</sup> The akshara is redundant.



- 13 *shā vibhā Vaidya-śri-Vajrapāṇinā* || [11\*] *Vijñāna-kausal-ōllāsa-jāta-naipuna-karmmaṣā* |  
*prastāstir-śhā ikhita Sarvvaṇanāṇa dhimatā* || [12\*] *Kahir-āmbhōnidhi-mōkha-*
- 14 *lā-maṇi-guṇ-ālamkāritāyā bhuvō bhartuḥ śri-Nayapālādē[va]-nīpatār-ājñā-śri-*  
*yam vi(b)bhṛateḥ* | *sauvṛitā tarasaiva pañchadaśamē rājyasya samva(sariva)-*  
*tsarē kirttiḥ siddhim-upōgatā bhagavata[ḥ]*
- 15 *śrīmad-Gadādhāriṇā* || [13\*]

### 3. Fragmentary Inscription

Only the first five lines of this inscription are available with some traces of the writing at the beginning of line 6. Some letters in the central part of the fifth line are lost. The available section of the inscription contains, besides the *namaskāra*, three complete stanzas and parts of verse 4. As already indicated above, verse 1 is in adoration of the Sun-god and verses 2-4 are the same as verses 2-4 of the *prastā* by *Vaidya Vajrapāṇi* commemorating the construction of the temple of *Gadādhara* or *Gadādhāriṇi* by *Viśvarūpa* in the fifteenth regnal year of *Nayapāla* (No. 2). But, while there is no *namaskāra* passage in prose at the beginning of that inscription, the present epigraph begins with 'ō. Obedience to *Mārtanda* (i.e. the Sun-god)'.<sup>1</sup>

As suggested above, apparently the same *Vaidya Vajrapāṇi* composed this *prastā* to commemorate the building of a temple or the installation of a deity by *Viśvarūpa* or *Viśvāditya* who, as the two forms of his name suggest, was probably a devotee of both the gods *Vishnu* and the Sun. It may be pointed out that the inscription of his son begins with adoration to the Sun-god and records, among other pious deeds, the construction of a temple for housing several deities including *Mamāditya* and *Vijayāditya*, probably two aspects of the said god. It is thus possible to infer from the present record beginning with an adoration to the Sun-god that its object was to record the construction of a temple by *Viśvarūpa* alias *Viśvāditya* for the said god. In this connection, reference may be made to the god *Śukla-bhānu* (literally, 'the white sun') in verse 19 of the *Akshayavajra* inscription of *Viśvarūpa* (No. 1).

#### TEXT<sup>2</sup>

[Metres : verse 1 *Indravajrā* ; verse 2 *Śārdūlavikrīṭita* ; verses 3-4 *Vasantatilakā*.]

- 1 ō namō Mārtandāyā || Jāgartti yasminn-uditō prayāti ch-āstan-tu sōtō janatā samastā |  
 trāṭōkya-dīpaṇi tam-ananta-mūrtim-avyāhat-ābham
- 2 āraṇam prayātā || [1\*] Ś-āyam vra(bra)hma-purī Gay-ōti jagati khyātā svayam Vāḥasā  
 sthōtūṁ vra(bra)hmanviditā pur-iva gñātā mōkhasya sankhyasya cha |
- 3 vra(bra)hmaḥ kīṁ-cha bhavanti yatra pitarah prēt-āny-āvāsanah pāda-sprishṭa-jala-pradānas  
 vāhinā nāk-āṅganā-nāyakāḥ || [2\*] Aayām va(ba)-
- 4 bhūva purī vakra-gatī-dvijbhva-sarṇad-bhojāṅga-rīpur-Achyuta-pāda-sōvi | yō nāma  
 Viśnuratha-rad-dvija-rāja-varyaḥ prītyā satām cha Pa-

<sup>1</sup> The following passage is engraved below the concluding part of the previous line.

<sup>2</sup> There is a floral design after this.

<sup>3</sup> From the facsimile in *Bernier's The Palae of Bengal*, Plate XXXI(c).

<sup>4</sup> Pa has got an unnecessary *ā-sāḍā*.





- 2 ra<sup>1</sup>-hrīdayam-aṅghō haratu vah || [1\*] Āsandhāy-ākalaśkān= p[ri]vativapusha iva Vrā(Brā)-  
hmapān-Avja(bja)janmā svargga-dvār-ādhirōhāma(n-a)m[ri]ta-pada-sukha-prā[pta]yē  
prōtya-bhā[ś]āh(jah) | sākhāt-samsāra-bhūshā-{ma} ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
- 3 śrīma<sup>2</sup>-bhūmim suvat-trailōkyā-lakṣmī-nīlayam-iva pu[ṣ]ṭim] śrī-Gayām-śaha chakrō ||  
[3\*] Gayāyām-ōtaayām puri sakala-saundarya-nīlayō(yō) [d]vijātīnam mānyō [d]vija-  
padā]-sarōj-āva ~ ~ ~ [1\*] ~ ~ ~
- 4 ma-prēmnyā parama-paritōshasya janamā(nā)d=abhūd-dhanyaḥ śrīmān-sa khān Paritōsh-  
āhvaya iti || [3\*] Taamād=abhūj-jalanidhāt-iva ātaraśmāh śrī-Sa(Śa){dra}kō vimala-  
kūntir-anantē-lakṣmī<sup>2</sup> ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
- 5 karṇya-sudh-ābhīrāmam-ānanditāni yāsasā bhuvan-āntarāpi || [4\*] Āśady-{ā}mararōja-  
rājya-padaśīh dēvibhīr-ākriḍitāh divy-ātmatvam-ānāga-darṇya-dalan-ōdgār-āika-  
mōdah vapu<sup>4</sup> ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
- 6 riti<sup>2</sup>-kautuka-rasān-marttyē<sup>5</sup>-vatīrṇas-tatō jātō dēva-kumāta-mūttir-asamaḥ śrī-Viśvarāp-  
āhvayaḥ || [5\*] [Yō] vidhvata-samasta-vairi-nivahaḥ sphūrya(rja)t-pratāp-ānalah saujanya-  
sya nidhāna ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
- 7 ma-kōli-drumaḥ | sā(mīr-ā)handa-mayō nisargga-madhura-tyāhāra-ra[tnā]karō dīn-ānātha-  
vipanna-chāraṇa-ga[ṇa]-trā[ṇā]jya Chintāmaṇiḥ || [6\*] Gaṇḍasthalē mrigamaḍ-āmala-  
pattra-bhāṅgās-śvairā[ṭh] ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
- 8 lēkhanilīh | ady-āpi yasya sura-kinnara-gyamānāh dēvyah śilāsu vijaya-stutim-āhikanti ||  
[7\*] Dha(r)mm[ē]y-ōtva(chchva)nitam mudā vikasvati(tas) sa[1\*]-lōka-maryādayā  
trāyā viśphuritāh ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
- 9 {rjītibhīr-}jīmbhūtāh(tam) | yasmīnā(amin) svāmīni [sar]jyvataḥ samudayō tē-py-arthīnah  
s-ādbhūtaḥ sāndr-ā[na]ndamayāḥ sva-dānyā-virahān-apityanti pūṣṇ-āśayāḥ || [8\*]  
N-ōchchāh-chaṇḍa-karō na ch-āpi vigata ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
- 10 tē n-āstam yāti jaḍ-ātmaḥhīh pratīhatō n-ānyair-apū[rvv-ōdbha]vah [1\*] kīn-ch-[ā]prēma]-  
vūnā[na]śh pratimuhur-nn-āpy-asthīrō na grahī n-āiv-āsānga-digamva(mhā)r-āika-  
niratō yō Viśvarāpaḥ ~ ~ ~ [9\*] ~ ~ ~
- 11 marādhīpō<sup>6</sup>-pi chakīṭō Vra(Bra)hm-āpi yad-vismīṭō dēvō Viśgur-āpi sphūtaḥ vihasīṭō  
Rudrō-pi rōmāśchītaḥ | uddāma-{pra}śarat-prasanna-va(ha)hālō yat-kī[rti]j-kallōlīni  
gambhīr-āmbhāsi ma{jja} ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
- 12 p[ri] samvō(bō)dhūtaḥ || [10\*] Yād-d[ū]rggamaḥ saratī dūratarām durāpam yach-chōtas-āpi  
na dhītaḥ padam-ēkam-ā[śi] | siddha[ṭh] samastam-achur-āhata-vat-tad-asyām-  
Ārambhārāma iti yah sphūjatām-upā[ra]h || [11\*] Aśyām ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
- 13 yām iharmēga maryādayā rājya-śribhīr-alamkīṭāḥ punar-amī bhōg-āikadhā-v[ri]ttā[ra]h |  
n-āpu[r-dhā]ma nisargga-{va}rṇa-va(ha)hālā(s-tyāg)-ōdayān-ādbhūtaḥ śrī-Viśvādhīpa  
śaha kīrtana-kathā ~ ~ ~ ~ ~

<sup>1</sup> The intended word here may be Śaśāra or Gaṅgādhara.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly the word is rōdima.

<sup>3</sup> The original had apparently śākhāt | here.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently vapuḥ | was engraved here.

<sup>5</sup> Probably the intended word is śrī.

<sup>6</sup> The intended word may be mar-ādhīpō.

<sup>7</sup> Probably Irōt, siddhī or bhōgū was the intended word.

<sup>8</sup> Apparently amar-ōdhīpō is the intended expression.



INSCRIPTION OF TWO BRAHMANA RULERS OF GAYA—PLATE II  
 4. Fragmentary Inscription of Visvarūpa or Viśvāditya, Year 5 of Vīrahapāla

2  
 4  
 6  
 8  
 10  
 12  
 14  
 16  
 18  
 20  
 22  
 24  
 26

2  
 4  
 6  
 8  
 10  
 12  
 14  
 16  
 18  
 20  
 22  
 24  
 26

(The following text is a transcription of the Sanskrit inscription on the stone plate, based on the visible characters. It is highly fragmentary and difficult to read in full. The text is arranged in approximately 26 horizontal lines, corresponding to the numbers on the left and right margins.)



5. Inscription of Yakshapāla

2  
 4  
 6  
 8  
 10  
 12  
 14  
 16  
 18  
 20  
 22

2  
 4  
 6  
 8  
 10  
 12  
 14  
 16  
 18  
 20  
 22

Scale : One-third

- 14 || [12\*] Kirttir-(la)vāhā(hdha)-sa(su)visma(y-ā)kara v —<sup>1</sup> s=tyāgō=pi śaury-ōdayau(yō)  
m[ā]rtti-śrī=api rā[ja=] [pa]rikha(ga)t[ē] dha[rmā]=pi ya(d-ga)raṅgaḥ | nirvyūdhāḥ  
punar-āhīṣ bhavati kim śrī-Viśvarūpōddhī(d-ṣ)itō rōkḥ-ēva pratipa v — v — v — v —
- 15 yath=aiśh-ādhhutā || [13\*] Asy=aiva Prapitāmahaṣya mahatim= [u]ttāpāya kirttiḥ [varām]  
[tan-mā]dhy-ādīdhatā[ū\*] pratītya na chīrād-ā[nū]tanāḥ(nanā) sō(śō)dhitā | uddhṛity=  
ātha mārṅga-dharmma-nirātō yō — v — v — v — v —
- 16 sa va(ha)lāna siddhim-anayat-tām-ēva kirtti[ū] punaḥ || [14\*] Kim vrū(brū)mō guṇinō=pi  
śāma navam= [śētē] satyatasya stu[ti(tē)sta]sy=āyōdha-guṇasya n=āstī maha[ta]ḥ  
pāryanta-bhū-samstaraḥ | kim-ta — v — v — v — v — v —
- 17 rāḥ sa Viśv-ādhipō yēn=ākasmika-vismayēna mukharō lōkaḥ ka[tha][ū\*] vā[ga]-ya[ma]ḥ ||  
[15\*] Yad=ākānta[ū\*] divyair=upidubhir=atichitrair=anivasanaḥ sphurad-dhār-śārataḥ  
visṛija v — v — v — v — v — [1\*] v — v — v —
- 18 vy-ānva(mba)ra-ruchira-vṛishīrva(r-bba)humatō jagad-dēriḍry-āgni-prasāmana-sudhā-  
śāndra-jaladaḥ || [16\*] Gāthēśaḥ Kanakēśvarō=mvu(mbu)jābhavaḥ śrī-Viśvarūpēśvarō  
Gaṅgēśō=tha śa — v — v — v — v — v — v — v — [1\*] — v — v —
- 19 tya-(Ga)lādharau arvhitāḥ śrī-Suklabhānus=tathā Griddhrēśaḥ su-Janārīdanō=<sup>2</sup>kshayavatē  
dēvō Vatēś-āhvayaḥ || [17\*] Ity-ādyāḥ s[va]-manō-murūps-rachanā-rōkḥā v — v — v — v — v —  
v — v — v — v — v — v —
- 20 jī<sup>3</sup> nīpāḥ | yēn=ātyadhuta-vikramēṇa tarasā śrīmad-Gayā-maṇḍanā ś=satisāyama-  
ndagra-dharmma-vijaya-stambhā iv=ārōpitāḥ || [18\*] Tēn=ā[p]l v — v — v — v — v — v —  
v — v — v — v — v — v —
- 21 B vasumati-hār-īval=te=ādhhutā | kirttiḥ śveta-gabhastī-hasta-rachit-ēva dhvratihā<sup>4</sup> rā-  
jatām dēvaya Prapitāmahaṣya mahatī śrī-[Vi]<sup>5</sup> v — v — v — [19\*] — v — v — v — v —  
v — v — v — v — v — v —
- 22 [i]nām=adhipās=tath=aiva dhaninaḥ kinvā(kmā vā) va(ha)hu vrū(brū)mahō | kin=te=  
īdriḥ=yadī kirttanam bhagavataḥ kēn=āpi nishpōditam śrī-Viśv-ādhi<sup>6</sup> v — v — v — v — v —  
v — v — v — [20\*] — v — v — v — v — v —
- 23 [sa]ḥ swarggāya mōksh-āptayō yāvach-chandra-divākaran Sumsarid-dhātṛ nabhō-maṇḍ-  
alan(lam) | karttām kirtī-kadamva(mba)kasya vijayī śrī-Viśvarūp-āhvay[ō] —  
v — v — v — v — v — v — v — [21\*] — v — v — v — v —
- 24 [ma]ḥi-[guṇ-ālam]kārītāyā bhuvō bharttur=Vigrahapāladēva-nīpatēr=ājā(jā)śrīyam vi-  
(bi)bhṛataḥ || anuprāptō taras-aiva pañcha-gaṇitē rājyasya samva(sariva)tsa<sup>7</sup>  
v — v — v — v — v — v — v — v — v — [22\*]

<sup>1</sup> These two syllables were omitted through oversight.

<sup>2</sup> The intended expression may be śrī-kṛtī-śāhī.

<sup>3</sup> The intended word seems to be śāntatā.

<sup>4</sup> The word here seems to be Vīśvarūpa.

<sup>5</sup> The word here seems to be Vīśv-ādhipā.

<sup>6</sup> The first eight syllables of the stam may have been śātr-ambhōnidā-śāhāḥ as in the Gayā inscription of the fifteenth regnal year of Nāyapāla, which the author has imitated in writing verses 22, 23.

<sup>7</sup> The intended word is apparently "māsa".



25 'Viśvāditya-guṇ-śakṣa(r)śha-prīti-stimīta-chētasā |

26 praśasti-vihitā ch-aishā Vaidya-ści-Dharmma(pā)ṇo(nā) || [23\*]

### 5. Inscription of Yakṣhapāla

The inscription, containing 22 lines of writing and covering an area about 44 cms. in length and 31 cms. in height, begins with the *maṅgala*: (*O namoḥ Sāryāya*, which is followed by 14 verses constituting a *praśasti*. There is reference to the person who 'wrote' the inscription in a passage in prose occurring at the end of the document.

Verse 1 is in adoration of the Sun-god. It is interesting to note that, though the *maṅgala* at the beginning and verse 1 of the record refer to the Sun-god, the object of the inscription was to record the erection of a temple for several deities as well as some other pious activities of Yakṣhapāla (cf. verse 12). But Maunāditya, mentioned at the head of the list of the deities, was probably an image of the Sun-god. The said list of deities contains also a second name ending in the word *āditya*, viz. Vijayāditya.

Verse 2 refers to the flights of steps for reaching [the bed of] the **Phalgu** and [the trunk of] the **Vaṭa** (i.e. the Akshaya-vaṭa) at **Gayā**. In this verse, Kielhorn wrongly read *Phalgu-vaṭa* (i.e. the bank of the Phalgu river) in place of *Phalgu-Vaṭa* (i.e. the Phalgu and the Vaṭa). Verse 3 mentions a local resident of Gayā, named **Sūdraka** who was honoured by the king of **Gauḍa** with the insignia of royalty (*śripati-lakṣhaṇa*), i.e. acknowledged him as the subordinate ruler of Gayā. Paritōṣha, father of Sūdraka, is not mentioned in this record. Sūdraka's son, the *śripa* (ruler) **Viśvarūpa**, is introduced in verse 4 as a successful fighter against his enemies. Verses 5-7 continue the description of Viśvarūpa, the last stanza referring to the numerous temples built by him.

Verse 8 introduces the ruling chief **Yakṣhapāla** as the son of Viśvarūpa, while the next stanza (verse 9) refers to his physical charm and military prowess. His description is continued in verses 10-11, the first of these referring to Yakṣhapāla as a *śarīratra* or ruler. Verse 12 states that Yakṣhapāla built a temple for housing the gods Maunāditya (Sun-god), Sahasraliṅga (Śiva), Kamalā (Lakṣmī), Ardhāṅgīya (Ardhanārīvara Śiva), Nārāyaṇa, two Sōmōśvara, Phalgunātha, Vijayāditya and Kōdārōśvara and that he excavated the *Uttaramānasa* (i.e. a lake of that name) and established a *sutra* or free feeding house at **Akshaya-vaṭa** (i.e. near the Akshaya-vaṭa). Kielhorn read the concluding passage wrongly and failed to recognise the reference to the Akshaya-vaṭa therein. What he read in this stanza as *Deivātmōśvara*, regarded as the name of a deity, is really *ści-Sōmōśvara*, referring to two deities called Sōmōśvara. The passage *Kamal-Ardhāṅgīya Nārāyaṇa*, has been taken in Kielhorn's translation as two deities, viz. Kamalā and Ardhāṅgīya, Nārāyaṇa being omitted apparently through oversight. It is difficult to say whether the poet intended the expression *Kamal-ardhāṅgīya* to be an adjective of Nārāyaṇa in the sense of 'one half of whose body is Kamalā'. Although such a conception is possible on the analogy of the Ardhannārīvara form of Śiva in which the right half represents Śiva and the left half Pārvatī, a similar combined form of Nārāyaṇa and Kamalā is not known from scriptures.

Verse 13 prays for the long life of the *śrīrta* (i.e. the temple, the lake and the free-feeding house) of **Yakṣhapāla** while verse 14, with which the *praśasti* concludes, mentions the Brāhmana **Muzāri**, who was a student of Nyāya philosophy and belonged to a family hailing from **Āgi-grāma** as the author of the *praśasti*. A passage in prose at the end refers to the inscription being written by **Padmapāṇi**. By 'writing', probably the writing of the record on the stone for facilitating the work of engraving was intended.

\* Lines 25-26 are engraved in the central section.



## TEXT\*

[Metres : verse 1 *Āryā* ; verses 2, 4, 7, 9, 11-12 *Sāvāhāvīkṛīṭā* ; verses 3, 5-6, 8 *Vasantatilakā* ;  
verse 10 *Sragdharā* ; verses 13-14 *Anushubh.*]

- 1 Ō nama[h] S[ūr]yāya || Viśaya-madhī-ūtkara-p[ūr]ṇanti pṛāci-nīlāy-āh[ui] viśva-satapa-  
ttram[ittam] || aśt-āśā-dala-ramya[ṭi] prakāśayanti-avatu vō bhū-
- 2 nab || [1\*] Tīrtham **Phalgu-Vata(1-ā)di**<sup>2</sup> tīrtha-ghaṭanā-vyājēna śopānīnā gantv[ā]n  
paramasya dhanta-tamasācā dhōmāś **Gayā** rājatē | śīmaty-aiśva ya-
- 3 yā mahīmāya-milach-chitrasya jvātmanā śilp-ōtkarṣam-amanyat-śtmani Vādhīh kṛitvā  
trilōkīn-āpi || [2\*] Aśyām va(ba)bhūva ripu-vṛindam-a-
- 4 nīndya-sau[śau]rya[ś] kurvan-vana-praṇayipatra-nīkētana-śthan[etham] | ści-**Sūdrakāh**  
svayam-ap[ā]jayad-Indra-kalpō **Gauḍ-śśvarō** nripati-lakṣya-pāja-
- 5 yā yatu(yam) || [3\*] Tasmād-adbhuta-pauruṣ-śmvy[mbu]llir-ābhūt ści-**Viśvarūpō** nripaḥ  
kṛiti-ści-matayaḥ svayamivaratayā bhōj[ur]-yam-ikam patī[ti]m || a-
- 6 dy-āpi sphurad-agra-vikrama-kathām-āka[r\*]jgayad-yasya cha v-śādābhūtīm-śrīti-chakram  
śasama-trīsāt-tadā ślo[ślō]ghatō || [4\*] Lakṣmīnā ripōḥ
- 7 sva-bhujā-vīrya-vas[śi]kṛitām yā bhōgyām tathā viśtavānā(vān) dvija-puṅgavānām(nām) |  
śhām yathā yvatayō dyutim-śādadhānā nā-
- 8 k-āṅganā iva vīri[śi]j[ar]-hātāś-pi || [5\*] yasy-ō[ī\*]valōna yāśāś bhramatā samantācā-  
chakrē chīram dhavalitē vidīśām di-
- 9 [śā]jā-cha | lōkēśhv-ābhīprathayitum mṛgalāñchhanāḥ svam-ōḡ-śūkam-ślvaṇam-āhar-nū-  
śam-ātha(da)dhātī || [6\*] Yēn-ādy-āpi chakāśa[śa]ti pratīdi-
- 10 kam śśvālayāś kṛitā bhūyānō(yānō) himādhūti-dyuti-muśō mōdīny-āśūka(āśā)-  
riyaḥ | mat(nā)[r\*]jty-ā[ya]tyā[tyā]matayā Himādrī-sikhara-spa-
- 11 rddh-ōbhchritair-mūrdhābhīh kurvantō viyati akhalad-gatī-ratham prasthāna-dustham  
ravīm(vim) || [7\*] Dharmāyā hṛīdyā iva sūnu-Ajātaśtrus-tasy-ātha
- 12 dhairya-nīlayō-janī **Yakṣapālah** | lupta-kratū Kali-yugasya vijimbhitē yaḥ kāmān-  
bhṛīśācā kratu-bhujāḥ kratubhīh pu-
- 13 pōśha || [8\*] Nōśhā<sup>3</sup>-nāḡatayā parōśhv-ayam-ayam bhīkṣhā-bhujā nīrijitāḥ Sarvvōḡ-  
āpy-ava(ba)lā-va(ba)lō-yam-achīra-śthāyī Manōbhūr-a-
- 14 yat(yam) | ity-anyō Vidhinā manōjñā-tanubhṛījō(j-jō)ṭā dvīśam[śhāt] yō bhujā-dagḡ-  
āka-prava(ba)lāḥ śhīrō yudhī śādā Mīnadhva[śō] nirmūta-
- 15 b || [9\*] Bhū-bhūśō Rōhagō-bhū[d]-ātara-taru-tulām-śrītaḥ kalpa-śākhī kī[m]-dhōnūḥ  
kāmādhūnūḥ kṣhititāla-parīkhā kṛitri-
- 16 \*pātraś payōdhīh | ity-āsunn-ādi-dātrīn-pratī jagati gūrō gīyamānā natēndrō yasminn-  
ābhayārthamānīs-vvasubhīr-śviratā[ti] tarppayaty-arthi-śā-

\* From impressions.

<sup>2</sup> Klobner reads *śā-āśi*.<sup>3</sup> Read *śāśā-āśi*.<sup>4</sup> Read *Nāśhā*. Klobner doubtfully reads *Nāśhā*.<sup>5</sup> The *śhāras* are slightly smaller in size from this line.

- 17 rthān || [10\*] Yad-dhrit-padma-kuṭiraka-prapayitām-āpādītā Śīpatau supritō-vyabhichāra-  
(ri)ṅitva-ratayā bhaktyā parikrīṅita(rō)(tam) | arthibhīṅ vī-
- 18 niyuktay-āpy-anudināt pātrō śuchau jātayā mat-mā(svā)mi-priya-vāca śsha itī yaḥ kā-  
mam Śrīyā samāś(ri)taḥ || [11\*] Maunōditya-Sahaśu(sra)hāga-
- 19 Kamal-Āj[\*]ddhāngīṅa-Nārāyaṅa-dvi-Sōmēsvara<sup>1</sup>-Phalgunātha-Vijayādity-āhvayānām  
kṛtī | sa pra(prā)śādamam(m-a)chīkarad-divishadā(m) Kōdāradāva(sya)
- 20 cha khyātasy-**Ottaramānasasya** khaṅanaṅ satraṅ(tītraṅ) **Vaṭṣ** ch-ākshayē<sup>2</sup> || [12\*] Sūryā-  
chandranassu yāvad-yāvat=kshōḅl sa-sāgarō | tāvat śrī<sup>3</sup>-Yakshapālasya rī-
- 21 jantām bhūvi kīrttayah || [13\*] Nyāya-vidyāvidām śrōyān-**Āgi-grāma-kul-ōdbhavaḥ** | śrī-  
Murārī-ōvija-śrōsh(thah) pī(pra)śastim-akarōd-umāh(mām) || [14\*] līkhit-ā[sau]
- 22 [śrī-Padmapāṅinā]\* [15\*]

<sup>1</sup> This is metrically defective. Possibly the author was thinking of *de-śa-ścaudhara* or *de-śa-ścaudhara*. Kiel-  
born reads *de-śa-śca*.

<sup>2</sup> Kielborn reads *śrī-ā-ākshayē*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *śrī-ā-ākshayē*.

<sup>4</sup> This is missed in small characters below the concluding part of line 21. Buzovj. read *śrī-ā-ākshayē* which  
had been left out by Kielborn.

No. 12—JODHPUR PLATES OF THE TIME OF DURLABHARAJA, VIKRAMA 1069

(1 Plate)

B. CR. CHRAMA, NEW DELHI

(Received on 14. 6. 1961)

The two copper plates that make up the land grant edited below are said to be in the possession of Mr. Sampat Singh Jain of Jodhpur, Rajasthan, and were examined by me along with the one odd plate of Simharāja, dated Vikrama 1054, published above.<sup>1</sup> As stated there, the find-spot of all the three plates is probably Bihnmāl in the Jalore District of the Jodhpur Division.

The ring and the seal pertaining to these two plates are not forthcoming. Otherwise, the record on them is complete. The first of the two plates measures 21 × 12½ cm., and the second 21 × 13 cm. Together they weigh 720 grams. Each of them contains 10 lines of writing engraved thereon. The last line is comparatively very short. The alphabet is Devanāgarī of the period to which the record belongs. The language is Sanskrit and the composition is in prose except for the two customary verses towards the end.

As regards orthography, the following points may be noted: as a rule, *ṣ* takes the place of *para-savarga*, the exceptions being as in "śītaśyātī" in line 3; *r* before *r* is in most cases reduplicated as in *Kshatriyapadra* in lines 3 and 8, *urilōki* in line 5, etc.; a consonant after *r* is very often reduplicated; *ḍ* is invariably indicated by the sign for *r*; the sign of *anagrasa* is used in *viditi-āśmed* in line 15. In *onyāsi-śā* in line 4 and *yasō* in line 15, *s* is wrongly used for *ś*. Similarly *yō* is used for *yan* in *yānam* in line 7.

The object of the inscription is to register the perpetual gift of a village, called *Kshatriyapadra*, in the district (*maṇḍala*) of *Bhūllamāla*, by the illustrious *Kshāmarāja*, *charge d'affaires*<sup>2</sup> or Chief of Administration (*Tantrapāla*) under *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious *Durlabharāja*, to the Brāhmana Nannaka, son of *Gōvinda*, belonging to the *Lūhāyana-gotra*, having three *pravaras*, a student of the *Vājīmādhyaṇīna* and an inhabitant of *Bhūllamāla*, on the occasion of a lunar eclipse (*vīma-grahana*), for the increase of the religious merit and fame of the donor's parents and of himself. The donor had had a holy bath and had worshipped *Mahādēva* before making the gift. The date of the record is mentioned at the end as the 15th day of the bright half of the month of *Māgha* in the [Vikrama] year 1069, which corresponds to Thursday, the 29th January, 1013 A.D. when there was a lunar eclipse as stated in line 5 of the record to be the occasion of the gift. It is also stated in the record that *Kshāmarāja* gave away the said village out of his own estate (*sva-śreyamāva*), comprising the district or sub-division (*maṇḍala*) of *Bhūllamāla*. This *maṇḍala* was obviously so named after the chief town of that name, which was also the home-town of the donor, and is identical with the modern *Bhūnmāl*. Again, the gift had the approval of the ruling monarch (*Mahārājādhirāja*) *Durlabharāja*, as specially stated in the conclusion, where his sign-manual was also intended to be put but is absent.

The question arises as to who this *Mahārājādhirāja* *Durlabharāja* was. Considering that the donee in this record is obviously the same as figures in the Jodhpur plate of *Simharāja* and that there is a marked similarity in the script and phraseology of both the records, it is but natural to conclude that *Simharāja* and *Durlabharāja* belong to one and the same dynasty. Unfortunately the present record does not specifically mention the name of the royal family to which *Durlabharāja* belonged. As for the other record, it might have mentioned *Sidharāja's* dynasty in the preamble, but, that part of the record being missing, it was not possible to ascertain his dynasty either

<sup>1</sup> Above, pp. 45-46 and Plate.

<sup>2</sup> See Bhandarkar's *Lit.*, No. 1509.



I tentatively identified him with the Chāhamāna Śimharāja. *Prima facie* there is no difficulty in identifying our Durlabharāja also with the Chāhmāna Durlabharāja, who was in fact the second of Śimharāja's four sons, the eldest being Vigharāja and the other two (younger than Durlabharāja) being Chandrarāja and Gōvīndarāja. These identifications would, however, upset the hitherto accepted views, regarding the reign periods of some of the Chāhamāna rulers, and certain other historical details. While these we propose to discuss in a separate paper, it may be observed here that the possibility of our Durlabharāja being identical with the ruler of that name belonging to the Chaulukyas of Anahilapātaka, who was matrimonially connected with the Chāhamāna house, is not precluded.

Curiously enough, another copper charter from Bhinnāl itself, bearing the same date, is known, but that pertains to Dēvarāja who is supposed to be a Paramāra ruler of Mērwār, better known as Mahīpāla.<sup>1</sup> The so-called Paramāra sway around Bhinnāl at the same time adds to our confusion.

## TEXT

## First Side

1 Om<sup>o</sup> svasti || Rājahanṣa iva vimal-ōbhaya-pakṣaḥ mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Du-  
2 rlabharāja-pāda-padm-ōpajīvi tamitrapāla-śrī-Kehēmarājaḥ sva-bhūjyamāna-  
3 śrī Bhīllamāla-mahādjal-āntahpātī-Kshattriyapadra-grāmē samupag itān-sarvvaṅ-ēva  
4 rājapurushān-brāhmaṇ-ōttarān-prativīśinō janapadān-anyāmscha(s-cha) bōdhaya-  
5 ty=astu xō viditāḥ yatḥ=śamābhūḥ Sōma-grahapē snūtvā tīrūōki-gurum Mahā-  
6 dēvam=abhiyamyā mātā-kari-karṇya-chandchālām=abhiyākyā lakṣmīḥ girinādi-vē-  
7 g-ōpamaḥ yo(yau)vanatḥ ttri(tri)pa-dala-gata-jala-vimdy-ālōle-līlām jīvitam=ava-  
8 lōkyā ch-āyam Kshattriyapadra-grāmāḥ sva-sīmā-paryantaḥ sa-kāshṭha-ttri(tri)pa-yūtī-  
9 gōchata-paryantaḥ sa-bhāga-bhōgāḥ s-ōparikataḥ sa-dattāda-dal-ōparādhaḥ pūryva-  
10 datta-dēvadāya-brarhma(hma)dāya-vaḥ(va)rjjaḥ Vra(Brā)hmaṇya-Sannakāya

## Second Plate

11 Gōvīshṭha-sūnavḥ Vājimādhyam | \* | dina-sa-vra(bra)hmachārinō ttri-pravarā-  
12 ya Jōhāyana-sa-gōtrāya śrī-Bhīllamāla-vīśṭavyāya mātā-pi(ttrō)re-ātma-  
13 naś=cha puṇya-yāśō(ō)-bhivriddhayō pama-lōka-phalam=adigkrity-ā-chand-ā[rā]k-ārgya-  
14 va-kaliti-sama-kālīnatayā śāsanān=ōdaka-pūrvvaḥ parayā bhaktyā  
15 pratipādītō viditv=ā'amad-vanśajair-anyāś=cha bhāvi-bhōktrībhūir=anu-  
16 pālanīyah || uktaḥ cha || Bahubhūir=vasudhā bhuktā rājabhūḥ Sagar-ādibhūḥ || [\*]  
17 yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadō phalam || Vīndhy-ājavīshv=atō-  
18 yāsu sushka-kōtara-vāśinaḥ || [\*] kṛishṇa-sarpāḥ prajayantē brahmadāy-ā-  
19 pahārakāḥ || samvat 1069 Māgha-śudi 15 śrī-Durlabharāj-Ajāyārṇ(yā)  
20 dattam sva-hastam cha ||\*

Bhandarkar (List No. 103; see also p. 308) equates the *śam-grahāsa* (lunar eclipse) of Samvat 1069 Māgha-śudi 15 of this charter with Wednesday, the 14th January 1012 A.D. Swamināra Pillai's *Indian Epigraphy* would, however, show that the correct equation would be Thursday, 29th January 1013 A.D. While this article was going through the press, Dr. B. K. Gai kindly drew my attention to the fact that the said copper charter had subsequently been published under the title 'Rept Plates of Paramāra Dēvarāja' above, Vol. XXII, pp. 126-28. Its editor, Pandit R. N. B. S., reads the date as Samvat 1059, and not 1069.

\* From the original plates.

\* Expressed by symbol.

\* These two single dashes indicate the gap caused by the ring hole.

\* This is followed by a cross sign.





12

14

16

18

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ॐ विद्महे ब्रह्मदेवे नमः ॥ १ ॥  
 ब्रह्मदेव्यै नमः ॥ २ ॥  
 ब्रह्मदेव्यै नमः ॥ ३ ॥  
 ब्रह्मदेव्यै नमः ॥ ४ ॥  
 ब्रह्मदेव्यै नमः ॥ ५ ॥  
 ब्रह्मदेव्यै नमः ॥ ६ ॥  
 ब्रह्मदेव्यै नमः ॥ ७ ॥  
 ब्रह्मदेव्यै नमः ॥ ८ ॥  
 ब्रह्मदेव्यै नमः ॥ ९ ॥  
 ब्रह्मदेव्यै नमः ॥ १० ॥  
 ब्रह्मदेव्यै नमः ॥ ११ ॥  
 ब्रह्मदेव्यै नमः ॥ १२ ॥  
 ब्रह्मदेव्यै नमः ॥ १३ ॥  
 ब्रह्मदेव्यै नमः ॥ १४ ॥  
 ब्रह्मदेव्यै नमः ॥ १५ ॥  
 ब्रह्मदेव्यै नमः ॥ १६ ॥  
 ब्रह्मदेव्यै नमः ॥ १७ ॥  
 ब्रह्मदेव्यै नमः ॥ १८ ॥  
 ब्रह्मदेव्यै नमः ॥ १९ ॥  
 ब्रह्मदेव्यै नमः ॥ २० ॥

(from Photographs)



## No. 13—KADALUR GRANT OF MARASIMHA II, SAKA 884

(3 Plates)

G. S. GAL, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 11- 11. 1959)

The set of copper plates containing the inscription edited below was received in 1934-35 in the Office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, from the Secretary of the Historical Research Society, Dharwar.<sup>1</sup> The set consists of nine thick plates, each measuring about 11" by 5.5". They are held together by a ring (5.75" in diameter) passing through a ring-hole (about .8" in diameter) at the left margin of the plates. The circular seal (3" in diameter) bears in full relief and facing the proper right, the figure of an elephant (about .62" in thickness). The thickness of the copper-plates ranges from .12" to .18". The weight of the set, together with the ring and the seal, is 872 *tolas* while the ring and the seal weigh 120 *tolas*.

The first and last plates have been engraved on the inner side only while the remaining seven plates bear writing on both sides. The first plate has 11 lines of writing; but the remaining 15 sides of the eight plates have 12 lines each. Thus there are 191 lines of writing in all. The engraving is bold, beautiful and neat and there is a flourishing touch to the letters in the last line on each side of the plates. The last three lines (i.e. lines 189-91) which are in the nature of a supplement, have been written in a rather indifferent hand over an erasure. The writing is in an excellent state of preservation.

The characters are Telugu-Kannada of the 10th century A.D. and resemble in all respects those of the Kudalur plates<sup>2</sup> of Gaṅga Mārasimha II who issued the present plates. The initial vowels *a*, *ā*, *i*, *ī*, *u* and *ū* as well as final *l* and final *ṃ* occur each several times in the inscription. The *Upadhānīya* sign occurs in line 103. Regarding orthography, it is interesting to observe that *l*, when single in the intervocalic position, is written in almost all the cases as *ḷ*. Even initial *l* is likewise written in *Ḷṣkadhūstah* (line 30). *S* for *ś* appears in *Sarat* (line 82). *B* for *v* in *garbha* (lines 71, 82) and *ri* for *ṛi* in *rishi* (line 157) may be as well regarded as a linguistic feature. Considering the length of the document, it is remarkably free from errors both in regard to orthography and language.

The language of the record is Sanskrit except in lines 167-77 and 189-91 dealing with the description of the boundaries and a sentence at the end giving the name of the headman, which are written in Kannada with an admixture of Sanskrit. The text is composed in verse and prose in the *chāmpū* style. There are fifty-two verses in various metres which show the poet's predilection for the *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* metre. In verse 9, which is in *Uṭpalamālikā*, the poet has introduced the *Hayaprāsa* of the Kannada prosody by having a similar conjunct consonant in the second syllable of each quarter. The composition is of considerable literary merit and the author has freely indulged in the use of *alaṅkāras* in the verses and of long compounds in the prose-portion. Both the author and the engraver, who have preferred to remain anonymous, have earned the gratitude of scholars by accomplishing their job in a satisfactory manner.

The date of the record is given in lines 159-61 and 164, as Śaka 884, Danduhī, Pausa ba. 9, Tuesday, Svātī-nakshatra, Kanyā-lagna and Uttarāyana Saṅkrānti. This would

<sup>1</sup> It is registered as No. 23 of Appendix A in the *A.E. Ep.*, 1934-35, and briefly noticed in the same report, Part II, pp. 57-58.

<sup>2</sup> *Mya. Arch. Rep.*, 1921, pp. 18 ff.

regularly correspond to the 23rd December, 962 A.D. The date is only a few months earlier than that of the Kudalur plates referred to above, which are dated Śaka 884, Rudhirōdgāri, Chaitra śu. 5, Wednesday. The cyclic year Rudhirōdgāri corresponded to Śaka 885 expired, the corresponding English date being the 3rd March 963 A.D., though the weekday was Tuesday instead of Wednesday.

The inscription belongs to the Gaṅga chief Mārasimha II and, like his Kudalur plates, is one of the longest and the latest of the Western Gaṅga records. The introductory portion, covering lines 1-122 and verses 1-32, giving the genealogy of the Gaṅga kings from Koṅguṇi-varma-Dharma-mahādhirāja up to Mārasimha II is similar in contents to the Kudalur plates edited by R. Narasimha-char who has discussed them in details. Verses 33-36, devoted to the description of the donor Mārasimha II, are not found in the Kudalur plates while the six verses and the lengthy prose portion describing him in the latter record are not given in our inscription. We learn from verse 33 that Mārasimha II was the son of Kallabhā who was the daughter of Sirhavarman of the Chālukya lineage. Verses 22, 27 and 28 inform us that Mārasimha's father Bātuga II also married Rēvakanimmaḍi, the daughter of Rāshtrakūṭa Baddega (Amoghavarsha III), and had by her a son called Maruḍadēva who married the daughter of Kṛishṇa III. Bātuga had a third wife named Paddabbarasi according to an inscription from Nuregal in the Dharwar District.<sup>1</sup> Thus he had three wives named Rēvakanimmaḍi, Kallabhā and Paddabbarasi. The Kudalur plates inform us that Mārasimha II was crowned as the ruler of Gaṅgavāḍi personally by Kṛishṇa III on the eve of his northern expedition to conquer Aśvapati or the Gūrjara king. We know that Mārasimha was not only the feudatory of Kṛishṇa III but also of the latter's successors Khotṭiga<sup>2</sup> and Amoghavarsha IV Kakka.<sup>3</sup>

Verses 37-44 describe the spiritual ancestry of the Jaina teacher Ēlāchārya who was the donee of the gift. Prabhāchandra was the chief pontif of the Digambara sect of Sūrasta-gaṅga in the Mūlasaṅgha. He was well versed in all the Śāstras. His disciple was Kalneladēva who was the preceptor of Ravichandra. The latter's disciple was Ravinandulēva, the preceptor of Ēlāchārya.

Verses 45 and the following lengthy passage in prose in lines 151-66 refer to the gift of the village Kādālūr in Koṅgal-dēsa made to the said Ēlāchārya by Mārasimha II for providing for worship and offerings in the Jinālaya constructed by the chief's mother Kallabhā and also for worshipping of *sudhā-chitra* (stucco paintings) and *chitra* (paintings) as well as for the four kinds of *dānas* to the Jaina deities and ascetics.

The grant is stated to have been made when the military camp (*śibira*) of Mārasimha was at Mēlpāṭi which is probably the same as Mēlpāṭi in the Chittoor District in Andhra Pradesh. Three years before the date of this grant, the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III also encamped at Mēlpāḍi as known from his Karad plates of May 959 A.D.<sup>4</sup>

Lines 167-77 describe the boundaries of the gift village as follows: in the east, the big stony hillock to the east of the Keṅgōlli lake; further on to the south, the bank or mound (*dēga*) called Sōḍiyāla; further on, the path of black-stones; further on, the heap of stones; further on, [the locality called] Paṭṭare; further on, the bank or mound at the back side of the stony hillock of Beḷgalla; further on, the hillock called Eyyuyyal; in the south-east, [the place of] round stones; further on, in the western direction, the hill called Uḷyam; in the south, the hillock of the chips of stones and black-stones; further on, the bank or mound of Baḷavaga; further on, the

<sup>1</sup> *A. S. Ep.*, 1926-27, App. No. A182; *SI.*, Vol. XI, Part. 1 (B. K. Inscriptions, Vol. 1, Part. 1), No. 38.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 618.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 270 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 281.



heap of stones on the road to Maysūr; further on, in the south-west corner, the bank or mound called Kēra; then moving to the north, in the west, the stony hillock called Kosagu; further on, the heap of stones of the bank or mound of Bhagavati on the road to **Nokkiyūr**; further on, moving straight along the black stones, the hillock of black-stones; further in the north-west, the bank or mound of Bhagavati; further on, in the north, [the place called] **Tavaṅkal**; further on, the bank or mound to the north of **Paralikere**; further on, the wall to the north of **Gārhvadigeṛe**; in the north-east corner, the junction of the stream coming from the hillock of the black stones with the stream of Keṅgollī.

Verse 46 in lines 177-79 relates to the request of the Gaṅga chief, viz. Mārasimha, made to the future kings of the Gaṅga family to protect the gift. Line 180 states that the subjects of the 96,000-division (i.e. Gaṅgavāḍi) were the witnesses to the gift. Then follow five benedictory and imprecatory stanzas (verses 47-51) in lines 180-88. Verse 52 (lines 186-88) invokes the blessings of Lakṣmī on the Gaṅga chief. Lines 189-91 which are engraved on an erasure mention the boundaries of the **Kōgil-nāḍu** and the name of the headman of that *nāḍu* or division. **Kōgil-nāḍu** is apparently a mistake for **Kōṅgal-nāḍu** or **Kōṅgal-dēsa** in which the gift-village **Kādalūr** was located. The boundaries of this *nāḍu* are given as follows: in the east, the rivulet or stream of **Māṅikavoḷal**; in the south, the **Kāvēri** river; in the west, the place called **Bāḷṣyapaḷḷa**; and in the north, the **Perṇṇa** (i.e. Pennar) river. The name of the *nāḍu-gāvūḍa* is given as **Perṇṇā-dāvūḍa**.

**Kādalūr**, the village granted, may be identified with the place of the same name in the Mandya Taluk of the Mysore District. The area round about this place apparently corresponded to **Kōṅgal-dēsa** which extended upto the **Kāvēri** in the south and **Pennar** in the north. The place **Maysūru** mentioned in connection with the boundaries is apparently the modern Mysore and the present record supplies the earliest epigraphical reference to this place. I am unable to identify the other places mentioned in connection with the description of the boundaries.

#### TEXT<sup>1</sup>

[Metres: verses 1, 4, 7, 15-16, 18-19, 23-24, 35, 52 *Sṛṅgīharā*; verses 2, 5, 12, 22 *Vasanta-tīlakā*; verses 3, 8, 10, 13-14, 17, 21, 25, 32-34, 36-37, 41-42, 44-46 *Śārdūlavikīrīṭita*; verses 6, 30 *Māḷini*; verse 9 *Uṭpalamālikā* or *Kūmalatā*; verse 11 *Śikhariṇī*; verses 20, 39 *Indravajrā*; Verses 26-27 *Āryyā*; verses 28-29 *Praharahīṇī*; verses 31, 38, 40, 43, 47-50 *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 51 *Śālinī*.]

#### First Plate

- 1 Siddham<sup>2</sup> [1\*] Svasti jitaṁ bhagavatā gata-ghana-gaganābhēna Padmanābhēna [1\*] Śrīma]-  
Jāhnavēya kuḷ-āmaḷa-vyōm-āva-
- 2 bhāsana-bhāskarāḥ sva-khaḍḡ-sika-prahāra-khaḍḡita-siḷā<sup>3</sup>-stambha-labdhva-baḷa-parākramō  
dāruṇ-āri-gaṇa-vidāraṇ-ō-
- 3 palabdhva-vraṇa-vibhūṣaṇa-vibhūṣitaḥ Ka(Kā)uvāyana-sagōtraḥ śrīmān **Koṅgupa-**  
**varma** dharma-mahādhirā-
- 4 jṣṭh [ tat-putraḥ pūtur-anvāgata-gaṇa-yuktō vidyā-vimaya-vihita-vṛittaḥ samyak-prajā-  
pālana-mātr-ā-

<sup>1</sup> From impressions.

<sup>2</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>3</sup> Some records have *malā-siḷā* here.



- 5 dhigata-rājya-prayōjanō vidvat-kavi-kānchana-nikash-ōpaḥa-bhūtō nīti-śāstrasya vaktri-prayōktri-kusājō Datta-
- 6 kṣētra-vṛittīḥ prapētā śrīmān-**Mādhava-mahādhirājah** | tat-putrah pitri-paitāmaha-guṇa-yu-
- 7 ktō-nēka-chāturddanta-yuddh-āvāpta-chatur-udadhi-sajjī-śvādīta-yasāḥ śrīmān-**Dharmavarma-mahādhi-**
- 8 rājah tat-putrō dvija-guru-dēvatā-pūjana-parō Nārāyaṇa-charaṇ-ānuddhyātah śrīmān-**Vishṇugōpa-mahādhirō-**
- 9 jah tat-putras-Tryambaka-charaṇ-ābhōruha-rajah pavitrikṛit-ōttamāṅgah sva-bhujā-bāḥ-parākrama-kṛaya-kṛiyā<sup>1</sup>-rājyah
- 10 Kaliyuga-bāḥ-parik-āvasanna-dharmma-vyish-ōddharaṇa-nitya-sammaddhah śrīmān-**Mādhava-mahādhirājah** | tat-putrah śrīmat-**Kadam-**
- 11 **ba-kuḷa-gagana-gabhastimājinah** **Kṛishṇavarma-mahādhirājasya** priya-bhāginīyō vidyāvinay-ātīśaya-paripū-

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 12 rit-āntarātmā niravagraha-pradhāna-sauryyō vidvatsu prathama-gaṇyah śrīmā[n] **Korṅguṇi-mahādhirājah**
- 13 **Avinīta-nāmā** tat-putrō vijjimbhamāṇa-śakti-trayah **Andariy-Ālatūr-Ppurujare-Peḷnagar-ādy-anēka-sa-**
- 14 **marā-mukha-makha-huta-prahata-śūra-purūḥa-paś-ūpahāra-vighasa-vihastikṛita-kṛitānt-Āgnimukhaḥ Kirā-**
- 15 **tārjunīya-pāṇchadaśa-sargga-ṭikākārō Durvvīnīta-nāmadhēyah** tat-putrah durddānta-vimarḍḍa-vimṛidita-
- 16 viśvamābhar-ādhipa-manji-mājā-makaranda-rajah-putrīja-piṇjarikṛi(kri)yamāṇa-charaṇa-yugaḥ-najinō **Mushkara-nā-**
- 17 **madhēyah** tasya putrah chaturdāśa-vidyāsthān-ādhiyata-vimāmatir-vviśeshatō-navaśūcha-
- 18 **sya nīti-śāstrasya vaktri-prayōktri-kusājō ripu-timira-nikara-nirākarāṇ-ōdaya-bhāskarāḥ**
- 19 **Śrīvikrama-prathita-nāmadhēyah** tasya putrah anēka-samara-saṅpādita-vijjimbhita-dvi-
- 20 **rada-nakha-kuḷis-ābhigāta-vraṇa-saṅrūḍha-bhāsvaḍ-vijaya-lakhaṇa-lakshikṛita-viśāḥa-vakha-śhaḥaḥ samadhiga-**
- 21 **ta-sakaḥa-śāstr-ārtha [h\*]<sup>2</sup> samārśdhita-irivaraggō** niravadya-charitaḥ prati-dinam-abhivarddha-māna-prabhāvō **Bhūvikra-**
- 22 **ma-nāmadhēyah** api cha ||<sup>3</sup> **Nānā-hēti-prahāra-pravighaṭita-bhaṭ-śraḥ-kavāṭ-ōttit-āspig-dhār-āvāda-pramatta-**
- 23 **dvipa-śata-charaṇa-kshōda-sammardda-bhīmē** | smāgrāmē **Pallavēndram** narapatim-**ajayadyō Vilind<sup>4</sup>-ābhidhānō rājā**

<sup>1</sup> Read *śha*.

<sup>2</sup> The word *śha* is found after this word in other records (cf. above, Vol. XXVII, p. 149, text line 22).

<sup>3</sup> The double *śha* marks here indicate the end of the section in prose.

<sup>4</sup> In some records, this name is spelled as *Vijānda*; cf. above, Vol. XXVII, p. 150, text line 24, and the Kadalur plates, text line 29.

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*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 24 Śrīvallabh-ākhyas-samara-śata-jay-āvṛpta-lakṣmī-vijāsaḥ || [1\*] Tasy-ānujō nata-narē-ndra-ti(ki)ṛiṭa-kōṭi-ratn-ārka-dīdhi-
- 25 ti-virājita-pāda-padmaḥ ||[\*] lakṣmyā svayamvṛita-patir-Nnavakāma-nāmā śiṣṭa-priyō-ti-gaṇa-dāruṇa-gīta-ki-
- 26 rtiḥ || [2\*] tasya Koṅgupi-mahādhirājasya Śivamār-āpara-nāmadhōyasya putraḥ samava-nata-samasta-sā-
- 27 manta-makuṭa-taṭa-ghaṭita-bahaḥa-ratna-vijasad-amara-dhanuḥ-khaṇḍa-maṇḍita-charaṇa-na-kha-maṇḍaḥ Nā-
- 28 rāyaṇa-nihita<sup>1</sup>-bhaktiḥ sūrapuruṣa-turaga-varavāraṇa-ghaṭā-sarṅghaṭṭa-dāruṇa-samara-śirasi nihit-ātma-
- 29 kōpō Bhīmakoṇaḥ prakṛta-rati-samaya-samanuvarttana-chatura-yuvati-jaṇ-āḥōka-
- 30 dhūrtō Lōkadhūrttaḥ sudurdhar-ānēka-yuddha-mūrdhna(rddhni) labdha-vijaya-sampad-ahita-gaja-ghaṭā-kēsa-
- 31 ri Rājakeśarī |<sup>2</sup> api cha |<sup>3</sup> Yō Gaṅg-ānvaya-nirmma-āmbara-taḥa-vyābhāsana-prōllasan-mārttaṇḍō-
- 32 ri-bhayānkarah subhakarās-san-mārgga-rakṣākarah | saurājyaṃ samupētya rāja-samitau rājan-gu-
- 33 gair-uttamāi rājā Śrīpuruṣaś-chiraṃ vijayatō rājanya-chūḍāmaṇiḥ || [3\*] api cha || Kāmō rāmāsu chāpē Da-
- 34 śaratha-tanayō vikramē Jāmadagnyaḥ prājy-aiśvaryyē Baḥārīr-bahu-mahasi Ravi[h\*] sva-prabhutvē Dhanśaḥ ||[\*] bhūyō
- 35 vikhyāta-śakti sphuṭataram-akṣiḥa-prōya-bhājām vidhātā Dhātrā śiṣṭa[h\*] prajānām-patire-iti kavayō yaṃ

*Third Plate, First Side*

- 36 praśamsanti nityam(tyam) || [4\*] sa tu pratidina-pravṛitta-mahādāna-jaṇita-puṇyāha-ghōṣha-mukharita-mandir-ōdaraḥ
- 37 Śrīpuruṣa-prathama-nāmadhōyaḥ **Prithivī-Koṅgupi-mahādhirājah** tat-putraḥ pratāpa-vinamita-sa-
- 38 kaḥa-mahipāḥa-manḥi-māḥā-lāḥita-charaṇ-śravinda-yugaḥ nija-bhuja-virājita-niśita-khaḍga-paṭṭa-sa-
- 39 m-ākṣiṣṭ-āniśṭa-dharāpāḥa-vallabha-jaya-śrī-samāḥigitaḥ | api cha || Yasmin prayātavati kōpa-va-
- 40 śam mahiśē yānti kṣhaṇḍ-ahita-bhūmibhujō raṇ-āgrē | antrāvaḥi-vaḥaya-bhīṣaṇa-
- 41 m-Āntakasya vaktī-āntaraṃ kṣhaṭṭa-kaṛḍḍana-durnairkṣhaṭṭi(kabyan) || [5\*] sa tu vikhyāta-vimaḥa-Gaṅg-ānvaya-
- 42 nabhastaja-gabhastimāḥi **Koṅgupi-mahārājādhirāja-patamēśvara-śrī Śivamārādēvaḥ**

<sup>1</sup> Better read Nāripaṇa-charaṇa-niśita-<sup>2</sup> This indicates the end of the prose portion.<sup>3</sup> The mark indicates that the following portion is in verse.



- 43 Saygoṭṭ-āpara-nāmā || kanlyān-Vijayāditya|<sup>1</sup> s-tasy-āsti-sa jayāṅgaṅā- |<sup>2</sup> satihli-  
 44 aṣṭa-vakshāḥ saṁkshipta-|<sup>3</sup> kājēya-charitō-bhavat || api cha || Bharata iva kaṣṭraḥ mēdini-  
 45 m-agrajasya prayata-matir-agamyām-manyatē sm-āvagarhyāṁ(rhyām) | sa tu sakala-  
 dharūyūṁ dhāriṇi-nātha-samsat-  
 46 prathita-nija<sup>4</sup>-guṇō-pi prēmavān sad-guṇ-aughaiḥ || [6\*] tat-putraḥ kaśadhara-kara-  
 nikara-visada-vijaya-ya-  
 47 sō-rāsi-visadkṛita-viśva-viśvaṁbharā-chakravā[ḷa] samadhigata-sakaḷa-rājya-lakshmi-samā-  
 |ṅgit-ōttuṅga-

*Third Plate, Second Side*

- 48 vakshāḥ | api cha || Dānō Kāṇinam-urvvī-bhara-bharapa-vidhau Śēsham-ājau cha Pārthasi  
 gāmbhūryē Vāhinīsam Kaliyu-  
 49 ga-charit-ōdanvataś-sōshapō cha ||[\*] dakshat sad-Bāḍabāgnim śaraṇam-upagatasya-  
 āvanē vajra-bandha-prākātam prāpa-  
 50 bhājām sthiti-karapa-vidhau yat vadanti Projēsam(śam) || [7\*] sa tu Satyavākya-Koṅgu-  
 ṇivarmma-dharmma-mahārājādhi-  
 51 rājō Rājamalla<sup>5</sup>-prathama-nāmadhōyaḥ | tat-putraḥ nija bhuj-ōddasḍa-mandar-ōchaḷa-  
 pramathita-viśva-vidvi-  
 52 ḍ-ba[-ārṇṇav-ōddhṛita-rāja-lakshmi-samāśiṣṭa-samabhirūḍa(ḍha)-vakshāḥ | api cha |  
 Chāp-ōnmu-  
 53 kta-śar-ōtkar-āgra-prishitē chaṇḍ-śai-vidyut-tatau |<sup>6</sup> kōp-ōddāma-gajēndra-nija-jaladē  
 54 rakta-pravāhē-samē | bhīmē yuddha-ghan-āgamē haya-mahā-vātē ripūn-ūrjijitān rā-  
 55 jā Rāmaḍi<sup>7</sup>-nāmai yas-samajayad-rāj-āgrāṇir-llījāyā || [8\*] Pallava-Rāshtrakōṭa-Ku-  
 56 ru-Māgadha-Mālava-Chōja-Lāṭa-Samvalla-Chaḷukya-vaśśaja-mahānṛpati-pramu-  
 khair-adhi-  
 57 sṭhitam(tam) [|[\*] Vallabha-sainyam-unnata-mataṅgajavāji-bhuy-ākuḷam jayāt-  
 tal-lalan-ākehi-vāri-nivahēna samam sama-  
 58 rē nyapātayat || [9\*] sa tu Nītimārgga-Koṅguṇivarmma-dharmma-mahārājādhirājō  
 bhagavad-Arhad-bhaṭṭāraka-charaṇ-ś-  
 59 ravinda-madhupāyamāna-mānasah Eregaṅgadōvaḥ tat-putraḥ samasta-sāmanta-mauji-  
 mālā-makaranda-

*Fourth Plate, First Side*

- 60 rajah-śabalita-charaṇ-āravinda-yugaḷah samadhigata-samasta-vidyā-vidyōtit-āntarātmā |  
 api cha | yaḥ prō-  
 61 dyat-kaji-kāja-vṛitti-vimukhaḥ kōmam guṇānāḥ gapair-Mmāniliṣṭri-pramukh-ādi-rāja-  
 samitan sambhūshitas-sarvathā |

<sup>1</sup> The punctuation mark is unnecessary.

<sup>2</sup> The Kujalur plates have *prās* instead of *nija*.

<sup>3</sup> The Kujalur plates read *Rājamalla*.

<sup>4</sup> This *dasḍa* is unnecessary.

<sup>5</sup> The Kujalur plates read *Rāmaḍi*.

- 62 kōp-ōkkhāta-kṛipāṅga-khaṅḍita-ripu-kahmāpaḥ ku[-ōdyōtakṛitnā(n=Ṁā)r-ākāratayā manasa-  
suvicharaṅ-kāntā-janānānā bhū-
- 63 vi || [10\*] Imā Varigāḥ Paupdrā Magadha-narapāḥ Kōśala-nripāḥ |<sup>1</sup> amī  
Kālī[m\*]g-Āndhra-Dramiḷa-naranāthās-sa-su-
- 64 hṛidāḥ [|\*] viśṛṅṅāḥ śāstr-anghāir-unnarapati-vimuktair-itī janāḥ praśabaśrī<sup>2</sup> yasy-ā|aśā  
vidādḥur-anīśatī Sāmiya-raṅḥ || [11\*]
- 65 sa tu Satyavākya-Koṅguṇivarṃma-dharmma-mahācājadhirājō Rājamalla-pratha-  
ma-nā-
- 66 mā | Tasy-ānujō vijīta-durjjaya-Rājarājō Lakshmīpatir-Mouram-iva prathitāḥ Harir-  
vvā [|\*]
- 67 dvishṭāḥ Mahēndram-ajayad-Biriyūri Sūrūry-anyaṭra Sāmiya-raṅḥ-py-atha Būtu-  
68 gēndrah [| 12\*] Kōpō yaḥ prajay-ānajaḥ sora-kujas-tyāgō satishv-Āmgaḥ vidy-āriḅḅ  
Nāliṅātmaḥ gajanayō sā-
- 69 kshāt-Karēṅv-ātmajaḥ [|\*] Koṅgān-vāraṅa-bandha-vāraṅa-karān jivā raṅḥ Paṅchavāryy-  
ukta-prāktana-yōgatāḥ
- 70 kari-śatāny-ēkō-grahād-dur-ggrahāḥ [| 13\*] tasya sudūr-ōtsārīta-sakala-kāḷōya-kalām-  
kasya nāma-śravaṅa-mā-
- 71 trēṅ-aiv-ōpaśamīta-garbbā(rvva)-gaḷa-graha-grihīta-bhūbhṛin-maḥḍaḷasya samāsta-  
śāstr-ārth-ānuśāsi-satya-pa-

*Fourth Plate, Second Side*

- 72 ra-vaehana-vṛittasaya parama-jainasaya Guṇaduttaraṅg-āpara-nāmadhūyasaya svastya  
Amōghavarshadēva-śrī-pṛī-
- 73 thivallabha-sutāyām śubha-lakshaga-nikhil-āvayava-sōbhītāyām(yām) | apī cha |  
Āmrvāda-paramparā-pariṅa-
- 74 tau kalyāṅa-kuly-ōditau śrī-hri-ki[r\*]ttī-viśiṣṭa-śiḷa-samītau nṛty-ādi-vidyā-tatau [|\*]  
śikshā-ōddhy-Udayācha-ōjva(jjva)-
- 75 |a-tatau Chandrobhalabbā-pṛithu-śrīmatyām-Eregarṅga-bhūta|a-patir-jjātaḥ autō vaē-  
nidhīḥ [| 14\*] sa tu pratīpat-ka-
- 76 |ādḥara iva pratīdinam-askha|ad-ajaya<sup>3</sup>-pravardhamāna-kaḷābhīr-abbivarddhamānaḥ sva-  
pitṛivyōḅa Rājamalla-
- 77 dēvēna śrīmad-Ereyappa-paṭṭa-baddhaḥ | apī cha | Yuddhō nṛtyat-kabandha-trī(tri)-  
tayam-anugat-ā-
- 78 śēsha-rakshāḥ-piśāchō yasy-āśēs<sup>4</sup>-samprahārāt-patīta-gaja-tatēr-ddhūta-rakta-prasiktē | jyā-  
bhū-
- 79 mau rakta-vṛiṅṅtēs-chiram-iva bhavataḥ pāpa-nāśō sma sadyō-dy-āgarjjaḍ-bhūta-vargō  
Hari-kulīśa-hatā-

<sup>1</sup> This does is unnecessary.

<sup>2</sup> There is an unnecessary *ē* above like mark above śi.

<sup>3</sup> The Kudalur plates read *asāhāḍ-śāḷaḅa*.

<sup>4</sup> The Kudalur plates read *yasy-āśēs*.



- 80 d-bhūbhṛitō-nēkatō vā || [15\*] Tasmin-yuddhē Mahēndram Ba|am-iva Ba|abhid-yō jaghān-  
āryya-vīryō Sūrūrā-Nāḍugānīm
- 81 pṛithutara-Miḍigēy-ādi-śai|ēndra-<sup>1</sup>durggāna(n | a)nyā[m\*]s-Tippērum-abhrahmlībam=  
atiśayavān Perijar-ādyān-adhrishyān vi-
- 82 grāhyān-agrahid-yō jhatiti-parigalad-durggavad-garbbā(rvva)-jā|am(|am) || [16\*] tēna  
sa(śa)rat-samaya-samudita-viśadatara-śiśirakara-
- 83 kirāṇa-nikarāyamāns-paṭutara-yaśah-payō-nidhi-majjan-ōnmajjan-ōnmū|kṛita-Ka|ī-ma|ina-  
gōya-vādyā-nṛi-

*Fifth Plate, First Side*

- 84 tya-vidy-ōpavidyā-Bharatēna mahā-vaiyyākaraṇa-prāmāṇikēna svasti samast-ābhirāmika-  
vija(ji)gishu-
- 85 guṇa-maṇi-bhūshāṇa-bhrājamāna-nītimārggēna samasta-sāmanta-lalāṭa-ghaṭṭita-pādāra-  
vinda-dvayēna
- 86 dhātrī nirayagrahēṇa paripālītā || Tasya brahma-mahēndra-brinda-makuṭa-vyāsakta-rakt-  
ātula-chehhāyā-kumku-
- 87 ma-pimjarikṛita<sup>2</sup>-pada-dvamdvasya dēvyām prabhuh [| \*] Chāḷuky-āma|a-varhēa-bhē-  
Nijagali-kshmapā|a-putryām-a-
- 88 bhūj-Jakāmbā<sup>3</sup>-vyapadēsa-bhā|ī tanaya[h\*] śri-Satyavākyaō nṛipah || [17] Rājantīm  
rāja-vidyām dviradana-turag-ārōha-
- 89 paṇi kaudukasya krōḍām nistritiśa-dhēnuṁ dhanur-asi-latikān-nāṭakam śabda-vidyām  
(dyām) [|\*] vaidyām kavyām pra-
- 90 māṇam sa-gaṇita-Bharataṁ s-ētiḥāsam purāṇam |<sup>4</sup> nṛityam gitam cha vādyam prathama-  
vayasi yō-
- 91 bhvastavān-iddha-buddhī || [18\*] Amāhrō ramdhram<sup>5</sup> girīṇām pṛithu cha<sup>6</sup> jajanidhēr-  
mmaddhyam-śāḥ Khasānārī |<sup>7</sup> Pāṇḍyāḥ
- 92 śrīṅgan-tarūṇām-asura-vivarakam samhatas-Sirūhalānārī(nām) | pātā|am Kēra|ēndrō  
Yama-mukha-kuharatā Pallavā-
- 93 s-sathārayantē yasmin samrahā<sup>8</sup>-bhā|ī kshiti-bhu|ī bhūja-nirbhāsi-nistritiśa-yaśajau ||  
[19\*] sa tu Satyavākya-Komguṇi-
- 94 varmma-dharmma-mahārājādhirāja-paramōvara-śrīman-Narasimhadēva-prathama-  
nāmadhūyah || Tasy-ānujō
- 95 yō-jani Rājamallō |<sup>9</sup> nāmu-ādina durddhara<sup>9</sup>-Rājamalla | pūrvv-āvanī-pā|aka-nītimārggō  
nāmu-āparūy-ā-

<sup>1</sup> The reading given in the Kudalur plates is *Miḍigē Sāiśai|ēndra*.

<sup>2</sup> The Kudalur plates read *mujjarikṛita*.

<sup>3</sup> This name has been wrongly read as *Iśākāmbā* in the Kudalur plates.

<sup>4</sup> This *śaśō* is unnecessary.

<sup>5</sup> The Kudalur plates read *Amāhrā rādra*.

<sup>6</sup> The reading in the Kudalur plates is *pṛithu*.

<sup>7</sup> The Kudalur plates have *śamāha* instead of *samrahā*.

<sup>8</sup> The Kudalur plates have *durhāda*.

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vii, a

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## Fifth Plate, Second Side

96. pi cha Nīmārggaḥ || [20\*] Pādātāṃ śara-pañjaraṃ-avira|air=śvīyam-ugr-āśinā |<sup>1</sup> hatvā  
hātīkam-ōka-gandhakariṇā
97. mūrtyā Noḷam̄b-Āṅṅigam̄(gam) | jītvā viṛṇta-Kottamangaḷa-raṅṣe bāyais-trībhīṣi-  
mmudritam̄<sup>2</sup> |<sup>3</sup> kṛtvā bībhyaṭam=atyuvā-
98. ha kṛipayā śri-Rājamallādīpaḥ || [21\*] sa ta Nīmārgga-Koṅṅuṅivarmma-mahārājā-  
dhirāja-param̄-
99. śvara-śri-Rājamalla-prathama-nāmadhōyāḥ || Tasy-ānājō nija-bhuj-ārjji ta-saṅpad-artthi  
bhūvallabham̄ samu-
100. paḅanya Dahāja-dēśē | śri-Baddegan-tadannatasya sutām̄ sahaiva vāk-kanyayā vya-  
vahaḍ=ukti-vidhis-Tri-
101. puryyāṃ(ryyām) || [22\*] Lakṣmīm=Indrasya hartuṃ gatavat̄ idīvi yad-Baddegām̄kō  
mahīśē |<sup>4</sup> kṛtvā Lalḷōya-hastāt
102. kari-turaga-sīta-chōhātra-simbhāsūnī | prādāt̄ Kṛiṣṇāya rājñō kṣhītipati-gaṅṅāśvā-  
(sv-a)gra-
103. nīr-yyaḥ=pratāpāt-rājā śri-Bātug-ākhyāḥ samājani vijitārātī-chakra-prachōṅṅḷāḥ  
|| [23\*] Kīcī-
104. ch-ātāḥ kin-nū c=āgād-Achalapura-patib̄ Kakkarājō-ntak-ūyāt̄ Bījī-ākhyō Danti-  
varmmā yudhī nija-vanavāsīva-
105. m-ēv-Ajavarmmā | sāntatvaṃ Śāntalēśō Nuḷuga-giri-patir-Ddāmari-darppa-  
lham̄gām̄ |<sup>5</sup> vārdhī-antā=Nāgava-
106. mmā bhaya-matir-abhayād=Gaṅga-Gāṅgōya-bhūpāt̄ || [24\*] Rājadītya-narīśvataḥ  
gaḷa-ghat-śjōpōm̄ sam-
107. darppitam̄ jītvā dhātay-ēvagaṅṅugam̄<sup>6</sup>=abō nirdhāya Tamjyā(jā)purimā(āt | Nā)-  
Jkōte<sup>7</sup>-<sup>8</sup>pramukh-ādi-dūrgga-

## Sixth Plate, First Side

108. nivahaḥ[īn] daghivā gaḷōndāt̄n̄ hayān |<sup>1</sup> Kṛiṣṇāya pratītat̄ dhānam̄ svayam-ādāt̄  
śri-Gaṅga-Nārāyaṇāḥ || [25\*]
109. Ēkānta-mata-mad-ōddhata-kovādi-kumbhīndra-kumbha-sambhōdam̄(dam) ||[\*] nū-  
gama-nayādi-kujisair-aktācōj=ja-
110. yad-uttarasīnga-nṛipaḥ || [26\*] Tasya kavi-nikaṣis-bhūm̄c-<sup>2</sup>Baddegadēvasya gaṅṅa-nīśhōḥ  
putryā[h\*] | Rōvakānimmaḷi-

<sup>1</sup> The *daṅḍa* is unnecessary.

<sup>2</sup> The reading *dhānam̄* in the Kudalur plates is wrong.

<sup>3</sup> The Kudalur plates read *Amṅṅaṅṅapam̄*.

<sup>4</sup> The Kudalur pl. does read *Nālḷōḷā*.

<sup>5</sup> *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

† DGA/61



- 111 nānnyās=Chūgavoḍcha-ṭṭi sa[th\*]jñāyāh || [27\*] Tat-putro Magadha-Kaliriga-Pāṇḍya-  
Chōja-kshmapālar=abhinuta-pā-
- 112 da-padikojasya [1\*] **Kṛtāpasya** prahata-ripu-vrajasya putrih ||ṭṭō vyavahad-  
achintya-nitimārgah || [25\*] Sa-anōhā-
- 113 t-saka/s-nahān-Kṛishṇa-bhūpātbbhū(d=bbhū)ṁāthah | khaḥu Madanāvātāra-samjñadh(jñam)  
[1\*] chhatran-tan-na-
- 114 rapatibhir=ano kascha-l=āptam<sup>1</sup> |<sup>2</sup> samprāptō Mārula itī prasiddha-nāmā || [29\*] sa cha  
Jina-vura-
- 115 chatay-āmbhōruba-madhupāyamāna-mānasō<sup>3</sup> | Mānasa-satōvara iva samāśri-
- 116 ta-sakala-rāja-hamśah | haṁśa-dhava|āyamāna-diganta-viāranta-kṛttih | Kṛttimanō-  
bhavah || apī
- 117 cha || Budha<sup>4</sup>-kama|e-hāstvad-Gaṁgamārtaṇḍa-bhūpah kavimūta-charitatvātā(n=Mā)  
navō Nītimārgah |
- 118 Ball-ripu-dājanatvō-Gaṁgachakrāyudhīhah<sup>5</sup> |<sup>6</sup> rīpaṇa-jana-pṛ(pi)ṭṭivāt<sup>7</sup> kāmadah  
kāma-dānāt || [30\*] Yasya
- 119 ch=|jōkanam<sup>8</sup> |<sup>9</sup> prāptō manyatē kāmī-janah || [1\*] mama rūm-ṭṭi<sup>8</sup> samjñā-āyam samprāpt-  
ādyā kṛtārthatām|| [31\*] Śau-

*Sixth Plate, Second Side*

- 120 chaṁ śaucha-mahāvratāh kavivarāh kāvyam kṛtārth-ārtthibhūh(bhīe-) tyāgah  
**Kōraja-Pāṇḍya-Chōja**-nivahāh śau-
- 121 ryan=mayō nīgah<sup>1</sup> | dharm-ādharmma-patāir=jjanāe=subbhagatāh yasy-ādarā-  
gṭyātē |<sup>2</sup> ā=yah satya-guṇ-āh-
- 122 budhir-vijayātām śrī-Gaṁgachakrāyudhah || [32\*] sa tu Nītimārga-Koṁgumivar-  
mma-dharmma-mahārājādhirāja-
- 123 paramēvara[ḥ\*] śrīmān **Kalyugabhīm**-āpara-nāmā **Marujadēvah** || Chāluky-  
ānvaya-Sindhavarmma-nṛipa-
- 124 tēḥ putrī matē śrīmatē |<sup>3</sup> **Kallabbā Jayaduttarariga**-nṛipatē-ddēvī mah-ātyuttamā |  
tat-putrō-
- 125 jani **Mārasimha**-nṛipatīḥ śrī-Satyavāky-ādhīpah khyātah śrī-Maruja-sūtra-kshītībhū-
- 126 jas-tary-ānujah sūnjusan(sam) || [33\*] Vidvī-kshātriya-kumbhā-kumbha-dājana-prō-  
dhbhūta-muktā-pla-
- 127 ja-śrī-hāra-pravīśbhīh-āma|e-jayant-lakshya-vaksha-sṭhah || [1\*] kam-ānamre-surēśvara-
- 128 stuti-vachā-śrīmaj-Jinēndra-kruma-śrī-padma-dvaya-mānasō vijayātē śrī-Gaṁgachōḍā-  
magah || [34\*]

<sup>1</sup> The Kodalur plates read *śamāśrīśōpam*.

<sup>2</sup> This *śyōḍ* is unnecessary.

<sup>3</sup> The Kodalur plates read *Pava*.

<sup>4</sup> The Kodalur plates read *āṭṭatāt*.

<sup>5</sup> The Kodalur plates read *parjēṭṭāḍānam*.

<sup>6</sup> The reading is *āṭṭatāt* in the Kodalur plates.

<sup>7</sup> The Kodalur plates read *nīpātā*.

- 129 Durvṛitta-kshatra-putra-dvirada-mada-bhara-bhrasā-bāja-dvipārīḥ kshamā-chakr-ākṛānti-  
mādyat-kaḷi-kaḷiḥ-
- 130 tamō-bhōda-bāḷ-āmsūmāḷi | kair-nna stuty-ōdaya-śrīḥ pratidina-bhuvan-ānanda-samb-  
vṛiddhi-bāja |<sup>1</sup> svētāmāsur-bhā-
- 131 |a ēva kshiti-taja-jayinām-agraṇir-Mmārasimhah || [35\*] Pād-āmbhōruha-bhṛuṅga-bhṛitya-  
bharaga-vyāpāra-chintāmaḷiḥ

*Seventh Plate, First Side*

- 132 samtrāsa-graha-vihvalkṛita-ripu-kāhmōpāḷa-rakshāmaḷiḥ [|\*] vidvat-kaṣṭha-vibhū-  
shaṅkṛita-guṇa-prōdhhāsi-mu-
- 133 ktāmanir-ddēvaḥ kasya na varṇanīya-charitah śri-Gaṅga-chūḍāmaḷiḥ || [36\*] sa tu  
Satyavākya-Komguṇiva-
- 134 rmma-dharmma-mahārājōdhirāja-paramōsvata-śrīmān-Mārasimhadēvaḥ || Śaḷēndrād-iva  
Jāhnavi jaḷa-
- 135 dharāt-saudāman-iv-āmbudhār-muktā-patūktir-iva prakāśita-guṇa-śri-Mūḷasaṅgh-  
ānvayāt | divyā
- 136 bhāsura-vṛittir-apratihatā prādurbabhūv-āvanau |<sup>1</sup> Śūrasatō-gaṇa-vṛittir-ujva(jjva)-  
ja-dhīyān Digvāsasām ja-
- 137 nna-bhūḷ || [37\*] Śri-Prabhāchandra-yōglās-tad-gaṇ-ādhiśvaraḥ kṛitī | sarvva-śāstra-  
mahārbhōdhir-vvīru-
- 138 tas-saka-āvanau || [38\*] Tasya Prabhāchandra-muniśvarasya śiśyas-tapō-mūrttir-  
udīta-kīrttirbba(etsiḷ | ba)-
- 139 bhūva bhavy-ābja-vikāsa-bhānus-satām varah Kalneledēva-nāmā || [39\*] Tasya śiśyō-  
jani śrīmō-
- 140 n Ravichandra-muniśvaraḥ [|\*] shaṭ-(triṅ(triṅ)śad-guṇa-sahyuktah śāstra-vārāsi-  
pāragah || [40\*] api cha || Śri-Sūrasatō-gaṇah
- 141 su-dussaha-tapaḥ-śūrais-tapō-rāsibhiḥ śiśyair-llabdha-sudhāmō-nirmmaḷa-yaśō-rāsib  
samudbhāsatō | mi-
- 142 thyā-jūāna-tamō-vibhēdana-ravir-vvidvat-sabhā-kaumudī-chandra-śri-Ravichandra-panḍita  
iti khyātō yati-grāmaḷiḥ [|\*] || [41\*] Tasya śri-
- 143 Ravichandra-panḍita-gurōḥ śiśyah satām-agraṇir-ddin-ānātha-vanīpaka-vraja-manah-  
santōsha-sākshān-ni-

*Seventh Plate, Second Side*

- 144 dhiḷ | bhavy-āmbhōruha-shaṅḍa-maṅḍana-ravir-Jain-āgamāmbhōndhir-jjātah śri-  
Ravinandīdēva-munipah saujanya-ja-
- 145 nm-āḷayah || [42\*] Tasy-ābhavan-munōḥ śiśyas-tap-ōnushṭhāna-tat-paraḥ [|\*] Eḷā-  
chāryyō yatiḷ [|\*] śrīmān-āryyavaryyāg(ryyah)

<sup>1</sup> This danda is unnecessary.



- 146 śrut-ātubuddhiḥ || [43\*] apī cha || Dāridr-ātapa-tapta-dīma-jaṇatā-saṃka[pa-ka]padrumaḥ |  
pād-āmbhōruha-bhavya-bhṛīmga-
- 147 jaṇatā-santōsha-chintāmsūḥ | E[ś]achāryya-munindra śsha viḥasach-chāritra-ratuākaraḥ  
śrīma[ya]-Jaina-ma-
- 148 t-ōdayācha[ya]-ravir-vvibhrājatē bhūta]ḥ || [44\*] Koṅgal-dēśa-nivāsinam nirupamaḥ śrī-  
Kādalōr-śaṃjāhakarō | \*
- 149 Kallabbā-rechitasya Jaina-ni[layasy]-ābhyarchchan-ārttham kṛitī | E[ś]achāryya-muniśvarāya
- 150 viduḥē grāman-namasyam svayam ddhē(dhā)rā-pu(pū)rvvam-adā[ya]-jit-āri-narapaḥ śrī-  
Mārasī-mūhō nripaḥ || [45\*]
- 151 svakty-āmbikā Kallabba-rājōi-kāritasya Jinālayasya sudhā-chitra-chitr-ādi-pū[ḥ]-ārttham
- 152 muni-jaṇēbhyaś-chaturvvidha-dān-ārttham cha | tēn-ābhivandyamānair-bbā[ya]-kā[ya]-  
charitair-spy-akharvva-pratipa-
- 153 ksha-parvata-paksha-khaṇḍan-aik-Ākhaṇḍajam-ahite-mahipati-vāhinī-nivaha-gahana-  
dahana-hutavaham-ātya-
- 154 nta-vikrānta-pratyanta-nripa-samīpavartī-samavartinam-āji-vijay-ōddhura-virōdhi-vasudh-  
ādhirā[ya]-rājy-ānga-grā-
- 155 sa-ā[ya]-aika-rākshasa-rājam-avāryya-gāmbhīryya-sāgara-sāmājya-pā[ya]-aika-pā[ya]-pā[ya]-  
ssi-dhārā-ja-

*Eighth Plate, First Side*

- 156 ja-pravridha-baddha-mūla-stabdha-vidviḥṭa-nripa-viḥa-viṭapa-nirmūjan-ānīlam-anava-  
rata-pradhāna-vijaya-dhana-sam-
- 157 graha-dhanōśvaram-akhī[ya]-jagadvartī-kīrtī-Gaṅgōdvahana-Mahōśvaram-anukīṣṭat-  
śaḥṭa\*-dik-pālam-śśēsha-rājarishi(ruhi)-mū-
- 158 rddh-ābhishiktam pitaram Satyavākya-bhūpatim-annkurvatā Mārasūhadēvōna Mōlpāṭi-  
śībīram-ādīvasatī vi-
- 159 jaya-akandhāvārē Śaka-nripa-kā]-ātīta-samvatsar-śaḥṭa-ātēshu chaturā(ra)śīty-  
abhyadhikēshu Dundubhi-samvatsar-āntargga-
- 160 ta-Pausa-māsa-bahuja-paksha-navamyām Maṅgala-vāra-Svātī-nakshatra-  
garajē-karapa\*-dhṛiti-yōga-samhyōginyām Kanyā-
- 161 Iagnē | tat-samaya-samāvīrbhūta-Jina-savana-jaṇit-ānanda-manuja-munija[na\*]-samāja-  
kōjā-
- 162 ha[ya]-ka[ya]ka[ya]-pūrita-dīśyām tat-kā[ya]-nū[ya]ka[ya]-sa[ya]cha[ya]-ka[ya]-cha[ya]ḥ[ya]-sa[ya]parkka-pātaka-  
ātām-
- 163 ka-patka-ka[ya]jan-ōdyata-jagajjana-majjans-kshōbhita-bhūta]a-pratīta-gandhōdaka-pravāha-
- 164 sahitāyām- [ī]tārāyana-samkrāntiyām tesmāi E[ś]achāryya-muniśvarāya saka]a-bhūpā]a-ma[ya]-  
mā]a-śakara-

\* This dagger is unnecessary.

\* Read anukīṣṭat-śaḥṭa.

\* Read para-karasa.

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Handwritten text in an Indic script, likely Grantha or Tamil, on a dark background. The text is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the page, approximately halfway down. The script is dense and appears to be a form of classical South Indian writing.

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Handwritten text in an Indic script, likely Grantha or Tamil, on a dark background. The text is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the page, approximately halfway down. The script is dense and appears to be a form of classical South Indian writing.

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Handwritten text in an Indic script, likely Grantha or Tamil, on a dark background. The text is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the page, approximately halfway down. The script is dense and appears to be a form of classical South Indian writing.

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Scale : One-half

- 165 nda-rajaḥ-puṁja-pinjarita-charaḥ-āravinda-yugaḥya | āśira-kara-nikara-viśada-yaśō-rāśi-  
viśadikṛita-sakaḥa-ma-
- 166 hītaḥya | Jin-ābhishēka-gandha-jaḥa-dhārā-purassaram Kotugal-dēs-āntarvartti-Kādālūr-  
mnānā grāmō dattaḥ [ | \*] Āsya śmā |
- 167 Pūrvvasyān=diśi Keṅgollīya paḥḍada mūḍaṇa piriya karggalla moṛaḍe | allindan=dakshin-  
ābhimukhade sandu Sōdiyā-

*Eighth Plate, Second Side*

- 168 la-dīṇeyō | ante sandu karggalla sarade | ante sandu kal-tippeye | ante sandu Paṭṭareyō |  
ante sandu Beḷgalla-mo-
- 169 raḍiya ben-dīṇeyō | ante sandu Eyyuyyal-moṛaḍiyō | Āgnēyada kōṇaḥ uruḇe-gallē | alli-
- 170 ndam Paśchim-ābhimukhade-sandu Uḷiyam=beṭṭē | ante sandu Dakshinasyān=diśi |<sup>1</sup> kaḍi-  
tale-galla-karggalla mo-
- 171 raḍe | ante sandu Baḷavageya dīṇeyō | ante sandu Maysūtra-baṭṭeya kal-tippeyō | ante  
sandu nairṇitiya
- 172 kōṇa |<sup>1</sup> Kēra dīṇeyō | allindam=uttar-ābhimukhade sandu | paśchimsyān=diśi | Kosagu-  
moṛaḍe | ante sandu
- 173 Nokkiyūra baṭṭeya Bhagavatiya dīṇeya kal-tippeyō | ante karggalla-saradu-vididu ba-
- 174 nda karggalla moṛaḍe | ante sandu vāyavyada kōṇa-Bhagavatiya dīṇeyō | allindam pū-
- 175 rvv-ābhimukhade sandu Nāḍugāṇiya dīṇeyō | mukūḷal-ślamō | ante sandu | uttarasyān-  
di-
- 176 śi |<sup>1</sup> Tavaḥkallē | ante sandu Paralikeṛoya-baḍagaṇa-dīṇeyō | ante sandu Gāṇivadigeṛoya  
baḍaga-
- 177 na-kaḍe-gōḍe | Isānada kōṇa-karggalla-moṛaḍiyiṁ banda paḥḍam Keṅgollīya paḥḍaḍoḷ-  
kūḍitta<sup>2</sup> [ | \*] Vē kēchi-
- 178 t-tuhinācha-ḍjva(jjva)ḥa-yaśas-tuḅgū=tra Gaṅg-ānvayē |<sup>2</sup> rājānāḥ śaśi-kānta-kānta-  
charitāḥ ślāghyā bhavishyanti taiḥ [ | \*] grā-
- 179 mō-yam pratipālyatūm=iti jagad-grāmārṇṇi-kaḥpa-drumaḥ tān=abhyarṇṇṇhatyātē kṛit-āṁjaḥi-  
putṭā(taḥ) śri- Gaṅga-chūḍāmaṇiḥ<sup>3</sup> [ | 48\*]

*Ninth Plate*

- 180 asya dānasya śākṣiṇaḥ śhaṇ-ṇavati-sahasra-vishaya-prakṛitayaḥ |<sup>4</sup> Bahubhīr-vvasudhā  
dattā |<sup>5</sup> rājabhi-
- 181 s=Sagar-ādibhiḥ [ | \*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmīa-tasya tasya tadā phaḥam(lam) || [47\*] Svam  
dātum samahach=chakyaḥ duḥkha-
- 182 m=anyasya pāḷanam(nam) | dānām vā pāḷanam v=ōti dānāch=chhṛēyō-mupāḷanam-  
(nam) || [48\*] Sva-dattāni para-dattāni vā |<sup>1</sup> yō harē-
- 183 ta vasundharām(rām) | śhaśṭim varaha-sahasrāṇi |<sup>1</sup> viśṭhāyām jāyatō kṛimih || [49\*]  
Adbhīr-ddattāni tṛi(tri)bhīr-bhuktāni śha-

<sup>1</sup> This *śaśṭi* is unnecessary.

<sup>2</sup> There is an ornamental design here.



- 184 jbhīś-cha paripālitam(tam) | śtāni na nivarttantē pūrva-rāja-kritāni cha || [50\*] Sāmānyō-  
yath dharmma-śtur-anṛipā-
- 185 nām |<sup>1</sup> kālē kālē pāṇiyō bhavadbhīh [|\*] sarvvān-śtān-bhāvinaḥ pāritihvondrān bhūyō  
bhū-
- 186 yō yāchatē Rāmabhadraḥ || [51\*] Adhyātma-dhyāna-dāna-pramukha-śubha-samārambha-  
sambhūta-vriddhiḥ(dhīr)-
- 187 dharmmā(rmmam) śarmma-pravṛiddhiḥ janayatu jagataḥ śānta-sarvv-āntarāyāḥ | kīrtti-  
krīd-ādri-bhūp-ākḥ-
- 188 |a-kuja-śikhari śekhara[|\*] kshmapatīnāḥ |<sup>1</sup> Lakshmi-līlā-kaśākhā(kshō) nanu bhavatu  
chīrāḥ Guṇgakandarppa-bhūpaḥ |<sup>2</sup> [52\*]
- 189 Kōgil-nāḍa-sūn(śi)me pūrvaśyān(śyān) diśib(śi) Māpikavoḷala-toṛeyō | dakṣiṇasyān  
diśi Kāvēriyō |
- 190 pēśchimasyān diśi Bāḷeyapaḷlaṁś | uttarasyān diśi Perṇṇa-nadiyō | ś nāḍa-nūl-gāvruḍḍa
- 191 Permmāḍi-gāvruḍḍa<sup>2</sup> [|\*]

<sup>1</sup> This design is unnecessary.

<sup>2</sup> There is an ornamental design here.

No. 14—BANGKOK MUSEUM STONE INSCRIPTION OF MAHENDRAVARMAN

(1 Plate)

B. CH. CHHABRA, NEW DELHI

(Received on 17-7-1961)

On my way back from Indonesia to India in December 1960, I happened to stop for a couple of days at Bangkok. While there, I paid a visit to the National Museum of Thailand in company with Mr. Nirmal J. Singh, Press Attaché, Embassy of India in Thailand. We were cordially received and shown round by Prof. Luang Boribai Buribhand, Director of that museum. I was sad to learn that there had recently been a conflagration in one wing of the great museum, causing considerable damage to valuable records and monuments. The gallery of stone inscriptions had also suffered much from that fire. As we were inspecting the exhibits in that gallery, my attention was suddenly attracted by a stone slab with a short early Sanskrit inscription, beautifully engraved in four lines. The same inscription forms the subject matter of the present paper.

The inscribed slab, I was told, had been newly acquired by the National Museum of Bangkok. I learnt further that it had not yet been published anywhere.

I am editing it at the instance of Mr. Nirmal J. Singh who was to supply me with a facsimile of the inscription as well as with the details as to the find-place and the circumstances of the discovery of the inscribed slab. I received from him an inked estampage of the inscription in February 1961, through the courtesy of Prof. Luang Boribai Buribhand. The accompanying photograph is a reproduction of the same estampage. In July 1961, I received the information that the inscribed slab had been found by Mr. Serie Naenlha, Assistant Curator of the Provincial Museum during his expedition in 1960, in the vicinity of Prasat Khao Chongsa Chaeng, in the Aranya-prades District, about 350 kilometres east of Bangkok.

The inscribed space measures 28 × 30 cm. The four lines of the inscription constitute but one stanza, each line containing one quarter of the verse, the metre being *Anushtubh*. Though the inscription has suffered a slight damage here and there, especially in the first line, there is no doubt about the reading. The upper half of the letter *ma* in the name Mahendra has been effaced, but the preserved part of the letter and its comparison in the second line confirm it to be Mahendrarvarman. The alphabet is a highly ornamental type of what is commonly known as Pallava-Grantha of South India of about the seventh century A.C. Although the palaeography does not call for any special remarks, attention may be drawn to the final *m* indicated by the usual *ma* with the *ardha-chandra* mark above it. The language is Sanskrit, as already indicated. As to the contents, the inscription records the excavation of a tank, called *Sankara-tatāka*, by Mahendrarvarman.

Even though there is no indication in the inscription as to the identity of this Mahendrarvarman, it is possible to identify him with the king Mahendrarvarman of Kambuja or Kambujadēsa, i.e. Cambodia, son of Viravarman and the younger or youngest brother of Bhavavarman. This last mentioned ruler is reputed to have founded the dynasty of Kambuja kings, having defeated his rivals of the earlier kingdom of Fu-nan.<sup>1</sup> It goes without saying that the present Thailand at

<sup>1</sup> Cf. R. C. Majumdar's *Kambuja-dēsa (or An Ancient Hindu Colony in Cambodia)*, Madras, 1944, pp. 472.



that time formed part of Kambuja or Cambodia. Bhavavarman was succeeded by his brother whose name was Chitrasēna and who assumed the second name Mahēndravarman at the time of his coronation.<sup>1</sup> The practice of assuming coronation names was in vogue in ancient India<sup>2</sup> and was followed also in lands and islands that came under the Indo-Aryan influence. The reign period of this Chitrasēna-Mahēndravarman falls between the closing years of the sixth century and the early years of the seventh century A.C.

It is further of interest to note here that the same Chitrasēna-Mahēndravarman is known to us from two more stone inscriptions that have already been published. The earlier of these two is known so far in three versions and the later in as many as six.<sup>3</sup> Again, the earlier one mentions him only as Chitrasēna, indicating thereby that by that time he had not yet come to the throne. The later one expressly states 'that he was formerly known as Chitrasēna and assumed the name Mahēndravarman at the time of coronation.'<sup>4</sup> Since our inscription makes him already well-known (*visruta*) as Mahēndravarman, it may be taken to be the latest of the three inscriptions so far known of him. It is quite possible that the present inscription was also made available in more than one version like the other two and that some other version or versions of it may come to light in future.

The two inscriptions already known record each the establishment of a *Sivalinga* by the king, which shows that he was a devout worshipper of the god Śiva. His naming the tank, the excavation of which is the object of the present inscription, as *Śaṅkara-taṭāka*, accords well with that.

In order to show the family resemblance between the earlier inscriptions and the present one, I reproduce here the Cruoy Ampil inscription,<sup>5</sup> in which the last line is missing.

It reads as follows :

- 1 Bhaktyā bhagavatsā-Śambhō-
- 2 r-mātya(tā)-pitṛōr-anujāyā [ | \*]
- 3 s[th]āpitañ=Chitrasēnāna
- 4 [līngān-jayati Śāmbhavam. [ | \*]

It may be observed that the wording in line 1, viz., *bhaktyā bhagavatsā-Śambhō-* is exactly identical with what occurs in the third quarter of the last verse in the Udayagiri cave inscription of Virasēna, a minister of the Gupta monarch Chandragupta II.<sup>6</sup> Is this a mere coincidence or are we to infer that the composer of Chitrasēna's inscription had known Virasēna's inscription? This last belongs to the beginning of the fifth century A.C. and to North India.

<sup>1</sup> R. C. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, Calcutta, 1953, p. 21.

śr. Chitrasēna-namā gāhā  
pūrvam bhāṭa lakṣaṇāḥ |  
no śr. Mahēndravarman-eti  
nāma bhāṭe- bhikṣūjānaḥ |

<sup>2</sup> For example, Pallavamalla assumed the name of Nandivarman at the time of his coronation. See the Valkupthasecurāḥ inscription, *RII*, Vol. IV, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> R. C. Majumdar *Kambuja-śilā*, p. 54.

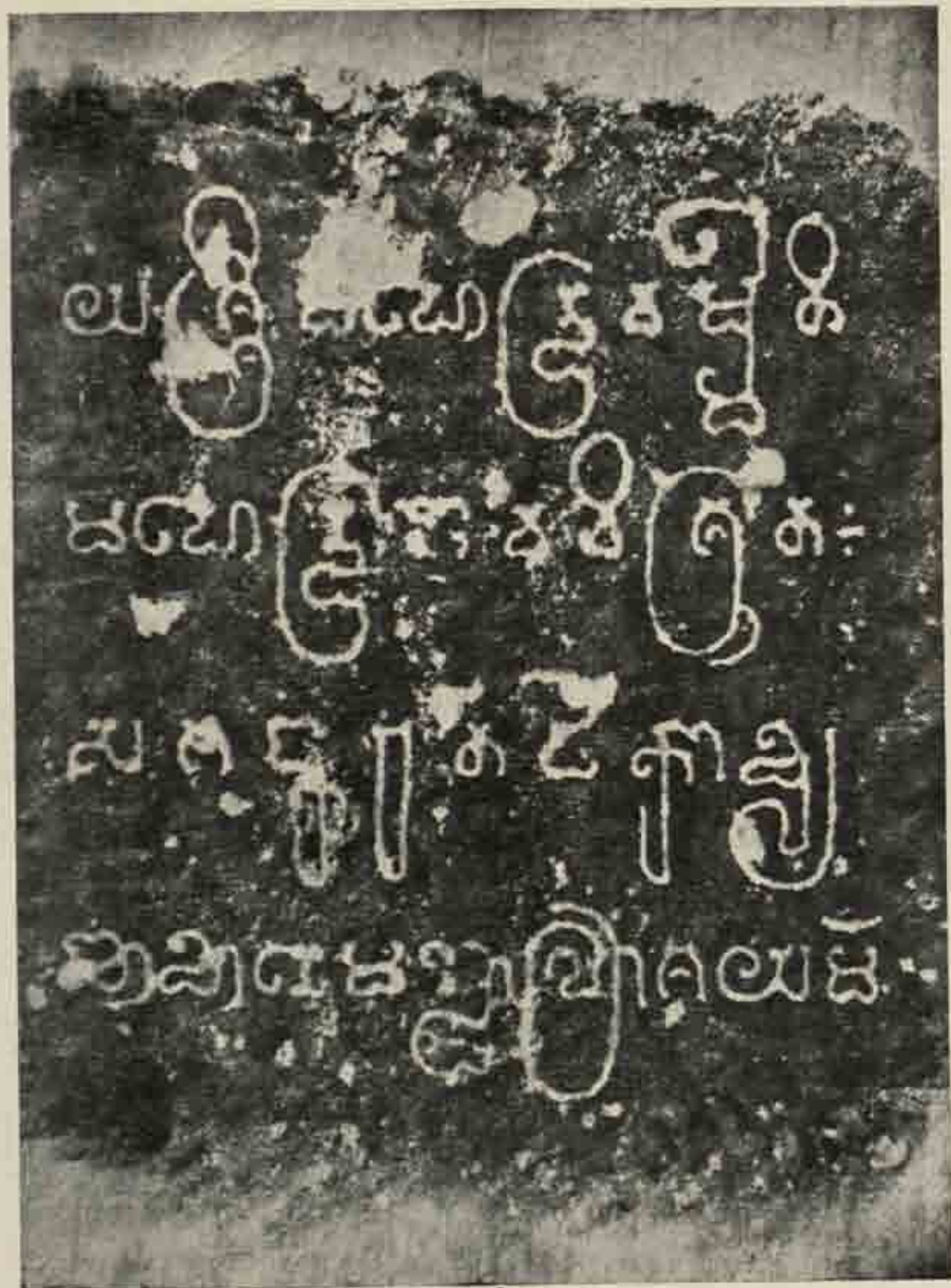
<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> G. Coedès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, Volume II, Hanoi, 1942, p. 134, Plate LXII.

<sup>6</sup> [The reading appears to be r-mātya(tā) pitṛōr-anujāyā.—Ed.]

<sup>7</sup> Restored from the Thms Kr. inscription, *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, Tome III (1903), p. 212.

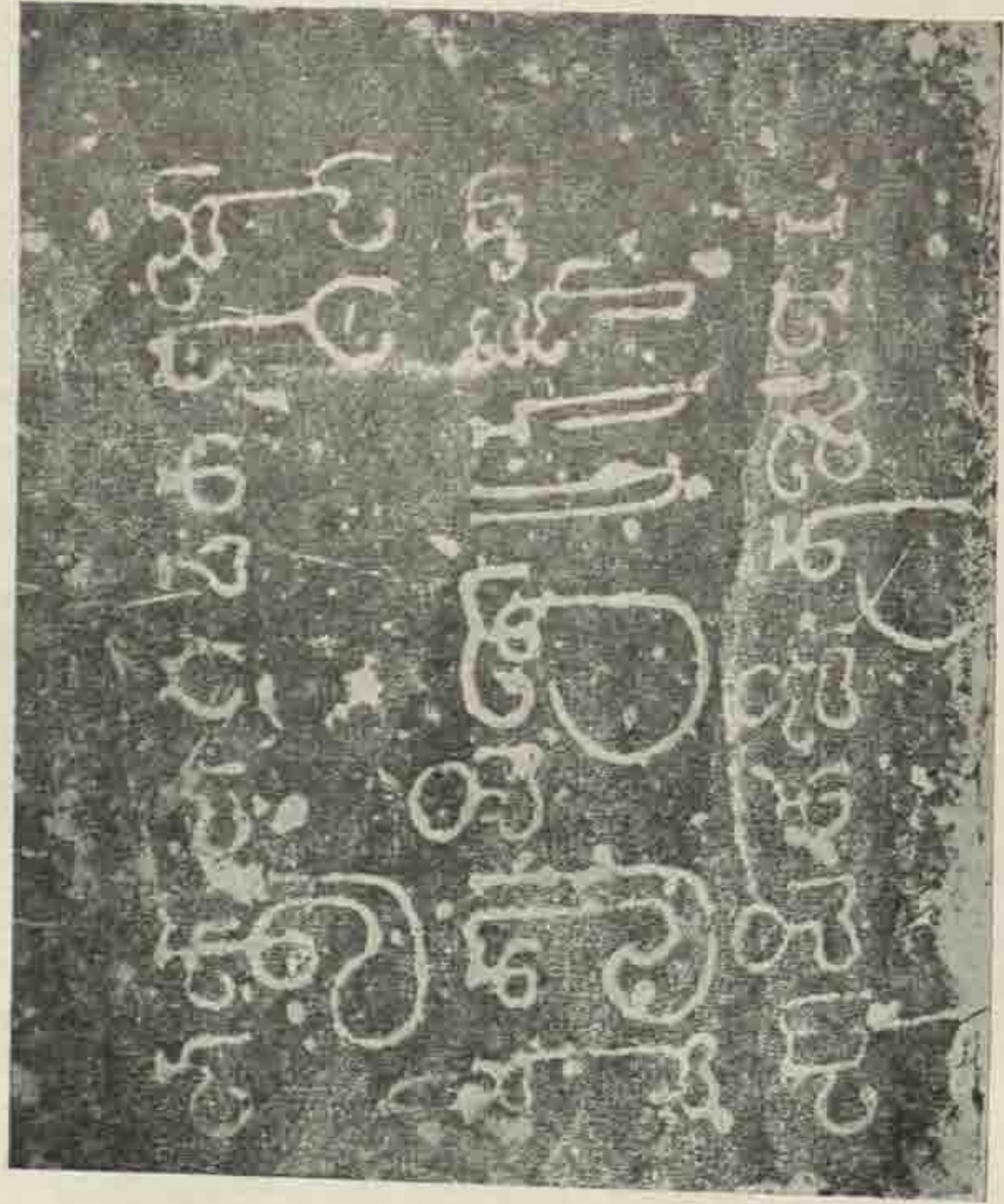
<sup>8</sup> Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 35, Pl. IV.A. The first quarter of the verse occurs also in an inscription of Bhavavarman, the elder brother of Chitrasēna: *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, No. 27, p. 35.



(from Photographs)



CRUOY AMPIL INSCRIPTION OF CHITRASENA



Below I give the text and translation of the present inscription :

TEXT

- 1 Yaś=śri-Mahēndravarmm=ōti.
- 2 Mahēndra īva viśrutah |<sup>1</sup>
- 3 sa Śankarataṭāk-ākhyā-
- 4 ũ=chākān=ōmañ=jubhāyam |<sup>2</sup>

TRANSLATION

"He, who is known as the illustrious Mahēndravarman, famous like Mahēndra (i.e. Indra, the chief among the gods), excavated this reservoir of water, named Śankara-tatāka".

<sup>1</sup> This punctuation is represented by a horizontal stroke in between the two dots of the śraṅga.

<sup>2</sup> This punctuation is indicated by a small cross.



## No. 15—TWO PANDYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM TIRUPPARANGUNRAM

(1 Plate)

K. G. Krishnan, Ootacamund

(Received on 21-7-1961)

**Tirupparangunram**, a suburb about four miles south-west of Madurai is a well-known centre of pilgrimage for the devotees of Lord Murugan. The hill enshrining this deity abounds in antiquarian relics of considerable historical interest. The Brühmi inscriptions<sup>1</sup> on the beds in the cavern on this hill are the earliest records available here for study. There are also Jaina sculptures worked on an inaccessible part of the hill.<sup>2</sup> These inscriptions do not throw much light on the history of the place beyond indicating that the caverns were resorted to by the Buddhist or Jaina mendicants who always preferred such lonely places for their meditation in the early centuries of the Christian era. A later monument on the top of the hill is a building which is believed to be the tomb of a fakir popularly called Sikander.<sup>3</sup> During the recent past the hill had been the centre of military activities of the European powers in their struggle for domination.<sup>4</sup> In Tamil literature the place has been described as a great centre of pilgrimage, as it is today, for the devotees of Lord Murugan or Subrahmanya. The *Paripōdal*, an anthology of verses grouped with the Saṅgam classics contains graphic descriptions of the place, the deity and also of the people who were attracted to this sacred place from various parts of the country.<sup>5</sup> The inscriptions published here pertain to the foundation of the rock-cut cave temple on the hill. This rectangular cave-temple facing north contains three cell-shrines respectively for Śiva at the western end facing east, Durgā in the centre of the south wall facing north and Vishnu at the eastern end facing west. On the wall behind the *linga* in the Śiva shrine is a representation of Somāśakaṇḍa in bas-relief.<sup>6</sup> The shrine at the east contains a seated image of Vishnu. The scooped spaces on the wall on either side of the shrine of Durgā contain sculptures of Subrahmanya to the east and Vināyaka to the west. There are two pillars at the entrance into the cave temple. Lower down there is an excavated shrine for Jyēshthai reaching to the back wall of the monolithic cave.<sup>7</sup> The worship of Jyēshthai was evidently very popular in the Tamil country during the period of the inscriptions edited here as images of this goddess are also known to exist at Tiruvejjavāyil,<sup>8</sup> Mysapore<sup>9</sup> and Kumbhakōṣam.<sup>10</sup>

The subjoined inscriptions named A and B are engraved respectively on the lintel of the entrance into the Durgā shrine and on the eastern pillar, both in the rock-cut cave temple of Subrahmanya on the hill. Inscription A is in Sanskrit verse engraved in Grantha characters.

<sup>1</sup> *A. B. Ep.*, 1908, App. C, No. 33; *ibid.*, 1909, App. B, No. 33; 1951-52, Nos. 140-142.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1909, part II, para. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1939-40 to 1942-43, Part II, para. 156.

<sup>4</sup> *Pattappoṭṭu, Tirumuraṅgappōdal*, lines 1-77; *Paripōdal*, verses 8, 17, 18, 19 and 21.

<sup>5</sup> Some cave temples of the Pallavas have similar panels containing sculptures in bas-reliefs. See *Ancient India*, No. 14, pp. 122, 130 and 132.

<sup>6</sup> *South Indian images of gods and goddesses*, pp. 216-18 and n. 1 on p. 218. For further information see *Journal, Madras University*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 156-59.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 217.

<sup>8</sup> *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part II, plate CXXI.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, plate CXXIII.

It is dated in the month of **Taisha** of the **Kali year 3874**, equated with the **sixth year**, evidently of the reign of a king whose name is not clear. It records the excavation of a glorious abode for god Śambhu and the consecration of the deity on the said date by **Gaṇapati** *alias* **Sāmanta Bhīma** described as a *raṭṭya-mukhya*. Inscription B<sup>2</sup> which is in **Tamil** engraved in **Vaṭṭeḷuttu** characters of about the 8th century A.D. records the excavation of the sacred temple and a tank by **Sāttan Gaṇapati** *alias* **Pāṇḍi-Amiṛta-nāḡalaṭ-araiaṇ**, who is described as a *raṭṭya*, a resident of Karavantaputa and the *mahāsāmanta* of the king **Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyaṇ** in whose **sixth regnal year** the record is dated. It further records that the shrines for Durgāḍḍvi and Jyēshṭhai were caused to be excavated by **Nakkṇ Korri**, the *dharmapati* of Sāttan Gaṇapati.<sup>2</sup>

The **palaeography** of the two inscriptions may be considered here. A comparison of their alphabet with that of the Ānaimalai inscriptions, both in Grantha and Vaṭṭeḷuttu—a feature which compares very well with the present records—reveals that the Tirupparangunram Grantha inscription exhibits a more ornamental variety of the alphabet while its Vaṭṭeḷuttu counterpart displays an upright or vertical tendency in the form, whereas in the Ānaimalai records we find the cursive forms so characteristic of the alphabet. This upright form of the letters with pointed bottoms may be favourably compared with the same feature, despite a few minor differences, in the forms of *ta* and *ya*, in the Trivandrum Museum stone inscription<sup>3</sup> and the Kaḷugumalai record of Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyaṇ.<sup>4</sup> A feature of **orthographical** importance is the spelling of the word *āiga* (lines 6-7) and *kōslum* (lines 8-9 and 13-14) in which the vowel *i* is used in place of the full consonant *yi*, even though the words *ā* (for *āgu*) and *kō* warrant the use of a hiatus in respect of the syllable *īa* and the word *ī* respectively.<sup>5</sup>

These two records studied together reveal the fact that they deal with the same subject-matter, one in Sanskrit and the other in Tamil with some additional details. The shrines for Śambhu, Durgā and Jyēshṭhai having been excavated, the inscriptions point out, the deity Śambhu was consecrated in the month of Taisha (December 22nd-January 19th) in the 6th year of Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyaṇ which fell in Kali 3874<sup>6</sup> (773-74 A.D.). Here is yet another important landmark in the chronology of the early Pāṇḍya kings, the one already known being that of the Ānaimalai inscription<sup>7</sup> of this king (Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyaṇ) dated Kali 3871, Kārttika Paushya (i.e. Rōvati), Sunday, regularly<sup>8</sup> corresponding to 770 A.D., November 4. These two dates enable us to indicate the period when Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyaṇ should have ascended the throne. That the later date must have fallen in the 3rd year of reign of Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyaṇ is obvious when it is construed with the former.<sup>9</sup> This is indirectly confirmed by the identity of the *ājñāyṭi* Māraṇ-Kāri of the Vōḷvikudī plates of

<sup>1</sup> *A. N. Ep.*, 1931-32, No. 142. The interpretation of the text in the remarks column is defective. See text below.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1908, No. 37. The text has been published in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXII, p. 67. Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyaṇ of this record was identified with Jatilsarman of the Madras Museum plates. (see *SI*, Vol. XIV, No. 3.)

<sup>3</sup> *T. A. S.*, Vol. I, p. 158, n. 28. The argument given there in favour of making Nakkṇ-Korri, the queen of Māraṇ-Jaḍaiyaṇ is untenable. The expletive particle *marra* indicates only the beginning of another sentence whose subject-matter is different. The absence of regnal title for the lady also indicates that she was the wife of Sāttan Gaṇapati. *SI*, Vol. XIV, No. 3 and n. Also compare line 3 of Inscription B.

<sup>4</sup> *T. A. S.*, Vol. I, plate facing p. 158.

<sup>5</sup> *SI*, Vol. XIV, No. 31.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. above, Vol. VIII, p. 320, line 11 and plate.

<sup>7</sup> It may be noted that the date is expressed partly in words and partly in chronograms (*vann*, i.e., 8 and *vēda*, i.e., 4).

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 317 ff. Here the date is expressed in words.

<sup>9</sup> *QJMS*, Vol. X, p. 183.

<sup>10</sup> *The Pāṇḍya Kingdom*, p. 59, n. 2. The statement made there requires to be revised in the light of the present record.



the king's 3rd regnal year and his namesake who figures as the *uttu mantrin* of the king in this (Āṅaimalai) record which states in the Tamil part of its text, that this dignitary having passed away after the completion of the rock-cut temple, his brother completed the consecration of the deity (Narasimha) therein. Now, taking the month Taisha (December 22-January 19) as the last in the 6th year of Māraṅ-Jaḍaiyan's reign, the exact *tithi* or day being unspecified, and November 4, as the last in the 3rd, it can be shown that this king identified with Varaguṇa I<sup>1</sup> must have commenced to rule sometime between December 22, 767 A.D. and November 4, 768 A.D.

It will not be out of place here to discuss the light that the inscriptions and the scriptures throw on the date of the *Paripāḍal*, an anthology of 22 poems, which is grouped with the Sangam classics and which contains eight verses on Śevvēl or Murugavēl or Subrahmaṇya and Tirupparaṅkuṇṇam. The original anthology of this work with 70 poems is said to have contained thirty-one poems on Murugavēl and Paraṅkuṇṇam of which only eight are now extant.<sup>2</sup>

The poems speak of Tirupparaṅkuṇṇam in high praise as the abode of Lord Subrahmaṇya where all gods, not to speak of the people, throng to have his favour. One of the poems (No. 19, line 28) refers to *ēḍeḍi-ambalam* which was perhaps a hall, the walls of which had paintings drawn on them. This hall is again referred to in another poem (No. 19, lines 48-54) as *ēḍṭṭu-vilai-maṇḍapam*. This *maṇḍapa* is stated to have been embellished with several paintings (*chittiram*) depicting stories such as that of Rati and Kāma, Ahalyā who was transformed into stone by Gautama on account of her defilement by Indra, etc. It therefore appears that at the time when these poems were composed the worship of Murugavēl at Tirupparaṅkuṇṇam was immensely popular. The inscriptions published here, as already pointed out, do not mention Subrahmaṇya at all,<sup>3</sup> and the sculpture of Subrahmaṇya occupies a less prominent place, i.e. on the wall to the east of the shrine of Durgā, as a subsidiary deity. If the Śevvēl or Murugavēl described in the *Paripāḍal* pertains to this sculpture,<sup>4</sup> it may be reasonably surmised that the poems of the *Paripāḍal* which describe this god may be assigned to a date much later than the date (773-774 A.D.) of the foundation inscriptions edited here.<sup>5</sup>

Sāttan-Gaṇapati, the founder of the cave-temple is also described as Pāṇḍi-Amirta (Amṛita)-maṅgalav-araiyan and as a *mahāsāmanta* of the king. He is said to be a resident of Karavantapuram which is the well-known Kaḷakkūḍi in Tirunelveli Taluk, Tirunelveli District. He is also described as a Vaidya-mukhya, the chief among the Vaidyas. Māraṅ-Kāri, the *ājāpati* of the Vēlvikuḍi plates also belonged to the Vaidya family of Karavantapuram and bore the title Mūvūnda-maṅgala-ppēraraiyan<sup>6</sup>. His brother Māraṅ-Eyiyan who succeeded him to the position of *uttara-mantrin* bears the title Pāṇḍi-maṅgala-vaṣai-araiyan. Another chief of this family, Dhīrataran Mūrtti-Eyiyan was the *ājāpati* of the Madras Museum plates dated in the 17th regnal year (784-85 A.D.) of this king<sup>7</sup>. Mūrtti Eyiyan is described also as the *mahāsāmanta* of the king. He bears the title Viramaṅgala-ppēraraiyan. Sāttan-Gaṇapati who was the *mahāsāmanta* according to the present record in the 6th year (773-74 A.D.) of this king, bears the title Pāṇḍi-Amirta-maṅgalav-araiyan which has a close affinity with another title Pāṇḍi-Iṅgamaṅgala-ppēraraiyan of Saṅgan

<sup>1</sup> Regarding the identity of Varaguṇa I with Jaṭila-Parāntaka Neḍuḷjaḍaiyan, see above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 269 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Tamil Language and Literature*, by Professor S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, p. 26.

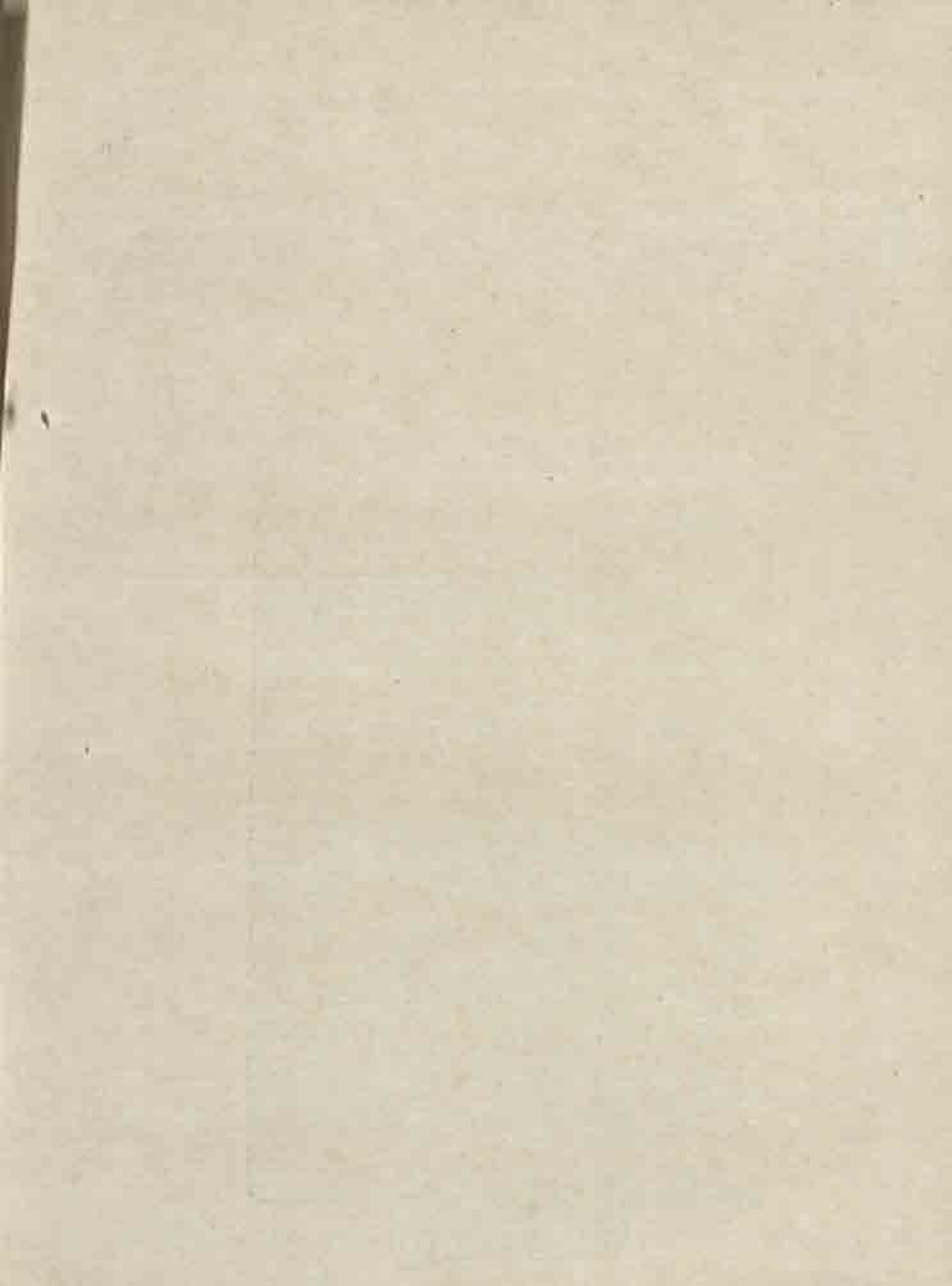
<sup>3</sup> The only reference to this deity occurs in a late inscription (*A. R. Ep.*, 1941-42, No. 251) dated 1792 A.D.

<sup>4</sup> For a detailed examination of the cult of Murugaṇ, see *Journal, Madras University*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 159-77.

<sup>5</sup> One of the poems (No. 11) in this anthology on Valgai furnishes astronomical details which have been equated after an elaborate examination to the 17th June, A.D. 634. *An Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. I, pp. 100-09.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. VIII, p. 318 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXII, pp. 57 ff.





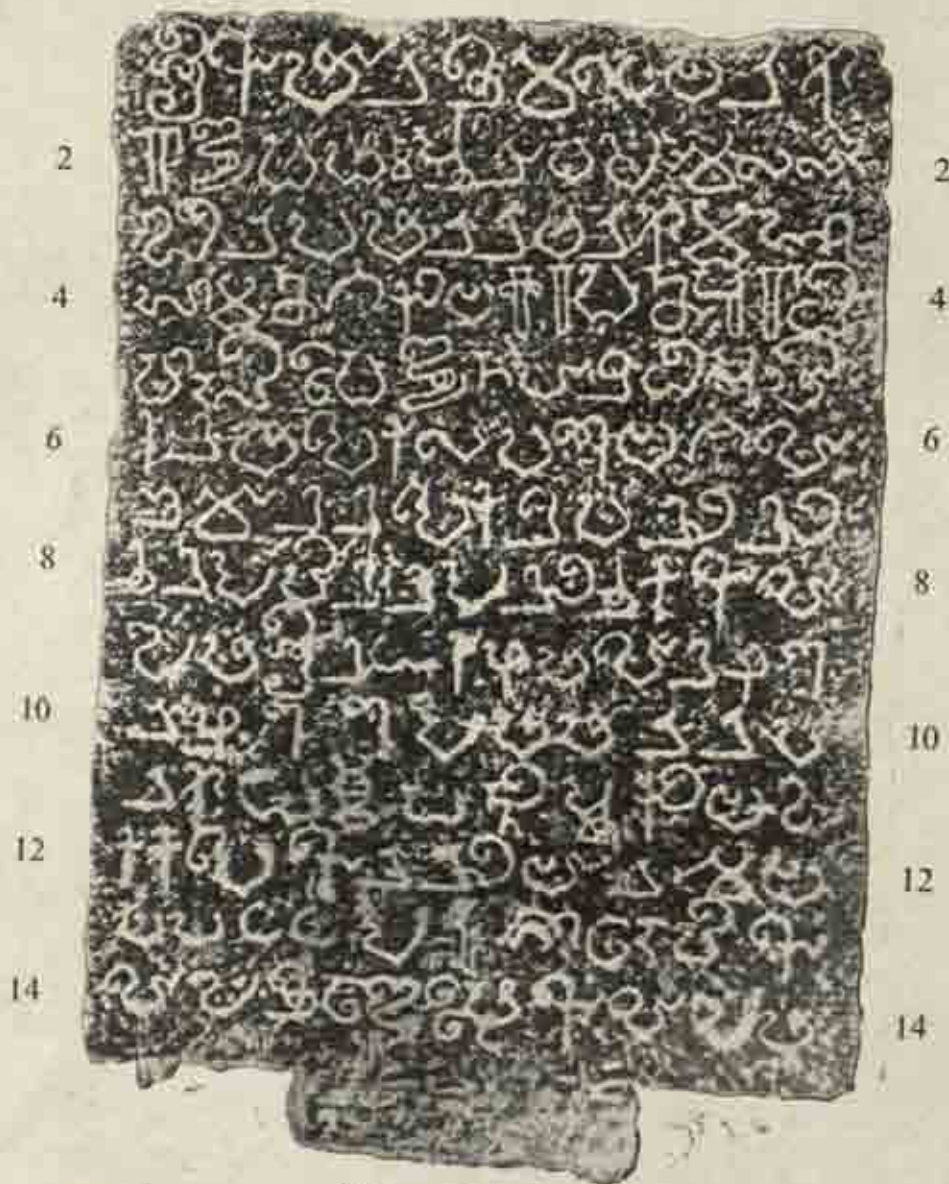
TWO PANDYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM TIRUPPARANGUNRAM

A



Scale : One-seventh

B



Scale : One-fifth

Śrīdharan of the Madras Museum plates who held the office of the *matagajādhyakṣaḥ* (superintendent of proud elephants). The word *matagala* occurs also as part of another title Maṅgala-Enādi of Etti-Maṅṅan of Perumcheṇṇam mentioned in an inscription<sup>1</sup> from Kaḷugumalai dated in the 23rd year of reign of Māraṅ-Jaḍaiyan of the present record. Thus it may be seen that most of these chiefs hailed from the Vaidya family of Karavantapuram and that the words *matagala* and *araiyan* forming part of their titles and occurring as a distinguishing feature with their names are confined to the reign of this Māraṅ-Jaḍaiyan identical with Parāntaka Neḍuṅjaḍaiyan.

The only place name Karavantapuram occurring in the records has been already discussed.<sup>2</sup>

TEXT<sup>3</sup>

## A

- 1 Śrī [ | \*] Taiśhē māśē **sahasra-tritaya vasu-śutair-vatsarair-vēda-saṁkhyais-sa-**  
 2 [pta]t-yāyātavatyām-Peranaśikṣaiṇi śaimad-u[tk]īryya dhāma[ | \*] Dhīmaṅ-Sāmanta-  
 Bhūmō-ga[ru] [ | ]<sup>4</sup>  
 3 [ ]māraḅē rājani bhūjamānō **shashṭyām(thyām)** Śaṁd(hō) kalau cha vyadhita Gaṅapattī-  
 śhāpōnān Vai(dyamu)khyah [ | ]<sup>5</sup>

## B

- 1 Śrī [ | \*] Kō-Māraṅ-Jaḍaiyaṅku  
 2 rājya-varsham āṅvadu chollā-  
 3 nirpa marṅ-avarku mahā-  
 4 sāmantaṅ-ūgiya Karavantaṅur-ūḍhi-  
 5 vāsi Vaijyan Pāṇḍi Ami-  
 6 rdamaṅgalav-araiyan-ūi-  
 7 ṅa Śāttan-Gaṅapattī ti-  
 8 ruttuvittadu tiru-kkōi-  
 9 lum Śrī-taḷḷaṅgamum ilam[ ]-a-  
 10 ṅam-u[ ]oḷum [ | ]<sup>6</sup> marṅ-ava-  
 11 ṅku dharmma-pōnni ūgiya Śa-  
 12 kkaṅ-Korriyāṅ-ehoya-  
 13 ppaṅḅadu Durgūdevi-kō-  
 14 lluṅ-Jēśhṭai-kōḷlum [ | ]<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *SIU*, Vol. XIV, No. 31.

<sup>2</sup> *Above*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 283 ff.

<sup>3</sup> From impressions.

<sup>4</sup> There is a sign of *mudra* 's above the letter 'v' which may be ignored. The two short syllables needed after 'v', one in line 2 and another in the beginning of line 3 are damaged. Shri K. R. Srinivasan informs me that the inscription was formerly fully covered by a brass plate. Hence the damage caused to the letters.

<sup>5</sup> This is evidently governed by Vārttika 4900 *Khorjare śri vā visargāṅgā rāḥṁśōś* as pointed out by Shri V. S. Subrahmanya Sastry.

<sup>6</sup> Metre: *Śaṅḅharā*.



No. 16—BANNIGOL INSCRIPTION OF TRILOKYAMALLA VIJAYADITYA, SAKA 947

(I Plate)

SHRINIVAS RITTI AND B. R. GOPAL, OOTACAMUND,

(Received on 30-4-1958)

This inscription, edited below with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, is engraved on a slab of stone set up in front of the house of Mukkappa Togalgal at **Bannigol**, a village in the Lingsugur Taluk, Raichur District, Mysore State. It was copied by Shri Shrinivas Ritti in the course of his epigraphical survey of that Taluk during the winter of 1957.<sup>1</sup> The stone on which it is engraved is broken on the top and at the proper-left corner of the bottom. Fortunately, however, the record is well preserved though a few letters in the last but one line are faint and the last letter in the same line is chipped off. A horizontal line across the stone divides the inscription into two portions but the matter runs on from one half to the other.

The language and alphabet of the record are Kannada. No special remarks are needed so far as the palaeography and orthography are concerned as they conform to the period of the record, i.e., early part of the 11th century A.D.

The details of the date given in the inscription are Saka 947, Kródhana, Āsvija (in Saptami, Friday). These regularly correspond to 1025 A.D., October 1, Friday. On that day the *tithi* commenced at '01 and ended on the following Saturday at '05.

The record is a royal decree (*śasāsthā-patra*) enjoining the *śrotréyas* Māramayya, Nāmayya, Sōvayya, Kallimayya and Chāvayya of Bannigola to collect revenue at specified rates on different types of lands such as *kaṭṭiya-ḷeyi*, *yaṭhagandige*, *kisikōḍa* etc., by **Trilōkyamalla Vijayāditya** who is stated to have been ruling from his capital *Moṛaganūr*, to the south of *Kaṭṭige* situated in Kandrage-Seventy division. The record enjoins that the decree should come into force from the Saka year 948, *Kāṣya* i.e., 1026 A.D., the year next to that in which the record is dated.

The chief interest of the record lies in the mention of Vijayāditya with his title *Trilōkyamalla* and his association with the administration of that part of the country which was, during that period, under the sway of the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. The fact that there is no mention of the name of his family, gives rise to the question of identification of this Vijayāditya who was ruling from *Moṛaganūr*. *Moṛaganūr* is the same as *Moḍeganūr* which appears in epigraphs in other forms also like *Moḍeyanūr*, *Mōḍanūr* and *Mōḍitagrāma*. It has been identified with the modern *Māḍinar* in the *Koppal Taluk* of the *Raichur District*.<sup>2</sup>

During the period in question, there was one Vijayāditya who was a contemporary of the Western Chālukya king Jayasimha II. He was a step-brother of Rājarāja I of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty who ruled from *Vāḍgi*. Vijayāditya of our record is evidently identical with this Vijayāditya as will be shown below. *Vimalāditya* was succeeded on the Eastern Chālukya throne in 1099 A.D.<sup>3</sup> by his son Rājarāja I born of the Chōḷa princess. Vijayāditya was also a son of

<sup>1</sup> It is registered as No. 343 of App. B in *A. R. Ep.* for 1957-58.

<sup>2</sup> P. B. Desai—*Studies in Epigraphy*, 3. See also his article "Māḍarāḷa Māḍarāḷa" in *Prākṛita Kāvya*, *Jako*, Vol. I Part II (1932); *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. XLIX, pp. 97-98.

<sup>3</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1957-58, p. 5.

Vimalāditya by his other wife Mōjama or Mōdama of the Telugu-Chōja family.<sup>1</sup> Though several of the inscriptions of Rājārāja I speak of his rule from 1019 A.D.,<sup>2</sup> his coronation took place only three years later *i.e.*, in 1022 A.D. This was because of the opposition of Vijayāditya, his step-brother, from allowing him to succeed to the throne. Rājārāja I ultimately succeeded in celebrating his coronation with the help of his contemporary Rājendra Chōja of the Chōja dynasty. Several inscriptions from Madakasira<sup>3</sup> and Kottasivaram<sup>4</sup> in the Madakasira Taluk, Anantapur District, refer to the battles fought by the Chōja general Arayan Rājārājan with the Kalingas, Odḍas and Teluḅgas. Two of these<sup>5</sup> are dated in the tenth year of Rājendra-Chōja corresponding to 1021-22 A.D. One of these inscriptions<sup>6</sup> refers to a Veṅgi king who fled away when he heard of the advance of the Chōja general mentioned above. It has been rightly surmised that the Veṅgi king who thus ran away was Vijayāditya VII.<sup>7</sup>

It is also well known that Veṅgi was the object of the protracted battles between the Chōjas and the Western Chālukyas. It is stated in an inscription from Tanjore<sup>8</sup> that Rājendra-Chōja conquered Irattjapāḍi from Jayasinhha, the Western Chālukya king, who turned his back and fled from Muyaṅgi or Musāṅgi.<sup>9</sup> The date of this inscription is also 1021-22 A.D., as that of the inscriptions from Anantapur District referred to above. This clearly indicates that Rājārāja I succeeded in setting aside the claims of Vijayāditya for the throne with the help of Rājendra-Chōja and later in 1022 A.D., had his coronation ceremony celebrated.

But Rājārāja I could not once for all vanquish his rival who was still waiting for an opportunity to hit him. He had quite possibly sought the help of Jayasinhha II who had good reason to proceed against the Chōja who obviously was supporting Rājārāja. The Miraj grant of Jayasinhha II dated 1024 A.D.,<sup>10</sup> mentions him as being in the possession of Eḷadore-2000 country and affirms that he regained it after driving out the Chōjas. From this it is clear that the battle of Musāṅgi was not a decisive one and the two powerful parties were still at war and did not hesitate to proceed each against the other when an opportunity occurred itself.

The Pāmūlavāka plates of Vijayāditya VII<sup>11</sup> assert that after Rājārāja I had ruled for twelve years, Vijayāditya defeated him and got the throne and that his coronation took place in Śaka 952 corresponding to 1031 A.D. Though the Ryāli plates<sup>12</sup> of the same Vijayāditya do not refer to any such event, the undated Kaldinūḍi plates of Rājārāja I<sup>13</sup> seem to throw some light on this point. Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, while editing this record, states that the battle between the Chōjas under the leadership of the three Chōja-generals, and the commanders of the king of Karpūṭa was fought in 1031 A.D. when Vijayāditya got himself crowned.<sup>14</sup>

Now, Vijayāditya of the record under review is, in our view, none else than this Vijayāditya VII of the Eastern Chālukya family. We have suggested above how this Vijayāditya was seeking

<sup>1</sup> *The Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi* by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, p. 218.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 216.

<sup>3</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1918, App. B, Nos. 751 and 752. See K. A. N. Sastri, *The Chōjas*, second edition, pp. 204-06 where the activities of the Chōjas in the Veṅgi country are discussed.

<sup>4</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1918, App. B 1917, App. C, Nos. 23, 24, 30 and 31.

<sup>5</sup> Nos. 23 and 752 of 1917.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, B, No. 751.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. XXIX, p. 62; K. A. N. Sastri, *The Chōjas*, p. 205 (Second edition).

<sup>8</sup> *S. H.*, Vol. II, No. 10 pp. 93-95 ff. Also *Ibid.*, No. 17.

<sup>9</sup> This place had originally been identified with Uchchangidurg in the Bellary District, but has later been identified rightly with Maski. See S.L.L., Vol. II; pp. 95, n. 4; *Aḷḷas Inscriptions*, Edited by Hultzsch, pp. 2xvii Above Vol. IX, p. 239.

<sup>10</sup> Above, Vol. XII, pp. 303 ff.

<sup>11</sup> *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 277 ff.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 168.

<sup>13</sup> Above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 57 ff.

<sup>14</sup> [For a different view on this point, see above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 261 ff.—Ed.]



the assistance of Jayasimha II, the Western Chalukya, for overthrowing Rājarāja I. It is not therefore impossible that between 1022 A.D., when the battle of Muzangi was fought and 1031 A.D., when Vijayāditya got himself crowned, he took refuge under Jayasimha who made the Eastern Chalukya prince the governor of a province befitting his status. After regaining the Eḍḍore province in 1024 A.D., from the Chōjas, Jayasimha must have made Vijayāditya the governor of the area round about Moraganūr which was a part of the Eḍḍore country.<sup>1</sup>

The occurrence of the title *Trailōkyamalla* is very intriguing. An inscription from Tammadhājī<sup>2</sup> attributes the title *Trailōkyamalla* to Jayasimha II. Even though this record is engraved in characters of the 12th century A.D., the title *Trailōkyamalla* mentioned in it might have been borne by Jayasimha himself from whom Vijayāditya of the present record must have taken it.

Of the geographical places that occur in the inscription, Moraganūr has already been identified. The other names are Kundurage Seventy, Kattege and Bannigoḷa. Kundurage, which was then a district of 70 villages, may be identified with the present Kandaragi in the Bijapur District.<sup>3</sup> Kattege is perhaps identical with Kattagēri near Kandaragi in the same district. Bannigoḷa is obviously the same as Bannigōḷ, the final spot of the record, situated in the Raichur District and on the boundary of the Bijapur District.

## TEXT

- 1 Śrīmat-Trailōkyamalladēva-nānādi-sama-
- 2 sta-prasa(sa)-si-sahita(ni) śrīmad-Vijayāditya-dēva-
- 3 r-ssa(Sa)ka-varsha 947 neya Krōdhana-samvatsaram-āva[yi]ṅ-
- 4 su(su)ddha naptami Su(Su)kravārad-andu Kundurag-e[pattara ba]ḷi-
- 5 ya Kattegeya te(n)ka-dadiya Moraganūra neleviḷḷimol su-
- 6 kha-samkha(ka)thā-vinōdadim rājyaṅ geyuttire Bannigoḷad-ūroḷeyam Mā-
- 7 camayya(n)ḷgam Nāmayyaṅgam Sōvayya(n)ḷgam Kallimayya(n)ḷgam Chēva-
- 8 yya(n)ḷgam Sa(Sa)ka-varsha 948-neya Kalaya-samvatsaram-ādy-āgi-
- 9 yāra kālakkam kotta sadustā(sthā)-patram-ant-suloḷe (i)\* kariya keyge mattara-
- 10 l-aylo paṇadi paṭha-gandige mattaram-emaṇa paṇa-va[nidham] kisukāḷu mattarige
- 11 paṇa(n)ḷ takka-ṭarṭta-varsha<sup>2</sup> mattarige pattu viśevāni varsham-pratiy-o[ḷdu] paṇam [vrittīy-  
3]-
- 12 gi yārene-śrōhge kari-keyyo[ḷḷavu[ḷu] . . . . keyi ko[ṭṭa] . . . . .
- 13 i[ḷa] | Idam tappade pratipā[ḷi]nvar ||

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XII, pp. 296-6.

<sup>2</sup> *SIL*, Vol. XI, Part I, No. 68.

<sup>3</sup> We are thankful to Prof. C. M. Kallarni, M.A., of Bombay, who kindly suggested this identification.

<sup>4</sup> From impressions.

<sup>5</sup> The exact import of this expression is not clear.

BANNIGOL INSCRIPTION OF TRAILOKYAMALLA VIJAYADITYA



Scale : One-fourth





## No. 17—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM RAMPURA, SAMVAT 1664

SADHU RAM, NEW DELHI.

(Received on 22nd May 1959)

The two inscriptions edited hereunder are found in the village **Rāmpurā**, Mandasor District, Madhya Pradesh, situated at about 23 miles north-west of Garoth Railway Station. The first inscription (A) is engraved on a **pillar** set up on the north-east corner of a **step-well** in the village,<sup>1</sup> while the second (B) is engraved on a large **stone-slab** built into the wall of the same well.<sup>2</sup>

### A. The Pillar Inscription.

The inscription occupies an area of about 18" by 9" and consists of thirteen lines, engraved in **Nāgarī** characters. The language of the record is **Sanskrit**, but it is influenced by the local dialect.

After the invocation of the *Siddhas* and recording the details of date this inscription gives the genealogy of the house of a certain **Pāthū** or **Padārtha**, and records the construction of the well which is described as *śayā cāpī* or a **step-well** on the southern side (of the pillar). It gives the details of date of the consecration (*pratishṭhā*) of the well as Thursday, the 7th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month **Vaiśākha** of the **Vikrama** year 1664, corresponding to the **23rd April 1607 A.D.**

The genealogy of the house of **Padārtha** (**Pāthū**) as given in the pillar inscription is as follows :



The *gotra* of the family is given as **Baghūravāla** and the name of the architect is **Rāmā**, the same as **Rāmadāsa** of the well inscription edited below.

### B. The Step-well Inscription.

The **step-well** inscription covers an area of about 37" by 21" and contains 31 lines, and is written in **Nāgarī** characters. The first part of the record, viz., lines 1-11 has suffered some damage

<sup>1</sup> *A. N. Ep.*, No. B 193 of 1954-55. An estampage of it was very kindly lent to me by Dr. H. V. Trivedi, Deputy Director, Archaeology and Museum, Bhopal.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, No. B 196 of 1954-55. The estampage of this inscription was sent to me very kindly by the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.



and consequently the number of letters lost in each line ranges from twentythree (in line 1) to five (in line 11). The part succeeding the line 37 is also much damaged, and hence it is difficult to be certain as to the number of lines that were originally there and the number of letters that are lost in line 30.

The language employed in this inscription is **Sanskrit** and the extant portion of the text consists of at least 47 verses besides a small prose passage in the beginning and a few letters in line 30 possibly forming part of a verse.

The **object** of the inscription, as in the case of the pillar inscription, is to record the excavation and the consecration of the well by Padārtha.

The date portion (verse 43) of the record is damaged, and the available details are, the month Rādhās (=Vaiśākha), the *tithi* Bhāsvat, and again, the weekday, Thursday. If *Bhāsvat tithi* is taken to refer to *Pūrṇimā*, a sense, which, though unusual, is not impossible, then the nearest possible date would be Vaiśākha su. di. 15, V.S. 1664 corresponding to the 30th April 1607 A.D. And if the statement *pāṇīkṛtīya sudirghikām* in the same verse is taken to mean 'after the construction or filling of the *vāpī*' and compared with *vāpī-pratishṭhā kṛtā* in the pillar inscription, we may possibly expect the date of the inscription being later than that of the pillar inscription, say by seven days.<sup>1</sup>

The record begins with a small prose passage invoking Gaṇeśa and Bhārati, which is followed by the verses of eulogy. The first verse which is damaged also invokes the same deities again and mentions the son of Jivā, evidently Padārtha, the hero of the *prastāvi*. The extant portion of the second verse appears to invoke the great sages to protect the hero. It may be compared with the invocation of the *Siddhas* in the pillar inscription A, discussed above.

Then commences the description of the genealogy of the house of the hero from its originator who is also named Padārthaka, and who is said to have been born in the *Śrādhakī-gātra*, the best among the 52 *gātras* belonging to the twelve and a half<sup>2</sup> castes of the Vaiśyas (verses 3, 4). After him is mentioned Nāthū, a rich and munificent person who stands in some relationship either of a son or of a younger brother as is indicated by the letter 'ta' (for *tasy-ātmanah* or *tasy-ānujah*) in verse 5. This clearly shows that these Padārthaka and Nāthū are different persons from their namesakes, the sons of Jivā.<sup>3</sup> The occurrence of the same names in later generations is a common practice among all families even to this day. The name of Nāthū's son is illegible in line 4, verse 6. In verse 7, he is said to have enjoyed the patronage and favours of an intelligent master, the lord of the fortress of Āmañda, who followed a wise course of policy and saw that his subjects were free from distress. In the following verse he (Nāthū's son) is referred to as Yōga. The same verse also says that he was appointed to a responsible post by Achala<sup>4</sup> who had satisfied himself of Yōga's capacity and skill in doing his duties. Yōga, evidently, is the same person as Jōgā of the pillar inscription. In verse 9, the ruler of Gujaraṭ (Śakapa) is said to have encountered Yōga on the

<sup>1</sup>[The expression *vāpī-pratishṭhā* includes the filling up of the *vāpī* with water and its consecration. See Hīmadri's *Chaturvargachintāmani*, Vol. II, Part II, pp. 223 ff. (Banaras Edition, 1903). Therefore it appears that the dates of both the inscriptions are one and the same, namely the 23rd April 1607 A.D. It follows, therefore, that the expression *Bhāsvat-tithi* stands for *asyant*. Cf. *Saptamī-astamī-astmī-asta*, etc. Ibid., Vol. III, Part II, p. 67. See also, above, Vol. V, p. 168, note 4.—Ed.]

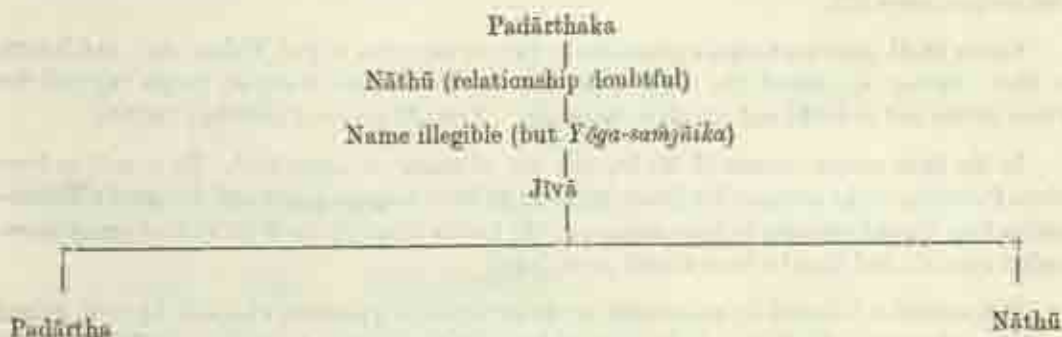
<sup>2</sup>[The expression *śrādhakī-gātra* in the context actually means 'eighteen'. See M. Williams *Sans. Key. Dic.*, s.v. *śrādhā*.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup>[It is difficult to be sure on this point. It is equally possible that the original read *taṣy-ātmanah* or *taṣy-ānujah*—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup>[Achala may be identified with Achalaśāś, grandfather of Durgā.—Ed.]

border of Mēdapāta (Mōwār,) but fled and sought refuge with Pratāpa<sup>1</sup>. Verse 10 appears to describe his (Yōga's) faith in Jainism which he appears to have professed as we shall see below. Verse 11 appears to attribute the building of a Chaitya to Yōga while verse 12 introduces his son Jivā who seems to have effected some improvements, or created an endowment (verse 13), for the same Chaitya mentioned above and who seems to have been held in high esteem (verse 14).

Verse 15 introduces Jivā's two sons, named Padārtha, the elder, and Nāthū, the younger. Thus the genealogy of the house may be indicated thus :



A comparison of the two tables of genealogies described in the two inscriptions, makes it clear that Padārtha, the son of Jivā and the elder brother of Nāthū, who had the well excavated, cannot be identical with Padārthaka, the founder of the House.<sup>4</sup>

The above section is followed by an account of king Durgabhānu, evidently of the Chandrāwat family.<sup>5</sup> Verse 16 compares his kingdom with that of Rāma of the epic fame. The next verse describes Durgabhānu as the son of Pratāpa, while verses 18-19 vaguely praise the former's rule. The next verse (verse 20) speaks of a beautiful *śarōvara* in Rāmapurā dug by Durgabhānu which may be identical with Durgasaras<sup>6</sup> mentioned in verse 39. Verse 21 praises him as a subjugator of several kings and territories.

<sup>1</sup> This Śalōpa may be Muzaffar Shah III of Gujerāt; but who this Pratāpa was, is not clear. He cannot be Rāpa Pratāpa. Because Muzaffar never sought refuge under him. Nor can he be Durga's father, because he was dead and Durga succeeded his grandfather. He must be only some chieftain in Gujerāt or Kāthiāwār. [This incident appears to have taken place during the time of Achaladās. (See Note 4 on p. 172.) It is therefore doubtful whether Muzaffar Shah of Gujerāt whose accession took place in 1562 A.D. (*CBI*, Vol. III, pp. 344-45) was a contemporary of Achala. Hence the identification of Śalōpa requires further evidence. Verse 9 appears to mean that Śalōpa while on this flight took refuge in the valley of Yōga who was camping on the border of Mēdapāta.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> [See note 3 on p. 172.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> The history of Chandrāwat family of Durga is given by Shri Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha in his *Udaypur Rājya kō Itihās* (pp. 1372-73). Sivā, the great-great-grand father of Durga, having saved the *Boysen* of Sultan Hoahang from drowning in a boat-wreck received the title of *Rao* from Hoahang and a *Jagir* of the Parganā of Āmad together with 1400 villages. Sivā's son was Rai Mal and grandson, Achaladās. Achaladās's son, Pratāpasinha was the father of Durgabhānu. He died (perhaps in a battle-field) and Durga succeeded his grandfather and founded the city of Rāmpurā. It was destroyed by Āsaf Khān, a general of Akbar during the latter's siege of Chittor and Durga was compelled to owe allegiance to Akbar. He served Akbar for more than 40 years and was raised to the rank of Commander of Four Thousand (*Lās-i-Ashraf*, Eng. trans., Blochman, pp. 459-60). He lived to the age of 82 and died on December 20, 1607 A.D. (See also *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Eng. Tr., p. 134). In the list of possessions of Durga, as given in *Rāmpurā kō Itihās*, there is the mention of Āmadgarh Havēlī, i.e., the lands under the Āmad fort. According to the *Indore Gazetteer*, Vol. I, 1931 edition, pp. 559-60, "Eleven miles to the west of Rāmpurā lies the ruined fort of Āmad (Āmadgarh), a former stronghold of the Chandrāwats, its main gate still standing in a state of fair preservation." That is why Durga is called "Āmadgarh-durgādhipati", in verse 7.

<sup>4</sup> [The reference here is to a well dug at *sijāsābi-pura*, meaning Delhi. The *Durgasaras* referred to in verse 39 may not be this well.—Ed.]



Verses 22 and 23 respectively speak of the construction by Durgabhāma of a lotus-pool to the east of Ujjayinī by damming up the river Pīṅgalikā<sup>1</sup> and to his performance of *tulādāna*<sup>2</sup> together with rich gifts to the Brāhmanas at the holy place of Pīṣāchamōksha.<sup>3</sup> He is said to have brought glory to the emperor of Delhi (i.e., Akbar) by his capture of the fortified village Ahillaka (modern Alhad) and to have put to flight the advancing hordes of the Sultān of Gujarāt (verses 24-25)<sup>4</sup>. He made a gift of a thousand cows to the Brāhmanas at Rāmpurā (verse 26) and proceeded to the city of Madha (i.e., Mathurā) to distribute more gifts to the Brāhmanas on the occasion of a solar eclipse (verse 27).

Verses 28-31 describe Durga's greatness in valour, devotion to god Vishnu, etc., and inform us that, having appointed the loyal Padārtha as his Finance Minister, Durga enjoyed the favour of the lord of Delhi and got *jāgīr* from him. Verse 32 praises Padārtha's virtues.

In the next section (verses 33-36) Durga's son, Chandra<sup>5</sup> is introduced. He is said to have raised Padārtha to the status of his Prime Minister, to have fought against and defeated a Mohamadan king Turatī<sup>6</sup> and also to have conquered the hostile kings of the West and several Mohamadan generals and thus to have earned great fame.

This section is followed by an account of the activities of Padārtha who had, by now, gained a position of power and influence as Prime Minister. He was greatly devoted to the Tīrthankaras (verse 37). He made gifts of food and clothes to the *saṅgha* while setting out to see the festival in the Jaina temple probably referred to in verse 11 above (verse 38), made a pilgrimage to the Durgasara (a pond excavated by Durga), gave away gifts of different kinds for eight days and made some *dhama* in 'this place', viz., the place near the step-well (verses 39-41). The present step-well excavated by him is said to have been furnished with several rest-houses (*saukha-sāta*) for the comfort of the travellers (verse 42).

Then come the details of date in verse 43 which we have already discussed. The same verse says that Padārtha got the tank filled up (with water) and made gifts of money to the Brāhmanas. It is interesting to note that the well is still known as *Pāttā Shāh ki Bācari*, i.e. 'the step-well of the minister Pāttā' (corrupt form of Padārtha).<sup>7</sup> Verse 44 informs us that the well was constructed by the architect (*Sōtradhāra*) Rāmadāsa, the son of Shētā (=Khetā), who boasts of the excellence of his work as a challenge to the pride of other architects. Verse 45 introduces Kṣhava

<sup>1</sup> This river cannot be the Chambal which does not flow to the east of Ujjain, nor even the Sīprā which also flows to the west. It may possibly be some minor tributary of Sīprā which may be flowing to the east of Ujjain. In  $\frac{1}{4}$  maps there are a couple of tanks on the eastern side of Ujjain formed by building of dams, but their history requires investigation.

<sup>2</sup> *Bāmpurā M. Khyāt* mentions a *Tulādāna* by Durga's queen there on a lunar eclipse occurring on Kārttika Pūrṇimā.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Trivedi has informed me that it is the same place known as Satkhōdihāra on the bank of the Chambal. The Pīṣāchamōksha rite is still performed when a fair is held there twice a year on the full-moon days of Vaiśākha and Kārttika. This place is 10 miles from Bāmpurā. [The expression *Pīṣāchamōksha* reminds us of the story of the emancipation of Pīṣācha at Prayāga (*Pudmaperige*, VI, 150) and of *Pīṣāchamōksha* (*Trika*) as the name of a sacred bathing place—see M. Williams *Sans. Exp. Diet.*, s.v. *Pīṣācha*.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> (Probably the reference here is to the war of Gujarāt in 1584 in which Durga is said to have distinguished himself *Līlā-i-Akbarī*, op. cit., p. 459)—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> *Makrū-ol-Dunrā* (p. 206) mentions that Durga's son Chandra had, in the beginning of Jahāngīr's reign, the rank of 700. Gradually he attained a higher rank and held the title of *Rao*. Being an imperial *Mānabādār*, he could appoint Padārtha to be the minister of his own affairs and holdings as well (vide, *Udaypur Rājya* 40 *Itihāsa*, pp. 1062-63).

<sup>6</sup> Could it be a corruption of Turbat? Turbat is the name of a tribe (sūta) in Khurāsān (Blochman, *Līlā-i-Akbarī*, p. 378). He may have been a petty chief of that tribe ruling over some principality in that region.

<sup>7</sup> *Pāttā Shāh* may stand for Pīṣāchā, 'the king'.—Ed.]

as a very learned Brāhmaṇa. He may have been the composer of the *prastāvi*. In line 29, only the words *saugata-dharma-siddhā* (i.e., one conversant with the religion of Sugata) are legible. Sugata is primarily an epithet of the Buddha, but here it seems to have been used for the Jina, Jainism having been then very popular at Rāmpurā and in the adjoining region. Buddhism had long disappeared from this region.<sup>1</sup>

The geographical names occurring in this record, viz., Dūshapāripura *alias* Rāmpurā, Delhi, Ujjayinī, and Mathurā are well known and we have tried to identify the river Pīngalikā.

## A

TEXT<sup>2</sup>

- 1 ॥ ओं नमः[\*] सिध्वे(द्वे)भ्यः । स(सं)वत्
- 2 ॥ १६६४ वषे(षे) वसाय(वंशाब्द)मास-
- 3 ॥ शुक्लपक्षसप्तम्यां गुरौ पुष(ष्य)-
- 4 ॥ नक्षत्र(त्रे) एतस्मिन् दिन(ते) सं-
- 5 ॥ गइ<sup>3</sup> श्रीनाथुः[\*] तस्य पुत्रः[\*]
- 6 ॥ सं जोगा तस्य पुत्रः[\*] सं
- 7 ॥ जीवा तस्य पुत्रः[\*] संग-
- 8 [॥] इ श्रीपदारथः[\*] पा[थु]
- 9 [॥] ज्ञाता(तिः) व(त्र)घेरवाल-
- 10 [॥] गा(नो)त्रं [तेन\*] सन्यावापा(पो) प्र-
- 11 [॥] तिष्टा(ष्ठा) कृता[॥\*] सु(शु)भ(भं)
- 12 [॥] भवन्(तु)॥ स(सु)त्रच(घा)रः
- 13 [॥] रामा ॥ श्रीः

<sup>1</sup> This is what Dr. H. V. Trivedi, wrote to me.

<sup>2</sup> From impressions.

<sup>3</sup> The word *Saṅgā* and its contraction *Saṅg* in the succeeding lines stand for the Sanskrit *Saṅghārthā* or



## B

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

[Metres : Verses 1, 4 *Sālinī*; vv. 2, 6, 7, 10-14, 18, 27, 29, 32, 38-39, 47(1) *Upajūti*; vv. 3, 34, 42, 43, 45, 46 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 4, 16, 20, 26, 28, 30, 35 *Anuś(ubh)*; vv. 5, 15, 22, 24, 31, 37, 40, 41 *Indravajrā*; verse 8 *Faitāliya*; verse 9 *Aryāgītī* (defective, with one *mātrā* too much in the 2nd *pāda* and one too short in the fourth *pāda*); verse 17 first half *Udgītī* while second half is damaged; verse 19 *Svāgata*; vv. 21, 23 *Upēndravajrā*; verse 25 *Gītī*; vv. 33, 36 *Drudavilambita*.]

- 1 ॥ [धी]गणेशभारतीभ्यां नमः । नत्वा देवं विघ्नराजं गणेशं देवीं वा[णी] दिव्य-  
सिंहासनस्थां(स्थाम्) ॥ जीवामूनोदं ७ — — [दशायां] — — लोके [कल्पवृक्ष] ७ — —<sup>2</sup>  
[॥१॥] ७ — ७ — — ७ ७ — ७ — — ७ — ७ — [भ्रा]जितपादपद्माः ॥
- 2 ॥ [सम]स्तसंदक्षितमोक्षमार्गं[॥] विद्वत्प्रियं पान्तु पदार्थकं ते ॥२॥ साद्वद्वावचजातयो  
निगदिताः श्रेष्ठा(ष्ठा) विना भूतले तन्मध्ये [प्र]विता[ः] सु[धर्म]निरता व — ७ —  
— ७ — ॥ — — — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ ७ — धर्म स्वकोये स्थिता मि-
- 3 ॥ [ध्या]स्थावि[नि]वजितातिनिपुणा[ः\*] पण्ये स्थितानां शुभे ॥३॥ नेत्रवाणेषु गोत्रेषु  
श्रेष्ठि(ष्ठि)गोत्रं शुभं मतं(तम्) ॥ तस्मिन् पदार्थको जातः सर्वगोत्रप्रकाशकः  
॥४॥ त — ७ — — ७ ७ — ७ — — — [प्र]दानाधिगतप्रतीतिः ॥
- 4 ॥ [ध्या]पारदक्षो निजवं(वं)धुमुस्यः(स्यो) नाधुधनादधः प्रथितः पृथिव्या(ध्याम्) ॥५॥  
तस्यात्मजीभूत्सुहृदाप्तः? — — रत्नाकराद्धी(द्धी)तकरः कलादधः ॥ य[था] जनानंद-  
[हिरः\*] ७ — — ७ — ७ — — ७ [मुदप्र]कीर्तिः ॥६॥ आमंददुर्गा-
- 5 ॥ धिपतिं प्रजानां दूरीकृताधि सुनयेन<sup>3</sup> दक्षं(क्षम्) ॥ प्रभुं गुणादधं समवाप्य शस्वत्  
(श्वद्) धर्मायकामान् वृ(वृ)भु[जे]धिकश्रीः ॥७॥ अचलः<sup>4</sup> किल यो[ग]संज्ञिकं  
७ ७ — ७ ७ — ७ — ७ — ॥ अधिकारिपदे नियु(यु)क्त-
- 6 ॥ [वान्] निजकार्यक्षम<sup>5</sup> पादवं(वम्) ॥८॥ गूर्जरदेशाधिपतिः शकपो यं प्राप्य  
भेदपादसंज्ञिस्थं(स्थम्) ॥ गतभीः पालयमानो(तः) शरणं यत्प्रतापसंज्ञिकं कृतवान्  
॥९॥ ७ — ७ — — ७ ७ — ७ — — — ७ नीयः<sup>6</sup> सुगुणाभिरामः यो

<sup>1</sup> From impressions.

<sup>2</sup> The original probably had *kalpavrikshasya lagna*.

<sup>3</sup> Better read *sunayi cha Lakshma*.

<sup>4</sup> The name Achala here refers to Durgabhāna.

<sup>5</sup> This sign indicates an omission which however is not found supplied in the portion available. Read *Ekamataṁ cha pāṭanam*.

<sup>6</sup> This may be conjecturally restored as *yaḥ śarāṇāyudh*.

- 7 ॥ — ७७ — दशलक्षणे भूत्कृतप्रयत्नो निजधर्ममुखे ॥१०॥ दयापरः सत्यपरः कृताधी(र्षः)  
सत्पात्रदानेन सुगीतकीर्तिः ॥ चैत्यालयं सद्गुरुभक्तियुक्तो ७—७— — ७७  
— ७— — : ॥११॥ जीवाभिधस्तत्तनयो
- 8 ॥ [व]भूय स्वकीयधर्मेषु दृढप्रतीतिः ॥ दयाद्रभावो गुरुदेवभक्तो वंशाग्रणीर्बुद्धि-  
मतां वरिष्ठः (षः) ॥१२॥ चैत्यालये वृद्धिकरं स्वकीये सदा शुभध्यान-  
विधूतमोह(हम्) ॥ ७—७— — ७७—७— — — रिक् भव्यगुणं चकार ॥१३॥
- 9 ॥ तदा श्रमात् प्राप्तसमस्तकामो च(मश्च)भुविधिं दानमदाद्यातिभ्यः ॥ सत्पात्रदानेन  
कृपायुतेन प्राप्नोति लोके पदवीं च गुर्वी(र्वीम्) ॥१४॥ तस्यात्मजौ द्वौ  
विनयोपपन्नौ — ७— — ७७—७— — ॥ या(ज्या)मान् पदार्योनुजनिश्च
- 10 ॥ नाथू दीर्घायुषौ तौ भवतां भवोस्मिन् ॥१५॥ श्रीमद्गुर्गणेशस्य कर्तकमुकुतस्य  
च ॥ वष्यंते तस्य राज्यं हि रामराज्योपमं शुभं(भम्) ॥१६॥ श्रीमत्प्रताप-  
सूनी दुर्गनूपे भूपतिप्रवरे ॥ ... कुर्वति ज्ञात्वा(?) . . . [पु]ण्यकारिणो मनुजाः  
॥१७॥
- 11 ॥ श्रीदुर्गभानुः किल पुत्रपौत्रैर्ज्जोव्यात्सहस्रं(लं) स(श)रदां नरेन्द्रः ॥ पति  
यमासाद्य नरेन्द्ररत्नं राजन्वती भूमिरियं विभाति ॥१८॥ द्वपणारिपुरः  
कृतवान् यो यज्ञदाननिव(र्हि)निजकीर्ति(त्तिम्) ॥ सा ७—७७७ लोकर्गति वां  
धर्गलाविरहतां
- 12 ॥ विपुलावित् ॥१९॥ निजस्वामिपुरे दम्ये श्रीमद्गुर्गणेश्वरः ॥ शुभं सरोवरं  
चक्रे सर्वलोकसुखावहं(हम्) ॥२०॥ नयेन जित्वा नृपतीन् बलाढ्यो नतांश्च  
चक्रे वशवतिनस्तान् ॥ दिगंतराजश्च(जश्च)<sup>१</sup> दुराशयान् यो ७—७<sup>२</sup> देशान्  
विगतप्रभावान् ॥२१॥
- 13 ॥ पद्माकरं कारितवान् हि प्राच्यां<sup>३</sup> दिव्युज्जयिन्यां व(व)हसत्त्वजुष्टं(ष्टम्) ॥  
वध्वा(ध्वा) नदीं पिगलिकां धनानि श्रीदुर्गभानुवितरन् व(व)ह्नि ॥२२॥  
कलत्रपुत्राद्विजवयंसर्घरूपेत्य तां पुण्यापशाचमोक्षे ॥ अचौकरद्गुर्गनूपस्तुला यो  
हिर-

<sup>१</sup> Compare धर्तृत्वं लक्ष्मणं धर्म-शुभं ज्ञानं-इन्द्रिय-निराहं / धी-विद्या-सत्य-कर्तृत्वं दास्यन्ति  
धर्मा-लक्षणम् ।

<sup>२</sup> The symbol is not observed here.

<sup>३</sup> The correction is unnecessary.

<sup>४</sup> The aksharas may be signata or signata or signata.

<sup>५</sup> Read pūrva.



- 14 ॥ ष्यदानं बहु चालदानं(नम्) ॥२३॥ श्रीदुर्गभूपः किल दक्षिणस्यां सोहिल्लकं  
वारणदुर्निवारं(रम्) ॥ जित्वाह्वे सैन्यपती(ती)श्च हत्वा दिल्लीस्वरं कीर्तिपरं  
चकार ॥२४॥ गूर्जरदेशाधिपतिमुं(तिः सु)दुष्करः स्व जयं ध्रुवं मेने ॥  
बिलो-
- 15 ॥ अथ दुर्गनृपतेना(नी)शोरं मज्जपुरत्स(स्वरं) भग्नः ॥२५॥ गोसहस्रमहादानं  
विधिवद्दीनवल्लभः ॥ दूषणारिपुरे दुर्गा ददौ कल्पद्रुसोपमः ॥२६॥ मघोः  
पुरो प्राप्य जगत्पवित्रां सूर्योपरामो हि ददौ महान्ति ॥ दानानि चान्यानि  
त्रयो-
- 16 ॥ दशानि<sup>१</sup> श्रीदुर्गभूपो द्विजपुंगवभ्यः ॥२७॥ क्षात्रं दद्यालुं(लु)तां दानं विनयं  
धर्मखणं ॥ विज्ञानं विष्णुभक्तिं च वणिक्तुं तस्य क[<sup>२</sup>] क्षमः ॥२८॥  
तस्य प्रभोदु(दु)र्गनराधिपस्य मान्वाग्रणीप्रा(प्रा)ह्यगुणो वदात्यः ॥ परोपका-  
रेज्ज-
- 17 ॥ निधिः पदार्था(र्थः) प्रीत्या जनानंदकरः कृपालुः ॥२९॥ दयया दानमानाभ्यां  
नयेन प्रश्रयेण च ॥ पदार्थः प्राप्तस्तकल्पो(त्सः) सर्वलोकप्रियोभवत् ॥३०॥ (कृ)त्वा-  
(त्वा)धिकारं<sup>३</sup> विपुले धने स्वे सेवापरं दुर्गनृपः पदार्थं(धर्मम्) ॥ दिल्ली-
- 18 ॥ श्वरात्प्राप्तनिजोत्तमानो देशाननेकान् वु(बु)भुजे तदात्तान् ॥३१॥ विश्रामभूमिः  
किल सञ्जतानां पदारथः पुण्यनिधिः गुणजः ॥ समाश्रिताः सत्फलमानुर्वीत  
निदाघतप्ता इव कल्पवृक्षं(क्षम्) ॥३२॥ विविधमंत्रप-
- 19 ॥ इ हि पदार्थकं सकलकार्यभुराधरणक्षमं(मम्) ॥ हृदि विचिंत्य सुधा-  
निधिसंज्ञिको(कः) सकलमंत्रिजनेष्वकरोद्विभुं(भुम्) ॥३३॥ श्रीमदुर्गनरेश्वरस्य  
तनये(य)श्चन्द्रान्वयद्योतकश्चंद्रः क्षात्रगुणान्वितो निजजनानंदप्रदः<sup>४</sup> कां(कां)तिमान्
- 20 ॥ संशामे तुरतीं विजित्य सहसा म्लेच्छा(च्छा)धिपं दुस्सहं ॥<sup>५</sup> नीत्वा  
दुर्दुर्भवाजिराजिमतनोत् कीर्तिं जगद्विभुतां(ताम्) ॥३४॥ दिशि मंदायते यस्यां  
भानो[र<sup>६</sup>] भानुसहस्रकं(कम्)<sup>७</sup> ॥ तस्यामेव तु चंद्रेण प्रतापैररयो जि-

<sup>१</sup> The reading may have to be corrected as *trayāśai-dānyāni vishāpīnāi*.

<sup>२</sup> *Adhikāram* in the sense of *adhikāramānam*.

<sup>३</sup> Read *nādhiv-janajitāh*.

<sup>४</sup> This Chandra was a remote ancestor of Chandra, the son of Durgabhdān.

<sup>५</sup> These vertical strokes are redundant.

<sup>६</sup> For influence of *Kāśikā*, compare *Rajataranginī*, IV. 40, *diiv mandāyati tījā daktāśānyānān rāṣā-ayāi*.

- 21 ॥ ता[<sup>\*</sup>] ॥३५॥ समरभूमिगतः सुतरां वभी नृपतिपूजितदुर्गतनुद्भवः ॥  
 - यव[न<sup>\*</sup>]सैन्यपतीनहनत्परात्(न्)<sup>१</sup> विजयिवीरकुमारसमप्रभः ॥३६॥ इ(ई)दुग्धिघा-  
 च्चन्द्रमसोधिकारं लब्ध्वा वितेने विपुलं यशः स्व(स्वन्) ॥ देवा[ल]-
- 22 ॥ यं तीर्थं कृतां च भक्तिं कुर्वन् पदार्थो दयया च दानं(नम्) ॥३७॥  
 देवोत्सवं तस्य जिनालयस्य द्रष्टुं प्रतिष्ठा(ष्ठा)वसरे हि सभः ॥  
 सन्मानभोज्य[<sup>१</sup>]प्रदुकूलवस्त्रै[<sup>\*</sup>] समर्पितः सद्भक्तनैरिहाप्तः ॥३८॥ रथं  
 विधायामर[या]-
- 23 ॥ ७ - [ल] तत्रोपविश्यायर्जनैः पदार्थः ॥ दानं दत्तपौरजनैः सहर्षैः शनैर्ययो  
 दुर्गसरःसमीपे ॥३९॥ यात्रां विधायानु जलस्य दत्त्वा(त्त्वा) वस्त्राण्यनन्तानि  
 सुवासिनीभ्यः पूगीफलानां निज(च)यं जनेभ्यो
- 24 ॥ - - ७ ति<sup>१</sup> प्राविशदालयं स्व(स्वम्) ॥४०॥ घनाष्टकं वर्षचतुष्टयैभ्यो(भ्यः)  
 प्रीत्या ददर्शित्यमवारितान्नं(न्नम्) ॥ कृत्वा शुभं मंडपमत्र होमं संपूज्य सप्त  
 विससजं पूर्णं(र्णम्) ॥४१॥ जीवासूनुरकार्यान्नजकुले भास्वत् ७ - -
- 25 ॥ ७ - -<sup>१</sup>रथ्यासौधशता(तां) गवाक्षरुचिरां शस्ताकृतिं दीपिकां(काम्) ॥ दूरादागत-  
 शमंदां दृढागिलाव(व)ढां पुरात्पश्चिमे पूर्णां(र्णां) शीव(त)जलेन भव्यरचना-  
 सोपानपन्त्यस्वित्तां(ताम्) ॥४२॥ श्रीमद्विक्रमभूमिपस्य समयात् ष-
- 26 ॥ ७ - - न्मिते मासे राधसि<sup>२</sup> वत्सरे गुरुयुते भास्वत्तथो चोच्च(ज्वव)ले ॥  
 विप्रान् वेदविदः सुवर्णं ७ ७ -<sup>३</sup>वस्त्रादिभिः(भि)स्तोषयन् चूर्णी(र्णी)कृत्य सुदी-  
 पिकां च वितरन् वित्तं पदार्थोधिकं(कम्) ॥४३॥ षे(खे)तासूनुः सूत्रवा[र]-
- 27 [स्वकार] शस्ताकारां दीपिकां रामदासः ॥ शिल्पं तस्या वीक्ष्य शिल्पी मनोज्ञं  
 कश्चि[च्छित्तेनादधात् शिल्प]गर्वं(र्वम्) ॥४४॥ भारद्वाजकुलोद्भवो [द्विजवरः]  
 श्रीकेशवः पुण्यकृत् वेदव्याकरणागमार्थवि[द]-
- 28 ॥ - - - ७ - - ७ - - ॥ - - - ७ ७ - ७ नः सुधि ७ - - - ७ - - - ७ - -  
 ॥४५॥ - - - ७ ७ पारगः सुचरितो गौ(कौ)सल्यगात्र भवद्भवे[व]-

<sup>१</sup> Read 'patis-arudhā-parān.

<sup>२</sup> The damaged letters may be conjecturally restored as *radhā*.

<sup>३</sup> Originally 'bhāṣā-chandro-dyutikā.

<sup>४</sup> The lost word may be *pratiṣṭhā*.

<sup>५</sup> This name of the month is usually *śākrānto*.

<sup>६</sup> This may be restored as *raśmā*.





## No. 18—ATIYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAMAKKAL

(2 Plates)

K. R. SRINIVASAN, MADRAS AND P. R. SRINIVASAN, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 20-6-1961)

The inscriptions dealt with here are found in the rock-cut cave temple dedicated to the god Rāṅganātha<sup>1</sup> at Nāmakkal, a large town in the Salem District of Madras State. Of these, Inscription A<sup>2</sup> was discovered only recently by K. R. Srinivasan and copied by P. R. Srinivasan. The rest were copied by the Epigraphist in 1906<sup>3</sup> but only cursorily examined by him. Fresh copies of these also were taken by P. R. Srinivasan. They are edited here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India. We are thankful to Pandit V. S. Subrahmanya Sastri for his assistance in deciphering the inscriptions.

Nāmakkal seems to have been known by this name only from the late Nāyaka period.<sup>4</sup> It is not known how and why the place came to be so called<sup>5</sup>. The earlier Tamil name of the hill of the place is Tiruvāraikkal (Tiru-Āraikkal or Āraikkal with the honorific prefix *Tiru*) in Ēlār-nādu of North Koṅḡu.<sup>6</sup> *Ārai* means a fort wall (*Tamil Lexicon*, s.v.) and *kal* refers to the rock; hence *Ārai-kkal* may be taken to mean the fortified rock, *Tiru* denoting its sacredness because of the two cave temples and a structural temple on top.<sup>7</sup>

The inscriptions are found engraved in two planes in the cave temple which has two parts, namely a rectangular sanctum with a high floor level with two pillars and two pilasters on the front line and containing the huge two-armed reclining rock-cut sculpture of god Rāṅganātha with a number of attendant figures<sup>8</sup> carved on the walls, and a verandah in front of the sanctum with two pillars and two pilasters on its facade but with a lower floor level. Inscription A is engraved on the east face of the two-armed corbel over the northern pillar of the verandah<sup>9</sup>. Inscription B is engraved on the beam cut above the corbels of the pillars of the sanctum while Inscriptions C and D are engraved on the eastern faces of the corbels of the southern and northern pillars of the sanctum respectively. There are nine single-line inscriptions of *śivadas*, found here, and they

<sup>1</sup> It has been called also Paḷḷikondaperumāl (*vide A. R. Ep.*, No. 10 of 1906). There is another cave temple here dedicated to Lakṣmīnarasimha known as the Śingaperumāl temple (*ibid.*). These two cave temples have been noticed by the Epigraphist in the Annual Report for 1906. For further inscriptions from the place *vide* Nos. 328-29 of 1935-39 and Part II, p. 31 of the Report for 1936-39.

<sup>2</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1960-61, No. B 291.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1906, No. 7 and Part II, pp. 57-59.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 1906, No. 12.

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps the place was named Nāmaṅḡr after a certain Nāman, and the rock came to be called Nāmanḡr-kkal or Nāmakkal. Tiruñāṅḡr or Śrī Alaiṅḡy in the Tirunelveli District had an alternative name of Nāmaṅḡr. (See *Tirumāraikāḷappoḍai*, line 125, commentary, Dr. V. Swaminatha Iyer's Edition).

<sup>6</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1906, Nos. 3 and 11.

<sup>7</sup> There are a number of names of towns and places in South India ending in *kal*, as for instance Vāṅḡal, on the South bank of the Kāvēr near Karūr; Nigūṅḡkal in Madurai District; Oraṅḡal (Warṅḡal) in Andhra Pradesh; Tōṅḡḡal (Tirunḡḡal) in Mysore, etc.

<sup>8</sup> For particulars see *A. R. Ep.*, 1906, Part II, p. 58, para. 33.

<sup>9</sup> The corbel over the southern pillar seems to have borne an inscription. Unfortunately it is completely effaced except for traces of some letters.



occur as follows: three on each of the pilasters of the sanctum; one at the top of each of the pillars, just below the corbel, all these on the sanctum facade; and one on the northern pillar of the verandah, at its top, just below the corbel.

The characters are Grantha and they are akin to those in which some of the inscriptions of the Pallava kings that ruled after Pallava Narasimhavarman I (circa 630-668 A. D.) are written, and they bear a special resemblance to the Grantha characters of the inscription in the Atrirana-chanda-mandapam at Śāluvaṅkuppam<sup>1</sup> belonging to the time of Pallava Narasimhavarman II Rājasimha (circa 700-728 A. D.). Some of the letters e.g., *grī* and *gu* (Ins. A) and *bh̄ri* in *bh̄riḡu* (Ins. B, line 1) of the inscriptions dealt with here are nearly identical with the respective letters occurring in the Śāluvaṅkuppam inscription. The letters *a* and *h̄* of the present inscriptions have two forms (Ins. B) of which the looped variety of *a*, is interesting because of its rarity in the period to which these inscriptions are assigned. The presence of this type of *a* here and in the Śāluvaṅkuppam inscription, might suggest that the inscriptions under review are nearer in point of time to the Śāluvaṅkuppam record. The characters of these inscriptions when compared with those of the Sanskrit portion of the Ānaimalai lithic record of 770 A. D. belonging to the time of Pāṇḍya Māraṅgaḍaiyan,<sup>2</sup> show that they are definitely earlier. Thus paleographically the position of these inscriptions may be said to be somewhere between 720 and 750 A. D. It must, however, be stated that these are the only inscriptions written in this early Grantha script known so far from the Kōṅṅ country.

As regards orthography some points deserve mention here. There is the doubling of the consonants after e.g., *darppaṣam*<sup>3</sup> (Ins. A, line 1), *Mārkhaḍḍya* and *pariya* (Ins. B, line 1), *pāreḍ* (Ins. C, line 2) and *Uṣalakarṇika* (*bi-ida* on the southern pilaster of sanctum). In *Dakṣat-kāṣi* (Ins. B, line 1) the *visarga* has been changed to the following consonant. In *grīhaṣ-Viṣhōḷ* (Ins. A, line 1) the *anusvara* is compounded with the following letter. The *jihvāmūliya* occurs in *sahitā-karṭe* (Ins. B, line 2).

The four main inscriptions are in Sanskrit verse but their style is, however, defective and errors of spelling too occur. Owing to this, and to the peeling away of some parts of the surface of the rock on which they are engraved, the full purport of two out of the four verses is not clear. The labels are also in Sanskrit.

The inscriptions do not contain any date. But each one of them is important in its own way. Inscription A, discovered recently, is important not only because it is a foundation inscription<sup>4</sup> mentioning the excavation of the cave temple called the Atiyānātha-viṣṇu-grīham, but also because it contains the name of the king (*grīpatiḥ*), who caused the work to be done, as Guṇaḍḍa<sup>5</sup> which was not known from the other inscriptions examined in 1906. The purport of Inscription D

<sup>1</sup> Above Vol. X, Plate facing p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Above Vol. VIII, Plate facing p. 320.

<sup>3</sup> A number of such foundation inscriptions are known from South India, belonging more or less to the period to which the inscriptions discussed here are to be assigned e.g., the Truppankuppam (Madurai District) inscription (*A. R. Ep.*, 1951-52, No. B 143), the Malaiyāḍkariccheḷi (Tirunelveli District) inscription discovered by K. R. Srinivasan (*ibid.*, 1959-60, No. B 358) and the famous Maṇḍagappattu (Chingleput District) inscription of Pallava Mahēndravarmān I (*ibid.*, 1905, No. 56) and similar but earlier ones in many of the Mahēndravarmān cave-temples in Tondalmanḍalam and Tiruchirappalli (Upper Cave-Lalitākura-Pallavesvaragrām).

<sup>4</sup> A place (an important Vaiṣṇavite pilgrim center) on the north bank of the Kāśī (north of the Upper Anicut) in the Tiruchirappalli District is named Guṇaḍḍam perhaps an abbreviation of Guṇaḍḍa-karṭe-dimāṅgalam which is referred to in an inscription (*A. R. Ep.*, 1953-54, No. 377) from Śrīraṅgam dated in the ninth year of the reign of Vira-Rāmañātha (i.e., 1294 A. D.). It is about ten miles from Tiruchirappalli on the Tiruchirappalli-Nāmakkaḷ road. The place was evidently named after this Atiya king, when his territories perhaps reached up to this place at the height of his power.

ATIYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAMAKKAL—Plate I

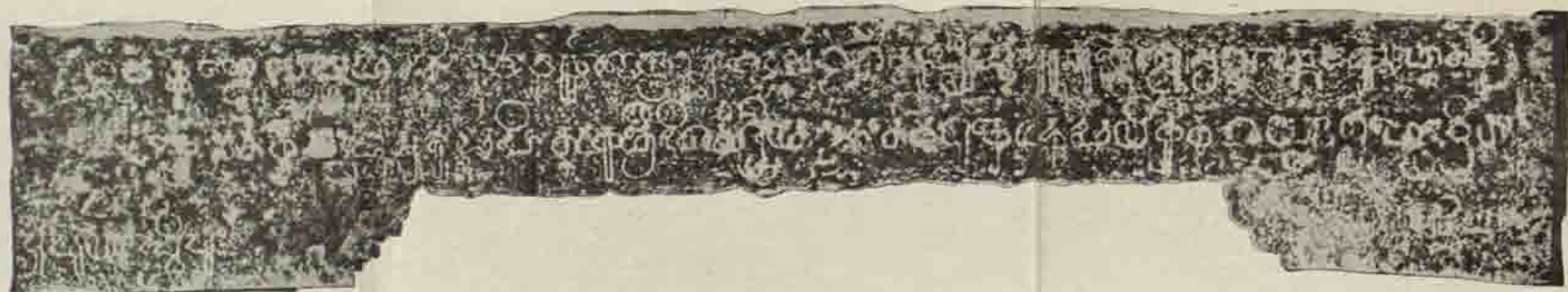
A



Scale : One-sixth



B



Scale : One-sixth

2

2

seems also to have been similar to that of Inscription A, but as it is damaged, its full import cannot be easily made out. However, it mentions the name of the temple as Atiyēndra-vishṇu-griham, and seems to refer to its author who could no doubt be identical with him of the Atiyānātha-vishṇu-griham of Inscription A, i.e., Guṇasāla. Inscription C is interesting in that it gives some details about a king. But unfortunately it is difficult to make out with certainty to which particular king these details refer as that quarter of the verse which should furnish the connecting links of these details is damaged beyond redemption. However, the extant portion of the record appears to refer to Sōma of the Atiya family who is described as the senior (*pūva*) among the daughter's sons of a person whose name is lost.<sup>1</sup> From the prominent mention of the king's name as Guṇasāla in Inscription A we are tempted to attribute the descriptive details of the king in Inscription C also to Guṇasāla and therefore construe Sōma as an *alias* name of this king. Inscription B contains a list of the names of gods, demi-gods and *asuras* associated with the principal deity. They are, in the order in which they are mentioned in the inscription, Mārkaṇḍēya, Paruṇa (for Suparṇa i.e., Garuda), Varuṇa, Brahmā, Īśa, Dakṣha, Śaśī, Sūrya, Tumburu, Nārada, Guru, Bhṛigu, Śāringa, Kaupōdaki, [Chakra], Nandaka, Pāñchajanya, Śrī, Madhu and Kaitabha. These names when checked with the figures carved on the walls of the sanctum round the reclining Vishṇu seem to tally almost, except for slight variations. There is hardly another iconographic inscription of this kind relating to this period and so the importance of this inscription needs no stressing. It is valuable in another respect also, as it contains the interesting architectural expression namely *śayyā-griham*, meaning literally the sleeping-apartment, but here the abode for the *śayana* (reclining) form of the deity. This term is perhaps the precursor of the later-day expressive Tamil term *paḷḷiyaras* in temples. Texts on architecture (e.g. *Vaiśikhānasāgama*) speak of *śayana* forms of *vimāna* (temples), one of the three types of *vimānas*, which is essentially rectangular with *śāla-śikhara*, or oval, and intended for *śayana-mūrti*. The *Mānasāra* calls it a *śayana-prāsāda*.<sup>2</sup> The occurrence of this term in this technical sense here, therefore, may be said to be the earliest.

In the four main inscriptions the word Atiya occurs at least five times, of course in compound forms, e.g., Atiya-(kula!) and Atiyānātha-vishṇu-griham (Ins. A), Atiyēndrāgām (Ins. C) and Atiyānāvāya and Atiyēndra-vishṇu-griham (Ins. D). Obviously the king who was responsible for engraving these inscriptions was proud of his lineage, the Atiya line or the Adiyamān family which ruled over this part of Tamilnad, for some centuries. The word Atiya may be said to be the Sanskritised form of the Tamil word Adiyān. From three verses of the Saṅgam classics<sup>3</sup> it is known that an Adigaṇ, as an able subordinate of Paṣumpūṭi Pāṇḍiyaṇ was killed in the battlefield of Vāhai by the Koṅgar who celebrated the event with great eclat and that the Pāṇḍya, perhaps in retaliation routed the Koṅgar and overran their country and celebrated the victory in his capital town Kūḍal, (Madurai). The battlefield of Vāhai is perhaps the same as the battlefield of Karikāla Chōla referred to by the same Parapaṇar in *Ahanāṇṇuru*, 125. The *Padiyupattu* ("Ten-tens") in its 4th decade by the poet Kāppiyāṇṇuk-Kāppiyāṇār on the Chēra king Kaḷaṅgāy-kkaṇṇi Nārmuḍichehāṭal refers to the defeat of a chieftain called Neḍumīḍal, explained by the commentators as the real name of Añji or Adiyamāṇ Neḍumāṇ Añji of Tagaḍūr in verse 32. The 10th decade of the same work by the poet Arisilkiḷār, eulogising the Chēra king Peruṇ-Chēral Irumporai "who

<sup>1</sup> This individual was perhaps a very high personage to merit special mention in this inscription.

<sup>2</sup> *Mānasāra*, Ch. XIX, 11.7-9. See also Dr. N. V. Malaiyya's *Studies in Sanskrit Texts on Temple Architecture* pp. 285-86. The term *śayyā-griham* occurs in the introductory verse of the Cambodian inscription of Kulaprabhāvatī, queen of Jayavarman (5th and 6th centuries A. D.) which is as follows:

*śayyān pōpam-atavkītan-kam-āpi pa(b) lakṣṇāda-śayyā-grihē itē śāha-śayyāṅga-śhōpa-rachana-paryyuska-priśth-śrīśūb* | (*Maḷumdar, Inscriptions of Kambuja*, No. 1; *Cooden, Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. IV, p. 117).

<sup>3</sup> *Koṅgucōvī* 393 and *Ahanāṇṇuru*, 162, both by poet Parapaṇar and *Ahanāṇṇuru*, 253, by Nakkirar. See above, Vol. XXX, pp. 97-98.



sacked Tagaḍūr" refers to the well-fortified and strongly garrisoned Tagaḍūr in verse 78 and its sack by the Chōra king; and the colophon-like *paḍigam* at the end (of apparently later date than the compilation, and earlier to the commentaries) states that the Adigamāṅ who had a great army and was the lord of Kolli-kkūṛṅṅam (the country around Kolli hills) was defeated along with the two great kings (Chōra and Pāṇḍya) and the drums, royal parasols and ornaments of the latter were captured and the fortress of Tagaḍūr sacked by the Chōra king, Peruñ-Chēral Irumpoṛai. This event formed the theme of a poem of later times, the *Tagaḍūr Yāttirai*, now lost but known only from quotations in other works. Nachchinnārkkiniyār, the great Tamil commentator in his commentary on the *Tolkappiyam-puṇḍarīkai sūtram* 7, on the material theme of *uḷḷai* (or the theme of besieging a fortress wearing the *uḷḷai*—a parasitic herb—*casuta*) cites as example the incident of the Adigamāṅ's staying inside Tagaḍūr fort till the Chōra king Peruñchēral Irumpoṛai advanced, laid siege and took it. The colophon of *Puraṇāḍyūru*, 50, calls this Chōra king *Tagaḍūr-erinda* (he who took Tagaḍūr) Peruñchēral Irumpoṛai and the verse in praise of him was by the poet Mōṣi Kiraṇār. The Adiyamāṅ is also called Neḍumāṅ Aṅji or Aṅji or Eḷiṅi, in *Puraṇāḍyūru* verses 158, 230, and 392; and verse 138, enumerating the various liberal patrons, curiously enough, mentions Eḷiṅi as the lord of Kudimimalai (also *Ahanāḍyūru*, 372) and Ōri, another patron as the lord of Kollimalai (also *Narrai*, 263). *Puraṇāḍyūru*, 22, *Paḷḷiṅruppaṭṭai*, 73 and also *Śilappadikāram*, 24, *pāṭṭumaḍai*, attribute the overlordship of Kolli to the Chōra king. *Ahanāḍyūru*, 209 and *Narrai*, 320 state that Ōri was defeated by the Malaiyamāṅ chieftain of Maḷḷūr, Kāri by name, and the Kolli hills were transferred to the Chēralar (Chōra). Adigamāṅ or Adiyamāṅ Neḍumāṅ Aṅji was a patron of the celebrated poetess Aṅvaiyār who has praised him in many songs and his son Pōhūṭṭeḷiṅi, in some. It was this Adiyamāṅ who presented to her the fruit of longevity, a black *nelli* or *amalaka*, a story alluded to in the *Sērupāṅṅaruppai* of the *Pattuppāṭṭu* collection, (II, 93-102) and in later works as well in the context of enumerating the seven *Vallals* or liberal patrons (II, 84-113). She calls him the leader of the Malavar, *Maḷavar Perumalan*, *Maḷavar Kōmāṅ* (*Puraṇāḍyūru* 88, 90) and is said to have gone on a diplomatic mission to the Tōṅḍaimāṅ ruler of Kāñchi (identified by some as Tōṅḍaimāṅ Iṅṅiraiyāṅ) on Adiyamāṅ's account (*Puraṇāḍyūru*, 95). In *Puraṇāḍyūru*, 99, she relates many facts about the Adiyamāṅ, her patron. According to her, the Adiyamāṅ was born of a family which as a result of their worship, sacrifices, and offerings of *āhatis* (oblations) to the gods, brought the sweet sugarcane to this world, and ruled the world with great ability for a very long time. Adiyamāṅ fought successful battles against seven opposing kings and destroyed among other rebellious strongholds, the fort of Kōvalūr (which is mentioned in his praise by poet Parapaṛai) and possessed all the seven *poris* or *tēnchanas* (royal insignia).<sup>1</sup> In *Ahanāḍyūru*, 142, an Adiyamāṅ, leader of a great army, is said to have been killed in battle by Miñḷi or Nīmiḷi, the intrepid general of the chieftain Nappāṅ. Eḷiṅi (Adigamāṅ) was one of the seven foes (the two kings and five *reḷis* or chieftains, viz., Chōra, Śembiyāṅ or Chōra, Titiyāṅ, Eḷiṅi, Eṛumaiyāṅ, Vēḷmāṅ and Poruṅṅa) of Talaiyālaṅkānattu-ch-cheruveṅṅa Neḍuñcheḷiṅiṅi, i.e., the great Pāṇḍya, who gained a victory in the battlefield of Talaiyālaṅkānam, (*Ahanāḍyūru*, 36; *Puraṇāḍyūru*, 76).<sup>2</sup>

The name Sōma of the Atiya king in Inscription C has a curious parallel with three early Cambodian inscriptions in Sanskrit, one of them referring to a Koḍgavarman born of that lineage.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The seven *lānchanas* or *poris* as enumerated in a later work, the *Kaṅṅattu-paṛai* (*kaṅṅai*, 18) are *kēḷai* (boar), *mēḷi* (plough), *kaḷai* (dent or crescent moon?), *yēḷi* (lion or tiger), *vīṅai* (horse), *śilai* (bow) and *ṅṅudai* (fish).

<sup>2</sup> The other verses in *Puraṇāḍyūru* which refer to Adiyamāṅ and his other names are 87, 89, 93, 94, 97, 98, 103, 104, 206, 208, 231, 232, 235, 319, 342, and 390. See also K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *History of South India* (1958), p. 118.

<sup>3</sup> Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, No. 26-A; Coedès, *Inscriptions du Cambodge*, Vol. 1, pp. 261 ff.; see also *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, No. 2 (R.E.F.E. O. XXXI, 1) referring to the king Gunavarman, the donor, as born of the family of Kaṅḍyāṅ and the line in verse 6 reading *Kaṅḍyāṅ-vaṅḍai-kaṅḍai*. A Jayavarman (*Saka* 500 and 592) refers to a Bāḷḷiṅiṅiṅiṅiṅi belonging to the lineage of Sōma and Kaṅḍyāṅ. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, No. 111 (A. 77, 3 and 6); Barth and Jhrugno, *Inscriptions Sanscrites du Cambodge*, No. 77 and Aymonier, *Le Cambodge* (Paris), II, 404-407—the text reads *Sōma-Kaṅḍyāṅ-vaṅḍai*.

This inscription records gifts to god Utpannōāvāra by King Bhāvavarman, descended from the Kaundinya and Sōma family. 'Koṅga' or 'Koṅgu' in the name Koṅgavarman is a characteristic Tamil name not met with elsewhere in Kambuja or other places in the far east.

The later Adigamāns were Chōla feudatories and fought against the Hoysalas, in whose inscriptions the name is further changed into Adiyama (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 495). Some later Adigamāns like Kṛpī and Viḍakādaḷagiya-Perumāḷ claimed to belong to the Chōra dynasty (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 332). And one Adigaṅ (abbreviated form of Adigamāṅ) is said in the *Periāppurāṇam* (verses 3947, 3987) to have fought against the Chōla king, Puḡaḷ-chochōḷa (*ibid.*, p. 66) who died in Karuvūr (Karūr).<sup>1</sup>

Now, regarding the date of the king. Obviously, King Guṇasāla of these inscriptions was a member of this ancient Adiyamāṅ family, although no king of this name belonging to this family is known from other sources, literary or epigraphical.<sup>2</sup> That he was endowed with independent authority, power and resources is clear from the fact of his having excavated the large Raṅganātha cave temple, perhaps also the Lakshmi-narasimha cave temple, adorned with bas-reliefs noted for their beauty, and by his affecting the style of the imperial Pallavas in his inscriptions, especially in the *virūḷas*. In order to undertake such magnificent works of art, the king must have had a fairly long, authoritative and comparatively peaceful reign.<sup>3</sup> That there is no mention of any overlord in these inscriptions points to the fact that the king enjoyed independence, although it is difficult to say exactly for how long his independent rule over this area lasted. This independent reign of the king could have been possible only when the political conditions of South India, as computed from contemporary sources were favourable to him. It is known that for nearly half a century in the middle of the 8th century A. D., the Pallava authority over South India had waned due to the dynastic revolution at home and change over of the administration from the main line to a member of a collateral line<sup>4</sup> in c. 730-732 A.D. The earlier part of Nandivarman Pallavamalla's reign was occupied by internecine wars and in conflicts with the Chālukyas in the north. He had in fact to flee Kāñchi when Chālukya Vikramāditya II entered the capital in force before his 8th year (741-42 A. D.). He had also to face Pāṇḍya Rājasimha in many fields of battle according to the Pāṇḍya inscriptions.<sup>5</sup> Pallava authority or influence did not extend to the banks of the Kāvēri (Chōla and Koṅgu-maṅḷams) for some time between c. 742 and 780 A.D. as could be seen from the absence of Pallava inscriptions of this period in this area. Nor do the Pāṇḍyas of the period seem to have had a peaceful time, because, of the two Pāṇḍya kings of the period, namely, Kōchchadaiyaṅ (c. 719-743 A.D.) and his successor Māḡavarman Rājasimha (c. 730-765 A.D.), the former was often engaged in warfare with his neighbours<sup>6</sup> while the latter waged war with Nandivarman Pallavamalla<sup>7</sup> and obtained victories at several places. Thus it may be presumed that neither the Pallavas nor the Pāṇḍyas, the two imperial powers of South India, had occasion to divert their attention towards the growing Adiyamāṅ power and their territory in and around Taḡaḷūr, which included Nāmakkal. The Pāṇḍya king Kōchchadaiyaṅ Raḡadhīra (c. 700-730 A. D.) is called *Koṅḡur Kōṅḡar*, the Lord of the Koṅgar, in the Vēḷvikkūḷi plates<sup>8</sup>. His successor Pāṇḍya Māra-

<sup>1</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1906, p. 57, para. 34.

<sup>2</sup> See note on Guṇasālam, *ante*.

<sup>3</sup> The time taken for the excavation of a cave temple like the Nasik cave No. 3 was twenty years; started by Gōtamiputra in the 24th year or last year of his reign it was completed only in the 19th year of his successor Pulamāvi. See above, Vol. VIII, pp. 60-74, *ms. nos.* 2-5. More or less the same time if not more, should have been necessary in this instance also, considering the greater hardness of the rock.

<sup>4</sup> *Mem. ASI.*, No. 63, Historical Sculptures of the Veikuṅṭhaparamāḷ Temple, Kōḷḷohi, pp. 37 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 231 ff. and *I. A.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 64 ff.

<sup>6</sup> K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom*, p. 36.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 36-57.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 201 ff.



varman Rājasimha I (c. 740-765 A. D.), in the same grant, is said to have crossed the Kāvērī, subjugated the country of Maḷakoṅgam<sup>1</sup> and proceeded to Pāṇḍikkodumudi where he worshipped Siva-Paśupati. His successor, Pāṇḍya Jaṭila Parāntaka Neḍuṅḷaiyaṅ (c. 768-815 A. D.) is stated, in the Madras Museum plates (Śrīvaranāgalaṃ plates)<sup>2</sup> dated in his 17th year (c. 784 A. D.), to have defeated the Atiyaṅ and made him flee the field of battle at Āyiravēli-Ayirūr on the north bank of the Kāvērī and Pugaḷiyūr, and, advancing further defeated also the Pallava and the Chēra (Chēra) armies which came to Atiyaṅ's aid by deploying forces to both the fronts, east and west, captured the king of Koṅḡu (Western Koṅḡu) with his elephant and imprisoned him in Madurai and subdued the *Koṅḡu-bhūmi*. It is to be noted that the exploits against the Koṅḡu country or the Atiyaṅ are not mentioned among those of Pāṇḍya Parāntaka Neḍuṅḷaiyaṅ in his Vēḷvikkūḍi plates dated in his 3rd year (770-71 A. D.). The Pallava ally of Atiyaṅ was evidently Nandivarman Pallavamalla (731-796 A. D.). The Pāṇḍyan war with Atiyaṅ and the battles of Āyiravēli-Ayirūr and Pugaḷiyūr must have been fought after 770 A. D. and before 784 A. D., perhaps closer to the latter date. It is significant to note that Koṅḡu engaged the attention of three successive Pāṇḍya kings of whom the second is said to have overrun Maḷakoṅgam, and the third and most powerful, perhaps, is said to have defeated the Atiyaṅ and the allied Pallava and Chēra armies. Here perhaps we get a hint of the rise into prominence of the Koṅḡu area and the Atiyamāns to significant power between c. 700 and 784 A. D.—(the date of accession of Kōchchhāḍaiyaṅ and the date of the Madras Museum plates of Neḍuṅḷaiyaṅ) and the encouragement they had from Pallava Nandivarman and the Chēra rulers, perhaps as a foil to the Pāṇḍya imperialistic expansion resulting in the wars mentioned above. The wars of the two earlier kings were evidently punitive, their hold over the area not very lasting. But the wars of the last of the three Pāṇḍya kings, including the defeat of Atiyaṅ at Āyiravēli-Ayirūr and Pugaḷiyūr<sup>3</sup> were apparently the most decisive, and therefore it is very likely that Guṇasilla of the present record flourished at a time before the period when the regions under the Atiyas became the bone of contention between the Pallavas under Nandivarman Pallavamalla and the Pāṇḍyas under Māravarman Rājasimha and his successor, i. e. sometime before c. 750 A. D.

As has been said above, the fact that the palaeography of the inscriptions is very much nearer to that of the inscriptions belonging to the time of Pallava Narasimhavarman II and far earlier than that of the Ānamalai inscription (770 A. D.) of the time of Pāṇḍya Mārāḍaiyaṅ, goes to

<sup>1</sup> Maḷakoṅgam, which included Koḍumudi (in the Erode Taluk of the Coimbatore District) was evidently the Koṅḡu part of Malanāḍu (Maḷavar-nāḍu) or the Koṅḡu area adjoining Malanāḍu, which is the territory on either bank of the Kāvērī in its eastern course through the Trichirapalli District and the western part of the adjacent Tanjavur Taluk of the Tanjavur District. It perhaps extended from Koḍumudi on the west where the historic south-flowing Kāvērī takes a sharp turn and thence flows east to the sea. This area included Nāmaḱkal, the Kollimalai and Pachaimalai hills. An early Chōla inscription from the Koranganātha temple at Sēnirivāmalūr, a part of the ancient Mahēmbamangalam (which is named after Mahendra Pallava I and, perhaps, like the cave temple at Trichirapalli, marks a point in the southern limits of the Pallava empire of his times) states that it was situated in *Paḍaiṅṅar-Maḷanāḍu* (north bank Malanāḍu) implying that a stretch on the south bank of the river formed the southern *Maḷanāḍu*. (See culture and Heritage Number of the *Q. J. M. S.*, pp. 225 ff.)

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 64 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Āyiravēli-Ayirūr and Pugaḷiyūr are very near Nāmaḱkal. "Āyiravēli" seems to be more an adjunct of Ayirūr (meaning Ayirūr of 1000 villages). Ayirūr is the modern Ayilūr, now called also Śrī-Rāmasamudayara on the north bank of the Kāvērī near Kāttappattūr in the Īṣamī taluk of Trichirapalli and on the traditional ferry line across the river from the south from Madurai, via Dindīlūḷ. Pugaḷiyūr is modern Pugaḷūr, 16 miles north-west of Karūr on the south bank of the Kāvērī, also on another traditional ferry across from the Nāmaḱkal side to the south and recently bridged up. It is a modern township with a sugar mill, and its antiquity is evidenced by the rocks containing natural caverns and Brāhmi and Vatteḷuttu inscriptions. The same place Pugaḷiyūr is mentioned in a Chōla inscription at Trichirapalli, *J. R. Ep.*, No. 631 of 1905. It comprises the villages of Pugaḷūr-agraḥāram, Puḷai-Pugaḷūr and Naḷai-pugaḷūr. The Railway Station is called Pugaḷūr. The Pāṇḍya after crossing the river from south to Ayirūr must have recrossed the river further west to fight the battle at Pugaḷiyūr.

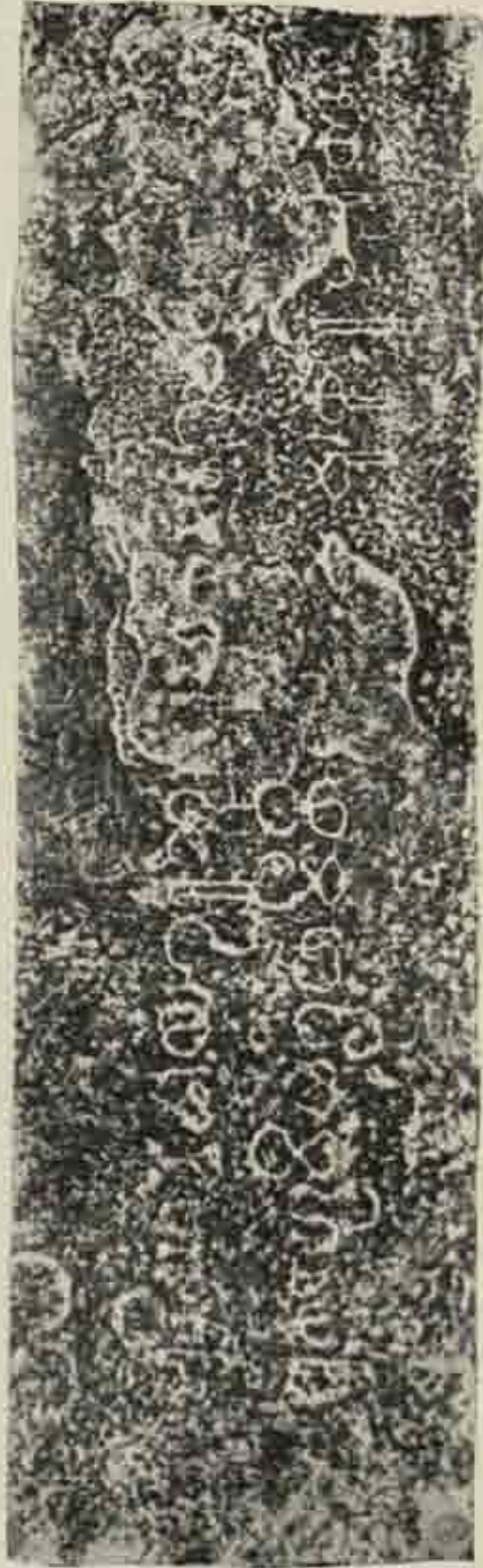
ATTIYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAMAKKAL—Plate II

C



Scale : One-fifth

D



Scale : One-fifth



BIRUDAS

Nos.



Scale : One-seventh

confirm this attribution. The style of the sculptures and architecture<sup>1</sup> is also characteristic of this period.

The nine single-line inscriptions mentioning as many *birudas* or epithets are interesting for their originality because from among the countless *birudas* of the Pallava kings, the only other dynasty which specialised in having a string of *birudas*, we find only one or two of them repeated here. The *birudas* are as follows :

*Utpala-kurnyikah* (One who has lily in the ears); *Nava-sāhanah* (One who is like Kubera in riches whose vehicle is man); *Madana-cūṭṣah* (handsome like Cupid); *Māna-sraṭṭah*<sup>2</sup> (essence of standards or rich in honour); *Naya-parah* (inclined towards gentility); *Nava-dēvāḥ* (king or god amongst men); *prakṛiti-priyāḥ* (delighting in nature or simplicity or delightful to the subjects); *Udāra-chīttah*<sup>3</sup> (noble-minded); and *Vimala-charitah* (possessing blemish-less character).

TEXT<sup>4</sup>A<sup>5</sup>

- 1 **Atiya** [kula[.....nu[h]kakuḥhān-darppanam-idaṁ griham-Vishṇō] [ | \*]  
2 śri-**Guṇasīlō** nripatih| kārītavān-**Attīyanātha**-viṣṇu-griham[ | \*]<sup>6</sup>

B<sup>7</sup>

- 1 O<sup>8</sup> [ | \*] Ma[r<sup>9</sup>]kkaṇḍēya<sup>10</sup>-maharshi-<sup>11</sup>Parṇa-Varuṇa<sup>12</sup>-Brahm-Ēsa-Dakṣhās-Śaśī Sūryas-Tumburu-Nāmadan<sup>13</sup> Guru-Bhṛigū Śārṅgaṅ-cha Kaupōta(da)ki [ | \*]  
2 <sup>14</sup>[Chakram] Nāntaka<sup>15</sup>-Pāṁchajanya-śāhitaḥ<sup>16</sup>-kartṛ dīśa[ntu] śrīya[th\*]<sup>17</sup> tkrāja[nṭṭ]<sup>18</sup> Madhu-Keṭabha<sup>19</sup>-ksūyikṛita[ṣ\*]-śayyā-grihē-dr̥r-vṛitāḥ [ | \*]<sup>20</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For an exhaustive account of the cave temples, see K. R. Srinivasan's monograph on the *Cave Temples of the Pāṇḍya and Kongu countries* to be published in the *Indian Temple Architecture Series*, by the Archaeological Survey of India.

<sup>2</sup> It is of interest to note that this *biruda* which is similar to the title of the famous text on architecture, seemingly suggests that the king intended to convey through this title the idea that his work, namely the magnificent cave temple was excavated according to architectural canons.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Vichitra-chitta*, (curious-minded), one of the titles of Pallava Mahēndravarmas I.

<sup>4</sup> From impressions.

<sup>5</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1960-61, No. B 291.

<sup>6</sup> *Motre, Aryā*.

<sup>7</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1960-61 No. B 292.

<sup>8</sup> There is a symbol like this here which may stand for an suspicious word like *Om*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *Mārkhaṇḍya*.

<sup>10</sup> The word stands for *Suporu* (i.e., Garuda).

<sup>11</sup> The *va* has a hook to its left which is to be ignored.

<sup>12</sup> The following two names are also compounded with a dual ending.

<sup>13</sup> This line appears to be a palimpsest traces of earlier writing being visible in the super- and subscript-like marks which have to be ignored.

<sup>14</sup> Read *Nantaka*.

<sup>15</sup> Read *śāhita*. The words Śārṅga, Kaupōtaka, Nantaka and Pāṁchajanya denote the names of the bow, mace, sword and conch respectively of Viṣṇu. Sudarṣana, the name of the discus simply mentioned here as *chakram*, is not given.

<sup>16</sup> Read *krīga[ṣ\*]*.

<sup>17</sup> Read *Kaṭabha*.

<sup>18</sup> *Motre; Śāntālekṛitāḥ*.



C<sup>1</sup>

- 1 .....trāshu<sup>1</sup> yasy-ādyēshu yasasvishu [ | \*]  
 2 Sōma[h\*] pūrvvō=tiyēndrāgām: dauhitrāshv=anvaya(ō)=sthita) [||\*]<sup>2</sup>

D<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Atiy-ānvavāya-guruṇā narapatinā<sup>3</sup>.....[ti] [ | \*]  
 2 Atiy-ēndra-vishṇu-grīham-iti...mamu[nā]<sup>4</sup> kārī[taṣā] kri[ti]nā [||\*]<sup>5</sup>

BIRUDAS<sup>6</sup>

- |                                |   |                                  |
|--------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| Southern pilaster of sanctum   | 1 | <i>Utpala-karṇavikāḥ</i>         |
|                                | 2 | <i>Nara-vāhanāḥ</i>              |
|                                | 3 | <i>Madana-vilāsaḥ</i>            |
| Southern pillar of sanctum :   | 4 | <i>Māna-sāraḥ</i> (below Ins. C) |
| Northern pillar of sanctum :   | 5 | <i>Naya-ṣatāḥ</i> (below Ins. D) |
| Northern pilaster of sanctum : | 6 | <i>Nara-dēvaḥ</i>                |
|                                | 7 | <i>Prakṛiti-priyaḥ</i>           |
| Northern pillar of facade :    | 8 | <i>Udāra-chītaḥ</i>              |
|                                | 9 | <i>Vimala-charitāḥ</i>           |

<sup>1</sup> *J. R. Ep.*, 1900-01, No. B 293.

<sup>2</sup> Read 'trāśu'.

<sup>3</sup> Metre: Anandāhā.

<sup>4</sup> *J. R. Ep.*, 1906, No. 7.

<sup>5</sup> The portion after this reads "anvaya" which is not quite intelligible.

<sup>6</sup> The form of this nā is not satisfactory. It seems to have been inserted later.

<sup>7</sup> Metre: Arjā.

<sup>8</sup> These are engraved at different places as indicated but illustrated one below the other in the plate.

No. 19—PANCHALINGALA INSCRIPTION OF BHUVANAİKAMALLA, SAKA 999

B. R. GOPAL, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 9-5-1959)

This inscription, edited here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, is engraved on a stone near the Nāgalakṛṣṭa (platform with snake-images under a peepal tree) in front of the Pañchalīngēśvara temple at Pañchalīngāla, a village in the Kurnool Taluk, Kurnool District, Andhra Pradesh. The inscription is noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1953-54 as No. 50 of Appendix B, and reviewed in the same Report in the Introduction (pp. 4-5). On the top centre of the record is depicted in relief a pedestal with five *lingas* (the *pañcha-linga*), a couchant bull facing the pedestal and a cow with its calf on the opposite side. Right above the cow is the representation of the sun and in front of the calf an upright dagger with a curved blade. Above the bull is the crescent moon.

The record is engraved in Kannada characters and except for the two imprecatory verses at the end, the language of the record is also Kannada. As regards the palaeography and the orthography, there is nothing of special interest. The characters of the record are regular for the period to which they belong. Attention may, however, be drawn to the use of the second case-ending in place of the seventh in the words *Rāmēśvara śivthavaṁ mindu* in line 8. *Ba* is used for *va* in *dhāvāpurbhāṁ* (lines 19-20) and *Śriparbbatāṁ* (line 24).

The record belongs to the reign of the Western Chālukya king Bhuvanaikamalla Sōmēśvara (II) and is dated Śaka 990, Kīlaka, Pushya, bahuja pañchamī, Sunday, Uttarāyana-sankrānti. The details of the given date are irregular. In the Śaka year 990 corresponding to 1068 A. D., the Uttarāyana-sankrānti occurred on December 24, Wednesday, whereas the given *tithi* corresponded to December 16, Tuesday. The intended date may perhaps be 1068 A. D., December 24.

At the time of this record the king is stated to have been camping at Berkkemōkshad-*appayaṇaviḍu* to the north of the Kṛishṇā river in Kandūr-nāḍu. The term *appayaṇa-ṛiḍu* stands for a temporary camping place as opposed to *śalēṛiḍu* which denotes the capital.<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to identify the place called Berkkemōksha. It cannot be Pañchalīngāla itself, for, this place is situated to the south of the river Kṛishṇā. I am, therefore, inclined to identify it with the village Bargedinni in the Jatprol Taluk, Mahbubnagar District, which is to the north of the Kṛishṇā. There is another village named Barkapalli in the Kalwakurthi Taluk of the same District. But the former is to be preferred because of its proximity to the river Kṛishṇā.

The purpose of the record is to renew a gift made earlier by Vinaya-Satyāśraya (i.e., Vinayāditya Satyāśraya) to god Pañchalīngāśvā, and recorded on copper-plates. It appears to have comprised of the village Guḍigēri which was probably a hamlet of Kālpalli and formed part of the *śaḷa-ṛitti* (*śhaḷa-ṛitti*) of Pañchalīngā. This *śhaḷa-ṛitti* is stated to be 1400 *mutta* in extent spread over the two *ārumbāḍas* (groups of six villages) one in Naḷavāḍi on the Southern bank and the other in Yaḍe-nāḍu on the Northern bank of the river Tuṅgabhadrā. For this purpose Kāsmīrapāṇḍita, the *mahāsthānādhipati* of the temple of Pañchalīngā was sent for by king Sōmēśvara who, after lavng the feet of the priest with the water of Krishnaveṅṅā made over the gift for the upkeep of the various shrines within the compound of the Pañchalīngā temple and for offerings to the deities therein.

<sup>1</sup> In this record both these terms occur. Line 3 says that the king was having Kalyāṇa as his *śalēṛiḍu*.



The composer of the record is stated to have been Nāgachandra Kavindra. Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar refers to a poet Nāgachandra who is said to have been the author of *Rāmachandracharita-purāna* and *Mallinātha-purāna*.<sup>1</sup> He assigns this poet to about 1105 A.D., on the basis of an inscription of Vikramāditya VI dated Śaka 1027 and says that he might have been a poet in the court of Hoysaja Vishnuvardhana (1104-1141 A.D.). Nāgachandra Kavindra of the present record may possibly be the same as this poet Nāgachandra. If this is so, his date will have to be pushed back to 1068 A.D.<sup>2</sup>

The record throws welcome light on the political career of Sōmēśvara II. Studied together with the other records of this king, it gives us quite a good picture of his movements. The Chōla records state that Vira Rājendra defeated Sōmēśvara II before the latter had time to take off his necklace (*kanthikū*), burnt the city of Kampili and set up a pillar of victory at Karadikal, a place situated in the Raichur District.<sup>3</sup> As opposed to this, a record from Bejagāmi<sup>4</sup> states that immediately after the death of Sōmēśvara I, the Chōla king took the occasion as opportune for invading the Chālukyan territory and laid seige to Gutti and that Sōmēśvara II met his opponent with might and defeated him. This battle must have been fought sometime between the months of April and August in the year 1068 A.D., the former being the date of his coronation and the latter the date of the Bejagāmi record. While it should be admitted that there is an element of exaggeration in the narration of these events in the Chōla records, it may be inferred that the encounter at Gutti put an end to the Chōla incursions in the north.<sup>5</sup> A record from Chiamatumbalam<sup>6</sup> dated the 15th of August 1068 A.D., refers to Jayasimha III, the younger brother of Sōmēśvara II as governing at Kampili. It is not unlikely that Jayasimha was posted to watch the southern frontiers during Sōmēśvara's campaigns in the north as will be described in the sequel.

After thus putting down the Chōla menace, Sōmēśvara II seems to have turned his attention towards the North. The record under study states that the king was camping at a place near the Krishnā river on his campaign of *śūrvijaya*.

During this period Mājava was passing through a crisis because of the dispute for succession after the death of Paramāra Bhōja. Bilhaya tells us<sup>7</sup> that the Mājava king sought the aid of Chālukya Sōmēśvara I who, being a shrewd diplomat, agreed to help him and sent his son Vikramāditya VI, with whose help the Mājava king gained the throne. This Mājava king referred to herein is Paramāra Jayasimha. This was sometime before 1055 A.D., which is the earliest known record of Jayasimha<sup>8</sup> as the Paramāra ruler. But Jayasimha's troubles were not over with this. In the latter part of his reign he had to face the invasion of his enemies who completely overthrew him. The Nagpur stone inscription<sup>9</sup> states that Udayāditya, the successor of Jayasimha, had to overcome the troubles that had befallen the realm of Bhōja and to free the land from the dominion of Karṇa who, joined by Karṇāṭas, had swept over the earth like a

<sup>1</sup> *Karnāṭaka-Kavi-Charita*, Vol. I, pp. 89 ff.

<sup>2</sup> It may be incidentally noted that a record from Dandāpur (*J. R. Ep.*, B. K. No. 64 of 1933-34) belonging to the reign of Vikramāditya VI and dated 1078 A.D. mentions Ūroḍeya Nāgādēva as the composer, and another record of the same king from Sōmāpur (*ibid.*, No. 75), dated 1080 A.D., states that Nāgavāra Kavindra corrected the composition of Mallikārjuna.

<sup>3</sup> Above Vol. XXV, pp. 241 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, No. 136.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XXV, p. 242.

<sup>6</sup> S. L. I., Vol. IX, No. 123.

<sup>7</sup> *Vikramādityacharita*, Sarga III, vs. 67-68.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. III, pp. 46 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Above, Vol. II, pp. 180 ff.

mighty ocean. This is a reference to the alliance of king Karṇa with Chālukya Sōmēśvara II, the then Karṇāṭa ruler. The Dōḡargaon inscription of Paramāra Jagaddēva<sup>1</sup> states that at this time Mālava was invaded by a confederacy of three kings. Regarding the two kings that allied with Sōmēśvara II scholars differ in their identification. While Prof. Mirashi holds<sup>2</sup> that the two kings who joined Sōmēśvara II were the Kalachuri king Karṇa and the Western Gaṅga king Udayāditya, Dr. Majumdar thinks that they were the Chaulukya Karṇa of Gujarat and the Kalachuri king.<sup>3</sup> To this we shall come again.

It is now clear that Sōmēśvara II had to involve himself in a battle with the Paramāra and according to the Dōḡargaon inscription he seems to have taken the offensive. When exactly this invasion took place has been a matter of conjecture. Prof. Mirashi has surmised that it might have been between 1069 A.D. and 1075 A.D., the latter being the date of the Sūṇi inscription<sup>4</sup> of Sōmēśvara II which refers to him as a blazing fire to the ocean which is the race of the Mūlavayas. But the record under review enables us indirectly to narrow down the limits for the date of this invasion.

On the date of this record, *etc.*, the end of 1068 A.D., Sōmēśvara was already on the north of the Kṛishṇā river. He is stated to be on the march against an unnamed enemy. The next engagement in which he was known to have been busy was his participation in the campaign against Mālava according to the Dōḡargaon inscription referred to above. In the absence of any other clue to the contrary Sōmēśvara's *digvijaya* mentioned in the present record may be connected with the campaign against Mālava since he had already repelled the forces of the Chōla king, his only other enemy on the southern front, before August 1068 A.D. It may therefore be surmised that Sōmēśvara had commenced his *digvijaya* presumably in the northern direction before the date of the record, *i.e.*, December 1068 A.D. The earliest reference to his successful completion of the northern expedition is obtained in an inscription from Guḍigōri<sup>5</sup> dated in December 1072 A.D. Therefore Sōmēśvara's campaign in the north against Mālava may be considered to have taken place sometime between December 1068 A.D. and December 1072 A.D.<sup>6</sup>

In this campaign Sōmēśvara II seems to have been helped very much by two of his subordinates, Hoysala Eṣeyāga<sup>7</sup> and *danḍanāyaka* Udayāditya of the Gaṅga family.<sup>8</sup>

Besides these two, some other subordinates of Sōmēśvara II also seem to have taken part in this battle, for, the inscription from Guḍigōri referred to states that *manovergyaḍe, danḍanāyaka* Bhāskara-Bhaṭṭōpādhyāya defeated the kings of Lāṭa, Mālava, Saurāshtra, Gaṇḍa-vishaya and others of the North and brought back with him presents to the king. This being the case, it is difficult to agree with Prof. V. V. Mirashi who says that Udayāditya was one of the two 'kings' who joined Sōmēśvara II in defeating the Paramāra king. It cannot be explained why Udayāditya, a *danḍanāyaka* of Sōmēśvara II could have been mentioned as a member of the confederacy of three 'kings'. On the other hand we may, perhaps rightly, surmise that the two other kings were the Chaulukya Karṇa and Karṇa of the Kalachuri dynasty as Dr. Majumdar has pointed out.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 183.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 106-07 ff.; *GH*, Vol. IV, Introduction, p. xviii-zux.

<sup>3</sup> *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, pp. 57-59.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XV, pp. 96 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *A.R.Ep.*, 1928-30, B. K. No. 110.

<sup>6</sup> There is however a record from Kākhāṇḍi (*A.R.Ep.*, 1933-34, B. K. No. 172) dated 1069 A.D., December, 24, which states that Sōmēśvara was ruling from Samkanakereyūr, a village possibly in Bijapur District. It is not known whether Sōmēśvara's camp at Samkanakereyūr was enroute to his Mālava campaign.

<sup>7</sup> *Ep. Car.*, Vol. V, Ak 102a and 117; Vol. VIII, Ch. 64.

<sup>8</sup> *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 164. It is interesting to note that of these two, the former subsequently turned against his overlord and supported the claims of Vikraāditya VI for the throne. (*Ep. Car.*, Vol. V, Ak 102 a).



Of the places mentioned in the record, Kalyānapura is the same as Kalyāna in the Bidar District of the present Mysore State which was the Chālukyan capital. Berkkemōksha is, as already indicated above, possibly Bergedinni in the Jatpuri Taluk of the Mahabubnagar District in Andhra Pradesh. Naḷavāḍi-nāḍu is the same as Naḷavāḍi-vishaya mentioned in the Dayyamdiene plates of Vinayāditya. This has been identified by Dr. Fleet with parts of the Kurnool and Anantapur Districts.<sup>1</sup> Yaḍe-nāḍu must be the same as the Eḍedore-nāḍu identified with "a stretch of country between the rivers Kṛishṇā on the north and Tuṅgabhadrā on the south, comprising a large part of the present Raichur District; probably in fact, all of that district from about long. 76°15' to the confluence of the two rivers some sixty miles east-by-south beyond Raichur."<sup>2</sup> Pañchalīnga is the same as the village Pañchalīngāla, the findspot of the record. Guḍigōri, if it is a village, might be identified with the village Guḍipāḍu in the Kurnool Taluk of the same District. Kandūr-nāḍu is the area situated to the north of the Kṛishṇā river as stated in the record. I am unable to identify Kālpāḷi. It may be noted, however, that there is a village by name Kālava in the Kurnool Taluk.

TEXT<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Svasti samasta-bhuvan-āśraya-Śrī-pri(pri)thvi-vallaḥha-mahārāj-ādairā-
- 2 ja-paramēśvaram parama-bhaṭṭa(ṭṭā)rakam Satyāśraya-kuja-tijakam chāḷukyū-
- 3 bharaṇam śrīmad-**Bhuvanaikamalladōvar-k**Kalyānapurada neleviḍino[-su-
- 4 ka(kha)-samakathā-vimōdadim<sup>4</sup> rājyam geyyuttam=ḷḍu dig-vijaya-yātrā-nimittadiṇḍ-etti-
- 5 baṇḍu(ṇḍu) Kandūr-nāḍ-olagaṇa Kri(Kṛ)ṣṇasvannā(ṇṇā) nadiya baḍaga-daḍiya
- Berkkemōksha-**
- 6 d-appayanaviḍino| Saka(Śaka) varsa (śha) 900 tteneya Kīla(la)ka-samvatsarada Pushya
- 7 baḷuḷa pañchalīngiy-Ādityavāradaiṇḍ-Uttarāyana(ṇa)-sarākrāntiyol-ali-
- 8 ya Rāmēśvara-tīrthavaṇḍ mindu yama-niyama-svādhyāya-dhyāna-dhāraṇa-
- 9 mōṇ(maṇḍ)-ānushāhāṇa(ṇa)-parāyāṇa-japusta(-ta)pa-samādhi-guṇa-saḍipannar-anēka-ta-
- 10 rka-śāstra-vēdānta-siddhānta-pārāvāra-pāraṇam kshāma-kāḷāṇa|a dūrita-
- 11 vijay-āṇaṇ=annū[ṇ]-samudraṇ<sup>5</sup> pratyakṣa-Rudran-onisida śrīma-
- 12 t-Pañchalīnga-mahāsthān-ādhipatī Kāśmīra-paṇḍita-dēvaram piriya rājā[ḍḍ]-<sup>6</sup>
- 13 sa(sa)man=attī baris| Kri(Kṛ)ṣṇasvanna(ṇṇā)-nādī-hrada-dīhya-tīrth-ōḍaka(ma) tarisī
- pāda-
- 14 prakāḷāṇam geyḍu munnam Vīṇya-Satyāśraya-dēvaṇ Pañchalīnga-dēvaṇ-
- 15 ge ḷiṭṭa tāmḷa-[sa](śā)[sa<sup>7</sup>]nada Tuṅgabhadrā-nadiya teṇka-daḍiya Naḷavāḍi-nāḍ-olā-
- 16 gaṇ-āṇṇambāḍadoḷam baḍaga-daḍiya Yaḍenāḍ-olagaṇ-āṇṇāḷa(ḷa)d-olav -antu panṇes-
- 17 raḍu-[bāḍada] modala Pañchalīnga-grāmadā taḷa-vri(vri)ttiya sāsirada nāl-nūṇu ma-

<sup>1</sup> *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 303.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XII p. 296.

<sup>3</sup> From impression.

<sup>4</sup> The *annūḍra* is engraved above the previous letter.

<sup>5</sup> The meaning of the expression is not clear.

<sup>6</sup> The bottom portion of letter *ḍ* is broken.

- 18 ttar-o]sagaṇa Kālpa]liya Guḍigēriyaṁ Paṁohalinga-dēvara gōpurad-o]sagaṇa dē-
- 19 vā]ayaṅga]a khaṁpa(ṇḍa)sphuṭita-]irṇṇōddhāraṇa dēva[bbḥg-ā]nnadāna-nimittādib  
dhārā-
- 20 pūrbbā(rvva)kaṁ mma(mā)ḍi tri[bbḥ]tō(g-ā)bhyantara-siddhi-yind=adaṇa chatus-  
simeyind-o]sage
- 21 puṭṭida nidhi-nidhāna-nikshēpaṅga]-modalāg-ellaṁ dēvar-aritham=āgi biṭṭu samasta-  
rūjya-
- 22 ohihuṁga]umaṁ koṭṭar=ī(r)l]dharmakk-ārānuṁ kā]arṁ(kā]a)kā-lāntarado] nānā vupa  
(upa)dravam=māḍi-
- 23 doḍe tappidoḍaṁ Prayāgeyo]ṁ Bānarāsiyo]ṁ va(a)rggbyatīrtthado]ṁ Ku-
- 24 rukahetrado]ṁ Gaṁgā-sāgi(ga)rado]ṁ Śrīparbbā(rvva)tada pātā]a-gaṁgeyo]av endu ge-
- 25 yda laksha-gō-vadheyuṁ Brāhmaṇa-vadheyuṁ bhrūṅa-hatyamuṁ paṁcha-
- 26 mahāpātakamumatū mma(mā)ḍida dōshakke salvar ||  
Acy-aiva [kula]-sath-
- 27 bhūtāḥ Paṁohalinga-mā]h-ōeramē[\*] ādhipatyāṁ kurushvōva<sup>1</sup> yāvaścha(ch-cha)ndr-ōrka-
- 28 tārakam || Svadattam(ttām) paradattam(ttām) vā yō harēti vasumdhārā]ṁ [\*]  
abashṭiz-vvarsha-sahaśrāni(stāṇi) vi -
- 29 śkṭhāyāṁ jāyatō krimi[h] || I sa(śā)sanamāṁ Nāgachandra-kavīndraṁ baredam ||



No. 20—THE PULLUR PLATES OF NANDIVARMAN II PALLAVAMALLA—YEAR 33

(3 Plates)

T. V. MAHALINGAM, MADRAS.

(Received on 27-10-1958)

This set<sup>1</sup> of nine copper plates is reported to have been unearthed sometime in May 1939 by the villagers of Pullur in the Polur taluk of the North Arcot District, Madras State, while excavating the *ardha-mandapa* portion of the small Vishnu temple there, now dilapidated and in ruins. It is learnt that along with this set of plates were found a metallic image of Vishnu about 2 feet in height, a *Sudarshana* and a goddess nearly of the same size, another smaller image of the goddess and one or two couches which may all be assigned to about the 12th century A.D. The plates measure each about  $9\frac{1}{4}$  inches by  $3\frac{5}{8}$  inches and are written on both sides, except the first one the outer face of which is left blank. The outer face of the last plate bears faint traces of writing. They are all strung together with a copper ring about  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch thick and  $4\frac{3}{4}$  inches in diameter, the ends of which are soldered to the bottom of a circular seal about  $2\frac{5}{8}$  inches in diameter. The seal is completely worn out except for the faint traces of a couchant bull facing the proper right. The left hand corner of the first plate is torn off including the ring-hole. Consequently the first plate is found loose and a few letters at the beginning of the first three lines of the inscription are lost. Portions of the first side of the seventh plate have been erased and re-written. The letter writing seems to have been done after the set of plates had been strung and sealed as the particular plate bears traces of having been torn off from the set and re-inserted after re-writing as the twist in the plate has only been levelled up and not soldered. Palaeographically the letters themselves seem to be of a little later period, as may be seen from a few of them such as *kku* (lines 104 and 106), *ta* (line 105), etc. The whole set weighs 329 *tolas* with the ring and seal and 240 *tolas* without the ring and seal. The inscription on the plates is neatly executed and is in good preservation except where small portions of the sheets are broken and lost in plates I, III, VIII and IX. The portions damaged and lost in the last three plates are not much, being only one or two letters on each side of them and these letters can be restored without much difficulty.

As is usual with most copper-plate grants of the Tamil country, the record consists of two parts. The first one is in Sanskrit, written in the Grantha script (lines 1-17) and the second in the Tamil language and script (lines 17-132). The usual imprecatory verses in Sanskrit at the end are again in the Grantha script followed by the signatures in Tamil. The Grantha script is also used in writing some of the Sanskrit words which occur in the Tamil portion of the record.

The script used for writing the record is of an ornamental variety though not highly florid, and palaeographically may be assigned to the eighth century A.D., to which period the inscription belongs. In the Grantha script the symbol for medial *ṣ* and also for *ḍ* is not written in the form of a downward stroke on the right of the consonant, but as a zig-zag line going upwards and slanting to the right with its upper end slightly thickened. This is seen adopted even in the Grantha

<sup>1</sup> A. E. Sp., 1939-40, App. A, No. 9. This is the fifth copper-plate charter of King Nandivarman Pallavamalla, the other four being the Udayendiram plates dated in his 21st year (*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, No. 74), the Kaikkudi plates of his 22nd year (*ibid.*, Vol. II, No. 75), the Taplanōttam plates of his 38th year (*ibid.*, Vol. II, No. 99) and the Pottattājjamaṅgalaṃ plates of his 61st year (above, Vol. XVIII, No. 14).

letters used here and there in the Tamil portion. This form of the symbol for medial *ā* is found, though in a more ornamental form, in the inscriptions of Mahēndravarmā<sup>1</sup>, of Rājasimha<sup>2</sup> and even of Paramēśvaravarmā I.<sup>3</sup> But this is found used alongside the normal form of the vertical stroke with a *talaiḱkaṭṭu* in them, while this is the only form in the Pullūr plates. The use of dots (*puḱṭi*), though not uniform is noteworthy. The doubling of the consonants after *r* like *curmma* in line 7 is a peculiarity usually met with in inscriptions from the south and this is probably due to the influence of the Dravidian languages. Another peculiarity is the letter *ṭṣa* in places where it should be *ṭṣha*; and considering that invariably in almost all the copper-plate inscriptions in the Grantha script of the period this peculiarity is found it would be right to read it only as *ṭṣha*, taking this as its form even though it is found also correctly written occasionally.

There are a few words in the inscription which are of lexicographical interest. One such is *Bappa*.<sup>4</sup> The Sanskrit portion of the grant narrates the gift of the villages as *deivapura-bappa-bhaṭṭārakānām-aṣṭa(aṣṭāṭṭara)-śatāya salilapūrcam dattavān* (lines 16 and 17) "gave with the libation of water to one hundred and eight *Bappa-bhaṭṭārakas* (who are) the best of the twice-born". The very fact that the grant registers the gift of the villages as *brahmadāya* would show that the word *Bappa-bhaṭṭāraka* denotes a *Brāhmaṇa* and this is confirmed by the Tamil portion of the grant wherein this is translated as *uḱṭṭeyvar uḱṭṭar nar-pō[ṭṭ]pō[ṭṭ]ṭṭe brahmadāyam aruḱ-ḱḱē[ḱ]ṭṭa* (line 102) "pleased to grant as *brahmadāya* to one hundred and eight *Brāhmaṇas* who are good or pure and poor".<sup>5</sup> In early Tamil literature the *Brāhmaṇas* are generally referred to only by the term *pāppār*. The use of this term *pāppār* in the Tamil portion as against the word *Bappa* in the Sanskrit portion seems to suggest a possible connection of the one with the other, though the process of their derivation cannot be determined. *Bhaṭṭāraka* means a chief; and *Bappa-bhaṭṭārakāh* means evidently chief *Brāhmaṇas*.

The term *paradattī* (line 112) is another word of interest. It occurs as *paradattī beydady*, meaning *paradattī* was made. The term *paradattī kōṅṅady* occurs in the Bāhūr plates of Nripātūṅga,<sup>6</sup> wherein it has been translated as "the grant was made". The same term slightly changed into *paratattī* is used in the Kaṣāḱkuḱi plates of Nandivarman II<sup>7</sup> and the Vēlūrpaḱaiyam plates of Nandivarman III<sup>8</sup> as also the Anbil plates of Sundara Chōḱa,<sup>9</sup> in the last of which it is written as *paradattī*. The word *paradattī* would mean either a gift to a third person or a gift made by a third person. It is used in the latter sense in the imprecatory verse '*madattām paradattām vō*,' usually found in many of the records. The copper plates mentioned before wherein the word *paradattī* occurs also appear to record the gifts made by the subordinate chiefs of village within the region over which they were holding sway, and the orders of the monarchs were more or less in the nature of ratification of these gifts. As such the word *paradattī* may be taken as a gift made by some person other than the king.

Another word of interest that occurs in the plates is *vattarav* which is prefixed to the name of all the donees of the grant after the mention of their respective *gōṭras*, *sūtras* and villages. In

<sup>1</sup> Inscriptions at Mahēndravāḱi (above, Vol. IV, Plate facing p. 152), at Dalavāṅṅūr (ibid., Vol. XII, Plate facing p. 226) and at Śivamāṅṅalam (ibid., Vol. VI, Plate facing p. 329).

<sup>2</sup> Kaṣāṣanāṭṭha Temple inscriptions (Text *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 24; Plate, ibid., Vol. II, p. 249).

<sup>3</sup> Kūrām plates (Text *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 151; Plate, ibid., Vol. II, p. 322).

<sup>4</sup> For the use of the words *Bappa* and *Bappa Bhaṭṭāraka* see Dr. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 351. Also see C. Minakshi, *Administration and Social Life under the Pallavas*, pp. 6-8.

<sup>5</sup> The same expression *uḱṭṭar nar-pāppār* occurs also in the Paṭṭaṭṭāṅṅalam and Tanḱantāṭṭam plates of the monarch. See above, Vol. XVIII, p. 119; *S. I. I.*, III, p. 321, l. 31.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., Vol. XVIII, p. 12.

<sup>7</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 353, l. 133.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 509, text, l. 63.

<sup>9</sup> Above, Vol. XV, p. 65, text-line 189.



Tamil literature the word is used in the sense of a resident of the Vatsa country.<sup>1</sup> But it is not used in that sense here. A reference to the context would show that it is a Tamil form of the Sanskrit word *vāstavya* meaning 'a resident of'.<sup>2</sup>

The Sanskrit portion of the record commences with an invocation to Śiva (verse 1). It then goes on to praise in general terms the Pallava kings who came in the lineage of Pallava whose ancestry is traced from the *Brāhmayā* Bharadvāja through Drōṇa and Drauṇi or Aivattāman (verses 2 to 4). Nandivarman born of that line became king (verse 5). He is described as Vishnu, being the lord of the wealth (Śrī) and of the earth, as Svāmi (Mahāsēna or Kumāra) being the bearer of *Śakti* (power), as the sun with lustre though his rays were soft, and his rule is stated to have extended as far as the sea. This verse which is in double entendre may be interpreted as follows: He was (or bore the name) Śrī Vallabha; he obtained his kingship with the might of his arm, [he was acknowledged as (suzerain) king by others because of his power] and his taxation was mild. The next verse (verse 6) says that his orders were obeyed by the Kēraja, Chōja, Pūṇḍya, Maḥava Kaḷabhra, Bāpa, Āndhra, Saindhava, Śāntavādikuravara,<sup>3</sup> Gaḍga and Kadamba kings. Then follows a prose passage in Sanskrit which mentions that once when the king was seated in the audience hall surrounded by courtiers and princes, at the request of **Avanichandra Yuvarāja**, the lord of Viḅvalapura and devoted to the Pallava, the king made the grant of four villages Nelli, Pullār, Kuḍiyār and Takkār, situated on the southern bank of Cheyāra in the Palkunḍa-kōttaka and Kijavēnājaka, clubbed together into one unit and renamed *Nayadhīramaṅgala*m after the king's surname *Nayadhīra* to one hundred and eight Brāhmanas, making his minister Nāgaārma Brāhmādhīrāja, the executor of the grant. The minister is described as the Brihaspati in person and well versed in the science of weapons and warfare.

The Tamil portion of the grant says that in the **thirty-third regnal year Vijaya Nandivarman**, on the petition of **Avanichandra-Iḅavaraṇa**, the king granted as *brahmadāya*m the four villages of Nelli, Pullār and Kuḍiyār of Kīl-vāṇḍu and Takkāṇ of Maṅalaikunja-nāḍu in Palkunḍa-kkōḷḷam with Brāhmādhīraṇ as executor (*ḅvāṇi*) to one hundred and eight poor and good (or pure) Brāhmanas (pāṇṇ<sup>4</sup>ppār) whose names are mentioned therein (see table below).

The boundaries of the gift villages according to the headman (*vīgavaṇ*) of the *nāḍu* or the district are then given.<sup>5</sup> This is followed by the *perihōras* or exemptions granted to the donees to be enjoyed by them. The date of the grant, 33rd year, 330th day (in the reign) of the king is then given. The usual imprecatory verses in Sanskrit are then found, followed by the signatures of those responsible for the drafting and execution of the document on copper.<sup>6</sup>

It is generally considered that Nandivarman was a great devotee of Vishnu.<sup>7</sup> But this grant begins with an invocation to Śiva. Of his other grants the *Paṅḅittāmaṅgala*m plates<sup>8</sup> open with an invocation to Vishnu, while the introductory portion is lost in the *Taḅḅantōṭṭam* plates.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Muvintkalai*, Canto. XV, line 62, where the king of the Vatsa country is referred to as *Vatavya*.

<sup>2</sup> The term *vāstavya* is found mentioned in similar context in the first few names of the donees of the *Taḅḅantōṭṭam* plates of Nandivarman II (*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 307). The editor of the plates has taken the word to mean "a resident of the Vatsa country". But a careful perusal of the text would show that there also it would mean only a "resident of" thus making it a *tuḅbhava* form of *vāstavya*.

<sup>3</sup> It is not clear whom this expression refers to.

<sup>4</sup> The portion of the grant has been erased and rewritten and as such the reading adopted here is tentative.

<sup>5</sup> A few more names of Brāhmanas written by a different hand follow the signature of *Nayadhīra-Peṇṅḅāṅṅa*-kīraṇ. These names were perhaps left out of the main list of donees and were inserted later.

<sup>6</sup> E. Gopalan, *A. History of the Pallavas of Kanchi*, pp. 127-8.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 126.

<sup>8</sup> *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 329.

The Udayāndiram grant,<sup>1</sup> which, like the present one, records the grant by Udayachandra, Lord of Viḷvalapura, opens with an invocation to Sadāśiva residing on Mount Meru, i.e. Śiva. In the Kaśākkunji plates<sup>2</sup> the invocatory portion contains nine verses of which the first one is in praise of *Parabrahmas*, the next of Trivikrama i.e., Viṣṇu, the third of Hara (Śiva), the fourth of Trivikrama and Hara jointly, the fifth of Padmā (Lakṣmī), the sixth of Āryā (Pārvatī) and the seventh of Vināyaka. The eighth verse refers to the two-fold gods, i.e. the gods in heaven and the gods on earth (Bhūdevā) i.e. the Brāhmanas, while the ninth and the last verse of the section introduces the king Nandivarman, without mentioning his name but by epithets which are at the same time surnames of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. The same grant in another verse (verse 30) mentions that he worshipped the feet of Hari (Viṣṇu) while the Taṇḍantōṭṭam plates state that he never knew of bowing down to others excepting to the pair of the worshipful feet of Mukunda (i.e. Viṣṇu). In consideration of the above it will not be quite correct to conclude that the invocatory verses of the grants are indicative of the religious leanings of the monarchs who issued the respective grants, as has sometimes been supposed. Possibly the rulers were worshippers of all gods without any distinction or more probably the invocation found in a grant depended on the nature of the gift recorded therein. The present inscription is more in the nature of a confirmation of the grant made by the heir-apparent of the chief of Viḷvalapura. In view of the fact that the Udayāndiram grant registering a similar gift of *brahmadāya* on the request of the chief of Viḷvalapura also begins with an invocation to Śiva, we may possibly conclude that Śiva was the deity worshipped by those chiefs and that was probably the reason of the invocation to Śiva in the grant.

The inscription records that the orders of Nandivarman were obeyed by the Kēraja, Chōja, Pāṇḍya, Mājava, Kaṣābhra, Bāpa, Āndhra, Saindhava, Śāntavanikuvāra,<sup>3</sup> Gaṅga and Kadamba kings. This is but a conventional account given by the court poet. The Paṭṭattāmaṅgalam plates<sup>4</sup> mention that the kings such as Vallabha, Kaṣābhra, Kēraja, Pāṇḍya, Chōla, Tuḷu, Gongaya (Konkaṣa) were waiting at king Nandivarman's gate for an opportunity to see him.

Nandivarman had a long reign of sixty-five years. This period witnessed the downfall and disappearance of the Chālukyas of Vātāpi, the inveterate and hereditary enemies of the Pallavas, as a political power to be reckoned with and the emergence of the Rāshtrakūṭas in their stead. His reign which overlapped the duration of rule of more than one generation in the contemporary ruling families of the neighbouring kingdoms, was eventful and involved him in frequent warfare; and in these wars he was ably supported by his famous general Udayachandra.

The grant was made at the request of Avanichandra, the *Yuvarāja*, referred to as *Uvarasār* in the Tamil portion, and the lord of Viḷvalapura. The Udayāndiram grant of the same king<sup>5</sup> dated in his 21st regnal year, and thus twelve years earlier than the present one, registers the gift made by the king at the request of Udayachandra, his famous general and lord of Viḷvalapura. Evidently Avanichandra was the son and heir-apparent of Udayachandra mentioned above; and his father was still ruling the principality at the time when this grant was made. An inscription from Kāñchīpuram<sup>6</sup> dated in the 17th year of the reign of Nandivarman, the son and successor of Nandivarman mentions one Avanichandra who is obviously the same as the *Yuvarāja* of the present grant. If this identity is accepted, it follows that Avanichandra who was a *yuvarāja* on the date

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 345-66.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 346.

<sup>3</sup> See note 3 p. 196.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 116.

<sup>5</sup> *S. I. L.*, Vol. II, No. 74.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 132. See also C. Minakshi, *op. cit.*, p. 51. Also *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 48; *A. S. Ep.*,



of the present grant continued to serve till after the 17th year of the reign of Dantivarman. If the reigns of Nandivarman Pallavamalla who ruled for 65 years and his successor Dantivarman who ruled for more than 50 years do not overlap, it may be surmised that Avanichandra served the Pallavas for not less than 50 years. Evidently Avanichandra was young and had been installed as *guvarāja* just before the date of the present grant.

The inscription registers the grant of the village of Nayadhīramaṅgalaṃ which was newly created by clubbing together the four existing villages as a *brahmadēya*. It is generally taken that the term *brahmadēya* stands for a tax-free gift of land and village to Brāhmanas. But among the *parihāras* or immunities granted to the donees of the present grant there occurs the term *pañcī-ūttai-kkaṇai-giṣṭameyam*, i.e. the non-payment of the tax (*kaṇai*) for (a period of) twelve years.<sup>1</sup> The word *kaṇai* evidently is derived from the Sanskrit *kaṇa* and means the land-revenue as distinct from the other taxes and fees payable for citizenship (*kuṇi-ṇai*), as will be evident from the Śilappadikāram.<sup>2</sup> From the above it has to be presumed that a *brahmadēya* village also had to pay some tax, though not from its inception, at least after some years.<sup>3</sup> Evidently such villages had ordinarily to pay only the land-revenue due to the state and not the other dues payable to the local authorities or assemblies. They were free to conduct their own affairs without any interference from others; and this will become clear from the prohibition contained in the present grant (lines 120-21) that the district officer *nāḍi-kōṇṇāp* (literally protector of the *nāḍu*), and the headman (*niyamaṅ*) should not enter the village, and the stipulation that the functions of such officers should be performed by the donees and their descendants. It is also stated therein (lines 123-25) that the *brahmadēya* was formed after proclaiming the villages as belonging to them (i.e. the donees) after removing the wheel (*nāḍi*, i.e. the wheel of authority) fixing (the boundary-stones) and planting *kūṇai* or the East Indian Arrow-root (*Curcuma augusti folia*). The Pattattāmaṅgalaṃ plates<sup>4</sup> employ in this context the expression *kōvun paṇṇiṇṇārandu* meaning 'having removed the authority of the king and his officers'.

The usual formula of circumambulating the gift village with a female elephant in fixing boundaries found in other documents is not found in this record. The marking of the boundaries is usually expressed '*taḷḷam kōḷḷiyin nāḷḷi*' 'planting stones and milk bush'. The Kaṣākkōṇḍi plates have *kaṇṇai*, i.e. *karikōḷḷiṅkaṇṇai* (*Eclipta prostrata*), a useful medicinal plant known as *Bhrīngarājā* in Sanskrit. The present plates mention the planting of the East Indian Arrow-root along the boundaries (line 124).

<sup>1</sup> The term *pañcī-ūttai-kkaṇai*, literally meaning twelve-year-tax, may also be interpreted as a tax payable every twelfth year or the tax consolidated for twelve years. But they are constrained interpretations and do not fit in.

<sup>2</sup> Kāḷai 23, line 127; *Karuvēḷu iṅṅamā*. See also *Manimāḷai*, Kāḷai 19, line 161. *Kaṇṇipōr-illāc cākkōr-ṇōḷḷāṅṅam*.

<sup>3</sup> This view is in a way strengthened by the Tirumālperu inscription of the time of Madhūrāntaka Uttama-choḷa (S. I. I., Vol. III, No. 142). Some land in Sirriyāṅṅar, in Maṇṇai-nāḍu, a sub-division of Maṇṇai-kōttam was granted in the 21st regnal year (891-92 A. D.) of Tondamān-Āṅṅūr-t-tuṅṅa Udayiṅ (Āḍitya I) as a *dāna-dāna-brahmadēya* to the *nāḍu* of Puḷuppākkam, another *brahmadēya* village in the Purai-nāḍu of the same *kōttam* with the stipulation that the latter should remit annually the produce and gold due from them as tax to the temple of Mahāḍēva at Tirumālperu. Though a *dāna* was drawn up in the next year, no entry was made in the accounts as such, which mistake was rectified in the 4th regnal year (910-11 A. D.) of Parakāśarivarman who took Madurai and Īṣam, (i.e. Parantaka I). In the 30th regnal year (942-43 A. D.) of the latter, the dues from Puḷuppākkam were increased as a result of a fresh grant. The village assembly did not remit the new items regularly and so the temple authorities lodged a complaint with Uttama-choḷa when he was at Kāñchipuram, who after due enquiry, fined the village assembly and restored the grant to the temple in the 14th year (983-84 A. D.) of his reign. From this inscription which registers the course of one transaction during the period of nearly one century it will be seen that payments were being made even by *brahmadēya* villages.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 122, ll. 36-37.

<sup>5</sup> S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 332, line 110. The editor has corrected the reading into *kōḷḷi* and translated it as *milk-bush*.

The manner in which the *brahmalēya* is said to have been granted is described as *sāmānya irāṇḍu-paṭṭi-ppaṇḍiyāl* (lines 110-11 and 125). This term occurs not only in the Kasākkudi plates<sup>1</sup> but also in the Paṭṭattāmaṅgalam plates of the king.<sup>2</sup> That *paṭṭi* is a term of land measurement will be clear from the facts that the Kūram plates<sup>3</sup> of Paramēśvaravarman I refers to the sale of five and a quarter *paṭṭi* of land (*ayindikkāl paṭṭi nilamum eirraṅḍu* in I. 62) and that one *paṭṭi* measured one thousand two hundred *kaṭis* of land (*āyiraitirunnārra-kaṭippaṇḍiyāl eirra-ḷkaṇḍa nilam* in II. 59-60). Thus the term *sāmānya irāṇḍu-paṭṭi-ppaṇḍiyāl* occurring in the present grant has to be translated as "measured (as having) two ordinary *paṭṭis* (per share)". This would mean that each share consisted of two thousand and four hundred *kaṭis* of land.<sup>4</sup>

It is also stated in lines 111-12 that the *paradatti* was made by the king who was pleased to order that the *pāyohāttu* and the *paradatti* should proceed according to the measure. The compound *pāyohāttu*, not found elsewhere, is made up of two words *pāl* and *ṣāttu*. The word *pāl* is used in Tamil literature in the sense of a share, portion or division and even apportionment while the other *ṣāttu* in the sense of put on, wear, or bear. Evidently the word *pāyohāttu* should be taken to mean the effecting or entry of the division or apportionment of the land and village granted.

As usual the grant of the village as a *brahmalēya* is said to have been made inclusive of all *parihāras* or immunities and a large number of such *parihāras* are also mentioned. Of the seven copper-plate grants of the Pallava kings so far obtained having both Sanskrit and Tamil portions, with the exception of the Bāhār plates which record the gift of the village as *brahmalēya* for the benefit of an educational institution, all the other six<sup>5</sup> register gift to the Brāhmanas, and everyone of them contains a list of *parihāras* granted to the donees. But no two lists agree, even though we have quite a number of names common to them. Of the *parihāras* mentioned in the present grant many are found in the Kasākkudi plates of the same monarch. There are also a few new ones.

The first item among the *parihāras* granted is *kōyḷ-castu-chehokku* (line 113). The term oil-mill (*sekku*) is usually found separately or along with the term handloom (*taṅgi*). But here it forms part of the compound as will be evident from the addition of the consonant *ch*. The word *castu* in the compound is evidently the other form of *vāstu*, meaning a building site. Thus the entire term would mean the oil-mill put up on the temple site.

The list contains another word similarly ending with *castu*, occurring in line 115, *ulavai paṭṭi-castu*. In the Kasākkudi plates we have the term *ulavai-paṭṭi-cattu* (line 129). Hultzsch left the term untranslated with a foot note<sup>6</sup> stating that the term 'contains the words *ulavaiyan*, a servant, *paṭṭi*, a temple.' Minakshi suggested<sup>7</sup> that the term "would signify a tax in kind due to the king from the servants of the temple" taking the word *castu* as meaning "moveable property". But she

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 351-2, II. 107-8.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 122. The editor has read line 37 as '*kaṭiyāl sāmānya kōyḷ-paṭṭi-ppaṇḍiyāl*' with a footnote that the reading in brackets is tentative, the text being badly damaged in the original. The correct reading *kaṭiyāl sāmānya paṭṭi-ppaṇḍiyāl* as given by Sri T. N. Subrahmanyan (*Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. XIV, p. 129) is also supported by the original which I consulted at the Government Museum, Madras. See also *S. J. I.*, Vol. II, p. 359, n. 12.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Vol. I, No. 151, pp. 154-55.

<sup>4</sup> Even to-day in some villages especially in the Tanjore District (e.g. Udayasāl in the Kumbakonam Taluk) holdings in the land property of the village are referred, though not officially in the records, but among villagers in terms of *paṅgas* (shares) each *paṅga* comprising 2400 *kaṭis* (or 8 acres).

<sup>5</sup> Kūram plates of Paramēśvaravarman I, Kasākkudi plates, Paṭṭattāmaṅgalam plates, Tardantōttam and Pullūr plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, Bāhār plates of Nripatunga and Vēḷūpālayam plates of Nandivarman III. The Udayenīrāra plates are only in Sanskrit, and not in Sanskrit and Tamil.

<sup>6</sup> *S. J. I.*, Vol. II, p. 361, n. 3.

<sup>7</sup> C. Minakshi, *Administration and Social life under the Pallavas*, p. 80.



was more inclined to take the word *ślayasya-palli* as the name of "a hamlet of the main village which was granted" thus making the term refer "to all kinds of income from the hamlet". The word *palli* is generally taken to mean the temple of a faith other than Brahmanical. If *ślayasya* occurring in the Kaśikkudi plates and *ślaya* occurring in the present record can be taken as a corruption of *ślayasi* which is probably connected with the word *ślaya* meaning suffering and pain, the term *ślayasi-palli* *vastu* may be taken to mean 'the site for the Jaina temple' as suggested by the *Tēnāram* hymns which always deride the Jains as those who undergo unnecessary suffering and pain.<sup>1</sup> This interpretation is perhaps closely connected with the statement in the Udayāndiram plates,<sup>2</sup> of the same monarch wherein he is said to have made a gift expropriating the land from those "whose observances were not in accordance with the law (*anayā-adha* [<sup>3</sup> *jaina kṛtyān-cināśya*])."

Two other terms, *ṣṛikkānam* and *paṣikkānam* (line 116), closely following the above also appear to have something to do with the heterodox religious faiths. The word *ṣṛi* means a sling made up of ropes or strings to carry utensils, etc.; and the *Tēnāram* hymns contain references to the practice of the Jaina monks carrying their water pots *kuṇḍigai* in such slings.<sup>4</sup> The other word *paṣi* means to pluck out as of a leaf. The practice of the Jaina monks performing the ceremony of plucking out the hair from their bodies periodically is well-known; and it is also referred to in the *Tēnāram* hymns in which the word *paṣiti* is used to indicate this practice.<sup>5</sup> Thus these two terms should refer to the taxes payable by the Jaina monks for carrying their water pots in slings and for performing the ceremony of plucking out their hair respectively.

Two other terms *aṣappai-taṣṭam* and *śeyya-pōguch-chiṇanda poṅ* which precede the two terms discussed in the last paragraph are found after the term *ślavay-palli vastu* (lines 115-16). The first term means the fine (payable) by those who transgress the *dharma* or remain outside the pale of the law. The terms *apakaravat-taṣṭam* and *adhikaravat-taṣṭam* are found mentioned separately in the same grant (lines 114-15). These two terms are also mentioned in the Kaśikkudi plates<sup>6</sup> and they are taken to refer to judicial fines. As such the term *aṣap-pai-taṣṭam* may be interpreted either as indicating the fine on those who transgress the social or religious law or as the tax payable by a heretic. It is found at times in the imprecatory portion of the Tamil grants that those who hinder or obstruct the continuance of the grant so made, go outside the pale of the "*aram* or *dharma* (*aṟattukku-pṟṟayattay āvaṅ*)" in which context it will only mean heretics. Here also probably the term means a penal levy or impost payable by a heretic. The other term *śeyya-pōguch-chiṇanda poṅ* would mean "the superior gold exclusive of the making". Probably the word *śeyya*, meaning the making would indicate the process of refining gold and the wastage incurred thereby. Probably gold refining was done at the place in those days. The mention of this item along with the other taxes payable by those professing faiths other than the Brahmanical one may be taken to indicate that those engaged in the profession were also Jains.

It may appear rather strange that such taxes on people of a heretical faith should figure in a grant registering the gift of a *brahmadēya*. Possibly the tenants of the grant-villages included also people professing the heretical faiths. By the *paṣihāras* bestowed on them, it looks as though the donees were also entitled to collect the taxes, etc. payable to the king by the existing tenants.

*Śāḍippon* is another term (line 114) mentioned among the *paṣihāras* granted. The word *śāḍi* was used in those days to denote an earthen vessel, a jar. The tax being payable in gold (*poṅ*)

<sup>1</sup> *ṣṛi tāḍi ślayasalai*.

<sup>2</sup> *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 368, l. 75.

<sup>3</sup> Appar, *Tiruvodigai-cira ṭṭānam*, 6th *Tirumurai*, *Śāntiracānāḍogam* v. 8; see also, *Sambandar*, 3rd *Tirumurai*, *Tirumalaparai*, v. 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, v. 11; also *Sambandar*, 1st *Tirumurai*, *Tiruvannāmalai*, v. 10.

<sup>5</sup> *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 353, ll. 128-29; p. 361, n. 2.

it cannot be taken to mean an ordinary mud-pot, but one with some special significance. Evidently it denotes the *mudu-makkal-chōḍi*, the jar or urn of the old people. It appears from classical Tamil literature that in the early period the entombing and burying the body in an earthen vessel (*tāḷi*) was one of the methods of disposing the dead.<sup>1</sup> Tamil literature of the mediaeval period shows that very old and feeble people were kept in the *mudu-makkal-chōḍi* and cared for.<sup>2</sup> The commentary of Nachchinārkiṇiyār on the *Tolkāppiyam* attributes to the Ājivikas the practice of 'entering the *tāḷi* for penance until death'.<sup>3</sup> Very likely *śāḍi-gṇam* of the present grant indicates the tax in gold payable on such jars.

Another of the *parihāras* mentioned in the record is *bīrāmaṅccha-kkāṇam* (line 117). The same is found as *bīrāmaṅ-rāsa-kkāṇam* in the Kasākkudi plates.<sup>4</sup> This was interpreted by Hultzsch as "the share (*kāṇam*) of the Brāhmanas and of the king". K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar explains the term as "the tax of (one) *kāṇam* on the profits of the Brāhmanas" taking the word as made up of the words *Brāhmaṅgar* and *āsākkāṇam*.<sup>5</sup> Minakshi explains it as "the tax payable by the Brāhmanas (priests) of the king", taking the compound word as indicating both the payer and the payee.<sup>6</sup> But it is to be noted that no other example can be cited for this practice of using such an expression to indicate both the payer and the payee. On the other hand it is found from the Kasākkudi plates that the grant of the Koḷukoḷi village as *brahmadēya* was made by the king on the petition of a person who is described as *Brahmayavarāṣay* in Tamil (line 106), and *Brahmayavarājan* in Sanskrit (line 103). This name which appears more as the designation of an officer than as a personal name would suggest the existence of another office with the name *Brahmarāja*. It may also be noted in this connection that the executor (*śyānti*) of the grant now under publication was *Brahmadhīrāja*. It is also seen that a certain *Brahmadhīrāja*, evidently the executor himself, figures among the donees and got four shares, the largest number, in the grant village. But what exactly was the status of the person or the nature of the office is not known. In later days, especially during the period of the Imperial Chōlas of Tanjāvūr and the Pāṇdyas of Madurai, this title was borne by the Brāhmana ministers of the kings who were holding responsible military offices. Very likely they were also ruling over some fiefs. It is possible that the term under consideration may be taken to indicate a chief among the Brāhmanas. Therefore if the terms *Brahmarāja* and *Brahmadhīrāja* can be connected with *bīrāmaṅarāja-kkāṇam* as discussed above it may be taken to mean the tax payable to such a person.

The term *pattūr-śchāṅṅru* occurs both in the present grant (line 115) as well as in the Kasākkudi plates (line 129). Hultzsch left it untranslated. Minakshi took the term as *śāṅṅarari* and meaning the tax on toddy yielding trees of Pattūr, which was perhaps a hamlet of the village.<sup>7</sup> But the occurrence of the term in the present grant makes it difficult to take Pattūr as a hamlet of Koḷukoḷi. Further if the word intended is *śāṅṅru* meaning toddy, then the term should really be *Pattūr śāṅṅru*, without the doubling of the consonant. Hence the latter half of the word should be taken only as *śāṅṅru* meaning 'proclamation'. The first half of the word would then mean only ten. The whole word would probably mean proclaiming by beat of tom-tom in the (surrounding) ten villages.

Another *parihāra* mentioned in the grant is *kāl-kāṭṭiyāmai* (line 119). The same is also found in the Kasākkudi plates (line 131) where this has been translated as non-payment of the fourth

<sup>1</sup> K. R. Srinivasan "The Megasthenes Burials and Urn-burials of South India in the light of Tamil Literature and Tradition" in *Ancient India*, No. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Vikramādityas Uta*, lines 14-16.

<sup>3</sup> *Ancient India*, op. cit., p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> *S.I.I.*, Vol. II, p. 300.

*Historical Sketches of Ancient Deccan*, p. 344.

Op. cit., p. 74.

Op. cit., p. 80.



part of the trunks.<sup>1</sup> The expression *kalkottu* should be taken to mean the digging of a channel. Evidently a tax was levied in those days when new channels were dug for irrigating fields. The donees of the present grant were obviously exempted from such payment.

Of the places mentioned in the present grant, Pullūr, one of the four villages granted is the same wherefrom the plates were discovered. The other three villages are all near by. The Chēyāru still flows in the North Arcot District and the Palkunram, the headquarters of the *Kōḷam* bearing the same name is also in the same district and figures in many inscriptions.

TEXT<sup>2</sup>

[Metres: Verses 1, 3, 4 *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 2 *Śaḍḍharā*; verses 5, 6, *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*]

## First Plate

- 1 .....<sup>3</sup> {dva}ś-Śānkari(ṭ) mūrttiś-śāśān'ok-śānkura-śākhara [ | \*] pratipad-dina-paryantē sandhy-śra sakalānatū [ | | 1\*] Bhāradvājō dvijātī-
- 2 ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — — ṅakṛi(d\*)-Drōṅa śai(d\*)-Drōṅā(d\*)-Draugī sva-bhāga-kehaṅga-rapa-samita- [kṣa]tra'-chakrō bhūhūva[ | ] tasmād-uchhaya(uchchai)-
- 3 ॐ — — ॐ {th}utara- pṛithivī(vī)-vallabhaḥ Pallav-ākhyah kalyah kalyāṅga-rāśiś-chalita-kalimala-prōllasat-kirttir-śai [ | | 2\*]
- 4 Pallavāt-Pallavō varāśah śrōyān kri(śi)mān-mahān-abhūt [ | \*] kṛita-sthitir-udagrāṅga(ṅā)ṃ-uparyy-uchchait-ṃma-
- 5 hi(hi)bhṛitām [ | | 3\*] Yasmin-māṅgā-mahāstambha-ti(ni)śchalasthitaya-sthirāḥ [ | \*] jātā jāta-sarad-dāna-dha(dhā)rā-dha(dhā)ṛ'endra-ku-
- 6 śjarā[h\*] [ | | 4\*] Tasmīn-bhūtiḥṛidi(d-i)śvarō Bali-riputeśō(-kṣō)lhi-śrīyō vallabhas-svām(mī) śaktidharaḥ param-ṃgīda-karō rājā
- 7 chcha (cha) bhāsvāṅ [valah] vālā-pāṭita-bhūri-sāra-vasudhō ratnākarah Pallavō varāśō samprati Nandivarmma-ṅṅi-
- 8 pati[h\*] prakhyāta-nām-ābhavat [ | | | 5\*] Yō-yarā Kēraja-Chōja-Pāḍya-Majavaiḥ Kāja-bhru-Bāp-ādhipais-→ Āndhrū-

## Second Plate, First Side

- 9 a-Śaindhava-Śāntavaṅkuravarair-Ḡuṅgair Kadambai(tūb)śvarai[h\*] [ | ugr-ōdagra-samagra-vigraha-bhaya-vyagra-chyuta-pragruhair-ugrād-a-
- 10 rechhita-śāśanaḥ pṛithu-yāśah(śāh) śrōyān-śāśāsa kṣhitim [ | | | 6\*] Sa tu kudāchid-rāja-rāja-[nitya-p]ād-ōpa[ivi-rāja-
- 11 ka-parivṛita(h\*) kṛita-vyavasthā-sthāna-sthitis-tatra sthītēna parāṅ-chirantar-ānanta-sāmanā-mukhya-vikhyātēna Pallavabha-
- 12 ktinā Villvala-purōśvareṅā(ṅa) Avanichandra-yuvarāja-nāmnā dhārma-kṛit-ārtthah vijñā(jña)ptō datta-tāha(kṣha)ṅa-

<sup>1</sup> S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 361.

<sup>2</sup> From inked impressions.

<sup>3</sup> The broken portion may be restored as *Śmatī Śri* [ | \*] *Pāḍā*.

<sup>4</sup> The *ovāsāra* is superfluous.

<sup>5</sup> The *śha* of this word is the only instance in the whole inscription in which it looks like *śha*. In all other cases it resembles *tāa*. Cf. S. I. I., II, p. 346, n. 14.

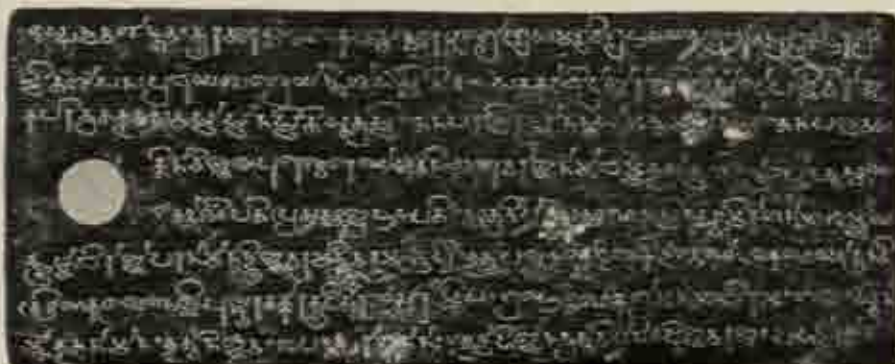
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2  
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ii, a

10  
12  
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10  
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ii, b

18  
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18  
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22  
24

iii, a

26  
28  
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32  
34




26  
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36		36
38		38
40		40
42		42

iv, a

44		44
46		46
48		48
50		50
52		52

iv, b

54		54
56		56
58		58
60		60

v, a

62		62
64		64
66		66
68		68
70		70

- 13 tsho(kshō)ṅipatiḥ pratyatshaksha,-Brīhaspatih tsho(ksha)tra-vidyā-[vi]chataha(ksha)nam= atshakshi( )savāmi-rāga<sup>1</sup>-Nāgaśarmamāsa-
- 14 m=Brahmādhira-śpara-nāmānan=dvijavara-mantrivaram=ājñaptim kṛtvā Palkunda-kōṭṭakē Kil-Vōṅāṭakē Chōyāru-nadi-
- 15 dakshina-kūlā Nelli-Pullūra-Takkāra-Kuḍiūra<sup>2</sup>-chatar-grāmi-saṅgrahān-aikagrāman=Naya-dhīramarṅgalatī ava-nā-
- 16 muḥ-kṛta-nāmānaḥ kṛtvā nija-vaiśa-parampar-āgatānāḥ śuddhābhijana-vṛitta-vidyānām dvijavara-Bappa-bhattārakūnā-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 17 m-aahja(aahjōttara)śatāya ssa(sa)lila-pūrvvan=dattavāu (M. Svasti [ ]\*) Kō-Viśa(jai)ya Nan-divarmma[ḡ\*] ku yō[ḡ]ḍu mu-
- 18 ppattu mūṅrāvaḍu Avanichandra-Ḥavaraśaṅ-viṅṅappattāl Brahmādhiraṅḡaṅ śatti
- 19 āga Palkunṅa-kkōṭṭattu=kKilvōṅāṭṅu Nelliṅṅum Pullūruḥ-Kuḍiyūru[ṅ\*] Maṅalaiku-
- 20 [a-nāṭṅu-tTakkōṅṅum in-nālgūru)-kōvum poriyun-tirttu mun porrārai mātri ku-
- 21 ḡi-nikki brahmādhīyam-āga-pperra nalgūr-nar-pāppār Śaṅḡila-gōtratt-Āvattamba-sūttira-
- 22 ttira\*tt-Uḡappār-vattavaṅ Kāṭaka-chchōmāśi Tiru(Tri)vōdi Kūla-śarmmaṅ paḡgira-ḡḡu [ ikkō-
- 23 ttiratt-ichchōttiratt-ivvūr-vattavaṅ Sōmāśi-tTiru(Tri)vōdi Śaṅṅa-Kallaśarmmaṅṅum | Bhā-radvāja-gōtratt-Āva-
- 24 ttamba-sūttirattu=kKumāṅḡūr-vattavaṅ Kramavittāṅ Tāḡiśarmmaṅṅum | ik-kōttiratt= i[eh\*]chōttira-
- 25 tt-ivvūr-vattavaṅ Yajña[k]āḡiśarmmaṅṅum Gautama-kō(gō)ttirattu Pravachana-sūttirattu=kKā-vaṅṅūr-vatta-

*Third Plate, First Side*

- 26 vaṅ Tiru(Tri)vōdi Uḡudamaṅḡaśarmmaṅṅum | ik-kōttiratt=i[eh\*]chōttiratt-ivvūr-vattavaṅ Tiṅḡa-Pūdi(Bhūti)-Vāḡ-
- 27 paśarmmaṅṅum | Tā(Nā)rāyaṅa-k(gō)ttiratt-Āvattamba-sūttirattu=kKāyāru-vattavaṅ Kramavi-ttaṅ Bhavaśarmma-
- 28 ṅṅum | Parāśara-gōtrattu Āvattamba-sūttirattu Ārar(rūr)-vattavaṅ Śaḡaṅgavi Kūlaśar-mmaṅṅum | Kāśyapa-k(gō)tra-
- 29 tt-Āvattamba-sūttirattu=kKulaputti(ra-vattavaṅ)\* Maṅiya-tTiru(tri)vōdi Vōṭpaṅṅum | ik-kō-ttiratt=ich-chūt-
- 30 tiratt-ivvūr-vattavaṅ Śaḡaṅgavi Dēvaśarmmaṅṅum | ik-kōttiratt=ichchōttiratt-ivvūr-vatta-vaṅ Śaḡa-
- 31 āgavi Śivapūdi(Bhūti)śarmmaṅṅum | Bhāradvāja-gōtratt-Āvattamba-sūttirattu=chChōḡaiyūr-vattavaṅ

<sup>1</sup> Read *śaśāga-vaiśa-rāga*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *Kuḡiyūr*.

<sup>3</sup> These three letters are superfluous.

<sup>4</sup> The punctuation mark adopted in the plates at the end of the donors' names looks like a dot followed by a tapering line.

<sup>5</sup> See lines 60-61 below.



- 32 Kandaṣarmanamum | ik-kōtratt-ich-chūttiratt-ivvūr-vattavaṅ Nārāyaṇa-Dōṣasarmamum | ik-kō-  
 33 tratt-ich-chūttiratt-ivvūr-vattavaṅ Kandaṣarmanamum | Bhāradvāja-gōtrattu  
 Pravachana-sūtrattu-kKāvaṅgū]-vatta-  
 34 ...ti. vēdi Nārāyaṇa-ṣarmanamum | Āvirṣṭa-gōtratt-Āvattamba-sūttirattu Śiṣekkūr-vatta-  
 vaṅ Bhaṭṭaṅ Kandaṣarmanamum

*Third Plate, Second Side*

- 35 [M] | [ik]-kōtratt-ich-chūttiratt-[i]vūr-vattavaṅ Tīṇḍasarmamum | ik-kōtratt-ich-  
 chūtratt-ivvūr-vattavaṅ Kunṇa-Vōṭpai-  
 36 yam | ik-kōtratt-ich-chūtratt-ivvūr-vattavaṅ Kaṣamaṅga-ṣarmanamum | Ātraya-gōtrattu  
 Vāṣṇa-sūtrattu Vi-  
 37 ṅgūr-vattavaṅ Kumārasarmamum | ik-kōtratt-ich-chūtratt-ivvūr-vattavaṅ Kaṇḍasarmamum  
 | Kauśika-go-  
 38 ttiratt-Āvattamba-sūttirattu Uviyūr-vatta[va\*]ṅ Dōṣama[ṅ]ṣarmanamum | i-[k\*]kōttira-  
 39 tt-[ch\*]-chūttiratt-ivvūr-vattavaṅ Tiru(Tri)vēdi Vāṣudōṣasarmamum | i-[k\*]-kōtratt-  
 i-[ch\*]-chūttiratt-  
 40 t-ivvūr-vattavaṅ Kumārakaṇḍasarmamum | i-[k\*]-kōtratt-[ch\*]-chūttirattu Pipam-vattavaṅ  
 Dōṣa-  
 41 manamum | i-[k\*]kōtratt-[ch]chūttiratt-ivvūr-vatta[va\*]ṅ Tiru(Tri)vēdi Kaṣamaṅga-  
 sarmanamum | Vāṣa-gōtratt-Āvatta-  
 42 mba-sūttirattu Va[ṅ]hūka-vattavaṅ Kāḷi-Dōṣasarmamum | Viṣṇuvēdiḍḍa-gōtratt-Āvatt-  
 amba-sūttirattu  
 43 Nimbe-vattavaṅ Śaḍaṅgavi Nīlakāṣasarmamum | i-[k\*]-kōtratt-[ch\*]-chūttiratt-  
 ivvūr-vatta(v)vaṅ Śaḍaṅgavi Viṣṇu-

*Fourth Plate, First Side*

- 44 ḍasarmamum | ik-kōtratt-ich-chūttiratt-ivvūr-vattavaṅ Śaḍaṅgavi Tā[ḷi]sarmanamum |  
 Bhāradvāja-go-  
 45 tratt-Āvattamba-sūtrattu Kumāṅgūr-vattavaṅ Śaḍaṅgavi Uḷḍamaṅgaṣarmanamum | ik-kō-  
 tratt-ich-  
 46 chūtra[ttu-t\*]Tāṅgāra-vattavaṅ Śaḍaṅgavi-chohōmāṣi Kandaṣarmanamum | Bhāradvāja-  
 gōtrattu Pravachana-sūtrattu-kKā-  
 47 vaṅgūr-vattavaṅ Śaḍaṅgavi Kandaṣarmanamum-ṅgaṅḍu | Kōṇḍiṅga-gōtrattu Pravachana-  
 48 sūtrattu-kKāvaṅgūr-vattavaṅ Śimāṣi Akkīṣarmanamum | ik-kōtratt-ich-chūtratt-ivvūr-  
 49 v-vattavaṅ Śūlamāṅgaṣarmanamum | ik-kōtratt-ich-chūtratt-ivvūr-vattavaṅ Vadugaṣa-  
 50 rmanamum | ik-kōtratt-ich-chūttiratt-ivvūr-vattavaṅ Māda(dha)vaṣarmanamum | ik-kōtratt-  
 Āvattamba-sūtrattu Va-  
 51 ṅgipam-vattavaṅ Śaḍaṅgavi Dōṣasarmamum | ik-kōtratt-ich-chūtratt-ivvūr-vattavaṅ Tiru-  
 (Tri)vēdi Nārā-  
 52 yaṣarmanamum | Kōṣika-gōtrattu Pravachana-sūtrattu-kKāvaṅgūr-vattavaṅ Chaturvēdi  
 Tīṇḍa-Dōṣa-

*Fourth Plate, Second Side*

- 53 śarman paṅg=iraṅḍu | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṅ Chaturvōdi Tiṅḍa-Tūjīsar-  
maṅum | Kōśika-
- 54 gōtratt=Āvattamba-s[<sup>t\*</sup>]tiratt=Āṅārai-vattavaṅ Maṅḍasarmaṅum | ik-kōttiratt=ich-chū-  
tirattu Mā-
- 55 ga|ūr-vattavaṅ Nāganāḍasarmaṅum | ik-kōtratt=i[<sup>ch\*</sup>]-chūttiratt=Ā[<sup>t\*</sup>]kkōḍu-vattavaṅ Kūja-  
sarmaṅum | ik-kōtratt=i[<sup>ch\*</sup>]-
- 56 chūttirattu Māṅaṅūr-vattavaṅ Bālasarmaṅum | Vatas-gōtratt=Āvattamba-sūttirattu Ka.
- 57 laṅjūr-vattavaṅ Baddirakājīsarmanum | ik-kōtratt=i[<sup>ch\*</sup>]-chūttirattu Abhyaṅgi-vattā[<sup>va\*</sup>]ṅ
- 58 Māda(dha)vaśarmaṅum | ik-kōtratt=i[<sup>ch\*</sup>]-chūttiratt=i[<sup>v\*</sup>]-vūr-vattavaṅ Kūlasarmaṅum |  
ik-kōtrat-
- 59 t=ich-chūtratt=iv-vūr-vattā[<sup>va\*</sup>]ṅ Nandīsarmanum | ik-kōtratt=i[<sup>ch\*</sup>]-chūttiratt=i[<sup>v\*</sup>]-vūr-  
vattavaṅ Tīru(Tri)vōdi Śuva[<sup>r\*</sup>]ṅasarma-
- 60 ṅum | ik-kōtratt=i[<sup>ch\*</sup>]-chūttirattu Śeruppa|i-vattavaṅ Duggasarmaṅum | ik-kōtratt=i[<sup>ch\*</sup>]-  
chūttirattu Kulaputti-
- 61 ra-vattavaṅ Chatirpedi(Chaturvōdi) Kūjamaṅḍaiśarmaṅum | Sāvargi-gōtrattu Chhandōga-  
sūtrattu=pPāḍaga-vattavaṅ Śaḍa-

*Fifth Plate, First Side*

- 62 āgavi Pūdi(Bhūti)śarmaṅum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṅ U|udra[mā]ḍasār  
maṅum | Māṅḍala-gōtratt=Ā-
- 63 vaṭṭamba-sūtrattu Iḷakkanduro<sup>1</sup>-vattavaṅ Nāgadāmasarmaṅum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtratt=  
U|umbūr-vattava-
- 64 ṅ Śaṅṅa-Dōyaśarmaṅum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtrattu-kKombagu-vattavaṅ U|udamaṅḍai-  
sarmaṅum [ | ]
- 65 Sāmkrityāyana-gōtrattu [H<sup>\*</sup>]raṅyakōśi-chchūtrattu Kūṅḷaṅūr-vattavaṅ Kaṅḍasa-  
rma[ṅ]
- 66 paṅg=iraṅḍu | Bhāradvāja-gōtrattu Hiraṅyakōśi-chchūtrattu Teṅga|ūr-[vat]tava-
- 67 ṅ Kājaka-chchōṅkōśi Ta(Da)ttasarmaṅ paṅg=iraṅḍu | Sāmkrityāyana-gōtrattu Hiraṅya-
- 68 kōśi-chchūtrattu Kūṅḷaṅūr-vattavaṅ Pākkamādasarmaṅum | Koṅḍiṅa-gōtrattu Hiraṅyakōśi-
- 69 chchūtrattu=pPāḍaga-vattavaṅ Śaṅṅa-Tiṅḍasarmaṅum | Ātraya-gōtrattu Hiraṅyakōśi-chchū-  
trattu Paṅgi-
- 70 kūdir-vattavaṅ Pākkamādasarmaṅum | Koṅḍiṅa-gōtrattu Hiraṅyakōśi-chchūtrattu  
Kōvarāṅgi-vattava-

*Fifth Plate, Second Side*

- 71 ṅ Pākkamādasā<sup>2</sup>rmaṅum [ ] Māshala-gōtrattu Hiraṅ(ṅ)yakōśi-sūtrattu Vaṅkūr-vattavaṅ  
Kānda-sarmaṅum |

<sup>1</sup> This is sometimes written as Iḷakkantīraṅ. See *S.I.I.*, Vol. XIII, No. 240, p. 133.<sup>2</sup> Space for one or two letters is left blank here.



- 72 Ātrōya-gōtrattu Āvattamba-sūtrattu Ojukkaiṭṭāka-vattavaṅ Ṣaṭṭiśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chū-
- 73 trattu Ṣaṭṭipura-vattavaṅ Kāsuvaśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṅ Viśṭu-  
nandiśarmaṇum |
- 74 Hārīta-gōtratt=Āvattamba-sūtrattu Śāṅgū]r-vattavaṅ Kūjaśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chū-
- 75 trattu Kochehaṇṇecheṇṇu-vattavaṅ Bhaṭṭaṅ Dīmōdiraśarmaṇ paṅg-irāṇḍu | Lōhita-
- 76 gōtrattu Pravachana-sūtrattu=iTūrpil-vattavaṅ Tiru(Tri)vēdi Tammaśarmaṇum | ik-
- 77 kōtratt=ich-chūtratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṅ Kumāraśarmaṇum | Kāśyapa-gōtratt=Āvattamba-  
sūtrattu-kKā-
- 78 rambichechōḍu-vattavaṅ Śaṅgaśarmaṇum | Paśāra-gōtrattu Pravachana-sūtrattu-kKāva-  
nūr-vatta-
- 79 vaṅ Urdra(Urudra)kumāraśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṅ Yōgēvara-  
śarmaṇum | Śāmkṛi-

*Sixth Plate, First Side*

- 80 tyāyana-gōtrattu Pravachana-sū]tra\*]ttu Vaśalūr-vattavaṅ Pūdi(Bhūti)śarmaṇum  
| Āviśṭa-gōtratt=Āvattamba-
- 81 sūtrattu Irekkūr-vattavaṅ Kumāraśarmaṇum | Kāmappullūr-pPerumaśchika Yōṅaṅ Kāṭṭi-  
kuri-pPa-
- 82 vaṅgaṅ paṅg-onṇu | Kāmappullūr-kKōyilān Nilakaṇṭaṅ paṅg-onṇu | Bhāradvāja-gōtra-
- 83 ttu Chhandōga-sūtrattu-pPattangi-vattavaṅ Tiru(Tri)vēdi Nāgaśarmaṇum | Kāśyapa-  
gōtra-
- 84 tt=Āvattamba-sūtrattu-kKārambichechōḍu-vattavaṅ Yaṅgaśarmaṇum | Bhāradvāja-gō-
- 85 trattu Pravachana-sūtrattu-kKāvaṇnūr-vattavaṅ Kandaśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtratt-
- 86 t=iv-vūr-vattavaṅ Kāḍiyuṅṅi Śaṅgaśarmaṇum | Ātrōya-gōtratt=Āvattamba-sūtra]ttu\*]  
Pāṅai-vattavaṅ
- 87 Śāṅgaśarmaṇum | Vāsiṣṭa-gōtrattu Pravachana-sūtrattu Vaṅgaṇnūr-vattavaṅ Dōṅa-Viṅṅaś-  
armaṇum |
- 88 ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṅ Gaṅḍaśarmaṇum | Lōhita-gōtratt=Āvattamba-sūtra-  
ttu Kāra-


*Sixth Plate, Second Side*

- 89 mbichechōḍu-vattavaṅ Mō]r]ttisarmaṇum | Kāśyapa-gōtratt=Āvattamba-sūtrattu Kāvaṇnūr-  
vattavaṅ Kramavi-
- 90 ttay Śrī-Māda(dha)vaśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=ich-chūtrattu-kKārambichechōḍu-vattavaṅ  
Kramavaittaṅ Nandiśarmaṇum | i-
- 91 k-kōtratt=ich-chūtti]ratt=i]v-vūr-vattavaṅ Tiru(Tri)vēdi Kōśavaśarmaṇum | ik-kōtratt=  
ich-chūtratt=iv-vūr-vattavaṅ
- 92 Tiru(Tri)vēdi Tiṅḍaśarmaṇum | Garga-gōtrattu Āvattamba-sūtrattu Veṅḍōḍu-vattavaṅ  
[Śāḍa]-
- 93 ḷgavi Vinīhaśarmaṇum | Ātrōya-gōtratt=Āvattamba-sūtratt=Uśāya-vattavaṅ Kumāra]śa]

v, b

72		72
74		74
76		76
78		78

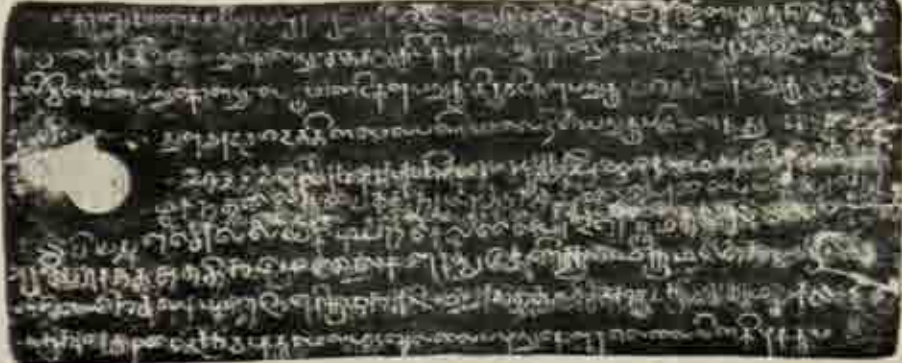
vi, a

80		80
82		82
84		84
86		86
88		88

vi, b

90		90
92		92
94		94
96		96

vii, a

98		98
100		100
102		102
104		104
106		106

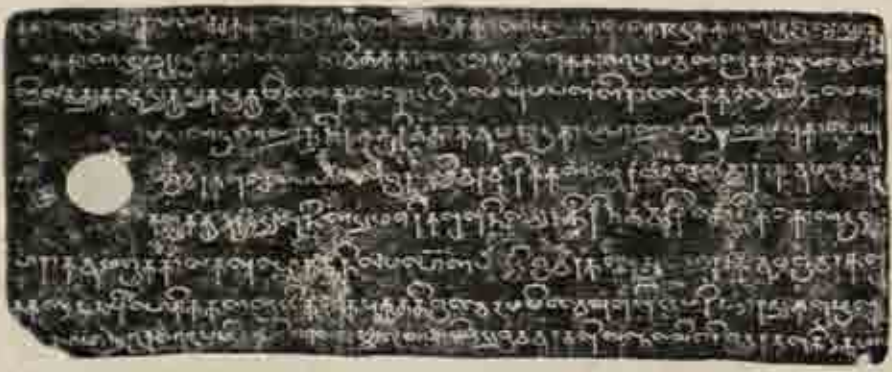


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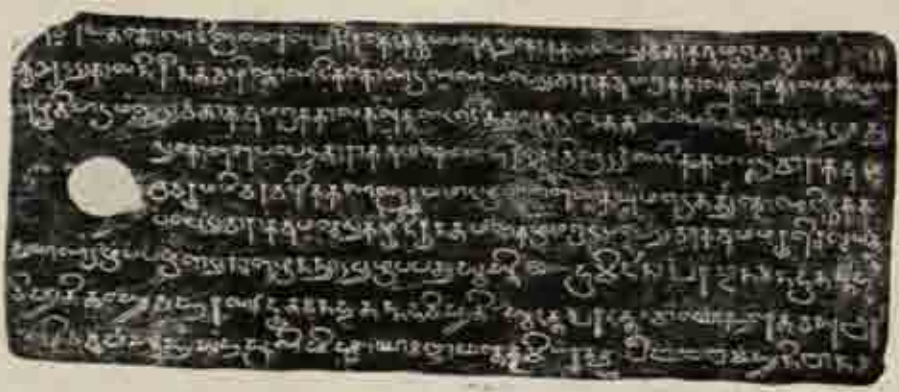
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138

- 94 maṇum | Kāsyapa-gōtrattu Pravaçapa-sūtrattu Ārrūr-vattavaṇ Śeṅgirañ-kiḷavar (Dā)-  
 95 mōdila(dars)arman paṅg-iraṇḍu | Koṇḍiya-gōtrattu Chhandōga-sūtrattu Chentoru-vattavaṇ  
 Śōmāsi-  
 96 Ijavvōṭṭai paṅg-iraṇḍu | Gaṭama-gōtrattu Pravaçapa-sūtrattu Kāṭṭūr-vattavaṇ Tiru-  
 (Tri)vōḍi-Nara-  
 97 siṅgaśarmanum | Bharadv[ā]a-gōtrattu Vāsōni-sūtrattu Vōṅgi-vattavaṇ Śaḷaṅgavi Jōḍi-  
 jūāna-Bhaṭṭa-

*Seventh Plate, First Side*

- 98 [num] | Kāsyapa-gōtrattu Paṅambūr-ā[un]-Kārisarman paṅg-iraṇḍu | Bra[umā]ṭhi[ī]  
 rājan paṅgu nāḷgu | Kaḍā[ō]-  
 99 kāṭṭu-ppuruntiyai paṅg=ṇru | Śāṭṭaṅgu[ī]-kiḷāṅ paṅg=ṇru | Nāṭṭiya-ppuruntiyai paṅg=  
 o[ṇru\*] |  
 100 Kalivīsaiyan paṅg=ṇru | Perumāṅ-aḍiga[ī] paṅgu | Triuvaḍiga[ī] paṅgu | Bhagavatiyār paṅgu  
 | ivait-  
 101 tu[ī] uṣṭaśadattiy mēl paṅiyāl=ōṭiya paṅgu paḍinaindu  
 102 nūṅṅamar nalgūr nṣ-pā[r\*]ppā[r\*]kku brahmadēyam aruñichchōda tiru-  
 103 mugan-talaikku vaittu nāṭṭā[r\*] viḷu[ta\*]nta aruṅōlappadiyāl nī-  
 104 ṭṭu viyavaṇ ṣolliya kiḷpārke-llai Pōḷi ērikkum Śālainal-  
 105 iūr nattattin mēlai Kaḷāṅkōṅilku mōkkum tenpār[ī]kke-  
 106 [ī]lai Neśalappūṇḍi ērikkum Nāgaḍimaṅgalattu [va]riochchu-kālukkum Śādāmaṅgala[ttu]-  
 107 [kku Nāraikujalaikkum] vaḍakku=moḷpārke-ellai Paḷāṅkōḷūr ellaiyiy kiḷakkum

*Seventh Plate, Second Side*

- 108 vaḍapārke-ellai Paḷāṅkōḷūr ellaiyilū=Chōyāṅṅu[ī] pāgam peravun=taṅkam-mia-nāṅ  
 109 gellai=yagattum=maḡoppaṭṭa nīru=niḷaṅu[m\*]=paṅṣeyuñ=kāḍuñ=kaḷarum=maḍumibōḷi=  
 yāmai tava-  
 110 [n]ḍad=ellān=Nayaḍiṭṭamaṅgalam=ṅuṅum pōrān=sa(i sa)rvva pariḷāram=uḷḷaḍāṅga śōmā-  
 nya  
 111 iraṇḍu paṭṭi-ppadiyāl Brahmadēyam=āyittu[ī] \*] iṅpaḍiyāle pā\*ṅob[ā]ttum-  
 112 paradattiyuñ=śelvaḍ=āgav=aruñichchōda paradatti seydaḍu [ī] \*] iyyūr peṅṅa  
 113 pariḷārañ=kōyil=vastu=chohekkum=taṅiyum ulliyakkūḷiyum=ōttakkō-  
 114 ṅamun=śāḍipponṅuñ=kāruñ=teṅgam=ponṅum uṅakaraṅa=ttanḍamum=(m)ati(edhi)karaṅa-ti-  
 115 taṅdamum Pattūr-chchāṅṅ=alavai-paḷli=vastuvum [aṅappuṅḍi]-ttaṅdamuñ=seyivu pōga-chchira-  
 116 nīla ponṅum uṅi-kkōṅamum paṅi-kkōṅamum nīṭṭākkū-kkōṅamum [po]ṭṭāka-vilaiyum paṭṭigai-

*Eighth Plate, First Side*

- 117 kkōṅamum hīrāmañichcha-kkōṅamun=kappiṭṭu-kkōṅamuñ=kāḷkōṭṭukk-āṅamun=śēnk[ō]-

\* This passage is defective.

\* The letter pā is engraved below the line.



- 118 diy-kkāgamum āṭṭu-kkāgamum nāvita-kkāgamuṅ-kuvālai-kkāgamum vaṅṅā[ra\*]-kkā[pa\*]  
mum veṅ.
- 119 pīlattu-tteṅṅaṅ-kamugum-ōṭṭaṅ kākōṭṭi-īrāmeṅṅum paṅṅiṅ-āṭṭai-kkarai-yīrāmeṅṅu-
- 120 m paṅṅuṅṅum-nīrkk-unittāgavum [ | \*] nāḍu-kāppāṅṅum puḅāpeya-<sup>1</sup>
- 121 m ivarga] śeyappāṅa i[va\*]rum-ivar-vaḷikkappārumē śeyivārāgavum[ | \*] ivar-
- 122 gaḷukku āṅṅu] nīṅṅum āṅṅa]u] nīṅṅum-nī-īndavaḷi tōḷḷikkōḍu-
- 123 pō[vā\*]rāgavum [ | \*] ikkāḷga] pōṅḍa nilam pōṅḍa māṅṅi<sup>2</sup> ivarga]ō tu[y\*]ppārāgavum  
[ | \*] ivarga]u-
- 124 kk-āṅṅai-ā]i-pōḷi-kkāṅ-ṅāṭṭi Kūḅai-puḅutti ivaiṅṅum-ivar-yuḷḷiṭṭa pariḅārāḅaḷum-u]
- 125 . . . \* sāmānya irāḅḍu paṭṭi-ppāḅiyāḷ brahmadāyam-āyīṅṅu[ | \*] ivv-ūḅaḷiḷ Nelli-āri ivarga]  
kiḷkuma-]ai]

*Eighth Plate, Second Side*

- 126 . . [vi]riya-ttōḅḅiṅāḷ āṅṅu nīr-kōḷkum aḷavūṅ-kōḷkapperuvādāgavum [ | \*] ivv-ūr āṅṅa]uk-
- 127 ku āṅṅu]k\*]kāl nīr-īnda vaḷi tōḷḷikkōḍ-ūṅṅapperuvārāgavum [ | \*] ikkāḷga] kōḷkalamum
- 128 paḷḷipāḅḍum peḅuvādāgavum [ | ] ik-kāḷga] kūḅai-erittuṅ-kurṅōttam paṅṅiyuṅ-kurāḅ-  
āḅṭṭu-
- 129 ā-kōḷḷapperādārāgavum[ | \*] kōḅḅār Kōvīnār-ṅāḅḅikka-ppāḅuvārāgavum [ | ]
- 130 ivarum-ivar-vaḷikkappārum māḅamam māḅiḅaiyūm eḷuttu[k\*]kōḅ-irakkā-
- 131 ppeḅuvārāgavum[ | \*] śeḅaḷunīṅṅum-tamaṅṅagamum iḅapperuvār[ā\*]gavum-aruḷicheḅeydā-
- 132 dū[ | \*] Yāḅḅu muppa[ttu\*]māṅṅu nā] mupṅṅu mupḅadu [ | \*] Svasti (M. Bhūmi-  
dānāt-parān-dānam na bhūtan-na bha-
- 133 viśhyati [ | \*] tasy-ēva harāḅā dūtam na bhūtan-na bhaviśhyati [ | \*] Svadatt[ā\*]m-para-  
datt[ā\*]m vā yō harēta vasundharā[m | \*]
- 134 śaśṭim-varṣa(saha)śaśṭrāpi śhi(vi)śṭhāyām jāyatē kṛīmī[h] || Rakḷ-āḅḷi [ | ] chā dharmā-  
ya nūḅhūtam-

*Ninth Plate, First Side*

- 135 . [raḅṅapā] . . . [vāra]py-anayōr-ōkam mṅiśṭam-griḅṅantu pā[r\*]-thivā[h\*] ||  
ivai Nayadīra]
- 136 Peṅḷu]ḅāḅṭṭi[u]kārān-e]uttu[ | \*] Bhāradvāja-gōṭṭratt-Āvattamba-sūtratto-
- 137 -chChōḷaiyūr-vattavaṅ Dānīdīḷa(dars)śarmaṅṅum | Kāśyapa-gōṭṭratt-Āvattam-
- 138 ba-sūtrattu Kuḅḅūr-vattavaṅ Sōmāśi Vināyakaśarmaṅṅum | Vāsa(tsa)-gōṭṭra-
- 139 tt-Āvattamba-sūtratto Pūṅiya-vattavaṅ Śeṭṭaśarmaṅṅum ||

*Tenth Plate, Second Side*

[Contains traces of the *prāśasti* of this grant commencing from *gyuchchan* in l. 4 to *vanāpa*  
in l. 16.]

<sup>1</sup> Read *paḅḅimeṅṅum*.

<sup>2</sup> (This may be a mistake for *peṅ* or *pēṅ*.)—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> The gap may be restored as *vāḅḅaṅga*.

THE PULLUR PLATES OF NANDIVARMAN II PALLAVAMALLA—YEAR 33—Plate III

*ix, b*



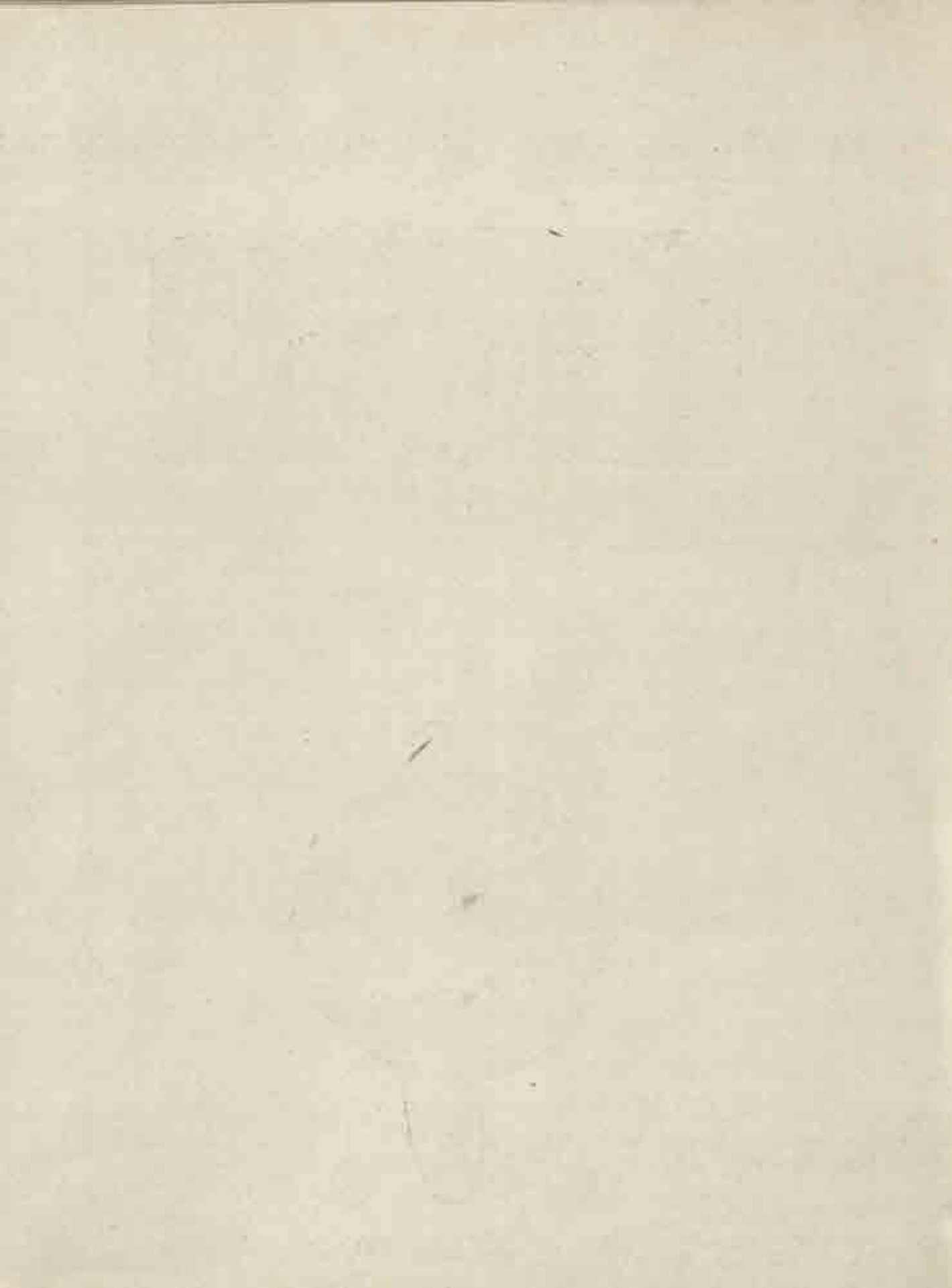
Scale : One-half

SEAL



(from Photograph)





Serial No.	No. of line	Grāha	Sātra	Place of residence	Name	No. of shāras
1	21	Saptāha	Āvattamba	Ujjāyūr	Kāśhaka-ch-Chōmalā Trivēdi Kāśhān	2
2	22	Do.	Do.	Do.	Somāś Trivēdi Śaśtri-Kāśhān	1
3	24	Bhāratavāja	Do.	Kumāryūr	Kṛmavittāy Tājān	1
4	25	Do.	Do.	Do.	Yājñā-Kāśhān	1
5	25	Gantama	Pravādhama	Kāyānūr	Trivēdi Ujōda-Māpāśārman	1
6	26	Do.	Do.	Do.	Tiōḍa-Bhūti-Vēlpaśārman	1
7	27	Nāśyapa	Āvattamba	Kāyānūr	Kṛmavittāy Bhāvāśārman	1
8	28	Parāśara	Do.	Ārūr	Śaśāngavī Kāśhān	1
9	29	Kāśyapa	Do.	Kāḷapattāra	(Māpāśa?) Trivēdi Vēṭṭal	1
10	30	Do.	Do.	Do.	Śaśāngavī Dēvaśārman	1
11	30	Do.	Do.	Do.	Śaśāngavī Śivabhūtāśārman	1
12	31	Bhāradvāja	Do.	Sūāyūr	Kānda Vīppāśārman	1
13	32	Do.	Do.	Do.	Nāśyapaśārman	1
14	33	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kānda Māpāśārman	1
15	33	Do.	Do.	Do.	Trivēdi Nārāyaṇāśārman	1
16	34	Ārīhāta	Pravādhama	Kāyānūr	Bhūttan-Kāndāśārman	1
17	35	Do.	Do.	Do.	Tiōḍāśārman	1
18	35	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kūmra-Vēṭṭal	1
19	36	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kāśhamaśārman	1
20	36	Ārya	Vīdhā	Vīṭṭūr	Kūmraśārman	1
21	37	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kāśhāśārman	1
22	37	Kāśhika	Āvattamba	Ujjāyūr	Dōśamaśārman	1



Serial No.	No. of lines	Script	Sūtra	Place of residence	Name	No. of stanzas
33	38	Kautilya	Avastambha	Tripur	Trivédī Vārdhavanman	1
34	39	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kumārī Kāndharman	1
35	40	Do.	Do.	Pipara	Dhōṣarman	1
36	41	Do.	Do.	Do.	Trivédī Kāyamanjariman	1
37	41	Vāsa	Do.	Vāppākam	Kāḷi-Dhōṣarman	1
38	42	Vishuvardhana	Do.	Nāmbal	Saṅgavi Nāskapalarman	1
39	43	Do.	Do.	Do.	Saṅgavi Vāḥaridhāśarman	1
40	44	Do.	Do.	Do.	Saṅgavi Tāḷarman	1
41	44	Bhāradvāja	Do.	Kumārōḍar	Saṅgavi Uṇḍa-Maḍharman	1
42	45	Do.	Do.	Tōḷḷar	Saṅgavi Sīmāḷi Kāṇḍarman	1
43	46	Do.	Pravachana	Kāvūr	Saṅgavi Kāṇḍarman	2
44	47	Koṇḍi	Do.	Do.	Sīmāḷi Akṣarman	1
45	48	Do.	Do.	Do.	Sōlamanjariman	1
46	49	Do.	Do.	Do.	Vaṅḍarman	1
47	50	Do.	Do.	Do.	Māḍharman	1
48	50	Do.	Avastambha	Vaṅḍarman (Vaṅḍipparam?)	Saṅgavi Dhōṣarman	1
49	51	Do.	Do.	Do.	Trivédī Nārāyaṇarman	1
50	52	Kāṇḍi	Pravachana	Kāvēr	Chaturvēḍi Tōḷḷa-Dhōṣarman	2
51	53	Do.	Do.	Do.	Chaturvēḍi Tōḷḷa-Tāḷarman	1
52	53	Do.	Avastambha	Aṅḍar	Maḍharman	1
53	54	Do.	Do.	Māḍḷar	Nāganāḍharman	1
54	55	Do.	Do.	Āṅḍar	Kāḍharman	1

45	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Mānganūr	Pāla(Bāla)śarman	1
46	Vāsa	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kaṣāṭṭūr	Bhadraśāśarman	1
47	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Aṅṅiśaṭṭi	Māhahavāśarman	1
48	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kaṣāśarman	1
49	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Nandīśarman	1
50	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Trivēḍi Śiva(Ś)śarman	1
51	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Śaruppāḷ	Duggaśarman	1
52	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kaṣāpattina	Uḥṭṭarvēḍi Kōḷamśāśarman	1
53	Śāṅṅeṭṭi	Chhāṇḍāḍga	Do.	Do.	Pāḷagan	Sodāḅṅi(Bhīḥ)śarman	1
54	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Uḷṭṭra-Māḷaśarman	1
55	Māṇḍala	Āvattamā	Do.	Do.	Takkanduru (Takkandi- raṇṇi)	Nāḷāśarman	1
56	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Uḷḷumbūr	Śarppa-Dōḷaśarman	1
57	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kombaru	Uḷṭṭra-Mūḷaśarman	1
58	Śāṅṅiriyāna	Īḷḷiriyāḷēḷi	Do.	Do.	Koṅṅaṅūr	Koṅṅaśarman	2
59	Bhāṇḍāḷa	Do.	Do.	Do.	Tuṅṅaḷūr	IK3(kaḷa-ḥ)C(ḷ)āḷēḷi Uḷṭṭaśarman	2
60	Śāṅṅiriyāna	Do.	Do.	Do.	Koṅṅaṅūr	Pāḷka-Maḅḷaśarman	1
61	Koṅṅina	Do.	Do.	Do.	Pāḷagan	Śarppa-Tiḷḷaśarman	1
62	Ārēya	Do.	Do.	Do.	Yāṅṅiḷḷi	Pāḷka-Mōḷaśarman	1
63	Koṅṅina	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kōṅṅarāḷēḷi	Pāḷka-Māḷaśarman	1
64	Māhala	Do.	Do.	Do.	Vāḷakā	Kaṇḍaśarman	1
65	Ārēya	Āvattamā	Do.	Do.	Oḷḷaśāṅṅāḷḷam	Śarppāśarman	1
66	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Śarppuram	Kōḷaśarman	1
67	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Vuḷḷanavāḷaśarman	1
68	Īḷḷira	Do.	Do.	Do.	Śāṅṅūr	Kōḷaśarman	1
69	Do.	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kōḷaśarman	Bhīḥṅaḅ Dāḷaśarman	2



Serial No.	No. of line	Clans	Setns	Place of residence	Name	No. of shilpa
70	76	Lohita	Prayachana	Thrippil	Trivedi Tammasarama	1
71	77	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kumarsarama	1
72	78	Kalyana	Avattamba	Karambichahedu	Sajjadasama	1
73	79	Parthana	Prayachana	Kavayir	Udasakumadasama	1
74	79	Do.	Do.	Do.	Xogisvaranama	1
75	80	Samantayama	Do.	Vasalar	Pollasama	1
76	80	Avahita	Avattamba	Ikkar	Kumarsarama	1
77	81	..	..	Kannappullar	Perumajila Yalasa Kattikkuril- Bhavanadagan.	1
78	82	..	..	Do.	Nilakantham of Koyil	1
79	82	Bharmadaja	Channidaga	Pattangi	Trivedi Nagasarama	1
80	82	Kalyana	Avattamba	Karambichahedu	Vajrasama	1
81	84	Bharmadaja	Prayachana	Kavayir	Kumarsama	1
82	85	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kalyayyol Sammasarama	1
83	86	Ardya	Avattamba	Pagal	Sajasama	1
84	87	Vasahita	Prayachana	Vroganar	Dasa Vinudasarama	1
85	88	Do.	Do.	Do.	Kandhasama	1
86	88	Lohita	Avattamba	Karambichahedu	Muj <sup>e</sup> Pillasama	1
87	89	Kalyana	Do.	Kavayir	Kramavittan Sri Madhanasarama	1
88	90	Do.	Do.	Karambichahedu	Kramavittan Nandisarama	1
89	90	Do.	Do.	Do.	Trivedi Kesavaasama	1
90	91	Do.	Do.	Do.	Trivedi Tinjasarama	1
91	92	Ganga	Do.	Vahijeta	Solajagavi Vinudasarama	1

No.	Śāstra	Dś.	Prasāraṇa	Śāstrāṇa	Karmasārmasā	No.
92	Ātreya	..	..	..	..	1
93	Kātyāya	..	Pravaśhana	Ārūr	Dāmodhārman, Śaṅkarantīlavar	3
94	Koṇḍīna	..	Chhandoga	Chandora	Sūriān Ijavvāpā	2
95	Garhana	..	Pravaśhana	Kāṭṭūr	Tṛyēdi Narasīngasarmān	1
96	Bhīṣma	..	Vāsiṣṭi	Vīngū	Śaṅkaraṅgvi Jadrījānān Bhāṅṭā	1
97	Kātyāya	..	..	..	Pāṇḍurāśāṅga-Kaṭṭasarmān	3
98	..	..	..	..	Brahmābhāratān	1
99	..	..	..	..	Paruntīpaṭ of Koṇḍoḷāḍa	1
100	..	..	..	..	Śāntakṛudī-kījēn	1
101	..	..	..	..	Nīṭṭiya-pperuntīpaḷ	1
102	..	..	..	..	Kaṭṭāvāṅṭān	1
103	..	..	..	..	Parumān-āḍṭāḷ	1
104	..	..	..	..	Tiruvāḍṭāḷ	1
105	..	..	..	..	Bhogaṅṭāḷ	1



No. 21—BUDARSINGI INSCRIPTION OF KADAMBA CHATTAYYADĒVA, SAKA 1179

R. N. GURAV, Hasan

(Received on 28-9-51)

**Budarsingi** is a small village five miles south of Hubli and about half a mile west of the Hubli-Harihar road, in the Hubli Taluk of the Dharwar District. The present epigraph<sup>1</sup> is inscribed on the **Nandi-pillar**, set up outside the Hanumān temple situated to the east of the village. The writing covers an area of 2'10" by 14" and contains fifty lines. The average height of letters is two-fifth of an inch. The epigraph is in a fairly good state of preservation.

Except for one verse in lines 17-18, the inscription is in **Kannada language and characters**. The characters are regular for the period to which they belong. We may note also that all the usual orthographical peculiarities are found therein.

The epigraph starts with a *cachara* of Siddharāmanātha, which is similar to the one found in the Saḍgūr inscription.<sup>2</sup>

The inscription then gives an invocatory verse in Sanskrit (lines 17-18) and introduces the **Kadamba chief Chattayyadēva** with a number of titles (lines 18-32). The details of date given, viz., Śaka 1179, Pūṅgala-saivatsara, Vaiśākha-suddha 15, Ādityavāra, correspond regularly to **1257 A.D., April 29, Sunday, f.d.d. '08**. Chattayyadēva, also known as Shashṭha, in whose reign the grant is dated came to power in 1246-47 A.D. Accordingly the present grant may be assigned to about the tenth year of his reign. The record refers to the temple of Kapila-Siddha-Mallikārjuna-dēva at the holy place of Somalige (lines 33-36) and states that Chattayyadēva made a gift of the village Vuchchangi (lines 36-40) for the worship of the god Mallikārjuna, for the repairs of the temple and for the purposes of (1) *aṣṭa-saṣṭhi* (*shashṭhi*)-*tīrtha-Siddha-toṭāka-khanana* (2) *chatuska* (*shka*)-*kaṭak-ābhishēṣhaka* (3) *nitya-hōma* and (4) *āvāsichhātra*. *Aṣṭa-shashṭhi-tīrtha-siddha-toṭāka*, i.e., the holy tank with sixty eight *tīrthas*, it may be observed, is credited to have been excavated at Somalige by Siddharāma, the famous Śaiva saint of that place.<sup>3</sup> The grant therefore recorded in this inscription apparently was made for the repairs or the upkeep of the tank. The *chatuska-kaṭak-ābhishēṣhaka*, also seems to refer to what is described as *yōga-majjana*, by Rāghavāṅka.<sup>4</sup> *Nitya-hōma* is the offering of oblations every day and the grant for *āvāsichhātra*, meant for the maintenance of the students in the temple.

We find that there is considerable similarity in the expression of words and phrases between the text of the grant and passages in the *Siddharāma-charitra*.<sup>5</sup> This shows that the composer of the present record was quite conversant with Rāghavāṅka's work. The inscription ends with a reference to Siddharāma (lines 48-50).

The temple of Kapilāsiddha Mallikārjuna-dēva was constructed by Siddharāmanātha in Somalige, i.e., the modern Sholapur. Somalige is described in the inscription as *adhinara*

<sup>1</sup> This is referred to by Dr. Plaut in *Bom. Gaz.*, Vol. 4, Pt. II, p. 572. (This has been noticed in *A. E. Ep.* 1941-42, B. K. No. 14.—Ed.)

<sup>2</sup> *Ahore*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 129 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Siddharāma-charitra* of Rāghavāṅka, (published by Karnataka Saṅgha, Shimoga, Ed. T. S. Venkannayya and D. L. Narasimhaachari), *Sandhi* IV, verses 17 ff.



<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, *Sandhi* V.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, *Sandhi* IV, verses 18 and 26; VIII, 95, etc.

*Śrīśaiṣa yōga-ramaṇīya kṣhētra* which is similar to Rāghavānka's description of the place in *Siddharāma-charitra*.<sup>1</sup>

The geographical places referred to are Śrīśaiṣa, Sonnalige, Halasige-nāḍu, Sabbi-kāmpapa and Vuchcharṅgi. Vuchcharṅgi is Budarsingi where the record is found. The other places are well known.

TEXT<sup>2</sup>

- 1  Svasti Śrī [ōm] [||\*] Jaya Paramēśva(śva)ra Paramātma Iśva(śva)raṇ=urvī-pa-  
 2 rvvīy=śaṅgikōṃḍirppan=ōrvvanūmigeṃ=āgi yōgiga|  
 3 manada koneya Jōtīśva(śva)raṇuṃ Vriśa(Vṛiśa)bhana rūp=āgi yajamānanu[m=ā]chāryya-  
 4 nuṃ tāney=āgi [yō]g-ādi-saṃpāṃna-ba|eyatiga|=ellamaṃ saṃpādīśi [yōga]-ra-  
 5 maṇīya-kṣhētravane [sta]lav-iṭṭu salākhe-viḍiḍu abha(bhū)ṇava-Śrīśai(śai)|avane mōḍi  
 Kapiḷlasiddhe-  
 6 Mallikārjjunadēvare nelasi niḍuḍu puṇīya-pāpāṅga|aṃ barāṃ(ra)-pōḍu besaṃ  
 7 pōḷuttav=iralu yēṃ besaṃ dōvā yēnalu yīsthānadalu mānyav=ā-  
 8 gi vūruga|aṃ bhūmiga|aṃ dhanaṅga|aṃ yī Liṅgake hastōdakam  
 9 māḍi koṭṭudumaṃ manam pēsade kaḷadukomḍehen=śubātana ātana  
 10 mātā-mātā-pitruruga|=ellavam yeppatta-yē[u-kōḷi varuśaṃ(śhaṃ)ba-  
 11 raṃ puḷu-gomḍada narakado|ag=ikkī nīn=āhutiḡolutt=iru gōḷi[ḍā] ye-  
 12 le pāpave | Yī dōvana bhūmi da(dha)nakk=ān=śaḷjuven=ēṇuḷa paṇḍeyarū pāv=āḍa-  
 13 rōdante manam bedari poḍavattanaḍa bōga śṅhrāṃ koḷḍa hā kaṇḍā yole puṇi-  
 14 ḡavō Kavilāsakke | Yūṃt=i yerāḍara leṅge puṇīya-pāpāṅga|u pā-  
 15 rōḍu-koḷḍoyvnuḷu tappadu ḍiṭa ḍiṭa satyaṃ gaṃḍire | Yūṃt=iḍu(du)  
 16 śrī Siddharāmanāthadēvaru puṇīya-pāpakke niyāmisikoḷṭa vachana ||  
 17  Namō=stu krōḷa-rūpāya | śa(sa)-syā(śā)gara-vanā malī | daṃśhṭr-āgrē  
 18 rājatō yasya | musthā(śtā)-śtaṃbha=śamākru(kṛi)ḥi || Svasti samadhiḡata-paṃcha-  
 19 mahā-s(ś)abda-mahā-Māhō(ś)varāṃ | samasta-bhuvana-saṃstūyya(śtūya)māna |  
 20 Hara-dharaṅḷ-prasūta | Himavadu-girīndra-ru[m\*]ḍra-śikhar-ābhuyadayamā-  
 21 na | mahā-pracharūḍa-mārttaṃḍa-kar-āti-tīra-mā-pratāpa-vaśkri(kṛi)ta-raka|a-maṃ-  
 22 ḍaḷa | vuttuṅga-sūṃha-tāṃ[cha]ṇa | vānara-mahādhvajaṃ | permṃāḷi(maḷḷi)-tūryya-  
 23 nirghḡhōśa(śha)ṇa | chatur-āḷiti-nagar-ādhiakṣīṭi-śe|a(śhīā)-ḷaa(ś)-śe(ś)vamśida(dha)-ya|ḷa-  
 24 dikṣhā-dikṣhita-kuḷa-prasūta | himavadu-girīndra-ru[m\*]ḍra-śikharā(a)-śthā-

<sup>1</sup> *Siddharāma-charitra* III, verse 38.  
<sup>2</sup> From ink impressions prepared by me.  
 12 DGA/61



- 25 pīta-mahā-sa(sa)kti-prabhāva | tyōga-jyaga-jhāmpa | nissa(śa)ṁka-Rāma | subhaṣi(ṭa)-kaṇaka  
 26 nikaś(sh)-ōpaṇa(ja) | s(ś)araṇ-āgata-vaṅra-paṇjara | lōkaika-kalpadruma | s(ś)anikrān-  
 27 ti-dhava(ja) | mūrṭti-Nārāyaṇa | kirtti-mārttaṁ(ja) rāyalalāṭa-paṭṭa | vai-  
 28 ri-gharaṭṭa | subhaṭa-rāja-si(śi)khāmaṇi | Kadam̄ba-ebūḍḍamaṇi | yistty-akhiḷa-  
 29 nāmāvaḷi-samā[anā]kri(kṛ)ta śri-Saptakōṭṭṣeva(śva)radōba(va)-labdha-vara-prasāda  
 30 śri **Kadam̄ba**-kuḷa-tiḷaka | paśchima-samudrādihpati | S(Ś)ivachitta bhujā-  
 31 baḷa-vi[m] **Chattaiyadēva**-vijaya-rājyam=uttar-ōttarābhivridhdhi(dḍhi)-  
 32 pravarddhamēna **S(Ś)aka-varsha 117[9]-neya Piṅgaḷa-sarh[vatsara]-**  
 33 **da Vaiśākha-suddha 15 Ādityavāredaṁdu** śrīmatu abhina-  
 34 vaśrīś(s)aiḷa-yōga-ramaṇiya-kahētrav=enippa śri-Soḷḷana-  
 35 iḷeyya-pura-var-ādhēvara mahā-mahina-Kapilasiddha(dḍha)-Ma-  
 36 ḷikārjjanadēvara aṅga-bhōga-raṅga-bhōga navina-prāsāda-  
 37 karaṇa ash(ṭa)-sa(śa)shī (shṭhi)-tirttha-Siddha(dḍha)-taṭṭka-khanana dū-ānāth-ōda-  
 38 ra-bharaṇa | chatuśka(śhka)-kaḷas-ābhīś(śh)ka | gō-prachāra nitya-kō-  
 39 ma | āvāsi-chiḷātr-ādy-anōka-dēva-kāryyake taṁ-āḷva Halasige-nā-  
 40 ḷoḷu Sabbi-kam̄paṇaḍoḷagaṇa Vuchchaṅgi-nāma grāma  
 41 pūrvv-ō[ḷ]ka]-prasiddha(dḍha)-śimā-samaṁvita-{chē}tur-āghōṭ-ōpalakalita  
 42 jala-pū[shh]aṇa)-nidhi-nidhāna-nikshōp-a(ś)ṭam-ōpavan-ādy-upēta  
 43 mahā-bhōga-tōja-sā(śvā)mya-saṁka-sāda-dāḍha-nūḷika-kā-  
 44 ra-kāru-haṅ-ādi sakaḷa-drahy-ōpārjjan-ōpēta-samaṁvita-  
 45 sarvvābhāḍhe parihārav=āgi sarvva-namaṣyavaṁ māḍi śri-  
 46 Chattaiyadēvaru taṁma sva-hastadiḷi dhārā-pūrvvakam̄ māḍi  
 47 koṭṭa dharmma chaṁdr-āḷka-tārām aram̄ saḷuḷtam-ire |  
 48 Śri-parama-Siddhārā-nam̄ pāpa-haraṁ martya-  
 49 ḍoḷage vudavisi nīḍam̄ | Chāpaḷa-biḷōsha-nayanana Śrīpada-soḷ-  
 50 . . . . . nam̄bidam̄=aridam̄ḷō(u) | Maṅgaḷa-mahā-śri śri āḷi |

## No. 22—ANNAVARAPPADU PLATES OF KATAYA VEMA REDDI

(2 Plates)

K. H. V. SARMA, OOTACAMUND AND T. KRISHNAMURTY, PITTALAVEMAVARAM

(Received on 5. 8. 1962)

After the downfall of the Kakatiyas in Andhra, the Reddis of Konjavitlu came into prominence and ruled the country for about two centuries. Unlike the Gajapatis of Orissa and the Narapatis of Vijayanagara, who held their sway over Andhra for sometime, the Reddis were the undisputed Telugu rulers of the country and their rule forms a glorious chapter in the history of the Andhra country. That the country had its golden age under these Reddi rulers is clearly borne out from a number of their records and from the literary works of the great Telugu poets such as Śrinātha and Errāpregāḍa who were patronised by these rulers. Although several inscriptions of these kings have been published so far, many facts pertaining to their history are, however, still obscure and their genealogy, therefore, is not satisfactorily worked out. The copper plate grant published below throws welcome light both on the genealogy of these kings as well as on other details pertaining to their family which remained hitherto unknown.

The plates<sup>1</sup> were discovered as early as 1946 in Annavarappāḍu, a hamlet of Mallōvaram in the Tanuku Taluk of the West Godavari District, while digging for laying the foundations of a house-site belonging to Sri Akella Sarvannagaru of the village. The news reached Sri Turaga Krishnamurty who secured the plates which were lying with the members of Sri Sarvanna's family through the courtesy of his friend Sri P. Venkataratnam Naidu. While he was studying the plates for publication, Sri B. V. Krishna Rao, the then Commissioner of the Religious Endowments Board of the composite Madras State happened to camp in a nearby village and having come to know about these plates, sent word to Sri Krishnamurty and requested him for the plates. The latter placed the set unreservedly in Sri B. V. Krishna Rao's hands. On his return to Madras, Sri Krishna Rao sent them to the Office of the Superintendent for Epigraphy for being reviewed in his Annual Report. The set was noticed as No. 4 of Appendix A in the Report for the year 1946-47 and was duly returned to Sri Krishna Rao, who later sold away the set along with several other copper plates collected by him in his capacity as the Commissioner to the Keeper of the National Museum at Delhi. The inscription on the plates is now edited with the help of the excellent inked impressions preserved in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund.

The set consists of seven thick copper plates each measuring about 9 inches in length and 5 inches in breadth and engraved on both the sides. Each plate is perforated with a ring-hole of  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch diameter towards the left margin. The thick ring which has all the plates strung on to it, bears the royal seal on a lump of metal attached to it. The seal depicts the figure of a seated bull, the emblem of the Reddi kings.<sup>2</sup> All the plates together with the ring weigh 429 tolas. The plates are numbered in Telugu-Kannada numerals on their inner sides and in the left margin.

The writing is neatly executed and is in an excellent state of preservation. It appears that the record was engraved by two different scribes. The characters are Telugu current in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the Andhra country and are exactly similar to those of many other grants of the Reddi kings published so far. However, the following palaeographical peculiarities

<sup>1</sup> These have been published in Telugu in *Bhāratī*, Vol. XXXVII, part 10, pp. 1-8.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Catalogue of copper plate grants in the Government Museum, Madras: Reddi chiefs of Konjavitlu*, Nos. 2, 3 and 4.



may be noted. No distinction is made between the medial signs of *a* and *ā*, *e* and *ī* and *o* and *ō*. The sign for the aspirate seen in some cases, resembles a small inverted crescent below the right arm of the letter. This, however, is not uniform in all the cases. Some of the aspirate letters have quite distinct forms to differentiate them from their unaspirated counterparts. The *rēpha* is indicated by a curved stroke at the top right of the letter. The final form of *r* and *n* occur frequently. The *anusvāra* is used invariably for final *m* and also the class nasals. The only letters that differ from those of the present day are *ḍa*, *ḍha*, *ṣa* and *ṣa*. The difference between *ṣa* and *ḍa* lies in the top stroke and so also between *ḍa* and *ṣa*, in the loop towards the right arm. *ḍha* resembles exactly the present day *ḍa*. The letters *ka*, *ṣa* and *ḍa* can easily be identified even though they differ slightly from their present forms. Among the orthographical peculiarities, the spellings like *ṣmācācha* (line 17), *brahmāṅṅa* (lines 70-71), etc. may be noted.<sup>1</sup> The consonants following the *rēpha* are sometimes doubled and sometimes not.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit with the exception of the passages in Telugu describing the boundaries of the villages granted. Besides its historical importance, this charter is an excellent specimen of beautiful inscriptional composition in chaste Sanskrit verse replete with good *alankāras*. The author's command over poetics is indeed very remarkable. The contents of the charter are summarised below.

The first five verses invoke the Boar (*Varāha-Vishṇu*), Śiva (*Aṣṭamūrti*), Vishṇu (*Parāṅga-purusha*), Gaṅgā (*Pratyūhapati*) and the Moon (*Saiv-kālā*) respectively. This is followed by a geographical description of the Andhra country and of Addaṅki, the capital town of the Redḍi rulers. Says the charter, "The land extending from the Southern Ocean to the king of mountains (*Himālayas*) was known as Bhārata-Vaśha in which prevailed different castes and customs; and in that was situated the land of the Andhras, otherwise called Trilūga-bhūmi by its association with the three famous shrines (*Liṅgas*), viz. Śrīaḷa, Kāṣyapa and Dākshārāma (verses 6-8). Therein are the five gardens (*ārāmas*) namely Dākṣa, Amara, Kāṣṭra, Kumāra and Prācya, the sporting grounds of Śiva and the holy rivers such as Gautamī (Gōdāvari), Kṛishṇavēṇī, Malṣṇabā, Bhīmarāṭhī and Tuṅgabhadrā (verses 9-11). On the bank of the river Kṛishṇā is Śrīhakuṣa, the abode of Vishṇu (*Śrīvallabha*) for the protection of the three worlds. There flows the beautiful river Kuṅḍī, on the bank of which is the city called Addaṅki, which resembles the Heaven (*Amarāvati*) by (the beauty of) its horses, the donors and the women, who resemble the celestial nymphs (verses 12-15). During the age of Kali, there came out the righteous fourth caste from the feet of Vishṇu like the flow of the Gaṅgā and the one who became the ruler of that city is going to be described with all his descendants here (verses 15-17)."

"In the country known as Paṅṭa-nāḍu, there was a town by name Vellāṣṛi, ruling from which the rulers of that place later became famous as the chiefs of the Vellāṣṛi-gōtra. In that family of the wealthy fourth caste was born king Prōlaya, the righteous and the store-house of all the arts, who, by elevating the virtues and earning the fame of that of the ancient king Triṅgyana of the Pallavas, obtained the name of Pallava-Triṅgyana, and who, crushing, like a lion, the elephants of the Pāṇḍya kings in battle, became famous in all the ten quarters of the world as Pāṇḍya-ṅgyajātāsari (verses 18-21). With his unequalled and illustrious son, king Vēma, praised as the Primeval Boar (*Mahī-Varāha*) by all the learned for his act of lifting up the country that was submerged under the *mācācācha* (Muslim) ocean, the land of the Andhras shone brilliantly and while this king was lawfully ruling (the earth) there flourished all the *sāstras* and *śāstras* and hundreds of sacrifices were performed. How can one describe the

<sup>1</sup> The spellings arising out of such unguis have not been consistently corrected in the text.

fame of one who had the steps of the Śrīśailla built? At his instance, his younger brother, Annaya, who was like Chakrapāni (Viṣṇu) in his qualities, having been placed in the rank of an heir-apparent (*yuvarāja*) was ruling the earth with supreme sovereignty. His talented wife Anyamā gave birth to (four sons) Anavōta, Mummaḍi, Māchaya and Anavōma among whom king Vēma adopted the heroic Anavōta and Anavōma as his sons. King Vēma along with his brothers, Mācha, Malla and Anna, having enjoyed all the fruits of life, ruled the earth for a long time. After him, the powerful Anavōta, his (adopted) son, ascended the throne, and when he became the king of the Āndhra country the people shed their fear, and were full of joy, wealth, etc. He (Anavōta) married Anyamā, the daughter of king Nārapa, like Viṣṇu, the goddess Lakṣmī, and she gave birth to twins Kumāragiri, a son, and Anyamāmbā, a daughter who by their birth, gave immense pleasure to their father. Anavōta made Koṇḍaviḍu as his capital, the wonderful construction of which caused bewilderment even to Brahmā. With its white and high mansions, mountain-like elephants, famous horses which were as though they were born in the country of Vanāyu, the heroic soldiers, ladies resembling celestial damsels and the cool and scented breeze, the city (Koṇḍaviḍu) looked like Amarāvati (Heaven) on the earth. From that rich and impregnable city Anavōta ruled happily with all his kinsmen (verses 22-42). His brother, Anavōma, the fame of whose prowess filled the whole of the universe, ascended the throne (after his brother Anavōta), and for the first time, ruled the land from Śrīśailla to Subhāchala. How could it be possible to describe the glory and power of him who, even before succeeding to his brother's throne, seized forcibly the seven constituents of royalty (*saptāṅgas*) of all the kings? How can he, who, by his munificent gifts, fulfilled all the desires of the desirous and destroyed the poverty of all, be compared with Dadhichi, Karṇa and Śibi who, being incapable of giving any wealth, gave only their bones, skin and flesh respectively. Barring Anavōma and Bhārgava (i.e. Paraśurāma), who also had either overcome all the kings or satisfied all the Brāhmaṇas in this world (verses 43-46)? After him, when his brother's son Kumāragiri took over the burden of the earth, Annōta (the serpent-king) retired from the task of bearing that burden; the elephants of all the eight corners were free to go with their mates; theft was unheard of and there were plenty of timely rains resulting in good crops; the Brāhmaṇas devoid of all their fears, were happy. Several temples were built and many settlements for the thousands of the learned made and whatever could be thought of as righteous was all done by him (verses 47-50)."

"There was at that time a capital city known as Pa[[āmudu]]ā full of several beautiful shops in Paṅṭa-nāḍu, and the chief of that city, born in the fourth caste, was famous for his good qualities. His descendants adopted the name of that city, viz. Pa[[āmudu]]ā for their *gōtra* which vied for all the good qualities of its members with that of the member of the Vellāṣṭri-gōtra (verses 51-53). In that family, the abode of wealth, was born king Kāṭa, who was praised by all and who made the people rich, like the celestial tree. By destroying the glory of all the enemy kings, he (Kāṭa) became glorious like Indra in Nandanavana. Tallamā, born of a respectable family and possessed of all good qualities, became his wife. To king Kāṭaya and Tallamā was born king Māru, who set an example to all the kings in valour, power and noble qualities. He married Māchamā of a well-known family and had by her a son by name Kāṭa who was like Jayanta to Indra and Śachi and who was fit for protecting all the Brāhmaṇas. While he resembled the lord of the *yakṣas* (i.e. Kubēra) in distributing wealth and in collecting it as well, he was like the Sun in his valour and the Moon in his bounty. By overthrowing in the battle-field the enemy kings who were like Bhīṣma and Duryōdhana, he acquired the title of *Samgrāma-Dhanaś jaya*, and by forgiving those wounded who fled from the battle, the title of *Saṅgaḍi-rakṣapāla* (verses 54-53). King Annaya, having considered the good qualities and descent of Kāṭa, offered the hand of his daughter, Dodḍāmbā in marriage to him even as the lord of the Mountains (Himavān) did that of Gaurī to Śiva. Because of her greatness and virtues, the learned praised her as Dodḍamāmbā (i.e. great lady)



in the language of the Āndhras. Kāṭa's association with Anavōta was as intimate as that of the shadow to the person (verses 64-66). Doḍḍāmbā gave birth to a son named Vēma, who was prosperous and invincible and was like an incarnation of lord Mahāśeṣa, and the parents were also very happy at the sight of their son even as Haimavatī and Mahēśa were. Vēma became famous as *Jagarakṣhapāla* in the language of the Āndhras by his virtuous advice to the kings. His enemy kings cursed Saṁkrandana for having cut off the wings of the mountains whither they ran in fear of the sound of the king's battle-drums but met with the same sounds re-echoed by the mountains now incapacitated to fly. Who among the kings on earth equals Vēma whose strength of arms destroyed fear among the alarmed, whose wealth destroyed the poverty among the poor, whose occupation lay in discourses with the virtuous, whose pleasures confined themselves to his kinsmen of equal rank and whose speech always adhered to truth. He excelled Brihaspati in intelligence, Śakra and such others in skill and all the benefactors in his bounteous benefactions to the needy. Having taken in marriage the hand of Anyamā, the daughter of his own uncle Anavōta, king Vēma was resplendant with her as gold with a diamond. Anyamā too having been wedded to king Vēma, the best among men (Puruṣōttama) was, as it were, the manifestation of goddess Lakṣmī herself (verses 66-76). On Thursday, the third of the dark fortnight in the month of Chaitra, of the Śaka year counted by *adri-nakha-agni-chandva*, when the sun was entering the Aries (*Āra*), she (Anyamā) having purified herself by bathing in the waters of the river Viśvāmitrī, and having taken the permission of her husband, made a grant of the village Paluparti which was once given to her by her brothers, to the Brāhmaṇas. Thenceforth the village granted became famous as Anyamāvāra. With its different types of lands such as *vaiśyā*, *kāṭyā*, *yacarya* and *yavya* and several fine groves full of fruits, how could not this village excel all the rest! As though vying with one another out of envy to excel each other among themselves, the various sciences such as the *śruti*, *smṛiti*, *purāṇa*, *pratyāṅga*, etc. flourished among the Brāhmaṇas of that village" (verses 76-79). Here follows the list of the donees with their respective shares, as given below in a tabular form, and the boundaries in Teluga, of the gift village together with the 35 *puṭṭis* of land of (the village) Kaḍami (verses 80-81). This part of the charter ends with the four usual imprecatory verses and with the sign manual *Pallavateyaśāstra* usually found in all the charters of the Reḍḍi kings (verses 82-85).

The next part of the charter which is in the nature of an appendix says: "In the southern country there exists a city named Paḷḷāṁduḷḷā, and in that was born in the fourth caste as though to lift up the submerged earth, the chief Kāṭa, the very image of Madhuripu. From him was born the righteous king Māra, to whom was born the powerful king Kāṭa, who as if to justify his name, wandered in the waters of the river Kṛishṇā and destroyed the enemy fortress of Divi. Doḍḍāmbā had from him (Kāṭa) the son Vēma, who was the king of the Āndhras and whose fame as the very Indra on earth in having deprived the pride of the king of the elephants (*Gaḅḅāḥā*) and others by his sword, filled the universe. Besides enjoying the fruits of royalty, he was also the administrator of the kingdom of Anavōta who was both his uncle and father-in-law. The good statesman that he was, Vēma made Anavōma and Kumāragiri respectively rule the kingdom and having thus elevated the kings born in the Vellāsēri family himself earned fame as their faithful servant (verses 86-91). On the death of king Kumāragiri and at his behest king Vēma ruled the earth. With the object of enhancing the greatness of both the villages Vēmavāra and Anyamāvāra named respectively after himself and his wife, king Vēma gave away the rest of the village, Kaḍami, to the same donees who had already received a portion of the village, to be put to use by them for their rites and rituals, on the day of the lunar eclipse on Wednesday in the month of Māgha of the cyclic year Chitrabhānu in the Śaka year counted by *jaladhī*, *ikshvāka*, *mūrti* and *chandra*. With the blessings of the Brāhmaṇas of the two villages Annavāra and Vēmavāra, well satisfied in having their desires fulfilled, may king Vēma, the leader in bearing the burden of the earth and capable

of ruling it, be forever prosperous with all his sons and grandsons" (verses 92-96). Next, the boundaries of the gift-land are given in Telugu prose, which is followed by the usual imprecatory verses (97-100). The charter finally ends again with the sign manual of the Reddi kings Śrī *Paṭlavatireḍḍra* and with the adoration to Ūmā-Mahēśvara.

The record is important in that it throws new light on the genealogy of the Reddi kings. It informs us for the first time, that Anavōta and Anavēma were the sons of king Annaya by Anamāmbā and not of his brother Prōlayavēma as was hitherto supposed by all the scholars. The literary and the epigraphical evidence published so far makes us believe that both the brothers Anavōta and Anavēma were the sons of Prōlayavēma.<sup>1</sup> The Kaluvachūru grant of the Reddi queen Anītalī adds that Anamācha was also the son of Prōlayavēma.<sup>2</sup> However, there are some records which go against this statement. An inscription engraved on two pillars near the *Nandimaṇḍapa* in the temple of Mallikārjuna at Śrīśaila, Nandikotkur taluk, Karnool District, states that Anavēma built that *maṇḍapa* for the merit of his own father Annaya.<sup>3</sup> This record said to be composed by his famous court-poet Bālasarasvati, is dated in Śaka 1299 corresponding to 1377 A.D., in the reign of king Anavēma. The Epigraphist remarks on this record that "The statement at the end of the Telugu portion that the *maṇḍapa* was built by Anavēma for the merit of his father Annaya suggests that though he was the son of Vēma, he had a high regard for his father's brother Annaya and respected him as his own father." Basing on this remark, the editor of *Redḍisamachika* adds: "The *Vīraśīromāṇḍapa* was said to be built by Anavēmareḍḍi for the merit of his father Annayareḍḍi. But Annaya was not the father of Anavēma, but only his younger brother. There is, however, some ambiguity in this statement. In the Naḍupūru grant it is said that Vēmāsāni, the daughter of Annareḍḍi, was the younger sister of Anavēma. So it appears that Anavēma, though a son of Prōlayavēma, was probably brought up by his uncle Annayareḍḍi from his childhood, and hence he had high regard as in his father towards Annaya also." In this connection attention may be drawn to a record in the temple of Rāmaliṅgēśvara at Kandukūru, Nellore District, wherein it is stated that the victorious king Vēma, the son of Anna-bhūpati of the Pappu family glorified the age of Kalī into that of *Kṛita-yuga*.<sup>4</sup> King Vēma referred to in this inscription is no doubt identical with Anavēma of the inscription at Śrīśaila. Thus it is borne out from these two records that Anavēma was a son of Annayareḍḍi and not of Prōlayavēma.

A damaged record at Uydavallī, Guntur District, speaks of Māchamareḍḍi as the son of *Jaganobbaṅgaṇḍa* Annaya.<sup>5</sup> The date of this record, however, is not clear. Another record from the Agastyēśvara temple at Vīḍjappalli, Nalgonda District, dated Śaka 1299 corresponding to 1377 A.D. mentions Anamācha in the reign of the king Anavēma.<sup>6</sup> Anamāchireḍḍi or Māchamareḍḍi, the son of Annaya cited in the above two records, is one and the same and is identical with the younger brother of Anavōta and Anavēma.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 137 ff., and *A.R.Ep.*, 1922-23, App. A, No. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Vol. IV, pp. 93-112 and *Bhāratī*, Vol. XXI.

<sup>3</sup> *SI*, Vol. X, No. 559, lines 119-22.

<sup>4</sup> *A.R. Ep.*, 1915, Part II, Introduction p. 115.

<sup>5</sup> *Redḍisamachika*, p. 67.

<sup>6</sup> *Panditavijaya-kābirasādhānā-sāhāśāh-Anna-bhūpatī* | *dāvalanda-kāmadit-sāni-sarjana-pratipāśabā* | *Tatya-patrān jagānā Vēma-bhūpatinā gūra prathāntā-māroḍḍā Kalī Kṛitayugā-kṛitā* ||  
*Nellore District Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 402.

<sup>7</sup> *SI*, Vol. X, No. 559.

<sup>8</sup> *A.R. Ep.*, 1941-42, App. E, No. 48. (*Hydr. Arch. Rep.*, 1934-35, p. 28. Dr. P. Sriśivasudhai wrongly identifies Anamāchireḍḍi of this record with Prōlayavēma's younger brother).



From a record in the village of Völüpura, Sattensapalli Taluk, Guntur District, it is known that Vēmāsāni, the wife of Nallanūka, was the daughter of Anamāmbū and Annāredḍi, the younger brother of Prōlayavēma.<sup>1</sup> It was this Vēmāsāni who is referred to as Anavēma's sister in the Naḷupūra grant cited above.<sup>2</sup> From the above references it is evident that Annāredḍi, the younger brother of Prōlayavēma had a wife by name Anyamāmbū and that Vēmaredḍi and Māchāredḍi were the sons of Annāredḍi himself. Thus the fact that Anavōta, Māchaya and Anavēma were born to Anyamāmbū by Annayaredḍi is well corroborated by epigraphical evidences cited above. It is also interesting to note that the names Ana-Vōta, Ana-Mācha and Ana-Vēma show clearly that they were all the sons of Annāredḍi and not of Prōlayavēma. That Mummaḍi was also one of the sons of Annāredḍi is known for the first time only from the record under review. Probably he died in his childhood. Verse 29 of this charter states that out of the four sons of his younger brother Annāredḍi, king Prōlayavēma adopted the two brothers Anavōta and Anavēma. It is clear that Prōlayavēma had no issue to succeed him on the throne and hence he had to choose his younger brother's sons for adoption. Verse 25 makes us believe that Annayaredḍi was taking a more prominent part in the matters of administration and Prōlayavēma appointed him as the heir-apparent (*yuvarāja*) thereby preferring him and his sons to his other brothers and their sons to succeed to the throne of Koṅḍavīḍu. From the literary work *Harivamśamu* also it is known that Anavōta was associated in the administration of the kingdom by his paternal uncle, king Prōlayavēma.<sup>3</sup> There are instances wherein the brothers Anavōta and Anavēma are mentioned as Vāmaya-Anavōta and Vāmaya-Anavēma, but this may be after they were adopted by king Prōlayavēma and chosen as heir-apparents. However, it is interesting to note that Anamācha is nowhere mentioned as Vēmaya-Anamācha, nor is he stated even in the present grant to have been adopted by his uncle. Even Doḍḍāmbū, the wife of Kāta II, is mentioned in this record as the daughter of Annayaredḍi only, while the *Kumāragirivāṅyam*<sup>4</sup> states that she was Prōlayavēma's daughter. Anavēma is described in the Driḷḷavaram grant<sup>5</sup> as the son of Prōlāmbū. She was perhaps the queen of Prōlayavēma who is said to have adopted these brothers. Errāpregaḍa also refers to Anavēma as the son of Prōlāmā in his *Harivamśamu*.<sup>6</sup>

The charter furnishes for the first time the name of Kāṭayavēma's queen, the daughter of Anavōta and the sister of Kumāragiri Redḍi. Scholars differ in their opinion in identifying her name with that of many others referred to in the inscriptions published so far, but nowhere is it mentioned in such clear terms as in the present charter. Shri M. Somasekhara Sarma in his monumental work on the Redḍi kingdoms summarised all these discussions as follows: "The name of the sister of king Kumāragiri is not definitely known either from inscriptions or from literature. According to the late Sri K. V. Lakshmana Rao, she was Mallāmbikā (*Āndhra-Vijñāna-Sarvasaṃsa*, Vol. II, p. 25). His authority is Kāṭayavēma's Dakshārāma inscription (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 328). This record, however, does not explicitly state that she was the daughter of Anavōta I. While editing the Kaluvachēru grant (*Āndhra Sāhitya Parishat Patrika*, Vol. III, pp. 103 ff.), the late Sri J. Ramayyapantulu also wrote that, of Doḍḍāmbikā and Mallāmbikā, the two wives of Kāṭayavēma, the second was the sister of Kumāragiri. Even the Tottaramūḍi plates of Kāṭayavēma do not make the relationship between Mallāmbū and Kumāragiri or Anavōta I clear (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 318 ff.). Hence there is no definite proof to say that Mallāsāni or Mallāmbikā was the daughter of king Anavōta I and the sister of Kumāragiri.

<sup>1</sup> *SIJ*, Vol. X, No. 588, lines 72-79.

<sup>2</sup> *Above*, Vol. III, p. 228.

<sup>3</sup> *Harivamśamu*, Part II, Canto 9, verse 200.

<sup>4</sup> *Above*, Vol. IV, p. 319, l. n. 4.

<sup>5</sup> *A.R.Ep.*, 1923-23, App. A, No. 15.

<sup>6</sup> *Harivamśamu*, Part I, Canto I, verse 32.

Following Lakshmana Rao and Ramayyapantulu, the late Sri C. Virabhadra Rao also wrote that Mallāmbā was the sister of Kumāragiri (*Andhrāda Charitramu*, Vol. III, p. 171 and p. 256). Mallāsānamma was the daughter of a certain Kanniborāya (I) (*SII*, Vol. IV, No. 103) and the sister of Mukkaṇṭirāya. We do not know who this Kanniborāya was. There seems to be some mistake in the reading of the name since the name, as such, sounds unusual and strange.<sup>1</sup> However, it is certain that Mallāsāni was not the daughter of Anavōta and the sister of Kumāragiri.<sup>2</sup>

On the basis of the Kaluvachēru grant of the Reddi queen Anitalli,<sup>3</sup> it was believed by many scholars that Doḍḍāmbā was perhaps her mother, and the sister of Kumāragiri. But the charter in question clearly states that Anyamāmbā, the daughter of Anavōta and the twin sister of prince Kumāragiri was given in marriage to Kāṭayavēma and that the village Puluparti was named Anyamāvata or Annavara after her. A record<sup>4</sup> in upper Ahōbālam, Sirvel Taluk, Kurmool District, mentions the names of Tallāsānamma and Mallāsānamma as Kāṭayavēma's wives. Mallāsānamma or Mallāmbā as the wife of Kāṭayavēmareḍḍi is already known from the latter's Tottaramūḍi plates<sup>5</sup> and also from other inscriptions at Dākshārūma. There is reason to believe from the Vēnavaram grant of Allāḍavēmareḍḍi<sup>6</sup> that a daughter of the Vijayanagara king Harihara II was also one of the queens of Kāṭayavēmareḍḍi. It is also interesting to note that Allāḍareḍḍi got his son Vēma wedded to Hariharāmbā, the daughter of Kāṭayavēma together with the fortune of his (Kāṭayavēma's) kingdom (*sāmarājya-lakshmyā samam*). The Kaluvachēru grant of Anitalli<sup>7</sup> also describes that the sinless Allāḍa having uplifted the earth (i.e. Kāṭayavēma's kingdom) that was submerged under a host of the wicked kings, handed it over to Anitalli, the daughter of Kāṭayavēma. From the above two verses it can be clearly seen that Allāḍa, the shrewd statesman, got both Hariharāmbā and Anitalli, the daughters of Kāṭayavēma, married to his own sons Vēma and Virabhadra respectively. It should also be remembered that Hariharāmbā was the grand-daughter of the great Vijayanagara emperor Harihara II while Anitalli was the grand-daughter of the Reddi king Anavōta I and hence the latter was virtually the heir-apparent of the whole Reddi kingdom. It may perhaps be a fact that Anyamāmbā mentioned in this charter was also called Doḍḍāmbā who is said to be the mother of Anitalli in her Kaluvachēru grant.<sup>8</sup>

Dr. N. Venkataramaswamy has cited a damaged record lying near the western *prābhāra* wall of the Bhīmāvara temple at Dākshārūma, which states that the mother of Kumāragireḍḍi and

<sup>1</sup> The reading is *es* on the impression. Perhaps it may be a mistake for *Kannibōḍḍirāya*.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Vol. IV, pp. 93-112 and also *Bharati*, Vol. XXI.

<sup>3</sup> *SII*, Vol. X, No. 577.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. IV, pp. 318 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Above Vol. XIII, pp. 257 ff. The original plates of this grant are now in the possession of the British Museum but the text was carefully checked from the impressions that were received in the Office of the Govt. Epigraphist for India some time back. The trend of the text clearly indicates that the composer of the charter speaks of the two daughters of Kāṭayavēmareḍḍi only. It is obvious that he had altered the readings 'paṇḍri' and 'paṇḍri' in a confusion. The emendations suggested by the late Sri V. Prabhakara Sastrigaru seem to be fully justified.

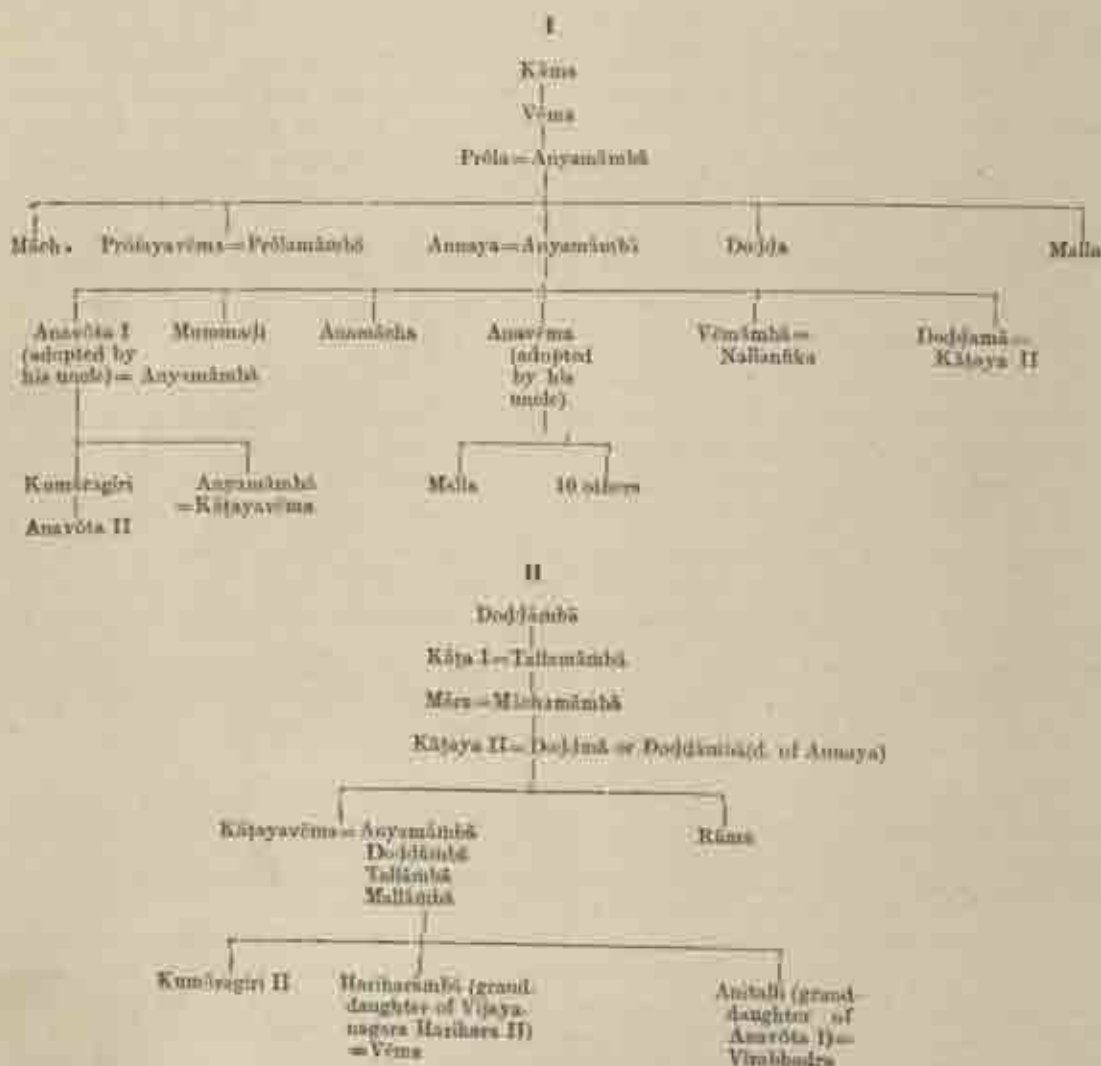
<sup>6</sup> Sri Taraga Krishnamurty informs that there is a tradition that the villages Annavaram, Mallāvaram and Aitamūḍi near Pittalavēmayaram in the Tanuku Taluk, West Godavari District were granted by the three queens of a certain Vēmareḍḍi after their names Anyamāmbā, Mallāmbā and Aitamāmbā respectively. The king Vēmareḍḍi was no other than Kāṭayavēma and his wives Anyamāmbā and Mallāmbā or Mallāsānamma are already known to us. If this tradition has to be believed, we have to accept that Kāṭayavēma had yet another wife by name Aitamāmbā.



the queen of Anavōta I was Manumāmbā.<sup>1</sup> The charter in question clearly says that Anavōta I married Anyamāmbā, the daughter of a certain Nāraparāju, who gave birth to the twins Kumāragiri and Anyamāmbā, the wife of Kāṭayavēmareḍḍi. It is, however, not known whether Anyamāmbā, the daughter of Nāraparāju of this charter, was also called Manumāmbā.

The genealogy of king Kāṭayavēmareḍḍi described fully in this grant furnishes the names of all the queens of the family for the first time.

From the above discussions the genealogy of the Redḍis of Koṅḍaviḍa may be re-constructed as shown below.



The charter under review throws considerable light on the exact period of Kumāragiri's death, which again has been a matter of dispute among the scholars. The absence of his inscriptions bearing a date after Śaka 1322 (1400 A.D.) and the grant made on the occasion of the *Makura-*

<sup>1</sup> *Redḍisambā*, pp. 231 ff.

*Anavōta-prabhāḥ pataḥ sapataḥ dharaṇḍ-śrīyāḥ |*

*anāka-caryānāḥ śāḥḥā vānāḥ Manumāmbāḥ |*

*Kumāragiriśāḥḥāḥ prabhāḥ = Annaya = āyāḥ |*

*Kamāra-vikramāḥ śāḥḥā Kumāragiri-śāḥḥāḥ |*

amānti in the month of Pushya of the cyclic year Chitrabhānu corresponding to the Śaka year 1324 (1402 A.D.) by his brother-in-law Kūṭayavēmaṛeḍḍi for the recovery of Kumāragireḍḍi from illness in an inscription at Kottāra, Bezavāla Taluk, Krishna District, made some scholars opine that Kumāragiri must have passed away sometime later than Śaka 1324 (1402 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> Others are of the view that he must have lived at least upto Śaka 1327 (1405 A.D.)<sup>3</sup> as some inscriptions bearing that date refer to certain gifts made for the merit of Kumāragireḍḍi, the terms *śikṣābrīṭāṃ* and *akṣayakṛtāṃ* used in these inscriptions being construed as applicable only for persons alive on that date. But the record under review makes it unequivocally clear (verses 92-95) that Kumāragiri died before Śaka 1324, Chitrabhānu, Māgha, Wednesday, lunar eclipse, corresponding regularly to 1403 A.D., February 7. The details of the date of Kūṭayavēma's grant referring to Kumāragiri's illness can be equated to 1402 A.D., December 27. Hence, it is obvious that Kumāragiri must have passed away sometime after 27th December 1402 A.D., and before 7th February 1403 A.D.

Besides the important points discussed above, this charter furnishes a few more facts about the history of the Redḍi rulers. It is said that the Redḍis of Koṅḍavīḍu obtained the name of *Vellaṣṛi* or *Vellaṣṛv* for their *gōtra* from a village bearing that name, i.e. Vellaṣṛi in Paṇṭa-nāḍu over which one of their ancestors ruled. Likewise, the name of the *gōtra* of Kāṭa 1 and his descendants was 'Paḷḷānuduḷḷa' after the name of the village from which his ancestors ruled in their early days. Since both the families hailed from the country of Paṇṭa-nāḍu in which the two villages Vellaṣṛi and Paḷḷānuduḷḷa were situated, the members of these families came to be known as belonging to the Paṇṭa-vuḍḍā. Here we find also the explanation for the first time, why Prōḷaya bore the title of '*Pallava-trinayana*' which latter became the sign-manual of all the copper-plate grants issued by the Redḍi kings. It is said that king Prōḷaya having upheld the Hindu *dharma* even as the ancient king Trinayana of the Pallava race had done, and having acquired fame like him, became famous by that name. This seems to be an indirect suggestion that Prōḷaya also played his part in liberating the coastal regions of the Āndhra country from the Muslim yoke immediately after the downfall of the Kākatiyas of Warangal. Though old, he must have joined Prōḷayanāyaka of the Musunūri family with his sons Vēma and others in the war of independence and succeeded in expelling the Muslims from the Āndhra country and in re-establishing the Hindu religion. Prōḷaya fought like a lion against the Pāṇḍyas and obtained the title of '*Pāṇḍya-rājya-gaja-śāstri*'. This victory over the Pāṇḍya chiefs must be attributed to the period when Prōḷaya and also his father Vēma were in the service of the Kākatiya kings of Warangal. Prōḷaya perhaps accompanied Muppiḍi-nāyaka, the Kākatiya general, on his expedition to Kāncḥi in Śaka 1238 (1314 A.D.), during the reign of Kākaḷi Prōṭāparudra. Like the many other titles this also was later adopted by his successors.

Vēma, the son of Prōḷaya is well known as the saviour of the Telugu country from the Muslim yoke and as the benefactor who constructed the steps to the Śrīśaila mountain. In the record under review it is said that he had appointed his younger brother Annayareḍḍi as his heir-apparent (*gaurāya*) and associated him in matters of administration. It may be recalled here that *Haravāḥana*, the celebrated Telugu work of the court-poet Kyṛipregada, however, describes Anavūta as the best general and the crown-prince. It could not have been possible for Anavūta to have become the heir-apparent or the crown-prince while his father Annayareḍḍi was alive. It also appears from the above work that Annayareḍḍi died earlier than Prōḷayavēma, his elder brother and king. An inscription at Tripurāntakam dated in Śaka 1269 (1347 A.D.) mentions *Jaganābhagayya Kāḷāḍya Annayareḍḍi*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Reddi Kingdoms*, p. 150 and also *Andhra Vijānāśramasāra*, Vol. III, p.

<sup>2</sup> *Redḍi-samśāhita*, p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> *SIJ*, Vol. X, No. 532, lines 8-9.



This is the latest date so far known for him. In an earlier record of Prōlayavēma from the same place dated Saka 1268 (1346 A.D.), Anavōta figures without any epithets or titles.<sup>1</sup> Hence, there is reason to believe that Annayareddi must have died sometime after Saka 1269 (1347 A.D.) and that Anavōta succeeded him as the crown-prince. If this were so, it would follow that *Haricakāśamu* was composed sometime after 1347 A.D. King Anavōta shifted his capital from Aihlaṅki to Koṇḍavīḍu, an irresistible hill fortress. It is also hinted that his younger brother Anavēma helped him in all his conquests and it is for the first time during Anavēma's reign that the Redḍi kingdom extended from Śrīraḍḍam upto Sindhāchālam. Anavēma's munificence to the Brāhmanas is well-known.

Kāṭa I, who also claimed to belong to the *Pasta* clan like the Redḍi kings of Koṇḍavīḍu is said to have ruled from Paḷḷamūḍalla, a place hitherto unknown. His grandson Kāṭa II married the daughter of Annayareddi and the sister of Anavōta and Anavēma, and helped them in all their conquests as well as in their administration. The complete destruction of the fortress of Divi in the river Kṛishṇā is attributed to him. The Dākshōrāma inscription of Anavōta,<sup>2</sup> dated in Saka 1278 (1356 A.D.), refers to him (Anavōta) as *dvīpa-jētā* (the conqueror of Dvīpa or Divi). He must have assumed this title obviously after the conquest of Dvīpa or Divi, identified with Talagodadivi in the Musulpatnam Tahsīl, Krishna District. His younger brother Anavēma also bears the title '*Divi-dvīpa-śūhāḍā*' in his Śrīraḍḍam record referred to above.<sup>3</sup> From the charter under review it is clear that Kāṭa II actually reduced such an impregnable fortress as Divi, may be on behalf of his own brother-in-law and king, Anavōta. Kāṭayavēma's commentary called the *Kumārāgiri-śāṣṭam* on the three dramas of the poet Kālidāsa also confirms this statement by attributing this victory over Divi to his own father Kāṭa II. The title *Jaladurgamalla* was acquired by him as a consequence.<sup>4</sup> It is evident from the language of the verses that Kāṭa II held a high administrative position under his brothers-in-law Anavōta and Anavēma, just as his son Kāṭayavēma did during the reign of Kumārāgireddi. Kāṭayavēmareddi is said to have made Anavēma and Kumārāgiri successively to sit on the throne and rule, i.e. he actively helped them in the administration of the kingdom. From the descriptions such as *Rājya-śri-ramaṇi-royamāsurayatikā* (the self-chosen lord of the dance) of the kingdom) in the Pachchani-Tāṇḍipattu grant and *Rājya-Ramaḍuramaṇi-royamāsurā-labāha-nāyika-sambhūgā* (one who has the good fortune to be the chosen lord by the secret goddess of the state) of the Śrīraḍḍam record, it is believed by some scholars that Anavēma actually occupied the throne immediately after the death of his brother Anavōta, setting aside the claim of his nephew Kumārāgiri.<sup>5</sup> But this is not so as is borne out by a number of records of Anavēma and his successors and also from the present charter. Anavēma's successful campaigns undertaken during the reign of his brother must have compelled the ministers and the nobles to elect him as king at that critical juncture. It is likely that his own brother Anavōta himself with the consent of Kāṭa I and Kāṭayavēma preferred him as his successor. Anavēma too proved himself worthy of the choice for his reign was one of increasing success and prosperity. In fact, Kāṭa II and his son Kāṭayavēma proved themselves to be able statesmen and indeed they took all pains to enhance the glory and the prestige of the Redḍi kingdom. Their interest in matters of administration was such that the kings left the entire burden on their shoulders.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 551.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 1287.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. X, No. 877.

<sup>4</sup> *Śrīraḍḍam*, p. 256 and also above, Vol. IV, pp. 121 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Above*, Vol. XXI, pp. 259 ff.

A verse in the Gōpavarman grant<sup>1</sup> of Kumāragireḍḍi and also in the Tottaramūḍi plates of Kāṭayavēma speaks of the latter exalting king Kumāragiri to the throne even as Kṛishna exalted Dharmarāja and thereby caused him to shine. This statement cannot be a mere figurative one as was believed by several scholars but seems to suggest that Kumāragiri's accession to the throne was not again a smooth and peaceful one but that he had to fight for it. The present charter also lends some colour to this surmise in stating that Kāṭayavēma made Anavēma and Kumāragiri to sit on the throne and rule successively. Thus we find that the good statesman and the powerful general Kāṭayavēma intervened and made first Anavēma the king and later Kumāragiri, staying off other claimants to the throne. However, there is no evidence, literary or epigraphic, to the identity of those opponents of Kumāragiri, if there were any. It is generally believed that Kumāragiri's cousins Peda-Kōmaṣivēma and his brother Mācha, the rulers of a small principality at Chandavōḍa must have put forth their claims to the throne of Kōṇḍavīḍu and opposed Kumāragiri's accession, nothing being known about Anavēma's children.<sup>2</sup> But the Kandukūru inscription referred to above clearly states that the munificent Vēma, the son of Annareḍḍi of the Paṅṅa-kula had eleven sons equal in power to the eleven Rudras<sup>3</sup> of whom Mallareḍḍi was one. It seems that Vēmāreḍḍi, son of Annareḍḍi, of the Paṅṅa-kula of this (Kandukūru) record could be none else than king Anavēmāreḍḍi, the younger brother of Anavōṭa. If the statement about Anavēma's sons in this Kandukūru record is true, it will be clear that Kumāragiri had his own nearer cousins to fight with rather than Peda-Kōmaṣivēma and his brother Mācha. It was also natural for Anavēma's sons to put forth their claim and oppose Kumāragiri immediately after the death of their father. Perhaps, Peda-Kōmaṣivēma and his brother Mācha also joined Anavēma's sons Mallā and others in opposing Kumāragiri. Under these circumstances, Kāṭayavēma who married Anyamāmbā, the daughter of Anavōṭa and the twin sister of Kumāragiri, must have interfered and also fought with the opponents for the sake of his own brother-in-law Kumāragireḍḍi for whom he secured the throne. It is this perhaps that made Kumāragiri have implicit confidence in Kāṭayavēma whom he appointed as his own minister and on whose shoulders he left the entire burden of the kingdom. Kāṭayavēma too, in turn loyally and faithfully served Kumāragiri. He carried out the behests of his master with implicit obedience. Kumāragireḍḍi bestowed on Kāṭayavēma the kingship of the Rājamahēndravara-rājya before his death.<sup>4</sup> Kāṭayavēma's devotion and great regard towards his master Kumāragiri made him accept the kingship of the Rājamahēndravara-rājya which later proved to be the cause for constant friction between the two families and ultimately resulted in the complete destruction of both the houses and in the disappearance of the Redḍi rule from Andhra.

The date of the first part of the record is Śaka 1307 counted by the chronogram *adri, nabha, agni* and *chandra*, Chitra ha. 3, Thursday, Mācha-sankramana, regularly corresponding to 1385 A.D., March 30, while the second part contains the date, Śaka 1324 counted by the chronogram *jaladhi, geshana, mūrti* and *chandra*, in the cyclic year Chitrabhānu, Māgha, lunar eclipse, Wednesday, corresponding to 1403 A.D., February 7. The first date marked the occasion for the gift of the village Puḷuparī by Anyamāmbā who had once received it from her brother Kumāragiri and which thereafter came to be called Anyamāvāra after the donor. The second, viz. 1403 A.D., 17 years later than the first date, was the occasion of the second grant by Kāṭayavēma, the husband of Anyamāmbā, of the remaining

<sup>1</sup> J. A. H. R. S., Vol. IX, pp. 91 and above, Vol. IV, p. 323.

<sup>2</sup> History of the Redḍi Kingdom, p. 123 and also *Andhra Vidyāna savasana*, Vol. III, p. 330.

<sup>3</sup> Nellore District Inscriptions, Vol. I, p. 482.

Tarja patra mahā-prāyāḥ śikṣāra sarōṭamā |  
śāva śudra-sūryāś obhāna-dāna-śaṅkṣāṇā |

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. IV, pp. 318 E.



portion of the village Kadami as *grāmagrāha* to the Brāhmaṇas of the two villages Anyavara, i.e. Anyamāvāra and Vēmsvara. It should be remembered that the first grant was given during the reign of Kumāragiri and the second after his death and in the reign of Kāṭayavēma. It appears that the whole record was engraved only on the latter date.

The donees of the grant village Puluparti, renamed as Anyamāvāra, Anyavara or Annavara after the donatrix, included 66 Brāhmaṇas of different *gōtras* besides the two deities, Sagarōt-varamahādēva and Kēśavādēva. Perumāṣi, the son of Vāsudēva of Kauśika *gōtra*, who composed the excellent verses of this charter was one among them. He has attempted to imitate the great poet Kālidāsa in many places with excellent results and was a poet of no mean order in the court of Kāṭayavēma who was himself a profound scholar of Sanskrit and who wrote the well-known commentaries in Sanskrit by name *Kumāragirītrāṇyam*, on all the three Sanskrit dramas of Kālidāsa.

Serial No.	Name of the donee	Gōtra	Shares
1	Lakṣmīnaga-sūnaryājin	Kauśika	2
2	Peḍḍi-bhaṭṭa	Do.	2
3	Kumāragiryārya	Do.	1
4	Appanārya	Do.	2
5	Ahōbalaṅṭha-bhaṭṭa	Bhāradvāja	2
6	Nīrāyana-bhaṭṭa	Do.	2
7	Peḍḍanārya	Do.	1
8	Vallabhārya	Do.	1
9	Anaditanastothārya	Do.	1
10	Ellanārya	Do.	1
11	Annamārya	Do.	2
12	Kāmanārya	Do.	1
13	Bhīmayārya	Do.	1
14	Śiṅgyārya	Do.	1
15	Mallināṅṭha-sūnaryājin	Kātyāya	4
16	Rāmayārya	Do.	1
17	Narabayārya	Do.	1
18	Koṭṭmanārya	Do.	1
19	Anantārya	Do.	1½
20	Maṅḍirārya	Do.	1
21	Abhanārya	Do.	1
22	Mallanārya	Do.	1
23	Śrī-bhaṭṭa	Do.	1

Serial No.	Name of the donor	Gōtra	Share]
24	Poddayārya . . . . .	Kāyapa . . . . .	1
25	Allāḍa-bhaṭṭa . . . . .	Ārēya . . . . .	1
26	Anantārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	1
27	Singayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	1
28	Ponnayārya . . . . .	Vādhala . . . . .	2
29	Mādhavārya . . . . .	Śrīvasta . . . . .	6
30	Māri-bhaṭṭa . . . . .	Do. . . . .	1
31	Singaya-bhaṭṭa . . . . .	Do. . . . .	1
32	Sūmayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	1
33	Gapapayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	1
34	Poddanārya . . . . .	Gautama . . . . .	1
35	Appanārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	1
36	Singamārya . . . . .	Kaṣṭhārya . . . . .	2
37	Appalā-bhaṭṭa . . . . .	Do. . . . .	2
38	Kāmanārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	2
39	Katakam-Mallanārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	1
40	Mallanārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	1
41	Visunārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	1
42	Anipoddārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	1
43	Kṛṣṇārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	1
44	Eṣayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	1
45	Anantārya . . . . .	Yāka . . . . .	1
46	Singayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	1
47	Poddayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	1
48	Malla-bhaṭṭa . . . . .	Kāmakāyana Vā- rāmītra.	2
49	Gōpāla-sōmayāji . . . . .	Harta . . . . .	1
50	Tippayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	1
51	Kāchanārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	1
52	Chandrayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	1
53	Mallayārya . . . . .	Pārdārya . . . . .	1
54	Lakshayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	1
55	Tippayārya . . . . .	Do. . . . .	1
56	Vimjaḍḍu-Preguḍanārya . . . . .	Kālabhava . . . . .	2



Serial No.	Name of the donor	Gōtra	Share
37	Gōpāyārya . . . . .	Maulgalya . . . . .	1
38	Dēvayārya . . . . .	Śaṅgilya . . . . .	4½
39	Śiṅgayārya . . . . .	Lōhita . . . . .	2
40	Vīṣṇaya-bhaṅṅa . . . . .	Śālāyata . . . . .	1
41	Sagarāyārya-mahādēva . . . . .	.... . . . .	1
42	Kōśarādēva . . . . .	.... . . . .	1
43 <sup>1</sup>	Śūranārya . . . . .	Ārēya . . . . .	½
44	Peddānārya . . . . .	Kāṭyāya . . . . .	1
45	Pemmanārya . . . . .	[Do.] . . . .	1
46	Śiṅganārya . . . . .	.... . . . .	1
47	Chivuta-Lōganārya . . . . .	Harita . . . . .	1
48	Pemūṅṅi . . . . .	Kanōka . . . . .	1

Of the geographical names mentioned in the charter, Bharata-khaṇḍa, Āmlita-bhūmi, Śrīvāita, Kāśāyāra and Dākshārāma are well-known. The five *śrēṇas*, viz. Dāksha, Amara, Kshira, Kumāra and Prāchiya, are respectively identified with the five places Dākshārāma, Anmrāvati, Pālakollu, Bhīmavarum and Guḍipūḍi, all in the Godavari (East and West) and Guntur Districts. The famous rivers Gaṇṭaki (i.e. Gōḍāvari), Kṛṣṇāyavēti, Malāyāhā, Bhīmarathī and Taṅgabhadrā are also well-known. Śekkūlam is the holy place of that name in the Krishna District. The river Kundli is the same as Guṇḍlakammā, often referred to in the Reddi grants as Brahma-Kundli or Kundlipabbhā. The places Paṅṅa-nādu, Addaṅki, Koṇḍavāṅṅa, Śētālla and Sindhāchala are also well-known. The village Vellāṅṅi in Paṅṅa-nādu, the original home of the Reddi rulers of Koṇḍavāṅṅa, cannot be satisfactorily identified. Likewise 'Paḷḷāṅṅūḷḷā', the capital of Kāṭya I also cannot be identified. Perhaps the latter may be identified with Paḷḷāṅṅūḷḷi in the Ongole Taluk of the Guntur District. The village Nandanavāra, wherein Kāṭya I is said to have abode like Indra is not identifiable. The identity of Divi, the fortress has already been discussed above. As for Puḷaparti, renamed Anyanāvāra, it is mentioned as such in some earlier records such as the Khaṇḍavalli grant<sup>2</sup> of the Kōna chief Gaṅṅapati and in two epigraphs at Mallēvaram.<sup>3</sup> It is the same as the modern Annavarappāḍu in the Tanuka Taluk wherein the present plates were discovered. Khaṇḍavalli may be identified with Khaṇḍavalli, a village about five miles towards south-east of Tanuka. Vēmuvaram, referred to in the charter as the village granted by Kāṭyāvēma is obviously the present Piṭṭalavēmavaram near Annavarappāḍu. The village Kadami which was divided and granted to the Brāhmanas of the villages Annavāra and Vēmavāra now exists as Kaḍimipāḍu, a hamlet about 3 or 4 furlongs to the north-east of Piṭṭalavēmavaram. It is mentioned in the earlier records in the Śiva temple at Mallēvaram referred to above and also in the former part of the present charter. Kāṭya Mallēvaram is perhaps identical with the present village Mallēvaram, nearby and was probably granted by Mallēmbā, another

<sup>1</sup> The following six names are added later to the list and it is stated that they were not present when the names of the donors were written and so their names were appended later.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. 20, Item 11, p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1938-39, Nos. B 73 and 76.

queen of Kāṭayavēma. Vasishṭha Gōḍāvari and Viśvāmītra-nadi are the well known branches of the river Gōḍāvari. The other minor localities, such as Ittikānūnti-tōṃta, Bali-puttala, Kāṣṭhēnigutta, Tallāya-tōṃta, Gorami-gattu, Pōṭu-gattu, Gorami-kāḷava, Janārdanaḍēvaraguḷi, Pōḍḍa-pūṃta and Nakkavirilanka, etc. are all places marking the boundaries of the gift villages.

We offer our thanks to Sri M. Somaśekhara Sarma of the Andhra University for kindly going through this article.<sup>1</sup>

TEXT<sup>2</sup>

[Metres : Verses 1, 45, 64, 70-72, 76, 86-88 *Sārdūlavikīrṇita* ; verses 2, 6, 25, 43, 52, 85, 100 *Śālīni* ; verses 3-4, 8-9, 14, 17, 40-41, 56-57, 66, 77, 80-84, 89-93, 97-99 *Anuśṭubh* ; verses 5, 47 *Śikharinī* ; verses 7, 10-12, 15, 18-19, 22-24, 26-33, 35, 37-39, 42, 44, 46, 50-51, 53-55, 59-63, 65, 68-69, 73-75, 78-79 *Indravajrī* ; verse 15 *Mandūkūṭā* ; verses 16, 36, 58, 67, 94-96 *Vasantatilakā* ; verses 20-21 *Rathādhatā* ; verse 34 *Prithvī* ; verses 18-19 *Puṣkapatāgrā*.]

*First Plate, First Side*

- 1 A-vighnam-astu[\*] Śrīnāthō-vasu vah purā Ball-grihē yasmin Varāh-ā[ṣṛitau] dādāstr-ā[ṣṛe-
- 2 ṇa Bhuvō-dharam nudatī saty-udvāha-llī-ōtenkō | prauḍh-ava pratihhāti sā khala na-
- 3 v-ōdūdhā-pi Bhūr-ajjhatī pāthah-prāvaragam pradārītavati sarvam vapah-saushṭa-
- 4 (shṭha)vatī(vam)[\*] Śrīmān-astu
- 4 Irēyasē nah sa dāvah kshityā tōyēn-ānalōn-ānilōna | vyōmna-ādityēn-ēndunā yajvanā svair-
- 5 vvi-
- 5 Ivañ sākshād-ātmaḥir-yō bhīharti[\*] Mukha-bāh-āra-pādād-yas-chātur-varnya-
- 6 m-ajjanat | tam-Aupanishadān naumi Puruṣam(ruṣam) puṣkar-ēkshasam[\*]
- 7 Amṛtaśhā-
- 7 nām-āsōchhāpām bhuvanānām bhārād-iva | yasy-ōdaram-ābhūb-lakṣhah Prasyū-
- 8 hśah sa pāta vah [\*] Śirō-ratnam Sambhōs-timira-karīṇa-atambha-
- 9 na-śrīpī mṛinālī svar-nadyā Haripada-payōdhāh pravahagam | m-
- 10 dhāpāna-drōpī sura-parishadō bhāla-tilakam pratichī-kṣitāyāh pradāta-
- 11 tu śubham vah Śūśikāḷō [\*] Bhūmār-bhāgam dakṣhīpād-amburāsō-ā-Sallōndrakh Bhā-
- 12 ratam varuham-āhu | tatrā-py-ōtad-Bhūratam khamḍam-āvirbhūtā varṇā varṇa-
- 13 dharmās-cha yatra [\*] Atr-Āmellrahbūs-sā Bharatasya khamḍō licagāni tu trīpī va-
- 14 saṃtti yasyām | Śrīśaika-Kāḷōsvarayōs-cha Dākshārāmō cha saṃdarīta-vai-

*First Plate, Second Side*

- 15 bhavāni [\*] Teshām trayāgāthā hitāgāthā sānnidhād-anya-ślochabhām | Trilōga-
- 16 bhūr-|
- 16 ti khyātīm-Amḍhra-bhūmār-bhīhartī sā [\*] Tatra Dāksh-Āmara-Kāhīva-Kumāra-Prāchya-
- 17 pūrvvakāh | pamchē-ā(ch-ā)rvāh prakāśamī krīḍā-sthōnāni Dhūrjapōh [\*] Sāpatnya-
- 18 rōshād-iva tatra Gauryyām niryyāya Gautamy-āpi hāsttur-Īṣāt | vahaty-ath-Ē-

<sup>1</sup> [We regret to record here the fact that Sri K.H.V. Sarma, one of the authors of this article as also Sri Somaśekhara Sarma, passed away when the article was going through the press.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> From the impressions preserved in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India.

<sup>3</sup> The plate bears the Telugu numeral 1 on the left margin.



- 19 ś=ōpi cha samnidhattē tīrāhu tasyā iva sām̐tvanāya [[[10\*] Tatr=ādi-Vim̐nā=api Kṛishṇavē-
- 20 ūm=anu-vrajaṁtyō vimalāśaytvāt | Malāpakā Bhīmaroṭhī vibhānti śri-Tu-
- 21 ngabhadrā Bhavanāśanī cha | [[[11\*] Sākam Śrīyā tatra mah-āgrahārē Kṛishṇa-taṭē Kākula-
- nāma
- 22 dbāyṣ | Śrīvallabhas=sat[t\*]vagon-ārayatvāt-trātmā trilōkīm khalu samnidhattē | [[[12\*]
- 23 Tatr=ai-v-ōchchay-puṣi(i)na-jaghanō phāna-bhō=ōrmi-hastē hamsa-śrēṣṭ-mukhara-
- 24 ruśanā vartul-āvatta-nābhīḥ | chakra-dvayādva-stana-parikarā mīna-nōtr-āmbuj-āsyā nārī
- survv-ā
- 25 vayava-subhag=ēv-āpagā bhāti Kum̐dī [[[13\*] Sarvva-sampat-samākīrṇā tīrē tasyāḥ
- pratiśāhitā | Adde-
- 26 śukī-ti samākhyatā rājadhāni vijīrmbhatē [[[14] Uchchaisravas-tulya-balaś-turāṅgaḥ
- Kalpadr(i)ḍru)m-ābhū-
- 27 ś=cha vadūnya-varyyayī | Rām̐bh-ōpamānai ramaṣṭjanaiś=cha sā bhāti bhūmāv=
- Amarāvati-va [[[15\*]ḥ
- 28 Kālē Kalau viraja-dhārm̐mika-rājalōkē Gaṅgā-pravāha iva Viṣṇupada-prasūtaḥ | dharm-ō-
- chcha-
- 29 jivana-dharas-trijagat-prasiddhas=śuddhō vibhāti puri tatra chatūrtha-varṅgaḥ [[[16\*]
- Patis=tasyāḥ purō varṅgas-tu

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 30 rīyya(ya)s=sa hi varṅgyatē | yas-tu bhū-rakshāṇa-prauḍha-putra-pautra-param̐parah [[[17\*]
- Prāyāḥ parādhyā bhūvi Pa-
- 31 m̐janāśāḍḍh pūr-uttamā tatra cha Vellāsēriḥ | tasyāḥ purāś=śāsvad=adhīśvaratvāt=tad-
- ākhyay=ābhū-
- 32 t=sa nirūḍha-gōtraḥ [[[18\*] Sad-Āchryuta-Śrī-sahitāch-chatūrthāiḥ varṅgāt=psyō=bdhō=iva
- satva-pūrnāt | san-mā-
- 33 rgs-vartī nilayāḥ kajālū)nām̐ tasmād=ndait-Prōlaya-bhūpat-īnduh [[[19\*] Pallava-Trina-
- yanaśya bhūpatōḥ prakṭanam̐ cha bhūvi dha-
- 34 amam=udhāḥ(dāha)raḥ | tad-vad=ōva cha sa kīrtim=arjayan̐ Pallava-Trinayana-prathām-
- adhāt | [20\*] Kōsar=iva yudhī vikram-ōrjītib
- 35 Pāṇḍyārīya-gaja-mariddanō bhavan | sahittatām̐ dāśasu dikshu viṣṭi(śru)taḥ Pāṇḍyārā-
- yagajakōsar-iti sab | [21\*] Putrīṇa tasyā-
- 36 pratim-ōdayāna bhāgy-āvalamb-sikablm̐j-ōśimabhāḥ | Am̐dhra-kahamā Vēma-nripōṇa sē-
- bhūd=rājanvatī rāḥja-dhuranidbarēṇa | [22\*] Uddhṛ-
- 37 tya bhūm̐m̐ Yavan-āb-dhī-magnām̐ samsthāpayaṁttam̐ prakṛitau tam=āryyāḥ | śākshāt=
- kalau mānusha-
- 38 dāśadhārī mahā-Varshō-yam=it-ōrayam̐t(i)ti) [[[23\*] Dharmōṇa tasmim̐ dharan̐m̐ dadhānē
- sarvvāḥi āśtrī-
- 39 sy=akhillā=cha vādāḥ | kalpāḥ kratūnām̐ cha śatasya samyag-bhūdēvatābhū-samam=āvīr-
- śān [[[24\*] Mū-

\* Cf. Kālidāsa's *Nishagandhī*, "Ficti śakṣitā-strota-rīkaps-trēvi-śāśchī-gandgāḥ", etc.

\* This verse occurs also in the Mayam̐pura grant of Anuvīmarōḍī.

\* The *śāśhī* is not observed here.

\* These four letters are written below the line.

- 40 lād-āgrāh caukhya-sathppāta-hēṭṭh sōpānānāti Sēgīrou sthāpakaṣya | śaktiḥ tasy-ādriktay  
-ṣya-
- 41 tīayā vā vaktuḥ śaktō Vēma-bhūmipatēḥ kaḥ ||25\*| Ājñām tadityām-anuvarttamānas  
tasy-ānojō bhū
- 42 patir-Annay-ākhyah | śkṣṭapatrām-avanīm-atānt samsthāpītasas=as)ns=stha yauvva-  
rājyō ||26\*| Sat[1\*]v-ottaras-śi-
- 43 anaya-bhūmipālas-suvarga-paksh-ōddharay-āikayōgyah | sudarśan-āpākṛita-lōka-bādhas-  
sāksād-ḥ-
- 44 v-ālakshyata Chakrapāṇiḥ||27\*| Tasy-ātha patnī<sup>1</sup> chaturō(=Ā)nyam-ākhyā prāsōhṣṭa  
putrān-Anavōta-bhūpaḥ(pam) | śrī-
- 45 Mummaḍim Māchaya-bhūmipālāḥ vīr-Ānavōna-kṣhitipam kramēya || 28\*| Madhyā  
chaturpām-atha Vēma-

*Second Plate, Second Side\**

- 46 bhūpas-tēhām eva-patrīkṛitavān-abhūd-dvau | agādha-sat[1\*]vāv-Anavōta-bhūpaḥ vīr-  
Ānavōna-kṣhitipālakaḥ
- 47 cha ||29\*| Sa bhṛāṭribhir-Māchaya-pārthivōna. śrī-Mallayōn-Ānaya-bhūbhujō cha |  
sārtham tribhī=sambhṛīta-dharma-ki-
- 48 ritīḥ kṣmām-śrjīta-śrī-śhīram-anvabhūḥkta ||30\*| Tasy-ātha Vēma-kṣhitipālakaṣy  
putrō kalyyāṣ(yā)ḥ-Anavōta-bhū-
- 49 paḥ | akṣamḍita-śrī-ātula-pratōpas-sūbhāsanam patīkām-ādhyatishṭa(śhṭa)ḥ ||31\*|  
Amōhira-kṣham-ābhū-
- 50 d-Anavōta-bhūpō tasmin-vinētaryya-kutō-bhayatvāt | dhānyair-dhanāś-ś-ātitarāḥ  
samiddhair-ā-
- 51 m<sup>2</sup>blādīt-śēśha-janāḥittaratigā ||32\*| Kany-ōdabhūn-Nārpa-bhūpatēr-yyā Lakṣmir-  
vīśūdhād-iva du-
- 52 gāha-sūdhōḥ | tām-Anyam-ākhyām-odavōḍha Viśpur-Lakṣmīm-iv-ādhyām-Anavōta-  
bhūpaḥ ||33\*|
- 53 Komāragiri-sambhākaḥ tanayam-Anyam-ākhyātē sotām-śōṣṭa kula-pāli-
- 54 kā tad-ann s=Ānyamāḥbā yamaḥ | tayā cha kula-bhūshayā kuīa-varōpa<sup>4</sup> tō-
- 55 n-āpi cha pratishṭi(śhṭi)ṭa-tarām mahat-kulam-śī pratīḥ pitā ||34\*| Sa Komāḍaviduḥ  
bhūvi rājadhānīm=aka-
- 56 |payat-kalpayitavya-lakṣah | Tvashṭ-āpi drīḍṭv-ā-pratimam yadtya(ya)m nirmāṣa-  
vaichitryam-a-
- 57 bhūd-vīlakṣah ||35\*| Abhraṅkashah parīśat-kapīśraha-paṅktir-uvapṛō vibhātī paritō-  
drīma-
- 58 yah purīm yām(yām) | viarūhtavān-iva bhuvō bharam-Ānavōtō samsthāpya bhōga-  
valayastha-pā-
- 59 gaḥ Phāṅbhrah ||36\*| Saubhais-sudh-śōbhāśbhīr-lādu-kalpaīr-annivātyamāḡō tīmira-  
prachārō |
- 60 na kṛahṇa-pakṣasya bhavaty-ābhijūō yasyām janō jātv-āpi varttamānah ||37\*| Nāgair-  
naga-bhṛām-

<sup>1</sup> The letter is written above the line.

<sup>2</sup> The plate is marked 2 on the left margin.

<sup>3</sup> *Annōta* is redundant.

<sup>4</sup> The letter is written below the line.



## Third Plate, First Side

- 61 ॥-vidhāyibhū-cha Vaidya-dhā-prabhavān-cha vāhā | yōdhān-cha yuddhēshu sam-  
ddha-kavyair-ḡḡā jū-
- 62 ॥-dīlar-āpā māsa-āpy-a-mitrāḥ ||38\*|| Abhirānūh-āgrīshv-atimūdarāṅgī-śaudhēshu  
yasyā-sundrīś-
- 63 vilōkyā | eva-śrī-śamuddiśyā kṛitān tapa(h\*)evān vaimānikā vyarttham-ndāhamūti  
||39\*|| Yatr-ōdyā-
- 64 na-latā-puṣṭya-sambhvy-ōdvahanūch-ehirō | anvarthām-anīlō dhattō gaṇdhavāha itī  
prathām(thām) ||40\*|| Yā
- 65 Gṛahpati-Kavindr-ōḡhyā nirmma-āṅgita-śālīn | avanāv-Amarāvatyāḥ prātiechūhāy-ōva  
lakshyātē ||41\*|| Dharm-ō-
- 66 tatra-tatra vasu-sampiddham tām bahūm-ōdhārāya-rājya-bhōgāḥ | pratāpa-vaprām ri-  
[pu\*]-dushpra-
- 67 dharmātī parim-iv-śūlām-śūchat-aa pṛithvīm(ōvīm) ||42\*|| Tasya bhīrātā śabprāṭpa-pra-  
ākṣō-ōdō-ramūhīm-vyōpta-ō-
- 68 rahōira-kṛitāḥ | Śīrānū-āSimhātālām tātāḥ kāmām dhattō dharmō-ānāvōma-  
kālītālāḥ ||43|| Tasy-āna-
- 69 vāmān(ma)-kālītālākāya lakṣyā kāmām vaprāyitām prabhāvāḥ | yō bhīrō-śimhāsana-  
śākramō-
- 70 ॥-pōḡ-āhōmad-āṅgī-āpī ayān tō[ōhō](jōām) ||44\*|| Artthair-artthi-janō kṛitārtthā-  
yātī yō brahmā-
- 71 mōdōlām mahat kurva Vama-pat-ōnavōma-ōpātī-ōdā-ōrya-vidrāvaḥ | dātō tēna  
Dadhēhi-Kamā(ma)-Siba-
- 72 yāḥ svaryā-prādān-kāmāḥ(h\*) ॥-śāthi-tyak-piōta-prādō-sama-tālā-bahūhā bhavōyūḥ  
kālām(thām) ||45\*|| Hiv-ānavōma-
- 73 ॥ bhuvī Bhāgavātī cha kō-ōyāḥ eva-śaktī-ārī-ōrīpān-vyājōhā | kīncha prapāchō  
ōikīlā dhō(ōhā)ōyō[ō]\* dānā tūhā-
- 74 ॥-ātālāḥ vīpōr ||46\*|| Tād-ōhō tāḥ-ōhōm-tanayam-ānavōm-kālītātīr-bhuvō  
bhōō-ōpō[ō] Komara-
- 75 gī-ōhōpā-ōlākām | Anāōō vīrīnīō dharaōi-bharāya-kīlō-ōigamāōvi(d-ōvi)pā dikav-  
ōpy-ōhō-

## Third Plate, Second Side

- 76 pariḡatā-kōḡ-vyatīkōḡ ||47\*|| Komaragiri-ōrīpā pālyamōō dharmātālō tu na chōra-  
tātāō ōva | ya-
- 77 ॥ bhavōi parām Phagōdā-ōhōrō bhavōi aa tatra cha nīrōt-ōrīthā ōva ||48|| Komaragiri-  
ōrīpō nīrōtō-ōjōō pata-

\* The letter *ṛ* is written below the line and its place indicated with a  $\ddagger$  mark above it.

\* The plate is marked with the numeral 3 on the left margin.

\* The letter is written below the line.

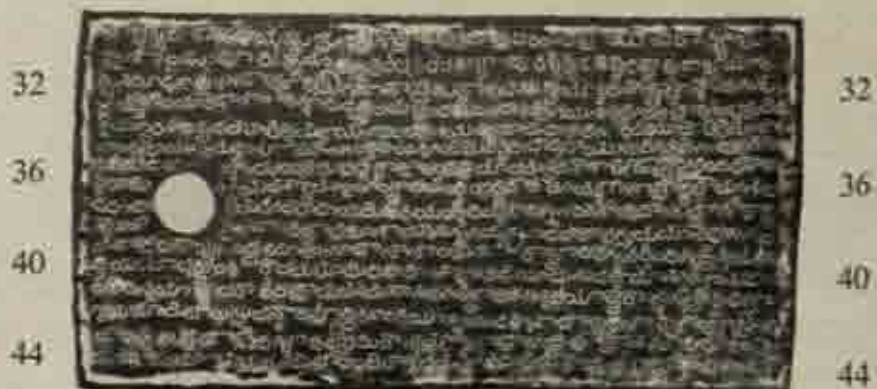
*i, a*



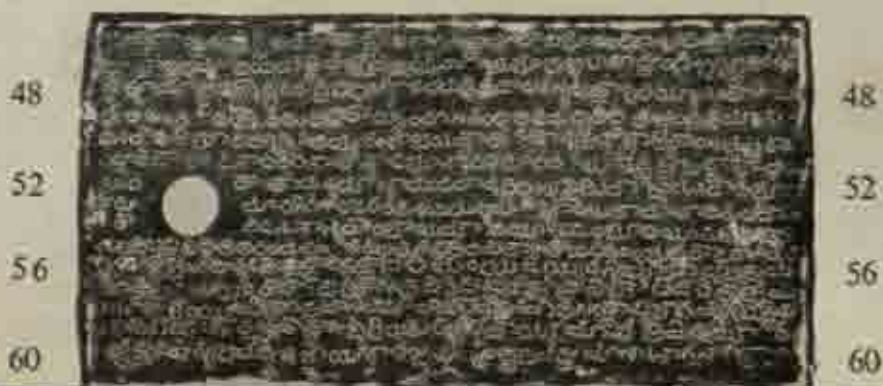
*i, b*



*ii, a*



*ii, b*





64

68

72



64

68

72

*iii, b*

76

80

84

88



76

80

84

8

*iv, a*

92

96

100

104



92

96

100

104

*iv, b*

108

112

116

120



108

112

116

120

- 78 ti divas=samayē suryishṭir=śhṭā | kshītr=akhīla-phala-prasāya-sasyā vigata-bhayās=  
sukhīnās=cha-bhū
- 79 mudāvāḥ ||[49] Bahvir=vidhattē vibudha-pratishṭā(śhṭhā) budha-pratishṭā(śhṭhā)ś=cha paras-  
sahasrāḥ | kim bhūyas=śktēna ya-
- 80 d=asti dharmyam kṛtyaḥ sa tat-sarvva-m-ath=ātanōti ||[50\*] Kālē=stī tasmīn khalu Patīṭa-  
nāmōjan sārthāḥ(ritth-ā)kvayō Da-
- 81 kshīpādāsā-madhya | Pa||āmudu||śhvaya-rājadhāt sampūrṇa-panyā vipaṇī=ethalōshu ||  
[51\*] Va-
- 82 rṇas=tasyāḥ rājadhānyūḥ turīyaḥ śūra-[52\*] śrīmān=asti śuddh-śravākyāḥ | draśṭuḥ  
śrīshṭas=tad-guṇā-
- 83 n=ēva sarvān=ōktr=śiv=ādāya Dhāt=śchobhat=ēva ||[52\*] Tat-pūḥ-patitvāna tad-ākhy-  
ay=iva prakhyāta-gō-
- 84 traḥ pṛithivītāś=smīn | sa kōvalam khēlati Vallāśri-vadhōy-ōpama-śrī-kula-śīla-vyittāḥ  
||[53\*]
- 85 Tasmāt=ta<sup>1</sup> varṇūd=udāhhūt=turīyā(yā)it=Kāṭa-kshīṭāḥ | Kumalā-nivāsaḥ | mitrair=  
amitrair=api bhūmi-
- 86 pālāḥ prastūyamāna-prathan-ōpadānōḥ || [54\*] Kāṭakehitāḥ kshīṭi-kalpa-vrikaham sam-  
kṛitya jīvamti
- 87 Janāḥ kshītan yō | sarvasya lōkasya samāśrayatvaḥ prayāmīti tō dhānya-dhan-śbhīvri-  
ddhāḥ || [55\*] Khaḍga-kṛitt-ā-
- 88 khīl-āmītra-bhūbbṛit-paksha-samunnatīḥ | sa Namdanavana-grāmō Janābhābhōd=iva  
jimbhatō ||[56] Kulō mahati
- 89 halyāḥ prādurbhūtā prabhāvati | patat tasya guṇāḥ pūjyaḥ tuly-śbhūt Tallam-śhvayā  
||[57\*] Śrī-Kā-
- 90 ṭaya-kshītpatēr=atha Tallamāyā dvābhyaḥ=avātarad=udāharagaḥ nripāḥ(ṇām) |  
śauryya-pratāpa-
- 91 vīṇay-śli-guṇāśrayāḥ Mār-āvanparibṛi(vṛi)ḥ māhānyā-kṛittīḥ ||[58\*] Śūras=sa Māra-  
kshīṭipāla-sim-

*Fourth Plate, First Side*

- 92 haś=śuddh-śravay-ōttām=atha Mācham-śkhyām(khyāmi) | kanyām ka|śrī-kṛitavān=parā-  
rthyāḥ Pulōna-putrīni Marutā-
- 93 m=iv=ōśāḥ ||[59\*] Māchām-bikōyā atha Māra-bhūpād=bhūdōvatā-rakshāṇa-śakshīna-śrīḥ  
| Kāṭa-kshīṭās=tanayō
- 94 Jayantāḥ Śachyās=Śachī-bhartur=iv=āvatīrṇāḥ ||[60\*] Vittaga vīrōḥana-samgṛihītyai  
śakshāt=sa Yakeśōvara ēva jātaḥ |

<sup>1</sup> The letter is written below the line.



- 95 kñ cha prapañchikṛitayōḥ pratāpa-prasādayōḥ-cha-Ārka-Śasāñkha-kālpāḥ || [61\*] Śa  
Bhāṣa-Duryōdhana-pūrvakāṇām
- 96 saṅgrāma-bhūmāv-ari-bhūpatinām(nām) | vīrya-vyulāsena sa Kāṭa-bhūpō vibhāti sañ-  
grāma-Dhanañjaya-
- 97 śrīḥ || [62\*] Yuddhō samriddhō rīpa-bhūpatinām yvate-āhatibhyas-sa vivaritamānō |  
rakṣaṁti tōḥāḥ hi
- 98 sa pālakatvāt khyātas-tatas-saṅgaḥ-rakṣapālāḥ || [63\*] Śrīmān-Annaya-bhūpatiḥ-tadanu  
tañ Kāṭa-kaha-
- 99 mādhyamam sañchinty-ātma-samāham-amelichitataraiv-varṇa-pradhānair-gaṇaiḥ | śhū-  
100 y-śāśān-uttamām-avayavaiḥ śrī-Doḍḍam-ākhyān sūtān taṁśai Kāṭya-bhūbhū-
- 101 ś Gīripatir-Gaurīnō yathā Śambhavō || [64\*] Patrīnō bhavittnō mahatīnō viditvō Doḍḍ-āḥva-  
102 yāyā(n-āḥ) pit-Āmḍhra-vānyō | Iti prāśastisatīti budhās-tadītyaḥ dṛiṣṭvā mahatī(v)-  
103 ū su(gu\*)jñaiḥ prasiddham(dham) || [65\*] Anuḡta-kṣitīpēna sadīgatas-tad-anāṁtarañ-  
(ram) | Kāṭa-bhūmipatīśrī(s-śr)imā-
- 104 a śach-śhāy-āva sa lakṣyātō || [66\*] Kāṭa-kṣamāparivṛi(vṛ)ḍhād-āṁśa Doḍḍamānīkā  
Vem-āḥvayān bahu-
- 105 mukh-ābhayday-ābhīrāmān(mam) | dardharaha-śaktīdharām-Śhadhinātha-maujē-Gaurī  
Kunā-
- 106 ram-iva putram-sādā jaitram(tram) || [67\*] Kṛitv-āvatāram samā-śbhīṣam karttuḥ  
Mahāśam-a-
- 107 māya-śauryañ(ryam) | dṛiṣṭvā sūtān tañ pitarāv-ābhūtān pṛtan yathā Haimavatī-  
Mahāśau || [68\*]

*Fourth Plate. Second Side*

- 108 Rakṣaṁti bhūpās-suhṛidō jagad-yaḥ dharm-śpadōśena sa pālāyān-s-tān | Vēma-kṣitīśō-  
śdhra-janasya
- 109 vānyā prakhyāpitō-bhūj-Jagarakṣapālāḥ || [69\*] Bhūct-bhūmīkarṇaḥ | śruti-pratibhayaḥ  
prōddhūta-ya-
- 110 dḍ-śdyamās-saṁprāpt-śchcha-śil-śchchayāḥ pṛati-ravais-tats-śpi vitrōśitāḥ | kṣam taiḥ-  
ggam-tum-ath-ō-
- 111 dyatā-tad-śgatō-vvīśā-cha Vēmaprahōr-vairi-kṣmā-patayō-śrī-pakṣati-bhīdān nīn-  
dān(dad)ti Śaṁkrahādanam(nam) || [70\*] Bh-
- 112 tānāḥ bhaya-bhāñjanam bhūja-balañ dīnasya dāny-āpahañ vīttān vṛittam-śdāḥṛitān  
śucharatā-
- 113 ū bhōgam-śva-baṁdhōś-samam(mam) | vāñīnō satya-parāyagñō cha dadhatō śrī-Vēma-  
pṛithvībhujā tāḍṛig-lakṣa-
- 114 mukṣa kaḥ kṣitīśāḥ śākhāś-sadīkabhāḥ prabhūḥ || [71\*] Buddhyā jāgrati yē Brīhaspati-  
mukhās-sūkṣm-śrītha-sa-

\* The symbol has not been observed here.

\* The plate bears the numeral 4 on the left margin.

- 115 ubōdhan<sup>2</sup> chātaryyēṣa charamī vakra-matayaś-śukr-śūdayō yē nayō | arthibhyō vita-  
 116 raṣṭrī yē-rttham-aḥikāṁ tad-vānchobhītā-dhārmikāḥ sarvvaṁ-tān-atiṣṭyāya khōlati  
 guṇaḥ-tai-  
 117 r-Vēma-pūthivijayit<sup>3</sup> || [72\*] Ath-Ānavāṣṭa-kṣhitipālakōna dattām tadīyān nija-mātulēna |  
 tān  
 118 Vēma-bhūmipatir-Anyam-ākhyān pāpā-aggrihād-vidhinā sa kunyān || [73\*] Anyānyam-  
 atyānta-yath-ānur-  
 119 pau Vēmakṣhitīas-sa cha s-Ānyamē cha | dvau yōgya-sambandhatayā dardhātē sarvva-  
 ratna-vyatīsharuga-lakṣmīn(mīm) || [74\*]  
 120 'S3 Padmahastā Puruṣōttamēna Vēma-kṣhitīṣēna grīhāta-pāṇi | sūbhāgya-sampau(n-u)  
 121 dhīr-Anyamāmbē satlakṣhyatē mūrtimat-iva Lakṣmōḥ || [75\*] Śākābdō-dri-nabhō-  
 gni-chāndra-gopitō Chaitrē- tṛitī-  
 122 yē tīthau Kṛishṇō Jiva-dinō Ravāv-Aja-gatō tirthōcha sarvvaśhv-agi | Viśvāntara-  
 nadin gātōchy-anumatā bhā-  
 123 rtrā=platā taj-jalō grāmān sō Palupartī samjhan-akarōl-bhātr-āpitaṁ viprasō || [76\*]

*Fifth Plate, First Side*

- 124 Yath-aiy-Ānyamayā grāmāḥ sa tayā vipra-sāktīṭal | tadā prabhṛiti tan-nānu bhuvī rā-  
 125 dho-nyamāvarāḥ || [77\*] Vraihīya-śālīya-yavarya-yavya-bhūmī-samst-annavar-āgra-  
 126 hārah | grāmān-aśtōhān bhuvī r-śālīyā kathān śubh-śrims-śhal-śbhīrūmā || [78\*] Makha-  
 prayō-  
 127 gais-smṛitibhiḥ purāṇaiḥ sūddham-samastōru(s-śra)ṭay-śkīlān | śāstrāḥ ch-āptv-ōva  
 mīhō-bhyu-  
 128 sūyān vṛiddhīn bhajatūy-Annavaṁ-dvijōshu || [79\*] Aya grāmāyā pṛastigrahātārāḥ || \* \* \*  
 129 dvi-bhāgī Lakṣmaṇa-sūmayāji | dvi-bhāgī Peddi-bhāṭṭal | śka-bhāgī Kōmāragīry-āryal |  
 130 dvi-bhāgī Appan-āryal | 24 Kausika-gōtrīṇal | dvi-bhāgī Ahōbalanātha-bhāṭṭal | dvi-bhāgī  
 Nū-  
 131 rāyana-bhāṭṭal | tri-pāda-bhāgī Peddan-āryal | tri-pāda-bhāgī Vallabh-āryal | śka-bhāgī  
 Ananttanarāmī-  
 132 h-āryal | śka-bhāgī Ellan-āryal | dvi-bhāgī Annam-āryal | ardha-bhāgī Kōman-āryal |  
 pādā-ddha-bhāgī Bēl-  
 133 mey-āryal | śka-bhāgī Sīngay-āryal | 56 Bhāradvāja-gōtrīṇal || chatur-bhāgī Mallinātha-  
 sīma-  
 134 yāji | śka-bhāgī Rāmay-āryal | śka-bhāgī Narshary-āryal | śka-bhāgī Kōmān-āryal |  
 sūddhaika-  
 135 bhāgī Anant-āryal | ardha-bhāgī Maṣṭr-āryal | ardha-bhāgī Abhan-āryal | ardha-bhāgī  
 Mallan-āryal |  
 136 ardha-bhāgī Sūri-bhāṭṭal | śka-bhāgī Pedday-āryal | 26 Kōśyapa-gōtrīṇal | ardha-bhāgī  
 Allāja-bhāṭṭal |

<sup>1</sup> From here the engraving appears to have been done by a different artist.



*Fifth Plate, Second Side*

- 137 śva-bhāgi Anant-āryaḥ | pāda-bhāgi Śiṅṅay-āryaḥ | 305 Ātrīya-gōtrīnaḥ || dvi-bhāgi Poma-  
ā-ryaḥ |
- 138 śeṣa Vādhūla-gōtrī || śhaḍ-bhāgi Mādhar-āryaḥ | dvi-bhāgi Māri-bhaṭṭaḥ | śka-bhāgi  
Sunggaya-
- 139 bhattāḥ | śka-bhāgi Sūray-āryaḥ | śka-bhāgi Gaṅṅapaty-āryaḥ | 306 Śrīvataḥ-gōtrīnaḥ | śka-  
bhāgi
- 140 Peddan-āryaḥ | śka-bhāgi Appan-āryaḥ | śtau Gautama-gōtrīnaḥ || dvi-bhāgi Singan-āryaḥ |
- 141 dvi-bhāgi Appalō-bhaṭṭaḥ | dvi-bhāgi Kāman-āryaḥ | śka-bhāgi Katakam-Mallan-āryaḥ |  
ardha-bhāgi Malla-
- 142 n-āryaḥ | arddha-bhāgi Viśan-āryaḥ | śka-bhāgi Anipedd-āryaḥ | śka-bhāgi Erray-āryaḥ |  
pāda-bhā-
- 143 gi Erray-āryaḥ | 307 Kauṇḍīya-gōtrīnaḥ || pād-ārdha-bhāgi Anant-āryaḥ | śka-bhāgi Si-
- 144 nggaya-āryaḥ | pād-ārdha-bhāgi Pedday-āryaḥ | śtau (te) Yākti-gōtrīnaḥ (paḥ) | tri-bhāgi  
Malla-
- 145 bhattāḥ | śeṣa Kāmākhyana-Viśvāmītra-gōtrī || ardha-bhāgi Gōpāla-śomayāji | śka-
- 146 bhāgi Tippay-āryaḥ | dvi-bhāgi Kāchan-āryaḥ | śka-bhāgi Chaiṇḍray-āryaḥ | 308 Harita-gō-  
trīnaḥ |
- 147 śka-bhāgi Mallay-āryaḥ | pāda-bhāgi Lakhay-āryaḥ | ardha-bhāgi Tippay-āryaḥ | śtau(śe)
- 148 Pāriśāryya-gōtrīnaḥ(paḥ) || dvi-bhāgi Vinjariṅṅu-Pragaḍan-āryaḥ | śeṣa Kālabhava-gōtrī ||
- 149 śka-bhāgi Gōpay-āryaḥ | śeṣa Maṅḅalya-gōtrī || sa-tri-pāda-chaṭtur-bhāgi Dōray-āryaḥ |
- 150 śeṣa Śāmaḅḷīya-gōtrī || dvi-bhāgi Śub[ga]\*-āryaḥ | śeṣa Lōhita-gōtrī || tri-pāda-bhāgi Vi-
- 151 śaya-bhaṭṭaḥ | śeṣa Śālāvata-gōtrī || śka-bhāgi Sagarōśvara-mahādēvaḥ | śka-bhāgi Śrī-  
Kōśavādēvaḥ |

*Sixth Plate, First Side*

- 152 Śāsaminun-ariḷḷuḅḅu; gōtrānulu varḅḅuḅeḅi vrāśi appoḅu chōruvalōḅi vṅittinaḅn\*ittu  
lu vaṅaka va-
- 153 cheḅināna vrāyīḅcheḅina gōtra-śāmanulu | pāda-bhāgi Ātrīya-gōtrī Sūran-āryaḥ ||
- 154 śka-bhāgi Peddan-āryaḅ\* | śka-bhāgi Pomaḅ-āryaḥ | śtau dvan Kōśyapa-gōtrīnaḅ | śka-  
bhāgi
- 155 Singan-āryaḅ\* | śka-bhāgi Chivaḅ-ḷiṅgan-āryaḥ | Harita-gōtrī || Karttā śāana-kāvyāya  
Vāśudēva-śa-
- 156 dhi-śutaḅ | Perumōḅi-śudhūr-śka-bhāgi gōtrēḅa Kauśikāḅ || [80\*]
- 157 Pañch-ōttarābhīḅ khārḅḅis-triṅśatā Kaḅam-ḅhūtēḅ | śamōśay-śaya śmāśuḅ(ḅi) ḷkhyāśūtē  
śarvya-
- 158 dik-śhūtēḅ || [81\*] Anavaraḅḅaḅ-ḅōlamōśa-śmāśuḅ | [\*] Tārppuḅaku Gōḅāvarinunḅḅi  
ḅakḅi-
- 159 napu māḅhamu vachēḅina Goramē-gaḅḅu ś Uśaminunḅḅi Kapila-Mahādēva-śhōśa-
- 160 mudāḅikāśu vachēḅina Pōḅu-gaḅḅu marinḅi Tārppuḅaku śma [j\*] aḅita-nunḅi mōḅi-vaḅḅpu-
- 161 gāśu Kaḅami-pōḅumaḅi iḅḅika-nāḅḅi-tōḅḅa paḅumaḅaḅḅāḅu vachēḅi Vāma-

\* The plate bears the numeral 5 on the left margin.

\* Written above the line.

\* No gōtra is mentioned for this name.

*v, a*

124

128

132

136



124

128

132

136

*v, b*

140

144

148



140

144

148

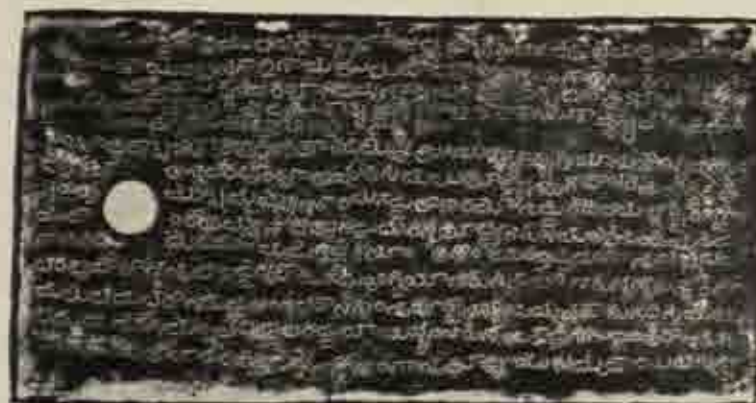
*vi, a*

152

156

160

164



152

156

160

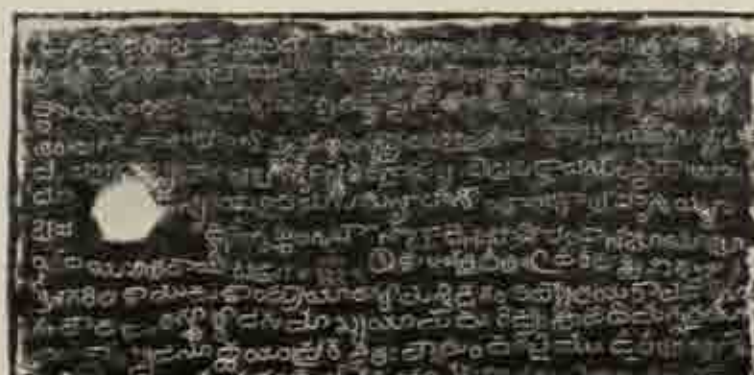
164

*vi, b*

168

172

176



168

172

176



*vii, a*



*vii, b*



Scale : Two-fifths

SEAL



( from Photograph )

- 162 varapu poḷanam-poḷoddina Pōtu-gaṭṭu Āgnōyānakunnu Dakshiyānakunnu Nairu (vṛi)ṭikiṇi sī-  
 163 malu [1\*] Vēnavarānakunnu Annavarānakunnu pūrvāna nīchayamaina Pōtu-gaṭṭa  
 āmalu [1\*]  
 164 Paḍunafiki sīma Baliputtala-gaṭṭu [1\*] Vāyavyānoḱu sīma Kāṭṭōni-gaṭṭa [1\*] Uttarānaku sī-  
 165 ma Tallāya-tōmṭa daggagina Dakshina'gānuṭ-gānu Tārppu mukhamai pōyi Vasishṭha-

*Sixth Plate, Second Side\**

- 166 Gōdāvarimboḷddina phalavṛikshāle-gaṭṭu [1\*] Yṇ(ī)ḷāna-dikkunaku sīma Vasishṭha-  
 Gōdāvart |  
 167 Sya-dattām para-dattām vā yō harēta vasuṇḍharatū(rām) | shashṭi-varaha-sahasraṅi vi-  
 168 shīhāyām jāyatō kṛmih | [82\*] sva-dattā[d\*]-dvi-guṇat-puṅyam para-datt-ānupāle-  
 169 māṇ | para-datt-āpahārēṅa sva-dattām nishphalam bhavōt | [83\*] ēk-eva bhagmī lōkē  
 sarvvōshā-  
 170 m-ēva bhū-bhṛitām(tām) | ma bhōgyā na kara-grāhyā vipra-dattā vasuḍḍha(dha)rā  
 | [84\*] Śā-  
 171 mānyō-yaṇṭ dharmma-sūtra-nripāṅgām kālō kālō pā[la]n(yō.  
 172 bhavadbhū | ittham sarvām bhāvinaḥ pāthiv-ēndrān bhūyō bhū-  
 173 yō yāchatō Rāmabhadra) | [85\*] Śrī Pallavatriṅētra |\* Dōḷō Dakshīṅa-samjñakō-  
 174 sti nagarī Pal[1\*]ānuḍu jān[1-ā]bhavayā a(ch-ā)syām-asti dig-amta-viṣṭi(ru)ta-yaśā varuṅḱō Ha-  
 175 tāḥ pādajal | tasmāt-Kāṭa-samākhyayā Madhuripul pāthōdhi-magm-ṭrayi-  
 176 trāp-ārth-āmbv-aṅan-ōthātha(tthajyā prakāṭita) pātum dharitṛin-udait | [86\*] Tasmāt-Mā-  
 177 ra-mahīpatis-samudabhūd-dharm-aka-samōthāpaca\*'-tasmāt-sō-jani [Kā\*][a-bhūparihṛi-  
 (vṛi)ḱhō

*Seventh Plate, First Side*

- 178 yah prauḍha-būhō-balab |(|) Kāṭ-ākhyāto-iva karttam-artha-sahitām. Kṛishṇō-jalō  
 paryatans-tan-madhya-sthi-  
 179 ta-Divi-durga-nilayan vargam vyaśeṣṭa dvishām(shām) | [87\*] Tasmāt-Kāṭa-  
 dhacādhīpād-alabhata śrī-Doḱḱo-  
 180 mānō-ātmajām tāḥ Vēm-āhvayam-Annāhira-bhūparihṛi(vṛi)ḱhanā bhūmasūdal-ākhamjalam-  
 (lam) | kṛttir-yya-  
 181 sva kṛipāṅa-khamjita-Gajādhis-ādī-garvvōddhura-kshamābhṛit-pakaha-samunnatōr-viharatō  
 rōḱō-dig-a-  
 182 nit-ānttarō | [88\*] Śvasūrasay-Ānavōṭasaya mātulasaya cha bhūpatōḥ | rājya-bhōgōn sa  
 bhūmājānaḥ(na)-

\* na is redundant.

\* The plate bears the numeral 6 on the left margin.

\* The first record ends here.

\* The letter is written above the line.



- 183 s-tasya bhūmih parikshakah || [89\*] S=Ōnavāma-mahīpati cha<sup>1</sup> Kumāragiri-bhūpatih(tim) |  
krāmih-rōjy<sup>2</sup> su-
- 184 amābhūpya tayā rājya-dharamūharah || [90\*] Velliśri-kudē jātān-ittham bhūpān samu-  
dāharan | svāmi-bhūtya
- 185 iti khyātō Vēma-bhūpō vilohāt<sup>1</sup> aah || [91\*] Kumāragiri-bhūpasya svāmin-ōmūtē  
samāhātātah |
- 186 sa Vēma-bhūpas-tasya-jñānī pālayan-pāti mōhīndū(ōm) || [92\*] Vēma-Ānyamāvaran khyātān  
nāmā
- 187 sva-avakūjatrāyōh | grāman sammatim. uttam-adyuktō Vēma bhūpatih || [93\*] Abhyūgat-  
āroham-vidhi-
- 188 kshaya-vyūtti-hetōr-Vēma-Var-Ōnavara-Vēma-Varō-Varōbhīyah | grāmaō samagrātara-  
sasya-phal-ābhira-
- 189 mīm prāg-datta-sūktam-ādīsat-Kaḍamini dvijōbhīyah || [94\*] **Abdē Sakasya Jaladh-  
ikshaya-mūrtti-cherhdre Māghā**
- 190 dīnō Sāhi-sutasya sa Chitrabhānu | Sōmagrāt-ānavara-Vēma-Varō-Varōbhīyah prāg-  
datta-sūktam-ādīdī-
- 191 t-Kaḍamini dvijōbhīyah || [95\*] Iśh-ārtha-sidhīnī-paritūhṭa-nij-āśayānām-āśrībhīr-Annava-  
Vēma-Vara-dvijā-
- 192 nām(nām) | śri-Vēma-bhūpatimogis-saha putea-pauttrair-āKalpan-astu dharatī-  
bharaḡō dhu-
- 193 rīpah || [96\*] Annavaram Vēma-Varāleku grāma-grāsama mchias Kaḍami patchekunnā  
{Anna}-

*Seventh Plate, Second Side\**

- 194 varapu polamēra-sima-nirna(rūa)yamu | pājimūdhī Janārānabōvaraguḡi Jākaha(kāhi)  
pūnamu |
- 195 paḡama-ādīgānu Gorami-kāluva mōvanu puḡitta | Gorami-kāluva tūrpu | Uttarān mu-
- 196 khamu pōyi pedda-puḡitta-galaḡenu | ā-pedda-puḡitta ā-Gorami ādīgānu tūrpu mukhamai
- 197 pōyi Gōdāvari mōchenu | āḡō Uttarān mukhamai īś-lāḡika sahītamai nakkaviri-īshkkaku
- 198 vellī Kaḡḡavelli-polamu mōchenu || \* \* \* || Sva-dattām para-dattācā vā yō harita vacu-
- 199 mōharām(rām) | shōsh(r-Varaha-sahastāḡi viśḡhā[yā\*]m jāyatē kṡimih || [97\*] Sva-dattād-  
dvigḡḡam puḡyam pa-
- 200 ra-datt-ānupālanam(nam) | para-datt-āpalāḡōḡa svadattam nishphalam bhavōt || [98\*] Ek-  
niva bhāḡi-
- 201 ut lōkō sarvōśhām-ōva bhōbhūtiān(tām) | na bhōḡyā na raka(kara)-grāhyā vipra-dattā vasu-
- 202 mōharā || [99\*] Sāmādyō-yam ūharoma-ōtur-ḡṡipānām kālō kālō pālanayō bhā-
- 203 vadbhīh | ūdham(ittham) sarvān-bhāvīnah pārhivēnūrām bhōyō bhōyō yācha-
- 204 tē Rāmchāndrah || [100\*] Śri-Pallavatrīḡḡam || śri-Uḡā-Mahō-Varāhō-ḡān-namah |

\* The letter is written below the line.

\* The plate bears the number 7 in the left margin.

No. 23—ANDHRA SAHITYA PARISHAD PLATES OF SAKTIVARMAN

(I Plate)

THE LATE B. V. KRISHNA RAO, RAJAMUNDRY

(Received on 26.1.1956)

These plates seem to have been secured by the late Mr. T. Achyutarao, during the period of his official career as Assistant Inspector of Schools, Eluru, in 1915. They are noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1917-18 as C.P. No. 15 and are described by the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri thus "The plates are much damaged and mutilated and the record is incomplete. The ornamental seal which bears in relief the usual Chälukyan emblems and the well-known legend *Sri-Tridhruvanakula* in bold characters, now carries only four of these plates of the set. The remaining one or two plates are missing. Even the plates extant are so badly damaged that their contents could not be read entirely." Out of the four extant plates, the upper two corners of the first plate and the lower right corners of the second and the third are broken away and lost, while the writing on the second side of the last plate is badly corroded. Consequently, on only one side of the set the writing is well-preserved. Even the seal with the legend is missing and has not been recovered.

In spite of the serious nature of the damage to the plates, the matter in the first two plates can be pieced together and re-constructed with the help of the published copper-plate inscriptions of the dynasty. But unfortunately much of the important information about the donor and the donees and their ancestors is lost. I edit this inscription with the help of the ink-impressions kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India.

The characters of the inscription are of the Telugu-Kannada type of about the 10th century A.D., commonly styled as the *Vāṅgi* script. Regarding individual letters, it may be noted that the initial *a* occurs in line 60, *ā* in lines 41, 42 and 57 and *ī* in line 49. Final *r* occurs in lines 6 and 35 and final *n* in lines 41, 48 and 55.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and the text is written in an admixture of prose and verse. The date portion of the record, if it existed in the original, is unfortunately lost. Nevertheless from verse 22, etc., it is obvious that the charter belonged to the reign of Saktivarman I of the Eastern Chälukya dynasty. Only two other copper plate records besides the present one are known so far to belong to this king, namely, the Pahluparra grant<sup>2</sup> and the Pennāra plates noticed by Sir Walter Elliot.<sup>3</sup> Neither the originals nor good impressions of these two grants are now available.

As for the contents, after the usual preamble in prose introducing the first king of the family, Kubja Vishnuvardhana and then his nine successors with their periods of reign upto Vishnuvardhana IV, the charter describes in verse, Vijayāditya (II) *alio* Narāndra as the establisher of a hundred and eight temples of Nīlakaṅṭha (Śiva) to reckon as many victorious battles that he had fought and states that he reigned for 48 years (verse 1). The next verse praises the rule of his son and successor Kālī Vishnuvardhana (V) who reigned for an year and a half. Verses 3-4 describe Kālī Vishnuvardhana's son and successor, Vijayāditya (III) as one who severed with

<sup>1</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1918, Pt. II, p. 132, para. 6.

<sup>2</sup> *Andhra Sahitya Parishad Patrika*, Vol. II, p. 402 and Plates.

<sup>3</sup> For an attempt to correct the text of this grant, see Venkatarāmanayya, *Eastern Chälukyas of Vāṅgi*, App. III, p. 31] ff.



his glittering sharp sword, the head of Maṅgi in the battlefield, chased Kannara and Śankila into the impregnable country, protected Baddega from fear and ruled the kingdom along with his four brothers for 44½ years.<sup>1</sup> His brother was commander Vikramāditya, whose victorious son Chālukya Bhīma I, well versed in polity and generous, ruled for 30 years (verses 5 and 6). Chālukya Bhīma's son was Vijayāditya IV who, having conquered king Vāsava and set up a pillar of victory at Viraja, ruled for six months (verse 7).<sup>2</sup> His (Vijayāditya's) son Ammarāja I ruled for 7 years (verse 8). Tāla I having overthrown the boy-king Vijayāditya V, the son of Amma, ruled the earth for a month; defeating Tāla in battle, Vikramāditya II, son of Chālukya Bhīma I, ruled for eleven months; thereafter Yuddhamalla II, son of Tālapa ruled for 7 years (verses 9-11). Bhīma II, son of Kollabhoggaḍa Vijayāditya IV, protected and ruled the earth for twelve years having attacked, defeated and expelled Yuddhamalla from the country (verse 12). Bhīma's son born with an ornament-like tissue around his neck was Ammarāja II<sup>3</sup> who, by destroying the powerful elephant corps of the enemies earned the title *Tribhuvanāmbuḥa* and ruled the earth for 25 years. Then Dānārṇava who was the son of Bhīma and the step-brother of Amma and who bore the epithet *Rājānārṇava*, ruled the kingdom for three years (verses 13-16). On Dānārṇava's death there was anarchy for 27 years (verse 17). Dānārṇava's son by Āryādēvi was Śaktivarman who, while yet a boy exhibited his unequalled might to the entire world in his battle for the *Chōḷas* (*Chandela-roya*) and routed the haughty princes Badibema and Mahārāja. He (i.e. Chālukya-Nārāyaṇa) laughing within himself at (god) Nārāyaṇa who had to assume different forms to destroy his enemies, killed, in his own form the wicked Rāvaga-like Chōḍa Bhīma and seized the goddess of fortune on the very battlefield after destroying thousands of horses and the vast sea of chariots of the lord of Utkala (verses 18-23).

The prose passage following this containing the details of the grant is unfortunately badly damaged. Nevertheless from the extant portion of the writing, it can be made out that the king, the glorious Vishnuvardhana, having assembled the farmers and officials of Varanāpdu-riahaya made a grant in their immediate presence to the Brāhmaṇa Vennama. The object of the grant, whether it was a village or something else, cannot be made out.<sup>4</sup> The available portion of the text, as already pointed out, has no date.

<sup>1</sup> Thus Maṅgi and Baddega have been identified respectively with the Nolimba and Lāmalavāda chiefs of the same name and Śankila and Kannara with the Haihaya Saṅharagana and his brother-in-law Rāshtrakūṭa Kriṣṇa II respectively (*Vaṅkatasamanayya, Eastern Chālukya of Uṅgā*, pp. 93, 120, etc.). The impregnable country was evidently the kingdom of Baddega. [The impregnable country in which Śankila and Kriṣṇa were chased appears to be Kirenapura which is mentioned side by side with Chakrakūṭa or Bastar supposed to be held by Baddega (*ibid.*, p. 126) in the Pithāpāram inscription of Mallapadeva (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 233, verse 60). Or, it may be Achalapura also (*A. R. Ep.*, 1923, pt. 3, para. 10). Again the word *sāṅgham* in verse 3, is actually an indeclinable particle, meaning 'together with' and not 'increased by half'. Therefore, Gunaga Vijayāditya ruled in fact only for 44 years.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> Viraja may probably be identified with Viraja on the bank of the Valtaraṅgi and the king Vāsava either with Dōvādevavarman IV (883-95 A.D.) or with Vaṅkasta I (c. 895-939 A.D.), both belonging to the Eastern Guṇḍa dynasty. Or, he may be identical with a king of Utkala or Mahākōṣṭha as the above Viraja is in Utkala. [Viraja was apparently situated in the country of 'Six-thousand villages', situated on the bank of the Kriṣṇā (Ganguly, *The Eastern Chālukyas*, p. 70). Again there is no mention of any king called Vāsava. The expression *caṣṭha śāṅgha* actually means 'the east'—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> [This verse has been misunderstood. In fact it describes that Amma II was declared *hōra*-apprent even when he was in the womb of his mother, *kaṣṭhila* being an insignia of royalty. Cf. *Varanāpdu-riahaya* *kaṣṭhila-paṭṭa-bandh-śāśāhita* in the Pāgaravaram plates of Bhīma II (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 218, text lines 24-26). Cf. also above, Vol. IV, p. 237.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> After addressing the officials, the record introduces a family belonging to the Bhāradvāja-gōtra. The genealogy of the family in the original must have contained at least six names of which Vennamōyya, the only name that can be read in the damaged portion of the text, occurs as the second. It is difficult to say whether this family is that of the actual donor whose grant the king ratifies or that of the donee. However, the manner in which the address is recorded appears to suggest that the object of the charter was a grant of land.—Ed.]

The importance of this record lies in the fact that barring the Conjeevarman inscription of Jatāchōḍa Bhīma,<sup>1</sup> it is the earliest document which gives an account of the interregnum, while the records of this dynasty of the post-restoration period are silent on this point.

Dānārṇava died in or about the beginning of 973 A.D. If Śaktivarman was just six years old in 973, he would be nearly sixteen in 983 or 984 A.D. Taila II (973-997 A.D.) was the Western Chālukya adversary of the Chōlas during the period and was the contemporary of Uttama-chōla *alias* Madhurāntaka (969-985 A.D.). His Nilgund inscription<sup>2</sup> clearly points to the continued hostility between Taila II and his Chōla adversary. The inscription, dated 20th September 982 A.D., refers in a conventional style to his victories over the Āndhra, Chōḍa, Pāṇḍya and Utkala kings. The ruler of Āndhra may be identical with Śaktivarman, the rightful lord of the kingdom of Vāṅḡ and not Jatāchōḍa Bhīma who was in all probability an ally of Taila II. The Pāṇḍya was a vassal of the Chōla king or perhaps his ally. The Lord of Utkala might be the Lord of Kalinga, i.e. Vajrahasta-II (980-1004 A.D.). Vajrahasta II probably made a common cause with Śaktivarman who was closely related to him through his grandmother, a Kālīṅga princess,<sup>3</sup> and the Chōla king against Āhavamalla and his ally Jatāchōḍa Bhīma, the usurper in Vāṅḡ. Even for some time after 982 A.D. (i.e. the date of the Nilgund inscription) the Chōla king was at war with Āhavamalla in his desire to wrest Nolaḥavāḍi and Bāṅappāḍi from the Western Chālukyas. It may be noted that in 992 A.D., Āhavamalla was ruling over the Nolaḥavāḍi territory from his provincial capital at Roddam on the bank of the river Pinākinī (Penuār) on the western borders of the Anantapur District.<sup>4</sup> It was probably during the period of protracted hostilities between the two powers that the *Chaulika-raya* referred to in the present record (verse 21) was fought.<sup>5</sup> It speaks of the signal victory which Śaktivarman obtained in the *Chaulika-raya*. Krishna Sastri held the view "that Śaktivarman is said to have risen to fame, even in his youth (*bālye*) by his victory in a battle with the Chōlas."<sup>6</sup> This does not appear to be correct. The word *bālye* according to Sanskrit lexicons and well-known texts on *Dharma Śāstra* means the period of minority extending upto the age of sixteen. The event referred to, therefore, seems to have taken place when Śaktivarman had not completed his sixteen years. The Pabbuparru grant speaks of this battle as '*Draṁḍi-āhava*' or 'the battle of the Draṁḍas or Tamils'. The *Chaulika-raya* or *Draṁḍi-āhava* must be taken to mean 'a battle for the Chōlas or Draṁḍas', rather than 'with the Chōlas'.

This battle must have taken place sometime after 982 A.D. and before the death of Uttama-chōla in 985 A.D. If the event is placed in 983 or 984 A.D. Śaktivarman would still be under sixteen years. It was in this battle that Śaktivarman participated and won a signal victory after a sanguinary fight in which he was severely wounded.<sup>7</sup> The Pabbuparru plates describe Śaktivarman

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 20 ff. This record has been wrongly attributed to Rājastha Chōla I.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 204, lines 7-9.

<sup>3</sup> *JAHNS*, Vol. XI, pp. 84 ff.; *S. R. Ep.*, 1037-38, C. P. No. 26.

<sup>4</sup> *SI*, Vol. IX, No. 77.

<sup>5</sup> [It is not possible to explain the term *chaulika-raya* and to fix its date as easily as the author proposes to. The Nagal inscription of Taila II dated as early as 980 A.D. (above, Vol. XVI, pp. 1 ff.) suggests that there had already been a battle between the Chālukyas and the Chōlas.—Ed.]

<sup>6</sup> [Dr. Venkataramanayya is of the view that Śaktivarman must have taken part in the civil wars between the descendants of Ganḍarīditya and Ariṣṭajaya. The *Draṁḍi-āhava* or *Chaulika-raya* must have formed part of these dissensions. *The Eastern Chālukyas of Vāṅḡ*, p. 303 ff., App. II.—Ed.]



as having killed a certain *Ēdvēra* who was sent against him by his enemy Jaṭābhōḍa Bhīma and to have made the haughty princes Baddema, Mahārāja and others flee for protection. The identity of these princes is uncertain. The record (verse 22) further states that king Jaṭā-Bhīma who resembled Hāvaga, met with his death in a fierce battle at the hands of Śaktivarman. If this statement in the present record and in the Pabhupattu grant<sup>1</sup> is to be believed, it would appear that Śaktivarman re-established himself on the throne of Vēṅgi and the circumstances that led to this were probably as follows: Jaṭā-Bhīma or Jaṭābhōḍa Bhīma and Āhavamalla Taila II were allied and it was almost impossible for Rājārāja I to oppose them in his campaign against Gaṅgapāḍi. The death of Āhavamalla Taila gave Rājārāja an occasion to march against the Western Chālukyan dominions. Satyāśraya might probably have sought the assistance of his father's old ally, Jaṭābhōḍa Bhīma who set out with a large army to join him and oppose Rājārāja, who meanwhile despatched a large contingent of army to the Āndhra country with a view to divert the attention of Jaṭābhōḍa Bhīma. This compelled the latter to return to his own country without proceeding to the succour of Satyāśraya. The Chōla general pursued him in hot haste. But, in the meanwhile Jaṭābhōḍa Bhīma was met by his great adversary Śaktivarman I and dragged to a pitched battle. In the sanguinary fight that followed with the Chōla army in the rear Jaṭābhōḍa Bhīma was slain and Śaktivarman gained the Vēṅgi throne, thus putting an end to the so-called interregnum.<sup>2</sup> There is nothing to support<sup>3</sup> the view that Rājārāja placed Śaktivarman on the throne of Vēṅgi after putting an end to the interregnum there, as is hitherto held by scholars like Venkayya and S. Krishnaswamy Iyengar. A shrewd politician that he was, Rājārāja had no opportunity of concluding a marital alliance with Vēṅgi by giving his daughter Kundavā in marriage to Vimalāditya, the heir-apparent who was the younger brother of Śaktivarman I. Rājārāja's claim to have conquered Vēṅgi and Kaliṅga seems to be an empty boast invented by the Chōla panegyrista to glorify their sovereign.

The only geographical division referred to in the record, viz. *Vaṅanāḍu-vishaya*, may be identified with the region lying between Ēlāru and Vijayavāḍa, forming part of the former Nuzvid Zamindari. An epigraph<sup>4</sup> from Ghaṅṅasāla in the Divi taluk of the Mazulpatnam District mentions *Vaṅanāḍu-dēva*, which is probably the same as the *Vaṅanāḍu-vishaya* of the record under review.

<sup>1</sup> *Āndhra Sāhitya Parishad Patella*, Vol. II, pp. 403 ff.

<sup>2</sup> There is a fragmentary inscription in Tamil verse, on a pillar in the dilapidated *meḍuḍu* in the courtyard of the Vēṅṅiśivāśvālin temple in Maḍakēra, Anantapur District (*A.S.E.*, 1917, No. 781), which records that the king of Vēṅgi ran away on hearing that the Chōla king had ordered his general Sōllyavaraiyan to conquer that country. Unfortunately the inscription is not dated and does not contain the name of the Chōla king. It is not unlikely that the king of Vēṅgi mentioned in the record is no other than Jaṭābhōḍa Bhīma, who was occupying Vēṅgi temporarily. The Chōla general is obviously the same as Arāyan Rājārājan *alias* Vikrama-chōla Sōllyavaraiyan figuring in a record of Rājendra Chōla I, dated in his 10th regnal year, from Kottaiśvaram which is not far away from Maḍakēra (*A.S.E.*, 1917, No. 22). It is likely that the general started his career during the reign of Rājārāja and continued to serve during Rājendra's reign, till at least the latter's 10th regnal year (1025 A.D.). There were no hostilities between Rājendra and his brother-in-law Vimalāditya giving an occasion for Sōllyavaraiyan to pursue the king of Vēṅgi during Rājendra's reign. Hence the Chōla king, who is referred to in the Maḍakēra inscription seems to be Rājārāja I. [But, according to Dr. N. Venkataswamy, the king referred to therein is Rājendra Chōla I. See above, Vol. XXIX, p. 82 and note. The inscription states that the Chāḷukki gave up Vēṅgi, when pursued by Sōllyavaraiyan, the Chōla general. It is impossible to identify the Chāḷukki with Jaṭābhōḍa. — Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> [Śaktivarman's accession in c. 999 A.D., 32 years prior to A.D. 1011 when his brother Vimalāditya ascended the throne, coincides with the conquest of Vēṅgi claimed by Rājārāja. See Dr. N. Venkataswamy, *op. cit.*, p. 298. — Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> *SI*, Vol. X, No. 192.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

[Mātras: Verses 1, 3, 5 *Sanyāharā*; verse 2 *Prakarāharī*; verses 4-5, 9-11, 25, 28 *Anushāpā*; verses 7, 12, 21-23, 29 *Sārāloka-kṛīṭa*; verses 8, 13-16 *Vasanta tilaka*; verses 17-20 *Ārya-gīṭā*; verses 24, 26-27 *Āryā(1)*.]

*First Plate*

- 1 [Svasti ācimatām]<sup>2</sup> [sa]kala-[(bhuvana-saṁ)stūyamāna-Mānavya-sagō]trāpām Hāriti-putrāgām
- 2 Kauṣkī-varā]<sup>2</sup>[-prasāda]-labdha-rājyānām Mātṛi-gaṇa-paripālītānām [Svāmi][Mahāsēna-
- 3 pūlānadhyaṭī]<sup>2</sup>[nām] bhagavan-Nā[rāyaṇa]-prasāda-sa[mā]sādita-vara-[va]rāha-[jāmoḥhan-  
ā][khaṇa-khaṇa-
- 4 vaś]<sup>2</sup>kṛit-ārātī-maṇḍalānām-āva[mōḍh-āva]bhṛīṭha-sūna-pavitrikṛita]-vapu[shām] Chā-
- 5 ki]<sup>2</sup>[kyā]nām kulam-alamkariśaṅgōḥ Satyāśraya-vallabh-āndraśya bhrātā Kubja-Vishṇu-  
varddhanō-[-śhā]dāsa
- 6 va]<sup>2</sup>[rahāṅi] Vādigī-āśam-apālayat || tad-ātmajō Jayasimhas-tra[yas-trim]śa[saṁ]tam |  
ta[d-a]-
- 7 [nu]-Endrarāja-nandanō] Vishṇuvarddhanō nava | tat-sūnur-Mmaṅgi-yuvarājah  
panchavinśatīn[im] | tatputrō Ja[ya]-
- 8 [simha]s-trayōdaśa | tad-avara]hā Kōkkihā śhaṇ-māsān | tasya jyēshṭhō bhrātā Vishṇu-  
varddhanā[m-uchchā]-
- 9 [ya sapta-]<sup>2</sup>[triniśatam] | tat-putrō Vijayāditya-bhaṭṭārakō-śhādaśa | tat-antō  
Vishṇuvarddhanāsh-śhaṭ-trim[śatam] ]<sup>2</sup>

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 10 Tat-sūnur-bhānu-bhāsō rapa-vigana[na]yā Nilakaṇṭh-ālayānām sa-grām-ārāma[kānātī]  
sa-la-
- 11 hā-ramāṅi-saṁpa[pa]dām sat-pedānām ] ]<sup>2</sup> kṛivā prōttunṅga[ga]m-saṅg-ōttara-  
śatam-abhunag-vīra-dhīrō-śhṭa-[yuktā]-
- 12 ś-chaṭvāriṁśat-samā[h<sup>2</sup>] kshmatā jana-nata-Vijayāditya-nāmā vacāndra] || [1 ]<sup>2</sup> Tat-  
sūnur-satātām-a-nū-
- 13 na-vi[vr]i]śh[ī]n[ī]-dīa-śādhā-dvī]s-gaṅk-ār[ī]t[ī]h[ī]-sārtha-sasyat[ī] (syān) | santōśhatā sakalam-  
avāpa[ya]-
- 14 a-spād-gūm-ty-accidham kila Ka[ṁ]-Vishṇu[va]rddhanō-bdam[bdam] || [2 ]<sup>2</sup> tat-  
priya-tanaya] || Aṅgā[śa]h[ī]grāma]<sup>2</sup>-
- 15 ra]ggō[ḡ] nija-la[sa]n[ī]-asīnā Maṅg[ga]t[ī]rā]-ōttamāṅgaṇi ttuṅggō<sup>2</sup>-drō[h<sup>2</sup>] śrīṅgam-  
urvyām-aśani[r-īva mud-ā]<sup>2</sup>-

<sup>1</sup> From inked impressions. [The transcript of the author has been thoroughly revised in order to make it suitable for publication.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> The readings in brackets bearing this foot-note number are restored with the help of the other well-known copper plate grants of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty.

<sup>3</sup> Read *tuṅg-ō*.



16. pātayat-Ka[mār-ā]mkam [!]\* [niśasā]kaśi Saṃki[lāna] prathita-jana-padā[de-durgga-  
mān-a]jirga[mayya] [drāg-dhāvan-ya]<sup>1</sup>
17. t-pravō[aya] [prabhu]r-abhaya-munā[b] pratyapād-Baddeg-ākam(kam) || [3 !]\* Sa  
śrīmān-Vijayā[ditya][=chaturbhī]<sup>1</sup>
18. [r-bhrātṛ][bhis-saha][!]\*[cha]tvāriṃsat-samā[=]jā[rddham] chaturbhīr-abhunag-bhuvan-  
(vam) || [4 !]\* Tat-bhrātu[r-Vi] [kramāditya]<sup>1</sup>.

*Second Plate, Second Side*

19. bhūpatēs-aach-chamū-patēy | vilasat-kaṇṭhik-ōd[d]āma-kaṇṭhasya taṇsyō nayi || [5 !]\*  
Din-ānāth-ō[turāṇān]<sup>1</sup>
20. dvijavara-samitēr-yyāchakānāth yatināth nānā-dēs-āgatānām paṭu-vaṭu-naṭa-sad-gāya-  
[kānāth ka]<sup>1</sup>.
21. vīnām(nām) [!]\* bandhūnām-audhakānām-abhilashita-phala-śrāṇanād-rakṣayād-yō  
mā-t-ōva trīn[śad-abbān sama]<sup>1</sup>.
22. m-abhunag-asan chāro Chālukya-Bhīma || [6 !]\* Tat-putra[ḥ] ava-bhuj-āci-khaṇḍita ~ —  
— — —
23. d-balād-Vāasy[ā] [d] [itr-āśān(ān)] Virājṇ pratiśṭhita-[ja\*]ya-stambha[b\*] patidhōb\*  
raṇ[ā] | svarny-ā[rū]dha]<sup>1</sup>
24. tuḷō-tra bhā(bā)dhām-a-tuḷō dhātē-talē-kshātriyō mitr-ābhā(bhā) pari[ra\*]kshati sma  
Vija[yā]<sup>1</sup>.
25. ditya[b\*] sam-ārdhām dharām || [7 !]\* Taṇy-ātmajaḥ prapata-vairi-śirō-vilagna-ratna-  
dvirōpha-parichum[bi]<sup>1</sup>.
26. [ta-pā]de-padmaḥ | Mēruḥ hasach-tuḷita-bhāka-śāi-bhāsā varahāyī sapta sas(sa)ma-  
p[ā] [de-bhava]<sup>1</sup>m-A-
27. mmarājāḥ || [8 !] Tat-sutam Vijayādityaḥ hālam-uchchātya Hlayā | Tā[ī]-ādhipati-  
ākramya mā-

*Third Plate, First Side*

28. [sa]m-ākam-a-pād-bhuvan(vam) | [! 9 !]\* Tam jivā yudhi Chālukya-Bhīma-bhūmipatēs-  
sutaḥ | Vikramāditya-
29. [bhūpō]-pān-māsān-ākāśāśa kshitim(tim) || [10 !]\* Tatna-Tā]pa-rājaya sūnus-sūrita-  
vāk-prabhuḥ | Yuddha-
30. malla-dharādhitās-supta varahāyī-apād-bhuvan(vam) || [11 !]\* Sannaddham yudhi  
Yudhāmāllam-avō[va]nēr-unīddhātya dhātṛ-āha-
31. rat-krivā bh[ī]na-[ra]thām-epi parānā[ī-śi]kshāśa-cha śiḥṭ-ōtarān | śrīmat-Kollabhi-  
gaṇḍa-nāma-Vija-

<sup>1</sup> See footnote 2 on page 245.

<sup>2</sup> Read *prasthā*.

i

2  
4  
6  
8



2  
4  
6  
8

ii, a

10  
12  
14  
16  
18



10  
12  
14  
16  
18

ii, b

20  
22  
24  
26

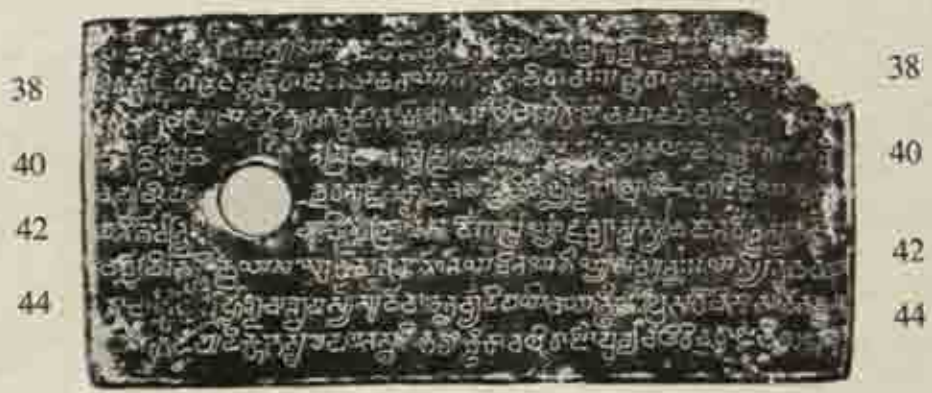


20  
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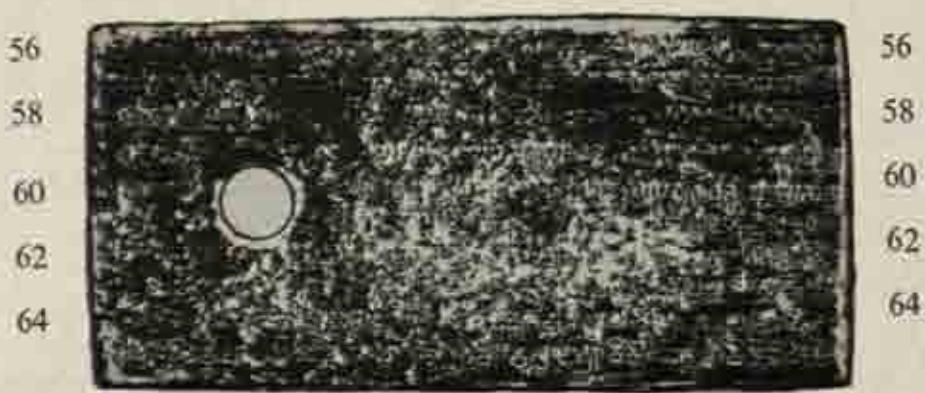
iii, b



iv, a



iv, b



- 32 yādity-ātunajas-sādaram **Bhīmō** bhīma-parākramas-samahūnag-dhātṛīm samā dvāda-  
 33 śa || [12 \*] Tasy= **Āmmarāja** iti sūnur=sth-āpi garbhō yah kapṭhikā-rachita-kapṭha-yuj=ā  
 34 ita-vṛitya(ttyā) || \*] baddhvā samasta-janap-ārtthika-rājya-paṭṭam bhūdōva-dēva-hitam-  
 āva tālāna śasvat || [13 \*]  
 35 [Ā]dhōraṇādika-virōdhi-[ga]-āvasādāt(dān)=madhyē-ṛaṇa(m) Tribhuvanāhikusa-nāma  
 yaaya | [ā]—  
 36 tāsu chiram-āpa gaja-[pṛi(pri)]yatva(m) sūhvasya śauryya-vijayāch-cha kṛit-ārttha-bhāvam ||  
 [14 \*] |—

*Third Plate, Second Side*

- 37 — ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ janmā yah [pam]cha-viśāti-samās-samarakhad=urvvāch || (rvvāch  
 ) dvau(dvai)mātura ∪ ∪  
 38 ∪ — ∪ [da]rāti-yargga-śrī-rāja-Bhīma-tanayō na[yan]-ābhārāmab || [15 \*] Śrī-Rājanī[rājya  
 ]ya) . . . || \*]  
 39 **Dānārma** (rṇa) **vas**-samadhārikṛita-Karuna(rṇa) dānaḥ | kēhōgās-mauli-maṣi-ratijita-  
 pālu-pūṭhaḥ | vidyā-nidhūr-bhu-  
 40 dha-nidhīb pradha(tha)na-pradhānastri(s-ti)śras=samās-samahūnak-sakalān dharitṛīm ||  
 [16 \*] || Dānārma(rṇa)-  
 41 va-bhūmipatēr=anu daiva-kṛitāna sapta-vimāsty-abdān | lād-a-rājik-āyauḥ ba[huj]-  
 42 la-niā-ēv-Āndhra-bhūmīr=anudham || 17 || A\*] tr-āvasarō || Āryyādōvyās-tasya cha Dāna[na\*]-  
 rōndrasya **Śakti-**  
 43 **varmm-ōti** | śakti-traya-sāhyuktas-tanmayō<sup>1</sup> naya-vinaya-śauryya-sampannah || [18 \*]  
 Yasy=ānu-dhavalā-  
 44 bhāvāt-kṛttir-brahmāṇḍa-maṇcha(ṇḍa)pasya audh-ōva | tan-madhivē dīpa-yi(i)va yat-tējah-  
 prasarō vibhāsāt<sup>2</sup> śasvat | [19 \*]  
 45 [A]ri-karati-ghaṭi-kudibha-sthala-dalana-sthagita-manṅtik-āvalir-ājau | poṣhp-āvalir-iva  
 rājati khaḍga-la-

*Fourth Plate, First Side*

- 46 tīyā sphuṭan<sup>3</sup> vadyāyāḥ || [20 \*] Bālyō kṛttir-slābhi Chaulika-raṇō yōna vṛaṇ-ōdbhāsina  
 yōn-ātyuddha-  
 47 ta-Badyom-ūli(dh)pa-Mahārā]śdayō vidrutāḥ | yas-tikshuṇō-uramā parikshata-charō  
 hatvā rīpa-prē-  
 48 śitān<sup>3</sup> lōkō-darīyayal-ātma-sāram-asamāḥ śrī-Śaktivarmm-āhūpāḥ || [21 \*] Svātū  
 rūpāḥ parihṛitya dūitya-nikarō-

<sup>1</sup> One m is redundant.

<sup>2</sup> [Read sphuṭāturam for the sake of metre. — Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> The idea of this quarter of the stanza is not quite clear.



- 49 a-matey-ādy-alk-ātmatām prāpya prāge-jitavān-kil-eti hasatē Nīrāyaṇam chōtasā || (1)  
Iśas=smūyati Rāvapa-
- 50 pratidinhi=Chālukya-Nārāyaṇa-śāhā(sta-dvi)cha)ṭ-āpi yāna nidhanam śri-Chōḍa-  
Bhīm-ā-
- 51 dhipah || [22\*] Mādyad-dārūpa-vārap-śha-makarām vīr-śvali-nakrakam klāl-śmbu-  
vilōla-
- 52 m-aśva-laharī-mālā-sahasr-ākulam(lam) | nirmamthy-Otkalik-ādhināta(tha)-rathinā(śi)-  
vārddhin ava-bāhū-balāi ta-
- 53 tratyām śri(śri)yyam-ādadāti yudhi yab-Chālukya-Nārāyaṇah || [23\*] Śa Sarvaśōkā[śra]ya-  
śri-Vishguvarddhanamah-
- 54 rāja(jā)dhirāja-paramāvara-paramahatāraka-paramabrahmaṇya-paramanāh[śva\*]rah  
Varanāpdu-vishaya-ni-
- 55 vāsinō rāshtraku(kū)ta-pramukhān kuśhā(jum)binas-sarvān-samāha(hū)ya mantri-  
purōhita-sānāpati-yu-

*Fourth Plate, Second Side*

- 56 . . . . . [rikōddhyakshā] . . . . . py-a. yō variyāh  
[Bhāra]dvāj-śbdi-
- 57 r-ap[ś]ra . . . . . kala-śāstrō jātah ||  
[24\*] Āsi-
- 58 tatasya antas-Satyakā[ma-vā] . . . chāryy-ā[hvayah |] sa[tya] . . . . . karmma-  
niratō yō-
- 59 [r]tib[air-lāna]-chōditah || [25\*] . . . . . litas-nayavatān sārddham-  
śravapa-pratyā-
- 60 akava[ya]y-śhita . . . . . mahāyāj[ī]yah | [ | 26\*] Atha Veṇamāyā-  
nāmga-
- 61 [s-ta]ya sū . . . . . m-ādityō-jani dvija-kuś-
- 62 t[ta]ma[h ||] 27 || \* [Jāta] . . . . . ma . . . . . [ta]tva[ttva]ś-cha va . . .  
. . . . . Vyākara[va] . . . . . prakāhāna-vōrig-śhī-
- 63 . . . . . prakāhā[ta]-pā[pa]mala[h\*] [28\*] Yaś-śātrav-śōudha-bandhu-dīna-[vitatō]r-ppati-  
(tyā) hit-śrttha-prudō yas-sāhāyyā-
- 64 patī . . . . . nija-patī kēryasya kha[ga]sya cha [ | Bhāra]dvāja-munōr-munniś-tu[ta\*]matōh  
. . . . . ma mātri[ti]pā[ti] hi sva-
- 65 gōtra-parivartamāna-ma[māna] . . . . . yudhī śhira-dhī | [29\*] Tasmād-ābhyadhikō-  
bhavan-guṇa-viryya-vasa-[ka]

\* The rest of the text is lost.

No. 24—KALESVARAM INSCRIPTION OF DEVARAYA I, SAKA 1319

(I Plate)

N. VENKATARAMANAYYA, HYDERABAD

(Received on 8-1-1962)

The inscription, the impression of which was supplied to me by the Government Epigraphist for India, is inscribed on a pillar in the 16-pillared *manapa* of the Muktesvara temple at Kalesvaram in the Manthani Taluk, Karimnagar District, Andhra Pradesh. It consists of a little over five lines of writing in Telugu characters prevalent in the coastal districts of the Andhra country in the early part of the 15th century A.D. It appears to be slightly damaged on the right-hand corner at the top, and embodies a single Sanskrit verse in the *Sardulacirijita* metre. The first line begins with a cypher, which perhaps is the auspicious symbol for *vaidhan* or *Om*. It has few mistakes. Excepting the omission of a single letter 'da' after 'cha' in the chronogram 'nidhi-cha-n-eive' there is nothing else in it which calls for notice. From a grammatical point of view, the inscription may be considered imperfect as the verse lacks a finite verb, *ślokan* (l. 3), the only verb in it being infinitive. The finite verb has to be supplied to complete the sense of the sentence.<sup>1</sup> It records that king Devārāya, son of Harihara, while celebrating the festival of the conquest of the quarters (*dig-vijaya*) at Kalesvara on the bank of the Gautami (i.e. Godāvari) made the gift of the *tulāpūrūsha* on *Saunmyōśvara*, the first day of the year *Iśvara*, corresponding to the Śaka years *nidhi* (9), *chaudra* (1), and *Vīra* (13), that is the Śaka year 1319. The date is quite regular. It corresponds to Wednesday, 28th February 1397 A.D.

This inscription is of considerable historical importance, as it brings to light for the first time a hitherto unknown expedition of Devārāya, which appears to have sped victoriously through Telingāna to Kalesvaram on the banks of the Godāvari. King Devārāya, son of Harihara, mentioned in this inscription is obviously Devārāya I, son of Harihara II of Vijayanagara. At the time of the expedition recorded in it, Harihara II was still ruling the empire and Devārāya was governing the eastern province of the Udayagiri-rājya.<sup>2</sup> Kalesvaram where Devārāya celebrated the festival of his *dig-vijaya*, was situated at the time in the enmity that existed between them and the Rāyas of Vijayanagara, an account of the former's alliance with the Bahmani Sultān of Gulbarga, the hereditary foe of the Rāyas. Lakshmana Paṇḍita, the *Prāyāścārya* of Bukka II, son and heir-apparent of Harihara II, attributes, as a matter of fact, the cause of the hostility to the defiant attitude and the pride of the Āndhra ruler, on account of the accession of strength by his alliance with the Yavanas (Muhammadans).<sup>3</sup> This alliance was extremely distasteful to Harihara II, as it gave an advantage to the Bahmani Sultān in his wars with Vijayanagara. The Velamas on their part cherished their friendship with the Sultān. The poet Viśvāvara, who flourished in the court of Siṅga II of Bājukonda refers with pride in the introduction of his *Chamatkāra-chaṅgīri-kā*, to the amity that prevailed between his patron and the Pārasika-rajapati (the Bahmani Sultān).<sup>4</sup> Harihara II made persistent attempts to break this alliance.

<sup>1</sup> (There is nothing grammatically imperfect in the verse, the finite verb *abharat* is understood.—Ed.)

<sup>2</sup> See Sewall, *Itit. Ins.*, p. 205.

<sup>3</sup> *Vaidyārjuna-sūtraham*, Intro. V. 49. See Further Sources of Vijayanagar History, Vol. II, p. 63; Vol. III, p. 36.

*Atha vijayam-achhatya-vaśanta-3 Hara-shakti-vaśanta-udāra-śi-3 Agama-Andhrapala-śaya-mantharam*  
*Yasama-Saṅgha-tarungāśan-padam.*

<sup>4</sup> *Sim* (845 ?)-Śilā-śi-3 Pāra-śi-3 rajapati-śan-3 Śan-śan-śan-3 (pala-śi-3). Madras Government Oriental Manuscript Library, Triennial Catalogue, R. No. 2679, p. 114.



He sent no less than three expeditions including the one referred to in the present inscription against the Velamas to achieve this object. The expedition described in the present record is, as far as it is known, the second of the series. The first expedition was sent some time before Saka 1306, Raktākshī, 1384 A.D. from Vijayanagara under the command of Bukka II. It penetrated into the heart of Teliṅgāna, and reached Kottakoṇḍa, a place in the north-west of Warangal. Singa II *Sarvaṇṇa* and his cousin Vēdagiri I of Dēvarakoṇḍa with the help of the military force obtained from the Bahmani Sultān opposed the invasion. In an engagement which took place at Kottakoṇḍa between the Bahmani forces and the Vijayanagara army, the latter appears to have sustained defeat. Sāḷuva Rāmaya-dēva, son of Sāḷuva Kāyadēva Mahārāja, one of the officers in charge of the expedition, perished in the fight.<sup>1</sup> It was probably on this occasion that Vēdagiri I had, as stated in the *Veluḅḅicūrivamānāvali*, slain the enemies in the neighbourhood of Warangal.<sup>2</sup>

The defeat at Kottakoṇḍa appears to have been decisive, for, Harihara II did not renew for several years subsequent to the failure of the expedition, his attack on the Velamas of Teliṅgāna. A favourable opportunity, however, offered itself during the last years of his reign. The Bahmani kingdom was torn by internal dissensions. During the last year (1396-97 A.D.) of the reign of Muḥammad II, a rebellion broke out at Sāgar, and the rebels defeated the Sultān's army thrice; the fortress, however, fell at last into the hands of the Sultān not by force, but by treachery. Soon after this victory, the Sultān died of fever on 21st Rajab, A.H. 799 (20th April, A.D. 1397). He was succeeded by his two sons *Ḫiyāṣ-ud-dīn* and *Shams-ud-dīn*, who reigned for a few months each, one after the other and were dethroned as a result of palace revolutions.<sup>3</sup> It was the time when Harihara II could launch an attack on the Velamas, with every chance of success, as the latter would not be able to get much help from their ally, the Bahmani Sultān. To accomplish his object, he sent two expeditions, more or less simultaneously<sup>4</sup>—one from the south under his son Dēvarāya, the Governor of Udayagiri, and the other from the west under his heir apparent, Bukka II—against the Velama territories. Of the two expeditions, the former, whose triumphant culmination at Kāḷṣevaram on the banks of the Gōḍāvari is described in the record under consideration, is earlier in point of time. Nothing is known about the events that happened during the expedition except that it penetrated successfully through the Velama territories and reached the Gōḍāvari at Kāḷṣevaram. Dēvarāya must have started from Udayagiri, the headquarters of his viceroyalty in the Nellore district, and passed through the kingdom of the *Redjīs* of Koṇḍaviḷu, which lay between the Velama and Vijayanagara territories, before he reached the target of his attack. How Dēvarāya effected the passage of his troops through foreign territory, whether it was by force or by peaceful agreement, cannot be ascertained in the present state of knowledge.

More information is available about the other expedition which set out from Vijayanagara under the command of Imaḍi Bukka or Bukka II. Lakshmaṇa Paṇḍita, in the introduction to his *Vaidyaṛājavalabhāva* cited above, describes Bukka II's expedition at some length:

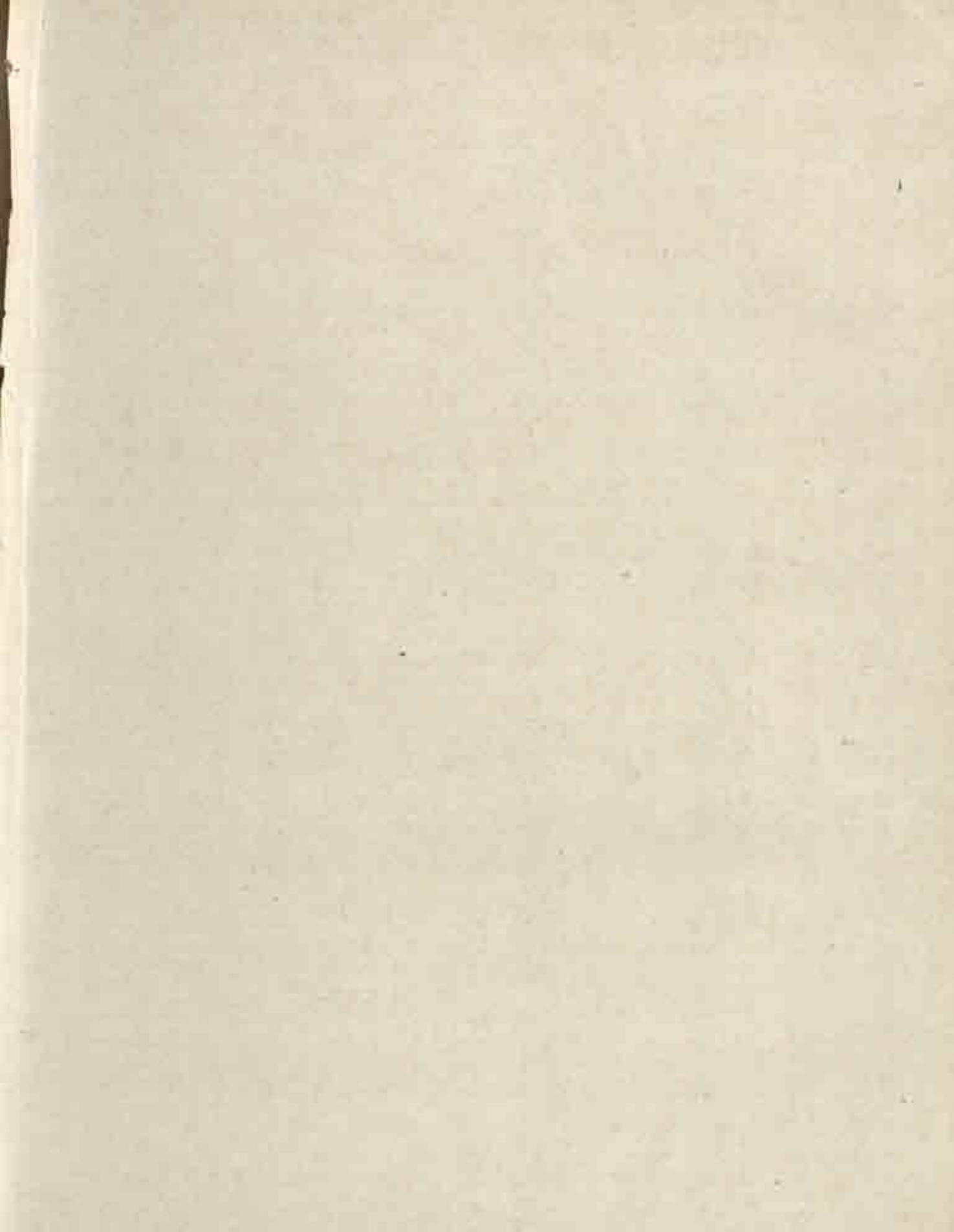
"The army with its flags hoisted, swords flourished, and the noises of drums and conches accompanied by a melody of neighlours, and trumpets quickly and completely surrounded the city of the Andhra King.

<sup>1</sup> *Ep. Ind.*, XII, Ch. 13.

<sup>2</sup> *Veluḅḅicūrivamānāvali*, verse 27.

<sup>3</sup> *Briggs: Prishtā*, Vol. II, pp. 350-62.

<sup>4</sup> See *loc. cit.* p. 201.





KALESVARAM INSCRIPTION OF DEVARAYA I. SAKA 1319



2

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Size : One-half

"This roused the manliness of the Turushkas, who swiftly mounted their horses and began a deadly fight with their bows, and shook the van of the enemy's forces.

"Then the battle grew by steps in intensity and swords and arrows were freely employed,

"When the army of the Rākshasas in human form (Turushkas) has been shattered by the warriors of king Bukka, even the Andhra ruler gladly takes upon his head the lotus-like feet (of Bukka), the treasure that saves him in distress.

"Thus did he (Bukka) conquer all the kings of the four quarters beginning with the Andhra ruler. . . ."

Lakshmana Paṇḍita does not mention the name of the city of the Andhra king which Bukka II surrounded with his army, and where he fought a battle with the Turushkas (Mahammadans) and defeated them in the fight; but his inscription at Pānagallu (Pangal in the Mahboobnagar district) makes it clear that it was at this fort belonging to the Velama king, that he defeated the Turushkas: for, it is stated that the city of Lord Śambhu, Pānugalla, defended by many Turushka warriors and stone ramparts was conquered by him (Harihara's son, Bukka) on Sunday in the bright half of the month of Bhādrapada in the year Īvara (which was) the Śaka year represented by treasures (9), moon (1), fires (3), and moon (1) (Śaka 1319), corresponding to 3rd September, A.D. 1397.<sup>2</sup>

It is evident from what is stated above that the Vijayanagara expedition against the Velama kingdom from the west was as successful as that launched under the command of Dēvarāya from the south.

The *Tuljapurusha-mahā-dāna* performed by Dēvarāya at Kālśivaram on the occasion of the festival celebrating his conquest of quarters (*diś-vijay-utsava*) is one of the sixteen major gifts (*mahā-dānas*) described in the Purāṇas and by Hāmādri in his *Dānakhaṇḍa*.<sup>3</sup>

I acknowledge with pleasure the help given to me by Sri E. V. Veeraraghavacharya, M.A., and Sri Parabrahma Sastri, Assistant Epigraphist, Department of Archaeology, Andhra Pradesh, in the preparation of the article.

#### TEXT<sup>4</sup>

1. Śāk-ābdē<sup>5</sup> nidhi-chaṁ[dra\*]-viśva-gaṇitē Śrī-Gaṇ[taṁ].

2. rōdhasi Śrīmān-Īvara-vateer-ādīma-di[nē]

<sup>1</sup> *Further Sources*, Vol. III, pp. 37-39.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 38-39, Vol. III, p. 33. *Śāk-ābdēku vadhāntya-vakya-mātrāhāḥ samasirīdhava-īvara-vaśāḥ satai Nabhasya-nāmani tāhā gaṇitē valābhāḥ dīnē | Śambhūr-Bādhakara-vāra-bhāḥī vijitā iri-Pānagallu parī ita-āntya-Turushka-Tira-Vijaya-grāhantull-āṅgān . . .* The week day according to L.D. Swamīkaṁṇa Pillai's Epitome was not Sunday but Monday. [This inscription has been recently copied by us. The name of the month quoted is *Sakarya*, i.e. Prahya and not *Sabbarya*. The author has missed the *tīthi*, having misunderstood the expression *Śambhūr* which goes with the preceding word *dīnē* and yields the numeral 31, i.e., the 11th *tīthi*. The details of the date regularly correspond to the 30th December, 1397 A.D.; cf. *South Indian Research*, Vol. II, No. 8, pp. 173 ff. and *History of the Reddi Kingdom*, p. 164, Ln. 24. This makes it clear that with a difference of 10 months between the two dates, the Kālśivaram and the Pānagallu expeditions were by no means simultaneous.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> For a full description of the *Tuljapurusha-dāna*, see P. V. Kane, *The History of the Dharmashāstra*, Vol. II, Part II, Ch. XXIV, p. 369.

<sup>4</sup> From the ink-impression sent by the Government Epigraphist for India. The inscription is noticed in *A. E. Ep.*, 1938-39, App. B, No. 90.

<sup>5</sup> This word is preceded by a *cypher* probably standing for the expression *Śrī* or *Siddhanta*.

- 3 Saunyasya vāśā kriti | kurvan dīg-vijay-ō-
  - 4 tsavati Harihara-śri-Dēvatīyō oṣipah śri-[Kā-]
  - 5 |śēvara-dhānmi dhānya-mahimā dānam tulāpū-
  - 6 ruham(śham)|
-



## No. 25—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM SRIRANGAM

(1 Plate)

K. G. KRISHNAN, OOTAAMUND

(Received on 12. 6. 1962)

The two inscriptions published below are marked *A* and *B* for convenience of reference. Both come from Srirangam, Tiruchirappalli District, Madras. Inscription *A*<sup>1</sup> which is in Kannada language and Kannada characters of about the 12th century is engraved on the right side of the entrance into the *Nāṭṭī/Ṣaṅṅāḷ* of the Raṅganāthesvāmī temple at the place. It is damaged and worn out in places. Inscription *B*<sup>2</sup> engraved on the wall (outside) of the store-room (*koṭṭārum*) facing the Gaṇḍamaśālas in the same temple is a fragmentary record in Tamil language and Tamil and Grantha characters of about the 12th century.

Inscription *A* dated in the 29th year (A.D. 1098-99) of the reign of Kulōttuṅga Chōḷa I records a provision made for burning two lamps in the temple of the god Śrī-Raṅga deva by the *Kannada-Saṁhivigrahi* and *Danḍanāyaka* of Mahārājādhirāja-Paramōśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka Satyāśraya-kula-tilaka [Tribhuvanamalla]. It records the names of seven shepherds (*kōys*) of which the following are clearly decipherable—Alagiyamaṅgala-kōy, Karuṅṅakara-kōy, Nurasings-kōy, Tirumālirāṅjēlai-kōy, and Alasinga-kōy. These shepherds undertook to supply the required quantity of ghee for burning two lamps in the temple. The inscription also refers to the application of lime-mortar to the shrine of Sēnāpati (Viśvakaśma?) caused to be done probably by the same donor. Due to its damaged condition, the other details in the record are lost. Considering the royal titles prefixed to the name and the date of the epigraph there is no doubt that Tribhuvanamalla is identical with Vikramāditya VI, the Western Chālukya king.

Inscription *B* consists of three unconnected lines. The first line contains the passage which mentions that the 15th year, obviously of some important king or chief, fell in the cyclic year Khara. The second line mentions Viśṅṅuvarḍhana Pratāpachakravartti Pōśala and the third line mentions a *pradhāna* whose name is not clear, and the *śāśikkōy*. It may be noted that the regnal year 15 and the cyclic year Khara do not coincide in the reign of any Hoysala king. That the record belongs to about the end of the 11th century or the beginning of the 12th century is borne out by its palaeography, the Tamil letters *r* in *Vēśaiḷkōy* and *k* in *śāśai-Pōśe* in line 2 being typical only of the alphabet as obtained during the above mentioned period.<sup>3</sup> If the year 15 equated with Khara is taken to belong to the reign of Viśṅṅuvarḍhana, the first Hoysala king of that name, it will point to the year 1111-12 A.D. which corresponded with Khara. It will follow then that Viśṅṅuvarḍhana should have commenced to reckon his reign sometime from 1096 A.D. This, if true, pushes his date of accession back by four years from A.D. 1100, which was hitherto held<sup>4</sup> as the initial year of the king's reign.

<sup>1</sup> *J. R. Ep.*, 1941-42, No. 294.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1954-55, No. 449.

<sup>3</sup> It may, however, be mentioned here that the 16th regnal year of Chōḷa Rājaraja III (*c.* 1216-1246 A.D.) fell in the cyclic year Khara, and one may be tempted to attribute the record to this king's time. But in the light of the definite palaeographic evidence, this attribution is ruled out.

<sup>4</sup> *The Chōḷas*, second edition, p. 320 and n. 113.

Though both these records may appear to be simple donative ones, if they are examined carefully against the background of the political conditions of the Tamil country of the period they seem to be invested with a special political significance. It will be presently shown how the Chālukya and the Hoysala happened to be interested in the affairs of the Tamil country.

Both the dates of Inscriptions *A* and *B*, i.e. A.D. 1098-99 and A.D. 1111-12 point to the reign of Kulōttuṅga I when all was not well on the northern and western fronts of the Chōla dominions. Vikramāditya VI, the Western Chālukya king and his quondam subordinate the Hoysala Vishyuvardhana had initiated aggressive campaigns on the frontiers of the Chōla territory. The trend of the campaigns has been discussed in this journal in detail.<sup>1</sup> It may be observed here that if the transactions recorded in the present epigraphs were made in the presence of the Chālukya and the Hoysala dignitaries mentioned in them, the campaigns with which their presence at Śrīraṅgam could not be entirely unrelated, will have to be placed in 1099 A.D. as indicated by the earlier of the two inscriptions edited here.<sup>2</sup>

It may not be out of place to restate here some of the facts pertaining to the conquest of the territories in the western frontiers of the Chōla territory. Several inscriptions of the Hoysala king describe graphically how his general Gaṅgavādi took the territory comprising Talakōḍu, Kōḷāla (Kolar) and the whole of Gaṅgavādi Ninety-six thousand as far as Kongu.<sup>3</sup> The success was so complete that Vishyuvardhana assumed the title *Talukōḍu-kōḍu* and also issued coins bearing the legend *Śrī-Talukōḍu-gaṅḍa*.<sup>4</sup> Yunnarāja, another Hoysala general is stated to have swept across the country as far south as the Nīlgris and Kīraṅūr in Palani Taluk of the Madurai District. The authenticity of these campaigns is attested to by the evidence of two inscriptions. One of them<sup>5</sup> in Tamil characters of the 14th century from Āḍuteral in the Perambalur Taluk, Tiruchirappalli District, dated in the 4th year of the reign of Parākrāmapāṇḍya, quotes an old charter issued in the 4th year (1121-22 A.D.) of the reign of Vikrama-chōla to certain *paḷḷi* residents having lease-rights in some villages in Muḍikōḍaśōḷavanāḍu and Magedai-maṅḍalam according to an oral order of Perumāḷ Kulōttuṅgāśōḷa. The charter relates to the privileges granted to the *paḷḷi* in recognition of their services in restoring the images of the deities and in providing for their worship. It is stated that the images were carried away by looters to Dōttisamuddiram (i.e. Dōttasamudra, the capital of the Hoysala) in the wake of the disturbances caused by the *Periya-Vaḍaḅan* (*Periya-Vaḍaḅan-kalaham*) and that the said *paḷḷi* residents rescued the images after paying a ransom, apparently to the looters. It is also stated that the privileges such as the herding of *Pappūḷḷi* *Tambirāḷ* before announcing the duty on the occasions of the procession and the honour of donning of silk-cloth on their head (*paḷḷi-parivaḷḷam*) were granted according to the oral order of Perumāḷ Kulōttuṅgāśōḷa. Since this oral order of Kulōttuṅga is recorded in the 4th year of the reign of Vikramaśōḷa, it is clear that this Kulōttuṅga must be identified with Kulōttuṅga I,<sup>6</sup> the father and the predecessor of Vikrama-chōla. After quoting the inscription of Vikramaśōḷa, this inscription of Parākrāmapāṇḍya records the renewal of the charter in respect of the descendants of the *paḷḷi* of the time of Vikramaśōḷa. Thus, although the reign periods of

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 191 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* If this date is accepted, the campaigns cannot be directly related to the dispute between Parāntaka and Vikrama for the Chōla throne, for Parāntaka invaded their apparent only in 1111-12 A.D. Should it yet be related to the campaigns, it may be construed as the Chālukya was campaigning in the Chōla country because of the traditional enmity between the Chālukya and the Chōlas and that the Hoysala invaded later, i.e. sometime after 1107 A.D. on behalf of Vikrama-chōla. The relationship between Vikrama-chōla and Hoysala Vishyuvardhana is discussed on the basis of a passage in the *Kulōttuṅgāśōḷa*. See above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 223-24.

<sup>3</sup> *Ep. Cora.*, Vol. IV, Ch. 83; VI, Cm. 169.

<sup>4</sup> *Coins of Southern India*, p. 182 D, plate No. 90.

<sup>5</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1913, No. 30; Part II, paragraphs 46-47.

<sup>6</sup> *Contra, Ibid.*, where Kulōttuṅga has been wrongly identified with Kulōttuṅga II.



Vikramāditya and Parākrāmapādya are separated by an interval of about two centuries,<sup>1</sup> the record affords a clear proof of the troublous conditions that prevailed in the area during the period. The other inscription<sup>2</sup> from Karūr in Tiruchirappalli District, dated in the 3rd year of the reign of Vikrama-chōja, refers to the restoration of an image of Natarāja (Kāttanār) lost in the midst of a riot by paying a ransom. Though this inscription does not indicate the cause of the riot, it is obvious that it refers to a raid connected with the one recorded in the Ādūturai epigraph, due to the fact that the events which are recorded in both the inscriptions, and which formed part of the incursions by the Hoysālas might have happened in or before the 3rd year of the reign of Vikrama-chōja. The names *Periya-Vaḍugay* and *Dōrasamudram* prove beyond doubt that both the Western Chālukya and his quondam subordinate the Hoysāla Vishnuvardhana were involved in these raids. They must have happened before the close of the reign of Kulōttunga I, as is evident from the Ādūturai inscription.<sup>3</sup> Therefore *Periya-Vaḍugay*, the Great Northerner may be safely identified with Vikramāditya VI with whose connivance the Hoysāla should have started his military adventures in the western frontiers of the Chōja territories.

The fact of the Hoysāla's incursions into the Tamil country, having now been conclusively proved to have occurred before the close of the reign of Kulōttunga I, an attempt may be made to find out the date of his invasion. The claim made in some inscriptions<sup>4</sup> of Vishnuvardhana about the conquest of Koṅga, as far south as the Ānamalai Hills, indicates the date of these incursions to be circa 1117 A.D. The present inscriptions from Śrīrāngam would point to a still earlier date (1100-1111 A.D.) when the Western Chālukya and the Hoysāla forces might have begun to penetrate towards the south as far as Śrīrāngam. The Hoysāla's victorious march upto Rāmēśvaram<sup>5</sup> in the east rings now with a high degree of probability, though it remains to be confirmed by future discoveries of epigraphs in the area between Śrīrāngam and Rāmēśvaram on the east coast of the Tamil country. The probability that these campaigns had started only during the years after 1107 A.D. is strengthened by a Kannada inscription<sup>6</sup> from Hirehadugalli in Bellary District. This record lists the endowments made for a temple in Śaka 978 (A.D. 1057) followed by several such endowments created in the Chālukya-Vikrama year 31 (A.D. 1107) and after, by many feudatories, prominent among whom was Vira-Vishṇu Tribhuvana-Poysaḍādeva, who is no doubt identical with Hoysāla Vishnuvardhana. The record at this stage lists all the known conquests of this king upto Koṅga in the south. Hence, it may be surmised that the presence of the *(mahā)pradhāna* of the Hoysāla in Śrīrāngam in 1111-12 A.D. cannot be entirely unrelated to the campaigns of his master and that the Hoysāla invasion occurred sometime between 1107 and 1112 A.D.

Another piece of information which is likely to be of some interest in this connection may be recorded here. A Tamil inscription<sup>7</sup> from Brahmādēsam in Villuppuram Taluk of South Arcot District records the gift of 100 *kāṣu* for a *sandhi* lamp to be burnt in the temple of Brahmēśvaram by Vāchhalādēva, the daughter of Chājukko Trilohvanamallādēva of Raṭṭa-rājya. The inscription

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Durrant in his book *The Hoysālas* (p. 59, note) assigns the events narrated in this record to the period from 1218 to 1236 A.D. on the basis of this long interval. The full details of this record given here by us prove conclusively that this inscription does refer to the Hoysāla incursions into the Tamil country during the reign of Vishnuvardhana. Durrant's identification of the *Periya-Vaḍugay* with Kēkatiya Ganapatiḍva is untenable. Further the relationship between the Hoysāla and the Kēkatiya was never so close during the thirteenth century as suggested by him.

<sup>2</sup> *SIU*, Vol. IV, No. 357.

<sup>3</sup> It may be noted here that the two inscriptions which suffered from the raids were Śiva temples.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IV, Ch. 82, VI, Col. 100.

<sup>5</sup> *A. N. Ep.*, 1913, part II, para. 47.

<sup>6</sup> *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 118.

<sup>7</sup> *A. N. Ep.*, 1918, No. 177.



is dated in the 14th year of the reign of Tribhuvanachakravartiga Kulottungaachōja. The Chālukki Tribhuvanamalla is no doubt identical with Vikramāditya VI, the Western Chālukya king and Queenfore. Kulottunga in whose reign the record is dated may be identified with Kulottunga I. The date of the record would then be 1083-84 A.D. Palaeography also supports this date for the record. It may be noted here that the date of this inscription is earlier by more than a decade to that of the Chōja inscription from Śrīraṅgam. Thus the totality of the evidence relating to the movements of the Chālukyas and the Hoysalas in this region and during this period seems to make the presence of Vāchhalādēvi<sup>1</sup> pregnant with some political significance.

Inscription B of Vishnugvardhana at Śrīraṅgam brings to our mind the traditional story of the conversion of the Hoysala king Vishnugvardhana by the great Vaiṣṇava teacher Rāmānjanīachārya and of the latter's exile in Mālkōte. It may be observed, however, that this inscription, fragmentary as it is, does not throw any light on this traditional account.<sup>2</sup>

## TEXT

A

- 1 ..... bhā<sup>4</sup> mahārājā[īhī]rāja-paramōvara-parama-bhat[ī]rakānī Satyōśraya-kū[a-  
tī]kām
- 2 ..... bhuvanamalla[bhat[ī]rara] Ka[ana]de-sandhivigra[bi] dandanāyakaā
- 3 ..... [Kulōttunga][mahā]dēvargge yāndu ippa[ttō]rībhatt āgala
- 4 ..... kabōtrada Śrīraṅga[dēvara] vejak-eradaikkānī kōṭṭa
- 5 ..... [ya]-kōn [ ] \* [A]a]giyamanavā[a]-kōn | Tira-
- 6 ..... a| Karuṅgata-kōn | Śrī [A]a]iṅga-kōn | \* Tirumān[ī]lu<sup>4</sup>
- 7 ..... aht-eiṅṭu mānasada [va]sadat-oppisida[r | ] Avaru diva[sam]
- 8 ..... ppavañ dēvara vejakūṅge taṅṅe-ṅrevar ā-chaṅṅit-ārkkā-āhāyi-āgi
- 9 ..... idharṁmañ Śrīraṅgadēvara Śrīvaishṇavata raksha ||
- 10 ..... vaśnāpatiya kōgileyañ sunṅada sōte
- 11 ..... da[r] ||

B<sup>3</sup>

- 1 ..... <sup>4</sup>dinañ]āvad-āga Khara-sarivatsarat[tu]....
- 2 ..... shūnvarddhana-pratāpach-chakravattī Pōsala....
- 3 ....[hā]pradhānō[8ā]lamanye vājakōṅṅar<sup>4</sup> Mūka-Tūta<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This Vā(Bā)chhalādēvi is not known to us from any other source.

<sup>2</sup> The indirect bearing that some inscriptions copied in former Mysore State have on this question, is discussed in the Mysore Archaeological Reports. See *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1911-12, pp. 40-41.

<sup>3</sup> From impressions.

<sup>4</sup> The beginnings of all the lines are lost. Since there is unengraved space after the ends of each line it appears that the original stone was broken and the fragments were built into the wall.

<sup>5</sup> This is apparently the same as Alagiyāṅga-kōn in Tamil.

<sup>6</sup> This should be Tirumān[ī]lū which is the name of Alagarkōṅṅi near Madurai.

<sup>7</sup> The beginning or end of each of these three lines is lost.

<sup>8</sup> The letter ṅa is introduced in the narrow space between *ā* and *r*.

<sup>9</sup> There is a sign for the medial *a* after this letter.

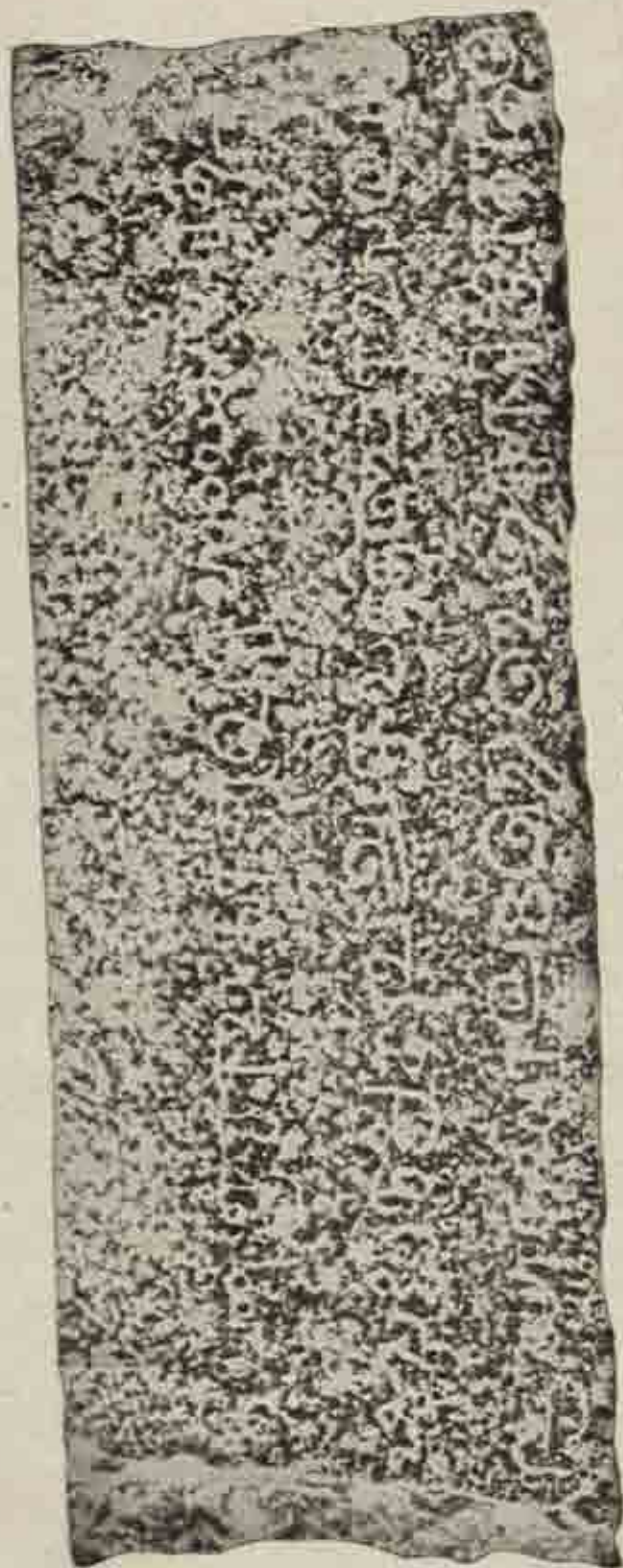
TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM SRIRANGAM

A



Scale : One-sixth

B



Scale: One-fourth

2

2



## No. 26—A BRAHMI INSCRIPTION FROM GANGAPERURU

(1 Plate)

P. R. SRINIVASAN, ODTUAMUND

(Received on 19. 3. 1962)

The inscription edited here is engraved on a broken part of an octagonal stone pillar. It was found in the ancient habitation site in the village of Gaṅgaperuru in the Siddhavattam Taluk of the Cuddalore District in 1939.<sup>1</sup> Subsequently it was removed to the local Śiva temple for safety. There are only three lines of writing on it covering an area of 21.5 cm in height and 33.5 cm in breadth.

The inscription is written in the beautiful Brāhmī **alphabet** which was in vogue in those parts during the 3rd or 4th century A.D. Individual letters, excluding the flourishes, are well-formed and measure each about 2.2 cm in height and 2.6 cm in breadth. The **language** is Prakrit. Of the initial vowels only *a* occurs in this epigraph. There is no mention of any king in it, nor is any date given.

The contents of the epigraph disclose that the pillar on which it is engraved was the *śhāyā-khaṁbha* (*śhāyā-stambha*) or a memorial pillar of Gona<sup>2</sup> who is stated to have died during a cattle raid by Śivalāsa. He is called the *putra* (son) of an *āchārya* whose name is unfortunately lost. The filial relationship expressed between the *āchārya* and Gona cannot obviously be taken literally. All that is meant here by mentioning the latter as the son of the former, is that Gona was a devout pupil of the *āchārya*. It is possible that he received from the latter the *dīkṣā* (initiation) so as to enable him to succeed to the spiritual preceptorship. Gona is given the epithet *śudasa* which may be taken to mean 'handsome' (=Sanskrit *śudarsana*) although to be the equivalent of the Sanskrit word its spelling should be *śudassana*.

The reason for the erection of this pillar in memory of Gona is given in lines 2-3. It is stated there that he died (*śaga-ga[ta]*=Sanskrit *śaraga-gata*), literally meaning one who has gone to the heavens) in a fight (*śaga[me]*=Sanskrit *śaṅgāme*) in a cattle-raid (*ga-guhā*=Sanskrit *ga-guhāya*). It is this passage which makes the epigraph a very interesting one. A number of inscriptions recording the erection of memorial pillars called in them variously<sup>3</sup> as *śhāsa-thambha*, *śhāyā-khaṁbha*, *śhāyā-thambha*, *śhāyā-thubha*, *śhāyā-khaṁbha*, *śhāyā-khaṁbha* and *śhāyā-khabha* have in recent times been discovered during the intensive excavations conducted at the famous ancient Buddhist site of Nāgārjunikonda in Andhra Pradesh. Several of them have been edited in this journal, above Vol. XXXV, pp. 10-17. One of them<sup>4</sup> was in memory of a prince of the Ikāvāku family, who was in the service of king Kuvula Chāntamūla. But here no reason is stated for the erection of the pillar in memory of the prince although it is presumable that he died fighting for his lord and hence the king, out of gratitude, arranged for the setting up of the pillar. Another<sup>5</sup> was set up for the memory of a religious personage who seems to have been, according to the inscription, a highly respected person. Even here, no reason is given for the erection of the

<sup>1</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1939-40, No. B 17.

<sup>2</sup> Macron over *s* and *z* is not used in this article.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 10, 13, 14, 15, 16.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

pillar, although it is easy to infer from the context, that the devout followers of the person caused the pillar to be set up on the spot where the mortal remains of the respected leader or guru (preceptor) were buried. A third one<sup>1</sup> was raised in memory of a commander of the forces of a king and, though, here too, no reason is mentioned from the statement 'one who seizes the elephants [of the assembly]', it is not difficult to infer that he died in one of the battles waged by his lord, which made his lord or his descendants commemorate the event. There are others<sup>2</sup> which are stated to have been raised each in the memory of a group of soldiers<sup>3</sup>, obviously for their bravery in the battles in which they lost their lives. There is also one<sup>4</sup> which was put up in memory of a foreman of artisans who 'seems to have been an *āśvatarī* in the service of the *Īkshvaku* kings'. It is understandable that this artisan-foreman was honoured thus for his long, loyal and distinguished government service. Neither any of the above mentioned instances nor any other similar memorial record of the period, known to us, relates to the erection of a pillar in memory of a person who died in a cattle-raid. The second under study is, therefore, the **earliest** on the subject. Its importance is greater on account of another fact too. Several inscribed hermitages of later periods belonging to the western Deccan and to the western and northern Tamiḥnāḍ relate to the setting-up of the stones in memory of persons who died in cattle-raids.<sup>5</sup> But very few of them<sup>6</sup> pertain to a man of religious disposition. Gona of our record, as has been said above, being stated to be a disciple of an *śāharya* may be taken to have belonged to a religious order, and it is of interest to note that in those times, persons of this category were also taking part in such activities which appear to be purely secular in character, probably prompted by karmasaitanic considerations for which they were honoured by the grateful people of the locality by commemorating their glorious deeds by means of the erection of such *śāhāyā-simhās*. It may be mentioned in this connection that the rescuing of cows involved in a *go-grāhṇa* has been deemed to be a righteous activity<sup>7</sup> and from time immemorial, cattle-raiding seems to have been a preliminary to a regular battle for settling disputes between two villages or two kingdoms or two powers, the famous examples being the *go-grāhṇas* of the *Māhābhārata*.<sup>8</sup>

TEXT<sup>9</sup>

- 1 [C]ura-śaharīyanāni pūṭāni
- 2 andāni Gmāni Sivādāni go-grāhṇe
- 3 agāni sarga-go[ra]ni śāhāyā-kha[ḥ]ni [C<sup>10</sup>]

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., pp. 43-44.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. 44-46.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 46.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXXII, pp. 110 ff. For references to other similar hermitages see foot notes in *ibid.*, p. 110.

<sup>5</sup> See for instance, *Epi. Carn.*, Vol. V, No. 123.

<sup>6</sup> *Pratiharāyā* (Tamil edition, Calcutta, 1939), p. 98, verse 226; p. 293, verse 451; p. 256, verse 411.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 121, verse 272-3.

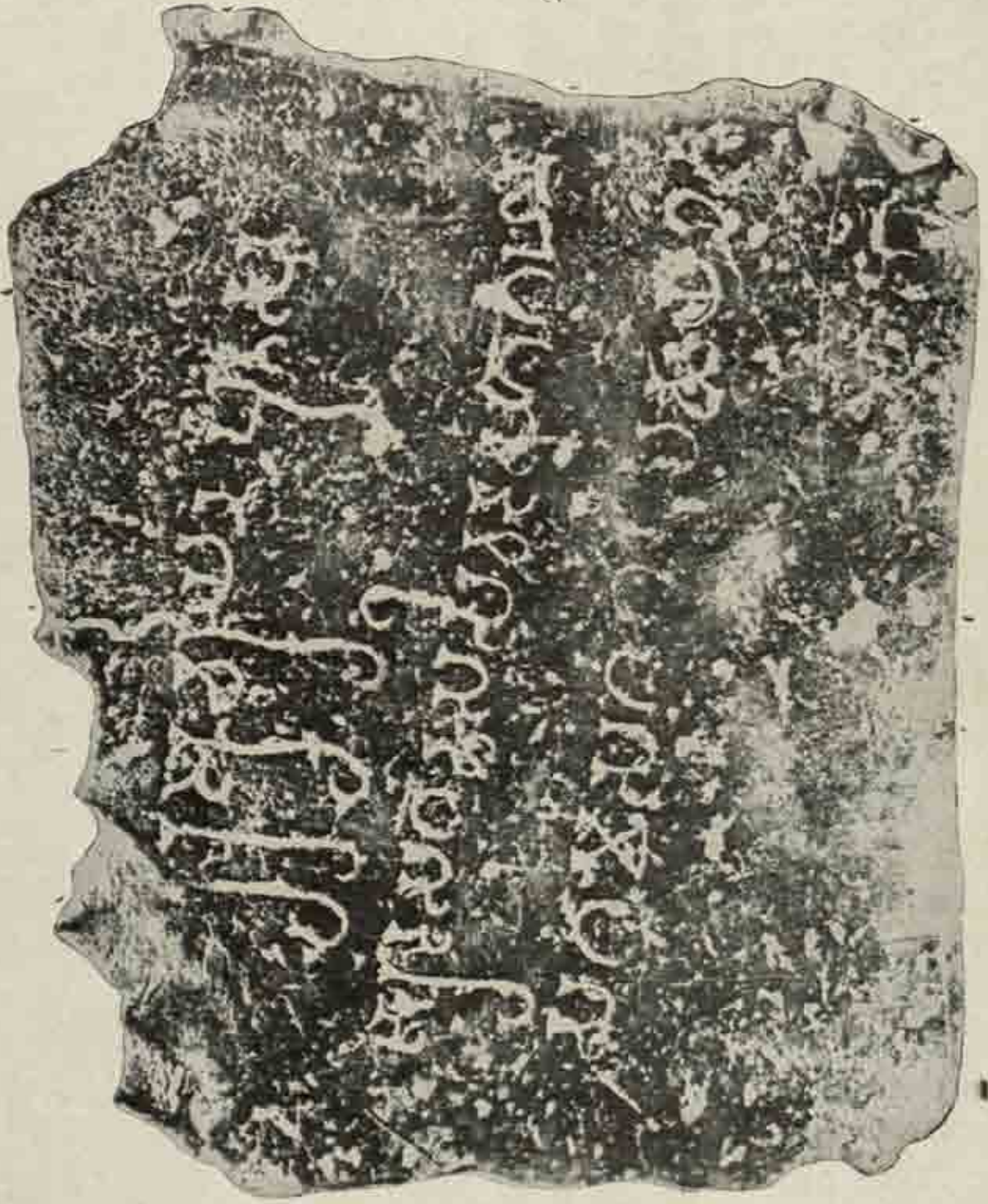
*Andāni sarga-grāhṇāni śāhāyā-kha[ḥ]ni pūṭāni*

*Go-grāhṇāni pūṭāni Gmāni Sivādāni go-grāhṇāni pūṭāni*

<sup>8</sup> See incident in Dr. B. Ch. Chakrab., Joint Director General of Archaeology in India, for this reference. Even to-day there is in Tamilnad the practice of imposing of the cattle of a village by the people of a neighbouring village so as to facilitate the settling of long-standing disputes between the two villages. It is of interest to note here the fact relating to the prevalence of the Tamil proverb, *vin. arōḍāḥ-ēṇpūḍ mīḍa pūḍ* on the same subject.

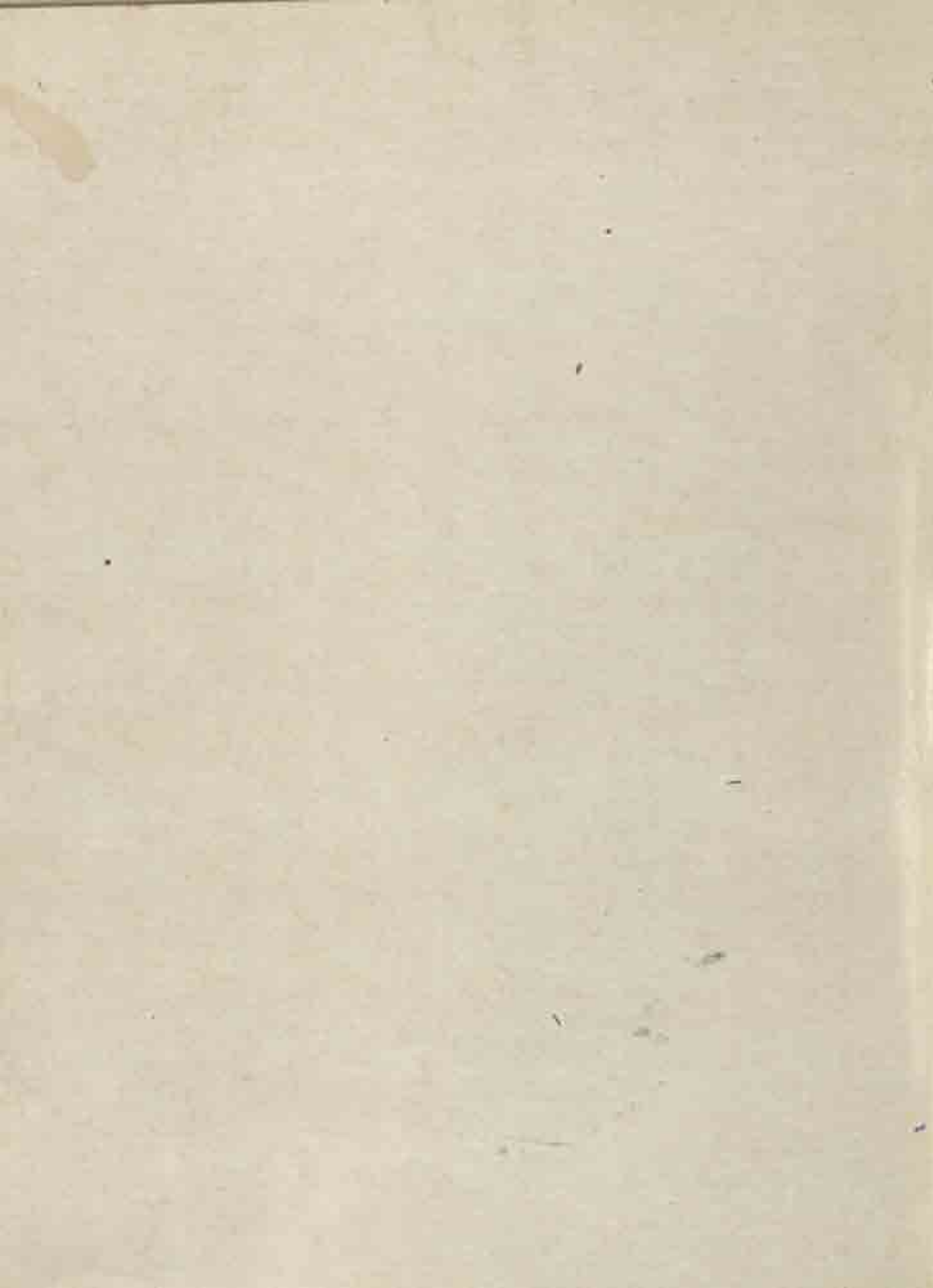
<sup>9</sup> From impressions.

A BRAHMI INSCRIPTION FROM GANGAPERURU



Scale : One-half





## No. 27—HANUMAKONDA NIROSHTHYA KAVYA INSCRIPTION

(I Plate)

P. R. SRINIVASAN AND V. S. SUBBAMANYAM, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 24.3.1962)

The inscription<sup>1</sup> edited below is incised on a rock at the top of the hillock called Siddhāvaruni-guṭṭa standing about a mile and a half to the south of Hanumakonda near Warangal in the district of the same name in Andhra Pradesh. The hillock is a precipitous one and the inscription is engraved on the vertical wall-like part of the rock at its top. On the rock-wall opposite the inscribed one is a sculpture of a standing Jaina Tirthakara carved in bas-relief. In between these two rock-walls is a slightly damaged four pillared *mandapa*. Owing to the steep climb of the rock, the existence of the inscription is not easily known and it is with considerable difficulty that it could be copied. It is edited here with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The manner in which the inscription is engraved is interesting. The engraver had prepared the surface of the rock into a large rectangular panel of about 20 feet by 3½ feet size, of which only one-third, i.e. about 6'8" by 3'6" portion has been used for engraving the inscription. In view of the fact that the inscription is incomplete, it is obvious that originally the engraver wanted to utilise the remaining two thirds portion also for inscribing the rest of the composition which may have been long enough to have occupied this space. Unfortunately, for reasons not known, the engraver could not accomplish his work. Despite the fact that the inscription is incomplete, it is of interest from literary and palaeographical points of view. A text<sup>2</sup> of the inscription has been published by M. Ramakrishna Kavi in the Telugu periodical *Badrati*, Vol. I, No. 9, pp. 130-32. There he has stated that it was originally noticed by Col. Colin Mackenzie. The published text is, however, full of errors not only in the reading of the last seven lines which, the author says, he could not check up with the impressions owing to their inaccessibility, but in the reading of the first nineteen lines also. Consequently he could neither make the real purport of the epigraph clear nor bring out its significance satisfactorily.

The inscription consists of twenty-six lines of writing. The characters are Telugu and on palaeographical grounds, the inscription may be assigned to about the 13th century A.D. The letters are neatly engraved and they have been preserved well, owing mainly to the fact that the inscription is found engraved at an inaccessible place. The language is Sanskrit throughout. There are altogether thirty-seven and a quarter verses, all in the simple *Anuṣṭubh* metre.

It is a specimen of *prasthā* type of inscriptions, the extant portion stopping with the descriptions of the Andhradēśa in general and of Śākālanagara (the then capital of Andhradēśa) in particular. Unfortunately, due to the incomplete nature of the epigraph, it does not contain any historical information; nor does it contain any date. But we may not be far from truth if we attribute it to the second half of the famous Kākātīya period (1000-1325 A.D.) of the Andhra history for the following reasons, as well as on grounds of palaeography. The *śloka* style of the record indicates the fact that the composition is of a poet steeped in the high poetic traditions for

<sup>1</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1967-68, No. B 36.

<sup>2</sup> This has been reproduced in *Śat Siddhānta-śāstram*, edited by K. Lakshminjanam, as Appendix I.

which the period is well known, as exemplified by such works as the *Pratāparudriya* of Vidyānātha. The elaborate description of Elakāśīnagari, the chief city of the country, which may have formed the prelude to the subsequent description of the king and his kingdom over which he ruled, also shows that the inscription was composed during this period when the power of the Kākatiyas had reached its zenith.

The object of the inscription is not known owing to the fact that the full text of the composition has not come down to us. But the extant portion, as has already been stated above, describes the Andhra-dēśa in general and the Elakāśīnagari in particular. The most interesting feature of this inscription is that the poet has successfully attempted, here in this *kāvya*-like composition, to show his capacity to compose a work not using the *akṣaras* of the lakṣa class. Compositions of this kind are called *śirohāṭhaya*, and there are examples in Sanskrit literature illustrating this class of works. For instance the entire chapter VII of the famous *Dakṣamāra-charita* of the great poet Daṇḍin, is composed in this style; and the work called the *Nirūhāṭhaya-Rāmāyaṇa*<sup>1</sup> attributable to about the same period as that of the inscription under study, is another instance of this kind of *kāvya*. The uniqueness of this inscription lies in the fact, that among the numerous Sanskrit *kāvya*s, known from inscriptions, this is the only example of this class of compositions. Besides, this piece of composition contains quite a few *ślokas* noted for their *śabdā-śāh-śloka* and *śabd-śloka*. Especially noteworthy is the verse 28 (in lines 19-20) which is an excellent example of *śabd-śloka*.

It is also unfortunate that the inscription does not contain any information about its author. If, however, we are permitted to have recourse to a strong circumstantial evidence, it is possible to say that the poet of this epigraph was identical with one called Narasiṃha six of whose interesting inscriptions mentioning his name specifically, have been copied from Warangal proper<sup>2</sup> and from Urusa<sup>3</sup> in its neighbourhood. An important point in favour of the attribution is that it has the support of an internal evidence from at least two inscriptions. No. B 108 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1950-51, has the passage: *ahn-aiśeva hi Kākatiya-charite* which shows clearly the fact that the author of the inscription had written, in a single day, about a Kākatiya king or the Kākatiya dynasty. The present record, as has been said above, being in the form of a prelude to an elaborate narrative possibly dealing with the Kākatiyas of the time, it is probable that it formed the beginning portion of the *Kākatiya-charita* referred to in the passage. That the poet was actually a contemporary of the Kākatiya king Vira-Rudra is mentioned in the other inscription (No. B 57 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1957-58) from Warangal and the verse containing the reference reads as follows:

*Aryād-uvvaim-udadhī-ralanām-agraśih Kākatiām  
vidyā-śālī vidita-vinayō Vira-Rudr-ābhidhānab |  
yātva-kālē vijita-haritō yasya sūnū-gujānām  
madhyā kalchin-Malaya-likhavi Mālyavān Māndarō cā |\**

At the end of the epigraph the word Nṛsiṃha is also engraved. This Vira-Rudra may be identified, as has been done already in *A.R.Ep.*, 1957-58, p. 7, with Pratāparudra II (1291-1330 A.D.). This identification is also based on palaeographic grounds. It may, therefore, be said that the period of the author of the present record is also the same.

<sup>1</sup> *History of Sanskrit Literature* by M. Krishnamachariar, p. 704, note 2. The author of this work is said to be one Mallikārjuna. But particulars regarding his date, etc. are not available.

<sup>2</sup> *A.R.Ep.*, 1950-51, No. B 108; *ibid.*, 1952-53, No. B 117; *ibid.*, 1957-58, Nos. B 56-57.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1958-59, Nos. B 125-29.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 1957-58, p. 7.



Another important piece of evidence, according to us, that helps in the identity of the author of the present inscription with that of the two inscriptions from Urusu is the technique in which the inscriptions have been engraved. As has been mentioned at the beginning, the inscription under study is engraved on a prepared surface of the rock of which only one-third portion has been made use of for engraving the record. The inscription from Urusu (No. B 128 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1958-59) has also been engraved on the rock in almost the same manner. There too the surface of the rock has been dressed and the engraver has apparently divided it into three approximately equal panels all of which have been utilised fully for engraving the inscription. In the other inscription from the same place (No. B 129 of *A.R.Ep.*, 1958-59), however, though there was a similar attempt at panelling of the dressed up surface into three portions, only two of the three panels have been used for engraving that record. Though it might be said that the manner of engraving is a peculiarity of the engraver who need not be a contemporary of the author, it may not be unreasonable if we presume that the inscription mentioning the name Narasimha was engraved during his time and the engraver who inscribed that record in panelled out surface was also most probably the engraver of the present record employing the same method of preparation of the rock surface for writing. That the engraver of the two records at Urusu was one and the same can be inferred from another circumstance also. The inscription (No. B 129 of 1958-59) stated to contain a text entitled *Yōga*. is in Nāgarī script, while the other (i.e. No. B 128 of the same year) dealing with the story of a Siddha couple is written both in Nāgarī and Telugu scripts. But the manner in which these scripts are used in this inscription, namely only the first line being in the Nāgarī script while the rest of the inscription is in Telugu, suggests that the engraver, after finishing the engraving of the other Nāgarī record, wanted to inscribe this also in Nāgarī (and hence its commencing with the line in Nāgarī), but abandoned the idea and adopted the Telugu script for engraving the remaining part of the epigraph. If this is accepted, which, we think, is quite a plausible one, then a connection is established not only between these two inscriptions but also between them and the inscription under examination here, and this may be taken to be in favour of the attribution of the authorship of the texts of all the inscriptions to one and the same poet Narasimha.

There is also another significant piece of evidence in support of this attribution. As shown above the most interesting feature of this inscription is that it forms part of a *kāvya* where the letters of the labial class are deliberately avoided and hence it is an example of the class of *Nirāśāṅkāvya*s. Interestingly, in the inscription containing a single verse in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre from the Warangal Fort (*A. R. Ep.*, 1950-51, No. B 108) also, as is seen from its text given below, no letters of the labial class are present.

- 1 *Rāk-śhāyā rucitā niratya-galā-girā*
- 2 *yēn-ādika-śhāyāṁ kīrtā-grā-*
- 3 *utā-krīṭā Nṛsimha-krīṭāṁ kīṭ(ā)-*
- 4 *grāhī-yandha-śhāyā | aho-ni-*
- 5 *kāna hi Kākatya-śhāyāṁ [ā]-*
- 6 *śhā-śhāyā-ā[śhā]yā kāśhā-śhāyā-ni-*
- 7 *śhāyā-nirgata-śhāyā śhāyā*
- 8 *śhāyā kīṭāṁ | [ | \*]*

It shows that its author had a predilection for composing texts of this kind. This inscription, as has been said above, mentions the name of its author, i.e., Narasimha. It is, therefore, quite likely that this Narasimha was also the author of the inscription under study which is a longer and a finer composition in this *nirāśāṅka* style.

Six out of the seven inscriptions, as has been referred to above, mention the name of the poet Narasiṅha and at least from five of them including the one under examination it is easy to judge the high calibre of the poet. In fact the two records from the Warangal Fort (*A.R. Ep.*, 1950-51, No. B 108 and *ibid.*, 1957-58, No. B 56) are specific in this regard as will be seen from the following passages from the inscriptions. No. B 108 of *A.R. Ep.*, 1950-51 reads :

*ah=nikēna hi Kākatīya-charitē tē=[ā]śhā-tāśhāt-ā[drī]yāh  
kāshth-āghāta-nisarga-niryata-yaksh-sargōya sargāh kṛitāh ||*

In No. B 56 of *A.R. Ep.*, 1957-58 the poet draws a comparison between himself and the incarnation of the god Narasiṅha in double entendre. The stanza runs as follows :

*Ā-prāya-sahlā-stambhō-py-a-vipanna-  
Hiraṇyakaśipu-āpi |  
a-vikṛita-mukhō-pi dāśau pragalbhātē  
rūpakēshu Narasiṅhāh ||<sup>2</sup>*

That the credit to which the poet has laid claim to has not been done without any basis may be said to be proved by the two actual *kāvyas*, though unfortunately incomplete, recorded in the two inscriptions from Urusa mentioned above. In one of them (No. B 128 of *A.R. Ep.*, 1958-59) he calls himself a *kavi* and in the other (No. B 129 of *A.R. Ep.*, 1958-59) he styles himself as a *Maharshi* at the end of what appears to be the [first] chapter of a *kāvya* he had composed (*Narasiṅha-maharshi-kṛitau Yōga* . . . . . *mas=sargāh |*). Interestingly, in both the records he is stated to be the son of one Viśvāvāra who according to the latter inscription is said to be the royal preceptor (*vāja-guru*). That the poet Narasiṅha was the author of other works also is known from the two other records (*A.R. Ep.*, 1950-51, No. B 108; and *ibid.*, 1952-53, No. B 117) which refer to the poet's commentary on the *Rigveda*, called the *Rikabhāṣā*, and his other work entitled the *Kākatīya-charita* as well as the *gānas* referred to as *Narasimhāktā gāyāh*.<sup>3</sup>

#### TEXT<sup>4</sup>

- 1 ओं।।[1\*] अंध्राः सति गरीयांसः कांचनच्छायशालवः । यथा हाटकाशैलस्य  
कटका रत्नशालिनः ॥[१\*] केदारा यत्र
- 2 शालीनां तरंगितप्रजांतराः । कृष्णांगच्छायहरिता यथा जलनिघेस्तटाः ॥[२\*]  
शालिसंक(र)मिणीहस्तताळैः कंकणनादि-
- 3 तैः । शालिताः किल गच्छन्ति मत्कीरास्तद्गिरा जिताः ॥[३\*] रसालसान्निहि-  
तालतालकेतककेतने । कांतरि यत्र कांतानां जा-

<sup>1</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1950-51, No. B 108, *ibid.*, 1952-53, No. B 117, *ibid.*, 1957-58, Nos. B 56-57 and *ibid.*, 1958-59, No. B 128-29.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 1958-59, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 1957-58, p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> From inscriptions.

<sup>5</sup> Expressed by a symbol which is, however, not clear.

- 4 तः शृंगारसंगरः ॥[४\*] रसालहालागवेन धनेनाभीकृता दृशः । अलीनां यत्र  
हा हृत लक्षयति न गेहिनीः ॥[५\*]
- 5 संतानकांतारलतामंघ्रप्रचिलचेततः । यत्रालयः कर्णिकारे निर्मणे च<sup>३</sup> निस्तराः ॥[६\*]  
हालिकस्त्रीकटाक्षाणां कांत्या
- 6 गिळितचेतनाः । न जानन्ति कृषि यत्र केनित्कर्षकनदनाः ॥[७\*] गतानि  
हालिकस्त्रीणां शिक्षयति निर्जगतैः । नेत्राणि नेत्रेहृत्स्यश्च हरिण्यश्च य-
- 7 दंतरे ॥[८\*] केदारस्यकांतीनां संकांतानां ततस्ततः । च्छ(छ)लेन नीलसिचवा  
यदीया जायते घरा ॥[९\*] शंखकंकणजालस्य लल-
- 8 नाकरसगिनः । कलेन यत्र नादेन कलहंसाः सतं जिताः ॥[१०\*] लक्षयते  
यत्र निचिता लक्षशः शालिराशयः । गेहांकणे यथाकाये तटि(डि)त्कां-
- 9 तिघरा घनाः ॥[११\*] खिलाः शालीनतां याति यत्र क[ट]करक्षिताः ।  
कट(ड)करोमनिकटनिराघाटकटिस्वाराः ॥[१२\*] कदलीकानने यत्र हरितच्छ-
- 10 दहारिणि । कीरा निस्तरं याति निजजातीयवांकया ॥[१३\*] हावा[\*]  
कलंत्यः सततं यत्रत्यात्सहकारतः । निद्विशति निरातकं नर्तनार्थे शिसडि-
- 11 नः ॥[१४\*] यत्र कांचनसंकाशा रसाज्ञानां रजःकणाः । टंकवृष्टस्य तरणैर्यथा  
लेशाश्चकासति ॥[१५\*] कर्षकस्त्रीकेसहन्तैहृस्तमालीकसंयतैः । न हतात्तां
- 12 यत्र घस्तशंकातंकं शिखंडिनि ॥[१६\*] नगराणि मरीवांसि नाकिरश्याणि  
लक्षशः । स्थानीयानां सहस्राणि यत्रत्यान्यतिशेस्ते ॥[१७\*] न नंदनं  
चैवरथं न

\* Cf. प्रणमप्रकृतं सति कर्णिकारं दूनोति निर्गन्धतया स्व घेतः, *Kamīrasanābhāra*, 3, 28.

\* The asterisk is engraved at the beginning of line 9.



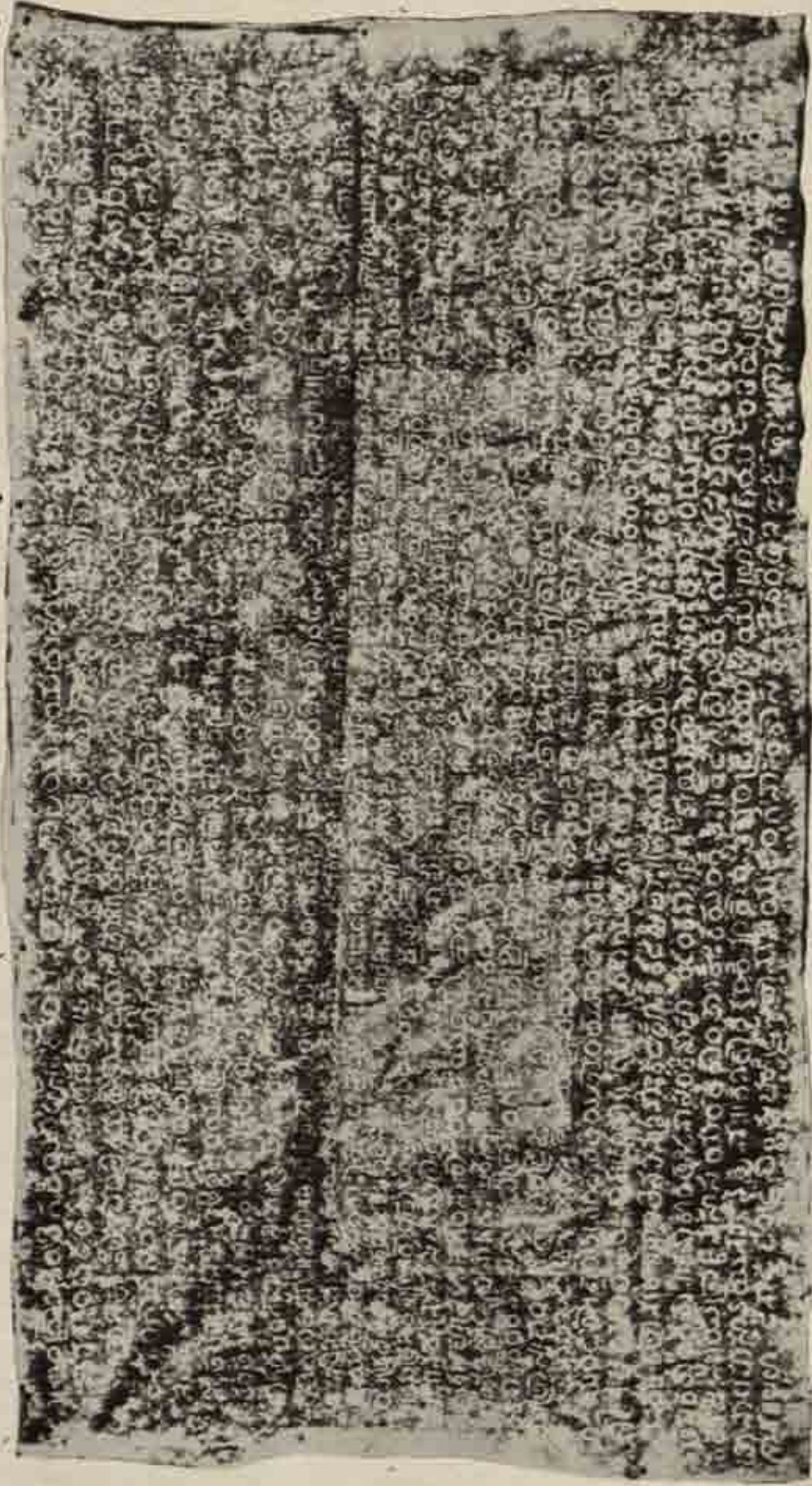
- 13 च यत्र निरीक्ष्यते । कतिारं नंदनं कुलन कुत्सताः चैत्ररवाह्वयाः ॥[१८\*]  
करिणः करिणोसक्ता यत्र संश्रिततारकाः । सकळत्रान् शक्यते गात्रा-
- 14 होनाम् गजाननान् ॥[१९\*] सिद्धवैरास्तुता नीलैश्चातषः स्पंदना घनाः । नद्यतः  
किकिणीजालैर्यथा कांतैस्तदि(डि)दुग्धैः ॥[२०\*] तट[ग]का यत्र शतवः सा-
- 15 [र]ण्यस्त सहस्रमः । सर्जनाथां<sup>१</sup> दर्शयति तेषां च किल गेहिनीः ॥[२१\*]  
आदित्यघुष्टिसंकाशा दृश्यते यत्र गृह्यतः । क्षीरं ददत्यः कृत्स्ना-
- 16 नां त्रिजगत्प्रघनाशिकाः ॥[२२\*] एकास्त्येकशिनाह्वात्र नगरी वा गरीयसी ।  
सागरातां घरां कुलनां [त्रि]तां कांत्या निरीक्ष्यते ॥[२३\*] कळा गिरः  
कृशा(शां)गीणां
- 17 रशनाः किकिणीघनाः । यथांगदानि चाद्रीणां निद्राहर्ष्यं किल श्रियः ॥[२४\*]  
चंद्रशालासंश्रितातां चंद्रास्यानां निरंतरैः ।
- 18 यथास्वचंद्रांगने चंद्रजानं न शक्यते ॥[२५\*] यत्र रव्यांगणगता धनसारस्य  
राशमः । दृश्यते चंद्रिकासंघा यथाकर्का प्रा-
- 19 . . . णैः ॥[२६\*] इन्द्रनीलैश्चंद्रकांतैस्तथा यत्र निरंतरैः । अंधकाराश्चंद्रिकाश्च  
दर्शयत्येकदा गृहाः ॥[२७\*] कांतया ध्नति यत्कांताः कांतानां
- 20 हृदयं दृशा । कांतया ध्नति यत्कांताः कांतानां हृदयं दृशा ॥[२८\*]  
कळिद्रकन्यालहरीसंघरिखणहारिणः । कटाक्षा यत्र नारी-
- 21 नां कृष्णयति न किं जनान् ॥[२९\*] हान्ताख्येण तरळा यत्राराळदृशा(शां)  
दृशः । खड्गलेखा दर्शयति रत्तिनाभकरत्रि(त्रि)ताः ॥[३०\*] अधरा यत्र  
नारीणां सक-

\* This symbol has not been observed here.

\* Read सरिजाप्यान ।

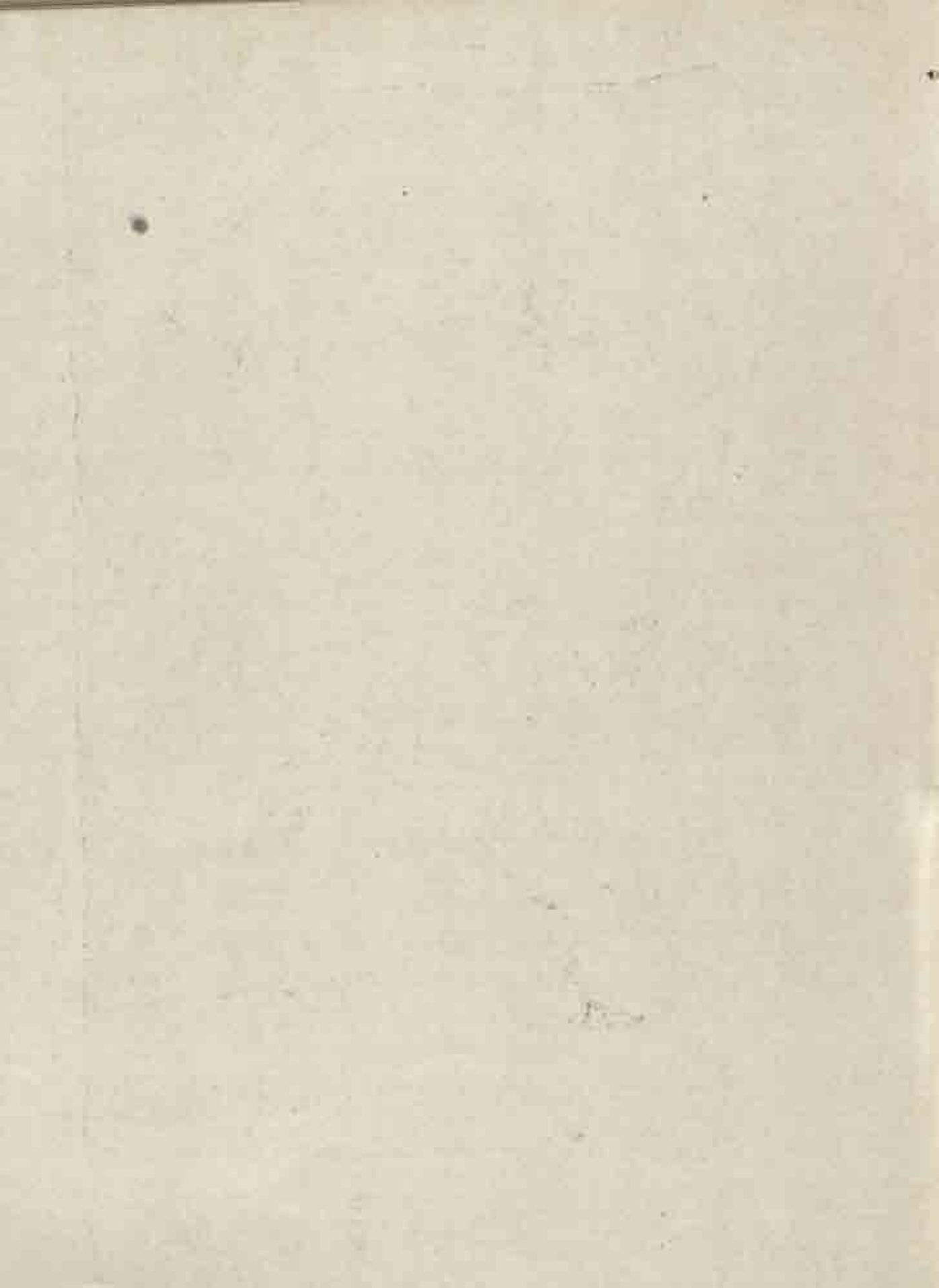
\* There is space here for three letters which seem to have been erased.

HANUMAKONDA NIROSHTHYA KAVYA INSCRIPTION



2  
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26

Size : One-ninth





- 22 ज्ञानधरीकुलान् । आख्याति नलिनधेणोः कटाक्षश्च कटाक्षिताः ॥[३१\*]  
तज्जयति यत्र नार्यः करकंकणरिखणैः । आफीडद्रीधिकाहंसीभ्रंति-
- 23 तस्करतां गताः ॥[३२\*] कणिकारस्नकिरणसंकीर्णहरिदंकनाः । आकर्णयति [स]गीत  
कुतश्लार्धं यदेगनाः ॥[३३\*] कर्णकल्हारकलिकाहालासीक-
- 24 रलेहितः । यथाठिनस्त्रासयते कांताः कटकजंकृतैः ॥[३४\*] कटाक्षकान्तिकळया  
हासचंद्रैः कळकितैः । न हासयति ता-
- 25 धानां हस्ता(हासा)म् यत्र(अ)लिनेक्षणाः ॥[३५\*] कनोनिंकाकळंकन्या कान्तिचंद्रिकया  
स्त्रियः । वाहारयति वक्त्र्याश्चद्रिकाहारिणः स-
- 26 गान् ॥[३६\*] ललाटेनाड्येन्द्रेण कुत्सनचंद्रैस्तदातनैः । यदंगनाः कळ्यासक्तिभिः(स्तीभिः)रिच्यति  
निजाजिताः ॥[३७\*] नासासंकाररत्नानि नक्षत्रैः<sup>१</sup>

## TRANSLATION

(Verse 1) There is the great Anahradita full of rice (fields) of golden hue, resembling the dales of the golden mountain (i.e. Māra) with gems.

(Verse 2) There, the rice-fields, containing waving waters inside, resemble the shores of the sea with dark-tinged verdant.

(Verse 3) The parrots (that come to eat the grains) fly away being frightened by the sounds produced from the bangles due to the clapping of the hands by the women-guards of the rice-fields and also being overcome by their utterances.

(Verse 4) In the groves of trees like *vasāla* (the mango), *vāla*, *śantāla* (the marshy date), *āla* (the palmyra) and *lātaka* (*Pandanus odoratissimus*), youthful couples are engaged in amorous activities.

(Verse 5) There, the bees, being blind-folded due to (intoxication) of the strong smell emanating from the honey of mango trees, could not see even their consorts.

<sup>१</sup> नि and क्षा are written below the line.

<sup>२</sup> Stops bees sleepily.

(Verse 6) The bees, there, are not only attracted by the smell of the creepers of the Santāna forest but also by the odourless *Korolikāra* trees (due to their attractive colours).

(Verse 7) Some of the peasant youths of the place, having been attracted by the bewitching glances of the peasant maidens, forget (their work of) ploughing.

(Verse 8) The gaits of the peasant maidens of the place seem to serve as *lāsana* to the swans while their glances serve as models for the female deer.

(Verse 9) The entire country (seems to be) covered by a fine raincoat because of the spreading of the sheen of the crops in the fields.

(Verse 10) The sound produced by the group of conch-shell bangles (seen) in the hands of the damsels of the country has outstepped (that of) the innumerable swans.

(Verse 11) The multitudinous heaps of paddy seen in the courtyard of the houses, there, look like the clouds in the sky, possessing lightning.

(Verse 12) Where the fallow lands protected by thorns (i.e. full of thorns) and containing undemarcated interspaces with cattle huddle them, become hushful (i.e. become objects of pity).

(Verse 13) There the parrots, thinking that they belong to their own group, resort always to the groves of plantain trees with attractive green leaves.

(Verse 14) The honey that flows always from the innumerable mango trees, there, seems to suggest that it is intended for the peacocks to dance without pain.

(Verse 15) The golden-hued pollen of the mango trees, there, resemble the dusts of the sun, produced by chiselling.

(Verse 16) The hair of the peasant women in the act of being dressed by their dart-like hands give the appearance of the spread-out plumes of the peacock.

(Verses 17 and 18) The countless big cities of the country outshine the numerous divine cities; because, instead of the Nandana, (the pleasure garden of Indra) and the Chaitraratha, (the sporting park of Kubera), its entire forests constitute the Nandana and the whole (of the wooded land) constitutes the Chaitraratha here.

(Verse 19) The male elephants of the country, with their half-closed eyes caused by their being with their mates look like the couples of elephant-headed (gods) possessing also elephant's body.

(Verse 20) The heavy chariots covered with numerous blue clothes and resounding with the [jingling sounds] of the small bells (attached to them), resemble the clouds with groups of shining lightnings (accompanied by thunder).

(Verse 21) In the country are hundreds of tanks and thousands of rivulets ; and they indeed appear to be the ocean and his consorts respectively.

(Verse 22) The young cows of the country resemble the rays of the sun ; the former by giving milk become the removers of suffering (of the people) of the three worlds, while the latter, (by causing the rains,) become the purifiers of the three worlds.

(Verse 23) Here is the great city called Ēkasilla which by its splendour seems to spread over the entire region upto the shores of the ocean.

(Verse 24) The melodious speech, the deep sound of the small bells of the waist-band, and the anklets,<sup>1</sup> of the tender-limbed damsels of the place are responsible for the sleeplessness of the goddess of Prosperity.

(Verse 25) The assemblage of numerous damsels with moonlike faces, on the top-most floor of the houses of the city, makes it difficult to know about the existence of the real moon in the sky.

(Verse 26) The heaps of camphor seen in the shops of the bazaar look like a collection of moon-beams.....<sup>2</sup>

(Verse 27) The houses of the city with never-diminishing (heaps of) sapphires and moon-stones appear to show simultaneously the darkness and moonlight together.

(Verse 28) In this city, the beloved, by their bewitching glances, cause affliction to their lovers ; (similarly) the lovers, by their beautiful sights, cause affliction to their beloved.

(Verse 29) Whom do not the glances of the women of the place, (like those of the gopis on the bank of the Yamunā), which excel (in beauty) the collection of crawling waves of the daughter of Kāṇḍa (i.e. the Yamunā) attract (or make into a Krishna) ?

(Verse 30) The glances of the woman with curved eyes, made tremulous by the power of liquor, look like the rows of swords held in the hands of Rati-nāthā (i.e. Cupid).

(Verse 31) The lips of the women of the city have rendered everything else inferior to them ; and their side-glances (appear to) suggest that they have blessed the groups of lotuses (i.e. excelled them in beauty).

(Verse 32) By the gestures of their hands (adorned) with bangles, the women of the city frighten the swans in the sporting ponds for having stolen their gait.

(Verse 33) The damsels of the city, the rays of whose ear-rings become merged into the spaces of the quarters, listen to music appreciatively.

(Verse 34) The bees that are attracted by the driplets of honey in the water-lilies serving as ear-rings of the ladies of the city, are frightened away by the sounds of the bangles in their hands (produced by the gesture of waving).

<sup>1</sup> The word *चक्र* together with *चक्राङ्गुली* is used here in the sense of an anklet, which is peculiar.

<sup>2</sup> A simile is given here by the author but owing to the loss of a few syllables, it cannot be made out.



(Verse 35) Do not the lotus-eyed damsels of the city by their (enchanting) smiles resembling the moon marked by the (dark) sheen of their glances mock at the daughter of their lords ?

(Verse 36) By the rays of their moon-like faces, the pupil of their eyes serving as the dark patch of the moon, the women of the city seem to feed the birds which feed upon the moonlight (i.e. Chakōras).

(Verse 37) The women, with their faces resembling the full moon and their forehead resembling the half-moon, demonstrate that all the arts are acquired by themselves (i. e. by looking at their faces it is easy to know that they are *śālisthā*).

(Verse 38) The gems in the nose-ornaments (of the damsels) resembling the stars. . . . .

No. 28—CHIKKERUR INSCRIPTION OF SOMESVARA I, SAKA 970

(1 Plate)

SHRINIVAS RITTI AND B. R. GOPAL, Ooty, CAMUND

(Received on 29.7.1959)

The inscription<sup>1</sup> edited below with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India, was discovered at Chikkerur, in the Hirikerur Taluk of Dharwar District in the Mysore State. The stone bearing the inscription, which is set up in the field opposite the Hanumantadēva temple appeared at first sight to be quite small with only five lines visible on its exposed face. On digging up, however, it was found that the major portion of the stone containing the record lay buried underground. The epigraph which contains twenty-nine lines in all, was copied by Shri B. R. Gopal in December 1957. The writing on the portion that was underground is better preserved than that on the portion that was exposed. The corners of the top portion are broken off resulting in the loss of some letters on both the sides including some details of the date. But, fortunately, details enough to assess the importance of the record are preserved.

The record is written in Kannada alphabet, usual to the period to which it belongs. However, a few orthographical and palaeographical points may be noted. The usual reduplication of the consonant which follows *r* as in 'pūreṣṣṣam and 'cāṁde-ṣṣṣam (line 16) is not as a rule followed, cf. 'cāṁde-ṣṣa (line 5). Attention may be drawn to the medial *w* sign written in three different types, e.g. *see ruw* in *cācīvarum* and *pyu* in *śatappudakka* in line 17; *Gu* in *Guṇṇaganana* and *pa* in *parāhita* in line 22. Also compare the first letter *ruw* in line 19 with *ruw* in *cācīvarum* in the same line.

The language of the record is also Kannada and the composition is in prose, excepting the imprecatory verse which is in Sanskrit.

The inscription is dated in Saka 970 [Sarvadhāri, Śrāvāṇa on 13, Monday, S[ūtra]-sāmkrā]-ntī. The details regularly correspond to 1048 A.D., July 25, I.d.t. '62.

The inscription registers a grant of land and a house-site made to a *satra* at the *modal-agrahāra* Kiriya-Kereyūr by *paṇyite* Rīvalakabharasi, by purchasing the land from the Thousand *mahājanas* of that place. Witnesses to this deed were the Thousand (*mahājanas*) respectively of Kiriya-Kereyūr, Isavura and Tihvalli, the Thirtytwo (*mahājanas*) of Tāyagundūr, *Kannaḍa-sandhivigraha Mahāprachanda-dāyapaṇyaka* Kāḷāḷāyya, *Pradhāna-dāyapaṇyaka* Nōranayya, *Pāṭhale-cōṅgaḷe* Bhōgavīrayya, *Gaṇḍayya*, the *peyyaḷe* of *Mudēḷuṅga* and *Parāhita* Dīvaṇa-ghāṣāṣa. The document was written by *Śaṅkha* Kāṭimayya. It is stated that Rīvalakabharasi paid 50 *gadyāyas* as the price of the five *matter* of cultivable land and a house-site and 100 *gadyāyas* towards *cāḷāḷāya*. The latter amount is stated to be utilised on the basis of *paḷa-cāḷāḷa* which apparently means (for investment to *feisk*) interest at the rate of one *paḷa*, i.e. *ḷāya* which is equal to  $\frac{1}{2}$  *paḷa* (per *gadyāya* per year). Thus this sum of 100 *gadyāyas* evidently represented the lump sum paid in order to guarantee the income on account of *cāḷāḷāya* to the *mahājanas* of Kiriya-Kereyūr.

<sup>1</sup> *A.R. Ep.*, 1957-58, Introduction p. 4 and App. B. No. 263.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it contains an early reference to Kalyāna as the capital city of the Chālukyas.<sup>1</sup>

Kalyāna in the Bidar District of the Mysore State, was a city of great importance in the history of the medieval period having been the headquarters of the later Chālukyas and after them their successors, the Kalachuryas. As the centre of activity of Basavēsvata, the famous protagonist of the Virāsaiva religion, Kalyāna acquired special significance in the religious history of Karpātaka also.

On the basis of the material then at his disposal, Fleet remarked that the earliest mention of Kalyāna as the capital of the Chālukyas was found in an inscription of 1033 A.D.<sup>2</sup> But our record which refers to Kalyāna already as the *metropolis* furnishes a date six years earlier than the above.

It is to be noted, however, that two records, both supposed to be dated in 1033 A.D., mention Kalyāna as the capital. But both of them are of doubtful authenticity since they contain a wrong date and are written in characters much later than the period to which their contents pertain. They are from Bājūr<sup>3</sup> and Bījapur.<sup>4</sup> The former quotes the Śaka year as 45860, Śaimukha, Vaiśākha su, Pūrṇimā, Monday, Uttaraṅgana-satukramaṅga. Ignoring the Śaka and the *satukramaṅga*, the details may be equated to 1033 A.D., April 16. The second one is dated in Śaka 958, the other details, barring the weekday, being identical with the former. The weekday is here given as Sunday. These details are irregular. Again, as remarked above, the palaeography of the records does not conform to that of the period.

The question then arises as to when precisely the city was chosen to be the seat of the government. A study of the Western Chālukyan capitals, from the day the Chālukyas regained power to the date of the present record would help us to find out an answer to this question.

It is well known that Taila II of the Western Chālukya family overthrew the Rashtrakūṭas in 973 A.D. and re-established the Chālukya suzerainty. The capital of the Rashtrakūṭas was Maikheḍ, and Taila, on assuming power, continued to have this city as his head-quarters.<sup>5</sup> This city seems to have remained the capital till the time of Jayasimha II. The Kanyākumārī<sup>6</sup> inscription of Vira Rājendra and the Karandai plates of Rājendra Chōja<sup>7</sup> dated in his 8th year (1020 A.D.) testify to the fact that Mānyakhōja, the city of their adversaries, as the target of the attack of Rājendrachōja.

By 1019 A.D. Jayasimha changed his capital to Etāgiri<sup>8</sup> and this must have taken place soon after the destruction of Maikheḍ at the hands of the Chōjas. An inscription from Bōgūr<sup>9</sup> dated 1031 A.D. shows that this place continued to be the capital at least till then. Soon after, i.e. by 1033-34 A.D. the headquarters appear to have been shifted from Etāgiri to Kollipāke, as could

<sup>1</sup> The stone is broken off here and, of the word Kalyāna, only parts of *lyā* and *na* are visible. But in corroboration with the statement of this record is another from Mudgal in the Lingasur Taluk of the Raichur District, which refers to the same king and states that he was ruling from the *metropolis* of Kalyāna. It is also dated in Śaka 970 (current), the cyclic year quoted being Sarvajit. Other details of the date are lost. *A.R. Ep.*, 1927-28, App. B, No. 385.

<sup>2</sup> *Bomb. Govt.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 353, foot-note 1.

<sup>3</sup> *SII*, Vol. XI, Pt. I, No. 69.

<sup>4</sup> *A.R. Ep.*, 1933-34, App. E, No. 128.

<sup>5</sup> An inscription from Kākhajūki dated 903 A.D. refers to him as ruling from Mānyakhōja, which is the modern Maikheḍ (*A.R. Ep.*, 1933-34, App. E, No. 170).

<sup>6</sup> *Transacors Arch. Series*, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 119, verso 70.

<sup>7</sup> *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. XIX, Pt. II, p. 151.

<sup>8</sup> *A.R. Ep.*, 1927-28, App. E, No. 58. It mentions Etāgiri as his capital.

<sup>9</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, Sk. 20.







Size : One-fourth

be seen from two inscriptions bearing that date from Haljar and Bhairanmatti.<sup>1</sup> But this change was just temporary, for a number of records ranging in date from 1033 A.D. to 1044 A.D. mention Pottalakeru or Hottalakeru as the Chālukya capital.<sup>2</sup> A Kannada work, *Basavapurāṇa* also associates Jayasimha II with this place.<sup>3</sup> In the absence of any dated record after 1044 A.D., the latest date mentioning Pottalakeru and a record earlier than 1048 A.D., the date of our record, mentioning Kalyāṇa as the *śelevidi* of the Chālukyas, we may safely surmise that the latter city must have become the capital sometime between these two dates.<sup>4</sup> It is interesting to note that all the places mentioned above, viz. Śtagiri (modern Yādgi), Kolliṇpāka (modern Kulpāk or Kolanupāka), and Pottalakeru (modern Paṭanoheru)<sup>5</sup> are situated in the same area, i.e. in the former Hyderabad State.

Incidentally we may notice here that the donor Rōvakabbarasi is called the *Pasāyita*. The term *Pasāyita* or *Mahāpasāyita* (also *Pasāyita*) quite commonly occurs in Kannada records, and it denotes an office, the precise nature of which is difficult to determine. This Rōvakabbarasi is in all probability identical with her namesake who figures in a record from Hoṣūr<sup>6</sup> as the wife of Vāṅgarasa who was a subordinate of Sōmēśvara I. The record furnishes an instance of ladies holding responsible offices in the administrative set-up of the country.<sup>7</sup>

The following geographical names occur in the record. Banavāsi-nāḍu, Nāgarakhanda-70, Kiriya-Kereyūr, Tāgagundūr, Piriya-kereyūr, Tiḷivalli and Isavura. The first one is the well-known division comprising parts of the present Dharwar, North Kanara and Shimoga Districts. Nāgarakhanda-70 was a subdivision of the Banavāsi-nāḍu. Kiriya-Kereyūr and Piriya-Kereyūr are identical with the modern Chikkerūr (the findspot of the record) and Hirekerūr respectively, in the Hirekerur Taluk, Dharwar District. Tiḷivalli is another village of the same name in the Hangal Taluk of the same district. Tāgagundūr and Isavura are Tāgund and Isūr in Shikarpur Taluk of the Shimoga District.

## TEXT\*

- 1 [Svasti [ \*] Samanta-bhuvanārāya ṅg[ Prithivīvalla]-
- 2 [bha-Mahārā] jādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Pa[ramabhāṭṭā]-
- 3 [raka-Satyāśraya]kuṭati[śka-Chāluky-ā[ bhatarān]
- 4 [śimat-Trailō]kyamalladēvara vijaya-rājya[m-uttarōttar-ā]-
- 5 [bhivpāḍhi]-pravardhamānam-āchāndr-ārka-tīlaka sa[nttam-i]-
- 6 [re Kalyā]ṇada śelevidino[ Sa(Sa)ka-varaha 970 ne[ya Sa]-
- 7 [rvadhā]ri sarivatsara Śrāvaya su(su) 13 Sōmavārara Si[mha-sam]-

\* *SI*, Vol. XI, Pt. 1, No. 71 and above, Vol. III, p. 231 respectively.

<sup>1</sup> For instance the Sonvle plate (*Journal, R. I. S. M.*, Vol. X, p. 88); *SI*, Vol. XI, Pt. 1, Nos. 68, 74, 82; *A.R. Ep.*, 1932-33, App. D, No. 122; *ibid.*, 1936-37, App. E, No. 35; *ibid.*, 1952-54, App. B, No. 242; *ibid.*, 1957-58, App. B, No. 376; *Ep. Carr.*, Vol. VII, pp. 74 and 133. The last one spells the name of the place as Ghattada-keru which apparently is a mistake for Pottalakeru.

<sup>2</sup> *Sandai* 51.

<sup>3</sup> See *Journal of the Karnataka University*, Vol. II, No. 3, pp. 45 ff, where it is suggested that 'Jayasimha II was making experiments as to which of the towns would be most suitable for the permanent capital of the Chālukya empire and the choice in favour of Kalyāṇa was decided probably by its northwestern position'.

<sup>4</sup> Fleet identified this place with Dandiyakanakere in the Bellary District (*J. Ind. Arch.*, Vol. XIX, p. 183). But Sri B. Shivamurti Shastri has rightly suggested this identification. (Cf. P. B. Desai, *Jainism in South India*, pp. 111-12.)

<sup>5</sup> *SI*, Vol. XI, Pt. 1, No. 65.

<sup>6</sup> For some more instances, see *QJMS*, Karnataka Number, pp. 43 E.

\* Form impressions.



- 8 [krā]ntiyan[du] Chatu-sameya-samudharasa guṇa-gaṇ-ābha[raṇeṇi-]  
 9 mat-Pasāyite Rēvakabbarasiyar Banavāsa-[nāḍu Nā-]  
 10 gari(ṭa)khaṇḍav-epattata modat-agrahārūn Kiriya-ke[reyū]-  
 11 ra mahājana-sāsirvata kayyol satrake vṛittiyāge ...  
 12 ya gaḷeyal=aydu matta<sup>1</sup> gaddeyūm-ōḷu kay-manaya [ni]-  
 13 vēsanakkam krayakke kotta pom-gadyā<sup>2</sup> 30 ā vṛi[tti]-  
 14 ya eḍḍhāyakke pāga-vri(vṛi)ddhiyoḷu kotta pom-ga[dyā]-  
 15 nam 100 anta gadyāna 120 hiranya-salitaṁ ikā[rā]-  
 16 pūrvakam koḷḍu sarvvanamasayanāgi yā(ḷ)-chatidr-ārka-tāramba[ra]-  
 17 m-ā dharmamamāṁ sāsirvarūn rakasivar-int-appudakke [sā]-  
 18 kaḷi Tāyagudūḍira mūvattirbba[rum] Piriyakereyūra sāsirva-  
 19 rum Isavurada sāsirvarūn Tijiya[liya] sāsirvarūn Kanna[ḷa]-  
 20 sandhi-vigrahi mahā-prachanḍa-danḍanāyakam<sup>3</sup> Kāḷidāsayanu[ḍi\*] pra-  
 21 dhōnam<sup>4</sup> danḍanāyaka Nāraṇayyanu[ḍi\*] patthaḷe-verggaḷe Bhōgavārayyanu[ḍi\*]  
 22 Muḍrāvāḍa perggade Guḍḍayyanu purūhita Dāvaṇa-gahisāa-  
 23 ru[ḍi] [\*] Uḷhaya-sammatsōḷu bazedam Sōnabōvam Kētimayyan-ī dha-  
 24 mmamam-āvan-ōryyan-aḷilavāṁ Bāṇarāsi(Vāraṇāsi)yoḷā sāi-  
 25 ra kayḷeyūn sāira lōganimsu-aḷiḍa mahā-  
 26 pātakam(an)-akkuṁ || Sava(sva)dattam(ttām) paradattam(ttiām) bā(vā) yō harōta(ttu) vasu-  
 27 adharī(rūm) [ ] [\*] dhaṣṭir-vamā-sahastrōḷi(stōḷi) viḷḷū(thū)yūn jāyatē kri-  
 28 m[ḷi] [\*] || Keyyede yekkeya Kuruvāṁ mane teṅkaṇa Kēri-  
 29 ya Lōkayōjara neramane || Kattūjarisidam Dīsōḷam ||

<sup>1</sup> Read *matte* though this form also occurs in inscriptions.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* *gadyāna*.

<sup>3</sup> The measure is redundant.

Vol. 36, Pt. 6 — April, 1966

No 29.—JAMBGAON PLATES OF INDRA III, SAKA 836

(2 Plates)

V. V. MIRASHI, NAGPUR

(Received on 18.8.1962)

These plates were discovered at **Jambgaon** in the Gangapur Tahsil of the Aurangabad District in the Marathwada Division of the Maharashtra State. They were first noticed by Mr. N. S. Pohnerkar in the *Marathwada University Journal*, Vol. I, No. 1, pp. 7-14. He discussed their contents further in the same Journal, Vol. II, No. II, pp. 49 *et seq.*, correcting some of his previous readings. As Mr. Pohnerkar's transcript shows many lacunae, I wished to edit the plates with good facsimiles. At my request, Mr. P. J. Chinnalgund, I.C.S., Secretary, Education and Social Welfare Department, Maharashtra State, arranged to have the plates sent to me by the Deputy Director of Archaeology, Aurangabad. Dr. G. S. Gai, Government Epigraphist for India, kindly supplied their excellent facsimiles from which and from the original plates the record is edited here. I am thankful to Dr. Gai for the help he rendered in this connection.

This is a set of **three copper plates**, each measuring about 38 cm. by 25 cm. Each plate has a ring-hole, about 2.5 cm. in diameter, for the ring which holds the plates together. The ends of this ring are soldered under the bottom of a seal. The ring is about 9 cm. in diameter and about 1 cm. in thickness. The **seal** is square in shape, each side of which measures 6 cm. The first and third plates are inscribed on one side only, while the second is inscribed on both the sides. The record consists of 67 lines, of which seventeen are inscribed on the first plate, seventeen and sixteen on the first and the second side respectively of the second plate and the remaining seventeen on the third plate. The last line consists of only two words viz. *Mangalan mahā-śūcī*, inscribed in the lower right corner. The writing is generally in a good state of preservation except in a few lines on the left near ring-hole on both the sides of the second plate, where it is damaged by some cracks. The scribe and the engraver have done their work very well. A few letters were omitted by haplography in line 7 on the first plate, but they have been supplied in the margin at the bottom of the same plate.

The seal, which, as stated before, is square in shape, bears in relief on a countersunk face, the figure of **Garuda**, squatting on a lotus seat and facing full front. Each of his two hands is holding a hooded serpent which appears to entwine his waist. On his proper right, in the upper corner, is the figure of **Ganapati**, with a *chauri* lower down and below it a lamp. On his proper left, in the upper corner, is the figure of **Durgā** riding a lion with a *scotika* mark below. On each side of the head of Garuda, there is a small circle which may represent the sun and the moon. Below the figure of Garuda, there is an indistinct legend which may have been *Śrīman-Nityavarshadhīnaya*. Of this legend, only the letters *manūtya* are more or less clear. Nityavarsha, as is well-known, was a *herald* of Indra III, who issued the present plates as shown below. The plates weigh 5 kg. and 70 g., and the ring and the seal together weigh 2 kg. and 250 g.

The **characters** belong to the northern alphabet. The following peculiarities may be noticed:— In initial *ā*, the length is denoted by a slanting stroke added to the vertical of *ā* (see *ā* *śūcī*, line 14); *ē* has a loop on the left except when it appears as the superscript letter of a conjunct (see *āśūcī*, line 7 and *śūcī*, line 38); the left limb of *ā* has not yet developed a tail (see *śūcī*, line 2); *ā* is still without a dot (see *śūcī*, line 5); *ā* has no vertical stroke

at the top (see *laphaj-jāward*, line 9); the subscript *y* is laid on its side (see *śaśikarīṣyā*, line 11); *dh* has not yet developed a *hota* on its left limb so as to be distinguished from *v*; still, there is no horizontal stroke connecting the two verticals of *dhā* as is generally noticed in other records of the age (see *dhāma*, line 1); *ph* has a curve near the top of its vertical (see *vīṣṭhavad*, line 27); *bh* and *h* are almost similar in form (see *Śrī-Rajavīgrahā* and *śaśakhuśikā* both in line 25); the form of *bh* in *Kailāśād-Bhāṣāni* (line 8) is noteworthy; *r* has two forms, one of which shows a tail (see *vīṣṭhavad vīṣṭhavadya*, line 12); the left limb of palatal *ṣ* is not yet separated from the right vertical (see *śaśakhuśikā-śrīh*, line 3).

The language is Sanskrit. The record is partly in verse and partly in prose. The verses, of which there are thirty-nine, are not numbered. As regards orthography, the following peculiarities are noteworthy:— The medial vowel *ri* is wrongly used for *vi* coming after *t* (see *vīṣṭhavad*, line 36 and *śaśakhuśikā*, line 53); the consonant after *r* is doubled (see *Śrī-Dantāśayya*, line 5); *ṣ* is used for *h* (see *vādhuṣ*, line 1). Finally, *u* is used for *au* in *śaśakhuśikā*, line 20.

The record opens with *śaśakhuśikā*. This is followed by two verses, the first being the usual one in praise of Hari and Hara and the second in that of Kṛṣṇa (the destroyer of Kaiśa). Then comes a verse (3) in glorification of the reigning king Indrarājadēva (i.e. the Rāshtrakūṭa Indra III).<sup>1</sup> This is followed by the *prāśasti* of the ancestors of the king in eighteen verses (4-21). To the description of the reigning king himself which follows, ten verses are devoted (22-31). The initial metrical portion of the grant thus contains 31 verses, most of which occur in the two sets of the Bagumra plates of this very king already published.<sup>2</sup> Only seven verses, viz. 12, 17, 25, 26, 28-30 are new. They contain more conventional praise and therefore do not add to our historical information. This metrical portion is followed by the formal portion of the grant in prose, a considerable part of which is also common to the two grants mentioned above. The portion in lines 41-44, however, is new, but it contains conventional praise of the donor. Again the portion *lākṣyāśikā*, etc. in lines 57-58, appealing to future kings to preserve the present grant is new. The record has, finally, seven benedictive and imprecatory verses (32-38) and one verse (39) mentioning the name of the composer. It ends with the auspicious formula *Mangalam mahāśrīh* in the last line.

The object of the present inscription is to record the grant of the village **Khairōṅḡhī** situated near Paitṭhāya by the Rāshtrakūṭa king, *Paramabhūṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramābhūṭāraka Nityavarshana-rēndra* (i.e. Indra III), who meditated on the feet of *Paramabhūṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramābhūṭāraka Akālavarsha* (i.e. Kṛṣṇa II). In the description of the donor occur some other *hirukā* of his viz. *Kirtivādyaṅga*, *Rāṭṭakandarpa*, *Rājamarāṇḍa* and *Vijayvalōka*. The king had gone to **Kurundaka** from his capital **Mānyakhēṭa** for the performance of his *pañcābhisēka* or coronation ceremony. He made this grant while he was being weighed for the *Tulāparucka Mahādāna*. He donated Kurundaka, and other villages together with five lakhs of *drumaca* and also restored to their rightful owners *dēvalbhāga agrakāra* villages,<sup>3</sup> which had been confiscated by earlier kings. The donated village **Khairōṅḡhī** had the following boundaries— **Pippalagrāma** on the east, **Sirisikā** on the south, **Sōḍiālā** on the west and **Nandaauraka** on the north. The donee was the Brāhmana **Dāmōtara-bhaṭṭa** of the **Bhāradvāja gōtra** and **Vājasaneyya śikhā**,<sup>4</sup> the son of **Bhūmāśita-bhaṭṭa**. He was proficient in the four Vēdas and had hailed from the district of **Vāṅḡlī**. The grant was made in the expired Śaka year **eight**

<sup>1</sup> For a similar instance of the reigning king being described in the beginning of a record, see the *Sarat* plates of *Syādhārya Śilāditya*, dated K. 443, *CI*, Vol. IV, pp. 132 f.

<sup>2</sup> Edited first by R. G. Bhandarkar in *JBBES*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 253 ff. with an English translation by S. R. Bhandarkar; re-edited by D. H. Bhandarkar, above, Vol. IX, pp. 24 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The Bagumra plates tell us that the number of such restored villages was four hundred. They were granted together with twenty lakhs and a half of *drumaca*, above, Vol. IX, pp. 23 and 26.

<sup>4</sup> [See below, p. 236, note E.—Ed.]



hundred and thirty-six, the cyclic year being Yuvan. The *tithi* was the seventh of the bright fortnight of Phālguna, the week-day Friday and the *nakṣatra* Mrigashiras. The last verse states that this excellent *prāśasti* was composed by Śrī-Trivikramabhaṭṭa, who was the son of Nēmadītya, and who was serving Indrarāja. He was also the composer of the two sets of the Bagumra grants mentioned above.

It will be noticed that the present grant was made on the same occasion as the two previously published Bagumra grants viz. the coronation ceremony of Indra III. The present grant mentions, however, two additional details of the date viz. the week-day Friday and the *nakṣatra* Mrigashiras, which were not known before. This date corresponds, for the expired Saka year 836, to the 34th February, A.D. 915. On that day the seventh *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Phālguna ended at 9 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise. The week-day was Friday as required and the *nakṣatra* was Mriga throughout that day. The cyclic year was Yuvan according to the northern luni-solar system, which, as Kielhorn has shown,<sup>1</sup> was current in South India down to Saka 855. The date can thus be completely verified.

Having thus disposed of the formal part of the grant, we shall next turn to the historical information furnished by it. This has indeed been previously discussed by the editors of the Bagumra plates. Still, there are some particulars on which it is possible now to shed some more light.

As stated before, the present record contains, after two *maṅgala ślokas*, a verse in praise of the reigning king Indra III, which runs as follows:—

स जयति भुजदण्डसंश्रयथोः समरसमुद्धृतदुर्द्वारिचक्रः ।

अपहृतबलिमण्डलो नृसिंहः सततमुणेन्द्र इवेन्द्रराजदेवः ॥

While editing the Bagumra plates, D. R. Bhandarkar translated this verse as follows:—

"Ever victorious is the king Indrarāja (III), whose long arms (were made for) refuge by the goddess of wealth, who has routed out in battles the circle of his enemies difficult to withstand, who has seized the territories of the mighty, (and who is) the lion (i.e. the best) among men, just as Upendra (Viṣṇu) is ever victorious, whose long arms (were made for support) by (the goddess) Lakṣmī, who held up in battles (his) discus bearing spokes and difficult to resist, who carried off Bali and (his) legions (to Pātāla) (and who was) a man-lion (in his fourth incarnation)."

This translation misses an important historical reference, of which D. R. Bhandarkar had then no idea. Trivikramabhaṭṭa, who drafted this *prāśasti*, was fond of *śloka* (double entendre) as seen in several verses of this grant. He has compared Indra III with Viṣṇu in his Vāmana or Dwarf incarnation. He has used the several adjectives in this verse in such a way that they can be construed with both Indrarāja and Upendra (Vāmana). One of these is *apahrīta-bali-maṅḍala*, which, like the other adjectives, has to be understood in two ways. Bhandarkar took *bali-maṅḍala* to mean (i) the territories of the mighty and (ii) Bali and his legions. We can as well take the second sense to be 'the dominion of Bali'; for we know that Vāmana deprived him of it and thrust him to Pātāla. But apart from this, there is another covert reference in this adjective which Bhandarkar failed to notice. As shown below, Indra exterminated the contemporary Bāṅga king Vijayāditya II *alias* Prabhūmūru. The Bāṅgas called themselves Māvāli or Mahābali and traced their descent from the mighty demon king Bali.<sup>2</sup> So the sense here seems to be that just as Vāmana had formerly deprived the demon king Bali of his dominion, even so Indra III annexed the kingdom

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 268-69.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. IX, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, pp. 324 f.

of the Bahi king Vijayāditya Prabhudra. As we shall see, there is again a reference to this event further in verse 27, which also has not yet been properly understood. In fact this comparison of Indra III with Vāmana was suggested to the poet's mind by Indra's victory over the Bāpa king, who claimed descent from Bahi. The annexation of the kingdom of the Bāpa king was the most noteworthy event in the early part of the political career of Indra III as the devastation of Kanauj was in its later part. The latter outshone the former and so it is generally the only achievement of Indra III mentioned in later records.<sup>1</sup>

Verse 4 describes the race of the Yajus descended from the Moon. The next three verses (5-7) eulogise **Dantidurga**, the founder of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty. D. R. Bhandarkar took the description in verse 6 as stating the chronological order of Dantidurga's conquests. "Dantidurga first reduced", says he, "the lowermost, i.e. the southern country, then turned his arms against the Madhyadeśa and finally conquered the city of Kāñchi." The wording of the verse seems, however, to have been suggested rather by the *double calendar on mullaya-dēśa* and *Kāñchi* than by any sequence of Dantidurga's conquests. Such descriptions are by no means rare in Sanskrit *subhāshitas* and inscriptions.<sup>2</sup>

Verse 8 mentions **Kṛishṇa I**, the uncle of Dantidurga, who succeeded him. His praise in the next verse is merely conventional. He was followed by his son **Nirupama** (Dhruva). The name of Gōvinda II, the elder son of Kṛishṇa I, whom Dhruva deposed, is here omitted. The only events mentioned in the description of Dhruva-Nirupama are that he wrested white umbrellas from the trembling hand of the lord of Kōśala and a king of North India. Kōśala is evidently Dakṣiṇa Kōśala, roughly corresponding to modern Chhattisgadh. The ruler of this country defeated by Dhruva probably belonged to the Nala dynasty. In this period the Nalas, who originally held the former State of Bastar and the adjoining country, ousted the Śomavamāns from Dakṣiṇa Kōśala. An inscription<sup>3</sup> of the Nalas referable to the eighth century A.D. still exists in the temple of Rājīvalōchana at Rajim in the Raipur District of Chhattisgadh. It mentions three kings of the Nala family, viz. Prithvirāja, Virūparāja and Villāsatuṅga, who flourished towards the close of the seventh and in the beginning of the eighth century A.D. Dhruva seems to have defeated a successor of Villāsatuṅga. The king of North India may be either Vates of the Pratihāra or Dharmapāla of the Pāla dynasty, both of whom were defeated by Dhruva.

Verse 11 mentions Dhruva's son and successor **Jagattuṅga**, who is none other than the mighty Rāshtrakūṭa Emperor Gōvinda III. He made several brilliant conquests both in North and South India, but, strange as it might appear, the present inscription dismisses him with half a verse. His successor was his son **Śrīvallabha**, better known to historians as Amōghavarsha I. He was engaged in a long and protracted war with the Eastern Chālukyas of Vāngi, in the course of which the Rāshtrakūṭa empire was shaken to its very foundations. The Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya II is said to have fought, during twelve years by day and night, a hundred and eight battles with the armies of the Rāttas (i.e. the Rāshtrakūṭas) and their feudatories, the Gaṅgas. Amōghavarsha I ultimately rescued his kingdom from the grip of the Chālukyas and was thereby known as *Vīranārāyaṇa* as his exploit resembled that of the god Nārāyaṇa (Viṣṇu), who, in his Varāha incarnation, uplifted the earth submerged in the ocean. Amōghavarsha wreaked a terrible vengeance on the Chālukyas, which is graphically described in verse 14. By his forces he captured all trouble-makers and uprooting the enemies, the fierce Chālukyas, he exterminated them as

<sup>1</sup> See the Sangli and Cambay plates of Gōvinda IV, above, Vol. VII, pp. 27 f.; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 249 f.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. *CI*, Vol. IV, p. 270, verse 25; *Sahasābhayamūrti*, p. 197.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 40 f.



one burns the uprooted sheafs of chickpeas, gathering thorny shrubs by means of a stick. The poet has used the word *śambha* here in the two senses of (i) a multitude and (ii) a sheaf. D. R. Bhandarkar's suggestion that we have here a reference to the devastation of Sāmbhapura, modern Tāmraliptī or Tamluk,<sup>1</sup> is farfetched; for Amoghavarsha I is not known to have raided and devastated Tamluk in the Midnapur District of Bengal.

With verse 15 begins the description of **Krishna II**, the son and successor of Amoghavarsha I. Verse 16 gives a graphic description of his fight with the Gurjara or the Pratihāras of Kanauj, which old men are said to remember still at the advent of the rainy season. The next verse (17), which occurs here for the first time, gives an interesting description based on *double entendre* of how his enemies spent their days, whether in mansions or in forest-resorts, by his favour.

Verse 18 describes **Jagattuṅga**, the son of Krishna II. The next three verses introduce a digression to state the pedigree of his wife, **Lakshmi**. She was the daughter of **Baṇavagrāha**, the son of **Kōkalla**, born in the family of Harhaya Sahasārjuna, who was the lord of the Chāḍi country. As D. R. Bhandarkar has already shown, Baṇavagrāha was the *brother* of the Kalachuri king Mugdhātūṅga-Prasiddhadeva described as the son and successor of Kōkalla in the Bahara copper-plate inscription. His personal name was Śaṅkaragana which is noticed in the records of the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Eastern Chālukyas when they refer to him as an associate of the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Krishna II. Jagattuṅga married the Chāḍi princess Lakshmi and from her had a son named Indra, who is the donor of the present plates. Jagattuṅga seems to have predeceased his father; for in the formal part of this grant, Indra III is described as meditating not on his feet but on the feet of his grandfather Akālavarsha (Krishna II).

Verses 22 to 31 describe the reigning king **Indra III**. They mention his *bravos* *Raffa-lāndarpa* and *Kūṭināyaga*. Five of these verses are new,<sup>2</sup> but they contain mere conventional praise and so do not add to our historical information. Verse 27, however, though already known from the Bagumra plates, deserves careful study. It runs as follows:

कृतमोक्दंतोदारं हेलोमूलितमेरुणा ।

उपेन्द्रमिन्द्रराजेन जित्वा येन न विस्मितम् ॥

S. R. Bhandarkar, who supplied the translation to B. G. Bhandarkar's edition of the Bagumra (then called Navātri) plates, rendered this verse as follows:— "Who, the Indratāya rooting out Mēru with ease, was not surprised at his (*these*) surpassing Upēndra (Vichny who lifted Gōvardhana)." This translation is incorrect in one respect. *Vismita* means here not 'surprised' but 'puffed up'.<sup>3</sup> B. G. Bhandarkar did not attempt to elucidate the historical allusion in this verse. D. R. Bhandarkar, who next edited the Bagumra plates, gave the following translation<sup>4</sup>:— "This Indrarāja, having uprooted Mēru (Mahōdaya ?) with ease, was not puffed up with pride at his defeating (*king*) Upēndra, who had saved Gōvardhana, just as the god Indra, who uprooted (Mount) Mēru with ease, was not puffed up with pride at

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IX, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Vid.* verses 25, 28, 28, 29 and 30.

<sup>3</sup> *JBBRAS*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 267-68.

<sup>4</sup> *CC*: *उत्तमोदतां स विह्वयवाहननात्रविस्मितो दूतः*, in the Sanskrit play *Jāṭhāyoga* ascribed to Bhāsa, Act I (*Bhāsaśatka-chalana*, p. 146).

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. IX, p. 40.



(his) vanquishing (the god) Upēndra (Krishṇa), who had uplited the Gōvardhana (mountain)". D. R. Bhandarkar rightly translated *visantam* as 'puffed up', but he supposed that there was here a reference to Indra's devastation of some place called Mēru and his defeat of a prince named Upēndra who had saved Gōvardhana. Teivikramabhatta, who composed this *prastiti*, is well known as the author of the *Nalachampū*, which abounds in puns. He says in that work that he knows that his work has become obscure on account of *bhūṅga-śiṣha*.<sup>1</sup> Bhandarkar therefore, thought that the adjective *hīl-śamūhita-Mēru* was intended to be understood both with (i) Indra III and (ii) the god Indra. Similarly, *krīta-Gōvardhan-śiddhāra* is to be construed with (i) the king Upēndra and (ii) the god Upēndra (Krishṇa). Bhandarkar did not, however, explain the mythological reference implied in the god Indra's uprooting (Mount) Mēru; nor have I come across any legendary story to that effect. But while discussing the historical allusions in this verse, Bhandarkar observed as follows:—"The historical sense of this verse is by no means clear. This much is certain that it records the defeat of a king of the name Upēndra by the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Indrarāja III. But who this Upēndra was and how the epithets *krīta-Gōvardhan-śiddhāra* and *hīl-śamūhita-Mēru* used in connection with the kings Upēndra and Indrarāja respectively, are to be interpreted, is far from clear. At one time I thought that Upēndra referred to Mahipāla of the Prasthāra dynasty of Mahōdaya, for whom I then contended that the Bhagalpur grant of the Pāla dynasty gave the other name Chakrāyudha. But I have stated above that beyond all doubt Dharmapāla and Chakrāyudha whom he reinstated on the throne were contemporaries of the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Gōvinda III. According to Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, the word *Mēru* in the expression *hīl-śamūhita-Mēru* signifies Mēra or Mēra, and the whole expression speaks of the defeat of some contemporary Mēra king of North Kathiawar by Indrarāja III. Prof. Kielhorn, on the other hand, holds that Mēru probably is Mahōdaya i.e. Kanauj, implying thereby that it records the capture of Kanauj by Indra III, specified in the Sangli charter. With regard to the other expression viz. *krīta-Gōvardhan-śiddhāra*, no interpretation has been proposed and we must wait for the publication of other inscriptions to enable us to understand perfectly the historical sense of this verse."<sup>2</sup>

Since the time of D. R. Bhandarkar, some more explanations of the two epithets under discussion have been proposed. Aitkar pointed out that Mēru cannot be taken in the sense of Kanauj or even Mahipāla as suggested by Kielhorn and D. R. Bhandarkar respectively. For this exploit of Indra III must have occurred very early in his reign before his coronation in 915 A.D., but "it is almost impossible that Indra would have carried out his expedition against Kanauj during the short interval between his father's death and his own coronation."<sup>3</sup> Aitkar could not suggest any explanation of *hīl-śamūhita-Mēru*, but as regards *krīta-Gōvardhan-śiddhāra*, used as an epithet of Upēndra, he thought that Upēndra was the Paramāra chief Krishnarāja, who flourished in the period 900-925 A. D. He thus explained the cause of the conflict:—"Paramāras were in the beginning very probably feudatories of the Gurjara-Prasthāras. At their instigation Upēndra seems to have attacked Gōvardhana in the Nasik District at the beginning of Indra's reign. Indra defeated him, compelling the Paramāras to transfer their allegiance to his own house. The Harvada grant attests to the fact that the Paramāras were professing allegiance to the Rāshtrakūṭas subsequent to

<sup>1</sup> *CC. वाचः कठिन्यमावालि भङ्गलेवविशेषतः ।*

*नोद्वेगस्तत्र कर्तव्यो यस्मान्नको रसः कवेः ॥*

<sup>2</sup> *Ahore*, Vol. IX, p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> *The Rāshtrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 100. Aitkar reiterated this view in his chapter on the Rāshtrakūṭas in the *Early History of the Deccan* (ed. by G. Yazdani), Vol. I, p. 286.

Indra's conquests." There is, however, no other reference to this invasion of Gōvardhana by the Paramāra prince Upēndra (or Krishna). Again, Gōvardhana was not at this time an important place as it undoubtedly was in the early centuries of the Christian era. Besides, Upēndra (i.e. Paramāra Krishna) is said in this verse not to have attacked but to have rescued Gōvardhana. The Nasik-district, in which it was situated, was comprised in the dominion of Indra. It is inconceivable that the Paramāra prince went to the rescue of a place in his enemy's territory. For these reasons Altekar's explanation cannot be accepted.

About the identification of Mēru also some nice suggestions have been made. As far back as 1922 S. N. Majumdar identified Mēru uprooted by Indra III with Prabhūmēru, the son of Bāga-Vidyādihara who married the daughter of the Gaṅga prince Prithvipati I, a contemporary of Amoghavaraha I.<sup>1</sup> He showed that there was no difficulty in taking this Prabhūmēru to be a contemporary of Indra III, the successor of Amoghavaraha's son Krishna II. Dr. Mahalingam, on the other hand, could identify this Mēru with Prabhūmēru's father Vikramāditya-Jayamēru, also known as Bāga-Vidyādihara (850-895 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> He thus supports this identification.—The Bāgas are known to have fought with the Nolambas. The latter were probably the feudatories of the Rāshtrakūṭas. Mahēndrādhirāja Nolamba, who claims to have destroyed the race of Bali, was evidently acting on behalf of the Rāshtrakūṭas. After their defeat by the Nolambas, the Bāgas accepted the suzerainty of the Rāshtrakūṭas. Vikramāditya-Jayamēru seems to have followed the Rāshtrakūṭa prince to his kingdom and while there, constructed a temple of Śiva at Pāli, 12 miles north of Ratnapur. An inscription<sup>3</sup> in three parts over the architrave of the temple at Pāli records that it was built by Vikramāditya, the son of Mahēndrādhirāja Mallalōva. He was evidently identical with the Bāga king Vikramāditya I-Jayamēru.

The verse *Kṛita-Gōvardhan-ōddhāraṇa*, etc. is thus variously interpreted. The first thing to be noted in this connection is that this verse does not signify any victory of Indra III over a king named Upēndra. What the verse means is that the Rāshtrakūṭa king Indra III, who exterminated (a king named) Mēru with ease was not puffed up with pride although he surpassed Upēndra (Krishna) who had uplifted the (small) hill Gōvardhana. The root *ḥ* in this verse signifies the sense of surpassing,<sup>4</sup> not of conquering. God Indra, though an elder brother of Upēndra (Vishva in the Vāmana incarnation), was always submissive to the latter and had to seek his help against the demons when they rose against him. The Rāshtrakūṭa king Indra III, on the other hand, surpassed that god Upēndra (Vishva in his incarnation as Krishna); for while the latter could lift up only a small hill named Gōvardhana, this king Indra had uprooted Mēru. (There is here a pun on the word Mēru. It means (i) the Mēru mountain and (ii) a king named Mēru.) Even so, this king Indra is not puffed up with pride. This is indeed a matter for surprise! It will thus be seen that while there is a pun on the adjective *hṛi-damūṣita-Mēru* qualifying Indra, there is none on the

<sup>1</sup> *Proceedings and Transactions of the Second Oriental Conference*, pp. 339 f.

<sup>2</sup> See his monograph *The Bāgas in South Indian History* (*JH*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 170 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> I first drew attention to this inscription at the third session of the Indian History Congress held at Calcutta in 1933. See *PINC*, III, p. 323 and fn. Since then I have discussed this matter in *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 418.

<sup>4</sup> An allusion to instances of the use of the root *ḥ* in this sense, which also was long misunderstood, is the following verse which occurs in the Karikal plates of Krishna III:—

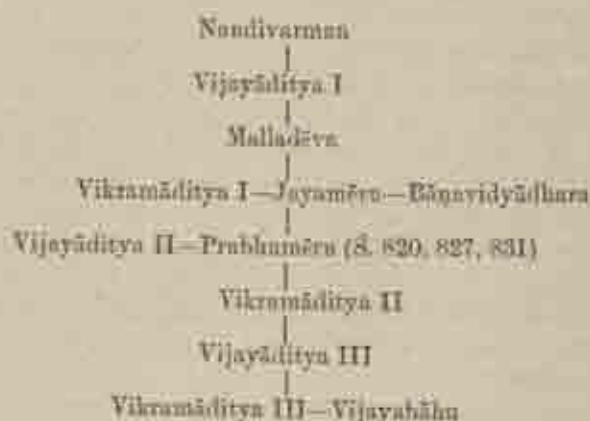
रामहृतसहस्रभुजो भुजद्वयकलितसमदरामेण ।

जमनीपत्नीमुदरपि येन सहस्रावृत्तौ विजितः ॥ (Above, Vol. IV, p. 284, verse 25)

It was long believed that Krishna III defeated a Sahasrājuna (i.e. a Kalachuri king) who was an elderly relative of his mother and wife. What it really means is that Krishna III, who with both his arms embowed (intestined women) (i.e. a Sahasrājuna, the ancestor of his mother and wife, whose thousand arms were cut off by Rāma (i.e. Parashurāma). See *CII*, Vol. IV, introd. p. lxxxi and fn.

word *Upendra*<sup>1</sup> nor on its adjective *Upendra-Govardhan-Siddhara*. The supposed puns on these words tacitly accepted by all scholars who have written on this matter till now have led to a veritable wild goose chase.

We shall next proceed to identify the king **Mēru** exterminated by Indra III. It is only in the Bāga dynasty of North Arcot District that we come across names or *hirculas* ending in *mēru*. While editing the Gudimallam plates<sup>2</sup> Hultzsch gave the following genealogy of the Bāga kings:—



Vikramāditya-Jayamēru was a contemporary of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha I. He could not therefore have been defeated by Indra III, the great-grandson of that Rāshtrakūṭa king, as suggested by Mahalingam. Vijayāditya-Prabhūmēru, whose dates range from Saka 820 to 831 (898 to 909 A.D.) was, however, a contemporary of Indra's grandfather Kriṣṇa II. He was probably the king Mēru defeated and exterminated by Indra III in one of his campaigns as Yavarija towards the close of his grand father's reign. Verse 2 of the present inscription discussed above shows that Indra III not only exterminated the Bāga king but also annexed his territory. Where was that territory situated? Several years ago, I draw attention to an inscription<sup>3</sup> on the architrave of the *garbhagrīha* of a temple of Śiva at Pāl, about 12 miles north of Ratanpur in the Bilaspur District of Chhattisgarh, which records that it was constructed by Vikramāditya, the son of Mahābali Mahāmandal-śvara Malladēva. This king, as I showed then, is identical with Vikramāditya I *alias* Jayamēru. Either he or his father seems to have conquered the territory round Pāl and erected a magnificent temple of Śiva there. Mahalingam's suggestion that Jayamēru, after his defeat by Indra III, followed the Rāshtrakūṭa king to his kingdom and while there, took occasion to construct a temple at Pāl is untenable. In the first place, Jayamēru was a contemporary of Amoghavarsha I and not of Indra III. Secondly, the construction of the temple at Pāl must have taken some years. We have no reason to suppose that the Bāga king lived so long as a guest of the Rāshtrakūṭa king. Thirdly, even supposing that he did so, there is no reason why he should erect a temple at Pāl which is at least 500 miles as the crow flies north-east of the then Rāshtrakūṭa capital Māyurakūṭa. It seems therefore better to suppose that the country round Pāl had previously been conquered

<sup>1</sup> It may be noted that there is no pun on *Upendra* in verse 2.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 1 f.

<sup>3</sup> This inscription was first very briefly noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar, but he could not identify the king Vikramāditya at the time. His reading of some portion of it was also not quite correct. See my article mentioned above, now reprinted in my *Studies in Indology*, Vol. II, pp. 31 f.



by the Bāgas and that they were ruling there for some time. In the reign of Jayamūru's son Prabhūmūru there was a conflict with the Bāhtrakūṭas. Indra III invaded the territory, exterminated the Bāga king and annexed his kingdom. This is clearly shown by the epithets *hāl-śaśmūlā-Mēru* and *apahṛita-Bali-maṅḡala* applied to Indra in verses 27 and 3 respectively of the present grant. This invasion must have taken place towards the close of the reign of his grandfather Kṛishṇa II; for it is mentioned in the charters issued by Indra on the occasion of his coronation i.e. in the very first year of his reign. His invasion and deraignation of Kanauj took place much later in his reign. As it was a much more glorious exploit, it alone is mentioned in the Sengli and Cambay plates of his son Gōvinda IV.

Indra seems to have made over the conquered territory to his relatives the Kalachuris of Tripuri. His maternal uncle Saṅkuraḡaṇa alias Muḡḡhataṅga is said to have made his brothers lords of *maṅḡalas* while he himself ascended the throne at Tripuri. He is also credited with the conquest of Pāli, which he is said to have wrested from the lord of Kōśala.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps he was associated with the *Fuvavōja* Indra in this campaign against the Bāga king.<sup>2</sup> In any case, we find that the Kalachuris were established in Dakṣiṇa Kōśala in this period and had their capital at Tammāga, not far from Pāli. As I have shown elsewhere,<sup>3</sup> the Kalachuris ruled in Dakṣiṇa Kōśala for two or three generations until they were ousted therefrom by some enemy.

As stated before, the present charter was composed by Trivikramabhāṭṭa, the son of Nēmāditya, who was a protege of Indra III. He has been identified with the homonymous author of the Champū Kāvya *Nalachampū*. In the introductory portion of that work, its author tells us that he was the son of Nēmāditya (v.l. Dīvāditya) and grandson of Śridhara of the Śāḡḡḡḡya *gōtra*.<sup>4</sup> The present charter does not name the grandfather and the *gōtra* of its author, but apart from this there is no chronological difficulty. The author of the *Nalachampū* mentions the Sanskrit poet Bāga<sup>5</sup> who lived in the first half of the seventh century A.D. A verse of that Champū work is cited as an illustration by Bhōja (the first half of the 11th century A.D.) in his *Sarasaśāḡḡḡḡbhāṭṭaraga*.<sup>6</sup> Its author may therefore have flourished in the beginning of the tenth century A.D. The style of the present *prāśasti* which is full of *ślōka* and other figures lends colour to the identification. Trivikrama seems to have hailed from Vidarbha. He has detailed knowledge of the regions, mountains, rivers, cities, temples and *śrāvṇas* of Vidarbha.<sup>7</sup> He mentions the district of Bhōjakata, the rivers Payōshṇī (Pūrṇā), Varadā (Wardha) and Vidarbhā, the town Kuṇḡḡḡḡapura situated near the confluence of the Varadā and the Vidarbhā,<sup>8</sup> the temple of Mahā-Varāha near the source of the Payōshṇī, the hermitages of Bhārgava, Māzikuḡḡḡya and Janadagni, etc. Much of this information is no doubt traditional, but there are some details which could have been known only by personal observation. The rivulet Vidarbhā, which flows near Kuṇḡḡḡḡapura is, for instance, not noticed in any work. It is still known by its ancient name near Kuṇḡḡḡḡapura. Such detailed knowledge of the topography of the regions in Vidarbha suggests that the poet may have originally hailed from that country.

<sup>1</sup> For a full discussion of this matter, see *CII*, Vol. IV, *Intro.*, pp. cxx #.

<sup>2</sup> He was associated with Indra's grandfather Kṛishṇa II during his campaigns against the Eastern Chāḡḡḡḡya.

<sup>3</sup> *CII*, Vol. IV, *Intro.*, p. cxvii.

<sup>4</sup> *Nalachampū* (Kashi Sanskrit Series), p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> *Sarasaśāḡḡḡḡbhāṭṭaraga* (Nirṇayaśāḡḡḡḡr ed.), p. 522.

<sup>7</sup> *Nalachampū*, pp. 56, 147, etc.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 180-81.

Several writers have identified our author with the poet Trivikrama who composed the *Madānusāchampā*. This *Īdēpa* is written in a much simpler style and has not the characteristic features of the *Nalāchampā*.<sup>1</sup> The identification cannot therefore be upheld.

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant, *Pañthāna* is evidently Paithan, ancient Pratiśthāna on the Gōdāvari, the well-known capital of the Sātavāhans. The donated village *Khairōṇḍhi* which was situated near Pañthāna may be Khirai, which lies about 4 miles north by west of Paithan. Of the boundary villages, only two can be traced in the vicinity of Khirai. *Nandaauraka* may be Agar Namur on the south bank of the Gōdāvari and *Pippalagrāma* may be Pippalwādī on the north bank of the same river about a mile and a half east of Agar Namur. The remaining two villages cannot be identified in the vicinity of Khirai. The place *Kurundaka* where Indra III had gone from his capital *Mārykhāṭa* (Modern Malkhed) for his coronation must have been noted for its sanctity. R. G. Bhandarkar identified it with Kōjōlā on the bank of the Tāptī. Jackson proposed to identify it with Kurundwād near the confluence of the Krishnā and the Pañchagangā in the former Kolhapur State. This identification was accepted by D. R. Bhandarkar and Altekar. But this place is far away from Paithan. If *Kurundaka* was situated near Paithan as appears from the present grant,<sup>2</sup> it may have been near the confluence of the Pravara and the Gōdāvari (Pravara-saṅgama), which is regarded as very holy. In that case, *Kurundaka* may be represented by Kolgaon near Pravara-saṅgama. This place is about 30 miles from Paithan and only three miles east of Jambgaon where the present plates were found.

TEXT<sup>3</sup>

[Metres : verses 1, 11, 13-14, 25, 27, 32-33, 35-36, 39 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 2, 18, 21-23, 26, 28, 31 *Mālinī* ; verses 3, 38 *Prakṛitāgā* ; verses 4, 7, 12 *Brāhmarī* ; verses 5-6, 8-9, 15 *Pānṣṭilakā* ; verses 10, 16-17, 19-20, 34, 29-30 *Sāntānubrāhmi* ; verse 34 *Indravajrā* ; verse 37 *Sālinī*.]

## First Plate

- 1 स्वस्ति [१<sup>\*</sup>] स शौल्याद्वेषता धाम गङ्गाभिनमलं कृतं(तम् ।) हस्तस्य यस्य  
कान्तेन्दुकलया कमलकृतं(तम्) ॥[२॥<sup>\*</sup>] जयति विवु(वु)व(व)सुविविस्व-  
विस्तारिवक्षस्य-
- 2 लज्जिमलविलोलास्तुभः कमकेतु । सुवसरसिजरो यस्य नृत्यन्ति लक्ष्म्या-  
स्मरभरपरिताम्पतारकास्ते कटाक्षाः ॥[२॥<sup>\*</sup>] स जय-

<sup>\*</sup> Some of them may be stated as follows :— (i) The author of the *Nalāchampā* and *Haracharita-śeṣa* in the last verse of each subdivision as the mark of his composition, but it is not noticed in the *Madānusāchampā*. (ii) The chapters of the former are called subdivisions while those of the latter are called *ādhya*. (iii) The author of the *Madānusāchampā* does not state his parentage and gotra, like that of the *Nalāchampā*. For a fuller discussion of this matter, see my article in the *Proceedings of the All India Oriental Conference*, XXI Session.

<sup>\*</sup> *Kurundaka* is no doubt far away from Bagunna where two other charters of Indra III were found, but these latter were of villages confiscated by previous kings and returned by Indra III.

<sup>\*</sup> From the original plates and impressions.

<sup>\*</sup> There is an unnecessary top-sādhā above *the*.

- 3 ति भुजदण्डसंश्रवणीः समरसमुद्भूतदुर्द्वे(द्वे)रारिचक्रः । अपहृतव(व)तिमण्डलो नृसिंहः  
सततमुपेन्द्र इन्द्रेन्द्रराजदेवः॥१॥\*] अस्ति श्रीनाथ-
- 4 नाभिस्फुरदुत्तरसाम्भोजजम्भा स्वयंभूस्तस्मादधिः सुतीभूद्रमृतकरपरिस्मन्व इन्दुस्ततोपि ।  
तस्माद्वंशो यदूनां ज[ग]ति स
- 5 ववृधे यव संलैविलामैः शाङ्गी गोपाङ्गनानां नयनकुवलयैरञ्जमानश्चकार  
॥४॥\*] तत्रान्वमं विलतसारवकिवशजन्मा श्रीदन्तिदुर्गम-
- 6 नृपतिः पुल्लोत्तमोभूत् [1\*] चालुक्यवंशजलधेः स्वयमेव लक्ष्मीर्षं शंखचक्रकर-  
लाञ्छनयात्रगाम ॥ [५॥\*] कृत्वास्वयं हृदयहारि ज-
- 7 शय्यभामं स्वैरं पुनर्नं(म्)दु विमर्षं च मध्यदेशं(शम्) । यन्वासनस्य समरे  
वसुधाङ्गनायाः फाल्गुनीपदे पदमकारि करेण भूयः ॥६॥\*] आ सेतीः सा-
- 8 नुवप्रप्रव(व)लकपिकुल्लोल्लूतफुल्लल्लवङ्गात् ।<sup>1</sup> आ कैलसाङ्गवानीचलकरणरणभूपुरोद्गा-  
दितान्तात् । पस्यात्ताम्भूमिपालाः
- 9 करमुकुलमिलम्मौ(यो)लिमातायमानामानम्रैशतमाङ्गैरवनितल्लुठञ्जानवो मासयन्ति  
॥७॥\*] जित्वा जगद्विज-
- 10 भुजेन पुनर्जिगीषोः स्वर्गं विजेतुमिष तस्य पतन्य राज्ञः । तथाभवत्परमधाम्नि  
पदे मितृव्यः श्रीकृष्णराजनुपतिः
- 11 प्रथितप्रतापः ॥८॥\*] दिक्सुन्दरीवदनचालुक्यवंशभंगलीलायमानधनविस्तृतकालकीर्त्तः ।  
श्रीराष्ट्रकूटकुलशैलमलंकारिण्योस्तस्मा-
- 12 इभृश्रिहयमो निरवद्यशीर्ष्यः ॥९॥\*] कीर्त्तः कुन्दरवः समस्तमुवगप्रस्थानकुम्भः  
सितो लक्ष्मणः पाणितले विलासकमलं पुष्पेन्दुवि(वि)-
- 13 म्ब(म्ब)शुति । एकं कपितकोसलेभवरकरावाञ्छिद्रमन्वत्पुनर्येतादीन्धनराधिपात् यथा  
इव श्वेतातपत्रं रणे ॥१०॥\*] तस्मात्लेभे जगत्पुंगो ज-
- 14 म् सन्मा(म्मा)नितद्विजः [1\*] सोपि श्रीवल्लभं मृतं राजराजमजीजनत् ॥११॥\*]  
आ शैलाञ्चाक्षुडामणिसदृशलसभूत(म्)मार्सम्भवि(वि)म्बा(म्बा)त्<sup>2</sup> लङ्काङ्गा-

<sup>1</sup> The akshara 'स सम', which had been omitted by haplography after मस्यातमः, are written below the last line between two brackets with an inductive mark above it.

<sup>2</sup> This punctuation mark is unnecessary.

\* Read—वरविजयादयः.

\* Sankā has not been observed here.



- 15 वा हनूमत्करतललुलितोत्तुङ्गकूटारिकूटात् । आस्तादम्भोधिबीबीचयश्चितरपत्कारि-  
काञ्चीप्रपञ्चात् ।<sup>1</sup> आ कैलासाश्रमेशा-
- 16 ज्जगदिदमजयत्कोपि यस्य प्रतापः ॥[१२॥\*] त्रि(नि)मग्नां यश्चलुक्त्वाध्वी(ध्वी)  
रट्टराज्यश्रियं पुनः । पृथ्वीमिबोद्धरन्वीरो वीरनारायणोभवत् ॥[१३॥\*] समू-
- 17 लोन्मूलितस्तम्बा(म्बा)न्दण्डेनानोतकण्ठकः [1\*] योयहद्द्वेषिणउत्पण्डन्नात्तुस्यार्द्रणकानिव  
॥[१४॥\*] उच्चैश्चलुक्त्वाकुलकन्दलकालकेतोस्तस्मादकु-

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 18 ष्णचरितोऽग्नि कृष्णराजः । पीतापि कर्णपुट[कै]रसङ्गज्जनेन ।<sup>1</sup> कीर्त्तिः परिभ्रमति  
यस्य शशाङ्ककान्तिः ॥[१५॥\*] उद्यद्दीधितिरत्नजाल-
- 19 जटिलं व्याकृष्टमौद्गन्तुः कुड्ढेनोपरि वैरिवीरधिरसामेवं विमुक्ताः शराः ।  
धारासारिणि सेन्द्रचापवलये यस्येत्यमब्दा(ब्दा)ग-
- 20 मे गज्जंद्गुज्जैरसंगरव्यतिकरं जीर्णो ज्ञनः यन्स(यंस)ति ॥[१६॥\*] नैत्रानन्दिनि  
चित्रशालिनि वहत्यन्तः श्रियं हारिणीमुच्चै(ञ्जै)र्भद्रकम-
- 21 त्तवारणपरिस्पन्दं दधाने पुनः । मुक्ताहारविभूषिताः सह सुर्तराम्बादितश्रीफला  
भर्त्तव्या भवते वने च रिषवो यस्य स्थिति च-
- 22 क्रिरे ॥[१७॥\*] भजनि जन्तितभंगो वैरिवृन्दस्य तस्मादघरितमदनश्रीः  
श्रीजमत्तुङ्गदेवः । ध्रुवसरसिजशंखप्रोल्लसच्चक्रपाणि-
- 23 त्विभवविजितविष्णुर्वल्लभो वीरलक्ष्म्याः ॥[१८॥\*] आसीत्कोप्यथ हैहयान्वयभवो  
भूपः सहस्रार्जुनो गज्जंद्गुज्जयरावणोज्जि-
- 24 तलमद्दोद्दंष्ट्रकच्छूरः । विश्रान्तैः श्रवणेषु नाकसदसा यत्कोत्तिनामाशरैः सिद्धैः  
सान्द्रमुधारसेन लिखितैर्व्याप्ताः
- 25 ककुम्भि(म्भि)तमः ॥[१९॥\*] वने तस्य सपलवंशपरचोः कोकल्लभूपाल्मजो  
राजा श्रीरणविग्रहः समभवच्चेदीश्वरः की-
- 26 त्तमान् । यस्मारातिपुरन्ध्रमण्डनभूषः सर्वोऽपि पृथ्वीपतिः सूर्यस्वेन्दुरिव प्रयाति  
विक्रलः पञ्चदशे म-

<sup>1</sup> This punctuation mark is unnecessary.

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- 27 षडलम् ॥[२०॥\*] सकलमुणगणाब्धे(ब्धं)व्विस्फुरद्धामघाम्नः कलितकमलपाणिस्तस्य  
लक्ष्मीः सुताभूत् । यदुकुलकुमुदेन्दुः सु-
- 28 न्दरोचित्तहर्ता हरिरिव परिणिन्धे तां जगत्तुङ्गदेवः ॥[२१॥\*] चतुर्दधितटन्ति-  
स्यातशौर्योश्च तस्यामभवदरिषरट्टो रट्टक-
- 29 न्दपदेवः । मनसि कृतनिवासः कान्तसीमन्तिनीनां सकलजतशरण्यः पुण्यलावण्य-  
राशिः ॥[२२॥\*] मदनममृतवि(वि)न्दुस्यन्दमिन्दोश्च वि(वि)म्बं(म्बं)
- 30 नवनलितमृणाल(लं) चन्दनं चन्द्रिको च । अपरमपि यदीयैर्जन्मनिर्माणशेषैरणु-  
भिरिव चकार स्पष्टमानन्दि वेधाः ॥[२३॥\*] देवो य-
- 31 श्वतुरम्बु(म्बु)राशिरशनारोचिष्णुविश्वम्भरामाका(का)मश्रिजविकमेण समभूत् श्रीकीर्ति-  
नारायणः । श्रुत्वा जन्म यदीयमाकुलधिषां [ज]-
- 32 म्मुः समं विद्धिषां दैन्यं वक्त्ररुचौ मनांसि च भयं सेवाजलि मौलयः  
॥[२४॥\*] यस्य वैरिवधूवक्त्रे वा(वा)णलेखा सकज्जला । सान्द्र-
- 33 कस्तूरिकापंकपत्रभंगलतायते ॥[२५॥\*] देवः स एष मदनो मदमत्तकान्तसीमन्तिनी-  
हृदयपङ्कजराजहंसः । एवं हि यस्य परमा-
- 34 [द्रु]तकारि रूपं लोको विलोकयति विस्मयमंथरालः ॥[२६॥\*] कृतगोवर्द्धनोद्वारं  
हेलोन्मूलितमेरुणा । उपेन्द्रमिन्दुरा-

*Second Plate - Second Side*

- 35 जेन जित्वा येन न विस्मितं(तम्) ॥[२७॥\*] विजयिनि जयलक्ष्मीस्नान-  
पुण्यवागाहे प्रसरति रिपुनारीनेत्रयंत्रप्रणालैः । अपि तनुनिवि-
- 36 मना' यस्य निस्तुं(स्त्रि)शधारापद्यति रिपुनुपाणान्दन्तिनो वो(नो)भ्रमन्ति ॥[२८॥\*]  
वेधाः कोपि किमन्य एव निपुणस्तस्वैव फि वा विधेर-
- 37 भ्यासस्य वशादयं परिणतः शिल्यातिरेककमः । लीलानिर्जितरूपमत्तमदत्तः सौभाग्य-  
पुंजो युवा येतावं जनितः समस्त-
- 38 जगतामेकः प्रतिच्छन्दकः ॥[२९॥\*] गाम्भीर्यं जलधेः क्षमामवनितः [शौ]र्व्यं  
सहस्रार्जुनात् स्वैर्य्यं मेरुमहीभूतः शशधरात्कान्ति प्रतापं

\* *Sambhi* has not been observed here.

\* *Bhad* -सन्वितिमना.

- 39 रवेः । अन्येभ्योपि विचित्र सुन्दरतरानादाय तांस्तान्गुणान्वात्रा कू(भू)पमिमं  
विधाय कलशः सृष्टेः समारोपितः ॥[३०॥\*] सकलजनन-
- 40 मस्यः सोय कृत्वा नमस्यान्भुवनपतिरनेकान्देव[भो]गाग्रहारान् । उपरि परशुराम-  
स्यैककुशामदानस्फुरितगुण[ग]रिग्णस्त्वा-
- 41 गकोत्प्रा व(व)भूव ॥[३१॥\*] यत्च सकलजलनिधिवेला[वन]ान्तर[र]ममाणकिन्नर-  
किपुरुषकान्तकामिनीकीर्त्यमानकीर्त्तनीयकीर्त्तिः
- 42 कीर्त्तिनारायणो निजनिरुपमरूपसौन्दर्यनिज्जितकामनीयकन्दर्परूपदम्प्यो रट्टकन्दर्पः ।  
सकलदु-
- 43 द्वेररिपुतिमिरपटलपाटनपट्टप्रतापप्रसरेण विराजमानो राजमातृण्डश्चण्डदोहृण्डमण्डल-  
विध्रा[न्त]वि-
- 44 जयधोव्विजवावलोकः स्फुरदारुडवज्रपाणिव्विविचविवु(व)धजनाभवणीयश्रीः श्रीमदिन्द्र-  
राजदेव इत्यनेकविधधन्यनामधेयः
- 45 समभवत् । स च परमभट्टारैर्न महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमदकालवर्षदेवशादानु-  
द्ध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजा[धिराज]-
- 46 परमेश्वरश्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीवल्लभः श्रीमन्नित्यवर्षम(न)रेन्द्रदेवः कुशली सर्वानिव  
यथासंव(व)द्धयमानकान्तराष्ट्रपतिविषयपति[ग्राम]-
- 47 कूटायुक्तकनिवृत्तकाधिकारिकमहत्तरादीन्समादिशत्यस्तु वः संचिदितं यथा श्रीमान्य-  
खेटराजधानीनिवेशिना श्रीपट्टव(व)न्धो-
- 48 त्वाप कुन्दकमागतेन भया मातापित्रोरात्मनस्त्वंहिकामुष्मिकपुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये ।  
वेङ्कविषयविनिर्गतमारद्वाजसगो-
- 49 व्र[दा]जिपसव(व)ह्यचारिणे चतुर्वेदाय दामोदरभट्टाय भीमाशौतभट्टमुताय पड्डाण-  
समीपः सखरोष्ठी नाम ग्रामः यस्य च
- 50 पूर्वतः पिप्पलग्रामः वध्निगतः सिरिसिकाग्रामः पश्चिमतः सेडिआले ग्रामः उत्तरतः  
नन्दौरकग्रामः एवमाघाट-

\* This punctuation mark is unnecessary.

\* Read -भट्टारक ।

\* Read -वाजतनेय । [The reading is सगोव्याप्रिय which may be corrected to सगोवाप्रायेव.—Ed.]

JAMBGAON PLATES OF INDRA III, SAKA 836—PLATE II

I Seal of Jambgaon Plates of Indra III, Saka 836



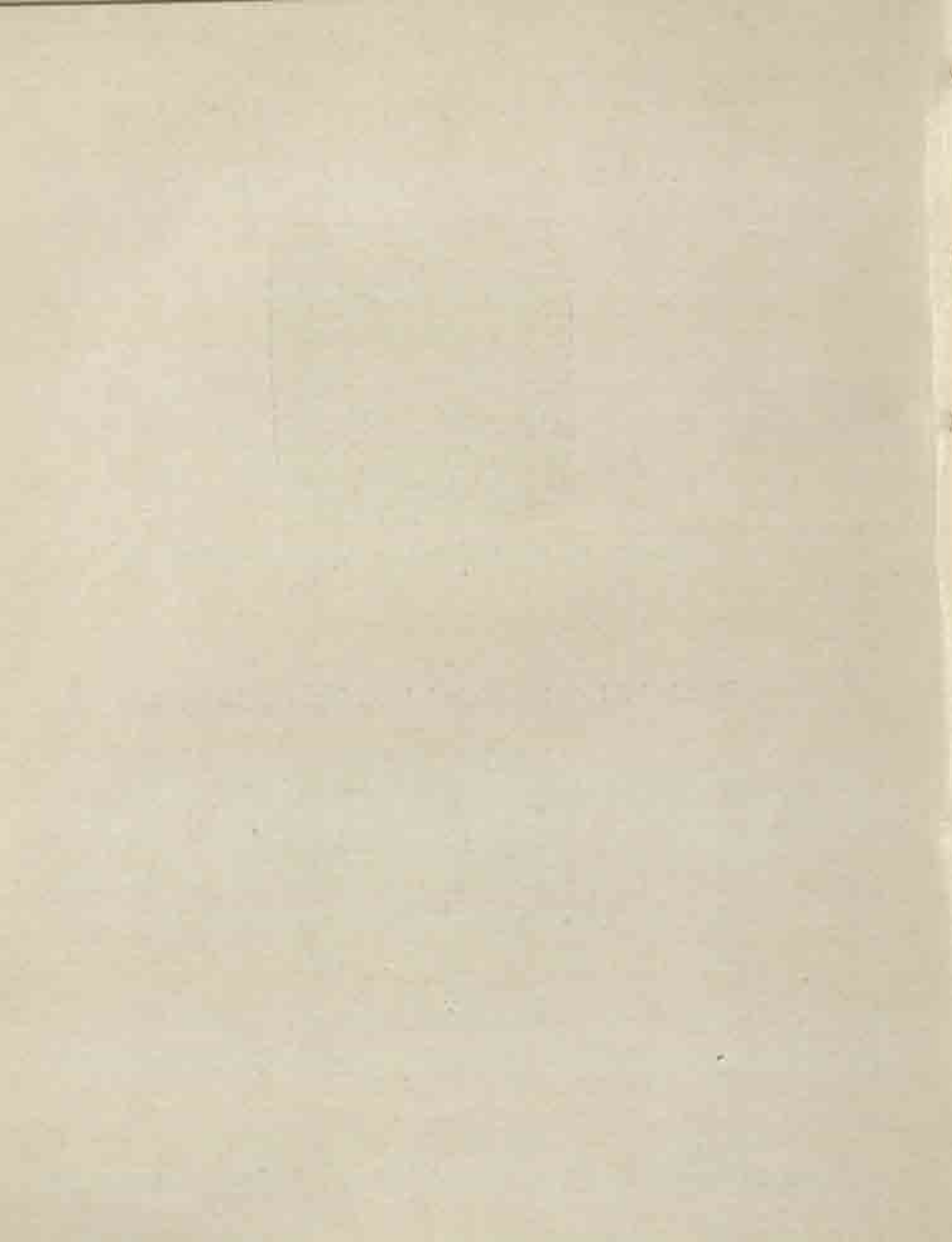
( from Photograph )

II Seal of Andura Plates of Govinda IV, Saka 851 (See page 257)



( from Photograph )





## Third Plate

- 51 चतुष्टयेनोपलक्षितः सोद्वंगः सपरिकरः सदपदशापराधः समूतोपातप्रत्यु[<sup>1\*</sup>]मः  
सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकः सधान्यहिरण्यादेयो-
- 52 चाटभटप्रवेश्यः सव्वंराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणोपः आचन्द्रार्काण्णवक्षितिसरित्पव्वंतसम-  
कालीतः पुत्रपौत्रान्वयोपभो-
- 53 ग्यः पूर्वप्रतदेवत्र(ब्र)द्वादायरहितोभ्यन्तरसिद्धधा शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरशतेष्व[<sup>1\*</sup>]मु-  
षदन्तुं(द्वित्रि)शदधिकेषु युवसंवत्सर[फाल्गु]-
- 54 नशुद्धसप्तम्यां मृगशिरसि नक्षत्रे वारे भृगुनन्दनस्य संपत्ते श्रीपट्टव(ब)न्वोत्सवे  
तुलापुरुषमारुह्य तस्मादनुत्तरता च कुल्व[का]-
- 55 वीन् ग्रामान् पंचभिर्दम्भलक्षैः सह प्रतिपाद्य द्विजेभ्योन्यानपि पूर्वंपृथ्वीपाल-  
विलुप्तान्देवभोगाग्रहारान्युनर्त्त[म]स्या'न्विदध-
- 56 ता व(ब)लिचरुर्वैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिविसंतर्पणावाद्योदकातिसर्गोण प्रतिपादितो(तः ।)  
गतोस्योचितया व(ब्र)द्वादायस्थित्या भुंजतो भोजय-
- 57 तः कृषतः कर्षयतः प्रतिदिशतो वान्यस्मै न केनचिदलापि परिपथना  
कार्या । तथागामिभिर्भद्रनृपतिभिरस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्वर्वा सामा-
- 58 न्यं भूमिदानफलन(म)वेत्य विद्युल्लोलान्यैश्वर्याणि परिकलय्य तृणाग्रलग्नजलवि-  
न्दुचंचलं च जीवितं समालोच्य
- 59 स्वदायनिर्व्विशेषोयमस्मद[म्भो]नुपालनीयः [<sup>1\*</sup>] यदचाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिरार्च्छि-  
द्यादाच्छिद्यमानकं वानु-
- 60 मोदते(देत) स पंचभिर्महापातकैः संयुक्तः स्वादित्युक्तं च भगवता वेदव्यासेन  
व्यासेन ॥ पष्टि वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं तिष्ठति भू-
- 61 मिदः । आच्छेता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥[३२\*]॥ विन्व्याट-  
वीष्वतोयामु शाककोटरवासिनः । कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं हर-

<sup>1</sup> The akshara म of नमस्यान् is incompletely incised, but there should be no doubt about this reading.

See the adjective नमस्यान् of देवभोगाग्रहारान् in verse 31 above.

- 62 न्ति ये ॥[३३\*॥] स(अ)न्नेरपत्वं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्वर्णवी सूर्यसूतादव गावः ।  
लोकपयं तेन भवेद्वि दत्तं यः कांचनं मां च महीं च दद्यात् ॥[३४\*॥] व(ब)हु-
- 63 भिर्व्वंसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [1\*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य  
तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[३५\*॥] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यत्नाद्रक्ष नराधिप । महीं न-
- 64 हीमृतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनम् ॥[३६\*॥] सामान्योर्यं धर्मसेतुर्तृपाणां काले  
काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः । सर्वानेतान्भावितः पाथिवे-
- 65 न्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ॥[३७\*॥] इति कन(म)लदलाम्बु(म्बु)वि-  
न्दुलौलां श्रियमनुचित्य मनुष्यजीवितं च । अतिविमलमनोभिरात्म-
- 66 नीनेतै ह्यि पुरुषैः परकीर्तवो विलोप्याः ॥[३८\*॥] श्रीविविक्रमभट्टेन नेमा-  
दित्यस्य सूनुता । कृता यस्ता प्रशस्तेयमिन्द्रराजाधिसेविना ॥[३९\*॥]
- 67 मंगलं महाश्रीः ॥



## No. 39—AHRAURA INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA

(1 Plate)

D. C. SINGAR, CALCUTTA

(Received on 15.10.1962)

The village of Ahraurā in the Mirzapur District of Uttar Pradesh is well known in the area for the temple of the goddess Bhāṅḡarīdevī,<sup>1</sup> situated on a hill. The inscription under study is engraved on a boulder about a hundred yards from the said temple which is much frequented by the people of the locality. The inscribed boulder is also close to the inhabited area of the village. It is surprising that, in spite of this, the inscription required such a long time to be brought to the notice of scholars.

According to an announcement of the Press Trust of India appearing in the newspapers including *The Leader* of Allahabad, dated the 11th November 1961, an exploration party of the Allahabad University, led by Prof. G. R. Sharma of the Department of Ancient Indian History, and Archaeology, visited the village of Ahraurā and discovered the inscription. The newspaper report contains also Sharma's views regarding the importance of the inscription, to which reference is made below.

While publishing the inscription in the *Bhāratī* (Research Bulletin of the College of Indology, Hindu University, Varanasi), Part I, No. 5, 1961-62, pp. 97-105, Prof. A. K. Narain of the College of Indology, however, states that Shri R. G. Pandey, Exploration Assistant of the Archaeological Survey of India, stationed at Varanasi, had previously discovered the inscription and sent a report on its existence to the Superintendent of the Survey, Mid-Eastern Circle, Patna. Narain is stated to have visited Ahraurā on the 27th December 1961 in the company of Pandey and Shri A. N. Lahiri, Senior Epigraphical Assistant in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, and taken photographs of the inscription and the temple as also impressions of the former. Some of these he published as illustrations of his paper in the *Bhāratī*. The facsimile of the inscription published by Narain is, however, unsatisfactory. The same issue of the *Bhāratī*, pp. 135-40, also contains a paper on the inscription from the pen of Prof. V. V. Mirashi.

In January 1962, Shri A. N. Lahiri, while he was passing through Calcutta, was good enough to show me an impression of the inscription which, unfortunately, was not quite satisfactory. A few months later, Shri H. K. Narasimhaswami, then in charge of the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, was so kind as to send me a better estampage and a good photograph of the Ahraurā inscription for publication in the *Epigraphia Indica*. The estampage was one of the impressions of the record taken in March 1962 by Shri S. Sankaranarayanan, one of the Assistant Superintendents for Epigraphy. I was also informed that Sankaranarayanan's paper on the record was appearing in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*.<sup>2</sup>

The inscription contains eleven lines of writing, which cover an area about 82.5 cm. in height and about 112.5 cm. in breadth. A large number of letters are completely broken away

<sup>1</sup> Macrum over s and e has not been used in this article.

<sup>2</sup> See Vol. XXXVII, pp. 217 ff.

from lines 1-6, though the preservation of the writing in the extant part is fairly satisfactory. A line of writing contains about 26 *aksharas*. The number of lost *aksharas* in the damaged section is higher in an upper line than in the lower, those visible in line 1 being only four.

The characters of the inscription are Early Brāhmī as found in most other edicts of Aśoka and its language is what is usually called the Magadha dialect. The record is a version of **Minor Rock Edict I** of the great Maurya emperor Aśoka (c. 272-232 B.C.). As is well known, other versions of the edict have been discovered at (1) Salsarām in the Shahabad District, Bihar; (2-3) Rūpnāth in the Jabalpur District and Gujarrā in the Datia District, Madhya Pradesh; (4) Bairāt in the Jaipur District, Rajasthan; (5-10) Masī, Gavimath and Pālkigundā in the Raichur District and Siddāpura, Brahmagiri and Jatinga-Rāmcēvara in the Chitaldrug District, Mysore; and (11-12) Erragaḍi and Rājula-Mandagiri in the Kurnool District of Andhra Pradesh. Many of these versions, discovered earlier, were re-edited by E. Hultzsch in *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. I, 1925, pp. 166-80; but the Gavimath and Pālkigundā versions were published by R. L. Turner in *Hyd. Arch. Ser.*, No. 10, and the Gujarrā, Rājula-Mandagiri and Erragaḍi versions by us in this journal, Vol. XXXI, pp. 205-18, and Vol. XXXII, pp. 6-9.

The great importance of the Ahaurā version of Minor Rock Edict I is that it begins and ends differently from any of the other known versions. Unfortunately, as indicated above, the earlier part of the record is damaged, so that it is not possible to determine the correct reading of this section; but it is a matter of great satisfaction that the reading of the concluding part, which is of exceptional interest, is beyond doubt. It may, however, be pointed out that this part has not yet been correctly read or interpreted by those who are known to have so far expressed their views on the epigraph.

According to Sharma, the inscription 'was engraved in the year 256 of an era, reckoned from the death of the Buddha and it is hoped that this would settle the prolonged controversy about the word *vyathosa* and the figures 256 mentioned in the other versions, as the words *Buddham satite aloke* (i.e. from the *parinirvāṇa* of Gautama Buddha) were unmistakably clear in the inscription.' He further emphasises that the record proves 'beyond doubt the currency of the Buddha era in the ancient times which has so far been inferred only from literary evidence.' Unfortunately, we are not inclined to agree with any of these views which appear to us to be based on inaccurate reading and its more incorrect interpretation.

Narain rightly regards Sharma's views as wrong. But his own transcript of the epigraph is not quite free from errors, and we find it difficult to accept his fanciful interpretation of certain well-known words such as *avaladhiyā* and *vyathosa*. According to him, *avaladhiyā* is the locative form of *āradhi-āladhi-avaladhi* which he interprets as 'the initiative energy'. It is of course impossible to accept this derivation of the word. But what is strange is that while translating the passage *dyadhiyān avaladhiyā vyathisati* as 'the initiative energy will grow by one and half times', the word *avaladhiyā* seems to have been taken by Narain in the nominative case and not in the locative. The same word occurs in the other versions of the edict as *apaladhiyānā* (Rūpnāth), *avaladhiyānā* (Salsarām) and *avaradhiyā* (Brahmagiri, etc.). This sometimes (as in *apaladhiyānā* and *avaladhiyānā*) it is clearly in the instrumental case, and we do not see how both the locative and instrumental cases would suit Narain's translation. We have no doubt that *apaladhiyānā-avaladhiyānā* stands for Sanskrit *apar-ādhikeṇa* and *avaradhiyā-avaladhiyā* for *avar-ādhikeṇa*, used here, on the analogy of *alpena-alpāḥ*, in the sense of *alp-ādhikeṇa=alp-ādhikeṇa*, i.e. 'more or less.' It has also to be noticed that the noun *āladhi-āradhi* itself is used in the inscriptions of Aśoka in the sense of 'the act of obtaining' while the participial form *āradha-āradha* is known from these records to mean



'obtained'; cf. also the forms *ārūḥoti*, *ārūḥetu*, *ārūḥetave*, *ārūḥayantu*, *ārūḥayatha*, *ārūḥayesu*, etc.<sup>2</sup>

As regards the word *viśvāḥa*, Narain regards its derivation from the root *vi-vas* meaning 'being on tour, away from home' as wrong on the following grounds: "When conjoined with the suffix *-ta*, as it has been done in this case, *va*, the initial letter of the root, is changed into *v*. This rule holds good in Sanskrit and all the Prakrits. Thus the form should have been *viśvāḥa*, not *viśvāḥa*. There is no justification for its being written as *va*." He further thinks that, in interpreting *vi-vas* as 'being on a tour, away from home', scholars have confused it with *prā-vas*. His own views are: "*Viśvāḥa* is clearly a form of *viśvāḥa* (Skt.) or *viśvāḥa* (Pali), which means 'openly', 'publicly'. The instrumental case in the word is adverbial." Unfortunately, it is impossible to agree with any of these points which are all due to misunderstanding.

In the first place, there are many instances of *v* written as *va* in the inscriptions of Asoka: e.g. *vachati*-Sanskrit *vachate* (Śāhībāgarbī and Mānsihra, R.E. XIII, line 8 in both cases); *vata*-Sanskrit *vate* (Śāhībāgarbī, R.E. II, line 5); *vata*-Sanskrit *vata* (Girnar, R.E. IX, line 6; XIV, line 4; Dhauri R.E. IX, line 5; XIV, line 2), etc. Secondly, the root *vi-vas* is used in Asoka's inscriptions, e.g., at Rūpnāth, lines 5 and 6, and Sārnāth, lines 10 and 11. In the Sārnāth Minor Pillar Edict *viśvāyātha* and *viśvāpāyātha* are used to indicate respectively, 'you should go out on tour' and 'you should send [others] on tour', while *viśvā-tāyā* in the Rūpnāth version of the Minor Rock Edict means 'you should set out on tour'. Thirdly, that *viśvā* is derived from *vi-vas* is clearly suggested by the Rūpnāth version of the edict, in which *viśvāḥa* *śāṅga* *kate* is explained and amplified by the following passage 236 *satv* (*viśvāḥa*) *ta*(*v*). Here *vyūḥa* is the participial adjective and *viśvā* the noun, both derived from the same root, viz. *vi-vas*. There is thus little substance in Narain's contentions. In this edict, *viśvā* apparently stands for Sanskrit *vyūḥa*. It has to be noted that the common Pali-Prakrit form of Sanskrit *vyūḥa* is *vūḥa*, so that *viśvā* stands for Pali-Prakrit *vūḥa*. The use of *th* instead of *h* is only found in the form *vyūḥa* in the Rūpnāth version and, although Monier-Williams supports the use of *vyūḥa* in the sense of *vyūḥa*, *vyūḥa* of Rūpnāth may be a scribal error for *vyūḥa* which is a variant of *vūḥa*.

Narain regards line 11, which is the most important section of the extant part of the inscription, as a separate sentence. His reading and translation of the line are as follows: *dvē* *śāṅga* *līti* *satv* *amāḥa* (*amāḥa*) [*cha* ?] *Budhava* *satv* *āloḥa* (*ta* or *cha* ?). "Two hundred fiftysix nights (days) after having enshrined the relics of our Buddha," or "Two hundred fiftysix nights (i.e. days) are over since the relics of our Buddha were enshrined [by me]." It has, however, been overlooked that, if the first interpretation is preferred, there is no point in Narain's emphasis on the full-stop at the end of line 10, which would make line 11 an independent sentence. Moreover, it is extremely doubtful whether a devotee of the Buddha would refer to the object of his veneration in an endearing fashion as 'our Buddha' in the age of Asoka when he was being worshipped as a great divinity.

Mirashi's reading of the concluding part of the Ahraura inscription does not differ very much from that of Narain. But, in place of Narain's *amāḥa* (*amāḥa*) [*cha* ?], he suggests the reading to be *śāṅga* *līti* *satv* *amāḥa*<sup>3</sup> so that the reference in the inscription would be to *Samyaksambuddha*

<sup>2</sup> The words can be easily traced in the inscriptions with the help of the Index at the end of *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. I, 1923. We have indicated the *ś*-signs in the words occurring in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions which do not show signs of length.



and not to *Buddha*. Sankarānrayana's main contention is that *asthānā* — *stille* stands for Sanskrit *śīmanā*.....*śerīman* and refers to an image of the Buddha or some object (such as the figure of an elephant) standing for the Buddha. We do not agree with either of these views. While Mirashi's suggestion is totally unsupported by the clear reading of the letters, the word *śerīma* is used in the Buddhist literature and inscriptions<sup>1</sup> in the sense of 'corporeal relics' and not of 'an image or representation'.

Only four *akṣaras* are extant at the end of line 1, so that about 22 of them are lost from the beginning of the line. These four *akṣaras* are *piyo sīti*. At the end of the similarly preserved line 2, we can read [sā]hā[śī], though there is space for two or three more *akṣaras* after that. Thus about 30 *akṣaras* are lost from the beginning of this line. Of the 4 *akṣaras* in line 1, *piyo* looks like the concluding part of the name *Devānāmpīyo* while *sīti* seems to be the earlier part of the word *sāhikāśī*. But a reference to the other versions would suggest that these letters belong to the introductory part since the edict proper begins with the word *sāhikāśī* about the end of line 2. The introductory section in the present version, which was written in lines 1-2 in about 46 *akṣaras* and probably had the words *Devānāmpīyo* and *sāhikāśī* about the middle, appears to have been different from the same in the other versions which are introduced as follows: (1) *Devānāmpīyo hema āhā* (or *āha*) [1\*] *sāhikāśī* (Rūpnāth); (2) *Devānāmpīyo āhā* [1\*] *sāhikāśī* (Bairāt); (3) *Devānāmpīyasa Asokasa*..... (Maski); (4) *Svānāyagīrīte Ayyapata Mahāmātīyasa cha vachaneva Isilasi Mahāmātī ārogīyasa caturīyā* [1\*] *hema cha caturīyā* [1\*] *Devānāmpīyo āyapayati* [1\*] *adhikāśī* (Brahmagiri); (5) *Svānāyagīrīte Ayyapata Mahāmātīyasa cha vachaneva Isilasi Mahāmātī ārogīyasa caturīyā* [1\*] *Devānāmpīyo hema āhā* [1\*] *adhikāśī* (Sīhlāpura); (6) *Devānāmpīyasa Piyadasīna Askarājasa* (Gujarrā); (7) *Devānāmpīyo hema āhā* [1\*] *adhikāśī* (Erraguḍi and Rājula-Mandagiri); etc. Unfortunately there is no way to restore the lost words in the introductory part of the inscription in lines 1-2 of the Abhurā version, though it appears to have been fairly long as in the Mysore versions and probably referred to a period of time in relation to an event of Aśoka's life. Considering the context, it is not impossible that the reference here was to the Kalinga war which led to Aśoka's conversion to Buddhism.

We can read at the end of lines 3-4, the beginning of which is likewise lost, the passages *cha bhāṣam palakānte* and *cha palakānte stona*. It is clear from the number of the lost *akṣaras* that, with the word *sāhikāśī* about the end of line 2, the text of lines 3-4 has to be restored, with the help of the Sāhaspāta and Rūpnāth versions, as follows: *sāhikāśī adbhātiyāni an upāsaka sumi na* *cha bhāṣam palakānte* [1\*] *sumi māhale sāhikā an sumi hama sāgha upa bhāṣam* *cha palakānte* [1\*]. These two sentences show that, when the edict was promulgated, Aśoka had been an *upāsaka* (lay follower of the Buddha) for a little over two and a half years, that he was not zealous [in the matter of Dharma at first] and that he became zealous [in the matter of Dharma] for a little over one year [about the end of the said period of a little over two and a half years]. Thus there is mention here of three periods of time, (1) the first giving the whole period from his initiation into Buddhism down to the date of the edict as more than two and a half years, (2) the second referring to the initial period of his inaction without specifying its length, and (3) the third mentioning the period characterised by his zealous activity in relation to Dharma, the length of which is given as more than a year. It is, of course, obvious from this that the unspecified period of inactivity mentioned in the second place was of one year and that is what is clearly stated in some of the versions, e.g., *so te kha bhāṣam palakānte hema kha samvachharasi* (Brahmagiri; cf. the similar text of the sentence in the Sīhlāpura, Erraguḍi and Rājula-Mandagiri versions).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *P.T.S. Palī Dict.*, s. v. *stille*; *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 103, 109, 112, 129, 135, 143, 153.

In lines 5-6, the loss of letters is in the central part, so that we can read the *aksharas* both at the beginning and at the end. Thus in line 5 we have [a]śāta[ś] at the beginning and *amisañdeṣā kaṭā* at the end, while line 6 has *pālakaṁa[ś]* [?] and [ ?] *teṣa va saṅga pāpatare khaḷabosa pi* at the beginning and the end respectively. With *teṣa* at the end of line 4, the text of these lines considering the number of the *aksharas* lost in the lines and the texts of the other versions, may be restored as: *teṣa aśāta[na Jambūdvīpasi amisañdeṣā saṁta munisā] mi-*  
*sañdeṣā kaṭā* [1\*] *pālakaṁa [śyaṁ phala]* [1\*] *[na hiṅga maha]trasa va saṅga pāpatare* [1\*].

In the first sentence here, the word *aśāta*-Sanskrit *astara* has been used in the sense of 'a period of time' with reference to the period of more than a year which was characterised by Aśoka's zealous activity in the matter of Dharma. This meaning is clear not only from the use of *astara*, *aśāta* and *aśātikā* elsewhere in the Aśokan edicts, but also from the different texts of the present edict; e.g. (1) *yā śāṅga velāṅga Jambūdvīpasi amisañ deṣā hrasa te dāni misā kaṭā* (Rāpūth); *yava Jambūdvīpasi ye amisañ deṣā hrasa te dāni misābhāṭā* (Maski); *amisañ chā kīlana amisañ samāṅṅ amisañ Jambūdvīpasi misā deṣā* (Mysore versions); *amisañ chā kīlana amisañ ye amisañ deṣā te dāni misābhāṭā* (Kraguḍi); *teṣā aśātareṣā Jambūdvīpasi Devānam-pigva amisañdeṣā saṁta munisā misāñdeṣā kaṭā* (Gujarā); etc. It will be seen that the words *śāṅ* and *kāḷa* have been used elsewhere as the synonyms of *astara* of the present record, the Sāhasrām text being the same as in our version. It is stated here that, during the period of more than a year which was characterised by Aśoka's zealous activity in respect of Dharma, people who had been formerly unmingled with the gods became commingled with the latter. What is meant is that Aśoka led men in the path of Dharma so much so that they became fit for commingling with the gods both on the earth and in heaven. This refers to the ancient Indian belief that pious people (like the Śāilodbhava king Ayakobhita Madhyamarāja of Orissa) often brought the gods to the earth to converse with them.\*

The three sentences that follow the above, two of which have already been quoted, mean to say that the said commingling of the gods and men was the result of Aśoka's exertion in the cause of Dharma, and that the same result could be obtained not only by the big people like Aśoka, but that even a poor man, if he was zealous like Aśoka, could reach even the great heaven, meaning either the world of gods or a still higher station.

The next few sentences state why Aśoka promulgated the edict and gives the reasons under the following two categories: (1) he wanted that both the poor and rich people should exert in the cause of Dharma, that the *astara* or the people of the areas outside the borders of the Maurya empire<sup>†</sup> should know all about Aśoka's exertion in the cause of Dharma and its result and that exertion in that respect should be attempted by all to make it everlasting, and (2) he also declared that the said matter, i.e. exertion in the cause of Dharma, would not only increase, but that it would increase greatly and would even increase more or less one and a half times.

Instead of the passage meaning 'let the rich and the poor exert [in the cause of Dharma],' the Gujarā version has 'let the poor and the rich exert [in the cause of Dharma] and get commingled [with the gods] (*yogañ yudjashitā*)'.

The last sentence in lines 10-11, a clause in which is found only in the present version, reads: *na āstava vāṁthā[na] [da]na vapamañ-ḷāṁ-satā aśa manke Buddhā saḷle āleḥke*

\* See my *Maski Inscription of Aśoka*, Rylabād, 1958, p. 27, note; above, Vol. XXIX, p. 35.

† In Buddhist literature, *astara* means the areas near but within the borders, while *pratyanta* means the areas outside the borders (*Dīpāṁśū*, ed. Cowell and Neil, p. 22). But, in the inscriptions of Aśoka, *astara* is used in both these senses. Cf. Book Edicts II and XIII for the second meaning.



[6]. In this, the last *akṣara* is *ti*, though there is an oval sign attached to the lower right slanting stroke of *t*. This mark is not quite like the globular subscript *v* in the *akṣara* *tea* in line 6. Moreover, if we read the *akṣara* as *te*, it would probably have to be regarded as a mistake for *te*=Sanskrit *ite*. It is possibly better to regard the sign as a mark of punctuation or auspiciousness such as the crescent-symbol opening towards the left found at the end of many of the Rock Edicts at Kāśī and the globular sign with a dot inside (resembling the Early Brāhmi character *th*) as noticed often at the end of an inscription or a section thereof.<sup>1</sup> We also know of the use of a globular mark with an *akṣara* intended to be a sign of cancellation,<sup>2</sup> although that meaning does not appear to be applicable to the mark in the present case.

The above sentence may be Sanskritised and interpreted as follows: *etaḥ śrāvṇam vyushitena [mayā śrāvītam] dve śhatpañchāśad-rātri-śate yut [=yateḥ] vasaḥkṣaḥ Buddhasya śarīraḥ [=śarīra-śarāḥkṣaḥ] śrāvṇam-iti*, "This declaration is [made by me as I am] away on a tour [of pilgrimage] for 256 nights since the relics of the Buddha rose to (i.e. were caused by me to be installed on) the platform."

It seems better to regard *śatī* as standing for Sanskrit *śate* rather than for *śati*. The word *śatī* standing for Sanskrit *yat* in the sense of 'since' is often met with in Aśokan records; e.g. in Minor Rock Edict I: *asā upāsakaḥ asmi* (Sanskrit *yat [aham] upāsakaḥ asmi*), 'since I am (have been) a lay follower [of the Buddha]' (Sahasrām). As regards the use of the word *lātri*=Sanskrit *rātri*, 'a night' in the sense of 'a day including day and night', it is very common in Sanskrit literature, especially in the description of tours of pilgrimage, etc.<sup>3</sup>

The above sentence may be compared with the two concluding sentences of the Sahasrām version, which run as follows: *iyam śa carane vyushitena [I\*] dve sapāṇṇi-lātri-śatī vyushā ti 256 [I\*] (Sanskrit *idam śa śrāvṇam vyushitena [mayā śrāvītam] | dve śhatpañchāśad-rātri-śate vyushitah [aham] itī-256*), "And this declaration [has been made by me while I am] away on a tour [of pilgrimage]. [I am] away on a tour [of pilgrimage] for two hundred fifty-six nights—256."*

The meaning of this section is so clear from the language that it is quite impossible to agree with those who prefer such interpretations as (1) that 256 officers were dispatched along with the proclamation to different centres of the empire; (2) that the message was proclaimed 256 times; (3) that the proclamation was made or engraved when 256 years of an era (usually identified with the Buddha-parinirvāna era) had elapsed; (4-5) that the edict was proclaimed by the dispatch of 256 copies of it or of 256 missionaries; etc.<sup>4</sup>

We have seen elsewhere<sup>5</sup> that Aśoka began to promulgate his edicts relating to Dharma twelve years after his coronation, i.e. in the thirteenth year of his reign, and that Minor Rock Edict I was one of the earliest edicts, if not the earliest one, issued by the Maurya emperor. Thus the present edict was issued in Aśoka's thirteenth regnal year when he was away on a pilgrimage which had already lasted 256 days, i.e. a little over eight and a half lunar months, or nearly three-fourths of a lunar year of three hundred and fifty-four days. On the other hand, Aśoka must have been initiated into Buddhism sometime after the date of the Kalinga war which took place eight years after his coronation, i.e. in his ninth

<sup>1</sup> Bühler, *Indian Palaeography*, Calcutta reprint, pp. 123-36.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXIX, p. 202 and note 10.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Mahābhārata*, III, 82, 62: *Tirho vallo-vijayaṃ mātāḥ prajāto-māmanāḥ | tī-rātrīm-śakāḥ śatāḥ śarpayā-pūtri-śentāḥ ||* It is impossible to agree with those who take *lātri* in some other sense. See *Masli Inscrption of Aśoka*, p. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Narain, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>5</sup> See *Masli Inscrption of Aśoka*, pp. 23 ff.; above, Vol. XXIII, p. 326.



regnal year, and sometimes before the date of his visit to the Sambodhi or Mahābodhi (i.e. Bodhgayā) which took place ten years after his coronation, i.e. the eleventh year of his reign. Since the pilgrimage to Sambodhi appears to have been one of the earliest acts of Asoka when he became zealous in the cause of Dharma one year after his initiation, the latter event probably took place nine years after his coronation, i.e. in the tenth regnal year. A year after that date, probably in the latter half of his eleventh regnal year, Asoka came into close relations with the Buddhist Church and became zealous in the propagation of Dharma. After about a year, he set out on a pilgrimage sometime in the second half of his twelfth regnal year and issued Minor Rock Edict I eight and a half months later in the first half of his thirteenth regnal year. This would account for the period of a little over two and a half years between Asoka's initiation into Buddhism and the date of Minor Rock Edict I.

Minor Rock Edict I is the only inscription of Asoka which states that he set out on a long tour of pilgrimage, in the course of which the edict was promulgated, and the **Abraurā version of the edict is the only Asokan record which states that the pilgrimage was undertaken immediately after the installation of the relics of the Buddha on a platform no doubt for worship.** This adds one more point to the evidence suggesting that Asoka was a Buddhist and is also in agreement with Buddhist tradition.

That Asoka was a patron of the Buddha's doctrine and was responsible for raising it from the status of a local sectarian creed of Eastern India to that of one of the principal religions of the world admits of little doubt.<sup>1</sup> Although the word *Dharma* as used in his edicts generally means a code of morals preached by him probably following what were known to him to be the teachings of the Buddha, the Bhāru-Bairāt edict clearly uses the word in the sense of the Buddha's doctrine which is called 'the True Faith' (*saddharma*). This edict not only refers to Asoka's reverence for and faith in the Buddhist Trinity (i.e. the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha), but also prescribes certain religious texts, selected by himself, for the regular study not only of the lay followers of the Buddha but even of the Buddhist monks and nuns. Asoka is known to have visited only the Buddhist holy places of Sambodhi (Bodhgayā), Lambinīgrāma and Kanakamuni-stūpa. Several versions of a pillar edict contain the text of his order to his officers to the effect that heretical monks and nuns should have to be expelled from the Saṅgha and this attempt on Asoka's part to preserve the unity of the Buddhist Church is also known from the Southern Buddhist tradition. All this was not possible for Asoka if he was not a Buddhist. He is represented in Buddhist traditions as a lay follower of the Buddha and a patron of Buddhism, while we have seen how, in Minor Rock Edict I, he actually claims to be a lay worshipper of the Buddha. With some of his inscriptions, we have either the figure of or a reference to the elephant as the symbolical representation of the Buddha. To these facts pointing to Asoka's initiation into the Buddhist faith, we have now to add his statement that the relics of the Buddha had been installed [by him] on a platform apparently for worship immediately before he set out on a long tour of pilgrimage about the latter half of his twelfth regnal year.

According to Buddhist traditions, Asoka built the Asokārāma at Pāṭaliputra and no less than 84,000 Buddhist monasteries in various cities within his empire.<sup>2</sup> It is of course diffi-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. my *Inscriptions of Asoka*, Delhi, 1957, pp. 15 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, pp. 91 ff.; R. K. Mookerji, *Asoka*, pp. 60 ff.; *Mañjū Inscriptions of Asoka*, pp. 7-8.

cult to say whether the relics of the Buddha stated to have been installed by Asoka in the edict under study were enshrined in the Asokārāma; but the possibility is there. According to traditions the Buddha's relics were originally in the possession of the Mallas of Kusinārā where the Buddha died though they were later divided among the said Mallas and seven other claimants, viz. king Ajātashatru of Magadha, the Licchhavis of Vaishālī, the Śākya of Kapilavastu, the Bulis of Allakappa, the Koliyas of Rāmagrāma, a Brāhmana of Vethadīpa and the Mallas of Pāvā. Asoka is said to have taken out the relics enshrined in the Stūpas built by these people and redistributed them among the 84,000 Stūpas built by himself. Some of Asoka's Stūpas were in existence as late as the 7th century A.D. when the Chinese pilgrim Hsuan-tsang visited India and saw them in different regions as far west as Bengal and as far south as Kāñchīpura near Madras. The pilgrim also refers to Asoka's daily practice of offering worship at the stone bearing the Buddha's footprints installed at Pāṭaliputra. Whether this was enshrined in the Asokārāma cannot be determined. It is also difficult to say whether it is the same stone which has been referred to in the edict under study as the *mañcha*, on which the relics of the Buddha were installed for worship.

## TEXT\*

- 1 \*.....piyo<sup>1</sup> [1\*]  
 aṅgī<sup>2</sup>
- 2 \*.....[sā]  
 dh[ikā]...<sup>3</sup>
- 3 \*.....cha bā[hanu  
 palakathā [1\*]
- 4 \*.....cha palakathā  
 [1\*] etena
- 5 [a]ṅgī[va]<sup>4</sup>.....misaṅgīdevā  
 kaṅgī [1\*]
- 6 palaka[māsa] [1\*].....[tvama] va [sa]kya  
 pāpotava khudakena pi
- 7 palakamamānā vipulā pi svaga [sa]kya ālābhavā [1\*] etāye aṅgīye

\* From impressions.

<sup>1</sup> About 22 aksharas are lost here.

<sup>2</sup> The intended word may be *Dharmapāpa*.

<sup>3</sup> The intended word may be *śālikāni*.

<sup>4</sup> About 20 aksharas are lost here.

<sup>5</sup> About three aksharas are lost here. They are apparently *śā mīha*, so that we have to restore *saṅgīkhaś* *śā*.

<sup>6</sup> The aksharas lost here may be restored as *śāpāni amāśābhāni an upāśāni svā [1\*] va*.

<sup>7</sup> The aksharas lost here may be restored as *amāśābhāni aṅgīye an svāśā bhāna amāśā upāśā bhāna*.

<sup>8</sup> The aksharas lost here may be restored as *va Jambūdvīpaś amisaṅgīdevā svā mīha*.

<sup>9</sup> The aksharas lost here may be restored as *paṅgī pāśā [1\*] va kīpaṅgī mīha*.





AHRAURA INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA



Scale : One-seventh

8 [[ya]m sāvane [[\*] khudakā cha [udā]la cha pa[la]kamacitū [[\*] amā] pi  
cha jōmaritū: [[\*]

9 [ch]ha[st]itike cha palakame hotū [[\*] ya]m cha a[th]a va[ḥ]isati vipulā] pi cha

10 va[ḥ]isati dīya[ḥ]i[ya]m a]vuladhīyā va[ḥ]isati [[\*] esa sāvane vivu[th]e[na]

11 [du]ya sapatnā-lāti-sati am amā[ḥ]e Buddha satte ālo[ḥ]a [4]]<sup>1</sup>

## TRANSLATION

- (a) **Devānāmpriya** .....
- (b) It is for a little over .....
- (c) It is for a little over [two years and a half that I am a lay follower (of the Buddha)].
- (d) But I was [not] highly zealous (in the cause of Dharma at the beginning of the period for one year).
- (e) [It is for a little over one year (now) that I am intimately associated<sup>2</sup> with the Saṅgha (Buddhist Church)] and am [highly] zealous (in the cause of Dharma).
- (f) During this period of time (covering a little over one year) [the people who were not commingled with the gods in Jambudvīpa (i.e. in Asoka's empire)] have been made commingled with the gods.
- (g) This is [the result] of (my, i.e. Asoka's) exertion (in the cause of Dharma).
- (h) [This (result) is, however, not] to be achieved only by a rich man (like myself).
- (i) Even a poor man, who is zealous (in the cause of Dharma), is capable of obtaining even the great heaven.
- (j) For this purpose (i.e. the purpose indicated below) is this declaration (made).
- (k) Let the poor and the rich exert (in the cause of Dharma).
- (l) Let the people of the areas bordering (on my empire) also know (all about this exertion, and its results).

<sup>1</sup> The stop is indicated by an oval sign joined to the right leg of the letter l.

<sup>2</sup> For this meaning of the word *apāṇa*, *apāṇa*, *pāṇa* or *apāṇita*, used in different versions of the edicts, see above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 287 ff.

- (m) Let exertion (in the cause of Dharma) be everlasting.
- (n) This matter (i.e. exertion in the cause of Dharma) will increase—will increase even to a great extent—will increase more or less one and a half times.
- (o) This declaration (has been made by me while I am) on a tour (of pilgrimage) for 256 nights (i.e. days) since the relics of the Buddha ascended (i.e. were caused to be installed by me on) the platform (for worship).
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No. 31—ASVI PLATES OF YADAVA AIRAMADEVA, SAKA 1020

(I Plate)

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The set of copper-plates, containing the inscription edited below, was discovered about forty-five years ago while ploughing a field by an agriculturist at **Āsvī** in the Sanganner Taluk in the Ahmednagar District, Maharashtra State.<sup>1</sup> The plates ultimately reached the hands of P. N. Patwardhan who published them in Marāṭhī, without any facsimile, in the *Quarterly Journal of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśiddhanta Maṇḍala*, Poona, Vol. III, No. 1 (1922), pp. 1-5.<sup>2</sup> In February 1962, when I visited Poona, the Secretary of that Maṇḍala, G. H. Khare, kindly handed over to me the original plates for my examination and study for which my thanks are due to him. As the inscription is important for the history of the early Yādava dynasty, it is edited here in English for the first time.

The set consists of **three plates** with slightly raised rims, each plate measuring 26 cm. by 17.75 cm. The plates are strung together with an elliptical copper-ring measuring 11.5 cm. by 8 cm. at the inner points. The ends of the ring are secured at the bottom of a mass of copper into which is impressed an almost circular seal, 4 cm. in diameter. The seal bears the figure of a seated Garuda, facing full front.<sup>3</sup> A small piece of the middle plate towards the end of line 10 is broken off and lost, although no letter has been lost thereby. The first and the last plate have writing on the inner sides only while the second plate bears writing on both sides. There are 83 lines of writing in all distributed as follows: first plate, 21 lines; first side of the second plate and the last plate, 22 lines each; and the second side of the second plate, 20 lines. The preservation of the writing is fairly satisfactory. The plates, together with the ring and the seal, weigh 3765 grams while the ring with the seal weighs 1000 grams.

The characters are Nāgarī of the 11th century A.D. Of the initial vowels, *a* occurs in lines 3, 14, 36, 38, 77 and 81; *ā* in lines 5, 12, 42, 53 and 82; *i* in line 56; *u* in lines 9, 11, 25, 41 and 56; *e* in lines 53, 57 and 81. Final *ṣ* is found in lines 4, 6, 8, 16, 30, 32, 35, 45, 59 and 69; final *ṣ* in lines 13, 23, 24 and 26. The rare form of *ṣ* is met with in line 16. The language of the record is Sanskrit, prose and verse. The composition is faulty in some places and the engraver has also committed several mistakes. As regards orthography, it may be observed that the sign for *e* has been used to indicate *ē* also and that the consonant following *r* is generally reduplicated. In some cases *s* is written for *ś*, cf. lines 6, 13, 21, 23, etc. The numerical symbols for 0, 1, 2 and 5 are used in lines 35 and 38.

The inscription belongs to the time of the king **Tribhuvanamalla-Permāṇḍidēva** (i.e. Vikramāditya VI) of the Western Chālukya dynasty of Kalyāṇa and his feudatory **Mahāmaṇḍalādēva Airamadēva** of the early Yādava dynasty of Sōunadēsa. The name of this feudatory ruler has been wrongly taken by Patwardhan as Irammadēva while Hemādri in

<sup>1</sup> The inscription has been registered as No. A 34 in *A. B. Ep.*, 1901-62.

<sup>2</sup> There are some errors in this published transcript.

<sup>3</sup> It appears that the seal was missing when Patwardhan obtained the plates but was subsequently found and fixed in its place.

<sup>4</sup> *QJB/SM*, Vol. III, p. 2.

his introduction to *Pratakhayya*, mentions it as Parammadēva.<sup>1</sup> The correct reading of the name in the present inscription is Āiramadēva as given in lines 42 and 82 in the prose portion while it is spelt as Āiramudē in verse 8 in line 30, the doubling of m being due to metrical reasons.

The details of the date of the record given in lines 34-36 as Śaka 1020, Bahudhānya, Vaiśākha amāvāsya, Monday, regularly correspond to 3rd May, 1098 A.D.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it is the only known record of the Yādava chief Āiramadēva discovered so far. The record opens with the *Siddham* symbol followed by a verse invoking god Śaṅkara (verse 1) for the welfare of the Yādava king (Yadupati-pati) i.e. Āiramadēva. Verses 2-7 are devoted to the introduction of the predecessors of the ruling chief Āiramadēva. All these seven verses are found in the Bassein plates<sup>2</sup> of Sēupachandra II, the father and predecessor of Āirama, which are dated Śaka 891 or 1069 A.D. Verse 2 mentions the first ruler Dṛiḍhaprahāra as hailing from Dvārāvati (i.e. the well-known Dwārakā in Gujrat) and as making famous the city called Chandrādityapura. This Chandrādityapura is generally identified with modern Chandor in the Nasik District in Maharashtra State. Verse 3 refers to Dṛiḍhaprahāra's son Sēupachandra I who is stated to have built the city of Sēupapura (named after him) in Sindhūtra (division). The name of this division has been read as Sindūtra in the Bassein plates and it represents modern Sinnar which is 17 miles to the south-east of Nasik.<sup>3</sup> The same verse mentions Dhādityappa, son of Sēupachandra I. Verse 4 gives the names of 4 rulers viz. Dhādityappa's son Brahad-Bhīllama or Bhīllama I, his son Rāja, his son Vaddiga and the latter's son Bhīllama II. The wife of Bhīllama II is introduced in verse 5. She was Lachchhiyavvā who was the daughter of Jhānīpharāja and who belonged to the Bāhtrakūṭa family. Then comes Bhīllama II's son Vāsūka (verse 6) whose son was Bhīllama III. Verse 7 states that in the family of this Bhīllama III was born Sēupēndu (i.e. Sēupachandra II) who restored the glory of his kingdom on the death of Bhīllama by defeating all his enemies just as Hari saved the three worlds in his Bear incarnation. The recently discovered Dēvalāh plates<sup>4</sup> state that Sēupachandra uplifted (*samudhṛitya*) the kingdom which had fallen into the hands of his relatives (*dāyidias*). Hēmādri gives three names between Bhīllama III and Sēupachandra II, viz. Vādugi, son of Bhīllama III, Vādugi's successor Vēngi, who was probably the former's brother, and Vēngi's successor Bhīllama IV. It may, therefore, be suggested that after the death of Vādugi, the Yādava kingdom passed into the hands of Vēngi who was succeeded by Bhīllama IV and that Sēupachandra II, who was probably the son of Vādugi and the grandson of Bhīllama III and thus belonged to the main line, had to fight with the members of the collateral line and wrest the ancestral kingdom. Therefore, Bhīllama, after whose death the glory of the kingdom is stated to have been restored by Sēupachandra II, may be identified with Bhīllama IV. We know that Sēupachandra II was a subordinate of the Western Chūlukya king Sōmēvara II and helped the latter's younger brother Vikramāditya

<sup>1</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 271.

<sup>2</sup> *Jal. Ins.*, Vol. XII, pp. 110 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Bhagvanlal Indraji translated the verse as saying that Sēupachandra 'founded the town of Sēupapura in the good Sindūtra'. Observing that this rendering was wanting in sense as Sindūtra itself was a town, Fleet suggested (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 512, note 4) that Sindūtra is here referred to as the birth-place of the son of Sēupachandra who is mentioned later on in the verse. But if we take Sindūtra or Sindhūtra as the headquarters of the division of the same name, there will not be any difficulty in understanding the verse in question.

<sup>4</sup> *Cl. A. N. Ep.*, 1957-58, No. A 12.



VI in obtaining the throne.<sup>1</sup> Verse 8 introduces Āirama, son of Śaṅgachandra II, who is also stated to have defeated Bhuvanāikamalla, i.e. Somśvara II and to have offered the kingdom to Paramardīa, i.e. Vikramāditya VI. This shows that both the father and the son viz. Śaṅgachandra II and Āirama sided with Vikramāditya VI in his fight against his elder brother and predecessor,<sup>2</sup> Yōgallā, wife of Āirama, is introduced in verse 9. This is followed by the date of the record in lines 34-35 which is discussed above.

Lines 36-43 state that mahāmāyāśālādevarā Āiramādēva made a grant, with the consent of the pañcha-pradhāna, while Tribhuvanamalla Permadīdēva i.e. Vikramāditya VI was the supreme king. The expression pañcha-pradhāna i.e. a council of five ministers is interesting and may be compared with ashta-pradhāna set up by Śivaji in later times. At the time of the grant, Āirama was at Narmadāpura on the banks of the river Narmadā. Lines 43-48 inform that the gift was made to Kūkala-panḍita and 30 other Brāhmanas. Kūkala-panḍita was the son of Gōpati-bhaṭṭa, grandson of Śūlanabhāṭṭa, and great-grandson of Nāgaga-kramayit who belonged to the Kāyapa-gōtra and Śākala-śākhā and who had emigrated from Karahāṭa. Lines 48-49 state that the gift consisted of the village Kōmkaṇḍē in Saṅgamānḍra-84 situated in Śrinagara-2500 in Śūṇadōṣa. Lines 51-52 relate to the privileges of the gift while lines 53-57 refer to the boundaries of the gift-village. They are: to the east, Dundūdēva; to the south-east, the village Kōnachī; to the south, Maniyavallī village; to the south-west, Juniyaravē village; to the west, Vadāgava village; to the north-west, Saṅgamnī village; to the north Kapathaka village; and to the north-east, Mēshī-pāniya. Lines 58-82 are devoted to the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses. Lines 82-83 repeat the information that Āiramādēva of the Yādava family granted the village Kōmkaṇḍē. This is followed by the statement that the gift should be protected by the sons and grandsons (of the donor). The meaning of the sentence in lines 83-84 is not clear. However, it appears to stipulate that the donee should pay some *dravanas* as taxes (*śōṭra*) to the king.<sup>3</sup> Thus the present grant seems to be a *karāṭānna*. The charter ends with the statement that it was written by Hariś-chandra.

As regards the identification of the place-names found in the record, Dvārāvati-puttana (line 6) is the well-known Dvārakā in Gujarat. Chandradītyapura (lines 7-9) may be Chandor or Chandvad, 40 miles north-east of Nasik. Sārdhivāra (line 11), the division in which Śūṇapura was included, is represented by modern Sinar, 17 miles south-east of Nasik. It is also called Śrinagara, the head-quarters of the division Śrinagara-2500, in line 48. Karahāṭa (line 43) is modern Karhad in Satara District. Śūṇadōṣa (line 48) is the area round about the Sarik District, Saṅgamānḍra-84 (line 49) which was included in Śrinagara-2500 is modern Saṅgamnḍr, 50 miles to the north-west of Ahmednagar. The gift-village Kōmkaṇḍ-grāma (line 49) in Saṅgamānḍra-84 division is represented by modern Koukangan, 7½ miles to the east of Saṅgamnḍr. The villages mentioned as boundaries (lines 53-57) to the gift-village may be identified as follows; Dundūdēva may be modern Dandhōvara temple and hill, about 10 miles to the east of Saṅgamnḍr. Kōnachī-grāma is modern Konchi, 10 miles east of Saṅgamnḍr on the slope of the Dhandhōvara hill. Maniyavallī-grāma is Manoli, 8 miles to the east of Saṅgamnḍr. Juniyaravē-grāma is represented by modern Jorve, a small village on the north bank of the Pravara river, 5 miles east of Saṅgamnḍr. Vadāgava-grāma is modern Wadgaon, 5 miles east of Saṅgamnḍr. Kapathaka-grāma may be modern Kavathe-Kamalōṣvar, 10 miles north of Saṅgamnḍr. Mēshī-pāniya appears

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 69 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the expression *śōṭra* in the Kaligyan plates of Yādava Mahādēva, above Vol. XXXII, p. 47, text line 77 and *śōṭra* in the Chinchani plates of Rōshtrakōṭa Kriṣṇa III, *ibid.*, p. 80, text lines 36 and 42.



to be the name of a stream. I am unable to identify Narmadāpura on the banks of the river Narmadā and also Saṅgadvīgrāma which is stated to have been situated to the north-west of the gift-village Kōṅkayā-grāma.

## TEXT\*

[Metres: Verse 1 *Mandākrāntā*; verses 2-8 *Śāriṅgalakrāntā*; verses 9-10, 14-22 *Asuśubh*; verse 11 *Śālā*; verses 12-13 *Indravajrā*.]

## First Plate

- 1 Sīdham\* Svasti Jayābhaya<sup>1</sup>cha || Trailōkyē(kyam) saṅgijati Bhagavā[ra]la(la)-
- 2 vha(ha) māhātmya-tājā<sup>2</sup> chittā(ntā)gamyā parama-tapasān yōgi-
- 3 nān dhyāyatām yā [|\*] a-pratyakṣān bhavati vivu(bu)ddhā(dhā)uām-apī prā-
- 4 yā-saṅ dēvaḥ sō-yam Yadujati-patēy Śāṅkaraḥ sam karō-
- 5 t(tu)[|1\*] Ālau khyātō(ta) **Dṛiḍhaprahāra**-nripatīḥ śrī-Vishnurūpaḥ sa
- 6 hi prakāśō nija-vadīm(ka) śekhara-tanur-**Dvārāvati-pattanāt** [| |]
- 7 saṅgrāmō ripa-kustī-pattī-śmasām saṅchchhō(chhō)da-bhōdō dṛiḍhā<sup>3</sup> **Char-**
- 8 **drādityapuram** prasīdham-akusūt prak-saṅghavaṅ yō bhuvī [| 2\*] Śrīma-
- 9 [1]-**Sēṇachathra**-nāma nripavaras<sup>4</sup>-tasmād-abbhūd-bhūmipah<sup>5</sup> nityam dē-
- 10 va(ka)-padānī(dātī)-vishayō<sup>6</sup> svam-nāma sampādyaṅ [|\*] yēn-ākārī purād
- 11 cha Sēṇapuram śrī-Simhīcō vatrō(rō) tat-putraḥ kulā-dipaka(kō)<sup>7</sup>
- 12 guṇa-nidhīḥ śrī-**Dhādityappas**-tataḥ [| | 3\*] Āśīrad<sup>8</sup>-aśōka-(bhū)ta-
- 13 ka-sadī(ā) śrīmān vri(bri)had-**Bhillamaḥ** śrī-**Rājas**-tad-anantaram na-
- 14 rapatir-||<sup>9</sup> māhī-mahajānāḥ | urvāk-tasya va(bu)ddhva bhūlala-
- 15 Hariḥ śrī-**Vaddig**-ākhyō nripah<sup>9</sup> tasmāt<sup>9</sup> śrī-varā-**Bhillamaḥ** kahi-

\* From the impressions and original.

<sup>1</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>2</sup> Sandhi is not observed here.

<sup>3</sup> The metre of this verse is defective. Better read *agnorā-*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *padān-rija-vāhāy* as in the Devanāgarī plates to suit the metre.

<sup>5</sup> There is an unnecessary *dupda* at the end of the line.

<sup>6</sup> Metre is defective. Better read *Āśī-tadān-akāśa*.

ASVI PLATES OF YADAVA AIRAMADEVA, SAKA 1020

i

2  
4  
6  
8  
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16  
18  
20

विक्रान्तानां यथा किं च ॥ इत्युक्तं ॥  
 यथा तानां यथा किं च ॥ इत्युक्तं ॥  
 यथा तानां यथा किं च ॥ इत्युक्तं ॥  
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 यथा तानां यथा किं च ॥ इत्युक्तं ॥

ii, a

22  
24  
26  
28  
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32  
34  
36  
38  
40  
42

॥ इत्युक्तं ॥ इत्युक्तं ॥ इत्युक्तं ॥  
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ii, b

44  
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 62

iii

44 64  
 46 66  
 48 68  
 50 70  
 52 72  
 54 74  
 56 76  
 58 78  
 60 80  
 62 82  
 84

SEAL



( from photograph )

Size : One-half



- 16 tipatīḥ pratyakṣa-dharmnō-bhavat | [ ] 1\* Bhāryā yasya cha Jhamjha-rāja-  
 17 nayā śri-**Lachchhiyavvā**<sup>1</sup> bhayā dharmma-tyāga-vivōka-vu(hu)ddhi-sagunā  
 18 śri-Rāshṭrajū(kū)t-ānvayā [ ] \* yā jātā nacha(va)-vā(hā)harāja-samayē ya-  
 19 [ay-ā]nvay-āddhārītā |<sup>2</sup> sapt-āṅg-ōdyata-rājya-bhāra-dhārayāt<sup>3</sup> rā-  
 20 ya(jya)-tray-ārghyā tataḥ || [5\*] Śri-**Vēsya(sū)ka**-mahīpatīḥ sama-  
 21 bhavat<sup>4</sup> yasy-ādiga-sli(śli)chīta-tataḥ śri-**Bhillama**<sup>5</sup>-dharā-

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 22 dharaḥ samuditaḥ śri-Maṇḍalik-ā[khyō(khya)]yā [ ] \* trailōkyē  
 23 nija-vatasa(ha)<sup>6</sup> kirtti-nirmalatayā satibhūshayā Yādava-  
 24 |<sup>7</sup> dakṣhō Dakṣa-vintariddhanasya charaṇau satipājayan yō bhavi || [6\*]  
 25 Tad-vāhaō(ō-ō)dbhava **Sūpārḥdu**-nripatir-jjātō-tra dharmmadhikāḥ sarvā-  
 26 [n]-bhū-valay-ācītān kṣhiti-patīn nirjī[tya] sanryy-āsinā [ ] \*  
 27 rājyath yēna samuddhātath savikalath svarggath gatō Bhillamō yadva-  
 28 t-sūkra-rūpa-sāmya-Haripā lōka-trayam ch-ōdilpītam(tam) || [7\*] Tat-putrō  
 29 nripatir-tray-sika-tilakō vair-ibha-kamṭhitravō vīrah | śūjravi-  
 30 pakṣa-pakṣa-dulanō rā]-**Ātrammō**-bhavat | yōna śri-Bhuvatuika-  
 31 mallam-ajitath nirjītya sapt-āṅgskam rājyam śri-Paramarddhnō kṣhiti-  
 32 bhītiō dattam ava-ōvā-kramāt || [8\*] Bhāryā yasy-ābhavad-ōvō Lakṣmī-  
 33 va bhavi svayam(yam) | śri-**Yō[ga]u-ōti** yamā(n-ō)tmā rābhjīth bhuvana-trayam(yam)  
 | [9\*]  
 34 **Sa(Sa)ka-nripa-kāl-ātīta-samvachchha(ṭa)ra-sahaar-āikō** vi[rh\*]sa(ṣa)ty-a-  
 dhikē | aṭi-  
 35 kaṭō-ji | samvat 1020 Bahudhāyana<sup>8</sup>-samvatsar-āntarggatiya<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> A-mitra is engraved a little above, looking like I.

<sup>2</sup> This danda is unnecessary. The Banerji plates read *Tad-avay-ādharā* while the Desalāli plates read *yā jātā vana bhū-rājya-samayē Tad-avay-ādharāt*.

<sup>3</sup> Sādhā is not observed here.

<sup>4</sup> The metre requires a reading like *Bhillama*.

<sup>5</sup> This pāda is metrically defective and would be alright without the word *maṭi*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *Sahasāyaga*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *āntarggata*.

- 36 Vaisā(śā)kha-māsē Sōma-dinē Amāvāsya-yātrī Narmmadāyām Narmma-  
 37 dāpurē śrī-Siddhēsva(śva)ra-kshētrē Vra(Śra)hma-tīrthē Kapi-tīrthē cha Vaisā-  
 (śā)kha-va-  
 38 di 15 Sōmē | aśy-śha śrī-Narmmadāpurē | samasta-bhuvanaśra(śra)-  
 39 ya-śrī-pūthvī-valla-bhu-mahātājādīpījā-paramē[śva(śva)]rā-paramahatājā-  
 40 rakā-Satyānanyakulatīhaka-Chālukyāldharaya-śrīmat-Tribhuvana-  
 41 malla-Pāramāñī'dē[va]-vijaya-śāyē | Śūṇa-dēśē(śē) | samasta-rā-  
 42 jāvalī-vitāñjita-mahāmāthājāśra(śva)ra-śrī-Ā'īramadēvēnā  
 43 pañcha-pradhān-ānumatēna || Karahāṭa-vinirgata-Kāyapa-gō-

*Second Plate, Second side*

- 44 [tr-ā]vayō? Śā(Śā)kha-śākhā-pradītāya | tasya cha pūrvvapuru-  
 45 śhāḥ | Nāgaya-kramavī tat-putrāḥ Śūdāna-bhāṭa[h] | taśmāi  
 46 Gōpati-bhā[ṭaḥ] | tat-putrāya Kūkala-pamditāya | yama-nīya-  
 47 ma-avādhyāya dhyān-ānumatēnā-ratāya | trīśasadvrā(d-bī)hūṇa-sahī-  
 48 tāyā(ya) | Śēna(u)ṇa-dēśē(śē) Śrīnagara-sārdhā-sabaśra(śra)-dvaya-samva(ba)-  
 49 dhā-Samgamanēra-chatur-ā'siti-madhyē Kōṅkaṇṣ-grāmaḥ pā-  
 50 da-prakshālanañi-kṛtvā maullī(ḷi)-kṛita-basta-dvayēna parama-śrē-  
 51 yō-rtham śā(śā)sana-yuktō dantāḥ(ttal) || ka-ṛiksha-mūlā-kulāḥ sa-kā-  
 52 śhā-tri(tri)u-śdakaḥ | nīlī-miksha(kshē)pa-giri-nada-nadī-mahāta-  
 53 ḥ(ta) śtat-grāma-simāyāñi pūrvvataḥ Duṁdūdēvaḥ āgōyām(yyām) Kō[na]-  
 54 [chi]-grāmaḥ dakshīnataḥ Mañtyavall-grāmaḥ nairi(tri)tyām  
 55 Jūmyaravē-grāmaḥ | paśchimataḥ Vaḍagava-grāmaḥ vāyavyām  
 56 Samgānivi-grāmaḥ attarataḥ Kapathaka-grāmaḥ [(a)śā(śā)nyām Mē-  
 57 śhī-pāñiyam | ēvam aptā(śhī-ā)ghāḥ-ōpaikshitāḥ grāmō-yañ

\* Read Pāmadī.

\* Read śy-ā.

\* Read 'asmyāya.

\* There is an unnecessary *śā* after *śē*. Read *śāśī*.

- 58 sū(sū)sanā(na\*) dattah | Paratra sūchrala-dī(n)vyā<sup>1</sup> bhūmi-dāna(nā)t-paratā na  
 59 hi | tasmā(t\*) sarvva-prayō(ya)tu(ta)ha bhūma(ni)-dānaṁ prapālayōt || 10\* Sā-  
 60 mānyō-yam dha(r\*)jama-satur-apipāṇāi kṣlō kṣlō pālanīyō bhā-  
 61 valbhīh | sarvān-ātān bhāgi(vi)nah pāthivendrān bhūyō bhūyō  
 62 yākatē Rāmabhadral || 11\* Mad-va(m\*)sa(sa)-jātāh para-vatīsa(ā)jā vō(vā)  
 63 yō puṇyavātō mama dharmman-ātāh(tas) | | \* | prapālayīshyastu(ti) [utpā]-

## Third Plate

- 64 s-tu sarvō kṛit-āhjalīh(la)-tān-aham-avratīn<sup>2</sup> | | 12\* Yā-  
 65 n-īha dattāni purā narēndral<sup>3</sup> dānāni dharm-ārtha-  
 66 yasa(sa)skatāni | nirmūlyā-tulyāni bhavānti tāni<sup>4</sup> kō  
 67 nāma sādhanā punar-āśadha | | 13\* Gayā-Gōdāvari-Gaṅgā-Pra-  
 68 yāg-ādīṣṭhā dīnatah | | \* | yat-puṇyān tat-phalaṁ sarvān bhavōd-bhūmi-  
 69 prapālanāt<sup>5</sup> || 14\* Bahubhīh(bhī)h-vasodhā bhuktā rājabhīh Sagar-ādī-  
 70 bhīh | | \* | yasya yasya yadā bhūmīh<sup>6</sup> tasya m(ta)sya nā(ta)dī phalaṁ(lam) || 15\* Sra-da-  
 71 nātān(tān) para-dantām(tām) cā yō harōta vasūdhārīh<sup>7</sup> | | \* | shashṭi-rvva(va)raha-  
 72 vishāyān jāyatē kṛīmīh || 16\* Bhūmī(m\*) yāh pratigrhānti yas-tu  
 73 bhūmīh prayachchhati | ahān tau puṇya-karmāṇān nīyātān svarāhā(rgga)-  
 74 gāminān || 17\* Na vishān visham-īty-āhuh<sup>8</sup> vra(hra)hma-sva(m\*) visham-uchyatē || | |  
 75 visham-ākākināt. hāmī vra(hra)hma-svām putra-pautrikāt(kam) || 18\* Vī(m\*)-  
 76 dīyājavf-  
 77 shv-a-tūyān su(su)shka-kōṭāra-vāsīnah | kṛīṣṇa-sarppā hi jāyātā-  
 78 tē vra(hra)hma-dīy-āpahārakāh || 19\* Abō Bāghava-rājendra sapta-katū(ka)-

<sup>1</sup> Read *astūra dirgam*.<sup>2</sup> Read *krī-āhjalī-āhīya śānā hrutāni*.<sup>3</sup> Soudai is not observed here.<sup>4</sup> There is an unnecessary diacrit between *vī* and *śā*.<sup>5</sup> Better read *bhī-dīya-phalanāt*.<sup>6</sup> Read *vasūdhārīna*.



- 78 lpa-smanōdyshatū<sup>1</sup> na śrutatū (tō) na mayā driśtatū(tāb) svayatū datt-āpahārakatū  
(kaḥ) | [ ] 20<sup>\*</sup>
- 79 [Kath(Chañ)]ir-ārkkān cha tathā bhūmīr-nalhas-eh-āpas-tath-ānilāb | [ ]<sup>\*</sup> tārakā-eh-ā-
- 80 nalā-eh-aiva Dharmmarājas-tath-aiva cha|[21<sup>\*</sup>] Tisraḥ saṁdhyās-trayō vōdā a-
- 81 gnyas-cha trayas-tathā | ahō-rātraṁ cha dānasya<sup>2</sup> śrō vai sākṣiṇāb
- 82 smpitāb | [ ] 22<sup>\*</sup> Yādav-ānvayōna śrī<sup>3</sup>-Āiramaśōvōna Kōṁkaṇō-grāma-sā(lā)-
- 83 sanaḥ dattam(ttam) || putra-pautr-ādibhaḥ(bhīb) pālānīyatū(yam) || śrōtrō(tra)-drammā-eha
- 84 ||<sup>4</sup> suvarṇa-vaṭṭakōna tāhvō(hū)latū -lātavyatū(vyam) || Li-
- 85 khītatū [pāva]lakaraṇī (y)śrī-**Hariśchandrēṇa** || Maṅgala-mahā-śrīb ||

<sup>1</sup> Read *śalpaḥ* or *śālaguṇḍaka*.

<sup>2</sup> *Sandhi* is not observed here.

<sup>3</sup> Read *śrī-Ā.*

<sup>4</sup> There is some blank space at the beginning of this line.

No. 32—ANDURA PLATES OF GOVINDA IV, SAKA 851

(2 Plates)

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(Received on 24.10.1962)

These plates were discovered in July 1962 while digging in a *gaḍhī* at the village **Andūra** in the Balapur Taluka of the Akola District, Vidarbha. Mr. Ramrao Dhacerao Dushmukh of Andūra sent them to the Tashildar, Bājapur, who forwarded them to Dr. P. M. Joshi, Director of Archives and Historical Monuments, Maharashtra State. The latter very kindly placed them at my disposal for study and publication. The plates are now deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur.

They are **three copper-plates** measuring 44 cm. by 28 cm. Each plate has a ring-hole, about 2.5 cm. in diameter, through which passes a ring which holds the plates together. The ends of the ring are secured under the bottom of a seal, square in shape, each side of which measures 7 cm. The ends of the plates are slightly raised for the protection of the engraved record; still, some left-hand portion in the first three lines has become indistinct owing to friction. The first and third plates are inscribed on the inner side only and the second plate on both the sides. The record consists of sixty-nine lines, of which seventeen are written on each inscribed surface of the three plates, except the first side of the second plate, which has eighteen lines. The inscription is, on the whole, well preserved. The portion in the first three lines on the first plate, which is indistinct, can be restored with the help of the cognate Cambay<sup>1</sup> and Saugli<sup>2</sup> plates of Govinda IV. The **seal**<sup>3</sup> has in relief on a countersunk surface the figure of Garuda, squatting on a lotus and facing full front, with wings expanded and a serpent held in each hand. On his proper right there is the figure of squatting Guṇapati and on his proper left that of a squatting goddess, probably Pārvati, holding a *śūla* in each hand. Below, on either side, there appear three knobs in place of a *chaurī* and a lamp seen on the seals of the cognate plates. Below the knobs on the proper right of Garuda there appears a *śaṅkha* and to its right just below the figure of Garuda, a sheathed dagger. The seals of Rāshtrakūṭa grants generally bear a legend containing the donor's name; but the present seal has no such legend. The plates weigh 7.82 kg. while the ring with the seal weighs 1.64 kg.

The **characters** are of the Nāgarī alphabet, regular for the period to which the present grant belongs. The following peculiarities may be noted—The initial *ī* is shown by a curve below two dots; see *īva*, line 9; the medial *ī* is in some cases shown by a horizontal stroke to the left as in *Chalukya*, line 11; the medial diphthongs are, in some cases, denoted by *prishtha-mātrās* and in others by *śrī-mātrās*; see *lōpād-apūrvaiḥ*, line 15; *k* has generally a loop on the left except when it has the medial *ī* added to it or it is the superscript letter of a conjunct; see *śrī-Kṛishnarājā*, and *śdrīkta*, both in line 11; the left limb of *kh* has now a fully developed tail; see *khādyah*, lines 12-16; *ā* is still without a dot; see *prāśāmyah*, line 23; the superscript *ṣ* has the same form as the superscript *ṣ*; see *paśchāmyah*, line 30; the subscript *ṣ* is laid on its side; see *śrī-Suvratparvata*, line 47; the subscript *th* is cursive; see *-othitī*, line 8; *dh* has not yet developed a horn on the

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. VII, pp. 26 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 247 f.

<sup>3</sup> See plate facing p. 236 above, figure II.

left limb so as to be distinguished from *v*; still the two vertical strokes of *dhā* are not joined by a horizontal stroke except in *dhāvataḥ*, line 33; *ph* has now developed a distinct curve on the right; see *vasphūrcjat-*, line 36; *r* appears in two forms, one of which has a loop on the left, see *Mahā-nāyādāhūje-*, line 44. Finally, the left limb of palatal *ś* is not yet separated from the vertical on the right; see *yāś-śāhu-*, line 9.

The language is Sanskrit. The record is written partly in verse and partly in prose. The initial eulogistic portion is metrically composed. It has twenty-nine verses, all of which occur in the same order as in the Cambay plates of Gōvinda IV. It does not, however, contain two verses of the latter grant, viz. the usual initial verse in praise of Vishnu and Hara and verse 27 of that grant.<sup>1</sup> This eulogistic portion is followed by the formal portion in prose in lines 39 to 64. The initial portion of this description of the donor Gōvinda IV is copied from the same draft as is used in the Cambay plates, but the later portion giving the parentage of the queen Bhiāgiyavvā, the occasion and the date of the gift, the names, *gōtras*, *śikṣās* and original places of residence of the donees, the donated village and its boundaries, etc. is different. This is followed by four benedictive and imprecatory verses of the usual type. Unlike the Cambay and Sangli plates, the present plates do not mention the name of the writer of the record.

The draft is fairly correct in the eulogistic portion, which, as stated above, is copied from a common draft, but in the formal portion, which is new, there are several grammatical and other mistakes which make the task of its interpretation very difficult. As regards orthography we may note that the letter *ḥ* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*; see *vahmoyah*, line 1; the dental *s* is occasionally used for the palatal *ś*; see *Sri-stava* line 1; and vice versa in *kravat*, line 5; the consonant preceding and following *r* is generally doubled; see *-ṣṭapattāḥ*, line 6 and *kirtti-* line 8; the final *w* is in some places changed to *anusvāra*, see *-tasmiṁ*, line 24 and *Himavān-nāmanah*, line 26; the mistakes in *vandhallaḥ*, line 48, *kramanitta*, line 54, etc. are evidently due to wrong pronunciation. The affix *niya* at the end of the names of some of the donees corresponds to *ārya* noticed in the earlier records of Vidarbha such as the Chammak plates of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasīna II. It should not be traced to Kannaḍa influence.

The inscription is one of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda IV, who bore the titles *Paramabhāṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Paramēśvara* and the *śirudat Nitya-Kandarpa*, *Chānākya-Chaturmukha*, *Vikrānta-Nārāyaṇa*, *Nripati-Trinātra*, *Suvaraavarsha*, *Prithiviallabha*, and *Vallabhavarāndra*. He meditated on the feet of the *Paramabhāṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Nityavarshadhēva* (i.e. Indra III). The object of the present inscription is to record the grant of the village **Īlaūrī** included in the territorial division of **Vaḍanēra-300** to eight Brāhmanas on the occasion of the **Tulāpurusha Mahādāna** which Gōvinda IV made on **Wednesday, the fifth tithi of the dark fortnight of Pauṣa in the Śaka year 851<sup>2</sup>**

<sup>1</sup> The Sangli plates have all the verses of the eulogistic portion of the Cambay plates except the first *vaṅgala-śloka*.

<sup>2</sup> I was at first inclined to read the unit figure of this date as 2, but have since adopted the suggestion of Dr. Gai that it is 1. The figure 2 was at first denoted by two convex curves placed one below the other. Later, the upper curve was placed obliquely and the lower one, similarly placed, was attached to its lower end. See the figure 2 in the date Śaka 802 of the Cambay plates (above, Vol. VII, plate facing p. 40). The lower curve became a straight stroke in later times. If the date is read as Śaka 862, it will have to be regarded as irregular; for the *śukla* in Śaka 862 fell on a Tuesday (the 11th January A.D. 931) and not on a Wednesday as required. The *śuklāḥa* Uttarā-Phalgunī also ended on the same day. Again the Uttarāyana occurred on the 23rd December A.D. 930, i.e. more than a fortnight before the date of the grant. There is, therefore, no doubt that Śaka 851 is the correct reading of the date of the present plates.



(expressed in decimal figures only). The cyclic year then current was **Vikrīta** and the moon was in conjunction with the *nakṣatra* Uttara-Phalgunī. The grant was made on the occasion of the *Mahāpurnā* Uttarāyana (summer solstice). This date given with such full particulars can be completely verified. According to the northern luni-solar system, the cyclic year corresponding to the Śaka year 851 was Vikrīta as stated in the present grant. The same system is used in two other inscriptions of Gōvinda IV, viz. in the Kalas inscription of Śaka 851 and the Cambay plates of Śaka 852. But in the later Sangli plates of Śaka 855 the southern system is found used.<sup>2</sup> It is well known that in later records of South India, it is the southern system that is generally used. The reign of Gōvinda IV falls in the transitional period when the northern system was yielding place to the southern. So we find instances of both in the records of his reign. The fifth *tithi* of the *amānta* Pauṣa in the Śaka year 851 ended 13 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise on the 23rd December A.D. 929, when the week-day was Wednesday as stated in the present grant. The *nakṣatra* Uttara-Phalgunī did not, however, commence till 8 h. after mean sunrise that day. The Uttarāyana or Makara *sañkrānti* had taken place 23 h. 30 m. on the previous day, i.e. half an hour before the sunrise of the 23rd December. When the Makara *sañkrānti* thus occurs during a night, the religious rites in connection with it are to be performed on the succeeding day.<sup>3</sup> Besides, the auspicious time (*puṅga-līlā*) of the Makara-*sañkrānti* extends to as many as 40 *ghaṭikā*s according to Hōmādrī.<sup>4</sup> The grant seems, therefore, to have been made in the afternoon of the 23rd December when both the *tithi* and the *nakṣatra* were current. It is further stated in lines 48-49 that the king made at the same time some more *Mahādānas* such as Hiranyagarbha, Ubhayamukhī, Gōsahasra and Kalpavṛkṣa<sup>5</sup> for (the religious merit of) his queen, the illustrious Bhāgiyavvā, the *patnī* on whose forehead was caused to be tied by twelve *Mahāsāmantas* (Chief Feudatories). The grant of the village was made by Gōvinda IV without getting down from the pan of the *Tulā* in which he was seated for the *Talādāna* in the courtyard of Gōvindaśvara which seems to be the name of a *śrāgha* installed in the name of the Rāshtrakūṭa king. It is not stated where this temple of Gōvindaśvara was situated, but it was probably in the Rāshtrakūṭa capital of Mānyakhēja. It is noteworthy that the grant recorded in the Sangli plates also was made at

<sup>2</sup> According to the northern system, the cyclic year corresponding to Śaka 851 was Vikrīta and that corresponding to Śaka 852 was Khara as stated in the respective grants. They would be Virāḍhin and Vikrīta respectively according to the southern system. The cyclic year Vijaya corresponding to Śaka 855 of the Sangli plates agrees with the southern system. According to the northern one, it would have been Jaya.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. अपरे तु मकरे रात्रिसंक्रमे सर्वत्र परदिनेष्वप्युपम । *Dharmasindhu* (Nirṇayaśāgar Press ed.), p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. मकरसंक्रान्ती हेमाद्रिमते परतश्चत्वारिंशद्घटिकाः पुण्याः । 'त्रिंशत्कण्ठके तादृयो मकरे तु दशाधिकः ।' इति ब्रह्मवैवर्ते । माघव्रते तु विंशतिः । 'त्रिंशत्कण्ठके पूर्वा मकरे विंशतिः परा ।' इति बृह-  
वत्सिण्डोक्तेः । *Nirṇayasindhu* (Nirṇayaśāgar Press ed.).

<sup>5</sup> For the *Mahādāna* Hiranyagarbha, see Hōmādrī, *Chaturvargyachintāmani*, Dāśakhaṇḍa, Vol. I (Bourne ed.), pp. 226 f. The Ubhayamukhī *Mahādāna* is the gift of a cow just while giving birth to a calf. Cf. प्रमुग्धानां यो  
यां च दद्याद्बभूवतोमूखीम् । ययोक्तेष्व विधानेन स ज्ञातिस्वरतां लभेत् ॥ cited in *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 461  
from the *Sāntapariśhas*. For Gōsahasra, see *ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 236 f. For Kalpavṛkṣa, see *ibid.*,  
Vol. I, pp. 247 f.

Mānyakhēta.<sup>1</sup> The parentage of the queen **Bhāgiyavvā** is stated in lines 45-46. She was descended from **Bhīmarāja** of the **Chalukya** family. Bhīma's son was **Taḷappa**. The latter's son was **Gunagaka**, whose queen was **Rēvakavvā**. Their daughter was **Bhāgiyavvā**, who was married to **Gōvinda IV**. The present grant gives no information about the country where this Chalukya family was ruling.

As stated before, the donees were eight Brāhmanas. The particulars about their *gōtras*, *śākhās*, original habitations, etc., are given below.

Name of donee	Name of his father	Gōtra	Śākhā	Original habitation
1. Sanvaibhatta	Madhuvapayyabhatta	Bhāradvāja	Rīgvēda	Claudrapurī
2. Vāvaya	Tikkapayya	Kausika	Taittirīya	Nalagrāma
3. Kōśava	Mādhavaiya	Vāta	Taittirīya	Dharma- Sāllukā
4. Prabhākarabhatta	Vachubhatta	Kausika	Rīgvēda	Sinavē
5. Śrīdharabhatta	Rāvayaibhatta	Harita	Taittirīya	Nalagrāma
6. Tikṣobhatta	Vijayaiya	Bhāradvāja	Rīgvēda	Purī
7. Jannibhatta	Viddhapaiya	Gārgya	Taittirīya	Vāvi
8. Vāvayaiya	Risīyayya	Bhāradvāja	Rīgvēda	Chikhali

The donated village **Ēlaūrī** was situated in the territorial division of **Vaḷanēra-300**. It was bounded on the east by **Dantigrāma**, on the south by **Nimbagrāma**, on the west by **Kōṭṭaūrigrāma** and on the north by the river **Payōshni**. As shown below, some of these villages can still be identified in the **Baldana District** of **Vidarbha**.

Having thus disposed of the formal portion of the present grant, we shall next turn to the historical information furnished by it. This has indeed been discussed in detail by **D. R. Bhandarkar** in his article on the **Cambay plates**, with which the present plates agree in their eulogistic portion. Still, in certain respects **Bhandarkar's** remarks will have to be modified or corrected in the light of researches made since his time. The first three verses are *maṅgalā-ślokas* eulogising **Brahmā**,<sup>2</sup> **Kōśava** (**Vishnu**) and **Śambhu**. The fourth and fifth verses state that the **Yādava** family, from which the **Rāshtrakūṭas** claimed descent, was produced from the **Moon**. The next six verses (6-11) describe in order the kings **Dantidurga**, his uncle **Krishna I**, his son **Gōvinda II**, his younger brother **Nirupama** (**Dhruva**), his son **Jagattuṅga** (**Gōvinda III**) and finally, his son **Amōghavaraha I**. The description of these kings is conventional. About **Amōghavaraha I** we are told that he pleased the god of death (**Yama**) by supplying him with cakes in the form of the **Chālukyas** whom he exterminated in **Viōgavallī** (the kingdom of **Vōṅḷ**). The reference is evidently to the long-drawn war with the **Eastern Chālukyas** in

<sup>1</sup> For the grant recorded in the **Cambay plates** of **Saka 852** which was made on the occasion of his *pañcābhāratābhāra* (or coronation), the king had gone to the village **Kapitthuka** (not yet identified) on the **Gōdāvarī**. It seems that the formal coronation of the king was delayed by some months after his accession.

<sup>2</sup> Actually the *śloka-pāṭis* (*Śloka-singing*) of **Brahmā** are praised in this verse, but the intention is to praise **Brahmā** himself.

which Amoghavarsha's son Krishna II and the latter's brother-in-law the Kalachuri prince Śaṅkaragaṇa took part. About Akṣavarsha (Krishna II), the son and successor of Amoghavarsha I, the present grant, like those discovered before, has the following verse :—

तस्मादकालवर्षो नृपतिरभूच्चतराकलत्वर्तः ।

सद्यः समण्डलाग्रं खेटकमहितैः परिल्यक्तम् ॥ 12 ॥

This verse states that the enemies of Akṣavarsha (Krishna II), being terrified by his valour, abandoned their swords and shields. D. R. Bhandarkar, however, thought that the words *khēṭaka* and *maṇḍalāgra* in this verse have a *double entendre* (*śleṣha*). He took the verse to mean that the enemies of Krishna II abandoned the city of Khēṭaka 'which is meant here to denote Mānyakhēṭa itself, the capital of the Rāshtrakūṭa princes.'<sup>3</sup> In this connection Bhandarkar drew attention to the statement in two Chālukyan records that Guṇaka Vijayāditya III (A.D. 844-88) frightened the fire-brand Krishna and burnt his city. This interpretation of the aforesaid verse cannot be upheld. In the first place Khēṭaka is nowhere else mentioned as another name of the royal capital Mānyakhēṭa. Ordinarily, *khēṭaka* means (i) a shield and (ii) a village. It is also the name of a territorial division (modern Kairā) in Gūjrat. Again, what is the significance of the description 'the enemies abandoned Khēṭaka (Mānyakhēṭa) along with the leaders of their circles (*sa-maṇḍal-āgrā*)?' The reference to the desertion, by the enemies, of their circle of princes has no special significance. Again, if the enemies left the capital of Krishna, they must have first captured it. Such an admission would scarcely rebound to the credit of Krishna II, who is intended to be praised. Besides, there is absolutely no evidence that the enemies ever occupied Mānyakhēṭa. The reading in the Chālukyan records on which Fleet and Bhandarkar relied for this supposition is Kirasapura, not Krishnapura as conjectured by Fleet<sup>4</sup> and subsequently adopted by Bhandarkar. There is still a place called Kirasapur in the Bālāghāṭ District of Chhattisgadh as shown by Altekar.<sup>5</sup> So the place burnt by Vijayāditya III was not the Rāshtrakūṭa capital Mānyakhēṭa<sup>6</sup> but Kirasapura in Chhattisgadh where both Krishna II and his brother-in-law Śaṅkaragaṇa<sup>7</sup> were then encamped.

Krishna II married a Kalachuri princess who was a daughter of Kōṅkala I. Their son was Jagatkaṅga. The latter married Lakshmi, the daughter of Rapaṅgraha, who is now known to be none other than the aforementioned Śaṅkaragaṇa. Their son was Indra III, who, we know, succeeded his grandfather Krishna II. About him the present grant, like the two discovered before, has the following verse:—

यन्माद्यद्द्विपदन्तघातविषमं कालत्रियप्राङ्गणं

तीर्णा यत्तुरगंरगाधयमुना सिन्धुप्रविस्फिन्नी ।

वेनेदं हि महोदयारिनगरं निर्मूलमुन्मूलितं

नाम्नाद्यापि जनैः कुशस्वलमिति ध्याति परां नीयते ॥ 18 ॥

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. VII, p. 39.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 102.

<sup>5</sup> See his *Rāshtrakūṭas and Their Times*, p. 52.

<sup>6</sup> Another passage where *khēṭaka* is similarly misinterpreted occurs in the Sanjan plates. See my *Studies in Indian History*, Vol. II, pp. 22-23, note 3.

<sup>7</sup> Fleet and Hultzsch rendered *ekāṅka* by 'a fire-brand', but the latter afterwards corrected his mistake. See above, Vol. IV, p. 226. *Ekāṅka* is the same as Śaṅkaragaṇa, son of Kōṅkala I.



This verse tells us that in the course of his invasion of the Pratihāra capital Mahōdaya (Kanauj), Indra had to camp for a while in the courtyard of the temple of god Kālapriya, which his elephants rendered uneven by the strokes of their tusks. Thereafter his horses crossed the unfathomable Yamunā and he devastated the city Mahōdaya (Kanauj) which has since then become known as Kusā-sthala (a land of grass).

Bhandarkar identified Kālapriya with Mahākāla and conjectured that Indra's army was encamped in the courtyard of the god's temple at Ujjayinī. This identification cannot be accepted. Mahākāla is nowhere called Kālapriya. On the other hand, we know from several passages in the Purānas that Kālapriya was the name of the Sun-god installed in a temple on the southern bank of the Yamunā.<sup>1</sup> This is also corroborated by the description in the present grant that Indra III's horses crossed the Yamunā in the course of the king's invasion of Kanauj. Rājasekhara also tells us that Kālapriya was situated to the south of Mahōdaya (Kanauj).<sup>2</sup> From the Purānas we learn that there were three important places of Sun-worship, viz. Sūtra or Kōṅāraka in the east, Kālapriya in the middle part of North India and Mūlāsthāna (Multān) in the west. The Sun-god was personally present in the temple of Sūtra in the morning, in that of Kālapriya at noon and in that of Mūlāsthāna in the evening.<sup>3</sup> This Kālapriya is evidently Kālpī, which is situated on the south bank of the Yamunā and has several mounds awaiting excavation. Kālpī lies on the way from Mānyakhōta to Kanauj. That it was a well-known place in ancient times is also shown by its mention in all the three plays of Bhavabhūti. They were all staged at the *gṛāh* in honour of the god Kālapriyanātha. The identification of Kālapriya with Kālpī may thus be accepted as quite certain.<sup>4</sup>

Indra III married Vijāmbā, the daughter of the Kalachuri prince Amunapādēva, son of Arjuna, who was himself a son of Kōṅkālā I. Their son was Gōvindarāja who made the present grant. In his description there occurs the following verse :—

सामर्थ्यं सति निन्दिता प्रविहिता नैवाश्रये कुरुता  
 व(ब)न्धुस्त्रीभगनादिभिः कुचरितैरावर्जितं नाश्रयाः ।  
 शीचाशीचपराह् मुखं न च भ्रिया पेशाच्यमंगीकृतं  
 त्यागेनासमसाहा(ह)सैश्च भुवने यस्ताहृताकीभवत् ॥ 21 ॥

<sup>1</sup> Cf. साम्बः सूर्यप्रतिष्ठां च कारवामास तस्वपित् ॥  
 उदयाचले च संभ्रिय यमुनायास्त दक्षिणे ।  
 मध्ये कालप्रियं देवं मध्याह्ने स्थाप्य धोलमन् ॥  
 मूलस्थानं ततः पञ्चादस्तमानाचले रविम् ।

*Varaha Purāna*, Ananta Society ed. (1893), Adhyāya 177, verses 51-53.

<sup>2</sup> See "अनिरतत्वाद्दिशामनिश्चितो दिग्बिभागः" इत्येके । तथाहि । यी वापिपुरस्य दक्षिणः स कालप्रिय-  
 स्वोरारः इति । *Kālyāṇīśāstra*, (G. O. S.), p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. सानिध्यं मम पूर्वाह्णे सुतीरे द्रव्यते जनेः ।  
 कालप्रिये च मध्याह्णेऽपराह्णे चाव नित्यतः ॥ *Harivāshya Purāna*, I, 129-16.

<sup>4</sup> For a full discussion of this question, see my *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, pp. 32.

D. R. Bhandarkar translated this verse as follows: "Ignominious cruelty was not practised (by him) with regard to his elder brother, (though) he had the power; (he) did not obtain infamy by evil courses such as (illicit) intercourse with the wives of his relatives; (he) did not, through fear, resort to diabolical conduct which is indifferent to what is pure and impure; (and) by his munificence and unparalleled heroic deeds he became Sāhasāśaka in the world." This verse has puzzled many historians. R. G. Bhandarkar has, for instance, remarked in his *Early History of the Deccan*, "What this statement exactly means is difficult to say. But probably Gōvinda was believed to have encompassed his brother's death and the other accusations were whispered against him and this is intended as a defence."<sup>1</sup> D. R. Bhandarkar also has drawn similar conclusions. Says he, "The first three lines of the verse look as if the composer of the inscription was giving of his own accord quite an un-called for defence to establish the spot-less character of his patron Gōvinda IV." It is again pointed out that the Śilāhāra grant of the Śilāhāra king Aṣṭarājita, who was a feudatory of the Rāshtrakūṭas, states that Indra III was followed by his son Amōghavarsha II, who reigned for an extremely short period of one year.<sup>2</sup> Though he was the immediate predecessor of Gōvinda IV, the latter is not, in his grants, described as meditating on his feet. This silence indicates clearly his hostility to his brother. Besides, he is described in some Rāshtrakūṭa records as having led a dissolute life, which undermined his health and hastened his death. So it is not unlikely that he caused his brother's death and had incestuous connection with his wife. Altekar, who has latterly written on this subject, also believes in these allegations. He says, "The new king (Amōghavarsha II) was a youth of about thirty at the time of his death in c. A.D. 929 and his early death cannot have been entirely due to his intense affection for his dead father which prompted him to follow the latter to heaven as soon as possible, as stated in some records.<sup>3</sup> There were ugly rumours current and Gōvinda, his younger brother who succeeded him, goes out of his way to deny their truth in the charters issued by him. In these he protests that he has neither treated his brother cruelly nor committed incest with his wives even though he had the power to do so. It is clear that there was a wide-spread belief that Gōvinda had hastened the death of his elder brother and this suspicion seems to have been well-founded."<sup>4</sup>

Recent researches in Gupta history have thrown welcome light on this verse. Sāhasāśaka in this verse means Vikramāditya<sup>5</sup> and undoubtedly refers to Chandragupta II, who assumed that title. The composer of the verse says that Gōvinda IV resembled Chandragupta only in liberality and unparalleled daring, but not in his evil actions. The first three *pādas* of the verse in question insinuate three such actions committed by Sāhasāśaka, i.e. by Chandragupta-Vikramāditya, viz. that he acted cruelly towards his brother, had illicit intercourse with his wife<sup>6</sup> and undertook actions becoming an evil spirit (*piśācha*), devoid of all considerations of purity and impurity. The reference here is evidently to the story of Rāmagupta as known from the Sanskrit play *Dvī-Chandragupta* and the Persian work *Majmaul-us-Tawarikh*. We learn from them that Chandragupta went to the rescue of his sister-in-law Dhruvadēvi, whom her imbecile husband Rāmagupta had promised to surrender to a Śaka king. He impersonated the Gupta

<sup>1</sup> See *Collected Works of R. G. Bhandarkar*, Vol. III, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. III, p. 271. The verse occurs also in the earlier Janjira plates (two sets), dated Śaka 915, of this Śilāhāra king. See *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*, Vol. I, ed. by A. S. Gadre, pp. 35 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 288.

<sup>4</sup> *Early History of the Deccan*, edited by Yazdani, Vol. I, p. 289.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. विक्रमादित्यः साहसशकः शकान्तकः । cited in Kshirasvamin's commentary on *Amarakōsh*, II, 3, 2.

<sup>6</sup> Bhandarkar translated: दम्पु by 'relatives', but here it clearly means 'a brother' as shown below.



queen and murdered the Śaka king in his harem. Later, he seems to have caused the death of his brother Rāmāgupta and married Dhruvadēvi, who is identical with Dhruvasvāmīni mentioned in several Gupta inscriptions and seals as the queen of Chandragupta II. The insinuations in the first two *pādas* of this verse are also corroborated by an explicit statement in a verse in the Sanjan plates of Amāghavarsha I.<sup>1</sup>

The full significance of the insinuation in the third *pāda* of the present verse was, however, not known until I pointed it out several years ago<sup>2</sup> in the light of a passage brought to notice by Ramakrishna Kavi and published by D. R. Bhandarkar in his article in the *Malaviya Commemoration Volume* (pp. 189 f.). I reproduce its relevant portion here for ready reference.<sup>3</sup>

I pointed out the significance of this passage in the following words:—"This passage indicates how Chandragupta conceived the plan of going to the Śaka king in the guise of a woman and killing him when he was unguarded. The introductory note in Sanskrit which summarises the context of the passage shows that Chandragupta had made up his mind to win over a Vampire (Vātāla) at night as a last resort, when every other means of rescuing Rāmāgupta's camp had proved of no avail. It was necessary for that purpose to go to a cemetery; but egress from the camp was impossible, as they were besieged on all sides by the enemy's forces. While Chandragupta was thinking of some device to go out of the camp, there came a maid servant of some lady, probably Mādharasīnā, with a bundle of garments and ornaments which Queen Dhruvadēvi had sent with her as presents for her mistress. Not finding her there, the Chōṣṭ kept the articles with Chandragupta's companion Vidūhaka and herself went out in search of her lady. The presence of Dhruvadēvi's garments suggested to Chandragupta the idea of going out of the camp in the guise of a woman. Whether he actually went to a cemetery and won over a Vātāla, the passage does not tell us. Here the verse under discussion comes to our help. The third line refers to some actions of Chandragupta befitting an evil spirit and devoid of all considerations of purity and impurity. Evidently we have here a reference to such actions involving impurity such as going to a cemetery and offering human flesh, etc. to propitiate evil spirits. Readers of Bhavabhūti's *Mālātī-Mādhava* will remember the scene in Act V of that drama in which Mādhava, the hero, despairing of getting Mālātī, goes to a cemetery and offers human flesh to the evil spirits haunting that place, evidently to secure their help to win his lady-love. Did Chandragupta succeed in winning over a Vātāla? Did the latter suggest to him the ruse of going to the Śaka king in the guise of Dhruvadēvi? These questions cannot be answered in the absence of more information from the *Dēvī-*

1 See हस्ता-अक्षरमेव राज्यमहरद्वीं च दीनस्तथा  
 लक्षं कोटिमलेख्यतिक्रम कलौ दाता स गुप्ताब्धयः ।  
 येनाप्याजि तनुः स्वराज्यमसकुट्टाह्वार्षकेः का कथा  
 ह्रीस्तस्योन्नतराष्ट्रकुटितिलको दातेति कीर्त्यामपि ॥

Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 248, verso 48 (corrected).

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. X, pp. 48 f. The article is reprinted in my *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, pp. 138 f.

<sup>3</sup> यथा देवीचन्द्रगुप्ते शकपतिना परं कच्छभापाहितं रामगुप्तस्कन्धावारननुविदुषुःपुपायान्तरासौचरे प्रतिकारे  
 निशि वैतालसाधनप्रयवस्यन् कुमारचन्द्रगुप्त आश्रेयेन विदुषकेषोक्तः । विदुषकः—भो सकलं राज्ञि भयदा इभाये  
 वेलासे मज्ज्यं समासासो भङ्गापरिज्वायं । पदादो । एवं वि गन्तुं ।

नायकः—(स्वगतम्) जनेषामधिकतनीयः ।

(For the full extract, see my *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, p. 139, note 3. See also the passage quoted in *Chōṣṭ's Sriśaṅkraprakāśa* by V. Raghavan, p. 300.)



*Chandragupta* or some other source. But it is likely that subsequent events happened as indicated above. . . . The poet who composed the stanza under discussion has evidently drawn upon the *Dvī-Chandragupta* for his remarks about Chandragupta."

It will thus be seen that the intention of the poet who drafted this verse was to institute a comparison between his patron Gōvinda IV and the well-known Gupta king Chandragupta II Vikramāditya and to show how the former excelled the latter. Such comparisons were instituted by other poets also. Thus in a verse<sup>1</sup> cited in Rājasekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* it is stated how a king named Kārttikīya, whom I have shown to be identical with the Gurjara-Pratihāra king Mahīpāla, far surpassed Rāmagupta; for his fame was sung in the Himalayas, from where Rāmagupta had to beat an ignominious retreat. Again, the aforecited verse from the Sanjan plates<sup>2</sup> states that Amōghavaraha I felt ashamed when he became known as *dātā* (donor); for even the Gupta prince who had killed his brother and appropriated his kingdom and wife was known as *dātā*. The intention of the court-poet who drafted this *prāsādi* was, therefore, not to give an uncalled-for defence of his patron against accusations whispered about him, but to show that he was superior in character to Chandragupta II-Vikramāditya, the only king of yore who resembled him in daring and liberality.

Besides, we have no other reference to the alleged evil actions of Gōvinda IV in any records of his successors and their feudatories, who had little love for him and would not, therefore, have refrained from mentioning them if they had been true. The Deoli and Karkad plates<sup>3</sup> of Kṛishṇa III refer to Gōvinda's dissolute life but are silent about those charges of heinous crimes. On the other hand, they intimate that Amōghavaraha II died a natural, though premature, death. As for his non-mention in the charters of Gōvinda IV, it may be due to the circumstance that he had an extremely short reign of one year. Analogous instances can easily be cited from ancient Indian history.<sup>4</sup>

In regard to the charge of dissolute life also, the evidence is not trustworthy. It occurs in the Deoli and Karkad plates of Kṛishṇa III, the son of Gōvinda's adversary Amōghavaraha III. These plates tell us that Gōvinda IV, with his intelligence caught in the noose of the eyes of women, displeased all beings by taking to vicious courses; his limbs being enfeebled as his constitution was deranged on account of the aggravation of maladies and his innate strength and prowess becoming neutralised, he met with destruction. This implies that Gōvinda IV died of consumption due to his dissolute life. As a matter of fact, he was defeated and slain by the enemies headed by the Chālukya prince Arikēmarīn, who later invaded his capital. The prince of Wales Museum plates<sup>5</sup> of Chālvuidōva also state that Amōghavaraha III completely uprooted

१ इत्वा रुद्रवतिः शक्राधिपतये देवीं प्रवस्वामिनीं

यस्मात्प्रविष्टताहतो निवृत्ते श्रीरामपुत्रो नृपः ।

तस्मिन्नेव हिमालये गिरिवृहाकोशं क्वणत्किन्नरे

सौयन्ते तत्र कालिकेय नगरत्रयोणां तपैः कीर्तयः ॥

*Kāvyamīmāṃsā* (First Ed. G.O.S.), p. 47 with the necessary changes.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 264, note 1 above.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. V, pp. 188 ff. and *ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 273 ff.

<sup>4</sup> I have shown elsewhere (*Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, p. 164) that the name of Rāmaharsha, a Kālachuri king of Tripuri, is similarly omitted in the Bilhari stone inscription, though it is mentioned in the later Hanarua plates of Karas.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 359.

Gojjiga (i.e. Gōvinda IV). That Gōvinda IV died prematurely owing to his dissolute life is, therefore, a myth circulated by his enemies.

The verse under discussion states that Gōvinda IV resembled Śāhasānka (i.e. Chandragupta-Vikramāditya) in daring and liberality. We have no specific instances of Gōvinda IV's daring, but that he stoutly defended his kingdom is known from contemporary inscriptions and literature. The Kalachuri army sent in support of Amoghavarsha III was opposed near Achalapura on the bank of the Payōshni, where a sanguinary battle was fought with the feudatories who supported Gōvinda IV. If the account given in Rājasēkhara's *Viddhavalabhajī* can be believed, these feudatories included the rulers of several countries such as Karājā, Pāṇḍya, Mūṛa and Āṇḍhra.<sup>1</sup> Another feudatory of his, viz. Bappuva stubbornly fought and gained some victories in the south. Gōvinda IV thus resolutely organised resistance to the enemy though he was ultimately overpowered. We may, therefore, credit him with daring as stated in the present verse.

There is much greater evidence of his liberality. The Cambay plates state that on the occasion of his *pañcubandha* ceremony he bestowed on Brāhmanas six hundred *agrahāras* and three lakhs of *suvarṇa* coins and on temples eight hundred villages, four lakhs of *suvarṇas* and thirty-two lakhs of *dramma*s. Such liberality is rare even in the ancient history of India. Gōvinda IV is, therefore, fittingly compared with the Gupta king Chandragupta II, whose munificence was of a similar type.<sup>2</sup>

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant, the donated village **Ēlaṭṛī** is probably identical with Yerli, which lies on the southern bank of the Pūrṇā (ancient Payōshni), about 6 miles north of Nāndūrā, a station on the Nagpur-Bhusawal line of the Central Railway. It is situated in the Buldana District, which borders the Akola District on the west. The Payōshni (Pūrṇā) formed its northern boundary. **Nimbagrāma**, which formed its southern boundary, is now represented by Nimgaon, about four miles to the south,<sup>3</sup> and **Dantigrāma**, its eastern boundary, by modern Dāḷgaon, about two miles south by east. **Kōṭṭaṭṛī**, which lay to the west of the donated village, cannot now be traced; its place seems to have been taken by Alampur, which, as its name indicates, was settled in comparatively modern times. **Vaḍanēra**, the chief town of the territorial division **Vaḍanēra-300**, is probably identical with a place of the same name which lies about 9 miles west of Nāndūrā. Some of the places from which the donors of the present grant hailed can be located in the vicinity of Vaḷṅṅ. Thus **Chandrapurī** is probably Chandūr, about 10 miles north by west of Nāndūrā on the Nagpur-Bhusawal railway line. **Dharma-Sēllukā** may be Selgaon, 4 miles south-west of Nāndūrā. **Sisavē** is probably identical with Sisaval, the donated village mentioned in a grant of Gōvinda III.<sup>4</sup> It is now represented by Sirso, two miles north of Murtizapur in the Akola District. **Purī** is, of course, the famous old capital of Kōṅkara, probably identical with Rājapurī in the former Janjirā State. As for **Chikhallī**, there are several villages of that name in the Akola and Buldana Districts, but the nearest to Yerli is that which lies about 4 miles south-east of Nāndūrā. The remaining places cannot be identified.

<sup>1</sup> See *CHI*, Vol. IV, pp. 121x f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *संबाहृतसहरसतीसिएन वेंतेन तुह करे लवणम् ।*

*सलमेण विक्रमादिसचरिषं जणुसिखिषं तिससा ॥*

Gāḍhōpāśēṭh, Nirṇayāṅgar Press ed., p. 464.

<sup>3</sup> For the identification of Ēlaṭṛī and Nimbagrāma, I am indebted to Mr. G. S. Jadhav of Amravati.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 206.

## TEXT

[Metres : verses 1, 8, 13, 15, 27, 30, 32-34 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 2, 3, 7, 18, 19, 21, 29 *Sārdūlav-kṛīṭa* ; verses 4, 11, 28 *Śraṅgharū* ; verses 5, 9 *Vasantatilakā* ; verse 6 *Auspachchunda-sika* ; verses 10, 12, 14, 16, 17, 20, 22 *Āryā* ; verses 23, 31 *Sālinī* ; verse 24 *Drutavilambita* ; verses 25, 26 *Vijōgini*.]

## First Plate

- 1 सिद्धिः<sup>१</sup> [1\*] जयन्ति इ(इ)[द्वाणः सम्गंनिष्पत्तिम्]दितात्मनः । सरस्वतीकृतानन्दा  
मधुरास्सामगीतयः ॥[१\*॥] सान्द्रं श्री(श्री)स्तनभार-
- 2 भूरिमक[रीकाशमीरसम्मिश्रितैः प्रोन्म]ज्जद्गजराजगैरिक्करज.पुंजद्वैः पिजराः [1\*]  
क्षीराब्धेः(ध्वेः) क्षुभित-
- 3 न्य मन्दरगिरि[व्यावर्त्तनादुद्गताः] कल्लोला जनयन्ति यस्य पुलकः(कं) पायात्स  
वः केव(श)वः ॥[२\*॥] स(श)म्भोर्वानि सि(शि)र-
- 4 स्थितस्य फणिनां पत्युः फणानां दस(श) द्योतन्ते परितः स(श)तानि समाण-  
(मणि)ज्योतीषि जूटाटवी(वीम्) । एनस्तान्बुपरि-
- 5 श्र(स्)क्तसुरसरित्सिक्तेन्दुकन्दोल्लसज्यो(ज्यो)त्सनाकल्पलतालवालवलयः(य)श्रीभाजि भंजंतु  
वः ॥[३\*॥] ताराचक्राब्ज(ज्ज)वण्ड<sup>२</sup>द्व
- 6 तगगनसरःपपिनीराजहंसात् त्वै(वै)लोक्यैकाभिपत्यस्थितमदनमहाराजबुभ्रातपत्न्यात् [1\*]  
लावण्यक्षीरसि-
- 7 न्योर्ध्वति[रजत]गिरेर्द्विभूदंतपत्त्राद्दशः सोमादयं यस्त्रिभुवनकमलावाससीञ्चादुसेतः ॥[४\*॥]  
तस्माश्चि(च्छि)यः कुलगृहं भ-
- 8 वनं महिम्नः श्रीहास्यदं स्थितिमहृद्भिगभीरतानां(नाम्) [1\*] आपन्नसत्व(त्व)-  
परिपालनलब्ध(त्व)कीर्त्तिर्व्वै(व्वै)शो व(व)भूत भुवि सि-
- 9 न्युनिभो यदूनां(नाम्) ॥[५\*॥] परिणतपरमण्डलः कलाब्रान्प्रबिततव(व)हलयशो-  
शुप्ररिद्धा(ता)शः [1\*] शशधर इव दन्ति-
- 10 दुर्गंराजो यदुकुलविमलवियत्यथोदियाय ॥[६\*॥] तस्याद्यं नृपतेः पितृव्य उदयी  
श्रीवीरसिहासनं ।<sup>३</sup> मे-

<sup>१</sup> From the original plates and inked impressions.

<sup>२</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>३</sup> Originally -सर्ष, changed to -सर्ष - . Better read -सर्षा.

<sup>४</sup> This clause is unnecessary.



- 11 रो[\*] शृगमिवाधिरुह्य रधिवच्छी(च्छी)कृष्णराजस्ततः [1\*] ध्वस्तोद्द्रिक्तचतुक्प-  
वंशतिमिरः पृथ्वीभूर्ता मस्तके न्यस्ताष्टः(त्रिः) सक-
- 12 लं जगत्प्रविततैस्तेजोभिराक्रान्तवान् ॥[७\*]॥ तस्माद्गोविन्दराजोभूदिन्दुवि(वि)म्ब-  
(म्ब)शिलातले । यस्यारिप्लोपधूर्त्तोकः प्र-
- 13 शन्तिरिव लक्ष(क्षय)ते ॥[८\*]॥ तस्याभवद्भुवनपालनधीरवृ(वृ)द्धिद्वृत्तघत्सुकुलसन्त-  
तिरिद्धतेजाः [1\*] राजानुजो निष्प्रमापर-
- 14 नामधेयो यन्मुद्रयां(वृ)धिरपि प्रथितः समुद्रः ॥[९\*]॥ तदनु जगत्सुगोजनि  
परिहृतनिजमंडलाभोगाः [1\*] गतयौवत-
- 15 वनिताजनकुचसदृशा यस्य वैरिन्मृगाः ॥[१०\*]॥ तस्माच्चामोषवर्षोभवदतुल्य(त्र)ली-  
येन कोपादपूर्वः द्वालुक्याभ्युपस्था-
- 16 धंः जर्जनितरतिवमः प्रीणितो विगवल्पां(ल्ल्याम्) । वैरिञ्चाण्डोदरान्तर्वं(स्वं)हिष-  
परितले यत्र लक्षा(ब्धा)वकाशं तोयव्याजाद्विमु(शु)-
- 17 द्रं यथा इव निहितं तज्जगत्सुंगसिन्धौ ॥[११\*]॥ तस्मादकालवर्षो नृपतिरभू-  
दत्पराक्रमत्प्रस्तैः [1\*] सद्यः समण्डलायं खे-
- Second Plate : First Side*
- 18 टंह(क)महितैः परित्यक्तं(क्तम्) ॥[१२\*]॥ सहस्राज्जं(ज्जं)नवंस(श)स्य भूषणं  
कोककलात्मजा । तस्याभवन्महादेवी जगत्सुंगः स्ततो[ज]नि
- 19 ॥[१३\*]॥ [ग]म्भीराद्रत्ननिधेर्भूम्प्रतिपक्षरक्षणधमतः [1\*] कोककलसुतरणविग्रह-  
जलधेर्ल्लेदमीः समुत्पन्ना ॥[१४\*]॥ सा जा-
- 20 याजायन्ता(सा)जातशत्रो(त्रो)स्तस्य महीभुजः [1\*] भीमसेनाजुनोपा[त्त]यसो(शो)भूषण-  
शालिनः ॥[१५\*]॥ तत्र जगत्सुगोदयधरणीध-
- 21 रतः प्रतापकलितात्मा । लक्ष्म्या नन्दन उदितोजनि विजयी राजमात्तंष्टः  
॥[१६\*]॥ स्थितिचलितसकलभूमत्सक्षेत्राभि-
- 22 मुत्तभुजव[ञ्ज]ः [1\*] अनिमिषदर्शनयोग्यो यः सत्य[मि]हेन्द्रराज इति ॥[१७\*]॥  
प्रमाद्यद्वि(द्वि)पदन्तघातविषमं कालप्रिय-

1 Read - वपुर्षोऽष्टासुवपा- ।

2 Read - काशं जर्जनित- ।

3 Originally टे, corrected as ट ।

4 Read - जगत्सुंगस्ततो- ।



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Handwritten text in Devanagari script on a dark stone plate, showing lines 2 through 16. The text is densely packed and appears to be a historical or legal record.

ii. a

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Handwritten text in Devanagari script on a dark stone plate, showing lines 18 through 34. The text is densely packed and appears to be a historical or legal record.



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- 23 प्राङ्ङ(ङ्ग)णं तीर्णा अतुरगैरगाधयमुना सिधुप्रतिस्पडिनी । येनेद हि महोदया-  
रिनगरं निम्मूलमृन्मूलित । नाद्या(म्मा)-
- 24 चापि जनेः कुशाखलामिति स्याति प[रा] नीयते ॥[१८\*]॥ यस्तस्मि(स्मिन्)  
दस[क]ष्ठवर्षदलने सो(खी)हैहयानां कुले कोककल्लः प्र<sup>१</sup>
- 25 प्रतिपादितोस्य च [मु]णश्चेठोर्जुनीभूत्सुतः [१\*] तत्पुत्रोम्मणदेव इत्यतिव(व)ल्लस्तस्मादि-  
जाम्वा(म्वा)भवत्यधेमा(वा)-
- 26 [म्बु](म्बु)तिवेरुमेव हिमव्रंनाम्नः<sup>२</sup> क्षमाभूत्प्रभोः ॥[१९\*]॥ धीन्द्रनरेन्द्रात्तस्या(स्या)  
सूनुरभूद्भूपतिव्रजाम्बा(म्बा)दा(दाम्) [१\*] [गो]विन्दराव-
- 27 नामा कामाधिकरुगसीन्दवंः ॥[२०\*]॥ सामर्थ्ये सति निन्दिता प्रविहिता  
नैवाप्रजे कूरता ।<sup>३</sup> व(व)न्वस्त्रीगमनादि-
- 28 भिः कुचरितैरावज्जितं सायशः [१\*] शीचाशीचपराङ्मुलं त च भिया  
पैशाच्यमंगीकृतं त्यागेनासमसाहा(ह)[सि]-
- 29 इव भुजने यस्ताहसांकोभवत् ॥[२१\*]॥ वर्षन्सुवर्णवर्षः प्रभूतवर्षोपि कलकधाराभिः  
[१\*] जगदमितमेककाञ्चनमयस-
- 30 करोदिति जनैरुक्तः ॥[२२\*]॥ कः केताल्पी को दरिद्रः पृथिव्यामित्यं पृष्टे<sup>४</sup>  
द्वारि लिप्तोरभावात् [१\*] हेलासिद्धैः ईपितार्थैः[१\*]
- 31 प्रणीतोप्युच्चैः कोशः प्रीतये यस्य नाभूत् ॥[२३\*]॥ सदधिदिविजयावसरे सति  
प्रसभसंभ्रमभावनयेव भूः [१\*] स-
- 32 पदि नृत्यति पालिमहाश्वजोन्धिकृतकरो(रा)न्यकुताथविवज्जिता ॥[२४\*]॥ सहते न  
हि मण्डलाधि(धि)र्ष परमेपोन्मुदमी स-
- 33 मूढत(तम्) । इति जातभियाविचायतो रविचन्द्रावपि यस्य षाषतः ॥[२५\*]॥  
सहते समवाहिनीमयं न परेषां सविज्ञेप-
- 34 शालिनी(नीम्) । यदि निन्दितंराजमन्दिरं तनु गगा(ङ्गा) यमुना च सेवते  
॥[२६\*]॥ यस्मि(स्मिन्) राजनि सौराज्यं निज्जिता<sup>५</sup>रि वितन्वति ।

<sup>१</sup> This sign of punctuation is wrongly attached to the preceding letter.

<sup>२</sup> This *ośāra* is superfluous.

<sup>३</sup> Read हिमव्रन्नाम्नः ।

<sup>४</sup> This *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

<sup>५</sup> The Cambay plates read *सहते* ।

<sup>६</sup> Read हेलासिद्धैर्द्वीपितार्थैः ।

<sup>७</sup> Read *यदनिन्दित* — as in the Cambay plates.

35 त्रिमां(मा)नस्थितिरित्याशो(सो)न(त्र) भोगेषु ह(क)ञ्चन ॥[२७\*॥] वस्योहाम-  
प्रतापानलव(व)हृत्सिखाकञ्चन नीलमेघाः ।<sup>1</sup>

*Second Plate : Second Side*

36 विष्णुर्जन्तवङ्गधारास्फुरणविसरणान्येव विदुद्विलासाः [1\*] दुर्वारारीभकुम्भस्वलदलन-  
गलन्मौषित-

37 कान्ते(व्ये)व तारावचन्द्रकीराब्धि(ब्धि)धेया भूतभूतनयशोराशिनिष्यन्दितानि ॥[२८\*॥]  
यस्मिन्कष्टकशोषनोत्सुकम-

38 तस्यम्भोजतार्लेभि(ब्धि)योवाग्मर्गं न पयस्सु कोशवसति[ल्लं(म्भो)] कृतोपायनं(नम्)  
[1\*] केतवया पचनोल्लसंति<sup>2</sup>-

39 जरजःपु(पु)जाधकारोदरे ।<sup>1</sup> भुगर्भे(र्भे) पनन्वे(से)न वेवलतया द्वायात्मशुद्धये  
स्थितं(तम्) ॥[२९\*॥] यश्च समुपहृषि-

40 तदहरनयनदहनविद्वितानित्यकन्दर्पंरूपसौन्दर्यदणः श्रीनित्यकन्दर्पः प्रभुमन्त्रशास्त्रपुत्रं(वृ)-  
हिते-

41 त्साहृण[क्ति]समाक्षिप्तसतममुखः श्वाणकवंचतुर्भुक्तः प्रथितैकविक्रमाक्रान्तवसु[न्ध]राहित-  
करण-

42 परायणः श्रीत्रि(त्रि)क्रान्तम(ना)रावणः श्व(स्व)करकलिलहृलदलितंविपक्षवक्षस्मलक्षेरः  
श्रीनृपतिविशे(ते)-

43 नः समभवत्त च परमभट्टारकमहा[रा]जाधिराजवरभेश्वरश्रीमन्त्रिलयवर्षदेकपादानुद्धघात-  
पर-

44 मभट्टारकंमहाराजाधिराजव(प)रभेश्वरश्रीमत्सुवर्णवर्ष[र्ष]देवः पृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीमद्भलभनरे-

45 न्ददेवस्य महादेव्याः अरश्चलुकपर्वस(श)मण्डना(नो)दूतश्रीभोमराजः तस्य सुतो  
श्रीतइल्लपराजो<sup>3</sup>

46 त्वा[ध्य\*] च सुतः सकलगुणव(स)पन्नश्रीगुणगराजः(जः) तस्य च राज्ञीश्रीरेव-  
कन्वाया(या) समुद्भूतश्रीभानियन्व(न्वा) राज्ञी

<sup>1</sup> This *dhāra* is superfluous.

<sup>2</sup> Read — येवोन्मर्गं ।

<sup>3</sup> Read — ल्लमात्रि- ।

<sup>4</sup> Read — समाक्षिप्तसतमसुवर्णवर्षवर्ण — as in the Chambay plates.

<sup>5</sup> Chambay plates read — कलितं हेतिल्लदलित- ।

<sup>6</sup> Read — भट्टारक- ।

<sup>7</sup> Read — श्रीभोमराजस्तस्य सुतः श्रीतइल्लपराजः ।

- 47 सह(क)लभोम्यपुणावयवसंरुम्भ<sup>१</sup>(संयोग)निम्मित(ता) विष्णोर्ल्लो[डमी]रिव श्रीसुवर्ण-  
वर्षदेवत्य व[ङ्ग]निजपुणभाष्येत लला-
- 48 टे द्वादश[भि\*]र्म्महामान्तैः पट्टो वषड्त्वा<sup>२</sup> श्रीभागियम्वाए<sup>३</sup> हिरण्यगर्भंभु भय-  
मुखी<sup>४</sup>योसहस्रकःपवुक्ष-
- 49 दानादि वत्वा(त्वा) तुलापुरुपादनृत्तरता श्रीगीविन्देवरालयप्राङ्गणे मया प्रथम-  
करोदकातिस-
- 50 गौण शकसम्बत्<sup>५</sup> ८५१ प्रवर्त्तमानविकृतसम्ब(संब)सरात्तर्गतपुष्यव(व)हृल्लाञ्चम्बा  
वु(वु)षे उत्तरा(र)वा(क)लुनी-
- 51 नक्षत्रसमेते शसि(शि)नि प्रथितोत्तरायणमहापर्वणि अष्टवर्गस्य शासनमिदं  
सहिरुष्य<sup>६</sup> दत्तं(त्तम्) [1\*]
- 52 य[त्र] प्रथमः चन्द्रपुरीविनिर्गतभारद्वाजगोत्रव(व)हृत्तह(स)प्र(प्र)द्वाचारिस[ध्वंभ]ः  
मधुवपप्यभट्टमुतः ।

*Third Plate*

- 53 तथा नलप्रामविनिर्गतकौ[शि]कगो[त्र]त्तै(तै)त्तिरीयसप्र(प्र)द्वाञ्च(चा)रिवावर्णकावित्तः<sup>७</sup>  
तिक्कण्यमुतः [1\*]
- 54 धम्मसेल्लुकाविनिर्गतवत्ससगोत्रतैत्तिरीयसप्र(प्र)द्वाचारिकेशवकमवित्तः<sup>८</sup> माधवैतमुतः [1\*]  
त-
- 55 था सीसवेविनिर्गतकौशिकगोत्रव(व)हृत्तम(व(व))द्वाचारिप्रमाकरभट्टः श्रीवत्त(त्त)भट्ट-  
मुतः [1\*] तथा नलप्रामवि-
- 56 तिर्गतहस्तिगोत्रतैत्तिरीयसप्र(प्र)द्वाचारिरेवणंभट्टमुतः श्रीधरभट्टः [1\*] तथा पुरीविनिर्ग-  
[त\*]मारद्वा[ज]-
- 57 गोत्रव(व)हृत्तमव(व)द्वाचारितिव्वेभट्टः विडपर्यमुतः [1\*] यात्रीविनिर्गतगाम्य(ग्ये)-  
सगोत्रत्तै(तै)त्तिरीयसप्र(प्र)द्वाचा-

<sup>१</sup> The reading of this word is uncertain.

<sup>२</sup> Read वडा- ।

<sup>३</sup> Read पट्टं वन्द्यमित्वा ।

<sup>४</sup> Read श्रीभागियम्वाए ।

<sup>५</sup> Read हिरण्यगर्भंभयमुखी- ।

<sup>६</sup> Read -संबत् ।

<sup>७</sup> Read वावर्ण- . Such names are in vogue even now in Maharashtra.

<sup>८</sup> Read -कमवित्त ।

<sup>९</sup> Here both the states of medial ai appear over the letter p.



- 58 रिजर्त्तभट्टः विद्वर्षयमुतः [1\*] तथा चिक्ख(ख)लीविनिर्गतभारद्वाजगोत्तव(ब)-  
ह्वृत्तसव(त्र)ह्यचारिवावर्षय.
- 59 रिसियणमुतः [1\*] एतेषां वडनेरत्तु(त्रि)शतान्तर्गत एलउरीग्रामः सवृक्षमालाकुलः  
सधान्यहिर(र)ष्पादेवः.
- 60 सदृष्टदोषदशापराधः सर्वोत्पत्तिसहितः पुत्रवंप्रसिद्धचतुस्तीग(मा)प[मं\*]न्तमा(न्त जा)-  
चन्द्राकर्कं नमस्यो [३\*].
- 61 त्तः [1\*] तस्य चाषाटाः [1\*] यस्य पूर्वतः दन्तीग्रामः दक्षिणतः निम्ब-  
धामः\* पश्चिमतः कोट्टुउरीषा-
- 62 मः उत्तरतः पयोष्णा(ष्णो)नदी [1\*] एव चतुराषाटविशुद्धं एलउरीग्रामं अष्ट-  
वर्गं चा(बा)ह्यपातां
- 63 कृषत[\*] कर्षयतो भूजता भोजयतो न केनचित्त्वाघात[ः]\* कार्यः [1\*] यद्वा-  
ज्ञानतिमिराट[ला]वृत्तमतिरा-
- 64 च्छिन्वादाच्छिद्यमानम्वा[नुमोदेत\*] स पञ्चभिग(मं)हापातकंलपातकैश्च संयुक्त[\*]  
स्यादुक्त(वत्) चे[द\*] व्यासेन ॥ व(व)ह्वृ[भि\*]व्वंमु-
- 65 धा भूक्ता] पाल्विर्वेस्वमरादिभिः [1\*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य त[स्य\*]  
तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[३०\*]॥ रामवचनं(नम्) ॥ सामान्यो-
- 66 वं धम्मसेतुर्नुपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः[1\*] सर्वनिव भवित[ः\*]  
पाल्विवेन्द्रान्भूयो [भू]यो या-
- 67 चते रामभद्रः ॥[३१\*]॥ हर्ता हारयिता भूमि(मि)म्मन्दवु(वु)द्धिस्तमोवृता(तः) ।  
स व(व)द्धो वारुणं[\*] पार्श्वः तिर्युत्योनिपु\*
- 68 जायते ॥[३२\*]॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत्तु वमु(सु)धरां(राम्) । पण्डि-  
वर्षसहस्राणि विष्टंसी\* जाय[ति] कुमिः ॥[३३\*]॥ भू-
- 69 मि यः प्रतिगृह्णा(ह्णा)ति यच्च भूमि(मि) प्रपच्छति । उभौ तौ पुष्यकम्मोणी  
निउ(य)तो स्वर्गोवासिनी ॥[३४\*]॥ इत ॥[३\*]

\* Read निम्बधामः ।

\* Read अष्टवर्गस्य ।

\* Read केनचित्त्वाघातः । स is written below the line.

\* Read -दाक्षिण्यमानं वा ।

\* Read तिर्युत्योनिपु ।

\* Read सिधायी ।

No. 33—NĀGARJUNAKONDA PRAKRIT INSCRIPTION OF GAUTAMIPUTRA  
VIJAYA SATAKARNI, YEAR 6

(I Plate)

H. SARKAR, NEW DELHI

(Received on 26.11.1962)

The subjoined pillar-inscription was discovered on the 29th May 1962, at Nāgarjunakoṇḍa,<sup>1</sup> District Guntur, Andhra Pradesh, in the course of the removal of the antiquities from the submergence levels to the new Museum premises. The actual findspot is quite close to Site 126, and the ancient burning *ghāt*. In fact, the inscribed pillar was re-used at some late date as a balustrade of a *ghāt* on the Krishna, but the area as a whole being a narrow strip of land in between the river-bank and the Nāgarjunakoṇḍa hill, is not at present easily accessible, specially during floods. The record has been noticed in *Ancient India*, No. 16 (1962), p. 84, where the date of the regnal year has been incorrectly read as 8 instead of 6.

The green limestone pillar on which the inscription is engraved might have originally belonged to a pillared hall. Subsequently the pillar was re-used in the construction of the *ghāt* referred to above. The occurrence of a few very defaced letters in late Nāgari characters on the other side of the same pillar is likely to suggest that this *ghāt* was in use, if not constructed—the letter, however, by no means an impossible proposition—in the late medieval times. It is worth noting that architecturally this pillar, with rectangular upper and lower portions, middle portion being octagonal, is similar in type to those of the Ikshvāku period. The inscription is engraved just below the octagonal part of the shaft which is devoid of any carving. The extant height of the pillar, including the undressed part, is 175 cm. the width and thickness being 30 cm. and 22.5 cm. respectively.

The inscription, consisting of four lines, covers a space of 30 cm. by 16 cm., the fourth line having only four letters. The epigraph is written in Brāhmi characters of about the third century A.D. and the language is Prakrit. Palaeographically the present record, despite a few noticeable differences, is not far removed in point of time from the records of the Ikshvākus from Nāgarjunakoṇḍa.<sup>2</sup> The strokes on the top as well as at the bottom are not very long drawn and the letters are somewhat broader in the present case.

An interesting feature of orthography is the use of the reduplicated consonant *ṣ* in the word *Satakarṇiṣa*.<sup>3</sup> Such use of the double consonant is, however, not noticed in the inscriptions of Virapurushadatta.

The inscription opens with the adoration to the Best of Men (*ago-pogala*) i.e. Buddha. One of the Nāgarjunakoṇḍa inscriptions reads *ago-pogala* (Pali *agga-puggala*—Sanskrit *agrya-puṅgava*) as an epithet of Buddha.<sup>4</sup> After the adoration, the details of the date of the record are given as *Vaiśākhi-pūrnimā* of the fourth fortnight of the summer season during the sixth regnal year of the king Vijaya Śāta-karṇi. The record ends immediately after the date portion without giving the purport or any other information. However, the passage about the

<sup>1</sup> Also spelt as Nāgarjunakoṇḍa. Macrons over *a* and *o* has not been used in this article.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XX, pp. 16-37.

<sup>3</sup> The word *Satakarṇiṣa* is spelt variously as *Satakarṇi* (Khācavala's inscription, *ibid.*, p. 79, line 4), *Satakarṇi* or *Satakarṇi* (Nasik inscription of Gautamiputra, *ibid.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 71 and 73). (The form *Satakarṇi* itself occurs in the Mājavāli inscription of Chūpa Śāta-karṇi, cf. *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, SL 203—E1.)

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XX, pp. 25-26.

adoration and the date portion would establish the Buddhist nature of the epigraph. For, the *Vaiśākhi-pūrṇimā* is traditionally associated with the day of Buddha's birth and *āroḍḍha*.<sup>1</sup> It may, therefore, be suggested that the object of the inscription is to record the gift of the pillar containing the epigraph under study to a Buddhist establishment, which might have been situated close to the findspot of the inscription.

The present epigraph is important because, besides being the solitary Śātavāhana record from Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, it is the only inscription of Gautamīputra Vijaya-Śātakarṇi so far known. He may be identified with the Andhra king Vijaya of the Purāṇic list. His name is read as [Vijaya Śātakarṇi in some of the coins from Tarhājā hoard.<sup>2</sup> Since the record is dated in the sixth regnal year of the king, it supports the testimony of the Purāṇas according to which he ruled for six years. According to the Purāṇas two more kings, viz. Chandraśāri and Pulomāvi of the Śātavāhana dynasty ruled after Vijaya: they are also known from inscriptions.<sup>3</sup> D. C. Sircar suggests that at least the predecessors of Pulomāvi of Myakadoni inscription must have ruled over Andhradeśa.<sup>4</sup> The present discovery of Vijaya-Śātakarṇi's inscription at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa proves that Andhradeśa formed part of his dominion. It is likely that the city of Vijayapurī, the ancient name of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, was originally founded by this Vijaya Śātakarṇi who named it after himself and subsequently it became the capital of the Ikshvākus. The existence of a township at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa during the later Śātavāhanas is indicated by the discovery, at that place, of two hoards of coins exclusively belonging to the Śātavāhana kings, besides stray occurrences of the coins of Yaśjña Śātakarṇi, Pulomāvi, etc. as also by the presence of pre-Ikshvāka deposits at many a site in that area including the one below the Ikshvāku rampart. Hence Vijaya-Śātakarṇi seems to have founded this city which was named after him.<sup>5</sup>

## TEXT\*

- 1 [Na]mo bhagavato Agapogalasa ||<sup>6</sup>
- 2 raño Gotamīputasa Sīri-Vijaya-Sa-
- 3 takarṇisa sava 6 gi pa' 4 diva Vesā-
- 4 [kha] purīma ||<sup>7</sup>

## TRANSLATION

Adoration to the Lord, the Best of Beings (i.e. Buddha). (The pillar is the gift made on) the *Vaiśākhi-pūrṇimā* day of the fourth fortnight of summer during the sixth regnal year of king Gautamīputra Vijaya-Śātakarṇi.

<sup>1</sup> The fourth fortnight clearly suggests that the year starts from the first fortnight of the month Chaitra and the pūrṇimā in the fourth fortnight is the characteristic of pūrṇimās (cf. above, Vol. I, p. 404).

<sup>2</sup> V. V. Mirashi, 'A large hoard of Satavahana coins', *Bull. Inst. Quert.*, Vol. XVI, p. 505; see also *JNSI*, Vol. II, pp. 83-94.

<sup>3</sup> Kodavallī inscription of Chandraśāri (*ZDMG*, Vol. LXII, p. 592; above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 316 ff. and Plate) and Myakadoni rock-inscription of Pulomāvi (above, Vol. XIV, p. 153).

<sup>4</sup> Successors of the Śātrahānas, p. 182. It is also said that the Myakadoni inscription suggests that the Andhra-śātrahānas undoubtedly formed part of Pulomāvi's dominions. (*cf. Comp. Hist. of India*, Vol. II, p. 324).

<sup>5</sup> In view of this, D. C. Sircar's suggestion that the Ikshvāku capital was called Vijayapura probably for its foundation in the cyclic year Vijaya (above, Vol. XXXV, p. 2, note 4) does not hold good.

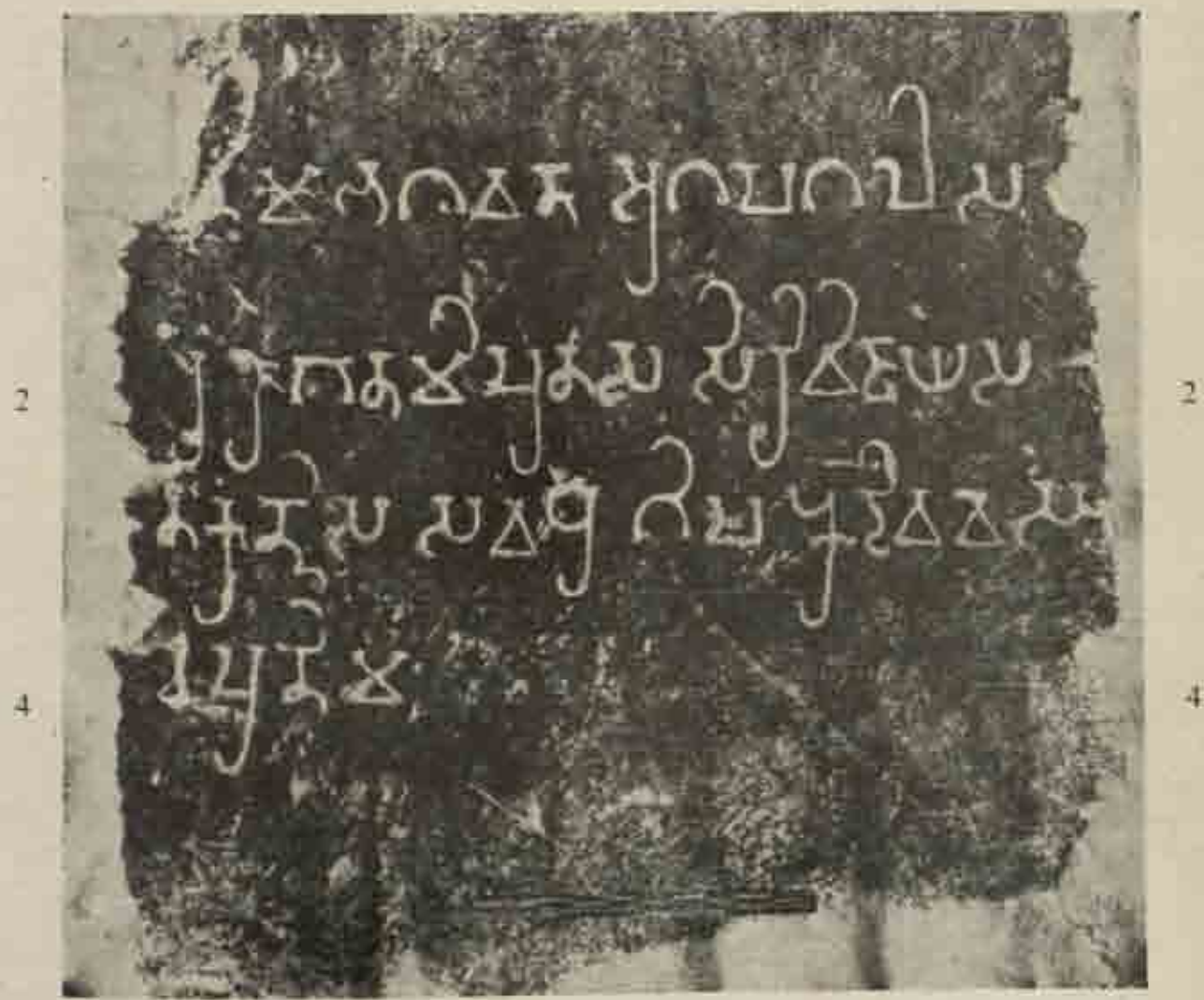
<sup>6</sup> From the original and impressions.

<sup>7</sup> This is the contraction of Prakrit *purīma-paḥḥi*, Sanskrit *prīṭama-paḥḥi*.

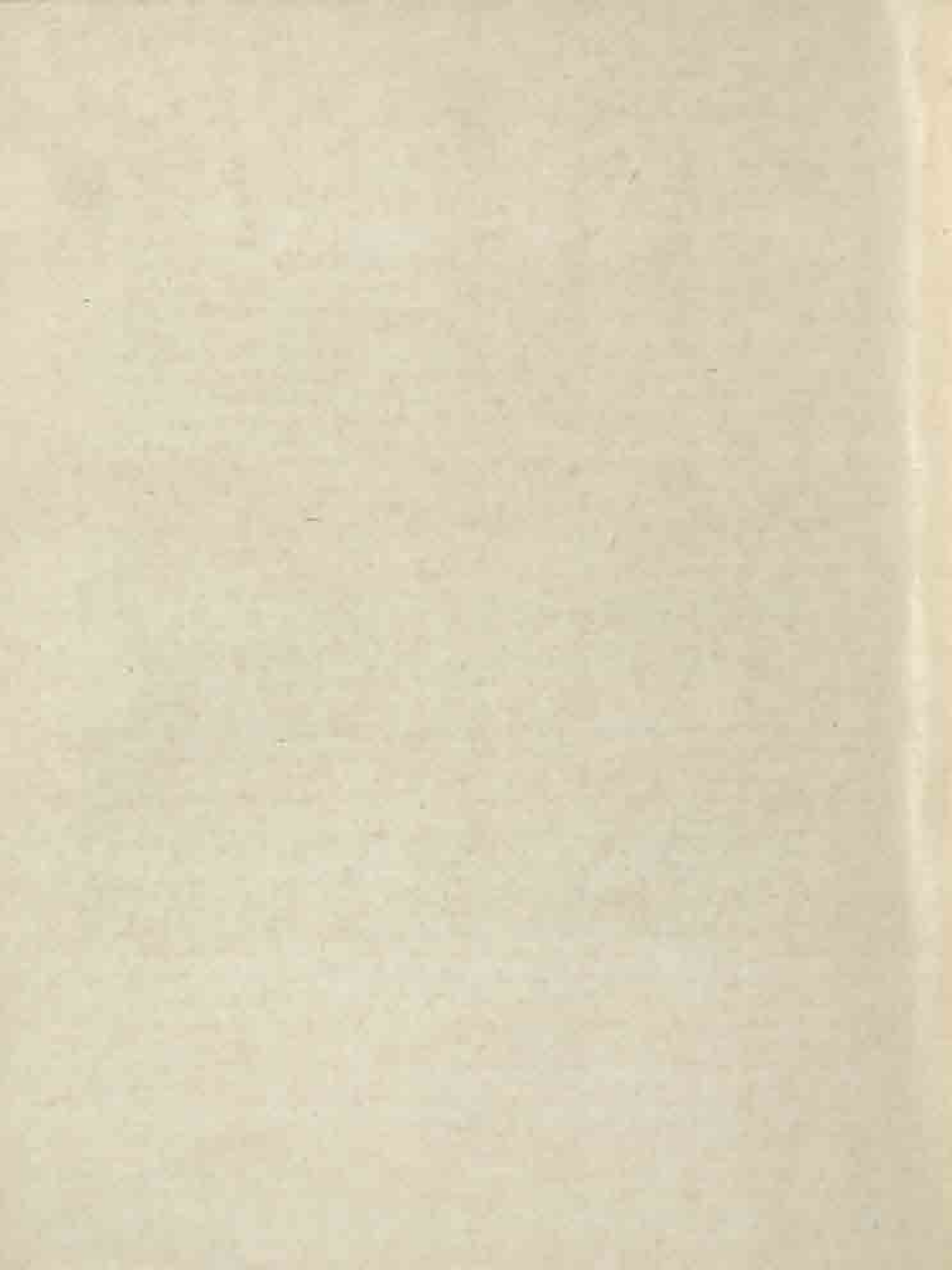
<sup>8</sup> The punctuation to denote the end of the record is indicated by two *vīṅśa*-like dots.



NAGARIUNAKONDA PRAKRIT INSCRIPTION OF GAUTAMIPUTRA VIJAYA  
SATAKARNI YEAR 6



Scale : One-half



## No. 34—CRYSTAL INTAGLIO IN BRITISH MUSEUM

(I Plate)

D. C. SINHA, CALCUTTA

(Received on 26.11.1962)

Sometime ago, I received for examination a plaster and a silicose cast of a splendid crystal intaglio from Mr. Douglas E. Barrett of the Department of Oriental Antiquities, British Museum, London.<sup>1</sup> The original was recently acquired for the Museum, though it had been for many years with the Museum authorities on deposit. It was the property of Lieut. Col. C. H. S. Deane who is known to have been stationed at Peshawar and Rawalpindi in 1932-34, and this fact led to the supposition that the provenance of the object might be the former North-West Frontier Province, now in West Pakistan. The belief that the head-dress of the human figure represented on the crystal is of the Khotanese type of about the seventh century A.D. lent some colour to the supposition. But, at my request, Mr. Barrett kindly enquired about Deane's army career in India and found out that, before the First World War, he was for sometime stationed at Ajmer and, after 1919, in Bihar, Mandalay, Kamptee and Secunderabad. Deane's career in India therefore does not help us in tracing the provenance of the crystal since he could have purchased it at any of the various places where he was stationed and from a dealer belonging to any part of Northern India or elsewhere.

On an examination of the casts, I found that their original is an intaglio which is remarkable from several points of view. Of course, a seal of the precious stone called *sphatika* (crystal) is not so striking since ancient Indian seals made of precious stones are available to us.<sup>2</sup> But the king, for whom the object was originally made and whose portrait it bears, was a thoroughly Indianised foreigner who seems to have ruled over some region not very far from East Malwa about the third century A.D. and, though his name, as found in the inscription the crystal bears, is as yet unknown from any other source, his portrait above the writing is unique in its beautiful execution and artistic excellence. Indeed, such a beautiful portrait of an early Indian king is unknown to the student of ancient Indian art.

Unfortunately, to do justice to the portrait and the two-line inscription, one helping in explaining the other in certain respects, is not an easy task, especially because the meaning of the second line of the latter, as it reads, is not satisfactorily clear.

On the casts, the scooped out section looks like the inside of one-third of a big egg-shell cut lengthwise and has the maximum depth of 1.4 cm. It bears an inscription in two lines in the lower part, its upper area being occupied by the upper half of the body of a king standing against an arched window. On the casts, the writing, etc., are in relief and the figure is in bas-relief. The case, of course, must be the opposite with the original. The crystal intaglio with the negative writing of its legend was thus not meant for itself being used as a seal but for being utilised in producing *abhijānas* or tokens with positive writing.<sup>3</sup>

The horizontal ail of the window exhibits a pattern of what looks somewhat like a series of St. Andrew's crosses and reminds us of the collar of some of the Śaka kings of Western India as

<sup>1</sup> This is noticed in *A. R. Ep.*, 1963-64, No. K 242.

<sup>2</sup> For a corollian seal, see *CIH*, Vol. II, Part 1, p. 7, Plate I, No. 4. For poems of crystal bearing inscription, cf. *Biblioth. Indica Palaeography*, Calcutta reprint, p. 116.

<sup>3</sup> *CIH*, Vol. III, p. 283 (No. 78).



noticed in their portrait on the coins.<sup>1</sup> The top portion of two thin bird (Garuda) columns rises above the window sill in the left and right while the lower ends of the arch of the window rest on the heads of the Garudas. The arch is made of a shaft which has on it a series of small decorative semi-ovals each of which has another minute semi-oval in it. The window with the human figure reminds us of an image on a terracotta or metal plaque or a stele having a similar ornamental border called *khajā* in the case of metallic plaques bearing icons and of the *dhāl-chitra* of the modern Durgā images made for autumnal worship in Bengal.

The most interesting thing in the architectural motif discussed above is the Garuda column, the lower parts of which have not been represented owing apparently to the space being covered by the inscription. The Garuda design suggests that the motif is certainly Indian and not foreign.

The royal figure is shown from slightly below the waistline where the *dāstri* is tied beneath the navel. The body is in three-quarters profile or turned a little towards the proper left, while the face is in profile or further turned towards the left. Only the right brow and eye are visible. In its section on painting, the *Vishayadharmaśāstra* describes a posture called *ardha-sālochana* or *adhy-ardh-śikha* which is understood to mean the face shown in profile and the body in three-quarter profile.<sup>2</sup> The Indian figure engraved on the crystal illustrates the Indian conception of male beauty—*egāḥ-śukhā śikha-lambhā śila-pāśābha-mukhā-bhujā*.<sup>3</sup> The features are heavy. The throat is not seen; the end of the chin is globular. The right eye and eye-brow, which only are visible, are respectively big and thin while the nose is long and pointed, but not aquiline. The left arm is bent at an angle, with the elbow seemingly resting on the Garuda figure on that side and the fingers hanging downwards. The right arm is also bent; but the thumb and the fingers, bent inwards, rest on the upper right wrist. The pose is quite imposing. As indicated above, the figure illustrates a posture which follows a convention recognised by ancient Indian artists.

Besides the upper fringe of the *dhāl* tied to the waist, only two other pieces of cloth are noticed on the royal figure. The first of these is the *uttariya* which comes from the back side to the left shoulder, descends towards the right waist, goes again up by the back side to the left shoulder and descends towards the left waist after a bend on the left chest where it passes underneath its first section. The body is otherwise bare. This dress is of course purely Indian. But the third piece of cloth on the figure is the diadem elaborately tied behind the head with its two ends flying over the king's back. The diadem has almost the same width as the *uttariya*.

What is of exceptional interest is that the diadem points to the foreign nationality of the person in question. It was worn by royal personages and certain dignitaries in Western Asia and the neighbourhood and, in India, the royal bust is often depicted with the diadem on the coins of the Indo-Greek rulers while the king is sometimes seen with the diadem on the coins of the other foreigners who ruled after the Greeks. It formed no part of the proper Indian dress, but was regarded by the Indians as an element of the *śikha-śikha*, i.e. the dress of the foreign settlers of the Uttarāpatha division of India including the land beyond the East Punjab upto the valleys of the Oxus and the Jaxartes in Central Asia.<sup>4</sup> The earliest illustration of the *śikha-śikha* is noticed on a Bharhut sculpture of about the first century B.C., the figure being represented as wearing the diadem as well as a coat and high boots.<sup>5</sup> An essential feature of this

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., *Ersson's Catalogue*, Plates IX ff.

<sup>2</sup> S. Kramrich, *FA Vishayadharmaśāstra*, pp. 9, 43.

<sup>3</sup> *Āyurveda*, 1, 13.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Brāhmanīya*, LVIII, 46. *śikha-śikha* or Uttarāpatha also included the entire Himalayan region.

<sup>5</sup> B. N. Dasgupta, *Bharhut*, Book III, Plate LXII, figure 7.

dress is that the body is covered by garments while the Indians proper generally kept the upper part of the body bare.<sup>1</sup> Thus the dress of the royal figure under study, containing both Indian and foreign elements, suggests that he was a thoroughly Indianised foreigner. The king's bare body indicates that he lived outside Uttarāpātha in some neighbouring region of Northern, Central or Western India.

The fairly thick moustache on the upper lip of the figure protrudes a little beyond the corner of the mouth; but the beard is shaved off. A long and thick patch of hair is found below the temple, its lower part, being shaved off, ending in a horizontal line.<sup>2</sup> The hair on the head is long and profuse, and the end of the locks all around appears to be hidden in an upward curl. It is well known that the Indians of old kept long hair<sup>3</sup> and dressed it in various styles.<sup>4</sup> The *Mysch-chakastika*<sup>5</sup> speaks of some of these styles as *granthi*, *jāpala*, *bāla*, *kuntala*, *vaikā* and *śrīdhva-chūḍa*. The hair style of the royal figure appears to be Indian.

Among the ornaments worn by the king depicted on the crystal, we notice those for the head, ear, neck, arms and wrists. The ear-ornament is made of a longish bead hanging from two pendants on either side. While the ornaments for the wrists and the neck are of the ring type, those for the arms and the head are of the fixing or fastening type.<sup>6</sup> The ends of the knob at the joint of the neck-ring can be seen in the upper part of the right chest. The arm-ornament is of a big and elaborate design and covers the major part of the upper side of both the arms. The head-dress which is not a head-cover or a ring-type crown, seems to consist of several round ornaments and a chain of beads, which are all joined with one another and the whole thing fixed on the hair. The diadem runs immediately below the head-dress which does not cover the hair at the back of the head. Even on the part under the head-dress, the hair can be seen here and there. The ornaments, especially that on the arms, appear to be typically Indian.

The most important feature of the inscription in two lines, in which the letters are boldly and beautifully fashioned in relief below the figure described above, is that the characters are box-headed of the scooped-out type. The box-headed script, which exhibits South Indian element in a considerable degree, is usually called the Central Indian alphabet and, among Northern records, is found fully developed in the inscriptions of Samudragupta (c. 340-76 A.D.) at Eran and of Chandragupta II (376-413 A.D.) at Udayagiri,<sup>7</sup> both in East Malwa, though the alphabet of our record appears to be earlier than the Gupta epigraphs in question. The box-headed alphabet is also used in the records of the Vākātakas of Berar, the Śarāhnapuriyas and Pāṇḍyavāḍis of the Chhattisgadh region, the Kadambas of Kuntala and others. But there is less likelihood of the provenance of the crystal under reference being any of these areas since they are far removed

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, LVIII, 40; *śrīdhva-chūḍa* *granthi* *granthi* *granthi* *granthi*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Monier-Williams, *Sansk-Eng. Dict.*, s. v. *jāpala*. This fashion of shaving the beard was popular with the Rajputs of the medieval age. See V. A. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, Part II, 1920, p. 325 (*Śrīdhva-chūḍa*); p. 373 (*granthi* *granthi*); etc. *Sarāh* (*śarāh*), p. 428) had a lock of hair and not a patch of the type we are speaking of.

<sup>3</sup> *Journ. Ind. Soc. Oc. Art.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 60, 27, etc. (see below, p. 282 and note 3).

<sup>4</sup> See, e.g., Plates.

<sup>5</sup> See IX, verse 2.

<sup>6</sup> The fastening type ornaments are often noticed in the Ajanta paintings. See *Ajanta Paintings*, Lalit Kala Academy, Plates IV-V, VII B.

<sup>7</sup> G. Bühler, *Indian Palaeography*, Calcutta reprint, p. 101. For the inscriptions, see *CHI*, Vol. III, Plate II, A and B. The writing on the crystal may also be compared with that of Plates V, XXI-A, XXX-XXXI, XLII-C and XLIII-c of *CHI*, Vol. III, among North Indian epigraphs, in which the top *śrīdhva* is longish. Among early foreign settlements, the *Parthians* appear to locate the *Gandhāras* in West India and Jain tradition speaks of *Muruga* *śrīdhva* at *Pāṇḍyavāḍis*.



from Uttarāpatha. Amongst the places associated with the use of this alphabet, East Malwa is the nearest to Uttarāpatha. Thus, the provenance of the crystal may be a region about the central areas of North India not very far away from East Malwa. The most important letter in the epigraph is *ma* (occurring three times) which has a triangular base, the triangularity being more rigid than in the form of the letter in the Southern alphabet, the like of which is not usually found in the records of the Gupta age written in the Northern alphabet. The rigidly triangular form of the letter *va* (occurring twice) is also earlier than its shape found generally in the inscriptions of the Gupta period. While, on the basis of these letters, the epigraph may be assigned to an early date, there are some later traits besides the box-head referred to above. Thus the subscript *y* ends in a longer upward stroke than is normally expected in the records of the Kūshāṇa age (even though there are a few exceptions),<sup>1</sup> while the upward vertical stroke forming medial *ū* in *jū* turns horizontally to the right, a development apparently out of a rightward curve in which the vertical is often seen to have ended in a flourish in the records of the Gupta age.<sup>2</sup> The left limb of the tripartite *y* is almost as high as the central and right limbs of the letter. These features would suggest a date not much earlier than the fourth century A.D. Considering therefore both the earlier and later palaeographical features of the writing, we may assign the crystal roughly to the third century, and this date, as will be seen below, seems to be supported by some other considerations.

The inscription is written in **Sanskrit influenced by Prakrit** as is the case with most of the Mathurā inscriptions of the Śaka-Kūshāṇa age and the epigraphic and numismatic records of the Śakas of Ujjayini flourishing from the second to the fourth century A.D.<sup>3</sup> There is a grammatical error in the use of *śiṣ* for *śi* in line 1 while Prakrit influence is noticed in the word *satana* for Sanskrit *ratna* in line 2. The inscription also contains a foreign name with an un-Indian sound as will be seen below.

The first five syllables of the record in the first half of line 1 read *śrīmahārājā* which is a mistake for *śrī-Mahārāj-*.<sup>4</sup> We have a number of instances of the same grammatical error in early epigraphic records, e.g., *śarvaśāyāśāstrāśīrīśāśarājāya* for *Śarva-Śāyāśāstrāśīrīśāśarājāya* in a Mathurā Museum inscription of the time of Huvishka (second century A.D.),<sup>5</sup> *śrīśāyāśāśarāśāśāśā* for *śrī-Śāyāśāśarāśāśāśā* in the Sāleśī inscription (about the fourth century A.D.)<sup>6</sup> and *śrīmūlāyāśāśāśāśāśā* for *śrī-Mūlāya-śāśāśāśāśāśā* and *śrī-mahārājānaravarmāya* for *śrī-Mahārāja-Naravarmāya* in a Mandasor inscription of 404 A.D.<sup>7</sup> It is of course difficult to say whether the question of the age and provenance of the crystal can be linked with those of the above inscriptions.

The last four syllables in the latter half of line 1 read *avarighaśya*, the reading of the whole line therefore being *śrī-śrī(Ma)hārāj-Āvarighaśya*, "of the illustrious Mahārāja **Āvarighsa** (or, Āvarighā)". Thus the passage speaks of a ruler bearing the foreign name Āvarighsa (or Āvarighā) and the Indian royal title Mahārāja. The foreign origin of the king is thus not only indicated by his diademed figure but also by his **un-Indian name**.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lüders, *Mathurā Inscriptions* (ed. K. L. Sauer), p. 205, Sn. 94, line 4 (margin).

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., Ojha, *Bhāratīya Prāchīna Lippīvalī*, Plate XVII (Bīlāśī); cf. Bühler's Table IV, Column 41 (VIII, XI).

<sup>3</sup> See, e.g., *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 118-19, 132-34, 140-41, 144-52, 156-60, 173 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Lüders, *op. cit.*, pp. 138 ff. Lüders' suggestion that the names in the Sāleśī and Mathurā Museum inscriptions are respectively Śāyāśāśarāśāśāśā and Śāyāśāśāśāśāśāśāśā does not take into account similar other cases and is no doubt wrong.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XXV, p. 68.

<sup>6</sup> See *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 377-78, text lines 1 and 5.



It is well-known that the son and successor of the Śaka ruler Rudradāman I (c. 130-55 A.D.) of Ujjayini, who ruled in c. 155-75 A.D., bore a name in which a foreign sound is represented by *ghs*. Rapson says, "In the transliteration of the foreign name Dāmaghśada, which is borne by Rudradāman's son and successor and by two later members of the dynasty, it is possible in the case of the first of these to trace three stages. Originally, the latter portion of the name appears as *ghāsada*, which may possibly be an attempt to express the Persian *vāda*, 'a son'. The un-Indian combination of consonants *ghs* is next supplanted by the Indian *j*; but, as the result *jada* is still no proper Sanskrit or Prakrit word, it is further Indianised by the addition of *śi*. This form [i.e. Dāmajaśada] is exclusively used by the second and third bearers of the name."<sup>1</sup> The name of the foreign ruler mentioned in the inscription on the crystal may be related to an expression like Persian *avriš*, 'dropping of water'. It may thus be Avarighsa=Avarisa=Avriš.

It has to be noticed that Dāmaghśada=Dāmajada I of the Śaka family of Ujjayini first transliterated the un-Indian sound of *z* by *ghs* and finally by *j*. Since the representation of *z* by *ghs* was becoming obsolete with the Śakas of Ujjayini as early as the latter half of the second century A.D., it is difficult to assign king Avarighsa of our inscription, who adopted the earlier method in transliterating apparently the same foreign sound and may not have flourished very far away from the Śaka dominions, to a date much later than the second century A.D. This may be regarded as an evidence in favour of assigning the inscription roughly to the third century A.D.

Seal inscriptions generally refer to a person, office, institution, etc., in the sixth case-ending and rarely in the first case-ending or without any case-ending at all.<sup>2</sup> It would therefore have been normal if our record would have stopped with the first line of writing. In that case, it would have meant, "[This is the seal] of the illustrious *Mahārāja* Avarighsa," and we could have supposed that the costly crystal intaglio was made for the use of an important representative of the king like a Minister Plenipotentiary. Unfortunately, the inscription has a second line of writing, the meaning of which, moreover, is not quite clear.

Line 2 of the inscription reads *vāmaratāyama* in which *ratana*, as indicated above, apparently stands for Sanskrit *ratna*. Of course, the word *vāma* may be taken to mean 'adverse' or 'dear' in this context, so that *vāma-ratna* would mean 'a dear or favourite jewel' or 'an adverse jewel'. In that case, the whole inscription would speak something in respect of a jewel of *Mahārāja* Avarighsa, no doubt meaning the crystal bearing the epigraph. But, as it stands, *vāma-ratāyama* does not offer any sense.

Particular precious stones were regarded as auspicious or inauspicious bearing good or evil to particular kings who were therefore advised to get their luck respecting jewels examined by experts.<sup>3</sup> *Spahajita* or crystal, one of the important jewels,<sup>4</sup> is stated to have been produced in the Kāvēra, Vindhya, Yavana, China and Nēpāla countries and considered the best among jewels for the purpose of destroying sin.<sup>5</sup> Auspicious stones were often fixed in ornaments and worn, though a lot of them were preserved in the royal treasury.<sup>6</sup> But the nature of the crystal under study and the negative inscription it bears would suggest that it was meant neither for wearing nor for preservation in the treasury, but for the preparation of tokens by the king's

<sup>1</sup> *Catalogue*, p. cxxii. The name of Ghāmātika, the great-great-grandfather of Dāmaghśada I, may also be remembered in this connection (*ibid.*, pp. 71 ff.; *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 167-68). The proper Indian form for Persian *vāda* seems to be *jāda* in Sanskrit and *jāda* in Prakrit.

<sup>2</sup> See *Memo. ASI*, No. 46, pp. 57 ff.; *Sircar, Indian Epigraphy*, p. 160.

<sup>3</sup> *Brahmasphuṭa*, LXXX, 1.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid.*, verses 4-5.

<sup>5</sup> *Gardola Purāṇa*, Part I, Chapter LXXIX, verses 1 and 3.

<sup>6</sup> *ibid.*, LXVIII, 13; LXXIX, 14; *Select Inscriptions*, p. 173, text line 14.

representatives. Is it then possible to think that the intaglio was made for the use of three of king Avarigha's high officers named Vāma, Ratna and Ayama (Sanskrit *Argamas*) ?<sup>1</sup>

The most important problems regarding the crystal relate to the age and nationality of king Avarigha and the area over which he ruled. As regards the age and area, we have seen that he probably flourished in a region in the central areas of North India not very far away from East Malwa about the third century A.D. Among the records of the foreigners found in East Malwa and belonging to dates between the second and the fourth century A.D., mention has to be made of the Sanchi inscriptions of the Kushāga rulers Vaskushāga and Vāsiṣhka (second century A.D.) and the Sanchi and Eran inscriptions of the Śaka ruler Śrīdhara-varman (third century A.D.),<sup>2</sup> who is called *Mahāśa-janāyaka* in a record of his thirteenth regnal year but *Rājā* and *Mahāśahatrapa* in another epigraph of the twenty-seventh year of his rule. It may be that Śrīdhara-varman was at first a military governor of East Malwa under some ruler, but threw off the latter's yoke at a later date. What relations the Śaka *Mahāśahatrapas* of Ujjayini (sometimes called *Mahārāja* by their contemporaries) had with East Malwa in the third century A.D. and with Śaka Śrīdhara-varman who flourished in the said area and age are not quite clear. Akara (East Malwa) was conquered by the Śātavāhana king Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi (c. 106-30 A.D.) from the Kshaharāta-Śaka *Mahāśahatrapa* Nahapāna (119-31 A.D.), but was reconquered by the Kārdamaka-Śaka rulers Chasthana and Rudradāman from the same Śātavāhana king within a short period.<sup>3</sup> Thus, on the decline of the Kushāga empire, the Śakas began to hold independent sway over Western India together with East Malwa. *Mahārāja* Avarigha does not appear to have any place in the known genealogy of the Ujjayini Śakas whose records are written in the Southern alphabet. Śrīdhara-varman's inscriptions are also written in Southern characters which appear to be somewhat later than the epigraph under study. Under the circumstances, can it be conjectured that *Mahārāja* Avarigha established himself for a short time in the East Malwa region at the expense of the Śakas of Ujjayini? He may have been a Śaka, though the title *Mahārāja* instead of the expected *Mahāśahatrapa* is rather striking. Can it be further conjectured that Śrīdhara-varman, first a semi-independent governor and later an independent ruler, extirpated Avarigha or his family originally on behalf of the Śakas of Ujjayini?

The dress and name of *Mahārāja* Avarigha raise the interesting problem of the Indianisation of the foreign settlers of this country, on which the Furano and Dharmasāntre works throw welcome light. There is a story in the *Harivamśa* (I, 13-14) and a number of the *Parvāns* such as the *Vāya* (88), *Śiṣa* (VI, 61), *Vāyana* (IV, 3), *Bhāgavata* (IX, 8) and *Bṛihaspati* (7-8).<sup>4</sup> The original story in the *Harivamśa* and the *Vāya* and *Śiṣa Parvāns* is given twice, firstly in short and secondly in detail. The shorter version of the story runs as follows. King Bāhu of the Ikshvāka dynasty was driven out of his kingdom by the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas who were allied with the Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbōjas, Pāradas and Pahlavas. Bāhu's son Sagara was brought up at Aurya's hermitage by the said sage of the Bhṛigu family, who taught him the use of the fire weapon. Sagara then killed the Tālajaṅghas and Haihayas and stopped the observance of the duties of the Kshatriyas by the Śakas, Pahlavas and Pāradas.<sup>5</sup> Among the enemies of Bāhu

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 198, No. 62, text line 2. [See p. 284, note 3 below.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 184-85; 189-91; Marshall, *Monuments of Sanchi*, Vol. I, pp. 278, 360; *CIH*, Vol. IV, pp. 13 E., 605 H.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 182-85, 201-02.

<sup>4</sup> It is told in practically the same language in the *Harivamśa* and the *Vāya* and *Śiṣa Parvāns*, while the *Bhāgavata* gives a summary account and the *Bṛihaspati* a slightly distorted version. The *Vāyana Parvāna* narrates the story in prose.

<sup>5</sup> The *Mahābhārata* (III, 106, 8) merely speaks of the subjugation of the Haihayas and Tālajaṅghas by Sagara. Note that a prince's birth in a hermitage after his father's death at the hands of enemies is a popular motif found also in epigraphic records (cf. *The Classical Age*, p. 230).



and Sagara mentioned here, the Haihayas were a branch of the Yadu or Yādava people while the Tālaṅghas represented a sub-branch of the Haihayas.<sup>1</sup> The allies of these peoples were all foreigners settled in the Uttarāpatha division of Bhāratavarsha and its neighbourhood, among whom the Yavanas (Greeks) and Śakas (Scythians) are the most famous. The Kāmbōjas have been supposed to be Iranian autochthons living in the Afghanistan region<sup>2</sup> while the Pahlavas may be Sasanian-Persians and the Pīradas Parthians settled in the Western Himalayas.<sup>3</sup>

The bigger version of the story is introduced in response to two questions, one of them seeking the reason why Sagara became angry with the Śakas and the other peoples so as to prohibit them from observing the practices to be followed by the Kshatriya community. The kingdom of the unfortunate king Bāhu was usurped by the Haihayas and Tālaṅghas. The Śakas were allied with the usurpers while the five tribes, viz. the Yavanas, Pīradas, Kāmbōjas, Pahlavas and Khasas were also fighting on the side of the Haihayas. Having lost his kingdom, Bāhu, accompanied by his queen of the Yādava clan, repaired to the forest and died there. The queen was pregnant at the time and the sage Aurva of the Bhṛigu family advised her not to commit Sati and took her to his hermitage. There she gave birth to Sagara who received all his training from the sage. Aurva also gave him the terrible fire weapon with which Sagara annihilated the Haihayas responsible for his father's discomfiture. Thereafter, he was bent upon extirpating the allies of the Haihayas, viz. Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbōjas, Pīradas and Pahlavas. The defeated foreigners appealed to the king's preceptor Vasishtha to save them from Sagara's wrath. The sage granted them refuge and advised Sagara to spare their lives. The king then thought of a middle path between his own vow to extirpate his father's adversaries and his preceptor's advice to spare their lives and compelled the Śakas and others to give up the prescribed duties and to change their appearance. Thus the Śakas had to shave half their head and the Yavanas and Kāmbōjas their entire head while the Pīradas had to keep long hanging hair and the Pahlavas long beard. At the same time, they were prohibited from studying the Vedas and offering oblations.<sup>4</sup> It is added that the Kshatriyas whose duties were thus repudiated by Sagara as a result of Vasishtha's advice were the Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbōjas, (Pahlavas), Kaulisarpās (or Kalisarpās), Mahishas (or, Māhishikas), Dāriyas (or, Dāryas), Chōlas and Kūralas.<sup>5</sup>

Of course, the story is a myth and the attempt to bring the Greeks and Scythians in it has to be regarded as a clear case of anachronism. Known facts of history make it quite clear that the Greeks and Scythians had nothing to do with India in the hoary antiquity to which mythology ascribes Bāhu and Sagara, the second of the two being represented in Puranic tradition as twenty-four generations in ascent from Daśaratha, father of Rāma of the *Rāmāyana* fame.<sup>6</sup> But there are other interesting aspects of the story, one of which is the ascription of certain characteristics of the foreign settlers of Uttarāpatha to their discomfiture at the hands of Sagara. The half-shaven head of the Śakas, the fully shaved head of the Yavanas and Kāmbōjas, the long

<sup>1</sup> See Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 25, note 4. The Yādavas were originally despised apparently owing to their Nonaryan associations, but came later to be regarded as aristocratic like the solar and lunar races. The loss of the stigma was due to the spread of the worship of the Yādava hero Vāsudeva-Krishna.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Fargiter, *The Mārkandeya Purāna*, pp. 314, note; p. 317, note.

<sup>4</sup> *Harivansha*, I, 14, 15 ff. (cf. *Vāya Purāna*, 88, 139 ff.; *Siva Purāna*, VI, 61, 40 ff.).

<sup>5</sup> *Harivansha*, I, 14, 18 ff.; cf. *Vāya Purāna*, 88, 142-43. After narrating the above story, the *Harivansha* (I, 14, 20-21) mentions Sagara's victory over the Khakas, Tushāras, Chōlas, Madras, Kishkindhakas, Kauntalas, Vāgas, Śālas and Kaunkantas in connection with the *Vajinsalka* or horse-sacrifice performed by him.

<sup>6</sup> See, e.g. *Vāya Purāna*, 88.



hanging hair of the Pāradas and the long beard of the Pahlavas were apparently the respective peculiarities of the people, which, as we have seen, have been attributed to their subjugation by Sagara. There are some other instances of this kind in Sanskrit literature. Thus, while describing the victories of the Kashmirian king Lalitāditya Muktiapīḍa (c. 724-60 A.D.), Kalhana's *Rājatarangīnī* (IV, 178 ff.), composed in the middle of the twelfth century, says, "This mighty [king] made the [conquered] rulers, in order to indicate their defeat, adopt various characteristic marks which they [and their people] wear humbly even at the present day. Clearly it is by his command, to display the mark of their bondage, that the Turushikas carry their arms at their back and shave half their head. In the *dhōṣī* of the Dākṣiṇyāyas, he made the tail sweeping the ground, to mark that they were like beasts." Here the Turushika peculiarity of carrying arms behind the back and shaving half the head as well as the Dākṣiṇyāya habit of tucking only one corner of the *dhōṣī*-end behind the back (unlike the East Indian customs of tucking the entire *dhōṣī*-end behind the back) have been attributed to the defeat of the peoples at the hands of the Kashmir king. Likewise, the Haraha inscription (554 A.D.) describes the victory of the Maukhari king Iānavarman over the sea-faring Gaṇḍa people as *kṛtāv ch-āyati-mōchita-athala-bhava Gaṇḍā-samulr-ōṭrayān*, 'having compelled the Gaṇḍas, driven out from land for all time to come, to take refuge in the sea'.<sup>1</sup> The sea-faring nature of the Gaṇḍas has been attributed here to their defeat at the hands of the Maukhari king.

More important than the above is, however, the bearing of the story on the position of the foreigners settled in India and the Nonaryans of India in the Brahmanical social system. Though the Greeks and Scythians were Indians by domicile, their social habits and dress differed from those of the Indians proper, and this required an explanation especially for those who were eager to assign them to a particular position in the Indian social system characterised by the *chātuvreṅga*. Similar was the case with the Nonaryans who observed their own tribal customs. Our story attributes the peculiarities of such peoples to their subjugation by Sagara. There were also similar other fanciful explanations.

Certain versions of the thirteenth Rock Edict of Aśoka (c. 272-232 B.C.) suggest that the fourfold classification of the society was prevalent in the Maurya empire excluding the land of the Yavanas.<sup>2</sup> This is explained by the Buddhist canonical work *Majjhīma-nikāya* (II, 149) which states that, in the lands of the Yavanas and Kāmbōjas, there were only two (and not the usual four) social grades, viz. *Ārya* and *Dāsa*, i.e., the noble and the serf. Still, however, the Indianisation of the foreigners was progressing gradually, and Patañjali's *Maṅgla-kāṇḍa* (under Pāṇini, II, 4, 19) regards the Yavanas and Śakas as 'clean' Śūdra. But the arbitrary nature of ascribing to the foreigners a place in the Indian social system is clearly indicated by the fact that the *Manusmṛiti* (X, 42-43) regards the said peoples as degraded Kshatriyas when it says, "By the omission of the proscribed duties and also by their neglect of the Brāhmanas, the following Kshatriya *jāti*s have gradually sunk to the position of the *Vṛishals* (i. e., Śūdra or the low-born): the Paṅḍrakas, Chōḍas (or, Auḍras), Draviḍas, Kāmbōjas, Yavanas, Śakas, Pāradas, Pahlavas, Chīnas, Kūrāsas, Daradaś and Khaṇas." The arbitrary nature of the scheme is further demonstrated by the fact that elsewhere (X, 22) the same *Manusmṛiti* speaks of the Khaṇas and Draviḍas of the above list among the descendants of the Vṛatyā (apostate) Kshatriya: "From the Vṛatyā Kshatriya is born the Jhalla, Malla, Licchāvī, Nuṭa, Karapa, Khaṇa and Draviḍa." The same social status is thus indicated by Manu both as 'Kshatriya sunk into the position of the Śūdra' and 'the descendant of the apostate

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XIV, pp. 115 ff. (verse 12); *J. A. S. Letters*, Vol. XI, 1945, p. 89, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Saket Inscriptions*, p. 29, note 2.

Kahatriya' and by Patañjali as 'clean or pure Śūdra'. It will also be seen that, while Manu apparently seeks to explain the peculiar ways of these foreign and indigenous peoples as due to their omission of the prescribed duties and neglect of the Brāhmanas, the Sagara story ascribes them to the subjugation of a number of them by king Sagara. As we have suggested elsewhere, the position of a particular foreign or Nonaryan people in the theoretical *casta-varṇa* scheme depended on the rank demanded by its importance, culture and activities.<sup>1</sup>

As regards the **peculiar habits** ascribed to certain peoples in the Sagara story and elsewhere, we have already said a few words on the style of wearing *dharm* by the Dikshipātyas as mentioned in the *Rājataranigī* and the sea-faring nature of the Gauḍa people as known from the Haraha inscription. As to the Turushkas carrying their arms behind the back, Stein observes, "Yarkhanda and Tibetans are fond of walking with their hands folded at their back."<sup>2</sup> Besides, we have been told that the Śakas and Turushkas shaved half their head, that the Yavanas and Kāmbōjas shaved all the head and that the Pīrudas had long hanging hair and the Pahlavas long beard. These fashions were apparently regarded as peculiar because they were un-Indian. The Indian males, excluding the ascetic classes, usually shaved their beard and, though they kept long hair, it was generally tied in a top, side or back knot.<sup>3</sup> The long beard of the Pahlavas who may be identified with the Sasanian-Persians, reminds us of Kālidāsa's description of the *śmaśrula* (bearded) head of the Pīrasikas or Pāśūpātyas, which looked like a bee-hive.<sup>4</sup> As regards the statement that the Yavanas and Kāmbōjas shaved off their hair on the head, we have to note that the royal head on the coins of the Greek kings of Bactria and India exhibits neither haven head nor long hair, but short hair. This, therefore, may have been the characteristic referred to in the Sagara story. More difficult to understand is what has been meant by the statements that the Śakas and Turushkas shaved half their head. The royal head on the coins of the Śakas of Western India exhibit a close-fitting cap and hair hanging by the neck above the shoulders. Thus, if hair on any part of the head was shaved or sheared, it may have been in the front, i.e., above the forehead.<sup>5</sup>

It will be seen that the dress and appearance of king Avargīsha are more Indianised than the early foreign settlers of India, referred to above. It is, therefore, not possible to determine his nationality on this basis.

<sup>1</sup> See *Homage to Vaiṣṇī*, ed. Mathur and Mishra, p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 128, note.

<sup>3</sup> *Cl. Journ. Am. Or. Soc.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 193, 307; above, p. 277, notes 4-5.

<sup>4</sup> *Bhāskara*, IV, 40, 42-43; cf. *The Successors of the Śātrvīkṛāmas*, pp. 325-26.

<sup>5</sup> The short version of the story as found in the *Bhāskara Purāna* (IX, 8, 5-6) says that Sagara did not kill the Yādavaṅghas, Yavanas, Śakas, Hailhyas and Barbata, but made them *śūdras-śūdras* (i.e., caused change in their dress or appearance). Some of them were made to shave their head, some to keep their beard, some to keep hanging hair, some to shave half the head, some to be *śmaśrulas* (wearing an under-garment) and some *śmaśrulas* (wearing an upper garment) or *śmaśrulas*. The last of these characteristics appears to refer to the covering the body in the *śmaśrula-śmaśra*. According to the *Kāśikāra* (I, 155-56), the Kāmbōjas, Pahlavas, Yavanas, Śakas, Mīchchhas, Kirātas and Tushāras were created by Vaśiṣṭha's cow when Vāyūdevī tried to carry her forcibly away, while, according to the *Mahābhārata* (I, 85, 34; cf. *Matsya Purāna*, 34, 30), the Yādavas, Yavanas, Bhūjas and Mīchchhas descended respectively from Yadu, Turvaśa, Druhyu and Anu, the four discarded sons of king Yayāti of the lunar race.

## TEXT

- 1 Śrī-rma(Ma)hārāj-Āvarighsaśya [1\*]
- 2 Vāma-Ratna-Āryama<sup>2</sup> [2\*]

## TRANSLATION

(This is the seal) of the illustrious *Mahārāja Avarighsa*. (His representatives are) *Vāma*, *Ratna* and *Aryaman*.

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\*From casts.

<sup>2</sup>The intended reading may be Sanskrit *Vāma-Ratna-Āryamaññ*.

If the intention of the author of the legend was to indicate that the seal was of *Vāma*, *Ratna* and *Aryaman* who were the representatives of *Avarighsa*, probably a word indicating their relationship with the *Mahārāja* would have been used. (The intended reading seems to be *Śrī-Mahārāj-Āvarighsaśya śama-ratna-āryamaññam* which may be translated as 'This beautiful jewel (is) of the illustrious *Mahārāja Avarighsa*.'—Ed.)



CRYSTAL INTAGLIO IN BRITISH MUSEUM

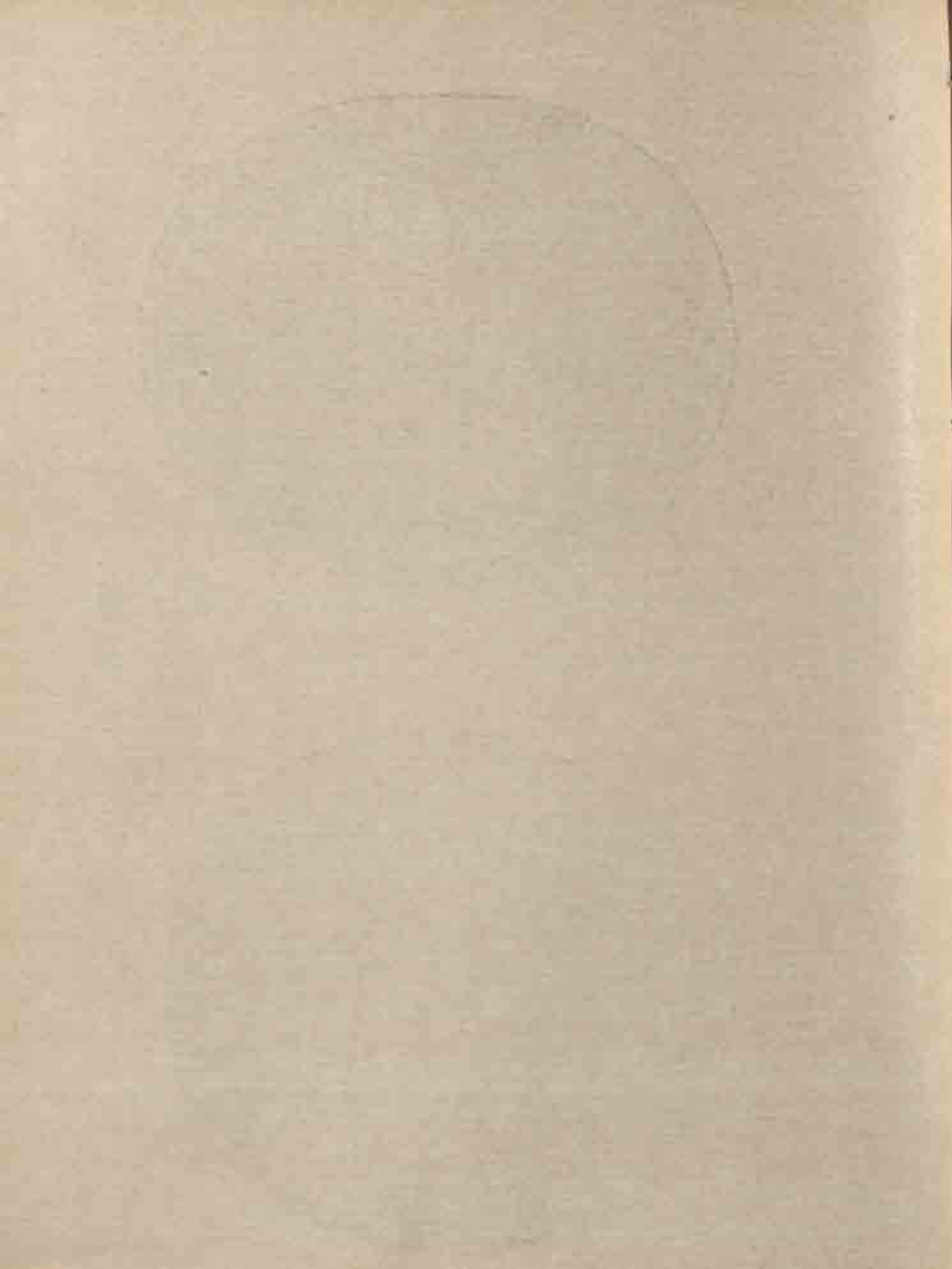
A. Positive



B. Negative



(from Photographs)



No. 35—DHARUR PLATES OF RASHTRAKUTA GOVINDA III, SAKA 728

V. V. MIRASHI, NAGPUR AND N. A. GORE, AURANGABAD

(Received on 11.9.1963)

These plates<sup>1</sup> were originally in the possession of Śhrī Baputarāo Bhaūrao Mahajan of Dhārūr in the Bhīr District of the Marathwada Division of Maharashtra. They were obtained from him by Śhrī Raghavendraraō Ramachandraraō Opalkar of Bhīr, the chief town of the District. They were brought to notice by Śhrī P. B. Mande in the course of his search of manuscripts at Bhīr on behalf of the Department of Marathī in the Marathwada University. Śhrī Opalkar very kindly lent them to the Department for decipherment. Śhrī N. A. Gore first edited the record with photographs of the plates in the *Marathwada University Journal*, Vol. III, pp. 76 ff. We re-edit it here from the same photographs with the kind permission of Śhrī S. R. Dongarkery, Vice-Chancellor of the Marathwada University, and Prof. W. L. Kulkarni, Head of the Department of Marathī in the same University.

As the plates had been buried underground for safety, they were covered with rust, but they were cleaned by Śhrī Opalkar. It was believed that they recorded the grant of some land to the Balaji temple at Dhārūr, but as shown below, this is entirely baseless.

The record is engraved on **three copperplates**, of which the first and the third are inscribed on the inner side only and the second on both the sides. The plates measure 24.5 cm. in length and about 18.5 cm. in breadth. Their corners are rounded off and their edges are slightly raised for the protection of the writing. The record is in a fairly good state of preservation. The plates are held together by means of a ring, about 10.5 cm. in diameter and 2 cm. in thickness. To this ring is soldered a circular seal, 5.3 cm. in diameter, on the countersunk surface of which appears the figure of Garuḍa in human form, facing full front with outstretched wings. It probably held a serpent in each hand, but it has now become indistinct.

The record consists of seventy-one lines, of which twenty lines are incised on the first plate and also on the first side of the second plate, eighteen on the second side of the latter plate and the remaining thirteen on the third plate.

The characters are of the Nāgarī alphabet, regular for the period to which the grant refers itself. The following peculiarities may be noted:—The initial *ś* (short) is denoted by a curve below two dots (see *śī*, line 68); the initial *ṣ* appears in the form of a triangle with its apex downward (see *ṣam*, line 45); the medial *si* and *su* are denoted partly by lengthening the top-line to the left to end in a curve and partly by means of a *śivā-mātrā* (see *karoir*, line 2, and *maṭṭika*, line 33); *ś* is still without a dot (see *Gaṅga*, line 11); the central curve of *j* has not yet become a vertical stroke (see *vājamāna*, line 2); the superscript *ā* is written like *ṣ* (see *paṇḍha*, line 52); *ṭ* has not yet developed a vertical stroke (see *a-chāṭa-bhāṭa*, line 47); the subscript *ṣ* of the conjunct *ṣṣ* is vertically placed (see *Karṣṣ-ādha*, line 8); *dhā* has not yet developed a horn on the left (see *Vādhāṣ*, line 1); still the two verticals of *dhā* are not joined by a horizontal stroke as is done in some records of the period; finally, the final consonant *t* is shown in some cases by a surrounding curve (see *śivāṣṭ*, line 4).

The language is Sanskrit. The record is written partly in verse and partly in prose. The initial eulogistic portion is metrically composed. It has eighteen verses, all of which are known to

<sup>1</sup> A. R. Ep., 1964-65, No. A-36.



occur in many grants of Gōvinda III such as the Nēsarī plates.<sup>1</sup> It is noteworthy that verse 4 gives the name of Dhruva, the father of Gōvinda III, as Dhōra. The eulogistic portion is followed in lines 37 to 59 by the formal portion of the grant, giving the *gōtra*, *śikhā* and name of the donee, the names of the donated village and its boundaries, the date and occasion of the gift as well as the usual appeal to future rulers for its preservation. This is followed in lines 60 to 70 by seven benedictive and imprecatory verses of the usual type. The record closes with the mention of the scribe and the *śūlaka*. It is fairly correctly written. As regards **orthography**, we may note that (i) *h* is always written as *r* (see *erihad-*, line 2); (ii) *rī* is used for *ri* in some places (see *iriyah*, line 31); (iii) the consonant following *r* is doubled (see *duṣṭaṅghyād-*, line 4); (iv) the *vī* is omitted when followed by a sibilant, combined with a hard consonant, in accordance with the *Vārtā* on Pāṇini, VIII, 3.36 (see *ura-staha*, line 2 and *Karavāḥa-stāta-*, line 8); (v) the final *a* is often wrongly changed to *anuvāra* as in *yaṇvān*, line 18 and *ūyatavān*, line 29. Such orthographical mistakes as *Mayurakhavāsi* (line 41); and *pratyāpāitāyā-* (line 57) are due to wrong pronunciation.

The inscription is one of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda III, called Gōvindarāja in line 47 and Jagatnāga-śri-Vallabha-narēndradēva in line 39. He bore the imperial titles *Paramabhāṭāraka*, *Mahāśūlharāja* and *Paramōvara*. The object of the inscription is to record the grant of the village **Apahā**, which Gōvinda made while camping at **Mayurakhaṇḍī** on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the new-moon day of **Jyēshṭha** in the expired Śaka year [7]28.<sup>2</sup> The donated village was included in the *vāhāya* (district) of **Dhāratra** and was bounded on the east by the village **Aivachchha**, on the south by the village **Dhaṇḍī**, on the west by the village **Vāṇḍī** and on the north by the village **Ananta** and a watering place. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa **Duggaiya**, son of Chandiya, who had mastered the *kruma* recension (of the *Rigveda*) and grandson of Vijādhātta. He belonged to the *Vaṇsa gōtra* and was a student of the *Rigveda*. The grant was written by **Arunāditya**, son of Vatsarāja. He figures as the scribe in several grants<sup>3</sup> of Gōvinda III, ranging in dates from Ś. 727 to Ś. 734. The *śūlaka* was **Dēvaiya Rāṇaka**, who is mentioned in this capacity in the Nēsarī plates<sup>4</sup> also.

The date of this grant is irregular. Unlike several other grants of Gōvinda III, it does not mention any cyclic year. This need not, however, cause any suspicion about its genuineness; for some other grants of this Rāshtrakūṭa emperor, especially those made in the early part of his reign, make no mention of the current cyclic year. See, e.g. the *Paithan* plates<sup>5</sup> of Śaka 710, the *Abjanavati* plates<sup>6</sup> of Śaka 722, the *Jharikā* grant<sup>7</sup> of Śaka 725, the *Magge* plates<sup>8</sup> of Śaka 732 and the *Lohārā* grant<sup>9</sup> of Śaka 734. But apart from this, the details of the date do not work out regularly. There was no solar eclipse on the new-moon day of *Jyēshṭha*, either *nija* or *adhika*, in the Śaka year 728. There were two solar eclipses in that Śaka year, one of which occurred on the new-moon day of the *amānta* Bhādrapada, corresponding to the 16th September, A.D. 806, and the other on the new-moon day of *Māgha*, the 11th February, A.D. 807. The drafter of the record has

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 123 f.

<sup>2</sup> While writing this date in line 59, the writer has inadvertently omitted the word *asṭmas*.

<sup>3</sup> See, e.g. the *Nēsarikā* grant of Śaka 727, the *Wani* plates of Śaka 730 (for Śaka 729), the *Sinnai* grant of Śaka 730, the *Bahmāval* plates of Śaka 732 (for Śaka 731), the *Bhārata* (*Bāhāra* *Samāśāhā* *Maṇḍala*) plates of Śaka 732 and the *Lohārā* grant of Śaka 734.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 144. He is mentioned in the *Jharikā* grant as *Mahāśāhāpāṇḍika*, is the name of *Vāṭāya* mentioned as *śūlaka* in line 36 of the *Bahmāval* plates a mistake for *Dēvaiya* ?

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 103 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 8 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 157 f.

<sup>8</sup> *Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XIV, p. 32.

<sup>9</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 212 f.

evidently, by forgetfulness or mistake, written *Jyēshṭha* for *Bhādrapada* or *Māgha*.<sup>1</sup> An analogous instance is furnished by the *Wani* plates<sup>2</sup> of this very king *Gōvinda III*. They record his grant of a village on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the full-moon day of *Vaiśākha* in the *Saka* year 730. There was, however, no lunar eclipse on *Vaiśākha-paurṇimā* in that *Saka* year. The only lunar eclipse in that year which could have been referred to is that in *Pausha* (the 5th January 809 A.D.). Apart from this irregularity in their dates, there are no grounds for suspecting these two grants to be spurious.

As all the verses in the eulogistic portion occur in several other known grants, the present grant does not add to our historical knowledge. But we may discuss here again the **chronology of the northern campaigns of *Gōvinda III***. More than twenty-five years ago, Prof. Mirashi showed that the known grants of *Gōvinda III* fall into two groups.<sup>3</sup> The first group now comprises three grants, viz. the *Paithan* plates of *Saka* 716, the *Añjanavati* plates of *Saka* 722 and the *Jharikā* grant of *Saka* 725. The eulogistic portion of these grants is copied mostly from the earlier grants of *Gōvinda III*'s predecessors, viz. *Dantidurga*, *Krishṇa* and *Dhruva*. This draft mentions no exploits of *Gōvinda III*, not even his defeat of twelve kings headed by his brother *Stambha* and his imprisonment of the *Gaṅga* king. The second group comprises all the other grants<sup>4</sup> ranging in dates from *Saka* 727 to *Saka* 734. This new draft mentions several northern and southern campaigns of *Gōvinda III*. Some more details are furnished by the *Sanjān* plates<sup>5</sup> of his son *Amoghavaraha I*. From these sources we can arrange chronologically the events in the reign of *Gōvinda III* as follows:—Soon after *Gōvinda*'s accession in *Saka* 715, twelve kings headed by his brother *Stambha* rose in revolt against him. *Gōvinda* released the *Gaṅga* prince *Muttarasa* probably to create a rival to his brother *Stambha*, but as he joined the latter and his allies, *Gōvinda* defeated them all and put the *Gaṅga* king into fetters again. The ease and rapidity with which these victories were achieved are graphically described in all his later grants. *Gōvinda* is said to have thrown the *Gaṅga* prince into prison before his brow was wrinkled in a frown.<sup>6</sup> These operations could not, therefore, have taken more than a year (*Saka* 716). The next five years seem to have been occupied by *Gōvinda*'s campaigns in Central and Northern India. He first defeated

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes a grant made on an earlier occasion is recorded later. See, e.g. the date of the *Magge* plates of *Saka* 732. The grant recorded in them was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on the full-moon day of *Pausha* when the week-day is said to have been Monday and the nakshatra *Puṣya*. The week-day on the *Paurṇimā* was, however, Saturday, and the nakshatra was *Āśvini*. The grant was reduced to writing two days after the *Paurṇimā* on Monday, when the nakshatra was *Puṣya*. In the case of the present grant, however, a similar supposition is not possible, for there was no solar eclipse in the whole of the previous year *Saka* 727.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Anc.*, Vol. XI, pp. 157 f.; Vol. XXIV, p. 11. Kielhorn suggested that the date of the *Wani* plates might be correct for *Saka* 727 current (i.e. *Saka* 736 expired), but in that case the cyclic year would be *Vijaya*, not *Vyaya* as stated in those plates. (See his *List of Inscriptions of Southern India*, p. 11). Similarly, the date of our grant should be either *Saka* 723 or *Saka* 724, in both of which there was a solar eclipse in (approx.) *Jyēshṭha* as stated in the grant. But these dates are not possible; for, as shown below, the southern campaigns of *Gōvinda III* described in the present plates were not completed even in *Saka* 725, the date of the *Jharikā* grant. So the date of the present plates will have to be regarded as irregular.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 216 f.

<sup>4</sup> See, e.g. the *Nāsacikā* grant of *Saka* 727, the *Simval* grant of *Saka* 729, the *Wani* plates of *Saka* 730, the *Rādhapur* plates of *Saka* 732, the *Badamguppe* plates of *Saka* 730, the *Badrakūṭā* plates of *Saka* 732, the *Magge* plates of *Saka* 724, the *H.E.S. Maṅgal* plates of *Saka* 732 and the *Loharā* grant of *Saka* 734.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 215 f.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. यावन्न भ्रूयते सनाहकलके यस्मिन्नेते लभते ।



the Pratihāra king Nāgabhaṭa II and his ally Chandragupta, who was probably ruling in Malwa,<sup>1</sup> and then routed Dharmapāla of Bengal, who had espoused the case of Chakrīyudha of Kanauj. He next marched victoriously to the north until his horses drank and his elephants plunged themselves into the spring waters of the Himālayas. He then returned to the Narmadā and marching along the bank of the river, he conquered the countries of Mālava, Kāśala, Kālīṅga, Vaṅga, Dāhala and Oḍra and placed his own servants (i.e. feudatories) in charge of them. He then returned again to the Narmadā at the foot of the Vindhya and spent the rainy season at Śrībhavana (modern Sārbhōṅ in Gujarat), the capital of Mārīsarva, who, out of fear, had speedily submitted to him and presented him with his heirloom which none else had obtained before. Gōvinda caused some temples to be constructed, while encamped at the place. It is generally supposed that his son Śarva (or Amōghavaraha I) was born at the capital of Śarva<sup>2</sup> (or Mārīsarva). These several events must have taken a period of about five years from Śaka 717 to Śaka 721. The present grant, like other later ones of Gōvinda III, states that after passing the rainy season at Śrībhavana,<sup>3</sup> the king marched with his forces to the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā, from where he led his campaign against the Pallavas. The Sanjān plates of Amōghavaraha I do not, however, state that Gōvinda marched to the Tuṅgabhadrā straight from Śrībhavana. It is also unlikely that after spending about five years in his campaigns in Central and Northern India, the king would have immediately launched his offensive against the Draviḍa kings. As a matter of fact, we find that he was in his capital at Mayūrakhaṇḍī in the rainy season of Śaka 722; for he made there the Tulī-purusha gift and the grant of a village on the occasion of a solar eclipse which occurred on the new-moon day of *amānta* Āshāḍha of Śaka 722 (the 25th June 800 A.D.).<sup>4</sup> He must have spent some time at the capital making preparations for his southern campaign. From the Jharikā grant we learn that he was encamped at Alampura (or Hēlāpura) on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā, where he made a grant on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on Kārttika-paurṇimī in Śaka 725 (the 2nd November 803 A.D.).<sup>5</sup> Gōvinda seems to have stayed in the south for a few months; for he made another grant at Rāmeśvara-tirtha on the Tuṅgabhadrā in Vaiśākha va. di. 5 of Śaka 726 (the 4th April

<sup>1</sup> D. B. Bhandarkar identified this Chandragupta with the homonymous Pāṇḍava-vaṃśī king, the younger brother of Tivradēva. He evidently followed the view of Fleet and Kielhorn, who placed Tivradēva in the eighth century A.D. Prof. Mirashi showed nearly thirty years ago that this date was incorrect and that Tivra must be referred to the middle of the sixth century A.D. (above, Vol. XXII, pp. 17f). His younger brother Chandragupta could not, therefore, have been a contemporary of Gōvinda III. Chandragupta, defeated by Gōvinda III, was a king of Malwa. The Sanjān plates mention Gōvinda's victory over Nāgabhaṭa and Chandragupta in the course of his northern campaign. The Nisacikā and some other grants mention Gōvinda's victory over a Gōjara king and the submission of the king of Mālava in the same context. The Gōjara king is evidently Nāgabhaṭa II and the king of Mālava was probably Chandragupta. It is not yet known to what royal family the latter belonged.

<sup>2</sup> Scholars have generally accepted the view that Amōghavaraha I was born at Śrībhavana. His other name Śarva lends colour to this view; for it may have been suggested by that of Mārīsarva, the ruler of Śrībhavana. But it looks unlikely that the queen of Gōvinda III accompanied him during his northern conquests. That Amōghavaraha was born after Gōvinda's northern conquests and before he launched his offensive against southern kings looks probable in view of the order of description in the Sanjān plates. Amōghavaraha may have been born at the capital Mayūrakhaṇḍī. In that case Gōvinda III may have stayed at his capital for at least one or two years, before he proceeded to conquer the Pallava king. We know that he was at Mayūrakhaṇḍī in Śaka 722. His next dates Śaka 725 and Śaka 726 are furnished by the Jharikā grant and the British Museum plates respectively both of which mention that he was encamped at Alampura (or Hēlāpura) on the Tuṅgabhadrā. This would show conclusively that he did not proceed to the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā straight from Śrībhavana as may be supposed from the wording of verse 15 of the present grant and similar verses in other grants.

<sup>3</sup> P. L. Gupta objected to the identification of Śrībhavana with Sārbhōṅ on the ground that the former lay near the Vindhya, while the latter lies far away from it (above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 127). He proposes to identify it with Śrīpura in the Raipur District of Chhattisgarh, which was the capital of the Pāṇḍava-vaṃśī kings, but it is still farther from the Vindhya mountain.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 19.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXII, p. 158.



804 A.D.) as recorded in the British Museum plates. Using Alampura as his base, he seems to have led his campaigns against the Gaṅgas, Kōralas, Chālukyas, Pāṇḍyas and Pallavas. Even the king of Laṅkā submitted to him, sending two statues—one of himself and the other of his minister—to his camp at Hēlapura, which he installed in the temple of Śiva at Kāñchī. After these southern campaigns were over, he got a new draft of the eulogistic portion prepared, which we find used for the first time in the Nēsarikā grant of Śaka 727.<sup>1</sup>

It has recently been suggested that the northern campaigns of Gōvinda III must have been conducted between June 800 A.D. (the date of the Anjanavati plates) and November 803 A.D. (the date of the Jharikā grant).<sup>2</sup> This means that Gōvinda defeated Nāgabhaṭa II and his ally Chandragupta in Central India, then proceeding to the north, he vanquished Dharmapāla and his protégé Chakrāyudha and marched to the foot of the Himālayas; then he returned to the Narmadā and marching along its bank, he conquered Mālava, Kōsala, Kālīnga, Vaṅga, Pāhala and Oḍra countries; thereafter he returned to the bank of the same river, and passed the rainy season at Śrībhavana, where he caused some temples to be constructed; and from there he straightway proceeded to the Tuṅgabhadrā, without even visiting his capital after these prolonged northern campaigns. We shall have to suppose that all these events took place within the brief period of three years and five months. This appears very unlikely. It would, therefore, appear that the northern campaigns of Gōvinda III were over before the rainy season of Śaka 731, when he appears to have encamped at Śrībhavana.

The fixation of the chronology of Gōvinda's northern conquests has a bearing on the history of his son Amōghavarsha. Supposing that the northern campaigns of Gōvinda III occurred after his southern ones, Dr. Altekar at first placed his sojourn in Śrībhavana and the birth of his son Amōghavarsha in the monsoon of 808 A.D.<sup>3</sup> Consequently, he thought that the latter was a small boy of six at his accession in 814 A.D.<sup>4</sup> Later, he modified his views considerably, realising the force of the arguments of Prof. Mirashi set forth in his article on the Sisavai and Lohārā grants. In the account of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty which he wrote for the *History and Culture of the Indian People* (Vol. IV, pp. 8-9), he observed as follows:—"The new Emperor (i.e. Amōghavarsha) was a boy of 13 or 14 and his father had arranged that Karika, who had succeeded his father Indra as Viceroy of Gujarat, should assume the reins of Government during his minority."<sup>5</sup> R. G. Bhandarkar and Fleet, who had earlier written on the history of the Rāshtrakūṭas, do not mention this regency of Karika.<sup>6</sup> If Amōghavarsha I was born in the Śaka year 721 (799 A.D.) as shown above, he must have been sixteen years old at his accession in Śaka 737 (815 A.D.).<sup>7</sup> This is the age of majority according to Kauṭilya.<sup>8</sup> Harsha is known to have commenced to govern his kingdom, nay, he embarked on a *digvijaya* at this age. The Sanjān plates tell us that Gōvinda III went to heaven, thinking that his unique son would be able to bear the burden of this world.<sup>9</sup> This also shows that Amōghavarsha was quite capable of ruling independently when his father died in 815 A.D.

<sup>1</sup> It seems that the new draft of the eulogistic portion of Gōvinda's grants was not ready till Śaka 725, the date of the Jharikā grant since it is not used therein. So the Maruṭ plates of Stambla, dated Śaka 724, in which the new draft is found used, will have to be regarded as spurious.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 330.

<sup>3</sup> Altekar, *The Rāshtrakūṭas*, etc., p. 60.

<sup>4</sup> Amōghavarsha seems to have come to the throne in Śaka 737 or 815 A.D. See Altekar, *op. cit.* p. 71.

<sup>5</sup> See *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part 1, pp. 99 and 401-02.

<sup>6</sup> If he was born at Mayākrakhaṇḍī in Śaka 722 (see above, p. 288, note 2), his age at accession may have been fifteen.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. शोडशवर्षः पुमान् प्राप्तव्यबहारी भवति । Kauṭilya's *Arthśāstra*, ed. by Shāma Sastry (1924), p. 154.

<sup>8</sup> (५) अग्रजा जीर्णोत्थितो नित्यमुवननरं भर्तुमासीत्समर्थः पुत्रश्चात्मकमेकः सकलमिति कृतं जन्म धर्मरत्नेर्षः । Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 246. See a similar description of Gōvinda III when he came to the throne: तस्याप्यभूद्भुवनभारभूतो समर्थो गोविन्दराज इति सूर्यस्तप्रतापः । Above, Vol. XXXII, p. 163.

The only evidence in support of Altekar's view that Karka was acting as a regent for Amoghavarsha I is that the dates of his grant and those of his younger brother Gōvinda overlap one another. Karka's grants are dated in Śaka 734<sup>1</sup> and 738,<sup>2</sup> while those of his younger brother are dated in Śaka 732,<sup>3</sup> 735<sup>4</sup> and 749.<sup>5</sup> It is, therefore, supposed that Gōvinda was looking after the administration of Gujarat while Karka was in the Rāshtrakūṭa capital. But the former is known to have made a grant as early as Śaka 732 (810 A.D.), when Gōvinda III was living and there was no question of Karka's regency. The real reason for the overlapping of the dates seems to be that both Karka and his younger brother had authority to make land-grants without referring to each other.\* Besides, Karka is not known to have made any grant at Mānyakhūṭa, the Rāshtrakūṭa capital, during his supposed regency. For all these reasons it does not seem likely that Karka was acting as regent for Amoghavarsha, though there is no doubt that he rendered very valuable help in retaining him on the throne during a rebellion of his Chālukya and Rāshtrakūṭa feudatories.

As for the localities mentioned in the present grant, Dhārsūra, the headquarters of the *vishaya* in which the donated village<sup>†</sup> was situated, is evidently identical with Dhārūr where the present plates were discovered. The donated village **Apahā** is Apāgaon (Lat. 18° 35' and Long. 76° 10'), about 14 miles south-east of Dhārūr. All the boundary villages can be identified in its vicinity. Thus **Aivachchha**, which bounded it on the east, is Āwasgaon which lies only about 1½ miles in that direction; **Dhanī-grāma**, which formed its southern boundary, is modern Dhanegaon, which lies only about 2 miles to the south of Apāgaon; **Vāuṣī-grāma**, its western limit, is now called Bāvāchi Kaij and lies only about a mile to the west of Apāgaon; **Ananta-grāma** which lay to the north is Ānandagaon, about 4 miles north of Apāgaon. Apāgaon, Bāvāchi Kaij, Dhanegaon and Āwasgaon are all situated to the south-east of Kaij in the Kaij tahsil of the Bhil District.

## TEXT\*

[Metres: Verses 1, 10, 20, 22 *Anuṣṭubh*; verses 2, 6, 8 *Pārentatilāḥ*; verses 3-5, 7, 9-17 *Sārdūlavācīriṣṭa*; verse 18 *Āryā*; verses 21, 23 *Indravajrā*; verse 24 *Śālīnī*; verse 25 *Pushpītāgrā*.]

## First Plate

- 1 सिद्धिः<sup>\*</sup> [१<sup>\*</sup>] स बोव्याद्वेषसा धाम यन्नाभिकमलंकृतं(तम्) । हरश्च यस्य  
कान्तेन्दुकल्या कमलंकृतम् ॥११॥<sup>\*</sup> भूपोभव-
- 2 इ(इ)हदुरस्यलराजमानश्रीको(को)स्तुभायतकरंरुपगूढकण्ठः[१<sup>\*</sup>] सत्यान्वितो विपुलचक्र-  
वि[नि<sup>\*</sup>]ज्जिता-

\* *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 158.

\* *JBRAS*, Vol. XX, p. 158.

\* Above, Vol. XXXVI, p. 248.

\* *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 54.

\* *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 145.

\* [For a detailed discussion on this point, see, above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 372-75.—Ed.]

† In identifying these villages we have received valuable help from Shri D. R. Amleli, Assistant Director of Archaeology, Maharashtra State and Shri L. G. Parab, Librarian, Central Archaeological Library, for which our best thanks are due to them.

\* From photographs kindly supplied by Shri D. R. Amleli. [The plates published here are prepared from the impressions taken in this office.—Ed.]

\* Expressed by a symbol.

- 3 रिचक्रोप्यकृष्णचरितो भुवि कृष्णराजः ॥[२॥\*] पक्षच्छेदभवाश्रु(श्रि)ताखिलमहा-  
भूभुक्कु(कु)लभ्राजिता-
- 4 दु(दु)ल्लंघ्या(द्ध्या)दपरैरनेकविमलभ्राजिष्णुरत्नान्वितात् । यस्त्वाप्तुक्ककुलादनूनविवु(वु)-  
धवाता-
- 5 श्रयो वारिषेर्लक्ष्मीम्मन्दरवत्सलीलमचिरादाकृष्टवान्बल्लभः ॥[३॥\*] तस्यामुत्तमयः  
प्रतापविसरै-
- 6 राक्रान्तदिङ्मण्डलश्चण्डा(ण्डा)शोस्सदृशोप्यचण्डकरताप्रह्लादितश्मातलः । घोरो धैर्यधनो  
विपक्ष-
- 7 वनितावक्त्राम्बु(म्बु)जश्रीहरो हारीकृत्य यशो यदीयमनिश(श) दिङ्नायिकाभि-  
वृ(वृ)त(तम्) ॥[४॥\*] ज्येष्ठोल्लघनजात-
- 8 याप्यमलया लक्ष्म्या समेतोपि सं(सन्) योभून्निम्मेलमण्डलस्थितियुतो दोषाकरो न  
क्वचित् । कर्णाध-
- 9 स्थ(स्थि)तदानसन्ततिभूतो यस्यान्यदानाधिकं दानं वीक्ष्य सुलज्जिता इव  
दिशाम्प्रान्ते स्थिता दिग्गजाः ॥[५॥\*]
- 10 अन्यैर्न जातु विजितं गुरुशक्तिसारमाक(का)न्तभूतलमनन्यसमानमानं(नन्) । येनेह  
व(व)द्ध-
- 11 भवला(लो)क्य चिराय गङ्ग(ङ्ग) दूरं स्वनिग्रहभिष्(ये)व कलिः प्रयातः  
॥[६॥\*] हंलास्वीकृत[गी]डरा-
- 12 ज्यकमलामत्तं प्रवेश्याचिरादु(दु)र्म्मार्गं मरुमध्यमप्रतिव(व)लैर्यौ(र्यौ) चत्सराज(जं)  
व(व)लैः [१\*]
- 13 गीडीयं शरदिन्दुपादधवलं च्छ(छ)त्त्रद्वयं केवलं तस्मात्साहृत तद्यशोपि ककुभां  
प्रान्ते स्थिता(तं) तत्त्व-
- 14 शात् ॥[७॥\*] लक्ष्म(श्च)प्रतिष्ठमचिराय कलिं सुदूरमुत्सार्थं शूद्रचरितैर्दंरणी-  
तलस्य [१\*] कृत्वा पु-
- 15 नः कुतयुगः(ग)श्रु(श्रि)यमप्यशोपां चित्रं कथं निरुपमः कलिवल्लभोभूत् ॥  
[८॥\*] प्राभूद्वैयं वतस्ततो नि-



- 16 स्वमाविन्दुयंषा वारिर्धः(धेः) शुद्धात्मा परमेश्वरोन्नतनिरःसंसक्तपादः सुतः [1\*]  
पद्यामन्दकरः
- 17 प्रताप्तसहितो नित्योदयः सोध्रतेः पूर्वद्विरिव भानुमानभिमतो गोविन्दराजः सं-
- 18 तां(ताम्) ॥[१॥\*] यस्मिं(स्मिन्) सर्वगुणाश्रये क्षितिपती श्रीराष्ट्रकूटान्वयो  
जाते मादववंशवन्मधुरिपा-
- 19 वासीदलघ्यः परैः [1\*] दृष्टाशावधयः कृतास्य(स्तु)सदृशा दानेन येनोद्धता  
मुक्ताहार-
- 20 विभ्रविता स्फुटमिति प्रत्यधिनीप्यधिनां(नाम्) ॥[१०॥\*] यस्याकारममानुषं  
तु(त्रि)भुवनव्यापित्तिरधो-

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 21 चित्तं कृष्णस्येव निरीक्ष्य प्रच्छति पितर्येकाधिपत्यम्भुवः [1\*] आस्ता(स्तां)  
तात तवैतदप्रतिहता दत्ता त्वया कण्ठ-
- 22 का किन्नामेव मया धृतेति पितरं युक्त(क्तं) वचो योभ्यघात् ॥[११॥\*]  
येनात्यन्तदयालुनाथ निगडक्लेशादपा-
- 23 स्यायतास्त्वं देशं गमितोपि इष्ण्विसराद्यः प्रातिकृ(कृ)त्ये स्थितः [1\*] यावन्न  
भुकुटी ललाटफलके वस्योन्नते ल-
- 24 ह्यते विश्लेषेण विजित्य तावदचिराद्द्व(द्व)द्वः स गगः पुतः ॥[१२॥\*]  
सन्धायाशु शिलीमुखी(खान्) स्वसमयो(यान्) वा(वा)णा-
- 25 सप्तस्योपरि प्राप्तं वदितव(व)न्धुजीवविभ्रवं पद्याभिवृध्या(द्ध्या)न्वितं(तन्) [1\*]  
सप्तशतवमुदीक्ष्य यं शरदन्तु पर्जन-
- 26 न्यवद्गुञ्जरो नष्टः क्वापि भयात्तथा न समरं स्वप्नेपि पश्येद्यथा ॥[१३॥\*]  
चित्त्याद्रेः कटकैः त्रिषष्टकटक-
- 27 श्रुत्वा चरंयन्निर्जैः स्वं देशं समुपागतं ध्रुवमिव ज्ञात्वा भिया प्रेरितः [1\*]  
माराशर्वमद्वीपतिर्द्र-

\* The sense requires a reading like *वर्धिनः*, which is actually given by the Nagpur and Badanagpur (Mysore Arch. Report for 1927, p. 113) plates. Most other plates read as here.

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Handwritten text in Devanagari script on a dark, rectangular fragment. The text is arranged in approximately 20 horizontal lines. There is a prominent circular hole on the right side of the fragment, roughly between lines 10 and 15.

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Handwritten text in Devanagari script on a dark, rectangular fragment. The text is arranged in approximately 20 horizontal lines. There is a prominent circular hole on the left side of the fragment, roughly between lines 28 and 32.

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... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...  
... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...  
... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...  
... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...  
... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...  
... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...  
... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...  
... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...  
... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...  
... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...

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... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...  
... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...  
... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...  
... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...  
... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...  
... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...  
... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...  
... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...  
... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...  
... ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ...

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- 28 तमगादप्राप्तपूर्वः परैः यस्येच्छामनुकूलये(मन्) कुलभतैः पादो(दो) प्रणामैरपि  
॥[१४\*]॥ नीत्वा श्री-
- 29 भवने घनाघनघनव्याप्ताम्ब(म्ब)राम्प्रावृष तस्मादागतवां(वान्) समं निजव(व)लैरा  
तुगभद्रात-
- 30 ट(टम्)[1\*] तत्रस्थः स्वकरस्थितामपि पुनर्निःशेषमाकृष्टवां(वान्) विक्षेपैरपि  
चित्त्वमानतरि-
- 31 पुष्यैः पल्लवानां श्रु(धि)यं(यम्) [॥१५॥\*] लेखाहारमुखोदिताद्वैवक्षा यत्नैत्य  
बेगीश्वरो नित्यं
- 32 किंकरवद्व्यघादविरतं कर्म स्वशर्मोच्छया [1\*] वाह्यालीकृतिरस्य येन रचिता-  
द्व्योमा<sup>१</sup>-
- 33 अलन्तारुचद्रात्री मौक्तिकमालिकामिव धृता<sup>२</sup> मृदंस्थतारागणैः ॥[१६\*]॥  
सन्त्रासात्परचकरा-
- 34 अकमगात(त्)त्सुब्बंसेवाविधिः(धि)व्या(व्या)व(व)द्वांजलिशोभितेन शरणं मूर्ध्ना  
यवंह(धि)दयं(यम्) [1\*] यच्चद-
- 35 तपराध्व्यभूषणगणैर्भ्रातृकृतं तत्तथा मा भेषीरिति सत्यपालितयशस्थित्या<sup>३</sup> यथा त-
- 36 दिगूरा ॥[१७\*]॥ तेनेदमनिलविद्युच्चंचलमवलोक्य जीवितमसार(रम्) [1\*]  
-क्षितिदानपरमपुष्यः प्र-
- 37 वलितो व(व)द्वादायोवं(यम्) [॥१८\*]॥ स च परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज-  
परमेश्वरश्रीमद्दारा-
- 38 वर्षदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमज्ज-
- 39 गनु(त्तु)गन्धीवल्लभनरेन्द्रदेवः कुशली सज्वनिव यथासं(व)ध्यमानकान्द्राष्ट्रपति-  
विषयत-

<sup>१</sup> Read पर्यंस्थे-

<sup>२</sup> Read रचिता व्योमा-

<sup>३</sup> Read मौक्तिकमालिकैव विधृता. For the intended sense, see above, Vol. XXIII, p. 210, note 1.

<sup>४</sup> The *śloka* of यशः is omitted by the *Paris* on *Pāṇini*, VIII, 3, 36.

40 तिस्रामकूटायुक्तकनियुक्तकाधिकारिकमहतरादीं(दीन्) समादिशत्वस्तु वः संविदित-  
(तम्) ॥

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 41 यथा मंडरखण्डी<sup>1</sup>समावासितेन मया<sup>2</sup> मातापित्रो(त्रो)रात्मनश्चैहिकामूमिकपुण्यव-  
42 शोभिवृद्धये ॥ वत्सगोत्रव(व)ह्वचसव(व)ह्वचारिविजाडिभट्टपौत्राय चन्दैवकव-  
43 इत<sup>3</sup>पुत्राय दुग्मंयभट्टाय । धारउरविषयान्तर्गतः अणहेग्रामः तस्य चाषाटीः  
44 पूर्वतः अडवच्छग्रामः दक्षिणतः घणीग्रामः पश्चिमतः वाउजीग्रामः उत्तरतः  
45 अणन्तग्राम[\*] पाणियठाणं च । एवमयं चतुराषाटनोपलक्षितो ग्रामः सोद(द्र)मः स-  
46 परिकरः<sup>4</sup> सदण्डशापराधः समूतोपात्तप्रत्यायः सोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकः स-  
47 धान्यहिरण्यादेयः अचाटभटप्रावेश्यः सर्व्वराजक्रीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणी-  
48 यः आचंद्राकर्णाण्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्व्वतसमकालीनः पुत्रपौत्रान्वयक्रमोपभो-  
49 ग्यः पूर्व्वप्रतदेववा(वा)ह्वदावरहितोभ्यन्तरसिद्धया भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन श-  
50 कनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरशतेषु [सप्तमु\*] अष्टोत्तरविंशतेषु<sup>5</sup> ज्येष्ठे व(व)ह्वल-  
51 अमावास्यायाय<sup>6</sup> सूर्येग्रहणपर्व्वणि व(व)लिचरुर्वैश्य(श्व)देवाग्निहो-  
52 त्रातिथिपञ्च(ञ्च)महायज्ञह(क्रि)योत्सर्पणार्थं स्नात्वाद्योदकातिसर्गेण प्रतिपा-  
53 दितः [।\*] यतोऽस्योचितया व(व)ह्वदावस्थित्या भुंजती भोजयतः कृषतो(तः)  
कर्षयतः

<sup>1</sup> Read मण्डरखण्डी-

<sup>2</sup> Read ममवितपुत्राय

<sup>3</sup> Read सोपरिकरः

<sup>4</sup> Read अष्टोत्तरविंशत्यधिकेषु

<sup>5</sup> Read बहुलामावास्यायां

- 54 प्रतिदिशतो वा न कश्चिदल्पाणि परिपंथना कार्या [1\*] तथागामिभद्रन्-  
 55 पतिभिरस्मद्वर्षैरन्यैर्वा सामान्य भूमिदानफलमवेत्य विद्युल्लोला(ला)न्य-  
 56 नित्यंस्वर्वाणि तुषाग्रलग्नजलवि(वि)न्दु[व\*]च्चंचलं च जीवितमाकलय्य स्वदाय-  
 57 निर्व्विशेषोयमस्मदायोनुमन्तव्यं(व्यः) प्रतिपालै(लयि)तव्यस्त [1\*] यद्वाज्ञानति-  
 58 मिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिन्नादाच्छिद्यमानकं वानुमोदेत स पण्व(ञ्च)-

Third Plate

- 59 भिम्मंहापातकैस्तोपपातकैश्च' संयुक्त[:\*] स्यात् [1\*] उक्तण्व(ञ्च) भगवता  
 वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [1\*]  
 60 षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः[1\*] अ(आ)च्छेता चानुमन्ता च  
 तान्येव न-  
 61 रके वसेत् ॥[११९॥\*] विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयानु शुष्ककोटरवासिनः [1\*] कृष्णाह्या  
 द्वि  
 62 जायन्ते भूमिदानं हरन्ति ये ॥[१२०॥\*] अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं नुवर्णं भूर्वर्णवी  
 सूर्यंसु-  
 63 ताश्च गावः [1\*] लोकत्रयं तेन भवेद्वि दत्तं यः काण्व(ञ्च)नं  
 गाण्व(ञ्च) महीण्व(ञ्च) दद्यात् ॥[१२१॥\*]  
 64 व(व)हृभिर्ब्रह्मसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः(भि)स्सश(श)रादिभिः [1\*] यस्य यस्य यदा  
 भूमिस्तस्य तस्य  
 65 तदा फलं(लम्) ॥[१२२॥\*] यानीह दत्तानि पुत्रा\* नरेन्द्रैर्दानानि  
 धर्म्मार्थैश्शक्र(स्क)राणि [1\*]  
 66 निम्मर्त्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुत्रराददीतः(त) ॥[१२३॥\*]  
 सर्वानितां(तान्) भाविनः

\*It would be better to read — भिम्मंहापातकैस्तोपपातकैश्च.

\*Read पुत्र.



- 67 पाथिवेन्द्रा(द्रान्) भूयो भूयो याचते(ते) रामभद्रः [1\*] सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुन्-  
 68 पाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भ्रः(द्विः) ॥[२४॥\*] इति कमलदलाम्बु-  
 (म्बु)वि(वि)-  
 69 न्दुलोलां श्रु(श्रि)यमनुचित्य मनुष्यजीवितं च [1\*] अतिविमलमनोभि-  
 70 रात्मनीनैर्ले हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः ।[1२५॥\*] लिखितं च  
 श्रीवत्सराज-  
 71 सुनुता श्रीमदरुणादित्येन ॥ श्रीदेवैयराणकदूतकं(कम्) ॥
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## No. 36—TWO GRANTS OF EASTERN CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA I

(2 Plates)

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 22.1.1964)

Only four copper-plate grants, including the two edited here, belonging to the reign of the Eastern Chalukya king Vijayaditya I, have been discovered so far. Two of them have been published by B. Subbarao in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. V, pp. 51 ff. For the sake of convenience, they may be called the Telugu Academy plates, since it is stated that they have been deposited in the Telugu Academy. The remaining two grants, called here A and B, are edited below.

### Inscription A—Tenali Plates

The set of plates containing this inscription was obtained in the year 1916-17 by the then Office of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, from K. Venkatanarayana-nappogaru, a High School Master at Tenali in the Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh. Though this record has been noticed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy for 1916-17* (Appendix A, No. 22 and Para 22 of the Second Part), the text has remained unpublished so far. The descriptive label prepared and attached to the impressions of this record which is preserved in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, indicates that Hultzsch was to have edited the inscription in *Epigraphia Indica*. But for some unknown reason he did not publish it, though he lived till the year 1927. The circumstances leading to the discovery of these plates are not known at present.

The set consists of three copper-plates which measure about 6- $\frac{1}{4}$ " in length, 2- $\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth and  $\frac{1}{2}$ " in thickness. At the left margin of each plate there is a circular hole of about  $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter through which passes a circular copper ring having a diameter of about 3- $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The ends of this ring are fixed into two arms of the bracket on the back of a circular seal which has a diameter of about  $\frac{1}{2}$ ". In the top portion of the seal is a crescent below which is the legend *śri-Trībhuvanāśāhānā* in the same characters as those of the inscription proper. Below this legend, at the bottom, is a lotus flower. The first and the last plates have writing only on one side while the second plate bears writing on both the sides. The written faces of the plates have slightly raised rims in order to preserve the writing and the state of preservation is fairly good. The plates with the ring and the seal weigh about 100 tolas.

There are altogether 28 lines of writing, each face having 7 lines. The characters are Telugu-Kannada of the middle of the 8th century A.D. The text has been very carelessly engraved so that there are many mistakes of commission and omission. Even the name of the ruling king has not been correctly written. However, there is no reason to doubt the genuineness of the record. As regards orthography, it may be observed that the consonants following *r* are always doubled excepting once in Arjuna, line 28 and that both the *anuvāra* and *class-nasal* have been used. In several cases, the *anuvāra* is wrongly indicated above the letter following the one over which it is intended, cf. lines 5, 10, 14, 20 and 25. Dravidian *j* is written for *l* in lines 7-8 in the name Sarvaśāhāraya. The language is Sanskrit and except the two benedictory and imprecatory verses and one verse referring to the *Ajñapti* at the end, the record is composed in prose. As indicated above, there are several errors in the composition of the record which have been corrected while giving the text below.

The inscription belongs to the reign of the Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya I who is introduced as the son of Sarvalōkāsēraya Vishṇuvardhana (III) and the grandson of Vijaya-siddhī Maṅgiyuvarāja. All the three kings are bestowed only with conventional praise and no historical facts are mentioned with regard to any of them. Thus Vijayāditya is compared (lines 9-10) with Kamtōya, i.e. Bhīma who destroyed Duṣāsana and also with Kārtikōya in valour. He is endowed with the epithets *paramabrahmaṅga*, *paramasāhāscara*, *mahārājādhirāja* and *paramāśvara*.

Vijayāditya I is known to have ruled for 18 or 19 years. There is a difference of opinion amongst the scholars regarding the date of his accession. Fleet assigned him to the period 746-64 A.D.<sup>1</sup> while others refer him to 753-70 A.D.,<sup>2</sup> 755-72 A.D.,<sup>3</sup> and 751-69 A.D.<sup>4</sup> A satisfactory solution can be found only by the future discoveries. His reign witnessed the overthrow of the imperial house of the Bālāhmi Chālukyas by the Rāshtrakūṭas.

The object of the inscription is to register the gift, made by the king, of the village Śaṅcharamburū<sup>5</sup> situated in Viṣṇānāṇḍu-vishaya to the *brāhmana* Dēvaśarman, son of Kumārasarman and grandson of his namesake Dēvaśarman who belonged to *Āpastamba-sūtra* and *Hārīta-gōtra*, who was well versed in *Vēda*, *Vēdāṅga*, *Itihāsa*, *Purāṇa* and *Upanishad* and who was a resident of Kārāñchēḍu. The donee is described as the performer of the five sacrifices (*pañcha-mahā-yajña*).

The grant is stated to have been made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse during the period of *udagayana*. No other details of the date are given in the record.

The boundaries of the donated village are given as follows: to the east, the boundary of the Kāvurī (village); to the south, that of the Goṭṭimuka (village); to the west, that of the Sannavrōli (village); and to the north, that of the Inturi (village).

The executor (pūjāpū) of the grant was Eṣyavarma and Iṣṇavarma, son of Arjuna, was probably the writer.

The following geographical names occur in the inscription. Kārāñchēḍu, Viṣṇānāṇḍu-vishaya, Śaṅcharamburū, Kāvurī, Goṭṭimuka, Sannavrōli and Inturi. Of these Kārāñchēḍu which is stated to be the place of residence of the donee may be the same as Kārāñchēḍu in the Bapatla taluk of the Guntur District. Inturi may be identified with modern Inturu situated about 12 miles to the south of Tenali, the findspot of the inscription. About 2 or 3 miles to the south-east of Inturu is Kavuru which may represent the Kāvurī of the inscription while about 4 miles to the south of Inturu is Chsandavōli which may be identified with Sannavrōli mentioned in the record. Both Kavuru and Chsandavōli are included in the Repalle taluk of the Guntur District while Inturu is in the Tenali taluk of the same District. I am unable to suggest the identification of the other places.

#### TEXT\*

##### First Plate

1 Siddham<sup>7</sup> [I<sup>8</sup>] Svasti śrīmatā[m] sakala-hīnavana-saṣṭūyamāna<sup>9</sup> Mānavya-sa-

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 99. This is followed in the *Classical Age*, p. 254.

<sup>2</sup> N. Venkataramanayya, *The Eastern Chālukyas of Viṅgi*, pp. 77 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vol. IX, table between pp. 30-31; *The Early History of the Deccan*, edited by G. Yashwanth, p. 472.

<sup>4</sup> *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Society*, Vol. V, table on p. 52.

<sup>5</sup> This name has been read as Śākharambū in *A. R. Ep.*, 1916-17, No. A. 22.

<sup>6</sup> From ink-impressions.

<sup>7</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>8</sup> Read śrīmatāpūjāpū.

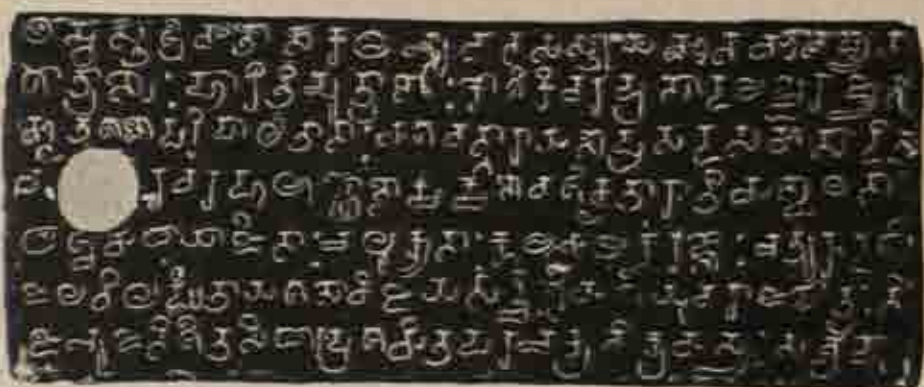




A. Tenali Plates

i

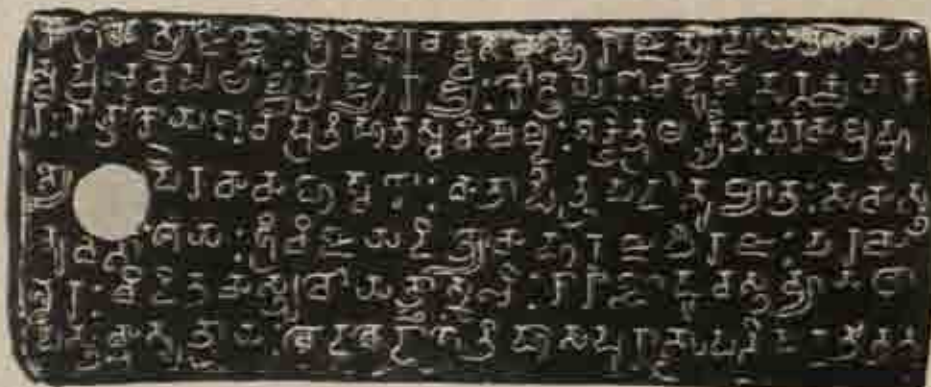
2  
4  
6



2  
4  
6

ii, a

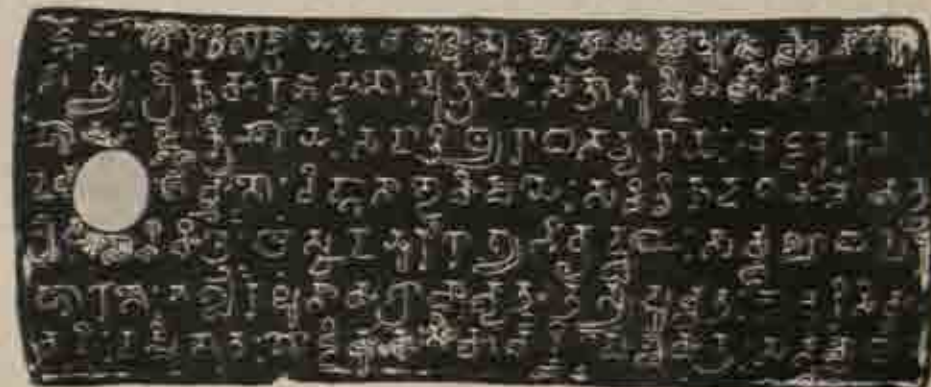
8  
10  
12  
14



8  
10  
12  
14

ii, b

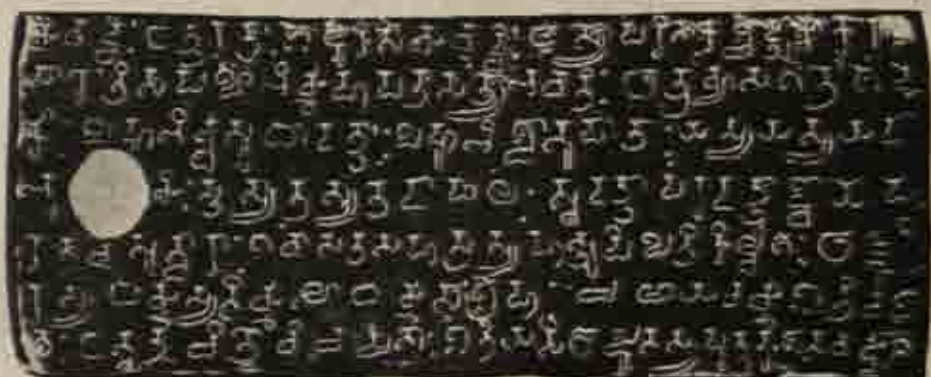
16  
18  
20



16  
18  
20

iii

22  
24  
26  
28



22  
24  
26  
28

Scale : Five-sevenths

- 2 gōtrāpā[m\*] |<sup>1</sup> Hārīti(tī)-putrāpā[m\*] |<sup>1</sup> Kānsiki(kī)-varṇa-prasāda-labha-rājyāpā[m\*]  
 3 mātrī-gaṇa-paripālātānā[m\*] |<sup>1</sup> Bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-da-samāsādita-  
 4 varṇa-Varn(cā)hu-lābhahapō(n-ā)kaha[ya\*]-kahaṇavāsīkrī-ārātrī-maṇḍalānā[m\*] |<sup>1</sup>  
 5 aśvamādhā(dha)-yāj[nā[m\*]] |<sup>1</sup> Chālukya(kyā)nā[m\*] |<sup>1</sup> kulana-alanik<sup>2</sup> arishṇōḥ chatur-  
 6 ulādhi-jala-viśathghitā(ta)-yāsasō Vijayasiddhi-|<sup>1</sup>ēri-Maṅgiyuvarāja[sya\*] pautraḥ ni-  
 7 ja-hīraja-mā(s)jā(t-ā)ni-dhāru(rā)<sup>3</sup>-prasānita-para-chakra<sup>4</sup>-vīkramasya |<sup>1</sup> Sarvaśō-

*Second Plate, First Side*

- 8 kārāyasya jishṇōḥ ēri-Vishṇuvarddhana-mahārājasya pri(pri)ya-tanayaḥ  
 9 aya-prabharvapalabha<sup>5</sup>-prējya-rājyaḥ Kauntēya iva Du[h]sa(kā)ṇana-kahya-ka-  
 10 raḥ Kārttikēya iva(v=ā)pratiha<sup>6</sup>-svāmi-aha(sa)bdah<sup>7</sup> śakti-tra[ya\*]lām<sup>8</sup>ritah parama-  
 11 brahmanya[h\*] parama-ma(tnā)hōsvasō |<sup>1</sup> matā-pitru<sup>9</sup>-pā(pā)l-ānudhyātah samasta-  
 12 bhuvanō<sup>10</sup>śam(śra)yaḥ ēri-Vijaya(yā)dityō maharājadhirajaḥ paramē<sup>11</sup>  
 13 āvaraḥ<sup>12</sup> viditama-astu xō yatthū(th-ā)ama(smā)hīh Kārāhchōdu-va(vā)stuvyāya ā-  
 14 pastambha-sūtrāya |<sup>1</sup> Vēda-Vēdāng<sup>13</sup>-Ētīhāsa-Purāṅ-Ōpanishad-arta(riha)-tatva(ttva)-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 15 jāyā |<sup>1</sup> Hārīti(ta)-gōtrāya |<sup>2</sup> Dēvasarmmanah pautrāya pitus-śanāna<sup>14</sup>-gu-  
 16 ṇasya |<sup>1</sup> ēri-Kumārasarmmanah<sup>15</sup> putrāya |<sup>1</sup> satānushṭīyamāna<sup>16</sup> pāṇha(ncha)ma-  
 17 hāya)ṇa<sup>17</sup>-kriyāya |<sup>1</sup> sad-ātithya(thy-ā)rādhanā(ta\*)tparāya |<sup>1</sup> bhāṭṭarakaya<sup>18</sup>  
 18 Dēvasarmmanā<sup>19</sup> |<sup>1</sup> Vīānāpōjū-vishayō |<sup>1</sup> saviti(ta)r-udagayanē |<sup>1</sup> Chandra-  
 19 grahaṇa-nimittō |<sup>1</sup> asmada(l-ā)yura(r-ā)rōgya(gy-ā)lāhividdihayō |<sup>1</sup> sarva-bādhā(lhā)-  
 20 pari-hārēṇa |<sup>1</sup> Śaūch<sup>20</sup>arambuh-nāma-grāman-(attam<sup>21</sup>)[\*] |<sup>1</sup> tasya pūrvvataḥ Kāvurī-śim-ā-

<sup>1</sup> This punctuation mark, indicated by *varṇa*-like dots, is unnecessary.

<sup>2</sup> Read *chjāpānā*.

<sup>3</sup> The *ascender* is indicated above the letter *h*.

<sup>4</sup> The letter *ra*, which was first omitted, has been engraved in smaller form between *śā* and *pra*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *prabhar-ōpālabha*.

<sup>6</sup> This *ascender* is indicated above the next letter *krī* which, however, is written with both *i* and *ri* marks.

<sup>7</sup> Read *astō-pitri*.

<sup>8</sup> The two letters *pa* and *nā* have been engraved a little lower in the line on account of the ring hole.

<sup>9</sup> Read *māhārājadhira-panat*.

<sup>10</sup> An expression like *Vīānāpōjū-vishaya-nimittō rōhitrakōjū-pramudhān kaṇḍināḥ vīānā-ūtham-ājō-* *parvati* is required here.

<sup>11</sup> The *ascender* is indicated over the next letter *g*.

<sup>12</sup> The two letters *sa* and *nd* have been engraved on *varṇas*.

<sup>13</sup> The name may also be read as *Śrīkumāra*.

<sup>14</sup> Read *śa-śmāśhīpamāna*.

<sup>15</sup> The engraver proceeded to miss the letter *j* of *jā* immediately after *pa* but finding that there was no space for the subscript *ā* on account of the ring-hole, engraved the letter *śa* a little further. This accounts for the trace of a *j* after *pa*.

<sup>16</sup> Read *śaṭśāntānt*.

<sup>17</sup> See p. 298; note 3 above.

<sup>18</sup> Read *grāma-śmāh*.



21 vaddhīh(dhīh) lakshinatah Gopimuka-sim-āvaddhīh(dhīh) pāśchimatah Sannavṛōli-sī-

*Third Plate*

22 aa(m-ā)vaddhīh(dhīh) uttaratah [(h)ṭuri-sōma(m-ā)vaddhīh(dhīh)][\*] ayy-ōpari na  
kaiśchid-bandhā<sup>1</sup> kara[ṇi]-

23 yā [ya] ka<sup>2</sup> [rōti sa pañchahīr-mamahapatasatityō<sup>3</sup> bhavati | atra Vyāsa-gītau śō[ṣ(ā)ś]-

24 kaṣ | Bahubhīr-vasandhā dattā [\* bahubhīr-eh=śnupā[li<sup>4</sup>]tā | yasya yasya yadā-

25 bhūmīh(mī)s=tasya tasya tadā phulūh(lam) | [ | \*] Sva-dattāh<sup>4</sup>para-dattānvā<sup>4</sup>yō ha-

26 rēta vaṣṣadhā(nidha)rā(rām | ) gavāhī sa(sa)ta-sahaarasya haṣ(ha)ntu(h<sup>5</sup>) pibati kilvīcā<sup>6</sup> | [ | \*]  
Ā)hapti-

27 r-asya dharmasya nirmulō dharmma-saṅgraha[h<sup>7</sup>] | [ Śrayavarṇama iti vikhyā]-

28 taḥ [\* unnata-chittō vichakshapah [ | \*] itiyasi<sup>8</sup> Arjūnasya putra<sup>9</sup> Bānavarṇamaṅ [ | \*]

**Inscription B—Zulakallu Plates**

A set of photographs containing this inscription was received in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India during 1954-55 from Dr. R. Subrahmanyam, the then Assistant Superintendent in the Department of Archaeology at Visakhapatnam.<sup>10</sup> Subsequently the original plates were also received in the same office in 1956 and the inscription is edited below from a set of ink-impressions taken from the original plates and preserved in this office.

The plates are reported to have been discovered by a villager while digging for potty-earth at a place near Zulakallu in the Palnad taluk, Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh. They were handed over to Dr. Subrahmanyam through Shri S. P. Nair, Curator, Archaeological Museum, Nagarjunikonda. They were found kept in a pot full of husk. The emblem on the seal was destroyed by the local goldsmith who mistook it for gold. The set consists of **three** rectangular plates with raised borders. Each plate measures about 8" in length and 2.8" in breadth. There is a hole measuring .5" in diameter, towards the left margin of each plate through which passes a ring, about 5" in diameter and .4" in thickness. A seal, 1.8" in diameter, is fixed to the ring. Since the emblem on the seal is lost, it looks like an empty bowl. The three plates together weigh 32 tolas while the ring with the seal weighs 17 tolas.

The first and the last plates are engraved on one side only while the second plate is engraved on both sides. The first plate and the two sides of the second plate have 7 lines of writing on each side whereas there are only 5 lines on the third plate. Thus there are altogether 26 lines and the writing is in a good state of preservation.

The **palaeography, language and orthography** of the record are similar to inscription A edited above. The engraving here has been good and the language is comparatively free

<sup>1</sup> Read -ādhā.

<sup>2</sup> Read mālā-pāfahīr-maṅgūlō.

<sup>3</sup> This punctuation mark, expressed by *śiurga*-like dots, is unnecessary.

<sup>4</sup> The *ś* symbol is indicated over the next letter *pā*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *dhīh* or *dh*.

<sup>6</sup> Read *dhīh* or *dh*.

<sup>7</sup> The second half of the verse is metrically defective. Probably we have to read *Śrayavarṇama śilāpō-*  
*śanta-chittō*.

<sup>8</sup> This word may be a mistake for *dhīh* or *dh*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *putra*.

<sup>10</sup> The inscription is registered in *A. R. Ep.*, 1954-55, App. A, No. 1.

from such errors as noticed in the other inscription. But for the grant portion giving the donee's family, the donated village, the name of the executor and the writer, the text of inscription B, upto line 11 giving the family name and the genealogy of Vijayāditya I is practically the same as that of Inscription A.

As indicated above, this inscription also belongs to the reign of **Vijayāditya I** but no historical information is mentioned with regard to him except giving the names of his father and grandfather as in inscription A. The king addresses his subordinate officials residing at **Pallināpṇuvishaya** which evidently corresponded with modern Palmāḍ area in the Guntur District.

The donee was one **Gōlaśarman**, son of Yajñāśarman and grandson of Rudraśarman who belonged to the *Āpastambasūtra* and *Bhārudāśya-gotra* and who was a resident of Parandhūru. He is described as proficient in *Veda*, *Vedāṅga*, *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa* and in the 64 *kalās*. The grant is stated to have been made on the occasion of a solar eclipse but no other details about the date are mentioned in the record.

The gift consisted of the village **Alluvālu** whose boundaries are described as follows: to the east the boundary of **Chuvśkapthipōkarusu** (village or hamlet or a locality); to the south, **Juvikalu** (village); to the west **Chintapali** (village); and to the north, **Muparu** (village). Of these Juvikalu is apparently the modern Zulakallu in the Palmāḍ taluk where the plates were found. Chintapali is represented by the village of the same name (spelt as Chintapalle in the maps) situated at a distance of about 3 miles to the north-west of Zulakallu. I am not sure about the identification of the other places mentioned in the record, including Parandhūru, the residence of the donee's family.

The executor (*ājñapti*) of the grant was Bōjama<sup>1</sup> while the writer was Māramāchārya.

#### TEXT\*

##### First Plate

- 1 Svasti śrīmatāṁ sakala-bhuvana-saristūyamāna-Mānavya-sagōtrāṅgāṁ Hārīti-putrāṅgāṁ
- 2 Kauśiki(ḥ)-varā-prasāda-labdha-rājya(jyā)nām mātri-gaṇa-patipālītānā(m)\* sva(svā)mi-  
Mahāśūna-pād-ā-
- 3 mukhyātānām Bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-samāsādita-vara-Varāha-lā(m)\*chhan-śkhaṇa-  
kaṇa-
- 4 vaśkṛit-ā-rāti-maṅgalānām(nām) śvamōdh-āvabhṛitha-māna-pavitṛi(tri)kṛita-vapushām(ahā)-
- 5 ā-Chalukyānām kulam=alamkarishṇṇḥ vividha-yuddha-labdha-vijaya-siddhōr-bhuvana-
- 6 manō-rāma-Ma(m)giyuvarājasya pautraḥ naya-vinaya-vikram-ōpārjita-chāru-bhūri-  
kirttō(h\*) Sarva-
- 7 lōkāśrā(śra)ya-āri-Vishṇuvarddhana-maha(hā)rājasya priya-tā(ta)nayaḥ sv-āsi-dhārā-  
prabhāv-ōvā(pā)-

##### Second Plate, First Side

- 8 rjit-śāśha-bhūpāla-makuta-kōṭi-māṅkka(kya)-śāṇa-kashāṇa-masṛiṇa-nakha-maṇi-kiraṇa-
- 9 kōsar-ōdbhāśita-pāda-padma-yuga(a)h\*) prabhū-mantr-ōtsāha-śakti-samparṇna\* patama-

<sup>1</sup> In the Telugu Academy plates of this king referred to above, the name of the *ājñapti* of the first set has been read as *Bhaurama*. But the published facsimile shows clearly that it was Bōjama and not Bhaurama. It is evidently identical with Bōjama of the inscription under study.

\* From the impressions and photographs.

<sup>2</sup> The unneeded sign is a little to the left of the letter aa.

<sup>3</sup> The ring-hole separates the letters *ri* and *ā*.

<sup>4</sup> Read—*samparṇṇḥ*.

- 10 pra(hra)hmasya[h\*] parama-māhēśvarō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyāta[h\*] samasta-bhuvanāśraya-  
 11 ari-Vijayā<sup>1</sup> ditya-mahārōjādīrāja-paramēśvara-bhaṭṭāraka[h] **Pallināpṇu-vi**  
 12 shaya-nivāsīnō śāstṛaku(kū)ṭa-pramukhān-kuṭu[nā\*]bina[h\*] sarvān-ittham=ājñā(jñā)  
 payati vidita-  
 13 m=astu vō-smābhīh Paṇandbūru-va(vā)stavyāya Bhārodvāja-sagōtrāya [Ā]pastambha-sō-  
 14 trāya Trai(Tai)ti(tti)ciya-sabrahmachōriṇō Vēda-Vēdām<sup>2</sup>gavidō Rudraśarmaṇaḥ pantrāya  
 sva-karṇ-ā-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 15 nushthāna-nipumā(jñā)ya Yajñāśarmmaṇa[h\*] putrāya Vēda-Vēdā[ā\*]g-Ētīhāsa-Purāṇa-  
 16 pāragāya chatu[h\*]śaśṭhi(śṭi)-kal-ābhijñāya śākhāt Brahma[ṇa\*] iva Gōlaśarmmaṇō  
 sarva-kara(mih)  
 17 pariḥāri(ri)kṛity-āyur-ārōgy-aiśvō(śva)ryya(ryy-ā)bhivri(vri)ddhayē **Alluvālu-nāma-grāmō**  
 dattāḥ [i\*]  
 18 a[ay-ā]va<sup>3</sup>dhi pu(pū)rvata[h] **Chuvikaṇṭhipōkarusu-sīma dakshina(ṇa)taḥ Juvikala**  
 pāśchi-  
 19 mataḥ **Chintapali** uta(tta)rataḥ **Mupaṇu** [i\*] sūryya-grahana(ṇa)-nimitō(ttarḥ) ulaka-  
 pūrvam<sup>4</sup>kṛitva(tvā) sarva<sup>5</sup>-ka-  
 20 ra-pariḥa(hā)ro<sup>6</sup>ma(ṇa) dattam=asy-ōpari na kēnachītha(d-bā)dhā kāraṇayā<sup>7</sup> karōti ya[h\*]  
 a pa-  
 21 śha-mahāpātaka-saṅkyaktō bhavati Vyāsēn=ēpy-uktam(ktāḥ) śloka(kāḥ) [ | ] Bahubhi-

*Third Plate*

- 22 revasādhā dattā bahubbhō-sh-ānpālītā [ i\*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmīs-tasya tā(ta)ya tā-  
 (ta)-  
 23 dh phalam [i\*] Sva-dā(da)ttām-pura-dattām vā<sup>8</sup> yō harōta<sup>9</sup> vasundharām(rām | ) śaśṭhīr-  
 vvaraḥa-srahaarajī<sup>10</sup> viśṭhā-  
 24 yāḥ [jā]yatō kṛimīḥ [i\*] Brahmasvan-tu viśa[ṇ\*] ghōra[ṇ\*] na viśa[ṇ] viśam-uchayatō  
 [ i\*] viśa-  
 25 m-ōkākīṇām(nām) hanti brahmasvam putra-pavitrikam<sup>11</sup>[i\*] Yajñatpīrasya<sup>12</sup> dharmasya  
 sirmalō dharmā-sathgrā-  
 26 ha[h ] \* Bōlāma-nāma(mā) lōkō-smū[n\*] puṇya-chītō(titō) narōkta(tta)maḥ [i\*] Māram-  
 ōch-ryyōga likhitam [i\*]

<sup>1</sup> The ring-hole separates the letters ja and ga.

<sup>2</sup> The *vasādhā* is indicated above the next letter *ya*.

<sup>3</sup> The ring-hole separates the letters *ya* and *va*. Read *śāśṭhīr-vasādhā*.

<sup>4</sup> These two letters have been engraved on an erasure.

<sup>5</sup> This letter has been engraved on an erasure.

<sup>6</sup> This letter has been engraved on an erasure.

<sup>7</sup> Read *karṇayā*.

<sup>8</sup> The letter *ā* is engraved below the line in a diminutive manner between the letters *dhā* and *ya*.

<sup>9</sup> The letter *ra* was originally left out by the scribe but later introduced in small letters between the letter *ri* and *en*.

<sup>10</sup> Read *śaśṭhīr-vasādhā-sathgrā*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *putrakam*.

<sup>12</sup> Read *Yajñatpīrasya*.



TWO GRANTS OF EASTERN CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA I Plate I  
 B. Zulakallu Plates

i  
 2  
 4  
 6  
 2  
 4  
 6

ii, a  
 8  
 10  
 12  
 14  
 8  
 10  
 12  
 14

ii, b  
 16  
 18  
 20  
 16  
 18  
 20

iii  
 22  
 24  
 26  
 22  
 24  
 26



## No. 37—INSCRIPTIONS FROM MANDAR HILL

(I. Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, CALCUTTA

(Received on 14.8.1963)

The **Mandār** or Mandāra-giri, described in the Purāṇas as situated on the Vindhya to the south of the Gaṅgā,<sup>1</sup> is an isolated hill about 700 feet in height and lying nearly seven miles to the south of BĀĀKĪ, headquarters of a Sub-Division of that name in the Bhagalpur District of Bihar. It is about thirty miles to the south of Bhagalpur and about three miles from the terminus of the Bhagalpur-Mandar Hill Branch of the Eastern Railway.

(There are two temples of the Jains on the top of the Mandār hill and a ruined temple of Viṣṇu on a lower bluff on the western side of the peak. To the west of the Viṣṇu temple, there is an excavated cave containing the image of Naraśiṃha carved on the rock and a cavity which contains a spring-water pool, known as the Ākāśa-gaṅgā, as also huge images of Vāmana, Madhu and Kaitabha. Besides the remains of many structures on the hill, there are extensive ruins of temples, etc., on the eastern slope and at the foot of the hill.) The antiquities are traditionally ascribed to the Chōla Rājās, especially to Rājā Chhatra Sen or Chhatra Singh.<sup>2</sup> At the foot of the hill, there is the Pāpahāriṅṅ tank which is known from two inscriptions to have been excavated in the latter half of the seventh century A.D. by the queen of the Later Gupta king Ādityaśauha of Magadha.<sup>3</sup>

Sometime ago, Shri P. C. Singh, Senior Deputy Collector of Bhagalpur, sent me photographs of a few inscriptions and sculptures from the Mandār hill. Two of the epigraphic records in early characters are engraved in the Naraśiṃha cave referred to above, the roof of which is so low that one cannot stand erect in it. The first of the two records contains eight lines of writing. Photographs and impressions of this inscription were later also received by me from the Government Epigraphist for India. The second epigraph contains only four *śloka*s.

(The two Naraśiṃha cave inscriptions mentioned above are published here together with a later record from a *maṭhā* at the foot of the Mandār hill. This third epigraph is referred to by many authors including Buchanan-Hamilton, whose Journal was written in 1810-11, and Martin whose work appeared in 1838. It records the construction of the *maṭhā* for the god Madhusūdana (Viṣṇu) in Śaka 1521 (1599 A.D.) by Chhatrapati who was the seventh ancestor of the Zamindār of Mandār, whom Buchanan-Hamilton and Martin appear to have contacted in the first half of the last century. The god Madhusūdana-Viṣṇu is said to have been originally worshipped in a temple on the top of the hill, but "Chhatrapati Rāj, Zamindar of Mandār . . . removed the image to a small brick temple (*dūtā*), now in ruins, and placed [it] at the foot of the hill. Near this, he built a *Maṭhā* to which the image is carried on the festival [days] and which, according to an inscription, he erected in the year of the Śaka 1521 (1599 A.D.)."<sup>4</sup>)

<sup>1</sup> See Purāṇa Purāṇa, Chapter 143.

<sup>2</sup> For the antiquities, etc., on the Mandār hill, see *Journal of Francis Buchanan Esq. during the Survey of the District of Bhagalpur in 1810-11*, ed. C.A.E.W. Oldham, 1939, p. 29; Montgomery Martin, *History of India*, Vol. II, 1838, pp. 61-62; W. Fournier, *Enquiry Concerning the Sites of Ancient Palaces*, Part II, pp. 14-16; W.S. Sherwell in *JASB*, Vol. XX, 1831, p. 272; T. Bloch in *Rep. Arch. Surv., Bengal Circ.*, 1952-53, pp. 8-9; N. L. Dey, *Geog. Dict.*, s.v.

<sup>3</sup> *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 212.

<sup>4</sup> Martin, *loc. cit.*; cf. Oldham, *op. cit.* Śaka 1521 really corresponds to 1599 A.D. and not to 1589 A.D.



## No. 1

The first of the two inscriptions in the Narasimha cave is written in eight lines covering an area about 26 inches in breadth and 22 inches in height. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory, a number of letters being considerably rubbed off and a few of them totally undecipherable.

The characters resemble those in the East Indian records of the fourth or fifth century A.D. including the other epigraph in the same cave, which is edited below. The letters *u*, *l*, *sh*, *s* and *k* are of the Eastern variety. A point of difference in the palaeography of the two epigraphs in the Narasimha cave is exhibited by the forms of *g* and *k*. While the top of these two letters is usually flat, i.e. written with a horizontal stroke, in the first epigraph, it is rounded or pointed in the second inscription. This feature may tempt one to suggest that the first record is somewhat later than the second. But the difference is not of great importance since both these types of *g* and *k* are sometimes noticed in the records of the fifth century A.D.<sup>1</sup> The inscription uses the symbols for 30, 10 and 2 in line 1 and the sign for the *spudhamānāya* in line 3. The language of the record is Sanskrit.

The date of the inscription is quoted in line 1 as the 12th day of Bhādrapada in the year 30. The year may be referred to the regnal reckoning of a king whose dominions comprised the Bhagalpur region in the age in question, but whose name has not been mentioned in the record. But, in the fourth century A.D., the Imperial Guptas established themselves in Bihar and the foundation of the Gupta empire is generally believed to have synchronised with the epoch of the Gupta era of 319 A.D. The date of our inscription would thus appear to be referable to the Gupta era and to correspond to 349 A.D. It may be mentioned in this connection that the name of the Gupta emperor Samudragupta, who appears to have been ruling in the year 349 A.D., was expected to be mentioned in the date portion of our record. But there are a few inscriptions of the first century of the Gupta era, discovered in Bihar, which do not mention the ruling king's name in connection with the date, and the present record may be regarded as one of the same class.<sup>2</sup>

The inscription begins with the well-known *śaśyala*—*Ītān Bhagavatā*, "Victory has been achieved by the Bhagavat (i.e. Vishnu)." The Vaishnavite adoration fits in well with the fact that the chief deity worshipped on the hill was Madhusūdana (Vishnu) after whom the hill was itself often called Madhusūdana.<sup>3</sup> As we shall see below, the deity, figuring in the inscription and found in the cave wherein the epigraph is incised, also represents an aspect of the god Vishnu. The said *śaśyala* is followed by the date of the record already discussed above.

The record then introduces *Bhagavat* Virajōguhāsvāmin described as *nyūta-śayakta-mūrti*. There is little doubt that Lord Virajōguhāsvāmin (literally, the lord of the Virajōguhā) is the same as the god Narasimha worshipped in the cave wherein the inscription is incised. It is also clear that the excavated cave was given the name Virajōguhā. The word *śayakta* in the name of the cave may indicate the deity in question or a person after whom the cave was named. The complete name of the deity ending in the word *svāmin* shows that he was Vishnu and not Śiva, the names of whose representation (usually in the form of the phallus) ended in the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Ellora inscription (414 A.D.) of Kumāragupta I and the Kahaun inscription (409 A.D.) of Skandagupta in Bühler's Table IV.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Muzaffargarh* inscription of year 30 and the *Bōdhgaya* inscription of year 64 (Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1367-28). It will be seen that the *Muzaffargarh* inscription and the record under study are dated in the same year.

<sup>3</sup> Renouf calls it Mandar or Mūsoḍin (i.e. Madhusūdana.)

INSCRIPTIONS FROM MANDAR HILL

No. 1



Scale : One-fourth





No. 3



(from Photographs)





closely resemble those of Samudragupta's Allahabad pillar inscription assignable to the middle of the fourth century A.D.<sup>1</sup> The letter that specially connects the palaeography of the two epigraphs in the Narasimha cave on the Mandār hill is *l* which is of the Eastern variety with its left limb turned sharply downwards. The other letters indicating the distinction between the Eastern and Western varieties of the Late Brāhmī of Northern India (i.e. the so-called Gupta alphabet), viz. *se*, *sh*, *s* and *h*, do not occur in the small inscription. In any case, the record can be assigned, on palaeographical grounds, to the fourth century A.D. to which we have also assigned the other epigraph at the same place.

The four letters of the inscription read: *gu le śē la*. It is difficult to suggest any meaning of the writing, though it may have intended to give the name of the artisan responsible for the excavation of the Narasimha cave. *Gulesēla*, however, does not appear to be quite satisfactory as a personal name. It is difficult to say whether the intended reading is *Gulasēla* which is of course a very good personal name or, can we read *Gulakika* (for *Gulasikā*)?

### No. 3

This inscription is written in five lines in the Maithili-Bengali characters of the late medieval period. The *akshara* *r* is of the modern Assamese type. The record begins with a symbol for *siddhānta* and consists of a single stanza in the *Śāradārikavijita* metre with the date in figures at the end. The four feet of the verse are engraved in lines 1-4 each foot occupying one line. The *akshara* *śrī* has a symbolical form as in many other East Indian records of the late medieval age.

The language of the record is Sanskrit, though the style of the composition is poor. There are also some errors of language. The date, viz. Śaka 1521, is given in words in the first foot of the stanza in line 1 in accordance with the *vāmagati* principle and in figures in line 5. The year corresponds to 1599-1600 A.D.

The verse in question states that, in the Śaka year counted by *chandra* (i.e. 1), *paksha* (i.e. 2), *Mañjushā* (i.e. 5) and *dharanī* (i.e. 1), Chhatrapati, son of Vāśudēva, made the *vijay-āgāra* of Mañhusādāna through the Brāhmana priest named Duḥśānta. The *vijay-āgāra* of Mañhusādāna built by Chhatrapati, as indicated above, is the *maṭha* at the foot of the Mandār hill.

It is not known whether this Chhatrapati claimed any relationship with the traditional Chhatrasēna or Chhatraimha of the family of the Chōla Rājās and whether this Chōla family migrated to Bihar directly from Tamil Nād or was an offshoot of the Telugu-Chōla dynasty of Orissa and Madhya Pradesh.<sup>2</sup> Considering, however, the South Indian association of the locality, it is not improbable that the word *vijaya* in the expression *vijay-āgāra* (liberally, 'the victorious home') means 'stay' (Sanskrit *vanahāna*) and not 'victory' as in Sanskrit.<sup>3</sup>

### TEXT\*

- 1 Śiddhānta [ ||\* ] Chandraḥ-paksha-Manōjavā(bā)ṇa-dharanīty-aṅk-śōkitē vatsarē
- 2 Śakē puṇya-mahitālē dvijavant(ratir)=Duḥśānta(i)ḥ<sup>4</sup> pūjaka(i)ḥ<sup>5</sup> ]
- 3 cakrē śrī-Mañhusādānāya vijay-āgāraṁ varam sirmamalaṁ
- 4 śrīmach-Chhatrapatiḥ sadū-subha-mutiḥ śrī-Vāśudēv-ānāja(i)ḥ<sup>6</sup> ]
- 5 Śakē 1521 [ ||\* ]

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Olin, *Prehistoric Indian Scripts*, Plate XV.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 286 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 294. Since the image of the god was carried to the *maṭha* on festival days, *vijaya* here may also mean 'going in a procession' as in the Kārnāṭa records (*Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 223, note 6; Vol. VI, p. 51, note 5).

<sup>4</sup> From photographs and impressions. Noticed in *J. R. Ep.*, 1962-63, No. B 220.

<sup>5</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>6</sup> The upper limb of the sign for medial *śrī* is wrongly put on *j* instead of *z*. The plural number is used in respect of the priest to indicate *patron*.

## No. 38—A GRANT OF VAKULAMAHADEVI

(I Plate)

P. R. SRINIVASAN, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 22.1.1964)

The set of impressions of the copper-plate-grant edited here was found amidst the collection of old impressions of inscriptions in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.<sup>1</sup> It is not known whence these impressions were secured. The whereabouts of the plate are also not known. The record is edited with the kind permission of the Government Epigraphist for India.

Obviously, the impressions are of the inscription written on both sides of a single copper plate which belongs to the group of copper-plate charters of the Bhauma-Kara family of Orissa such as the Gañjām<sup>2</sup> and Bāppur<sup>3</sup> plates and the Sāntiragrāma grant.<sup>4</sup> From the impressions of the plate, it is easy to know that it measures 32 cm × 29.5 cm. Unfortunately, the impression of the seal of the plate has not been preserved and it is, therefore, not possible to know what designs it contained and what legend it bore, although on the analogy of the legends occurring on the seals of the other charters of this group, it is possible to conjecture that the legend of the present record should have read *Śrīmat-Vakulamahādēvyā*. The inscription consists of forty-seven lines of writing, the first side containing twenty-four lines and the second side twenty-three lines. The *akṣaras* are written holdly although their size is not uniform. The latter is due to the fact that the writer was not careful in engraving the inscription. The writing is in a good state of preservation.

The characters belong to the eastern variety of Northern alphabet and are similar to those of the Bāppur plates issued by queen Daddimahādēvi who was the predecessor on the Bhauma-Kara throne of the queen who issued the charter under study. It has already been made clear<sup>5</sup> that the Bhauma-Kara dynasty was ruling in Orissa in the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. and the palaeography of the present record which may be assigned to about the 10th century supports this. Among the points relating to palaeography, the following are noteworthy. Of the initial vowels, *a* (lines 9, 11), *i* (lines 9, 15) and *u* (lines 2, 22, 28, 39) occur. The medial *ṣ* and *ṣ̄* are not uniformly written. But the sign for medial *ṣ̄* is generally like a curved stroke which is attached to the bottom right side of the vertical line of the letter. This is clearly noticed in *ṣ̄* of line 4, in *ḍḥ* of lines 10, 20, etc. On this basis, the medial sign of the symbol for 300 may also be taken as representing *ṣ̄*. The *svagraha* is employed in lines 34 and 35. The orthography of the record is similar to that of the other records of the family, including the use of *va* for *va* throughout.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and it is written partly in verse and partly in prose. The date is given in line 39 as *Vatsūkha vadi 5 of the year 200 0 4 (i.e. 204) of an unspecified era*. Here the symbol for 200 is a clear *ṣ̄* and is distinctly different from the symbol for 100 which is an unmistakable *ṣ̄* found both in the Bāppur inscription and in the Gañjām

<sup>1</sup> This is noticed in *A. R. Ep.*, 1964-65, No. A 35.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. VI, pp. 137 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *JBOIS*, Vol. V, pp. 364 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 79 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 79.



plate A. The same symbol *la* is used for denoting the number 100 in the Hindu<sup>1</sup> and Dhārākōpa<sup>2</sup> plates of Śubhākaradēva III and in the Taltali plate of Śivakara III.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, the writers as well as the engravers of the above mentioned records had no confusion in regard to the forms of the symbols for 100 and 200 whatever may be the case regarding the use of the signs for medial *a* and *ā* in other letters.<sup>4</sup> After the symbol for 200 there are the sign for cypher and the sign for 4. The use of the cypher is obviously intended to indicate the absence of any symbols denoting ten or its multiples, after the sign for 200, and also shows the coming into vogue of the practice of writing the numerals in the decimal system.<sup>5</sup>

The importance of the record lies in the fact that it is the only charter of the reign of queen **Vakulamahādēvi** known so far. The record commences with a symbol for *Siddham* followed by a verse describing the city of **Guhśēvarapāṭaka**, the name of which is given in the sentence that follows immediately. This and the following nine verses<sup>6</sup> describing the Bhaṅga-Kara family,<sup>7</sup> upto Daṇḍimahādēvi are also found in the records of that queen. Verse II introduces her step-mother **Vakulamahādēvi** who issued the charter under study, while verse 12 states that she was of the family of the Bhaṅjas. These two verses are also found in the Taltali plate<sup>8</sup> of Dharmamahādēvi who succeeded Vakulamahādēvi on the Bhaṅga-Kara throne. Verses 13 to 16 describe the qualities of Vakulamahādēvi and they are found in the other records mentioned above applied to the respective ruling queens.

The charter records the grant of the village called **Chhōḍāvatṣā** attached to the **Urōgō-ḍḍā-khaṇḍa**, situated in the **Aśravapa[ka]tikā-vishaya** in the **Uttara-Tōsalā** country. It is stated that the gift village was located near (*upita*) **Mairēmau-khaṇḍa**. The grant was made by *Paramamahādevi* Vakulamahādēvi who bears imperial titles, in favour of **Mihadhīcha**<sup>9</sup> who was the son of Bhāṅgaputra Nilakantha. The source is stated to have come from the **Sāvastha** country and to have been a resident of the village of **Kantāḍa**. He belonged to the *Vatsa gōtra* and to the *posara* of Bhārgava, Ghryasva, Āpvasva, Anva and Jāmadagnya and was a student of the *Āvalīyana śākhā*.

The royal order is addressed first to the present and future officials namely *Mahāśāmantā, Mahāśāyaputra, Antarāṅga, Kuśāḍīmāyā, Anjarika, Viśvayajati, Tādāyuktā, Daṇḍajāyika, Sībāśāntarika* and others like *Bhāṅgavāṅgī, Chāḍā, Bhaṅga* and *Vallabhayājīya*<sup>10</sup> of the **Uttara-Tōsalā** country. It is also addressed to another group of officials, possibly connected with **Aśravapkatikā-vishaya**, which includes *Kalahita*,<sup>11</sup> *Sāmanta*,<sup>12</sup> *Sāmavāji*,<sup>13</sup> *Bṛihadbhōga, Pustakapāla* and *Kōṭyapālāsa*.<sup>14</sup> Except for minor variations, these sets of officials are the same as found in the other records of this family.

<sup>1</sup> *JPRS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 69 ff. and plate facing p. 69, line 25.

<sup>2</sup> H. Mitra, *Coins under the Bhāga Kings*, pp. 21-22, plate F, line 25.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 22 ff. and plate H (reverse), line 42. The symbol for the number 100 is blurred in the Taltali plate of Śubhākara II. (See above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 21 ff. and plate.)

<sup>4</sup> In the Śāntiagrāma grant of Daṇḍimahādēvi (above, Vol. XXIX, p. 80, line 37), however, the sign *la* has been written in place of *ā* by mistake.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 212 where Dr. Sircar has not only noted this fact but also referred to the unusual usage of cypher in two other records of this family.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 87-88.

<sup>7</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 81-83, for details of the genealogy as contained in these verses and for an elaborate discussion on it.

<sup>8</sup> *IIIQ*, Vol. XXI, p. 218, text lines 15-16.

<sup>9</sup> See, p. 212, note 5 below.

<sup>10</sup> See, above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 80-86, for an explanation of these terms.

<sup>11</sup> This term is substituted by *Dakṣiṇa* (wrongly read as *Bakṣiṇa*) in the Taltali plate (text, line 30). Since the meaning of this term is uncertain, it is difficult to say which of these two is correct.

<sup>12</sup> This term is probably derived from *Sāmavāji* as Kielhorn has opined (above, Vol. IV, p. 268, note 16).

The gift village is said to have been granted, after making it free from all restrictions, with the *parikara* and the *uddēsa*, with the subjects such as the *tanturōya* (weavers), the *gāhāta* (milkman) and the *śauphika* (vintners) and with the *lāṭa-ghatta*, *valitarushāna* and *gulmaka*. It is further stated that the grant was made *a-lākhani-pravṛṭṭayā bhūmicchādya-pidhānangyāna*.<sup>1</sup> Of these the former expression seems to suggest that the grant village would not become the subject of an entry in the revenue assessment register with the Government. The latter expression may mean 'the law relating to the reclamation of uncultivable land'. According to this law, a person who brought a piece of waste land under cultivation for the first time, was allowed to enjoy it as a rent-free holding.<sup>2</sup>

The grant is said to have been made for the increase of the merit and fame of the donatrix as well as of her parents, on the occasion of a *vishuvast* on the given date, namely the 5th day of the dark half of Vaisākha of the year 201. The *prasaṅgi* was composed by poet **Jambhala**, son of Jayātman (line 46). This poet figures also in some of the records of the queen Dandimahlādēvi, such as the Gañjām plate A of the year 180 and the Bānpur plate of the year 187. It shows that the poet continued to serve in the royal court even during the reign of Vakulamahādēvi. An *akṣayapatālādhikṛita* named Rāgaka **Śri-Indra** is mentioned in lines 46-47. It is not clear in what way he is connected with the charter. He was probably the *śālaka* of the grant. The record is stated to have been engraved by **Kumaraka**.

Of the geographical names, **Uttara-Tōsalā** (i.e. Tōsal) comprised the modern Belasore-Cuttack region (sometimes with a part of the Midnapore District of West Bengal). The exact location of the **Aśravasakatika-vishaya**, **Urēgōddā-khaṇḍa**, **Maṭrēmau-khaṇḍa** and of the gift village **Chhōḍātavutsā** is not clear. The location of the country of **Śāvastha** whence the donor is stated to have hailed and of **Kantōda** village where he resided is also difficult to identify.

TEXT<sup>3</sup>

[Metres: Verses 1-4, 15-16 *Śārdūlakōṣīta*; verses 5, 7-9, 14 *Vasavatilakā*; verse 6 *Mālinī*; verses 10-13, 17-20, 23-23 *Anuṣṭubh*; verse 21 *Puṣpāḍyā*.]

## First Side

- 1 Siddham\* | \*| Svasti vyanta-jai-śāha(śakra)-vibhrama-harāṅh\* śvā-śtpa(ta)patr-śākarair-  
śvīya-śrutī-chāntarā[śācha] hrī(ha)ṅ[ta\*]-vyākṣhaṭṣa-kāś-śāyā[ḥ | \*]
- 2 nḍāmar-mada-saurabhāś-cha karipāṅvākahipta-supta-clukhad-ānō[śis-sannihit[ām sa]d-  
siva śarad-śramāha-śrīyām vi(h)bhantaḥ || [1\*] Śri-Gu(hēśvara-pā-
- 3 tu]ka-nirāśi-vijaya-ekantāśā(vā)rāt | Sarva-śāś-paripūraṅ-śāhika-ruchir-yas-śāpatn-śatan-  
ṅyam nā(yam-ā)manā[ṅm\*] kṛitavān(vā)ṅjāmaśya manāśi pṛipta-
- 4 pratishṭhant chirant(rat) | sad-dyakti-pratishṭhī yēna cha tanō nirmālan-annāhītam | \*  
śrīpūā-īnā[śāśv-śvāpūāś-śāhī-Ummattasīh-śhrayaḥ] [2\*]

\* See above, Vol. XXX, p. 86, for an explanation of these expressions.

<sup>2</sup> In fact, this custom is in vogue even today in Tamilnāḍ, but not a-days the period of such enjoyment is restricted.

<sup>3</sup> From impressions.

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>5</sup> The Gañjām and Bānpur plates of Dandimahlādēvi have śāvastā.

<sup>6</sup> The śāśāś is unnecessary.

- 5 Tad-vaiśāṅgī-ābhavann-ānandita-guṇā muktāmayā[h\*] sad-gatāh\* sad-vṛittāh sukha-āttalāh  
kshiti-bhṛitāh śrīmad-Gayāśādayah | yē nītvā\* hṛida-
- 6 y-ōgra\*-tāpa-sa(sa)manō dēv-āṅganābhī[h\*] sva(sva)yañ karṣṭh-śāśāha\*-sukha-āhiti-praṇa-  
yino hār-ābhīrāmāh kṛitāh || [3\*] Tad-vaiśāṅgī(śā)-ābhavad-ūrjitatāh kṛita-vu(bu)-
- 7 dhāh prītib prati(t)it-ōdayō dēvah āstru-vadhū-mukh-ēndu-tarāṇih śrī-Lōṇabhāro nripah  
| ] \*] yasy-ākramya guru-pratīpa-śikhināh pṛi-
- 8 tsvībhṛitāh prōddhatām(tān) dūram sarva-dig-antarāku tarasā svairam prasā(sa)śrub-  
(śrub) karā[h\*] || [4\*] Tasy-ātmanah pṛapata-pārthiva-chakre-chūḍā-niryāja-rō-
- 9 pite-padaś-gharit-ārtha-nāmā | vistāri-sau(sau)rahna-guṇ-ōdaya-pūrit-ōsas-tasmād-ābhūt-  
**Kusumabhāra** itī kshittāh || [5\*] A-
- 10 bhṛind(ta) **Lalitabhārah** kshilā-bharatā bhūri-tājās-tad-ann tad-annjanmā vyūḍha-bhōg-  
indra-līlah |
- 11 ā(s)ayad-amallī(mānu(nam) yaddya(d-ya)śah(śah)-pūram-nehchait-āpi ripu-ratayānām-  
amjan-ōn-mīram-āśram(śru) || [6\*]
- 12 Tasmān-nripē divam-upēyashī tat-tanūjah sē(śā)st-āvanūr-ājani **Sē(Śā)ntikar-ābhīhānāh** |  
yōn-ōddhṛitō-
- 13 shv-ābhīla-damma(mma)du-karṣṭkōshu tēmō yathō-sukham-apāsta-bhīyā janēns || [7\*]  
Tasya prasānya\*-chari-
- 14 t-ārjita-bhūri-kūtur\*-vviśambharā-vibhūr-ābhūd-annjās-tatō-pi | śrōyōbhūr-ōks-padam-  
ity-a-
- 15 kshilāh kṛitāmā yah śrī-**Subhākara** itī prathitō yath-ārtham || [8\*] Tasya tripī(vi)śāpā-  
jushā-
- 16 h paramōsvarāya dēvi samastō-jaustā-ōnta-pāda-padmā | śimhāsannam śāśikar-āmala-kī(vitī)-  
-
- 17 **Gaurī** Gaurī-iva gaurava-padam chīram-ādhyatshat || [9\*] Tatō **Daṇḍimahādēvi** sutā tasyā  
mahīyast | [ ] \*
- 18 nālm-āhīśā-śmāthiyā\* chira-kālam-apūlayat || [10\*] Tasyā, sapatna-janant tatō rājyam-  
apūlayat |
- 19 śrī-**Vakulamahādēvi** dharmān-nrip-iv-āśhātō\* || [11\*] Avicchēdunn-āyati-prāmsan\*  
vaiśāṅgī(śā) **Bhāṅga**-smat-bhṛitā(m) | chīlha-

\* The undated grant of Daṇḍimahādēvi from Gaṅjām (i.e. plate B) reads *śāśikā*; Gaṅjām plate A and the Bāgpur plate of the same queen read *śāśikā*; and the Śāntigrāma grant of queen Daṇḍimahādēvi reads *śāśikā*. Kielhorn wanted *śāśikā* to be read as *śāśikā* (or *śāśikā*).

\* Both the Gaṅjām plate read *yē nītvā*; while the Śāntigrāma grant reads *pān-āntā*. The Bāgpur plate, like the present record, reads *yē nītvā*.

\* The Gaṅjām plate, like our record, reads *śmāthiyā*, while the Bāgpur plate and the Śāntigrāma grant read *śmāthiyā*.

\* The Śāntigrāma grant reads *karṣṭ-āhīhā* which does not seem to be the intended reading.

\* Kielhorn says that the Gaṅjām plate B has *śvīhā* in place of *śāśikā* (above, Vol. VI, p. 137, note 23).

\* The Śāntigrāma grant reads *pūlayat*.

\* The Bāgpur plate reads *śmāthiyā*.

\* The Gaṅjām plate A also reads *śmāthiyā* only (see the beginning of line 21 of the plate), although Kielhorn has read it as *śāśikā* (yē) *nītvā*. He has given the same reading in the Gaṅjām plate B also.

\* This verse B is found in the Talali plate of Dharmamahādēvi (*JHQ*, Vol. XXI, pp. 217 ff., text lines 17-18), and is absent naturally in the records of Daṇḍimahādēvi.

\* In the Gaṅjām plate A this word is taken to read as *prāmsā* and is corrected into *prāmsā* by Kielhorn. This and the following verses are not found in the Gaṅjām plate B.



A GRANT OF VAKULAMAHADEVI

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Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a grant or historical record, inscribed on a dark, possibly stone or metal, surface. The text is arranged in approximately 24 horizontal lines, corresponding to the numbered markers on the left and right sides of the page. The script is dense and appears to be a formal document.

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Handwritten text in Devanagari script on a palm leaf manuscript. The text is densely packed and covers the entire surface of the leaf. The leaf shows signs of age and wear, with some irregularities in shape and texture.

Scale : One-half



- 20 bhūtā patāk-śva yā va(ba)bhūva vibhūhapa[m || [12\*] Lāvay-āṃṛita-nishyanda-sundaram  
[da]lhatī vapuh | y<sup>1</sup>-ārājakh-chandra-lē-
- 21 kh-śva vila(sa\*)t-kīrti-chandrikā || [13\*] Tasyū[h\*] pratāpa-anta-darumada-śatru-bhūpa-  
nōtā(tr-ā)mvu(mbu)-dhautā-nava-yāvaka-maṇḍan-āpī<sup>2</sup> || \*] pa(pā)d-āmbuja-
- 22 dyutir-atarikitam<sup>3</sup>-anvarāñji mañjira-sakta<sup>4</sup>-kuruvinda-dal-ōru-bhāsā || [14\*] Udyānēshu  
ālmukh-āval(lī)-ravō(vō) hārēshu
- 23 muktā-śhit(tr-ā)śhū-sa[ōga]-ruohis-tushāra-kiraṇē vijāshu sad-vēshatā | Rāhan tkaṅga-  
kara-grahāh ku-ma-
- 24 pishu trās-ōdayah [kōvalam] kēntā-kuntala-santatau ku[ti]latā yasyāh prabhutvō bhūvi ||  
[15\*] Bamy-āṅṛ-

## Second Sōle

- 25 k-ōsukita-nayan-ānanda-pīyūshu-vorttīh śav-śakta-kāhitipati-sabhā-padmīnī-rājahāmi  
(hahel) [ | \*] kālōy-ō-
- 26 śhma-glapita-sukpīl-ālabhāna-śva(rṅga\*)-yudhīr-yā nihēsha-praṇayī-omhānō-Nandan-ōdyāna-  
lakshnūh [ | | 16\*] Paramamā-
- 27 hōsvatī mētā-pītri-pāṅ-ānuhryātā paramabhat[ārikā mahārōjādhirāja-paramōsvatī] śri-  
**Vakulamahā-**
- 28 dōvi kusalini || [U]t[arasya(syāri)] Tōsalāyām varttamāns-bhaviṣyan-mahēśamanta-  
mahārājaputr<sup>5</sup>-āntaraṅga<sup>6</sup>-kumārāni[ś]-
- 29 ty-ānpatikara<sup>7</sup>-vishayagatī-tadāyuktā[ka\*]-dampapāōka-śhānāntarikān-ānyān-āpī rāja-  
prasādinaś-śhēṭa-bhāṭa<sup>8</sup>-vallabha-jāt-
- 30 yān-**Āravapa[ka]tikā-vishayē** kalahitē-simanta-sāmvāji<sup>9</sup>-vri(bri)hād[dhōgi]<sup>10</sup>-pustaka-  
pālā<sup>11</sup>-kātyakōla<sup>12</sup>-ādya-adhi-
- 31 karayāt<sup>13</sup> yath-ārham-mānayatī vō(bō)dhoyatī samōjūpayatī [ | \*] Viditam-astu bhō-  
vatām | [Ur-ōgōddā-khaṇḍa]sya]
- 32 prativa(ba)lība-**Chhōdātā[vutsā]-grāmah** | <sup>14</sup> **Mal[r]ōmau<sup>15</sup>-khaṇḍak-ō[pē<sup>16</sup>]hah**  
saparikara[ś] s-ōddōśa[ś] sa-tanta-
- 33 vāyah gōkōja-sāundik-āli-prakritikah sa-khōta-ghoṭṭa-sahita-tra-śhān-āli<sup>17</sup>-gulmaka[h\*]  
sarvva-pādā-

<sup>1</sup> The second half of this verse and the following verses are not found in the Gañjām plate A. But they are found in the Śāntīgrāma grant.

<sup>2</sup> The Bānpur plate also reads *arāṇa-āpī*; but the Śāntīgrāma grant reads *arāṇavāṭī*.

<sup>3</sup> The Śāntīgrāma grant reads *anuvāraṇam*.

<sup>4</sup> The Bānpur plate and the Śāntīgrāma grant read *logna*.

<sup>5</sup> The Bānpur and the two Gañjām plates read *mahārājaputra* and the omission of 'rāja' after *mahārāja* here seems to have been due to inadvertence. The Śāntīgrāma grant has *rājāsītārājaputra* where the first term seems to qualify *rājaputra*.

<sup>6</sup> This term is not found in the Śāntīgrāma grant.

<sup>7</sup> Read *suparika*.

<sup>8</sup> This term is not found in the Śāntīgrāma grant.

<sup>9</sup> This term is not found in the Gañjām plate B, the Bānpur plate and the Śāntīgrāma grant. See note 12 on p. 308 above.

<sup>10</sup> This term is not found in the Gañjām plate A.

<sup>11</sup> This *śōśa* is superfluous.

<sup>12</sup> The reading is not certain.

<sup>13</sup> Read *śāntara-śhān-āli* as in the Śāntīgrāma grant.



- 34 varjīṭṭō=śekhant-pravṛṣṭitayā bhūmi-ehohhidrū(dra)-pīdhāna-nyāyēna chandr-ārka  
kshiti-samakālam nō-
- 35 tā-pitrōr-ātmanasī=cha puṇy-ābhivṛddhayaē Vataassagōtrīya<sup>9</sup> Bhārgava-Chyavana-  
<sup>10</sup>Āptava-Aurvā-Jō-
- 36 mālagā(gaya) pravṛṣṭiṇyā=Ālīyana<sup>11</sup>-sākhā-prōdhayinā Śāvastha-dōśa-vinirgatāya Ka-  
[ntō]da-grā-
- 37 ma-vāstavyāya bhāttaputra-Nīlakoṭṭhīnaya mta Mihadhīchāya<sup>12</sup> jivāmmraṇa<sup>13</sup> viśūha-  
vōlāyām
- 38 tāmvra(bra)-sāsmgrihītv<sup>14</sup>-ākshaya-vidhī<sup>15</sup>-dharmasēṇ-ākaratvēna pratipālītaḥ | tad-  
śhū-amaḥ<sup>16</sup>-dharmas-
- 39 gauravāḥ=bhava-ibhīḥ paripālānyah(yā) | [ | \*] Samvat 200 0 4 Vaisā(śā)kha-vadi 5  
[ | \*] Uktān-cha dharmma-sāstrēshu | [ | \*]
- 40 Va(Ba)hubhīr-vasudhā dattā rājodhī(bhī)ḥ Saṅgar-ādībhīḥ | [ | \*] yaaya yaaya yadā bhūmi-  
[s]-tasya tasya tadā phalam || [17\*] Mā
- 41 bhū[d-a]phala-sāukā valḥ paradatt-ēti pārthiyah(vāh) | [ | \*] ara-dattātpā(t-pha)lām-ānant-  
yadī para-datt-ānū(nu)pālānē || [18\*] Sva-dattām-pa-
- 42 ra-da<sup>17</sup>(tām)<sup>18</sup> yō harēta vumodharām | [ | \*] sa viśiṣṭhāyām kṛmair-bhūtvā pītrībhīs-saha  
paohyatē || [19\*] Va(Ba)hūn-ā'ra kim-uktēna
- 43 sam-keḥpād-idam-uchyatē ||<sup>19</sup> svalpam-āyus-chaḥ bhōgū |<sup>20</sup> dharmasō lōka-draṣṭē lokamah  
| [ | 20\*] Iti kamala-dal-āmvu(mbu)-vi-
- 44 ndu-lōlānō śriyam-anuchindya(ntyā) manushya-jvīṣā=cha [ | \*]<sup>21</sup> vu(bu)ddhivā na ti  
purushāḥ para-kīrttayō vilōpyāḥ || [21\*] Yāva-
- 45 t-pātāla-bhū-svarggā-sa-bhujāṅga-nar-āmarāḥ || [ | \*] śrī-Vakulamahādavyās-tāvach-śhbhōś  
(sa)nam-astv-idāru || [22\*] Pra-
- 46 sastiḥ anta-vachaś kavīn-cha malākavāḥ | [ | \*] kṛtvā(tā) Jambhala-nāmn-nishā Jay-  
ātma-jēna<sup>22</sup> | [ | 23\*] Mahākshapa-
- 47 talāḥkṛīta-Rāpaka-śrī<sup>23</sup> Indrasya [ | \*] utkṛēṇa(pṇaṁ) Kumarakēpa [ | \*] grāma[h]\*] pra-  
siddha-chatu(h)-si(s)imā-pa(r)iyanta[h] śrī[h] ||\*

<sup>1</sup> After this, the other records have the expression *śrī-mahādavyās* which is omitted here.

<sup>2</sup> Read *Vatas-vpdrōpa*.

<sup>3</sup> *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

<sup>4</sup> Read *Āptavyas*.

<sup>5</sup> Probably *Mahākshapa* is intended.

<sup>6</sup> The meaning of this term is not certain.

<sup>7</sup> Read *viśūha*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *nikēya*.

<sup>9</sup> The usual reading is *śhāpā-śhā*.

<sup>10</sup> The word *śhā* is not engraved here.

<sup>11</sup> Read *dattām* vō.

<sup>12</sup> One of the *śhā*s is superfluous.

<sup>13</sup> This *śhā* is unnecessary.

<sup>14</sup> The passage *śhā* or *śhā* is missing here.

<sup>15</sup> As in the Gujūn A and the Śūpur plates, here also the fourth quarter of this verse should have been *śhāpā*.

No. 39—JAMALAGAMA GRANT OF CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA, SAKA 619

(1 Plate)

M. S. NAGARAJA RAO, DEHRADUN

(Received on 25.3.1963)

The present set<sup>1</sup> of copper plates was received by Shri Amindi, Assistant Director of Archaeology, Maharashtra, Aurangabad, who kindly passed it on to me for study and editing. The plates belong to one Shri Dinkarrao Balajirao, Police Patil of Kesar Sirasi in the Nilanga Taluk of Osmanabad District in Maharashtra. The owner is not aware of the provenance of the plates but they are with him as his family property for a long time.

The set consists of three plates which are held together by a ring passing through a hole measuring 1.75 cm in diameter, in the left margin of each plate. To the ring is soldered a circular seal bearing the representation of the boar (*varāha*), the emblem of the Chālukya king, facing proper right. The seal measures 10 cm in diameter. The whole set together with the ring and seal weighs 3100 g.

Of the three plates, the first and the third are written on one side only while the second has writing on both sides. The distribution of lines is as follows: I and II-A-9; II-B-11; III-13. The edges of the plates are raised so as to protect the writing which is well preserved.

The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets and are regular for the period to which the record belongs. The language of the epigraph is Sanskrit and except an invocatory verse in the beginning and the benedictory and imprecatory verses at the end, the text is in prose. Regarding orthography, notice may be made of the reduplication of consonants following *r* (cf. *arāṣaṣa* in lines 1, 3, *Kārttikēya* in line 3, etc.). The portion actually referring to the grant of the village (lines 35-36) seems to have been tampered with. It appears that the original writing was erased and the changed matter engraved on it.

The record refers itself to the reign of the Western Chālukya king Vijayāditya and is dated Śaka 619 (given in words) the first regnal year of the king, Vaiśākha Paurṇamāsī. The Śaka year corresponded to 696-97 A. D.

After the invocatory verses, the record narrates the genealogy of the family, which, however, is known from other records of the king already published.<sup>2</sup> It is further stated that, on the given date, when the king was camping at Rāsēnapura, he made a grant of Jamalagāma to three Brāhmanas, viz. Kottīśarman of Kauśika-gōtra and two others both of whom were named Prabhākara and belonged to Bhāradvāja-gōtra. Both Kottīśarman and the first of the two Prabhākaras have been described as *grīhite-nihara* which appears to denote a person learned in the Sāma-Vēda.<sup>3</sup> The other Prabhākara is called *śaḍaṅgarit*, i.e. who was conversant with the six *Vedāṅgas*. The grant was made at the request of Narēnādrāditya whose identity cannot be established.

<sup>1</sup> A. R. Ep., 1962-63, Appendix A, No. 49.

<sup>2</sup> See for instance, the Nerur plates (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 128 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> See above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 293.

The grant village *Jamaḷagāma* was situated in *Challumki-dēsa*. It was situated to the west of *Mōrakhāṇḍi* and in between *Pullavāḍali* and *Mugnji*.

Though the record does not add anything new to our present knowledge regarding the king or the dynasty, its importance lies in the fact that it belongs to the first regnal year of the king *Vijayāditya* and as such is the earliest of his records. It also confirms the surmise of Fleet that *Vijayāditya* commenced his rule from 696 A.D.<sup>1</sup> *Vijayāditya*'s earliest record so far known was the *Badami* inscription<sup>2</sup> dated in his 3rd regnal year, Śaka 621, *Jyēshṭha Pūrṇimā* (699 A.D., May 20). It is interesting to note that another record<sup>3</sup> of the same king dated in the fourth regnal year, Śaka 622, *Āshādha Pūrṇimā* was also issued from *Rāsēna-nagara*. It appears from this that in the early days of his reign, *Vijayāditya* had made this place his secondary capital or at least he was then touring in that part of his kingdom. His next grant in chronological order, viz. the *Rāyagaḍ* copperplates, dated in his 8th regnal year, Śaka 635, *Mahāśāpmi*, was issued from *Karahāṭanagara*.<sup>4</sup>

Among the geographical places mentioned in the record, *Rāsēnapura* has been identified with *Rasin* in *Karjat Taluk* of *Ahmednagar District*.<sup>5</sup> *Mōrakhāṇḍi* might be the same as *Mayūrakhaṇḍi* occurring in the *Rāshtrakūṭa* grants<sup>6</sup> which is identified with *Mōrkhāṇḍi* or *Mārkhaṇḍa* in *Nasik District*.<sup>7</sup> The granted village *Jamaḷagāma* as well as *Pullavāḍali* and *Mugnji* should be located near about this place. *Challumki-dēsa* which comprised of these villages was apparently the territory round about *Mōrkhāṇḍi*. The exact identity of these places cannot, however, be established.

The writer of the present grant, *Rāmapunya*vallabha, was also the author of *Harihar*<sup>8</sup> and *Dayyadhinnu*<sup>9</sup> plates of *Vijayāditya*'s father and predecessor *Vinayāditya*.

#### TEXT\*

##### First Plate

- 1 Svasti [!]\* Jayaty-āriahkritam Vishṣṭh vārāham kahōhrit-āṅṅavam (vam) dakṣiṇōnata-danahṭe-āgra-viśrānta-bhu-
- 2 vumam vapuh [!]\* Śrmatām eskala-bhuvana-saṁstūyamāna-Mānavya-sagōtrāgām Hāri-
- 3 ti-putrāgām sapta-lōka-māṭṛībhris-sapta-māṭṛībhris-sbhivaraddhivānām Kārttikōya-pari-
- 4 rakshaṇa-prāpta-kalyāṇa-parumparāgām Bhagavan-Nāriyana-prasāda-samāsādi-
- 5 ta Varāha-līlāchha[n-]bhāṇa-khaṇa-valkrit-āsāka-mahābhāṣitām Chalikyā[naam]
- 6 kulam-alankārahōr-āsvamōdh-āvabhṛitha-anāna-pavitrikṛita-gātraṇya
- 7 śri-Pulakōśi-vallabha-mahātājasya cūnū parākram-ākṛānta-Vānarāy-āji-
- 8 para-nṛipati-maṇḍala-praṇibaddha-viśuddha-kṛiti[!]\* śri-Kṛittivārumma-prithivivallabha-
- 9 mahātājasya-Itmajax-antara-sathakṭa-saka-Ōttarāpathōvava-śri-Haraha-

\* *Bom. Gov.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 375.

\* *Jal. Gov.*, Vol. X, p. 60.

\* *Bull.*, Vol. IX, p. 126 f.

\* *Above*, Vol. X, p. 146 f.

\* *Bom. Gov.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 372.

\* See the inscriptions *Rachanpur plates of Gōvinda III* (*above*, Vol. VI, p. 230 f.).

\* *Bom. Gov.*, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 396 and note 1.

\* *Jal. Gov.*, Vol. VII, p. 301 f.

\* *Above*, Vol. XXII, p. 24 f.

\* From the original plates.



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Scale : Two-thirds



## Second Plate, First Side

- 10 varddhana-parājay-ōpāta-paramēśvara-lābha[sa-ta]ya **Satyāśraya**-śri-prithivī-  
 11 vallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvarasya priya-tanayasya prajātana-  
 12 yasya khadga-mātra-sahāyasya Chitrakanthā(9th-4)bhūdhāna-pravara-turāṅgamēya-aikē-  
 13 n-aiv-ōtsārit-lābha-vijigīshōr-avanipati-trītay-āntarītam-eva-gu-  
 14 rō) śriyam-ātmasāṅkṛitya prabhāva-kulīsa-lālita-Pāṇḍya-Chō-  
 15 ja-Kēraja-Kajabhra-prabhāṭi-bhūbhṛid-adabhra-vihāraṇasy-ānany-āvanata-  
 16 Kāñchīpati-makūya-chumbita-pād-āmbujasya **Vikramāditya**-Satyāśra-  
 17 ya-śri-prithivīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-bhāṭṭāra-  
 18 kasya priya-sūnōy pitur-ājñayā Bālēndusākharā[ya]

## Second Plate, Second Side

- 19 Tīrakārātīr-īva daityabalam-atīsamulhatah trairājya-Kāñchīpati-balanu-avashībhya ha-  
 20 mallikṛita-Kamō(vō)ta-Pārasika-Si[ṁ]ḥa[ṭi]-dvīp-ādhipasya sakal-Ōttarāpatha-nātha-  
 21 mathan-ōpārījjit-ōrjīta-pālidhvaj-ādī-samasta-pāramaisvaryya-ohīnāya **Vīṇayā**-  
 22 **ditya**-Satyāśraya-śri-prithivīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-bhāṭṭāraka-  
 23 sya priy-ātmajaś-śālisava-ōv-ādhipat-āśēsh-āstra-āstrō dakshīṇ-āśā-vijayī-  
 24 nī pitāmahē samunmūlita-nikhila-kaṇṭaka-saṭhatīr-uttarōpavō(patha)-vijigīshōr-gurōr-a-  
 25 grata-ōv-āhara-vyāpāram-ācharaṇa-arāti-gaja-ghaṭā-pāṭana-viśtryamāṇa-[kṛi]pāṇa-dhāra-  
 samagra-  
 26 vīgrah-āgrōama-san-sāhasa-rasikāḥ-parāṇumukhīkṛita-āstra-maṇḍalō Gaṅgā-Yamuna(nā)-  
 pālidhvaja-pada-dhaka(kkā)-ma-  
 27 bhāshā-chīnaka-nāṭikya-antāṅga]-ādīn-pitrisāt-kurvan-ōpariḥ-ōpāṭyamānair-āśādyā  
 katham-ōpī vi-  
 28 dhi-rasād-āpanitō-ōpī pratāpēt-ōva viśaya-prakōpani-arājakam-ōtsārayan-Vatsarāja iva  
 ānapōkshī-  
 29 t-āpara-sāhāyakaś-ād-avagrahān-nirgatya eva-bhuj-āvanīpūthā-prasā(hā)-āśēsha-vi-  
 svambharāḥ

## Third Plate

- 30 prabhū-aśhāpīta-lakti-trayatrāch-chhatra-mada-bhāṭjanatvād-udīratvān-niravadyatvādyā  
 ya-samasta-bhuvanāśraya-sam(kā)llo-pāramāśiva-  
 31 ryya-vyakti-hēnu-pālidhvaj-ādī-nij[\*]vala-prājya-rājyō [Vijayāditya-Satyāśraya-śri-  
 prithivīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramō-  
 32 āvara-bhāṭṭāraka-sarvvāś-ōva]m[ā]ḥ[ā]pāyati [?]  
 vidītam-astu-ōv-ōsmābhīr-ōhān-na-virh-  
 śaty-uttara-shaṭ-chhatāshu Śaka-varshēshv-ātīśhu-  
 33 pravarddhamāna-vijaya-rājya-samvatsarē prathamē varttamānē Rāśānapuram-  
 adhivasati vijaya-skandhāvārē Vatsākha-Pau-



- 34 **raṣamāsyām Narēndrāditya-vijñāpanayā** Kauśika-gōtra[**h\***] Kottisarumā grihīta-sa(sā) ha-  
 laarah Bhāradvāja-gōtra[**h\***] Prabhākara(rō) grihīta-sa(sā) ha-
- 35 arāḥ tad=śva gōtraḥ Prabhākara[**h\***] chaḍamgavich=cha śtēbhyns-tribhyaḥ **Challunhikidēsā**  
 (śā) **Mōrakhaṁḍī-pāchimsa-dighhāgē Pullavōdali-Muguḷi-grā-**
- 36 **mayōr-mmadhyē Jamajagāma-grāmō** dattāḥ sa-bhōgaḥ [**h\***] tad=āgāmibhūr=amad-  
 vatūsyair-anyais=cha rājabbir=ā-
- 37 yur-sivaryy-ādīnām vīlāitau=achirāmsu-chamchālam=avagachchhābbir=ā-chandr-ārka-  
 dhar-ārggava-sthiti-
- 38 samakālam yalas-chichēshubhis=svadattā-nirvviśāham paripālanīyamu(m | u)ktaḥ chā(cha)  
 Bhagavatē Vēdavyāsē-
- 39 na Vyāsēna [**h\***] Babubhūr=vyasudhā bhuktā rājabbis-Sagar-ādibhi[**h\***] rya(ya)ya yasya  
 yadā bhūmis-ta-
- 40 ya tasya tadā phalam(lam) [**h\***] Svandā (Svaṁ dā)turā samahach=chhākyaṁ dūḷkham=  
 anyasya pālanam(nam) [**h\***] dānam vā pā-
- 41 lauzā v=ēti dānūch=chhīrēyō-nupālanam(nam) [**h\***] Sva-dattāḥ para-dattāḥ vā yō harōta  
 raṣu-
- 42 ndharām(rām) [**h\***] ekaśtīm varsha-sahasrāṇi viśṭhāyām jāyate kṛimih [**h\***] Mahāsambhi-  
 vīgō(gra)hika-āri-Rāmapuṇyavallābhēna likhitaḥ(tam) [**h\***]

# INDEX

By C. L. SURI, M.A.

[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; *ch.*=chief; *chron.*=chronicle; *ci.*=city; *co.*=country; *com.*=composer; *de.*=deity; *di.*=district or division; *do.*=ditto; *dy.*=dynasty; *E.*=Eastern; *engr.*=engraver; *ep.*=epithet; *f.*=family; *fe.*=female; *fund.*=foundatory; *gen.*=general; *gr.*=grant, grants; *hist.*=historical; *ins.*=inscription, inscriptions; *k.*=king; *l.*=locality; *l.m.*=linear measure, land measure; *m.*=male; *min.*=minister; *mt.*=mountain; *myth.*=mythological; *n.*=name; *N.*=Northern; *off.*=office, officer; *pop.*=people; *pl.*=plate; *plates.*; *pr.*=prince, princess; *prov.*=province; *p.*=pucca; *reg.*=region; *rel.*=religion, religious; *ri.*=river; *S.*=Southern; *sa.*=same as; *sur.*=surname; *te.*=temple; *Tel.*=Telugu; *td.*=territorial division; *tit.*=title; *tk.*=taluk; *tu.*=town; *vi.*=village; *W.*=Western; *wk.*=work; *wf.*=weight.]

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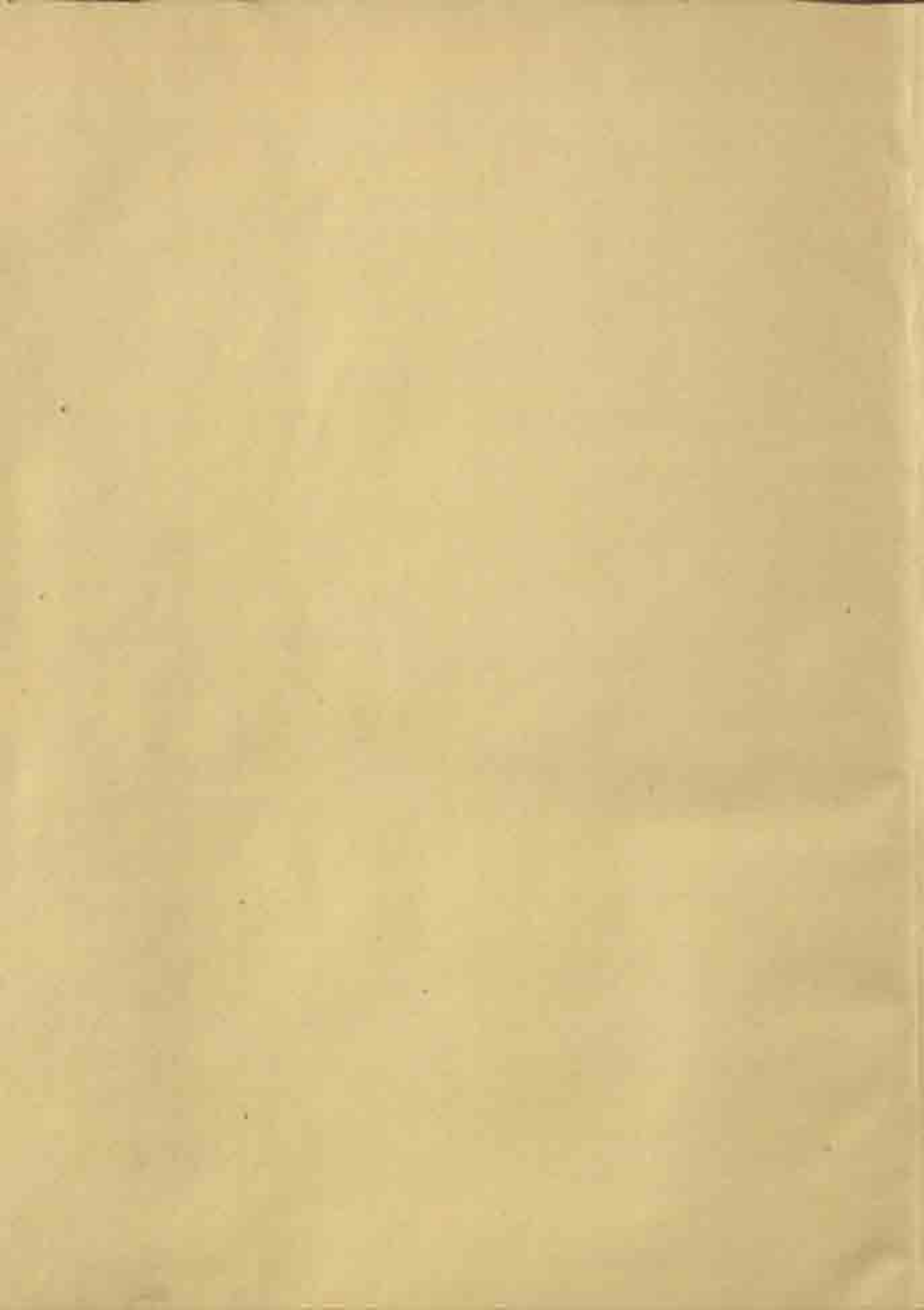
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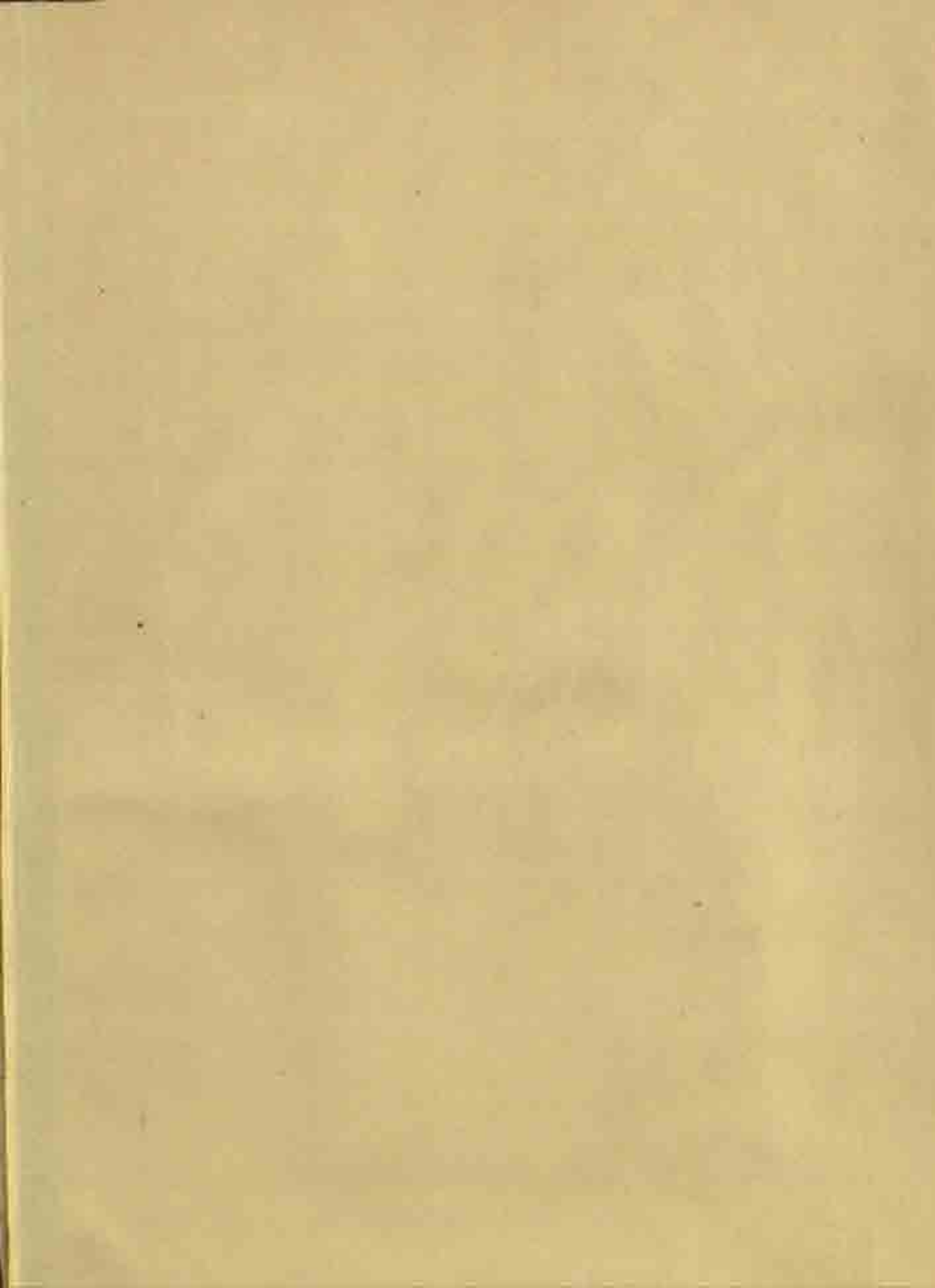
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