

E6890

PGEL. 1. XXXIX-I
750

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

VOL. XXXIX

PART I

JANUARY 1971

EDITED BY

P. R. SRINIVASAN, M.A.
Chief Epigraphist

(Hollod)



©

1981

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

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

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

CONTENTS

		PAGE
No. 1.	Panguraria Inscription of Asoka. By Dr. D. C. Sircar, Calcutta.	1
„ 2.	Two Brahmi Inscriptions from Mathura. By Shri P. R. Srinivasan, Mysore.	9
„ 3.	Three Inscriptions of Vira-Nolamba. By Shri K. G. Krishnan, Mysore.	13
„ 4.	Nanana Copper-plates of the time of Kumarapala and Alhana, Vikrama 1212 and 1220. By Dr. S. Sankaranarayanan, Mysore.	17
„ 5.	Two Nolamba-Pallava Inscriptions. By Dr. K. V. Ramesh, Mysore	27
„ 6.	Vidisha Stone Inscription of V. S. 1219. By Shri Balchandra Jain, Raipur	35

PLATES

No. 1.	<i>Panguraria Inscription of Asoka</i>	<i>to face page</i>	8
„ 2.	<i>Two Brahmi Inscriptions from Mathura</i>	<i>between pages</i>	<i>10 and 11</i>
„ 3.	<i>Three Inscriptions of Vira-Nolamba</i>	„	16 „ 17
„ 4.	„	„	16 „ 17
„ 5.	<i>Nanana Copper-plates of the Time of Kumarapala and Alhana, Vikrama 1212 and 1220</i>	<i>to face page</i>	23
„ 6.	<i>Two Nolamba-Pallava Inscriptions</i>	„	31
„ 7.	„	„	34
„ 8.	<i>Vidisha Stone Inscription of V. S. 1219</i>	„	37

E 6890

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

Volume XXXIX

1971-1972

No. 1—PANGURARIA INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA

(1 Plate)

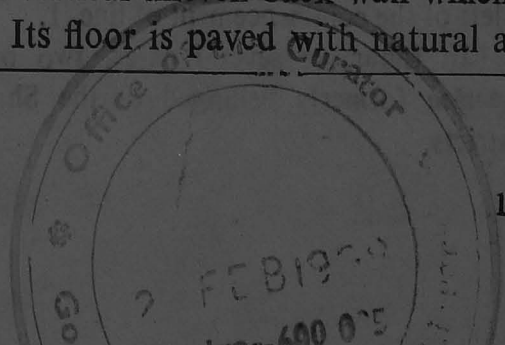
D. C. SIRCAR, CALCUTTA

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

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

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

Acc. 26192



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

It should be noted that the language is not the so-called Magadhan Prakrit, *ra* being retained and not changed to *la*. It is well known that the said change of *ra* to *la* characterises the language of the North Indian versions at Ahaurā, Bairāt, Delhi and Sahasrām so that the Western version at Pāngurāriā is found to follow the Northern texts in this respect. While the Southern texts at Gavīmaṭh and Pālkiguṇḍu as well as in the Chitradurga and Kurnool Districts exhibit the retention of Sanskrit *ra*, the Central versions at Gujarrā, Rūpnāth and Maski exhibit both the characteristics of retaining *ra* in some cases and modifying it in others. Thus Gujarrā is the northernmost place exhibiting the occasional retention of *ra*, while Maski is the southernmost text showing the change of *ra* to *la* in some cases. Another important point in respect of the language of the Pāngurāriā version is that Sanskrit *yatra*, which is found as *yata* (i.e. *yatta*) in the inscriptions of Aśoka and rarely as *ata* with modification of *ya* to *a*, is found in the present record in the form *yatha* (i.e. *yattha* which is the usual Pali form of the word) in line 8, the said Pali form being regarded by scholars as a later development.¹ This type of modification, however, can possibly be traced in the records of Aśoka in the change of Sanskrit *atra* to *heta* and *hetā* which are often noticed in the edicts and in which the aspiration seems to have been transferred from the second to the first *akshara*.² The change of *ha* to *he* (*attha*=*hatta*=*hetta*) is supposed to have developed from *itra*=*atra* on the analogy of *īdriśa*=*hedisa*. Another peculiarity of the language of the Pāngurāriā version is the use of *yate* (Sanskrit *yataḥ* in place of *ya*, Rūpnāth, Bairāt and the Chitradurga versions), *yam* (Rājula-Manḍagiri, Gavīmaṭh and Delhi versions) or *am* (Sahasrām and Ahaurā versions)— all standing for Sanskrit *yat* — in line 3. The expression *mahāpa-kāraṇeṇa* (Sanskrit *mahātma-kāraṇeṇa*, 'owing to the exalted position') is found elsewhere as *mahatātā* standing for Sanskrit *mahātmatvāt* and *mahatana*, *mahatpena* or *mahatena* which forms stand for Sanskrit *mahātmanā* ('by a person of exalted position'), etc. As regards the forms *vaḍhisiti* and *hositi* in lines 7 and 8, *vaḍhisiti* occurs several times at Rūpnāth and Ahaurā and in the Chitradurga and Raichur Districts, and probably also in the Kurnool District. The form *hositi* exhibits the influence of *vaḍhisiti*. Acc. 26192.

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

¹ Cf. Childers' *Dictionary*, s.v.

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

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

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

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

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

¹ This fact has been admitted in Rock Edict XIV.

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

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

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

As already indicated above, the first of the two sentences is found in some of the versions at or near about the end of the record. However it appears either in a few words or in an elaborate statement. The present inscription offers the shortest form of the sentence. So far the shortest form of it was found as *iyam cha sāvane vivuthena* (Gujarrā), and 256 was added to it in the five versions in the Chitradurga and Kurnool Districts. Its meaning is made clear by the elaboration in the Rūpnāth, Sahasrām and Ahaurā versions. Thus at Rūpnāth we have, *vyuthena sāvaṇe kate* followed by the explanatory sentence *256 sata vivāsā (so) ta (ti)*. Here the word *vivāsa*, from the same root as *vivuttha*, is the same as *pravāsa*, i.e., 'Passing one's time away from home' and *256 sata* refers to the passing away of 256 nights (i.e. days) by Aśoka away from home (i.e. from the capital in the present case)². At Sahasrām the corresponding passage reads *iyam cha sāvane vivuthena* which is likewise followed by the sentence *dve sapannalāti-satāvivuthā ti 256* (Sanskrit : *dve śaṭ-pañchāsad-rātri-śata vuyshitaḥ [aham] iti 256*), "[I am] away from home (i.e. my capital) [on a tour of pilgrimage] for two hundred and fifty six nights 256'.

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

The next sentences of our record are *aḍha[ti]yāni vasāni yate sumi upāsake no chu bā[ḍham] pakānte husam ti va* [I*] *saṁ[vacha]raṁ [s-ādhikam me saghaya va]te bāḍha ch[u] sumi pakamta* [I*] Sanskrit : *ardha-tritīyāni varshāni yataḥ asmi [aham upāsakaḥ no cha tu [aham] bāḍham prakrāntaḥ abhūvam iti eva saṁvatsaram sādham mayā saṁghaḥ yat yataḥ bāḍham cha tu asmi prakrāntaḥ*. It says how Aśoka was a lay worshipper of the Buddha for two years and a half before

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

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

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

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

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

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

² The Gujarrā version adds *Devānampiyasa* after *Jambudīpasi*. See also above, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 2.

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

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

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

TEXT²

Introductory Part

- 1 Piyadasi-nāme³
- 2 r[ā]jā Kumāra[sa]
- 3 Saṁvasa Māṇe⁴
- 4 ma-des[e] [U]⁵ punitha-
- 5 vihāra-[ya]tāy[e] [||*]⁶

Acc. 26192.

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

² From photographs and impressions.

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

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

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

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

EDICT

Section I

- 1 Sāvāṇaṁ viyuthe[na] 200 50 6 [*] Devāṇāmpiy[e] āṇapayati [*] aḍha[ti]yā¹
 2 ni vasāni yate sumi upāsake no chu bā[ḍhaṁ] [pa]kāte husaṁ ti va [*]² saṁ[vachha]-
 raṁ [sā]-
 3 [dhikaṁ me sagha ya yā]te hāḍha ch[u] sum[i] pakamta [*] imaṁ cha kālaṁ ja[m̄bu]-
 [dipa*]si

Section II

- 4 devā na [manusehi mi]s[i]bhūtā husu [*].³
 5 la [| *] no cha esa mahāpa-k[ā]raṇeṇo(na) va [*] khudake pi pakama⁴
 6 aṭhāya esa sāvāṇe kitā(ti) khudakā [cha] uḍarakā cha paka⁵
 7 kiti ete pi pakameyu ti [*] ayaṁ hi aṭhe vaḍhisiti vipula [pi cha] [va]ḍhi⁶
 8 siti [| *] chi[ra]-thitike cha hositi [*] yatha cha pavatā yatha cha silā-tha[bhā] . . .⁷
 [ta]vā(vi)ya ti [*]

TRANSLATION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[Now they have been mingled with men].

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

² There seems to be a little space here.

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

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

⁵ The lost *aksharas* were probably *°maṁtu [| *] aṁtā pi cha jānaṁtu*.

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

⁷ The lost *aksharas* seem to have been *savata lekhāpe°*.

PANGURARIA INSCRIPTION OF ASOKA

INTRODUCTORY PART

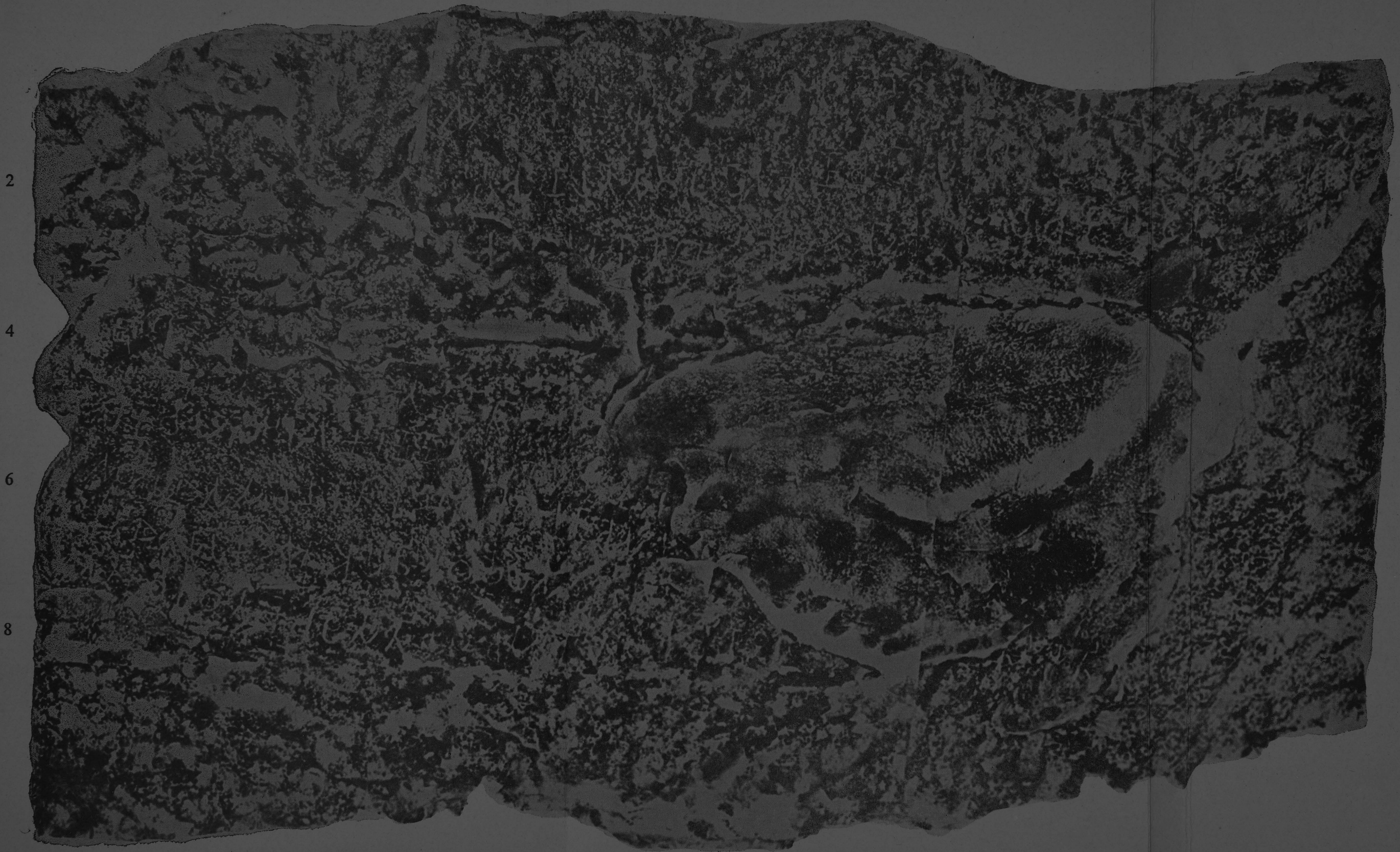


2

4

SCALE : One-fourth

SECTIONS I AND II



2

2

4

4

6

6

8

8

SCALE: One-fourth



No. 2—TWO BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS FROM MATHURA

(1 Plate)

P. R. SRINIVASAN, MYSORE

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

1 A Śaivite Inscription of the Pre-Kushāṇa Period¹

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

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

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

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

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

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

² See text line 1 below.

The object of the record is that one Magakujitakheda¹ (Skt. Mṛigakūjita-kheda), i.e. a villager named Mṛigakūjita, the son of Kotsī (i.e., Skt. Kautsī or a woman of the Kutsa family), and Rahadatta who was the son of Vasi[sh]ṭī (i.e., Skt. Vāsishṭhī or a woman of the Vasishṭha family) and Rāhila who was the son of Gotti (i.e., Skt. Gaupṭi or the woman of the Gupta family), (donated) a tank (*pushkiriṇī*=Skt. *pushkariṇī*) probably named Kalpa, a garden (*arāma*=Skt. *ārāma*), a hall (*sabhā*), stone tablets (*śīla-paṭṭā*=Skt. *śilā-paṭṭāḥ*), and shrines of deities (*devakulāni*), for the grace of the lord (*bhagavān*) Maheśvara (i.e., Śiva).

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

TEXT⁵

1⁶ [Svasti]⁷ Gottiputrasa Rāhilasa potrasa V[ā]sisṭīputrasa Rahadattasa putrasa Ko[tsi]-
putrasa Magakuji⁸takheḍasa Kal[pa]-

2 prai(pu)shkiriṇī ar[ā]ma sabhā śīla-paṭṭā devakulāni priyatām bhagav[ām]
Maheśvaraḥ[||*]⁹

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

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

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

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

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

⁴ Lüders' List, No. 1327.

⁵ From inked impressions.

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

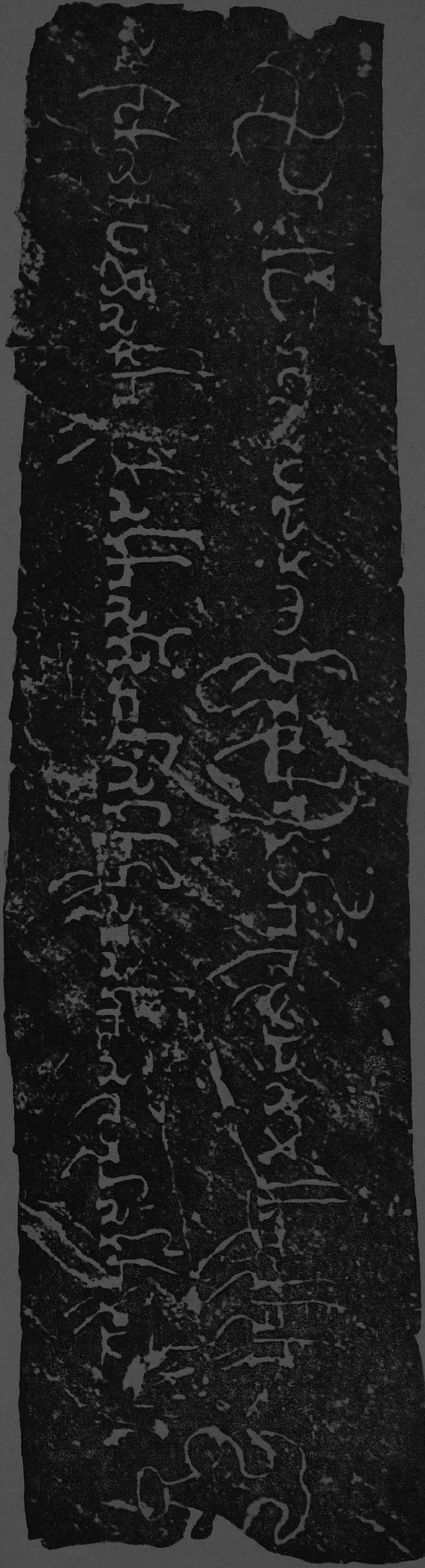
⁷ These letters seem to have been originally engraved but later on erased.

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

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

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

A SAIVITE INSCRIPTION OF THE PRE KUSHANA PERIOD



SCALE : One-fourth

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



SCALE : One-third

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

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

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

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

¹ *CII*, Vol. III, plate XXIII B.

² *Ibid.*, p. 154, line 23.

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

⁴ *The Classical Age*, pp. 28-29.

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

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

TEXT³

- 1 Sv[asti][||*] [Paramabha]ṭṭāraka mahārājāddhi(dhi)rāja-śri-Amā[ttriva]rmmaṇa[h*]
rājye samvatsare[shu 100] 40⁴
- 2 8[|*] 2 Ba(Va)santa-māse chaturthe divase pañchavi .. deya-dharmmo=yam Āry-Ā
- 3 valokiteśvara-pratimā pratishṭhāpitā śreshṭhi-Jiveśvara-Dhanapati [Ārke]....shṭhi
- 4 Daṁdhu.[shṭhibhiḥ] yad=[atra] pu[ṇyam] mā ṇa

¹ *The classical Age*, pp. 379-80.

² *Ibid.*, p. 549.

³ From inked impressions.

⁴ This may be read doubtfully as 70 also.

No. 3—THREE INSCRIPTIONS OF VIRA-NOLAMBA

(3 Plates)

K. G. KRISHNAN, MYSORE

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

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

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

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

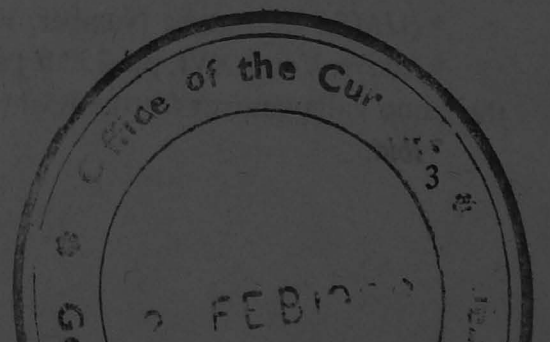
³ See for a detailed discussion on this question by me in *Indo-Iranian Journal*, Vol. XIV, No. 3/4 (1972), pp. 239-46.

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

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 192, line 21.

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

⁷ *Ibid.*, Sp. 14.



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

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

The contents of these inscriptions are very interesting from the point of view of the chronology of the period of Vira-Noḷamba and that of the contemporary events and social life. Inscription A gives the date Śaka 847 (A.D. 925-26) equating it with the 2nd regnal year of Aṅṅiyaṅ Vira-Noḷamba, thus indicating that his reign should have commenced sometime during 923 Feb-925 Feb. Two other inscriptions of Vira-Noḷamba from Kurubūru in Chintamani Taluk in Kolar District, Karnataka State cite the Śaka year 853 equating it with the cyclic year Raudri.³ The Śaka year does not correspond to Raudri but only to Khara.⁴ The period of reign covered by these two śaka dates is extended further upto 938-40 A.D., if the 15th year cited in record C represents the highest regnal year. It has been surmised that Vira-Noḷamba who is also known as Aṅṅiga may have commenced to rule from a year between 923 A.D. and 929 A.D.⁵ The present record (A) affords clinching evidence in favour of the earlier of the two dates suggested. This Tamil inscription contains an interesting reference to the capture of cattle by Vallavaraiyar and Nāṅṅār. The name Vallavaraiyar has been used in Tamil inscriptions of this period to denote the Rāshtrakūṭa kings.⁶ It is therefore possible to identify this Vallavaraiyar with the contemporary Rāshtrakūṭa king Gōvinda IV, who is known to have had an alliance with the Chōḷa Parāntaka I.⁷ The association of the Nāṅṅār with the Rāshtrakūṭa king in this cattle-lifting campaign seems to indicate the interest of the local people and the Rāshtrakūṭa relative of the Chōḷa in confronting the Noḷamba. It is possible that the Noḷamba intrusion was resented by the people at large, though the Noḷamba continued to have his hold till at least his fifteenth year. Ultimately he was defeated by Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁷ *Ibid.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ *S.I.I.*, Vol. IX, Pt. I, No. 23.

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

³ Above, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 277.

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

⁵ *ibid.*, Ct. 36.

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

TEXTS²

A

- 1 Śvaṣṭi (Svasti)Śrī[1*] Śakarai yāṇḍ=Eṇ-
- 2 nūrṛu nār-patt-ēlāvadu Aṇ-
- 3 niyaṇ Vira-Nuḷambaṇukk=āṇḍ=I-
- 4 raṇḍ=āvadu Vallavaraiya[ru]n=Nāṭṭārun=
- 5 toṛuk-ko³
- 6 ḷḷap Po-
- 7 nṇaiyūr
- 8 Kamuṇḍar
- 9 Maḍaiyar-Ma-
- 10 niyamaṇā-
- 11 r toṛu mī-
- 12 ṭṭup=
- 13 paṭṭār [||*]

B⁴

- 1 Svasti⁵ Śrī [|] Bīra-Noḷamba⁶-
- 2 na rājyada Navilūr-āḷ iḷdu Ta[gaḍū]-
- 3 rg[g]e biḷdi chogut-iḷdu negava Pu[m]-
- 4 [nā]gam kaḷḷar kādi sattam Punnāga-
- 5 n - aḷiyam Bhāvuḍeye⁷

C⁶

- 1 Svasti Śrī [|] Bīra-Noḷambana rājyada Padinaydu varisadā(da)-
- 2 ndu Kundayya Poṛa[ma]le-nāḍ-āḷe⁸ Raṃjana-kshatriya Puḷiyaṇṇa Navilūrān aḷu-
- 3 ttire ātanā(na) maga⁹|| Pṛituva peṇḍirā uḍeyan=uḷchuv=alli
- 4 kādi kondu
- 5 sattam

¹ See above, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 275 ff.

² From impressions.

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

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

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

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

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

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

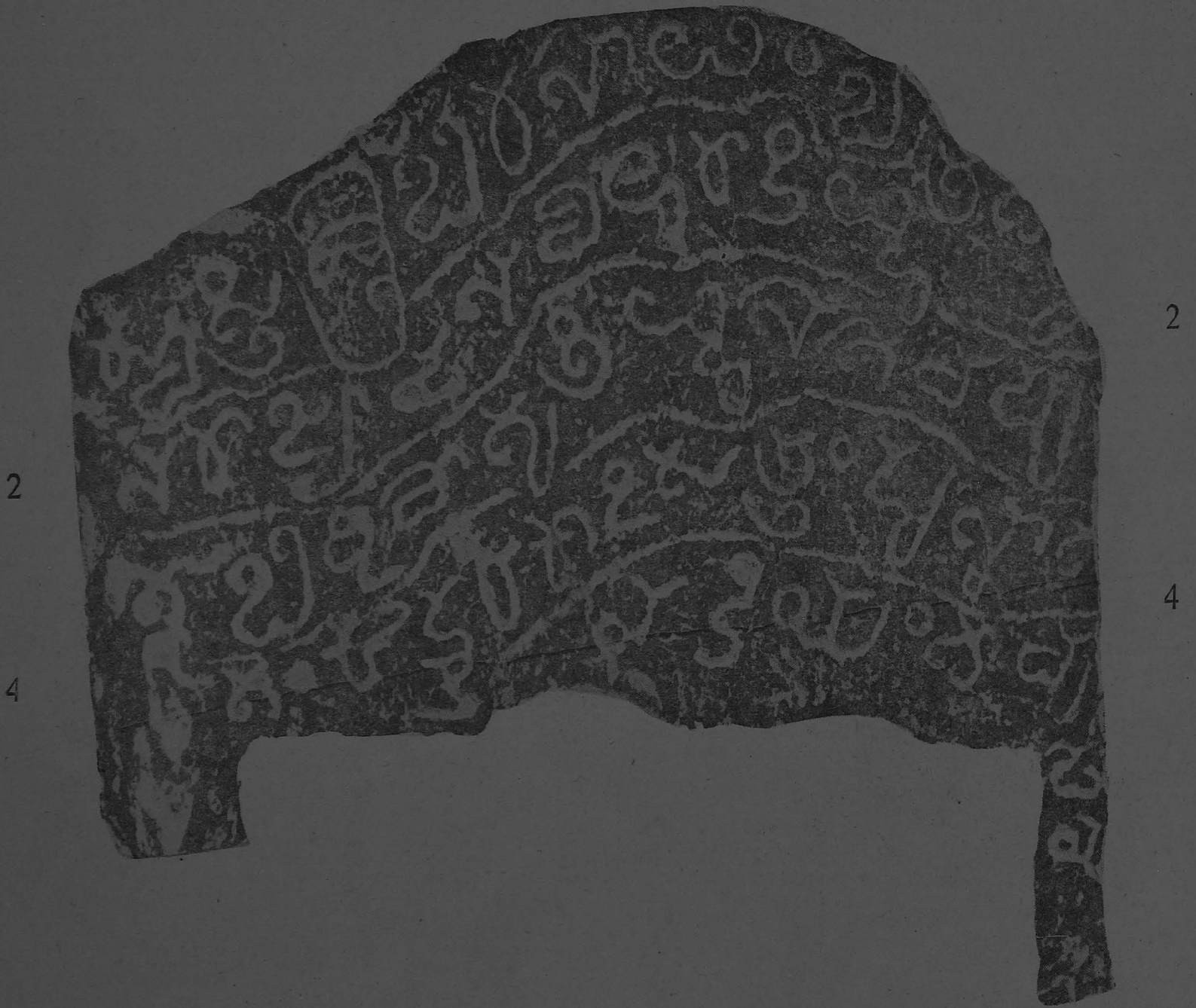
⁹ There is a horizontal hook above *ma* which is unnecessary.

MUTTANUR INSCRIPTION OF VIRA NOLAMBA, SAKA 847



SCALE : One-eighth

NAVALAI INSCRIPTION OF VIRA NOLAMBA



SCALE : One-fifth

NAVALAI INSCRIPTION OF VIRA NOLAMBA, YEAR 15



2

4

2

SCALE : One-sixth

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

(1 Plate)

S. SANKARANARAYANAN, MYSORE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 183.

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

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

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

¹⁰ Cf. *Sharma*, op. cit., p. 183.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

³ See above, p. 6, f.n. 3.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

³ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 63 ff.

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

⁵ See Sharma, op. cit., p. 134.

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

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

⁸ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 66 ff.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 77, verse 33.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 69, verse 5.

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

¹² Above, Vol. XI, p. 71.

¹³ The name Ilā reminds us of the village Ilāo (Broach district, Gujarat) which has yielded an inscription of the Gūrjara king Dadda II of Śaka 417. See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XIII, pp. 116 ff.

¹⁴ Canto II, verse 47.

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

Further, ours is the only known charter which gives not only the name of Alhaṇa's mother but also her genealogy consisting of the names of six chiefs belonging to the Solar race. It is difficult to identify any of these kings and the person called Hammīra² to whom Haripāla of this line was a terror as described in the record. However, the name Tēlārasvara³ of the country over which Alhaṇa's maternal grandfather Rudrapāla is said to be ruling reminds us of the name of the modern Talwārā in the Banswāra district of Rājasthan. If they are identical, then one may surmise that the members of this family also were probably the feudatories of the Chaulukyas of of Aṇahilapāṭaka. For Talwārā itself has yielded an inscription of the time of Siddharāja Jayasimha in which the emperor claims a victory over the Paramāra Naravarman.⁴ If so, then the battle at Viśalapura, in which Kirttipāla of this family (i. e. Alhaṇa's maternal grandfather Rudrapāla's elder brother) is stated to have taken part, might have been one of the battles fought by the Chaulukya overlords against their Chāhamāna adversaries at an earlier date. It was fought perhaps in a town, which one of the kings, named Visala, of Śākambhari, had founded and named after himself.⁵ In that case the city may be identical with the modern Viśalpur (near Rajmahal in the former Jaipur State) wherefrom comes an inscription of V. S. 1244 (1187-88 A.D.) ascribing the foundation of that town to a king called Viśaladēva⁶.

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

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

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

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

⁴ Bhandarkar's List, No. 1521.

⁵ See Sharma, op. cit. p. 58, 64.

⁶ See Ray, op. cit., p. 1084.

⁷ Above, Vol. XI, pp. 43 ff.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 46. text lines 17-18.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, pp. 66 ff.

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

The third record mentions the name of a hitherto unknown queen of Alhaṇa, viz. Śamkaradēvī, while the fourth record furnishes the last known date for Alhaṇa viz. the 2nd July 1164 A. D. This date is later by a year, than the hitherto known last date for him viz. the 3rd July 1163 A.D. furnished by the Baṃṇēra copper plate (I)⁵ issued by his son Kēlhaṇa as *kumāra*.⁶ As Kēlhaṇa's earliest inscription coming from Sāṇḍērāv⁷ is dated 1st January, 1165 A. D., his father Alhaṇa's reign must have come to an end sometime between the 2nd July, 1164, A. D. and the 1st January, 1165 A.D.⁸

Of the geographical names occurring in the inscription, Śākambharī is the modern Sāmbhār and Naḍḍūla is modern Nāḍōl, Pali District, Rajasthan. The country Saptasāta, obviously same as the Saptasāta-vishaya of the Sēvaḍi plates of Ratnapāla⁹ may be identified with modern districts of Jodhpur and Pali¹⁰. Dhārā is the modern Dhār in Madhya Pradesh. We have tried to identify the Tēlārasvara country and Visalapura. The village Namdāṇā has already been identified with the modern Nānāṇā the findspot of the charter¹¹. The villages Bhīṭalavāṭaka (spelt as Bhiṭalavāṭaka in the Nānāṇā stray plate) and Sāmvōḍi may have to be located in the neighbourhood of Nānāṇā itself.¹²

TEXT¹³

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

First Plate

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

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 69, verse 8.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 63 ff.

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

⁴ Cf. *Ibid.* p. 68.

⁵ Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 207 ff.

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

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

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

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

¹⁰ See *ibid.*, p. 308.

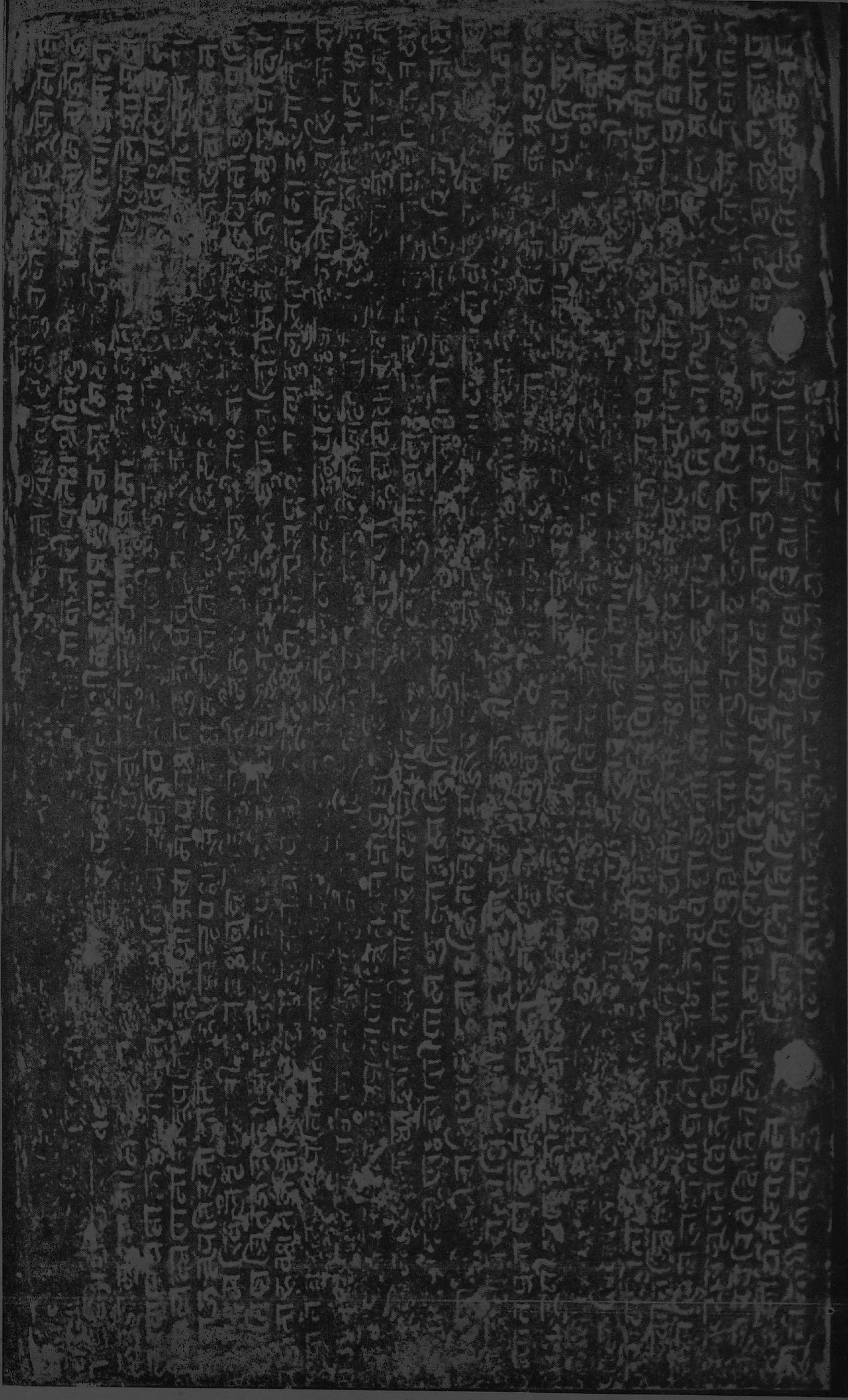
¹¹ Above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 243.

¹² See *ibid.*

¹³ From a set of photographs.

¹⁴ This damaged portion may be restored conjecturally as *Siddham* (expressed by a symbol) 1. *Sarīvat* 1219 *śrī Vikrama-kāl-ātīta-samvatsarēshu dvādaśasatēshu*.

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



2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28

- 2 [dy=ē]ha.....|| Ma.[rā]....ya¹ jita-Śākambharī-patēḥ | śrīmat-Ku[mārap]ālasye
Rāma-rājyē ja
- 3 [.]pri[yē]² || [1*] Śrī-Yaśōdhav.....³ [d]mōpajī vini | Śrīkaraṇ-āpta-mudrē cha
svāmi-dha[rmm-adhi]kāriṇi || [2*] Prasādā-
- 4 [d=bh]ūbhujō = mu[shya?] śrīmad=Alhana....⁴.... | sarvva-bhū-bhāgē bhujyamāna-
kram-āgatē || [3*] Jātē ē(ch=ai)vam-vidhē kālē śāsanam
- 5 likhyatē yathā [||*] kṛitvā śāsana-dātuś=cha [kiyat=p]ūrrvva-va-varṇṇanam(nam) ||
[4*] Kshōṇī-maṇḍana-Chāhamāna-vimalē vaṁśē viśāl-āchaḷē
- 6 śrima|| (1=L)akshmaṇa-nāma-bhūpatir=a[bhū]t=samgrāma-Rām-ōpamaḥ | tat-putrō=
tha va(ba)bhūva [S]ōhi[ka] ṁpa— — — —t-sutō⁵ Na[ḍ]ḍūlē [Va](Ba)⁶ |
- 7 lirāja-bhūpatir—atō jāto Mahīndrō nṛipaḥ || [5*] Samjātō—tha mahīpatis-tv=
Aṇahilaḥ śri = ṁ hiṁdr-ātma-jō hatva yēna na-
- 8 ⁸re vṛimdam=akhilam - - ṁ vir[ya]s=tataḥ | [ya]dvā(d=dvā)rē ripu-sumdari⁹-nija-
dhava-pradhvaṁsa-bhītāḥ sa[d]ā - - - nayan-āmbunā prati-
- 9 dinam tishṭhamti tēja[h*] [svakam](kam) || [6*][K]āmaṁ [yō] va(ba)hu-bhūpa-[va]ryya
dalana-prōdbhūta - -¹⁰ rjjakas=tuṁg-āśva-sthita-matta-kumjara-mukha-prakshi
- 10 pta-kumt-āhavaḥ¹¹ | tējasvī sa Ja[nē]mḍrarāja-tanayaḥ P[ri] ¹²ṁ bhū-bhūshaṇam
rājyē Saptasat-ākhyā-durlabhatarē nānā-turaṁg-ākarē || [7*]
- 11 [Bhū]pāla[s=tv=atha J[ō ?] ṁ bhūpa-tilakaḥ¹³ kālē ṁ - - - ṁ - - - bhūt=Kali-kāla-
kalmasha-va(ba)hiḥ-prōttuṁga-tējāḥ sa hi | Āśā-
- 12 rāja-mahipatir=[g]guṇa-gaṇ-ālamkāra-bhū-namdanō vi[khyā]tō ya[śas] su-vikrama-
[gu]ṇaiḥ Kam[da]rpa-rūp-ākṛitiḥ || [8*] Yaśchha (ś=śa ?)trō-
- 13 ¹⁴ ṁ ṁ - ṁ - ṁ ṁ ṁ [naś=cha]mḍa-pratāp-ānvitaḥ samprāpa prabhu-Siddharāja-va
[cha]sā yūddhāya Dhārā-talē | - shṭv¹⁵=āmumja¹⁶ ṁ - gati

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

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

³ Restore ^o*la-rājapāda-padmō*.

⁴ One is probably to restore something like *Alhana-bhūpatih 1 Nādōla*.

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

⁶ This punctuation mark is unnecessary.

⁷ Sharma reads *śrīmān-Mahīndrātma-jō* here.

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

The context requires *sumdaryō* which however obstructs the metre. Better substitute *yōshitō*.

¹⁰ Restore *śāmyantō* conjecturally.

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

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

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

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

¹⁵ Restore as *ḍṛishṭv*||.

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

- 14 ∪ ∪ ∪ - - - ∪ nāth-ākṛitīm tad-bhityā Naravarmma-bhūpatir=abhū[t=prā]kāra-
durgg-āśrayaḥ || [9*] Tat-putrō=tha kula-pradīpakatayā
- 15 - smād¹=abhūd **Alhaṇaḥ** kshōṇipāla **Ilāchala**-kshiti-bhujām=u[tpā]ṭa - - [ksha]maḥ²-
yēn=ai[tā]n giri-gah[v]ar-ānta-[si]-
- 16 - - - [vi]r-ādhipān³ hatvā rakshitam=ēva **Gūrjjara**-patēr=ggrastam S[u] - - [hva]
yam(yam)⁴ || [10*] Yan-mātāmaha-pūrvvajah kshitibhu-
- 17 jān [j]ētā cha dāt=ārthinām śrīmadvū(d-**Bū**)dha⁵-n ṛipō va(ba)bhūva sukṛitī⁶
śrī-Sūryavamśē kṛitī || (|) tasy=ā[bhū]t=sthira=chamḍa-Bhāskara-sama-||⁷
- 18 khyāta-pratāpō hy=abhūd=**Vi**[p]rūddhā[ra]-⁸narēśvarō ripu-vadhū-vai[dhavya]-
dāna-pradaḥ || [11*] [A]smāt=tatra⁹ vichitra-[vi]krama-guṇa-pra-
- 19 dhvasta-bhūmiśvarō jātaḥ śrī-**Haravalla**[bh]ō manu-patis¹⁰= [t]ējō-dharā-Bhāskaraḥ ||
(|) sū[nus=tasya] **Kumārapāla**-nṛipatis=tyā- |⁷
- 20 gī Śi[va] - ∪¹¹ - samprā] - ∪ ∪ - ∪ - ∪ ∪ mahī¹²-vinyasta-kirtti-kramaḥ ||
[12*] Tat-[sūnus=tv=a]tha dēva-[Viśalapurē]¹³ śrī-**Kirtti**-
- 21 pāl-ābhīdhō jā -¹⁴ - ∪ [patē]s-turaṅgama-nṛiṇām samhāra-karttā raṇē || (|) tad-
bhrātā **Ha**[r]ipāla-nāma-viditō **Harīmīra**-śamkā-
- 22 karō yad-[bh]ityā na ja[la]m ∪ ru ∪ turagaiḥ¹⁵ pitam trish-ārttair=api || [13*] Bhrāt=
ā[s=t]ē=sya Kumārapāla-nṛipatēḥ putrō dharitṛī¹⁶-yaśō-
- 23 [vi]khyātas=tv=iha **Rudrapāla**¹⁷-nṛipatiḥ sadvamdyā-karma-kram[a]ḥ ||¹⁸ [14*]
Tēlārasva[ra]¹⁹ -puṇya-bhū-tala-patēḥ prā[ṇa]-priyā putrikā sam-

¹ Read *tasmād*=

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

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

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

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

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

⁷ This punctuation is unnecessary.

⁸ This name appears to be a corruption of *Viprōddhāra*. *ASI.AR*. and Sharma read this name *Vishṇus-dūhāra* and *Vishṇudvāra* respectively.

⁹ Sharma reads *Paśchāt=tatra*.

¹⁰ Sharma reads *Haradatta-nāma-nṛipati* following perhaps Ojha and the *ASI.AR*.

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

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

¹³ *ASI.AR*. and Sharma take respectively this name to be *Vardhamānapura* and *Dēvavarddhanapura*.

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

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

¹⁶ Sharma reads : *Bhrātā tasya Kumārapāla-nṛipatēḥ.....dharitṛī, etc.* *ASI.AR*. also seems to be inclined to read the same.

¹⁷ *ASI.AR*. reads this name as *Ratnapāla*.

¹⁸ This is only half of the verse.

¹⁹ *ASI.AR*. and Sharma read *tat-Sārasvata*.

- 24 jātā hi mahā-sa[ti] prati-dinaṃ Gaṃg=ēva vaṃdyā satām(tām) | nāmnā Dēlhaṇa-
dēvik =ēti jana-viprakhyāta-śīl =āmalā sā
- 25 - - lhaṇa¹ -bhūpatēr=vijayinō māt=ātiputra-priyā || [15*] Tat-putrasya Vṛi
(Bṛi)haspatēr=iva gu[ṇā] vu(bu)ddhiś=cha Vi[shṇō]r³ = yathā tēja-
- 26 s - ∪ ³Ravēr=iva kshiti-talē saumyatvam=Indōr=iva | Rāmasy=ēva jan-ānurāga-
vibhavaḥ śrī-⁴Alhaṇa-kshmāpa-
- 27 [tē]ḥ sau (śau)ryaṃ tasya Va(Ba)lēr=iv=āsti viditaṃ gāmbhīryam=avdhē(bdhē)r=iva ||
[16*] S-āmbhōdhi-kshiti-khaṇḍa-maṃḍana-ma-
- 28 hī-[d]in-āmdha-kalpadrumōjātō bhūpa-kumāra-vikrama-yaśō-vikhyāta-⁵

Second Plate

- 29 chūḍā-maṇiḥ | śrīmat-Kēlhaṇa ātma-vaṃśa-kamala-pradyōtan-ārthi Ravir=bhaktō
Rāmavad=Alhaṇasya nripatēḥ putraḥ pa-
- 30 vitrō bhuvi || [17*] Īdṛig-vaṃśa-guṇ-ādhāraḥ śrīmad-Alhaṇa-bhūpatiḥ | vichim-
tayati saṃsāram=a-sār-ākāra-dustaram(ram) ||⁶ [18*]
- 31 Saṃsār-ēdṛiśa-duḥkha-bhīta-manasā gatv=ātha tīrth-ōḍakaiḥ snātvā nirmala-dhauta-
pōta-yugalaṃ vinyasya ch =āmgē nijē |
- 32 paśchāt=tam jagatām patiṃ Tripurushaṃ saṃsnapyā pañch-āmṛitaiḥ karpūr-ōdaka-
chāru-chamdana-rasair=liptvā samagram tataḥ || [19*] Sadyaś=champa-
- 33 ka-mālati-śata-dala-vyākōśa-pushp-āmbujaiḥ sampūjy=ātha yath-ōchitam su-manasā
stutvā cha natvā chiram(ram) | naivēdyam su-rasam
- 34 pradāya va(ba)hudhā puṇya-prad-ārātrikaṃ paśchāt=prēkshaṇakaṃ manō-dhvani-
karam taurya-trik-ālamkṛitam(tam) || [20*] Kṛitv=aitad=dvija-dēvatāmka
- 35 svagurūn⁷=abhyarchchya nānā-dhanaiḥ pitrōḥ svasya cha dharmma-kīrtti-yaśasām
saṃvṛiddhayē śraddhayā || [21*]⁸ ath=ānantaram cha | Ananya-chēva(ta)sā
- 36 svargg-āpavargga-mārggā(rgga)-prayāna-prakāśaka-phalapradam |⁹ dharmma-sthānakaṃ
tad-upadravaścha(ñ=cha) kshiti-tala-bhūpāla-tilakō mahīpatir=asau pa -
- 37 ribhāvayati¹⁰ | paribhāvya cha |⁹ bhagavataḥ sakala[m] sur=āsura=gurōḥ śrīma[t]=
Tripuru[sha]dēvasya prabhuḥyamāna=Nandaṇā-grāmasya | Grāma-

¹ Restore as *s=ā bhūd=Alhaṇa*.

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

³ Probably *s=tikshṇa*-is intended.

⁴ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

⁵ This line is shorter than the previous ones.

⁶ Verses 18-23 form a *kulaka*.

⁷ Read-*dēvatāḥsvaka-gurūn=*

⁸ This is only one half of a verse.

⁹ This punctuation mark is unnecessary.

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

- 38 sy=āsyā paratra bhīru-manasā dṛiṣṭvā gṛihītam ta[th]ā pratyabdam hi Valādhipa
k[r]a[ma]-pad-abhāvyaṃ-nṛipair=niḥkṛipaiḥ¹ | paśchyā(śchā)d=Alhaṇa-dēva-bhūtala-
- 39 bhujā chaṃdr-ārka-kālāvadhim kṛitv=āsmāi tila-darbha-tōya-vidhinā saṃkalp
[y]a dattam sadā² || [22*] Rājabhiḥ kṛita-dharmā[nā]m ja[nma]-kalyāṇā-kāri-
- 40 nām(nām) | luptā[nām] [.] pana³ kāryā svar[g]ga-[sau]khyā-pradāyinā[m*] |
[[23*] Ētad=ēvaṃ mayā dattam lōbhād=gṛihṇāti yō naraḥ | mātus=tasya cha-
ṭaty=ēva rāsabhāḥ pra-
- 41 ti-vāsaram(ram) || [24*] Tathā⁴ cha śrīmach-Chaṃdalēsvara-dēvasya prabhuja-
māna-Bhītalavāṭaka-grāmasya Valādhipā[bhā] -
- 42 vyaṃ śubh-ānuviddhayā bhaktyā śrīmach-Chaṃdalēsvara-dēvāya pradatta⁵m=iti||⁶
- 43 Aparam cha mahārājādhirāja-śrīmad-Alhaṇadēvēna Chaṃdalēsvara-dēvakiya-gar-
bhagṛiha-madhyē
- 44 rājñi-śrī-Śaṃkaradēvyā kārāpita-Gauryai pratidina-bhōga-nimittam śulka-mam-
ḍapikāyām
- 45 prati-māsam pradattā drammas=chatvāraḥ | tē cha chaṃdr-ārka-kālam yāvat
paripālaniyāḥ | Luptim yō=
- 46 sya vidhāsyati pragata-dhiḥ pañch-ātipāp-ālayō yō vā śāsa(sa)na-lōpa-hētu-vacha-
sām vaktā bhaviṣya-
- 47 ty=api | svar[gga]-bhrasṭa-sa-kasṭa-sapta-pitaras=tasy=aiva pāpātmanaḥ Kum-
bhīpāka-niranta-ghōra-narakē
- 48 yāsyanti tē=dhō-mukhāḥ || [25*] Mam=āstē śāsan-ārūḍhaḥ śrīmad-Alhaṇa-bhū-
patēḥ | dān-āmbu-nirmali-
- 49 bhūtaḥ sva-hastō dakṣiṇō hy=ayam(yam) || [26*] Mahārājādhirājasya śrīmad-
Alhaṇa bhūbhujāḥ | puratō li-
- 50 khitam ch=ēdam Khēlādityanē⁷ śāsanam(nam) || [27*] iti | Saṃvat⁸ 1220 Āshāḍha-
guri⁹ 11 Guru-dinē dēvasya pra¹⁰
- 51 Ēkādaśi-parvaṇi śrī-Tripurushadēvāya Sāṃvōḍi¹¹-grāma-bhūmi-madhyāta¹²
Nijumhāi-Dumgara-paśchima-[sima*]ni bhōgē Mahārājādhirā-
- 52 ja-śrī-¹³Alhaṇadēvēna hala-3-traya-bhūmi sva-sīmā-paryantā śāsana(nē)na pra-
dattāḥ(ttā) | Likhitam=idam ṭha¹⁴-Śrīdharērā(ṇa) prabhu(bhō)r=ājñavā(yā) ||
[Chha]¹⁵

¹ Read=*nishkṛipaiḥ*.

² Better read *mudā* or *satā*.

³ Evidently *sthāpanā* is intended.

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

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

⁶ The rest of this line is left blank.

⁷ Read *Kēlādityēna*.

⁸ This word is engraved in smaller characters.

⁹ Read *Āshāḍha-śudī*.

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

¹¹ Sharma read this place name as Chāṃvōḍi and *ASI.AR*, as Chāṃvāḍi.

aikādaśi.

¹² Read *madhyāt*.

¹³ *Sandhi* is not observed here.

¹⁴ *ṭha* stands for *ṭhakkura*.

¹⁵ This denotes the end of the record.

No. 5—TWO NOLAMBA-PALLAVA INSCRIPTIONS

(1 Plate)

K. V. RAMESH, MYSORE

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, App. B No. 759.

² *Ibid.*, 1958-59, App. B 659.

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

⁴ *MAR.*, 1938, Plate opp. p. 188.

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

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

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

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

¹ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, JI. 29.

² *SII.*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 23.

³ *MAR.*, 1921, pp. 8 ff. and plate.

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

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

⁶ Above, Vol.V, pp.188 ff.

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

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

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

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

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

¹ *SII.*, Vol.VI, No. 561.

² *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, App.B, No. 728.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 726.

⁴ *Ep.Carn.*, Vol.X, Ct. 49.

⁵ *Karṇāṭakada Arasumanetanagaḷu*, p. 223.

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

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

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

⁹ *MAR.*, 1941, p.172.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

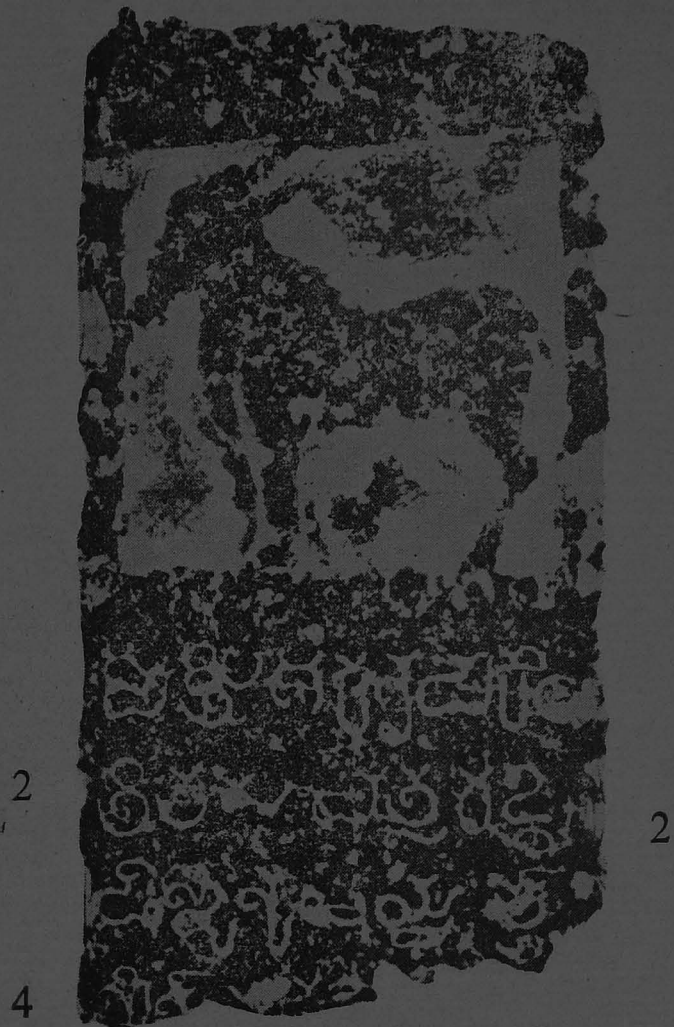
³ Cf. *drōṇāvāpa*, Sircar: *Ind.Ep. Gloss.*

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

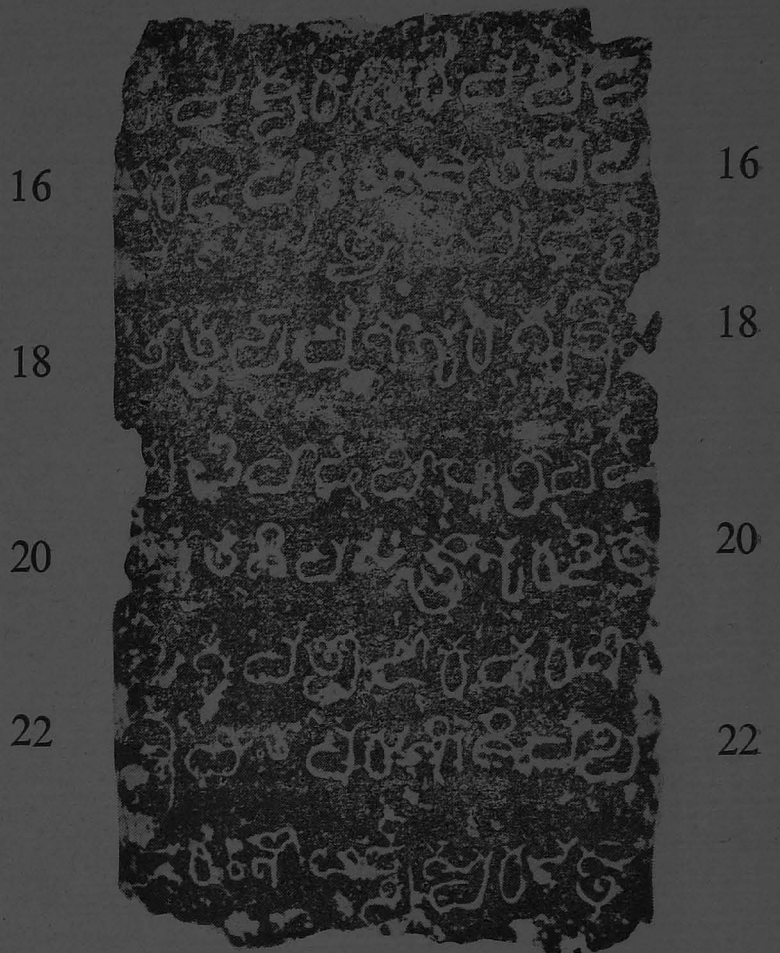
⁵ The *vaṭa* of *bittu-vaṭa*, like the *pāḍu* of Tamil *vittu-ppāḍu* may also have resulted from Sanskrit *pāṭa*. Alternative possibilities are that *vaṭa* is from Sanskrit *vāṭa* 'an enclosure', 'a piece of enclosed ground' (Monier Williams: *op.cit.*, s.v.) or from Kannaḍa *vaṭṭa* which means 'a deduction'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

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

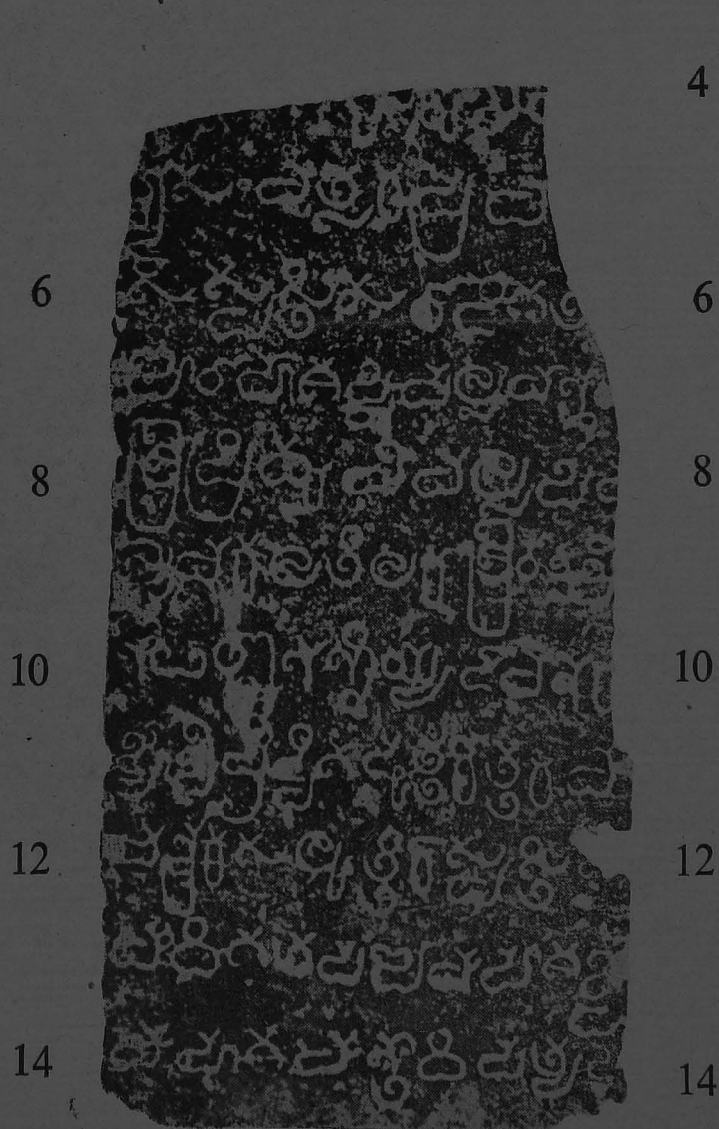
GUNIMORABAGALU INSCRIPTION OF NOLAMBA
ANNAYYADEVA, SAKA 858



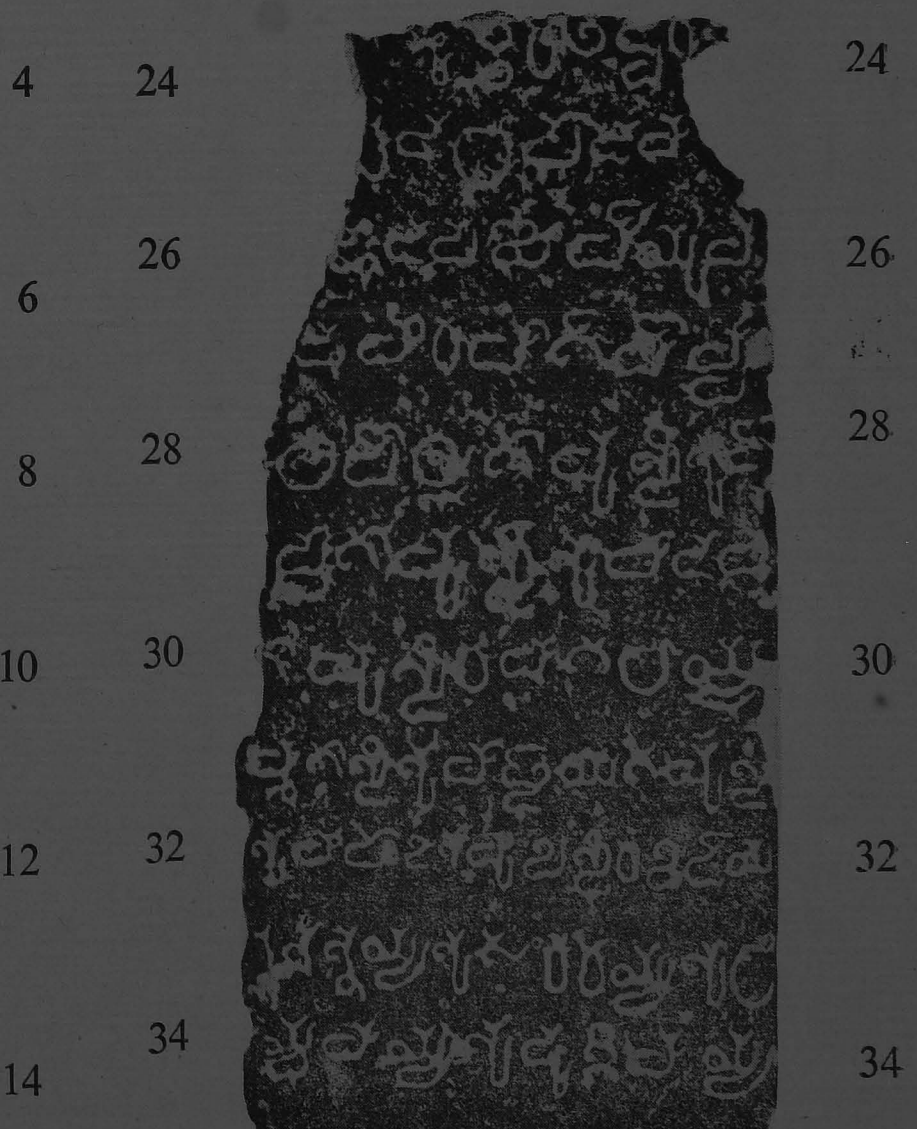
2
2
4



16
18
20
22



6
8
10
12
14



4
24
26
28
30
32
34

South Face

East Face

36
 38
 40
 42
 44

36
 38
 40
 42
 44

46
 48
 50
 52
 54
 56

46
 48
 50
 52
 54
 56

North Face

SCALE : One-fifth

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

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

TEXT¹*South Face*

- 1 Svasti[1*] Śaka-nṛipa-kāl-ā-
- 2 ti(tī)ta-saṁvatsaraṅga-
- 3 ḷ=eṇṭunūr- ayvatt-e-
- 4 ṇṭane[ya] Durmmukhi[y-e]-
- 5 [mba] saṁvatsara Prava[rtti]-
- 6 se[|*] Svasti[|*] samadi(dhi) ga[ta-pa]-
- 7 ṅcha-mahāśabda-Pallav-ānma(nva)[ya]-
- 8 śrī-pri(pṛi)thu(thi)vī-vallaba(bha)-[Pa]-
- 9 llava-kula-tilaka[m] śrīmat BI[ra]-
- 10 Nolamban-Aṇṇayyadēvana r[ā]-
- 11 jy-ābi(bhi)v ṛiddhigaḷ=uttarōttaram=ā-
- 12 chandr-ā[r*]kka saluttire[|*] Svasti[|*][sa]-
- 13 madhigata-pañcha-mahāśa[bda]-
- 14 maha(hā)śa(sā)mantādhipatya-[Pa]-

East Face

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

¹ From impression.

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

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

North Face

- 35 ṅgaḷu Da[r]gga-sa(śa)[r*]mmanu i-
 36 ntu ūrum=mahājanamu[m̄*] Varu-
 37 ṇaśiva-ba(bha)ṭṭāraru iḷdu⁴
 38 keṛege bittu-vaṭa koṭṭa[r]⁵
 39 keṛeya keḷage kattige pāyva
 40 koḷagadoḷ paḍi kuḷa-gey[du]⁶
 41 kuḍuvudu oḷageṛe-
 42 ya ki(kī)ḷ-keṛeya k[o]ḷaga[do]-⁷
 43 ḷ mūgaṇḍugaṁ geydu kuḍu-
 44 vudu ētadoḷ⁸-ayguḷi ge-
 45 ydu kuḍuvudu Noḷambē⁹-

¹ The published text reads : *bhagavatpādaikābharāṇa*.

² The published text reads : *Porvva*.

³ The published text reads : *Chi*.

⁴ The published text reads : *bhaṭṭārarumiḷdu*.

⁵ The published text reads : *koṭṭu*.

⁶ The published text reads : *paḍirkuḷa geyyūm*.

⁷ The published text reads : *kaḷani*.

⁸ The published text reads : *haṁtadoḷ*.

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

- 46 sva(śva)rake¹ naḍeva om[shi]ya²
 47 mēlpāṭ-a[da]ke³ poragāgi u⁴
 48 ḷt-okkal-ellan-tiṟuvom āra
 49 maṇṇilla pariyāra illa ko-
 50 ḍamgey-illa oḷa-geṟeya ki-
 51 ṟke(ḷ-ke)ṟeyoḷ-okkuḷa gaḷde
 52 [pa]ttidon-ellan⁵-tiṟuvom[*] l-
 53 danā(n-a)ḷidāta[m] Vāraṇāsi-
 54 yu kavileyuma i(i) keṟe-
 55 yuma ā(a)ḷidōn - ā pañcha-mahā-
 56 pa(pā)takana ūri[m*] kaḷevudu ūrā-
 57 tan-oḍati⁶ pudu-vāḷa sallam[||*]

B.—Ālavaṭṭa Inscription of Ēkavākya Eṟiva-Noḷamba

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

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

TEXT⁷

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

¹ The published text reads *Perake*.

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

³ The published text reads : *rvillādanu*.

⁴ The published text reads : *ā*.

⁵ The published text reads : *yintidāneiiian*-^o

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

⁷ From the impression.

⁸ There is a floral design at the beginning.

- 5 **kyam śrīmat¹ Eṛiva-Noḷa-**
 6 **mba biṭṭa bittu-kaṭu [| *] I (Ī) bittu-**
 7 **kaṭa aḷidu koṇḍavam | ^a Bāraṇa-**
 8 **siyam kavileyam kere-**
 9 **yam tapas[v]iyam**
 10 **brāhmaṇa-**
 11 **na[m] lōka**
 12 **koṇḍava**
 13 **brahmati koṇḍa[va] [ll*]**

^a This *daṇḍa* is redundant.

ALAVATTA INSCRIPTION OF EKAVAKYA ERIVA-NOLAMBA



SCALE : One-sixth

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

(1 plate)

BALCHANDRA JAIN, RAIPUR

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In verse 13, a king named **Trailōkyavarman** is mentioned but due to the mutilation of the verse further information regarding the dynasty to which he belonged or the context in which his name has been mentioned, is not available in the record. As regards the identification of this king, we are therefore not in a position to say any thing definitely in the present state of our knowledge. He cannot be identified with the Chandella prince of that name because the latter was ruling in the first part of the thirteenth century A.D. from about V.S. 1261 (1205) while the present record belongs to V.S. 1216 (1159 A.D.) which would be the reign period of his grandfather, Madanavarman. Among the Paramāras of Malwa, a prince named Trailōkyavarman has been mentioned in the Bhopal copper plate inscription of V.S. 1214¹ and also in a pillar inscription from Gyaraspur² near Vidisha. It appears that he was the third son of Yaśōvarman Paramāra and perhaps ruled for some time before Hariśchandra, son of Lakshmivarman, the second son of Yaśōvarman. If so, we may presume that the present record (which is dated V.S. 1219) was incised during the reign period of Hariśchandra and the name of Trailōkyavarman was mentioned to pay respect as was done in other records of the former.³

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

TEXT⁵

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

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

¹ Above, Vol. XXIV, pp. 225 ff.

² Ibid., Vol. XXXIII, p. 93

³ *Trailōkyavarmmadēva-pāda-prāpta-prasādah.*

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

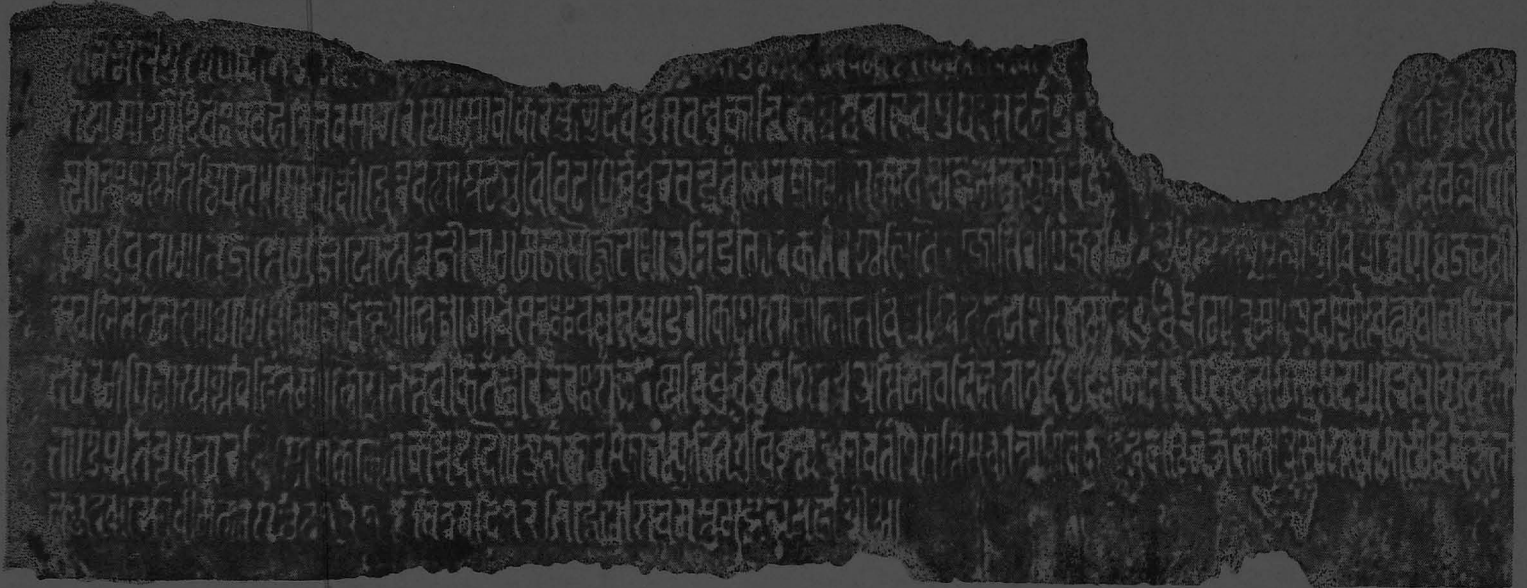
⁵ From ink impressions.

⁶ The reading is °गुणोपादाद जन्मा—Ed.

E 6890.

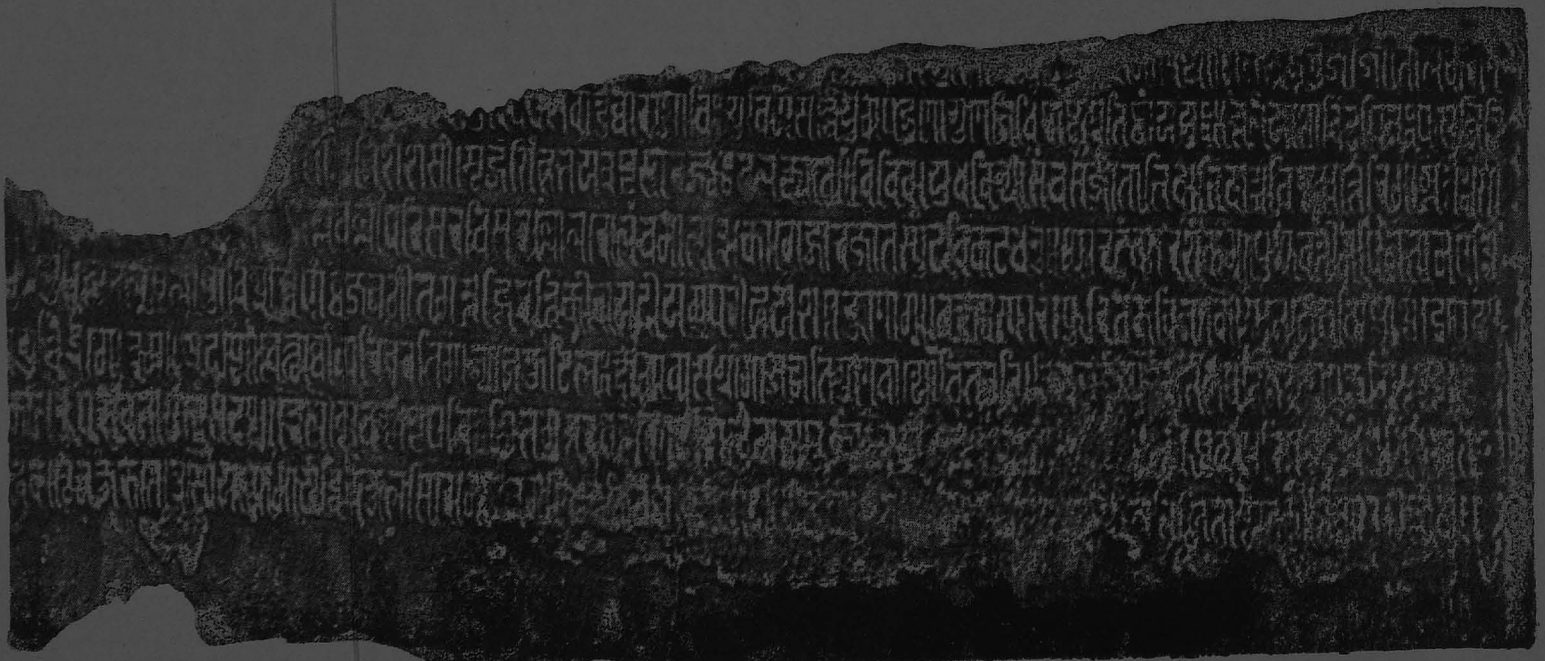
VIDISHA STONE INSCRIPTION OF VS 1219

2
4
6
8



Left half

2
4
6
8



Right half

SCALE : One-fourth

Ace. 26192.

- 3 राया मार्गान्दिवः प्रवहणं भवसागरस्य । सोचीकरत्कुमुदव (ब) न्युसव (ब) न्युकान्तिकान्त
म्बराहवपुषःसदनं मुरा [*] रेः [॥४॥*] उ००००० - - उ००००० निशंशसी
(शी) । मृद्गर्सिंहभयभ्रष्टसारङ्ग इव लक्ष्यते ॥[॥*] विविधायुधविन्यासं वसं(शं)
जाता भिदाभिदः। वि[ष्णु]मूर्तेरिमा मूर्त्तिः सो-
- 4 स्यान्तः प्रत्यतिष्ठपत् ॥[६*॥] सोस्त्राक्षीद्वेत्रवत्यास्तटभुवि विटपैर्व्व(र्ब)न्धुरं चन्द्रवं(बं)
धोरस्त्राभ्यासैकवेस्म(श्म) द्रुमकुसुमरज [:] - उ - - उ - - [॥] - - - फुल्लवल्लीप
रिसरविसरल्लीलरोलं(ब)मालाभंकारोद्गारजातस्पु(स्फु)टविकटधनुः स्फारटंकार-
शंकम् ॥[७॥*] पुष्फ (ष्प)वन्ती(ती)मपिलतामपिशिल-
- 5 ष्टमधुव्रताम् । भजन्ते मुनयो यत्र नीरागमनसोज्जटाः [॥८॥*] उन्नद्रकोरक[भ]रस्खलितै
रजोभिरापिंजरास तरुषण्डतलस्थलीषु । विश्रान्तपान्थजनगीतमनूद्गिरन्ति कीरा
यदीय मुपरीह यशस्तरुणाम् ॥[९॥*] वक्षस्फारं स्फुरित रूचिना कौस्तुभेनेव
विष्णोश्चंद्रेणेवा-
- 6 स्वलिततमसा व्योमसीमानभिज्ञम् येनागाधं सर इव लसत्पुण्डरीकेण सो(शो)भां लेभे
विष्वग्विततयशसा गोत्र - - उ गोत्रम्¹ ॥[१०॥*] अदर्प्पो वेत्त्यर्थान्परिचरति
मान्यानकुटिल क्षमावान्सग्रामाञ्जयति गुणवान्यो वितरति । नि - - - - - तलपतिमि
- - उ०००० उ० - - - - -
- 7 दपरमपि नास्य व्यवहितंम् ॥[११॥] कौस्तुभस्तव(ब)कितं हरेरुरः शंकरस्य विधुवं (बं)
धुरः शिरः । अस्ति यावदिह तावद उ - कोलरूप [हरि] - उ - प्रदः ॥[१२॥*
त्रैलोक्यवर्मनृपति स्थित - उ - - [१*] - - उ - उ००० - उ०० - उ - - [१*]- -
उ - उ००० - उ०० - उ - - [१*] - - उ - उ००० - उ०० - उ - - ॥[१३*॥
- 8 भाण्डं प्रतिवृषभारविंसो(शो)पकमेककञ्च ददौ²॥ अलंकारस्फारं स्फुरितशुचिवृत्ताङ्गणवतीं
प्रस(श)स्तिं सत्कान्तामिव क इह कण्ठेन कुरुते । असौ यस्यामार्यद्विजकुलसि(शि)रो
- उ००० - । उ - - - - - उ००००० - - उ००० - ॥[१४॥*] उ००००
उ - - उ लिखिता ख्यातकीर्तिना । उत्कीर्णा वासु[देवे]-
- 9 न सूत्रधारेण धीमता ॥[१५॥*] सम्बत् १५१८³ चैत्र वदि १२ सिद्धेयं(यम्)[१*] शिवमस्तु
मङ्गलं महाश्रीः ॥

¹ the reading is गोत्रमुन्नियगोत्रम्-Ed.]

² It appears to be in prose. [In fact this may be the second half of a verse in *Upagiti*-Ed.]

³ The unit figure is doubtful. [see p. 35 above note 1-Ed.]

E. 6890

Epigraphical Publications of the Archæological Survey of India

Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.

Epigraphia Indica.

Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica (discontinued).

Epigraphia Indica : Arabic and Persian Supplement.

Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy (discontinued).

Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy.

South Indian Inscriptions.

The following books are available for sale at the Office of the Chief Epigraphist, Old University Office Building, Mysore-570005, South India :—

1. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Volume II, Part II: *Bharhut Inscriptions*, edited by H. Lüders and Revised by E. Waldschmidt & M.A. Mehendale, Price Rs. 30/-.
2. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Volume IV: *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Cheli Era*: Parts I and II (pages 193 + 722 with 3 maps and 103 Plates), by V. V. Mirashi, M.A., D. Litt., 1955. Price Rs. 125/-.
3. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Volume V: *Inscriptions of the Vākātakas*, by V. V. Mirashi. Price Rs. 40/-.
4. *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume III (1894-95), edited by E. Hultzsch, Ph. D. (Reprinted) Price Rs. 100/-.
5. *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. 10: *The Gavimath and Palkigundu Inscriptions of Aśōka* (pages 24 and 18 Plates), by R. L. Turner, M. C., M. A., Litt. D., 1952 (second impression). Price Rs. 10/-.
6. *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* VI: *Inscriptions of Silaharas*, edited by V. V. Mirashi. Price Rs. 170/-.
7. *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume IV (1896-97), edited by E. Hultzsch (Reprinted) Price Rs. 95/-.
8. *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume V (1898-99), with a list of the Inscriptions of Northern India from about A. D. 400, by Prof. F. Kielhorn, C. I. E., Göttingen. Edited by E. Hultzsch, Ph.D. (Reprinted). Price Rs. 35/-.
9. *Epigraphia Indica*, Volume X (1909-10), with a list of Brāhmī Inscriptions from the Earliest Times to About A. D. 400 with the exception of those of Aśōka, by Prof. H. Lüders, Rostock. Edited by Sten Konow, Ph. D. and V. Venkayya, M. A. (Reprinted). Price Rs. 35/-.
10. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXV (Parts 1-8), edited by Dr. D. C. Sircar. Price Rs. 14.60 per part.
11. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXVI (Parts 1-8), Parts 1 to 3 edited by Dr. D. C. Sircar, 4-5 by H. K. Narasimhaswami and 6-8 by Dr. G. S. Gai. Price Rs. 8/- per part.
12. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXVII (Parts 1-7) edited by Dr. G. S. Gai. Price Rs. 8/- per part.
13. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXVIII (Parts 1-6) edited by Dr. G. S. Gai. price Rs. 8/- per part.

(No discount is allowed and packing and postage charges will be extra.)