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CONTENTS

	PAGES
No. 9. Sanikkavadi Inscription of Rashtrakuta Krishna III. By K. G. Krishnan, Mysore	47
No. 10. Vala (or Vada) Inscription of Suketuvarman, Saka 322. By K. V. Ramesh, Mysore	51
No. 11. Three Copper-Plates Grants from Assam. By D. C. Sircar, Calcutta	55
No. 12. Pasid Plates of Prithvideva II, Year 893. By S. Subramonia Iyer, Mysore	77
No. 13. Pudur Inscription of Pallavarasa. By K. V. Ramesh and Madhav N. Katti, Mysore	81
No. 14. Jhansi Inscription of Viravarma, V. S. 1318. By Pushpa Prasad, Aligarh	87

PLATES

No. 9. <i>Sanikkavadi Inscription of Rashtrakuta Krishna III</i>	<i>between pages 48 and 49</i>
No. 10. <i>Vala (or Vada) Inscription of Suketuvarman, Saka 322</i>	<i>facing page 53</i>
No. 11. <i>Three Copper-Plates Grants from Assam</i>	<i>between pages 56 and 57</i>
" " " "	<i>between pages 58 and 59</i>
" " " "	<i>between pages 64 and 65</i>
" " " "	<i>between pages 72 and 73</i>
No. 12. <i>Pasid Plates of Prithvideva II, Year 893</i>	<i>between pages 78 and 79</i>
No. 13. <i>Pudur Inscription of Pallavarasa</i>	<i>between pages 84 and 85</i>
No. 14. <i>Jhansi Inscription of Viravarma, V. S. 1318</i>	<i>facing page 89</i>

No. 9—SANIKKAVADI INSCRIPTION OF RASHTRAKUTA KRISHNA III

(1 Plate)

K. G. KRISHNAN, MYSORE

The inscription edited here is engraved on a pillar-like stone of about 1.45m. height set up in a private field.¹ The stone is worked into a wider flat bottom and a tapering top shaped into an inverted lotus design. It measures 1.5 m. at its maximum along all the faces and 1.4 m. at its minimum. The two wider faces at the front and the back are engraved with the inscription which runs into 57 lines of writing, 29 on one side and 28 on the other—measuring 1.2m. at the front and 1.1 at the back. The writing is damaged at lines 5-17 and lines 37-44 on both the sides apparently due to the flaking off of the surface on account of the effect of weather thus affecting our understanding of the some of the important portions of the text.

The entire epigraph is in Tamil Verse engraved in Tamil characters of the tenth century except the benedictory expression *Svasti śrī* written in Grantha characters of the same period at the beginning of the record. There is nothing to note regarding palaeography or orthography.

The inscription is dated in the 25th regnal year (963-64 A.D.) of Krishna III. It records the construction of a hall (*ambalam*) as if to be compared with the mansions raised by Manu, Maya and Viśvakarmā, at Chaḷukkipāḍi *alias* Kaḍigaimaṅgalam.

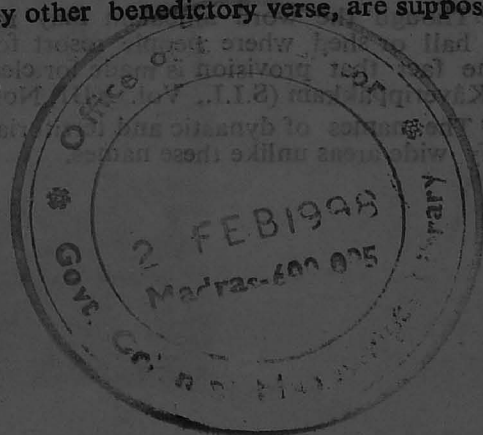
The inscription begins with an auspicious expression *Tirumagaḷ muyaṅga* as similar expressions are met with in the *meykkīrttis* (*praśastis*) of the Chōlas from the times of Rājārāja 1. Since the entire inscription is in verse, it cannot be called a *meykkīrtti* or *praśasti*. However, it seems to anticipate the later *meykkīrttis* of the Chōla rulers on account of the manner of its beginning.² The portion introducing the king runs up to line 23 of the text which gives the following titles Gajamalla, Akālarsha, Prithivīvallabha, Chalakanallāḍaṅ and refers to the conquest of Kachchi (Kāñchi) and Tañjai (Tañjāvūr). These clearly indicate the identity of the king, known as Kṛishṇa III, of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty, who is described in the other inscriptions of his period in Tamil prose as *Kachchiyū-Tañjaiyū konḍa Kaṅṅara-dēva*. The inscription does not however give his name, though the identity is certain. The record then introduces the son of Nolamba chief Nuḷambaṅ Aṅṅigaṅ describing the latter as pallavar-kōmān, pallav-ābharāṅaṅ and Kāñchi-bhujāṅaṅ, of (i.e., possessing) shoulders strong and high as the mountain. It is well-known that Aṅṅiga who is also known as Vira-Nolamba was the adversary of the Rāshtrakūṭa monarch Kṛishṇa III. Aṅṅiga's regnal year 2 coupled with Śaka 847 as recorded in his inscription from Muttānūr in Harur Taluk, Dharmapuri District, Tamil Nadu points to the date of his accession as 923-25 A.D.³ The highest regnal year 15 is recorded in an epigraph from Nevalai in the same Taluk.⁴

¹ ARSIE 1939-40-1942-43, 1941-42, App. B No. 132, See also *ibid*, p. 235.

² The *meykkīrttis* of Rājārāja 1, Rājendra 11, Rājādhirāja 1 etc., begin with expressions *Tirumagaḷ pōla. Tirumanni Valara, Tiṅgaḷ-ēr-taru tan-toṅgaḷ* etc. These, as like any other benedictory verse, are supposed to begin with auspicious expressions such as *tiru, tiṅgaḷ* or *pū* etc.

³ A.R.I.E. 1975-76, No. B 225, above, Vol. XXXIX, p. 13 ff.

⁴ A.R.I.E., 1968-69, No. B 175, above Vol. XXXIX, p. 16.



Since the Deoli plates of Kṛishṇa III dated Śaka 862 (A. D. 940) describes the defeat and the miserable plight to which he was reduced by the former, it has been surmised correctly that Anṇiga might have reigned from 925-940 A.D.¹ Since the present record is assigned to 963-64 A.D. the 25th regnal year of Kṛishṇa III in which it is dated, it is clear that the Nolamba chief referred to in the record may be identified with a descendant of Anṇiga about whom more details are not forthcoming on account of the damage caused to the inscription at this portion of the text. At any rate we will not be far wrong if we presume that the said Nolamba chief was of the Nolamba family in 965-66 A. D. i.e. a year after the date of the present record who are referred to in an inscription at Vēlūr, the headquarters of the Taluk of the same name in North Arcot District in Tamil Nadu, which is very near Saṇikkavāḍi, the findspot of our record. This inscription dated in the 26th regnal year of the Rāshtrakūṭa king records the gift of a village called Vēlūrppāḍi along with a hillock called Sūdādupārai to the temple Paṇṇappēśvaram erected by Paṇṇappai on the rock as an endowment for enjoyment.² The said village along with the hillock is stated to have been received by the donor Nuḷamban Tiribuvaṇa-diran (Tribhuvana-dhīran) with a libation of water from his son Nuḷamban Viraśōḷar.³ It is however difficult for us to say which of the two is being referred to in our record.

The inscription records the construction of an *ambalam* which may be interpreted to mean a hall in the context of the description of the village as *kalai-mali-kalakk-ili*-devoid of tumult but replete with artistic (atmosphere). The hall is stated to be a big or high mansion reaching the skies as if constructed by Maṇu,⁴ Maya and Vichchuvakaṇmā (Viśvakarmā) who are well-known to be the celebrated celestial architects. The village Chaḷukkipāḍi where the hall was constructed was also called Kaḍigai-maṅgalam the first part of which name may be considered to be the Tamil rendering of *ghaṭikā*, a centre of learning for which the construction of a hall would be more appropriate.

Chaḷukkipāḍi, the name of the village which is identical with Saṇikkavāḍi, the findspot of the inscription is reminiscent of Chaḷukki or Chālukya association. In the absence of any remains anywhere nearby it is difficult to say how the name was given to this village. While the transformation of *cha* the first syllable of the name into *śa* as it is pronounced today but written as *cha* is a natural process in Tamil, the change in the middle syllables *lukki* into *nikka* can be explained only by the possibility of the vowels changing with reference to the preceding or the succeeding vowels as Chaḷukkipāḍi- (Chaṇukki-pāḍi)-(Chaṇikkipāḍi) - Chaṇikkapāḍi-Saṇikkapāḍi-Saṇikkavāḍi. The change of *lu* into *ni* cannot be explained except on the basis of nasalisation. The expression *pāḍi* denoting a camp also changed into *vāḍi* which is a common feature as in the case of numerous such examples as Mayēndiravāḍi Arigilavāḍi, Nandivāḍi, Lāḍavāḍi etc.

¹ Ibid, Introduction, p. 5

² Above Vol. IV, pp. 81 ff. Paṇṇappai, the name of the lady who was obviously related to the donor is evidently a Tamil rendering of the Kannada name Pannabbe.

³ Hultzsch has construed the record to mean that Nuḷamban, the son of Tribhuvanadhīra purchased from Viraśōḷar and that the father made the gift. It is possible that Tribhuvandhīra named his son Viraśōḷa in recognition of his service under Parāntaka who had that title, before the advent of Kṛishṇa III in Tamil Nadu.

⁴ Maṇu may be considered to be the architect of man.

⁵ Though the word *ambalam* may mean a temple, two instances where the word has been used point to a hall or shed where people resort for various purposes like meeting, executive or cultural, on account of the fact that provision is made for cleaning, lighting and drinking water etc. as in the cases of Sendalai and Kāverippākkam (S.I.I., Vol. XIII, Nos. 187 and 312).

⁶ The names of dynastic and territorial names like Gangapāḍi, Taḍigaipāḍi, Nolambapāḍi and Raṭapāḍi signify wide areas unlike these names.

SANIKKAVADI INSCRIPTION OF RASHTRAKUTA KRISHNA III

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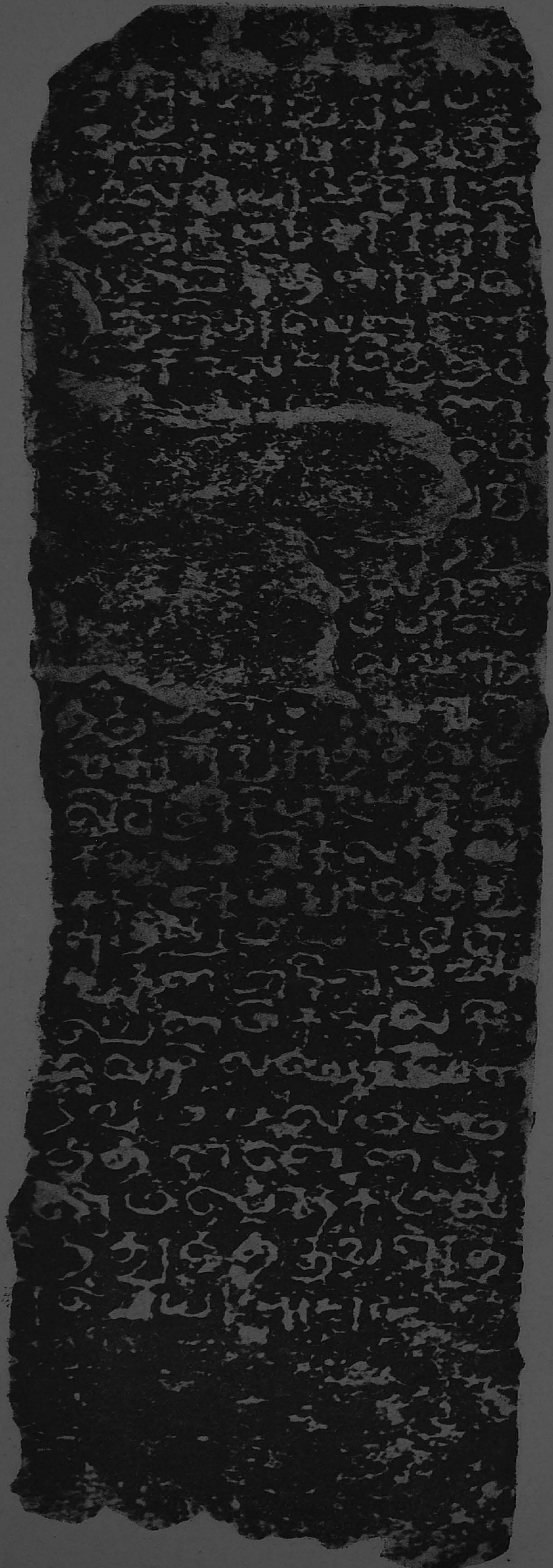
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SCALE : One-fifth

No. 9] SANIKKAVADI INSCRIPTION OF RASITRAKUTA KRISHNA III 49

TEXT¹Metre : *Nērisai Āsīriyappā*

1	Svasti Śrī || Tirumaga-	32
2	! muyaṅgach=Chir-magaḷ [vi]-	33
3	ḷaṅgap, ² =poru=kaḍal=u-	34
4	ḍutta pū=tala=muḷu	35
5	..ñ, ² =cheṅgō [l]...	36
6-10	.....	37
11	..tta.....	38
12	...ḍu.....	39
13	ḷaṅgiya.....	40
14	paḍikka.....	41
15	tiyoḍu.....	42
16	ḷa mānilaṅ—ga...	43
17	Gajamallaṅ=āṇa....	44
18	Śīr—Akāḷavarusha...	45
19	Ṗṛitivī—vallabha—mahā[rā]-	46
20	jaṅ, ērp-poli Rājā-	47
21	dhirājan-Paramēsvaraṅ, ta-	48
22	rā-talam puḷaḷuṅ=chalaka	49
23	nalādaṅ, kāṅḍagu Kachchi-	50
24	yun=Taṅjaiyuṅ - koṅ	51
25	ḍ=āṅg, = āṅḍa yāṅḍ= ōr = i	52
26	rupatt-aṅjiṅuḷ, Palla-	53
27	var-kōmān Palla-	54
28	vābaraṅaṅ, kall-uyar	55
29	tiṅ - ḍōṭ - Kāñchi - bhū	56
30	jaṅgaṅ, Nuḷambaṅ - A-	57
31	ṅṅiṅaṅ vaḷaṅ-ḍaru ma -	58

¹ From impressions.² The punctuation mark of comma is introduced here to denote scanning of the metrical lines.

32	dalai, iyāru śēr - Araṇ -a	TEXT	
33	[ḍi] madagu Mandāka (ki) ni, ki	Metric : Vēṇam - āṇḍaṇḍi - ni - ki	
34	.ru mayindaṇ kādala		1 Śvasi śi || Tirumaga-
35	..ṛoḷi tara, veṇṇe -		2 | muṇḍaṅgaḥ - Chir-magaḷ [vi]-
36	..kalaiyum - iruñja		3 | aṅḍaḥ, = poru - kaḍai - u-
37	.....ṇa		4 | ḍitta pā-tala-muḷu
38	.....mum		5 .. ṇ. - cheṅḍō [i] ...
39	.....vaṇ		6-10
40	.....ṛru		11
41	.....		12
42	.....mbaramē		13 | aṅḍiya...
43	.....la vaḷan		14 | paḍikka...
44	daru....valla-		15 | tiyōḍu...
45	I tuḷaṅgāt, = tala-m-		16 | la māṇḍā - ga...
46	li Chaḷukkipāḍi=yāgiya,		17 | Gaḷamaṅḍa - ṅa...
47	kalai-mali kalakkili -		18 | Śr - Akāḷavarṇa...
48	k-Kaḍigaimaṅgalattu		19 | Pṛiṭi - vaḷḷaḍa - maḍi...
49	ḷ, Maṇu-Maya-Vichchu		20 | jaṅ, ḍṛ - pōḷi - Kāḷ -
50	vakaṇmā niḷ- maṇai,		21 | dhiraṅ - Paṇḍa - va - ṅa...
51	=yeṇa migav - ulagi -		22 | tā-talaṅ pḍaḷuṅ - chalaḷa...
52	l=elil peṛa viyaṅ - u		23 | naḷaḍaṅ, kāḍaḅaṅ - kaḍōḷi-
53	ṛav, = ambalam - amai		24 | yu - Tāṅḍaṅ - koḍ
54	ttanaṅ=eṇbar		25 | ḍ - āṅḍa = āṅḍa - yāḅḍ - ḍi =
55	chemboṛ - kamala		26 | ruḍaṭ - āṅḍaḷ, Paḷla -
56	ttut - tiru - vaḷar ta -		27 | va - kōṇḍa Paḷla -
57	ravēy 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31		28 | vāḍaṅḍaṅ, kaḷi - uḍar
			29 | tiṅ - ḍōḷ - Kāḷchi - ḍu
			30 | jaṅḍaṅ, Nūḷaṅḍaṅ - A -
			31 | pḍiḅaṅ vaḷaṅ - ḍaṅ - ma -

From impressions.
The punctuation mark of comma is introduced here to denote scanning of the metrical lines.

No. 10—VALA (OR VADA) INSCRIPTION OF SUKETUVARMAN, SAKA 322

(1 Plate)

K. V. RAMESH, MYSORE

This important inscription, edited here for the first time, is engraved on an irregularly shaped stone slab now preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. While noticing it against No. 36 of Appendix B in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1950-51 it was stated that the inscribed slab was originally from Vala in Saurashtra. It was further stated, in the above report, that the epigraph belongs to the king Dharmamahārāja Sukētvarman and that it is written in Sanskrit language and Southern alphabet. The Remarks column of the said *Report* contains the following observation: "Damaged. The title *Dharmamahārāja* of the king seems to associate him with Southern India. Purport not clear. In characters closely resembling those of the Tālagunda pillar inscription of Kākusthavarman (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, Plate facing P. 32). In characters of about the 6th century A. D." It will be shown in the sequel that the above observations are either insufficient or inaccurate.

For instance, the statement that Vala, the findspot of the inscription under study, is located in Saurashtra is itself wrong. For, in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. XIII, Part II (1882), p. 420 the findspot is located in the Thana District in the following words: "A stone inscription from Vāḍa in the north of Thāna of the fourth or fifth century shows that a Mauryan king of the name of Sukētvarma was then ruling in the Konkan". That this inscription is the same as the one under study is incontrovertible. It is thus clear that the findspot of the present inscription is in Vāḍa or Vāḷa, a village in the Thana District of Maharashtra. It will be shown further below that the inscription refers, among other things to the installation of the deity Kōṭīśvara and by referring this information to the following observations contained in pages 372-73 of Vol. XIV of the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency* (1882), we can also arrive at the exact place from which the present inscription was originally recovered at Vāḷa: "To the northeast of the village there is a large pond, once a fine piece of water but now much silted. In the middle of the pond are some old piles, said to be the remains of a pleasure-house built by the Jawhār Chiefs, who had their head-quarters in Vāḍa. The only other traces of former greatness are a ruined Hindu temple of Khandeshvar, built of stones without mortar, a few dismantled tombs, a ruined mosque, and a ruined temple of Hanumān. The ruins of the Hindu temples are about fifty yards east of the māmlatdār's office. Its foundations are sixty feet by twentyseven and the whole is formed of huge blocks of stones with the usual joints for iron or wooden clamps. The shrine still stands with an altar inside. Over the door is a small naked sitting figure, with the hands crossed on the lap, and what looks like a sacred thread on the left shoulder. The figure is not worshipped. Among the ruins is a pillar capital with a well-cut cobra, with expanded hood. In the Museum of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, there is an inscribed stone said to have come from Vāḍa.¹ The inscription is in eleven lines written in Dēvanāgarī letters², which appear from their form to

¹ I learn from shri B.V. Shetti, Curator, Archaeology Section, Prince of Wales Museum that the stone was with the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society prior to its transfer to the Museum.

² The characters are actually the Southern Variety of Central Indian Box-headed script as was employed by the Vākātakas.

be of about the fifth or sixth century after Christ¹. In the first lines Pandit Bhagvanlal reads the name of the king 'Maurya Sukētuvārma' and in the second 'Koteshvar was established by Simhadatta son of Kumāradatta'². It may be safely concluded from the above that the ruined temple of Khaṇḍēśvara at Vāḍa was the ancient temple of Kōṭīśvara from whose ruins the epigraph under discussion must have been recovered.

The inscribed slab is 135 cm. at its longest, 53 cm. at its widest and is 8 cm. thick. On top of the slab, somewhat left of middle, is engraved, in relief, the figure of a trident, about 14 cm. high. Below that is engraved the text, in eleven lines, the writing occupying a space 72 cm. in height, the maximum and minimum width being 48 and 42 cm. The longest and shortest lines are respectively made up of 28 (line 1) and 18 (lines 10 and 11) letters. The written surface of the slab has suffered, through the centuries, extensive, though superficial, damage as a result of which the task of decipherment has become difficult.

The text is engraved in a script which may be called the **Southern variety of Central Indian Box-headed characters**. In view of their highly stylised nature, it is not always possible to fix palaeographically the period of Box-headed records within a short span of time, unless aided by internal evidence. In the present instance, however, as will be seen in the sequel, the epigraph is dated in the Śaka year 322 corresponding to 400 A.D. The record thus belongs to the very end of the fourth century A.D. The palaeographical features are very regular for the period to which the inscription belongs. As regards orthography, it may be pointed out that the class nasal is as a rule employed instead of *anusvāra*, the consonant preceding *r* is as a rule doubled and the writing of *putra* as *puttra* (line 2) is a common feature of the period to which the record belongs. Initial *ā* occurs once in line 2, initial *ī* once in line 1, initial *u* once in line 7 and the sign for *upadhmanīya* once in line 8.

The language employed is Sanskrit and, barring lines 10-11, which contain a single verse in *Āryā*, the rest of the text is in prose. Since the record belongs to a period in which Sanskrit was on the ascendant, the composition is free from errors. Of lexical interest are the usages *tāri-bhaumaḥ* (line 3) and *udaka-viraka* (line 6). Of these, the former usage seems to stand for 'an excellent piece of land', *tāri* being perhaps derived from *tri* > *tāra* meaning 'good, excellent', etc. It may be noted here that the above land is described in the present record as *ati-samṛiddhaḥ* i.e. very fertile. The other usage *udaka-viraka* is more difficult to explain. It is not unlikely that *viraka* has been derived from *viru* meaning 'to roar aloud' and that it means 'a roaring water canal'.

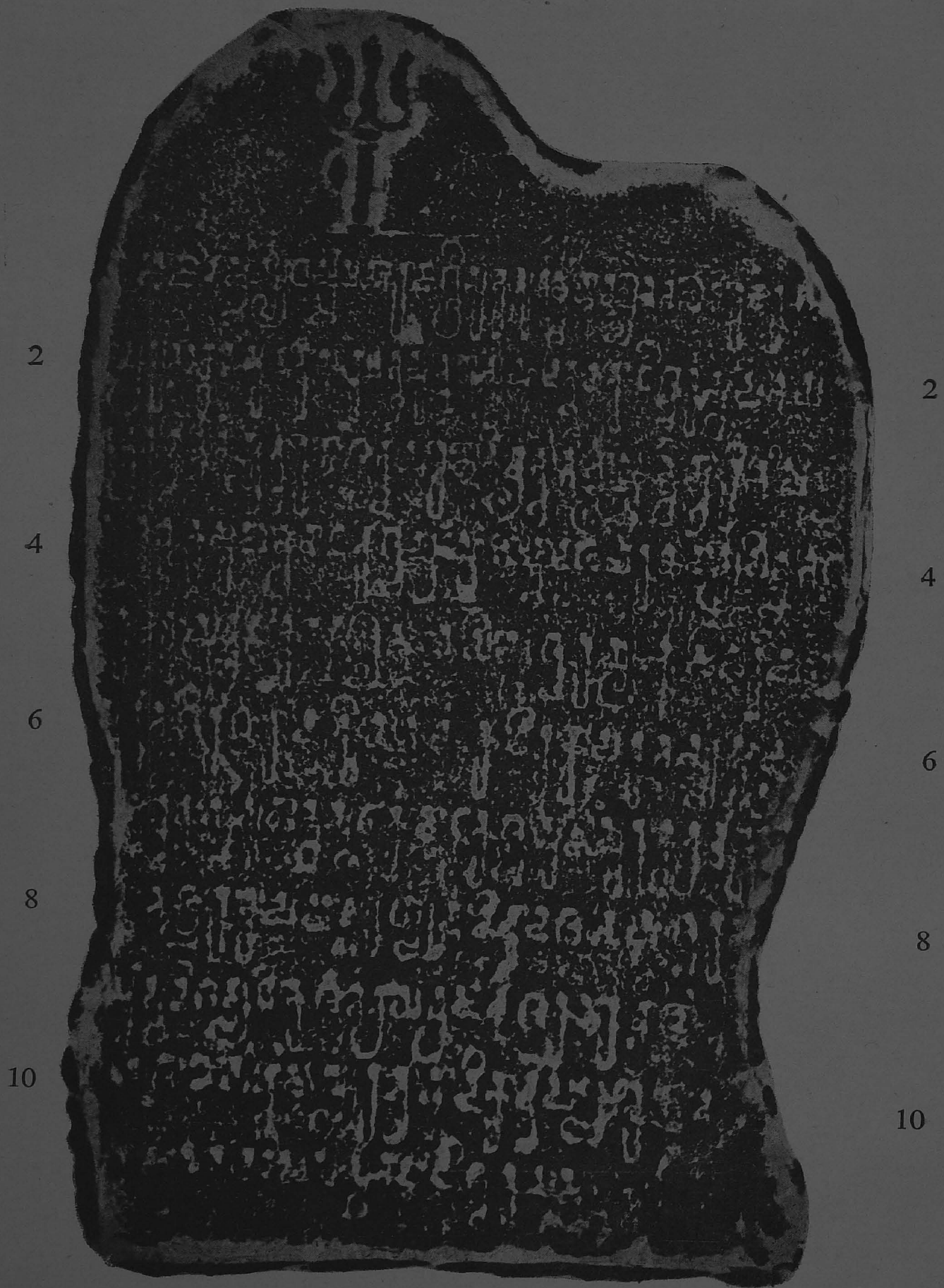
The date of the inscription is quoted in lines 8-11 as the tenth *nāḍikā* in the night of the full-moon day (*paurṇamāsī*) of the month of Vaiśākha in the Śaka year 322. Though the details are insufficient for verification, the probable Gregorian equivalent may be given as 400 A.D., April 24, Tuesday.

The object of the inscription is to record the installation of the deity Kōṭīśvara by Simhadatta, the son of Ānankiparadatta on the date quoted above, and, for that reason, to register some grants, made probably on the same date, to the deity by Īsaprakki, the *Vallabha-Talavara* of *Maurya-Dharmamahārāja* Sukētuvārman of the Bhōjas. The details of the grant are as follows : a piece of very fertile land called *tāri-bhaumaḥ* which was separated from Garttaparāṇḍa and was located to the north of the Pinākinī river ; a garden bounded on all its sides ; twelve *padas* of land belonging to Bhāvajīvaka, the *Brahma-*

¹ In Volume XIII of the same Gazetteer (part II, p. 420) it is rightly stated that the inscription belongs to the fourth or fifth century.

² The father's name actually reads as Ānankiparadatta.

VALA INSCRIPTION OF SUKETUVARMAN



SCALE : One-fourth

No. 10] VALA (OR VADA) INSCRIPTION OF SUKETUVARMAN, SAKA 322 53

vid, i.e. one who had realised the one Brahman, a philosopher; besides, a certain extent of land called *Śiṣṭēśvar-ārya-bhūmi*, located in Taṭākaphullavana and bounded in the east by the mountain water fall, in the south by a roaring water canal, in the west by the sea and in the north by a well-bounded tank and garden; and, twelve *padas* of threshing floor in Pūrṇapura.

The inscription is of considerable importance for the early history of the Koṅkaṇa region. It belongs to the reign of the king Sukētuvārman who is styled as *Bhōjānām Maurya-Dharmamahārāja* which could be translated to mean *Maurya-Dharmamahārāja* of the Bhōjas. It is known from a few copper-plate inscriptions¹ discovered in the Goa-Maharashtra-Koṅkaṇa region that adjacent tracts in that area were under the rule of the contemporaneous dynasties of the Mauryas and Bhōjas during the 4-6th centuries A.D. Besides, the well-known Aihole inscription² also alludes to the defeat suffered by the Mauryas of Koṅkaṇa at the hands of the Chalukya rulers Kirttivarman I (566/67-597/98 A.D.) and Pulakēśin II (609/10-642 A.D.). These Mauryas and Bhōjas appear to have maintained close relations, not in the least dictated by the proximity of their kingdoms; and the names of the members of both the families had *varman* endings. From the style of Sukētuvārman's introduction in our record as the Maurya king of the Bhōjas, we may safely conclude that he was an issue born out of a marital alliance between the two families and that, though he was, by right of succession, a *Maurya-Dharmamahārāja*, he was also holding sway, on the date of the present inscription, over the Bhōja kingdom. Sukētuvārman is only the second Koṅkaṇa Maurya ruler known to us and is the only ruler among the Koṅkaṇa Mauryas and the Bhōjas for whose reign we have a definite date, viz., 400 A.D.

The names Īsaprakki of the official bearing the designation *Vallabha-Talavara*, and Ānaṅkiparadatta of the father of Siṃhadatta are rather peculiar. But the letters do not lend themselves to any alternate readings. The official designation *Vallabha-Talavara* is interesting. While the office of *Talavara* is an ancient one, it occurs here with the prefix *Vallabha*. It is well known that from the time of the Chalukyas of Vātāpi the term *Vallabha* came to popularly denote the imperial rulers of Karnāṭaka. The designation *Vallabha-Talavara* leads us to believe that the Koṅkaṇa rulers were also known as *Vallabha* in the 4th-5th centuries A.D.

The last line, forming the second half of the verse in *Āryā* is badly worn out but contains a reference to the temple (*sthāna*) of Kōṭīśvara. This is obviously the temple in which the deity Kōṭīśvara was installed by Siṃhadatta. A clearance operation, if conducted at the site of the ruined temple of Khaṇḍēśvara at Vāḍa may yet bring to light the foundations of a temple which may turn out to be one of the earliest datable structural temples in the country. The reference to the deity as Kōṭīśvara is also interesting. There were two parallel traditional concepts on the west coast, those of *Sapta-Koṅkaṇa* or the seven Koṅkaṇas and *Sapta-Kōṭīśvara* or the seven Kōṭīśvaras. It is not unlikely that Vāḍa or Vāḷa was one of the seven ancient Kōṭīśvara-sthānas.

The geographical names mentioned in the inscription are the river Pinākinī and the places Garttaparaṇḍa, Taṭākaphullavana and Pūrṇapura. Of these the Pinākinī river may be the same as modern Piñjal which runs south-westwards to the north of Vāḍa or Vāḷa before

¹ Bandora plates of Maurya Anirjitavarman, year 29 (above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 293-96 and plate); Siroda plates of Bhōja Devarāja (ibid., Vol. XXIV, pp. 143-45 and plates; Vol. XXVI, pp. 337-40); Hiregutti plates of Bhōja Aśaṅkita (ibid., Vol. XXVIII, pp. 70-75 and plate); Arga plates of Bhōja Kāpālivārman (ibid., Vol. XXXI, pp. 232 f. and plate); Kāpōli plates of Bhōja Aśaṅkitavarman (ibid., Vol. XXXI, pp. 234-36 and plate); Two Goa plates of Bhōja Pṛithvīmallavarman, year 1 and year 25 (ibid., Vol. XXXIII, pp. 61-64 and plates).

² Above, Vol. VI, pp. 1-12 and plate.

joining the river Vaitaraṇā not far from Vāḍa. Vāḍa is about 40 kms. from the West coast as a crow flies and at least one of the donated lands, *Si(Śi)shṭēsvar-ārya-bhūmi*, was located right on the coast, for its western boundary is given as the sea. I am unable to identify on a modern map the places Garttaparaṇḍa, Taṭākaphullavana and Pūrṇapura.

TEXT¹

- 1 Bhōjā²nām=Mauryya-Dharmmamahārājaś=śri-Sukētuvarmmaṇ[ō] Vallabha-Talavarēṇa
Iśa-
- 2 prakkinā [da]ttaḥ Ānaṅkiparadatta-puttrēṇa Simhadattēna Kōṭīśvara-sthāpanāya
- 3 [Pi]nākini-nady-uttarēṇa Garttaparaṇḍa-nivṛitt-ātisamṛiddhas-tāri-bhaumaś=cha
- 4 . rakēshu baddha-vāṭakaś=cha Brahma-vid=Bhāvajīvaka-padāny-api dvādaśa
- 5 punar-ayan-Taṭākaphullavanē Si(Śi)shṭēsvar-āryya-bhūmi-parim[āṇam]
- 6 pūrvvata[h*] giri-dhārā dakshiṇēn-ōdaka-virakō=paratas=samudra[h]
- 7 uttaratas=subandhas-taṭākam vāṭakaś=cha Pūrṇapura-kshētra-nā . . .
- 8 . taś=charakēshu khalyaḥ-padāni dvādaśa[| *] . . ś=Śaka-va-
- 9 [rshē] dvā-vimśaty-adhikē śata-trayē vrajati Śaka-naranāthā[nām]
- 10 Vaiśākha-paurṇamāsyāṁ rātrau nāḍikā dvi-pañchakē [| *] . .
- 11 sthānaḥ-Kōṭīśvara [||]³

¹From the original slab and inked estampages.

²Strictly speaking, the *ā-mātra* should have been drawn from the middle horizontal stroke.

³Mette : Ārvā.

No. 11.—THREE COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM ASSAM

(12 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, CALCUTTA

1. *Ulubāri Plates of Balavarman, Regnal Year 13*

Ulubāri is a locality lying within the Naharbari Mauza in the Darrang District, and the copper-plate charter recently discovered at the place is similar to the two known grants of the king in question who belonged to the dynasty of Mlēchchha Sālastambha, viz., (1) the Uttar Barbil or Howraghat plates¹ of his fifth regnal year and (2) the Nowgong plates² of the eighth year of his reign. The inscription was noticed by two gentlemen named Chidananda Baruah and Kanak Chandra Sarmah in the *Assam Tribune* of Gauhati, in its issue of May 29, 1977, with an illustration of the reverse side of the second of the three plates of the set.³ The poor standard of the said notice may be realised from the fact that the name of the gift village of Dikkūra was taken by Baruah and Sarmah to be Pātidikkūra without noticing that the letters *Pāti* form the concluding part of the preceding expression *Mañjai-vishay-āntahpāti*.

King Balavarman's date is determined by the facts that one of the records of his great-grandfather Harjaravarman bears the date Gupta 510 corresponding to 829-30 A.D.⁴, and that Brahmapāla who flourished after the extinction of the Mlēchchha dynasty began to rule about 900 A.D., as we shall see below. Thus the reigns of the Mlēchchha kings from Harjara to Balavarman may be as follows : (1) Harjara c. 815-32 A.D., (2) his son Vanamāla c. 832-55 A.D., (3) his son Jayamāla Virabāhu c. 860-80 A.D. and (4) his son Balavarman c. 860-80 A.D.

The present inscription is written on the inner sides of the first and third plates and both the sides of the second, the three plates being strung together on a copper seal ring. The two ends of this ring are elongated so as to be fixed to the bottom projection of a spoon-shaped seal of brass. The upper half of the surface of the seal having a raised border exhibits the front part of an elephant while the lower half bears a legend in three lines reading as follows :

1 *Siddham*⁵ Svasti śrīmān=Prāggyōtish-ādhi-[pānva]-

2 [yo] mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Va(Ba)-

3 lavarmadēvaḥ ||

The plates measure each about 25.5 cm in length and 16.25 cm in height. Traces show that the careful scribe drew lines not only to ensure the straightness of the lines of writing on the plates but also for the determination of a suitable space to be left out for boring the hole for the seal ring to pass through. There are altogether 55 lines of writing on the three plates — 14 on the inner side of Plate I, 13 and 14 on the two sides of Plate II and 14 on the inner side of Plate III. The preservation of the writing is on the whole satisfactory.

¹ Above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 283 ff.

² P.N. Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvali*, pp. 71 ff.

³ See *JAIH*, Vol. X, pp. 116 ff.

⁴ P.N. Bhattacharya. *op. cit.*, pp. 185 ff.

⁵ Expressed by symbol.

The palaeography and orthography of the Ulubāri copper-plate inscription are similar to those of the other records of king Balavarman. Of the initial vowels we have *a* (lines 14,31), *i* (lines 11, 49) and *u* (lines 54, 55). *B* is written by the sign for *v*. There are final *t* (lines 28, 30) and final *n* (line 39), the former being of two types; it has sometimes its old form, but the modern type is also used occasionally (cf. the old form at the beginning of line 28 and two cases of the modern form in line 30). *Anusvāra* is also of two types, one of them being the Bengali form of the sign (lines 32, 40-41). Of interest are the wrong spellings like *ns* for *ms* (lines 14, 29), *tasmim* for *tasmin* (line 8) and *prōchchhārīta* for *prōtsārīta* (line 31). The spelling of the name Ushā (line 48) is interesting because the word is generally written as *ushā* while *ūshā* is an East Indian modification of the medieval period. The present inscription shows that the modification is at least as old as the ninth century A.D.

The introductory part of the charter, consisting of twenty-five stanzas in various metres, and a passage in prose introducing the donor is the same as in Balavarman's other charters. It is well known that the poet who composed the verses borrowed some passages and ideas from Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa*.¹ At the beginning we have the Siddham symbol and the auspicious word *svasti*. Verse 1 is in adoration to the *tējas* (spirit) of the god Rudra (Śiva) while the waters of the *vāridhī* (i.e., ocean) that was the Lauhitya (Brahmaputra) are likewise the subject of adoration in the next stanza (verse 2). Verse 3 introduces Naraka born of the goddess Earth from her rescuer from the bottom of the ocean, who was the god Upēndra (Vishṇu) in his boar form. The next stanza (verse 4) says how Naraka took away Aditi's ear-rings together with Mahēndra's fame while verse 5 states that Naraka established himself at the city named Prāgjyōtisha in the Kāmarūpa country. Verse 6 describes how Naraka was killed by Murāri (Kṛishṇa) by his discus. Likewise verses 7-8 introduce king Naraka's successors, viz. his son Bhagadatta and the latter's younger brother (correctly, son) Vajradatta. It is well known that king Balavarman, the donor of the present grant was a descendant of the Mlēchchha king Sālastambha, although members of this family also claimed descent from the mythical king Naraka of Prāgjyōtisha like the preceding dynasty of Pushyavarman.

Verses 9-11 say how Sālastambha of the family of Vajradatta became king after the rule of a number of other rulers and how, after Pālaka, Vijaya and others who succeeded their ancestor Sālastambha, flourished a king named Harjara to whom many feudatory rulers bowed down. Harjara's son Vanamāla is introduced in verses 12-14 especially as the builder of many places. Verses 15-18 describe how Vanamāla abdicated his throne to his youthful son Jayamāla *alias* Virabāhu who, after his accession, married a princess named Ambā. The following stanzas (verses 19-25) describe king Balavarman who was born of the union of Jayamāla Virabāhu. Virabāhu was attacked with an incurable disease and abdicated the throne in favour of his son Balavarman. Verse 25 states that his *Paitāmaha kaṭaka* (royal camp of his grand-father, i.e. ancestral capital) stood in the vicinity of the Lauhitya (Brahmaputra). In the following passage in prose, the name of the said capital city has been mentioned as the *kaṭaka* named Haḍappēśvara where king Balavarman was staying while making the grant. We have elsewhere seen how this name of the headquarters of the kings of the Sālastambha dynasty was formerly read wrongly as Hārūppēśvara.

It is further stated that Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Balavarman, being in good health, ordered certain categories of people associated with the gift land for the time being and the future. This gift land was a plot yielding two thousand *dhānya* (i. e. two thousand standard measures of paddy or crops apparently per annum, the measure being

¹ Cf. verses 5, 7, 9, 12, and 18 with *Raghuvamśa*, verses VI. 64, VI. 21 and V. 19, I. 30, VI. 32, III. 16 and VI. 79.

ULUBARI PLATES OF BALAVARMAN

SEAL



2

2

SCALE : From photograph

probably called *drōṇa*) taken out of a locality named Dikkūra lying in the Mañjai-Vishaya (district) of the Uttara-kūla which was the division of the kingdom lying to the north of the Brahmaputra. The idea of the creation of a rent-free holding by separating the land from the rent-paying areas of the village or district is expressed in the style of Balavarman's other grants as well as of the charters of the kings of Brahmapāla's line, as *Dikkūratō=pakṛiṣṭa* (i.e. having taken out the land from Dikkūra) which reminds us of the passage *vishayād=uddhṛita-piṇḍa* (i.e. taken as a piece out of the district) in the records of some other kings.¹ This is a way of saying that the gift land had been separated from a rent-paying area for creating a rent-free holding. The people addressed included the inhabitants of the countryside headed by the Brāhmaṇas as well as such district officials as the *Karaṇas* (scribes) and *Vyāvahārikas* (administrators) who were present there near the land as well as such others as the *Rājan* (kings), *Rājñī* (queens), *Rāṇaka* (feudatories) and officials and also the *Rājanaka* (small chiefs), *Rājaputtra* (princes), *Rājavallabha* (courtiers), etc., who were associated with the land for the time being and would be so associated in the future. All these categories of people were ordered with due respect. It was said, for the information of the people, that the said plot together with homestead and cultivated land, high land, waters, pasture land, *avakara* (or *avaskara*, probably 'mounds'), etc., was made a *sāsana* or rent-free gift in favour of the Brāhmaṇa Bhavadēva on the occasion of Laksha-hōma ceremony celebrated on the *udak-saṅkramaṇa*, i. e. beginning of the sun's movement towards the north, otherwise known as the *makara-saṅkrānti* i. e. the sun's entry into the zodiacal sign of Capricornus), which takes place in the fourth week of December. Laksha-hōma (literally 'one lakh oblations'), which is a ceremony for the appeasement of angry planets, reminds us of *kōṭihōma* mentioned in the Rampal plate of Śrīchandra.² The donee belonged to the Parāśara-gōtra and the Kāṇva-śākhā of the *Yajurveda* and was the son of Dhruvadēva and Ushā and grandson of Vishṇudēva. The privileges to be enjoyed by the donee are given in a passage describing the gift land as *yathā-saṁstha* (probably situated within recognised boundaries), including its *sīma* (boundaries) and *uddēśa* (space above the ground), free from all the troubles arising from *hastibandha* (entrapping of elephants), *naukābandha* (anchorage of royal boats), *chaurōddharana* (recovery of stolen goods), *daṇḍapāśa* (watchman engaged in catching offenders), *uparikara* (tenants) and levies on various other accounts as well as the grazing of the king's elephants, horses, camels, buffaloes, sheep and goats.

The boundaries of the gift land are given as follows : in the east — the eastern bank of the canal called Dimadau ; in the south-east — the same canal and two Vētasa trees ; in the south — a Pāṭali tree ; in the south-west — the eastern side or bank of a *dhara* (probably an embankment of a canal on the boundary) made by the king ; in the west — a Saptaparna tree as well as a canal ; in the north-west — a Jaḍi tree ; in the north — the Dimadau canal and two Mandāra tree ; and in the north-east — a Varma tree.

The importance of the inscription lies in its date. The previously published records of king Balavarman, viz., the Howragh at (Uttar Barbil) plates and the Nowgong plates, were issued respectively in the years 5 and 8 of his reign while the present charter bears a date in the regnal year 13. Thus we know now that king Balavarman of the Sālastambha dynasty of Prāgyōtisha did not end his rule shortly after the eighth year of his reign, but continued to reign at least upto year 13.

¹ See, e.g., the grants of Harshavardhana (above, Vol. No. 1, pp. 167 ff., Vol. IV, pp. 208 ff.) and also the Pāṇḍukēśvar plates (*ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 281 (line 22), 288 (line 24), 296 (line 36)).

² *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, pp. 136 ff. *Sāntivanita* pravāsa-Guptasarman performed the *Kōṭihōma* on the king's behalf. See *Agni Purāṇa*, Chapt. 149, *Grihyasaṅgraha* (Bid. Ind.), 129.

The geographical names in the grant portion of the inscription are Uttara-kūla, Mañjavi-shaya, Dikkūra and Dimadau-jōla. Of these Uttara-kūla is the division of the kingdom lying to the north of the Brahmaputra as we have said. The other names have not been identified. It may be noted here that Uttara-kūla is mentioned in contrast to Dakshina kūla or the division lying to the southern bank of the same river, although the latter is rarely mentioned as in the Nowgong plates of Balavarman himself. There has been an attempt to explain *Dakshina kūla* as the 'right' bank so that this would mean the same thing as the Uttara-kūla or the north bank.¹ Since, however, the words *uttara* and *dakshina* mean two opposite directions, it is difficult to believe that the documents of the same king would have used two such words in the same sense particularly because a territorial or administrative unit is expected to have been mentioned in the official records of the state by a definitive name. Of course, in this connection, our attention has been drawn to the fact that Pitāmbara Siddhāntavāgīśa, although he was an inhabitant of the village of Sarabari in the Mangaldai Sub-Division of the Darrang District to the north of the Brahmaputra, claims to have been born in *Lauhitya-dakshinakula* in the following stanza at the end of his *Dāyakaumudī* (Śaka 1526-1604 A. D.)

Pitāmbarēṇa guṇa-sundara-mandirēṇa
Kāmēśvari-charaṇa-rēṇu-parāyaṇēna |
Lauhitya-dakshina-kulē-°pi samudbhavēna
bhūyāt kritah kṛiti-mudē sahito nibandhaḥ ||

It appears to us, however, the *Lauhityadakshina-kula* in the above stanza, which uses the word *kula* (a territory or family) and not *kūla* (bank), is not a typical and stereotyped geographical name like Uttara-kūla and Dakshina-kūla found in the epigraphic records.

TEXT²

[Metres : Verses 1-4, 9-10, 14, 17, 21-25 *Āryā* ; verses 5-7, 12, 15 *Upajāti* ; verses 8, 13, 19, 20 *Gīti* ; verse 11 *Pushpitāgrā*(?) ; verses 16, 18, 28, 30 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 26-27, 29 *Vasantatilakā*.]

- 1 *Siddham*³ Svasti | Bhavatu bhava-timira-bhiduraṁ tējō Raudraṁ praśāntayē jagataḥ |
parivarttatē śamagraṁ kalp-ā-
- 2 nta-niś-āvasānē yat = [1*] Sura-kari-mada-chandrakīṭaṁ salilaṁ Lauhitya-vāridhēr-
amalaṁ(lam) || Kailāsa-kaṭa-
- 3 ka-mṛigamada-vāsitaṁ=apaharatu duritamvaḥ (taṁ vaḥ) [2*] Pralaya-payōdhau
magnām=uddharatō Vasumatīm-Upē-
- 4 ndrasya | Naraka iti sūnur=āsīd=asura-suhṛit=krōḍa-rūpa-bhṛitaḥ || [3*] Trailōkya-
vijaya-tuṅgaṁ yēn=āpahṛi-
- 5 taṁ yaśō Mahēndrasya | Aditēḥ kuṇḍala- yugalaṁ kapōla-dōlāyitaṁ haratā || [4*] Ta-
(Tā)mvu(mbū)la-valli-
- 6 pariṇaddha-pūgaṁ kṛiṣṇ-āguru-skandha-nivēśi-tailaṁ(lam) | sa Kāmarūpē jita-Kāma-

¹ See P. N. Bhattacharya *op. cit.*, p 85, note 1.

² From impressions.

³ Expressed by symbol.

ULUBARI PLATES OF BALAVARMAN

i

2	...	2
4	...	4
6	...	6
8	...	8
10	...	10
12	...	12
14	...	14

ii a

16	...	16
18	...	18
20	...	20
22	...	22
24	...	24
26	...	26



- 7 rūpa[h*] Prāgyōtish-ākhyam puram=adhyuvāsa [5*] Mad-āndha-gāndha-dvipa-karṇṇa-
tāla-nṛi-
- 8 tyan mayūr-ōpavanē sa tasmim(smin) | vasan=samāsādyā Murāri-chakraṁ raṇē raṇai-
- 9 shī divam=ārurōha || [6*] Bhūpāla¹-mauli-maṇi-chumvbi(mbi)ta-pāda-pīṭhas=tasy=
āna(nu)-
- 10 jō=bhūd=Bhagadatta-nāmā | rājā prajāramja(ñja)na-lavdha(bdha)-varṇṇō-varṇṇ-
āśramānām guru=rēka-vīraḥ || [7*] upa-
- 11 gatavati sura-lōkaṁ tasmin=tasy=ānujō²-bha[va]d=bhūmēḥ | patir=amala-bhaktir=Īśē
yam prāhur=Vvajradatta i-
- 12 ti kavaya[h] || [8*] Tad-vamśē vana-[va*]prām=parikhī-kṛita-sāgarām mahim=bhutvā-
(ktvā) | astaṅ=gatēshu rājasu Sālata-
- 13 mbhō=bhavan=nṛipatiḥ || [9*] Pālaka-Vijaya-prabhṛitishu samatīkrāntēshu tasya
vamśē(śyē)shu | abhavad=bhuvi nṛipa-cha-
- 14 ndrō dvishaj-jvarō Harjjarō nāma || [10*] Aham=ahamikayā vivandiśū(shū)ṇānsam(ṇām
sam) sadi³ yasya nakha-prabhā-

Second Plate : First side

- 15 pra[tā]naiḥ | nra(na) mukṭa-maṇayō vibhānti rājñām ravikara-samvalitā iva pradīpāḥ ||
[11*] Tasy=ātmajaḥ śrī-Na(Va)-
- 16 namāladēvō rājā chiram bhakti-parō Harē=bhūt | viśālavakshō(kshā)s=tanu-vṛitta-
madhyaḥ pinaddha-kaṇṭhaḥ pari-
- 17 gh-ābha-vā(bā)huḥ || [12*] Na kruddham vikṛit-āsam(syam) na cha hasitam na cha
vachāḥ śrutān=nichāt | na cha kimchid=uktam=ahitam ma-
- 18 hitam śīlam sad=aiva yasy=ābhūt || [13*] Yēn=ātul=āpi sa-tulā jagati viśāl=āpi bhūri-
kṛita-śālā [| *] pa-
- 19 nktiḥ prāsādānām=akṛita vichitr=āpi sach-chittrāḥ || [14*] Ta[sy=ā*]tmajaḥ śrī-Jayamāla-
- 20 dēvaḥ kshir-āmvu(mbu)rāśer=iva śīta-raśmi[h*] | va(ba)bhūva yasy=āskhalitam bhra-
manti ya-
- 21 śāmsi kund-ēndu-sama-prabhu(bhā)ṇi || [15*] Sa śrīmān=Vanamālō=pi rājā rājīva-lōcha-
naḥ (| *)
- 22 avēkshya vinay-ōpētām tanujām prāpta-yauvanam(nam) || [16*] Chchha(chha)ttram
śāśadhara-dhavalām chāmara-
- 23 yugal-ānvitam pradāy=āsmāi | anaśana-vidhinā viras=tējasi Māhēśvarē li-

¹ This verse was begun in *Vasantatilakā* as this *pāda* indicates but ended up in *Upajātī* as the other three *pādas* point out.

² Better read *tasy=ātmajō*.

³ The word does not suit the metre which required two short syllables in place of *sam*. We may suggest *parishadi* in place of *samsadi*.

- 24 na[h*] || [17*] Prāpta-rājyēna tēn=ōḍhā rājñā śrī-Vīravā(bā)hunā | kulēna kāntyā vayasā¹
Amvā(mbā)nām=ātmanah samā || [18*]
- 25 Tēn=ōdapādi tasyām=araṇāv=iva pāvaka[h*] prayōga-vidā | Va(Ba)lavarmm=ēti pra-
thitah śrīmat-tanayaḥ samagra-
- 26 guṇa-yuktaḥ || [19*] Asita-sarōruha-chala-dala-nibha-nayana[h*]pīna-kandharaḥ subhujah
| abhinava-dinakara-kara-ha-
- 27 ha(ta)-vidalita-nava-nalina-kānti-sachchhāyāḥ || [20*] Gachchhati tithimati kālē sa
kadāchit=karmmaṇām vipāka-vaśā-

Second Plate : Second Side

- 28 t | rājā-ruj-ābhibhūtō lamghita-bhishajam(jā) raṇastambhaḥ || [21*] Niḥsāraṁ sa[m*]-
sāraṁ jala-lava-lōlañ=cha jīvitaṁ pu-
- 29 nsām(puṁsām) | vigaṇayya Vīrava(bā)hu[h*] karttavyam=achintayach=chhēsaṁ(sham) ||
[22*] Atha pū(pu)ṇyē=hani nṛipatis=tanayan=tam=udagra-vigrahaṁ
- 30 vidhivat | kēsari-kiśōra-saḍriśam siṁghā(hā)sana-maulitām=anayat || [23*] Tad-antaram=
adhigamya prājyaṁ tad-rā-
- 31 jyam=ājyam=iva vahniḥ | Va(Ba)lavarmm=āpi didipē prōchchhā(tsā)rita-sakala-ripu-
timiraḥ || [24*] Abhavaj=ja[ya*]-kari-kumbha-skha-
- 32 lit-ōrmēr=amala-vāridhēs=tasya | Lauhityasya samipe tad=ēva paitāmahaṁ kaṭakaṁ-
(kam) || [25*] Tatra śrīmati Haḍappē-
- 33 śvara-nāmani kaṭake kṛita-vasatir=utkhāt-āsi-latā-marichi-nichaya-mēchakitēna vā(bā)-
hunā |² vijita-sakala-dik-chakravālō dhīraḥ pradhanē bhīrur=ayaśasi tikshṇō ripu-
- 35 shu mṛidutarō gu[ru*]shu |² satyavāg=avisamvādi kṛitv=ā-vikatha(ttha)naḥ sthūla-
lakshō mātā-pi-
- 36 tṛi-pād-ānudhyāna-dhauta-kalmaśah(shah) paramēśvaraḥ paramabhaṭṭārakō mahārājā-
- 37 dhirājah śrī-Va(Ba)lavarmmadēvaḥ kuśalī ||³ || Uttara-kulē Mañjai-vishay-āntaḥpāti-
Dikkūrat=ōpa-
- 38 kṛishṭa-dhānya-dvi-sahasr-ōtpattika-bhūmau |⁴ yathāyatham samupasthita-Vrā(Brā)-
hmaṇ-ādi-vishaya-karaṇa-vyāvahā-
- 39 rika-pramukha-jānapadān ||⁴ rāja-rājñi-rāṇak-ādhikṛitān=anyān=api rājanaka-rājaputra-
rājavalla-
- 40 bha-prabhṛitin | yathā-kāla-bhāvinō=pi sarvvān=mānanā-pūrvvakam samādīśati | vidita
[m=astu*] bhavatām | bhūmi-

¹ Sandhi has been avoided here for the metre's sake.

² The mark of punctuation is superfluous.

³ There is a flower design between the double *dandas*.
The mark of punctuation is redundant.

41 r=iyam vāstu-kēdāra-sthala-jala-gōprachār-āvakar-ādy-upētā yathā-samsthā sva-sim-
ōddēśa-paryantā ha-

Third Plate

- 42 stiva(ba)ndha-naukāva(ba)ndha-chaurōddharāṇa-daṇḍapās-ōparikāra-nānā-nimitt-
ōtkhēṭana-hasty-aśv-ōshṭra-gō-ma-
- 43 hish-āj-āvika-prachāra-prabhṛitināmvi(nām vi) nivārita-sarvva-pīḍā | ¹ śāsanīkṛitya || yō
Jātavēdasam=api
- 44 dvija-varchchas=ōchchair=ddēvañ=jahāsa mahasā dvija-Vishṇudēvaḥ | āsīd=asāv=iha
Parāśara-vañśa(vamśa)-janmā | ¹
- 45 Kāṇvō Yajur-nnigadatāñ=jagati prasiddhaḥ || [26*] Satyam kalābhir=amalō na tul-
āvi(dhi)rūḍhaḥ(ḍhō) | ¹ vandyō gu-
- 46 ṇaiḥ śramaṇajair=Dhruvadēva² asmāt ||³ nirddhūta-kalmaśa-maśī-maśaṇō⁴ va(ba) bhūva | ¹
dagdh-āmvu(mbu)dhēr=iva śa-
- 47 śrī(śi) nayan-ābhirāmaḥ || [27*] Dēvāchāryasya tā[r]iva(rēva) | ¹ Sāntanōr=iva Jāhnavi |
- 48 tasya sādhyv=abhavat=patnī ⁵| ¹ Ushā nāma yaśasvini || [28*] Ha(Ta)[smā]dva(d=ba)-
bhūva sukṛitī
- 49 Bhavedēva-nāmā | ¹ Kāmasya sarvva-jagatām=abhivṛiddhi-hētuḥ | itthamvi(ttham vi)
chi-
- 50 ntya yasaśā⁶ śāśabhṛit=kalāvān | ¹ jānē jagāma [gu]⁷ṇinas=saha svai(śvai)tra-bhāvam
(vam) || [29*]
- 51 Udak-saṅkramaṇē puṇyē varshē trayōdaśē mayā | lakshā(ksha)-hōmē dvijāy=āsmāi
dattā kāmam=abhi(bhī)-
- 52 psatā || [30*] simā pūrvvēṇa Dimadau-jōla-pūrvva-pāṭaḥ | pūrvva-dakshiṇēna sai(sa ē)va
jōlaḥ | Vētasa-vṛi-
- 53 kshau | dakshiṇēna Pāṭali-vṛikshaḥ | dakshiṇa-paśchimēna narapati-kārita-dhara-
pūrvva-pāṭaḥ []
- 54 paśchimēna Saptaparṇṇa-vṛikshaḥ | jōlaś=cha | paśchim-ōttarēna Jaḍi-vrikshaḥ |
uttarēna Dimadau-
- 55 jōlaḥ | Mandāra-vṛikshau | uttara-pūrvvēṇa Varmma-vṛiksha iti ||

The mark of punctuation is redundant.

² The rules of *sandhi* have been ignored here for the sake of the metre. We may suggest *dēvakō=*
smāt.

³ Only one *daṇḍa* was required for proper punctuation.

⁴ Read *kalmasha-maśī-mashaṇō*.

⁵ The rules of *sandhi* have been ignored here for the sake of the metre.

⁶ Read *yaśasā*. *Sā* was originally incised for *sa(śa)*. It's *ā-mātrā*, however, seems to have been
deleted.

⁷ This *akshara* is engraved below the line.

2. *Śaratbāri Plates of Ratnapāla, Regnal year 12*

The plates bearing the inscription under study were discovered in the village of Śaratbāri in the Nowgong District. They are now preserved in the Assam State Museum, Gauhati. The inscription has been noticed twice, by Dr. P. C. Chaudhury in the *Journal of Indian History*, Trivandrum, Vol. LV, Parts I-II, April and August, 1977, pp. 61-69, and also by myself in the *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, Calcutta, Vol. X, 1976-77, pp. 118-20, although Dr. Choudhury's note was available to me only at a later date. Some of the unwarranted suggestions contained in Dr. Choudhury's note on the Śaratbāri (called by him "Charatbāri" in accordance with Assamese spelling) may be briefly noticed here : (1) the Dijjinnā-vishaya is the Dinajpur region of North Bengal although Dinajpur is far away from the Brahmaputra while Balavarman's Nowgong copper-plate inscription, referred to above, locates the Dijjinā vishaya in Dakshīṇa-kūla or the Division lying on the south bank of the said river ; (2) Ratnapāla's Gauḍa contemporary, Rājyapāla, was 'the immediate predecessor of Nayapāla whose accession can be placed in about 1038 A. D. though, in reality, Rājyapāla was the great-great grandfather (i.e., grandfather's grandfather) of Nayapāla (not Nyāyapāla) ; (3) the land granted by the charter was of an inferior quality : but, as we have seen above, the word *apakṛishṭa*, found in the same context in numerous charters, really means 'taken out' indicating that the plot was separated from a rent paying area and made a rent-free holding ; (4) the Saicha river was the south-western boundary of the gift land although the reading is not *Saicha*, but *s-aiva* (i. e. *sāeva*) ° (5) the city of Haḍappakā or Haḍappēśvara is mentioned wrongly as 'Haḍapyakā or Hārūppēśvara' which is again stated to have been 'a capital city where the king resides' and at the same time as Ratnapāla's 'ancestral town, not the *rājadhāni* (sic.)' etc., etc.

The three plates, on which the inscription is incised, are not exactly of the same size, the first plate being a little shorter than the other two while the third plate is slightly bigger in height. Thus the first plate is 10.9" : by 7.5", the second 11.1" : by 7.5" and the third 11.1" by 7.6". The preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory ; many passages in the prose portion of Plate II A are damaged.

Ratnapāla, king of Prāgjyōtisha-Kāmarūpa and son of Brahmapāla, is already known as the donor of two other copper plates grants, viz. (1) the Bargaon plates¹ issued in his 25th regnal year and (2) the Soalkuchi plates² of the 36th year of his reign. These records were so long ascribed to the first half of the eleventh century³ or specifically to Ratnapāla's reign i. c. 1000-30 A. D. ;⁴ but the Gachtal plates⁵ of Gōpāla, the great-grandson of Ratnapāla, as we shall see below, represent him as having defeated the Gauḍa king Rājyapāla whose reign is assigned to the period 917-52 A. D. especially because 1026 A. D. is the date of the Sarnath inscription⁶ of the time of the latter's great-grandson Mahīpāla I (c. 977-1027 A. D.)⁷. Since Ratnapāla is now found to have been the contemporary of a Gauḍa king who began to rule about 917 A. D., his reign should be ascribed not to the first half of the eleventh century

¹ P. N. Bhattacharya, *Kāmarūpaśāsanāvalī*, pp. 89 ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 110 ff., 210.

³ *Ibid.*, p. xxiv.

⁴ K. L. Barua, *E. Hist. Kāmarūpa*, p. 139. Barua did not notice that the date of the Soalkuchi plates originally read as year 26 was corrected by Bhattacharya to year 36 (*op. cit.*, pp. 209-10). He should therefore have quoted Ratnapāla's date as C. 1000-40 A. D. instead of C. 1000-30 A. D.

⁵ *Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. X, pp. 120-22 ; also below.

⁶ A. K. Maitreya, *Gauḍalēkhamālā*, p 108.

⁷ For the dates of the Gauḍa kings Rājyapāla, Mahīpāla and others, see *Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist.* ; Vol. IX pp. 200 ff.

A. D. but to that of the tenth century, i. e. at least no less than eight decades earlier. The reign of Ratnapāla may therefore be assigned roughly to the period 920-60 A. D. and the inscription under study has to be placed in the same period. Here is a case in which palaeographical consideration was wide of the mark.

As regards palaeographical peculiarities, we find too many cases of the use of *avagraha*, which is rather rare in inscriptions, in lines 18, 19, 61, 63, 64 and 68. Of initial vowels, we have *a* in line 66, *i* in lines 19, 23, 47 and 48, *u* in lines 71 and 72 and *ē* in lines 14 and 18. Final *n* is noticed in lines 56, 57 and 68 while the final forms of *k* and *t* occur respectively in lines 22 and in lines 2 and 30. *Anusvāra* has sometimes been written in the Bengali fashion, e, g., in *vim* in line 2. A peculiarity of the language, which is Sanskrit prose and verse, is that a name mentioned in the description of the boundaries in Divvēra-ḍōbbha in which *ḍōbbha* may be the same as *ḍōbā* used in Eastern India in the sense of a pool of waters. As regards orthography, we have *m-va*, *nśa*, etc. There seems a syntactical flaw herein which the name Vasishṭha has not been written in the East Indian fashion as Vaśishṭha in line 64. Influence of regional pronunciation of *y* in some cases as *j* is noticed in the spelling of *ajāyata* as *ayāyata* in line 23. Cf. also spellings like *samvēśya* for *samvēśya* (line 25), *yaśānsi* for *yaśānsi* (line 28), etc.

The introductory section contains eighteen verses followed by a long passage in prose in lines 31-53 introducing the donor Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Ratnapālavarman, son of Mahārājādhirāja Brahmapālavarman. Verses 1-15 are the same as the fifteen stanzas forming the versified portion of the introduction of Ratnapāla's Bargaon and Soalkuchi plates, referred to above, while verses 16-18 are new compositions, and the sections in prose, although written in the same style in imitation of Bāṇa-bhaṭṭa, is not copied from the other grants. This may suggest that the author of the text of the earlier charter under study was different from that of the two other later records. The reason for omitting the three stanzas of the earlier grant of year 12 in the later charters of years 25 and 36 is that they describe the king's capital of the period, the name of which is given as Haḍappakā-nagara, while the other grants describe his later capital named Durjayāpura not in verses but in a big sentence at the beginning of the section in prose. The sentence begins in the Bargaon plates with the words *jita-narapati-śatōpāyana-kṛita*, etc. in line 28 and ends with *Durjay-ākhyā-puram-adhyuvāsa* in line 40. Then, in the Bargaon plates, the donor is introduced in the passage beginning with *tatra cha* (line 40) and ending with *śrī-Ratnapā-[la*]varmmadēvaḥ kuśalī* in line 52. The corresponding prose introduction of the donor begins in the Śaratbāri plates with the words *yatra cha* in line 31 and *śrīmān-Ratnapālavarmmadēvaḥ kuśalī* in line 53. Thus the introduction of both the capital city and the king in prose covers the space from line 28 to line 52, i. e., about 25 lines while the description of the king in the Śaratbāri plates, following the description of the city of Haḍappakā in verses 16-18, runs in prose in 23 lines from line 31 to line 53. Thus the section of the earlier inscription introducing the king only is almost as lengthy as the corresponding section in the later records introducing both the capital and the king. Unfortunately, some portions in the first half of the prose introduction of the king are damaged in lines 23-40. The interesting description of the king in the passage *Śaka-kriḍā-śakuni-ārīḍha-pañjarēna Gurjjar-ādhirāja-prajvarēna durddānta-Gaudēndra-kari-kūṭapākalēna Kēralēśāchala-śilājatunā Vāhika-Tāyik-ātāṅka-kāriṇā Dākshinātya-kshaunīpati-rājayakhsmaṇā* in imitation of Bāṇa's description of Prabhākaravardhana in the Harshacharita is naturally omitted from the Śaratbāri plates because it is found in the description of Durjayā in the later charters. The only epithet of the king noticed in the prose description in the Śaratbāri plates, to which attention may be drawn, is *Bhauma-kula-bhū-shaṇa*, i. e., an ornament of the Bhauma dynasty. It is well known that, according to the grants of Ratnapāla, after the death of Tyāgasimha the 21st and last king of the

Mlêchchha dynasty founded by Sālastambha on the extinction of the Bhauma or Nāraka dynasty of Pushyavarman, the people wanted a king of the Bhauma house and therefore elected Brahmāpāla.

The gift land is mentioned in lines 53-55 as a plot (or two plots) yielding four thousand standard measures (possibly *drōṇas*) of *dhānya* (paddy or crops) taken out of two localities called *Śāntidāsa-pāṭaka* and *Bhaṭuvā-pāṭaka* lying in the district called Havvaṅga-vishaya. The king's order in respect of the grant was addressed, according to rule and with due respect, to the people of the countryside such as the *Karaṇa* (scribes) and *Vyāvahārika* (administrators) of the district present at the site, headed by the Brāhmaṇas, as well as to others who were then and would be in the future associated with the area such as the rulers and their queens, *Rāṇaka* (feudatory chiefs), *Adhikṛita* (officers or heads of departments) and others like the *Rājanaka* (small chiefs), princes and couriers as well as others. The style of the description here as also in the following passages resembles that of the grants of Balavarman and the other charters of Ratnapāla.

The gift land, which was the subject of the grants, included homestead and cultivated land, high land and waters, pasture land, *avaskara* (called *avakara* elsewhere) and other categories. It was situated within recognised boundaries and was granted along with its boundaries and the space above the ground. The gift land was made free from all troubles arising from *has-tibandha*, *naukābandha*, *chaurōddharaṇa*, *daṇḍapāśa*, and other minor levies, as well as from the grazing of the king's elephants, horses, camels, cattle, buffaloes, goats and sheep.

The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Siddhapāla who was a student of the Yajurveda and was the son of Bhaṭṭa Nidhipāla and his wife Dattāyikā. This Nidhipāla is described not as the son but as born in the family of Bhaṭṭa Jayapāla who belonged to the Kāṇva branch of the Yajurveda. We have other instances also of the representation of one's son as his descendant.¹ It is difficult to say whether it was due to the fact that the son was adopted out of the father's family. We know that often one adopted a son of one's own brother.

The grant was made for the increase of the religious merit of the king and his parents on the occasion of the *Dhanuḥ-saṅkramaṇa*, i. e., the sun's entry into the zodiacal sign of Dhanus (Sagittarius), which indicated the end of solar Agrahāyana in East India and the beginning of solar Pausha elsewhere, in the fourth week of November, during the king's twelfth regnal year.

The boundaries of the gift land were as follows: (1) in the east—a fence made of bamboos; (2) in the south-east 'Divvēraḍobbha at the boundary of the village called Sarāyichimma, the word *ḍobbha* in the name, as we have said, probably meaning a pool of water; (3) in the south the river Divvaisā; (4) in the south-west a Śālmali tree on the northern bank of the said river; (5) in the west two trees of which one was an Aśvattha and the other Śālmali; (6) in the north-west—another Śālmali tree; (7) in the north—the southern bank of the Śāntidāsa-jōla (probably, a canal excavated by Śāntidāsa whose name was borne by Śāntidāsa-pāṭaka in which part the gift land was situated) and (8) in the north-east—a Hijjala tree.

There are no imprecatory and benedictory stanzas quoted in the record although the descriptions of the donee's privileges suggests that it was a rent-free gift. Probably, the grant was made only for the enjoyment of the donee for his life time and not to his heirs, because, in such a case, there should probably have been a statement in the record to that effect.

The importance of the Śaratbāri plates is that it is the earliest of the three grants of Ratnapāla so far discovered and was issued when the king had his capital at Haḍappakā

¹ See Sircar, *The Successors of the Sātāvāhana in the Lower Deccan*, p. 250 and note.

SARATBARI PLATES OF RATNAPALA

i

2
4
6
8
10
12
14
16
18

2
4
6
8
10
12
14
16
18

Handwritten text in Devanagari script on a dark, irregularly shaped plate. The text is arranged in approximately 18 horizontal lines. The script is dense and appears to be a form of Sanskrit or a related language. There are some circular holes or indentations on the right side of the plate, possibly for binding or display purposes.

ii a

20
22
24
26
28
30
32
34
36
38
40

20
22
24
26
28
30
32
34
36
38
40

Handwritten text in Devanagari script on a dark, rectangular plate. The text is arranged in approximately 20 horizontal lines. The script is dense and appears to be a form of Sanskrit or a related language. There is a prominent circular hole on the left side of the plate, likely for binding or display purposes.

SARATBARI PLATES OF RATNAPALA

ii b

42
 44
 46
 48
 50
 52
 54
 56
 58

42
 44
 46
 48
 50
 52
 54
 56
 58

iii

60
 62
 64
 66
 68
 70
 72

60
 62
 64
 66
 68
 70
 72

described as the capital of his father or ancestors. There is no doubt that *Hadappakā* (essentially *Hadappā*) was the same as the capital of the kings of the Mlēchchha dynasty founded by Sālastambha, mentioned in their inscriptions variously as Hadappeśvara, Hadapēśvara, Haṭap śvara and Hatappēśvara and apparently named after the Śivalinga (Īsvara) worshipped at Hadappā, Haḍapā, Haṭappā or Haṭapā. This fact shows that Brahmapāla and also Ratnapāla in the earlier years of their reign ruled from the capital of their predecessors of the Mlēchchha dynasty and that Ratnapāla built the city of Durjaya and transferred his capital to the new city. His grandson and successor Indrapāla ruled from Durjayā; but as we shall see below, Indrapala's son and successor Gōpāla retransferred his capital from Durjayā to Hadappā or Hadappakā.

The geographical names mentioned in the grant portion of the record are the Havvaṅga-vishaya, śāntidāsa-pāṭaka, Bhaṭuvā-pāṭaka, Sarāyichimm grāma, Divvēra-dōbbha, and Divvaisā-nadī. I am not sure about their location but Dr.P.C. Chaudhury may be right in identifying Havvaṅga with modern Hābung in the North Lakhimpur District, though his reading of the name Saicha-nadī, which he identifies with the modern Sesa, is wrong.

TEXT¹

[Metres; Verses 1-2.10-11 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; verse 3 *Vaṁśasthavila*; verses 4-8, 13-15 *Vasanta-tilakā*; verse 9 *Sragdharā*; verse 12 *Mālinī*; verses 19-23 *Upajāti*]

First plate

1. [Sva]sti | Drasht=ēva prativi(bi)mva(mba)kair=nnakha-gataih svair=nnṛitya-sampad-vidhēh [sō]saśvēva² gati[m*] śubhām prakāṭa[yan=drīśyo-nisan=tā]—
2. [ṇḍa]vīm(vīm) | ēvaṁ yaḥ paramātma-vat-prithu-guṇō hy=ēkō-[py=a]nēkī bhavan=prā[kāmyam=da]dha[d]=ēva bhāti bhuvanē sastāt³ śriyē [śa]—
3. ṅkaraḥ || [1*] M[ū]rttā kimva(kim va)hati(t=ī)ha śītakara-ru [k*]ki[m](kim sphāṭikī) vidruti[h*] ki[mvā(kim v=ā)]gh-a ugha-vibhēdan-aika-niratā śakti[h*] śu[bhā]
4. Śāṅkarī | yasy=āpān=gatim=ityē(ty=i)vētya jahatā [jāyēta] dhanyā [drutam[[pā]yāt=sa]prāṇi[ha]tya sarvva-kalusham Lauhitya-sindhur=jja—
5. gat || [2*] Dharām Harēr=uddharataḥ kir-ākṛitē[h*] pa[yōdhi-magnām Narakō=su]rāṅṣa (r-āṁśa)ka[h*] | sa sūnur=āsit=sura-yōshid-avji(bhi)nī
6. śriyam=prati(tī)nd[ū]vutam=ēva yēna hi || [3*] yaś=ch=āva(ba)l=ēti Jarat=itī bhīyā yut=ēti mūḍh—ēti ba(ba)ndhu-rahit=ēti vipad-gat=ēti
7. hitv-Āditim samavaji[tya] surān-ahārshit tat-kuṇḍa[lē sura-yaśō-ma]hasī iv=āgryē ||[4*] ka(kā)ntā-mukhē(khai)rvva(r=bba)havidhāv=iva vī-
8. ra-vṛindais=tējasvibhī ravi-gaṇān=iva sandadhānē | Prā[gjyō]tishē=vasad=asau pravare [pu]rāṅām dō-
9. rddarppa-sañcharaṇa-chāru-tar-ārjjitaḥ(ta)-śrī[h*] || [5*] Yuddhē pur[ātana it=īdhha]-guṇa[h*] pit=ēti yāvad= vichi=

¹ From impressions.

² The first akshara is damaged here; but this is the reading of the Bargaon plates. P. N. Bhattacharya suggested the emendation *sauvaśy. .iva.*

³ Read *śāch-ḥhriyē.*

- 10 [ntya kṛipa]yā sa chachāra mandam(ndam) | tāvad=dharis=tam=anayad=di[vam] ātitānso
(tāmsō)s=tējānsya(jāmsy=a)hō nur=iha nō
- 11 gaṇan=āsti va(ba)[ndhau] || [6*] Dhīras=tatas=tata-yasaḥ-paṭa-guṇṭhi[t-ā]śō yaś=ch=āpi
raktam=akarōd=bhuvanam gu=
- 12 ṇ=aughai[h*] | bhavyaḥ sa bhūri-vibhavō Bhagadatta-nāmā tasy-ātmajaḥ kshiti-dhurām
vi(bi)bharāñchakāra || [7*] Va-
- 13 ir=īva nirjjita-ripu[h*] pṛithu-vajra-kāntiḥ sv-ōrjj-ārjjav-ārjjita-jagaja(j-ja)ya-lavdha
(bhda)-kīrttiḥ | rājyam tad=āpa rucham=astamitē kharā-
- 14 ṅsau (r-āmsāu) bhrātuḥ¹ śikh=īva va(ba)lavānni(n=i)ha Vajradattaḥ || [8*] Evaṁ
vaṅsya (vaṁsya)-kramēṇa kshitim=atha nikhilām bhūñjatām Narakāṇām rājñā[m*]
- 15 Mlēcchh-ādhināthō Vidhi-chalana-vaśād=ēva jagrāha rājyam(jyam) | Śālastambhaḥ
kramē=sy=āpi hi narapatayō Vighastambha=mukh[ya]
- 16 khyā² vikhyātā[h*] samva(mba)bhūvur=dviguṇita=daśatā-samkhyayā samvi(samvi)-
bhinnā[h*] || [9*] Nirvaṅsam(rvamśam) aṛipam=ēkavimśatitamam śrī-Tyāgasiṅghā
(simh-ā)=
- 17 bhi[dha]n=tēshāmvi(śam vi)kshya divam ga[taḥ pu]nar=āhō Bhaumē hi nō yujyatē |
ś svām=īti pravichintya tat-prakṛitayō bhū-bhāra-rakshā[ksha]=
- 18 [mam sāgandhyāt=parichakrīrē na[rapa]ti[m*] śrī-Vra(Bra)hmapālam hi yaṁ(yam)
|| [10*] Ēkō='sau ji[ta*]vāñri(n=ri)pu(pū)=samiti bhōḥ kin=nāma chitra[m*]nv=ida-
- 19 m=atr=ōdāharaṇam Harō Hari[r=a]hō Bhīshm-ādayō=nyē='pi hi | ittham(ttham) sampā-
simṛīsya yasya hi bhaṭāḥ sthāna-sthita[sya dvi]-

Second Plate ; First Side

- 20 [shām] [dikshv=ashtāsv=api vidravēna mahat=āścharyam sadā mē]nirē || [11*] vibhava-
phala-vilās-āsvāda- [jā]t-ābhi[lāshaḥ] [sa yuvatim=u]-
- 21 [payēmē y=ānurāgāj=janē]shu | avani-kula-samut[tha-kshmā]pa-samprāpta-lakshmyāḥ
sthitam=iva Kuladēvi-nāma[dhēyam]
- 22 [va(ba)bhā]ra || [12*] Ratn=ōpamān=narapaṭi[h*] sva-guṇair=mahārhan=yah pālayēd-
iti janair=avagamyā samyak | nīta[h prasi]-
- 23 [ddhi]m=iha [tēna sa-k]īrttanēna śrī-Ratnapāla iti sūnur=ayē(jā)yat=āsyām (syām)
|| [13*] Durvvāra-vairi-kari-kumbha-bhid ā-bha[v-āsra]-
- 24 srōtō-vahā-hati-chalat-kari-muktikābhiḥ | yad-yuddha-bhūr=vvipaṇi-[va]d=dhṛiṭa-
pādmaraḡi(gā)śōbhēta³ vīra-vañijām nikaraiḥ
- 25 [pra]kīrṇā || [14*] Siṅghā(hā)sanē=tha Narak=ānv. yaj-āvja(bja)-bhānum samvē
(samvē)sya tam divam=agād=akalāṅka-gaṇḍaḥ | | kāl-ōchita[mvi(tam vi)]-

¹ Bhagadatta, the father of Vajradatta according to tradition, is represented here as the latter's elder brother as in the records of Vanamāla and Balavarman of the Śālastambha house. Better read *sūnōh*.

² This *akshara* is redundant.

³ P. N. Bhattacharya suggests the correction *śōbhishṭa*.

- 26 rachitum hi [mahānu]bhāvā[h*] samvidritē¹ hi guṇa-dōsha-vidō Bhavasya || [15*]
śrīmat=tath=āsy=āpi Haḍappak=ākhyam viśaṅki²-mārgga=
- 27 n=nagaram mahīyaḥ | tat=paitṛi(tri)kaṁ vīra=nar-aika-rakshyam parair=a*]jayyam
samabhūd=bharantaṁ(ntam) || [16*] Tath[ā]
- 28 satām yatra guṇair=vvarishṭhair=yaśānsi(śāmsi) kund-ēndu-sama-prabhāni | saudha-
dhvaja-prānta[gaṭāni ?]
- 29 manyē mūrttāni paurair=iva tāni tāni || [17*] Suvigrahā vīra-nar-aika-sēvyā san=s-ā
(=nnā)bhīyō-
- 30 gēna vichitra-rūpā | chalat-patāk-āchi(añchi)ta-chāru-ru(rū)pā yal-lāsikā bhānti
sa-nirbharāvat
- 31 || [18*] yatra cha vividha-vipula-sura-sadana-dhavala-mañjarībhir-Mmahād[ē]-
va-datt-ānēka-matta-
- 32 mātaṅga-danta-nirmmi(rmmit)---ābhishēka-vēdikābhiḥ paralōka=gāminō=vaśarīrēna
- 33 cha yaśasvinō nivasanti sma chirantana-bhūbhṛitaḥ | api cha yatra
- 34 mardana-ri(si)ta-pharapharāyamāṇa-dīrgha-patākābhiḥ khara-samīraṇ-
āhata-va(ba)lēna dōlāyamāna-pa-
- 35 raṇita-maṇi-tōraṇa-mālikābhir=anēka-vāpikā-sañcharaṇan-
chaṭṭu(ṭu)la-kala-nāda
- 36 rābhir=āmantritā iva digantarāni vyachalanapunar=āvṛitayō nava-narana-
[ti]-kīrttayāḥ
- 37 ra-namita-samunnat-ānēka-gaja-gaṇḍa-śāila-rājasu sravad-asra-nīr-āri-vīra-
nāri-nayana
- 38 yana-vividha-kanaka k[ū]ṭa-vā(va)lmika-stūpēna sphuṭṭa(ṭa)m=iva kaṭṭa(ṭa)-
kāni
- 39 bh[ū]ti-bhāgi janō li
- 40 1 yatra cha daṇḍ-ōpanata

Second Plate; Second Side

- 41 .. sa-gajēndra.saṅgha-ghana-nipatita-dāna-vāri-paṅkilē=‘pi pathi skbalanty=apachā-
riṇō n=ōpakāriṇaḥ
- 42 1 ya[tra] va(ba)hula-nistimś-ālayam=³api sujana sēvanīyam 1 Kṛishnapurī-pratimam-
api saudha-sampadva(d-ba)lam | vihita-rāja-
- 43 mārggam=api durggam | mahāmu[kt-ā]⁴layam=api ramaṇi-jana-rāmaṇiyakam(kam)
ativistīrṇam=api samvṛi(samvṛi)ti-yuktam

¹ Read *samvidratē*.

² Better read *viśaṅka*.

³ This *akshara ya* is engraved below the line with an indication that it should have to be read after *la*.

⁴ The *akshara ktā* is incised below the line with an indication that it should be read after *mu*.

- 44 | yatra cha guṇēshu gaurava[m*] na hiranyā(ṇy-ā)dishu | kshayō ripushu na sad-
ōpayujyamānēshu kōśēshu | matsarō vi-
- 45 dyā-vivādēshu na paraspar-ātisandhāna-china-¹ chintāsu | ratam sada-vyaṅgy-ōdirṇa-
ślōkēshu | nairmma-
- 46 Iyam kalāsu | vāmatā kāminīshu | vṛiddhi-chalatvam nadīshu | vishamatā parvvatēshu |
laghutā prabhañjanēshu |
- 47 kṛishṇa-vartmatvam mva(va) hnishu | tatra Śaṅkara iva śaṅkē(ṅka)ratvēna | viyad-iva
vibhū (bhutv)ēna | Na-
- 48 ravāhaṇa(na) iva kō[sha]-sampatyā dig-gaja iva dāna-sampadā | pañchānana iva vi-
49 kramēṇa | Bhāgīrathī-pravāha iva pāvanatvēna | girir=iva garimnā(mṇā) | vidhur=iva
kalā-
- 50 yōgēna | vihita-dhīr=yudhi | vimukhaḥ | dahanō=ri-vīrudhi | kāntō vapushi | vi-
- 51 khyātas=tvishi | nipuṇa-tarō dhanushi | bhayānakō vidvishi | Bhauma-kula-bhūshaṇō |
- 52 mahārājādhirājaḥ Śrī-Vra(Bra)hmapālavarṇmadēva-pād-ānudhyātaḥ paramēśvaraḥ
para-
- 53 mabhaṭṭārakō mahārājādhirājaḥ Śrīmān-Ratnapālavarṇmadēvaḥ kuśalī || ² ||
Havvaṅgavishay-ā-
- 54 ntaḥpāti-Śāntidāsapāṭta(ṭa)ka | ³ Bhaṭuvāpāṭakayōr=apakṛishṭa-dhānya-chatus-sahasr-
ōtpatti-
- 55 [mati]-bhūmau | yathā-yatham samupasthita-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇ-ādi-vishaya-karaṇa-
vyāvahārika-pramukha-jānapa-
- 56 [dān] rāja-rājñi-rāṇak-ādhikṛitān=anyān=api rājanaka-rājaputra-rājavallabha-prabh-
ṛitīm(tīn) yathā-kā-
- 57 la-bhāvinō=pi sarvvān mānanā-pūrvakam samādiśati [|*] viditam=astu bhavatān(tām) |
bhūmir-iyam vāstu-kē-
- 58 dāra-sthala-jala-gōprachār-āvaskar-ādy-upētā yathā-samsthā sva-sīm-ōdē(ōddē)-
śa-paryantā hastiva(ba)ndha-nauk[ā]-

Third Plate

- 59 [va(ba)ndha-chaurōddha]raṇa-daṇḍa⁴-daṇḍapās-ōparikara-nānā-nimitt-ōtkhēṭana-
hasty-āśv-ōshṭra-[gō-ma]-
- 60 [hish-āj-āvika-prachā]ra-prabhṛitīnāmvi(nām vi)nivārīta-sarvva-piḍā śāsanīkṛitya ||
Bhaṭṭō=bhavad=Gauta[ma*]-gō[tra]-

¹ This word is redundant.

² Here there is a flower design between the double *daṇḍas*.

³ The mark of punctuation is redundant.

⁴ Other records seem to suggest that these two *aksharas* are redundant.

- 61 janmā yajur-vvidām prēshṭhatamō= 'tha K[ā]ṇvaḥ | Vra(Bra)hm-ōpamānō Jayapāla-
nāmā Prajāpatiḥ sad-vivu(bu)[dh-ārchchi]-
- 62 t-āṅghriḥ || [19*] Tad-anvayō=pi prathit-ōru-kirttir=vva(r=bba)bhūva Bhaṭṭō Nidhipāla-
samjñāḥ | yō vēda-vidyā-nidhi-
- 63 bhis=samṛiddhō yayau samatvam Nidhipālakēna || [20*] Ūḍh=ā'tha patnī vidhin=
āpy=anēna Dattāyik-ākhyā [sva]-
- 64 ma[tā] suvarṇṇā (|*) yasyāḥ satitvēna Vasishṭha-patnī tulyatvam=nna(āptā na) [cha*]
ka(kā)chid=ēva || [21*] Ābhyām sutō=' jāya-
- 65 ta Siddhapālō vidvān dvij[ā]tir=dvija-rāja-tulyaḥ | vikāsit-āśā-kumudāni
- 66 sama(mya)g=yēn=ārthi-nṛi(nṛi)ṇām dhana-kaumudībhiḥ || [22*] Asmai yajur-vvēda-
vidē dvijāya
- 67 pitrōs=tathā svasya cha puṇya-vṛiddhyai [|*] dattā Dhanuḥsamkramaṇe may=ēna
rājyē tathā
- 68 dvādaśa-vatsarē= °smin || [23*] Asyās=simā pūrvvēṇa vaṅśa(vaṁśa)-prākārah | pūrvva-
dakshi-
- 69 ṇēna Sarāyichimma-grāma-simni Divvēraḍovbha(bbha)-pūrvva-pātaḥ | dakshiṇēna
- 70 Divvaisā-nadī | dakshiṇa-paśchimēna s=aiva nady¹-uttara-kūlastha-sālmali-vṛikshaḥ
| paśchimēn=āśva-
- 71 ttha- | sālmali-vṛikshau | paśchim-ōttarēṇa Sālmali-vṛikshaḥ | uttarēṇa Śāntidāsa-
jōla-da-
- 72 kshiṇa-kūlam(lam) | uttara-pūrvvēṇa hijjala-vṛikshaś=ch=ēti ||

3. Gāchtal Plates of Gōpāla

Gāchtal is a village near Daboka in the Nowgong District. Two out of a set of three copper plates were discovered there, and the inscription incised on them were examined by Dr. P.C. Choudhury whose paper on the record appeared in the *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 55 ff. Unfortunately, Dr. Chaudhury's transcript and interpretation of the record contain many errors, and what is of greater importance is that he failed to realise the great importance of the epigraph for the early history of Assam with particular reference to the chronology of the kings of the third royal dynasty of Prāgjyōtisha-Kāmarūpa, i. e., of king Brahmāpāla and his successors.²

Of the two plates, Plate II measures 9.5 inches in length and 7.4 inches in height while Plate I is slightly shorter both ways. The third plate describing the donee of the grant and the boundaries of the gift land probably together with the date of issue is missing. The palaeography of the inscription is regular for the age when the donor flourished, and as we shall see, king Gōpāla ruled about the close of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. Of initial vowels, *a* occurs in lines 13, 14, 16 and 30 and *i* in line 10. Final *n* is

¹ Read *tan-nady*°

² See our note on the subject in *Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. X, pp. 120 ff.

noticed in lines 26, 44 and 45. The sign of *anusvāra* is sometimes of the Bengali-Assamese type as in *mandaratvaṃ* in line 19, *nabhasāṃ* in line 47 and *bhūmir=iyam* in line 66, the left stroke being straight in a few cases and curved (with the opening towards the right) in others. The conjunct *ppa* looks like *pya* in *Kandarppa* in line 55 and *Haḍappak=ēti* in line 58. In the matter of orthography, the inscription resembles other East Indian inscriptions of the age in question. The *anusvāra* followed by the dental sibilant is sometimes written as *ns* as in *hansa* for *haṃsa* in line 52. The influence of East Indian pronunciation is noticed in *jasya* for *yasya* in line 10, *jō* for *yō* in line 28, *tridaspati* (line 14) for *tridaśa-pati*, *sitātpatra* (line 27) for *sit-ātapatra*, etc. As regards style, the expression *vibhramam bhūruhasya* in verse 3 in lines 6-7 is repeated in verse 10 in line 20.

The auspicious word *svasti* is followed by verse 1 which, in spite of the difficulty of reading the second and fourth feet satisfactorily, can be easily recognised to be in adoration of the god *Śiva*. The first foot speaks of the god's head adorned by the rays [of the moon as if by a garland] of *mālatī* flowers while the third foot says how the current of the Ganges [in the matted locks of the deity] played the part of his white turban. Verse 2 is likewise in adoration of the Boar form of the god *Ambhōjanābha* (Vishṇu). In the earlier records of the kings of Prāgjyōtisha-Kāmarūpa, even though they claimed descent from Naraka born of the Earth from the Boar incarnation of Vishṇu, they were all devoted to Śiva, and their charters begin with a stanza in adoration of the said god often followed by a similar adoration of the sacred river *Lauhitya* (Brahmaputra) sometimes described as a sea. However, the style of introducing a stanza in adoration of the Boar incarnation is first noticed in the records of Indrapāla, father of the donor of the present grant. Another innovation in Indrapāla's records is that his predecessor and grandfather Ratnapāla is endowed with the epithet *Śrī-Vārāha* probably meaning 'the illustrious descendant of Vārāha', although this is not found in Ratnapāla's own records. It is difficult to say whether this is an attempt to refer to the king's devotion to both Śiva and Vishṇu; but the same style of representing the donor's predecessor as *Śrī-Vārāha* is followed in the charters of the successors of Indrapāla including the record under study.

After the adoration of 'the Lauhitya sea' in verse 3, the next eight stanzas (verses 4-11) tell us, in the fashion of the records of the Prāgjyōtisha-Kāmarūpa kings, how Vishṇu in the Boar form rescued the Earth from the bottom of the ocean and begot Naraka on her, how Naraka defeated the king of the gods, took away the ear-rings of the latter's mother and had his capital at Prāgjyōtishā (an interesting form of the name usually written as Prāgjyōtisha)¹, how Naraka's son and successor was Bhagadatta and how in Bhagadatta's family were born Vajradatta and other kings.

Verse 12 introduces Brahmapāla, and his son and successor Ratnapāla is introduced in the next stanza (verse 13). Brahmapāla's election by the people, as found in the records of Ratnapāla, is not referred to in the present record. Ratnapāla's description continues in the following verses among which verse 14 says how he defeated Rājyapāla, king of Gauḍa, and how in the course of that campaign his elephant force reached the Mandākinī (Ganges) and was supposed to have made its waters solid like that of the Yamunā. Purandarapāla, son of Ratnapāla, is mentioned in verse 16 and Indrapāla, son of Purandarapāla, in verse 18. Verse 19 says how, when Ratnapāla was old and his son Purandarapāla was no more, the old king abdicated his throne in favour of his grandson. Verse 20 says that Kalyāṇachandra, who was the son of Śrīchandra and was the king of Vaṅga, had to give up his fleet [with which he invaded Prāgjyōtisha-Kāmarūpa] and was defeated [by Indrapāla]. Verse

¹ This reminds us of Kōsalā (i. e. Ayōdhyā) as the name of the capital of the Kōsala country.

21 mentions the fact that Indrapāla built a large number of Śiva temples, while the next speaks of his queen Rājyadēvi who was born in the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty. Verses 23-24 state how king Gōpāla, the donor of the present grant, was born of Indrapāla and Rājyadēvi and how he became king on the death of his father. The following two stanzas vaguely describe the heroic activities of the new king, similar vague praise continuing till verse 30. The next stanza speaks of the city of Haḍappakā which was Gōpāla's capital. Verse 32 gives the name of the author of the *praśasti*. He was the Brāhmaṇa Balabhadra who was the son of Sambhrama of the Parāśara-gōtra.

In a prose passage in lines 60-62, the donor is mentioned as the illustrious *Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* Gōpālavarmadēva who was meditating on or was favoured by the feet of the illustrious *śrī-Vārāha Paramēśvara Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* Indrapālavarmadēva.

Line 63 mentions the gift land which was an area yielding eight thousand (standard measures) of paddy or crops (per year) that had been taken out of a locality called Khārikōṅākōṅchī in the *vishaya* (district) of Vārāsaukembuvā. The name of the district looks like a combination of two names. The addressees of the king's order in respect of the grant and the privileges attached to the gift are the same as in the grants of Balavarman as well as the predecessors of king Gōpāla, and they have already been discussed above.

The mention of the donee or donees and the boundaries of the gift land must have been engraved on the third plate of the set, of which we have discovered only the first and second.

In spite of the fragmentary nature of the inscription under study, it is of very great importance as it reveals some hitherto unknown facts of the history of ancient Assam as we have already indicated above. In the first place, it speaks of Haḍappakā as the capital of king Gōpāla although the two inscriptions of Ratnapāla issued later in his reign as well as both the known records of Indrapāla were issued when the kings had their capital at Durjayā even though we have just seen that the earliest of the known grant of Ratnapāla had been issued when he was staying at Haḍappakā and not at Durjayā. As we have said, Haḍappakā is the same as the capital of the kings of Sālastambha's family, which was often called Haḍappēśvara so that Brahmapāla as well as his son Ratnapāla, in the earlier years of their reigns had their capital at Hāḍappakā or Haḍappēśvara whereas Ratnapāla apparently built the city of Durjayā where he transferred his capital during the latter part of his reign. The Gāchtal plates of Gōpāla now reveal the fact that this king re-transferred the capital from Durjayā to Haḍappakā or Haḍappēśvara. The reason for the transfer and re-transfer cannot of course be determined until further evidence is forthcoming.

Secondly, Ratnapāla is described in this record as having defeated king Rājyapāla of Gauḍa and his forces are stated to have advanced as far as the Ganges in the heart of the kingdom of the Pālas of Gauḍa. Now, the Sarnath inscription of the time of the Pāla king Mahīpāla I who was the son of Vighrahapāla II, grandson of Gōpāla II and great-grandson of Rājyapāla bears the date Vikrama 1083 corresponding to 1026 A. D. Thus, as Mahīpāla's reign period may be assigned to C. 977-1027 A. D., his great-grandfather Rājyapāla's reign has been ascribed by us to C. 917-52 A. D.¹ Therefore we see that, though Ratnapāla has been so long ascribed to the first half of the eleventh century A. D., being a contemporary of Rājyapāla of Bengal, he must have ruled about the first half of the tenth century, say in the period C. 920-60 A. D., as we have already indicated above. This further

¹ See *Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. IX, p. 209.

suggests that Brahmapāla ruled not about the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century¹ or from C. 975 to 1000 A. D.² but nearly a century earlier about C. 900-920 A. D.

The third important fact revealed by the Gāchtal plates is that king Indrapāla is described as having defeated Kalyāṇachandra who was the son of Śrīchandra and was the king of Vaṅga. We know Śrīchandra claimed to have installed Gōpāla II,³ grandfather of Mahīpāla I, to the throne while Kalyāṇachandra's grandson Gōvindachandra was defeated by the Chōla forces shortly before the date of the Tirumalai inscription (1025 A. D.)⁴. The Pāla king Gōpāla II of Gauḍa is now assigned to C. 952-72 A. D.⁵ and Śrīchandra and Kalyāṇachandra respectively to C. 925-75 A. D., and 975-1000 A. D.⁶ so that Indrapāla of Prāgjyōtisha-Kāmarūpa must have ruled about the last quarter of the tenth century (C. 960-90 A. D.) and not three quarters of a century later (C. 1030-55 A. D.,) as hitherto believed on palaeographical grounds. This further suggests that Gōpāla of the Gāchtal plates, who was the son and successor of Indrapāla, ruled about 990-1015 A. D.

Another important fact about the history of the kings of Brahmapāla's family revealed by the Gāchtal plates is that this inscription mentions, for the first time, the name of the Rāshtrakūṭa princess Rājyadēvi as the queen of Indrapāla and the mother of Gōpāla. Probably she did not belong to the Imperial branch of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty because in that case more specific information would not have been avoided.

The geographical names occurring in the grant portion of the inscription could not be identified.

TEXT⁷

[Metres : Verses 1-2 *Mandākrāntā* ; verses 3, 8, 10, 13, 23, 25-26, 30 *Sragdharā* ; verses 4, 17 *Pushpitāgrā* ; verses 5-6, 9, 15, 16, 19, 24, 31 *Vasantatilakā* ; verses 7, 32 *Upajāti* ; verses 12 *Rathōddhatā* ; verses 14, 20, 27 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 18 *Mālinī* ; verses 21-22, 28--29 *Āryā*.]

First Plate

- 1 [Sva]sti | Ya[sy=ō]nnaddhaiḥ kiraṇa-nīkaraiḥ śēkharam(ra)m=mālatinām — — — —
 ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ — — — — ○ — — — — ○ —
- 2 — | Gaṅgā-śrō(srō)taḥ śrayati visha(śa)dām sa⁸ ch=ōshṇisha-lilām — — — — — ○ ○ ○ ○ ○
 — — — — — || [1*]
- 3 [Vairi]-striṇām śvasana-pavan-ōddāma-di(di)pta-pratāpō dīrgham dēvaḥ sa jayati jagad-
 vī(bi)jam=Ambhōjanābhaḥ | daṁshṭrā-
- 4 kōtiḥ kuṭila-viśadā yasya sā Krōḍamūrttēr=mēgh-ōnmuktā[m*] śāsadhara-kalā m lilyā
 nirjjigāya || [2*] Āvartta-

¹ P.N. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. xxiv.

² K.L. Barua, *Early History of Kāmarūpa*, p. 149.

³ See Sircar, *Epigraphical Discoveries in East Pakistan*, p. 7.

⁴ H.C. Ray, *Dyn. Hist. N. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 318.

⁵ Cf. *Journ. Anc. Ind. Hist.*, Vol. IX, p. 209, for the date of Gōpāla II.

⁶ See Sircar, *op. cit.*, pp. 7 and 20 for the date of Śrīchandra whose son and successor ruled at least upto his 24th regnal year when his Dacca plate was issued (*ibid.*, p. 6).

⁷ From impressions.

⁸ This *sa* seems to be a mistake for *yasya* which suits the metre.

GACHTAL PLATES OF GOPALA

i

2
4
6
8
10
12
14
16
18
20
22

Handwritten text in Devanagari script on a dark, rectangular plate. The text is arranged in approximately 22 horizontal lines. There is a circular hole on the right side of the plate, roughly between lines 12 and 16.

2
4
6
8
10
12
14
16
18
20
22

ii a

24
26
28
30
32
34
36
38
40
42
44

Handwritten text in Devanagari script on a dark, rectangular plate. The text is arranged in approximately 22 horizontal lines. There is a circular hole on the left side of the plate, roughly between lines 34 and 38.

24
26
28
30
32
34
36
38
40
42
44

GACHTAL PLATES OF GOPALA

ii b

46
48
50
52
54
56
58
60
62
64
66
68

Handwritten text in Devanagari script on a dark, rectangular plate. The text is arranged in approximately 15 horizontal lines. A circular hole is visible on the right side of the plate, approximately halfway down. The script is dense and appears to be a form of Sanskrit or a related classical language.

46
48
50
52
54
56
58
60
62
64
66
68

SCALE : One-half

- 5 bhrānti-bhimas=tata-taru-kusuma-kshōbha-bha[gn-ā]-hita-śrīr=llōlat-kallōla-vā(bā)hus=
tuhina-giri-darim dārayan ramha-
- 6 s=aiva | sō=yam Lauhitya-sindhuh śāsi-kara-dhavala-sphi(sphī)ta-phēn-atta-hāsō nṛity-
ārambhēshu vi(bi)bhraj=jayati bhagavatō vibhramam
- 7 bhūruhasya || [3*] Pralaya-jala-vilañhi(ñghi)t-āvdi(bdhi)-vēlām prava(ba)la-rasātala-
pañka-mūla-magnām(gnām) | udavaha-
- 8 ta Hariḥ pumān purāṇō dharaṇim=imā[m*] bhagavān Mahāvarāhaḥ || [4*] Tat-kāla-
kēli-vilasat-Purushō-
- 9 ttam-āṅga-saṅg-ōllasat-pramada-jri(jri)mbhita-manmathāyāḥ | bhūpāla-mauli-maṇi-
mārjjita-pāda-
- 10 pīṭhō dēvyāḥ sutō Naraka ity=abhavat=Prithivyāḥ || [5*] Ja(Ya)sya pratāpa śikhi-
tāpam=aśa-
- 11 knuvantaḥ sōdhum mah-ājishu Mahēndra-chamū-bhaṭās=tē | udgirṇṇa-ratna-nikarair=
apajagmur=aṅgai-
- 12 ragāmra¹-jālakam=iva jvalitam vasantaḥ | (||) [6*] Yēn=āhṛitābhyām maṇi-
kuṇḍalābhyām chirāya su(śū)-
- 13 nī(nyī)kṛita-karṇṇa-pāsā | ādhād=avasthām janani surāṇām divō nirast-ēndu-
divākarāyāḥ||[7*]
- 14 Āsit=pūrvv-āvdi(bdhi)-vichi-nichaya-parichitam vapram=uchai(chchai)r=vvahanti
(nti) | ² tasya Prāgjyōtisē(sh=ē)ti strī(tri)daspa(śa-pa)ti-pura-
- 15 spardhinī rājadhānī || ³ yasyām śā(śyā)māsu śasva(śva)[d-dha]vala-grihu(ha)-śiraś-
chumvi(mbi)-chandrasya vimvam(mbam) | ² pūrṇṇam sauvarṇṇa-ku-
- 16 mbha-dyutim=udayava[kī(tim)] [kā[nti]m=ady=ātanōti || [8*] Ānandanaḥ sumanasām=
abhirāma-bhūtir=bhūbhṛid=bhuvah kara-
- 17 parigraha-pūrṇṇa-kāmāt | Śambhō[h] Kumāra iva sūnur=anūna-śaktis=tasmādva
(d=ba)bhūva Bhagadatyā(tta) iti kshitiśaḥ = [9*]
- 18 [svai]ram [sam]gā(grā)ma-sindhōr=ari-rudhira-payōḥ(yaḥ)p[ū]ra-sampūrṇṇa-mūrttēr=
uddharttum bhūmibharttuḥ śrī(śri)yam=ajina(tira)bhasād=vi-
- 19 [śrutam] Mandaratvam(tvam) | dadhre vidvēsi(shi)-vamśa-prasāma-paṭur=asau rya(ya)
sya kōdaṇḍa-saṅgi dōrddāṇḍaś=chaṇḍa-bhōgi śri-

¹ Read °r=amgāra.

² The *daṇḍa* is redundant.

³ Only one *daṇḍa* is required here.

20 ta-śikhari-bhuvō vibhramam bhūruhasya || [10*] Guṇa-gurubhir=udātai(ttai)r=Vvajradatt-
[ādibhis=tair*]=nṛipatibhir=abhijā-

21 [tair=bhū]shitō yasya vaṁśaḥ | śāśadhara-kara-gaurair=mmāmsalam rājahaṁsair=
gagana-tala-visālam palvalam [ni]rjji-

22 gāya||[11*] Tasya vaṁśa-jaladhēḥ kalānidhir=Vvra(Bbra)hmapāla iti nirmmal-
ōdayaḥ (1*) śau(sau)mya-śitala — — — — —

Second Plate : First Side

23 — — — — — yah prāpya janma manujēndra-chandramāḥ || [12*] Putras=tasy=āmṛit-āmśu-dyuti-
viśada-yaśaḥ śāsīt-ārāti-pakshaḥ

24 kshōṇibhṛin-mauli-mālā-mukuṭa-maṇi-śikhā-mañjari-rañjit-āmghrī(ghriḥ) | jajñe rājñā
— — — — — va(ba)-

25 lō Nāha¹-Nābhāga-kalpaḥ | ² śrīmān svalpa — — — — — layita-kshmātalō
Ratnapālaḥ||[13*] Vā(Bā)ṇair=v[v]āraṇa-ku-

26 mbha-piṭha-bhidurair=bhūyaḥ kulam vidvishām yasmin vismayaniya-bhir=mmahasi³
svachchhandam=uchchha(chchhi)ndatiḥ(ti) | tat-pa-

27 ryasta sitātpa(tapa)tra patitās=chakruḥ śiraḥ śrēṇayō rūpya stāla nivēsit=āmvu
(mbu)jamayim mṛityōr=iv=ārgha kri-

28 yām || [14*] Dōr-ddarppa-durllaḍitam=ājishu Gauḍa-rājam jō(yō) Rājyapālam=
avājitya bhujā-dvayēna | manye gajēndra-ma-

29 da-chandraka-sāndra-tōyām Mandākinim=api Kalinda-sutāñ=chakāra||[15*]
Vi(rah*) sutō=jani Purandarapāla-nāmā dhā-

30 mnā[m] nidhir=ddivasanātha iva dvitīyaḥ | yasya dvishad-yuvati-vā(bā)shpa-jalaiḥ
pratāpō jajvāla vāḍava iv=ā-

31 mvu(mbu)bhīr=amvu(mbu)-rāsēḥ || [16*] Guru-samāra-samū(mu)dra-chandra-lēkhā
prava(ba)la-parākrama-danti-danta-kōṭiḥ | sujana-mu-

32 kha-sarōja-rājhasi(hamśi) dhavalayati sma jagannri(n=nṛi)pasya kirttiḥ || [17*]
Ajani vinaya-śaury[ā]-

33 yōga-dhairya-ārjjita-śrīr=gguṇa-jalanidhir⁴=asmād=Indrapālō narēndraḥ | samara-
śirasi-da-

34 rppō vyā(dhā)ma-dōrddanḍa-kaṇḍu(ṇḍū)-haṭha-haraṇam=avāpū(pu)r=yatra tē śatru-
yōdhāḥ=[18*] Putrē pavitra-yaśasi-

35 tridivam prapannē pātrikṛitasya jarasā hari-vikramasya | yasmina(smīn) nivēśya
— — — — — pu-

¹ The intended reading of the name may be *Nābhi*.

² This *danḍa* is redundant.

³ The intended reading may be *virya-mahasi*.

⁴ A *visarga* sign had been originally incised after *dhi* and later cancelled.

- 36 ri rājyam=āsichē(ch=chē)taś=chirāya paramātmani lavdha(bdha) laksham(ksham) ||
[19*] Mādyad-Gauḍa-vimarḍa-durḍama-bhu-
- 37 jaḥ Śrichandra-sūnuḥ svayaṁ prāptaḥ saṁgara-sīmni Vaṅga-nṛpatiḥ Kalyāṇachandrō
va(ba)li | chañchat-kāñchana-chakra-[chāru]
- 38 rachitam nau-chakram=uttrasta-dhi(dhī) styōktā¹ ja(ya)d=vijitaḥ sah=aivaḥ(va)
yaśasā dīnaḥ pralinaḥ kvachit || [20*] Viśada-su-
- 39 dhā-rasa-dhavalām virachayatā Śambhu-dēvakula-mālām(lām) | ka'lāsa-śaila-mayam=iva
bhū-valayam nirmmitam
- 40 yēna || [21*] yasya khalu Rāshṭrakūṭ-ānvaya-jaladhi-bhavā va(ba)bhūva kamala-
karā | Purushōttamasya mahishī-La-
- 41 kshmir=iva Rājyadēv=īti || [22*] Tābhyām bhūbhāra-bharttā charaṇa-nakha-śikhā-
liḍha bhūpāla mauliḥ śrī-Gōpāla[h]
- 42 sujanmā samajani vinaya-tyāga-dhau(dhai)ry-aika-sindhuḥ | va(ba)ndhur=vvidva-
jjanānām-avajita-vasudhaḥ satya-sa-
- 43 ndhaḥ sudhanvi dhimān bhīmō ripūṇām(ṇā)m=aparimita-guṇa-grāma-viśrāma-
bhūmiḥ || [23*] Māhēsvaram pitari
- 44 dhāma chirāt=prapannē yā² viry-ōrjijitē jayini yasya bhujē vasanti | sasmāra bhūr-
Ddaśarathē sura-lōka-bhāji
- 45 Rāmasya Rāvaṇa-ripōr=bhuvan-ādhipatyam(tyam)=|| [24*] Āsid=yō vira-trishṇā-
tarala-sura-vadhū-sambhrama-bhrānti-si(śi)ñjan-ma-

Second Plate : Second Side

- 46 ṅjir-ōnmisra-tūrya-dhvani-va(ba)dhira-diśām ḡṛidhra-vach=ch=ōtsavānām(nām) |
prīta-prēta-vrajāṇām sa-ruḍhira-piśita-sphīta-phē-
- 47 ruṇḍa-bhājām dhārā-nārācha-valli-valayita-nabhasām saṁgarāṇām vidhātā|| [25*]
Tējō nirvvāpitaṁ cha jvalad-ana-
- 48 [la]-nibham māna-paṅkō=pi dhautāḥ pratyākhyātāḥ prakāmaṁ samara-rasa-trisāḥ
(shaḥ) śatru-sēnā-bhaṭānām(nām) | s=ābhūd=āpū-
- 49 rit-āsā-sarid=avi(pi) suḡṛidām vardhitā kirtti-valli yasya svalpiyas=āpi prativa(ba)la-
jayinaḥ khaḍga-dhārā-jalēna || [26*]
- 50 [Utprāsa-smara]-vismay-ōrmmi-taralās=tiryag-valantyō muhuḥ śṛiṅgāra-drava-digdha-
mudgha(gdha)-gatayō līlā ∪ —
- 51 grē [bha]vāḥ | lakshmi-vibhrama-puṇḍarika-ruchiram yad-vaktra-chandram dṛiśaḥ
s-ānandaṁ sarasañ=cha chañchala-dṛiśām śarppanti
- 52 [pa]ryutsukāḥ || [27*] Vihasanti hansa(hamsa)-rājishu divyanti cha danti-danta-musha
(sa)lēshu | vikaś(s)anti cha śāśi-kāntishu ya-

¹ Read °s=tyaktvā.

² This is not necessary.

- 53 sya yaśāmsi prakāśantē || [28*] Rajanvī(nī)shu chakra-piṇḍākaṅṭakam=api puṇḍarika-
daṇḍēshu | vibhavēshu māna-hānir=bhūbhṛi-
- 54 ti yasmina(smin) janasy=āsita(sit) || [29*] Virāṇām mauli-ratnai(r*)=hṛidi nihita-padō-
vidvishām śōka-śaṅkuḥ snigdho va(ba)ndhurvvu(r=bbu)-
- 55 dhānām=api śaraṇa-yu(ju)hām pañjarō vajra-sāraḥ | Kandarppaḥ kāmīni(nī)nām
prabhur=avani-bhujā-
- 56 m=arthinām kalpa-vṛikshaḥ śrīmān Gōpāladēvō jayati guṇa-nidhir=bhūshaṇām
bhūtalasya || [30*]
- 57 Gīrvāṇa-chāru-charitaiḥ sujanair=nnishēvyā divy-āṅgan-ākṛitibhir=ujva(jjva)litā
vadhūbhiḥ | ta-
- 58 sy=ābhavan=ṇripavarasya Haḍappak=ēti puṇyā purī sunṛipatēr=Amarāvat=īva||
[31*] Abhū[d*]-dvijaḥ
- 59 Sambhrama ity=udāraḥ Pārāsarō vāṇmaya-pāradṛīsvā | tad-ātmajaḥ śrī-Va(Ba)-
labhadra-nāmā
- 60 praśastim=ētām ṇripatēs=chakāra ||¹ || [32*] Prāgyōtish-ādhipaty-āsamkhyāt-āpratihata-
daṇḍa-kshayit-āsēsha-ri-
- 61 pu-paksha-śrī-Vārāha-paramēśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-śrīmad-
Indrapālavarṇmadēva-pād-ā
- 62 nudhyāta-paramēśvara-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-śrīmad-Gōpālavarmmadēvaḥ
kuśalī ||
- 63 Vārāsaukēmvu(mbu)vā-vishay-āntaḥpāti-Khārikōṇākōṅchi-bhūmy-apakṛishtha-dhāny-
āshṭa-sahasr-ōtpattika bhūmau || o |||
- 64 yathāja(ya)tham samupasthi[ta*]-vishaya-karaṇa-vyāvahārika-pramukha-jān(na)padān
rājya(ja)-rājñī-rāṇak-ādihikṛitānyanāny[a]²-
- 65 pi rājanyaka-rājaputra-rājavallabha-prabhṛitin yathā-kāla-bhāvinō=pi sarvvān
mānanā-pūrvvakaṁ samādīsa(śa)ti [| *]
- 66 viditam=astu bhavatām bhūmir=iyam vāstu-kēdāra-sthala-jala-gōprachār-āvashkar-
ādy-upētā-yathā samsthā sva-si(si)m-ō-
- 67 ddēśa-paryantā hastiva(ba)ndha-naukāva(ba)ndha-chaurōddharaṇa-daksha(ṇḍa)pās-
ōparikara-nānā-nimittyō(tt-ō)tkhētana | ³
- 68 gō-mahish-āj-āvika-prachāra-prabhṛitinām vinivārīta sarvva-piṇḍā-śāsanikṛitya ||⁴

¹ There is a flower design here.

² Read °kṛitān=anyān=api.

³ The daṇḍa is redundant.

⁴ There is a flower design here. The inscription is incomplete (see remark on p. 69)

No. 12—PASID PLATES OF PRITHVIDEVA II, YEAR 893

(1 Plate)

S. SUBRAMONIA IYER, MYSORE

The set of copper plates¹ edited below with the kind permission of the Chief Epigraphist was discovered along with another set of copper plates² belonging to Ratnadēva III, Year 934 by a farmer while ploughing his field in the village Paśid in the Baloda Bazar Tahsil in Raipur District in Madhya Pradesh. The plates are now deposited in the M.G.M. Museum, Raipur. During my visit to Raipur in April 1978, the museum authorities were good enough to permit me to examine the plates and copy the same.

This charter has been published elsewhere.³ Since the mistakes in them justify a re-examination, it is being edited here.

The set consists of two rectangular plates, each measuring approximately 30.7 cm in length and 19.5 cm in breadth. They are strung together on a circular copper ring, the ends of which are soldered to the back of a circular seal. At the bottom middle of the plate, there is a circular hole through which the ring passes. The plates are engraved on one side only. The first plate contains 18 lines of writing, while the second plate has 17 lines of writing. The seal is about 5.3 cm in diameter and is more or less similar to other seals of this king. It has a circular border and is divided into two halves by a horizontal line. In the upper half, Lakshmī is shown as sitting on a lotus flanked on either side by an elephant with its trunk raised as if pouring water over her head. In the lower half, there is a legend written in a single line which reads *Rāja-śrīmat-Prithvidēva*. The weight of the two plates is 2.130 kg. while that of the ring and seal is 160 gm.

The characters are Nāgarī and they resemble those of the Bilaigarh plates of the same king, Year 896.⁴ The form of the initial *i* is made up of two curves with a looped or hooked end, turned in opposite directions and placed one below the other as in the Sarkhō⁵ and Daikōni plates.⁶ The form of *b* is also interesting as it has little difference from *p* except that it is absolutely square and angular at the left bottom instead of being rounded off as for *p*. Of orthographical interest, the following are noteworthy. (1) The use of *v* for *b* except in *babhūvur* in line 6 and *babhūva* in line 12; (2) the use of the dental *s* for the palatal *ś*; (3) the reduplication of the consonant following *r* as for instance *nirggunam* in line 1, *pārvvaṇēndu* in line 8.

The language of the charter is Sanskrit. Except for *ōm namō Brahmanē* in the beginning and the date portion at the end, the inscription is metrically composed throughout. There are in all 25 verses all of which are numbered. Of these, the first eleven are repeated from the earlier records such as the Amōdā plates (First set), Year 900.⁷ The next five verses describe the donee, the occasion and the details of the gift. Then follow two benedictory and seven imprecatory verses of the usual type. Finally, the record ends with a verse containing the details of the writer of the record, followed by the date.

¹ Noticed in the *A.R.I.E.*, 1977-78 as No. A 13.

² This is No. A 14 of *A.R.I.E.*, 1977-78.

³ *Prāchya-Pratibhā*, Vol. V, No. 1, pp. 117 ff.

⁴ *CII.*, vol. III, pp. 458 ff. and plate.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 423 ff. and plate.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 443 ff. and plate.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 474 ff. and plate.

The inscription begins with the auspicious *Siddham* expressed by a symbol and the invocation of Brahman. Then follows the usual genealogy of the king upto Ratnadēva II. This is followed by the pedigree of the one Pārāśara. His grandfather was Gaṅgādhara who was well versed in epics (*purāṇa*), traditional law (*smṛiti*) and traditional sciences (*śāstra*) and who used to conduct all kinds of proper virtuous rites. He was foremost amongst those who had mastered the three *vēdas* and was respected by all. He belonged to Bhāradvāja-kula. To him was born a son by name Mahādhana who was verily a sun to the entire brāhmaṇa race. His son was Pārāśara, who was indeed the preceptor (*guru*) of scholars well versed in grammar (*śabda-śāstra*) and an unquestioned authority in logic (*tarka*). Besides, he was a scholar in *Vēda and Smṛiti*. He is further described as the destroyer of all calamities to the monarch. The details regarding the calamities or the manner of their subsidence are not, however, forthcoming. It may probably mean that he had mastered several *mantras*, *vidyas*, etc., by means of which he could destroy all the dangers to the king. This Pārāśara is evidently identical with his namesake whose son by name Nāmadēva figures as one of the donees in the Amōdā plates of Jājalladēva II, Year 91[9].¹ It is interesting to observe here that in the Bilaigarh plates of Pṛithivīdēva II, Year 896, the donee Dēlhūka is described as having-mastered the Śākambharī-vidyā from whom Brahmādēva learnt it and using which he obtained an easy victory over his adversaries.²

The inscription then records that on the occasion of the solar eclipse (*dinēśa-graha*), the king granted the village by name Dugara situated in Sāmanta-paṭṭi to the brāhmaṇa Pārāśara already referred to above.

The charter is dated in the Year 893, most probably of the Kalachuri era, Kārttika śu, 8, Thursday which regularly corresponds to 1141 A.D., October 9, f.d.t. .35. According to L.D. Swamikkannu Pillai's Indian Ephemeris, two solar eclipses appear to have taken place in 1141 A.D., viz., on March 10 and September 2 respectively. It is quite probable that the solar eclipse on the occasion of which the royal grant was made might be the latter mentioned above and the date given is evidently the date of the document recording the grant at the end.

The charter was written by the illustrious³ son of Kīrtti whose name is however not mentioned probably due to the exigencies of the metre as in the Bilaigarh plates of the same king.⁴ Kīrtti is no doubt identical with the well known Kīrttidhara who figures as the scribe in the Sarkhō plates of Ratnadēva II, Year 880.⁵ The present charter dated in the year 893, the next in chronological order was written by Kīrttidhara's son whose name is not given. Among the two known sons of Kīrttidhara, Sūpaṭa was the scribe of the Paragaon plates dated in the Year 897.⁶ The other son Vatsarāja was the scribe of the later grants of Pṛithivīdēva II dated in the Years 900 and 905.⁷ It is therefore possible that Sūpaṭa was the scribe of the present charter which affords the earlier date, Year 893, for him and also of the Bilaigarh plates dated in the Year 896.⁸ If this is correct, as it appears to be, Kīrttidhara must be considered to have been no longer alive on the date of the present charter.⁹

¹ Ibid., pp. 258 ff.

² Ibid., p. 460.

³ It is difficult to consider *vara* as the name of the scribe. *Vara* may just mean illustrious.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 458 ff. and plate.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 423 ff. and plate.

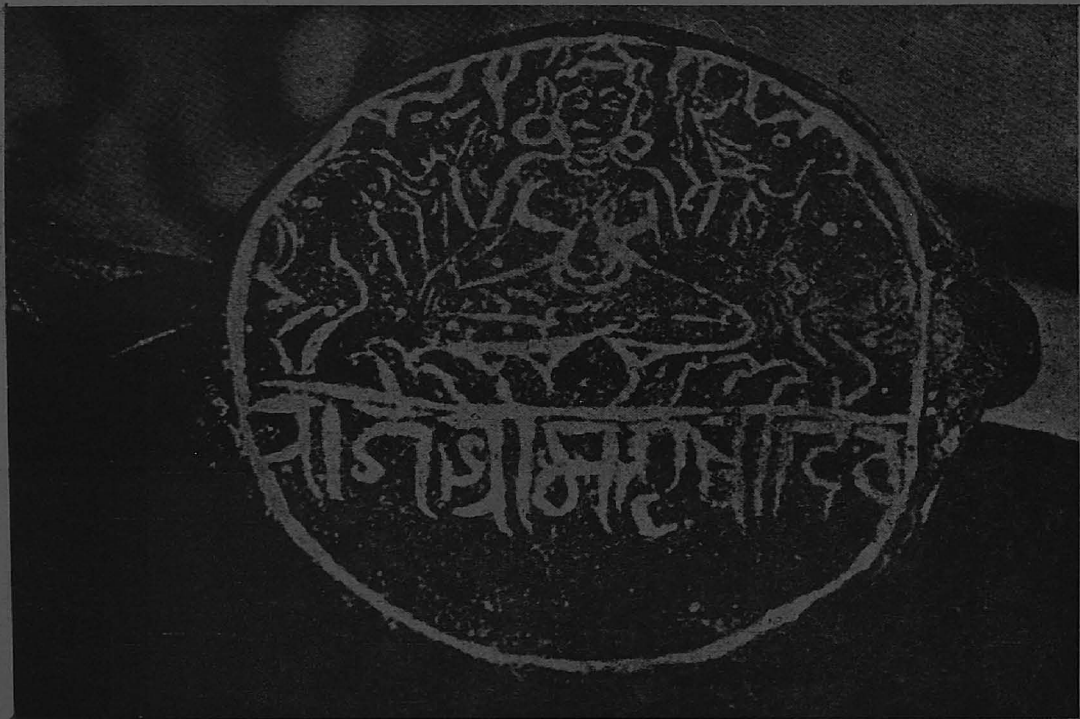
⁶ Ibid., p. 626.

⁷ Ibid., p. 626, f. n. 3.

⁸ Ibid., p. 458.

⁹ Contra., Ibid., 443, f. n. 1.

SEAL



2

2

SCALE : From photograph

The grant village Dugara cannot however be identified. Sāmanta-paṭṭi, the territorial division in which the grant village is stated to be situated is probably a division named after an important place called Sāmanta which seems to survive in the modern name of Mahāsamund, the headquarters of the Tahsil of the same name in Raipur District in Madhya Pradesh.¹ The Gurgi stone pillar inscription of Kōkalladēva II refers to a village Sāmanta-pāṭaka whose identity with Sāmanta, the possible headquarters of Sāmanta-paṭṭi division is not however clear.²

TEXT³

(Metres : Verses 1, 8, 11, 17-27 *Anuṣṭubh* ; 14 *Mālinī* ; 3, 9, 16, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; 2, 5, 12-13 *Upajāti* ; 4, 6-7, 10, 15 *Vasantatilakā*)

First Plate

- 1 Siddham⁴ [| * | Ōm namō Brahmaṇē || Nirguṇam vyāpakam nityam śivam parama
kāraṇam | bhāva-grāhyam param jyo-
- 2 tis=tasmai sad-vra(bra)hmaṇē namaḥ || 1 || Yad=ētaḍ=agrēsaram=amva(ba)rasya jyōtiḥ
sa Pūshā puruṣaḥ purāṇaḥ | ath=āsyā putrō Ma-
- 3 nur=ādi-rājas=tad-anvayē=bhād=bhuvi Kārttavīryaḥ || 2 || Tad-vamśa-prabhavā narēndra-
patayaḥ khyātāḥ kshitau Hai-
- 4 hayās=tēshām=anvaya-bhūṣaṇam ripu-manō-vinyasta-tāp-ānalah | dharmma-dhyāna-
dhan-ānusaṁchita-yaśāḥ sasva(śaśva)t-satām
- 5 saukhya-kṛit=prēyān=sarvva-guṇ-ānvitaḥ samabhavat=śrī(vach=chhri)mān=asau
Kōkalah || 3 || Ashtādaś-āri-karikumbha-vi-
- 6 bhaṁga-simhāḥ putrā babhūvur=ati-sau(śau)rya-parāś=cha tasya | tatr=āgrajō nṛipa-
varas-Tripurīśa āsit=pārsvē(śvē) cha maṁḍa-
- 7 la-patīn sa chakāra vam(bam)dhūm(dhūn) || 4 || Tēshām=anūjasya⁵ Kalimgarājaḥ pratāpa-
vahni-kshapit=āri-rājaḥ | jāto=nta-
- 8 yē dviṣṭa-ripu-pravīra-priy-ānan-āmbhōruha-pārvvaṇ-ēnduḥ || 5 || Tasmād=api pratata-
nirmala-kīrtti-kāntō jā-
- 9 taḥ sutāḥ Kamalarāja iti prasiddhaḥ | Yasya pratāpa-taraṇāv=uditē rajanyām jātāni
paṁkaja-vanāni
- 10 vikāsa-bhāmji || 6 || Tēn=ātha chaṁdra-vadanō='jani Ratnarājō visv-ō(viśv-ō)pakāra-
karaṇ-ārjjita-puṇya-bhāraḥ |
- 11 yēna sva-vā(bā)hu-yuga-nirmmita-vikramēṇa nītam yaśas=tribhuvanē vinihatya śatrūn
|| 7 || Nanallākhyā⁶ priyā tasya śūra-
- 12 sy=ēva hi śūratā | tayōḥ sutō nṛipa-śrēṣṭhaḥ Pṛithvidēvō babhūva ha || 8 || Pṛithvidēva-
samudbhavaḥ samabhavad=Rājalladē-
- 13 vī-sutaḥ śūrah sajjana-vāṁchchi(vāñchchhi)t-ārtha-phaladaḥ kalpadrumaḥ śrī-phalaḥ |
sarvvēshām=uchitō='rchchanē sumanasām tikshṇa-dviṣa-
- 14 t-kamṭakaḥ pasya(śya)t=kāmtatar-āṁgan-āṁga-madanō Jājalladēvō nṛipaḥ || 9 || Tasya=
ātmajaḥ sakala-Kōsala-maṁḍa(ṇḍa)na-śrīḥ śrīmān=sa-

¹ For the meaning of *paṭṭi* see *ibid.*, p. 599 f.n. 1.

² *Ibid.*, p. 226.

³ From impressions.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ Read *anujasya* which will not suit the metre.

⁶ She is known as Nōnallā or Nōnnalā in other copper plate charters (See *CII.*, Vol. III, p. 405, 1.16 and p 412, 1.13).

- 15 mārṛita-samasta-nar-ādhipa-śrīḥ | sarvva-kshitiśvara-si(śi)rō-vihitāmhri(mghri)-sēvaḥ
sēvā-bhṛitām nidhir=asau bhuvi Ratna-
- 16 dēvaḥ || 10 || Pṛithvidēvas=tatō jātaḥ pōtaḥ kamṥhīravād=iva | simha-samhananō yō=ri-
kari-yūtham=apōthayat || 11 ||
- 17 Tadā purāṇa-smṛiti-śāstra-vēttā nētā samast-ōchita-sat-kriyāṇām(nām) | Gaṁgādharō
nāma nikāma-ramyō dvi-
- 18 jō Bharadvāja-kulē kil=āsīt || 12 || Trayī-vidām=ādyatamō namasyas=tasmāt=sad-āchāra-
vivē-

Second Plate

- 19 ka-rāśiḥ | va(ba)bhūva bhū-dēva-kul-āvja(bja)-sūryō Mahādhanō dhanyatamas=
tanūjaḥ || 13 || Tadanu-manuja-lōk-ā-
- 20 stōka-kalyāṇa-hētuḥ kratu¹-yugam=iva kurvvañbhū (rvvan=bhū)talē [sa]ch=charitrah |
kṛita-tanur=iva sākshād=ēsha dharmmaḥ kshamāyām
- 21 samajani tanayō=smād=atra Pārāsa(śa)r=ākhyah || 14 || Yaḥ śabda-śāstra-vidushām
gurur=apramēyas=tarkkēshv=atarkya-matir=ē-
- 22 va purāṇa-mārggē | Brahm=ēva vēda-vishayē smṛiti-tatva(ttva)-vēttā hantā samasta-
vipadām=avanīsva(śva)rasya || 15 || Pṛithvī-
- 23 dēva-mahībhujā dvija-varāy=asmai dinēsa(śa)-grahē sampūrya sva-karam payaḥ-kusa(śa)-
tilaiḥ sarvēḥ(vaiḥ) karaiḥ sampra(pri)taḥ | grā-
- 24 mō-yam Dugar=ābhidhāna-viditaḥ Sāmanta-patṛyām sthitō dattaḥ pṛita-manōrathēna
kṛitinē Pārāśarāya svaya-
- 25 m || 16 || Yāvat=tapati Tigamāśur=yāvad=vahati Mārutaḥ | yāvad=uptam vi(bi)bhartt=
Īlā tāvad=ēsha prāpālyatām || 17 || sa(śa)mkaḥ
- 26 bhadrāsanam chchha(chha)tram gaj-āsva(śva)-vara-vāraṇam | bhūmi-dānasya chihnāni
phalam svarggaḥ Purāmdara || 18 || Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā |²
- 27 bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam
|| 19 || Bhūmim yaḥ pratigri-
- 28 hṇāti yaś=cha bhūmim prayachchhati | ubhau tau puṇya-karmmanāṇau niyatau(tam)
svargga-gāminau || 20 || Pūrva-dattām dvi-jāti-
- 29 bhyō yatnād-raksha Purāmdara | mahi[m*] mahībhṛitām śrēshṥha dānācb=chhrēyō=
'nupālanam(nam) || 21 || Svadattām paradattām vā yō
- 30 harēta vasumdharam || (l) sa vishṥhāyām kṛimir=bhūtvā pitṛibhiḥ saha majjati || 22 ||
Tadāgānām sahasrē-
- 31 ṇa vāya(ja)pēya-sa(śa)tēna cha | gavām kōṭi-pradānēna bhūmi-harttā na śudhyati || 23 ||
Shashṥhim varsha-sahasrāni svarggē va-
- 32 sati bhūmidah | āchchhettā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēt || 24 || Ishṥam
datta(m) hutam ch=aiva yat=kimchid=dharmma-samchitam |
- 33 ardh-ām gulēna simāyā haraṇēna praṇasya(śya)ti || 25 || Yath=āpsu patitam(taḥ) Sa(Śa)kra
tila-vi(bi)ndur=vvisarppati | ēvam bhū-
- 34 mi-kṛitam dānam sasyē sasyē prarōhati || 26 || Jamḍēra-grāma-nāthō ya āsīt=Kirttēr=
vvarah sutaḥ | tēn=ēdam li-
- 35 khitam tāvra(mra) m=uchchakrē dharāṇi-bhṛitā || 27 || Samvat 893 Kārttika su(śu)di
8 gurau || || ||

¹ Read *kṛita*.

² The stroke is redundant.

No. 13—PUDUR INSCRIPTION OF PALLAVARASA

(1 Plate)

K. V. RAMESH AND MADHAV N. KATTI, MYSORE

The inscription¹ edited below with the kind permission of the Chief Epigraphist, Archaeological Survey of India, Mysore, was found engraved on the left and right sides of a slab lying on the roadside of the village **Pūḍūr, Gadwal Taluk, Mahbubnagar District**, near a Śiva temple. The front side of the same slab contains an inscription² of the reign of Western Chālukya Vikramāditya VI. The inscription under study consists of 75 lines in all, the left face having 38 lines and the right one 37 lines.

The **characters** and **language** of the inscription are **Kannada**. The entire text is in verse.³ The palaeographical and orthographical features of the record, which are common for the period to which it belongs, do not call for any special remarks. A part of verse 9, has been written in lines 35-38 of the left face, but has been repeated also in lines 39-42 of the right face.

The inscription does not refer itself to the reign of any sovereign ruler, nor is it dated. But, the other inscription⁴ which has been engraved on the front face of the slab, belongs to the reign of Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramāditya VI) and is dated in his 12th regnal year, Prabhava-samvatsara, Pushya Amāvāsye, Sunday, Uttarāyaṇa Saṁkrānti, corresponding to 1087 A.D., December 26, f.d.t. .91. The grants recorded in this inscription as well as in the record being edited below, are the same, the only difference being that our inscription is in verse form. Another inscription⁵, also belonging to the reign of the same emperor and bearing the same date, has been found in the same village. Since these inscriptions are inter-related, the contents of the two dated inscriptions are being utilised, wherever necessary, in this paper.

As for the contents of the present record, verse 1 (lines 1-4) introduces Pallava-bhūpa as the moon in the firmament of the Chālukya lineage, as the lord of Ayaje-nāḍu, as the abode of the goddess of wealth and as belonging to the lunar race. Verse 2 (lines 5-8) states that in his family, rulers such as Derchcharāja, Barmma and Māndhāta had ruled over the world from their capital at Pūḍūru. Verse 3 (lines 9-12) declares that these rulers evinced piety by building many *basadis* (inside the city) and temples (outside the city) and by giving away lands, tanks and gardens without number. Verse 4 (lines 13-16) states that his (obviously Māndhāta's) eldest son was Pallava-bhūpa, who begot, when he was the reigning king, a son named Polla of a very steady mind and a piercing arrow to his enemies. Verse 5 (lines 16-20) eulogises this Polla of Pūḍūru and his queen Ammākabbe. Verse 6 (lines 21-24) states that Pallava-mahībhujā was the son of Polla and Ammākabbe, that his queen was Dēkabbarasi. Their son was Gōvindara and the latter's queen Keta[la]mbarasi. Verse 7 (lines 24-30) states that to them *i.e.* Gōvindara and Ketalāmbarasi was born Pallava-bhūbhujā, beloved of the goddesses of wealth, learning, victory and fame, an ornament of the lunar race, a terror on the battle-fields, learned in *āgamas*, a bee at the lotus feet of Jinēndra and an abode of valour.

¹ *A.R.Ep.*, 1965-66, No. B 29.

² *Ibid.* No. B 28.

³ The metrical requirements are not strictly adhered to by the composer in a number of verses.

⁴ *A.R.Ep.*, op. cit, No. B 28.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 1965-66, No. B 30.

Verse 8 (lines 31-34) states that this Pallava-bhūbhujā undertook pious acts in the Jaina faith in order that his obtaining the kingdom may benefit him in this world as well as in the world beyond.

According to verse 9 (lines 35-38 and again lines 39-44), the eminent Pallava-bhūmipāla caused a *basadi* (*gēha*) for Jinarāja to be built to the west of Tāragaṇādhipaprabha *i.e.*, Chandraprabha-Jinālaya, at his capital city Pūṇḍūru. Verse 10 (lines 45-51) compares the magnificence of this Pallava-Jinālaya to that of the Surēndra vimāna, the Phaṇindra-vimāna and the Amarādri. Verse 11 (lines 52-55) describes the Pallava-Jinālaya as of the *Sarvatō-bhadra* type with five storeys (*pañcha-sāla*). Verses 12-14 (lines 55-68) record the grant made by Pallava-bhūmipāla to the Pallava-Jinālaya. The grants thus made included hundred *eremattar* of land from among the fields of Iṭṭukallu, 50 *mattar* of land at Pūṇḍūru, 1 *mattar* of paddy field, two gardens, two oil-mills, two shops, one *dēhāra*, 12 houses, one *balla* of grains, hundred leaves for every load, two *paṇas* from every village in the 300 division (*i.e.*, Ayije-300), 16 betel nuts for every thousand and one *mattar* of paddy field. Verse 14 says that Pūṇḍūru had thus equalled in renown Kopaṇa.¹

Verses 15 and 16 are in the nature of imprecations. While the former (lines 68-75) dubs those who would misappropriate the grants registered in the record under any pretext as *chāṇḍālas*, the latter contains a curse usually found in such *dāna-sāsanas*.

The inscription is important in that it brings to light a hitherto unknown ruling family in the Gadwal region. The genealogy of this family given in verses 2-7 can be tabulated as follows :—

Derchcharāja

|
Barmma

|
Māndhāta

|
Pallava I

|
Polla=Ammākabbe

|
Pallava II=Dēkabbarasi

|
Gōvindara=Kētalāmbarasi

|
Pallava III (Hallavarasa)

Our inscription belongs to the reign of Pallava III of the above genealogical tree. As already pointed out, he figures as a feudatory of Western Chālukya Vikramāditya VI in two other inscriptions from Pūḍūr both of which are dated 1087 A.D. In one² of these dated records the name of this chief occurs as Hallavarasa while in the other³, he is mentioned as Pottarasa. He receives among others the following epithets in these two dated records : *Samadhigata-pañchamahāsabda*, *mahā-maṇḍalēśvara*, *Ayōdhyāsīmhāsana*, *Muchukundūrpuravarēśvara*, *Alāmpūrabhujāṅga*, *Gōvindarana śimha* and *Tribhuvanamalla-pādārādhaka*.

Though the names Pallava and Hallavarasa remind us of the dynastic name Pallava and though the other name of Hallavarasa, viz., Pōttarasa is reminiscent of the well-known variant Pōttaraiar, in vogue among the Pallavas of Kāñchi, it is not known if this chief was really of Pallava extraction. On the other hand, the internal evidence in the three Pūḍūr inscriptions

¹ This is the same as modern Koppal, the headquarters of the taluk of the same name in Raichur District.

² *A.R.Ep.*, op. cit., No. B 28.

³ *Ibid.*, No. B 30.

would go to show that he was in some way connected to the Chālukya family. These records say that Pallavarasa belonged to the lunar race and that he had the *Varāha-lāñchhana*. It is well-known that the Chālukyas also belonged to the lunar race and had the *Varāha-lāñchhana*. The Pallavas on the other hand had the *Vṛishabha-lāñchhana*. In this context, it is interesting to note that our chieftain is described as the moon in the firmament of the *Chālukya-varṁśa*.

Among Hallavarasa's epithets, given in the two dated records, *Gōvindarana-simha*, *Muchukundūrpuravarēśvara* and *Aḷampūra-bhujāṅga* are interesting.¹ In the first of these epithets, Gōvindara obviously refers to the chieftain's father. Pallava III may have earned the epithet by actively assisting his father in all his exploits. The second epithet states that Pallava was the lord of the city of Muchukundūr.² It is possible that Pallava's family originally hailed from this city. The epithet *Aḷampūra-bhujāṅga* shows that Pallava had put down some ruler of that city some time or the other. In the absence of more epigraphical evidence, we are unable to explain the significance of this epithet.

The inscription under study makes it clear that the family of Pallava-bhūpa followed the Jaina faith but that its members had a spirit of tolerance. According to verse 3, the members of this family had built many Jaina *basadis* inside and many temples outside their capital city, Pūṇḍūru. That Pallava-bhūpa was of the Jaina faith is further proved by his epithet, *Jinēndracharaṇābjaśilīmukha*, occurring in our inscription and also by the other³ dated inscription which records certain grants to Pārśvanātha-dēva installed at Pūṇḍūru by Padmaṇandi-Maladhāri of the Mūla-saṁgha, Dēśiya-gaṇa, Koṇḍakund-ānvaya and Postakagachcha. In this context, we may quote hereunder two stanzas occurring in one⁴ of the above Pūḍūr inscriptions :—

Jīyāt puṇyālayas=sarva-nity-ānand-ōtsavāyatē |
Nityam pūj-ālayas=sārvaṁ Śrī-Pallava-jinālayam ||

The reference here is to the same *Jinālaya* mentioned in our inscription. The other stanza occurring towards the end of the record reads :—

Śrī-jagatī-taḷ-aika-tīlakē Srī-Pūṇḍra-saṁjñē purē
Śrīmat-Pallava-rāja-kharggā(dga)-jaḷatō durggē yaśaśśālakē ||
Chūt-ārāma-sugarādhā-sāli-vanakē saṁtishṭhatē sad-guruh
Śrīmat-Kāmchanasēna-paṁḍita-muniḥ vikhyāta-kīrti-priyaḥ ||

Pūṇḍrapura of this stanza is the Sanskritised name of Pūṇḍūru. Kāmchanasēna-paṁḍita is only a variant of Kanakasēna-bhaṭāarakadēva mentioned as such earlier in that record. From the stanza quoted, it is obvious that this pontiff had established himself at Hallavarasa's headquarters.

The grants registered in the inscription, barring some minor discrepancies, are the same as those recorded in one⁵ of our dated Pūḍūru inscriptions. Whereas in our inscription one *dēhāra* is recorded to have been granted, the dated inscription, referred to above, gives the number as two. So also, our inscription records the grant of 12 houses (*bāl-manē*) whereas the dated inscription records the grant of 12 house-sites. The usage of the expression *Vaṇig-griha* in the sense of a shop in our inscription makes interesting comparison with the term *amgadi* used in the dated record.

¹ *Ibid.*, intro, page No. 10.

² In the present state of our knowledge, it is not possible to identify this city

³ *Ibid.*, No. B-30.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. B-28.

⁵ *Ibid.*

Apart from Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Gayā and Bānarāsi (Vārānasi) which occur in the imprecatory stanzas and which are well-known, the other geographical names mentioned in the record are:— Ayaje-nāḍu, Pūṇḍūru or Pūṇḍrapura and Iṭṭukal. Of these, Ayaje-nāḍu is also referred to as Ayije-300 in one¹ of the dated inscriptions from Pūḍūr. This sub-division was obviously included in Hallavarasa's territory and must have formed the region around modern Ayije in the Gadwal Taluk of Mahbubnagar District. The second name is represented by the present day Pūḍūr and Iṭṭukal, which is mentioned as Kiriya-Iṭṭaikal in the dated inscription, is the same as present day Iṭṭkiyāl, both of them situated in the Gadwal Taluk, Mahbubnagar District.

TEXT²

[Metres: verses 1-6, 8, 13-16 *Kanda*; verses 7, 9 *Utpalamāle*; verse 10 *Champakamāle*; verse 12 *Mattēbhavikrīḍita*.]³

First Face

- 1 Śrīmach-Chālukya-vamśa-vyōm-āmṛi-
- 2 ta-kiraṇan-Ayajenāḍ-adhipam Śrī-
- 3 dhāmam madēbha-gaḷam Sōma-kuḷam
- 4 k Allan=iṛida Pallava-bhūpa || [1 ||*]
- 5 Ātana vamśajarōḷ=vikhyāta-yaśa-
- 6 r=Dderchcharājar-ēm-Barmmanu Māndhāta-
- 7 r=enal-āḷdu sakaḷa-mahītaḷa-
- 8 mam rājadhāni sale Pūṇḍūral || [2 ||*]
- 9 Basadigaḷan=oḷage poragaṇa de-
- 10 [se]eyoḷ=dēvālayamgaḷam palavam mā-
- 11 ḍisi key-kere tōmṭamgaḷan=asamkhye-
- 12 yam koṭṭu dharmma-tatpa[ra]r=ādar || [3 ||*]
- 13 Avar=agra-tanūjam Pallava-bhūpam ne-
- 14 reye rājya-Lakshmiyoḷ=ire tad-bhuvan-ā
- 15 dhīśa puṭṭidam(da)n=avichaḷa-manan=appa Po-
- 16 [ll]an=asuhṛit-sellam || [4 ||*] Ā Pūṇḍūri-
- 17 na Polla-mahīpālanuv=Ammā-
- 18 kabbeyum sakaḷa-jaga-vyāpa-

¹ *Ibid.*

² From inked impressions.

³ For the metre of verse 11 see note on p. 86 below.

PUDUR INSCRIPTION OF PALLAVARASA

Part I

Part II

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- 19 kar-amaḷa-charitrarssā(rsā)p-ānugra-
 20 ha-samartthar=esedar=dhdha(ddha)reyoḷ [5||*]
 21 Ari-mathanan=avara taneyam narapaṭi(ti)
 22 Pallava-mahībhujamgam Dēkabbarasi-
 23 gam puṭṭida Gōvimdaramgam=ā Kēta[la]m̄ba
 24 rasi-yemb=ambikegam || [6*] Śrī-rama-
 25 nam Śaśāmka-kuḷa-bhūshaṇan=āhava-
 26 bhīshaṇam vachaśrī(chaś-śrī)-ramaṇam vivēka-cha-
 27 turānanan=āgama-kōvidaṁ Jaya-śrī-
 28 ramaṇam Jinēmdra-charaṇ-ābja-śilimu-
 29 khan=unnataṁ Yaśaśrī(śaś-śrī)-ramaṇam pratā-
 30 pa-nidhi puṭṭidan=aggada Palla[va]-bhūbhujam || [7*||]
 31 Sti(Sthi)ra-rājya-lakshmiyoḷ=nim̄du rājyama[m]
 32 paḍeda phaḷam=iham param=em-
 33 b=iy==eraḍu-bhavakkaṁ hitam=endu tā
 34 mudadi Jaina-dharmmamam̄ kaikoṇḍa || [8*||]
 35 Dhāriṇiyoḷ=nega[r]tte-vaḍed=irdda poḷal=ni-
 36 ja-rājadhāni Pūṁḍūr=adaṇo-
 37 ḷ=manō-mudade māḍhi(ḍi)sidham̄(dam̄) ji-
 38 narāja-gēhamam̄ Tāragaṇā ||

Second Face

- 39 Dhāriṇiyoḷ=negartte-vaḍed=iḷda poḷal=ni^e
 40 jā-rājadhāni Pūṁḍūr=adaṇoḷ=manō-
 41 mudade māḍisidaṁ Jinarāja-gēha-
 42 mam̄ Tāragaṇādhīpa-prabha-jinālaya-pa-
 43 śchima-bhāgadalli Lakshmi-ramaṇam̄ sadācha-
 44 ritan=unnata-Pallava-bhūmipālakam̄ || [9*]
 45 Idu sura-lōkadim̄d=iḷidu bam̄da Surēm-
 46 dra-vimānamō manō-mudadin=a-
 47 hīmdra-lōkadoḷe bam̄dha(da) Phaṇim̄dra-vi-

- 48 mānamō jagad-viditam=enalke bamdu
- 49 nelesidd=Amarādriyō pēlim=emba
- 50 saṃpadamane tāld=i Pallava-jinālaya-
- 51 m=oppidud=i dharitriyoḷ || [10 ||*]
- 52 Lileyin=esev=eḷkaśāla-dviśāla-triśāla-
- 53 chatuśchā(śśā)la-paṃchaśālam mēl=enisitt=a-
- 54 llim mēle Pallavana jinālayam sarvvatō-
- 55 bhadradimdam || [11 ||*]¹ Ere nūr-mattaran=Ittukalla
- 56 poladoḷ=Pūṃḍūral=ayvattu mattaran=a-
- 57 bhimāna-mātradim peṛage mattar=ggaḷde
- 58 tōmṭamgaḷ=ant=eraḍam gāṇam=eraḍ=vaṇigri(g-gri)ha-
- 59 m=eraḍ=dēhāram=omd=eyde panneraduṃ bāl-mane-
- 60 ponnal=orvvaḷada dhānyam mūle-vattaṃgaḷam || [12*]
- 61 Pēṛugaḷ=omd--omdakkam nūreley-ūrūra-
- 62 l=eraḍu paṇamam neṛe mūnūraro-
- 63 ḷav=eḍakegaḷu padināṇam paḍi-ḍaḷada
- 64 gaṛde mattarum=āgal || [13 ||*] Nṛiparatnam Palla-
- 65 va-bhūmipāḷakam koṭṭan=intu Pūṃḍū-
- 66 r=iḷgaḷ=kopaṇam=enisittu ri(ri)shiyari
- 67 n=apūrvva-jina-bhavanadim subhavy-āva-
- 68 ḷiyim || [14 ||*] Arasargge sēseyem̄d=arasara
- 69 kāṇikey=em̄du dāya-da(dha) [r*]mmada teṛe-
- 70 y=em̄d=aruvaṇav=em̄d=uḷubaḷav=em̄d=are-kā-
- 71 ṇikeyan=akke koṃḍavar=chchāmḍālar || [15 ||*] Gaṃ-
- 72 gā-Yamunā-sāgara-saṃgamado-
- 73 ḷ Bāṇarāsi-Gayey=emb=i tirtthaṃgaḷo-
- 74 ḷ=ātta-kuḷa-dvija-puṃgava-gōkuḷa-
- 75 man=aḷidar=imt=idan=aḷidar || [16 ||*].

¹ This verse is made up of four quarters, each containing 18 metric syllables. When scanned, each quarter is found to be arranged in the order of 3+3+7+5 metric syllables. We have not been able to locate this metre in any known work on Kannaḍa prosody.

No. 14—JHANSI INSCRIPTION OF VIRAVARMA, V.S. 1318

(1 Plate)

PUSHPA PRASAD, ALIGARH

This hitherto unpublished stone inscription¹ was found at **Jhansi** on the wall of the Jhansi fort. It is now preserved at the **State Museum, Lucknow**. It is engraved on a basalt slab. The language of the inscription is **Sanskrit (corrupt)** mixed with **local dialect**. It consists of twenty lines. Two short lines are at the proper left side above an obscene depiction of an ass and a woman drawn beneath the symbols of the sun and the moon. A portion of the stone to the right side being broken, several letters of the last two lines are lost. The inscription is dated **Samvat year 1318 Śrāvāṇa ba. 2, Wednesday** which correspond to 15th June 1261 A.D.

The text commences with the expression of salutations to the deities of the Hindu pantheon such as Śiva, Viṣṇu, Brahmā, Gaṇapati, Skanda and others together with teachers and sages. The verse containing the adoration of Śiva borrowed from Kālidāsa's *Vikramōrvaśīyam*² is recorded. The inscription introduces Rājā Virabrahma who is represented to have belonged to Chandravamśa and to have destroyed his powerful enemies. The object of the inscription is to record that *rāṇaka* Abhayadēva, who belonged to the Yādava family, granted the village Sakēla to Sulhaṇa-bhaṇḍāri, son of *rāuta* Sādhēka. Besides, the inscription also records the installation of *liṅga* (*liṅga*) and the construction of a *taḍāga* and a *vāṭikā* (garden). At the end the inscription lays down an imprecation that the mother of the person who confiscates the said village will be seized and ravished by an ass.

Rājā Virabrahma has been identified with Rājā Viravarma of Chandēlla dynasty.³ It may be noted here that though Viravarma is described in this inscription as a '*Rājā*' he is no doubt identical with his namesake who was endowed with all the royal epithets i.e. *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Parama-māhēśvara Śrī Kālīñjarādhīpati Mahārāja-Śrī Viravarmma*, in his Charkhari Copper-plate charter dated earlier in Samvat 1311.⁴

The present inscription is of some interest in that *rāṇaka* Abhayadēva in making the grant sought no permission from his suzerain, Viravarma, though the latter has apparently confirmed the grant through the present inscription. It shows that the *rāṇaka* enjoyed powers of a subordinate ruler in his principality. This is the only inscription of the Chandēlla dynasty referring to a *rāṇaka*. Presumably the title or office of *rāṇaka* was not so prominent among the Chandēllas as in other dynasties e.g., the Gāhaḍavālas and Paramāras where

¹ Noticed by Kielhorn, above, Vol. V, Appendix, p. 33, No. 227 ; *IA.*, XIX, p. 179 ; See also *Bhandarkar's List*, No. 560 ; *A.R. Ep.*, 1951-52, No. B. 259 ; *Catalogue of Lucknow State Museum*, No. E 28.

² Act I, Verse I. Cf. Sile Ram Chaturvedi, *Kālidāsa Granthāvalī* (Kasi, s 2007) p. 153.

³ H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India* (Delhi 1973), Vol. II, p. 731.

⁴ Above, Vol. XX, p. 133, lines 6-7.

the elevated position of a chief feudatory is established by inscriptions, the earliest of which belongs to the 11th and 12th centuries.¹

It is significant that of all the known grants under the Chandēlla dynasty, this is the only case of a person other than the king making a grant. The context in which another *rāuta* named Vikrava (Vikrama ?) is mentioned in line 12 of the inscription is not clear to us, since the relative portion of the stone is damaged. He might be taken as an executor of the grant, though the possibility of his being a mere witness cannot be precluded. At the proper left side of the inscription sun and moon are mentioned as witnesses.

The term *Bhaṇḍāri* has been taken to denote treasurer.² Sulhaṇa who has been referred to here with this title, probably served as treasurer under *rānaka* Abhayadēva. However in another inscription of this dynasty the term '*Bhāṇḍāgārapati*' has been used for treasurer.³ Similar terms recorded in the inscriptions of other dynasties are *Bhāṇḍāgārika*, *Mahā Bhaṇḍāgārika*, *Bhāṇḍāgārikṛita*, etc.⁴

The present inscription is the only evidence indicating that the Chandēlla king Viravarma ruled over a part of Jhansi district. We know that the dominions of his predecessors Paramaridēva (1165-1202 A.D.) and Trailōkyavarman (1203-1250 A.D.) extended to the district Lalitpur in the west. Viravarma's inscriptions are found at Ajayagadh fort (hill fort in Bundelkhand, 16 miles from Kālīñjar, 47 miles from Banda, 130 miles from Allahabad), Kālīñjar (Banda District), Charkhari (Hammirpur District), Dahi (4-1/2 miles to the east of Bijawar in Bundelkhand) and Gurha (Orai Tahsil in Talaud District).

Taking into account these findspots H.C. Ray and N.S. Bose conclude that Viravarma's empire extended upto the region between the rivers Sindh and Vētravati.⁵ Viravarma ruled from 1254 to 1286 A.D. Uptill now nine inscriptions have been ascribed to his reign, the earliest of which is Charkhari inscription of V.S. 1311 (1254 A.D.). The Jhansi inscription being dated V.S. 1318 (1261 A.D.) falls conveniently within his reign.

I have not been able to identify the village Sakēla.

TEXT⁶

1 नमः शिवाय ॥ हरिहरहरिण्यगर्भेभ्यो नमः ॥ देव्यै नमः ॥ गणपतये नमः ॥ स्कंदाय नमः ॥ सर्वे-

2 [भ्यो दे]वेभ्यो नमः ॥ सर्वेभ्य आच्चा(चा)येभ्यो नमः ॥ सर्वेभ्य ऋषिभ्यो नमः ॥ अपरेभ्यः सर्वविघ्नशांतिकरे-

¹ Cf. R. S. Sharma, *Indian feudalism* (Calcutta, 1965) pp. 174-75 ; above, Vol. XXXVI, pt. I, No. 6 ; *IA.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 18-19 ; Lallanji Gopal, *The Economic life of Northern India* (Delhi, 1965), pp. 13-14 ; Roma Niyogi, *History of Gahadavala Dynasty* (Calcutta 1959), pp. 162-63 ; B. N. S. Yadava, *Society and Culture in Northern India* (Allahabad 1973), pp. 253-54.

² Cf. D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary* (Delhi 1966), pp. 49-50.

³ Above, Vol. I, p. 335, line 14.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 362, 1.14 ; p. 309, 1.36 ; *Journal of Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Bombay, 1869), Vol., IX, p. 219 ; *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 330, 659.

⁵ H. C. Ray-op. cit., p. 733 ; N. S. Bose, *History of the Candellas* (Calcutta, 1956), p. 11.

⁶ From impressions obtained from Lucknow Museum.

- 3 म्योपि ॥ वेदांतेषु यमाहुरेकपुरुषं व्याप्य स्थितं रोदसी । यस्मिन्नीश्वर इत्यनन्यविषयः श-
- 4 [ब्दो य]थार्थाक्षरः ॥ अंतर्यञ्च(श्च) मुमुक्षुभिर्नियमितप्राणादिभिर्मृग्यते । स स्थाणुः स्थिर-
भक्तियोगसु-
- 5 [लभो] निःश्रेयसायास्तु वः¹ ॥ [१*] ॥ चंद्रवंशसमुद्भवः सुभट्ट(ट)मोष्ठ(ष्ठ)निष्ठुरो वीरोर्यं(यः)
सुरमुदं बलह-
- 6 तं हर्ता ॥ संसारप्रतारित[नि]पुणमतिः सर्वक्रियाप्रदक्षः पितृवर्गं(र्गं)समाकुलो राजा वीरव्र(व्र)ह्य-
- 7 [रा]जो . . । वीरव्र(व्र)ह्यराजप्रसादीकृतज्ञः सहस्रभुज इव भुजद्वयेन प्रव(व)लारिमदाघ(ह) र्ता ॥
सलक्षणप्र-
- 8 [रो]ड(ह?) वंशाग्रहतिलकोऽभयदेवराणकनामे हेतिजेलमंडलके ॥ यादवकुलतिलकः सम-
- 9 ..राज्यमुद्धन्तुं धीसमर्थः । राउत साढेकासुतः सुल्हणभंडारी नामेत्यभयदेवराणस्य
- 10 .शृ(श्र)यसमन्वितः सुल्हणभंडारीकेण वसापितः । राणकअभयदेवेन दत्तः स्वयं सके-
- 11 [लना*]मेति ग्रामः ॥ तथा लिल(लि)गस्थापना तडागं च [वा]टिका आत्मनो धर्म-
- 12 [सौडष?]द्वये चत्वारि ४ कारापितानि चि(चि)ह्वानि लोकद्वयस्य राउत वि[क्र]व-
- 13 ..सुल्हणकेन यतः ॥ किं वर्णनीयं व(व)हुनोक्त(क्तं) अधुना धुरश्चेवर्नयः कुहतेकारा-
- 14 ...हस्ते राणकः सन्सकेलग्राममेनं चतुः कंकडविसु(शु)द्धं ॥ राणक अभयदेवक्र-
- 15 ...रोडवंशजोऽन्यो वा सुल्हणभंडारी तस्य राणकअभयदेवदत्तं यो
- 16 ...ति हरति गृहीतं वा गृह्णाति ॥ परहस्ते सकेलानामानमेचं ग्रामं
- 17 ...पशुजातिनिकृष्टो गर्दभ एव गृह्णाति तस्य मातरं ने(ग)र्दभेण माता तस्य लोकोक्ति[यं*]
था-

¹ Metre : *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

² The following two lines are found engraved between lines 10 and 17 to the left side above the carving representing the *gardabha* curse.

¹ चंद्रसूर्यौ साक्षिणौ कृ०

² लाग्रामम. हरति तस्य

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[Vol. XL

- 18रिद्धानं हर्तुमिच्छति सकेलाग्रामेमेनं यः ॥ मृगजातिनिवृष्टगर्हभाभिगमन[पूर्वक]
- 19[रि]तं मातुस्तस्यैव ...हि भविष्यति ॥ संवत् १३१५ श्रावण वदि २ वु(वु)-धदिने प्रश[स्त]-
- 20ति मत्वा विजानद्भिर्वाचकैल्लेखकस्य श्रद्धा न हीयेत इति यजमानतृप्ता ॥..त्- ॥

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