

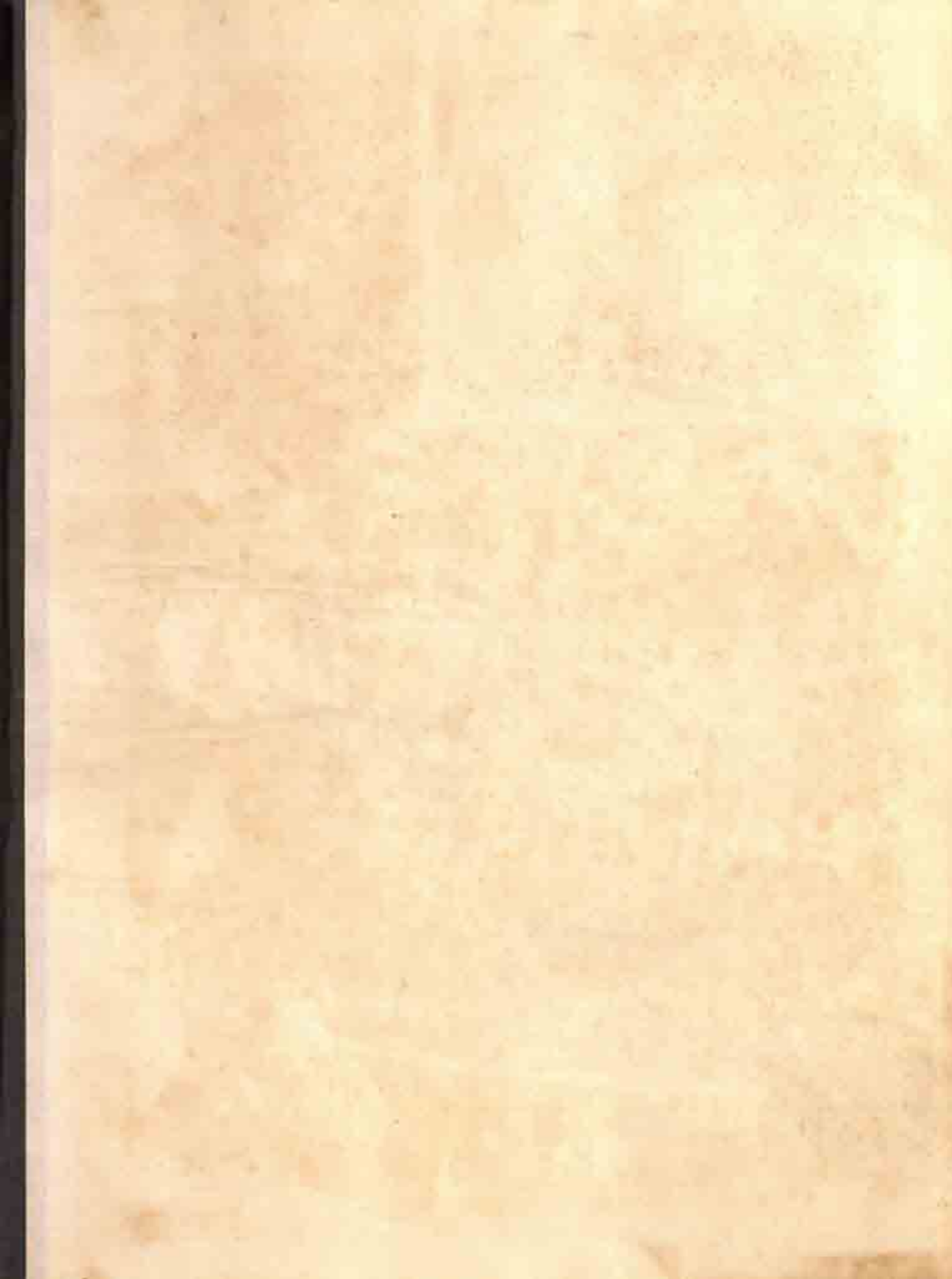
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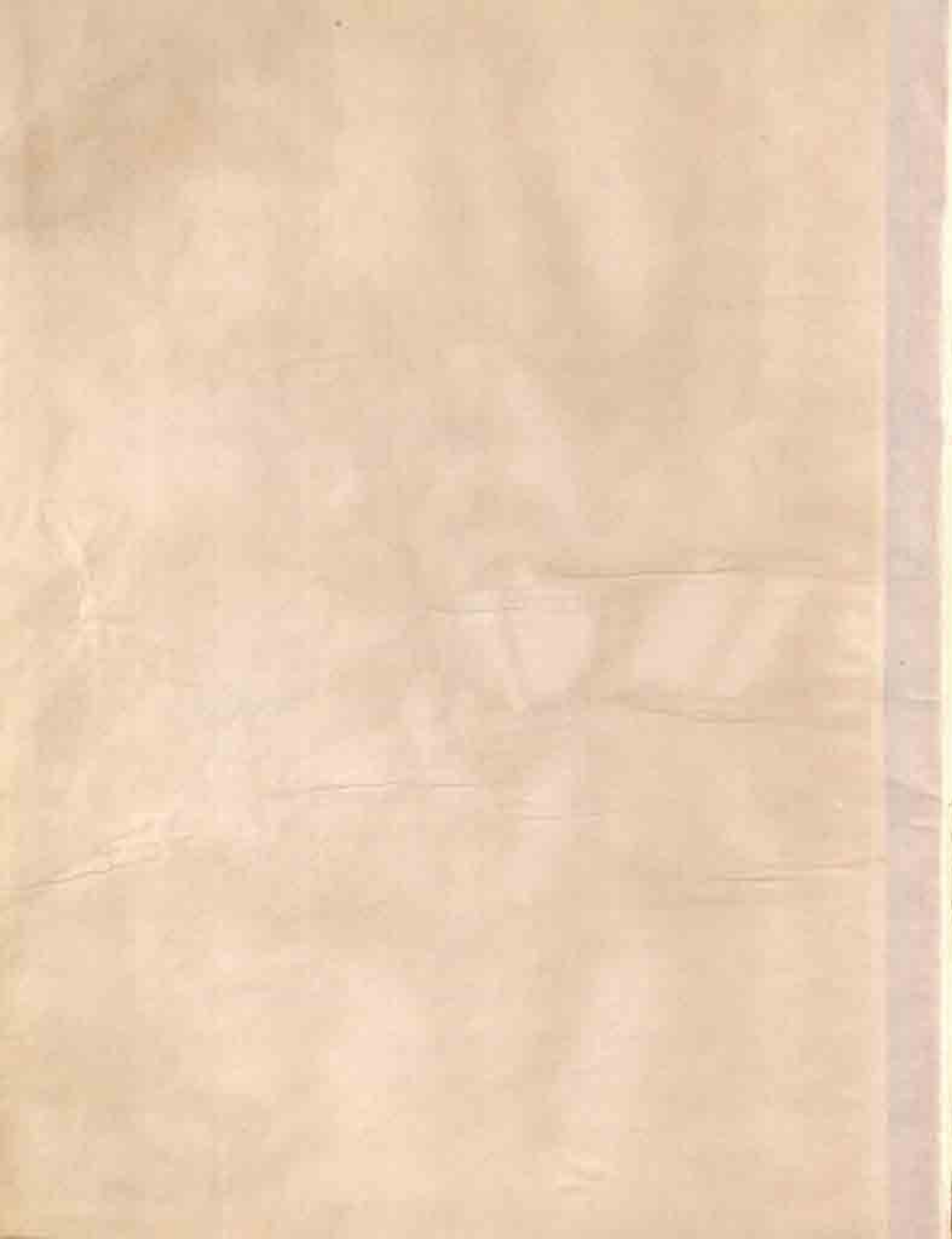
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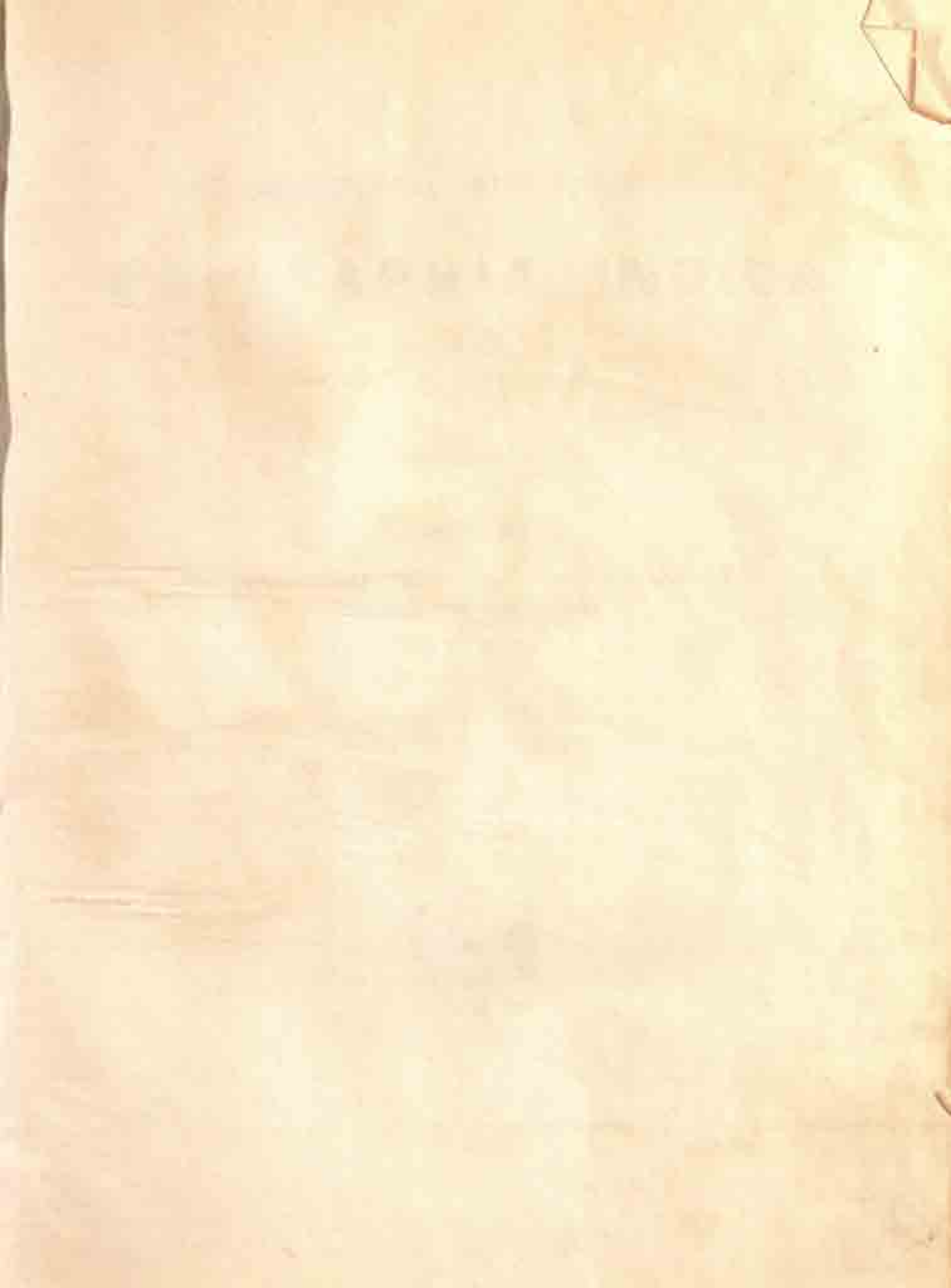
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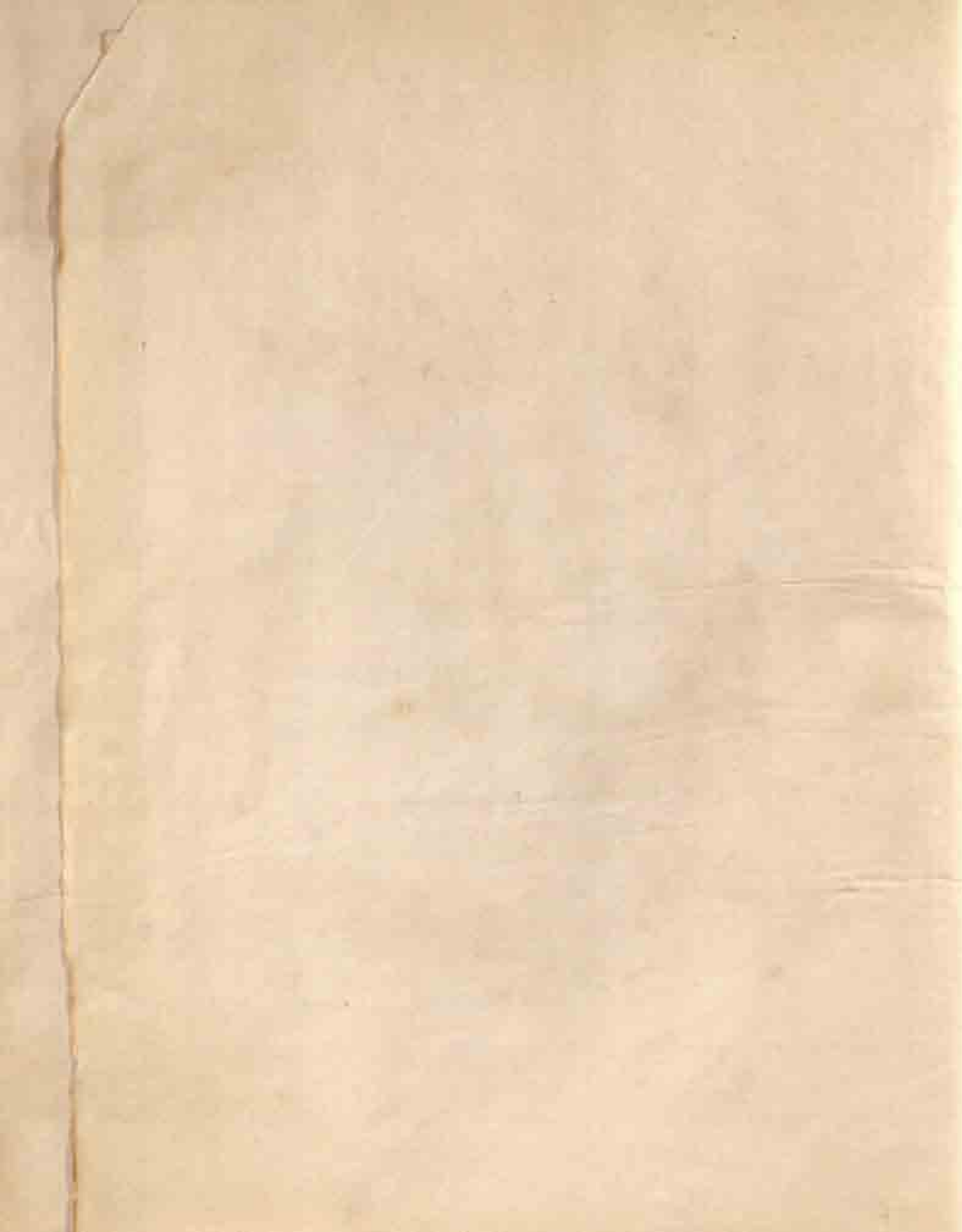
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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

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VOLUME XXXV

1963-1964

EDITED BY

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NOTE.—Dr. D. C. Sircar retired from the post of the Government Epigraphist for India with effect from 8-6-1962. Before proceeding on leave preparatory to retirement on 14-6-1961 he had sent the material to the Press for Parts I to VII of this Volume of which he is therefore the Editor.





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**VOLUME XXXIII**

Page 265, lines 32-35.—*Read* Solanpur (Lat. 20° 52' & Long. 86° 21' in the Bhadrak Sub-Division of Balasore District, Orissa) on the bank of the Vaitarani, about 2 miles from Jājpur town, suggests itself as a possible representative of Salōgapura.

**VOLUME XXXIV**

Page 215, line 21.—*For* contemporaneously *read* contemporaneously

.. 236, f.n. 13 (line 2).—*For* ved *read* engraved

.. 237, f.n. 6.—*For* erasure *read* erasure

.. 246, line 2.—*Read* about 3/4

**VOLUME XXXV**

Page 6, line 30.—*For* c. 275-345 A.D. *read* c. 265-335 A.D.

.. 16, line 18.—*For* āvesanika *read* āveśanika

.. 37, lines 9-10.—*For* fortunately *read* fortunately

.. 37, line 12.—*For* except *read* except for

.. 37, line 17.—*For* consonant *read* consonants

.. 44, line 36.—*For* rammar *read* grammar.

.. 49, f.n. 2.—*Read* : *ibid* vol. XXXI, Plate etc.

.. 49, f.n. 14.—*for* vol. XXI, *read* vol. XXXI.

.. 51, line 21.—*For* Śunīkavergaḷe *read* Sunīkavergaḷe

.. 51, line 32.—*For* governor of the Yādava king *read* governor under the Yādava king

.. 54, f.n. 2.—*Read* seems

.. 64, f.n. 3.—*Correct into* *Read* pravēśat = Chhandōga-Bhāradvāja

.. 66, line 23.—*For* general *read* generally

.. 66, f.n. 3 (line 2).—*For* palaeography *read* palaeography

.. 68, f.n. 3.—*For* Gṛīhahastin *read* Grahahastin

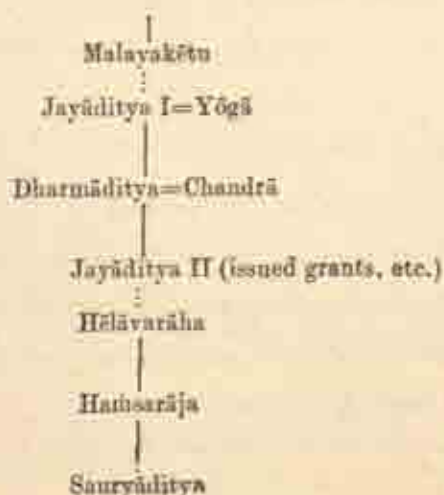
.. 71, line 26.—*For* Sanskri *read* Sanskrit

.. 73, line 7.—*For* it *read* It

.. 73, line 10.—*For* Sātakarni- *read* Sātakarṣi-

- Page 73, line 11.—For *Maharashtrin* read *Mahārūshtrin*
- .. 73, line 12.—For *Rashtrin* read *Rāshtrin*
- .. 73, line 13.—For *rashtrin* read *rāshtrin*
- .. 73, line 14.—For *Rashtrakūta* read *Rāshtrakūta*
- .. 73, line 14.—For *rāshtra* read *rāshtra*
- .. 73, line 14.—For *Gramakuta* read *Grāmakūta*
- .. 73, line 15.—For *grama* read *grāma*
- .. 73, f.n. 1 (line 9).—For *asoka* read *Asoka*
- .. 73, f.n. 1 (line 13).—For *Maharathi* read *Mahārathi*
- .. 73, f.n. 1 (line 14).—For *Sātikānām* read *Śātikānām*
- .. 73, f.n. 1 (line 15).—For *Sāntika* read *Śāntika*
- .. 73, f.n. 2 (line 2).—For *Rāshtrika* ..... *Rāshrika* read *Rāshtrika* ..... *Rāshrika*
- .. 74, line 4.—For *made ont* read *made out*
- .. 74, f.n. 4 (line 1).—For *the* read *the*
- .. 77, line 21.—For *Chaṭukulasya* read *Chuṭukulasya*
- .. 81, line 2.—For *2t* read *It*
- .. 81, line 4.—For *Tiktama* read *Viktama*
- .. 81, line 5.—For *on* read *of*
- .. 81, line 6.—Read *Bihar*
- .. 81, line 7.—For *sefer* read *tefer*
- .. 81, line 17.—For *to* read *the*
- .. 81, line 21.—For *tao* read *the*
- .. 81, line 23.—For *apparectly* read *apparently*
- .. 81, line 23.—For *wsth* read *with*
- .. 81, line 25.—For *Riṣhīpati* read *Piṣhīpati*
- .. 81, line 27.—For *meditatsug* read *meditating*
- .. 81, line 33.—For *works Pacharakshā*, read *work Pañcharakṣā*
- .. 82, line 16.—For *Piṣhīpati* read *Āchārya*
- .. 87, lines 2-3.—For *Indravāsin* read *Indrakēsin*
- .. 88, text line 8.—For *\*dereē* read *\*doreyam*

- Page 88, text line 11.—For *idam=ajj*<sup>9</sup> read *idan=ajj*<sup>9</sup>
- .. 90, line 13.—For *to succeed* read *from succeeding*
- .. 91, line 2.—For *taken parts* read *taken part*
- .. 96, line 16.—For *spellings* read *spelling*
- .. 97, line 10.—For *abov* read *above*
- .. 99, line 7.—For *salughter* read *slaughter*
- .. 99, f.n. 8 (line 1).—For *balief* read *belief*
- .. 100, line 8.—For *ambā-kapilika* read *ambā-kapīlikā*
- .. 100, line 22.—For *may have been* read *may have been*
- .. 101, line 16.—For *plaeography* read *palaeography*
- .. 101, line 28.—For *Gupta-Vallabhi* read *Gupta-Valabhi*
- .. 102, last line.—For *chatsu* read *Chateu*
- .. 106, line 37.—For *line them* read *like them*
- .. 107, f.n. 3 (line 1).—For *or a temple as mentioned in the Chifchani* read *of a temple mentioned in the Chinchani.*
- .. 110, line 23.—For *relations* read *associations*
- .. 111, f.n. 5.—For *Ind. Aut.* read *Ind. Aut.*
- .. 129, text line 10.—For *=astu=bhavatām* read *=astu bhavatām*
- .. 129, text line 16.—For *-[ārthe]* read *-[ārthē]*
- .. 131, the tabulated genealogy should be read as :



- Page 139, f.n. 1 (line 1).—For *before* read *before*
- .. 140, line 23.—For *lā* read *Kā*
- .. 148, f.n. 6 (line 1).—For *sentence* read *sentences*
- .. 151, line 35.—*Add* or in the middle of *Malaya-rājya* after *Antarmalaya-rājya*
- .. 152, line 7.—*Add* or *Malaya-rājya* after *Antarmalaya-rājya*
- .. 152, text line 10.—For *plavat[ū\*]i* read *plava[ū\*]ti*
- .. 154, line 18.—For (lines 11-12); read (lines 10-11);
- .. 154, line 41.—For *Vrātēnājya* read *Vrātēnūtya*
- .. 156, text line 10.—For *ayara(cha)ndrō* read *jayara(chalindrō*
- .. 157, text line 21.—For *viru-va(dvā)* read *viru-vā(dvā)*
- .. 160, last line.—For *twenty thousand* read *two thousand*.
- .. 165, text line 22.—For *ahutiū* read *āhutiū*
- .. 166, text line 62.—For *anayata* read *a(ch=ā)nyatra*
- .. 167, text line 75.—For *ha-patis=atavyō* read *ha-pati-atavyō*
- .. 167, text line 93.—For *dēnā* read *dēvā*
- .. 167, f.n. 2.—Delete this foot-note
- .. 170, line 17.—For *attigiance* read *allegiance*
- .. 175, text line 12.—For [ *आत्मा* ] read [ *आत्मा* ]
- .. 180, line 330.—For *disloged* read *dislodged*
- .. 182, line 8.—For (*Isāna*) read (*Īsāna*)
- .. 187, line 26.—For *Bhailasvāmīdēvapura* read *Bhailasvāmīdēvapura*
- .. 194, f.n. 3 (line 3).—For *tha* read *that*
- .. 203, line 7.—For *ould* read *should*
- .. 203, line 42.—Add *verse 13 Āryā* after *Sragdharā*
- .. 207, line 2.—For *Vijayachan-dradēva* read *Vijayachandradēva*
- .. 207, line 4.—For *Jayachchan-dradēva* read *Jayachchandradēva*
- .. 207, line 6.—For *Hari-ichndradēvō* read *Hariachandradēvō*
- .. 207, line 27.—For *Gauruvlta* read *Gaurivlta*
- .. 207, f.n. 1 (line 5).—For *cha-nīrahāstō* read *chandrahāstō*
- .. 211, f.n. 3 (line 3).—For *pradattā* read *pradattāh*

- Page 212, line 4.—For *avour* read *lavour*.
- .. 212, f.n. 4 (line 1).—For *śrīmad*—*Ēdakūṇḍyām* read *śrīmad-Ēdakūṇḍyām*
- .. 212, f.n. 4 (line 2).—For *Haris* read *Haris-*
- .. 216, f.n. 3.—For *rodundant* read *redundant*
- .. 218, line 34.—For *Thakkura* read *Thakkura*
- .. 221, line 21.—For *Tāṇḍivāda* read *Tāṇḍivāja*
- .. 221, line 24.—For *58* read *88*
- .. 221, f.n. 3.—For *difficult* read *difficult*
- .. 223, text line 2.—For *कील (लि)* read *कीलि*
- .. 225, line 8.—For *thore-fourths* read *three-fourths*
- .. 236, f.n. 2.—For *Gugulin* read *Guggulin*
- .. 237, line 2.—For *accuring* read *acorning*
- .. 237, line 6.—For *Bhāhmaṇas* read *Brāhmaṇas*
- .. 237, line 8.—For *whusever* read *whosoever*
- .. 237, line 21.—For *authorities* read *authorities*
- .. 237, line 29.—For *unumber* read *number*
- .. 238, text line 15.—For *Pajmā(dam)nābhō* read *Pahma(dma)nābhō*
- .. 238, Postscript, line 4.—For *ndependent* read *independent*
- .. 238, Postscript, line 5.—For *year has* read *years are*
- .. 238, f. n. 5.—For *Jāṣṇapī* read *Jāṣṇī*
- .. 239, line 14.—For *as having brought* read *as having been brought*
- .. 239, f.n. 2.—For *No. 5* read *No. 55*
- .. 242, f.n. 8.—For *Sanakrit* read *Sanskrit*
- .. 244, f.n. 5 (line 2).—For *gatōshv-idānīm is intended* read *gatōshv—idānīm is intended*
- .. 245, f.n. 2 (line 3).—For *aritches* read *articles*
- .. 248, line 5.—For *resespet* read *respect*
- .. 248, line 20.—For *Shāthakayī* read *Shathakaya*
- .. 248, f.n. 2 (line 3).—For *Hātakayīshā* read *Hātakayīshā*
- .. 251, f.n. 3.—For *Unity* read *Unity*
- .. 251, f.n. 4 (line 6).—For *als* read *also*
- .. 259, text line 25.—Read *ma(mā)ṇḍāḷika*



- Page 260, text line 47.—For Piṭṭu[ga]ma[m] read Piṭṭu[ga]ma[m]ḥ
- .. 261, l.n. 5 (line 3).—For *king* read *king*
- .. 267, line 9.—For *former* read *latter*
- .. 268, line 1.—For *Veṅgai-* read *Vēṅgai-* and for *Virarājendra's* read *Virarājendra's*
- .. 270, l.n. 3 (line 2).—For 19-20 read 319-20
- .. 271, line 4.—For *adhikārika* read *ādihikārika*
- .. 274, line 10.—For *was* read *were*
- .. 274, l.n. 7 (line 2).—For *Rāshtrakūta* read *Rāshtrakūta*
- .. 275, line 10.—For *inscriptions* read *inscription*
- .. 275, line 15.—For *of two rivers* read *by two rivers*
- .. 276, text line 8.—For \*ṣpārjita read \*ṣpārjita
- .. 277, text line 25.—For *mah-ānubhāvō(vah) prahata* read *mah-ānubhāvō=prahata*
- .. 277, text line 27.—For *samudr-āntikūm=* read *samudr-āntikā(ka)m=*
- .. 278, text line 39.—For \*hāri read \*hā(kā)ri
- .. 278, l.n. 3.—For *reads* read *read*
- .. 279, text line 53.—For *sad-āṃṣitamayatva-guṇi(ṅ-ō)-(daya)= cha* read *sad=āṃṣitamaya-tva-guṇi nayaṣ=cha.*
- .. 279, text line 65.—For *bhōjayataḥ* read *bhōjayataḥ*
- .. 281, l.n. 5 (line 3).—For *Kālavād* read *Kāṭāvād*
- .. 282, line 6.—For *its writer was Divirapati Haragaṇa* read *its writer was Divirapati Śaṅkaragaṇa, son of Divirapati Haragaṇa.*
- .. 282, l.n. 5 (line 1).—Add *to* after *according*
- .. 285, l.n. 10.—For \*vikram-*h* read \*vikramā=
- .. 286, text line 42.—For \*dēya-saahitaḥ read \*dēya-varjitaḥ
- .. 286, l.n. 7.—For *full-stop is indicated* read *full-stop is indicated*
- .. 288, line 4.—For *Gjuarat* read *Gujarat*
- .. 290, line 13.—For *vyavahārika* read *vyāvahārika*
- .. 290, l.n. 13 (line 1).—For \*ānupurvi *cha dēśaḥ* read \*ānupūrvīḥ *cha dēśaḥ*
- .. 291, line 33.—For *Chinchini* read *Chinchani*
- .. 292, l.n. 6 (lines 1-2).—For *nagaravaruchchai* read *naḡaravaruchchāi*

VJ 35, pt I

# EPIGRAPHIA INDICA

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No. 1—MORE INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA ✓

(6 Plates)

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(Received on 18.3.1960)

1. Two Ikshvāku Inscriptions dated in the Cyclic year Vijaya

*A. Inscription of Virapurushadatta, 273 A.D.*

This inscription, now preserved in the Nāgārjunikonda Museum, is indeed one of the most important among the Ikshvāku epigraphs so far discovered. It was edited by J. Ph. Vogel along with a large number of Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions published in Vols. XX and XXI of this journal. Unfortunately Vogel's transcript and translation of this particular record, which appears in Vol. XXI, pp. 63-64 (Pillar Inscription No. L), are both full of errors. His failure to read and interpret the inscription correctly seems to be largely due to the fact that its impressions examined by him were unsatisfactory. This may also be the reason why the then editor of the journal was unable to improve upon Vogel's reading to any considerable extent. The impressions of the inscription prepared under my supervision in February 1960, one of which is illustrated herewith, are better than its illustration in Vogel's paper in op. cit., Plate facing p. 63. The record contains thirteen lines of writing covering an area about 14½ inches in height and 13 inches in breadth. It is in a fairly satisfactory state of preservation. Its characters are similar to those of other epigraphs of the Ikshvākus and its language is Prakrit.

The most serious flaw in Vogel's treatment of the epigraph concerns its date. The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Ikshvāku king Virapurushadatta and, in lines 2-3, Vogel reads: *vaño<sup>1</sup> Mādhariputasa Ikshvākanā siri-Virapurisadattasa vasasanyaya samvachhara vimsayam vāsa-pakhsam prathamam āstasmā bītiyam*. The passage has been translated by him as: "In the twentieth year of the reign of Rājan Mādhariputta siri-Virapurisadatta of [the house of] the Ikshvākas, . . . in the first fortnight of the rainy season, the second day." There are two glaring errors in the above reading of the passage. The first of these is *vasasanyaya*<sup>2</sup> which is quite meaningless and, it will be seen, has been actually left out in Vogel's translation. The correct reading is certainly *vāsa-satāya* which occurs in some early inscriptions and, as we have explained above,<sup>3</sup> stands for Sanskrit *vārsha-satāya*. This seems to indicate that the pious work recorded in the inscription was performed with the desire that the reigning king might live for one hundred years. It is interesting to note that this expression as well as the similar *vārsha-sahasāya* occurs in inscriptions between the name of the king and the date falling in his reign.

<sup>1</sup> Macron over *v* and *o* has not been used in this article.

<sup>2</sup> The same word has been read by Vogel elsewhere also as *vasasanyaya* (above, Vol. XXI, p. 66, Pillar inscription M-3, text line 5). But the then editor of the journal suggested that it possibly reads *vasasatāya* (ibid., p. 71, note 1). Cf. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 230.

<sup>3</sup> See Vol. XXXIV, p. 241, note 1.

The other mistake is in Vogel's reading of *vishvayam* after *sasvachhara*, which has been translated as 'twentieth'. Apparently he has taken *vishvaya* to stand for Sanskrit *vishatsh*. The reading of the two words is, however, clearly *sasvachhara*[sh] *Vijaya*[m]. I see no *anuvāra* sign for *vā* in the second of the two words and there cannot be any doubt about the reading of its second *akshara* as it is exactly the same as the second *akshara* in *Vājapeya* in the line immediately following (i.e. line 4). The word is therefore certainly *Vijaya* and not *vishvaya* as read by Vogel.

It is clear that, unlike all other published inscriptions of the Ikshvāku which bear dates only in regnal years, the inscription under study mentions instead the name of the year according to Jupiter's sixty-year cycle as counted in South India. This is of exceptional importance for two reasons. In the first place, it offers the earliest instance of the use of the cyclic year in Indian inscriptions. We know that the use of the cyclic years was much more popular in South India than in the North, the instances of its use in Northern epigraphs being much rarer and later.<sup>1</sup> So far, however, the earliest instance of its use in the South was traced in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription<sup>2</sup> of the Early Chālukya king Maṅgaleśa, which is dated in the year Sukhārtha taken as corresponding to 602-03 A.D. according to the mean-sign system. But our inscription shows that the cyclic years were used in South Indian epigraphs as early as the third century A. D., i.e. several centuries earlier. Secondly, it is also well known that the Ikshvāku flourished in the Krishna-Guntur region after the decline of the Śātavāhanas about the end of the first quarter of the third century A.D. and before the Pallava conquest of the said area in the fourth century A.D. and that the rule of the second Ikshvāku king Virapuruṣadatta, who was the son and successor of Chāntamūla and the father and predecessor of Ehinuṣa Chāntamūla (whose latest date is his 24th regnal year), can be assigned to about the third quarter of the third century A. D.<sup>3</sup> The only year falling in the period in question, which can be equated with the cyclic year Vijaya according to the South Indian system, is 273-74 A. D. The earlier and later years corresponding to Vijaya are 213-14 and 333-34 A. D., both of which appear to be wide off the mark. Thus the present inscription is the only record so far discovered, which proves that the rains in 273 A. D. fell in the reign of the Ikshvāku king Virapuruṣadatta. This is a very important addition to our knowledge of the history of the Southern Ikshvākus in particular and of the early history of South India in general.

It may be argued that, since no other published Ikshvāku epigraph is known to be dated in a cyclic year, the passage *sasvachhara* *Vijaya* should better be interpreted in a different way. But we find it difficult to agree with such a view. Firstly, the passage can hardly be explained in any other satisfactory way. Secondly, it has to be noted that, among the records of the early rulers of the Chālukya house of Bādāmi, the cyclic year is mentioned only in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of Maṅgaleśa and that, even as late as the seventh century A. D., the mention of cyclic years was not a regular feature of the dates of South Indian documents. One justification for the mention of the year Vijaya alone in the Ikshvāku records may be that it was originally regarded as the first year of Jupiter's sixty-year cycle.<sup>4</sup>

The inscription begins with the word *sidham* (*siddham*) and introduces the date of the record as the cyclic year Vijaya, the second day of the first fortnight of the rainy season (probably Śrāvāṣṭī 2),<sup>5</sup> falling in the reign of Rājya Mātharīputra Virapuruṣadatta of the Ikshvāku family, who was the son of Mahārāja Chāntamūla, described in this context as the performer of the *Aśvamedha*

<sup>1</sup> The earliest record dated in the V.S. and the cyclic year, as noticed in Bhandarkar's List, is the Gayā inscription of 1175 A. D. (No. 279).

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 7; *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 348-49.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. my *Successors of the Śālavāhanas*, pp. 9, 10. In this work, Virapuruṣadatta's rule was tentatively assigned to c. 240-65 A. D.

<sup>4</sup> *Appt. Sans. Eng. Dict.*, s. v. 1; Monier-Williams, *Sans. Eng. Dict.*, s. v. Note that the Ikshvāku capital was called Vijayapura probably for its foundation in the year Vijaya.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 119, note 2; p. 134, note 6; p. 434.

and the bestower of many crores of gold [coins]. Then it states that the *chhāyā-thabho* (*chhāyā-stambha*, i.e. the memorial pillar on which the inscription is engraved) of the *saga-gata* (*svarga-gata*, i.e. deceased) *Rājasa Vāsishṭhīputra Ścāmīś Chāntamūla* [was raised] by some ladies who were his sisters, mothers (i.e. mother and step-mothers or only step-mothers) and queens. As in some other records, Chāntamūla is described in this context as the performer of the Agnihotra, Agnisthoma, Vājapeya and Āsvamedha sacrifices, as the bestower of crores of gold [coins] and of lakhs of heads of cattle as well as of lakhs of *hala* measures of land and as one whose will was unimpeded in all matters. It may be pointed out that both Vogel and the then editor of this journal failed to read the expression *chhāyā-thabho* in this record. The memorial pillar seems to have been raised many years after Chāntamūla's death.

The list of the ladies responsible for raising the memorial pillar does not clearly indicate as to who were Chāntamūla's sisters, his mothers and his queens. But there seems to be a punctuation mark in line 9 and another in line 11 and they may suggest that the said list was divided into three sections indicating respectively the sisters, mothers and queens of the dead king. If such was the case, the list of Chāntamūla's sisters includes the names : Anantaśrī, Skandaśrī, Vindhya-bodhiśrī, Mitraśrī, Samuśrī (Samudraśrī ?), Nāgavasūśrī, Maṅguśrī, Skandakoṭṭīśrī, Mahisāśrī, Kundamaśrī, Mūlaśrī, Āryakoṭṭīśrī and Mṛdviśrī. The king's mothers then were Nāgaśrī, Kāmaśrī (or Rāmaśrī), Golaśrī, Kālīśrī, Bodhiśrī, Skandaśrī, Satilāśrī, Perajatiśrī, Paṇḍitaśrī, Śivanāgaśrī and Samudraśrī. The names of the king's queens likewise were : Bappīśrī, Nadiśrī or Nandiśrī, Āryaśrī, Kriṣṇaśrī and Śivanāgaśrī. The word *śrī* suffixed to all these names is no doubt an honorific. Some of these names were wrongly read by Vogel.

The above list of the ladies is followed by the names of two other women whose names are not endowed with the honorific word *śrī*. They are Saraśikā and Kusumalatā described in the record as *abhātarikā* (Sanskrit *ābhyanṭarikā*), 'an intimate female friend', possibly used to indicate 'a concubine'. The official designation *ābhyanṭarikā* is, however, often understood in the sense of 'a guard of the harem'. Vogel read the word as *subhatarikā* which he failed to interpret.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Sidhantī [1\*] mahārājasa āsvamedha-yājīsa aneka-hiranyak[o]ti-[padā]lyīsa
- 2 śrī-Chāntamūlāsa putasaś rāmāno Mā[ḍha]ri-putasa Ikhākuna śrī-Virapurisadāta[sa]
- 3 vāsa-antāya\* savachhara[ri] Vijaya[ri]\* vāsa-pakharāṁ prathamarāṁ 1 divasa  
hītiya[ri] saga-gataśa
- 4 rāmāno agnihot-āgih[oj]ma-vājapey-āsvamedha-yājīsa hiraṇya-k[o]ti-go-satasahasā-
- 5 hala-satasahasā-padāyīsa sav-athesu a[pa]tihatā-sankapasa V[āśiṭh]ji-putasa
- 6 Ikhākuna sāmi-śrī-Cha[ri]tamūlāsa saha(ho)darāṁhi matāhi mā[ha]d[o]vihi Anatasiriya<sup>2</sup>
- 7 Khaśulāsiriya Vījha[oj]hāsiriya<sup>3</sup> Mita[si]ti[ya]<sup>4</sup> Samuāsiriya<sup>5</sup> Nāgavasūśiriya
- 8 Maṅguśiriya<sup>6</sup> Khaṁḍakoṭṭīśiriya Mahisarasiriya Kondamatisiriya<sup>7</sup> Mūla[ś]iriya

<sup>1</sup> From impressions. Minor differences with Vogel's transcript are not indicated here.

<sup>2</sup> Vogel reads *vasasāyasa* which is meaningless.

<sup>3</sup> Vogel reads *śikāyasa* and interprets the word as 'twentieth'.

<sup>4</sup> Vogel : *Samudāsiriya* (?).

<sup>5</sup> Vogel : *Vījhaśiriya*.

<sup>6</sup> Vogel : *Mitāsiriya*.

<sup>7</sup> The intended reading may be *Samudāsiriya* as in line 11.

<sup>8</sup> Vogel : *Nāgāsiriya*.

<sup>9</sup> Vogel : *Rajumati*?

- 9 Ayakoṣairiya Maduvairiya<sup>1</sup> Nōgasiriya [Kā]masiriya<sup>2</sup> Golasiriya  
 10 Khalisiriya<sup>3</sup> [Bo]dhisiriya<sup>4</sup> Khadasiriya Satilasiriya<sup>5</sup> Perajaisiriya<sup>6</sup>  
 11 Pañḍitasiriya Sivanāgasiriya Samudasiriya<sup>7</sup> Bāpisiriya Nadisiriya  
 12 Ayaairiya Karinhasiriya<sup>8</sup> Si[vanāga]siriya abhatarikāhī<sup>9</sup> cha  
 13 Sarasikāya Bhū(Ka)ṣumalatāya cha chhāyā<sup>10</sup>-thabho<sup>11</sup>

*B. Inscription of Ehuva Chāntamūla, 333 A. D.*

This inscription<sup>12</sup> is engraved lengthwise on a lime stone pillar found at the site named by the excavators as the Burning (Ghāt). There are eight lines of writing, the last of them being a little less than six feet long and the others a little above four feet in length. The writing covers three sides of the pillar, lines 1-3 being incised on one side, lines 4-5 on the next side and lines 6-7 on the third side. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory, the letters in most parts being more or less rubbed off. A number of letters in each one of the lines cannot be read at all.

The characters of the inscription belong to the usual Ikāvāku alphabet and its language is Prakrit. The most important section of the record is its date. It refers itself to the reign of the Ikāvāku Rājya Ehuva Chāntamūla, the son of Rājya Virapurushadatta and the grandson of Mahārāja Chāntamūla who is described, as in some other epigraphs, as the performer of the Āvamaḍha and the bestower of many crores of gold [coins]. The date is quoted as the first day of the second fortnight of the summer season (probably Chaitra-andī 1) in the year Vijaya falling in the reign of Ehuva Chāntamūla. It is the second epigraph of the Ikāvāku, which is dated in the cyclic year instead of the usual regnal reckoning. Another inscription dated in the cyclic year Vijaya falling in the reign of Virapurushadatta has been edited above. As will be seen below the date of the present inscription would correspond to 333 A. D. and is of great importance to the student of South Indian history.

The inscription begins with the auspicious word *siddham* (*siddham*) and an adoration to a deity whose name is uncertain although it may be *Bhagvat Nodagīvarasvāmīn*. The name of the same god occurs also in line 4. But the reading of the first three *akṣaras* is doubtful in both the cases. The adoration to the deity is followed in lines 1-2 by the date, viz., the year Vijaya, the second fortnight of summer, the first day, falling in the reign of the Ikāvāku king Vāsianthīputra Ehuva Chāntamūla, the son of king Virapurushadatta and the grandson of king Chāntamūla. The following sentence in lines 2 ff. states that certain persons made the *devakula* and *thala* (*sthalā*) of Lord Nodagīvarasvāmīn and created an *akṣaya-nīṣi* (permanent endowment) apparently for the maintenance of the religious establishments in question. The word *devakula* means 'a shrine' while

<sup>1</sup> There seems to be a punctuation mark after this name.

<sup>2</sup> The reading may also be *Kāmo*\* as in Vogel's transcript.

<sup>3</sup> Vogel: *Vai*.\*

<sup>4</sup> Vogel: *Bhisiriya*.

<sup>5</sup> Vogel: *Satili*.\*

<sup>6</sup> Vogel: *Para*.\*

<sup>7</sup> There seems to be a punctuation mark after this name.

<sup>8</sup> Read *Kanda*\*. Vogel read *Ratasiriya*; but the correct reading was suggested in an editorial note.

<sup>9</sup> Vogel reads *abhatarikāhī* which is meaningless.

<sup>10</sup> Vogel reads *iyasi*, while the editor seems to suggest *śāyo*.

<sup>11</sup> The punctuation is indicated by a slightly slanting horizontal line. The word *thāpito* is to be understood (cf. No. 3, line 7, below).

<sup>12</sup> This is *A. R. Ep.*, 1938-59, No. B 78. *Ind. Arch.*, 1938-59, p. 8, wrongly describes the pillar bearing the inscription as a *dhvajastambha* relating to the god Bhagīvara.

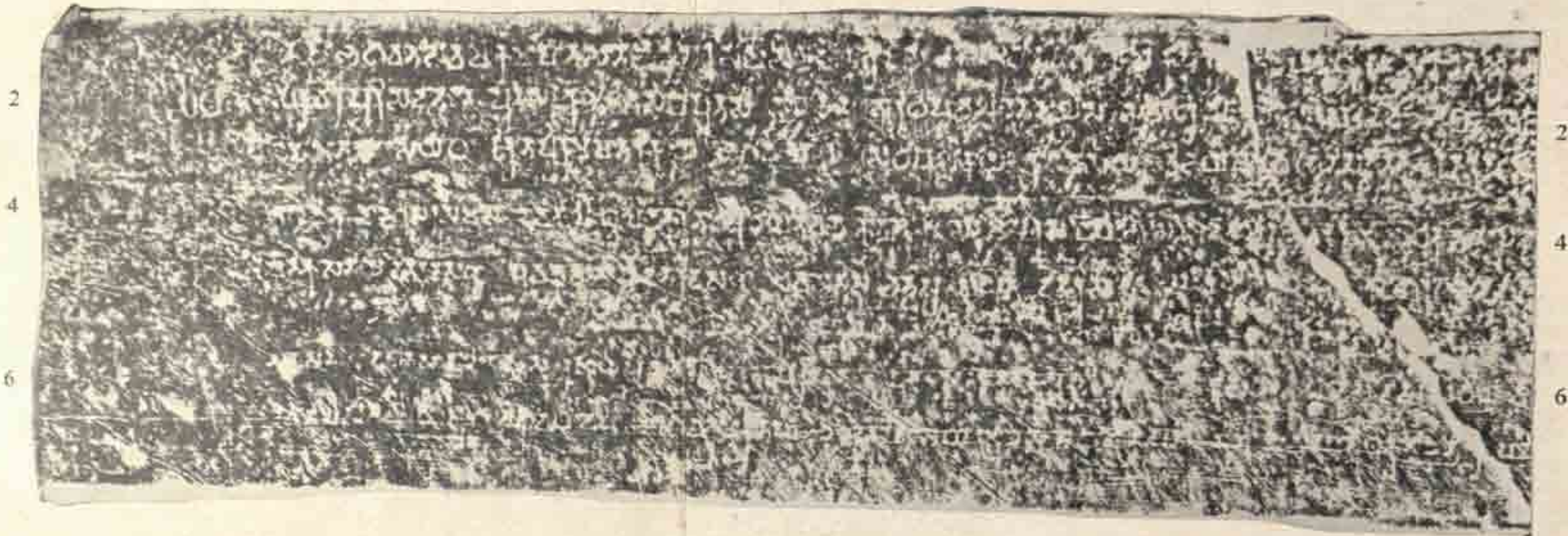
MORE INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA—PLATE I  
1A.—Inscription of Virapurushadatta, 273 A.D.



Scale : One-third

IB.—INSCRIPTION OF EHUVULA CHANTAMULA, 333 A.D.

Left Half



Right Half



(from Photographs)

*sthala* seems to indicate, in the present context, a *śalākā* in a spacious area surrounded by a wall. The said pious acts are stated to have been performed for the victory and longevity of the king, i.e. the reigning monarch Kuvula Chāntamūla. Unfortunately, the name of the main figure responsible for the deeds cannot be deciphered. Only a few names of the *saha-matis* of the said person can be read with certainty. These are the *antahpura-mahattarikā* Bhūgavatā and the *śreshthī-bāhikā* (daughter of a *śreshthīn* or banker) Ratavaśī (or Rativaśī). Since they are ladies, it is possible that the main person responsible for the pious deed was also a lady. The word *saha-mati* seems to mean 'a person with the same intention', used here to indicate several persons who helped one in the performance of the pious deeds in question, i.e. contributed to the construction of the *devakula* and *sthala* as well as to the creation of the *akshaya-nīvi*. The list of these collaborators is introduced in our inscription by the word *seyatha* (Pali *seyyathā*, Sanskrit *sat-gathā*) meaning 'namely'. *Antahpura-mahattarikā* was apparently a female officer in charge of the harem of the Ikshvāku king.

In connection with the *akshaya-nīvi* or permanent endowment, reference is made to the interest accruing to it month by month (*akshaya-nīvi cha kalūya mesanamusikāna vadhisa*—Sanskrit *akshaya-nīvīn cha krītiā māśanamūlīkyāb vridhdyāb*). But the details as to the utilisation of the amount are not clear. It appears from the partially decipherable writing in lines 4-5, that, for the purpose of creating the endowment, the sum of one hundred *dināris* was deposited in four different guilds, seventy *dināris* in one of them and ten *dināris* in each one of the others. The coin called *dināri* may be the same as *dināri-māshaka* known from other Nāgārjunikonḍa inscriptions or the coin of which the *dināri-māshaka* was the  $\frac{1}{16}$ th part in weight or value.<sup>1</sup> *Dināri* is derived from the Roman coin named *denarius*; but it is difficult to say whether it meant original Roman coins which are known to have been in circulation in the area or local imitations of the Roman coins. The fact that only ten *dināris* were deposited in the guilds in several cases suggests that it was probably a gold coin. Among the guilds, the name of two can be satisfactorily read. They are called *panika-seni* and *puvika-seni*. The first of these may be Sanskrit *pāṇika-śreṇī*, i.e., the guild of the sellers or growers of leaves (betel leaves), while the second is certainly Pali *pūvika-seni* meaning 'the guild of confectioners'. The existence of several such guilds at the Ikshvāku capital or its neighbourhood is interesting to note.<sup>2</sup>

Very little can be made out of the writing in line 6 and the first half of line 7. The legible part of line 7 appears to begin with some personal names such as Parādika, Bhagaphula and Sathapa. Whether the persons mentioned were witnesses or trustees cannot be determined. These names are followed by two sentences with which the inscription concludes. These state that the embellishment (*ośīṭana*—Sanskrit *śīṭana*),<sup>3</sup> apparently of the *devakula* and *sthala*, should have to be done by the person responsible for the creation of the religious institutions and that, in case the said person could not do it, the council of the citizens headed by the *śreshthīn* (*śeṭhī-pamakhā-nīgama*), probably meaning a board like the Pañchāyat,<sup>4</sup> should get it done.

As we have seen, one of the inscriptions of Kuvula Chāntamūla's father king Virapurushadatta, is also dated in the cyclic year Vijaya, apparently corresponding to 273-74 A. D. As the son must

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Tamil *oṭ-āṭi* (literally, 'similar *dināri*') meaning 'help'.

<sup>2</sup> *Select Inscriptions*, p. 227; *Successors of the Śātavāhanas*, p. 27, note.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 211.

<sup>4</sup> For *śīṭana* in another Nāgārjunikonḍa inscription and in an inscription from Nasik, see above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 200.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the board of administrators consisting of the *Nagara-śreshthīn*, *Sārikavāha*, *Pradhana-kūḷi* and *Pradhana-kāpāṭha*, known from the early inscriptions of East India and the Chaulukya (Chaturjātaka) headed by the Nāgar-śeṭhī in Rajasthan. See above, Vol. XXXI, p. 60, note 2; Vol. XXXIII, p. 193; Vol. XXXIV, p. 142.



have ruled after the father, the year Vijaya when the present record was engraved must correspond to 333-34 A. D., since the seasons mentioned in the two records seem to preclude the possibility of the date of the record of the son's time falling in the latter part of the year 373-74 A. D. As we have suggested above, the mention of the cyclic year Vijaya alone in the Ikshvāku epigrapha seems to be due to its importance as the first year of the cycle.

On the basis of the data available previously, we were formerly inclined to believe that the Ikshvāku dynasty was overthrown by the Pallavas in the first quarter of the fourth century A. D. The date of the inscription under study, however, shows that the Ikshvākus were not overthrown much earlier than the middle of that century. The latest known date of Virapurushadatta is his twentieth regnal year<sup>1</sup> while those of his son Ehuvala Chāntamūla and grandson Rudrapurushadatta (Rujapurushadatta) are respectively their twentyfourth and eleventh regnal years.<sup>2</sup> The long intervening period between Virapurushadatta's record of 273 A. D. and Ehuvala Chāntamūla's inscription of 333 A. D. would suggest that the year 333 A. D. fell near about the end of his reign and that Rudrapurushadatta probably ended his rule sometime before 350 A. D. Thus the Pallava conquest of the Krishna-Guntur region, evidenced by the Mañchikallu inscription<sup>3</sup> of Simhavarman and the Mayidavolu plates<sup>4</sup> of Śivaśkandavarman, took place about the middle of the fourth century A. D. This would also suggest that Pallava Simhavarman of the Mañchikallu inscription and Śivaśkandavarman of the Mayidavolu and Hiraladagalli plates<sup>5</sup> ruled about the fourth and fifth decades of the fourth century A. D. This is no doubt a very important addition to our knowledge of the chronology of both the Ikshvākus and the Pallavas.

We also know that the Ābhīra king Vaushēpa ruled over the Krishna-Guntur area for sometime in the last quarter of the third century or in the first half of the fourth.<sup>6</sup> The date of Vaushēpa's inscription, viz. year 30, if referred to the era of 248 A. D., which is generally believed to be an Ābhīra institution, would yield 278-79 A. D. and, in that case, we may suggest that Virapurushadatta ruling in 273 A. D. was overthrown by the Ābhīra king. If such was the case, the reign of Virapurushadatta, covering about twenty years may be assigned to c. 255-75 A. D., the Ābhīra interregnum to c. 275-80 A. D., and the reign of Ehuvala Chāntamūla to c. 280-335 A. D. In case, however, it is believed that the Ābhīras and the Pallavas led a joint attack on the Ikshvākus who were overthrown as a result thereof, we may assign the reign of Virapurushadatta and his son and grandson to c. 275-345 A. D. In the former alternative, we have to think that the Ikshvākus succeeded in ousting the Ābhīras and re-established their hold on the Krishna-Guntur region within a few years. In the second alternative, we have possibly to suggest that the Ābhīras ruled over some parts of the erstwhile Ikshvāku kingdom after the overthrow of the Ikshvākus and that they were ousted by their erstwhile allies, viz. the Pallavas, a few years later.

#### TEXT<sup>7</sup>

Silham I<sup>8</sup>

I namo bhagavate(ṭo) sava-loka-mahitasa [Noḍag! ]<sup>9</sup>varasāmīsa [ ]<sup>10</sup> [mahā]rājasa [samedha-yājasa aneka-hirapa-koṭi-paḍāyasa siri-Chatamulasa putasa].....<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXI, p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> See *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 20 ff.; below, No. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 87 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 86 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 207 ff.

<sup>7</sup> From impressions.

<sup>8</sup> The word is engraved in the left margin near the beginning of line 2.

<sup>9</sup> The words *reṣa* and *Māhārājan* may have been engraved here.

- 2 siri-Virapurisadatasa putasa rāñño Vasīḥiputasa [Ikṣā]kuna siri-Ehavalā-Chatamulasa savachhararā Vijsa. '1[mha]-pa [2] dīva 1 [raño] veja[yi]ka syu-vadhāni[ka] cha apana
- 3 saha-mati[pa] seyatha atepura-mahatarikāya Bhagava[tāya] seḥi-bālikāya Ra[tava]saya viḍaya.....
- 4 bhagavato [Noḍaḡi]sarasāmīna devakula thala [cha kārjīṭā akhaya-nivi cha katāna masanumasikasa vadhira..... dhika-seniya [dināri]<sup>1</sup>.....<sup>2</sup> [dināri] dasa 10
- 5 paṅka-seniye dināri dasa 10 puvika-seniye dināri dasa 10 [i\*] eva[m] senisu chatusu..... dinari-sa[ta].....
- 6 ..... sara chhaya ..... paraputa ..... ni ..... vakāye sadha
- 7 ..... thika ..... tarapa [Pa]radika Bhagaphula Sathapa [i\*] apauḥ cha chitanadā katavaḥ [i\*] eva cha akaraṃta seḥi-pamakha nigam[o] kara-yanti<sup>3</sup> ||<sup>4</sup>

## 2. Two Inscriptions of the time of Ehuvala Chāntamūla, Year 8

The first of these two epigraphs, hereinafter mentioned as **A**, is engraved on a broken pillar found in a *Masyūpa* in Site No. 9 (Loughurst's Stūpa No. 9). The second record, hereinafter called **B**, is engraved on another broken pillar which, as the internal evidence suggests, was likewise found from the same site.<sup>1</sup>

Each of the two records, which are damaged and fragmentary, contains seventeen lines of writing. The writing in **A** covers an area about 29½ inches in height and 12½ inches in breadth while, in **B**, it covers a space about 28 inches high and 14 inches broad. The characters of the epigraphs belong to the usual Ikṣvāku alphabet and the language is Prakrit. Like some Prakrit inscriptions of the time of Ehuvala Chāntamūla, reduplicated consonants are used in the inscriptions under study, though only in a few cases. Both the records bear the same date which is the fifteenth day of the fourth fortnight of the summer season (probably Vaiśākha-sudi 15) in the eighth regnal year of the Ikṣvāku king Ehuvala Chāntamūla. The king is mentioned in **A** as the son of Virapurushadatta, but in **B** both as the son of Virapurushadatta and as the grandson of Chāntamūla.

Both the epigraphs record, in similar language, the pious activities of an *upāsaka* (lay follower of the Buddha) named Chadasiri (Chandraśiri) who was the dear brother of Nāgasiri (Nāgaśiri). He is further described as the bestower of many religious gifts at various localities such as cities, hills and market-towns in connection with the celebration of religious ceremonies or festivals in

<sup>1</sup> The two damaged akṣaras here are no doubt "yuh pi".

<sup>2</sup> The context suggests that 70 dināris were deposited in the *śrēṣi* in question.

<sup>3</sup> The name of the guild here cannot be deciphered.

<sup>4</sup> The word is used in the sense of Sanskrit *śrayyaśā*.

<sup>5</sup> The punctuation seems to be indicated by a few vertical strokes.

<sup>6</sup> An inaccurate notice of the first of these two records appears in *A.E.P.*, 1938-39, pp. 57 (No. 452), 71.

honour of the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha (*Buddha-Dharmā-Saṅgha-maṅgala-nagararāra-gīrīvara-vegamāvara-bāhu-deya-dhama-kāraka*). The place where Chandrarī performed the pious deeds recorded in the inscriptions is described as the Śeṭhivara-vaḍhamāna (Śreṣṭhivara-vaḍhamāna) in the Mahā-nikāya of the Aparamahāvinsāillyas at Vijayapura on the Śrīparvata. The word *sikāya* in *Mahā-nikāya* seems to mean, in the present context, a dwelling rather than a fraternity. The name of Śreṣṭhivara-vaḍhamāna reminds us of Mahārāja-vaḍhamāna at Vijayapura, which is mentioned in another Nāgarjunikoṇḍa inscription edited below (No. 7, B II). The real meaning of *vaḍhamāna* is difficult to determine. Since, however, this Śreṣṭhivara-vaḍhamāna was situated within the Mahā-nikāya of the monks of the Aparamahāvinsāillya sect, it seems to mean a religious institution probably maintained by the chief *śreṣṭhī* or banker.<sup>1</sup>

Inscription **A** states that Chandrarī made a *śaila-maḍapa* (*śaila-maḍapa*), i.e. a pavilion made of stone, and a *bhara-sala* for a particular Ārya-saṅgha (Ārya-saṅgha), i.e. a community of Buddhist monks, with a view to attaining *Nirvāṇa*. The name of the Ārya-saṅgha is not readable in either of the two inscriptions. The expression *bhara-sala* seems to be a mistake for *bhara-sālā* (Sanskrit *bhāṅgāra-sālā*) meaning 'a store-room'. Line 13 refers to the above pious activities of Chandrarī as having been done for the longevity of the king (i.e. Phuvula Chāntamūla). Lines 14-17, which are damaged and fragmentary, appear to suggest that Chandrarī also built a *śālā* (probably 'a hall') in the name of his parents with a prayer for attaining happiness (*sukh-athanāya* = Sanskrit *sukh-āthanayā*).

Inscription **B** records that the same Chandrarī built a *śālā* for the *Theras* (senior Buddhist monks) residing at the *śaila-maḍapa* of the Ārya-saṅgha mentioned in **A**. This act was also done for the king's longevity. Lines 14-17 contain some of the expressions in the concluding part of **A** such as the reference to the honoring of the parents and the prayer for attaining happiness. But the nature of the pious work referred to in this section is not clear.

The geographical names Vijayapura and Śrīparvata, mentioned in both the records, are well known.

TEXT<sup>2</sup>

A

- 1 .....<sup>3</sup> \* [i]r[i]-Virapurasa[*data*]sa .....  
 2 .....<sup>4</sup>raño Vāseṭhi-puta[sa] [I]kḥā .....<sup>5</sup>  
 3 Ehuṅula-Chāntamūlāsa savachhara .....<sup>6</sup>  
 4 [ma] gimha-pakha chavutṭha divasa pa .....<sup>7</sup>  
 5 [pa]vata Vijayapura Aparama[*bāvima*] .....<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ukhāri-vaḍhamāna (Skt. *Ukshari-vaḍhamāna*, 'a vaḍhamāna maintained by a person named Ukshari'), known from the Guptaśāhī inscriptions, was a similar institution at ancient Kaṅṅakāśula (modern Ghantashāhī), although Vogel regarded it as the old name of Guptaśāhī itself (above, Vol. XXVII, p. 2).

<sup>2</sup> From impressions.

<sup>3</sup> The damaged *sikāras* appear to be *sikhāra* *śālā*.

<sup>4</sup> The word lost at the end of line 1 and the beginning of line 2 is *putasa*.

<sup>5</sup> The lost *akḥaras* are "Eḥam eṅ" as suggested by B.

<sup>6</sup> The lost *akḥaras* are *uḥā*, as suggested by B.

<sup>7</sup> The lost *akḥaras* are "divasa Sira" as suggested by B.

<sup>8</sup> The lost *akḥaras* are "śālā" as suggested by B.

MORE INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA—PLATE II

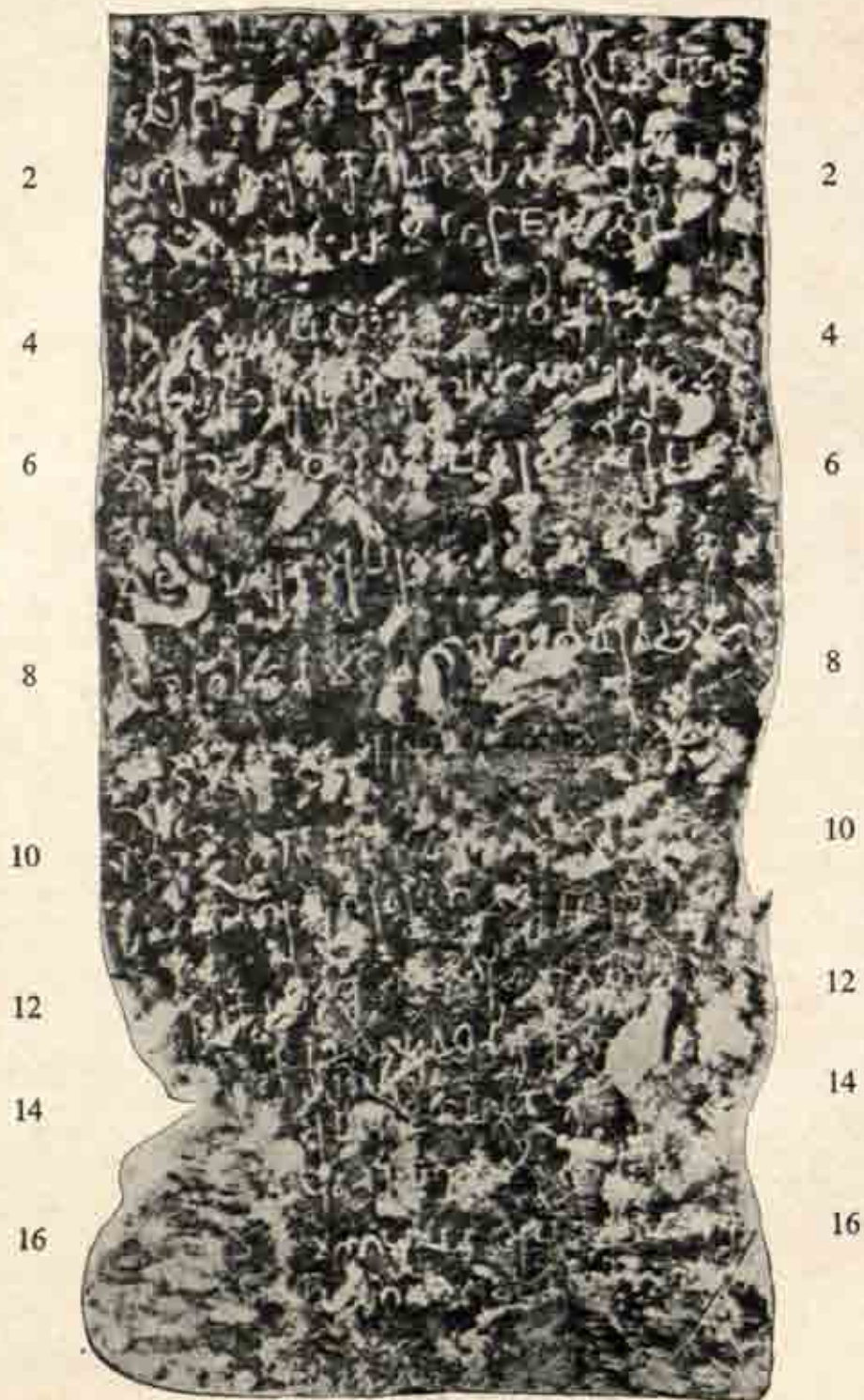
2. Two Inscriptions of the time of Ehuvara Chantamula, Year 8

A



(from Photograph)

B



(from Photograph)

- 6 yānā mahā-nigāye Sethivara-vaḍham[āne].....  
 7 .....<sup>1</sup>sikara Ariya-saṅgha[sa] se .....<sup>2</sup>  
 8 [ḍa]va padithapeti bhara<sup>3</sup>[sa]lāni niva[na] .....<sup>4</sup>  
 9 v[e]ṭi Buddha-Dharma-Saṅgha-[ma]gala...  
 10 ...<sup>5</sup>vāra-gīrivāra-no[gama]...  
 11 ...<sup>6</sup>bahu-(de)vyadhama-kāraka  
 12 [u]p[hā(pā)]sako Cha[ḍa]siri cha [Nā]...  
 13 ...<sup>7</sup>piya-bhātuk[o] raño ā[ya] .....<sup>8</sup>  
 14 ...apana mātā-pituno.....<sup>9</sup>  
 15 ...<sup>10</sup>riyake nimitta sālā .....  
 16 ... purat[o] [kā]śāpitā .....  
 17 ... [mahe] sukha-athanāya .....

B<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Sidha | mahārājasa aamedha-yāji-  
 2 sa a[ne]ka-hirasa-ko[ti]-padāyasa siri-Char[ta]mu-  
 3 lassa p[u]tasa mahārājasa siri-[V]ira[pu]-  
 4 risadattasa putasa raño Vāsethī-putasa Ikhā-  
 5 [ku]na siri-[E]havu[la]<sup>11</sup>-Chantamūlāsa sava[chha]ra aṭhama gi-  
 6 mha-pakha chavuthā divasa padarasa Siripavate  
 7 Vijayapure Aparamahāvina[s]liyānān ma[ha]-  
 8 [vina]selyānān<sup>12</sup> mahā-nigāye Sethivara-vaḍhamāne  
 9 .....kasa Ariya-saṅghasa sela-[maḍava]-

<sup>1</sup> The damaged characters at the beginning of the line look like 'Udā'.

<sup>2</sup> The lost characters are 'to-sa'.

<sup>3</sup> The intended reading seems to be bhādāra or bhādhāra.

<sup>4</sup> The lost characters are 'pa nīha'.

<sup>5</sup> The word lost at the end of line 9 and at the beginning of line 10 is *magara* as suggested by B.

<sup>6</sup> The word lost at the end of line 10 and the beginning of line 11 is *vara* as suggested by B.

<sup>7</sup> The characters lost at the end of line 12 and the beginning of line 13 are 'pasiri' as suggested by B.

<sup>8</sup> The word lost here is *sukhanika* as suggested by B.

<sup>9</sup> The word *pāja* (probably *pājya*, 'for honouring') occurs here in B.

<sup>10</sup> B suggests that the characters lost here is *śā*.

<sup>11</sup> This is *A. H. Ep.*, 1936-38, No. B 84.

<sup>12</sup> The letter is written slightly above the line.

<sup>13</sup> The characters ma[ha]selyānān are redundant.

- 10 [vathavana] therana sãllã nivajaya [na]ttha[ ]ti<sup>6</sup> [Budha]-Dhama...
- 11 ...<sup>7</sup>magala-nagaravara-grivara-naigama[vara]-balu-deya...
- 12 ... karako<sup>8</sup> upãako Chadasiri cha Nãgasiri ...
- 13 ... ko<sup>9</sup> raño ãyu-vadhanika kata ...
- 14 ... a[pano] mãtã-pituno pãjã ...
- 15 ... [na]puta bhuriyako n[mi]tta sa .....
- 16 ..... ma-bhãgãh<sup>10</sup> purãhã dãtã apa .....
- 17 ..... neva ..... gama[ne] vakh-athanaya .....

### 3. Inscription of the time of Ehuvala Chãntamũla, Year 13

This inscription is engraved on a pillar found in an area to the north of the sixteen-pillared *Mandapa* in Section IV of Site No. 61. There are 7 lines of writing covering an area about 7½ inches in height and 10½ inches in breadth. The preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory in the upper three lines of the inscription.

The characters are the same as in many other epigraphs of the place, which can be assigned to dates about the third or fourth century A.D. The language of the inscription is Prakrit. It is dated the seventh day of the fifth fortnight of the summer season in the thirteenth regnal year of the Ikshvãku king Vãsiṣṭhĩputra Ehuvala Chãntamũla who flourished about the close of the third and the early part of the fourth century A.D.

The object of the inscription is to record that the pillar on which it is engraved was the *chhaya-stambha* (*chhãyã-stambha*, i.e. a memorial pillar bearing the representation of the deceased person in whose memory it was raised) of *Mahãsenãpati Kumãra* Eli Ehuvaladãsa. In this name, *ãsaaka* is a suffix and no part of the actual name while *Ehuvala* is the same as *Ehuvala* and its variants. Eli Ehuvaladãsa is stated to have been the son of Mahavalabhikã Yakhi-likã who was a *mãhĩshĩ* (i.e. queen) of the Ikshvãku king Mãthari-putra Virapurushadatta. We know that king Virapurushadatta was the father and predecessor of Ehuvala Chãntamũla probably born of Vãsiṣṭhĩ Bhãjidevã, another queen of Virapurushadatta.<sup>1</sup> Eli Ehuvaladãsa thus seems to have been a step-brother of king Ehuvala Chãntamũla, during the thirteenth year of whose reign the memorial pillar bearing the inscription under study was raised.

Prince (*Kumãra*) Eli Ehuvaladãsa was a *Mãhãsenãpati* (literally, 'the great commander of the forces') no doubt in the service of his step-brother, king Ehuvala Chãntamũla. Opposite Nãgã-rjunikõṇḍa, there is a locality called Eleśvaram on the other bank of the Krishna in the Nalgõnda District of Andhra Pradesh. This place has yielded antiquities of the Ikshvãku age and also of earlier and subsequent periods.<sup>2</sup> The name of the locality is apparently that of a god called

<sup>1</sup> The intended word seems to be *nihãretã*, 'completes'.

<sup>2</sup> The word lost at the end of line 10 and the beginning of line 11 is *Saṅgha* (*Saṅgha*) as suggested by A.

<sup>3</sup> The word lost between *deya* and *karãko* is *dãsaaka* as suggested by A.

<sup>4</sup> The expression partially lost at the end of line 12 and the beginning of line 13 is *pãya-bhãṅka* as suggested by A.

<sup>5</sup> It is difficult to say whether the intended expression is *paṭikãsa-dãṅgrãh*.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. XX, pp. 22-24, inscription No. G, text line 7.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Indian Archaeology—A Review, 1967-68*, pp. 9-10; 1968-69, p. 11.

Eleśvata probably installed by a person named Eli. Whether the name of Eleśvatam can thus be associated with Prince Eli Ehuvalādāsa of the Hośivāku family, known from the inscription under study, cannot of course be determined without further evidence. The word *eli*, probably connected with Telugu *elā* (from *elā*, 'to govern') meaning 'a ruler, king, master', is also found in the name of Talavara Elīri mentioned in a Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription<sup>1</sup> of the eleventh regnal year of Khavalasri (i.e. Ehuvala Chāntamūla).

The name of Eli Ehuvalādāsa's mother, who was one of the queens of Virapurushadatta, is given in the inscription as Mahavalabhikā Yakhilīnikā. In this, *nikā* (i.e. *amnikā*) is a suffix added to the personal name Yakhilī.<sup>2</sup> Mahavalabhikā seems to be an epithet derived from the name of the place whence the queen hailed. Unfortunately, we do not know any place called Mahavalabhī although the name no doubt reminds us of Valabhī in Kachiwar, which was the capital of the Maitraka kings from the sixth century A.D.

TEXT<sup>3</sup>

- 1 Sidham | sāmīna rā[ñō] Vāse[thipu]tasa Ikhākusa
- 2 siri-Ehuvula-(Cha)tamūlasa savachhara ta(te)rasa[ma]
- 3 gīm[h]apam pakha panchama 5 divasa satama 7 ra[ñō]
- 4 [Mā]dhari-pūtasā Ikhākuṣa[m] sa(siri)Virapūrusadatasā
- 5 mahisija(ya) Mahavalabhikāya<sup>4</sup> Yakhilīnikāya pu-
- 6 tāsā mahāsenapatīsā kum[s]rasā Eli-Ehav[ō]-
- 7 lādāsamnakasā chhaya-tha[m]bh[o] thāpito \*

## 4. Inscription of the time of Ehuvala Chāntamūla, Year 24

The inscription under study was briefly noticed in the *Indian Archaeology 1956-57—A Review*, p. 36, and the sculptured stone bearing it was also illustrated there in Plate LVII, A. The inscribed slab has been described as 'a sculptured frieze in a Buddha-chaitya' and the inscription is stated to record 'the installation of a Buddha image in the Chaitya by one Kumāranandin, a *śreṣṭhīn* (tradesman)'. There is, however, no mention of a Chaitya in the epigraph.

The frieze, 8 feet 6 inches in length, bears the representation of four principal incidents of the Buddha's life in medallions in deep relief along with *mithuna* figures at five places in bas-relief so arranged that a figure of the Buddha is flanked by the *mithuna* in each case. The inscription is engraved in a single line in the lower part of the frieze, the letters being small (a little below  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch in height) and the line of writing nearly 2 feet in length. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory in some parts. A number of letters are broken here and there while recent marks on the inscription show that the writing was further damaged during the process of digging out the slab from the earth.

The characters of the inscription are the same as in the other records edited above. Its language is Sanskrit, though the orthography is somewhat influenced by Prakrit. The record

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 147 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the male name Yakhilī in a Badami inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, p. 237, No. 123).

<sup>3</sup> From impressions. This is *A. R. Ep.*, 1958-59, No. B 70.

<sup>4</sup> Probably we should not take it as *mahisi-śreṣṭhīn*.

\* The punctuation is indicated by a curved stroke preceded by a comma-like sign.



refers itself to the reign of the Ikshvāku king Eshvula Chāntamāla and is dated the fifth day of the fourth fortnight of the rainy season (probably Bhādrapada-sudi 5) in the king's twenty-fourth regnal year. Year 24 is the latest known date of Eshvula Chāntamāla's reign.

The inscription begins with the *siddham* symbol followed by the word *siddham*. This is rather unusual especially in an early inscription.<sup>1</sup> The symbol and word are followed by the date referred to above. The object of the inscription is then recorded in a single sentence. It is stated that the stone image (*śilamayi pratimā*) of the *Bhagavat* Buddha, i.e. the frieze bearing Lord Buddha's representations and the inscription under study, was installed by Kumāranandin at the Mahādevi-pariveśa at Vijayapuri on the Śrīparvata. We know that Vijayapuri was the name of the Ikshvāku capital situated in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley while the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa hills form a part of the ancient Śrīparvata, i.e. the modern Nallamalai range. The word *pariveśa* means 'the cell or hut forming a monk's private chamber in a Buddhist monastery'. The name Mahādevi-pariveśa suggests that the inscribed frieze was fixed in the residence of a Buddhist monk in a local monastery and that the hut in question had been built by an Ikshvāku queen. The queen referred to may have been one of the wives of king Eshvula Chāntamāla.

Besides the epithet *Bhagavat*, the Buddha has been endowed with three other epithets, viz. *Samyak-sambuddha* (one who is perfectly enlightened), *Sarva-sattva-śāntana* (one who is the best among all beings) and *sarva-guṇa-pārami-prāpta* (one who has attained perfection in all the virtues). The word *pārami* and *pāramitā* are used in Pāli in the same sense.

Kumāranandin is described as a *śreṣṭhīn* (i.e. a banker) from the Syandaka-parvata apparently meaning a locality at the foot of the hill called Syandaka. Unfortunately no such hill is known to us. The *śreṣṭhīn* is stated to have performed the meritorious deed along with his wife the *śreṣṭhīni*, his son named *Īśvarabhartṛi* or 'bhartṛi, as well as his other kinsmen and relatives (*svajana-sambandhi-varga*). The purpose was the attainment of welfare and happiness for his own self and for all the beings. Kumāranandin is further described as the son of *Īśvaradatta* belonging to a sect, probably called Baranakiya, which belonged to a *kula* (clan), possibly called *Irusaka*.

An interesting feature of this Buddhist inscription is that it ends in a stanza of the nature of the benedictory verses generally found at the end of copper-plate grants. It expresses the wish in the Mahāyāna style that the world might attain Nirvāṇa as a result of whatever merit was achieved as a consequence of Kumāranandin's donation of the *deya-dharma*, i.e., the gift of the slab bearing the representations of the Buddha, which had no doubt been installed for worship.

Of the geographical names in the record, mention has already been made of Vijayapuri, Śrīparvata and Syandaka-parvata. The epithet looking like *Baranakiya* applied to the name of *Īśvaradatta*, father of Kumāranandin, also seems to contain a geographical name like *Baranaka*, although its identification is uncertain.

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

Siddham<sup>3</sup> siddham [□] mahārājasya Ikshvākūnām (pārib) 527<sup>4</sup> Eshvula-Chāntamālasya samva(samva)tsarath chaturvviśam varsha-pakṣham chatur(rittha)ṛi divasam pañchamam<sup>5</sup> Śrī[parvate] [Vijaya]pū(pu)ryyam Ma[hā]devi-[pa]nve[ṣ]e Iru[sakā(?)nām

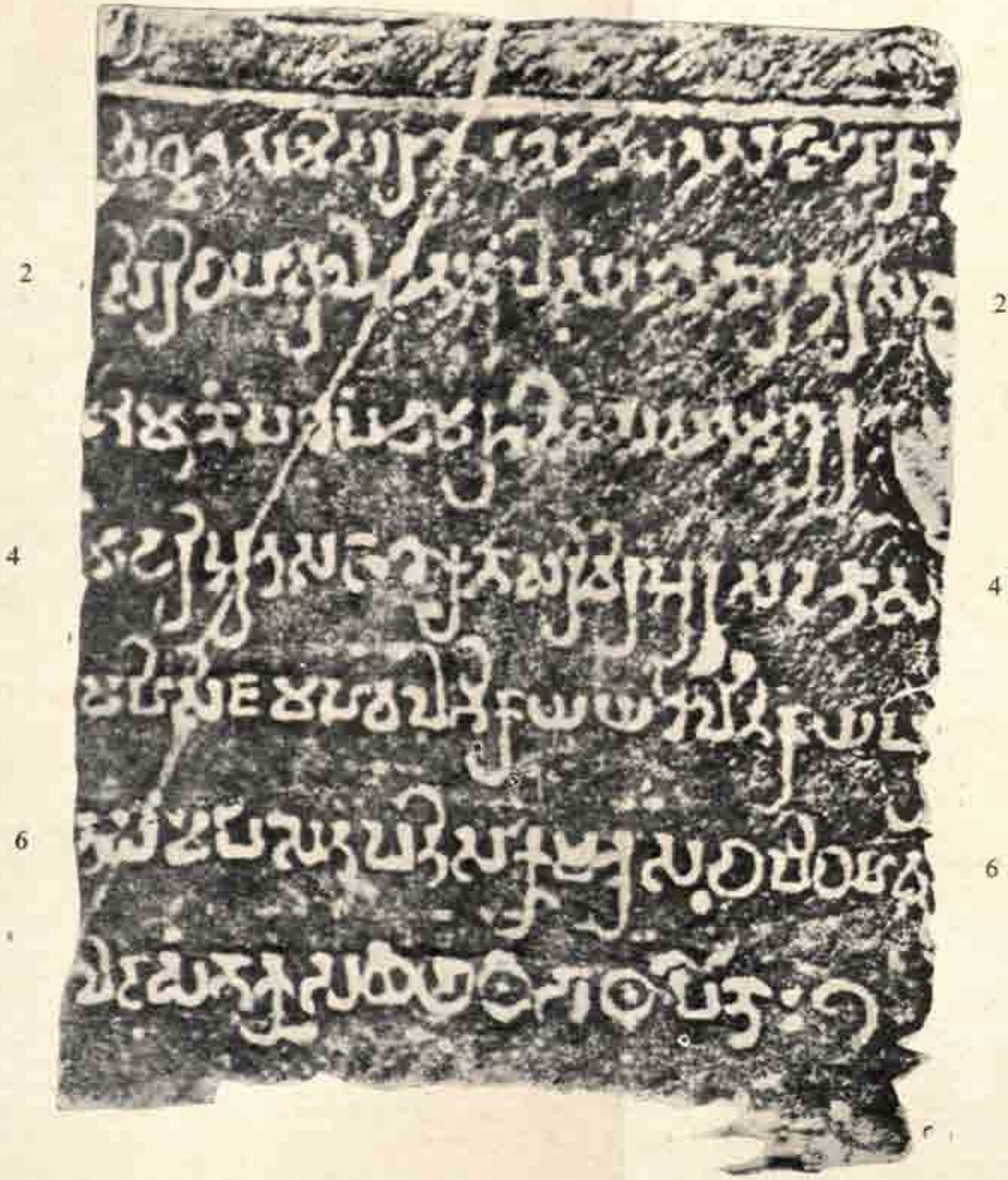
<sup>1</sup> For a similar feature, see, e.g., above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 101, text line 1.

<sup>2</sup> From impressions.

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by symbol. Note that the word *siddham* follows the symbol indicating the same word apparently due to the inadvertence of the scribe.

<sup>4</sup> *Siddhi* has not been observed here.

<sup>5</sup> Read *sambandhi chaturvviśam vishā-pakṣe chatur(rittha)ṛi divasam pañchamam*.



(from Photograph)

4. Inscription of the time of Ehuvara Chantamula, Year 24

Section I



Section II



Section III



Section IV



(from Photograph)

[kula]prasū[taśya] Ra[muṣa]ḥ[kīyānāb(nām) ]I[ ](avarada)ttāya putreṇa Syandaka-parvata-śreṣṭhīnā Ku[mā]ranandīnā sāha bharyāya śreṣṭhīnīya<sup>1</sup> putreṇa cha (avaraharttīnā<sup>2</sup> śeṣheṇa cha svajana-sambandhī- vargṇeṇa iyaṁ bhā[ga]vato[ ](tuh) astva(rvva)-satv[o](ttv-o)ttā[maśya] sarva-guṇa-pāramī[na] pūṣṭya samyak-sambuddhasya Buddha[śya] sīlamayī pratimā pratishṭhāpitā ātma[ś] sarva-satv[ā](ttv[ā])nā[ś] cha hita-[su]kh-ārtham[ ](ritham) || bhavati ch-ātra śloka[ś] (kub) |<sup>3</sup> [Deva]-dharmam-ida[ś] (ma)ḥ-krīt[ā] yat-puṇya[ś] samup[ā]jjitā[ś] (tam) |<sup>4</sup> te[na] puṇya[ś] (na) loka-yaṁ nir[vy]āgam-ādhi[ga]cchāt[ā] ||<sup>4</sup>

### 5. Another Inscription of the time of Ehuva Chāntamūla

This inscription is engraved on a memorial pillar said to be found near a *Maṇḍapa* about 100 yards north-east of 'the Antiquity Section'. The preservation of the writing is not satisfactory. The inscription in four lines is written in the usual Ikshvāku alphabet and in the Prakrit language. It is dated in the reign of the Ikshvāku king Ehuva Chāntamūla, though the symbol or symbols indicating the regnal year cannot be read. The exact date is quoted as the tenth day of a certain fortnight of the winter season (*hemanta*).

The inscription indicates that the pillar on which it is engraved was the *chāyā-stambha* of Kodāraka who is described as *araka-bhāṣaraka* (Sanskrit *araka-bhāṣāraka*) and *yati-saṃga-khamdhikata* (Sanskrit *yati-saṃga-khamdhikata*). The first of these epithets may suggest that Kodāraka was a religious personage, probably the head of a monastery. The other epithet, in which *khamdhikata* literally means 'borne on the shoulder', seems to mean that he was highly respected by the *yatis* (Brahmanical ascetics) and *śramanas* (Buddhist monks).

#### TEXT\*

- 1 .... aka<sup>1</sup>-siri-Ehavaia-Chantamulasa [sa] .....<sup>4</sup>
- 2 .... hema ... diva 10 araka-bhāṣarakaśa .....
- 3 yati-saṃga-khamdhikataśa Koda[rakasa]
- 4 [chāyā-khambho ]

### 6. Inscriptions on Memorial Pillars

#### A

This inscription is engraved on a pillar discovered outside the eastern gate of the citadel in Site No. 35. There are five lines of writing covering an area about 14 inches in height and 14½ inches in breadth.

\* Read śāryyāḥ śreṣṭhīnāḥ.

<sup>1</sup> Read *śreṣṭhīnīya* or *śreṣṭhīnā*.

<sup>2</sup> The punctuation is indicated by a slanting curve.

<sup>3</sup> This punctuation is also indicated by a slanting stroke.

<sup>4</sup> The punctuation is indicated by two slanting strokes, the tops of which are joined by a curved line. The metre of the stanza is *Anuṣṭubh*.

<sup>5</sup> From impressions.

<sup>6</sup> The intended word may be *araka* (Sanskrit *araka*). Even if this is accepted, we can scarcely connect this epithet with the name of the Aira family (cf. above, Vol. XXXII, p. 85, note 3).

<sup>7</sup> Apparently there was here something like *śaka* followed by numerical symbols indicating the year of the date when the inscription was engraved.

The characters are similar to those in the other records edited here ; but their size is bigger, individual letters, excluding the conjuncts and those endowed with vowel-marks, etc., being nearly  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height. The elongation of the letters is less prominent in this record than in others. The initial vowel *o* and the consonant *ḥ* occur in the epigraph. No king is mentioned and there is no date. The language of the record is Prakrit.

The inscription begins with the word *siddham* (*siddham*) and records that the pillar on which it is engraved was the *chhāya-stambha* (*chhāyā-stambha*) of Chantapuja of the Kuṣahaka family. It is not impossible that *Chantapuja* is just a variant of the name Chāntamūla, while the Kuṣahakas are certainly the same as the Kulahakas mentioned in some of the Nāgarjunikoṇḍa inscriptions.<sup>1</sup>

Chantapuja, in whose memory the pillar bearing the inscription was raised, is called a *Mahā-senāpati*, though which king he served in the capacity of a commander of the forces is not known. Three other epithets are also applied to his name, of which *amita-janasa dapa-damana* (Sanskrit *amitra-janasya darpa-damanā*), 'the subduer of the arrogance of the enemyfolk', is easy to understand. The other two are *khaṇḍhāvārāna okhamdhakā* and *olabaku-hathi-gāhaka* which are both difficult to explain. In Sanskrit, the first of these two epithets may stand as *khandhāvārānaśm-avaskandaka* meaning 'one who attacked or subdued the camps [of the enemies' forces]'. The expression *hathi-gāhaka* (*hasti-grāhaka*) means 'one who seizes the elephants [of the enemies] or catches elephants [from the forests]', while we may also have here *ku-hathi* (a wicked elephant) instead of *hathi*. The expression *olabaku-hathi-gāhaka* may thus mean 'one who seized the elephants of an enemy named Olabaku', or 'one who used to catch elephants in the forest called Olabaku', or 'one who captured an elephant named Olabaku' or 'one who captured a wicked elephant at or belonging to or in the shape of Olaba'.

#### TEXT\*

1. Siddham [i\*] khaṇḍhāvārāna okhamdhakassa amita-
2. janassa dapa-damanassa Olabaku-
3. hathi-gāhakassa mahāsenā-
4. patissa Kuṣahakānāṃ siri-Chamta-
5. puṣasa chhāya-stambho [i]

#### B

Several memorial pillars bearing small inscriptions in a few lines were discovered at Site No. 113. They are referred to in the records as *chhāyā-stambhas* which are stated to have been raised each in the memory of a group of soldiers. The soldiers are described as *padita* (= *pātita*) apparently meaning 'killed [in a battle]'. But their numbers are not indicated in any of the cases. The characters of the records are similar to the other inscriptions edited above and their language is Prakrit.

These inscriptions show that sometimes a single memorial pillar was raised for a number of dead persons.<sup>2</sup> Although the word *chhāyā-stambha* suggests that the pillar bore the figures of the soldiers in whose memory it was raised it is doubtful whether it was possible to represent

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XX, p. 18 (Inscription No. B 4, line 5), p. 22 (Inscription No. E, line 3).

<sup>2</sup> From *Impressions*.

<sup>3</sup> See above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 269.

MORE INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA—PLATE IV

5. Another Inscription of the time of Ehuvara Chantamula



Size : One-fourth

6. Inscriptions on Memorial Pillars

A



Size : One-fourth

B, I



B, II



B, III



Size : One-fourth

all the dead soldiers when their number was high. The inscriptions also suggest that a great battle was fought probably by the partisans of an Ikshvāku king against some enemies. Unfortunately, no king or date is mentioned in any of these records and little can be definitely said about the battle indirectly referred to. Whether the battle was fought at the site where the inscriptions have been found is uncertain. But it is interesting to note that the leaders of the soldiers, as mentioned in the different epigraphs, all hailed from a single locality called **Magalarāṇa** (probably Maṅgalārāṇa).<sup>1</sup> The location of this place is uncertain; but its importance is indicated by the fact that there were many leaders of forces stationed therein.

## I

This is an inscription in three lines. The preservation of the writing is fairly satisfactory, though a few letters are damaged at the end of the second line.

The record states that the pillar on which it is engraved was the *chhāyā-stambha* of the dead soldiers who had enjoyed the favour of *Rathika* Bhata (probably Sanskrit Bhakta) who was an inhabitant of Magalarāṇa. The word *rathika* stands for Sanskrit *rāshṭrika* meaning 'the governor of a *rāshṭra* (i.e. a small territorial unit of a kingdom)'. The *Rāshṭrika* mentioned in our record was apparently the subordinate of an Ikshvāku king.

TEXT<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Maga[la]raṇa-vathavaṣa
- 2 rathikasa Bhatasa pā[sa] . . . . .<sup>3</sup>
- 3 bhāḍaṇa[m] padita[na]m chhāyā-tha[bho] [!]<sup>4</sup>

## II

This is also an inscription in three lines. The preservation of the writing is not satisfactory. The language is similar to that of No. I above. But the leader of the dead soldiers in this case is called a *Senāpati*. The first letter of the name of this *Senāpati* is doubtful. But the name was possibly Rataputa.

TEXT<sup>5</sup>

- 1 Magalarāṇa-va[tha]va[sa] sa[nā]pat[isa]
- 2 [Ra<sup>6</sup>]aputasa pata[tana]m bhāḍana[m] pata . . . . .<sup>7</sup>
- 3 . . . . \*{yā}-kha[m] [bho] [!]<sup>8</sup>

## III

This is an inscription in three lines like Nos. I-II. The preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory. The leader of the forces mentioned in this record is called Karadaru-kumāra, 'Prince Karadaru', who was a *Senāpati* hailing from Magalarāṇa. It is, however, difficult to determine whether he was an Ikshvāku prince stationed at Magalarāṇa.

<sup>1</sup> See above Vol. XXXIV, p. 209.

<sup>2</sup> From impressions. It is *A. E. Ep.*, 1956-57, No. B 34.

<sup>3</sup> The intended word seems to be *paśādītanam* (Sanskrit *praśādītanam*).

<sup>4</sup> From impressions.

<sup>5</sup> The intended word seems to be *paśādītanam* as in No. I above, though in the other records this word comes before *bhāḍanam*.

<sup>6</sup> The lost *śikṣara* is apparently *chāḍ*.



TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 [Mava(ga)la]raṇa-vathava[sa ve]nāpati-
- 2 [sa] Karudaru-kumārāsa [paṇa] . . . \* hha[ḍa]vaṇa
- 3 paditana[ṇa] cūhaya-khaḍbho [ḍ]\*

## IV

It is a record in four lines. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory. The leader of the soldiers in this case was a *raṣṭhika* (*raṣṭhīka*, 'governor of a *cūhāra*') whose name was probably *Haraka*.

TEXT<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Magalaraya-vathavaṇa raṣṭhikāsa
- 2 [Harakasa paṇatana-patata]-
- 3 ta[ṇa] ma[ḥa]ḍa . . . . .
- 4 cūhā[ra]-kha[ḍbho] [ḍ]\*

## C

## I

This inscription is engraved on a pillar discovered at Site No. 59. It is stated in it that the pillar in question was the *cūhāra-ṣṭhāna* of a person named *Mūlabhūta* (or 'bhūti) who was an *śreṇīka* hailing from *Paṇyāta*. The word *śreṇīka* (*śreṇīka*) meaning 'the foreman of artisan' occurs in early epigraphs such as the *Sāuchi* inscription of the *Śatavāhana* monarch *Śātakeru* and the *Jaggayyapeta* inscriptions of the *Ikshvāku* king *Virapurushadatta*.<sup>3</sup> *Mūlabhūta* seems to have been an *śreṇīka* in the service of the *Ikshvāku* kings. It is difficult to explain the epithet *tamaṇiyakara* applied to *Mūlabhūta* in the inscription. It may be the name of the family to which the person belonged. Otherwise we have to take it as another personal name and insert the word *cha* to indicate that the pillar was raised for both *Tamaṇiyakara* and *Mūlabhūta*.

TEXT<sup>4</sup>

- 1 Pa(va)jyātakasa
- 2 śreṇīkasa
- 3 Tamaṇiyakaraṇa
- 4 M[ḥ]labhūta
- 5 cūhāra-cha[ḍbho] [ḍ]\*

## II

This inscription is engraved on a memorial pillar bearing sculptured panels, which was found in Site No. 80 in Sector IV. According to the inscription, written in three lines, the pillar was the

<sup>1</sup> From impressions.

<sup>2</sup> The intended word appears to be *paṇatā* or *paṇatāna* as in Nos. I-II above.

<sup>3</sup> From impressions. It is *A. R. Ep.*, 1929-31, No. B 22.

<sup>4</sup> See *Liders' Let.* No. 246, 1902-04.

<sup>5</sup> From impressions. It is *A. R. Ep.*, 1958-59, No. B 82.

MORE INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA—PLATE V

6. Inscriptions on Memorial Pillars

*B, IV*



Size : One-fourth

*C, I*



Size : One-fourth

6. Inscriptions on Memorial Pillars  
*C, II*



Size : One-third

7. Fragmentary Inscriptions  
*A*



Size : One-fourth

*chhāyā-stambha* of *Mahāsenāpati Mahātālavara* Aya[bbūti] (Āryabhūti). An epithet of this person seems to read *Araka-Mahakoṣuvaka*, in which *araka* may stand for Sanskrit *āryaka*. But the meaning of *Koṣuvaka* is uncertain though *Koṣura*, to which the word *mahat* (big) has been prefixed, may be the name of a place whence Āryabhūti hailed.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 . . .<sup>2</sup> mahāso[nūpa]tisa mahātala . . . . .<sup>3</sup>
- 2 [Araka<sup>4</sup>-Ma]ha-Koṣuvakasa Aya[bbūti]sa
- 3 chhaya-khabho |

## 7. Fragmentary Inscriptions

## A

This inscription is engraved on a broken pillar excavated from a site of what is called a University by the excavators though the reason for the nomenclature is unknown. The extant portion represents the lower right hand section of the record. There are altogether five lines of writing in the inscription, the left half of all of them being almost totally lost. Each line originally contained 24 or more *akṣaras*, about 12 in a line being now found in the well-preserved section of the epigraph. As we shall see below, there is reason to believe that the whole inscription was originally written in twenty lines, of which only the right hand part of the last quarter at the bottom now remains. The inscribed area on the slab is 9 inches in height while the breadth of the space covered by the well-preserved section of the writing is 7½ inches.

The characters of the record are similar to the other inscriptions edited above. The language is Sanskrit and the epigraph seems to have been written entirely in *verse*. The extant portion of the inscription contains parts of three stanzas of which the first is composed in *Pañcha-śākhā* or *Tāpaka* and the second and third are in the *Vamśastha* metre. It is interesting to note that these three stanzas are numbered in the record as verses 8, 9 and 10. This fact shows that the inscription was originally composed in ten stanzas, with half of a verse engraved in each of the lines of writing. This kind of arrangement of the words of verses as well as the numbering of the stanzas is found in some early inscriptions.<sup>5</sup> The extant part of our epigraph does not contain any date. It may, however, be pointed out that Sanskrit inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, which are generally Brahmanical, belong to the post-Viṣṇuśāhādatta age. The present inscription in Sanskrit is a Buddhist record.

The purport of the inscription is not satisfactorily clear from the fragment at our disposal. The last quarter of verse 8 in line 1 mentions the principal cooks engaged in some establishment, while the second quarter of verse 9 in line 2 refers to a *maṇḍapa* having a hundred (or more than a hundred) pillars and belonging to the same establishment. The nature of the *maṇḍapa* is unknown. But if the cooks mentioned earlier were associated with it, as they appear to have been, the reference may really be to a *śāstra* or free feeding establishment. The last quarter of the stanza in line 3 refers to a person as firm-minded (*dhrīṭ-ātman*) and self-subdued (*jīṭ-ātman*) probably as one who maintained the *maṇḍapa* attached to the religious establishment in question.

<sup>1</sup> From impressions. It is *A. R. Ep.*, 1908-09, No. B 33.

<sup>2</sup> The damaged word here may be *śiḍham*.

<sup>3</sup> The lost *akṣaras* are no doubt *\*varata*.

<sup>4</sup> Better read *Arakasa* separately from the compound.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *CII*, Vol. III, p. 6, Plate I.



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MORE INSCRIPTIONS FROM NAGARJUNIKONDA—PLATE VI

7. Fragmentary Inscriptions

*B, I*



Size : One-third

*B, II*



Size : One-third

*B, III*



Size : One-half

which reminds us of names like Rāchamalla (for Sanskrit *Rājamalla*) found in medieval South Indian inscriptions and of words like *prājyuti* changed in Pali to *pāchehi*.

## I

This inscription is engraved on the pedestal of a broken image of the Buddha discovered at Site No. 9. It states that the image (*paḍima*-Sanskrit *pratimā*) in question was installed by a lady who was the wife of Koḍabudhi. The reading of the name of the lady is, however, doubtful.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 .... rikasa<sup>2</sup> Koḍabudhisa bhariyāya [Makā<sup>3</sup>]lāya....  
2 .. <sup>4</sup>ti[ṭhāv]itam paḍima [i<sup>5</sup>]

## II

This inscription in a single line is engraved on the lower part of a sculptured panel discovered at Site No. 23. A small piece of stone bearing the *akṣaras* [ti]thavita (i.e. *patithavita*, 'set up') is stated to have formed part of the above. The extant part of the epigraph begins with the word *saha* indicating that the person responsible for the pious deed recorded in the inscription performed it along with others.<sup>6</sup> The said deed, which seems to be the setting up of the sculptured stone bearing the inscription, was apparently performed at Mahārāja-vaḍhamāna (Mahārāja-vaḍhamāna) within Viḥayapura, no doubt the same as Vijayapura or Vijayapuri, the Ikshvāku capital in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa valley. Mahārāja-vaḍhamāna reminds us of Sethivara-vaḍhamāna (Śreṣṭhivara-vaḍhamāna) of two other Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions (No. 2, A-B) which was probably a Buddhist religious establishment maintained by a *śreṣṭhin* or banker. Mahārāja-vaḍhamāna of the present record may have been a similar religious establishment maintained by an Ikshvāku king. The elongation of the letters is not marked in the record owing to the narrowness of the space.

TEXT<sup>2</sup>

- ..... saha Viḥayapure Mahārāja-vaḍhamāne bha[ṭṣ]<sup>3</sup>.....  
..... [ti]thavita<sup>7</sup>

## III

This is the beginning of an inscription in one line. The inscribed stone was discovered from the site of Stūpa No. 9. It mentions a *kumāra* (prince) called Vira-Aribha, ..., the concluding letter or letters of the name having broken away. The prince's name reminds us of that of Virapurushadatta of the Ikshvāku family. The absence of *vaadhi* joining *vira* and *ari* in the

<sup>1</sup> From impressions. This is *A.N.Ep.*, 1958-59, No. B 77.

<sup>2</sup> The intended word was something like *adgarika* (i.e. belonging to the city of Vijayapuri) or *pāḍārika* (Sanskrit *prāndrīka*) which is found in some early inscriptions (above, Vol. XIX, pp. 66 (No. II, 97). A *prāndrīka* was probably the maker of *prāndras*, i.e. cloaks used by monks.

<sup>3</sup> The last *akṣara* is no doubt *ya* so that the intended word is *paṭiṭhāvita*.

<sup>4</sup> It is also not altogether impossible that the pious deed referred to was performed along with some other pious deeds.

<sup>5</sup> From impressions.

<sup>6</sup> The intended word may be *śreṣṭhin* (Sanskrit *śreṣṭhin*).

<sup>7</sup> The word is apparently *patithavita*.



name of the prince makes it clear that *vīra* was essentially an epithet. Similarly, in the name Virapurushadatta, Purushadatta is the real personal name and *vīra* is an epithet even though it is treated as an integral part of the name.<sup>1</sup>

TEXT<sup>2</sup>

Si[dha]m [i\*] kumarasa Vira-Ar[ihha].....

## IV

There are four fragments of an inscription, which cannot be connected with one another. The first of these reads ... [Virap]urushadatta sa ... , the last *akshara* being apparently the beginning of the word *svachhara*. This shows that the inscription was engraved during the reign of the Ikshvāku king Virapurushadatta. The second fragment reads *bhaga[va]* (Sanskrit *bhagavat*) which either formed part of a passage like *namo bhagavata* at the beginning of the record or referred to a deity whose installation may have been the object of the inscription. The third and fourth fragments respectively read: *samuda* and *makuda[va]*. The letters *samuda* remind us of the female name Samudāsiri (Samudrasī) known from another Nāgārjunikonda inscription edited above (IA, line 1)), while *makudasa* may stand for Sanskrit *Makundasya*, Makunda being a well-known personal name.

GLOSSARY<sup>3</sup>

*a-karamta* (IB, 1.8) = Skt. *a-karanti*, ' [one] not having done [the work] '.

*akshaya-ni(nī)vi* (XXXIV, 19, 1.10). See *akshaya-nivi*, etc.

*akshaya-nivi* (XXXIV, 210, 1.6), *akshaya-nivi* (XXXIV, 210, 1.7), *akshaya-nivi* (IB, 1.4) = Skt. *akshaya-nivi* or *nivi*, ' a permanent endowment '.

*akshaya-nivikā* (XXXIV, 210, 1.3) = Skt. *akshaya-nivikā*. Same as *akshaya-nivi*, etc.

*agnihot-āgīthoma-vājapey-āśvamedha-yājī* (IA, 1.4) = Skt. *agnihot-āgīsh(toma-vājapey-āśvamedha-yājī)*, ' performer of the Agnihotra, Vājapeya and Ashvamedha sacrifices ', an epithet of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla.

*agnish(toma-vājapey)āśvamedha-bahusavarāka-yājī* (XXXIV, 19, ll. 2-3), ' performer of the Agnish(toma, Vājapeya, Ashvamedha and Bahusavarāka sacrifices ', epithet of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Successors of the Śālavāhanas*, p. 22, note 1. Cf. Purushadatta of the Mathura coins and the choja brothers Rājendra and Virarājendra.

<sup>2</sup> From impressions.

<sup>3</sup> Each of Vogel's two big articles on the Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions, published above, Vols. XX (pp. 1-36; cf. p. 37) and XXI (pp. 61-71) contains a Glossary which has been considered very useful by students of Indian epigraphy. The reference to the line of the inscription in which a word occurs has been indicated in our Glossary prepared more or less in the same line. Since, for unavoidable reasons, it was not possible for us to arrange for the publication of all the recently discovered Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions together in a single paper, we considered it wise to include in the present Glossary words occurring in the Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions published recently in the pages of this journal, e.g. Vol. XXIX, pp. 137-39; Vol. XXXIII, pp. 147-49, pp. 247-50; Vol. XXXIV, pp. 17-22, pp. 197-204, pp. 298-12. Two Ikshvāku inscriptions, discovered in the neighbourhood of Nāgārjunikonda (one at Guzala and the other at Uppurundur) and published above, Vol. XXVI, pp. 123-25, and Vol. XXXIII, pp. 189-91, respectively, have also been taken into account for this purpose. In these cases, the number of the volume and page, where the epigraphic texts in question have been printed, have been indicated.

*Achantarāj-āchāriya* (XXXIV, 211, ll. 5-6)-Skt. *āchārya*, 'a teacher of the Achantarāja School.'

*aṣṭama* (XXXIV, 22, l. 8, etc.)-Skt. *aṣṭama*, 'eighth'.

*Ayikki* (XXXIII, 149, l. 4), personal name of a *Senāpati*.

*atatheya* (XXXIV, 210, l. 8)-Skt. *ātithya*, 'hospitable'.

*atibhakti* (XXXIII, 149, l. 3), 'intense devotion.'

*atepura-mahatarikā* (1B, l. 3)-Skt. *antahpura-mahattarikā*, 'a female officer in charge of the harem'.

*Anatasiri* (1A, l. 6)-Skt. *Anantāsiri*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*-Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

*aneka-hiranya-koṭi-padāyī* (1A, l. 1, etc.)-Skt. *aneka-hiranya-koṭi-pradāyīn*, 'one who bestowed many crores of gold [coins]', an epithet of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla.

*aneka-hiranyā-koṭi-go-satasahasra-hala-satasahasra-pradāyī* (XXXIV, 22, ll. 1-2)-Skt. *aneka-hiranyā-koṭi-go-satasahasra-hala-satasahasra-pradāyīn*, 'one who bestowed many crores of gold [coins], lakhs of cows and lakhs of *halas* (plough measures of land)', epithet of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla.

*annaka* (XXXIII, 191, l. 5, etc.)=*annaka*, a suffix often added to the names of males.

*annikā* (XXXIII, 191, l. 6, etc.)=*annikā*, a suffix often added to the names of females.

*apana* (XXVI, 125), *apana* (1B, l. 2, 2A, l. 14), *apano* (2B, l. 14)-Skt. *ātmanā*, 'of one's own'.

*apanā* (1B, l. 8)-Skt. *ātmanā*, 'by oneself'.

*Aparamahāvīnasēsiya* (2A, l. 5 ; 2B, l. 7 ; XXXIV, 210, l. 5), name of a community of Buddhist monks.

*abhatarikā* (1A, l. 12)-Skt. *ābhyantarikā*, 'an intimate female friend', i.e. 'a concubine', or 'the female guard of the harem'.

*Amātya* (XXXIV, 203, l. 6), official designation of a minister or administrative officer, applied to Tishyaśarman. Sometimes, *amātya* is explained as *deś-ādī-kārya-nirvāhaka* while *mantrin* is interpreted as *vyavahāra-draśṭrī* (*Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VIII, p. 121).

*amita-janasa depa-damanasa* (6A, ll. 1-2)-Skt. *amitra-janasya darpa-damanasya*, 'of one who has subdued the pride of the enemyfolk', used in the description of *Mahāsenāpati* Chāntapūja.

*Ayakoṣisiri* (1A, l. 9), personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*-Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

*Ayabhūti* (6C III, l. 2)-Skt. *Āryabhūti*, personal name of a male.

*Ayasiri* (1A, l. 12)-Skt. *Āryasiri*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*(=*śrī*) suffixed to it.

*ayu-cadhanika* (1B, l. 2 ; XXVI, 125—wrongly read)-Skt. *āyur-caddhanika*, 'giving long life'. Same as *āyu-cadhanika*.

*araka* (6C II, l. 2)-Skt. *āryaka*, honorific prefixed to the name of *Mahāsenāpati* *Mahātalarava* *Ayabhūti* (*Āryabhūti*) hailing from *Maha-Koḍuva* (the big *Koḍuva*). Cf. 5, l. 1, where the same honorific is possibly prefixed to the name of the Ikshvāku king *Ehuvula* *Chāntamūla*.

*araka-bhaṣaraka* (5, l. 2)-Skt. *āryaka-bhaṣṭāraka*, probably the epithet of a religious personage.

*ariya-vamsa-pareni-dhara* (XXXIII, 250, l. 2)-Skt. *ārya-vamsa-praveṇi-dhara*, 'one who known the traditions of the [four] classes of [Buddhist] recluses by heart'.

*ariya-saṅgha* (2A, l. 7 ; 2B, l. 9)-Skt. *ārya-saṅgha*, 'a community of Buddhist monks'.

- a-vīdhavī* (XXIX, 139) 'a lady whose husband is living'.
- Aśhṭam(śh(abhu)janyāmīnī* (XXXIV, 203, 1.3), name of a deity identified with Vishnu.
- Asamedha-yājī* (IA, 1.1; IB, 1.1; 2B, 1.1; 4; XXXIV, 22, 1.1)—Skt. *Asamedha-yājīnī*, 'performer of the Asvamedha sacrifice', an epithet of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla.
- aḥau* (XXXIII, 149, 1.2), 'a day'.
- āchariya* (XXXIII, 250, 1.1)—Skt. *āchārya*, 'a teacher'.
- Ābhīra* (XXXIV, 202, 1.1), name of a people.
- āyu-vadhānīka* (2A, 1.13; B, 1.13). See *āyu-vadhānīka*.
- Āvantaśa* (XXXIV, 203, 1.3), correctly *Āvantiśa*, 'resident of Avanti (i.e. the city of Ujjayini)', epithet of Śaka Rudradāman.
- āvesanīka* (6C I, 1.2)—Skt. *āveśanīka*, 'a foreman of artisans'.
- Ikshvāku* (4; XXXIV, 19, 11.4, 5, 8), name of the family of king Ikshvāku.
- Ikshākumārā* (IA, 1.2; 3, 1.4; XXXIII, 191, 1.2), *Ikshākūmarā* (XXXIV, 22, 1.5)—Skt. *Ikshākūpām*, 'of the Ikshvākus (i.e. of those belonging to the Ikshvāku family)'.
- Ikshākusa* (3, 1.1)—Skt. *Āikshākūśa*, 'of one belonging to the Ikshvāku dynasty'.
- Irusaka* (†) (4), name of a family.
- Īśvarulatta* (4), personal name of a male.
- Īśvarabhartivā* (4), correctly *bhartā*, *bhartivā*, 'together with Īśvarabhartī or Īśvarabhartī'.
- Ukashya* (7A, 1.1), probably *Uk-āśhaya*, 'in what is called Uka'.
- Uta(ṭṭa)ra-mahātalarava-bhāginēyī* (XXXIV, 19, 1.7), 'a daughter of the sister of Mahātalarava Uttara', epithet of a queen of the Ikshvāku king Khuvula-Chāntamūla.
- upāsaka* (2A, 1.12; 2B, 1.12), 'a lay follower of the Buddha'.
- ulēkhaga* (XXXIV, 203, 1.6)—Skt. *ulēkhaka*, 'engraver'.
- ekkāra* (XXXIV, 22, 1.7)—Skt. *ekādaśa* (XXXIII, 149, 1.1), 'eleventh'.
- Elī-Ehavuladāsamūśa* (3, 11.6-7), personal name of an Ikshvāku prince, in which *mūśa* is a suffix.
- Elīśī* (XXXIII, 149, 1.5), personal name of a Talavara with the honorific *śī* suffixed to it.
- evam* (XXXIII, 191, 1.9), 'thus'.
- evā* (XXXIV, 210, 1.7), 'this'.
- Ehavulo-Chāntamūla* (5, 1.1; XXIX, 139), *Chāntamūla* (XXXIV, 19, 11.2, 6-7; XXXIV, 22, 1.4), *Chāntamūla* (4), personal name of an Ikshvāku king.
- Ehavulaśī* (XXXIII, 149, 1.1), personal name of the Ikshvāku king Khuvula Chāntamūla, with the honorific *śī* suffixed to it.
- Ehavulo-Chāntamūla* (2B, 1.5); *Chāntamūla* (3, 1.2). Same as *Ehavulo-Chāntamūla*.
- Khuvula-Chāntamūla* (2A, 1.3). Same as *Ehavulo-Chāntamūla*.
- ekhandhāśa* (6A, 1.1)—Skt. *avasthāśaka*, 'one who subdues'.
- Olakakubathi-grāhaka* (6A, 11.2-3)—Skt. *ḥasti-grāhaka* or *kuḥasti-grāhaka*, epithet of Mahāśāpatis Chaditapūja.

*Kakulurū* (XXXIV, 210, L4), probably the name of a village.

*Kaṁkachaśrīra* (XXXIV, 20, L12), personal name of a male.

*Kaṁkaphala* (XXXIV, 20, L12), personal name of a male.

*katavaṁ* (1B, L8)=Skt. *kartavyam*, 'has to be done'.

*katāṅga* (1B, L4)=Skt. *kṛtvā*, 'having done'.

*Kaṁhasīrī* (1A, L12)=Skt. *Kṛishṇasīrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *sīrī*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

*Karadaru-kumāra* (6B III, L2), 'Karadaru, the prince', name of a prince (*kumāra*).

*karayipiti(tu)* (1B, L8)=Skt. *kārayeyuḥ*, 'should be caused to be done'.

*Kasmīra* (XXXIII, 250, L1)=Skt. *Kāśmīra*, modern Kashmir.

*Kāmasīrī* (1A, L9)=Skt. *Kāmasīrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *sīrī*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it. The reading may also be *Rāmasīrī*=Skt. *Rāmasīrī*.

*kārāpitā* (2A, L16)=Skt. *kāritā*, 'caused [something] to be done'.

*Kārttikeya* (XXXIII, 149, L5), name of a god.

*Kuṣasaśrī* (XXXIV, 19, L8), personal name of a queen of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvala-Chāntamūla, with the honorific *śrī* suffixed to it.

*Kumara* (7B III)=Skt. *Kumāra*, title of a prince.

*Kumāra* (3, L6; 6B III, L2). See *Kumara*.

*Kumāra* (XXXIII, 149, L3), a name of the god Kārttikeya.

*kulaputa* (XXXIV, 209, II, L1) =Skt. *kulaputra*, 'born in a noble family'.

*kula-prasūta* (4), 'horn in the family [of]'.

*kulika-pramukha* (XXXIV, 210, L7)=Skt. *kulika-pramukha*, 'headed by the chief of the guild', probably the epithet of a guild.

*Kuṣumalātā* (1A, L13), personal name of a female.

*Kuṣabaka* (6A, L4), name of a family.

*Koṣṭhubhī* (7 BI, L1), personal name of a male.

*Koṣṭhaka* (5, L3), personal name of a male.

*Koṣṭhaka* (6C II, L2). See *Maha-Koṣṭhaka*.

*Kondamatisīrī* (1A, L8)=Skt. *Kundamatisīrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *sīrī*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

*Kauśika-sagotra* (XXXIV, 202, L2) 'one belonging to the Kauśika *gotra*', epithet of Śivaśeṣa.

*Khaṁḍuvulū* (XXIX, 139), personal name of a queen of the Ikshvāku king Ehuvala-Chāntamūla.

*Khāṁdasīrī* (1A, L10)=Skt. *Skandāsīrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *sīrī*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it. See *Khāṁdasīrī*.

*Khāṁdakotiśīrī* (1A, L8)=Skt. *Skandakotiśīrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *sīrī*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

*Khāṁdasīrī* (1A, L7)=Skt. *Skandāsīrī*. See *Khāṁdasīrī*.

*Khaṁdhāla* (XXXIV, 19, 17), probably Skt. *Skandahāla*, personal name of a *Mahātala*.

*Khaṁdhāvāra* (6A, 11) = Skt. *skandhāvāra*, 'a camp'.

*Khaṁdhikata* (5, 13) = Skt. *skandhikata*, 'borne on the shoulder', i.e. 'highly honoured'.

*Khalisiri* (1A, 110), personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri* = Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

*khāyita* (XXXIV, 203, 14) = Skt. *khānita*, 'caused to be excavated'.

*khetra* (XXVI, 125) = Skt. *khetra* 'a plot of land'.

*khyāta-kīrti* (XXXIII, 149, 14), 'one who has acquired wide renown', epithet of *Sendpati* *Apikki*.

*Gandhāra* (XXXIII, 250, 11) = *Gandhāra*, the region about the modern Rawalpindi and Peshawar Districts of West Pakistan.

*gahapati* (XXXIII, 191, 14) = Skt. *grihapati*, 'a householder'.

*Gāṇḍī-putra* (XXXIII, 149, 15), 'the son of Gāṇḍī', epithet of *Ellāri*.

*gāma-pa[chaka]* (XXXIV, 210, 13) = Skt. *grāma-pāṅchaka*, 'a group of five villages'.

*gi* (XXVI, 125), Pkt. abbreviation of Skt. *grishma-paksha*, 'a fortnight of the summer season (Chaitra-badi 1 to Āshāḍha-audi 15)', *grishma* being one of the three seasons in which the official year was divided in ancient India, the two others being *varshā* and *hemanta*.

*gi-pa* (XXXIV, 10, 12), abbreviation of Pkt. *gimha-pakha* = Skt. *grishma-paksha*, 'a fortnight of the summer season'.

*gimha-pakha* (2A, 14; 2B, 11.5-6; XXXIII, 191, 13; XXXIV, 211, 13) = Skt. *grishma-paksha*. See *gi-pa*.

*gimhanam* (3, 13) = Skt. *grishmanya*, 'of the summer season'.

*guṇa* (XXXIV, 203, 15), 'quality'.

*Golasiri* (1A, 19) = Skt. *Golaśrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri* = Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

*go-erāta* (XXXIV, 203, 16), 'a herd of cattle'.

*go-śatasahasra-hala-śatasahasra-praddāta* (XXXIV, 19, 13), 'one who distributed lakhs of cows and lakhs of *halas* (i.e. plough measures of land)', epithet of the Ikshvāku king *Chāntamūla*.

*chavḍa-śakti* (XXXIII, 149, 13), 'one wielding the terrible spear', epithet of the god *Kumāra* or *Kārttikeya*.

*Chaturvīda* (4), correctly *chaturvīda*, 'twentyfourth'.

*Chandasiri* (2A-B, 112) = Skt. *Chandrasrī*, personal name of a male, with the honorific *siri* = Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

*Chandrapala* (6A, 11.4-5), personal name of a male. Cf. *Chāntamūla*.

*Chāntamūla* (1A, 12, etc.; XXXIV, 19, 14; XXXIV, 22, 12) = *Chāntamūla*, correctly *Śāntamūla*, personal name of an Ikshvāku king.

*Chandannaka* (XXXIII, 191, 17—incompletely read), personal name of a male, the real name being *Chandana* (Skt. *Chandra*) and *annaka* a suffix.

*chavḍha* (2A, 14), *chavḍhā* (2B, 16) = Skt. *chaturtha* (4), 'fourth'.

*chitana* (1B, 18) = Skt. *chitraṇa*, 'decoration, embellishment'.

*chūtāpita* (XXXIV, 203, l.4)=Skt. *chitrīta*, 'caused [something] to be decorated'.

*Chūla-Dharmagiri* (XXXIV, 211, l.5)=Skt. *Kshudra-Dharmagiri*, 'the little Dharmagiri', name of a hill in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa area.

*chhaya-khabha* (6B IV, l.4; 6C II, l.3), *chhaya-khambha* (6B III, l.3; XXXIV, 22, ll.8-9), *chhāya-khabha* (3, l.4), *chhāya-khambha* (6B II, l.3)=Skt. *chhāyā-stambha* (really *chhāyā-skambha*), 'a memorial pillar bearing the figure of the person or persons in whose memory it is raised'.

*chhāya-thabha* (6A, l.5; 6C I, l.5), *chhāya-thambha* (3, l.7), *chhāyā-thabha* (1A, l.13, etc.; 6B I, l.3), *chhāy[ā]-thambha* (XXXIV, 209, II, l.5), *chhāyā(yā)-thambha* (XXXIV, 209, I, l.1)=Skt. *chhāyā-stambha*. See *chhaya-khabha*, etc.

*jīvaputā* (XXIX, 139)=Skt. *jīvaputrā*, 'a lady with her son or sons living (or, all of whose children are living)'.

*taḍḍa* (XXXIV, 203, l.4), 'a tank'.

*Tamasiyakura* (6C I, l.3), probably the name of a family or a person.

*Tambaparni-dīpa* (XXXIII, 250, l.1)=Skt. *Tāmaparni-dīpa*, modern Ceylon.

*tala-vaya* (XXXIV, 203, l.4)=Skt. *tāla-vana* or *tala-vana*, 'a grove of palmyra trees'.

*talavara-vara* (XXXIII, 149, l.5), 'a prominent *Talavara*', epithet of Eliśī. See *Mahātālavara*.

*Tishyasamma* (XXXIV, 203, l.6), correctly 'farman, personal name of an *Amātya*'.

*tethika* (XXXIV, 210, No. 3, l.1)=Skt. *tairthika*, 'an adherent of a religious faith other than one's own'. Cf. *para-samaya* in *sakasamaya-parasamaya*.

*terasama* (3, l.2)=Skt. *trayodaśa*, 'thirteenth'.

*thala* (1B, l.4)=Skt. *sthala*, probably used in the sense of a place of worship in the form of a *vedikā* surrounded by an enclosure (*JBRs*, Vol. XXXIX, Parts 1-2, 1953, p. 47).

*thāpita* (3, l.7)=Skt. *sthāpita*, 'set up'.

*Thera* (2B, l.10)=Skt. *Sthavira*, 'an Elder among the Buddhist monks'.

*Theriga* (XXXIII, 250, l.1)=Skt. *Sthaviriga*, 'belonging to the Thera (Skt. *Sthavira*, i.e. *Sthaviravāda*) School [of Buddhist monks]'.

*data* (XXXIV, 210, l.3)=Skt. *datto* (XXXIV, 20, l.11), 'given'.

*dapa-damana* (6A, l.2)=Skt. *darpa-damana*, 'a subduer of the pride [of]'.

*dasa* (1B, l.4-5)=Skt. *daśa*, 'ten'.

*sināri* (1B, l.4-5), name of a coin.

*dīva* (1B, l.3; 5, l.2; XXVI, 125; XXXIV, 19, l.2), abbreviation of *dīvasa*, 'a day'.

*divaḍha* (XXXIV, 210, l.6)=Pali *divyaḍḍha*, *diviḍḍha*, Skt. *divyadha*, 'one and a half'.

*dīvasa* (1A, l.3; 2A, l.4; 2B, l.6; 3, l.3; 4; XXXIII 191, l.3; XXXIV, 22, l.8; XXXIV, 202, l.2; 211, l.2), 'the day [of the fortnight]'.

- diṅāra-māsaka* (XXXIV, 210, l.6)=Skt. *ṁśakaka*, name of a coin elsewhere called *diṅāri-māsaka* (above, Vol. XX, p. 19).
- deya-dharma* (4), 'a religious gift'.
- deva* (XXXIII, 149, l.3), 'a god', epithet of the god Kumāra or Kārttikeya.
- devakula* (1B, l.4; XXXIV, 19, l.10), 'a shrine'.
- deva-parāma-deva* (XXXIV, 202, l.1), 'the supreme god among gods', epithet of the god Nārāyaṇa.
- dauhitri* (XXXIV, 19, l.7), 'granddaughter (daughter's daughter)'.
- Dhānīkakaṣṭha-vathava* (XXXIII, 191, l.3)=Skt. *Dhānīkakaṣṭha-vāṭhava*, 'an inhabitant of Dhānyakaṣṭha (old name of modern Dharapikōṣṭha near Amarāvati in the Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh)'.
- Dharmasīnikā* (XXXIII, 191, l.8), personal name of a female, the real name being *Dharmā* (Skt. *Dharmā*) and *sīnikā* a suffix.
- Dharmasamāka* (XXXIV, 209, II, l.3)=Skt. *Dharmasamāka*, personal name of a nobleman.
- Dharmasamāka-vāṇī[ya\*]kīniya* (XXXIII, 191, l.5)=Skt. *Dharmasamāka-vāṇīkīniya*, 'of Dharmasamāka'.
- dharma-phala* (XXXIV, 19, l.10), 'resulting from the piety [of]'.
- dhvaja-stambha(bha)* (XXXIV, 19, l.10), 'flag-staff'.
- natuka* (XXXIII, 191, l.4)=Skt. *natuka*, 'grandson (son's son)'.
- Nadīri* (1A, l.11)=Skt. *Nadīri* or *Nandīri*, personal name of a lady, with honorific *siri*=Skt. *siri* suffixed to it.
- naptri* (XXXIV, 19, l.6), 'a granddaughter (son's daughter)'.
- navāṅga-Saṅgha-sasana-atha-vyajana-vinichhaya-vimrāda* (XXXIII, 250, l.2)=Skt. *navāṅga-Sāstṛi-sāsana-ārtha-vyākhyāna-vinichhaya-vimrāda*, 'one who is an expert in the determination of the meaning and implication of the ninefold teachings of the Sāstṛi (i. e. the Buddha)', epithet of certain Buddhist monks.
- Nāgasasirī* (1A, l.7)=Skt. *Nāgasasirī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *siri* suffixed to it. Cf. the female name *Shandavaru* in an Ajanṭā inscription (above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 262, text line 1).
- Nāgasamānikā* (XXXIII, 191, l.9), personal name of a female, the real name being *Nāgasamā* (Skt. *Nāgasamā*) and *sīnikā* a suffix.
- Nāgasirī* (1A, l.9)=Skt. *Nāgasirī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *siri* suffixed to it.
- Nāgasiri* (2A, l.12; B, l.12)=Skt. *Nāgasiri*, personal name of a male, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *siri* suffixed to it.
- Nāgīlambaka* (XXXIII, 191, ll.5, 8), personal name of the brother and of a son of Saṅghila, in which *ambaka* is a suffix.
- Nārāyaṇa* (XXXIV, 202, l.1), a name of the god Viṣṇu.
- niṅama* (1B, l.8)=Skt. *niṅama*, 'administrative board pertaining to a city'.
- niṅaveti* (2A, ll.8-9; 2B, l.10)=Skt. *niṅaveti*, 'completes'.

*nīpatīṭhapita* (XXXIII, 250, l.3)=Skt. *nīpratīṣṭhāpita*, same as *pratīṣṭhāpita*, 'set up'.

*nīmitta* (2A, l.15; 2B, l.15), 'cause' or 'on account of'.

*nīrvāṇa* (4). See *nīraṇa*, etc.

*nīraṇa* (2B, l.10); *nīraṇa* (2A, l.8)=Skt. *nīrvāṇa* (4), the Buddhist word for 'salvation'.

*nīcchāta* (7A, l.5), 'founded, made'. Cf. above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 163, text line 10.

*Nelāchavasa* (XXXIV, 210, l.4), probably the name of a village.

*naika-hīraṇya-koṭi-pradātā* (XXXIV, 19, l.3), 'one who distributed many crores of gold [coins]', epithet of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla.

[*Nolagī*]*śivasāmi* (1B, II, 1)=Skt. \**śivasāmi*, name of a deity, with the word *śvāmī* suffixed to it.

*Nodukavīri* (XXVI, 125)=Skt. \**śrī* (for \**śrīyā*), personal name probably of a female. Note the nominative case used for instrumental. There are other cases of this type in the Nāgārjunikonda inscriptions. Cf. *Chāntavīri* . . . . . *khaṇḍhān patīṭhapitā* (above, Vol. XX, p. 16, C3, lines 10-12; cf. p. 19, B 5, line 4; C2, lines 6-8; etc.).

*pa* (1B, l.2), abbreviation of *pakha*=Skt. *pakṣa*, 'a fortnight'.

*pakha* (3, l.3). See *pa*.

*pañchama* (3, l.3), *pañchama* (4), 'fifth'.

*paṭana* (XXXIII, 191, l.10)=Skt. *paṭana*, 'township'.

*paḍi(di)ta* (XXXIV, 209, II, l.5)=Skt. *pāṭita*. See *paḍita*.

*paḍima* (7B I, l.2)=Skt. *pratimā*, 'an image'.

*paḍhama* (XXXIV, 211, l.3)=Skt. *prathama*, 'first'.

*Paṇḍitasīri* (1A, l.11)=Skt. *Paṇḍitaśrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *sīri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

*patata* (6B II, l.2; 6B IV, l.2)=Skt. *pāṭita*. See *paḍita*.

*patīṭhavita* (7B II), *patīṭhāvita* (7B I, l.2)=Skt. *pratīṣṭhāpita*, 'set up'.

*patiya* (XXIX, 139)=Pkt. *patiyā*=Skt. *patnyā*, 'by [one's] wife'. See *patī*.

*patī* (XXXIV, 22, l.5)=Skt. *patnī*. See *patiya*.

*pathama* (XXXIV, 22, l.8)=Skt. *prathama*, 'first'.

*paṭarasa* (2B, l.6)=Skt. *pañchadaśa*, 'fifteenth'.

*paḍiṭhapati* (2A, l.8)=Skt. *pratīṣṭhāpapatī*, 'sets up'.

*paḍita* (6B I, l.3; 6B III, l.3)=Skt. *pāṭita*, 'killed [in battle]'. See *paḍi(di)ta*, *patata*.

*paṇḍika-sami* (1B, l.5)=Skt. *paṇḍika-śreṇī*, 'the guild of the dealers in leaves (i.e. betel leaves)'.

*Paraḍika* (1B, l.8), personal name of a male.

*para-samaya* (XXXIV, 211, l.6). See *sakarāmaya-parasamaya*.

*parityaj*; cf. *prāṇa[m-a\*]pi na pari[tya\*]kṣh[ya\*]pati* (XXXIV, 203, l.5), 'would not spare even one's life.'

*pariveṣa* (4), 'a Buddhist monk's private chamber in a monastery'. See *Mahādevī-pariveṣa*.

*Paravātaka* (6C I, l.1), probably 'a resident of Pavayūta'.

*pasadata* (6B IV, l.2), *pasādita* (6B I, l.2; 6B II, l.2; 6B III, l.2)=Skt. *prasādita*, 'favoured'.



- pasādaka* (XXXIII, 230, L1)=Skt. *prasādaka*, literally 'one who causes serenity or happiness [in the minds of the people]', figuratively 'one who converts [people] to the Buddhist faith'.
- pasunhā* (XXXIV, 22, L3)=Skt. *prasmushā*, 'daughter-in-law's daughter-in-law', i. e. 'grandson's wife'.
- pāchaka* (7A, L1), 'a cook'.
- pāda-saṅghāṭā* (XXXIII, 230, L3)=Skt. *pāda-saṅghāṭa*, 'a pair of feet', i. e. 'foot-prints'.
- piya-bhātuka* (2A-B, L13)=Skt. *piya-bhāṭṭi[ka]*, 'dear brother'.
- Pudokopa* (XXXIV, 19, L10), name of a village.
- puta* (1A, L2, etc.)=Skt. *putra*, 'a son'.
- putra* (XXXIV, 19, L1, 6, 8), 'a son'.
- Purāṣa-puruṣa* (XXXIV, 202, L1), 'the primeval male', epithet of the god Nārāyaṇa.
- puru-disā-bhūge* (XXXIV, 2:1, ll.4-5)=Skt. *pūrna-dīśā-bhūge*, 'in the eastern direction [of]', 'to the east [of]'.
- purika-soni* (1B, L5)=Pali *pūrika-seṇi*, Skt. *pūripika-seṇi*, 'a guild of nonsectarians'.
- Pushabhadravāmīn* (XXXIV, 19, ll.1, 10), name of a deity (otherwise called Mahādeva), with the word *vāmīn* suffixed to it.
- Pushyakāṁḍiya* (XXXIV, 19, L6), probably a mistake for *Pushyakandīya*, name of a family.
- Perajatisiri* (1A, L10), personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.
- Peramañi-bhaṇa* (XXXIV, 209, I, L1 ; II, L4)=Skt. *°bhāṇa*, 'a soldier fighting under [the command of a general named] Peramañi'.
- Peribijeha* (XXXIV, 202, l.2), name of a family or clan.
- pautra* (XXXIII, 149, L4 ; XXXIV, 19, L5), 'grandson (son's son)'.
- pratimā* (4), 'an image'.
- pratishthāpita* (4 ; XXXIV, 19, L10), 'set up'.
- prathama* (1A, L3), 'first'.
- prapautra* (XXXIV, 19, L4), 'great-grandson (son of one's son's son)'.
- prabha* (XXXIII, 149, L1), 'the master', epithet of the Ikshvāku king Eshuvula-Chāntamūla. Cf. *sāmi* and *svāmīn*.
- prākūra* (XXXIV, 203, L4), 'a wall'.
- prāsāda* (XXXIII, 149, L5), 'a temple'.
- Ba[raṇa]kīya* (4), probably 'a resident of Barayaka'.
- Bahaphala-sagotā* (XXXIV, 22, ll.6-7)=Skt. *Bṛhatphala-sagotā*, 'a lady belonging to the Bṛhatphala gotra', epithet of Varmahatā who was the daughter of a *Mahākshatrapa* and a queen of the Ikshvāku king Eshuvula-Chāntamūla.
- Bāpsiri* (1A, L11), personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.
- bāhaka* (XXXIII, 191, L7), 'a son'.
- bālikā* (XXXIII, 191, L8—wrongly read), 'a daughter'.

*bitiya* (1A, L3 ; XXXIV, 211, L3)=Skt. *dvītiya*, 'second'.

*Buddha* (4), the great founder of Buddhism.

*Buddha-Dhamma-Saṅgha-maṅgala-nagara-cara-gīrivara-nigama-vara-bahu-deya-dharma-kāraka* (2A, II, 9-11) ; *\*gīrivara-nigamavara-bahu-deya-dharma-kāraka* (2B, II, 10-12)=Skt. *Buddha-Dharma-Saṅgha-maṅgala-nagaravara-gīrivara-nigamavara-bahu-deyadharmakāraka*, 'one who has bestowed many religious gifts at prominent cities and prominent townships as well as on prominent hills in connection with festivals celebrated in honour of the Buddhist Trinity, viz. the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha', epithet of a pious man named Chandasiri (Chandraśrī).

*Budhasānikā* (XXXIII, 191, L6), personal name of a female, in which the suffix *sānikā* is added to the name *Buddhā* (Skt. *Buddhā*).

*Bodhisiri* (1A, L10)=Skt. *Bodhisīri*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

*Bhagaphula* (1B, L7), personal name of a male.

*bhaga[ca]* (7B IV)=Skt. *bhagavat*, 'the lord', probably the epithet of a deity. See *bhagavat*.

*bhagavach-chakṛtyā* (XXXIV, 203, L6), 'by dint of divine power'.

*bhagavat*, epithet of divinities, (XXXIV, 203, L3), of the god *Aṣṭabhujaśvāmin* ; (XXXIV, 202, L1), of the god *Nārāyaṇa* ; (1B, II, 1, 4), of the god [Noḍḍa]śvaraśvāmin ; (XXXIV, 19, II, 1, 10), of the god *Puṣṭipabbhadrāśvāmin* ; (4 ; XXXIII, 191, L1 ; 250, L3) of the Buddha ; (XXVI, 125), of the god *Halasūpūrasvāmin*. See *bhagava*.

*Bhagavotā* (1B, L3)=Skt. *Bhāgavotā* or *Bhagavatī*, personal name of a lady.

*bhagini* (XXXIII, 191, L5)=Skt. *bhagini*, 'sister' (correctly *bhaginīnaś*=Skt. *bhaginībhyām*).

*bha[ṭā]* (7B II), probably=Skt. *bhaṭṭānaka*.

*bhaḍa* (6B I, L3 ; 6B II, L2, 6B III, L2, 6B IV, L4)=Skt. *bhaṭa*, 'a soldier'.

*Bhata* (6B I, L2)=Skt. *Bhakta*, personal name of a male.

*Bhadaphula* (XXXIV, 210, L2), probably the personal name of a male.

*Bharadvāja-ayotva* (XXXIV, 203, L6), 'one belonging to the *Bharadvāja gotra*', epithet of *Amṛitya Tāhyasarma*.

*bhara-sala* (2A, L8), probably a mistake for *bhaḍāra-sālā*=Skt. *bhāḍāra-śālā*, 'store-room'.

*bharyako* (2A, L15), *bharyako* (2B, L15), probably=Skt. *bhāryako* ; but the meaning of the damaged passage is doubtful.

*bharyā* (7B I, L1 ; XXXIII, 191, II, 6, 7)=Skt. *bhāryā*, 'wife'.

*bharyyāya* (4), correctly *bhāryayā*, 'together with one's wife'.

*bhāginoyī* (XXXIV, 19, L7), 'one's sister's daughter'.

*bhātuno* (XXXIII, 191, L5)=Skt. *bhrātuh*, 'of one's brother'.

*bhātu-bharyā* (XXXIII, 191, II, 6-7)=Skt. *bhrātri-bhāryā*, 'one's brother's wife'.

*bhūmjitava* (XXXIV, 210, L3)=Skt. *bhaktava*, 'to be enjoyed'.

*bho* (XXXIV, 20, L12), probably an abbreviation of *bhogika* or *bhojaka*, possibly meaning 'an *śāmdār*'.

[*Makāḥ*]ḥ (7B, I, L1), personal name of a female.

*Makula* (7B IV), probably=Skt. *Mukunda*, personal name of a male.

- Maṅgalāranya-cāthava* (6B I, 1.1; 6B II, 1.1; 6B III, 1.1; 6B IV, 1.1; XXXIV, 209, II, 1.1) =Skt. *Maṅgalāranya-cāthava*, 'a resident of Maṅgalāranya'.
- Matṅgusiri* (1A, 1.8), personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.
- maṅḍapa* (7A, 1.2), probably 'a hall'.
- matā-pitṛ* (2A-B, 1.14)=Skt. *mātā-pitṛ*, 'parents'.
- matōya* (XXXIII, 191, 1.5)=Skt. *mōtūḥ*, 'of [one's] mother'.
- matāhi* (1A, 1.6)=Skt. *mātrībhiḥ*, 'by [one's] mothers (i.e. mother and step-mothers)'. Cf. *mātūya*.
- Muduvīsiri* (1A, 1.9)=Skt. *Mṛdūīsiri*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.
- [*Me?*] *rabōya* (XXXIV, 209, II, 1.2), probably=Skt. *Marabōyam*, Maraba being the name of a family.
- masanumasika* (1B, 1.4)=Skt. *māsānumāsikā*, 'acruing month by month'.
- Maha-Koḍuvaka* (6C II, 1.2), literally 'resident of the bigger Koḍuva', the place probably being the home of a *Mahāsamāpati-Mahātalarava*.
- Mahatarikā* (1B, 1.3)=Skt. *Mahattarikā*, feminine form of *Mahattaraka*. See *Aṭṭapara-mahaturilā*.
- mahadevīhi* (1A, 1.6)=Skt. *mahādevībhiḥ*, 'by one's queens', used in respect of the queens of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla. See *Mahādevī*.
- Maharaja-caḥhamāna* (7B II)=Skt. *Mahārāja-sardhamāna*, a religious establishment maintained by a king. Cf. *Seṭhivara-caḥhamāna*.
- Mahavalabhikā* (3, 1.5), epithet of a queen of the Ikshvāku king Virapurushadatta, referring to the locality (Mahāvalabhī) whence she hailed.
- Mahāvīnaseliya* (2B, II, 7-8). See *Aparamahāvīnaseliya*.
- Mahākhatrapa-dhūtōya* (XXXIV, 22, 1.5)=Skt. *Mahākhatrapa-dhūtūḥ*, 'of the daughter of the *Mahākhatrapa*', used in relation to a queen of the Ikshvāku king Bhuvula-Chāntamūla.
- Mahāgrāmika* (XXXIV, 202, 1.2), 'the ruler of a *Mahāgrāma* (group of villages, a district)' or 'an inhabitant of a locality called Mahāgrāma', epithet of *Mahātalarava Mahādandamūyala Śivasēpa*.
- Mahātalarava*, official designation of several persons; (6C II, 1.1), of *Mahāsamāpati* Ayabhuti (Āryabhūti); (XXXIV, 19, 1.7), of Uta(ittajra); (XXXIV, 19, 1.6), of Kharudakāla and of Skandagopa; (XXXIV, 202, 1.2) of Śivasēpa; etc. In this designation, *talavara* means *tuchya-bhūpāla-pradatta-pāṭya-bandha-vibhūshita-rājasthānīya* (i.e. a viceroy or subordinate ruler) according to Vinayaviṅaya's *Subodhikā* commentary on the *Kalpasūtra* (above, Vol. XX, p. 7, note 1), though *talāra*, no doubt the same as *talavara*, is explained in Hemachandra's *Deśināmamūlā* (V, 3), as *vagira-rakshaka* while *talāri*, another modification of the same word, is described as a *koṭwāl* (i.e. prefect of the police of a town) in the *Bāyavāchakamu* and other works (*Bhār. Vid.*, Vol. XVII, Nos. 3-4, pp. 127 ff.). The word is found in Telugu-Kannada as *talāri* and in Tamil as *talaiyāri*, 'the village workman, one of the subordinate officers of a village' (Wilson's Glossary).
- Mahādandamūyala* (XXXIV, 202, 1.2), 'a chief leader of forces', official designation of a military officer often employed as the governor of a district or province.
- Mahādeva* (XXXIV, 19, 1.1), same as the god Śiva.
- Mahādevī*, title applied to the queens of the Ikshvāku king Bhuvula-Chāntamūla; (XXXIV, 19, II, 8-9), to Kupaṣāśrī; (XXIX, 139), to Khatḍjavalā; (XXXIV, 22, 1.6), to Vaiṣṇabhajī. See *Mahādevī*.

*Mahādevī-parīcepa* (4), 'the private chamber of a Buddhist monk, which has been built by a queen'  
*Mahānamā* (XXXIV, 203, 1.4), name of a well.

*mahā-nigāya* (2A, 1.6, 2B, 1.8)=Skt. *mahā-nikāya*, probably the dwelling of Buddhist monks of a particular community.

*Mahārāja*, royal title applied to the Ikshvāku kings often also called *Rājan*; (4; XXIX, 139; XXXIV, 19, 11.1, 5, 9; 22, 1.4), to Ekhvula-Chāntamūla; (1A, 1.1; B, 1.1; 2B, 1.1; XXXIV, 22, 1.1), to Chāntamūla; (XXVI, 125), to Rujapurushadatta (Rudrapurushadatta); (2B, 1.3; XXXIII, 191, 1.2; XXXIV, 19, 1.4; 22, 1.3), to Virapurushadatta.

*Mahārājakumāra* (XXXIV, 19, 1.8), designation of the Ikshvāku prince Virapurushadatta, son of king Ekhvula-Chāntamūla.

*Mahāvihāra-vāsīn* (XXXIII, 250, 1.2), 'a dweller in the Mahāvihāra [at ancient Vijayapura in the Nāgārjunikonḍa valley]'; explained by some as the name of a community of Ceylonese monks.

*Mahāsenapati*, *Mahāsenāpati*, 'a chief commander of the forces', official designation of several persons; (6C II, 1.1), of Ayabhūti (Āryabhūti); (3, 1.6), of the Ikshvāku prince Eli-Ehavūla-dāsatnaka; (6A, 11.3-4), of Chaitapaḥa of the Kuṣāhaka family; (XXXIV, 19, 1.8), of the Ikshvāku prince Virapurushadatta.

*Mahisaravīri* (1A, 1.8)=Skt. *Mahisāravīri*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *vīri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

*mahīśī* (3, 1.5)=Skt. *mahīśī* (XXXIV, 19, 1.8), 'queen'.

*Māgha* (XXXIII, 149, 1.2), name of the eleventh lunar month.

*Mādhari-putra* (XXXIV, 19, 1.4), 'son of a lady born in a family belonging to the Mādhara *gotra*', metronymic of the Ikshvāku king Virapurushadatta.

*Mādhari-pūta* (1A, 1.2), *Mādhari-pūta* (3, 1.4), *Mādhari-putra* (XXXIII, 191, 1.2)=Skt. *Mādhari-putra*, q. v.

*mātūya* (XXXIV, 22, 1.6)=Skt. *mātūḥ*, 'of [one's] mother (i.e. step-mother)'. Cf. *matūhī*.

*Mītasvīri* (1A, 1.7)=Skt. *Mītasvīri*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *vīri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

*mukhya-pāchaka* (7A, 1.1), 'the chief cook'.

*Muḍerā* (XXXIV, 203, 1.4), name of a locality.

*Mūlasvīri* (1A, 1.8)=Skt. *Mūlasvīri*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *vīri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

*Mūlabhuta* (6C I, 1.4)=Skt. *bhūta* or *bhūti*, personal name of an *ācārya*.

*Yakṣīnīkā* (3, 1.5), personal name of a queen of the Ikshvāku king Virapurushadatta, in which *nīkā* (*annīkā*) is a suffix.

*yati-samaya-khamdhikata* (5, 1.3)=Skt. *yati-śramaṇa-śāundhīkṛita*, 'highly honoured by the Brāhmagical ascetics and Buddhist monks', epithet of a religious personage.

*Yavana* (XXXIII, 250, 1.1), probably the ancient Greek settlement in the Kābul valley in Afghanistan.

*Yorājībhī* (XXXIV, 202, 1.2), probably a mistake for *Yonarājābhī*=Skt. *Yavana-rājāśī*, 'by the Yavana (i.e. Greek) rulers'.

*rañño* (1A, 1.2, etc.), *rañño* (2A, 1.2; 3, 1.3; XXXIV, 22, 1.5)=Skt. *rājāśī* (XXXIII, 149, 1.1), 'the king's'. See *Rājan*.

- [*Ra*1]*ra*pa (6B II, 12), personal name of a male.
- Rāshika* (6B I, 12; 6B IV, 11)=Skt. *Rāshika*, probably 'the governor of a territorial unit called *rāshika*'.
- Ratavasa* (1B, 13)=Skt. *Ratavāsā* or *Rativāsā*, personal name of a female.
- Rājan*, royal title; (XXXIV, 202, 1.1), of the Ābhira king Vasushena; (XXXIV, 19, 1.2, etc.), of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla; (XXXIV, 10, 1.7, etc.), of the Ikshvāku king Eshvula-Chāntamūla; (XXXIV, 22, 11.5-6), of the Ikshvāku king Rudrapurushadatta; (1A, 1.2, etc.), of the Ikshvāku king Virapurushadatta. Cf. *Mahārāja*.
- Rājamisiri-kutaka* (XXXIV, 209, II, 1.2), name of a family.
- Rāmasiri*. See *Kūmasiri*.
- Rāmavy*=*eva sarva-jan-ābhiraṃarya* (XXXIV, 19, 1.5) 'of one who is loved by all people like Rāma', used in the description of the Ikshvāku king Eshvula-Chāntamūla.
- rija* (XXXIV, 203, 1.5)=Skt. *rija*, '[one who is] straightforward'.
- Rudrapurushadatta* (XXXIV, 22, 11.5-6)=Skt. *Rudrapurushadatta*, personal name of an Ikshvāku king. See *Rudrapurushadatta*.
- Rudradāmas* (XXXIV, 203, 1.3), personal name of a Śaka resident of Avanti.
- ruṃḍaru-bhava* (XXXIV, 203, 1.3), probably=Skt. *udumbara-bhava*, 'born (i.e. made out) of *udumbara* wood', epithet of the god Aṣṭahhujasvāmin.
- Rudrapurushadatta* (XXVI, 125—wrongly read), the same as Skt. *Rudrapurushadatta*, personal name of an Ikshvāku king. See *Rudrapurushadatta*.
- ropita* (XXXIV, 203, 1.5), 'caused to be planted'.
- raja-nyāsana-prema-nishtha* (XXXIV, 203, 11.5-6), 'one who is steadfast in his love for planting banyan trees'.
- raḍhamāsa* (2A, 1.6; 2B, 1.8; 7B II)=Skt. *raḍhamāsa*, a kind of religious establishment.
- radhi* (1B, 1.4)=Skt. *aridhi*, 'interest'.
- Rānāsī* (XXXIII, 250, 1.1), the district round modern Banavāsi in the North Kanara District of Mysore. See *Vānanāsika*.
- Rāmanubhātā* (XXXIV, 22, 1.7)=Skt. *Rāmanubhātā*, personal name of a lady who was a daughter of a *Mahākshatrapa* and a queen of the Ikshvāku king Eshvula-Chāntamūla.
- Rardhamānaka* (XXXIV, 203, 1.6), personal name of a male.
- rasa* (XXXIII, 149, 1.1), 'year'.
- rasa-jaksha* (4), 'a fortnight of the rainy season', the rainy season (Śrāvāṇa-badī 1 to Kārttika-sudī 15) being one of the three seasons in which the official year was divided in ancient India and the two others being *grīṣma* and *hemanta*.
- rasa-rata* (1A, 1.3)=Skt. *rasa-rata*, literally 'one hundred years', used in the sense of 'long life'.
- Vāsīthi-pata* (1B, 1.2)=Skt. *Vāsīthi-patra*, 'mm of a lady born in a family belonging to the *Vāsīthi-gotra*', metonymic of the Ikshvāku king Eshvula-Chāntamūla. See *Vāsīthi-pata*, etc.
- Vasushena* (XXXIV, 202, 1.1), personal name of an Ābhira king.
- Vānanāsika* (XXXIV, 203, 1.3), 'resident of Vanavāsi (modern Banavāsi in the North Kanara District, Mysore)', epithet of Vishnurāmasivalānanda-Sātakarṣṇi. See *Vānanāsika*.

*vā-pā* (XXXIV, 202 l.1), abbreviation of Pkt. *vāsa-pākha*=*vāsa-pakkha*=Skt. *varsha-paksha*, 'a fortnight of the rainy season'. See *vāsa-pakha*, *varsha-paksha*.

*vāpi* (XXXIV, 203 l.4), 'a well'.

*vāsa-pakha* (1A, l.3), *vāśī-pakha* (XXXIV, 22, l.8)=Skt. *varsha* or *varshā-pakha* 'a fortnight of the rainy season'. See *vā-pā*.

*Vāsīthī-puta*, *Vāsi(hi)-putta*, *Vāsi(hi)-putra*, *Vāsi(hi)-putra*, *Vāsethī-putra*, *Vāse(s)sh(hi)-putra* =Skt. *Vāsi(hi)-putra*, 'son of a lady born in a family belonging to the Vāsi(hi)ya gotra', metonymic of several rulers; (XXXIV, 202, l.1), of the Ābhira king Vaasheya; (2B, l.4; XXXIV, 19, l.1), of the Ikshvāku king Ehuva-Chāntamūla; (1A, l.5; XXXIV, 19, l.2), of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla; (XXXIV, 22, l.5), of the Ikshvāku king Rudrapurushadatta. See *Vasīthī-puta*.

*vigata-jvan-ālaya* (7A, l.4), probably 'the abode of recluses' or 'temple of the Recluse (Buddha)'.

*Vijayapura* (7B II)=Skt. *Vijayapura*, q.v.

*Vijaya* (1A, l.3; 1B, l.2), name of a year of the Jupiter's sixty-year cycle, which was the first year of the cycle originally.

*Vijayapura* (2A, l.5; 2B, l.7), *Vijayapuri* (4; XXXIV, 211, l.4), name of the Ikshvāku capital in the Nāgarjunikonda valley.

*vijaya-vijayika* (XXXIV, 19, l.9), better *vajaya-vijayika*, 'yielding victory after victory'.

*Vijjabodhisiri* (1A, l.7)=Skt. *Vindhyabodhisiri*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *sri* suffixed to it.

*vipul-ārttha-kāṅkṣin* (7A, l.5), 'one who wishes for great welfare of all the beings', or 'one who wants salvation'.

*Vibhajjavāda* (XXXIII, 250, l.1)=Pali *Vibhajjavāda*, Skt. *Vibhajjavāda* or *Vibhajjavādā*, 'belonging to the Vibhajjavāda (Vibhajjavāda) School [of Buddhist monks]'.

*Vīva-Aśūka* (7B, III), partially preserved name of a prince. Cf. the name *Vīvapurushadatta*.

*Vīvapurūsadatta* (1B, l.2), *Vīvapurūsadatta* (7B IV), *Vīvapurūsadatta* (2A, l.1), *Vīvapurūsadatta* (XXXIII, 191, l.2; XXXIV, 22, l.3), *Vīvapurūsadatta* (2B, ll. 3-4)=Skt. *Vīvapurushadatta* (really *Vīva-Purushadatta*), personal name of an Ikshvāku king.

*Vīshvapurūshadatta-Sātatarupī* (XXXIV, 203, l.3), personal name of a resident of Vanavāsa.

*vihāra* (XXXIII, 250, l.3; XXXIV, 211, l.5), 'a Buddhist monastery'.

*vihāra-bāhā* (7A, l.5), 'the wing of a [Buddhist] monastery'.

*vihāra-mukhya* (7A, l.4), 'the principal monastery'.

*Vīvapurushadatta* (XXXIV, 19, l.4). See *Vīvapurūsadatta*, etc.

*Vīvapurushadatta* (XXXIV, 19, l.9), personal name of an Ikshvāku prince who was a son of king Ehuva-Chāntamūla, and grandson of king Vīvapurushadatta.

*vajayika* (1B, l.2)=Skt. *vajayika*, 'yielding victory'.

*Vaiśa-nānīya-puta* (XXXIII, 191, l.4)=Skt. *Vaiśa-rājya-putra*, 'son of Vaiśa, the merchant', epithet of Saughila II, grandson of Saughila I.

*Vaiśasīnaka* (XXXIII, 191, l.7), personal name of a male, the name being *Vaiśasī* (Skt. *Vaiśasī*), with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *sri* suffixed to it, and also *naka* (*śhnaka*), a suffix.

*Śala* (XXXIV, 203, l.3), name of a people.

*śatru-gaṇ-śamardīn* (XXXIV, 203, l.5), 'one who has subdued the hosts of one's enemies', epithet of an engraver.

- Sivasoba* (XXXIV, 202, 1.2), correctly *Sivasopa*, personal name of a male. Cf. the name *Sunahāpasa* or *Sunahāpasa*.
- śukla-pakṣa* (XXXIII, 149, 1.2), 'bright fortnight'.
- śailamāyī* (4), 'made of stone'.
- śrī* (XXXIII, 149, 1.1), honorific suffixed to the name of Bhavala, i.e. the Ikṣvāku king Bhuvula Chāntamūla. Cf. *śrī*.
- Śrīparvata* (4), ancient name of the Nallamalai range.
- śreṣṭhāyī* (4), correctly *śreṣṭhīyā*, 'together with the [śreṣṭhā] wife'.
- saṁna* (XXXIV, 19, 1.2), abbreviation of *saṁnuchhara* = Skt. *saṁnuchhara*, 'the [regnal] year'.
- saṁnuchhara* (XXXIII, 191, 1.3; XXXIV, 22, 1.7; XXXIV, 211, 1.2) = Skt. *saṁnuchhara* (4; XXXIV, 202, 1.3), 'the [regnal] year'. See *saṁnuchhara*.
- sakasamaya-parasamaya* (XXXIV, 211, 1.6) = Skt. *sakasamaya-parasamaya*, 'one's own doctrine and other rival doctrines', not the Jain *su-samaya* and *para-samaya* explained in Kundaḥṛud-āchārya's *Samayasūtra* as respectively 'the soul which is consecrated in right conduct, belief and knowledge and is self-absorbed' and 'the soul which stands in the resolution determined by Karma and is absorbed in non-self' (above, Vol. XXIV, p. 272).
- saga-gata* (1A, 1.3; XXXIV, 22, 1.8) = Skt. *svarga-gata*, 'one who has gone to heaven (i.e. died)'.
- Sagara-Dīp-Āmbarīsha-Yudhishthira-tulya-dhurmma-vijaya* (XXXIV, 19, 1.5), 'one who has lawfully obtained victories like Sagarā, Dīpā, Āmbarīsha and Yudhishthira', epithet of the Ikṣvāku king Bhuvula-Chāntamūla.
- sagotā* (XXXIV, 22, ll. 6-7) = Skt. *śyotā*. See *Bahuphala-śyotā*.
- Saṁghānikā* (XXXIII, 191, 1.7), personal name of a female, the real name being *Saṁghā* and *anikā* (*anikā*) a suffix.
- Saṁghāta* (XXXIII, 191, 1.4), personal name of a householder as well as of his grandson (son's son).
- Saṁjāyapurīca* (XXXIV, 202, 1.2), 'resident of Saṁjāyapura (probably modern Śaṁjān in the Thana District of Bombay)'.
- Saṅgha* (1B, 1.8; XXXIV, 210, 1.2), personal name of males. Cf. the name *Saṅghapa* popular in the Tamil-speaking area.
- sata* (XXVI, 123), mistake for *sara*, Pkt. abbreviation of Skt. *saṁvatsara*, 'the [regnal] year'.
- sata* (XXXIV, 210, 1.6) = Skt. *śata*, 'a hundred'.
- satama* (3, 1.3) = Skt. *śatama*, 'seventh'.
- Satīśrī* (1A, 1.10) = Skt. *Satīśrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *śrī* = Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.
- satya-vrata* (XXXIV, 203, 1.5), 'one who has taken a vow of truthfulness'.
- sa-sūta-mītra-bāndhava* (XXXIII, 191, 1.9) = Skt. *sa-sūta-mītra-bāndhava*, 'together with one's kinemen, friends and relations'.
- Saṁgandukā-vaṭhara* (XXXIV, 210, 1.2) = Skt. *śaṅganduka*, 'resident of [a locality called] Saṁganduka'.
- saṁvra-vijaya* (XXXIII, 149, 1.4), 'victor in (or, by means of) battles', epithet of *Samdyati Aulki*.
- Samuda* (7B IV) = Skt. *Samsudra*, probably a personal name.
- Samudānikā* (XXXIII, 191, 1.6), personal name of a female, the real name being *Samudā* (Skt. *Samsudrā*) and *anikā* a suffix.
- Samudāśrī* (1A, 1. 11) = Skt. *Samsudrāśrī*, personal name of a lady, with the honorific *śrī* = Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.

- Samusiri* (1A, 17), personal name of a lady, with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it; possibly a mistake for *Samudāsiri*=Skt. *Samudraśrī*.
- sampadata* (XXVI, 125)=Skt. *sampradatta*, 'given'.
- Saṃnāśambuddha* (XXXIII, 191, l. 1)=Skt. *Samyaksambuddha*, 'the perfectly enlightened one', i.e. the Buddha.
- Samyaksambuddha* (4), epithet of the Buddha.
- Sarasikā* (1A, l. 13), personal name of a female.
- sarva-guṇa-pārami(mī)-prāptā* (4), 'one who attained perfection in all the [good] qualities', epithet of the Buddha.
- Sarvadev-ādihāra* (XXXIII, 149, l. 6), 'abode of the god Sarva (i.e. Śiva)', epithet of the *prāsāda* (temple) built by Talavara Eliśrī.
- Sarva-sattu-ottama* (4), 'the best among all beings', epithet of the Buddha.
- sarvacchāra* (1A, l. 3; 2A, l. 3; 7B IV; 2B, l. 5; 3, l. 2)=Skt. *saṃvatsara* 'the year'. See *sarvacchāra*.
- sarvathēṣa apatīhata-saṃkopyasa* (1A, l. 5)=Skt. *sarvathēṣu apatīhata-saṃkalpyasa*, 'of one whose will was unchecked in all matters', used in the description of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla.
- sarva-loka-mahita* (1B, l. 1)=Skt. *sarva-loka-mahita*, 'honoured by the whole world (or, all people)', epithet of the god Nagaśarasāmi (= *śāvarasvāmin*).
- sarva-sattvām* (XXXIII, 250, l. 3)=Skt. *sarva-sattvānām*, 'of all the beings'.
- sarva-sat-ottama* (XXXIII, 191, l. 1)=Skt. *sarva-sattu-ottama*, 'best among all the beings', epithet of the Samyaksambuddha (i.e. the Buddha).
- sahamati* (1B, l. 3), literally 'one who has the same mind or thought as another', i.e. 'an associate'.
- sahodarāhī* (1A, l. 6)=Skt. *sahodarībhiḥ*, 'by [one's] sisters'.
- Sāgarasnikā* (XXXIII, 191, l. 6), personal name of a female, the real name being *Sāgarā* and *sānikā* a suffix.
- Sāśakavyā* (XXXIV, 203, l. 3). See *Viśvayudra-śivalānanda-Sāśakavyā*.
- sāmi*=Skt. *śāmin*, a royal title of foreign origin later adopted by some indigenous Indian kings including the Ikshvākus; (3, l. 1), title of the Ikshvāku king Eshvula Chāntamūla. See *śāmin*.
- sāma* (1B, ll. 1, 4; XXVI, 125)=Skt. *śāmin*, suffixed to the name of a god. See *śāmin*.
- sālā* (2A, l. 15; 2B, l. 10)=Skt. *śālā*, probably 'a hall'.
- sari*=Skt. *śrī*, honorific prefixed to the names of many persons, especially rulers; (1B, l. 2; 2B, l. 5; 3, l. 2; 4; 5, l. 1, etc.) of the Ikshvāku king Eshvula-Chāntamūla; (6A, ll. 4-5), of *Mahā-sāpātī* Chāntapūja; (1A, l. 2 etc.), of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla; (1A-B, l. 3; 2A, l. 1; 2B, ll. 3-4; 3, l. 4), of the Ikshvāku king Virapurushadatta.
- siri* (2A, l. 12; 2B, l. 12)=*śrī*, honorific suffixed to the names of males. Cf. *Eshvulasiri* and *śrī*.
- śrī* (1A, ll. 6-12)=Skt. *śrī*, honorific suffixed to the names of ladies.
- Sirīparvata* (2B, l. 6; XXXIV, 211, ll. 3-4)=Skt. *Śrīparvata*, ancient name of the Nallamatai range.
- Sivānāgasiri* (1A, ll. 11-12)=Skt. *Śivanāgāśrī*, personal name of a lady with the honorific *siri*=Skt. *śrī* suffixed to it.
- Sisaba* (XXXIV, 209, ll. 3-4), personal name of a soldier.
- sukh-athanā* (2B, l. 17), *sukh-athanā* (2A, l. 17)=Skt. *sukh-athanā*, 'a prayer for the happiness [of]'. See *hita-sukh-athanāya*.
- sunā* (XXXIV, 22, l. 4)=Skt. *śunā*, 'daughter-in-law'.



- supayuta* (XXXIV, 210, l. 7) = Skt. *suprayukta*, 'well-fixed (i.e. well-deposited [in a guild])'.
- seṭhi-pamāṭha* (1B, l. 7) = Skt. *śeṭhī-pramāṭha*, '[a guild] headed by the banker'.
- seṭhi-bālikā* (1B, l. 3) = Skt. *śeṭhī-bālikā*, 'daughter of a banker'.
- Seṭhiṃśa-vardhamāna* (2A, l. 6, 2B, l. 8) = Skt. *śeṭhiṃśa-vardhamāna*, a religious institution maintained by a banker. Cf. *Maharaja-vardhamāna*.
- Seta-giri* (XXXIV, 203, l. 4) = *Seta-giri*, name of a hill bordering the Nāgārjunikonda valley, mentioned as *Seta-giri* in a Nāsik inscription (*Select Inscriptions*, p. 197) in the description of the Bātavāhana king Gautamiputra Śiśakarni.
- Seṅgapatī*, 'a leader of forces', official designation of several persons; (XXXIII, 149, l. 4), of Anikī; (6B III, l. 1), of Karadaru-śumāra; (6B II, l. 1), of Rataputa.
- seṅ* (1B, l. 5) = Skt. *śeṅ*, *śeṅ*, 'a guild'.
- Sembaka-Vardhamāna* (XXXIV, 203, l. 6), 'Vardhamāna belonging to the Sembaka family or clan'.
- seṅgāṭha* (1B, l. 3) = Pali *seṅgathā*, Skt. *śeṅgathā*, 'namely'.
- śāla-maṅḍapa* (2A, ll. 7-8; 2B, ll. 9-10) = Skt. *śāla-maṅḍapa*, 'a stone-built hall'.
- Seṅgamaṅgeruka* (XXXIV, 19, l. 7), probably a person named *Māṅgeruka* of the *Seṅga* family.
- śukhita* (XXXIV, 203, l. 4) = Skt. *śukhita*, 'cleansed (i.e. renovated)'.
- Śhaṅḍagopa* (XXXIV, 19, l. 6) = *Śhaṅḍagopa*, personal name of a *Mahātalanca*.
- stambha* (7A, l. 2; XXXIV, 19, l. 10), correctly *stambha*, 'a pillar'.
- Syandaka-parvata* (4), name of a hill.
- Syandaka-parvata-śeṭhī* (4), 'a banker residing at [a place at the foot of] the Syandaka-parvata'.
- śa-virya-ūrjita-vijaya-kīrti* (XXXIV, 19, l. 4), 'one who achieved fame for victories obtained by his own prowess', epithet of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla.
- śāmi*, royal title of foreign origin, adopted by indigenous Indian rulers; (XXXIV, 22, l. 4), of the Ikshvāku king Ehoṃyula-Chāntamūla (XXXIV, 22, l. 2), of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla; (XXXIV, 23, l. 3), of the Ikshvāku king Virapurushadatta. See *śāmi*.
- śāmi* (XXXIV, 19, ll. 1, 10), suffixed to the name of the god Puṣhpabhadra otherwise called Mahādeva. See *śāmi*.
- Śura* (6B IV, l. 2), personal name of a male.
- Haladīpurushāmi* (XXVI, 120) = Skt. *śāmi*, name of a deity.
- Hārīti-patra* (XXXIV, 19, l. 8), 'son of a lady born in a family belonging to the Hārīti gotra', metonymy of the Ikshvāku prince Virapurushadatta, son of Khuvula-Chāntamūla.
- hita-sukh-āthamāyā* (XXXIII, 250, l. 3) = Skt. *hita-sukh-āthamāyā*, 'with a prayer for the welfare and happiness [of]'.
- hiraṅya-kūṭi-ga-śaṅkha-śāmi-śaṅkha-śāmi* (1A, ll. 4-5) = Skt. *hiraṅya-kūṭi-ga-śaṅkha-śāmi-śaṅkha-śāmi*, 'one who bestowed crowns of gold [coins], lakhs of cows and lakhs of plough-measures of land', epithet of the Ikshvāku king Chāntamūla.
- Hulasa-śaṅkha* (XXXIII, 149, l. 3), 'son of the fire god', epithet of the god Kumāra or Kārttikeya.
- Āśvina* (5, l. 2), abbreviation of *āśvina*, 'the winter season (Mārgaśīrṣa-tūṭī 1 to Phālguna-sudī 15)', one of the three seasons in which the official year was divided in ancient India, the two others being *grīṣma* and *varṣā*.

No. 2—KILARATTI INSCRIPTION OF CHALUKYA SOMESVARA I, SAKA 968

(1 Plate)

SIRINIVAS RAY I, OOTACAMUND

(Revised on 6.4.1969)

In the course of my epigraphical survey of the Lingugur Taluk in the Raichur District, Mysore, in September 1959, I visited a village named Kilaratti. The inscription<sup>1</sup> edited here was discovered in that village. The stone bearing the inscription is now fixed into the ceiling of the Hanuman temple outside the village. The record is engraved in twenty lines and covers a space about 3 feet 4 inches in length and 3 feet in breadth. The stone is split in the middle; but fortunately no letters are lost. The first three lines of the inscription are, however, difficult to copy owing to the presence of a big stone beam.

The characters of the epigraph are Kannada and its language is Kannada prose, except a verse in Sanskrit in lines 18-19. As regards palaeography, three different forms of the medial *u* sign are worth noticing; cf. *hu* in *⁴dindāḥittamira* (line 8), *hu* in *⁴noleḥḥiṇaḥ* (line 9) and *pu* in *⁴paxasūḥarāḥ* (line 15). The *e* sign has sometimes a peculiar form; cf. *te* and *le* in *⁴kōḥeja noleḥḥiṇaḥ* (line 9). The letter *ph* is distinguished from *p* by a loop in the left arm of *p*; cf. *⁴ḥalam=akku* (line 17). As regards orthography, notice may be made of the reduplication of certain consonant following *r*.

The date of the record is Śaka 968, Vyaya, Pushya ba. 9, Wednesday, Uttarīyāṇa, Makara-sankranti. The details regularly correspond to December 24, 1045 A.D.

The epigraph begins with the usual praśasti of the Western Chalukya kings and refers itself to the reign of Trailōkyamalla. Next is introduced the king's younger brother *Samarakamalla Kumāra Jayasimha* as administering the *Kottumbitti-agraḥāra* of Bannigola, situated in the division of Karadikal-300, from his headquarters at the fort of Pannāle. The purpose of the record is to register a grant of five *maṭṭa* of black-soil and five *maṭṭa* of red-soil land to the god Bhūḥeśvara. The grant was entrusted to Dēvasiṅgha-bhaḥāra. This portion is followed by imprecatory passages in Kannada and Sanskrit. The last line states that the record was written by *Śaḥabḥa Bannanayya*.

The inscription introduces to us the Chalukya prince Jayasimha who is described as the *prīy-ḥeḥja* (the beloved younger brother) of the ruling king Trailōkyamalla who is none else than Sōmēśvara I, the son of Jagadēkamalla Jayasimha II, since the date of the record, viz. 1045 A.D. falls in the reign of Sōmēśvara I Ahavamalla.

No inscription of a brother of Sōmēśvara I was so long known.<sup>2</sup> That, however, Sōmēśvara I had a younger brother is hinted at in a newly discovered inscription from Vāra<sup>3</sup> in the Deccan

<sup>1</sup> It is registered as No. B 494 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1959-60.

<sup>2</sup> Sōmēśvara I is known to have had two sisters, viz. *Hamā* or *Avaladēvi* married to the Sravastya prince Bhūḥama III (*Ins. Ind. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, chart facing p. 428), and *Sōmaladēvi* (*Ins. Arch. Surv.*, No. 18, Inscription No. 2).

<sup>3</sup> This inscription was copied in October 1969 by my colleague Mr. G. Bhattacharya. It is registered as No. B 218 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1969-70.

Taluk of the Nanded District, while an inscription at Mōrigōri in the Hadagali Taluk of the Bellary District, mentions the name of this brother as Jayasimha. The former, while giving a genealogical account of the family, describes Trailōkyamalla (Sōmēvara I) as the *agr-śrama*<sup>3</sup> or the elder son of Jayasimha (i.e. Jayasimha II). Similarly the Mōrigōri inscription describes Sōmēvara I as *Jayasimha-callaḥ-āgraja*, thus indicating that he had a younger brother named Jayasimha. Again a Tamil inscription from Manimangalam, belonging to the reign of the Chōla king Rājendra, while describing the famous battle of Koppam which the Chōla king fought with Sōmēvara I, mentions Jayasimha, a younger brother of the Chōluka king, among the heroes who fell in the battle.<sup>4</sup> The editor of the Manimangalam record observed, 'This prince is not mentioned in the Western Chōluka inscriptions.'<sup>5</sup> About the same prince, Prof. Nilakanta Sastri remarked, 'This could not have been the younger brother of Vikramāditya VI; he survived the battle of Koppam for many years.'<sup>6</sup> But there is no doubt now of the existence of *Samaśikamalla* *Kṛmāra* Jayasimha, the younger brother of Sōmēvara I. The reason for the absence of the name of this prince in the usual genealogy of the Chōluka family is apparently his untimely death at the battle of Koppam which is supposed to have taken place in 1053 A.D.<sup>7</sup>

The present record states that, in 1046 A.D., prince Jayasimha was governing Bannigōla from the fort of Pannāje where his paternal aunt Akkādēvi is known to have had her headquarters in 1050 A.D.<sup>8</sup> Bannigōla came to be administrated by Kēśaladēvi, queen of Sōmēvara I, in 1055 A.D.<sup>9</sup>

The geographical names mentioned in the inscription are Karāḍikal-300, Bannigōla and Pannāje. Karāḍikal, the headquarters of the division, is the present Karāḍikal about two miles away from Chhāvāṅgi the headquarters of the Lingugur Taluk. Bannigōla is the modern Baunigōl in the same Taluk. This village is described as a *Kuttuśhōṭi-agraśhāra* in the present record as well as the Bannigōl inscription referred to above. It is difficult to make out the exact import of the expression *Kuttuśhōṭi* which also occurs as *kuttu śhōṭi* in some other records. It may be suggested that this is a corrupt form of *kuśhūḍa-śhōṭi*, i.e. a holding given for the maintenance of one's family. I am unable to locate Pannāje<sup>10</sup> which was apparently somewhere near Bannigōl.

I am thankful to my colleague Mr. H. B. Gopal who kindly drew my attention to the Manimangalam record referred to above.

<sup>1</sup> *SI*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 101.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Jayasimha: Jayasimhaśaśi tal-āgr-śramajak nātra-nāḥam Trailōkyamalla* (lines 27-28).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *SI*, Vol. III, p. 60: *Chāḥakkāśaśi Jayasimhaśaśi* (line 9).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 66, note.

<sup>5</sup> *The Ollas*, p. 278, note 76.

<sup>6</sup> S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 112.

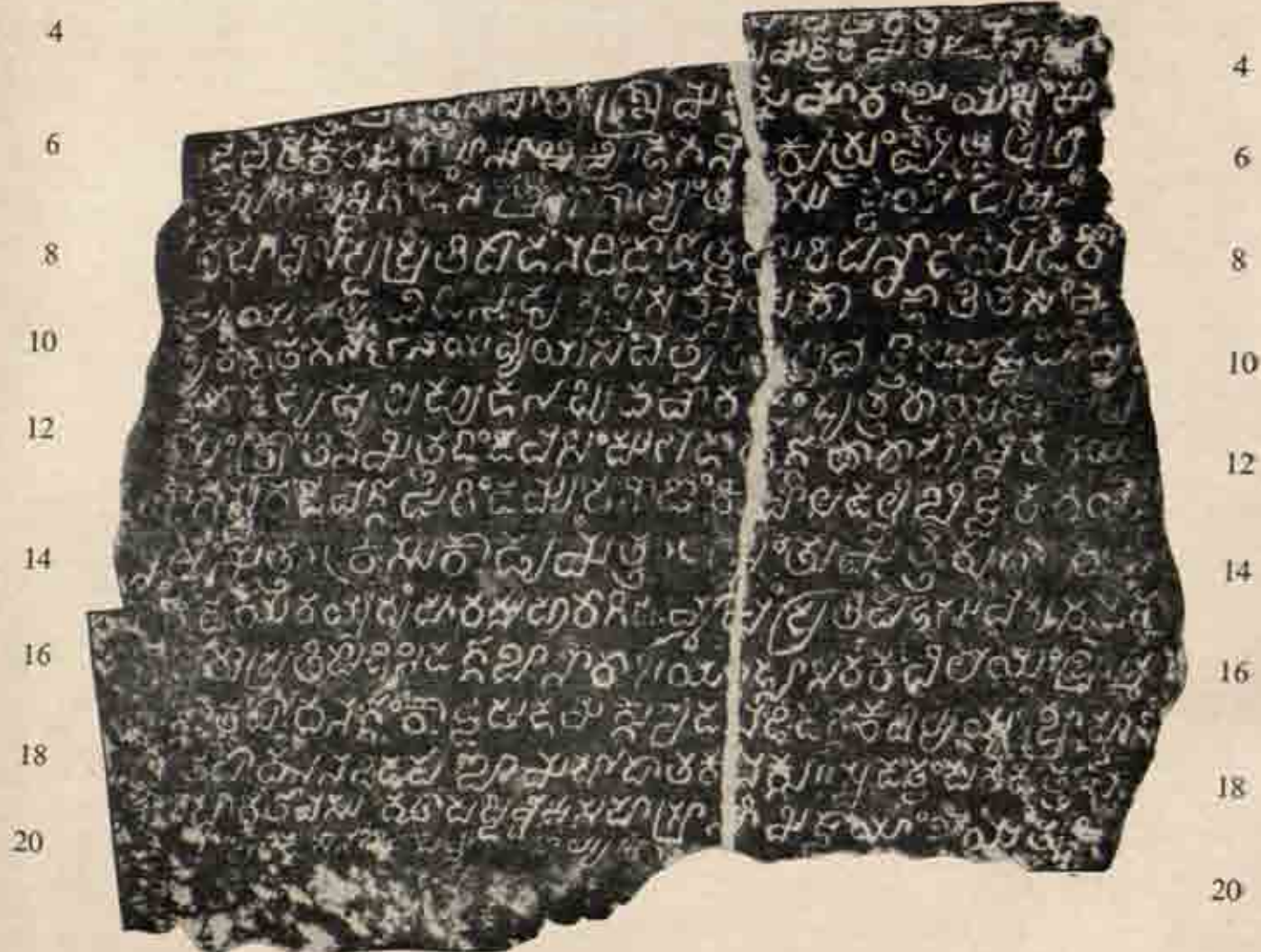
<sup>7</sup> See *SI*, Vol. XI, Part I, No. 86.

<sup>8</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1867-68, No. B 342.

<sup>9</sup> The Śūlāśaśhōṭi of Karāḍi were associated with a Pannāśa-durga or Pracūlaka-durga which was identified by Fleet with Pannāje, twelve miles to the north-west of Kollāpur (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 546, 549). An inscription from Bāḍi (above), Vol. XV, pp. 78 ff., dated Saka 972, represents Akkādēvi as governing the divisions of Kūśhūḍa-70, Tōrugura-60 and Śhāvāḍi-140, from the *śhōṭi* of Pannāśaśhōṭi. In another inscription from Kōchhālī (*SI*, Vol. XI, Part I, No. 86) dated Saka 972, the same lady is stated to have been governing the same divisions with an additional one, *viz.* Bigadaga-70, from Pannāśaśhōṭi, which is apparently the same as Pannāśaśhōṭi of the Śūlāśaśhōṭi record. Barnett, the editor of the latter record, followed Fleet in identifying Pannāśaśhōṭi. I doubt if the Pannāśaśhōṭi mentioned in our record could be identified with Pannāśa near Kollāpur, which is far away from Bannigōl.



KILARATTI INSCRIPTION OF CHALUKYA SOMESVARA I, SAKA 968



Size : One-fifth

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 .....<sup>2</sup>
- 2 .....[Chālukya-ābha]raṇam śrīma[\*]-Traiḷōkyamalladēvara vija[ya]-
- 3 [rā]jyam=uttar-ōttar-ābhivṛiddhi(vṛiddhi)-pravarddhamā[na]m=āchamdrārka-tārambaram sa-
- 4 luttamire [||\*] Ta[\*]-priy-ārujaṁ svasti-śrīmat-Samarakamalladēv.-nām-ā-
- 5 di-samasta-prasa(sa)sti-sahitāṁ śrīmat-Kumārāṁ Jāyasīngha-
- 6 dēvar Karāḍikal-mūnūṇṇa=ojagaṇa kuttumbitti-agra-
- 7 hārāṁ Bannigoḷanāṁ tribhōg-ābhyaṁtara-su(s)iddhiyīm dūaṣṭa-ni-
- 8 graha-viśi(śi)ṣṭa-pratipā[anadīnād-ā]uttamire Pannāḷeyada kō-
- 9 ṭeya nālevidīnoḷu Svasti Sa(Sa)ka-nṛpa-kāḷāṭṭa-sariva-
- 10 tsara-śatamga[||\*] 968 neya Vyaya-sarivatsaram pravarttise tad-varah-ābhyaṁ<sup>3</sup>
- 11 tarada Pushya bahuja 9 Budhavaradamd-Uttarāyana-Makha(ka)-
- 12 ra-saṁkrānti-nūnittadiṁ Dēvasīnghabhajāra[r\*]gge dhārā-pūrvvakam geydu
- 13 Bhōgēva(śva)radēva[r\*]gge ūrinda mūḍaṇa ḍoṁkivoladalli biṭṭa kariya
- 14 nelah matṭa<sup>4</sup> 5 kisa-kāḷu matṭa<sup>4</sup> 5 aṁṭa matṭaru 10 [||\*] Īdha<sup>5</sup>
- 15 Ūroḷeyar-aivarum purassaharāgi dharmavaram pratipā[isuvaru [||\*] Ī(I)dan-ā-
- 16 r-ōrvvaru pratipā[isidargge Bāṇarāsiyo[<sup>6</sup>=sāsira kavileyam brāhma-
- 17 ṇarggaṁ tapōdhanarggaṁ koṭṭa phaḷam=akku [||\*] Īdan-a[isidargge(gge) kavileyum brāhma-
- 18 ṇarum tapōdhanan<sup>7</sup>-a[ida pañcha-mahā-pātakana(v-a)kku || Sva-dattam(ttāṁ)]
- paradattam(ttāṁ) vā
- 19 yō harēta vasuṁdhārā[m |\*] śhaṣṭīr-vvarāṁ sahaerāpi mi(vi)śṭā(śṭhā)lyam jāyate kri-
- [miḥ ||]
- 20 Baredam Sēnabōvam Bammaṇṇya [||\*]

<sup>1</sup> From impressions.

<sup>2</sup> This portion has been covered by the stone beam on which the inscribed slab rests.

<sup>3</sup> The consonant is a little towards the letter rāḷ.

<sup>4</sup> Matṭa stands for Mattar.

<sup>5</sup> Read idha.

<sup>6</sup> Read Vārasāsi (Sanskrit Vārāṇasī).

<sup>7</sup> Read kavileyumam Brāhmaṇarumam tapōdhanarumam.

<sup>8</sup> This line is engraved in smaller characters.

✓ No. 3—FRAGMENTARY PILLAR INSCRIPTION FROM AMARAVATI

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 20.4.1960)

The Amarāvati (Guntur District, Andhra Pradesh) inscriptions published in Burgess's *Archaeological Survey of Southern India*, Vol. I, were generally assigned to c. second century A.D. But the characters of one of them, appearing as No. 4 on Plate LVI and recording the gift of a pillar by a general named Mudakataia, were rightly regarded as of the Mauryan type and it was observed on the strength of this evidence that 'though, in the second century, vast additions, if not almost entire reconstruction, were effected, the great *Chaitya* (i.e. the one at Amarāvati) dates originally from perhaps about 200 B.C.' A number of such early inscriptions were unearthed in the course of later excavations at Amarāvati along with some records of later dates and, while publishing them in the pages of this journal, Vol. XV, pp. 258 ff., R.P. Chanda thus observed on the palaeography of the earliest group of them: 'all the signs from the ancient Brāhmī epigraphs from Amarāvati agree with the southern variety of the Aśoka alphabet.'<sup>1</sup> Recently more such inscriptions, along with some of later dates, have been traced or dug up at Amarāvati and these are being noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1959-60. The most important among these epigraphs is a fragmentary record on the side face of a sand stone alab apparently cut out from an inscribed pillar of the Aśokan type probably for the purpose of using it as a stepping stone. It is stated to have been a surface find and was traced in the house of an inhabitant of the area near the great *Stūpa* at Amarāvati. This inscription is edited in the following lines.

The inscribed side of the slab measures about 10 inches in length and 17 inches in height. The fragmentary inscription contains only seven lines of writing and the maximum number of letters in a line of the extant writing is seven in line 5. The first few letters of line 6 and all the letters in line 7 are damaged. A number of letters are apparently lost both at the beginning and at the end of each of the lines. There is some trace of the original 'Mauryan polish' on the inscribed face of the slab, none of the other sides representing the surface of the pillar on which the inscription was originally incised. The Brāhmī characters and Prakrit language, in which the record is written, resemble those of some of the inscriptions of Aśoka discovered in Western and Southern India, especially the Rock Edicts at Girnar. As regards palaeography, it may be observed that the letter *r* is not of the cork-screw but of the straight-vertical type while the right limb of *ka* is fashioned by a single vertical line and not by three strokes. The orthography of the inscription is characterized by the use of both *r* and *l*. Although the contents of the fragmentary inscription do not exactly tally with those of any of the known edicts of Aśoka, as will be seen below, the record certainly looks like an as yet unknown pillar edict of the Maurya king Aśoka (c. 269-232 B.C.). If its ascription to the Maurya king is justified, the record under study is the first pillar inscription of Aśoka so far discovered in South India.

<sup>1</sup> Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in this paper.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 260.

It is generally believed that the Aśokan pillars were made at a quarry near Chunar in the Mirzapur District, U.P., and were transported to different places, some of them hundreds of miles away.<sup>1</sup> Historians have praised the ingenuity of the Mauryan engineers and craftsmen for the carriage of such unwieldy masses to great distances especially in view of the extreme difficulty of the conveyance of the Aśokan pillars from Topra in the Punjab and Meerut or U.P. to Delhi and their re-erection there, which is known to have been experienced by the engineers of Sulṭān Firūz Tughluq (1351-88 A.D.) of Delhi and is vividly described by Shams-i-Sirāj.<sup>2</sup> The surprise of scholars would no doubt be even greater if Aśoka's artisans were really responsible for transporting one of the pillars from Chunar to Amaravati, a distance of nearly a thousand miles across rivers, forests and mountains.<sup>3</sup>

In the first line of the inscription, we can read *para(r)ta(tro) abh(i)* which is followed by a damaged *s* so that the second word may be *abhāsita*. Both these words, viz. *paratra*, 'in the future world', and *abhāsita* (Sanskrit *abhāṣita*, 'awarded'), are often found in the inscriptions of Aśoka, although not both together in the same sentence. Since it is difficult to accommodate the ideas expressed by the two words in the same context, we may suggest a fullstop between them. The most important linguistic and palaeographical feature of this line of writing is probably noticed in the word *paratra* in which *tra* appears to be written as *ra*. Both these features are found in the language and palaeography of the Girnar edicts of Aśoka and have not yet been noticed elsewhere.<sup>4</sup>

The second line reads *[dha] kha khaṭe [ma]* in which *dha* seems to be the second letter of *idha* so that the words of the sentence stand for Sanskrit *idha khaṭe likhitaṃ mayā*, 'indeed [it] has been written here by me'. The style of the sentence is no doubt clearly Aśokan and all the four words are found in Aśoka's edicts. It is also well known that the fact of writing down the edicts and getting them inscribed on stone (i.e. rocks and pillars) is often referred to in the known edicts of Aśoka. The word *idha* (Sanskrit *khaṭe*) is quite common in Aśoka's records,<sup>5</sup> but is rare in other Prakrit inscriptions. The word *idha* occurs several times in the Girnar Rock Edicts (e.g. I, line 2; VI, line 12; XIII, lines 8 and 9) and once in Rock Edict IV at Dhauli.

The third line has *jano bahuni*, 'the people . . . many . . .', and both the words *jano* and *bahū* are found many times in the records of Aśoka. The form *jano* in masc. nom. sing. occurs in Girnar, VII, line 2; IX, lines 1 and 2; X, line 1; XIII, line 5; XIV, line 4; and also in Shahbazgarhi VII, line 3; IX, line 18; XIII, line 6. The other word appears in the forms *bahuni* and *bahūni* in most versions of the edicts of Aśoka.

Line 4 has *amucyante* or followed by a damaged letter which may probably be read as *[me]*. This would stand in Sanskrit as *amucyante tat mayā*, '[They] regret. Therefore . . . by me.' The verb *amucy* may also stand for Sanskrit *amūṣya*, 'to hear repeatedly as from a sacred authority'. In that case, *amucyante tat mayā* would mean '[The texts] are, therefore, heard

<sup>1</sup> D. R. Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, 1922, pp. 214-15. As is well known, the pillar inscriptions of Aśoka have been found at the following places: (1) Delhi (originally from Topra in the Ambala District, East Punjab), (2) Delhi (originally from Meerut, U.P.), (3) Allahabad (originally from Kosam in the Allahabad District, U.P.), (4-6) Ra-dhah (Lauriya Arara), Mathis (Lauriya Navandgarh or Nandangarh) and Rampurva, all three in the Champaran District, North Bihar; (7-8) Humnadi and Nigalagar in the Nepales Tarai; (9) Sarnath near Banaras, U.P., and (10) Sanchi near Bhubaneswar, M.P.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. III, p. 350.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. A. Ghosh, Director General of Archaeology in India, informs us that the pillar is of fine-grained quartzite (metamorphosed sandstone) of the Nallamalai range and not Chunar sandstone.

<sup>4</sup> See *pāru(r)itāya* in Girnar, X, line 3, which is found in Aśoka's other records as *pāru(r)itāya* (Dhauli, Jaogada and Erragudi), *pāru(r)itāya* (Eshi) and *paruritāya* (Shahbazgarhi and Massehra).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Girnar, IX, lines 2 and 7; X, line 4; Kalsi, IX, line 23; X, line 28; XIII, line 14; Shahbazgarhi, VI, line 16; IX, line 18; X, line 22; XIII, line 11; Massehra, VII, line 32; IX, lines 3 and 4; X, line 11; Dhauli, IX, line 2; Jaogada, IX, lines 2, 3 and 5; Pillar Edicts (Topra), I, line 5; III, line 19; VII, line 30; Sarnath, line 2; Calcutta-Bairat, line 2; Brahmagiri, lines 2 and 4; Siddhapura, lines 5, 6 and 9; Jaljaga-Ramesvara, line 4.



by me repeatedly.' If there is really any reference to religious texts, they may of course be the *dharma paryāyas* enumerated in the Calcutta Bairat Minor Rock Edict.<sup>1</sup> This would then show that the inscription under study is almost certainly an Asokan edict. Whatever, however, may be the interpretation of the passage, it is in perfect Asokan style, though the word *amāyayanti* is not found in the inscriptions of Asoka so far discovered.

Line 5 has *va chhijiti vijaye* (Sanskrit . . . *chhijate vijaye*), in which *chhijiti* means 'is broken or cut or destroyed' and *vijaye*, 'in conquest', i.e. 'when one gets a victory [in a battle or war]'. The word *vijaye* may also be regarded as standing for Sanskrit *vijayaś* masc. nom. sing. instead of *mase*, loc. sing. This word reminds us of the concluding part of Rock Edict XIII wherein Asoka denounces the conquest of peoples by arms and applauds the conquest of their hearts through *Dharma* and wherein the word *vijaya* occurs several times. The word *chhijiti*, however, is not noticed in the known inscriptions of Asoka.

The extant *alsharas* of line 6 are [*pi cā*] *mama(m) pi* (Sanskrit *api cā mama api*, 'and then again of myself also'). The last three *alsharas* may also be read as *su(ś)u=api*, 'me too', but this is less likely since, in that sense, *mama pi* would probably be the proper expression in an inscription of Asoka (cf. *wasā* for Sanskrit *vāsam* in Pillar Edict VI). The first three letters of line 7 look like *pi ato* probably standing for Sanskrit *api atra*, 'too . . . there'.

As already indicated above, the language of the inscription closely resembles that of the Girnar version of Asoka's Rock Edicts. In this connection, we may note the retention of *va* in *para(i)ta(ta)* without changing it to *la* and the form *jama* in *mase*, nom. sing. *Vijaye*, whether it is *mase*, nom. sing. or *mase*, loc. sing., would also suit the Girnar dialect. As regards *me*, the Girnar edicts have both *mama* and *me* as gen. sing. and *maga* as inst. sing., though the Minor Rock Edicts in Mysore have both *maga* and *me* as inst. sing. and *me* also as gen. sing. Considering the fragmentary nature of the line, it is not impossible to regard *me* in line 2 as gen. sing.

We have seen that the palaeography and language of the inscription under study do not go against its ascription to the Maurya emperor Asoka and that, on the other hand, its style seems to be perfectly Asokan while its contents remind us of those of some of the known edicts of Asoka. The ideas suggested by the words of the inscription are similar to those peculiar to the records of Asoka and have not yet been noticed in any other inscription. The use of the First Person singular is also rare in royal records excepting those of Asoka. These facts, when considered along with others that the inscription was engraved on a sand stone pillar like those of Asoka, that the pillar bore the so-called Mauryan polish and that the record has to be assigned to the Maurya age on grounds of palaeography, indeed make it very probable that the epigraph belongs to Asoka who alone is known to have raised numerous inscribed pillars of the same type in various localities of his vast empire. The great *Stūpa* at Amarāvati then seems to have been built not about 200 B.C. as suggested by Burgess but by Asoka about half a century earlier.

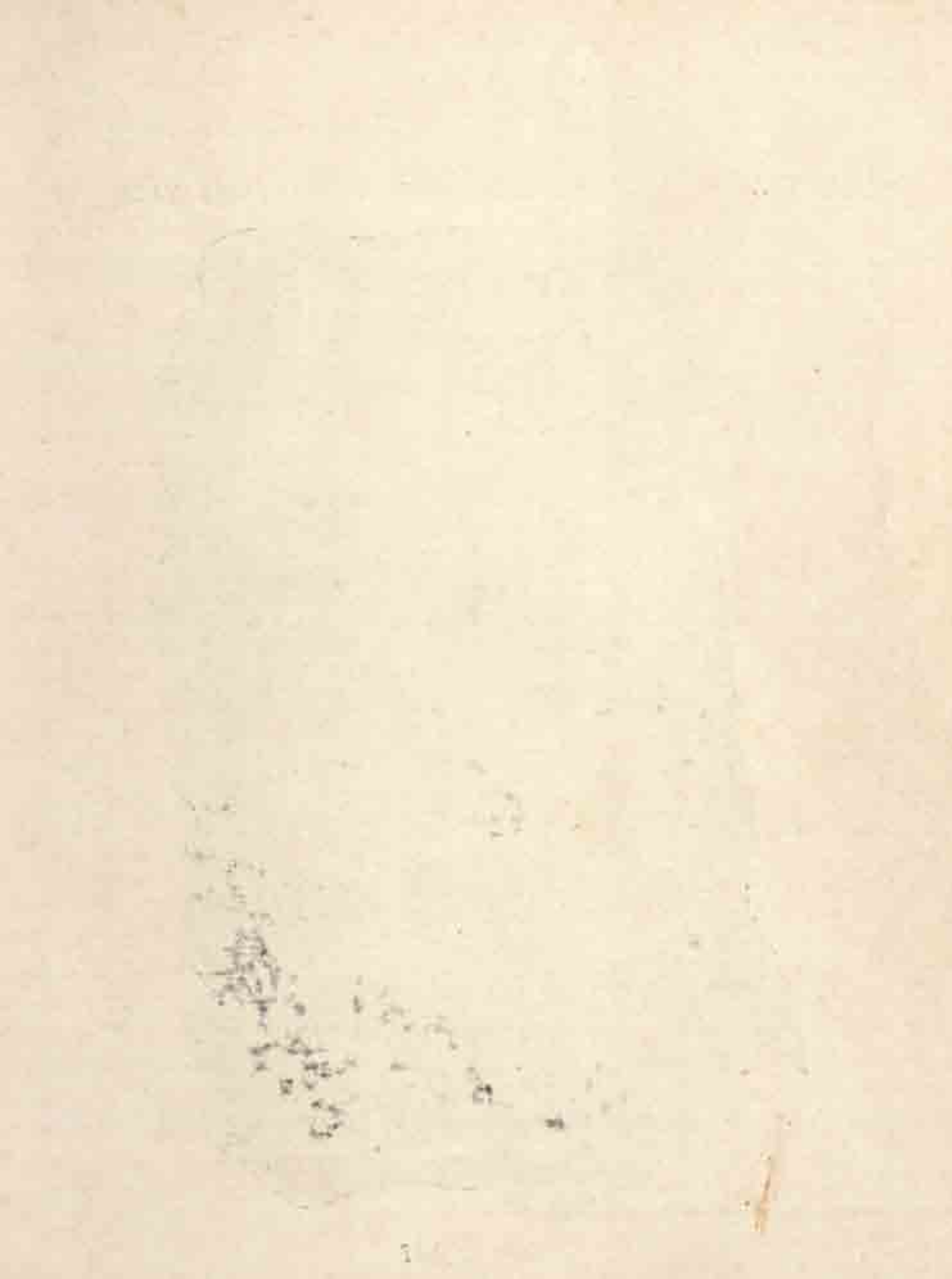
This is in consonance with the Buddhist tradition that the said Maurya emperor built no less than eighty-four thousand *Stūpas* throughout his empire.<sup>2</sup> The Chinese pilgrim Hsuen-tsang, who travelled in India in the first half of the seventh century A.D., says that he found a *Stūpa* built by Asoka as far south as Kāñchīpura near Madras.<sup>3</sup> Hsuen-tsang also visited the headquarters of the country called T'e-na-ka-che-ka (i.e. Dhānyakataka, i.e. Dharaṅgikota near Amarāvati) or Ta-An-to-lo (i.e. Great Amūtra).<sup>4</sup> He does not speak of any Asoka *Stūpa* there, though he

<sup>1</sup> *CH*, Vol. 3, pp. 172 f.

<sup>2</sup> Smith, *Early History of India*, 1924, p. 172.

<sup>3</sup> *Watters, On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 228.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 214, 216; Cunningham, *Geography of Ancient India*, p. 622. Hsuen-tsang places the *Pura-villa* and *Aprakāśa* to the east and west of the capital of the country.



FRAGMENTARY PILLAR INSCRIPTION FROM AMARAVATI



Size : One-half

refers to one *Asoka Stūpa* at Ping-k'i-lo (probably Ping-k'i-pu-lo, i.e. Veṅgīpura), the capital of the neighbouring An-to-lo or Andhra country, and another at the capital of the Ch'u-li-ya country, i.e. the territory of the Telugu-Cholas.<sup>1</sup> But the silence of the Chinese pilgrim regarding the existence of a *Stūpa* built by *Asoka* at Dhānyakataka or Amarāvati cannot of course be regarded as definitely proving that none actually existed there. The present inscription seems to suggest that the Amarāvati *Stūpa* was built by *Asoka* about the middle of the third century B.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 para[?]ta(tra) [i\*] abl[ina]<sup>2</sup>
- 2 [dha]<sup>3</sup> kha bhāṣita [in]<sup>4</sup>
- 3 jano<sup>5</sup> bahūni<sup>6</sup>
- 4 anusayanti [i\*] sa<sup>7</sup>
- 5 ra bhijiti vijaye<sup>8</sup>
- 6 [pi cha] mam[e]<sup>9</sup> pi
- 7 [pi tata tā]

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 209, 224. The pilgrim saw an *Asoka Stūpa* at the capital of Kalinga, probably at Kalīngasgara, modern Mukhalīngam near Srikakulam (*Ibid.*, p. 198), but may not have visited Sālikhoḍām, in the Srikakulam District, where also there was probably a *Stūpa* built by *Asoka* according to an early tradition (above, Vol. XXXI, p. 88, note 2).

<sup>2</sup> From impressions.

<sup>3</sup> The intended word may be *adhivāta*.

<sup>4</sup> The intended word may be *idha*.

<sup>5</sup> Above this word, there are traces looking like the *asāhara* *vara*. It is difficult to say whether they were actually inscribed or are more marks on the stone.

<sup>6</sup> The *asāhara* after *sa* is unrecognisable.

<sup>7</sup> The *asāhara* following *sa*, which was endowed with an *e-mātrā*, is unrecognisable, but may be *sa*.

<sup>8</sup> The *asāhara* following *ya* is unrecognisable.

<sup>9</sup> Read *mama*. The reading of the last three *asāhara* may also be *va[d]mama*; but, as indicated above, that is less likely.

## No. 4—THREE EARLY MEDIEVAL INSCRIPTIONS

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 4.1.1960)

### 1. Kabul Inscription of Shāhi Khingāla

In May 1956, the Government of India sent an Archaeological Delegation for exploration in Afghanistan. Cyclostyled copies of the Preliminary Report of the Delegation (with printed Plates), by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran and Dr. Y. D. Sharma, both officers of the Department of Archaeology, were distributed among the members of the Archaeological Advisory Board meeting at New Delhi in September 1956. This Report contains the notice of an interesting inscription.

The members of the Delegation learnt at Kabul that a marble image of Gaṇeśa had been discovered some years ago somewhere at **Gardex** (famous for its fortress called Bala Hisar) about 70 miles to the south of Kabul and that the image was later removed to **Kabul** where it was being worshipped by the Hindu residents of the city at **Dargah Pir Ratan Nāth** near the Panir (cinema). At Gardex, however, the local people could not confirm the story of the discovery of the image at that place. The image under worship at Dargah Pir Ratan Nāth measures 28 inches in height and 14 inches in breadth. There is an inscription in two lines on its base. A photograph of the inscribed image appears in the Report, Plate II, A. Unfortunately the Delegation did not bring any inked impression of the record. The image has also been recently illustrated by Prof. G. Tucci in his article entitled 'Preliminary Report on an Archaeological Survey in Swat' appearing in the *East and West*, Vol. 9, No. 4, December 1958, pp. 276-283, figure 40 (at p. 323). The Report of Ramachandran and Sharma contains a Roman transcript (without diacritical marks) and a translation of the epigraph. Tucci also quotes the epigraphic text, as read by him on the basis of a photograph of the image, in footnote 29 (at pp. 327-28) of his article. But neither of the published transcripts of the inscription is free from errors. We edit the epigraph in the following pages from the photograph in the Report of Ramachandran and Sharma.

The characters of the Kabul Gaṇeśa image inscription belong to the North Indian (Siddha-mātpikā) alphabet of the sixth or seventh century A. D. That it is not much later than the middle of the seventh century is clear from the use of the tripartite form of the letter *g*. The latest occurrence of this form of the said letter has been noticed in Eastern India in such early seventh century inscriptions as the Patialkella plate<sup>1</sup> of Śambhuyaśas, dated 602 A. D., and the Dubi plates<sup>2</sup> of Bhāskaravarman (c. 600-50 A. D.), while in the Rajasthan area of Western India it is also found rarely in the late seventh century epigraphs like the Dhulev plate<sup>3</sup> of Bhāṭṭi dated in the Haraha year 73 corresponding to 679 A. D. The number 13 has been written in the inscription with the symbols for 10 and 3. In some cases (cf. *shāhi-pādaiḥ* in line 2), the letter *h* looks like *hā*. The language of our record is Sanskrit although there are a few errors of *rasamār* and orthography in the text.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IX, Plate between pp. 286 and 287.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 287 ff. and Plates.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Plate facing p. 4.

The inscription begins with a *siddham* symbol followed by a sentence, at the end of which there is a floral design indicating the completion of the writing. The sentence states that [an image of] Mahā-Vināyaka was installed by *Paramabhāṭṭārūka Mahārājādhirāja Shāhi Khīngāla* on the thirteenth of the bright half of the month of Jyēshṭha in the year 8, apparently of the Shāhi king's reign, when the constellation was Viśākha and the *lagna* Sīrha. In the passage *saṃtatsurē ash[ataśā] sash 8* in line 1, Ramchandran and Sharma read *mahā*<sup>8</sup> for *sash 8*. In the same line, the word *tūhan*, read by them as well as by Tucci, looks on the photograph as *tlau* (which has of course to be corrected to *tūhan*) while the word read as *ritri[ka]hē* looks on the photograph as *jū[ri]kshē*. The word at the end of line 1 and the beginning of line 2 has been read by Ramchandran and Sharma as *chitra-[ka]ma*, of which Tucci reads only the first *akshara*. But, in the photograph, the word looks more like *chitra[ka]m*. The passage "*idam Mahā-Vināyaka* in line 2 requires to be corrected to "*idam Mahā-Vināyaka-bimbam*."

More important than all these is, however, the last passage containing the Shāhi king's name which Ramchandran and Sharma read as "*Khīngālaish khyāta-shāhi-padaish* (with the addition of diacritical marks) and Tucci as "*Khīngal-ōtyāna-shāhi-padaish* [k]. In regard to his reading, Tucci observes, "I am not absolutely sure about the reading *ōtyāna*; it could also be *ōdyāna* or *ōyāna* . . . . . A good rubbing can settle the point. If the reading is confirmed, we have here the first mention of a king of Udyāna, Uddyāna (i. e. the Swat valley)." The name of the king is, however, *Khīngāla* and not *Khīngala*, while the vowel-mark with the letter *l* is clearly *au* and neither *a* as read by Ramchandran and Sharma (who wrongly read a *visarga* after *lai*) nor *ā* as read by Tucci. Outside this passage, the letter *w* occurs only once in *Mahā-Vināyaka* while *l* occurs several times. In *w* in this case, both the left and right lower limbs are shorter than those of *l*. If this is a purposeful distinction made by the engraver, we should better read the two *aksharas* following *law* as *tyāta*, though the readings *nyāna*, *nyāta* and *tyāna* cannot be regarded as altogether impossible, since, as indicated above, the distinction between the letters *bh* and *h* is not clearly indicated by the engraver of the record. In any case, the readings *khyāta*, *dyāna* or *ōyāna* are not supported by the photograph. As regards Tucci's suggestion that the king might have been a Shāhi ruler of Udyāna (*Udyāna-shāhi*), it is doubtful whether the Shāhis of Swat, if any Shāhi house actually ruled there, can be regarded as in occupation of the Gardēz region within the dominions of the Shāhis of Kapiśā or Kabul since, in the period in question, the latter were probably the strongest amongst the Shāhi houses, although it may of course be conjectured that the image in question was carried to Gardēz from the Swat valley.

In the second quarter of the seventh century A. D., when the Chinese pilgrim Hsuen-tsang was passing through Uttarāpatha or the north-western division of Bhāratavaraha, the emperor of Kapiśā which then dominated over ten neighbouring States and comprised Lampāka (Laghman), Nagara or Nagarāhāra (Jallābāul), Gandhāra (the Peshawar region)<sup>1</sup> and probably also Jāguḍa (Southern Afghanistan with Ghazni as the chief city), had a residence (i. e. a secondary capital) at Udabhāṇḍa or Udabhāṇḍapura (modern Und near Attock).<sup>2</sup> It appears that under the pressure of the Turks and Chinese from the north and the Arāks from the south and west, the Shāhi kings of Kapiśā left the western provinces of their empire in the hands of viceroys and gradually made Udabhāṇḍa their main seat. This is suggested by the Arabic work *Hudūdul Alam* (982-83 A. D.) and Kalhāna's *Rājatarānginī* (c. 1150 A. D.)<sup>3</sup> which mention the said city as the capital of the Shāhi emperors. While Hsuen-tsang mentions Udabhāṇḍa as the residence of the king of Kapiśā about

<sup>1</sup> The Takshāśilā region about the Rawalpindi District had been formerly subject to Kapiśā but was at Hsuen-tsang's time a dependency of Kashmir (Watters, *Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. I, p. 240).

<sup>2</sup> *Ray, DHNS*, Vol. I, pp. 60-61; *Beal, The Life of Hsuen-tsang*, p. 192.

<sup>3</sup> *Proc. IHC*, 1929, p. 670; *Rājatar.*, V, 155.

the middle of the seventh century. Kalhana speaks of it as the capital of the Shāhis since the time of Lalliya Shāhi (c. 575-90 A. D.).<sup>1</sup> He further mentions Lalliya's kingdom as lying between the lands of the Darādā (i.e. Dardistan) and the Turushkas (Turks).<sup>2</sup>

The name of Shāhi Khingūla reminds us of Khinikhila *alias* Narāndrāditya mentioned as an ancient king of Kashmir and as a successor of Mihirakula, apparently the Hūna king of that name who ruled in c. 510-35 A. D., in Kalhana's *Rājatarangīnī*.<sup>3</sup> There are some copper coins with the legend *Khingi*<sup>4</sup> (the fuller form may have been *Khingūla*) while another coin is known to bear the legend *Dēva-Shāhi-Khingūla*.<sup>5</sup> It is difficult to say whether Khingūla of our inscription is identical with Khingūla of the coins and Khinikhila of the Kashmir chronicle. His identification with Khinikhila Narāndrāditya would, however, suggest that, at the time of the ruler in question, Kashmir formed a part of the Shāhi empire.

The names of the following Shāhi kings have been recently revealed by the Gilgit manuscripts: (1) Paṭolādēva-shāhi Vajrāditya Nandin; (2) Śrī-Dēva-Shāhi Surēndravikramāditya Nanda (Nandin) who seems to have had a queen named Śamidēvi Trailōkyadēvi; and (3) *Shāhā-nushāhi* Paṭōia-shāhi Śrī-nava-Surēndrāditya Nandādēva who had a queen named Anahgadēvi and is apparently identical with *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramīśvara* Paṭōia-shāhi Śrī-nava-Surēndrāditya Nandādēva claiming descent from the Bhāgadattā family and mentioned in the Hatun inscription.<sup>6</sup> These Shāhis, who probably ruled about the seventh century A. D., have been supposed to have ruled over the Darād country in the upper valley of the Kishenganga. Their names, in which several names have been clubbed together, are interesting in view of the double name of the king mentioned in our record. *Ōyāta-shāhi* seems to be a second name of Shāhi Khingūla and is probably not connected with the territory over which he ruled.

The image of Gaṇeśa, called Mahā-Vināyaka in the inscription, represents the deity as standing in the *ālīṅha* pose. His limbs are muscular. The trunk, which was turned to the left, is broken. The tusk, indicated on the left, is also broken. He has a close-fitting coronet on the head and a close-fitting necklace on the neck. The ears look like foliage. There were four hands, all of which are broken. The god has a snake as his *gajā-ōparīta* and his under garment is decorated with a lion's or tiger's head and claws apparently to satisfy the prescription that Vināyaka's cloth should be the tiger's skin.<sup>7</sup> The image is characterised by the god's usual pot-belly (*śamb-ōḍara*) and also the *ūrdhva-mōḍhra*. It is difficult to say whether the image represents a Brahmanical or a Buddhist deity.

The elephant-headed god Gaṇeśa or Vināyaka is a non-Aryan divinity adopted in the Brahmanical pantheon not much earlier than the third or fourth century A. D.<sup>8</sup> The earliest images of the deity are supposed to be those found in the Sankisa mound (Etah District, U. P.) and Bhumārā (Saima District, Madhya Pradesh), both of about the fifth century A. D., while its representation on a terracotta bas-relief from Akra (Bannu District, West Pakistan) is also assigned to the same age.<sup>9</sup> The discovery of the Akra bas-relief and the image bearing the inscription under study points to the popularity of the god in the Uttarāpatha division of Bhāratavārha not long after he was adopted in the Brahmanical pantheon.

<sup>1</sup> Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, p. 235.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 155.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. I, 264; Stein's trans., Vol. I, verse 247, note 197.

<sup>4</sup> Smith, *Catalogue of Coins*, pp. 265, 267.

<sup>5</sup> Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians*, 1893, pp. 97, 110, Plate VII, No. 11.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 239.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Ind. Coll.*, Vol. IX, p. 124.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XIX, p. 14, note 7; Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, pp. 206-07.

<sup>9</sup> A. Getty, *Gandhāra*, p. 20.

THREE EARLY MEDIEVAL INSCRIPTIONS—PLATE I

1. Kabul Inscription of Shani Khingala



(from Photograph)



2. Sitabhinji Inscription of Disabhanja

A



(from Photograph)

B

Eye copy

ଅମର ନାମ ସର୍ବଭୟା

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 [Siddham]<sup>2</sup> [||]<sup>3</sup> Sa[ri]vatsarē-ashtatamē<sup>4</sup> sarī 8 Jyēshtha-māsa-śukla-pakṣa-tilau(thau) ttrayōdaśyām śu-di 10 3 ji(ri)k[sh]ā Viśākṣā śubhō Sīm[hō] ch[ī]traka]<sup>5</sup>
- 2 [m] mahat pratishṭhāpitam-īdam Mahā-Vināyaka<sup>6</sup> paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājāthirāja-śrī-Shāhi-Khīngāl-Autyāta<sup>7</sup>-shāhi-pādai[h]

## TRANSLATION

May it be well! In the eighth year—year 8, on the thirteenth tithi of the bright half of the month of Jyēshtha—bright day 13, in the constellation Viśākṣa (and) the auspicious Sīmha (Iagna), this lovely (and) big (image of) Mahā-Vināyaka has been installed by<sup>8</sup> the illustrious Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājāthirāja Shāhi Khīngāla (alias) Ōtyāta-shāhi.

## 2. Sitābhīṅgi Inscription of Diśābhaṅja

Sometime ago an interesting tempera painting was found in a rock shelter called Bāvana-śhāyā in the village of Sitābhīṅgi in the Keonjhar District of Orissa. It depicts a king on the back of an elephant who is in a procession and is preceded by footmen, a horseman and a dancing woman and followed by a female attendant. There is a painted label in one line giving the name of the king as Diśābhaṅja. This painted record was published in the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. XIX, pp. 191 ff. and Plate, by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran who assigns its characters to 'about the 4th century A.D.'<sup>9</sup> While writing on the Bhaṅjas of Khīṅjāl-maṅḍala, we pointed out that the characters of the inscription belong to the Kālīṅga script (an admixture of the Northern and Southern alphabets) generally found in the copper-plate inscriptions of the Ganjam region, which are assignable to dates between the eighth and eleventh centuries A.D., and also raised the question whether Diśābhaṅja of the Sitābhīṅgi inscription could be identified with Diśābhaṅja alias Diśābhaṅja who was a son of Raḡabhaṅja ruling over Khīṅjāl-maṅḍala from Dhritipura and flourished about the third quarter of the tenth century A.D.<sup>10</sup>

Recently Dr. R. C. Majumdar has observed that 'the characters of the short record at Sitābhīṅgi can by no means be regarded as later than those of the charters of the early kings of Kālīṅga who have been unanimously referred to the fifth century A.D.' and that 'Diśābhaṅja of Sitābhīṅgi may justly be regarded as the earliest Bhaṅja king who flourished in the fourth or fifth century A.D.'<sup>11</sup> In our opinion, however, this view regarding the date of the Sitābhīṅgi

<sup>1</sup> From a photograph.

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

<sup>3</sup> Read *arhām*.

<sup>4</sup> The *ā*skara *ā* is broken away. The reading of the word as *chāra-karṣma* may not be impossible.

<sup>5</sup> Read *gān-śhāntam*.

<sup>6</sup> As indicated above, the letters read as *l* may be a *ś* also.

<sup>7</sup> There is a floral design after this.

<sup>8</sup> Literally, 'by the feet of'. The word *pāda* is used in the original in an honorific sense.

<sup>9</sup> See also *JNSI*, Vol. XIII, p. 69. For the painting, see Ramachandran's paper in *Artibus Asiae*, No. XIV,

1951, pp. 5-25.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *IHQ*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 227-28; above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 275 and note 2.

<sup>11</sup> *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, pp. 72-74.

inscription is based on a misunderstanding on the evidence of its palaeography which is certainly not much earlier than the eighth century A.D. Ramachandran and Majumdar have been apparently influenced by the fact that the letters *j* and *ś* (one of the two types) as used in the record are found in North Indian inscriptions of the Gupta age. But it has unfortunately been overlooked that the same forms of the letters are also noticed in the inscriptions of the Kalinga area, which belong to the 7th century and later. It has also been overlooked that the palaeography of some of the letters and signs used in the record is decidedly later than the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.

The inscription reads: *Māhārāja-īri-Diśābhāṣya*. The first word is not *Māhārāja* as read by Ramachandran. It may be pointed out at the outset that the word *māhārāja* is an Oriya corruption of Sanskrit *mahārāja*, which is not expected in an inscription of so early a date as the fourth or fifth century A.D.

The letter *m* in *mā* is of the Telugu-Kannada type. It has resemblance with the form of the letter sometimes occurring in mid-seventh century records like the Nelkunda grant<sup>1</sup> of Abbina-vāditya and the Ammalapadu plates<sup>2</sup> of Vikramāditya I. It may also be compared with the form of *m* in Dēvēndravarmān's plates of the Gaṅga year 183 (c. 680 A.D.) and the Parlakimedi plates of Vajrahasta (tenth or eleventh century A.D.).<sup>3</sup> The long curve of the *ā-mā* is not expected in records of the fourth or fifth century A.D. On the other hand, it is apparently later than the shorter form of the same sign in the mid-seventh century records referred to above.

The right limb of *ā* in *mā* has a downward knot in the middle, its end being considerably curved below, although the left limb of the letter is straight. This form of the letter is not expected in any epigraph of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D. but can be compared with *ā* in \**Ā-dhara* in line 6, *mahārājā* in line 13 and *mā* in line 33 of the Pattali grant of the year 333 (c. 810 A.D.).<sup>4</sup> It may also be compared with the early Grantha *ā* as found in the Kuram plates of Pallava Paramēśvaravarman I (c. 670-700 A.D.) and the Kasakudi plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla (c. 731-96 A.D.).<sup>5</sup>

The letter *r* in *rā* has an *u-mā* like curve attached to its lower end, which is not expected in Brāhmī inscriptions since its analogue is noticed only in the Siddhamātrikā stage of the northern alphabet. The lower part of *r* in the Sitābhīrji epigraph reminds us of the corresponding part of the letter in records like the Morbi plates of 904 A.D.<sup>6</sup>

As regards the English E type of *j*, which is found in early North Indian inscriptions, it has to be noticed that the same form of the letter also occurs in early medieval Southern records like the Andhavarān plates<sup>7</sup> of the year 316 (c. 713 A.D.), the Russelkonda plates<sup>8</sup> of Nēttabhāṣya

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. XXXII, Plate between pp. 216 and 217 (cf. *paramādhara* in line 23; also *mā* in line 12, *māhārāja* in line 20).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. Plate between pp. 182 and 183 (cf. *mā* in line 3, *mā* in line 4, *paramādhara* in line 23, etc.).

<sup>3</sup> See Ojha, *Bhāratīya Prākṛite Lipinā*, Plate LVII, a; Plate LIX (the third one of the forms).

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXXII, Plate between pages 204 and 205. Cf. also *ā* in *ā* in line 2 of the Svalpaveṅra grant (ibid., Vol. XXIV, Plate facing p. 126) which is not earlier than the ninth century.

<sup>5</sup> Ojha, op. cit., Plate III, c; Plate LIII, b. See also *ā* in *māhārāja* in line 12 of the Galavalli Plates of 890 A.D. (above, Vol. XXXI, Plate opposite p. 190).

<sup>6</sup> See Ojha, op. cit., Plate XXIV.

<sup>7</sup> See above, Vol. XXXI, Plate facing p. 200 (*janita* in line 6, *jyāṣṭha* in line 12 and *jula* in line 21).

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, Plate between pp. 262 and 263 (*jāyāyama* in line 4, *rājaputra* in line 18, etc.).

(eighth or ninth century A.D.), the Pattali grant<sup>1</sup> of c. 810 A.D. and the Kalahandi plates of the year 383 (c. 880 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> It is also noticed in the Svalpavelura grant<sup>3</sup> which is not earlier than the ninth century A.D.

The letter *ś* in *śvī* has the peculiar Telugu-Kannaḍa form not expected in records of the fourth or fifth century A.D. It resembles the form of the letter as found in the Pattali grant of c. 810 A.D.,<sup>4</sup> the Gaiavalli plates of c. 890 A.D.<sup>5</sup> and the Parlakimedi plates of the tenth or eleventh century A.D.<sup>6</sup> The same type of *ś* also occurs in many other records such as the Gautami plates<sup>7</sup> of Indravarman which have been assigned to the eighth century A.D.

*D* in *dī* is of the North Indian (Siddhamātrikā) type endowed with a tail which is not found with the letter before the sixth century A.D. The longish *i-mātrā* found with the letter is also too early for the fourth or fifth century A.D.

*Ṣ* in *ṣā* is found in early North Indian records like the Allahabad pillar inscription<sup>8</sup> of Samudragupta (c. 340-76 A.D.). But it has to be noticed that it is found also in early medieval inscriptions of the east coast such as those of the Śailōdbhava king Dharmarāja (close of the 7th century A.D.),<sup>9</sup> the Russelkonda plates<sup>10</sup> of the eighth or ninth century A.D. and the Parlakimedi plates<sup>11</sup> of the tenth or eleventh century. This form of *ṣ* may also be compared with that of the same letter in the Vishmagiri<sup>12</sup> and Svalpavelura<sup>13</sup> plates which are not earlier than the ninth century A.D.

*Bh* is of the wide-top type which is found in early medieval records of the Telugu-Kannaḍa areas like the Kalahandi plates of c. 880 A.D.<sup>14</sup>

In the conjunct *ṣj*, the superscript *ṣ*, which is separated from the subscript *j*, is rather unusual. But it is certainly not expected in records of the fourth or fifth century A.D. since it is considerably removed from the original form of the letter. However, it reminds us of subscript *ṣ* in the records of the early medieval period such as the Neulpur plate<sup>15</sup> of the close of the ninth century A.D., Madras Museum plates of the tenth century,<sup>16</sup> Baud plates<sup>17</sup> of the year 158 (989 A.D.) and later epigraphs.

I do not think that the Sitābhiṅgi inscription can be assigned to a date much earlier than the Russelkonda plates of the eighth or ninth century A.D. King Disābhaṅja may have been

<sup>1</sup> See *janā-jaga* in line 6 (ibid., Vol. XXXII, Plate between pp. 204 and 205).

<sup>2</sup> See *rājya* in line 23 (ibid., Plate facing p. 321).

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXIV, Plate facing p. 135 (cf. *jvītam* in line 25).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *śvī* in line 20, *śvī-śvā* in line 23 and *śvīśvī* in line 24 (above, Vol. XXXII, Plate between pp. 204 and 205).

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXXI, Plate facing p. 190 (cf. *śvīśvā* in line 2, *yaśvī* in line 7).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *śvī* in line 13 (ibid., Vol. III, Plate facing p. 225).

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXIV, Plate facing p. 181.

<sup>8</sup> Ojha, op. cit., Plate XVI.

<sup>9</sup> See e.g., ibid., Vol. XXIX, Plate facing p. 40 (*śvīśvīśvā* in line 5, etc.).

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, Plate between pp. 262 and 263 (cf. *śvī* in line 11, *śvīśvīśvā* in line 15, etc.).

<sup>11</sup> Ojha, op. cit., Plate LIX (the second of the three forms).

<sup>12</sup> Above, Vol. XIX, Plate between pp. 136 and 137 (cf. *śvīśvā* in line 3).

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXIV, Plate facing p. 135 (cf. *śvīśvā* in line 16).

<sup>14</sup> See above, Vol. XXI, Plate facing p. 321 (cf. *śvīśvā* in line 13, etc.).

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., Vol. XV, Plate between pp. 4 and 5 (cf. *śvīśvā* in line 7).

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXVIII, Plate between pp. 50 and 51 (cf. *śvīśvā* in line 20).

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXIX, Plate between pp. 216 and 217 (cf. *śvīśvā* in line 26).

connected with this Nēṭṭabhaṅga. Whether he was identical with Diśābhaṅga, son of Raṅgabhaṅga of Khinṅjal-maṇḍala, cannot be determined definitely. But I do not consider it impossible since the Kalinga script was an artificial alphabet in which letters could retain their old forms for a longer time.<sup>1</sup>

King Nēṭṭabhaṅga who issued the Russelkonda plates from Vārāḍḍā (modern Bāraḍā or Bāraḍā near Russelkonda, now called Bhanjanagar, in the Ganjam District) also issued the Baul plates<sup>2</sup> from Nav-Āṅgulaka-pattana which is the modern Angul in the Dhenkanal District near the District of Keonjhar. Thus the dominions of this Nēṭṭabhaṅga of the eighth or ninth century A.D. appear to have comprised the Ganjam area in the south-west and the Dhenkanal-Keonjhar region in the north-east and it is interesting in this connection to note that, in the tenth century A.D., the earlier Bhaṅgas of Khinṅjal-maṇḍala also ruled over the same area between the Ganjam and Baul-Keonjhar regions of Orissa.<sup>3</sup> It is therefore likely that Nēṭṭabhaṅga, who claimed to have belonged to the dynasty of Drumarāja, was an earlier member of the Bhaṅga family of Khinṅjal-maṇḍala. He seems to have flourished after the fall of the Śailōdbhavas in the eighth century and before the rise of the Bhauma-Karas of Jajpur about 831 A.D. His descendants, viz. the Bhaṅgas of Khinṅjal-maṇḍala who sometimes used the Bhauma-Kara etc. were apparently feudatories of the Bhauma-Kara kings. We have elsewhere shown that the early Bhaṅgas of Khinṅjal-maṇḍala ruled from Dhritipura in the Baul-Keonjhar region till the time of Raṅgabhaṅga and that they were driven out of that region by the Sōmvaṃśi king Yayāti Mahāśrugaṇḍa I (c. 970-1000 A.D.) so that Raṅgabhaṅga's descendants beginning with his son Nēṭṭabhaṅga Kalyāṅkalasa ruled from Vaṅḡulvaka in the Ganjam region.<sup>4</sup> If Diśābhaṅga of the Sitābhūṅgi inscription can be identified with Digbhaṅga-Diśābhaṅga who was another son of Raṅgabhaṅga, he was probably the elder brother of Nēṭṭabhaṅga Kalyāṅkalasa and the last Bhaṅga ruler of Dhritipura. It has, however, to be pointed out that, among the records of this family, only the Sitābhūṅgi epigraph of Diśābhaṅga and the Russelkonda plates of Nēṭṭabhaṅga are written in the Kalinga script (the Northern element being more prominent in the latter) while all other records issued from Dhritipura and Vaṅḡulvaka are written in the North Indian (Siddhamātrikā and Gauḍīya) characters.

### 3. Nausāri Inscription of the time of Yādava Rāmadēva, V.S. 1359

Under cover of a letter dated the 27th November 1958, Dr. J. M. Unvala of Bombay was kind enough to send me for examination one inked impression of a stone inscription. He gave the following details about the whereabouts of the inscribed stone: "The inscription was found on a laterite slab at Nausāri in the Surat District of Bombay under the gate (Gujarāṭī *pōl*) of a private street. Above the inscription, the slab has the representation of a horseman overpowering an enemy. Such stones, found in many places in Gujarat, are called *pāṭhōḍ pathhar* in Gujarāṭī. The gate under which the inscribed slab was found is at least 350 years old."<sup>5</sup>

From Dr. Unvala's description, it is quite clear that the slab bearing the inscription is what is called a hero stone, i.e. a memorial raised in honour of a warrior who died in a battle fighting for a good cause. There are altogether 12 lines of writing on the slab and they cover an area about 19½ inches in height and 24 inches in breadth. The formation of the letters exhibits

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 258, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> *JBOBS*, Vol. XVII, pp. 164 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 261.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 274, 276.

considerable carelessness on the part of the engraver while a layer of the stone has peeled off here and there damaging a number of letters. Moreover, the letters of the writing in a roundish space about the middle of the epigraph, with a diameter of about 10 inches and affecting lines 5-12 of the inscription, are more or less completely rubbed off probably as a result of the stone having been used for some time as a sharpener of axes, etc. The record is thus **fragmentary**.

The characters of the inscription are Nāgarī and its language is Sanskrit. It is written in prose and verse. The date of the epigraph is given in lines 1-3 as the **expired Vikrama year 1359, Pīlavaṅga, Jyēshṭha-badi 5, Monday**. These details indicate the **5th May 1303 A.D.**

The inscription begins with a rather peculiar variety of the *siddham* symbol followed by the word *śasti* and the date referred to above. It then refers to the reign of *Mahārājādhirāja Rāmadēva* stationed at *Dēvagiri* (lines 3-4). This ruler is none other than the well-known king Rāmadēva or Rāmachandra (1271-1311 A.D.) of the Yādava dynasty of Dēvagiri which is the modern Daulatābād in the Anrangabad District of Bombay. Line 5 introduces Rāmadēva's subordinate whose territory included śrīman-Nausārikā, i.e. the modern Nausāri where the inscribed slab has been found, with the well-known expression *tat-pāda-padam-ōpaṅgī*. The following passage in lines 6-7 reads: *Rāṅaka . . . rāja-śrī-Karṇadēvi*. Unfortunately about 12 letters after *rāṅaka* in this passage are either indifferently formed or totally rubbed off. The few letters before *rāja* may be [*pradhāna-mahā*] and it is possible that **Karṇadēva** enjoyed the titles *Pradhāna* or *Mahāpradhāna* and *Mahārāja*. After *Rāṅaka*, the following two letters may be *śastika* reminding us of the official designation *Śastikavargade* (Kannada) or *Śastikādhyaaksha*. Thus Karṇadēva, Yādava Rāmachandra's subordinate ruling over the Nausārikā region, seems to have enjoyed the royal titles *Rāṅaka* and *Mahārāja* side by side with certain official designations. The identity of this Karṇadēva, however, cannot be determined. Of course, about the time in question, Chaulukya-Vāghēlā Karṇa II was ruling over parts of Khandesh as a vassal of Yādava Rāmachandra after he had lost the kingdom of Gujarat to Sultān 'Alāuddin Khalji. It is difficult to believe that the Nausāri region formed a part of the territory ruled by him. A certain Kṛishṇadēva is known to have served Yādava Rāmachandra in 1289 A.D. as the governor of the whole of the Koṅkan<sup>1</sup> and, since the name *Kṛishṇa* is sometimes known to have been re-Sanskritised from Prakrit *Kṛasava* as *Karṇa*,<sup>2</sup> it is not impossible to regard Karṇadēva of our record as identical with the said Kṛishṇadēva of the Koṅkan. Otherwise it will have to be supposed that our Karṇadēva was a governor of the Yādava king stationed at Nausāri itself.

The above section in prose is followed by three stanzas in which the record proper is written. Unfortunately the damaged nature of the writing stands in the way of a satisfactory interpretation of this part. There is no doubt, however, that it refers to the death of a hero in a battle. But the details cannot be made out satisfactorily. Lines 7-8 appear to mention Maṅḍana, Jamsika and Śrībaḍa probably as personal names.

The inscription is important from several points of view. In the first place, it is the only epigraphic record coming from the northernmost area of the Yādava empire and is one of the few such documents of the 14th century referring to the reign of the Yādava king Rāmadēva or Rāmachandra. Secondly, it points for the first time to the inclusion of Nausāri in the dominions of the Yādavas of Dēvagiri about the beginning of the 14th century. Thirdly, it throws some light on the otherwise obscure history of the Lāṭa country during the early medieval age.

<sup>1</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 329-30.

<sup>2</sup> *JIH*, Vol. XXXVII, Part III, December 1959, p. 407.

The latest date for Rāmachandra's reign supplied by epigraphic records falls in September 1310 A.D. when the Yādava king granted some land in Khandesh according to his Purushōttampuri plates.<sup>1</sup> Muslim sources seem to suggest that he died shortly afterwards.<sup>2</sup>

Muslim historians appear to indicate that the Narmadā was the northern boundary of Rāmachandra's kingdom. In 1294 A.D., 'Alāuddin Khalji, nephew of Jalāluddin Firūs Shāh the Khalji Sultān of Delhi, crossed the Narmadā and the Tāpti and reached Ellichpur in Berar within Rāmachandra's territory and marched on to the Yādava capital Dēvagiri where Rāmachandra was defeated. The Yādava king was compelled to surrender Ellichpur and its dependencies and agreed to remit the revenues of the said province to 'Alāuddin annually. In 1306-07, 'Alāuddin, who had in the meantime become the Sultān of Delhi and had conquered the kingdom of Gujarāt from the Chauhāny-Vāghelā king Karṇa II, noticed that the Yādava king failed to remit the revenues of the Ellichpur province for the past three years and sent an army under Malik Kafur against Dēvagiri. He also ordered Alp Khān, governor of Gujarāt, to attack the Yādava kingdom at the same time. Malik Kafur occupied the Ellichpur province and advanced against Dēvagiri while Alp Khān attacked Karṇa II who was then ruling from Nandurbar in Khandesh as a vassal of Rāmachandra. The Yādava king offered his submission to Malik Kafur and agreed to rule his kingdom as a vassal of the Khalji Sultān. He went to Delhi where he was received by 'Alāuddin with marks of favour and distinction. The Sultān is stated to have given him on this occasion the district of Namsāri in Gujarāt as a personal estate and a hundred thousand *ṣakās* to pay his expenses at home.<sup>3</sup> Our inscription, however, shows that Namsāri originally formed a part of the Yādava kingdom. It thus appears to have been a portion of the northern areas of Rāmachandra's kingdom, which were recently annexed to the Sultān's empire by Alp Khān and Malik Kafur.

In the 13th century, the Lāṭa country comprising the Namsāri-Broach region was a small state on the confines of the kingdom of the Chauhāny-Vāghelā of Gujarāt, the Paramāras of Malwa and the Yādavas of Dēvagiri. The Lāṭa kings were compelled to offer allegiance to one of their three greater neighbours as occasions demanded although they appear to have generally accepted the vassalage of the Paramāras. The *Hamirnamadārdana* mentions Siṅha, the king of Lāṭa, and his nephew named Saṅgrāmasiṅha or Saṅkha, son of Sindhurāja, while the same Siṅha is mentioned in an inscription as the vanquisher of Yādava Siṅhaga's forces apparently as a vassal of the Paramāra king Arjunavarman (known dates between 1241 and 1216 A.D.).<sup>4</sup> According to the *Vasantaritā*, when Chauhāny-Vāghelā Lavagprasāda and Paramāra Subhāṣavarman, the father and predecessor of Arjunavarman, were fighting each other and when the Yādavas took advantage of the situation and invaded Lāṭa, Saṅkha defeated them on the bank of the Rōvā (Narmadā).<sup>5</sup> The *Hamirnamadārdana* also refers to Saṅkha's victory over the army of Yādava Siṅhaga.<sup>6</sup>

While the *Hamirnamadārdana* calls Saṅkha a *Mahāroyajalbhūsa*, i.e. feudatory, of Paramāra Dēvapāla (c. 1216-36 A.D.), Mērutuṅga mentions him as the *Mahāsādhanika*, i.e.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 109 ff.

<sup>2</sup> V. V. Mirashi gives the date of Rāmachandra's death as 1312 A.D. (*ibid.*, p. 208). While R. G. Bhandarkar puts it as 1309 A.D. and J. F. Fleet as 1310 A.D. (*Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 251, 533). Wolsley Haig says that Rāmachandra died 'either late in 1309 or early in 1310' (*CHI*, Vol. III, p. 115). But the Purushōttampuri plates show that the king's death took place after September 1310 A.D.

<sup>3</sup> See *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 330-32; *CHI*, Vol. III, pp. 90, 112-14.

<sup>4</sup> A. K. Majumdar, *Chauhānyas of Gujarāt*, pp. 163-64; above, Vol. XXXII, p. 142.

<sup>5</sup> Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 154.





THREE EARLY MEDIEVAL INSCRIPTIONS—PLATE II

3. Nausari Inscription of the time of Yadava Ramadeva, V. S. 1359



Size : One-fourth

governor, of Broach.<sup>3</sup> In V.S. 1298 (1241 A.D.), however, Broach was under Chaulukya-Vāghelā Vīśaladēva<sup>4</sup> and this suggests that the northern part of Lāṭa was soon annexed to the Chaulukya-Vāghelā kingdom. The inclusion of Nausāri in the Yādava kingdom in the present inscription seems to suggest that the southern part of Lāṭa was likewise annexed to the Yādava kingdom during the rule of Simhapa (c. 1210-47 A.D.) on the overthrow or subjugation of the Lāṭa family. That Simhapa's army overran the country around Bharukachchha (Broach) is known from the *Kīrtīkāvandī*.<sup>5</sup> We know that Simhapa invaded Gujarat several times and that on one such occasion, his general Rāma, son of the celebrated Yādava general Khōlōvara, lost his life while fighting on the Narmadā.<sup>6</sup> Although the Yādavas and the Chaulukya-Vāghelā were often fighting against each other, the overthrow or subjugation of the Lāṭa house and the division of the territory between the above two powers may have been the result of a joint successful adventure of theirs against the Paramāras of Malwa.

Another king of Lāṭa, apparently belonging to the same family represented by Simha, Sindhurāja and Saṃgrāmasūta or Śaṅkha, was Sahajapāla who is sometimes identified with Simha and believed to have ruled over South Lāṭa.<sup>7</sup> Since Śaṅkha is once represented as a son of the Chāhmāna family, the Lāṭa kings in question may be regarded as Chāhmānas.<sup>8</sup> It is difficult to say whether Karṇadēva, who governed Nausāri in 1303 A.D. as a vassal of the Yādava king Rāmachandra, was a scion of the same dynasty.

Of the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, both Dēvagiri and Nausārikā are well known.

## TEXT\*

- 1 Siddham<sup>†</sup> avastī [||\*] śrī-ṅṛipa-Vikrama-kāl-ātīta-Plavaṅg-ābhi-
- 2 dhāna-samvatsarē Samvat 135[9] varshā Jyē[śhṭha-ba]dī 6 Sō-
- 3 mē-dy-āha śrīmad-Dēvagirāv-adhishṭhita-mahārājādhi-
- 4 rājādhi<sup>†</sup>-rāja-śrī-Rāmadēva-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyē
- 5 śrī[man-Nau]sārikāyām [tat-pāda-padm-ō]pa[ivī-garṇyō<sup>†</sup>
- 6 rāṇaka-sūta.....[pradhā]na-[mahā]rājs-[śrī]-
- 7 Karṇa[dēvē] nṛipa.....Maṃḍana-Jaṃai-

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., pp. 154-55.

<sup>4</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 161.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., p. 154.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., p. 163.

<sup>8</sup> From an impression.

<sup>†</sup> Expressed by symbol.

\* The three aksharas at the beginning of the line are redundant.

\* The intended reading may be \*jīvy-ograpaṅgīc.

- 8 ka-Śrībhāṣa-trayā ..... mān, cha.....
- 9 svapañ<sup>1</sup> || 1 ..... [ś=cha] v[ri]ddhīkṛtō gajā
- 10 ..... [va]lthāṣṭā tatō ..... rāya-[va]jā-śā
- 11 ..... kundā gaja, ..... dīrōḥ karati | ghōra-pō<sup>2</sup>
- 12 ..... [pañita]h || 3 śubham bhaya(vajra) ||

<sup>1</sup> Read svapañ.

<sup>2</sup> The intended word seems to be pōtāka.

## No 5—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM KALYANPUR

(1 Plate)

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(Received on 6.1.1960)

The village of Kalyānpur lies about 42 miles to the south of Udaipur. Near the village, there are extensive ruins of an ancient town. A copper-plate grant which was discovered sometime ago at Kalyānpur but was later found in the possession of a Brāhmaṇa resident of Dhulāv (also called Rishabhdev) about four miles from the said village, has been published in the pages of this journal.<sup>1</sup> The charter was issued by Mahārāja Bhētti from Kishkindhā, which was apparently his capital, in the year 73 of the Harsha era, corresponding to 679 A.D. It has been suggested that the ruins of the town near Kalyānpur represent the site of ancient Kishkindhā.<sup>2</sup> Two other copper-plate grants issued from Kishkindhipura, no doubt identical with Kishkindhā, come from the former Dungarpur State lying to the south of the Kalyānpur region. These two records, the first of which was issued by Bhāvihita in the Harsha year 48 (654 A.D.) and the second by Bābhata in the Harsha year 83 (639 A.D.) have also been published recently.<sup>3</sup> Both these chiefs, who enjoyed feudatory titles, claim to have belonged to the Guhila or Guhilaputra dynasty. Bhāvihita seems to have succeeded the Guhila chief Dēvagana who was his paternal uncle, while Bābhata was probably a son of the said Dēvagana. Since Bhētti ruled from Kishkindhā between Bhāvihita and Bābhata, it is very probable that he also belonged to the Guhila family of Kishkindhā or Kishkindhipura near Kalyānpur and was either a younger brother of Bhāvihita or an elder brother of Bābhata. One Rājaputra Ghōrghatasvāmin is mentioned in Bābhata's record and he may have been a son of Bābhata, although it is uncertain whether he ever ascended the throne.

The two stone inscriptions edited here were discovered at Kalyānpur and the inscribed slabs are now preserved in the Victoria Hall Museum at Udaipur. They were noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, 1954-55, Nos. B 98-99*. The earlier of the two has also been published in the *Journal of Indian History, Vol. XXXV, Part I, pp. 73-74* (without illustration), although the name of the king mentioned in the record has been wrongly read there. The notice of the second inscription in the *Annual Report on the working of the Rajputana Museum for the year ending 31st March 1929, pp. 1-2*, is likewise full of errors. The first of the records mentions a certain Mahārāja Paḍḍa, but has no date. The second of them mentions a chief named Kadaohhi though it is fragmentary and it is difficult to say whether the portion containing Paḍḍa and that of the time of off. As, however, will be shown below, the inscription mentioning Paḍḍa and that of the time of Kadaohhi can be assigned respectively to the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. on grounds of palaeography. The findspot and palaeography of our records thus suggest that these two chiefs also belonged to the Guhila house of Kishkindhā or Kishkindhipura and ruled from the same city. We have elsewhere suggested that Paḍḍa was a predecessor of Dēvagana and Kadaohhi a successor of Bābhata.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 1 ff., 5 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXXIV, pp. 167 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 170.

## 1. Inscription of the time of Mahārāja Paṭḍa

The inscription contains five lines of writing covering an area about nine inches in length and six inches in height. It is in an excellent state of preservation.

The characters of the inscription are of the ornamental type and belong to the North Indian (*Siddhamātrikā*) alphabet of about the seventh century A.D. They are each about  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch in height. The most interesting palaeographical feature of the record is the use of the tripartite form of the letter *y*. We know that the use of this form of *y* was discontinued in East India in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D. its latest use being noticed in East Indian records like the Patiakella plates<sup>1</sup> of 602 A.D. and the Dabi plates<sup>2</sup> of Bhīṣakaravarman (c. 600-50 A.D.). In Western India, however, its use lingered on for another half a century. Thus the earlier tripartite and the later bipartite forms of *y* are noticed side by side in records like the Dungarpur plates (654 A.D.) of Bhāviṣita, referred to above, and the Kumbhar inscription<sup>3</sup> of Guhila Aparāṅita of Mewar, dated 661 A.D., though the slightly later Dhulov plate (679 A.D.) of Bhēti, mentioned above, uses only the earlier form of the letter. As already indicated, it is probable that Mahārāja Paṭḍa of our record was a predecessor of Davagana. He probably ruled sometime about the second quarter of the seventh century. The palaeography of the inscription under study is quite in keeping with this suggestion.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and it is written partly in verse and partly in prose. The plural in *śiva-śayana-samastā-śivābhāṣā* is of grammatical interest since it should have been singular according to Pāṇini (II, 4,2). There is nothing remarkable in its orthography except that the word *sāyujya* has been spell as *sāyūjya* in line 4.

The inscription begins with the *siddham* symbol followed by the word *rusti*. Then follow a small passage in prose, a stanza in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre and another small passage in prose, with which the epigraph ends. These three passages state that a person named Āmāya built a temple of the god Śulin (i.e. Śiva) in the *rājya* (i.e. during the rule or in the kingdom) of the illustrious Mahārāja Paṭḍa. Āmāya is stated to have built the temple out of money earned by righteous means, for the attainment of *Śiva-sāyujya* after having bowed down to Śaṅkara (Śiva) with his hands, feet, mind and head. The expression *Śiva-sāyujya* means communion with or absorption in the god Śiva.<sup>4</sup> The work is further stated to have been done by Āmāya in accordance with the *śruti*, i.e. the sacred texts handed down by tradition.

## TEXT

- 1 सिद्धं स्वस्ति [॥\*] प्रणम्य बाहू करत्वरजमतः(न)-
- 2 दिशरोभि ॥ श्रान्तायेत यथात्माय वि-
- 3 तमादाय धर्मतः [॥\*] कारितं वृत्तितो
- 4 वेद्यं शिवसायो(यु)ज्यसिद्धये ॥<sup>5</sup>
- 5 श्रीमहाराजपट्टराज्ये ॥<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, Plate between pp. 286 and 287.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXX, pp. 287 E. and Plates.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, *Prakāśa Bhāratīya Lapidāra*, Plate XX.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 297-98.

<sup>5</sup> From inscriptions.

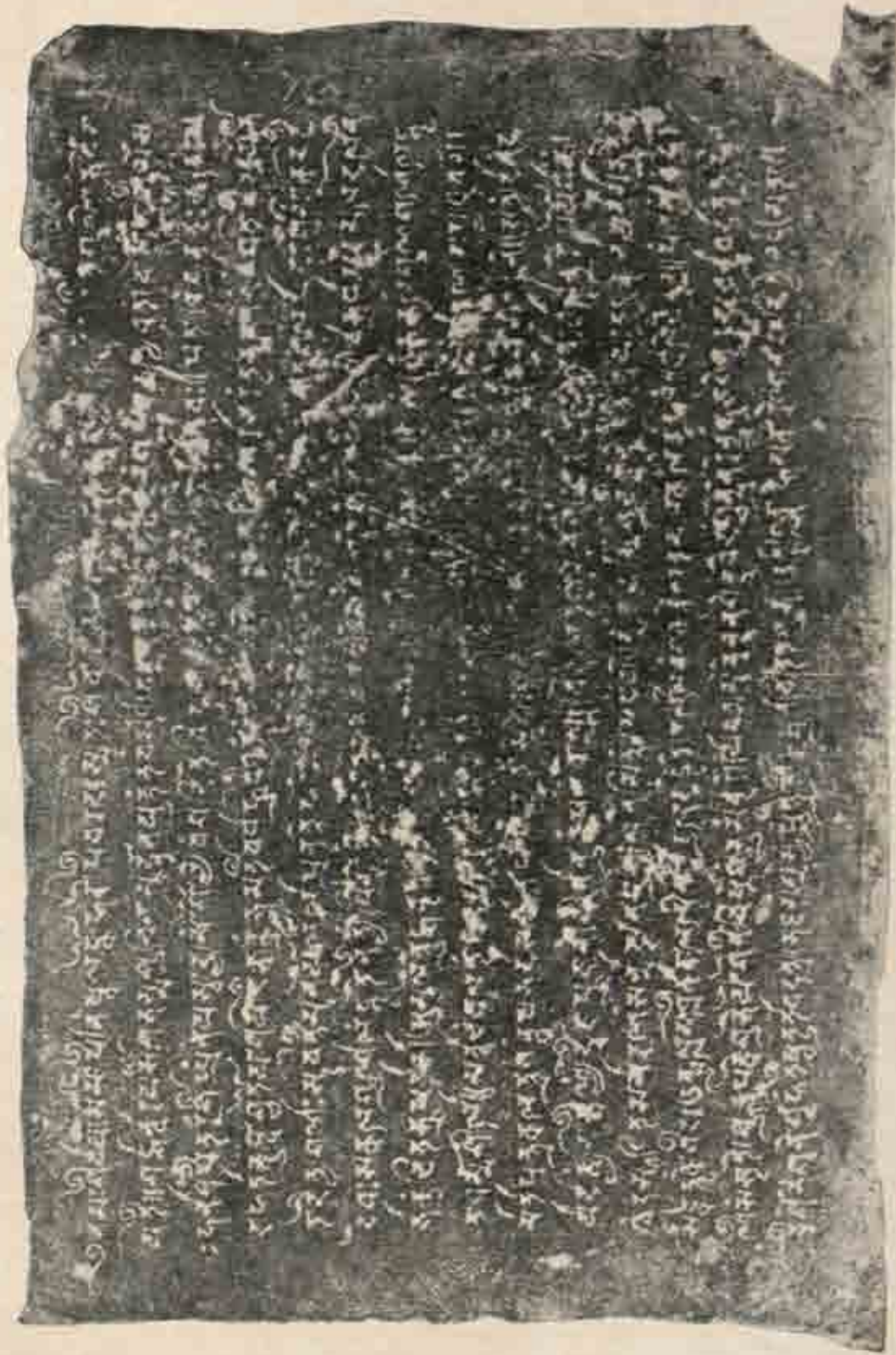
<sup>6</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>7</sup> The metre of the stanza is *Anuṣṭubh*.

<sup>8</sup> The full-stop is indicated by two *śloka* joined at the top by a horizontal stroke.



2. Inscription of the time of Kadachhi



Size : One-half

## 2. Inscription of the time of Kadachhi

There are altogether 14 lines of writing in this inscription. The letters are small in size. In average, they are each a little above  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch in height. The writing covers an area about 14 inches in length and about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height. The preservation of the record is unsatisfactory. It seems that the inscribed surface of the slab was used for sharpening some tool like an axe. The tool was rubbed on the slab from the upper right side a little slantingly towards the middle. As a result, a number of letters in lines 1-10 have been rubbed off, many of them completely. The internal evidence shows that the epigraph was originally set up in a Śiva temple, the construction of which is recorded in it.

The palaeography of the inscription is later than that of the inscription of the time of Paḍḍa edited above. It uses throughout the later bipartite form of *y*. The letters have ornamental formation. The lower end of *t* curves towards the right. On grounds of palaeography, the record may be assigned to the eighth or ninth century A.D. But as we have suggested elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> the chief Kadachhi mentioned in it, probably belonged to the Guhila house of Kishkindhā or Kishkindhipura and ruled after Guhila Bībhāṭa of the same family sometime in the eighth century A.D. and that the said house of the Guhilas was ousted by the Guhilas of Mewar sometime afterwards.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. It is written in verse with a small passage in prose at the beginning. As regards orthography, mention may be made of the use of the class nasal in expressions like *Uśgān-dhīraya*<sup>2</sup> in line 2. The words *saṁskaraṇa* used for *saṁskaraṇa* in verse 3 (line 11) and *chintita lor rachita* in verse 13 (line 14) are of lexical interest.

The inscription begins with the *siddham* symbol followed by the passage *namaḥ Śivāya*. Then follow three partially preserved stanzas (verses 1-3) in lines 1-5, all in adoration to the god Śiva. The next fragmentary stanza (verse 4) in lines 5-6 introduces a person named Kadachhi who seems to have been the chief, during whose rule the inscription was set up. The preserved portion of verse 5 in lines 6-8 refers to a lady who may have been a wife of Kadachhi. The following stanza (verse 6) in lines 8-9, only a few words of which can be deciphered, appears to have contained a reference to the construction of a Śiva temple by the same lady. This is not only suggested by its concluding words, viz. *dhruv maṇḍasam* (i.e. an ornament of the earth) probably qualifying a word like *mandiram*, but also by verses 11-12 below which quote the details of the date (without mentioning the year) when a temple of Śambhu (Śiva) was *nivāhita*, probably referring to its consecration ceremony, and also pray for the long life of the said temple. The details of the date quoted in this connection, in which the mention of the year only is missing, seem to suggest that the year was referred to in the damaged parts of verse 5.

Verses 7 (lines 9-10) which along with the following verses can fortunately be fully read, recounts the qualities of the lady named Vṣṇā who was responsible for the construction of the temple, while the next stanza (verse 8) in lines 10-11 refers to a grant of forty *drāmaṇas* (i.e. 40 coins of that name), no doubt made by the lady in question, for future necessities such as the carrying out of repairs to the breaks and damages apparently in the said temple of Śiva, for [the burning of] *guggula* [before the deity in it] and for the sweeping no doubt of its floor and compound.

Verses 9 in lines 11-12 mentions a Śaiva teacher named Kuṭukk-ānhārya, who may have been the lady's preceptor, as one rendering help in the pious work, i.e. the construction of the temple of Śiva.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 179.



The following two stanzas (verses 10-11) in lines 12-13 state that the temple was consecrated (*svishṭa*) on an auspicious *yōga* during the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month of *Chaitra*, when the moon was in conjunction with the *Rōhini nakshatra*. Verse 12 in lines 13-14 contains a prayer to the effect that the temple of *Sambhu*, white like the moon and beautiful like the snow-mountain, might last as long as the seas, the mountains, the *Vēdas*, the moon, the kings, the king of the serpents and the *Budras* would endure. This is followed by the concluding stanza (verse 13 in line 14) which states that [the inscription] was composed (*cāṅgita*) by *Jhaṅga*, son of *Bhaṅga Mamma*, and that it was engraved by the *kṣemakāra* (goldsmith) *Nāgāditya*.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

[Metres: verses 1, 4, 8 *Arjā*; verses 2, 3, 6 *Śārdūlavikrīṭita*; verse 5 *Brugdhara*; verses 7, 9-11, 13 *Anuśṭubh*; verse 12 *Indravajrā*.]

- 1 सिद्धम्<sup>2</sup> [1\*] नमः शिवाय । सोमोपि निष्कलङ्को हरोपि वरदः स्मृतः  
शिवो [रोद्रः 1] . . . . . हि विपरीतगुणो भवो ज-
- 2 यति ॥ [१\*] गङ्गान्धारयसौष भस्मगुचिना मूर्द्धना न युक्तं तव  
संभ्वात्[न्दन] — — — — — त्याकुत(तम्) । वासो नास्ति ममे-
- 3 ह नाय पितर श्री(वी)ध्र नयस्वाद्य मां गौर्ये(यै)वं मदिते वि[हस्य]  
— — — — — [सदा पाहु वः ॥ [२\*] पाज्जालं व्रजतिः(ति) क्षितिः प-
- 4 दहता झुञ्ज्वाद्य तोयागया दिक्चक्रं भ्रमतीव बाहुविधुतं — — — — —  
— | — — — [स]वराचरं तू(त्रि)भुवनं [दे]वा गता विस्मयं भी-
- 5 ता दैत्यगणाः स्तुवन्ति मुनयो लीलाप्रनृत्ते हारे ॥ [३\*] . . . . .  
. . . . . लपादः श्रीमां(मान्) कदच्छि<sup>3</sup>-
- 6 देवः सकलगुणाल(ल)ङ्कृतो नित्यं (स्वम्) ॥ [४\*] वि[म्बो] — — — — —  
— — — — — [श्री]वा सुवाह कमलदलनि-
- 7 मा कुचितभ्रुपताका । जामुलोत्तुङ्गवृत्त] — — — — —  
— — — — — सकलगुणगणालङ्क-
- 8 ता घर्मशीला ॥ [५\*] मत्वा चंचलतां — — — — —  
— — — — — ष्यमप्यध्रुवम् ।
- 9 मातापुत्रकलत्रबन्धुषु सदा स — — — — — [सु]तं — — — — —  
— — — भुवो मण्डनं(नम्) ॥ [६\*] सत्यं दानं द-

<sup>1</sup> From impressions. Some letters, not clear on the impressions, can be seen on their backsides.

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

<sup>3</sup> The intended reading may be *Kudachchā*<sup>3</sup> which would suit the metre.

- 10 या दाल्य दक्षिण्य द्विजपूजनं(नम्) । वीनानुकंपनं वीण्णा विजा[नाति  
शुभानता] ॥ [७\*] चत्वारिंशद्दम्मा दत्ताः कालास्तरोपयोगार्थं(धम्) ।
- 11 खड्गकुटितसमारणसन्मा(म्मा)ग्जेन[गुग्गु]लुनिमित्तं(त्तम्) ॥ [८\*] सहायो धम्मं-  
कार्येस्मि(स्मिन्) शुचि[दक्षो] जितेंद्रियः । कुट्टुक्काचार्यतामाभूत्सं(ब्धे)व-
- 12 सिद्धान्तकोविदः ॥ [९\*] उत्कुलमल्लिकाजाललीनालिकुलम्भ(स)ङ्कते ।  
एलालवंगकककोलतमालकलिकाकुले ॥ [१०\*] काले चैत्रस्य पंचम्यां चद्रे [रो]हि-
- 13 गिसंशु(श्रि)प्ते । सुक्लपक्षे शुभे योगे निविष्टं शंभुमं(म)न्दिरं(रम्) ॥ [११\*]  
यावत्समुद्रेन्द्रनगेन्द्रवेदाश्चन्द्रो नरेन्द्रा भुजगेन्द्ररुद्राः । चन्द्रावदातं तुहिना-
- 14 द्विशोभं शंभोगृहं तिष्ठतु तावदत्र ॥ [१२\*] भट्टमम्मस्य पुत्रेण ज्ञं(स)ङ्कता  
चित्तिता शुभा । उत्कीर्णा हेमकारेण नागादित्येन धीमता ॥ [१३\*]<sup>४</sup>

<sup>४</sup> Verses 10-11 together form a *yugma*.

<sup>५</sup> A word like *prajñā* is understood in this stanza.

No. 6—BONDA PLATES OF MAHASIVAGUPTA, YEAR 22

(2 Plates)

V. V. MIRABHI, NAUPUR, AND THE LATE PANDIT L. P. PANDEYA, RAIGARH

(Received on 18.6.1960)

This set of three copper plates was discovered together with another set of plates of Tivaradēva by one Gosai Ram Rawat while digging the foundation of a house on the 5th May 1959 at Bōpṛā, a village in the Sarangarh Tahsil of the Raigarh District in Madhya Pradesh. The village is a large one and is situated on the right bank of the Mahānadi, opposite the village of Bālpur. Both the sets of plates were taken to Pipardulā in the Baloda Bazar Tahsil of the Raipur District, from where Pandit Lochan Prasad Pandeya obtained them through the courtesy of Shri Birbal Prasad and Shiv Lal Prasad of that village. They were then sent to the Government Epigraphist for India. The grant is edited here from the original plates.

The three plates were held together by a ring, about 4" in thickness, which passed through a round hole (7" in diameter) in the middle of the left side of each plate, about 1" from the edge. The two ends of the ring were soldered below a circular seal, about 3.7" in diameter. The ring was not cut when the plates reached Pandit Pandeya. The seal is like those of the other plates of Mahā-Sivagupta.<sup>1</sup> Its countersunk surface is divided into three parts, the upper part bearing in relief the figure of a couchant bull (Nandi), facing left, with a *trishūla* in front and a *śaṅgola-kulāsa* behind. Below this device and separated from it by two horizontal lines appears the metrical legend in two lines. Below the legend is a large full-blown lotus, flanked by a leaf on either side. The weight of the three plates is 135 tolas and that of the ring with the seal 81 tolas.

The record consists of twenty-nine lines, of which the first twenty-eight are equally divided among the four inscribed sides, viz., the inner side of the first plate, the two sides of the second plate and the inner side of the third plate, the last line containing only two letters and a numerical symbol being inscribed on the outer side of the third plate. The letters were neatly written and deeply engraved, some of them showing through on the back of the first and third plates. The edges of the plates were not raised; still the inscription is in a good state of preservation.

The characters are of the box-headed variety, resembling those of the Mallār,<sup>2</sup> Bārdūi<sup>3</sup> and Lōdhī<sup>4</sup> plates of Mahā-Sivagupta. As remarked before while editing the Mallār plates, they are somewhat more elongated and angular than those of the grants of the Vākāṅka and Śarabhapuriya kings. The following peculiarities may be noted. The letters *a*, *ā* and *ḥ* have a redundant curve added to the vertical on the right, which is not noticed in the other grants of this king. See, e.g., *apī* (line 19), *agā* (line 21), *ḥāḥāḥāḥā* (line 24) and *subhā* (line 15). On the other hand, a similar curve, though an essential part of subscript *ā*, is not engraved in the case of the conjunct *ḥā* in *prajā* in line 3. Initial *ḥ* is differentiated from *ḥā* by the absence of a box-head; see *ḥā* *śoṅgā* (line 18). A final consonant is shown either by the addition of a slanting stroke at the

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., the seal of the Mallār plates (above, Vol. XXIII, Plate facing page 121) and of the Lōdhī plates (ibid., Vol. XXVII, Plate facing page 325).

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXIII, pp. 118 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXVII, pp. 287 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., pp. 319 ff.

bottom of its vertical or by a curve encircling it. For an instance of the former, see *dadyōt* (line 23) and for that of the latter, see *śambat* (line 28). Numerical symbols for 2, 6 and 20 occur in lines 28 and 29. Punctuation is shown by means of two vertical strokes, the first of which is hooked.

The language is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, the whole record is in prose. The legend on the seal is, of course, in verse as in the grants of the Vākīṭakas, Śarabhapuriyas and other Śōmavamśīs. As regards orthography, we may notice the following. The consonant preceding and following *r* is reduplicated; see, e.g., *śagōṭtra* (line 12) and *śourgya* (line 3) and that before *ri* is also reduplicated, though wrongly, in *Sannidhāttri* (line 8). *B* is used for *v* in several places; see *Byāsa* (line 20), *śambat* (line 28), etc. *Anuvāra* before *l* and *s* is changed to the guttural nasal; see *vaśā* (line 5), *śrīśāśā* (lines 17-18), etc. The writer has generally written short medial *i* in place of the long one; see, e.g., *māhim* (line 17). Such mistakes as *tāmra* (line 13) and *ucchāhriya* (line 20) were evidently due to wrong pronunciation.

The plates were issued by the illustrious Mahā-Śivagupta, the son of the illustrious Harahadēva,<sup>1</sup> who was born in the Śōmavamśa (lunar race) and was a devout worshipper of Mahāśvara (Śiva). They record the grant of the village Śarīkarā-pātaka situated in the viśaya (district) of Lāyōḍaka, which the king made on the Pausha-śaukrāntī. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Trivikramasvāmin of the Bhāradvāja *gotra* and the Chhanulōga (Śāmvēda). The charter is dated on the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of Pausha in the twenty-second year of the king's increasingly victorious reign. The date is recorded in both words and numerical symbols.

Mahā-Śivagupta belonged to a royal family which is called *Pāṇḍu-vamśa* in earlier grants<sup>2</sup> and *Sōma-vamśa* in later ones.<sup>3</sup> Several copper-plate and stone inscriptions of this family have been found in Chhattisgarh. Earlier scholars like Fleet and Kielhorn, who edited them, referred them to the eighth or ninth century A.D. Fleet, for instance, while editing the Rājim plates of Tivaradēva, the granduncle of Mahā-Śivagupta, remarked, "Tivaradēva cannot be allotted to an earlier date than roughly about A.D. 800."<sup>4</sup> Kielhorn, who edited the Sirpur stone inscription of Śivagupta (identical with Mahā-Śivagupta of the present grant), observed as follows: "The inscription is not dated, but it may, on palaeographic grounds, be referred to the eighth or ninth century A.D. And this, too, is the time to which, on the grounds of language and style, I would assign the copper-plate grants of Tivaradēva. I am, at any rate, convinced that neither inscription can be older than A.D. 700."<sup>5</sup> This view was contested by Prof. Mirashi who, while editing the Thākurdīyā plates<sup>6</sup> of Mahā-Pravararāja, showed that Tivaradēva flourished about the middle of the sixth century A.D. Further examination of the matter led him to fix tentatively the accession of Tivaradēva in 560 A.D. and the reign-period of his grand-nephew Mahā-Śivagupta alias Bālārjuna as 590-650 A.D.<sup>7</sup> We know from the Lōdhī plates that the latter had a long reign of more than 57 years as he had come to the throne when quite young and was known as *Bālārjuna* on account of his skill in archery. He was probably the king of Kōśala who submitted to Pulakēsin II as stated in the latter's Aihoje inscription. It was evidently to his court that Hīnen-tsang paid a visit during his itinerary.

<sup>1</sup> He is called Harahagupta in the legend on the seal.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., the Bamhan plates, line 1 (*ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 140); Rājim (*CII*, Vol. III, p. 295) and Balodā (*above*, Vol. VII, pp. 194-95) plates of Tivaradēva; etc.

<sup>3</sup> See, e.g., the Mallik plates (*ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 129); Sirpur stone inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 190), etc.

<sup>4</sup> *CII*, Vol. III, p. 294.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 179. See also *above*, Vol. IV, p. 258.

<sup>6</sup> *Above*, Vol. XXII, pp. 15 f.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 229; *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. VIII, p. 55.

As the records of Sōmavahī kings are singularly lacking in details necessary for computation, the period assigned above to Mahā-Śivagupta could not be verified till now. The present charter fortunately contains some particulars which, if properly utilised, may help us in its verification. The grant was made on the occasion of the Pausa-saṅkrānti, which is the same as the Makara-saṅkrānti. The *tithi* on which it occurred is not stated in connection with it; but it was probably identical with the date of the record, which is given at the end as the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of Pausa (or Pusya) in the twenty-second [regnal] year. In ancient times, grants were no doubt sometimes recorded several days or even months after they were made; but the mention of the month Pausa both in connection with the occasion of the gift and its recording makes it very likely that the two dates were identical. Besides, from two other grants of this king we know that his gifts were recorded on the same day on which they were made. Thus, the Bārdūlā plates show that his grant of the village Vaṭapadraka was made on the Kārttika-sukla-dvādāśī and that it was recorded on the same day.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, the grant mentioned in the Lōdhī plates was made and recorded on the same *tithi*, viz. Kārttika-paurṇamāsī.<sup>3</sup> We may therefore conclude that the present grant also was made and recorded on the occasion of the Makara-saṅkrānti which occurred on the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of Pausa.

Usually, the fortnights of a lunar month are specified as *śukla* or *kṛṣṇa*. In the present grant, however, the fortnight in which the grant was recorded is called *prathama* or first. As both the *amānta* and *pūrṇimānta* schemes of lunar months were prevalent in ancient times, the mention of the fortnight as first makes it doubtful whether the *śukla* or the *kṛṣṇa pakṣa* is meant. The records of the Śarabhapuriya and Sōmavahī kings do not generally mention the fortnight, but count the days or *tithis* from 1 to 30.<sup>4</sup> This custom was prevalent both in the case of the *pūrṇimānta* and *amānta* lunar months<sup>5</sup> and therefore affords no clue to the solution of the present problem. The Lōdhī plates, however, indicate that the *pūrṇimānta* scheme was in vogue in Chhattāgarh in the time of Mahā-Śivagupta. These plates mention the *tithi* first as Kārttika-paurṇamāsī and then as Kārttika-dina 30,<sup>6</sup> which clearly shows that it was cited according to the *pūrṇimānta* scheme. If the same scheme was intended in the case of the present grant also, its date *Pausa-prathama-pakṣa-ṣaṣṭhī* would mean the sixth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* month Pausa. Now, the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Pausa is identical with the dark fortnight of the *amānta* Mārgaśrīṣa. So we shall have to suppose that the Makara-saṅkrānti occurred in the dark fortnight of the *amānta* Mārgaśrīṣa. This is impossible; for the saṅkrānti which occurs in *amānta* Mārgaśrīṣa must be Dhānuḥ, not Makara. The mention of the Makara-saṅkrānti in the present grant clearly shows that the month Pausa in which it occurred must be taken to be *amānta*.<sup>7</sup> The sixth

<sup>1</sup> See the dates of some Gujra grants discussed above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 171-2.

<sup>2</sup> See lines 15 and 29 of the Bārdūlā plates (*ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 201).

<sup>3</sup> See lines 10-11 and 32 of the Lōdhī plates (*ibid.*, pp. 325-26).

<sup>4</sup> See, e.g., Mārgaśrī 26 of the Aṅg plates of Mahā-Jayastha (*CII*, Vol. III, p. 194); Vaiśākha-di 29 of the Aṅg plates of Mahā-Sudērāja (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 22); Śrāvana-di 29 of the Khariar plates of Śudērāja (*ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 173); Jyēṣṭha-di 27 of the Balodā plates of Tivardēva (*ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 106); Kārttika-dina 30 of the Lōdhī plates of Mahā-Śivagupta (*ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 323).

<sup>5</sup> For its use in connection with the *pūrṇimānta* scheme, see the date of the Maṅgasaṅg plates of Hasti (*CII*, Vol. III, pp. 107-08) and that of the Kich plates of Saṅkshobha (*ibid.*, pp. 114-15). For its connection with the *amānta* scheme, see above, Vol. XXVI, p. 329.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. XXVII, p. 325.

<sup>7</sup> It may seem strange that both the *pūrṇimānta* and *amānta* schemes should have been used in the official records of the same king Mahā-Śivagupta. This is not, however, a unique instance of the type. We have an exactly similar case in the records of the Kalachuri king Prithivīdeva I of Raipur. His Raipur plates of the Kalachuri year 821 are dated according to the *amānta* scheme, while his Amhā plates issued ten years later in the Kalachuri year 831 are dated according to the *pūrṇimānta* scheme. See *CII*, Vol. IV, pp. 399 and 402. There are, of course, numerous instances of both the schemes being prevalent in the same area and in the same period. See, e.g., above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 173. [As the court of the same king could have scarcely been oblivious of the confusion that would result from the indiscriminate use of *amānta* and *pūrṇimānta* months without proper indication, in the dating of royal records, we are not inclined to subscribe to these views.—Ed.]

*tithi* of the first fortnight of Pausha must, therefore, be taken to mean the sixth lunar day of the bright fortnight of that month.

As stated above, the reign period of Mahā-Sivagupta was tentatively fixed as 590-650 A.D.<sup>1</sup> Let us therefore see how far this period is corroborated by the date of the present plates. If Mahā-Sivagupta began to reign in c. 590 A.D., his twentysecond regnal year must be in the neighbourhood of 611 A.D. We have calculated the moment of the Makara-saṅkrānti and the duration of the *tithi* Pausha-śukla-śaṣṭhī for all years in the first quarter of the seventh century A.D.<sup>2</sup> The only year in this period in which the saṅkrānti and the *tithi* came together is 616 A.D. In that year the Makara-saṅkrānti occurred at sunrise on the 20th December, while the *tithi* Pausha-śukla-śaṣṭhī ended 3 hours and 50 minutes after mean sunrise on that day. The 20th of December 616 A.D. is therefore probably the date of the present grant. As it was made in the twentysecond year of Mahā-Sivagupta's reign, the king came to the throne in 596 A.D. This is perhaps the only instance in which it has been possible to determine the year of accession of a king whose records are dated only in regnal years. Its corroboration will have to be left to future discoveries.<sup>3</sup>

There are only two places mentioned in the present grant viz. the donated village Śarkarā-pāṭaka<sup>4</sup> and Lāyōḍḍaka, the headquarters of the district in which it was situated. The former cannot be traced in the vicinity of the village Bōḍḍā where the plates were found; the latter may be identical with the village Lārā which lies about 10 miles north by east of Bōḍḍā.

### TEXT<sup>5</sup>

#### First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम् [1\*] स्वस्त्यशेषधी(क्षि)ति(ती)श[वि]द्याभ्यासविशेषासादितमहनीयविन-
- 2 यसम्पत्संपादितसकलविजिगि(गी)बुगुणो गुणवत्समाश्रयः
- 3 प्रकृष्टतरणोर्व्यप्रज्ञाप्रभावसंभावितमहाभ्युदयः कार्तिके-
- 4 य इव कुत्तिवाससो राज्ञः धि(धी)हर्षदेवस्य सुनुः\*] सोम-
- 5 ब्रह्मसंभवः परममाहेश्वरो मातापितृपादानुध्यातधि(धी)महासी(धि)व-
- 6 गुप्तराज[\*] कुशलिल्ली) ॥ लायोडुकवंवयिकशकंरापाटके वा-
- 7 ह्यणां(णान्) संपु(पु)ञ्च सप्रधानान्[\*] प्रतिवासितो यथाकालाध्यासित[\*]

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also above, Vol. XXVII, p. 289 and Vol. XXXI, p. 220; *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. III, p. 322.

<sup>2</sup> Times dates have been calculated with the help of the Tables in Pillai's *Indian Spheristics*, Vol. I, Part I.

<sup>3</sup> [See above, p. 62, note 7.—E.L.]

<sup>4</sup> This village is different from Śarkarāpāṭaka granted by the Śarahlapuriya king Narēndra. The latter was situated in the territorial division Nandāpura. See *IHQ*, Vol. XIX, p. 145.

<sup>5</sup> From the original plates.

<sup>6</sup> Expressed by a symbol.

<sup>7</sup> Read *carā*.

<sup>8</sup> For the form of the letter *d* see *piḍā* in line 11.

## Second Plate, First Side

- 8 समाहर्तुसन्निधानु(त्)प्रमूखानन्याइइचा'स्मत्पादोपजोवी(वि)नः]†  
 9 सर्व्वंराजपुरुषान्समाजापयति [1\*] विदितमस्तु भवतां यथा-  
 10 स्माभिरयइधामः सन्निधिः सोपनिधिः सदशापराधः सर्व्वक-  
 11 रादानसमेतः सर्व्वपि(पी)डावञ्चितः प्रतिपिद्धचाटभटप्रवे-  
 12 घो च्छान्दीगंभरद्वाजसगोरभट्टु(त्रि)विक्रमस्वामिने पोपसंक्रान्त्या-  
 13 मुदकपूर्व्वं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिव्(वु)द्धये ताम्ब्र'शासनेना-  
 14 चन्द्राकंसमकालोपभोगार्थं प्रतिपादित इत्यवगत्यास्व विधे-

## Second Plate, Second Side

- 15 यतया समुचितं भोगभागादिकमुपनयद्विभंविद्धि[1\*] सुखं प्रती(ति)-  
 16 वस्तव्य(ध्य)मिति ॥ भाविनश्च भूमिपालानुद्विष्येदमभिधि(धी)यते [1\*] भूमि-  
 17 प्रदा द्विवि ललन्ति पतन्ति हन्त हत्वा मर्हि(ही) नृपतयो नरके नृशङ्खा-  
 18 त् [1\*] एतद्व(द्व)यं पारिकलव्य चलाञ्च लक्ष्म(क्ष्मी)मा[यु]न्तथा कुस्त य-  
 19 द्भक्तामभि(भो)ष्ट(ष्टम्) [11\*] यपि च [1\*] रक्षापालनयोस्तावत्फलं  
 सुगति-  
 20 दुग्मंति(ती) [1\*] को नाम स्वर्गमुच्छ्र(त्सु)ज्य नर[कं] प्रतिपद्यते [1\*]  
 व्या(व्या)सगी-  
 21 तांश्चास्त्र श्लोकानुदाहरन्ति [1\*] शग्नेरपत्यं अयमं सुवर्णं

† Read "m-ayāhāṅkāt".

\* The same requires an expression like *so-pāṭ-āpāṅkāt*.

† Read *pramāṅ-āhāṅkāt*.

\* Read *āṅkāt*.

\* This *āṅkāt* has a redundant curve attached to its vertical on the right. See its form in line 16 of the Mallik plates (above, Vol. XXIII, plate facing p. 120).

\* Read *āṅkāt*.

† The metre of the verse is *Vaṅśāṅkāt*.

\* The metre of the verse is *Āṅkāt*.

i

2  
 4  
 6

2  
 4  
 6

ii, a

8  
 10  
 12  
 14

8  
 10  
 12  
 14



16

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ श्रीकृष्णार्जुनसंवा  
 दप्रथमोऽध्यायः ॥ १ ॥ अर्जुन उवाच ॥ द्रुपद  
 गुरुर्षभ ॥ कुरुक्षेत्रे संभवन् भद्रतनुः ॥  
 पाण्डुपुत्रोऽर्जुनः पाण्डुपुत्रोऽर्जुनः ॥  
 कुरुक्षेत्रे संभवन् भद्रतनुः ॥ पाण्डुपुत्रोऽर्जुनः ॥  
 कुरुक्षेत्रे संभवन् भद्रतनुः ॥ पाण्डुपुत्रोऽर्जुनः ॥  
 कुरुक्षेत्रे संभवन् भद्रतनुः ॥ पाण्डुपुत्रोऽर्जुनः ॥  
 कुरुक्षेत्रे संभवन् भद्रतनुः ॥ पाण्डुपुत्रोऽर्जुनः ॥  
 कुरुक्षेत्रे संभवन् भद्रतनुः ॥ पाण्डुपुत्रोऽर्जुनः ॥

16

18

18

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22

श्रीकृष्ण उवाच ॥ अर्जुन ॥ अहो भद्रतनुः ॥  
 पाण्डुपुत्रोऽर्जुनः पाण्डुपुत्रोऽर्जुनः ॥  
 कुरुक्षेत्रे संभवन् भद्रतनुः ॥ पाण्डुपुत्रोऽर्जुनः ॥  
 कुरुक्षेत्रे संभवन् भद्रतनुः ॥ पाण्डुपुत्रोऽर्जुनः ॥  
 कुरुक्षेत्रे संभवन् भद्रतनुः ॥ पाण्डुपुत्रोऽर्जुनः ॥  
 कुरुक्षेत्रे संभवन् भद्रतनुः ॥ पाण्डुपुत्रोऽर्जुनः ॥  
 कुरुक्षेत्रे संभवन् भद्रतनुः ॥ पाण्डुपुत्रोऽर्जुनः ॥  
 कुरुक्षेत्रे संभवन् भद्रतनुः ॥ पाण्डुपुत्रोऽर्जुनः ॥

22

24

24

26

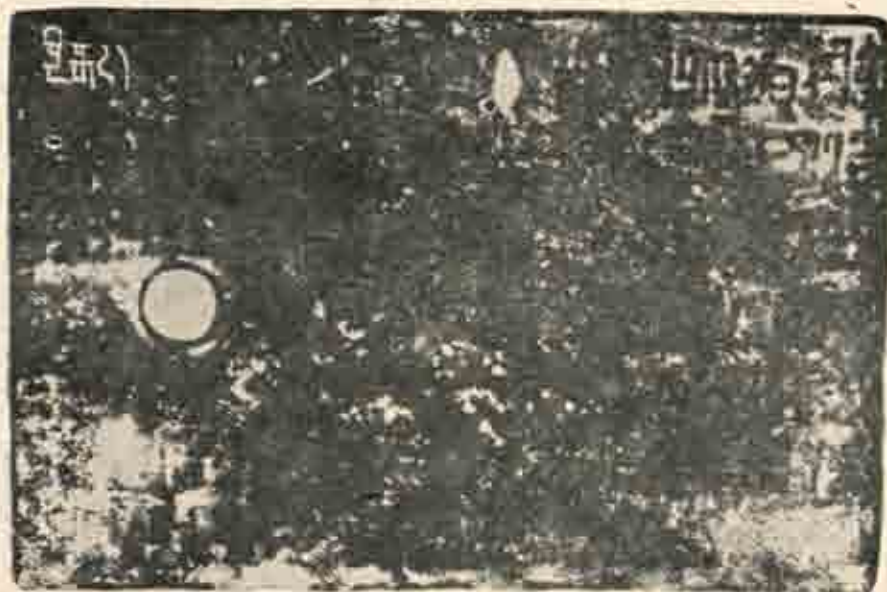
26

28

28

Scale : Three-fifths

iii, b



Scale : Three-fifths

SEAL



(from Photograph)



*Third Plate, First Side*

- 22 भूर्वर्षणवि(वी) सूर्य्यसुताश्च गावः [1\*] दत्तास्त्रयस्तेन भवन्ति लोका य[2\*]  
 23 क(का)ञ्चनं गाञ्च महि(ही)ञ्च दवात् [11\*] [प]ण्डितवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गो मो-  
 24 दति भूमिदः [1\*] प्राच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [11\*] व-  
 25 हृभिवंसुधा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः [1\*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमि-  
 26 त(स्त)स्य तस्य तदा फलं(लम्) [11\*] स्वदत्तां परदत्ताम्बां यत्नाद्ब्रह्म  
 युधिष्ठिर [1\*] महि(ही)  
 27 महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाश्रे(च्छे)षोनुपालनमिति ॥ प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्ये  
 28 सम्भ्र(संब)त्सरे द्वाविहसे(विसे) पौषप्रथमपक्षाषष्ठधामद्धेनापि संब(व)त् २० २  
 पुष्य-

*Third Plate, Second Side*

29 दिन ६ ।

*Seal*

राज[3\*] श्री[हर्ष]गुप्तस्य सूनो[4\*] सद्गुणशालिनः [5\*]  
 शासनं [शि]वगुप्तस्य स्थितमाभूवनस्थिते ॥

<sup>1</sup> The metre of this verse is *Indravajri*.

<sup>2</sup> The metre of this verse and the following verses is *Anushtubh*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *parashakti* vs.

<sup>4</sup> DGA/60

## No. 7—SALRI INSCRIPTION OF CHANDESVARAHASTIN

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR AND J. SUNDARAM, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 15.6.1960)

The inscription under study was discovered at Salri near Saliya in the former Mandi State, now merged in Himachal Pradesh. It was noticed in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1907-08*, p. 265, Plate 83, although it does not find a place in Bhandarkar's list. In his *Mathura Inscriptions* (edited by K. L. Jauer), p. 143, Lüders commented on the form of the name of the king during whose reign the epigraph was engraved.<sup>1</sup> The record is edited here from an impression preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India.

The impression represents a stone inscription in three lines covering an area about 27½ inches long and about eight inches high. Single letters are each about one inch and a half in height. There is the representation of a long trident in the left margin of the epigraph with an axe joined to its shaft from the right and a goad from the left. It is not improbable that it was the emblem of the royal family to which the epigraph belongs. A combined trident and axe, closely resembling the symbol on our inscription with the goad omitted, is held by Lakullis, the great founder of the Lakullis sect of the Pāṇpatas, in his left hand.<sup>2</sup> The symbol therefore was Śaivite in character. The Śaivite leanings of the kings mentioned in our record are also suggested by their names, viz., Īvara and Chanḍāvara, both meaning the god Śiva.

The characters of the epigraph belong to the Late Brāhmī alphabet as prevalent in the western areas of Northern India about the earlier part of the fourth century A. D. The forms of *ṅ*, *ṣā*, *ṣ* and *l* are of the usual Northern type which are not found in the early epigraphs of Southern and Western India, while letters like *m*, *ṣ* and *k* are expected in the records belonging to the western regions of Northern India. Such letters as *k* and *m* as used in our inscription do not appear to be later than the fourth century A. D.<sup>3</sup> whereas the types of medial *i* sign used in *śiācā*<sup>4</sup> in line 1 and *paēi* in line 3 and the angularity of the right upper end of *ś* as in *śāvara* in line 1 are not general. expected in records earlier than the said century. The early type of subscript *ḍ* used in *ḍ* in line 2 of the epigraph under study reminds us of one of the two types of the same sign noticed in the Allahabad pillar inscription<sup>5</sup> of Samudragupta (c. 340-76 A. D.), e.g. (1) in *ḍaḍḍas*<sup>6</sup> in line 14 and *pruḍḍaḍḍa* in line 23, wherein the lower limb of *ḍ* is a straight stroke slanting towards the lower right, and (2) in *maruḍḍaḍḍ* in line 23 and *ḍaḍḍa* in line 33, in which the lower end of the letter is curved towards the left rather sharply in the first case and slightly in the second.

<sup>1</sup> Lüders' suggestion that this name is *Chanḍivara* and not *Chanḍivara* does not appear to be quite satisfactory. See below, p. 97 and note 5.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Mandava image of Lakullis in *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State, Vikrama 1862* (1925-26) Plate II, figure a, also M. B. Girdar, *Archaeology in Gwalior*, Plate XXIX. Three of the attendants of Lakullis on the same stone bear the trident, axe and goad individually. The trident-axe symbol is noticed on a number of seals (cf., e.g., seals from Jhansi in the Allahabad Municipal Museum, Nos. JH 243, 244 and 285).

<sup>3</sup> Similar forms are found in the Mathura inscription of 380 A.D. (above, Vol. XXI, Plate facing p. 13), though the paleography of that record gives the impression of a date earlier than that of the Allahabad pillar inscription (CII, Vol. III, Plate I) of the middle of the fourth century A.D.

<sup>4</sup> CII, Vol. III, Plate 1.

This limb of subscript *d* in our inscription is a straight vertical stroke earlier than the development of the letter noticed in the first of its two forms found in Samudragupta's epigraph referred to above.<sup>1</sup> Although this kind of slanting lower limb of the letter *d* is found in the inscriptions of the Scythian and Kushāna rulers of the first and second centuries A.D., the palaeography of the inscription under study is of course considerably closer to that of Samudragupta's inscription than the records of the Early Scythians and Kushānas. Moreover, the early type of *d* found in our inscription seems to be also noticed on certain coins of Kumāragupta I (414-55 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> An interesting palaeographical feature of our inscription is the outward curvature at the lower part of the left limb of *g* and *ḥ* as well as the serif with the subscripts in conjuncts. These two characteristics are sometimes noticed in the inscriptions of the ages of the Kushānas and the earlier Guptas. The Shorkot inscription<sup>3</sup> of 402 A.D. exhibits both the features, the second of them rarely.<sup>4</sup> But its palaeography is decidedly later than that of our epigraph.

The language of the inscription under study is Sanskrit. *Sandhi* has not been observed in *Maḥārāja-Isvara* in line 1 while *śri=Chandēśvara* has been written in lines 1-2 for *śri-Chandēśvara*, this kind of avoidance of *sandhi* being sometimes found in some early inscriptions.<sup>5</sup>

The inscription contains a single sentence stating that *Maḥārāja Chandēśvarahastin*, who was the son of *Maḥārāja Isvarahastin* and belonged to the *Vātsa gōtra*, built a city in a locality called *Śrēṅyaka* after having defeated a person named *Rājñi*. The family represented by the two *Maḥārājas* with names ending in *hastin* may probably be regarded as the *Hastin* dynasty. An *abshara* in the name of the city built by *Chandēśvarahastin* in *Śrēṅyaka* is damaged, though the name may have been *Bhāṣāsālipuri*. It is difficult to say whether the word *abshara* had anything to do with the soldiers who must have fought in the battle referred to. The reference may also be to the temple of a deity called *Bhāṣāsālin*.

It is clear from the contents of the record that the victory over the enemy was regarded by *Maḥārāja Chandēśvarahastin* as an achievement worthy enough to be commemorated by the construction of a city or temple probably on the site where the battle between himself and his adversary was fought.

The title *Maḥārāja* assumed by the rulers mentioned in our record was first used in India by the Indo-Greek king Eucratides in the first half of the second century B.C., while, among indigenous Indian monarchs, it was first assumed by the Kalinga king Khāravāda who flourished about the close of the first century B.C.<sup>6</sup> In the second and third centuries A.D., some Indian kings called themselves *Rājā* and *Maḥārāja* indiscriminately, although the former title was possibly somewhat more popular especially in South India.<sup>7</sup> With the popularisation of the imperial title *Maḥārājādīpityāja* by the Guptas from the fourth century A.D., *Maḥārāja* generally became the title of smaller rulers and feudatories especially in North India.<sup>8</sup> These facts do not

<sup>1</sup> The *abshara* *ed* in the Mathura inscription (350 A.D.) of Chandragupta II is of the same type; but the lower limb is only slightly slanting. Cf. above, Vol. XXI, Plate facing p. 8, text line 17 (*daśd*).

<sup>2</sup> See Altakar, *Gupta Gold Coins of the Bajana Hoard*, Plate XXXV, No. 36; Plate XXXVII, No. 43.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XVI, Plate facing p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. loc. cit., *ed* in *carvāḥ*; also *CII*, Vol. III, Plate XXXVI, B (see in \**ḥg--atī* in line 2); etc.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXVI, p. 121, note 8.

<sup>6</sup> *Select Inscriptions*, p. 222, note 3; *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 215. The Satrap king Bhāṣarata is supposed to be called a *Maḥārāja* in the Bamanga inscription (*Mém. A. S. I.*, No. 8, p. 122 and Plate XXVI; *JRNEAS*, Vol. XXIII, 1914, p. 144). But the only *ś*-character readable on the stone after the king's name is *ś* and it is difficult to say whether the intended word is *Maḥārāja* or anything else.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the Sātoḥkhana and Uchayāna inscriptions, e.g., *Select Inscriptions*, p. 126, text line 1; p. 128, text line 10; p. 222 (No. 3), text lines 2 and 8; etc.

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 364-65.

clash with the ascription of our record to the beginning of the fourth century since, in the third and fourth centuries, the rulers of the western regions of North India often assumed the title *Mahārāja*.<sup>1</sup>

As regards the names of the two kings mentioned in our record, both ending in the word *Hastin*, only a few such royal names are known to us from early records. Although king Hastin of the *Parivrajaka* family and rulers named Hastivarma in the *Śālaśākya* and Eastern *Gaṅga* dynasties are well known,<sup>2</sup> names of early Indian rulers ending in *Hastin* are no doubt rare. We know of one *Ragahastin* who issued tiny silver coins bearing his name on the obverse and an elephant on the reverse apparently in reference to the second element in his name. A few such coins were found in Rajasthan and Kathiawar and at Kanauj. It is also known that *Ragahastin* was another name of the celebrated *Gurjara-Pratihāra* king *Vatsarāja* (c. 775-805 A.D.) who may have been the issuer of the coins in question.<sup>3</sup> The name *Rājīla* reminds us of a chief of the same name mentioned in the *Vasantgadh* (*Sirohi District, Rajasthan*) inscription of 625 A.D.<sup>4</sup> and of the chief *Rājīla* who was an ancestor of the *Pratihāra* chiefs of the *Jodhpur* region mentioned in the *Jodhpur* and *Ghatiyals* inscriptions, dated respectively in 837 and 861 A.D.<sup>5</sup> The name *Rājyila* borne by a royal officer mentioned in the *Karitalai plates* (493 A.D.)<sup>6</sup> of the *Uchchakalpa* king *Jayanātha* seems to be a modification of the same name.

There are two geographical names in the inscription, viz. the locality called *Śrēnyaka* and the city called *Bha[ṭa]śālipuri* which may also have been the name of a temple. It is difficult to say if *śālipuri* in the name is the origin of the name *Śāli* where the inscription has been found. If such is the case, *Śrēnyaka* would be the old name of the land around the said village.

#### TEXT

- 1 Śri-mahārāja-<sup>1</sup>Īvarahasti-satputrēpa mahārāja-<sup>2</sup>śrī-Cha-<sup>3</sup>
- 2 oṣṣēvarahastinā Rājīlārā . . .<sup>4</sup> yādīhē jītvā Śrēnyakē Bha-
- 3 [ṭa?]<sup>5</sup>śālipurī kārītā Vāta-sagōtrēpa ]<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 62; *CPA*, Vol. III, pp. 252, 283; etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Bhandarkar's List*, No. 2089, pp. 398, 399; also see above, Vol. XXIV, p. 283, for a Hastin of the *Maṅghai* family.

<sup>3</sup> See *JNSI*, Vol. XIII, pp. 198, ff.; Vol. XVI, pp. 282-83; Vol. XVIII, pp. 222-23. For the name *Gurūhastin*, see *Lüders' List*, No. 34.

<sup>4</sup> *Bhandarkar's List*, No. 41.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 26 and 31.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1194.

<sup>7</sup> From an impression.

<sup>8</sup> *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

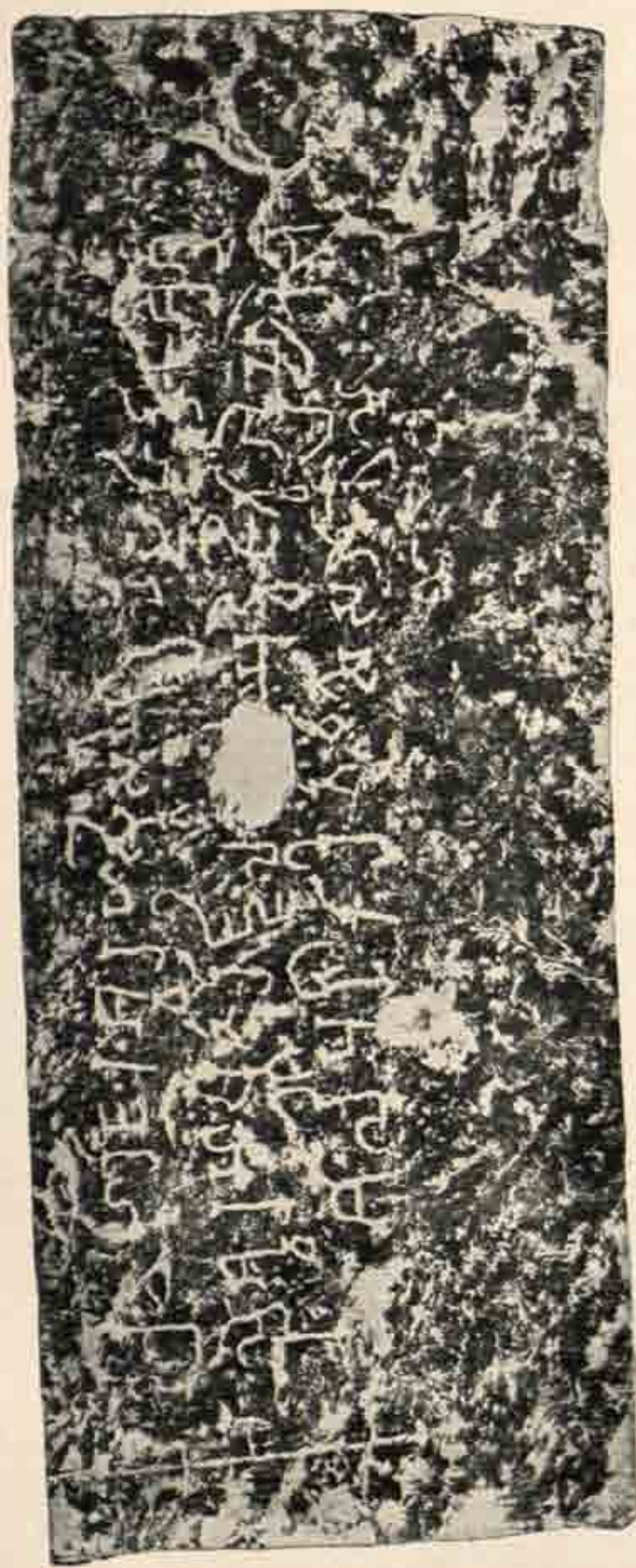
<sup>9</sup> Read *śrī-Cha*.

<sup>10</sup> These two *śālikas* are lost. Traces of what may be a superscript *i* forming a part of the second *śālikas* are visible.

<sup>11</sup> One *śālikas* is damaged here. The traces do not help us in restoring it, although it may have been *ta*.

<sup>12</sup> The punctuation is indicated by a *śālikas*-like sign followed by a horizontal stroke.

SALRI INSCRIPTION OF CHANDESVARHASTIN



Scale : One-fourth





## No. 8—ALLEGED COINS OF MAHISHA KINGS

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 22.6.1960)

It is well known to the students of Indian numismatics that Prof. V. V. Mirashi has been trying for the past ten years to prove the existence of a Mahisha dynasty of Śaka nationality founded by a king named Māna and of certain other rulers of that family as also to show that these Mahisha kings ruled over the southern part of the former Hyderabad State. The theories are based on his reading and interpretation of the legends on certain coins mostly discovered in the said area. It may also be known to our numismatists that we have often expressed the opinion that Prof. Mirashi's readings of the coin legends are doubtful and that his interpretations of the legends are still more dubious. But it has sometimes been complained that we have only characterised the published readings of the coin legends and their interpretations as unsatisfactory without offering any reading and interpretation ourselves.<sup>1</sup>

Our difficulty was that we were not prepared to commit without examining the coins and satisfying ourselves with the reading of the legends and their interpretation. Recently we had an opportunity of examining the plaster casts of some of the coins in the Hyderabad Museum including what Prof. Mirashi has published as those issued by the kings of the so-called Mahisha dynasty, and are now fortunately in a better position to express our opinion on them. The casts were prepared by Mr. A. N. Lahiri, Senior Epigraphical Assistant of our office, when he visited the Museum in 1959, and we are thankful to him for placing them at our disposal.

Prof. Mirashi has recently discussed, in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 116-21, the history of his study of the coins of a ruler whom he calls the Śaka king Māna of the Mahisha dynasty. This story indicates the following stages in the development of his interesting theory about the kings of the Mahisha dynasty.

(1) In 1946, Prof. Mirashi received inked impressions of two coins in the possession of Mr. Hurmuz Kams of Hyderabad and published them in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXII, pp. 34 ff. and Plate. The legend on the coins was read and translated by him as follows: *Ramāno Saga-Māna-Mahasa(sa\*)* (Sanskrit *Rājānā Śaka-Māna-Mahisharāja*), '(This coin is) of the Śaka king Māna of the Mahisha dynasty.' From the illustration, however, it is quite clear that not only *sa*, put in brackets with an asterisk after *mahasa*, is untraceable on the coins and is admittedly an imaginary addition, but there is also absolutely no trace of the word *ramāno* on them.<sup>2</sup> His interpretation of the legend was influenced by the Puranic passage *Śakya-mānābhavad-rājā Mahishyānā* (v.l. *Mahishyānān*) *mahīpatih*. It seems that he corrected *Śakya-mānābhavad*<sup>3</sup> to *Śaka-Māna-bhavad*<sup>4</sup> and *Mahishyānā* or *Mahishyānān* to *Mahishāyānā*. The territory over

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *JNSI*, Vol. XVIII, 1958, pp. 6 ff.; 116 ff.; 124 ff. Prof. Mirashi's articles on the coins in question are referred to below. Our comments on some of his theories based on these coins were offered earlier in *op. cit.*, Vol. XII, pp. 50 ff.; *IHQ*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 174 ff.; Vol. XXIX, pp. 294 ff. Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in the present article.

<sup>2</sup> What has been read as *ramāno* with the remarks, 'These two akṣaras appear very thin and cramped for want of space', is really a small symbol of six arches (i.e. a six-peaked hill), which is partly rubbed off.

which the Śaka king 'Māna the Mahiṣa' ruled was located by him in the region around Māhiśmatī, i.e. modern Māndhātā or Maheshwar on the Narmada. As, however, will be seen below, the letters *mahasa* constitute the first part of the word *Mahāsenāpatīva* found on other coins of the same person and therefore the existence of the Mahiṣa dynasty has no foundation at all.

(2) In 1949, Prof. Mirashi received photographs of two coins discovered in the course of excavations, the first at Kondapur and the second at Maski, from Mr. Khwaja Muhammad Ahmed, then Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad, and published them in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XI, pp. 1 ff. and Plate.<sup>1</sup> He also published a note on the responsibility of the Śaka kings of the Mahiṣa dynasty for the spread of the Śaka era in South India in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Cuttack Session, 1949*, pp. 45 ff., as well as in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXVI, 1950, pp. 216 ff. The fragmentary legend on the said two coins from Kondapur and Maski, as he read it, ends with the letters *mahasa* which were taken to stand for Sanskrit *Mahiṣa* and he ascribed the Kondapur coin to the same Śaka king Māna of the Mahiṣa dynasty. The legend on the Maski coin was read by Prof. Mirashi as *gantas Mahasa[sa?]* which suggested to him a Mahiṣa king with his name ending in the word *gantas*, supposed to have been a later member of the family founded by the Mahiṣa-Śaka king Māna, though elsewhere he applies the name Yasa to this king.<sup>2</sup> On the basis of the discovery of these coins at Kondapur in the Medak District and Maski in the Raichur District, he now suggested that the territory ruled by the kings of the Mahiṣa-Śaka dynasty comprised the southern part of the former Hyderabad State, which in his opinion was called Māhahaka in ancient times.<sup>3</sup> It was also suggested that the said Mahiṣa-Śaka house of Southern Hyderabad was an offshoot of the Kahakarāta-Śaka family of Western India. But, as has already been indicated above, *Mahasa*... actually stands for *Mahāsenāpatīva*. The dynastic and personal names of the issuer of the coins, which have been misunderstood even though they are quite clear, are being discussed below and it will be seen that they have nothing to do either with the Śakas or with any Mahiṣa dynasty.

(3) Two notes were published by Prof. Mirashi in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, Vol. XII, 1950, pp. 87-89 and pp. 90-91 with Plates.<sup>4</sup> The subject of the first of the two notes is a coin in the possession of Mr. Hurmuz Kans, which bears the legend *Saga-Māna-Chuṭaka-kasa*, ' [This coin is] of the Śaka Māna Chuṭaka,' as read and interpreted by Prof. Mirashi. It was now suggested that this Śaka king named Māna-Chuṭaka belonged to the family founded by the Śaka ruler Māna who himself as well as some of his successors (like... *gantas* or *Yasa* referred to above) assumed the dynastic name *Mahasa*-Sanskrit *Mahiṣa*. As will be seen below, Prof. Mirashi later regarded *Chuṭaka* as a shortened form of *Chapu-kuta* which is, according to him, an epithet of Śaka Māna, and means 'belonging to the Chutu family.'<sup>5</sup> But we have pointed out elsewhere<sup>6</sup> that the same Māna could have scarcely been described on some of his coins as 'Māna the Mahiṣa' and on others as 'Māna the Chuṭaka (i.e. Chutu).'<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The article was reprinted in *Numismatic Series*, No. 3.—'Some Coins of the Mahiṣa Dynasty', Hyderabad Museum, 1950, with illustration of the Kondapur and Maski coins as well as the two coins published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXVI.

<sup>2</sup> *Numismatic Series*, No. 7.—'Coins of King Samahāgrāmaśaka from Kondapur Excavations', Hyderabad Museum, 1950, p. 2. In our opinion, the reading of what has been read as *gantas* is absolutely uncertain.

<sup>3</sup> For our comments on the location of the Mahiṣa country in the southern part of the former Hyderabad State, cf. *JNSI*, Vol. XII, pp. 90 ff.; *IHQ*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 174 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The coins dealt with in the second note were also published in *Numismatic Series*, No. 8.—'Some More Mahiṣa Coins from Kondapur Excavations', Hyderabad Museum, 1950.

<sup>5</sup> *JNSI*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 8.

The subject of the second note of Prof. Mirashi is a number of coins on which the complete legend was read by him as *Mahāsenāpativā Bhāradāji-putasa Saka-Māna Chutukulasa*, with the remarks that sometimes *Senāpativā* and *Chutuka* occur in the legend instead of *Mahāsenāpati* and *Chutukula* respectively. As a matter of fact, however, the seventh and eighth letters of what actually reads *Mahāsenāpativā Bhāradāji-putasa* (i.e. the letters *sa bha*) were wrongly read as *puta*. But the word *Chutuka* has been rightly regarded by Prof. Mirashi as a shortened form of *Chutukula*, although his interpretation of the expression, as will be seen below, is wrong.

(4) In an article in the same journal, Vol. XV, 1953, pp. 115 ff. and Plate, Prof. Mirashi published another coin of the so-called *Mahāsenāpati Saka Māna* from Kondapur, which helped him to correct the reading *Rādāji-puta* of the legend on similar coins, published by him previously and referred to above, to *Bhāradāji-puta* (Sanskrit *Bhāradvāja-putra*). The legend is now read as *Mahāsenāpativā Bhāradāji-putasa Saka-Māna-Chutukulasa* (Sanskrit *Mahāsenāpativā Bhāradvāja-putrasya Saka-Māna-Chutukulasya*) and translated as '[This coin is] of the *Mahāsenāpati Saka Māna*, the son of *Bhāradvāja*, who is of the *Chutu* family.' It is also suggested that *Saka Māna* had issued these coins earlier when he was a *Mahāsenapati* while his coins bearing the epithet *ramāna* were issued at a later date after his assumption of royal title. Prof. Mirashi further observes, 'In two other respects, these Kondapur coins differ from those found elsewhere. They mention his (i.e. *Saka Māna*'s) family as *Chutukula* which is shortened to *Chutuka* in one case (see above, Vol. XII, Pl. VIII, Coin 8). On the other coins, he mentions instead the epithet *Mahāna* (Sanskrit *Mahishā*) derived from the country under his rule. He seems to have been well known as the king of the Mahishas.'<sup>1</sup> But, as we have pointed out above, the word *ramāna* does not actually occur on the coins in question. Elsewhere,<sup>2</sup> we commented on the interpretation of *Saka-Māna-Chutukulasa* (Sanskrit *Saka-Māna-Chutukulasya*) as 'of the *Saka Māna* belonging to the *Chutu* family' as quite unsatisfactory. If that was the meaning intended, the passage would have been worded as *Chutukulasa Saka-Mānasa* (Sanskrit *Chutukulasya Saka-Mānasya*) or at least *Chutukula-Saka-Mānasa* (Sanskrit *Chutukula Saka-Mānasya*). There is no instance of the mention of a person and his dynasty in extremely awkward compound expressions like *Saka-Māna-Chutukula*, as Prof. Mirashi's interpretation would involve.

There is another interesting fact to which attention of scholars should be drawn in this connection. The occurrence of the epithet *Mahāsenāpativā* on these coins suggests quite clearly that the letters *mahāsa* read on the same person's other issues, published by Prof. Mirashi earlier, do not stand for *Mahisa*[sa\*] (Sanskrit *Mahishasya*), 'of the Mahisha', but for *Mahāsa*[nāpativā\*] (Sanskrit *Mahāsenāpativā*), 'of the *Mahāsenāpati* (i.e. great *Senapati* or commander of forces)'. Considering, however, the arrangements of the words in the passage *Sagamāna Mahāsa*[nāpativā\*] on this group of coins as well as the size of both the coins of this group and of the letters in the legend, it appears to us that the full legend here may have been *Sagamāna Mahāsenāpativā Chutukulasa* (or *Chutukulasa*) and that the epithet *Bhāradāji-putasa* (Sanskrit *Bhāradvāja-putrasya*), 'of one who is the son of a lady born in a family belonging to the *Bhāradvāja* gotra', may have been omitted for the sake of space. In any case, it is clear that the flans of these coins were considerably smaller than the die. As will be seen below, what Prof. Mirashi takes to be *Saka-Māna* (i.e. *Saka-Māna*) we are inclined to take as *Sagamāna* (i.e. *Sagamāna*), 'of the *Sagamāna* (i.e. belonging to the *Sagama* family)'.<sup>3</sup>

In our opinion, Coin No. 1, the inked rubbing of which has been published in *Nuministic Series*, No. 8, Plate I, reads *Bhāradāji* and not *Bhāradāja* and the legend fully preserved on Coin

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 117

<sup>2</sup> JNSI, Vol. XVIII, p. 8

No. 5 on the same Plate<sup>1</sup> and incompletely on some others read *Mahasenapati Bhāradvāji-putasa Sagamāsa Chūtukulasa*. The natural inclination of any student of Sanskrit and Prakrit would be to take the passage to stand for Sanskrit *Mahāsenāpatē Bhāradvāji-putrasya Sagamānām Chūtukulasya* and to translate it as '[This coin is] of *Mahāsenāpati Bhāradvāji-putra Chūtukula* of the *Sagama* (i.e. belonging to the *Sagama* dynasty)'. *Sagamāsa Chūtukula* may be compared to numerous such passages occurring in early South Indian inscriptions, e.g., *Pallavāya Sivakāndavarmā* (Sanskrit *Pallavānām Śivakāndavarmā*), 'Śivakāndavarman of the Pallava family', occurring in the Hirahadagalli plates.<sup>2</sup> Whether *Sagama* is a Dravidian name or stands for Sanskrit *Saigama* or *Saṅgrāma* cannot be determined, although these are familiar personal names,<sup>3</sup> easily applicable to families, and the medieval *Saigama* dynasty (1336-1485 A.D.) of Vijayanagara is well-known to us.

The language of the passage also shows beyond doubt that *Chūtukula* here has to be taken as a personal name. There is certainly no other satisfactory explanation of the passage. To some of our readers, however, *Chūtukula* as a personal name would appear rather awkward, since the word *kula* forming its second part means 'a family' in Sanskrit. Of course, Monier-Williams' *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* recognises *Rājakula-bhatta* occurring in the *Kathāsuritaṅgara* as the personal name of a poet. But there is reason to believe that, just as *Mihirakula* was Sanskritised from Persian *Mihrgul*, *Chūtukula* is likewise the Sanskritised form of a Dravidian personal name.

We have certain coins found in the Karwar region, some of which bear the legend *Rāṣa Chūtukadānandasa*, '[This coin is] of king *Chūtukadānanda*', and others with the legend *Rāṣa Muḍānandasa*, '[This coin is] of king *Muḍānanda*', although both the groups are exactly similar in type.<sup>4</sup> There is absolutely no doubt that these coins were issued by two rulers (apparently related to each other) whose personal names were *Chūtukadānanda* and *Muḍānanda*. There also cannot be any doubt that the personal name *Chūtukadānanda* occurs in its Sanskrit garb as *Chūtukulānanda* in the name of *Hārīti-putra Viṅhukāḍa-Chūtukulānanda-Sātakarṇi* of an inscription<sup>5</sup> from Banavāsi and of *Hārīti-putra Viṅhukāḍa-Chūtukulānanda-Sātakarṇi* of another inscription<sup>6</sup> from Malavalli. We have seen above that coins, wrongly attributed by Prof. Mirashi to king *Māna* of the *Mahisha* dynasty, represent the personal name of the issuer in some cases as *Chūtukula* and in others in a shortened form as *Chūtukā* which is the same as *Chūtu* with the *svārthika* suffix *ka* added to it.<sup>7</sup> This fact would suggest that *Chūtukula*, the Sanskritised form of Dravidian *Chūtukāḍa*, was another slightly shortened form of the personal name *Chūtukadānanda-Chūtukulānanda*. It is of course difficult to say whether *ānanda*, the third element in the name, is also the Sanskritised form of a Dravidian word. But that personal names with this element were popular in certain areas of the Deccan, seems to be suggested by names like *Muḍānanda* found on the Karwar coins referred to above and *Viṅhuruḍraḍivānanda-Sātakarṇi* of *Vanavāsa* (modern *Banavāsi* in the North Kanara District, Mysore) mentioned in the *Nagarjūnakoṇḍa* inscription<sup>8</sup> of the time of the *Ābhīra* king *Vasusheṣa*.

<sup>1</sup> This is the same as Coin No. 6 in Plate VIII of *JNSI*, Vol. XII.

<sup>2</sup> *Select Inscriptions*, p. 437.

<sup>3</sup> *Bhandarkar's List*, Nos. 123, 1537, 1590, etc.

<sup>4</sup> *Rapson, Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, etc.*, pp. lxxxiii-lxxxiv, 59-60, Plate VIII, Nos. G.P. 2, 285, G.P. 3, and Nos. 236, G.P. 4.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. lxxxiii, No. 25; *Liders' List*, No. 1186; above, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 229 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Rapson, op. cit.*, p. liv; *Liders' List*, No. 1195.

<sup>7</sup> The addition of this suffix is quite common in early epigraphic records.

<sup>8</sup> *Indian Archaeology 1958-59*, p. 8; above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 197.

The above discussions will make it clear that whatever has been said during the past decade about the existence of kings of the Mahisha-Śaka dynasty and their rule over the southern part of the old Hyderabad State, on the basis of the erroneous reading and interpretation of the coin legends dealt with above, is entirely without any foundation.

Chūpukula, who issued the coins discussed above and enjoyed the official designation *Mahāsenāpati*, seems to have been the military governor of a district or its subdivision within the dominions of some king who cannot be identified in the present state of our knowledge. It appears that he flourished as a semi-independent ruler when the Śātavāhana power was fast declining. The issue of coins by such subordinate rulers is illustrated by certain coins bearing the legend *Sadākana-Kalalāya-mahārāṣṭra* (Sanskrit *Sātakarni-Kalalāya-mahārāṣṭriya*), ' [This coin is] of Sātakarni-Kalalāya, the *Mahārāṣṭrin* '.<sup>1</sup> The official designation *Mahārāṣṭrin* means ' the great *Rāṣṭrin* or the ruler of a *rāṣṭra* ', i.e. ' a chief of the *Rāṣṭras* ', and *rāṣṭra* means a group of villages or the subdivision of a district. The word *rāṣṭra* reminds us of the designation *Rāṣṭrakūta*, ' head of a *rāṣṭra* ', coined on the analogy of *Gramakūta*, ' head of a *grama* or village '.<sup>2</sup> Another similar designation is *Rāṣṭramahattara* mentioned along with *Grāmamahattara*.<sup>3</sup>

In this connection reference may be made to certain other coins published by Prof. Mirashi in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*. In a small note in Vol. XV, p. 120 and plate, he published a coin in the possession of Mr. Hurmuz Kaus of Hyderabad. In the fragmentary legend on the coin, Prof. Mirashi could not read anything besides the letters *śivala maha* which induced him to attribute the issue to a Mahisha king named Śivala. We, however, consider the suggestion absolutely unwarranted. In the first place, he admits the existence of a letter like *ka* before *śi*. Thus the name may have been one ending in *śivala* as in the case of Viṣṇupurudra-śivalānanda-Sātakarni of a Nagarjunikonda inscription referred to above. Secondly, the two letters *maha* may suggest anything like *Mahārāja*, *Mahāsenāpati*, *Mahārāṣṭrin*, *Mahāgrāmika*, *Mahātalaçara*,<sup>4</sup> etc., and there is no reason to confine ourselves to *Mahisha* even if such an epithet was known from epigraphic and numismatic records. But, as we have shown above, *Mahisha* does not occur in the legend of any Indian coin so far discovered.

<sup>1</sup> Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59. Rapson also offered the alternative suggestion that *Sadākana* stands for Sanskrit *Sātākāna* from *Sātāka* and drew our attention to the personal names *śri-Sāta* and *Śāndarāga-Sātaka* (*op. cit.*, p. xxxii). The expression *Sātākāna* means ' of the Sātākas ', i.e. ' belonging to the Sātāka family or people '. It is interesting in this connection to note that, while most versions of Rock Edict II of Aśoka speak of *Satiya-puta* or *Sātiya-puta*, ' the king of the Satiyas or Sātiyas ' side by side with *Kerala-puta*, ' the king of the Keralas ' the Erragudi version has *Satiya-puta* for *Satiya-puta* or *Sātiya-puta*. It is well known that *Kerala-puta*-Sanskrit *Kerala-putra*, literally ' the son of the Keralas ', occurs in the form *Kerolokha* in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* as well as in the works of Ptolemy and Pliny to indicate ' the king of the Keras (Keralas) '. See my *Maski Inscription of Aśoka*, p. 8, note 1. The original form of the name of the other people in question seems to have been *Sātika* or *Sāntika*. The land of the king called *Satiya-puta*-*Sātiya-puta*-*Sātika-puta* is often located to the north of the territory of *Kerala-puta* in the Malayalam-speaking area, not very far away from the Chitaldrug region of Mysore where the coins of *Sadākana Kalalāya-mahārāṣṭri* were found. It is therefore not impossible that the Mahārāṣṭri was a son of the ancient race called *Satiya*-*Sātiya*-*Sātika* in the inscriptions of Aśoka. *Sadākana* would in that case stand for *Sātākāna* or *Sāntākāna*, ' of the Sātika or Sāntika race '.

<sup>2</sup> *Rāṣṭrakūta* is mentioned in records like the Ellora plates of Dantidurga (above, Vol. XXV, pp. 28 ff.). *Rāṣṭrin* is the name as *Rāṣṭrika*-Prakrit *Rāṣṭri* of records like the Hirañyagullī plates (above, Vol. I, pp. 1 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Rāṣṭra-grāma-mahattara* in the Kavi plates in *Jud. Ast.*, Vol. V, pp. 114 ff.

<sup>4</sup> For coins issued by a *Mahātalaçara* or a *Talaçara* whose name ended in *maha* (i.e. *śha* Sanskrit *śaka*),

<sup>5</sup> *JNSI*, Vol. XV, pp. 117 ff.

Another note on a few coins discovered at Kondapur was published by Prof. Mirashi in the same journal, Vol. XII, 1950, pp. 92-93 and Plate, as well as in *Numismatic Series*, No. 7—'Coins of King Sumahāgrāmaka from Kondapur Excavations', Hyderabad Museum, 1950, pp. 1-2 and Plate. The legend on these coins has been made out and interpreted by him as *Samahagrāmaka maha...* (Sanskrit *Samahāgrāmakasya maha...*). '[This coin is] of Sumahāgrāmaka Maha...'. We are indeed thankful to him that he was not inclined to regard the letters *maha* at the end of the legend to stand for *Mahasava* (Sanskrit *Mahishasya*) and Sumahāgrāmaka as another king of the so-called Mahisha dynasty of Southern Hyderabad.

On an examination of the plaster casts of these coins, we find that the correct reading of the legend is *Mahagrāmaka Māthari-putasa...sa* (Sanskrit *Mahāgrāmikasya Māthari-putrosya...sya*). '[This coin is] of *Mahāgrāmika Māthari-putra...*'.<sup>1</sup> The personal name of the *Mahāgrāmika* is unfortunately not preserved in any of the specimens. *Mahāgrāmika* means 'the great *Grāmika* (the headman of a village), i.e., a chief of the *Grāmas*', or 'the head of a *mahagrāma*'. The word *mahagrāma* is known from South Indian records to mean a group of villages like the *vāhika*.<sup>2</sup> *Mahāgrāmika* was therefore an official designation similar to *Rāshtrakūṭa Rāshtrakūṭavaharī*, *Rāshtrin* and *Rāshtrika*. In the Nagarjunikonda inscription of the time of Ābhīra Vasuśyāma, Kumhī-putra Śivasopa of the Perihijaha family is endowed with the designations *Mahāgrāmika*, *Mahālakṣara* and *Mahāśāntanāyaka*.<sup>3</sup> The designation *Mahāgrāmika* reminds us of the officer entitled *Dāśagrāmika* who was apparently a *Grāmika* having jurisdiction over ten villages.<sup>4</sup> It appears that *Mahāgrāma* was a territorial unit like *Dāśagrāma*.

<sup>1</sup> See *ibid.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 148 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *The Successors of the Śātanikas*, p. 303.

<sup>3</sup> *Indian Archaeology*, 1958-59, p. 8; above, Vol. XXXIV, 7 p. 19, where *Mahāgrāmika* has been alternatively interpreted as 'an inhabitant of Mahāgrāma'.

<sup>4</sup> For the *Dāśagrāmika*, see *Śāntalīkāmāhā*, p. 16, text line 47 (*patā-kā-ābhīśinā Jyotiḥśāntanāyaka-Mahālakṣara Mahātara-Dāśagrāmikādī-śānta-śyamaśyama*); cf. also *JAS Letters*, Vol. XVII, p. 23.

## APPENDIX I

### Coins wrongly assigned to the so-called Mahisha Kings

#### A. COINS OF MAHĀSENĀPATI BHĀRADVĀJĪPUTRA CHUṬUKA OR CHUṬUKULA OF THE SĀGAMA DYNASTY

##### Type I.—Elephant<sup>1</sup> ; Ujjayini<sup>2</sup> Symbol<sup>3</sup> ; Copper

*Obverse* :—Elephant with uplifted trunk to right ; *Svastika* above the back of the elephant ; legend around in thick characters : *Sagamāna Mahās(enāpatia)* . . .

*Reverse* :—Ujjayini symbol with orbs having each a pellet in double circle ; *Svastika* between each pair of orbs.

1. [Mr. Hurmuz Kaus, Hyderabad : *IHQ*, Vol. XXII, p. 34, Plate at p. 35, figure A ; *Numismatic Series*, No. 3, Plate II, figure b-2.]

Size—square, 1" × .9" ; weight—130 grains ; Legend— . . . *gamana Mahā[se]* . . .

2. [Mr. Hurmuz Kaus, Hyderabad : *IHQ*, Vol. XXII, p. 34, Plate at p. 35, figure B ; *Numismatic Series*, No. 3, Plate II, figure b-1.]

Size—rectangular, .95" × .75" (thick) ; Weight—180 grains ; Legend—*Sagamāna [Ma]* . . . There is a six-peaked hill symbol near the end of the elephant's tail.<sup>4</sup>

##### Type II.—Svastika<sup>5</sup> ; Thunderbolt and Arrow ; Lead and Copper

*Obverse* :—*Svastika* and legend around : *Mahāsenāpatia Bhāradājīputasa Sagamāna Chuṭukāra* (or *Chuṭukulasa*).

*Reverse* :—In pellet border, thunderbolt with arrow pointed downwards on right or left.

**Variety A-1** : Lead, Square

**Class I** : Issuer's name—*Chuṭu* . . .

1. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations) : *JNSI*, Vol. XII, p. 90, Plate VIII, No. 2 ; *Numismatic Series*, No. 2, p. 1, Plates I-II, No. 1.]

Size—.9" × .8" ; Weight—110 grains ; Legend— . . . [*ho*] *senāpatia Bhāradājī-putasa Sagamāna Chu[ṭu]* . . . ; arrow to the left of the thunderbolt.

2. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations) : *JNSI*, loc. cit., No. 4 ; *Numismatic Series*, loc. cit., No. 4.]

Size—.5" × .75" ; Weight—128 grains ; Legend— . . . *Bhāradāja-putasa Sagamāna* . . . ; arrow probably to the left of the thunderbolt.

3. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations) : *JNSI*, loc. cit., No. 5 ; *Numismatic Series*, loc. cit., No. 5.]

Size—.75" × .75" ; Weight—112 grains ; Legend— . . . *putasa Bhāradāja-putasa Sagamāna* . . . ; arrow to the right of the thunderbolt.

**Class II** : Issuer's name—*Chuṭuka*

<sup>1</sup> The Ujjayini symbol connects this type with Type III below.

<sup>2</sup> This symbol has been wrongly regarded by Prof. Mitashi as the word *ramāna*.

<sup>3</sup> The *Svastika* connects this type with Type III below.



4. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations): *JNSI*, loc. cit., No. 3; *Numismatic Series*, loc. cit., No. 2.]

Size—9' × .65'; Weight—77 grains; Legend—...[ta]sa [Bha]radaja-putasa Sagamāna Chutukasa; arrow to the right of the thunderbolt.

5. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations): *JNSI*, loc. cit., No. 8; *Numismatic Series*, loc. cit., No. 7.]

Size—7' × 7'; Weight—80 grains; Legend—Mahāsena[patasa]...[puta]sa Sagamāna Chatakasa; arrow to the left of the thunderbolt.

**Variety B-1**: Lead, Round—big; Issuer's name—Chutukula

1. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations): *JNSI*, loc. cit., No. 6; *Numismatic Series*, loc. cit., No. 5.]

Size—1.8" in diameter; Weight—158 grains; Legend—Mahāsena[patasa] [Bharada]ja-puta[sa] Sagamāna Chutukulasa; the arrow is obliterated.

2. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations): *JNSI*, Vol. XV, p. 115, Plate VI, Nos. 1-2.]

Size—1.7" in diameter; Weight—66 grains; Legend—Mahāsena[patasa] Bharadaja-putasa Sagamāna Chutukulasa.

**Variety B-2**: Copper, Round—small; Issuer's name—lost.

1. [Hyderabad Museum (from Kondapur excavations): *JNSI*, Vol. XII, p. 90, Plate VIII, No. 9; *Numismatic Series*, No. 5, p. 1, Plates I-II, No. 8.]

Size—.8" in diameter; Weight—80 grains; Legend—...[Bha]radaja-putasa Sa[sa]...; arrow to the left of the thunderbolt.

**Type III.—Svastika**: : Ujjayini Symbol<sup>1</sup>; Lead, Round

*Obverse*:—Svastika and partially preserved legend around: ...[sa] Bharadaja-putasa [Sagamā]na...

*Reverse*:—Ujjayini symbol as on Type 1, but with crescent above.

1. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations): *JNSI*, loc. cit., No. 7; *Numismatic Series*, loc. cit., No. 6.]

Size—.75" in diameter; Weight—115 grains.

**Type IV.—Lion**: : Ten-peaked Hill<sup>2</sup>; Lead, Round

*Obverse*:—Lion<sup>3</sup> to right with tail hanging down; Svastika above the back of the lion; a symbol looking like tree-in-railing to the left of Svastika; Legend—...Ma[hata]...

*Reverse*:—In double-lined square, ten-peaked hill with a dot in each of the curves surmounted by a crescent which is flanked by what looks like ploughs.

<sup>1</sup> The size is quoted by Prof. Mirashi differently as .65' × .65' in *JNSI*, Vol. XII, p. 90. It is difficult to say which of the two quotations is correct.

<sup>2</sup> The Svastika connects this type with Type II and the Ujjayini symbol with Type I above.

<sup>3</sup> The lion connects this type with Type V while the ten-peaked hill reminds us of the six-peaked hill on the reverse of Type VI, although the issuers of Types V, VI cannot be regarded as members of the Sagama dynasty without further evidence.

<sup>4</sup> Prof. Mirashi regards the animal as a horse.

ALLEGED COINS OF MAHISHA KINGS



1



2



3

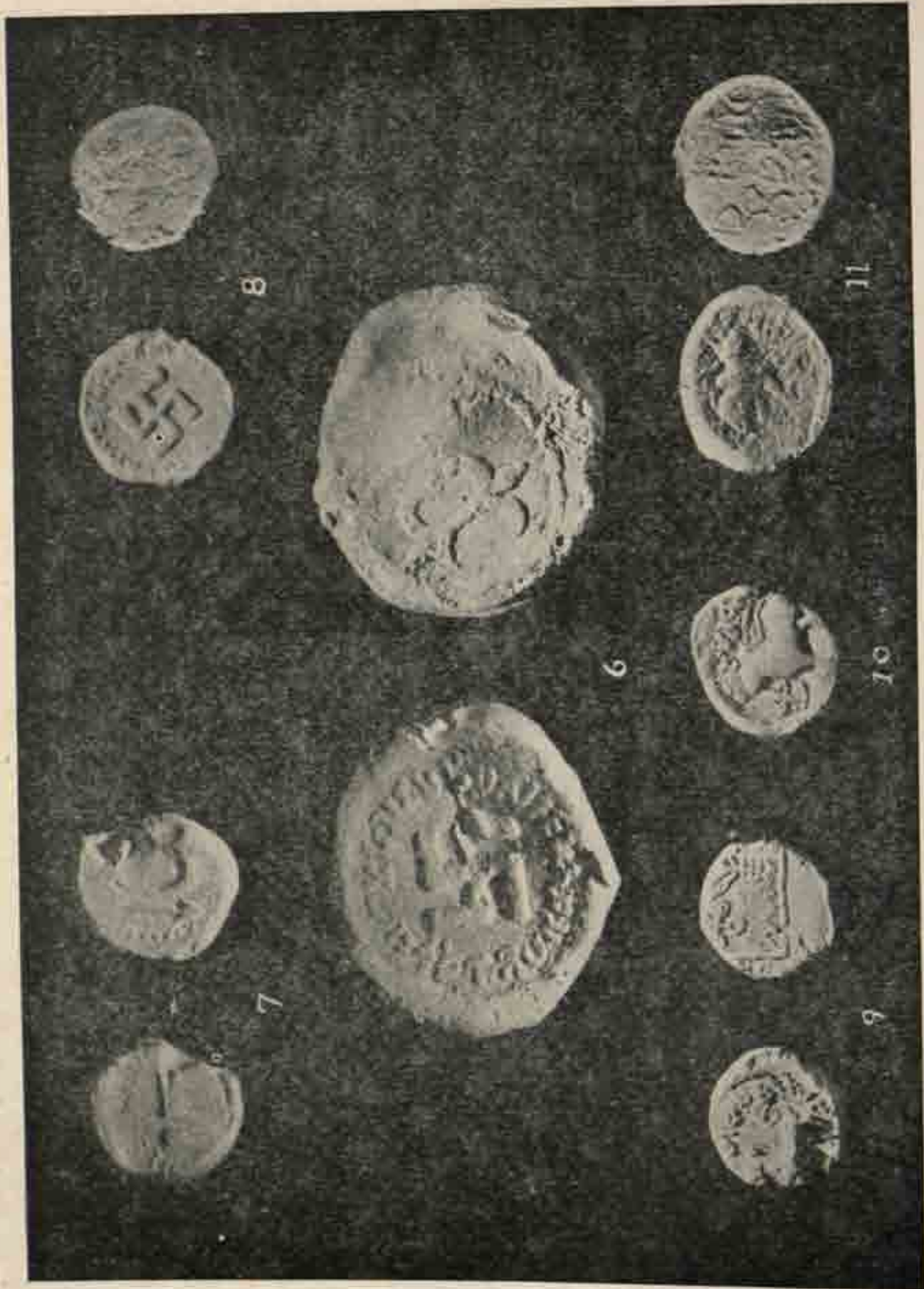


4



5





(from Photograph)

1. Hyderabad Museum (from the Maski excavations): *JNSI*, Vol. XI, p. 2, Plate II, No. 10 *Numismatic Series*, No. 3; p. 5, Plate II, figure a-2.]

Size—1.05" in diameter; Weight—210 grains; Legend—.....*Maha[sa]*.....<sup>1</sup>

#### B. COINS NOT ASSIGNABLE TO CHUTUKA-CHUTUKULA

**Type V.—Lion<sup>2</sup> : Ujjayini Symbol ; Lead, Roundish**

*Obverse*.—Lion with upraised tail to left; legend above—...*Maharashisa (?)*....<sup>3</sup>

*Reverse*.—Ujjayini symbol with a pellet in each orb.

1. [Hyderabad Museum (from the Kondapur excavations): *JNSI*, Vol. XI, Plate II, p. 1; No. 9; *Numismatic Series*, No. 3, p. 1, Plate II, figure a-1.]

Size—.75" in diameter; Weight—72.5 grains.

**Type VI.—Crescent : Six-peaked Hill ; Lead, Roundish**

*Obverse*.—Crescent. Legend (to be read from the outer side) around—...*śivalasa<sup>4</sup> maḥa*...<sup>5</sup>

*Reverse*.—Similar to the reverse device of Type IV; but the hill is six-peaked.

1. [Mr. Hurmus Kaus, Hyderabad: *JNSI*, Vol. XV, p. 120, Plate VI, Nos. 6-7.]

Size—.85" in diameter; Weight—54 grains.

### APPENDIX II

#### Coins of Mahārāshṭrin Chutukula

Among the coins in the Hyderabad Museum, of which plaster casts were prepared by Mr. A. N. Lahuri, there is one bearing the standing lion on the obverse and the tree-in-railling and Ujjayini symbols on the reverse as well as the legend *Mahārāshisa Chutukulasa* (Sanskrit *Mahārāshṭriyaś Chutukulasaya*). [This coin is] of *Mahārāshṭrin Chutukula*. From the specimen examined, it is not possible to say whether an expression like *Sagamāna* has been cut off before *Mahārāshisa*. Therefore, in the present state of our knowledge, it is difficult to determine whether *Mahārāshṭrin Chutukula* of this coin is identical with *Mahāsenāpati* Bhāradvāji-putra Chutuka or Chutukula of the Sagama dynasty, whose coins have been discussed above. The identification is, however, not totally precluded by the difference in the official designations *Mahārāshṭrin* and *Mahāsenāpati* since the same person often enjoyed more than one such designation and, as we have seen above, a subordinate of the Ābhira king Vasuśreya is known from a Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription to have enjoyed three official designations at a time, viz. *Mahāgrāmika*, *Mahātalanara* and *Mahādāṇḍanāyaka*. There are innumerable cases of this kind in later inscriptions.

Another coin of a similar type in the same collection bears the imperfect legend *Mahārāshisa* ..... and may have been issued by *Mahārāshṭrin Chutukula* referred to above. A third coin in the

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Mirashi reads : *ś(i)ṣ(i) . . . yasaḥ Mahāsasa* and assigns the coin to a person named . . . *yasaḥ* or *Yasa* of the so-called Mahisha dynasty.

<sup>2</sup> The lion connects this type with Type V while the ten-peaked hill reminds us of the six-peaked hill on the reverse of Type VI, although the legends of Types V-VI cannot be regarded as members of the Sagama dynasty without further evidence.

<sup>3</sup> Prof. Mirashi reads the legend as . . . *sa Mahāsasa (sa)* and assigns the coin to the so-called Mīna Mahisha.

<sup>4</sup> The name of the issuer of this coin is probably not *Śivala* but ends in it.

<sup>5</sup> It is difficult to say whether this stands for *Mahāsenāpati*, *Mahārāshṭri* or any other similar official designation beginning with *maḥa*.

same collection bears the figure of a humped bull on the obverse and the representation of a six-peaked hill, a *svastika* and the Ujjayini symbol on the reverse. Only three *aksharas* of the legend on this coin are clear and they read . . . *alasa*, probably the latter part of the expression *Chutukulasa*. It is, however, not possible to say from the specimen at our disposal whether the legend mentioned Chutukula as *Mahāsenāpati* or as *Mahāvādehin*.

**Type I.—Lion to left : Ujjayini Symbol etc. ; Lead**

*Obverse* :—In incused area, lion with upraised tail standing to left ; circular legend—*Mahārājāsa Chutukulasa*.

*Reverse* :—In a square enclosure, symbols, of which only three are seen on the flan, viz. a zig-zag line, above which on the left is an Ujjayini symbol with a dot in each orb and, on the right, a tree-in-railing.

1. [Hyderabad Museum]

Size—Round, .8 inch in diameter ; Legend—[*Mahāra*]jāsa Ch[*u*]tukulasa.

2. [Hyderabad Museum]

Size—Round, .9 inch in diameter ; Weight—74 grains ; Legend—*Maharajāsa*.....

The reverse is blurred.

**Type II.—Bull to left : Ujjayini Symbol, etc. ; Lead**

*Obverse* : In an incused area, humped bull to right ; Legend—... *Chutukulasa*.

*Reverse* :—In a square enclosure, six-peaked hill, to the left of which is a *svastika* and, to the right, portion of an Ujjayini symbol ; above the *svastika* is a partially preserved undefinable symbol.

1. [Hyderabad Museum]

Size—round, .55 inch in diameter ; Weight—127.9 grains ; Legend—(to the right) . . . *alasa*.

## No. 9—BHAIKSHUKI INSCRIPTION IN INDIAN MUSEUM

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 16.5.1960)

Only eight inscriptions written in the Bhaikshuki or arrow-head (sometimes, wedge-head) characters, prevalent among the Buddhist monks of the eastern regions of North India during the early medieval period, especially at Uddandapura (modern Biharsharif in the Patna District of Bihar), have so far been discovered. Out of them, the following six have already been edited with illustration: (1) Gayā (Bihar) image inscription published by C. Bendal in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 77-78, and by R. D. Banerji in the *Vaṅgiya Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, Vol. XX, pp. 153 ff.;<sup>1</sup> (2) the Kaza (near Allahabad, U. P.) inscription published by N. P. Chakravarti in the pages of this journal, Vol. XXII, pp. 37-39; and (3-5) three image inscriptions from Uren (Monghyr District, Bihar) and one from the Malka (West Bengal) B. R. Sen Museum, published by me, above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 220-26. The seventh Bhaikshuki inscription, which was found at Uren and is extremely damaged, was also noticed by me while editing the four inscriptions referred to above.<sup>2</sup> The eighth inscription in the Bhaikshuki script, which remains as yet unpublished, was found on the pedestal of an image of Jambhala belonging to the collection of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The inscription, the findspot of which is not stated,<sup>3</sup> was examined by both R. D. Banerji and N. P. Chakravarti although that did not lead to the publication of the record. When I edited the Bhaikshuki inscriptions from Uren and the Malka Museum, I was also eager to publish this epigraph. But my attempts to trace the image in the Indian Museum proved unsuccessful.<sup>4</sup> Recently I found two impressions of the inscription in N. P. Chakravarti's files preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. On an examination of these impressions, I realised the reason why this well-known epigraph, which is the biggest Bhaikshuki inscription ever discovered, has remained so far unpublished. The fact is that it is extremely difficult to read and interpret and the reading of some of the letters is doubtful. Since, however, the number of Bhaikshuki inscriptions as yet discovered and published is not too many, I considered it necessary to bring it to the notice of scholars especially in view of the fact that the image bearing the record is not easily traceable. I therefore venture to publish my views on the reading and interpretation of the inscription in the following pages for whatever they may be worth. Students of Indian epigraphy are welcome to improve upon my transcript and translation of the record.

The engraving of the inscription on the pedestal of the image of Jambhala is not carefully done and its preservation is also unsatisfactory in a few places. The record is engraved in three sections, the entire inscribed area being about  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length and  $3\frac{1}{4}$  inches in height and individual letters each about  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch high. There are altogether nine lines of writing in the inscription. Lines 1-2 and 6-9 run through all the three sections while lines 3-5, which are very small, are engraved in the third section only. This is because engraving was not possible in the space to the left of lines 3-5. For a similar reason, the gap between lines 1 and 2 is more than between

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 222, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 222.

<sup>3</sup> The Superintendent of the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, informs me that the image, noticed and illustrated in Foucher's *Étude sur l'Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde*, p. 123 and figure 20 at p. 124, and in R. D. Banerji's *Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculpture*, p. 39, Plate XVIc, was secured from Ghoshkundī (near Kiul in the Monghyr District, Bihar).

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 222, note 6.

any two other lines of writing in the epigraph. A small piece of stone appears to have broken away from the lower left end of the pedestal even before the incision of the record. This seems to be indicated by the last three lines of the inscription, each of which begins from a greater distance from the left margin than the previous line.

The characters of the record are similar to the Uren and Malda Museum inscriptions referred to above. But its palaeographical importance lies in the use of a few signs (e.g. § in line 8 and initial i in line 9) not noticed in other epigraphs. The language of the major part of the record may be regarded as Prakrit influenced by Sanskrit, though a sentence in lines 7-8 is in fairly correct Sanskrit.

The object of the epigraph is to record the installation of the image on which it is engraved. It begins with a symbol for *siddham*. The first half of the inscription from the beginning of line 1 to the middle of line 6 offers the same two stanzas of the Buddhist formula that constitutes the text of the Uren inscriptions Nos. 2-3 and the main part of that of the Uren inscription No. 1, with negligible variations.<sup>1</sup> It reads as follows after the corrections of scribal errors:

*Bhagavā ācuso<sup>2</sup> pañcikasamuppāda-dharmamāṃ dāseti* [!]<sup>3</sup>  
*pañcikasamuppannānāṃ cā dharmānāṃ yo nirodho* ||  
*Ye dharmāḥ hetu-prabhavā teṣāṃ hetuḥ Tathāgato avachā* [!]<sup>3</sup>  
*teṣāṃ cā yo nirodho evam-vādī Mahāśāmya* ||

Although some letters here and there in this part are either damaged or badly formed, there is no difficulty about the reading and interpretation of this section. But most parts of the latter half of the epigraph are beset with difficulties.

After the two stanzas quoted above, there are three sections of writing in the inscription, each of which ends with a double *śaṅḍa* and may be regarded as a sentence. The first of the sections seems to read: *śrī-Saṃyya-putra-puṅgava-mahārāja-śrī-Pūrṇavādi(ś)hrama-kṣhā(kskṣā)-dhīpati* [!]<sup>3</sup>. 'The illustrious *Mahārāja Pūrṇavikrama*, son of the illustrious *Saṃyya*, is the lord of the earth (i. e. the ruling king)'. This apparently refers to the ruler of the territory in which the image of Jambhala bearing the inscription under study was installed.

The second section seems to read: *śrī-Siṃhanāgān(yān) bhadranta-Jayasena-śrī-dharma-* *gama*. 'This (i. e. the image bearing the inscription) is the religious gift of the Venerable *Jayasena* at *Siṃhanāgā*.' The word *bhadranta* was used as an epithet of Buddhist monks. This section refers to a Buddhist monk named *Jayasena* who set up the image at a place called *Siṃhanāgā* no doubt for worship. It appears that there was a Buddhist monastery at *Siṃhanāgā* and that the image was installed in the said monastery. It is not impossible that *Siṃhanāgā* was the headquarters of *Pūrṇavikrama*'s territory.

The third section, which is even more difficult than the previous two sentences, seems to read: *Kārtika-māsam Gauḍarāja-śrī-paṇḍita samatva 70(1)-mānā thāitām*, probably meaning, '[It is] installed in the month of *Kārtika* of the 70th year belonging to the new era of the *Gauḍa* king'. In this passage, the reading of the symbol looking like superscript *dh* joined to subscript *tt* is doubtful, although it has some resemblance with the numerical symbol for 70 which was written in early epigraphs as *pta* and in medieval records often as *vā*, *chā*, *thā*, etc. The word *samatva*, probably a scribal error for *samantā* or *samatta*, seems to be the same as Sanskrit *samant* which is known to have been used in inscriptions in various corrupt forms such as *saṃmānt*, *samanta*, *samantū*, *saṃcātū*, *saṃmat*, *samat*, *saṃanta*, *saṃtā*, *saṃatta*, *saṃanta*, *saṃanta*, *saṃantū*, *smat*, etc.<sup>4</sup> But we

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 234.

<sup>2</sup> Macron over *s* and *o* has not been used in this article.

<sup>3</sup> See *IRQ*, Vol. XXX, p. 323.

have no other instance in which a year of the date of an inscription is qualified by a word like *arīṣa* which is meaningless. It is possible to think that the intended reading is *a-pūreṣa*, 'not of old', probably meaning that the year referred to was developed out of a recent regnal reckoning and not an old established era like the Tikrama-samvat. I am sorry that I cannot offer any better reading and interpretation of the passage.

We know that some epigraphic and literary records of the Gayā region of Bihar belonging to the twelfth century A.D. refer to certain dates of the first few decades of the *arīṣa-rājya*, *gata-rājya* or *vinashita-rājya* of Govindapāya while the years of the well-known Lakshmanasena samvat, also originated in the same area, are usually referred to the *arīṣa-rājya* of Lakshmanasena, sometimes mentioned with the title *Gaṇdeśvara*, 'the lord of Gauḍa.' It is not impossible that our inscription actually refers to the year 70 of the Lakshmanasena-samvat which, as we have suggested elsewhere, seems to have been originally counted from the accession of the Sena king Lakshmanasena in c. 1179 A.D., although, apparently owing to some confusion, it came to be counted later in North Bihar from various dates between 1108 and 1119 A.D.<sup>1</sup> Thus the inscription under study, probably dated in the year 70 may perhaps be assigned to c. 1249 A.D.

If our inscription is referred to a date about the middle of the thirteenth century A.D. and the image was secured by the Indian Museum from some locality in Bihar, king Pūrṇavikrama was apparently a small ruler of the area in question since Bihar is claimed to have been conquered by the Turkish Muslims about the end of the twelfth century. The existence of some such rulers in South Bihar during the thirteenth century is known to us. An inscription<sup>2</sup> from Jāmbhīghā near Bodhgayā in the Gaya district of Bihar, dated in the Lakshmanasena year 83 (probably 1261 A.D.), mentions 'the king (*bhūpati*) *Āchārya* Jayasena, the lord of Pīṭhī (*Pīṭhīpati*)' and this Jayasena, was the son of Buddhasena who is apparently identical with '*Āchārya* Buddhasena, the lord of Pīṭhī,' known from an undated inscription<sup>3</sup> from Mshābodhi (Bodhgayā). There is little doubt that the word *pīṭhī*, in the title *Pīṭhīpati* borne by these rulers, is the same as *pīṭhā*<sup>4</sup> and indicates the Vajrasana at Bodhgayā, which is believed to have been the seat of the Buddha while he was meditating for the attainment of *Nirvāṇa*. The title *Āchārya*, additionally borne by the rulers, was an epithet of a teacher or monk and may indicate their sacerdotal character. It may suggest that the said two rulers were the heads of the great Buddhist monastery at Bodhgayā and the superintendents of its property like the later *Mahanta Mahārājas*.<sup>5</sup> But if they were monks, Jayasena could not have been a real son of Buddhasena but was merely a disciple of the latter.<sup>6</sup> There is, however, some difficulty in accepting the suggestion.

It should be pointed out that a manuscript of the Buddhist works *Pacharakṣhā* is known to have been copied in Śaka 1211 (1289 A.D.) during the reign of a ruler named Madhusena who enjoyed the designations *Paramēśvara*, *Paramasangata*, *Paramamahārājādhirāja* and *Gaṇdeśvara* and, though not called *Āchārya* and *Pīṭhīpati*, may have been a descendant of Buddhasena and Jayasena.<sup>7</sup> It should, moreover, be noted that an earlier 'lord of Pīṭhī' known from epigraphic and literary sources, was certainly not a genuine monk. The Sārnāth inscription<sup>8</sup> of Kumāradēvi,

<sup>1</sup> *JHQ*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 21 ff.; *JASB*, N. S., Vol. XX, pp. 372-73.

<sup>2</sup> *Jwl. Ins.*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 47; Bhandarkar's List, No. 1469.

<sup>3</sup> *Jwl. Ins.*, op. cit., p. 45; Bhandarkar's List, No. 1749.

<sup>4</sup> The feminine form *pīṭhī* is sometimes found in literary and epigraphic works. See Monier-Williams, *Sansk. Eng. Dict.*, s. v.; above, Vol. V, p. 13, line 14.

<sup>5</sup> For this suggestion, see *JASB*, N. S., Vol. XXIX, p. 24.

<sup>6</sup> For the representation of a disciple as the son of his preceptor, see Bhandarkar's List, p. 25, note 1. Cf. the expression *arjya-guru*=Sanskrit *arjya-guru*, 'a grandfather-preceptor' (above, Vol. V, p. 230).

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *JASB*, N. S., Vol. XXIX, pp. 23 ff.

(Above, Vol. IX, pp. 324 ff.)



queen of the Gūhaḍavāla king Govindachandra (c. 1114-55 A.D.), mentions her father Devarakshita of the Chhikkora family of lunar race as the successor of the latter's father Vallabharāja as 'the lord of Piṭhi (or Piṭhikā),' and her mother Saṅkarādevī as the daughter of the Rāshtrakūṭa ruler Mathana (Matbana) of Aḍga (East Bihar), who is known to have been the maternal uncle and subordinate of the Pāla king Rāmapāla (c. 1195-1235 A.D.).<sup>1</sup> The same Piṭhipati Devarakshita is mentioned in the commentary of Samiḥyākaranandin's *Rāmacharita* as vanquished by Mathana and the commentary explains the designation as *Magadh-ādhipati*, 'lord of Magadha'.<sup>2</sup> The commentary on the *Rāmacharita* also equates Piṭhipati with *Magadh-ādhipati* elsewhere<sup>3</sup> while describing Bhīmayasa who was a feudatory of Rāmapāla (c. 1082-1125 A.D.) and helped his overlord in overthrowing the Kaiyarta king Bāhma of Varendri (North Bengal). This Bhīmayasa seems to be a later member of the family of Devarakshita. It also appears that these Piṭhipatis of the Chhikkora-Chhinda family were succeeded by the line represented by Buddhasena and Jayasena. Thus Buddhasena and Jayasena who were apparently ruling over parts of Bihar with their headquarters at Bodhgayā and had some relations with the management of the Buddhist monastery therein cannot be regarded as Buddhist monks merely because they are called Piṭhipati.

As regards the title *Āchārya*, it may be pointed out that a fragmentary Bodhgayā inscription<sup>4</sup> seems to represent one Jayasena as the *āchārya* of a Chhinda chief named Pūrṣabhadra. If this Jayasena is identified with the homonymous son of Buddhasena,<sup>5</sup> we may suggest that the members of his family were hereditary *Āchāryas* (i.e. teachers or preceptors) of the Chhinda rulers who probably dedicated their territory to their *Āchāryas*. This is not impossible in view of the well-known instance of the dedication of the kingdom of the Kalachuris of Tripuri in favour of their guru, the Śaiva saint Vāmadeva or Vāmasambhu.<sup>6</sup> If such was the case, the epithet *Āchārya* borne by Buddhasena and Jayasena is probably explained. The manuscript of the *Pañcharakṣit* may suggest that the use of this title was given up by the later members of the Sena family. The above suggestion further explains why the Chhinda ruling family was not extirpated but was merely shadowed by the Sena *Āchāryas* just as the ministers of the kings of Nepal shadowed

<sup>1</sup> The marriage between the houses of Rāshtrakūṭa Mathana and Chhikkora Devarakshita is interesting because both the families hailed from the Kannada country. Devarakshita is called *Sindharāja* in the commentary on the *Rāmacharita*, II, 8, and we know that the Kannada family name *Chhinda* or *Shinda* was often Sanskritised as *Sindha* and associated with the Sindhu or Indus (*The Struggle for Empire*, p. 216). For the Sindus of South India who claimed both Nāga and Sindhu origin, see *Enc. Ind.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 572 ff., above, Vol. III, pp. 230 ff.; Sewell's List, pp. 392-93, etc., and for the Chhindas of Madhya Pradesh who claimed only the Nāga origin, see *The Struggle for Empire*, pp. 214 ff. The Chhindas of Gayā claimed the Sindhu origin and descend from the lunar race. The Madhya Pradesh and Gayā branches of the family may have left Karāṭṭaka when the fabrication of the mythical genealogy was still in the formative stage. This suggestion is probably supported by the history of another Chhinda family of North India known from the Dowal (Pilibhit District, U. P.) inscription of Lalla, son of Mathana from the latter's wife Anahitā of the Chhikkora (i.e. Chhikya) family, probably a ruling house of Kannada origin. See Bhandarkar's List, No. 92; cf. in addition to the reference cited therein, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 345 and note 15. The Dowal inscription, which also mentions Mathana's elder brother Bhoḥana and father Valraverman, is dated in Vikrama 1049 (902 A.D.). It is interesting to note that the Chhindas of Pilibhit claim descent from the sage Chyavana and do not refer to their Nāga or Sindhu origin probably because they left their original home at a still earlier date.

<sup>2</sup> II, verse 8; cf. *Ray, DhNI*, Vol. I, p. 338. The Sīrāṭh inscription calls Mathana 'the venerable maternal uncle of kings' because his elder's son Rāmapāla was a king and the latter's two brothers, viz. Mahipāla II and Sarapāla II, also were his predecessors on the Pāla throne, although Mahipāla II may have been his step-brother.

<sup>3</sup> II, verse 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 143.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *JASB*, N.S., Vol. XXIX, p. 24.

<sup>6</sup> Above, Vol. XXV, pp. 46 ff.

their royal masters in the recent past.<sup>1</sup> A Bodhgayā inscription<sup>2</sup> dated in the Buddhānrvāṣa year 1813 (1270 A.D.) mentions a contemporary Chhinda ruler of the Gayā region and points to the fact that the house continued to flourish considerably after the time of Buddhāsena since the Jāmbhikā inscription of the latter's son Jayasena bears the date 1261 A.D. The fragmentary Bodhgayā inscription referred to above, which appears to mention Jayasena as the *śāhārya* of the Chhinda ruler Pūrṇabhādra, mentions the following predecessors of the latter: Vallabharāja, born in the Chhinda family in the Sindhū country, his son Deśarāja; his son Āyichoha (Ādiya); his son...; his son Saṅgha; .....his son Dharmā; his son Sāmanta; and his son Pūrṇabhādra. The identification of this Vallabharāja with theonymous father of Devarakṣita as suggested by J. C. Ghosh<sup>3</sup> is not improbable since the former flourished about two centuries before 1270 A.D. while the son of the latter was a contemporary of Rāmapāla (c. 1082-1125 A.D.).

That, like Devarakṣita and Bhīmayaśas, Buddhāsena and Jayasena were also regarded as the kings of Magadha and not as mere pontiffs of the Bodhgayā monastery is suggested by Tibetan evidence which further indicates that the *Piṣhupati Śāhāryas* of the Sena family had their capital at Bodhgayā. A Tibetan monk named Chos-rje-dpal or Dharmasvāmin is known to have met Buddhāsena, described as the king of Magadha and as residing at (i.e. having his capital at) Vajrasana (i.e. Bodhgayā), in the rainy season of 1234 A.D. According to this monk, Buddhāsena, who was a Buddhist, fled from his capital at the advent of the Muslim soldiers but returned from his forest retreat soon after the danger was over. When the king was coming in a procession of five hundred soldiers on an elephant and saw Dharmasvāmin amongst the spectators, he got down to greet the latter with the words, "Salutations to the son of the Buddha."<sup>4</sup>

Thus we see that Buddhāsena was ruling in 1234 A.D. while his son Jayasena, as seen above, flourished in 1261 A.D., apparently over considerable areas of South Bihar, when the Turkish Musalmans were already in occupation probably of the central regions of Bihar along the banks of the Ganges and were trying to subjugate the local rulers of the area. If our inscription is assigned to 1249 A.D. which falls between the dates of Buddhāsena and Jayasena, king Pūrṇavikrama mentioned in it cannot be regarded as a scion of the family of the *Piṣhupati* Senas of Bodhgayā. He may, however, be the same as Pūrṇabhādra of the Chhinda family who is known to have been a contemporary of Jayasena, the latter probably being his own *śāhārya*, as seen above. But, in that case, the doubtful name of his father has to be regarded as wrongly written. *Bhādanta* Jayasena of our inscription, who was a Buddhist monk, cannot possibly be identified with Buddhāsena's son Jayasena who was the lord of Piṣh.

If the rulers of the Chhinda family and the *Piṣhupati Śāhāryas* of the Sena dynasty were flourishing side by side in parts of Bihar at the same time, as suggested above, we have to think of the relations that existed between them. It is, however, difficult to determine the exact position in the present state of insufficient information. But it may be that the Chhindas, who may have originally had their capital at Bodhgayā, repaired to Sindhānāgā when their Sena *Śāhāryas* became *Piṣhupati*s with their headquarters at Bodhgayā, and began to rule over a small territory around their new capital probably far away from Bodhgayā.

<sup>1</sup> N. G. Majumdar regarded Buddhāsena as a member of the Chhinda family which, in his opinion, ousted the Chhīkora dynasty represented by Devarakṣita (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 40). But the suggestion seems to be wrong.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 343, verse 11; Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1489.

<sup>3</sup> *J.A.S.B.*, N.S., Vol. XXIX, p. 35. Ghosh also suggested that *Deśarāja* may be a mistake for *Devarāja*, i. e., *Devarakṣita*. Can it be conjectured that Bhīmayaśas was his grandson whose name is lost?

<sup>4</sup> *J. S. Banerjee's Papers*, pp. 111-12; G. Scott's *Biography of Dharmasvāmin*, pp. 64-65, cf. also p. 90.

The only geographical name mentioned in the inscription under study is Sirhanāgā where the Buddhist monk Jayasena installed the Jambhala image during the rule of Pūrṣavikrama. It appears to be the early name of Ghoshikupṭi where the image bearing the epigraph was found. It is interesting in this connection to note that an inscription,<sup>1</sup> recently discovered at Arna near Kajra, about 10 miles from Ghoshikupṭi, and dated in the fourteenth regnal year of Madanapāla, (i.e. c. 1157 A.D.), refers to the rule of *Piṭhī-paty-Āchārya* Devasena, apparently a predecessor of Buddhasena.

## TEXT\*

- 1 [A] Siddham\* [ ] Bhagavā āvuso paṭichhasamu[pp]ā- [B] [da]-dhammā de- [C] āita\* [ ] paṭi-
- 2 [A] chhasamu[pp]annānāṃ cha dhammānāṃ cha\* yo nirodho || [B] ye dhammā [C] hetu-pa-
- bhavā te-
- 3 [C] sācā hetuṃ
- 4 [C] Tathāgato a-
- 5 [C] vaccha [ ] te-
- 6 [A] sācā cha yo nirodho evaṃ-vādi Mahāśāmapo || [B] āri-Sahyya-[C] satu(suta)-mahā-
- [r]ā-
- 7 [A] ja-āri-Pūṣṇadi(vi)krama-kaḥā(kaḥmā)dhīpatī[ ] || āri-[B] Sirhanāgā-[C] sācā(yācā)
- bhadanta-
- 8 [A] Jayasenassa deya-dharmmo-yaṃ || Kārttika- [B] māsaṃ Ga-[C] tṭā-rā]a-a-
- 9 [A] [pū\*]rviyaṃ samatna(tta) 70\*-maṃ thāitāṃ ||

## Postscript

Recently Mr. A. N. Lahiri copied a fragmentary Bhaikshuki inscription on the lower part of a sculptured stone slab under a pūpal tree near the Kajra railway station. It is *A. R. Ep.*, 1960-61, No. B 130. It is written in two lines reading as follows :

- 1 .....ā [ ] pa[ṭichha]-samappannānāṃ cha [dhammā]nāṃ yo  
nirodho [ ]
- 2 .....yo niro[dho e]va[ ]vādi Mahāśāmapo—[ ] ||

<sup>1</sup> See *J.R.Ep.*, 1960-61, No. B 114.

\* From impressions.

• Expressed by symbol.

• Read exactly as in the Uren inscriptions.

This letter is redundant.

• Lines 3-5, engraved in the third section, are very small.

\* The symbol looks somewhat like that of 70; but the value assigned to it is not certain.

BHAIKSHUKI INSCRIPTION IN INDIAN MUSEUM



Size : Actual

BHAIKSHUKI INSCRIPTION FROM KAJRA



Size : Actual

## No. 10—SHIGGAON INSCRIPTION OF AMOGHAVARSHA I

(1 Plate)

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 26.2.60)

The inscription which is published here was copied by me during the year 1943-44 at **Shiggaon**, the headquarters of the Taluk of the same name in the Dharwar District of Mysore State.<sup>1</sup> When I visited the place the inscribed slab was kept in the compound of the Mamlatdar's Office. It has since been removed to the Museum of the Kannada Research Institute, Dharwar. The inscription has been published by Mr. R. S. Panchamukhi in the *Karnatak Inscriptions*, Vol. I, No. 14, without illustration.

The writing covers an area of about 26" by 20" and, except a few letters here and there, it is well-preserved. The characters are early Kannada of the 9th century A.D. Initial *s* is found in lines 9, 11 and 15 while final *w* is met with in line 9 and final *r* in line 3. No distinction has been made between *e* and *ē* or *o* and *ō*. Except the imprecatory verse in lines 12-13 which is in Sanskrit, the language of the record is Kannada and the text is composed in prose. In respect of orthography, it may be observed that the consonant following *r* is generally re-duplicated. The change of *v* to *b* is met with in *ballabha* (lines 1-2) and *Bāraṇṇī* (lines 9 and 11). Intervocal *l* is changed to *d* in *kallavalla-dere* (line 8) and *kiru-dere* (line 14). An epenthetic vowel is found in *Amoghavarsha* (line 1) and *varisha* (line 13). Metathesis is met with in *sāsika-ravile* for *sāsira-ravile* (line 9).

The inscription, which is not dated, refers itself to the reign of **Amoghavarsha** and mentions the king's chief **Kuppeyarasa** as governing **Purigere-300**, **Maṇalera** (*Gāḍiga* as the *Nāl-gūṃṃeḍḍa*, Kallaman of (i.e. the son or a member of the family of) **Kargāmuṇḍar** as the *Ūrgāṃvṇḍa*, and **Pendaman** as in charge of the **Kallavaḷḷa** taxes of the 300-division. The last mentioned officer, viz. **Pendaman**, is stated to have remitted, after obtaining the permission of **Kuppeyarasa**, the **Kallavaḷḷa** taxes of **Siggāme** to **Kāṃnereti-bhaṭṭāri**, probably the goddess of that place. The inscription also registers the remission of all the minor taxes (*kiru-dere*), apparently in favour of the same goddess at the same place, made by **Kuppeyarasa**. The recipient of the gifts was a certain **Lōkākshara-bhaṭṭāra**.

Now who was **Amoghavarsha** mentioned in the record as the ruling king? Mr. N. Lakshminarayan Rao thinks that he may be **Amoghavarsha IV Kakka** (972-73 A.D.), the last ruler of the **Rāshtrakūṭa** dynasty, since, according to him, the characters of the inscription are definitely assignable to the 10th century A.D.<sup>2</sup> But, in our opinion, the characters belong to the 9th century A.D. and consequently the record has to be ascribed to the reign of **Amoghavarsha I** who ruled in 814-78 A.D. The characters of our record generally resemble those of the **Mantravāḍī**<sup>3</sup> and **Mēvunḍī**<sup>4</sup> inscriptions of **Amoghavarsha I**. Particularly the letters *k*, *t*, *lā*, *m*, *v*, etc., are quite similar. On the other hand, these and other letters are certainly earlier than those of the **Hulgur** inscription of

<sup>1</sup> See *A. R. Ep.*, 1943-44, No. F 42.

<sup>2</sup> *SI*, Vol. XI, Part II, p. v.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. VII, pp. 198 ff. and Plate; *Kara, Ins.*, Vol. I, No. 13.

<sup>4</sup> *SI*, Vol. XI, Part I, No. 11 and Plates.

Khottiga dated 972 A.D.<sup>1</sup> and the Guṇḍūr inscription of Amōghavarsha IV Kakka dated 973 A.D.<sup>2</sup> This would show that Mr. Rao's view is not correct. Not only the considerations of paleography but also the internal evidence of the inscription go against the identification suggested by him. We have seen above that Kuppeyarasa was governing Purigere-300 under Amōghavarsha. He is evidently identical with Kuppeyan or Kuppeyarasa mentioned as governing the same division in the Mantravāḍi inscription referred to above as well as in two records from Soratūr,<sup>3</sup> all of them dated and belonging to the reign of Amōghavarsha I. The same chief is also mentioned in a damaged inscription of Amōghavarsha I from Mēvunḍi, dated 865 A.D., apparently as a subordinate of the king.<sup>4</sup> Therefore there can be little doubt that the present inscription belongs to the reign of Amōghavarsha I.<sup>5</sup> And from the mention of the feudatory chief Kuppeyarasa who is also mentioned in other records of the king as shown above, we shall not be wrong in referring the present record to c. 865 A.D. We learn from the said records that this Kuppeyarasa belonged to the Yādava family.

Our inscription refers to Maṅalera Gāḍiga as *Nāl-gāmuṇḍa*, evidently of the Purigere division. For the reasons given above, the date 972 A.D. for this Maṅalera Gāḍiga given by Mr. Rao<sup>6</sup> cannot be accepted. He should be placed about a century earlier, in c. 865 A.D., to which date the present inscription has been assigned by us. In Maṅalera Gāḍiga, the latter word stands for the proper name of the person while Maṅalera seems to indicate the name of the family to which he belonged, though the family name itself might have been derived from a person called Maṅale or Maṅalera. The family is also known as Sagara-kula in some of the later records of the Rāshtrakūṭas and the Western Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. It may be worthwhile to review some of these records here and try to reconstruct the genealogy of the members of this family as far as possible. They are described as *Sagara-mūrtanḍa* and *Maṅaler-āditya* and had the *Sīmha-lōchhana* and *Kōsari-ketu*. They were governing, as feudatory chiefs, the district of Purigere-300 first as *Nāl-gāmuṇḍas* and later as *Mahāsimantas* and *Mahāmuṇḍalēśvaras*.

The earliest member of this family known so far is Maṅalera Gāḍiga mentioned in the inscription under study. The next reference is found in the Atakur inscription of Krishna III, dated 949 A.D.<sup>7</sup> Therein a certain Maṅalera is mentioned as an officer under Būṭuga, the Gaṅga feudatory of the king. This Maṅalera is stated to have belonged to the Sagara lineage and borne the epithet *Palabhi-puravar-ādhitvara*. In the Hulḡur inscription of Khottiga<sup>8</sup> dated 972 A.D., one Maṅalera Mārasimha is mentioned as the *Nāl-gāmuṇḍa* of Purigere-300. This Mārasimha may be the successor of Maṅalera of the Atakur record and may be identified with Mārasimhadēva mentioned as a predecessor of a certain Jayakōṣin of the same family in an inscription of the Western Chālukya king Jayasimha II, dated 1038 A.D.<sup>9</sup> The Prince of Wales Museum inscription of Sōmēśvara I, dated 1060 A.D., mentions Jayakōṣin I, his son Indrakōṣin and the latter's son Jayakōṣin II.<sup>10</sup> Jayakōṣin I is apparently identical with Jayakōṣin referred to above. An undated record from

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 59 ff. and Plate.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 270-72. Fleet did not publish the facsimile of this record. But I have consulted the impression secured by me in 1944-45. Cf. *J. R. Ep.*, 1945-46, No. 8 286.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XIII, pp. 176 ff., *SII*, Vol. XI, Part I, No. 12.

<sup>4</sup> *SII*, op. cit., No. 11.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Panchamūḍi has also ascribed the inscription to the reign of Amōghavarsha I. Cf. *Kern, Ins.*, Vol. I, No. 14.

<sup>6</sup> *SII*, Vol. XI, Part II, p. v.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. VI, p. 24.

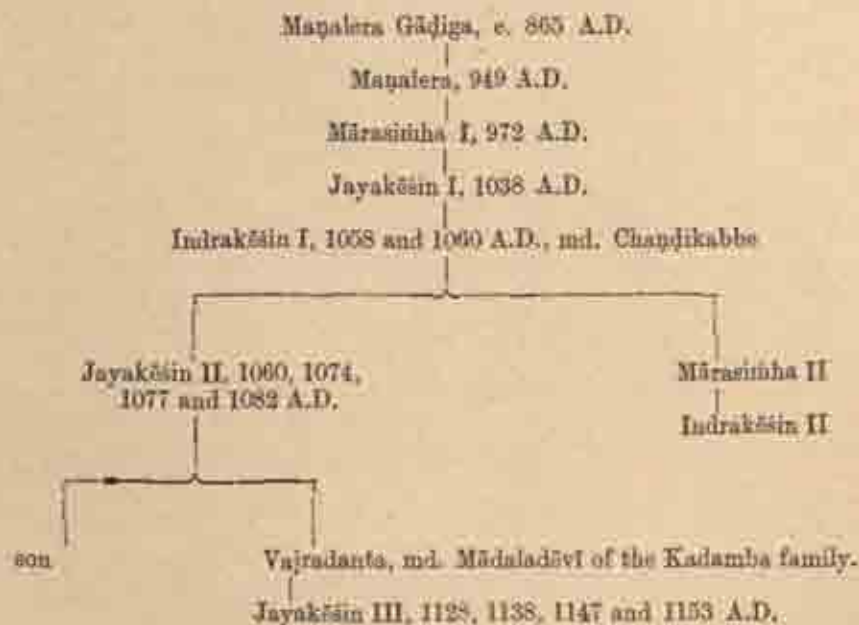
<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 59 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, p. 232.

<sup>10</sup> *ARASI*, 1936-37, p. 88; cf. also *Kern, Ins.*, Vol. I, p. 20.

Gadag belonging to the time of Vikramāditya VI (1076-1126 A.D.) gives the name of his subordinate of this family as Indrakēśin II, son of Mārasinhha and grandson of Indrakēśin I.<sup>1</sup> This Indrakēśin I is identical with Indrakēśin of the Prince of Wales Museum record.<sup>2</sup> From this, it was previously surmised that Indrakēśin I had two sons, Jayakēśin II and Mārasinhha, or these two persons were one and the same.<sup>3</sup> But an epigraph of the time of Śāmsīvara II, dated 1074 A.D., mentions his feudatory *Mahāsāmanta* Jayakēśin as the eldest son of Indrakēśin and the latter's wife Chandikabbe.<sup>4</sup> This Indrakēśin is evidently Indrakēśin I so that Jayakēśin would be the second of that name. From this, it would appear that Jayakēśin II was the eldest son of Indrakēśin I and that Mārasinhha of the Gadag record was his younger brother and had a son named Indrakēśin II. The latest date for Jayakēśin II is furnished by a record of the time of Vikramāditya VI, dated 1082 A.D.<sup>5</sup>

Now a record of the reign of Bhūlōkamalla, dated 1138 A.D., mentions a Jayakēśin of the Sagara family as the son of Vajradanta and his wife Mādalahēvi of the Kadamba family and the grandson of Jayakēśin.<sup>6</sup> Vajradanta had an elder brother whose name is lost in the damaged portion of the record. His father Jayakēśin may be identified with Jayakēśin II mentioned above so that his son would be Jayakēśin III. An earlier date for this Jayakēśin III is supplied by an inscription of 1128 A.D.<sup>7</sup> while the latest date by another record of 1153 A.D.<sup>8</sup> In the light of the above discussion, the genealogy of these chiefs of the Sagara or Manipalera lineage may be shown in a tabular form as follows :<sup>9</sup>



<sup>1</sup> *SII*, Vol. XI, Part II, No. 201.

<sup>2</sup> He may also be identified with *Mahāsāmanta* Indrakēśiyarasa mentioned in another record of Śāmsīvara I, dated in 1058 A.D. Cf. *A. R. Ep.*, 1928-30, No. E 91.

<sup>3</sup> *SII*, Vol. XI, Part II, p. iv.

<sup>4</sup> *A. R. Ep.* 1933-39, No. E 29.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 12. He is also mentioned in a record of the same king, dated in 1077 A.D. Cf. above, Vol. XVI, p. 329.

<sup>6</sup> *A. R. Ep.* 1935-36, No. E 1.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 3.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 46. A Lakshmiśāra inscription of the time of Jagadekamalla II gives him a date in 1147 A.D. Cf. above, Vol. XVI, pp. 44 E.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the genealogical table given in *SII*, Vol. XI, Part II, p. v.



The inscription under study mentions a certain Kallaman of Kargāmuṣḍar as ūrgāmuṣḍa or village-headman. Kallaman may have been either a son or a servant or belonged to the family of Kargāmuṣḍar. A certain Kargāmuṣḍar is known from a record belonging to the reign of Dhruva, the grandfather of Amōghavaraha I.<sup>1</sup> But it is not certain whether he is identical with Kargāmuṣḍar of the present inscription. The name of the tax which was remitted in favour of Kalucetibhatāri is given as Kallavaḷla, the meaning of which cannot be made out.

As to the two geographical names, Purigere-500 and Siggāme, Purigere has been identified with modern Lakalmāvar in the Shihatti Taluk of the Dharwar District. Siggāme is evidently the modern Shiggaon where the inscription was found and the record furnishes the earliest epigraphical reference to this place.

TEXT<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Svasty-Amōghavaraha śri-prithuvi<sup>3</sup> ba-
- 2 ḷābha-mahārājādhirāja paramāvara bhatā-
- 3 rat-prithuvi<sup>4</sup> rājyati geyye tat-prāśāstailindat Purī-
- 4 gere mānārū(ru)manī Kuppeyarasar-ā) Maṇab-
- 5 ra Gōḍiga-nāiga(ḷgū)muṣḍa geyye Kargāmuṣḍara Kallama-
- 6 n-ūrgāmuṣḍu ge<sup>5</sup>]yye [jōḷ]ṣara<sup>6</sup> kallavaḷla Peḍaman-ā]u-
- 7 ttam-ā]du Kuppeyarasarige binna[haṅ] geydu Siggāme-
- 8 [ya] kallavaḷla-dere<sup>7</sup> śri-Kaluceti-bhatāriḷ ko-
- 9 ṭṭan [i<sup>8</sup>] idam kādātāṅge Bāraṅāśeiyō-śānikaravile<sup>9</sup>
- 10 ya koḷagutū kō]umath paṇṇo[-kaṭṭi]l vōḷa-pālararige<sup>10</sup>
- 11 [ko]ṭṭa phalam-akku idam-ā]dātāṅge Bāraṅāśeṇe]ḷe<sup>11</sup>
- 12 pūpam-akku [i<sup>12</sup>] Sva-datta[ṇi](tāṭṭi) para-datta[ṇi](tāṭṭi) ḷā[vō] yū harṭi-(ta)vasu-
- 13 ndharā]m[i<sup>13</sup>] śhāsh[i-vaṇi]śha-mahārājā<sup>14</sup> viśāḷā(tū)ḷyām jeyatō kṛimī[h i<sup>15</sup>]
- 14 mata<sup>16</sup> kiru-dere de(e)llamath Kuppeyarasar-biṭṭar<sup>17</sup>
- 15 idam<sup>18</sup> Lōkākshara bhatārar-apaḷedūr [i<sup>19</sup>]

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 257-58.

<sup>2</sup> From impressions.

<sup>3</sup> There is an ornamental design at the beginning.

<sup>4</sup> Read prithat.

<sup>5</sup> The intended reading appears to be mānārū apparently standing for Purigere-mānārū.

<sup>6</sup> Read śāra-karṭi.

<sup>7</sup> Read vōḷa-pālararige.

<sup>8</sup> Read Bāraṅāśeṇe-ā]ḷe.

<sup>9</sup> Read vōḷa-śānikarṭi.

<sup>10</sup> Read matṭa.

<sup>11</sup> There is a spiral design at this place.

<sup>12</sup> Final *sa* is written below the line. Read śāra.

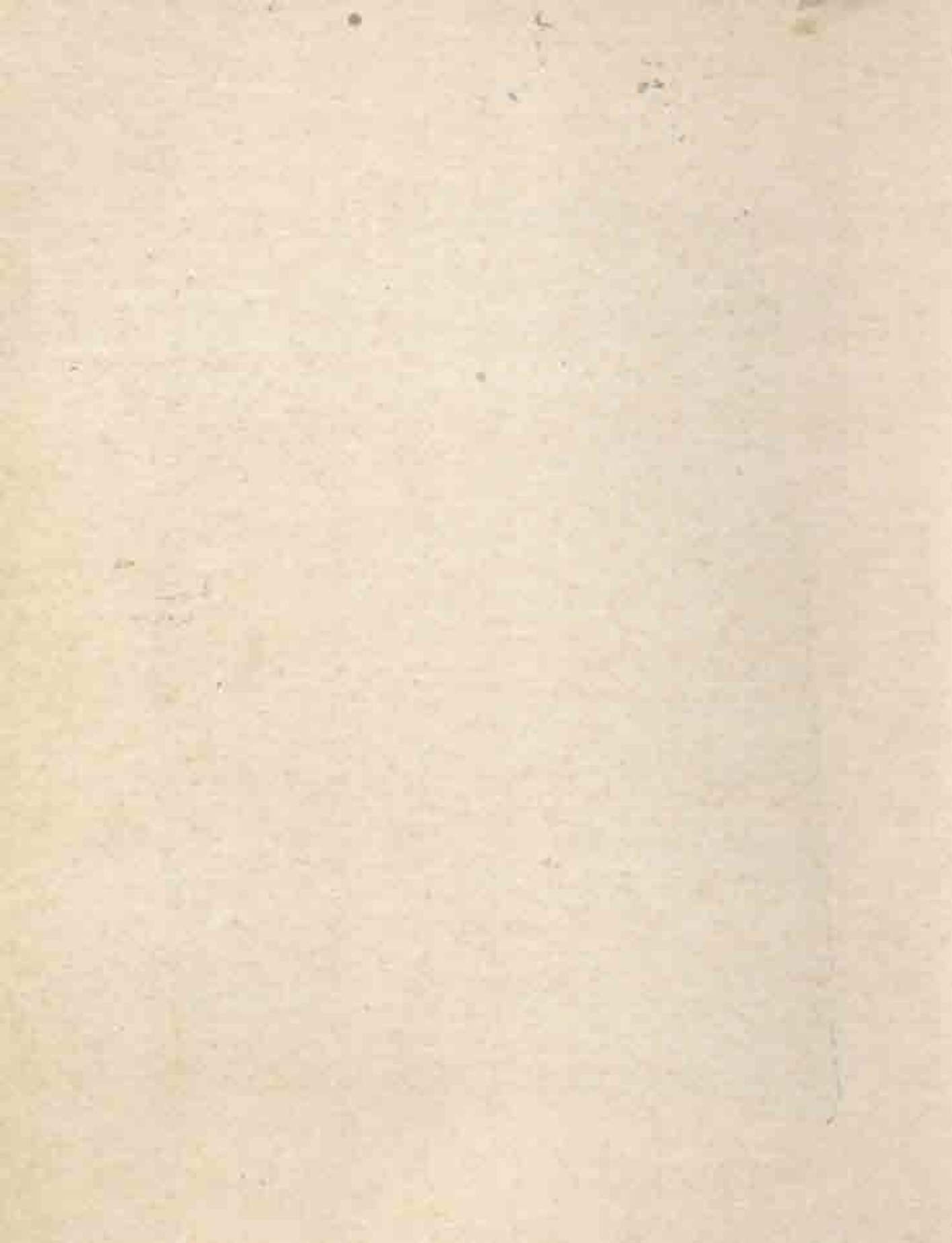
SHIGGAON INSCRIPTION OF AMOGHAVRSHA I

2  
4  
6  
8  
10  
12  
14



2  
4  
6  
8  
10  
12  
14

Size : One-fourth



## No. 11—FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION FROM DHOLKA

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTAÇAMUNDI, AND M. R. MAJMUDAR, BARODA

(Received on 30.3.1960)

The inscription under study was discovered by Dr. M. R. Majmudar in 1953 on the back side of a slab of black granite stone, the front side of which contains an image of the god Vishnu in high relief. The deity is now worshipped under the name of Raçebhōdji in a temple at **Dhōlkā** (known from medieval records as Dhavalaka, Dhavalakka, Dhavalakkaka, Dhavallakka and Dhavalānka)<sup>1</sup> in the Ahmedabad District of Gujarat. Some notes on the inscription were published in five articles by Pandit Lalachandra Gandhi of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, in the Gujarātī monthly journal entitled *Śrī-Jainasatya-prakāśa*, Vol. XIX, 1954, Nos. 6-10, on the basis of an impression supplied to him by Dr. Majmudar.

The inscribed space is about two feet in length and 14½ inches in height. But the inscription is a fragment of a bigger one of which a little more than half from the left side is now preserved. Each line of writing originally contained more than eighty *akṣaras*, of which more than thirty are broken away from the right. It is clear that the inscribed slab was cut into two parts at a later date for utilising the left portion for making the Vishnu image, referred to above, on the uninscribed back side of it. There is an inscription on the pedestal of the image in question, which gives the date of its installation as *Somvat 1266 vasañtī Chaitra-ḥadī 5*, i.e. the 4th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month of Chaitra in **Vikrama 1266 (1209 A.D.)**. Our inscription was therefore incised at an earlier date. The internal evidence shows that the record was engraved after the death of Śīlāhāra Mallikārjuna (c. 1156-60 A.D.) and before that of Chaulukya Kumārapāla (c. 1144-73 A.D.). The date of the inscription on the Vishnu image falls in the reign of Chaulukya Bhīma II (c. 1178-1241 A.D.), son of Mūlarāja II (c. 1176-78 A.D.) and grandson of Kumārapāla's successor Ajayapāla (c. 1173-76 A.D.). The utilisation of a Jain slab for making a Vishnu image points to the genuineness of the tradition regarding the anti-Jain policy followed by the successors of Kumārapāla who is himself said to have been a devout Jain.<sup>2</sup>

We have seen how the slab bearing the inscription represents the left half of the original stone. But even this original slab contained only one-third of the whole inscription apparently engraved on three such slabs or one much bigger slab. This is indicated by the fact that the stanzas of the record under study are consecutively numbered and these numbers show that verses 70-104 constituting the last 35 stanzas of a big *praśasti* were engraved on the slab in question, only about half of which is now available. The 69 stanzas forming the earlier part of the eulogy were apparently incised on two other stone slabs of about the same size or on the upper part of the same slab now broken away and lost. The preservation of the writing in the extant part of the inscription is fairly satisfactory, though two holes bored in the slab for the strings of Vishnu's robes to pass through have caused the loss of some letters and a letter is sometimes damaged at the beginning or the end of the lines.

The characters of the inscription are Dēvanāgarī of about the twelfth century A.D. The record, as indicated above, is written entirely in verse. Its orthography does not call for any special remarks. No date is traceable in the inscription as it is now available to us. But, as indicated

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 1030 and note.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 1002-03.

above, the epigraph seems to have been engraved sometime between c. 1160 and c. 1173 A.D. The concluding stanza of the inscription states that it was a *prasaśi* composed by the *muni* Rāmachandra who is described as *prabandha-śiṣya-nirmiti-prathīta-kīrti-śūny-śāyā* showing that he was the author of a hundred works. This description shows beyond doubt that he is identical with the Jain scholar Rāmachandra who was a pupil of the celebrated Jain polymath Hēmachandra-śrī and is known, from Mērutuṅga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, to have been famous as 'the author of a hundred works'.<sup>1</sup> Rāmachandra's poem in 104 stanzas, about one-third of which is engraved on the slab under review, is no doubt one of the many that were composed by him. Most of his works were composed during the reigns of Jayasīṃha Siddharāja and Kumārāpāla since, according to Mērutuṅga, Kumārāpāla's successor Ajayapāla (c. 1173-76 A.D.) caused the poet's death by seating him on a heated plate of copper in Vikrama 1230 (1174 A.D.). Jain tradition informs us that Rāmachandra was involved in a plot of the Jain clergy to debar Ajayapāla, who was antagonistic towards Jainism, to succeed to the throne of the heirless Kumārāpāla. But Ajayapāla was successful in getting the throne in spite of this opposition and took revenge on the Jains on becoming king.<sup>2</sup>

Since, out of the thirty-five stanzas of the record, the preservation of only four short verses in the *Anuśṭubh* metre (verses 70, 81, 92, 94) is complete and the remaining 32 stanzas are preserved only in parts, the contents of the inscription are unintelligible in many places. It is also often difficult to connect one part of it with another.

Verses 70-71, of which the second is preserved in fragments, may be regarded as speaking of a person named Mallikārjuna. In that case, Mallikārjuna is represented in verse 70 as devoted to his master. Since, however, the name Mallikārjuna is used in verse 71 in the accusative along with the expression *nri-patiḥ prathīpaḥ* (the king's valour) in the nominative, indicating that a king's (probably Kumārāpāla's) valour did something to Mallikārjuna, it appears that this Mallikārjuna was none other than the Śilāhāra ruler of the same name (known dates 1156 and 1160 A.D.) who was the king of the Northern Konkan and is stated in Jain works to have been killed in a battle by Chaulukya Kumārāpāla's forces.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, no other Mallikārjuna is known to be associated with the history of Gujarat during the period in question. It is interesting to note in this connection that verse 76 below speaks of the defeat and death of the lord of *Kunkana* (Konkan) at the hands of a hero whose name is not traceable anywhere in verses 70-76 probably describing the activities of a servant of king Kumārāpāla. If such was the case, we have to think that verse 70 speaks of this hero while the next stanza (verse 71) mentioning Mallikārjuna speaks of the hero's activities against the Śilāhāra king. There are several traditions in regard to Śilāhāra Mallikārjuna's death. While Mērutuṅga states that Āmbada or Āmrabhata, the son of Udayana of the Śaimāla community of Banāś, who was the chief minister of Jayasīṃha Siddharāja, struck off Mallikārjuna's head, according to Hēmachandra, some Gurjara soldiers did this work and the *Prathīkṛtyasūcya* states that Sōmēśvara, the Chāhamāna protégé at Kumārāpāla's court, did it. An inscription again states that, when Paramāra Dhārāvārsha of Abu held his ground on the battle field, the wives of

<sup>1</sup> See Tawney's trans., pp. 152-53; L. B. Gaudāl's introduction to the *Naiśānīya* (G.O.S., No. XXIX, 1929), pp. 22-23. Among the known works of Rāmachandra, mention may be made of the dramas *Naiśānīya* and *Kaṇvaśāstrīya* and the treatise on dramatic art called *Naiśānīya* composed in collaboration with Guṇaśāstrī, another pupil of Hēmachandra-śrī. Rāmachandra is said to have received the title *Kumārāpāla* from Jayasīṃha Siddharāja (c. 1094-1144 A.D.), the predecessor of Kumārāpāla.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 1002; Majumdar, *Chaulukyas of Gujarat*, p. 123.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 991-92; Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 113 ff. *Maṇḍavādīya* Mallikārjuna was a feudatory of the Later Chālukyas of Kalyāna, though it is less likely that his overlord is referred to in verse 70 of our record as will be seen below.

<sup>4</sup> It is stated that the head of the king of *Kunkana* was cut off with arrows and that the inmates of his harem entered fire. The word *śāśvapa* used here means an arrow with a sharp horse-shoe-shaped head.

the lord of Kuṅkaṅga (Konkan) shed drops of tears'.<sup>1</sup> Indeed Āmbaḍa (Āmrabhata), Sōmāsvara and Dhārśvarsha may have all taken parts in the campaign against Mallikārjuna, though none of the claimants for the achievement of beheading the latter may have actually killed him. Since, however, the main purpose of our inscription, as will be seen below, was to record the pious activity of another son of the above-mentioned Udayana, it is possible to conjecture that it was the valorous deeds of Āmbaḍa or Āmrabhata which were the subject-matter of the description in the stanzas referred to above. This Āmbaḍa or Āmrabhata is said to have risen in revolt against king Ajayapāla and, as a result, lost his life.<sup>2</sup>

Verse 77 states that the valour of the hero described in the previous stanzas was sung by the girls of Lāṭa, i.e. South Gujarāt lying immediately to the north of Kuṅkaṅga or the Northern Konkan. The description of the same person's activities continues and verse 79 states that he built a Chaitya for the Tirthaṅkara Suvrata at Bhṛigukachchha, i.e. modern Broach. Verse 81 says that the same person made a silver image of the god Nābhījanman (i.e. Ādinātha) at the Chaitya called Kumāra-vihāra which was situated at Śrīpattana. Since Śrīpattana seems to be no other than Anahila-pattana (i.e. modern Pātan or Anhilwādī Pātan), the Kumāra-vihāra appears to be the monastery named after Kumārapāla, which the Chaukya king frequently visited according to the *Kumārapālaprasādhā* by Sōmaprabha.<sup>3</sup>

Verses 82-89 describe certain heroic activities probably ascribable to the same hero. But verse 90 states that a person built a city after his own name in the Lāṭa country and the next stanza (verse 91) probably speaks of the construction of the Dhana-vihāra by him in the Avanti country (i.e. West Malwa), while verse 92 states that Dhavala's son was Vairisinha who built the Chaitya of the Tirthaṅkara Pārsvanātha at Stambhatīrtha, i.e. modern Cambay. The language may of course suggest that the whole description in verses 70-91 has to be assigned to Dhavala. The name of this person again reminds us of Dhavala, after whom Dhavalakkaka or Dholkā, where the inscription under study has been found, was apparently named.<sup>4</sup> It is well known that Dhavala of Bhīmapallī was the husband of the sister of Kumārapāla's mother and was the father of Arḍḍrāja (of Vyāghrapallī from which the family derived the name Vāghēḷī), the grandfather of Lāvanya-prasāda (of Dhavalakkaka), the great-grandfather of Viradhavala and the great-great-grandfather of Viśvamalla or Viśala (c. 1244-63 A.D.), the Chaukya-Vāghēḷī king of Gujarāt.<sup>5</sup> But it is doubtful whether the naming of Dholkā after Dhavala is alluded to in verse 90 referring to a person building a city after his name in the Lāṭa country since Dholkā in Northern Gujarāt seems to be situated outside ancient Lāṭa indicating the Nausāri-Brosch region of Southern Gujarāt. Dhavala is also not associated with the story of Śīlāhāra Mallikārjuna's defeat and death in the hands of Kumārapāla's forces. Moreover, although the introduction of Dhavala as the ruler of the area in which the inscription was set up is intelligible, it is difficult to understand how the description of the pious deeds of this Dhavala and his son Vairisinha (as yet unknown from any source) came in between that of the activities of the killer of Mallikārjuna in the earlier part of the inscription and of those of the latter's relation in its concluding part. Under the circumstances, it is possibly better to suggest that Dhavala mentioned in verse 92 of our inscription was a brother of the killer of Mallikārjuna. Thus the author seems to have introduced Dhavala after completing the description of his brother who killed Mallikārjuna.

<sup>1</sup> See Ray, op. cit., p. 991; Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 114-15.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ray, op. cit., p. 1002; Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 128-29.

<sup>3</sup> Ray, op. cit., p. 994. Another Kumāra-vihāra containing an image of Pārsvanātha was built by Parasūkhata Kumārapāla in the fort of Kāśhāna-giri at Jēṭālipura (modern Jalor in the Jodhpur Division of Rajasthan) at the request of Prabhā Hēma-sūri in Vikrama 1221 (1164 A.D.). See ibid., pp. 982-83; above, Vol. XI, pp. 54-55.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 156 and note 7.

<sup>5</sup> Ray, op. cit., pp. 1047-48.

Verses 96 speaks of a pious deed done with the permission of the eard **Hāmachandra-sūri**, no doubt the well-known Jain polymath of that name (1089-1172 A.D.). But whether it was performed by Vairasūha mentioned earlier in verse 92 or by the person mentioned later in the epigraph cannot be determined owing to the fragmentary nature of the record. Considering, however, the fact that the main purpose of the inscription was to record a pious deed of the latter, the second alternative seems to be more probable. This deed is mentioned in verse 101 which states that the **Udayana-vihāra was built by the minister Vāgbhaṭa**. The word *stam* (this) qualifying *Udayana-vihāram* in this stanza shows that the inscription under study was originally set up in the Udayana-vihāra at Dhūlikā. Under what circumstances it was removed from its original place for being utilised for the construction of an image of Viṣṇu cannot of course be determined without further light on the subject.

The *Vihāra* was apparently named after Udayana, the chief minister of Chaulukya Jaysimha Siddharāja and it was built by Udayana's son Vāgbhaṭa (Bāhaḍa) who is known to have been a minister of the Chaulukya king Kumārapāla.<sup>1</sup> It may have been built by the son after the death of his father. The date of Udayana's death is difficult to determine. According to Mērutūga, he became mortally wounded in a battle with a king of Saurāṣṭra against whom he led an expedition under orders from his master Kumārapāla, while, according to Jaysimha-sūri and Jinanapana, he killed the Saurāṣṭra king and set up the latter's son on the throne, though Prabhāchandra states that Udayana died while fighting against a Saurāṣṭra king during the reign of Kumārapāla's predecessor Jaysimha Siddharāja (c. 1094-1144 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> According to tradition, Udayana, whom Bāhaḍa or Vāgbhaṭa is said to have been adopted as son by Jaysimha Siddharāja, gave shelter to Kumārapāla at Cambay against the wrath of Jaysimha.<sup>3</sup>

It will be seen that the **main purpose** of the inscription was to record the construction of the Udayana-vihāra by Udayana's son Vāgbhaṭa. It appears, however, that the original inscription on three slabs or a very big slab described the activities of Udayana and his sons Amralsaha (Āmbaḍa) and Vāgbhaṭa (Bāhaḍa) and also referred to those of Dhruva and Vairasimha who appear to have been respectively Udayana's son and grandson. Verse 103 contains the prayer for the long life of the Vihāra and verse 104, with which the *prāśasti* concludes, the name of Rāmachandra-muni, the author of the eulogy, as already indicated above.

The **geographical names** contained in the inscription, such as Kuākaga, Bhṛigukacchha, Avanti, Lāṭa and Stamhatirtha are well known. We have identified Śrīpattana with the well-known Apahlapattana.

#### TEXT

[Metres : verses 70, 78, 80-81, 90, 92, 94-96 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 71-72, 74, 77, 79, 84-86, 97-98 *Vasantatilaka* ; verse 73 *Mandūkātūṭā* ; verse 75 *Drutavilambita* ; verses 76, 82, 89 *Sārdūlarikāṣīṭā* ; verses 83, 88, 91, 104 *Prithvī* ; verse 87 *Mūlīnī* ; verse 99 *Pushpītāgrā* ; verses 93 (1), 100-102 *Āryā* ; verse 103 *Śloka*.]

- 1 [Ri]pan iaktiḥ prabhau bhakti-tyāgē rāgē nayē layaḥ | idam chatuṣṭayam yasmin-ā-  
śāṅgavam-akhaṇḍitam(tam) || 70 Tam Mallikā[r]junam-anarghya-parākram-ā[m]ka  
----- (\*) -----

<sup>1</sup> Majumdar, op. cit., p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ibid., p. 115.

<sup>3</sup> Ray, op. cit., pp. 975-76.

<sup>4</sup> From an impression received from Dr. Majumdar.

- 2 v dhā<sup>1</sup> nripatēḥ pratāpāḥ || 71 Yad-vikrama-smaraṇa-sambhṛita-sādha-śīta-vyākṛm-pa-  
tāṇḍava-cha-śchala-pāṇaya-tē | ady-āpi bhaṅgi-vimukhān śayitā-stanē<sup>2</sup> — — —  
— — — — — || 72\* — — — — —
- 3 śh-śomāḥ-śrjita-hutabhujō Jāmadagnyasya tasya | śhānām yā-śābhuta-śata-kṛitē kahu-  
śhātā kadhā-vaṇ(hat)dhād-rājanyānām paribhava-bhṛitam kaḥ kṛitō n-śpakārah  
|| 73\* — — — — — ||\*
- 4 kī<sup>3</sup>-vijay-śdyataśya yaśy-ānv-śhath viḥṛitam-unnada-vallabhēna || 74 Samara-raṅga-bhu-  
vān śara-pāṇibhūḥ kim-āpi tāṇḍavam-śādhatatāḥ muhuh | yaś-śbhiviksh[y]au — — —  
— — — — — || 75\* — — — — —
- 5 bha-śrī-Kuṁkara-śśō-kālipad-bhū-ślīm-śha tōna tasya nisita-śūnām kshuraprah śīrah | rāj-  
śantāparam-śtra vahim<sup>4</sup>-avilat-paṭṭa-dvipō-tr-āpatad-ya — — — — —  
— — — — — || 76\* — — — — —
- 6 [y]-ānuśarjara-grah pulak-śvaldhāḥ | ady-āpi Lāṭa-śudrīśh pura-śhatvatōśhu gāyāntī  
śaurya-naya-vainayikāni yaśya || 77 Yaś-tuṅga-śrīṅgam-śddā[ma].....  
..... || 78\* — — — — —
- 7 [v]i)tasya tasya śrī-Suvrataśya Bhṛigukachchha-viśēḥakasya | uttuṅga-śrīṅga-śata-vi-  
śmita-dēva-śāityam chaityaḥ śhākāra Hara-śhāsa-śahōdaram yaḥ || 79 Jayam .....  
..... ||\* ..... || 80\*
- 8 Yaḥ Kumāraśhīhār-śkhyē śhāityē Śrīpattana-śthitē | pratimām kārayāmōśa rājāśm Nā-  
bhijānmanāḥ || 81 Yaś-ś-jaṇma-par-śāḥganā-parihṛiti-śtha] — — — — —  
— — — — — ||\* — — — — —  
y-āka-pa[ra]māḥ śatya-vratō śaśhṭhavāḥ kim ch-ānyat-kathayāmi yaśya paramā vīrō-  
śhu rēkh-śābhavat || 82 Bhṛitē nībhūḥam-śmva(śha)śō samars-tūra-nād-śkulaśr-ya  
— — — — — ||\* — — — — —
- 10 [m-uj]payā — — — ny-śbhūhītāni n-ākarṇayau || 83 Ēk-āṅga-vīra-tīlakōna kṛipāna-khō[la]-  
śāpārka-pāvita-bhūja-dvītayēna yēna | yuddhōśhu bhūmi — — — — —  
— — — — — || 84\* — — — — —
- 11 — samavēkshya yaśya śāu[m<sup>5</sup>]dīra-kūśjara-mahābha-turaṅga-bhīshman(śhamam) | utthā-  
ya pūtkṛita-ravēga paśyāmāpāḥ śādāhāntam-śādāhati bhūmibhūja] śa-lajjām(jjam)  
|| 85\* — — — — — ||\* — — — — —
- 12 paśpīha<sup>6</sup> — — — — — prasabha-pramūśhita-duśhī-śvarōdha-gl-ustipāya śhīrāya yaśmal || 86  
Dvīpapati-rajan-āgra-kalōda-jāta-vraṇ-ślī-maya-līpā-anuvapam bhā — — — — —  
||\* — — — — —
- 13 [vaḥ] || 87 [Matam] nripati-maṇḍalī-mukṣa-kāśatika-śra]śramān-vīrōdhē(dhī)-vaśudhā-  
bhujō yudhī vidhāya nīrvīkramān | gaḥair-yad-upadō-kṛitāḥ ka — — — — —  
— — — — — || 88\* — — — — —

<sup>1</sup> The intended word may be *bahubhī*.  
<sup>2</sup> The intended reading may be *śāśhāśhā*.  
<sup>3</sup> This last *śh* before was probably *śh*.  
<sup>4</sup> The intended word may be *śhānt*.  
<sup>5</sup> Read *śhāśh*.  
<sup>6</sup> The intended word may be *śhāśhāśhā*.



- 14 [a]ya-rik[r]ama-ndbhā kim tasya līk-ottaram śāsvad-vīra-metalikā-stuta-bhūja-stambhasya  
vīra-v[r]jatanam(tam) | dēśe yēna sa jagatālah prati-mubhū kahuna-kāhitāsa v — — — — —  
v v — — — — — v — — — — — [ ] 89\* . . . . .
- 15 . . . . . | ava-nām-ārkam paratā yēna **Lāta-dēśe** nivēsitam(tam) || 90 **Avarattisu** kṛti-  
śopada[th] v v v kunjar-āgrāra[va]ra[ra]gama-chaṁā-vṛitō Dhana-vihā.ā — — — — —  
v — [ ]\* v — — — — — v — — — — — v — — — — — v — — — — — v — — — — —
- 16 — — — — — || 91 **Dhavalasya Vairasirharā**(hah) sutō-bhūn-naya-bhūshagah |  
chaityaṁ yaḥ Pāśvanā[thasya Star]bha-tirthē vyadhāpayat || 92 Vinaya-kaulala . . . . .  
[ ]\* . . . . .
- 17 . . . . . [ ] 93 Tirtha-prabhāvan-śākhāta-punya-śri-punya-jannanāth(nām) | sap-  
t-ārṇavī-kūla-mūla-prōkhalat-kīrti-sāpādām(dam) || 94 Amāri Śiḍḍimō[ra] . . . . .  
[ ]\* . . . . . [ ] 95\* . . . . .
- 18 [dhanyānām] vidyā-tritaya-vēdhāsām(sām) | śrī-**Hēmachandra-sūrtānām-ādāy-ādēśa-**  
vāihavāt(vam) || 96 **Sauvaroga-kumbha-ruchi-pinjari-ām̐tarikahā** satikalpa  
saṅghātana-ta v v v — [ ]\* — v v v v v v v v v — — — — — v v v v v  
v v v — — — — —
- 19 — [ ] 97 Bhāri-sahasra-kūhar-śāhita-tāra-tāra-bhāhāra-pūra-paripūrita-vīsva-rāmyah-  
(myam) | abhramih-āgra-śikharā-śhita-śūka-pāta-śrōpi-viśrīta-patadi[ga] v — v  
— [ ] 98\* v v v v v v v v v — — — — — v v v v v — — — — — [ ]\* v v
- 20 [ka]<sup>2</sup>-[a]jibha-śilā-sahasra-rōchih-prachaya-valakṣita-lārnaya-chaandra-sālan(lam) || 99  
Upāsaita-sura-rimānān vināna-muni-viṇōda-janna-va[ba]kumśānō(nam) | miki-  
[la] . . . . . [ ] 100\* . . . . .
- 21 yā lakṣmīyā | **Udayana-vihāram-ētām** vyadhāpayat-**Vāgbhatō** mantat || 101 Jīna-  
sākhyaṅy-śāharaṅy-śāgrām(grām) trīnātātā dhvajān hōmāḥ | yaḥ pūroḥ  
v v v v — — — — — [ ] 102\* — — — — — v — — — — —
- 22 — cha rāmyā chaṁdr-śāity-śvachūla-dhavalatara-lasat-tārakā-tāram-abhram(līram) |  
śāhāt chaṁdr-śādayasya śrayatī vīkaśi-śmūtvara-migilla-lhōc yāvat-tūvat-śāhā ś-  
va v v v v v v — — — — — [ ] 103\* v — — — — — v v v v v v v v — — — — —
- 23 r-āmanāth kṛta-dāyavē śrah-śāhrah | puvzān(lam) dha-sata-nirmat-prathita-  
kīrti-kāmy-śāyāḥ pṛstā-stim-stulām-śīmām-śkṛta **Rāmachandro** manāḥ || 104\* . . . . .

\* The intended word is apparently śāhā.

\* The intended word seems to be śāhā.

## No. 12—EPIGRAPHIC NOTES

(I. Plate)

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### 12. *Sarabhaṅga-Sarabhaṅga-Sarābhāṅga*

Some Magi priests of ancient Iran are known to have migrated to and settled in India and became known as Maga Brāhmaṇas also called Śākadvīpiya, i.e. 'hailing from Śākadvīpa'.<sup>1</sup> This Śākadvīpa can be roughly identified with modern Sistan in Eastern Irān, which was known respectively as Sakastān and Sijistān in the ancient and medieval periods.<sup>2</sup> The said people and those who accompanied them to India introduced a few words in the Indian vocabulary, one of them being the well-known Sanskrit word *mihira* (i.e. the sun or the Sun-god) which is the same as Persian *mih* derived from Avestic *mithra*=Vedic *mitra*.<sup>3</sup> On some coins of the Kushāṇa kings Kanishka and Huvishka, the Sun-god is represented on the reverse and the name of the deity is spelt in Greek characters as *meiro* (also as *meuro* and *miuro*), i.e. *mihira*,<sup>4</sup> the Greek alphabet having no ā. The alternative spellings suggest that the word was also pronounced as *mihuro* and *mihura*.

Similarly, the Scytho-Parthian rulers of the north-western regions of Bhāratavarsha and their Kushāṇa successors, who came to our country from the west, introduced certain official designations in the Indian administrative system, some of which became popular with the indigenous Indian kings of various parts of Northern India. A few such designations are (1) *Goḥjansra* (cf. *Goḥjapati*), (2) *Dibira* or *Divira* (cf. *Divirapati*), and (3) *Pilupati* (cf. *Mahāpilupati*).

The designation *Goḥjansra*, occurring in a Mathura inscription<sup>5</sup> of the Śaka chief Śāśāsa (c. 15-25 A.D.) and in Kalhana's Kashmirian Chronicle<sup>6</sup> written about the middle of the twelfth century A.D., is the same as Persian *Goḥjansr* meaning 'a treasurer', derived from *goḥj*, 'treasure'. The same designation occurs as *Goḥjapati* in the Talewar (Almora District, U.P.) plate<sup>7</sup> of Dyuti-varman who flourished about the sixth century A.D. About the middle of the tenth century A.D., Ūtpala, in his commentary on Varāhamihira's *Brāhmasphuṭā* (LII, 13), explains *goḥjāḥ* as *koḥa-bhavanān* (i.e. treasury).<sup>8</sup> The designation *Dibira* or *Divira*, which is found in such an early record as the Kholi plates<sup>9</sup> of king Jayanātha of Uchchakalpa, dated 496 A.D., was explained by Bühler as 'a clerk, writer or accountant' on the authority of the *Lōkaprakāśa* ascribed to Kshē-mōndra.<sup>10</sup> It is the same as Persian *Dabir* meaning 'a writer, a secretary'.<sup>11</sup> *Divirapati* also occurs in the Talewar plate referred to above and often in the records of the Maitrakas of Valabhi from the latter part of the sixth century A.D.<sup>12</sup> In the designation *Pilupati* or *Mahāpilupati*, which

<sup>1</sup> E. G. Bhandarkar's Collected Works, Vol. IV, pp. 318 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Conch. Hist. Ind., Vol. I, p. 564.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. E. G. Bhandarkar, loc. cit.

<sup>4</sup> See *Select Inscriptions*, p. 142; note 6; p. 153, note 5.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. IX, p. 247.

<sup>6</sup> *Rājataranginī*, V, 177.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. XIII, p. 115.

<sup>8</sup> *Bhaṭṭa Ūtpala* wrote his commentary on Varāhamihira's *Brāhmasphuṭā* in 966 A.D.

<sup>9</sup> *CHI*, Vol. III, p. 122.

<sup>10</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 10.

<sup>11</sup> Wilson's Glossary, s.v. The *Rājataranginī* (VIII, 131) makes a distinction between *Divira* and *Kōḥjāṅka* probably because the Kashmirian *Kōḥjāṅka* was primarily a tax-collector.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Bhandarkar's List, No. 1326, dated 688 A.D.; etc.

occurs in such early records as the Ahoms plates<sup>1</sup> of the Kalachuri king Saṅkaragana, dated 595-96 A.D., and the Taleswar plate referred to above, as well as in a large number of copper-plate grants issued by North Indian kings of the early medieval period,<sup>2</sup> the word *pila* is the same as Arabic-Persian *fil* meaning 'an elephant'.<sup>3</sup> An inscription of Kalachuri Saṅkaragana's time spells the designation as *Mahāpūlapill*.<sup>4</sup>

The official designation *Sarabhatāga-Sarabhaṅga-Sarōbhāga* often occurs in the list of subordinates and officers addressed by some of the kings of Northern India in respect of the grants of land recorded in their copper-plate charters. The difference in the spelling of the word is sometimes noticed even in the records of the same king. Thus, while the Nālandā plate<sup>5</sup> of king Devapāla (c. 510-54 A.D.) of Bengal and Bihar has *Sarabhaṅga*, the Monghye plate<sup>6</sup> of the same king has *Sarabhaṅga*. A tenth century copper-plate inscription<sup>7</sup> of king Vidagdha of Chamba in the Himalayas, on the other hand, spells the word as *Sarōbhāga*. This confusion about the spelling seems to indicate that the word is of foreign origin.

The meaning of *Sarabhaṅga-Sarabhaṅga-Sarōbhāga* has not been satisfactorily determined, though unsuccessful attempts have been made to explain it on the basis of Sanskrit *śara* meaning 'an arrow' probably regarding the spellings *sara* as a mere mistake for *śara* and ignoring *saras* altogether. Thus it has sometimes been suggested that *Sarabhaṅga* means a superior military officer equipped with bows and arrows, although the word *bhaṅga* remains unexplained in this interpretation.<sup>8</sup> While editing the Pandukesvar (Garhwal District, U.P.) plates of about the tenth century A.D., we ourselves observed, "*Sarabhaṅga* literally means 'wound and fracture'. He was probably the royal surgeon".<sup>9</sup> It has also been conjectured that *Sarabhaṅga* may have something to do with *śarayastra* or *Sarayastrin*, the latter being a title conferred in Mithilā upon a very learned man who successfully faced an ordeal (called *śarayastra*) of answering satisfactorily all questions on any *śāstra* put to him by learned *śāhryas* and common people.<sup>10</sup> But, as indicated above, the spelling of the first part of the designation variously as *sara*, *sara* and *saras* seems to suggest that the writers of the epigraphic records were struggling to find out a suitable Sanskrit word for a foreign expression. Indeed it has also to be noticed that no word like *Sarabhaṅga*, *Sarabhaṅga* and *Sarōbhāga* occurs in any of the Sanskrit lexicons in the sense of an official designation and that it is also not known from any epigraphic record of a South Indian monarch.

It now appears to us that *Sarabhaṅga-Sarabhaṅga-Sarōbhāga* was introduced into India by the foreign rulers of North-Western Bhāratavarsha just as *Garjavarā*, *Divra* and *Pūlapati* and that it is really an Indian modification of Persian *Sarhang* meaning 'a commander of forces'. *Sarhang* is derived from *sar* (Sanskrit *śiras*), 'the head', and old Persian *hauga* (Sanskrit *śaṅgha*), 'a company', in the sense of 'the head of a contingent of troops'. The same expression is used as *Sarōbhāga* in the official designation *Gūgittā-sarōbhāga*, 'the chief of the army at Gūgit', occurring in the Hatun (Gilgit) inscription<sup>11</sup> of the Shāhī king Patōladīva who flourished about the seventh century A.D. The *Sarōbhāga* of the Hatun inscription may also have been a military

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IX, p. 298.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. N. G. Majumdar, *Ind. Hist.*, Vol. III, p. 186.

<sup>3</sup> Wilson's Glossary, s.v.

<sup>4</sup> See above, Vol. II, p. 22.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XVII, p. 221, text line 29.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 306, text line 32.

<sup>7</sup> Vogel, *Antiquities of Chamba State*, Part I, p. 166, text line 7.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. VII, p. 309.

<sup>9</sup> Above, Vol. XXXI, p. 282, note 8.

<sup>10</sup> Kane, *Hist. Dharm.*, Vol. III, p. 1005.

<sup>11</sup> Above, Vol. XXX, p. 228.

governor. The same designation is still found in some of the Indian dialects in the form *Serāṅg*.<sup>1</sup> Wilson's Glossary recognises Persian *Sarkang*-Indian *Serāṅg* and explains the designation as follows: 'a commander; but generally applied in India to the headman of a native crew whether on board a ship or boat; also to the headman of a gang of natives attached to artillery, dragging guns, or to the army in general, as tent-pitchers and the like, or to the head of gangs of a superior order of labourers employed in public or private works, in docks, buildings, etc.'<sup>2</sup>

### 13. *Dēvadāsīs in Buddhist Temples*

The Ratnagiri copper-plate inscription of the Śōmavamśi king Karṇa, who flourished in Orissa about the beginning of the twelfth century A.D., has been edited by Mrs. D. Mitra in the pages of this journal<sup>3</sup> and we also have published a note on the same epigraph above.<sup>4</sup> The inscription records the grant of a village made by the Śōmavamśi king in favour of *Rāpī Karpūrasī*, described in our opinion, as the daughter of *Mahāri Māhūpadēvī* and the *patrī* (i.e. daughter of the *patrī* or daughter) of Udayamati. We have regarded *Karpūrasī* as a *rāpī* (literally, 'queen', but probably 'a concubine') of king Karṇa. Her description as the daughter and granddaughter of females instead of the mention of her father and grandfather was taken by us to suggest that she was born of a harlot. This suggestion was supported by us by taking her mother's epithet *mahāri* as the same as Prakṛit *māharī*=Oriya *māhāri* meaning a *Dēvadāsī* (i.e. a dancing girl attached to temples, a harlot).

But a difficulty we felt then was that *Karpūrasī* is described in the inscription as *Salōpapura-mahārihāra-vinirgatā*, which would normally mean 'hailing from the great Buddhist monastery at Salōpapura'. Since, however, *Dēvadāsīs* are generally known to have been attached to Brahmanical temples and not to Buddhist monasteries, we were inclined to interpret the expression *Salōpapura-mahārihāra* as a stereotyped geographical name of the area around the Buddhist monastery at Salōpapura just as that of the town of Bihār (Viḥāra, Bihārahārīf of the Muslims) in the Patna District of Bihar. We therefore suggested that *Karpūrasī*, a concubine of the Śōmavamśi king Karṇa, hailed from the neighbourhood of the Salōpapura monastery but was not attached to it. Recently, however, we have found some proof to show that *Dēvadāsīs* were maintained in the early medieval period not only in the Brahmanical temples but also in the Buddhist shrines at least in Eastern India. There was thus no difference in this respect between the Brahmanical and Buddhist temples in the area and age to which the Ratnagiri plates belong. We therefore think now that *Karpūrasī* and probably also her mother, if not her maternal grandmother as well, had really been *Dēvadāsīs* attached to the Buddhist temple in the *mahārihāra* at Salōpapura before she went to king Karṇa's harem. She may have been purchased by the king from the authorities of the monastery.

Bhagavanlal Indraji published an inscription embedded in the wall of a temple of the Sun-god on the western side of the tank called *Dakṣiṇa-mānasa* near the *Vishṇupāda* at Gayā in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X, 1881, pp. 341 ff. Dated in the *Buddhaparinirvāṇa* year 1883 (probably 1270 A.D.), this inscription records the construction of a *Gandhakarū* by *Puruṣhōttamasūha*, the son of *Kāmadēvasūha* and grandson of king *Jayastūgasūha* of the *Kāma* country (probably Kumaun in the Himalayas or *Kāman* in the Bharatpur District, Rajasthan). The expression *gandhakarū* originally meant the Buddha's private chamber in a Buddhist establishment and later a shrine where the Buddha's image was worshipped in a Buddhist monastery. The Buddhist temple in

<sup>1</sup> The Bengali spelling of the word is *Serāṅg*.

<sup>2</sup> See also *Hakera's Glossary*, s.v. *Serāṅg*.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 263 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 269 ff.



the said interpretation of the word *dvāra*. Thus *Dvārahaṭṭāka* of the *Rākahaskhālī* (*Sundarben*) plate may have been actually situated on the mouth of the *Bhāgrathi* in the vicinity of *Gāṅgāsagarasāgama*. It may be pointed out that, in Tamil, the expression *mukha-dvāra* means the mouth of a river especially where it falls into the sea.

15. *Ambā-kipilikā=Ambā-kapilikā=Ambā-kapilikā*

*Ambā-kipilikā*, *ambā-kapilikā* or *ambā-kapilikā* is mentioned in the list of creatures occurring in Pillar Edict V of *Aśoka*, whose slaughter was prohibited by the Maurya emperor.<sup>1</sup> Of the two words joined in the compound expression, *ambā* means 'mother' in Sanskrit and the Prakrite (including Pāli) while *kapilikā* is a well-known Pāli word meaning 'an ant'. Bühler, therefore, interpreted *ambā-kipilikā=ambā-kapilikā=ambā-kapilikā* as 'the queen ant'<sup>2</sup> and most later writers have accepted Bühler's interpretation.

B. M. Barua, however, pointed out that, according to the commentary on the *Aṅguttaranikāya*,<sup>3</sup> the expression *ambaka-maddari* or *ambaka-pachchari* means *khuddaka-kukkuṭikā* (Sanskrit *khudraka-kukkuṭikā*), 'a small hen', and therefore *ambaka* is a synonym of *khuddaka*, 'small'.<sup>4</sup> He took *ambā* in Pillar Edict V as the same as *ambaka-khuddaka* and, since he believed that the list in Pillar Edict V contains only the names of birds or bird-like creatures so that there is no possibility of 'the ant' being mentioned in it, he further suggested that *ambā-kipilikā=ambā-kapilikā=ambā-kapilikā* means a small bird.<sup>5</sup>

P. C. Sen<sup>6</sup> has recently pointed out that the list of creatures in Pillar Edict V really contains names other than those of birds. We agree with him on this point. But he accepts Barua's interpretation of *ambā* as 'small' and suggests that *ambā-kipilikā=ambā-kapilikā=ambā-kapilikā* really means 'a small ant'. In support of this interpretation, Sen has offered two arguments.

In the first place, our attention has been drawn to the following stanza occurring in some recensions of the *Mahābhārata*<sup>7</sup>:

*Anaṅgaṅ=mrīṭṭikā chāraiva tathā khudra-pipilikāh |*

*Īśhuṣṭakā=tathā vipraś=abhakhyāṅ viśam=iva cha |*

The verse mentions *khudra-pipilikā* or 'the small ant' in the list of food which a Brāhmaṇa should not take and Sen suggests that this injunction proves the prevalence of the custom of eating ants amongst certain sections of the people.

Secondly, Sen refers to the practice of eating winged white-ants and also bigger red-ants which make big nests generally with leaves at the end of small branches of the mango trees, especially the eggs and the young of the latter both raw and cooked, as still prevalent among the aboriginal population of South Bihar.<sup>8</sup> He therefore suggests that these are the creatures called *ambā-kipilikā=ambā-kapilikā=ambā-kapilikā* in Pillar Edict V of *Aśoka*.

It is, however, difficult to agree with these views. Firstly, the Pāli lexicons do not recognise 'small' as a meaning of the word *ambā* and even if *ambaka-maddari* or *ambaka-pachchari* means

<sup>1</sup> *CII*, Vol. I, 1925, p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> See above, Vol. II, p. 259.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. I, p. 188.

<sup>4</sup> *Inscriptions of Assam*, Part II, p. 368.

<sup>5</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> *Bhāṣā* (Bengali), Vol. IX, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>7</sup> See Bangabāṣī edition, *Sānti-parvan*, Chapter XXXVI, verse 21.

<sup>8</sup> In the western areas of North India, I am told, there is a belief that one's eye-sight becomes sharp if red or grey ants are eaten.

*Klundaka-Kabbucāś*, it is not certain that *ambōś* means 'small'. Secondly, the winged white-ants and the red-ants living generally in mango trees are both very much bigger than the ordinary small ants and can therefore hardly be called *śatudra* or 'small'. The consumption of 'big' ants is not prohibited by the *Mahābhārata*.

The word *ambōś* occurs in the expression *ambōś-śaśikyā* in Pillar Edict VII<sup>1</sup> and in *ambōś-śaśikā* in the so-called Queen's Edict on the Allahabad-Kanauj pillar,<sup>2</sup> both the expressions standing for Sanskrit *āmsa-vāṣikā*, 'a grove of mango trees'. Thus *ambōś* stands for Sanskrit *āmsa* in Aśoka vocabulary.<sup>3</sup> It is thus very probable that *ambōś-kipilīkāś-ambōś-kapilīkāś-ambōś-kapilīkāś* really stands for Sanskrit *āmsa-kipilīkāś* and means 'the mango-tree ant', i.e. the big red ant that generally lives on mango trees.

#### 16. Date of the Dabōk Inscription

While editing the Mathurā fragmentary inscription (assigned on palaeographical grounds to the latter half of the seventh century A.D.) of the Maurya king Karka Dīndirāja in the pages of this journal,<sup>4</sup> we had occasion to refer to the Dabōk (eight miles to the east of Udaipur, Rajasthan) inscription mentioning the Guhila chief Dhanika of Dhavagarā (Dhōj in the Jaipur District of the Udaipur Division, Rajasthan) and the latter's overlord Paramabhāpāraka Mahārājadhīrāja Paramāśvara Dhavalappa. The Dabōk inscription was noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar<sup>5</sup> and a tentative transcript of it, based on an unsatisfactory impression, was published by R. R. Halder.<sup>6</sup> In our discussion, reference was also made to Bhandarkar's identification of this Dhavalappa with the Maurya king Dhavalātman of the Kanauj inscription<sup>7</sup> of 738 A.D. (V. S. 793) and it was pointed out that *Dhavalātman* may be a Sanskritised form of the South Indian (Kannāḍa) name *Dhavalappa* and that these Mauryas of the Rajasthan region may have been related to the Maurya house of the Southern Konkan. We further suggested that the Mauryas succeeded in extending their suzerainty over Rajasthan which had formerly been a part of the dominions of king Harsha (606-47 A.D.) of Kanauj.<sup>8</sup> It was also suggested by us in some other connection that Śilāditya of the Sāmōli (Bhamat District, Udaipur Division) inscription<sup>9</sup> of V.S. 703 (648 A.D.) was either identical with Harsha of Kanauj or with a Guhila ruler who was named after the Kanauj king because the latter was his father's overlord as in some other cases known to the students of Indian history.<sup>10</sup>

The date of the Dabōk inscription has been differently read. Bhandarkar had at first read it as the year 807 of the Vikrama Śaśvat corresponding to 760 A.D., which he later corrected to 407 of the Gupta era corresponding to 736 A.D. But Halder reads the date as the year 207 of the Harsha era corresponding to 813 A.D. Recently I had an occasion to study some good impressions of the inscription and found that the date in question is very clearly the year 701 which must be referred to the Vikrama Śaśvat so as to yield 614 A.D.

The date is written in three signs, the first of which is a *śra* (indicating 100) joined at the right with the sign of 7, so that the entire symbol can only be read as 700. The difference between this symbol for 700 and that illustrated by Ojha in his *Bhāratīya Prākṛita Liptasālā*, Plate LXXIV-b,

<sup>1</sup> *CIH*, Vol. I, p. 136, text line 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 156, text line 2.

<sup>3</sup> See my note in *Bhāḍa*, Vol. X, pp. 31ff. Cf. R. G. Banik, *Śālokya Inscriptions*, p. 104.

<sup>4</sup> *Above*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 207 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Bhandarkar's List, No. 1371, *PRAS*, W. C. 1908-09, p. 61; *above*, Vol. XII, p. 12, note 1.

<sup>6</sup> *Above*, Vol. XX, pp. 122 ff. Dhanika is identified with his namesake of the Chattrā and Nagar inscriptions (Bhandarkar's List, No. 1537; *Bhāratīya Kāśmīrī*, Vol. I, pp. 267 ff.). But it is doubtful.

<sup>7</sup> *Inf. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 57.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *above*, Vol. XXX, p. 7; Vol. XXXIV, p. 168.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, pp. 97 ff.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 7, note 6; Vol. XXXIV, p. 169.

DATE OF THE DABOK INSCRIPTION



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is that 7 is not joined with 100 in the latter case, though 700 written by a joint symbol of 100 and 7 is also illustrated by him elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> The second of the three signs, with which the date of the Dabök inscription is written, is a dot which is known to have been sometimes used to indicate the absence of the ten symbol between the signs of the unit and the hundred or that of both the ten and unit symbols.<sup>2</sup> The third sign is certainly 1 and not 7 since its top is not sufficiently curved towards the left. Bhandarkar and Halder, who read 7 after the hundred symbol, apparently conjectured the second sign (i.e. the dot) to be joined with the top of the third (i.e. 1) probably because the rare use of the dot in numbers expressed in symbols, due to the growing influence of the decimal system, was not known to them. Their reading is justified neither by the facsimile published by Halder nor by the impressions examined by me. The palaeography of the Dabök inscription does not go against its ascription to V.S. 701 (644 A.D.).

This date of the Dabök inscription necessitates certain modifications in our views on the history of Rajasthan as indicated above. In the first place, *Paramabhadrarāja Mahārājādhirāja Paramāśvara* Dhavalappa of this epigraph of 644 A.D. cannot be identified with the Maurya king Dhavalātman of the Kanauja inscription of 738 A.D., although the former may have been a predecessor (probably the grandfather) of the latter. Secondly, although the paleography of our epigraph closely resembles that of the Mathurā fragmentary inscription of the Maurya king Karka Dīpīrāja, son of Āryarāja and grandson of Chandragupta, that ruler has to be assigned to a date about half a century later than Dhavalappa if the two kings belonged to the same house. This is because both the Dabök and Mathurā inscriptions use the bipartite form of the letter *y* and it is difficult to assign the latter epigraph to a date much earlier than the middle of the seventh century A.D. Thirdly, if Dhavalappa, who assumed the imperial style *Paramabhadrarāja Mahārājādhirāja Paramāśvara* by 644 A.D., was really a scion of the Maurya dynasty as he seems to have been, king Harsha of Kanauj must have lost his hold over many parts of Rajasthan before his death in 647 A.D., though the Mauryas of the Rajasthan region must have originally owed allegiance to him. In this connection, reference may be made to the assumption of imperial style by Maitraka Dharasēna IV of Valabhi, whose father was a subordinate ally of Harsha, by the Gupta-Vallabhi year 326 (644-45 A.D.).<sup>3</sup>

Among other points that may be noticed in this connection, we think it likely that the Rāshtrakūṭa chief Nannappa, son of Bhāmāna, who is known from the Indragadh (near Bhānpurā in the Mandasaur District, Madhya Pradesh) inscription<sup>4</sup> of Vikrama 767 (710 A.D.) was a feudatory of these Mauryas probably of Kannada origin, as indicated above, like the Rāshtrakūṭas. Without further light on the history of these Mauryas, however, it can not be said that king Lōka of the Nargari (Tonk District, Rajasthan) inscription<sup>5</sup> of Vikrama 1043 (987 A.D.) also owed allegiance to them since Rajasthan and Malwa appear to have been occupied by the Gurjara-Pratihāras before 783 A.D.

These Mauryas are mentioned in inscriptions found at Mathurā and at certain places in Rajasthan and Karka Dīpīrāja (about the close of the seventh century A.D.) of this family claimed to have burnt the city of Kanauj. But the inscriptions do not throw any light on the location of their capital. According to the bardic traditions of Mewar, Bappa, son of Guhila or Guhadatta who was the founder of the Guhila house, was in the service of his uncle, the Mōri (Maurya) ruler of Chitōr and, after repulsing a barbarian invasion from Gajni, seized the crown of the latter.<sup>6</sup> But it is difficult to determine whether Chitōr was the Maurya capital or the headquarters of one of the

<sup>1</sup> See Plate LXXIV-a. In this case the 100 symbol resembles *cl* instead of *cc*.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 212 and p. 216, text line 22.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1345-46.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 112 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXXIV, p. 79, note 2.

<sup>6</sup> See *DHNI*, Vol. II, p. 1154.

Maurya viceroys. The Jain tradition representing king Yaśovarman (c. 728-53 A.D.) of Kanauj as a descendant of Chandragupta Maurya<sup>1</sup> may refer to Yaśovarman's relations with Karka Piṇḍī-rāja who was the grandson of a Maurya king named Chandragupta.<sup>2</sup> But we cannot say that the Mauryas transferred their capital to Kanauj sometime before the accession of Yaśovarman since the Maurya king Dhavalātman (738 A.D.) was a contemporary of Yaśovarman. It is, however, not impossible that the Mauryas conquered Kanauj and stationed there a scion of their family as a viceroy and that Yaśovarman was a member of this viceregal family which had thrown off the yoke of the main branch of the dynasty.

Several branches of the Guhīla family, all apparently owing allegiance originally to king Harsha of Kanauj and later to the Mauryas, were ruling in different parts of the Udaipur Division during the seventh century A.D. Guhīla Dhanika of the Dabōk inscription had his headquarters at Dhavaḡartā while another branch of the family represented by Paḍḍa (c. 625 A.D.), Dōvagana (c. 640 A.D.), Bhāvulita (654 A.D.), Bhētī (679 A.D.), Rābhata (689 A.D.) and Kadschī (c. 700 A.D.) had its capital at Kishkindhā or Kishkindhipura near Kalyāpur in the Bhamat District.<sup>3</sup> At the same time, a third branch of the family, to which Aparājita of an inscription<sup>4</sup> of Vikrama 718 (661 A.D.) in the Kuṇḍāvar temple at Nāgdā near Udaipur belonged, was probably ruling from Nāghraḍa (Nāgdā). Śilāditya of the Sāmōli inscription of 644 A.D., if he was really a Guhīla, also belonged to the Nāgdā branch and was the predecessor of Aparājita. Later records of this house begin the genealogy with the following names : (1) Bhōja (born in the family of Guhadatta belonging to a Brāhmana family hailing from Ānandapura, i.e. modern Vaḍnagar in Northern Gujarat), (2) his successor Mahēndra, (3) his successor Nāga, (4) his successor Śīla (i.e. Śilāditya, 644 A.D.), and (5) his successor Aparājita (661 A.D.).<sup>5</sup> Another branch of the family seems to be represented by the chstn and Nāgar inscriptions referred to above.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 194.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXXII, pp. 208-09.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 272 f.; Vol. XXXIV, pp. 166 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Bhandarkar's List, No. 12; above, Vol. IV, p. 31.

<sup>5</sup> Bhandarkar's List, No. 86; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 191.

The material for this Part was sent to the Press by Dr. Sircar  
before his retirement in June 1962.

G. S. Gai,  
*Government Epigraphist for India.*

SILVER COIN OF GOVINDACHANDRA OF KACHAR

*Enlarged*

*Obverse*



*Reverse*



*Actual*



( from Photographs )

No. 13—SILVER COIN OF GOVINDACHANDRA OF KACHAR, SAKA 1736

(I Plate)

A. N. LAHIRI, GOYTACAMUND

(Received on 11.11.1960)

While discussing the Koch and Jaintia coins in *JASB*, April 1910 (cf. p. 161, note 1; p. 166) H. K. Stapleton published a piece of long *Gōvīndachandra* of Kāchār. The coin was then in the possession of a descendant of Gōvīndachandra's Prime Minister. It is stated to have been .93 inch in diameter and 175.75 grains in weight. The reproduction shows that it was struck from a good die. Stapleton pointed out how the coin settled the question 'whether Kāchārī coins were ever struck'. Since then, however, more Kāchār coins issued by earlier rulers have come to light.<sup>1</sup>

The coin has four lines of writing on each side. The legend is in Bengali characters. Stapleton read it with the help of R.D. Banerji as follows:

<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
1 Śrī-Śrī-Gō-	1. Hāḍīmbapū-
2 vīndachandrasya	2 radhā-ma-Śrī-Raja-
3 rājā	3 chaḍḍī-pad-
4 . . . . .	4 [b]a]-juṣa[h]

Unfortunately the above reading of the legend is both inaccurate and incomplete. Moreover, what has been taken as the reverse by Stapleton is really the obverse of the coin. The portion of the legend on that side is actually an epithet of the king and the writing is continued on the other side.

On the obverse, the first expression reads *Hāḍīmbapūr-adhīsa* (śa) and not *Hāḍīmbapūra-dhāma*. Thus the complete legend on the obverse is: *Hāḍīmbapūr-adhīsa (śa)-Śrī-Rajachandri-pad-ajusha[h\*]*. The last six akṣaras on the reverse, which Stapleton and Banerji could not read at all, are clearly: 'āga-try-ādri-kaḥ Sa(Sa)kṣ'. They actually give the date of the coin in a chronogram. Since this fact was not realised, the coin was regarded as undated.<sup>2</sup>

The legend on both sides of the coin is a stanza in *Anuśṭubh*, the obverse and reverse containing respectively the first and second halves of the verse.

TEXT

<i>Obverse*</i>	<i>Reverse*</i>
1 Hāḍīmbapū-	1 śrī-śrī-Gō-
2 r-adhīsa(śa)-śrī-Raja-	2 vīndachandrasya
3 chaḍḍī-pad-	3 rājā-try-ā-
4 juṣa[h*]	4 d[r]i-kaḥ Sa(Sa)kṣ [i*]

<sup>1</sup> For some coins of Yaśōvīryya and Pratiṣāḍhīya, see *Botham, Num. Suppl.*, XX, Art. 120, pp. 55f, 67, and Plate XXVIII, Nos. 1-5, and for a coin of Tīmradhīya, see *JASB*, 1910, p. 160, Plate XXIII, No. 19, with *Num. Suppl.*, op. cit., p. 557. Dr. A. D. H. Bivar informs me that there are 60 coins of the three kings in the British Museum.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Edward Gait, *A History of Assam*, 1926, p. 235, note.

<sup>3</sup> On this side, there are some floral designs to the left of the first line of writing and on both sides of the last.

\* There is a dotted line below the legend.

## TRANSLATION

(*TAs* is the coin) of king *śrī-śrī-Gōvīndachandra*, the lord of *Haiḍimbapūr* and devoted to the feet of *śrī-Rāgachandī*, (struck) in the *Śaka* (year counted by) *anpa* (i.e. 6), *tri* (i.e. 3), *adri* (i.e. 7) and *ku* (i.e. 1), (i.e. in *Śaka* 1736).

The importance of the coin lies in the fact that it gives the date in *chronogram* which is not generally noticed in the legends on the coins of the medieval Hindu rulers. It is again one of the very few coins issued by the Hindu kings of medieval India to bear a *versified legend*.<sup>1</sup> Now, *Haiḍimbā* is the old name of *Kāchār*, and *Haiḍimbapūr*, 'the city (i.e. the capital) of *Haiḍimbā*', is probably to be identified, as proposed by Stapleton, with *Silberband*, near *Khāspūr*, in the *Kāchār* Plains, where, according to Gait, the ruins of the palaces of the last three *Kāchār* kings are still to be found.<sup>2</sup>

*Rāgachandī* must have been the tutelary deity of the kings of *Kāchār*. She is apparently 'the *Thakoorin* of *Kachar*' who, according to Captain Fisher, 'is adored under the symbol of a sword religiously preserved in the *Rajbarri*, and to the possession of which the most inexplicable importance is attached'.<sup>3</sup>

*Gōvīndachandra* succeeded his brother *Kriṣṇachandra* to the throne of *Kāchār* in 1813 A.D. *Śaka* 1736 (1814-15 A.D.), when the coin was struck, thus seems to be the date of his coronation. He was an unhappy ruler, beset with innumerable troubles. Soon after his assumption of power, a stable servant of his predecessor, by name *Kohi Dās*, led a rebellion which was continued, after the rebel's assassination by his son *Tulārām*. Not only this, *Chaurajit Sīnha*, the exiled *Manipurī* king then a refugee in *Kāchār*, and his brother *Gambhīr Sīnha*, who was the *Commander-in-Chief* of the *Kāchār* Army, conspired against *Gōvīndachandra* and ousted him (about 1819)<sup>4</sup> from his kingdom which was then divided amongst themselves and their brother *Mārajit Sīnha* who had been driven away from the *Manipur* throne by the *Burmese*.<sup>5</sup> *Gōvīndachandra* took shelter in *Sylhet* and sought the help of the *British* without success. He was eventually removed to *Dacca*.<sup>6</sup> After a long time, however, *Gōvīndachandra's* case was taken up by the *British*. He was restored to the *Kāchār* throne about 1826 under *British* protection and agreed to pay an annual tribute of 10,000 *sicca* *rupese*. The authorities of the *East India Company*, on their part, arranged to provide for the maintenance of the *Manipurī* princes who were persuaded to leave *Kāchār* and reside within *British* territory.<sup>7</sup>

But *Gōvīndachandra's* enemies never allowed him to rest in peace. According to a conspiracy planned by *Gambhīr Sīnha*, a band of *Manipurīs* entered the royal palace with the help of the king's *Manipurī* bodyguard and hacked him to pieces on the night of the 24th April 1830.<sup>8</sup> After his death, his kingdom was annexed to the *British* territories.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the *Indore Rupee* of king *Yashvanta Rāo*, dated *Śaka* 1728, bearing a versified legend, see G. J. Brown, *The Coins of India*, Plate XII, No. 7.

<sup>2</sup> *JASB*, 1910, p. 186.

<sup>3</sup> "Memor of *Sylhet, Kachar and the Adjacent Districts*" in *JASB*, 1840, pp. 832-33.

<sup>4</sup> See Gait, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

<sup>5</sup> See R. M. Lalit, *The Assassination of Assam*, pp. 42-45.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48.

<sup>7</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 142.

## No. 14—FRAGMENTARY RASHTRAKUTA INSCRIPTION FROM KANDHAR

(1 Plate)

D. C. SINGAR and G. BHATTACHARYA, GÖTTACAMUND

(Received on 20.7.1960)

Kandhâr (also spelt as Qandhâr and Kandahâr), the headquarters of the Taluk of that name, is 32 miles southwest of Nândôj in the Nander District, formerly in Hyderabad State but now in Maharashtra. In February 1959, while Mr. Bhattacharya was camping at Nândôj, Shri V. R. Mahiakar, Headmaster of the Kandhâr Government High School, gave him information about the existence of the stone inscription under study and was kind enough to accompany him to Kandhâr and to take him to the findspot of the epigraph. The inscribed stone slab lies near an old well called 'the Khâs Bâg well' in the locality called Bahâdurpur nearly a mile from the present town of Kandhâr. The place abounds in ruined structures and images and piths of old buildings are still to be noticed around the well. The well also is old, its sides and steps being built of stone. Shri Mahiakar told Mr. Bhattacharya that, when the well dried up in the summer of 1957, the stone slab bearing the inscription was found in its bed and that it was taken out and kept at the spot where it is lying now.

The most notable existing structure at Kandhâr is the Fort just outside the town. There is no doubt that the Fort was built before the advent of Muhammadans there. The present Dargah and the mosque inside the Fort have pillars of old Hindu temples. But there is no record of the Hindu rulers anywhere inside the Fort. The town of Kandhâr also abounds in many ruined structures as well as Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina images. Still old images and Śivaliṅgas come out here and there while people dig for the foundation of a house. That the Muslim occupation of Kandhâr led to the destruction of the temples is demonstrated by the mosque in the town, which is an old Hindu shrine turned into a Muslim religious establishment by means of superficial changes in the construction.

The lower part of the inscribed stone slab, which was originally a pillar, is broken. It is written on three sides of the stone; but the lower part of the writing is lost in all of them. The record is thus fragmentary and contains three fragments of what was originally a big pillar inscription. Of the inscription on the three sides, the writing on the third is better preserved while that on the second is badly damaged. There is the figure of Śivaliṅga on the Yōni-paṭṭa flanked by a devotee pouring water on the Yōni-paṭṭa on the left and a bull on the right above the writing on the first side. The slab, as it now is, measures about 27 inches in height while the width of the broad faces, one of them bearing the first part of the inscription, is about 15 inches, the breadth of the two side faces being 10·2 inches each. The lines of writing on the first face are thus slightly longer than those on the other two inscribed faces. Individual letters without vowel-marks, excluding conjuncts, are each a little above half an inch in height. The letters on the third side are slightly smaller in size than those on the other two sides. There are seventeen lines of writing on the first side together with traces of another line, while the second and third sides contain twenty-six lines each. The three inscribed faces of the pillar will be hereinafter called as A, B and C.



The characters belong to the North Indian alphabet of the tenth century A.D. and closely resemble those of the Dēoli<sup>1</sup> (Śaka 862), Kolhāpur<sup>2</sup> and Karhād<sup>3</sup> (Śaka 882) plates of the Rāshtrakūta king Kṛishṇa III (939-67 A.D.) and the undated Chinchani plate<sup>4</sup> belonging to the same king's reign. But some of the conjuncts show a slightly more developed form than found in the other records (cf. *śāmi* in *A*, line 2, *śā* in *A*, line 4 and *śas* in *A*, line 16, etc.). The formation of the letter *ṣṭi* (*A*, line 16) is also later. From this fact it may be conjectured that the record under study is slightly later than those mentioned above. The initial vowels *a* (*A*, lines 8, 10; *B*, line 8), *i* (*A*, lines 9, 13; *C*, lines 8, 14), *u* (*A*, line 11; *C*, line 13) and *ṛ* (*A*, lines 14, 15) occur in the inscription. The *spadēmāṣṭiye* appears in *A*, line 12 and final *t* in *A*, line 11; *B*, lines 6, 16; and *C*, line 20. The sign for *e* has been employed in indicating *ā* excepting *śāśā* in *A*, line 3. Like the Chinchani plate, the record begins with the *Prasava* symbolically represented.

The language is Sanskrit and the document is written in prose and verse. All the seven stanzas found in the extant introductory part of the inscription on the first face of the pillar are also found in the corresponding part of the Dēoli, Kolhāpur and Karhād plates of Kṛishṇa III with negligible variations. In this part, the Dēoli and Kolhāpur plates add two other stanzas while the Karhād plates add a third new verse along with those two. As regards orthography also, the present record resembles the same epigraphs. In one case *Santhi* has not been observed in a verse (*A*, line 6). Final *v* has been changed to *auśāra* wrongly in some cases. Some consonants have been reduplicated in conjunction with *r*.

The extant parts of the inscription bear no date. But, on grounds of palaeography and the fact that the introductory stanzas are also found in the Dēoli, Kolhāpur and Karhād plates, the inscription may be referred to the reign of the Rāshtrakūta king Kṛishṇa III (939-67 A.D.), probably to its latter part.

There are seven stanzas in *A* (lines 1-17) after the symbolical representation of the *Prasava*, the last of the verses being incomplete. The rest of the writing on the said face of the stone is lost. Verse 1 is in praise of the god Mūrāri (i.e. Viṣṇu) while verse 2 praises the god Tripuraviṣayin (i.e. Śiva). The next stanza (verse 3) introduces the Moon-god as one whose part is held on his head by the god Śambhu (Śiva). It is then stated in verse 4 how the Yadu family sprang from the Moon-god. Verse 5 refers to the birth of the Primeval Male (i.e. Viṣṇu in the form of Kṛishṇa) in that family with the purpose of destroying the demons and to the kings of the said family, who, owing to their pre-eminent fame and valour, became known in the world as the Tuṅgas. Verse 6 informs us that, in that lineage which was known as the Rāshtrakūta-kula, was born Dantidurga while the following stanza (verse 7), the concluding part of which is lost, tells us how, after Dantidurga, his paternal uncle, king Kṛishṇaparāja, became the ruler of the earth and constructed numerous temples of the god Īvara (Śiva). The present epigraph does not refer to the eponymous Rājta mentioned in the Karhād and Dēoli plates as the progenitor of the Rāshtrakūta dynasty. But, like them, it refers to Tuṅga as another name of the Rāshtrakūtas, though the Dēoli plates have *Sātyaki-vṛygi-śāśā* (i.e. members of the lineage of Sātyaki) instead of the expression *tuṅga-yāśā-prabhāśā* found in the Karhād plates and the present record and refer to the Rāshtrakūtas' descent from the Sātyaki branch of the Yadu family.

As indicated above, the latter part of the genealogy including the mention of Kṛishṇa III, to whom the epigraph apparently belongs, is lost. But, from the other records of the said Rāshtra-

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. V, pp. 168 ff. and Plates.

<sup>2</sup> *JBRAS*, N. S., Vol. X, pp. 21 ff. and Plates.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. IV, pp. 278 ff. and Plates.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 55 ff. and Plate.

king, we can restore the genealogy as follows : (1) Dantidurga (742-56 A.D.) ; (2) his paternal uncle Krishna I (756-75 A.D.) ; (3) his son Govinda II (775-80 A.D.) ; (4) his younger brother Nirupama Kalivallabha (Dhruva, 780-94 A.D.) ; (5) his son Jagattuṅga (Govinda III, 794-814 A.D.) ; (6) his son Nripatuṅga (Amoghavarsha I, 814-78 A.D.) ; (7) his son Akalavarsha Krishna II (873-915 A.D.) ; (8) his grandson Indra III (915-38 A.D.) ; (9) his son Amoghavarsha II (928-29 A.D.) ; (10) his younger brother Suvarnavarsha Govinda IV (929-34 A.D.) ; (11) his paternal uncle Amoghavarsha III (934-39 A.D.) ; and (12) his son Krishna III (939-67 A.D.).

The text of the record in *B* starts with the meritorious and munificent activities probably of Krishna III. In the first part (lines 1-8), it records what was apparently the first group of provisions made to various people by the ruler. The first reference is to the bards (*śūdrī-jana*) who used to praise the noble qualities of one and received [each] two hundred *Drammas* together with a pair of clothes probably per year. Next, provision of a hundred *Drammas* and a pair of clothes is made for each of a group of persons whose duty was to recite sacred texts four times a day. The third provision of fifty *Drammas* and a pair of clothes was made in favour [of each] of another group of reciters. These look like payments to be made to palace servants. But their inclusion is difficult to understand even if they were especially liberal and were introduced in a new palace or capital. It is, however, well known that the deities worshipped in temples are treated as kings and it may be that the reference is to certain categories of servants in a temple. It should, however, be admitted that the first sentence in this section seems to refer to a king and not to a deity.

The reference to the second group of pious deeds in the next section (lines 8 ff.) begins with a description of *Kālamēgha* which was probably a secondary name of the donor. This section mentions the provision made for offering meals to the [Brahmanas] numbering thirty, who were engaged in reciting the Vedas, in the *sutra-śālā* (free feeding house) close to [the temple of] the god Kālapriya. Next is mentioned the provision of two *prasthas*<sup>1</sup> of oil and one *prastha* of salt daily in order to meet the requirements of the college (*vidyāsthāna*), situated on the bank of the Nāndī in the Gōdāvari valley (*Gōdāvari-taṭ-ādhyāśinī Nāndī-taṭ*) and belonging to the Brahmanas engaged in studies. For this purpose, arrangements had to be made for the storing of nine *khaṇḍikās*<sup>2</sup> of oil and four and a half *khaṇḍikās* of salt by purchasing the articles from the *grāma-koṣṭhāka* (i.e. the villages and valleys around the town where the inscription was set up). For the bulk purchase of the articles, arrangements were made for the daily payment, in a lump sum, of the price of oil and salt required per day.

The pious work described in *C* is of a nature different from that mentioned in *B*. The first deed referred to in this part is the construction of a *maṇḍapa* (pavilion) named *Sarvalōkārāya* near [the temple of] the well-known god Kshētrapāla (probably a local deity or Śiva). Then follows the description of the setting up of five centres for the distribution of water (*praspā*), for the amelioration of the suffering of the people during summer, at five places, viz. (1) the *makara-tōraṇa* (the gate-way with the *makara*-motif) in the royal palace (*rāja-grāha*), (2) the *Yaksha-dvāra* (another gate-way endowed with *Yaksha* figures) adorned with [the image of the god] Maṇḍalasiddhi Vināyaka,<sup>3</sup> (3) the front of the temple of Kāmādeva close to the area where the chief courtesans of the king lived (*pradhāna-rāja-vilāsinī-pāṭaka*), (4) the courtyard of [the temple of] the god Kālapriya, and (5) the above-mentioned pavilion named *Sarvalōkārāya*. Similarly, five-places (*agnī-śāntikā*) were constructed at five places for saving the poor people from suffering from cold during

<sup>1</sup> A *prastha* is variously regarded as 6, 16 or 32 *pals*, 1 *pala* being equal to 4 *śūras*.

<sup>2</sup> *Khaṇḍikā* is the same as modern *Candy* often regarded as equal to 300 pounds.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. a goddess installed in the gate-way (probably in a pavilion) or a temple as mentioned in the Chifchani plate of the time of Krishna III (above, Vol. XXXII, p. 56).



The Sanskrit name Kṛishṇa appears in the Kannāḍa records as Kannara, Kannāra, Kanhara, Kanhāra, Kandara, Kandāra, Kandhara and Kandhāra.<sup>1</sup> The mention of Kṛishṇa III as the lord of Kandhārapura in the epigraphs of the Rāṭṭas no doubt proves the existence of a city called Kandhārapura named after a Rāshtrakūṭa ruler called Kṛishṇa (i.e. Kandhāra). The present Kandhār, where the Rāshtrakūṭa inscription under study has been discovered, is apparently the same as Kandhārapura which was very probably a secondary capital of Kṛishṇa III.<sup>2</sup> Our record mentions a centre for the distribution of water (*propā*) in the gate-way inside the *vāja-grīha* or royal palace pointing to the existence of a residence of Kṛishṇa III at Kandhāra. That the ruler stayed there is further indicated, if not by the presence of the bards, at least by the existence of the quarters of the king's chief courtesans. It is therefore certain that Kṛishṇa III ruled from Kandhār, at least for sometime, probably in the latter part of his reign, and that his description as the lord of Kandhārapura in the epigraphs of the Rāṭṭas of Saundatti is justified, even though in the earlier part of his rule he was reigning from Mānyakhēṭa or Maḅkhēḍ whence his Dēoli plates were issued in Śaka 862 (940 A.D.). A copper-plate grant<sup>3</sup> from Sirūr in the Bagalkot Taluk of the Bijapur District was issued from Kandhārapura by Kṛishṇa-Kannaradēva-chakravartin, who is called the son of Gōvindarāja and is described as *Kandhāra-puravar-ādhiśvara*. The characters of the record are Nāgarī of the 11th century and it is written in Marāṭhī and Kannāḍa. The genuineness of the charter is of course not beyond doubt. But it is not impossible that its donor was a member of a later branch of the Rāshtrakūṭa house ruling from Kandhār.

The question now is : who was Kandhāra (Kṛishṇa) by whom Kandhārapura (Kandhār) was built and after whom it was named ? Amīr Hamza, author of the *Tārīkh-i-Qandhār-i-Dakkān* (Urdu) states, on the authority of the *Sigar-i-Hind* and *Tārīkh-i-Khurehid Jāhī*, that Kanhār (i.e. Kandhār) was built by and named after king Kanhār of the Pāṇḍava dynasty.<sup>4</sup> Although the Pāṇḍava dynasty is mythical, this tradition at least shows that Kandhār was built by and named after a king called Kandhār. The name of the king and the absence of pre-Rāshtrakūṭa antiquities at Kandhār suggest that this Kandhār was a Rāshtrakūṭa king. But was he Kṛishṇa III or one of his two predecessors bearing the same name ? Let us see what indication there is on these points in the inscription itself.

Some of the personal names, after which certain deities worshipped at the place and a structure and a tank existing there according to our inscription were named, are : (1) Kālapriya, (2) Sarva-lōkārāya, (3) Jagattuḅga, (4) Viranārāyaṇa, (5) Kṛishṇa, (6) Gōjjiga and (7) Tuḅiga. Of these the god Tuḅigēśvara was apparently named after Kṛishṇa III himself, since the name Tuḅiga (i.e. Tuḅiga) is applied to him in an inscription<sup>5</sup> of the Rāṭṭas of Saundatti. The name *Sarvalōkārāya* also reminds us of the fact that the same Rāshtrakūṭa king was sometimes called *Samastabhuvanārāya*<sup>6</sup> which has exactly the same meaning. The names Kālapriya and Kṛishṇēśvara likewise remind us of the fact that the Karhād plates were issued by Kṛishṇa III when he was camping at Mēlpāṭī (modern Mēlpāḍī in the Chittur Taluk and District), for the purpose of creating livings out of the provinces in the southern region for his dependents (*dakṣhiṇa-dān-maḅḅalāni bhṛityābhyaḅ*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *JIH*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 407; *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 244; Part II, pp. 334, 410 note 1, 468, 526, etc. The Prakrit name Kannara was also sometimes re-Sanskritized as Karṇa. See *The Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 122.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *JIH*, Vol. XXXVII, 1959, pp. 407 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *A.R. Ep.*, 1937-38, No. A 20.

<sup>4</sup> We are indebted for the reference to Khwaja Moinuddin, Inspector of Registration, Aurangabad Division, Aurangabad.

<sup>5</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, op. cit., p. 419.

<sup>6</sup> *Loc. cit.*

*Jinasak kartam*), of taking possession of the whole property of the lords of provinces (*mandalāśvara*) and of erecting the temples of Kālāpriya, Gaṇḍamārtaśa, Kṛishnāśara, etc., in respect of the grant of a village in the Karahāta district to the head of a Śaiva religious establishment at Karahāta (modern Kashād).<sup>1</sup> The Kāshāpur plates also speak of the same deities, but add that, while the temple of Kālāpriya was built in Kāñchī-maṇḍala, the Kṛishnāśvara and Gaṇḍamārtaśādītya temples were built in Bṛhachakrōpānta (i.e. the Sātubandha Rāmāśvara area). These records and the present inscription thus suggest that Rāshtrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III was fond of installing gods under the names Kālāpriya and Kṛishnāśvara, the second apparently after his own name.

As regards Kālāpriya, it is well known that the dramas of Bhavabhūti, who was an inhabitant of Padmapura within Vidarbha in Dakshinapatha (probably modern Padmapur in the Bhandara District of Madhya Pradesh) and was a court poet of king Yaśovarman (c. 728-53 A.D.) of Kanauj, were staged before the god Kālāpriyanātha<sup>2</sup> and that, according to the Cambay plates<sup>3</sup> of Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda IV (929-35 A.D.), his father Indra III (915-98 A.D.), while marching against Mahōdaya (Kanauj), camped for sometime in the temple of the god Kālāpriya (i.e. Kālāpriyanātha or the god worshipped at a place called Kālāpriya) before crossing the Yamunā. There is little doubt that this Kālāpriya, situated near the Yamunā and on the road from the south to Kanauj, is identical with modern Kālpi on the Jumna in the Jalaun District of U.P.<sup>4</sup> It is thus possible to think that Kṛishṇa III, in the course of his northern expedition suggested by the discovery of one of his inscriptions in the present Maihar Tehsil of the Satna District of Madhya Pradesh,<sup>5</sup> emulated his grandfather Indra III in camping in the temple of Kālāpriyanātha at Kālāpriya (Kālpi) and became so much devoted to the god that he conceived the idea of installing deities of the same name in his own territory on his return. These facts and others already discussed above no doubt point to the close relations of Kṛishṇa III with Kandhārapura (Kandhār). But they do not prove that the city was built by and named after himself and did not exist before his time.

We have seen above that there is really no mention of a city named Kṛishṇapura (Kandhārapura) in relation to the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa II. It is, however, interesting in this connection to note that the deity Gōjjiḡaśmanātha, worshipped at Kandhār when our inscription was set up, was named after Gōjjiḡa which is the Kannada corruption of Gōvinda and is known to have been the popular name of Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda IV.<sup>6</sup> It may also be pointed out that Viranārayana, after whom a deity worshipped at Kandhār was named, was the secondary name of several Rāshtrakūṭa kings including Gōvinda IV.<sup>7</sup> Thus it is not improbable that the city of Kandhārapura existed before the days of Kṛishṇa III. It may have been built by and named after an earlier Kṛishṇa of the Rāshtrakūṭa family, probably Kṛishṇa II.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 299.

<sup>2</sup> The deity is usually but wrongly identified with Mahākālā of Ujjain. Cf. E. K. De, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 277 ff.; Shrivastava, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, pp. 242 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. VII, p. 38, text lines 21-25: *Yam-mālyud-dvapa-danta-gāha-nishamam Kālāpriya-prāṅgavach Gṛahā pu-taravair-nyāthā-Yamunā śāntā-patīpantīkī | pīnāthā ki Mahāday-śri-napuram niramāllam unamāllam nāmādy-āpī jamaṭi Kānāthālo-m-iti śhyāntim parim āpūti |*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Shrivastava, op. cit., p. 244.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 287 ff. The northern expedition of Kṛishṇa III, especially against the Gurjara-Pratihāras king of Kanauj, is also hinted at in a verse in his copper-plate grants, which states how his success in the south led to the hope about Kāshājara and Chitrakūṭa vanishing from the heart of the Gurjara (i.e. the Gurjara-Pratihāra king).

<sup>6</sup> *Banā Gṛā.*, pp. cit., pp. 381, 410.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 190 (Amoghavaraha I), p. 410 (Gōvinda IV), p. 422 (Kakka II).

Jagattuṅga, after whom the tank called Jagattuṅga-samudra was named, may have been the younger brother of Kṛishṇa III for whose merit the Rāshtrakūṭa king made the grant recorded in the Dūll plates.<sup>1</sup> If, however, the city existed before the days of Kṛishṇa III, Jagattuṅga may also be the homonymous son of Kṛishṇa II who died before his father.<sup>2</sup> If again, as indicated above, our inscription really mentions Kālanāgha as the donor, it may have been a secondary name of Kṛishṇa III. Although this name of the Rāshtrakūṭa king is not known from any other source, it reminds us of Dantidurga's secondary name Vairanāgha.<sup>3</sup>

That the god Kālapriya was very famous in the locality is indicated by the passage: *Kalikālepi sakala-lōka-pratyakāṣa-dīva-śakti-bhāgavatāḥ*, 'of the god Kālapriya whose divine power is manifested to the whole world even in the Kali age.' Close to the tank in which the inscribed slab was found, there are traces of the plinth of some structure. That might have been the plinth of the temple of the god Kālapriya. Two out of the five āra-places (*āra-sthānā*), the construction of which at five different spots is an interesting fact recorded in our inscription, were built near the temple of Kālapriya. This may indicate that the place was frequented by many pilgrims.

In B, line 25, the king has been compared with the *Kaḷyāṇapādapa* (i.e. *Kaḷpatribhā*) for eradicating poverty of the people by various charitable measures. His sympathy was not confined to human beings, but was also shown towards cattle. We have seen that arrangement for the free supply of fodder and drinking water for the cattle was made at the cost of 50 *Draṇmas* per day at five different places probably on the occasion of festivities in the temples when large numbers of people visited the city, many of them in carts. One of these is stated to have been made near the shop of the Gūrjaras who may have been the people of that name settled in different parts of the western regions of India. Their presence at Kandhār may be compared to that of the merchants of Bhīllamāla (modern Bhīmāl in the Jodhpur Division of Rajasthan) at Saḍjān in the Thana District of Maharashtra as indicated by the Chīnāhami plate<sup>4</sup> of the time of Kṛishṇa III himself.

As regards the *Draṇma* currency referred to in the record, reference may be made to a Kanheri inscription<sup>5</sup> of the time of Amāghavaraha I, which mentions two types of *Draṇmas*, viz. gold and ordinary (silver). It is, however, difficult to say whether the coin mentioned in our inscription was of gold or silver. The provision for a pair of clothes in addition to the salary of the palace (or temple) servants reminds us of the *Mānasūśī*, VII, 126, enjoining the payment of 1 *Paṇa* and 5 *Paṇas* per day respectively to a lower and higher grade servant together with a *Drōpa* of paddy per month and a pair of clothes every six months.

A centre for the free distribution of water during summer is stated to have been made in front of the temple of Kāmadēva attached to the quarters of the chief royal courtesans. The existence of the temple of Kāma, the god of love, near the courtesans' quarters indirectly points to the popularity of the deity among the courtesan class and is interesting to note.

As regards geographical names mentioned in the record, a college of the Brāhmaṇas is stated to have been situated on the bank of the Nāndī dominating the Gōdāvari valley. Kandhār stands on the Mānyad which falls in the Maljirā, a tributary of the Gōdāvari, and it appears that the Nāndī is identical with the modern Mānyad. The name of the Nāndī is certainly associated

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 430.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 414. Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III was also known as Jagattuṅga (*ibid.*, p. 204).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 389, note 5; p. 392, note 7.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXXII, p. 56.

<sup>5</sup> *Inf. As.*, Vol. XII, p. 133.

with that of ancient Nāndīkaṣṭa mentioned as Nāndīkaṣṭa in the Basim plates<sup>1</sup> of Vākātaka Vindhyaśakti II (middle of the fourth century A.D.). The word *kaṣṭa* is often found at the end of geographical names and Nāndīkaṣṭa seems to mean a locality on the bank or in the valley of the Nāndī. The name of modern Nāndēd, about 33 miles from Kaudhār, is no doubt derived from that of Nāndīkaṣṭa through the intermediate Prakṛit form Nāndīkaṣṭa. Nāndēd, however, stands on the Gōdāvari at a distance from the course of the modern Mānyad although, to justify the name, we have probably to think that the Nāndī originally joined the Gōdāvari, near it. If such was the case, the course of the Nāndī has changed considerably since Nāndīkaṣṭa was founded at least before the middle of the fourth century A.D.

TEXT<sup>2</sup>

[Metres : verses 1-2 *Puṣhpitāgrā* ; verse 3 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* ; verse 4 *Mālinī* ; verses 5-7 *Vasantatilaka*.]

## First side

- 1 || Om<sup>3</sup> namaḥ Śivāya || 8a jayati jagad-utsava-pravēśa-prathana-pataḥ  
 2 kara-pallavō Murārāḥ || [1\*] lāsad-amṛita-payah-kaṣṭa-śhika-Lakshmi-stana-kala-  
 3 [ś]-ānana-labdha-sannivēśah || [1\*] Ja[ya]ti cha Girijā-kapōla-vimva(ba)-praṇi-  
 4 [hi]ta-patra-vichitrit-āśha-bhittih || [1\*] Tripuravijayina[h] priy-ōparō-  
 5 [dhā]d-dhṛita-Madan-ābhaya-dāna-śāsan-ōva || [2\*] Śrīmān=asti nabhasal-nika-ti-  
 6 [la]kaḥ<sup>4</sup> [trailōkya]-nōtr-ōtsavō dōvō Manmatha-vān(bān)dhavaḥ kumudini-nāthah Sudhā-  
 7 [dī]dhitih | nihāśah-āmara-tarppaḥ-ārpita-tanu-prakshipt-ālakṣitō-ya-  
 8 sy-āśah ei(śi)rasā gaṇa-priyatayā nūnaḥ dhṛitah Sambhūṣ || [3\*] [A]śha-vad-amala-  
 9 [kāntis-ta]jaya varṣāḥ maṇināḥ gaṇa iva Yadu-varṣāḥ dagdhasūtrdhūyam[ś]-  
 10 nā | adhigata-hari-nīla-prōllasan-nāyaka-śrīr-śāthila-gaṇa-saṅgō  
 11 bhūshaga[śh] yō bhuvō-bhū[ś] || [4\*] Udvrīta-daitya-kula-ka[śh]dala-śānti-bēta-tatr-  
 āvatāra[m-u]-  
 12 dabbūt<sup>5</sup>-Purushah purōḥah | tad-vathājā jagati tumga-yasah-prabhāvā<sup>6</sup>-Turin-  
 13 [g]ā iti kshītibhujah prāthitā va(ba)bhūvuh || [5\*] Tat-santatau samabhavad-bhuvana-  
 14 prasiddha-śrī-Rāshṭrakūṭakula-[n]āmani Daritidurggah | <sup>7</sup> ēkaḥ cakāra chatur-ā-  
 15 vdhya(bdhy-u)pakaṣṭha-sīma-kshētroḥ ya ōtad-am-lāmgals-bhinna-durggah || [6\*] Tasmād-  
 ap[ś]-

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 140.

<sup>2</sup> From impressions. For a few suggestions we are indebted to Mr. S. Sankaranarayanan.

<sup>3</sup> Expressed symbolically.

<sup>4</sup> Read "lakṣaḥ".

<sup>5</sup> The other texts have "dastāras-cakrō".

<sup>6</sup> The Deolī text has "Sāyaka-śreyya-bhāṣa".

<sup>7</sup> This half of the stanza is found in the other grants as Tasmād-asti-santā-śukha-chāra-śara-nāḥ-ū-bhūva-  
 nāpāṭi-śa Daritidurggah.

2  
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6  
8  
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12  
14  
16  
18

2  
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16  
18

Fragmentary inscription in an ancient script, likely Brahmi or Kharosthi, with significant damage and missing sections. The text is arranged in approximately 18 horizontal lines. The top portion of the inscription is heavily obscured by large, irregular holes and missing fragments of the stone or metal surface. The remaining text is dense and difficult to decipher due to the fragmentary nature of the source.





- 16 [la]yad=imān vāndhām pitṛivyaḥ śrī-Kṛishṇarāja-ncipatīḥ śarad-abbra-śubb[ra]b [!]\*  
 17 [yat]-kārit-śēvare-grihair=vasumatya=(nēka-Kai) — —  
 18 ∪ ∪ ∪ — ∪ ∪ — ∪ — — [! 7\*] .....

*Second Side*

- 1 [m]t[!y\*] puṅy-ānuvaṁ(buṁ)dhim dāna-pravṛiti[!r]-yaśś-uvavā(ba)u-  
 2 dhim[!i] [!°] [ōta]d-guṇa-stati-niva(ba)ddham jāti-vṛitta-māḥam vi-  
 3 [chi]ira-maṇi-mālikām-iva kath(ka)ṅthē kurvatācā vāndi-ḥa-  
 4 [nā]mān dramma-śata-dvayaḥ (dra 200 vāstra-yugam-śkaṁ(kam) || cha-  
 5 . lam<sup>1</sup> paṭhatācā dramma-śatam=śkaṁ | dra 100 vāstra-yu-  
 6 [ga]m= i . ḥa-pāṭha-praṇaymācā dramamā | paṭichācā  
 7 dra 50 vāstra-yugam-śkaṁ(kam) || maty-anurāga(!)-kshē[!m-ō]ddēśāna [dā]-  
 8 na-pravṛiti[!i] | dvitīyā=cha [!°] avirata-mad-āmva(bu)-vṛishṭir-ddō[shā]-  
 9 kara-tapana-magḍal-āvarāṇaḥ prasamita-pata-ya(ba)la-  
 10 dhūliḥ kalit-ōchita-**Kālamṅb-ākhyā** | [!tasy-ā]-  
 11 nēka-ta(ma)mara-sadhikēta-masa(ya)-sannihita-vijaya . \*  
 12 samāgama-prasasta-bhūtasya śatru-kshaya-[parama] .  
 13 [un-ōd]ya-hastinō yasaḥ . . . dāna-simhasya . . .  
 14 tathā hi śrī-Kālapriyasya bhagavataḥ sampavartti-  
 15 nyātā [satra]-śālāyān vād-āmṛita-pavitrīta-mukhānācā [trīm]-  
 16 [sa]v-sandikhyānām-āhāra-dānāt(nam) || tathā **Gōdāvari-ta-**  
 17 [t-ā]dhyāsinī\* [**Nāndi**]-tatē | nira[va]dya-vidy-ārjāna-  
 18 [ju]shām dvijanmanātā saṁva(ba)ndhinō vidyās(sthā)nasya śaśha-  
 19 śvaga-samsgratā-sampādanāya [!]<sup>2</sup> dīnam<sup>3</sup>preṣṭi taila-  
 20 [pra]śtha-dvayaḥ śvagaśya ch-śikān prasthām vidhāya va(ta)thā cha . \*  
 21 ma-kāṭaka-kṛōpikēna dēyā=tailasya kha[ṇḍi] . \*  
 22 [na]va | śvagaśya khaṇḍikā=ś-ānīhā=cha(tasra)ḥ | Ta-  
 23 [d-uddē]śāna cha dīn-ānu(dīnam)\* ras-ārgha-pipdēna kḥ[!r\*]ḥḥka-  
 24 ay-āvalambanācā . . \* | tad-ēvaṁ nirākṛita-daridra-

<sup>1</sup> The reading of the last letters can be restored from the other grants as "lita-śāla-nichit-śat chikam śāśāci .

<sup>2</sup> The original may have read śāśak-śāśam .

<sup>3</sup> The word lost here may have been śāśak .

<sup>4</sup> The verb *adhyat* has been used here in the sense of 'to preside over, influence, rule,' so that *Gōdāvari-ta-* *adhyat* would mean 'dominating over the Gōdāvari valley' or 'predominant in the Gōdāvari valley' .

<sup>5</sup> The *śvaga* is unnecessary .

<sup>6</sup> The last letters at the end of the line may have been *prā* .

<sup>7</sup> The word is obviously *śāśāśā* .

<sup>8</sup> The *ś* two letters appear to stand for a word like *śāśam* .

25. [ja]n-ōpadravah(va)ni-upapādit-ākālpa-kalyāṇa-pā[da]pa  
 26. .... prasara-niya[ta]ch(tam) | pra. ....  
 27. ....

## Third Side

- 1 Tathā prasiddha-Kabhētrapāla-samipō evvihita-prāvarav[ā]-  
 2 starav-ādi-parikarāḥ Sarvvalōkārāya-nāmā math[ā]-  
 3 paḥ || tathā rājagrūh-āntar-vartti-makarātōraṇō | Math[ā]-  
 4 [la]iddhivāyaka-mamḍi[ta]-yakuha-dvāsē | pradhā[na]-  
 5 rājavilāsinī-pātaka-sannihita-Kāmalōv-ā[ya]-  
 6 tana-purōbhāgō | Kalikālā-pi sakala-lōka-pra-  
 7 [tya]kaha-divya-aktōr-bhagavataḥ śri-Kālepriyasya prāṅgaṇō |  
 8 [pra]tītē cha Sarvvalōkārāya-nimḍapō | iti pañchasa sth[ā]-  
 9 [nō]shu grīhna-sahtāpa-nirasana-khamāḥ dharmata-natapati-  
 10 vilāskāyamāna-mahima-sprīṣāḥ prapāḥ | ta-  
 11 thā Maṇḍalesiddhi-prāṅgaṇō Sarvvalōkārāya-math[ā]pō |  
 12 Kālepriya-samipā-pralōka-dvayō | Jagattuṅga-samu[dra]-  
 13 [sya pā]lī-pratishthitā[ta]-Saga[\*]vāsvara-purōbhāgō | udichya-  
 14 dig-vartti-Vah(Bam)kēsvara-samipō | iti pañchasa sthānēshu prala-  
 15 ya-mahāplavāyamāna-hēmanava[ta]-kāla-pralōka-vilān[ī]-  
 16 [shv-a]nātha-jana-parirekhaṇ-ārtham-agni-sthitikā[\*] | tathā  
 17 [Gū]rjar-āpaṇa-Viranārāyaṇa-śri-Kṛishṇōśvara-Kabhētrap[ā]-  
 18 la-kahūṇa-hatthikānī<sup>1</sup> pañchasa sthānēshu gavām svachchhaṇḍa-pā-  
 19 n-āhāra-nimittam [a[la]-drōgyō[nyau] gō-grāsās-cha tat-pratikara-  
 20 ṇāya<sup>2</sup> pratidinam dramamāḥ pañchāsat dra 50 tathā Vam(Bam)kē-  
 21 śvara-Chchhallōśvara-Gōjṅgasōmanātha-Tumvō[mō]śvara-Tudigōśvarō-  
 22 [shu] pañch-āyatanēshu pañch-ōpachāra-sabitam pañch-āmṛita-su[ān-ō]-  
 23 [pa]jyōgī-dadhī-dogdha-kusum-ārchana-nimittam mās-ā[numāsat]  
 24 [cha] dramamāḥ pañcha-śatāni dra 500 khamḍasya-āk-ā[dhakam]  
 25 palāni pañcha-pañchāsat pa 50 śrikhamḍasya palāni [chatu]-  
 26 [r-sahikāni] śatāny-śkādāsa 1104 pratidinam  
 27. ....

<sup>1</sup> The word *iti* seems to be understood here.

<sup>2</sup> The word *pratikāra* means 'repaying', 'compensation', etc. But here it has been used in the sense of 'meeting the expenses'.

## No. 15—TWO EASTERN GANGA INSCRIPTIONS

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, CUTTACKMUND

(Received on 29.9.69)

### 1. *Khilōr Inscription of Anantavarman (Kāmārjaya), Śaka 1075*

About the beginning of 1956, I copied an inscription<sup>1</sup> engraved on the door-jamb of the Śiva temple at **Khilōr** (P. O. Arisal) near the Delang railway station in the Puri District of Orissa. The writing covers an area about three feet in length and ten inches and a half in height. There are six lines of writing, individual *akṣaras*, excluding consonants with vowel marks, being a little above one and a half inches high. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory since the right half of line 1 and most of the letters in the corresponding section of line 2 are lost. A few letters are also lost at the end of the other lines of writing.

The characters of the inscription belong to the Gaudīya alphabet as found in the Orissan records of about the twelfth century A.D. Its language is Sanskrit. The date of the record as quoted in lines 1-2 is only partially preserved. After giving the Śaka year in figures as **10[75]**, the corresponding regnal or *caika* year in the regnal reckoning of a king must have been quoted together with other details of the date. But, of this section which mentions the secondary name of the king in question as **Anantavarman**, the king's principal name and the year of his regnal reckoning are lost, the available details of the date being [*Āshā*]/[*ha-sūta-tyāgāyān sa-*][*masa*]/[*ha-sūta*], i.e. **Āshāḍha-sudi 3, Sammukhavāra**. The use of the expression *sammukha-sūta* (literally, 'the week-day in the forefront') to indicate the day of the week is rather peculiar, although it seems to mean the first day of the week, i.e. Sunday. Unfortunately **Āshāḍha-sudi 3** in Śaka 1075 fell on Friday, the 26th June 1153 A.D. The date may thus be regarded as irregular.

There is no doubt that the king, mentioned in connection with the date of the record referred to above, belonged to the imperial branch of the Eastern Ganga dynasty which extended its power over the Puri-Cuttack region of Orissa under king Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.) about the beginning of the twelfth century. In 1153 A.D., the Ganga throne was occupied by king **Kāmārjaya**, the first of the four sons of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, who are known to have succeeded their father one after another. Kāmārjaya ascended the throne in Śaka 1069 (1147 A.D.) and ruled for ten years down to Śaka 1078 (1156 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> We also know that most of the descendants of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, if not all of them, assumed Anantavarman as a secondary name<sup>3</sup> and that king Kāmārjaya is actually called Anantavarman in a number of inscriptions of his reign.<sup>4</sup> It is, however, difficult to be sure whether the name Kāmārjaya was mentioned after *Anantavarman* in line 1 of our inscription. About fifteen *akṣaras* are lost in this section and the reading may have been either *dēva-vijayarājya-samantatā... Āshā*<sup>5</sup> or *Kāmārjaya-vādēva-rājyā samant... Āshā*.

<sup>1</sup> This is No. B 258 of *A. R. Ep.*, 1955-56, where the date has been wrongly read as Śaka 10[70] and the inscription has been assigned to Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 242.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 20, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> See *SI*, Vol. V, Nos. 1321-22, 1325-27, 1333-34.

The object of the inscription is to record the installation of an *sādhya-dīpa* or perpetual lamp in the Śiva temple at Khilōr where the inscription has been found. Lines 2-3 mention a person named Paḍālu Kātama who is described as a rich man of Kalinga-dāsa and as the son of Ponnamā. This Ponnamā is described as extremely religious and as attached to (*pratibaddha*, perhaps actually meaning 'hailing from') a place, the name of which ended in the *akṣaras vabata*. Lines 3-5 state that Paḍālu Kātama purchased, at the cost of five *māḍas* (probably of gold), a piece of land called Pōkhatalā<sup>1</sup> from the merchants (*sādhya-prajā*, literally, [the king's] merchant subjects) of Khēllaudēvara (i.e. modern Khilōr) and installed a perpetual lamp for the god Khēllaudēvara (i.e. the god Śiva worshipped in the Śiva temple at Khilōr), to last as long as the moon and sun would endure, for the *dharma* (virtue or religious merit) of his mother's mother (i.e. maternal grandmother). It appears that both the village of Khilōr and the god Śiva worshipped there are called Khēllaudēvara in the inscription. The expression *Khēllaudēvara-sādhya-prajā*, from whom the piece of land was purchased, does not appear to mean 'the honest tenants of the god Khēllaudēvara' as it is unlikely that the tenants of the temple were rich enough to be in a position to sell a plot of land worth five coins probably of gold. Moreover, the expression *sādhya-prajā* occurs in a similar context in some other records associating it with a locality and not with a deity.<sup>2</sup> That the word *sādhya* in the expression *sādhya-prajā* means 'a merchant' seems to be suggested by the expression *sādhya-pradhāna* in the Bhuhaneswar inscription of Rāghava.<sup>3</sup>

The coin called *māḍa* in our record is usually spelt as *māḍa* in Telugu inscriptions, as *māḍā* or *māḍhā* in Oriya records and as *māḍai* in Tamil epigraphs. The Telugu spelling in the inscription may have been due to the fact that the person responsible for it hailed from the present Telugu-speaking region. The word is derived from Sanskrit *māḍa* or *māḍhā* through Tamil.

Lines 5-6 contain two sentences, the first of which prays for the maintenance of the gift by the *tapōdhana* or the *tapōdhana*s (apparently the Śaiva ascetic or ascetics in charge of the temple of Khēllaudēvara) and the *sādhya* or merchants probably meaning the *sādhya-prajā*s mentioned in lines 3-4. The second sentence states that the giver of a lamp (i.e. a perpetual lamp like the one installed by Paḍālu Kātama) does not commit the five great sins (i.e. becomes free from the sins owing to the merit resulting from the installation of the perpetual lamp).<sup>4</sup> The record ends with the mention of the *sātanāthara* or mason whose name is partially preserved, but may have been Trilōka or Trilōchana. He was probably responsible for engraving the inscription.

Of the two geographical names mentioned in our record, Khēllaudēvara is modern Khilōr as indicated above. The other name is Kalinga-dāsa which seems, in the present context, to have been the district around the city of Kalinganagara (near modern Śrīkākuḥem) which was the capital of the early rulers of the Eastern Ganga family including the earlier members of its imperial branch.

<sup>1</sup> The expression *Paḍālu-kātama* may be compared with *Vāḍānandā-dāsa* (i.e. the piece of land called Vāḍānandā) in line 23 of the Bhuhaneswar inscription of Gaṅga Narasimha (probably, Narasimha IV) published above, Vol. XXXII, p. 234. Cf. also *Vāḍānandā-dāsa* in lines 5-9 of the Bhuhaneswar inscription of Bhūmadēva (ibid., Vol. XXX, p. 236, No. 1).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. line 5 of the inscription of the time of Rājārāja II, edited below.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 160 and 161 (No. 1, text line 5).

<sup>4</sup> This sentence may be compared with *dīpa-dāta sevya-dāsa mahāgauri* at the end of the Bhuhaneswar inscription of Anantavarman Chōḍaganga (ibid., p. 32, No. 1, text line 9). For an alternative suggestion about this passage, see note on the epigraphic text below.

## TEXT

- 1 Saka-samvatsarē<sup>1</sup> 10[75] svasi [śri<sup>2</sup>]mad-Anantavarm[ma].....<sup>3</sup>
- 2 dha-sita-tritīyāyāmi sa[mmu]kha-vārē Kaliṅgadēsa(śa)-dhan[ī].....<sup>4</sup>
- 3 makata-pratīva(ba)ddha-dharmu-aikapata-Pōnnamā-putra-Padālu-Kā(ama-nāmā(mnā)  
Khāllauḍēva(śva)[ra]<sup>5</sup>.
- 4 dhu-prajā-hastāt pañcha-māḍena Pōkhatalā-bhu(bhū)miā kṛtvī mātu[ś-cha] mātur-  
dīharmu-ārthā...<sup>6</sup>
- 5 sva(śva)radēvāya ā-chandr-ārka-paryantān<sup>7</sup> akhaṇḍa-dīpaṁ datta[ī](ttam) | śtad-artham  
tapōdhanu-sādhu...<sup>8</sup>
- 6 ripālanīyam(yam) | dīpa-lā(dā)tā pañchamā(ma)hāpātākī nō bhavati<sup>9</sup> [ī<sup>10</sup>] su(sū)-  
tradhāra-(Trilō)...<sup>11</sup>

## 2. Bhubaneswar Inscription of Rājārāja II, Śaka 1094, [Aśka] Year 4

Some of the inscriptions belonging to the time of Anantavarman Chōdagaṅga and his immediate successors found in the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar in the Puri District of Orissa have already been published by us in the pages of this journal<sup>12</sup> and elsewhere.<sup>13</sup> Another such record is edited in the following pages from impressions belonging to the collection made by Hirananda Sastri in 1932 and preserved in the office of the Government Epigraphist for India at Ootacamund.

The inscription is engraved on the east wall inside the third entrance of the Liṅgarāja temple. The record occupies the space above an inscription of the time of Anantavarman Chōdagaṅga and two of the time of Rāghava.<sup>14</sup> There are altogether nine lines of writing covering an area about twenty-eight inches in length and 17½ inches in height. Individual akṣaras are between one inch and one and a half inches in height. The preservation of the writing is not satisfactory. All

<sup>1</sup> From impressions.

<sup>2</sup> Read Śakī-samvatsarē.

<sup>3</sup> The right half of the line is lost. The last two akṣaras of this part must have been ŚIAA<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Of this lost part, only traces of a few akṣaras are visible.

<sup>5</sup> The akṣara lost here was apparently śā.

<sup>6</sup> The akṣaras lost here appear to have been KMLlauḍē.

<sup>7</sup> Read ā-chandr-ārtham or ā-chandr-ārka-paryantam.

<sup>8</sup> The two akṣaras lost here appear to have been śhā pā.

<sup>9</sup> The intended reading of this sentence may also be dīpālanīyāṁ pañchamāhāpātākīnō bhavati.

<sup>10</sup> The name of the sūtradhāra or engraver seems to have been Trilōka or Trilōchana.

<sup>11</sup> Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 17 ff., 29 ff., 90 ff., 188 ff., 232 ff., etc.

<sup>12</sup> *I.-d. Cult.*, Vol. III, pp. 121 ff.; Vol. VI, pp. 71 ff.; *JHQ.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 81 ff.; etc.

<sup>13</sup> The first of these inscriptions has been published above, Vol. XXX, pp. 21 ff. (No. 1) and the other two in the same volume, pp. 158 ff.

the letters of the last line, which contains only a few *akṣaras* engraved below the concluding part of the previous line, are damaged, while about fourteen letters from the beginning of line 8 appear to have been purposely rubbed off. A few *akṣaras* are also lost at the end of all the lines.

The characters belong to the Gauḍīya alphabet, but exhibit, in some cases, the development of early Oriya characteristics; cf. *m* in *śamasta* in line 6, *s* in *śamasta* in line 7, the representation of *p* and *y* by the same sign, etc. The language of the record is an admixture of Sanskrit and Oriya. Thus, while \**pādānām* (line 3), *prajānām* (line 5) and *dīpam-ākṣam* (line 8) are in Sanskrit, *Rājarājadevara* (line 1) and *Uttarādevadevara* (line 2) have the Oriya sixth case-ending.

The date of the inscription is quoted in lines 1-2 as the Śaka year 1094, corresponding to year 4 of king Rājarājadeva's reign, Dhanuḥ-kṛishṇa 4, Monday. The reading of the figure indicating the number of the *tithi* is, however, not beyond doubt as it is considerably damaged. Rājarājadeva mentioned here is Rājarāja II, the third of the four sons of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga (1078-1147 A.D.), who succeeded their father one after the other in the following order: (1) Kāmārjaya, 10 years—Śaka 1069-78-1147-56 A.D.; (2) Rāghava, 15 years—Śaka 1078-92—1156-70 A.D.; (3) Rājarāja II, 25 [*śaka*] years=21 years, Śaka 1092-1112=1170-90 A.D.; and (4) Anāḅgabhīma II, 10 [*śaka*] years=8 years, Śaka 1112-19=1190-97 A.D.<sup>1</sup> The *śaka* reckoning is first used in the case of Rājarāja II in the enumeration of the length of the reign periods of these kings in the official Gauḅga records thus indicating that the popularity of the reckoning began from his rule. But counting of regnal dates in a modified system may have started from the reign of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga while the *śaka* system is known to have been used in the records of the time of his immediate successors Kāmārjaya and Rāghava.<sup>2</sup> Since Rājarāja II began to rule in Śaka 1092, Śaka 1094 would be his third regnal year. It has been quoted in the present record as the fourth year of his reign apparently according to the *śaka* reckoning, since the *śaka* year 4 is the same as the actual regnal year 3. If, in 'Śaka 1094, Dhanuḥ-kṛishṇa 4', Dhanuḥ is regarded as a solar month, the date seems to be irregular, although the 4th *tithi* of *pūrṇimānta* Mārgaśīrṣa fell on Monday, the 6th November 1172 A.D.

The inscription begins with a *siddhaṅ* symbol followed by the date discussed above. The object of the epigraph, as known from lines 7-8, is to record the installation of a perpetual lamp, to last as long as the moon and sun would endure, for the god Kṛittivīśa, i.e. Śiva worshipped in the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhubaneswar. It is stated in lines 2-5 to have been installed by Bālā-Kāchchhōṭika, described as an ascetic (*tapōdhara*), as a *Śaśitāṭṭya* and as the *Rājaguru*, for the salvation of *tapōdhara* Śaṅḅhārī-pāda who was probably a priest of the god Uttarādeva. Bālā-Kāchchhōṭika seems to be called a *śiṣya* of the said Śaṅḅhārī. Since both of them were ascetics, the word *śiṣya* may have been used to indicate 'a disciple' as in some other cases known to the students of Indian epigraphy.<sup>3</sup> The title *Rājaguru* (i.e. the preceptor of the king), applied to Bālā-Kāchchhōṭika, seems to suggest that king Rājarāja II did not renounce the Śaiva leanings

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 242-43.

<sup>2</sup> For the records of Rāghava's time, dated in the *śaka* years, see *ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 153. Some of the regnal dates of Anantavarman Chōḍagaṅga, quoted in inscriptions with corresponding Śaka dates, cannot be reconciled with the actual beginning of his reign and, although he is stated to have ruled for seventy years, a few records of his time bear later dates (cf. Ray, *DHN*, Vol. I, pp. 461-68; Subba Rao, *History of Kalinga*, *op. cit.*, pp. 145 ff.). Inscriptions bearing dates both in the regnal reckoning and the Śaka era and belonging to the reign of Kāmārjaya show that the regnal reckoning is really the *śaka* reckoning in most cases (cf. Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 472-73; Subba Rao, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-56). Unfortunately in some cases the dates are either wrong or incorrectly read.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bhattacharya's List, p. 23, note 1.

TWO EASTERN GANGA INSCRIPTIONS

1. Khilōr Inscription of Anantavarman ( Kāmānava ), Śaka 1075





2. Bhuvanewar Inscription of Rājaraṅga II, Śaka 1094, [ Anka ] Year 4



( from Photographs )

of the family even though his father Anantavarman Chōdagaśga became a devotee of the god Purnahōttama-Jagamātha (i.e. Vināya) of Puri after having conquered the Puri-Cuttack region.<sup>1</sup>

To provide for the perpetual lamp, Bālā-Kāchchhōtika appears to have deposited five māḥās of gold with a section of the merchants belonging to Āchōpadā-grāma (lines 5-7). The names of some of these people were mentioned in the inscription in line 6; but they are now rubbed off, although it is not possible to say who was responsible for this.

Only one geographical name is mentioned in the inscription. It is Āchōpadā-grāma. I am not sure about the location of the village.

TEXT<sup>2</sup>

- 1 Siddham<sup>3</sup> [I\*] Śaka(vda)<sup>4</sup> 1094 śrinad-Rājarājadēvara<sup>5</sup> pravara(ḍḍha)māna-v(ij)jaya-rā(jy)<sup>6</sup>.
- 2 samvata<sup>7</sup> 4 Dhanu<sup>8</sup>-kṛishṇa [4] Sōma-vārē<sup>9</sup> sri<sup>10</sup> Uttarōvaradēvara<sup>11</sup> [pa]<sup>12</sup>.
- 3 rāyuti<sup>13</sup> tapōdhana-Sā(pāhāri(n))-pādānāth mōksh-ś(rih)ḥ.<sup>14</sup>
- 4 te-tapōdhana-Saivāchārya-rājā(ja)guru-Vā(Rā)ḥ-Kāchchhōtika.<sup>15</sup>
- 5 kṣna Āchōpadā-grāmiya-sādhu-prajānām(nām) eka-(t)hā(j)ḥ.<sup>16</sup>
- 6 .....<sup>17</sup>ḍi(dī)nā sa[masta].<sup>18</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 240.

<sup>2</sup> From impressions.

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>4</sup> Sanskrit Śakābdaḥ.

<sup>5</sup> Sanskrit dēvara.

<sup>6</sup> The portion of the akṣaras in brackets is broken away.

<sup>7</sup> Sanskrit samvat.

<sup>8</sup> Sanskrit Dhanuḥ.

<sup>9</sup> Soudhi has not been observed here.

<sup>10</sup> Sanskrit sri.

<sup>11</sup> Only a small part of the letter remains, the rest being broken away.

<sup>12</sup> It may be that parāyuti was written to indicate Sanskrit parāhita.

<sup>13</sup> Only the *ś* and *h* of *śrih* remain, the major part of the akṣara being broken away. The akṣaras broken away after this may have been *śrih*.

<sup>14</sup> The akṣaras broken away at the end of the line may be *śrih*. The intended reading seems to have been Kāchchhōtik-ōpanāyaka. Bālā is derived from Sanskrit *śāla* or *śālapa*.

<sup>15</sup> The intended reading seems to be *śāla* with a few akṣaras broken away after this.

<sup>16</sup> About 14 or 15 akṣaras appear to have been purposely rubbed off from this part of the line. This lost section probably contained some personal names.

<sup>17</sup> The word lost here appears to be something like *śāra*.

7. grahaṣṭ suvarna-pāccha-mā[ḍhā]<sup>1</sup> śri-Ki[tri]vāsa<sup>2</sup>, ...<sup>3</sup>  
 8. ś-chandr-ārka-paryanta<sup>4</sup> akhaṇḍa-dī[an]-ēkam<sup>5</sup> dā....<sup>6</sup>  
 9. ....<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Śrīkṛṣṇāḥ suvarṇāś pañcāś caḍḍāś or suvarṇāś pañcāś caḍḍāś.

<sup>2</sup> Read *Kṛiś*.

<sup>3</sup> The last akṣaras were apparently *śrīvāsa* or more probably *śrīvāsa*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *ś-chandr-ārka* or *chandr-ārka-paryanta*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *akhaṇḍa-dī[an]-ēkam*.

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

<sup>7</sup> These four or five damaged akṣaras are engraved below the concluding part of the previous line. The reference here may be to the person who was responsible for engraving the inscription.

No. 16—ALAMPUR INSCRIPTION OF CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA, SAKA  
635 AND 636

(1 Plate)

G. S. GAL, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 12.7.1960)

The inscription was copied by me in December 1959 at Alampur, the headquarters of the Taluk of the same name in the Mahabubnagar District of Andhra Pradesh.<sup>1</sup> Alampur is situated on the western bank of the Tungabhadra which flows there northwards to join the Krishna seven miles away. The place is very rich in epigraphical material and I succeeded in tracing about 90 inscriptions representing almost all the important ruling dynasties of Karpatak from the 7th to the 16th century A.D. The temples of the place are also of great interest from the architectural point of view.

The inscription edited below has two versions, called here *A* and *B* for the sake of convenience. Both the versions are engraved on the same slab, *A* being to the left side and *B* to the right. The inscribed slab is fixed into the fort-wall near the steps leading to the river in the place called Dēvadronī. It is rectangular in shape and measures about 5' 10" by 1' 2". A portion of the slab is broken away and lost from the right, so that only about one-third of *B* is preserved while only a few letters in the first three lines of *A* are lost. The writing of *A* covers an area about 5' 3" by 1' 2" while that of the extant portion of *B* measures 1' 3" by 11". The space between *A* and *B* varies from half an inch to one inch. While *A* has 7 lines of writing, *B* consists of 8 lines.

The texts of both the versions are similar, though they are written in different scripts. The characters of *A* are early Telugu-Kannaḍa while those of *B* are what are called Siddhamātrikā or early Nāgarī. This reminds us of the undated Paṭṭadakal pillar inscription<sup>2</sup> of Kirtivarman II, which is also written in versions in these two scripts. Both the Telugu-Kannaḍa and the Siddhamātrikā characters of the present inscription closely resemble their counterparts of the Paṭṭadakal inscription. While editing the latter record, Fleet has compared the characters of the Nāgarī version with those of the Bōdhgayā inscription<sup>3</sup> of Mahānāman and the Sāmangaḍ plates<sup>4</sup> of Bāshtrakūṭa Dantidurga. The characters of *B* and their counterpart in the Paṭṭadakal inscription may also be compared to those of the Pallava king Atirachandā's epigraph<sup>5</sup> at Sājuvaṅgupam, which is referred to the 8th century A.D. Fleet referred the Paṭṭadakal inscription to c. 754 A.D. and observed that the use of the Nāgarī characters in that record furnished the earliest instance in Southern India.<sup>6</sup> Since the inscription under study is dated in 713 A.D., it would carry back the antiquity of the use of early Nāgarī or Siddhamātrikā by 40 years at least.

<sup>1</sup> The record has been registered as Nos. B 136-37 in *A. R. Ep.*, 1959-60. A transcript of this record has recently appeared in *Telangana Inscriptions*, Vol. II (1960), p. 8. There are some errors in this published transcript.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. III, pp. 1 B. and Plate.

<sup>3</sup> *OH*, Vol. III, p. 278 and Plate XII.

<sup>4</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 110 and Plate.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. X, Plate facing p. 14.

<sup>6</sup> *Cf. Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 377, note 3.

In respect of orthography, there is nothing special to remark except that, in *B*, the sign for *v* is used to denote *b* in line 8. The language of both *A* and *B* is Sanskrit, except a sentence in line 7 of *A*, which is written in Kannaḍa. The composition of both the versions is prose, except the invocatory verse at the beginning.

#### A. Inscription of Śaka 636

This version begins with the symbol for *Siddham* followed by the verse in praise of the Varāha (Boar) incarnation of Viṣṇu, which is often found in the records of the Bédāmi Chālukyas. Then, after the usual *praśasti* introducing this dynasty in lines 1-3, the record mentions in lines 3-5, six kings of the family, viz., Pulakṣīn I; his son Kīrtivarman I, his son Satyāśraya (i.e. Pulakṣīn II); his son Vikramāditya I; his son Vinayāditya and the latter's son Vijayāditya who was the ruling king. Lines 6-7 state that at the command of Vijayāditya, the teacher Iṣāṅāchārya constructed the enclosure (*prākāra-bandha*). It is not stated for which temple or temples this enclosure was intended. It may, however, be observed that the fort, in which the slab bearing the inscription is fixed, itself forms a sort of an enclosure to the group of temples called Navallōgōvara, the most important of which is the Bālabrahmaśvara shrine. The record does not give any details about the teacher who was responsible for the construction of the enclosure.

The date of the record is given in line 6 as Śaka 636 (expressed in words), 18th regnal year, Vaiśākha śu. 13. Since Śaka 619 current was the first regnal year of the king,<sup>1</sup> Śaka 636 current would be the 18th regnal year as stated in the record. The date cannot be verified as the week-day is not mentioned. But in the year in question, Vaiśākha śu. 13, fell on Friday, the 13th May, 713 A.D.

Line 7 contains a benedictory sentence wishing welfare to the cows, Brāhmaṇas, the king and his subjects. This is followed by another sentence in the Kannaḍa language which states that Iṣāṅāchārya constructed the faultless enclosure (*niravadya-prākāra*). The record ends with the expressions *offittāge* and *śivam-astu*, one being the translation of the other.

#### TEXT\*

- 1 Siddham\* [ ] Jayaty—āvishkritam Viṣṇōr—vvarāham kahōbhītāropava[m](vam) [ ]  
dakṣiṇ-ōmnata-damshṭr-ōgra-viśrānta-bhuvanaḥ vapuḥ | [ ] Śrīmatām sakala-bhuvana-  
sahatāyamāna-Mānavya-.....\*
- 2 mātrj[bbi]r—abhivarddhītānām Kārttikōya-parirakhaṇa-prāpta-kalyāṇa-patāṇparāgām bha-  
gavan-Nārāyaṇa-prasāda-samāsēdita-Varāha..... \*śha-ma[h]bhritām
- 3 Chalukyānāri kulam—alākaraṣṇō(rishṇō)r—Aāvamōdh-āvabhṛita(tha)-śnāna-pavitrikṛita-  
gātrasya śri-Pulakṣī(śi)-vallabha-mahārājasya priya-tanaya[h].  
.....<sup>1</sup> mahārājah tasy—ā-

<sup>1</sup> CE. Bomb. Gaz., Vol. I, Part II, p. 370, note 5.

\* From the impressions.

\* Expressed by symbol.

\* The damaged letters may be restored as: *mayōbhītā Hōrit-patāṇām śrī-śha-mābhīśhaśyā*.

\* The damaged letters may be restored as: *līśāṅā-śhārya-śhārya-śhāryā-śhā*.

\* This shāloka is damaged.

\* The damaged letters may be restored as: *Kīrtivarman-prāśastīśloka*.

ALAMPUR INSCRIPTION OF CHALUKYA VIJAYADITYA, SAKA 635 AND 636

Left half



Right half



( from Photographs )

- 4 dma(tna)jaḥ Satyāśraya-Srīpīṭhu(thi)vīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvaraś = tasya  
priya-tanayaḥ Vikramāditya-bhāṭṭārakaś = tasya = dma(tna)jaḥ Vijayāditya-  
[Satyāśraya-Srīpīṭhu(thi)vīvallabha-mahārāja-
- 5 dhīrāja-paramēśvara-bhāṭṭārakaśya priya-sūnavaś = samasta-pāramajēvaryya-vābhava-chīnnaya  
Vijayāditya-Satyāśraya-Srīpīṭhu(thi)vīvallabha-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-  
bhāṭṭārakaś-
- 6 sy = ājñayā bhagavad-Īśānāchāryya-svāmīnā śhaṭṭrimśad-uttara-śhaṭ-chhatē Śaka-  
varshē pravarddhama(mā)na-vijaya-rājya-samvatsarēśhv-aśṭa(śhṭā)daśē  
varttamānē<sup>1</sup> Vaiśākha-sukla-trayōdaśyām = iya(m)<sup>2</sup> prakāra-bandha(h)<sup>3</sup>
- 7 kṛitam = iti<sup>4</sup> || Svasti gō-brāhmaṇaśva<sup>5</sup> rājūḥ prajānūḥ cha śvām bhavatu || — Niravadya-  
prakāramān = Īśānāchāryyar = saṁmāsi<sup>6</sup> dūc = oḥiti = āge || — Śivam = astu ||<sup>7</sup>

B. *Inscription of Saka 635*

As stated above, though only about one-third of this inscription is now preserved, a comparison of the extant portion would clearly show that it is a copy of Inscription A written in the Siddhamātrikā script. The chief interest of the record lies in its palaeography which has been discussed above. The inscription is dated Saka 635 instead of Saka 636 as found in A, the details regarding the regnal year being lost. Since Saka 636 of A has been shown to be a current year, Saka 635 of this record may be considered as expired. The purpose of the inscription, as already indicated, is the same as that of A.

TEXT

- 1 Siddham<sup>1</sup> svasti ||<sup>2</sup> Jayaty-āvimkṛitam Viśvōr = vvarāham [kaho]<sup>3</sup>.....  
.....
- 2 Hārīḥ-puttrāpām sapta-<sup>4</sup>(ōka-mātrībhīḥ) sapta-mātrī(bhī).....  
.....
- 3 prasāda-samāśrita-Varāha-<sup>5</sup>lācchhan-ō(kaho).....  
.....

<sup>1</sup> The subscripts of these damaged letters can be seen in the impression.

<sup>2</sup> There is an unnecessary anusvara like-mark above sv.

<sup>3</sup> Read \*m-yaom. The anusvara mark is engraved above the next letter prō.

<sup>4</sup> Read hīḥa śī.

<sup>5</sup> Read \*brāhmaṇāśvārā.

<sup>6</sup> These three letters are damaged.

<sup>7</sup> From the impressions.

<sup>8</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>9</sup> The lost portion in this and in the following lines may be restored with the help of A edited above.





## No. 17—COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM BIHAR

(4 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 3.10.1960)

### 1. Grant of Jivagupta

Early in the year 1958, I was asked to give my opinion on the date of a copper-plate grant, a set of impressions of which was received by me, for examination and return, from Mr. S. V. Sohoni, Commissioner of the Patna Division of Bihar, Patna, through the Director General of Archaeology in India, New Delhi. In the month of December of the same year, I visited Patna and Mr. Sohoni was kind enough to allow me to take impressions of the inscription. The inscription was secured by Mr. Sohoni from **Katra**, headquarters of a Police Station of that name in the Munaffarpur District of North Bihar.

The inscription is engraved on both sides of a **single plate** measuring 10½ inches in height and 6½ inches in breadth. There are altogether 22 lines of writing, 19 on the obverse and 3 on the reverse of the plate. The seal originally affixed to the top margin is now lost. A strip nearly 1½ inches wide was cut off from the lower end of the plate apparently for testing the metal if it was gold. Of this strip, only a small piece (3¼ inches long) from the right-hand side is now available while the rest (a little less than 4 inches in length) is lost. This has resulted in the loss of more than half of the writing of lines 16-19, only the concluding portion of the lines being available on the small piece referred to above. In the left-hand side of the upper margin on the obverse of the plate, the *alaksana* *ra* is found between two symbols. This letter seems to have been meant for insertion in a line from which it was omitted through oversight. But the omission cannot be satisfactorily located in the extant part of the epigraph.

The **palaeography** of the inscription is interesting. The characters belong to the Siddhamātrikā (i.e. Northern) alphabet of the 7th or 8th century A.D. But they are carelessly and cursively formed. An interesting feature of the palaeography of the epigraph is that in some cases the same letters and signs exhibit both earlier and later forms while in some other cases the letters are either early or late. The characters may be compared with those of such East Indian records as the Bōdhgaya inscription (388 A.D.)<sup>1</sup> of Mahānāman, Midnapur plates (c. 619 A.D.)<sup>2</sup> of Śaśāṅka, Aphaṣṭ inscription (c. 670 A.D.)<sup>3</sup> of Ādityaśeṇa, Mangraon inscription (c. 700 A.D.)<sup>4</sup> of Vishnugupta, Dēo-Baranpār inscription (c. 720 A.D.)<sup>5</sup> of Jivitagupta II, Nālandā inscription (c. 730 A.D.)<sup>6</sup> of Yaśovarman and Khallimpur plate (c. 800 A.D.)<sup>7</sup> of Dharmapāla. Such a comparison would show that the palaeography of our epigraph should have to be referred to a date later than the

<sup>1</sup> *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 274 ff. and Plate.

<sup>2</sup> *JASB*, Letters, Vol. XI, 1945, pp. 1 ff. and Plates.

<sup>3</sup> *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 200 ff. and Plate.

<sup>4</sup> *Above*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 341 ff. and Plate.

<sup>5</sup> *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 213 ff. and Plate XXIX, B.

<sup>6</sup> *Above*, Vol. XX, pp. 37 ff. and Plate.

<sup>7</sup> *JASB*, Vol. LXIII, Part I, pp. 53 ff. and Plate.

beginning of the 7th century and earlier than the end of the 8th. The letters *y* and *ś* are of the earlier type, the first of which is found in the Aphaed inscription and earlier records while the latter is noticed in a modified form in the Aphaed inscription and later records. But *ś* of the same early type is sometimes found in such East Indian epigraphs of the second half of the 7th century as the Tippera plate of Lōkanātha, dated 564 A.D.<sup>1</sup> The hooked form of *r* and the shape of *ś* in the record under study remind us of the forms of the same letters in the Aphaed inscription and later epigraphs. On the other hand, *dh* and *k* appear to resemble their forms in the records of the 8th century. In some cases, a curved stroke is attached to the lower left end of *k* (cf. *Harj* in line 7) and this is not usually found in records earlier than the Mangraon inscription of about the beginning of the 8th century. *Y* has a cursive form resembling *ry* of the contemporary North Indian epigraphs. The letter *l* in *kuāli* (line 5) is more cursive than elsewhere in the record. *M* of the record under study is a cursive modification of the form of the letter as found in records like the Mangraon inscription referred to above. But, unlike the Mangraon epigraph, the upward opening of letters like *p* is in some cases closed in our record and this is a sign of lateness. The letter *v* sometimes resembles the closed type of *p* (cf. *prati* in line 8 and *vasi* in line 14). While the medial sign of *ī* is generally short as in the earlier records, medial *ā* is written in several forms, one of which exhibits later development and differs little from the sign of medial *ī* (cf. *ś-śara* and *śimā* in line 11). *D* has both the earlier form without the tail and the later one with the tail (cf. *ś-śāntāya ś-śiddhā* in line 12). *B* has been written with the sign for *v*. It will thus be seen that some of the palaeographical features exhibited by the inscription under study suggest a date earlier than the 8th century while others suggest one later than the 7th century. We are therefore inclined to assign it to a date about the first half of the 8th century since it is difficult otherwise to explain the use of the later forms of some of the letters though the earlier forms of some of them may be regarded as having persisted with some people in certain areas of the country.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and it is written in a mixture of prose and verse. There is only one stanza in *ślokaśloka* in the king's description in the introductory part and two of the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses occur at the end of the document. The orthography of the inscription resembles that of the contemporary epigraphs of Eastern India. The date of the record is given in line 19 as a day of the bright half of Chaitra in the king's second regnal year.

The charter begins with the *siddham* symbol followed by the auspicious word *svasti*. Reference is first made to the issue of the grant from the donor's camp or capital situated at a locality called *Tārā*. Lines 1-5 then introduce the reigning king *Jivaguptadēva* who was the son of king *Rāmaguptadēva* and queen *Rāmā-bhattārikā*. Both *Jivagupta* and his father are described as *Parasamāhāyava* (greatly devoted to Mahāśvara, i.e. the god Śiva) and are endowed with the imperial style *Paramahattārika-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramādēva*. *Rāmagupta*, the father of the reigning monarch, is described as born of queen *Tārā-bhattārikā* although the name of his father is not mentioned. King *Jivagupta*, donor of the charter, is called *laghu*, i.e. the younger. This probably suggests that his grandfather was another *Jivagupta* who may have been known to the subjects as 'the elder' especially if *Rāmagupta*'s reign was short so that the reigns of the grandfather and the grandson bearing the same name were close to each other. As indicated above, the present record was issued by 'the younger' *Jivagupta* quite early in his reign. We have instances in which a king's grandfather bearing his name was mentioned as 'the elder so-and-so',<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *IHQ*, Vol. XXII, p. 224; *JRSSE*, Letters, Vol. IV, 1938, p. 372, col. III.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 221-22.

Lines 5-6 contain a stanza in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre describing the fame of king Jivagupta, the donor of the charter. Then comes the king's order in respect of the grant which was addressed to a number of his officers and subordinates as well as to the inhabitants of the localities called **Surabhākra**, **Yāmyā** and **Harī-grāmaka** situated in the north-eastern part of **Tisṭhala-pāṭaka** in the **Chāmuṇḍa** *viśāya* of **Tira-bhukti**. The royal officers and subordinates mentioned among the addressees are *Mahāśāhivagrāhika* (minister for war and peace), *Akṣhapāṭaka* (officer in charge of records and accounts), *Sarvādihārīka* (chief administrator or minister), *Pratihāra* (officer in charge of the defence of the gate of the royal palace or the capital city), *Sāndyoti* (commander of forces) and *Mahāśāmantā* (subordinate rulers). The following passage in lines 10-17, parts of which are lost, apparently states that the three localities in question were granted by the king, after having taken a bath on the occasion of the *Vishuvāt* (i.e. the *Vishuvāsanīkrānti*), in favour of the temple of the goddess *Chāmuṇḍā-bhadrīkā* for the merit and fame of his parents. Since the date of the charter falls in the lunar month of *Chaitra*, the *Vishuvāt* apparently refers to the vernal equinox. The localities were granted as a permanent gift together with land and water, with the mango and *mālākūśa* trees, with pits and barren lands, with the land upto their boundaries, with all their hamlets, with the metal and salt mines, with the *udraṅga* (probably, taxes on temporary tenants), with the space above the ground and with all the dues payable to the king (*rāja-pratyāhāra*). In this section, the word *pratyāhāra* has been used in the sense of *partlyāra* known from many records. A damaged passage in this section seems to state that the temple of the goddess *Chāmuṇḍā-bhadrīkā* was in a place (the name of which is uncertain). A lady of the same locality, whose name may have been *Suprahā*, is mentioned in the same context.

The main problem raised by the inscription is the identity of King Jivagupta, his father Rāmāgupta and probably also his grandfather whose name may have been Jivagupta, as well as of the dynasty to which the kings belonged. The facts that their dominions included *Tira-bhukti* or North Bihar and that the palaeography of the record suggests a date about the first half of the 8th century A.D. point to the possibility of these rulers having belonged to the so-called Later Gupta dynasty. The Later Guptas originally ruled in East Malwa and later became rulers of Bihar. The following members of the family are so far known from epigraphic and literary sources: (1) *Kriṣṇagupta*, (2) his son *Harṣagupta*, (3) his son *Jivtagupta I*, (4) his son *Kumārāgupta I*, (5) his son *Dāmodarāgupta*, (6) his son *Mahāśāgupta*, (7) his son *Kumārāgupta II*, (8) his younger brother *Mādhavāgupta*, (9) his son *Ādityasena*, (10) his son *Dēvagupta*, (11) his son *Vishāgupta* and (12) his son *Jivtagupta II*.<sup>1</sup> Of these, *Kumārāgupta I* came into conflict with *Maṅkharī Śānvarman*, one of whose known dates is *Vikrama 611* (533-34 A. D.)<sup>2</sup> while *Dāmodarāgupta* was killed in a battle apparently with the same *Maṅkharī* king.<sup>3</sup> *Mahāśāgupta* claims to have fought with the *Kāmarūpa* king *Suśhītarman*, father of *Bhūṣkaravarman* (c. 600-50 A. D.)<sup>4</sup> *Bāṇa's Harṣacharita* mentions *Kumārāgupta II* and *Mādhavāgupta* as the two sons of the king of *Mālava* (*Mālava-rāja-putra*) who are stated to have taken shelter at the court of the *Thanesar* king *Prabhākaravarāhāna*, the father of *Harṣavardhana* (606-17 A. D.)<sup>5</sup> That *Bāṇa's Mālava* is East Malwa is quite clear from his *Kādambarī* which associates the river *Vetravati* and the capital city of *Vidisā* with *Mālava* and places *Ujjayini* in the land of *Avanti*

<sup>1</sup> See *Bhandarkar's List*, pp. 396-91.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XIV, pp. 115 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *CI*, Vol. III, p. 233, verse 11; *JRASS, Letters*, Vol. XI, p. 70, note 4.

<sup>4</sup> See *CI*, op. cit., verse 14; *JRASS, op. cit.*, p. 71, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Farn's ed.*, pp. 138 ff.



Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscription, the name of Tira-bhukti is preserved in that of the modern Tirhut Division of North Bihar. I am not sure about the location of the district of Chāmupā-vishaya, the subdivision of Tishāhala, the gift villages called Surabhākra, Yāmyā and Hari-grāmaka and the locality called Tira whence the charter was issued. It is possible that the name Chāmupā-vishaya was derived from the temple of the goddess Chāmupā mentioned in the record.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>*Obverse*

- 1 Siddham<sup>2</sup> svasti [[\*] [T]ārā<sup>3</sup>-vāsita-śri-jayaskandh[ā]vārāt-paramanāśkratya śrīmat-Tā-  
[rā]-  
2 bhāṭṭārikāyām-utpinnāyā paramabhāṭṭārika-mahārājādhirāja-pa-  
3 ramāśvara-śrī-Rāmāguptadēvasya putraḥ paramamahāśvarah śrī-Rāmā-līha-  
4 ṭṭārikāyām-utpinnāḥ paramabhāṭṭārika-mahārājādhirāja-paramāśvara-śrī-  
5 Jīvaguptadēvō laghuḥ kuśālī [[ Ya[d]-yaśō vimalamūlikāya svakamvapu<sup>4</sup>=(ya)[<sup>5</sup>m<sup>6</sup>]  
6 śa<sup>7</sup> [[\*] saṅpūrnā śanakair-ādhattā lajya[[ja)y-śc-rajana(nō) viv[ra] [[\*] Tira-bhuktāu  
[Ch]āmupā[ā]-  
7 vishayē pūrvōttara-Tish[ā]hala-pāśakē Surabhākro Yām[yā]yām Hari-grāmakē  
[cha<sup>8</sup>]  
8 mahāśāndhivigrahik-ākshapatalīka]-sarvādhikārika-pratīha[hā]ra-  
9 sēnāpati-mahā[s]āmantā-prabhūrīta-mivāsinaś-cha janapādānvō(m-bō)dhaya-  
10 ti samājñāpayati [cha [?]] vāṭitam-astu-līhavatām yath-śpari-ś[ā]jita-grām[?][?]  
11 sa-jala-sthala(lāḥ) ś-ānra-madhūka(kāḥ) śa-gartiva(ri-ō)shara(rāḥ) śva-ānā-paryanta-  
(nālā) śa-  
12 śa[saṅ(rva)]-pallika(kāl) śa-lōha-lavag-ākara(rāḥ) ś-ōdhrāga(āyā) ś-ōdhrāga(kāḥ) śamānta-  
[rī]-  
13 ja-pratyādāya-samētā [yāna<sup>9</sup>]d-ā-chandr-ōrīka-ksh[ti]-sana-śālan-śamānta[?]  
14 tvā Visha[shu]vati pūtrōḥ pūya-yaśō-vivriddhayē Chāmupā-bhāṭṭārikā-  
15 .....<sup>10</sup>pratiśthāpitakō-ṭtra prativā[ś]nyās-Śa[?][?]  
16 .....<sup>11</sup>pō[[ā]-śa[?]]sk[ā]r-[ā]rt[ā]

<sup>1</sup> From impressions.<sup>2</sup> Expressed by symbol.<sup>3</sup> The reading of the name does not appear to be Nārā.<sup>4</sup> Read vimalamūlikāya svakamvapu.<sup>5</sup> The ālshara ya ya written below the line.<sup>6</sup> There is an unnecessary mark above śa.<sup>7</sup> The intended reading seems to be śāśā.<sup>8</sup> The metre of the stanza is dāśak[ā].<sup>9</sup> There are traces of some ālshara here. But their reading is doubtful.<sup>10</sup> There are traces of a few ālshara here at the beginning of the extant part of the plate. But their reading is doubtful, though they may be [kha]śāda-śāntita.<sup>11</sup> The ālshara śa is written below the line.

- 17 ..... sanstveṇa<sup>1</sup> pradatta(tā) rā |  
 18 ..... kabbhīcha pratyādāyā<sup>2</sup>  
 19 ..... ādṣaḥ<sup>3</sup> [||\*] sam 2 Chakra-[su]dī ..

Rames

- 20 Va(Ba)hubhir=evamudhā [bhaktā] rājabhūḥ Sagar-ādibhir-ya[śya]<sup>4</sup> yasya yadā bhūmī-  
 tasya ta-  
 21 sya tadā<sup>5</sup> phalan(lam) [||\*]<sup>6</sup> Sva-datt[|a]-para-dattām<sup>7</sup> yō haṣṭa vasmudharām(rām |)  
 as viśthāyām  
 22 [kri]mīr-bhūtvā pītṛbhīḥ-saha paśyātā [||\*]

2. Two Grants of Sauryāditya

The two copper-plate grants published in the following pages are lying in the possession of Mr. S. V. Sohoni, Commissioner of the Patna Division, Bihar, and were copied by me in August 1960. They were secured by Mr. Sohoni from some locality under the Bagaha Police Station in the Champaran District of North Bihar.

Both the charters were issued by a king named Sauryāditya who enjoyed the imperial style *Paramabhaṭāraka Mahāoṃkāśhīriya Paramēśvara* and the introductory stanzas, eleven in number, are common to both. The king was the son of Harisarāja and the grandson of Hōlāvarāha and belonged to a branch of the solar race (*Sūryāvansya*), of which the progenitor was a royal hero named Malayakētu. Both the grants are dated, the first in Vikrama 1077 (1020 A.D.) and the second in Vikrama 1083 (1026 A.D.).

King Sauryāditya and his father and grandfather are known for the first time from the inscriptions under study. But there is no doubt that these rulers were later members of the Malayakētu family known from the Gurnah (Gorakhpur District) and Gorakhpur plates,<sup>8</sup> both issued from Vijayapura (the first of the two grants in Vikrama 937=870 A.D.) by P.M.P. Jayāditya II, the son of P.M.P. Dharmāditya and queen Chandra and the grandson of P.M.P. Jayāditya I and queen Yōgi. It appears that the rulers of the Malayakētu family were ruling over the northern districts of Uttar Pradesh and the adjoining areas of North Bihar. They may have attained imperial status after the fall of Yasovarman (c. 728-53 A.D.) of Kanauj and appear to have been subdued by the Gujara-Pratihāras of Kanauj about the close of the ninth century, either under king Bhōja I (c. 836-55 A.D.) or under his son Mahēndrapāla I (c. 885-908 A.D.). The present records of 1020 and 1026 A.D. appear to show that the Malayakētu kings remained subordinate to the Gujara-Pratihāras for more than a century and again raised their head on the decline of Gujara-Pratihāra power about the beginning of the eleventh century. This is an interesting example of the survival of an imperial family and its emergence after a long period of obscurity.

<sup>1</sup> The intended expression is no doubt tāra-tārasaṁvāna.

<sup>2</sup> The intended expression seems to be *sva-dattā-parā-dattā pratyādāyā samopantayā*.

<sup>3</sup> The intended expression seems to have been *eva-saḥ ādṣat*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *śābhā | gaja*.

<sup>5</sup> This asterisk is written below the line.

<sup>6</sup> The metre of this and the following stanza is *āśṣṭupā*.

<sup>7</sup> Read *śābhā rā*.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 34, 1794.

COPPER-PLATE GRANTS FROM BIHAR—PLATE I

1. Grant of Jivagupta





20

22

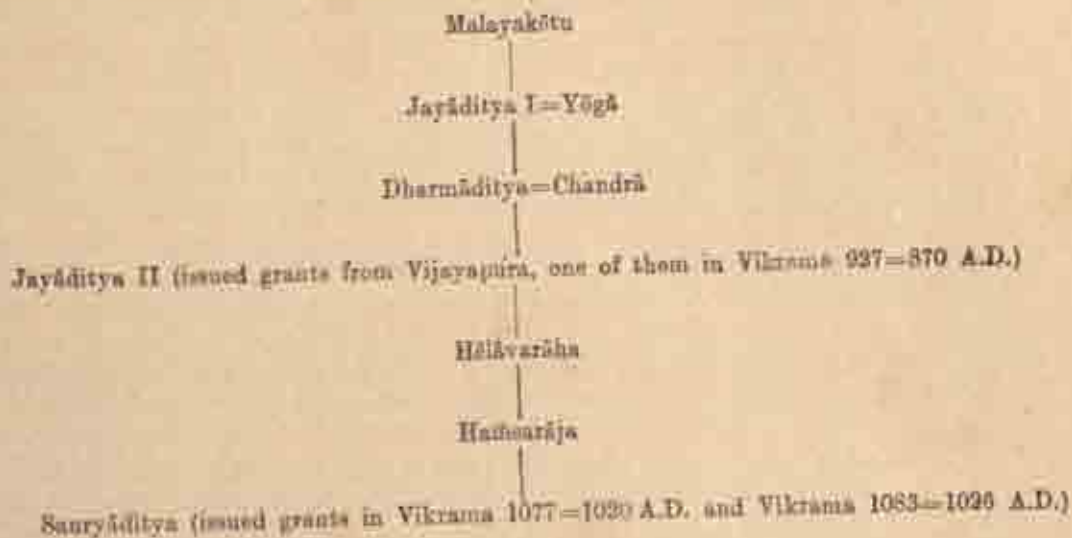


20

22

Size : One-half

With the help of the Guzmā and Gorakhpur plates referred to above and of the records now under study, the genealogy of the Malayakṣtu family of the solar race may be tabulated as follows :



#### A. Grant of Vikrama 1077

This is a single plate measuring 15½ inches in breadth and 15½ inches in height with a projection at the top (about 3½ inches broad and 1 inch high) having its top part rounded. The projection was meant for fixing the seal by means of two knobs, parts of which are still sticking in the two holes in the projection, which were made for receiving the knobs.

There are altogether 31 lines of writing engraved on the first side of the plate, the second side containing only two lines. The engraving is neat; but the preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory in certain sections.

The characters are early Nāgarī of about the eleventh century. Among palaeographical peculiarities, mention may be made of the use of both the Bengali and Nāgarī types of *anusvara* and the undistinguishable representation of *ca*, *ya* and *va* in some cases (cf., e.g., *chāndrā* in line 31 and *yāvat* in line 32). The consonant *ṣ* has been written in two ways (cf. *ṣ* in *chāndr-śānd* in line 11 with the same letter in *vyjānāṣ* in line 8 and *śāpāṣāṣ* in line 15). The form of final *ṣ* (e.g. in *gatāṣ* in line 17 and *parushāṣ* in line 20) is interesting. For final *ṣ*, see *yā*, in line 25, and for the *anuvāsa* sign, cf. line 24. The language is Sanskrit and the record is written in a mixture of prose and verse. The orthography is characterised by wrong spellings exhibiting the influence of local pronunciation. Cf. *caṣṣo* (line 2) for *caṣṣo*; *hāṣṣa* (line 6) for *hāṣṣa*; *jayāṣṣ* (line 13) for *jayāṣṣ*; *khāṣṣā* (line 15) for *khāṣṣā*; *jay-maṣṣāṣ* (line 15) for *jay-maṣṣāṣ*; *śāṣṣāṣ* (line 18) for *śāṣṣāṣ*; *śāṣṣāṣ* (line 18) for *śāṣṣāṣ*; *śāṣṣ* (line 20) for *śāṣṣ*; *śāṣṣāṣ* (line 22) for *śāṣṣāṣ*; *śāṣṣ* (line 26) for *śāṣṣ*; *śāṣṣ* (line 29) for *śāṣṣ*; *śāṣṣāṣ* (line 27) or *śāṣṣāṣ* (lines 29-30) for *śāṣṣāṣ*; *hāṣṣ* for *hāṣṣ* (line 29); *śāṣṣ* (line 30) for *śāṣṣ*; etc. It will be seen that some of these characteristics are now more marked in the East Indian pronunciation. Reduplication of consonants after *r* is noticed in some cases; but we have generally *rt* and *ry* without reduplication.

The date of the grant is quoted in line 25 as Śaṁvat 1077, Chaitra-śudī 14, Friday, while line 22 states that it was made on the Mahāchaitrī tithi in the month of Chaitra, i.e., Chaitra pūrṇimā. It would appear therefore that the record was kept ready on Chaitra-śudī 14; but the

ceremony of donation took place on Chaitra-śudi 15. In Vikrama 1077 (Kīrttiśādi current), the end and beginning of Chaitra-śudi 14 and 15 fell on Friday the 11th March 1020 A.D.

The inscription begins with the *Siddhama* symbol followed by *ā evastī*. Verse 1 introduces the hero **Malayakṣṭu** as a great king of the solar race, while verse 2 mentions king **Hālavarāha** born in Malayakṣṭu's family. The following two stanzas (verses 3-4) describe the achievements of Hālavarāha in vague terms and verses 5-8 likewise describe the good qualities of Hālavarāha's son **Haṁsarāja**. The donor of the charter, king **Sauryāditya**, who was the son of Haṁsarāja and grandson of Hālavarāha, is then described in verses 9-11 being mentioned as **Kuñjara-varaha**. The said introductory part in verse is followed in lines 10 ff. by a section in prose beginning with the mention of *P. M. P.* Sauryādityadēva as the donor of the grant in continuation of his description in verses 9-11. The king's order was addressed to the subordinates assembled at **Vaṅṅapall-grāma** situated in **Vyāliśi-vishaya** within **Daradgaṅḍakī-maṅḍala**. While Daradgaṅḍakī is apparently associated with the name of the river Gaṅḍakī or Gaṅḍak, the name **Vyāliśi** is derived from Sanskrit *dvichatvāriṅśatī* (i.e. fortytwo) and essentially means 'an administrative unit consisting of fortytwo villages'. It is interesting to note that Sauryāditya's other grant of Vikrama 1063 also mentions a *vishaya* called *Dvichatvāriṅśatīkī* which was, however, situated in **Dārdśaṅḍakī-maṅḍala**. It may be noted that a *vishaya* in these cases has been represented as the subdivision of a *maṅḍala*. Is *Dārdśaṅḍakī* a mistake for *Daradgaṅḍakī*?

The list of subordinates includes *vahācāyikī*, *sāyaka*, *thakura* (i.e., *thakkura*), *amātya*, *purōhita*, *mahāmahottaka*, *mahāśāstradhivigrahaka*, *mahāpratihāra*, *mahāśikṣapāśika*, *mahāśūdrasika*, *mahāpīlāpati*, *mahāśāstrāpātri*, *mahāśikṣāśāstradhivigrahaka*, *dārdśika*, *dārdśapātri*, *śaulika*, *gaulika*, *gaulīgrihika*, *dātavāpachāyika*, *ulavagīka*, *angirāśakṣaka*, *śhāṭya* (i.e. *śhāṭya*), *śhāṭya* (i.e. *śhāṭya*), etc. With the exception of a few, these are often met with in copper-plate grants. The separation of the official designations from one another by a *śloka* in the text seems to suggest that *Dātavāpachāyika* (officer in charge of the despatch of messengers) should better not be understood as *Dāta* and *Pachāyika* as is often done. *Tauvagīka* is an official designation of rare occurrence and its meaning is uncertain. It may be the same as *Talīvatāka* which is taken by some as the same as *(V)arāṭī Talīṭī* (a petty revenue officer) but may really be the officer looking after temple properties called *tila-śāṭka* or *tila-śāṭī*.<sup>1</sup> Among the privileges of the donor, *phala-ratikā*, *raṁya*, *śagat-śrāvakāra*, *para-dāna-śhila*, *sa-pālika* and *vālyīśikṣa* are not among those which are commonly met with in inscriptions.

The donor made the grant after taking a ceremonial bath and having worshipped the gods **Bhāskara** (Sun-god) and **Īhna** (i.e. **Śiva**). The donor was a **Brāhṁya** of **Uśīya-grāma**, whose family hailed from **Chhēla**. He is **Chhēla Yāśūdītya**, who was the son of **Vāṭṭhō** and grandson of **Aḍavi** and belonged to the **Saranyya-gotra** and the **Bhārgava**. **Chyavana**, **Āpnavāna**, **Aurva** and **Jānadagunya** *praucaṁsa*.

The grant proper is followed by the quotation of ten benedictory and imprecatory stanzas.

The following **geographical names** are mentioned in the inscription: (1) **Vaṅṅapall-grāma**, (2) **Vyāliśi-vishaya**, (3) **Daradgaṅḍakī-maṅḍala**, (4) **Chhēla**, and (5) **Uśīya-grāma**. I am not sure about their location. But as indicated above, the district of **Daradgaṅḍakī** was apparently situated on the banks of the **Gaṅḍak**. This name is, however, applied now to no less than three rivers, viz. (1) **Great Gaṅḍak** running through the Gorakhpur, Champaran, Munger, Saran and Patna Districts and joining the Ganges at Patna in lat. 25° 49' 53" and long. 85° 13' 45"; (2) **Lower Gaṅḍak** running through the Gorakhpur and Saran Districts and falling into the Gogra in lat. 25° 41' and long. 85° 14' 30"; and (3) **Little Gaṅḍak** running through the Saran District and Tihut and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *CIH*, Vol. III, p. 217 and note; *Kaśa. Hist. Dharm.*, Vol. III, p. 985.

joining the Bāghmati in lat. 25° 45' and long. 86° 2'. The district of Daradgaṇḍakī is also mentioned in an inscription (Vikrama 1167) of king Kirtipāla of Saumyaśūndhū or Uttarasaṃudra.<sup>1</sup>

## TEXT\*

[Metres: Verses 1-3, 8 *Vasantatīlaka*; verses 3-7, 9-11 *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*; verses 12-19, 21 *Anuśtubh*; verse 20 *Pushpitāgri*.]

## Obverse

- 1 Siddham\* ॐ svasti | **Sāry-ānvayē** prakāṣa-vikrama-bhūmir-ūstī(sīd) bhūpāla-maulī(lī)r-iha bhūpatir-ādībhūtaḥ | lī-ālayō **Malaya**[kō]tur-atulya-dhāmā [<sup>1</sup> sarv-ādibhūt-aika-vasati-r-jja]-
- 2 gatī prasiddhaḥ || [<sup>2</sup>] Tad-vansa(vānsa)jjaḥ krama-paramparayā pratāpī bhūpō va(ba)bhūva bh[ūvi dāna-jala]-pravāhaḥ || [<sup>3</sup>] **Hōlīvarāṇīa** iha sāhasa-vāsa-bhūmir-yat-kīrttayā-  
tri-bhō(bho)vanāni
- 3 pavitrāyanti || [<sup>4</sup>] Dhairyaṃ kārya-vidhāsa yasya vilasata(sat)-maundaryama-s(udrīpām gām-bhīryaḥ)\* naya-varma-guptiḥ girām-audāryam-āry-śchītaḥ(tam) | tyāgō yaaya cha mārggaṇḥshu vi-
- 4 nayō vidvatsu kīrtirdōri(r-dū)śām [<sup>5</sup> yasy-āyāt charitārthatām-upagataḥ sarvō guṇānō-  
gaṇaḥ || [<sup>3</sup>] **Hōlī-nirjīta-vairi-kuṅjara-ghaṣṭa** sau(sau)jīrya-va(ba)dīb-ādaraḥ śhādgūny-  
śadadhi-
- 5 vu(bu)ddhi-mānṭhana-bhava-śri-ratna-laydhō(bdh-ō)dayaḥ || [<sup>6</sup>] kṛdā-nirbhara-bhavya-  
vāramanī-llā-vilāś-ālayō bhūpāl kīś-śha vicāntya yasya charitāḥ rājyō-pī<sup>7</sup> lajantya-  
amī || [<sup>4</sup>] Bhūtō bhū-
- 6 mibhu[jāḥ] vibhūśhaṇa-maṇiḥ putrō dhairitripatīḥ [<sup>8</sup> tasy-ōddāṣṭa-bhūja-pratāpa-taraṣṭī  
śri-**Hansa(Hansa)**rōjjaḥ śhītau || (l) dhāmā jō(yō)na dhritāḥ sad-ōditam-iha sphāru  
punar-mma-
- 7 ṣḍalam [<sup>9</sup> yasy-ālōka-vidhīś-śhakāra sajan-āmbhōjō vikāśa-śriyāt(yau) || (l) [<sup>5</sup>] Nīty-  
ānānda-kṛit-ōtsava(h)\* pratidinam\* prauḍha-pratāyō(p-ō)ditāḥ sad-vaiddagdhya-vadhā-  
patirvu(r-bu)dha-ja-
- 8 na-prāravdha(bdha)-gōśhthī-rataḥ || [<sup>6</sup>] kāryō(vy-ā)mbhōja-śa-śpalanī(la)mbha-madhupō gam-  
bhīrim-āmbhōnīhīḥ || [<sup>10</sup> r-yasy-āyāt vūh(vi)rataḥ kal-ānūkarāḥ śhīś-śpasaktir-jjanaḥ ||  
[<sup>6</sup>] Tishṭhantaami<sup>11</sup> nī]vpi-
- 9 [tya] sarvva-jagatō dōśha-śpīśś-sat(śam)kayā pūḍībhīya sad-aiva viśmaya-bhayaś-trāṇīya  
yasmin guṇāḥ || (l) yasy-āśta(sī) paraman-tu<sup>12</sup> dūśhaṇa-kaṇaḥ sarvvasya nī(śh)kārāṇa

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. VII, p. 93. It is possible that Kirtipāla's family owned the Malayakōtas about the close of the 11th century to be themselves ousted by the Gāhajavālas shortly afterwards.

\* From impressions.

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

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

<sup>4</sup> These *śakāras* are restored with the help of the other inscription.

<sup>5</sup> B has *mantra*.

<sup>6</sup> B has *rājyōśha*.

<sup>7</sup> The *śanda* is superfluous. Read *yatināśya*.

<sup>8</sup> B has a different reading.

<sup>9</sup> The *śanda* is unnecessary. Read *nīhī*.\*

<sup>10</sup> Read *tishṭhanti sma* as in B.

<sup>11</sup> We may have it as *paraman-śa*\*, but B has *paraman-śa*.

- 10 *survvasya svam<sup>a</sup>-ajharat-kila yasō(sō) digjō(g-yō)shitarā varābhān<sup>a</sup> || [7\*] Saṅdhāni nish-  
jharatayā kumudāni gandhād=dugāham raeṭva madhura-dhvanibhās-cha kausāḥ(harāsāḥ) |  
[jñā]tāḥ katham(tha)śchid-[i]ha*
- 11 *yasya yāsasya<sup>a</sup>-samudra-samplāvitē jagati śtaruchi(r\*)=mṛigāśkāt || [8\*] Sunnuḥ tasya<sup>a</sup>  
narēndra ścha vijayī chandr-śuanō bhūtalē dharmmaḥ samprati yasya kirtti-*
- 12 *latikā vra(bra)hmāḡḡam-ārōhati | yē=āḡḡam-akhaḡḡa-dhairya-gurupā lavdhā(bdh-ā)-  
bhāshōka-kriyā-mātrōḡ-aiva cha vikramēḡa vijitā yuddh-āḡḡapē vairipāḥ || [9\*] Tyā-*
- 13 *gēn-āsa(sya) na varḡḡanā vijayatō Karḡḡasya rūpa-śriyā n-ānaḡḡasya na saḡḡarēḡa  
jai(jayī)naḥ |<sup>a</sup> sa(śau)ryēḡa śinghī-patēḥ<sup>a</sup> || [10\*] gāmbhī(mbhī)ryēḡa na sāḡḡasya vidu-  
śhām gōhḡhāhu*
- 14 *Vāchaspatēḥ |<sup>a</sup> līlābhīr-ama Pura[ndara\*]jya nṛipatēḥ kō=nyaḥ prakarsha-kramāḥ || [10\*]  
Yuddhē Kuñjaravarsha ścha kim-iti śrutya-aiva nāma dvishō maguḡḥ kōchana pāda-pa-*
- 15 *ākaśa-tala-ebhāyā-nishannōḥ(nyāḥ) kha(ksha)ḡāt | n-āita(ch\*)=chitram-idan-to yasya  
charitam nistrimna<sup>a</sup>-dhārā-jalē ja(ya)n-majjanti kiyaty-āpi kshītipatēḥ-matta-dvipāśādi  
ghatḡḡāḥ(āḥ) || [11\*]*
- 16 *na paramabhāḡḡāraka-mahārājāḡḡirāja-paramēvara-śrīmat-Sauryādityadēvaḥ kuśali ||  
Daradḡḡḡḡakī-maḡḡalē Vyāḡḡi-vishay-āntashpātī<sup>a</sup>-Vādapāḡḡi-*
- 17 *grāmā samupagatān abhāva-ra(rā)japurushān mahārājā-rāḡḡa-ḡhaka(kka)\*-āmātrō(tya)-purō-  
hita- |<sup>a</sup> mahāmahattaka-mahāsāndhivigrahika-mahā-*
- 18 *pratīhāra-mahā-akha<sup>a</sup>paḡḡalika- | mahāsādhnika- | mahāpūḡḡpati- | mahāśō(sō)nāpati- |  
mahākatākāḡḡba(dhya)kha-dushḡāśā(sā)dhyasādhnika- | da(dā)ḡḡika- | daḡḡpāśā(sī)-  
ka- |*
- 19 *sa(śau)ḡḡika- | gautmika- | ḡmāḡḡomika- | dūtasamprēḡāḡika- | talavaraḡḡika-<sup>a</sup> | aḡḡara-  
kshaka- | chāḡḡa-bhāḡḡa<sup>a</sup>-prabhṛitā yathā-sthā[na]-niyuktā[n\*] rāja-pād-śpajīvi- |*
- 20 *na(nō) rājapurushān yathārcharā mānayati vō(bō)dhayati ādīkati | vidītem-astu bhavatām |  
yathā grāmō-yatī sa-jala-śthalāḥ ś-āmva(mra)-madhu(dhū)kḡḡaḥ sva-ś(ś)ḡmā-*

<sup>a</sup> Read *śrī-mahātman* as in B.

<sup>a</sup> Read *vallabhān*.

<sup>a</sup> Read *patar*.

<sup>a</sup> Read *śūva-charya*.

<sup>a</sup> The *śanda* is unnecessary.

<sup>a</sup> Read *śimhī*. Possibly the word *śimhīpati* (literally, 'the husband of the lioness') has been used to indicate

'a lion'. The 'husband of Simhī (Simhikā)' may also be understood in the sense of Śiva among others.

<sup>a</sup> The *śanda* is unnecessary. Read *\*pat-śhī*.

<sup>a</sup> Read *nītrimān*.

<sup>a</sup> Read *śāntāpātī*. The *ś* in *śpā* really stands for the *spāśāśāḡḡa*.

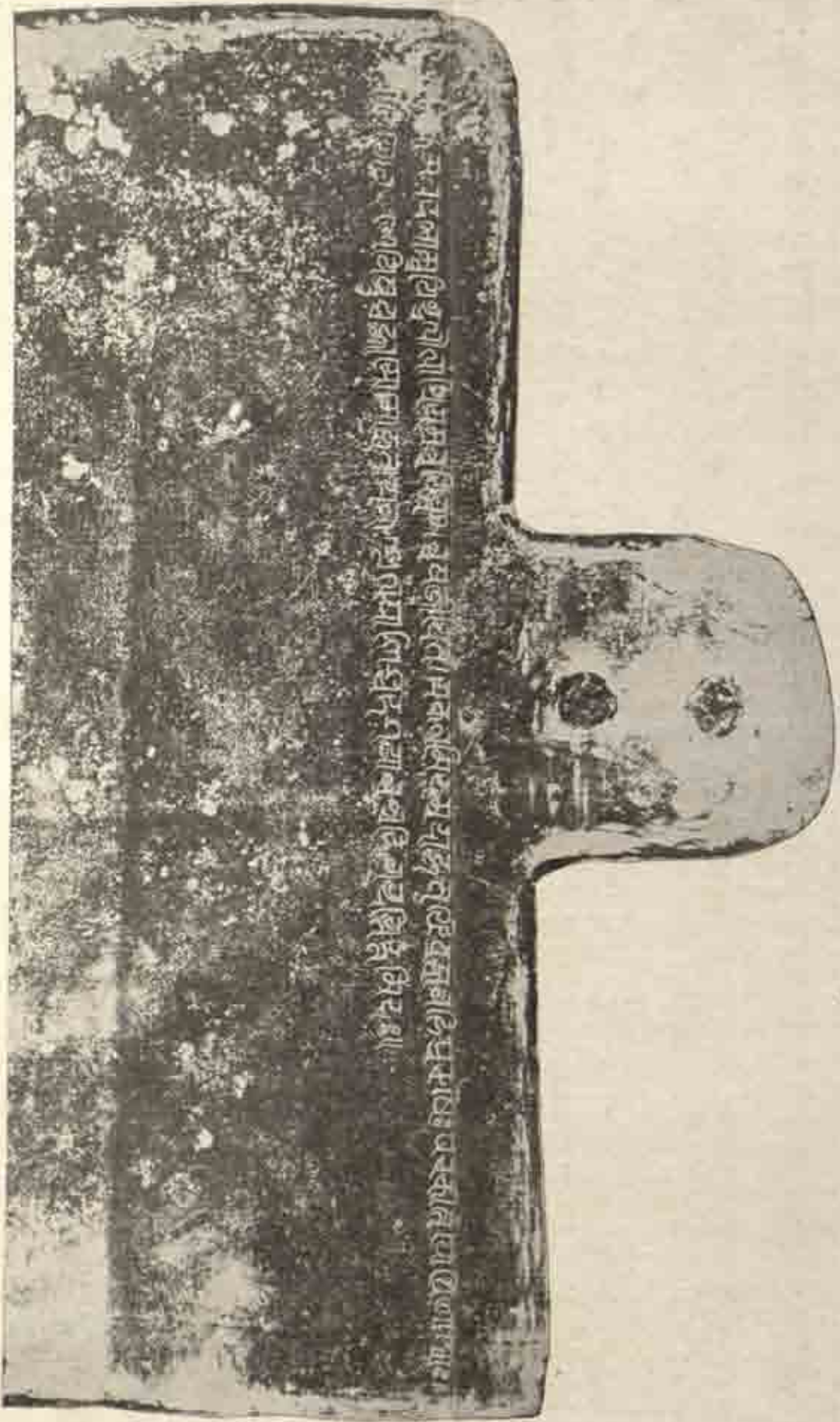
<sup>a</sup> The *śanda* here and elsewhere below in this line and the following lines is superfluous.

<sup>a</sup> Read *śakāśhaka*.

<sup>a</sup> *śamhī* has not been observed here.

<sup>a</sup> This is the same as *śhāś-śhāḡḡa* of earlier inscriptions.





( from Photographs )

- 21 paryantaḥ phala-ratikō ramya[ḥ\*] e-śhara[ḥ\*] sa-garṭi-āvaskara[ḥ\*] jana-dhana-sahitaḥ  
sa-pallīkaḥ su-kṛishṭa[ḥ\*] mātā-pitrōr-ātmanaś-cha pū(pu)ṇya-ya[śō\*]-bhivṛiddhaye |  
chandrā-
- 22 rika-kṣhiti-kālam yāvat | pūrvva-bhū(bhu)ḥyamāna-dēva-vrā(brā)hmana-khō(kshō)tra-  
khaṇḍalakaḥ va[rja\*]yitvā | Chaitrō māsi Mahāchaitryān̄ vidhivata(vat) snātva  
bhagavantau Bhāskar-Ēśān̄-
- 23 v-abhyarcheha(rohya) tila-darvabhō(rbhō-ō)daka-pavitra-pāpinā Chchhāla-vinirggata-<sup>1</sup> Usīya-  
grāmitya-Sāvanna(rūya)-sagōtrāya Bhārggava-Chyavana-<sup>2</sup> Āpnavāna-<sup>3</sup> Aurvva-Ya(Ja)-  
madagni śtā<sup>4</sup> pañcha-
- 24 pravaraḥya Bhaṭṭa-śr[ī] Yaśādityāya<sup>5</sup> Bhaṭṭa-Vāṭṭhō-sutāya Bhaṭṭa-<sup>6</sup> Aḍavi-naptre tā-  
mraśāsaukṛitya sampradattō-<sup>7</sup> amābhīḥ | bhavadbhīr-anumantavyath nivāsibhīś-cha &
- 25 jñā-śravaṇa-vidhēyibhūya yat kiñchid-rāja-pratyāy-ādikaḥ tad-asy-ōpanāṭavyam(vyam) |  
Samva(Samva)t 1077 Chaitra-śudi 14 Śukra-dinō śvath(va)m-anāna vidhinā  
grāma[m]
- 26 datvā(ttvā) śj-ēdam-abhidhattē ||\* || Va(Ba)hūbhīr-vvasundhā(dhā) dattā rājabhī[ḥ\*] Sagar-  
śdībhīḥ ||\*|| yasya yasya ja(ya)dō bhūmi[ś\*]-tasya tad(ta)sya tadā phala[m\*] || [12\*]  
Bhūmtyath<sup>8</sup> prastigrihṇā(hṇā)ṭi yaś-eh bhū-
- 27 mi[m\*] prayachchhati (| u)bhau tau pū(pu)ṇya-karmmaṅgan niyataśi svargge-gāminau || [13\*]  
Shash(hi)chēti-varecha-sakaśrā(śrā)ṇi mōdatē divi bhūmi[daḥ] ||\*|| śchchhētā eb-ānumantā  
cha tāny-ōva narakam
- 28 [vra]ḥ || [14\*] Sam(Śam)khaḥ bhadrāsanath chōhha(chha)tram var-āśvō vara-kūḥjara-  
(raḥ) | bhūmi-dānaśya chūhāni phalam-ēttata Pranandara<sup>9</sup> || [15\*] Sva-datām(ttām)  
para-dat[ā]mvā<sup>10</sup> yō hara(rō)ta vasundharām(rām) | sa vi-
- 29 śhthāyām kṛimir-bhu(bhū)tvā pīṭribhī[ḥ\*] saha pachyatō || [16\*] Gām-ēkām suvarṇnam-  
ēkām bhūmēr-apy-ēkam-aṅgulaḥ(lam) | haraṭh(ran) narakam-āyāti jū(yā)vad-āhūta-  
satṭhplavath(vam) || [17\*] Tattā(tā)kāni saha-
- 30 śrā(śrā)ṇi<sup>11</sup> nāvamēdha-sa(śa)ṭāni cha ||\*|| gavām kōṭi-pradānēna Bhūmi-hartā na śuddha-  
(dhyati) || [18\*] Phalatkiṣṭā<sup>12</sup> mahīm datvā(ttvā) sa-vi(bi)ja(jān) śasya-mālini[m] ||\*||  
yāvat-sūrya-kṛiṭō(t-ā)lōkah<sup>13</sup> tāva-
- 31<sup>14</sup> t-svarggō mahlyatō || [19\*]

<sup>1</sup> Sandhi has not been observed here.

<sup>2</sup> Read 'daga-ṇi'.

<sup>3</sup> The form of this personal name is not grammatically correct.

<sup>4</sup> There is a symbol of two concentric circles between the double dashes.

<sup>5</sup> Read 'Bāṅśāni yaś'.

<sup>6</sup> Read 'Ṣat Parandara'.

<sup>7</sup> Read 'datām vā'.

<sup>8</sup> Read 'Phala-kṛiṣṭām'.

<sup>9</sup> This small line begins after leaving the space for about four akṣaras.



## Reverse

32. Iti kamala-dal-āmru(mba)-vindu-tōlūm śriyam-annchinta(nṭya) manusha(śhya)-jīvitam  
[cha\*] | sakalam-idam-pdāhṛitaṅ-cha vu(bu)ddhā(dāhvā) na hi puruṣaḥ para-kṛttayō  
vilōpyā || [30\*]
33. [Ā]dityō Varuṇō Viṣṇu Vrahmā<sup>1</sup> Sōmō Kutāsa(ṣa)nā(nab) | Śūlapāpā-cha bhagavān-auva-  
bhi<sup>2</sup>nandanti bhūnidah(ṣam) || [21\*]

## B. Grant of Vikrama 1083

This single plate measures about 15½ inches in breadth and 14½ inches in height. There is a projection at the top, about 2½ inches high and 5½ inches broad. The upper part of the projection and the four corners of the plate are rounded. The figure of the Bear incarnation of Viṣṇu, engraved on the projection, was meant to serve the purpose of the proper seal. The figure is of a bear-faced human form, having a crown and other ornaments and standing to right in the *pratyālīḍha* pose with the left elbow raised upwards.

There are 31 lines of writing in all on one side of the plate. In regard to **palaeography, language and orthography**, this inscription closely resembles *A* edited above. But lines 1-21 are more efficiently engraved than lines 22-31, the first part containing fewer orthographical errors than the latter part. Of the 11 stanzas of the introductory section, verses 3-11 have their respective numbers engraved after each of them. The ten imprecatory and benedictory stanzas at the end of the inscription are, however, not similarly numbered. The date of the record is quoted in lines 23-24 as **Sarīvat 1083, Chaitra-śudī 13, Saturday**. If the year is regarded as current (Kārttikāśī), the date would correspond to the **2nd April 1028 A. D.**

The beginning of the inscription is similar to that of *A*. The 11 stanzas, occupying lines 1-11, have already been discussed in connection with *A* (lines 1-15). The following section in prose referring to the donor is also the same as in *A*; but the list of subordinates addressed by the king and that of the donee's privileges, though similar to those in the other record, are not exactly the same and the gift land in the present case is **Yamaṇiūṇḍa-grāma** situated in **Dvichatvārimśatikā-vishaya** of **Dardachapdikā-maṇḍala**. The name of the *vishaya* is merely a Sanskritized form of that of the Vyāliṣi sub-district known from *A*; but, as already indicated above, the two do not appear to be identical since they were situated in different *maṇḍalas* or districts. Like the list of subordinates and the donee's privileges, other details in lines 17-22 are similar to those in *A*. But the donee's name is left out, though his *pravaras* are enumerated as Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpaurāna, Jamadagni and Aurva without mentioning the name of the *gōtra* which was apparently Sāvarga as in the case of the donee of *A* edited above. A few other details found in *A* are also similarly left out in this inscription. In this section, we have *paṭṭolī-tūmraśāntikṛtya* instead of *śi vāśāntikṛtya* in *A* and other records. As we have suggested elsewhere,<sup>3</sup> the word *paṭṭolī* means 'a deed of purchase'. The nature of the present record thus seems to have been different from that of *A*.

But the most important feature of the record under study is the absence of the donee's name. It is of course tempting to suggest that this was due to a mistake of the scribe or engraver.

<sup>1</sup> Read \*śrīvr-Brāhmā.

<sup>2</sup> Read \*śi-māśī\*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *JAS*, Vol. XX, p. 205. Cf. Tamil *paṭṭolī* in the same sense.

It is, however, interesting to note that there is the following endorsement at the end of the record in the last line (line 31): *ĉach-ĉhāsanam-uddēsa-mātrasm-iti*, "This grant is merely an illustration." This suggests that the present plate was not actually issued in favour of a donee, but was merely kept in the record office of the king as a sample draft for being consulted by the scribes to prepare similar other documents. The mention of the *pracaras* seems, however, to indicate that the original intention was to issue it in favour of a donee belonging to the Sāvanya *gōtra*, though it was discarded owing to mistakes creeping in the text.

The geographical names mentioned in the record are: (1) Yamagiriṇḍa-grāma, (2) Dvichatvāriṃsatikā-vishaya, and (3) Dardachanḍikā-maṇḍala. I am not sure about their location.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Siddham<sup>2</sup> ā namāh(mah) ||[\*] Sūry-ānvayē prakata-vikrama-bhūmir-āsī(ā)d-bhūpāla-mauli (ō)r-īha bhūpatir-ādibhūtaḥ | III-ālayō Ma[la\*]yakōtur-atulya-dhāmā sarvv-ādibhūt-aikavasatir-jjagati prasiddhiḥ(ddhiḥ) || [1\*] Tad-vamsa(van-śa)jāh-kra-
- 2 ma-paramparayā pratāpō(ṇ) bhūpō vahh[u]vi<sup>3</sup> dāna-jala-pravōhaḥ | Hōlāvarāha iha sāhaa-vāsa-bhūmir-yat-kirttayas-tribhuvanāni pavitrayanti || [2\*] Dhairyaḥ kārya-vidhāsu [yasya\*] vilasatsau(t-sau)nda-
- 3 ryanvi(m-ś)ṇīdṛisām(śām) gāmbhīryan-naya-mantra<sup>4</sup> goptishu girām-andāryam-āry-ōchitam-(tam) | tyāgō yasya cha mārggspēshu viṇayō vidvatou kirttir-ddisām(śām) yasy-āyam charitārthatām-upagataḥ sarvvō guṇā-
- 4 nā[ṇ] gaṇaḥ || 3 || Hōlā-nirjīta-vairi-kuṇjara-ghaṭaḥ sau(śau)ḥ[rya-va(ha)ddh-ādarah |\* shōḍguny-ōdsahi-vu(bu)ddhi-manthana-bhava-[śri]-ratna-lavdhō(bdh-ō)dayaḥ | krīḍā-nirbhara-bhavya-vārarama-
- 5 pī-līlā-vilāś-ālayō bhūpāḥ kīś-cha vicintya yasya charitam rājyēshu lajjanty-amī || 4 || Bhūtō bhūmi-bhujāmvi(jām vi)bhūshaya-maṇiḥ putrō dharitripatis-tasy-ōddagḍa-bhujā-pratā-
- 6 pa-taraṇiḥ śri-Hansa(Harisa)rājah kshitam ||(i) nāmnā<sup>5</sup> yēna dhṛitam sad-ōditam-īha syā(sphā)ram punā(na)r-maṇḍalam yasy-[ā]lōka-vidhūś-chaḥcra sujan-āmbhōjē vikāsa-āriyam(yam) || 5 || Nity-āna-
- 7 nda-kṛit-ōtsava-rata<sup>6</sup> praudha-pratāp-ōditah sad-vaidagdhya-vadhū-patirvvu(r-hbu)dha-jana-prāravdha(bdha)-gōshthi-rataḥ | kāvy-āmbhōja-raś-ōpalambha-madhupō gambhīra-(ri)m-āmbōnidhix-yasy-āya-
- 8 mvi(m vi)rataḥ-kal-ānukaranō kshīr-ōpasski<sup>7</sup> janah || 6 || Tishthanti sma nivvri(vri)tya sarvva-jagatō dōśha-sprisā(śā)-sa(śam)kāyā piḍḍibhūya sad-aiva vismaya-bhuvae-triṇpāya yami-

<sup>1</sup> From impressions.<sup>2</sup> Expressed by symbol.<sup>3</sup> Read *babbūca śāsi*.<sup>4</sup> *ā* reads *surmat*.<sup>5</sup> The *ś* is unnecessary.<sup>6</sup> Read *dāśvad* as in *A*.<sup>7</sup> *A* has "śā. prāśidhānā. The intended reading in *B* may be "śāśō-śāśāśāśā".<sup>8</sup> Read "śāśāśā".

- 9 n-guṣāḥ | yaśy-śiṣṭ-param-atra<sup>1</sup> dūhaṇa-kaṇaḥ sarvvasya niṣkāraṇaḥ hṛit-sarvvasa-  
(sva)m-a-jiharat-kila yaśō(śō) dig-yōchitāmva(m va)llabham(bham) || 7 || Soudhāni niśṭha-  
(śṭhu)ratayā
- 10 kumudāni gandhāt(ndhād) dugdham rasoṇa madhura-dhvanībhiś-cha haṇā(haṇś) |  
j[ñ]ātāḥ kathamehid-iba yaśya yaśa(śaḥ)-samudra-sa[m]p[ī]ṭ[ī]vītō jagati śītarachir-  
mmrigāngāt(śkāt) || 8 || Sūnu-ta-
- 11 sya narēntra(nḍra) śeṣa vijayī chantrā(ṇdr-ā)naṣā(uō) bhū[ta]\*j[ñ]ā dha[r\*]mmaḥ samprati  
yaśya kīrti-latikā vrapthā(brahmā)śḍam-ārō[ha\*]ti | yān-ākāṣḍam-akhaṇḍa-dhairya-  
guruṇā lavdhā(bdh-ā)bhishōka-kriyā-
- 12 mātrēy-aiva cha vikramēṇa vijitā yuddh-āṅgaṣḥ vairiṇaḥ || 9 || Tyāgōn-āśya na varoṇā  
vijayatō Karṇasya rūpa-śriyā n-ānaṅgasya na saṅgarēṣhu ja-
- 13 yinaḥ sau(śau)ryēṇa niṅghī(sidhī)-patēḥ | gāmbhīryēṇa na sāgarasya viduṣhām gūṣṭhīḥ  
Vāchaspātēr-llābhīr-ana Purandarasya nripatēḥ kō-nyāḥ prakā-
- 14 reṣa-kramāḥ || 10 || Yuddhē Kuñjaravaraha śeṣa kim-iti sru(śru)tv-aiva nāma dvishō magnāḥ  
kōchana pāda-pākaḥ-tala-chchāyā-niṣaṇḍāḥ khaṇḍāt | n-aitach-ohitram-īdan-ta  
yaśya
- 15 charitacū niśtrīṇās(śtrīṇā) dhārī-jalō yan-majjanti kiyaty-āpi kṣitipa(tēr)-mma[ttā-dvi]-  
pānā[ya]m<sup>2</sup> ghaṭāḥ || 11 || Sa paramabhat[ā]raka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēvara-
- 16 śrīmat-Sauryādityaśvāḥ kusa(śa)llī | Darḍachandikā-maṇḍa[la]-pratīva(ba)ddha-Dvi-  
cātvrīṇā(riṇā)tikā-viśay-āntaḥpāti(ti)-Yamaṣiṭṭṭa-grāmāḥ | samupa<sup>3</sup>ga-
- 17 t-āśeḥ-rājapa(pu)ruṣhān rūṇaka-ḥakur-āmātya-purōhita-mahāśō[ndhi\*]vīgrahika-mahā-  
patihāra-mahākṣhapāṭalika-mahāśōdhanika-mahā-
- 18 pūpati-mahāśōnāpati-mahākāṭakādhyakṣa-śuṣṭasōdhyasōdhanika-śa(ś)ḥḍika-śaṇḍipā-  
[śika]<sup>4</sup>-śanika<sup>5</sup>-gaulmika-gamāgamika-dōtasamtō(mprē)śhaṇika-ta-
- 19 lavarggik-āṅgarakṣhaka-śhūṣa-bhaṣa-prabhyatin<sup>6</sup> yathā-śthān-niy[u]k[ti]ś-rāja-pā[d-ō]pajivi-  
[nō] [tā]japurushān [ṣ<sup>7</sup> yathārham mānayatī vō(bō)dhayatī | śdīśa-

<sup>1</sup> A has paramamā.

<sup>2</sup> Read dvīpānām.

<sup>3</sup> Read grāma-śmupaṣṭa<sup>6</sup>.

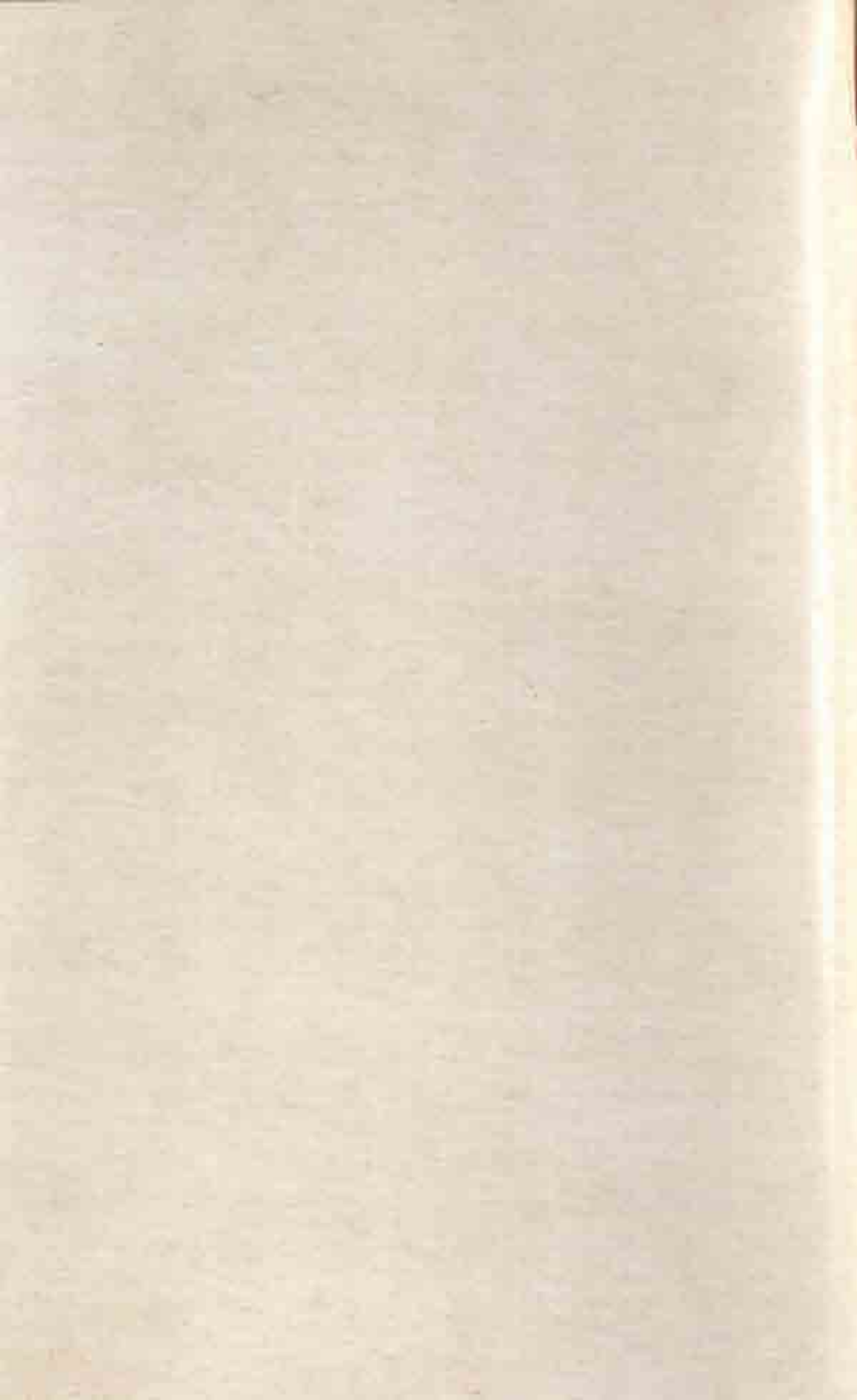
<sup>4</sup> Read śdāṅgopāṭika.

<sup>5</sup> Read śmūṭika.

<sup>6</sup> Read prakṣīṭa.

<sup>7</sup> This śdāśa and some others in the following section are superfluous.





- 20 ti | viditam=astu bhavatām | yathā grāmō-yam sa-jala-sthala[ḥ\*] śmā-paryantāḥ |  
s-āmra-madhūkaḥ | sa-gartī-śharaḥ | sa-nidhi-nidhānaḥ | sa-jana-dhanaḥ | sa(eu)-palli-
- 21 k-ōpētaḥ | sukriṣṭaḥ | mātā-pitrōr-ātmanaś-cha puṇya-yasō-bhivṛiddhayaḥ | chandr-  
ārka-kahiti-kālah yāvat | pūrvva-bhujyamāna-dēva-Vrā(Brā)hmaṇa-
- 23 kabōtra-khaṇḍalāḥ vihāya' gōtrāya Bhārggava-Cha(Chya)vana'-Āpnumā(vā)na-Ya(Ja)-  
madagni'-Aurvva-pravara(rā)ya paṭṭō(ṭṭō)lī-tāmvra(mra)śāsanīkṛitya pradattō=smābhir-  
mma-
- 23 [tvā] bhavadbhir=anna(nu)mantavyaḥ(vyam) | nivāsbhīś-oh-ājā'-śravāṇa-vidhāyibhūya  
yata(yat) kiñchit rāja-pratyādāy-ādikaḥ tad-asy-ōpāna(nō)tavyaḥ(vyam) | Samvat'  
1083
- 24 Chattrā-śudī 13 Sa(Śa)man | śvam=smunā vidhinā grāmam=śna[m\*] datvā(ttā) rāj-  
śdam=abbidhattō | Va(Ba)hubhū[r\*]=vvasudhā da[ḥ\*]tō rājabbih Saganā(r-ā)dibhiḥ |  
yasya yasya ya-
- 25 dō bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalaḥ(lam) [\*][12\*] Gām=śkām svarṇam=śkaḥ (cha\*)  
bhūmēr-apy-śkam-aṅgula[m\*] haran=arakam-ūyāyati' yāvad=āhūti-sampra(pla)vam-  
(vam) || [13\*] Shashṭi-va[r]aha-sahaśrā(śrā)ṇi
- 26 mōdatō divi bhūmidāḥ | āchchhattō(ttā) ch-ā[nu]mantā cha tāny-ēva narakā[m\*]  
vra[ḥ\*] || [14\*] Saḥ(Śa)kha[m\*] bhadr-śsanāḥ chchha(chha)traḥ vana(r-ā)śvō var-  
kha(ku)ḥjaraḥ | bhūmī-dānasya chiknō(hnā)ṇi phalaḥ sva-
- 27 rggas=tath-aiva cha || [15\*] Bhūmim ya[ḥ\*] pratigrihāti ma(ya)ś-cha bhūmim tha-  
(pra)yachchhati [\*] dra(u)bhau tau puṇya-karmāṇau [\*] mīmatāḥ' svargga-gāminau ||  
[16\*] Sva-dattā[m\*] para-dattāmvā(ttāḥ vā)
- 28 yō harōdvasundharā' [\*] [śva]-pi(vi)śhāhāyām kṛimir-bhūtvā pitribhiḥ saha pachyatō ||  
[17\*] Shashṭi-varaha-sahaśrā(śrā)ṇi shash[ṭi]-varaha-śatāni cha | gūvām kō[ḥi]-[pra]dānāna  
bhūmī-ha-
- 29 rttā na śudhyati || [18\*] Pha(Phā)lla-kriṣṭāḥ mahim dadhyō(dyāt) sa-vi(bi)jām śasya-  
m[ā][ḥi]u[ḥi]m [\*] yāvata śuryakritō lōkastyārata śrgga'<sup>11</sup> mahiyatō || [19\*] Iti kamala-  
dattā(l-ā)-

<sup>1</sup> The following section is defective as the expected name of the donee is left out. The word left out before gōtrāya was Śāuryya.

<sup>2</sup> Śandhi has not been observed here.

<sup>3</sup> Read ā/ā.

<sup>4</sup> Read Savyat.

<sup>5</sup> There is a symbol looking somewhat like an anusvara of the Bengali type before the śasda.

<sup>6</sup> Read dyāti.

<sup>7</sup> The śvarga-sign was first engraved, then peened through and afterwards endowed with a restoration mark.

<sup>8</sup> The śasda is unnecessary.

<sup>9</sup> Read nigatam.

<sup>10</sup> Read śrīḥ caruṇḍakāḥ.

<sup>11</sup> Read yāvat=śrya-kṛit-ślōka-sūtra-śvarggā.

- 30 mvu(mbu)-vindu-lāśāh śriyam=anna(nu)chintya mamma(nu)shya-jvitaṁ cha [1\*] sa-  
kalam-idam=ulāhṛitam cha [1\*] vuddhā\* na hi puruṣaiḥ para-kīrttayō vilā(lā)pyāh  
[1\*] [20\*] Ādityō Varuṇō
- 31 Viṣṇu Vraṣṇā\* M(85)uṇō Hutāsanah [1\*] Śra(Śū)lapāpāś=cha bhagavān=abhinandati  
[bhūmidam\*] || [21\*] śtatasaścaṇōddiśā\*-mātram=iti [1\*]

### 3. Grant of Bhulla, Vikrama 1381

This copper-plate grant was secured by Mr. S. V. Sohoni, Commissioner of the Patna Division, Bihar, and now lies in his possession. Mr. Sohoni kindly allowed me to take impressions of the inscription in August 1960. The plate is stated to have been secured from the village of Bagān under the Bihar Police Station of the Shahabad District of Bihar.

This is a **single plate** measuring about 13 inches in length and about 10½ inches in height. There is a small hole in the middle of the top margin of the plate. It was probably meant for hanging up the document from a nail in the wall. The corners of the plate are rounded off and there is no seal attached to it. There are 23 lines of writing only on one side of the plate, the last line being engraved vertically in the left margin. The engraving is neat and the writing is in a quite satisfactory state of preservation.

The **characters** of the record are Nāgarī of about the fourteenth century A.D. The rare *alshara ja* occurs in line 3. *B* has been written by the sign of *v*. The **language** of the record is Sanskrit and it is written in verse with the exception of the *siddham* symbol and the word *siddhiḥ* at the beginning and the date in figures, etc., quoted in the left margin. **Orthographical errors** are not too many. But *y* has been written for *ṛ* in some cases according to the peculiarity of the pronunciation of initial *y* especially in the East Indian dialects and, as in many other records, final *m* has been wrongly changed to *anumira* at the end of the halves of stanzas. *śh* has been written for *śā* under the influence of local pronunciation. There are again some cases of confusion between *l* and *s*.

The **date** of the epigraph is given in verse 9 as **Sunday, the tenth tithi of the bright fortnight of Jyāishtha in the Vikrama year** counted by the words *arani, naga, vahni* and *indu*. Of these words, *arani, vahni* and *indu* respectively mean 1, 3 and 1, while *naga* or 'mountain' normally means 7, although some late writers are known to have recognised the word also in the sense of 'eight'.<sup>1</sup> Thus according to the *śiṃsa-gatī* principle, the year would be Vikrama 1371 or 1381. But the same date has been quoted in a prose passage incised on the left margin of the plate as *Som 1381 Jyāishtha-tūdi 10 Rarau*. The Vikrama year was therefore really 1381 and not 1371. Sunday, Jyāishtha-tūdi 10, in Vikrama 1381 corresponds to the 3rd June 1324 A.D. The year was Kārttikādi current or Chaitrādi expired.

The inscription begins with the *siddham* symbol followed by the *maṅgala : siddhiḥ* and a stanza (verse 1) in adoration of the god Hari. Verse 2 (lines 1-3) introduces a great warrior named **Parāu** who is stated to have belonged to **Majhivāra (Majhivāra-śekhara-maṇi)** and to the

<sup>1</sup> These *śandās* are superfluous.

<sup>2</sup> Read *vuddhā*.

<sup>3</sup> Read *Vishnu-Brahmā*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *śāśh-śhāśhama-siddham*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Sewell, *History of the Arabs in India*, p. 8.

**Chēravu** race (*Chēravu-vāṇida*). The next stanza (verse 3 in lines 3-5) mentions Parū's son **Durlabha** while verse 4 introduces the donor of this charter. This is king **Bhulladēva** who was the son of Durlabha and is described as the ruler (*varapati*) of **Vihāpurī** and as the receiver of favours from the *Khaliphā Mahamanda-sāhi*. Bhulladēva is called **Bhullēvara** in verse 7 (line 10) and **Bhullēsa** in verse 19 (line 20), his actual name being **Bhulla**.

Thus Bhulla, who was the son of Durlabha and grandson of Parū and belonged to Majhivāra and to the Chēravu race, apparently owed allegiance to *Khaliphā Mahamanda-sāhi*. The language of the record does not clearly indicate Bhulla's subordinate position, though it can be easily inferred from the otherwise inexplicable reference to the Muslim sovereign. The name *Chēravu* is the same as *Chērō* and we know that chiefs belonging to the aboriginal tribes called Oraon, Kharwar and Chērō flourished in the Shahabad-Palawan region during the medieval period.<sup>4</sup> The reference to Mahamanda-sāhi, i.e. Muḥammad Shāh, and to his title *Khaliphā* is very interesting. It appears that, by *Khaliphā Mahamanda-sāhi*, the overlord of the Chērō ruler Bhulla, the contemporary Muslim Sultān of Delhi is meant. The designation *Khaliphā* stands for Arabic *Khalifa* meaning 'the successor to sovereign power', the title being especially applied to the Prophet Muhammad's successors who united the characters of the head of the State and of the Muhammadan religion, while many of the Sultāns of Delhi are described as *Khalifas* in the legends on their coins as well as in the inscriptions of their times. Muḥammad Shāh, mentioned in our inscription, appears to be none other than Sultān Muḥammad bin Tughluq Shāh of the Tughluq dynasty of Delhi, whose reign period is generally assigned to the period 1325-51 A.D. It should be pointed out that Sultān Muḥammad is believed to have ascended the throne in February or March 1325 A.D.,<sup>5</sup> while our inscription bears the date: 3rd June 1324 A.D., suggesting that the Sultān actually ascended the throne before the middle of 1324 A.D., that is to say, more than six months earlier.

Verses 5-9 of our record speak of the donee of the grant and the donation he received from king Bhulla, the donor of the charter. Verse 5 mentions Vidyādharma belonging to the race of learned Brāhmanas (*śrōtrīya*) of Maṇṇinagara, his family being known as Gaṇḍasvāmī-kula (i.e., the lineage of which the progenitor was Gaṇḍasvāmin). As we shall see below, this Brāhmana family belonged to the *Sāṇḍīlya gōtra*. Vidyādharma's son Chulhēvara is mentioned in verse 6 (lines 8-9) and the next stanza (lines 9-10) speaks of Sagunē (or Gunē), the son of Chulhēvara and the donee of the charter. It is stated that Sagunē obtained the post of *Sēnāpatī* and satisfied his master Bhullēvara by his services. From verse 8 we learn that Sagunē was devoted both to the goddess Śivā (i.e., Pārvatī, wife of Śiva) and Kēśava (i.e., Viṣṇu-Krishṇa) while verse 9 states that Bhulladēva dedicated the village of Vagēndī in favour of the said Sagunē belonging to the *Sāṇḍīlya gōtra*. Either the village was situated on the bank of the Ganges or the donor made the grant while he was standing or camping on the river bank.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. above, Vol. IV, p. 311, note 10; Vol. XXXIV, p. 26, note 2. According to tradition, the Chērōs, who now work as coolies and wood-cutters and are reputed for being 'one of the hardest drinking castes', had formerly their own kings having one of their capitals at Bihis. This plain is said to have been occupied by the Rajputs settled at Manjha on the Ghogra in the Saran District, who subdued the Chērōs in a struggle lasting for several centuries. The names of some Chērō rulers are known from traditions. Muslim historians mention a Chērō king named Maharta whose activities closed the road from Bihar to Bengal and whom Shēr Shāh subdued with great difficulty. See  *Gazetteer of the Shahabad District*, pp. 19, 21, 162, 166-67, 169-70.

<sup>5</sup> *Cont. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 135. The year of his accession is given as A.H. 725 (from the 15th December 1324 A.D. to the 8th December 1325 A.D.). He is believed to have ascended the throne on his father's death about the beginning of that year. This is because the Balīghīnārī (Danoh District, Madhya Pradesh) inscription, now preserved in the Nagpur Museum and noticed in Hirsai's *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, 1932, p. 59 (No. 106), and *A. & K. Ep.*, 1932-33, pp. 19, 88 (No. 69), is reported to refer the Hijrī year 725 to the reign of Ghīyāṭuddīn Tughluq Shāh, father of Muḥammad. See *Ep. Ind.—A. P. Suppl.*, 1955-56, pp. 70, 112.



The above account is followed in lines 14-20 by some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas (verses 10-18). Verse 19 (lines 20-21) contains Bhūllā's prayer to other kings not to resume the grant made by him.

Verse 20 (lines 21-22) states that the grant was approved by (cf. *awamata*) Jauga who was the chief scribe (*kaṁṭha-pasāra*) and the other *sachivas* (officers or ministers). It is difficult to say whether Jauga was an officer of Bhūllā or he was Muḥammad Shāh's viceroy of the Shahabad region. But the facts that there are cases of a grant being *awamata* by one of the donor's subordinates<sup>1</sup> and that the second half of the verse speaks of the composition of the *pasāra* (i.e. the document under study, by a Brāhmana poet named Dhyanu, who was probably the court Pandit of Bhūllā, may suggest that Jauga was one of Bhūllā's officers. Verse 21 (line 22) says that the copper-plate grant (*ānuraḍḍhava-pattala*) was written by Dhānū who was endowed with the qualities of the scribe (*Kāyasṭha-guṇa-sampanna*). It appears that Dhānū had the qualifications of a scribe but did not belong to the Kāyasṭha community and that he merely wrote the letters on the plate for facilitating the work of the engraver.

The geographical names mentioned in the epigraph are : (1) Vihāpuri, the capital of the Chērū ruler Bhūllā ; (2) the village of Vagēndī granted by him in favour of his Brāhmana general Sagunē ; (3) the river banks on the bank of which Vagēndī was situated or the donor was standing or camping while making the grant ; and (4) Maḡērmagara whence the donee's family hailed. Of the above names, Maḡēri is no doubt modern Maḡer in the Dinapur Sub-Division of the Patna District while Vihū is the same as Bihiyā, a railway station in the Shahabad District a few miles to the west of Araḡ, the headquarters of the District. Vagēndī is modern Bagēn, the firdpoṭ of the charter. Maḡhivāra, mentioned in verse 2 (line 3) probably as the original home of Bhūllā's family, may be modern Chandauli-Maḡhiwar, a railway station near Mogalsairāi, in the Bhabua Sub-Division of the Shahabad District.

## TEXT

[Metres : Verse 1 *Āryā* ; verses 2-5, 7-9 *Śāradālacūḍrikā* ; verses 6, 10-19, 21 *Maṁḡalīnā* ; verse 20 *Uḡejāṭī*.]

1. Śiddham\* ||[\*] siddhiḥ || Āṅguta-Jaladhībhuvān rucir-ādhara-pāna-bhā'vanā-maīkam (kam) | vikānta-mukūṭa-māṁḡa-prahasita-nayanaḥ Harit vāhāt || [\*] Vihū=Chērāvu-
2. varitā-bhūḡhapatayā lavdhā/bdh-āṅgikāḡ purī |<sup>2</sup> vikhyātā dharaṅgātā nṡpa-kul-śāśd-āpta-aufāntay-ādayāḡ || || tan-mukhyā |vala-ārka-duḡmahata-
3. tal śastr-śāstra-śikḡā-gurur-<sup>3</sup>ch-<sup>4</sup>bhūn-Maḡhivāra-śikḡara-maḡr-<sup>5</sup>annāmnā Parāḡ mataḡ || [2\*] Tasmāḡ-<sup>6</sup>indus-<sup>7</sup>śāśdāḡ paripatan-nār-
4. cha-chakra-kḡhata-kḡhina-kḡhatriya-gōtra-putra-nivahāḡ kḡhmā-durllabhō Durllabhāḡ |<sup>8</sup> uḡhḡḡ-<sup>9</sup>śva(śva)śa-kīrtti-maḡḡḡita-maḡi-<sup>10</sup>prishḡḡō gariḡḡḡō guḡar-<sup>11</sup>āḡāḡ-
5. namḡḡita-vamḡḡi-<sup>12</sup>vḡḡhala-dharaḡḡḡvāḡ prabhāḡ-<sup>13</sup>śva(śva)śaḡ || [3\*] Tat-sūnur-Vvihāpuri-narapatīḡ śrīmān yaśō-<sup>14</sup>bhūḡhāḡḡō bhāḡa-<sup>15</sup>āḡḡka-maḡḡa-rakḡhāḡa-par-

[1] Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, p. 191.

[2] From *impossibilities*.

[3] Expressed by symbol.

[4] An unnecessary *anuvāra* above śāśd is deleted by the engraver.

[5] This *śāśdā* is unnecessary.

[6] The *śāśdā* is engraved above the line.







- 19 shtai(shti)-varaha-sahasrāṇi svarggā vasati bhūmidah | āchehlātā ch-ānumantī cha-tāy-eva  
narakā vasāta(sēt) || [17\*] Vāri-hinśahv-aragyēshu sushka-kōfara-vā-
- 20 ainal [1\*] kṛishṇasarppāḥ prajāyantē dēva-vra(brahma-sva-hāriṇah || [18\*] Iti matvā na  
kartavyā dēvija-bhūmir-nnarādhipāḥ | **Bhūllēśō** yāchatē rājā
- 21 kṛitē sambuṭitan karau || [19\*] Dān-ānumantā karuṇa-pravīrah śri-Jaṅga-satiḥ | sa(sa)-  
chīyāḥ samētah | prasastim-ētasya chakāra viprah śri-Dhyāna-nā-
- 22 mā sukavīḥ suśīlah || [20\*] Śrīmāna(mān) Dhānō lilēkh-ēdam tāmra-sāṅga<sup>1</sup>-paṭṭakam(kam) |  
Kāyastha<sup>2</sup>-gupa-saḥpannō vra(bra)hmanyaḥ sat-savatsalah || [21\*] śubham=astu [1\*]
- 23 <sup>3</sup>Siddham<sup>4</sup> [1\*] **Sarh 1381 Jyaishṭha-śudi 10 Ravau** ||

<sup>1</sup> Read sāṅga.

<sup>2</sup> We may also read Kāyastha (śāś) and suggest that Dhānō belonged to the Kāyastha Community.

<sup>3</sup> This is a vertically written line engraved in the left margin.

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by symbol.

## No. 18—PENUGONDA PLATES OF HASTIVARMAN

( 1 Plate )

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 22.7.1960)

This inscription is engraved on a set of five plates, discovered at the village of Penugonda in the West Godavari District, Andhra Pradesh. It was secured by the late Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao of Rajahmundry, who sent it for examination to the office of the Government Epigraphist for India in February 1953. The inscription was noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1952-53, as No. A 14.

The plates, which are thin, measure each about 9 inches in length and 1.9 inches in height. They are held together by a ring (.3 inch in thickness) passing through a hole (.5 inch in diameter) in the left margin of the plates. The ring had not been cut when the inscription reached the office of the Government Epigraphist for India. The second, third and fourth plates bear their respective numbers in the left margin on the obverse. The joint of the ring is soldered to an elliptical seal which bears the figure of an animal facing proper right and a legend, both very much obliterated. The animal seems to be a bull and the legend apparently contained the name of the donor of the charter, viz. king Hastivarman, although, of the five aksharas in which it was written (probably *śri-Hastivarmanā*), only the two at the beginning can be read as *śri-Ha*. The first and fifth plates are written on the inner side while the other plates have writing on both the sides. The weight of the five plates together is 54 tolas and that of the ring with the seal 22½ tolas.

Excepting the second side of the fourth plate and the inner side of the fifth, which have each three lines of writing, the other inscribed faces of the plates have only two lines each. Thus there are altogether eighteen lines of writing in the whole inscription. Individual letters, excluding *a*, *e*, etc., as also the conjuncts and the consonants endowed with vowel marks, are generally a little less than half an inch in height.

The palaeography of the inscription under study generally resembles that of such records of about the middle of the fourth century A. D. as the Kārukollu (Krishna District, Andhra Pradesh) plates<sup>1</sup> of the Śālaśkyana king Nandivarman I and there are some expressions common to both the records, though the language and orthography of the present epigraph may suggest a date slightly later than that of the Kārukollu plates. As regards palaeography, the inscription uses the initial vowels *a* (lines 3, 5, 10, 17 and 18), *ā* (line 12) and *ā*<sup>2</sup> (line 6) as well as symbols for the numbers 2, 3 and 4. The mark of punctuation is indicated by a small vertical stroke in line 13 (cf. the somewhat bigger marks in the double *śaṣṭa* in line 14) and by a small curved stroke opening towards the right in line 15.

As regards language, it may be pointed out that, while the Kārukollu plates are written partly in Prakrit and partly in Sanskrit, our epigraph is couched in Prakrit, Sanskrit and an admixture of both the languages. The Prakrit used in both these records is what may be called the

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 1 ff. and Plates. See also the Dhārikāpāra grant (below, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 1 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> Macron over *a* and *ā* has not been used in this article.

later inscriptional Prakrit characterised by the reduplication of consonants.<sup>2</sup> But, while Sanskrit is used in the Kānukollu plates only in the imprecatory and benedictory sections containing a few stanzas at the end of the charter, our inscription not only has the corresponding section in Sanskrit verse but uses Sanskrit words elsewhere in the Prakrit section as well. By way of illustration, we may refer to the two expressions in the passage *āham-āy-bala-viuddhan-atham star-nayan-ā-thān-cha* in line 4, in which the first expression is in Prakrit and the second in Sanskrit. In *nān-gotra-charana-tapa-sajjhāya-homa-vrata-niyama-rotānam* in lines 6-7, *gotra* and *vrata* are typical Sanskrit words in an otherwise Prakrit compound expression, while, in the passage *ya-jana-yājan-ādhyayan-ādhyāpana-dāna-pratigraha-chaṭkarṇma-niradānam* in lines 9-10, *nirada* (Sanskrit *nirata*) is a typical Prakrit word in a Sanskrit compound. It will be seen that *ra* and *dāya* of Sanskrit have been retained in *rata* and *ādhyayan-ādhyāpana* respectively but have been modified respectively in *nirada* (Sanskrit *virata*) and *sajjhāya* (Sanskrit *śādhyāya*). The above quotations will show that the influence of Sanskrit in the language and orthography of our epigraph is more pronounced than on the language of records of the type of the Kānukollu plates. The language of the present inscription thus represents the final stage of Prakrit in South Indian epigraphy before its complete supersession by Sanskrit about the close of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century A.D. Our inscription may be assigned to the latter half of the fourth century on the grounds of palaeography, language and orthography.

A few other points regarding the orthography and language of the inscription may also be mentioned here. Both *ya* and *a* have been indiscriminately used in the inscription, and *śh* has been reduplicated in conjunction with *y* in *ādhyayan-ādhyāpana* in line 9. For what look like *śhāśhā* in line 17 and *\*gūṣṭita* in line 2, *chakṣi* and *gūṣṭita* (for Sanskrit *gūṣṭita*) were really intended, the second of the two words exhibiting the Dravidian tendency to non-aspiration. In *vayayana* (Sanskrit *vachanena*) in line 3 and *parayana* (Sanskrit *parachana*) in line 8, *cha* has been changed to *ya* by the process of the elision of the consonant and the substitution of the remaining *a* by *ya*. The letter *ḷ* has been similarly changed to *y* in *\*aṭṭamiyaya* (Sanskrit *\*śhṭamiyāyā*) in line 13. But *niradānam* in line 10 exhibits the modification of a sibilant (*ṣ*) to consonant (*ḍ*). In *ppamūka* (Sanskrit *pramukha*) in lines 5-6 and *sa-muk-ā* (Sanskrit *sa-mukh-ā*) in line 14, *śh* has been changed to *ḷ* and, in *pariharatha* (Sanskrit *pariharatha*) in line 12, *ṭh* has been modified to *dh*. The words *niraya* and *chhandovachita* (line 8) have been used in the senses of the medical and metrical sciences respectively.

The inscription is dated in the regnal reckoning of the donor. Unfortunately the word indicating the year of his reign in line 13 is rubbed off, though from the traces of the letters on the impressions it can probably be restored as *dabē*, i.e. 2. The other details of the date are: the eighth of the dark fortnight of the month of Jyeshtha (*śh-āṭṭhamiyaya*-Sanskrit *śh-āṭṭhami-yāyā*), Bhādrapada-nakshatra. Whether the nakshatra was Pūrva or Uttara Bhādrapada is not specified in the record though the position of the nakshatra shows that the month was *amaṇṭa*. It is interesting to note that, even though the charter was issued probably in the king's second regnal year, he was then a hundred years old (cf. *vāsa-sat-āyuka*-Sanskrit *vāśa-sat-āyushka* in line 3). The circumstances leading to his accession to the throne at such an advanced age cannot, of course, be determined without further light on the subject.

The inscription begins with the *śūddham* symbol followed by the mention of the victorious [city of] Jayapura whence the charter was issued. Lines 1-3 state that it was issued in the words of Mahārāja Hastivarman who was a hundred years old and was devoted to Bhagavat Nārīyaṇa, while lines 3-8 show that the king's order in respect of the grant was addressed to the villagers

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, pp. 170-71.

(*grāma*-Sanskrit *grāma*, literally 'a village', used here in the sense of *grāmayāka*) of Mulukuli in the *āhīra* (district) of *Kāntira*, headed by their *śaśūḥa* (*śaśūḥa*, no doubt meaning 'the village headman'), and that the grant was made for the increase of the virtue (*dharma*), longevity and strength of the king, for his passage to heaven (*svar-nyāna*) and for his attainment of religious merit. The donees of the grant, described in lines 5-10, were sixty Brāhmaṇas whose names are not enumerated. They are, however, stated to have belonged to various *gotras* and *charakas* and to have been engaged in penance (*tapas*), recitation of sacred texts (*svādhyāya*), offering of oblations to gods (*homa*), observance of vows (*vrata*) and religious austerities (*niyama*) as well as in the six duties enjoined on a Brāhmaṇa (*śaṣṭi-karman*), viz. *yajana* (offering sacrifices), *yājana* (conducting sacrifices), *adhyāyana* (study), *adhyāpana* (teaching), *dāna* (charity) and *pratyakṣa* (receipt of gifts) and were also experts in the *veda*, *vedāṅga*, *śikṣā* (tradition), *śāstra*, *niroga* (medical science), *śākhā-śikṣā* (metrics) and *pravāchana* (exposition). The concluding part of the sentence in lines 10-11 states that the grant of the village was made to the said Brāhmaṇas as *śakṣiṇā* for what is called *prathama-kalyāṇa* that they must have performed for the king. The word *kalyāṇa* here no doubt means a ceremony to bring health or prosperity to the king while the adjective *prathama* suggests that it was the first of a series which the king contemplated to perform. Unfortunately the exact nature of the ceremony cannot be determined. It is, however, interesting to note that, although the increase of the donor's longevity was one of the objects of the grant, another object was his passage to heaven. This latter, when considered along with the fact that the donor was a hundred years old at the time of making the grant, suggests that the charter was issued when the king was afraid of death in the near future. The prayer for longevity, however, precludes the possibility of the case being exactly similar to that recorded in the Rākohasthāli (Sundarban) plate of Dommanapala.<sup>1</sup>

The residents and the headman of the gift village were ordered to exempt the village with the customary exemptions of obstacles for the sake of the *devatā* probably meaning the god Nārāyaṇa to whom the king was devoted (lines 11-12) while the donees were expected to enjoy the gift permanently (lines 12-13). It is possible to think from the reference to the god in this connection that the god Nārāyaṇa was worshipped in a temple at Jayapura which the king visited on pilgrimage and that the *kalyāṇa* ceremony, on the occasion of which the grant was made, was performed in the said temple. It further suggests that many of the donees were associated with the temple of Nārāyaṇa at Jayapura.

The date of the charter, already discussed above, is quoted in lines 13-14 where it is also stated that the grant was executed under orders of the king himself (*sa-mukh-śruti*-Sanskrit *sa-mukhā-śrūṭyā*). This is followed in lines 14-15 by two of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas. The document ends with the mention of *Amātya* (probably, a minister) Jayasvāmin who appears to have been its writer.

The inscription does not offer any indication regarding the dynasty to which king Hastivarman belonged. But, about the time in question, the Śālaṅkāyanas of Vēṅgī (modern Pedda-Vēgi near Eluru in the West Godavari District) are known to have been ruling over the region between the lower courses of the Kṛishṇā and Godāvari rivers and it is possible to think of the identification of our Hastivarman with one of the two known Hastivarmanas of the Śālaṅkāyana family, viz. (1) Hastivarman I who was probably a contemporary of the Gupta emperor Samudragupta (c. 340-76 A.D.) and flourished about the middle of the fourth century A.D., and (2) Hastivarman II who was a son (probably the eldest son) of Nandivarman I (the donor of the Kārukollā plates

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. XXX, pp. 42 ff.



referred to above) and the grandson of Hastivarman I and is known from the Kārukollu copper-plate<sup>2</sup> inscription of his own son Sitandavarman, which is written in the Sanskrit language. Since the language of our inscription, as indicated above, stands midway between that of the Kārukollu Prakrit plates of Nandivarman I and the Sanskrit plate of Skandavarman from the same place, it is probably better to identify our Hastivarman with Śilāakāyana Hastivarman II.

In this connection, it may be pointed out that the known Śilāakāyana charters are all issued from the city of Vēngī which was the capital of the Śilāakāyana kings and that these rulers are generally represented in their records specifically as Śilāakāyana and also as devoted to *Bhagavat* Chitrarathasvāmin. As regards the mention of the kings as Śilāakāyana and the reference to the god Chitrarathasvāmin, it may be pointed out that the Kārukollu copper-plate inscription of Nandivarman I, one of the earliest known Śilāakāyana charters, does not contain any such references. The said elements thus appear to have been popularised in the records of the family at a later date. Their absence in a charter of one who appears to have been the immediate successor of Nandivarman I is thus not unintelligible. As regards the issue of our grant from Jayapura instead of Vēngī, it has to be noticed that the charter may not have been issued from the capital of the donor, but, as indicated above, on the occasion of his pilgrimage to the temple of Nārāyaṇa at Jayapura.

The geographical names mentioned in the inscription are [the city of] Jayapura, the district of Kānira and [the village of] Mulukuli. I am not sure about the exact location of any of them. Mulukuli, however, reminds us of Mulairalapalle in the Nagur Taluk in the East Godavari District.

## TEXT

## First Plate

1 Siddham<sup>3</sup> [i\*] Vijaya-Jayapura bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa-charaṇ-śraviṇḍa-

2 rajo-yagnodita<sup>4</sup>-śrāma vīra-sat-śyukassa mahārāja-si-

## Second Plate, First Side

2<sup>5</sup>

3 Hatthivarmanassa vāraṇa Kānira-āhāra appaṇa<sup>6</sup>

4 dhūmra-śya-bala-rivaddha-utthāra-śar-ṇayana-śrithāra-śa-

## Second Plate, Second Side

5 aṃba<sup>7</sup>-punn-appāyana-nimitta Mulukuli<sup>8</sup>-mudṇa-ppamu-

6 hā(ho) gāmo lūhāpitavvo [i\*] etam g[ā]ṃam nānā-gotta-charaṇa-

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 7 ff.

<sup>2</sup> From impressions.

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>4</sup> The intended reading is \* yagnodita for Sanskrit yagnodita.

<sup>5</sup> This is incised in the left margin to the left of the ring hole.

<sup>6</sup> The passage from appaṇa here to vīraṇa in line 2 should properly be read in the next sentence, beginning with vāra in line 3.

<sup>7</sup> The reading may be aṃba also.

<sup>8</sup> The word gāmo seems to have been omitted here through the oversight of the writer or engraver. Cf. mahārāja-si-Nandivarmanassa vāraṇa Kānira-āhāra appaṇa-mudṇa-ppamu-śaṇa, etc., in lines 2-4 of the Kārukollu plates of Nandivarman I.

2

1  
ॐ एवमय्यगलनस्यगामतप्यकृति  
॥ १ ॥ इति श्रीमहाशिवस्य सप्तशतिका ६० ॥

II, a

4

ॐ इति श्रीमहाशिवस्य सप्तशतिका ६१ ॥  
ॐ इति श्रीमहाशिवस्य सप्तशतिका ६२ ॥

II, b

6

ॐ इति श्रीमहाशिवस्य सप्तशतिका ६३ ॥  
ॐ इति श्रीमहाशिवस्य सप्तशतिका ६४ ॥

III, a

8

ॐ इति श्रीमहाशिवस्य सप्तशतिका ६५ ॥  
ॐ इति श्रीमहाशिवस्य सप्तशतिका ६६ ॥


III, b


 10
 10

IV, a


 12
 12

IV, b


 14
 14

V


 16
 18

*Third Plate, First Side*3<sup>a</sup>

7 tapā-sejḥāya-homa-vata-mayama-ratāgam veda-vedāg-eti-

8 hāsa-purāya-niroga-chhandovichita-pavayaya-paragāgam

*Third Plate, Second Side*

9 yajana-yājana-śodhyayan-śodhyāpana-dāna-pratigraba-satka-

10 mma-niradāpan saṅḥu-Bamha'yānam ambehi prathama-

*Fourth Plate, First Side*4<sup>a</sup>

11 kalyāna-dakṣiṇa-smṛti-saṅ[pa]dattam. [1\*] tam devat-astha(ttho)ga

12 savva-bādha-pattharāhi pariharadha [1\*] ā-chanda-tānakath

*Fourth Plate, Second Side*

13 bhūjanta | [dabe' sa]vachchhara(rā) Jettha-māsa-kāl-ajjhamiyaya

14 sa' mah-āyatī<sup>a</sup> Bhadrapada-makha[tre] sampadattam || Bahubhir-vvasu-

15 dhā dattā bahubhis-ch-[ān]upāli[13] [1\*]

*Fifth Plate*

16 yasva yasva yadā [bhū]mis-tasya tasya tadā phalam. [1\*]

17 Shaahā[shiti]-varaha-saha[s]r[āṅ]i svagā[rggo] modati [bhū]midaḥ [1\*] apsharītā ch-ānu-  
mantā cha<sup>a</sup>

18 \*tāvan-marakam-pi[oh]chhati [1\*] amētys-Jayas(vjāmi(mi)nā)\* [1\*]

## TRANSLATION

(Lines 1-6) Let there be success! From the victorious Jayapura, the villagers of Malukūli in the Kāñira district, headed by (their) savva, should be addressed in the (following) words of the illustrious Mahārāja Hastivarman who is one hundred years old and whose head is covered

<sup>a</sup> This is engraved in the left margin on a level a little above that of the ring hole.

<sup>b</sup> Originally vād had been incised; but the ā-sigil was rubbed off.

<sup>c</sup> This is engraved in the left margin to the left of the ring hole.

<sup>d</sup> These two ā-sigils are badly rubbed off.

<sup>e</sup> This ā-sigil has been incised to the left of the ring hole.

<sup>f</sup> The intended expression seems to be 'śauntiga'.

<sup>g</sup> The metre of this stanza and the following one is Anuśṭubh.

<sup>h</sup> Read *apsharītā ch-ānu-mantā cha* or *apsharītā ch-ānu-mantā cha* for the sake of the metre.

<sup>i</sup> This line begins from below the middle of the previous line.

<sup>j</sup> You want *śauntiga* seems to have been omitted for want of space at the end of the line.

with the pollens of the lotus that is the feet of Lord Nārāyaṇa : "For the increase of our virtue, longevity and strength and for our passage to heaven, (and also) for our attainment of religious merit,—

(Lines 6-11) this village is granted by us, as the *dotāhina* of the first *kaṅgīna* (ceremony), to the sixty Brāhmaṇas (i.e. the priests who performed the ceremony) who belong to various *gotras* and *śāstras* ; who are engaged in penance, recitation of sacred texts, offering of oblations to gods, observance of vows and religious austerities ; who are experts in the *veda*, *vedāṅga*, tradition (*śikṣā*), *purāṇa*, medical science (*aiśya*), metrical science (*chhandaschikṣā*) and the exposition of texts (*prāśasthāna*) ; and who are (also) engaged in the six duties (of the Brāhmaṇas, such as) study, teaching, offering sacrifices, conducting sacrifices, charity and receipt of gifts.

(Lines 11-14) Exempt the said (village), for the god's (i.e. Nārāyaṇa's) sake, with all exemptions from obstacles. Let (the *dames*) enjoy (it) as long as the moon and stars endure. (It) is given by orders from our own mouth on the dark eighth (i.e. the eighth of the dark fortnight) of the month of Jyeshṭha when the *nakshatra* is Bhādrapada and the (regnal) years are (to be counted as) two."

(Lines 14-16) (Two of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas.)

(Line 18) (Written) by *Aśvīya Jayasvāmin*.

## No. 19—GRANT OF KADAMBA MRIGESAVARMAN, YEAR 2

(I Plate)

G. S. GAL, OGTACAMUND

(Received on 26.2.1969)

A set of photographs of the copper-plate inscription, which is edited below, was obtained by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra for the office of the Government Epigraphist for India about the end of 1957. The plates were found somewhere in the old Mysore State; but I have no information as to their findspot and the circumstances leading to their discovery. The set consists of **three** plates each measuring about 5.6" long and 3.5" broad. There is a hole on the left margin of each plate for the ring to pass through and a **seal**, oval in shape and measuring about 1.3" by 1", is attached to the ring. The counter-sunk surface of the seal contains the figure of an animal which cannot be made out from the photograph. The weight of the set is not recorded.

The first and third plates are engraved on one side only while the second plate has writing on both sides. The first plate and the two sides of the second plate have each 4 lines of writing while the third plate contains 5 lines. Thus there are 17 lines of writing in all. The letters are boldly and deeply cut and the writing is very well preserved.

The **characters** are the box-headed variety of the Southern type and closely resemble those of the Halsi<sup>1</sup> and the Devagiri<sup>2</sup> plates of king Mrigēśavarman who issued the present charter. Of the initial vowels, *a* occurs in lines 6, 8 and 11 while *u* is found in line 16. Medial *ī* is indicated by a curve inside the loop. Final *ae* occurs in lines 1, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 14 and 17. The **language** is Sanskrit, and, except an imprecatory verse at the end, the text is in prose. Of grammatical interest is the rare use of the *Parasmaipada* form *placenti* in lines 9 and 10. In respect of **orthography**, it may be observed that the consonant following *r* is doubled.

The inscription refers itself to the reign of **Vijaya-Sīva-Mrigēśavarman** of the Kadamba dynasty and registers gifts of some lands made by him to the Brāhmanas Rudrārya and Nandārya of the Bhārgava *gōtra*. The king has the usual epithets found in his other grants and there can be no doubt about his identity with Mrigēśavarman, the eldest son and successor of Śāntivarman and the grandson of Kāksthavarman. He is also called *paramabrahmāya* in our record.

The chief interest of the inscription lies in its **date** which is given as the **tenth day of the fourth fortnight of Hēmantā** in the king's **second regnal year**. This is the **earliest** inscription of Mrigēśavarman discovered so far. Till now the Devagiri<sup>3</sup> plates of his third year were regarded as the earliest record. I have shown elsewhere<sup>4</sup> that Mrigēśavarman may be referred to the period 456-75 A.D.

The gift consisted of two plots of land: one within the limits of the village **Kōgulipōguya** which was situated in **Antarmalaya-rājya**; and the other, within the limits of **Vālpālī** and **Pōttara** which were also apparently included in the same territorial unit. The extent of both the

<sup>1</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, pp. 24-25 and Plate.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, pp. 37-38 and Plates.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 35-37.

<sup>4</sup> *Journ. Or. Res.* (Madras), Vol. XVII, pp. 39 ff. For another suggestion regarding Mrigēśavarman's date, see *Sinur. Soc.*, 836, pp. 234-36.

fields was as far as the water would flow. Probably there was a stream or a rivulet in both the places and the land irrigated by the water of the stream was granted. The field is called *pukkōlli kshētra* in both the places. The expression *pukkōlli* occurs in some other grants of this period and though its exact significance is not known, I have suggested that it may mean a 'kind of field'.<sup>1</sup> This suggestion is strengthened by the present inscription where the context in which the expression *pukkōlli* occurs shows that it is a kind of cultivable wet land.

Antarmalaya-rājya as well as Kōgulipōguyapalli, Vēllalli and Pōttara, which were situated in it, cannot be identified.

TEXT<sup>2</sup>

## First Plate

- 1 Siddham\* || Vijaya-Vaijayantyaṃ(ntyāṃ) Svāmi-mahāsēna-mātri-gaṇ-ā-
- 2 nūddhyāt-ābhāhikṭasya<sup>3</sup> Mānasya-sagōtrasya Hārītī-
- 3 putrasya pratikṛita-charachchā-pārasya Kadambhānām(nāṃ)
- 4 dharmma-mahārājasya Śrī-Vijaya-Siva-Mṛigēśavarmanah

## Second Plate, First Side

- 5 vijaya-vaijayikah sarivva(va)tsarah dvitiyah Hēmantā-pakeśah
- 6 ebaturttah tithir-ddaēamī anay-ānupūrvyā brāhmaṇābhyaṃ
- 7 Bhārggava-sagōtrābhyaṃ(bhyaṃ) v-āchāra-sampannābhyaṃ(bhyaṃ) Rudrāryya-
- 8 Nandyāryyābhyaṃ Antarmmalaya-rājyē Kōgulipōguya-pallī(y)lī(lī):<sup>4</sup>

## Second Plate, Second Side

- 9 sīmī yāvād-āpah plava(m\*)ji tāvat-pukkōllī-kshētram(tram) Vēlpalli-
- 10 Pōttarayōh sīmī cha yāvād-āpah pīvat(m\*)ji tāvad-ēvaṃ
- 11 pukkōllī-kshētram anēka-jamāntar-ōpārjita-tubha-samakāra(h)
- 12 va-viśuddha-pitṛi-mātri-vaṃśah n-āika-viḥha-pradāna-dityaḥ parama-brāhmaṇya(h)

## Third Plate

- 13 Dharmma-mahārājah Śrī-Mṛigēśavarmma dattavān-ātma-śrēyō-bhyudaya-
- 14 nimittam(ttam) sarvva-purīhācēya brahmaḍāya-samayēna (I\*)
- 15 yō-bhīrakahati sa tat-punya-phala-bhōg-bhāvati yō harati sa
- 16 mahōpātaka-yuktō bhāvati uktān-cha (I\*) Bahubhīr-vvasūdhā bhuktā
- 17 rājahlīhī-Sāgar-ādībīhī (I\*) yasya yasya yadū bhūmīh-tasya tasya tadā pha(lam) ||

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXXII, p. 218. For another suggestion regarding *pukkōlli* see above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> From the photographs.

<sup>3</sup> This word is written above the beginning of the second line.

<sup>4</sup> There is an unnecessary hook-like mark after *yo*.

<sup>5</sup> [The reading is *Kōgulī-Pōguya-pallīyōh*.—EA.]

1  
 2  
 4  
 12  
 12  
 4  
 4

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥  
 श्रीविष्णवे नमः ॥ श्रीशिवाय नमः ॥  
 श्रीब्रह्मणे नमः ॥ श्रीसूर्याय नमः ॥  
 श्रीवसुदेवाय नमः ॥ श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥

ii, a

6  
 8  
 6  
 8

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥  
 श्रीविष्णवे नमः ॥ श्रीशिवाय नमः ॥  
 श्रीब्रह्मणे नमः ॥ श्रीसूर्याय नमः ॥  
 श्रीवसुदेवाय नमः ॥ श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥

ii, b

10  
 12  
 10  
 12

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥  
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥  
 श्रीविष्णवे नमः ॥ श्रीशिवाय नमः ॥  
 श्रीब्रह्मणे नमः ॥ श्रीसूर्याय नमः ॥  
 श्रीवसुदेवाय नमः ॥ श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥





SEAL



(from Photographus)

The material for this Part was sent to the Press by Dr. Sircar  
before his retirement in June 1962.

G. S. Ghay  
*Government Epigraphist for India.*

No. 20—SPURIOUS GRANT OF GAHADEVALA VIJAYACHANDRA, VIKRAMA 1233

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, GOGTACAMUND

(Received on 25.1.1961)

The Tārāchandi rock inscription<sup>1</sup> of king Pratāpādhaṅgā of Jūpīla, dated Vikrama 1233, Jyāshthā vadi 3, Wednesday (16th April 1169 A.D.), records the interesting fact that the Brāhmaṇas of Suvarṇahala or Svārṇahala secured a forged grant in respect of the two villages of Kalahandi and Baḍayilā by bribing Deū who was an officer of king Vijayachandra of Gādhinagara or Kanyakubja, i.e. the Gāhaḍavāla king of that name who ruled in c. 1155-70 A.D. In this record, Pratāpādhaṅgā advised his descendants not to recognise the spurious document but to collect revenues and tolls from the two villages as usual. Suvarṇahala or Svārṇahala (modern Sūnahar), Kalahandi (modern Karvaṇḍiyā) and Baḍayilā (modern Barailā) are localities near Tārāchandi about three miles from Sasaram in the Shahabad District of Bihar. Thanks to the energy of Mr. S. V. Sohoni, Commissioner of the Patna Division, Bihar, the forged grant issued in the name of the Gāhaḍavāla king Vijayachandra to the Brāhmaṇas of Suvarṇahala (Svārṇahala) has been recently secured by him from the house of an inhabitant of Sūnahar. In August 1960, Mr. Sohoni kindly allowed me to copy the inscription at his residence at Patna.

It is a single plate measuring 17 inches in length and 12.6 inches in height and having writing on both obverse and reverse. There are twenty-six lines of writing on the first side and only ten lines on the second. No seal is affixed to the plate, though we have a hole (6 inch in diameter) in the centre of its upper part disturbing the continuity of the writing of lines 1-2 on the obverse.

In respect of **palaeography, language and style**, the inscription closely resembles other Gāhaḍavāla charters including those of Vijayachandra himself.<sup>2</sup> As regards **orthography**, it may be said that class initials have been more often used than *anusvāra*.

The interesting fact about the writing of the grant under study is that the *akṣaras* in many cases have been inaccurately formed so that often the sign of one *akṣara* looks like that of another or of no *akṣara* at all. In this respect, the present inscription has a close similarity with the Varanasi plate<sup>3</sup> of the Kalachuri king Karna (1041-71 A.D.). This peculiar feature of Karna's grant is explained by the fact that it was issued by the king when he was performing his father's annual *śrāddha* ceremony at Prayāga on the Venī (Trivenī near Allahabad). When the king was far away from his capital, no experienced engraver may have been available to him and he had probably to engage a local goldsmith who failed to read the draft of the record prepared by an officer of the king and shaped the *akṣaras* as he believed to have seen them in the draft. Similar seems to have been the case with the grant under study. Its draft, probably prepared by Deū known from the Tārāchandi inscription to have been an officer of the Gāhaḍavāla king Vijayachandra and to have been bribed by the Brāhmaṇas of Suvarṇahala (Svārṇahala) for securing the forged

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 29 ff.

<sup>2</sup> A grant of Govindachandra and another of Vijayachandra have been recently published in this journal. See Vol. XXXIII, pp. 176 ff. and Plate facing p. 180; Vol. XXXIV, pp. 233 ff. (without illustration). For two other copper-plate charters of Vijayachandra, see above, Vol. IV, p. 117; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. II, pp. 305 ff. and Plates.

charter, appears to have been given for engraving to an ordinary goldsmith having little experience in this kind of work and he shaped the aksharas as he thought fit. The engravers in both these cases appear to have had very little education.

The peculiar nature of the writing discussed above renders it difficult to prepare an accurate transcript of the inscription, though the introductory and concluding parts of the record are similar to the corresponding sections of the other known charters of Vijayachandra, referred to above. As will be seen below, the date of the grant is quoted as **Vikrama 1223, Bhādra sudi 9, Monday**. This corresponds regularly to Monday, the **5th September 1166 A.D.**, the year being current and the month Nija-Bhādrapada.

The inscription begins with what was meant to be a *śiśāha* symbol followed by the auspicious expression *śamastī*. This is followed by twelve stanzas already known from the other records of Gāhādavāla Vijayachandra though they are engraved in an indifferent way as indicated above: (1) *Akṣayā-akṣayā-Varuṣā*, etc. (line 1); (2) *Āśid-Āśitāyutā*, etc. (lines 1-2); (3) *Tai-satā-bhānā-Mahichandra*, etc. (lines 2-3); (4) *Tasy-ābhūt-tanaya*, etc. (lines 3-4); (5) *Tīrthānī Kāśī-Kuśī-Ōṣā*, etc. (lines 4-5); (6) *Tasy-ātmajā Madanapāla*, etc. (lines 5-6); (7) *Tasy-āśid-vijaya-prajāpā*, etc. (lines 6-8); (8) *Tasmād-ajyāla vij-āyuta-bīka*, etc. (lines 8-9); (9) *Na katham-apy-śābhavati*, etc. (line 9); (10) *Ajuni Vijayachandra*, etc. (lines 9-10); (11) *Loka-tray-ākramaya-kīlā*, etc. (lines 11-12); and (12) *Yasmani-chalaty-śādhā*, etc. (line 12).

The above section in verse is followed by a passage in prose as known from the other charters of Vijayachandra, in which the reigning monarch is represented as the successor (*cf. pūṭi-dmā-dhyāta*) of **Gōvindachandra** who was himself the successor of **Madanapāla**, the successor of **Chandra**.<sup>1</sup> Then follows the grant proper. The king's order in respect of the grant is addressed to the inhabitants of **Kirihindī** together with **Badāṭā** situated in the **Saputrārā pattalā** as well as to a host of subordinates and officers, whose list is similar to that generally found in the records of the Gāhādavālas. It will be seen that *Badāṭā* and *Kalahaṭī* of Pratāpachavala's epigraph have been written here as *Badāṭā* and *Kirihindī*. The second name may be a mistake for *Kalahaṭī*, though the modern form of the name, *viz. Karahindī*, would suggest that *Kirihindī* or *Karahindī* was an alternative form. The name of the *pattalā* or district of Saputrāra is not known from any other source and it is difficult to say whether it has been correctly written.

The passage quoting the date of the grant in lines 21-22 reads as: *śiśāhasyapūru-vāḍapa-santarā-katvā Bhādrapadī māhī sita-ṛakṣā bhacatyā tigha Bhāra-dāṭā opatā-pi sam 1223 Śāprā-sudi 9 Śomā Śimhastī savitari*. The intended reading for this was apparently: *trayobānāṭy-adhika-śādhā-lāṭā sav-āṭāṭ Bhādrapadī māhī sita-ṛakṣā nacanyā tūhau Śomā-dvā ushatā-pi sam 1223 Bhādra-sudi 9 Śomā Śimhastī savitari*. The charter is thus purported to have been issued on Monday, the 9th *tithī* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada in the year [Vikrama] 1223 when the sun was in the Śomā *rāśī*. This date corresponds to the **5th September 1166 A.D.** as indicated above.

The following passage in lines 22-23 states in the style of the Gāhādavāla charters that the grant was made by the king after having taken a bath in the waters of the **Ganges at Vārānaśī** for the merit and fame of his parents and himself. The donees of the grant are mentioned in line 25 in the passage: *Sonahala-grāma-nivāsi-pyūṣmīcharuṇa-lākhāyā nātā-gotrībhyā Vrāṭanajya for which the intended reading is no doubt Svarahala-grāma-nivāsi-ninā-cāla-charuṇa-lākhāyā nātā-gotrībhyā Vrāṭanajyā*. Thus the grant is purported to have been made in favour of the

<sup>1</sup> The inscriptions of the Gāhādavāla family generally quote his name as *Chandradva*, though his own records sometimes give it both as *Chandradva* and *Chandradivallata*. See above, Vol. XIV, pp. 194 (text line 14) and 198 (text line 9); but of Vol. IX, p. 204 (text lines 4 and 7).

**Brāhmanas of Svargahala**, who belonged to various *gṛhas*, *charakas* and *śākhās*. The name *Sargahala*, as found in our record, is a modification of *Svargahala* or *Surgahala* noticed in the Tārāhaṅgī inscription. It is thus these Brāhmanas who were charged by king Pratāpadhavala of Jājila with the possession of a forged document fabricated with the help of an officer of the Gāhaḍavāla king.

After advising the inhabitants of the gift villages to pay the royal dues to the donors (line 26), a number of the usual impreatory and benedictory stanzas are quoted in lines 27-35. The language of this section also resembles that of the corresponding part of other Gāhaḍavāla charters. The last line of the record (line 36) reads: *līkhitam śikṣam tīprakam mahāśhapatalīka-gkurā-ṭī-Śrīpatikā = śī* no doubt standing for *līkhitam śikṣam tīprakam mahāśhapatalīka-thakura-ṭī-Śrīpatikā = śī*. Thus the charter is purported to have been written by the *Mahāśhapatalīka Thakura Śrīpatika*. The same *Mahāśhapatalīka Thakura Śrīpati* is known from a number of inscriptions of Gōvindachandra (c. 1114-55 A.D.) and Jayachandra (c. 1170-93 A.D.),<sup>1</sup> though his name does not occur in the published records of Vijayachandra himself who was the successor of the former and predecessor of the latter.<sup>2</sup>

It will be seen that the present grant was forged in September 1166 A.D. and Pratāpadhavala declared it to be spurious in April 1169 A.D. Apparently the Brāhmanas of Svargahala exposed themselves when they had presented the forged document to the officers who went to collect taxes for the villages of Bojayilā or Badailā and Kalahaṅgī or Kirihingī on behalf of Pratāpadhavala. It is of course not clear whether Pratāpadhavala was a subordinate of Vijayachandra or ousted Gāhaḍavāla rule from what is called Saputtāra-pattalā, i.e. the modern Sasaram Subdivision of the Shahabad District. We can see, however, that the exposure of the Brāhmanas' crime does not come soon after the winter (i.e. the harvesting season when taxes were generally collected) of the years 1167 and 1168 A.D. This may be explained by the supposition that the overthrow of Gāhaḍavāla rule by Pratāpadhavala from the area in question took place after the winter of 1168 A.D. or that the Brāhmanas were hesitating for some time to put up their claim to the two villages on the authority of the forged document. It is also possible that the tax-collectors were originally deceived successfully by the culprits who were caught after sometime.

The geographical names occurring in the inscription have already been discussed above.

#### TEXT<sup>3</sup>

##### Overview

- 1 *Śiddham<sup>4</sup> pam(ṭ) khabhī(ṣvasti) || Akuṅṅh-ō[ṭ\*]kaṅṅha-Vaikuṅṅha-kaṅṅha-pṭha-ṇu[ṇ]ṭha[ṭ]karaḥ | su[m\*]ratuḥ(mbhah) surat-ārabhṭē(mbhō) sa śripaḥ(yah) bhūma(ścīya)ṣṭ= sutu[ṭu] raḥ(yah) || 1\* | Āśid= Aś[ṭ]tapa[ṭ]dyuti-kambha[ṭ]vaśā) jāta-nmā(kahmā)pāla-*
- 2 *mālāsu divam gatāsu | sōtvādrī(kshād=Vi)vasphāra(śvāp=i)va bhūri-dhatamū(dhāmnā) nāmnā Yaśōvipa(gra)hā itpu[ṭ]ty= u[ṭ]ya(dā)rah || 2\* | Tat= sutō-shita(bhū)n= Mahīta-(cha)ndrasva(ś=cha)ndra-dhāna-nibham nija[ṭ]ṭ(jam) || (1) yētā(n=ā)pāra-*
- 3 *m= akūpūcha(ra)-pārē vyāpāritam yaśah || 3\* | Tasy= ābhūt= tanayō nay-airu(ka)-a(ra)-sikal) krānta-dvishan-malḍā(ṇa)ḥ vidhyast-ōdva(dāha)ta-virō(ra)-yōvi(dha)-śimiva(rah) śrī-Chandradēvō nripaḥ || (1) yā-ōdārātara-*

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., above Vol. IV, pp. 117, 121, 123, 124, 129.

<sup>2</sup> A grant of Vijayachandra written by the same person was recently copied by us in the Lucknow Museum. This epigraph is being published below along with some other Gāhaḍavāla charters. See pp. 209 ff. below.

<sup>3</sup> From impressions. In the Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions, subscript *y* generally looks like subscript *p*. In the present transcript the sign has been read as *p*. The metres of the verses are not indicated since the stanzas are well known from other records.

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by symbol.

- 4. pratāpa-sa(sa)mit-śścha-praj-ōpadrovam śrīmad-**Gādhipur-**śhivādya(rōjya)m=assa(ua)n= dōrdvī(r-vvī)krāmōlā(g=ā)rijitam || [4\*] Tirthāni Kśai(āi)-Kum(āi)kā(k-ō)ttava(ra)-Kōśal-Endrastū(sthā)niyakāni paripā-
- 5. layat=ābhigasya(mya) | hām=ātma-tu[ya]m=anisa(sa)n=dadatā dviyēnyō(bhyō) śō(yē)n= āngi(āci)tā [va]jmatī sa(sa)tasas=tulābhīb || [5\*] Tasy=ātmaśō **Madanapāla** iti kshātindra-chūdāmali(āi)-
- 6. vīri(t=vī)jayatē nija-gōtra-chandrah | yasy=ābhishēka-kales-ōlāsitaib payōbhīb pra-kshālitam katī-rajab-(pa)talas dharitryāh || [6\*] Yasy=śi(s)d=vijaya-prayāla(pa)-samayō tuṅg-ā-
- 7. chal-ōchchais=chalan=mādyat-kumbhī-pada-krasō(m-ā)sama-{bha}ra-bhrasya-mahī-malu-nda)lō || [7\*] chūdā-ratna-vibhinna-tālu-gaīta-styāgi(n-ā)stig-uda(d)bhāsitaib . Śēśah prē-(pē)cha-vasā(śā)d=iva kshāgam=asau krōdē
- 8. vi(n)lī(n-ā)ta(na)ma || [7\*] Tasmād=ajāyata ti(ni)-āyata-vā(bh)hu-vallī-vaddhā(bandh-ā)-varuddha-va(na)va-tāgha(rōjya)-gajō na(rō)jdrah | sāmīr-āmrīta-drava-muvān(chāō) ga(pra)bhavō gavām yō [Gō]vinda(va)ndra iti chandra i-
- 9. v=āgdu(mbu)j-rājāh(śōh) || [8\*] Ra(Na) katham=appa(py=a)latpatta(bhanta) rapa-ka-mālikti(kshamāna=t)erūhu dīku(kabu) gajātacha(n=atha) Vaji(jri)ma || kakuti(bhī)patra(badhra)mur=Abhiramarattata(vallabha)-pakti(prati)-bharā ha(i)va yasya ghatā-gajāh || [9\*] Pra(A)jani **Ri(Vi)-**
- 10. **ayara(cha)ndrō** tātu(nāma) talhātātē(smān=narē)ndrah surapatīr=ira(va) bhūbhrit-paka-(ksha)~itkē(kshō)pa-damjāh(dukshah) | tvu(bhu)vata(na)-dalata(na)-ha(hā)h-rhomyā-charmya-Habhvī(lō)ra-tārā(nārī)-tapata(nayana)-jasa(la)du-sa(dhā)rā-nē(dhau)ta-vullī(bhūlō)-ka-tāpa || [10\*] Lō(Lō)-
- 11. sō(ka)-tray-ākramala(na)-kōli-ritigra(viśvānka)lāri(ni) praghō(ddyō)ta-sātti(krū)-viri(kavi)-varanīta-dai(vai)bhārāhī(vāni) | yasva(sya) [Tri]vikrama-pada-krama-bhāngi(ōji) bhānni-(nti) prāms(prō)jrimbha)yantī Va(Ba)h-rīja-sa(bha)yan yasūmmō(al) || [11\*]
- 12. Yasti(smīn)ś=chalapu(ty-o)dadhi-tō(nē)mi-sa(ma)hī-jay-ārgha(rīhat) mādyat-karēdra-tu-(ga)ru-bhāra-ti(ni)pidt-ōva | yāti Prām(Pra)jāsha(pa)ti-padam sa(sa)rapa(p-ār)thīnī bhūva(s-tva)ngabhu(t-tujra)ōga\*]-nira(va)h-ōrtha(tāha)-rajastra(s-chha)lōta(na) || [12\*]
- 13. sō-yam samasta-rāja-chakra-samsēritam(vita)-va(cha)rapah paramaha(bha)ttārābha(ka) mahāra(rā)jjādhirōja-paramōvapa(śvara)-paramatahīpa(māhōeva)ra-ti(ni)stū(bhu)-ōrppāji(pārjji)ta-(rī)-Kutpa(nya)kujā(b)j-dhipati(tya)-rī-**Vaddha(Chandra)dēva-pā-**
- 14. d-ānūdyāta-parana(ma)bhagha(tā)ra-ka-ta(ma)hātā(rā)jāpi(dhī)rāga(ja)-parambhya(ēva)-ra-param(ō)(ma)māhēma(ēva)ra-tyō(śei)matma(n-Ma)danapāladēra(va)-pāp(d-ō)nu-dhyāta-paramahatāra-ka-mahārājādhirōja-pa-
- 15. ramēra(ēva)ra-paramanū(mā)hōra(ēva)r-ātva(ēva)pati-gajarpāta(pati)-narapati- cūdātta(ja-tra)y-ādhipati-vividha-rīgha(vīdyā)-rīrā(vīghā)ra-chara(vācha)spati-śrīmad-Gōvinda(va)-**(cha)ndrapē(dē)va-pād-ānūdyāta-**
- 16. paramahagha(tā)ra-ka-mahārājādhirōja-paramōra(ēva)ra-paramamāhēt-pō(ēva)r-āchya-(ēva)pati-gajapati-narapati-rājara(tray)-ādhipati-vividhavighā(dyā)vivā(chā)ravāva(cha)-spati-śrī-
- 17. mad-**Vijayava(cha)ndradērō(vō)** vijayī || || Saputrāra-pattalyāh **Va(Ba)ḍallā-saha-Kīrīhīrōḍī-grāma-nivāsīnō** nīsvī(khī)la-janapadrā(dā)n-upagatān=api cha







- 18 rājā(ja)-rājñi-yuratā(varā)ja-matī(utī) purūhita-pratihāra-senāpati-bhāṇḍāgārik-ākupō(kṣha-  
pa)talika-vi(bhī)śhakṣ(g-na)ṁivi(tū)k-āka(ata)pur(i)ka-dra(dū)ta-kari - turaga-pattan-  
ākṣ(ka)ra-
- 19 bhvāra(sthāna)-gōkul-ādhirātoru(kṣri-pa)raśātāmra(n=ā)jāpasha(ya)ti tāvavapōjibhati'  
yarthara(yathā) vidia(ia)ṁ-sau(sta) bhāratī(bhavatām) yuvō(th-ō)parillāri(khī)ta-  
grānah(nah) sa-jaya(la) śra(sthā)lah sa-tō(ā)-
- 20 ha-lavanā(va)g-ākaraḥ sa-tathhyārārah<sup>1</sup> sa-gajōya(rtī-ōsha)raḥ sa-giri-gahana-ti(ni)dhāvah-  
(nsh) sa-saṁ(na)dhūk-ānvra(mra)-vata(na)-sha(vā)ḥ[ka]-viṣpa-tpa(tri)ṇattai(yūti)-gōda-  
(cha)ra-paryantaḥ
- 21 s-ōvāva(rdhv-ādha)ś-chatur-āpā(gḥā)sa-visu(su)dhahāḥ sva-simā-paryata(ata) sivrimsatpa-  
viru<sup>2</sup>-va(dvā)ḍapa(āa)-sa(āa)ta-raacha(sarṁva)tsurō Bhāta(dra)padō mābhī(sī)  
nita-pakshō bhā(na)vatpā(myām) tighai(thau) Bhō(Sō)-
- 22 sa(ma)-ditō(nō) apka(āka)tō-pi sarñ 1223 Sāpra(Bhādra)-sudi 9 Sōmō<sup>3</sup> || Sīghaṇṭō-  
(hasthō) savitari ayō(dy-ō)ha śrīmad-vijaya-Vātā(rā)ṇasya(ayām) Garbhāyām snātva  
vidhivadō(d-dō)va-muni-
- 23 matutumja-tū(bhū)ta-pitri-gaṇā[ñ<sup>4</sup>]=tarppayittā(tvā) timira-pajala-pātana-padu(tu)-maha-  
tara=arādhivisham<sup>5</sup>=upabhpūyiyam(dō)patīśarālayashara[<sup>6</sup> tvanagyaryam<sup>7</sup> pritu(tri-bhu)ra-
- 24 ra(na)-[trā]tur-Vvātu(su)jōvasya(aya) pūtām(jām) vidhāya prakhrā(ra)-pāyasatī(sēna) Havi-  
rbhujām [āga]vā(hntvā) mātā-pitrōr-āla(tma)naś-cha putya(ṇya)-yasō(ō) bhivīdnaya-  
(dihayō) prasū[āi(asmābhī) grā(gō)kastaruga(ma-kusa)-lartā(tā)-rta(pū)-
- 25 ma(ta)-vā(ka)stā-ōdaka-pva(pū)rvavām(kam) Sōnāhala<sup>8</sup>-yā(grā)ma-nivāsi-payōvūchāru-  
galākṣbhī<sup>9</sup> nātā(nā)gātārbhīā(bhīō) Vratēna(tya<sup>10</sup> śravadrājā arāva(chchā)śanōgha-  
tya<sup>11</sup> prān-
- 26 rā(tō) matmā(tvā) yathūdyamāna-tā(bhō)ga-bhāga-vā(ka)ra-sapaliōca<sup>12</sup>-ra(ya)mattī(li)-  
kāva(mha)li-grapratī<sup>13</sup>-ti(ni)yat-āh(ni)yata-samasūde-sāttūpātī-[dhī]yittama dāyatati<sup>14</sup> |

Reverse

- 27 bhāra(bhāvanti) rāta(ch-ātra) vō(jna)raṇivā(ka)-āvō(ā)kāḥ || Gū(Bhū)miṁ rah(yah)  
prafigrīhvā(bhū)ti yat-cha bhātū(mina) prayattha(chchā)ti | abhau tan punva(ṇya)-  
karmālu(nu) niyatam sva(sva)rgga-gātī(ni)nuu || [13<sup>15</sup>] Sād(Sā)kham bhādra-  
(dr-ā)śanaṁ chcha(chā)traḥ

<sup>1</sup> The intended reading is śāhāyaty-ādīśā.

<sup>2</sup> Read sa-saicy-ākaraḥ.

<sup>3</sup> The intended reading is sūpānāśāty-ādīśā.

<sup>4</sup> The danda is unnecessary.

<sup>5</sup> Read mahāraṁ-ādīśāśāhāraṁ.

<sup>6</sup> Read upatādy-āśāśāhāpātīkāśāśāhāraṁ.

<sup>7</sup> The intended reading is sāmāhāyāchchā.

<sup>8</sup> The name is Śuvraśāhā or Śuvraśāhā in the Tārāhāṇḍī inscription.

<sup>9</sup> The intended reading is nātā-vā-āśāraṁ-ādīśāśāhā.

<sup>10</sup> Read śāśāśāśāhā.

<sup>11</sup> Read ā-chchāśāśāhā śāśāśāśāśāśāhā.

<sup>12</sup> Read pāśāśāhā.

<sup>13</sup> Read prāśāśāhā.

<sup>14</sup> Read prāśāśāhā.

<sup>15</sup> Read sāmāhāyāchchā śāśāśāśāhā śāśāśāhā.

- 28 var-ābhya(śvā) vara-vāmlāh(nāh) [1\*] sūti(bhūmi)-dānasya vi(s)ti(chihñāni) phalanā[ra]-  
(m=ēta)Purandara || [14\*] Sarvān-ētān-bhāvīnāh pā[r\*]bhivēndīrān-bhūpō(yō) vāsō-  
(bhūyō) yāchatō Rānara(machānī)drāh | śūānpō(māyō)-yām
- 29 varura(dharmma)-satur-anripālāh(nān) kālō kālō pālarnā(nī)yō bhavatbbih(dbhīh) || [15\*]  
Anōdrasō(Amud-vāhō) parikshpā yuh kāschnā(n-nī)patir-lhānō(vēt) [1\*] tasy-āhatī  
kara-lagnō(gnō)-(s)mi sū(sū)sanātī na ppa(vya)tikramō-
- 30 t || [16\*] Ta(Ba)bubhir-vasudhā bhuktā rājahlīh Sagar-ād[ī]bhīh [1\*] yasā(aya) yasā(aya)  
yadā bhūmi bhāsā(s=asya) tasya ra(ta)[d]jā phalan(lam) || [17\*] Gām-ēkām vērgu(avarūnā)-  
m-ēkam va(cha) sū(bhū)mār-apy-ēkam-āngulāh(lam) |
- 31 haran-narakanātō(m-āpūō)ti yāvad-āhūva(ta)-samplavam(vam) || [18\*] Tadāgānāh saha-  
bhō(sō)na āpanā(sāvamō)dhā phalāna va(cha) [1\*] garvā(vām) kōpi-pralānāna ta(bhū)mi-  
hartā na supya(sūdhya)ti || [19\*] Śva(Sva)-dattāh para-
- 32 datvām(ttām) vā yō harēd<sup>2</sup>-vasūmrarātā(dharm) | ma vintā(chihā)jāni kyimirsūtyā-  
(r-bhūtvā) pitribhīh saha ma]stī || [20\*] Shapnīh(chīm) varuha-va(m)hastā(sā)pi qna-  
(sva)rggē vasatī bhūmidah [1\*] śchēhētā(ttā) vānata(ch-ānūma)ntā va(cha)
- 33 tā[ny-ā]va narakē vasōta(sēt) || [21\*] Vāri(ri)hīnōsh-aranayōvu(nyōdnu) sukna(sūdhka)-  
kōtara-vāsītah(nāh) | krisma(sūgā)surppō-cha jāyantā va(yō) va(cha) rahna(brahma)-  
sva-hūrinah || [22\*] Vā[n-ī]hā dattā[ni] purā na-
- 34 rēndrair-ānāni dharm-ārtha-yatnka(ka)rālī(nī) [1\*] nirmūānya(īya)-(vāhita)-pratimūnī  
tāni kō tā(nā)ma vātuh(sādhub) vu(pu)nar-ādāvō(dō)ta || [23\*] Vāvāra(t-ābhra)-vr-  
bhramam-īdam rahurāri(vasudh-ādhi)patya-
- 35 m-āpāta-mātra-mādhurā vishay-ōpasō(bhō)gāh [1\*] grātō(prānū)j-try-ōpa(gra)-jāla-vī(bi)-  
nū-samō ta(na)rūpāni dharmah(rminah) sakhā parana(m-ā)hō parala<sup>3</sup>ōka-yūtō(nō)  
|| [24\*] ||
- 36 ūkhitāh vēksham(ch-ēdam) tāpra(mra)kās sa(ma)hākshapaṭalika-gloī(thakku)ra-śrī-  
Śēpatikēn-āti || ||

<sup>1</sup> Read *hārā* for *hārā*.

<sup>2</sup> Read *para*.

<sup>3</sup> The engraver made here what was supposed to be the floral design found on the Gāha-javāla plates.

## No. 21—TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM NANDED DISTRICT

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR AND G. BHATTACHARYA, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 24.1.1961)

We have referred above to our plan to make a search for inscriptions in the Telugu-, Kannada- and Marāṭhī-speaking areas of the former Hyderabad State.<sup>1</sup> The results have been encouraging. Two inscriptions copied in the course of the said search, viz. (1) Warangal inscription of Raghudēva and (2) fragmentary Rāshtrakūta inscription from Kandhār, have already been edited above.<sup>2</sup> Two other inscriptions of the same collection are published in the following pages. Both these epigraphs come from the Nanded District, Bombay State.

### 1. Hoṭṭal Inscription of the time of Chālukya Sōmēśvara

The village of Hoṭṭal (or Hoṭṭul) is five miles from the headquarters of the Deglur Taluk of the Nanded District. In the year 1959, we learnt from Shri Manohar Rao Deshmukh of the said village of the existence of a rectangular stone pillar with an inscription lying near a dilapidated temple at Hoṭṭal. The village abounds in ruined structures, two temples amongst them being specimens of beautiful architecture with sculptures of good workmanship, the parallel of which is not to be found elsewhere in the Nanded District. Unfortunately the temples are in a ruined condition, wild vegetation and lack of care contributing to their gradual destruction.

The inscribed pillar referred to above lies near one of the said temples. It measures approximately five feet eight inches in length, one foot five inches in breadth and one foot and a quarter inch in depth. Shri Manohar Rao informs us that the inscription was copied a few years back by Shri Polnerkar of the Archaeological Department of the former Hyderabad State.

The record is incised on two sides of the pillar. Individual letters on the first side are bigger in size (about 8 inch) than those on the second (about 6 inch). As the first side of the inscription was exposed to the sun and rains, its writing is damaged in some places while, in three places, about the middle, some letters are completely rubbed off. The writing on the second side is better preserved. There are altogether 135 lines of writing. Above the beginning of the inscription, the figures of the sun, the crescent, a recumbent bull, a cow with calf and a Śiva-liṅga are engraved in relief. This fact indicates the Śaivite character of the epigraph.

The characters of the record are Nāgarī of the eleventh or twelfth century A.D. and its language is Sanskrit. Excepting the salutation to the god Śiva at the beginning and two passages in the last line, the whole text is written in verse. There are 43 stanzas in all and they are consecutively numbered. As regards orthography, it may be noted that some consonants have sometimes been reduplicated in the association of *r*. Final *m* at the end of a verse or half verse has invariably been changed wrongly to *anusvāra*; but it occurs in the last word of the record. There are a few cases of wrong *sandhi*.

The inscription is undated, though it mentions the Later Chālukya king Sōmēśvara as ruling at Kalyāna. There were, however, four Later Chālukya kings bearing that name, viz. Sōmēśvara I (1043-68 A.D.), Sōmēśvara II (1068-76 A.D.), Sōmēśvara III (1126-38 A.D.) and

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 125 ff.; Vol. XXXV, pp. 105 ff.

Sōmśvara IV (1184-1200 A.D.). As will be seen below, it is difficult to say which of these Sōmśvaras is mentioned in our record, though the possibility is that he was Sōmśvara I or Sōmśvara II. Thus the inscription may be assigned to the latter half of the eleventh century A.D. It is stated in verse 37 that the record was caused to be written out by a local ruler at midday in the month of Kārttika when the *tīthi* was *rātri* (full-moon) and the *nakṣatra* Kṛttikā. But no year is mentioned.

The inscription opens with the expression *Om namo(ḥ) Śivāya* which is followed by a stanza (verse 1) in adoration of the god Śiva. Verses 2-3 describe Mount Kailāsa, which is in the Himalayas, while verse 4 mentions the hermitage of Agastya which was apparently situated in the valley of the Kailāsa and is stated to have been resounding with the chanting of the Vedic hymns by young ascetics at prescribed hours. Verse 5 mentions the austere penance of Agastya in that hermitage. Verses 6-11 describe the birth of a hero who was the progenitor of 'the family or race of Fire' (*kuḷa* of Pāṇḍa, Vahū or Agni). We are told how Agastya's Kāmadhēnu (i.e. wish-fulfilling cow) was snatched away by certain rulers (verse 6) and how the sage offered in a great rage an oblation to the blazing fire without uttering a curse (verse 7). The result was the birth of a great hero from Agastya's fire-pit (verse 8), who after having killed those rulers, brought back the *dhenu-dhēnu* to the sage as if it were the sage's *mānu-siddhi* (i.e. 'the restoration of prestige') incarnate (verse 9). By his prowess, 'the son of Fire' became a powerful ruler after having conquered enemies in the three worlds and helped Indra by uprooting the demons (verse 10). According to verse 11, this hero became known as *Munimānasidūhi* (literally, 'the restorer of the sage's prestige'). The latter half of verse 11 and the following stanza (verse 12) introduce a ruler named Dhōrarāja (Dhruvarāja) as an ornament of the 'Fire family' which is represented as the third dynasty, the celebrated solar and lunar races probably being the other two. The second half of verse 13 is damaged and its purport is difficult to determine, though reference is made in its first half to *Muñja* and *Tailśvara* who are no doubt the famous Vākpati Muñja (973-96 A.D.) of the Paramāra dynasty and Taila or Tailapa II (973-97 A.D.) of the Western Chālukya family, and to the *koḷāks* (probably, 'army') of the said two *chakravartins* (i.e. imperial rulers). Dhōrarāja was thus a contemporary of the said kings who flourished about the last quarter of the tenth century. There was a long-drawn struggle between the Paramāra and Later Chālukya kings, which seems to be vaguely indicated in the singular used in the expression *śri-Muñja-Tailśvara* as in *śri-sakulam*, though what part Dhōrarāja played in the struggle is not possible to guess from the incomplete nature of the stanza. The second half of the verse seems to mention one Gōpāla whose relationship with Dhōrarāja is unascertainable from the damaged text. Verse 14 introduces another member of the 'Fire race', whose name was *Uttama*. The language seems to suggest that he was the son of Dhōra, although it is difficult to be sure on this point because of the mention of Gōpāla in the previous stanza. Verse 15 introduces Uttama's son *Kalichōra (I)* who was succeeded by his son *Argadēva* according to verse 16. The next eight stanzas (verse 17-24) describe Argadēva's valour and his achievements on the battle-fields. Verse 21 says that, owing to the fame of the Kshatriya hero (i.e. Argadēva) spreading everywhere, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyana*, the *Purānas*, and the *Ākhyāyikās* were all forgotten.

Verse 24 is the last stanza on the first side. Verse 25 is engraved on the second side of the pillar, the first three lines of which are considerably damaged. Verses 25-26 appear to introduce *Kalichōra (II)*, a devotee of Hara (Śiva). But whether Kalichōra was just another name of Argadēva cannot be determined from the damaged text of verse 25 which may have contained a word meaning 'son' so that Kalichōra II would be the son and successor of Arga. The description of the 'Fire family' ends with verse 27 which continues to describe the glory of Kalichōra II. This stanza represents the chief as the ruler of twenty thousand villages.

Verse 28 introduces a Vaiśya named Siddhugi who was a friend of the king, apparently meaning Kalichōra II of the 'Fire race'. In the following stanzas (verses 29-32), Siddhugi is highly praised for his noble qualities. Verse 31 compares him to Nāgārjuna, Karṇa, Vikrama (i.e. king Vikramāditya), Śibi and Vairōchani (i.e. Bali). Verse 33 states that Siddhugi installed Lord Sthānu (Śiva, i.e. a Śiva-linga) at Kalyāna which was the capital (*pura*) of king Sōmēśvara, the moon of the Chālukya family (*Chālukya-chandra*). Then the king is stated to have donated a *nishka* and a *dramma* from every village and town for [the worship of] the said god in the presence of 'the preceptor' Chandrarāhi (verse 34). This seems to refer to the ratification, by the Chālukya monarch, of a grant actually made by one of his provincial rulers as indicated later in the record. The Śaiva ascetic Chandrarāhi, who was the preceptor of Sōmēśvara or of the provincial ruler, appears to have requested the Chālukya king for the ratification. Of course, the language may also be so interpreted as to suggest that it was the semi-independent local chief of the 'Fire family', who made the grant without reference to the Chālukya king. But the first alternative is more likely since that would easily explain why such a big grant was made for the maintenance of a temple at the capital of another king. That the chiefs of the 'Fire race' were the feudatories of the Later Chālukyas is known from the Karaḍhēli inscriptions referred to below.

Verse 35 states that, as long as the members of the 'Fire family' (*Pāraka-santati*) and the god Siddhēśvara, made by Siddhugi, would flourish on this earth, for that length of time covering a thousand *kalpas*, the arrangement regarding a *dramma* together with a *nishka* from each of a thousand villages was made by king Raibhēya after creating the *śilā*, i.e. after causing the *prasaśti* to be written on the stone. Verse 36 again speaks of the same arrangement made for the god Siddhēśvara by the ruler of the territory of Yerga (*śri-Yergadhātṛipati*) in respect of a *dramma* and a *nishka* from every town, etc., in the district (*viśhaya*, i.e. the Yerga district). If Kalichōra II is regarded as identical with Arga and not as the latter's son, the expression *Yerga-dhātṛipati* may possibly also mean 'king Yerga' (i.e. Arga). But it appears better to take Yerga mentioned here as a geographical name because there is actually a locality called Yergi near Hoṭṭal. It has also to be noticed that the 'Fire race' chief's territory consisted of twenty thousand villages and the gift concerned only one thousand villages probably comprised in one of the districts in his territory. It is thus expected that the name of the particular district should be mentioned in the record.

This section thus suggests that Raibhēya belonging to the 'Fire race' was the governor of the Yerga *viśhaya* under the Chālukya king Sōmēśvara. There is also little doubt that Raibhēya (literally, 'the son of Rēbha or Rēbhā') was the same as Kalichōra II of the 'Fire race', who, as we have seen above, was either the son of Argadēva or Arga himself. If he was identical with Argadēva, we can assume that Rēbha was another name of Kalichōra I. In case, however, he was Argadēva's son, his mother's name may have been Rēbhā. It may be mentioned in this connection that Rēbhēśvara, referred to in verse 37 below, was apparently named after the same Rēbhā or Rēbhā. If the expression *guru-maṭha* in the verse referring to the Rēbhēśvara temple is understood in the sense of 'one's father's temple,' we can say that Rēbha was the name of Raibhēya's father. But the expression may also suggest that the temple in question was built by the *guru* Chandrarāhi.

According to verse 37, the epigraph was caused to be made by the ruler (i.e. Raibhēya *alias* Kalichōra II) out of devotion to and for the worship of the god Siddhēśvara while he was listening to an auspicious tale narrated by a *śrīśāsthi* in [the temple of the god] Rēbhēśvara, which was the *guru-maṭha*, when the sun was in the meridian (i.e. at midday), the month was Kārttika, the *tūhi* Pūrṇimā and the *saṅkṣātra* Kṛitukā. It is not impossible that the *śrīśāsthi* referred to is no other than the Vaiśya Siddhugi and the auspicious tale is the news of the ratification of Raibhēya's grant by Sōmēśvara.

The above analysis would suggest that the grant of a *nishka* and a *dramma* out of the revenue income of each one of the one thousand villages in the Yerga district was made by Raibhōya alias Kalichōra II of the 'Fire race', who was ruling over the said territory, and that the gift was ratified by his overlord, the Chālukya king Sōmēśvara. It also suggests that the Yerga *visūya* consisted of one thousand villages (that is to say that it was called Yerga-1000) and that the gift consisted of one thousand *nishkas* and one thousand *drammās*. Of these two coins, *nishka* was a gold coin sometimes also called *gadyāga*, *varāha*, *hor* or *pagōda*, while *dramma* was a silver coin often called *gadyāga* (silver), etc., and was sometimes regarded as equal to one-sixteenth of a gold *nishka*.

Verse 38, which is composed in adoration of the god Śiva, states that Nārāyaṇa, Bāna, Rāvaṇa and the old sages like Dadhicha are respected in the world because they were devoted to the *Śiva-dāna* (mandates of Śiva) while Nigalaṅkamalla was a great devotee of Chandīvara (i.e. Śiva) in the Kālī age. This verse suggests that Raibhōya alias Kalichōra II was also known by the name Nigalaṅkamalla. In the next stanza (verse 39), the name is given again as Raibhōya instead of Nigalaṅkamalla and it is said that, having his hand, the wish-fulfilling jewel (*chintāmani*) tortures the desire of removing the worries of the poor. Verse 40 says that the ten heads of Rāvaṇa are praiseworthy because they offered themselves to Śiva; praiseworthy is also Hari because he adopted the form of Gauṛī (as Mōhini); but king Nigalaṅkamalla is undoubtedly a third Śiva besides the two (i.e. Rāvaṇa and Hari). The next stanza (verse 41) is one of the usual imperatory verses. Verse 42 states that the dead kings live either through poetical works or through stories and, as such works are composed by poets, the poet is the friend of the king. Verse 43, which is the last stanza in the epigraph, expresses some pious wishes as in the case with the concluding stanza (*Bharata-nāṅka*) in classical Sanskrit dramas. The following passage in prose states that the epigraph was written by a scribe named Lakṣmaṇa.

The *Bharatanāṅka*-like stanza (verse 43) may be translated into English as follows: "Let the Brāhmaṇas mark the earth with sacrificial posts on auspicious occasions; let the kings, steadfast in their own religious principles, protect all the world; let the cattle live happily; let the people be happy, [and] let there be no rise of the wicked; let the poets be honoured in the world [and also] the well-reputed courtesans who have acquired eminence in dancing." The reference to the dancing girls in the concluding part of the stanza is interesting as it seems to allude to the *Dīvadāśīs*, a number of whom may have been dedicated to the temple in question. It is well known that the dancing girls (*Dīvadāśīs*) represented a permanent feature of the big Brāhmanical temples of the early medieval period. Recently we have noticed that the Buddha shrines in the Buddhist monastic establishments of the same age, at least in Eastern India, were also not free from the *Dīvadāśīs*.<sup>1</sup>

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it reveals for the first time the existence of a 'Fire family' ruling in the eleventh century A.D. in the Nanded region apparently forming parts of the dominions of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. The origin of the family as given in the record was the fire-pit of the sage Agastya on Mount Kailāsa in the Himalayas. Munimānasiddhi, who was the progenitor of this family, sprang from the fire-pit as a result of an offering of oblation by the angry sage whose cow providing milk for his daily sacrifice had been stolen by certain robbers; he killed the robbers and brought back the cow to the sage. This story closely resembles that of the fire-pit origin of the Paramāra, which first occurs in their inscriptions about the middle of the eleventh century A.D.<sup>2</sup> In the Paramāra epigraphs as also in the *Narasīhanāsīlācharita*

<sup>1</sup> See above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 272.

<sup>2</sup> Ray, *DHSI*, Vol. II, p. 841. (C. Myer, *Ancient India*, etc., Vol. II, 1941, pp. 861 ff.)

by Padmagupta, it is stated that, from the fire-pit of Vasishtha on Mount Arbuda (Ābu), there sprang up a hero as the result of an offering of the angry sage whose 'wish-granting cow' was carried away by king Visvāmītra. The fire-born hero, who was the progenitor of the Paramāra family, wrested the cow from Visvāmītra and brought it back to Vasishtha who was highly pleased and, having given him the name Paramāra (literally 'the slayer of enemies'), made him the paramount ruler of the earth. The basis of 'the Fire family' story in our record appears to have been the same as that of the origin of the Paramāras, though here the sage is Agastya in the place of Vasishtha and the place is not Mount Abu but the Kailāsa. The author of the present *prasaśti* thought it fit to connect the name of Agastya, famous in legends as one who first went to the South beyond the Vindhya and settled there for the rest of his life, with the origin of a South Indian ruling family. But it is difficult to understand why Agastya's fire-pit has not been located in South India.

The 'Fire race' of our record is not known from published epigraphs. But two inscriptions<sup>1</sup> of the same family were copied by us in 1959 from a pillar in the village of Karaḍkhēl about 6 miles from Hottal, the findspot of the present record. Both these inscriptions are in Kannada and belong to the time of the Western Chālukya king Vikramāditya VI (1076-1126 A.D.). The first of them gives the genealogy of the Chālukya kings upto Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramāditya VI) and of the chiefs of the 'Fire race', who were apparently feudatories of the former, and mentions Karka of the said family as the builder of the temple of Sōmēśvara at Karaḍikal (modern Karaḍkhēl). The second record, dated December 1, 1079 A.D., mentions the same Karka as a *Mahā-manḍalīśvara* granting lands for the worship of several gods, viz. Svayambhū Sōmanāthadēva, Dōrēśvaradēva, Kalichōrēśvaradēva and Prasannabhairavadēva, for the repairs of the temples of the said gods and for feeding Brāhmana students. Karka himself is stated in the record to have built many temples. It is interesting to note that the gods Dōrēśvaradēva and Kalichōrēśvaradēva bear the names of the chiefs Dōra and Kalichōra of the 'Fire family', who were apparently the ancestors of Karka. In the genealogy given in our epigraph, Dōra appears as Dhōrarāja and Kalichōra (I) probably as his son; but Karka has not been mentioned at all. Thus the relations between Karka of the Karaḍkhēl inscriptions and the members of the 'Fire race', responsible for setting up the Hottal *prasaśti*, cannot be determined. But the Karaḍkhēl inscriptions show that the chiefs of the 'Fire family' were the subordinates of the Later Chālukya kings of Kalyāna and that they were ruling over the territory including the area around modern Karaḍkhēl and Hottal, probably called 'the Yerga district' or 'Yerga-1000' in our epigraph. The entire territory of the 'Fire race' chiefs, stated to have consisted of twenty thousand villages, probably contained several *riśayas* like Yerga.

As indicated above, the identification of the Later Chālukya king mentioned in our record is not easy. We have seen that the first ruler of the 'Fire race', viz. Dhōra, was a contemporary of Taila II (973-97 A. D.) as well as of Paramāra Muḍja (973-96 A. D.), while the same king as well as Kalichōra I apparently flourished before 1079 A. D. as is evidenced by the Karaḍkhēl inscriptions of the time of Vikramāditya VI. If Dhōra was succeeded by his son Uttama and Uttama by his son Kalichōra I, this last king may have ruled about the middle of the eleventh century. If therefore Arga, son of Kalichōra I, was the same as Kalichōra II *alias* Raibhōya Nigalaśkamalla, who was responsible for setting up the Hottal inscription, he may be regarded as a contemporary of Sōmēśvara I (1043-68 A. D.) or Sōmēśvara II (1088-76 A. D.). If, however, Kalichōra II was the son and successor of Arga, he may at best be regarded as a contemporary of Sōmēśvara III (1126-36

<sup>1</sup> See *A. B. Ep.*, 1958-59, Nos. B 184, 187.

A.D.). It is difficult to think of Sōmōśvara IV (1184-1200 A.D.) in this connection since he flourished long after 1079 A.D., the date of one of the Karaṅkheḷ inscriptions. It is also not easy to say whether Arga of our inscription is the same as Karka of the Karaṅkheḷ inscriptions.

A question that may be asked in this connection is that, if the god Sthāpa (i.e. Śiva) called Siddhōśvara, was installed by Siddhugi at Kalyāga, why was the pillar bearing the *prastāvi* recording a gift in honour of that god set up in the village of Hoṭṭal. The answer seems to be that, since the gift made by Kalichōra II alias Raibhōya alias Nūpalaśkamalla, the ruler of the territory around the Yerga district, was a part of the revenues of the said district, the record could have been set up at the head quarters of that district, although another copy of the same inscription appears to have been set up in the temple itself at Kalyāga. If such was the case, Hoṭṭal or a city of which it formed a part or suburb was probably the head quarters of the Yerga *viśaya* and the capital of the rulers of the 'Fire family'. We have seen that the *Vaiśya* Siddhugi, the hero of our *prastāvi* who installed the god Siddhōśvara named after himself in a temple at Kalyāga, was a friend of Kalichōra II of the said family. Siddhugi may have been an inhabitant of the Hoṭṭal area.

It is tempting to identify the hero of our *prastāvi* with Siddhugi, also called Basuvarasa Siddayya, occurring in another epigraph<sup>1</sup> dated the 9th December 1184 A. D., hailing from Lakkuṇḍi in the Gadag Taluk of the Dharwar District and belonging to the Western Chālukya king Sōmōśvara IV. If this identification is accepted, the Chālukya king Sōmōśvara mentioned in our inscription has no doubt to be identified with Sōmōśvara IV. But, as already indicated above, this is highly improbable.

Of the **geographical names** occurring in the inscription, Kalyāga is the same as modern Kalyan in the Bidar District of Mysore, Yerga seems to be the district around the village of Yergī, 3 miles from Hoṭṭal.

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

[Metres : Verses 1-9, 1, 10, 12-13, 15-18, 21, 24, 26-27, 30-31, 35-40, 43 *Sārdūlavārīṇḍita* ; verses 3, 7-8, 19, 25 *Stagīdhārā* ; verses 5, 22, 28, 32 *Vasantatilakā* ; verses 6, 14 *Mandākrāntā* ; verse 9 *Svāgātā* ; verses 11, 23, 45 *Indravajrā* ; verses 20, 29 *Uppajāti* ; verses 33-34, 41 *Anuśtubh*.]

#### First Side

- 1 || Ōm namaḥ śivāya || Tū vaḥ pāmtu Pinākinah katipayā krodhāsyā bhātaśta-
- 2 li-jaumānaḥ kiray-āvall-stāva(ha)kī-ākāśā) kriśānāḥ kṛpāḥ | yā-
- 3 śhām-śkatamasya tējasi jagaj-jālam jigībhō ripōḥ<sup>3</sup> samdhānēpi patat-
- 4 ga-pātam-apatat-Pualipōyudhah s-āyudhah || 1 || **Kailāśō**-sti samasta-
- 5 parvata-patir-yah saihārayah śrēyasām yad dēvāḥ samupāsatō Suragirir-yā-
- 6 n-ālpā-ihārah kṛitah | yasmai svasti vadantī siddha-munyah siddhē-ṇi-
- 7 dhānati yataḥ śmā yasya na vidyātō kṛitadhīyām yatra stavō vāsta-
- 8 vah || 2 || Ścinḡait-ālingit-ā(rāḥ) pravīrata-kutak-ākṛānta-nā[n]ā dig-antah sō-sti

<sup>1</sup> B.N. No. 46 of 1925-27. We are indebted to Mr. S. H. Kistī for the reference.

<sup>2</sup> From Impressions. We are indebted for some suggestions to Mr. S. Sankaranarayana and Pandit V. S. Subrahmanyam.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly jigībhō ripōḥ is intended.



- 9 svēchchā-nivāsa=tridāsa-ṁṁgadrīśā[ā\*] Minakētōś-cha bhūmiti [i\*] prāptuś ratu-  
ākaratvaṁ
- 10 panara(r-i)va vilasat-ratna-sarvvasva-sārē sphārō yasy-ōpakamthē luthatī jala-
- 11 nidhūr=[vramjarā]<sup>1</sup>-vyājam-ētya || 3 || Vi(Bi)bhrūgasya tapō-vibhūtim-asamā-
- 12 m-āstō hy=Agastya-ākhyayā vikhyātasya mahāmūnōḥ śamavatām sōvyasya
- 13 te(tr-ā)jaramāḥ | yasmīn-yāmika-nāḍavan-muni-vaṇu-svādhyāya-pāḥḥa-dhvanīḥ
- 14 prōdbhīśī kali-kūla-taskara-timaskārāya sannahyati || 4 || [Ta]juni-
- 15 n-muhūḥ prahuta-pāvaka-dhūma-rāji-sphāribhavad-vitapi-pāllava-mōchak-anḥḥaḥ(gūḥ) |  
puṇy-ōḥa-
- 16 j-ā[grā]-ghaṭamāna-ṁṁṁga(gō) kadōchit-tēpō tapāmsi sa śam-aika-dhanō munīndrah || 5 ||
- 17 Ūamārgōṇa prasabham=avanivallabhāḥ paryayaḥ na prōkhamō trūṭad=api yataḥ sva-  
chchha-
- 18 hāra-prakāraś(ram) [i\*] yat=tasy-āpi prachura-tapasām-agragayasya puṇyām pāp-āchā-  
[rāś]=tvāri-
- 19 tam-ahatan-bōmadā[ā\*] Kāmadhēnuś(num) || 6 || Aṁṁṁṁ saṁchintya kīncit-tad-anu-  
sa virataḥ śā-
- 20 pa-dānān=munīndrah sādri-bhūtam dadhānāḥ sphurad-adhara-ruchā krōḍha-valnūr-iva-  
ārchchit |
- 21 pratyarthya-utpāta-ketu-pravibhava-vilasat-dhūma-dhūm-ānuva(ba)ddha-sphūrjja]-jvālā-  
kalā-
- 22 pē hutabhūji hutavān-āhutiṁ hūm-vimīrām(śrām) || 7 || Bhōsvat-tōjah-kaṭaprait<sup>2</sup>-iva
- 23 sha(pa)righaṭitas-tāra-hār-ānukāri-pratyagra-vra(bra)hmasūtras=Tridāsaḥgir-iva Svargana-
- 24 dyā sanāthāḥ | vi(bi)bhrūgaḥ svarṇa-mū(tō)gā-yugalam=atha punān kō-pi chand-āgni-
- 25 kumjāt-kōdarād-ākāśa-śikhā-rava-jamita-jagad-bhūti-āvirva(rba)bhūva || 8 || Patri-
- 26 bhīḥ sa bhuvana-traya-viras-tā[n\*] nripā[ā\*]ḥ-cha sakalā[n=vinihatya] [i\*] hōma-gām-  
upaniśā-
- 27 ya tatō-smai māna-siddhim=iva mūrti[ma] — — 9 || Dūr-ātsārīta-kubṭa-
- 28 ka-vyatīkarām-ākāṁgaviraḥ kramād-gō — — ṁṁṁṁ-llay=iva sakalā-
- 29 m-ākramya lōka-trayīḥ(yim) | sāmra]yam vijaya — — bhuvanāḥ khyātāḥ kri-
- 30 sūnōḥ sutāḥ Śakraey-āpi sahāyatām prakatayann=utpātya dōva-dvishāḥ || 10 ||
- 31 [Satyam]tatō-bhūd-iha tasya nāma vīrasya lōkō **Munimānasiddhīḥ** | tasmā[t\*]-trītyō-  
bha-
- 32 vad-śha vathō vāri-pratāp-ānala-kāla-mōghāḥ || 11 || Valnūr=vvamāsam=alaichchakāra śa-
- 33 taśāḥ krūr-āsi-dhār-āhati-krōḍā-dārīta-vāri-kumjara-tatī) śrī-Dhōrarā-
- 34 jō nripāḥ | yasy-ādy-āpi Himādri-Śarīkaragiri-Kshīrām(vu)ḥrāśi-chchhalād-āstō di-
- 35 g-valayāḥḥu punjītam=iva śvētāmśu-gaurath yaśāḥ || 12 || Yēn-āchchhīdyā samasta-
- 36 pārthiva-kulam prāṇ-ādīkām tad-yaśāḥ(śō) jagrah-ōbha[ya-chakravartī-kaṭa]kō śrī-
- 37 Murhja-Tailōśvarē | yad-vā — — — — — rakamīta — — — — — śhṭyā[aya]-

<sup>1</sup> Possibly *śamāsa* is intended.

<sup>2</sup> The intended reading was probably *kalāpait*.

<sup>3</sup> The intended reading may have been *śarīrāśāśā śam*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *gūḥ-cō*.

- 38 n Gōpālāḥ kaṣakasthā—○○○———v nach-cūhāsanaṣ(nam) || 13 || Kaḥḥḥi-chakr-ākra-
- 39 maṣa-nipuṣ-ōḍḍamḍa-dōr-ddamḍa— [1115]-bhagna-pratibhāṣa-nripa-prēyaśi-kēli-
- 40 hāsaḥ | kaḥrāḥ(bhō)dhēr-iva sumanaśm-ārayaḥ pārijātō jātas-tasmā-
- 41 d-Yama iva paraḥ(ra)-kṣmābhṛitām-Uttam-ākhyāḥ || 14 || Tasmāch-cūhri-Kalichōra-bhūpatir-abbhūd-uḥchhāṣiḥja-
- 42 kaṁḥīrava-kriḍā-pāḥita-estru-simdhura-gḥataḥ kṣmāpāla-mūlakṣaḥḥ | pīt-ānēka-ja-
- 43 lāsah(ha)yaḥ pratikalām yat-minya-jāṣa-ūtkarair-mūhōśhā(h\*) kakubhō marut-sthala-bhuvān sa-vra(bra)-
- 44 hmachūtikṛitāḥ || 15 || Mūrttō vira-rusaḥ samācīta iva kṣmāpāla-dēv-ānalaḥ sam-
- 45 jātaḥ pūḥṭha-dīrgha-vā(bā)hu-parigha-vyūḥḥō-rgadāvas-tataḥ | chakra-śatru-kavaḥ(ham)-dha-tārdava-vidhōv-u-
- 46 ddamdam-āchāryakām jyē-nāda-prakatikṛit-ōgra-pataha-dhvanō(nāir)-yadīyaḥ dhanuḥ || 16 || Yāt-kha-
- 47 ṭgaḥ(dgaḥ) samar-āṅgaḥ rīpu-śiraḥ-śrēṅḥ smāśdayann-aṣṭi-granṭhi-vibhōḍakaḥ kha-yad-iti
- 48 dhvanōna nūnati dvishā(m\*) | bhūr-lōkaṁ tyajata prayāta cha divaṁ svat-lōka-rāmā-janaḥ saḥlōḥ-
- 49 gam bhajata prayachchata yaśō vyāhhāḥat-ōti śrutau || 17 || Chakshur-mugdha-marīcha(chi) vōsha-vikalāḥ
- 50 kāyō maṁḍō vyākulaḥ bhraṣānti smṛitayaḥ śchālabhī cha girō naṣyabhī sarvā dīśaḥ | yasmāiv-  
vi-
- 51 krama-bhūji rājanī milat-saṅgrāma-bhūmau bhīṣaḥ kva sthātryaḥ kva bhujau kva vīrya-garimā kv-  
-i-
- 52 tmā punaḥ kṣmābhṛitām(tām) || 18 || Gaṛjja-jimūta-mūrtti-prabala-ṣipu-va(ha)l-ājan hi bhūpēna yē-
- 53 na māyā-nirmāḥa-karma-pratikṛiti-vikrit-ānēka-nēpathya-bhāmji | cairi-pēna-pra-
- 54 yāṣa-pravaṣa-nipuṣyā khaḍga-vaḥṭyā sthitō=pi<sup>1</sup> pēta-prōḥ-āntra-tanṭri-niraya-riehari-
- 55 tāny-āṣu rakṣāntu yēna || 19 || Śuigīham svakīyaṁ priya-bhāḥaṣam cha maṁḍō-bhīrāmō
- 56 maṣi-kuchāḍā cha [\*] yōn-sitad-āṣu dvishad-āṅganānām-ugōcharaḥ śrōtra-yugaṣya chakrē
- 57 || 20 || Bhogaḥ Bhārata-bhāratā vigalitō Rīmāyaḥ-ōpakramaḥ śrūṣā jīroṣa-purī-
- 58 ṣa-paddhatir-itō n-ākhyāyikānām gatīḥ | praty-ānam prajamāḍalāḥ prati-puraḥḥ praty-  
-āpagaḥ
- 59 praty-agaḥ tasya kahatriya-puṅgavaṣya yaśāś trālōkyam-ōpūritam(tam) || 21 || Anyaḥ samūna-guṣam-a-
- 60 sya nṣipasya kaṁchit(chid-) drashyaḥ vikṣiṣṭa-hṛiday-ōva kutūhalōna [\*] kīrttiḥ parā prathamā-kōṭaka-rē-
- 61 pu-subhṛā lōka-trayaḥ bhramati sahitatam-āśram-sīva || 22 || Yaśy-ābhavad-vyākaraṇam pramōṣam
- 62 rājyē prajā-rakṣana-tatparasya | chōra-dhvanēr-dhṛuṣa-kūraṣya anayatra chitrō yadi vā prachā-

<sup>1</sup> The intended reading may be śhōḥaḥ.

TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM NANDED DISTRICT

I. Hottal Inscription of Chalukya Sómésvara



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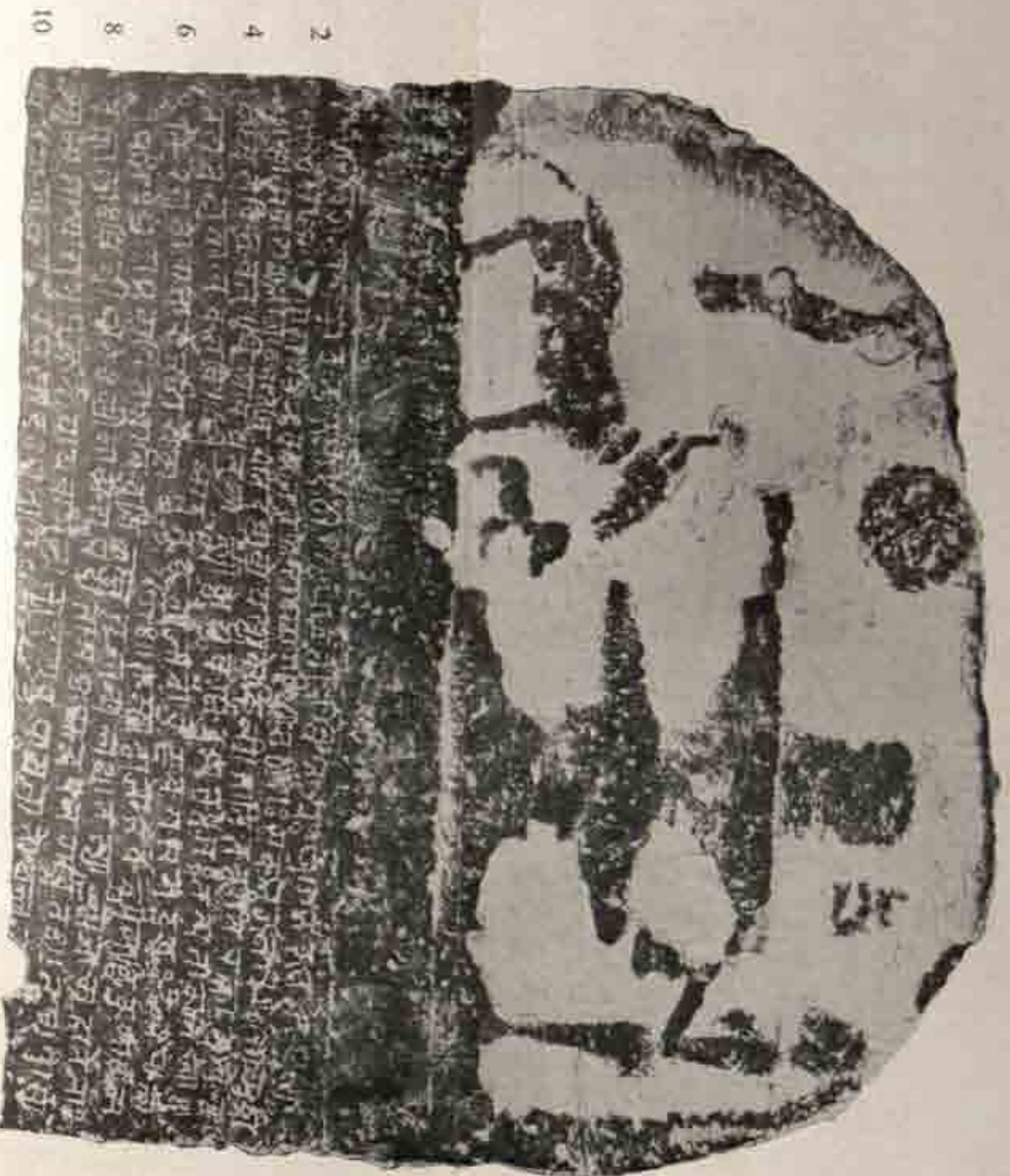
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2. Fragmentary Inscription from Ardhapur



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- 63 [ra] | 33 || Bhūc bhidyeta sur-ālayōpi satādā śryeta śryeta cha vṛa(tra)hmābhāḥ  
[m] |  
64 =u[gra]-kīraṅgā śuśyōyur-śābhōdhaya | [vāk-śtur]-na hī [bh]idyat pu  
65 p̄=asti cha<sup>2</sup> Arg-ākhyasya mahīpatēḥ punar-ītal sa[vyāya]ḥ [vī]k[ra]mah || 24 ||

## Second Side

- 66 Pūjyānān pa-ṛitāḥ subhāṣa-parishadīm(dī)m-arthinān [ka]-----masya  
67 śinuh para-yuvati[anasy-ārtta-citra[pra]ḥya tātāḥ | sa-----vyō-yam Hara-  
68 charaṅa-rajō-rāji-rajyach-chharitō [yō] [ā-śāha-[yuk]tāḥ] prasābham-ari-  
69 va(ba)[h]e ch-āika-vītal pināḥṭi | 25 || Rājyam nī[b\*]ṛita-kūṭakān pratibhāṣāḥ  
70 śūnyō(nyā)ḥ chātāmō dibhā ānīḥāḥ sūtha-pukhī cha nāḥdati janō nirvaśādvam-a-  
71 rēḥalad(lam) || sarvavy-āpi pariputām tad-ābhavāt-rīyam prajā-ratnātān bhū-bh-  
vātāḥ  
72 Kalichōrakasya sakala-kālmṣāḥ chh[ā]kṣyāḥ || 26 || Vīnśad-grū-  
73 ma-kāṭi-patīḥ kātham-eyam vīrō vīdhi-prakramāḥ śakyō varṇōy-  
74 tūḥ prayatna-paḥitair-dvīr-śācharit-śāḥṛitāḥ | dīvaḥ Padma-guhō-mahā-gī-  
75 ha-paṭi-taryōḥtra sūtra-kriyā pūrva-āhārya-dhuraṇi vi(bi)bhastī Bhagavān ya-  
76 dy-śha mūchyāmāḥ ||\*|| 27 || Vānō-śāḥ vīkādā-kirtimātām va(ba)bhōva-śrī-śi-  
77 dāhugī-matapatēḥtha tasya mitra(m) [kāmō Madhōr-iva yathā jaladhō-cha chān-  
78 drāḥ] dyōḥ śikh-īra hī yathā śikhinān payōdāḥ || 28 || Nīchi-  
79 pām-Ānībhōjābhavāna lakṣmīyāḥ sarvasvam-asmīn-iti tarayāmi | kūtō-  
80 aya vā rāja-parāmpar-īyam-āḥ nīvīḥāḥ sadan-ōpakamthō || 29 ||  
81 Svarīkōḥ-āpi dānaśāḥka-bhavanād-ā-sapta-sindh-ūllasād-vīk-īra-ta-  
82 rāgī(gi)ḥ-īhi bhavanōḥ-ānīyāḥ bhūmībhāḥ | Ek-āikān guru-chāra-sūtra-cha-  
83 ritām lōka-grav(bō)ḥ-īpadam Dhātō pātram-īdāt vīhīta-vībhavēḥ(vai) śrī-  
84 Siddhugr-nirmatāḥ || 30 || Kīm Nāgārjuna śha Karuṇa-nripatīḥ  
85 kīm v-āvatīrṇyō bhuvī kīm vā Vikrama-bhūpatīḥ Śivī(bi)ḥ-ayam  
86 kīm v-ātha Vairōchānīḥ ||\*|| ittham bhāntim-ayam janasya janayan-na  
87 jīkātō tōshu kaḥ śrimat-Siddhugr-īty-āgīt-punar-āsu  
88 khyātīm janō śāmpatām(tam) || 31 || Śēt-Siddhugr-hī yataḥ vījī-  
89 vī vi(bi)bhastī kālūshyān-āntar-ālam-īndur-ātāḥ sād-āya ||\*|| [yō-  
90 tūḥ-patēna pūthānā svam-āsu pūhāya rātrau parām pracharati  
91 trapoy-ēva gupatāḥ || 32 || Tēna samsthāpitāḥ Sthānūḥ Kalyānō gupitām  
92 gīhō | purō Chātukya-phaḥṛasya Sōmōsvara-mahīpatēḥ || 33 || Nī-  
93 śkāḥ drāḥmān cha bhūmīḥ grāmō grāmō purō purō ||\*|| dādan tasmī sa dēnā-  
94 va Chāndrarāḥ-gurōḥ parāḥ || 34 || Yāvat-Pāvaka-santān-vijayī-  
95 nī dēvāḥ-cha Siddhōsvurō [yā]vat-Siddhugī-nirmitō vijayātō ka-  
96 [pāḥ] (pān) sahasrām kshītan | tēvad-grāma-sahasrakō-pī vīhīḥ drāḥmāḥ sa-nī-  
97 śkāḥ sād śrī-Ratibhōya-mahībhujā mīgamad-āmōdēna kṛtvā śi-  
98 lām(lām) || 35 || Pīchvī tīrtha-pur-ōgrahāra-nagara-grāmān-śūny-ōdarā yā-

\* Nandī has not been observed here.

2 The intended reading may be śūnyō.

- 99 van-natidyanta nashidati klama-karasa chakrañ cha bhūmibhujāto(jam) | Sri-Siddhāvāra-  
 100 darvatāya viśhayaē Sri-Yoga-dhātṛipatib praty-śānā prati-mam-  
 101 jālan prati-porasi dracimanā cha niśikata dādan || 26 || Bākā Kṛitīkayā yo-  
 102 ā kim-ayaram māsa yadā Kūrtikah Bhānar-madhya-dinam gatā  
 103 para-majhā Kōbhāvyarā tishthataē ([) arāthā[ub] anāthā-nicēditān śakha-  
 104 kathāā bhūpāna samāgavyatā Sri-Siddhāvāra-pūjanīya vīritant bhaktya  
 105 āli-śānānti(nam) || 37 || Yau-Nāyāga-Vā(Bā)na-Bīvaṇa-mukhā j-  
 106 rṇā Dadhūb-ādāyāb trāyāntā Śiva-sāam-āka-niratā māyā-  
 107 ā-cha dhanyā-cha tā | āśānā svatā Nigalarāhikamāllā charamāb kālā Ka-  
 108 lau samprata(tī) Sri-Chandlibhāra-pāda-pāśāka-va)ḥ-dhālibhā-āpānā(na)-  
 109 lab || 58 || Kim v-śāyāt us Madhā-pāda-patana-peśibhūta-pidā-  
 110 dhayā Rathhōyā ripo-rāja-masaka-maṇi-prakshama-bhūnāta-  
 111 lab | yat-pāgūn māni-mudrikā-nibha-vaśā-śādyā chintā-  
 112 māni-śānti-ārāti-prasam-āka-kā-kalanā-kautūhalam pa-  
 113 śhyatā || 39 || Statyāny-śva śirānā rākshasa-patā-chūmā-iti chhim-  
 114 dh-iti māni pratyśkam kara-kārttik-āgra-śarāga-bhrashtānā Śambhōb  
 115 pūnā | statyāb kām us Hara-praśānta-parā Gaurā(ri)-kārīn  
 116 Hārā statyāb Sri-Nigalarāhikam-lla-ripatib(tū)-tābhānā rīti-  
 117 yāb Śivāb || 40 || Yady-ay-iyant dharā bhuktā bhūpālāb Sagar-ād-  
 118 bhūb ([\*) yaaya yaaya yadā bhūmib(tū)=-taaya taaya tadā phalānīlam) || 41 ||  
 119 Kāy-āpātāle-v-āthā bath-ānritāir-cā' ady-āpi jvanta mritā  
 120 māhāb | pūva-praśādā-kūl-pūnāg-ānānā nripāya tasmāka-  
 121 vi-śva mitranītram) || 42 || Vīpāb parvatī parvatī kshībhānā k-  
 122 svantā yūp-ānkurāt bhūpālāb paripālayantā sakalanā bhānā svā-dharma-  
 123 sthānā | gōyāb samānā sakhañ sunandata jantū nā bhūta-khala-peśibhā-  
 124 vāb pūjyāntān kavayāb an-kīrti-gaṇikā nāya-pratī(tī)-  
 125 śhīlā bhūvī || 43 || Likhitañ śākhā-Lakshmaṇā | itī śubbam |

## 2. Fragmentary Inscription from Ardhāpur

The inscription,<sup>1</sup> published in the following pages, is engraved on a broken stone slab originally lying in the house of the Police Patel, Śrī Ramachandra Rao, at Ardhāpur, headquarters of a circle of that name in the Nanded District, lying ten miles away from Nanded.<sup>2</sup> Śrī Rao informed us that the inscribed slab had been discovered from a nearby field while the cultivators were ploughing it. As the slab was broken into two halves, a frantic search for the other half was

<sup>1</sup> *Kandā* has not been observed here. Better read *okantā-ajā*.

<sup>2</sup> This is No. B 197 of *J.E. Ep.*, 1923, 59.

<sup>3</sup> Śrī V. A. Kanole, Honorary Secretary of the Gōḷāḷ Historical and Literary Research Society at Nanded, has recently removed the inscribed slab to the Society's Museum.

made by the farmers, but in vain. There is an old Śiva temple and an old tank attached to it near the field where the slab was found. The figures of the sun, a Śiva-linga, a devotee and a cow with a calf are engraved above the writing of the record under study. These seem to indicate that the fragmentary inscription was meant to record some donation in favour of a temple of Śiva, probably the one at Ardhāpur, referred to above.

The surface of the broken slab bearing the inscription measures approximately one foot three inches by one foot nine and half inches. The record is incomplete, the lower part of the inscribed slab having broken away and lost. There are altogether ten lines of writing though a portion of the ninth line and more than half of line 10 have broken away. Each line contains about twenty-five akṣaras. A verse in the *Vasantatilāka* metre, which begins about the end of line 8, suggests that it concluded about the end of line 11, no trace of which now remains. It is not possible to determine the number of lines lost after the extant part of the epigraph. The engraving is careless and the preservation of the writing is not satisfactory. It is thus difficult to read the inscription.

The characters of the inscription belong to the Southern Nāgarī alphabet of the twelfth or thirteenth century A. D. Its language is Sanskrit and the inscription is written entirely in verse. Of palaeographic interest is the letter *l*, in which the left limb is often not joined with the right vertical so that the akṣara looks as if it is endowed with an *ā-mātrā* (cf. *ālā* in line 5; *āpalaḥ* in line 7; the last letter in *Vallāla* in line 8, etc.), though sometimes it has the usual Southern Nāgarī form (cf. *śakala* in line 2 and the first akṣara in *Lālā* in line 3, etc.). It is interesting to note that the second akṣara in *Lālā* in line 3 has been written in the former form so as to look like having two *ā-mātrās*. Initial *s* has the usual form written with two dots having a curved stroke below (cf. line 6). *B* has been represented by *v* in some cases. As regards orthography, it may be pointed out that consonants after *r* have been occasionally doubled. The words *bhāṣit* and *prāṇi* have been written respectively as *bhāṣṣit* (line 5) and *prāṇi* (line 8).

Since the lower part of the inscription is lost, its object cannot be definitely determined. It stops in the middle of the description of a local branch of the Ratta or Rāshtrakūṭa family and was probably meant for recording the donations of one of the Ratta chiefs in favour of the Śiva temple at Ardhāpur.

Verses 1-2 of the inscription are in adoration of the god Śiva, though the following stanza (verse 3) extols the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu. Whether this means that the Ratta family mentioned in the record adored both Śiva and Viṣṇu, like the Imperial Rāshtrakūṭas,<sup>1</sup> cannot be determined, because the adoration to Śiva would also be suitable for an inscription which probably recorded a grant in favour of a Śiva temple. It is thus possible to think that the Rāshtrakūṭa family, to which the donor of the grant recorded in the inscription seems to have belonged, was specially devoted to the Boar form of Viṣṇu. As, however, will be seen below, one of these Ratta chiefs was devoted to Nāgāya and, if the latter was a deity, he was Śiva.

Verses 4 extols the standard of the golden bull (*suvarṇa-eriṣabha-dhvaja*) which was apparently one of the royal insignia of the family. It is interesting to note in this connection that the Imperial Rāshtrakūṭas had the *pāṇi-dhvaja*, *śaka-kirtu* and *Garuḍa-lāṅghana*,<sup>2</sup> while the Rattas of Saundatti are known to have the *suvarṇa-Garuḍa-dhvaja*.<sup>3</sup> Among the important ruling families of Kanuḍa origin, the Kalachuris of Lalyāpa, who eclipsed Later Chālukya power in the third quarter of the twelfth century, had the *suvarṇa-eriṣabha-dhvaja*<sup>4</sup> as the Rattas of our inscription. It is of course difficult to say whether the Rattas of the Ardhāpur region borrowed the

<sup>1</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. 1, Part II, p. 287.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 287.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 552.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 403.

banner from the Kalachuris and ever acknowledged their supremacy, although that does not appear to be unlikely.

Verse 5 introduces a ruler named **Harisapāla** of the Ratta family. His son was **Vikramārka** (i. e. Vikramāditya) whose valour is referred to in the next stanza (verse 6). Verse 7 introduces **Ballāla**, son of Vikramārka, as proud on account of the favour of Śri-Nāgēsa. This Nāgēsa may have been Ballāla's preceptor or the deity he worshipped. In the latter case, the deity may be the same as Śiva in the Ardhpur temple, if, of course, it can be supposed that the Ratta family in question had their headquarters at modern Ardhpur or in its neighbourhood. Verse 7 describes the glory of king Ballāla in causing the destruction of his enemies and the prosperity of his friends. The following stanza (verse 8) is incompletely preserved and the record ends in its second foot in line 10.

The importance of the epigraph lies in the fact that it introduces for the first time a hitherto unknown Ratta or Rāshtrakūta family ruling over the area around Ardhpur probably as subordinate of some imperial ruler. The lateness of the epigraph suggests that the present Ratta family might have been the feudatories of the Yādavas of Dāvagiri, though there is no reference to that effect in the record itself. It is, however, not improbable that the Ardhpur branch of the Rāshtrakūtas originally owed allegiance to the Kalachuris of Kalyāna as already indicated above.

No geographical names can be traced in the extant part of the inscription.

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

[Metres : Verses 1, 3-8 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verse 2 *Āryā* (1) ; verse 9 *Paśantatīkṛta*.]

- 1 [Śiddham]<sup>2</sup> [ ]<sup>3</sup> [Bhuvā-taram]gam-stu[la\*]m-avatu jagad-adhīśah [ ]<sup>4</sup> Pārvatījivitē-  
[śva]mā prapa[ta]-jana-jū(jō)[śhaśah || ] [ ]<sup>5</sup>
- 2 Sarvas-ta ..... nāhā .....  
..... dhāv-ādhibāh [ ]<sup>6</sup> sakala-jana ..... ma(mā)[t]tī
- 3 .... Mahāśah || [ ]<sup>7</sup> Līlāvatīhō jayati dāśahṣṭ-āgrē yaśya mēdini | bhāti tat-kānti(iti) rak-  
ārdhā-vinya-
- 4 [st-ā]mjana-vimva(ba)vat || [ ]<sup>8</sup> Vīstārayātu lakṣmīr- vṛō(yah) suvarṇa(mṇṇa)-vīśhabha-  
dhvajah [ ] ta(ya)t-patāk-ānil-āprā(dvā)-
- 5 tam śatru-killā-lavaṁ bhuvī || [ ]<sup>9</sup> [Śrī]mad-bhūbhū(bhṛi)t-kull[ ]<sup>10</sup> jātō Ratta-vatīśa-  
samūbhavah [ ]<sup>11</sup> [Harī]śapāla
- 6 iti khyātō rājā rāja-śīrōmaṇiḥ || [ ]<sup>12</sup> Tasy-ātma]ō-bhāvach-āhrīmān Vikramārka-ma-  
7 hīpatīḥ [ ]<sup>13</sup> pratāpa-glapit-ārātī-vanītā-nayan-ōtpalāḥ || [ ]<sup>14</sup> Tasy-ātma]ō mahātōjāh(jā)
- 8 Va(Ba)llālah prithvī<sup>15</sup>-patīḥ [ ]<sup>16</sup> śrī-Nāgē(ḡ)śa-pud-ārībhō]a-prasāda-(śhaya)-  
garcvītal || [ ]<sup>17</sup> .....
- 9 mya-nāśāya śatru-pakṣa-kahayāya cha [ ]<sup>18</sup> mitr-ābhyulaya-rūpā[śra]<sup>19</sup> jātō Bal[ī]a....<sup>20</sup>  
[ ]<sup>21</sup> - - - - -
- 10 ~ ~ [lahdha]-vara-prasādah pratyarthī [pakṣa] ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ [ ]<sup>22</sup> - - ~ ~
- 11 ~ [ ]<sup>23</sup> - - ~ ~

<sup>1</sup> From impressions.

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

<sup>3</sup> Read *prithvī*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *śūpāśa*.

<sup>5</sup> The intended reading was something like *Ballāla-bhīpatīḥ*.



## No. 22—INSCRIPTIONS FROM MAIHAR

(1 Plate)

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(Received on 24.1.1961)

The two inscriptions published here were copied by us in October 1959 at **Maihar**, headquarters of the former State which now forms a Tahsil of the Satna District of Madhya Pradesh.<sup>1</sup> The records are marked as **A** and **B** for the sake of convenience. **A** is engraved on the pedestal of the goddess *Sāradādevī* whose temple stands on a hill, while **B** is incised on a slab of stone lying in the same temple. The four lines of writing in **A** cover an area about 15 inches in length and 3½ inches in height, while **B** contains 39 lines engraved on a well-dressed slab of stone having a raised border (about 3 inches wide) on all the four sides. The excavated bed within the borders, which is 34½ inches high and 31 inches broad, was originally meant for engraving the epigraph. Since the space was later found inadequate to incise the whole record, the first and last lines were engraved respectively on the upper and lower borders. The preservation of the writing in both the records is unsatisfactory. Many parts of the inscriptions here and there are rubbed off, though the number of passages, in which the letters are completely lost, are not too many.

Inscription **B**, which is a big *prastāva*, was noticed by J. D. Beglar, who visited Maihar (spelt by him as Mahiyār) in 1871-72, in Cunningham's *A. S. I. Reports*, Vol. VII, p. 51, in the following words: "... to the right of the steps leading upto the chief statue [in the shrine of *Dēvī Sāradā*] is a large slab, now cracked, which contains an inscription perfectly illegible from the effects of weather . . . .". This description of the record with reference to the state of its preservation is not quite correct.

The characters of both the records belong to the Early Nāgarī alphabet of the tenth century A.D. They, with the top of letters like *p*, *s* and *y* generally closed, very closely resemble the alphabet of such epigraphs as the Pratabgarh inscription<sup>2</sup> of the Pratihāra king Mahēndrapāla II, dated in V. S. 1003 (946 A. D.), though there is a notable difference between the alphabets of the Pratabgarh and Maihar records in the form of the medial *ē* sign. While the former indicates the medial *ē* by bending the left end of the top *vaṭṭā* of the consonants downwards, the sign in the latter is much longer as in records like the Dharampuri plates<sup>3</sup> of the Paramāra king Vākpati Muṣṭja, dated in V. S. 1031 (974 A. D.). But such letters as *ś* in the Dharampuri plates exhibit a decidedly later form than in the Maihar inscriptions. On palaeographical grounds, the epigraphs under study may be assigned to a date about the middle of the tenth century A.D.

The language of the inscriptions is Sanskrit and they are written in verse. In **A**, we have only one stanza while Inscription **B** contains a versified eulogy with a *maṅgala* in prose at the beginning, the expression *apī cha* occurring twice in between the stanzas and two passages in prose referring to the writer and engraver at the end. In orthography and style also, our inscriptions resemble the Pratabgarh inscription and other contemporary epigraphs. There is no date quoted anywhere in either of the inscriptions.

Inscription **A** contains a single stanza in *Sārdūlavikrīḍita* following a few damaged *akṣaras* at the beginning. It is of course tempting to regard these letters as forming a *maṅgala*. But

<sup>1</sup> Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra copied the inscriptions in 1940 and prepared their transcripts. We are indebted to him for the reading of some words.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 176, Plate facing p. 183.

<sup>3</sup> *Jed. Asi.*, Vol. VI, pp. 48 ff., Plate facing p. 51.

the stanza mentions a great scholar who was the very Vyāsa of the Kali age in poetic skill and became an expert in sciences like *vāda*, *agāya*, *śākhya*, *nīti* and *mīmāṃsā* even when he was a boy and this seems to refer to the young Brāhmaṇa scholar Dāmōdara whose career is described in **B** at some length. The inscriptions on the pedestals of images generally speak of the installation or dedication of the deities in question. It is therefore strange that the present record merely refers to the person in whose memory the goddess Sārādā (Sarasvatī) was apparently installed in a temple, the construction of which by Dāmōdara's father Dēvadhara is mentioned in Inscription **B**. It is thus possible that the few damaged *ślokaras* at the beginning of **A** represent the concluding part of another stanza. If such was the case, it has to be surmised that the beginning of this inscription, incised on the image elsewhere, escaped our notice while copying the record. As a matter of fact, the image of the goddess Sārādā is under worship and the priests allowed us to copy the epigraph on the front side of the pedestal of her image after considerable persuasion. Since, moreover, the stanza in *Sārādāśrīṅgītā* referred to above does not appear to be the concluding part of a record, it is possible to think that Inscription **A**, though it is followed by marks of punctuation indicating the end of a work or a section, was continued and concluded on the left side.

Inscription **B** begins with the *maṅgala*: *Ś sarakṣaḥ Sarasvatyaḥ* which is followed by a fairly big *prastāvi* in fifteen stanzas composed in various metres. Verses 1-2 of the *prastāvi* describe the goddess [Sarasvatī] as identical with Brāhmī, Kamalā and Gauṛī and as installed 'on this peak [of the hill]' and again refer to her abode on the hill. The reference is no doubt to the hill at Maihar, on which the inscribed slab has been found. The following stanza records the author's obeisance to the goddess Sarasvatī.

Verse 4 introduces a Brāhmaṇa named Śōpabhadra whose son, the learned Vūpati, born in the Vatsa *gōtra*, is mentioned in verse 5. The name of the *śikṣaya* or district where the Brāhmaṇa family flourished is not clear, though it may be *Gōvana*. The following stanzas mention the descendants of the said Brāhmaṇas: (1) Bhrigudēva, son of Vūpati (verse 6); (2) Gaṅgādharma born in Vūpati's family (verse 7); (3) Śivadēva-bhatta whose relationship with Gaṅgādharma is not stated though he may have been a younger brother of the latter (verse 8); (4) Trivikrama, son of Śivadēva-bhatta (verse 9); and (5) Dēvaprāsāda, son of Trivikrama (verses 11-12).

The description of the family in verses 13-19 is difficult to follow. Verse 13 either mentions the younger brother or the two sons of Dēvaprāsāda, though no personal name is clear from the extant part of the damaged stanza. It is also difficult to understand whether the description in the following stanzas relates to the younger brother or the younger of the two sons of Dēvaprāsāda or some other members of the family were introduced in the section. Verse 20 mentions Dāmōdara, whose description continues in verses 21-23, though it is not clear whether he was the same as the younger brother or son of Dēvaprāsāda or was a descendant of either of the latter. But the latter part of the record shows that this Dāmōdara was the son of Dēvadhara whose name therefore must have occurred in the damaged section referred to above probably as the younger brother or as the younger son of Dēvaprāsāda.

Verses 24-35 narrate a story relating to the antecedents of Dāmōdara. It is said that he was really the son of the goddess Sarasvatī and was living in Brahma-lōka along with the preceptor of the gods (Bṛihaspati) and that once there was a Śāstric dispute between the two, in which Bṛihaspati was defeated by the young boy (verses 24-26). Being angry at his defeat, the preceptor of the gods cursed the boy to be born on the earth (verse 27). The boy's mother Sarasvatī then appeased Bṛihaspati (verse 28) who consoled the daughter of Brahman (Sarasvatī) by predicting that her young son would be born in a family of pious Brāhmaṇas and would become a great

scholar (verses 29-34). The last stanza of this section (verse 35) puts the following words in Bṛihaspati's mouth: "Verily, this child will again come back to you as a result of being drowned in [the waters of] the sea after having seen Purushōttama in the Oḍra country." The reference here is to the god Purushōttama-Jagannātha of Puri in Orissa.

Verses 35-40 describe Dāmōdara's career on the earth, the first two stanzas (verses 35-36) stating that, at the time Bṛihaspati was consoling Sarasvatī in heaven, Dāmōdara was born as the son of Dēvadhara on the earth. It is further stated that, as predicted by the preceptor of the gods, he stayed in his (i.e. his father's) house till he became sixteen years old. The following two stanzas (verses 37-38) state how then Dāmōdara left his parents, friends and relations and, resolving to set out on pilgrimage, reached in due course the sea-shore where he saw the god Purushōttama. Verse 40 states that Dāmōdara went back to the world of Brahma where he told the people the story about himself. As indicated by the prediction in verse 35, he must have lost his life while bathing in the waters of the Bay of Bengal near the temple of Purushōttama-Jagannātha in Orissa. The next stanza (verse 41) says how his father became greatly mortified at the news of his son's death.

Verses 42-43 introduce a banker named Madhusūdana who was a devotee of the god Madhusūdana (Viṣṇu-Kṛiṣṇa) and a friend of Dāmōdara's father Dēvadhara. He is described as responsible for the building of many temples and other charitable institutions and as a poet and an incarnation of Vajradatta whose identity is uncertain, although he may have been the well-known author of the *Lōkēśvarastava*.<sup>1</sup> Verses 45-46 state how Dēvadhara built a temple for the goddess Sarasvatī in his son's memory while the previous stanza (verse 44) seems to suggest that he received help in that connection from his friend Madhusūdana. The temple referred to is no doubt the one in which the goddess Sīradā of Maihar was originally installed on the hill. Verse 47 says how Dēvadhara left his home and went to the world of Viṣṇu (i.e. died). It seems that he went to a holy spot with a view to giving up his life.

Verse 48 introduces a Śaiva ascetic named Sāmbhaśambhu whom the following stanza (verse 49) describes as a terror to the Chārvāka school of philosophers and as an adept in the Buddhist and Jain doctrines as well as in the *āgamas* of the Śaivas. From verse 50, we learn that this Sāmbhaśambhu was the author of the *prasaṅgi* under study. Verse 51, with which the eulogy ends, contains the prayer that the goddess (i.e. the image of Sarasvatī or Sāradā now worshipped on the hill at Maihar) may last for ever. The concluding section in line 39 states that the eulogy was written (i.e. written on the stone for facilitating the work of engraving) by Bhāva and that its engraver was Nāgadōva.

The inscription analysed above does not contain information of any importance to the student of the political history of ancient India. Still it is not devoid of interest to the student of Indian literature and cultural history. In the first place, it contains an as yet unknown work of a little known poet named Sāmbhaśambhu, though the composition cannot be regarded as of a high order. Secondly, if Vajradatta mentioned in verse 42 is really identical with the author of the *Lōkēśvarastava*, it offers one of the rare instances of the mention of an earlier poet in an epigraphic record. Thirdly, the inscription seems to indicate the popularity of the works of Bāṇa-bhaṭṭa. The story of Sarasvatī's son having been cursed by Bṛihaspati in Brahma-lōka and born on the earth reminds us of a similar story told in the first chapter of Bāṇa's *Harchochavita* how Sarasvatī herself was cursed by Durvāsas in Brahma-lōka and was compelled to live on the earth (the bank of the river Śoḡa) where she was married to a mortal and gave birth to a great scholar.

<sup>1</sup> Vajradatta, author of the *Lōkēśvarastava*, flourished at the court of Dēvapīla in the ninth century A.D. (S. N. Dasgupta, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Vol. I, p. 373).

Amongst informations in the text which would interest the student of Indian mythology and religious history, attention may be drawn to the representation of the goddess Sarasvatī as identical with Brāhmi, Kāmalā and Gaṇṇī and also as the daughter of the god Brahman. We know that our goddess of learning is variously represented in Puranic literature as the daughter or wife of Brahman (though Brahman's more well-known wife is Gāyatrī or Sāvitrī) and sometimes also as identical with Durgā, the wife of Śiva, as the wife of Viṣṇu or Manu, and as the daughter of Dakṣa.<sup>1</sup>

The reference to Dāmōdara's pilgrimage to Puri is very interesting. As we have seen above,<sup>2</sup> there is evidence to show that the god Purnashōttama-Jagannātha of Puri in Orissa was a celebrated deity in the latter part of the eleventh century A.D. when Kṛishṇamiśra wrote his *Prabōdha-chandrodaya* at the court of the Chandōla king Kirtivarman (c. 1070-1100 A.D.). It is now clear from the present record that the god was enjoying the same celebrity as early as the middle of the tenth century and probably even some time earlier.

Among the geographical names in the inscription, Ōjra has to be identified with the Puri-Cuttack region of Orissa.<sup>3</sup>

## TEXT\*

## A

- 1 तो . . .<sup>4</sup> । वेदे यत्तत्पुराननस्वरणदृङ्ग्यायप्रत्त(व)न्त्रे परः
- 2 सांख्यश्वातिपु नैपुणं परमगान्नीती च वाचस्पतिः । मी-
- 3 मांसामु चित्तक्षणः परमाहो वा(वा)ल्पेपि सर्व्वज्ञता येनावा-
- 4 पि किमुच्यते कलियुगव्यासः कवित्वं [प्रति]॥०॥

## B

[Metre : verses 1, 15, 22, 31, 50 *Śardūlavikrīṭita*, verses 2-8, 10, 11, 16-19, 21, 23-27, 29, 30, 32, 35-41, 43-47 *Anuṣṭubh*; verses 9, 13, 14, 20, 48 *Vasantatilakā*; verses 28, 33 *Pañcāṣṭha*; verses 12, 24, 42, 49, 51 *Sruṅgharū*.]

- 1 ॐ नमः सरस्वत्यै । या ब्रा(ब्रा)ह्मी कमलोद्भवस्य कमल [विष्णोश्च वक्षस्वर्ल]  
देहादेर्दे गिरिशस्य विश्वमहिता गीरी जगद्धिभुता । प्रत्यर्थास्थितासांद्रवि-  
म्ब(म्ब) ७ ७ - पिष्टातकस्वामकं ?]
- 2 सर्व्वार्त्माभिवाचारे गिरेर्भगवती नित्यं स्थिता चारुणि ॥१॥\* पञ्चैताधिनिवासेन  
... . . . . . परदेवी च वरदानैकतलरा ॥२॥\* सर्व्वविद्यात्मके  
देवि न-

<sup>1</sup> See Monier-Williams' *Sans. Eng. Dict.*, s.v.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. XXXIII, p. 184 and note 1.

<sup>3</sup> See *Strat. Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, pp. 134 ff.

<sup>4</sup> From inked impressions.

<sup>5</sup> The stanzas here appear to represent the concluding part of a stanza.

\* Metre: *Śardūlavikrīṭita*.

- 3 दिष्टे दूरवर्त्तनि । व(व)ह्यवववांषु(व)जोद्भूतो(ते) सरस्वति नमोस्तु ते ॥[३॥\*]  
धर्माचारविदग्धेषु मर्त्येषु धृतिसधसु । - वने विषये पुष्ये शोणभद्रे(द्रो)-  
तिविद्युतः ॥[४॥\*] तत्सूनुर्व्वपतिर्नाम वे-
- 4 दवेदांगपारगः । वत्सगोत्रे पवित्रेभूत्साक्षादिव पितामहः ॥[५॥\*] तद्वंशभूषणं भद्रो  
भृगुदेवो द्विजोत्तमः । व(व)भूव यशसां पूरैः परिपूरितदिङ्मूखः ॥[६॥\*]  
ततस्तदन्व-
- 5 ये धीरो विध्वस्ताशेषवं(व)धनः । गंगाधर इति ख्यातः समभूत्समदर्शनः  
॥[७॥\*] शरीरिणोव पुष्येन मूर्त्तेन श्रुतिराशिना । शिवदेवभट्टेनातः सान्वयाः  
पूर्व्वंभाविनः ॥[८॥\*] त-
- 6 स्माच्च शुभ्रचरितदचतुरश्रमूर्त्तिर्मान्यस्त्रिविक्रम इति प्रथितोऽहकीर्त्तिः । संपादिताधि-  
हृदयाभिमतानुरूपः प्रादुर्ब्ब(ब्ब)भूव भुवि कल्पतरोरनूनः ॥[९॥\*] षट्कमां-
- 7 भिरतस्वास्य सर्व्वकामाभिगामिनः । कुलशीलगुणोपेते स्वकलत्रे सुतोभवत् ॥[१०॥\*]  
समुद्र इव गांभीर्ये गुणे] माणिक्यरोहणः । देवप्रसादनामा[भू] . .
- 8 बाधंसमर्चनात् ॥[११॥\*] अपि च । रूपे कंदर्पकल्पो वचसि सुरगुणोर्व्वेद-  
विद्यासु वेधा व्यासः प्रजाविकाशे गुरुजनचित्त[ये] नूतनो राम[भद्रः] । स[त्ये]
- 9 धर्मस्य सूनुनिजकुलकुमुदानंददाने च चंद्रश्चारित्र्ये चित्रगुप्तः किमपरमसमः  
सज्जनत्वं दाधानः ॥[१२॥\*] सर्व्वद्विजेषु महितस्तत - ∪ - - - ∪
- 10 वेश्मनि ∪ - अतपौरभारः । तस्यानुजः सुजनलोचनपूष्णचंद्रः साक्षादुपेन्द्र इव  
लांगलिनो व(व)भूव ॥[१३॥\*] कात्या विडम्ब(म्ब)पति कांचनमेघ दीर्घ  
दामोच्छ्रवसत्कुवलय ∪ ∪ - ∪ -
- 11 - । गत्या वृषं वृषरतिर्नलकूव(व)रस्य रूपं जिगाय सुभ्रलक्षणलक्ष्ममूर्त्तिः  
॥[१४॥\*] अपि च । वेदाभ्यासपवित्रवक्त्रकमलः शास्त्रेषु पारंगतः काव्या-  
[ख्यानक]नाटकादिषु
- 12 परं प्रावीण्यमाप्तः स्वयम् । कर्त्ता चाद्भुतवस्तुरभ्यवचसां [आत्रा]मृतस्यंदिनां  
सूक्तीनां कुशलः कलासु सकलास्मृत्यर्थं? ] - - स्थिरः ॥[१५॥\*]  
व(व)हृमिः . . . . .

- 13 [इ]रीकृत्य कृत्यवित् । देवानाराधयामास वितुष्णः सप्ततंतुभिः ॥[१६॥\*]  
संसारसारतां ज्ञात्वा विदुषां न धुरि स्थितः । सर्व्वत्राचोक्तन[त्कूप]सरासि  
... [॥] [१७॥\*] ...
- 14 तु मरुदेसम ध्वजव्याजेन निम्मलम् । प्रससार नशस्तस्य प्राप वक्च(च्च)-  
द्रमडलम् ॥[१८॥\*] तस्मात्स्या स्यातिमापन्ना जगत्यापन्नपालनात् । ...  
इति . . . . .
- 15 . . [॥] [१९॥\*] -- ७ -- ७ ७ [निहृत्य रजस्तमांसि शापाक्ष[रा]इहितदुहं-  
दर्पसप्यः । दामोदरो विजितदुर्जयकोपमोहः संसार -- ७ ७ ७ -- ७ ७ -- ७ --  
॥[२०॥\*] पूर्वज-
- 16 न्मान्तरोपात्तसंस्कारस्य प्रभावतः । स वा(वा)ल एव गृण्वात्मा सर्व्वशास्त्राण्यवु-  
(वु)क्यत ॥[२१॥\*] अपि च । प्रद्युम्नः किमयं पुनः क्षितितलं प्राप्तः  
[स्वयं] कौतुकात्स्मृत्वा शंशव-
- 17 मेघ वारिधिमुताकाल्तो जयन्तः किमु । किम्वा तारकमारको दधदसावेकं मुलं  
लीलया भातीत्यं [चतुरद्वय कीर्तिविभवः] -- ७ -- ७ -- ॥[२२॥\*] एकसस्थः  
स्थिरप्रज्ञः सु-
- 18 कविर्वादिनां वरः । पिरगोभक्तोनूरक्तश्च श्रुतो धर्मपरश्च सः ॥[२३॥\*]  
सोयं सरस्वतीसूनुर्व(र्व)ह्यलोके वसन्पुरा । देवानां गुरुणा सार्द्धं जन्ययामास  
सन्मतिः ॥[२४॥\*] व(व)ह्य-
- 19 पदेदि सर्व्वेषां व(व)ह्यर्षीणां च पश्यताम् । विवादः मुमहानासीत्तयोर्व्विवाव-  
लिप्तयोः ॥[२५॥\*] सर्व्वज्ञत्वात्सुवकृत्वात्सरस्वत्वाः प्रभावतः । सप्तमेहनि  
वा(वा)लेन विजितो
- 20 देवतागुरुः ॥[२६॥\*] पराजयविलक्षणेन कोपेनाहुतभेतसा । शप्तः स वा(वा)लो  
गुरुणा मच्छ त्वं मर्त्यमण्डलम् ॥[२७॥\*] निशम्य तत्तस्य वचः सरस्वती  
सुतस्य शापात्परितप्तमातसा । प्र-
- 21 धामपूर्व्वैः करुणैरथोदितैः प्रसादयामास गुरुं दिवीकसाम् ॥[२८॥\*] न तस्या  
उपरोधेन दयार्द्रोक्तमानसः । व(वु)हस्पतिरुवाचेदं मा भंपीव(र्व)ह्यणः सुते  
॥[२९॥\*] तवायं वा(वा)-

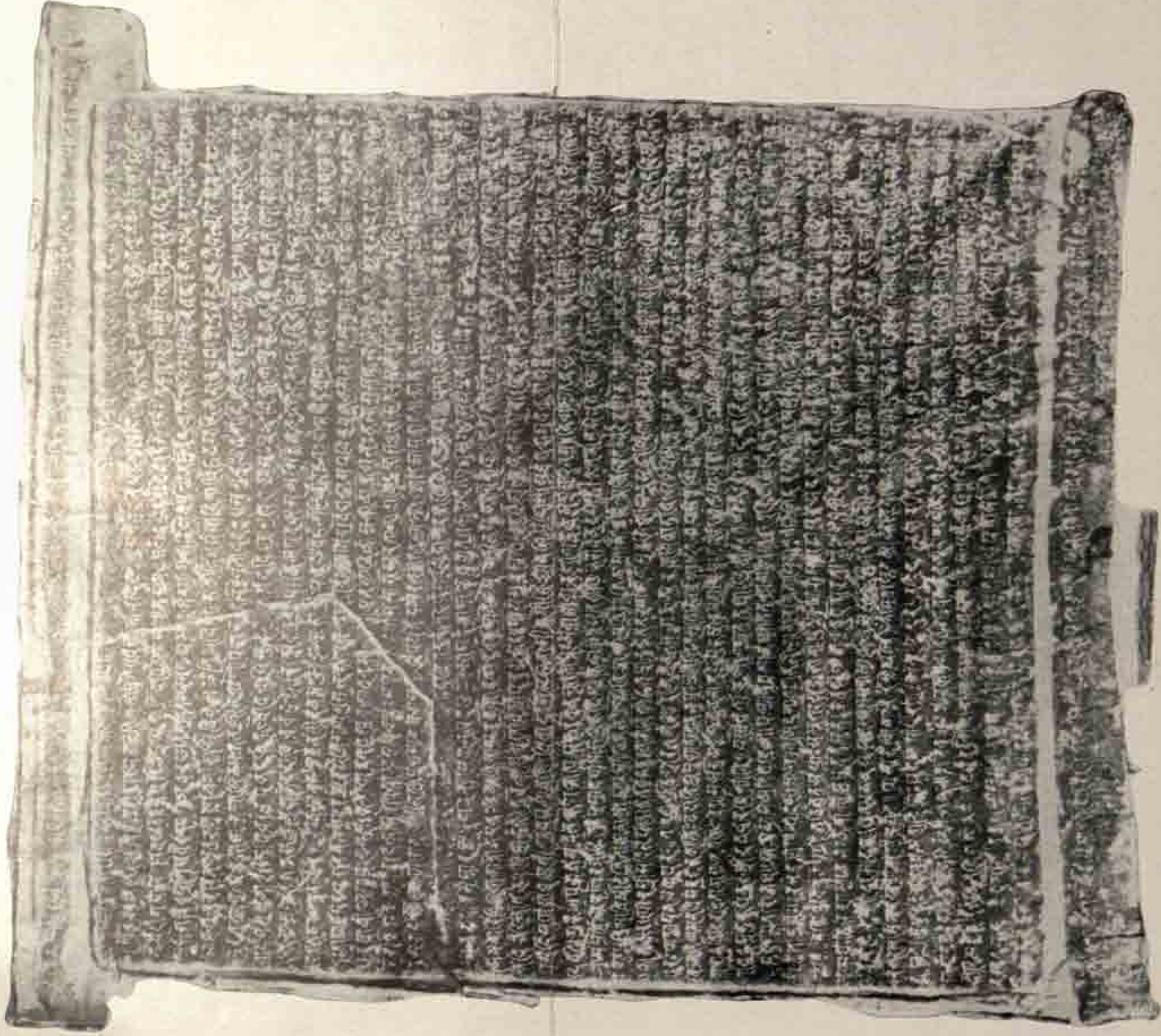
INSCRIPTIONS FROM MAIHAR

A



(from Photograph)

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34 36 38



(from Photograph)



- 22 लकः पुत्रि मा विधीद जितात्मनाम् । उत्पत्स्यते कुले पुष्पे विप्राणामृत्या-  
जिनाम् ॥[३०॥\*] मातुर्वेदमनि देवमदिरशिरोविन्यस्ताहस्तामनभ्राजत्काञ्चननिमि-  
तोरुकलशञ्चस्ता-
- 23 त्वकारोत्करे । पौरुत्रीसविलेपनोद्यतवृ(वृ)हद्रसोजविशोभितप्रादुर्भूततरंगसंगसुरभिक्रीडोल्ल-  
सदीविके ॥[३१॥\*] मुख्यः सुभगः श्रीमान्मव्वंशास्त्रविचारदः । भविष्यति सदा-
- 24 चारः काल्वायन इवापरः ॥[३२॥\*] तत्रश्च शुभ्रैश्वरितर्मनोरमैर्मानासि गृह्णन्पुरवा-  
सितां भुवि । स एष मित्त्रः सह रस्यते सदा गरुत्मकेतुनिवसन्निव वजे  
॥[३३॥\*] पुत्रस्ते वेद-
- 25 विद्यानिगमनविसरद्वन्तकान्तिः कदाचिच्छास्त्रव्याख्यानलुब्धैः(व्यैः) सुनिशितमतिभिव्वेष्ट्य-  
मानः कदाचित् । शिष्टानां सम्मताभिः कितितलतिलकः क्रीडामातः कदाचि-  
द्विद्वत्प्रवचनप्रव(व)-
- 26 न्यान्मुकविविरन्तितानाल्पतेयं कदाचित् ॥[३४॥\*] समुद्रमञ्जनाभ्रूनमोदेषु पुरुषोत्तमम् ।  
दृष्ट्वा तवातिके भूयः पुरागच्छत्ययं शिशुः ॥[३५॥\*] एवं सरस्वती यावदा-  
स्वासयति [गीर्णतिः ।]
- 27 तावत्तसूनुकल्पप्रः श्रीदेवधरवेरमनि ॥[३६॥\*] यथैव गुरुणाख्यातं तथा स्थित्वा  
स्वके गृहे । दामोदराभिधानोसी दिरष्टवर्षाकृतिः<sup>१</sup> ॥[३७॥\*] [परित्यज्य  
निजान्व(न्व)म् ?]-
- 28 न्मुहुरः पितरो तथा । यात्रायां स मति चक्रे शापस्यान्तवशादथ ॥[३८॥\*]  
तत्रश्च गणितैरेव दिवसैर्देवदुर्लभः । प्राप्तवान्वलषेस्तीरं दृष्टश्च पुरुषोत्तमः  
॥[३९॥\*] तेनैव
- 29 गच्छता भूमः परमं व्र(वृ)ह्मणः पदम् । आख्यातमिदमाख्यातं लोकानां तन्नि-  
वासिनाम् ॥[४०॥\*] दामोदरस्य वृत्तान्तममुमाकर्ण्य धीरधीः । कथं कथमपि  
प्राणान्पितास्य समघा-
- 30 रसत् ॥[४१॥\*] तन्मित्त्रं चित्रवेष्टाञ्जितविततयशाः सम्मतः सञ्जनानां  
पुण्यत्पारामवाटीसुरतदनसरःकीर्त्तनो(ने)तिप्रगल्भः । पौराणां श्रेष्ठिभावादुपजनित-

<sup>१</sup> One akshara is missing here.

- 31 मनःप्रोतिरखाम्यकेलिः कर्ता काव्यप्रव(ब)न्धे पुनरिव गूणवान्वज्जदत्तोवतीर्णः  
 ॥[४२॥\*] मधुसूदनभक्तोसो मधुसूदनसंज्ञितः । पुरमुद्यो(द्बो)तयामास प्रदीप
- 32 इव मंदिरम् ॥[४३॥\*] वामोदरपितानेन मुहुदा सममताम्पत् । समदुःखसुखेनायं  
 शोकशंकुञ्जतव्यथः ॥[४४॥\*] मुपुत्रस्नेहव(ब)न्धेन तदाख्यानं निवाम्य च । श्रीदेव-
- 33 घरनामामु सरस्वत्या अकारयत् ॥[४५॥\*] प्रामादं शिखरे रम्ये यशो  
 मूर्त्तमिव स्थितम् । भाति तस्यैव विप्रस्य विदुषः कृत्यवस्तुषु ॥[४६॥\*]  
 सोपि देवधरो श्रीरो निः\*सुत्प विधिव-
- 34 दृग्हात् । मुमुक्षुः क्षीणकर्मत्वाद्विष्णोः पदमगात्परम् ॥[४७॥\*] तस्मिन्पुरे पुरभि-  
 दस्करणारविन्दमाराध्य लब्ध(ब्ध)शुभवो(बो)धनिरस्तव(ब)ंधः । कां सन्निय(ब)न्ध  
 ~ ~ - ~ ~ मुत्तरैणुः]
- 35 पादांबु(बु)जः ~ ~ ~ - भुवि साव(ब)शंभुः ॥[४८॥\*] जगि च । भावाभावानुभाषी  
 त्रिभुवनभवनाभोगगर्भैकचंद्रश्चावाकांतकदम्बः कृतसुगतमतिर्ज्वेनविज्ञानकेतुः । संसारं-
- 36 भोधिमञ्जज्जनजनितनिजज्ञानहस्तावलयः(बः) शंवानामागमात्नामवगतमहिमा सव्वं-  
 दास्त्रेष्वभिजः ॥[४९॥\*] तेनेयं समकारि कल्मषमुधा शस्ता प्रशस्तिल्लंस-  
 लाव्यावज्जि-
- 37 तत्रेतदास्य विदुषा स्वोविक्रमस्य स्वयम् । तत्सूनीरव पवित्रवेष्टितशतैः  
 शदवत्सर्ता सम्मर्तः सन्तः सज्जनकीर्तनेषु महती यस्मान्मुदं वि(वि)भति  
 ॥[५०॥\*] ॥ ⊕ । ⊕ ।
- 38 देहादे चंद्रमीलिः कलयति गिरिजां यावदंभो ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ स्थलस्थां श्रियमधिवहति  
 प्रेमव(ब)न्धादुपेन्द्रः । ~ ~ ~ ~ ~
- 39 [ज्ञो?] च यावतावद्देवीयमास्ता गिरिशिखरमिदं पावयन्तो पृथिव्याम् ॥⊕[५१॥\*]  
 लिखिता भावेन । उत्कीर्णा च नागदेवेनेयं प्रशस्तिरिति ॥○॥

## No. 23—INSCRIPTION FROM WARI, SAKA 1467

(2 Plates)

DERALA MITRA, CALCUTTA

[Received on 29.11.1960]

During my visit to Malda in May 1959, an inscribed stone slab (now in the Malda Museum) was shown to me by Shri Shibendra Sekhar Roy, Pleader and Secretary of the Malda Museum, who stated that it had been found in 1958 by Shri Raghurandan Saha, Block Development Officer, during the Test Relief operation near a mound by the side of a large tank called Ratangāḍā, at Wari, 10 miles north of the Hariabhandrapur Police Station in the Malda District.

The inscription, engraved on the finished side of an otherwise irregular slab of basalt with letters in relief as generally found in Arabic and Persian inscriptions, contains six lines of writing. The length and breadth of the finished oblong face of the slab are respectively 1 foot 4½ inches and 5¼ inches. There is a socket on the back side, apparently for fixing it on the wall of the *manḍapa* referred to in the inscription. The writing has a raised border on all the sides. The letters are uniform in size and carefully made.

The characters of the record are Bengali and resemble those in the epigraphs and manuscripts of the 15th or 16th century found in Bengal and Assam. In regard to palaeography, the following points call for attention. The upper part of medial *i* generally shows, instead of the curve above the top *uḍṛā*, an oblique stroke coming downward to the left from the right end of the top *uḍṛā* and attached to the top of the concerned letter, as in *likḥyamānā*, *manā*, *Manubhā*<sup>1</sup> and *nīnamāya* (line 1). This type of *i* is found in a few dedicatory inscriptions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in some of the temples of Vishnupur in the Bankura District. Medial *u* at the foot of consonants like *n*, *p* and *s* (e.g. *Manubhā*<sup>2</sup> in line 1, *patrān* and *surān*<sup>3</sup> in line 3) is indicated by an angular attachment (resembling the tail of a fish), but has the modern Bengali form below such letters as *m*, *c*, *sh* and *d* (e.g. *manā* in line 1, *vīva(ba)ḍha* and *Vishva* in line 2 and *ḍepākhāḍā* in line 5). Medial *ā* in *mārtāḥ* (line 5) is denoted by an angular curve resembling the modern Bengali form of medial *ā*. *Amānā* is indicated by a dot near the top end of the right side of the letter and also by a dot put above a slanting *daṅḍa* tipped by a dot placed at the right of the letter as in *vāḍān* (line 5). *Vīvaṅga* resembles the Bengali figure for *ā* as in the copper-plate inscription of the time of king Vijayamāhikya of Tripura.<sup>4</sup> The *acagraha* sign has the same form as *h* without the top *uḍṛā*. The sign of final *m* in *Vīvaṅgātham* (line 4) resembles somewhat the mark of interrogation placed obliquely. The tongue of *ja* in *Vīghnāḍān* (line 3) does not come down as in the modern one but is finished with an upward curve as in the manuscript of the *Śekṛishyākīrtana*.<sup>5</sup> The letter *j* is yet to achieve its final Bengali form, while *ṅ* (e.g. in *vīva(ba)ḍhaṅḍānā* in line 2) shows an oblique *t*-like double curve attached to the left top of a vertical line. The letter *ṣ* has the shape of *s* (which of course is undifferentiated from *h*) with a dot inside the triangle as in the earlier of the two Barakar inscriptions<sup>6</sup> and in a stone inscription

<sup>1</sup> JAS, Letters, Vol. XVII, 1953, pp. 73-82.

<sup>2</sup> R. D. Banerji, *The Origin of the Bengali Script*, University of Calcutta, 1919, Plate VIII.

<sup>3</sup> JKASB, Letters, Vol. II, 1936, pp. 31 f., Plate 4.

of V.S. 1553 (1496 A.D.).<sup>1</sup> The letter *l* exhibits a single oblique curve attached to the right vertical line. The upper portion of *h* looks like that of *d*.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit and, except for the names of the two compounds, it is in verse. The following orthographical points may be noted: (1) reduplication of *m* in *Manubher-mandapash* but not in *sārair-mūllyai* (both in line 1); (2) the use of *acagraha* in *bhakty-ā-dhara* (lines 1 and 2) but not in *Mahāndr-ira* (line 2) and (3) the absence of the mark of the final consonant with *t* in *sākhāta* (line 2) but its presence with *m* in *Vīṣṇanātham* (line 4).

The inscription is dated in the Śaka year 1467, given in the chronogram *muni(7)-raasi(6)-Munu(14)*. The year corresponds to 1545-46 A.D.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple by a person named Mahendra with the image of Vishnu in the centre surrounded by Sūrya, Gaṇeśa, Pūrvaṭi and Vīṣṇanātha respectively in the south-east, south-west, north-west and north-east directions. Like a modern tolerant Śmārta, Mahendra rose above sectarianism and engaged himself in *pañcā-śpāsānā*.

The contents of this inscription made me curious about the structure itself. With a faint hope of getting some traces I visited the site from Maldā on the 24th April 1960 and found the remains, scanty though they are, faithfully answering to the description.

The main edifice consists of a square structure with a low platform-like stone-paved *epīṣam* around it. The brick walls of its outer periphery, about 4 feet thick, are veneered both internally and externally with smooth slabs of bluish basalt (*śula-sira* and *śil-śpala* of the inscription). Internally the structure is compartmented by a network of brick walls, about 3 feet 5 inches wide, into nine chambers (see Plate). The largest is the central chamber about 11 feet square, and it is surrounded by eight others—four squarish small rooms at the corners and four oblong bigger ones, on the four sides of the central chamber. The latter, no doubt served as porches to the central and the corner rooms, utilized as sanctuaries. The central chamber has three doors, one on the front and the others on the sides, leading to the porches, while each of the corner rooms has two doors communicating with the flanking porches, the latter having in addition doors leading outside, so that they have each four doors, except the western one behind the central chamber which has three. The floors of all the rooms were originally paved with bluish basalt slabs, traces of which still linger at places. The frames of the doors were also of stone, the sills and jambs of which are extant in many cases.

The central object of worship, i.e. Vishnu of the inscription, is now missing.<sup>2</sup> It no doubt stood against the doorless western wall of the central chamber. The dislodged pedestal of the image now lies in the adjacent north porch. *Pañcha-ratha* on plan and of bluish basalt, it is 5 feet 11 inches long and 2 feet 6 inches wide (at the maximum point), with a socket, 1 foot  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch by 7 inches in the centre of its rear end.

The corner rooms doubtless housed the remaining deities mentioned in the inscription. There is, however, at present no trace of them except that the north-eastern room still has *in situ* a *līnga* of bluish basalt with a large *arghya-patta*. The inscription itself had been found loose, according

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XIV, 1948, pp. 114 f.; Plate I. This type of *r* also occurs on the dedicatory inscriptions on the Mallāvat, Śyāmarāy, Jōḡ-bāgā, Kālikāhānd, Lāḷḷ, Rādhāvinōd, Murālmōhan and Madan-Gōpāl temples (all of the seventeenth century) of Vāṣṇupur.

<sup>2</sup> My enquiries revealed that a large image of Vishnu, which may be regarded as the central deity of the shrine, had been removed by a local person who is said to have thrown it in the neighbouring tank following a mishap in his family.

INSCRIPTION FROM WARI, SAKA 1467—PLATE I



2

4

6

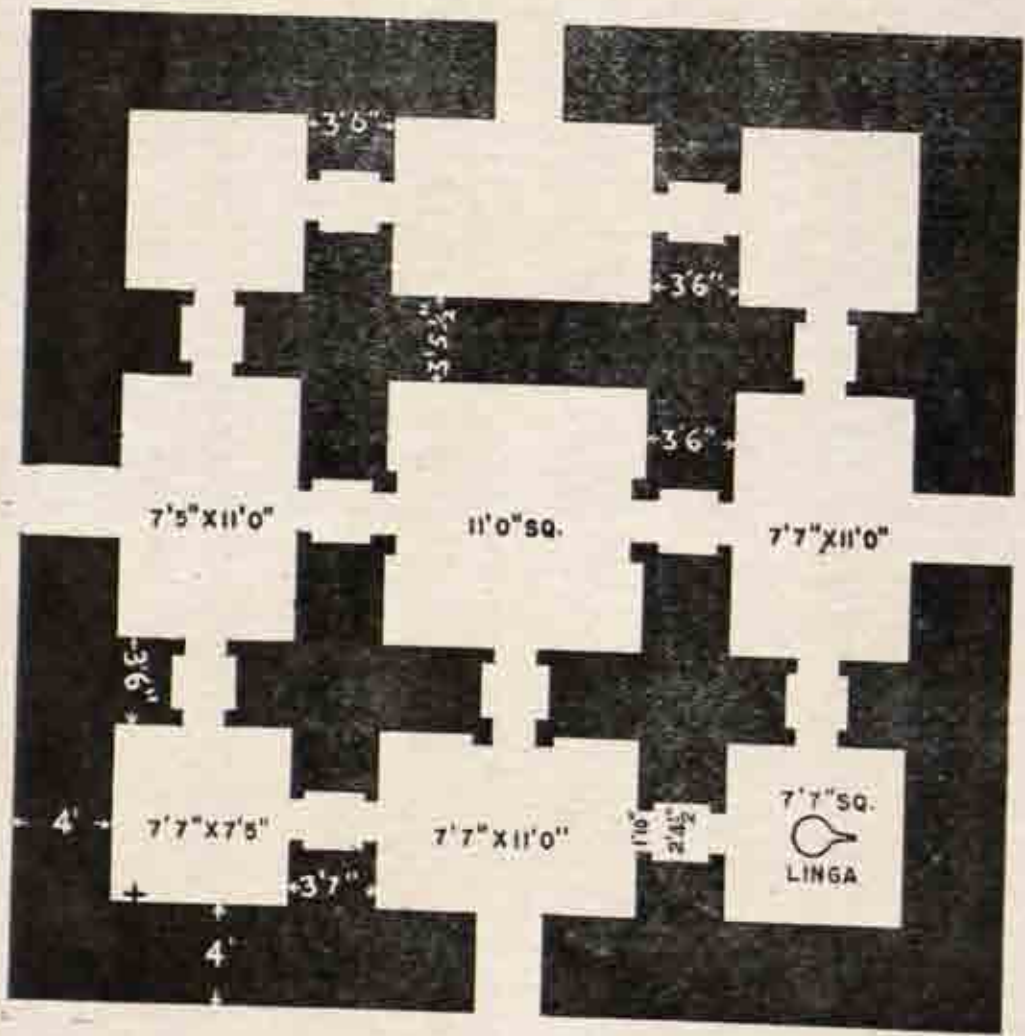
2

4

6

Size : One-half

# SKETCH PLAN OF THE PAÑCHĀYATANA TEMPLE AT WARI



EAST

+ FINDSPOT OF THE INSCRIPTION

TANK

to Shri R. N. Saha,<sup>1</sup> at whose initiative the site was cleared off its debris and who was kind enough to take me to the site, on the top of the extant wall in the south-eastern corner room, i.e. the chamber of Sūrya.

The facing brickwork of the partition-walls is fine and its mortar is lime, while lime and *surā* are used in the core. The filling in between the facing stones of the outer periphery is of brick courses alternating with layers of concrete consisting of lime and brick grits. The mortar is extremely strong even now.

The structure (*maṅḍapa* or *maṭha* of the inscription) was therefore a *pañc-āyatana* temple dedicated to the principal deities of the five recognized Brahmanical cults, namely, Vaiṣṇava, Śākta, Śaiva, Saura and Gāṇapatya, a remarkable combination under one roof. Although the spirit of rapprochement between the different rival Brahmanical creeds was at work from a fairly early period and syncretistic images, miniature temples with figures of different cult-deities on their faces and the *pañc-āyatana* temples consisting of a central one dedicated to the chief object of worship with four subsidiary temples at the corners of the quadrangle grew up in response to it, it seems to have gathered momentum after the conquest of Muslim rulers. The instinct of self-preservation appears to have prompted the votaries of the different Brahmanical deities to combine before a common foe who had no respect for their faiths.

Twelve feet away from the back (i.e. western) wall of the structure are the ruins of a row of nine brick cells connected with each other by side doors. It is not known whether similar cells, laid after a quadrangular monastic plan, existed on the three other sides as well. But this is not unlikely as the north-west end of the western wall shows a turn towards the north. To the east of the structure is the Ratangādā tank which, according to local belief, is the repository of *ratna* (treasures, precious things).

In the office of the Block Development Officer exists a fragmentary stone sculpture which, I was told by Shri R. N. Saha, was found in the debris of the structure. It represents an eight- or ten-armed goddess seated in *lotil-dāsana* on a double-petalled lotus. All the forearms with the attributes, except a water-pot (preserved on the lap), are now missing. Though it is tempting to identify the figure with that of Śailaputrī of the inscription, the image, as evident from the characters of the inscription on its pedestal, seems to be earlier than the temple-complex.<sup>2</sup>

Not far from the complex is another large tank, on the banks of which are remains of some more brick structures.

### TEXT<sup>3</sup>

[Metres : Verse 1 *Śrīgḍharā* ; verse 2 *Paśantatīlaka*.]

- 1 Śāk-ābdē likhyamānē muni-rasa-Manubhīr-*mmsa* | apāth śaila-sūrait-muktyai  
nirmāya bhā-  
2 kty-ā' dhṛita-vīva(bu)dhā-gaṇāth śrī-Mahēndrō-tra śākhāta(kshāt) | madhyē Viśvayam  
Kṛṣṇānōr-*ddi*-  
3 āi-Dīvasakarath nairīṭē Vighnarājāth vāvyō Śailaputrīth Harā-harīth sūrait-vvāndī-  
4 tāth Viśvanātham || [1\*] śrī-Gōvindamīrasya ||<sup>4</sup> Nī-śpalēna ghaṭīṭō maṭha śha ya-

<sup>1</sup> Shri Saha also mentioned a carved gate which he has kept beneath a huge stack of bricks.

<sup>2</sup> [See below, pp. 182-84.—Ed.]

<sup>3</sup> From the original.

<sup>4</sup> Between the two *dandas*, there is a floral motif within an oblong border.

- 5 sya saṅgharshaṇūd-upachītā kila sīla-mūrtīyā | śtanvatī vata vṛtth-aiva kalaśka-vādam  
6 vimvō(mbē) vidhūr-vvimala-bhāsi vibhāsi rēkhā || [2\*] śrī-Śatāvadhānasya ||<sup>4</sup>

## TRANSLATION

In the Śaka year which is being written by muni (7), rasa (6) and Manu (14), the illustrious Mahendra, out of devotion (and) for salvation, built, with the best stones, (this) maṇḍapa, which holds several deities, (with) Viṣṇu in the centre, the maker of the day (Śūrya) in the direction of Kṛiṣṇu (agni), Viṅharāja (Gaṇeśa) in that of Nirṛitī, the daughter of the mountain (Pārvatī) in that of Vāyu, and Viśvanātha, worshipped by gods, in that of Hara (Iśāna). (This is the composition) of the illustrious Gōvindamitra. Made of blue stones is this maṭha, the blue form of which is produced by burnishing. Alas! The (black) stain in the brightly-shining orb of the moon, which spreads the ill fame (of the moon), (now) shines in vain (i.e. the lustre of the black stain pales into insignificance before the shiny black stone of the maṭha).<sup>5</sup> (This is the composition) of the illustrious Śatāvadhāna.

<sup>4</sup> There is a floral motif here within an oblong border.

<sup>5</sup> (See below, p. 182.—Ed.)



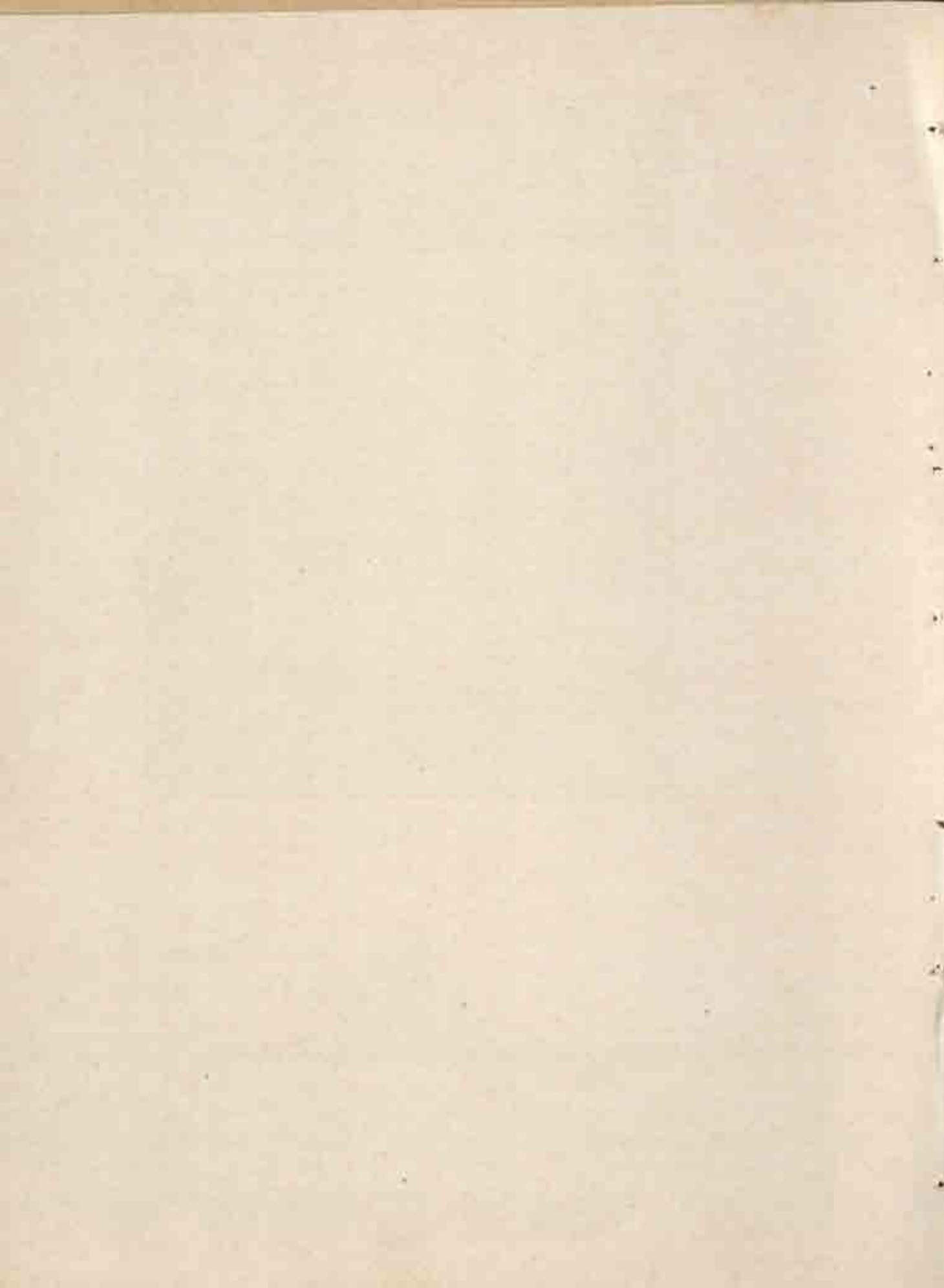


(from Photograph)



2

Size : Actual



## No. 24—NOTE ON INSCRIPTION FROM WARI

D. C. SINGAR, OCTACAMUND

(Received on 18.1.1961)

The Wari inscription of Śaka 1467 (1545-46 A.D.) has been edited in the foregoing pages (pp. 179-82) by Mrs. D. Mitra. The second of the two stanzas contained in the inscription runs as follows :

*Nī-śpalēna ghaṭitō matha śha yasya  
śukhāḥśhuyād-vpachitū kīla nīla-mūrttib |  
ātawati eata vrth-avira kalāṅka-vādan  
vimbē vidhūr-vimāla-bhāsi vībhāti vīkṣāḥ ||*

We are inclined to translate it into English in the following words : " This temple is built of blue stone, owing verily to the rubbing against which, the blue-coloured line developed in the spotlessly shining orb of the moon appears—oh wonder! spreading the story of a stain [in it] wrongly indeed." The reference here is really to the great height of the temple and we have the same idea also elsewhere in the works of Sanskrit literature. One such stanza occurs in Ananta-bhatta's *Bhāratachampū* to which my attention was drawn by Mr. S. Sankaranarayanan. The verse reads :

*Yasyānandagra-nṛipa-mandira-chandra-cūṭā-  
vātāyanē gati-vatūḍ-vapushē prasaktām |  
dīp-āgra-dhūma-maṣṭikām śūśrāmāsi-bimbē  
mōhū-kurāṅgi itī mūṣṭha-janē vidanti ?*

Mrs. Mitra has referred to a damaged stone sculpture representing 'an eight- or ten-armed goddess' now lying in the office of the Block Development Officer at Wari about ten miles from the Harishchandrapur Police Station in the Malda District. She observes, "Though it is tempting to identify the figure with that of Śailapatrī (i.e. Pārvatī) of the inscription [of 1545 A.D.], the image, as evident from the characters of the inscription on its pedestal, seems to be earlier than the temple-complex." She is right. On an examination of an impression of the image inscription in question, I find that its characters are about six or seven centuries earlier than the epigraph of 1545 A.D. Moreover, the contents of the epigraph, as read by us, show that the image on which it is engraved is that of the goddess Sarasvatī.

The Wari Sarasvatī image inscription is written in two lines which cover an area about 6-7 inches in length and 1-1 inches in height. Its characters belong to the transitional stage when Gauḍī was developing out of Siddhamātrikā. It may be noticed that the top of the letters *p*, *m*, etc., is open in some cases (e.g. *p* in *yakṣa* and *m* in *mūrttib* in line 2) but closed in others (e.g. *p* in *śrimat-Padma*<sup>o</sup> and *m* in *nirvāṇamāsa* in line 1 and *p* in *purē* and *s* in *sa-śrē* in line 2). We know that the top of such letters is only rarely open in the Pāla and Chandra inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries A. D. The inscription may thus be assigned on palaeographical

<sup>o</sup> Ed. G. C. Des, Bombay, p. 1, verso 3.

grounds to a date before the close of the tenth century. The record, which is written in the Sanskrit language, contains a single stanza in the *Anuśṭubh* metre, the two halves of which are engraved in the two lines of writing. There are orthographical errors; cf. *giri-uishā* for *giri-uishā* in line 1 and *pakka* for *pakva* in line 2. Of lexical interest is the expression *pakva-pura* in line 2, which appears to be the Sanskrit rendering of Bengali *pākā-bāḍī*, 'a brick-built house'.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of an image of the goddess Sarasvatī by a person named Padmagiri. The image is stated to have been made [for installation] in the brick-built house of Padmagiri's preceptor whose name is not mentioned in the epigraph. The *pakva-pura* or brick-built house seems actually to have been a temple built by the person in question.<sup>1</sup> The special mention of the shrine as brick-built is due to the fact that, as is the case even now, many deities were worshipped in thatched houses in the area in question. Padmagiri's name ending with the word *giri* is interesting. Whether this indicates that he was an ascetic of a particular order cannot be definitely determined since personal names like Nandagiri and Mahendragiri occur in very early inscriptions<sup>2</sup> while we have no such early reference to ascetics bearing names ending in *giri*. But Padmagiri's epithet *nirmamaḥ*, 'one who has renounced all worldly ties', seems to support such a conjecture.

If Padmagiri was a Brahmanical ascetic, the goddess was the Brahmanical Sarasvatī and not the Buddhist or Jain deity of that name. But it may be noted in this connection that the early medieval images of the goddess Sarasvatī found in Bengal, whether Brahmanical or otherwise, are generally represented with two or four arms, and not with eight arms.<sup>3</sup> Since the image in question is known to be that of Sarasvatī from the inscription it bears, we get here a unique instance of the eight-armed Sarasvatī, even though such a conception of the deity is sometimes met with in Puranic literature. The *Durgāyatsāhī*,<sup>4</sup> e.g. speaks of an aspect of Sarasvatī with eight arms holding respectively arrow, pestle or club, trident or lance, discus, conch, bell, plough and bow. But what Mrs. Mitra describes as a water-pot on the lap of the deity seems to be the lower end of the lute which is one of the common attributes of several forms of the deity. If the image had really ten arms as alternatively suggested by Mrs. Mitra, the additional two arms may have held the lute.

## TEXT

- 1 Śrīmat-Padmagirīna(g-ai)hā nirmamāna vi[nirmamaḥ] |  
2 gurōḥ pakka(kva)-purō mūr[tiḥ] sa-sārō cha [Sara]s[va]tī [!]

## TRANSLATION

This image—the Sarasvatī—was constructed by the illustrious Padmagiri, who is free from connection with the outer world, (for installation) in the strong brick-built house (i.e. a temple) of (i.e. raised by) (his) preceptor.

<sup>1</sup> The word *bhavana*, which is a synonym of *pura*, is sometimes used in the sense of 'a temple' (Lindorff List, No. 952).

<sup>2</sup> The name Nandagiri occurs in two inscriptions from Barham (cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 58) and King Mahendragiri of Pāṭliputra is known from the Allahabad pillar inscription (cf. *Ind. Ins.*, p. 256, text line 28, and p. 257, note).

<sup>3</sup> Bhattacharya, *Icon. Ind. Buddh. Sculp. Decca Mus.*, pp. 181-90. For the Buddhist Sarasvatī with two or six arms, see Bhattacharya, *Ind. Bud. Icon.*, 1928, pp. 249-52; cf. Getty, *G. N. Hist.*, p. 113.

<sup>4</sup> Venkatesvara ed. 1916, p. 281, verses 14-15:

Gaurī-śāhī-mamāśāhā yā sata-sila-paśādrāp |  
śāhāḥ-Sarasvatī prāpta Saubhāgava-nāurāhā |  
Cāhān-ek-śāhī-śāhā śāhī-mamāśāhā śāhī-śāhī-śāhī |  
śāhān-śāhān-śāhān-śāhān-śāhān-śāhān-śāhān-śāhān |

<sup>5</sup> From an impression.

## No. 25—THREE PARAMARA INSCRIPTIONS

(I Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 28.8.1960)

### 1. Bhōjpur Fragmentary Inscription of the time of Bhōja I

This inscription is engraved on the pedestal of a colossal image of a Jain Tirthaṅkara in the old Jain temple at Bhōjpur in the Goharganj Tahsil of the Raisen District, Madhya Pradesh. The village lies about 16 miles from Bhopal. There are only two lines of writing in the epigraph, the first of which is bigger than the second and contains letters of a slightly bigger size. The aksharas in line 1, which is about 21 inches long, are about  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch in height, while those of line 2 (about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  inches shorter than line 1) are a little less than  $\frac{1}{2}$  an inch high.

The inscription is fragmentary, the extant part containing about  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the original writing. About  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the inscription is broken away from the beginning. Several aksharas have also been broken away from a few other places in line 1.

The characters of the inscription are Nāgarī of about the eleventh century A.D. They resemble the alphabet of the records of the time of Paramāra Bhōja I (c. 1000-55 A.D.), to whose age the inscription under study also refers itself. 'r' and 's' have been written alike. The ornamentation of the *anusvāta* in *Chandrārādha* in line 1 is interesting. The language is Sanskrit and the record is written in two stanzas. The extant part of the record does not bear any date. But it can be referred to a date about the middle of the eleventh century A.D.

There is a verse in the *Vasantatilaka* metre in line 1. Its first half refers to Chandrārādhamanī (i.e. the god Śiva) and the second half to [Rājā]rāja-Paramāra Bhōjadēva. The deity and the reigning monarch may have been introduced by a word like *jayati*; but no verb can be traced in the extant part of the stanza. The palaeography and findspot of the inscription suggest that this Bhōjadēva is no other than Paramāra Bhōja I.

Line 2 contains another stanza in the *Upajiti* metre in the first half of which we can read the passages *Sāgaranandī-nāma*, while the second half has *sa Nēnichandrō vidudhē pratishṭhām . . . Śā(Sā)hī-jīnasya mā(sū)riḥ*. It is thus clear that the object of the inscription is to record the installation of an image of Śānti-jina, i.e. the Jain Tirthaṅkara Śāntinātha, on the pedestal of which it is engraved. The person responsible for its installation was apparently a Jain householder named Sāgaranandin, while the ceremony of installing the image was performed by a Jain monk named Nēnichandra-sūri. Although it is a Jain epigraph, the invocation of Chandrārādhamanī or Śiva in verse 1 seems to suggest that the author of the two stanzas, in which the record was composed, was a Śaiva. The said god may have also been mentioned in connection with king Bhōja who is known to have been a devotee of Śiva.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it associates Paramāra Bhōja I with Bhōjpur or Bhōjapura, 'the city of Bhōja'. It appears that Bhōjpur was named after the said Paramāra king. Recently the Government of Madhya Pradesh published a small book in Hindi on the antiquities of Bhōjpur. Its learned author, Muni Kāptisāgarī, had to satisfy himself with some speculation on the origin of the name of the village. This is because he does not appear to have succeeded in deciphering the inscription under study.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>[Metres : Verse 1 *Vasantatilaka* ; verse 2 *Upajitā*.]

1. ————— [kā]rē Chandraśrīdhamulir-saamaḥ sama ————— [!]<sup>2</sup> —————  
 m-ādbhuts-k[rtti] ————— \* rājaparamēśvara-Bhōjadēvaḥ || [1]<sup>3</sup>
2. ————— ra[h] Sā[ga]ranashdi-nāmā | sa Nē[m]icham[d]r[ō] v[ī]-  
 dadhē pratishṭhāch sudurlabhaḥ Sā[śāh]ti-jinasya mū[ṣi]riḥ || [2]<sup>4</sup>

## 2. Bhōjpur Inscription of the time of Naravarman, Vikrama 1157

This small inscription is engraved on the pedestal of an image of the Jain Tirthankara Pāriśvanātha installed in the Jain temple at the village of Bhōjpur lying, as we have seen, in the Goharganj Tahsil of the Raiesa District of Madhya Pradesh, which has yielded the inscription of the time of Paramāra Bhōja I, edited above. There are only four lines of writing in the present record, the space covered being about three inches in height. The length of the inscribed area is about ten inches at the top and about seven and a half inches at the bottom. Individual akṣaras are about half an inch in height.

The characters of the inscription are Nāgarī of the eleventh or twelfth century. Its language is Sanskrit, but the orthography is full of errors. The record is written in prose and verse, there being only one stanza in the *Avasthābhā* metre. The inscription refers itself to the reign of Naravarman, no doubt the Paramāra king of that name, whose known dates range between Vikrama 1151 (1094 A.D.) and 1190 (1133 A.D.). It is dated in Vikrama 1157 (1100-01 A.D.).

The inscription begins with the date, *Sukhvat 1157*, without further details. Line 1 refers to the *śāhājya* (i.e. the sovereignty or dominions) of Naravarman. Next is mentioned the *Vamāka-śreyas* (i.e. the Vemaka family) to which the person responsible for the epigraph belonged. This is followed by a stanza in *Avasthābhā*, which records the object of the inscription. It is stated that two Jina (i.e. Tirthankara) images were installed by a person named Chillaga who was the son of Śrīśāhās Hāma and the grandson of Nēmichandra. Chillaga, who belonged to the mercantile community, was probably a resident of Bhōjpur.

There is no geographical name in the inscription.

TEXT<sup>5</sup>

1. Sam[<sup>v</sup>]at<sup>6</sup> 1157 |<sup>7</sup> [śr]-Naravarmma-śvā[śā]mrājyē Vēma-  
 2. k-śāvaya(yā) | Nēmicha[m]dha(śra)-sa(su)taḥ mē(śrē)shṭhī Rām-śkhyō nā-  
 3. śi-antīyah<sup>8</sup> [!]<sup>9</sup> tat-putra-Chillag-śkhyēna Ji(na)-  
 4. yugmaśi pratishṭhitam(tam) ||

<sup>1</sup> From impressions.

<sup>2</sup> It is expected that the *śi* symbol was engraved at the beginning.

<sup>3</sup> The letters lost here may have been *śāh*.

<sup>4</sup> The first three syllables at the beginning of this foot appear to have been *rājāśi*.

<sup>5</sup> Read *śreyas*.

<sup>6</sup> This mark of punctuation is indicated by a *retorno*-like sign.

<sup>7</sup> The intended reading may be *śāh*-suprafix.

### THREE PARAMARA INSCRIPTIONS

1. Bhōjpur Fragmentary Inscription of the time of Bhōja I



2

2. Bhōjpur Inscription of the time of Naravarman, Vikrama 1157



2

4

2

4

3. Bhilsa Inscription of the time of Jayasinha, Vikrama 1320



2  
4  
6  
8  
10

Size : One-third



## 3. Bhilsā Inscription of the time of Jayasimha, Vikrama 1320

This small inscription engraved on a stone slab, bearing the representation of the donkey-and-woman motif, was copied by me in October 1958 in the Archaeological Museum at Bhilsā on the Central Railway. The name of this well-known place is now sought to be changed to Vidiśā, although Vidiśā is really modern Besnagar opposite Bhilsā, on the other side of the Betwa. Such wanton change of geographical names has been the fashion of the day, though in the present case the correction seems to be unwarranted since, not only was the heart of the ancient city of Vidiśā situated outside modern Bhilsā, the early name of Bhilsā was Bhāllasvāmin or Bhallasvāmin which was really the name of the Sun-god worshipped at the place. This name, as we have seen elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> can be traced as early as the ninth century A.D. Of course, the name Vidiśā, capital of the ancient Ākara or Daśārpa country, is much earlier.

The inscription contains ten lines of writing which covers an area about 19 inches in length and about 11 inches in height. But only the first two lines of the record have the full length, lines 3-10 being much shorter since they are engraved towards the right of the space (about 11 inches by 11 inches) occupied by the donkey-and-woman motif referred to above. Individual aksharas are roughly about an inch in height. The engraving is careless and the preservation of the writing not quite satisfactory.

The characters of the record are Nāgarī of about the thirteenth century. The top of the double *daḍa* is joined in one case. The language is corrupt Sanskrit and its orthography full of errors. *Ā* and *ṣ* have been represented by *ā* and *ṣ* respectively. The inscription refers itself to the reign of king Jayasimha apparently of the Paramāra dynasty. It bears the date: Vikrama 1320, Vaiśākha-sudi 3, Thursday. The date corresponds regularly to the 12th April 1263 A.D. The year was Kārttikādi current.

The inscription begins with a *Siddham* symbol which looks like the numeral 0 and is not usually found in inscriptions. Line 1 quotes the date referred to while line 2 speaks of the reign of Jayasimha as well as of Bhallasvāmidēvapura (i.e. modern Bhilsā) where a pious act was performed by a lady. The object of the inscription is to record this pious deed. Lines 2-7 contain a sentence stating that *Dēvī Sānumati* dedicated an object at Bhallasvāmidēvapura for the *erigms of Paśu Tho.* (i.e. *Paśūta Thakura*) Madanasimhadēva while lines 7-10 contain the *gārdābha* curse. The said Madanasimha seems to be called *Pubhāni-nāyaka* probably meaning 'the ruling chief of a territory called Pubhāni'. *Dēvī* (i.e. queen) Sānumati was probably one of his wives. The queen appears to be described as *Kuptakātha* meaning, 'resident of a locality called Kuptakā'. The name of the object granted by Sānumati seems to read *drōmūla* which appears to be the name of a locality. The donee is not mentioned probably because it was a deity in whose temple the inscribed slab was set up. It is difficult to say whether this deity was the god Bhallasvāmin himself, though that is quite probable.

The importance of the inscription lies in its reference to Bhallasvāmidēvapura in the dominions of king Jayasimha in 1263 A.D. since this king is undoubtedly the Paramāra monarch Jayasimha-Jayavarman for whose reign we have records of Vikrama 1312 (1256 A.D.), 1314 (1258 A.D.), 1317 (1261 A.D.) and 1331 (1274 A.D.).<sup>2</sup> According to Muslim historians, Sulṭān Iltutmish (1212-36 A.D.) of Delhi captured the fort of Bhilsā in A.H. 632 (1233-34 A.D.) and demolished the temple of Bhallasvāmin while Jayasimha-Jayavarman's Mādhātū plates of Vikrama 1331 (1274 A.D.) state that his father Dēvapāla (known dates between Vikrama 1275 and 1289, i.e. 1218-32

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 210 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., Vol. XXXII, pp. 140, 146.

A.D.) killed an *ādhipa* of the Mlōchhās (i.e. a chief of the Muhammadans) near the city of Bhāillasvāmin.<sup>1</sup> This *Mlōchhā-ādhipa* was probably the Muslim governor in whose charge Bhilsā was placed by Sulṭān Iltutmish and the reconquest of Bhilsā by the Paramāra king Dēvapāla, whose rule seems to have ended in 1236 A.D., seems to have taken place shortly after its capture by the Muhammadans. The reconquest of Bhilsā by the Hindus is further suggested by the fact that the Khaljī Sulṭāns of Delhi had again to conquer the city about half a century later.<sup>2</sup> The present inscription shows that Bhilsā continued to be under the Paramāra kings for several decades after its re-conquest by Dēvapāla before his death about 1236 A.D. at least down to 1263 A.D.

The geographical names mentioned in the inscription, besides Bhāillasvāmidēvapura, are Pabhāni, Kuptakā and Dvōrmēla. I am not sure about their location.

#### TEXT\*

- 1 Siddham\* || sarivat 1320 varahē Vaisāsha(kha)-sudi [3]<sup>†</sup> Gur[au] ady-ē[ha]
- 2 [ārī-Bhaī]llasvāmidēva-purē [rī(-Jayasimhadē[va\*]-rājyē Pabhā-
- 3 [nī]-anā(nā)yaka-patī[ha-Madanasi(sir)]-
- 4 ha[dē\*]va-irēya(yō)-nimitta[in] Ku-
- 5 ptakā[stha]-dēvī Sānu-
- 6 matī<sup>‡</sup> Dvōrmēla[in] pra-
- 7 dattam(ttam) | yō na da-<sup>§</sup>
- 8 dāti tasya mā-
- 9 tē\* garddabhō ja-
- 10 bhāti:<sup>¶</sup> ||

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 145.

<sup>2</sup> See, cit. Reference is sometimes made to Ballian's invasion of Malwa about 1236 A.D. (*The Struggle for Empire*, p. 102). But this was an attack on the Jajapolles of Nurwar (*Cont. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. III, p. 66).

\* From impression.

† Expressed by symbol.

‡ The reading of the numeral may be 2 also.

§ Read *dēvī Sānuvatyā*.

¶ This seems to be the name of a locality.

\*\* There is an unnecessary *da* after this *abāra*.

†† Read *matram*.

‡‡ Read *paṭhāti*.

## No. 26—MORE BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 27.1.1961)

### 1. Three Barhut Inscriptions in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Vārānasi

Eight Barhut inscriptions have recently been published by us in the pages of this journal, one<sup>1</sup> secured for the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan attached to the Hindu University, Vārānasi, and seven<sup>2</sup> for the Allahabad Municipal Museum. When we visited the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan at Vārānasi in the month of December 1960, we were glad to find there three more inscribed stone slabs from Barhut in addition to the one previously noticed by us.

The texts of the three inscriptions published in the following lines are already known to us from the works of Cunningham,<sup>3</sup> Lüders<sup>4</sup> and Barua and Sinha.<sup>5</sup> Hoernle and Hultzsch did not deal with these epigraphs in their articles on the Barhut inscriptions.<sup>6</sup> As in the case with other inscriptions from Barhut, the characters of the epigraphs under study are Early Brāhmī of about the second century B. C. and their language is Prakrit.

#### No. 1

This inscription in one line (8·7 inches long), having individual letters a little less than an inch in height, reads:

*Paḍḍelakasaḥ Pu[sa]kasa s[us]hā dāna[m] [?]*

"[This] rail-bar is the gift of Pusaka (Pushyaka), the Paḍḍelaka (inhabitant of Paḍḍala)."

#### No. 2

The inscription is written in a single line 9·7 inches in length. Individual letters have the same height as in No. 1. It reads:

*[A]sitamasāya Valimitasa dāna[m] [?]*

"[This is] the gift of Valimita (Valimitra) [hailing] from Asitamasā."

The personal name *Valimita* was read by Cunningham and others as *Valamita*. The geographical name *Asitamasā* seems to suggest that it was a locality situated near the confluence of two rivers called *Asi* and *Tamasā*, the latter being the modern *Tous* running about two miles from Barhut.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 206.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 57 ff. and Plate.

<sup>3</sup> *Stūps of Bharhut*, p. 142, Nos. 61-63 and Plate LVI.

<sup>4</sup> Lüders' List, Nos. 876-78.

<sup>5</sup> *Barhut Inscriptions*, p. 32, Nos. 60-62.

<sup>6</sup> *Jed. As.*, Vol. X, pp. 118 ff., 233 ff.; Vol. XXI, pp. 225 ff.

<sup>7</sup> The *alshara* may be read as *pi* also.

<sup>8</sup> Macron over *e* and *o* has not been used in this article.

<sup>9</sup> The mark of punctuation is indicated by a specific sign.

## No. 3

The length of the single line in which this inscription has been written is 7·8 inches and individual letters in it are of the same height as in Nos. 1-2. The line reads :

[Parakā]śh[ā]y[ā] Sirimāyā dānam [i\*]

"[This is] the gift of Sirimā (Ścimāt), the Parakāśikā (inhabitant of Parakata)."

The reading of the first *akṣara* is doubtful and it is uncertain whether there is another *akṣara* before what has been read as *pa*. *Parakāśikāya* may also mean '[hailing] from Parakāśikā.'

## 2. Durā Inscription of the time of Kanishka, Year 16

This small inscription is incised on a pillar which was discovered in the village of Durā in the Kiraoli Tahsil of the Agra District, U. P., by an Exploration Assistant of the Archaeological Survey of India, attached to the Northern Circle, Agra. The inscribed pillar is now lying at the office of the Superintendent of the Department of Archaeology at Agra. The inscription was copied by me about the end of August 1960.

There are only seven lines of writing in the inscription, the inscribed space covering about 8½ inches in breadth and 7¼ inches in height and individual *akṣaras* being a little above ¼ inch high. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory, many letters being damaged especially in the lower half of the record.

The characters of the inscription belong to the Brāhmī alphabet of the middle stage. The initial vowel *e* and the numerical symbols for 10 and 6 occur in line 2. The language is an admixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit as in many other inscriptions of the age of the Kushānas. The record is dated in the year 16 of the reign of Mahārāja Kanishka [I], the name of the king being spelt as *Kānīshka* as in some other epigraphs.<sup>1</sup> The date of our inscription is thus the year 16 of the Kanishka era, which is now generally identified with the Saka-kāla of 78 A.D., and corresponds to 94-95 A.D. There are no other details of the date quoted in the record.

Lines 1-3 quote the year 16 of (the reign of) Mahārāja Kanishka. But the passage *ataya pūvay* (*atayām pūvāyām*) follows *Maharajasya Kānīshkasya savachhara 16* (*Mahārājasya Kānīshkasya savachhara shodāśe*), without actually mentioning the *tithi* to which it refers. Lines 3-5 speak of a lady named Vardhantikā belonging to a family of village-headmen of the Āti clan and the Rishishheya (Ārshīshheya) gotra (*grāmicānām Ātīnām Rīshīshheya-sagotrāna Vasudatta-putrīyā Vardhantīkayā*, i.e. *grāmicāyām-Ātīnām-Ārshīshheya-sagotrāyām Vasudatta-putrīyā Vardhantīkayā*). Lines 6-7 state that the said lady dedicated a house in favour of a community the name of which cannot be read (. . . *tīkātī grāho datta*, i.e. . . . *tīkātīyāḥ grāham dattam*). The record appears to conclude with a prayer to the effect that the meritorious deed might be for the welfare of the people (*lokānām āyase-stu*).

## TEXT\*

- 1 [Maha]rajasya Kānīshkasya [sari]-
- 2 [va]chhara 10 6 sta[ya pū]-
- 3 [vaye grā]micānām Āti[nām Rī]-
- 4 shīshheya-[sa]gotrāna

<sup>1</sup> See *Select Inscriptions*, p. 134.

\* From impressions.

1. Three Barhut Inscriptions in the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan, Vārāṇasī

1



2

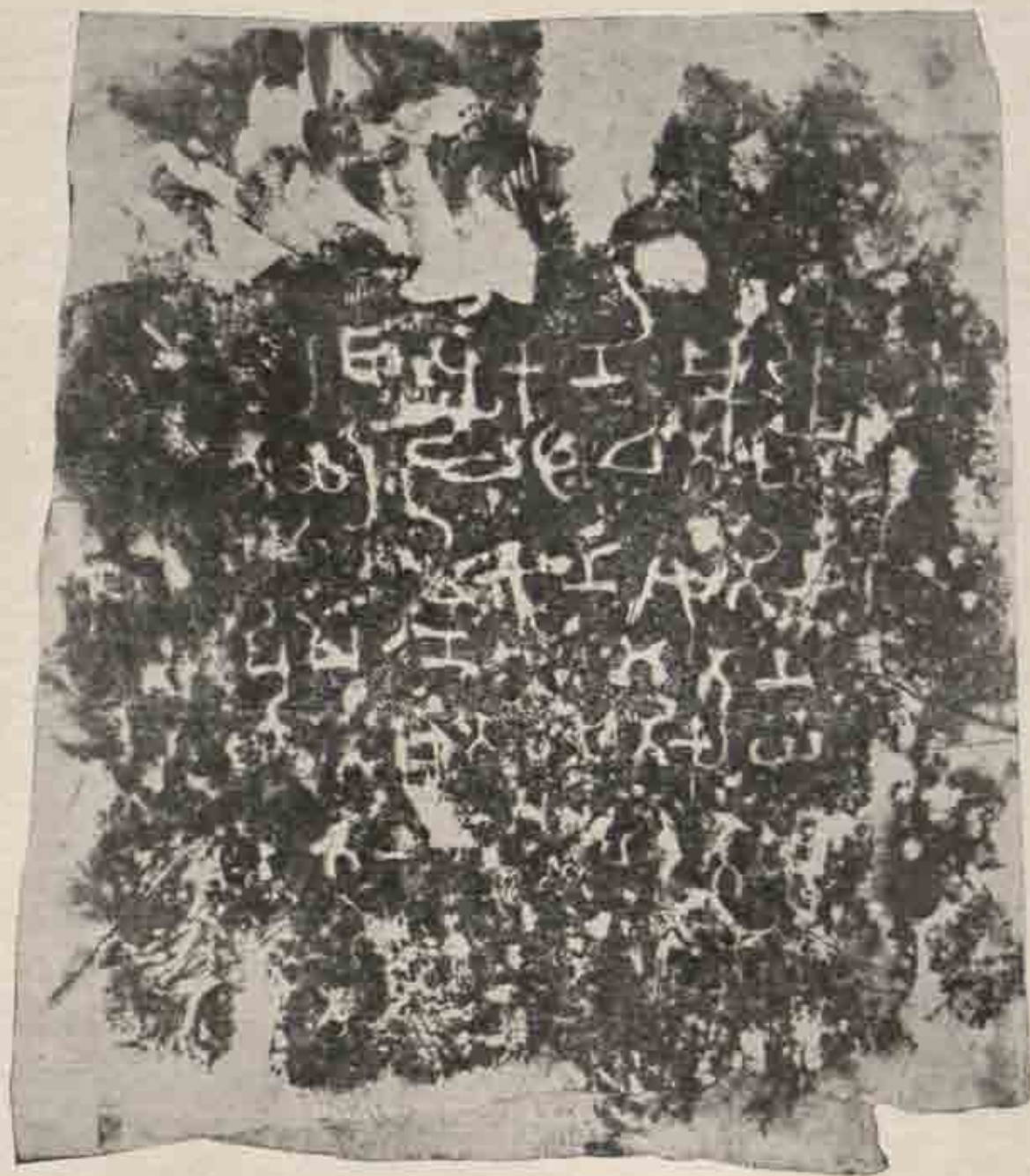


3



Scale : One-half

2. Durā Inscription of the time of Kanishka, Year 16



Scale : One-half

5 [Vasuda]ta-[puttr]ya Vadh[ati]kaya

6 . . . tika[hi gri]ho datto [lo]-

7 . . . [sreyasa-stu . .]

## TRANSLATION

In the year 16 (of the reign) of Mahārāja Kāṇṣhka—on this date, a house is dedicated in favour of the . . . tikas by Vardhantikā who is the daughter of Vasudatta and belongs to (the family of) village-headmen of the Āti (clan) and the Ārshīshapa gotra. May (this) be for the welfare of the people.

## 3. Gondal Fragmentary Inscription of the time of Rudrasena [III], [Śaka] 272

This inscription is engraved on a stone slab which was discovered sometime ago at Gondal, 20 miles from Rajkot, in Kathiawar, and is now preserved in the Rajkot Museum. I copied it in January 1960. The slab measures 22 inches in length, 10 inches in breadth and 6 inches in depth while the writing covers a space about seventeen inches in length and five and half inches in height on the face which is six inches wide. There are only three lines of writing, individual akṣharas being approximately half an inch in height. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory. A number of letters have broken away from the end of all the lines. The akṣharas thus lost appear to be about four in number. The slab was apparently fixed into a structure with the inscribed face exposed to view.

The characters belong to the Brāhmi alphabet of the middle stage as found in other inscriptions of the Śakas of Western India. The use of initial 4 and the numerical symbols for 200, 70 and 2 is noticed in line 2. The language of the inscription is an admixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit. Its orthography exhibits more influence of Sanskrit than of Prakrit. The date of the inscription is the year 272, Phālguna sudi 2. This year should of course be referred to the Śaka era of 78 A.D. The year 272 would thus correspond to 350-51 A.D. This date is referred to [the reign of] a Rājā Mahākṣhatrapa, the akṣharas of whose name are very considerably damaged though the traces of their lower part suggest its restoration as Rudrasena. This king is no doubt Śaka Rudrasena III, the dates of whose coins issued as Mahākṣhatrapa range between Śaka 270 (348-49 A.D.) to Śaka 300 (378-79 A.D.). There is a break in the series of the coins of this ruler, no issues of the period Śaka 274-85 (353-63 A.D.) being known. This break has been attributed to a political disturbance during the period in question and it seems very likely that Rudrasena III was defeated by the Gupta emperor Samudragupta (c. 310-76 A.D.) and was compelled to accept the latter's vassalage for about thirteen years. It is only during Samudragupta's old age that he appears to have succeeded in reasserting his independence.<sup>1</sup> The present inscription is the only epigraphic record of the time of Śaka Rudrasena III so far known.

The inscription begins with a damaged Siddham symbol followed by a reference to its date falling in the reign of Rājā Mahākṣhatrapa [Rudrasena]. The year referred to is quoted in a passage (lines 1-2) reading *dei-samata . . . satame* in words and 200 70 [2] (i.e. 272) in numerical symbols. The year given in words was probably written as *dei-samata-ādihike dri-satame* standing for Sanskrit *dei-saptaty-ādihike dri-satame*. If such was the case, as it seems to be, Sanskrit *saptaty* has been written in our record as *samata* which is somewhat different from Pali *sattati* and Prakrit *sattasī* (found as *sotari* in inscriptions).<sup>2</sup> The form *samata* seems to be derived through the intermediate forms *sapnata* and *savata*.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These two akṣharas are damaged beyond recognition.

<sup>2</sup> The damaged word seems to be *lokādika*.

<sup>3</sup> See above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 305.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 169 (text line 6) ; p. 227 (No. 2, text line 6).

After the year of the date discussed above, line 2 reads : [Ā]bhīra-[kaś]bala-Siṃhasena-pūtra-Sya . . . in which *kaśbala* stands for Sanskrit *kaśhāvāla* meaning, 'a cultivator'. The mention of the Ābhīra farmer Siṃhasena reminds us of the Ābhīra general Bāpska's son general Rudrabhīti known from the Gunda inscription<sup>1</sup> (181 A.D.) of the reign of Śaka Rudrasimha I. Unfortunately, only the first *akshara* (Sya) of the name of Siṃhasena's son, the recording of one of whose pious deeds appears to have been the object of the inscription, is preserved and the latter part of it is lost at the end of the line. If the said *akshara* (Sya) is taken to be the sixth case-ending attached to the previous word (*pūtra*), the name of the person has to be regarded as totally lost.

Line 3 of our record reads : sarva-satva-hīna-s[ā]khārt[tha] ve[dī] [prati]śthāvita Phalgū[na]-śudhe dvi[ti] standing for Sanskrit *sarva-satva-hīna-sukh-ārtham veḍi pratishthāpitā Phalgūna-śudhe dvitīye* (*divase*). The *veḍi* or a raised platform was sometimes made in honour of a deity as a place of worship.<sup>2</sup> It thus appears that the son of Siṃhasena raised the *veḍi* in question in honour of some deity for the welfare and happiness of all creatures. Since expressions like *sarva-satva-hīna-sukh-ārtham* are generally found in Buddhist epigraphs, it is not impossible that the person responsible for our record was a Buddhist. It should, however, be pointed out that, in case the reading *pūtrasya* [*amukasya*] is preferred at the end of line 2, the object of installation would be the *veḍi* of the person in question. This may mean that a platform was raised in his memory after his death or that his friends helped him in raising it (i.e. he raised it with the help of others).

There is no geographical name in the record.

#### TEXT<sup>3</sup>

- 1 [Siddham] [ \* ] r[ā]j[ā]n[ā] mah[ā]k[ṣ]hatrapa[sya] [Rudrasa]nasya va[rshya]<sup>4</sup> dvi-savata-  
tara . . .<sup>5</sup>
- 2 satame 200 70 [2] [Ā]bhīra-[kaś]bala-Siṃhasena-pūtra<sup>6</sup>-Sya . . . . .<sup>7</sup>
- 3 sarva-satva<sup>8</sup>-hīna-s[ā]kh[ā]rt[tha]m<sup>9</sup> ve[dī] [prati]śthāvita Phalgū[na]-śudhe<sup>10</sup> dvi[ti]  
 . . . . .<sup>11</sup> [ \* ].

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 176

<sup>2</sup> See *JRS*, Vol. XXXIX, Parts 1-2, pp. 43-44, 47.

<sup>3</sup> From impressions.

<sup>4</sup> Correctly, *varsh*.

<sup>5</sup> The last *akshara* was probably 'dāka śaś'.

<sup>6</sup> Correctly *pūtra*.

<sup>7</sup> This was probably a name like *Syandaka*, so that the expression here was something like *Syandakana*. The intended reading may also be *pūtrasya* [*amukasya*].

<sup>8</sup> Correctly, *sarva*.

<sup>9</sup> Correctly, *Phalgūna-śudhe*.

<sup>10</sup> The intended word is no doubt *dvitīye* which may have been followed by the word *divase*.



MORE BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS—PLATE II

3. Gondal Fragmentary Inscription of the time of Rudrasena [III], [Śaka] 272



Scale : One-half



No. 27—MEHUNABARE PLATES OF SENDRAKA VAIRADEVA, SAKA 624

[I Plate]

G. S. GAL, ODTACARUND

[Revised on 26.7.1960]

A set of impressions of the copper-plate inscription edited below was secured for the office of the Government Epigraphist for India by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra during the year 1957-58 from the Bhārat Itihās Samśōdhak Maṅḍal, Poona.<sup>1</sup> The plates are reported to have been discovered at **Mehunabare**, a village in the Chalisgaon Taluk of the East Khandesh District, Bombay State. The set consists of two plates, each measuring about 12" by 6.5" with a hole at the top middle portion of each plate through which passed a ring. The whereabouts of the ring and the seal, if any, as well as the weight of the set are not known to me. Both the plates are engraved on the inner sides only. Each plate contains 12 lines of writing so that there are 24 lines in all. The last but one line of the second plate occupies only half the space to the right side while the last line consists of only six letters which have been engraved towards the end of the line. The writing is well preserved.

The **characters** belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets and generally resemble those in the other Sēndraka grants found in Khandesh and Gujarat.<sup>2</sup> Of the initial vowels, *a* is found in lines 18 and 23; *ā* in line 22; *i* in line 6 and *e* in line 23. While medial *i* is shown by a complete circle above the letter, medial *l* is indicated by a loop inside the circular stroke with the right limb left open. Medial *ā* has generally a sort of a hook-like stroke. In the case of *ā* both this hook-like stroke and the straight one attached to the middle of the prong and turned upwards have been used; cf. lines 2, 5 and 17. Subscript *r* has sometimes a flourish carrying it left and right over the letter and even circling it; cf. lines 3, 8, 9, etc. Sometimes subscripts *r* and *ṛ* cannot be distinguished; cf. *ṛṛ* in line 2 and *ṛṛhīrṛhī* in line 9. Class nasal has been generally employed. Punctuation is indicated by two dots, generally followed by a single or double *daṅḍa* (cf. lines 4, 12, 17, 18 and 21). But where a *caesura* is required the two dots serve that purpose and in such cases only the *daṅḍa* should be regarded as a punctuation mark (cf. lines 2, 6 and 10).

The **language** is Sanskrit and except two verses in lines 2-4 and two more benedictory and imperatory verses in lines 20-22, the remaining text of the record is composed in prose. The interesting form *śaṅṅa*, which is according to Pāṇini's rule *śaṅṅā śi dhāt* (VIII. 3. 29), occurs in line 23. *Nandī* rules have not been observed in some cases and there are some errors in the composition which have been corrected in the text below. In respect of **orthography**, it may be observed that the consonant following as well as preceding *r* is sometimes doubled.

The charter is **dated** (lines 15 and 23-24) **Saka 624** (expressed in words), **Srāvāṇa** **ba. II**, **śaṅkrānti** and **vyatipāta**. In the absence of the mention of the week-day, the date is not verifiable. However, according to S. K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, the said *tithi* corresponded to Tuesday, 25th July 702 A.D. But the *śaṅkrānti* occurred on the previous day, i.e. Monday, the **24th July 702 A.D.** which seems to be the intended date of the record.

The inscription opens with the word *Siddhanta* expressed by a symbol and followed by the word *ṣaṅṅi*. Then follows the preamble *Mēhu-mahā-mahādāra*, etc. which introduces the **Sēndraka** dynasty and is also found in the other Sēndraka records referred to above. Verse 1 in lines 2-4

<sup>1</sup> This is A. R. Ep., 1957-58, No. A 13.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 195 ff. and Plates; *ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 118 ff. and Plates; and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 265 ff. and Plates.

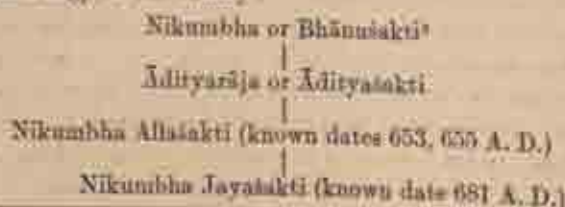
introduces *Rājan Dēvaśakti* of this dynasty. His valour and other qualities are compared to those of Indra and Vishnu. His son *Rājan Daṇḍirāja*, whose strength is compared to that of Hari, Hara and Arjuna, is mentioned in verse 2 in lines 4-5. The following prose passage in lines 6-10 refers to Daṇḍirāja's son *Vairadēva*, the donor of the present grant, who is called the 'crest-jewel of the *Nikumbha* [family]'.

The charter was issued from *Bahalāpuri* (line 9) and records the gift, made by *Vairadēva*, of the village *Dēvigrāma* which is stated to have been situated at a distance of two *gavyūtas* to the west of *Bahalāpuri* (lines 16-17). The donee was *Nāgasarman*, son of *śaḍaśvame* *Nandiśvāmin* and grandson of *śaḍaśvame* *Bhaṭṭa-Rēvasvāmin* who belonged to the *Kāśyapa-gotra* and was a resident of *Kāñchīpuri*. The gift was for the performance of *bali, śara, vaiśāḍava* and *agnihōtra* for the increase of the religious merit and fame of his (i.e. *Vairadēva*'s) parents and himself in this as well as in the other world (lines 11-15). Lines 17-18 refer to the privileges attached to the gift village. In lines 18-20, a request is made to the future kings of the family of the donor and others to enforce and protect the said gift and lines 20-22 quote some of the benedictory and imprecatory verses.

The charter was written by *Mahāśaṅkha-vigrahādhipāta Sāuaka* (lines 22-23) and the record ends with the mention of the date in lines 23-24, which has been discussed above.

The present record is important in that it introduces a hitherto unknown ruler of the *Sēndraka-Nikumbha* family in the person of *Vairadēva* who held sway in the *Khandesh* District about the beginning of the eighth century A.D. As we have seen, he was the son of *Daṇḍirāja* and grandson of *Dēvaśakti*. All the three rulers have been eulogised in general terms only and no historical information is given with regard to any of them. Except the epithet *rājan* in the case of *Dēvaśakti* and *Daṇḍirāja*, no other titles, imperial or feudatory, are associated with them. Since *Vairadēva* flourished in 702 A.D., his grandfather *Dēvaśakti* may be referred to the third quarter of the seventh century A.D. This period falls in the reign of *Vikramāditya I* (655-81 A.D.) of the *Western Chālukya* dynasty of *Bādāmi*. From the *Karnul plates*<sup>1</sup> dated in the tenth regnal year of *Vikramāditya I* corresponding to 664 A.D., we learn that the king made a gift at the request of a certain *Dēvaśaktirāja* of the *Sēndraka* family. It is not unlikely that this *Dēvaśakti* is identical with his namesake mentioned in the record under study. And since *Vikramāditya*'s grandson *Vijayāditya* (696-733 A.D.) was the imperial ruler in 702 A.D., the date of the present charter, *Vairadēva* appears to have been his feudatory, though this fact is not mentioned in the inscription.

From the existence of four copper-plate grants<sup>2</sup> we know that a family of *Sēndraka-Nikumbha* chiefs was ruling in *Southern Gujarat* and *Khandesh* in the seventh century A.D. The records supply the following genealogy of the family:



<sup>1</sup> *JARRAS*, Vol. XVI, pp. 228 and 229.

<sup>2</sup> These are: (1) *Bāgumāl plates*, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 265 ff.; (2 and 3) *Sigad and Kāṭire plates*, above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 195 ff.; and (4) *Hundkhōḷe plates*, *ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 116 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The family name *Nikumbha*, besides *Sēndraka*, was apparently due to its being another name of *Bhānuśakti* who, in all probability, was the founder of this *Sēndraka* branch in *Gujarat* and *Khandesh*. That it was a family name and not a *śiṅka* as assumed by Prof. Mirashi (above, Vol. XXIX, p. 117) is made clear from the fact that *Vairadēva*, the donor of the charter under study, is called *Nikumbha-śiṅkamaṇi*, 'a crest-jewel of the *Nikumbha* or *Nikumbha* family'.

No records of the first two rulers have been discovered so far. While the Bāgunrā, Nāgād and Kāsāre plates were issued by Allasakti, the Mumukhādē plates were issued by the last ruler Jayasakti. It has been suggested that Bhānūsakti, who may be referred to the first quarter of the seventh century A. D., was placed in charge of Gujarat and Khandesh by Pulakēsin II (610-42 A. D.) when the latter conquered this area from the Kalachuris.<sup>2</sup> It has also been suggested that from about 670 A. D. onwards, the Sēndraka rule was probably confined to Khandesh District only on account of the establishment of the Navsārī branch of the Chālukyas in Gujarat area.<sup>3</sup> This seems to have taken place during the time of Nīrṇalā Allasakti who was the contemporary of Chālukya Vikramāditya I during whose reign the Navsārī branch of the Chālukyas was founded. Allasakti may be referred to the period circa 650-675 A. D. and his son Jayasakti, who issued the only known Mumukhādē plates in 681 A. D., may be placed in circa 675-700 A. D. No descendants of Jayasakti are known to us so far.

Now the discovery of the present charter dated in 702 A. D. issued by Vairādēva who also belonged to the Sēndraka-Nikumbha family shows that he was the immediate successor of Jayasakti as a ruler in the Khandesh District. The relation of this family to that of Bhānūsakti, though both belonged to the Sēndraka-Nikumbha lineage, is not known to us. It is, therefore, difficult to understand the circumstances under which Vairādēva succeeded Jayasakti. It may be pointed out, in this connection, that Dēvasakti, who has been sought to be identified with his namesake mentioned in the Karnul plates of Vikramāditya I, was ruling in the Karnul area about 664 A. D. Probably his son Dandirāja also continued to rule the territory of his father while his son Vairādēva was transferred to the Khandesh District. This might have been due to the fact that Jayasakti died without leaving any heir to succeed him. As for the relationship between the two families, it may be suggested that since Allasakti and Dēvasakti were contemporaries, both being feudatory chiefs of Vikramāditya I, they might have been brothers or cousins. And this relationship might have given Vairādēva a right to succeed Jayasakti who seems to belong to the elder branch of the family.

As indicated above, the present charter was issued from Bahalūpurī which is no doubt modern Bāhal which is situated on the bank of the Girna river at a distance of 6 miles to the north-east of Mehunabare, the findspot of the plates. It is stated that the chief Vairādēva was residing at Bahalūpurī at the time of the gift. Recent excavations conducted at Bāhal show that it was a flourishing town in ancient times, its antiquities going back to the chalcolithic period.<sup>4</sup> It has been suggested, on the evidence of these excavations, that Bāhal was affected by severe floods about 100 A. D. and that the site was re-occupied after a long gap of 1200 years, during the Yādava and Muslim times (1300-1700 A. D.).<sup>5</sup> But the discovery of the present plates shows that Bāhal was a flourishing town in the beginning of the eighth century A. D. and was probably the capital of the

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXIX, p. 118.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. This view of Prof. Misra is based on the dates of the Navsārī plates (*GH*, Vol IV, pp. 123 ff., No. 27) of Śrīyāsya Śūlāditya dated in the Kalachuri year 424 (670-71 A. D. according to Misra) and the Manor plates (above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 17 ff.) of Vinayāditya Māngalārassa dated Saka 613 or 691-92 A. D. corresponding to the twenty-first regnal year of the king. Both Mr. Krishna Deva, who has edited the Manor plates, and Prof. Misra take this regnal year as referring to Māngalārassa's father Dīnārāya-Jayasinha which has led them to assume that the latter founded the Navsārī branch in 669-70 or 670-71 A. D. But, as pointed out by Dr. D. C. Sircar (above, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 118-19), the twenty-first regnal year should be referred to Vinayāditya Māngalārassa's reign and not to that of his father. The recently discovered Madgaonra grant (loc. cit.) of Śrīyāsya Śūlāditya dated probably in the Kalachuri year 420 (668-69 A. D. according to Sircar) shows that the Navsārī branch was holding sway in Gujarat as early as that year.

<sup>4</sup> *Indian Archaeology, A Review, 1950-57*, p. 17.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 18.

Sōndraka ruler Vairadēva.<sup>1</sup> It is also interesting to note that Bāhal was known as Bāhalāpurī in early times.

Of the other geographical names mentioned in the record, Kūñchīpurī, which is mentioned as the place of residence of the donor's grandfather is the well-known Kūñchīpuram near Madras. The donated village Dēvigraṃa is stated to have been situated at a distance of two *yojānās* to the west of Bāhalāpurī. It may be identified with modern Dēvgaon which is about six miles<sup>2</sup> to the west of Bāhal and three miles to the north of Mēhagaḥare.

TEXT<sup>3</sup>

## First Plate

- 1 Siddham<sup>4</sup> [ ]\* Svasti | Mēru-mahā-mahādhara-sūkhara-sthira-ruchira-śa(śa)munnatū |<sup>5</sup>  
vikāśita-yasāi mahati śri-Śō-
- 2 ndraka-**śā**śā<sup>6</sup>-**ś**uvayē [ ]\* Rāj-**ś**ōś-**Dēvasakti** |<sup>7</sup> Śatamakha-sudri(śri)śa) śtimatāś-  
(tā)u śkanāthā) śairi-śri-
- 3 kōśa-pāśa-śrā(śra)haya-sukha-śa-śevāśa-lādhā-pramōḍab | yēnē(ś)-śi)kōśa-prachapāśa-śva-  
bhujā-lāś-
- 4 kṛit-śrīti-pakṣa-kṣhayōś(ā)krāntā śtrīṇa-prīthvī hata-kali-tamaś vikramasir-Vvīdhun-  
śra [ ] [ ]\* Tasy-ś-
- 5 tūājō Hari-Har-Ārjuna-tulya-vīrya(ś)\* |<sup>8</sup> ślāghya-śvayāśvato-pat(ś)\* |<sup>9</sup> prathitāś  
prīthivyāś(vyāś | ) vījō śamāśa-
- 6 vasudh-śāhīpat-śvarāyōś śri-**Danḍirāja** |<sup>10</sup> śrī danḍita-vairi-varggāś [ ] [ ]\* |<sup>11</sup> tasya śtat-  
tat-pād-śmādhyaś-
- 7 śōvneśa-śhāturdanta-śaja-ghat-ś(ś)ya-śhāśura-mahā-śamāśa-śūhaś-śeyāpta-nimāśa-yāś(śā)
- 8 naya-śimaya-śyāśa-gōmāhāśryya-dhāśryya-śarāśram-śtāśha-śakti-śatva<sup>12</sup>-śa(śa)śāpānō śija-  
kūśa-kāśa-
- 9 śa-śvāś-śhāśmāśāś(ś)\* |<sup>13</sup> prathitā(ś)\* |<sup>14</sup> prīthivyāś(vyā)ś-śāśhāśmāśa-guṇa-śaś-śāśyō  
**Bāhalāpuryyā**(śy-ś)-
- 10 vaitātō **Nikumbha**-śikāśmāś-śrī-**Vairadēva** |<sup>15</sup> śaryvāś-śva śvāś-śayāś(ś)\* |<sup>16</sup> śha yāt-  
śhāśmāś(ś)śam(ś)śāśhāśyāmā-
- 11 nakāśi(kāś) śmāśmāśāśyaty-śatva val |<sup>17</sup> śāśvidīśam-śmāśh(ś)\* |<sup>18</sup> Kāśyapa-śagōśtrīya  
Vāśaś-
- 12 śōśya-śad-śbrahmāśhāśiṅś **Kūñchīpuryyā**(śrī)-vāśtavya-śhaturvēśā-śhātā-śōśvaśmāśi-  
pāśtrīyaś(ya)

## Second Plate

- 13 Nandīśvāśi-śhāśaśgavīś-śūnaśō śāśg-śpāśiśhāśa-vēśā-vīśō Nāśgaś-
- 14 śamāśōś bāś-śhāśm-śvāśvāśōś-śgūśhōśra-śrīy-śōśarpaś-śrītham mātā-pitṛōś-śtūnaśōś  
śhāśhāś-śmāś-

<sup>1</sup> This shows how epigraphical evidence may sometimes modify the evidence of archaeological excavations.

<sup>2</sup> One *yojāna* is equal to two *kūśās* or 4000 *śūśas*. See Maier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, x, v.

<sup>3</sup> From impressions.

<sup>4</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>5</sup> This punctuation mark is unnecessary.

<sup>6</sup> Read 'śāśāśaś'.

<sup>7</sup> Read 'śāśāśaś'. There is an unnecessary stamp-like mark after śaś.



ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥  
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ २ ॥  
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ ३ ॥  
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ ४ ॥  
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ ५ ॥  
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ ६ ॥  
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ ७ ॥  
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ ८ ॥  
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ ९ ॥  
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ १० ॥  
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ ११ ॥  
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ १२ ॥  
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ १३ ॥  
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ १४ ॥  
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ १५ ॥  
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ १६ ॥  
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ १७ ॥  
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ १८ ॥  
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ १९ ॥  
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ २० ॥  
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ २१ ॥  
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ २२ ॥  
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ २३ ॥  
 श्रीकृष्णाय नमः ॥ २४ ॥

Scale : Three-fourths



15. śmika-punya-yasō-bhirri(vri)ddhayā pravarttamāna-Śrāvapa-bahulā(1-ai)kādayā(m)  
sarikrāntau sa-vyati-
16. pātāyām Bahalāpurīyā[h\*] pāśchimasyām' diā dvi-gavyūta-mātrakē bhū-bhāga-sa(sa)-  
nivāśā Dvigrāmō
17. sāmā grāmā[h\*] sa-sūn-ōpētāb [\* +ōdraṅga[h\*] sa-parikara[h\*] sakala-rāj-ābhāvya-  
ānvitō [\* chāṭa-bhatta(ā)-prā(prā)ya-
18. śyō [\* bhūmi-chchidra-nyāyē-ā chandr-āk-āroṅga-kaṭi-śhiti-sama-kālikō yathā-  
viddhī(dhi) pradattāb | atō-
19. smad-vaṁśyair-anya-ir-uv-āgāmi-nri(nri)pati-bhūmi-bhōgapatibhi[h\*] sāmānyam bhūmi-  
dānam-svagaśchchhadbhū-ayam-asmadā(d-dā)yo-nu-
20. mantavyab pratipālayitavyas-ch-ōkraś-cha bhaga(va\*)tā Vēdayāsēna Vyāsēna [I\*]  
Bahubhir-vaśuddhā(dhā) bhuktā rājabhi[h\*] Sagar-ā-
21. dibhi[h\*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalam(lam) [I 3\*] Shashī-  
(śhī)-varshī(tsha)-sahasrāṇi svargō mōdati-
22. bhūmidah [I] chchbhētā ch-ānumantā chcha(cha) tam(tā)ny-ēva narakē vaśd-  
iti [4\*] likhitam-īdāt mahāsindhuvigrahādhi-
23. kri(kri)tēna Śānskēna | gatasya Śaka-kālasya shasttu varsha-śatēshv-īdaci\*
24. sa-chatur-vvi(m\*)śāhu ||

\* Read pāśchimāyām.

\* This punctuation mark is unnecessary.

\* This punctuation mark is unnecessary. Read "śh-chāṭa".

\* The words from gatasya to "śloka" form half a verse in Anantpurā mīmā.

No. 28—INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ISLAM SHAH, A.H. 960, VIKRAMA 1610

(1 Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OUTRAMUND

(Received on 30.11.1960)

This small inscription is engraved on a brick fixed into the masonry work of a well at the village of Ghōshikundī near the Kiul railway station in the Western part of the Monghyr District, Bihar.<sup>1</sup> There are five lines of writing in the inscription and they cover an area about 11 inches in length and 7½ inches in height. Individual *aksharas* are nearly two inches in height.

The characters belong to the Bengali-Maithili alphabet of the sixteenth century. They may be compared with those of the Patna District inscription of 1496 A. D. and the Barakar inscriptions of 1460 or 1461 A. D.<sup>2</sup> The *akshara* *īri* has been written in a cursive fashion so as to look like a symbol. The medial vowel *u* in *au* (line 4) is written like subscript *u* as was usual in the late Gaudya and early Bengali-Maithili alphabets.<sup>3</sup> The language of the record may be regarded as the local dialect. The want of the third case-ending required for the subject of *īriśā* (i.e. 'made') in the sentence in lines 4-5 is noteworthy in this connection. As for orthography, *śh* is represented by *śś* as is its pronunciation in Maithili and some other dialects of Bihar. The date of the record as quoted in line 1 is *Sams 960 Sāmata 1610* in which *Sams 960* undoubtedly refers to the Hijri year 960 while *Sāmata* (a modification of *Samsat*) 1610 refers to the year 1610 of the Vikrama era. The year in question corresponds to 1553 A.D. There are no other details of the date in the epigraph.

After the quotation of the date in line 1, *Pātsāha* *īri-īri-Ēsalēma Sāha* is mentioned in lines 2-3 and *Mēhita* *īri-Rupapa-khōjā* in lines 3-4. *Pātsāha* (i. e. *Pādshāh* or *Bādshāh*, 'an emperor'), *Ēsalēma Sāha* is no doubt the celebrated Afghan emperor *Islām Shāh* (1545-56 A.D.), son of *Shāh Shāh* of the *Sār* dynasty. The designation *Mēhita* seems to be the same as *Mektā* derived from the official designation *Mahattaka*, *Mahattara* or *Mahattama* found in earlier inscriptions. The words are often interpreted as 'the village headman' though in some cases they may also mean a member or the head of the village council. The inscription under study means to say that a deed was performed when the emperor of the country was *Islām Shāh* and the head of the village or the village council was *Khwaja Rupap*. But the names of the persons have been used in the passage without any verb. Although such statements are generally quite clear in the corresponding passages in early Sanskrit inscriptions, the medieval epigraphs in that language often mention the king and his subordinates in the same way as the Ghōshikundī record under study.<sup>4</sup> It is interesting to note that, while the honorific word *īri* occurs twice as the prefix to the name of *Islām Shāh*, a single *īri* has been prefixed to the name of *Khwaja Rupap*. As will be seen below, another personal name is mentioned in the record with a single *īri*.

<sup>1</sup> Some impressions of the inscription were supplied to me by Mr. A. N. Lahiri of my office, Cf. *A. R. Ep.*, 1959-60, No. C 413.

<sup>2</sup> *JRAS*, Letters, Vol. XIV, pp. 114-16, and Plate; *ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 21 ff. and Plate; cf. *above*, Vol. XXX, p. 241. It is now known that the Patna District inscription was discovered at Biharsharif and is housed at present in the Patna Museum.

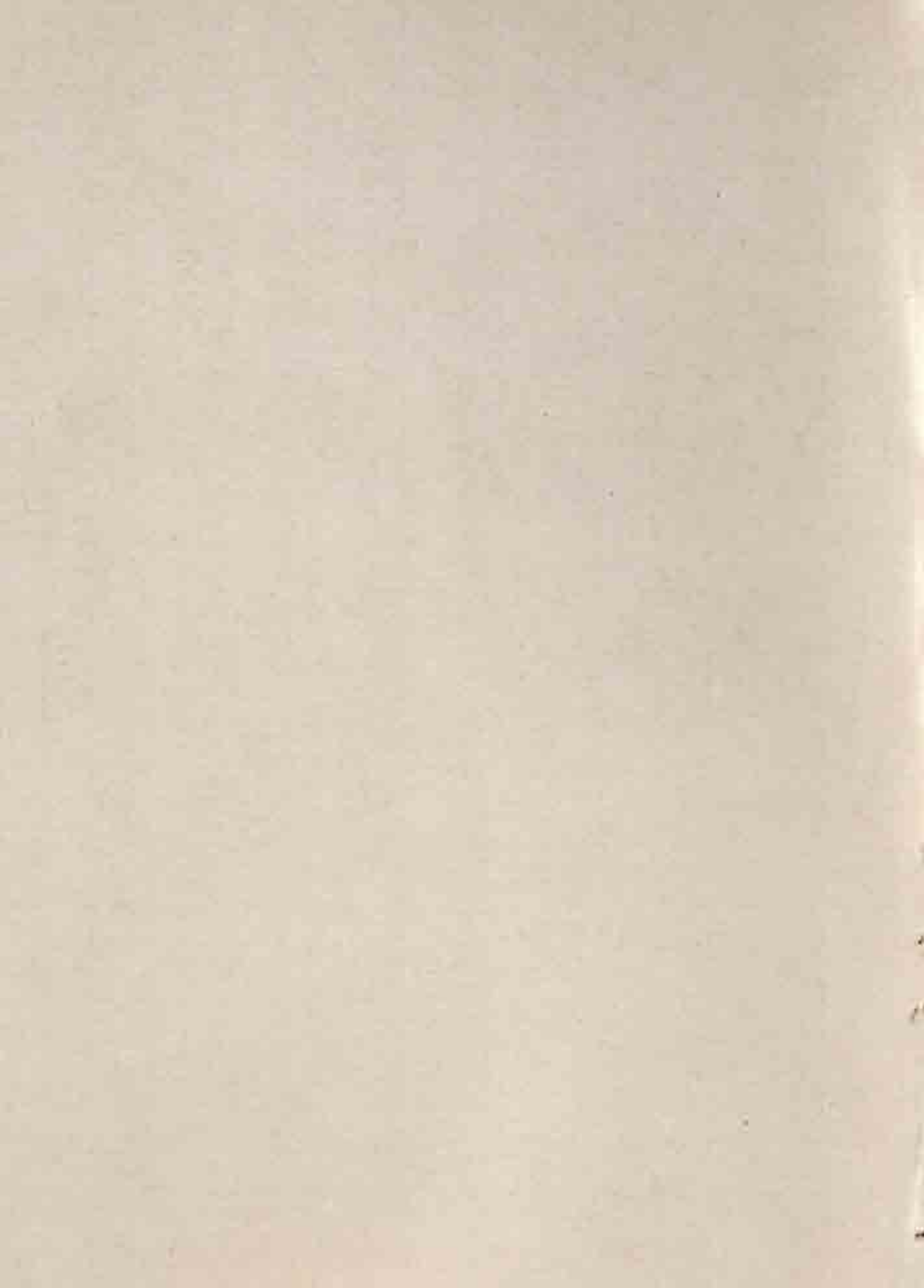
<sup>3</sup> Cf. *above*, Vol. XXX, p. 22, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> See, e.g. *above*, Vol. XV, p. 130, text lines 1 ff., etc.; also Vol. XXXI, p. 331, No. 5, text lines 2-5; etc.

INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF ISLAM SHAH, A.H. 960, VIKRAMA 1610



Scale: One-half



The following sentence in lines 4-5 reads *śri Nasurudhī vadhā kupi kṛitā* apparently meaning that a person named Nasurudhī (i.e. Nāgīrud-dīn) made a *kūpī* (i.e. well) which was *bandhā* (i.e. endowed with masonry work). The *kūpī* or well referred to in the record must be the wall in which the inscription has been found.

Another inscription of the time of Islam Shāh from Rajasthan was published by us in the pages of this journal, Vol. XXX, pp. 190 ff. It is dated in Vikrama 1604, Śaka 1469, Mārgaśīra-badi 2, Thursday. The date was regarded by us as irregular, though the record was assigned to October-November 1547 A.D. This was because *Pūrvaśmānta* Mārgaśīra-badi 2 in the said year corresponds to the 30th October, which was a Sunday. But in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1952-53, No. B-413, the month has been regarded as *Āśvīna* and the year as current, so that the date is given as regularly corresponding to Thursday, the 9th December 1546 A.D. It is, however, doubtful whether we should expect the *Āśvīna* calculation of the month in the inscription which comes from Rajasthan.

There is no geographical name in the Ghōṣākaṇḍī inscription, although the name of the village where the well was excavated was expected to be mentioned.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 1 Sana 960 Śāmatā 1610
- 2 Pītiśāha śri-śri-~~śa~~-
- 3 lāma-sāha Māhitū<sup>2</sup> śri-
- 4 Rupaśa-shō(khō)jā || śri-(Na)sa-
- 5 tuhi va(śh\*)dhā [kupi] kṛitā | \*

<sup>1</sup> From impressions.

<sup>2</sup> What has been read as śh may be śh also. But that does not offer any sense.

No. 29—NOTE ON INSCRIPTION OF NRIPAMITRA

D. C. SINGH, CALCUTTA

(Received on 2.10.61)

The Mathurā fragmentary inscription of king Nripamitra, edited by me above, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 11-13, is engraved on the pedestal of a broken image in characters of about the fifth century A.D. It contains the concluding part of a *prastāva* in verse, which is followed by the sentence *kr̥tī-Dinnaya*, "[This is] the work of Dinna." The endorsement does not make it clear whether Dinna was the author of the *prastāva* or the sculptor of the image. There is, however, evidence to show that Dinna was a famous sculptor of the Mathurā school, who flourished about the fifth century A.D.

Two inscriptions from Kāśī in North-Eastern U.P., assigned to the fifth century A.D. on palaeographical grounds, were noticed by J. Ph. Vogel in the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1906-07, the first at pp. 49 and 62 and the second at pp. 49-50. The second inscription had been previously edited by J. F. Fleet in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indiarum*, Vol. III, pp. 272-73. But Fleet's transcript was not accurate.

The first record is engraved on the base of an image of the standing Buddha and reads: *Dīya-dharmā-gaṇā Śākyā-bhikṣhāḥ Bhadrata-Suvīraṇa* [1\*] *kr̥tī(z)-Dinnaya* [1\*]. "This is the religious gift of the Buddhist monk, the Venerable Suvīra. [This image] is the work of Dinna."

The second epigraph, engraved on the colossal image of the reclining Buddha of the Parinirvāna shrine at Kāśī, reads: *Dīya-dharmā-gaṇā Mahābhāra-sāminā Haribalaṇa* [1\*] *prastāvā kṛ-tyaṇā gāṭhīḥ Dinnīna Māthurēna* [1\*]. "This is the religious gift of Haribala, the master of the Great Monastery. And this image is made by Dinna of Mathurā."

Dinna mentioned in the above records from Mathurā and Kāśī appears to be one and the same person. He was thus not a poet at king Nripamitra's court at Mathurā but was a master sculptor of the Mathurā school, who flourished during the age of the Imperial Guptas, regarded as the Golden Age in the history of Indian art. It is of course difficult to be sure whether the Kāśī images were made by Dinna at Kāśī or were made at Mathurā and transported to Kāśī.

The material for this Part was sent to the Press by  
Dr. Sircar before his retirement in June 1962.

G. S. GAI,  
*Government Epigraphist for India.*

## No. 30—SOME GAHAḌAVĀLA GRANTS

(4 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 3.2.1961)

It appears that, in the year 1946, the authorities of the Provincial Museum (now the Uttar Pradesh State Museum), Lucknow, purchased eight copper-plate charters of the Gāhaḍavāla kings from some dealers of Banāras (Vārānaśi).<sup>1</sup> Mr. M. M. Nagar, who was in charge of the Museum till recently, did not allow anyone to examine the inscriptions since he himself wanted to publish them. But, whatever may be the reason, he failed to edit the inscriptions. Sometime ago, we published in the pages of this journal<sup>2</sup> an article by Mr. V. N. Srivastava on a copper-plate grant of the Gāhaḍavāla king Vijayachandra, which is one of the said inscriptions purchased for the Lucknow Museum in 1946.

In December 1960, I visited Lucknow and the present authorities of the Museum were kind enough to allow me to examine the unpublished Gāhaḍavāla copper-plate grants and to take their impressions. The remaining seven of the eight copper-plates (Nos. 2-8), purchased from the Banāras dealers in 1946, are published in the following pages together with one other charter of the family (No. 1). My thanks in this connection are due to Mr. M. Zshest, Joint Secretary of the Cultural Affairs and Scientific Research Department, Government of U.P., and Mr. R. B. Mathur who is now in charge of the State Museum, Lucknow.

It is well known that the copper-plate grants of the Gāhaḍavāla kings begin with some stanzas describing the rulers of the family from Yaśōvīraha, its founder, to the donor of a particular charter and that the said introductory section in verse is followed by the introduction of the donor, in a passage in prose, as *vijayā* (not as *kuśalā* as found in the charters of most other ruling families) and as the successor of his ancestors beginning from Chandra who was the first imperial ruler of the family. But, as is known to have been the custom with many other ruling families,<sup>3</sup> a Gāhaḍavāla king merely copied the stanzas found in the charters of his predecessor and added a few verses describing himself, apparently composed by his own court poet. The earliest grants of the family belong to Chandra (c. 1090-1100 A.D.) who sometimes also called himself Chandrāditya. He was succeeded on the Gāhaḍavāla throne respectively by his son Maḍanapāla (c. 1100-14 A.D.), grandson Gōvīndachandra (c. 1114-55 A.D.), great-grandson Vijayachandra (c. 1155-70 A.D.), grandson's grandson Jayachandra (c. 1170-93 A.D.) and grandson's great-grandson Hariśchandra (c. 1193-97 A.D.). Thus the introductory stanzas found in the grants of Chandra are copied in the charters of Maḍanapāla with the addition of a few new verses describing the latter king, and so on.

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 223, where the number of the copper-plates purchased has been mentioned as six.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 223-26.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 228; Vol. XXIX, pp. 2-3.



The following verses are found in the records of **Chandra** who is the first monarch of the family to have issued copper-plate charters :

Akuṅṭh-ōkaṅṭha-Vaikuṅṭha-kaṅṭha-piṭha-luṭhat-karaḥ |  
 saṁtramḥiṣaḥ suraṭ-ārambhō sa Śrīyaḥ śrōyaśō-stu vaḥ || 1  
 Āśō-Aśītadyuti-varṇē-jāta-  
 kṣamāpāla-mūlāsu divam gatāsu |  
 sālcchād-Vivasvān-iva bhūri-dhāmnā  
 nāmnā Yaśōvighraha ity-udāraḥ || 2  
 Tat-sutō-bhūn-Mahichandraś-chandra-dhāma-nibhaṁ nijam |  
 yēn-āpāram-akūpāra-pārō vyāpāritam yaśaḥ || 3  
 Tasy-ābhūt-tanayō nay-aika-rasikaḥ krānta-dvishan-manḍalō  
 vidhrvast-ōddhata-vīra<sup>1</sup>-yōdha-timiraḥ śrī-Chandradēvō nripaḥ |  
 yēn-ōdāratara-pratāpa-śamit-śēśha-praj-ōpadravam  
 śrīmad-Gādhipur-ādhirājyam-asamaṁ dōr-vikramēṣ-ārjitam || 4  
 Tirthāni Kāśi-Kuśik-Ōttarakōśaī-Ēndra-  
 sthānīyakāni paripālayat-ābhūgamya<sup>2</sup> |  
 bhōm-ātma-tulyam-anīśam dādātā dvijēbhyaḥ  
 yēn-ōkītā vasumatī śataśas-tulābhīḥ || 5<sup>3</sup>

It was apparently the court poet of Gāhaḍavāla Chandra, who composed these verses which were copied in the later records of the family. But there is an interesting point to which attention may be drawn in this connection. The five stanzas quoted above are found in the two Chandravati plates<sup>4</sup> of Chandra, dated respectively Vikrama 1148 and 1154, and were copied by his successors, though the two other Chandravati plates<sup>5</sup> issued by the same monarch (therein also called Chandraditya) respectively in Vikrama 1150 and 1156 contain only four of these five stanzas (verses 1, 3, 4 and 5) while the grant of Vikrama 1150 adds six new verses five of which are also found in the record of Vikrama 1156 in addition to the said four stanzas.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes found as *dāra*.

<sup>2</sup> Sometimes found as *adhigamya*.

<sup>3</sup> The metres of these stanzas are : verses 1 and 3 *Anuśṭubh* ; verse 2 *Indravajrā* ; verse 4 *Śrīśūlasikṛitī* ; verse 5 *Vasuntalīlā*.

<sup>4</sup> See above, Vol. IX, p. 304 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> The stanzas were not read at all in the text published above, Vol. XIV, pp. 193-96, 197-200, while an inaccurate transcript of the verses appeared in *IHQ*, Vol. XXV, pp. 26-27.

<sup>6</sup> The grant of Vikrama 1150 has the following verses :

Akuṅṭh-ōkaṅṭha-Vaikuṅṭha<sup>7</sup>, etc. || 1  
 Āśō-śēśha-narasiṭha-kīrti-kōṭi-  
 suṅghatā-ghatīta-lasā-maśi-pāda-piṭhaḥ |  
 67-*Dēvapāla-nripatis-tri-jagat-pragita-*  
*kand-indu-dhāma-bīma-kairava-kānta-kīrtiḥ* || 3

There is no doubt that the grants of Vikrama 1148 and 1154 used an earlier draft which was utilised in the revised draft found in the grants issued in Vikrama 1150 and 1156, even though it was this earlier draft that was popular with the successors of Chandra. King Chandra himself also did not use the revised draft in his record of Vikrama 1154, though the said draft had been prepared several years earlier and used in his grant of Vikrama 1150. This shows beyond doubt that the mere use of the earlier draft of the introductory parts of the charters of a king after the introduction of a revised draft of the said part would not be regarded as proving the spuriousness of those documents as has often been wrongly contended by some scholars.<sup>1</sup>

Kāśina nāśam-atha taśya gaṭhānvavāyē

dōḥ-dāḍḍa-vikrama-hath-śrjīta-Kanyakubjab |

kaśītrō-yam-atta hahu-patrarath-śmugamya-

mān-śmatir-vijayātē bhūvi bhūpa-vamāb || 3

Tasmim-vamāśē smutpannō Yaśōvigrāha-samjōakāḥ |

vigrāhya mētinī yēna dāḍḍa-praṇayinī kṛitā || 4

Tat-autō-bhūn-Mahāchandra, etc. || 5

Tasy-ābhūt-tanayō, etc. || 6

Tīrthāni Kālī-Kuśik-Ōttarakūśal-Endrasathānyakāni, etc. || 7

Haimāni yāna maṇḍihā khachitāy-anarghair-

dattāni Vāṅgularāyē cha vibhūśhapāni |

**Kāyām** vyabhūśhayād-anēka-svarna-ratnair-

yaś-cha-Ādihōśva-vibhōśh pratimāśh nivēśya || 8

Kāśin-ākarśha harśhād-apahara kumbhayō-mambaran bhūcthā śandhāś-

udgōdhān-kaśīchūkaśya pranama chazāśayō-śūpur-śakta-hastak |

nivim-ummuścha kāśchīm-apanaya na śhīśd-ittham-śuvōśa-śgātā

chakrē vai śakāśhānām śya-patir-iva tatē yaśya hṛtan-śhat-śughab || 9

Dik-chaakra-chumbh-ruchira-prasarat-karē yaś

padm-ākarāś-śmṛitō mukullkarōti |

śamaī kalatūka-malmāya śaś-ātmanē cha

vakrāya na śprīśayātē rajanīkarāya || 10

Prāchīm-anupracalitāni hāśhni yaśya

śkūllhīr-amhū śhama-pāśkam-ākāśchur-śubhōśh |

kim-cha-śura-śōśhīr-śhīr-śhamaśhīr-āntar-śama-

yādāśhni pāśha-potapāka-pachhīmāśhni || 11

Kāśāśhitalam vipulam-śudrīpatm-śudagrām-

śmāśhōśhīr-śhīr-śhīr-śakubhām mah-śhāśh |

ślāśghya Śakra-pura-śhūni yaśōśti vṛiddham

yaśya śrama-kāma-bharād-iva śamumūśham || 12

Bavi-śaśi-kulē guḥ-śghyā bhū-ravayō rāja-śākharā rōjūb |

śagatī punar-śka-śva śvāmī yōg-śśvarāś-Chandrāb || 13

Verses 7-10 and 12 of this section are not found in the grant of Vikrama 1154. The metres of these stanzas are : verses 1, 4-5 *Anuśtūbh* ; verses 2-3, 7-8, 10-12 *Paśantolābī* ; verse 6 *Sarāśūśhīrīṭī* ; verse 9 *Śpōśhāś*. The author of these stanzas may have been Yōgīśvara. The indirect reference to the poets Guṇādhyā, Bhāṛavi and Rājāśkhara in these inscriptions (cf. verse 12 quoted above) is of exceptional interest. As will be seen below (p. 207, note 1), the prose section after this versified introduction is also different in these Chandravati plates.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, p. 330, note 2. See also the case of Gōvīndachandra below, p. 204, note 2.

The charters of **Madanapāla**, son of Chandra, have the following two stanzas in addition to the five verses quoted above:

Tasy-ātmaṅc **Madanapāla** iti kshatindra-  
 chūḍāmasir-vijayatō nija-gōtra-chamitrah |  
 yasy-ābhishōka-kalas-ōllasitah payōbhūj-  
 prakshāhitam Kali-rajah-patalam dhantryah || 6  
 Yasy-āsād-vijaya-prayāpa-samayō tuṅ-āchal-śechhais-chalan-  
 mādyat-kumbhi-pada-kram-āsama-bhata-bhāṣyan-mahī-maṅgalā |  
 chūḍā-ratna-vibhims-tālu-galita-tyān-āṣṭig-udbhāsitah  
 Śēshah pēsha-vaśād-iva kshanam-asaṁ krōḍō nilin-ānanah || 7

The copper-plate grants of **Gōvindachandra** add the following stanzas to the above-quoted seven verses:

Tasmād-ajāyata-nij-āyata-bāhu-valli-  
 bandh-āvaruddha-nava-rājya-gaṅgō narēndrah |  
 sāndr-āmpita-drasva-muchām prabhavō gavām yō  
**Gōvindachandra** iti chandra iv-āmbu-rāśōḥ || 8  
 Na katham-apy-alabhanta rāga-kāhamāms-  
 tisishu dikahu gaṅgūn-atha Vajrinah |  
 kakubhi bahhrāṁ or-Abhramuvallabha-  
 pratibhaṭā iva yasya ghaṭā-gaṅgāḥ || 9

The following stanzas are added to the above-quoted nine verses in the charters of **Vijaya-chandra**:

Ajani **Vijayachandrō** nāma tasmān-narēndrah  
 Surapati-ivś bhūbhṅit-paksha-vichchhēda-dakshah |

<sup>1</sup> See *JUPHS*, Vol. XIV, pp. 76-77. The metres of these stanzas are: verse 6 *Vasantatilakā*; verse 7 *Śarīlavatītilakā*.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., above, Vol. IV, p. 100, text lines 8-11. The metres of these verses are: verse 8 *Vasantatilakā*; verse 9 *Draśavilambitā*. The Basahi (*Jub. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 101 ff.) and Kāmali (above, Vol. II, pp. 323 ff. plates, issued respectively in Vikrama 1161 and 1182 by Gōvindachandra during his father's reign, have some new stanzas not found in the later records of Gōvindachandra or his successors. The Basahi plate has:

Tam-ādyam sarva-dēvānām Dāmodarām-pāmahā |  
 trūḷōkyas yasya vakt-iva krōḍ-ānta-athan valī-royi || 1  
 Vamā **Gāhaḍavāl-ākhyō** bahhūra vijayī nripoh |  
**Mahāla**-sutah śrīman-Nala-Nābhāgn-samūbhah || 2  
 Yātō it-Bhōjā-bhōpō vibhāha-vara-vadhā-nātra-ām-āntitracā  
 nī-Karpō kīrti-śāham gatavāi oha aripō ksho-śrayō jāyamānō |  
 bhārtīram yuh dharitī Trādivāyibbu-nibhah jūti-yōgād-ūpōā  
 tātī viēśā-pūrram samūbhavād-cha sa kāmōpatī-**Chandradēvak** || 3  
 Drishat-kshatībhōpitah sarvān-viḷhāya vrasām-vaśō |  
**Kanyākubjō**-karōḍ-rājā rājadhānto-ānādītām || 4  
 Tā-āyau drishad-āpātī-danti-āntīkah  
 kshōḍpatī-**Madanapāla** iti prasōdīkah |  
 yā-ākriyanta kakūbh sotoara-prabandhō  
 sannartito-prakāśo-satru-kabandha-bandhāḥ || 5

bhuvana-dalana-kēlā-harmya-Hammīra-nāri-  
 nayana-jalada-dhūrū-sānta-bhūlōka-tāpāy || 10  
 Lōka-tray-ākramaṇa-kēlī-viśimkhalāni  
 prakhyāta-kīrti-kāvī-varṇita-vaibhavāni |  
 yasya Trivikrama-pada-krama-bhūṣṭi bhānti  
 prōjjimbhayanti Balī-rāja-bhayan yasādai || 11<sup>1</sup>  
 Yasmitōś-chalaty-udadhi-nīmi-mahī-jayāya  
 mādyat-karindra-guru-bhūra-nipīdī-eva |  
 yāti Prajāpati-padaṁ śaraṇ-ārthini bhūś-  
 tvaṅgat-turaṅga-nivah-ōtīha-rajas-chhalāna || 12<sup>2</sup>

Tasmād-ajyata-narōvara-vrinda-vandya-  
 pād-śravinda-yugalō jvalita-pratāpāy |  
 kahōḷpatindra-tīlakō ripa-raṅga-bhaṅgī  
 Gōvīndachandra itī viśruta-rājaputraḥ || 6

The Kanaujī plate, which has *Tasmād-ōbhūz'* for *Tasmādani* in verse 5 and *śakra-ōtīk* for *rājaputraḥ* in verse 6, omits the fourth stanza but adds the following verse at the end so that the number of verses is six in this case also :

Tīkṣṭhātō yasya dōh-stambhō matta-śaury-śīka-dantimā |  
 dhanur-guṇa-kīpa-śrōḷ mada-rōj-iva lakṣyātō || 7

The metres of these verses are : verses 1-2, 4 and 7 *Anuśṭubh* ; verse 3 *Śrīgīṭhā* ; verses 5-6 *Paśantīślōk*.

The Bahān plate (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 14 ff.) of Vikrama 1166, also issued by Gōvīndachandra during his father's reign, has again the following set of verses :

Akṣōṭh-ōtkaṣṭha-Vādīnōṭhā, etc. || 1

Abhūn-śrīpō Gāhaḍavāla-vaśō

Mahītalō nāma jī-śrī-chakraḥ |

śhītō dhārā-bhāram-śāścham-śaha

Śāhah śakṭī yasya bhūḷi nīlāya || 2

Pradhvaśō Śōma-Śrīy-ādihara-vidīta-mahā-kōdītra-vaśōś-śvayō-śmīma

utsannapūya-vōda-dīraṇi jagat-śakṭimān śaśyamaśh Śrāyamaśhōḥ |

kīrtā dōha-grabhāya pravaśam-īha manah śakṭha-budhīr-śhaśrīyōm

nīdhartam dharmā-mārgam prathītam-śha tathā kōṭha-vaśōś-śvayam-śha || 3

Vandō tatra tathā śa śaha śamāśhūndāśhūpā-śhōḷāśmāśh

prōdhvaś-ōddhātā-vaśrī-śra-śimīrah śrī-Chandraśōvō śrīpāy |

yōn-ōdīrūtara-pratīpa-śāmī-śōśha-pa-śpādravaṇ

śrīmad-Gādhīpur-ādīkīrjyam-śamaśh dōr-śhāram-śrīpam || 4

Tīrthāni Kāśi-Kośh-ōtaraśōm-śōdhrōśhīndīyakāni, etc. || 5

Tasy-śtmaśō Madanapālā itī, etc. || 6

Yasy-śōd-śrījaya-prajāpa-śumayō, etc. || 7

Jātas-tatō rājānīśrī-iv-śamba-śāśra-

Gōvīndachandra itī kāntī-bhar-ōbhīrāmāḥ |

rāj-śtmaśōś bhayātō śmūp-śrīpān |

Rāmōś Dōśarathīn-śva yasāmī yōna || 8

Durvāra-śpōḷa-Gauda-dvīndā-vaśa-ghoṭā-kurūśha-śrībhōśha-bhōś

Hammīraśh nyastā-vaśam mukur-śama-raṅga-kīrjōyō yō śhīkṣātē |

śāvat-śāśchāśrī-vaigat-turaṅga-khura-pat-śōśha-mudī-śmāśha-

kahōḷ-śvīkāra-dakṣah śa itī vjyātō prāthamā-kūpa-vrīśhah || 9

The metres of the stanzas are : verse 1 *Anuśṭubh* ; verse 2 *Uḷpōṭī* ; verses 3 and 9 *Śrīgīṭhā* ; verses 4-5 and 7 *Śāśrīślōk* ; verses 6 and 8 *Paśantīślōk*. The fourth stanza is a modification of verse 4 quoted above.

<sup>1</sup> This stanza is not found in some of the records of Vijayachandra (cf. *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 119).

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., above Vol. XXXIV, pp. 224-25. The metres of these stanzas are : verse 10 *Māhāt* ; verses 11-12 *Paśantīślōk*.

Jayachchandra's copper-plate grants have the twelve stanzas quoted above and the following two verses in addition thereto :

Tasmād-ābhuta-vikramād-atha Jayachchandr-ābhīdhānāḥ patir-  
bhūpānām-avatīrṇa śha bhuvan-ōddhārāya Nārāyaṇāḥ |  
dvaīdhi-bhāvam-apūṣya vīgraha-ruchīm dhikṛṭīya śant-śāyāḥ  
śevantō yam-udagra-bandhana-bhaya-dhvāns-ārthīnāḥ pārthivāḥ || 13  
Gachchhān-ānūrechhām-atarhchhāḥ na yadi kavalyōt-kūrma-priabh-ābhīghāta-  
pratyāvṛittam\* śram-ārtō namad-akhīla-phana-śvāsa-vātyā-sahasram |  
udyōgē yasya dhāvad-dharaṇīdhara-dhūnī-nirjāra-sphāra-dhāra-  
bhāśyad-dāna-dvip-ālī-bahala-bhāra-galad-dhairyā-mudrāḥ Phasṇīndrāḥ || 14\*

The following verses are added to the above quoted fourteen stanzas in the Machhlīshahr plate (Vikrama 1253=1197 A.D.)<sup>†</sup> of Hariśchandra, son of Jayachchandra and the latest known member of the Imperial Gāhaḍavāla house :

Tasmād-āsīd-asīma-tvara-turaga-khura-khōḍa-vikshipta-dhūli-  
vyāpta-kshūmā-chakravāla-krama-kalita-nabhō-ruddha-sūta-ptakśāḥ |  
śēnā-sambhāra-sampad-daravidalad-ilām dōr-gatāḥ nyasya chaṇḍās-  
chaṇḍ-ārka-bhrānti-dāyi-sphurad-asama-yasāḥ śri-Hariśchandrādēvaḥ || 15  
Yēna pragāma-patita-kāhīpāls-manli-  
ratna-prabhā-ruchira-chāru-pad-āmbujēna |  
uddaṇḍa-śttakara-maṇḍala-puṇḍarīka-  
ḍiṇḍīra-piṇḍam-īva subhāra-yasō vitēnē || 16\*

The above versified section is followed by a stereotyped introduction of the donor in prose. To illustrate this, we may quote the passage in question from the Machhlīshahr plate referred to above :

śō-yam samasta-rāja-chakra-saṁśvīta-charaṇāḥ śa śha paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājā-  
dhīrāja-paramēśvara-paramamāhēśvara-nīja-lhuj-ōpārjita-śri-Kanyakubj-ādhipatya-śri-  
Chandrādēva-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-parama-  
māhēśvara-śri-Madana-pālādēva-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-  
paramēśvara-paramamāhēśvar-śrīpati-gajapati-narapati-rāja-tray-ādhipati-vivīdha-  
vidyā-vichāra-Vāhaspati-śrīmad-Gōvīnda-chandrādēva-pād-ānudhyāta-paramabhāṭṭā-

\* Sometimes we have *paṇḍarīka*.

† See, e.g., *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 139 ff. The metres of the stanzas are : verse 13 *Śāndilīśloka* ; verse 14 *Śrōṅgharā*.

\* Above, Vol. X, p. 97. Verse 15 was not properly deciphered.

\* The metres of the stanzas are : verse 15 *Śrōṅgharā* ; verse 16 *Vasantīśloka*.

raka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamāhēśvar-śvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājatray  
 ādhipati-vividha-vidyā-vichāra-Vāchaspatisrī-Vijayachan-drādēva-pād-ānudhyāta-para-  
 mabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamāhēśvar-śvapati-gajapati-narapati-  
 rājatray-ādhipati-vividha-vidyā-vichāra-Vāchaspatisrī-Jayachchan-drādēva-pād-ānud-  
 hyāta-paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamāhēśvar-śvapati-gajapati-  
 narapati-rājatray-ādhipati-vividha-vidyā-vichāra-Vāchaspatisrīmad-Hari- śchndradēvō  
 vijayī.<sup>1</sup>

The list of subordinates and officers addressed by the king in respect of grants, the description of the ceremonial offering of the gift land and the privileges of the donee as found in the Gāhādvāla charters are couched in practically the same language. The imprecatory and benedictory verses quoted about the end of the said records are also almost the same.

#### No. 1—Grant of Gōvīndachandra, Vikrama 1196

This inscription was noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1932-33, No. A 29. It is a single thick plate measuring nineteen inches in length and thirteen inches in height. There is a circular hole (about 2 cm. in diameter) about the centre of the top part, but no seal. The plate is engraved only on one side and there are in all 24 lines of writing. Its ends are raised for the protection of the writing. The weight of the plate is 465.6 gm.

The date of the grant is quoted in lines 15-16, both in words and figures, as Vikrama 1196, Phālguna-vadi 15, Tuesday. This date corresponds to the 31st January 1139 A. D., the said *tithi* having begun on that day and ended on the next.

The Gāhādvāla king Gōvīndachandra is stated to have granted, on the date indicated above, the village called Vasāvā-grāma situated in the *pattalā* of Asamaka. A *pattalā* was a territorial unit of the type of the Pargana of today. The identification of the localities is uncertain. The gift was made by the king after having taken a bath in the waters of the Ganges at Vārāṇasī.

The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Rālhapaśarman who belonged to the Sāṅkrītya *gōtra* and the Sāṅkrītya, Āngirasa and Gaṇarvīta *pravara*. He was the son of Vālhaṇa and grandson of Bhīma. All the three persons are called Tivāḍī which was apparently their family name derived from Sanskrit *Tripāthī* meaning 'familiar with the three *pañchas*, (viz. *sūhītā*, *paṭa* and *krava*). The same family name is even now current among the Brāhmaṇas of U. P. The honorific *śrī* is prefixed to the names of Rālhapaśarman and his father Vālhaṇa. Its absence with the name of Rālhapaśarman's grandfather Bhīma probably suggests that he was dead at the time of the grant.

<sup>1</sup> As indicated above (p. 202, note 6), like the versified introductory part, the prose section introducing the donor is different in the two Chandravati plates of Vikrama 1150 and 1156. The grant of Vikrama 1150 reads: śōyam narapati-mukuta-makarikī-marsakata-prabhā-pātala-pālavita-pāda-pithō-gajapati-gala-gaejita-pralaya-pañchānanas-trīśaktipati-koṭaja-pāṭana-krakacha-pātak-śhapala-pañchāla-chāla-chumbana-chapa-cha-nīrahāṇō giripati-pichu-piḍa-chaṇḍa-mārutab kavallita-kali-kāla-koṭaja-pēṭakō nirvāna-pathika-lōpaka-darśanah samadhigata-śakala-darśana-śvara-śpēṭala-jlōma-sampad-vijita-muni-mandir-pittir-śrīyayā śrīyasm-ākaraḥ sarva-vīryānām-ālayah kalānām-ādharah evāmi-sampadām paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-paramamāhēśvara-nija-bhūj-ōpārjita-śrī-Kanyakubj-ādhipatya-śrīmad-  
 Chandradityādēvō vijayī.

The grant of Vikrama 1156, which omits four verses in the versified introduction as already noted above, has 'krakacha-pāṭa nirvāna' and 'lōpaka-darśanah paramabhaṭṭāraka' and thus omits a number of passages. This record exhibits an attempt to shorten the rather lengthy introduction in both the sections in verse and prose as found in the charter of Vikrama 1150.

The gift was permanent and the donee was entitled to enjoy all taxes including *bhōga* (share of crops), *bhōga* (periodical offerings), *laka* (taxes in general) and the special taxes known as *panayilaka* and *terushkadapā*, which have been variously explained. Of these two levies, *panayilaka* was probably a tax on foreign merchants and *terushkadapā* either a tax to meet the expenses of defence against the Turkish Mussalmans or a levy from Mussalman subjects or traders.

The charter was written by *Thakkura Viavarāpa* who is already known from a large number of *Gōvindhachandra's* records.<sup>1</sup>

TEXT<sup>2</sup>

- 12 . . . . .<sup>3</sup> *śrīmaḍ-Gōvindhachandradēvō vijayī | Asamaka-pattalāyām Vasēvā-grāma-nivāsīnō mūhūta-janapadā-*
- 13 *u-upagatān=api cha rāja-rājāt-yuvarāja-mantri-purōhita-pratibhāra-sēnāpati-bhāndgārīk-śikha-patalīka-ō-kūśhag-naimittik-āntahparīka-dāta-kari-turaga-patta-*
- 14 *n-ākamathāna-gōkul-ādīkārī-parushān-ājñāpayati vō(bō)dhayaty-ādīnāti cha [i\*] yathā viditam=astu bhavatām yath-ōpari-likhita-grāmah sa-jala-sthalah sa-lōha-lavan-ā-*
- 15 *korah sa-matay-ākarah sa-grant-ōharah sa-madhūk-āvra(nra)-vana-vātīkī-vitapa-trīnā-yūti-gō(gō)-chara-paryantah s-ōrdāh[i\*]-ādīha=chatur-āghāta-vīra(tu)ddhal eva-śmā-paryantah pancha-navaty-adhik-aikā-*
- 16 *dāśa-śata-bherī(sam)vatсарō Phālgunē māsi krishna-pakshē amāvāsyāyāni tithau Bhauma-dīnē-ōkō-ṛi samva(sarva)t 1195 Phālguna-vadi 15 Bhaumē śrīmaḍ-Vārāṇasyāni Gaṅgāyāni nātīvā vidhīva-*
- 17 *n-manūtā(tra)-dā(dō)va-muni-manujā-bhūta-pūtri-gaṅgāhīs-tarppayitvā timira-patala-pātana-pata-mahasam-; [U]dhārōchīham=apa(sthā)ly-Aushadhīpatiśakalāś(ś)kharah sama-bhyarōchīya trī-bhuvana-trātur-Vyāmalōva-*
- 18 *aya pūjāni vidhīya pāchura-pāyabhī(s)na ha(vīahā) Havīhūb(tbhū)jani het(v)ā māstā-pit(ṛ)jō-ātmanāś-cha puṇya-yatō-bhivṛdhīhāyō-smāhūr-gōkarṇa-kusa(śa)-latā-pūta-karatā-ōdaka-pūrvva[ṇi] Śānkṛitya gō-*
- 19 *trāya Śānkṛitya<sup>4</sup> Āgimasa-ōsurōchit<sup>5</sup>-trīh(ṛi)-pravārāya Tivāḍī-Bhīma-patrāya Tivāḍī-śrī-Vāllhāna-patrāya [T]ivāḍī-śrī-Rāhhapalarnagō Vṛā(Bṛā)lmagāy-ā-chāindr-ā(r)kka-ṇi s(ś)śānkṛitya*
- 20 *pradattō matvā yathā-diyamāna-bhā[ṇa]-bhōga-kara-pravapikara-su(tu)ruahka(n)da)ndā-prabhṛiti-sa(r\*)v-ādīyān ājētā-vidhīyībhūya dāsyath=ōti [i\*] bhavanti ch=ātra ślōkāh | . . . . .*
- 24 . . . . . *likhītam ch=ōdam thakkura-śrī-Vīvarū(p)ḥō-ōt(i) [i\*]*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos. 214, 215, 217, 222, 223.

<sup>2</sup> From inked impressions.

<sup>3</sup> Verses 1-9 quoted in our *introductory discussion*, followed by a passage in prose also discussed there, are found in *Proc* 1-12.

<sup>4</sup> *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

<sup>5</sup> The correct form of the name is *Asurōchī*.

<sup>6</sup> There is a fural design between the two *ś* signs.

<sup>7</sup> The following impressionary and boundary verses occur in lines 20-24: *Bhānō yath prabhṛitāni, etc.*; *Southem bhāndhānō, etc.*; *Sarvō-ōdhā-ōkharōśh* etc.; *Sarppavāśham jān-ōkōn cha, etc.*; *Nā pūtam vīrahā-ṛi-śāśhā*, etc.; *Vīva-ōa dattīva* etc.







## No. 2—Grant of Vijayachandra, Vikrama 1217

This is a single plate<sup>1</sup> having writing only on one side. It measures 48 cm. in length and 38 cm. in height, though its weight is not recorded. There is a hole, disturbing the continuity of line 1, about the middle of the upper part of the plate near the top margin. But there is no seal for the affixation of which the hole was no doubt made. There are only 30 lines of writing in the inscription.

The charter bears the date: Vikrama 1217, Chaitra-vadi 11, Wednesday, Minsākrānti, both in words and figures (line 18). This date regularly corresponds to the 22nd February 1161 A. D.

The inscription records the grant of a village made by the Gāhāḍavāla king Vijayachandra on the date mentioned above. The king is stated to have made the grant after having taken his bath in the Ganges at its confluence with the Kālīnadi at his camp-residence lying to the west of Khōḍa (*Khōḍa-pūchima-samāvara*). The Kālī-nadi joins the Ganges not far above Kanauj in the Farrukhabad District, U. P. The camp of the king was thus a place near Kanauj. The general belief that the name Kālī-nadi is modified from old Kōṭīndī by Persian writers<sup>2</sup> is disproved by the inscription under study.

The gift village was Kaḍḍini-grāma situated in the Umbarahāra pattalā (district). The village is stated to have been granted along with its pāṭakas. The word pāṭaka (modern pāḍā) means a group of houses in a village. The names of the pāṭakas or hamlets are given in the inscription as Kaṭavalt, Vanastri(ḥ), Ustari and Pauravali. I am not sure about the identification of the localities. The name of Umbarahāra-pattalā reminds us of Umbarāla-pattalā of an inscription of Gōvīndachandra.<sup>3</sup>

The donee of the grant was the Brāhṃana Thakkura Māhapaśarman who was the son of Thakkura Gaṅgadhara and grandson of Thakkura Lakṣmīdhara and belonged to the Vata gōtra and the five pravaras, viz. Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpnavāna, Aurya and Jāmadagnya. The nature of the gift was permanent and the donee was entitled to all regular and irregular taxes like bhōga, bhōḡa, kara, pramaṇyaka and yamalikāmbali. Of these, pramaṇyaka is the same as or a mistake for pravayikara discussed above. Yamalikāmbali seems to be a corruption of yamala-kambalin meaning the tax for the possession of a pair of choice bullocks and may be compared with the levy called tara-baliwada mentioned in certain contemporary inscriptions.<sup>4</sup>

The charter was written by Thakkura Śrīpatika (Śrīpati) who is known from many inscriptions of Gōvīndachandra and Jayachandra as well as from a spurious grant<sup>5</sup> of Vijayachandra himself. He is often endowed with the official designation Mahākṣapatalika.

<sup>1</sup> It is No. A 90 of Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy for 1900-01.

<sup>2</sup> The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XIV, p. 309.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, Vol. VIII, p. 139, text line 11.

<sup>4</sup> See *ibid.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 267, text line 28.

<sup>5</sup> See above, pp. 183 ff. All the six charters of Jayachandra edited below (Nos. 3-8) were written by the same person.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 14 \* ..... śrīmad-Vijayachandradēvō vijaya || || Umva(mba)rahāra-pa-
- 15 [tta]lāyārā sa-pātaka-Karṇḍīni-grāma-nivāsīnō nikhilā-janapadān-upagatān-aya cha  
rāja-rājūl-yuvarāja-mantri-purōhita-pratibhāra-sēnāpati-bhāṅgājārik-ākṣhapāṭalika-lāhika-  
nai-
- 16 mittik-īntakpurika-dūta-kari-taraga-pattar-ākaraśthāna-gōkul-śchikāri-purushān-ājñāpayati  
vō(bō)dhayaty-ādīśati cha yathā viditam=astu bhavtām yathā-ōpari-likhita-grāmaḥ  
Kaśavali
- 17 [Vanāri ?] Ustari [Pau]śavali śtari saha sa-jala-śthalaḥ sa-lōha-lavan-ākaraḥ sa-matsyākaraḥ  
sa-garri-śaharaḥ sa-giri-gahana-nidhānaḥ sa-madhūk-āmra-vana-vākūś-vitapa-trīpa-yūti-  
gōchāra-paryantaḥ s-ōrdhō(nidhv-ō)dhāś-chatur-āghāśa-
- 18 visu(āu)dhāḥ sa-simā-jaryantaḥ saptaśasō(ś-ō)ttara-dvāśasa(śa)-[śa\*]ta-  
samvatsarē Chaitra-māsa-kriśṇa-pakṣē śkūdasāyām(śyām) tithau Vu(Bu)-  
dha-dīna(nā) śikāśō-pi samvat 1217 Chaitra-vadi 11 Vō(Bu)dhē mīna-gatē  
savitari ady-śha Khōḍa-pāśchima-samāvāśē
- 19 Kālī-nadi-sa[m]gamē Gaṅgāyām anātvā vidhiraṅ-mamtra-dēva-muni-manuja-bhūta-  
pitri-gaṅgān=tarppayitvā timira-pātala-pālāna-pāṇa-mahasam-Uśparōchisham-upasthāy-  
(y=Au)chadhīpatīśakalāśha(śēkha)raḥ
- 20 sa[ma]bhār[ca]jhyā(bhyarohchya) tri-bhuvana-trāta[r]-Vvāundrasya pūjām vidhāya praśura-  
pāyasaṇa havishā Havirbhujan hutvā mātā-pitṛō-ātmanāś-cha puṇya-yasō-bhividdha-  
yō-śanśbhīr-ggōkarṇṇa-kuśa-latā-pūta-kara-
- 21 tal-ōdaka-pūrvakam Vatsa-gōtrāya Bhārgava-Chyavana-Āpnavāna-\*(Au)r[ya]va-Jāmad-  
gonyā-paṅcha-pravarāya śhakkura-śrī-Lakṣmīkṣhara-paotrāya śhakkura-śrī-Gaṅgādhara-ṇu-  
trāya śhakkura-śrī-Māhānasa(śa)rmmaḥ Vā(Brā)hmaspāya chandr-ārkkam
- 22 yāvach-śhāsanikṛitya pradattō matvā yathā-dīyamāna-bhāga-bhōga-kara-pramaṇikara-yma-  
likāmva(mba)li-prabhīpti-ōiyat-āniyata-samaśt-ādāyān-ājñā-vidhāy(bhāya) dāyath-ōti ||  
|| bhavasti(nti) [ch]-āt
- 23 ślōkāḥ .....<sup>4</sup>
- 30 ..... || śha\* || likhitaṁ ch-ōdam tāvra(mru)kam śhakkura-śrī-Śrīpatikōn-ōti || śha\* ||  
maṅgala[m] mahā-śrīḥ ||

<sup>1</sup> From inked impressions.<sup>2</sup> Verses 1-12 discussed in our introductory remarks, followed by a passage in prose also discussed there, are engraved in lines 1-14.<sup>3</sup> Sandhi has not been observed here.<sup>4</sup> This is generally found elsewhere as prasastiḥ.<sup>5</sup> The following imprecatory and benedictory verses are quoted in lines 23-30: Śhāśikā gah praṇigrahāt, etc.; Śamāntam Śadr-Bannam, etc.; Śureśa-śha-śhāśikā, etc.; Anand-samāś paribhāṣā, etc.; Bahubhīr-vana-śha-śhāśikā, etc.; Gōm-śhāśikā śarṇṇa-śha-śha, etc.; Tuṅgāśhāśikā śakuraśha, etc.; Śva-dānām para-śhāśikā śa, etc.; Śhaśhāśikā śureśa-śhaśhāśikā, etc.; Vāri-śhāśikā-śarṇṇaśha, etc.; Vān-śha śhāśikā, etc.; Vāi-śhāśikā-śhāśikāśha śha, etc.<sup>6</sup> This is a symbol indicating the completion of a section of the composition.

## No. 3—Grant of Jayachandra, Vikrama 1232

This is a single plate<sup>1</sup> measuring 62 cm. in length and 39 cm. in height and having writing on one side only. There is a hole (about 2.5 cm. in diameter) about the middle of the upper part of the plate near the top margin. This disturbs the continuity of the writing of lines 1-3. The weight of the plate has not been recorded. There are altogether 33 lines of writing in the inscription. The seal is missing.

The date of the charter is quoted in line 22 in both words and figures. It is Vikrama 1232, *Āsvina-sudi 14, Monday*. The year has to be regarded as current and the date apparently corresponds to Monday the 29th September 1175 A.D., though the *tithi* in question really fell on the following day. As will be seen below, several other charters were issued by the king on the same day in favour of the donee of the grant under study.

It is stated that the Gāhadevāla king Jayachandra granted a village on the above date on the occasion of the *jāt-otsava* of Mahārājaputra Hariśchandrādēva. The gift village was Chandavāka, though the *pattalī* or Pargana in which it was situated is not mentioned. But reference has been made to certain *pāṣākas* or hamlets of the village. Their names appear to be Kśāvaka, Payanīyī, Rātu and Gudērāra. These places cannot be located with precision.

The donee of the grant was Mahāsāndhivirahika Bhāṇḍāgārīka Ravīdhara of the Vatsa *gōtra*, who was the son of Mālādharaśarmaṇ and the grandson of Gaṅgādharaśarmaṇ.<sup>2</sup> He was therefore an officer of the king in charge of foreign relations as well as of the royal treasury or store-house. It will be seen below that all the grants of Jayachandra edited here (Nos. 3-8) were made in favour of this person, though the records of the following year (V. S. 1233; cf. Nos. 5-8) call him Rātu instead of Mahāsāndhivirahika Bhāṇḍāgārīka. The donee was entitled to collect all the regular and irregular taxes including *bhāga*, *bhōga*, *kara*, *pravāṇikara* and *yamali*. Of these, *yamali* is of course the same as *yamalikūmbali* explained above.

The charter was written by Mahākshapatika Thakkura Śrīpati who was also the writer of No. 2 edited above, Nos. 4-7 edited below and a number of other Gāhadevāla charters.

The importance of the inscription lies in the mention of the *jāt-otsava* of king Jayachandra's son Mahārājaputra Hariśchandra, as the occasion of the grant. The expression *jāt-otsava* no doubt means the festival relating to the prince's birth. This reminds us of two other grants made by Jayachandra on the occasion of the *jāta-karma* (ceremony at birth) and *nāma-karava* (naming ceremony) of the same Hariśchandra.

It is well known that the Kamauli plate<sup>3</sup> of Vikrama 1232, Bhādra-vadi 8, Sunday (the 10th August 1175 A.D.) records a grant made by Jayachandra on the occasion of the *jāta-karma* of Rājaputra Hariśchandrādēva after the donor had taken a bath in the waters of the Ganges at Kāśī (i.e. Vārāṇasī) in favour of Purōkīta Praharañjāśarmaṇ who was apparently the priest

<sup>1</sup> It is No. A 91 of A. E. Ep., 1900-51.

<sup>2</sup> This Gaṅgādhara seems to be identical with the Brāhmana of the same name mentioned in No. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 127, text lines 20-24: *Samest 1232 Bhādra-vadi 8 Rājan Kāśyān rājaputra H. Hariśchandrādēva-jātakarmas Gaṅgāyān snāta.....nambhīk purōkita-śr. Praharañjāśarmaṇ Brāhmanāya.....pradattaḥ*. The expression *śrī-śrī* seems to have been omitted from the context through oversight.

officiating in the prince's birth-rite.<sup>3</sup> The Sihvar plate<sup>2</sup> of Vikrama 1232, Bhādra-sudi 13, Sunday the 31st August 1175 A. D.), likewise records a grant on the occasion of the *nāma-karaya* of *Rājaputra* Hariśchandra made by the king after taking a bath in the waters of the Ganges at Vārāṇasī in favour of *Mahāpaṇḍita* Hrishikēśakarman. Hrishikēśa was no doubt a scholar patronised by the Gāhaḍavāla king and officiated in the naming ceremony and suggested the name of the prince.

It is generally believed, on the basis of these two records, that Hariśchandra was born on the 10th August 1175 A.D. and that his *nāma-karaya* or naming ceremony was performed after three weeks on the 31st August. Of course there is a good deal of discrepancy in the views of ancient Indian authorities as regards the time when the *nāma-karaya* should be performed. Some of them favour the date of the birth of a child for the purpose and some others prefer the 10th or 12th day after the birth or any auspicious day, *tithi* or *nakshatra* thereafter, i.e. on a later date, while another group of writers prescribe for the *nāma-karaya* the 16th or 18th day after the birth though there are also views that it should be done after the passing of a hundred nights or a month or a year.<sup>3</sup> Thus the performance of *nāma-karaya* on the 21st day after the birth of prince Hariśchandra is not unjustifiable. But the mention of the name Hariśchandra in the grant issued on the 10th August on the occasion of the *jāta-karman* or birth-ceremony seems to suggest that the *nāma-karaya*, on the occasion of which a charter was issued on the 31st August, was really performed on the date of the prince's birth on an earlier date. This seems to be supported by the present grant which has the passage: *Saṁvat 1232 Āvina-sudi 14 Śomē ady-ṭha mahārājaputra-īri-Hariśchandra-dēva-jāt-ōtsavā . . . . . amābhī . . . . . mahāśāndhivigrahika-bhāṣṭāgārika-īri-Ravidhara . . . . . pradattāḥ*.<sup>4</sup> Since the date falls on the 29th September 1175 A.D., i.e. 50 days after the 10th August and 29 days after the 31st August, it cannot be regarded as a celebration performed a month or several months or a year after the birth of Hariśchandra. Thus the *jāt-ōtsava* seems to indicate the festival held on the occasion of the prince's birth, though the grant was made several weeks after the date. This makes it doubtful whether the prince's birth took place on the 10th August 1175 A.D. or on an earlier date.

It will be seen that while the grant on the occasion of the *jāta-karman* was made in favour of the *Purohita* (i.e. the priest of the king) and that in connection with the *nāma-karaya* to a *Mahāpaṇḍita* (learned Brāhminya of the royal court), who no doubt officiated in the respective rites, the present grant was made in connection with the birth festival in favour of a royal officer who apparently did not take part in the *jāta-karman* and *nāma-karaya* rites. But, as will be seen below, No. 4 seems to suggest that Ravidhara, the donee of the present charter, presented three bejewelled amulets to the newly born prince.

Ravidhara may have been a favourite of the king since all the six grants of Jayachandra published here (Nos. 3-8) were issued in his favour on two different dates, Nos. 3-4 on one date and Nos. 5-8 on another. It is, however, interesting to note that the *jāt-ōtsava* of Hariśchandra is mentioned as the occasion of the grant only in the present record (No. 3) and not even in No. 4 though Nos. 3 and 4 were issued on the same date. Whether this means that the villages granted by means of some of these records were really purchased by Ravidhara from the Gāhaḍavāla monarch cannot be determined without further evidence.

<sup>1</sup> Another grant made by the king in a priest's favour is recorded in a Kannuli plate (above, Vol. IV, pp. 120-21), according to which he gave a village to *Rājaputra Mahāpaṇḍita* Pratikēśakarman on the 21st June 1270 A.D. after performing *mantra-sūtra* for his *śāstikēta* at his camp at Vadvāha-grāma.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 131, text lines 24-28: *Saṁvat 1232 Bhādra-sudi 13 Rājav-ady-ṭha śrīmaḥ-eyoga-Vārāṇasīya Ganga-sāgare sūtra . . . . . amābhī . . . . . mahāpaṇḍita-īri-Hrishikēśakarman Pratikēśaka-īri-Rajaputra-īri-Hariśchandra-nāma-karā . . . . . pradattāḥ*.

<sup>3</sup> *Kaṁs. History of Dharmasthāna*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 234, 235 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The expression *śrīmaḥ-ēdāśūḍyān-ōtsavā* seems to have been omitted through oversight. Cf. No. 4 (text line 23) issued in favour of the same donee on the same date, though it does not mention any occasion like Hariśchandra's *jāt-ōtsava* as in the present grant.

SOME GAHADAVALA GRANTS—PLATE II  
 No. 3—Grant of Jayachchandra, Vikrama 1232

2  
 4  
 6  
 8  
 10  
 12  
 14  
 16  
 18  
 20  
 22  
 24  
 26  
 28  
 30  
 32

The image shows a rectangular stone inscription with a grid of 32 numbered lines. The text is written in a dense, ancient script, likely Devanagari, and is arranged in approximately 12 vertical columns. The inscription is highly weathered and darkened, making the characters difficult to read. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the stone. The numbers 2 through 32 are printed along the top and bottom edges of the grid.







## No. 4—Grant of Jayachandra, Vikrama 1232

This is a single plate<sup>1</sup> measuring 48 cm. in length and 39 cm. in height. It has writing only on one side. In general appearance, the plate looks like Nos. 1-3 edited above. There is no seal, though there is a hole (2.15 cm. in diameter) about the centre of the upper part near the top margin and it disturbs the continuity of the writing of lines 1-2. The inscription contains 34 lines of writing.

The date of the charter, quoted in both words and figures in lines 22-23, is the same as that of No. 3, viz. Vikrama 1232, Āsvina-sudi 14, Monday, corresponding to the 29th September 1175 A.D.

The grant is stated to have been made by the Gāhādavāla king Jayachandra after having taken a bath at a locality or in a tank called *Ēḍakuṇḍī*. The gift village, viz. *Avālu-grāma*, was given together with its *pāṣākar* though the *pattalā* in which it was situated is not mentioned. I am not sure about the location of the village or the place whence the charter was issued.

The donee is the same as in No. 3, viz. *Mahāsāndhivagrohika Bhūvāgīrīka Ravidhara* (written wrongly as *Rādhara*) of the *Vatsa* gōtra, who was the son of *Mahādharasarma* and grandson of *Gāṅgādharasarma*. The nature of the grant was permanent and the donee was entitled to realize such regular and irregular taxes as *bhūga*, *bhoga*, *kara*, *pravāṣikara* and *gunuli* (i.e. *gunalikhantā*) explained above).

There is a passage in line 26, which seems to suggest that *Ravidhara* offered three *modrī* decked with diamonds and rubies and that the grant was made in his favour in that connection (i.e. in response to that act). The word *modrī* is apparently used in the sense of *modrikā* or *modrā* meaning 'signet ring', 'a coin', 'a medal', etc. It is not impossible that *Ravidhara* presented three amulets to the newly born prince *Harichandra* and received the village from the king in return.

The charter was written by *Śrīpati* already known from Nos. 2-3 above and a number of other records of Gāhādavāla kings including Nos. 5-7 below.

## TEXT:

- 18 ..... 'rīma] Jayachchandraḍvō vijayī || || sa cha [sā]-  
 19 [māta-rūḥ]<sup>1</sup> ..... 'sa-pāṣaka-'Avālu-grāma-nivāsīnō nikhila-jaṇapaddā(dā)ṇ-upagatān-  
 -api cha rāja-rājñī-yuvarāja-mam(ma)ntri-purū(rō)[hi]ta-pantihāra-sēnāpa-  
 20 ti-bhāṣṭhājāgīrik-ākṣhapatalika-bhishag-maimittik-āntahpurika-d[ū]ta-kari-turaga-pattan-ākara-  
 -sthāna-g[ō]kul-ādihikāri-purushān-ājñāpayati vō(bō)dhayaty-ādīkātī cha vidī-  
 21 tam-satu bhavatātū yath-[ō]pari-likhita-grāmaḥ sa-ja[la-sthalah] sa-l[ōha]-javan-ākaraḥ  
 'sa-matsy-ākaraḥ sa-ga[r\*]ti-dāva(sha)[raḥ] sa-giri-gahana-nidhānaḥ sa-[ma]dhōk-āmra-  
 vana-vāfikā-vi-

<sup>1</sup> It is No. A 92 of A. R. Ep., 1900-01.

<sup>2</sup> From inked impressions.

<sup>3</sup> Lines 1-18 contain verses 1-14 followed by a passage in prose, both dismissed in our introductory remarks.

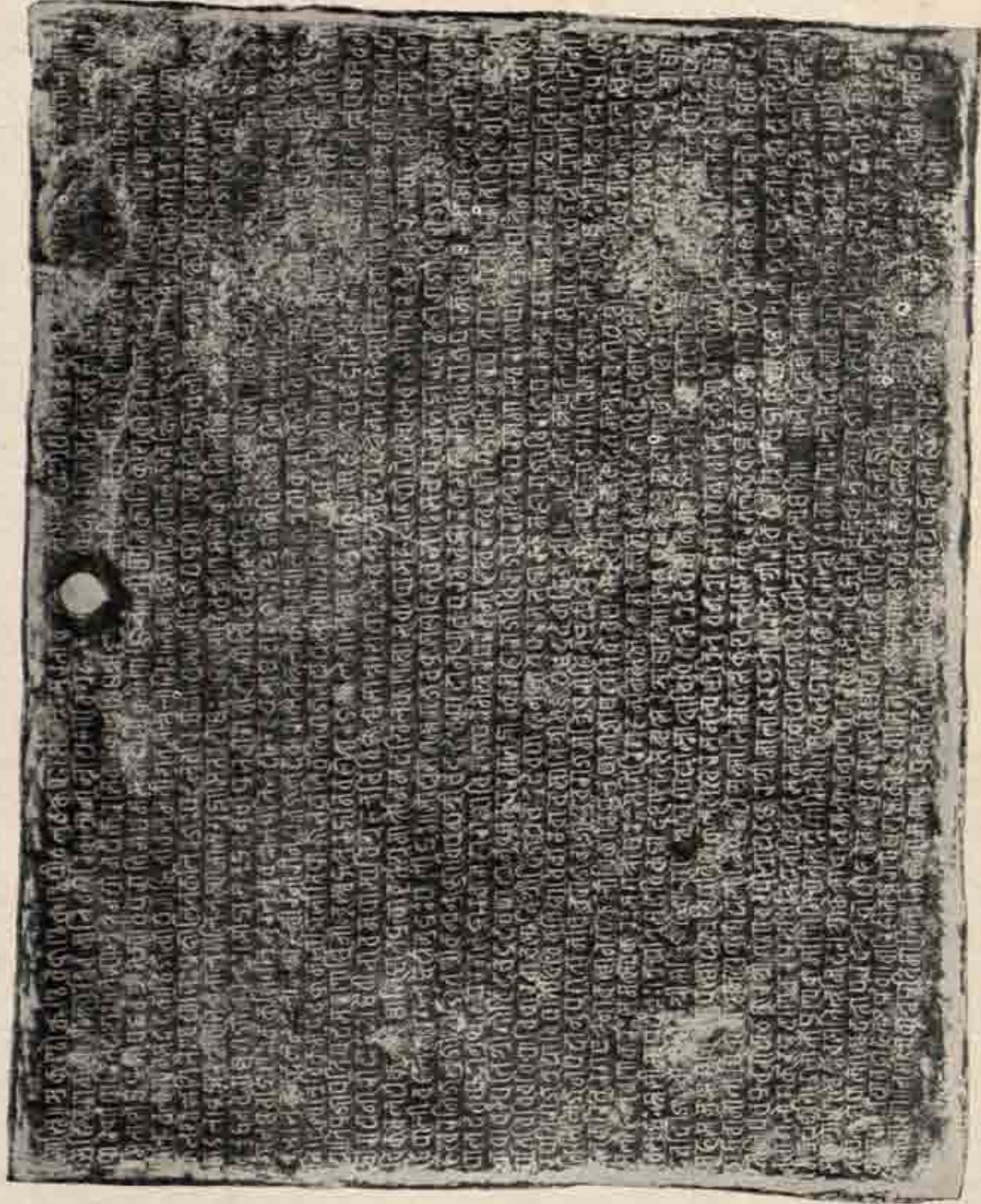
<sup>4</sup> These six redundant aksharas were wrongly incised. The intended expression here seems to be *sumasta-rāja-chakra-śrīnāthā-chaṭvāṣaḥ*.

<sup>5</sup> The aksharas wrongly engraved here are completely rubbed off.

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

SOME GAHADAVALA GRANTS—PLATE III  
No. 5—Grant of Jayachandra, Vikrama 1233

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34



2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32 34



- 22 *śapa*-[*ṭi*]ṇa-yūti-gōchāra-paryantaḥ a-ō(rubv-ādhāś-chatu)rāghāṭa-viśuddhaḥ e(v)a-simā-  
paryantaḥ dvaya[*ṭr*]jimsad'-adhika-dvādaśa-śata-smvatsarē \* *Āevinē māśē* |  
|*ś*[*ṭ*]ukla-pakāhē | chaturddasyāḥ
- 23 tithau | *Sōma-dinē* | amkē-pi sa[*m*]vat 1[2]3[2] *Ājvina-sudi 14 Sōmē* || ady-ēha  
śrimad-*Ēda*[*ku*]ndyāḥ] snātva vidhivan-ma[*m*]\*[*ṭra*-dēva-muni-manaja-bh[*ṭ*]ta-pitri-  
ganāna-tarppayityā(tvā) timira-pājala-
- 24 pātana-paṭu-mahasam-Ushparōchipa(sha)m-u[*ṣ*]asthāy-Au[*ṣ*]hadhipatiśakalāśa(śekhā)-  
ra[*m*] samabhya[*ṭ*]chya] tri[*b*]huvā[*na*-trātur-Vvāsudōvasya pūjām vidhāya prachura-  
pāyasa(eś)ma havipā(śhē) Havir[*b*]hujam]
- 25 kutvā mātā-pitrōr-ātmanas-cha pu[*n*]ya-ya[*ś*ō]-bhitrī(vṛ)ddhay[*ō*] [a]samābhīr-gg[*ō*]-  
karṇa-kuśa-latā-pūta-karatal-*[ō]*da[*ka*]-pūrvvakam || Vatsa-gōtrīya Gagrā(ōgā)-  
dharasa(śa)rumalē(ṇa) paṅtrāya Ma(Mā)llā(dharasa(śa))-
- 26 emmanē(śaḥ) putrāya mahāśāndhivigra[h]jika-bhāṣṭjāgā[*ṭ*]rika-śri-Rōdharāya<sup>3</sup> hīrē<sup>4</sup>-māpikya-  
lagna-muddhī<sup>5</sup>-traya-datta<sup>6</sup>-samvadha(odhē) chamdr-ārka[*m*] yāvach-ohhāsanikṛitya  
pracha(da)ttō matyū(tvā) [yathā-dīya]-
- 27 mātā(na)-bhāga-bhōga-kara-pravaṇikara-ja(ya)mali-prabhṛiti-niyat-āniyata-samast-ādāyān-  
ājñā-vidhēy[*b*]hūya dāsyath-ēti || bhavanti ch-ātra ślōkā[*ḥ*] || .....<sup>7</sup>
- 34 ..... likhitam ch-ēdam..... pa[*ṭ*]ta[*ka*]m mah[*ā*]kshapa[*ṭ*]ka]..... {Śrīpatibhi}....

## No. 5—Grant of Jayachandra, Vikrama 1233

The inscription<sup>8</sup> is written on one side of a single plate measuring 51 cm. in length and 41 cm. in height. There is a hole in the centre of the top part of the inscription near the upper margin, though there is no seal. The hole (2.28 cm. in diameter) has disturbed the continuity of writing in lines 1-2. There are altogether 34 lines of writing on the plate.

The date of the grant, quoted in words and figures in lines 24-25, is **Vikrama 1233, Āshāḍha-vadi 15, Sunday**. This date regularly corresponds to the 29th May 1177 A.D.

The Gāhadvāla king Jayachandra is stated to have granted the village called **Khavaḍayi-grāma**, situated in the **Dirghōdaya pattāḥ**, together with its hamlets, on the date indicated above, after taking a bath in the waters of the **Ganges** at **Vārānaśī**. The identification of both the district and the village is uncertain, though the name **Dirghōdaya** reminds us of **Dighwa-Dubauli** in the **Saran District of Bihar**.

The donor was the same as in Nos. 3-4, viz. **Ravidhara** who was the son of **ṭhakkura Māllādhara** and grandson of **ṭhakkura Gaṅgādharā** and belonged to the **Vatsa gōtra** and the five **pravara**s, viz. **Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpnavāna, Aurva** and **Jāmadagnya**. He was entitled to all the regular and irregular taxes such as **bhāga, bhōga, kara** and **pravaṇikara**.

<sup>1</sup> Read *dvādaśad*.

<sup>2</sup> The punctuation mark here as well as elsewhere in this line and the following one is unnecessary.

<sup>3</sup> Possibly the scribe intended to write *Nandivardga* for Sanskrit *Nandivardga*.

<sup>4</sup> The correct word is *Mraṭ* meaning 'a diamond', Cf. *śrī* in Hindi, etc.

<sup>5</sup> The intended word is *mudrī* used in the sense of *mudrī* or *mudrā*.

<sup>6</sup> The word more suitable to the context here is *śānti* or *dāna*.

<sup>7</sup> Lines 27-34 contain the following benedictory and imprecatory verses: *Bhūman yaḥ pratigrāhēti, etc.*; *Saṅkīrtā bhāṭ-āstavaḥ, etc.*; *Śaśṭipā varāśa-saharāni, etc.*; *Bakubhī-rumāḥ śrutā, etc.*; *Gīma-śāntā survaśa-śāntā, etc.*; *Śva-śāntā para-śāntā, etc.*; *Tuḥpāśāśa-saharāṇa, etc.*; *Vā-śāntā-siharaman-śāntā, etc.*; *Śarva-śāntā-sāntā, etc.*; *Yā-śāntā, etc.*

<sup>8</sup> This is No. A 93 of A. K. Ep., 1900-01.

It is interesting to note that the same Ravidhara is called *Mahāsāndhivagrahika Bhāṣṭāgārika* in Nos. 3-4, but a *Rūta* in the present record as well as in Nos. 6-7. *Rūta* is merely a title of nobility and it is not improbable that Ravidhara retired before the date of the present charter and was no longer an officer of the king.

Like most of the other charters of Jayachandra edited here, the present grant was written by *Mahākshapatālika Thakkura Śrīpati*.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 20 .....<sup>2</sup> śrīmaḥ-Jayachchandraśvō vijayi || || Dīrghōdaya-pattalāśyāḥ |<sup>3</sup> sa-pūjaka-  
Khavaḍayī-grāma-nivāsinō
- 21 nikhila-janapadān-upagatān-api cha rāja-rājñī-yuvarāja-mamtri-purōhita-pratīhāra-sēnāpati-  
bhāṣṭāgārik-ākshapatālika-bhishag-naimittik-āntahpurika-
- 22 dūta-kari-taruga-pattan-ākarnethāna-gōkul-ādihikāri-purushān-ājñāpayati vō(bō)dhayatya-  
ādīātī [cha] viditam-astu bhavātām yath-ōpati-likhita-grāmaḥ sa-jala-sthalaḥ
- 23 sa-lōha-lavan-ākaraḥ sa-matya-ākaraḥ sa-gartī-śaharaḥ sa-giri-gahana-nidhānaḥ sa-madh[ū]-  
k-ānra-vana-vālikā-viṭapa-trīpa-yūti-gō[cha]ra-paryantaḥ =ōrdhva-ādhaś-chatur-āghāta-
- 24 visu[ta]iddhīā svā-simā-paryantaḥ |<sup>4</sup> traysaḥ<sup>5</sup> | triman[sa]d-ādihika-dvādaśa-śata-  
samva[samva]tsarē Āshāḍhē māsi kṛishṇa-pakṣhē amāvāsyāvāmi tithau Ravi-  
dīnē ankaśō-pi samva[samva]t 1233 Āshā-
- 25 śha-vadī 15 Ravau ady-ōha śrīmaḥ-vijaya-Vārāpasvā(syāḥ) Gaṅgāyā[r]i snātva  
vullāvan-mamtra-dēva-muni-manujā-bh[ū]ta-p[ri]t[ri]-gopāthē-tarppayitva tīmira-patala-  
pātana-patu-
- 26 mahasam-Ubhayūrchisham-upasthāy- Anshadhīpatīśakalāś(śō)kharām samahhyarcchya tri-  
bhuvana-trātur-bhagavatō Vāśulāvāya pōjām vidhāya prachura-pāyasēna havishā  
Havirbhū-
- 27 jam butvā matō-pitrōr-ātmanāś-cha puṇya-yaso(śō)-bhuviddhayē samāhīr-ggōkarṇa-  
kūka-lutē-pūta-karatal-ōdaka-pūrvvakañ Vata-gōtrāya Bhārggava-Chyavan-Āpnavān-  
Aurva-Yā(Jā)mada-
- 28 any-ōti-pa[ra]n\*]cha-pravaraḥya thakkura-śrī-Gaṅgādihara-pautrāya thakkura-śrī-Mādhara-  
putrāya rāta-śrī-Ravidharāya ā-chaṇdr-ārkkam yāyach<sup>6</sup>-chhāsankṛitya pradattō matvā  
yathā-dīyamō-
- 29 na-bhāga - bhāga-kara - pravāṅikara - prabhṛiti-mīya-āniyata-samast - Idāyān-ājñā-  
vidhāyibhūya dāsyathē-ōti || || bhavanti ch-ātra śōkāḥ | .....<sup>7</sup>
- 34 ..... Rūhitam ch-ōdam tānra-pattakam mahākshapatālika-thakkura-śrī-Śrīpatībhīr-ōti ||

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

<sup>2</sup> Verses 1-14 discussed in our introductory remarks followed by the usual passage in prose occur in lines 1-20.

<sup>3</sup> The *śyāḥ* is redundant.

<sup>4</sup> The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

<sup>5</sup> The word *śata* is redundant.

<sup>6</sup> The following unnecessary and benedictory stanzas are found in lines 29-34 : *Bhūmim yōḥ praśīrikṣāmi, etc.* ; *Śaśānān ānūr-ānānā, etc.* ; *Śhaśānān ānūr-ānānā, etc.* ; *Bakūhīr-vasudhā bhūmā, etc.* ; *Śaś-ānānā para-dānānā, etc.* ; *Gān-śānān ānūr-ānānā, etc.* ; *Vīr-ānānān ānūr-ānānā, etc.* ; *Yān-ānānānā, etc.*

## No. 6—Grant of Jayachandra, Vikrama 1233

This is a single plate<sup>1</sup> measuring 52 cm. in length and 41 cm. in height and bearing writing on one side only. There is no seal; but a hole (2.28 cm. in diameter) is there about the centre of the upper part near the top margin. The hole disturbs the continuity of the writing in lines 1-2. There are in all 34 lines of writing on the plate.

The date of the charter, quoted in words and figures in lines 22-23, is the same as in No. 5, viz. Vikrama 1233, Āshāḍha-vadī 15, Sunday, corresponding to the 29th May 1177 A.D.

The inscription records the grant of the village called Saratavāḍa-grāma, together with its hamlets such as Tāḍu and Āmī (or Tōṭnāmī), situated in the Dīrghōdaya pattalā, already known from No. 5. The location of the village is uncertain.

It is stated that the Gāhādavāla king Jayachandra made the grant after having taken a bath in the Ganges at Vārāṇasī, on the date indicated above, in favour of the donee of Nos. 3-5, viz. Rāuta Ravidhara who was the son of Thakkura Mālādihara and grandson of Thakkura Gaṅgādihara and belonged to the Vatsa gōtra and the Bhūrgava, Uhyavana, Āpnavāna, Anrva and Jāmadagnya pravaras. As in No. 5, the donee was entitled to all the regular and irregular taxes including bhūga, bhōga, kara and pravayikara.

As will be seen, Nos. 5 and 7-8 also record grants issued by Jayachandra in favour of the same donee on the same date. We know that often a king recorded the gift of several villages in favour of a particular person in a single charter.<sup>2</sup> It is therefore difficult to explain why the donation of the three villages in favour of Rāuta Ravidhara was not registered in one copper-plate grant. It may, however, be conjectured that the gift of three villages was recorded in this case in three different plates as a mark of favour to the donee who could then send a charter separately to the gift village concerned for taking possession of it for the realisation of taxes, as otherwise he would have to take possession of the villages one after the other.

The grant was written by Mahākshapatika Thakkura Śripati as is the case with most of the other inscriptions published in this paper.

TEXT<sup>3</sup>

- 18<sup>4</sup> ..... śrīmaḥ-Jayachandradēvō  
 19 vijayī || || Dīrghōdaya-pattalāyām<sup>5</sup> |<sup>6</sup> rīḥ(Tō)ṭu-Āmī-<sup>7</sup>prabhṛiti-pātakēḥ(kalī) saha<sup>8</sup>  
 Saratavāḍa-grāma-nivāsinō nikhila-janapadān-upagatān-apī cha rāja-rājñi-yuvarāja-  
 mantri-purō-  
 20 hita-pratīhāra-sēnāpati-bhāmāḍgārik-ākshapatika-bhishag-naimittik-āntahpurika - dāita-kari-  
 turaga-pattan-ākarasthāna-gōku-ādihikā[r]ṣi-purushān-ājñāpayatī vō(bō)dhajya<sup>9</sup> |ty-ādīḥa-  
 21 ti cha viditam=astu bhavatām yath=ōpari-lkhita-grāmāḥ sa-jala-sthalāḥ sa-lōha-javaḥ-  
 ākaraḥ sa-matay-ākaraḥ sa-garī-ōsharaḥ sa-giri-gahana-nidhānaḥ sa-madhūk-āmra-vana-  
 vātikā-

<sup>1</sup> It is No. A 94 of A. R. Ep., 1960-61.

<sup>2</sup> For grants made on different dates in favour of different persons but recorded in a single charter, cf. above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 244-45.

<sup>3</sup> From inked impressions.

<sup>4</sup> Verses 1-14 quoted in our introductory discussion, followed by the usual passage in prose, are found in lines 1-18.

<sup>5</sup> The donee is unnecessary.

<sup>6</sup> There may also be a single name here, viz. Tōṭnāmī.

<sup>7</sup> Read "pōṭnā-yakm".

- 22 vijaya-trīṇa-yūti-gōchara-paryantaḥ s-ōrdhā(rddhv-ā)dhas=chatur-āghāta-viśuddhaḥ sva-  
sīmā-paryantaḥ | traya[s\*]tri[m]sa(sa)d-adhika-dvādasa(āa)-śata-samva(sarva)-  
tsarē Āshādhē māsi kṛishṇa-pakshē ā(a)māvāsya-yām ti-
- 23 śhaṇ Ravi-dinē ankatō-pi samvata(sarvat) 1233 Āshāḍha-vadi 15 Ravau ady=śha  
śrīmad-vijaya-Vārāṇasyām Gaṅgāyām anātvā vidhivanman(n-ma)ntre-dēva-muni-  
manuja-bhūṭi(ṭa)-pīṭi-gaṇāms-tarppayitvā
- 24 timira-pātala-pātana-paṭu-mahasam-Ushṇarōchisham-upasthāy=Aushadhipatiśakalātōkha-  
raḥ samabhyarchchya tri-bhuvana-trātur-bhagavatō Vāsudēvasya pōjā[m\*] vidhāya  
prachura-pāyasōna ha-
- 25 viśhā Havirbhujam hutvā mātā-pitrōr-ātmanas-cha puṇya-yaśō-bhivriddhayō amābhīr-  
ggōkarṇa-kṛisā-latā-pūta-karatal-ōdaka-pūrvvakam Vatsa-gōtrāya Bhārggava-Chyavan-  
Āpnavān-Aurva-Yā(Jā)-
- 26 madagny-śti-pachcha-pravarāya ṭhakkura-śrī-Ga[m]gādharma-putrāya ṭhakkura-śrī-Mālā-  
dhara-putrāya śrī-Ravidharāya ā-chandr-ārka[m] yāvach<sup>1</sup>=chhāsanikṛitya pradattō  
matvā yathā-dīya-
- 27 māns-bhāga-bhōga-kara-pravaṇikara-prabhṛiti-niyat-āniyata-samast-ōdāyān-ājñā-vidhāyī-  
bhūya dāsyath=śti || || bhavanti ch=ātra śōkāḥ || .....<sup>2</sup>
- 34 ..... likhitam ch=ōdant tānra-pattakam mahākshapatālika-ṭhakkura-śrī-Śrīpati-  
bhīr=iti ||

#### No. 7—Grant of Jayachandra, Vikrama 1233

This is a single plate<sup>1</sup> measuring 55 cm. in length and 41 cm. in height. The inscription is written on one side of the plate and there are only 34 lines of writing. There is no seal attached to the plate, though there is a hole in the central part of the upper section near the top margin. The hole (2.41 cm. in diameter) disturbs the continuity of the writing in lines 1-3.

The date of the grant, as quoted in lines 22-23 in both words and figures, is the same as in Nos. 5-6. It is **Vikrama 1233, Āshāḍha-vadi 15, Sunday**, corresponding to the **29th May 1177 A.D.** On the said date, the Gāhaḍavāla king **Jayachandra** is stated to have made a grant after taking a bath in the waters of the **Ganges** at **Vārāṇasī**.

The gift village was **Vaḍahōsa-grāma**, *Vaḍa-Hōsa* literally meaning 'the bigger Hōsa' which reminds us of *Mañjhi-hōsa* or 'the middle Hōsa' of No. 8. The village, which was given along with its *pāṭakas*, was situated in the *Mañjibōha pattalā*. I am uncertain about the location of the village; but *Mañjibōha-pattalā* may be the present *Majhwa Taluk* of the *Mirzapur District*, U. P.

The grant was made in favour of the donee of Nos. 3-6, viz. *Rāṭa Ravidhara* who was the son of *ṭhakkura Mālādhara* and grandson of *ṭhakkura Gaṅgōdhara* and belonged to the *Vatsa gōtra* and the *Bhārgava*, *Chyavana*, *Āpnavāna*, *Aurva* and *Jāmadagaya pravaras*. As in the other grants, he was entitled to enjoy all the fixed and unfixed taxes including *bhāga*, *bhōga*, *kara*, *pravaṇikara*, etc.

The charter was written by *Mahākshapatālika ṭhakkura Śrīpati* who was also the writer of Nos. 2-6 and many other Gāhaḍavāla records.

<sup>1</sup> The word *plate* is unnecessary.

<sup>2</sup> The following imprecatory and benedictory stanzas are quoted in lines 27-34: *Bhāṣmā paś praṭigṛhāṣi*, etc.; *Sundhāna śhadr-bhāṣmā*, etc.; *Śhāḍjīna vṛeṣha-sūbhāṣmā*, etc.; *Bahubhīr-vṛeṣhā śhāḍjī*, etc.; *Śha-śhāṣmā para-śhā-śhāḍjī*, etc.; *Āḍm-śhāṣmā vṛeṣha-sūbhāṣmā*, etc.; *Vāri-śhāḍjī-vṛeṣhāṣmā*, etc.; *Nā-viśham viśham-śhāḍjī*, etc.; *Tadāḍjīna vṛeṣhāṣmā*, etc.; *Sarvāśhāḍjīna vṛeṣhāṣmā*, etc.; *Vāri-śhāḍjī-vṛeṣhāṣmā*, etc.

<sup>3</sup> It is No. A 95 of *J. R. Ep.*, 1900-01.

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2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, appearing as a dark, dense block with a circular hole on the left side.

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 30 32

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

- 19 .....<sup>2</sup> śrīmaj-Jayachandradēvō vijayī || || Mañjhōha-pattalāyām  
 |<sup>3</sup> sa-pāṭaka-vaḍahōsa-grāma-nivāsīnō nikhūla-jana-
- 20 padān-upagatān-api cha rāja-rājāi-yuvarāja-matṛtri-purōhita-pratīhāra-sānāpati-bhām-  
 ḍāgarik-ākṣhapa(sikka-bhishag-naimittik-āntahpurika-dūta-kari-turaga-pattān-ākarasthā-
- 21 na-gōkul-ādīkārī-purushān-ājñāpayati vō(bō)dha[ya\*]ty-ādīśati cha viditam=astu bhavatām  
 yath=ōpari-likhita-grāmah sa-jala-sihalah sa-lōha-lavaḥ-ākaraḥ sa-matsy-ākaraḥ sa-[gatti-  
 ōsha]-
- 22 rah es-giri-gahana-nidhānaḥ sa-madhūk-āmra-vana-vāṭikā-viṭapa-triṇa-yūti-gōchāra-  
 paryantaḥ s-ōrddhv-ādhas-chatur-āghāta-visuddhaḥ sva-sīmā-paryantaḥ | trayartisa-  
 (strizhā)ḍ-adhika-dvā[daśa-śata-sa]-
- 23 mva(mva)tsarē Āshāḍhē māsi su(śu)kīa-pakshē amāvāsyāryā(yān) tithau Ravi-  
 dinē ankatō-pi samvat 1233 Āshāḍa(ḍha)-vadi 15 Ravau ady-ōha śrīmad-vijaya  
 Vārāhasyaḥ Gaṅgāyām smātvā [vidhiva]-
- 24 n=mantra-dēva-muni-manuja-bhūta-pitri-gaṇān=tarppayitvā timira-pāṭala-pāṭana-paṭa-  
 mahasam-Uchharōchisham=upasthāy=Aushadhīpatīśakalāśekharam samabhyarchhya  
 tri-bhuvana-trātu[r-bhagavatō]
- 25 Vāsudēvasya pūjām vidhāya prachura-pāyāsēna havishā Havirbhujam hutvā matā-  
 pitrōr-āmanas-cha punya-yaśō-bhividdhayaś amābhīr-ggōkaruṇa-kuśa-latā-pūta(ta)-  
 karatal-ōdaka-pūrvakam Vatsa-
- 26 gōtrāya Bhārgava-Chyavan-Āpnvān-Aurva-Yā(Jā)madagny-iti-pañcha-pravarāya  
 ṭhakkura-śrī-Gaṅgādāra-putrāya ṭhakkura-śrī-Mālādāra-putrāya rāuta-śrī-Ravidhārāya  
 ā-chandr-ārka(ā) yāvach<sup>4</sup>=chhāsankṛitya
- 27 [prada]ttō matvā yathā-diyamāna-bhāga-bhōga-kara-pravaṇikara-prabhīriti-niyat-āniyata-  
 samaet-ādāyān=ājñā-vidhōyibhūya dāsva(sya)th-ōti || || bhavanti ch-ōtra  
 ślokāḥ || .....<sup>5</sup>
- 34 .....<sup>6</sup> likhitam ch-ōdam tāmra-paṭṭakam mahākha[paṭali]ka-[ṭhakkura-śrī]-  
 Śrīpatibhir-ī[ti || ]

## No. 8—Grant of Jayachandra, Vikrama 1233

This inscription<sup>1</sup> is written on a single plate containing writing only on one side and measuring 54 cm. in length and 44 cm. in height. There is no seal, though there is a hole at the central region of the top part near the upper margin of the plate. The hole (2.15 cm. in diameter) disturbs the continuity of writing in lines 1-3. The number of lines in the inscription is 33.

The date of the grant is recorded, in both words and figures, in lines 23-24. It is the same as in Nos. 6-7, viz. Vikrama 1233, Āshāḍha-vadi 15, Sunday. As already indicated, it corresponds to the 29th May 1177 A.D.

On the above date, the Gāhādavāla king Jayachandra is stated to have granted the village called Mañjhōha-grāma, *Mañji-Hōsa* literally meaning 'the middle Hōsa', i.e. the middle one of the three villages called Hōsa, the two others being 'the big' and 'the small'. The village was given along with its pāṭāna, one of which was called Rōhīnī. It was situated in the pattalā

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

<sup>2</sup> Verses 1-14 followed by a prose passage, both discussed in our introductory remarks, occupy lines 1-19.

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

<sup>4</sup> The word *gāra* is not necessary.

<sup>5</sup> The imprecatory and benedictory verses quoted in lines 27-34 are: *Bhēmān gub prāyivānti*, etc.; *Sankāsa Madh-śuenaś*, etc.; *Shashtin saraha-sahasrāni*, etc.; *Śakubhir-sarudhā śakubā*, etc.; *Gōm-ōdān saragama-ōdān cha*, etc.; *Sis-dattān pura-dattān sō*, etc.; *Vāri-āntān-arayyālu* etc.; *Na cikhāni cikhāni-ōdān*, etc.; *Tōḍi-giśān cikhārfua*, etc.; *Vāi-ōktra-ōdhrasam-ōdān*, etc.; *Śrutān-ōm-ōdānān*, etc.; *Fān-tha dattān*, etc.

<sup>6</sup> It is No. A 96 of A. R. Ep., 1960-61.

of Jāruha. The location of the village and the district is unknown. It seems that Jāruha *pattalā* is the same as Jāruṭha or Jāruṭha *pattalā* known from another record of Jayachandra.<sup>1</sup> Vaḍa-*bhōsa* mentioned in No. 7 and Mañjihōsa of the present record may have been near about each other, even though they were situated in different *pattalās*.

The king made the grant after having taken a bath in the Ganges at Vārānaśi in favour of the donee of Nos. 3-7, viz. Rāuta Ravidhara who was the son of Thakkura Mālādihara and grandson of Thakkura Gaṅgādihara and belonged to the Vatsa *gōtra* and the Bhārgava, Chyavana, Āpnavāna, Aurva and Jāmadagnya *pravara*s. As in the other cases, the donee enjoyed all the regular and irregular taxes such as *bhāga*, *bhāga*, *kara* and *pravaṇikara*.

The charter was no doubt written by Śrīpati, the writer of the other grants (cf. Nos. 5-7) issued on the same day in favour of the same donee. But his name is not mentioned in the inscription, even though there was no want of space.

TEXT<sup>2</sup>

- 19<sup>3</sup> ..... śrīmaj-Jayachandradēvō vijayī || || Jāruha-pattalāy[ām]  
 20 Rōhiṇi-prabhṛiti-pāṭakāḥ saba<sup>4</sup> Mañjihōsa-grāma-nivāsinō nikhilā-janapadān-  
 upagatān-api cha rāja-rājī[ḥ] yu-arāja-mantri-purohita-prathāra-senapati-bhā[ṇ]dā-  
 21 gārik-ākṣapaṭalika-bhīṣag-naimittik-āntahpurika-dūta-kari-turaga-pattan-śkarasv[ā] (ethā)-  
 na-gōkul-ādihikāri-pu[rushā]n-ś[ā]pāyati vō(bō)dhayaty-ādīlāti cha viditam-astu bhava-  
 tān ya-  
 22 th-ōpari-likhita-grānaḥ(mah) sa-jala-ethalāḥ sa-lōha-lavap-ākarāḥ sa-matsy-ākarāḥ sa-  
 gasti-ōcharāḥ sa-giri-gahana-nidhānaḥ sa-madhūk-āmra-vana-vājikō-viṭapa-tṛiya-yūti-  
 gōchara-  
 23 [pa]ryantāḥ s-ōrddhv-ādhaś=chatur-ś[ā]ḥ[ā]ta-viśuddhaḥ eva-s[ā]n[ā] (mā)-parya[ntaḥ] traya-  
 [s<sup>5</sup>]trimsa(śā)d-ādihika-dvādaśa-śata-samva(sariva)tsarō Āśhādha-māsi  
 kṛiṣṭha-pakṣhē amāvāsya-yām tithau [Ra]vi-dinō nakatō-pi sarā-  
 24 [va]t 1233 Āśhādha-vadi 15 Ravau ady-ēha śrīmad-vijaya-Vārānaśyām Gaṅgāyām  
 anātvā vidhivan-mantra-dēva-muni-manuja-bhūta-pitri-gaṇ[ā]n]-tarppayitvā timira-  
 pāṭala-pāṭa-  
 25 [na]-paṭu-mahasam-ushnarōchisham-upasthāy-Anshadhipatīśakalāśekharam samahya-  
 rchobhya tri-bhuvana-trātu[r-āhaga]vatō Vāśudēvasya pūjām vidhāya prachura-pāya-  
 sēna havishā havirbhujā[ti]<sup>6</sup>  
 26 butyā mātā-pitṛā-ātmanaś-cha puṇya-yatō-bhividdhayō samābhū-geṭkarmā-kudā-  
 latā-pūta-karata-ōdaka-pūr[iva]kam Vatsa-gōtrāya Bhārgava-Chyavan-Āpnavāna-  
 Aurva-Jāmadagny-ōti-  
 27 pameha-prayarāya [thakkura-śrī-Gaṅgādihara-putrāya [thakkura-śrī-Mālādihara-putrāya  
 rāuta-śrī-Ravidharāya ā-chandr-ārkkam yāvach<sup>7</sup>-chhāsanukṛīya pradattō matvā yathā-  
 dīyamāna-bhāga-  
 28 bhāga-kara-pravaṇikara-prabhṛiti-niyat-āniyata-sama[st-ā]dāyān-ś[ā]pā-vidhāyibhōya dā-  
 syath-ēti || || bhavanti ch-ātra ślokāḥ || .....<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 141, text line 18 and note 4.

<sup>2</sup> From impressions.

<sup>3</sup> Lines 1-19 contain verses 1-14 quoted in our introductory discussion, which are followed by the usual passage in prose.

<sup>4</sup> Read "pāṭala-mātra".

<sup>5</sup> The word pāṭa is redundant.

<sup>6</sup> Lines 25-27 contain the following imprecatory and benedictory stanzas: *Shāśmā yāḥ prapṛiṣṭvāt, etc.*; *Saṅkhaḥ bhadr-āśman, etc.*; *Shaktim varaha-śakravṛt, etc.*; *Ābhūṭir-vasudhā bhūṭā, etc.*; *Gōma-śāśmā svopasa-śkam chā, etc.*; *Saṅkṣāṇi para-dattān id, etc.*; *Vāri-śāśmā-śrāvṇā, etc.*; *Na śāśmā śāśmā-śrāvṇā, etc.* The name of the writer is not mentioned.

No. 31—GOLLAVALI GRANT OF PRITHIVI-MAHARAJA, YEAR 49

(I Plate)

S. C. DE, BHUBANESWAR

(Received on 25.11.1959)

This set of copper plates<sup>1</sup> was received by me from the Principal, K. C. G. College, Parlakimedi, who is also the President of the District Regional Survey Committee, Ganjam. The find-spot of the set is not known. It was in the possession of Sri Balaram Patra who is now living at Parlakimedi, though he was a resident of Tekkali about 45 years ago. He had three sets of copper plates with him, two of which were made over to the late Raja Saheb Lakshminarayan Harichandan Jagadeb of Tekkali. The present set has recently been purchased by the Permanent Regional Survey Committee, Orissa.

The set consists of three plates, the first and third of which are engraved on the inner side only. The right half of the third plate is broken and missing. The plates measure 7.5" by 2.3" each. The engraved surfaces of the plates have slightly raised rims. They were held together by a ring which is now broken. A seal seems to have been attached to it originally, though there is no trace of it at present. The diameter of the ring-hole in the plates is  $\frac{1}{2}$ ".

The charter was issued by king Prithivi-mahārāja already known to us from his Tāṇḍivāḍa grant<sup>2</sup> issued from Pishāpura in his 46th regnal year. R. S. Panchamukhi, who edited the inscription, assigned it to the beginning of the 7th century A. D. and suggested that Prithivi-mahārāja was ousted from Pishāpura by Pulakāśin II (610-42 A. D.). On palaeographical considerations, however, we are inclined to assign the charter under study as well as the Tāṇḍivāḍa grant of the same king to the last quarter of the sixth century A. D.<sup>3</sup> The characters of the inscription bear close resemblance to those of the Srungavarapukota plates which were published above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 50 ff., and belong to another king of Pishāpura named Anantavarman.<sup>4</sup>

The language of the record is Sanskrit with very few mistakes. The text of the grant is in prose excepting the three verses at the end (lines 16-20).

The grant was issued from the victorious camp at Virajō-nagara by king Prithivi-mahārāja who belonged to the Kāyapa gōtra<sup>5</sup> and was the dear son of Vikramēndra and grandson of Mahārāja Ranadurjaya. The donee was the Brāhmaṇa Padmaśarma who was the son of Dāmōdaraśarma and grandson of Mātrīśarma of the Bhṛigu gōtra and was a student of the Taittiriya śikhā. The gift village was Gollāvalli situated in the Kudrāvati viśaya.<sup>6</sup> He was well-versed in Vēda, Vēdāṅga, Purāṇa, Rāmāyaṇa and other scriptures, applied himself constantly to the śāstṛ-karman and was engaged in yama and niyama. The grant was made on the

<sup>1</sup>[This is No. A 58 of A. R. Ep. 1955-56. It was published by Mr. S. N. Rajaguru in his *Inscriptions of Orissa*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 54-56 and Plates.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup>Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 65-96.

<sup>3</sup>[We find it difficult to agree fully with this view.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup>[The name of the gōtra appears to be Śrīcīma-Kāyapa.—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup>[See below, p. 223, note 3.—Ed.]

8th day of the bright fortnight of the month of *Jyēshtha* in the 49th year of the king's reign (line 14). The *ājāpti* of the grant was *Lānthurāja*.<sup>3</sup>

*Virājō-nagara*, whence the grant was issued, may be identified with *Virajā* in Orissa, i.e. modern *Jājpur* in the Cuttack District. It is mentioned as *Virājā* in the *Sōrō* plate<sup>4</sup> of *Bhānudatta* (7th century) and as *Virajas* in the *Dhauli* cave inscription<sup>5</sup> of the time of *Sāntikara* of the *Bhāma* dynasty. In the *Ganjam* plates<sup>6</sup> of the time of *Unmattakēśarin*, the same place is mentioned as *Virajas*. It is now generally believed that the capital of the *Bhāma* kings of Orissa was situated at *Jājpur* known in early times as *Virājā*, *Virajas* or *Virajā*.

As regards the long distance between *Jājpur* in Orissa and *Piśtapura* (modern *Pithapuram*) in the East Godavari District, it may be pointed out that the Eastern *Chālukya* king *Vijayāditya IV* of the latter region is known to have captured *Virājapuri* which has been identified with *Jājpur*.<sup>7</sup>

The following historical facts pertaining to the period and region may be noted. *Anantavarman* of the *Vāsiṣṭha* dynasty whose reign may be assigned to about the middle of the 6th century A.D. was ruling from *Piśtapura*. *Prithivivigraha* was ruling in *Kaliṅga* in the year 259 of the Gupta era. *Lōkavigraha* of the *Kanva* plate<sup>8</sup> of the Gupta year 280 was probably the successor of *Prithivivigraha*; but he does not mention *Kaliṅga* in his grant. He claims to be ruling in *Dakṣiṇa-Tōsali*. Absence of any reference to his paternal kingdom is probably due to the fact that he had been dispossessed of it by 600 A.D. The *Uttara* and *Dakṣiṇa Tōsali* were under *Māna* rule between the years 260 and 283 of what is assumed to be the Gupta era. *Prithivi-mahārāja*, who is assigned to the close of the 6th or the beginning of the 7th century A.D., was ruling at *Piśtapura* in his 46th year and was at *Virajā* in his 49th year. Evidently he led an expedition to *Virajā*. In the light of the above facts, it can be assumed that *Piśtapura* was conquered by *Prithivi-mahārāja* from *Anantavarman* or his successors and that he led an expedition to the north in his 49th year which may be towards the close of the 6th century or the beginning of the 7th century A.D. Since he had to pass through the *Vigraha* kingdom on his way, he would have conquered it. That accounts for the absence of any mention of *Kaliṅga* in the *Kanva* plate of *Lōkavigraha*. As *Prithivi-mahārāja* is assumed to be a contemporary of *Śaṃbhukyaśas* of the *Māna* dynasty who was the master of both the *Tōsali*, he is quite likely to have come in conflict with him. It is probable, in view of any absence of further information about *Prithivi-mahārāja* or his descendants, that it ended disastrously for him. *Māna* rule in northern Orissa comprising the two *Tōsali* probably continued till 605 A.D. when it was ended by the conquest of Orissa by *Saśāṅka* of *Gauḍa*.<sup>9</sup>

I am not sure about the location of the village of *Gōllāvalli* and the district in which it was situated.

<sup>3</sup> [The correct reading is *Śrīrāmalānūrāja*.—Ed.]

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 208. [What N. G. Majumdar read as *Virājā*<sup>3</sup> is really *Virojō*.—Ed.]

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 284.

<sup>6</sup> *JHQ*, Vol. XII, p. 492.

<sup>7</sup> Above, Vol. XXIX, p. 227.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 328.

<sup>9</sup> [The argument that *Kaliṅga* is not mentioned as the kingdom of *Lōkavigraha* of the *Kanva* plate of 280 A.D., even though it is mentioned as the territory of his predecessor *Prithivivigraha* in the *Sumandala* plates of 269 A.D., does not take into account a well-known fact of the history of *Kaliṅga*. It is that, from about 497 A.D., the Eastern *Gauḍas* were ruling from *Kaliganagara* with the title *Tōsaliḥ-śāhīpati*. This was apparently the reason underlying the change in the name of the *Vigraha* kingdom from *Kaliṅga* to *Tōsali*, the city of *Tōsali* probably being their capital. Cf. *Srinat, Stud. Geog. Arc. Med. Ind.*, pp. 141 ff.—Ed.]

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

12

14

12

14

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

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## TEXT

## First Plate

- 1 स्वस्तिं [11\*] श्रीविजयस्कन्धावारात् विरजोतगराधिवासकाल्पकजगदवनसमुद्भू-
- 2 तकीत्ति(त्ति)चारुचन्द्रिकासमुद्यो(द्यो)तितदिगन्तरस्य महाराजरणदुर्जयस्य
- 3 सूनोस्समतिशयितशक्रविभूतेर्विक्रमेन्द्रस्य प्रियतन-
- 4 यः प्रवर्द्धमानप्रतापोपनतसमस्तसामन्तमण्डलः निज-
- 5 भुजविजयोदयाधिगतमशोविशेषभूषणः श्रीरामः<sup>5</sup>

## Second Plate: First Side

- 6 काश्यप[सगो]त्रः परमब्रह्मण्यो मातापितृपादानुद्धारतः श्री[पृथिवी]-
- 7 महाराजः कुद्रावती<sup>6</sup> विषये गोस्लावल्लीग्राममधिवसतः सर्वस-
- 8 मवेतां(ता)न्कुटुम्बिनः समाज[1\*]पयति यथा मातृशर्मणः पौत्रा-
- 9 य दामोदरशर्मणः पुत्राय वेदवेदा[1\*]ङ्गप[1\*]रगाय षट्कर्मनिर-
- 10 ताय यमनियमपरायणाय पुराणरामायणधर्मशास्त्रा-

## Second Plate: Second Side

- 11 इत्तेकविद्यापारदर्श(शि)ने भृगुसगोत्राय तैत्तिरि(री)य[सब्रह्मचारिणे]
- 12 षष्ठाधर्मणे ग्रामोवमरुमल्पुष्पायुरारोग्यजयमशोभिवृद्धये
- 13 सर्वकरपरिहारेणाग्रहारीकृत्य दत्तः [1\*] न कैश्चिदपि बाधा क-
- 14 रण(णी)या [1\*] प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्यस(स)वत्सरे नवाधिकत्त[त्वारि]श(शे)
- 15 जेष्ट(जेष्ठ)मासशुक्लपक्षाष्टम्यां धर्मप्रदानमेतदाजतिः श्रीरामः[.]

<sup>5</sup> From the original plates.

<sup>6</sup> This word is engraved in the margin to the left of the ring hole near the beginning of the third line of the text.

<sup>7</sup> [See above, p. 221, note 4.—Ed.]

<sup>8</sup> The reading of the name may also be *Kudharavi*. [The correct reading is *Kudharavi*.—Ed.]



*Third Plate*

- 16 लेन्दुराजः<sup>1</sup> [1\*] अत्र व्यासगीताः श्लो[काः] [1\*] [बहुभिर्बुधुधा दत्ता बहु]<sup>2</sup>-  
 17 भिन्नानुपालिता [1\*] यस्य [यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य]  
 18 तदा फल(लम्) [॥ १\*] आस्फोटयन्ति पितरो प्रवल्गन्ति पितामहाः ।]  
 19 भूमिजा(दा)ता कुले जातस्य नस्त्राता भविष्यति [॥ २\*] षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे]  
 20 मोदति भूमिदः [1\*] आषोप्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत ॥ ३\*]

<sup>1</sup> [See above, p. 322, note 1.—Ed.]

<sup>2</sup> The portion of the plate containing the words shown in brackets in lines 16-20 is broken away and lost.

## No. 32—THREE PALA INSCRIPTIONS

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOUTACAMUND

(Received on 7-2-1961)

### 1. Gayā Inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla, Year 7

The stone slab bearing this epigraph is built into the wall of the Mahādēva shrine in the compound of the Viṣṇupāda temple at Gayā in Bihar.<sup>1</sup> There are only sixteen lines in the inscription, covering an area about two feet five and three-fourths inches in length and one foot three inches in height.

The record was briefly noticed by Cunningham in his *Arch. Surv. Ind. Reports*, Vol. III, pp. 120-21 (No. 6) with an eye-copy in Plate XXXVI. A rough transcript of it, with an inaccurate notice of its contents, appeared in B. D. Banerji's *Palae of Bengal*, published in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, No. 3 (pp. 60-61 and Plate XXIV). But the inscription was never properly edited.

The record refers itself to the reign of king Nārāyaṇapāla (c. 857-911 A. D.) of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihar and resembles other epigraphs of the same monarch as regards palaeography and orthography.<sup>2</sup> The language of the record is Sanskrit and, barring a passage in prose at the beginning, it is written entirely in verse. It contains a *prastāvi* or eulogy composed in thirteen stanzas.

The inscription is dated the Vaiśākhi-pūrṇimā day in the seventh regnal year of Nārāyaṇapāla (verse 13). The date falls somewhere about the seventh decade of the ninth century A. D.

The inscription begins with the *nīdāham* symbol followed by the passage *Om namah Paruśhottamāya namah Om* in prose. In this, *Paruśhottamāya namah* ('obeisance to Paruśhottama, i. e. Viṣṇu') is preceded by *Om namah* which is sometimes found at the beginning of inscriptions and may be translated as 'obeisance to Om'.<sup>3</sup>

The first half of verse 1 is in adoration of the god Murāri (i. e. Viṣṇu) while its second half adores the *munī-jana* or the community of sages. Verse 2 is in adoration of the *Narasimha* or *man-līn* form of Viṣṇu described as *Lōkaiśavātha*. These two stanzas remind us of the first two verses of the Mallasāru plate,<sup>4</sup> which run as follows:

Jayanti śri-Lōkanāthō yaḥ puṁsām sukṛita-karma-phala-hētub |  
satya-tapō-maya-mūrti-lōka-dvaya-sūhanō Dharmaḥ ||  
Tad-ann jīta-dambha-lōbhā jayanti chirāya para-hit-ārthāḥ |  
nirmateśālḥ sucharitaḥ para-lōka-jigishavaḥ santāḥ ||

<sup>1</sup> Bhandarkar's List, No. 1616, wrongly speaks of Bōdhgaya as the findspot of the inscription.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., the Badal pillar inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla, published above, Vol. II, pp. 161 ff. and Plate.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 81 and 85.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 159 ff. cf. *Select Inscriptions*, p. 300.

There is a controversy about the meaning of these stanzas. Some scholars think that these are in adoration of Lōkanātha (the Buddha), Dharma and *santaḥ* (the monks forming the Saṅgha or Buddhist Church),<sup>1</sup> while there is another view that the adoration here is to Lōkanātha (Viṣṇu), *dharma* (law or piety) and the good folk.<sup>2</sup> In favour of the first view explaining *santaḥ* as the Buddhist Church, the following Buddhist *maṅgala* at the beginning of Puruṣhōttama's *Triśūdo-śāloka* has been quoted: *Jayanti santaḥ kulalām prajānām namo Muniśūdoḥya curāḥ smṛitīḥ śha,* etc.<sup>3</sup> The second interpretation has been supposed to be supported by the representation of the Chakrapuruṣa on the seal attached to the Mallasārul plate.<sup>4</sup>

It will be seen that, while the Mallasārul plate adores Lōkanātha, Dharma and *santaḥ*, our inscription praises *Lōkaikānātha* Murāri and the *mauni-jana*. The similarity is remarkable, although Dharma is not mentioned in the latter. Since, in the age of the Mallasārul plate which has been assigned to the sixth century A. D., the identification of the Buddha with Viṣṇu as one of the latter's incarnations was fast taking shape,<sup>5</sup> it is not impossible to trace a rapprochement of Buddhism and Vaiṣṇavism in the *maṅgala* verses in that inscription. We may possibly also trace in the Chakrapuruṣa represented on the seal of the Mallasārul plate a sort of compromise between the concepts of the *Dharma-chakra* associated with the Buddha and the *Sudarśana-chakra* of Viṣṇu.<sup>6</sup>

Verse 3 of our inscription speaks of *Bhaṭṭa* Vāmadēva while the following stanza (verse 4) mentions his son Śihadēva and grandson Bappadēva. Verse 5 describes Vallabhadēvi who was the wife of Bappadēva. Bhānudēva, the son of Bappadēva from the said Vallabhadēvi, is then introduced in verse 6. His description is continued in the next stanza (verse 7) while verses 8 states that Bhānudēva dedicated a *vāra* (house) at Gayā for housing the *yatis* or ascetics and also refers to the house as an *āśrama* of the *brahmachāriṇas* (i. e. an abode of people committed to celibacy). Verse 9 contains a prayer of the *mauni* (one who has taken a vow of silence) apparently meaning Bhānudēva, in which people are requested to see to the well-being of the *vāra* or house. The real nature of this *vāra* or *vāra* for housing ascetics, called an *āśrama* again in verse 11, is further indicated, as will be seen below, in the concluding verse of the *prāśasti* which refers to it as a *maṭha* apparently to indicate a monastery.

Verse 10 is the oft-quoted *Sarvā-śāra-bhāṅgaḥ pāthivīndrīya,* etc., generally found at the end of copper-plate grants among imprecatory and benedictory stanzas, though the word *mauni* indicating Bhānudēva is inserted in it in place of the name of Rāma. Verse 11 states that, as ordained by the *vratachāriṇas* (persons engaged in religious observances or austerities), only ascetics (*tapādharma-jana*) who are not deformed and are respectable should stay in the *āśrama* (abode of ascetics) and that the Brāhmins of Gayā should see that there is no transgression of this rule.

<sup>1</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 162-63.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 162, note 3.

<sup>4</sup> The representation has been regarded as a human figure standing against the background of a wheel. It, however, really appears to show the upper part of the body come out of the central hole in the wheel with its legs behind the lower section of the wheel. The figure has its left hand on the left side of the waist and the right hand holding the upper left corner of the wheel. For a late representation of the Chakra-puruṣa on the central part of a wheel, see T. A. Gopinātha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, Part I, Plate LXXXV-A facing p. 291.

<sup>5</sup> A verse enumerating the ten avatāras of Viṣṇu, including the Buddha, and found in a number of Purāṇas is quoted in an inscription of the eighth century A. D. The conception may be assigned to the Gupta age. See *The Classical Age*, ed. Majumdar, p. 416 and note 1.

<sup>6</sup> The *Pañcakhātra* text *Abhivādhapuruṣaśāstra*, assigned to a date about the eighth century A. D. (to the Gupta age by some), gives a long description of the Chakra-puruṣa, otherwise called *Sudarśana* *Sudarśana-puruṣa* and *Chakra-varti-puruṣa*, and regards him as a manifestation of Viṣṇu and, not only as identical with Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva, but also as the Buddha of the Bauddhas, the Tirthankara of the Jains, the *Yajña-puruṣa* of the Vājāsneya and Mīmāṃsākas and the Puruṣa of the followers of Kapila. See *JNSI*, Vol. XVI, pp. 67 ff.

Verse 12 contains a prayer for the long life of the *kīrti* or fame-producing work, of course, meaning the *vāsa* or *śiśira* referred to above.

Verse 13, with which the *prāśasti* ends, states that the *pratishṭhā* or installation of the *maṭha* took place on the full-moon day of the month of Vaisākha in the seventh year of the reign of king Nārāyaṇapāladēva.

It is interesting to note that what has been called a *vāsa* in verse 8 and a *śiśira* in verse 9 is called an *āśrama* in verses 8 and 11 and a *maṭha* in verse 13. The house was apparently a monastery, and probably not a *śharnaśālā*, for the stay of ascetics visiting Gayā. The inscribed stone slab must have been originally embedded into the wall of the building.

TEXT<sup>1</sup>

[Metres : verse 1 *Mātrī* ; verses 2, 9 *Ṣṣadhbhū* ; verses 3-6 *Vasantatilakō* ; verses 7-8 *Mandūkīntā* ; verse 10 *Sālinī* ; verses 11, 13 *Śārdūlanakṛīḍā* ; verse 12 *Drutavilambita*.]

- 1 Siddham<sup>2</sup> [||\*] Ōm namō<sup>3</sup> Parashōttamāya namaḥ || Ōm [||\*] Jayati jagati<sup>4</sup>-[nā]bhāḥ prasphurbhachāru-mūrttir-jagad-ari-vinihanā śrīmad-ōkō Murārīsta(riḥ) | ta)danu muni-janō-yathā sthī[ra]<sup>5</sup>-samkṣā-rāḥ sphura-
- 2 d-amala-guṇyāḥ<sup>6</sup> dhyāna-vṛttan sthir-ātmā || [||\*] Prōdbhūt-ātidarppa-prava(ba)la-mana-sam(sāh) trāsa-hēta-svabhāva(vadh) |<sup>7</sup> kritr-aitan-Nārasīnghar(sīmlah) sphuṭa-vikāṭa-saṭam rūpan-ātyugra-mandradī(dram) [||\*] y-
- 3 u-ōdirṇabāḥ pṛithivyāḥ khara-nakhara-karair-bhōditō Daitya-rājāḥ śrīmān-lōkaikanāthō<sup>8</sup> bhuvana-hita-vidhātā<sup>9</sup> pātu yuehmā-ss Vāṣṭhāḥ || [3\*] Śrīmān-āśha-śubha-sarībhrīta-chāru-mō-
- 4 rttih(rttir)-bhāṭṭāḥ emurmmala-dhyān pravarō śrīgrāhā<sup>10</sup> | prāpt-ōday-ōdita<sup>11</sup>-kūḥ sukṛit vabhu(babhū)va yō Vāmadēva itī sarvva-jagat-pratīṭāḥ || [3\*] Tasy-ātmajab priyatanō vidushā[ṇ]<sup>12</sup> samā-
- 5 śī(śīd)-yathā Śhadāvamitī<sup>13</sup> va(ha)ndhu-janō juhava [||\*] tasy-ābhavat-sutavarō vara-dharmma-vṛttih sanmā(mā)nitō guru-janair-āpi Va(Ba)ppadāvaḥ || [4\*] Sarvārtha-siddhi-karaṇ-sīka-nidhāna-bhūtā sau-
- 6 ndarya-gatīha-ruchir-āmla-rūpa-sūpate(pat) | patnī cha tasya Kamal-ōva sadā pradastā khyāt-ā bhavaj-jagatī Vallabhadōvy-atībhā<sup>14</sup> || [5\*] Tābhyāma[ḥ]nyāmsjāyate<sup>15</sup> suto= mala-
- 7 dharmma-vṛttir-<sup>16</sup>vāk-kāya-chitta-kṛita-samyamanō hi mānī [||\*] Vra(Bra)hm-ōpan(gī)ta-charitē(tō) vrata-sangata-śrīh(ōrit)-yō Bhāgu(nu)dēva<sup>17</sup> itī pūrvvam-iha pratīṭāḥ [|| 6\*] Vidyā-lōkām kshapa-paripatīh(tir) |

<sup>1</sup> From impressions.

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

<sup>3</sup> Read *namā*.

<sup>4</sup> The word *jagati* does not suit the metre.

<sup>5</sup> Read *daru* or *akṣina*.

<sup>6</sup> Better read *gūḥ-ābhāḥ*.

<sup>7</sup> The *śanda* is redundant. The metre of this foot is defective. Better read *Wpanta-darppa-prabala-saman-*

*asāh*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *śrīmad-ō*.

<sup>9</sup> Read *hita-karō*, for the sake of the metre.

<sup>10</sup> There is a mistake here. We may suggest *prasar-ōttamō*.

<sup>11</sup> The intended reading may be *ādīna*. Otherwise *ādīna* has to be regarded as the name of the family to which the hero of the *prāśasti* belonged.

<sup>12</sup> Read *śāma* or *śā*.

<sup>13</sup> Read *Tābhyāma-nyāmsjāyate* or *nyāmsjāyate*.

<sup>14</sup> R. D. Banerji read the name as *Bhāḥpateet*.

- 8 sathskritānām viditvā janm-ōtrāsād-ama[sa]-bhavana[ś] prāptum-abhyndgatēna [1\*] yā-  
ktyartham sukṛta-matibh[is-sē]vitē dhyanā-mārggē chētō nyastau vimalam-alam jñānam-  
lavādanā-
- 9 ya || [7\*] Tēn-ānēka-dvija-jana-bhūvi prēmā-vṛittiyō Gayāyām śrīnādashō<sup>1</sup> yathān vāhita-  
[h\*] sad-guṇ-āvāsa-vāsaḥ [1\*] jātān śrōyō yad-amala-guṇam vra(bra)hmachāry-āśramēṣa  
tān-ā-
- 10 stv-ōta)-jagad-amalinam kēhūpa-sa[n\*]kīrōa-rāh[ī] || [8\*] Chāturiḍyau sannastau prasah-  
(śa)mita-kalusan[ī] (śam) Vra(Bra)hms-samnyastam(sta)-vṛittim śrīmantam ast-kriy-ātma(tma)-  
prathita-pṛithu-guṇam prārthaya-
- 11 ty-ōsha mauḥ | bhūyāt-ōkō-<sup>2</sup>mita-śrīh parakṛita-sra(su)kṛitēh pālānē rakhaṇō cha tat-  
kartavyam bhavadbhūh śhira-va(vi)mala-guṇaḥ syān-nivā[ś] [9\*] yath-āyam(yam) || [9\*]  
Sad-vṛitt-āmala-vṛi-
- 12 tūbhīh sphutatarām jāt-ādarāh sarv-ataḥ<sup>3</sup> Sarvvān-ōtā[n\*]-bhāvina[h\*] pārtih(ṛih)vēndrā-  
(ndrān) bhūyō bhūyō jachaty-ōsha<sup>4</sup> mām [1\*] sāmānyō-ya[ni\*] dharmma-śō(śō)tur-carāṅgam-  
(nām) kālē kālē pā-
- 13 lanō(n)yo bhavadbhūh [ || 10\*] <sup>5</sup>vyaṅ-śnārya-va(ba)hā-tapōdhana-janai śhātavyam-atre-  
āramē | ity-ōtatā<sup>6</sup>-<sup>7</sup>vrata-chāribhū-nyamitām bhūyād-yathā n-ānyathā [<sup>8</sup> kartavyam  
tad-ib-āmālēh(lāh) pri-
- 14 yamair-viprair-Gayā-<sup>9</sup>śāhīh || [11\*] Sphuratu kīrtir-āyam guṇa-śēlinī sakala-satva(ttva)-  
hīnō(t-ō)daya-hētavē [1\*] tapatī yā ad-āyam bhūvi [<sup>10</sup> bh-akarō hīma-
- 15 rēya sah-āmala-didhīh [ || 12\*] Śrī-Nārāyanapālādōva iti yad prāpt-ōdayō bhūpatih(tir)-  
bhūtō bhūmibhō(bhu)jā[n\*] śrōbhīr-āmalam yasy-ā[n\*] chitarō śāsanam(nam) || tājāna-  
ta-
- 16 aya guṇ-āmalaaya mahatāḥ samva(sariva)tsarō saptamō Vaiśākhyām śubha-  
sambhṛitēna vidhinā lavdha(bdha)-prātibh[ī]ta maḥna<sup>11</sup> [ || 13\*]

## 2. Nimdighi Inscription mentioning Gōpāla

The small stone slab bearing this inscription was originally found at **Nimdighi** (also called Jamalagar), about ten miles north-west-west of Māndā in the Rajshahi District of East Pakistan and about 8 miles to the north-east of the Nachole railway station on the Godagari-Katihar line of the former Eastern Bengal Railway. It is about 30 miles south-east of Gaur. Māndā, locally known as Thākūr Māndā, lies about thirty miles north of Rajshahi, chief town of the District of that name. It was once the headquarters of a Police Station which still retains its name. The inscribed slab was brought from Nimdighi to Māndā where A. K. Maitreya found it in 1911. Maitreya considered the inscription hopeless for the purposes of study and presented it to the Indian Museum, Calcutta, for preservation.

<sup>1</sup> The intended reading seems to be "amala-jñāna-ś".

<sup>2</sup> Read śrīnādashō or Gayāyām-śāhī-śrīnādashō.

<sup>3</sup> This is only one foot of a stanza to be read in line 13 before *syānō-ā*. Read *sarvāt*.

<sup>4</sup> The intended reading is *yachō*; but read *bhūyō prārthaya* or *bhūyō yachō chēnīsha*.

<sup>5</sup> Read here the first foot of the stanza misplaced in lines 11-12.

<sup>6</sup> Read "śat".

<sup>7</sup> The *dash* is redundant.

<sup>8</sup> Read *prātibh[ī]ta maḥna*. The last five characters of the line are written in smaller characters. They may have been incised by a different person.

THREE PALA INSCRIPTIONS—PLATE I

1. Gayā Inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla, Year 7

2  
 4  
 6  
 8  
 10  
 12  
 14  
 16

2  
 4  
 6  
 8  
 10  
 12  
 14  
 16

Scale : One-fourth

2. Nimdighi Inscription mentioning Gopāla

1  
 2  
 3  
 4  
 5  
 6  
 7  
 8  
 9  
 10

1  
 2  
 3  
 4  
 5  
 6  
 7  
 8  
 9  
 10

Scale: One-half

The stone slab bearing the inscription measures a little above ten inches in length and slightly less than seven inches in height. There are in all eleven lines of writing, the last of which contains only three letters and is engraved below the concluding part of line 10. The inscribed area covers about 9 inches by 6 inches. The writing is neat and clear while the preservation of the inscription is satisfactory. But the engraving of the record was entrusted to one who could not follow the draft before him and therefore shaped the letters as he thought he saw them. The case is similar to that of such other inscriptions as the Sūnahar plate of Gāhaḍavāla Vijayachandra, recently edited in the pages of this journal.<sup>1</sup> It was for this reason that Maitreya regarded the study of the inscription as futile and, up till now, no less than four scholars have tried to emend the faulty text of the record without complete success. But we do not agree with the belief that the epigraph was 'manifestly incorrectly drafted and incised'.<sup>2</sup> In our opinion, it is only the engraver (or the person who wrote the document on the stone for facilitating the work of engraving) who is to be blamed and not the person who composed the five stanzas in the inscription. If the author of the stanzas had poor knowledge of Sanskrit, as in the case of the Chhōṅi-Saddi inscription<sup>3</sup> of Gauri, the text of the epigraph would not have been full of meaningless passages as it actually is. A composition containing mistakes of language, grammar and prosody is one thing and gibberish is another and the two can be easily separated.

The inscription was first published in 1913 by B. B. Vidyāvinōd in the *Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā*, Vol. XIX, 1519 B.S., pp. 155 ff., and next by R. D. Banerji in his *Pālas of Bengal* appearing in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, No. 3, 1915 (p. 102 and Plate XXX). These scholars totally failed to do any justice to the record. In 1916, R. G. Basak published an improved transcript of the inscription, together with a translation, in the *Pratibhā* (Bengali journal of the Dacca Sāhitya Parishad), Vol. V, 1322 B.S., pp. 387 ff. The last to edit the epigraph is N. K. Bhattasali whose article on the subject appeared in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XVII, 1941, pp. 207 ff. and Plate.<sup>4</sup> We are, however, sorry to note that the emended transcript, published by this latest editor of the epigraphic record, very often ignores the rules of Sanskrit grammar and prosody and could hardly have been intended by the author of the verses. This may be illustrated by a few out of the many examples.

In the second foot of verse 2 in the *Sragdharā* metre, Bhattasali's emended text is: *pitṛ-ājñā-pratijñā nibhita-hara-bataśiḥ pāra-Sēna-satruḥ a-śhṭau* which has been translated as "with fixed resolve to carry out his father's order . . . . with his eight associates, after having plied the enemy, namely the Sēna, with a hundred sharp arrows". Apart from the fact that such nonsense is not expected from the pen of even a poor Sanskritist, it is impossible to think that even the poorest poet would insert such a foot in a stanza in *Sragdharā* against the requirements of the metre. Bhattasali interprets the expression *pāra-Sēna-satruḥ*, supposed to occur in the passage, as 'one who has killed or plied the enemy, viz. the Sēna, with'. Any student of Sanskrit would at once notice the difficulty in arriving at this awkward meaning of the expression which moreover violates the metre horribly. The expression *pitṛ-ājñā-pratijñā* is equally unhappy and unsuitable to the metre. The author of the stanza must therefore have written something different. Such inaccuracies in Bhattasali's translation as *of hara-bataśiḥ* as 'with a hundred arrows' are of course negligible.

Bhattasali's emended text of the first foot of verse 3, which is in the *Ratiḥḍḍhatā* metre, runs as follows: *santatantā-radhūya saṅgāṅāi*. We have doubts whether a poet of any worth could have written it in so flagrant a violation of the metrical rules. As regards the interpretation of the

<sup>1</sup> Above, pp. 113 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *IHQ*, Vol. XVII, p. 208.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXX, pp. 120 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Bhattasali also published an article on the inscription in the Bengali journal, *Masik Farmanāi*, 1348 B.S., Vol. I, No. 4, pp. 433 ff.



expression *ardha-tad-anuja*, found in his emended transcript of the first foot of verse 4, as 'his half-brother', probably the less said the better.

The emendation of the faulty text of the Nimdighi inscription being a very difficult job and no satisfactory reconstruction of the text being available, we are inclined to place our text and interpretation of the epigraph for the comments of scholars.

On palaeographical grounds, the Nimdighi inscription has rightly been assigned to the time of Gōpāla III of the Pāla dynasty of Bengal and Bihar. The rule of this king has been tentatively assigned to c. 1130 A.D.<sup>1</sup> or c. 1125-40 A.D.<sup>2</sup> Since, however, his successor Madanapāla ascended the throne about 1144 A.D.,<sup>3</sup> that must be the time when Gōpāla III ended his rule. The beginning of Gōpāla's reign depends on his identification with the Pāla king of the same name known from the Rājīhpur Sadāśiva muge inscription<sup>4</sup> of the 14th regnal year, which some scholars are inclined to assign to Gōpāla II (c. 935-92 A.D. or c. 940-60 A.D.).<sup>5</sup> We are in favour of the identification.

The inscription begins with a *siddham* symbol which is followed by āva verses and an endorsement in prose giving the name of the writer of the record. Verse 1 is in adoration of the god Śambhu (Śiva). This is appropriate since the purpose of the inscription was probably to record the construction of a Śaiva shrine.

Verse 2 contains two sentences the first of which states that Gōpāladēva went to heaven after giving up his body at his own will. The second sentence says that the grateful Aījadēva also went to heaven consequently. Thinking that he was the prominent dust of Gōpāladēva's feet (i.e. a prominent servant of Gōpāladēva), Aījadēva died probably as a result of his body being pierced with hundreds of sharp arrows. Certain extremely corrupt passages appear to suggest that Aījadēva shook off the fear of his death, that he received his father's consent [in giving up his life in the cause of his master] and that he died on the back of his elephant which had fallen into a swoon.

This stanza suggests that, although Gōpāladēva is stated to have embraced death at his own will, he lost his life in a battle and that his grateful subordinate Aījadēva died on the battle-field fighting for his master. In the case of Gōpāla, the death at his own will probably means that he preferred to fight instead of leaving his forces on the battle-field to save his own life.

The second half of verse 3 says how the son of Śubhadēva sported as a god in the company of the celestial damsels after having obtained fame and, according to a defective passage, probably having died on the battle-field while fighting. There is no doubt that this 'son of Śubhadēva' is the same as Aījadēva described in verse 2. As suggested above, the father of Aījadēva seems also to be referred to in that stanza as having permitted his son to die in the cause of the latter's master.

Verse 4 praises a person named Bhāvakadāsa who was responsible for setting up the inscription as can be gathered from the following stanza. The second half of verse 5 speaks of a *śīrī* built by the said Bhāvakadāsa. The first half of the same stanza says that the *śīrī* was built at a place where certain great men had been burnt or, according to our emendation, where Bhāvakadāsa's brother had been burnt. Of course, our emendation would give the expected relationship of Bhāvakadāsa with the person mentioned in verses 2-3. But it has to be admitted that Śubhadēva and Aījadēva have names ending in *dēva* and may have belonged to a Dēva family while Bhāvakadāsa has a *dāsa*-ending name. Bhāvakadāsa, however, must have been related to Aījadēva and the relationship is expected to have been expressed somewhere in verses 4-5, probably in the latter. The difficulty indicated above is eliminated if the word (*śīrī* in our emended text is taken in the sense of a cousin (a son of one's paternal aunt or maternal uncle).

<sup>1</sup> Ray, *DHN*, Vol. I, p. 266.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Res.*, Vol. I, ed. Majumdar, p. 177.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 142.

<sup>4</sup> *IHQ*, Vol. XVII, pp. 217 ff. and Plate.

<sup>5</sup> See Ray, loc. cit.; Majumdar, loc. cit. [cf. p. 167, note 4].

Since the word *kīrti* means any fame-producing work, it is not easy to guess the nature of the object built by Bhāvakadāsa. But considering the fact that the stone slab bearing the present inscription was probably fixed in the wall of a temple, it may have been a Śaiva shrine that was built by Bhāvakadāsa in memory presumably of his relative Aiḍadēva, though the faulty text may suggest that the *kīrti* was built to commemorate the death of many people including Aiḍadēva and his master.

The last sentence of the inscription in lines 10-11 is in prose. It states that Rētōka was the writer. It appears that the word *likhita*, 'written', here refers not to the composition of the short *prāśasti* contained in the epigraph but to its writing on the stone for facilitating the work of the engraver.

The importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it mentions the Pāla king Gōpāla III as having died while fighting some enemies near about the findspot of the record. We have seen how he was followed to the other world by his trusted officer Aiḍadēva, son of Śubhadēva, and how another person named Bhāvakadāsa built a shrine at the place where the dead body of Aiḍadēva (or, less probably, the bodies of the persons who died in a great battle) was burnt. It appears that, even though the Pāla king died on the battle-field, ultimately the Pāla army succeeded in driving out the enemy, since, if the land around the battle-field had passed to the victorious enemies, it would have been difficult for a Pāla partisan to set up a record in memory of a Pāla general (or less probably, a Pāla king and his military officers). The temple in memory of Aiḍadēva (or certain deceased persons including Aiḍadēva and his master) was apparently constructed shortly after the battle referred to in the inscription probably at a time when the area was free from the enemies.

The fact that Gōpāla III died in an attempt to repulse his enemies, as indicated by the Nim-dighi inscription, seems to be supported by another evidence. Sandhyākaranandin's *Rāmascharita* (IV, 12) has the following stanza in the description of Gōpāla III :

*Apī katrughn-ṅpāyāt-Gōpālāḥ eva-jagūma tat-sūnuḥ |*

*hantuḥ kumbhīnasy-āsta-nayasy-astasya sāmāyikam-ītat |*

This has been translated as : " Even his (Kumārāpāla's) son, Gōpāla by name, met with his death as the result of his effort to exterminate enemies. The [death] of this ill-disciplined person, who was the killer of the chief of the elephant force, occurred under the influence of time."<sup>1</sup> It has also been suggested that " Gōpāla met with a premature death while encountering either an elephant or a crocodile."<sup>2</sup> The first of the two interpretations is of course preferable, though we are inclined to take *asta-naya*s as an adjective of *Kumbhīna* which may be the same as *Gajapati* probably meaning a contemporary ruler of Orissa. It has, however, to be admitted that the title *Gajapati* appears to have become popular with the Gaṅgas of Orissa not long before the middle of the thirteenth century,<sup>3</sup> although that does not prove that the earlier Orissan rulers were not so called by their contemporaries. Whatever that may be, it is clear that the poet, in eulogising Gōpāla III, means to say that the royal hero, who even killed the powerful *Kumbhīna*, devoid of good conduct and therefore a particularly formidable enemy, lost his life while fighting certain enemies on the battle-field and that such a death was quite proper (*sāmāyika*) for him since that led him directly to heaven.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Majumdar, Basak and Banerji, *Rajshahi*, p. 129.

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

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 42-44.



9 namvāhitavśāḥ<sup>1</sup> sa yayatā<sup>2</sup> śrīśāmbhāvakadāśaḥ<sup>3</sup> ( || 4\* ) Dgadhā yatra mahad-bhūtāḥ tara-śa-  
10 lūna pūrītā<sup>4</sup> ( || \* ) ya(śa)tra Bhāvakadāśeṣa kṛitā kirtta(rttir)=vīrājatēḥ(tē) || [5\*] Rātōkīna li-  
11 khitam ( || \* )

### 3. Gayā Inscription mentioning Gōvindapāla, Vikrama 1232

The stone slab bearing this inscription is embedded in the wall of a small shrine close to the Gadādhara temple below the courtyard of the Vishṇupāda temple at Gayā in Bihar. There is the figure of a Śiva-līṅga above the writing and another figure of a female deity below the inscription. This second figure reminds us of similar representations in the Gayā records of certain South Indian pilgrims edited above,<sup>5</sup> though we cannot be sure whether the persons responsible for setting up the present epigraph also hailed from the South. The incision of the Śiva-līṅga above the writing is interesting since the inscription was set up in the Vishṇupāda temple which is one of the most celebrated Vaiṣṇava shrines in the whole of India. The transaction recorded in the epigraph relates to the Gadādhara (Viṣṇu) temple and it was conducted by people who appear to have been all devoted to the god Viṣṇu. The representation of the Śiva-līṅga in our inscription may suggest that the engraver of the record was a Śaiva.

The inscription under study is well known for the importance of its date which has been discussed by most writers on the later history of the Pālas of Bengal and Bihar, though the epigraph was never properly edited. A totally inaccurate account of the contents of the inscription given by Buchanan in his *Eastern India*, Vol. 1, p. 61, was quoted in 1871-72 by Cunningham in his *Arch. Sur. Ind. Reports*, Vol. III, p. 125, No. 18. Cunningham also noticed the 'particularly valuable' date of the epigraph and published an eye-copy of it in the same work (Plate XXXVIII). In 1915 a rough transcript of the inscription was published by R.D. Banerji in his *Pālas of Bengal* appearing in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. V, No. 3 (p. 109). A good facsimile of the record also appears in Banerji's work (Plate XXVIII).

The importance of the date of the present inscription lies in the fact that it quotes **Vikrama 1232** as corresponding to year 14 of the *gata-rājya* of Gōvindapāla. The dates of the records of the Pāla regime are generally quoted in the regnal years of individual kings without reference to any era. Of course, the recently published Valgudar inscription<sup>6</sup> of Madanapāla, dated in his 18th regnal year and Śaka 1083, has offered us the most important date in Pāla records while only the Sārnāth inscription<sup>7</sup> mentioning Mahipāla I was known, since the close of the eighteenth century, as bearing the date Vikrama 1083 without the corresponding regnal year. Thus, before the discovery of the Valgudar inscription of Madanapāla, the Gayā inscription offered a date which was unique among Pāla records though, as will be seen below, the expression *gata-rājya* used in connection with the date was generally misunderstood.

<sup>1</sup> Read *dāśa-śrīśāmbhāvakadāśa*. The word *dāśa* seems to be original but does not satisfy the metrical requirement of *anup-āgama*. It may, however, be remembered that *ś* is pronounced like *ṣ* in Bengal. (r. *śāśā* ?)

<sup>2</sup> Read *jayatā*.

<sup>3</sup> The intended reading is *śrīśāmbhāvakadāśa*.

<sup>4</sup> Read *pūrītā* or better *śrīpūrītā*. *Mahādāśā* may mean 'those who have become great', or we may have *śāśā-dāśā*. But the plural is not justified by the context since the reference seems to be to Alādāśa alone unless, of course, it is believed to indicate *gaurava*. It is also not impossible to take it to refer to several people including Alādāśa and the king. The intended reading seems, however, to be *śrīpūrītā*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 110, 113, and Plats between pp. 112 and 113.

<sup>6</sup> *Dāl.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 145, No. 3.

<sup>7</sup> See Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 114.

The inscription begins with the *siddham* symbol followed by the passages *ś śaṣṭi* and *śaṣṭi śāṅgātē Vāśudēvāya* ('adoration to Lord Vāśudēva'). Next comes the date given, against the background of eternity, as the **Vikāri-saṁvatsara** of Jupiter's sixty-year cycle, corresponding to *Sauvat* (i.e. Vikrama) 1232 and falling in the *parva-madhya* (dawn) of the Kali age in the twenty-eighth cycle of the Vaivasvata-manvantara in the *kalpa* of Varāha and the second *parārdha* of the god Brahma (lines 1-3). The dating reminds us of the Warangal inscription<sup>1</sup> of Raghudēva, in which the year is similarly quoted as Pramādi-saṁvatsara corresponding to the Kaiyuga year 4561 falling in the first quarter of Kali in the twenty-eighth *chatur-yuga* of the Vaivasvata-manvantara in the Svētavarāha-kalpa and the second *parārdha* of Brahma. But the date is given in the latter inscription as falling in the eternal sovereignty of the god Viṣṇu and the place of the record is there likewise located in the dominions of a Bahmani ruler in the western part of the Āndhra country which is stated to have formed a part of Bhārata-varaha lying in the Jambū-dvīpa section of the earth. The idea of dating the Gayā inscription in the way indicated above may have occurred to the author of the epigraph because it records a transaction relating to the temple of Gadādhara or Viṣṇu, the lord of the three worlds. He may have also been a South Indian like the author of Raghudēva's record.

The above date, viz. Vikrama 1232=Vikāri, corresponding to 1175-76 A.D., is equated in lines 3-4 of the inscription with year 14 of the *gata-rājya* of Gōvīndapāla. The inscription records, as we shall see below, the creation of an endowment for feeding Brāhmanas once in a year on **Āśvina-sudi 5**. Associating these details with Vikrama 1232=Vikāri, Kielhorn regarded the date to be **Monday, the 22nd September 1175 A.D.**<sup>2</sup> We know that, besides this record, the rule of the same Pāla king is referred to in the colophon of seven manuscripts. There are thus altogether eight dates associated with Gōvīndapāla. They are the following:

- (1) śrīmad-Gōvīndapālasya vijaya-rājya saṁvatsarē 4 ;
- (2) saṁvat 1232 Vikāri-saṁvatsarē śrī-Gōvīndapāladēva-gata-rājya chaturdaśa-saṁvatsarē  
..... Āśvinē śukla-pañchamīyām ;
- (3) śrīmad-Gōvīndapāladēvasya—ātita-saṁvatsa 18 Kārttika-dinē 15 ;
- (4) śrī-Gōvīndapāliya-saṁvat 24 Chaitra-sudi 8 ;
- (5) Gōvīndapāladēvānām sam 37 Śrāvāṇa-dinē 11 ;
- (6) śrīmad-Gōvīndapāladēvānām vīṣaṣṭa-rājyē aṣṭa-tridāśa-saṁvatsarē-bhīlikhyamānē  
Jyāishṭha-kṛishṇa-ṣaṣṭamīyām tithan yatra sam 38 Jyāishṭha-dinē 8 ;
- (7) 'the 38th year of Gōvīndapāla';
- (8) śrīmad-Gōvīndapāladēvānām sam 39 Bhādra-dinē 14.<sup>3</sup>

It will be seen that out of these eight cases, the regnal years, 4, 24, 37, 38 and 39 are associated with Gōvīndapāla's rule in the usual way of referring to regnal reckonings as found in epigraphic and literary records, while the years 14, 18 and 38 are mentioned as falling in his *gata*, *atita* or *vīṣaṣṭha* rule or sovereignty. It is quite clear that all these years refer to the same reckoning and this is made absolutely certain by the fact that the same year in *sam* (No. 6) of the right cases cited above is quoted in both the ways as *vīṣaṣṭha-rājyē aṣṭatridāśa-saṁvatsarē* and as *sam 38*, while another date (No. 7) also speaks of the 38th year of the

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

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. V, Appendix p. 24, No. 166; *Ind., Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 358, No. 163; cf. Bhattacharya's *List*, No. 870.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 142, note 3.

king without any specification. It has, however, to be noticed that the regnal year 4 has been associated with Gōvindapāla's 'victorious rule or sovereignty' while the later years have been related to himself (i.e. to his rule) or to his *gata* (past), *atita* (past) or *vinashita* (destroyed) rule or sovereignty. Ordinarily, the ascription of a particular year to a king means that the year in question fell in the reign period of the said ruler. In the present case, however, the years 24, 27, 35 and 39, associated with king Gōvindapāla (i.e. his reign), fell after the 14th year which has been specifically stated to have fallen in his *gata-rājya*. These years therefore did not belong to Gōvindapāla's normal regnal reckoning as their citation may suggest and this probably explains the absence of the word *rājya* in these cases. It is thus certain that Gōvindapāla's rule or sovereignty was a thing of the past after the fourth year of his reign and before the fourteenth year counted from the year of his accession.

We know that the latest date of Gōvindapāla's predecessor Madanapāla is supplied by the Valgudar inscription of Śaka 1083 corresponding to his 18th regnal year.<sup>2</sup> The actual date quoted in the inscription is *Jyāshṭha-dina 11* which corresponds to the 4th May 1161 A.D., the month being lunar and *pārvaṇānta*.<sup>3</sup> Gōvindapāla must have ascended the throne after that date. On the other hand, a Bōdhgayā inscription<sup>4</sup> of a date falling between 1183-84 and 1192-93 A.D. shows that the Gayā region then formed a part of the dominions of the Gāhaḍavāla king Jayachandra, though the Siyar plate<sup>5</sup> of the same ruler, dated 1175 A.D., seems to record the grant of a village in the Patna District and points to the Gāhaḍavāla occupation of the Gayā-Pāṭnā region of Bihar as early as that year. Thus Gōvindapāla must have lost his hold on the Gayā area before 1175 A.D. which is also known to have fallen in the period of his 'lost sovereignty' from the evidence of the Gayā inscription under study. Since a king named Palapāla, who seems to have been the successor of Gōvindapāla on the Pāla throne, ruled in the Moughyr District till the 35th year of his reign<sup>6</sup> while the Turkish Musalmāns established their hold on Bihar about the close of the twelfth century A.D.,<sup>7</sup> it appears that Gōvindapāla ended his rule about 1165 A.D. not long after his 4th regnal year. Thus the reign of Gōvindapāla, covering about four years, may be assigned to the period 1161-62 to 1165-66 A.D.

There is a controversy whether the dates related to Gōvindapāla's *gata*, *atita* or *vinashita* sovereignty should be counted from his accession or from the time when he lost his kingdom. But the second alternative is impossible in view of the fact that a number of dates quoting years far exceeding the probable reign period of Gōvindapāla are associated merely with his rule without indicating that it was *gata*, *atita* or *vinashita*. If there were two reckonings relating to Gōvindapāla, viz. one associated with his *rājya* or *vijaya-rājya* counted from his accession and another connected with his past or lost sovereignty counted from the end of his actual rule, the two different systems of dating could not have been indiscriminately used as has actually been done. The people who used both the styles without discrimination had therefore no fear of a confusion which would have undoubtedly resulted if there were two different reckonings, one starting after the expiry of the other.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 141 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 142 and note 3.

<sup>4</sup> Bhandarkar's List, No. 401.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 129; above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 143.

<sup>6</sup> See *JBS*, Vol. XLI, Part II, pp. 143 ff. The discovery of an inscription of Ballīśasīna's ninth regnal year (c. 1166 A.D.) near Bhāgalpur (above, Vol. XXX, pp. 78 ff.), Lakshmanasēna's claim to have obtained success against the king of Kāśī (cf. Vol. XXVI, p. 6, text line 19; Vol. XXXIII, p. 318) and the early use of the penialia Lakshmanasēna era at Gayā (*IBQ*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 22 ff.) would suggest that Palapāla became a feudatory or subordinate ally of the Śēnas.

<sup>7</sup> Iltiyāzud-dīn Muhammad Bakhtiyār Khaljī sacked Bihārsharif in the Patna District about February 1199 A.D. and reduced the province of Bihar to submission between October 1199 and January 1201 A.D. (*Hist. Rec.*, Vol. II, ed. J. N. Sarkar, p. 32) or shortly before the 24th March 1203 A.D. (*IBQ*, Vol. XXX, p. 145).

A question that naturally arises in our mind is why the reign of Gōvindapāla was referred to when it had been actually ousted by the Gāhaḍavālas. It cannot be argued, as is often done, that since Gōvindapāla was a Buddhist, when he was ousted from the Gayā region by the Brahmanical Gāhaḍavālas, the Buddhists of Gayā continued to refer to his reign in preference to that of the Brahmanists whom they hated. Such a contention is disproved by the present inscription which is not a Buddhist record. There must have been some other reason for this peculiar phenomenon. The people, especially of the Gayā region if not of other parts of Bihar, apparently had a strong hatred for the Gāhaḍavālas probably as a result of persecution. Similar must have been the reason underlying the rise of the Lakshmanasēna-samrat (La-Son) in the same Gayā region apparently after the extirpation of Śēna rule in Bihar by the Turkish Muslims. As is well known, the earliest use of the *śāta-rājya* reckoning of Lakshmanasēna (c. 1175-1206 A.D.) is noticed in the Gayā inscriptions of the years 51, 74 and 83.<sup>1</sup>

The last word in the prose section of the inscription discussed above is *Gayāyām*, 'at Gayā', in line 4, which has to be read with the versified part below. There are altogether six stanzas in this part of the epigraph called a *prastāva* in the concluding verse as we shall see below.

Verse 1 contains two sentences the first saying that there was [at Gayā] a *Devīdā* Brāhmaṇa of the Vaishṭha *gotra*, by name Dāllāṇa, whose son was the *guggulīn* Vidyādharma.<sup>2</sup> The word *guggulīn* apparently means 'one who burns *guggula* (a particular fragrant gum resin)'. Vidyādharma was thus an incense-burner in a temple (probably, the Gadādhara temple) at Gayā. The verse further states that this Vidyādharma 'created some *dhana* (literally 'money') at the temple (*maṭha*) of Gadādhara (Gadādhara) for the Brāhmaṇas. As the following verses indicate, Vidyādharma deposited some money for making provision for feeding Brāhmaṇas at the temple on *Āvina-sudi 5* every year.

The word *bhāṣā-ārthasā* (for the provision of food) in verse 2 should have to be read with *dhana* in verse 1. The rest of verse 2 states that there was an amount of sixteen *kāraḥāpaṇas* to the credit of Vidyādharma as annual interest on the capital of fifty *kāraḥāpaṇas* which must have been deposited by him one year earlier. The persons with whom the sum was deposited are indicated further below. Thus Vidyādharma created an endowment out of a deposit of fifty *kāraḥāpaṇas* yielding an annual interest of sixteen *kāraḥāpaṇas* at the rate of 32 per cent.<sup>3</sup> The word *kāraḥāpaṇa* seems to have been used in the sense of a silver coin weighing 32 *ratīs*, also known as *parāṇa*.<sup>4</sup> But, in the age in question, the silver *kāraḥāpaṇa* or *parāṇa* was probably not in actual circulation, the transactions being generally conducted in cowrie-shells. As will be seen below, *kapardāka* or cowrie-shell is actually mentioned in an endorsement added to the record.

The same stanza (verse 2) also mentions two of the witnesses to the creation of the endowment. These are Padma and Viśvarūpa. In continuation of the list of witnesses, verse 3 mentions the following persons: Nṛsiṃha, Śrīdhara, Dēvadharma, All and Padmanābha. Of these, All and Padmanābha are stated to have been the servants of Viśva probably because they were associated with the administration of the Gadādhara temple and the worship of Gadādhara. All these people were residents of the *tapōvana* (literally 'a penance-grove') probably meaning a particular locality in Gayā.

Verse 4 mentions Rāghava, Śrīkara, Asūka, Dāmōdara, Hīdhara, Bhikha, Dēvanidhi and Dharmīn who are stated to have been the protectors (*pālana-kāriṇas*) apparently of the endowment created by Vidyādharma. It appears that it was these persons with whom the sum of fifty *kā-*

<sup>1</sup> See Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1487-89; *IHQ*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 21-25.

<sup>2</sup> Probably we should not take *Guggulīn* as the name of the person and *vidyādharma* as his epithet.

<sup>3</sup> For the high rate of interest in ancient India, see *Select Inscriptions*, p. 188, note 6.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *JNSI* Vol. VII, p. 84.

*śāpāpas* was deposited for making provision for feeding Brāhmaṇas in the Gadādhara temple on Āśvina-sudi 5 every year out of the annual interest of sixteen *kāśhāpaṇas* accruing to it annually. Otherwise they were the trustees and the money was deposited in the temple treasury.

Verse 5 states that those who would maintain the *dharma* (i.e. Vidyādharma's pious deed) every year (i.e. those who would arrange for the feeding of the Brāhmaṇas out of the interest of the sum deposited by Vidyādharma) would acquire the merit of the performance of the *Aśvamedha* sacrifices. The following stanza (verse 6) says that, whoever would stop the feeding of the Brāhmaṇas on Āśvina-sudi 5, he would be committing the five great sins.

The above six stanzas are followed in lines 13-14 by a passage in prose. It states that the eulogy (*prāśasti*) was composed (*krīta*) by Muktāndra and that it was written (*likhitā*) by the *Kā* (i.e. *Kāyasthas* or scribes) Jastyi (or Jastyā) and Jayakumāra.<sup>1</sup> The word *likhita* seems to mean here the writing of the record on the stone for facilitating the work of the engraver.

There is one line of writing in the left margin along the border of the inscription discussed above. That it is a separate endorsement is indicated by the fact that it begins with a *siddham* symbol. This line of writing contains a single verse. The second half of the stanza states that 'these' *kāpādalakas* (cowrie-shells) were given in the presence of the image of the god (i.e. Gadādhara), the first half of the same verse stating that Sūmāśvara and the Gayā Brāhmaṇa (i.e. Gayā Brāhmaṇa) Padmanābha were the witnesses 'in this matter' (*īdha*). The endorsement appears to mean that the annual interest of sixteen *kāśhāpaṇas* accruing to the deposit made by Vidyādharma after one year in Vikrama 1232 was handed over to the temple authorities by Rāghava and others for arranging for the feeding of Brāhmaṇas on Āśvina-sudi 5 and that this fact was entered in the margin of the original document a little later than it had been drawn up. The statement was engraved in the same position in the document when it was copied on stone. The Gayā Brāhmaṇa Padmanābha mentioned as a witness seems to be the same person known from verse 3 to have been a witness of the creation of the endowment.

It is interesting to note that the sum of sixteen *kāśhāpaṇas* or *pañcāṇas* was paid in cowrie-shells. This reminds us of the *kāpādalaka-paṇcāṇa* mentioned in the 85th inscription apparently in the sense of 'a *paṇcāṇa* counted in cowrie-shells'.<sup>2</sup> The number of cowrie-shells going for one *kāśhāpaṇa*, at least in the Bengal area, seems to have been 1280. It is stated that 4 cowrie-shells = 1 *gandā*; 20 *gandās* = 1 *paṇ* (*paṇā*); 16 *paṇas* = 1 *kāśhāpaṇa* (*kāśhāpaṇa*).<sup>3</sup> Thus 1280 *kāpādalakas* made 1 *kāśhāpaṇa*.<sup>4</sup>

TEXT<sup>5</sup>

[Metres: verse 1 *Ujjāli*; verse 2 *Indravajrā*; verses 3-7 *Anuṣṭubh*.]

- 1 Siddham<sup>6</sup> Ō svasti [i<sup>7</sup>] namō bhagavatō Nāśudhācāryā | Vra(Brahma)ṇo dvitya-parārtihā-  
(vḥh)
- 2 Vārāha-kalpē Vavāsva(ava)ta-manvath(ava)jātāḥ aśṭa-viṅśatī(ṭa)ṇō yugē Kaṁ(Ka)lau  
pūrva-sat(ṣa)
- 3 nihyāyāni Samvata<sup>8</sup> 1232 Vikāri-samvva(va)tsarē | śri-Govindapālādē-

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that one of them wrote the main document and the other only the endorsement.

<sup>2</sup> *JASB. Letters*, Vol. IX, 1949, p. 233; *Hist. Beng.*, Vol. I, ed. Majumdar, p. 602.

<sup>3</sup> *JASB*, Vol. VII, p. 83.

<sup>4</sup> From impressions.

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

<sup>6</sup> Romā śastri.



- 1 va-gata-rājyā chatrddāśa-saṁmva(va)tearē Gayāyārḥ. ||<sup>1</sup> Vaś(ā)sh[ra-gōṣṭa-]
- 5 tigupō dvivōdalā śri-Dallagō-sūta<sup>2</sup> sutam mśhānta[śi](ntam) | Vidyōdharām gu-
- 6 gu(gg)linam Gadābhṛṅga-ma[ḥ]e-mun-ākāri dhanō(nām) dvijānām(nām) || [1\*] Bhō(Bha)-  
ksh-ārtham=avdanti(bdanti) pra-
- 7 ti shōśaś-aiva kārshāpaṅ(nā) vṛddhita śva ladhvāḥ(bdhāḥ) | mūlan=cha pañchāśa(śa)śi-
- 8 h=āti sākoḥ Padm-śbhidhānō-cha cha Viśvarūpaḥ || [2\*] Nriśiṅhaḥ Śrīdhārō Dēva-
- 9 dharō-ll-Padmanā[ḥ]ka[ḥ] | Viśhṅu-śēva(vā)-karaḥ ch=aitō tapōyana-aiśāśah || [3\*]  
Bāghavaḥ
- 10 Śēkarō-sūkō Dāmōśarakāḥ(ka)-Hāhara<sup>3</sup> || [4\*] Bhūkhō Dēvanidhir-Ōdha(r)jama<sup>4</sup> ch=aitō  
pālo<sup>5</sup>
- 11 na-kāriṅaḥ || [4\*] Ā=khāndr-ārkam-īman dha(r)matā[ḥ] pālayiśhvaṅti yō sukhaśāśkham) |  
praty-avdanti(bdanti) ś-
- 12 śvamōdhasaya ha(pha)lasi prāpaśa(peya)nti mōnavāḥ || [5\*] Āśvinē śukla-pañchamīyārḥ  
bhō(bha)ksham yō-
- 13 vārayō=īdam(dam) | labhātō=śiv-asañidigdham mahōpātaka-pañchakam(kāma) || [6\*]  
prāśasti-
- 14 r-iyam kritā śri-Muktāndrōga likhitā ch=śyam kō<sup>6</sup>-Jāśyō-Jayakuntārābhīyam(bhīyam) ||
- 15 Ōm<sup>7</sup> || [6\*] Śmīśvarō-ira sākaḥ(kahya)śi Paśuś(dam)śābhō Gayā-dvija[ḥ] || [6\*] dēva-  
rūpaśya<sup>8</sup> pū(pū)ratō dattā[ś] ch=aitō kapardakā[ḥ] || [7\*]

**Postscript**—Fresh light on the *gata-rājya* reckoning comes from a manuscript of Jivadēva's *Bhaktiśākhā* (H. P. Shastri's Catalogue, Vol. VII, No. 5347) copied on Sunday, Bhādrasudi II in the 29th Anka (24th regnal year) of Mukundadēva (1559-68 A. D.), the last independent Hindu King of Orissa. The details of the date show that it corresponds to the 18th August 1583 A. D., though the king died 15 year earlier, and that the year has to be counted from Mukundadēva's accession and not from his death. See *Indian Studies—Past & Present*, Vol. IV, No. 1, October-December 1962, pp. 105 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Read *Goglypa*. The punctuation mark has been used to indicate the separation of the following shloka in verse.

<sup>2</sup> The word is more suitable for the mother than father.

<sup>3</sup> The intended reading may be either *Dāmasāra-Mahādhara* or *Dāmasāra Śādhara*.

<sup>4</sup> *Dharma* may also be regarded as an epithet of Dēvanidhi.

<sup>5</sup> *Kā* is an abbreviation of the word *kāyāḥ*. The following name may be read as *Jāśyō* also.

<sup>6</sup> This line is engraved in the left margin.

<sup>7</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>8</sup> *Dēvarāpa* may have also been the name of a person.





No. 33.—TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF DURGARAJA

( I Plate )

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTAAMUNSI

( Received on 6.2.1961 )

The first of the two inscriptions edited in these pages now lies in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer (Museum No. 290). It was found at the well-known *tirtha* of Pushkar near Ajmer and was presented to the Museum by the late Dewan Bahadur Har Bilas Sarda. The inscription was noticed by D. R. Bhandarkar in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Western Circle, 1909-10, p. 59.<sup>1</sup> We copied the epigraph some years ago and it was noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1953-53, No. B 6.

Bhandarkar observes, "It really records two separate grants, one by Malhana, son of Bhatta, and the other by a king named Durgaraja. The first grant . . . . . consists of a portion of a field called Khatakabhētra within the precincts of the village Nandā-grāma on the west of Jyēshtha-Pushkara . . . . . spoken of therein as having brought into existence by Brahmā and as *Vishnu-dharma-purāna*, i.e. old in [the practice of] the Vaishnava religion . . . . . Malhana, the donor, is called *Pushkara-sādhya*, i.e. belonging to the Pushkar community. Pushkara Brāhmanas are at present known as Parāsaras. Malhana was thus, in all likelihood, a Parāsara Brāhmana. The date of the second grant cannot be properly deciphered, but it is certainly Samvat 990 and something odd.<sup>2</sup> It was made by Durgaraja to the same god, i.e. Puṇḍarikāksha, on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the new moon day of Phālguna. But the nature of his grant is not clear from the inscription."

We are sorry that it is difficult to agree with many of Bhandarkar's suggestions. In the first place, Malhana seems to us to have enjoyed the designation *Bhatta-putra*<sup>3</sup> which need not be explained as 'the son of [a person named] Bhatta'. Secondly, the gift land consisted of the entire *khāta-khētra* and not any portion of it. Thirdly, Jyēshtha-Pushkara has not been called *Vishnu-dharma-purāna*. The reference in the epigraph is certainly to the well-known Purāna entitled *Vishnudharma* or *Vishnudharmottara*.<sup>4</sup> Fourthly, *Pushkara-sādhya* may really mean 'a resident of Pushkara' as in cases like *Ujjayini-samgata-Kuragirikā-sādhya* (i.e. hailing originally from Ujjayini and now residing at Kuragirikā) in the description of a Brāhmana in an inscription from Rajasthan, dated 654 A.D.<sup>5</sup> Fifthly, the year of Durgaraja's grant is apparently Samvat 994. Sixthly, Durgaraja, who was not a king but a small local chief, really did not make any gift of his own in favour of Puṇḍarikāksha but merely ratified Malhana's grant as the landlord of the Pushkar region. Besides these, there are also some other minor points on which we are inclined to disagree with Bhandarkar.

The second of the two inscriptions forming the subject of our paper was discovered by Mr. U. C. Bhattacharya, Curator of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, on a pillar in the Śiva temple at Thanwala or Thāmvā (near Pushkar) in the Nagaur District of the Jodhpur Division of

<sup>1</sup> It is No. 41 of Bhandarkar's List (see also No. 55) of *Report on the Working of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, 1916-11, p. 2, Appendix B, No. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Bhandarkar's List, No. 5 refers to the year as V.S. 990 (7).

<sup>3</sup> It may be noted that the community of learned Brāhmanas is called *Bhatta-jāta* in lines 19 and 20 of our record. For *Bhatta* and *Bhatta-putra* as common designations of Brāhmanas, see above, Vol. XXVIII, p. 325, text lines 27-28, p. 327, text lines 10-12.

<sup>4</sup> See Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. I, p. 580.

<sup>5</sup> Above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 172, text line 12; of p. 176, text line 17.

Rajasthan. A very brief notice of the record by Mr. Bhattacharya appeared in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1954, p. 134. We copied it a few years back and it was noticed in the *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy*, 1956-57, No. B 513.

The first inscription records certain gifts given in favour of the god Puṇḍarikākṣa (i.e. Vishnu) worshipped at Pushkara, by a Brāhmaṇa of Pushkara named Malhata in Vikrama 992 and the ratification of the gift by the chief Durgarāja of the Pushkar region in Vikrama 994. The second epigraph records certain gifts made by the same Durgarāja in favour of the god Bannāditya (i.e. the Sun-god) worshipped either at Thanwala or in its neighbourhood within the Pushkar region and refers to gifts made to the same deity by a number of people, which were added to those of Durgarāja in Vikrama 1013. It is clearly stated in the first record that whatever gifts were given by people at Pushkara became those of Durgarāja, called a *śhūpa*, apparently because he was the landlord of the district around the holy place or the person in charge of the *śrīka*.<sup>1</sup> The most important information supplied by the second inscription is, however, the fact that Durgarāja is mentioned here as the *Mahantaka* of *Mahārājādhirāja* Simharāja who was no doubt the Chāhamāna king of the same name.

The extension of Chāhamāna power in the Pushkar-Ajmer region in the days of Simharāja is an important information supplied by the above record. But the real meaning of the designation *Mahantaka*, which is derived from Sanskrit *mahat*, 'the great (man)', like the official designations *Mahattaka*, *Maḥattara* and *Mahattama* of inscriptions and *Mahat*, *Maḥtā* and *Mahanta* of today, cannot be determined in the present context. Essentially, the word seems to mean the head of a village or the village council or a Pañchāyat board or of some administrative, social or religious institution or organisation.<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to say whether Durgarāja was the head of the religious institution at Pushkar like the *Mahanta-Mahārōjas* of today, though his designation *śhūpa* in the first inscription and *Mahantaka* in the second may point to that direction. That, however, he was not an ascetic is suggested by the mention of his father's name in the second inscription.

So long the earliest epigraph of the Chāhamāna house in question was the Haras inscription<sup>3</sup> (Vikrama 1030-973 A.D.) of the reign of Simharāja's son Vigrakarāja. Now we have an epigraph of Simha's reign, dated Vikrama 1013 (956 A.D.). The *Prithivīrajajaya* associates the Śākambhari or Sāmbhar lake, about 40 miles from Pushkar, with Vāsudēva who was the founder of the Chāhamāna house and was favoured by the goddesses Śākambhari and Āśāpuri.<sup>4</sup> Thus the original seat of the family seems to have been in the region of the said lake. A point to be considered is whether the present inscriptions help us in determining the date of the establishment of Chāhamāna power over the Ajmer-Pushkar region. Since the name of a Chāhamāna king is not found in the first inscription bearing the dates Vikrama 992 and 994 while Simharāja is mentioned in the second record of Vikrama 1013, it is possible to suggest that Chāhamāna power was established in the area shortly before Vikrama 1013. But the possibility of the omission of the name of the Chāhamāna king in the first epigraph through negligence in a private record of this kind is not precluded. That the Chāhamānas succeeded in extending their power over the Pushkar area earlier than the days of Simharāja of our inscription may be conjectured from certain traditions recorded in the *Prithivīrajajaya*. Thus Rudrānī or Ātmāprabhā, the queen of Simharāja's grandfather Chandana, is stated in that work to have established one thousand Siva-līngas on the banks of the Pushkara lake while Simharāja's father Vākpātī is said to have built a temple of Śiva at Pushkara.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to a well-known convention, the ruler of the land had a share in the religious merit earned by the people.

<sup>2</sup> *Mahantaka* is used in the *Lakṣyapaddhati* in the sense of a clerk or accountant and is used in Gujarat as a term of respect among the Bānīyās. See also above, Vol. VIII, pp. 208-07, Bhambalkar's List No. 565.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. II, pp. 116-20.

<sup>4</sup> See Ray, *DKNI*, Vol. II, p. 1091.

<sup>5</sup> Ray, *op. cit.*, pp. 1063-64. The performance of merit-bearing deeds at holy places, however, does not conclusively prove the inclusion of the areas in the performer's dominions (above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 109-01).

About the time of the records edited here, the *Chāhamānas* were apparently feudatories of the Gurjara-Pratihāras. Gōvaka (Gōvinda) I, Simharāja's grandfather's great-grandfather, was a subordinate of king Nāgavalōka, identified with Pratihāra Nāgabhaṭa II (c. 800-33 A.D.), while Sitika himself owed allegiance to a *Rajakula-chakravartin* who must have been a successor of Nāgabhaṭa II.<sup>1</sup>

### 1. Pushkar Inscription of Vikrama 982 and 994

This is a stone inscription containing 31 lines of writing in all. The inscription covers an area 61 cm. in length and 31 cm. in breadth. The preservation of the writing is not quite satisfactory.

The characters belong to the Siddhamātrikā alphabet of the tenth century A.D. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. But the text is full of grammatical and orthographical errors. Some of these are due to the fact that the engraver could not follow the draft before him at certain places, though there must have been defects even in the composition. The record is written in prose and verse.

There are two dates in the record quoted with reference to two different transactions, viz., (1) grant of some land to the god Vishnu of Pushkara by a private person in *Samvat* 982, *Māgha-sudi* 11, and (2) its ratification by the landlord in *Samvat* 994, *Phālguna-amāvāsya*, solar eclipse. The first date, quoted without mentioning the week-day, fell in the month of January 926 A.D. The second date corresponds to the 3rd February 938 A.D., when there was a solar eclipse on Phālguna-badi 15.

As we have said, Vikrama 982 (926 A.D.) relates to a grant made by a private person and Vikrama 994 (938 A.D.) to its ratification by his landlord. The long delay of more than a decade in the ratification, however, requires an explanation. It appears that the donor of the land continued to pay taxes on its account for some years after which the landlord agreed to make the grant rent-free. As we have elsewhere<sup>2</sup> suggested, such a ratification may have required payment of a sum of money by the donor to the king or landlord.

The inscription begins with an adoration to the god Puṇḍarikāksha (i.e. Vishnu-Krishna) followed by the date Vikrama 982 *Māgha-sudi* 11 (lines 1-3). Reference is then made to a *khāta-khētra* within the *Kaḍḍhāra-khētra* lying in the area of *Nandī-grāma* to the west of *Jyēshṭha-Pushkara* which is no doubt the modern Bugḥā Pushkar lake (lines 3-4). It is stated in the following passage that the said *khāta-khētra* was purchased from Savatuka and Pama, the sons of Māniga (lines 4-5) while another passage in lines 5-6 says that one-third of the same *khāta-khētra* was purchased from Savatuka alone. The second piece of land was naturally within the boundary of the first and the entire land thus purchased was meant to be given in favour of the god Vishnu at Pushkara with the exclusion of a portion which seems to have been the property of a deity in the possession of a person (probably a priest of the said deity) named Vāmāna (lines 6-8). In this section of the record, the meanings of *kaḍḍhāra-khētra* and *khāta-khētra* are uncertain, though *Kaḍḍhāra* may be the name of the field (cf. many such cases in the Tharwala inscription edited below) and *khātakhētra* may indicate that the land in question was recently cleared by digging up trees, etc.

The next section of the record in lines 8-11 describes the donor, *Bhaṭṭa-suta* Malhaga of Pushkara, while the following section in lines 12-13 mentions the penance-grove at *Jyēshṭha-Pushkara* described as the great *īritka* made by Padmayāni (Brahman)<sup>3</sup>, the father of the world, and situated

<sup>1</sup> See verses 12 and 13 of the Haras inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, pp. 87 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 50 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Pāṇini Padya*, V, 15.

on the pivot of the earth. Lines 13-15 mention the great god Puṇḍarikākṣha, one of whose epithets states that he granted his devotees the privilege of living in Svēta-dvīpa, i.e. the world of Viṣṇu according to epic and Puranic traditions.<sup>1</sup> The whole portion in lines 13-19 seems to say that *Bhaṭṭa-suta* Malhāṇa heard at the penance-grove, on the date quoted at the beginning of the charter, a *rachana* (saying) about the god Puṇḍarikākṣha in the *Viṣṇuśarṅga Purāṇa* apparently from some reciter and that, having heard that, he gave the said land to Sōmāditya for flowers, etc. for the god's (i.e. Puṇḍarikākṣha's) worship and for white-washing, etc., of his temple. Sōmāditya appears to have been the chief priest of the Puṇḍarikākṣha temple at Pushkara. This Sōmāditya seems to be mentioned in several inscriptions<sup>2</sup> in the Śiva temple of Thanwala near Pushkar. The name of the same Malhāṇa occurs as that of a donor in one of the Thanwala inscriptions.<sup>3</sup> His name seems to appear as Mālhāṇa in the Thanwala inscription edited below.

Lines 19-21 contain a passage in prose stating that the gift was made by Malhāṇa praying for the goodwill of the *Bhaṭṭas*. This is followed by a stanza in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre, in which the donor, *Bhaṭṭa-nanda* Malhāṇa, requests the people for the protection of his gift.

The second record begins in line 22 with the date : Vikrama 994 (in words only), *Phālguna-amāvāsyā*, solar eclipse. The time is specified as when three fourths of the day were still to pass (i.e. at the end of the first quarter of the day) and when the sun's orb was divided into two sections (as a result of a part of it being eclipsed).

The date is followed by a verse in the *Gīti* metre and another irregular stanza. The purport of this section is to say that whatever was given by the pilgrims visiting the Pushkara *tirtha* became the gift of Durgarāja himself when the *bhūpa* (ruler) Durgarāja took a bath in the waters of the Pushkara lake and offered libations of water to gods, etc., and also *homa* to the fire. The following passage in prose in lines 29-30 states that, for that reason, the gift was made in favour of the god Puṇḍarikākṣha. The record ends with a verse in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre containing a request to the *Bhaṭṭas* for the protection of the grant. This is similar to Malhāṇa's own prayer in the stanza quoted in lines 21-23.

Pushkara, Jyēṣṭha-Pushkara and Nandā-grāma are the only geographical names in the inscription. Of these, Nandā-grāma has been identified with modern Nānd about six miles from Pushkar.

TEXT<sup>4</sup>

- 1 *Om-nama*ḥ<sup>5</sup> [P]uṇḍarikākṣhya || sa|nā|vatsara-|śa|tēshu
- 2 *navasu dvā*(dvya)śīty-adhikō[sh]u sarvatu(vat) 982 Māṇa(gha)-
- 3 [wu]di(di) aikādayām(ayām) Jyēṣṭha(ṣṭha)-Pā(Pu)shkarasya pāśchimē pūtyāḥ<sup>6</sup>  
Nandā-g[rā]-
- 4 [ma]-bhūmy[ā]n [ka]j[hāra-kshētr-ṣṭā(nta)re khāta-kshētram [||] yam(yat) Mānāga<sup>7</sup>-suta-  
[Sa]-
- 5 [va<sup>8</sup>][su]ka-Pamāyōr-kastārīgha(t-kra)ḥ-āgatakam(kam) | apam-<sup>9</sup>api aya-aiva khā[ta]-

<sup>1</sup> See *Mahābhārata*, XII, 136, 27-35; above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 80 (p. 82, text line 30).

<sup>2</sup> See *A. R. Ep.*, 1956-57, Nos. B 510-12.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 311.

<sup>4</sup> From inked impressions.

<sup>5</sup> This is followed by a symbol which may be a variety of the *siddha* symbol, though its proper place was at the beginning of the line.

<sup>6</sup> Read 'āpāṇa'.

<sup>7</sup> The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

<sup>8</sup> The Sanskrit form of the name may be *Mānāka*.

TWO INSCRIPTIONS OF DURGARAJA

1. Pushkar Inscription of Vikrama 982 and 996

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The inscription is a dense block of text in an ancient script, likely Devanagari, covering the entire surface of the stone plate. The text is arranged in approximately 18 horizontal lines. The characters are small and closely packed, with some variations in size and spacing. The overall appearance is that of a well-preserved but somewhat weathered historical document.

- 6 kalāśtraya tṛiṭy-śāśā<sup>1</sup> Savatuka-hastā[<sup>2</sup>] kray-āgatakam(kam) | <sup>3</sup> ēka-simā-pra-
- 7 tivadhvam(baddham) |<sup>4</sup> [va(ba)hu-kāśācha(ḥ=cha) bha(bhu)jyamānāḥ |<sup>5</sup> śri-Vāmanasy=  
āya<sup>6</sup>-dēva-
- 8 diyamāna-bhō[ga]-varjjala(kam) Pushkara-sāmānya-Bhaṭṭasuta-Malha-
- 9 pēna |<sup>7</sup> dēva-dvi[ga-guru-(pū)]ā-parāyāna<sup>8</sup> |<sup>9</sup> bhūmi-dāna-taḍā-
- 10 g-ādi-pu(pū)[r<sup>10</sup>]tta-dharmma-niratēna |<sup>11</sup> martya-maraṇa-svargga-paten-ānavara[ta]-
- 11 gam-āgama-garbha-vāsā[nū]m bhaya-bhītēna |<sup>12</sup> mōksha-(tā)na-lurdhē(bdhē)na |<sup>13</sup>
- 12 [Jyē]śhṭha-Pushkara-tapōvanō prithivyām taksha<sup>14</sup>-śhītō<sup>15</sup> |<sup>16</sup> ūrthānātū prava-
- 13 [ra]stṛi<sup>17</sup>-bhuvana-guru-Padmāyōni-nirmitō |<sup>18</sup> [ta]sminakya<sup>19</sup> Pundarī-
- 14 [k]āksha[sya<sup>20</sup>] anādi-(sa)śāśā-dēvasya sakala-śāśi(śāśi)śārō |<sup>21</sup> purāṇa<sup>22</sup>-(sa)-
- 15 [ma]rṭiseya |<sup>23</sup> bhak[t]a-[[ō]ka-{Śvō}ta-dī(dvī)pa-v[ā]sa-p[r]adasya |<sup>24</sup> jama-jarā-
- 16 maraṇa-vsrjita-mōksha-s[th]ā[na]-dayākasya<sup>25</sup> mōtat<sup>26</sup> |<sup>27</sup> Viśṇudharmma-purā-
- 17 ṇō Pushkara-s[ā]mānya<sup>28</sup>-Bhaṭṭasuta-Malhanō(pō)na vachanaḥ su(śru)tvā |<sup>29</sup> vu(pu)shpa-  
dhva(dhū)-
- 18 pa-dīpa-dhava[la<sup>30</sup>]-lēpana-pavitu(tra)-karaṇa-sarvv-ōpāyōṇa(ga)-śidhyarthama<sup>31</sup>
- 19 [Sō]māditya(tyā)ya |<sup>32</sup> cha(pra)dattam(ttam) |<sup>33</sup> ōta[<sup>34</sup>]-samasta(dī<sup>35</sup>) Bhaṭṭa-lōkasya dhārmika-  
dhurandhī-
- 20 rasya dēva-Vrā(Brō)hmaṇa-parama-bhaktasya [pr]i[ti]-prō[r]thānā-pūrvvakam |<sup>36</sup> sama[r]pi-
- 21 tama(tam) | Pradātā praṇipaty-āyam Malhanō(pō) Bhaṭṭa-nāndanaḥ |<sup>37</sup> lōkam-a-

<sup>1</sup> Read 'śa-śāśā'.

<sup>2</sup> The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

<sup>3</sup> Read Vāman-āya. The word āya seems to be used to inflect āya-pada (cf. above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 145 also p. 149, text lines 33, 34-35, 37, 39, 42).

<sup>4</sup> Read parāyāna.

<sup>5</sup> The intended reading is 'śrī-śāśā-śāśā'.

<sup>6</sup> Read 'śrī-śrī'.

<sup>7</sup> Read āyamaṇāya.

<sup>8</sup> The intended reading may be pōna or lōkasa-pōna.

<sup>9</sup> The intended reading is dayākasya.

<sup>10</sup> Read śat. The second śāśāra is written above the line.

<sup>11</sup> The word sūndāya has been used in the sense of śāśāya.

<sup>12</sup> Read śiddhy-artham.

- 22 bhayarthēdha<sup>1</sup> nityam bhavadbhīh pālyatām-idaṁ(dam) ||<sup>2</sup> Viṣṇuvē<sup>3</sup> | saktiva-
- 23 [t]sara-śatēshu navatēshu<sup>4</sup> a(chatu)ṛṇavaty-adbhikēshu garē dānā<sup>5</sup> |<sup>6</sup>
- 24 Pha(Phā)lguṇa-va(ba){hu<sup>7</sup>}lō pakshē-mā{v}jāyā<sup>8</sup> Jyēshṭha-Pushkarē mahā-tīrthō-  
(rithē) |<sup>9</sup> vi(dī)-
- 25 na(nō) tṛi(tri)-bhāga-śēshē rāhu-pva(gra)śēśō dva(dvi)-khamḍita(tō) divākārē(ra)-viṣṇvō(bō) |  
Pushka-
- 26 ra-jal-ābhishōkam kṛtvā vai Durgarāja-bhūpēna | saṁtarpya dēva-manu-
- 27 [j]am<sup>10</sup> |<sup>11</sup> pitṛi-mātṛi-guruṁ purāṇa-vidhi-yaktam(ktam) ||<sup>12</sup> Dadhi-madhū-tilāhājyā-<sup>13</sup>
- 28 mīśtam hōmam kṛtvā hutāsa(sa)nē prava(ba)lō | Pushkara-patha(thi)kair-nikhilam |<sup>14</sup> jah<sup>15</sup>  
prattā(m){itam}
- 29 dānam cha bhavati Durgarājasya<sup>16</sup> || tat-parama-dēna(va)-bhaktyā dattam
- 30 ma(yā<sup>17</sup>) |<sup>18</sup> śri-Pundarikākshē<sup>19</sup> | Bhāṭṭa-lōkam samabhya(schya) priti-pra(prā)ṛthana-pū-
- 31 [r]vākam | ya(a)ttre dānam masā(yā) [kaṁ]nā<sup>20</sup> bhavadbhīh pālyatām-idaṁ(dam) | o |<sup>21</sup>

## 2. Thanwala Inscription of the time of Śiṁharāja, Vikrama 1013

This epigraph, as stated above, is engraved on a pillar inside the Śiva temple at Thanwala. There are altogether twenty lines of writing covering an area 40 cm. in height and 33 cm. in breadth. The preservation of the writing is unsatisfactory especially in the lower part of the record. A large number of letters in lines 13-18 are more or less completely rubbed off while no letter is decipherable in the last two lines (lines 19-20).

The characters of the inscription are similar to those of No. 1 edited above. The language is Sanskrit and the record is written in prose and verse as is the case with the other inscription. There is, however, some influence of the local dialect on the language and orthography of the epigraph.

The inscription begins with a *siddham* symbol followed by the date **Vikrama 1013, Pausmasudi 5, solar eclipse**. The weekday is not quoted, while solar eclipse could have occurred only on an earlier new-moon day. The date falls in **December 956 A.D.**, though there was no solar eclipse in the near past according to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*.

<sup>1</sup> Read 'Māyarthōc.

<sup>2</sup> There is a floral design between the double denjans. The metre of the verse is Anuakpālā.

<sup>3</sup> Read *śaśē* Pāṣṇarē.

<sup>4</sup> Read *śaśarē*.

<sup>5</sup> It is tempting to suggest here *Guru-dāy* or *Gurus dāy*, though Thursday does not suit the date in question. Probably *paṭhō-iddāśō* is intended.

<sup>6</sup> The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

<sup>7</sup> Read *śyāyā*.

<sup>8</sup> Read *śyā*.

<sup>9</sup> The metre of the verse is *Grh*.

<sup>10</sup> Read *śyā*.

<sup>11</sup> Read *śyā*. The akāṣa *śyā* was omitted through oversight.

<sup>12</sup> If the word *Durgarājaya* is taken out, we may have a stanza in the *Arjū* metre.

<sup>13</sup> Read *śyāyā*.

<sup>14</sup> Read *śyā* or *śyā-śyā*.

<sup>15</sup> The metre of the verse is Anuakpālā.

Lines 1-3 then introduce **Durgarāja** as devoted to the gods and Brāhmanas, as the son of Chaharaka and as the *Mahantaka* of *Mahārājādhirāja* **Siṃharāja**. We have already discussed the meaning of the designation *Mahantaka*. As also indicated above, *Mahārājādhirāja* **Siṃharāja** is no other than the Chāhamāna king of that name, who was the father of Vigharāja of the Haras inscription of 973 A. D.

Lines 3-4 state that **Durgarāja** issued a grant in respect of some land situated in **Nandā-grāma** in favour of the deity Rannādityadēva. As we have explained elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> Rannā is the name of the wife of the Sun-god according to the popular mythology of Western India. It is probably derived from the Sanskrit name *Rājñī*, the name of a wife of the Sun-god according to the Purānas. Both the god and goddess may have been worshipped in the temple in question.

Lines 4-5 suggest that the said gift of land was intended to provide for a lamp (probably, a perpetual lamp) for the god as well as for the burning of incense before the deity, offering of food to him and whitewashing of the walls of his temple, etc.

After the above statement, the following gifts are specified in lines 5-11 : (1) *Kālīlaka* (probably the name of a field) given by **Durgarāja** himself ; (2) *Chattāśaka* (possibly the name of another field) given by **Mālhaṇa** (probably the name as **Malhaṇa** of the inscription edited above) ; a *kēlīraka* (a marshy field) given by **Śrīlhaṇa** ; (4) [a field called] *Chālukandara* given by **Sila** ; (5) the *paślā* (meaning uncertain) called *Uḍubhā* given by **Mōchā** ; (6) a field (name uncertain) given by **Yavuka** ; (7) the *āgama-kshētra* (probably, field near the entrance to the temple of Rannāditya) given by **Guguka** ; (9) a *kēlīraka* given by **Sāva** ; (10) a *paślā* belonging to **Āditya**, given by **Vāta** ; and (11) [a field called] *Dāḍimaka* given by **Sila**. A passage in lines 11-12 states that all the above gifts were added by **Durgarāja** to his own gift. This reminds us of the ratification of **Malhaṇa's** grant by **Durgarāja** as recorded in the **Pushkar** inscription edited above.

A damaged passage in lines 12-13 apparently mentions a person who was 'the maker' no doubt of the inscription, i.e., the engraver of the record. His name is lost, but he was the son of **Sāvata** and obviously an officer of **Durgarāja**.

Line 14 mentions **Maru** (i.e. the country of Marwar) and also **Pushkara**, while the next line (line 15) seems to have referred to the permanent nature of the grant. Lines 15-17 contain parts of the well-known stanza *Bahubhi-vasudhā dattā*, etc.

The geographical names mentioned in the inscription have been discussed above.

#### TEXT\*

- 1 Siddham<sup>2</sup> [||\*] **So[m]vatu(vat) 1013 Pausa-sudi 5 āditya-grahanē mahā[rā]-**
- 2 **jādhirāj(ja)-rī-Siṃha(ha)rāj(ja)-satka-mahāntak(ka)ḥ Durggarāj(ja)**
- 3 **Chaharaka-suta(ka) dēva-Vrā(Brā)hmuṇa-rata(ka) Nandā(dā)-grāma-śhūman**
- 4 **rī-Rannā<sup>4</sup>dityadēvasya śāśna[m]dadāti | dipō(pa) ś[ka][b\*] | dhūpa(b(pa)-nāi-**
- 5 **[vā]dya-dhavalā-chū(r\*)ṅ-ādīhīhīrēyō-rthāna dēvasya<sup>5</sup> [||\*] tathā cha | satava-da[ti][h\*]**

<sup>1</sup> Above, Vol. XXII, p. 343.

<sup>2</sup> From inked impressions. In a recent note on this inscription by D. Sharma (*Facsimil*, Vol. V, No. 2, pp. 2 ff.), it is said that it was first published by B. N. Rau and then by B. C. Agrawala (*Facsimil*, Vol. V, No. 1). The articles of Rau and Agrawala are not available to me.

<sup>3</sup> Expressed by symbol.

<sup>4</sup> The name is also spelt as *Rannā* or *Rūnā*.

<sup>5</sup> Better read *eva-rēyō-rthāna dattā dēva*.

- 6 Kālīhaka[m] |\* [tathā\*] Mālhaṇa-datti[h] Chamḍḍakam |\* tathā Śrīdhara-[da]-  
 7 [ta] [h\*] kōḍārakam |\* tathā Sīla[h\*] dadāti Chālukambara-kshētra[m] ta[shā]  
 8 [Mō]chā dadāti Uḍubhā-pu[ḍi]kā[m\*] |\* [ta]thā Yavuka[h] da\*]dāti Sā .<sup>2</sup>  
 9 [jam] tathā Mātuka[h] da\*]dāti [ś]gama-kshētram |\* [tathā\*] Gugaka[h] [da\*]dāti .<sup>2</sup>  
 10 vi-kshētram |\* tathā Sāva[h\*] da[dāti kō]ḍārakam |\* tathā Vāta[h] da\*]dāti [Ā]-  
 11 ditya-sāka-paḍikā[m\*] |\* ta[thā Si]ja[h\*] [da\*]dāti Dāḍimākām(kām) .  
 12 tat=sarvaṁ Durggarājēna (dānēna yu]ktāh(ktam) | atra k[ārā]-  
 13 paka[h\*] Durggarā]-[ś] . . . . . [ga]h [Sā]vaja-suta[h]  
 14 Maruḥ Pushkara . . . . .  
 15 chandira-pu(pū)[rvah] . . . . .  
 16 hūhūh(hū)[r-vasūhā] . . . . .  
 17 [ta]ya tadī . . . . .  
 18 sū(sū)sanam . . . . .  
 19 . . . . .  
 20 . . . . .

\* The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

\* One letter is lost here.

\* Correctly, kārak.

\* This is part of the passage *Beḷḷāhīrvaṇḍā dattā rājāhā Sapa- Sūhāh* |

\* This is part of the passage *yaṇḍa yaṇḍa puḍā kāmā-ṇḍa yaṇḍa tadī phālam* |

The material for this Part was sent to the Press by  
Dr. Sircar before his retirement in June 1962.

G. S. GAI,  
*Government Epigraphist for India.*

## No. 34—SILVER COIN OF VASISHTHI-PUTRA SATAKARNI

(1. Plate)

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 29.3.1961)

Two silver coins of the Śātavāhana king Vāsiṣṭhi-putra Śātakarṇi<sup>1</sup> (second century A.D.), bearing his bust on the obverse, have so far been known. Like similar coins of Gautamī-putra Yajña-Śātakarṇi, they were imitated from the silver issues of the Śakas of Western India and were apparently meant for circulation in the northernmost areas of the Śātavāhana dominions, which had been recently reconquered from the Sakas. The first of the two coins of Vāsiṣṭhi-putra Śātakarṇi was published by A.S. Altekar in *JNSI*, Vol. XI, pp. 59 ff., Plate II, Nos. 5-6, and the second by Dinkar Rao in the same journal, Vol. XXI, pp. 9-12, Plate I, No. 4, with Altekar's comments at pp. 13-17.

The legends on the obverse and reverse of the first coin (size—round, 6<sup>6</sup>; weight—28 grains) were read by Altekar respectively as *vaṣo Vasi(hi)-putasa [Śātakarṇi]*<sup>2</sup> and *Ara[kasha] Vāsi(hi)-putasha hījya-Hatakarṇiśa* though the reading is admittedly tentative and the illustrations of the coin do not enable us to check his reading of most of the letters. But, although Altekar thought otherwise, the legends and symbols, etc., on both the silver coins of Vāsiṣṭhi-putra Śātakarṇi appear to be **identical**.

The published illustration of the **second coin**, now in the possession of Mr. Rao of Hyderabad, is quite unsatisfactory. But recently Mr. A. N. Lahiri, Senior Epigraphical Assistant in my office, visited Hyderabad where he met Rao and prepared some good plaster casts of the coin, which he kindly placed at my disposal for examination. It is a matter of gratification to me that I am now in a position to point out the errors in the published readings of the legends on this coin and in their interpretations. Its **reverse legend**, which has not yet been correctly read and interpreted, is of **great importance** as it not only helps us in restoring a damaged word in the legend on the reverse of the similar coins of Yajña-Śātakarṇi<sup>3</sup> but also throws new light on the **Dravidian language and alphabet** of about the second century A.D. Two eye-copies of this legend, one prepared by Rao and another by Altekar, have been published in *JNSI*, Vol. XXI, p. 13. Neither of them is true to the original, though Rao's copy is closer to the original than Altekar's.

The **obverse** of the coin exhibits the bust of the king to right and circular legend in normal Brāhmī characters of about the second century A.D., above the back of the head and to the front of the bust. This legend was read by Rao as *sri-Śātakarṇas vaṣo Vāsi(hi)-putasa*. Although the arrangement of the words in the legend looks like the above, we are inclined to read the right

<sup>1</sup> This name is spelt as both *Śātakarṇi* and *Sātakarṇi* while the name of the family, to which the kings bearing this name belonged, is spelt both as *Sātakarṇas* and as *Śātavāhana*.

<sup>2</sup> Probably *sri* has been omitted before the name by Altekar. Macron over *s* and *o* has not been used in this article.

<sup>3</sup> The legends on the obverse and reverse of Yajña-Śātakarṇi's coins were read by Rayson as *vaṣo Gotama-putasa sri-Yajña-Śātakarṇiśa* and.....*vaṣa Gotama-putasha hījya-Hatakarṇiśa* respectively *Catalogue*, p. 45.

half beginning from XII (*māo Vāsiṭhī-putam*) before the left half ending at XII (*viri-Sātakarṇi*) since this is the case with the reverse legend. We therefore read *raṭo Vāsiṭhī-putasa viri-Sātakarṇi* (Sanskrit *vāsiṭhī-putrasya viri-Sātakarṇeḥ*). [This is the coin] of the illustrious Sātakarṇi, the son of Vāsiabṭhi (i.e., a lady belonging to a family of the Vāsiṭhī-gotra).<sup>1</sup> This is also what Rapson has done in respect of the obverse and reverse legends of the silver coins of Yājña-Sātakarṇi.<sup>2</sup>

The reverse of the coin exhibits a number of symbols and circular legend in Southern Brāhmi characters along the border. This legend has been read by Rao as *Arihayaṣa vāla-danḍa-dhā-Kaṇṇa viri-Hātakaṇṇiṣa*. He explains *arihaya* as 'the killer of enemies', *vāla-danḍa-dhā* as 'one who holds swords and sceptre' and *Kaṇṇa* as standing for *Kṛishṇa* which, in his opinion, may have been a secondary name of the king in question or indicate 'one who is like Kṛishṇa'. The difficulty in accepting Rao's interpretation of *vāla-danḍa-dhā* has been pointed out by Altekar. But the said reading of the passage is also impossible and Rao's reading and interpretation of *arihaya* and his explanation of *Kaṇṇa* are equally unsatisfactory.

Altekar reads the legend on the reverse of the coin as *Viri-Hātakaṇṇiṣa arahaṣa Vāsiṭha-Shathakarṇiṣa* explained as '[Coin of] the worshipful Vāsiṭha (or Vāsiṭhī, i.e., Vāsiṭhīputra) Sātakarṇi of the respectable Sātakarṇi [dynasty]'. But this is as **unsatisfactory** as Rao's reading and interpretation.

In the first place, it is impossible to believe that the same name has been written here once as *Hātakaṇṇi* and for a second time as *Shāthakarṇi*.

Secondly, it is not explained why, in *Shathakarṇiṣa*, *sh* at the beginning has a form altogether different from that of the same letter at the end.

Thirdly, the name of the family, to which the issuer of the coin belonged, was Sātavāhana and not Sātakarṇi.

Fourthly, Altekar says, 'The legend also shows the Tamilian practice of changing *ta* into *tha* in the word *Shāthakarṇiṣa*'. But his reference to a Tamil practice in support of the change of *t* to *th* is due entirely to misunderstanding. The Tamil alphabet has only *t* for the four letters *t*, *th*, *ḍ* and *ḍh* of the Sanskrit alphabet and likewise *ṭ* for *ṭ*, *ṭh*, *ḍ* and *ḍh*, though intervocal *t* and *ṭ* are pronounced as *ḍ* and *ḍ̣* respectively. The Tamil practice, which Altekar has misunderstood, is really that, when Tamil words or names are written in Roman characters, the sounds of *t* and *ḍ* are reproduced respectively by *th* and *dh* only to distinguish them from those of *ṭ* and *ḍ̣* which are written in English by *t* and *ḍ* respectively.<sup>3</sup>

Fifthly, in Altekar's opinion, *Vāsiṭha* or *Vāsiṭhī* is an abridged form of *Vāsiṭhī-putra*. Since, however, the words *Vāsiṭha* or *Vāsiṭhī* (a man or woman belonging to the Vāsiṭhī-gotra) and *Vāsiṭhī-putra* (a man born of a lady belonging to a family of the Vāsiṭhī-gotra) have significantly different meanings, we have doubts whether a sensible and responsible mint-master could have used the former in the sense of the latter.

Sixthly, Altekar's interpretation of *arahaṣa* as *arahaṣa*, 'the worshipful one', does not appear to be happy, because *arahaṣa* really means 'worship' and not 'worshipful'.

<sup>1</sup> Catalogue, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> Altekar thinks that the mint-officer hailed from the Tamil country and that, after having spelt *Sātavāhana* as *Sātāhāṇiṣa*, 'he then perhaps realised that that was not the pronunciation in his master's dominions and so he spelt the word the second time as *Hātāhāṇiṣa*' (op. cit., p. 15). Apart from the quite unconvincing nature of the conjecture, it may be pointed out that, in the legend as read by Altekar and quoted above, the word *Hātāhāṇiṣa* appears first and *Shāthakarṇiṣa* later.



In our opinion, Rapson was perfectly right in thinking that the legends on the obverse and reverse of the similar coins of Yajña-Sātakarṇi differ only in script and phonology but are identical in contents<sup>1</sup> while Altekar is certainly wrong in thinking that the legends of the present coin offer a phenomenon quite different from those of the coins of Yajña-Sātakarṇi and that the obverse legend on it 'is considerably different' in contents from the legend on the reverse.<sup>2</sup>

The passage, which both Rao and Altekar have read wrongly, is quite clearly *Vah(i)ṭṭi-māka-gasha* and is certainly not *vāladayādhā-Kaṇṇṇā* or *Vāhi(ha-Shathakayasha* which are both meaningless.

As we have seen, the obverse legend of the coin under study reads *raño Vāsishṭhi-putasa siri-Sātakarṇisa* (Sanskrit *vāṣiṣṭhī-putrasya śrī-Sātakarṇiḥ*), '[This is the coin] of the illustrious king Sātakarṇi, son of Vāsishṭhi'. There is no doubt that this legend in Sanskrit or Prakrit was translated into Dravidian Prakrit in the reverse legend which in our opinion clearly reads: *araha-gasha Vah(i)ṭṭi-māka-gasha tiru-Hātakaṇiḥa*. In this, *sha* is used for *sa* to indicate the sixth case-ending while *arahaṇa* and *mākaṇa* are derived from Dravidian words meaning 'king' and 'son' respectively. Rapson rightly conjectured that the word in five or six syllables on the reverse of Yajña-Sātakarṇi's coins, which Bhagwanlal Indraji wrongly read as *Chaturapanasha* though he was himself sure only of its last two aksharas (viz. *asha*), was probably equivalent to *raño*.<sup>3</sup>

The first of the two words is equivalent to Tamil and Malayalam *arachaṇ* or *arachaṇ*; Kannada *arasa*, *arasa*; Tulu *arasa*. In this word, viz. *arahaṇa*, *ha* represents the change of *s* or *ś* to *h* as in *Sātakarṇi* or *Sātakarṇi* modified to *Hātakaṇi*; cf. also the change of Sanskrit *śrī*-Prakrit *siri* to *hiru* on the coins of Yajña-Sātakarṇi. The second word stands for Tamil and Malayalam *makaṇ* (*magan*), *maka(maga)*; Kannada *magan*, *maga*, *magan*; Tulu *maga*. It will be seen that the Dravidian words ending in a final consonant have been made to end in *a* as in cases like Tamil *nir* and *mīṇ* adopted in Sanskrit as *nira* and *mīna*, the latter probably coming back to Tamil as *mīnam* (cf. Telugu *nira*, *niram*; *mīna*, *mīnam*). In *māgaṇa*, both *mā* and *ga* are intentional. It may be pointed out that the word *arahaṇa* is spelt with *v* also on the coins of Yajña-Sātakarṇi. But, even if *v* is regarded as due to a Prakrit convention, the length of the vowel in *mā* may be assigned to the original pronunciation of the word.<sup>4</sup>

*Vah(i)ṭṭi* is of course the same as Sanskrit *Vāsishṭhi*-Prakrit *Vah(i)ṭṭi* with the absence of aspiration while *tiru* is the modification of Sanskrit *śrī*-Prakrit *siri* as used in modern Tamil. The word *tiru*, as we have seen, is written as *hiru* in the reverse legend of Yajña-Sātakarṇi's coins. As regards *śrī-siri-hiru*, Rapson drew our attention to *Śāta-Śāta-Hāla* and *Śakti-Haku* as known from literary and epigraphic records relating to the Śātavāhana family.

It is interesting to note that the originals of neither of the two words of Dravidian origin used in the legend, viz., *arahaṇa*-*arahaṇa* and *makaṇa*-*mākaṇa*, are now traceable in Telugu<sup>5</sup> which appears to have been the mother-tongue of the Śātavāhana kings called Andhra in the Purāṇas. That the phonology and vocabulary of Telugu were much nearer Tamil in the second century A.D., seems also to be clear from the occurrence of the two words in the Prakrit legend on the coin

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Catalogue*, pp. xi-xcI.

<sup>2</sup> *JNSI*, Vol. XXI, p. 15.

<sup>3</sup> *Catalogue*, p. xcI.

<sup>4</sup> A Dravidian palaeographical characteristic, indicated by the Bhattiprola inscriptions (above, Vol. II, p. 324), is the representation of the consonant with the inherent *a* by an *a*-matra-like sign except when it was endowed with an anusvara. We do not think that this has any bearing on the length of *mā* especially in view of the occurrence of *mākaṇa* in a Reḥuni inscription in the Undākal cave in the Madurai District (*Proc. Trans. 3rd Or. Conf.*, Madras, 1924, p. 299).

<sup>5</sup> Cf., however, *magan* used in the sense of 'son' in Telugu inscriptions (*SIU*, Vol. X, Nos. 602, 632, etc.). As regards *arahaṇa*, A. N. Narasimha (*A Grammar of the Olden Kharosthi Inscriptions*, p. 277) gives *arasa* as a Telugu word without quoting any references.

under study. It is further clear, as already known, that Tamil has retained some of the characteristics of the original Dravidian language till the present time while greater impact of Sanskrit has caused their disappearance from Telugu.

The **palaeography** of the reverse legend exhibits close resemblance of the characters with those of the reverse legend on the similar coins of Yajña-Sātakarpi. The letters that are written in forms different from those of normal Brāhmi are *m*, *śh* and *h*. The letter *m* as reproduced by Rapson from Yajña-Sātakarpi's coins has a shorter and more angular form than the same letter on the present coin; but this lumpy form with the roundish lower limb is remarkably similar to the form of *m* as found in the Arittapatti and Arikamedu inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to say whether the modified forms of the letters, at least of *h* and *śh* which did not exist in the Dravidian language, were used to indicate a modification in the sounds. We have seen that *s* in Prakrit *sira* has been represented by *h* and *t* while, in Prakrit *Sīhakoṣṭha*, the first *s* is represented by *h* and the second by *śh* although the sound of neither existed in Dravidian. It is not impossible that the letter *h* represented a half aspirate and *śh* the Dravidian *ch-s* (a sound like *ts*).

But the more important **palaeographical feature** of the legend under study is the dot placed to the right of *t* in *Vatatti* to indicate final *t*. This sign, called *puṭṭi* in Tamil and now universally used only in Tamil amongst the alphabets of the Dravidian group of languages, is indicated by a dot above the consonant. It is found in Tamil inscriptions only rarely from about the 7th century A.D.<sup>2</sup> That the fashion of indicating the final consonant by a *puṭṭi* was known in Tamil writing in still earlier times is indicated by the *Takkippayam* which does not appear to belong to a date later than the 5th century A.D.<sup>3</sup> But the present coin not only shows that the fashion was known in the second century A.D. but also that it was originally used in writing other languages of the Dravidian group such as early Telugu. Although the *puṭṭi* is now put above a letter in Tamil writing, the dot is placed to the right of the consonant in the legend of our coin probably to distinguish this sign of a final consonant from the usual *śaśvira* mark. Thus the *puṭṭi* may have been put to the right of the consonant in the early centuries of the Christian era.

King **Vāsishṭhi-putra Sātakarpi** who issued the coin under study is known from the Kanheri inscription<sup>4</sup> of his queen who was a daughter of the Śaka *Mahāśakabhojya* Rudradāman I (c. 130-50 A.D.). As we have suggested elsewhere,<sup>5</sup> he was apparently a co-uterine brother of Vāsishṭhi-putra Puṣumāvi, son of Gautami-putra Sātakarpi (c. 106-59 A.D.), and was not identical with Puṣumāvi as supposed by Rapson. Because his mention in the Purāṇas is not quite clear, we formerly supposed that he may have been a viceroy of his father-in-law Rudradāman I in Aparānta (Northern Konkan) or, if he ruled as a king, the said tract may have been conquered by him after Rudradāman's death.<sup>6</sup> But the issue of the coins would suggest that he ruled as a king for some time. Since he appears to have succeeded in conquering the Aparānta area of the Śaka kingdom after the middle of the second century A.D., he must have been a successor of Puṣumāvi.<sup>7</sup> Before the discovery of Vāsishṭhi-putra Sātakarpi's silver coins, the Śāsterāhama conquest

<sup>1</sup> See *Aspects of India*, No. 2, p. 110; cf. the shorter form of the letter with roundish bottom in the inscriptions from Madurai, Sittannaval and various places in the Tirunelveli District other than Arittapatti.

<sup>2</sup> See T. N. Subramaniam, *SITJ*, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 1340-41.

<sup>3</sup> See *Sātra* 15 stating that 'a pure consonant will have a dot added to it'; cf. T. N. Subramaniam, *op. cit.*, p. 1508.

<sup>4</sup> See Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. 4, No. 17.

<sup>5</sup> *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 208.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> If the name of Puṣumāvi has been correctly read on a silver coin of this same type as ours published in *JNSI*, Vol. XIV, pp. 1-3, Plate I, Nos. 1-2, it is possible to ascribe the reconquest of Aparānta to Puṣumāvi (c. 130-59 A.D.) himself about the end of his reign. Vāsishṭhi-putra Sātakarpi may be identical with Puṣumāvi's successor Sivaśi Sātakarpi of the Purāṇas and Vāsishṭhi-putra Sivaśi Sātakarpi of coins. Cf. Rapson, *op. cit.*, pp. ixvii (No. 25), 29.

SILVER COIN OF VASISHTHI-PUTRA SATAKARNI

Enlarged



(from Photograph)



of Aparānta from the successors of Rudradāman I was ascribed to Yajña-Sātakarṇi<sup>1</sup> who ruled about the close of the second century A.D. It should also be remembered that the Śaka-type silver coins of the successors of Gautami-putra Sātakarṇi may have been meant for circulation primarily in the Nasik-Poona region, which had been conquered by that king from the Kahakarāta-Sakas but was not reconquered by the Kārdamaka-Sakas, though Aparānta also very soon passed once again to the Later Śātavāhanas.

The use of the Dravidian script and the Dravidian Prakrit (resembling Tamil more than Telugu) in the legend of this and a few other Śātavāhana silver issues belonging to Yajña-Sātakarṇi is very interesting. As we have seen, the Śātavāhana kings were Andhras while wide areas of the present-day Telugu-speaking tract inhabited by the people called Āndhras formed parts of their dominions. They may or may not have ruled over any part of the land where the Tamil language is now spoken. Apparently Telugu, which was in olden times closer to Tamil than it is now, was the mother tongue of the Śātavāhanas and they wanted to exhibit their Dravidian character by using an admixture of that language and Sanskritic Prakrit in the reverse legend on their coins meant for circulation in the northernmost provinces conquered from the Śakas. The real reason for their eagerness to exhibit their Dravidianism in the said area, where the coins of the Śakas were in popular use, cannot be determined.

On the inadequate evidence of Yajña-Sātakarṇi's silver coins, Rapson suggested that the occurrence of the 'local Prakrit, perhaps containing Dravidian elements, peculiar to the Kistna District', 'like that of the alphabet associated with it, on the coins of Śri-Yajña struck in Western India must, no doubt, be regarded as a reminiscence of the old home of the race in the Telugu country and may be compared to the use of Kharoṣṭhi on the coins of Bhūmaka, Nahapāna and Caastana'.<sup>2</sup> There are, however, some difficulties in accepting this view. Firstly, it does not explain why this dialect and alphabet are found only in a few issues of the Later Śātavāhanas, which were specially meant for circulation in a limited area in the northern part of their dominions. Secondly, there is little evidence that the original home of the Śātavāhana dynasty was in the Krishna District while there is some evidence to show that the Andhra people moved southwards to the present-day Telugu-speaking area from the Vindhyan region.<sup>3</sup> The use of the Dravidian Prakrit and alphabet may have been more widely spread in the age in question. The show of Dravidianism only on the Śaka-type coinage of the Śātavāhanas is, however, difficult to explain without further light on the subject.

#### Description

( Silver ; round—·6" diameter ; 25 grains )

*Obverse:* Bust of the king to right ; his frizzled hair tied with a ribbon ; crest-jewel, offering a side view and looking like a flower to front, above the forehead ;<sup>4</sup> legend in two parts above the back of the head and to the front of the bust ; the right part beginning from XII reads : *vaṣo Vāsi(hīpa)(tasa)*, and the left part beginning at VIII and ending at XII reads : *siri-Sātakarṇi*.

<sup>1</sup> *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 208. For his inscriptions at Kanheri in Aparānta, cf. Rapson, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. xic.

<sup>3</sup> *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 104.

<sup>4</sup> Rao thinks that the king's frizzled curly hair is 'tied in a knot by a decorative ribbon at the centre of his forehead in a peculiar style, so as to form a round ball resembling a flower bouquet'. But Altekar points out that the said object can also be a crest jewel'. He also doubts whether 'frizzled hair can be tied in a knot', though Rao probably means a knot of the ribbon and not the hair. The object is, however, clearly a flower design and the flat position in which it is depicted shows that it offers only the side view of the decorative jewel above the king's forehead. The same object is also found above the forehead of the king on the similar coins of Yajña-Sātakarṇi.

*Reverse* : Ujjayini symbol surmounted by a crescent to the left and six-peaked hill surmounted by a crescent to the right ; wavy line below and rayed sun between the two crescents above ; continuous circular legend around starting from and ending at XII : *śaśakāśaka Vah[ī]ṣṭi-mākanāśaka tva-Hātakāśaka*.

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No. 35—MALLESVARAM INSCRIPTION OF TRAILOKYAMALLA, SAKA 973

( I Plate )

G. S. GAI, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 3.3.1961)

The inscription edited below was copied by me in December 1960 at **Mallesvaram** in the Kollapur Taluk of Mahabubnagar District, Andhra Pradesh. The epigraph is engraved on three sides of a **pillar** set up in the compound of the Agastheshvaram temple, situated about a mile from the village on the banks of the Krishna river. The temple is built in what is known as the Chalukyan style of architecture. Besides the present record, there are other inscriptions in the temple belonging to the time of Chalukya Jagadekamalla (Jayasinha II, 1016-1044 A.D.) and Tribhuvanamalla (Vikramaditya VI, 1076-1126 A.D.) and the Kakatiya king Prataparudra II (1200-1326 A.D.).

The first side of the pillar containing the inscription under study bears at the top the figure of a **linga** below which is a bull (*Nandin*) sitting and facing proper left. The record commences immediately below this figure of the bull. The first side contains 22 lines, the second 26 lines and the third 15 lines. Thus there are altogether 63 lines. The left end of the first side of the pillar has suffered some damage resulting in the loss of one letter at the beginning of each line in lines 1-18. Similarly, the right-hand edge of the second side has been damaged affecting one or two letters in each line. These letters can, however, be restored from the context without any difficulty.

The **characters** of the record belong to the Telugu-Kannada alphabet and are quite regular for the period to which the epigraph purports to belong, viz., the **middle of the eleventh century A.D.** The language is Kannada prose except the three benedictory and imprecatory verses at the end which are in Sanskrit. The **orthography** does not call for any special remarks, except that Sanskrit *l* is spelt as *l* in words like *Lala-talakuni* (line 5), *Trailokyas*<sup>2</sup> (line 7), *mahanayadalesvaran* (lines 14, 31), *Chalukya* (line 19), *kale kale palanig* (lines 54-55) which feature is quite common in Kannada inscriptions.

The inscription is dated **Saka 973, Khara, Karttika ba. 7, Sunday**. According to S. K. Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, the week-day, i.e. Sunday, coincided with the *tithi* ba. 6 instead of ba. 7 and corresponded to **27th October 1051 A.D.** The record belongs to the reign of **Trailokyamalladeva** (Samaivara I, 1044-68 A.D.) of the Western Chalukya family of Kalyana.

The **object** of the inscription is to register the gift, made on the date discussed above, by prince (*kumara*) **Vijayaditya** and **Majjaladevi** to the temple of god Agastheshvara. The temple is known by the same name even today. The gift was entrusted to Vidhishvara-pandita and consisted of two villages the names of which appear to read Pimmanah or Banmanah and Pittugah or Battugah.<sup>2</sup> These villages are stated to have been situated in Estapi-90 which was a *Samana* or division of Vaddevayi-500 in the Kamur *manu* or province. The gift is stated to have been made on the occasion of the bath (*manu*) at Agara-tirtha.

<sup>2</sup> The difference in the reading of the first letter is due to the fact that *P* and *B* look alike. It is possible to take these two donated villages as representing a single place-name. But since the donors are two, it's better to take them as two names, one donated by Vijayaditya and the other by Majjaladevi.

Majjaladēvi was one of the queens of Sōmēvara I and some records style her as the chief queen (*prīyaparā*).<sup>1</sup> Prince (*kumāra*) Vijayāditya, who is mentioned as a donor in association with Majjaladēvi, is introduced in lines 11-33 with a string of feudatory and other titles. Among the feudatory titles may be noted *ta-pāda-pada-ōpajīvi*, *samadhigata-pānchamahālabhā*, *Mahā-manjajīvara* and *Traisīkyanulladēva-pāda-parīkṣa-lhromara*. It is a matter of common knowledge that the princes and other blood-relatives of the ruling sovereign, appointed as governors of some territory, were endowed with such feudatory titles.<sup>2</sup> We are, however, not told in the present record as to which territory prince Vijayāditya was governing as *Mahāmanjajīvara*. The other epithets associated with this prince in the record are: *Vīra-Mahāśvara*, *ayyana-siṅga*, *vīkrānta-siṅga*, *vairī-mada-mardana*, *pralāpa-Janārdana*, *achūṭa-vākyā*, *Chālukya-māyūkyā*, *vijayāntī-kēṭi-sūdana*, *abhīnava-Madana*, *vijalaha-kula-lāla-dāyana*, *vīra-mārttāyana*, *dīn-śvātha-chīntāma*, *manjalika-chādāmani*, *ari-rāya-kumāra-kridaya-sellam* and *sāhasamallam*.

The importance of the epigraph under study lies in the fact that it helps us in establishing the identity of Vijayāditya. The expressions *kumāra*, *Chālukya-māyūkyā*, 'a ruby of the Chālukyas', and *ayyana-siṅga*, 'a lion or champion of his father', coupled with the fact that he made the grant in association with Majjaladēvi, a queen of Sōmēvara I, indicate that he was a son of Sōmēvara I, probably born of that queen. We know that Sōmēvara I had at least three sons, viz. Sōmēvara II (1068-76 A.D.), Vikramāditya VI (1076-1126 A.D.) and Jayasīma IV\* (did not ascend the throne). But there is some controversy on the question whether Sōmēvara I had a fourth son called Vijayāditya or Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya.

There are a number of inscriptions<sup>4</sup> belonging to the reign of Sōmēvara I which refer to a certain Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya-mahārāja as the son and feudatory of the ruling king. The terms used in giving his relationship to Sōmēvara I are *naudana sūna*, *putra* and *maga*, all meaning 'a son'. This feudatory is endowed with the titles *Sarvalōkāraya* and *Vāṅgimayadātāvara*. In 1891, when Fleet knew of only one such inscription,<sup>5</sup> he was inclined to regard, on account of the titles *Sarvalōkāraya* and *Vāṅgimayadātāvara* associated with the name Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya, that the latter must have been of Eastern Chālukya descent and that the term *naudana*, which was used through courtesy, need not be understood literally.<sup>6</sup> He was, however, careful enough, even then, to observe that the fact that, in an inscription dated in 1064-65 A. D., Jayasīma IV is described as 'born in the Pallava lineage' and as having the title of 'lord of Kāñchi, the best of cities', may be used as an argument that Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya was in reality a son of Sōmēvara I.<sup>7</sup> Later, in 1896-97, while editing the Jaiṅga-Rāmēvara hill inscription<sup>8</sup> of Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya dated in 1064 A. D., the same scholar observed, "The terms used to denote the relationship of Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya to Sōmēvara I, are *maga* here and *naudana* in his Dāvagere inscription... Elsewhere, and at a time when I knew of only the Dāvagere record, I questioned the literal applications of them in this case (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *SI*, Vol. XI, Part 1, Nos. 83 and 103.

<sup>2</sup> Sōmēvara II, the eldest son of Sōmēvara I, is introduced with such titles in the early records of the latter (*CE SI*, Vol. XI, Part 1, Nos. 84 and 102).

<sup>3</sup> In all the works on Karnatak history, this Jayasīma is referred to as Jayasīma III. But since a few records have brought to light an earlier Jayasīma in the person of a brother of Sōmēvara I (above, Vol. XXXV, pp. 37 ff), Jayasīma, son of Sōmēvara I, should now be called Jayasīma IV.

<sup>4</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Dāvagere 11 and Chitālding 47; above Vol. IV, pp. 212 ff; *SI*, Vol. VI, Nos. 574-78; Vol. IX, Part 1, No. 126.

<sup>5</sup> *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Dāvagere 11.

<sup>6</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, pp. 377-78; cf. also *SI*, Vol. III, p. 65.

<sup>7</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>8</sup> Above, Vol. IV, pp. 213 ff.



pp. 277 f.)..... Facts have come to light, however, which show that certain titles which, one would imagine, would only go by line of descent, occasionally accompanied investiture with provincial authority. And, on mature consideration, I think that the terms *maga* and *saudana* should be accepted literally.<sup>1</sup>

Thus, although Fleet himself revised, on mature consideration, his opinion regarding the identity of Vishnupardhana-Vijayāditya, some scholars continued to hold the view that he was a member of the Eastern Chālukya house of Vāṅgi. In the *Annual Report for South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1924-25, pp. 75-76, it has been stated that Vishnupardhana-Vijayāditya mentioned as the son and feudatory of Sōmēśvara I was an Eastern Chālukya prince who was a viceroys under the Western Chālukya monarch.

N. Venkataramanayya has dealt with this problem at great length in his book, *The Eastern Chālukyas of Vāṅgi* (1950), pp. 250 ff.<sup>2</sup> Disagreeing with Fleet, he has arrived at the conclusion that Vishnupardhana-Vijayāditya, mentioned as the son and feudatory of Sōmēśvara I, should be identified with the Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya VII of Vāṅgi.<sup>3</sup> His arguments may be summed up as follows: (1) The titles such as *Sarvalōkāśraya*, *Vāṅgimavalalēśvara*, *Chālukya-māyāya*, etc., borne by this prince (mentioned in the records of the time of Sōmēśvara I) distinctly point to his Eastern Chālukya origin. (2) The terms *putra*, *saudana*, *sānu*, *magā*, etc., are very wide in their application and are employed to denote several kinds of relationship besides one's own male issue. Hence the evidence of these terms is not quite conclusive. (3) The contemporary inscriptions, other than those under reference, and Bilhaya's *Vikramāṅkadēvacharita*, while enumerating the sons of Sōmēśvara I, omit the name of Vijayāditya. (4) Vāṅgi was in the hands of the Western Chālukyas from the beginning of the reign of Rājāśhirāja I, i.e. 1044 A.D., down to 1067 A.D. On the death of the Eastern Chālukya prince Rājārāja I in 1061 A.D., Vijayāditya VII seized the Vāṅgi throne with the approval of Sōmēśvara I and remained, like his namesake described as the son of Sōmēśvara I, a vassal of the Western Chālukya monarch. (5) Both of them had the double name Vishnupardhana-Vijayāditya. (6) No title indicative of the position of the *sāmānta* is associated with either of their names. While the *sāmāntas*, the princes of the blood and even the heirs-presumptive are invariably styled *samadhigata-pācha-mahāsābda*, this title is conspicuous by its absence in the *prāsastis* of both the Vishnupardhana-Vijayādityas. Both of them are called *Mahārāja*. Therefore the so-called son of Sōmēśvara was not a mere *sāmānta* but a subordinate ally, superior in status even to the princes of the blood.

It is not possible to agree either with the arguments or with the conclusion of Venkataramanayya. Let us consider the value of his arguments. But before doing so, we may point out that prince Vijayāditya of the epigraph under study is the same as Vishnupardhana-Vijayāditya, described specifically as the son and feudatory of Sōmēśvara I in some records referred to above and only as a feudatory in others and as ruling over Nōjambavāḍi or the adjoining territory.<sup>4</sup> For almost all the fifteen epithets, associated with the prince in our record and listed above, are also found attributed to Vishnupardhana-Vijayāditya, son of Sōmēśvara I.<sup>5</sup> (1) Venkataramanayya

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 212, note 3; *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 454, note 5; also cf. *SII*, Vol. III, p. 128, note 9.

<sup>2</sup> D. C. Ganguly does not discuss this question in his book, *The Eastern Chālukyas*, nor is there any reference to it in the chapter on Eastern Chālukyas in *The Struggle for Empire*, p. 294.

<sup>3</sup> K. A. Nilakanta Sastri did not accept the identification of the two Vijayādityas in the first edition of his book, *The Chōlas*, Vol. I, pp. 341-43. But in the revised edition (1955, p. 287), he seems to have changed his opinion apparently under the influence of N. Venkataramanayya's arguments, and appears to uphold the identification.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *SII*, Vol. IX, Part I, Nos. 127-29; *Ep. Car.*, Vol. XI, Dāvanagere 141.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *SII*, Vol. VI, Nos. 574-75; Vol. IX, Part I, Nos. 126-28.

attaches too much importance to the titles *Sasralakṣṛaya* and *Vāṅgimayādāśvara*. Both these titles are absent in our record. The former is only a general title like *Somastabhucandāśraya* while the title *Vāṅgimayādāśvara* appears to indicate only a formal investiture of provincial authority on the royal prince by Sōmēśvara I. It may be pointed out, in this connection, that Sōmēśvara II, the eldest son of Sōmēśvara I, was also endowed with the title *Vāṅgipuravarēśvara* in the records<sup>1</sup> of the time of his father while his brother Jayasinha IV was called *Kāñchīpuravarēśvara*.<sup>2</sup> And what is more important is the fact that Vishnupardhana-Vijayāditya himself bears the title *Kāñchīpuravarēśvara* in our record, as will be shown below. Moreover, neither the title *Vāṅgimayādāśvara* or *Vāṅgipuravarēśvara* nor any of the epithets enumerated in the list given above is associated with the name of the Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya VII either in his own records or in any other inscriptions of his family. (2) The terms *manlana*, *sūna*, *putra* and *moga* used to indicate the relationship of Vijayāditya to Sōmēśvara I should *prima facie* be understood, as has been done by Fleet, in their real sense unless there is enough evidence to prove the contrary. (3) The omission of Vijayāditya's name in Bilhana's *Vīrasaṅgādēśvaracharita* and in some epigraphical records is only an *argumentum ex silentio* and cannot exclude the possibility of Sōmēśvara I having a fourth son in the person of Vijayāditya. It may be observed in this connection that only a few records reveal the existence of a brother of Sōmēśvara I in the person of Jayasinha while the rest of them omit his name.<sup>3</sup> The omission of Vijayāditya's name in some records may be due to the fact that he was born of queen Mājjaladēvi while the remaining three brothers were born to another queen named Bāhuladēvi. (4-5) That the Eastern Chālukya ruler Vishnupardhana-Vijayāditya secured the Vēṅgī throne in 1060-61 with the help of Sōmēśvara I and that he had the double name are no grounds for excluding the possibility of Sōmēśvara I having a son called Vishnupardhana-Vijayāditya. (6) Some of the records<sup>4</sup> consulted by Venkataramanayya himself use the expression *tat-pāda-padm-ōpajivi* and *tat-pāda-padm-ārūdhata* and *manjūlikā-chōḷāmaṅgi* which clearly indicate as much a feudatory status as the expression *samadhigata-pāñcha-mahārāja*. Further, our inscription introduces Vijayāditya with both the titles *tat-pāda-padm-ōpajivi* and *samadhigata-pāñcha-mahārāja*. And the title *Mahārāja* associated with this Vijayāditya indicates nothing. Some members of the Telugu-Chōḷa family, who were governing the Karnool and Anantapur area as local chiefs under the Western Chālukya kings, also bore this epithet, e.g. Chiddāya-Chōḷa-mahārāja and Bijjāya-Chōḷa-mahārāja.<sup>5</sup>

A damaged inscription<sup>6</sup> from Niralgi in the Dharwar District belonging to the reign of Sōmēśvara II and dated in 1074 A.D. seems to refer to his brothers Vikramāditya VI and Vishnupardhana-Vijayāditya, the latter with the titles *Kāñchīpuravarēśvara* and *Bhuvanāśimalla-Pallava-Pernānaḍi* which are usually found associated with Jayasinha IV. The preserved portion of the name reads as *Vi... [ja]yāditya* and the damaged portion has just enough space for the letters *shunpardhana-Vi*. Although Fleet has drawn attention to the existence of this record,<sup>7</sup> Venkataramanayya has ignored it probably because the date 1074 A.D. for Vijayāditya goes against the theory of his identification with the Eastern Chālukya king of the same name.

<sup>1</sup> *SII*, Vol. XI, Part I, Nos. 84 and 102.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 110.

<sup>3</sup> See above, Vol. XXXV, p. 20.

<sup>4</sup> *SII*, Vol. VI, No. 375; *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 123; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XI, Davanagere 141.

<sup>5</sup> See *SII*, Vol. IX, Part I, No. 123 and *Journ. Andhra Hist. Res. Soc.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 60.

<sup>6</sup> *A. R. Ep.*, 1946-47, No. B-227.

<sup>7</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, op. cit., p. 444, note I and p. 454.

Thus the above discussion would make it clear that prince Vijayāditya of the inscription under study as well as Vishnuvardhana-Vijayāditya mentioned in other Western Chālukya records is none else than a fourth son of Sōmēśvara I and that he cannot be identified with the Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya VII.<sup>1</sup> Incidentally our epigraph supplies the earliest known date for Vijayāditya, viz. 1051 A.D.

There is a difference of opinion amongst scholars regarding the identity of poet Kirtivarman, the author of the Kannaḍa work *Gōvaidya*. In this work as well as in another work called *Saṃsya-parikāṣe* by Brahmasīva, Kirtivarman is called *varēndra*, *jagatnātha* and *dharaṇīpati* while his father is stated to have been king Trailōkyamalla and elder brother Vikramākanarēndra. From this description R. Narasimhaachar suggested<sup>2</sup> that Kirtivarman must be identified either with Jayasinha IV or Vishnuvardhana-Vijayāditya who were the sons of Sōmēśvara I. He also thought that the poet lived about 1100 A.D. On the ground that no son of Sōmēśvara I named Kirtivarman is known from any other source, A. Venkatasubbiah disagreed with the above view and suggested that Kirtivarman might have been only a feudatory of Sōmēśvara I and that the terms indicating his relationship to this Chālukya monarch as well as to Vikramāditya VI should not be understood in their literal sense.<sup>3</sup> In this connection, N. L. Rao<sup>4</sup> has drawn the attention of scholars to a verse occurring in an undated inscription<sup>5</sup> of the time of Tribhuvanamalladeva or Vikramāditya VI. The verse reads as follows:

*Manu-sat-Ahucamalladeva dharitricallabhan-Sūmidēva Perumānaja-Vikramākanana  
Nolanubādhitvara-Singidē |*

*rama Bēngipati-Vishnuvardhana-dharādhitān-ara-Kirtivarmanā rājyabē-abhivēddhiy-akē  
śubhanvākē-ī-chandra-tīranbaram |*

<sup>1</sup> The career of this Vijayāditya VII as chalked out by Venkataramanayya is something as follows. On the death of his father Vimalāditya in 1019 A.D., he tried to seize the Vēngi throne from his half-brother Rājārāja I, but, failing in his attempt, went into exile in the Kalinga kingdom; later he took refuge in the Western Chālukya territory and seized the Vēngi throne in 1031 A.D. and was again dislodged within a short period. He then returned to the Western Chālukya kingdom where he was appointed, during the reign of Sōmēśvara I, as the governor of the Nolambavāḍi province and assumed many titles like *Chālukya-mahākya*, *Ayyana-naga*, etc., and described himself as the son of Sōmēśvara I. On the death of Rājārāja I in 1061 A.D., he once again seized the Vēngi throne but appointed his son Śaktivarman II as the ruler of Vēngi, himself preferring to remain in the Western Chālukya kingdom. Though his son died after a rule of one year, he appointed his ministers to carry on the administration of the Vēngi kingdom and himself continued to be the governor of Nolambavāḍi under Sōmēśvara I. He was finally permitted by Sōmēśvara I to leave Nolambavāḍi and return to his country shortly after 1066 A.D. when the Chōla monarch Virarājendra invaded Vēngi. He submitted to the Chōla king who bestowed on him the Vēngi kingdom in preference to his own nephew and heir-apparent Rājendra, son of Rājārāja I. Soon after this, Vikramāditya VI, son of Sōmēśvara I, marched through Vēngi and Vijayāditya VII repudiated his agreement with the Chōla king and joined the Western Chālukyas. The Chōla king re-conquered Vēngi in 1067 A.D. and expelled Vijayāditya VII from the Vēngi kingdom for his act of treachery. This time Vijayāditya VII sought refuge at the court of the Kalinga king Rājārāja I Devēndravarmān. He was, however, restored to the Vēngi throne sometime before 1072 A.D., when the then ruling king Rājendra left Vēngi to become the Chōla monarch under the name of Kulōttunga-Chōla. Shortly afterwards the Vēngi country was invaded by the Chōla and Eastern Gāṅga kings and Vijayāditya VII, as last, died in 1076 A.D.

Apart from the fact that the suggested identification of Vijayāditya VII with the homonymous son of Sōmēśvara I has been shown to be wrong, such an unheard of career for a king can hardly convince any serious student of history. Besides, there are many discrepancies in the dates in the above account.

<sup>2</sup> *Karāṭṭaka Kavi Charita* (Kannaḍa), Vol. I (revised edition), pp. 129 ff. and correction to first Volume, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Kelusa Kannaḍa Kavipala Jinnakāḍavichāra*, p. 206.

<sup>4</sup> *Kannaḍa Śāhitya Parichat Patrika*, Vol. 28, Part 1, pp. 1-4.

<sup>5</sup> *SIH*, Vol. IX, Part 1, No. 220.

As pointed out by Rao, the verse refers to the four sons of Sōmēśvara I and shows clearly that not only *Bhūgipati* Vishṇuvardhana, elsewhere called Vijayāditya or Vishṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya, was a fourth son of Sōmēśvara I but also that he was the same as the poet Kirtivarman who, as pointed out above, was endowed with royal epithets like *varāndra* and *dharaṅgipati*.<sup>1</sup>

As already stated, the epigraph containing the verse discussed above belongs to the reign of Vikramāditya VI but is not dated. It is not possible to say whether Vijayāditya was alive at the time of this record. Assuming that the record belongs to the early part of Vikramāditya's reign and that Vijayāditya was then alive, Rao has roughly assigned the latter to the period 1060-80 A.D.<sup>2</sup> But we now know from the present inscription that Vijayāditya lived as early as 1051 A.D. Therefore we may assign him approximately to the period 1050 A.D. to 1080 A.D.

The geographical names mentioned in the inscription are the villages of Pinmanah or Banmanah and Piṭṭugamah or Baṭṭugamah, Ettapi-90 in which the donated villages were located, Vaḍḍavani-500 of which Ettapi-90 was a *kaṣṭapa* or division, Kandūr-nāḍu which comprised Vaḍḍavani-500 division and Ānāra-tīrtha. Kandūr-nāḍu may be identified with the area round about modern Kandur in Wanaparti Taluk of Mahabubnagar District, which is situated at a distance of about 35 miles north-north-east of Mallēsvaram, the find-spot of the record under review. Vaḍḍavani-500 may be modern Waddemani, about 15 miles east-south-east of Kandur. Ettapi-90 is apparently the same as Yetham, about 15 miles to the north of Mallēsvaram. I am unable to identify the remaining places.<sup>3</sup>

#### TEXT\*

##### *First side*

- 1 [Śva]sti [!]\* Samasta-bhuvan-[ā]-
- 2 [ra]ya-śri-prithvi<sup>†</sup>vallaḥha-
- 3 [mahā]rājādhirāja-paramē-
- 4 [śvara]-paramabhaḥṣarakam Sa-
- 5 [tyā]śraya-kuja-tijakam Ch[ś]-
- 6 [u]ky-ābharanam śrīma-
- 7 [r-Trai]śōkyamalladēvara vi-
- 8 [ja]yarājyam=uttar-ōtta-
- 9 [r-ā]bhivridhdhi<sup>‡</sup>-pravandhdha<sup>‡</sup>mā[na]-

<sup>1</sup> For some unwarranted conjectures about this Kirtivarman, see *Prabuddha Kāvāḍaja*, Vol. 41, Part 3, pp. 61 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, cit.

<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to Shri G. Ramakrishna Sarma of Alampur for suggesting the identification of some place names.

\* From inscription.

† Read *prithvi*.

‡ Read *\*vridhdhi*.

‡ Read *prāyāśchitā*.



MALLESVARAM INSCRIPTION OF TRAILOKYAMALLA, SAKA 973

*Second Side*

*First Side*

*Third Side*



Scale : One-sixth

- 10 m=ṣ-chaṁdr-ārikks-tāraṁba-  
 11 [raṁ] saluttam-ire [i] tai-pā-  
 12 [da]-padm-ōpaṭvi samadhi-  
 13 [gata]-patticha-mā(ma)hāsabda  
 14 [mā(ma)]bhāmaṇḍaśōvara[ra] [sri(śrī)]-  
 15 [Vi]ramahēśvaran-ay[y]a-  
 16 [na]-stīngā[ra] vikrānta-tuṅga[ra] vū]-  
 17 [ri]-māda-marddanam pratā-  
 18 [pa]-janārdanāma-cha[ita]-  
 19 vākyam **Chālukya-mā-**  
 20 **vikyārā** vijaya-śrī-  
 21 kōḷi-sodanam=abhinava-  
 22 Madanam vipaksha-kuṣa-ka(kō)-

*Second Side*

- 23 [aḷi(da)ṇḍam vi(vi)ra-mārtta[ṇḍam]  
 24 [d]n-ānātha-chintāma-  
 25 [ni] maṇḍa[ika-ohūḍā[ma]-  
 26 [ui] ari-rāya-kumā[ra]-  
 27 [hri]daya-sella[ra] sāha[sa]-  
 28 [ma]lla[ra] śrīma[ra]-Trailō-  
 29 [kya]malladēva-pāda-[paṭ]-  
 30 kaja-pra(bhā)marā śrī-  
 31 man-mahāmaṇḍaśōva[raṁ]  
 32 kumāra-**Vijayā[di]-**  
 33 tyadēvarurā śrīma[n-Mai]-  
 34 [aladēviyarurā A[ga]-  
 35 atēvarada cha(chā)trakke [Vi]-  
 36 dhēvara-panḍitaroge **Sa(Śa)[ka]**  
 37 varsha 973 naya Kha[ra]-

- 38 saivatsarada Kārtti[ka]  
 39 ba 7 Ādityavāra[da]r-  
 40 du Āpāra[da] tīrthā-sū[na]-  
 41 nimitādīm sarvva-na[ma]-  
 42 śya(sya)dīm kāl-gaṛchchi dhārā[pā]-  
 43 revakādīm daye geyda ko[ṭṭa]-  
 44 r-Kkardūr-mā[ṭ]-olagana Va[ḍḍa]-  
 45 vaṇi 500raṇa kaṇpaṇa  
 46 Ettapi 90ra haḷi[ya]  
 47 hāḷa Pinmanam<sup>1</sup> Piṭṭu[ga]ma[m]  
 48 sarvva-bādhā-parihāra ār [!]\*

*Third Side*

- 49 Bahubhiḥ-vvaandā(dhā) datt[ā]  
 50 rājahlīḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ [!]  
 51 yasya yasya yadā bhūmi[h]  
 52 tasya tasya tadā pa(pha)ḷa[m] ||  
 53 Sāmānyō-yadā dharmā-sē-  
 54 tur-ṇipāṇām<sup>2</sup> kāḷa kāḷa  
 55 pālāntyō bhavadbhiḥ |  
 56 sarvva-ātān-bhāgīnaḥ pārtthi-  
 57 vāṇūlān(draṇ) |<sup>3</sup> bhūyō bhū-  
 58 yō yāchatō Rāmabha-  
 59 dra[h]\* || Sva-dattam(ttām) para-dattam(tāām) [vā]  
 60 yō harṣti(ta) vasa[ḍ]dha-  
 61 rā[h]\* | ahaḥṣīr-vvaraḥ<sup>4</sup> sahaḥ-  
 62 ṇām |<sup>5</sup> viśiḥṣyātā jāya-  
 63 tō krimiḥ [!]\*

<sup>1</sup> This name can also be read as *Buṣmanam*.

<sup>2</sup> This name can also be read as *Paṭṭamam*.

<sup>3</sup> The *daye* is unnecessary.

<sup>4</sup> Read *ahaḥṣīr-vaṛa*.



No. 36—NOTE ON MALLESVARAM INSCRIPTION OF TRAILOKYAMALLA

D. C. SIRCAR, OOTACAMUND

(Received on 14.4.1961)

While editing the Mallesvaram inscription above, pp. 253 ff., Dr. G. S. Gai has pointed out the weakness of the grounds on which some scholars have identified a ruling chief named Vishnuvardhana Vijayāditya, known from a number of inscriptions found in various parts of the Western Chālukya empire, with the Eastern Chālukya king Vijayāditya VII. Dr. Gai has considered the problem from the view-point of Western Chālukya history and has only in passing referred to the doubtful reconstruction of the career of the said Eastern Chālukya king. Looking at the problem from the stand-point of the history of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty, I find that most of what has been so far said about king Vijayāditya VII is based partly on a misunderstanding of the evidence of Eastern Chālukya records and partly on an eagerness to get light on Eastern Chālukya history from the confused story of the struggle between the Chōlas and the Western Chālukyas.

Reference has been made to 'the deep-seated antagonism' between Vijayāditya VII and his step-brother Rājarāja I<sup>1</sup> and it has been suggested that Rājarāja I rarely enjoyed peace during his long reign of 41 years due 'mainly to the opposition of his younger brother Vijayāditya' or partly to 'the sinister designs of his half-brother (Vijayāditya VII)' and partly to 'the conflicting ambitions of the rival imperial powers (i.e. the Chōlas and the Western Chālukyas)'.<sup>2</sup> But, as will be seen below, the Eastern Chālukya inscriptions prove beyond doubt that Vijayāditya VII ousted his step-brother's authority from the latter's kingdom or a part of it during the first half of the latter's long reign but that he was loyal to Rājarāja I for many years after that short rule as a usurper.

Certain Chōla inscriptions, said to be of the 10th regnal year of Rājendra-chōla I (1015-44 A.D.), state that the Chōla general compelled the king of Vēngī to flee from his country, destroyed the family of Jayasīnha and defeated the Kālīngas, Teluṅgas and Oḍḍas.<sup>3</sup> On this basis, it has been suggested that Vijayāditya VII succeeded in seizing the Vēngī kingdom after his father's death probably with the help of Western Chālukya Jayasīnha II and of the rulers of Kālīṅga and Orissa, that the Chōla army sent by Rājendra-chōla I to help his nephew Rājarāja I defeated Jayasīnha II at Musāḍgi in 1020-21 A.D. while Vijayāditya VII, disastrously defeated, fled to the court of his ally the king of Kālīṅga, and that the combined forces of his allies, viz. the Kālīngas, Oḍḍas and Teluṅgas, were defeated by the Chōla general in the 10th regnal year of the Chōla monarch counted from 1012 A.D. when he participated in his father's administration as the heir-apparent, i.e., in 1021 A.D.<sup>4</sup> But, whatever may be the ingenuity of this reconstruction which appears to us to be dubious,<sup>5</sup> there is some evidence to show that this could not have been the case.

<sup>1</sup> N. Venkataramanayya, *The Eastern Chālukyas of Vēngī*, p. 217.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 226 and 232. For similar views, see also K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India*, pp. 175 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Reference is made in this connection to *A. R. Ep.*, 1917, Nos. 23, 24, 30, 31, 751, 752.

<sup>4</sup> Venkataramanayya, *op. cit.*, pp. 218 ff.

<sup>5</sup> It is indeed difficult to prove that the undated Kalidindi grant (*above*, Vol. XXIX, pp. 57 ff.) of Rājarāja I and the undated Madakasira inscription (*A. R. Ep.*, 1917, No. B-751) mentioning no king but stating that 'the king of Vēngī ran away on hearing that the Chōla [king] had ordered [his general] Sōjjiyavarāṇa to conquer that country' have any bearing on the period in question.

Some scholars believe that the Eastern Chôlûkya king Vimalāditya died in 1018 A.D., though the coronation of his son and successor Râjarâja I took place on the 16th August 1023 A.D.,<sup>1</sup> and that 'the hostility of his (i.e. Râjarâja's) step-brother Vijayāditya probably delayed his coronation for four years'.<sup>2</sup> But others put the death of Vimalāditya and the accession of Râjarâja I in 1019 A.D. and speak of a delay of three years in the latter's coronation.<sup>3</sup> The possibility of 'a war of succession' between the two brothers or 'the forcible occupation of the kingdom' by Vijayāditya VII has also been suggested.<sup>4</sup> But there is no support for this in the inscriptions of the family according to which, Râjarâja I succeeded his father and ruled for 41 years. It is expected that the genealogical section of the records of the family, which clearly notices a 27 years' period of anarchy between 975 and 999 A.D., would have given us a hint if the coronation of Râjarâja I was really delayed for three or four years due to anarchy or to the occupation of the throne by Vijayāditya VII. The reason for the delay in Râjarâja's coronation is unknown and various causes can be imagined. But there is hardly any justification for bringing in Vijayāditya's hostility to account for it since the evidence at our disposal seems to tell a different tale.

As will be seen below, the 27th June 1031 A.D. fell after 'twelve years' rule' of Râjarâja I and this would suggest that he ascended the throne sometime before the 26th June 1020 A.D. Since the reference seems to be to the twelfth year of his reign, he probably ascended the throne after the 26th June 1019 A.D. The following dates in both the regnal reckoning and the Śaka era are known for the reign of the king: (1) year 12 = Śaka 952 (1030-31 A.D.); (2) year 37 = Śaka 980 (1058-59 A.D.); and year 41 = Śaka 983 (1061-62 A.D.).<sup>5</sup> These three dates would roughly equate his first regnal year respectively with Śaka 941 (1019-20 A.D.), Śaka 944 (1023-23 A.D.) and Śaka 945 (1021-22 A.D.). It thus appears that the first date counts the reign period from his accession while the second and third calculate it from his coronation. It has, however, to be noticed that the first date counting his reign from about 1019 A.D. is found in a record of Vijayāditya VII. If Vijayāditya would have been responsible for delaying Râjarâja's coronation, not to speak of his forcible occupation of the throne for a few years, it is impossible to believe that Râjarâja's reign would have been counted from c. 1019 A.D. in this record of Vijayāditya himself.

As we shall also see below, Śaktivarman II, son of Vijayāditya VII, succeeded Râjarâja I in Śaka 983, the date of his coronation being given as Thursday, month of Tullâ, sudi 2, Anurâdhâ-nakshatra and Kumbha-jagna (18th October 1061 A.D.).<sup>6</sup> Râjarâja I seems to have died during his 41st regnal year sometime before that date.

The Pamulavaka plates issued in the second year of the reign of Vijayāditya VII have the following stanzas after the description of the 7 years' rule of Mummañjibhîma (Vimalāditya):

*Tasya Mummañjibhîmasya sataḥ kṛitâ-matir-mahân |*

*Râjarâj-âhvasyâ vâjâ dvâdat-âbdân-dhvasân-âpât ||*

*Tam Râjarâja-vijyotim nirbhâjya bhuvah prasthaya Vijayâdityam |*

*Vimalâditya-tanujasya devimâturâ-grahîd-ya vâjyam ||*

<sup>1</sup> The date is quoted in Râjarâja's records as Śaka 944, month of Śukla, badi 2, Thursday, Uttara-Bhâdrapada-nakshatra. Cf. above, Vol. XXIX, p. 68, verse 16; *JAHRS*, Vol. V, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> D. C. Ganguly, *The Eastern Chôlûkya*, p. 96.

<sup>3</sup> Venkatarammayya, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 214 and 230.

<sup>5</sup> Ganguly, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-100.

<sup>6</sup> *JAHRS*, Vol. V, pp. 40, 44.

*Śrīmān Śābā sam-aughā drig-īshu-nāthi-mitā Karkaṣā karkaśāśāu*

*buddh-ātmā śuddha-paśichamy-Aditivuta-dinē sūrya-bhō śūrya-śālī ]*

*Kanyā-lagna-sūlhanē Śālikula-tilakā Rājasmārtāyā-sāwar-*

*Vēngi-sūmārya-puṣṭā emu vahatī Vijayāditya-bhōpoh prādāpī ||<sup>1</sup>*

According to this, Vijayāditya ousted Rājarāja I after the latter's rule of 12 years, occupied the kingdom of Vēngī by force, was anointed on Sunday, month of Karkaṣā, śadi 5, Śaka 952 (or 953), Kanyā-lagna, Sūrya-nakṣatra and ruled at least up to his second regnal year when the charter was issued. The date of his coronation has been equated by some with the 9th July 1030 A.D.<sup>2</sup> and by others with the 27th June 1031 A.D.<sup>3</sup> The first date is certainly wrong. It has to be pointed out that, although the word *drig* normally means 'two', the date is irregular for Śaka 952. But if *drig* is taken to mean *īśa-driś* or 'three', the date corresponds to the 27th June 1031 A.D.

The language of the stanzas quoted above would of course suggest that Vijayāditya VII became the master of the entire Vēngī kingdom. But often such claims are exaggerated. Thus when the Chōla and Western Chālukya inscriptions speak of the conquest of Vēngī or any other country, not the entire country is meant in many cases. Another point to be noticed in this connection is that the later records of both Vijayāditya VII and his son Śaktivarman II do not refer to any break in the 41 years' reign period of Rājarāja I; that is to say, they do not state that Rājarāja I ruled for 12 years, then Vijayāditya VII reigned for so many years and then again Rājarāja I ruled for so many years. It is thus not impossible that Vijayāditya succeeded in occupying only a part of his step-brother's kingdom.<sup>4</sup> Another fact that has to be considered is that, about this time, the rulers of Vēngī were subordinate allies of the Chōlas while the Vēngī country was a bone of contention between the Chōlas and Western Chālukyas. It is thus not impossible that Vijayāditya occupied parts of the Vēngī kingdom with the help of the Western Chālukyas who regarded him as a subordinate ally and installed him as a rival king of Vēngī in the areas occupied by them.

As indicated above, the said period of Vijayāditya's rule, ostensibly resulting in a break in Rājarāja's reign, is not recognised in any later record of the family, even in those of Vijayāditya VII himself and of his son Śaktivarman II. This is a significant fact which, coupled with other evidences to be discussed below, shows that Vijayāditya soon atoned for his rebellion probably by handing over the territory to Rājarāja I, so that this lapse of his youth was later forgiven and totally forgotten. There are well-known cases of this kind, e.g. the rebellion of Stambha against his brother Gōvinda III and of Jayasīma against his brother Vikramāditya VI.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 287 (text lines 90-93); Vol. V, p. 38. In this article, we have quoted the epigraphic texts, which are not always correct in the published transcripts, after removing the scribal errors, etc., of the original. The second foot of the second stanza here is metrically defective.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> Venkatarammayya, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

<sup>4</sup> It is sometimes supposed that Vijayāditya VII occupied only the Viragapatani District (*Ganguly, op. cit.*, pp. 100, 103).

<sup>5</sup> Alabar, *The Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, pp. 61-62; *The Struggle for Empire*, ed. Majumdar, p. 174.

The Telugu Academy plates of Śaktivarman II and both the Ryali copper-plate grants of his father and successor Vijayāditya VII have the following stanzas after the description of Vimalāditya and before the introduction of Śaktivarman II.

*Tasya śrīmān-ātmanyō Rājarājō rājat-ōjāt-Chandru-samā-āgragayyāḥ |*  
*s-sikām choteśrīminātam vacarāḥi kshāyāḥ rakshā-lakshyāḥ rakshati sma ||*  
*Vimalādityācha-Chōḍ-āncay-āca-lakshmyāt-cha Medava'-mahādityāḥ |*  
*ajani jaya-śrī-śūryō Vijayādityā narīḍ-ara stūyāḥ ||*  
*Parāśakti Rājarājasya bhīḥtur-śamimāturasya gāḥ |*  
*pratyagrahāḥ-mahī-rājya-śreyāḥ vira-śreyā yutāḥ |<sup>1</sup>*

On the basis of the word *parāśakti* (literally, 'in one's absence') used in the last of these verses, some scholars have said, "In the year A. D. 1060, when Rājarāja was away from his capital, Vijayāditya seized his throne and declared himself king."<sup>2</sup> But this is certainly wrong. In the first place, if such was the case, Rājarāja I would not have been described in the eulogistic tetras (*rājat-tējas, Chandru-samā-āgragayya* or *rāja-samā-āgragayya* and *rakshā-lakshyāḥ*) used in the first stanza. Secondly, if there was enmity between the two brothers about 1060 A.D., Vijayāditya's rule over Vēngī at least for more than one year from 1031 A.D. would not have been totally omitted from these records. As will be seen below, the respectful mention of Vijayāditya VII in the records of Rājarāja's grandsons also goes clearly against the theory of enmity between the two brothers.

Thirdly, the word *parāśakti* in the present context certainly means, 'when he was no more in this world'.<sup>3</sup> This is probably indicated by the verb *pratyagrahī* which primarily means 'accepted or received [as a gift]' and suggests that Vijayāditya VII obtained the kingdom in a peaceful way. As we shall see below, the throne of the deceased Rājarāja I passed on to his son Kulōttunga I who was then living at the Chōḷa court waiting for gaining the Chōḷa throne and therefore bestowed it on his uncle.

The following three verses, the first quoted from the Telugu Academy plates of Śaktivarman II and the second and third from the Ryali copper-plate inscriptions of Vijayāditya VII, show that Vijayāditya was not inclined to rule the kingdom, even though he got it, but that he gave it to his son Śaktivarman II out of paternal affection:

*Arōgya svakam-ślarād-attāśrī-uttarāḥ-uttarāḥ-simbhāsamāḥ |*  
*pitrē nirjita-lātravōḥa Vijayādityāḥ śūry-śarjāḥ |*  
*putra-sātha-rasa-prayōḥya-sūmasā sāmāḥya-patnam bhuvō*  
*gamaḥ-nyastam-ślam gaganā samavātam nyāyēna sarvāḥ prajāḥ ||<sup>4</sup>*  
*Grihītvā va-cūtē rāḥāḥ-śrōḥyam śrī-Śaktivarmanāḥ |*  
*nyastam tasmit-śharū-śrītam sūcalāḥy-śbdanā śīrāḥ gatē ||*  
*Aprāpt-śmubhūcē sūtē vāḥvaśīḥ-prāpt-śhimanyāḥ-iva*  
*svargam nyukta-rachā-rakshīḥa Vijayādity-ādhepāḥ Pārthivat |*  
*śīrīḥ vibudhāḥ lōḍa-śrama-gatāḥ-āplav-ślam bōdhāt*  
*śharmanā śbhāpyitum katham-śhīḥ-ālarōḥ-śūddham śharū-rakshāḥ ||<sup>5</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> The first syllable of the name should be short according to metrical requirements.

<sup>2</sup> JAHNS, Vol. V, p. 44, verses 14-16; Vol. IX, Part I, p. 31. The Ryali copper-plate grants have *rāja-samā-āgragayyāḥ* for *Chandru-samā-āgragayyāḥ* in the first stanza.

<sup>3</sup> Ganguly, op. cit., p. 103.

<sup>4</sup> Vasudevanarayana (op. cit., pp. 29 and 238) accepts this interpretation; but, even then, he says, "The language of the inscriptions (i.e. Parāśakti, etc.) clearly indicates that it (i.e. Rājarāja's death) was followed by a war" (op. cit., p. 239). This is due to misunderstanding.

<sup>5</sup> JAHNS, Vol. V, p. 44.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid., Vol. IX, Part I, p. 31.

If Vijayāditya was eager to obtain the throne of Vēngī and was zealously fighting for it, we do not understand why he should have given the coveted object to his son when he actually got it after a bitter struggle. Of course, if he was to rule the kingdom on behalf of Kulōttuṅga I, one understands why he entrusted the burden to his son. The graphic description of his dejection at his son's death when he was prevailed upon by the officers to have reluctantly agreed to govern the kingdom for the establishment of law and order (*dharma*) scarcely suits one who was vigorously striving for the throne. Śaktivarman's comparison with Abhimanyu may be merely to indicate that he prematurely died as a young man before the death of his father. But, even if it is taken to indicate that he died like Abhimanyu in a fight with his relatives, these latter need not be necessarily identified with the partisans of Kulōttuṅga I or the Chōlas. The enemies may have as well been the Western Chālukyas or the Eastern Gāḍgas or somebody else. The Eastern Chālukyas were an offshoot of the Early Western Chālukya dynasty while the Imperial Eastern Gāḍgas and the Eastern Chālukyas were both matrimonially related to the Chōlas.

The copper-plate grants of the sons of Kulōttuṅga I, issued during Kulōttuṅga's reign, state that their brother Rājarāja-Mummaḍichōla took up the burden of the kingdom of Vēngī when their father addressed him in the following words after appointing the other brothers as rulers of different districts (*vishayas*):

*Mayā Vēngī-mahī-vijyavā Chōla-rājya-abhīlāshinā |*  
*mat-pitṛvyaḥ parā nyastam Vijayāditya-bhūbhūjī ||*  
*Sa cha pañchakūṭā=si=ibhān pañchāvana-parākravah |*  
*mahim caksham-mahimāthō divam div-ōpamaḥ gataḥ ||<sup>1</sup>*

The reason why Kulōttuṅga I did not like to be the ruler of Vēngī and bestowed the Vēngī kingdom on his uncle is given here clearly as his ambition to get the Chōla throne. Apparently he was afraid of losing the Chōla crown, a much more coveted prize than the Vēngī throne, in case he would be away from his supporters at the Chōla court, ruling over his paternal kingdom.<sup>2</sup> If the relations between Rājarāja I and Vijayāditya VII were bitter, such respectful reference to the latter would not have been put here in the mouth of the former's son. Vijayāditya VII is not only called *pañchānana-parākrava*, 'a very lion (or Śiva) in valour' but also *div-ōpama*, 'like a god'.

An inscription assigned to Rājarāja Mummaḍichōla, who was a son of Kulōttuṅga I and is supposed to have been anointed on the Vēngī throne on the 27th July 1076 A.D., i.e. shortly after the death of Vijayāditya VII, records that a son of the family of Kannaradōva who was the lord of the earth from the Himāchala to the Sētu (probably Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III), by name Mummaḍi Bhīma, was made the chief of one thousand villages in Vēngī-pura-vishaya by the said ruler of Vēngī.<sup>3</sup> It is interesting to note that this Bhīma is described in the inscription as brought up by king Vijayāditya VII. If Vijayāditya was regarded as an enemy of Kulōttuṅga I, it is doubtful if the former's protégé would have received, so soon after the former's death, favours from the latter's son. Even if there was good reason for favouring the person, there was certainly no necessity for mentioning his relation with Vijayāditya VII in the record. This fact therefore suggests that Vijayāditya's relations with Kulōttuṅga I and the latter's sons were not bitter.

<sup>1</sup> *III*, Vol. I, p. 53, verses 14-15; *Ist. Ast.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 430-31, text lines 65-67. Sometimes we have *Vata* for *Mayā* and *mayā div-rijay-nishini* in place of *Chōla-rājya-abhīlāshinā* (see above, Vol. V, p. 78, verses 12-14; Vol. VI, p. 329, verses 14-15; see also p. 344).

<sup>2</sup> It has been supposed by some that Kulōttuṅga I was in his teens at the time of his father's death and that this necessitated the installation of Vijayāditya as the successor of Rājarāja I (above, Vol. XXII, p. 271). But the fact that Kulōttuṅga I had a number of grown up sons capable of assuming viceregal responsibilities in territories including Vēngī in the year 1076 A.D. seems to show that he was not quite in his teens in 1061 A.D.

<sup>3</sup> Ganguly, op. cit., pp. 122-23, *A.L. Ep.*, 1022, p. 97.

It may be pointed out that Kulōttuṅga I claims to have got the kingship of Vēṅḡl on his father's death about 1060-61 A.D. though he gave (cf. *nyasta*) that to his uncle Vijayāditya VII who also acknowledges its receipt (cf. *pratyagrakṣi*) even though it was at first given (*nyasta*) by him, in his turn, to his son Śaktivarman II. It thus appears that the reigns of both Śaktivarman II and Vijayāditya VII in Vēṅḡl were calculated to commence in 1060-61 A.D.

There are two stanzas in the above inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga's sons, in the description of Kulōttuṅga I, which clearly state that the said king became at first the ruler of Vēṅḡl (*prathamam Vēṅḡl-līcaratnam-sādhyāpā*) and was later mounted to the Chōḷa kingdom (*Chōḷa-rājya-śāshakāntā*).<sup>1</sup> Later records of the family represent Kulōttuṅga I as the successor of his father Rājarāja I, but assigns to him a reign of 49 years (rarely 50 years)<sup>2</sup> as the lord of the Chōḷa empire (*śri-paṇḍa-Dravīḍa-sah-Āndhra-śahayan*)<sup>3</sup> apparently referring to the period 1070-1120 A.D.<sup>4</sup> It is not stated here that he was the king of Vēṅḡl after the death of his father Rājarāja I and before his own accession to the Chōḷa throne. This has therefore to be understood as the recognition of the fact, on the part of his successors, that Kulōttuṅga I was not the *de facto* king of Vēṅḡl between 1061-70 A.D. even though he claimed to have been the *de jure* lord of that country then under the rule of his proxy, his uncle Vijayāditya VII. That, however, the reign of Kulōttuṅga I was sometimes counted from 1061 A.D. is known from one of his inscriptions dated Śaka 1017 (1095-96 A.D.) and the 35th year of his reign.<sup>5</sup> The mention of Kulōttuṅga I as 'Rājā, the king of Vēṅḡl', in Billapa's *Vikramāṅka-kāṭīcacharita*<sup>6</sup> also shows that he was regarded as the king of Vēṅḡl at the Chōḷa court. It may also be noted that, if Vijayāditya VII was a Western Chālukya partisan, his rival for the throne of Vēṅḡl would scarcely have been mentioned as the king of that country by the Western Chālukya court poet.

The contemporary eulogistic poetical work *Kulōttuṅga-paravāṇi*, the hero of which is Kulōttuṅga I, says how the queen of Rājendra-chōḷa I regarded her daughter's son Kulōttuṅga I as 'worthy to be her [adopted] son and to increase the fame of the Solar race (i.e. the Chōḷa family)', how king Vizaraṅdra made him the *Yuvarāja* and how he, when still a *Yuvarāja*, conquered Chakrakōṭa (i.e. the present Bastar District) and was a terror to Virutacīja (Chālukya Vikramāditya VI).<sup>7</sup> This seems to be quite consistent with what has been said above on the basis of epigraphic evidence misunderstood by scholars. As regards Kulōttuṅga's exploits in the Bastar region apparently against Chālukya Vikramāditya VI who was probably aiding the local Chhinda ruler, a subordinate ally of the Western Chālukyas,<sup>8</sup> it is supported by an inscription<sup>9</sup> of Kulōttuṅga I, dated in his fifth regnal year, which states that, at the time [when he was still] the heir-apparent (*śaiṅḡ*), he conquered Sakkarakōṭṭam and seized a herd of elephants at Varirāgaram (in the present Chanda District, Maharashtra). Under the circumstances, Sastri's theory that Kulōttuṅga I 'spent the best part of the period A. D. 1063-70 in the region of the modern Bastar State'<sup>10</sup> seems to be against all available evidence. A person who did not occupy the Vēṅḡl throne for fear of losing the Chōḷa crown would have scarcely liked to have spent such a long period in Bastar to the north of Vēṅḡl, even further away from the Chōḷa capital.

<sup>1</sup> *SI*, Vol. I, verses 9 and 11; *I. Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 436, text lines 54-55 and 57-60; above, Vol. V, p. 77, verses 8 and 10; Vol. VI, p. 335, verse 8, and p. 339, verses 10.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. IV, pp. 227-28.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 226, verse 21 and note 14.

<sup>4</sup> Kulōttuṅga's accession in 1070-71 A.D. is also supported by his own inscriptions with both regnal and Śaka dates (Sastri, *The CGS*, 2nd ed., p. 290).

<sup>5</sup> *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 66.

<sup>6</sup> VI, 26.

<sup>7</sup> Ganguly, *op. cit.*, p. 119; Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *The Struggle for Empire*, ed. Majumdar, p. 215.

<sup>9</sup> *I. Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 142.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 392.

Another significant fact is that Kulōttuṅga I sent one of his sons as his viceroy in Vēṅgi immediately after the death of his uncle Vijayāditya VII. This shows that the installation of a son of Kulōttuṅga I in Vēṅgi did not involve the conquest of an enemy's territory since, if Vijayāditya VII was hostile to Kulōttuṅga I, the installation of Kulōttuṅga's son on the Vēṅgi throne immediately after Vijayāditya's death could not have been possible without any struggle with the partisans of the Eastern Chālukya king. But there is no clear evidence of such a struggle. That Vijayāditya VII was not regarded as an enemy by Kulōttuṅga I seems also to be evident from the fact that no attempt is definitely known to have been made by the former to occupy Vēṅgi during the period after his occupation of the Chōḷa throne and before Vijayāditya's death. It is thus clear that, even if parts of the Vēṅgi country may have been till then under the occupation of Western Chālukya forces, the area under Vijayāditya VII passed smoothly after his death to Kulōttuṅga I.

What has been said above would suggest that there was no struggle between Vijayāditya VII and Kulōttuṅga I for the throne of Vēṅgi.<sup>1</sup> But certain copper-plate grants of the Gaṅga king Anantavarman Chōḷagaṅga of Kālīṅga state that when Vijayāditya, beginning to grow old, left [the country of] Vēṅgi, as if he were a man leaving the sky, and was about to sink in the great ocean of the Chōḷas, he, Rājarāja (i.e. Chōḷagaṅga's father Rājarāja I Devēndravarmān, 1070-78 A.D.), the refuge of the distressed, caused him to enjoy prosperity for a long time in the western region (i.e. the region to the west of the Gaṅga kingdom of Kālīṅga).<sup>2</sup> The Dirghast inscription of Śaka 997 (1075 A.D.) refers to the victory of Gaṅga Rājarāja's *Mahāpāṭhāḍa* Vanapati over the Chōḷa king's army and other enemies including the king of Vēṅgi whom he claims to have often defeated.<sup>3</sup> On the basis of these statements, it has been supposed that, after his accession to the Chōḷa throne, Kulōttuṅga I was bent on conquering Vēṅgi from Vijayāditya VII who is supposed to have become helpless after the death of the Chōḷa king Virarājendra (1063-70 A.D.).<sup>4</sup> It is, however, not impossible that the reference is to a Chōḷa invasion of Vēṅgi about the close of Virarājendra's reign, which drove Vijayāditya from Vēṅgi and compelled him to seek help from the Eastern Gaṅgas about 1070 A.D.,<sup>5</sup> and that he succeeded in returning to Vēṅgi after Virarājendra's death when a struggle for the Chōḷa throne was going on between Kulōttuṅga I and Virarājendra's son Adhirājendra. If Kulōttuṅga was responsible for driving him out of Vēṅgi, it is difficult to understand why this success is not noticed in the records of his family, which assign to Vijayāditya a rule of 15 years between 1061 and 1076 A.D.

During Vijayāditya's reign, a good part of the Vēṅgi country must have once been occupied by the forces of Western Chālukya Vikramāditya VI who was then a general of his father Sōmśvara I.<sup>6</sup> The Karuvur inscription of the fourth regnal year of the Chōḷa king Virarājendra states that he attacked and destroyed the powerful army that Vikkalan (i.e. Vikramāditya VI) had 'again'

<sup>1</sup> The theory of enmity between Kulōttuṅga I and his uncle Vijayāditya VII was at first propounded by Hultzsch on inadequate evidence (*SIL*, Vol. III, p. 128) and has since been followed by later writers on the subject. Cf. above, Vol. XXII, pp. 271-72; etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 191. It is strange that Venkatarāmanayya (*op. cit.*, pp. 231 and 271, note 1) thinks that Kālīṅga had no separate existence in the age in question and that it was a dependency of Vēṅgi. This is believed by him to be 'clearly brought out in the Charala plates (*ibid.* XXV, p. 292)'. He seems to attach undue importance to claims which should be taken with a grain of salt.

<sup>3</sup> Above, Vol. IV, p. 317.

<sup>4</sup> Ganguly, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

<sup>5</sup> Because he was regarded as a traitor by the Chōḷas, he may have been afraid to surrender to the Chōḷa forces and therefore left the country to seek the help of the Eastern Gaṅga king who was his relative.

<sup>6</sup> Note also the existence of an inscription (1057 A.D.) of the reign of Sōmśvara I in the East Godavari District and the assumption of the title 'lord of Vēṅgi' by the said king's son and viceroy Sōmśvara II (*The Struggle for Naxos*, ed. Majumdar, p. 176). This title goes against the belief that Vijayāditya was a Western Chālukya partisan.

despatched to Veṅgai-nāḍu.<sup>1</sup> The Mninimangalam inscription of Virarājendra's fifth regnal year also states that he 'reconquered the good country of Vēṅgai and bestowed it on Vijayāditya whose broad hand held weapons of war and who had taken refuge at his lotus-foot'.<sup>2</sup> This shows that Vikramāditya VI had occupied parts of the Vēṅgai kingdom and that Virarājendra helped Vijayāditya VII in regaining them. It appears that soon afterwards Vijayāditya VII was again defeated disastrously by the Western Chālukyas and was compelled to become a subordinate ally of the latter. This may have brought in the intervention of the Chōlas who probably defeated Vijayāditya and his allies and, as a consequence, the Eastern Chālukya king fled away and received help from the Gaṅga king of Kallīga. Since this possible anti-Chōla activity of Vijayāditya VII was thrust on him by circumstances, it was not difficult for the Chōla king to forgive his subordinate ally. Of course, if it happened during Virarājendra's reign, it was easier for Kulōttuṅga I to be favourably disposed towards his uncle whose help he might have later received in his struggle with the Western Chālukya forces still in occupation of parts of Vēṅgai.

The following dates in the regnal reckoning and the Śaka era belong to the reign of Vijayāditya VII: (1) year 3-Śaka 986 (1064-65 A.D.); (2) year 8-Śaka 990 (1068-69 A.D.); (3) year 12-Śaka 994 (1072-73 A.D.); (4) year 13-Śaka 995 (1073-74 A.D.).<sup>3</sup> They show that Vijayāditya's reign was calculated as beginning from Śaka 983-1001-63 A.D. The Ryali copper-plate grants were issued in his 12th regnal year, i.e. 1072-73 A.D.<sup>4</sup> His 15th regnal year, in which he seems to have died, would correspond to 1075-76 A.D.

Besides the facts discussed above, these dates and a few others of his reign make it impossible to believe that *Mahārājāsāhārāja Rājaparamēśvara Paramahattaraka*<sup>5</sup> Vijayāditya VII of Vēṅgai is identical with his namesake who was a subordinate chief and is mentioned in the records of the reign of Western Chālukya Sōmēśvara I, especially when the said chief is supposed to have been the Western Chālukya governor of the province of Nolambavāḍi (i.e. parts of the Bellary, Anantapur, Kolar and Tumkur Districts) and the adjoining area 'from A.D. 1063 to 1066'.<sup>6</sup> The same person could scarcely have been the king of Vēṅgai and the Western Chālukya viceroy of Nolambavāḍi at the same time.

We have indicated above a few solid facts of the reigns of the Eastern Chālukya kings Rājārāja I and Vijayāditya VII. The claims and counter-claims of the Chōlas and Western Chālukyas in respect of Vēṅgai during the period in question should be viewed against the background of these facts.

<sup>1</sup> *SIU*, Vol. III, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> Ganguly, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-08.

<sup>4</sup> *JAHRS*, Vol. IX, Part I, p. 36.

<sup>5</sup> These titles are found in his Ryali copper-plate inscriptions while the Pamplavaka plates, issued after he had been set up as a rival of his brother Rājārāja I, call him *Mahārāja Rājāsāhārāja*.

<sup>6</sup> Venkataramanayya, *op. cit.*, p. 250. The Western Chālukya viceroy is also known from an inscription of 1074 A.D. (*A.R. Ep.*, 1946-47, No. B 237) and now also from another dated 1081 A.D. (above, pp. 252ff.)



No. 37—DEVALI PLATES OF GOVINDA, VALABHI 500

(2 Plates)

D. C. SIRCAR, DUTTAMUND

(Received on 2.2.1931)

This set of three copper plates was in the possession of a cultivator of the village of **Dēvali** in the Talaja District of the former Bhavnagar State (now the Bhavnagar District of Gujarat). It was presented to the Mahārāja Sāhob of Bhavnagar in 1944 and was preserved in the Barton Museum, Bhavnagar.<sup>1</sup> A short note on the inscription was read by Dr. P.M. Modi at the Nagpur Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, 1944, while an unsatisfactory transcript of it was later published with a sketchy introductory note and plates by Dr. S. C. Upadhyay in the *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, Vols. XXIV-XXV, 1951-52, pp. 196 ff. The defect of Dr. Upadhyay's transcript is that, besides containing numerous minor inaccuracies, the new stanzas occurring in the inscription have not been fully and correctly read (cf. especially verses 30, 34, 36 and 40) whereas the text of the verses previously known from other inscriptions has not generally been quoted exactly as they are worded in the present record. It should be remembered in this connection that, of the three known charters of the time of the donor of the present grant, viz. *Samadhigatāśāhamahāsāheda Mahāsāmantādhipati Prabhūtavarsha Gōvindarāja* of the second feudatory Rāshtrakūṭa family of the Gujarat region, the Torkhode plates (Śaka 735)<sup>2</sup> were actually issued by his feudatory, *Samadhigatāśāhamahāsāheda Mahāsāmantā*<sup>3</sup> Buddhavarasa, who was the son of Rājāditya and grandson of Manināga of the Śalukika (Chālukya) family and ruled over the Sūharakūṭa area, and have only a few stanzas in the introductory section. Similar is the case with Gōvinda's Prince of Wales Museum plates (Śaka 733) having only 15 introductory verses.<sup>4</sup> The Kavi plates (Śaka 749)<sup>5</sup> of Gōvinda have of course a large number of verses in common with the present record. The inscription under study has a special importance because it not only offers us some new stanzas but also throws some new light on the history of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty in question and raises certain problems, which Dr. Upadhyay failed to realise.

Of the three plates of the set, the first and third measure each about one foot in length and nine inches in height while the second plate is about 4 inch higher than the other two. The plates have raised rims for the protection of the writing and their corners are rounded off. There are two ring holes (each about half inch in diameter) in the upper margin of the plates; but the rings that must have passed through them to hold the plates together and the seal expected to have been affixed to one of the rings are not available. The second plate has writing on both the sides while the other two plates are engraved only on the inner side. There are altogether 79 lines of writing in the following order: Plate I—20 lines, Plate IIa—23 lines, Plate IIb—22 lines and Plate III—14 lines. The preservation of the writing is not very satisfactory; some letters being rubbed off here and there.

<sup>1</sup> The copper-plate grants of this museum were recently transferred to the local institution called *Śānti Śāstrī* which I visited for copying the inscription about the close of January 1960.

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. III, pp. 53 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Note that he is called a *Mahāsāmantā* whereas his immediate liege-lord Gōvinda enjoyed the higher feudatory title *Mahāsāmantādhipati*.

<sup>4</sup> Above, Vol. XXVI, p. 248.

<sup>5</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 144 ff.

The characters of the inscription belong to the West Indian variety of the Telugu-Kannada alphabet while the donor's signature copied in line 78 is in the Siddhamātrikā characters of North India.<sup>1</sup> We know that the charters of the family to which the donor belonged were written either in the Northern or in the Southern alphabet while the characters of the copy of the donor's signature are sometimes different from those employed in the records themselves.<sup>2</sup> The initial vowels *a* (lines 61, 72, 76), *ā* (lines 11, 12, 62, 71), *i* (lines 6, 30, 36, 58, 70, 77), *u* (lines 38, 60) and *ī* (lines 38, 60) occur and also *avagraha* (line 60), final *l* (lines 12, 14, 30, 37, 42, 71) and final *n* (lines 38, 39, 44, 50, 52, 55). While final *l* has been written in two different ways (cf. lines 12 and 14), final *n*, in the cases cited above, has been written without superscribing it to the following consonant. The letter *ō* has also been written in two ways (cf. *balōsa* in line 11 and *bandhu* in line 28).

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Its orthography is characterised by the general use of class nasals in preference to *anuvāra* which has, however, been generally used for final *m* at the end of the halves of stanzas. There are many cases of the wrong use of *anuvāra* (as in *amāsam=śva* in line 4) and, in one case, *sīdha* has been spelt as *sīgha* (line 3).

The date of the record is quoted in words as the **Vālabhīya year 500** and the occasion of the grant is stated to have been a **solar eclipse** (lines 63-64). The era referred to is the Gupta-Vālabhī Sāhvat, the year 500 of which corresponds to Śaka 740 expired or 741 current = 818-19 A. D.<sup>3</sup> The solar eclipse in question may have been the one on the **31st December in the year 818 A.D.** or on the **26th June 819 A.D.**

The introductory part of the record under study contains 41 stanzas (lines 1-54), of which verses 1-28 (lines 1-36) describing the genealogy of the Rāshtrakūta dynasty down to **Gōvinda III** (c. 794-814 A. D.) are the same as in the Kavi plates of Gōvindarāja himself as well as in many other epigraphs of the family.<sup>4</sup> The section begins with the *siddham* symbol followed by the well-known *maṅgala verse* *Sa vā-vyād-Vidhasā dhāma*, etc., while verse 2 introduces Rāshtrakūta **Gōvinda I**, the great-grandfather of **Dantidurga** (c. 740-57 A.D.) who established the imperial status of the family. The section concludes with the description of king **Gōvinda III** in verses 23-28 (lines 29-36).

Of the remaining 13 stanzas describing the Rāshtrakūta emperor **Amōghavarsha I** (c. 814-78 A. D.) and his subordinate uncles **Karka** and **Gōvinda**, verses 29-30, 31, 35 and 39 are new stanzas, the other 8 stanzas being found either in the Kavi or P. W. Museum plates or in some other records of the family.<sup>5</sup> These new verses, however, do not contain any important historical information.

The following section in prose in lines 54-70 records the grant proper. The charter was issued by **Samadhipatīśākhamahāśabda Mahāsamantādhipatī Gōvindarāja**, while he was staying at **Pālitāpaka** (modern Pālitānā in Kathiawar), in favour of the Brāhmana **Sōma** who was the son of **Karka** and a resident of **Vālabhī** and was a member of the Chaturvēdīa community of that

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the P. W. Museum plates (above, Vol. XXVI, Plate facing p. 253).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the grant of Dhruva, son of Gōvinda's elder brother **Karka**, which is illustrated above, Vol. XXII, Plates between pp. 74 and 75 and facing p. 76, the charter being written in Northern characters but the signature in the Southern alphabet (cf. also the Baroda plates of the same king illustrated in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, Plates between pp. 200 and 201), though the record of **Karka** illustrated in Plates between pp. 82 and 83 of the same volume are written entirely in the Southern alphabet.

<sup>3</sup> To get the equivalent Christian year, 818-19 requires to be added to the current Kārttikīdi Vālabhī year and 18-20 to the current Chaitrādi Gupta year according to some authorities (see Swamikanth Pillai, *Indian Epigraphy*, Vol. I, Part 1, p. 54).

<sup>4</sup> See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 145-47; above, Vol. XXII, pp. 80-83; etc.

<sup>5</sup> Verses 31-32, 35, 37-38 and 41 are found among the 11 stanzas of the corresponding section in the Kavi plates. For verse 39, cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 160.

place. The donee belonged to the Śāṅḍilya *gōtra* and was a student of the Vājasaneyā-Mādhyaṅdina *śikṣā*. The royal order in respect of the grant was addressed to all the officers who were concerned with the gift land (*yathāsamabhaihyamānaka*) such as the *rāshṭrapati*, *vishayapati*, *grāma-kūta*, *ajyaka*, *niyuktaka*, *adhikārīka* and *mahattara*. The gift land consisted of a field (*śhetra*) called *Kōhala* which was situated within the boundaries of a locality named *Dēllikā*.<sup>1</sup> The said land was bounded by the boundary of *Kōlaka-grāma* in the east, the *Śatruñjaya* river in the south, the boundary of *Āllēsaika-grāma* in the west, and the *Jarat* river (or a dried up river bed) in the north. The grant was a permanent one and carried with it the usual privileges known from many other records of the donor's family including his own Kavi plates.

The above section is followed by the donor's request to the future rulers for the protection of his grant and a quotation of some of the usual imprecatory and benedictory stanzas ascribed to *Vāda-vyāsa* Vyāsa (lines 66-77). Line 76 contains the statement that the executor of the grant was *Bhatta* Kumāra or Śrikumāra. The donor's signature on the original document is copied in the North Indian Siddhamātrikā characters in the second half of the same line. Line 79, with which the document ends, states that it was written by Jajjulla who was the son of *Kulaputra* (noblesman) Padmanābha. This writer is already known from the P. W. Museum plates.

The most interesting feature of the inscription under study is its date in the Valabhi Śarivāt 500. The Maitrakas of Valabhi (modern Vaṣā in the Bhavnagar District, Kathiawar) were originally feudatories of the Imperial Guptas and continued to use the Gupta era of 319 A.D. (though the Valabhi year began a few months earlier than the Gupta year) even after the latter had lost their hold on the Western provinces of their empire. The latest Maitraka record is dated in the Gupta year 447 (765 A. D.).<sup>2</sup> After the fall of the Maitrakas, the use of the Gupta era was continued in the records of Kathiawar and it was often particularised as the Valabhi era,<sup>3</sup> the earliest such document so far known being the Una plate<sup>4</sup> of Valabhi-śarivāt 574. The present epigraph thus pushes back the use of the name Valabhi in association with the era in question by no less than 74 years.

It is interesting in this connection to note that no record of the early Kannadiga dynasties of the Gujarat region, so far published, expresses its date in the Valabhi era. The only answer to the question why the present charter was dated in that particular era seems to be that it recorded a grant of land in Kathiawar where the use of the said era was popular during the period in question. This is also suggested by the fact that Gōvinda made the grant from Pālitānaka, i.e. modern Palitana to the south-west of Bhavnagar in Kathiawar. Thus the field called *Kōhala*, situated within the boundaries of *Dēllikā*, would appear to have been situated in Kathiawar. Indeed, this *Dēllikā* is no other than the village of Devali in the present Bhavnagar District, where this inscription under study was found.

The territories, ruled by the feudatory Rāshṭrakūṭa family, to which the donor of the present charter belonged, is generally referred to as *Lāṭa*. This is because Indrarāja is described in the inscriptions of the family as having obtained the *Lāṭēśvara* or *Lāṭīya maṅḍala* from his brother, the Rāshṭrakūṭa emperor Gōvinda III, and also because Indrarāja's son Karkarāja is called *Lāṭēśvara* or 'lord of *Lāṭa*' in one of his charters.<sup>5</sup> As we shall see below, Karka's capital was at *Khōtaka* (modern Kaira), though Fleet believed that Navasārikā (modern Nausārf in the Broach

<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to say whether the word *śhetra* in the expression *Dēllikā-śhetra-grāma* means a small territorial unit like a Pargana. It is often used in this sense in the medieval inscriptions of South India.

<sup>2</sup> Bhandarkar's List, No. 1375.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 1379-84.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1379.

<sup>5</sup> *Cl. Bomb. Gen.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 300-10; cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 160, text lines 31 and 41.

District) was the capital of this Lāṭa country which was originally bounded by the river Kim in the north, the Damangāgā in the south and the Western Ghāts in the east, the northern boundary of the land, however, being the Maht during the age of these Rāshtrakūṭas.<sup>1</sup> B. Bhattacharya suggests that most of the charters of the Rāshtrakūṭa bones in question record gifts of land in the former Baroda State and that all the villages granted by Suvarṇavaraha Karkarāja, elder brother of the donor of our charter, lay in that State.<sup>2</sup> It will be seen that these Rāshtrakūṭas are thus supposed to have ruled over Central and Southern Gujarat. The present inscription, however, proves that the Rāshtrakūṭa chief Gōvindarāja was ruling over a territory including the south-eastern areas of Kathiawar. This is an important addition to our knowledge of the history of Kathiawar in general and of the second feudatory family of the Rāshtrakūṭas of the Gujarat region in particular.

We know that Gōvindarāja mentions himself as the younger brother of Karkarāja who issued his Baroda,<sup>3</sup> Nausari,<sup>4</sup> Anasta,<sup>5</sup> Surat<sup>6</sup> and Bāhmanapalli<sup>7</sup> charters respectively in the Śaka years 734, 738, 739, 743 and 746, while the grants of Gōvinda himself were issued in Śaka 732, Valabhi 500-Śaka 740 and Śaka 749 and a grant of one of his feudatories bears a date in Śaka 735. This fact shows that **the two brothers were ruling at the same time**, Karka at least from Śaka 734 to 746 and Gōvinda at least from Śaka 732 to 749. Earlier writers like Bühler and Hultzsch, who wrote when only Karka's record of Śaka 734 and Gōvinda's charter of Śaka 749 were known, besides a few of Karka's descendants, referred to the absence of Gōvinda's name in the records of the descendants of his elder brother Karka and suggested that this was because the younger brother was the usurper of the elder brother's territories.<sup>8</sup> Since Gōvinda's record of Śaka 749 does not mention the name of the contemporary Rāshtrakūṭa emperor Amūghavaraha I, it was also believed that he rebelled against the overlord whom his elder brother Karka is known to have seated on the throne. Fleet writing after the discovery of the Torkhede plates of Śaka 735 belonging to Gōvindarāja's rule, which mention the contemporary Rāshtrakūṭa emperor Gōvinda III, suggested that Gōvindarāja may have first rebelled against his elder brother Karka and opposed the accession of Amūghavaraha I in the earlier part of his career, that he rebelled against the Rāshtrakūṭa emperor again about the end of his rule and that, as a result of the second rebellion on his part against Imperial Rāshtrakūṭa authority, sometime after the issue of his Kavi plates in Śaka 749, the administration of Lāṭa was taken out of his hands and was made over to his nephew Dhārāvārha-Nirupama Dhruvarāja, son of Karkarāja.<sup>9</sup> Without any knowledge of Karka's later records, these scholars apparently believed that Gōvinda ruled over Lāṭa after his elder brother's death.

After the discovery of Karka's Nausari (Śaka 738) and Surat (Śaka 743) plates bearing dates later than that of Gōvinda's Torkhede plates (Śaka 735), A. S. Altekar drew our attention to the respectful mention of Karka in the records of Gōvinda and concluded that the latter did not really revolt against Karka but was only 'a princely regent appointed by his brother'. Thus in Altekar's opinion, expressed when Gōvinda's P. W. Museum plates of Śaka 732 and the present grant of Valabhi 500-Śaka 740 were not known, Gōvinda was 'Karka's deputy governing

<sup>1</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> *Above*, Vol. XXII, pp. 79-80.

<sup>3</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 156 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *JHHAS*, Vol. XX, pp. 131 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Quad. Ins. Ind. Bar. St.*, pp. 23 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *Above*, Vol. XXI, pp. 193 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 77 ff.

<sup>8</sup> *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, p. 180; Vol. XIV, p. 107.

<sup>9</sup> *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Part II, pp. 498-500.

the Gajarat kingdom on behalf of his brother while he (i.e. Karka) was absent at Malkhad during Amoghavarsha's minority.<sup>2</sup> About the same time, B. Bhattacharya also offered such a view as probable though he did not exclude other possibilities such as Gōvinda rebelling against his brother and being subdued by Karka with imperial Śaśtrakūta help.<sup>3</sup> While editing the P.W. Museum plates issued by Gōvinda in Śaka 732, M. G. Dikshit suggested that "both the brothers were ruling jointly or at least either of them had the full authority to make donation of land without each other's consent".<sup>4</sup> But the evidence now at our disposal seems to suggest that these views are untenable.

In the first place, it has to be noticed that the records issued by Karkarāja and Gōvindarāja during the rule of their overlord Gōvinda III introduced their father Indrarāja as the brother of the overlord while their grants issued during the reign of Amoghavarsha I introduce Indrarāja as the uncle of the said Śaśtrakūta emperor. The representation of Indra as the brother of Gōvinda III in the Kavi plates issued in Śaka 749 during the reign of Amoghavarsha I, however, follows the draft of the earlier records of Karka and Gōvinda apparently due to a clerical error. Altekar therefore seems to be right when he explains the non-mention of Amoghavarsha I in the Kavi plates as the result of a mistake.<sup>5</sup>

Secondly, we now know that the dates of the eight records of the time of the two brothers, Karka and Gōvinda, if they ruled over the same territory, do not suggest only two periods of rule for the two brothers, viz. the first for Karka and the second for Gōvinda. It will be seen that the brothers were ruling in the following years: Gōvinda in Śaka 732; Karka in Śaka 734; Gōvinda in Śaka 735; Karka in Śaka 738 and 739; Gōvinda in Valabhi 500—Śaka 740; Karka in Śaka 743 and 746; Gōvinda in Śaka 749. If therefore Gōvinda rebelled against Karka and occupied the latter's territories, he must have done that not merely once but for many times. This does not look like a possibility at all especially in view of the respectful mention of Karka in all of Gōvinda's records. The other suggestion that Gōvinda ruled Lāṭja during Karka's absence at Malkhad is equally wrong since we now know that Gōvinda was ruling in Śaka 732, i.e. before the death of Gōvinda III. The theory does not also explain how Gōvinda was ruling even before the earliest known date and after the latest known date of his elder brother.

Thirdly, both Karka and Gōvinda enjoyed the same official designation, viz. *Samadhigatāśaśamahāśabde Mahāsāmantādhipati*, and it is doubtful whether the regent would have enjoyed the same official status as the ruler he represented without indicating the difference in their official positions in any way.<sup>6</sup> Fourthly, if Karka was the real ruler of the land and Gōvinda merely his regent, the subordinate Śalukika chief, *Samadhigatāśaśamahāśabde Mahāsāmantā* Buddhavarsha of Siharakhi-12, should probably have mentioned Karka as his master and not Gōvinda as he does in the Torbheda plates. As regards Dikshit's suggestion, it is difficult to understand how two rulers could have exercised equal authority at the same time over the same land.

That Gōvindarāja was neither his brother's regent nor was he sharing the throne with his brother seems also to be proved by another piece of evidence. The Baroda (Śaka 734), Nansar (Śaka 735), Anasui (Śaka 739), Surat (Śaka 743) and Brāhmanapalli (Śaka 746) records of Karka are known to have been written respectively by the following officers of the king: (1) Nēmāditya

<sup>2</sup> Above, Vol. XXII, p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 251.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 68.

<sup>6</sup> Aparimitavarsha Dantivarman, who was a younger son of Karka and issued a grant in Śaka 739 with the clear approval of the ruling chief, his elder brother Dhruva, enjoyed the title *Mahāsāmantādhipati*, but is called *Samadhigatāśaśamahāśabde* and not *Samadhigatāśaśamahāśabde* (above, Vol. VI, pp. 255 ff.).

son of *Mahāsāndhivigrahika Kulaputra Durgabhata*; (2) *Sāndhivigrahika Nēmaditya*; (3) *Nēmaditya*, son of *Kulaputrabha Durgabhata*; (4) *Mahāsāndhivigrah-ādhipāta Nārāyaṇa*, son of *Kulaputra Durgabhata*; and (5) *Sāndhivigrahika Nārāyaṇa*. It will be seen that all these charters were written by two officers belonging to the same family. It is also interesting to note that the same *Nārāyaṇa* (wrongly given as *Kārāyaṇa*), son of *Durgabhata*, was also the writer of the Baroda plates<sup>1</sup> of *Karka's* son *Dhruva*, dated Śaka 757. If therefore *Gōvinda* really ruled over *Karka's* territory as a regent during the latter's stay elsewhere or if the two brothers ruled conjointly over the same territory, the same officers are expected to have served them. But it is quite significant that none of the four records of *Gōvinda's* time was written by the persons responsible for writing *Karka's* charters. The *Torkhede* plates (Śaka 735), issued by his subordinate *Buddhavarasa*, was written by *Kriehna*, son of *Nanna*, while the P.W. Museum (Śaka 732), *Devali* (*Valabhi* 500—Śaka 740) and *Kavi* (Śaka 749) plates, issued by *Gōvinda* himself, were written respectively by (1) *Jajjulla*, son of *Mahāsāndhivigrahika Padmanābha*, (2) the same *Jajjulla* called the son of *Kulaputra Padmanābha*, and (3) *Yōgēsvara*, son of *Mahāsāndhivigrah-ādhipāta Kulaputra Avalōkita*. The name apparently of the said *Avalōkita* occurs in a grant (Śaka 806) of *Dhruva*, great-grandson of *Karka*, as that of the father of its writer *Valabhi-cāstavya-Mahāsāndhivigrah-ādhipāta Dēnda*.<sup>2</sup>

The above discussion would suggest that, like the three *Lāta Chālukya* chiefs *Dhurārāya Jayasīdha* and his sons *Śrīyārāya Śilāditya* and *Vinayāditya Maṅgalarasa* ruling over different areas of *Gujarat* at the same time at an earlier date,<sup>3</sup> the *Rāshtrakūṭa* chiefs *Karka* and his younger brother *Gōvinda* also must have been ruling over different parts of the *Gujarat* region contemporaneously. The internal evidence of the *Kavi* plates points to *Gōvinda's* hold over the *Broach-Kavi* region of the *Broach District*<sup>4</sup> while *Stharakhi* mentioned in the *Torkhede* plates as the *fin* of his subordinate *Buddhavarasa* has been supposed to be a place near *Baroda*.<sup>5</sup> The place names mentioned in the P. W. Museum plates have been located near *Vadaj* in the former *Baroda State*.<sup>6</sup> Thus the area ruled by *Gōvinda* lay very close to the land under his elder brother *Karka* and was apparently situated to the west of the territory under the latter. The present inscription shows that *Gōvinda* extended *Rāshtrakūṭa* rule as far as the *Palitana-Bhavnagar* region of *South-Eastern Kathiawar*. It may be conjectured that the territory under *Gōvinda's* rule passed on his death to the descendants of his brother *Karka*. We have already referred to the fact that *Dēnda*, son of *Gōvinda's Mahāsāndhivigrah-ādhipāta Avalōkita*, was the *Mahāsāndhivigrah-ādhipāta* under *Karka's* great-grandson *Dhruva*.

Attention may be drawn to another point in this connection. *Karka* issued his charter from certain places including *Khētaka* (modern *Kaira*, headquarters of the *District* of that name in *Gujarat*), which is stated to have been his *rājadhāni* or capital in the *Anasru* plates.<sup>7</sup> As indicated above, *Gōvinda's* *Kavi* plates were issued from *Broach* and the *Devali* plates from *Palitana*, though we do not know where his headquarters lay. Another point of interest is that, while *Gōvinda* issued his *Kavi* plates in Śaka 749 from *Bharukanabhha*, *Karka's* *Anasru* plates of Śaka 739 record

<sup>1</sup> *Iud. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 200.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXII, p. 76, text lines 70-71.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 118-19.

<sup>4</sup> At the time of making the grant *Gōvinda* was stationed at *Bharukanabhha* (*Broach*) and granted land in favour of a temple at *Kōṭipura* in *Kāpikā* (modern *Kavi* to the south of the mouth of the *Mahā*). The land granted by the charter lay to the south of *Kavi*.

<sup>5</sup> See, however, above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 216.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 248.

<sup>7</sup> *Gadre*, op. cit., p. 32, text line 13. *Khētaka* = *Kaira* was also the headquarters of the first feudatory *Rāshtrakūṭa* dynasty of the *Gujarat* region (cf. above, Vol. XXXIV, p. 214).

the gift of a village in the Bharukachchha *visāya*, i.e. the district of which Broach was the headquarters. If the two brothers ruled over separate areas as suggested by us, this requires an explanation. It may be that, in Śaka 749, Karka was no more and that Gōvinda was also ruling over the territory previously held by his brother. It may also be alternatively conjectured that the Broach area formed a part of Karka's territory in Śaka 739 but of Gōvinda's ten years later owing to some adjustment of the two brothers' jurisdictions. A third possibility is that Gōvinda visited Broach in his brother's territory on pilgrimage and made the grant on that occasion. The fourth possibility would be that one part of Broach lay in Karka's territory and the other part in Gōvinda's as in the case of Jerusalem today, parts of which fall in Jordan and parts in Israel.

Of the **geographical names** mentioned in the inscriptions, the location of Lāṭa, Valabhī, Pālitrāṅga and Dvīlikā has already been discussed. Dakṣiṇāpatha or the Deccan is mentioned in verse 33 which states that Indrarāja of Lāṭa saved the frightened circle of the feudatory rulers of the Deccan when they were being deprived of their wealth by the Vallabhēvara (Śaśtrakūṭa emperor) apparently by pleading on their behalf. The gift land is described as bounded by the villages called Kōlakagrāma and Ālōsakagrāma as well as of two rivers named Śatruñjaya and Jarat, though it is probable that *jarat-nadi* really means 'a dried up river'. All these were near Devalī, the findspot of the inscription under study, the Śatruñjaya-nadi being no doubt the modern Shetrunjee river. But I have not been able to trace the other names on the maps available to me.

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

[Metres : verses 1, 22, 42-43, 45, 47 *Anuṣṭubh* ; verses 2-3, 5-6, 8-9, 15, 23, 25, 27, 29-30, 32, 35, 40 *Vasantatilakā* ; verses 4, 19, 37-38 *Upajāti* ; verse 7 *Gīti* ; verses 10, 17, 20, 28, 33-34, 36, 39 *Sāritilambrīṣita* ; verses 11-14, 24, 26, 41 *Āryā* ; verses 16, 18 *Scandharā* ; verses 21, 31, 44, 46 *Indravajrā* ; verse 48 *Pushpitāgrā*.]

### First Plate

- 1 Siddham\* [||] Sa vōvyūd=Vōdhusā dhāma yan-nābhi-kamalaṅ=kṛitaṃ(tam) | Harā=cha yasya kānt=śūdu-kalayā kam=alaṅ(la)ṅkṛitaṃ(tam) || [1\*] Āśid=dvishat-timiram=udya-
- 2 ta-maṅḍal-āgrō dhvaśtib nayan=abhimūkhō rāṇa=śarvvarāṣu | bhūpaḥ śuchir=vvilhuṅ=iv= lāta(śhā)-diganta-kṛittir=**Ggōvindarāja** iti rāja-
- 3 [su] rāja-siṅghah(śiṅghah) || [2\*] Dṛishṭvā chāmūn=abhimūṅ(mu)khī[th\*] subhaḥ-āṅghāsān-(sā)n=unnāmitāṃ sapadi yōna maṅḍaṅ nityaṃ(tyam) | dāṣṭ-ādharēṅ dadha-
- 4 tā bhrukujāṃ lalātō khaḍgam kulāṅ=cha hṛidayaṅ=cha nijaṅ=cha satvam(ttvam) || [3\*] Khaḍgam(ḍgab) kar-āgrōn=muḥhataṅ=cha sōbhāḥ(bhā) ma(mā)nō [manastah] sevam(ma)- m=ḥva yasya |
- 5 mah-āhavē nāma nīamya sadya=trayaṅ ripūṅāṃ vigalaty=akāḡḍō || [4\*] Tasy=ātmaḡō jagati viāruta-[śu]bhra-kṛittir=ārtt-ārtti-hā-
- 6 ri-Hari-vikrama-dhāma-dhāri | bhūpas=trivishṭapa-nrip-ānukṛitib kṛitajñah śri-Karkharāja iti gōtra-maṅḍir=babhūva [||] [5\*] [Ta]sya prabhī-

\* From impressions.

\* Expressed by symbol.

7. nu-karata-ehyuta-dāna-danti-danta-prahāra-ruchir-ōlliklātānaa(=ūhsa)-pīṭha[ ]\*] kshināpaḥ  
kshitan kshapita-katruḥ-abhūt-tanījaḥ [sad-Rāshtra]kūṭa-Kanākā-
8. śrīr-iv=Ēndrarājah || [6\*] Tasy=ōpārijita-mabasa=tana[ya]ś-chatur-udadhi-valaya-[m]āh-  
nyā[ ]\*] bhūktā bhuvah | Śatakratu=af[drī]śah śrī.Da-
9. ntidurggarājō=bhūt || [7\*] [K]āñchīa-Kērala-narādhipa-Chōla-Pāṇḍya-śrī-Haraha-  
Vajrata-vihhōda-vidhāna-daksham(ksham) | Karpātakam balam=achintya-
10. m=ajyam=anyair=fhrityaḥ kiyabhir=api yah sahasā jigōya || [8\*] A-bhūr-vihhaṅgah(ūga)-  
m=agrīhita-nīṣāta-śastram(stra)m=śrāntam=aprat[ ]\*] ājham=apō-
11. ta-yatnadh(tnam) | yō Vallabham sapadi daṅḍa-balōna [ita ā rājādhirāja-paramāśv aratār-  
(tā)m=svāpa || [9\*] Ā sātōr=svipul-ōpal-āvali-lā[sa\*]:
12. l-ki-ō[r\*]mami-mālā-{jalā}d=ā prāhīya-kala[ōki]t-āmala-śilā-jālāt-Tushārāchalāt | Ī pūrva-  
āpara-tōyarūṣi-pulina-prānta-prasiddh-ā-
13. vadhēr=yyēn-ēyadh jagatī sva-vikramā-balōn=alk-ātapatrīkrītā || [10\*] Tasmīn=divam prayātō  
Vallabharājō kahata-prajā-bādhaḥ [ ]\*] śrī-Karkkarāja-
14. sūnur-mahīpatīḥ Kṛishnarājō=bhūt || [11\*] Yasya sva-bhūja-parākrama-nihētāh-ōchchhā-  
(tā)dīt-āri-dik-chākram(kram) | Kṛishnasy-ōv-ākṛishṇa-
15. cha(ritam śrī-Kṛishnarājasya || [12\*] Śubhatuōga-tuōga-turaga-pravṛiddhā-rōy-ōrddhva-  
mddha-ravi-kirāṇam(nam) | grīshmō=pi nabhō nikhilam prāvṛitkā-
16. [lāyatō] spashatāh(abtam) || [13\*] Dīn-Ānātha-prasayishu yathēbhā-chāhantam samhītam=  
ajastam(anam) | tat-kshapam=Ākālavarshō varshati sarva-ā[r\*]tī-
17. nīrv[āpa]ṇam(nam) || [14\*] Rāhappam=īma-bhūja-jāta-bal-āvalōpam-ājau vijītya nīhī-  
āi-latām(tā)-prahāraih [ ]\*] pāli-dhvaj-āvaḥ-śubhām=achir-
18. ṇa yō hī r[ā]jādhirāja-paramāśv aratār tatāna || [15\*] Krōdhāt-utkhīta-khāṅga-prasīta-  
r[uch]i-chayair=bhāsmanām samantād=ājō-
19. v=ndēṛitta-vairi-prakata-gaja-ghaṭ-ōṭpa-sādikaśōbha-daksha(śi)(ksham) | sauryya[ō] tyakte-  
āri-vargō bhaya-{chaki}ta-vapah kv=āpi dṛishṭv=at-
20. va sadyō darpp-ālmā[ ]-āri-{cha}kra-kshayakatam=agama[ ]-vayya [dō]rdāṅḍa-rūpaḥ-  
{nam} || [16\*] Pātā yas=chatur-ambu-<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The mark of punctuation should be deleted.

<sup>4</sup> There is another partially beaten-in line of writing below this and that has to be read from the opposite side. The engraver began to incise the inscription from that side, but gave it up in the first line.



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Handwritten text in Devanagari script on a dark, rectangular plate. The text is arranged in approximately 20 horizontal lines, with some characters appearing to be in a different script or dialect. The plate shows signs of wear and discoloration.

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Handwritten text in Devanagari script on a dark, rectangular plate. The text is arranged in approximately 20 horizontal lines, continuing from the first plate. The plate shows signs of wear and discoloration.

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Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Tamil, covering the upper portion of the page. The text is densely packed and appears to be a continuous passage.

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Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Tamil, covering the lower portion of the page. The text is densely packed and appears to be a continuous passage.

## Second Plate, First Side

- 21 [rāṣi]-ra[śa]n-ā[ś]aśāka-bhājō bhuvā[s-tra]jyāś-ch-āpi kṛita-dvij-āmara-guru-prājy-ājya-  
pū-ādarah | dātā mānabhpid-agra-
- 22 pit-guṇa-atām yō-sau śriyō vallabhō bhōktaṁ svargga-phalāni bhūri-tapasā sthānāni jagān-  
āmaran(ram) || [17\*] Yēna svē-
- 23 t-ātapatra-prabhata-cavikara-vrāta-tāpāt-sa-līlām jagmō nāfra-dhūi-dhavalita-śrasā **Vallabh-**  
**ākhyah** sad-ājau | [śrīmān]-**Gōvinda-**
- 24 rājō jita-jagad-ahitah(ta)-stryah(śtra)ṇa-vaidhavya-dakṣha=tasy=āst=sūnur-ēkaḥ kṣhaṇa-  
rapa-dalit-śrāti-mattāha-kumbhah || [18\*] Tasy-ātmajaḥ
- 25 śri-Dhruvarāja-nāma(mā) mah-ānubhāvō(val) prabhata-pratāpah ||\*|| prasādhit-śśēha-narō-  
ndra-chakraḥ kramēṇa bāl-ārka-yapur-babhūva || [19\*] Jātē ya-
- 26 tra [cha Rā]śhtrakūṭa-tilakē sad-bhūpa-chūḍāmaṇau gurvvi tushṭir-ath-ākṣhilasya jagataḥ  
su-svāmīni pratyakṣah(ham) || satyāni satyam-iti pra[śā]-
- 27 sati sati kṣmām-ā samudr-āntikām-āśōi-dharmma-parō guṇ-āmṛita-nidhau satya-vrat-ādhi-  
shṭitē || [20\*] Hṛiśhṭō-nv-aham nyō(yō)=rtāhi-janāya sarvva[ś] sa-
- 28 rvasvam-ānandita-bandhu-varggaḥ | prādād-prarushṭō harati ima vōgāt-prāpāu Yamasy-  
āmi(pi) nitānta-vīryyah || [21\*] Raksha[tā] yō[na] nihō[śham] chata-
- 29 r-ambhōdhi-satyutazh(tam) || rājyāni dharmmēṇa lōkānāni kṛitā tushṭiḥ parā hṛidi || [22\*]  
Tasy-ātmajo jagati sat-prathit-ōru-kirttir-**Gōvindarāja** iti
- 30 gōtra-lalāma-bhūtah ||\*|| tyāgi parākrama-dhanaḥ prakāṣa-pratāpa-santāpit-āhita-janō jana-  
vallabhō-bhūt || [23\*] **Prithvivalla[bha\*]** iti cha prathi-
- 31 tati yasy-āparah jagati nāma | yas-cha [cha\*]tur-udadhi-śmām-ēkō vasudhām vasā chakrō ||  
[24\*] Ekō-py-ānka-rūpō yō dadṣiś bhō-
- 32 da-vādibhir-iv-ātmā | para-bala-jaladhim-āpārah taran=sva-dōrbhyām rapō ripubhīḥ ||  
[25\*] Ekō nirhōtir-aham grīhita-sāstrā imō parō baha-
- 33 vah | yō ā-āraṇvidham-akarōch-chittam evapnō-pi kim-ut-ājau || [26\*] Rājy-ā[bbhish]-  
ka-kalāsair-abhishichya dattām rājādhi[rāja]-paramōsvaratām
- 34 sva-pitrā | anyair-mmahā-nripatihhir-balubhīḥ samētya Stambh-ādibhir-bhūja balād=avale-  
pyamānām(nām) || [27\*] Ekō-nōka-narōndra-vṛinda-sa-
- 35 hitān vyastān samā(ma)stān=api prōtkhāt-āi-latā-prahāra-vidhurān ba[d\*]dhvā mahā-  
sathyugē | lakṣmīm=apy=achalāni chakāra vilasa-
- 36 [t-sa\*]ch-chāmara-grāh[il]ṭi sashālad-guru-vīpra-sajjana-suhṛid-bandh-ūpabhōgyām bhuvī ||  
[28\*] Tasmād=babhūva śasi-suhṛa-yaśō-ritā-

- 37 na-vibhrājītā(ta)-tribhuvanō nna(na)ta-vairi-varṅgaḥ ||[\*] śrīmān-mahā-dhāna-payōbhira-  
Amōghavarshō nirvāpīt-ākṣhīla-jagad-ghāta(na)-tāpa-saṅgapat || [29\*]
- 38 Pradyumna śha kimu Yādava-vaśā(vashā)-kṣtuḥ kiṁ Kārttikēya uta śakti-nirasta-śatruḥ  
||[\*] ki[śh\*] vai Jayanta iha sadgata Indra-kūpāt |<sup>1</sup> saṁpaśyatāḥ
- 39 bhavati viśma(sma)ya-hāri chētah || [30\*] Asy-śbhavad-bhūmipatiḥ pri(pi)trivyaḥ śrīmān-  
k[r\*]amāt-san-matir-Indrarājah | āstī prabhūt-śdbhuta-kī-
- 40 rtti-sūtiḥ sarvasya Lāḥ-śēvara-maṅgalasya || [31\*] Yasy-śāga-mātra-jayinah priya-  
sāhasasya kṣmāpāla-vāsha-phalam-śva babbhūva
- 41 saiyam(nyam) | muktā cha sarva-bhuvan-śēvaram-śdi-dēvān n-śvandat-śnyam-  
amarēśiv-api yō manasvi || [32\*] Yēn-śikēna cha Gūrjar-ś-
- 42 śvara-patir-yyōddhuh samabhyudyataḥ |<sup>1</sup> śauryya-prōddhata-kandharō mriga iḥa kṣhipraḥ  
diśō grāhitah ||( ) bhūt-śaahhata-Dakṣhiṇ-
- 43 patha-mahā-sāmanta-chakrah yatō rakṣām-śpa viloṅṅyamāna-vibhavan Śrīvallabhēn-  
śdarāt || [33\*] Yēn-śikēna mah-ś-

*Second Plate, Second Side*

- 44 hava-vyasaninā krīḍā-vihār-śdyama-prārambh[ē] vihitō nitānta-ni[śh]kja-dhvānta-pradōahē  
sat ||[\*] durvārah samam-śva saṁparipatan ba-
- 45 ndi-samūhah kuṣaṅg-śtikṣhṇa-prōdyata-śastra-saṁhati-karah paśchatvam-śpāditaḥ || [34\*]<sup>2</sup>  
Tasy-śtmajah prathita-vikrama-vairi-varṅga-lakshmi-
- 46 haḥ śharaṇa-santata-śabdha-ikrti[ḥ] |[\*] śri-Karkkarāja iti samārita-pūrit-śśah śāstr-śrtiśha-  
bōdha-paripa(pā)lita-sarva-lōkah || [35\*] Rā-
- 47 jyā yasya na taskarasya vanti[r\*]-vyādihāḥ praṁti[r\*]-mṛitā durbhiksharā na cha vibhra-  
masya mahimā n-śiv-śpasargg-ś[dbha]rah | nō [dōsh]-ā-
- 48 bhyudasya-tathā ripu-janē n-śiva pramōd-śdgatir-mnō vidvat-paripanthimī prabhavati krūrā  
khalānām matih || [36\*]<sup>2</sup> Samrājya-jāpē patitō pra-
- 49 saṅgān-śndatānām viśva-jantua-saṅgapat ||( ) rājyam Balāḥ pūrvam-ahō babbhōva kalitā[vy]-  
idānīn-[t]u nrīpasya yasya || [37\*] Ichchh-śtirēkēya kṣiṣhṭha(va)-
- 50 [lānēh] payō yathā muñchati jātu mēghā ||[\*] bhāvū-manas-tad-viratān va(ta)th-ślīhūl-  
yasmīn dhanam varahati śrakūnūh(nām) || [38\*] Rāmay-śya dhṛita-[vra]ta-

<sup>1</sup> The punctuation mark is redundant.

<sup>2</sup> The achievement alluded to here is not intelligible without further light on the point.

<sup>3</sup> The P. W. Museum plates, written by the same person, reads the third foot differently.

- 51 sya vinaya-sthairyya-sthitiṛ-Llakhsmaṇaḥ Pārthasya-śva Dhanañjaya[h\*] kṣaṇa-jita-  
pṛōdvṛitta-vairi-vrajaḥ | Gōvindaḥ prathita[h] kṣhitāv-śva gu-
- 52 pañ Śaṅkarahapasy-ātmanān yasy-ārīdhana-nirmala-sthira-matir-Ggōvindarājō-nujaḥ ||  
[39\*] Antastha-Śaṅkara-śiraḥ-[sthira]-chandra-rākhō-[anu]
- 53 tat-sudhā-rasa-vibhāvita-sarvva-mūrti[h] [\*] rliō(lō)kasya nirvṛitkarah sprihaṇya-jaṇmā  
jātaḥ sad-āṃṣitamayatva-guṇi(g-ō)[daya]ō-cha || [40\*] Tēn-ōdam=ani-
- 54 la-vidyuch-chañchalam-ālōkyā jīvitam-asūrat(ram ||) kṣiti-dānaō-cha paraṁ puṇyam\*  
pravartitō-yam dharmas-dāyah || [41\*] sa cha samadhigatāō-
- 55 shanuhāśabda-mahāśabda\*-mahāśmantādhipati-Prabhūtavaraha-śri-Gōvindarājah |\*  
sarvān-śva yathā-sambadhyamānākūn
- 56 rāhitrapati-vishayapati-grāmakūṭ-śyukta-niyuktak-ōdhikārīka-mahattar-ādīn samanubō-  
dhayaty-astu vah sañviditah yathā
- 57 mayā śri-Pālittānak-āvasthitēna mātā-pitrōr-ātmanāś-cha-sihik-śmushmika-phal-ā-āpty-  
arthaḥ dharmma-yaō-bhivṛiddhayō śri-[Valabhi-vā-ta]-
- 58 vya-tach-chāturvīdyā-sāmānya-Śaṅḍilya-sagōtra-vāji<sup>2</sup>-Mādhyandina-sabrahmachāri-Brā-  
hmaṇa-Sōmāya Karkka-sūnavē Dōśilika-
- 59 śimā-pratibaddha-kṣētrah Kōhal-ābhidhānaḥ yasy-āghātanāni pūrvvataḥ Kōlaka-grāma-  
śmā tathā dakṣiṇataḥ Śatruñjaya-na-
- 60 dī tathā-ā-parata Ailōśaka-grāma-śimā | uttaratō Jaran-nadi | śvam chatur-āghātan-ōpala-  
kṣhitam s-ōdraṅgam sa-parikaram\* sa-bhū-
- 61 la-vāta-pratyāyam sa-daṇḍa-das-āparīdham |\* s-ōtpadyamāna-vishṭikam sa-dhānya-hiraṇy-  
ādēyam(yam) |\* a-chaṭa-bhaṭa-prāvēyam sarvva-rāja-
- 62 kiyān(yā)nām-s-hasta-prakṣhēpaṇīyam(yam) ā-chandir-ārkk-ārṇava-kṣiti-sarir-parvata-  
samakālnam putra-pantir-ānvaya-bhōgyam tathā bhūmi-
- 63 chchīdra-nyāyēna pūrvva-datta-dēva-brahma-dōya-rshitam śri-Vālabhiya-sarvatsara-  
śatōshu pañchasa mahā-parvvanī sū-
- 64 vrya-bhañāraka-grahaṇō mātṛ-ōlak-ātisarggōpa balli-charu-vaiśvadēv-āgnihōtr-ātithi-  
pañcha-mahāyājña-kriy-ō-
- 65 tsarppaṇ-ārtham pratipāditaḥ yatō=sy-ōbhītayē brahmadāya-sthityē bhūmijātō bhōjayataḥ

\* The P. W. Museum plates read the first foot differently.

<sup>2</sup> For the sake of the metre, read *kṣiti-dāna-parama-puṇya* as in the other records (cf. above, Vol. XXII, p. 74, verso 31; p. 84, verso 26).

\* This word is redundant.

\* The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

<sup>2</sup> *La. Vājasaṅya.*

\* The expression is sometimes found in this form, though *s-ōparīdham* is commonly used in inscriptions.

## Third Plate

- 66 kṛishataḥ karshayataḥ pratidīśatō \*ā na kṛu=ipi paṇipanthanā kōryyā | tath=āgāmi-nripatibhūr-  
asmad=va-
- 67 śhya(vahēyai)=anyair=vvā sūmānya(nū) bhūmi-dāna-phalam=avētya vidyā-lōlāny=anīty=ai-  
kṛaryyāni triḥ-āgra-lagoa-ja-
- 68 la-bindu-chañchalam cha jīva-lōkam=ākalayya eva-dāya-nir=riśō dhō-ṛam=asmad-dāyō=  
numantavyeb<sup>1</sup> | patipālayitavyāś=cha [1\*] yāś=ch=ā-
- 69 jñāna-timira-patal-āvṛita-matir=āchchhijū)dyāś=āchchhīdyamūnath ve=ānumōdatō sa pañcha-  
bhūr=mmahā-pūtakair=upapūtakair=cha mah-
- 70 yuktas=vyād=ity=uktañ=cha bhagavatā Vēdavyāsena Vyāsena || Shashṭire=vvārūha-mahārcāḥi  
śhaśṭir=vvārūha-śatāni cha |<sup>2</sup> svargyō tishṭhati
- 71 bhūmidah [1\*] āchchhētā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva narakō vaśē || [42\*] Vindhy-śtaviśhv-  
a-sōyāsu śuśka-kōjara-vāsinaḥ [1\*]
- 72 kṛishṇ-ōhayō hi jāyantē bhūmi-dāy-āpabhāriṇaḥ || [43\*] Agnōr=spatyam prathamāśi suva-  
rṇam bhūr=vvaiśnavi sūryya=autā-
- 73 ā=cha gārah [1\*] lōka-trayam tēna bhavēd=ihī dattacā yāś kūñchanam gāh=cha mahāñ=cha  
dadyāt || [44\*] Bahubhir=vvasodhā bhuktā rajabhiḥ Sa-
- 74 gar-ūdhīhīḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam(lam) || [45\*] Yān=cha dattāni  
purā narēndrasir=ddānāni dharmmārtha-yasā-
- 75 śkarāṇi [1\*] nirmālya-vānta-pratimāni tāni kō nāma sādhuḥ punar=ādadita || [46\*] Sva-dattāni  
para-dattāni vā yatnād=rakṣā-
- 76 narādhipa [1\*] mahim mahībhīṭāḥ śrēṣṭha dānāch=chhīrtyō=nupālanarō(nam) || [47\*] Iti  
kamala-dal-āmba-bindu-lōlām śriyam=annchintya
- 77 manushya-jīvitāñ=cha | ativimala-manōbhīnā(r-ā)tmānair=ona hi purushaiḥ para-kirttayō  
vilōpyā[h || 48\*] Iti [1\*]
- 78 dūtakaś=ch=ātra Śhaṭṭa-śrī-Kumārah<sup>3</sup> | eva-hastō=ya[di\*] śrī-Gōvindarājasya<sup>4</sup> [1\*]
- 79 śikhitāñ=ch=aitan=mayā kulaputra-śrī-Padmanābha-sānunā Jajjullōn=ōti || \* ||

<sup>1</sup> The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

<sup>2</sup> The second half of this verse and one foot of the next stanza are omitted here through oversight. We may make one stanza by omitting śhaśṭir=vvārūha-śatāni cha.

<sup>3</sup> The name may also be Śrīkumāra.

<sup>4</sup> After this (written in the Northern characters), there is a peculiar symbol which is also often found in some other records of the family (cf. above, Vol. XXII, Plate facing p. 76). The symbol is still used in South India in Kōlas (Kangaralli) decorations.

<sup>5</sup> There is a spiral symbol between the double dondas.







not in a position, whatever be the reason, to exert full control over subordinate allies and feudatories in the outlying areas. It should be remembered that Pulakēsin II, the powerful Chālukya emperor of the Deccan, died in 642 A.D., so that the Maitrakas now had no fear from the south also.

The charter was issued from **Valabhi** by king **Dhruvasēna (II) Bālāditya** who is introduced in lines 1-34, in the style of his other records, as the younger brother of Dharaśēna (III), son of Kharagraha (I) who was the younger brother of Śīlāditya (I) Dharmāditya, son of Dharaśēna (II) who was the son of Guhasēna, a descendant of Bhatārka of the Maitraka dynasty. The inscription registers the grant of 150 *pādāvatās* of land (i.e. a plot of land measuring 150 feet square) in the northern border of the village called **Maohchhōtikā** in the division (*stambh*) called **Utsinna-Ijja** in **Surāshtra** in favour of the Brāhmana Sōmasarman who was the son of Sāmbakumārasarman and belonged to the Dākshya *gotra* and the Vājamūnya *śūkkā* (lines 34-36). The donee was a resident of Valabhi and belonged to the Chaturvēdin community of that place; but his family hailed from **Ānartapura**. The grant was a permanent one and carried with it the privileges usually attached to such gifts recorded in the copper-plate charters of the Maitrakas.

The gift land consisted of a single plot cultivated by Chūrjijyaka and Mahottara Gaura. Its boundaries are described as follows: to the east—a field belonging to Lagujijyaka (or Laghu-Jijyaka, 'the younger Jijyaka') and an adjoining field belonging to the Brāhmana Hastadēva; to the south—a field known by the name Kapittha-kshātra (probably because there were some Kapittha trees in it); to the west—a field apparently belonging to Chhāsiyānaka and another adjoining plot belonging to the Brāhmana Karika; and to the north—a field belonging to the said Karika and lying on the borders of the village of **Saranapadraka** as also an adjoining plot of land belonging to a person named Kikakaka (lines 37-40).

The executor of the grant was *Rājaputra* **Dharaśēna** (line 50). He seems to have been the king's son who later ascended the Maitraka throne as Dharaśēna IV. This prince is not mentioned as the executor of any charter of Dhruvasēna II so far published, his other grants being known to have been executed by *Sāmanta* Śīlāditya<sup>1</sup> and *Rājaputra* Kharagraha.<sup>2</sup> The document was written by *Dēvapati* Skandabhata, son of *Sandhivigrahākādhikārita* *Divinapati* Vatrabhatti (lines 50-51). Both the persons are known from many other Maitraka records<sup>3</sup> though Vatrabhatti's name has often been wrongly quoted as Vatpabhatti,<sup>4</sup> Chandrabhatti,<sup>5</sup> Vasabhatti,<sup>6</sup> Vasabhata<sup>7</sup> and Chitrabhatti.<sup>8</sup> The date of the record is quoted in the last line (line 51) as the fifth day of the bright fortnight of Āshāḍha in the year 323, which is followed by the endorsement, "[This is] my own signature", no doubt referring to the donor's signature on the original document later incised on the plates.

As regards the geographical names mentioned in the inscription, Ānartapura is identified by some with Dvārakā and by others with Ānandapura (Vadnagar in the Mehsana District).<sup>9</sup> Since, however, the name Ānandapura occurs in no less than five inscriptions of the Maitraka family,<sup>10</sup> Ānartapura does not appear to have been an alternative spelling of that name and may

<sup>1</sup> Bhandarkar's List, Nos. 1341-43.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 1345-47.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 1340, 1342, 1344 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1337.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1338.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1341.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Nos. 1340, 1351.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 1345.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. N. L. Day, *Geog. Dict.*, s.v.; Raychandhuri, *PHAI*, 1953, p. 566 and note.

<sup>10</sup> Virji, *op. cit.*, p. 293; see also the plates of ŚHāditya III noticed above p. 282.

be regarded as a different locality. The village of Macehhōtikā in Utsious-Ijja-sthall probably lay in the Amrahi region. It is well known that Valabhi, the capital of the Maitraka kings whence the charter was issued, is modern Vajā near Bhāvnagar.

## TEXT\*

## First Plate

- 1 Siddham<sup>1</sup> svasti [1\*] Valabhītat prasaha-(p)rasas-āmitrāgām Maitrakāpām-atula-  
hala-sa[ri]punnas-maṇḍal-ābhōga-sa[ri]pukta-prahāra-sata-labha-pratāpāt-pra-
- 2 āp-ōpanata-dāna-mān-ārjjav-ōpārjji-ānūrāgād-anurakta-maṇḍa-bhīta-srēgī-bal-āvāpta-rā-  
jya-kriyāḥ-paramamāhōśvarah[īrī] Ari-Bhaṭārkkād-avya-
- 3 vochehīnna-rāja-vaśā(vatā)tmā(n-mā)itā-pitri-charaṇ-ānvinda-prāṇati-pravidhanti-ōśha-  
kalmashah[ī] śaisvāt-prabhīrti khadga-dvītya-bāhur-ōva samada-pam-gaja-ghaṭ-ōpō[āna]-
- 4 prakāśita-satva(tiva)-nikashavrat-prabhāva-prāṇat-ārīti-chūḍā-rotan-prabhā-samsakta-pāda-  
makha-raṇi-sa[śha(māha)]tis-sakala-suriti-praṇṭha-mārgga-sa(sa)myak-paripālana-
- 5 prajā-krīdaya-raḥjan-ānva[ri]tha-rāja-sabdh[ī] rūpa-kānti-sthairya-gāmbhīryya-buddhi-sa-  
mpad[ī]bhī[ḥ] amara-sāśān[ī]k-ābh[ī]r[ī]j[ī]-ōśad[ī]bh[ī]-[ri]tri[ri]dāśaguru-dharmān[ī]-ati-
- 6 śayānāḥ sarva-āgāt-ābhaya-pradhāna-paratōyā tīpavad-ōpāt-lāśha-svakāryya phala[ī]\* prī-  
ritan-ādīk-ārtha-pradhā-ānand[ī]ta-ri]dvat-suhrit-praṇayi-
- 7 hīdarah-pādachār-īva sakala-bhuvana-maṇḍal-ābhōga-prasād[ī]bh[ī] [para]mamāhōśvarah[ī]  
at-Guhasēnas-tasya sutas-tat-pāda-nakha-muyūkhā-santāna-
- 8 vicīta-lāma-ri]jal-augha-prakāśit-ōśha-kalmashah[ī] prajāy[ī]sata-suhast-ōpājītyamāna-sa-  
mpad-rāpa-lābhād-iv-āśāna-sa-ra[ī]bha[ī]sam-āni[ī]bh[ī]gā-
- 9 mikair-ggugulis-sa[śha]jja-śakti-ākhā-v[ī]c[ī]kha-cism[ī]pit-ākḥila-dharmōdharah[ī] prathama-  
narupati-samatibhā[ī]t[ī]nā[ī]m-a[ī]va[ī]pālayitā dharmoma-llāyānām-sap[ī]-
- 10 [k[ī]ritā] praj-ōpaghātakāśigāna-spaplarāh[ī] darsayitā Śri-Sarasvatyōr-ōk-ābhīr[ī]māya  
sāha[ī]sā[ī]ha[ī]ri-ārīti-paksha-lakshmi-paribhōga-dakṣhā-vikramō
- 11 vīkram-ōpanāṁprāpta-v[ī]mala-pūrtihā[ī]iva[ī]r[ī] [para]mamāhōśvarah[ī] at-Dharasēnas-  
tasya sutas-tat-pād-ānand[ī]bhā[ī]tas-sakala-jū[ī]ga[ī]-ānand[ī]n-ōryad[ī]bh[ī]ta[ī]-
- 12 guru-samudaya[ī] sthagita-samagra-dīnāudalā[ī] amara-sata-ri]jya-ōśhā-sand[ī]cha[ī]-  
maṇḍal-āp[ī]ra-dyuti-bhāsuratāna-s[ī]r-āśā[ī]p[ī]bh[ī]ōśhā-gura-ma-
- 13 āśāha-māhōbhāra[ī] sarva-vidyā-par-ōp[ī]ta-ri]bhā[ī]g-ādhīgama-simāla-matī-sap[ī] sa-  
ryutā-satibhā[ī]ta-īv[ī]n-ōp[ī] sukha-ōp[ī]p[ī]ra[ī]j[ī]j[ī]tya-paritōśha[ī]\*
- 14 samagra-ōk-āg[ī]dha-gāmbhīryya-krīdayā[ī]pi suhacit-āśāya-savyakta-patana-kalyāṇa-  
svabhāva[ī] khillihāta-Kṛta-yuga-ār[ī]p[ī]ti[ī]-p[ī]tha-viśōdha-
- 15 [ri-ā]bhīgāt-ōśāga-kīrtit-ōdharmō-ānupar[ī]bh[ī]j[ī]va[ī] [para]māhōśvarah[ī] at-ārīti-sukha-sampad-  
nup[ī]r[ī]v[ī]-nīc[ī]bh[ī]-Dharmmāditya-dvītya-nā[ī]mā paramamāhōśvarah[ī]
- 16 Śri-Siddhitya-sarva[ī]nā[ī]s-tat-pād-ānand[ī]bhā[ī]tas[ī] [para]māhōśvarah[ī] at-ārīti-sukha-sampad-  
[ī]tyādāvatā samatibhā[ī]na[ī]s[ī]p[ī]m-a[ī]p[ī] r[ī]j[ī]a-lakshmi[ī]r[ī] skandh[ī]-[ī]

\* From impressions.

\* Expressed by symbol.

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a historical record or inscription. The text is arranged in approximately 26 horizontal lines across the page. The script is dense and appears to be a form of Sanskrit or Prakrit. There are some dark spots and a circular hole on the right side of the page, possibly due to the age of the document or the scanning process.

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28 30 32 34 36 38 40 42 44 46 48

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Brahmi or similar, covering the entire surface of a palm leaf manuscript. The text is densely packed and arranged in approximately 20 horizontal lines. The leaf shows signs of age, including a hole on the left side and some darkening or staining.

28 30 32 34 36 38 40 42 44 46 48

(from Photograph)

- 17 saktām paro[ma]-bhadra i[ya] dhuryya-tad-ājñā-sampādan-aka-rasaty-a[iv=ō]dva-  
[han-khō]jā-eu[kha] [ra]ti[ti]bhyām-a[nā]yāi[ta-satva(ttva)-sampa]tti[h\*] prabhāva-  
sampa[d-va]-
- 18 śkrīta-urīpati-śata-śiro-śaina-śikhāy-ōpaga(gū) dha-pāda-pīthō-pi par-āvajñ-ābhimāna-  
ras-ānāi[igita]-mauō-vrīttih prapātim-ākā[r\*] parītya-
- 19 jya prakhyāta-paurush-ābhimānair-apy-arātībhīr-anāsādita-pratikriy-opāyah kṛta-  
nikhila-bhū[ya]-n-āmō[da]-vipula-guṇa-saiha(saiha)ti-pra[sabha]-
- 20 vigha[ti]ta-sakala-kali-vilāsita-gatir-anūcha-jan-ādhirōhibhīr-asēhāir-ddōshair-a[nāmri]-  
śit-ā[tyannata-kṛta]jya prakhyāti-pau[rush-āstra-kausāl-ā]ti-
- 21 śaya-[gana]titha-vipaksha-kohitipati-lakṣmī-svayānūgraha-prakāśita-pravīra-purusha-pra-  
thama-saḥ[āhy-ādhi]gamaḥ paramamāhōsvara[ḥ] śrī-Kharagraha[s-tasya
- 22 tsavya-[ta]t-pād-ānuddhyāta-sakala-viddhyō(dy-ā)dhū[ga]ms-vih[ta]-nikhila-vidvaj-  
jana-manah-pa[ritōśi-śīsa]ya[h\*] satva(ttva)-sa[m]padā tyāg-audāryyēga cha viga-
- 23 ś-ānna[nā]n-āśa(sa)m-ā[ti]r-ārāti-paksha-[ma]nōrath-āksha-bhaṅga sa[myag-ā]palakāhit-  
ānāka-śāstra-ka[ḥ]lōka-charita-gāvara-vi[bhāgō]-pi para-
- 24 ma-[bha]dri-prakṛitir-ak[iti]ma-pra[śra]ya-vinaya-ābhā-[vibhū]shas-sama[ra]-śata-jaya-  
patākā-haraṇa-pratyālō[y-ō]daga-bāhu-da-
- 25 [nā]da-vūhvansi(dhvansi)[ta-nikhila-pratīpa[kha-darpp-ō]daya].....<sup>1</sup> paribhūt-  
āstra-kausāl-ābhimāna-sakala-urīpati-maṅgal-ā-
- 26 .....<sup>2</sup> [parama-mā].....<sup>3</sup> t-pād-ānuddhyāta[ḥ] sacharit-ātīsayita.....<sup>4</sup>

Second Plate

- 27 rapati-śati-dussādhānām-āpi prasādhayitā viśayāgām [mā]r[ī]mān-iva purushak[ā]rah  
par[ī].....<sup>5</sup>
- 28 chinta(tta)-vrīttibhīr-Mmanur-iva svayam-abhy[ū]pānnaḥ prakṛtibhī[r-ādhi].....<sup>6</sup>  
[kalā-kalāpā] kānti].....<sup>7</sup>
- 29 kumudanāthāḥ prājya-pratāpa-śhagita-dig-anta[rā]jā-prodhva[n]si(dhvansi)ta-(dhvānta-  
rā)śih.....<sup>8</sup>
- 30 vantam-ātīkhatitha-prayōjan-ānubandhatu-āga[ma-pa]ripūrṇam [vidā]dhānāḥ sandhi-  
[vi]gra[ha-samāsa-nācha]jya-nipūṇak[ā]śhā].....<sup>9</sup>
- 31 dōśānā vidādhāt-guṇa-vrīddhi-viśh[āna]-janita-saḥkārāḥ sādhanān [rā]jya-śālāturiya-  
ta[ntra]yō[r-nbha]lyōr-a[pi].....<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The last letters are *sa-dharaḥ-prābhā* as known from other records.  
<sup>2</sup> As suggested by other epigraphs, this lacuna has to be filled up with the letters *śāimānāśa-śānā*.  
<sup>3</sup> These last letters are *śāimānāśa śrī-Dhruvasenā-sampādan-ānāyā*.  
<sup>4</sup> The letters *śāimānāśa-śānā* are lost here.  
<sup>5</sup> We have to restore the text as *vrīddhi-guṇ-ānubandha-nirbhara*.  
<sup>6</sup> The two letters lost here are *gita*.  
<sup>7</sup> The lacuna has to be filled up with the letters *śāimānāśa-śānā-śāimānāśa*.  
<sup>8</sup> This gap has to be filled up with the letters *śāimānāśa-śānā prakṛtibhīr-ābhīr-param-pratyāgam-ārāha*.  
<sup>9</sup> The last letters are *śāimānāśa-śānā*.  
<sup>10</sup> We have to read here *śāimānāśa-śānā-śāimānāśa*.

- 32 pi karuṇā-mṛidu-ḥṛidayaḥ śantavān-apy-agarvitatā kāntō-pi prakamī sthira-asa . . . . .<sup>1</sup>  
[nitasitā dōshavatām-udaya . . . . .<sup>2</sup>
- 33 samapajanta-jan-ānarōga-paripihita-bhuvana-samaritihitaḥ(ta)-prathita-Bāladitya-dvitiya-  
nāmā paratmmūhōvaranā śi-Dhruvajāṣṇa]-
- 34 bhūśālī sarvān-ōva yathā-sambadhyamānakān samājñāpayaty=anta vas-sarvaviditān  
yathā mayā mātā-pitrōḥ=puṇy-āpyāyanāy-[Āna]-
- 35 ritapu[ra]-=inirggata-Valahhī-vasavya-Valahhī-chētarevidya-sāmānya-[Dō]khaṅga<sup>3</sup>-sagōtra-  
Vājasanīya-sabrahmacāri-Brāhmana-Śāmba-
- 36 kumārāarma-putra-Brāhmana-Sōmalarmma[ṅḡ] Surāśtrish-[Ūti]ṅga<sup>4</sup> Ijja-ethaly-  
antarggata-Machchhō[ti]kṣā<sup>5</sup>-grāmē uttara-sīmā Chū[rjji]yaka-
- 37 mahattara-Gaurābhyān prakripta[m\*] sūcādhā-pādāvarita-data-pramāṇam-[t]ka-khaṅ-  
āvasthita-keḥōtraṇi yas-āghājanāni pūrva[taḥ]
- 38 Lagujyaka<sup>6</sup>-astka-keḥōtraṇi tad-āsanam-ōva Brāhmana-Hastadōva-astka-keḥōtraḥ  
lakṣhīnata[ḥ] Kapittha-keḥōtraṇi aparataḥ Chohhā[Chā]siyā-
- 39 nakā-keḥōtraṇi tad-āsanam-ōva Brāhmana-Karika-keḥōtra[m\*] uttara[taḥ] Śaraṅapadraka-  
grāma-sīmā Brāhmana-Karika-astka-keḥōtraṇi tad-āsa-
- 40 nam-ōva Kikaka-astka-keḥōtraṇi-ōvam-[ta]k-chatur-āghājana-visuddham sōdraṅga-  
sōpatikara-sa[ḥ]hū[te]vita-praty[ā]yam[ā] sa-dhānya-hi-
- 41 raṅy-ā[dē]yam sadāsāparōdha-sōtpadyamānaviśtikāni sarva-rājakyānām-ahasta-pra-  
kṣhōpaṇya[m] [pū]rva-pratta-dōva-br-
- 42 hmadōya-sabhitān bhūmi-chchūdra-nyāyō-ā-chaudr-ārka-ārṇava-kaliti-saris-parvata-  
samakālham putra-paute-ānyaya-bhōgyam[gyam]
- 43 ndak-āśārggāṅga brahmadāyō nisriptaḥ yatō-ay-ōchitayā brahmadōya-sthityā bhū-  
ñjataḥ-kriṣhataḥ-karṣhayataḥ-pradiśa-
- 44 tō vā na kalchhīd-vyāsēdhā vartitavyam-āgāmi-bhadra-aripatibhūr-asamadvaśa(d-vadhā)-  
jūr-onyair-ēvā amityāy-āśvaryyāṅya-
- 45 sthiraṇi mānushya[m] sāmānya[m] cha bhūmi-dāna-phalam=svagachchhadbhūr-ayam=  
asmad-dāyō-nūmantavyaḥ-paripāl-
- 46 yitavyā-cheḥōty-ukram cha | Bahubhūr-vvasudhā bhuktā rājābhī-Sagarādībhiḥ [!]  
yasya yasya yadā bhūmim-āsa-
- 47 tasya tadā phalam[ham] [!] Yān-[ka] dāridra(drya)-[bha]yōn-ua[rā]jadrācchhadhānāni  
dharma-śyastanūpitāni [!]<sup>7</sup> airbhukta-māya-pratimām tāni kō nāma sōdhūḥ-punare-  
ādānā [!]<sup>8</sup> Śhaśhī[śhī]-varṣa-
- 48 sahaśrāni svargō mōdati bhūmidāḥ [!]<sup>9</sup> āchchhōtā(ttā) ch-ānūmantā cha tāny-ōva  
narakō vas[!]<sup>10</sup> Dūtakō=tra rājanputra-Dharsōnāḥ [!]<sup>11</sup> lūkhitaḥ sandhivigra-  
hādhlkṛita-divi-
- 49 rapati-Vatrabhaṭṭi-putra-divirapati-Skandabhāṭṭas || saḥ 300 20 3 Āshādha śu 5 sva-bastō  
mama[!]<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The damaged letters are *hrīdayōpi*.<sup>2</sup> The damaged word is *omaya*.<sup>3</sup> Śhastrī reads *Amakha* and draws our attention to the Nāgara Brāhmanas of the Anukapa pātra.<sup>4</sup> *Sowāli* has but been observed here.<sup>5</sup> Śhastrī reads *Machchhōtā*.<sup>6</sup> The intended name may be *Lagya-Nyaka*.<sup>7</sup> The full stop is, situated here by a design formed by a dot, three curved strokes and an underline.

## No. 39—EPIGRAPHIC NOTES

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### 17.—Meaning of 'Upagata', etc.

Different versions of Minor Rock Edict I of Aśoka contain the Prakrit words corresponding to Sanskrit *upagata*, *upayāta* and *upāta* (respectively from *upa-√gam*, *upa-√yā* and *upa-√ā*) in the same sense<sup>1</sup> which has been variously understood. Elsewhere we have suggested that *upagata*=*upayāta*=*upāta* in the context means *saṅgata*, 'intimately associated'.<sup>2</sup> In our opinion, the passages in question indicate Aśoka's intimate association with the Buddhist *Saṅgha*. The lexicons, however, do not bear out this meaning quite clearly. In this connection, a study of similar words, often used in copper-plate grants to indicate the relation of the subordinates and officers of a king with the gift land or the district in which it was situated may be of interest. These words are generally understood in the sense of 'assembled',<sup>3</sup> though really some of them appear to support the above interpretation.

From the standpoint of the recording of grants of land, copper-plate charters can be primarily divided into two classes, viz. (1) those that merely announce that some land or a village was granted by the donor, and (2) those that contain an order of the donor in respect of the grant addressed to certain people. Among the records of the first category, mention may be made of a number of charters issued by the Imperial Gaṅgas of Orissa.<sup>4</sup> Copper-plate grants written in verse (e.g. many of the charters issued by the Vijayanagara kings)<sup>5</sup> and those written mostly in verse<sup>6</sup> generally fall in the same class. The passage *s-ānṣayān prāha bhūpālān* occurring in the versified part of a charter<sup>7</sup> from Orissa is one of the few exceptions.

The second category of copper-plate grants, in which the donor's order is addressed to certain people, is important for our enquiry as it is some of these that contain the words in which we are interested. Such records can be broadly subdivided into five classes: (1) those in which the addressees are vaguely and generally indicated; (2) those in which the order is primarily addressed to the inhabitants of the gift village or the village wherein the gift land was situated or the district wherein the gift land or village was situated; (3) those in which the order is primarily addressed to the royal officers or agents including also the subordinate rulers, *jāgirdārs*, etc., in some cases; (4) those in which both the inhabitants of the locality in question and the royal officers or agents, etc., are mentioned; and (5) those in which the donor addresses neither the inhabitants nor his officers but only the future kings.

<sup>1</sup> *OH*, Vol. I, p. 228.

<sup>2</sup> *Masāi Inscription of Aśoka*, p. 24; above, Vol. XXXII, p. 9, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. above, Vol. XXVI, p. 12 and note 3; see vol. XII, p. 42 and note 4; Majumdar, *Ins. Beng.*, Vol. III, p. 180.

<sup>4</sup> See above, Vol. XXXI, pp. 21, lines 181 ff., 200, lines 125-27; Vol. XXVIII, pp. 190, lines 179-81, 194, lines 179 ff., 256, lines 122-26. For such records belonging to other dynasties or kings, see *ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 15, lines 8-16, 190, lines 14-16, 212, lines 6-9; Vol. XXX, pp. 140, lines 11-16, 187, line 17-18; Vol. XXVIII, pp. 75, lines 3-6, 216, verses 17-21, 266, lines 7-13, 291, lines 17 ff.; Vol. XXVII, p. 75, lines 17-22.

<sup>5</sup> See *ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 144. For such records belonging to other families, see *ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 75; Vol. XXIX, pp. 108, 198; Vol. XXVIII, pp. 183-84.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 32; Vol. XXX, p. 304.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 225, text lines 15-16. In this article, we have quoted the epigraphic passages after removing scribal errors, etc.

The first and last of these subdivisions are simple. The first of the two is illustrated by the charters of the Chälukyas of Badami, in which we have the passage *sarvān-eva-ājñāpayati*.<sup>1</sup> The other, which is rare, is likewise illustrated by the passage *sarvān-eva bhāvi-bhūmipālān-samanubōdhayati* sometimes occurring in the grants of the Rāshtrakūṭas of the Gjuatat region.<sup>2</sup> The other cases are complicated.

The order addressed to the inhabitants of a locality is simpler in passages like the following : (1) *śri-Skandavarmanō vacchanēna Kudrādhāra-Kōmparē grāmēyakaḥ caṭvayāḥ* ;<sup>3</sup> (2) *grāmē sarva-samavētān-kuṭumbīnāḥ samāññāpayati* ;<sup>4</sup> (3) *Gōhāpharāḍa-nivāsīnāḥ kuṭumbīnāḥ samāññāpayati* ;<sup>5</sup> (4) *Sunīkāyān prativāsīnāḥ samāññāpayati* ;<sup>6</sup> (5) *Prastaravēḥa-cāsīnāḥ sarva-samavētān-kuṭumbīnāḥ samāññāpayati* ;<sup>7</sup> (6) *Rōyūru-grāmē grāmēyakaḥ-ītham-ājñāpayati* ;<sup>8</sup> (7) *Phēnava-grāmē yathā-nivāsi-janapadān samāññāpayati* ;<sup>9</sup> (8) *Andōrōppa-grāmē sarva-samavētān-kuṭumbīnāḥ samāññāpayati* ;<sup>10</sup> (9) *Pratīkṣhāpūca-nivāsīnāḥ sarva-samavētān-kuṭumbīnāḥ samāññāpayati* ;<sup>11</sup> etc. But slight elaboration is noticed in such passages as follows : (1) *Brāhmaṇya-purōgān-grāmān-chharit-ādi-kuśalān prīṣṭvā likhātī* ;<sup>12</sup> (2) *Kōntinika-grāmē Brāhmaṇyān-samprāyā prativāsīnāḥ samāññāpayati* ;<sup>13</sup> (3) *Kēṭavakē Brāhmaṇya-purassarvān-prativāsi-kuṭumbīnāḥ samāññāpayati* ;<sup>14</sup> (4) *uktavānī-cha rōjā tad-grāma-nivāsīnō mahattama-jānapadān* ;<sup>15</sup> (5) *Kēṣṭlaka-grāmē Brāhmaṇy-ātarān-kuṭumbīnāḥ-śivahakān-ch-ājñāpayati* ;<sup>16</sup> (6) *sarva-samavētān-kuṭumbīnō bhōjakān-cha samāññāpayati* ;<sup>17</sup> (7) *Gudravāra-vishaya-nivāsīnō rāshtrakūṭa-pramukhān-kuṭumbīnāḥ samāññāpayati* ;<sup>18</sup> (8) *vishayē Vardhamānāḥ grāmākūṭa-drōpāgraka-nōyaka-lōcavārika-garvaka-pramukhān-sarvān-eva yathā-prativāsīnāḥ samāññāpayati* ;<sup>19</sup> (9) *Mēhāra-grāma-nivāsi-yathā-pradhāna-janapadān-mahattarān-cha samāññāntī* ;<sup>20</sup> etc.

In the first group of these passages, the inhabitants of a village (*grāmēyaka*, *kuṭumbīn*, *prativāsīn*, *janapada*, etc. ; cf. *grāma*, *jānapada*, etc., in the second group) are referred to while, in the second group, they are mentioned along with their social or administrative leaders and with certain village officials in a few cases. Rarely, the villagers of a whole district are stated to have been ordered after having been summoned (*samāññāya*). The word used in some cases in respect of the villagers is *sarvasamarēta* which may mean 'assembled from all sides'. This seems to be supported by the expression *sarva-samavētān* rarely used in place of *sarva-samavēta*. As will be seen below, the expression *samupasthita* is used in some cases in a similar context in respect of the villagers

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 118, note 2 ; p. 130, text line 54.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 253, text lines 29-30.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 9, text lines 8-9.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 200, text lines 9-10 ; Vol. XXX, p. 27, text lines 13-14 ; p. 117, text line 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 203, text lines 24-25.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 315, text lines 4-5.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 277, text lines 2-3 (on first plate, second side).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIX, p. 96, text lines 12-13.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 113, text lines 8-9.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 178, text lines 5-6.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 219, text lines 8-9.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXXI, p. 92, text lines 5-6.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 221, text lines 10-11.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 265, text lines 2-4.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXX, p. 140, text line 18.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 16, text line 3.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 35, text lines 2-3.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46, text lines 15-16.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 142, text lines 35-36.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 184, text lines 15-16.









in the sense of a colony or settlement of the Parsees may be right. Further consideration has, however, made us doubtful about the correctness of the suggestion.

The expression is found in some of the records of the ruling families of Kannada origin, which flourished in the Northern Konkan. Besides the epigraphs cited above, we may refer to the Bhandup, Thana and Kharepatan plates<sup>1</sup> containing the expression *kañyamana-nagara-paura-trivarga* though the last named inscription has *kañyamana* in place of *kañyamana*. The difficulty is that, if it is the name of a place in the Northern Konkan but cannot be identified with Sanjān, we do not have any other geographical name with a similar sound in the area in question and cannot explain why this place name should be specially mentioned in a few records of the Kannada ruling families of the Northern Konkan. This would suggest that *kañyamana-kañyamana* may be a word of Kannada or South Indian origin, and, in that case, it would scarcely indicate a Parsee colony which is not known to have existed in the areas where the Dravidian languages are spoken.

A similar word is noticed in Kannada epigraphs discovered in places far away from the Northern Konkan. Thus an inscription<sup>2</sup> from Kaikini in the North Kanara District, Mysore, dated 1427 A.D., refers to Unmaramarakūla, the *mukhya* of the Hañjamāna of Honnāvura and to the molestation of the women of the said community at Kāsarakōju by *Mahāpradhāna* Timmana Ojeya ruling from Honnāvura. Another inscription<sup>3</sup> of 1465 A.D. from the Mahalingēśvara temple at Basrūr in the Coondapur Taluk of the South Kanara District, records that Pañjaridēva Ojeya, the ruler of Bārakūra-rājya, made in favour of the local god Mahādēva a gift of the gold which the *kañjamāna* people of Basarūru (*Basarūr oḷagana kañjamāna-avara*) were paying. Since there is little possibility of the references here being to Parsee settlements in the North and South Kanara Districts, it is very probable that *kañyamana-kañyamana-kañjamāna* should be understood in the sense of Kannada *pañcha-varga* of the lexicons, the same as Tamil *añju-varṇam* (Sanskrit *pañcha-varṇa*) understood in the sense of the five artisan classes, viz. the goldsmith, blacksmith, bracer, carpenter and stone-mason, who are also known in Tamil as *Añju-pañchāṣṭār*, *Pañchāṣṭar*, *Pañchāṣṭār* and *Pañcha-kamaṣṭar*.<sup>4</sup>

Thus, of the expressions quoted above from the inscriptions, *kañyamana-paura* or *kañyamana-paura* would mean 'the artisans and other citizens' while *kañyamāniya-mukhya* would indicate 'the elders of the artisan communities'. The expression *kañyamana-nagara-paura-trivarga* means 'the three classes, viz. *kañyamāna*, *nagara* and *paura*'. Among these, *nagara* seems to mean 'the merchant community'. The word is used in the said sense in Kannada inscriptions, often in the forms *nakara* and *nakhara*,<sup>5</sup> cf. also *nagara* of Tamil inscriptions explained as 'a guild of merchants, a mercantile town'.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., p. 263; *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I, pp. 337; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> R. S. Pancharāukhi, *Kannada Inscriptions*, Vol. I, pp. 110 E. (No. 48). The length of the vowel is not in this record and a few others may be due to the modification of the following conjunct to a simple consonant, although lengthening has been avoided in the other forms.

<sup>3</sup> *III*, Vol. IX, Part II, pp. 479-71 (No. 450).

<sup>4</sup> See T. N. Subramaniam, *South Indian Temple Inscriptions*, Vol. III, Part II, (Glossary), pp. vi and xliii.

<sup>5</sup> *III*, Vol. XI, Part I, No. 112; Part II, Nos. 138, 172, 175; R. S. Pancharāukhi, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 39; Vol. II, p. 21.

<sup>6</sup> T. N. Subramaniam, *op. cit.*, p. xii. Cf. also *naynāṣṭār*, *naynāṣṭār*, *naynāṣṭār* and *naynāṣṭār*.

## INDEX

By E. R. Gopal, M.A., Ph.D.

[The figures refer to pages, a after a figure to foot-notes, and add to additions. The following other abbreviations are also used: au, =author; ca, =capital; ch, =chief; *Chron*, =Chronicle; ci, =city; co, =country; com, =composer; de, =deity; di, =district or division; do, =ditto; dy, =dynasty; E, =Eastern; engr, =engraver; ep, =epithet; f, =family; fe, =female; *feud*, =feudatory; gen, =general; gr, =grant, grants; *hist*, =historical; ins, =inscription, inscriptions; k, =king; l, =locality; l.m., =linear measure, land measure; m, =male; min, =minister; mo, =mountain; myth, =mythological; n, =name; N, =Northern; off, =office, officer; pop, =people; pl, =plate, plates; pr, =prince, princes; prov, =province; q, =queen; rel, =religious; ri, =river; S, =Southern; s.a., =same as; sur, =summa; t, =temple; Tel, =Telugu; t.d., =territorial division; tit, =title; ta, =town; t, =tabak; vi, =village; W, =Western; w, =work; wt, =weight.]

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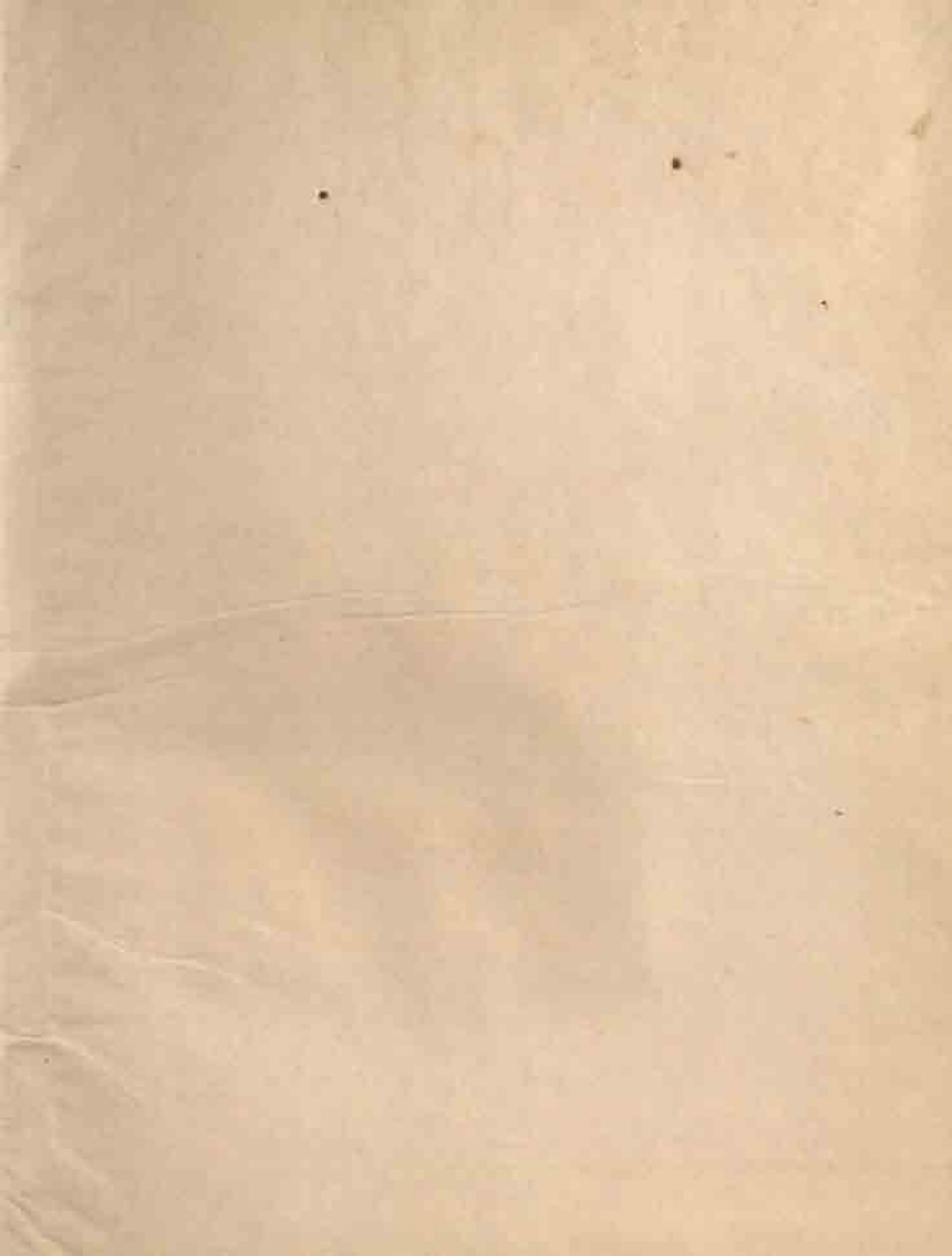
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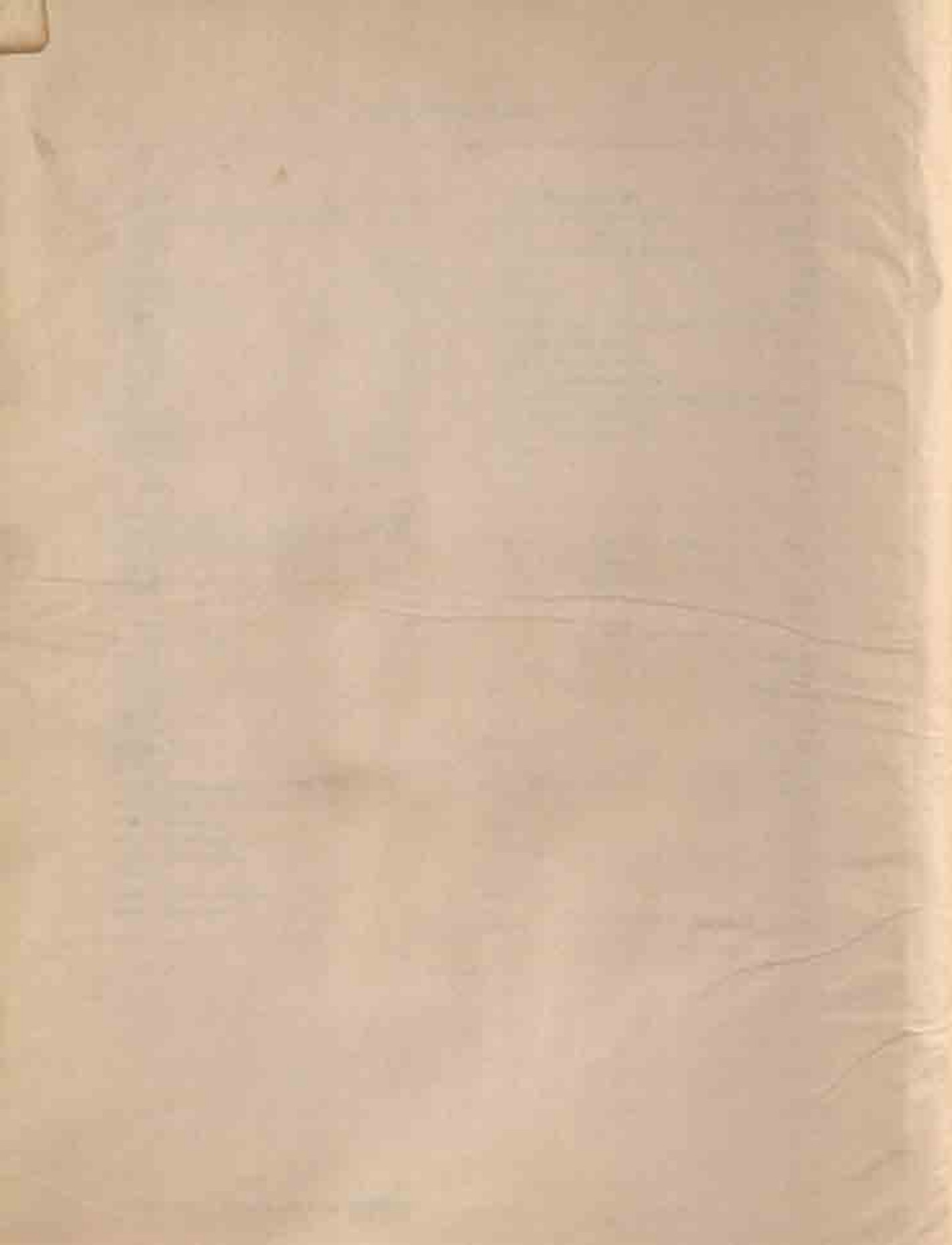
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