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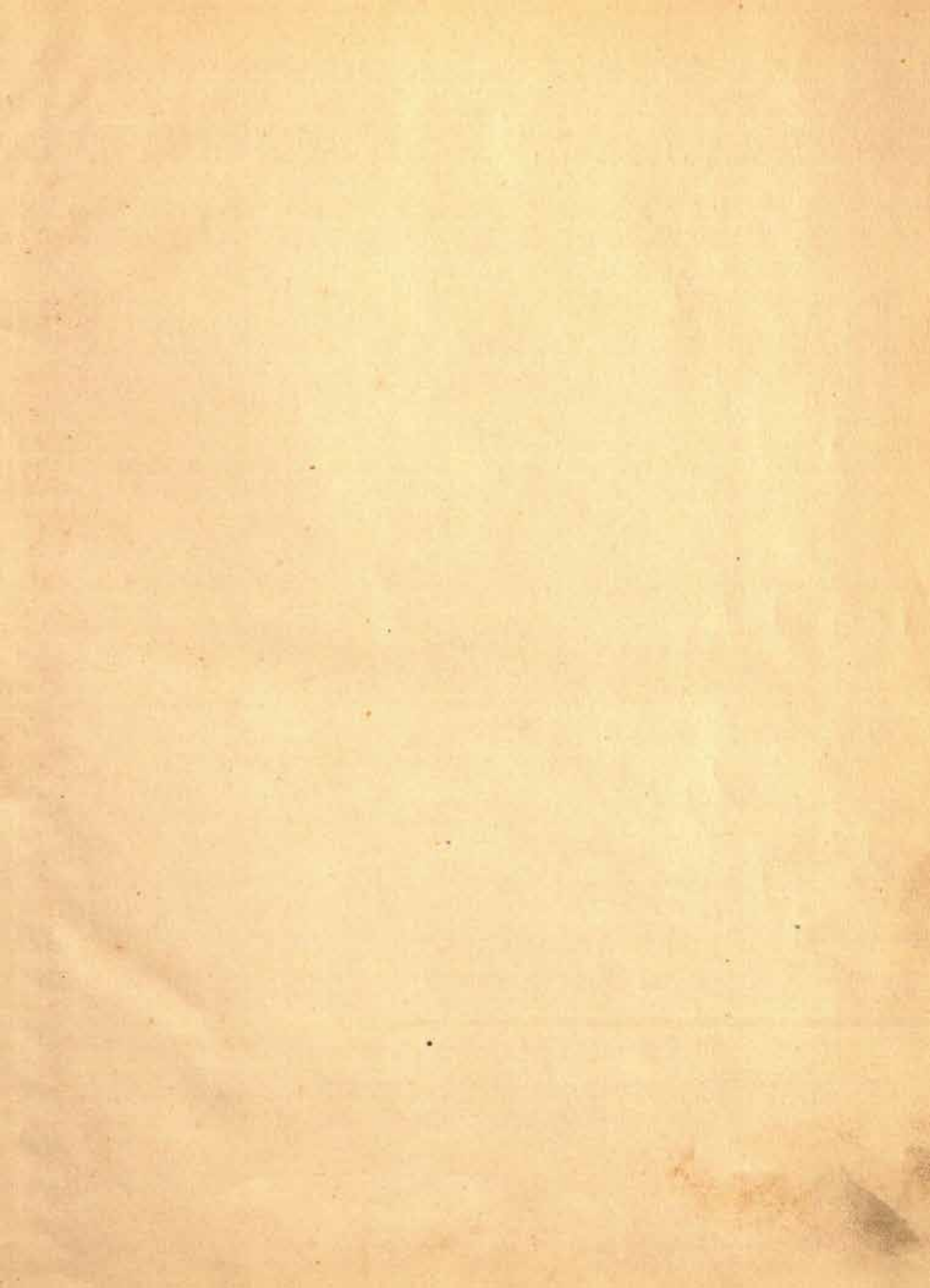
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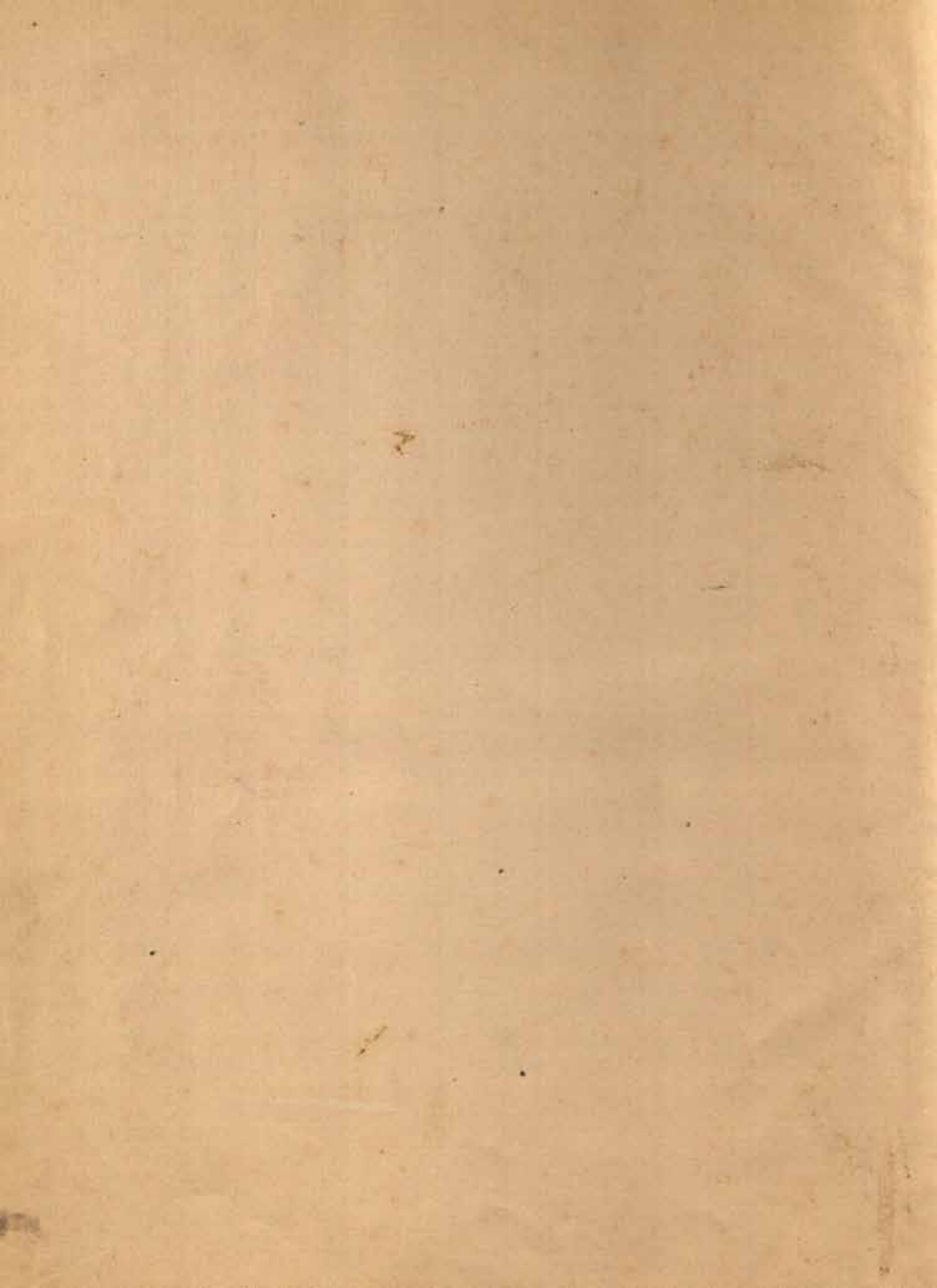
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EDITED BY
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GOVERNMENT EPIGRAPHIST FOR INDIA.



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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

- Page 8, para. 7, l. 1.—For Kharōshthī read Kharōshthī.
- „ 12, f. n. 1.—For Deotēk read Deotēk.
- „ 13, para. 1, l. 16.—For *Āptōryāma* read *Aptōryāma*.
- „ 16, f. n. 3.—For Ranabhañja read Raṇabhañja.
- „ 23, para. 4, l. 6.—For Rājarājā read Rājarāja.
- „ 24, f. n. 8.—For *Ēlisaimōgaṇ* read *Ēlisaimōgaṇ*.
- „ 25, l. 2.—For *Silāvati* read *Silavati*.
- „ 27, text l. 3.—For [Vā]ṇilaikaṇḍīsuramudaiya read [Vā]ṇilaikaṇḍīsuramudaiya.
- „ 35, para. 5, l. 2.—For Tanjai read Tañjai.
- „ 37, f. n. 16, l. 4.—For Chaturvēdimāṅgalam read Chaturvēdimāṅgalam.
- „ 39, para. 2, l. 18.—For has to be connected read have to be connected.
- „ 46, f. n. 1, l. 4.—For Irda read Irdā.
- „ 53, l. 24.—For Dudia read Dudia.
- „ 57, para. 2, l. 1—2.—For dip-thongs read diphthongs.
- „ 66, text l. 11.—For कर्णाम्बु^० read कर्णाम्बु^०.
- „ 66, text l. 11.—For नागपालीभवत्पृथ्वी read नागपालीभवत्पृथ्वी.
- „ 70, text l. 46.—For ^०पृथ्वी read ^०पृथ्वी.
- „ 73, text l. 12.—For ब्रजपद्मनीचं read ब्रजपद्मनीचं.
- „ 74, text l. 24.—For जगत्सिंह read जगत्सिंह.
- „ 76, text l. 41.—For कल्पद्रुमा read कल्पद्रुमी.
- „ 79, text l. 14.—For प्रसादार्य read प्रासादार्यं.
- „ 81, text l. 26.—For तदा(दा) read तदा(दा).
- „ 90, para. 3, l. 4.—For first fortnight and read first fortnight of the month of Rishabha and.
- „ 90, para. 4, l. 3.—For a new read anew.
- „ 95, para. 1, l. 1.—For *Vaijyarīl* read *Vaijyarīl*.
- „ 95, para. 2, l. 11.—For *Śiṅgañña* read *Śiṅgaṇṇa*.
- „ 108, end of para. 1.—Add the following :—
- “ On re-examining the inked impressions of the Rewa Stone inscription of Karṇa of the Chēdi year 800, I find that the second of the two missing *akṣharas* before *nāmā* in l. 31 is *ra*. The name of the cyclic year was, therefore, *Khara*. This corroborates my reading of the date of this inscription. For the cyclic year corresponding to the expired Chēdi year 800 (A. D. 1048–49) was *Khara* according to the Northern luni-solar system.” (V. V. M.)
- „ 110, l. 7.—For *Mālwa* read *Mālwā*.
- „ 120, para. 2, l. 1.—For *Penḍrābandh* read *Pāṇḍrābandh*.
- „ 120, para. 2, l. 1.—For Vol. XXII read Vol. XXIII.
- „ 133, para. 1, l. 2.—For characters read charters. (B. C. C.)
- „ 140, para. 1, l. 2.—For Uruvupalli plates of Siṅhavarman read Uruvupalli grant of Siṅhavarman.
- „ 154, para. 3, l. 8.—For *Uḍaiyāṇ Kūttāḍuvāṇ* read *Udaiyāṇ Kūttāḍuvāṇ*.
- „ 154, para. 3, l. 21.—For ‘ on which *varagu*,’ read ‘ on which *ellu, varagu* ’.
- „ 154, para. 4, l. 2.—For and borne crops read and had borne crops.

- Page 162, l. 26.—For friendly relation read friendly relations.
- „ 166, text l. 1.—For *Pū-malar-tiruvu[m]* read *Pūmalar-tiruvu[m]*.
- „ 175, text l. 37.—For *māmmāyā* read *Māmmāyā*.
- „ 176, para. 3, l. 1.—For *Kaira* read *Kairā*.
- „ 176, para. 3, l. 1.—For *Sāṅkhēḍa* read *Sāṅkhēḍā*.
- „ 179, para. 5, l. 13.—For *Valabhi* read *Valabhī*.
- „ 184, para. 4, l. 7. }
 „ 191, para. 1, l. 4. } —For *Veluṅgaguṅṭa* read *Veluṅgugunṭa*.
- „ 185, f. n. 2.—For No. 453 of 1906 read No. 543 of 1906.
- „ 185, f. n. 8.—For *Arakatavēmula* read *Arakaṭavēmula*.
- „ 188, para. 1, l. 11.—For *Kibbenahalli* read *Araḷaguppe*.³
- „ 189 f. ns. 1, 2 and 4.—For No. 309 of 1923 read No. 309 of 1922 and for No. 310 of 1923 read No. 310 of 1922.
- „ 211, para. 5, l. 5.—For *thier* read *their*.
- „ 213, f. n. 6, l. 4.—For *Chāmpāner* read *Chāmpāner*.
- „ 213, f. n. 7, l. 5.—For *goddless* read *goddess*.
- „ 214, para. 1, l. 1.—For *Muslim historians*) and read *Muslim historians* (and.
- „ 215, f. n. 7, l. 1.—For *tal-dēśasya* read *tal-dēśasya*.
- „ 217, f. n. 4, l. 2.—For *verse 21* read *verse 22*.
- „ 218, para. 5.—[In this para. Dr. Sankalia describes Jayadēva as the lord of Bāgūla and seems to hold the view that by Bāgūla the name of a country is indicated. But by the form Bāgūla a race or clan of Rāṣhoḍa seems to be referred to. The origin of the name Bāgūla and its application to a race or clan are explained in *Rāshṭraudhavamśamahākāvya* of Rudrakavi (1596 A. D.) vide: Canto II vv. 27 ff. (M. V. R.)]
- „ 218, para. 6, l. 2.—For *Śaka 1401* read *Śaka 1410*.
- „ 224, text l. 9.—For *दं चकार* read *दं(मं) चकार*.
- „ 225, f. n. 1.—For *puṇyam* read *puṇyam*.
- „ 233, text l. 15.—For *vishay-ṣpabhōgaḥ* read *vishay-ṣpabhōgaḥ*.
- „ 239, f. n. 10.—For *Mahārāja-sva-mukh'-ājñāptyā* read *Mahārāja-sva-mukh'-ājñāptyā*.
- „ 242, corrected text l. 1.—For *उत्तरैरम्* read *उत्तरैरम्*.
- „ 249, para. 1, l. 3.—For *Kaubidarikā* read *Kaubidārikā*.
- „ 256, l. 8 from bottom }
 „ 257, para. 3, l. 2. } —For *Dharanikōṭa* read *Dharaṇikōṭa*.
- „ 259, ll. 3-4.
- „ 261, para. 2, l. 10.—For *gotra* read *gōtra*.
- „ 263, f. n. 7, l. 2.—For *Bēlorā* read *Bēlōrā*.
- „ 264, text l. 2.—For *विशुद्धं स नीतस्य सभाटं* read *विशुद्धसमीपस्य सभाटं*.
- „ 279, para. 1, l. 4.—For *pillar by the wife* read *pillar by Reti, the wife*.
- „ 286, f. n. 4, verse l. 1.—For *मृतमरावु* read *मृतमरावु*.
- „ 286, f. n. 4, verse l. 3.—For *व्यरचय* read *व्यरचय*.
- „ 286, f. n. 4, verse l. 11.—For *कलिकवमया* read *कलिकवमया*.
- „ 288, f. n. 5, verse l. 1.—For *माया* read *माया*.
- „ 299, f. n. 2.—For *Uruvupalli plates* read *Uruvupalli grant*.
- „ 302, f. n. 7, l. 1.—For *at the first instance* read *in the first instance*.
- „ 315, text l. 6.—For *उत्तुमाया* read *ता*.

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2. Plate II. [Faint text]

3. Plate III. [Faint text]

4. Plate IV. [Faint text]

5. Plate V. [Faint text]

6. Plate VI. [Faint text]

7. Plate VII. [Faint text]

8. Plate VIII. [Faint text]

9. Plate IX. [Faint text]

10. Plate X. [Faint text]

11. Plate XI. [Faint text]

12. Plate XII. [Faint text]

13. Plate XIII. [Faint text]

14. Plate XIV. [Faint text]

15. Plate XV. [Faint text]

16. Plate XVI. [Faint text]

17. Plate XVII. [Faint text]

18. Plate XVIII. [Faint text]

19. Plate XIX. [Faint text]

20. Plate XX. [Faint text]

21. Plate XXI. [Faint text]

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23. Plate XXIII. [Faint text]

24. Plate XXIV. [Faint text]

25. Plate XXV. [Faint text]

26. Plate XXVI. [Faint text]

27. Plate XXVII. [Faint text]

28. Plate XXVIII. [Faint text]

29. Plate XXIX. [Faint text]

30. Plate XXX. [Faint text]

EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME XXIV.

No. 1.—THE BAJAUR CASKET OF THE REIGN OF MENANDER.

By N. G. MAJUMDAR, M.A., INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA.

The inscriptions edited here occur on a steatite casket which comes from **Shinkot** in **Bajaur** territory. The place is about twenty miles to the north-west of the confluence of the Panjkora and Swat rivers, beyond the borders of the North-West Frontier Province, where the casket was discovered by some tribal people while digging the foundations of a new fort. The territory of Bajaur, representing a part of the ancient province of Udyāna, is practically an unexplored country, and the present find is therefore of unusual interest. The only other mentionable object discovered in this region is the seal of Theodamas which was first published by Senart¹. The steatite casket is said to have encased a casket of silver, which in turn contained a gold reliquary and some ashes; but the silver and gold articles are no longer traceable. The outer casket together with some fragments of its lid has been recovered through the efforts of Mian Afzal Shah, son of Khan Bahadur Mian Rahim Shah, C.I.E., of Ziarat Kaka Sahib in Peshawar District. At the request of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Director General of Archaeology in India, Mian Afzal Shah has very generously presented the casket to the Archaeological Department and it has been lent for exhibition to the Indian Museum, Archaeological Section, Calcutta. I am deeply obliged to Rao Bahadur Dikshit for having permitted me to edit the inscriptions and also for the help I have received from him in manifold ways.

The **casket** is a flat, bowl-shaped vessel of dark steatite having a flanged base all round, 1·3" in width. The diameter of the casket at the mouth is 8·8" and at the base 11·3", and the diameter of the lid is also, 11·3". The depth of the bowl is 1·9", and the casket including the lid measures 3·3" in height. Excepting a few indented lines in the form of concentric rings encircling the body of the casket and its lid at six different places, it bears no other decoration.

The **characters** appearing on the casket are Kharōshthī, as may be expected in the locality from which it comes. The inscriptions are engraved along the rim of the lid (A), around its centre (A¹ and C) and on its inner face (A²), also in the concave portion of the casket (B and D) and on its back (E). The longest one of the inscriptions is marked D, the lines of which are disposed of in the form of a spiral, as in the case of the Relic Casket of the year 303 from Charsadda.² As only a few fragments of the lid have been recovered it has not been possible to restore the entire text of Inscriptions A, A¹, A² and C. The rest of the inscriptions, however, have been completely made out, as the bowl of the casket, although slightly cracked, is in a fair state of preservation.

The **engraving of letters** has not been carried out in the same uniform style throughout, and from this point of view the inscriptions may be classified under two distinct groups. In A, A¹, A² and B the letters are formed by bold and deeply incised strokes, while in C, D and E the

¹ *Journal Asiatique*, VIII, xiii (1889), pp. 364 ff; and Konow, *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 6.

² See pp. 8 ff. below.

writing is shallow, the letters are comparatively small and the strokes in many places no better than superficial scratches. A similar example of superficial engraving of Kharōṣṭhī letters is afforded by the Charsadda Casket inscription of the year 303.

The grouping of inscriptions as suggested above can be justified also on grounds of **palaeography**. Inscriptions A-B have in all the instances *ṃ* with a rounded head, but in C-E it shows definitely an acute angle. In the former inscriptions *ṃ* has a long sweep in its top curve, resembling the letter in the Shahbazarhi and Mansehra Edicts of Aśoka. In the latter inscriptions this curve has taken an angular or hook-like appearance, akin to the type occurring in the inscriptions of the Kushān period. Significant also are the varying shapes of the letter *s* which in A-B is generally of the closed type as in the Asokan inscriptions and Indo-Greek coins, while in C-E it shows in all cases a definite gap at the upper left side of the crowning loop, although in the majority of examples its lower vertical slightly extends upward, beyond the point where it meets the loop. The latter feature is characteristic of the *s* as found in the inscriptions of the Śaka period, while the upward extension of the vertical is absent in the letter occurring in the Kushān inscriptions.¹ While, therefore, Inscriptions C-E are referable to the period of the Śaka Satraps of Taxila and Mathurā, Inscriptions A-B must be referred to a somewhat earlier date. This date is suggested by Inscription A which refers itself to the reign of *Mahārāja Minadra*, i.e., the Greek King Menander, who ruled sometime in the 2nd century B. C. To the same date must also be assigned Inscriptions A¹, A² and B which exhibit palaeographic features identical with those of Inscription A. The difference in age between the two sets of inscriptions was probably a little more than fifty years, so that we may suppose that the additional inscriptions C, D and E were engraved sometime in the 1st century B. C.

Apart from the evidence of palaeography and the technique of engraving, there is another point in favour of the assumption that some of the inscriptions were incised at a later date. The **position of Inscriptions A¹ and C** on the casket shows that A¹ existed already when C was engraved. Had it not been so the engraver of C would have commenced his writing from a point further to the right. Similarly, Inscription B must have existed prior to D; otherwise there would be no need for the engraver of D to leave so much space between lines 1 and 2, just where Inscription B occurs on the casket. This spacing was evidently intended to avoid overlapping of the inscriptions.

The **language** of the inscriptions is the North-Western variety of Prākṛit as in the post-Asokan Kharōṣṭhī documents. Linguistically, the earlier group of inscriptions on the casket cannot be differentiated altogether from the later group; the only mentionable difference is in the case of the word *Śākyamuni* which is rendered as *Sakamuni* in Inscription A². The word appears in this form in the Taxila plate of Patika, Mathurā Lion Capital inscriptions and the Tirath Foot-print inscription.² It occurs also in a Jauliā inscription which, according to Konow, is a copy of an older record.³ In the Kurram and Wardak Vase inscriptions⁴ the name is Sanskritized as *Śakyamuni*. It is spelt, however, as *Śakimuni*⁵ in Inscription D. Such a difference in the spelling of the all-important word denoting the Buddha's name cannot be without significance and must be attributed to the circumstance that Inscription D was composed by a different man at a date later than Inscription A². Other points concerning the language will be noted where each individual text is discussed.

¹ Majumdar, *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 1928-29, p. 471.

² *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Pt. I, pp. 28, 48 and 9.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 97, No. 12.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 155 and 170.

⁵ The letter *mu* in A² is also of an earlier form as compared with that in D.

The question arises why these two sets of inscriptions were engraved on one and the same casket, but at two different dates. This can be answered after we have considered the purpose of the inscriptions and also analysed their individual contents. The earlier portion of the record represented by A, A¹, A² and B refers to the establishment or consecration of (the corporeal relic) of the Buddha in the reign of *Mahārāja Minadra*, on the 14th day of the month of *Kārttika* of a certain year which is lost. The donor of the casket was a person named *Viyakamitra*. The later portion of the record represented by Inscriptions C-D also refers to the establishment of the corporeal relic of the Buddha, and of the bowl, but by a person named *Vijayamitra*, on the 25th day of *Vaiśākha* of the 5th regnal year. Inscription E of this later group mentions the name of the scribe *Viśpila*. Further details of the inscriptions will be clear from our analysis of the contents as given below.

A.—This inscription must have opened with a mention of the year of consecration of the casket. The portion specifying the year is lost. So also is the concluding portion of the text which probably contained a reference to *śarīra* after the word *prāṇa-samēda*. As mentioned already, the inscription refers itself to the reign of King Menander whose name is spelt here as *Minadra*, allied to the Pāli form *Milinda*. The Pāli text *Milindapañho*, or 'The Questions of King Menander', contains a number of imaginary dialogues between this king and the Buddhist sage *Nāgasēna*. The king's name appears as *Menadra* on his coins, while on a relief from *Gandhāra* the name of its donor, who is also a Menander, is spelt as *Miṇamdra*.¹ In the present record the title *maharāja* occurs after the name of the king. Similar instances are found also on some of his coins, the *Kharōshthī* legend on which reads as *Menadrasa maharajasa tratarasa*.² The word *kaṭiāsa* is equivalent to Sanskrit *Kārttikāśya*. The change of *rt* into *ṭ* occurs also in the *Prākṛit* of Asokan inscriptions. The day of the month of *Kārttika* is expressed as 4 4 4 1 1, i.e., 14. This notation is rather unusual since the customary way to express the number 14 would be to write 10 4. The third digit, viz., 4, which is engraved below the line, appears to have been added later.³

The words *prāṇa-samēda*, i.e., *prāṇa-samēta*, which occur twice, in A and in A², seem to have been used in reference to the *śarīra*, i.e., the corporeal relic of the Buddha. The Buddhist conception regarding his corporeal relic is thus explained in the *Mahāvamsa*:⁴ "If we behold the relics we behold the Conqueror" i.e., the Buddha. Regarding the deposit of his relics in the *Thūpārāma-chetiya* in Ceylon the Buddha is supposed to have observed: "If my pure relics, filling a *doṇa*-measure, are laid, they shall take the form of the Buddha, and rising and floating in the air, they shall take their place after having wrought the miracle of the double appearances."⁵ Thus in regard to the relic consecrated in the *Thūpārāma-chetiya* it is stated that when it was brought to the place on the back of an elephant and was being watched by the people from every side, it "rose up in the air from the elephant's back, and floating in the air plain to view, at the height of seven *tālas*, throwing the people into amazement, it wrought that miracle of the double appearances, that caused the hair (of the beholders) to stand on end, even as (did) the Buddha under the *Gaṇḍamba-tree*".⁶ In view of such powers attributed to

¹ C. I. I., Vol. II, Pt. I, pp. 134.

² Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, Vol. I, p. 26, No. 77.

³ The second symbol for 1 is longer than the first. A similar example occurs in the *Fatchjang* inscription of the year 69 (C. I. I., Vol. II, Pt. I, Plate IV, 1).

⁴ Geiger's *Mahāvamsa (Translation, P. T. S.)*, p. 116.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 119-120.

the corporeal relic of the Buddha the significance of the expression, *prāṇa-samēta*, i.e., 'endowed with life', becomes clear. The relic was no doubt looked upon as a living organism, as animated as the body of the Buddha before Nirvāṇa. As in the *Mahāvastu*, the donor here also must have been actuated by the same belief: "By these relics of his body the Master of the World, being already passed into nibbāṇa, truly bestowed salvation and bliss in abundance on mankind."¹

A¹.—The text here consists of remnants of two letters followed by a *ta*. Traces of a horizontal line are discernible in the first two, which enable us to restore the word as *thavita*, the complete word being *pratithavita*, i.e., 'established'. This must have reference to the deposit of the relic in a stūpa.

A².—There are wide gaps here between the words which were probably four in all and arranged in a circle. The first and the last are clear, viz., *prāṇa-sameda* *Sakamunisa*. Before *Sakamunisa* there is just a trace of the letter *t* or *r*. If it is *t*, as is more likely, we are perhaps justified in restoring the missing word here as *bhagavato*. The entire inscription would then read: *prāṇa-sameda śarira bhagavatō Sakamuniso*, i.e., 'the corporeal relic of the *bhagavat* Śākyamuni, which is full of life'.

B.—There is no difficulty about the reading of B which runs as *Viyakamitrasa apracha-rajasa*.² It should be noted here that the two dental sibilants are of the later semi-open type, although technically speaking the inscription should be assigned to the date of Inscription A, that is the reign of King Menander. As our analysis shows, in the earlier group the closed type of *s* predominates, while in the later group the predominant form is of the semi-open variety. The first part of the name *Viyakamitra* may represent *Viryaka*, or *Vijjaka* which appears as a personal name in later times. The title *apracha-rajā* perhaps corresponds to *a-pratyag-rāja*, i.e., 'one who has no royal adversary.' It may be compared with such phrases qualifying the king's name as *apadihata* on the Indo-Greek coins and *apratihata-chaka* on those of the Indo-Parthian king Gondopheres. The genitive case ending in *Viyakamitrasa*, which has no complementary word after it, shows that here the word *dana* has to be supplied, that is to say a gift of *Viyakamitra* is to be understood. Similar examples are well known from early Indian inscriptions. The gift was no doubt the casket itself containing the relics. *Viyakamitra*, who must have been a vassal chief under King Menander on the North-Western Frontier of India, is not known from any other sources.

C.—It records the name of Vijayamitra in the first line. The second line reads as *pate pradithavide*; the word *pate* no doubt stands for *pātra*, i.e., the bowl, referring to the steatite casket. How much of the inscription is missing cannot be guessed from the fragmentary condition of the lid.

D.—This is the principal record that was engraved subsequent to A-B. The opening words *ime śarira* are familiar to us from other Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, but there is no analogy elsewhere of what follows. The words *paluga-bhūdao* correspond to Pāli *palugga-bhūto*,³ meaning 'which has broken or has been shattered.' The words following, *na sakare atrita*, may be taken to represent *na satkāre āḍṛita*.⁴ The verbal form *śariat(r)i* may correspond to Sanskrit *śiryatē*, Pāli *śarati* from the root *śri*, meaning, 'to be worn out, to decay', etc. The subscript *r* stroke in the last

¹ Geiger's *Mahāvastu* (Translation, P. T. S.) p. 121

² The additional stroke at the foot of the letter *sa* in *Viyakamitrasa* cannot be explained.

³ *Pāli-English Dictionary* (P. T. S.), s. v. *palugga*.

⁴ Cf. the expressions *pūjesi sādaro* 'worshipped with zeal' and *sakāra-śāna*, 'place of worship' used in reference to the Buddha's relic. Geiger, *Mahāvastu* (Text), 31. 29 and 31. 62.

letter is superfluous but might have a phonetic significance. It appears several times in this inscription in places where it is not at all expected, e.g., in *grīṇayat(r)i*, *Veś(r)akh(r)asa*, *pañchaviś(r)oye*, *prat(r)īthavit(r)e* and *bhag(r)avatu*. Similar examples frequently occur in the Mathurā Lion Capital Inscriptions.¹ The word *kalad(r)e* may stand for *kālataḥ*, 'in course of time,' and *śadhro* for *śradhah*, 'venerated'. The word *piṇḍoyakeyi* would correspond to *piṇḍ-śadakaiḥ*, i.e., 'with alms and water,' and *pītri grīṇayat(r)i* would correspond to *pītrīn grāhayati*, i.e., 'makes the ancestors or manes accept,' or 'propitiates the ancestors'. The inscription means to say that as the relic was damaged, it was no longer zealously worshipped. In course of time it had begun to decay and was not venerated, and the distribution of alms and water for the propitiation of the dead ancestors was no longer taking place. It is further stated that even the receptacle of the *śarīra (tasa ye patre)* was *apomva*, i.e., *apamuktaḥ* or 'abandoned'. The offering of *piṇḍōdaka* to the ancestors was no doubt the usual practice even among the Buddhist laity. The regular offering of *ṣeta-ḍakkiṇā*, i.e., 'gifts to dead ancestors,' is enjoined in the *Āṅguttara-Nikāya* as one of the principal duties of a house-holder.² Offerings to *pubba-ṣetas* are referred to also in the *Milinda-panho*³ and in the *Petavatthu*.⁴ In the present case the idea probably is that these offerings used to take place so long as the corporeal relic together with the casket which contained it was deposited in a *stūpa* in an undisturbed condition. But subsequently before Inscription D was written, the relic and the casket had become desecrated and unfit for worship. The inscription goes on to say that in the fifth (regnal) year the same relic was established (in a *stūpa*) by Vijayamitra,⁵ who has the title *apracha-rajā* like his predecessor Vijayamitra of Inscription B. Vijayamitra appears to have belonged to the same family and to have re-consecrated the relic, a record of which he was naturally anxious to perpetuate on the casket itself. A similar example of the re-establishment of a corporeal relic of the Buddha occurs in the Taxila copper-plate of Patika (*apratīthavita bhagavata Śakamuyisa śariram pratīthaveti*).

E.—Finally, on the back of the casket is recorded the fact that the writing (that is of C and D) was carried out by one Viśpila. The word *añamkatena* qualifying *Viśpilena* corresponds to *āṇakṛitena*, i.e., *ājñākrītena*, 'who was ordered'. It refers of course to his having executed the work under the orders of Vijayamitra. In Central Asian Kharoṣṭhī documents an *anusvāra* is often substituted for a long vowel, e.g., in *vimānavayāmi* for *viñāpayāmi*. In these documents *āṇa* regularly stands for *ājñā*.⁶ In the Shahbazgarhī recension of Aśoka's edicts *ñ* is rendered by the lingual *ṣ*, as in literary Prakrit.⁷ The compound *śp* in *Viśpila* represents Sanskrit *śv*. A similar name *Veśpaśi* occurs in the Māūkiāla inscription⁸ of the reign of Kanishka.

From Inscription D of Vijayamitra we can understand why the two sets of inscriptions came to be incised on one and the same casket at two different dates. **The relic casket was consecrated twice:** the original consecration was done by Vijayamitra in the time of King Menander and the re-consecration was carried out later by Vijayamitra, who, as the title shows, must have been a descendant of Vijayamitra. Inscription A, which gives the date, the 14th day

¹ C. I. I., Vol. II, Pt. I, pp. 33-34.

² B. C. Law, *The Buddhist Conception of Spirits*, 1936, pp. 8-9.

³ Ed. by Trenckner (Royal Asiatic Society's Reprint, London, 1928), p. 294.

⁴ Ed. by Minayeff, e.g., I. 4, I. 5.

⁵ The year no doubt refers to the reign of Vijayamitra.

⁶ *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions*, p. 250, No. 663 and p. 300.

⁷ Hultzsch, C. I. I., Vol. I, p. lxxxviii.

⁸ C. I. I., Vol. II, Pt. I, p. 148.

of Kārttika of some year, refers no doubt to the original consecration, while the 25th day of Vaiśākha of the fifth (regnal) year mentioned in Inscription D represents the date on which the re-consecration took place. Both the months Kārttika and Vaiśākha are auspicious from the Buddhist point of view. As pointed out by Fleet,¹ the Sarvāstivādins held that the Buddha attained Parinirvāṇa in the month of Kārttika. On the other hand, according to the Ceylonese tradition, the event happened in the month of Vaiśākha. The former view, which is based on a statement of Yuan Chwang, perhaps represents an earlier tradition. In any case it would be quite natural for a Buddhist to consecrate the corporeal relics of the Great Master on the anniversary of his demise.

As mentioned already, Viyakamitra must have been a ruling prince under Menander. The latter, who belonged to the house of Euthydemus, had his capital at Sākala as stated in the *Milindapañho*. Sākala is said to have been situated in the country of the Yonakas and is usually identified with Siakot in the Punjab between the rivers Chenab and Ravi. According to the *Milindapañho* Menander was born in Alasanda, identified with the district of Alexandria-under-the-Caucasus between the Panjshir and the Kabul rivers. From the finds of his coins, which are distributed over a very large area, from the Kabul Valley to the United Provinces, there remains no doubt that his empire was an extensive one. According to some scholars the passage in the *Mahābhāshya* of Patañjali regarding the siege of Sāketa (in the United Provinces) and Madhyamikā (in Rājputāna) by a Yavana king refers to an invasion of Menander.* The discovery of the present record in Bajaur² proves conclusively that it was included within his territory and was under the governorship of Viyakamitra, who, as the name shows, must have been a prince of local origin.

As regards Vijayamitra, Rao Bahadur Dikshit has kindly drawn my attention to a number of coins discovered in the Śaka-Palhava City of Sirkap in Taxila during the excavations of 1931. These are rectangular copper pieces bearing the legend *Vijayamitrāsa*, written in Brāhmī on one side and Kharōshthī on the other, along with the *svastika*, *triratna*, hill and other symbols. The Brāhmī legend, which is the clearer of the two, shows characters of the 1st century B. C.³ There is another coin in the British Museum ascribed to 'Vijayamitra's son' (Cunningham, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 3rd series, Vol. X, 1890, p. 127; and Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum*, Vol. I, p. 168 and Pl. XVII, iii). It is an imitation of the Indo-Parthian type (King on horse-back and standing deity), the Kharōshthī legend on which reads *Vijayamitra(sa) apacha*..... The lower portions of the letters *apacha*..... are cut away. It is probable that these are the remnants of the legend *apacha-rajasa*. This coin, however, must be attributed to the middle of the first century A. D.

Vijayamitra of the Taxila coins may be identified with Vijayamitra of the present casket. His connection with the North-West Frontier is thus independently attested by numismatic

¹ *J. B. A. S.*, 1909, p. 14.

² On Menander see *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 549-552.

³ In the *Buddharama* (P. T. S.), p. 68, v. 8, the bowl relic (*pātra*) of the Buddha is supposed to have been deposited at a place called Vajirā. This name might be identical with Bajaur and it is not impossible that the author of the text had actually heard of the story of the consecration of a bowl or relic casket like the present one in a stūpa in that country. Its capital might have been Vajrāvati 'in Uttarāpatha' mentioned in the *Bōdhisatte-śvāyāna-kulpalatā* (B. C. Law, *Geographical Essays*, 1937, Vol. I, p. 46).

⁴ Along with the coins of Vijayamitra was found a rectangular, bilingual copper piece of an identical type, which belongs to a king named Virayaśas. The Brāhmī characters of this coin also are assignable to the first century B. C. This king should be identified with *Kulāta Virayaśas* who is known from a round copper coin in the British Museum (Allan, *Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India*, 1936, p. 158), found by Cunningham in the Northern Punjab beyond Lahore.

THE BAJAUR CASKET OF THE REIGN OF MENANDER—(I).

a. Relic Casket from Bajaur.



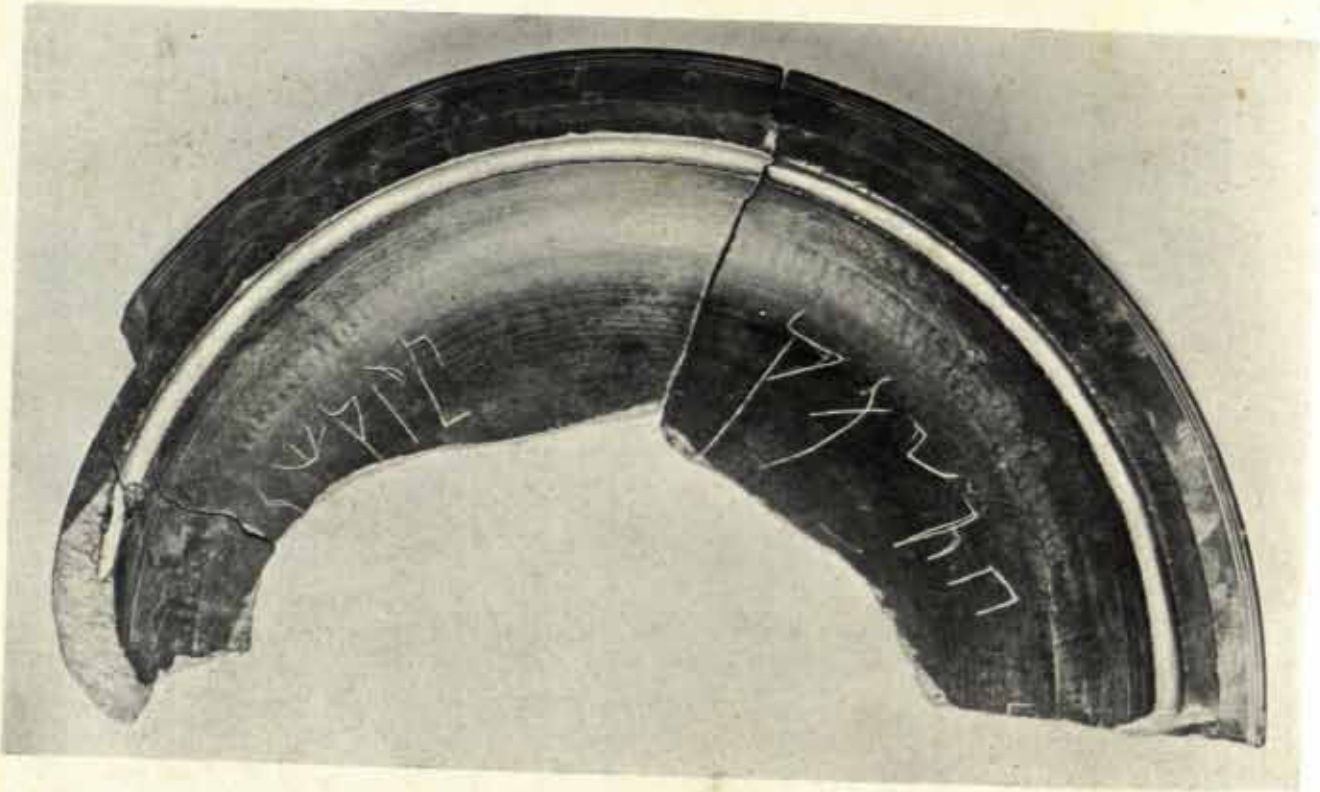
SCALE : THREE-SEVENTHS.

b. The same showing Inscription E on back.

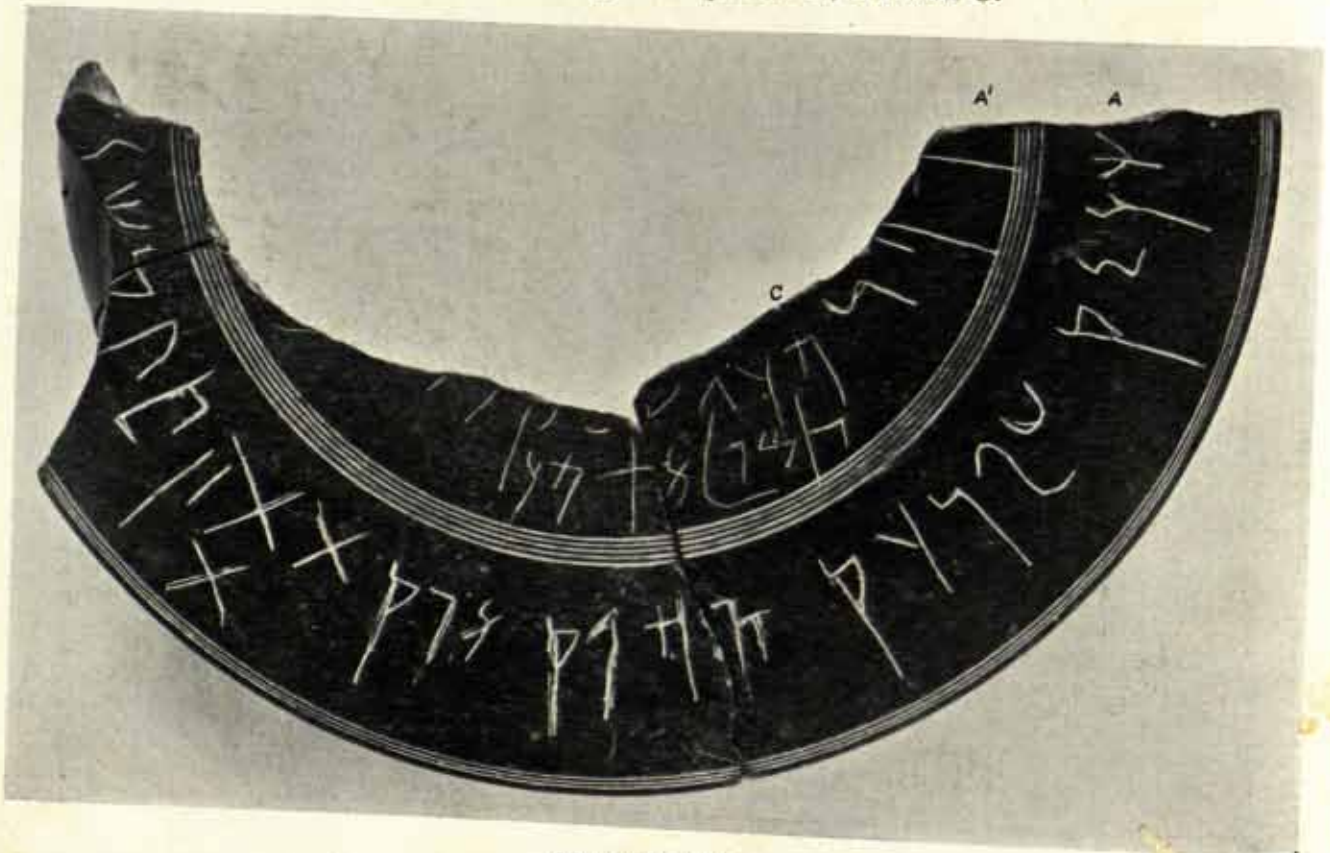


SCALE : THREE-FIFTHS.

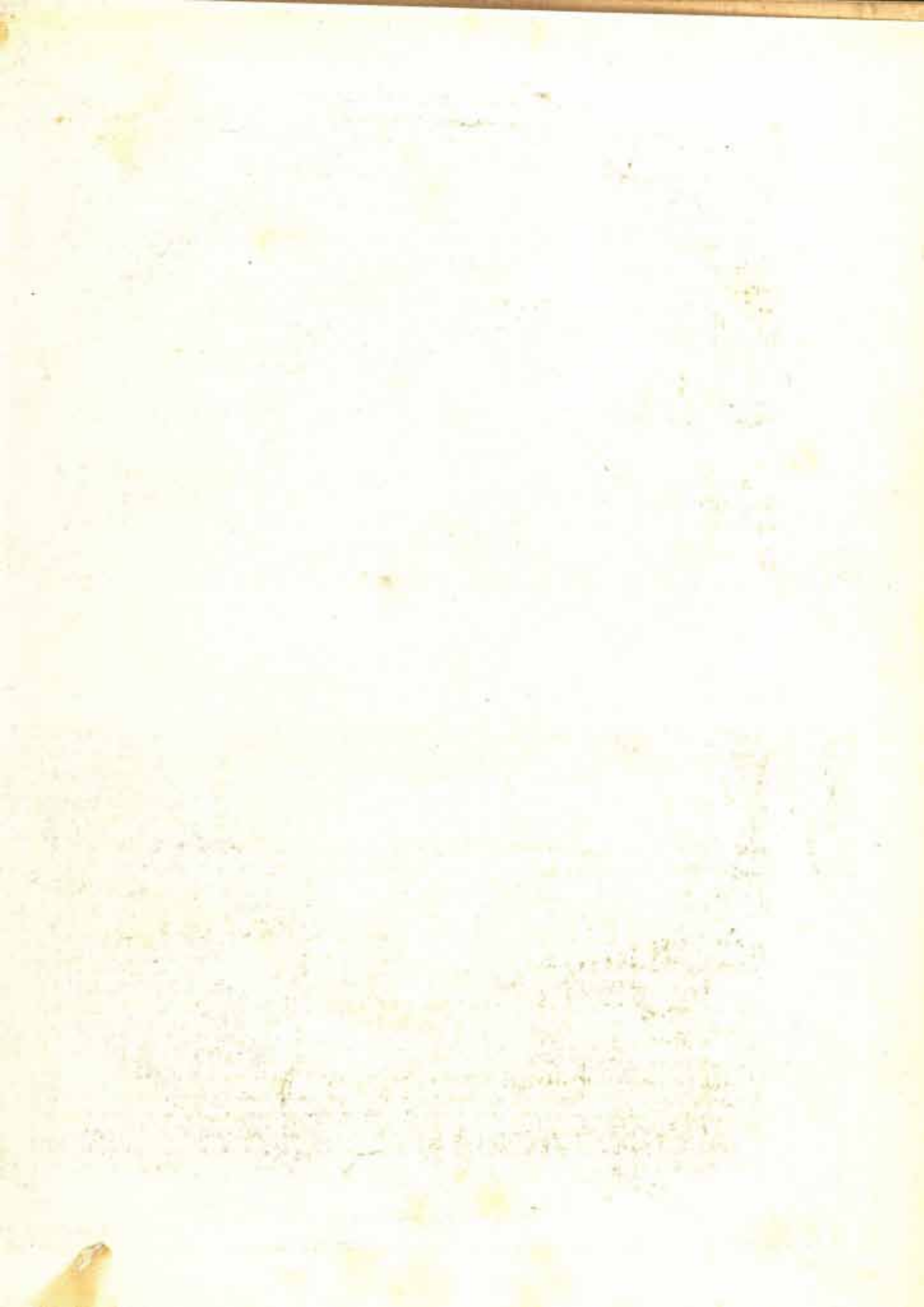
Part of lid showing Inscription A2 on the inner face.



Part of lid showing Inscriptions A, A1 and C.

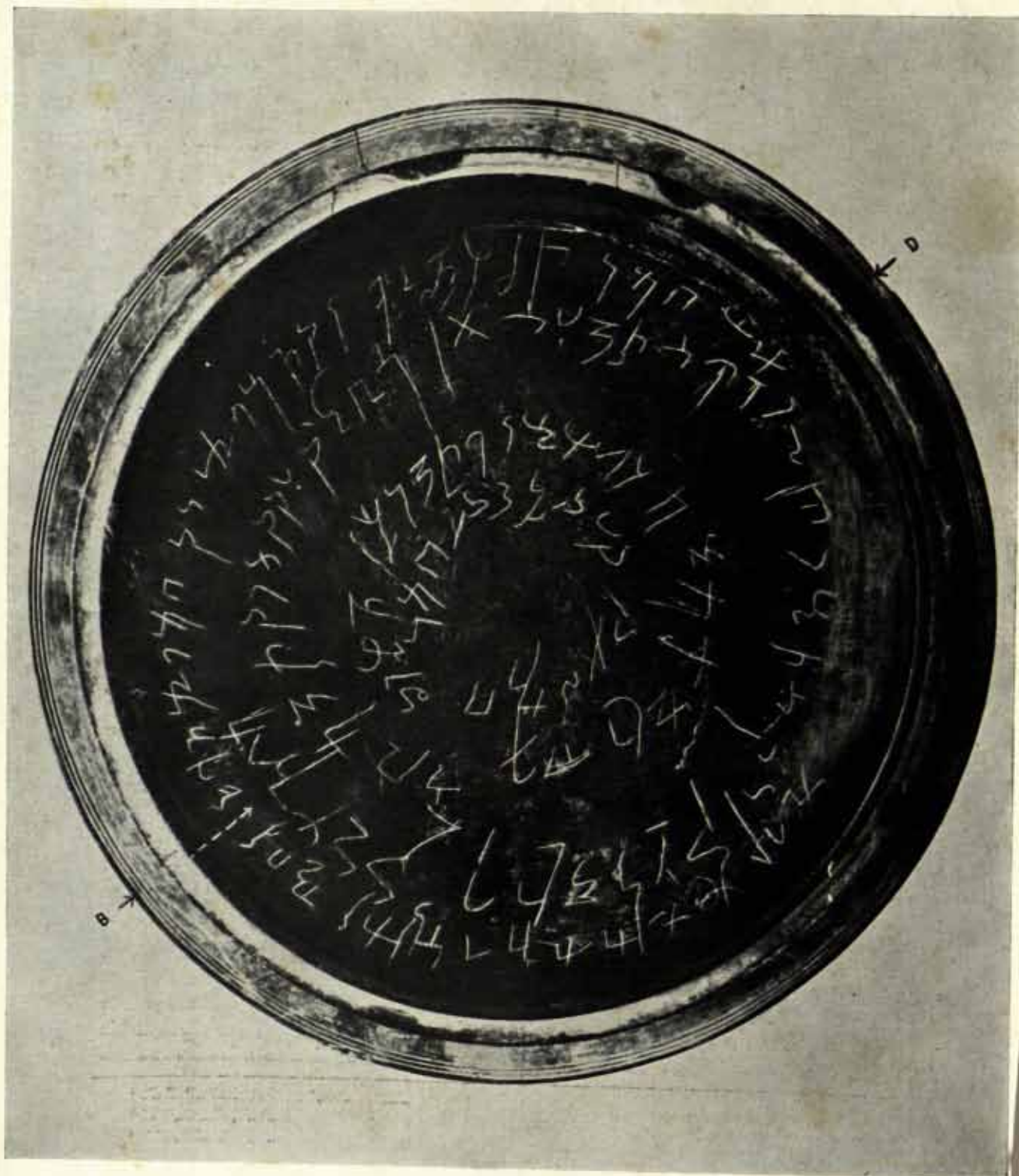


SCALE: ONE-HALF.



THE BAJAUR CASKET OF THE REIGN OF MENANDER—(II).

Inside view showing Inscriptions B and D.



evidence. The British Museum coin must belong to a later prince, most probably of the same dynasty, as appears from the continuity of the epithet *apacha-(ra)jasa*.

TEXT.

A. Rim of Lid.

Minadrasa¹ maharajasa Kati²asa divasa 4 4 4 1 1 pra[na]-[sa]me[da].....

A¹. Centre of Lid.

(prati)[thavi]ta

A². Inner face of Lid.

pra³na-same[da].....[to] Śakamunisa⁴

B. Inside of Casket.

Viyakamitrasa apracha-rajasa

C. Centre of Lid.

1 Vijaya[mit]ra

2 pate pradithavide

D. Inside of Casket.

1 Ime śarira paluga-bhud(r)ao⁵ na sakare atrita [i*] sa śariat(r)i kalad(r)ena śadhro na piṇḍoya-
keyi pitri griṇayat(r)i [i*]

2 tasa ye patre apomua [i*] vashaye pañchamaye 4 1 Veś(r)akh(r)asa masasa
divasa-pañchaviś(r)aye iyo

3 prat(r)ithavit(r)e Vijayamitre⁶na apracha-rajena Bhag(r)avatu Śakimuni⁷sa sama-
sa[ni]budhasa⁸ śarira [i*]

E. Back of Casket.

Viśpilena anamkatena likhit(r)e [i*]

TRANSLATION.

A.

On the 14th day of Kārttika, in the (reign) of Mahārāja Minadra, (in the year
.....), (the corporeal relic of the Buddha), which is endowed with life.....

A¹.

..... has been established.

A².

(The corporeal relic) of Śakamuni (i.e., Śākyamuni), which is endowed with life

B.

(The gift) of Viyakamitra, 'who has no king as his adversary'.

¹ There is a scratch looking like the *e* stroke in *n*, which seems to have been due to a flaw in the stone.

² For a proposed restoration see above p. 4.

³ The superfluous *r* stroke has been put within brackets in every case.

⁴ The word *sambudhasa* is quite clear in the original.

C.

Vijayamitrathe bowl has been established.

D.

This corporeal relic having been broken is not held in worship with zeal. It is decaying in course of time, (and) is not honoured; (and here) by the offering of alms and water ancestors are no longer propitiated; (and) the receptacle of that (relic) has been cast aside. (Now) in the fifth year and on the twenty-fifth day of the month of Vaiśākha, this has been established by Vijayamitra, 'who has no king as his adversary',—(namely) the corporeal relic of the lord Śakimuni (i.e., Śākyamuni), the one who is truly enlightened.

E.

Written by Viśpīla under orders.

No. 2.—INSCRIPTIONS ON TWO RELIC-CASKETS FROM CHARSAJDA.

BY N. G. MAJUMDAR, M.A., INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA.

The two caskets (marked respectively I and II) on which the subjoined inscriptions are engraved were acquired by Mr. Dilawar Khan, Curator, Peshāwar Museum in April, 1935, from a man of Charsajda in Peshāwar District. The latter had discovered them some time ago in an ancient mound called Kula-dherī near Charsajda, while removing earth for the manure for his fields. The contents of the caskets are however lost, and from the vague reports that reached Mr. Khan he was not able to ascertain the exact nature of the deposits. In May, 1935, the caskets were sent for examination to the Director General of Archaeology in India who kindly placed them at my disposal for study and permitted me to edit the inscriptions in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

The caskets are of blue schist and on the whole well preserved, each bearing a Kharōṣṭhī inscription. The letters, which are made by superficial scratches, often show irregular shapes, due partly to careless engraving, but to a greater extent to the cursive nature of the script itself. The letters being extremely shallow it has not been possible to take estampages. The accompanying plates are based on photographs taken of the caskets in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

1.—Inscription of the year 303 on Relic-Casket I.

The casket on which this inscription is engraved has a diameter of 5·1" and is 1·5" high, with a circular cavity in the centre 7" deep. The writing is disposed of throughout in circular lines according to the shape of the casket. It begins on the rim and is continued inside, covering the base of the hollow, from where again it is carried on to the outer face of the wall of the casket.

The characters are Kharōṣṭhī of the Kushān period. Some remarks are called for regarding the forms of individual letters. The letter *t* in *pradīhaveti* and *rahataya* is distinguished from *r* by the shortness of its stem. In *thubao* the letter *b* is angular and does not present the top curve. Similar examples of *b* occur also in the Jauliā inscriptions¹ and in the Loryān Tangai inscription² of the year 318. The sign for letter *r* in *sagharamu* which more resembles a *b* is rather unusual, although the reading is certain. The ligature read as *ts* in *sabatsa* (i.e., *sambatsara*) is exactly similar to the sign occurring in the Pājā inscription.³ Sten Konow prefers to read it as *tē* which

¹ *C. I. I.*, Vol. II, Part 1, Pl. XVIII.

² *Ibid.*, Pl. XXI, 1.

³ *Ibid.*, Pl. XIII, 1.

he finds also in the Kharōshthī documents from Chinese Turkestan. But this reading has not been generally accepted.¹ The letter *y* in this inscription is in most cases distinguished from *ś* by the curvilinear slanting stroke it shows on the left-hand side; also the head of *y* is more or less conical while that of *ś* is rectangular. In one instance at least (*pracha-Budhaya payee*) there is a slanting top bar added to the two uprights of *y*.

The language is a form of Prākṛit as found generally in the Indian Kharōshthī inscriptions of the Kushān period. The word *etaka* in the expression *etak-eta-mite* corresponds to Pāli *ettaka*, meaning 'so much' (cf. Prākṛit *ettia*, *ettiya* and *ettika*). The same form *etaka* is well known from the Asokan inscriptions. In *rahatana*, which stands for *arahatana*, *a* is elided as a result of euphony. The verbal form *sthapapema* represents Sanskrit *sthāpayāmah* (cf. Pāli *sthāpāpeti*).² The use of nominative singular for accusative singular in *thubao* (*thubako*) is irregular (for which cf. *dhramo* for *dhramam* in Aśōka's Rock-edict XII at Shahbazgarhi). Attention may be drawn to a dialectic peculiarity which the language of this inscription bears in common with that of the Kharōshthī *Dhammapada* as preserved in the Dutreuil de Rhins Manuscript.³ This is the *u* termination in *sagharamu* (*saṅghārāmam*) that has its parallels in such forms as *magu* for *maggo*, *dhamu* for *dhammam* and so on of the *Dhammapada*. The Dutreuil de Rhins Ms. has been referred by Senart to the second century A. D., but probably is of a somewhat later age. It may be suggested that the Charsadda casket inscription also belongs to this period. The words *se yema* may be taken to represent *tad yad-īdam*, meaning 'as follows'. The three letters following *yema* I read as *naviga* (*navaka*, 'a Buddhist novice').⁴ In *Śaravarayasi* we have evidently an example of the locative singular with *-asi*.

The inscription records the consecration of a reliquary or casket (*dona*, i.e., *drōṇa*)⁵ in a place called *Śaravarana*. Another place *Avasāūra* is also mentioned in the locative case (*Avasāūrami*) in connection with the donation. The former was probably the name of the particular locality where the gift was made and the latter that of the town of which it formed part. The casket is stated to have been deposited by the 'novice' *Vesa*, who for this purpose also erected a *stūpa* and a *saṅghārāma*.

The concluding portion of the inscription mentions a personage named *Avakhajhada* to whom honour (*pūjā*) is shown. He is described as *chhatrava* (*kshatrapa*), and also as *grāma-svami* (*grāma-svāmin*), i.e., 'the lord of villages,' serving under a *maharaja* (*mahārāja*), that is an independent ruler.⁶ The town *Avasāūra* must have been included within the jurisdiction of *Avakhajhada*. The inscription is dated in the year 303 of an era which is not specified. Probably it should be referred to the same reckoning to which the year 318 of the Lōriyān Tangai inscription must be attributed. If referred to the Mālava era of 58 B. C. the year 303 corresponds to A. D. 245, a date that agrees well with the language and palaeography of the inscription.

I now place below the text and translation of the record. It should be noted, however, that my transcript of the portion following the date, which occurs on the rim of the casket, is not entirely free from doubt. But at present I am unable to offer a better reading.

¹ *Kharōshthī Inscriptions*, Part III, Oxford 1929, p. 314.

² *Pāli-English Dictionary* (P. T. S.), s. v.

³ Senart, *Journal Asiatique*, 1897; also revised edition by Barua and Mitra, *Prākṛit Dhammapada*, Calcutta University, 1921.

⁴ *Pāli-English Dictionary* (P. T. S.), s. v. *navaka*.

⁵ *Drōṇa* is a vessel or measure of capacity; cf. *donadhātu* cited in Childers, *Pāli-English Dictionary*, from the *Mahāvamsa*. The expression *sattadonāni dhātūnam*, i.e., 'seven *drōṇas* full of relics,' occurs in *Mahāvamsa*, 31.22. This is the special sense in which *dona* is used in the present inscription.

⁶ The official title *gōmasāmi* is mentioned in the *Milindapañho* (Roy, As. Soc. reprint), p. 147, l. 12.

TEXT.

On rim.

Sabatsa 111 100 111 [*] etak-eta-mite tu dona¹ sthapapema [*] se yema ṇaviga Vesa
 Śaravarāṇasi [sa]-thuba[o]² sagharamu pradīḥaveti

On inner side, outer circle.

Avaśāūrāmi mada-pidu puya[e*] sarva-Budhaṇa puyae sa-

On inner side, inner circle.

rva-Pracha[ga*]-Budhaṇa puyae sarva-rahataṇa puya[e*]

Along outer face of wall.

putra-darasa puyae mitra-ñadi-salohidaṇa puya[e*] maharayasa gramasamisa³
 Avakhajhadasa puyae Chhatravasa

TRANSLATION.

The year 303. And in such and such (*year*) as here specified a reliquary is caused to be consecrated by us. Thus the 'novice' Vesa, establishes a *saṅghārāma*, together with a *stūpa*, at Śaravarāṇa in Avaśāūra,⁴ in honour of parents, in honour of all Buddhas, in honour of all Pratyēka-Buddhas, in honour of all *Arhats*, in honour of wife and son (or sons), in honour of friends, kinsmen and blood-relations, and in honour of the *Mahārāja's* village-lord, the Satrap Avakhajhada.

2.—Inscription on Relic-Casket II.

This casket is 2·9" in diameter, 1·1" in height and its central cavity is ·6" in depth. It bears only one line of inscription in Kharōṣṭhī characters, engraved along the outer side. The letters are formed by shallow incision as on Casket I. As regards the forms of individual letters, the only point to note is that the letter *y* in *puyae* has the top bar as in *ś*. The two caskets are similar in shape and execution and palaeographically there is no difference between this and the foregoing record.

The inscription records the deposit of a corporeal relic (*śarīra*) by a person named Trami.

TEXT.

Tramisa daṇamu[khe*] ime śarira presthevida Budhaṇa puyae

TRANSLATION.

The gift of Trami. This corporeal relic is deposited in honour of the Buddhas.

¹ The letter *na* was omitted at first and added later above the line.

² At first the letter *ha* was engraved, which was later changed to *o*.

³ The first *sa* has an additional flourish below, which may have been an attempt to write *śva*.

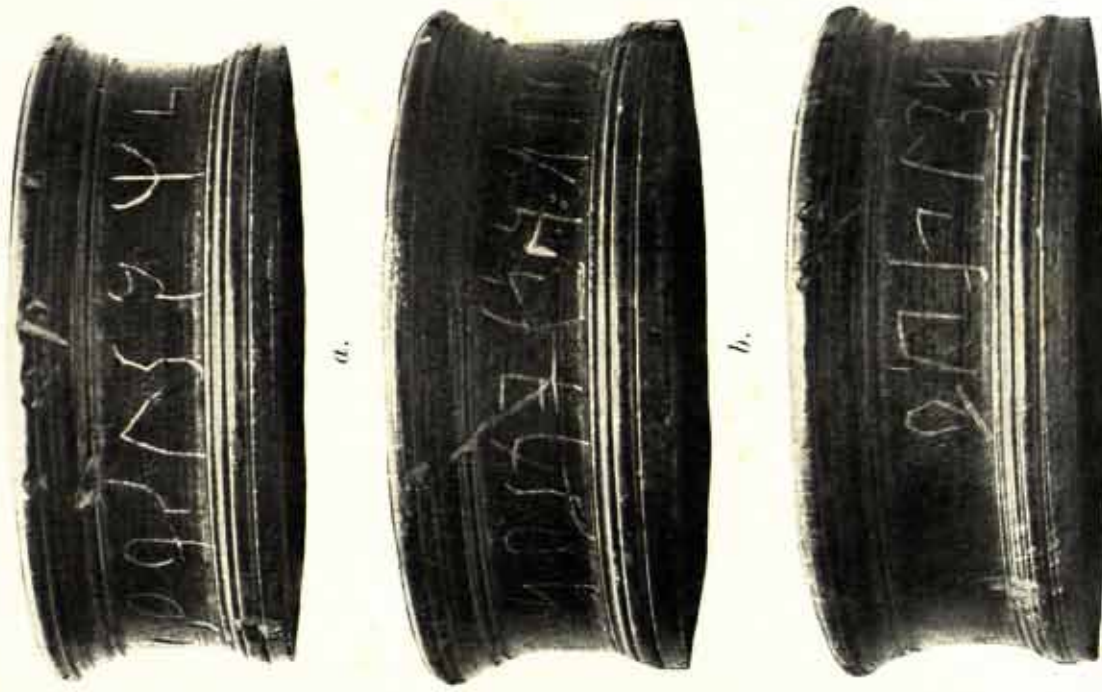
⁴ The syllable *-ura* probably stands for *pura*. Cf. *ścūra* for *antāpura* in the Mathurā Lion Capital inscription No. A. 9.

INSCRIPTIONS ON TWO RELIC-CASKETS FROM CHARSADDA.

Casket I (Rim and inner side).



Casket II.



SCALE : ACTUAL SIZE.

N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

Casket I (Outer side).



a.



b.



c.

No. 3.—PAUNI STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE BHARA KING BHAGADATTA.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

Pauni is an old town situated on the right bank of the Waingāṅgā about thirty-two miles south of Bhaṅḍārā, the headquarters of the Bhaṅḍārā District of the Central Provinces. The ancient name of the town is said to be Padmāvati. The town is surrounded on three sides by a moat and a mud-wall, covered in some places with stone battlements, and on the fourth by the river Waingāṅgā. A mound on the south, outside the moat, which was dug some years ago for building a temple, is said to have yielded a stone-box containing some relics and small images, but none of them can now be traced. The present inscription was brought to my notice by Mr. Ichchhapuri Goswami, a retired teacher of Pauni, while I was halting with some friends for a short time at the place on our way to see the inscribed slab at Deoṭēk, in October 1935. The slab on which the present inscription is incised is now lying in a pit two or three furlongs to the west of the main gate of the town. We were told that it was originally lying flat on the ground, but some years ago some persons dug under it in search of the treasure which they thought was buried under it. They made a large pit, in which the slab is lying now with one end of it stuck into the ground. We could not then take out the massive slab, but we were informed that the underground end of it contained no inscribed letters. At a short distance from the place we found a mound, which, being situated in the midst of a plain, appeared to be artificial.

As already stated, the present inscription is incised on a massive slab. The inscribed portion measures 3' 1" by 4", and consists of a single line containing fifteen *aksharas*. The size of letters varies from 2½" to 3½". They were deeply incised, but parts of them have now become worn, being exposed to weather for several centuries. For instance, the lower portion of the vertical of *rā*¹ and the upper one of *ya* in *rāyasa* and the middle horizontal stroke of *j* in *pājugā* have left only faint traces. Some other letters, again, like *d* in *Bhagadata*, *ya* and the medial *ī* of *paṭi* show partial effacement. The **characters** belong to the early Brāhmī alphabet. They exhibit an admixture of earlier and later signs. The medial long *ī* of *lī* in *paṭi*, for instance, occurs exactly in this form in a Girnar rock-edict of Aśoka,² but in other respects the letters show a marked development over the Asokan alphabet. The broadened forms of *bh*, *g* and *t*, the form of *s* in which the right prong of its fork is raised to the same height as the left one, the angular *p* with a shortened left limb and the sign for the medial *u* in *ju*—all these denote a later age. The letters are not, however, so broad or angular as those of the Kushān inscriptions, nor even as those of the Nāsik inscription of Ushavadāta. I would, therefore, refer the inscription to the beginning of the Christian era. The **language** is early Prākṛit. Double consonants are entirely absent. There is also no elision of inter-vocalic mutes except in *rāyasa* where we have *ya-śruti*. In *pājugā* (for Sanskrit *pādukā*) we see two changes: the substitution of the palatal *j* for the dental *d*, cf. the Śaurasēnī *chitṭhadi* for *tishṭhadi*, and the softening of *k* into *g*, cf. *mugha* for *mukha* in No. 1217 of Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the dedication of a slab with foot-prints (*pājugā-paṭi*) by **Bhagadata** (Bhagadatta) **king of the Bhāra (clan)**. The slab on which the inscription

¹ The *akshara* cannot be read as *dā*, for the existing vertical stroke is too long to be the upper portion of *d*. Compare the form of the letter in *Bhagadatasā*. I, therefore, read it as *rā*, its lower portion being effaced like the vertical of the next *akshara ya*. In the present record there are several instances of partial effacement of letters owing to exposure to weather.

² See Table II, IX, 18 in Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie*.

is incised contains, however, no carving of foot-prints, which suggests that it was put up at a shrine where a slab with foot-prints was installed. If this conjecture is correct, the adjoining mound may contain ruins of that shrine. We have an analogous instance in the Deoték slab, the later of the two inscriptions on which was intended to record the construction of a temple (*dharmasthānaṃ*) at Chikambari, near Deoték, by Rudrasēna I, a Vākātaka king¹. The word *dānam* which usually occurs in connection with the dedication of foot-print slabs² is again missing in the present record. Its absence can, however, be accounted for on the ground that the present inscription is not a votive tablet recording the gift of a private individual such as would have necessitated the use of the word *dānam*. Bhagadatta, as became his royal position, must have erected a magnificent shrine over the foot-print slab. It must have, therefore, been thought unnecessary to record that it was a gift made by him. It was sufficient to mention his name in connection with it. The wording of the Vākātaka inscription on the Deoték slab,³ which is similar, would also support this conjecture.

We are not told whose foot-prints were carved on the slab, the dedication of which is recorded in the present inscription. *Primā facie* they must have been those of the Buddha. But we must not forget that it was also the custom to install slabs with foot-prints of Hindu deities. We have, for instance, in the Paṭṭan plates⁴ of the Vākātaka king Pravarasēna II, and the Poḍāgaḍ stone inscription⁵ of the Nala king Bhagadatta, clear evidence of the worship of the foot-prints (*pāda-mūla*) of Vishṇu. It is true that these inscriptions belong to a later age, but the custom they evidence may go back to earlier times.⁶ The question as to whose foot-prints are referred to in the present inscription cannot, therefore, be definitely answered in the absence of further proof. But the Prākṛit language of the dedicatory inscription, the general prevalence of the custom of dedicating slabs with the foot-prints of the Buddha in the period to which the present inscription can be referred on paleographic grounds and above all, the discovery of a relic stone-box in a mound at Pauni, to which a reference has already been made, point to the conclusion that the foot-prints were probably intended to symbolize the Buddha.

Another question, which presents itself in connection with the inscription is whether the Bhāra clan to which Bhagadatta belonged, was identical with the Bhārasīvas whose glorious achievements are recorded in Vākātaka inscriptions. The identification *primā facie* may appear unlikely; for the Bhārasīvas, as their name signifies, were devotees of Śiva. In Vākātaka inscriptions their royal family is said to have been created by Śiva who was pleased by their carrying the Śiva-*liṅga* on their shoulders. On the other hand Bhagadatta the king of the Bhāra clan was

¹ See my article 'New Light On Deoték Inscriptions' (*Proceedings and Transactions of the Eighth Oriental Conference*, pp. 613 ff.).

² See Nos. 1209, 1217, 1219, 1225 and 1286 in Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*.

³ Compare the wording of the Vākātaka inscription [वाकाटक*]वंश[जा*]तसेदे बद्रसेनरा[श:] धर्मस्थानं with that of the present record भारराधस भगदत्तस पाजुमापटी.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 85 ff. The words रामागिरिस्थानिनः पादमूलात् ... in the Riddhapur plates of Pravarasēna II indicate that the shrine on Rāmāgiri (modern Rāmṭek near Nāgpur) also contained foot-print of Vishṇu. Cf. also Kālidāsa's *Māghadūta* (v. 12) वन्द्योः पुसां रत्नपतिपदैरङ्कितं मेखलात् । with reference to Rāmāgiri.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 156.

⁶ [In this connection attention may be drawn to Prof. Bhandarkar's remarks in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 202f.—Ed.]

probably a Buddhist as shown above. Besides, according to the researches of the late Dr. Jayaswal¹ the Bhāraśivas, who belonged to the Nāgavaṃśa, had their home in the North. It was only when they were pressed by the Kushāns that they migrated to the Central Provinces, where they ruled for half a century before the expansion of their power in the North. It would, therefore, seem that the Bhāras mentioned in the present record were different from those that became known in later history as Bhāraśivas.

Such a conclusion does not, however, appear to be convincing: for, the possibility of the Bhāra clan changing its religion in later times is not altogether excluded. When the Bhāras became staunch devotees of Śiva, whose *līnga* they always carried like modern Vira-Śaivas (Ling-āyats), they may have become known by the name of Bhāra-Śivas. It is not again definitely proved that the Bhāraśivas belonged to North India. Dr. Jayaswal's theory that there was a confederacy of Nāga states under the leadership of the Bhāraśivas rests on a slender basis. For, though it is known from epigraphic records that there were several Nāga families ruling in North India before the rise of the Guptas, they are nowhere distinctly said to have been united under the leadership of the Bhāraśivas. From the Vākāṭaka inscriptions in which alone the name and achievements of the Bhāraśivas are specifically mentioned we know, of course, that they were crowned with the water of the Ganges which they obtained by their valour and performed ten *Āsvamēdhas*, but this description itself suggests that they were a southern power that successfully raided the North for obtaining the water of the Ganges² for their coronation. As for their ten *Āsvamēdhas*, they appear to have been performed in the South³; for, it is only the southern Āndhra, Pallava, Ikshvāku, Vākāṭaka and Vishnukūṇḍin kings that are known to have performed several Vedic sacrifices such as the *Agnishōma*, *Vājapēya*, *Āsvamēdha*, *Āptōryāma*, *Ukthya*, etc., in the early centuries of the Christian era. It may again be noted that in the Gupta records Samudragupta is said to have revived the *Āsvamēdha* sacrifice which had long been in abeyance,⁴ evidently in North India. If the ten *Āsvamēdhas* of the Bhāraśivas had been performed in the North, the palpable falsehood of such a boast would not have escaped notice even in a *prasasti*. The relationship of the Bhāraśivas and the Vākāṭakas also suggests that the former had, like the latter, their home in the South. That the Vākāṭakas were by origin a southern power can be easily shown. All their early inscriptions⁵ are found to the south of the Narmadā. From the Purāṇas we learn that Vindhyaśakti and Pravīra who has been rightly identified with Pravarasēna I, ruled from two capitals Purikā and Chanakā⁶. The latter has not been satisfactorily identified, but from the *Harivaṃśa*⁷ we learn that Purikā, was situated at the foot of the Rikshavat (modern Sātpurā) mountain. Again the phraseology of the formal part of the Vākāṭaka grants bears a striking resemblance to that of

¹ *History of India 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.*, pp. 16, 29, 40, etc.

² In this connection attention may be drawn to the somewhat analogous instance of Gaṅgai-koṇḍa Rājendra Chōla I.

³ The statement in the Vākāṭaka inscriptions does not substantiate Jayaswal's view that the *Āsvamēdhas* were celebrated on the bank of the Ganges (See *History of India*, etc., p. 5). The wording in the Vākāṭaka grants is पराक्रमाधिगतमाद्रीरव्यमलजलमूर्धाभिषिकानान्द्रजायमेधावनयस्त्रातानाभारशिवान्द्रद्वाराजयैभवनान्द्रद्वैहिचक्र, etc.

⁴ See Bilsal Stone Inscription of Kumāragupta, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 42ff. A similar statement may have occurred in the Mathurā fragmentary stone inscription as shown by Fleet, *ibid.*, p. 27.

⁵ The inscriptions at Nachnā and Ganja of a feudatory of the Vākāṭakas has been referred on palaeographic grounds to the reign of Prithivishēna II, by Prof. Dubreuil and Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshīt. I have corroborated this view elsewhere. (Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 172 f.)

⁶ See *History of India*, etc., p. 16 n. 3.

⁷ *Harivaṃśa*, *Vishvavarsan*, *adhyāya* 38, vv. 21-22. Jayaswal identifies Purikā with Hoshangābād in the Central Provinces, *History of India*, etc., p. 40.

the early Pallava records¹ and this is no matter for surprise, since an inscription of a Vākātaka householder has been discovered on a pillar at Amarāvati in the Āndhra country.² It may again be noted that the earliest Vākātaka inscription known so far was discovered at Deotāk which lies only about twenty miles south-east of Pauni. The proximity of that inscription to the present one accords well with the close relationship which we know from epigraphic records to have existed between the Bhārasīvas and the Vākātakas. It seems probable, therefore, that the **Bhāras** mentioned in the present inscription belonged to the same clan which came to be known in later times as **Bhārasīvas** when its members became staunch followers of Śaivism.

TRANSCRIPT.³

भाररायस भगदत्तस पाञ्जुगापटो

Remarks.

(1) The dots over *bha* and *sa* and the curve on *ga* are due to faults in the stone. Similarly the curve which seems to join the two lower limbs of *ta*, thus making the letter look like *ra* is due to an accidental depression in the stone. (2) The right limb of *pā* appears to be lengthened by an accidental scratch. Near the top of the left vertical of *pa* in *paṭi* there is a round hole in the surface of the stone, which in some estampages gives the letter the appearance of *pā*. Similarly the horizontal scratch near the top of its right hand curve which makes the letter look like *ha* is unintentional.

TRANSLATION.

A slab with foot-prints of (*i.e.*, dedicated by) **Bhagadata** (Bhagadatta), the king of the **Bhāras**.

The usual technical name for a slab with foot-prints is *paduka-paṭa* (Sanskrit *pādukā-paṭṭa*). See Lüders' *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, No. 1217. For *paduka* (Sanskrit *pādukā*) the variants *patuka* and *pātuka* are also met with in Amarāvati inscriptions. The *pāñjugā-paṭi* of the present inscription corresponds to Sanskrit *pādukā-paṭṭi*. In an inscription at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa we have *patipadā*, evidently in the sense of foot-prints on a slab, which Dr. Vogel traces to Sanskrit *prati-padā*⁴. But the latter word nowhere conveys that sense. It must evidently be taken to correspond to Sanskrit *paṭṭi-pada* (foot-prints on a slab). In *pati-padā*, where one would expect *paṭi-padā* there is a dental letter used for the corresponding lingual as in *anuthitam* for *anūthitam* in another inscription (No. H. 1. 14) at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa.

¹ In this connection attention may be drawn to the following points of similarity: (1) Like the Pallava grants Vākātaka plates begin with *driṣṭam*. (2) In the beginning of both there is an enumeration of the Vedic sacrifices performed by the donor or his ancestor. (3) There is a close similarity in their phraseology. Compare, for instance, the following Prākṛit expressions in the formal parts of Pallava grants (above, Vol. I, pp. 5-6 and Vol. VI, p. 87) with their Sanskrit counterparts noticed in the Vākātaka grants (above, Vol. XXII, p. 173) viz., *appaṇa kula-gottasa dham-āyu-bala-yaso-vadhānike* with *dharm-āyur-bhala-vijay-aivaryya-vi-viddhayā*; *a-dūḍha-dadhī-gaḥaṇam* and *a-haritaka-sikṣa-puṣpa-gaḥaṇam* with *a-yushka-kāhīra-sandōḥah*; *a-loṇa-gula-cachhobham* with *a-lavaṇa-klinna-kṛpi-khanakah*; *apārampara-baliṇḍa-gaḥaṇam* with *apārampara-gō-bali-ṭarṭah*, etc., Notice also the close similarity between *amha-peṣaṇa-ppuyutte sancharantaka-bhaḍa-manuṣaṇa* with *asmat-santakāḥ sarvādhyakṣa-niyōga-niyuktāḥ ājñā-saṅchāri-kulaputr-ādḥikṛtā bhāṣā-ḥhātrāi-cha*; and also between *sayam-āyatam* and *ājñā sayam* (contrary to the construction I have proposed, above, Vol. XXII, p. 174). The draftsman of the Vākātaka records has evidently borrowed some expressions from the Pallava grants as the writer of the latter had done from earlier Sātavāhana inscriptions. (See Nasik inscriptions Nos. 3 and 4 and Karle inscription No. 19.)

² Above, Vol. XV, p. 260.

³ From the original stone and ink-impressions.

⁴ Above, Vol. XX, p. 37.

PAUNI STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE BHARA KING BHAGADATTA.



SCALE: ONE-SIXTH.

N. P. CHAKHAYARTI.
Rec. No. 1515 E.37. 275.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

No. 4.—THE JURADA GRANT OF NETTABHANJADEVA.

BY C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU, B.A., MADRAS.

The subjoined inscription was first brought to light in December 1927 when a resident of **Phulsara**, a village in the Athagaḍa taluk of the Ganjām District, while digging for the foundations of a kitchen-room for the Svapnēśvara temple at the neighbouring hamlet of Deula-Pēḍi, discovered a pot containing two sets of copper-plates, each containing three plates strung together on a ring of the same metal. The plates were subsequently preserved in the local temple of Chandrasēkhara. They were obtained on loan from their owner Sjt. Madhava Patro by Pandit Gopabandhu Vidyabhushana, a teacher of the Raja's Sanskrit College at Parlakimedi and published by him in the monthly journal called *Vaiśya-Vāṇī* of the same district. Mr. Satyanarayana Rajaguru subsequently examined the two sets and published¹ an article on them giving only the text of one of them under the caption 'The Phulasara copper-plate grant of Kirtirājadēva'. Subsequently Sri Lakshminarayana Harichandan Jagadeb, Rajah of Tekkali, edited the present grant giving the text in a rather indifferent manner.² This article is not accompanied by any facsimiles and thus provides no basis for verifying either his transcript or his conclusions. I, therefore, requested the Collector of Vizagapatam to secure both the sets for my examination. At his instance the Deputy Tahsildar of Kodala, Ganjām District, forwarded the two sets to me in December 1934. They have been included and reviewed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year ending 31st March 1935, as Nos. 15 and 16 of Appendix A. The purpose of the present article is mainly to deal with the latter. My reading of the inscription is based on an examination of the original plates and their ink-impressions which have been prepared in my office. As there are also some inaccuracies in the readings of the other grant published by Mr. Rajaguru (No. 15 of App. A), I shall deal with it in a separate article.

The set under review consists of **three plates** measuring 6" by 2½" with slightly raised rims. A thin copper ring, about 3¼" in diameter, holding the plates together, passes through a ring-hole of about ½" in diameter at the left hand margin. The ends of the ring are pressed together loosely into the tubular bottom of a circular seal 1¼" in diameter. On the surface of the seal is carved in high relief the figure of an *amrita-kalāśa* which Sri Jagadeb takes to be a *pūrṇa-kumbha*.³ The plates with the ring and the seal weigh 79 tolas.

The **paleography** and **orthography** of the plates do not call for any special remarks. Mistakes in the latter are corrected in the foot-notes accompanying the text. The following points may, however, be observed: *s* is used for *ś* as in *saṅkha* and *sabda* in line 4, etc., *kusalinaḥ* (l. 8), *srī* for *śrī* (ll. 4, 6 and 7), etc. and *ś* for *s* in *samaśta*, in l. 9. *V* is employed instead of *b* as in *vrīṅkhita* in l. 6; *prativaddha* in l. 8. The inscription employs the forms *āmra* (l. 11) and *tāmra* (ll. 19 and 34) for Skt. *āmra* and *tāmra*. The consonant following *r* is generally doubled as in earlier inscriptions, e.g., *varjjita* (l. 11), *arkka* (l. 13), etc. The use of the form *paurṇavāsī* (probably colloquial) for *paurṇamāsī* in l. 19 and of *nṛipī* for *nṛipatī* (twice in l. 21) deserves notice.

The inscription belongs to the king *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara Nēṭṭabhañjadēva* (not Nēṭṭibhañjadēva as has hitherto been read by several scholars) and registers the gift, by the king, of the

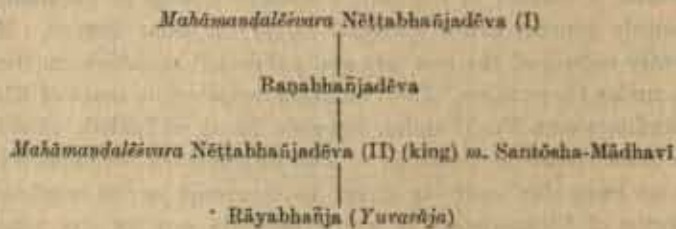
¹ *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. III, p. 30.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, p. 109.

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 111. It may be recalled here that one of the earlier Bhañja kings bears the surname or title 'Kalyāṅkalāśa', see above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 293 and 295 ff. and Bhandarkar's *List of Northern Inscriptions*, No. 1497. Vidyādhara Bhañja of this dynasty bore the title 'Amoghkalāśa' (*ibid.*, No. 1500).

village **Jurādā** in **Gaḍa-vishaya**, which was a subdivision of **Khiñjali-maṇḍala** to **Pātra śrī-Vā[ppa]nna**, who was the son of **Bhaṭṭa Gubhēvara** and grandson of **Bhaṭṭa¹ Santōsha** of the **Viśvāmitra-gōtra**, the **Kaṇva-sūkhā** and the **Yajur-vēda** and who was an immigrant from **Gaṅga-vāḍi**. The donee is undoubtedly identical with **Vāpanna**, the donee of the grant of **Kirtirājadēva**, which mentions him, however, without the title **Pātra**. The latter grant refers also to the *tryār-shēya-pravara* and the *pañchārshēy-ānupravara* of the donee which are omitted in our grant. The identity of the donee suggests that **Nēṭṭabhañjadēva** and **Kirtirājadēva** were either contemporaries ruling over adjacent principalities or one of them succeeded the other to the throne of the same principality.²

The king's genealogy is given thus :—



The king is described as a *parama-vaishya* and appropriately enough the grant commences with an invocation to god **Nārāyaṇa**, who is stated to be the family deity (*kula-dēvatā*) of the **Bhañja** kings.³ He is also mentioned in very respectful terms by the addition of the honorific suffix *pādāḥ* to his name, which is also the case with **Kirtirāja** of the other grant. The charter was issued from **Kumārapura** and was addressed to the *sāmanta* (corrupt form of *sāmanta*), *sāma-vāji* (corrupt form of *sāmājika* or *sāmaśyika*) and all the residents of the concerned country (or district). *Sāmanta* must refer to the feudal lord of the territory and *sāmājikas* to his councillors. The gift was made with the knowledge and cognizance (*āparijñāna*) of the chief queen (*mahādēvi*) **śrī-Santōsha-Mādhavi**, the crown-prince (*yuvarāja*) **śrī-Rāyabhañja**, the minister (*pātra*) **śrī-Yasōdhara**, the *akshapatala* **śrī-Ajānanda**, the *pratihāra* **śrī-Bhāvilla** and the *vāguyi* **śrī-Rāṅikāvāsa**. The inscription was engraved on the copper(-plates) by the merchant (*vayik*) **Malaka** or **Kamalaka**. The two expressions *rājaki-pralayā rupyā* and *khaṇḍapāla-muṇḍa-mōla-rupyā* are not intelligible. They probably refer to the amount of silver coins meant to be paid (annually) into the royal treasury and to the local (police ?) officers respectively. The symbol or ligature following the expression *rupyā* is perhaps meant as an abbreviation for *rupyā*.⁴

The record is **not dated** but the occasion of the gift was **Phālguna** full-moon, and lunar eclipse (*sōma-grahaṇa*), which fact alone is not helpful for determining the exact period of the inscription.

The king **Nēṭṭabhañja** of the present inscription evidently belongs to a later period, as evidenced by its palaeography which resembles closely that of the **Antirigam⁵ plates** of **Yasabhañjadēva**

¹ In **Kirtirāja's** grant **Santōsha** is styled *Bhaṭṭaputra*.

² **Sri Jagadeb** thinks that **Nēṭṭabhañja** conquered **Kirtirāja** and succeeded him; *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. VII, p. 110.

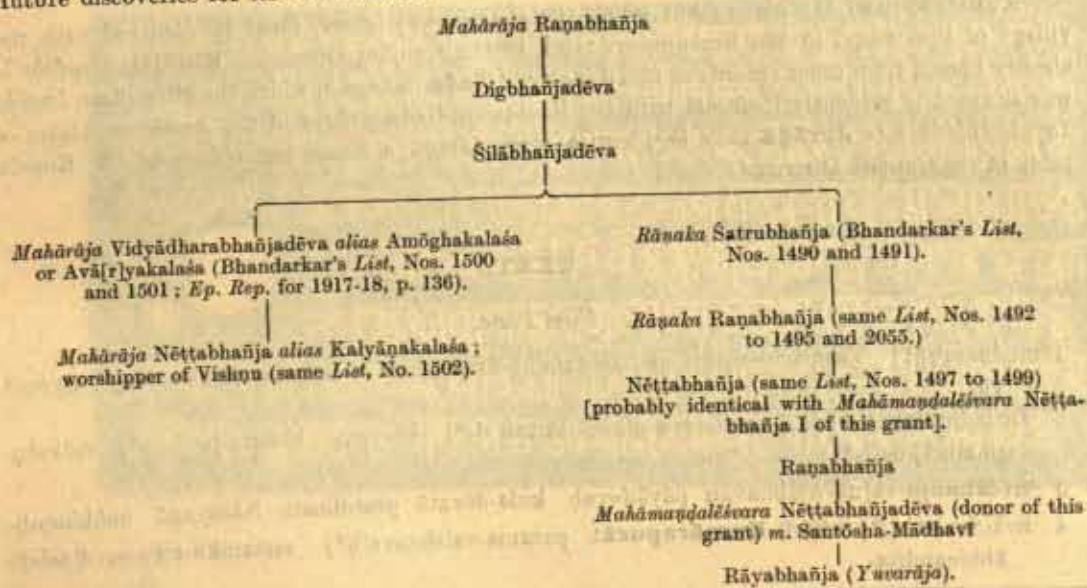
³ Other **Bhañja** kings of the **Vaishya** persuasion are mentioned in **Bhandarkar's List of Northern Inscriptions**, Nos. 1491 (**Satrubhañja**), 1492 (**Ranabhañja**) and 1493 (**Rāṣaka Raṣabhañja**).

⁴ [See p. 20 n. 1 below.—Ed.]

⁵ Above, Vol. XVIII, pl. opposite p. 298.

and the Antirigam plates of Jayabhañjadēva.¹ He undoubtedly comes of the Vaishṇava branch of the Bhañjas who were mostly lords of the Kṛiñjali- or Ubhaya-Kṛiñjali-*maṇḍala* and issued the earlier grants from Dhṛitipura.² A close study of the genealogy of the family would suggest that Nēṭṭabhañja *alias* Kalyāṇakalaśa of Nos. 1497 to 1499 of Bhandarkar's *List*, who was the son of Raṇabhañja and grandson of Śatrubhañja is identical with Nēṭṭabhañja I of our grant.³ Nēṭṭabhañja, son of Vidyādharaḥhañjadēva, the donor of the Dasapalla grant (called also Chakra-dharpur plates, see *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 266) is styled *Mahārāja* and *parama-vaishṇava*. The latter epithet might suggest a possible identity of Nēṭṭabhañja I of our plates (who calls himself, a *parama-vaishṇava* but only a *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*) with Nēṭṭabhañja of Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 1502. But the title *Mahārāja* borne by the latter precludes this identity.

In attempting a satisfactory genealogy of the several kings of the family the chief factor to be borne in mind is that the various branches had a special *lāñchhana* or seal, *viz.*, a lion in certain cases, a bull in others and a *kalāśa* in still others.⁴ We may therefore tentatively look upon the kings of the present record as belonging to a junior branch on account of the absence of sovereign titles. The expression *Matta-mayūra-tūrya*, etc., occurring in the eulogy of the kings of our grant seems very strongly to connect the origin of the Mayūra-Bhañja family with this branch. I shall, under the circumstances, suggest the following tentative genealogy for the present and await future discoveries for its confirmation.⁵



¹ Above, Vol. XIX, pl. facing p. 44.

² *Vide* Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos. 1490 to 1495 and 2055.

³ He would appear to be a solitary devotee of Mahēśvara in this branch. It should be noted that his grants were issued from Vañjulvaka and not from Dhṛitipura. The change in faith might have been caused by some unknown political causes which also must account for the shifting of his capital from the family city Dhṛitipura to Vañjulvaka. Similar change of faith from Śaivism to Vaishṇavism is suggested in the case of Jayabhañjadēva of the Antirigam plates (see above, Vol. XIX, p. 43, text, verse 3).

⁴ See *Annual Report on Epigraphy* for 1917-18, p. 136, para. 12.

⁵ [With the materials at our disposal it is almost impossible to arrive at a definite conclusion about the genealogy and the chronological position of the different Bhañja families. See *An. Bhand. Or. Res. Ins.*, Vol. XII, pp. 231 ff., R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 161 ff., and Bhandarkar's Genealogical Lists in p. 379 of the *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*.—Ed.]

Though I had tentatively suggested in my *Report for 1934-35* the identity of *Mahōmayā-lāvāra Nēṭṭabhañja* I of the present inscription with *Nēṭṭabhañja* *alias* *Kalyāṇakalāśa* of the above table, on further consideration of the reasons given above, I herein suggest the alternative identity shown in the above table.

The reading 'Nēṭṭibhañja' has till recently been adopted in almost all publications dealing with this dynasty.¹ In the Ganjām plates the reading is clearly Nēṭṭa- and not Nēṭṭibhañja as wrongly adopted. That the second letter in the name is not *ṭri* (cf. *ṭri* in *piṭri* of line 11 of the grant) but is *ṭa* will be clear from a comparison of this letter with *ṭa* in *bhaṭṭa* of line 24 of the grant.² Thus in all cases it will be seen that the original reads only Nēṭṭa. Even in the imperfect lithograph of the Gumsur plates of Nēṭṭabhañja³ the reading 'Nēṭṭibhañja' cannot strictly be justified. In his article on the 'Two Bhañja grants from Dasapalla,'⁴ Mr. Binoytosh Bhattacharya, however, suggests that the king's name might be Nēṭṭabhañja or Nēṭṭabhañja. But he is not definite. Dr. Bhandarkar, in his *List of Northern Inscriptions* adopts the several forms indifferently.⁵ But from a close study of all the concerned grants it will be seen that Nēṭṭabhañja is the correct name and not Nēṭṭibhañja or Nēṭṭabhañja. Pandit Binayak Misra, however, read the name correctly.⁶

The names of the *akṣhapatalin* and *pratihāra* respectively read as Ājñā and Bhāvigaṇa by Sri Jagadeb must be correctly read as Ajānanda and Bhāvilla.

Kumārapura, the place from which the charter was issued, must be identical with the village of that name in the Berhampur taluk of the Ganjām District. **Khiñjali-maṇḍala** is already known from other records of this dynasty. **Gaḍa-vishaya** in which the gift-village *Jurādā* was situated is evidently identical with the *Khiñjaliya-Gaḍa-vishaya* of the Antirigam plates of *Jayabhañjadēva*.⁷ **Jurādā** may be identical with *Jarādā*, a Zamindari village in the Kodola taluk of the Ganjām District.⁸

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Siddham*{[*]} Yasmāch=chakra-gad-āsi-śāṅkha-dhanuṣaḥ Śrīvatsa-tārکشāv=api¹dyōntē yē
- 2 Ditiadinātha¹¹-vanitā-vaidhavya-dīkshā-kṛitaḥ [*] sū-yam bhakta-janā[ya*] mōkṣa-pha[la*]-da[h*]
- 3 śrī-Bhañja-va[mā-ō]dbhavān pāyāde-vaḥ kula-dēvatā pratidinam Nārāyaṇō bhūbhujah||
- 4 Svā(Sva)stī [*] Śrī(śrī)-Kumārapurāt parama-vaishya[ḥ*] sa(śa)ṅkh-nika-savd(śabd)-ābhinandita-

¹ *Ep. Rep.* for 1917-18, p. 135 and above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 283 f.

² See above, Vol. XVIII, plate facing p. 292.

³ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VI, p. 669.

⁴ *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. VI, p. 268.

⁵ Nos. 1497 to 1499 and 1502.

⁶ See *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 104 ff.

⁷ Above, Vol. XIX, p. 42.

⁸ It is also possible that *Surada*, the headquarters of a taluk of that name in the Ganjām District represents the *Jurādā* of the inscription.

* Expressed by a symbol.

¹¹ *Dipda* unnecessary.

¹² Read *dyōntāṇi Diti-ādhi*.

28 प्रसदात्तयात्रितागसदयाधिलाज्ञानग्या प्रसदत्रवधालोनाहवत्
 हस्तप्रसक्तुमिमयुवदस्त्रिमासुदशसवक्षीवाकणैरुध्यासिस्तुप्रथया
 30 निवृत्तायात्राप्रदत्रप्रसदत्रिद्याथाहस्तदस्त्रयनाम्नाप्रसिद्ध्याया
 32 गालिदं प्रवृत्तेलेकं चरुमिषया इमिस्तुं ह्यवृत्तकमाधेष्टि
 34 वावदहृष्टयाधुवांजा ॥ वाउकेधुवाधुवाधुवा ॥ ९ ॥ अथप्रथा
 वाप्रसुष्टोलेकयाधुवा ॥ १० ॥ वृत्तकमलाकेवगामुलेमिह ॥

AN INSCRIBED BRICK FROM NALANDA OF THE YEAR 197.

(From a photograph).



SCALE: ABOUT ONE-THIRD.

- 5 matta-mayūra-tūrya-rav-ō[t*]krasi(śi)t-ārāti-chakra-Bhañj-āmala-kula-ti-
 6 laka-Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara-srī(śrī)mad-vṛi(bṛi)[m*]hita-**Nēṭṭabhañjadēvasya** naptṛi(ptā)
 sri(śrī)ma-
 7 d-**Raṇabhañjadēvasy**-ātmajaḥ Mahāmaṇḍalēśva(śva)ra-srī(śrī)man-**Nēṭṭabhañjadēva**-
 pādā[h*]
 8 kusa(śa)linah **Khīñjali**-maṇḍala-prativa(ba)ddha-**Gaḍa**-vishayīya-**Jurādā**-grāmē sā-
 9 manti-sāmavāji-pramukha-samaśta(sta)-nivāsinō janapadān samājñāpa-

Second Plate : First Side.

- 10 yanti viditam=astu bhavatām grāmō=yam chatuḥ-sām(sim)-āvachchinna[h*] sa-jala-sta
 (stha)la[h*] sa-vi-
 11 ṭapa-latā-sa-padr-āraṇya[h*] s-āmvrā(mra)-madhu[h*] sa-mīna-stō(tō)ya[h*] sa[r*]vv-
 ṭopadrava-varjjita-
 12 ḥ (l) achaṭṭa-bhaṭṭa-pravēsa(śah) bhavishyat-kara-rāhitaḥ bhūmi-[ch*]chhidra-pi(vi)dhāna-
 nyāyēna
 13 chandr-a(ā)rkka-paryantaṁ mātā-pitrōr-ātma[na*]ś-cha sarvva-va[nnā](rṇṇā)nārū [pu]-
 nya-yaśō-bhivṛi-
 14 ddhayē **Gaṅgavāḍi**-vinirgata-Viśvāmitra-gōtra-pañch-ārisha-(ārshēya)-prava-
 15 ra-Ya[ju]rvvōd-ādhyayana-Kanva-sā(sā)khā-Bhaṭṭa-Santōsha-pautrāya Bha-
 16 ṭṭa-Guhēśvarasy-ātmaja-Pātra-śrī-Vā[ppa]nnāya || Mahādēvī śrī-Santōsha-
 17 MādHAVI | yuvarāja[h*] śrī-Rāyabhañja[h*] | Pātra[h*] śrī-Yaśōdhara[h*] || Akshapaṭa-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 18 li(lī) śrī-A[jā]nanda[h*] Pratihāra[h*] śrī-Bhāvillā[h*] | Vāguṇi² srī(śrī)-Rāñikāvā[sō-tr-ā]pa-
 19 riññānē **Phālgūṇa(na)-paurṇavā(mā)syārū sōma-grahanē** udaka-pūrvakam
 tāmvrā(mra)-sā(śā)sanī-
 20 kṛitya pradattō=sma(ā)bhīḥ | Asmad-gauravāt puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē a(ā)gāmī(mi)-nṛi-
 21 pti(pati)bhīḥ paripālanīyaḥ | Asmad-vatsa(vamśē) parikshīṇē yaḥ kēs(kaś)-chī[n*]=nṛipti
 (pati)r=bhavēt ||(l)
 22 tasy-a(ā)ham pādā-[lagnō]=smi mama [da*]tt-ānup[ā]lanāt [l*] Bhūmi[m*] yaḥ pratigri-
 hnā(hṇā)-
 23 ti yas(ś)-cha bhūmi[m*] prayachchhati | ubhau tau puṇya(nya)-karmāṇau niyataṁ svagga-
 (rgga)-gā-
 24 minau || [Ā*]sphōṭayanti pitarah prava[lga]nti pitāmahāḥ | bhūmi-jā(dā)tā kulē
 25 jātaḥ sa nna(na)s-trātā bhavishyati [l*] Va(Ba)hubhir-vvasudhā dattā rājabhīḥ Sagar-
 ādibhīḥ ||(l)
 26 yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam(lam) [l*] Mā bhūd=aphala-sa(śa)ñkā
 vaḥ ||³

Third Plate.

- 27 para-datt-ē[ti*] pārhivāḥ | sva-dattāt-phalam=ānantya[m*] para-datt-ānupālanē Haratē
 28 hārayatē(yēd) bhūmi[m*] manda-vu(bu)ddhis-tamō-bhṛi(vṛi)taḥ | sa va(ba)ddhō Vāruṇaiḥ
 pāsais=te(ti)ryag-yō-

¹ The u-sign is indicated more like the one for e; cf. also gu in l. 18 below.

² [We may have to read Vāguṇi=Vārguṇika of the Ganjām plates of Vidyādharaḥaṅga.—Ed.]

³ Dasdas unnecessary.

- 29 nishu jāyatē (||) Sva-dattān para-dattām-vā yō harēd(ta) vasundharām | sa viśhṭhāyān
 30 kṛimir-bhūtvā pitṛibhīḥ saha pachyatē || Tam(Ta)ḍāgānām sahasrēṇa Vāja-
 31 pēya-śatēna cha ||(l) gavān kōṭi-pradānēna bhūmī-ha[r*]ttā na [śu]dhyati [||*]
 32 Gām-ākān suva(sva)ṛṇṇam-ēkaṁ cha bhūmēr-apy-arddham-aṅgulam(lam)[|] haran-
 narakam-ā(l)pnōti
 33 yāvad=āhṛi(bhū)ta-saṁ[plava]m || Rājaki-pralayā [ru]pyā¹ ॐ || ² khaṇḍapā-
 34 la-muṇḍa-mōla-rupyā ॐ || ² Vapika(g)-Malakēna³ tāmvrā(mrē) likhitam ||

No. 5.—AN INSCRIBED BRICK FROM NALANDA OF THE YEAR 197.

BY A. GHOSH, M.A., PATNA.

The brick containing the present inscription was found in 1936-37 from the core of a votive *stūpa* attached to the Main *Stūpa* of Nālandā (Site No. 3). It was recovered in fragments which have been pieced together, but a portion of the upper right corner of the brick is missing. The size of the complete brick is 18" × 10" × 1½".

The inscription is on one side of the brick and runs to 15 lines. The letters were evidently engraved with a stylus when the brick was still wet, so that the clay thus displaced adhered to the surface of the brick and hardened when the brick was burnt. **Palaeographically**, the inscription may be referred to the **sixth century A. D.** The letters are in the cursive style and present much the same features as the other brick inscriptions of Nālandā, two of which have already been published by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti⁴. Some points of difference, however, may be noted here. The vowel *i* (l. 14) does not consist of three dots, but of two dots placed one above the other and of a third member resembling the letter *d*. The triangle representing *ē* (ll. 7 and 13) has its apex pointed to the left. The letter *k* shows the earlier unlooped form when it is an independent member; but both looped and unlooped forms occur indiscriminately when the letter is the second member of a ligature, cf. l. 9, where *saṁskāra* occurs twice. *Y* is tripartite with an additional curve to the left hanging downwards, but occasionally, e.g. *ayam* in l. 13, the curve turns inwards, thus producing the more common form. An important feature is that, unlike those of the published brick, both *śh* and *s* of the present record are of the looped variety, which since Hoernle's time has come to be known as the eastern variety.⁵

As regards **orthography**, the use of *anusvāra* for the final *m* in *bhagavān* (l. 2), *amīn* (l. 4), etc., and the doubling of *m* in *dharmma* (l. 3 *et passim*) may be noted. Rules of *saṁdhi* have not been regularly observed. Two punctuation marks are found, the first consisting of a short horizontal line (ll. 4, 9, and 13) and the other of two vertical lines (ll. 8 and 15).

¹ [Reading seems to be -*pratyayā rupyā*. The symbol after '*rupyā*' in this line and the next appears to represent a numerical sign and may have to be read as 70.—Ed.]

² There is a symbol between the two pairs of *danda*s.

³ This might also be emended as *Vapik-Kamalakēna*.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 194 ff.

⁵ Hoernle, *Bower Manuscript*, pp. xxvii ff.; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 30 ff. For criticisms see Altekar *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 405 ff.; D. R. Bhandarkar, above, Vol. XXI, pp. 1 ff. A very early example of looped *s* occurs in a Saheth-Maheth brick inscription containing the word *passarikasya* [*As. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1910-11, pl. xi(a)]. The roundish shape of *p* and *v* shows the priority of the inscription to the angular development of the Kushāna period.

A unique interest is attached to the inscription in view of the fact that it is **dated in the year 197**, which its palaeography allows to be referred only to the Gupta era, thus bringing its date to A. D. 516-17. This fact leads to some important conclusions about the date of the Main Stūpa at Nālandā. In its present form the monument is the result of seven successive accumulations, each integument being placed upon the ruins of the earlier one, with the result that each time the size of the Stūpa greatly increased both horizontally and vertically. The stūpa of the fifth period, with its four corner-towers and eastern façade decorated with rows of niches containing well-modelled stucco figures of Buddha and the Bodhisattvas¹ was more carefully constructed, or, at any rate, is better preserved now, than any other. The votive stūpa from the core of which the present record has been found belonged to this period of the Stūpa and was subsequently covered up by the eastern outer wall of the sixth period. It appears, therefore, that we can now ascribe the fifth period of the Stūpa occupation to circa A. D. 500 with much greater certainty than was possible with the help of the images mentioned above.²

The inscription gives the text of the *Nidānasūtra* or the *Pratītyasamutpāda-sūtra* together with the *nirōdha* portion,³ called here the *āchaya* and *apachaya* of *dharmma*.⁴ Except the two bricks published by Dr. Chakravarti, which give the *sūtra* together with its *vibhāṅga*, every brick inscription of Nālandā gives either this *sūtra* (with or without the *nirōdha*) or the famous creed *yē dharmā*, etc., which no doubt refers to this *sūtra*. One brick recovered in two pieces (Site No. 3, Reg. Nos. 230 and 236) repeats the *sūtra* and *nirōdha* thrice; each time the *sūtra* finishes with the sentence *iyam mithyā-prakṛtiḥ saṃskṛta-vartini* and the *nirōdha* with *iyam samyak-prakṛti-ir-asamskṛta-niyām-āvakkṛantiḥ*. The same votive stūpa which yielded the present record contained another brick (Reg. No. 278B), elliptical in shape, rather carelessly inscribed with five lines of the text of the *sūtra*. For some reason or other the record was never completed.

The following text is transcribed from the original which is now preserved in the Nālandā Museum:—

TEXT.

- 1 Namaḥ [*] Ēvam-mayā śrutam-ē[ka]sm[i]n=samayē Bhagavān(ñ)=chChhrāvastyām viharati [sma] [Jētavanē Anātha*].⁵
- 2 piṇḍadasy-ārāmē [*] Tatra Bhagavān(n) bhikṣhūṇ-ā[ma]ntrayatē* s[ma], . . . vō bhikṣhava . . . * [dēśa*].⁶
- 3 yishyāmy-apachayām cha [*] Tach=[chhrīṇ]uta sādhu [cha*] sushṭhu cha manasi kuru[ta bhā]shishy[ō] dha[rmmāṇām-āchaya]ḥ katamaḥ [*].⁷
- 4 Yad-ut-āsmiṇ(u) sat-īdam bhavaty-a[s]y-[ō]tpā[d]ād-idam-utpadyatē | Yad-ut-āvidyā-pratyayāḥ saṃskā[rāḥ] saṃskāra-pratyayāḥ vijñānaḥ vijñāna[*].⁸
- 5 pratyayāḥ nāma-rūpaḥ nāma-rūpa-pratyaya[m] shaḍ-āyatanaḥ shaḍ-āyatana-pratyayāḥ sparśāḥ* [sparśa-pratyayā vēdanā*].⁹

¹ For illustrations see *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1925-26, pl. xlix; 1926-27, pls. vii and viii.

² These images are referred to the 7th or 8th century A. D., *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1925-26, p. 103.

³ This all-important *sūtra* occurs in many Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhist texts. For references see Chakravarti, *loc. cit.*, p. 195, n. 2.

⁴ [The text of the *sūtra* here is the same as that found in the Kasia copper plate and the inscribed brick from Gopalpur. See *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1910-11, pp. 76 f and *Proc. A. S. B.*, 1896, pp. 99 ff.—Ed.]

⁵ This portion of the text is lost.

⁶ Same as the text of B published by Dr. Chakravarti. The correction to *bhikṣhūṇ-āmantrayatē* now appears to be better than *bhikṣhūṇām-āmantrayatē*, as the letter *mā* could not have been inadvertently left out in both cases.

⁷ The lacuna may be filled up as *dharmmāṇām vō bhikṣhava āchayam cha dēśa*.

⁸ There is no doubt that the word is in the plural.

- 6 vėdanā-pratyayā trishṇā trishṇā-pratyayam-upādānaṁ [u]pā[dā]na-pratyayō bhavaḥ bhava-pratyayā [jātiḥ jāti-pratyayā*]¹
- 7 jjarā²-maraṇa-sōka-paridēva-duḥkha-daurmma[nasy-ō]pāyāsāḥ [saṁ]bhavanti [i*] Ēvam-asya k[ē]valasya mahatō duḥkha*]³
- 8 [skandha]sya samudayō bhavati [i*] Ayam=uchyatē dharmmāṇām=āchayaḥ [||] Dharmmā-ṇām=apachayaḥ [katamaḥ | Yad=ut=āsmi*]⁴
- 9 sat-īda(dam) na bhavaty=asya nirōdhād=idaṁ nirudhyatē | Yad=ut=[ā]vidyā-nirōdhā-[t-sa]ṁskāra-nirōdhah saṁskāra-[nirōdhād-vijñāna-nirōdhah*]⁵
- 10 vijñāna-nirōdhān=nāma-rūpa-nirōdhah nāma-rūpa-nirōdhā[ch-chha(t-sha)]j-āyatana-nirōdhah shaḍ-āyatana⁶.[nirōdhāt-sparsa-ni*]⁷rōdhah
- 11 sparsa-nirōdhād-vėdanā-nirōdhah vėdanā-[u]rōdhāt-trishṇā-[n]rōdhah⁸ trishṇā-nirōdhād-upādāna-nirōdhah upādāna-nirōdhād=bhava-
- 12 nirōdhah bhava-nirōdhāj=jāti-nirōdhah jāti-nirōdhāj-jarā-maraṇa-sōka-paridēva-duḥkha-daurmma[nasy-ō]pāyāsāḥ
- 13 nirudhyantē | Ēvam=asya kēvala[sya*] mahatō duḥkha-ska[n]dhasya [n]rōdhō bhavati [i*] Ayam=uchyatē [dharmmāṇām=apachayaḥ *] Dharmmāṇām vō bhikshava
- 14 āchayaṁ cha dēśayishyāmy=apachayati ch=ēti iti [mē] yad=uktam=[i]dam=ē[tat*] pratyuk-tam [i*] Idam=avōchad-Bhagavān=ātta-
- 15 manasa=tē cha bhikshavō Bhagavatō bhāḥitam=abhyanandan || **sa 100 90 7 Māgha di 20 5.**

No. 6.—SENDAMANGALAM INSCRIPTION OF MANAVALAPPERUMAL; 5TH YEAR.

BY V. VENKATASUBBA AIYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

The subjoined inscription¹ is engraved on the south base of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine in the Āpatsahāyēśvara temple at **Sēndamaṅgalam**² in the Tindivanam taluk of the South Arcot District. Though exposed to weather, the record is in a fairly good state of preservation.

It is engraved in the **Tamiḷ** language and script of the 13th century A.D. with a slight admixture of Grantha letters at the beginning and end. In incising the record, certain scribe's mistakes have crept in and these have been corrected in the text given below. The text of the record has been published in *South-Indian Inscriptions*.³

The **orthography** of the inscription does not call for any special remark. The word *vāṇilai* (l. 3) requires some explanation. In the Tamiḷ classical work *Purapporuḷ veṅbāmūlai* of Ayyan Āriṭaṇār, *vāṇilai* forms the subject matter of one of the twenty-one divisions in the chapter *Vaṅji-ppaḍalam*. It is there explained as referring to the act of sending in advance, at an auspicious moment, the sword of a king who intends to march against his enemies. This is described under

¹ This portion of the text is lost.

² Read *jarū*.

³ Between *sa* and *na* intervenes the *ku* of the ligature *skū* of the previous line.

⁴ These three letters had originally been dropped out by the scribe, who subsequently corrected the omission by putting a cross above the letter *shū* and inscribing the necessary letters below the line, slightly to the left of *tri*.

⁵ No. 73 of 1903 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁶ This village must be distinguished from the village of the same name in the Tirukkōyilūr taluk of the same district.

⁷ Vol. VIII, No. 350.

the name *vāṇmaṅgalam*¹ in the *Tolkāppiyam*.² The historical implications of this word and its bearing on our inscription will be discussed in the sequel.

The present inscription is dated in the 5th year of **Sakalabhuvanachchakravartigaḷ Maṇavāḷaṅ-perumāl** and it registers a gift, by this chief, of the village **Mōgaṅār Māraṅār**, as a tax-free *tirunāṁattukkāṇi*, for conducting the service called *Ēḷisaimōgaṅ-śandi* newly instituted by him, for celebrating a festival in the month of Purattādi (September-October) and for burning ten perpetual lamps in the temple of the god Vāṇilaikaṅḍisūram-uḍaiya-Nāyaṅār set up by him at Śēndamaṅgalam after converting it into a military camp.

The importance of this record to South Indian history has not so far been recognised. It is the only record, so far known, issued by Maṇavāḷaṅ-perumāl under this name as an independent chief. Who this chief was and what his position was in South India, when he assumed independence and how long he continued to be in power are points which have not been satisfactorily explained till now. An attempt is now made to elucidate them.

For this enquiry, the present record gives a good start by stating that Maṇavāḷaṅ-perumāl garrisoned his forces at Śēndamaṅgalam and thus made it an important centre. From the Tiruvēṇḍipuram inscription³ and the records of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I (A.D. 1251-71) commencing with the words '*pūmalar vaḷar*', etc., we know that this place was the stronghold of the later Pallava chief Kōpperuṅḷiṅgaḍēva II. A record from Vpiddhāchalam⁴ in the South Arcot District mentions our chief in the 28th year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III. It further states that he was a native of Kūḍal in Kīḷāmūr-nāḍu, a sub-division of Tirumuṇaippāḍi in Mērkā-nāḍu which was a sub-division of Virudarājabhayaṅkara-vaḷanāḍu.

This inscription gives Maṇavāḷaṅ-perumāl the following titles :—

- 1 **Ēḷisaimōgaṅ Maṇavāḷaṅ-perumāl**,
- 2 **Vāṇilaikaṅḍa-perumāl** and
- 3 **Rājarājak-Kāḍavarājaṅ**.

The first name indicates that Ēḷisaimōgaṅ was the father of Maṇavāḷaṅ-perumāl. This would explain why Maṇavāḷaṅ-perumāl instituted a service called *Ēḷisaimōgaṅ-śandi*. The god Vāṇilaikaṅḍisūram-uḍaiya-Nāyaṅār consecrated by Maṇavāḷaṅ-perumāl at Śēndamaṅgalam must have been so called after the second name. In this case it may be said that Maṇavāḷaṅ-perumāl of our inscription is identical with Vāṇilaikaṅḍa-perumāl. The third appellation was probably assumed about the 28th year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III after the name of the crown-prince Rājarājā.

This chief also figures in a record of the 29th year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III at Tiruvadi⁵ as donor with the additional title *Achalakulōttaman*.⁶ Further it may be inferred that he had also the title '**Aḷagiya-Pallavaṅ**,' because the deity in the Perumāl temple at Tiruveṅṇainallūr constructed by his wife was named Aḷagiya-Pallava-Viṅṅagar-Emberumāṅ.⁷ It will thus be clear that Maṇavāḷaṅ-perumāl *alias* Vāṇilaikaṅḍa-perumāl was a Kāḍava chief belonging to Kūḍal in Tirumuṇaippāḍi, that his capital was Śēndamaṅgalam and that he was a subordinate of the Chōḷa king Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III about the latter's 29th year, *i.e.*, A.D. 1207.

¹ See also *Trav. Archl. Series*, Vol. I, pp. 115-16.

² *Poruḷ-adhikāram, Puṟattāṅaiyigal, sātra* 68.

³ Above, Vol. VII, pp. 160 ff.

⁴ *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 146.

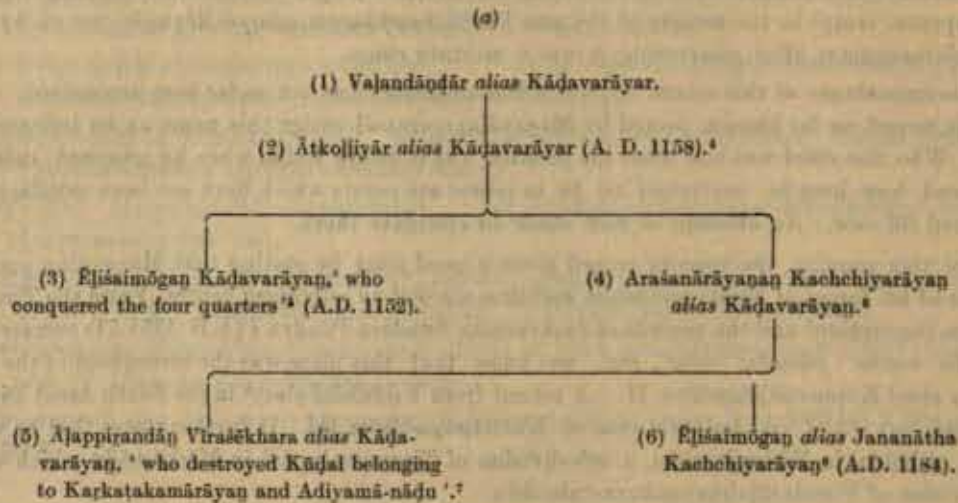
⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 317.

⁶ *Achalakulōttaman* would indicate his connection with the Malaiyamāṅ chiefs. *Achalakulōttavaṅ* was also a title of the Rāshtrakūta king Kannradēva (No. 281 of 1936-37 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection).

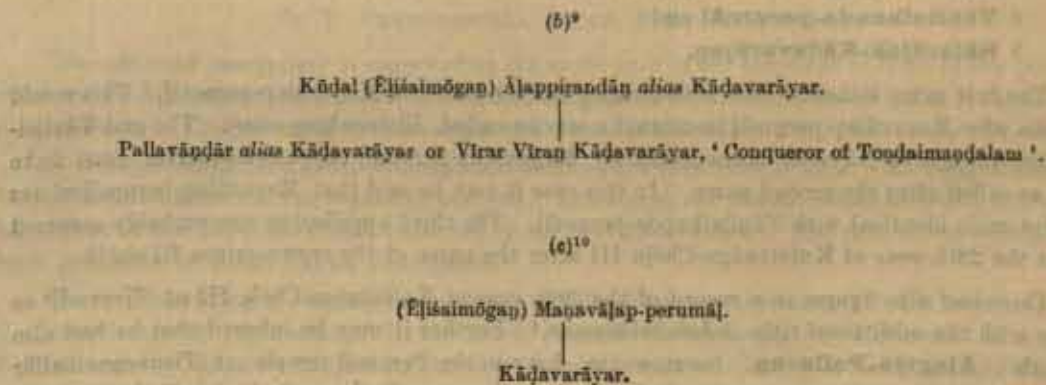
⁷ No. 484 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

No regular genealogy of the Kāḍava chiefs in the Tamil country has so far been attempted,¹ but from a few records available, a tentative one can be drawn up, at least for a period of a century and half commencing from the second half of the 12th century A.D.

Two lithic records from Vṛiddhāchalam² and Tiruveṅṅainallūr³ which contain the same text furnish the following genealogy except No. (6) :—



Three other records give the following genealogies :—



¹ [A genealogy of these chiefs has been given by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri on p. 161 of Vol. II of *Tāṅ Cōḷas* which was issued after this article was sent to the press.—Ed.]

² No. 74 of 1918 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

³ No. 463 of 1921, *ibid.*

⁴ No. 486 of 1921, *ibid.*

⁵ No. 423 of 1921, *ibid.*

⁶ Nos. 254 of 1919 and 467 of 1921, *ibid.*

⁷ *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 121.

⁸ Nos. 413 of 1909 and 157 of 1906, of the Madras Epigraphical Collection; also *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 85. Ēḷisaimōgaṅ No. (6) was another son of Araśanārāyaṅaṅ Kaechiyarāyan.

⁹ Nos. 296 of 1912 and 178 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

¹⁰ No. 484 of 1921, *ibid.*

(d)¹

Jiyamahipati m. Śilāvatt.

Mahārājasimha (i.e., Kōpperāñjīnga) of Kūḍal.

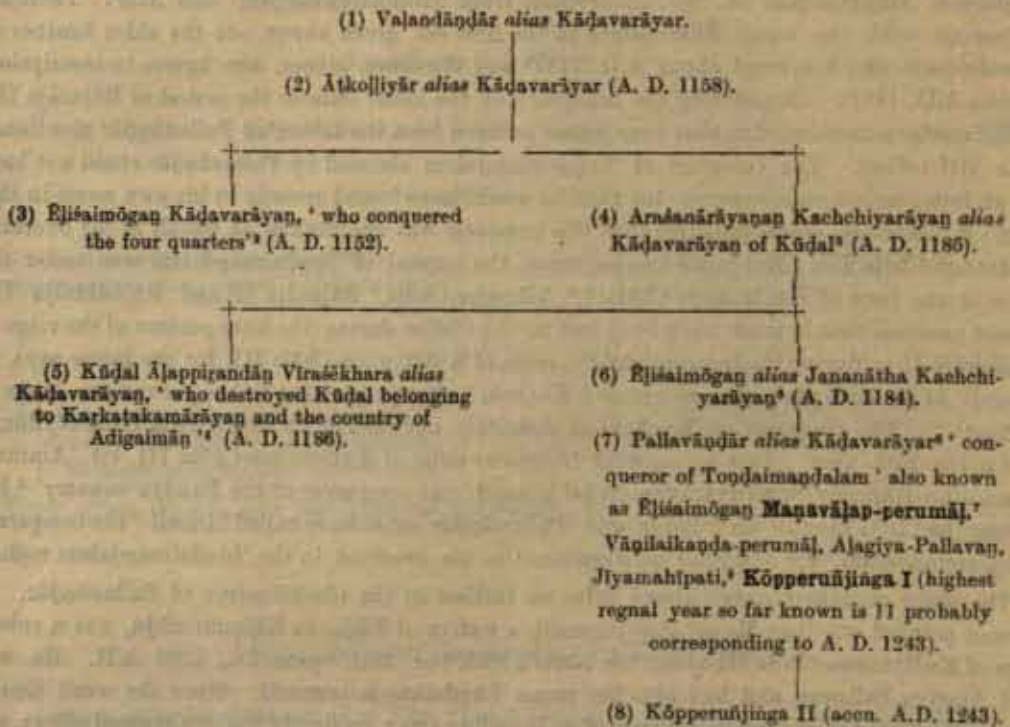
One point connecting the four sets given above is that all the members belonged to Kūḍal. Pallavāṇḍār *alias* Kāḍavarāyar mentioned in the second set is said to have been the son of Kūḍal Ēlīśaimōgaṅ Ālappiṇḍāy in two inscriptions from Tirukkaḷukkuṅṅam² and Atti³. There are two persons with the name Ēlīśaimōgaṅ in the first set given above, one the elder brother of Araśanārāyaṇa who flourished about A.D. 1152⁴ and the other, his son who figures in inscriptions of about A.D. 1184⁵. Considering the proximity of the latter date to the period of Rājarāja III, the Ēlīśaimōgaṅ mentioned in that year seems to have been the father of Pallavāṇḍār mentioned in the Atti record. The conquest of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam claimed by Pallavāṇḍār could not have been an independent achievement, for then he would have issued records in his own name in this region; it, therefore, seems probable that this conquest was undertaken on behalf of his overlord Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III. But since Conjeeveram, the capital of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam was under the Chōḷas in the time of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa I,⁶ Vikrama-Chōḷa,⁷ Rājarāja II⁸ and Rājādhirāja II⁹, we must presume that it must have been lost to the Chōḷas during the later portion of the reign of Rājādhirāja II or during the beginning of the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III, for the latter says, in a record¹⁰ of his 19th year, that he entered Kachchi 'after prostrating to the ground the kings of the North'. The conquest of Kachchi is definitely included in his record from Tirukkōyilūr,¹¹ dated in the 24th year. Just as another feudatory chief of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III, *viz.*, Ammai-yappaṅ *alias* Rājarāja Śambuvarāyaṅ styled himself 'the conqueror of the Pāṇḍya country'¹² for assisting the Chōḷa king in his Pāṇḍya war, Pallavāṇḍār must have called himself 'the conqueror of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam' for a similar help rendered to his overlord in the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam region.

The third genealogy noted above helps us further in the identification of Pallavāṇḍār. It has been pointed out that Maṇavāḷap-perumāl, a native of Kūḍal in Kūḷmūr-nāḍu, was a subordinate of Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III about the latter's 28th¹³ or 29th¹⁴ year, *i.e.*, 1206 A.D. He was called Āḷagiya-Pallavaṅ and had also the name Vāṇilaikaṇḍa-perumāl. Since the word *vāṇilai* refers to the despatch of arms in advance of an invading army, evidently under a trusted officer, the name Vāṇilaikaṇḍa-perumāl assumed by this chief would indicate his service to his overlord. Since Maṇavāḷap-perumāl (*i.e.* Āḷagiya-Pallavaṅ), was an important Kāḍava chief under Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III till about the latter's 35th year¹⁵, we may identify him with Pallavāṇḍār 'the conqueror of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam' of the second set. This identification receives further support

¹ No. 202 of 1905, *ibid.*² No. 187 of 1932-33, *ibid.*³ No. 296 of 1912, *ibid.*⁴ Nos. 166 and 170 of 1906, *ibid.*⁵ No. 413 of 1909, *ibid.*⁶ *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 813 and Vol. III, No. 68.⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 80.⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 822.⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 820.¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 217; also No. 164 of *Pudukkottai Inscriptions* dated in the 31st year of Tribhuvanavira-dēva, *i.e.*, Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III.¹¹ No. 2 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.¹² Nos. 167 and 176 of 1918, *ibid.*¹³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 146.¹⁴ *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 317.¹⁵ Nos. 63 of 1919 and 487 of 1921 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

from the fact that Pallavāṇḍār, like Maṇavālap-perumā, is said to have been the son of Kūḍal Ēḷisaimōgaṅ Āppirandāṅ.¹

We have seen that Maṇavālap-perumā of the third set was known as Aḷagiya-Pallavaṅ and since Kōpperuṅjīgadēva was also called Aḷagiya-Pallavaṅ, the identification of Maṇavālap-perumā and Pallavāṇḍār 'the conqueror of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam' with Jiyamahīpati of the fourth set is easily established. The whole genealogy can, therefore, be tentatively given thus :



Maṇavālap-perumā, whom we have identified with Jiyamahīpati of the Tripurāntakam⁹ inscription, was a subordinate under Kulōttuṅga-Chōḷa III till about A.D. 1211.¹⁰ He strengthened his position in the country and gradually made Śēndamaṅalam in the South Arcot District his capital, garrisoned it with forces and declared his independence by issuing records in his own name. The Chōḷa king Rājarāja III was captured and imprisoned in this place and was released only when the Hoysala forces marched against this city threatening destruction. An unpublished record from Villiyānūr in the French territory near Pondicherry, dated in the 6th year of Kōpperuṅjīgadēva II, refers to an audit of temple accounts from the 37th year of Tribhuvanavīradēva, *i.e.*,

¹ No. 187 of 1932-33, *ibid.* The name Ēḷisaimōgaṅ Maṇavālap-perumā means Maṇavālap-perumā, son of Ēḷisaimōgaṅ.

² Nos. 423 of 1921; 166 and 170 of 1906 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

³ Nos. 391 and 467 of 1921, *ibid.*

⁴ No. 463 of 1921. It cannot be stated definitely which of the two brothers Nos. (5) and (6) was the elder.

⁵ No. 413 of 1906, *ibid.*

⁶ No. 596 of 1912.

⁷ *S. I. L.*, Vol. VIII, No. 350.

⁸ No. 202 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁹ No. 63 of 1919, *ibid.*

Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III to the 11th year of Aḷagiyaśīyar Kōpperuñjiṅgādēva (I).¹ Probably 11 was the last regnal year of **Kōpperuñjiṅgādēva I**, i.e., **Maṇavālaṇ-perumāl**, because we know that he made an attempt to supplant the Chōla power by imprisoning Rājarāja III at Śēndamaṅgalam in A.D. 1232 and that Kōpperuñjiṅgādēva II came to the throne in A.D. 1243.² He was a quasi independent chief roughly from the 37th year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III to A.D. 1232 when he assumed the role of an independent ruler and continued to be in power till the accession of his son in A.D. 1243. He assumed the title 'Sakalabhuvanachchakravarttiga' which was exclusively adopted in inscriptions by his son Kōpperuñjiṅgādēva II. Some of his records are found at Vailūr, Chidambaram and Tiruvaṅṅāmalai. Maṇavālaṇ-perumāl, the signatory to the present record, may be identified with the chief himself in whose regime this inscription was issued.

Of the **geographical names** occurring in the record, **Śēndamaṅgalam** is identical with the village of the same name where the present inscription is found. **Geḷilam** is the river that rises in the Kallakurchi taluk of the South Arcot District and flows into the Bay of Bengal under the ruined bastions of Fort St. David near Cuddalore in the same district.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti³ śrī⁴ [i*] 'Sakalabhuvanachcha[kkara]vattiga| Śrī⁵-Maṇavālaṇ-perumāl]-
Uḍaiyār[kku]
- 2 yāṅḍu aṅchāvadu Śēndamaṅgalattu ūrum paḍaiṇḍu śe[y*]du U[ḍaiyār]
- 3 [Vā]ḷilakaṇḍiśuram-udaiya-Nāyaṅāraiyum eḷundaruḷap-pa[n*]ṇi iṅ-nāyaṅārkkū nām
kaṇḍa E[ḷi]śaimōgaṅ-śandikkum Purattādi(Purattādi) tiru[ā]n[u*]kkum tirinundā-
vilakku pattukkum Geḷilattu[k]ku vaḍa[k]ku kurukāl-vaḷikku mērkku Mōgaṅār
Māṅṅār⁶ nāṅ-
- 4 [g-e]llaikku utpaṭṭa naṅjai puṅjai uḷḷiṭṭa payiru marrum eppērpaṭṭa aṅaittāyamum utpaḍa
tirunāmattukkāṅi iraiyiliyāga tandōm[*] ippaḍikku Chandirādittavar śella ivūr nāṅ-
ellaiyilum natta[t*]tilu[m*] tiruchchūla-tāpana[m]-

¹ This is No. 186 of 1936-37 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection. The relevant portion of the record reads:—

1. Svasti śrī [i*] Sakalabhuvanachchakravarttiga| Śrī Avaniāḷappiṅḍār Kōpperuñjiṅgādēvaḷkku yāṅḍu
6-vadu ā-
2. rāvadu * * * *
3. * * * * muppadvattattu-kkāṅḷudaiya śivappirāmaṅa-
4. rōm tittukkuḍutta pariśāvadu[*] iṅ-nāyaṅār kōyil Tirubuvanavṛadēvaḷkku muppattēlavadu maḍal
Aḷagiyaśīyar Kōpperuñjiṅgādēvaḷkku paḍiḷogṛāva-
5. du varai i-kōyil nikki nilai kāsum nellum āḍum māḍum āḍavadu Tai(y)- māḍattu Uḍaiyār Perumaṅ-
galam uḍaiyār Udaiya-
6. pperumālāṅ Kāḍuvēṭṭiga| kaṅakku kōṭṭu * * *

This record confirms the view expressed in the *Madras Epigraphical Report* as early as 1906 as to the existence of two chiefs of the name Kōpperuñjiṅgādēva. But Mr. S. R. Balasubrahmanyam has laboured in vain to refute this theory in the *Journal of the Madras University*, Vol. IX, No. 3, pp. 293ff.

² Above, Vol. VII, p. 165.

³ Engraved in Grantha.

⁴ The letters *Sakalabhu* are in Grantha.

⁵ The length of *ṅā* is indicated, unnecessarily, by a secondary sign. It is possible that the letter *ṅā* was intended to be engraved.

5 paṅṅi kal[hi*]lum śembilum veṭṭi[k*]kolga [i*] i[vai]
 6 Maṅavā[la*]n-pe[ru*]mā] e]juttu [i*] paṅmāgēśura raiksha¹(rakshai) [i*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-4) Hail! Prosperity! (In) the fifth year (of our reign), (see) Sakalabhuvanachakkaravattiga], the prosperous Maṅavāṅ-perumāl-Uḍaiyār, made the village Śēnda-maṅgalam a military camp, installed (therein) god Vāpilaikaṅḍiśuram-uḍaiya-Nāyaṅār, (and, for conducting in this shrine), the (service called) Ē[śaimōgaṅ-śandi (which) we (have) instituted to this god, (for celebrating the) Paraṭṭādi festival, (and for maintaining) ten sacred perpetual lamps, endowed, as a tax-free tirunāmattukkāyi, (lands) within the four boundaries of (the village) Mōgaṅār Māraṅār (situated) to the north (of the river) Geḍilam (and) to the west of the kurukāl-vaḷi (pathway marked by kurukāl trees), together with (all the) wet and dry crops and other incomes.

(Ll. 4-6) Let the (stones bearing the emblem of the) sacred trident be fixed in the four boundaries of this village (including) dwelling sites, and (the deed) engraved on stone and copper, so that (the gift) may continue in this wise (as long as) the moon and the sun (last). This (is) the signature (of) Maṅavāṅ-perumāl.

(This shall be under) the protection of all Māhēśvaras.

No. 7.—REGULATIONS OF THE SABHA FROM TWO UTTARAMALLUR INSCRIPTIONS.

BY K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYER, B.A., COIMBATORE.

The early inscriptions of Uttaramallūr in the Chengleput District are found to start from the time of the Pallava king Dantivarman and cover the reigns of this king² and of his successors, viz., Nandivarman,³ Nripatuṅga,⁴ Kampavarman⁵ and Aparājita⁶ and of the Chōla kings Parāntaka I. and Rājakēsarivarman Āditya who is reported to have captured the Pallava country and extended his dominions into Toṅḍaimaṅḍalam after defeating and killing its last king Aparājita. The sabhā of the place is referred to in almost all the inscriptions of these kings. And as six records earlier than the time of Parāntaka I., viz., one of Dantivarman,⁷ one of Nripatuṅga,⁸

¹ The letters *raiksha* are in Grantha.

² They are dated in the 7th, 9th, 10th and 21st years of his reign. See Nos. 365, 359, 334 and 344 of *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VI.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 356 which is dated in the 24th year of reign. This record was written by Vāstuvīdyāmayāṅ Nakkāṅ, son of Kāriśvara. No. 333 is in praise of a renowned architect named Paramēśvara, a carpenter of Pāḍagam. The palmography of this record resembles that of an inscription of Paramēśvaravarman II at Mahābalipuram which shows that it might be earlier than the time of Dantivarman. The mention of Paramēśvara-vadi made in some of the earliest inscriptions of this place would carry the antiquity of Uttaramallūr to the time of the Pallava king Paramēśvaravarman II. A Vāstuvīdyāmayāṅ figures as signatory in a record registering a grant made by a certain Malliyāṅ Kārāḷai. The latter figures in an inscription of Kampavarman dated in the 8th year of reign. It is worthy of note also that another record of the same date is said to have been written by Pāḍagattu Peruntacheṅ Muḷḷūraṅ.

⁴ There are 4 inscriptions of Nripatuṅga dated in the 16th, 25th and the 26th years of his reign. *Ibid.*, Nos. 346, 366, 367 and 368.

⁵ No less than 13 epigraphs belong to Kampavarman's reign. They range in date from the 6th to the 26th years of his reign. *Ibid.*, Nos. 347, 285, 287, 288, 370, 290, 294, 314, 325, 375, 348, 371 and 369.

⁶ A grant made in the 14th year of a Rājamārtiṅḍaṅ aparājita is referred to in No. 350.

⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 359, dated in the 9th year of his reign.

⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 346.

three of Kampavarman¹ and one of Rājakēsarivarman²—make specific mention of Committees, there is certainty that the *sabhā* and its committees were functioning in the place during the reigns of at least six kings prior to the accession of Parāntaka I. in A.D. 907, in whose 12th and 14th years of reign the regulations relating to the constitution of committees (published in the *Archaeological Survey Report* for 1904-05, pp. 131 ff.), came to be incised. By any modest computation the existence of the *sabhā* of Uttaramallūr and its committees through which it performed its various functions may be taken to at least a hundred and fifty years prior to the said promulgation of the regulations regarding the constitution of the committees. In all fairness, therefore, it may be said that there must have been some kind of regulation to guide the people in their elections and the *sabhā* in discharging its onerous duties, during this long period of 150 years, though at this distant date, we are left entirely in the dark as to what that regulation was. And this is just our position in the case of *sabhās* of all other places also where, according to information supplied by inscriptions, that constitutional body and its committees were functioning. We have every reason to think that the fundamental principles of the working of the *sabhā* as well as other regularly constituted bodies must have been the same, though in details, there might have been some variations suiting the time, place, experience and attainments of the people. It is here enough for our purpose to note that the *sabhā* and some of the committees were in existence at Uttaramallūr long before the publicity given in Parāntaka's time of the committee regulations.

The two inscriptions edited below are engraved on the south wall of the Vaikuṇṭha-Perumāḷ temple at Uttaramallūr and they register regulations made by the *sabhā* (village assembly) of the place, one of the time of the Chōḷa king Parāntaka I, relating to settlement of boundaries, and the other dated in the reign of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III, regarding the procedure to be observed in the recovery of fines imposed by the assembly. The texts of these records in Tamīḷ are published in *South-Indian Inscriptions* (Texts).³

A.—Inscription of Dantivarman (circa A. D. 782) detailing Boundary Settlement Regulation.

The first of these inscriptions was copied in 1898.⁴ Only five lines of this record are published in the *South-Indian Inscriptions* (Texts) with the remark that the rest of the inscription is not traceable. To judge only from the penal clauses occurring at the end of the inscription the regulation which it registers seems to be a very important one. It is unfortunate that the epigraph is not fully available but what is missing does not appear to be much.

The inscription under notice is dated in the 21st year of the reign of the Pallava king Dantivarman, and may, therefore, be assigned to the last quarter of the 8th century A.D. According to my scheme of chronology⁵ the date would be A.D. 782.

The record is engraved in the Tamīḷ language and alphabet. A few Grantha letters are however used, viz., *svasti śrī*, *Dantivikra*, *ṛmma*, *sabhāi*, *vyavasthāi*, *bhū* in *bhūmi* and *sā* in *sāmantu* in line 1; *sā* and *ntu* in *sāmantu* and *bhū* in *bhūmi* in lines 2 and 3; *saṃvatsa* in line 4; and *gra* and *ddhyasthā* in line 5. The use of the word *agampadī* meaning 'within' is worthy of note. It

¹ *Ibid.*, Nos. 294, 348 and 369.

² *Ibid.*, No. 369.

³ Vol. VI, p. 161, No. 344 and p. 168, No. 362.

⁴ No. 61 of 1898 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁵ Above, Vol. XX, p. 50.

stands for *agattu* or *ullāga* and its antonym would be *purambaḍi*. Both *purambaḍi* and *ullālai* (same as *aganpaḍi*) are used in Tanjore inscriptions in the sense of an outer and inner quarter of a village. The phrase *mīlga-varil* may be construed to mean 'if one returns to redeem'. The proper form of the initial part is *mīlka*.

The wording of the inscription is not quite satisfactory. There is first the indifferent use of the singular and plural, e.g., *bhūmīyudaiya kuḍigaḥ* (l. 1), *kuḍipalavam* (l. 2), *ponniḍādār* (l. 2), *bhūmīyudaiyān* (l. 2), *avan* (l. 2) and *udaiyān* (l. 3).¹ Secondly *Ur* and *Sabbā* are used to denote the same body: and this is plain by the employment of the first personal termination *om* in the same body: and this is plain by the employment of the first personal termination *om* in *Sabbaiyōm* (l. 1) and *Urōmēy* (l. 2). Coupled with these, there is the difficulty of making out the sense implied by the term *Sāmantu-ḥey*, which though for all appearance is Tamil, is hardly met with in any Tamil work or Lexicon. For the just appreciation of the regulation contained in this epigraph, a correct interpretation of this obsolete phrase is essential and to this we shall give our attention. The initial part of the compound *Sāmantu-ḥey* suggests that it is a partial Tamil rendering of a Sanskrit original. If this is so, it is easy to say that the Sanskrit form of *Sāmantu-ḥeydāl* must be *Sāmanta-karṇa*. In this, the ordinary meaning of *Sāmanta*, viz., 'a chief or lord' will hardly suit, applied as it is in connection with a land transaction. The word *Sāmanta* occurs in *dharmasāstras* in connection with settlements of disputes of lands and villages, and in connection with transfers of properties. Manu says that witnesses in cases of boundary disputes must be examined in the presence of the contending parties and the *Grāmīyaka-kula*²; and the settlement thus made must be recorded in writing with the names of the witnesses entered.³ *Grāmīyaka-kula* is explained by Kullūka-Bhaṭṭa as *grāmika-jana-samūha* which may be taken to mean the assembly of the village. Bṛihaspati declares that witnesses in cases of boundary disputes are to furnish evidence as to how the lands in question were acquired, their extent, the period of their enjoyment, their names and nature.⁴ In connection with the settlement of boundaries of fields, wells, tanks, gardens situated in a single village, with which our inscription is concerned, Manu rules:—

Kṣhetra-kūpa-taḍāgānām-ārāmasya grīhasya cha |
Sāmanta-pratyayō jñēyaḥ sīmā-sētu-vinirṇayaḥ ||⁵

It is noteworthy that the testimony of the *Sāmantas* determined the boundaries; and there is no doubt that the *Sāmantas* were well acquainted with them. In cases where there is doubt or suspicion as regards boundaries of villages owing to the removal or absence of boundary marks, evidences of witnesses, says Manu, must be considered primarily the deciding factor: and in the absence of such witnesses, adds Yājñavalkya, *Sāmantas*, the residents of adjoining villages,—four, eight or ten—may fix the boundaries.⁶ Manu limits the number of *Sāmantas* to four and says that the settlement must be made in the presence of the king (*rāja-sannidhau*). The word *Sāmanta*, it may be noted, is explained in the *Manvartha-muktāvalī* thus:—*chatur-dīvan samantād-bhavāḥ sāmantāḥ*.⁷ The *Mitāksharā* also gives the derivation *sumantād-bhavāḥ sāmantāḥ cha-*

¹ The difficulty of this promiscuous use of singular and plural may be got over to some extent by replacing *ave-avan* and *ave-avudaiyān* for *avan* and *udaiyān*.

² *Manusmṛiti* (Nirṇayasāgara ed.), ch. VIII, v. 254.

³ *Ibid.*, vv. 255 and 261.

⁴ This is cited in the commentary of *Mitāksharā* under v. 152 of ch. II of *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti* (Nirṇayasāgara ed. pp. 233 l.).

⁵ *Manusmṛiti*, ch. VIII, v. 262.

⁶ *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti* (Nirṇayasāgara ed.), *Vyavahārādhyāya*, v. 152.

⁷ See the commentary under v. 258 of ch. VIII.

*tasrīshu dīkshv-anantara-grām-ādayas-tē cha pratiwēmañ vyavasthitāḥ.*¹ According to Kātyāyana 'grāma' here means "the *Sāmantas* of the village".² The same authority has

Saṁsaktās-tu Sāmāntās-tat-saṁsaktās-tath-ōttarāḥ |
saṁsakta-sakta-saṁsaktāḥ padmakārāḥ prakīrtitāḥ ||

Sāmantu-śeydal, i.e., the action of the *Sāmantas*, to which our inscription refers, is actually found described in the text of Yājñavalkya³ thus :—

Simnō vivādē kshētrasya sāmāntāḥ sthāvirādayaḥ |
* * * * *
nayēyur-ētē sīmānañ sthā-āṅgāra-tusba-drumaiḥ |
sētu-valmīka-nimn-āsthi-chaity-ādyair-upalakshitām ||

and as such, we may take the phrase to mean the "settlement or marking out of boundaries of lands, villages, etc., made in the presence of the village assembly, by witnesses, *Sāmantas* (i.e., neighbouring land owners) and others". The text of Yājñavalkya and the note of Vijñānēśvara cited above show that in respect of every boundary line there used to be appointed or nominated some persons styled *Sāmantas* on account of their being owners of adjacent fields, who had an intimate knowledge of all boundary marks⁴ set up in the line whether they be hidden from or open to public view; and whenever any disputes arose, these *Sāmantas* were requisitioned to give evidence and to determine the boundaries in accordance with such original marks. It is not unlikely that the *Sāmantas* were furnished in writing with a detailed description of boundary marks, such as are found in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu, Leiden and other grants.

It is said that in cases where no *Sāmantas* or *Maulas* are available to give evidence as to the boundaries in dispute, the evidence of others have to be sought.⁵ By *Maulas* are meant the lineal

¹ *Vyavahārādhyāya*, commentary on v. 151.

² Vijñānēśvara quotes the verse

Grāmō grāmasya sāmāntāḥ kshētram kshētrasya kīrtitāḥ |
griham grihasya nirdiṣṭam samāntāt-parirabhya hi |

and notes *grāmōdi-śabdēna tat-sthāḥ puruṣāḥ lakṣyanti.* (Nīroayasāgara ed. of *Yājñavalkyasmṛiti*, p. 232)

³ *Vyavahārādhyāya*, vv. 154-5.

⁴ The following verses of Manu name most of the objects used as boundary marks and these are found in many of the land grants :—

Simā-vrikshāsū-cha kurvite nyagrōdh-śēvattha-kimēkūn |
śālmālīn-sāla-tālām-cha kabhriṣā-ś-śiva pādapān ||
Gulmān-vēṇūś-cha vividhān-chhamivallī-sthālāni cha |
śarīn-kubjaka-gulmāś-cha yathā simā na naśyati ||
Tadāgāny-udapānāni vāpyaḥ prasavaṇāni cha |
simā-sandhishu kāryāṇi dēvat-āyatanāni cha || Ch. VIII, vv. 245-248.
Upachchhamāni ch-ānyāni simā-līngāni kārayēt |
simā-jūśō nriṣām vikāhya nityam lōkē viparyayam ||
Aśmanō-sthīni gōvālīnś-tushān-bhāsmā-kapāllikāḥ |
karīṣham-śaktak-ārgūn-śarkarā-vālukās-tathā |
Yāni ch-śivam-prakārāṇi kālād-bhūmīr-na bhakṣhayēt |
tāni sandhishu simāyām-aprakāśāni kārayēt ||

Ibid., vv. 249-252.

⁵ These are stated by Manu to be :—

Vyśdhān-śākunīkān-gōpān-kaivartān-mūlakhātākān |
vyālagrāhān-uñchhavrittīn-anyāś-cha vanagōcharān ||

Ibid., v. 260.

descendants of such persons as had been originally *Sāmantas* but had since emigrated from the place. Regarding them the following text of Kātyāyana may be noted:—

Nishpādyamānaṃ yair-dṛiṣṭaṃ tat-kāryaṃ tad-guṇ-ānvitaiḥ |
vṛiddhā vā yadi v-āvṛiddhās-tē tu vṛiddhāḥ prakīrtitāḥ ||
Yē tatra pūrvam sāmantaḥ paśchād-ḍṣāntaraṃ gatāḥ |
tan-mūlatvāt-tu tē maulā ṛiṣibhiḥ parikīrtitāḥ ||
Upāśravaṇa-sambhōga-kāry-ākhyān-ōpachihnitāḥ |
uddharanti punar-yasmād-uddhṛitās-tē tataḥ smṛitāḥ ||

We shall now note how the instructions contained in the *dharmasūtras* had been faithfully carried out in practice as evidenced by epigraphical records.

We learn from inscriptions that in several corners of lands it was usual to set up stones bearing different marks such as *puḷḷaḷi* (Skt. *haṃsa-pāda*), *i.e.*, the mark of interlineation, *śūla*, *i.e.*, a trident, *chakra*, *i.e.*, the discus, plough (*mēḷi* or *chitra-mēḷi*), especially when the lands or any portion thereof had to be sold, assigned or otherwise dealt with.¹ The planting of stones or other distinguishing marks is expressly stated to be one of the observances to precede the actual drawing up of deeds of sale, gift, or assignment and it was used to be done in the presence of many people, the chief among them being the assembly of the village. Invariably in all cases of grants of lands or villages made by kings, we find a royal order issued to the assemblies of the division in which the gift property was situated and the villages under it requiring them (1) to go round the boundaries accompanying a she-elephant, (2) to point out clearly the boundaries and mark them with stone and milk-bush and (3) to draw up and give the deed of gift to the donee. The faithful carrying out of the above order, as we find it described in numerous inscriptions with such minute details that are intended to avoid future troubles, shows clearly the rules followed in all cases of transfers of property. Besides, the village assemblies made the necessary changes in the revenue registers through the village *karavattān* or *madhyastha*. The point that calls for special attention is that even when the king made a grant, the cognition of it by the village assembly was considered essential. Secondly, it is seen that due publicity was given to the grant by the members of the assembly not only of the village in which the property lay but also of all surrounding villages, walking round the boundaries and attesting the document drawn up. The third essential was the pointing out of the boundaries and marking them with stones and milk-bush in the presence of assemblies of that and all the surrounding villages. This shows that the cognition by the neighbours was considered essential for the transfer and gift. The long description of the boundaries indicate that there must have been persons whose duty was to be acquainted with the boundary marks of the lands in the village, to point them out when required and to plant fresh ones in missing places; and this presupposes the maintenance of registers to guide them. In fact we learn from the Larger Leiden plates that in the ceremony of walking round the boundaries of the village of Ānaimaṅgalaṃ, preceding its grant to the Buddhist *vihāra* at Negapatam, two persons of the village went with the procession, and one of them, a *veḷḷāḷa* rode on the back of an elephant and pointed out the various boundaries; and that the assemblies of no less than 27 villages which lay next to the one that was granted, took part in the settlement of the boundaries.² From the Kāśākuḍi plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla we learn that the person who actually pointed out the boundaries in the ceremony of *karīṇī-bhramana* was called *viyavaṇ*.³ *Ēuvāṇ*, *vayavaṇ* and *raḷichcheḷvāṇ* are synonyms of *viyavaṇ*. In the case of

¹ See Nos. 496, 518 and 1290 of *S. I. I. (Texts)*, Vol. V.

² Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 237 f.

³ The words used here (*S. I. I.*, Vol. II, ll. 110 f.) are *nāḷḷu-viyavaṇ tolḷiya ellai pōy paḍagai calai=cheydu kallu=kaḷḷiyum nāḷḷi=kkōḷuttadarḷku*.

the grant registered in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates, the assemblies of 3 villages that adjoined the gift property took part in settling the boundaries and recording them.¹ Sometimes even Divisional assemblies took part in determining boundaries and getting them marked by stones and the planting of milk-bush.² The whole procedure described in these charters, viz., the gathering together of the neighbours, walking through the boundaries, marking them with stones and milk-bush inclusive of drawing up a schedule of boundaries and attesting it may be said to be *Sāmantu-seyda* or *Sāmanta-karaṇa* in the case of big villages. We have already stated that in the case of lands situated within a single village, the testimony of the owners of the neighbouring lands given in the presence of the village assembly of the place and recorded in writing was considered to be a final settlement of boundaries. It may be of interest to note here that the procedure recorded in inscriptions and noticed above is quite in accordance with the injunction laid in a text of *dharmaśāstra* relating to the formalities to be observed in the transfers of immoveable properties.

Sva-grāma-jñāti-sāmanta-dāyād-ānumatēna cha

hirany-ōḍaka-dānēna shaḍbhir-gachchati mēdinī ||

It seems that *grāma* here means 'the village assembly' and *Sāmanta* 'the neighbouring land owners'. The *Mūāksharā* which cites the above text adds "*Grām-ānumatiḥ vyavahāra-prakāśan-ārtham-ēv-āpēkshyatē*", and "*Sāmant-ānumatis-tu sīmā-vipratipatti-nirāsāya*" thus making it clear that the assent of both the *grāma* and the *Sāmantas* was necessary, the one for giving due publicity and the other for the removal of all doubts and trouble regarding boundaries. The use of the word *Sāmanta* is particularly worthy of note and also its connection with *sīmā*. It seems pretty certain that by *Sāmantas* are meant only the neighbouring land owners.

Having made clear what is meant by *bhūmikku sāmantu-seyya*, and shown also how it was observed in land grants registered in copper plates and stone inscriptions, we may note the further interesting information which our inscription furnishes. It tells us:—

- (i) that settlement of boundaries of lands used to be taken up by village assemblies on applications made by owners of lands;
- (ii) that the party applying for it had to pay a fee in gold when the settlement was made;
- (iii) that this fee, if not paid by the party, was to be met by the village assembly (*sabhā* or *ūr*);
- (iv) that the fee became a charge on the land and was recoverable by the sale of such portions as would cover it;
- (v) that the sale effected in this connection was subject to confirmation only on the expiry of the third year, within which period the defaulting land-owner was given the option of redeeming his land by paying the amount justly adjudged to be due; this amount perhaps included the original fee plus such other charges as would have been incurred in bringing about the sale of the land: hence the use of the phrase "*niyāyattāl koḷḷa-uḍaiya poṇellām*" instead of '*sāmantu-seyya vanda poṇ*';
- (vi) that after the expiry of the third year the sale is to be ratified and the proceeds utilized for the benefit of the village tank; and

¹ S. I. I., Vol. III, pp. 437 f.

² We read in S. I. I., Vol. II, p. 386 "*ippariēu nāttai-kkūtti nila-naḍappittu-kkallu-kōḷḷiyu(m) nātti* * * * * *śāsanaḥ-cheyrittu-kkūḍuttēg*".

- (vii) that if any (future) member directed the return of the land, acting contrary to this (the last-mentioned clause), he was to be treated as a traitor to the village and his entire property sold and the amount realised formed into a fund for the improvement of the said tank.

Here it may be noted that the *Sabhā* looked on the transgression of its regulation by its own members and its officials as more heinous than that of the owner of the land in his failure to pay the fee. The offending member was treated as *grāma-kaṇṭaka* and was ordered to be deprived of his immovable property. The power which the assembly expressly provided itself with to punish any future member that might transgress the regulation herein made, and which is contained in the last clause, it may be observed, is made in conformity with the ancient rule of practice noticed in the text of Kātyāyana "*mukhya-daṇḍanē samūhasy-ai-ādhyakārah*". To provide against the contingency of the assembly's inability to punish such members, some inscriptions go further and insert a clause to the effect that the transgressing member or members could be taken before the *dharmāsana*, i.e., the Royal Court, or the then reigning king (*anrāl-kō*) by certain persons empowered on that behalf and be made to pay a fixed fine or what the empowered persons may deem fit and that, after the payment of such fines, the members and the assembly may be enforced to observe the terms of the assembly regulation. Insertion of such clauses is done in accordance with the laws pertaining to bodies as laid down in the *dharmasāstras*.¹ The punishment to be meted out to the *madhyastha*, who carried out the order of the offending member, is expressed in the phrase "*veṭṭippōga iduvadāgavam*". Though *veṭṭippōga* may denote capital punishment, I think it may simply mean 'dismissal from office', for this phrase, in common parlance, implies 'striking off or cancelling'. Even in Sanskrit, it may be noted, the lexicographers give *prāśana*, *parāśana*, *nishūdana* and *nihinsana* as the equivalents of the synonymous term *vadha*.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti śri [!*] Dantivikramaparmma[r*]kku yāṇḍu irubattoṅṟāvadu nā] nūṟṟu irubattu irāṇḍu Uttaramēru-chaturvēdīmaṅgalattu sabhaiyōm śeyda vyavasthai [!*] Emm-ūr bhūmi-udaiya kuḍiga] bhūmi sāmantu-śeyga eṅṟu vandana eppēppattana-
- 2 vum [sāmantu]-śeyya vaṇḍa bhūmiy-udaiyāṅ muṅ-ṅiṅṟu poṅṅ-idādār bhūmikkū sāmantu . . m poṅṅ-ida-māṭṭā[da] kuḍi palavum niṅkamāṭṭādu pōṅamaiyil ūrōmēy poṅṅ-iṭṭu avaṅ bhūmiyil . . poṅṅukku vēṇḍum-aḷavu emm-ūr Vaiyiramē-
- 3 ga-tatākattukku bhūmiy-āga sāmantu-śeydu viṟṟu-kkuḷuttu maṅḍagattu kallilē eḷuṟu vettuvadāgavam [!*] ippariśēy Vayiramēga-tatākattukku viṟṟa bhūmi mū-yāṇḍin agampaḍi udaiyāṅ mīlga-varil niyāyattāl
- 4 koḷla-udaiya poṅ eḷlām koṇḍu viṭṭu-kkuḍuppadāgavam [!*] mūṅṟu suṅvatsaramum kaḷindāl i-bbhūmiy-i-Vayiramēgattukkē ara-viṟṟu aṭṭuvad-āgavam [!*] ippariś-aṅṟi āṟṅilum mīla-ppaṅippar-uḷarāṅḷ avaṅ bhūmiyum Vayiramēga(Vayiramēga)-tatākattukkē mudalāga viṟṟu aṭṭuvadāgavam [!*] iṅṟa grāmakaṇṭakaṅ-āvaṅāgavam [!*] idu mīla-ppaṅi-kēṭṭa maddhyasthaṅ-uḷaṅāyil avaṅai vettippōga iduvadāgavam [!*] i-ppariśu śeydu mīla-ppaṅiyi²

¹ Manusmṛiti, ch. VIII, v. 41. Also Brihaspati, *Mukhyas-saha samūhānāṅh cinnatādō yadā bhavēḥ tadā vicārayēt rājā stadharmē śhāpāgēch-cha tān* :

² The rest of the inscription is not traceable.

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the **twenty-first year and one hundred and twenty-second day of (the reign of) Dantivikramavarman**, we, *(the members of)* the *Sabha* of **Uttaramēru-chaturvēdimāṅgalam** made this regulation (*vyavasthā*):—

Whereas all classes of ryots who own lands in our village had come up to have the boundaries of their lands settled, (*Sāmantu-seyya*) and when the boundaries had been settled, several of the owners had left *(the village)* without coming forward and paying the amount of gold due (*i.e.*, incurred on their behalf), and whereas we, *(the members of)* the *Ūr* (*i.e.*, the village assembly), had to pay the gold, it had been ruled that *(in such cases)*, we should sell so much extent of the *(defaulter's)* land as would be required to cover the *(amount of)* gold *(expended by us)*, and give *(the land)* to the Vayiramēga-taṭāka of our village, determining the boundaries of the portions sold, and have *(the transaction)* engraved on stone in the *maṇḍapa* *(of the temple)*; that, if any owner of the lands, sold in this manner to the Vayiramēga-taṭāka, should come within three years to redeem the land, it should be returned to him, on receiving from him *(the amount of)* gold justly adjudged to be due; that after the expiry of three years, the lands should remain permanently sold to the Vayiramēga-taṭāka, (*i.e.*, the sale effected before should be confirmed); that, in contravention of this if there should be any *(member)* that order the return of the land *(after three years)*, his lands should also be sold and given to the said Vayiramēga-taṭāka as its fund; and he (*i.e.*, the member) should be treated as a traitor to the village (*grāma-kaṇṭaka*); and that if any *madhyastha* carried out such an order of returning the land after three years, he should be removed from office.

B.—Inscription of Kannaradēva (A.D. 964) detailing Fine-recovery Regulation.

The second inscription¹ is in a fairly good state of preservation. It contains nine lines of writing very neatly executed without many flaws of grammar, language or idiom.

The inscription is mainly in the **Tamiḷ** language and alphabet. A few **Grantha** letters are, however, found used in writing words of Sanskrit origin. They are *Sevati Śrī* (l. 1), *chaturvō-* or *saturvō* (ll. 1 and 9), *sabhai* (ll. 1, 3 to 6, and 8), *mahāsabhai* (l. 2), *dushṭa* and *vyavastai* (l. 2), *grāma-kārya* (ll. 2 f., 5 and 6 f.), *pursha* (l. 4), *madhyastha* (ll. 4, 9), *nyāya* (l. 8) and *Śivadāsa* and *lāditya* (l. 9). The word *daṇḍa* is sometimes written in Tamiḷ (ll. 5, 6, 7) and sometimes with the initial letter alone in Grantha.

The **date** of the inscription is the **25th year** of the reign of **Kannaradēva** who took **Kachchi** *i.e.*, Conjeevaram and **Tanjai** or Tanjore, both of which places were, at the time of the record, important cities belonging to the Chōlas. The identity of this Kannaradēva with the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III is fairly well established. His rule lasted from A.D. 939 to 966-967,² and the 25th year of his reign, to which the subjoined inscription belongs, must correspond to A.D. 964.

The opening sentence of the inscription states that the *Peruṅkuṛi-Mahāsabhā* of **Uttaramē-ruchaturvēdimāṅgalam**, assembled during day time, in the *terri* of the *pērambalam* of their village, and (agreeing) among themselves (*emmir-cheyda*), made the regulation (*vyavasthā*), which forms the subject matter of the record. Before noticing the clauses of the regulation, it is necessary to say a few words on the terms employed in this introductory sentence and what they lead us to infer.

¹ It was copied in 1898 and registered as No. 77 of the Appendix to the *An. Rep. on Epigraphy*, Madras, for that year. The text of it in Tamiḷ is given in *S. I. I. (Texts)*, Vol. VI, p. 168, No. 362.

² See above, Vol. XXI, pp. 261-62.

The words *Sabhā*, *Mahāsabhā* and *Perunkuri-Mahāsabhā* occur in a large number of inscriptions of the Tamil country and denote the class of assemblies that were functioning there, and not a few of these epigraphs mention by name the persons that composed them. Judging from their names alone, which have prefixed to them, the *gōtras* to which they belonged such as Bhāradvāja, Kāśyapa, Harita, Vatsa, etc., and the suffixes Kramavid, Sōmayāji, Vājapēyayāji, Sarvakratu-Vājapēyayāji, Shaḍaṅgavid, Bhaṭṭa, Bhaṭṭa-Sōmayāji, Dvivēdi, Trivēdi, Chaturvēdi, etc., it may be said that the members that took part in the deliberations of these organizations were Brāhmins.¹ This fact proves that the qualifications for membership to the *Sabhā*, laid down in the two Uttaramallūr inscriptions published in the *Archaeological Survey Report*,² and a few other records of a similar nature, were strictly observed all the time the *Sabhā* lasted. That this class of assemblies had under them several offices and services which were open to other castes of people is quite evident from the numerous inscriptions that register the transactions made by them; and the varied nature of their activities also required their enlistment. In spite of the presence of the people of other castes for carrying out the duties undertaken by the assemblies, there is nothing to doubt that the deliberative body was purely Brahmanical in this case.³ Similarly also the examination of the transactions of the assembly of the *Ūr* recorded in a number of epigraphs shows that the deliberative body of that institution was purely non-Brahmanical though in the execution of its functions Brāhmins may have been employed for some of the offices and services. The duties discharged by both the classes of organisations were in most cases identical. It seems that the locality and the occupation of the people determined the class of organisation that functioned in the place. A point that is worthy of note in our inscription is that the *Perunkuri-Mahāsabhā* referred to in the first person in the headline is later on spoken of as *Sabhā* and *Mahāsabhā*. The *Sabhā* is explained in *Manvarthamuktāvalī* as *grāma-ṇaḍar-āḍau niyataṅṅ jana-samūha-sthānam* 'the place of meeting of the assembly of a village or town'.

The statement that the assembly met together generally during day time finds an echo in other epigraphs as well⁴ and is suggestive of the fact that, if occasion required it, the body could also meet during nights. It is interesting to find this suggestion proved by an inscription dated in the 40th year of the reign of Parāntaka I. discovered at Kūram which states that the *Sabhā* of the place met together during night in the *kūḍa* of the Tiruvāypāḍi temple in the village.⁵ Unfortunately the inscription is so badly damaged that we are not able to understand clearly from what remains of it, the occasion that necessitated the convening of the body in the night. If the fragment in the same script published as a footnote to the inscription⁶ is connected with the record in question, this much may be gathered that the misbehaviour of an Accountant of the organization in making wrongful entries in the books which led the assembly to the payment of unnecessary taxes on lands that were lying waste, was the occasion for their meeting in the night. The assembly seems to have decided in this case that no member should render to, or receive from, the guilty accountant any kind of help and that if any one acted contrary to this decision he should be taken by the *Śraddhāmantas* before the *dharmaśara* and a penalty of 108 *kāṅam* of gold be obtained from him. Two other inscriptions, one of the time of Rājēndradēva⁷ and the other

¹ *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. V, No. 1003.

² *A. S. I.*, *An. Rep.* for 1904-05, pp. 131 ff.

³ [For a different view see above, Vol. XXII, p. 206.—Ed.]

⁴ *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VII, No. 412 of the time of Rājārāja I. [Peṅṅurūri-sabbaiyōm innāḷḷi paḷal naṅṅmūr brahmasthānattu caturāḷai Rājārājanilēy niraṅba perūṅuri kūḍi-yirundu; and No. 549 of *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. IV, dated in the 6th year of Rājākēsarivarman: paḷal ivvūr tiruchchitrakūḍattēy dharmā-śeydu perūṅuri kūṭṭa kuraivara-kkūḍi-yirundu and Nos. 414 and 423 of *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VII.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 35.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁷ No. 180 of 1919 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

dated in the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I,¹ also bear evidence on the practice of holding night sessions of assemblies. The former speaks of a settlement made 'that nobody except the residentiary Vellālas of Vākūr should levy or pay any kind of dues within the village and that those who do so will be considered to have transgressed the Law'. The latter speaks of 'an alteration of classification of land'.

About the meeting-place of the assembly we may also say a word. This inscription states that the assembly met in the *terri* in front of the *pērambalam* of the village. Though the word *terri*² generally means 'a platform close to the front wall of a house on one or both sides of the entrance', it seems to stand here for a 'hall'. Attached to temples there were put up in ancient times several kinds of halls and pavilions, large and small, befitting the accommodation available and they were perhaps according to their shape and form, variously called *kūḍam*³ or *chitra-kūḍam*,⁴ *chaturālai*,⁵ or *chaturālai*,⁶ *ambalam*⁷ or *pērambalam*⁸ and *maṇḍapam*.⁹ Besides these, there were also spacious paved courtyards (*tirumayram*),¹⁰ covered enclosures running all round the main structure (*tiruveḍuttukkatti*),¹¹ as well as *sabhā* or *tiruvōlakka-maṇḍapa* and *brahmasthāna*,¹² in most of which places the assemblies used to hold their meetings. The Tamil *Nighaṇṭu* makes *ambalam*, *maṇḍam*, *podī*, *podu* and *sabhā* synonymous, and equates *terri-ambalam* with *chittirakūḍam* (*chitra-kūṭa*).¹³ Sometimes the members also assembled under trees¹⁴ and water sheds.¹⁵ *Ambalam* or *pērambalam* as well as *chaturālai* are described in inscriptions as forming part of or being built in front of a *brahmasthāna*.¹⁶

The body framing the regulation is called in the first instance by the term *Peruṅkuṛi-Mahā-sabhā* (l. 1). It is subsequently referred to once by the term *Mahāsabhā* (l. 2), and several times by the term *Sabhā* (ll. 3 to 6 and 8). That all these three terms denoted one and the same body is made certain by the terms having the first personal termination *ōm*. Though it would thus appear that there was no distinction in the use of the three terms as found in this inscription, yet the qualifying terms *mahā* and *peruṅkuṛi* cannot but be said to carry with them some kind of

¹ No. 186 of 1919 of the same Collection.

² The Tamil *Śoduragarāḍi* gives as synonyms for *terri* both *chittirakūḍam* and *tūyāi*.

³ *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VII, No. 35.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 549.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, No. 440, 1, 17.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, No. 412.

⁷ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 150.

⁸ *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VII, No. 811. *Pērambalam* occurs in the *Periyapurāṇa*, v. 8, 'Śēyavaṅ-giru-ppēram-balam śēyva tūya-ponṇaṅi Śōḷaṅ nīḍūḷi pār-Āya-śr-Anapāyaṅ-araś-avaī.'

⁹ *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VI, No. 297 has *periyamaṇḍapattē*; No. 32 of Vol. VII has *mukamaṇḍapattē*. No. 1003 of Vol. V has *perumaṇḍapattu*. No. 496 of Vol. VII has *tirumaṇḍapattē*.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, Nos. 414, 498, 499, 34 and 1036.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, No. 1034.

¹² *Ibid.*, No. 423; *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 116; and No. 986 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

¹³ See v. 49 of *Idappayaritogudi*.

¹⁴ In No. 57 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI the assembly is said to have met under the mango tree in front of the Vishṇu temple at Mannārguḍi, and in No. 500 of Vol. VII, under a *puṇṇai* tree.

¹⁵ *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VI, No. 267.

¹⁶ *Mummaḍiśōḷa-chaturvēdimaṅgalatu-Peruṅkuṛi-perumakkaḷōm ivvūr brahmasthānam Rājendraśōḷaṅ-pērambalattē peruṅkuṛi-mahāsabhāiyōm kūṭa-kkuṛai-vaṅ-kkūḍiy-irundu* occurs in No. 986 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V. No. 12 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI refers to the construction of an *ambalam* in the *brahmasthāna* of the village of Chandralēkha. *Chaturvēdimaṅgalam* and registers a tax-free grant of land by the *Peruṅkuṛi-Mahāsabhā* for expounding the *Bhārata*. *Nammūr brahmastūyattu chaturālai rājarājānilēy niraṃba Peruṅkuṛi kūḍiy-irundu* occurs in No. 412 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII.

differentiation and this is clear from a study of numerous inscriptions some of which speak exclusively of the *Sabhā*, while others refer to the *Mahāsabhā* and *Peruñkūrī-Mahāsabhā*. The term *Sabhā* is used in inscriptions to mean the administrative assembly of a class of villages known as *brahmadēyas*. The Larger Leiden Plates mention as many as nine *brahmadēya* villages and their assemblies and without any exception these assemblies are called by the term *Sabhā*.¹ As found in every association or corporate body in the present day, the ordinary meetings of the *Sabhā*, held to dispose of matters of routine nature, seem to have consisted of a limited number of members; and that when subjects of wider interest came up for discussion and disposal, a larger collection of members was considered necessary and that such a larger gathering—still confined to the members alone—was termed *Mahāsabhā*. Besides these two classes of meetings of the assembly, which were confined to the members, there appear to have been other extraordinary gatherings in which were present not only the members but also the people of the village including the young and the old (*sa-bāla-eriddhar*).² These facts could easily be gleaned from the large number of inscriptions which record the transactions of the village assemblies (*Sabhā*). It is further learnt from these epigraphs that notice or intimation of assembly-meetings used to be given by some special signal which, it might be said, was well understood at the time both by the people and the members. The blowing of trumpets was one such device (*kālam ūdi* or *ūdīvichchu*).³ Sometimes the inscriptions use the phrase *dharmi ūdi* or *eḷudi*⁴ or *dharmi seydu*⁵ in place of *kālam-ūdi*. Though we cannot be certain about the interpretation of this phrase, there is no doubt that it must have reference to the proclamation of the meetings of the village assemblies. The use of the word *eḷudi* (writing) in some places and *ūdi* (blowing) in others, with the object *dharmi*, seems to show that the announcement of a coming gathering of the assembly was sometimes made by the blowing of an instrument and sometimes by the issue of a written notification. *Dharmi* seems to be connected with *dharma*, and to have reference to the transaction of the assembly. At any rate, it is certain that there was an individual whose duty was to announce the meetings of the assemblies by either of the methods noted above. In this connection it is worth pointing out some specific references to such an official. An inscription of the Chōla king Parakēsarivarman (probably, Uttama-Chōla), dated in the 16th year of his reign, found at Tirukkālāvūr states that the great men of the *Mūlaparaḷai* of the village received money from the temple and sold to it, free of taxes, some lands of theirs which were termed '*eṅgaḷ sabhai-kūḷṭuvā-ṅilam*' and '*eṅgaḷ iranḍu māvum*' and in doing so they also state that the lands were previously tax-free.⁶ Here the phrases "*eṅgaḷ-sabhai-kūḷṭuvā-ṅilam*" and "*eṅgaḷ iranḍu māvum*" show that the village assemblies sometimes set apart some of their own lands for the maintenance of the person whose duty was to announce the meetings of the assemblies. The Madras Museum Plates of Uttama-Chōla⁷ refer to an official designated *gōshṭhi-seyḍāṅ* which is but another form of "*sabhai-kūḷṭuvāṅ*" and this is used immediately after *parushai-nāyanmār*. Here we are informed that a provision of one *tūṅi* and one *padakku* of rice was made for the *gōshṭhi-seyḍāṅ*, i.e., the convener of the *parishat* (assembly). An inscription of Rājārāja I. of A.D. 1001 states that the members of the village assembly were called together by the blowing of a trumpet and that the herald was entitled to get daily 2 *śōṅgu* from the village.⁸ The Uttaramallūr election regulations show that the convening of the meeting

¹ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 237 and I. 234 (Text).

² *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. V, No. 1003 and Uttaramallūr inscription, *A. S. I. An. Rep.*, 1904-1905. *S. I. I.*, (Texts), Vol. VI, No. 345.

³ *Trac. Arch. Rep.* for 1920, pp. 41 and 49; and No. 156 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1919.

⁴ *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 57. *Dharmi eḷudi* in No. 458 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 499; Nos. 445 and 549 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV. No. 449 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI.

⁶ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 259.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 271, text-line 106.

⁸ *An. Rep. on Epigraphy*, Madras, for 1919, p. 95, para. 15.

was done through a *madhyastha*. The clause relating to it runs thus: *Vāriyañ-cheyyānirārai aparādañ-kaṇḍapōdu avaiyai* (singular for *avargalai*) *oṣittuval-āgavum | icargal oṣinda anantaram* *-iṣum vāriyañgaḷum paṇṇirāṇḍu śēriyilum dhanmakṛityaṇ-kaḍaikkāṇum cāriyarē madhyastharai* *-kkonḍu kuri-kūtti kuḍupparāgavum* meaning "when any transgression is noticed among the members functioning in the committees, such persons shall be removed and after these have vacated, the members of the committee superintending the dispensing of justice in the twelve *chēris* shall cause the *madhyastha* to have a meeting of the assembly convened and fresh persons chosen (in their places)". It thus appears that at the direction of the *madhyastha* the herald announced the meeting.

The phrase *emmir-cheyda vyavasthai* "the regulation made among ourselves" may be taken, as the words indicate, that the regulation concerned only the members of the assembly and not others; that is to say, it determined or fixed the duty of a certain section of the assembly on the one hand and the general assembly on the other with regard to the realisation of fines. As the terms of the regulation show, there is absolutely no doubt that the regulation was brought about to define the course of action to be followed by the members in collecting fines. But we may point out that there are a few instances in inscriptions, which record regulations and transactions of a similar nature, where we find the use of the very phrase *emmir-cheyda* with the addition of the word *ottu* or *iṣaindu* (meaning agreeing) inserted after *emmil* and before *seyda*. It may be that the word *ottu* or *iṣaindu* has to be taken as being understood in our inscription also as in the others. In this case, it would mean that the regulation was passed unanimously by the members of the assembly.

Three other words that are used in this inscription are worthy of note. They are *aḍikkilniṣpār*, *vāriyam* and *perumakkaḷ*. *Aḍikkilniṣpār* literally means 'those that stand at the feet'. This is a rare Tamil expression for 'servants or attendants'. It is worth pointing out that the Tamil classical work *Puṇānūru* uses the word *aḍiyuṟai* and the commentator has rendered it into *aḍikkil*. The employment of the word *vāriyam* in the two Uttaramallūr inscriptions that record the election regulations leave no doubt as to its sense being 'a body of men chosen to form a committee'. As such, I think it must be connected with the Sanskrit root *vri* 'to choose'. In this connection it may also be noted that the Sanskrit word *vāru* means multitude. More interesting is the etymology of the word *perumakkaḷ*. The Sanskrit word *pramukha* assumes the form *pamukha* in Pāli, and occurs as *parumakha* in a number of cave inscriptions of the pre-Christian centuries found in Ceylon.¹ In a few of these inscriptions we also find it so employed as to denote the title of persons who, in all probability, were members of corporate bodies. As such, one can easily recognise this word in the Tamil *perumakkaḷ* (pl. *perumakkaḷ*) used in hundreds of inscriptions of the Tamil country along with the words *sabhai*, *nāḍu* or *vāriyam* to denote the members of the respective bodies. Thus then the *pramukhas* mentioned in Sanskrit charters, *perumakkaḷ* used in Tamil inscriptions, *pamukha* of Pāli, and *parumakha* found in Ceylon epigraphs, have the same bearing and indicate the title of persons connected with the assemblies of villages and divisions of countries (*vishaya*, *rāshtra* or *nāḍu*). With the word *pramukha* has to be connected the forms *perumān* or *perumānār* and *emperumān* or *emperumānār* (which are used with or without the suffix *aṣigal* corresponding to the Sanskrit *pādāḥ*) to denote persons of rank, kings and gods. The form *ma-parumakha*, used in Ceylon epigraphs as referring to the king, would even suggest that the Tamil prefix *em* or *nam* in *em perumānār* or *nam perumānār* is the same as *ma* (for Skt. *mā* or *mama*) in *maparumakha* and it is worthy of note that they all indicate the first personal pronoun. In this connection, it is worth remembering that the *dharmaśāstras*, in referring to heads or chiefs of

¹ *Ep. Zeyl.*, Vol. III, p. 123.

corporate bodies, employ the word *mukhya* as in *mukhyais-saha samāhātām visamvādō yadā bhavēt* in Brihaspati,¹ and *mukhya-danḍanē samāhary-aiva adhikārah*.²

The present inscription tells us (1) that the *Mahāsabdhā* had the power to form committees by appointing the members thereof (*vāriyapperumakkaḥ*); this, it may be noted, is quite in accordance with what is recorded in the Uttaramallūr inscriptions, regarding the election of members to the committees; (2) that the officials *adikkil-nirpār*, *madhyasthas* and *pōḍi-kāppār* were carrying out the behests of the assembly and (3) that all these persons as well as individual members taking part in the discussions of the assembly could be fined (whenever they misbehaved) by the assembly as a whole.

The subject of the regulation is to determine the method of collecting and realising the fine imposed by the *Sabhā* on the three classes of persons noticed in the previous paragraph and on the *dushtas*. The regulation provides that the great men elected annually for carrying out the business of the village (*arc-arc-āṇḍu grāma-kāryam seyyam perumakkaḥ*) should obtain from the assembly the fines that had been paid.

The Uttaramallūr constitution does not mention separately a group or committee for conducting the *grāma-kārya* for each year. But it does mention a committee called *samvatsara-vāriyaperumakkaḥ* the members of which, as the name of the committee indicates, must have been chosen each year; and it is not unlikely that the body was in charge of the *grāma-kārya*. Like *lōṭṭa-vāriyam ēri-vāriyam*, etc., *grāma-kārya* indicates the chief function of this body and *samvatsara-vāriya* indicates the tenure of office. Both the tenure of office and the function of this body are brought out in the name *samvatsara-grāma-kāryam seluttukiya kōṭṭa-pperumakkaḥ* used in an inscription of the 4th year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla.³

Though the *grāma-kārya-perumakkaḥ* are clearly made responsible for obtaining the fines, the regulation gives them no independent action in the matter of this collection as it explicitly states that the collection must be effected only by or through the *Sabhā*. It will be perceived that there is an element of easy and successful realisation in thus leaving the responsibility of collecting the fines with the *Sabhā* that imposed them. At the same time the arrangement must have contributed to the disposal, without delay, of the cases in which fines had been imposed and must have prevented further complications and fresh actions that would sometimes have arisen had the collection been left in other hands than those that imposed them. The regulation provides at the end that, if the *grāma-kārya-perumakkaḥ* fail to act in the said manner regarding the realisation of the fines, the *Sabhā* could levy on, and get from, each one of the *grāma-kārya-perumakkaḥ* a fine of 124 *kāyam* (of gold), and see also to the non-recurrence of such a predicament in the future. Here again, it may be observed that the *Sabhā* had the power to fine the *grāma-kārya-perumakkaḥ*, just as they could the *dushtas*, as well as the members of the several committees (*vāriyam*) and the (public) servants carrying out their orders.

The employment of the word *dushta* in this inscription calls to mind the use of the phrase '*dushtar kettu śishtar* (or *viśishtar*) *varddhittiḍuvadāga* (or *vardhispadāga*)' in the two famous Uttaramallūr inscriptions embodying the rules to be followed in the election of members to village committees⁴. Though all institutions like the *Sabhā*, meant for the maintenance of *dharma* (law

¹ See *S. B. E.*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 349, V. 29.

² See *Vīramitrōdaya* (Jivānanda Vidyāsagar's Edn.), p. 428.

³ *S. I. L.*, Vol. VIII, No. 255.

⁴ *A. S. I. An. Rep.* for 1904-5, pp. 131 ff.

and order), must have the above object as their aim, it is worth noting that Manu defines *śiṣṭa* (among Brāhmanas) in the following terms¹ :—

Dharmēn=ādbigatō yais=tu Vēdaḥ sa-paribṛiṇhaṇaḥ |
tē śiṣṭā brāhmaṇā jñēyāḥ śruti-pratyakṣa-hētavaḥ ||

and that Kullūka-Bhaṭṭa gives the following gloss on it :—

Brahmachary-ūdy-ukta-dharmēṇa yair=aṅga-mīmāṃsā-dharmaśāstra-purāṇ-ādy-upabṛiṇhitō
Vēdō-dhigatas=tē Brāhmaṇāḥ śrutēḥ pratyakṣhikaraṇē hētavaḥ,
yē śrutiḥ pathitvā tad-artham-upadiśanti tē śiṣṭā vijñēyāḥ

Indeed the few inscriptions² that lay down the requisite qualifications for membership to the *Sabhā*, an institution that was functioning only in Brahminical villages, and the titles expressive of the attainments of the members that actually graced the *Sabhās* at different times and at different places such as Bhaṭṭa, Shaḍaṅgavid, Kramavid, Sōmayājin, Vājapēyayājin, Chaturvēdin, Trivēdin, etc., show that the above was actually observed and that only *śiṣṭas* were elected as members.

This inscription bears at the end the signature of the *madhyastha* Śivadāsaṅ Maṅgalādityaṅ, who is said to have written the document at the bidding of the *Sabhā*. Almost all transactions of assemblies are generally committed to writing by persons bearing one or the other of the official designations *madhyasthaṅ*, *karāṇattāṅ*, *karāṇattāṅ-madhyasthaṅ*, *vētkōcaṅ*, etc., who affixed their signatures to the written document and in doing so they sometimes stated that, being present in the assembly and having been directed by the *Sabhā-Tiruvāḍi* or the members, they executed the task.³ It may perhaps be of interest to note that in ancient times there were *karāṇattāṅ* and *madhyastha* appointed not only for the village assembly but also for every village, temple, divisional assembly and guild of merchants: and it was one among them that was employed by the respective bodies to perform for them the duty of the scribe or secretary.⁴ In the inscriptions of the Malayālam country, the term *madhyastha* figures in the form *Poduvāl* which is but a rendering of the Sanskrit word.

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti Śri [!]* Kachchiyun-Tañjaiyūn-koṇḍa [Kan]ṇaradōvarkku yāṇḍu 25-vadu
Uttaramēru-chatu[r*]vēdimāṅgalattu-pperuṅkuri-sabhaiyōm emm-ūr-ppēr-ambalattu
- 2 muṅbiṛ-terṅiyilē paḅar-kūḍiy-irundu emmiṛ-cheyda vyavastaiy-āvadu [!]* na[ū*]m-ūr
mahā-sabhaiyōmāl daṅḍippuṇḍa duṣṭarga| daṅḍam²-iṭṭana u||ana daṅḍam* avv-av-
āṇḍu grāma-

¹ *Manusmṛiti*, Ch. XII, v. 109.

² See the qualifications mentioned in (1) the two Uttaramallūr inscriptions, (2) the *Māyūr* inscription (above, Vol. XXII, pp. 9-10) and others: *Mantrabrāhmaṇam vallān ōduvitt-arivāṇai*, *Vēdattilum śāstrattilum kāryattilum nīpuṅar-ennappattīruppārai* of (1); *Mantrabrāhmaṇam vallār suvittarāy iruppārai* of (2); *Mantrabrāhmaṇam vallārēy cāriyāṅ-cheycārāyavum sabhāmāṅṅai-cholluvārāyavum*; Nos. 240 and 241 of 1922.

³ Above, Vol. XX, p. 237.

⁴ No. 268 of *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. VI makes the *madhyastha* of a *ghaṭikā* subject to the orders of the *Sabhā*. For references to *ūr-madhyasthaṅ* see Nos. 537 and 547 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, 289 of Vol. VI, and Nos. 34 and 41 of Vol. VII: the *ūr-madhyastha* wrote the inscription No. 289 of Vol. VI at the command of the *Sabhā*. *Nāṭṭu-madhyastha* figures in No. 489, and *madhyastha* of a Chaturvēdimāṅgalam in Nos. 518, 1002 and 1049 of Vol. V and in No. 189 of Vol. VI.

⁵ Here and in line 5, *daṅḍam iṭṭana u||ana* stands for *daṅḍam iṭṭ-u||ana*.

⁶ After *daṅḍam*, the word *iṭṭa* is omitted to be engraved: See line 5 where it is supplied.

- 3 kāryañ(ñ=che)yyum perumakka[ē sabhaiyōmai=kkoṇḍu tīrvār-āgavum [i*] tīrka-māṭṭā-
daṇa sabhaiyōmaiye koṇḍu daṇḍaṅga[=iṟuttu=kkuḍuppār-āgavum[i*] sabhaiy[īl*]-niṅṅu
sabbā-māṅṅam pēsi-ppa-
- 4 ṇitta tani-pursharaiyum¹ sabhaiyōm paṇiyāl śeyda vāriya-pperumakka[aiyum adikkī-
niṅṅpāraiikum madhyastharga[aiyum pāḍi-kāppārga[aiyum u[ḷiṭṭa sabhai-ppaṇi-śe-
- 5 ydār eppērppaṭṭāraiikum=daṇḍam-iṭṭana u[ḷana daṇḍam-iṭṭa av[v-a*]v-āṇḍuga[grāma-
kāryaṅ=che[y*]yum perumakka[ey sabhaiyōmai=kkoṇḍu tīrvār-āgavu-
- 6 m [i*] tīrv-uṇḍana sabhaiyōmaiye koṇḍu daṇḍam iṟuttu kuḍuppār-āgavum [i*] i-ppariśu
śeyyārāgil daṇḍam-iṭṭa a[v*]v-av-āṇḍuga[grāma-
- 7 kāryaṅ=che[y*]dārai mey-vōṅu-vagai 124-ñ-cheydu-kāpan-daṇḍam-iḍa-ppēṅvār-āgavum
[i*] i-ddaṇḍappaṭṭu ivv-a-
- 8 nyāyam vārāmai-²tīrttu=kkuḍuppōmānōm Uttaramēru-śā(cha)tu[r*]vvēdimaṅgalattu
sabhāyōm [i*] idu sabhai[yār]
- 9 paṅikka eḷudinēṅ madhyasthan Śivadāsaṅ Maṅgalādityaṅ [i*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the 25th year of (the reign of) **Kannaradēva**, who took **Kachchi** (Conjeevaram) and **Taṅjai** (Tanjore), we, (the members of the) *Peruṅkuri-Mahāsabhā*, having assembled during day-time, in the *terri* (i.e., raised platform) in front of the big hall of our village, made the following *vyavasthā* (regulation), agreeing among ourselves:—

The great men conducting the business of the village for each year shall alone collect, through us (i.e., the *Peruṅkuri-Mahāsabhā*), the fines that have been paid out of the fines imposed on the guilty by us (i.e., the members of) the *Mahāsabhā*. Such fines as are not realised, they (i.e., the greatmen conducting the business of the village for the year) shall get only through us (i.e., the *Peruṅkuri-Mahāsabhā*) and pay.

Further, the fines that have been paid by every kind of persons engaged in carrying out the transactions of the *Sabhā*,—including individual members that are present in the assembly (*Sabhā*), partaking in the assembly-discussions (*sabhā-māṅṅam*) and giving their opinions; the great men of the Committees (*Vāriya-pperumakka[*) that have been formed by an order of us (comprising) the *Sabhā*; those that stand at our feet (i.e., the servants of the assembly), the *madhyasthas* and those that watch our village,—the great men conducting the business of the village of the year in which (these) fines have been levied, shall collect them, through us (i.e., the assembly of) the *Sabhā*: such fines as have not been realised (in these cases also), they (i.e., the great men conducting the annual business of the village) shall get only through us and pay.

Failing to act in this wise, the great men conducting the business of the village for the year in which the fines are levied shall individually be liable to a penalty of 124 current *kūyam*. Imposing this penalty (on them), we, the *Sabhā* of Uttaramēru-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, shall see that the miscarriage does not recur.

Being ordered by the members of the assembly, I, the *madhyastha* Śivadāsaṅ Maṅgalādityaṅ, wrote this (*vyavasthā*).

¹ Read *pursharaiyum*.

² Delete -t.

No. 8.—NOTES ON THE IRDA COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF KING NAYAPALADEVA.

BY JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

Mr. N. G. Majumdar has published the above grant in the *Epigraphia Indica* (Vol. XXII, pp. 150-9). It is very important, inasmuch as it throws interesting light into the political and other conditions of Bengal, in the tenth century.

The charter discloses the names of three kings and a queen, viz., *Paramasaugata-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Paramabhāṭṭāraka* Rājyapālādēva, his queen Bhāgyadēvī, their son king Nārāyaṇapālādēva, and his younger brother *Paramēśvara-Paramabhāṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja* Nayapāla, the donor. It records the grant to a Brāhmaṇ, of some land in the Daṇḍabhukti-*maṇḍala* of the Varddhamaṇa-*bhukti*. It was issued from the capital of Priyaṅgu, founded by the king Rājyapāla. The *bhukti* of Varddhamaṇa is in Uttara-Rāḍha and the capital of Priyaṅgu, we shall see, lay in Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha, in Bengal. So it is clear that this family of the Pālas ruled in Rāḍha.

Mr. Majumdar thinks that these kings belonged to a Kambōja dynasty, and were different from the Pālas of Bengal. But there exist some very striking similarities between the two dynasties, which can hardly be explained away as mere accidents. Both of them were Buddhists, and have used the Buddhist *Dharmachakra* device in their seals. And both have got the dynastic name of Pāla. These are not all. Like Rājyapāla of the present grant, there was a Rājyapāla among the Pālas of Bengal. Both had a queen named Bhāgyadēvī, and both were styled *Paramasaugata* and *Mahārājādhirāja*.¹ Both the Rājyapālas were great temple-builders. Verse 7 of the Bāṅgarh², Āṅgāchhi³ and Manabali⁴ charters of the descendants of the Rājyapāla of Bengal describe him as having constructed many temples with lofty halls. The opening verse of the present plate also says that Priyaṅgu, the capital, where flourished Rājyapāla, was decorated with temples reaching up to the distant firmament. We shall presently see that the times of both also coincide.

All these raised a great suspicion in our mind, whether Mr. Majumdar has arrived at the right conclusion. In fact the similarities are so very overwhelming that even Mr. Majumdar was inclined to identify the two Rājyapālas as one.⁵ But the epithet of the Rājyapāla of the present plate, *Kambōja-vaṅsa-tīlakāḥ*, as read by him, stood in his way. Our suspicion led us to examine this reading very carefully. The first word *Kambōja* is all right, but the reading of *vaṅsa-tīlakāḥ* seems doubtful. What has been read as *va* seems to us to be nothing but *dha*. If this is conceded, the next syllable cannot be *ṅsa*, for *dhaṅsa* is meaningless. It cannot be a mistake for *dhaṅsa*, as that will spoil the metre. Of the next word *tīlakāḥ*, *tī* and the *visarga* attached to the last syllable are there, but the two syllables after *tī* are altogether lost. Mr. Majumdar says that he has found the right-hand flourish of *k* before the *visarga*, in the original, but we find no indication of it, in the facsimile. We read the epithet as *Kambōja-Dhāṅge-atīparāḥ*, i.e. 'an

¹ The Bengali monthly *Bhāratavarsha*, Śrāvana and Āsina B. S. 1344, pp. 268ff. and 648-50.

² Above, Vol. XIV, pp. 326ff.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 295ff.

⁴ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXIX, Pt. I, pp. 68ff.

⁵ He has since modified his opinion. (*Modern Review*, September, 1937, pp. 323f.)

* [I am inclined to think that the letter after *Kambō(mbō)ja* should be read as *va* though at first sight it appears like *dha*. So far as I can see, it has only a triangular top as in certain other cases (e.g. *ta* in *jēshyati-tī* in l. 13 and *ka* in *kalyāṇi* in l. 14) instead of the ordinary top stroke, while in *dha* no top stroke is found. The next conjunct letter I would prefer to read as *ṅsa* following Mr. Majumdar and would point out that in conjunct letters the subscript *va* is clearly represented everywhere in this inscription. The next two signs that are visible are *tī* in l. 5 and only the *visarga* in l. 6.—Ed.]

inveterate foe (*otiparaḥ*) of Kambōja and Dhaṅgu'. If our reading be correct, the chief difficulty of identifying the two Rājyapālas vanishes at once.

Now who could have been this Dhaṅgu, an inveterate foe of this Rājyapāla of Rāḍha I. We think that he is no other than the king Dhaṅga of the Chandēllas. The Bengali tendency of changing *a*-endings of personal names into *u*, such as Rāma to Rāmu, Vaṅka to Vaṅku, etc., seems to be responsible for the slight change in the name of Dhaṅga. This identification of Dhaṅgu with the king Dhaṅga is not based on the similarity of names only. It is supported by the historical evidence also. This king of the Chandēllas, in his Khajurāho inscription of V. S. 1059 (1002 A.D.)¹ boasts of having thrown into prison the wives of the kings of Kāūchī, Andhra, Rāḍhā and Aṅga. This shows that he had, among others, invaded the kingdom of Rāḍha. We have already seen that Rājyapāla of the present plate was ruling in Rāḍha. So it is very natural for him to declare Dhaṅga as an inveterate foe of his. But were both Rājyapālas contemporaries of Dhaṅga? Mr. Majumdar on palaeographical grounds assigned this charter of Nayapāla to the latter part of the tenth century. Rājyapāla was succeeded by his son Nārāyaṇapāla, who again was succeeded by his younger brother Nayapāla. So Rājyapāla can be assumed to have ruled in the first part of the tenth century. But what was the time of Dhaṅga? The latest known inscription of this king is the one of V. S. 1059 (A. D. 1002) mentioned above. It is stated therein that he lived over hundred years. So he was born sometime about A. D. 900. It is clear from this evidence that Dhaṅga and Rājyapāla of the present inscription were contemporaries.

It now remains to be seen that the other Rājyapāla, father of Gōpāladēva II., also flourished in the first part of the tenth century. We have shown elsewhere² that king Mahīpāla I. ascended the throne in A. D. 981. His father Vighrahapāla II. ruled at least 26 years³, and his grandfather Gōpāladēva II. at least 15 years⁴. So the commencement of the latter's reign cannot be later than A. D. 942. The recently published Jājilpārā charter of Gōpāladēva II. was issued in the sixth year of his reign, on the 11th day of the bright half (i.e. *śuklā śkōdaśī*) of Pausa, on the occasion of *Uttarāyaṇa-sankrāntī*. The only date, nearer to A. D. 942 satisfying the above data, is A. D. 931. So his first year must be A. D. 925. This should, in the ordinary circumstances, be also the last year of his father Rājyapāla's reign. Rājyapāla ruled at least 24 years⁵. So the period of his reign also falls in the first part of the tenth century, and, therefore, he was contemporaneous with the other Rājyapāla and Dhaṅga.

Now the difficult question arises that if the two Rājyapālas were identical, why Dhaṅga calls him the king of Rāḍha only, and not of Gauḍa and Magadha? A very satisfactory solution of this is possible. The known dates of the Pratihāra Mahēndrapāla I. are 893-907 A. D.⁶ His inscriptions of the years 4 and 19 have been found in the Patna District, of 8 and 9 in the Gayā District, and of 5 in Pāhārpur in the Rājshāhi District of Bengal⁷. These show that Rājyapāla was ousted from Gauḍa and Magadha. The Dighwa-Dubauli (Saran district) inscription of V. S. 955 shows that he lost Tirabhukti also⁸. From these circumstances, R. D. Banerji rightly came to the conclusion that Rājyapāla must have succeeded to a very small principality, either in Rāḍha or in Vaṅga⁹. This plate fully corroborates his view, which was considered at the time no better

¹ Above, Vol. I, p. 140.

² *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. I, p. 291.

³ Bendall, *Cat. of Sans. Mus. in the British Museum*, p. 232; *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, p. 151; Banerji, *The Palas of Bengal (Memoirs A. S. B., Vol. V)*, p. 67.

⁴ *J. R. A. S.*, 1910, pp. 150-51; *The Palas of Bengal*, p. 65.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVII, p. 110.

⁶ Above, Vols. I, p. 173 and IX, pp. 4f.

⁷ *A. S. I., An. Rep.*, 1923-4, p. 102; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLVII, p. 110; *The Palas of Bengal*, p. 64; *The Illustrated London News*, Jan. 29, 1927, p. 160.

⁸ *J. R. A. S.*, 1904, pp. 642ff.

⁹ *The Palas of Bengal*, p. 63.

than a mere surmise. This Pratihāra occupation of the Pāla dominions does not appear to have lasted long. It must have come to an end with the death of Mahēndrapāla I. It appears from the Bargāon (Patna District) inscription of the time of Rājyapāla that he must have recovered at least Magadha on or before the 24th year of his reign. This clearly explains why Rāḍha has been mentioned as a separate entity by Dhaṅga. After Rāḍha, Dhaṅga names Aṅga, which shows that Aṅga also was an independent country at the time. He makes no mention of Magadha, which country he must have had to pass through, to return to his kingdom. This probably shows that he was friendly with the Pratihāras, who occupied that province.

The two Rājyapālas being one, he had at least three sons, *viz.*, Nārāyaṇapāla, Nayapāla and Gōpāla II. Both the first and the third claim to have succeeded their father directly. Both the statements may be true, if we take that Rājyapāla divided his kingdom between Nārāyaṇapāla and Gōpāla, giving Rāḍha to the former, and Magadha to the latter to rule independently. About the other provinces we have no information if they were recovered in the life-time of Rājyapāla. The Jājilpārā inscription shows that Gōpāla was in possession of Gauḍa, at least in the sixth year of his reign. An inscription of the first year of his reign has been discovered in Bargāon¹. Another solution may be that Gōpāla usurped the throne of Nayapāla. As this was not a peaceful succession, he did not mention the names of his brothers. It is not likely that Gōpāla's throne was usurped by either of his brothers. If at all, it must have been for a time only, for we find that he was succeeded by his son, Vighrahapāla II. We are in favour of the first view, for that explains why Nayapāla traces his descent from Rājyapāla, and not from Gōpāla, the founder of the dynasty. Rāḍha, no doubt, was a feudatory state under the Pālas, but it was Rājyapāla who raised it to an independent kingdom and built his capital there. So he was the founder, and Nayapāla, inheriting that kingdom only, traces his descent from Rājyapāla². Gōpāla II., who inherited Magadha, a country ruled by his forefathers directly, names his forefathers from Gōpāla I., like others of the main line.

We think, we have been able to solve satisfactorily all doubts that could be raised against the identification of the two Rājyapālas as one. Now we shall devote our attention to find out, if we can, who this Kambōja, another inveterate foe of Rājyapāla, was. We have seen that the Pratihāras conquered all the important provinces of his forefathers. So who could have been more inveterate enemy than these Pratihāras? Nay, they were hereditary enemies of the Pāla dynasty from the time of Dharmapāla. We find also that Rājyapāla came into direct conflict with them when he reconquered Magadha, on or before the 24th year of his reign. Can these Pratihāras be the Kambōjas? Let us see. Kambōja, according to Pāṇini, meant a king or a Kshatriya of the country of Kambōja. Now where was this Kambōja country? According to the earlier authorities, it was in the north-west of India. But some later works as the *Mārkaṇḍēya-Purāṇa* and the *Bṛihatsaṁhitā* place a Kambōja country in the south-west, along with Sindhu, Sauvīra and, Ānarta³. *Garuḍa-Purāṇa*, a still later work, mentions it side by side with Lāṭa, in the south-west⁴. This Kambōja might be the same as the Stambha-tīrtha about the Narbadā, mentioned in the *Kūrma-Purāṇa*⁵, and the modern Cambay, on the gulf of that name. It might have derived its name from this Stambha or Khamba-tīrtha. It, no doubt, formed part of the Pratihāra empire. According to some authorities, the Pratihāras were Gurjaras. We find this Kambōja

¹ *J. P. A. S. B.*, Vol. IV, p. 105.

² Mr. Majumdar entertains the last view (*Modern Review*, September 1937). It appears from the Tirumalai inscription that a Pāla king of the name of Dharmapāla ruled in Daṇḍabhukti till the reign of Mahīpāla I. He was probably a grandson of Nayapāla of this plate. So the question of usurpation on either side does not arise.

³ *Mark. P.*, ch. 58, v. 30; *Bṛihat-s.*, ch. 14, v. 17.

⁴ *Garuḍa-P.*, Pt. I, ch. 55, v. 15.

⁵ *Kūrma-P.*, Pt. II., ch. 39, vv. 40 & 50.

was also in Gujarāt. It may be that these Pratihāras coming to live in Kambōja of Gujarāt, before they rose into power, came to be known as Kambōja. It is for this reason, we think, they have been styled as 'Kambōja' in the present plate¹. It must be noted here that the Pratihāras came into contact with the Pālas long before they became established in Kanauj.

Now having said all that we have to say in justification of our differed reading, let us turn our attention to what geographical information we can gather from this plate, about Rāḍha in the tenth century. The golden rampart walls of the city of **Priyaṅgu** have been described as resplendent as fire (v. 3). This leads us to think that they were built of the red laterite stone. So the capital must have been at a place, where or in the vicinity of which, these stones abound. The district of Midnapur, in Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha, lies on the border of the Balasore District, from where the plate has been obtained. It contains laterite soil, and some forts are still to be found here built of laterite stone. It is not, therefore, unlikely that the seat of the kingdom was here. There are two places in this district, which come nearer to the name of Priyaṅgu. One is *thānā* Pingla, and the other is the village of Pingani, in *thānā* Garbeta, with ancient remains. The latter seems more likely. The soil here is lateriferous.

The donated village of **Bṛihat-Chattivannā** is described as adjoining to Kaṅṭi, Saṁmāsa and Bādakhaṇḍa, within the Daṇḍa-bhukti-*maṇḍala*, belonging to the Varddhamaṇa-bhukti (Uttara-Rāḍha). Mr. Majumdar identifies this village with Chhatina, near Belyabera and Nayabashan, on the Suvarṇarēkhā. It is probably in *thānā* Gopiballabhpur. There is a village named Chatina, in *thānā* Salbani. Besides, there are three villages of the name of Chatna, in *thānā* Daspur. The donated village is said to have contained salt-mines (*lavaṇ-ākara*), which probably means that some part of it was a saline tract, where salt used to be manufactured. This discloses contiguity to sea-coast. Salt is still manufactured in the district. Kaṅṭi may be the modern Contai, which is on the sea-coast. There are, however, two villages of the name Kantichak in *thānā* Danton, and Kanthi in *thānā* Gopiballabhpur. As we find both Chhatina and Kanthi in *thānā* Gopiballabhpur, lying on the western part of the district, Chhatina suggested by Mr. Majumdar may be the donated village. The existence of *madhuka* trees in the donated land also supports this view, as they grow in the western part of the district. But this village must have extended up to the sea-coast of Balasore, along the Suvarṇarēkhā, for we have already seen that a portion of it was a saline tract. This also shows that the village was a very big one, which the prefix *Bṛihat* also suggests.

Chhatna is the name of a Jungle Mahal. We do not know, if the donated village Chhatina has anything to do with the name of this Jungle Mahal. Belyabera or Beliaberia is also a Jungle estate, owned by a family of Praharāja Chaudhuri of the Midnapur District. The plate belongs to a Praharāja Chaudhuri of Irdā, in the neighbouring district of Balasore. It is possible that both belonged to the same family, with their original home in Chhatina. It is not known how the plate was acquired by the present owner. It may be that the Praharāja family was in some way connected with the donee, or it might have been found somewhere within their Zamindari.

We do not know anything about the origin of the name of Daṇḍa-bhukti. It seems that originally a village of the name of Daṇḍa was the headquarters of the *bhukti*, which ultimately gave this name to it. There are two names connected with the word *Daṇḍa*, in the Midnapur District: (1) A village of the name of Bhōgadaṇḍa in *thānā* Sabang. It is the seat of the *Madhya-śrēṇī* Brāhmanas of the district. This might be the original village of Daṇḍa. (2) A temple of Śiva,

¹ Mr. Majumdar has since changed his opinion. He is now almost certain that the two Rājyapālas are identical. He, therefore, holds that the Pālas of Bengal were Kambōjas (*Modern Review*, September, 1937). But there is no other evidence to support this, beyond his own reading of the epithet of Rājyapāla as "Kambōjavarāna-tilakā". [If the Pratihāras are referred to as Kambōjas in the Irdā plate, it is rather strange that the latter designation for them is not to be met with in any other record so far known.—Ed.]

named Daṇḍēśvara, in Karnagarh, six miles to the north of the Midnapur town, with remains of a fort and several temples.¹ Daṇḍa, though originally a *bhukti*, is found as a *maṇḍala* under the Varddhamāna-*bhukti* in the present plate, and also as a kingdom under a king named Dharmapāla, in the Tirumalai inscription of the first quarter of the eleventh century². This Dharmapāla might be a descendant of Nayapāla of the present grant. If so, this Pāla dynasty of Rāḍha continued for about a century and a quarter at least.

Narayanagarh is a village in the *sadar* sub-division of the Midnapur District, containing the remains of a ruined fort, and some very fine old tanks. The Raj family of this place is said to have had possession of it from the time of the great Pāla kings of Bengal³. It is not unlikely that Nārāyaṇapāla of this plate founded it.

The present charter is also of great interest as depicting the religious condition of Rāḍha, in the tenth century. The Pāla kings of Bengal were well-known Buddhists. But they were not antagonistic to Brahmanism. All their charters record grants to Brāhmanas, which bespeaks their liberality to Brāhmanas and regard for Brahmanism. Their grants are sealed with the Buddhist *Dharma-chakra-mudrā* and begin with praises to the Buddha. With the exception of the three earliest and the present one, all were granted in the name of the Buddhahattāraka. The present king spoke of his father as a *Paramasaugata* and sealed the plate with the dynastic *Dharma-chakra* device. But unlike others, he has begun it with salutation to the Brahmanic god Śiva and granted it in the name of that god. This clearly shows how the Buddhist population were being slowly and gradually merged into Brahmanism. The elder brother of this prince, the king Nārāyaṇapāla, is described as a devotee of Vāsudēva. This conversion of the royal family of Rāḍha reflects no little credit on the Brāhmanas of Rāḍha.

In conclusion, we would like to make some remarks about the reading of the date of the plate. Mr. Majumdar read it as "*Samvat 13 Kārtika-dinē 2*". He found no other numeral sign after 2. Dr. Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist, however, notices two digits and reads them as "18". We too find two signs, but read them as 'śu 9'. It appears that the engraver through mistake was repeating the preceding syllable *nē*, but found out his mistake before he could finish and rectified it, by clumsily converting it to *śu*, indicating *śukla*. The subscript *u* of *śu* here is comparable to subscript *u* of *su* of the word *sukritinaḥ* (l. 47). The date of issue of the charter, therefore, is the same as the date of the actual gift.⁴

No. 9.—SIRIPURAM PLATES OF ANANTAVARMAN, LORD OF KALINGA.

By G. V. SRINIVASA RAO, B.A., MADRAS.

These plates were secured for examination by the Superintendent for Epigraphy from Mr. Manda Narasimham Pantulu of Arasavilli, teacher, Board High School at Chicacole in the Vizagapatam District. They are stated to have been discovered while digging a tank at Siripuram, a village near Chicacole. They have since been purchased by the Government Museum, Madras. Mr. Narasimham has published the inscription on the plates in the Telugu Monthly Journal *Bhārati* for September 1931, and has also reviewed its contents in Vol. VIII of the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society* (p. 153), but the interpretation of the record by him leaves much to be desired. It is now re-edited here from ink-impressions of the plates kindly supplied

¹ *Midnapur District Gazetteer*, p. 197.

² Above, Vol. IX, p. 232.

³ *Midnapur Dist. Gaz.*, p. 216.

⁴ [I am not convinced of the correctness of the reading suggested here and have no reason to change my views about the date.—Ed.]

to me by the Superintendent for Epigraphy. In his article in this Journal¹ on the Sruṅgavarapukōṭa Plates of the same king, Dr. R. C. Marumdar has also considered this inscription.

The grant should have consisted of **three** oblong copper plates of which the last is now missing. They measure $6\frac{1}{2}$ " in length and $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in breadth, and have their rims slightly raised all round to protect the writing which is incised on the inner side of the first plate and on both sides of the second. They are strung together by a ring about 4" in diameter which passes through a hole about $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter near the proper right margin of the plates. The ends of this ring are soldered into the bottom of an oval seal of which the rim bears on one side a slight projection. The surface of the seal which measures $1\frac{1}{2}$ " by $1\frac{1}{4}$ " is completely worn out, so that the emblem or legend that should have been engraved thereon is lost, but judging from the seal of the Sruṅgavarapukōṭa Plates, we may suppose that it should have contained the figure in relief of a conch. The two plates with the ring and the seal weigh 70 tolas.

The **alphabet** of the inscription belongs to the same type as that of the Kōmarti Plates of Chaṇḍavarman² and the Chicacole Plates of Nanda-Prabhañjanavarman³. It bears a close resemblance to the writing in the Rāmatīrtham Plates of the Viṣṇupukūḍin king Indravarma⁴ who has been assigned to the second quarter of the 6th century A. D.⁵, and, except for one or two letters which look slightly more developed, to that of the Jirjīngi Plates of the Eastern Gaṅga king Indravarma dated in the 39th year of the Gaṅga era⁶. It also shows a general likeness to the characters of the Pīkīra grant of the Pallava king Sīṅghavarman, son of Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugōpa⁷. This Sīṅghavarman has been placed by Prof. J. Dubreuil in the beginning of the 6th century A. D.⁸

The **language** of the grant is simple Sanskrit and similar in style to that adopted in the Bṛīhatprōshṭha grant of Umavarman⁹, the Kōmarti Plates of Chaṇḍavarman¹⁰ and the Kōrōshāṇḍa Plates of Viśākhavarman¹¹.

The **orthography** of the inscription calls for a few remarks. Except in the case of the two words *vinirgatam* and *ā-chandr-ārka-kāla* in 1.15, the consonants are invariably doubled after the *rēpha*. Other consonants are also doubled, incorrectly in such words as *samppadasya* (1. 3), *dākshīṇy-ūssāha* (1.6), *Tōṅāparēssamavēitām* (11. 8 & 9), *tēbhya ēva ssa idānim* (1. 10), and *vidhivas-sampradattāḥ* (1. 16), and in place of the *anusvāra* in the words *sappannō* (1. 6) and *savvatsarē* (1. 13). *Anusvāra* is used in place of the nasal consonant *n* in the expressions ^o*mān-mahārāja* (1. 5) and ^o*vētām kutumbināḥ* (1. 9); and both *anusvāra* and nasal are used together in *Anantavarmanā* (1. 8) and *vinirgatām=cha* (1.15). *Upadhānīya* is used in place of the *visarga* in the words ^h*bhūḥ prajā* (1. 7) and *parihāraiḥ parihṛitya* (1. 14) and redundantly in the case of the words *karāḥ-prada* (1. 10), *dānāḥ-pratigraha* (1. 11), ^o*kālāḥ-pratishṭham* (1. 15) and *vachanāḥ-prēshaṇa* (1. 17). The final *t* is found in *vibhṛat* (1. 2).

The grant was issued in the **year Mah-Āsvayuja, on the day of full moon in the month of Māgha**. This method of dating the record in the Twelve-Year Cycle of Jupiter, according to which the year commences on the day when Jupiter, after its conjunction with the Sun, rises heliacally at mean sunrise in a particular *nakshatra* after which it is named¹², is said to have been in vogue to a limited extent only in the 5th and 6th centuries of the Christian era, and found used

¹ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 56 ff.

² Above, Vol. IV, p. 144.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 49.

⁴ Above, Vol. XII, p. 134.

⁵ *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. II, p. 157.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 51.

⁷ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 161.

⁸ *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 68.

⁹ Above, Vol. XII, p. 5.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 142 ff.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXI, p. 24.

¹² Above, Vol. VIII, p. 289.

so far only in a few inscriptions ranging between A.D. 475 and 528¹. In the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1931-32, Mr. C. R. Krishnamacharlu taking the Gaṅga Era to start with A.D. 493 assigns the Achyutapuram Plates of Indravarman² dated in the 87th year of the era to A.D. 580, and assuming the present record to be about half a century anterior to it gives it the provisional date A.D. 528-9 which was the year in which the Mah-Āśvayuja occurred³. It may be stated, however, that the years A.D. 516 and, before that, A.D. 504 are equally possible for the record.

The inscription registers an order of king **Anantavarman** issued from Dēvapura confirming the grant of the village **Tōṅṭāpara** as a tax-free *agrahāra* to be enjoyed by eight (1) members of the *Ātrēya-gotra* who were already in possession of it and were paying tax hitherto thereon, after separating it from the sub-division known as **Kharapuri-madamba**⁴ to which it had belonged and also from the bigger division **Pattana-bhōga**.⁵

Anantavarman is called the 'Lord of Kalinga' possessed of many virtues and a great *Mā-hēsvara*. He is stated to have been the son of *Mahārāja Prabhajjana* (Prabhāñjana) varman and the grandson of *Mahārāja Guṇavarman* who is described as the Full Moon in the great and spotless (firmament viz., the) *Vāsishtā* (family). This epithet is however applied to Prabhāñjanavarman in the *Sruṅavarapukōṭa* Plates, while Guṇavarman is styled the 'Lord of Dēvarāshtra' and is credited with victories in many battles. Anantavarman is said to have acquired the Earth by the strength of his own arms.

Other kings of this region who also called themselves *Kalingādhipati* were Śaktivarman⁶, Umavarman⁷, Chaṇḍavarman⁸ and Nanda-Prabhāñjanavarman⁹. Another king of the same region, who might have been a *Kalingādhipati* though he does not specifically style himself as such was Viśākhavarman who issued the *Kōrōshaṇḍa* grant¹⁰ mentioned above, from Śrīpura¹¹. Four new copper-plate grants of the Kalinga kings have been found recently and are reviewed in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1934-35. Of these one is the *Sruṅavarapukōṭa* Plates mentioned above, of king Anantavarman of our grant. The others are the *Tiritthāna* grant of Chaṇḍavarman¹² issued from *Siṅghapura*, in which the king calls himself a *Kalingādhipati*, the *Tekkali* Plates of Umavarman¹³ issued from *Vardhamānapura*¹⁴, and the *Madras Museum*

¹ Fleet, *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, Introduction, p. 105.

² Above, Vol. III, pp. 128 f.

³ This seems to be borne out by the writing in the *Jirjīngi* Plates dated in the 39th year of the Gaṅga Era, which, as stated above, bears similarity to the alphabet of the present grant.

⁴ *Madamba* is thus defined in *Śicatattēvaratnākara*, *Kallōli* 6, *Taraṅga* 1, verse 14: *Yuktam-ēkādāta-grāmsir-madambam-parikīrtitam*.

⁵ Cf. *Vōṅkhāra-bhōga* of the *Jirjīngi* Plates (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, p. 51) and *Mahēndra-bhōga* of the *Dha-vaṅapēta* Plates (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. X, p. 144). The name of the division is evidently derived from *Pattana* which is perhaps an abbreviated form of *Kalinga-Pattana* (*Kalingsapatam*) a sea-coast town about 20 miles from *Chicacole*. The ancient *Kalinga* capital *Kalinga-nagara* mentioned in the *Hāthīgumphā* inscription of *Khāravēla* has been identified with this town (above, Vol. XX, p. 77).

⁶ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 1 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 4 ff.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 142 ff.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 48 ff.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 23 ff.

¹¹ This has been identified with *Siripuram* in the *Palkonda* taluk of the *Vizagapatam* District. It is possible that it may refer to *Siripuram* the find-spot of the plates under publication.

¹² C. P. No. 12 of 1934-35.

¹³ C. P. No. 13 of 1934-35. In the *An. Rep.* for this year these two kings have been taken to be different from their namesakes who issued the *Kōmarti* plates and the *Bṛihatprōshtha* grant.

¹⁴ This has been identified with *Vaḍama* in the *Palkonda* taluk of the *Vizagapatam* District (*An. Rep.* on *South Indian Epigraphy*, 1934-35, Part II, para. 2).

Plates of Ananta-Śaktivarman, issued from Siṅghapura¹. The Dhavalapēṭa copper-plates of Umavarman² issued from 'Sunagara' complete the list of these kings.

From the provenance of all these records and the places mentioned therein, it may be surmised that their territory extended in the north to the southern portion of the Ganjām District and in the south to the northern portion of the Godāvāri District. It is not, however, possible to state whether it was held intact throughout their rule by this line of kings. The plates of king Ananta-Śaktivarman record the gift of a village in Barāha(Varāha)vartanī division to two Brāhmins³. This division which should have comprised portions of the present Vizagapatam District round about Chicacole is mentioned in the Narasiṅgapalli Plates of the Eastern Gaṅga king Hastivarman⁴ dated in the Gaṅga year 79 as having been included in his territory. Sometime later, Pishṭapura situated in the southern portion of their territory had passed into the hands of a certain Pṛithivī-Mahārāja, probably a subordinate chief under the Viṣṇukunḍins, who issued his Tāṇḍivāḍa grant from that place⁵, and then to the Chālukyas under Pulikēśin II⁶. It may therefore be concluded that this dynasty of kings calling themselves *Kalīṅgādhipati* should have disappeared before the close of the 6th century A.D. The lower limit may of course be taken to be the middle of the 4th century A.D., when Samudragupta invaded the south and subjugated along with others king Mahēndra of Pishṭapura and Kubēra of Dēvarāshṭra.

The relationship of the several kings mentioned above to one another is still obscure, the information contained in their grants being too meagre to throw any light on this point. Similarity in the alphabet or phraseology employed in their different grants, in the epithets applied to the kings and in names of officers occurring in them is our only guide in attempting any genealogy or chronology of these kings, but it seems to be unsafe to make any suggestions on this slender basis.

Of the places mentioned in the record, Dēvapura from where the king issued his grant, may be identified with one of the two Zamindari villages—one named Dēvāḍa in the Sruṅgavarapukōṭa taluk and the other named Dēvāḍi in the Chicacole taluk. Tōṣṭāpara, the village granted, perhaps has its representative in the modern Zamindari village Tōṣṭāḍa in the Chicacole taluk. It is not possible to identify Kharapuri after which the sub-division was named.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm^a Svasti [||*] Vijaya-Dēvapurād=Vāsishṭha-vipul-āmala-sakala-chandramasō
- 2 vibhrat-bhū-hiranya-gō-sahasr-ādy-anēka-dāna-dharmm-ābhīrataśya śakti-tray-ō-
- 3 panata-rūjya-saṁppadasya¹⁰ atyutāmala¹¹-śarach-chandra-chandrik-āvadāt-ōru-
- 4 yaśasa[h*] śrī[ma]¹² Mahārāja-Guṇavarmmaṇḥ ātmajanmanō-nēka-guṇa-gaṇ-ā-

¹ C. P. No. 24 of 1934-35.

² J. A. H. R. S., Vol. X, pp. 143 ff.

³ An. Rep. on S. I. E., for 1934-35, Part II, para. 3.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 63.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 88 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 11.

⁷ C. P. No. 1 of 1931-32.

⁸ Expressed by a symbol.

⁹ Read *bīhṛat-bhū-hiranya*. The letter *ya* of *hiranya* is written in smaller size below the line, evidently as a correction of an omission indicated by a small cross above.

¹⁰ Read *saṁppadāḥ*.

¹¹ Read *atyant-āmala*.

¹² Read *śriṅga*.

5 bhyalāṅkṛitasya śrīmān¹ Mahārāja² Prabhajjanavarmmaṅṅ sūnur-ṅṅa(nna)ya-vinaya-
6 satya-śauch-āchāra-tyāg-audāryya-dākṣiṇy-ōtssāha³-sātva(sattva)-sappannō⁴ sva-bhuja-

Second Plate ; First Side.

7 vikram-ōpārjita-bhūḥ prajā-hita-ratō⁵ paramamāhēśvara(rō) mātā-pi-
8 ṭri-pādānudhyātō⁶ śri-Kaliṅgādhīpatir-Anan(na)ntavarmmā Tōṅṭā[pa]rēs (Tōṅṭāparē)
sama-
9 vētām⁷ kuṭumbinas=samājñāpaya[ty=a*] sty-ēśah(sha) pūrvvam=ēv-āgrahāraḥ Kharapuri-
10 madamba-sāmānyaḥ⁸ karaḥ(kara)-pradaḥ tēbhya ēvas⁹=sa idānim=asmābhiḥ puny-āyur-
yya-
11 shasām¹⁰=abhivṛiddhayē yajana-yājana¹¹-yājan-ādhyayan-[ā*]dhyāpana-dānaḥ (dāna)-
prati-
12 graha-niratēbhya(bhya) [Ātrā]¹²-gōtra-charaṇēbhyaḥ brāhmaṇēbhyaḥ ashtāśśaka(ashtāmśaka?)
sah[khyē]bhya[h]

Second Plate ; Second Side.

13 Mah-Āsvayujē savvatsarē¹³ Māgha-māsa-paurṇamāsyā[m*]= udaka-pūrvvam kṛitvā
14 sarvva-kara-parihāraiḥ parihṛitya Kharapurisha(puri)-madamba-vinirggataṁ
15 Pattana-bhōga-vinirgataṁ(gataṁ)=cha kṛitvā¹⁴ ā-chandr-ārka-kālah(kāla)-pratiśṭham-
agra-
16 hāraṁ kṛitvā vidhivas¹⁵=sampradattaḥ ity=avagamyā grāma-phalam=u-
17 paṇiya sarvv-ādarēṇa vachanaḥ(vachana)-prēshaṇ-ōpasthānaṁ kartavyam=iti :—
18 ājñā apy-uttara-kāla-bhāvi-rāja bhis=cha dharmma-dānasy-ānupālana¹⁶

TRANSLATION.

Om. Hail ! From the victorious (city of) **Dēvapura**, the glorious **Anantavarman**, lord of **Kaliṅga**, who is endowed with wisdom, refinement and truthfulness, with purity of life and good conduct, liberality and magnanimity, and with courtesy, heroism and strength ; who has acquired the earth by the strength of his own arms ; who is (ever) devoted to the welfare of (his) subjects ; who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara ; and who meditates on the feet of (his) parents ; who is the son of the glorious **Mahārāja Prabhajjanavarmman** richly adorned with a multitude of (good) qualities, the son of the glorious **Mahārāja Guṇavarman** who was a Full Moon in the broad and spotless (firmament viz., the family of) **Vāsishṭha**, who took great delight in the performance of the several kinds of gifts like the earth, gold and a thousand cows, who secured the

¹ Read *śrīman-*.

² Read *Prabhajjanam*.

³ Read *śāha*.

⁴ Read *sappannaḥ*.

⁵ Cf. the expression *śaṭ-trimśad-agrahāra-sāmānya* of the Brihatprōśhṭha grant.

⁶ Read *ōa-m*.

⁷ Read *puny-āyur-yatātām-*.

⁸ The word *yājana* is engraved twice by mistake.

⁹ Evidently the word *Atri* or *Ātrēya* is intended.

¹⁰ Read *savvatsarē*.

¹¹ Cf. the expression *Dantayacūgu-bhōgād-uddhṛitya* of the Brihatprōśhṭha grant.

¹² Read *vidhivat=sam*.

¹³ The continuation is lost.

¹⁴ Read *rataḥ*.

¹⁵ Read *dhyātaḥ*.

¹⁶ Read *ōtām*.

prosperity of his kingdom with the threefold regal power and who possessed great fame which was as pure as the light of the exceedingly clear autumnal moon,

(thus) commands (all) the farmers assembled in **Tōṅṭāpara**: This (village which) has been already an *agrahāra* enjoying the privileges (applicable to the group of villages included) in **Kharapuri-madamba** and paying tax (hitherto), is now given by Us with (due) rites preceded by (libations of) water for the increase of (Our) merit, longevity and fame, on the day of full moon in the month of **Māgha** in the year **Mah-Āsvayuja**, to the same Brāhmaṇas, eight share-holders in number (1) of the *Atri-gōtra* and *charaṇa*, who are engaged in performing and helping others to perform sacrifices, in study and in teaching, and in making and receiving gifts,—after having completely exempted (the village) from all kinds of taxes and having made it separate from the *Kharapuri-madamba* (sub-division) and the **Pattana-bhōga** (division ?), and conferred it as an *agrahāra* to last as long as the moon and the sun.

Having understood this (it behoves that you) should bring the yield of the village (to these Brāhmaṇas), and with all (due) respect carry out the behests issued (by them). (This) command (should be respected) by the kings who are to come in future as well, in protecting this meritorious gift.

No. 10.—INDORE PLATES OF PRAVARASENA II.

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The plates which are edited here were in the possession of Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar, who kindly placed them at my disposal for the present purpose. They were originally in the possession of the late Wamanrao Islampurkar Śāstri of the Indore State along with the grants of *Mahārāja Svāmidāsa* and *Mahārāja Bhuluṅḍa* edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV, pp. 286ff.

These are three well preserved copper-plates each of which measures 7" long by 3½" broad. They are quite smooth and their edges not raised or fashioned thicker. About 2" distant from the middle of the proper right margin each plate has a hole about ¼" in diameter, obviously for a ring with which the plates were strung. Originally, the grant consisted of four plates. The first plate together with the ring and the seal is now missing. From a comparison with the other grants of the same king it would appear that roughly about seven lines of writing are lost. The first plate, therefore, as one would expect, was inscribed on one side only. The first and the second of the remaining three plates that we now possess, that is to say, the second and the third of the original grant, are inscribed on both the sides while the last one is written on one side only. The writing throughout is in an excellent state of preservation. The size of the letters is about ¼". The characters belong to the southern class of alphabet and are fine specimens of the 'box-headed' variety of the Central Indian script, which is well illustrated in the copper plates of the kings of Śarabhapura as well as in those of Tivaradēva, king of Mahā-Kōśala¹. The script resembles closely that of the Dudia and Siwanī plates, as also of the recently published Tirōḍī² plates of *Mahārāja Pravarasēna II*.

From the standpoint of paleography these plates have some peculiarities which are worthy of note. As in the Siwanī plates, the letter *b* in this grant occurs in two distinct forms. One is the usual type of this alphabet and the other consists of a square and is more archaic. It seems that the scribe was familiar with both and had freely used the two forms, though the usual type

¹ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 191 ff. and 291 ff.

² Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 171 ff.

occurs in larger number. For the former type see *Kōbidārikā* (l. 12), *balivardda* (l. 21), and *pibati* (l. 33) and for the latter see *brāhmaṇair-* (l. 27) and *bāhula* (l. 33). Both the lingual *ṣ* and the dental *ṣ* occur in different varieties. As regards the dental *ṣ*, it may be noted that, though different forms are discernible, the larger number is of the looped type; see for instance, *ṣ* in *Rudrasēnasya sūnō[ḥ*]* (l. 1). For a different kind of *ṣ* see *Rudrasēna* (l. 6). Likewise, differences exist in the types of *ṣ*; see for instance, *Prithivishēnasya* and *Chakrapāṇē* (l. 5), and *guṇa* (l. 3). A very peculiar form of the letter occurs in *paṣṭriṇa* (l. 4). The *ṣ* of *Gōṇḍāryyāya* (l. 15) is also worthy of note. The letter *v*, in general, has a much smaller rectangle than that of *ch*, even then they could hardly be distinguished in many places, but for the context; see *v* in *prabhavi* (l. 30) and compare it with *cha* in *chandr-āditya* (l. 24). Of the ligatures the two forms *tna* and *nta* deserve special notice. Referring to his tables (plate vii, 43, X) Bühler says, "We meet repeatedly with the looped *ta* and the *na* without the loop¹." The ligature to which he has referred has been taken by him to be *nta*. But exactly the same ligature occurs in this plate where the reading is clearly *tna* (*sa[ṅ]chitnana*, l. 28 for *sañchintana*). By mistake the scribe put the *t* first and then the subscript *na*. So Bühler's reading of the same ligature as *nta* cannot stand. We have a clear example of *nta* in *atyanta* (l. 2), *santāna* (l. 4) and *santikās-* (l. 9). Incidentally it may be noted here that the subscript *t* in the first of these words shows some peculiarity. The letter *dh* is of the usual square type except, however, in *Yudhishṭhira* (l. 4), where it is definitely roundish in shape. Similarly the letter *t* which is generally of an angular character, has one exception in *ājñāpayitavyō[ḥ*]* (l. 10) where it is round. As regards the letter *l*, it might be noted that the real box-headed type, which is met with in the Siwani plates, does not occur in this inscription. There is, however, a single instance where the box-headed *l* appears here, in *āyur-llala* (l. 11), if it is not to be read as *-blala* for *-bbala*. With regard to this particular letter *l* our inscription tallies well with the Tirōḍi, Chammak and Duduia plates of the same king. Lastly we might note that *ā* is denoted in different ways. Usually a slanting stroke attached to the head of the consonant indicates the medial *ā*; see *Vākāṭakānām-* (l. 8). For a different way of indicating it see *kāliyaḥ* (l. 24).

The language is Sanskrit and except the usual imprecatory verse, ascribed to Vyāsa, in the fourth plate, the inscription is in prose. The composition is not at all satisfactory and shows that the writer's knowledge of Sanskrit left much to be desired. As regards orthography the most prominent features are: (1) the use of *upadhmanīya* in ll. 25, 31 and 33; (2) frequent non-observance of the rules of external *sandhi*; (3) carelessness in the writing of *ā* (medial), *m* and *ḥ*; (4) the doubling of *v* after *anusvāra* as in *para-dattām vva* (l. 32); (5) the doubling of consonant after *r* as in *mārggē* (l. 8), etc., and (6) the interchange between *ri* and *ri* in some cases, e.g., in *Prithivi* (l. 5) and *kṛiyābhi[ḥ*]* (l. 25). The inscription contains several words whose meaning and grammar are not clear. It seems that the official who was entrusted with the drawing up of the record was responsible for these solecisms. Some of the mistakes, however, are no doubt due to the inadvertence of the engraver.

The inscription is one of the **Vākāṭaka Mahārāja Pravarasēna II** and is dated (l. 33) the **fifth lunar day of the dark half of the month of Vaiśākha in the twenty-third year** (of his reign). Its object is to record the grant of a village (l. 12)². The situation of the village is described as being to the north of Ārāmaka, east of Kōbidārikā, south of Kōśambaka and west of Añjanavāṭaka (ll. 12-14). The donees are said to be (ll. 15-17) Gōṇḍāryya, son of Viśākhāryya of the Vāji-Kausika *gōtra* and resident of Ārāmaka, his son Manōrathāryya, Gōvāryya, Dēvāryya, Bāppāryya, Kumārāryya and Drōṇāryya. It has been noted (l. 20) that half of the

¹ Bühler, *Ind. Paleo.* (English version), p. 65.

² [From the details given it is not clear whether the object granted is a village.—Ed.]

village was purchased by a merchant named Chandra from the Brahmīns. Beyond this our inscription furnishes no such information as has not already been supplied by the Dudia plates written in the same year as this record as well as by the Chammak and Siwanī plates which were issued in the eighteenth year of the reign of this *Mahāvāja* Pravarasēna II. But the similarity of the Tirōḍi plates with the present record is striking. Both these grants were issued in the same year and their language is also very much similar. As a matter of fact some of the terms and words in this inscription can be properly understood only when compared with the Tirōḍi plates. Mistakes due to the engraver are very numerous in this inscription and many of them have been corrected with the help of the Tirōḍi plates.

Like his other inscriptions the present one also supplies us with the stereotyped genealogy of Pravarasēna II. But the first plate being lost the genealogy from Gautamīputra only survives. After the genealogy the details of the grant are given. The inscription ends with the date and the name of the writer.

In one point our inscription offers information which makes it of great interest to students of administrative history. Unlike the other plates of the Vākāṭaka kings this record was written by one Kōṭṭadēva who styles himself as **Rajuka**. This is the first time we meet with the term *Rajuka* in so late a period. *Rajuka* is primarily a term to indicate an officer whose undoubted existence in the 3rd century B.C. is proved by the inscriptions of Aśōka. Up till the middle of the second century A.D. South India¹ at least kept up the use of this official. The reference to *Mahāmātras*, *Rajukas* and *Saṅchārins* indicates that the old tradition was kept up in Southern India. When the Vākāṭakas came to the forefront, on the decline of the Kushāṇas, they probably made an endeavour to revive the old institutions. The Guptas, who were mainly a North-Indian power, were greatly influenced by the Kushāṇas and adopted many foreign features in their administrative machinery. The Vākāṭakas were more in the south and so could retain the earlier official terms. For this reason we find that in most of the records of this Vākāṭaka king occur certain revenue terms which have not been found in any other copper-plate and of which no satisfactory explanation can yet be offered. It is clear from the record that the *Rajuka* was still an officer mainly concerned with land and revenue. It is strange that in no other records of this period do we meet with this term. The reason seems to be that though all land transactions were negotiated under his jurisdiction, only in very important cases the *Rajuka* himself used to participate, the rest being done by subordinate officers. The date of the record being given in regnal years cannot be verified. None of the places mentioned in this inscription can be identified.

TEXT.²

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 1 d[au]bitrasya Gautamīputrasya putrasya Vākāṭak[ā]nām-mahāra(rā)ja-śrī-Rudrasēnasya sūnō[h*]
- 2 styanta-ma(mā)hēsvarasya saty-ārjjava-kāruṇya-śauryya-vikrama-naya-vinaya-māhātmya
- 3 dhimatva³-pātragatabhaktitva-dharmmavijayitva-manōnairmmaly-ādi-guṇa-samuditasya
- 4 varsha-śatam-abha(bhi)varddhamāna-kōśa-daṇḍa-sādhana-santāna-putra-pautriya[h*] Yo
dhishṭhira-

¹ See *Epi. Car.* Vol. VII, p. 251, where a *Chutu kul-ānanda* Sātakarjī commands his *Rajuka*.

² From the original plates.

³ Read *dhimatva*.

INDORE PLATES OF PRAVARASENA II.

ii.

2
3
4
5
6

iii.

14
16
18
20

ii.

8
10
12

ii.

22
24
26

ii.

28
30
32
34

- 5 vṛittē-Vākāṭakānā[m*]-mahārāja-śrī-Pri(Pri)thivishēṇasya sūṇa(nō)ḥ bhagavatś-Chakra-
pāṇḍ[ḥ*]
6 prasād-ṭōpāṅjita-śrī-samudayaśya Vākāṭakānā[m*]-mahārāja-śrī-Rudrasēna-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 7 aya sūnō[ḥ*] mahārājādhirāja-śrī(śrī)-Dēvagupta-sutāyā[m*] Prabhāvatiguptāyām=utpanna-
8 aya Vākāṭakānām=mahārāja-śrī-Pravarasēnasya vachanā[t*] Gēpuraka-mārggē asma-
9 t-santikās²=sarvādhyakṣa-niyōga-niyuktāḥ ājñāsamchāri-kulaputr-ādhipitā bhaṭṭō-
10 bhī³=chhātrās=cha vyushita-pūrvva-may⁴=ājñay=ājñāpayitavyā[ḥ*] Vīditam=astu vaḥ
11 yav⁵=ēh=āsmābhir-ātmanō dharmm-āyur-blala-śvarya-vividdhiya⁶ ih-āmutra-hi-
t-ārttham
12 vaijayikō dharmma-sthānē Ārāmakasya uttara-pārsvē Kōbidārikāyā[ḥ*] pūrvva-
13 pārsvē mala datām=itī⁷ :—

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 14 Kōśambakasya⁸ dakṣiṇa-p[ā]rsv[ē] Añjanav[ā]ṭakasya apara-pārsvē Viśākhāryya-vāṭaka-
15 aya [Ā]rāmakav[ā]stavya-Vāji-Kauśika-sagōtra-Viśākhāryya-putra-Gōṇḍā-
16 ryyāya Gōṇḍ[ā]ryya-putra-Man[ō]rathāryyāya Gōvāryyāya Dēvāryyāya
17 Bāppāryyāya⁹ cha Kumārāryyāya Drōṇāryyāya cha pū[r]vva-dattā itī kṛitvā
18 yatō=sma(smā)bhī[ḥ*] śāsana-nibandham¹⁰=kṛitāḥ apūrvva-dattā(ttyā) udaka-pūrvvam=
atīrīṣitāḥ[ḥ*]
19 uhitā[m*]ś=ch=āśya pūrvva-rāj-ānumatā[n*] Chāturvaidya-grāma-maryyādām=parihā¹¹
vita-
20 rāmah[ḥ*] Atra vātā(ṭa)k-ārdham vāṅjika-Chandrēṇa kraya-kṛitam brāhma[ṇḥ*]bhyō
Bhagavat-pada[m*]¹²

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 21 Tad-yathā a-kara-dāyī a-bhaṭa-chchhatra-prāvēśya¹³ a-pārāmpara-tō(gō)-balivardda[ḥ*]
22 a-pushpa-kṣhī(kṣhī)ra-sa[m*]dōhaḥ a-chāra(r-ā)sana-chamā(rm-ā)ngāra[ḥ*] a-lavaṇa-kṛitva-
(nna)-krēṇī-khanaka[ḥ*]

¹ The formation of medial *ḥ* in *dō* is noteworthy. It consists of an *ā-mātrā* on the top and an *ē-mātrā* added to the lower left side of *d*.

² Read *santikās*= as in other Vākāṭaka records.

³ Read *bhaṭṭās*.

⁴ Read *vīrula-pūrvvay*= as in the Siwanī and Chammak plates.

⁵ Read *yath*.

⁶ Read *dharm-āyur-bhal-aiśvarya-vividdhiyē*.

⁷ Read *mayā dattām=itī*. [These six syllables seem to be out of place here, and their sense is not clear.—Ed.]

⁸ It is tempting to identify this place with the village of Kōśambakhaṇḍa mentioned in the Tūrōḍī plates of the same king.

⁹ [From the impression it can be read as *Bōppāryyāya*.—Ed.]

¹⁰ [The reading may be *nibandhaṭ=kṛitāḥ*.—Ed.]

¹¹ Read *-maryyādā-parihārān* as in the Tūrōḍī plates.

¹² I am indebted to the Editor for this reading.

¹³ Read *a-bhaṭa-chchhatra-prāvēśyaḥ*; the word *chchhatra* seems to be somehow connected with the term *chhāṭa* of other inscriptions.

- 23 sarvva-vishṭi-parihāra-parihri(hpi)taḥ sa-tidhis=s-ōpatithiḥ¹ sa-kli²(kji)pt-ōpakli³(kji)-ptaḥ.
- 24 ā-chandr-āditya-kāliyaḥ putra-pautr-ānugāmī bhūñjatā[m*] na kēnachi[d*]
- 25 vyāghātana⁴ karttavayas=sarvva-kṛiyābhi⁴ sa[m*]rakshitavyaḥ=parivarddhayitavyas=cha[*] yaś=ch=ā-
- 26 smach-chhāsanam=agani(ṇa)yamānā(naḥ) svalpām=api paribādhatku(n=ku)ryāt=kāraghina vā⁵
- 27 tasya brāhmaṇair=vvēvi(di)tasya sa-daṇḍa-nigrahaṁ kuryyāmaḥ(ma) Asmiś=cha⁶ dharmm-[ā]dhi-

Fourth plate ; First Side.

- 28 karaṇē⁷ atit-ānēka-rāja-dattā(tta)-sañchitna(nta)na-paripālana[m*] kṛita-puṇy-ānuki(ki)-
- 29 rttana-parihār-ārttha[m*] na kīrttayāmaḥ saṁkalp-ābhidyōdha⁸-parākrama(m-ō)pajā(ji)tān=vattha(rtta)-
- 30 ghātā(mānā)n=ājñāpayāmaḥ ēshyatat⁹-kāla-prabhavish[ṛ]ā¹⁰-gauravād=bhaviśhād¹¹=vijñā-
- 31 payāmaḥ [[¹²] Vyāsa-gītas=ch=ātra ślōkaḥ=pramāṇikarttavayaḥ ¹³ Sva-dattā[m*]
- 32 paradattā[m*] vvā(vā) yō harēta vasundharā[m*] gavā[m] śata-sahasrasya hantu-
- 33 ḥ=pibati¹⁴ dushkṛitam(tam)¹⁴ [[*] Saṁvatsarō trayōviṁśē Vaiśākha-bāhula-pañchamyām [*]
- 34 Ājñā svayaṁ [*] RAJUKA-Kōṭṭadēvēna likhitam [*]

No. 11.—JAGANNATHARAYA TEMPLE INSCRIPTIONS AT UDAIPUR.

BY SAMSKRITI PT. AKSHAYA KERTY VYĀS, M.A., UDAIPUR.

The inscriptions under consideration are fixed on both the sides of the passage leading into the *Sabhā-maṇḍapa* of the Jagannātharāya temple at Udaipur. They are in a fair state of preservation but the engraved letters have been filled up with lime in course of the annual repairs to the temple. At places, the original engraving itself is very shallow. Although Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Ojhā has utilized these inscriptions in writing his history of Rajputana (*Rājaputāne*

¹ Read *sa-nidhis=s-ōpanidhiḥ*.

² [What has been taken as the sign for medial *i* here is perhaps a mere scratch. Moreover, the form of the subscript character in this syllable differs much from that of the subscript *i* in *śinna* in the previous line. In view of these considerations it seems probable that we have in this inscription the correct reading *sa-kṛipt-ōpakṛiptaḥ*.—Ed.]

³ Read *vyāghātataḥ*.

⁴ Read *kṛiyābhiḥ*.

⁵ Read *kārayāt=vā*.

⁶ Read *asmīnś=cha* [The *anusūtra* meant for *smim* seems to have been placed on *cha*.—Ed.]

⁷ The Siwani and Tirōḍi plates have also *dharmmādhi-karaṇē* while the Chammak, Dudia and Riddhapur plates have *dharmm-ādara-karaṇē*.

⁸ Read *ābhidyōya*; the Riddhapur plates have *ādhidyōya* and the Dudia plates *ābhidyōdha*.

⁹ Read *ēshyat-kāla*.

¹⁰ Read *vīśhṇu*.

¹¹ Read *bhaviśhṇu*.

¹² The stop is indicated by a horizontal stroke.

¹³ Instead of *pibati* generally the word *harati* occurs in this imprecatory verse.

¹⁴ Metre: *Śiṣka (Anuśtubh)*.

kā Itihāsa) they still remain unpublished¹, and I edit them here at the instance of Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India.

These inscriptions are engraved on four big slabs of black stone, which we shall call, from left to right on both sides, **A**, **B**, **C**, and **D** respectively, for the sake of convenience. **A** measures 2' 6" broad by 3' 2" high, **B** 2' 10" by 2' 10", **C** 2' 6" by 3' 0" and **D** 3' 2" by 3' 2", and contain sixty, forty-six, fifty-seven and forty-nine lines of writing respectively. It may be pointed out that **D** is made up of as many as ten pieces of stone of different size, shape and variety, and seems to have been engraved after fixation. The writing appears to have been done by different hands as is chiefly perceptible from the upper part of **D**. Carelessness in engraving is particularly visible in the lower part of **D**.

The **characters** are Nāgarī in their modern form and the medial vowels (particularly the diphthongs) which are joined to the consonants are throughout represented by *śiro-mātrās*, the only example of the use of *prishṭha-mātrā* being in *dēvā* (l. 25, **A**). The forms of *y* and *p* are often indistinguishable, not only when the former is joined to a preceding consonant, but also when it occurs independently.

As regards **orthography** we find that in many cases *ḥ* has been distinguished from *v*, while in some cases *b* has been used for *v* as in *kabacha-ḥh(chḥh)ētā* (l. 11, **A**). *Chh* is used in place of *chchh* throughout with a few exceptions particularly noticed in **C**. *T* is almost everywhere reduplicated after a preceding *r*. The sign for *avagraha* has been employed only twice in *vairibhyō=* 'priyamāṇau' (ll. 16-17, **C**) and in *dōṣe=*'*khilē* (l. 17, **D**).

The **language** of the inscriptions is Sanskrit except the sentence *Śrī Jagannātharāyaji pāṭa padharāyā* at the end of **C** which is in the dialect of Mewār. The verses contain many paronymous words and thus many of them convey two senses. Considering the length of the inscriptions, the historical information they contain is very meagre. The poet has spared no pains in trying to please his patron, the ruling prince, and his work is meant to be more a literary study than history. The composition is, on the whole, free from errors, most of the mistakes appearing in the records being due to the engraver. The first line of each slab is in prose wherein five or six gods and goddesses have been adored. In addition to this, portions of ll. 2 in **B**, 50-51 and 56-57 in **C** and 2 and 47-48 in **D** are in prose. The rest of the epigraphs is in verse.

Before considering the actual contents of the records, let us determine whether all the four slabs contain one single inscription or more than one. From the intended plan of writing and the method of presenting the subject-matter, it will appear that three inscriptions have been incised on these four slabs. **A** and **B** together form what may rightly be called the *Jagatsimha inscription*, for the numbering of the verses in **B** is in continuation of that in **A**² and the subject-matter also is connected with *Jagatsimha*. **C** and **D** on the other hand, appear to be two different inscriptions with independently numbered verses, intended by the author to pertain to *Rājasimha* and the temple of *Jagannātharāya* respectively. That **D**, although intended to look like an independent epigraph, is but a supplement to **A** and **B** is evidenced by a close study of its contents; all these three together, therefore, should properly be regarded to form one inscription. The main **object** of the inscription engraved on these three slabs is to record the installation of the image of *Jagannātharāya* in the temple by *Mahārāṇā Jagatsimha*, on **Thursday, the 15th day of the bright half of Vaiśākha (Mādhava) in V. S. 1709 (l. 18, D)**.

¹ An imperfect and uncritical transcript of the records was first printed in the *Vira-vinōda* (Part II, pp. 384-90).

² Below the line containing the last verse in **A**, there are three more lines given to the description of the masons, where the verses are separately numbered. The same procedure of numbering the concluding verses separately is followed in the other slabs also.

Now we may consider the nature and the date of the fourth slab which we have called **C**. It may be pointed out that this slab, as a matter of fact, contains an inscription of the opening years of the reign of **Rājasimha**, the son of **Jagatsimha**, and has no date of its own. Its object is to record the erection of the four small corner-temples outside the main shrine. That the temple was to be one of the *Vishṇu-Pañchāyatana* type seems to have originally been contemplated by **Jagatsimha** himself, an indication of which we find in v. 48 of **A** and v. 12 of **D**. It is not improbable that the actual work of erecting these smaller temples was set afoot by this ruler but could not be completed by the time of the installation of the **Jagannātharāya** image when **Jagatsimha** was alive, and was brought to completion later on by his son **Rājasimha**. It is not, however, certain when this epigraph was fixed in the temple. The date given at the end, *viz.*, "Thursday, the 15th of the bright half of the second **Vaiśākha** in the **Vikrama** year 1708" is really the date of the installation of **Jagannātharāya** as explicitly mentioned beyond it in a sentence in **Mewāri** tongue; and the purpose of mentioning it here can only be to show that the epigraph, although belonging to a later period, was to be taken in continuation of the earlier event of installation. It may be noticed here that the year 1708 recorded at the end of this slab as the year of the installation is at variance with that given in l. 18 of **D**, which is 1709. This can only be explained by regarding the former as *Śrāvapādi* (as is the custom prevailing in the **Udaipur** State even now) which would be equivalent to *Chaitrādi* 1709, for it was only in the latter year that there was a second **Vaiśākha** with Thursday on the 15th of its bright half.¹ **Rai Bahadur Ojhā** has accepted this date given at the end of **C** as the date of all the four slabs which in his opinion contain one single inscription. But as I have already pointed out, this could not have been the date of the slab **C**, although it may have been that of the remaining three. The date of **C** cannot be earlier than the 13th of the dark fortnight of **Mārgaśirsha** of V. S. 1710, when **Rājasimha** is stated to have given eighty maidens (in marriage) which is the latest date found in this slab (v. 28). It is possible that the record was put up soon after that date. It may, however, be noted that the authorship of both these inscriptions goes to one and the same person.

With regard to the contents of **A** we find that it opens with three invocatory and benedictory verses in praise of **Karīndrānana**, **Bhava** and **Durgā**; in the fourth verse the poet declares his intention of producing what he calls the *Jagatsimha Prastā*. Then he attempts at giving a genealogy, chiefly of the **Rājās** of **Mewār**, which begins from **Rāma**, the celebrated hero of the *Rāmāyana* from whom the rulers of **Mewār** claim their descent. In the family of **Rāma** were born **Vijayabhūpa** and his son **Padmāditya**. The latter went towards the south leaving his ancestral capital **Ayōdhyā**. Later on in that family was born **Bāpā** who had the title of *Rāval* and who was a native of South India and thence called to rule over **Mewār**. Then in his family were born: **Rāhappa** (bearing the title of **Rāpā** for the first time), **Narapati**, **Dinakara**, **Jasakarṇa**, **Nāgapāla**, **Pūrṇapāla**, **Prithvimalla**, **Bhuvanasiṃha**, **Bhīmasiṃha**, **Jayasimha**, **Lakshmanasiṃha**, **Araśī**, **Hamira**, **Kshētrasimha**, **Lakshasimha**, **Mōkala**, **Kumbhakarṇa**, **Rājamalla**, **Sāṅga** (*Sāṅgā*), **Udaya**, **Pratāpasiṃha**, **Amarasiṃha**, **Karṇasiṃha** and **Jagatsimha**.

It may be noticed here that **Vijayabhūpa** and **Padmāditya** here mentioned are also included in the big list of princes, beginning with **Sumitra** and ending with **Bāpā**, given in cantos² II and III of the *Rāja-prastā* of V. S. 1732 (=A. D. 1675). As this list seems to be based on the bardic accounts with no chronological truth, **Pandit Ojhā** has rejected it as unauthentic.³

Bāpā indeed is a historical figure but his description as given here clearly seems to be based on the legendary stories prevalent among people even to-day, according to which his family came

¹ *Rājapūṭane kā Itihāsa*, Fasc. II, p. 831, n. 1.

² *Bhāvnagar Inscriptions*, pp. 145-54.

³ *Rāj. Itihā.*, Fasc. I, p. 395, n. 1.

to Mewār from Surāshṭra and Valabhī. Col. Tod has closely followed this tradition in his work,¹ but Rai Bahadur Ojhā is of opinion that the family of Bāpā had no connection whatsoever with South India, and has discussed in details the invalidity of the legends.²

The names of the Rāṇās as given here next are to be met with in some other records also such as the *Ekaliṅga-māhātmya*, the *Rāja-prasasti*, etc., with certain variations. The only point of importance worthy of note with regard to these princes is that till before the time of Hammīra they were the rulers of the small estate of Sesodā and were contemporary to the princes of the Rāval branch of the family ruling over Chitor. It is a mistake to take them as having ruled over Mewār with Chitor as their capital in direct succession to the princes chiefly in the chronicles of the bards, which have in their turn been relied upon by most of the inscriptions. It is from the *Ekaliṅga-māhātmya* first of all that we learn of the division of this family into two branches in the reign of Rāval Raṇasimha or Karṇasimha³ at the beginning of the twelfth century of the Vikrama era. The first of the Rāṇās to govern the territory of Mewār as a whole was Hammīra who regained his ancestral citadel of Chitor in about A.D. 1326 from the Muhammadans by establishing matrimonial alliance with Māldeo Sonagarā to whom was entrusted the famous fort by Khizr Khān, the son of Alā-ud-din Khaljī.

The list of the Rāṇās which is given here is almost in chronological succession except the omission of Ajayasimha after Lakshmanasimha and of Ratnasimha, Vikramāditya and Banabīra after Sāṅgā. Lakshmanasimha's successor as here recorded is Arasī, his eldest son, but in truth he never succeeded his father, for he together with his father had died in the dreadful sack of Chitor in A.D. 1303. His younger brother Ajayasimha, who somehow escaped from the battle-field, became the next Rāṇā.⁴ He was afterwards succeeded by his nephew Hammīra, the son of Arasī.

The description of these princes found here is more poetical than historical. **Kumbhakarṇa** is first of all said to have built the fort of **Kumbhalgarh**.

Record of some tangible historical value is, however, found first in connection with **Sāṅgā**. He is described to have conquered the Sultāns of Mālwā and Gujarāt, although the author has confused their names with relation to both these countries.⁵ Here we find a reference to the victory of Rāṇā Sāṅgā over **Mahamūd Khaljī II** of Mālwā when the latter attacked Bhīmakarṇa, the viceroy of Mēdinī Rāi at Gāgrūn in A.H. 925 (=A.D. 1519).⁶ The intelligence of this attack of Mahamūd having reached Sāṅgā, he at once led a large army against him on account of his friendship with Mēdinī Rāi, and a dreadful battle was fought in which, after great bloodshed, the Muhammadan army was utterly defeated and Mahamūd, receiving several wounds, ultimately became a prisoner in the hands of the Rāṇā. The latter took his royal prisoner to Chitor, treated him with utmost care and after three months' nominal captivity, honourably sent him back to Mānjū.⁷

The other reference is to Rāṇā Sāṅgā's victory over **Muzaffar Shāh II**, the Sultān of Gujarāt, with whose army he had to fight more than once. The cause of one of his fights with Muzaffar was his partiality for Rāi Mal, the legitimate heir to the state of Idar, whose rights were usurped during his minority by his uncle Bhīma whom the governor of Gujarāt favoured. When Bhīma

¹ Tod, *Rājasthān* (W. Crooke's ed.), Vol. I, pp. 247-71.

² *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, pp. 374-90.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 446-7.

⁴ *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, p. 512.

⁵ According to the text (v. 38, A) Mudaphara (Muzaffar II) was the governor of the fort of Māṇḍava (Māṇḍū or Mālḡā) and Mahamūnda Khāna (Mahamūd Khaljī II) that of Gujarāt. The poet has here evidently confused both these names and the positions they held.

⁶ Bayley, *History of Gujarāt*, p. 263 and Briggs' *Firishtā*, Vol. IV, pp. 260-1. ⁷ Bayley, *loc. cit.*, p. 264.

died, his son Bhāra Mal (Bihār Mal, according to Bayley) ascended the throne of Idar, but with the help of Rāṇā Sāṅgā, Rāi Mal ousted him and took possession of the land of Idar. This led the Sultān to send Nizām-ul-mulk, the *jāgirdār* of Ahmadnagar, for driving Rāi Mal out of Idar and re-establishing Bhāra Mal.¹ A series of skirmishes followed and Rāi Mal tactfully faced the royal forces, sometimes victorious and sometimes incurring defeat.² The state of Idar was ultimately entrusted to one Malik Hussain Bahmanī entitled as Nizām-ul-mulk, who was a foreigner and was a man of stern temperament. People were not satisfied with him and wished him to be dismissed from office. One day in A.H. 926 (=A.D. 1520) he rebuked Rāṇā Sāṅgā using very improper words for his patronage of Rāi Mal. The news of this insult having reached his ears through a bard, Sāṅgā at once started with an army of 40,000 cavalry³ to avenge himself. Nizām-ul-mulk fled and took shelter in the fort of Ahmadnagar, but Sāṅgā persistently followed him and the former was ultimately defeated in a battle with a great loss of life and property. The town of Ahmadnagar was sacked and that of Bisalnagar plundered.⁴ Rāṇā Sāṅgā, thus successfully avenging the insult and firmly establishing Rāi Mal on the throne of Idar, went back to Chitor.

Sāṅgā had to face the Sultān of Gujarāt, Muzaffar II, a second time also when the latter himself took the initiative to avenge Sāṅgā's recent ravages wrought in the country of Gujarāt. In A.H. 927 (=A.D. 1520) he despatched two large armies, one under Malik Aīāz, the governor of the district of Sōraṭh and the other under Kiwām-ul-mulk to attack the Rāṇā. Both these armies reached Mandasor through Ḍūngarpur and Bānswārā, laying waste the countries through which they passed. Rāṇā Sāṅgā, having heard of this, himself set off with a considerable army and encamped at the village of Nadēsī, twelve *kōs* distant from Mandasor. Mahamūd Khaljī of Mālwā, too, came to join the Gujarāt forces under Malik Aīāz⁵, probably to avail himself of the good occasion of taking vengeance for his previous defeat at the hands of Sāṅgā. All these enormous armies assembled, but this time no genuine warfare could take place and Malik Aīāz agreed to make peace with the Rāṇā, the reason for which is attributed by the Muslim historians to the ill feeling entertained against him by Kiwām-ul-mulk and other *amīrs*⁶ which broke down the unity of their aim. But the argument of Rai Bahadur Ojhā to the effect that Malik Aīāz had to make peace after having been actually defeated by Rāṇā Sāṅgā, seems to be quite sound.⁷

The next important historical information that we derive from **A** is with regard to the result and the time of commencement of the well-known battle of **Haldighāṭī** where Rāṇā Pratāpa and the imperial army of Akbar under the command of Mānasīnṛha fought a desperate battle. According to the account of this battle given by Badāyūni who was present in the battle-field, the victory was achieved by the royal forces and Rāṇā Pratāpa was defeated; while the present inscription records the retreat of the Muhammadan army, evidently when defeated by Pratāpa in the field of battle. Thus, each of the conflicting parties claims victory for itself and makes it difficult to arrive at the truth. Rāṇā Pratāpa, as a matter of fact, was insignificant as compared to the mighty Emperor Akbar, who had already annexed much of the fertile portion of the former's territory to his own empire, and it is possible that this powerful ruler might have achieved material victory. But to quote Rai Bahadur Ojhā, the unflinching zeal, the pride, the dauntless bravery and the sense of perfect freedom which Rāṇā Pratāpa faithfully cherished—particularly at the time when everything around him was leading to disappointment—and which caused a sense of terror in the hearts of his enemies, and also the sudden vicissitudes in which he cast the great Imperial

¹ Bayley, *loc. cit.*, p. 264.

² *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. II, p. 661, para. 2.

³ Bayley, *loc. cit.*, p. 273.

⁴ *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. II, p. 670, para. 1.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Bayley, *loc. cit.*, pp. 269-70.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 274.

army often and often, all these go to assign the real conquest to him.¹ As regards the time when the battle actually began, what we find from the *Akbar-nāma* of Abul-Fazl is that it commenced after the first *prahara* (eighth part) of the day², while the epigraph under consideration clearly speaks of it as having begun early in the morning (*pragē*, v. 41, A). The time as recorded here seems to be probable for, it was mid-summer of V. S. 1633 (=A.D. 1576) when this celebrated battle took place, and it would be impossible to indulge in fighting at about mid-day.

The next historical information to be met with here pertains to **Karṇasimha**, grandson of Pratāpa and son of Amarasimha, who is said to have burnt the town of **Sirōmja** (Sironj) which was like the heart of the lord of Delhi. Karṇasimha really could not have done this rebellious deed after being enthroned as the Rāṇā of Mewār, for then he was bound to the terms of the treaty which his father made with the Mughal emperor Jahāngīr. This, therefore, was an exploit of Karṇasimha when he was only a crown-prince and his father was in regular warfare with the emperor. This event was contemporaneous with the period in which Jahāngīr, himself coming over up to Ajmer, had thence sent his son, prince Khurram with large forces to attack Mewār and reduce the Rāṇā. That Sironj was a town in Mālwā and was an object of Karṇasimha's wrath, together with another town named Dhindhōrā is, however, known from v. 5², canto V of the *Rāja-prasasti*. It may be noted here that almost all Persian chronicles are silent on this point.

Karṇasimha was succeeded by his virtuous son **Jagatsimha** to whose reign this inscription belongs. It is customary in Mewār to seat the next Rāṇā on the throne in an informal manner, the very day on which the death of his immediate predecessor takes place.⁴ This being so, Jagatsimha's informal accession took place in the month of Phālguna of the Vikrama year 1684 (=A.D. 1627) on the day of his father's demise.³ But his coronation, with all its pomp and splendour, was celebrated on the fifth of the bright half of Vaiśākha of V. S. 1684 as recorded in the present inscription (v. 49, A). Now if this year be regarded as *Chaitrādi* as usual, the date of Jagatsimha's coronation would fall before that of his father's death. It is therefore evident that the year is to be regarded as *Śrāvaṇādi* which would be *Chaitrādi* 1685. Thus, Jagatsimha's coronation took place on the fifth of the bright half of Vaiśākha in V. S. 1685 (=Monday, 28th April, A.D. 1628). The only political event of his reign recorded here is the sending of his minister with a big army to subjugate his contemporary ruler of Dūngarpur, **Puñjarāja**, better known as Rāval Punjā (v. 54, A). This officer, having defeated Punjā who fled to the hills, completely ravaged the city of Dūngarpur by plundering and setting fire to it. The cause of this inroad was that the rulers of Dūngarpur had ceased to acknowledge the supremacy of the Rāṇās of Udaipur since the time of Pratāpasimha and had submitted themselves to the imperial throne of Delhi⁵, an act which the Rāṇās of Udaipur were naturally disposed to resent. Jagatsimha, at last, thus avenged the disregard which the Rāvals of Dūngarpur had shown towards him and his predecessors. The name of the minister to whom was entrusted the subjugation of Punjā is, however, not known from this record. But the event is recorded with more clarity in vv. 18-19¹, canto V of the *Rāja-prasasti*, where the name of the minister occurs as **Akhōrāja** (**Akshayarāja**).

Turning our attention to the contents of B we find that it is a mere continuation of A, vividly describing Rāṇā Jagatsimha's pilgrimage to the *Māndhātṛi-tīrtha*, the holy seat of the God Ōmkāranātha, and mentioning his acts of munificence which formed the most outstanding

¹ *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. II, pp. 749-55.

² *Ibid.*, p. 805, n. 1.

³ *Vira-vināda*, part II, p. 290.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 748, n. 2.

⁵ *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. II, p. 830, n. 1.

⁶ *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. II, p. 833.

⁷ *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. II, p. 833, n. 1.

character of his personality. In consultation with his family priest Rāmarāja¹, he, at the beginning of V. S. 1704, set out of the city in a big procession, for his projected pilgrimage to Ōmkāranātha in the Central Provinces. That day he halted on the bank of the Udayasāgara, a big artificial lake six miles east of Udaipur, constructed by Rāṇā Udayasimha in the period between A.D. 1559 and 1564², and passed the night in his own palace there. Thence he directed his camp on the following auspicious day towards Avantikā (Ujjain), the abode of the God Mahākāla. Having bathed in the holy Śīprā and having visited Avantikā disregarding her ruler, he reached his destination, the bank of the Narmadā with the tirtha of Māndhātā in the neighbourhood. His most distinguished deed of piety here, among others, was his weighing against gold on the occasion of the solar eclipse which fell on the fifteenth of the dark half of Jyēṣṭha in V. S. 1704 (=A.D. 1647, Tuesday the 22nd June), and distributing the precious metal among the people (v. 85). He erected a *Tulā-stambha* there to commemorate this event, which even now stands there. An inscription dated in V. S. 1704, the 15th of the bright half of Āshāḍha (=A.D. 1647, Tuesday the 6th July), located outside the Ōmkāranātha temple, also records this pilgrimage and the allied charities of Jagatsimha.³ While returning he seems to have entered into some quarrel with the then viceroy of Mālwa as indicated by the text (l. 36, B). We know that by this time Mālwa had been annexed to the kingdom of Delhi and was governed by the viceroys deputed by the Moghul emperors. The name of this particular governor of Mālwa with whom Rāṇā Jagatsimha had an imbroglio is, however, not known.⁴

Jagatsimha performed the charity of a very costly *Kalpa-ṛiksha*⁵ on the third of the bright half of Bhādrapada of V. S. 1705 (=A.D. 1648, Saturday the 26th August), the anniversary of his birthday. It had five branches below which were placed the images of the gods of the Hindu Trinity together with that of *Ratipati* (the Cupid), which was the fourth. On his birthday anniversary in V. S. 1707 (=A.D. 1650), he performed the *Sapta-sāgara* charity. On the same auspicious day of V. S. 1708 (=A.D. 1651) he gave in charity a *Vīva-chakra* or (a gold replica of) the globe of earth. He also gratified many Brāhmaṇas of Kāśī (Benares) with presents of gold.

In D which is but a sequel to A and B, the poet chiefly describes in detail the beauty and grandeur of the Jagannātharāya temple erected by Rāṇā Jagatsimha. The only important event here recorded is the installation of the image of Jagannātharāya in the temple, which was styled as such by Jagatsimha after his own name. It took place on Thursday, the fifteenth of the bright half of Vaiśākha (Mādhava) in the Vikrama year 1709. As it was Thursday on the 15th of the bright half of the second Vaiśākha in that year, the date corresponds to A.D. 1652, Thursday the 13th May. Rāṇā Jagatsimha gave charities of a golden horse, a *Kalpa-latā* of gold, a thousand cows, five fertile villages together with pieces of cloth, raw food and jewels

¹ The first known predecessor of Rāmarāja was one Sarasala, a Pallvāla Brāhmaṇa of Sānderō in Mārwar. He came to Mewār in the reign of Rāṇā Rāhappa who made him his priest as desired by the ascetic under whose treatment the Rāṇā is said to have been cured of his disease of leprosy (*Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, p. 510). His present descendant is Amaralāl and is called *baḍā-purōhita* or a high priest.

² *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, p. 311.

³ *Ibid.*, Fasc. II, p. 839. [The date given in this record is Śaḥvat 1704, Tuesday in the dark half of Āshāḍha, *Bṛi-parvan* and corresponds to Tuesday, 22nd June, A. D. 1647 when there was a solar eclipse. Therefore *Śuchi* in v. 85, B has to be taken as meaning the month of Āshāḍha and the month as Pūrṇimānta.—Ed.]

⁴ [The sense here seems to be the same as indicated in v. 76, *i.e.*, he did not pay any heed to the ruler of Mālwa through whose territory he passed. The context does not appear to indicate any conflict with the viceroy at Mālwa.—Ed.]

⁵ A full description of this and such other charities is to be met with in the *Purānas* such as the *Linga*, *Matsya*, *Padma*, etc.

mainly stands to record the erection of these four temples which were not apparently ready at the time of the consecration of the main shrine.

The poet who composed these epigraphs and his family, the masons who built the temple of Jagannātharāya also called here **Ratna-śirsha**, and the overseer under whose superintendence it was erected, find mention in the concluding lines of these records. We know from them that the name of the poet was **Lakshminātha**, better known as **Bābū Bhaṭṭa**. He was a Tailāṅga Brāhmaṇa and the designation of his lineage was Kaṭhauṇḍī after his original home in the village of that name. His genealogical tree for eight generations from these epigraphs is as follows:—**Bhāskara**, his son **Mādhava**, his son **Rāmachandra**, his son **Sarvēśvara**, his son **Lakshminātha**, his son **Rāmachandra**, his son **Kṛishṇabhāṭṭa**, his son **Lakshminātha** or **Bābū**, the author.

From **B** we find that the author's great-grandfather **Lakshminātha** was a contemporary of **Rāṇā Udayasinha** as well as of **Amarasinha**, his grandson, both of whom bestowed upon him, as a token of favour, the villages named **Bhūravādā** and **HōH** respectively. **Kṛishṇabhāṭṭa** the father of the author, received a costly horse named **Mṛigarāja** from **Mahārāṇā Jagatsinha** which was exchanged by the prince for Rs. 4,000. On his birth-day anniversary, the third of the bright half of **Bhādrapada** in V. S. 1706 (=A. D. 1649, Thursday the 13th September), **Rāṇā Jagatsinha** performed the "golden earth" charity and donated the village named **Bhāimsaḍā**¹ near **Chitor**, to the same person. On the same day of V. S. 1709 (=A. D. 1652, Friday the 10th September), he performed the charity of **Ratna-dhenu**. He also gave to **Madhusūdana Śarmā** a piece of land measuring two *halas*² in the village of **Āhaḍa** (**Āghāṭapura** or **Āṭapura** of inscriptions) bordering on the city of **Udaipur**. The recipient of this land also appears to belong to the family of our poet and seems to be the father of **Raṇachhōḍa Bhaṭṭa**, the author of the **Rājaprasasti**, who also was a Tailāṅga Brāhmaṇa and belonged to the same lineage, **Kaṭhauṇḍī**.³

The masons who erected the temple of Jagannātharāya were *sūtradhāra* **Mukunda** (**Mukunda**) and his younger brother **Bhūdhara**⁴, sons of **Bhānā** or **Bhāṇā** and grandsons of **Rājā**. They belonged to the family of the masons known as **Bhaṅgōra** or **Bhaṅgōrā**. **Rāṇā Jagatsinha** gave a gold and a silver yard to **Mukunda** and **Bhūdhara** respectively, in appreciation of their work, and a village named **Dēvadaha** (modern **Dēvadā**) in the vicinity of **Chitor**. The inscription on **C** was engraved by **Vā(Bā)ghā**, son of **Mukunda**.

The superintendent or the overseer in charge of the construction of the temple was one **Arjuna**, **Pañchōli** by caste, whose family designation was **Gughāvata**. The names of his father and grand father were **Kalā** and **Achala** respectively.

It may be pointed out here that according to **Rai Bahadur Ojhā**, the author of these inscriptions was **Kṛishṇabhāṭṭa**⁵, but as we have already seen, his son **Bābū**, otherwise known as **Lakshminātha** was the real author. Similarly, he regards **Bhāṇā**⁶ and his elder son **Mukunda** to be the chief masons who erected the temple, but in reality **Mukunda** and his younger brother **Bhūdhara** were the chief architects. He also reads the name of **Arjuna's** father as **Kamala**⁷, which is

¹ [This is also mentioned in the *Rājaprasasti Mahākāvya*, Canto V.—Ed.]

² A *hala* is a measure of land and is said to comprise fifty *biḡhās* (*Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. II, p. 837, n. 4).

³ [According to *Rājaprasasti* (Canto XIX) **Madhusūdana** was another son of **Rāmachandra** and therefore the paternal uncle of **Lakshminātha**.—Ed.]

⁴ The ancestors of these masons came in **Mewār** from **Anhilwāra Pattan** in **Gujarāt** in the reign of **Rāṇā Lākḥā** (**Laksha**) in about V. S. 1445, and were the chief architects of the rulers of **Mewār** since then, as evidenced by the record preserved by their present descendant, **Bhanvaralāl**. This family produced the well-known **Maṇḍana** who built the great **Tower of Victory** at **Chitor** and was the author of the *Rājatalabha* and many other original treatises on architecture.

⁵ *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. II, p. 838.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 837.

⁷ *Ibid.*

distinctly Kalā. This may be due to his reliance on the imperfect transcript of the records alluded to by me on p. 57, n. 1, above.

Lastly, a word regarding the geographical places mentioned in the inscriptions will not be out of place. In l. 16 of B, Rānā Jagatsimha and his company are described to have bathed in the confluence of Rēvā and Kāvērī. This is not possible for Kāvērī is in far south.¹ The villages of Bhairīnsadā and Dēvadaha are known from the very text to be near Chitor, and those of Bhāravādā and Hōhī are in Rājanagar and Girvā districts respectively.

TEXT.²

A.

- 1 ॥³ श्रीमहागणपतये नमः ॥ ॥ श्रीएकलिंगजीप्रसादात् ॥ ॥ श्रीजगं(ग)नाथरायजीप्रसादात् ॥ ॥ श्रीभवान्यै नमः ॥ ॥ श्रीविश्वकर्म्मणे नमः ॥
- 2 ॥ गुणगुरुगौरीसिंहायस्माद्गीता दिशां करिणः ॥⁴ तमपि व्यथयन्धवरवैः कोपि करीन्द्राननः पायात् ॥१॥⁵ भवानीभयभृद्भृद्भुजंगभजनाभृतः ॥ भवतो भवतो भूयाद्भवति
- 3 व्यं भव्यं भवे भवे ॥२॥⁶ अतीव्रतेजोद्युपतीन्द्रपूज्यं व्रतीश्वरैः सप्तशतीभिरर्च्यं(र्च्यम्) ॥ रतीशजीवातुगतिं दधानं प्रतीतदुर्गाञ्जिमतीव वंदे ॥३॥⁷ राणाश्रीमज्जगत्सिंहप्रशस्तिः क-
- 4 णसुनुना ॥ कठौडीयामतैलंगलञ्जीनाथेन तन्वते ॥४॥⁸ स जयति रघुकुलतिलकः श्रीरामः कौर्त्तिसुक्ताक्तः ॥ काश्यां सुक्त्यै मंत्रं यस्य मुदा शंकरो दत्ते ॥५॥⁹ तद्विशे नृपमुकुटस्थायि-
- 5 पदो विजयभूपपृथ्वीन्द्रः ॥ पद्मादित्यस्तद्भूस्वत्का(क्ता)योध्यां व(व)भूव दक्षिणगः ॥६॥¹⁰ वा(वा)पाभिधोयोजनि मेदपाटे तस्थान्ववाये शिवदत्तराज्यः ॥ संधामभूमौ पटुसिंहरावं लातीत्यतो राव-
- 6 ल इत्वभाणि ॥७॥¹¹ वातीति यस्माच्चिजगत्सु नित्यं वाशब्द(द्)वाच्यः किल तेन वायुः ॥ तं प्राणवायुं जगतौतलेस्मिन् यत्याति वापा इति तेन जातः ॥८॥¹² आगच्छ(च्छ)शब्दे किल दक्षिणस्यां राग-

¹ [The place where Jagatsimha bathed is apparently the confluence of two rivers not far from the temple of Ōmkārī, one of which is the Narmadā and the other locally known as the Kāvērī.—Ed.]

² Transcribed from the original slabs and compared with the impressions.

³ Occasionally lines begin and end with one or two *daṣṭas* which are superfluous.

⁴ In this inscription the half verse has often been indicated by two *daṣṭas* instead of one.

⁵ Metre: *Upajīti*.

⁶ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁷ Metre: *Upēndrasaiti*.

⁸ Metre: *Gīti*.

⁹ Metre: *Indravajrā*.

- 7 व्द एव क्रियते जनेन¹ ॥ वलेति संवुद्धमहाबलिष्ठं [वा]पानृपं तं किल दाक्षि-
णात्वं(त्वम्) ॥८॥² राज्यं प्रदातुं पटु मेदपाटे यद्रावलेत्वाह्वयदेकलिंगः ॥ ततः
प्रभृत्यस्य नृपस्य वंश्या दधुस्तदा-
- 8 छां भुवि रावलेति ॥१०॥³ राष्ट्रपराणोजनि तस्य वंशे राणिति शब्दं प्रथयन्
पृथिव्यां(व्याम्) ॥ रणो हि धातुः खलु शब्द(ब्द)वाची तं कारयत्येष रिपून्मुता-
त्तान् ॥११॥⁴ वज्जेर्वाची यत्प्रमिहो रशब्दो(ब्दो) धा-
- 9 तुद्यास्ते जीवनार्थं अणस्तु ॥ यत्नेरग्नेर्जीविनादप्यजस्रं राणाः शब्दस्तेषु भूपेषु
वित्तः ॥१२॥⁵ राणाभवन्नरपतिः पटुनामधेयो भूभारदूरकरणाय नरावतारः ॥
यस्याभि-
- 10 मन्युरहतोपि हतः कथंचिच्चंचत्कृपादिगुरुणाथ सुयोधनेन ॥१३॥⁶ राणादिनकरोपूर्वः
सत्संज्ञस्तेजसेव यः ॥ क्रायया संगतस्थापि न मंदः कोप्यभूत्कुतः ॥१४॥⁷ अ-
भूतपूर्वः
- 11 कर्णाभूजसकर्णाभिधः प्रभुः ॥ परिषां कव(व)चक्के(च्छे)त्ता न राधेयोपि योम-
वत् ॥१५॥⁸ नागपालोभवत्पृथ्वी विष्टत्य भुजयैकया ॥ दिग्ना(ज्ञा)गणेषनागानां
पालनात्कार्यकाह्वयः ॥१६॥⁹ अन्ये
- 12 ॥ ॐ ॥ चोणस्य पातागः पूर्ण¹⁰पालस्त्वभूत्प्रभुः ॥ धनाध्यक्षादिपूर्णानां पालनात्कार्यकाह्वयः ॥१७॥¹¹
यं वीक्ष्य स्तंभसतां सकलमपि जगद्यत्पदाधारपीठीं नत्स्यो(त्यु)वत्स्या(त्या)पि
वि(वि)भ्रत्पृथुलम-
- 13 णिशिलां संगतं वै पंदांतेः । पृथ्वीत्यं मत्तरूपा भवति नरपती यत्र यस्मान्नु-
पालः पृथ्वीमन्नेत्यभिल्यो [न]रपतिमुकुटान्तं कतिस्तेन जातः ॥१८॥¹² यत्रैव स्त्रीयते
तत्तु सिं-
- 14 हिनान्धेन रच्यते ॥ अयं भुवनसिंहोभृद्रक्षितुं भुवनत्रयं(यम्) ॥१९॥¹³ भौमसिंहो
हरिस्पर्द्धी शिवोभूत्करजश्रिया ॥ व(व)लिप्रह्लादभिल्लोके हिरण्यकशिपुत्तमः ॥२०॥¹⁴
एक-
- 15 लिंगप्रभावेन¹⁵ जयसिंहः क्षमाधरः ॥ हत्स्त्रगोरक्षकस्तस्या रजः संमार्जनं दधौ ॥२१॥¹⁶
अस्माभिर्गर्जने गतं बहुविधः क्लेशोपि सोढः परं शत्रुश्रेत्रिहतः प्लवंगनिव-

¹ [Telugu rā means 'come'. This shows how fanciful the derivation is. It may be noted that the poet himself was a Telugu Brahmin.—Ed.]

² Metro: *Upajāti*.

³ Metro: *Vasantatilakā*.

⁴ *Ba* was engraved first which was changed to *pa* afterwards.

⁵ *Ga* was first engraved and then corrected into *pa*.

⁶ Read *prabhācēpa*.

⁷ Metro: *Sālini*.

⁸ Metro: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁹ Metro: *Sragdharā*.

- 16 हेः कैचिदिहिनै रावणः ॥ देविनाशु नखिन सिंहवपुषा तवैव शत्रुर्हतस्तस्मात्तच्छरण-
सिंह एष किमभूद्विद्वः स रामानुजः ॥२२॥¹ आ(अ)कारवाच्यो भवतीह
विष्णुस्त-
- 17 स्यार्चने यत्कुचिरं प्रवृत्तः ॥ गुणांबुधिर्भूमिपतीश्वरो महान् राणा ततोभूदरसीति
वित्तः ॥२३॥² हकारवाच्ये किल कोपवज्जी सा स्नेह(च्छ)जातिः खलु मौरवाच्या ॥
प्रवेश्य द-
- 18 न्वेति हभीरनामा व(व)भूव राणा जगतीशिरोमणिः ॥२४॥³ परचेचयञ्जीतापि स्व-
चेचनिरतः शुचिः ॥ चेचेषु चेचदाता⁴ यत्सेचसिंहस्ततोभवत् ॥२५॥⁵ स्नेहा(च्छा)
स्नेह(च्छ)प-
- 19 तं दृणस्य पुरुषं कृत्वान्यभूश्चमृगान् विद्राव्य क्षितिमंडले द्विजगणान् चेचाण्य-
भोक्तुं ददुः⁶ ॥ ज्ञात्वा तान्यवनान्निगृह्य कृषिकान् स चेचभूपः क्रुधा चेचाणि
स्ववशानि ता-
- 20 नि दयया किं न द्विजेभ्यो ददौ ॥२६॥ प्रत्यहं हसति सिंहवाहिनी मां
विलोक्य वृषवाहनं हरं(रम्) ॥ मां धरिष्यति सदैव मूर्ध्नि यं लक्षसिंह-
मिति किं वृषं व्यधात् ॥२७॥⁷
- 21 पृथक्कुमहासेनां⁸ दुर्गां कृत्वैव पृष्ठतः ॥ लक्षसिंहो द्विषच्चंडमुंडके(च्छे)त्ताङ्गतं स्वयं-
(यम्) ॥२८॥⁹ युग्मं¹⁰ ॥ मकारवाच्यो विधिरेष विष्णुस्त्वकारवाच्योऽथ शिवो
ह्युकारः ॥ क-
- 22 लास्रयाणामिह संति यस्मात्तस्मादभून्भोकलनामभूपः ॥ ॥⁹२८॥¹⁰ श्रीकुंभोद्भवमेव भूमिवलये
श्रीकुंभकर्णं नृपं गत्यां धीरगजेन्द्रमंदगमहो सदाडवा-
- 23 यिं(मिं) सृष्टे ॥ भौमं च स्मृतिमानयन् रिपुगणो भुक्तिं निनाय चयं नो
चित्रं तदिहास्ति यत्स्वयमपि प्राप्तः चणाङ्गस्मतां(ताम्) ॥३०॥¹ कांतं कंभं
जगन्मूर्ध्नि यत्कुवर्णांतरं

¹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.² Metre: Upajāti.³ There is a superfluous *daṇḍa* after *dā*.⁴ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.⁵ *Abhōktum dātub* is used here for *na bhōktum dātub*, the root *dā* meaning here 'to allow'.⁶ Metre: Rathōddhatā.⁷ The *anusvāra* is very faint.⁸ This word seems to have been used here to show that the preceding two verses have got the unity of description, and not that they form one grammatical sentence.⁹ This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.¹⁰ Metre: Upēndravajrā.

- 24 विधिः ॥ न्यधात्तस्यांतरा भूयात्किं स्नेह(च्छ)सुखदर्शनं(नम्) ॥३१॥¹ दिने दिने
दृढीभूतं शीतलाचलचेतसि² ॥ स्नेहं पाकोद्भवः कुंभो जडं त्वस्का(ज्ञा) न किं
दधे ॥३२॥³ भरी
- 25 देवा न रक्षाः सुररिपुभयतः कुंभमेरुं सुदुर्गं कृत्वा यः कुंभराजो हरिरिव वि-
वभावप्सरःसत्कुलेन ॥ सत्संतानं सकल्यागमदलितमहीपारिजातोत्सवास्थं नोद्या-
- 26 नं नन्दनं किं स्वयमिह कृतवां(वा)न् सोभिषिक्तं च कुंभः ॥३३॥⁴ जुटस्नेहं-
(च्छा)धकृपांतरविलविलसज्जीवनग्राहिवेगाद्भूलोके कुंभराजकुलमतुलरसं सं-
- 27 ह्यं सद्गुणीघं(घम्) ॥ कालेस्त्रिसैककाष्ठे प्रतिपलचपले कुंभयंचे निधाय चेचाणि
चेमदृचान् द्विजकुलमतुलं जीवयामास वेधाः ॥३४॥⁵ नेचे मीनं च कूर्मं प-
- 28 दकमलयुगे पांडुकोलं चमायां सिंहं मध्ये प्रकीष्टे गुरुजननमने वामनं संगरेन्य-
(न्यम्) ॥ स्नेहेन्यं मूर्द्धि कृष्णं भुवि नरदयने बुद्धमन्यं शकंति पद्मानायाव-
तारं जग-
- 29 ति जयति को राजमन्नं नृमन्नः ॥३५॥⁶ सर्वेपि संतः सुखिनो भवंत्विति⁷ न
वारिराशीन् जपयन् चमातः ॥ मिष्टाननंतान्स्वयशोबुधीन् परान्कुंभोद्भवोप्यद्भुतमा-
- 30 ततान ॥३६॥⁸ भूत्वानंगः कृष्णपुत्रोपि सांगो राज्यं नापत्तेन भूपोत्र भूत्वा ॥
कृत्वा वश्यं शंवरं राज्यमापद्धर्मं मोक्षे चार्थकामे रतिं च ॥३७॥⁹ सौर्यं
सांगमहीपतिः स्मरत-
- 31 तुः श्रीमांडवाख्यालसदुर्गं यवनेश्वरं सुदफरं व(व)ध्वा(द्वा)त्यजत्सत्कृपः ॥ व(व)-
ध्वा(द्वा)थी महमूदखानमतुलं स्नेहा(च्छा)धिपं शंवरं जित्वा दुर्लभयगूर्जरेश्वरमतः
कीर्त्याभि-
- 32 पित्तोभवत् ॥३८॥¹⁰ स शूरः पश्चिमादुद्यन् क्रामन्नकवरः¹¹ च्छितिं(तिम्) ॥ न किं
हौनकरो भूयात्प्राप्योदयमहीसृतं(तम्) ॥३९॥¹² सदोदयोद्भवो भास्वान् प्रतापो
वारुणीं जहौ ॥ भवत्यकवरध्वां-

¹ Metre: *Anushtubh*.

² In connection with *kumbha* (the jar), *achala-chēta* should be taken to mean earth or clay, for potters generally dig it out for their purpose from the interior (heart) of mounds; and for that very reason it is also cool (*śītala*).

³ Metre: *Shagharā*.

⁴ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁵ The word *iti* is superfluous considering the metre.

⁶ Metre: *Sālinī*.

⁷ To make it historically correct, we may arrange this verse as सौर्यं सांग दुर्गं महमूदखानमतुलं जहा । बहाथी यवनेश्वरं सुदफरं स्नेहाधिपं ॥ It may be noted here that the use of *baddhā* with reference to *Mudaphara* (Muzaffar) is mere exaggeration.

⁸ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁹ The word *Akavarāḥ* may also represent *Arakavarāḥ* for the implied sense.

- 33 ते न संघ्याक्तो न चास्तभाः ।[1*]४०॥¹ कृत्वा करे खड्गलतां खड्ग(व)जभां
प्रतापसिंहे समुपागते प्रगे ॥ सा खड्गिता मानवती दिग्धम्भुः संकोचयंती
चरणं पराङ्मुखी² ॥४१॥³ वाहिं मधित्वा-
- 34 प्यनुजेन विष्णुना समाहृता श्रीरिति लज्जितः किमु ॥ भूमौ समलेख्यमरेद्रभू-
भृता स्नेहा(च्छा)न्धिमामथ्य रमा करे कृता ॥४२।[1*]⁴ सदा क्षमापाः ऋरि-
णोपि यस्य करेण सिं-
- 35 चंति पदं सुदैव ॥ यं भूपसिंहं नरपालस्योप्यहो भजंते दयया ब(व)शीकृतं-
(तम्) ॥४३॥⁵ जातो भूपामरेद्रान्महितगुरुकृपथापविज्ञचमेत्ता कृष्योदाहो सदा-
सौ द्विज-
- 36 कुलसुगवीः पालयन्(यं)स्तीर्थसेवी ॥ जातः श्रीमन्मभद्रांगज इति वनदो वाडवाय
चर्मद्रान्जि(ञ्चि)त्वा स्यामर्जुनादप्यधिक इति पुनः किं नु कर्णोवितीर्णः ॥४४॥⁶
राणाश्रोक-
- 37 र्णसिंहः क्षितिकुलतिलकः लोभयन् [च]ोणिचक्रं सर्वव्याप्तसैन्यं तृणमिव कल-
यन् स्नेह(च्छ)नाथं मदोद्यं(प्रम) ॥ जित्वा दग्ध्वा सिरीजाभिधनगरव(व)रं चित्त-
वद्विभर्तुश्चक्रे का-
- 38 ष्टाः [स]मस्ताः प्रतिरवविलसद्दुभिध्वानपूर्णाः ॥४५॥⁷ उग्रप्रभावाद्भुवि यत्पदाति भू⁸भृ-
न्मगा मुक्तमदा लुठंति ॥ कुलीनभृश्चमरीसृगाश्च यं भूपसिंहं चमरैरवी-
(वी)ज-
- 39 य[न] ॥४६॥⁹ जातस्तस्मान्महाराणाजगसिं(त्सिं)हाभिधः प्रभुः ॥ सौम्योपि सोमभक्तोभू¹⁰त्
युधिष्ठिर इवापरः ॥४७॥¹¹ भास्वां(स्वा)न् भीमो बलिध्वंसी जगन्नाता
विनायकः
- 40 ॥ पू[ज्य]ः [श्री]मज्जगत्सिंहः पंचदेवमयः प्रभुः ॥४८॥¹² वर्षे वेदाष्टशास्त्रक्षितिगणनयुते
साधवे शुकपत्ने पंचम्यां राज्यपीठं कलयति शुभदं श्रीजगत्सिंहभूपे ॥ दे-
- 41 वाः [संतु]ष्टचित्ता दधति सुकवयो यामरब्राह्मनागान्वास्तान् संख्यातुमौष्टे दशशत-
रसनो नैव शेषः कुतोन्धः ॥४९॥¹³ सद्गंशां चित्रकूटे शिरसि विक-

¹ Metre: *Anushubh.*

² This verse is cited by Rai Bahadur Ojha. (*Raj. Itih., Fasc. II, p. 753, n. 1*)

³ Metre: *Upajit.*

⁴ *Cha* was incised first which was afterwards turned into *ba*.

⁵ Metre: *Sragdharā.*

⁶ The medial *ā* was first engraved short which was made long afterwards.

- 42 सि[तश्री]जगत्सिंहाराजामुद्देनन्दलेख(च्छ)वार्द्धी सृजनमणिभृतां मेदपाटाख्यनीकां(काम्) ॥
वाते द्वेषिष्यधर्मं स्थिरयितुमनिशं कर्णधारकलिङ्गो नीचैरेवाक्षपत्किं
- 43 दृढ[कम]ठशिलां शृङ्खलां शेषनागं(गम्) ॥५०॥¹ आलाने चिचकूटे सुकृतपटुगुणैर्द-
(वं)धनीकुंभमेहं दुर्गं कुंभखलं किं कलयति भुवि यः शैलकायोतिदानो ॥
भास्व-
- 44 हं[श्री]परिस्वध्वजपटमिहिरोनेकपो मेदपाटः श्रीमानुयप्रभाशतमवति न किमु श्री-
जगत्सिंहभूपः ॥५१॥¹ भास्वदंशधरैर्नृपैः परिष्टतं सत्कुंभमग्रे ज-
- 45 गत्सिंहेन प्रतिभूषितं बहुयशोमुक्ताफलैर्मंडितं(तम्) ॥ सखा(च्छा)यं पुरुषार्थसत्यद-
महो धैर्यादिभृत्वैर्वृतं मेवाडं सुखपालमाप्य स शिवः शक्रादिवाहासृ-
- 46 इः ॥[५]२॥² सूर्यं स्वर्णवितानमेतदुपरि श्वेतं वितानं विधुं महंशोपरि सद्गुणै-
र्नियमयन् कौलाद्रिषण्ये कलौ ॥ मेवाडे पटदानशालिनि जगत्सिंहं नृपं
स्थापयं-
- 47 स्व[त्का](क्ता) स्नेह(च्छ)मदोक्तोक्तभयं रंता भवान्या भवः ॥५३॥³ देशे वाग-
डनामके नरपतिः श्रीपुंजराजोजनि श्रीमळ्दुंगरपूर्वकस्य नगरस्वाधीश्वरो
दुर्जयः ॥ के-
- 48 नाप्यत्र न निर्जितो व(व)हुमतिः सत्कोषवांस्तं पुनर्यन्त्रं चो कृतवान् परासुखमहो
दग्धं पुरं चाकरोत्⁴ ॥५४॥⁵ युधिष्ठिरोयं तेनैव विजयेन महात्मना ॥ दु-
- 49 निर्दो[क्ष]ोभवद्विष्णु कुतो स्नेह(च्छ)पतिः समः ॥[१*]५५॥⁶ शत्रुस्त्रीभिः स्ववेष्ट्यां
ग्रहणसुसमये दृग्जलैस्ते प्रदत्तः कीर्त्तियामो महोयान्मुलिखितपठितो स्नेह-
(च्छ)वक्त्रोऽ-
- 50 पि द्रा[क्] ॥ कल्पस्थायस्य सीमां कलयितुमखिलां वं(वं)भ्रमंस्वत्प्रतापः काष्ठा-
स्त्रयापि नित्यं दशसु तवगुणैर्मापयन्नांतमेति ॥५६॥⁷ त्वदनंत[गु]णान्व(न्व)-
दिष्यति तदनंतः कधि-

¹ Metro : *Brāhmarī*.

² *Sakha-pāla* is a kind of palanquin, having obtained which Śiva is stated to have no desire for any other conveyances.

³ Metro : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁴ The medials *ḥ* was first engraved short which was made long afterwards.

⁵ The *anuvāra* is very faint.

⁶ This verse is quoted by Rai Bahadur Ojhā. (*Rāj. Itihā.*, Fasc. II, p. 833, n. 1)

⁷ Metro : *Anuvāra*.

- 51 [त]: स्व[यं]भुवा ॥ विफलं तदवेच्य शेष¹ शेषवक्त्ररभिधां शेष इति
ध्रुवं दधे ॥५७॥² भूपेद्र त्वत्प्रतापैः पृथुभिरनुदितं³ छादितायां त्रिलोक्यामत्युष्णो-
द्देदतोभृद्भवशि-
- 52 रसि ह[रि]खांघ्रिदेशे स्रवंती ॥ शेषस्याहो शिरस्य स्फुटमणिमिपतः स्फोटकाः
'प्रादुरासन् भूमौ त्वन्मौलिलोलचमरजपवनैस्तापशांत्या हि शांतिः ॥५८॥⁴ स्वामि-
रस्वर्मा-
- 53 गर्दभा[न्त]व⁵ गुणनिकरानामुवलं सुमेरोः संतान्य स्वर्णसूचावृतरविव(व)लयं भ्रामयि-
त्वायनाभ्यां(भ्याम्) । वेधाः कृत्वांचले द्वे हिमकरकिरणौ रौप्यसूतैश्च मध्ये
प्रत्सर्द्ध(र्द्ध)
- 54 कीर्त्तिवस्त्रं वयति नवनवं वेष्टनं वारिराशेः ॥५९॥⁶ दिक्कालान् दश वीच्य नेत्र-
दशकं जातं कृतार्थं मुहुः शेषं नेत्रयुगं निरर्थकमहोविज्ञेन धात्रा कृतं-
(तम्) [1*]
- 55 इत्थं चिंतयता चिरं नृपजगत्सिंहं पुनः पश्यता दृग्द्वंद्वं तु तदेव जन्मफलभाक्
क्रौंचद्वि(च्छि)दा जायते ॥६०॥⁷ चक्रप्रेमार्ककृष्णाविव तु(वु)धभिषजौ सुयुतावि-
स्मृतिस्त्वं लक्ष्मिर्दी-
- 56 पु साधू इव सदसि कवि⁸ कोषपूर्णप्रतिश्वः(ष्ठः) ॥ संध्याभ्राजौ रसेन द्विजपति-
सचिवौ सद्भिधैश्चैव यहदार्त्तासक्तः सुधीष्टाविव जगति जगत्सिंह जीयाः शतायुः
॥६१॥⁹ हुंकारेण कुरंगराजनि-
- 57 करा [व]शा दृशा द्वीपिनी भूदाराः सुरवेण तेषु करिणो हस्तेन ते
खड्गिनः ॥ सेव्योष्टापदसंचयैरपि जगत्सिंहस्य तस्याधुना वृहस्यैकवृषस्य वश्य-
करणे का वा स्तुतिस्तन्यतां(ताम्) ॥६२॥[1*]⁷
- 58 भंगो[रा]ज्ञातिराजातनुजविमलधीः सूत्र[धार]ो हि भाणा तत्पुत्रः श्रीमुक्तं(कुं)दो
वशसकलकला(लो) भूधरास्थो द्वितीयः ॥ याभ्यां ग्रामः प्रदत्तो हतरिपुनि-
करश्चीजगत्सिंहभूपैर्दत्तौ

¹ This word has been repeated by mistake and has to be omitted.

² Metre: *Upajāti* of *Vaitāliya* and *Aupachchhandasika*.

³ Read **ranudinam*.

⁴ *Prā* is incised over an engraved *śra*.

⁵ Metre: *Śraḡikar?*.

⁶ Read **dambhā(m)[*sta]va*. The word *śarvārya* is used here in the sense of 'milky way'.

⁷ Metre: *Śārdūlavikriḡḡā*.

⁸ Read *karīḡ*. A narrow medial *r* is also to be seen joined to *vi*.

- 59 सौ[व]र्णरीप्यौ [क्रमत] इह क्षपास्याप[की मा]पदंडौ ॥१॥¹ राणाश्रीमज्जगत्सिंहकारितं
मंदिरं शुभं(भम्) ॥ ताभ्यामिव कृतं श्रीमज्जगन्नाथाभिधमभोः ॥२॥² ताभ्यां श्रीमज्जगत्सिंह-
60 द्वा[मो देवदहाभि]धः ॥ चित्र[कूटां]तिक³ प्राप्तः प्रतिष्ठायां रमाप[तः-
(तेः)] [॥३॥*]⁴

B.

- 1 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः¹ ॥ ॥ श्रीएकलिंगजीप्रसादात् ॥ ॥ श्रीजग(ग)न्नाथरायजीप्रसादात् ॥
॥ श्रीश(स)रस्वत्यै नमः ॥ ॥ श्रीविश्वकर्म्मणे न(न)मः ॥ ॥ श्री⁵ श्री⁶ ॥
- 2 अथ राणाश्रीजगत्सिंहस्य मांघान्त(न्)तीर्थयात्राप्रसंगः ॥ अथैकदा तीर्थवरं सुराब्जं
रेवोपकंठे सकलार्थदायकं(कम्) ॥ श्रीकारनामप्रभुगंभुपौठं मांघाटनाम ब्र(ब्र)-
जितुं मनो व्यधात् ॥६३॥⁷
- 3 श्रीरामराजिन पुरोहितेन(न) वि(वि)चार्य महानसमूहतो द्विजान् ॥ घनाधिपान्कर्तुं-
मनाः पुरादगात् करिणुमारुह्य जगत्प्रतिर्मुदा ॥६४॥⁸ ततोचलन् देवगजोपमा
गजाः पुरः पताकासमलंकृताः पुरः ॥ सञ्चामरा-
- 4 लंकृतवक्त्रमंडला यांतीव वर्थातुवसंतसक्ताः⁹ ॥६५॥⁷ उच्चैरादित्यहेलास्तजदुपमितयो
नैव क्वाणं स्वतोन्धं मन्वाना मुक्तिहीनाः सततमवमतस्थापनास्थाः श्रुतीनां-
(नाम्) ॥ प्रत्यक्षं स्थापयंतः परमिह न परं किं
- 5 पुनर्मत्तताया नात्मज्ञा बौद्धबुद्धिं धरणिधरपतेर्धारयति द्विपेंद्राः ॥६६॥¹ येमौ कर्हम-
शायिनस्तृणष्टहे स्त्रीणां¹ रवेर्निष्ठुरेर्ध्रिक्का(क्का)रं गमिताश्च कूपसलिले मं(म)¹⁰ङ्क्तुं
कृतोपक्रमाः ॥ ते-
- 6 मी कौ(कां)चनमचिकोपरि ग¹¹ताः सौधे बुधाः ¹¹स्त्रीसखा ¹²राजादत्तकरोद्रहं(वृं)हि-
तरवैरानदितास्तेष्वयुः ॥६७॥¹³ ततोचलन् देवहयोपमा हया येषां न वेगे
समतां दधुर्मृगाः । न वायवो नैव मनांसि भास्वतः कुतो
- 7 हयास्तेपि भवंति तादृशाः¹⁴ ॥६८॥⁷ भास्वतः सततं शृगांकगतयः सन्धंगलाः संततं
सौम्याः स्वामिमतात् सुजीवकविकाः पश्चाद्गया मंदगाः [।।¹⁵] सिंहीजाः¹⁴ सित-
केसरैः क्षणमपि स्वैर्यायुताः के त-

¹ Metre: *Sragdharā*.² Read *Chitra[kūṭā-ān]tikaḥ* or *amīkṛ*.³ Read *śrī*.⁴ Metre: *Uṣṣajāti*.⁵ Two letters, viz., *svaiga* are to be seen engraved here, but are cancelled.⁶ Space for one letter is left blank between these two syllables.⁷ A cancelled *vri* is to be seen engraved before *stri*.⁸ Either dissolve *rajā ū (śmantāt) datta*, or regard *rājā* as the instrumental singular of the base *rā*.⁹ Metre: *Śāridūlavikrīḍita*.¹⁰ The *visarga* sign is faintly visible.¹¹ Metre: *Anuśtubh*.¹² Read *namā*.¹³ The syllable is engraved over the top-line.¹⁴ The meaning of this compound is not clear.

- 8 वः(व) पृथ्वीनाथ नवग्रहा इव इयाः संपीडयन्ति द्विष्वः(षः) ॥६८॥¹ धारयन्तः
युतीरुचैः शिष्वं(प्र)प्रा)यमहासृगाः । सदेगस्तिमितस्त्राता हरयो मुनिवद्ययुः
॥७०॥⁴ एतादृशान् पुरस्कृत्य तुरंगान् भूपति-
- 9 व्रजन् ॥ न वासर्वं हृदानीतं कुरुतेन्यं नरं कथं(यम्) ॥७१॥¹ कंपन्ते शच्-
नाथास्तदनु तदव(व)लाः सागराता ततोन्धिः शेषः कूर्मो वराहस्तदनु च
गिरयो दिग्गजेंद्राः सनाथाः [।*] किं किं जातं किमे-
- 10 तद्भवति जगति हान्योन्यपृष्ठास्तदोचुर्माधातुस्तीर्यराजं जि[ग*]मिषुरजनि श्रीजगत्सिंह-
भूपः ॥७२॥⁵ संगत्वोदयसागरस्य सविधे सौधे स्वकीयेद्भते कैलाशा(सा)धिक-
कांतिपूरकलिते
- 11 भूपोवसत्तद्दिनं(नम्) ॥ यच्चस्थं नृपतिं पयोनिधिश्चयं पञ्चापतिस्तं जना जानन्ति
स्य समानमेव सततं श्रीसिवितांघ्रिद्वयं(यम्) ॥७३॥¹ अमानानि समानानि
विमानानीव रजिरे । शि-
- 12 विराणि ततस्तेषु नृपा देवा इवावसन् ॥७४॥¹ स्त्रिं(स्त्रि)त्वापरैष्टुः(द्युः) सदिने
व्रजपद्मस्तीर्थ महाकालनिकेतनं गतः । अवंतिकां मुक्तिददर्शनां तां सेव्यां
सुरेंद्रादिगौ(गि)[री*]शर्वद्यां(द्याम्) ॥७५॥⁷
- 13 शिप्रां समासाद्य सुपापहर्त्रीं स्यात्वाथ दत्वा(त्वा) बहुशो द्विजेभ्यः ॥ दृष्ट्वाप्यवंती-
मवमत्स्य तत्पतिं मार्गादगाङ्गोक्तभयं वितन्वन् ॥७६॥⁷ गतोय मांघात्समीपनर्म
- 14 दातटं कियद्भिः सुदिनैर्म(र्म)हीन्द्रः ॥ को वा पृथिव्यां भवतीदृशः परो
मातृद्वयो यः पथि रोधमाचरेत् ॥७७॥⁷ गंगां समानीय सुपापसागरं कुलं
पुनाति स भगीरथो नृपः ।
- 15 सेनां तथैवैष जगत्प्रभुर्नयन् पवित्रयामास सुपापसागरं(रम्) ॥७८॥⁷ नर्मदीत्तररोध-
स्यु शिविराणि क्षमापतिः ॥ श्रीकारिश्चरपर्यतं कावेरोसंगतोभवन् ॥७९॥⁴
- 16 महाराणाजगत्सिंहो राजपुत्राद्य सर्वशः ॥ रेवाकावेरिकासंगी स्याताः सौख्यं समा-
गताः ॥८०॥⁴ इत्थं सर्वो(र्वे)पि संतुष्टाः स्यात्वा दत्वा(त्वा)प्यनेकशः ॥ अथ
राजा नृपालैः स्वैर्भो-

¹ Metre: Śāntālavikrīḍita.² The syllable seems to be engraved over an erasure.³ Between these two syllables, there is to be seen engraved an unfinished letter. Probably the engraver first intended to write *dyu* here.⁴ Metre: Anuśṭubh.⁵ Metre: Sragdharā.⁶ The syllable is engraved over the line.⁷ Metre: Upajāti.

- 17 जनं कर्तुमागतः ॥८१॥¹ अन्यासत्तैर्दुभिर्हरिभक्तैरिव तदा भक्तैः ॥ जलतापयोग-
पाकात्तपैरपि मोददानपरैः ॥८२॥² सभाजनैः सुभाजनैरनेकवस्तुभिः
- 18 सुतेः ॥ सभाजनैः सुभोजिता द्विवारमित्यहर्निशं(शम्) ॥८३॥³ अयान्द्युःतृतीयस्मि-
न्यामे सूर्यग्रहोदये ॥ महाराणाजगत्सिंहः कांचनस्य तुलां व्यधात् ॥८४॥⁴
वेदव्योममुनीद्वे(द्वे) शु-
- 19 चौ सूर्यग्रहेतुलां(लाम्) ॥ महाराणाजगत्सिंहः कांचनस्य तुलां व्यधात् ॥८५॥⁵
श्रीकारेशसमीपनार्मदतटे श्रीराणकर्णात्मभूरारूढं स्वतुलां हिरण्यकशिपुव्यूहं
विभज्य स्व-
- 20 यं(यम्) ॥ नैवं पूर्वमकारि तेन सुभगो भूत्वा नृसिंहः पुनः प्रीत्या भूरितया
पलान्यगणयन् लुद्रदिजेभ्योप्यदात् ॥८६॥⁶ वेगान्भारणतो भवेदिदमहो दुःखं
कुलीनस्य तद्व(ह)-
- 21 ध्वा(द्वा) वा(वा)लमथो हिरण्यकशिपुं कृत्वा खरेष्वास्थितं(तम्) ॥ वैलोक्यां च गृहे
गृहं [तत*] इतः संप्रापयन् श्रीपतेर्वा(र्वा)हुस्तंभसमुद्भवो विजयते श्रीमन्नृसिंहः
प्रभुः ॥८७॥⁷ भास्वान्श्री(च्छ्री)मज्जग-
- 22 क्षिंहस्तुलामारुह्य यद्गधात् ॥ स्नातिवृष्टिं ततो मुक्ता न स्युजंशे(च्छे)वः⁸ कथं-
(यम्) ॥८८॥⁹ जगत्सिंह महाराज चिंतनादधिकप्रद ॥ चिंतनावधिदाता हि
क ते चिंतामणिः समः
- 23 ॥८९॥¹⁰ राजन्भूतपूर्वयं धनुर्विद्या विराजते ॥ स्वयं लचाणि गच्छं(च्छं)ति गृह-
स्थानपि मार्गणान् ॥९०॥¹¹ न हि चापलतासक्तो न पराङ्मुखमार्गणः ॥
कदापि न गुणद्वे(च्छे)दी
- 24 कौटुम्बस्त्वं धनुर्धरः ॥९१॥¹² कन्यासंपदमास्थाय तुलारोहो प्रभाकरः [॥*] शुचैरमां¹³
समासाय जगत्सिंह महीपतिः ॥९२॥¹⁴ जगत्सिंह महाराज तुलास्पर्शमिषात्तव ॥
- 25 सिंहीजभयतो भानुर्मन्ये त्वां शरणं गतः ॥९३॥¹⁵ तपनग्रहणे जाते तपनी[य]तुलां
न विं(क्तिम्) ॥ अकरोत्तेजसा दिक्षु जगत्सिंहः चमापतिः ॥९४॥¹⁶ अथ दृष्ट्वा
तुलावेदीं शिलासं-

¹ Metro: Anushtubh.

² Metro: Upagiti.

³ The syllable seems to be engraved over an erasure.

⁴ First *sim* was engraved which was then corrected into *sim*.

⁵ Metro: Sāradulavikrīḍita.

⁶ The expression means *Śuchēh Jyēshtha-māsasya Anām Amā-tithim*.

(the fifteenth of the dark fortnight of *Jyēshtha*), on which day Jagatsimha actually ascended the scales; and it also means *suchēh grīshmasya ramām lakṣmīm*, (the wealth of summer) in correspondence with *Kanyā-sampat* (the wealth of the sixth sign of the zodiac) of the first *pāda*. [See p. 62, n. 3 above.—Ed.]

⁷ The medial *u* in *su* is represented by a mere stroke.

⁸ Metro: Pramāṇikā.

⁹ Read *grihē*.

- 26 भद्रयोदितां(ताम्) ॥ देवा नागा मनुष्येन्द्राद्यक्रुख्येक्षणं मियः ॥८५॥¹ दृष्ट्वा त्वाम-
नुरागिणीव व(व)हुधा रामादिकौर्त्तिः सिता भूप त्वत्कृतपांडुरातुल्लतास्तंभद्वय-
व्याजतः ॥ नीत्वोच्चै-
- 27 र्वसुधातलात्करयुगं संमेलयती मिय(ध)स्त्वामालिंगितुमुत्सुका प्रतिपलं स्त्रीभावतो
जृम्भते ॥८६॥² रेवामथ प्राप्य सुपुण्ड्रार्चीं स्नात्वा च दत्त्वा(त्त्वा) व(व)हुशो
द्विजेभ्यः ॥ इत्यं(त्यं) स्तु-
- 28 तिं भूमिपतिर्व्यतानीच्छत्वा यदेतत्सकलो विपाप्सा ॥८७॥³ ये दिव्यांव(व)रधारिणः
समदृशः सौम्यांगनोपासिता यां गंगामपहाय सेवनपराः श्रीनर्मदायास्तव ॥
- 29 तादृष्टै(ष्टै)व दिगंबरांस्त्रिनयनांबंडीश्वरान्नांप्रतं रूढा मूर्धनि नृत्यति त्रिपथगा
केनाद्य सा वार्यतां(ताम्) ॥८८॥⁴ उद्धृत्या सगरस्तुरंगममनो⁵ यत्प्रापयन्मन्थवे
तद्देवाद-
- 30 मरेश्वरेण कपिलाभिख्यातिके पा(प्रा)पितं(तम्) [1*] तस्यानुश्रितपापसागरकुलं
तत्रोद्यदृष्ट्या इतं मातर्दक्षिणजाह्नवि त्वमधुना तस्यान्वयं मोचयेः ॥८९॥⁶
स्मृत्या पातकमाह्वरामि ज-
- 31 गतां दृष्ट्या सुरत्वं ददे अर्शादेव ददामि विष्णुतनुतां स्नानार्थिने किं ददे ॥
इत्यालोच्य महेश्वरस्य तनया रत्नाकरस्यांगना यन्निष्कं व्रजति त्रयाभरवशात्त-
न्निष्कगा नर्मदा ॥९००[11*]⁷
- 32 ततः सुरेन्द्रादिभमर्चनीयमीकारनामेश्वरमाशु गत्वा ॥ सर्वोपचारै रचयन् महा(ही)पती
रत्नैः सुवर्णै स्तुतिमप्यगादौत् ॥९०१॥⁸ रेवायां⁹ वनमध्यतः परिपतन् भित्त्वा(त्त्वा)-
[घ]संघं गजं कीलाल-
- 33 स्व कणांमुहुः परिव(व)मन् पाथोजसत्केसरी ॥ यावद्दधवहो ह्यनंतजठरेन
प्रापयेन्मां प्रभो सोमस्तुं कृपया कुरंगमपि मां तावन्नयस्वांतरे ॥९०२॥¹⁰
दिनांतरेष्वेवममुं प्रपूं(पू)ज्य स्नात्वा पुरावल्लुमनो-

¹ Metre: Anushubh.

² The syllable is engraved over the line.

³ Metre: Sārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁴ Metre: Indravajrā.

⁵ Read 'm-ahō.

⁶ There is an erased vertical line before *drā*

⁷ Metre: Upajāti.

⁸ This syllable seems to be engraved over an erasure.

- 34 मर्हीद्रः ॥ दत्वा(त्वा) सुवर्णानि पुरोहिताय गा वर्णनीयाश्च सुराधिपाद्यैः [॥*] १०३॥¹ देशदेशोद्भवं भव्यं गजाम्बवसनादिकां(कम्) [१*] विष्णुप्रीत्या ददौ भूप-
स्तसंख्याता सहस्रदृक् ॥१०४॥² इत्यं वितौर्यं मनसिष्ठितं(त)मर्घजातं भू-
- 35 पोचलत्स्वदिशमेव भयाक्तगन्तुः ॥ मार्गेपि वृष्टिमतुलां तपनीयसंघैस्त्वन्मुपाचततिषु
प्रमदेन सक्तः ॥१०५॥³ गामघोभयमुखीं पश्चिमध्ये यां ददौ द्विजवराय
सुवर्णैः ॥ वर्णनां कथमहो रसनैका
- 36 संतनोति मनुजो हि कवीन्द्रः ॥१०६॥⁴ इत्यं कियद्भिः सुदिनैः चितींद्र⁵ सन्धा-
लवचोणिपतेर्विमल्य ॥ दत्वा(त्वा) पदं मूर्द्धिं रिषोः समागादेशं पुरं हर्म्य-
वरं धनाब्जं(ब्जम्) ॥१०७॥⁶ माता प्राणमिव प्रिया दृशमिव चो-
- 37 णीश्वरा नाथवद्दष्टारो यमवत्प्रजा जनक[व*]दृ(दृ)ष्टा(ष्टा) नृपं चागतं(तम्) ॥ देश-
ग्रामपुरेषु यः प्रतिगृहं जातो महानुत्सवः कस्तं व(व)र्णयितुं क्षमः सुरपते-
राचार्यतोन्वः पुमान् ॥१०८॥⁷ अथ द्विजाग्रान्बहुकाशिवामि-
- 38 नः स्वर्णस्य वृष्ट्यैव कृतार्थतां नयन् ॥ सुखात्सुरान्घं परिपालयन्नभादप्रक्तचित्तो
रघुनाथवत्प्रभु⁸ ॥१०९॥⁹ स्फाटिक्यां वेदिकायां कलयति भुवि यो मूलदेशे
सुनीलं वैडूर्यं मस्तके द्राक् तदनु
- 39 गुरुगुणान(न्) हीरकान्स्कंधकेषु ॥ मौलिष्ये शाखिकाप्रे मरकतमतुलं वैडु(दु)मा-
ग्नवौघान् सुक्तागुच्छान्नरस्त्रीगजहयमणिगोसत्फलः पंचशास्त्रः ॥११०॥¹⁰ ब्रह्मा
रुद्रोपि विष्णुस्तदनु रतिपतिः स्या-
- 40 पिता यस्य नौचैः सोयं सत्कल्पवृक्षोपरतरुसहितः श्रीजगत्सिंहहस्तात् ॥ वा(वा)-
णघ्यो(व्यो)मर्षिचंद्रैः समुदितशरदि श्रेतभाद्रे वृतीयां प्राप्य प्राप्सो द्विजानां
गृह्णन्तमनिशं रम्यहर्म्याणि कुर्वन् ॥१११॥¹¹ स्वदेहव्य-¹¹
- 41 यतोपुष्पात्द्वि(द्वि)जान् कल्पद्रुमा ह्यसौ ॥ जगत्सिंहकारस्पर्शात् किं च(चं)दनगुणं
दधौ ॥११२॥¹² भास्करभट्टजमाध्वपुत्रश्रीरामचंद्रोद्भूः । सर्वेश्वरस्तदंगाप्रस्त्रीनाथः
कठौ(ठौ)डौति ॥११३॥¹³ श्रीराणोदयसिंहैः¹³स्तस्यै

¹ Metre: Upajāti.² Metre: Vasantatilakā.³ Read kshītīndrab.⁴ Metre: Indravajrā.⁵ Read *prabhuh.⁶ There is a cancelled anusvara over vya.⁷ Read *sindhāi.⁸ Metre: Anushūbh.⁹ Metre: Svāgatā.¹⁰ Va is engraved below the line.¹¹ Metre: Śāntālavikrāḍḍā.¹² Metre: Śraḍḍharā.¹³ Metre: Upajāti.

- 42 ग्रामो हि भूरवाडाख्यः । दत्तोमुक्ते ग्रामो हीलीनामाप्यमरसिंहनृपैः ॥११४॥¹
लक्ष्मीनाथसुतो रामचंद्रः कृष्णस्तु तक्षुतः ॥ अदात्तस्यै जगत्सिंहो सृगराजा-
ह्वयं ह्वयं(यम्) ॥११५॥² चतुःसहस्रीं यन्मूख्यं दत्त्वा(त्त्वा)दह-
- 43 दृगणार्णवं(वम्) ॥ महाराणाजगत्सिंहैः समो नास्ति कुतोधिकः । [1^{*}]११६।[1^{*}]²
वर्षे शास्त्रवियगुनींदुगणिते भाद्रे तृतीयातिथौ शुक्ले जन्मदिने निजे नृप-
जगत्सिंहः कृपाया निधिः ॥ दत्त्वा(त्त्वा) कांचनमेदिनीं सजल-
- 44 धिं श्रीचित्रकूटांतिके ग्रामं कृष्णबुधाय सद्गुणनिधिः श्रीभैरवार्ण्यं ददौ ॥११७॥
सणाश्रीमज्जगत्सिंहो मधुसूदनप्रार्थने । प्रददावाहृदग्रामे हलह्वयमितां भुवं(वम्)
॥११८॥² एकां लक्ष्मीमगृह्णां
- 45 तदपि सुरपतिः क्रुद्धहृत्तेन भूमौ भूत्वा³ स्वेच्छाब्धिमाथी सुगजसुरतरुन् गा
द्विजैभ्यः प्रदाय ॥ कीर्त्तीदुं कृष्णभट्टे⁴ ह्वयमणिमसलं भैरवप्रामचिंत्तारवं
दत्त्वा(त्त्वा)सुरोभिर्जगति विजयते श्रीजगत्सिंहविष्णुः
- 46 ॥११९॥[1^{*}]² ऋषिव्योमसुनींद्वन्द्वे जगत्सिंहमहीपतिः ॥ भाद्रशुक्लतृतीयायां सप्ताद(दा)त्⁵
सप्तसागरान् ॥१२०॥² गजव्योमसुनींद्वन्द्वे जगत्सिंहः जमापतिः ॥ भाद्रशुक्ल-
तृतीयायां विश्वचक्र(क्रं) ददौ प्रभुः ॥१२१॥²

D⁹

- 1 ॥ श्रीमहागणपतये नमः ॥ श्रीजगन्नाथरायजीप्रसादात् ॥ श्रीएकलिंगजीप्रसादात् ॥
श्रीभवान्यै नमः ॥ ॥ श्रीविश्वकर्माणे नमः ॥ श्रीसरस्वत्यै नमः ॥
- 2 ॥ अथ श्रीराणाजगत्सिंहकारितश्रीजगन्नाथरायमंदिरादिवर्णनं(नम्) ॥ श्रीकृष्णभक्त्याथ
जगत्सु वर्षे देवालयं श्रीकमितुर्व्यव(धा)त्स । यं वा¹⁰रवारं¹¹ सुरनागमा¹²म(न)-
वा विले¹³(ली)-

¹ Metre: *Giti*. The fourth *pāda* is short by one syllabic instant.

² Metre: *Anuśṭubh*.

³ Metre: *Sārāḍlavikīrīḍita*.

⁴ The stroke on the ellipse of *ha* is absent.

⁵ The medial *ā* seems to have been engraved later on, and hence is indicated by a very small stroke narrowly drawn.

⁶ The locative has been used instead of the dative.

⁷ Metre: *Sragdharā*.

⁸ This word which was at first omitted is written below the line.

⁹ This slab should rightly follow B. It may be noted here again that it is composed of ten different pieces of stone and is very carelessly engraved. Many of the letters are either obliterated or are not properly engraved.

¹⁰ The syllable is engraved over the top-line.

¹¹ *Vāraśāram* is ungrammatical. It is used here for *cāraṣā cāraṣā*.

¹² The medial *ā* is not joined to the top-line.

¹³ The *mātrā* on *lī* is inverted.

- 3 क्व चित्रोक्लिखिता इवाभवन् ॥१॥¹ यस्यापि देवा² भुवि वर्णनां मुहुः कर्तुं न
शक्ताः कुत एव मानवाः ॥ तस्य स्वशक्त्या वितनोति वर्णनां श्रीकृष्णभट्टा-
त्मज एष बावुः ॥२॥³ गं-
- 4 गात्रेतुयुतः कपर्दघटभाक् भालाचिरत्नाकरः ।⁴ कांठ्यावेष्टित[कं]थकः सुरस⁵हव्याजेन
वैराग्यभाक् । इत्याधाय हरिं तपस्यति हरस्तत्किं वृषं स्वैर्गुणैर्व(व)ध्वा(द्वा)
भक्तमहाद्विषद्भूत(ति)यशोमंडेन ना-
- 5 पीवयत् ॥३॥⁷ पुष्यं प्राप्य तदेकलिंगविषये श्रीमेदपाटस्थलं ब्रह्मा भूपमणे[च]त-
मुखलसद्देवालयाजतः । वेदाध्यायिजनस्वनैः किमपठद्देदान् यदेकाग्रहृत्तद्रूपं
कमलोपभोगहृदयाः किं राजहं⁸-
- 6 साः श्रिताः ॥४॥⁹ मत्का(त्का)र्यं क्रियते नृपस्य यशसेत्युत्पन्नवैराग्यतः कृत्वा इदं-
सहं शिलामयवपुर्देवालयाजतः ॥ धृत्वांतः स हरिं पठद्विजरवेमूर्ध्निवु(वु)कुंभं
दध(ध)त् ।¹⁰ घृ(पू)र्णाभ्यासवशं स्थिरे¹¹ पठति किं वे-
- 7 दान् द्विजेंद्रो विधुः ॥५॥⁷ चारान्नातिगभीरनीरघि(धि)जलादेव्य स्वचित्तं चिराद्विष्णौ
नैव विमुंचति चित्तिपतिः कृत्वा महामंदिरं(रम्) [।*] [ल]िकानामवलोक-
नाय कृपया तत्रो[न्नते] निर्मले सिन्धे पौरहृदी¹¹
- 8 व किं प्रतिज्ञतिं श्रीभर्तुरास्थापयत् ॥६॥⁷ श्रीभ(म)हानिशिरोमणिर्नृपजगत्सिंहो
महीमंडले व्याप्तं यद्यशसा व(व)भौ त्रिकगतीहंढं सुधांशुप्रभं(भम्) ॥ प्रासादं
जगदीश्वरस्य रचितं म-
- 9 त्वामुना स्वर्गताः¹² दृष्ट्वा चेतसि विस्मिता इव निजं त्यक्त्वा(क्त्वा) निमि¹³धं स्थिताः
॥७॥⁷ कर्णसिंहाब्धिसंभूतो जगत्सिंहः ।¹⁴ सुधाकरः ।¹⁵ यस्य स्रदुकरस्पर्शं न
प्रजा तापवत्यभूत् ।[।*]८।[।*]¹⁵

¹ Metre: *Upajāti*.

² There is an *anusvāra* over *tā* which is redundant.

³ Metre: *Indravahā*. The fourth *pāda* is short by one syllable.

⁴ This *dayā* is superfluous.

⁵ This *sa* resembles *ya* as it naturally does when written hastily.

⁶ The *r* over *gu* is very faint.

⁷ Metre: *Sārdūlavikriṣṭa*.

⁸ The stroke on the ellipse of *ha* is absent.

⁹ This omission of *visarga* is grammatical.

¹⁰ Read *sthīrah*.

¹¹ The syllable seems to be engraved over an erasure.

¹² Read *svargatā*.

¹³ First an *anusvāra* was engraved which was then corrected into the sign for medial *ṛ*.

¹⁴ This *dayā* is furnished with a top-line.

¹⁵ Metre: *Anushṭubh*.

- 10 भूपस्योन्नतविष्णुसद्वकलशय्याजाद्विस्वानसौ ज्ञातुं मार्गमहो रथस्य तरसारूढस्तदुर्ध्वं पदं(दम्) ॥ स्थित्वैवात्र जगत्प्र(त्प्र)काशमधु(धु)ना कुर्यां मुदेति स्थितस्तेन त्वामरुणो हि सारधिरयं को-
- 11 पोभवत् संश्रितः¹ ॥८॥² स्वनामाव्यां जगन्नाथराय³ इत्यभिधां हरिः [1*] कल्पयन् त्रैजगत्किंङ्कः स्यात्कीर्त्तिरभूद्भुवि ॥१०॥⁴ पांडूच्चं हरिमंदिरं नृपजगत्किंङ्केन
- 12 यत् कारितं राजद्रवघटं ममेति किमहो भारोद्धिराट् चिंतयन् ॥ भूलोके विधृते भुजेन नृपतेरोपत्च(च्च)लत्कं(त्कं)चुकं ॥⁵ वातात् केतुमि-
- 13 धात् सरत्नमनयद्भुमेव(र्व)हिः स्वं शिरः ॥११॥⁶ स्वैर्वै नो भोगभूमिर्जलधिरपि गुरु ॥⁷ नागराजोतिभोमः कुत्राहं सौ[स्व]युक्तो हरगणपशिवा-
- 14 कीर्त्तितः संवसेयं(यम्) ॥ चित्तेस्वागत्य दत्त्वा(त्त्वा) नृपमुकुटमणिं कर्णसूनुं निजाज्ञां प्रसादार्य विधायाकृत वसति ॥⁸ महो त्रैजगन्नाथरायः ॥[१२*]⁹
- 15 जगत्किंङ्को राणः कथमिह समागंतुममराः समर्था भूयाद्वै सकलजन[ता]¹⁰रचणपरः ॥ जगन्नाथचेत्यं नृपहृदयभावं विदितवानवा-
- 16 वा¹⁰ सौ(स्त्री)दचैव स्वजनकरुणानंदजलधिः(धिः)¹¹ ॥१३॥¹² धर्मोद्भूतयुधि(धि)ष्टि(ष्टि)रं तदनुजं कीर्त्तिव्र(व्र)जं ह्यर्जुनं वीर्यैकं जितघा(धा)र्त्तराष्ट्रघृतनं स्त[स्त्रो]
- 17 हरिर्विस्मयैः ॥ सज्जे हारि रं(र)थे स्वसद्वमिषतः स्थित्वा चिरं तद्गुणाच्चाज्ञासीत् पुरुषार्थसार्थतुरगान् देशेऽखिले चारिणः ॥१४॥¹³ श्री[:][1*]
- 18 ॥१४॥¹³ सन्सु(न्सु)ङ्कर्त्तं सुतारार्त्तं ॥¹⁴ सानुकूले नवपद्मे ॥ निधि(धि)व्योममुनीद्वये ॥¹⁴ पवित्रे मासि मार्च(ध)वे ॥[१५*]¹⁵ शुक्लपक्षे शुभे योगे पूर्णिमायां तथा तिथौ ॥

¹ Aruṇa here has double entendre, 'red' and the name 'Aruṇa' of the charioteer of the sun. The anger of Jagatānha towards the sun for the latter's having occupied a more exalted position is fancied as Aruṇa approaching the king for refuge when no longer required by the sun, as he (sun) resolved to illuminate the world from the top of the temple only.

² Metro: Śardūlavikrīḍita.

³ After *ya* there are two small hollow squares indicating the erasure of two letters engraved by mistake.

⁴ There is a horizontal stroke on top of the numeral.

⁵ Metro: Anuṣṭubh.

⁶ The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

⁷ Śā is represented by three perpendicular strokes only.

⁸ This *śaṣṭa* is superfluous. Read *nasatim-ahō*. Metro: *Srajaḥarī*.

⁹ First *pā* was engraved which was then corrected into *tā*.

¹⁰ This *cā* is superfluous.

¹¹ Metro: *Śikharīṣṭ*.

¹² The mark of punctuation has a top-line.

¹³ The number is wrongly repeated.

¹⁴ This is a superfluous *śaṣṭa*.

- 19 गुरुवारे प्रतिष्ठा(ष्ठा)प्य विष्णुं यामान्¹ ददौ प्रभुः ॥² हिरण्यार्थं कल्पलता गोसहस्र³
च दत्तवान् ॥१३(१६)॥⁴ तत्र प्रतिष्ठां(ष्ठां) परमेश्वरस्य यथाविधा(धा)नं विरचय्य
भूपतिः ॥⁵ स्तुतिं व्यजा(ता)नी-
- 20 जगदीश्वरस्य पुनः पुनः सत्पुलकाकुलः सन् ॥१४(१७)॥⁶ प्रा⁷दुर्भूतचतुर्भुजं कमल-
दृक् पीतांबरं चक्रश्चत् पूर्णब्रह्मविकाशि कौस्तुभमणिश्रीवत्ससंदीपितं(तम्) ॥
यश्चीलं जगतां च-
- 21 यस्य जनकौ विश्वाप्य सग्नौ(त्री)तिर्दं तद्रूपं गिरिधारिणः कलयतु प्रायेण लोक-
प्रियं(यम्) ॥१५(१८)॥⁸ पूतनाशकट⁹कार्जुनैस्तृणावर्त्तकाघट्टपभादिकेशिहन् [।¹⁰]
देविकालियसमन्ना-
- 22 गराट्कंससूदन हृदि त्वमिह स्याः ॥१६(१९)॥¹¹ इत्वादिस(स्तु)तिभाषाय माधवस्य
महामनाः ॥ दानं दत्त्वा(त्त्वा) गृहं प्राप्तः पञ्चन् भंगलमुत्तमं(मम्)
॥१७¹²(२०)॥⁴ वर्षे निध्वं(व)रर्षिचित्तिगणनयुते¹³
- 23 माधवे पूर्णिमायां राणाश्रीकर्णपुत्रः सकलगुणजगत्किंङ्भूपः प्रमोदात् ॥ विष्णुं
[सं]पूज्य चिह्नैः प्रकटतरुत्तपं श्रीजगन्नाथनाम्ना दानं श्रीकल्पवत्याः(ज्ञाः)
जनकहयमथो गोसुन्द(सह)-
- 24 सं च दत्त्वा(त्त्वा) ॥१८(२१)॥¹³ यामान् दत्त्वा(त्त्वा) सङ्गणान् पंच भूपो वस्त्रैर्धान्यै
रत्नमिश्रैर्हिजाग्रान् ॥ संतोष्यार्थं श्रीजगन्नाथरायं ध्यात्वा ध्यात्वा तोषमाधत्त
भूपः ॥¹⁴१९¹⁵(२२)॥¹⁴ अथ प्रतिष्ठां(ष्ठां) प्रविलोक्य
- 25 कौतुकाद्रमापतेस्तन्निकटे महीपतेः ॥ प्रासादमालोक्य सुरासुरा नरा नागा
अकुर्वन्(न्)हृतिं(ती) सुवर्णनां(नाम) ॥२०(२३)॥¹⁶ भूप त्वत्कृतविष्णुसद्गमिपतो
वैकुण्ठलोको ह्ययं ।¹⁷वीक्ष्य त्वत्कृ(त्कृ)तमेरुमं(द)रगु-

¹ The syllable is engraved over the top-line.

² This and the next half verse may be regarded to constitute one single verse.

³ Read *gō-sahasram*.

⁴ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁵ The mark of punctuation has a top-line.

⁶ Metre: *Upajātī*.

⁷ The medial *ā* in *prā* is very faint.

⁸ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁹ *ṭs* is only partly engraved.

¹⁰ Metre: *Upajātī* of *Rathōddhatā* and *Svāpatā*.

¹¹ There is a horizontal stroke on top of the numeral.

¹² The medial *ṣ* sign is only faintly visible.

¹³ Metre: *Sragdharā*.

¹⁴ Metre: *Sālinī*.

¹⁵ This *daṣṭa* is superfluous.

- 26 षाण्पूर्वश्रुतानेव हि ॥ तदा(दा)र्येव विमूर्द्धितः स्थिर इति प्रायेण मंदाकिनौ
लोलत्केतुमिषाद्वाद्यचित्तकृते तं श्रौतसा सिंचति ॥२१(२४)॥¹ अथालोक्य तदा-
सं(स)न्नां ।²समां
- 27 मणिमयीं शुभां(भाम्) ॥ इत्यमुत्प्रेक्षणं चक्रुः सुरा विस्मयतो मुहुः ॥२२(२५)॥³
लोको⁴ भूपयशःसुधांशुरनिशं प्राकाशयत्त[ट्र]यं त्यक्त्वा(क्त्वा) केतुघटाक्तविष्णुभवनव्या-
(व्या)जं प्रमा(ता)-
- 28 पीशमान् ॥ अत्रां वेगादटति द्विषद्वि(द्वि)षमहत्समीन् विमुच्यातिके ताग्बुं कृतवा-
न्युणाकुलतुलासंभाननेकावृषः ॥⁵२३(२६)॥⁶ श्रीराणामरसिंहकारितमिदं सौघ-
(घं) गु-
- 29 शौचि(घै)र्महद्रूपस्थास्य यशोजितो विधुरही मूर्द्धामवाप्यापतत् ॥ तद्(इ)[द्वा]
नृपकर्णसिंहरचितं श्रुत्वांतर्हस्यत्रजव्याजात् सेवितुमागताः किमुडवः सप्ताधि-
(धि)का विं-
- 30 शतिः ॥२४(२७)॥¹ सौघं मध्येतडागं हृदयमिव सदाराममच्छं महदै विष्णोर्वा-
साय दूरे जलधिरिति धिया यज्जगत्सिंहकूर्म(सम्) [1*] काले धर्मादिसीवी
नृपतिरयमहं नि-
- 31 त्वनिद्रः स्त्रिया[क्तः] कर्मत्यागोति लज्जोच वसति न हरिः किंतु चित्त(त्ते)स्य
लीनः ॥२५(२८)॥⁷ कृत्वा मोहनमंदिरं मुनिमनोमुत्कर्णसत्सागरे ।⁸ कैलासाधि-
(धि)कमद्भुतं चित्रगति स्था⁹
- 32 तं स कर्णात्मजः ॥ रुद्रं नन्दयिता न मामिति हरिर्वादी¹⁰ रुजा मूर्द्धितः
शेतेचा(द्या)प्यपटेपि शेषशयने शीतोष्णवर्षाहतः ॥⁵ ॥⁸२६¹⁰(२८)¹¹॥⁶ अथैकलिंगस्थ-
महाप्रभोर्मुदा
- 33 श्रीमोक्तलेद्रेण कृतं च मंदिरं(रम्) [1*] द्व[द्वा] न कैलाश(स)गिरिं न चेत-
(रा)न्¹जा(ञ्जा)नति देवाः स्र महाद्भुतस्थलं(लम्) ॥२७(३०)॥¹² तत्र(चा)गत्य
सुराः सर्वे देवदेवमहेशितुः । यथाशक्ति

¹ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīṣita.

² This *danṣa* is superfluous.

³ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

⁴ Read *lōk*.

⁵ The mark of punctuation has a top-line.

⁶ A long syllable is expected here.

⁷ Metre : Śraṅgharā.

⁸ The mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

⁹ The medial *ā* is not joined to the top-line.

¹⁰ There is a horizontal stroke on top of the numeral.

¹¹ The *virāma* sign here resembles that of the medial *ā*.

¹² Metre : Upajāti.

- 34 शक्ति¹ स्तुतिं चक्रुरेकलिङ्गमहाप्रभोः ॥२८(३१)॥^२ गिरिश गिरिप्रभुतनयां मनयां
वि(वि)भ्रच्चर्मकलिङ्ग जय ॥ गिरितनयाभमुदाल[ण]द^३ चणहंतः प्रजेशदचस्य
॥^४२८^५(३२)[॥*]^६
- 35 सदैकलिङ्गस्य पदारविंदं भजाम नो याम कदाचिदेव ॥ इत्यं विधाय स्तुति-
मस्य देवताः स्वर्गस्य रक्षाकृतये त्वराकुलाः ॥३०(३६)॥^७ अथ श्रीमञ्जगत्सिंह-
कागितं केलि-
- 36 मंदिरं(रम्) ॥ तदातौवाहुतं मत्वा वैजयंतं न मेनिरि ॥३१(३४)॥^८ अथ द[द्वा]
महादेवीमल्युच्चशिखरिस्थितां(ताम्) ॥ राठासेनाभिधां वंद्यां जानंति स्मेति द(दि)-
वताः ॥^९३२^{१०}(३५)॥^{११} आगल्योदयसागरे-
- 37 अयजले मिष्टांभसि प्रायशो गंभीरं सततं वस्र(स) त्वमघु(घु)ना पचस्य रक्षा-
कृतं ॥ राठासेनगिरिर्द्रुजति सततं मैनाकनामानुजप्रौढ्याह्वानरता न चाव
जग^{१२} तेषायस्त्रिकूटाक्षलात्^{१३}
- 38 ॥३(३)(३६)॥^{१४} अथ आ^{१५}(श्री)मञ्जगत्सिं(क्तिं)हकारितं रूपसागरं(रम्) । विहारखलमालोक्य
निनि(निं)दुर्मानसं सरः ॥[३७]॥*^{१६} अथ दृष्टोदयसागरमध्ये विस्माप[कं] नृणां-
(णाम्) । श्रीराणोद[य]सिंहै^{१७} कारितपि(मि)त्यं [स्तु]तिं
- 39 चक्रुः ॥ ४(३८)॥^{१८} असृताकरंप्युदयसिंहकारिते कमलाकरंप्युदयसागराभिधे ॥ कमला-
पतिः शयितुमुक्नुकोपि संस्तुत एव विस्मित इवावतस्त्रि^{१९}वान्^{२०}[३५](३८)॥^{२१}
- 40 गरघु(घु)तिमलं वीच्चानिशं विस्मयस्तब्धे(ब्धे)न स्थितमव नो गिरिभुवः सौख्यं
गिरिर्द्रं विना ॥ तद्गौरीप्रियकाम्यया नरपतिस्तस्यैव तीरतनोत् कैलाशा(सा)धि-
कनिर्मला(लो)नल्ल(न्नत)म[हो] र[भ्यं]

¹ These two syllables are repeated by mistake.

² Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

³ Although the number of syllabic instants in the latter half of this verse is complete, there is *yati-bhāṅga* between the third and the fourth quarters.

⁴ The mark of punctuation has a top-line.

⁵ There is a horizontal stroke on top of the numeral.

⁶ Metre: *Gīti*.

⁷ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁸ Read *na ch-āpi naga*.

⁹ According to the *Ēkalīṅga-māhātmya* this *Trikūṭāchala* is somewhere near *Ēkalīṅgi*.

¹⁰ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹¹ The medial *ā* is not joined to the top line.

¹² Read *śimhāiḥ*.

¹³ Metre: *Upajāti*.

¹⁴ The medial *i* is not completely engraved.

¹⁵ Metre: *Mañjuhāshai*.

- 41 सुहृदयं न किं(किम्) ॥३६(४०)॥¹ अथ जावराभिधानयामि देवीं महाद्भुतां देवा
॥ दृ[द्वां]वि(वि)क्ताभिधानां नेमुर्यस्याः प्रभावतः सतत(तम्) ॥३७(४१)॥² मेद-
पाटमहीद्राणां [ख]सा³ न्ये(नी) रूप्यमयी शुभा । अग्नि-
- 42 श⁴ खन्यमानापि पूर्णैव भुवि द(दृ)श्यते ॥३८(४२)॥⁵ वर्षे निध्वं(व)रर्विचितिगण-
नयुते भाद्रशुक्लद्वितीया⁶ तिथ्यां श्रीकर्णसूनुस्त्रिजगति सुयशा⁷ श्री[ज]⁸[ग⁹]स्त्रि-
(स्त्रि)दभ(भु)पः [1¹⁰] दत्व(त्वा) श्री-
- 43 रत्नधेनुं मणिकनकमयीं कृष्णभद्राय दुःखादुवर्त्ता पापरूपादृणवरनरका[क्षे]ष भूया-
च्चिरायुः ॥३९(४३)॥¹⁰ भ्रात्रा गरीव(व)दासेन शत्रुसिंहेन च प्रभोः ॥
राजसिंहार(रि)सौ[षे]¹¹(सिंहे)ति क(कु)[मा¹²][राभ्यां¹³] र¹⁴ नु(पु)-
- 44 रा ततः [॥¹⁵]४०(४४)॥¹⁶ वर्षवर्षांतर(र)णाय जगत्त्रि(स्त्रि)हो यमा(दा)तना(नो)त् [1¹⁷]
महादा[ना¹⁸]नि सर्वाणि कल्पद्रुम इव प्रभुः ॥४१(४५)॥¹⁹ जगत्त्रिहो महाराज-
चिंतामणिरिवापरः [1²⁰] पुत्रैः पौत्रैः परि[हृ]तो जीयादाचंद्रतारकं(कम्)
॥४२(४६)॥²¹ [श्रीम]-
- 45 लक्ष्मणमहीशदात्मजगत्त्रिहो(ह)प्रभोराज्ञया प्रासादं किल मेरु(रु)जातिकमिमं श्रीरत्न-
श्रीर्षाज्ञयं(यम्) । भंगोरप्रथितान्वयो गुणनिधी भानोस्तनू[ज]ीत्तमौ शिल्पीशौ स²²
मुकुंदभूषर²³ इति ख्या-
- 46 तौ चिरं चक्रतुः ॥४३(४७)॥²⁴ श्रीमद्भास्करपुत्रमाधवसुतश्रीरामचंद्रोद्भवश्रीसर्वेश्वरभट्ट-
सूनुरभ[व²⁵]त्पूर्वस्त्रिहो(ह)पदः ॥ नाद्यस्तत्सुतरामचंद्र[त]नुजश्रीकृष्णभट्टांगभूलक्ष्मी-
नायकता प्र-
- 47 शस्त्रितुला दद्यात्सतां मंगलं(लम्) ॥४४(४८)॥²⁶ इति श्रीमन्महाराजाधिराजमहाराणा-
श्रीजगत्त्रिहोकारिता कठौडीयामाधिपकृष्णभ[ट्टांगजतै]लंगलक्ष्मीनाथापरनामवाद्भट्ट-
कता प्रशस्तिः संपू-

¹ Metre: *Sardulavikridita*.² Read *dēvīm*.³ Metre: *Ōṭi*.⁴ This syllable is superfluous.⁵ Read *anīyam*.⁶ Metre: *Anuakṣubh*.⁷ Read *trīṅyā* though the metre will suffer.⁸ Read *suśāśā*.⁹ This *danda* is superfluous.¹⁰ Metre: *Śraḡdhārā*.¹¹ There is a dash after *ghē*.¹² This syllable is only partially engraved.¹³ Read *cha*.¹⁴ No *sanidhi* is observed here.¹⁵ The medial *ā* is not joined to the top-line.

- 48 णा(णी)॥ ॥ अचल इव अ(इवा)चलश[क्तिः] कौर्त्वा बुद्ध्या त्रियया द्वियया शक्त्या[1*]
युक्त्या निजपतिभक्त्या कायस्थेशोचलाख्यातः ॥[१॥*]¹ तत्कलकमलदिवाकरतुल्यो-
पूर्वार्धद्विहिं(द्वि)भवयुक्तिः [1*] कल्याणक-
- 49 यजानां कलाभिधानः प्रमाणवचाः [॥२॥*]¹ सद्भिजादिव² वृत्तो³ कलां(ला)भिरति-
वर्द्धमाना(न)बहुशास्त्रः [1*] स 'अर्ज(र्जु)नाभिधानोर्जुन [इ]व भव्योर्जुन⁴ पांडोः
॥[३॥*]⁰

C

- 1 ॥ श्रीमहागणपतये नमः ॥ ॥श्रीजगन्नाथरायजीप्रसादात् ॥ ॥श्रीएकलिंगजीप्र[सा]दात् ॥
॥ श्रीभवान्यै नमः ॥ ॥ श्रीविश्वकर्मणे नमः ॥श्री[ः*] ॥
- 2 ॥ वं(वं)शो रवेरपूर्वेयं यद्गुता भूरिभूभृतः ॥ अंतः क्षिप्ता रसांभोधिं ररक्षुस्तद्विप-
[क्ष]तः ॥१॥⁰ तत्रान्ववाये शिवदत्तराज्यो वापाभिधानोजनि
- 3 मेटपाटे ॥ संग्रामभूमौ पटुसिंहरावं लातीत्वतो रावल इत्यभाणि ॥२॥⁰ राहप्य-
राणा भुवि तस्य वंशे राणेति शब्द(ब्द) प्रथयन् पृथ्विव्यां(व्याम्) ॥ र-
- 4 णो हि धातुः खलु शब्द(ब्द)वाचो तं कारयत्येष रिपुन् दृतात्[र्त्ता]न् ॥३॥⁰
तस्मान्नरपतिराणा दिनकरराणा बभूवाथ ॥ अजनि जसकर्णराणा बभूव त-
- 5 स्माच्च नामपालाख्यः ॥४॥¹⁰ श्रीपूर्णपालनामा पृथ्वीमल्लस्ततो जातः ॥ उदितोय
भुवनसिंहस्तपुत्रो भा¹¹(भी)मसिंहोभूत् ॥५॥¹² अजनि जयसिंह-
- 6 राणा जातस्तस्मान्नय(स्त्र)मसौराणा¹³ ॥ अरसी तता¹⁴ हमीरः संजातः चित्रसिंहोस्मात्
॥६॥¹ तस्मान्नखाभिच्छो(स्थो) राणाश्रीमीकलस्तस्मात् ॥ श्रीकुंभ-
- 7 कर्णे उदभुद्राणाश्रीरायमल्लोस्मात् ॥७॥¹² संग्रामसिंहराणा जाती भूपालमौलिमणिः ॥
श्रीराणोदयसिंहः प्रतापसिंहस्ततो जातः ॥८॥¹² अमरस-

¹ Metre : Āryā.

² Read *Sa-ivijarūḍ-iva*.

³ Read *erikahab*.

⁴ Read *hy-Arjunā*?

⁵ Read *°rjunāb*.

⁶ Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁷ [With this verse and the next cf. nos. 7 and 11 of A—Ed.]

⁸ Metre : *Indravajrā*.

⁹ Metre : *Upajāti*.

¹⁰ Metre : *Ulgiti*.

¹¹ The medial *ā* is not joined to the top-line.

¹² Metre : *Upajāti*.

¹³ The second quarter of this verse is short of one syllabic instant.

¹⁴ Read *talā*.

- 8 मोमरसिंहस्ततो नृपः कर्णसिंहोभूत् ॥ गुणगणहरिस्ततोभूद्राणाश्रीमज्जगत्सिंहः ॥८॥¹
जगत्सिंहमहीभर्तुः कथं चिंतामणिः समः ॥ चिंतनावधिदातार्यं
- 9 चिंतनाधिकदो नृपः ॥१०॥² राणाश्रीराजसिंहोस्मावद्युम्न इव कृष्णतः ॥ यस्य
इ(ट्ट)ष्टा कृतार्थाभूत्समस्तद्विजसंततिः ॥११॥³ श्रीमान् रामः प्रजायां यशसि
नलनृपः
- 10 सत्वसंधासु पार्थो दानं कर्णः प्रतापे प्रकटदिनमणिर्धर्मसूनुर्दयायां⁴(याम्) ॥ राणा-
श्रीराजसिंहः क्षितिकुलतिलकः [श्री]जगत्सिंहपुत्रो जीयादाचंद्रतारागणरविधर-
- 11 शौचीरपाद्योधिगैल(लम्) ॥१२॥⁴ वर्षे निध्वंवरार्धक्षितिगणनयुते फाल्गुनस्य द्वितीया-
तिथ्यां कृष्णाख्यपक्षे सकलनृपमणि⁵ श्रीजगत्सिंहपुत्रः ॥ राज्यश्रीचिह्नभूतं त्रिज-
- 12 गति सुप(ख)दं हेमसिंहासनं सत्वज्ञानेधिष्टि(ष्टि)तोभूत्सकलरिपुकुलवासदो राजसिंहः
॥१३॥⁴ वर्षे निध्वं(व)रार्धक्षितिगणनयुते मार्गशीर्षेपि शुक्ले पंचम्यामेकालिंगे
कनक-
- 13 मणिमयीं सत्तुलां राजताख्यां(ख्याम्) ॥ राणाश्रीराजसिंहः क्षितिपतिमुकुटः श्रीजग-
त्सिंहपुत्रः कृत्वा तत्र द्वि(द्वि)जायगन्धपदि विहितवान् राजराजेंद्रतुल्यान् ॥१४॥⁴
स्वकृ(च्छ)त्वं नोभय-
- 14 च प्रभवति सुकुरे रोचना निंद्यजन्मा रक्षित्वं शोचिये नो तुरगहृषभगोहस्तिनो
ज्ञानहीनाः ॥ वज्रि ।⁶ ज्वान्ताकरालो जलमयमखिलं तौर्धजातं ततोमुं राणा-
श्रीराजसिंहं
- 15 भजत भजत रे मंगलं मंगलार्थं ॥१५॥⁴ लक्ष्मीचित्तस्थितं यद्विजपतिसुप(ख)दं
कंटकासंगशोभं फुल्लम्बिचं समंतादसुर[कु]⁷मधुपैने(नै)व सेव्यं कदापि ॥ शूरो-
त्तापप्रदा-
- 16 नं जडकुलरहितं श्रीजगत्सिंहपु[त्र]श्रीराणाश्रीराजसिंहाद्भुतपदकमलं राजहंसा भजध्वं-
(ध्वम्)॥१६॥⁴ यो नित्यं दापयंतौ त्रिदशतरु(रु)फलान्युच्चकैः प्रापयित्वा वैरिभ्योऽ
- 17 प्रीयमाणौ समरभुवि गलान्कंतयित्वा विविचून् ॥ तिष्ठज्ञोचैव दत्तः स(स्त्र)यमिह
सुफलं यौ सुहृद्भ्यस्तयोः किं राणाश्रीराजसिंहं त्वदतुलकरयोः कल्पह-

¹ Metro: *Upagiti*.

² Metro: *Anushubh*.

³ The medial *ā* is not joined to the top-line.

⁴ Metro: *Sragdhara*.

⁵ Read **nripa-mayib*.

⁶ This *daya* is superfluous.

- 18 त्रेण साम्यं(म्यम्) ॥१७॥¹ नता यो हलिनं द्विजेंद्रचिरं नो रुक्मिणं द्वेषिणं
जिष्णौ दत्तसुभद्रको व(व)लरतः सत्यात्मनि प्रायशः ॥ शूरोद्भूतसुतः सदा
नरपतिं श्रीमागधप्रस्तुतः
- 19 श्रीकृष्णस्तव मस्तको विजयतां श्रीराजसिंहप्रभो ॥१८॥² राणाश्रीराजसिंह त्वदतुल-
विमला दृष्टिरेवै(खै)व गंगा नी चेल्लेशादवासा कथमिह मनुजं पापमुक्तं
विधत्ते ॥
- 20 मूर्ध्निवासा महेशं सपदि करतले पद्मगङ्गं करोति प्राप्ता चेदंनिदेशे कलयति
स[त^३]तं तं नरेशं रमेशं(शम्) ॥१९॥³ म(मं)यन् मां किल मंदराग इह यत्नक्षीं
ददौ मत्सुतां तस्मै श्या-
- 21 मजनार्दनाय तनुजं चंद्रं कपर्दश्रिये ॥ भूत्वा भूपकरः समुद्र इति रुद्रभृश्व-
स्तद्भु(भु)वः पद्माः⁴स्वा(चा)त्मजभृत्यवाडवकरं तज्ज⁵ यशोधोनयत् ॥२०॥⁴
राणाश्रीराजसिं-
- 22 हस्य प्रतापो वाडवानलः ॥ देहं गेहं तृणप्रायं जहञ्जीवनमाचहत् ॥२१॥⁵ राणाश्री-
राजसिंहोयं राजते भूमिमंडले ॥ यत्प्रतापासहः सूर्यो गमनेभूत्सहस्त(स)-
पात् ॥२२॥⁶
- 23 राणाश्रीराजसिंहेंद्र गुणैर्ब्रह्मो भवान् भुवं(वम्) ॥ सहाननीरदो नित्यं व(व)लिभ्राजो
नतानतः ॥२३॥⁶ श्रीमज्जगत्सिंहनवीनभानोः श्रीराजसिंहः प्रतिविंबरूपः ॥ चिचं
ज-
- 24 गव्याणहतोप्यलोलः प्रकाशकृतापकरो⁷ जडांतः ॥२४॥⁷ अष्टापदतिरस्कारि सदयं
हृदयं प्रभोः ॥ राणाश्रीराजसिंहस्य हरिर्वसति तत्सदा ॥२४(५)॥⁸ चित्तोन्नेष-
वृषः
- 25 सदा समिधुनः कीर्त्वा प्रतापेन सत्कर्को नास्ति तु सिंह एष हितभूत्कान्यकः
सत्तुलः ॥ सत्यालिः सुधनुर्मुखे हि मकरः सत्कं(त्कुं)भिमीनेचणो नित्यं
द्वादशराशिसंगत

¹ Metre: *Sragdharā*.

² Read *nara-patiḥ*.

³ Metre: *Sārālavikrīṣṭā*.

⁴ Read *Padmā*.

⁵ Read *taj-jam*.

⁶ Metre: *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁷ Better read *śāpa-harō*.

⁸ Metre: *Dvajāti*.

- 26 इतो भास्वान् नवीनो भवान् ॥२६॥^१ वर्षे वा(वा)णांव(व)रर्षिचित्तिगणनयुते माधवे
शुक्रपक्षे पूर्णायां पूर्णकामः कनकमणिमयी सत्तुलां शूकराख्ये ॥ चेत्त्रे गंगा-
तटांते
- 27 द्विजगणमहिते श्रौजगक्षिंहपुत्रः कौमारे संविधाय स्वजनपरजनात्माकरोत्किं धनाब्धान्
॥२७॥^२ अचतारमुनीद्वये(द्वे) मार्गस्यासितपक्षत्रे ॥ त्रयोदश्यामथाश्री-
- 28 तिं ददौ कन्या महाप्रभुः ॥२८॥^३ राणाश्रीराजसिंह त्वमिह भुवि भवन् कल्प-
वृत्तावतारो दत्त्वा(त्त्वा)संख्याश्रनागैः कनकमणियुताश्रीतिसंख्याः सुकन्याः ॥
व्यासेनोक्तं नृ-
- 29 कन्यागजहयमण्डितः कल्पवृक्षस्तदेतन्मिथ्येत्युक्तिं नराणां दलयितुमभवस्तुं मुनिस्तत्त्व
पायात् ॥२९॥^४ मुनिव्योममुनीद्वये(द्वे) तडागांते स्वमंदिरं(रम्) ॥ राणाश्रीरा-
- 30 जसिंहोयं कौमारे कृतवान्प्रभुः ॥३०॥^५ शक्रः स्वानुजविष्णुमेत्य यदि चेद्याचेत
पक्षच्छि(च्छि)दां नूनं चक्रधरादिहापि जलधौ पक्षस्य रक्षा ने तत् ॥
मैनाकः किमु सेवते
- 31 बहुतरस्त्रेहाय कौमारतो राणाश्रीयुतराजसिंह भवतः प्रासादवर्यच्छ(च्छ)लात् ॥३१॥^६
त्र(त्र)घ्ना वल्गहतौ हरेरिव गुणान् ज्ञातुं तव प्रायशः संप्राप्तचतुरान-
- 32 नोपि न गुणप्रांतं यदा ज्ञातवान् ॥ वी(वी)डाजाद्युतस्तदास्थित इह प्रायो
गवाक्षाननो राणाश्रीयुतराजसिंह भवतः कौमारसौधच्छलात् ॥३२॥^७ मूढा यत्र
वर्दति
- 33 चित्रमखिलं यच्चि(च्चि)त्रकचित्रितं तन्मध्ये न कुमारमंदिरमिदं किंत्वद्भुतं प्रेक्षितं ॥
आयातैस्त्रिदिवाधिपादिकसुरैर्द[ष्टा] मुहुवि(विं)भित्तैश्चित्रोभूय सदा स्थितं स्थि-
- 34 तमहो पातालदेवैरपि ॥३३॥^८ राणाश्रीराजसिंहोयं वाटी(टि)कामद्भुता(तां) व्यधात् ॥
वैजयंतमिव चा(प्रा)प्तं तत्र प्रासादमातनोत् ॥३४॥^९ विष्णोश्च(च)क्रमिव प्रताप-
दहनः श्रीमिदपा-
- 35 टप्रभोः सोढुं दुःसह एष मानकलितेर्नस्वानुकंपी परं(रम्) ॥ इत्थं चंद्रमसा
विचिंत्य सुचिरं श्रीराजसिंहप्रभोरुघा(द्या)ने स्वकृतादसौधमिपतो नूनं निवासः
कृतः ॥३५॥^{१०}

^१ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.^२ Metre : Śraḡgharā.^३ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.^४ Read *sva-krit-āchchha-*.

- 36 राणाश्रीजगदादासिंहरचितं यन्मन्दिरं श्रीपते राणाश्रीधरराजसिंहविहितं तस्यैव पार्श्वेऽवतः ॥ शंभुश्रीगणपार्यमाचलतनूजानां सुधांशुच्छविप्रासादाच्छच-
- 37 तुष्टयं कविरिहोत्योच्चमकार्पीदिमां(माम्) । ३६॥¹ राणाश्रीपतिराजसिंहवृपते² कौर्त्तिर्नटी स्वैरिणी स्पृ[द्वा] मोहमहो विधास्यति ततः सार्धं महाविष्णुना ॥ वत्सगामः
- 38 किल प(पं)चभिर्भवति यद्यत्तं हि तत्सन्मु(म्मु)खं हं हं स्वैर्भवनेर्वस(सं)त्यपि शिवे-
भास्येनशैलात्मजाः ॥ ३७॥¹ द्रष्टुं देहजमर्बु(र्बु)दं हिमवतः श्रीविष्णुसन्नच्छलात् प्रा-
- 39 सस्याच्च सुपुण्ड्रके स्थितवतः श्रीमेदपाटे चिरं(रम्) ॥ राणाश्रीधरराजसिंहकृतसद्देवा-
लयानां मिषात्लो(लो)के भिन्नरुचे[र्ह]दैव दधतस्तं तं सुरं तत्सुताः ॥ ३८॥¹
राणाश्रीयुतरा-
- 40 जसिंहयशसा व्याप्तत्रिलोकोत्तले मायेशो हरिरेव नीलरुचितां धत्ते न चान्ये
भुवि ॥ नाध्व[त्ता] वयमेतदंगकसुराः स्यामोनुमेया अपि प्रायः शंभुगणेश-
सूर्यगि-
- 41 [रि*]जा ऐशानतस्तत्स्थिताः ॥ ३९॥¹ देवाः सर्वे सद्गुणैर्वंधमामा गेहान् कृत्वा
श्रीपतेः पार्श्वतः किं(किम्) ॥ कृत्वा शैलीं मूर्त्तिमेवात्र तस्युः श्रीमान्शं(शं)-
भुः सहजास्येन चंडाः ॥ ४०॥²
- 42 राणाश्रीराजसिंह त्वदतुलवपतः सद्गुणैक्येन रुद्रः पृथ्वां दत्ताङ्गजौघात् सजलघनर-
वात्(र्ह)तिवक्तो गणेशः ॥ सूर्यस्तत्ते प्रतापात् तव भुजबलतर्चंडिका शस्त्र-
- 43 देवी कृत्वा गेहान् सलज्जा अभिहरिनिलयं पार्श्वतः किं निलीनाः ॥ ४१॥⁴
सिंचेन्मां करशा(शी)करैः करिसुखो मां वृष्टिकर्ता रविर्मेघैरित्यसुभौ गणेशन(त)-
पनौ किं त्वत्प्रता-
- 44 पाकुलौ ॥ सिंचेन्मां विधुमौलिरेष सुधया मां चंद्रवक्त्रा शिवा सिंचेदेवसुभौ
हरो हिमगिरिः पुत्रौ च [तौ*] संमुखौ ॥ ४२॥¹ लोके यास्ति प्रतिष्ठा प्रति-
दिनसुदयन्लोकया-
- 45 चाकृदेष चातुं तां किं निमज्ज्य(ज्य) प्रतिरजनि जले वारिधेः साश्वसूतः ॥ भूयी
लज्जालुरुघ(द्य)न्ननुदिनमवशः प्रायशो याति वेगाद्राणाश्रीराजसिंहचितिपकुल-

¹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

² Read *nripatē.

³ Metre: Śālnī.

⁴ Metre: Bragdhara.

⁵ The medial ā is not joined to the top-line.

- 46 मणैः किं प्रतापोपतमः ॥४३॥¹ एकं पुत्रं समुद्रः कलयति हृदये वाडवं जीवनेः
स्त्रैरन्यं नेत्रे महेशस्तडित इह सुता वारिंद(दे)भ्यः प्रदत्ताः ॥ तत्रिचिंतो
दि-
- 47 गंतान् व्रजति च जवतः प्राप्य दिग्भ्योत्रिसेवौ राणाश्रीराजसिंहचित्तिपकुलमणैः
सत्प्रतापोपि इहः ॥४४॥¹ राणाश्रीराजसिंह त्वदतुलसुयशःसत्प्रता-
- 48 पाख्यभूषे कर्त्त(र्त्तुं) चंद्रान् सुवर्ज्जान् हर इह [व]धये स्वरुवा(का)राय दत्वा-
(चा) ॥ अन्यैद्र(द्र)व्यैर्न कुर्यादिति मनसि² भिया तत्परीक्षार्थमिंदोः खंडं
वर्ज्जं च तत्तत्सद(द)शमिह दधत् पातु व-
- 49 बद्रचूडः ॥४५॥¹ राणाश्रीराजसिंहोयं पुत्रत्रयविराजितः ॥ शंभुर्नेत्रत्रयेणैव जीयादा-
चंद्रतारकं(कम्) ॥४६॥¹ श्रीमद्भास्करपुत्रमाधवसुतश्रीरामचंद्रोद्भवश्रीमर्वेश्व-
- 50 [र³]भट्सुनुरभवत्पुवस्वल्क्ष्मीपतिः⁴ ॥ नाथस्तत्सुतरामचंद्र[त]नुजश्रीकृष्णभट्टांगभूलक्ष्मी-
नाथकृतिः सतां(ता)मधिसुदे भूवा(या)दियं निर्मला ॥४७॥⁵ इति श्रीम-
- 51 त्रिखिलभूपालमौलिमालामणिमरीचिनीराजितचरणारविंदमहाराजाधिराजमहारां(रा)णाश्री-
[म⁶]ज्जगसिंहस्य पुत्रस्य⁷ राणाश्रीराजसिंहस्य प्रशस्ती⁸
- 52 ॥ राणाश्रीमज्जगसिंहैः कृपया [क]याया⁹हितः ॥ प्रासादेस्मिन् महाकार्यप्यधि-
कारी कृतः सुधीः ॥१॥¹ गुघावतकुली(लो)त्पन्नः पंचोली [च¹⁰] कलासुतः ॥
अर्ज(र्ज)नो नाम पुण्यः-
- 53 का भूयात्कार्यकरो हरः ॥२॥¹ भंगोराज्ञातिराजातनुजविमलधीः सूत्रधारो हि भाषा
[त]त्पुत्रः श्रीमुकं(कुं)दो वशस[कल]¹⁰कलो भूधराख्यो द्वितीयः ॥ याभ्यां
- 54 ग्रामः प्रदत्तो हतरिपुनिकरश्रीजम(ग)सिंहभूपैर्दत्तो सौवर्णरौप्यौ क्रम[त¹¹] इह
कृपाख्यापकौ मापदंडौ [[३॥¹²] राणाश्रीमज्जगसि(सिंह)कारितं मंदिरं शुभं-
(भम्) [1¹³] ताभ्यां(भ्या)मिव कृतं

¹ Metro : *Sragdharā*.

² The medial *i* is not completely engraved.

³ The *anusvara* is very faint.

⁴ Metro : *Anushubh*.

⁵ Read *Lakshmi-pada*.

⁶ Metro *Sardulavikridita*.

⁷ Better read *Jagatsinika-putrasya*.

⁸ Read *prastiti*.

⁹ Read *kripaya*.

¹⁰ These two letters are written above the line.

- 55 श्रीमज्जागन्नायाभिधप्रभोः । [१*] २(४) ॥' ताभ्यां श्रीमज्जगत्तिह(डा)या(डा)मो देवदडा-
भिधः [॥*] चिचकूटातिकः प्राप्तः प्रतिष्ठा(डा)यां रमापति ॥२(५)॥'
- 56 सूत्रमुक्तं(कुं)दोडववा(वा)घा अस्मरी लिपिच(म)गमत् ॥ संवत् १७०८ वर्षे
द्विति(ती)यवैशाख(ख)सु(शु)दिपु(पू)र्णमासि गुरुवासरं श्रीजगन्नाथरायजी पाट
- 57 पधराया [॥*] कृष्णभट्टपुत्रवावु(वू)कृ(कृ)ता [॥*]

No 12.—SRIRANGAM INSCRIPTION OF GARUDAVAHANA-BHATTA : SAKA 1415.

By A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

The Raṅganātha temple at Śrīraṅgam has been eulogised by several Ājvārs in the beautiful hymns of the *Nālayiraprabandham*.¹ It was also the place where many eminent *āchāryas*² including the great Rāmānuja and Maṇavāla-Mahāmuni had sojourned.

The subjoined record (A), which is complete and in a good state of preservation, is engraved on three sides of a well-dressed slab of stone set up in front of the Dhanvantari shrine in the fourth *prākāra* of this temple. The documentary portion of this epigraph consists of one long sentence composed in correct **Tamiḷ prose**; while here and there a few Sanskrit words, engraved in Grantha characters, add a certain piquancy to the style.

The record does not refer itself to the reign of any king or chieftain, but simply states that it was issued in the régime of a certain *Iṅṅadakālemeḍutta-Perumā* alias *Kūḍal Uttama-nambi-Pillai*. It is dated in **Śaka 1415**, corresponding to the cyclic year **Pramādi**, on a Monday with *pañchamī-tīthi* of the first fortnight and Pushya-nakshatra. These details give the English equivalent **A. D. 1493, May 20, Monday**.

The object of the inscription is to register a gift of 2 *vēli* of land made by Śrīnivāsa alias *Śrīraṅga-Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa*, son of Aḷagiyamaṇavāla-Maṅgalādarāya, (a member) of the *bhaṭṭāl-kottu* of the temple, who constructed a new the *ārōgyasālai* which had been formerly erected by an ancestor of his by name *Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa* in the time of Pratāpachakravartin and had suffered damage during the *vāyam*, and installed therein an image of *Dhanvantari-Emberumāp*. It is stated that this land, which was situated in *Pāṇḍamaṅgalam*,³ had been in the enjoyment of the earlier *Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa* (and his descendants), having been granted to him as *pallakku-mānyam* for having composed a *prabandham* called the *Raṅgaghōṣhayai*,⁴ evidently in praise of god Raṅganātha, and that it was now transferred to the temple for conducting worship to the newly installed image of *Dhanvantari* and for supplying *kuḍinīr-amudu*⁵ to god *Perumā* (Raṅganātha).

¹ Metre : *Anuśṭubh*.

² Read *Ramāpatē*.

³ Read *aṣmarin*.

⁴ The sentence means that *Vā(Bā)ghā* got (the task of) engraving (the epigraph).

⁵ Such as *Tirumaṅgal-Ājvār*, *Kulaśekhara*, *Toṅḍaraḍippoḍi*, *Tiruppāpājvār* and all the others except *Madhurakavi*.

⁶ The *Kōyiloḷuḅu* (Ananda Press, 1909), pp. 39 and 116.

⁷ *Pāṇḍamaṅgalam* is a village near Trichinopoly. It is also mentioned in the Śrīraṅgam plates of *Dēvarāya II* (above, Vol. XVII, p. 111).

⁸ This work is not extant now, so far as it can be ascertained.

⁹ *Kuḍinīr* is the Tamiḷ word for *kashāya* and is used in this sense in Tamiḷ medical works.

The record is important for Sanskrit literary history, as it helps us to identify this Garuḍavāhana of A. D. 1493, with the author of the hagiological *kāvya* called the *Divyasūri-charitam*, as will be shown in the sequel, setting aside its traditional attribution to a contemporary of Rāmānuja (12th cent. A. D.), and as it mentions also that the earlier Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa of A. D. 1257 was probably the author of a *prabandham* named the *Raṅgaghōshayai*. Further interest attaches to this epigraph in its reference to the existence of a temple-hospital at Śrīraṅgam and to the erection of a shrine for Dhanvantari, which is not found elsewhere in South India.

The construction of the *ārōgyasālai* referred to in this record is mentioned in an incomplete inscription, engraved on another slab set up near this, and dated in the 3rd year of the Hoysala king Pratāpachakravartin Vīra-Rāmanāthadēva (corresponding to A. D. 1257). It registers a gift of land by the general [Śi]ṅgadēva Śiṅgaṇṇa-Daṇḍanāyaka to a certain Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa for the maintenance of a *sālai* in the temple. The inscription reads thus :—

(B)

Śrīmat-pratāpachchakkaravattiga] Śrī-Rāmanāthadēvar pradhānaril [Śi]ṅgadēva Śiṅgaṇṇa-Daṇḍanāyakkapēṅ mūppāvadu Kāttigai-māsattu oru-nāḷ Śrīraṅganāthaṅ dhanmam-āga Eḍuttakai-aḷagiya-Nāyaṅār eḷundaruḷi-irukkīra tiru-ggōpurattukku mēl-arugāga-ttirunaḍai-māḷigaiyile oru sālaiyum śamaittu-chchālaippuṇam-āga-pPāṇḍikulāsaṅi-vaḷanāṭṭu Viḷā-nāṭṭup garam-āṅa Mummuḍiśōḷach-charuppēdimaṅgalattu¹
 . . . nāṅ inda-kkāṅikkum iraiyilikkum-āga śrībhāṇḍārattu oḍukkiṅa varāhaṅ poṅ āyiratt=oru-nūru [i*] i-ppoṅ āyirattu oru-nūṅṅukkum ippaḍiyāl koṇḍa nīlattil udayaṅ-koṇḍu vaijya-parichāraḱḱum aushadhattukkum chandrādityavarai sēlvadāga Śrīraṅganāthaṅ tandaruḷiṅa tirumugappaḍiyum mahāniyōgappaḍiyilē i-ddhanmam śeyvadāga niśchayit(ta)tu vaijyaril eṅakkum rakshakarāy i-ddharmmam neḍunāḷpaḍa naḍattikkonḍu vanda nāyakaṅ-āṅa Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭarukku aiṅ-guṇṇi nellum parichāraḱḱarāy kaḍaikkuṭṭāy i-ddharmmam naḍatta Tōḷmālaiyaḷagiyaṅṅku mu-kkuṇṇi ne-[i*]lum parichāraḱḱar iruvarkku tūṅi-ppadaku nīkki uḷḷadilē nāḷ oṅṅurukku nūru kāsāl vanda aushadham koṇḍu

The *Kōyilolugu*,² a late Tamil compilation of about the end of the 18th century, purporting to be a 'chronicle' of the happenings in the Śrīraṅgam temple for several centuries, in which, however, several incidents, historical and otherwise, are found somewhat mixed together in a haphazard sequence,³ also makes mention of the institution of an *ārōgyasālai* in the temple premises and its subsequent repair after its destruction during the Muhammadan raids. The relevant entries are the following :—

- (i) A disciple of Yatipati (Rāmānuja) named Mudaliyaṅḍāṅ having inadvertently added some *jambu* fruits to the curd-rice offering of god Raṅganātha, Rāmānuja detected signs of indisposition in the face of the image and traced its cause to this injudicious offering. He at once ordered some *kashāya* to be administered to the deity and

¹ There is a village now known as Mummuḍiśōḷamaṅgalam in the Lalgudi taluk.

² This compilation, part I of which has been published (Ananda Press, 1909), takes the history of the temple to Śaka 1501, nearly to the end of the 16th century A. D. Further parts are expected to be published. In several places the contents of the inscriptions are seen to have been correctly incorporated.

³ In cases where Śaka dates are also recorded, this jumbling is not harmful; but in cases where the statements are not set off by dates, their chronological sequence is difficult to determine.

arranged for the regular supply of this decoction to the god every night, through the agency of his **disciple Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍita**.¹

(ii) The benefaction of Gaṅgaidēvar² Śiṅgaṇa-Daṇḍanāyakkar :—

The *ārōgyasālai* and the *tirumaṇḍaṁḷigai* are the gifts of Gaṅgaidēvar² Śiṅgaṇa-Daṇḍanāyakkar, one of the agents (*kāriyappēr*) of Pratāpachakravartin.³

(iii) The benefaction of Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍitar :—

The *ārōgyasālai* and the *tirumaṇḍaṁḷigai*, which had been erected by Gaṅgaidēvar² alias Śiṅgaṇa-Daṇḍanāyakkar, agent of Pratāpachakravartin, and which had been a *kainkarya* of Uḍaiyavar, having been damaged during the *tulukka-vāṇam*, this shrine, *gōpura*, rampart wall (*maḍil*), *tirumaṇḍaṁḷam* and the frontal *muhappu-maṇḍaṁḷam* are the benefactions of Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍita. The title of Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍita is in use for the Superintendents of the *ārōgyasālai* from the time of Uḍaiyavar.⁴

As in the *Kōyiloḷuḡu* a Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍita is stated to have been a disciple of Rāmānuja, who lived (according to the traditional chronograms ' *dhir-labdhā* ' and ' *dharmō nashṭah* ')⁵ from A. D. 1017 to 1137, it is not possible to identify him with the Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa, who was installed as superintendent in the *sālai* in the 3rd year of Vira-Rāmanātha corresponding to A. D. 1257, more than a century later. The incumbent in the hospital figuring in the present record of A. D. 1493 who lived more than two centuries later than the second Garuḍavāhana mentioned above, had also the same surname of Garuḍavāhana attached to his own personal name of Śrīnivāsa. Thus, as attested to by the *Kōyiloḷuḡu* also, the cognomen ' Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍita ' appears to have been in the nature of a hereditary title assumed by the successive superintendents of the *ārōgyasālā*; and so one has to proceed with caution in the matter of identifying persons having this same title.

Now the *Divyasūricharitam*,⁶ a Sanskrit hagiology composed in the classic *kāvya* style and dealing with the lives of the Ājvārs and Āchāryas (*Divyasūris*) up to Rāmānuja, is known to be the composition of a Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍita; and it has been traditionally ascribed to an alleged disciple of Rāmānuja of that name. This work contains the following colophons, one in prose and the other in verse, at the end of its first *sarga* :

(i) Iti **Kāśyapa-kula-tilakasya Raṅgādhip-ārōgyasālā-vallabhasya Kavi-vaidya-purandar-āpara-nāmadhōyasya Śrīraṅga⁷-Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍitasya Śrīnivāsa-kavēḷḷ** kṛitau **Divyasūricharitē mahākāvye** prathamā-sargaḥ |

(ii) Yan-nātbaḥ phapirāja-bhōga-śayanō Raṅgēśvarō yat-pitā

Saumyaśrīsakha-Maṅgalādhīpa-vibhuḥ sarvajña-chuḍāmaṇiḥ |

¹ The *Kōyiloḷuḡu*, p. 43.

² This name appears to be a misreading of Śiṅgadēva, given in the records.

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 12. The inscription uses the word *sālai* simply, but apparently an *ārōgyasālā* or ' hospital ' was meant.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, p. 120. In both these cases, the dates are not given; but these extracts assuredly refer to the contents of the two records reviewed in this paper.

⁵ *History of Śrīvaiṣṇavas* (T. A. G.), pp. 46 and 47.

⁶ *Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts*, Madras, (1918), Vol. XXI, No. 12150.

⁷ *Ibid.* In some printed versions the word ' Śrīraṅga ' is omitted.

Yan-mātā Bhuvanādhipā Vihagarādvāh-ābhidha-Śrīsadaḥ

Kāvyē divyati Divyasūricharitē sargō-'yam-ādir-gataḥ¹ ||

From them we learn that the author of that *kāvya* was called Śrīraṅga-Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍita, that his father's name was Saumyaśrīśakha-Maṅgalādhipa,² his mother was called Bhuvanādhipā,³ that he belonged to the Kāśyapa-gōtra, that he bore the title of *Kavi-vaidya-purandara*, and that he was in charge of the *ārōgyasālā* of god Raṅgarāja. As the donor figuring in the present record (A) is described as the son of Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷa-Maṅgalādarāyar and was called Śrīnivāsa *alias* Śrīraṅga-Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa, we are enabled to identify him with the author of the *Divyasūricharitam*. As this inscription does not, however, specify the title of *Kavi-vaidya-purandara* to the Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa mentioned in it (not called a 'Paṇḍita' yet!) in A. D. 1493, we may perhaps infer that this work,⁴ whose composition may have earned for its author the title of 'Kavi' had not been composed yet, and that it may therefore be ascribed to the closing years of the 15th century A. D., *i.e.*, to about A. D. 1500. The hitherto prevailing idea that it was the work of a contemporary of Rāmānuja⁴ may now be given up.

¹ In an article on the *Divyasūricharitam* published in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XIII, pp. 131 *et. seq.*, the following alternative verse-colophon is quoted from the Mysore edition of the work:

Svāmī Raṅgapatir-gurur-Varavarādhiśā-cha yasy-ātulō
Vādhūlō Varadaḥ pitā Varavara-Kṣhēmēśa-Lakṣmīśakhaḥ |
Lōkēśa janani tu tasya Garuḍāśrīvāhana-Śrīsadaḥ
Kāvyē divvyati Divyasūricharitē sargō-'yam-ādir-gataḥ ||

From this we learn that author's tutelary deity was 'Raṅgapati'; his spiritual guru was Varavarādhiśā; his maternal uncle (*yam-mātulō* has been taken to be the probable correct reading in place of *yasy-ātulō*, which does not give a clear meaning) was Vādhūla-Varada; his father was vara-Lakṣmīśakha (Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷa) Kṣhēmēśa (Maṅgalādhipa) (*cf.* Saumyaśrīśakha-Maṅgalādhipaḥ of the other verse); his mother was Lōkēśā (*cf.* Bhuvanādhipā of the other verse); and that his own name was Garuḍāśrīvāhana-Śrīsadaḥ (*cf.* Vihagarādvāh-ābhidha-Śrīsadaḥ of the other verse). These details agree with those given in the other colophon; while two additional names are mentioned in this verse. There is therefore no discrepancy in the biographical details furnished in the two colophons.

² Saumya-śrīśakha is clearly a Sanskritisation of Aḷagiyamaṇavāḷa. Another more popular translation was Ramya-jāmātri. Bhuvanādhipā appears to be a similar artificial translation of a Tamil name, Bhūmiyāṇḍāḷ, Ulaṅḍaiyāḷ or some equivalent of it.

³ In *Sarga* 17 of this work, the author refers in an impersonal manner to the *jambu* and *daddyannam* incident which led to the founding of the hospital under an earlier Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍita thus:

Raṅgēśam yatipatir-ēkadā sva-śiśyād-daddyann-ānupada-nivēdyamāna-jambum |
Śrutvā tan-mīlanavāśād-vishātīrēki prahārid-yatitilakas-sa Raṅgibhṛityam || (v. 86)
Rājūy-ōpacharaṇa-lālasō Murāru tad-dōsha-prasāman-ādāpayat-kashāyam |
Ārōgy-ōpapadam-ath-ākālayya śūlām śrī-Dhanvantari-haridhāma tach-ōhakāra || (v. 87)

⁴ It is interesting to note that Mr. B. V. Ramanujam, M.A., who has examined the problem from a purely literary view-point has also arrived at the same conclusion. (*Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XIII, p. 186.)

In his *History of Śrīvaiśṇavaras*, (Subrahmanya Ayyar Lectures, 1917), p. 56, Mr. Gopinatha Rao, however, identifies this author with the disciple of Rāmānuja and places him before Pinbalagiyaperumāl-Jīyar, the author of the *Garuparamparā* in Tamil (*c.* 14th cent. A. D.)

In this connection it may be mentioned that the *Uttamanambivāśyaprahāvam* (p. 7) states that a Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍita Śrī-Uttamanambi *alias* Kavivaidyapurandara Śrīnivāsa-mahākavi lived in Śaka 995 (=A. D. 1073) and welcomed Rāmānuja on his first arrival at Śrīraṅgam. This statement appears to have been based on the usual tradition which connects one Garuḍavāhana with Rāmānuja; and the mention of Śrīnivāsa as his personal name appears to be the result of a promiscuous mixing of different facts. He is enumerated as the 74th in descent from Periyālvār of Kali 46. The list of names of Uttamanambis with their respective ages, as tabulated in this pamphlet, cannot stand a critical examination.

It therefore follows that the three Garuḍavāhanas who figure in the above discussion, were different one from the other:—

- (i) A Garuḍavāhana-Paṇḍita, traditionally believed to have been a disciple of Rāmānuja, who started an *ārōgyasālā* under instructions from his *guru*, for which we have only the authority of the *Divyasūricharitam* and the *Kōyilolugu*;
- (ii) a second Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa, a contemporary of Vira-Rāmanātha in A. D. 1257, who received endowments of land for the hospital from the Hoysala general Śiṅgaṇṇa-Daṇḍanāyaka, and who was probably the author of a *prabandham* called the *Raṅga-ghōshayai*¹; and
- (iii) a third Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa of A. D. 1493, the hagiographer-author of the *Divyasūricharitam*, who reconstructed the *ārōgyasālā* which had fallen into decay owing to the Muhammadan invasions, and installed therein an image of Dhavantāri-Emberumān.

The historical and other facts contained in these two records may now be examined.

(a) As stated already, record (B) of the time of Vira-Rāmanātha states that Śiṅgaṇṇa-Daṇḍanāyaka, the *pradhāna* of the Hoysala king, partitioned off a portion of the covered corridor (*tirunaḍaimāḷigai*) to the west of the Eḍuttakai-aḷagiyā-Nāyaṇār-*gōpura* in the fourth *prākāra* of the Raṅganātha temple, and converted it into a hall for conducting a *sālāi*² (a hospital). He then purchased 16 and odd *vēli* of land in Mummuḍisōḷa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Viḷā-nāḍu, a subdivision of Pāṇḍikulāsāṇi-vaḷanāḍu, for 1160 *varāhaṅ-pon* and arranged that, from the produce of this fairly extensive block of land, the doctor in charge of the temple-hospital, namely Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa, be paid an allowance of 5 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy per day, his assistant and colleague³ Tōḷmālaiyaḷagiyār 3 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy, and two men-attendants (*vaidyā-parichārakar*) 1 *tūni* and 1 *paḍakku* each, while medicines to the value of 100 *kāsu* per day were prepared. As this record is incomplete, it is not possible to know if this outpatients' dispensary simply ministered to the health-needs of the servants and others of the temple establishment only, or functioned in the more comprehensive sense of a philanthropic institution for the community at large. The famous hospital inscription⁴ of Virarājendra (A. D. 1069) at Tirumukkūḍal in the Conjeevaram taluk of the Chingleput District gives us a fairly detailed idea as to how such an institution worked at that time, and what medicines were prepared and kept in stock for the needs of the students of the Vedic seminary attached to the temple there. The present epigraph does not furnish any such illuminating details, but is, however, of topical interest in that it refers to the existence of a temple-hospital which, in addition perhaps to its usual pharmaceutical activities, also prepared and supplied a *kashāya* as an offering to god Raṅganātha every night, as an item of the temple ritual.⁵ Though the explanation offered for the inclusion of this stomachic in the god's dietary may at first sight appear far-fetched, it shows with what royal pomp and reverence god Raṅgarāja was venerated by his devotees and how the daily routine of worship was regulated with such close adherence to meticulous detail.

¹ See also note 7 on page 100 below.

² *Sālāi* ordinarily means only 'a hall, a feeding hall'; but as provision was made for a doctor and drugs, an *āśulāsālāi* is meant. It is actually referred to as an *ārōgyasālāi* in record (A).

³ '*Koḍaiikkūṭṭay*' is the word used in the inscription. It means 'one who actually carries out a certain duty', a '*nirādhaka*'. In Periyavācchān-Piḷḷai's commentary on *Tiruppāvai* (*Mārgaṅgi-nirāḍal*) occurs this sentence: *Kriṣṇaṅ iḍukku koḍaiikkūṭṭay-āgarum* (*nirāivēṅgi-vaippavaṅ-āgarum*) *kaḍavaṅ*.

⁴ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 220 ff.

⁵ The offering of a medicinal decoction to god at night is understood to be in vogue in one or two other temples in South India, at Madura, for instance.

(b) The expression *Vaidyariḷ eṇakkum rakshakarūy i-dāharmnam neḍunāḷpaḍa naḍattikkonḍu vanda nāyakan-āṇa*¹ *Garuḍavāhana-Bhattar* used in the record (B) in referring to the physician, has perhaps to be understood in the sense that something in the nature of a private hospital was already being conducted by Garuḍavāhana for a long time and that the Hoysaḷa general Śiṅgaṇṇa-Daṇḍanāyaka who had personally benefited by this doctor's services made this munificent donation of land to the hospital in token of his gratitude.

(c) A certain Śiṅgaṇṇa-Daṇḍanāyaka, a general in the army of the Hoysaḷa king Vira-Sōmēśvara is stated to have invaded the Tamil country in about A. D. 1240-41, the 25th year of Rājarāja III, for an inscription² at Vēdāranyam in the Tanjore District dated in the 30th year of this Chōḷa king (A. D. 1246) refers to the effects of this invasion which necessitated the reconsecration of some images in the temple of Kōḍikkulaḷar at that place; while a general of the same name figures in a Tiruvaṇṇāmalai record³ dated in the 5th year of Rājendra-Chōḷa III (A. D. 1250). We have no means of determining their identity with the Śiṅgaṇṇa of record (B). In another record⁴ from Śembāttūr in the Pudukkōtah State dated in the 23rd year of Vira-Sōmēśvara (A. D. 1256-57), a general described as *Mahūperiyapradhāna Śiṅgaṇṇa-Daṇḍanāyaka*, son of *Mahāpradhāna Śiṅgaradēva-Daṇḍanāyaka*⁵ is mentioned; and he was probably identical with this Śiṅgaṇṇa. It is possible that this Śiṅgaṇṇa was trampled underfoot by the *mast* elephant of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, as claimed in a record of his at Śrīraṅgam,⁶ and that this event may have happened by A. D. 1261, as the Pāṇḍya king appears to have made his entry into Śrīraṅgam at about this time.

(d) Rāmānuja is mentioned in the *Kōyiloḷugu*⁷ as having been in charge of the Śrīraṅgam temple for over 60 years, and as having regularised the respective duties to be performed by the several groups of temple priests and menials and introduced many salutary reforms in its internal administration. Among the ten sections into which he is stated to have classified the superior service of the temple establishment, the *bhattāḷ-kottu* is one; and the duties devolving on the several Brāhman families which were clubbed together into this administrative classification, consisted mainly of chanting the different *Vēdas* and of expounding the *Mīmāṃsā* and the *Śrībhāshyam*⁸ in the temple. To this *bhattāḷ-kottu* Śrīraṅga-Garuḍavāhana⁹ of this record belonged; and being the hereditary physician of the temple, it is but proper that he should have repaired the *ārōgyasālā*, installed an image of Dhanvantari in it and arranged for the daily supply of *kuḍinīr* to god Raṅganātha of the main temple.

(e) As regards the Dhanvantari-Emberumāṇ stated to have been consecrated in A. D. 1493, it is not definite if an already extant shrine was only renovated now. The incomplete record (B) of the time of Rāmānātha does not contain any allusion to it or to the provision of *kuḍinīr* to god Raṅganātha. The *Kōyiloḷugu*, however, says that a shrine of this deity which had been in existence even long before the time of Rāmānuja (*purāṇasiddha*) and had become dilapidated, was repaired during his trusteeship of the Śrīraṅgam temple and left in charge of his disciple

¹ *Nāyakan* in the sense of 'the head' of the hospital.

² *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1909-10, p. 154 and No. 501 of 1904 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

³ *S. I. I. (Texts)*, Vol. VIII, No. 88. The general is called Mahāpradhāṇa Maṇḍalikariyamarājaṇ Śiṅgaṇṇa-Daṇḍanāyaka.

⁴ No. 215 of 1914 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁵ The name Śiṅgaradēva appears to be a mistake for Śiṅgadēva.

⁶ *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 507. The verse reads:

Ājav Simhaṇṇam-unmadasya kariṇō datvā parārtthan-tatō
Driṣṭvā Rāma-mahapatēb prasāmīta-kabēm-ābhishangō bhuvab |

⁷ *Kōyiloḷugu*, p. 46 *et. seq.*

⁸ *Loc. cit.*, p. 47.

⁹ In another place it is stated that Garuḍavāhana was included in the *Tiruppatiḷār* class.

Garuḍavāhana¹. The correctness of this statement is not now capable of architectural verification, as the present shrine is the result of a somewhat jumbled reassembling made in A. D. 1493 of stones and pillars from older structures.

The shrine of **Dhanvantari-Emberumān** or the 'Divine Physician' is quite an appropriate adjunct to a hospital, as he is the patron-deity of the art of healing. Dhanvantari, the father of Indian Medicine, was produced at the 'churning of the Ocean' and came out with a vessel of nectar in his hands. But according to the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, Dhanvantari was also one of the twenty-two *avatāras*² of god Viṣṇu; and appropriately enough he is represented in this shrine as a four-handed image wielding the discus and the conch in the back pair of hands, while one of the frontal pair of hands is in the *abhaya* pose, and the other carries his special attribute the *amṛita-kalāśa*. Shrines to Dhanvantari have not been met with elsewhere in any of the numerous temples of Viṣṇu in South India, and, as such, this shrine and its deity acquire a special **iconographic importance**.

(f) Similarly also the image of **Eḍuttakai-aḷagiya-Nāyaṇār** or 'the god beauteous with the uplifted hand' referred to here is of iconographic interest, as it furnishes a rare instance in which an image ensconced in the *gōpura* of a temple gets the status of separate worship. This stucco image of Narasiṅha represented with one of his arms raised aloft in the act of striking down Hiraṇyakaśipu, forms the central figure facing north in the first tier of the northern *gōpura* of the fourth *prākāra*; and a lofty *maṇḍapa* erected on a high platform in front of it serves the purpose of a shrine for the image. In Vaishṇava hagiologies, Ālināḍaṅ or Tirumaṅgai-Āḷvār is stated to have built this *gōpura* for the god³; but the ascription of the image and the *gōpura* in their present form to such an early date cannot be substantiated by structural or inscriptional evidence. In literary tradition, this deity is said to have nodded his head in appreciation of Kamba's *Rāmāyaṇa*, when that poet expounded it to a literary coterie in the *maṇḍapa* in front of this self-same *gōpura*; and some verses of that work⁴ eulogising the Narasiṅha incarnation are believed to have been composed in specific reference to this deity. Be that as it may, this god and the *gōpura* are described in the *Śrīraṅgarājastava*⁵ of Parāśara-Bhaṭṭa (c. A. D. 1159), the son of Śrīvatsāṅka-miśra (Kūṇattāḷvār) and the successor of Rāmānuja on the pontifical seat at Śrīraṅgam. The name Eḍuttakai-aḷagiya-Nāyaṇār is mentioned in some inscriptions⁶ of the temple—of Vīra-Rāmanātha (c. A. D. 1257), of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I (c. A. D. 1269) and of Māṇavarman Kulaśekhara (c. A. D. 1272).

(g) **Iṇḍakālam-eḍutta-Perumāḷ Kūḍal Chakravālanambi alias Uttamanambi-Piḷḷai**, who was evidently the sole Trustee of the temple at the time of this record, belonged to the Uttamanambi family, several of whose members are said to have wielded great influence with the contemporary kings of the Vijayanagara dynasty, perhaps as trustees of their munificent benefactions to the Śrīraṅgam temple. The *Kōyiloḷuḡu* mentions some of them, such as, **Vaḷiyāḍimai-nīlaiyitta-Uttamanambi**, his brother **Uttamanambi-Chakrarāyar** (Śaka 1337), **Tirumalainātha-Uttamanambi** (Śaka 1366) and **Kriṣṇarāya-Uttamanambi** (Śaka 1409)⁷.

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 43.

² T. A. Gopinātha Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. I, p. 123.

³ *Kōyiloḷuḡu*, p. 10. The orthodox date for Tirumaṅgai-Āḷvār is B. C. 2714, but he could have lived only about A. D. 800.

⁴ *Kamba-Rāmāyaṇam, Hiraṇyakaśipu-vadai-ppaḷalam*.

⁵ *Vyāpi rūpam=api gōhpadayitvā bhaktavatsalatay-ōrjjhita-vēlam |*

Tad-vishantapa-Nṛikēsari-rūpam gōpur-ōpari vīrimbhītam=īḷē || (v. 46)

Nivasad-upari-bhāgē gōpuraṅ Raṅga-dhānma |

Kvaḥana nripāripāṭi vāsitaṅ kv-āpi sīnham || (v. 47).

⁶ Nos. 99, 80 and 23 of 1936-37 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁷ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 121, 123, 124 and 125.

This family which belonged to the *Pūrvāśikha* community of Brāhmins of the Kāśyapa-gōtra, claims to have migrated to Śrīraṅgam from Śrīvilliputtūr in the Tinnevely District along with the Vaishṇava saints Periyālvār and his daughter Kōdaiyāṅḍāi (of the 9th century A. D.). The genealogy of some of its members is given in the Sanskrit work called the *Lakshmikāvyaṃ*¹ and in a pamphlet entitled *Uttamanambivāṃsaprabhāvaṃ*.² Kūḍal Chakravālanambi of the present record was the brother of Kṛishṇarāya-Uttamanambi according to the *Kōyiloḷuḡu*, but the *Lakshmikāvyaṃ* states that its author Tirumalainātha had a brother named Kūḍal Śāravāja-Nayinār. The *Vāṃsaprabhāvaṃ*³ noted above mentions that he was Tirumalainātha's son and had the other name of Chinna-Kṛishṇarāyar. This Chakravālanambi is stated to have purchased a few villages on behalf of the temple and to have repaired the Rājamahēndran-tiruvāśāl⁴ which had also been damaged during the Muhammadan raids.

The title 'Iṛandakālam-eḍutta-Perumāi' (he who revived the past) attached to his name does not appear to have been coined after the *biruda* of any king⁵ or chieftain, but may, in all probability, have been bestowed on him by the temple in recognition of his meritorious services in having brought it to its former greatness after its desecration by foreigners. Several instances of similar titles, such as 'Ellāi-nilaiyiṭṭa' and 'Rājākka-perumāi' etc., said to have been 'granted by the god himself' for such deserving services, have been mentioned in the *Kōyiloḷuḡu*.

(b) This record which is dated in Śaka 1415, as noted already, does not mention any ruling king. The date falls in the period following the extinction of the first Vijayanagara dynasty and before the accession of Vīra-Narasīṃha of the Tuḷuva line i.e., during the Sāḷuva interregnum. In the *Kōyiloḷuḡu*⁶ it is stated that 'Sāḷuva Tirumalairāja, the local governor of the Tiruchchirappalli-śīrmai was succeeded by Kōṇēṭtirāja in about Śaka 1393, and the latter who had a partiality for the Śiva temple at Jambukēśvaram imposed certain unauthorised taxes on the Śrīraṅgam temple lands and otherwise coerced the Śrīraṅgam people. A deputation headed by a certain Kandāḍai Rāmānujadāsa went to Narasā-Nāyaka and appealed to him for relief. Thereupon this general marched against Kōṇēṭtirāja⁷, killed him in a fight and restored order in the temple administration at Śrīraṅgam'. It is therefore possible that in this period of confusion when the Vijayanagara throne itself was occupied by an usurper and also because the Uttamanambis were themselves recipients of several honours including the 'Rāyar-mudrai' from the previous kings⁸ this inscription as well as a few others⁹ of this period which were concerned with simple temple transactions omitted the mention of the Sāḷuva king's name and were issued with the simple quotation of Śaka dates.

(c) As regards the *vāḡam* (*tulukka-vāḡam* of the *Kōyiloḷuḡu*) during which the *ārōḡyāśālā* had suffered damage, the reference is to the anarchy which followed in the wake of the Muhammadan invasions of South India in the first half of the 14th century A. D.

¹ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 139.

² This pamphlet was compiled and published by S. Nārasimhachari in 1912. The reason for the title 'Kūḍal Śāravāja' given in this book that the Trustee ripped open his entrails (*kūḍal*) and measured it out in lieu of the paddy due to the king, is fanciful.

³ *Kōyiloḷuḡu*, p. 125.

⁴ 'Iṛandakālam-eḍutta' was a title borne by the later Pāṅḍya king Śrīvallabha of A. D. 1535 (*Trav. Arch. Series*, Vol. I, p. 54). Iṛandakālam-eḍutta Aḷḷiyamaṇavājadāsaḡ figures as the Warden of the Śrīraṅgam temple in a record dated in the cyclic year Saumya, probably corresponding to Śaka 1411 (No. 92 of 1936-37 of the Madras Epigraphical collection).

⁵ *Loc. cit.*, p. 129.

⁶ Kōṇēṭtirāja's records dated in Ś. 1409 and 1412 are found in the Tamil districts (*Madras Ep. Rept. for 1912*, p. 75).

⁷ *Kōyiloḷuḡu*, p. 115 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 141.

⁸ Nos. 87, 92 and 93 of 1936-37 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

If the *Kōyiloḷugu*'s narrative can be relied on, there were **two**¹ distinct **raids** during both of which Śrīraṅgam appears to have fallen a victim to the invaders' rapacity and iconoclastic zeal. It is stated that as a result of the **first raid**² the image of Raṅganātha was absent from the temple for a period of 59½ years, until its restoration in A. D. 1372 by a ' Chandragiri-prabhu ', thus pointing to **A. D. 1310-11** coinciding with Malik Kāfūr's southern campaign, as the date of its occurrence. The date of the **second sack of Śrīraṅgam** is Śaka 1249, and as this coincides with the date of the southern campaign undertaken in the reign of Muhammad-bin-Tughlak in **A. D. 1327-28**,³ it has been surmised that the Muhammadan army which was sent out from Warangal passed along this route and raided Śrīraṅgam. The Raṅganātha image which escaped capture by being smuggled out of the temple by Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya⁴ had, as described in the *Kōyiloḷugu*, an eventful itinerancy through several places for over forty years, until it was brought back to Śrīraṅgam by Gōpaṇārya of Gingee, an officer of the Vijayanagara prince **Kampaṇa** in Śaka 1293 (=A. D. 1372). The heroic part played by these two persons, prince and officer, in defeating the Muhammadans at Madura and in restoring the Raṅganātha image to its own habitation, is already known from the *Madhurāvijayam*⁵ of Gaṅgādēvi and from the two Sanskrit verses⁶ engraved on the Dharmavarma's wall in the second *prākāra* of the Śrīraṅgam temple. Epigraphical references to these incidents are also found in records copied at Kaṇṇaṅūr,⁷ Tirupattūr, Tirukkaḷakkūḍi and several other places.

When Śrīraṅgam slowly recovered from the effects of the *tulukka-vāṇam*, the work of renovating the fallen *gōpuras*, *prākāra* walls and *maṇḍapas*, appears to have been taken in hand in easy stages, and the turn of the *ārōgyasūlā* and its annexe the Dhanvantari shrine came when, in Śaka 1415 (=A. D. 1493), Śrīraṅga-Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa, the hereditary Physician of the Śrīraṅgam temple and the author-to-be of the *Divyasūricharitam*, came forward to do his little bit in rehabilitating the Śrīraṅgam temple to its former state.

(A.)

TEXT.

Front Side.

1 * Svasti Śrī [*] Śakā-	5 m̄vatsarattu Ṛisha-
2 bdam 1415-n-	6 bha-nāyaṅgu pūru-
3 mēl śellā-	7 va-pakshattu pañcha-
4 niṅṅa Pramādi-sa-	8 miyum Sōmavā- ¹⁰

¹ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 12 and 103 *et. seq.* There seems to be some duplication in the *Kōyiloḷugu*'s narrative.

² These facts are dealt with in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 138 and in greater detail in S. K. Aiyangar, *South India and her Muhammadan Invaders*, pp. 113 and 155 ff.

³ *South India etc.*, p. 158.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, p. 104. Piḷḷai Lōkāchārya died on the way at Jyōtishkuḍi.

⁵ Published by G. Harihara Sastri, Trivandrum.

⁶ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 322 ff.

There is some slight vagueness in the *Kōyiloḷugu* narrative. The first image was brought back through the help of a ' Chandragiri-prabhu ', while the second image was restored by Gōpaṇa of Gingee. Apparently both these images were restituted on the same occasion, which necessitated the discriminative test applied by the temple washerman for their identification (p. 29). The Sanskrit verses referring to the restoration by Gōpaṇa do not make specific mention of two images, however.

⁷ No. 162 of 1936-37, No. 119 of 1908 and No. 64 of 1916 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

⁸ A *vajrapala* mark (without the central line) flanked by a *Chakra* and a *Śaṅkha* are engraved at the top of the inscription.

⁹ Many of the Sanskrit words are engraved correctly in Grantha letters.

¹⁰ The secondary length of the letter is engraved in the next line.

9 ramum peṛṛa Pū-
 10 śattu-nā] Tiruvara-
 11 āgaṅ-tiruppati I-
 12 randakālam-eḍu-
 13 tta-Perumā] [Kū]-
 14 ḍal Chakravājanam-
 15 bi āga Uttamana-
 16 mbi-Piḷḷai kāla-
 17 ttilē ¹baṭṭā]-
 18 kottu Aḷagiyama-
 19 ṇavā]a-Māṅgalā-²
 20 darāyar putran Śrī-
 21 nivāsan āṅa [Śrī]-
 22 raṅga-Garuḍav[ā]-
 23 hana-³Baṭṭar ka[yi]-
 24 űkariyam-āga Śrī-
 25 [Cha]ntrapushkaraṅṅiḱku⁴

26 mēlpuṅam-āga mu-
 27 ṅṅā] Pratāpa-
 28 chakrava[r*]tti kālam
 29 tuḍaṅgi ivaruḍai-
 30 ya pūrvā] Ga-
 31 ruḍavāhana-Bha[ṭṭa]-
 32 r naḍatti-vanda ā-
 33 rōgyasālai⁴
 34 vāṅattilē
 35 khilam-āgaiyil
 36 ippoḷudu ā-
 37 rōgyasālai-⁴
 38 yum śamaippi-
 39 ttu Dhanvantari-Em-
 40 berumāṅaiyum
 41 ēṅi-arulappaṅ-
 42 ṅugaiyil

Back Side.

43 nā]tōṅu-
 44 m Perumā]
 45 kuḍi[ṅ]r⁵ amudu-
 46 śeyd-arulugi-
 47 ṅa kaṭṭalaikkū-
 48 m Dhanvantari-E-
 49 mberumāṅ
 50 tiruvārādhana-ka-
 51 ṭṭa]aikkum naḍa-
 52 kkumbaḍi muṅṅā-
 53] Garuḍavāha-
 54 na-Bhaṭṭar Perumā-
 55 ḷukku Raṅgaghō-⁶
 56 śhaṅai praba-
 57 ndham paṅṅi
 58 Perumā] tiruvu-
 59 ḷlam ugandu ti-
 60 rukkaiva]akkam-⁷
 61 āga-ppallakku-mā-
 62 ṅṅi]ya]m-āga-tti-

63 ruvu]lam-paṅṅiṅa
 64 tirumugappaḍiyilē⁴
 65 anubavittu-va-
 66 nda teṅkarai [ti]-
 67 ruviḍaiāṭṭam Pā-⁸
 68 ṅḍamaṅgalat-
 69 tu Irājavibhā-
 70 ṭaṅ⁹ nilaṅ iru-vē-⁹
 71 liyum nā]adu
 72 Perumā]akku
 73 viṅṅappaṅ-
 74 śeydu Dhanvanta-
 75 ri-Emberumāṅu-
 76 kku tiruviḍaiāṭṭa-
 77 m-āga samarpikkai-
 78 yil inda nilam
 79 iru-vēliyum Dha-
 80 nvantari-Emberumā-
 81 ṅukku tiruvārā-
 82 dhana-kkaṭṭalaikkum

¹ The Tamil letter *pa* is used instead of *bā*.

² The secondary length of the letter *la* is engraved in the next line.

³ Correctly 'Chandrapushkarin'.

⁴ The letter *la* is engraved in the next line.

⁵ This should be correctly *kuḍinir* here as well as in line 83 below.

⁶ The secondary length is in the next line.

⁷ *Tirukkaiva]akkam* ordinarily means 'offerings distributed to devotees etc.' Here it implies that the laud had been granted by the god himself.

⁸ 'Rājavibhāṭaṅ' was the title of some king, after which the measuring-rod was so named.

⁹ The letter *va* is in the next line.

83 kuḍiṅṅīr ¹ -amudukku-	85 na-Bhaṭṭar adhi-
84 m Garuḍavāha-	86 shṭhānam-āga ²
Third Side.	
87 putra	103 ahita-
88 pau-	104 m niṅṅai-
89 tra-	105 ttavarga-
90 param-	106 Gaṅgai
91 parai. ³	107 kkarai-
92 y-āga	108 yil ka-
93 āchā. ⁴	109 vīla-
94 ndrārkkā-	110 yai va-
95 sthāyi	111 ⁵ dhaittavar-
96 āga na-	112 ga pāpa-
97 ḍattu-[k*]ka-	113 ttilē pō-
98 ḍavad-ā-	114 ga-kka-
99 gavum [*]	115 ḍavarga-
100 inda	116 -āgavu-
101 dharmmat-	117 m [*] Subha-
102 tukku	118 [m]-astu [*]

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity!

In the (*cyclic*) year Pramādi which was current after Śaka 1415, in the month of Rishabha, on Monday, with pañchamī (-*tithi*) of the first fortnight and Pushya (-*nakshatra*): in the time of Iṇḍakālam-eḍutta-Perumāḷ [Kū]ḍal Chakravājanambi *alias* Uttamanambi-Piḷḷai of (*the temple of*) Tiruvaraṅgaṅ-Tiruppati,—

Śrinivāsan *alias* Śrīraṅga-Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭar, son of Aḷagiyamaṅavāḷa-Maṅḷādarāyar of the *bhaṭṭāḷ-kottu*, reconstructed the *ārōgyasūlai* to the west of the Chandra-pushkariṅi (-*tanḷ*), which had been conducted in the past by an ancestor of his named Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭar from the time of Pratāpachakravartin and which had become dilapidated during the *vāṇam*, consecrated (*the image of*) Dhanvantari-Emberumāṅ (*therein*), and arranged for the service of (*supplying*) daily kuḍiṅṅīr-offering to Perumāḷ (god Raṅganātha) and for worship to Dhanvantari-Emberumāṅ, in the following manner:—

The two *vēḷi* of Rājavibhāṭaṅ-ṅilāṅ⁶ in Pāṇḍamaṅgalam, a *tiruvaiḍaiyāṭṭam* (*village*) on the southern bank (*of the river Kāvēri*), which had been in the enjoyment of (*the earlier*)⁷ Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa, having been graciously granted to him through the god's *tirumugam* as *pallakku-māṅyam*,⁸ for (*his*) having composed the *prabandham* (*called*) *Raṅgaghōshasai* to (*v.e.*, in honour of)

¹ Kuḍiṅṅīr is correctly kuḍiṅṅīr. It was intended for being offered to Perumāḷ (Raṅganātha), as specifically mentioned in line 44.

² Adhiśṭhānam means 'under the supervision of'.

³ The letter *ru* is engraved in the next line.

⁴ Read ā-chandr-ārka.

⁵ The *ai* sign is engraved in the previous line.

⁶ *I.e.*, land, as measured by the Rājavibhāṭaṅ measuring-rod.

⁷ There is a slight vagueness in the wording, which would also admit of considering the *Raṅgaghōshasai* as the work of the Garuḍavāhana of A. D. 1493.

⁸ *I.e.*, land granted for the maintenance of a palanquin for his use, as a special honour.

the god, was on this day made over as *tiruvīḍaiyāṭṭam* to Dhanyantari-Emberumān after due intimation¹ to Perumāḷ (Raṅganātha). And it was stipulated that this two *vēli* (of land) was to be utilised, as long as the moon and sun last, for providing worship to Dhanyantari-Emberumān and for *kuḍinīr*-offering (to Perumāḷ), under the supervision of Garuḍavāhana-Bhaṭṭa and in his lineal succession of son and grandson.

Those that contemplate evil to this charity shall incur the sin of having killed tawny cows on the banks of the Ganges.

Be it well!

No. 13.—REWAH STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KARNA : THE [CHEDI] YEAR 800.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

This inscription was discovered by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist, at Rewah in 1936. The slab, on which it is inscribed, is now lying in the guard hall of the old palace at Rewah. It is said to have been previously built into a wall of the Zenana Mahal of the same palace, from where it was removed a few years back and preserved in its present place. I edit the inscription here from two excellent impressions kindly supplied by the Government Epigraphist.

The record is incised on a large slab. The inscribed surface measures 7'-2" in breadth and 3'-11½" in height. As shown below, the inscription was originally put up at a temple of Śiva and seems to have been brought over to Rewah from somewhere else.² The record has suffered considerably on the right and left hand sides and especially in the lower portion comprising lines 23-31, in which in some places only a word here and there can be read with confidence. Even in other parts, where it is better preserved, the *mātrās*, the *anusvāra*, the sign for the superscript *r* on the top of letters and the horizontal stroke in the body of *śh* have in many cases disappeared. The inscription consists of thirty-one lines and falls into two parts which are separated by an ornamental figure in l. 19. Except for the obeisance to Śiva with which it seems to have opened and a few words recording the date at the end, the whole record is in verse. The first part of it, which eulogizes the reigning Kalachuri king Karṇa and his ancestors, comprises thirty-three verses. As many as twenty-one of these occur in the Goharwa plates³ of that king. In many cases, therefore, the damaged letters of the present inscription can be easily supplied from the latter record. The second part, comprising verses 34-59, contained a legendary account of the origin of the **Kāyastha caste** as well as the genealogy of the minister of Karṇa, who founded the temple of Śiva at which the present inscription was set up. The mutilation of a considerable portion of the record in this part is very much to be regretted as none of the damaged verses are known to occur anywhere else. We have consequently lost not only an account of the achievements of the minister and his ancestors, but, except in one case, even the names of all of them. Besides, the present record, had it not been so badly mutilated, would have thrown much welcome light on the notions current in the eleventh century A. D. about the caste of the Kāyasthas, which has latterly become a subject of keen controversy. As shown below, the mutilated condition of the present record makes its evidence doubtful.

¹ This means that the formal permission of the god was obtained for the transaction.

² In his report for 1935-36 the Government Epigraphist has conjectured that the slab might have been brought from Gurgi like so many other inscriptions and statues which are now kept in the State Treasury or in the compound of the Prince's Palace. (*A. S. R.* for 1935-36, p. 89.)

³ Above, Vol. XI, pp. 142 ff.

The **characters** belong to the Nāgarī alphabet. The size of letters varies from 8° to 1°. Medial diphthongs have generally been indicated by *prishṭha-mātrās*. *kh* has attained its fully developed Nāgarī form, see *nikhūta*, l. 8, but *ñ* is still without its dot, see e.g. *Vaṅgāla-bhaṅga-*, l. 6; *ṭh* has developed a vertical at the top, see *luṭhantu*, l. 3 and *piṭha*, l. 6; the upper loop of *th* is closed, see *pāthō-mashī-*, l. 16; its subscript form, however, is not now laid on its side, see *sthalō*, l. 15. The left portion of *dh* is still undeveloped. The letter is, therefore, distinguished from *v* which it closely resembles by the absence of the horizontal line at the top and in the case of *dhū* by a horizontal stroke joining the two verticals, see *-avaidhavya-vidhāna-*, l. 15. The right hand curve of *ph* is open and is added at the top of its vertical as in *phala-*, l. 3, or a little lower down as in *sphāl-*, l. 13. The curve of *s* is joined to its vertical on the right, see *sāsana-*, l. 18; the letter can in many places be distinguished from *ś* only by its round top. Finally, *h* shows no tail, see *mahati*, l. 4.

The **language** is Sanskrit. As stated above, except for a few words in the beginning and at the end, the whole record is metrically composed. There are fifty-nine verses in all, of which thirty-three fall in the first and the remaining twenty-six in the second part of the record. In its first part our inscription has as many as twenty-one verses in common with the Goharwa plates of Karṇa, there being only slight variations in their readings here and there as pointed out in the footnotes to the transcribed text. In two cases (vv. 20 and 26) the order of verses in the present inscription differs from that in the Goharwa plates. The verses consequently refer to different kings in these two records¹; but as they contain mere conventional praise, the change does not affect the historical information. As regards **orthography** we may note that the consonant following *r* is doubled in many cases; see e.g. *Śambhōr-ṅgaṭa-maṅḍalam*, l. 2; *b* is throughout denoted by the sign for *v*, see *vaddh-ō*, l. 1; *mra* is used for *mra* in *tāmrapaṭṭaiḥ*, l. 18. Similarly *n* is wrongly substituted for *anusvāra* in *pānū*, l. 21. In *surā-pāṇa*, l. 11, we have the change of *n* to *ṅ* in accordance with Pāṇini's rule VIII, 4, 10.

The record seems to have opened with an obeisance to Śiva. This is followed by three *maṅgala-śloka*s in praise of Śiva, the last of which describes his *Ardha-nārīvara* form. After two more verses—one in praise of Brahman and the other in that of poets' speech—begins a description of the ancestors of the reigning king Karṇa of the Kalachuri dynasty. His pedigree is traced to the moon, but the first historical personage, mentioned after such mythical and legendary heroes as Budha, Purūravas, Bharata and Haihaya, is **Lakshmaṇarāja**, who is evidently identical with the homonymous king mentioned as the son and successor of Yuvarājadēva I in the Bilhāri stone inscription² and the Benares plates of Karṇa³. As I have shown elsewhere⁴, his father Yuvarājadēva I was a contemporary of the Rāshtrakūṭa kings Baddiga-Amōghavaraha III and his son Kṛishṇa III and may, therefore, have flourished from circa A. D. 915 to 945. Lakshmaṇarāja has thus to be referred to the period A. D. 945-970. In v. 11 of the present inscription which is also found in the Goharwa plates he is described as one 'who was clever in routing the king of Bengal, who defeated the Pāṇḍya, who was adept in despoiling the king of Lāṭa, who vanquished the Gūrjara king and whose foot-stool was honoured by the heroes of Kāśmīra.' There is no corroboration of Lakshmaṇarāja's raid in Bengal and Kashmir, but as regards his victory in Lāṭa or Gujaraṭ we have the statement in the Bilhāri inscription that Lakshmaṇarāja, in the course

¹ An analogous instance is furnished by the Goharwa plates. The verse *Bhū-bhāra-kshama-drik*, etc. employed to describe Yuvarājadēva II in the plates occurs in the eulogy of his grandfather, Yuvarājadēva I, in the Benares plates of Karṇa.

² Above, Vol. I, p. 259.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 307.

⁴ *An. Bhand. Or. Res. Inst.*, Vol. XI, pp. 361 ff.

of his expedition in the west, worshipped the god Sōmēśvara, evidently Sōmanātha near Verāval in Kāthiāwār and dedicated to the deity the effigy of the (Nāga) Kāliya wrought with jewels and gold¹. His invasion of the Pāṇḍya country also seems to be corroborated by a mutilated line² in the contemporary Kāritālāi inscription which mentions his forces encamped on the bank of the Tāmraparṇī. It seems rather strange that there should be no reference to Lakshmaṇarāja's victory over the Chōlas who, and not the Pāṇḍyas, were supreme in the South in the latter half of the tenth century A. D., and who must have been attacked and defeated by Lakshmaṇarāja, before he could press as far south as the Tāmraparṇī in the Pāṇḍya country. We have, therefore, to suppose that the Chōlas had not yet recovered from the attacks of the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Kṛishṇa III and that the Pāṇḍya king was raising his head and trying to re-establish his power with the help of the Rāshtrakūṭas³ when his country was raided by Lakshmaṇarāja. The Gūrjara king defeated by him must have been one of the weak successors of Mahīpāla II as pointed out by R. D. Banerji⁴. The same scholar found corroboration of this victory in the statement of the Bilhāri inscription that Lakshmaṇarāja defeated the lord of Kōsala⁵. He further identified this prince with his namesake mentioned at the head of the genealogy in the Kahla plates of Sōḍhadēva⁶ and conjectured that he must have placed one of his sons in charge of the country conquered from the Gūrjaras. But these suppositions do not seem to be correct. Lakshmaṇarāja's victory over the king of Kōsala is mentioned in connection with the despoilment of the lord of Odra. The Kōsala appears, therefore, to be Dakṣhiṇa Kōsala or Chhattisgarh and the adjoining states. Further, Lakshmaṇarāja, who founded the dynasty ruling in the Gōrakhpur District, U. P., must have flourished long before the Lakshmaṇarāja of our record; for, Rājaputra, the next prince mentioned in the Kahla plates, who, however, was not his immediate successor, must be referred to *circa* A. D. 775, as his third lineal descendant Guṇāmbhōdhidēva I was a contemporary of the Pratihāra king Bhōja I (*circa* A. D. 836-885). Lakshmaṇarāja of the present inscription cannot, therefore, be identified with the homonymous king mentioned in the Kahla plates.

Our inscription next mentions **Yuvarājadēva (II)** as the son and successor of Lakshmaṇarāja. He is evidently the second prince of that name mentioned in the Bilhāri stone inscription and the Benares plates of Karṇa. The name of his elder brother Śaṅkaragaṇa who is known from the aforementioned two records as well as from the Kāritālāi stone inscription⁷ has been omitted here probably because he was a collateral. The description of Yuvarājadēva II and his son and successor **Kōkalla II** given here is quite conventional.

After Kōkalla II, his son **Gāṅgēyadēva** came to the throne. Of the four verses devoted to his description in this record, three (*viz.* vv. 18, 20 and 21) occur in the Goharwa plates, but one of them (v. 20) is employed there to describe his son Karṇa. Verse 19 which is not known to occur anywhere else describes in a conventional manner Gāṅgēyadēva's victory near the sea coast. This may refer to his campaign in Orissa which is specifically mentioned in the preceding verse (18).

¹ Above, Vol. I, p. 260.

² Only the lower portions of a few letters in the beginning of this line are preserved. The line has been omitted in Kielhorn's text. I read the letters as *nitarāni dālēna || Tāmraparṇī-taṣṭe*.

³ Compare कला दक्षिणदिग्जयोद्यतयथा चीलान्वयोन्मूलने तद्वर्ति निजभक्तवर्गपरित्येकपाचयादिकान् । in the Karhād plates of Kṛishṇa III (above, Vol. IV, p. 285, v. 35). Perhaps the poet's intention was to name the peoples living on the borders of India, and the Pāṇḍyas are mentioned here as living in the extreme South.

⁴ *The Haihayas of Tripuri and their Monuments (Mem. A. S. I., No. 23)*, p. 12.

⁵ Above, Vol. I, p. 260.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII, pp. 85 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 179.

The latter gives the following description of Gāṅgēyadēva's achievements— 'From him (*i.e.* Kōkalla II) was (*born*) Gāṅgēyadēva who threw into the cage of a prison the king of Kīra, who looked radiant with the mass of wealth of (*the king of*) Aṅga, who was fond of defeating (*the king of*) Kuntala in a (*clever*) manner, and who, strong as he was in the action of breaking open the frontal globes of the best of elephants, made his own arm a pillar of victory on the shore of the (*eastern*) ocean after vanquishing the (*king of*) Utkala'. Most of the statements regarding these victories are substantiated by other evidence. We do not of course know if Gāṅgēyadēva succeeded in actually extending his dominions as far as the Kīra country which comprised the territory round Baijnāth in the east of the Kāngrā District¹; for, references to victories over the king of the Kīra country and even a pun on his name are found in other records², which show that such descriptions were more or less conventional. But Gāṅgēyadēva had certainly the Doāb under his control. He fixed his residence at the holy city of Prayāga (Allahābād) where he lived to the last. It is not therefore unlikely that he extended his sway in the North-West up to the Kāngrā valley, on the downfall of the Gūrjara-Pratihāra king Trilōchanapāla some time after A. D. 1027³. His victory over the king of Aṅga seems to be a historical fact; for, from the colophon of a manuscript of the *Rāmāyana* in the Durbar Library, Nepal⁴, he seems to have established himself in Tirabhukti as early as A. D. 1019 and this country he must have wrested from the contemporary ruler of Aṅga and Magadha, who was probably Mahīpāla I. It seems that there was another expedition against the king of Magadha towards the close of Gāṅgēyadēva's reign. This expedition was led by his son Karṇa. Tibetan tradition tells us that some time before A. D. 1040⁵, which is the approximate date of Atiśa-Dīpaṅkara's departure for Tibet, there was an invasion of Nayapāla's territory by king Karṇa of the West, who is obviously none other than the Kalachuri Karṇa. As Gāṅgēyadēva was ruling till A. D. 1040, this invasion cannot be placed in the reign of Karṇa himself. It seems to have taken place towards the end of Gāṅgēyadēva's reign. In that case Karṇa may have been obliged to patch up a peace with the king of Magadha as his presence was required elsewhere by the approaching end of Gāṅgēyadēva. From the description in v. 18 Gāṅgēyadēva seems to have exacted a heavy tribute from his vanquished adversary.

Gāṅgēyadēva's victory over the king of Kuntala is also referred to in other records. Both the Khairhā⁶ and Jabalpur⁷ plates state that 'wishing to run away in haste from him the king of Kuntala ceased to wield his spear'. Kuntala included the Southern Maratha country and

¹ Above, Vol. I, p. 97.

² See *e.g.* *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 217; above, Vol. II, p. 188.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 33 ff.

⁴ *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Durbar Library of Nepal*, p. 18.

⁵ Lévi, *Le Nepal*, Vol. II, p. 189. Babu Sarat Chandra Das gives A. D. 1038 as the date of Atiśa's visit to Tibet. *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LX, p. 51.

⁶ Above, Vol. XII, p. 211, v. 11.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 6.

⁸ यथादककादपयानिच्छन्न कुलजः कुलजता व(व)भारः (v. 11). Kielhorn's reading of the hemistich was incorrect probably owing to the unsatisfactory nature of the impressions supplied to him. The correct reading was first given by R. B. Hiralal while editing the Khairhā plates. But his translation 'wishing to run away from whom with dishevelled hair (the king of Kuntala) who was deprived of his country came to possess it again' (above, Vol. XII, p. 215) and his conjecture based on it that Gāṅgēyadēva restored the Kuntala country to its king who was defeated (*ibid.*, p. 205), do not seem to be correct. The hemistich apparently means 'wishing to run away from whom, the Kuntala ceased to be the Kuntala'. This involves contradiction, but it is only apparent, the figure being *virādhābhāsa*; for the words really mean 'wishing to run away suddenly from whom the king of Kuntala ceased to wield his spear'. There is a pun on the second word *kuntala* here, (1) the king of Kuntala and (2) one who wields his spear, *kuntala lāt-īh*. For the second meaning compare a similar derivation of *kuntala* (one who handles *kuśa*) referred to in Mammata's *Kāvya-prakāśa* (II, 9). [The term in question is better explained by taking it as a compound of *kunta* and *lātā* on the analogy of *asi-lātā*.—Ed.] There is therefore no reference here to the deposition or reinstatement of the king of Kuntala.

the adjoining Kanerese districts and was at this time under the rule of the Later Chālukyas. The king of Kuntala, over whom Gāṅgēyādēva is said to have obtained a victory, was probably Jayasinha II¹ who ruled from about A. D. 1015 to 1042. From the Kulenur inscription² it seems that Gāṅgēyādēva had formed a confederacy with the Paramāra Bhōja and the Chōla Rājendra I to attack Jayasinha from three sides. Victory does not appear to have always attended the arms of the allies; for, the Kulenur inscription records the defeat of their elephant squadrons by Jayasinha's cousin³ Kandarāja and the Baḷagāṁve inscription⁴ states that Jayasinha searched out, beset, pursued, ground down and put to flight the confederacy of the Mālava.

In his war against the king of Utkala (Orissa) Gāṅgēyādēva was helped by the subordinate branch of the Kalachuri family established at Tummāna. The Amōdā plates of Pṛithivīdēva I state that Kamalarāja vanquished the king of Utkala and gave his wealth to his lord Gāṅgēyādēva⁵. The king of Utkala was, it seems, one of the Guptas of Dakṣiṇa Kōsala, perhaps Mahā-Śivagupta-Yayāti who calls himself the lord of Utkala and Trikalīṅga⁶. In one of his grants⁷ Yayāti is said to have obtained a victory over the Chaidyas and devastated the Dhāhala country. The war seems therefore to have continued for some time and victory sometimes leaned to one side and sometimes to the other. If Gāṅgēyādēva was ultimately victorious, he may have assumed the title *Trikalīṅgādhipati* after his success. We know that his son Karṇa mentions this title in his first grant issued just a year after Gāṅgēya's death⁸.

Gāṅgēyādēva's son and successor Karṇa is next eulogized in as many as twelve verses. Of these, six (*viz.* 22, 24, 26, 30, 31 and 32) were already known from the Goharwa plates. Of the remaining six, three contain a description of his achievements. The importance of the present inscription lies in this that it provides us for the first time with a contemporary record of some of Karṇa's victories; for, though two other grants made by the king had already been discovered, they contained mere conventional praise. Our knowledge of his achievements was, therefore, entirely derived from the records of his descendants and his adversaries. Verse 23 states that 'the ship of the king of the Eastern country, being driven by the storm of unparalleled arrogance, was submerged in the ocean of his (*i.e.* Karṇa's) forces, its joints being rent by (*dashing against*) the promontories of the mountains of his elephants.' Stripped of its metaphor, the verse means that Karṇa achieved a decisive victory over the king of the Eastern country, who lost his life in the fierce fight. Who was this king of the Eastern country? He could scarcely have been a Pāla king, for the kingdom of the Pālas, as shown by their own inscriptions and those of their contemporaries, was restricted to parts of Bihār and North-West Bengal. From the Bherā-Ghāt inscription of Alhaṇadēv⁹, on the other hand, we learn that when Karṇa gave full play to his heroism, the Vaṅga trembled with the Kalīṅga. Karṇa's victory seems, therefore, to have been obtained over the king of Vaṅga or Eastern Bengal. The tenor of the description suggests that the dynasty of the latter was supplanted and his kingdom was either annexed by Karṇa or placed in charge of his own nominee. As a matter of fact we find the Varmans supplanting the Chandras in Eastern Bengal in the eleventh century A. D. Śrīchandra is the last king of the Chandra dynasty known from inscriptions found in Bengal. The name of one more king, *viz.* Gōvinda-chandra, is known from the Tirumalai rock inscription¹⁰ of Rājendra Chōla I, which mentions him

¹ [If Krishna Saastri's translation of verse 11 of the Khairhā plates of Yaśahkarnadēva (above, Vol. XII, p. viii) is correct, the Kuntala king who was the adversary of Gāṅgēyādēva would be Vikramāditya (V).—N. L. R.]

² Above, Vol. XV, p. 330.

³ [It is doubtful if Kandarāja was a scion of the Chālukya family and hence a cousin of Jayasinha II (see *Karnatak Historical Review*, Vol. II, pp. 37 ff.)—N. L. R.]

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 17.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 79.

⁶ *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 45 ff.

⁷ *J. P. A. S. B. (N. S.)*, Vol. I (1905), p. 4.

⁸ Above, Vol. II, p. 309.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 232.



as the ruler of the Vaṅgāla-dēśa. He was defeated in *circa* A. D. 1021 by Rājendra I, the illustrious Chōla Emperor (A. D. 1012-44). Either this prince or his successor was on the throne when Karṇa invaded Eastern Bengal. After the overthrow of the Chandra prince, Karṇa seems to have placed Vajravarman in charge of the newly acquired territory and given his daughter Virasri to his son Jātavarman to cement the political alliance. The latter seems to have distinguished himself in the Aṅga country¹ in one of the later campaigns of Karṇa. The present inscription which is definitely dated shows that the dynastic revolution must have been effected before A. D. 1048-9 and thus furnishes us with a landmark in the mediæval history of Bengal.

Verse 25 refers to Karṇa's conquests in the South. 'Overrunning the district of Kāñchī he thoroughly enjoyed the Southern direction, in which the fortune of the Kuntala was shaken by forcible seizure and the low Pallavas were destroyed, as though covering the hips of a woman he was ravishing her, the beauty of whose hair was marred by forcible seizure and whose tender lower lip was wounded (*in kissing*).' The description here is evidently dictated by the poet's *penchant for double entendre*. The earliest verse of this type is traditionally ascribed to Mayūra² and is taken by some scholars³ to contain references to Harsha's expedition in the South. In later times poets composed such verses containing puns on names of countries to flatter their patrons in utter disregard of historical facts. For instance, three such verses, besides the aforementioned one ascribed to Mayūra, have been collected in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛita* of Śrīdharadāsa⁴. It is, therefore, difficult to say how far the description in v. 25 of the present inscription can be taken to be historically true. Besides, the Pallavas, over whom a decisive victory is claimed for Karṇa in the present verse, had long before ceased to be supreme in the South, their kingdom having been annexed by the Chōlas in about A. D. 890⁵. A branch of the Pallavas, no doubt, continued to rule in the Nolambavāḍi 32000 down to the eleventh century A. D.⁶, but they had no control over the territory round Kāñchī and a victory over them would not have brought much glory to Karṇa's arms. Besides, Karṇa's victory over the Pallavas is not referred to in the fairly long lists of his conquests intimated in the records of his descendants. So far as the reference to the Pallavas is concerned, the description in the present verse appears to be more fanciful than real.

The reference to the invasion of the district of Kāñchī is perhaps intended to signify the defeat of the Chōlas; for, though the capital of the Chōlas had been removed to Gaṅgāpuri or Gaṅgāi-koṇḍachōlapuram since its foundation by Rājendra Chōla I, Sanskrit poets continued to mention Kāñchī as the Chōla capital⁷. Karṇa's victory over a Chōla king is intimated in a verse in the Karanbēl inscription of Jayasimhadēva⁸. R. D. Banerji conjecturally identified the Chōla king defeated by Karṇa with Virarajendra Rājakesarivarman, who was reigning between A. D. 1062 and 1067⁹. The reference to the invasion of Kāñchī in v. 25 of the present inscription, if historically true, would show that the victory had already been attained in A. D. 1048-9. Karṇa's adversary must therefore be identified with Rājādhirāja I, the son and successor of Rājendra Chōla I, who ruled from A. D. 1018 to 1054.

¹ N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 20.

² See No. 2515 of the *Subhāshītasūktī* (Bom. Sk. series), p. 429. See also *Kavindra-cachana-samuchchaya* (Sibl. Ind.), Intro., p. 68. The verse is ascribed to the poetess Vidyā in the *Saduktikarṇāmṛita* (Punj. Or. Series), p. 196.

³ *Ind. His. Quart.*, Vol. III, pp. 788-89.

⁴ See p. 107. Two of these are ascribed to the poets Śabdārjaya and Jayadēva.

⁵ K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Chōlas*, Vol. I, p. 136.

⁶ Sewell, *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India* (ed. S. K. Aiyangar), pp. 371-2.

⁷ See, e.g. Bilhara's *Vikramānkadēva-charita* I, 113; III, 76; IV, 28, etc. Bilhara mentions Gāṅgā-Kuṇḍapuram also as a Chōla Capital. *Ibid.*, VI, 21-24.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 217.

⁹ Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri gives A. D. 1063-1069 as the period of his rule. See *The Chōlas*, Vol. I, p. 293.

The account of Karṇa's conflict with the king of Kuntala is substantiated by other evidence. As already observed, Kuntala was then under the rule of the Later Chālukyas. Though the Kalachuris and the Later Chālukyas sometimes combined, as they did for instance when they overran the Mālava country some time after Bhōja's death¹, they frequently came into conflict with each other. Bilhaya records that Āhavamalla (Sōmēśvara I) utterly destroyed the power of Karṇa², while an Apabhramśa verse mentions Karṇa's victory over the mighty Vikrama³, evidently Vikramāditya VI, the son of Sōmēśvara I-Āhavamalla. The conflict referred to in the present inscription must have occurred during the early part of Āhavamalla's reign when his son Vikramāditya was too young to take the field against Karṇa.

Verse 27 of the present inscription states that 'when Karṇa approached (the Gūrjara country), tears mixed with collyrium flowed on the cheeks of Gūrjara women living in the neighbourhood and colour-marks indicative of thier non-widowhood slipped as it were from their foreheads.' This is, of course, too vague a description to indicate an actual conflict with the king of the Gūrjara country, but, unless it is altogether meaningless, it suggests that Karṇa's relations with the contemporary Gūrjara king were already strained. Later on the two kings seem to have combined for the common objective of crushing out of existence the kingdom of Mālwa, but their amicable relations did not last long; for, Hēmachandra records Bhīma's defeat of Karṇa⁴ while an Apabhramśa verse gives Karṇa credit for the extermination of mighty Gūrjara forces⁵. These

¹ cf. तक्षिन्वासव(व)सुतामुपसते राजे च कुल्याकुले

मथस्त्राग्निं तस्य व(व)सुदयादिव्योभवदुपतिः ।

देनोऽस्य महाश्वीपमनिलक्ष्णोऽठकश्वप्र(म)-

सुव्रीपालकदर्शिता भुवमिमा दीमवराहायितम् ॥ Verse 32 of the Nāgpur *prāśasti*, above, Vol. II, p. 185.

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has recently suggested (see his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 291, n. 4) that Karṇa mentioned in this verse is the Chaulukya Karṇa and not Kalachuri Karṇa. He takes the *śūmā* in the above verse to be Jayasimha, the son of Bhōja. But the Chaulukya Karṇa was not a contemporary of Jayasimha; for, his father Bhīma was reigning till V. S. 1120 (above, Vol. XXI, p. 172), while Jayasimha of Jayasimha; for, his father Bhīma was reigning till V. S. 1116 (see Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos. 133 and 134). The later was succeeded by Udayāditya some time in V. S. 1116 (see Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos. 133 and 134). The later references to Jayasimha are either doubtful (see above, Vol. XXII, p. 56, n. 3) or refer to some other Jayasimha, perhaps the Chaulukya Jayasimha (*ibid.*, Vol. XXII, p. 57, n. 8). The Kalachuri Karṇa, on the other hand, was a contemporary of the Paramāra Jayasimha. It seems that he invaded Mālwa at least twice. The first invasion occurred in circa A. D. 1055 about the time of Bhōja's death. Karṇa and Bhīma attacked Mālwa from the east and the west. Jayasimha, the son of Bhōja, was then obliged to seek Sōmēśvara-Āhavamalla's help to turn back the invaders (see the *Vikramānkadēśvarī*, III, 67). Karṇa's second invasion seems to have occurred about five years later. His ally this time was probably Sōmēśvara II, the elder brother of Vikramāditya VI. Karṇa achieved greater success this time. Jayasimha was probably killed in battle and parts of Mālwa annexed to the Chālukya and Chēdi kingdoms. In the Sūdi inscription of Śaka 900 (A. D. 1075) Sōmēśvara is described as a blazing submarine fire to the ocean, that is, the race of the Mālavayas. An Apabhramśa verse in the *Pingalāthapradīpa* to which Dr. Sir R. G. Bhandarkar drew attention long ago (see his *Collected Works*, Vol. II, p. 339) clearly says that the Kalachuri Karṇa had by force uprooted the family of the king of Mālwa (इण उच्चरन्च्चरराशदलं दलदलिषवलिषमरइइवर्षं । वरमोलिषमालवराशकुला कुलउच्चलकरवुनिकष पुला ।). Such statements could have been made only if Jayasimha being killed in the battle, there was for some time no seion of the royal family on the throne of Mālwa. Though the Chaulukya Karṇa also is said to have waged war on the king of Dhārā, he is nowhere credited with eradication of the family of the Mālava-king.

² Bilhaya, *Vikramānkadēśvarī*, Canto I, śl. 102-3.

³ जे मञ्जिष भोलादिभर राज उइउ उइउर समष पराउ ।

सुवविहम विकम जिणिष सुअता कष परकम कीइ सुअम् ॥ *Collected Works* of R. G. Bhandarkar, Vol. II, p. 339.

⁴ Above, Vol. II, p. 303.

⁵ See n. 1 above.

statements show that the two kings must have measured swords before A. D. 1063 at the latest, each side claiming victory over the other. Verse 27 of the present inscription suggests that the battle may have been fought even before A. D. 1048-9.

The object of the present inscription appears to have been to record the construction of a temple of Śiva by a minister of Karṇa, who belonged to the Kāyastha caste. Verse 34, with which commences the second part of the record, states that the twice-born caste undertook the work of a minister to augment the *mantra-śakti* (power of good counsel) of kings who are possessed of the other two powers, *viz.*, the *utsāha-śakti* (personal energy) and *prabhu-śakti* (power derived from their royal position). We next get an account of the origin of the Kāyastha caste. There was a great sage (*mun-indra*) named **Kāchāra** who derived his holy birth from the three-eyed god Śiva. He made the town **Kulāñchā** an ornament of three worlds. A person of the fourth caste (*turiya-janman*) respectfully propitiated him on the bank of the heavenly river (*i.e.* Gāngas). The next verse, which is partly mutilated, seems to describe the boon granted by the sage apparently to the Śūdra who had been serving him, that he would have a son of well-known and righteous deeds, who having his head sanctified by the dust of earthly gods (*i.e.* Brāhmaṇas) would become almost like the councillor of the lord of heaven (*i.e.* Bṛihaspati). The sage next declared that his caste would thereafter be known by the name of Kāyastha, since he had innumerable merits in his *kāya* (body). Verse 39, which is only partially preserved, refers to the birth of a son (apparently to the Śūdra) from whom sprang the caste of the Kāyasthas. We are next told that in his race were born wise, grateful, virtuous and meritorious diplomats, who gave security from fear to (all) beings. Verse 41 describes a personage of matchless prowess, who was distinguished among the rest as the Kaustubha is among all the gems produced from the milky ocean, but unfortunately his name is lost in the damaged portion¹. Verse 43 also mentions a person whose name again is illegible, but who was apparently an object of veneration to the illustrious king Lakshmaṇarāja as Viṣṇu is to the three worlds. This personage seems to have been eulogized in the next two verses (44 and 45). The preserved portion of v. 46 states that Sōmēśvara who dedicated himself to the welfare of the people was born from the aforementioned personage. The next verse seems to have described some achievements of his through intelligence and personal prowess. From l. 26 the record has unfortunately been too much mutilated to yield any useful information. We have consequently lost even the names of the descendants of Sōmēśvara, of whom the last one mentioned in the present inscription seems to have been a minister of Karṇa. From the description of the white splendour of a temple in v. 54, that it was as it were due to the laughter of Śiva who rejoiced to have such an excellent abode, it seems that it was a temple of Śiva at which the present inscription was put up. This surmise receives confirmation from the statement in v. 58 that the person, who had caused the temple of the 'enemy of Smara' (*i.e.* Śiva) to be constructed, himself composed the present *prasasti*. The last verse seems to name him as the great poet Kāchāra, but the reading is not free from doubt. The record closes with the date 800 expressed in numerical figures only². This must evidently be referred to the Kalachuri-Chēdi era and corresponds to A. D. 1048-9. In the absence of the necessary details it does not admit of verification.

As already observed, the present inscription, if it had been in a state of good preservation, would have proved valuable for the history of the Kāyastha caste. Even as it is, it clearly shows that the Kāyasthas had crystallized into a caste in the beginning of the eleventh century A. D.; but we have still earlier records which unmistakably prove the existence of the caste two centuries

¹ His name ended in *kara* and may have been *Prabhākara*.

² The first two figures of the date are certain. The third also is clear in one of the impressions.

earlier¹. The fanciful derivation of the caste name Kāyastha given here occurs also in the *Naiśadhīyacharita* (Canto XIV, v. 66). The present inscription seems to connect the caste with a sage named Kāchāra. The tendency to trace the origin of royal families to well-known legendary heroes or sages was widely prevalent in the middle ages, but the name of Kāchāra as an eponymous hero occurs nowhere in ancient mythological or legendary literature². It would seem, therefore, that an attempt has been made here to give a legendary explanation of the name of the caste which had become current in the eleventh century A. D.³ From the introductory verse of the second part of the present record, viz. v. 34, the poet's intention seems to have been to show that the Kāyasthas belonged to the Brāhmaṇa caste. It looks strange, therefore, that he should refer in v. 36 to a Śūdra (*turiya-janman*) as a Kāyastha and the progenitor of that caste and describe his son as having his head purified by the dust from the feet of earthly gods (i.e. Brāhmaṇas). Owing to the unfortunate mutilation of the lower part of the inscription it is now impossible to say how the Śūdra origin of the caste referred to in vv. 36-38 was reconciled with the claim to Brāhmaṇahood which seems to have been made in v. 34⁴.

The names of the distinguished members of this Kāyastha family, who seem to have served Kalachuri kings as their ministers, have been lost with the single exception of Sōmēśvara. The latter is eulogized in vv. 46 and 47, as one who had dedicated himself to the welfare of the people and distinguished himself by his prowess as well as by intelligence. The mention of Lakshmaṇarāja's name in one of the preceding verses suggests the identification of this Sōmēśvara with the homonymous son of Bhākamiśra, who was a minister of Lakshmaṇarāja as stated in the Kāritalāi stone inscription⁵. A careful comparison of the descriptions in the two records would show, however, that the identification cannot be upheld. For, Sōmēśvara of the Kāritalāi inscription was undoubtedly a Brāhmaṇa, as he is called Bhaṭṭa therein⁶ and is said to have belonged to the Bhāradvāja-gōtra⁷. From the lengthy description of his accomplishments in that record we learn that he was proficient in various arts, but we do not find therein a single reference to his skill in the use of arms⁸. Sōmēśvara of the present inscription, however, was a Kāyastha distinguished as much for personal valour as for intelligence. Besides, he does not seem to have been a contemporary of Lakshmaṇarāja himself, but of his successor; for from vv. 43-46 we learn that he was the son of a person who was honoured by Lakshmaṇarāja. He is not, therefore, likely to have been identical with Sōmēśvara of the Kāritalāi inscription.

Of the geographical names occurring in the present record **Baṅgāla, Kāśmīra, Kāñchī** and **Himālaya** are too well known to need identification. **Aṅga** comprised the country round modern

¹ In his article 'The Nāgar Brāhmaṇas and the Bengal Kāyasthas' (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 48) Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has drawn attention to the Sañjān plates of Amōghavarsha I (871 A. D.) and the Gurmha plates of Jayādityādēva II (870 A. D.) as the earliest records mentioning the Kāyastha caste.

² In the Ajayagadhī inscription of Nāna, a minister of the Chandēlla Bhōjavarman, the origin of the Kāyasthas is traced to the sage Kāśyapa (see *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VI, p. 882).

³ Is Kāchāra, like Khachāra (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 31), identical with Khazar?

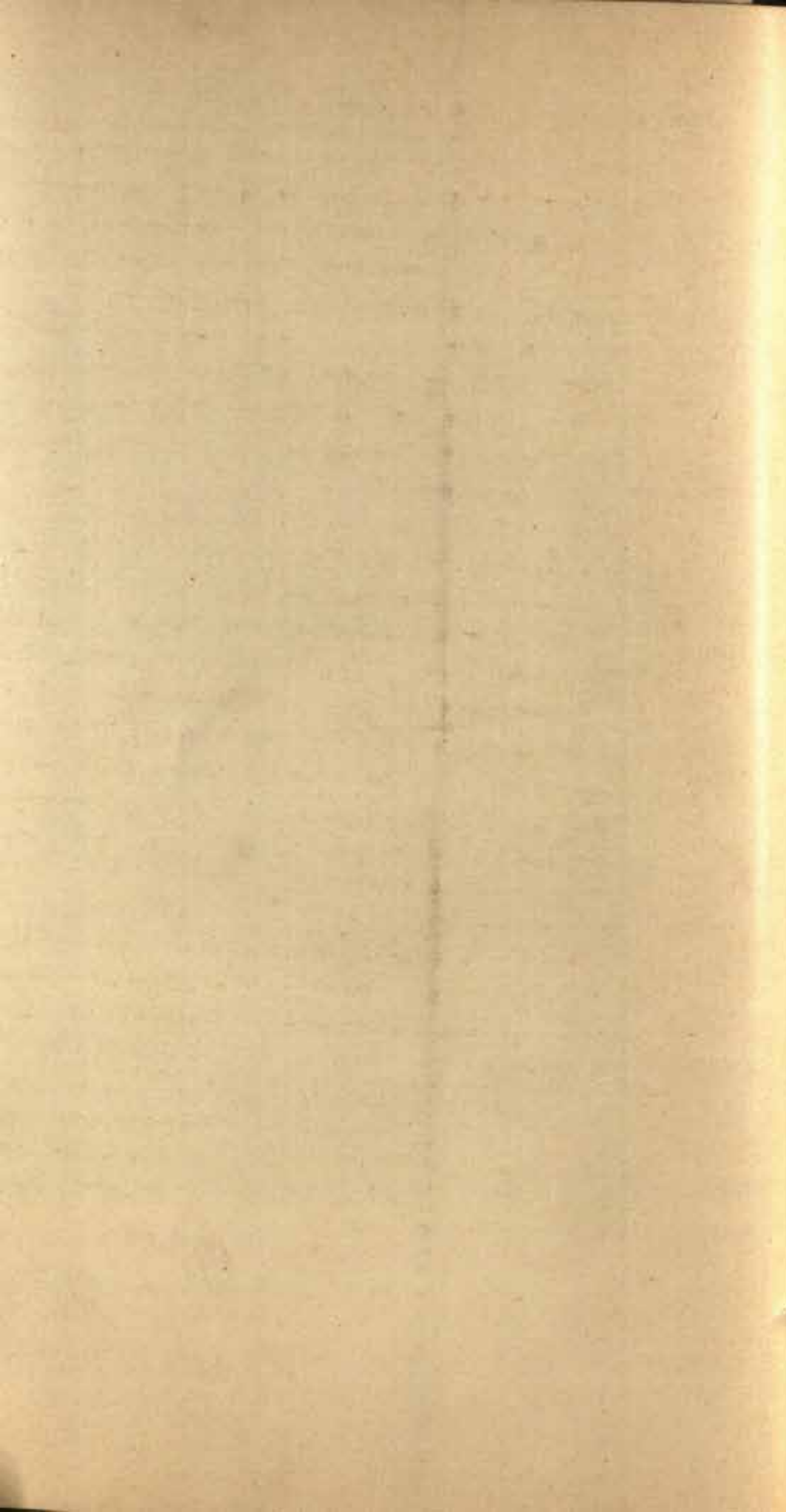
⁴ It is, of course, possible to take *turiya-janmā* in the sense of a Brāhmaṇa by dissolving the compound as *turiyārtham (yajārtham) janma gasya sub*, i.e. one who is born for (the performance) of a sacrifice, a Brāhmaṇa. Both the *St. Petersburg Lexicon* and the *Vāchaspathyam* give this sense of *turiya*, citing the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* IX, 2, 3, 11, etc. in support of it. But such an explanation would appear forced; since the word does not bear that sense in classical Sanskrit. Halāyudha gives *turiya-urnas* in the sense of a Śūdra. Note also *agra-janman* (first born) which means a Brāhmaṇa. Besides, the expression *yō bhūmi-dēva-pala-pānu-pavitra-mūli* suggests that the son did not belong to the caste of earthly gods or Brāhmaṇas.

⁵ Above, Vol. II, p. 174.

⁶ *Ibid.*, v. 9.

⁷ *Ibid.*, v. 2.

⁸ It must, however, be stated that v. 16 of the inscription states that Sōmēśvara's deeds were praised by lords in the fore-front of the battle-field.



- 9 [भवे प्रजानां*] [तेजोनिधौ] चेतसि व[र्त्त]माने । तत्वे(त्वे) परस्मिन्निव योगभा[जा]
नितान्तमन्तस्तमसा प्रलीनम् ॥[१६॥] आक्रामदृ[द्ध] व(व)द्वाण्डसंघटस्फुटि[र्त]
यशः । घत्ते यस्येन्दुनक्षत्रताराद्याकारमम्ब(म्ब)रे¹ ॥[१७॥*] कारापञ्चरुदकौर-
नृपति[र्दी]सोङ्गलक्ष्मौचयैस्तस्मात्कुन्तलभङ्गभङ्गिर[सि]को गा[ङ्गे]य-
- 10 [दि*][वो]भवत् । येनाकारि करीन्द्रकुम्भदलनव्यापारसारात्मना नि[र्जि]त्योत्कलम-
धि(धि)सोमि विजयस्तम्भः स्वकीयो भुज[ः] ॥ [१८॥*] यत्केनाचरचक्रवाल-
दलितच्छाणालदन्तावलयेगौशोणित[पं]किले[षु] परितः प्रान्ते[षु] पाथोनिधेः ।
दृष्यहारणदारणोदतम[दैर्लीनं] सल[ज्जै]रिव [प्रालेयाचलक-]
- 11 न्द्रोदरदरी[किद्रेषु कश्ठीरवैः] ॥[१९॥*] यत्कुन्ताप्रोतश[चुस्तु]तरुधिरसुरापाणमत्तप्रवृत्त्य-
हेतालोत्तालतालारवभरितककुम्भपर्यन्तसौमि । अन्धोन्धालक्ष(क्ष)वाचां समि[ति]
सरभसं दत्तहस्तादि[सं]ज्ञाव्यापारेणामरी[णां] वरवरणविधिः क[ष्ट]मासौन्मुङ्ग[र्त्त]-
म(म्) ॥[२०॥*] अतिमनो[रथ]म[र्थि]जने
- 12 [धनं दिशति] यत्र स कल्पतरुस्तकः । रिपुयशःकुसुदाकरभास्करः सुतमसूत स
क[र्ण]नराधिपम् ॥[२१॥*] आनन्दमन्दसुमनःसुमनोवकीर्ण[सं]ग्रामरङ्गभुवि भूमि-
भृ[तां] पुरस्तात् । वीरस्य वीरचरि[र्त] नवृते कव(व)त्सैर्लक्ष्मीहठयद्दकठोरभुज-
स्य यस्य ॥[२२॥*] दर्पकदु[र्घा]तरयेण तुन्नी गजादि-
- 13 — — ॐ [वि]दोष्णंसन्धिः । अन्त[र्य]दीयस्य व(व)लाम्बु(म्बु)राशी[र्म]मज्ज पूर्वाविनि-
राजपोतः ॥ [२३॥*] ना[हं] नाथ विपक्षगोचवसति[र्न] त्यक्तपूर्वस्थितिर्यस्या-
ख्यातुमितीव चेदिनृपतेर्दिव्यक्रमाक्रामतः । प्रान्तभ्रान्तव² रुधिनोकरिकरास्फालावहे-
लोङ्गसत्कञ्जोलावलिवा(वा)हुदण्डमुदधिद्य-
- 14 [क्रन्द मान्द्रस्वनेः ॥*] [२४॥*] हठयद्दान्द्रोलितकुन्तलत्री[र्वि]स्तरण्यमानाधरपङ्गवा च ।
आक्रान्तकाञ्चीविषयेण येन दिग्दक्षिणा संवु(वु)भुजे प्रकामम् ॥[२५॥*] आशा-
जये समदसिन्धुरगन्धरोषाद्यस्त्रीयदायतकरा[ः] ककु[भां] करौन्द्राः । पूत्कारमार्त्त-
मिव खेचरनायकस्य चक्र[ः] कपोल-

¹ The Goharwa plates read the second half of the verse as मने यस्येन्दुनक्षत्रताराद्याकारतां गतं.


² In the Goharwa plates this verse occurs after नाहं नाथ विपक्षगोचवसतिः (v. 24 below) and therefore describes Karga.

³ The Goharwa plates have कुमसामौ³ which Dr. Hultzsch proposed to change to कृष्ण चासी⁴. Here the aksharas are clear except that the horizontal stroke in the square of the superscript *ś* has been obliterated.

⁴ Restore कृष्ण.

⁵ The Goharwa plates read दानं⁵.

⁶ In the Goharwa plates this verse is placed before यस्मिन्मुखैकप्रभवे etc. (v. 16 above) and is, therefore, intended to describe Kōkañḍādeva (II).

- 15 [मधुपध्वनिभिर्नि]राशाः[ः] ॥[२६॥*] यस्मिन्मामोदति गूर्लरौ[णां] गण्डस्थले साञ्चन-
वा[ष्य]लिशाः । भालादवैधश्चविधानवर्णाः पर्यन्तभाजां खल्लिता इवासन् ॥
[२७॥*] हरिभिरनधिग[म्यं] यत्सटालोजटालै[र्य]दप[रिमि]नख[ङ्गं] वारणैर्दार्ण्यं
यत् । विपिनमिव यदीयो दावव[ङ्किस्तदुच्चै]रदह-
- 16 — — — — — कमेक[ः] प्रताप[ः] ॥[२८॥*] भूर्ज्वलचः सङ्कलितेभदानपावो-
मघौव[र्ण]विशेषभाजः । हिमाचले येन वशीकृतानां भुजिष्यपचाष्यभवदृपा-
[णां] ॥[२९॥*] नीतेषु प्रमदावियोगविधिना द्राग्र(ग्र)ह्यचारित्र[त] सा[र्द्ध]
व(व)भ्युतया गृहस्थपद[र्वी] कारागृह[स्वापनात्] । वानप्रस्थपदं
- 17 [वनाश्रयवशाद्देवाच्च*] भिचो[ः] स्थि[तिं] येनै[वं] चतुराश्रमैकगुरुता स्पष्टीकृता शत्रुषु
॥[३०॥*] यस्यार्थिव्रजवाञ्छिताधिकफलप्राप्त्यै निशम्यात्मभूः प्राक्कत्वग्धरणीधरान्त-
रचर'स्फारस्फुरदोषणाः । एतन्निर्मितमा[ः] पुरा परिमि[तं] व्र(व)ह्मण्डम[स्मिन्कर्षं]
संमास्यन्ति यशास्मिं [चे-]
- 18 [दिनृप*]तिरिख्याकुलो[भूचि]रं ॥[३१॥*] [किं] तस्य क[र्ण]नृपत(ति)र्ष्वत
वर्णयामो यस्य द्विजातिजनशासनताम्र'पटैः । उल्कीर्यमाणनिवि(वि)डाचरचक्रवा-
लवाचालितैर्ष्व(र्ष्व)धिरभावमियाय विश्वम् ॥[३२॥*] यावद्बृहन्द् चन्द्रो [रि]पुति-
मिरभिदा [शू]र शूरोस्ति याव[द्याव] — —⁴ [रिचक्रक'प्रदहन दह]नी या[व]-
- 19 — — — — — यावदस्त्रि(स्त्रि)[र्भ]रुदधिपसमस्कन्ध यावन्मरु[त्वां]-
स्तावत्तायस्त्र धाचौमिति पदमजनि व्र(व)ह्मणामाशि[वां] यः ॥[३३॥*]  ॥
उक्ताहशक्तिप्रभुशक्तिभा[जां] प्रवर्धनायाखिलमन्त्रशक्ते[ः] । द्विजातिरे[षा] पृथि[वी-]
पतीनाममात्यधर्मस्य] व(व)भूव [हेतुः] ॥[३४॥*] रा-
- 20 — — — — [विमलचिनेचात्पविच]जन्मा किल काचरास्यः । योसौ त्रिलोकीतिल-
कायमा[नां] पु[रं] कुलाञ्जामकरोन्मुनीन्द्रः ॥[३५॥*] तमादरादात्मवि[दां] वरिष्ठमा-
राधयामास तुरीयजन्मा [1*] स्व[ः]सिन्धुकूले किल विश्वव[न्द्ये] — — — —
— — — — — ॥[३६॥*] — — — — —

¹ The Goharwa plates have प्राक्कत्वग्धरणीधरान्तरस्यपरत which Dr. Hultzsch proposed to emend as धरणीधरान्-
तरसापारात्

* Read यशास्मि.

* Read तासपटैः.

* Restore दृष्टा—.

⁴ This akshara is superfluous.

- 21 ॐ — ॐ ॐ — श्वयस्य कृत्वा भविष्यति दिवस्यतिमन्त्रिकल्पः । यो भूमिदेव-
प्रदपान्य'पवित्र[मौ]लि[स्त्रं] स्यात्प्रुष्यचरितं सुतमाप्नुहीति ॥[३७॥*] संख्याम-
तोत्थ काय[स्त्र]स्तव यस्माद्गुणो[त्क]रः । अत[ः] काय[स्त्र] इ[त्वा][स्यां]
जाति[मात्माभि]३ — ॐ ॐ ॥[३८॥*] — — ॐ — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ — —
कुले ॐ — — प्रथि-
- 22 त ॐ — — । [अ]जौजनत्पुचमनन्तकी[र्त्ति] कायस्त्वंगः प्रससार तस्मात् ॥
[३९॥*] तस्यान्वये नयविदः सुधियः कृतज्ञाः सख्यवताः सुकृतिनो गुणिनः
क्रमेण । प्रभु[र्व(र्व)]भ्रुवुरसमाधि[र्भौ]तसच्चदत्ताभयाः कमलर ॐ र — ॐ — —
॥[४०॥*] — — ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ — कुलेस्मिन्नेकः
- 23 ॐ — [क्त]र इति प्रथितो व(व)भूव । [सर्वेषु] दुग्धजलरा[गि]ससुद्वेषु रत्नेषु
कौस्तुभ इवानुपमप्रभावः ॥[४१॥*] पुरः पुरो विशदगुणान्विशेषतः सिद्धचत[ः]
पुरुषवरा[निहान्व]ये । चकार यः [प्रथितगुणान्पु] ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॐ —
ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ — ॐ — ॥[४२॥*]
- 24 . [त्रिभुवनस्य] । श्रीवल्ल[भूष]ण इव श्रीलक्ष्मणराजदेवस्य ॥[४३॥*] [मत्वा] सूत-
कवीन्द्रा[णां] वन्द्यमिन्द्रपतिं [सदा ?] । समास्कन्दति यत्कौर्त्तिः कार्त्ति[की]
[च]द्र[चं]द्रि[कां] ॥[४४॥*] [कमल ?]किसलयया जनानुरा[गैः] कृतमू[ल ?]
— । सा — ॐ — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — ॐ — ॐ [कलंकितकोटि-
कूटे ?] ॥[४५॥*]
- 25 — — ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ — — , — — ॐ — ॐ ॐ —
ॐ ॐ य[स्त्र] तस्मात्] । — — ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ [लो]क[हि]तात्मकस्य सोमे-
[श्व]रस्य महितस्य वरं च जन्म ॥[४६॥*] [प्रज्ञा]व(व)[लाङ्ग]जव(व)ला-
ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — रवेरिव व(व)स्ता ॐ ॐ — ॐ — । — ॐ
— [प्रवरपण्डितपुण्डरीकाः ?] त[स्त्र]ण्ड ?] इत्यपरक[म्भं] ॐ — ॐ — —
॥[४७॥*]

1 Read पाप-

2 Restore पारुति.

3 The name lost here may have been प्रभाकर.

4 Restore पुरःसरान्

5 I am not certain about the metre of this verse. If it is *Upajāti*, some *aksharas* have been dropped before कमल.

- 26 ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — — ॐ, ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ । ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ —
— ॐ, जगतीपाल — ॐ ॐ ॥[४८॥*] ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — यव ध्वान्ते
ॐ ॐ थ भूमिपां । [यो] व(व)भूव गुणिषा[मैर्षा]मणौलोकवा[न्धवः] ॥
[४९॥*] र[घ्ना]त इव जातः । धर्मावितारसचिवस्त-
स्मा[धारिभवः ?]
- 27 . . ॥[५०॥*] — — ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ — — — ॐ
— ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ — ॐ [धर्माः] । [घा]स्वाय यस्य भुजद[ण्ड]मखण्ड-
[कीर्त्तः] — — ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॐ — मिव कालकूटात् ॥[५१॥*] — — ॐ
— ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ — निपीता स्फोतारिकण्ड[रुधिर]-
- 28 ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — । — — ॐ — ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — ॥[५२॥*]
. ।
करटेन्दुशेखरस्य ॥[५३॥*] लक्ष्म्यैव स्फाटि[काद्रे]स्तदविगुणतयालिङ्ग[नैः] खैरद-
[नैः] स्थानप्रामग्रा प्र[मोर्द] [टधत इव भवस्वाहृहासावदातैः] । कौ[र्त्ति]
द[चो ?]त्वत[न्याः] पदमिष ॐ
- 29 ॐ — — ॐ — — ॐ — — — — — ॐ — — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ
— — ॐ — — ॐ — — ॥[५४॥*] ॐ — ॐ — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ
[कंठे] वि[राज]ति पाण्डर[वै]जयन्ती । कपर्दपिङ्गी[ञ्च]जटाकला[पि] ॐ — ॐ
— — ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — ॥[५५॥*] [कृतौ] कारितवाग्भिकञ्च काञ्चनेनायक[?]
मठः । ॐ ॐ ॐ [जनताक्रान्तवैकुण्ठ] ॐ ॐ
- 30 — ॐ ॐ ॥[५६॥*] ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ
। ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — — ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ ॥[५७॥*] [घाम]
स्मरारेरिति कारयित्वा कृता च येनेति महाप्रशस्तिः । [महात्मनी]
— ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — ॐ — ॐ — — महतः [प्रसादात् ?] ॥[५८॥*]
— — ॐ
- 31 — ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ — — ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ —
प्रकाण्डा[त्] ।* चैविक्र[मं ?] ॐ ॐ ॐ — ॐ ॐ — ॐ — — ॐ
[का ?]रय महाकवि(?)^१[काचरस्य] ॥[५९॥*] — — [नाम्ना महामङ्गलं
संवत्सरे] ॥ ८०० ॥

^१ It would perhaps be better to read मठम्.

^२ The reading appears to be कवे; but it would not suit the metre.

No. 14.—THE EPOCH OF THE KALACHURI-CHEDI ERA.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NAGPUR.

The first conjecture about the epoch of the Kalachuri or Chēdi era, which was found used in dating several records in the Central Provinces, was made by Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall who, in his article on the Bherā-Ghāt inscription of Alhanadēvi dated Saṁvat 907 and the Tēwar inscription of the time of Jayasinhadēva dated Saṁvat 928, showed that the unspecified era used in the Kalachuri records might have commenced about A. D. 250.¹ Subsequently in 1878 Sir A. Cunningham announced in the Introduction (p. vi) to his *A. S. R.*, Vol. VII, that he had found among the inscriptions collected by his assistant Beglar in the eastern part of the Central Provinces, two, which were specifically dated in the Chēdi Saṁvatsara, and two others in the Kalachuri Saṁvat. He identified the two eras, 'as the princes of Chedi were of the Kalachuri branch of the Haihaya tribe'. He also stated that he had examined some eight verifiable dates of the era and had found by calculation that the era began in A. D. 249, the year 250 being the year 1 of the Chēdi Saṁvat. The details of these eight dates were given by him together with the corresponding Christian dates in the *A. S. R.*, Vol. IX, p. 111 which showed that only four of them were found to be regular, with the epoch of A. D. 249. But Sir A. Cunningham felt satisfied with the result and stated in his *Indian Eras* that A. D. 249=0 and A. D. 250=1 was the true starting point of the Chēdi era.

Cunningham's conjecture about the epoch of the era was corroborated by the dates of the Nausāri plates and the odd Kāvi plate of the Gurjara king Jayabhāṭa III, which on calculation appeared regular² with the epoch of A. D. 249-250. No definite suggestion about the month and the *tithi* when the era actually commenced was, however, made until Dr. Kielhorn published his article entitled 'the Epoch of the Kalachuri or Chēdi era' in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVII, pp. 215 ff. In that article Kielhorn showed by an examination of 12 dates of the later Kalachuris and their feudatories and of two dates of the Gurjara king Jayabhāṭa III, that 'the only equation which yields correct week-days for those Chēdi inscriptions in which the week-day is mentioned is Chēdi-Saṁvat 0=A. D. 248-249 and Chēdi-Saṁvat 1=A. D. 249-250; and that, if we wish to work out the dates by a uniform process we must take the Chēdi year to commence with the month Bhādrapada, and must, accordingly, start from July 28, A. D. 249-Bhādrapada śu. di. 1 of the northern Vikrama year 307, current, as the first day of the first current year of the Chēdi era'. In a note Kielhorn remarked that a year beginning with the month Āśvina would suit the dates examined by him as well as that beginning with Bhādrapada but he preferred the latter because 'Albērūni does mention a year commencing with the month Bhādrapada'. As regards the arrangement of fortnights Kielhorn found that it was the *pūrṇimānta* one in which the dark half of a month precedes the light half.

Kielhorn's calculations made on the basis of the epoch of A. D. 248-249 showed that of the fourteen dates examined by him, in none of which the year was qualified either as current or as expired, eleven were found recorded in current years, two in expired years and one in a year, which is to be taken as expired if the Chēdi year commenced on Bhādrapada śu. di. 1, but as current if it began on Āśvina śu. di. 1. This proportion of current and expired years of the Chēdi era was, however, the reverse of what Kielhorn himself found in the case of other eras, such as the Vikrama, Śaka and Nēwār eras. It was pointed out by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar among others that

¹ *J. A. O. S.*, Vol. VI (1860), p. 501. The article was presented to the Society on October 26, 1859.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 76-77. The grantor of the Prince of Wales Museum plates of the [Kalachuri] year 486 (above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 147 ff.) is the same as of the Kāvi plate. He should, however, be taken as Jayabhāṭa IV and not as Jayabhāṭa III.

"the Hindus' usual, not invariable, way of expressing a date is not 'in the year so and so' but 'after so many years had elapsed since such and such event had taken place'".¹ The case of the Chēdi era, which seemed to be an exception to the general rule, was cited by Fleet² in support of his view that the years of the Gupta era, which were not qualified as current or expired, should be taken as current. This controversy about the general practice of the Hindus in dating their records in the middle ages led Kielhorn to revise his conclusion about the epoch of the Chēdi era. In his article 'Die Epoche der Cēdi-Aera' contributed to the *Festgruss an Roth*³ and in another on the Bherā-Ghāt inscription of Alhaṇḍēvi in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, pp. 7ff. both of which were published in 1893, he expressed his opinion that in conformity with the common usage observed in the case of other eras, the epoch of the Chēdi era should be fixed in such a way that all or at least a great majority of the available verifiable dates would be in expired years. He, therefore, proposed A. D. 247-248 as the epoch of the era. As regards the beginning of the Chēdi year he drew attention to the following remark in Colebrooke's letter written at Nāggur on the 30th October 1799: "The new year begins here with the light fortnight of Āśvina; but opening in the midst of Durgā's festival, the New Year's day is only celebrated on the 10th lunar day⁴." Kielhorn thought that the Āśvinādi year, which was current down to Colebrooke's time in a part of the country previously included in the Chēdi kingdom, might be reminiscent of the Chēdi year and, as such a year suited all the twelve Chēdi dates known till then, he fixed the 5th September (Āśvina śu. di. 1) A. D. 248 as the first day of the first current year and the 26th August (Āśvina śu. di. 1) A. D. 249 as the first day of the first expired year of the Chēdi era. He next showed that all the twelve verifiable Chēdi dates in the inscriptions of the Later Kalachuris and their feudatories, which were known till then, were, without exception, in expired years. The two early dates, 456 and 486, of the Nausāri and Kāvi plates, however, presented difficulties which Kielhorn acknowledged in foot-notes to his *List of Northern Inscriptions*.⁵

Three more Chēdi dates containing the necessary data for verification were subsequently discovered and were calculated by Kielhorn before his death, viz., (1) the Sārṇāth fragmentary stone inscription of the time of Karṇa⁶ dated *Sa[mvatsarē] 8[10] Āsvina (Āśvina) sudi 15 Ravau* (corresponding, for the expired Kalachuri year 810, to Sunday, the 4th October 1058); (2) Tahan-kāpār (first) plate of Pamparāja⁷ dated *Samvata(s) 965 Bhādrapadē vadi 10 Mṛiga-ri(ri)kshē [Sōma]-dinē* (corresponding, for the current Chēdi year 965, to Monday, the 12th August A. D. 1213); and (3) Tahan-kāpār (second) plate of Pamparāja⁸ dated *Samvat 966 Īsva(śva)ra-samvatsarē Kārti(ṛiti)ka-māsē Chitrā-ri(ri)kshē Ravi-dinē Sūrya-parāgē* (corresponding, for the expired Chēdi year 966, to Sunday, the 5th October A. D. 1214). Besides, he found it necessary to change his reading and the corresponding Christian date in the case of one of the previously known twelve Chēdi dates, viz., (4) that of the Sheorinārāyaṇ image inscription which he now read as *Kalachuri-samvatsarē [898] Āsvina-sudi 7 Sōma-dinē*⁹ from a photograph supplied by Dr. (then Mr.) D. R. Bhandarkar and found by calculation to correspond, for the current Chēdi year 898, to Monday, the 24th September A. D. 1145.

¹ See *Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar*, Vol. III, pp. 388-389. The paper was communicated to the *Bom. Br. R. A. S.* on the 1st August 1889.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX (1891), p. 387.

³ See pp. 53-56.

⁴ See *Life of H. T. Colebrooke* by Sir T. E. Colebrooke, p. 163.

⁵ Above, Vol. V, Appendix p. 57, notes 6 and 7.

⁶ *A. S. I. An. Rep.* for 1906-7, p. 100.

⁷ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 129-130.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 130.

Kielhorn's final view that the epoch of the Chēdi era is A. D. 247-248 was confirmed by these new dates; for while two of them (*viz.*, 1 and 3) might have been taken as current years with the epoch of A. D. 248-249, the other two (*viz.*, 2 and 4) would have appeared irregular according to that epoch. The latter dates again showed that 'Kalachuri years, occasionally and exceptionally, are quoted as current years'.¹

Since 1893 scholars have generally accepted Kielhorn's conclusion that the Chēdi era commenced on Āśvina śu. di. 1 (corresponding to the 5th September) in A. D. 248. Mr. Sh. B. Dikshit alone, differing from Kielhorn, has suggested that the Chēdi year might have commenced on the first *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Āśvina.²

Since Kielhorn's time as many as thirteen new dates of the Chēdi era have come to light and though they have been calculated and the corresponding Christian dates have, generally, been given by the scholars who have edited the records in which they occur, none has so far comprehensively dealt with them with a view to see how far they support or go against Kielhorn's view regarding the epoch of the Chēdi era and the beginning of the Chēdi year.

Having recently had to verify all the Chēdi dates I have come to the conclusion that the epoch A. D. 247-248 finally fixed by Kielhorn is correct so far as it concerns the later Kalachuri dates; but taking all the dates into consideration I am convinced that with that epoch the Chēdi year could not have commenced on Āśvina śu. di. 1 as held by Kielhorn. On the other hand some of the lately discovered dates go to show that the year must have begun on some day between Āśvina śu. di. 15 and Phālguna va. di. 7. And since we do not know of any Hindu year beginning in any of the months from Mārgaśīrṣha to Phālguna as current in any of the provinces under the Kalachuris³, I think it probable that, like the Southern Vikrama year, the Chēdi year also commenced on Kārttika śu. di. 1, especially because the era seems to have originated in Western India, where the Kārttikādi variety was the standard one.⁴

To prove my view I give below nine⁵ out of the thirteen lately discovered Chēdi dates together with their corresponding Christian dates according to the epoch of A. D. 247-248. These dates are arranged below under two heads A.—Dates in expired years and B.—Date in current year. As according to my view the Chēdi era commenced on the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika śu. di. 1 in

¹ Above, Vol. IX, p. 130.

² See his *History of Indian Astronomy* (Marāṭhī) (first published in 1896), Second ed. p. 375.

³ Al-Bērūnī mentions a year beginning in Mārgaśīrṣha, but from the account he gives of it, it seems to have been current in the north-west of India from Multān to Sindh and Kanauj (see *Sachau's Tr.*, Vol. II, pp. 8-9).

⁴ Since this article was sent to the press, the Government Epigraphist has, at my request, sent me estampages of the Makundpur stone inscription dated [K.] 772. The existence of this inscription was known to Kielhorn. He has referred to it twice (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, p. 85 and above, Vol. I, p. 354), but had no opportunity to examine its date. The inscription refers itself to the reign of the Kalachuri king Gāngāyādēva and is dated *Somvat* 772 Kārttika śu. di. 12 *Va(śu)dhadina*. This date, falling in the month of Kārttika, would have proved invaluable for fixing the later limit for the commencement of the Kalachuri year, but unfortunately the details do not work out satisfactorily. The nearest equivalent is Tuesday the 13th October A. D. 1019 when the twelfth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kārttika ended 11 h. after mean sunrise, *i.e.*, there is a mistake of one day. In A. D. 1020 the *tithi* fell on Monday and in A. D. 1021 on Friday. So neither of these would be more suitable. If we overlook the mistake of one day, this date would show that the Kalachuri year 772 was a current year and that it could not have commenced later than Kārttika śu. di. 12. If the above supposition is correct, this date and the dates Nos. 5 and 6 given below, p. 121, may be said to furnish the necessary evidence to prove that the Kalachuri era commenced on the *pūrṇimānta* Kārttika śu. di. 1 in A. D. 248.

⁵ I omit the following four dates for the reason stated in each case: (1) The Goharwā plates of Karyādēva, because they mention no year of the Chēdi era; (2) the Khairhā plates of Yaśabhakarā, because the date is found to be irregular; (3) the Ghotia plates of Prithvīdēva II, because the numerals of the date are evidently incorrect and (4) the Amōdā plates of Jājallādēva (II), because the last figure of the date is uncertain.

A. D. 248 (corresponding to the expired Śaka year 170), to convert a current Chēdi year into an expired Śaka year we have to add 169 when the date falls in the bright fortnight of Kārttika or in any of the months from Mārgaśīrṣa to Phālguna and 170 in all other cases. Similarly, to convert an expired Chēdi year into an expired Śaka year we have to add 170 and 171 respectively in the same circumstances.

A.—Dates in Expired Years.¹

1. The Rewah stone inscription of the time of Karṇa (Bhandarkar's *List No. 1226*) (from an ink-impression with me) — *Samsatsata(rā) 812 śrīmat-Karṇa-prakāsa(sa)-vyavaharāṇayā navama-samvatsarē Māgha-sudī 10 Gurau*, i.e., the year 812, the ninth year of the administration established by Karṇa, the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha, a Thursday. The corresponding Christian date (for the expired Śaka year $812+170=982$) is Thursday the 4th January A. D. 1061 when the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha ended 3 h. 10 m. after mean sunrise.

2. The Sheorinārāyaṇ plates of Ratnadēva II (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. IV, pp. 21ff.) — *Samvata(t) 878 Bhādra-sudī 5 Ravau*, i.e., the year 878 the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada, a Sunday. The corresponding Christian date (for the expired Śaka year $878+171=1049$) is Sunday the 14th August A. D. 1127. On that day the fifth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada ended 8 h. 50 m. after mean sunrise.

3. The Sarkhō plates of Ratnadēva II (above, Vol. XXII, pp. 159ff.) — *Tēn-ās(s)ity-adhik-āshṭa-vatsara-katē jātē dinē Gīyapatēh Kārttikyām-atha Rōhiṇī-ibha-samayē rātrēs-cha yāma-trayē Śrīmad-Ratna-narēśvarasya sadasi jyōtir-vilām-agratah sarva-grāsam-anushṇa-gōh pravadatā tīrṇā pratijñā-nadī* [(v. 19), i.e., the expired Chēdi year 880 Kārttika śu. di. 15, a Thursday with a total eclipse of the moon when she was in the constellation of Rōhiṇī. The corresponding Christian date (for the expired Śaka year $880+170=1050$) is Thursday the 8th November A. D. 1128. The moon was totally eclipsed in the third quarter of the night. The *nakshatra* Rōhiṇī commenced 13 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise on that day.

4. The Amōdā plates (first set) of Pṛithvidēva II (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. I, pp. 409ff.) — *l. 24, Chaitrē Sōma-grahē sati*; *l. 33, Samvat 900*, i.e., the Year 900 with a lunar eclipse in the month of Chaitra. The corresponding Christian date (for the expired Śaka year $900+171=1071$) is Friday the 25th March A. D. 1149. On that day there occurred a lunar eclipse visible at Ratanpur.

5. The Amōdā plates (second set) of Pṛithvidēva II (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. I, pp. 412ff.) — *Samvat 905 Āsvī(śvi)na-sudī 6 Bhaumē*, i.e., the year 905, the sixth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina, a Tuesday. The corresponding Christian date (for the expired Śaka year $905+171=1076$) is Tuesday, the 14th September A. D. 1154. On that day the sixth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina commenced 1 h. 15 m. after mean sunrise. With the Chēdi year commencing on Āśvina śu. di. 1 in A. D. 248, this date should fall in A. D. 1152 if the Chēdi year is taken as current and in A. D. 1153 if it is taken as expired. But in A. D. 1152 the *tithi* ended 7 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise on Saturday (the 6th September) and in A. D. 1153 it ended 7 h. after mean sunrise on Friday (the 25th September). In either case it would have to be regarded as irregular.

6. The Jubbulpore Kotwālī plates of Jayasīma (above, Vol. XXI, pp. 91ff.) — *Samvat 918 Āsvīna-sudī paurṇamāsyām tithau Sa(Sa)ni-dinē Tripuryām Sōma-grahanē*, i.e., the year 918 the fifteenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina, a Saturday, at Tripurī, a lunar eclipse. The corresponding Christian date (for the expired Śaka year $918+171=1089$) is Saturday, the 30th

¹ For the verification of dates I have used throughout D. B. S. K. Pillai's indispensable work '*An Indian Ephemeris*.'

September A. D. 1167. On that day the full-moon *tithi* ended 13 h. after mean sunrise and there was a lunar eclipse. With the Chēdi era commencing on Āsvina śu. di. 1 in A. D. 248, this date should fall in A. D. 1165 if the year is current, and in A. D. 1166 if it is expired. But in A. D. 1165 the *tithi* fell on Tuesday (the 21st September) and in 1166 it fell on Monday (the 10th October). Again in neither year was there a lunar eclipse on the given *tithi*.

7. The Rewah plates of the time of Vijayasīma (above, Vol. XIX, pp. 295ff.)—*Saṃvat 944 Bhādrapada-sudī 1 Śukrē*, i.e., the year 944 the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada, a Friday. The corresponding Christian date (for the expired Śaka year $944+171=1115$) is Friday, the 30th July A. D. 1193. On that day the first *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada ended 22 h. 20 m. after mean sunrise.

8. The Pendrābandh plates of Pratāpamalla (above, Vol. XXII, pp. 1ff.)—l. 26, *grāmō Makara-saṃkrāntau dattah saṃkalpa-pūrcakāḥ*; l. 35, *Saṃvata(t) 965 da Palasādā-samācāridai (ta-vi)jaya-kaṭokē | Māgha-sudī 10 Māṅgala-dinē* |. As it stands, the date is irregular; for in none of the years 1212-1215 was the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha connected with a Tuesday. If, however, *sudī* is taken to be a mistake for *vadī* it corresponds (for the expired Śaka year $965+170=1135$) regularly to Tuesday the 7th January A. D. 1214. On that day the tenth *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Māgha ended 10 h. 45 m. after mean sunrise. The Makara-saṃkrānti had taken place about a fortnight earlier on the 25th December, A. D. 1213.

B.—Date in Current Year.

9. The Amōdā plates of Pṛithvidēva I (above, Vol. XIX, pp. 78ff.)—ll. 27-28, *Gha(Phā)lguna-krishṇa-saptamyām Ravi-dinē*; l. 41 *Chēd-isa(sa)sya sam 831*, i.e., the year 831 the seventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Phālguna, a Sunday. The corresponding date (for the expired Śaka year $831+169=1000$) is Sunday the 27th January A. D. 1079. On that day the seventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Phālguna ended 7 h. 30 m. after mean sunrise.

A careful examination of these nine dates will show that—

(1) All these dates can be shown to be regular only according to the epoch of A. D. 247-248 finally fixed by Kielhorn; for though the dates 1-8 might also be explained as dates in current years with the epoch of A. D. 248-249, that epoch will not at all do for the date 9. This date, therefore, clearly proves the correctness of the epoch A. D. 247-248. There were only two such dates in current years¹ known to Kielhorn.

(2) The dates 2 and 7 clearly show that with the epoch of A. D. 247-248 the Chēdi year must have begun in some month later than Bhādrapada. There was only one date of this type² known to Kielhorn, which rendered his earlier view about the Chēdi year commencing in Bhādrapada impossible when he changed the epoch to A. D. 247-248.

(3) As seen above, an Āsvinādi year with the epoch of A. D. 247-248 will not at all suit the dates 5 and 6. For them a year beginning in some month later than Āsvina is required. Now the date 9 shows that the Chēdi year must have commenced before Phālguna va. di. 7. The beginning of the Chēdi year must, therefore, lie between Āsvina śu. di. 15 (the *tithi* of the date 6) and Phālguna va. di. 7 (the *tithi* of the date 9). Though it is not yet possible to settle this question definitely, I think it probable that the era commenced on Kārttika śu. di. 1 for reasons already stated.

¹ See above, p. 117, the dates 2 and 4.

² The date of the Rewah copper-plate inscription of Kirtivarman, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 219 and 224ff.

(4) Among the nine dates there are only two (viz. the dates 8 and 9)¹ which fall in the dark fortnight. They corroborate Kielhorn's conclusion that the arrangement of fortnights in the Chēdi era was the *pūrṇimānta* one.

(5) The proportion of expired years to current ones is 8 : 1, which is in accordance with that observed in the case of the dates of other eras.

A Kārttikādi year will also suit almost all the dates known to Kielhorn. The only dates that require to be specially considered here are those falling in Āśvina. Only two such dates were known to Kielhorn, viz., (1) the date of the Sārnāth fragmentary stone inscription of the time of Karṇadēva—*Samvatsarē 810 Āśvina-sudī 15 Ravau*, the corresponding Christian date being Sunday the 4th October A. D. 1058; and (2) the date of the Sheorinārāyaṇ image inscription—*Kalachuri Samvatsarē | 898 | Āśvina-sudī 7 Sōma-dinē*, the corresponding Christian date being Monday the 24th September A. D. 1145. Of these the former presents no difficulty. Only, it will now have to be considered as citing a current year and not an expired one as was supposed by Kielhorn. In regard to the latter it may be noted that its reading has been a matter of controversy for a very long time. Sir R. Jenkins first published it in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, p. 505 as *Samvat 898 Ashwin shudh saptami*. Cunningham in his *A. S. R.*, Vol. IX, gave it as *in the Kulachuri Samvat in the year 898, Aswin sudī Soma* on p. 86 and as *898 Asvina sudī 7, Monday* on p. 111. Subsequently in his *A. S. R.*, Vol. XVII, plate XX, he published a photozincograph of only part of it which reads *Kalachuriḥ samvatsarē 898*. He again referred to it in his *Indian Eras*, p. 6 where he remarked 'A fresh examination has shown the date to be *Aswin su. di. 2* (and not *Aswin su. di. 7*)'. Kielhorn at first accepted this last statement of Cunningham and on calculation found that the date corresponded to Monday, the 9th September A. D. 1146, on which day the second *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina ended 21 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise. As he was then of opinion that the Chēdi year was Bhādrapadādi and the era commenced in A. D. 249, he concluded that the year 898 of this date was a current year. Subsequently in his article on the era in the *Festgruss an Roth* he confirmed the aforementioned reading from a facsimile and gave the same corresponding date as before, but as he had then come to the conclusion that the Chēdi era commenced on Āśvina *su. di. 1* in A. D. 248, he took the year of the date as expired. Dr. (then Mr.) D. R. Bhandarkar next stated in his notice of the inscription in *P. R. A. S., W. C.* (p. 53) for 1903-4 that the inscription was dated 898 Kalachuri era, Monday, the 7th of the bright half of Āśvina. From a photograph of the inscription supplied by him, Kielhorn also finally read the inscription as *Kalachuri-samvatsarē | 898 | Āśvina-sudī 7 Sōma-dinē* and stated that it regularly corresponded, for the current Kalachuri year 898, to Monday the 24th September A. D. 1145, when the seventh *tithi* of the bright half of Āśvina ended 20 h. 57 m. after mean sunrise. This date seemed to confirm Kielhorn's opinion that the Chēdi year began in Āśvina, for it showed that the month of Āśvina fell, in any case, in the beginning of that year. But the recent discovery of the dates 5 and 6 noticed above, which show that the Chēdi year began in some month later than Āśvina, has rendered the accuracy of the date of the Sheorinārāyaṇ inscription open to question. There is of course no doubt about the reading of the date. I have satisfied myself that the reading finally adopted by Kielhorn is correct; but with that reading the date appears to be irregular; for, with the Chēdi year commencing in some month later than Āśvina, the seventh *tithi* of the bright half of Āśvina would, in the current year 898, fall on Saturday (the 14th September 1146) and in the expired Chēdi year 898, on Friday (the 3rd October A. D. 1147). In neither case was the *tithi* connected with Monday. The question, therefore, arises whether we should take the Chēdi era to be Āśvinādi on the authority of this date and treat the dates 5 and

¹[The actual reading in No. 8 is *sudī*.—Ed.]

6 as irregular or whether on the authority of these latter dates we should take the Chēdi year to have commenced in some month later than Āśvina (probably in Kārttika). I choose the latter course not only because a larger number of dates would otherwise appear irregular but also because the evidence on which Kielhorn relied for taking the Chēdi year to be Āśvinādi is, as shown below, questionable. As for the date of the Sheotinārīyaṅ inscription the conjecture may be hazarded that owing to the similarity in the Nāgarī figures 2 and 7 of the twelfth century A. D., the writer or the engraver committed a mistake in recording the *tithi* and wrote or engraved 7 in place of 2. The confusion in reading the figure of the *tithi*, which persisted for a long time, shows that such a mistake is not unlikely. The intended date Monday the 2nd *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Āśvina regularly corresponds, for the current Kārttikādi Chēdi year 898, to Monday the 9th September A. D. 1446.

Let us next turn to the evidence on which Kielhorn relied for his view that the Chēdi year commenced on Āśvina śu. di. 1. As stated above he found the following statement in a letter written by Colebrooke at Nāgpur on the 30th October 1799: 'The new year begins here with the light fortnight of Āśvina, but opening in the midst of Durgā's festival, New Year's Day is only celebrated on the 10th lunar day.' Kielhorn took this usage as reminiscent of the Chēdi year, for according to him the country round Nāgpur was previously included in the Chēdi kingdom. But Colebrooke's statement is clearly due to some misunderstanding. He was appointed Resident at the Court of the Bhonsla Rājā of Nāgpur and he stayed at Nāgpur from the 18th March 1799 to the 19th May 1801. The statement referred to by Kielhorn occurs in the *Journal of Occurrences at Nāgpur*, which Colebrooke privately kept and from which some extracts have been printed in the *Life of Colebrooke* by his son Sir T. E. Colebrooke. As the context shows, the statement in question refers to the festival of Durgā which is to this day celebrated with great eclat not only in the Central Provinces but in other parts of India also. In the Mahārāshṭra the Dasarā or the Vijayā-daśamī, as the 10th day of the festival is called, was celebrated with great pomp and splendour during the Marāṭhā rule, as marking the end of the monsoon and the commencement of the season for military operations. Under the date 30th October 1799, Colebrooke gives in the *Journal* a graphic description of the Dasarā festival which he attended at the Rājā's invitation. He seems to have thought that the festival marked the beginning of the new year, but he was clearly mistaken in this.¹ The era current in the country round Nāgpur during the 18th century was the so-called Śālivāhans or Śāka era. That the Śāka year did not then begin in Āśvina even at Nāgpur there can be no possible doubt. Dates of contemporary state papers cannot unfortunately be cited to prove this; for the Bhonslas, like other Marāṭhā chiefs, almost invariably used the Muhammadan year in dating their records. But if proof is needed, it would be furnished by the following date which occurs in two Marāṭhī letters² written evidently at Nāgpur by Raghōji II, the Bhonsla Rājā of Nāgpur and by his brother, Khanḍōji *alias* Chimṇāji Bāpu to record a mutual agreement, *viz.*, Śakē 1701 Vikāri *nāma samvatsarē miti Āśvina bahula pañchamī, Bhṛigu-vāsarē*. This date corresponds, for the *amānta* Āśvina, regularly to Friday, the 29th October A. D. 1779. The cyclic year for the Chaitrādi Śāka year 1701 was Vikārin according to the southern luni-solar system. This date clearly shows that the era current in Nāgpur in the time of Colebrooke was the Śāka era, its months were *amānta* and the year commenced in Chaitra and not in Āśvina.

¹ In a note added to the statement the Editor of the *Life of Colebrooke* remarks: 'It would appear too from a passage in Niebuhr's travels that the reckoning in use at Nāgpur was followed in Bombay and Gujerat at the time of the traveller's visit. The year is said by him to begin with the month of Kārttika, evidently referring to the Autumnal Equinox.' The Editor is here evidently confounding the Durgā festival in Āśvina with the Divālī festival in Kārttika.

² See *Ātīhānika Patra-vyavahāra* (Historical Letters, Marāṭhī, pub. in 1933), pp. 147-48.

Even supposing that in Colebrooke's time the year began at Nāgpur in the month of Āśvina it can have no bearing on the question of the commencement of the Chēdi year for the simple reason that the country round Nāgpur was probably never under the rule of the Kalachuris¹. No inscriptions dated in the Chēdi era have been found in the Marāṭhī-speaking districts of the Central Provinces and Berār. These districts which were evidently comprised in the three Mahārāshṭras mentioned in the Aihole inscription of Pulakōśin II were successively under the Early Chālukyas, the Rāshṭrakūṭas, the Paramāras, the later Chālukyas and the Yādavas, but never under the Kalachuris of Tripuri or of Ratanpur. In the present Central Provinces the use of that era was confined to the Chhattisgarh and the northern Hindi-speaking districts.

Kielhorn's view that the territory round Nāgpur was once included in the Chēdi kingdom was evidently due to his wrong identification of the kings Simhaṇa and Rāmachandra mentioned in the Rāmṭek Lakshmaṇa temple inscription with the homonymous kings of the Raipur branch of the Kalachuri dynasty². The inscription is fragmentary and has not been edited so far. Kielhorn's knowledge of the kings mentioned in it was derived from a faint rubbing which he obtained from Fleet. My examination of the inscription has convinced me that it belongs to the Yādava (and not the Kalachuri) dynasty; for l. 4 of it names the royal family as *Yādavō vaṃśak*. The kings Simhaṇa and Rāmachandra mentioned in ll. 14 and 19 are evidently the well-known kings of the Yādava dynasty³. That the rule of the Yādavas extended in the east as far as Lāñji in the Bālāghāt District, about 100 miles north by east of Nāgpur, is clear from a fragmentary stone inscription of the dynasty, found at Lāñji⁴, which has now been deposited in the Central Museum, Nāgpur.

There is thus not an iota of evidence to prove that the Chēdi era was current in the Nāgpur District, nor to show that the Chēdi year commenced in Āśvina. On the other hand the testimony of some of the recently discovered Chēdi dates renders it probable that **the Chēdi era commenced on Kārttika śu. di. 1 (the 6th October) in A. D. 248.**

No. 15.—A DUTCH MEMORIAL SLAB IN INDIA.

By F. W. STAPEL, LIT. D., UNIVERSITY OF AMSTERDAM.

In 1911, Dr. J. PH. Vogel, at present professor in the Leiden University, and at that time the officiating Director-General of Archaeology in India, noticed a memorial slab with a Dutch

¹ Some parts of Berār may have been under the Early Kalachuri king Kṛishnarāja as a hoard of his coins was found at Dhamōri near Amraoti in Berār, but these coins were used by other dynasties also.

² Kielhorn has incidentally mentioned this identification at the end of his article on the Khālari stone inscription of Haribrahmadēva of the (Vikrama) year 1470, above, Vol. II, p. 239. He may also have had in mind the fact that the Kalachuri king Karṇa made his Benares grant (above, Vol. II, pp. 297 ff.) after bathing in the Venk. Kielhorn at first identified this river with the Waingangā which flows about 40 miles from Nāgpur, but later on he corrected himself (see, above, Vol. IV, p. 122 n.) and took it to be a tributary of the Ganges which it joins at Allahābād.

³ The late Rai Bahādur Hiralal also, following Kielhorn, at first thought that the princes mentioned in the Rāmṭek Lakshmaṇa temple inscription belonged to the Haihaya dynasty, but he has not asserted that view in the second ed. of his *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*, p. 3. That these princes were of the Yādava dynasty is clear also from the fact that the first eight lines of the inscriptions, though much damaged, intimate the victories of these princes over Rudra, Āndhra, Chōla and perhaps Gurjarēndra also. It is clear that we have here references to the brilliant exploits of the Yādava kings Jaitugi and Singhaṇa. The petty kings of the Raipur branch of the Haihaya dynasty who ruled in the fifteenth century A. D. did not distinguish themselves in this way.

⁴ See Hiralal's *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*, (Second ed.) p. 30.

inscription in the wall of the kachahri (court-house) at Chingleput. He drew the attention of the Government of the province of Madras to it, suggesting at the same time that it should be transferred to the Government Museum in Madras. Evidently this hint was taken, for the stone is now preserved in the aforementioned Museum.

The rectangular stone is well preserved, measures 1.40 m. by 50 c.m. and bears the following inscription in letters 3 c.m. high.

TEXT.

- 1 Onder de Hoek van de Flank, hier naast deser Fortificatie, aangelegt
- 2 door den heer, Coenraad Pieter Keller, lieutenant-dessave, en
- 3 ingenieur tot Colombo, ten tyde van Joannes Spits, en Philippus
- 4 Jacobus Dormieux, als opperhoofd, en secunde: is den eersten steen
- 5 gelegd, door Catharina Elizabeth Dormieux, dogter van gem:
- 6 Dormieux, en syn huyavrouw, Elizabeth Maria Mestral d'Meserie,
- 7 op den 14^{ten} May a[nn]o 1749.

TRANSLATION.

Under the corner of the flank, next to this fortress, built by Mr. Coenraad Pieter Keller, lieutenant-dessave of Colombo, engineer, at the time of Joannes Spits and Philippus Jacobus Dormieux, chief and assistant, the foundation stone was laid by Catharina Elizabeth Dormieux, daughter of the mentioned Dormieux and his wife, Elizabeth Maria Mestral de Meserie, on the 14th of May Anno 1749.

So far nothing was known about its origin, but a recent search in the records of the Netherlands-East-India Company has revealed the following facts:

In 1747 and the following years a fierce struggle was going on in the Carnatic Lowlands among the native authorities. Owing to his advanced age, Nabob Annawardi-chan (Nawab Anwar-uddin) wanted to hand over his office to his eldest son, Mahometh Mafus-chan (Mahfuz Khan), but a number of visiadors (governors) strongly opposed this wish. The managers of the Netherlands factory at Sadraspatnam (usually called Sadras for short) situated about 35 miles south of the Madras city, viz., the Under-Merchant Joannes Spits and his assistant or deputy, the book-keeper Philippus Jacobus Dormieux, approached the Netherlands governor of Coromandel, Mr. Librecht Hooreman, who resided in the castle at Negapatnam, asking his permission to build a fortress in order to be able to protect the Company's money and merchandise. The request was granted and in 1749 a small garrison was drafted from Negapatnam into Sadras, consisting of 1 sergeant-major, 2 corporals, 1 constable, 6 musketeers and 12 common soldiers, armed with a number of small guns. At the same time an order was placed for the building of a small fortress, which was erected by an engineer, named Coenraad Pieter Keller, "borrowed" for this purpose from the governor of Ceylon. The building was started in 1749, the memorial slab referred to was placed in it and towards the end of the same year the fortress was completed. A report was forwarded to the High Government in Batavia, who sent a message of thanks and satisfaction to Spits, for his tactful action through which he had succeeded in obtaining permission from the native ruler to build the fortress, and by way of reward promoted him to the rank of Merchant. Keller, however, came in for a rebuke, because he had built the fortress in so grand a style that the cost of it stood the Government in over 10,000 gold pagodas.

The way, in which the memorial slab, placed in the fortress, found its way to Chingleput, is described in pages 35f. in the book, written by Jacob Haafner: *Reize van Madras naar Ceilon* (Voyage from Madras to Ceylon) published in Haarlem in 1806. Haafner had been employed in the Company's office at Sadras since 1779. We get the following information from this work. Jacob Pieter De Neys was the chief there at the time. In the fortress there was then still a small garrison, not even 20 strong, in charge of a sergeant. Yet this garrison was sufficiently strong to hold it against the Gallouris, a predatory tribe living in the Carnatic jungle. On the 17th of June 1781 De Neys had a party of all the qualified (higher) officials and their wives at his house, to celebrate a birthday. At the height of the revels the arrival of a British officer was announced. De Neys asked him to enter and join them. The young officer, however, was the bearer of a very distressing message. The British had received an intimation of a war that had broken out between England and the Dutch Republic. He had been sent by his chief, Captain George Mackay, the Commander of the strong garrison of Chingleput, situated 3 miles north-west of Sadras, who with the whole of his troops had marched to within a mile's distance. Mackay demanded the Dutch fortress and lodge to surrender at discretion. The alarm of the guests may be easily imagined. De Neys immediately held a meeting and all the persons present realised that it would be useless to offer resistance to the British, who outnumbered them; yet, a surrender at discretion was out of the question. Only if fair conditions of capitulation should be granted, would they open the gates. The assembled company stated their terms: A. the property of the officials and inhabitants should be held in respect; B. fair treatment of the prisoners-of-war should be guaranteed up to the conclusion of peace or the time of their exchange. Haafner being the only one who could speak English well, was sent to Mackay, who, at first, refused stubbornly and scornfully to sign the conditions of capitulation, but in the end proceeded to do so, when the Dutch stuck to their point.

The same evening the British troops marched into the fortress and now that it was in their possession, Mackay did not hold to the conditions he had signed. He had the prisoners taken to Madras without allowing them to take their possessions which they never saw again. Before their departure they witnessed how Mackay blew up the whole of the fortress. Though Haafner does not say anything about the memorial slab, it is obvious that the British troops took it as a trophy with them to Chingleput, where it was noticed in 1911 by Dr. Vogel.

It is common knowledge that in 1784, at the conclusion of peace in Paris, Sadras and the other conquered places, with the exception of the important settlement of Negapatnam, were restored to the Dutch Company.

In conclusion we are able to give the following information about the persons, whose names are stated on the tablet.

Coenraad Pieter Keller born in Steynfeld in Germany, sailed for the Indies as a lanspassaat (non-commissioned officer) on board the *Watervliet* in 1735. In the same year he entered the Civil Service in Batavia as an assistant and in 1737 was appointed assistant-surveyor in the same town. The High Government decided in 1740 upon sending him to Ceylon as an engineer, with the rank of Under-Merchant. He worked for several years in Colombo and in 1746 was appointed lieutenant-dessave (dessave being the title of the Governor of a province in Ceylon). On the 13th of September 1754 he was promoted to the rank of Merchant. Soon afterwards he went to Coromandel, where he took part in building a fortress at Bimlipatnam. In 1765 he got into trouble; the Governor suspended him and afterwards imprisoned him in consequence of an effort made by him to run away. On his trial the public prosecutor demanded that he should be executed, but the Governor not being convinced of his guilt, sent him to Batavia with all the documents bearing on the case. He came up for trial before the Superior Court of Law and finding the charges

against him not-proven, his case was dismissed. On the 27th of March 1767 the Government decided to reinstate him in his former rank on the same salary. Soon after that his death must have taken place, because after 1767 his name does not occur any more in the registers of the Company.

Joannes Spits was born in Negapatnam about 1677, and in 1695 he entered the service of the Company as a soldier. Owing to his clever penmanship he obtained a clerkship and after five years he finally entered the Civil Service as an assistant. In succession he occupied the following posts: 1705, book-keeper; 1708, senior clerk in the Negapatnam police-office; 1713, Under-Merchant and Secretary in the same place; 1717, Adigar (Collector) of the suburbs; 1724, Chief in Palliacatta (Pulicat) and in 1725, Chief in Sadras. This last position he held for more than 25 years. In 1750, on the 12th of June, he was promoted to the rank of Merchant. At that time he was over 70 years old and soon afterwards he died. He was in the employ of the Company on the coast of Coromandel for about 55 years.

Philippus Jacobus Dormieux was born about 1708 in Porto Novo, where his father, who had a large family, was Secretary to the Company. In 1726 Philippus started life as a soldier, was soon given a clerical job, became a provisional assistant in 1728, and assistant in 1732 and a book-keeper in 1737, in which capacity he was employed in Sadras for many years. He, too, was for a long time, about 50 years, in the service of the Company on the coast of Coromandel. He rose to greater heights than Spits, although in the 18th century promotion was slower than in the 17th century. His record of service reads: 1751, Under-Merchant; 1754, Merchant; 1763, Chief in Palliacatta; 1769, titular rank of Chief-Merchant; 1775, substantive rank of Chief-Merchant, Senior Administrator at Negapatnam and Second in the Coromandel Government. As such his name is mentioned for the last time in 1777, when he was about 70 years old. Soon after that his death must have occurred.

The memorial tablet records the name of his wife: Elizabeth Maria Mestral de Meserie, a name, which is not mentioned in the registers of the Company. Very likely she was not a Dutch woman, but probably the daughter of one of the many Frenchmen who lived along the coast at that time. For that matter the Dormieux, too, were supposedly of French origin.

No. 16.—NOTES ON THE NANDAPUR COPPER-PLATE OF THE GUPTA YEAR 169.

By JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH, CALCUTTA.

The above grant has appeared in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 52-56. We congratulate Mr. N. G. Majumdar, the editor of the plate, for his fine critical acumen. Although he has not been able to identify the village of Ambila, from where the charter was issued, nor the village of Jaṅgōyikā, in which lay the donated land, the indication he has given of their locality has come very true. He, from a study of the nature of the script, the phraseology used in the Baigrām and other contemporary inscriptions discovered in North Bengal, and the standard measuring reed used, came to the conclusion that the land given away must have belonged to North Bengal, although the donee came from Nandapura in the Monghyr District of Bihār.

We find that a village named Ambulia or Ambalia still exists in *thānā* Rajarampur of the Dinājpur District, in North Bengal. There is also a village named Jaṅgai in *thānā* Nawābganj of the same district. Baigrām is also in this *thānā*.¹ The village of Jaṅgōyikā seems to be a very ancient one. Kauṭilya in the *Arthasāstra* speaks of a variety of sandal wood, a variety of

¹ *Village Directory*, Dinājpur (1885).

agaru (resin of aloe) and also a kind of *tailaparyika* (leaves producing oil such as Eucalyptus) named *Jōngaka* which might have taken this name from its place of origin. The commentator says that all these are the products of Kāmarūpa¹. We do not know the time of this commentator. He might have flourished in the seventh century, when this part of Bengal was under Kāmarūpa. It is interesting to note that a variety of *agaru* is named *Dōngaka*, and a variety of *tailaparyika* as *Aśōkagrāmika*². This *Dōngaka* might be the same as the *Dōngā-grāma* in *Himavochehkhikharā*, occurring in the Dāmodarpur plate No. 4³. The commentator placed *Aśōkagrāma* also in Kāmarūpa⁴, but we find a village of this name in *thānā* Gaugārāmpur of the Dinājpur District⁵.

We would now like to make some observations on some of the terms used in the first two lines of the plate. For ready reference, we give below the text and the translation by Mr. Majumdar:—

TEXT.

- 1 Svasty-Amvi(mbi)la-grām-āgrahārāt=sa-viśvāsam=adhikaraṇām(ṇam) Jaṅgōyikā-grāmē
Brāhmaṇ-ōttarān=samhyavahā-
2 ry-ādi-kuṭumvi(mbi)naḥ kuśalam-anuvarṇṇya bōdhayanti(ti) likhanti(ti) cha[*] Vijñāpayati
naḥ viśhayapati- Chhattramahaḥ.

TRANSLATION.

(Ll. 1-2) Hail! From the (royal) grant (*agrahāra*) of **Ambila** village, our Head of the District (*Vishayapati*) **Chhattramaha**, with confidence intimates, addresses in writing and informs the Court (*Adhikaraṇa*), as well as the Brāhmaṇas, the chief officers and others, and also the householders, at the village of **Jaṅgōyikā**, after having enquired about their well-being:

Agrahāra—This has been translated as '(royal) grant'. The word, no doubt, ordinarily conveys this meaning. But it is doubtful if it has been used here in the same sense. Charters are usually issued from some headquarters or camps. There appears no reason why the present charter should be issued from a village of royal grant. In the Mallasārul plate of Vijayasēna, issued in the third year of the reign of *Mahārājādhirāja* Gōpachandra (c. 508 A. D.), we find the designation of an officer as *Āgrahārika*. In the same plate the grant has been made by addressing several '*Āgrahāriṇa-mahattaras*' of the neighbourhood⁶. So it seems that *Agrahāra* was meant to be the headquarters of a *Mahattara*, who was also an *Āgrahārika*, or *Agrahārin*.

Let us see what *agrahāra* literally means. It is derived from *agra*=first or prior and *hri*=to take. *Agra* here has to be taken in the sense of *agra-bhāga*, i.e., king's share, because the king has got the priority or the first charge on the produce of land. *Agrahāra* means 'one who takes or collects king's share'. The *Śukranīti* has used the words *bhāgahara* and *bhāga-grāhī* in this sense⁷. *Agrahāra*, therefore, means 'the place of business or headquarters of the *Agrahāra* or *Agrahārin*'.

¹ *Arthasūtra*, Bk. II, ch. 11.

² *Ibid.*

³ Above, Vol. XV, p. 140.

⁴ *Arthasūtra* (Ganapati Śāstri's ed.), p. 189.

⁵ *Vill. Diry.*, Dinājpur.

⁶ *Baṅgīya Sāhitya-Parīśat-Patrikā* (B. S. 1344), pp. 17-21; above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 155 ff.

⁷ *Śukranīti* (Venk. Press), ch. II, vv. 120, 419.

Now we shall try to see how *agrahāra* came to mean 'a grant made to a Brāhmaṇa.' We have seen that in the Mallasārul grant *Agrahārins* were *Mahattaras* also. The title *Mahattara* implies 'a head-man of a village.' When he performs also the function of 'a revenue-collector,' he is called *Agrahārīya-mahattara*.¹ Manu says that the king should appoint a head-man for every village, every ten villages and so on. The head-man of one village will get as his remuneration what food and drink the villagers are to pay to the king every day. The head-man of ten villages will get land which requires six bulls to cultivate, and so on.² Kauṭilya also says that the *Adhyakshas* or 'Superintendents of departments' should be endowed with lands.³ The *Sukranīti* again says '*grāmapō Brāhmaṇō yōjyaḥ*'⁴ i.e., 'a Brāhmaṇa should be appointed as the head-man or *Mahattara* of a village'. In this way the land granted as maintenance for the *Agrahārīya-mahattaras* who were invariably of the Brāhmaṇa caste came to be known as *agrahāra*.

Sa-viśvāsam—This has been translated as 'in confidence'. No question of confidence comes in here. We think that Dr. Chakravarti, the Government Epigraphist, has rightly raised the point that after *agrahārāt* some officers should be mentioned. We take *Viśvāsa* to be the designation of some officer. '*Sa-karaṇān*', a word similar to '*sa-viśvāsam*', is found in the Khālimpur plate of Dharmapāladēva, as '*jyēshṭha-kāyastha-mahāmahattara-mahattara-dāsagrāmik-ādī-vishaya-vyavahārīyaḥ sa-karaṇān*'⁵, i.e., 'the District-Officers such as the Jyēshṭha-Kāyastha, etc., with their *Karaṇas*, i.e., Sub-Departments or the officers constituting their respective Sub-Departments.' Here it appears that the *Mahattara* was an officer higher than the *Dāsagrāmika* or the head of ten villages' and the *Jyēshṭha-Kāyastha* was at the head of the *Vishaya-Vyavahārins* or 'officers of the district', probably employed in the work of revenue collection. *Viśvāsa* literally means 'trust,' hence 'any officer in charge of some work of trust.' Here it probably refers to the post of revenue-collector of the Ambila *agrahāra*.

Let us see if there is any evidence to show that there really existed any post of the name of *Viśvāsa*. The present-day surnames such as *Viśvāsa*, *Niyōgi*, *Bhāṇḍārī*, *Bisī* (*Vishayi*), *Majumdar* (correctly *Majmuādār*), *Munshī*, etc., are nothing but the names of posts, which were held by some forefathers, probably for some generations, of the present holders of these surnames. Arjuna Miśra, the Bengali commentator of the *Mahābhārata*, says that he wrote the *Mokshadharmnārthadīpikā* under orders of the '*Gauḍēsvara-mahāmantri-śrīmad-Viśvāsa-rāya*'⁶. Again Rāmachandra Guha, the poet of the *Aindavānanda-Nāṭaka*, says that he was the son of '*Gauḍēndra-mahāmātya-kavi-panḍita-prāpta-Viśvāsa-sthāna(khāna)-padavīka*'⁷. We find that both *Viśvāsa-rāya* and *Viśvāsa-khāna* held high posts under the king of Gauḍa. Rāmachandra clearly states that his father held the post (*padavī*) of *Viśvāsa-khāna*. *Padavī* literally means 'a situation, a place,' but surnames after the post-designations have become so very common in Bengal that *padavī* means 'a surname'. The term again is so very popular that surnames such as Banerji, Ghosh, etc., which are not strictly *padavīs* go by the name of *padavī*. *Viśvāsa-rāya* and *Viśvāsa-khāna* seem to be similar to the modern 'Lord Chancellor of the Exchequer.' After this there cannot be any doubt that *Viśvāsa* in the present plate has been used as the designation of an officer.

¹ [*Agrahārīya* of the Mallasārul Plate evidently stands for *agrahārīka* and has been formed on the analogy of *grāmīya*.—Ed.]

² *Manu-smṛiti*, ch. VII, vv. 115-19.

³ *Arthśāstra*, Bk. II, ch. 1.

⁴ *Sukranīti*, ch. II, v. 420.

⁵ Above, Vol. IV, p. 250, text l. 47.

⁶ *Notices of Sans. MSS.*, H. P. Sastri, 2nd. Series, Vol. I, No. 295.

⁷ *Des. Cat. of Sans. MSS.*, Tanjore, Vol. VIII, No. 4335.

Adhikaraṇam—This has been translated as 'court'. We think it would be more suitable to say 'department' or 'officers constituting the department'. Court ordinarily carries the sense of 'a Court of Justice.' Kauṭilya has used this word in the sense of 'a department.'¹

Brāhmaṇ-ōttarān—This has been rendered as 'the Brāhmaṇas and others.' In the charters of the Sēna and the Varman kings of Bengal, we have '*Brāhmaṇān Brāhmaṇ-ōttarān*,' which has been translated by Mr. Majumdar as 'Brāhmaṇas, and the best or chief among Brāhmaṇas'.² Again in the Rāmapāl copper-plate of Śrichandra occurs only '*Brāhmaṇ-ōttarān*.' This has also been rendered as 'the best among Brāhmaṇas.'³ We think in the first case '*Brāhmaṇ-ōttarān*' means 'other than the Brāhmaṇas,' and in the second case as 'the Brāhmaṇas and others,' as has been interpreted in the present case. No other rendering will be suitable to the context.

Samvyavahāry-ādi-kuṭumbinaḥ—This has been translated as 'the chief officers and the householders'. In the Dāmōdarpur plate No. 3 a distinction has been made between the *adhikaraṇa-grāmika-kuṭumbinaḥ*, and the *-prakṛiti-kuṭumbinaḥ*.⁴ The first seems to refer to those, who by virtue of their position in society held some office, such as *mahattara*, etc., while the second are the lay or ordinary householders. In the present plate these householders are not the ordinary householders, but belonged to the first class.

Kuśalam-anuvarṇaya—This has been interpreted as 'enquiring about the well-being of'. This is the same as '*kuśalam-ukteā*' of the Dāmōdarpur plate mentioned above. It should, we think, be translated as 'after saying or wishing well-fare' such as '*śubham-astu bhavatām*'. Manu ordains that *kuśala* should be enquired of the Brāhmaṇas only, and not of the other *varṇas*.⁵ Here in the assembly people other than the Brāhmaṇas were also present. So enquiring of *kuśala* of all would have been against law and etiquette.

No. 17.—SVALPA-VELURA GRANT OF GANGA ANANTAVARMAN.

BY B. CH. CHHABRA, M.A., M.G.L., PH.D. (LUGD.), OOTACAMUND.

This grant is one of the nine sets of copper-plates which were acquired by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, Superintendent, Archæological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta, in the year 1935, and seven of which have already been published.⁶ Their exact find-spot is not known, but, as stated above,⁷ they were unearthed in a village of the **Badakhimedi Estate** in the Ganjām District.

The charter consists of **three copper plates**, each measuring about 7" × 2½". They were strung on a ring, about 3½" in diameter, to which was fixed a **seal**. This is now badly defaced, but it probably contained the figure of a recumbent bull. The plates together with the ring and the seal weigh 108½ *tolas*. The first and the last plates are engraved only on the inner face, while the second plate bears writing on both the sides. Their rims are left flat, still the inscription on them is intact. There are altogether thirty lines of writing, each face of the second plate containing eight and the other two seven each.

¹ *Arthashastra*, Bk. II, ch. IX.

² N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, pp. 24, 66, 78 and 90.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁴ Above, Vol. XV, p. 136.

⁵ *Manu-smṛiti*, ch. II, v. 127.

⁶ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 73 ff.; 78 ff.; 141 ff. and 261 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

The characters belong to the northern variety of alphabet, which is generally found in the Gaṅga records. The script of the present inscription resembles to a great extent that of the Vishmagiri plates of Indravarmadēva,¹ and, at the same time, appears to be somewhat more archaic than the latter. It is, however, decidedly much later than that of the Dhanantara plates of Sāmantavarman.² With regard to the formation of individual letters, it may be observed that *k*, *dh*, *p*, *m*, *y*, *r*, *l*, *s* and *h* have two signs each, as found in the following examples: *Śvētaka-* and *śakala* (l. 1); *-ādhiśhā* (l. 1) and *°dhirāja* (l. 7); *°parika* (l. 10) and *janapa°* (l. 11); *māhēs-* *varō* and *mātā* (l. 6); *pralaya* (l. 2) and *nāyaka* (l. 10); *°dhirāja* and *paramē°* (l. 7); *śakala* (l. 1) and *kamal-* (l. 4); *nivāsi°* (l. 3) and *sāmanta* (l. 5); *hētō°* (l. 2) and *māhē°* (l. 6). Similarly *n* is represented by two distinct forms one of which is identical in shape with the same letter in Nāgarī, while the other looks like Nāgarī *v*. Both of them may be compared in *nivāsina* (l. 3). The same word also illustrates the two ways in which the medial *i* is expressed. The medial long *ī* is likewise denoted in two ways, cf. *śrī* (l. 3 *et passim*) and *kusālīh* (l. 8). Attention may be called also to *śrī* in l. 29 the form of which totally differs from the sign of the same word occurring several times in the rest of the inscription. As to the signs for initial vowels, *a* is met with in ll. 8, 22, 27, *i* in ll. 24, 26, 29, and *u* in ll. 18, 29. Here again, two diverse forms of initial *i* are seen in *iti*, appearing twice in l. 29. The sign for final *t* (ll. 15, 23) is equally noteworthy.

The language of the record is Sanskrit and the composition is in prose, except that five of the customary verses occur in ll. 19-26. Concerning orthography the following points are noticed: (1) In certain cases *sandhi* rules have been disregarded, as in l. 15. (2) In a few instances the *sandhi* observed is wrong, as in *°rājyō parama-* (l. 6). (3) *Anusvāra* has taken the place of a final *m*, as in *phalam* (l. 20) and (4) occasionally also of a class nasal, as in *Kaliṅg-* (l. 6), (5) whereas in some cases it appears redundantly before a nasal, as in *Gaṅg-* (l. 7) and *bhavatānm-ētad-* (l. 13). (6) *Visarga* is sometimes omitted, as in *nivāsina* (l. 3), (7) while it is wrongly used in *kusālīh* (l. 8). (8) The letter *t* preceding *r* in *bakti-traya* (l. 4) and in *attra* (l. 27) is reduplicated. (9) A consonant after *r* is in most cases doubled, as in *Gōkarṇ°* (l. 3), and (10) left single in others, as in *-ārka* (l. 16). (11) As in many other records of this period, no separate sign for *b* has been employed in this inscription, it being invariably expressed by the sign for *v*. The composition of the record also shows a few mistakes such as wrong spellings or incorrect grammar, which have been rectified in the transcribed text.

The document is issued by the illustrious *Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Paramabhaṭṭāraka Anantavarmadēva* from his capital or seat of government (*adhishthāna*) *Śvētaka*. Its object is to record the grant, made by the king himself, of a village called *Svalpa-Vēlura* (or *Svalpa-Vēlurō*), included in the district (*vishaya*) of *Khalgukhaṇḍa*, to one *Bhaṭṭa Nānaśarman* belonging to the *Vatsa gōtra*, the *Vājasaneyā charaṇa*, and the *Kāpya śākhā* (of the white *Yajurveda*). *Mahāsāmanta* *Aśōkadēva* acted as the *Dūtaka* for this charter, while it was composed by *Mahāsandhivigrahika* *Gōvindadēva*, registered (*lāucchita*) by the chief queen (*Mahādēvi*) *Vāsabhaṭṭārīkā* and engraved by *Mahindrabhīma*. The date of the record, which is given at the end, is the fifth day of the bright half of the month of *Phālguna* in the nineteenth year which, in all probability, refers to the regnal year of the king.

The donor, *M. P. P. Anantavarman*, belonged to the Early Gaṅga dynasty of *Kaliṅga*. One of the conventional attributes attached to his name describes him as 'one who wields the supreme power over the entire *Kaliṅga* (country) conquered by the strength and might of his own arms', but this in common with a number of other Gaṅga grants has no special significance

¹ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 134 ff.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 275 ff.

here. Although several of the Early Gaṅga kings are known to bear the same name Anantavarman,² none of them appears to be identical with the grantor of the present charter. Unfortunately there still prevails a good deal of uncertainty with regard to the chronology of the Early Gaṅga kings, in spite of the fact that the number of their known records, which was already not a mean one, has during recent years been appreciably augmented by fresh discoveries. From the varied and extensive data available divergent opinions have been formed in respect of the many vexed problems connected with the history of the Gaṅgas, which it will serve no useful purpose to repeat here. Hence a brief and relevant discussion may suffice.

It has been supposed that there were at least five collateral branches of the Early Gaṅgas, ruling over different parts of Kaliṅga. Even an attempt has been made to fix the genealogy of each of them.³ A verse appearing in Vajrahasta's grants⁴ has been cited in support of that. There is indeed nothing against such a supposition. In fact, there is an additional piece of evidence in its favour. We know that there were various capitals from where the Gaṅga records have been issued. This diversity of capitals is better explained by accepting the above view than by assuming, with Mr. T. C. Rath, 'that the capital was changed from time to time'.⁴

Latterly, it has been suggested⁵ that one branch of the Early Gaṅgas had Śvētaka as its capital, whence it ruled over the surrounding territory. It may parenthetically be pointed out that Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma asserts that the name of the city has hitherto been 'wrongly read as Śvētaka' but 'is really Śchētaka'.⁶ His assertion is based on his examination of the four grants then available to him. There is no gainsaying that the forms of conjuncts *śva* and *ścha* are often very similar to and hardly distinguishable from each other in those records, as is the case in many others for the matter of that. Again, the evidence of the Vishmagiri plates, as adduced by Mr. Sarma, even substantiates his alleged reading *Śchētaka*. In spite of all that the latter does not seem to me acceptable. Considering that the names of the other Gaṅga capitals are purely Sanskrit ones, one would expect in the present instance also a familiar Sanskrit word as *Śvētaka* rather than a quasi-Sanskrit term like *Śchētaka*. This in itself, I admit, is not a sufficiently cogent argument for the acceptance of the former reading, but, as we shall presently see, it is strengthened by concrete evidence. As remarked above, Mr. Sarma had only four charters for comparison, whereas we have now six or seven more issued from the self-same capital city. If the *śv* of *Śvētaka* is not clear enough in any of the previously known four grants, it is absolutely clear in at least three⁷ of the latter group. It will be seen that the conjuncts *śva* and *ścha* there have distinct forms. We have, therefore, to treat the reading *Śchētaka* of the Vishmagiri plates as a mistake for *Śvētaka*.

Assuming now that the kings who issued charters from Śvētaka belonged to a separate branch of the Early Gaṅga rulers, we find that Anantavarman of the present grant is the only king of that name so far known in that line. The earliest known prince of this family is

¹ See above, Vol. III, pp. 17 ff.; Vol. XXIII, pp. 59 ff. *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 273 ff.

² *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. III, p. 38.

³ Above, Vol. IV, p. 189; Vol. IX, p. 96; Vol. XXIII, p. 71. The verse runs as follows:

पूर्वे मूपतिभिर्विभज्य वसुधा वा पचमिः पचथा मुक्ता मूपिपराक्रमो मुजबलाचामिक एव स्वयम् ।
एकीकृत्य विजित्य मनुनिवहान् शीवमहन्तधतुयन्तारिश्मन्मन्दुदारचरितः सर्वामरवीरवनाः ॥

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, p. 276.

⁵ *Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. XI, pp. 60 ff.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 59 and n. 9.

⁷ Above, Vol. XXIII, plates facing pp. 80, 262 and 267.

Sāmantavarman, as would appear from his Dhanantara plates,¹ which are not dated but are assigned to the seventh century A.D. on the evidence of their more archaic characters. Two points are noteworthy in this last-mentioned record; firstly Sāmantavarman does not bear any royal title; secondly he is described as *sva-bhūja-bala-parākram-ākṛānta-sakala-Ścētaka-ādhirājya*. This latter epithet, we know, occurs in connection with many other Gaṅga kings, with the only difference that there it has *Kaliṅga* instead of *Ścētaka*. From the above observation we may conclude that Sāmantavarman must have been a petty chief, ruling over a small territory called Śvētaka after the name of the capital city. Incidentally, this last reference further supports the theory of the separateness of the Śvētaka branch of the Early Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅga. As will be seen below, Sāmantavarman later on rose from his humble position to considerable power.

Recently, an important discovery has been made in the shape of a copper plate grant.² The charter is likewise issued from Śvētaka. It is dated and records the gift of a village, named Phērava, to four Brāhmaṇas. The donor is *Mahārāja* Sāmantavarman who has been rightly identified with Sāmantavarman of the Dhanantara plates. The identification is vouched mainly by the similarity of the script used in both the records. It may be noticed that in the Phērava grant Sāmantavarman is styled *Mahārāja* and bears the more common epithet *sva-bhūja-bala-parākram-ākṛānta-Kaliṅg-ādhirājya*, whereas in his Dhanantara plates he bears no such title as *Mahārāja* and his corresponding epithet there contains *Ścētaka* and not *Kaliṅga*. This indicates that, during the interval between the times of the issue of his Dhanantara plates and Phērava grant, Sāmantavarman somehow or other managed to have his dominions expanded and thereby to acquire more authority. We have at present no means to ascertain either the exact duration of that interval or the circumstances that led to his success and achievements.

As has already been remarked, the Phērava grant is dated; and that is again a point inviting controversy. The date³ is expressed only by three numerical symbols which the editor, Mr. Sarma, has read as 185. The first and the last figures no doubt represent 100 and 5 respectively. The middle one, however, answers neither to 8 nor to 80, as a comparison of it with the known symbols of those numerals⁴ will prove. Mr. Sarma's reading of the date as 185 is thus not warranted. The precise value of the disputed symbol cannot be determined unless we come across the same sign used elsewhere in a Gaṅga record in a date expressed both in words and in numerical symbols. Tentatively, however, I propose to explain the sign under discussion as representing 6, because it closely resembles the symbol for *six* occurring in the Kōmarti Plates of Chaṇḍavarman of Kaliṅga.⁵ The date would thus be the year 165 and not 185. No era has been specified in the record, but the year 165 possibly refers itself to the Gāṅgēya era.

According to Mr. Sarma's reading of the date as the year 185 of the Gāṅgēya era, Sāmantavarman becomes contemporaneous with Guṇāṇava's son Dēvēndravarma, a Gaṅga king of Kaliṅganagara, whose records of the years ranging from 183 to 195 of the same era are known.⁶

¹ Above, Vol. XV, pp. 275 ff.

² This has been edited by Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma in *Bhārati* (Telugu), Vol. XIV, Pt. I, 1937, pp. 223 ff. and Plates; and *J. O. R.*, Vol. XI, Pt. I, 1937, pp. 55 ff. (and Plates, *ibid.*, Pt. II).

³ The date portion has come out more distinct on the plates accompanying Mr. Sarma's article in Telugu.

⁴ For the signs of 8 and 80 see above, Vol. XVII, plate facing p. 333, text l. 23; Vol. III, plate facing p. 129, text l. 23, has the symbol for 80, and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, plate facing p. 121, text l. 20, has that for 8.

⁵ Above, Vol. IV, plate facing p. 145, text l. 20. It will be seen that in both the cases the symbol is identical in form with the letter *ka* of the alphabet used, but that in the case of the Kōmarti Plates it has the sign of medial *ā* added to it.

⁶ See Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, Nos. 1478, 1479 and 2048; also *I. B. Q.*, Vol. X, p. 301.

may mean 'an officer entrusted with the punishment of criminals'.¹ The term *Antaraṅga* is not of frequent occurrence and has been subjected to much discussion. It possibly signifies 'a court physician'.² The title *Kumārāmātya* has been explained as to denote 'councillor of the crown prince'.³ No satisfactory explanation of the term *Uparika* has yet been found, though it is met with in many inscriptions and several scholars have discussed it.⁴ The office of *Uparika* seems to have existed even in very olden days, for we find it defined by so ancient an authority as *Bṛihaspati* who is quoted by *Viśvarūpachārya* in his commentary *Bālakriḍā* on the *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* while commenting on the verse 307 in the *Rājadharmā-prakaraṇa* of this work.⁵ The definition runs as follows: *avikāryō-vikal-ēndriyaḥ pratāpavān zubhagaḥ sumukhō-kṛiparō-pramādi dakṣhō dākshīnya-chāritra-rakṣha-ārtham-adhikaraṇa-sandigdha-vicēka-kṛid-uparikaḥ syād, i.e., 'a man who is resolute, sane, energetic, blissful, personable, generous, vigilant, dextrous and capable of administering justice in legal disputes should be (appointed as) Uparika in order to maintain impartiality and morality'. The office of an Uparika may thus correspond to that of 'a magistrate'. *Viśayapati* and *Grāmapati* are 'district-officer' and 'village-head' respectively. The meaning of the terms *Bhūgin* and *Bhōgin* is not very clear. They are apparently the same as *Bhūgika* and *Bhōgika*, occurring elsewhere.⁶ They possibly denote 'collectors of revenue'. Explaining the latter designation Mr. Vaidya writes: "the collector of the *Bhōga*, i.e. the state share of the land produce taken in kind, as a rule, one sixth. The term *Bhōga* is still in use in Kathiawad for the share usually $\frac{1}{6}$ th which land-holders receive from land-cultivating tenants".⁷ The *chāṭas*, *bhaṭas* and *vallabhas* belong to the inferior staff. The first two have often been rendered as 'irregular soldiers' and 'regular troops' respectively. Prof. Vogel has, however, shown that the office of *chāṭa* still exists in the Chamba State where the corrupt form *chāy* is used and it means 'the head of a *parganā*', while *bhaṭa* is taken in the sense of 'an official subordinate to the head of a *parganā*'.⁸ *Vallabhas* are mentioned also in *Kauṭilya's Arthasāstra* where the word is translated as 'courtiers'.⁹*

TEXT.¹⁰

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm¹¹ Svasti [I*] Śvētak-ādhiṣṭhānād-bhagavataś-char-āchara-gur[ō]ḥ śakala-
- 2 śaśāṅka-śekhara-dharasya sthity¹²-utpatti pralaya-kāraṇa-hētō-
- 3 r-Mmahēndr-āchala-śikhara-nivāsina[h*] śrīmad-Gōkarṇṇēśvara-bhaṭṭāraka-
- 4 sya charaṇa-kamal-ārādhan-āvāpta-punya(ṇya)-nichayasya¹³ śakti-ttraya-

¹ Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 254, n. 2; J. Ph. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

² N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 183; N. N. Das Gupta, *A Note on the Term 'Antaraṅga'* in *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, pp. 684 ff.

³ J. Ph. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

⁴ *Ibid.*; N. G. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 183, here also see under *Antaraṅga*.

⁵ *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti* with the commentary *Bālakriḍā* edited by T. Ganapati Sastri (Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No. LXXIV), pp. iv and 184.

⁶ See J. Ph. Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

⁷ C. V. Vaidya, *History of Medieval Hindu India*, Vol. I, p. 157.

⁸ J. Ph. Vogel, *op. cit.*, pp. 130 ff.

⁹ R. Shamamstry's English translation, *Kauṭilya's Arthasāstra* (2nd edition), p. 52.

¹⁰ From ink-impressions.

¹¹ Expressed by a symbol.

¹² The letter *t* in this conjunct appears to be doubled, but in reality it is single; cf. the same in **kṛitya*, l. 17.

¹³ Read *-nichayayā*.

i.

2 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 ४ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 ६ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥

ii.

8 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 10 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 12 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 14 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥

iii.

16 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 18 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 20 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 22 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥

iii.

24 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 26 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 28 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 30 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥

5 prakarsh-ānurañjit-āśēsha-sāmanta-chakra[h*] sva-bhuja-va(ba)la-parākrama-[ji]-
6 ta-sakala-Kaliṅg-ādhirājyō(jyah) paramamāhōśvarō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānu-
7 dhyāta(tō) Gathṅg¹-āmala-kula-tilaka(kō) mā(ma)hārājādhi²-rāja-paramēśvara-

Second Plate ; First Side.

8 parama[bha³ttā]raka-śri-⁴Anantavarmmadōva[h*] kuśalīh⁵ **Khalgukhaṇḍa-viśha-**
9 yē[*] Varttamāna(nān) bhavishyamṅcha(shyamṅs=cha) vrā(brā)hmaṇa-purōgaḥ(gān)
mā(ma)hāsāmanta-śrisāma-
10 nta-daṇḍanāvaka-daṇḍapāśik-āntaraṅga-kumārāmāty-ōparika-vishaya-
11 pati-grāmapati-bhē(bhā)gi-bhōgy-ādi-vishaya-janapadā⁶mṅ-anyāmṅs(nyamṅs)=cha chāṭa-
12 bhaṭa-vallabha-jāṭiyām(yān) yath-ārham⁷ mānayaty-ādisati cha viditam=a-
13 stu bhavatā⁸mṅ-ētad-vishaya-samvandha(mbaddha)-**Svalpa-Vēlurō** grāmō=yam cha-
tuḥ-si-
14 m-ōpalakshito [* Vājasanē[ya*]-charaṇāya Kāṇva-śākhāya Vachchha(ṭa)-gōtrā-
15 ya Bhṛigu-vat⁹ Dairda-vat⁹ Chyavana-vat⁹ Jā(Ja)madagni-vat⁹ pravarāya [*

Second Plate ; Second Side.

16 **bhāṭa -Nānaśārmmaṇāya**¹⁰ salila-dhārā-puraḥsarēṅ¹¹-ā-chandr-ārka-kshiti-sa-
17 ma-kālam=akarīkṛitya pratipādītēma¹²-smābhīr-yataḥ¹³ tāmvrā(mra)-śāsana-darśa-
18 nād-dharmma-gauravācha(ch=cha) na kēnachit-paripanthinā bhavitavyaḥ(vyam) |
ukta¹⁴mṅ-cha d¹⁵dharmma-śāstrē-
19 shu Va(Ba)hubhīr-vasudhā¹⁶ datā(ttā) rājabhis=Sagar-ādibhūḥ [*] yasya yasya
20 yadā bhū(bhū)miś-tasya tasya tadā phalaḥ(lam) | [l[*] Mā bhū(bhū)d=aphala-
śānkā vaḥ para-

¹ Here the *assasāra* is redundant.

² The letter *ā* here is in fact single, but it looks doubled as compared with the one in *ādhiśāstānād*, l. 1, and *ārādhas*, l. 4. The form in question may be compared with the same letter in *dhārasya*, above Vol. III, pl. facing p. 18, text l. 3.

³ Here *bā* is reversed and is engraved upon a partly erased letter which was perhaps *śrī*, while *ttā* is differently shaped from that in *bhaṭṭāraka*, l. 3.

⁴ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

⁵ Here *visarga* is superfluous. Read *kuśalī*.

⁶ This *daṇḍa* is unnecessary.

⁷ There is a superfluous sign after the letter *ham*.

⁸ The *Vata* *gōtra* is known to have the following *pañc-ārshēya* *pravara*: Jamadagni-Urva-Appavāna-Chyavana-Bhṛigu (see the *Gōtrapravaranibandhakadamba* (Bombay edition), p. 25). In the present instance, while Appavāna has obviously been omitted through inadvertence, Urva is replaced by Dairda which is not a well-known name. In the case of the *doṣe* in the Ganjām plates of Jayavarmadēva (who likewise belongs to the *Vājasanēya charaṇa*, the *Kāṇva śākhā* and the *Vata* *gōtra*), Appavāna and Urva are substituted by *Vatsa* and *Dairda* respectively, as he is described to be *Vatsa-vat Dairda-vat Bhṛigu-vat Jā(Ja)madagni-vat Chyavana-vat pañca-pravar-ātma* (see *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XII, plate facing p. 492, text ll. 23-24).

⁹ These *daṇḍas* are unnecessary.

¹⁰ Read *bhāṭa-Nānaśārmmaṇā*.

¹¹ Better read *-puraḥsarām-*.

¹² Read *pratipādītē*.

¹³ There is a superfluous sign of final *t* after the syllable *śā*.

¹⁴ Here *d* is redundant. Read *dharmma-*.

- 21 datē(tt-ē)ti pārthivāḥ [*] sva-dānāt-phalam-ānantyaḥ para-datt-ānupāla-
nam(nē) | [2 [*] Śa(Sha)ṣṭī(ṣṭi)-
22 m-varsha-sahasrāṇi svargē mōdati bhū(bhū)midah [*] a(ā)kshēptā ch-ānumantā
cha tāny-ē-
23 va narakam-v[r]ajēt [13] Sva-dattām=para-dattām=vā yō harēti(ta) vasuḥddharām¹
[*] sa

Third Plate.

- 24 viṣṭhāyām kṛimir-bhū(bhū)tvā pitṛibhiḥ[*] saha pachyatē || [4] [*] Iti kamala-da-
25 l-ānvu(mbu)-vi(bi)ndu-lōlārṇ śriyam-anuchintya manushya-jī(jī)vita²mū-cha sakalam-i-
26 dam-udāhṛitāñ=cha vu(bu)ddhvā na hi purushaiḥ[*] para-kirttayō vilōpya(pyāḥ)
[15] [*] iti |
27 du(dū)takō-ttra mā(ma)hāsāmanta-śrī(śrī)-³Aśōkadēvaḥ | likhitañ=cha mā(ma)hā-
28 sandhivigṛihī(ghrī)ka-Gōvindadēvēna | laṅ(lā)ñchita[m] mā⁴(ma)hādēvyā śrī-Vāsa-
bhāṭṭā-
29 rikaya iti⁵ | utkīrṇāñ=cha śrī-Mahindrabhīmēna⁶ iti [*] samva⁷ 19
30 Phāla⁸śudi 5 [1] [*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-8) Om Hail! From the (*capital*) city of Śvōtaka, the illustrious Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Paramabhāṭṭāraka Anantavarmadēva, who has a store of religious merit acquired by worshipping the lotus-like feet of the illustrious lord Gōkarṇēśvara-Bhāṭṭāraka (*i.e.*, Śīva), who⁹ is the cause in bringing about the creation, preservation and destruction¹⁰ (*of the universe*) (*and*) who¹¹ resides on the summit of the mount Mahēndra, who¹² has the entire circle of feudatory chiefs loyally attached (*to himself*) through the excellence of his¹³ three-fold power¹⁴, who¹⁵ has the supremacy over the whole Kālīnga (*country*) conquered by the strength and force of his¹⁶ own arms, who¹⁷ is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (*i.e.*, Śīva), who¹⁸ has meditated on the feet of his¹⁹ parents, (*and*) who²⁰ is an ornament of the pure family of the Gaṅgas, being in good health, (ll. 8-12) duly honours and commands the present as well as the future (*officers*) of the district and of the country, headed by the Brāhmaṇas, (*namely*) Mahāsāmanta²¹ Śrīsāmanta, Daṇḍa-

¹ Read *vasuḥddharām*.

² Here the *anusvāra* is redundant.

³ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

⁴ This *mā* is engraved over an erasure.

⁵ Read **rikaya-ṣṭi*

⁶ Read *śūtra*. The sign after *śūtra* cannot be read as final *t*, because the form of this letter occurring in the present inscription is altogether different as may be seen in l. 15 and l. 23. No doubt the sign in question is to be read as the numeral 1, while the next one is the numerical figure 9.

⁷ This evidently stands for *Phālguna*.

⁸ This refers to Gōkarṇēśvara-Bhāṭṭāraka.

⁹ The order in the original is: preservation, creation and destruction. The same is seen also in the other known Gaṅga records wherever the phrase in question occurs. The proper order, however, should be as given in the translation.

¹⁰ This refers to Anantavarmadēva.

¹¹ The three *śaktis* are *prabhu-śakti* (majesty), *mantra-śakti* (good counsel) and *utsāha-śakti* (energy).

¹² The significance of this and the following titles has been discussed in the introduction.

nāyaka, Daṇḍapāṇika, Antaraṅga, Kumārāmāya, Uparika, Vishayapati, Grāmāpati, Bhāgin and so forth, as well as others belonging to the class of *chōṭas, bhāṭas* and *vallabhas* in the district of **Khalgukhaṇḍa** (as follows):—

(ll. 12-18) "Be it known to you that this village of **Svalpa-Vēlura** (or **Svalpa-Vēlurō**), belonging to this district (of **Khalgukhaṇḍa**), (and) marked by (its all the) four boundaries, has been donated by Us, after making it rent-free, with libations of water to **Bhaṭṭa Nāṇaśarman** of the **Vājasaneyā charaṇa**, the **Kāpya śākhā**, the **Vatsa gōtra** (and) the **Bhṛigu-Ūrva-Chyavana-Apnavāna-Jamadagni pravara**, to last as long as the moon, the sun and the earth (endure); wherefore seeing the copper charter and out of respect for the *dharma* no one should become an obstacle (to it).

(ll. 18-26) "Moreover, it is declared in the *dharmaśāstras*: [Here follow five of the customary verses.]"

(ll. 27-30) The *Dūtaka* here is the illustrious **Mahāsāmanta Aśōkadēva**. And (it) is written by **Mahāsandhivigrahika Gōvindadēva** (and) registered by the illustrious chief queen **Vāsabhāṭṭārikā**. And (it) is engraved by the illustrious **Mahindrabhīma**. The year 19, the 5th day of the bright fortnight of **Phālguna**.

No. 18.—CHURA GRANT OF PALLAVA VIJAYA-VISHNUGOPAVARMAN.

By C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU, B.A., MADRAS.

The grant edited below is engraved on **three copper-plates** strung on a circular ring bearing an oval seal. The plates were forwarded to the late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, Government Epigraphist for India, by J. N. Roy, Esq., I.C.S., Collector of Guntur, in 1913 and were reviewed in the *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, Madras, for the year 1913-14.¹ Though a set of impressions was forwarded to Professor Hultzsch in October 1913, no article appears to have been contributed by him on the record. I am now editing it for the first time here from the original plates recently borrowed for the purpose and from the impressions preserved in my office.

The plates measure 6 inches by 2½ inches each and the ring is ¼ inch in thickness and 3 inches in diameter. The seal measures approximately 1½ inch by 1 inch. The plates are very much worn out and slightly damaged also. Some holes are visible in the first and the third plates, while a portion in the top margin of the first plate is broken. The ring attached to the plates was not cut when they were first received for examination. The oval seal, into the bottom of which the ends of the ring are fixed, is slightly broken and on its face bears in relief the figure of a couchant bull facing the proper right. The first plate is engraved on one side only, while the second and the third plates are engraved on both the sides. The plates together with the ring and the seal weigh 31 *tolas*.

The Revenue Divisional Officer of Narasaraopet, who secured the plates at the first instance, reported that they were brought to him by Mulla Sheik Mirem of Narasaraopet who said that the plates were granted to his ancestor (!) one Mulla Abdul Fateh, "as title-deed for some *Jaghir* in Daggupāḍu, a village of the Bapatla taluk". It is probable that the plates were originally discovered in Daggupāḍu itself or its vicinity, since Lagubāṅṅu (evidently modern Daggupāḍu) figures among the boundaries mentioned in the grant.

¹ No. 3 of App. A; vide also page 6, para. 9 and page 82, para. 1.

The inscription is composed in Sanskrit language and the characters belong to the Southern class of alphabets. As remarked by Krishna Sastri, though the record is full of mistakes, it is important enough for supplying information for Pallava genealogy prior to the time of the Simhaviṣṇu line of Conjeeveram. A few Telugu expressions occurring in the description of the boundaries are noticed below. The mistakes in *sandhi*, etc., are corrected in foot-notes accompanying the text. The following orthographical peculiarities deserve to be noticed:—

The *anusvāra* is often replaced by the class nasal, which is joined on to the following consonant in a conjunct letter: e.g., *Jītam-bhagavatā*, (l. 1), *Pallavānān-dharmma*, (l. 16), *paran-dāśan-na bhūtan-na* (l. 31), *pāpan-na bhūtan-na* (l. 32), etc. In this respect this record resembles the Māṅgaḍūr grant of Simhavarman. The letter *ja* is often miswritten as *jā* with the central cross-bar elongated. Consonants following *r* are doubled in certain places (e.g., *bal-ārjīit-ārjīta*, in l. 2, *maryyūdasya* in l. 3, *carmma* in ll. 10, 16, etc. and *dharmma* in ll. 8, 16, etc.), but not in others (e.g., *nīdhēr-vidhi* in l. 3, *nicartana* in l. 25). The word *pūrva* is invariably written as *purva* (ll. 19, 28) and *uttara* as *utara* (l. 22). The following corrupt forms are worthy of notice: *Kandavarma* (ll. 4 l.), *rātrē* (ll. 16 l.), *saūcharantakā* (ll. 17 l.), *grihathāna-īhtita* (l. 24), *pauvutra* (l. 26), etc. The expression *naiyāvika*¹ (l. 17) appears to be meant for *naiyāmika* derived from *niyama* and used for *naiyamika* or *niyāmika* signifying 'law officers'. The word *kshētra* is wrongly used in the masculine form (l. 24) and *kshētran* for *kshētram* in l. 25. The *upadhmaniya* is employed in *yaśah-prakāśah* (ll. 12-13). The use of the Telugu expressions *muyūru* (*r*)-*kūṭuca* (i.e., the meeting-place of three villages) and *mēṭūāpa* in l. 21 are also noteworthy. *Mēṭūāpa* is perhaps used in the sense of a stepped platform to stack ploughs (*mēṭi*-modern *mēṭi*). *Mudīpi-tatākaḥ* (l. 24) is another mixed expression probably meant to indicate an ancient (*mudī*) tank.

The inscription records the gift of one hundred and eight *nicartanas* of land and a house-site with a garden (*vōṭikā*) in the village of **Churā** in *Karṇma-nāshṭra* by the *Dharmma-mahārāja Vijaya-Viṣṇugōpavarman* of the *Bhāradvāja* line and the *Pallava* family, to the *Brāhman Chōsamīśarman*, who was the son of *Dvēdaya*²-*Vṛiddhaśarman* and grandson of *Viṣṇu-śarman* and was a resident of *Kuṇḍūru*, who belonged to the *Kāśyapa-gōtra* and was well-versed in the four *Vēdas*, as a *brahmadāya*, exempting it from all obligations or endowing it with all exemptions (*parihārair-upēta*) on the occasion of the *Uttarāyana*. The gift was made for the increase of the king's life, strength and success.

The record commences with salutation to the *Bhagavat* as in some other early *Pallava* copper-plates, and this is followed by the name of the place of issue, viz., **Vijaya-Palātkaṭ-ādhishthāna**, i.e., the prosperous capital *Palātkaṭa*. The genealogy of the king is given thus:—

Kandavarman (Skandavarman)

|
Viṣṇugōpavarman

|
Siṅghavarman

|
Vijaya-Viṣṇugōpavarman

¹ Cf. (1) *śeyika* of the Hirehaḍḍagali plates (above, Vol. I, pp. 5 and 8) and (2) *naiyōgika* of the Chendalūru plates of Kumāravishṇu II (*ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 235).

² The village name *Dvēdaigōmapuram* occurs in the *Tanjantōttam* plates of *Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman*: *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 519 and 532 and in certain *Chōla* inscriptions: *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 259 and above, Vol. XXII, p. 54. *Dvēdai* and *Dvēdaya* are perhaps corrupt but *rūḍha* forms of *Dvēda*.

Comparing this table with the list of succession given in allied Pallava grants, the king would appear to be the son of Simhavarman, who issued the Píkira, Māṅgaḍūr and Uruvupalli grants and also the Ōṅgōḍu grant¹ discovered by me in 1916, although the last is only a copy. Of Vishnugōpavarman we have no copper-plate grants known so far besides the one under review which again from its palaeography clearly appears to be a copy made some time in the beginning of the seventh century A.D. and has, therefore, some value as such.² A closer comparison of the letters would reveal great affinity between these and the letters of the Koṇḍaṅgūru grant of the Eastern Chālukya Indravarman³ and the Īpūru plates of Vishṇuvardhana III.⁴ It would, therefore, be accurate to assign the writing of the present grant to the early part of the seventh century A.D. Vishnugōpavarman, the donor of the present grant, may be designated **Vishnugōpa III** of the Pallava dynasty.

We are not in a position to guess the actual political or natural causes for the origin of the copies of grants of this king and his father Simhavarman (*i.e.*, the Ōṅgōḍu grant). It is possible that the intrusion of the Eastern Chālukyas into the Karmma-rāshṭra in the first quarter of the 7th century under Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana was one of the circumstances that contributed to the loss of the original grants and the subsequent issue of their copies which have been left to us.

Krishna Sastri mentions a difficulty in the identification of *Mahārāja* Vishnugōpavarman, the grandfather of Vijaya-Vishnugōpavarman of our grant, with *Yuvamahārāja* Vishnugōpa of the Māṅgaḍūr, Píkira, Uruvupalli and Ōṅgōḍu grants.⁵ But beyond the difference in the title there is no insurmountable difficulty in the understanding of the succession list. We have a similar analogy in the Eastern Chālukya line in the instance of Maṅgi-Yuvarāja, always being mentioned as a *Yuvarāja* in the dynastic lists, though we have definite evidence to show that he ruled for 25 years under the royal name or title 'Vijayasiddhi'.⁶ Moreover, in the light of the present grant applying to Vishnugōpa the title '*mahārāja*', we will have to give up the supposition made by Dr. Hultzsch⁷ that the king never ascended the throne.⁸

The title *Dharma-mahārāja* applied to the early Pallava⁹, Gaṅga and Kadamba¹⁰ kings is somewhat interesting and seems to call for some remarks. The title occurs also in the form *Dharma-mahārājādhirāja* applied to the early Pallava king Śivaekandavarman in his Prākṛit Hirehaḍagali plates¹¹ and to the early Kadamba king Śivakhadavarman Hāritiputta in his Prākṛit Malavalli pillar inscription.¹² The title was borne also by the early Western Gaṅga king Satyavākya-Koṅḍavivarman.¹³ This king is also given the title *Dharma-mahādhirāja* in another

¹ Above, Vol. XV, p. 232.

² *Madras Epigraphical Report for 1913-14*, page 82, para. 1. [The late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri while reviewing this grant in the *Epigraphical Report* assigned it to the 7th century A.D. but held that this Vishnugōpavarman was a later member of the Pallava line. Subsequently he modified his opinion and considered that the plates under publication could not be used for the purpose of obtaining a continuous Pallava succession after Simhavarman I as they were 'decidedly later by reason of their palaeography and were otherwise also untrustworthy'. (See above, Vol. XVIII, p. 148)—Ed.]

³ Above, Vol. XVIII, No. 1 and plate opposite page 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 6 and plate opposite page 60.

⁵ *Madras Ep. Rep.* for 1914, page 82, para. 1.

⁶ Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 58 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 160.

⁸ See n. 2 above.

⁹ Above, Vol. XV, p. 252.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 265, 269, 270, etc.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 5.

¹² *Ibid.*, Vol. X, App. No. 1196.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 58 and Vol. X, p. 56, f. n. 2.

epigraph.¹ The early Kadamba kings Kṛishṇavarman, his son Viṣṇuvarman, and Ravivarman also bore the title *Dharma-mahārāja*.² Similarly the early Kadamba king Vijaya Śiva-Māndhātṛivarman is entitled *Dharma-mahārāja*.³ The title *Dharma-Yuṣamahārāja* also occurs in some Pallava inscriptions.⁴ Dr. Fleet commenting upon the significance of the title '*Dharma-mahārājādhirāja*' says that it means 'a *mahārājādhirāja* by or in respect of religion' or by free translation 'a pious or righteous *mahārājādhirāja*'.⁵ Aśoka is believed to have borne the surname or title *Dharmarāja*.⁶ But the titles *Dharma-mahārāja*, *Dharma-mahādhirāja* or *Dharma-mahārājādhirāja* are not known to have been applied either to him or assumed by any other early king in North or South India besides those noted above. They are not known either to the Epics or the *Purāṇas* which deal with the most pious kings. These titles appear, in my opinion, to have been based upon or evolved from the earlier title *Dhamma-mahāmāta* of the Asokan inscriptions.⁷ These officials, according to the monarch's own statement, were appointed by him for the first time and they were primarily 'officials in charge of morality'. It appears to me that the early Pallava, Gaṅga and Kadamba kings, having succeeded to the sovereignty of the territories over which Aśoka might have appointed some of his *dhamma-mahāmātas* (*dharma-mahāmātras*) assumed the titles *dharma-mahārāja* or *dharma-mahārājādhirāja* as and when their political circumstances permitted. This explanation seems also to be borne out by the context in which the title occurs in the early Kadamba inscription of Śiva-Māndhātṛivarman in the form 'Vaijayantyaṁ Dharma-mahārājaḥ',⁸ even before the family of the king is introduced. Just as in the Vijayanagara times vassals or ministers who were originally entitled '*mahārāja*' assumed the paramount title '*mahārāja*' when they gained sovereignty,⁹ so too the successors of the Asokan *Dharma-mahāmātras* must have adopted the title *Dharma-mahārāja* or *Dharma-mahārājādhirāja* when they became independent kings but were willing or even proud to maintain the earlier traditions of their political power and associations with the great Mauryan emperor's time.¹⁰

The grant was issued from **Vijaya-Palātkaṭādhishṭhāna**, i.e., the victorious capital Palātkaṭa. Palakkaṭa-athāna was the place of issue of the Uruvupalli plates of Siṁhavarman, the father of the present king.¹¹ Whether we can definitely identify Palātkaṭa with Palakkaṭa as suggested by Krishna Sastri¹² and assumed also by Professor Dubreuil¹³ is doubtful, though the possibility of the identity is not altogether precluded. Prof. Dubreuil suggested once personally to me that Palakkaṭa might be identical with the modern village of Peda-Palakalūru in the Guntur taluk. It is also possible that Palukūru in the Kandukūr taluk of the Nellore District might be the ancient Palakkaṭa or alternatively Palātkaṭa. From the Postal Directory we see that in the vicinity of Kandukūr town are villages of the name Pallava, Pallava-Bālagōpālapuram and Pallava Bhuvanagiri-vāri-khaṇḍrika. These names definitely point to the association of this tract with the Pallavas.

¹ Above, Vol. XII, p. 50, Text, l. 4.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 18 and Vol. VIII, pp. 30 and 147.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 14.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 51; above, Vol. VI, p. 15, f. n. 1.

⁵ Above, Vol. V, p. 163, f. n. 2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 167.

⁷ Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Asoka*, Gir. V; Kal. V, XII, etc.

⁸ *E.g.* Tirumala I.

⁹ [There is not sufficient evidence to support this view.—Ed.]

¹⁰ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 51.

¹¹ *Madras Ep. Rep.*, 1924, p. 82, para. 1.

¹² *Pallavas*, table on p. 73.

The boundary villages **Ḷagubamṛu**, **Pāguhūru** and **Nāgoḷāmi** mentioned in the inscription may be identified respectively with the modern villages Daggupāḍu, Pāvulūru and Nāgaḷla, all in the Bapatla taluk of the Guntur District. The gift-village **Churā** would therefore be the deserted village shown in the New Atlas sheets between Nāgaḷla and Daggupāḍu. In the older sheets this is shown as Sūrāvāripāḷem. **Irāḍi-mahāpatha** cannot be identified. **Kamma-rāshṭra** of the inscription is very well known in early Eastern Chāḷukya inscriptions and in still later epigraphs it is known by the name Kamma-nāḍu. But attention may be drawn to the fact that it was still earlier known as Kamkā-ṛaṭha in the Jaggayapēṭa Prākṛit inscriptions of the Ikḥaku king Sirivira Purisadata.¹

TEXT.²

First Plate.

- 1 Jitam-Bhagavātā[ta³] [i⁴] Svastī [i⁴] Śrī-vijāya⁴-Palātkaṭ-ā[dhishṭānā]t⁵-pa-
- 2 rama-brahmaṇyasya sva-bāhu-bal-ārjjit-ōrjjita-kshātra-tapō-ni-
- 3 dhē[r⁶]-vidhi-[vi]hita-sarvva-maryyādasya sthiti-sthi[ta]sy-amitt-ā]tmanō⁶ ma-
- 4 h[ā]rājāsya⁷ pratāp-ōpanata-rājā-maṇḍalasya⁸ śrī-Ka⁹
- 5 ndavarmanah pra-pautrah siddhi-sa[m¹⁰]paṇna(nna)sya vasudhā-tal-aiku-vi-
- 6 rasya ¹⁰mahārājāsya śrī-Vashṇugōpava[r¹¹]maṇah pautra[h] dēva-dvi-
- 7 jā-guru-vṛidh-āpachāyinō¹¹ [vivṛi]rddha-vanayasya nēka¹²-gō-

Second Plate : First Side.

- 8 hiraṇya-bhūmy-[ā]di-pradānāḥ pravṛiddha-dharmma-saṅchayasya
- 9 prajā-pālana-pakshasya¹³ lōkapālān[ā]m pañchamasya [lōkapālasya¹⁴] satya(ty-ā)tma-
- 10 nō mahārājāsya śrī-Sirgha[va¹⁵]rmmāṇah putra[h] bhagavat¹⁴-bha[kti]-sa-
- 11 dbhāva-sadbhā(sambhā)ivita-sarvvā(rva)-kalyāṇa-sa[m]dōga¹⁴ satata-satra-
- 12 vrata-dīkshītō anēka¹⁴-samara-sahas-avamarddha¹⁷-labdha-vijaya-yasa¹⁶.
- 13 ḥ-prakāśa[h¹⁶] Kali-yuga-dōsh-āvasa[nna]-dharmm-ōddharaṇa-nitya-sannaddhō rāja-
- 14 rsha(rshi)-guṇa[h¹⁶] bhagavat-pad-ānudhyā[tō] bappa-bha[t¹⁷]tāraka-pāda-bhakta[h¹⁶] pa-

¹ Lüders' List of Brāhmī Inscriptions, Nos. 1202 to 1204; Hultzsch, above, Vol. IX, p. 50.

² From the original plates and ink-impressions.

³ Read *Bhagavālā*. The last letter looks like *ta* without the top-bar. As it is not small in size it cannot be read as *t*. It might even be read as *Om* or *Siddham*.

⁴ Read *vijaya*.

⁵ Read *ādhisṭhānāt*.

⁶ Read *āmīl-ātmanō*.

⁷ Read *mahārājāsya*.

⁸ Read *rājā-maṇḍalasya*.

⁹ The original shows an accidental and superfluous stroke after *Ka*.

¹⁰ Read *mahārājāsya śrī-Vishṇugōpa*.

¹¹ Read *āvija-guru-vṛiddh-āpachāyinō*. This is the expression adopted in the Uruvupalli grant, while others read *vṛiddhōpasēvinō* (vide above, Vol. XV, p. 254, text, line 10 and f. n. 8).

¹² Read *vivṛiddha-vinayasy-ānēka*. The traces in the impression seem to give *vivṛiddha*.

¹³ Read *śakshasya*.

¹⁴ Read *bhagavad-bhakti*.

¹⁵ Read *sannōḥa ḥ*.

¹⁶ Read *-śikshītō-nēka*.

¹⁷ Read *sahas-āvamardda*.

¹⁸ Read *yasaḥ*.

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 15 rama-bha(bhā)gavatō Bha(Bhā)radva(dvā)jāḥ śrī-nīlayānū[th*] anēk-Āśvamēdhānā[m] Pa-
 16 llavānān-dharīma-mahārājāḥ¹ śrī-Vijā(ja)yā-Vishṇugōpavarmma² Karmma-r[ā]-
 17 tr[ā](shitrē) Churā-nāma-[grāmē*] grāmēyakān-atr-ādhih(dhi)kṛita-sarvvē(rvva)-
 naiyāvi(mi)kū[n*]-sa-
 18 ūcharantakū rājavalabha³-ch-ājñāpayat[y*]-asya gramē(grāmasya) paśchima-
 talḥ
 19 ḷagubariṣṭu-nāma-grāmāḥ tasya pu(pū)rvva-sīmā pu(pū)rvva-taṭākē purvvata*
 20 Irāḍi-mahāpatha-sa[th*]yukta[h*] dakṣhiṇata[h*] Pāgub[ū]r[u]-grāma-simāḥ(mā)-
 21 svarita-muyurur⁴-kuṭuva mējitāpaḥ paśchimata(tō) Nāgōjāmi-gr[ā]-

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 22 ma-sīmā[h] u[t*]tara-[sīmā] ū(u)[t*]tara-taṭāka ū(u)[t*]tara[taḥ] ēva[m] chatur-avadhi-
 dhri[taḥ](tam)
 23 aṣṭō[t*]tara-sata⁵-nivaritana-kshētras⁶-[ta]sminn-ēva grāmē madhyama-vaṭā-gr[ā*]ma-
 24 madhy-[ō]pētā¹⁰ dakṣhiṇata grīha-thāna-thīta-kshētraḥ Mūḍiṭi-taṭāka[h*]
 25 [da]kṣhiṇata(tō) vāṭika-thāna-thīta-ēka¹¹-nivaritana-kshētra[n]¹² Kuṣṭhū-
 26 r-vva(vvā)stavyāya [Kā]sya(śya)pa-gōtr[ā]ya¹³ Vishṇusarmmana pauvutra Dvēdaya-
 14Vridhasa-
 27 [r*]mmaṇa[h*] putr[āya*]chatru-vvēdiya[tō]¹⁵ Chēsamiśarmmaṇā¹⁶ ūtarayāna-nimi-
 28 t[ō] udaka¹⁷-purvvam dattam brahmadēya¹⁸-mayyadayā sarvva-parihārai-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 29 r-[u]pētō¹⁹ āyu[r]-bala-vijā(ja)y-ābhiviriddhayē(viriddhayō)-smin-sampri(mpra)ttō²⁰
 yaś-ch [-aitad-a]-
 30 [sma]śchāsanam(ch-chhāsanam)-atikramēta sa pāpa[h] sārīram daṇḍa[m-arhatī] [I*]
 [Santya-a]-
 31 pi ch-ātr-ārahā²¹ ślōkaḥ [I*] Bhūmi-dānāt-paran-[dā]na(m)n-na bhūtan-na bhavi-
 32 shyat-asy(bhavishyati/asy)-aiva haraṇāt-pāpan-na bhūtan-na bhavishyati [I*]
 22Bhū-

¹ Read mahārājāḥ.² Read varmma.³ Read sañchārakān rājavallabhānā . The Uruvupalli grant of Sinhavarman the father of the present king, reads sañchārakānā-cha as in our grant. The draft for the latter was perhaps adopted from the former. Sañchārakas must denote 'circuit officers'.⁴ Read taṭākāḥ.⁵ Read -muyuru-kūṭuva or kūṭika.⁶ Read -śata.⁷ Read ōpētān dakṣhiṇōttaram grīha-sthāna-sthīti kshētraṁ.⁸ Read vāṭikā-sthāna-sthīti-aika .⁹ Read Vishṇusarmmaṇāḥ pauṭrāya.¹⁰ Read chatur-vēlavat.¹¹ Read purvvam.¹² Read -upētān.¹³ Read ślōkāḥ.¹⁴ This verse occurs with a slight variation in the Plikra grant of Sinhavarman : above, Vol. VIII, p. 162.¹⁵ Read purvvata.¹⁶ Read -sīmā.¹⁷ Read kshētram tasminn-ēva.¹⁸ Read kshētram.¹⁹ Read Vridhāsarmmaṇā.²⁰ Read Ūtarāyāna-nimittam.²¹ Read -mariyādayā.²² Read samprattam.

i.

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ii.

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12
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iih.

16
18
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16
18
20

iii.

22
 24
 26
 28

22
 24
 26
 28

iiib.

30
 32
 34

30
 32
 34

33 mi-dānāt-para[n-dā]nam(dānam)-iha lōkē na vidyatē [!*] yaḥ prayachchhati {bhū-
 34 mīm hi sarvān-kāmān-dad[ā]ti saḥ [!]* Bahubhir-vvasuda(dhā) dattē bahubhi-
 35 ś-ch-ānupātītā [!]* yasya yasya yadā bhūmi[!]* tasya tasya tadā phalaṁ [!]*

No. 19.—SIRODA PLATES OF DEVARAJA.

BY C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU, B.A., MADRAS.

The subjoined inscription is engraved on **three copper plates** strung together on a ring which bears a circular seal fixed on to it. The plates belong to Mr. Gopala Sinai Gudo and they were discovered during casual excavations made at the village of **Siroda de Ponda** in the Portuguese territory of Goa. They are rectangular in shape and measure about 5½' by 1½'. The ring passes through a hole near the proper right-hand top corner of the plates and the circular seal attached to it has the relief figure of a **swan** executed in a conventional style and facing our left.

The plates were first brought to my notice by Mr. Panduranga Pissurlencar, M.A., Archaeologist to the Portuguese Government of Goa in August 1933, at the suggestion of Mr. G. V. Acharya, Curator of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. In spite of his best efforts Mr. Pissurlencar could not obtain a loan of the original plates for my examination but sent me only photographs of the inscribed sides of the plates. The photographs were not quite clear and the ink-impressions which Mr. Pissurlencar supplied later on were also not distinct and therefore not helpful. However, at his urgent request I furnished Mr. Pissurlencar, in March 1934, with a short note on the contents of the grant and a tentative transcript of it so far as it could be made out from the photographs. Mr. Pissurlencar utilised this note and transliteration for a note on the grant published by him in Portuguese language in *O Oriente Português* in 1934. But from the early nature of the grant and its mention of a hitherto unknown dynasty, viz., Gōmins, I intended to examine the original plates. With the permission of the Director General of Archaeology in India I visited Nova Goa in July 1934 and verified the text of the grant with reference to the plates, but for want of facilities I could not get good ink-impressions of these. Subsequently attempts were made in January 1937 through the Government of India to obtain a loan of the plates from the Portuguese Government but these were of no avail as their owner was unwilling to part with them. So the illustrations accompanying the present article had to be based on photographs only. A brief note on these plates was recently contributed by me to the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference under the caption 'A New Dynasty of the West Coast.'

The **characters** of the inscription belong to the archaic variety and from their general shape and style of execution they somewhat resemble the script of the Mayidavōlu Plates of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman¹ and more closely that of the Koṇḍamudi Plates of Jayavarman². There is also a slight resemblance between the characters of this grant and those of the plates of the Pallava kings Vijaya-Skandavarman and Vijaya-Buddhavarman³. All the above charters are written in Prākṛit, while the present plates though written in Sanskrit, have some Prākṛit ex-

¹ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 84 ff. and Pls.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 315 ff. and Pls.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 143 ff. and Pls.

pressions interspersed here and there. On this account the inscription may be assigned to the period following the age to which the Prākṛit charters of the Pallavas have been ascribed i.e. to the period of the mixed Prākṛit charters like the Maṭṭepād Plates of king Dāmōdaravarman¹. The late Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri has, on valid grounds, ascribed these latter to about the 4th century A. D.², to which period may be assigned the present inscription also.

The following Prākṛit forms used in the record may be noticed :—*śaṭṭhīm* (l. 12), and *titt-hati* (l. 13). Of orthography the use of the *jihvāmūliya* in the expression, *Kōṭṭikkayyā* (l. 3) and of the *upadhāniya* in *amāyāḥ=puṇyō* (l. 5) and *°kṛitah=parama-* (l. 14) deserve to be noticed.

In his article Mr. Pissurlencar states that the emblem on the seal is a peacock. But I have to differ from him and suggest that it is only a swan in a very conventionalised style. It is noteworthy that similar objects in tile or wood are adopted as house-top crests or gable-ornaments in Nova Goa even at the present day.

The charter is addressed by (king) **Dēvarāja** of the **Gōmins** from the prosperous **Chandrapura** to the future *bhōgikas*, *āyuktakas* and *sthāmyas* (l. 1)³ (ll. 1 and 2). The object of the inscription is to record the gift of tolls, etc. (?) in (the village) **Thānniyarka-Kōṭṭikkayyā** in the country or division of **Jiyayā**, to two Brāhmins named **Gōvindasvāmin** and **Indrasvāmin** of the *Bhāradvāja-gotra*, with the income accruing (?) in the village (*parivṛitta*) and also the income realised on things brought (*ānita*) into it, evidently articles of merchandise, together with a house-site (*grīha-sthāna*) and pasture-land for cows (*gō-prachāra*) to each (ll. 3 to 7). The charter further enjoins on the proper supply to the donees of the grass from the pastures and of fuel (*kāshṭha*) (ll. 7 and 8).

From the wording of the record it appears as if the king proclaims his ratification or sanction of the above-mentioned gifts made by **Prabhu Nāga-Bhōgikāmātya**, for the acquisition of (his own) spiritual salvation (*puṇya*) (ll. 4f.).

The executor of the grant (or the royal ratification) is the *Sarvatantrādhipikṛita* (Superintendent of all Departments) **Amarēśvara**, who was a very righteous man (*parama-dhārmika*) and one devoted to truth (*satyasandha*) (ll. 14 and 15).

The charter was written or composed (*likhitam*) by the *Rahasyādhipikṛita*⁴ (Private Secretary) **Prabhākara** (ll. 15 and 16).

The inscription is dated in the twelfth year of the victorious and prosperous reign of the king, on the twelfth day (*dvādasi*) of the dark fortnight of the month of **Māgha** (ll. 17 and 18). At the end comes the invocation of prosperity which partly reminds us of the closing expression in the Hirehadagalli Plates of the early Pallava king **Śiva-Skandavarman**⁵.

The king **Dēvarāja** who is compared to **Indra** (*Dēvarāja*) is not known from other sources so far. The family of the **Gōmins** is also new and may be the one with which the patronymic **Gōmāyana** is connected.

¹ Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 327 ff.

² *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, Madras, 1920, page 95, para 1. See also above, Vol. XVII, p. 328.

³ The original reads *sthāmy-ādayō* which may be a clerical mistake for *grāmy-ādayō* cf. *grāmika* (*C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 112n) and *grāmīyabāḥ* (above, Vol. XVII, p. 327). Or it may be a mistake for *sthāmyas* derived from *sthāman* meaning 'a seat' or 'place' and denote the 'local officials'. This may correspond to the *sthānā-dhikarāṇikas* of the later inscriptions (cf. above, Vol. III, p. 323) and *sthānādhipikṛitas* (*ibid.*, Vol. VI, p. 135n).

⁴ For other early instances of this officer being employed to compose copper-plate charters see above, Vol. I, p. 7 and Vol. VI, p. 13.

⁵ Above, Vol. I, page 7, Text 1. 52.

i.

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Handwritten text in Devanagari script on a dark rectangular plate. The text is arranged in approximately four lines. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the plate.

ii. a.

6
8

Handwritten text in Devanagari script on a dark rectangular plate. The text is arranged in approximately four lines. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the plate.

ii. b.

10
12

Handwritten text in Devanagari script on a dark rectangular plate. The text is arranged in approximately four lines. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the plate.

iii.

14
16
18

Handwritten text in Devanagari script on a dark rectangular plate. The text is arranged in approximately four lines. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the plate.

The localities mentioned in the inscription are Chandrapura, the town from which the charter was issued, the territorial division Jiyayā and (the village granted) Thānniyarka-Kōṭṭīh-kayyā. It is not possible to identify any of them definitely. Regarding these Mr. Pissurlencar informs me that the places are in Goa, chiefly in Salsette. He is not able to identify or explain Jiyayāsu which evidently indicates some local territorial division but thinks that Salsette may represent it. He thinks that Chandrapura is Chandor of Goa and identifies Thānniyarka-Kōṭṭīh-kayyā with Tanem-Kuttal in Salsette.

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 ☉² [Svasti] [*] [Śrī-vijaya]-Chandrapurād-Gōmināṁ Dēvarāja-vachanāt
- 2 bhavishya[d-bhōgik]-āyuktaka-sthāmy-āda[yō] vaktavyāḥ [*]
- 3 Jiya[yā]su Thānniyarka-Kōṭṭīh-kayyā-parivṛi-
- 4 ttōna ch-ānīthēna³ yan-nishpadyatē [tat*] Prabhu-Nāga-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 5 Bhōgik-āmātyaḥ[tyaiḥ]-puṇy-ōpachayāya Bhāradvāja-sa-
- 6 gōtrā[bhyām Gō]vi[nda]svām-⁴Indrasvamībhyām dattaṁ griha-sthāna-
- 7 ṅ-cha gō-prachārāv-ātataṁ⁵ || Gō-prachāra-tṛiṇa-kāsth(shṭh)-ādika-
- 8 ṅ-cha [sa]-prati[ba]ddhavyam || Yō-smat-kul-ābhyantarō-nyō vā

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 9 rāga-dvēsha-lōbha-mōh-ābhibūtō hi[m]syāt sa pañchabhir-mmahā-
- 10 ⁶bātakair-upapātakais-cha sa[m]yuktāḥ syāt || Uktaṅ-cha || Bahubhi-
- 11 r-vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhis-Sagar-ādībhiḥ [*] yasya yasya yadā
- 12 bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā [pha]lāṁ | Shatṭhir⁷ varsha-sahasrāṇi
- 13 svarggē tiṭṭha(shṭha)ti bhūmidaḥ [*] ⁸āchhēttā ch-ānumantā cha

Third Plate.

- 14 tāny-ēva narakē vrajād-iti⁹ || Sarvatantrādhikṛitāḥ-parama-
- 15 dhārmikas-satyasandhō-marēśvara¹⁰ ā[jña]ptiḥ [*] Rahasyādhikṛitē-
- 16 na Prabhākarēṇa [Dē]varāja-pratimasyā¹¹ [Dē]varājasy-ājñayā likhi-
- 17 tā [pa]ṭṭikā [*] Vijaya-pravarddhamāna-rājya-samvatsarē dvādaśamē
- 18 Māgha-bahula-dvādaśyā[m] [][*] Svasty-astu dhāraka-vūchaka-śrōtṛibhya¹² iti ||

¹ From a photograph supplied by Mr. Pissurlencar.

² The spiral at the commencement of the line probably stands for 'Śrī'; see above, Vol. XVIII, p. 349, n. 9.

³ Read =ānīthēna.

⁴ Read -Indrasvamībhyām.

⁵ Read ātataḥ or ⁶prachārāv-ātataḥ.

⁶ Read pātakair-.

⁷ Read Shatṭhir varsha-sahasrāṇi.

⁸ Read āchhēttā or āchhēptā.

⁹ Read rasēd-iti.

¹⁰ The name is Amarēśvara.

¹¹ Read -pratimasya.

¹² The Hirahajagalli plates have the expression Svasti gō-brāhmava-lēkhaka-vūchaka-śrōtṛibhya iti; see n. 5.

No. 20. KOSAM INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF MAHARAJA VAISRAVANA OF THE YEAR 107.

BY THE LATE MR. N. G. MAJUMDAR, M.A., F.R.A.S.B., CALCUTTA.

This inscription, which is engraved on a small stone pillar, was discovered in January, 1938, near Kosam (ancient Kauśāmbī) in Allahābād District, where I was camping at the time for conducting excavation. It was found lying in the house of a Muhammadan Zemindar named Gulzar in the village of Hasanpur or Hajiapur, about a mile and a half to the north-west of the Kosam Pillar. The actual findspot could not, however, be ascertained, although there is little doubt that it came originally from the immediate neighbourhood of the place of discovery. The pillar has now been deposited by me in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, with the consent of the Director General of Archaeology in India.

The pillar, which has four faces, is 3' 9" in height, and measures 8" square at the top with a maximum width of 9½" at the base. The inscription is engraved on one of the faces, covering a space of about 2' 2" by 7", and the size of the letters generally varies between ¼" and 1½". In all there are 16 lines of writing. The pillar is broken into two halves, one containing lines 1 to 12 and the upper part of line 13 and the other containing the rest of the record. A few letters have partially broken off from the beginning and end of line 1, while some of the letters of line 13 are damaged owing to the crack running through its entire length. But there is no difficulty in restoring almost the entire text.

The characters belong to the Northern class of alphabets, which developed in this region out of such forms as those in the Kosam inscription of Kanishka.¹ Paleographically, the present record appears to belong to the same group as the Giñja inscription of Bhīmasēna and the Kosam inscriptions of Bhādrāmāgha, Śivāmāgha and Bhīmavarman, the dates of which range between the years 51 and 139 of some unspecified era.² The forms of the letters *ma*, *la*, *śa* and *ha* of this record are clearly akin to those appearing in the Gupta inscriptions. It contains also the looped form of *n* together with the more archaic form of the letter in which it has bent base line. The letter *s* is uniformly of the looped type and *h* is of the form which is usually taken to be characteristic of the Eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet. Judging from palaeography the inscription may be assigned to the fourth century A.D.

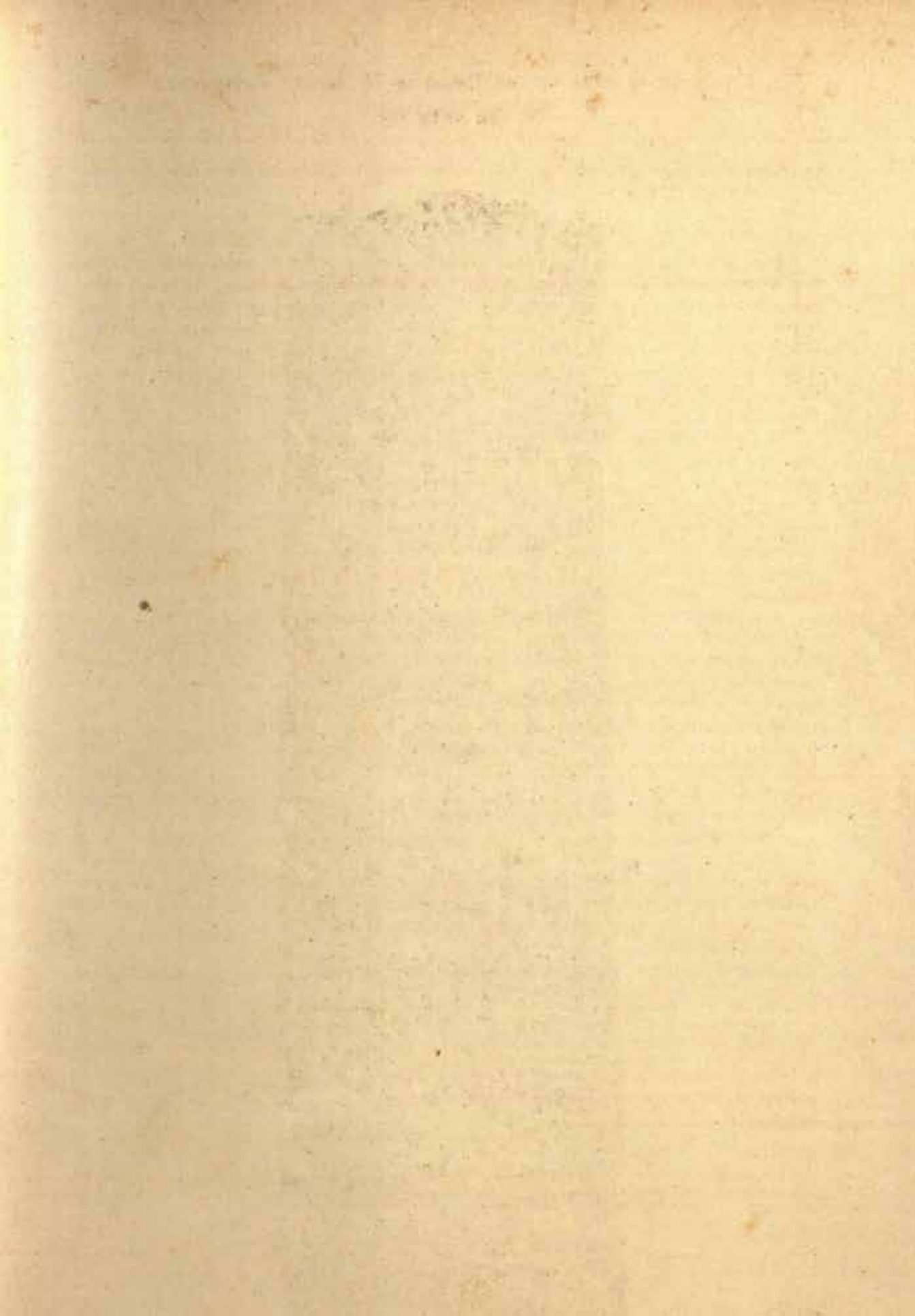
The language of the inscription is a mixture of Sanskrit and Prākṛit. The Prākṛitic forms occurring in it are: *śatime* for *śatāmē*, *grīshma* for *grīshma*,³ *etāya puruvaya* for *ētasyām pūrvāyām*, *negamasya* for *naigamasya* and *Soraṣhakasya* for *Saurāṣṭrakasya*. The form *puruvaya* is found also in a few other inscriptions discovered in Kosam. The term *negama* occurs here probably in the sense of 'the merchant' and is similarly used, along with a specification of the domicile of the donor⁴, in the Kanheri inscriptions. As regards orthography, it may be noted that the medial *ā* stroke is frequently omitted, e.g. in *Badarikāmē* (ll. 10-11). Such spelling,

¹ See *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. X, pp. 575-76. A good facsimile of the inscription has not yet been published.

² Sahni, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 159, 160; cf. A. Ghosh, *Indian Culture*, Calcutta, Vol. I, pp. 715 ff. and Vol. III, pp. 177 ff.; G. Chatterji, *Jha Commemoration Volume*, pp. 101 ff. and above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 247 f. I am informed by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti that a set of inscriptions recently discovered in the Rewah State, which are being edited by him, are dated respectively in the reign of Bhīmasēna (year 51), his son Poṭhasiri (year 86) and grandson Bhādadēva (year 90). These years, as well as those of the Kosam inscriptions, are perhaps to be referred to the same reckoning.

³ Both *śatime* and *grīshma* occur in the inscription of Bhīmavarman of the year 130.—*Indian Culture*, Vol. III, p. 182.

⁴ In the present inscription the term *Soraṣhaka*, originally denoting 'an inhabitant of Saurāṣṭra', is used as a personal name. Such instances are not rare.



KOSAM INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF MAHARAJA VAISRAVANA
OF THE YEAR 107.

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however, should perhaps be regarded as a linguistic feature and not necessarily an orthographic irregularity. Separate signs are used to denote *b* and *v*, e.g. in *Buddha* in ll. 12 and 15, and the letter *v* following a superscript *r* is invariably doubled.

The purpose of the inscription is to record the establishment of an umbrella (i.e. a stone umbrella) in honour of the lord Buddha by the merchant **Māgha**, son of the merchant **Śurpāya** (Śūrṣpāya) and grandson of the merchant **Sōraṭhaka** (i.e., 'one who hailed from Surāshṭra'), an inhabitant of **Śuktimatī**. The donor is described as a *śrāvaka*, i.e. a lay hearer. The umbrella was installed within a temple called Pūrvvasiddhāyatana in **Badarikārāma**. The small pillar on which the record is engraved probably represents the staff of the umbrella which is missing. The inscription refers itself to the reign of the *Mahārāja Vaiśravaṇa* and is dated in the year 107, the first day of the 7th fortnight of the summer. The year is expressed in words as well as in symbols.

Mahārāja Vaiśravaṇa, obviously one of the rulers of Kausāmbī, is known from this inscription for the first time. The year 107, when he was reigning, is referable, judging from the palaeography of the inscription, to the Kalachuri era of 248 A.D. and is thus equivalent to 355-56 A.D. I am unable to identify **Śuktimatī**¹ which was probably in the neighbourhood of Kausāmbī. **Badarikārāma**, where the umbrella was dedicated, is mentioned in the introductory portion of the *Tittira-Jātaka*² as a locality situated in the vicinity of Kausāmbī. The first epigraphical reference to this locality occurs in the present inscription. Another *āvāma* adjoining Kausāmbī was the Ghōshitārāma which is well known from Buddhist literature, being the place where the Buddha spent some time during his sojourn in the Vatsa country.

TEXT.

- 1 [Ma]h[ā]r[ā]jasya³ śri-Vaiśrava[ṇasya]⁴
- 2 samvatsarē sapt-ōttara-śati-
- 3 [mē]⁵ 100 7 grī(grī)shma-pakshē sapta-
- 4 mē 7 divasē prathamē⁶ [1*]
- 5 etāya puruvaya Śukti-
- 6 mati-va(vā)stavyasya negama-
- 7 sya Soraṭhakasya naptā ne[ga]-
- 8 masya⁷ Śurpāya⁸-putrō vani(ṇi)ja-
- 9 kaḥ aviruddha-śr[ā]vakō Māghaḥ
- 10 Pūrvvasiddh-[ā]yatanē Badari-
- 11 k[ā]r[ā]mē bhagavatō(taḥ) pītāma-

¹ [Śuktimatī or Śuktisāhvaya is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as the Chēdi capital—see Sørensen, *Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata*, etc., p. 221. In Pāli literature this city is mentioned as Sothhivati-nagara—see *Chetiya-jātaka* (No. 422).—Ed.]

² Pauaboll, *Jātaka Text*, Vol. III, p. 64: *Kosambiyān nissāya Badarikārāme*. [Also mentioned in the *Tippitakamāyāna-jātaka* (*Text*, Vol. I, p. 160) and *Samyutta-nikāya* (ed. P. T. S.), pt. iii, p. 126.—Ed.]

³ There are only traces of the upper portion of the letter *ma* on the stone.

⁴ This portion is damaged; only traces of the letter *pa* and a part of the subscript *y* are visible.

⁵ The left portion of the last letter is damaged.

⁶ Usually one should expect here the numeral 1 after *prathamē*. If it originally existed it has peeled off.

⁷ For the reading of the first two letters I am indebted to Dr. N. P. Chakravarti.

⁸ The name perhaps represents *Śūrṣpāya* of uncertain meaning.

- 12 hasya saṁmyak¹-saṁbuddhasya daśa-²
 13 lam(?)=aṣṭābhijñāsyā pūjā[rīṭharī]
 14 cchhattraṁ pratishṭhāpayati [1*]
 15 nama(mō)=stu sarva-Buddhēbhya[ḥ*] [1*]
 16 punyam(ḥyaṁ) varddhatu [1*]

TRANSLATION.

- (Ll. 1-4) (In the reign) of the *Mahārāja Vaiśravaṇa*, in the year one-hundred-exceed-ed-by-seven, 107, the seventh fortnight of the summer, 7, on the first day.
 (Ll. 5-14) On this (date) as aforesaid, the merchant *Māgha*, the unobstructed lay hearer², a son of the merchant *Śūrpāya* and grandson of the merchant *Sōraṭhaka*, who is an inhabitant of *Śuktimati*, consecrates an umbrella in the temple of *Pūrvvasiddha* in *Badarikārāma*, for the worship of the lord, the *pitāmaha*,³ i.e., the Buddha, who is perfectly enlightened and experienced in the Eightfold (*Path*).
 (Ll. 15-16) Salutation to all the Buddhas! May virtue increase!

[*Postscript*: I am obliged to Mr. Krishnadeva, Archaeological Scholar, for having drawn my attention to certain Kosam coins which partly preserve the name of *Vaiśravaṇa* (Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 156-57). Evidently these are to be attributed to *Mahārāja Vaiśravaṇa* of this inscription. Recently his name has been traced also in an inscription discovered in the Rewah State.—N. G. M.]

No. 21.—CUTTACK MUSEUM PLATES OF MADHAVAVARMAN.

By the late Mr. N. G. MAJUMDAR, M.A., F.R.A.S.B., CALCUTTA.⁴

The actual provenance of this copper-plate charter, which is edited here for the first time, is not known. It appears to have been for a long time in the custody of the Mohant of Kenduā-pādā Maṭh in Cuttack District, Orissa, and was shown in an exhibition held at Banki in the same district in February, 1937. Subsequently it came into the hands of Pandit Artatran Misra, who has now presented it to the Provincial Museum, Cuttack. I take this opportunity of thanking the authorities of the Museum for having placed the record at my disposal for publication.

It consists of three sheets of copper each measuring about 8·7" × 4·7". They are held together by means of a copper ring, to which is affixed a seal, bearing in relief the figure of a seated bull and below it the legend *kri-Sainyabhūṭasya*, i.e., 'of the illustrious (*King*) Sainyabhūta'. *Sainyabhūta* was the *biruda* of some of the kings of the Śailōdbhava dynasty of Kōṅgōda. In the present case it refers to Mādhavavarman who, as will be seen below, issued this charter.

¹ Read *saṁyak*.

² It is not clear if the reading should be *daśa* or *dīśa*. There may have been another letter at the end of the line where the stone has flaked off. Could the word be *Daiśabala*, a name of the Buddha, and the reading intended *Daiśabalasy-aṣṭābhijñāsyā*?

³ [*Aviruddha* I would take in the sense of 'free (from greed, passion, etc.)'. For an explanation of this term see *Mahāvastu* (ed. P. T. S.), p. 239.—Ed.]

⁴ The title *pitāmaha* as well as *saṁyak-sambuddha* is applied to Buddha also in a Mathurā inscription of the reign of Kanishka (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 97). Palaeographically it is impossible to refer this inscription to Kanishka I, that is to say to the Early Kushān period, as its alphabet shows predominantly 'Gupta' forms.

⁵ [I record with deep regret that Mr. Majumdar had met with his tragic end in his exploration camp at Nai Gaj in the Dādū District of Sindh before the proof of this article reached him. By his death we have lost a promising scholar and a valuable contributor to the pages of this journal.—Ed.]

Two other grants of his, namely the Bugudā and Purī plates,¹ have already been published. The inscription consists of 46 lines of writing which is engraved on the inner face of the first and third plates and on both the faces of the second or the middle one. Although a few letters are worn out and damaged here and there, the inscription is on the whole in a good state of preservation.

The characters of the inscription are a variety of the Northern alphabet which are hardly distinguishable from those of the Gañjām plates of Mādhavarāja of the Gupta year 300, i.e., A. D. 619-20 and his Khurdā plates.² Its style of writing, so far as reflected in the engraving, is quite dissimilar to that of the Purī plates of Mādhavarman. In the former letters are formed by continuous lines, while in the latter by sharp and detached strokes. The alphabet of the Purī plates cannot therefore be regarded as quite normal, while in the characters of this record we should recognize the writing typical of Orissa in the first half of the seventh century A. D. In spite of this difference in style of engraving the characters of the two sets of copper-plates do not reveal any material difference in palæography. In this connection it should be noted that the alphabet of the Bugudā plates of Mādhavarman is definitely of a later type, which Kielhorn thought could not be placed earlier than the tenth century A. D. A contrary view is expressed however by Dr. Baak who has edited the Purī plates. According to him the characters are assignable to the seventh or eighth century A. D., and "mostly resemble those used in the Bugudā plates".³ Although Kielhorn's opinion is not acceptable, it must be admitted that there is a marked difference in form between some of the important letters occurring in the Bugudā plates and the two other records. Letters such as *ṣ*, *m*, and *l*, have a decidedly later appearance in the Bugudā plates. The enigma presented by these plates is to be attributed, however, to a factor not yet taken note of by epigraphists. As pointed out by Kielhorn, the Bugudā plates 'originally bore another inscription, the letters of which probably were beaten in to make room' for the inscription which they now bear.⁴ It is possible that the original inscription engraved in the reign of Mādhavarman was re-engraved on the same plates in a subsequent period for some reason or other, a practice of which there are several well-known examples. The text of the document, as we find it now, presents many inaccuracies and lapses of the scribe, to which due attention has been drawn by Kielhorn. These presumably might have occurred in the process of re-engraving. If this view be accepted, the apparent incongruity in the palæography of the three copper-plate grants of Mādhavarman could be satisfactorily explained.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. Excepting a few lines of prose it contains as many as twenty-two verses, seven of which (vv. 2, 5, 6, 7, 15, 16 and 22) are quite new. Of the remaining fifteen verses three are the customary donative ones and twelve occur in other land-grants of the Śailōdbhava dynasty. Among those that are common notable textual variations appear in vv. 13, 14, 20 and 21 of the present record. In v. 20 the word *lēkhita* is used in the sense of *lēkhaka*, which probably has to be taken as an instance of *matvarthīya ach.*⁵ It is so used also in v. 16 of the Purī plates and in v. 18 of the Bugudā plates.

¹ Above, Vol. VII, Pls. between pp. 100-101, and Vol. XXIII, Pls. between pp. 128-29. The Purī plates are dated in the regnal year of Mādhavarman which has been doubtfully read as 23 (Baak, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 124). An examination of the original shows that the figures cannot be anything but 13.

² Above, Vol. VI, Pls. between pp. 144-45; *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXXIII (1904), Part I, p. 283 and Pl. VI.

³ Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 123.

⁴ I have not had the occasion to examine the original plates which are kept in the Madras Museum. But judging from a set of excellent photos kindly supplied to me by Mr. T. N. Ramachandran I can definitely endorse the opinion expressed by Kielhorn. [I had an occasion of examining the original plates. There are certainly a few traces of an earlier inscription and this also seems to have been a Śailōdbhava record.—Ed.]

⁵ *Maahābhāshya*, under Pāpini, 3, 4, 67. [The word is probably *lēkhita*, the nominative singular form of *lēkhita*.—Ed.]

As regards **orthography** we should note particularly the following: the same sign is used for *b* and *v*; consonants following a superscript *r* are doubled in the majority of cases; the letter *t* preceding a subscript *r* is often doubled e.g., in *ttroyōrciṅṣati*, l.30; occasionally a *visarga* is omitted e.g., *bhaviṣhyata(b)* l.27; the sign of *avagraha* is never used; before *ś* and *ḥ* a guttural nasal is used for *anusvāra* e.g., in *vaṅṣaḥ*, l.14 and *Jayasinhēna* l.44; and final *n* is changed into *anusvāra* in *viśayē-smim*, l.27. Orthographic irregularities and scribal errors have been duly pointed out in the body of the text.

The document opens with the formula *ōm svasti* followed by a verse asking for the benediction of the god Śiva in communion with Pārvatī. Verse 2 mentions the **Mahēndra mountain** and the **Eastern Ocean**, the two prominent topographical features of **Kaliṅga** introduced in the next verse (v. 3), which refers to **Pulindasēna**, an inhabitant of this country. He worshipped the god Svayambhū (v. 4), as a result of which was born out of rocks (v.5) the victorious king **Śailōdbhava** (v.6). The dynasty was so called after him (v. 7); and in it was born (A)**raṇabhīta** (v. 8) whose son was **Sainyabhīta** (v. 9). In the latter's lineage was born King (A)**yaśōbhīta** (v. 10). Ayaśōbhīta's son **Sainyabhīta** (II) issued the present land-grant. Vv. 11-13 give an eulogistic account of the royal donor, which are, however, not of any historical interest. The following verse (v. 14) states that he was called also **Mādhavavarman** and that he resided in the city of **Mādhavapura**. It may be noted in passing that Mādhavavarman had an additional title 'Śrīnivāsa', which is mentioned in his Purī and Buguḍā plates.¹ It is repeated also in the Kuṇḍeḍḍa and Nivīnā plates of Dharmarāja,² a later member of the family, but does not occur in the present record.

In vv. 15-16 are addressed the various officers, Brāhmaṇas and others of the **Jayapura-*viśaya***. Then begins the formal part of the grant which is in prose (ll. 29-36). Herein we are told that the village of **Tamataḍā** situated in the **Vyāghrapura-bhukti** of this *viśaya*, consisting of twenty-three *tiṃpīras* of land, was granted by means of this charter to the undermentioned Brāhmaṇas: Skandādityasvāmin, Rudrasvāmin, Daddasvāmin, Vēdasvāmin, Mahēndrasvāmin, Khadirādityasvāmin, Pradyumnasvāmin, Pāṇḍaramātiprasvāmin, Ādityasvāmin, Yajñasvāmin, Agrasvāmin, Chharampasvāmin, Kāyavarasvāmin, Śarvasvāmin, Mātipichandrasvāmin, Vōntēlvādityasvāmin, Gōlasvāmin, Madhvasvāmin, Mātipichandrasvāmin (II), Dattasvāmin, Dharmmasvāmin, Vāmadēvasvāmin, Śrīsvāmin and Svāmichandrasvāmin. The prose portion conveying this information is followed by three of the customary stanzas (vv. 17-19). Then in v. 20 are mentioned Guhachandra, a *ṛiteik* and *upādhyāya*, who served as the *dūtaka*, and also Upēndrasimha, son of Kuṇḍabhōgin, who acted as the scribe or draughtsman of the record. This Upēndrasimha, son of Kuṇḍabhōgin, drafted also the Purī and Buguḍā plates. V. 21 speaks of the charter (*tāmra-paṭṭa*) as having been engraved by Skandabhōgin and 'heated' by Jayasimha. The two other documents mention that they were *lāñchhita*, i.e., 'endowed with the *lāñchhana* or emblem'. by Jayasimha. This seems to convey the same idea as that suggested by *tāpita* i.e., 'heated' occurring in the present charter. The latter evidently refers to the process of soldering the seal containing the royal emblem to the ring of the plates, which could be done only by means of heating.

Verse 22 of the record states that the king issuing this charter resided in the city of **Śrīdhara**, evidently the same as **Mādhavapura** mentioned in v. 14. It further describes him as a friend of the **Lōkanātha** who had been graciously disposed towards him. By the term *lōkanātha* we are probably to understand the paramount sovereign to whom Mādhavavarman owed allegiance. It

¹ V. 10 and v. 11 respectively.

² Above, Vol. XIX, p. 268, v. 9, and Vol. XXI, p. 39, v. 10.

is not clear, however, which dynasty at this time held paramount sway over Orissa. The first time that we hear of a Śailōdbhava prince ruling over this part is in the Gañjām plates, dated in the Gupta year 300, i.e., A.D. 619, which mention his overlord *Mahārājādhirāja Śaśānka*, undoubtedly the same king who is described as 'the lord of Gauḍa' in Bāṇa's *Harshacharita*.

The last line of the charter, immediately after v. 22, specifies the date of the grant the 24th day of Śrāvaṇa of the year 50. As already pointed out, the present record paleographically resembles the Gañjām plates of Mādhavarāja of A. D. 619-20. I consider this Mādhavarāja and Mādhavarman of the present charter to be identical, and would refer the year 50 to the Harsha era of A. D. 606 which makes the date equivalent to A. D. 656.

In the Khurdā and Gañjām plates Mādhavarāja's father is stated to be Ayaśōbhīta. This is also the name of Mādhavarman's father as given in the Purī, Buguḍā and the present copper-plates. The Khurdā plates mention Ayaśōbhīta's father to be Sainyabhīta, and the king mentioned immediately before Ayaśōbhīta in the dynastic lists in the Buguḍā, Purī, Parikud and the present grants is also Sainyabhīta, but these records state that Ayaśōbhīta was born 'in the lineage of' Sainyabhīta, without specifying further that the relationship between the two was that of father and son. From this circumstance some scholars are disposed to regard Mādhavarāja and Mādhavarman as two distinct persons.¹ But it is significant that the three names Sainyabhīta, Ayaśōbhīta and Mādhavarāja or Mādhavarman occur exactly in this order in all the copper-plates and the presumption is that this Sainyabhīta was really the father of Ayaśōbhīta and that Mādhavarman and Mādhavarāja are identical. It may be added further that both Mādhavarāja and Mādhavarman had the *biruda* 'Sainyabhīta'. As regards the possibility of the name Mādhavarman appearing as Mādhavarāja, there are similar instances elsewhere, as in the case of the Chālukya kings Vijayavarman and Kīrtivarman who in some of their copper-plates are called Vijayarāja and Kīrttirāja respectively.² I do not therefore think that the identification of Mādhavarman with Mādhavarāja of the Khurdā and Gañjām plates involves any real difficulty.

Jayapura-vishaya may be the same as Jayakāṭaka-vishaya of Kōṅḍa-maṇḍala mentioned in the Dharakota plate of Śubhākarādēva.³ It may be identified with the present Jeypore estate contiguous to the Gañjām District in Orissa. The rest of the localities mentioned in the grant I am unable to identify.

TEXT.⁴

[Metres: Vv. 1, 2, 4, 6, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*; vv. 3, 8, 9, 11, 12, 17, *Vasantatūlaka*; vv. 5, 14, 22, *Āryā*; vv. 7, 15, 16, 18-21, *Anuṣṭubh*; v. 10, *Indravajrā*; v. 13, *Sragdharā*.]

First Plate.

- 1 Om⁵ svasti [*] Indōr-dhauta-mṛiḡāla-tantubhir-iva ślisṭāḥ karaṇḥ kōmalair-vva(bba)ndh-ābēr-arupaṇḥ
- 2 sphurat-phāṇa-maṇēr-digdha-prabhāsō-ā(m)śubhiḥ [*] Pārsvatyā sa-kacha-graha-vyatikaravyāvṛitta-vandhaḥ(bandha)-
- 3 ślathō Gaṅg-āmbhaḥ-pluti-bhinna-bhasma-kaṇikāḥ Śambhōr-jaṭāḥ pāntu vaḥ || [*] Prāchy-āmbhōnidhi-ruddha-

¹ Basak, *History of North-eastern India*, 1934, p. 171; above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 125-126. See also R. C. Majumdar, *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. X (1937), p. 3.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 252-253.

³ B. Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 21.

⁴ From the original copper-plates.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

- 4 sānur-atulāḥ pushya-drum-āli-vṛitāḥ syandan-nirjjhara-vāri-dārīta-darī-pāta-skhalan-
[n]isvanāḥ [*]
- 5 svāna-ttrasta-patātri-valgu-virutair-āpūrit-āntar-gubāḥ śrīmān-Mēsur-iv-ōdgataḥ kula-
giriḥ
- 6 khyātō Mahēndrah kshītau || [2*] Prāu(m)śur-mmah-ōbha-kara-pīvara-chāru-vā(bā)huḥ kṛi-
śṅ-āśma-
- 7 sañchaya-vibhēda-visāla-vakshāḥ [*] rājīva-kōmala-dal-āyata-lōchan-āntāḥ khyāta(h)
- 8 **Kaliṅga-janatāsu Pulindasēnāḥ** || [3*] Tēn-ēttham guṇin-āpi satva(ttva)-mahatā n-
ēshṭam bhuvō maṇḍalam
- 9 śaktō yaḥ paripālanāya jagataḥ kō nāma sa sya(syā)d-iti [*] pratyādishṭa-vibh-ūtsavēna
bhagavā-
- 10 n-ārāgi(dhī)taḥ śāsvataḥ taeh-chitt-ānugūṇam vidhīsur-adiśad-vāñchhām Svayambhūr
-api || [4*] Lōka-pratīti-
- 11 vā(bā)hyaḥ śakala-śilā-samputāt-prasūta iva [*] dēva-kumār-ānyatamō [Hara]-
nirmūṇ[ā]t-tatō drishtaḥ || [5*]
- 12 Sō-py-āscharya-manōbhuv-ādhipatinā Śambhōḥ prasādāt-kshuṇam bhīt-ōdbhrānta-sa-
viama[ya]-sthīti-
- Second Plate : Obverse*
- 13 matā sambhāvya saumyaḥ vapuḥ [*] bhūt-ānanda-karaḥ kṛitās-cha vijayī **Śailōdbhavaḥ**
kshāmāpatīḥ śāstā dushpatha-
- 14 gāminām sukṛitīnām rūp-iva dharmmah svayam(yam) || [6*] Śailōdbhava iti khyātas-tatō
vañ(m)śah śubhaḥ kshītau [*] utsav-ā-
- 15 tiśaya-sthānam-adbhutānām-iv-ād bhuta(m)(tam) || [7*] Śailōdbhavasya kulajō-**raṇabhīta**
āsīd-ya(yō)n-āsakṛit-kṛita-bhiyām
- 16 dvishad-aṅganānām [*] jyōtēnā-pravō(bō)dha-samayē eva-dhiy-aiva sārddham-ākam-
pitō nayana-pakshma-jalēshu
- 17 chandraḥ || [8*] Tasy-ābhavad-vīvu(bu)dhapāla-samasya sūnuḥ śrī-Sainyabhīta iti bhū-
mipatir-gariyān [*]
- 18 yam-prāpya nāika-śata-nāga-ghaṭā-vighaṭṭa-lav(b)dha-prasāda-vijayaḥ mumudē dharitṛi
|| [9*] Tasy-āpi
- 19 vañ(m)śō-ṭha yath-ārtha-nāmā jātō-**yaśōbhīta** iti kshītīśah [*] yēna prarūḍhō-pi śubhaiś-
charitṛai-
- 20 r-mṛishṭah kalaṅkaḥ Kali-darppaṇasya || [10*] Jātas-sa tasya tanayas=sukṛitī samasta-
sīmā(ma)nti-
- 21 nī-nayana-shaṭpada-puṇḍarīkaḥ [*] śrī-Sainyabhīta iti bhūmipatir-mmah-ōbha-kumbha-
sthal-ḍalana-dūrlalī-
- 22 t-āsi-dhārah || [11*] Jātēna yēna kamalākaravat=eva-gōttram=unmilitam dīnakṛit-ēva ma-
hōdayēna [*] sarīkshipta-
- 23 maṇḍala-ruchaś-cha gatāḥ praṇāsam=āśu dvishō graha-gaṇā iva yasya di[pt]yā || [12*]
Kālēyair-bhūta-dhātṛi-
- 24 patibhīr-upachit-ānēka-pāp-āvatārair-yōślām nītā kath-āpi pralayam=abhimatā kirtti-
- 25 mā(pā)lir-aja[aram] || [*] yajūnais-tair-Aśvamōdha-prabhṛitibhīr-asakṛit-ma(sa)myag-īshṭair
-akārī sphītam tṛiptim surō(r-au)gha[h*]

i.

2
4
6
8
10
12

1
2
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10
11
12

Handwritten text in Odia script on a stone plate, with a metal fastener on the left side.

ii, a.

14
16
18
20
22
24

14
16
18
20
22
24

Handwritten text in Odia script on a stone plate, with a metal fastener on the left side.

26
28
30
32
34
36

Handwritten text in an ancient script, likely Brahmi or similar, on a stone tablet. The text is arranged in approximately 12 horizontal lines. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the tablet, approximately halfway down.

26
28
28
30
32
34
34
36

iii.

38
40
42
44
46

Handwritten text in an ancient script on a stone tablet. The text is arranged in approximately 10 horizontal lines. A circular hole is visible on the left side of the tablet, approximately halfway down.

38
40
40
42
44
44
46

Seal



From Plate 1

Second Plate : Reverse.

- 26 pratihata-va(ba)lavach-chhattra(ttru)-pakshēṇa yēna || [13*] **Mādhavapura**-vihita-sthitir-
amv(b)uda-nirmukta-chandra-sita-kirttiḥ [*]
27 sa śrī-**Mādhavavarmnā** ripu-māna-vighaṭṭanaḥ kuśalī || [14*] Viśhayō=smiṇ(n) **Jayapurō**
varttamāna-bhavishyata[ḥ] [*]
28 dvijāti-pūrvvān-nṛpatīn-rājasthānīya-samyutān || [15*] Kumārāmātyam=āyuktāt(n)=
karaṇ-ōparikān=api [*]
29 tathā janapadaṁ sarvvam-arhayaty=ānupūrvyataḥ || [16*] Veditam=astu bhavatām=ētad-
viḥ(sha)ya-samv(b)addha-**Vyāghrapura-**
30 bhuktan **Tamataḍā**-grāmas=chatuḥ-simnā ttra(tra)yōviṇ(m)śati-timpīra-parimāṇaḥ Skandā-
dityasvāmi-Rudra-
31 svāmi-Daddasvāmi-Vēdasvāmi-Mahēndrasvāmi-Khadirādityasvāmi-Pradyumnasvāmi-Pāṇḍa-
ramāṭṛi-
32 svāmy-Ādityasvāmi-Yajñasvāmy-Agrasvāmi-Chharampasvāmi-K[ā]yavarasvāmi-Śarvvāsavāmi-
Māṭṛi-
33 chandrasvāmi-Vōntēlvādityasvāmi-Gōlasvāmi-Madhvasvāmi-Māṭṛichandrasvāmi-Dattasvāmi-
34 Dharmmasvāmi-Va(Vā)madēvasvāmi-Śrīsvāmi-Svāmichandrasvāmibhyō dvijātibhyaḥ mātā-
pitrōr=ātmanas=cha
35 puṇy-ābhivyiddhayē pratipāditaḥ tad=ētach-chhāsana-darśanād=ēshām yath-ōchitam tām-
vra(mra)-paṭṭa-dānaṁ
36 datvā(ttvā) bhūjānānām dharmma-gauravān=[na] kēnachid=vighātai(tē) varttitavyam=
api cha || Vidyud-vilāsa-
37 taralām=avagamaya samyag-lōka-sthitīm yasasi ma(sa)kta-manōbhīr-uchchaitḥ [*] ēsha
dvij-ā(ō)pakṛiti-

Third Plate.

- 38 mā[ttra]-ratair=bhavadbhir-ddharmm-ānūrōdhana-parair-anumōditavyaḥ || [17*] Uktam
cha Mānavē dharmma-śāstrē ||
39 Va(Ba)hubhir-vvasudhā dattā va(ba)hubhīś=ch=ānupālītā [*] yasya yasya yadū bhūmis-
tasya tasya tadā phalam(lam) || [18*]
40 Api [cha] || [Mā] bhūd=aphala-śānkū vaḥ para-datt=ēti pārthivāḥ [*] sva-dā[nā]t=phalam-
ānantyam para-dān-ānupā-
41 lanēm(nē) || [19*] Abhūd=ritvig-upāddhyāy[ō] Guhachandrō=ttra dūtakaḥ [*] lēkhit = 0.
42 pēndrasīn(m)has=cha tanayaḥ Kuṇḍabhōgināḥ || [20*] Utkirṇas=tāmra-
43 paṭṭō=yam durita-pratighāta-kṛit [*] Skandabhōgiṇā(nā) samyak¹
44 Jayasiṇ(m)hēna tāpitaḥ || [21*] Jayati Jayanta-pratimaḥ prasabha-samākṛishṭa-
45 ripu-nṛipa-śrīkaḥ [*] **Śrīdhara**-[pō(pau)]rah kshitipō varadikṛita-lōkanātha-
46 sakhaḥ || [22*] **Samvat 50 Śrāvāṇa-dīna 20 4**

No. 22.—TINNEVELLY INSCRIPTION OF MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA II.

BY K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR, B.A., COIMBATORE.

The inscription edited below is engraved on the inside of the north wall of the second *prākāra* of the Nelliappar temple at **Tinnevelly**. It was copied by the Epigraphical Department in

¹ This *pāda* is short by one letter. [I see faint traces of the letter *śrī* at the beginning of this *pāda*.—Ed.]

1894. A text of it is given, in Tamil, in the *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Volume V, pp. 170-171. On account of the important information which it furnishes, it is taken up here for publication. It may be noted also that no inscription of this king with the introduction *Pū-malar-tiruvum* has yet been edited in the pages of this journal.

The record contains 24 lines of writing and is in Tamil, verse and prose. Here and there a few Sanskrit words are found written in Grantha characters. The verse portion is almost free from mistakes; and the few errors of spelling that are found in the record are corrected in foot-notes. The introductory portion is purely eulogistic and calls for no remark.

The only words of lexical interest are *mudal* (ll. 11 and 14), *kār* (l. 14) and *tiramam* (l. 15). Of these *mudal* is used in the sense of 'yield' or 'produce'. This sense is preserved in the usage *kaṇḍu-mudal* which is current in several places of the Tamil districts. *Kār* is used to denote the paddy harvested in the *kār* season, i.e., the months of Āvaṇi and Purattāsi. The word *tiramam* is derived from *dramma*, 'a coin.' The ordinary meaning of *pō* in Tamil is 'to go'. In lines 7 and 15, its participle, i.e., *pōy* is used with *Vēdamum Śāstramum* meaning 'learned in the Vēdas and Śāstras'. This use of it is not common in Tamil. We have the use of the word *pōy* with *Vēdamum Śāstramum* qualified by *poruṭpaḍa* in another inscription where the meaning is clearly 'having learnt, with meaning, the Vēdas and Śāstras'.¹

The object of the inscription is to register the grant of a *brahmadēya* village. In the 8th year and 988th day of the reign of the Pāṇḍya king Māḍavarman *alias* Tribhuvanachakravartin Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva, when he was seated on Maḷavarāyaṇ in his palace at Madura on the eastern side of Māḍakkujam in Madurōdaya-vaḷanāḍu, 224 Chaturvēdi-Bhāṭṭas, versed in the Vēdas and Śāstras and capable of expounding them, approached him and said that Kūḍalūr in Murappu-nāḍu and the villages comprised in Kīlai-Kūḍalūr—with the exclusion of 4 mā of land forming the *paḷḷichchanda* (i.e., land granted to Jaina or Buddhist shrines), as well as the old *dēvadāna* and the lands purchased by Uḍaiyāṇ Kūttāḍuvāṇ *alias* Villavadaraiyaṇ of Vaḷugūr residing in Kulaśēkhara-pperunteru at Paṭṭina-Marudūr in Śūraṅguḍi-nāḍu and given as *dēvadāna* to the temple of Ulaguyyavanda-Īśvaramuḍaiyār—might be constituted into a new village called Pōśāḷa-Vīra-Sōmidēva-chaturvēdimāṅgalam after the name of the king's uncle (*māmaḷi*) and given as a *brahmadēya*, divided into 244 shares, so that the 224 Chaturvēdi-Bhāṭṭas mentioned above might have a share each, and 20 shares might be assigned to those that had to do service in the *dēvadāna*. As regards the assessment of the lands of this new village, it is stated that the king's uncle had enjoined that the lands should be measured by the rod called *Sundara-Pāṇḍiyaṇ-kōl* of 24 feet length, the kind of crop raised should be examined, and for such of the lands as had yielded produce, tax should be levied at the following rates, on each mā:—

- (1) $\frac{1}{4}$ *kāṣu* for *antarāya*, *vinīyōga*, *achchu*, *kāriyavārāyechchi*, *vēḷi-pāṭṭam*, *paṇchupālī*, *sandhivighrahappēru* and all other payable dues, and three *kalam* of paddy for *kār*;
- (2) half of this rate shall be charged for lands sown in Tulā and crops realised;
- (3) 2 *tiramam* (*dramma*) shall be paid on lands on which *varagu*, *tiṇaiṭṭu* and *iruṅgu* had been harvested;
- (4) for *paṭṭāṇam*, the above rates should prevail.

One of the most salient rules framed in early days with regard to land revenue is that the assessment should be charged only on lands that had been cultivated and borne crops, and that the charge should be made after inspecting the crops raised, and determining the extent of cultivation by a measuring rod of fixed length. The land-tax was paid both in kind and in money.

¹ *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 446, text-lines 6 and 13.

In the case of wet lands on which two crops were generally raised in a year, one in *paṣāṇ* and the other in *kār*, the assessment appears to have been paid in two instalments, the first in the month of Chittirai when the *paṣāṇ* yield was secured, and the second in the month of Aippaṣi when the *kār* crop was harvested.¹ The money payment was made to cover a number of small duties. In the present instance, it is stated that $\frac{1}{4}$ *kāṣu* covered the duties of *antarāya*, *viniyōga*, *achchu*, *kāriyavārāyichchi*, *veḷḷi-pāṭṭam*, *pañchupīli*, *sandhivighrahappēru* and all other payable dues. It is learnt from this record that the revenue paid in kind was three *kalam* of paddy on each *mā* of land. That this was the prevailing rate is also known from other epigraphs. A Tiruviḍaimaru-*dūr* inscription states that 5 *kalam* and 3 *kuṟuṟi* of paddy was the assessment (*dēvar-kaḍamaṁ*) on one *mā* and three *kāṟi* of land.² This works out to 3 *kalam* for each *mā*. No. 272 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907 states that for each *veḷi*, the paddy determined to be given was 60 *kalam*.³ This also yields three *kalam* on each *mā*, since 20 *mā* equalled one *veḷi*. The fractional terms *mā* (one-twentieth) and *kāṟi* (one-eightieth) are still in use in some of the Tamil districts but their extents vary according to localities as do the *kalam* and *veḷi*. Therefore, they are not of much value in giving us an idea as to the rate of assessment of lands in ancient times. One of the medieval Pāṇḍya inscriptions of Tinnevelly states in clear terms that a *mā* is the extent of a square field measuring 288 feet in length which works out to nearly one acre and 90 $\frac{1}{2}$ cents.⁴ Therefore, the assessment of 3 *kalam* in *paṣāṇ* and 3 *kalam* in *kār* on such a field, paid in kind, and that too when the crops had been raised, could not have caused much hardship to the land owner. Besides, he had no necessity for immediately converting his produce into money to pay off the land revenue.

The present inscription furnishes an instance of the formation of a new village and the grant of it as a *brahmadēya* to a number of Brāhmaṇas. It is stated that the village of Pōṣaḷa-Vira-Sōmidēva-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Murappu-nāḍu was formed out of the lands which had originally belonged to a number of villages—with the exclusion of a small extent that had been previously endowed to temples. In the constitution of the new village, the donees, it is said, desired that the previous owners (*muṇṇu-uḍaiyār*) of the lands, the old names (*paḷam-peyar*) of the villages and their lands, their cultivating ryots (*uḷavu*) and the head of classification (*mudal*), should be removed; that all the lands should be clubbed into one single village with a single *puṟavu*; that these lands should be divided into the required number of shares, and that with the right to build houses in the *nattam* fit for residential purposes, specified in writing, the new village should be granted as a *brahmadēya*. There is no doubt that the procedure herein briefly described should have involved considerable labour and work in the actual carrying out. The removal of the previous owners must necessarily have been followed by providing them with other sites or by awarding adequate compensation after ascertaining the correct extent of their lands and their yield. The division of the lands into equal shares and the entry of the changes of classification in the departmental and village registers could not but have taken some time.

¹ See Nos. 438 and 439 of *S. I. I.* (Texts), Vol. V, p. 162.

² No. 130 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1895. We note the words used "nilam oru-mā muk-kāṇiyum aiñjāvadu-varai payiṟ-ehelav-iñriyēy kollaiyāy kiḍandamaiyil iṟaṅ taṅ svam iṭṭu-ttirutti nivanda-ttukku nel aiñ-kalanēy mu-kkurupiyum dēvar-kaḍamaikku nellu aiñ-kalanē mu-kkurupiyim-āga nellu-ppadiṅ-kalanēy tūni-ppadakkum āttāṅḍu-tōrum iṟuppadāga viṭṭa nilam kuḷi nūreṅbatt-aiñchiṅṅal nilaṅ oru-mā mukkāṇi (*S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 694).

³ This is an inscription of the time of Vikrama-Chōa and the text runs as follows:—Tiruviḍaimaruduḍaiyār Śrī-Kōyil-ppuṟambīl periya-tirumuraṭṭu Ēkanāyakaṅ tiruveḍuttikkattiyil..... muppattettāvadu vēli oṟrukku nellu aṟupadiṅ kalamāga nichcheyitta nellu.

⁴ See *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 411, dated in the 5th year of the reign of Māḍavarman Kulaśēkhara. The words used are "padiṅṅett-aḍi-kkōḷāl padipārukku-ppadiṅṅaru koṇḍadu oru-māvāga" meaning "land measuring sixteen by sixteen of the rod measuring eighteen feet in length being one *mā*."

The whole course of action described here may be compared with the procedure that is being adopted at present in the working of the Act for the acquisition of lands for specific purposes. That the owners of the lands, who were dispossessed of their holdings should have been given other lands in exchange, is made plain by a statement in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates¹, where it is noted that when Paḷaiyaṅūr—which was previously given as a *brahmadēya* to the members of the assembly (*sabhaiyār*) of Siṅgaḷāntaka-chaturvēdimaṅgalaṃ—was converted into a *dēvadāna* of the temple of Tiruvālaṅgāḍu, the *sabhaiyār* were promised to be given another village in exchange. The same plates may be referred to explain the meaning of the phrase *mudal tavirndu* occurring in lines 11 and 19. The actual words employed in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates *viz.* *Ṣavaiyārkkū brahmadēyamāy varuṅṅapaḍi * * * * * tavirndu vellāṅ-vagaiyil mudalāṅa * * * * * Paḷaiyaṅūr* in one place,² and *Paḷaiyaṅūr vēṅu-mudalāy brahmadēyamāy varuṅṅapaḍi tavirndu vellāṅ-vagaiyāy brahmadēyam-īraṅgi* in another place,³ make it plain that *brahmadēyam* and *vellāṅ-vagai* are two different heads of classification. This sense of the word *mudal* is not common in modern usage. The other uses of the word *mudal* in the inscription under publication are found in *ir-āṅḍu-mudal* (ll. 15 and 22) and *mudal Virapāṅḍiyaṅḍu nellu mukkalamum* (ll. 14 and 22), the former meaning 'commencing from this year' and the latter 'the yield of three *kalam* of paddy as measured by the measure *Virapāṅḍiyaṅḍu*'.

Different views have been expressed in the *Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy* regarding the identity of Māṅavarman Sundara-Pāṅḍya, whose inscriptions begin with the introduction *pū-malar-tiruvum*. Remarking on the very inscription under publication, the late Venkayya declared that he must be different from, and later than, the Māṅavarman Sundara-Pāṅḍya of the Tiruppūvaṅam grant which has the introduction *pū-maruviya-tirumaḍandai*.⁴ This view was at first adopted by the late Krishna Sastri, who, later on, finding the mention of the seat Maḷavarāyaṅ in his records as in those of Māṅavarman Sundara-Pāṅḍya I, came to the conclusion that the king with the *pū-malar-tiruvum* introduction must be the same as the one that had the introduction *pū-maruviya-tirumaḍandai*, *i.e.*, Māṅavarman Sundara-Pāṅḍya I. Add to this, it may be noted that some of the signatories that figure in the records of Māṅavarman Sundara-Pāṅḍya I. figure also in the records of *pū-malar-tiruvum*. These are reasons sound enough for holding the view expressed by Krishna Sastri. It was accordingly adopted in subsequent Epigraphical Reports and by Swamikkanu Pillai in his *Indian Ephemeris*. In reviewing certain inscriptions of Māṅavarman Sundara-Pāṅḍya with *pū-malar-tiruvum* introduction and of the Hoysaḷa king Vira-Sōmēśvara found at Aḷagarmalai, in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1929-30, I pointed out some valid objections to this view and showed that Māṅavarman Sundara-Pāṅḍya with *pū-malar-tiruvum* introduction is the second of that name and different from Māṅavarman Sundara-Pāṅḍya I. The paragraph alluded to is extracted hereunder as it decides the question once for all:—

"No. 291 (of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1929-30) from Aḷagarmalai states that, at the request of his *māmaḍi* (*i.e.*, uncle) Hoysaḷa Vira-Sōmēśvara, the Pāṅḍya king Māṅavarman Sundara-Pāṅḍya ordered the assignment of the revenue of the village of Tirukkōṭṭiyūr in Kēraḷasiṅga-vaḷaṅḍu to the temple of Tirumāliruṅḷōlai-niṅṅaruḷiya-Paramasvāmin for conducting the Vira-Sōmēśvaran-*śaṅḍi* instituted in it by the Hoysaḷa king. This order was issued in

¹ The words used *viz.*, "*Ṣavaiyārkkū brahmadēyamāy varuṅṅapaḍi Paḷaiyaṅūriṅ talaimāṅu āṅ kuḍuṅṅapaḍi*," may be noted.

² See text-lines 63-66 on p. 403 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. III.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 402, ll. 10-19.

⁴ *Ann. Rep. on Epigraphy*, Madras, for 1900, p. 6, paragraph 17.

the 8th year and 988th day (*i.e.*, the 11th year) of the Pāṇḍya king's reign. From a record of Vira-Sōmēśvara himself found in the same temple, we learn that this service was instituted in the 10th year of his reign, *i.e.*, in A.D. 1243-4.¹ As such, the grant made to it by Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya in compliance with the Hoysaḷa king's request, must have been a subsequent event. If, as held by Mr. Sastri, the introduction *pū-malar-tiruvum* belongs to Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. who ascended the throne in A.D. 1216, the date of the Aḷagarmalai inscription would fall in A.D. 1227, *i.e.*, 16 years prior to the establishment of the service itself. It is thus evident that inscriptions with the introduction *pū-malar-tiruvum* do not belong to Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. but are clear records of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II whose accession took place in A.D. 1238. In this case, the date of the epigraph under consideration will be A.D. 1249, which is about five years after the institution of the service. Another decisive proof for saying that the records with the introduction *pū-malar-tiruvum* are not those of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. is afforded in the omission in them of the conquest of the Chōḷa country (*Śōṇāḍu koṇḍarufiya*) which is invariably mentioned in inscriptions definitely attributable to him."

The different introductions *pū-maruviya-tirumaḍandai* and *pū-malar-tiruvum* which do not in any way recount the same historical facts, and the results of calculation of the details of dates furnished in Pāṇḍya inscriptions of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya, having definitely pointed out the existence of two kings bearing the same name, one closely following the other, there is reason for the same officials figuring as signatories in the records of both the kings. The names of seats and halls cannot be made use of to prove the identity of kings, for two kings not far removed from each other in time may occupy them one after the other.

To understand the political situation of the various powers of South India at the time of our record, it is necessary to follow closely the trend of events consequent on the Pāṇḍya civil war and the dynastic connection which existed between them. The outstanding political event of the century commencing with the end of the reign of Māṇavarman II, is the civil war alluded to above, which, while it lasted, did not confine itself within its own limits, but threw the whole of South India into a restless state and rudely disturbed its peace. Begun at first between two rival parties of the royal house of the Pāṇḍyas, it soon made the heads of all the chief kingdoms to range themselves on a side which seems to have been weak but just, while the other was very strong and derived its support chiefly from the foreign country of Ceylon. It exhausted the resources of the Chōḷas, sowed seeds of discontent among their chieftains and turned them into open rebellion and brought about the destruction of the mighty empire which had been built up by the military genius of the members of the revived Chōḷa line of Vijayālaya and the aid of "the victorious standing army" that won laurels wherever it was sent. The permanent outpost of the Hoysaḷas in the Tamil country was also an offshoot of this war. In about A.D. 1167 two hostile branches of the Pāṇḍya family put forth rival claims to the throne of Madura. At first, the parties were headed by Parākrama-Pāṇḍya and Kulaśekhara. The Sinhalese chronicle gives indeed a very full description of the help which the Ceylon king Parākramabāhu gave to Parākrama-Pāṇḍya and his son Vira-Pāṇḍya, and recounts the many deeds of valour performed by the Sinhalese army.² From this very account, which is naturally one-sided, one does not fail to gather that the cause of Kulaśekhara was espoused by other kings of the mainland, principal among them being the Chōḷa, whose country was threatened with immediate danger. Inscriptions of Rājādhirāja II tell us that the Chōḷa supported the cause of

¹ No. 292 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1929-30.

² *Mahāvamsa* (Wijesinha's transl.), Chs. 76 and 77.

Kulaśekhara.¹ The hostility between the parties of Vira-Pāṇḍya and Kulaśekhara continued in the reign of Rājādhirāja's successor Kulōttuṅga III (A.D. 1178-1217). The position was the same. Vira-Pāṇḍya, who was now joined by his son, was supported by the Sinhalese, while Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, probably the son of Kulaśekhara, applied to and obtained the help of the Chōlas. The earliest mention of this war in the records of Kulōttuṅga III is dated in the 4th year of his reign,² *i.e.*, in A.D. 1182. It states that the son of Vira-Pāṇḍya was defeated with the allied forces of the Sinhalese, that he was deprived of his kingdom and crown and forced to flee from the field of battle, that his country and crown were taken by the Chōla and given to Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, and that a pillar of victory was set up in the Pāṇḍya capital Madura. Later records tell us that Vira-Pāṇḍya, sometime after his first flight, revolted and tried another chance with Kulōttuṅga III but was defeated again at a place called Neṭṭūr.³ The treatment meted out to Vira-Pāṇḍya and his son in this war by the Chōla king was anything but satisfactory. The Pāṇḍya queen was made to enter the harem of the Chōla and when the Pāṇḍya king himself, along with his ally the Chēra, came, bowed, and sat down at the foot of the Chōla throne, the Chōla king placed his feet on his head and dismissed him. It is impossible to expect the defeated party to put up with the extreme humiliation and insult meted out to him, for any length of time. Now, if there was a counter-invasion of the Chōla country, directed against the very sovereign that behaved in a most remorseless manner in the treatment of a fallen adversary appearing before him with all humility, it would not be difficult to find out who the invader must have been, and what the cause of the invasion was. The invader Māḡavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, who, in the last years of Kulōttuṅga III, did unto him and his son all that had been done to the latter's Pāṇḍya adversary a few years previously, might in all probability be the unnamed son of Vira-Pāṇḍya, who, along with his father, was ignominiously treated by Kulōttuṅga III. In our opinion, it will be extremely unnatural, and impossible to a high degree, that Māḡavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, a weakling who owed his very being as a monarch to Kulōttuṅga III, or a son of his, would, without any cause, ever rise against the Chōla benefactor. Thus, it will be seen that the civil war begun by Parākrama-Pāṇḍya in about A.D. 1167 was pursued by his son Vira-Pāṇḍya, and pushed to a decisive end by Māḡavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. The other hostile party counted Kulaśekhara and his son Māḡavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya and perhaps one other member. In the account of the Pāṇḍyan civil war that has come down to us, both from the Sinhalese source and from South Indian epigraphs, we are able to see very clearly that the side of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya,—represented mostly by Vira-Pāṇḍya, his son, and Māḡavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.—was very resourceful, was of undaunted spirit and performed noble deeds of valour, while that of Kulaśekhara, represented by himself and Māḡavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, was weak to a degree and had to be propped up again and again by the Chōlas.

¹ Four records of Rājādhirāja II refer to the war of Pāṇḍya succession. They are dated in the 5th, 8th and 12th years of his reign. While the earlier two state that the Chōlas prevented the Pāṇḍya country from becoming a part of the kingdom of Ceylon by helping Kulaśekhara with men and money, the two others dated in the 12th year are said to add that Kulaśekhara turned inimical to the Chōla who deposed him and placed Vira-Pāṇḍya on the throne (above, Vol. XXI, p. 186). If this is true the enmity does not seem to have lasted long, for early in the reign of Kulōttuṅga III we find the Chōlas supporting this party of Pāṇḍyas against the very Vira-Pāṇḍya.

² *S. I. I.*, Vol. VI, No. 436. The date of this inscription is not given at the beginning as usual. It registers an order to the effect that what was granted in the 4th year may be incised on stone; and generally such records are relegated to the dates specified.

³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. III, Nos. 87 and 88.

Is there anything to suggest or support the view that Māṅavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. might be of the line of Kulaśekhara and Māṅavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya? An inscription of Māṅavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. refers to Vikrama-Pāṇḍya by the term *Periyānāyiyār* and another of Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara refers to the same king by the term *Periyadēvar*.¹ From these references it has been inferred that both Māṅavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. and Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara I. must have been the sons of Māṅavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, the king that was set up on the Pāṇḍya throne by the Chōla Kulōttuṅga III. The inference, however, lacks support. Māṅavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. having ascended the throne in A.D. 1216 and Māṅavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya having been set up as ruler nearly 35 years prior to that date, the latter was certainly a senior member and perhaps also one that immediately preceded Māṅavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. and Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara I. As such, it is quite natural that he must be referred to by the term *Periyadēvar* or *Periyānāyiyār* which in English may be rendered 'senior' in age or office. *Periyavar* with regard to ordinary persons, and *Periyadēvar* or *nāyiyār* with regard to kings, may be applied to any elderly person, be he father, elder brother or one that preceded. The term does not exclusively mean 'a father'. If the relationship of a father were intended definitely, the inscription would have used the term *ayyar* and if an elder brother *aṅṅar*. To show that the use of *Periyadēvar* or *Periyānāyiyār* is indefinite and that of *ayyar* and *aṅṅar* is definite, the following instances of the employment of the terms in inscriptions may be noted :—

i. An inscription dated in the 3rd year and 81st day of the reign of the later Pallava king Peruṅjiṅga refers to gifts of cows made in the 3rd and 4th years of the reign of *Periyadēvar* to *Kulōttuṅgan-tiru-gōśālai*.² Here *Periyadēvar* must refer either to Kulōttuṅga III in whose time and under whose name the *gōśālā* must have been formed or to Rājarāja III who was the predecessor of Peruṅjiṅga and in whose reign some gift of cows might have been made to the said *gōśālā*, but certainly not to any relation, not to say father, of Peruṅjiṅga. Numerous instances may be cited where *Periyadēvar* is used to denote the immediate predecessor of a reigning king, who may happen to stand in the relation of 'father' to the reigning king; but that the term *Periyadēvar* need not necessarily indicate 'a father' will be quite evident from the inscription cited above. The use of *Periyadēvar* with reference to Rājarāja II in an inscription of Rājādhirāja II (above, Vol. XXI, p. 189) will bear out this view.

ii. We have a specific instance in an inscription of Virarājendra which shows that when a reference had to be made to the king's father the term '*ayyar*' is used and that when referring to an elder brother '*aṅṅar*' is employed.³ In this inscription, Rājendra-Chōla I. is called '*ayyar*'⁴ and Rājendradēva is called '*aṅṅar*'.⁵ Another inscription of Virarājendra also uses the term '*ayyar*' in referring to his father Rājendra-Chōla I.⁶

These references are sufficient to show that the allusion to Māṅavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya as *Periyadēvar* in the inscriptions of Māṅavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. and Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara I. does not prove that the latter two were the sons of the former. All that the allusion can indicate is that Māṅavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya was a predecessor, a fact which we know from

¹ See No. 47 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1926 and No. 83 of the same collection for 1927.

² *S. I. I.*, Vol. VIII, No. 54.

³ *Ibid.*, text-lines 61 and 172.

⁴ No. 110 of 1903.

⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 529.

⁶ *Ibid.*, text-lines 189 and 190.

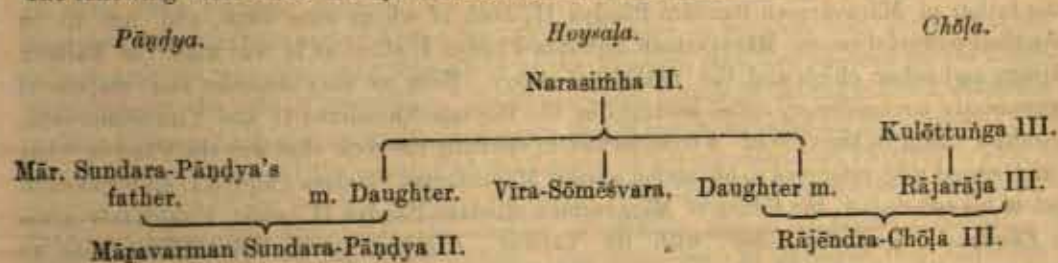
the circumstance that Māṅavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. ascended the throne in A.D. 1216 and that Kulōttuṅga III snatched from Vira-Pāṇḍya his crown and kingdom and set up Vikrama-Pāṇḍya as ruler in or before A.D. 1182. As has been shown already, there are good grounds for holding that Māṅavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. must be of the line of Vira-Pāṇḍya and that the cause of his invasion of the Chōla country was to pay its king in his own coin. If Māṅavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I be not the unnamed son mentioned in the inscriptions of Kulōttuṅga III, there is a possibility of his being the son of one of the collateral Pāṇḍya kings that took up the cause of Vira-Pāṇḍya in the war against the Chōlas and had a share of the defeat inflicted by Kulōttuṅga III or his predecessor Rājādhirāja III. For all these considerations, I think the question of the parentage of Māṅavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya must be regarded as unsettled and must remain open till decisive evidences are forthcoming. The Pāṇḍya invasion was a thorough success. The very Chōla emperor, who, not long after his accession, deprived Vira-Pāṇḍya of his crown and country and put him to flight, defeated him a second time at Neṭṭūr, and finally gave a public audience at the capital of the enemy and placed his feet on the head of the vanquished monarch when he appeared with all humility, bowed and sat down at the foot of his throne, was now, in his turn, deprived of his crown and country, was forced to run to a forest, his capital cities of Uraiyūr and Tanjore being set on fire, his country damaged, and finally, when the victor gave a State audience at Ponnamarāvati, the Chōla was bid to attend it on a promise of being restored. On hearing this, says the inscription, 'the Chōla returned with his wife and presenting his son first, himself remaining behind, prostrated before the victorious lion throne of the conqueror and begged.' The Pāṇḍya then gave back to the Chōla king's son the crown and an expansive territory. The terms to be abided by the suppliant were embodied in a royal writ bearing the fish-seal which was conferred on him along with the title of *Chōlapati*,¹ which he had formerly lost, as well as his old city and crown. Kulōttuṅga III did not long outlive these disgraceful proceedings, and his son Rājārāja III, adds the record, did not at first mind remaining submissive under the feet of him who formerly gave him his crown, but subsequently refused to obey his commands, denied him tribute and sent a large army against the Pāṇḍya. In dealing with the Tinnevely inscription of Māṅavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, I had stated that this second encounter between that Pāṇḍya king and the Chōla should have taken place in about A.D. 1222 when the Hoysala Narasiṃha II marched on Śrīraṅgam and assumed soon after the title of 'establisher of the Chōla'² which signifies the help rendered by him to the Chōla. Siding with the Chōla means, in terms of the Pāṇḍyan civil war of which this was one of the issues, espousing the cause of Vikrama-Pāṇḍya's party against that of Vira-Pāṇḍya, i.e., against Māṅavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. who was then representing it. Narasiṃha's voluntary help to the Chōla is suggestive of his prior marriage alliance with Rājārāja III, as much as it is suggestive of his own interest in that party of the Pāṇḍyas which was favoured by the Chōlas all along and with which he had contracted marriage alliance. Here we may note the dynastic connection that existed among the Hoysalas, Chōlas and Pāṇḍyas at the time. The inscription under publication shows that Māṅavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II's contemporary and uncle was the Hoysala king Vira-Sōmēśvara who ascended the throne in A.D. 1233 and reigned till A.D. 1255. That the same Hoysala king stood in the relation of uncle to the Chōla Rājendra-Chōla III (A.D. 1246-1267) also, is known from the latter's records.³ From these it may be gathered that Vira-Sōmēśvara had two sisters one of whom was the mother of

¹ This title is far inferior to "Tribhuvanachakravartin" which the Chōlas usually bore, and is indicative of the position Rājārāja was made to hold as a result of the invasion of Māṅavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.

² Above, Vol. XXII, p. 44.

³ S. I. I., Vol. IV, No. 512, where Rājendra-Chōla III is called 'Māma-Sōmēśvara-pratikūla-bāladanda'.

Māvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II and the other was the queen of the Chōḷa king Rājarāja III. The following table shows the dynastic connection of the three families :—



Besides the above dynastic connection, the titles assumed by the Hoysala kings Narasimha II and Vira-Sōmēśvara and those claimed by the Pallava Peruñjiṅga bring out the exact position of the various powers of South India at the time of which we are speaking. It has been noted already that Narasimha II styled himself 'the establisher of the Chōḷa'¹ soon after A.D. 1222 which shows that the political relationship between him and Rājarāja III was one of cordiality. Another of his titles was 'the uprooter of the Makara kingdom'.² The late Prof. Hultzsch was of opinion that this kingdom must be somewhere in the Coimbatore or Salem District. If it could be the same as Magadai, we are to understand that the Hoysala, who sided with the Chōḷa, was hostile to the king or chieftain of Magadai. Since we know from numerous inscriptions that the chieftains of Magadai called themselves Bāṇas (Vāṇaṅ in Tamil) and since it was to a Bāṇa that Sundara-Pāṇḍya I gave the conquered territory of the Chōḷas in the first instance, it is but natural that the ally of the Pāṇḍya must figure as an enemy of Narasimha II. Among other enemies of Narasimha II figuring in inscriptions of A.D. 1222-24, is the Kāḍava by which is no doubt meant the Pallava Peruñjiṅga, who in several records is said to be of the Kāthaka or Kāḍava family.³ It goes without saying that the enemies of Narasimha and the Chōḷas were the friends and allies of the Pāṇḍya Māvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. It is quite in consonance with this, and expressive also of the attitude of the Pallava Peruñjiṅga, that he styled himself *Karṇāṭa-bhūpa-māna-mardīn*, *Pāṇḍya-maṇḍala-sthāpana-sūtradhāra* and 'the rut elephant to the forest, viz., the Chōḷa'.⁴ From all that has been said above, it will be clear that the chief powers of South India were divided into two parties one of which counted in its ranks the Chōḷa and Hoysala kings with their generals and chiefs supporting the members of the line of Kulaśekhara-Pāṇḍya, and the other had in its file the members of the line of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya and Māvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, supported by Pallava and Bāṇa chiefs of the mainland and the Sinhalese forces which last, as will be shortly shown, had come to stay in South India till the final issues of the civil war which brought them there, were settled. Though we do not hear much of this Sinhalese army after Kulōttuṅga had succeeded in putting down Vira-Pāṇḍya and his son, and though it is expressly stated in the historical introduction of Kulōttuṅga's records that the Sinhalese soldiers had been driven into the sea with their noses cut off, there is clear evidence to show in the Tiruvēndipuram inscription of A.D. 1232-3 that among the forces of the Pāṇḍyan ally, the Pallava Peruñjiṅga, there were four Sinhalese generals of Parākramabāhu whom the generals of the Hoysala Narasimha II put to death.⁴ After the rise of Māvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, the Pāṇḍyan civil war, though it still lingered, was turned into one chiefly between the Pāṇḍyas and the Chōḷas aided by their respective allies. The principal aim of Narasimha II in establishing a capital in the Tamil country just on the border of the Pāṇḍya

¹ Kielhorn's *Southern List*, No. 434.

² Above, Vol. VII, pp. 163-4.

³ *S. I. J.*, Vol. IV, No. 1342-B.

⁴ Above, Vol. VII, pp. 167 f.

and Chōja territories with a powerful prince invested with independent authority stationed there seems mainly to support his two sons-in-law, viz., the Chōja Rājarāja III, and the Pāṇḍya who was the father of Māḡavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II, both of whom were weak, and not fit to combat their powerful enemy Māḡavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, allied as he was with the Pallava Peruñjiṅga and other chiefs and the Sinhalese army. Here we may consider and dispose of two apparently contradictory titles assumed by the Hoysaḡa Narasiṁha II and Vira-Sōmēśvara. Narasiṁha's claim to the title of 'a thunderbolt in splitting the rock that was the Pāṇḍya'¹ has to be understood with reference to his action against Māḡavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, undertaken in support of his son-in-law, the father of Māḡavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II, while Vira-Sōmēśvara's title *Pāṇḍya-kula-samsiddharaya*² with its variant *Pāṇḍya-rājya-pratishṭh-āchārya* has to be construed with reference to his action in successfully piloting his brother-in-law Māḡavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II to the Pāṇḍya throne. Thus, it will be seen that both the father and the son, i.e., Narasiṁha II and Vira-Sōmēśvara, pursued a consistent policy, viz., the lifting up of the family of Māḡavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. That Vira-Sōmēśvara should have taken part in Narasiṁha's military campaign in the Tamiḡ country undertaken to establish Rājarāja III in his kingdom, when worsted by both Māḡavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I and the Pallava Peruñjiṅga is evident from the title *Chōlarājya-sthāpan-āchārya* which he assumed. The Hoysaḡa general Appaya-Daṇḡanāyaka that took a prominent part in the war against Peruñjiṅga is reported in one of the inscriptions of Māḡavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II to have invaded Kāpanāḡu, an ancient subdivision in the Pudukkottai State.³ It is not unlikely that this invasion was undertaken in aid of the same Hoysaḡa protégé. The existence of inscriptions of Vira-Sōmēśvara in the Pāṇḍya country, the institution of the service called Vira-Sōmēśvaran-*sandi* at Aḡarmalai in the Madura District, the grant of the village bearing the name Pōśaḡa-Vira-Sōmidēva-chaturvādimāḡalam in Murappu-nāḡu in the Tinnevely District and the implicit obedience paid to his behests by the Pāṇḍya king Māḡavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II show clearly that that Pāṇḍya king acknowledged his overlordship and maintained friendly relation with him.⁴

The aim of the Hoysaḡa Narasiṁha II to prop up his two sons-in-law, i.e., the waning Chōja lord Rājarāja III and the father of Māḡavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II, both of whom much needed his support, was only partially successful. In spite of all the efforts made by himself, his son and generals, the decline of the Chōjas could not in any way be prevented. The very Pallava who was daring enough to capture the Chōja emperor and confine him at Sēndamaḡalam, though defeated by the Hoysaḡas in several engagements and brought under subjection almost at the end of the reign of Narasiṁha II, soon assumed regal powers and proclaimed himself king.⁵ Vira-Sōmēśvara followed his father's policy of supporting his Pāṇḍya relation and Māḡavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II was crowned in A.D. 1238, and throughout the major portion of his reign, he was keeping watch and ward.⁶ So long as Rājarāja III lived, there was no conflict between the Chōjas and the Hoysaḡas. But, as is apparent from the historical introduction of Rājendra-Chōja's inscriptions, the Chōja nephew of Vira-Sōmēśvara assumed a different attitude and became an open enemy not only of the Pāṇḍya but also of the friendly Hoysaḡas.⁷ Without counting his own strength and the weakened state of the empire brought on chiefly by the Chōja subordinates

¹ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 597.

² *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, No. 421. He is called *Pāṇḍya-rājya-pratishṭh-āchārya* in No. 435.

³ *A. R. on Epigraphy*, Madras, for 1907, Part II, paragraph 26.

⁴ See Nos. 291 and 292 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1929 and the record under publication.

⁵ *Above*, Vol. VII, p. 165. The accession of a Peruñjiṅga is placed in A.D. 1243, between 4th February and 30th July.

⁶ His Nuggahajji inscription states that his army was encamped on the Tāmrarapḡl.

⁷ *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 511, 512.

who, following the example of Perunjiṅga, shook off their allegiance to the Chōla throne and became independent, each in his own region,¹ Rājendra-Chōla III formed a design to chastise all those that formerly despised the family of the Chōlas. He claims to be a very Rāma in destroying the northern part of Laṅkā (*i.e.*, Ceylon), which, as we have seen, supplied in the past valiant generals who supported that party of the Pāṇḍyas that was opposed to the Chōlas and stood also on the side of Perunjiṅga. Rājendra-Chōla boasts of having killed a Rājarāja after making him wear a double crown for three years, and of having subdued the Pāṇḍyas and the Kērajas, of having plundered the country of the former, of having taken the Pāṇḍyan crown, and of placing his feet on his jewelled crown. He claims to be Death to the Karnāṭa kings and states that on his legs, Vira-Sōmēśvara, the wrestler on hill forts, placed the anklet of heroes.² Whatever may be the truth of these high claims, this much may be gathered that Rājendra-Chōla made some sporadic attempts to revive the power of the Chōlas. But his effort was past remedy. The reign of Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II is important as being the one in which the Pāṇḍyan civil war ended, and as showing how in the final issues of it, the Hoysalas came to play the part which the Chōlas did earlier.

Besides the Chōlas and the Hoysalas, the kings of Koṅgu were also taking up the side of Kulaśekhara-Pāṇḍya and were helping him and his descendants in the fight against the members of the family of Parākrama-Pāṇḍya. Like the Hoysalas, the Koṅgu kings were also connected by marriage with the kings of the Kulaśekhara line. A regular succession of Koṅgu kings are known to us from inscriptions for nearly ten generations which include the period of the Pāṇḍyan war of succession. To show the connection between the two families, we give hereunder five kings of the Koṅgu line who regularly succeeded one another and whose period of rule extended from A.D. 1135 to 1263. These are :—

Viranārāyaṇa (Uttama-Chōla)—A.D. 1135 to 1149.

Kulōttuṅga (Rājakesari)—A.D. 1149 to 1183.

Vira-Chōla, ' who ruled the two Koṅgus '—A.D. 1183 to 1206.

Virarājendra (Rājakesari), ' who ruled the two Koṅgus '—A.D. 1206 to 1255.

Vikrama-Chōla—A.D. 1255 to 1263.

One of the inscriptions of the Koṅgu country states that Rājakesari Kulōttuṅga was the grandson of Vira-Chōla.³ This information is useful in establishing the fact that Viranārāyaṇa was the son of Vira-Chōla and the father of Kulōttuṅga, for the three kings ruled in succession the Koṅgu country as their dates clearly prove. We learn from a lithic record at Neruvūr that the Koṅgu king Rājakesarivarman Kulōttuṅga-Chōla, on the eve of setting out on an expedition against Madura to capture it for his sister's son (*marumagan*) Kulaśekhara-Pāṇḍya, directed the *sabhā* of the place to make a *brahmadēya* gift of some lands in Maṇiyamaṅgalam, which had been the camping ground of the king, as a *yūtrādāna* to his *purōhita* Ālvār Śrībalidēva. This shows that Kulaśekhara-Pāṇḍya's father had married the sister of the Koṅgu king Kulōttuṅga. The Sinhalese chronicle *Mahāvamsa*, besides confirming this, supplements the epigraphical account by letting us know that Kulōttuṅga had another brother who was ruling over North Koṅgu, for it is stated that Kulaśekhara gathered together the forces of his mother's brothers who were in Ten-Koṅgu and Vaḍa-Koṅgu.⁴ That this cordial relationship between the Koṅgu king and

¹ Rājanārāyaṇa Sambuvarāya in A.D. 1245, and Gaṇḍagōpāla in A.D. 1249. Somewhere about the same time Yādava Narasimha and Magadaipperumāl.

² *S. I. I.*, Vol. IV, Nos. 511, 512.

³ No. 336 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1927-28.

⁴ Wijesinha's Translation, p. 245.

the Pāṇdyas of the Kulaśekhara line which commenced in the days of Kulaśekhara's father continued to exist is proved by the presence of Śōḷaṅ Śilambaṅ *alias* Virachōḷa Laṅkēśvaradēva, a *sāmanta* of the next Koṅgu king Vira-Chōḷa in the vicinity of Madura, and the interest taken by him in making gifts to the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Tenkarai, a village 15 miles from Madura, in the 3rd year of the reign of Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara with *pūtala-moḍandai* introduction.¹ This *sāmanta* continued to live in the reign of Vira-Chōḷa's successor Virarājendra who, like his predecessor, ruled the two Koṅgus together² and who, in the 25th year of his reign corresponding to Śaka 1153 (A.D. 1231) made a gift of land in the Koṅgu country for conducting a festival in the temple at Tirumāḷiruṅjōḷai (*i.e.*, Aḷagarmalai) in Kīḷ-Iraṇiyamuṭṭa-nāḍu, a subdivision of Pāṇḍi-maṅḍalam.³ During Virarājendra's reign a further, and this time a double, marriage alliance was brought about between the Koṅgu and Pāṇḍya kings. Virarājendra, it would appear, had two daughters whom he gave in marriage to Māḷavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II and Māḷavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, for both of them call Vikrama-Chōḷa—who, to judge merely from the dates of these contemporaries, must be no other than the next Koṅgu Chōḷa king of that name—their brother-in-law (*machchunāṅār*).⁴ Vikrama-Chōḷa's presence in the Pāṇḍya country and the influence which he wielded with both the Pāṇḍya relations of his are amply evidenced in inscriptions.⁵ The position held and the part played by the Hoysala Vira-Sōmēśvara and the Koṅgu Vikrama-Chōḷa in the politics of the Pāṇḍya country seems to have been quite identical. The names of the Pāṇḍya kings that espoused Koṅgu princesses, *viz.*, the two Kulaśekharas and Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, strongly suggest that the Koṅgu kings were allied with that party of the Pāṇḍyas who were opposed to the members of the Parākrama line. Be this as it may, there is no doubt that Māḷavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II was helped both by his uncle the Hoysala Vira-Sōmēśvara and by his brother-in-law the Koṅgu Vikrama-Chōḷa.

It may be useful to say a word about the attitude of Māḷavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I towards the two Koṅgu contemporaries of his days, one of whom was Virarājendra the father of Vikrama-Chōḷa and the father-in-law of Māḷavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. The historical preamble of the inscriptions of Māḷavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I seems to leave no doubt that he prosecuted a successful war against the two Koṅgu kings and triumphantly returned to his capital with the vanquished kings taken captive in war, and, receiving their homage, dictated to them the terms to be abided by in future and that on pain of death.⁶ The suppliant attitude of the two kings is expressed in unambiguous terms, though the victorious Pāṇḍya is described as being more favourably disposed to the South Koṅgu king. Even here, one cannot but recognise in Māḷavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I a powerful rival and a descendant of Vira-Pāṇḍya, up in arms against all those that were ranged on the side of Kulaśekhara's party. The end of the rule of Māḷavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I and the accession of Māḷavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II helped, as the latter was by the Hoysala and the Koṅgu kings throughout his reign, seem to mark the final part of the third stage of the civil war in the Pāṇḍya country. The following will show at sight the

¹ *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, p. 110, No. 296.

² No. 106 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

³ No. 135 of the same collection.

⁴ *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 421 and *A. R. on S. I. Epigraphy* for 1930, Part II, paragraph 12. The inference that the two Pāṇḍya kings must have been brothers is wrong.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Above, Vol. XXII, pp. 42 f.

several stages of the war of Pāṇḍya succession leading up to the accession of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II :—

First stage.

Parākrama-Pāṇḍya and Vīra-Pāṇḍya supported by the Sinhalese. Kulaśekhara-Pāṇḍya aided by the Chōla Rājādhirāja II and the Koṅgu king Rājakesari Kulōttuṅga and his brother.

Second stage.

Earlier.—Vīra-Pāṇḍya and his son supported by the Sinhalese and the Chēra. Māṇavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya aided by the Chōla Kulōttuṅga III.

Later.—Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I .. Chōla Kulōttuṅga III.

Third stage.

Earlier.—Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I and Peruñjiṅga aided by the Sinhalese. The Chōla Rājarāja III supported by the Hoysaḷa Narasiṃha II who also backed up the father of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II.

Later.—Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I .. Hoysaḷa Vīra-Sōmēśvara and Koṅgu Vīra-rājendra supporting Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II and his father.

There is a peculiarity in the method of dating of the inscriptions of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. Records belonging to the first four current years of his reign are dated in the ordinary way,¹ as 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th, while those belonging to the years after the completion of the 4th up to the 8th year are dated as 4+1+1st, 4+1110th day, etc., giving prominence to the expired 4th year or rather counting fresh years from the end of the fourth. Similarly, the dates² of records falling after the expiry of the 8th up to the 11th year are expressed as 8th year and 215th day, 8+1+1st, 8th year and 988th day, etc., thus counting fresh years after the 8th year,³ while those later than the 11th year are cited as 11+1st, 11+3rd, etc.⁴ It looks as if this systematic counting of fresh regnal years after the expiry of the 4th, 8th and 11th years must have been devised to commemorate some important events that marked those fresh years in particular. What those events are is not stated anywhere. Since we know that the accession of Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II took place in A.D. 1238-9, the end of his 4th, 8th and 11th years⁵ correspond to A.D. 1242-3, 1246-7 and 1249-50. Some important events of these years are known to us. They are respectively the years of accession of Peruñjiṅga, Rājendra-Chōla III, and Vijaya-Gaṇḍagōpāla. But it will be interesting to know how they were important with reference to Māṇavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II and whether there were other important events in his own reign in these years that singled them out for the special treatment they get. It is not, however, contended that the particular events noted above singled out the years in question, *i.e.*, the commencement of 5th, 9th and 12th years.

¹ Nos. 307 and 312 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1927-28.

² *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, No. 734; No. 668 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1916; and Nos. 678 and 679 of the same collection for 1905.

³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. V, Nos. 400, 446 and 448; and Nos. 209 and 211 of the collection for 1924.

⁴ No. 560 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1916, No. 35 of the collection for 1924 and No. 524 of the same for 1911.

⁵ In all cases where two years are given connected by the word '*adiv*' the first expresses completed years and the second the current years.

The reign of Māvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II lasted till at least A.D. 1253. There are several inscriptions of his dated in the regnal year 11+1+1st and the details given in one of these¹ take us to A.D. 1251, June 14. But the latest regnal year is furnished in an inscription dated in the 15th year.²

The geographical names that occur in the inscription are Kūḍalūr and Kīlai-Kūḍalūr in Murappu-nāḍu which together were constituted as a *brahmadēya* under the name Pōśāja-Vira-Sōmidēva-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, Muttalaṅkuṛuchchi *alias* Rājasīṅgamaṅgalam, Śēṅalūr *alias* Tiruvaraṅga-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, Taṅporunda-āru and Sundara-Pāṇḍiyaṅ-Tēṅṅāru which formed the boundaries of the new village, and Paṭṭina-Marudūr in Śūraṅkuḍi-nāḍu to which the donor of a *dēvadāna* belonged. Murappu-nāḍu is a village in the Śrīvaikuṅṭam taluk of the Tinnevely District, 6 miles east of Palamcottah, and is situated on the right bank of the river Tāmraparṇī.³ As the inscriptions in the Vēdanārāyaṅa-Perumāḷ temple of this village call the place by the name Sōmidēva-chaturvēdimaṅgalam or Pōśāja-Vira-Sōmidēva-chaturvēdimaṅgalam and as it is stated to be a *brahmadēya*,⁴ there is no doubt about its identity with the place mentioned in our inscription as being newly constituted under that name out of the old villages Kūḍalūr and Kīlai-Kūḍalūr. The name given to the deity of the temple in its inscriptions, *viz.*, Sōmidēva-viṅṅagar-Ālvār, suggests that it must have come into existence in the time of Māvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II and Vira-Sōmēśvara and called after the latter king just as the village itself was. Muttalaṅkuṛuchchi still goes by the same name and is in the same taluk. Paṭṭina-Marudūr and Śūraṅkuḍi are zamindari villages in the Kovilpatti taluk of the same District. Taṅporunda-āru is the name of the river Tāmraparṇī.

TEXT⁵

- 1 Svasti śri [||*] Pū-malar*⁶tiruvu[m] poru-Śeyal(Jaya)-maḍandaiyun=tāmarai-kkuvimulai-śeya(jaya)-ppuyat[t-i]ruppa Vēda-nāvil veḷḷ-idat⁷tāmarai-kkēdal-mādu kavin-peru-ttiḷai[p]pa veṅ-ḍiraiy-uḍutta [maṅ-ḍiṅi-[kiḍak]kai-ttira-niḷa-maḍandaiy-uṟi]maiyir-
- 2 kaḷippa samai[ya]mm nidi[ya]n-darumamun-taḷaippav-imaiyavar [vi]ā-kko[ḍiy-i]-ḍantoruṅ-eḍup[pa]-kkaṛuṅ-Kali-ka[ṅa]l keḍa-kkaḍavuḷ-vēdiyar aruṅ-toḷil-vēḷvi-choḅē-kapaḷ vaḷar[p]pa-chehurudiyun-Tamiḷun-tol-vaḷaṅ-kulava poru-tiḷal-āḷi pū-talaṅ-chūḷa⁸ oru-kaiy-i-

¹ No. 147 of 1894.

² No. 421 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

³ Sewell's *List of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 312.

⁴ See Nos. 431 to 435 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906 and the *Annual Report on Epigraphy*, Madras, for 1907, Part II, paragraphs 26 and 27. In the alphabetical list of villages of the Tinnevely District two villages are noted bearing the names Murappu-nāḍu-Kōvilpatti and Murappu-nāḍu-pudugrāmam.

⁵ No. 448 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. V (No. 156 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1894). For obtaining the correct original of the introductory portion, I have compared the text of this inscription with the readings of two other inscriptions, *viz.*, Nos. 421 and 446 of the same Volume and noted in footnotes the differences. Whenever these numbers occur in subsequent notes they must be taken to refer to *S. I. I.*, Vol. V.

⁶ Read *malar*=Tiruvam. All the three inscriptions have *r* which is incorrect.

⁷ Read *-ā-narai*.

⁸ *Śūl-ura* is the reading in both 421 and 446. Though *śūḷa* is not incorrect, *śūḷ-ura* is better.

- 3 ru-ševi mu-mmada-nār-kōṭṭ=A[yi]rāvata-mudal ¹šeya(Jaya)-[t*]ti[ru].
 [k*]korṭatt-eṅ-ḍisai-yānaiy-eruttam-e[ri]-kkanda nād=emad-eṅa-kkayal kaḷi-kūra²
 Kōsalan-Tuḷuvañ-Kudirañ³-Kucharam Pōśala[m*] Maga[da]m Poppalam⁴
 Puṇḍarañ-Kalī[ñ]-gam-I[ḷ]a[ñ]-Kaḍārañ=Gavuḍan-Teliṅgañ-Chōṇagañ-China⁵-mudalā
- 4 vi[ḍi]-muṇai tiḷala ve[v]vōru* vagutta mudu-niḷa-kkiḷamaiyil muḍi-puṇai-vēndaṅk⁶-
 oru-ta[ṇi]-nāyaku[ṇ]-eṅ-ulaḅ-ḍtta-ttira-muḍi [šū]ḍi-cheheñ-kōl-ōchchi-kkorra-ttāḷa-
 kkuḷir-kuḍai niḷar-kil karrai-kkavari kā[va]lar vi[śa] m[ḍ]ai-*kadir-nava-ma[ṇi]
 viraśinhāsa[na]tt-uḍaṅ
- 5 muḍi sūḍiy-uvar-kula-t[ti]ruv-eṅa=[ppa]ḷḷaya-ma[la]ḷ⁷-kara[ñ]=kuvittu-ppā[r*]ttivar-
 ma[ṇ]ḷaiyar tiraṇḍu vaṇa[ñ]guñ-cheṇ[ṇi]⁸.chchudār-oḷi-mauli-chchudār-maṇi mēḷiḍa
 viḷa-chchivanda[v-i]⁹ṇai-mala[r]-[ch*]chir-aḍi-kkamala-madukarañ-ka[mala]m¹⁰ vand-
 aṇugum-U[ḷa]gamuḷuḍuḍai[y]āroḍum vi[ri]rund-aru-
- 6 [i]ya śri-kō-Mārapaṅmar-[ā]ṇa Tribhuvanachchakrava[r*]ttigaḷ śri-[Su]ndara-
 Pāṇḍiyadē[va]rku yāṇḍu eṭtu nā [t]oḷāyiratt-eṅpa[t]t-eṭṭiṅāl Madurō-
 daiya-vaḷanāṭṭu Māḍakkuḷa-kkiḷ-Ma[ḍu]rai-kkōyil paḷḷiy-aṅai-kkūḍattu paḷḷi-
 pp[ḷ]a[m] Maḷavarāya[ṇi]=eḷu-
- 7 nd-arūḷi irundu Vēdamum [S]āstramum pōy vyākhyātākkaḷāy-irukkum chatur-
 vvēdi-Bha[t]targaḷ pēr iru-nūṅṅ-i[ru]pattu-nāl[va]r šeyya-t[ti]ruvāymoḷind-arūḷiṇa-
 paḍi [Vē]damum Sāstramu[m] pōy vyākhyā[tā]kkaḷāy-irukkum chaturvvēdi-
 Bhaṭṭargaḷ pēr iru-nūṅṅ-irupa-
- 8 ttu-nālvaṅku¹¹ paṅgu iru-nūṅṅ-irupattu-[n]ālum dēvadāna-ppaṇi-šey [vi]rutti paṅgu
 irupadum āga-ppaṅgu iru-nūṅṅu nā[pa]ttu nālukkum [Mu]ra[p]pu-nāṭṭu-kKūḍa-
 [ḷ]rum kiḷai-Kūḍalūr¹².uḷḷiṭṭa ūrgaḷukku-kk[ḷi]-ellai Tanporunda-āṅṅukku mēṅ-
 kum teṅṅ-ellai Mut-
- 9 tāḷaṅkuṅuchchiy-āṅa Rāja[simha]maṅgalattu ellaikkum Śśāḷūr-āṅa Tiruva-
 raṅga-chchaturvvēdi[ma]ḷgalattu ellaikkum [va]ḷakkum mēl-ellai i-mMurappu-
 nāṭṭu-kkāl-āṅa Sundara-[P]āṇḍi[ya]ṇ-[t]eṅṅāṅṅukku kiḷakkum vaḷav-ellai Tanporunda-
 āṅṅukku-tteṅkum āga nā.

¹ The reading given in No. 421 is *seydi* which is wrong. It must be *šeya-tiru* of which the last syllable is omitted to be engraved. In No. 446 these words are wrongly given as *seydak*.

² This word is spelt in the same way in No. 421, but No. 446 has *kūra* with two dots after, which are unnecessary. Both the spellings are admissible.

³ *Kudiram* is omitted in No. 421 but is given in No. 446. Metrically the word is required.

⁴ *Poppalam* is also the reading in both Nos. 421 and 446. It seems to be the correct form as it furnishes proper *mōnai*.

⁵ The reading in No. 421 is *Chīnaka* which is evidently wrong.

⁶ *Vēruvōru* is the reading in No. 421. Both are identical in meaning and metrically admissible.

⁷ Read *vēndaṅk*.

⁸ The reading given in No. 421 is *viḷe-kadir* which is an evident mistake. It ought to be *viḷu-kadir* or *miḍai-kadir*.

⁹ Read *malar-kkarañ*.

¹⁰ The reading in No. 421 is *chēṇṇiyil*.

¹¹ *Viṅ-malar* is the reading in No. 421 which is incorrect.

¹² *Kamalām-eṅ-aṇugum*, the reading furnished in No. 421, is better.

¹³ Read *nālvaṅku*.

¹⁴ Read *Kūḍalūr*. This reading is correctly given in l. 16.

- 10 ng-ellaikk-uṭpaṭṭa nīr-nīlamum karu[ñ]che[y*] puñchey[yu]m nattamun-tōṭṭa[mu]m kuḷamuñ-kuḷapparippum uṭpa[ṭ]ṭa nīlattiḷ paḷlichchandam* [pa]ḷḷaṅ-dēvadānamum Śūrañkuḍi-nāṭṭu-pPaṭṭina-Marudūr-pāl Kulasekarapperunteruvil] Vaḷugūruḍaiyāṅ Udaiyaṅ Kūttāḍu[vān-ā]ṅa Vi-
- 11 ḷlavadarai[ya]ṅ vilai-koṅ[ḍ-u]ḍaiya[ṅā]y ivv-ūr Ulaguyyavanda-Īṣvaramuḍaiyār dā-[va]dānam maṅai tō[ṭ]ṭamum [na]ṭṭamum uṭpa[ḍa]-chChundara-Pāṅḍiyaṅ-kōlāl [nī]ḷam nālu-māvum nīkki [nīk]ki-uḷḷa nīla[m] [m]uṅṅ-uḍaiyārum paḷam-pērum uḷavum mudalum-tavirttu
- 12 ōr-ū[r] oru-purav-ākki-kkuḍiy-irukkal[ā]m nattattiḷē kuḍiy-irupp-āga-ppaṅgum maṅaiyum-eḷudi [Mu]rappu-n[ā]ṭṭu-pPōṣa-ḷa-Vira-Sōmidēva-chchaturvvedimaṅga[ḷa]m-enru [m]āmaḍi pe[ya]rāl eṭṭāvadiṅ-eḍirām-āṅḍiṅ-eḍirām-ā[ṅ]ḍu-mudal brahmadāyañ-cheyya-ppera-vēṅu-
- 13 m-enrum iṅv-ū[r] i[ru]kkum-iḍattu irupattu-nāl-aḍiy-āṅa Sundara-Pāṅ[ḍi]ya[ṅ]-kōlāl nīlam-aḷandu payir pārttu [vi]ḷḷaṅda nīlattukku antarāyamum viṅṅiyō[ḷ]ga]mun-taruvadāṅa achchum k[ā]riyavā[r]āchchōḷiyu]m vēṭṭi-pāṭṭamum pañchupḷi sandu-(sandhi)vikkiragappērum
- 14 ma[r]rum ep[pe]yar[pa]ṭṭinavum=uṭpaḍa kārukku māt[ṭ]āl kāṣu kālum muda[ḷ] Virapāṅḍiyaṅāl nellu mu-kkalamum Tuḷā viḷai[ḷ]chu* viḷaiṅda nīlattukku i-vvariṣaiyil onru-pādiyum eḷḷu varagu tinaipull-irūṅgu viḷaiṅda nīlattukku
- 15 [mā]ṭṭāl tira[m]m iraṅḍum paṣā[ṅa]m i-vvariṣaiyum-āga ivv-āṅḍu-mudal irupad-āga irai kaṭṭa-pperaṅḍum-enru [mā]maḍi namakku-chchōṅṅamaiyil Vēdamum Śāstramum pōy vyākhyātākka[ā]y-irukkum chaturvvedi-Bhaṭṭarga[ḷ] peya[r]
- 16 iru-n[ū]ḷi-irupattu-nālvarku* -ppaṅgu iru-nūḷ-irupattu-nālum dēvadāna-ppaṅṣey virutti paṅgu irupadum āga-ppaṅgu iru-nūḷ-irupattu* nālukkum Murappu-nāṭṭu-kKūḍalūrum kiḷai-kKūḍa[ḷ]rum uḷḷiṭṭa ūrgalukku-kkī-ellai Taṅ[po]-
- 17 ru[ṅda]-ārrukku mērkum tēṅṅ-ellai Muttālaṅkuru[ḷ]chchi*ly-āṅa Rājasinhamaṅga-lattu ellaikkum Sēṅalūr-āṅa Tiruvaraṅga-chchaturvvedimaṅgalattu ellaikkum [va]ḷakkum mēl-ellai i-[m]Murappu-nāṭṭu-kkāl-āṅa [Su]ndara[ḷ]pāṅḍiyaṅ-tennārru-kku kiḷakkum vaḍav-ellai
- 18 Taṅporu[ḷ]da]-āḷ[ru]kkum t[er]kkum āga nāṅṅ-ellaikk-uṭpaṭṭa nīr-nīlamu[m] karuñ-che[y*] puñcheyyu[m]* nattamun-tōṭṭamum kuḷamuñ-kuḷapparippum uṭpaṭṭa nīlattiḷ paḷan-dē[va]dānamum paḷlich[cha]ṅdamum Śūra[ñ]kuḍi-nāṭṭu Paṭṭina-Marudūr-pāl* Kulasekara-pperunteruvil Vaḷugū-
- 19 [ruḍai]yāṅ Udaiya[ṅ] Kū[ṭ]tāḍuvā[ṅ-ā]ṅa Villavadarai[ya*]ṅ vilai-koṅḍ-uḍaiya ivv-ūr Ulaguyyavanda-Īṣvaramuḍaiyārku* dēvadānam-āṅa tōṭṭamum nattamum-uṭpaḍa Sundarapāṅḍi[ya]ṅ-kōlāl nīlam nālu-māvum nīkki nīkki-uḷḷa nīlam muṅṅ-uḍaiyārum pa[ḷa]m-pērum* uḷavu[m*] mudalu-

* Read *paḷlichchandamum*.

* This is the colloquial form of *viḷaiṭṭu*: see l. 22.

* Read *nālearkku*.

* Read *nārpattu*.

* This word occurs in l. 10, above, with the spelling *puñcheyyum*.

* Here and in similar places, the particle *pāl* is used in the sense of 'in or near'. To distinguish a particular place from others bearing the same name, it was usual to mention the place near it or in which it was situated and affix to it the particle. The practice is rarely in vogue now.

* Read **yārkkku*.

* The word *pēr* occurs in l. 11 also. But the form *peyar* is used in *eppeyarpaṭṭiṅa* (ll. 14 and 21) and *māmaḍi-peyarāl* (ll. 12 and 20). It seems *pēr* denoted 'number of persons' and *peyar* 'the name' or 'kind'.

- 20 [n-tavirttu ō]r-ūr oru-pura[y]=ākki kuḍi i[ru]kka[ā]m na[tt]a[t[ti]lē kuḍi irupp-āga-p[pa]ḷḷum maṇaiyum e[lu]di Murappu-[n]ā[tt]u-p[ō]śa[ā]-Vīra-Sōmidēva-chchaturvēdimaṅgala[m]-eṅgu māmaḍi peyarāl ivv-āṇḍu brahmadēyañ-*cheyvad-ā[ga]* i[ḷ]uḡav-eṅgu ivv-ūr i[ḷ]ukkum-i[ḷ]attu irupattu
- 21 [n]ā[ī-a]diy-āṇa Sundara-Pāṇḍiyaṅ-kōlāl nilam-a[ā]ndu payir pā[r[ī]t*]tu vi[ḷ]ainda nilattukku [a]ntarāyamu[m] viṇ[i]y[ō]gamum taruvad-āṇa achchum kāriyavārā-chchiyum ve[tt]i-pā[tt]amum pañchupīli sandu(sandhi)vikkiragappēḡum ma[ḡ]ru[m] e[ḷ]p[pe]ya[r]pa[tt]i[ṇ]avum u[pp]aḍa kārukku māttāl
- 22 kāsū kālum mudal Virapāṇḍiyaṅ nelu mu-kkalamum Tulā vīraichchu vi[ḷ]ainda nilattukku i-vvarisaiyil [o]ṅru-pādiyum e[ḷ] [va]ragu [ti]ṇaippul-i[ru]ḷḷu vi[ḷ]ainda nilattukku māttāl tira[ma]m iraṇḍum [pa]śāṇum-i-vva[ri]śai[ya]m-āga ivv-āṇḍu-mudal iruppa-
- 23 d-āga i[tt]u variyilār e[ḷ]utt-i[tt]a u[ḷ]-variyyum nam ō[lai]yun-tara-chchonnōm [*] kai-kkoṇḍu ippaḍi Chandrādityavat śelvad-āga-kka[l*]lilum śembilum ve[tt]i[ḷ]-kko[ḷ]-gav-eṅgu tiruvāymo[ḷ]i[ṇ]daru[ḷ]iṇār [*] i[v]ai [Tirumalli]-nā[tt]u-[t]Tadañkanni-ch-Chiṅṅūr-uḍaiyāṅṅ-U
- 24 [y*]yanip[pe]ḍuvāṅ [Vi]raśō[ā]dēva[ṇ-ā]ṇa Kurukulattaraiyaṅ-e[ḷ]uttu [*] ivai Śevvi-rukkai-nā[tt]u Śakkarapāṇinal[lū]r Arayaṅ Viradamuḍittāṅ-ā[ṇa] Palla[va]riya[ṇ]-e[ḷ]u[ttu] [ḷ]*

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-6.) Hail! Prosperity! The goddess Lakshmi (*Tiru*) (*that resides in*) the beautiful (*lotus*) flower¹ and the goddess of Victory (*attendant*) on war, (*now*) resting on (*his*) victorious arms (*having the semblance of*) the lotus-like rounded breast;² the goddess on the tongue of Brahmā (*Vēda*) that loves the white-petalled lotus, gracefully approaching (*him*);³ the goddess of the wide Earth with (*her*) bed of hard ground surrounded by the white-billowed (*sea*), exulting on becoming (*his*) queen;⁴ (*all*) creeds,⁵ politics and law (*luxuriantly*) springing up; flags for the festivals of gods being hoisted up in every place; the fire of the dark Kali (*age*) being extinguished; the fine sacrificial fires accompanied by rare acts performed by saintly Brahmins, rising

¹ As an adjective qualifying *malar*, *pū* means 'beautiful'.

² There is some difficulty in explaining the passage *tāmarai-kkuvī-mulai-jaya-ppuyatt-iruppa*. Here it would be natural to take '*tāmarai-kkuvī-mulai*' as a single phrase qualifying '*jaya-bhujā*'. If so taken, the meaning would be, as we have adopted in the translation, that both the goddesses Lakshmi and Victory rested on the arms of the king and the arm is likened to what the combination of the three words *tāmarai*, *kuvī* and *mulai* might imply. These words respectively mean 'the lotus', 'well developed or rounded' and 'breast'. Preserving the order of the words the phrase could be rendered into 'lotus-like well developed (or rounded) breast'; and if the order of the words could be altered, for which we do not find any good justification, it would mean 'well shaped breast-like lotus'. Either in this case, or in taking '*tāmarai*' and '*kuvī-mulai*' as two separate qualifying terms of *jaya-bhujā* the sense is not much altered. The comparison of *mulai* to *bhujā* seems somewhat far-fetched. It is rather difficult to trace in the passage reference to two different parts of the king's body where the two goddesses rested. If the conjunct *um* combined with the termination of the seventh case *ū*, *i.e.*, *ūm* could be taken as understood after *mulai* and *payam*, it may be possible to say that the king's breast and arm became the resting places of Lakshmi and Victory. That these goddesses would naturally resort to the 'arm' is evident for the arm resembled the lotus which is the residence of one, and is the source of victory also; but the difficulty is the insertion of *kuvī-mulai* after the word *tāmarai*.

³ The word *tiṇai* carries the sense 'coming into close touch' or 'enjoy'.

⁴ *Uṇmai* is used in this sense in many inscriptions.

⁵ On *śamaya* see above, Vol. XXII, p. 50, foot-note 7 and Additions and Corrections.

up; *Śrutī* and *Tamiḷ*, exhibiting their ancient greatness;¹ (*his*) powerful war-disc circumventing the (*entire*) expanse of earth;² (*his*) fish (*emblem*), mounted on the neck³ of the eight powerful and victorious quarter-elephants that are counted in order from the single-trunked, double-eared and four-tusked Airāvata⁴ with its triple exudation of ichor,⁵ (*now*) exulting greatly⁶ on finding all the visible countries to be their own; the world praising (*him*) as the single matchless lord of (*all*) the kings that are invested with crowns in accordance with the established law and practice,⁷ in order to have their hereditary right⁸ over the different ancient territorial divisions that had been formed, such as Kōśalam, Tujuvam, Kudiram, Kuchcharam, Pōśalam, Magadam, Poppalam, Puṇḍaram, Kaliṅgam, Ḹam, Kaḍāram, Gaṇḍam, Teliṅgam, Sōṇakam and Chīnam; wearing the sacred crown and wielding (*his*) just sceptre, with Chiefs waving fly-whisks under the shade of his *tāḷa*-parasol;⁹ the glorious king **Māgarvarman** *alias* the illustrious **Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva**, the emperor of the three worlds, was pleased to be seated on the lion-throne set with the radiant nine gems, along with his queen **Ulagamuḷudūḍaiyār**, who was simultaneously invested with a crown, and whose pair of lotus-like feet, being reddened by the rubbing of the gems fastened in the crowns on the heads of the multitudes of royal damsels bowing before her, as they would before the goddess Lakshmi, with their lotus-like palms held together in worshipping attitude, was flocked to by the lotus-frequenting beetles considering them (*i.e.*, the reddened feet) to be lotuses.

(Ll. 6-24.) In the eighth year and nine hundred and eighty-eighth day¹⁰ (*of his reign*) when he was pleased to remain on the reclining seat called Maḷavarāyaṇ in the hall of the bed-chamber of his palace at **Madura** on the eastern side of **Māḍakkuḷam** in **Madurōdayavaḷa-nāḍu**,¹¹ just as the two hundred and twenty-four persons (*entitled*) Chaturvēdi-Bhaṭṭas, versed in the *Vēdas* and *Sāstras*¹² and capable of expounding (*them*), had been pleased to declare, that these (*i.e.*, the aforesaid) two hundred and twenty-four persons (*entitled*) Chaturvēdi-Bhaṭṭas, versed in the *Vēdas* and *Sāstras* and capable of expounding them, may be given two hundred and

¹ With *Śrutiyam* *kuḷasa*, compare *mū-vaḡai-Tamiḷum* *muḡaimaiyil viḷanga* and *nāi-vaḡai-Vēdamum* *avaiṇṇuḍan vaḷara* (above, Vol. XXII, p. 45).

² With *poru-tiḷal-āḷi*, etc., compare *eḡ-diḡaiy-ajaruṅ-chakkaruṅ-chella* (*ibid.*, p. 45).

³ *Eruttam* means *pidar*. Cf. *Yāḡai-eruttai-ayī-muraḷ-irī* (Canto XXIII, l. 130 of '*Śīlappadigāram*).

⁴ *Nōr-kōḷu* stands for the *chatur-danta*. The deity of the eastern quarter is Indra and the elephant of this direction is his vehicle Airāvata which is here described as having a single trunk, two ears, three kinds of ichor exudation and four tusks. In the Gōḍāvari plates of Pṛthivīmūla, Chaturdanta, Kumuda and Supratika are made to represent the countries lying on the respective directions to which these *dig-gajas* belonged. [The context would show that in these plates *chaturdanta* has to be taken in the sense of *chaturanga-sēnā* (see above, Vol. XXII, p. 178, fn. 4).—Ed.]

⁵ These are the exudations from the *kaṅṭha*, *kapḷa* and *bija*.

⁶ If the reading *kaḷi-kōḷa* is adopted, it would mean that the fish expressed its joy.

⁷ The phrase *vidi-muḡai-tiḡaḷa* may preferably be taken as qualifying *muḍi-puḡai* rather than the immediately following *veveḷu vaḡutta*.

⁸ *Kiḷamai* means *urimai* or headship.

⁹ Made of palm leaves.

¹⁰ This is the actual date when the grant was ordered to be made.

¹¹ The geographical description of Madura here given would fix its position at the place where it now is, for Māḍakkuḷam is still to its west. In an inscription of Māgarvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. (A.D. 1216-38) Madura is called Māḍa-Madurai (above, Vol. XXII, p. 48). The same term Māḍa-Madurai occurs in several places in the ancient Tamil work *Śīlappadigāram* (Cantos VIII, l. 3; IX, l. 76; XV, l. 112; XXVII, l. 61). It is called also *māḍūr* 'ancient city' (*ibid.*, VIII, l. 51; XI, l. 188; XXV, l. 677; XXVII, l. 61 and l. 131), *Mā-nagar*, *agaṇṇpati* or *Mā-Madurai* (XI, l. 188; XXV, l. 677) and *Māḍa-Kūḷal* or *Nāḡ-Māḍa-Kūḷal* (*ibid.*, XXI, l. 39 and XXIV, *pattu-madai*, 5). That it contained the king's palace is noted in our inscription. There is thus no doubt that the present city and its environments must represent the ancient town.

¹² See p. 154, paragraph 2.

twenty-four shares, with twenty (*other*) shares as *ṛitti* for doing service in the *dēvadāṇa*, making a total of two hundred and forty-four shares, (*and that for this purpose*) Kūḍalūr in Murappu-nāḍu and the villages comprising Kīlai-Kūḍalūr situated within the four boundaries,—the eastern boundary being to the west of the river Taṅ-Porundam, the southern boundary being to the north of the boundary of Muttālaṅkuruchchi *alias* Rājasirhamaṅgalam and of Sēṅalūr *alias* Tiruvaraṅga-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, the western boundary being to the east of the channel of this Murappu-nāḍu named Sundarapāṇḍiyan-tenṇāru, and the northern boundary being to the south of the river Taṅ-Porundam,—consisting of wet lands (*nir-nīlam*), *karuñchey* (black-soil land), *puñchey* (dry lands), *nattam*, garden lands (*tōṭṭam*), tanks (*kuḷam*) and tank-spread (*kuḷap-parippu*), with the exclusion of the *paḷlichchandam* (*i.e.*, lands given for Jain or Buddhist shrines), and *paḷandēvadāṇam* (*i.e.*, lands assigned for temples) as well as the lands purchased by Udayaṅ Kūttāḍuvāṅ *alias* Villavadaraiyaṅ of Vaḷugūr residing in (*the street called*) Kulaśēkharapperunteru at Paṭṭiṇa-Marudūr in Śūraṅkuḍi-nāḍu and given as *dēvadāṇa* to (*the temple of*) Ulaguyyavanda-Īsvaramuḍaiyār of this village which consisted of house (*maṅai*), garden and *nattam*, might be formed into one village and one *puravu*, after removing their previous owners, (*their*) old names, cultivation and holding, and be given from the year opposite to the first year opposite to the eighth year as *brahmadēya* in the name of the *māmaḍi* (*i.e.*, uncle) as Pōśāḷa-Vīra-Sōmidēva-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Murappu-nāḍu, with the right to inhabit the *nattam*, fit for habitation, being entered as shares and house-sites; and the *māmaḍi* having told us that in respect of payment of taxes of this village, the lands should be measured by Sundara-Pāṇḍiyan-kōl of twenty-four feet length, (*the kind of*) crop examined, and on lands on which crops had been realised, there should be paid from this year one-fourth *kāṣu* and three *kalam* of paddy, as measured by Virapāṇḍiyan, on each *mā* of land for *kār*, towards *antarāya* and *viṇiyōga* inclusive of *achchu*, *kāriya-vārchchi*, *ceṭṭi-pāṭṭam*, *pañchupīli*, *sandhivighrahappēru* and all other payable dues, that one-half of this rate should be paid on all lands sown in *Tulā* and crops realised, that two *tiramam* on each *mā* should be paid on lands on which *eḷḷu*, *varagu*, *tiṇaippul* and *iṇuṅgu* had been harvested, that this (*same*) rate should be (*fixed*) for *paḷāṇam* also, and that this (*i.e.*, the above-mentioned) rate of assessment should be entered in registers; We ordered that for (*providing*) the two hundred and twenty-four persons (*entitled*) Chaturvēdi-Bhaṭṭas, versed in the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* and capable of expounding them, with two hundred and twenty-four shares, with twenty other shares as *ṛitti* for doing service in the *dēvadāṇa*, making a total of two hundred and forty-four shares, Kūḍalūr in Murappu-nāḍu and the villages comprising Kīlai-Kūḍalūr, situated within the four boundaries (*specified hereunder*), *viz.*,—the east boundary being to the west of the river Taṅ-Porundam, the southern boundary being to the north of the boundary of Muttālaṅkuruchchi *alias* Rājasirhamaṅgalam and of Sēṅalūr *alias* Tiruvaraṅga-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, the western boundary being to the east of the channel of this Murappu-nāḍu called Sundarapāṇḍiyan-tenṇāru, and the northern boundary being to the south of the river Taṅ-Porundam,—consisting of wet lands, *karuñchey*, *puñchey*, *nattam*, gardens, tank and tank-spread, with the exclusion of the *paḷlichchandam* and *paḷan-dēvadāṇam*, as well as the lands purchased by Udayaṅ Kūttāḍuvāṅ *alias* Villavadaraiyaṅ of Vaḷugūr residing in (*the street called*) Kulaśēkharapperunteru at Paṭṭiṇa-Marudūr in Śūraṅkuḍi-nāḍu and given as *dēvadāṇa* to the (*temple of*) Ulaguyyavanda-Īsvaramuḍaiyār of this village,—in all, four *mā* of land as measured by the (*rod*) Sundara-Pāṇḍiyan-kōl,—should be formed into one village and one *puravu* after removing their previous owners, their old names, cultivation and holding and be given from this year as *brahmadēya* in the name of the *māmaḍi* as Pōśāḷa-Vīra-Sōmidēva-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Murappu-nāḍu, with the right to inhabit the *nattam*, fit for habitation, being entered as shares and house-sites; and that in respect of payment of taxes of this village, the lands

should be measured by Sundara-Pāṇḍiyaṅ-kōl of twenty-four feet length, the crops examined, and on lands on which crops had been realised, there shall be paid from this year one-fourth *kāśu* and three *kalam* of paddy as measured by (the measure) Virapāṇḍiyaṅ on each *mā* of land during *kār*, towards *antarāya* and *viṇiyōga* inclusive of *achchu*, *kāriyavārāchchi*, *veṭṭi-pāṭṭam*, *pañchupili*, *sandhivighrahappēru* and all other payable dues; that one-half of this rate shall be (fixed) on lands sown in *Tulā* and crops raised; that two *tiramam* shall be paid on each *mā* of land on which *eḷḷu*, *varagu*, *tiṅaippul* and *iṅuṅgu* had been harvested, that this same rate shall also be (fixed) for *paśāṇam*; and that a copy of the entry in the tax-register¹ signed by the *variylār*² as well as a copy of our order shall be issued. The king had been (further) pleased to say that on receiving these (copies), the same may be entered on stone and copper so that (the order) may be carried out as long as the moon and the sun last. This is the signature of Uyyanipāḍuvāṅ Virasōjadēvaṅ *alias* Kurukulattaraiyaṅ of Taḍaṅkaṅgi-chChirṅūr in Tirumalli-nāḍu.³ This is the signature of Arayaṅ Viradamuḍittāṅ *alias* Pallavarāyaṅ of Sakkarapāṇinallūr in Śevvirukkai-nāḍu.⁴

No. 23.—KOMANDA COPPER-PLATES OF NETTABHANJA.

By KRISHNA CHANDRA PANIGRAHI, M. A.

These copper-plates numbering three were unearthed at the village *Kōmaṇḍa* in the Nayāgarh State, Orissa, by a cultivator, while ploughing a paddy-field. Pandit Binayak Misra of the Calcutta University got possession of them and deposited them in the Archaeological Museum at Baripada in the Mayūrbhanj State. I am very thankful to Pandit Misra and to Mr. P. Acharya, the State Archaeologist of the Mayūrbhanj State, for their kindly allowing me to edit these plates.

Each of the plates roughly measures $6\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$ and is strung to the rest on a circular copper ring, the circumference of which is 11' and which passes through a hole of about $\frac{1}{2}''$ in diameter cut in the left margin of each plate. The ends of the ring are secured by a lump of copper containing the seal which seems to bear the figure of an animal with a line of writing running just below it. The figure is damaged beyond recognition and of the letters, only one can be read as *hha*. Judging from the similarity of the text of these plates to that of other plates of Nēṭṭabhaṅja⁵ it can be inferred that the seal contained in relief the figure of a couchant lion and the legend *Śrī-Nēṭṭabhaṅjadēvasya*. The plates with the ring and the seal weigh about 100 *tolas*. The first and the last plates are engraved only on one side, while the second is inscribed on both the sides. There are altogether thirty-seven lines of writing, the first three faces containing nine lines each and the fourth ten lines.

The characters used in this grant closely resemble in form those used in the other plates of Nēṭṭabhaṅja⁶ and therefore call for no special remark. The language is Sanskrit, but it contains a number of orthographical errors which will be corrected in their proper places. Only one case may be pointed out here which represents the phonetic peculiarity of the Ōriya language: in line 14 *vyēvakārin* has been written for *vyavahārin*.⁷

¹ The entry in the register was to recite the royal order and note the changes made in accordance with it.

² *Variylār* means 'maintainers of revenue accounts'.

³ These signatories figure in the inscriptions of Māravarman Sundara-Pāḍya I also (above, Vol. XXII, p. 54).

⁴ Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 282 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ [See below p. 175 n. 1.—Ed.]

The text opens with two verses invoking Hara. Then it gives out that the grant has been issued from the victorious camp **Vañjulvaka** by *Paramamāhēśvara śri-Nēṭṭabhañjadēva* surnamed **Kalyāpakalaśa**. He is described as son of Raṇabhañjadēva, grandson of Śatrubhañjadēva and great-grandson of Śilābhañjadēva. It should be noted here that Rai Bahadur Hiralal misread the name of the donor as *Nēṭṭi*, though the letters standing for it in the inscription distinctly read as *Nēṭṭa*¹.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant of the village **Karañjāḍu** situated in the *vishaya* of Sāraḍḍā, to a Brahmin named **Stambhadēva**, belonging to the Kaṇva-*sākhā*, the Gautama-*gōtra*, the Autathya *pravara* and the Āngirasa *anupravara*, whose father and grandfather were Durgasārman and Hariśarman respectively. The *dātaka* of the grant is *Bhaṭṭa* Sumaṅgala. It has been written by *Sandhicigrahin* Śavarū[ja*], incised by *Akṣaśūlika* Durgadēva and sealed by Māmmā which term seems to be a corruption of *mahāmāyā* or the queen. The names of these officials occur in one of the two Ganjām copper-plate grants of Nēṭṭabhañja² and the engraver of the second one is also the same Durgadēva³.

The village **Karañjāḍu** may be identical with *Kōmaṇḍa*, the find-place of these copper-plates or with *Karaḍā*, a village about sixteen miles north of *Kōmaṇḍa*, and **Sāraḍḍā** may conveniently be identified with *Āraḍā* about ten miles east of *Kōmaṇḍa*. All these villages are situated in the Nayāgarh State from which the copper-plates hail. *Vañjulvaka* from which the present charter has been issued has not yet been identified.

The donor of the present charter and those of the same name of the two Ganjām copper-plate grants and Gumsur copper-plate grant⁴ must be identical in view of the facts that these donors not only issue their charters from the same victorious camp *Vañjulvaka*, but also give the same genealogical account and the names of some officials as occur in this document. But we are faced with difficulties when we attempt to identify Nēṭṭabhañja of the grant under discussion with the donors of the same name of the Bod (Baudh) plates⁵ and Daspalla plates⁶, firstly, because in one the genealogical account is omitted and in the other it is quite different and secondly, because the officials mentioned in these grants are entirely different⁷.

Nēṭṭabhañja, unlike other Bhañja rulers, bears in all his copper-plates hitherto discovered, the only title *Paramamāhēśvara* which refers to his religious creed. His grants also do not contain the traditional account relating to the origin of the Bhañjas as other Bhañja records do. The official seals used in his charters are also different from those found on other Bhañja copper-plates. All these characteristics of his grants mark him out from other Bhañja rulers who issue their charters from *Khijīngakōṭṭa* or modern Khiching in the Mayūrbhanj State. He must, therefore, be taken to belong to a different branch of the Bhañja family. If Śatrubhañja and Raṇabhañja, represented here as the grandfather and the father of Nēṭṭabhañja, be taken as identical with Śatrubhañja and Raṇabhañja of the *Tāsapaikērā* grant⁸, the dominions of this branch of the Bhañja family must have comprised the tracts both to the north and to the south of the Mahānadi river, because in the *Tāsapaikērā* grant Raṇabhañja describes himself as the

¹ Above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 282 ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 295.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 296.

⁴ *The Archaeological Survey of Mayurbhanj*, pp. 146 ff.

⁵ *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 104-118.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 276 ff.

⁷ [The engraver in the Daspalla plates, however, seems to be the same *Akṣaśūlika* Durgadēva. — Ed.]

⁸ *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. II, pp. 167 ff.

lord of the two Khinjalis, one of which has been identified with Hijjali in Angula to the north of the Mahānadī and the other with Khijariparā in Baudh to the south of the same river¹.

As has been shown above, Nēṭṭabhañja belongs to a different branch of the Bhañja family. Considerable disagreement prevails among the scholars regarding the origin of this Bhañja family of Orissa. Different interpretations put on the traditional account recorded in some Bhañja copper-plates have led the scholars to arrive at two different views relating to their origin, one connecting it with the Śailōdbhavas of Orissa² and the other with the Imperial Mauryas³. Whatever may be the views of the scholars about the origin, the fact that it goes back to high antiquity is proved by the recent archaeological discoveries at Dengaposhi in the Keonjhar State⁴. Among these important discoveries there is a precious fresco-painting representing a war expedition, which contains a line of writing recording the name of a Bhañja ruler. The palaeography of the writing cannot be later than the fourth century A. D. If the dating of the record and the reading *Bhañja* therein be accepted as correct, we can safely trace back the existence of the Bhañja family at least to the fourth century A. D. Thus it becomes evident that among the known royal families of Orissa, the Bhañja family is only next to the family of Khāravela in point of antiquity.

TEXT.⁵

First Plate.

- 1 Om⁶ svasti [*] Jayati kusumavā(bā)ṇa-prāṇa-vikshōbha-daksham
- 2 sva-kiraṇa-parivēshō(sh-au)rjīitya-jirṇu-ēndu-lékham(kham) | tri-bhuvana-bhava-
- 3 n-ānta[*]-dyōta-bhāsvat-pradīpaṇi kanaks-nikasha-gauram vibhru⁷ nē-
- 4 traṇi Harasya | [1*]⁸ Śēsh-āhēr-iva yē phañāḥ praviralanty⁹-udbhāsvar-ē-
- 5 ndu-tvishah¹⁰ |¹¹ prālēy-āchala-śrīṅga-kōṭṭa(ta)ya iva tvaṅganti yē-tyu-
- 6 nnatāḥ | nrītt-āṭṭō(tō)pa-vighatṭitā iva bhujā rājanti yē sāmbhavā-
- 7 s-tē sarvv-āgha-vighātinaḥ surasarit-tōy-ōrmmaya[ḥ*] pāntu vaḥ | [2*]¹² Vija-
- 8 ya-Vaṇjulvakāt [*] Asti jaya-śrī-nīlayaḥ prakatṭa(ta)-guṇa-grasta-sarvva-
- 9 ripu-garvvaḥ | Kalyāpakalāśa-nāmā rājā nirddh[ū]jta-kali-kalu-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 10 ahaḥ || [3*]¹³ Bhañj-āmala-kula-tilaka[ḥ*] śrī-Śilābhañjadēvasya pra[pau]traḥ śrī-
- 11 Śatrubhañjadēvasya naptā śrī-Raṇabhañjadēvasya su(sū)nu[ḥ*] Paramamāhē-

¹ *J. B. O. R. S.* Vol. XVII, p. 105.

² Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 290.

³ *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 418 ff.

⁴ *The Modern Review*, Vol. LXIII (March 1938), pp. 301 ff.

⁵ From ink-impressions and the original.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

⁷ [This is the correct reading : vikrīṭā śhrūṇ-vasya tad vidhru. It has been wrongly corrected into śhrūṇ, above, Vol. XVIII, pp. 293 and 295.—Ed.]

⁸ Metre : Mālinī.

⁹ Read praviralanty-.

¹⁰ Daṇḍa unnecessary.

¹¹ Metre : Śardūlavikrīḍita.

¹² Metre : Arjya.

KOMANDA COPPER PLATES OF NETTABHANJA.

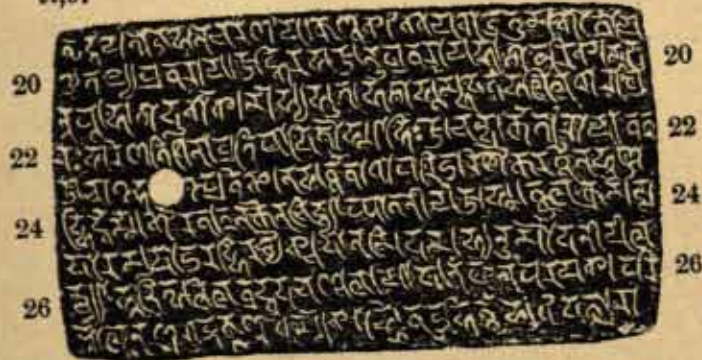
i.



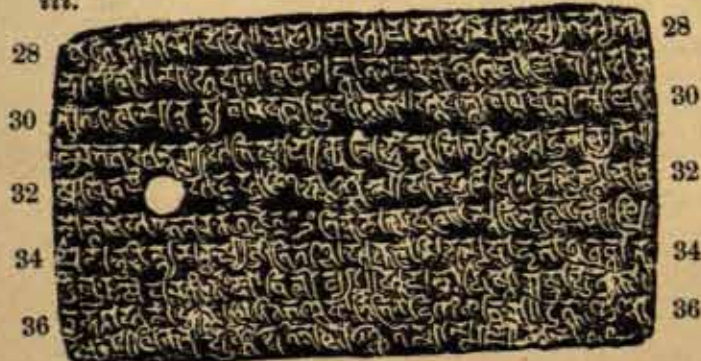
ii, a.

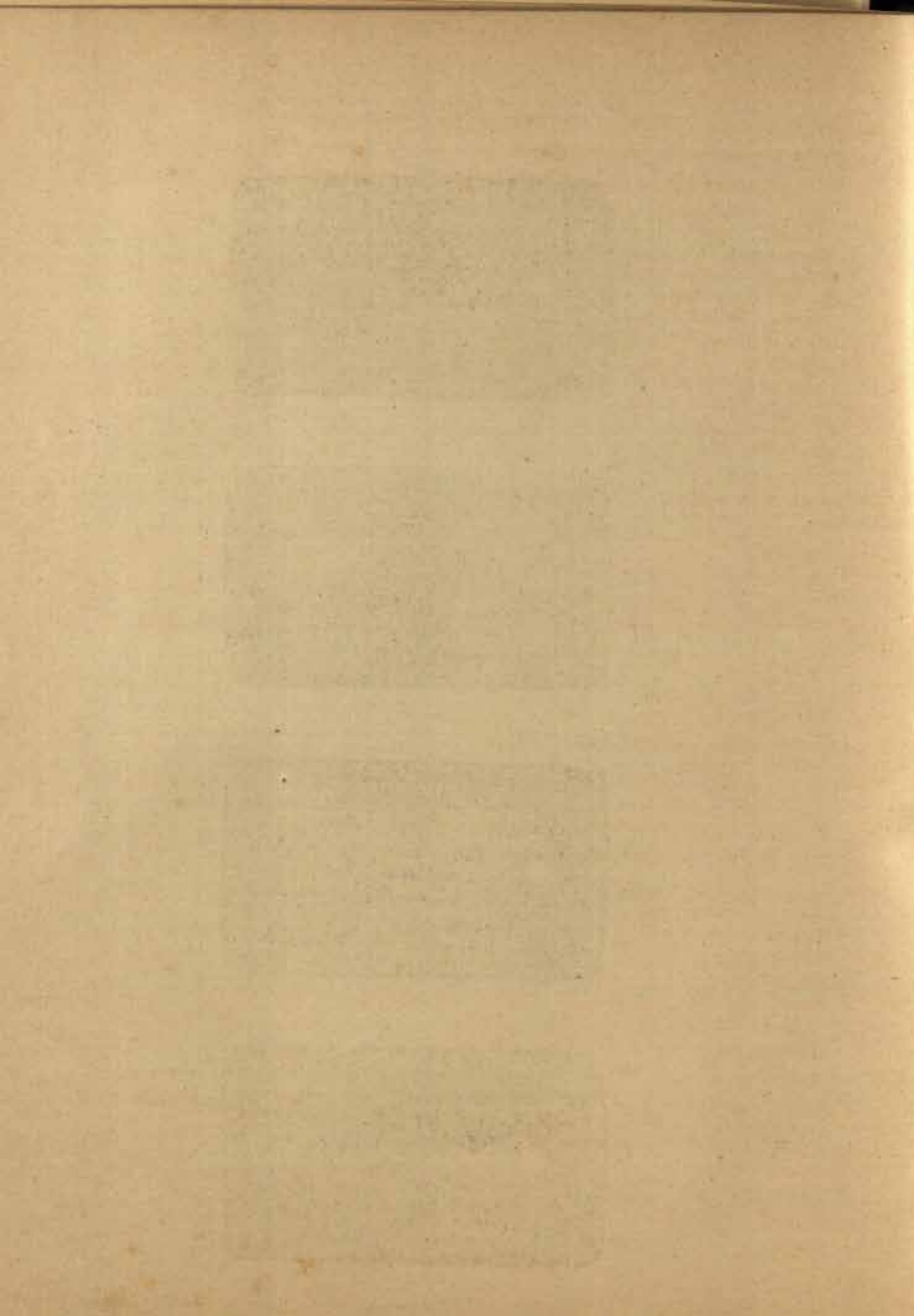


ii, b.



iii.





- 12 śvarō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ānudhyāna-rataḥ śri-Nēṭṭabhañjadēvaḥ kuśa-
 13 ḥ [*] Sāraḍḍā-vishayē rāja-rājanaka-rājaputrā[n*] vishayapati-da-
 14 ṇḍapāsikān yathā-kāl-ādhyāsinō vyē(vya)vahāriṇō¹ vrā(brā)-
 15 hmaṇḍā[n*] karaṇa-pū(pu)rōgā[n*] nivāsi-janapadā[m*]ś=cha yath-ārhaṇḥ māna-
 16 yati vō(bō)dhayati samādiśati [cha*] sarvvataḥ śivam=asmākam=anya[d*]
 17 viditam=astu bhavatām ētaḍ-vishaya-samvandhā(sambaddha)-² Karañjāḍu-grāma cha(ś
 cha)-
 18 tu[h*]sīmā-parichchhinō(nnō)=smābhir=mmātā-pitrōr=ātma[na*]ś=cha puṇy-āva(bhū)-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 19 vṛiddhayē Vājasēna(sanēya)-charaṇāya ³ Kaṇva-śākh[ā]ya Gaṭtu(Gauta)ma-gōtrāya
 20 Autathya-pravarāya ⁴ A(Ā)ṅgīrasa-a(s-ā)nupravarāya bhā(bha)ṭṭa-Harīśarma[ṇō*]
 21 naptā(trē) bhā(bha)ṭṭa-Durgasārmasya(ṇaḥ) suta(tā)[ya*] ⁵ bhaṭṭa-Stambhadēva(vā)[ya*]
 saḷila-dhārā-pū(pu)-
 22 raḥsarēṇa vidhinā pratipāditō=smābhiḥ [*] a(ā)chandr-ārka-tamrām(tāram) yāvat
 23 a-chṭṭa(ṭa)-bhaṭṭa(ṭa)-pravēśēna sarvva-vā(bā)dhā-parihārēṇ=ākaratvēna bhuñja-
 24 dbhir=ddharmma-gauravāt na kēnachid=vyāghātanīyaṇ(yam)[*] Asmat-kula-kramam=ti-
 (m=u)-
 25 dāram=udāharadbhir=anyaiś=cha dānam=idam=abhyānumōdanīyaṇ(yam)[*] La-
 26 kaḥmyās=taḍit-salila-vudvu(budbu)da-chañchalāyā dānaṇ phalaṇ para-yaśa[h*]-pari-
 27 pālanañ=cha | [4*]⁶ ū(u)ktañ=cha dharmma-śāstrō [*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vvasudhā dattā rā-

Third Plate.

- 28 jabhi[h*] Sagar-ādibhi[h*] | (i) yasya yasya yadā bhu(bhū)miś=tasya tasya ta-
 29 dā plalaṇ(lam) | [5*]⁷ Mā bhu(bhū)d=aphala-śānkā vaḥ para-datt=ēti pārthivāḥ | sva-dā-
 30 nāt=phalam=ānantiyaṇ para-datt-ānupālanaṇ(nō) | [6*]⁸ Sva-dattām para-dattām=vā
 (ttām vā) yō
 31 haṭ[ṭ]ta vasundharām(rām)[*] sa viśṭhāyām kṛimir-bhu(bhū)tvā pitṛibhiḥ saha pachyatē |
 [7*]⁹
 32 Shashṭi-varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmidah | a(ā)kshēptā ch=ānu-
 33 mantā cha sa ēva (tāny=ēva) narakāṇ vrajēt [| 8*]¹⁰ Iti kamala-dal-āmva(mbu)-vi(bi)ndu-
 lōlāṇ śri-
 34 yam=anuśintya manushya-jīvitāñ=cha | sakalam=idam=ū(m=u)dāhṛitañ=cha [vūddhā](bu-
 ddhvā) na
 35 hi purushai[h*] para-kīrttayō vilōpyā[h*] | [9*]¹¹ svaya[m]=ādishṭō rājñā du(dū)tak[ṭ]=
 36 tra bhaṭṭā(ṭṭa)-Sumaṅgala[h*] likhitañ=cha sandhivigrahiṇā Śavarā[jēna*]¹² | utkīraṇaṇ=
 cha=ā
 37 kahaśālikēna Durgadēvēna | lāñchhita[m*] māmmyā saṇ 30+1¹³.

¹ [Reading is correctly *vyaahāriṇō*.—Ed.]

² This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

³ Metre : *Vasantatilakā*.

⁴ Metre : *Anuśūbh*.

⁵ Metre : *Pushpitāgrā*.

⁶ This name is read as *Savarāja* in H. Ganjām Plates of Nēṭṭibhañjadēva, above, Vol. XVIII. 296.

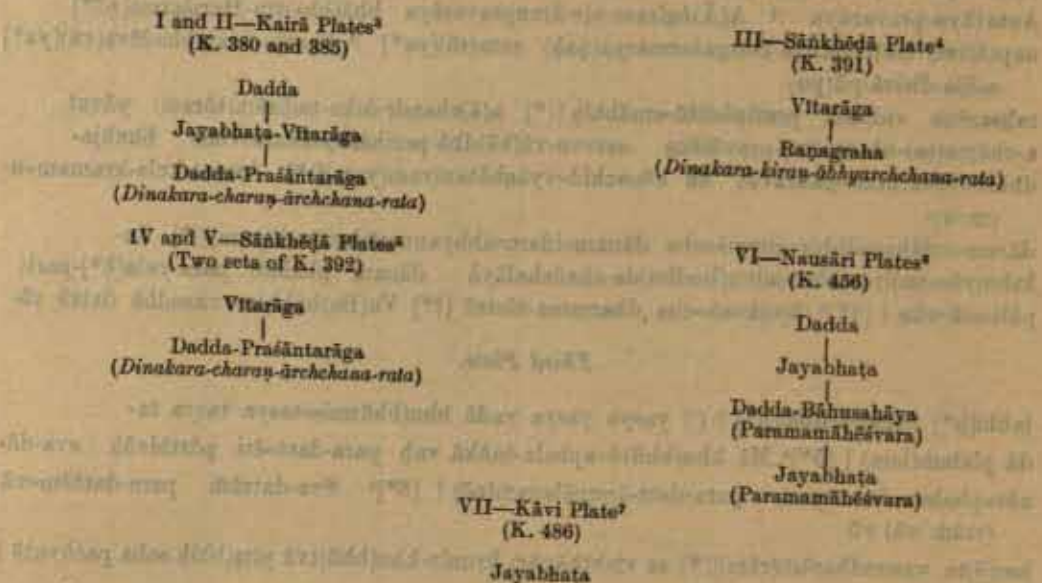
⁷ [I am not certain of the reading of this date.—Ed.]

No. 24.—A NOTE ON THE PRINCE OF WALES MUSEUM PLATES OF JAYABHATA (III!).

By Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A., Nagpur.

In his article¹ entitled 'A Grant of the Gurjara King Jayabhata III : [Kalachuri] Year 486' Mr. G. V. Acharya has re-arranged the succession of the Early Gurjara princes. As the subject is of importance for the history of Gujarāt, I propose to examine his views in the light of the published records of the dynasty.

Until the publication of the Prince of Wales Museum plates by Mr. Acharya in the aforementioned article, seven records² of the Early Gurjaras were known to us. The genealogy together with relevant details about the *birudas* and religious creeds of the princes as mentioned in each is given below :—



In the Kaira plates of K. 380 and 385 and the Sāṅkhōḍa plates (two sets) of K. 392 the same draft of the eulogistic portion is used with this difference that in the latter the portion descriptive of the donor's ancestors is omitted, the name of the donor's father being known only from the sign-manual at the end. The Sāṅkhōḍa plate of K. 391 being the last plate of its set, contains no genealogical portion, but since it mentions that the grant was written with the permission of the illustrious Dadda who is mentioned separately from the donor Rajagrāha, we may take the latter to be a brother⁸ and feudatory of Dadda-Prasāntarāga. In the Nausāri plates of K. 456

¹ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 147 ff.

² I omit the odd Sāṅkhōḍa plate of K. 346 (above, Vol. II, pp. 19 ff) as it mentions no king. Similarly the Umetā, Bagumrā and Ilao plates of Dadda-Prasāntarāga dated in the Śaka era are also omitted as they are now held to be spurious.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 81 ff. and 88 ff.

⁴ Above, Vol. V, pp. 37 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, pp. 109 ff.

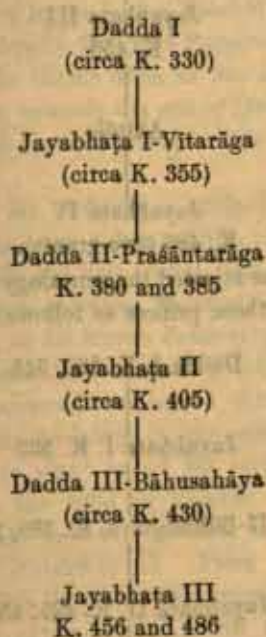
⁶ Above, Vol. II, pp. 20 ff.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 70 ff.

⁸ Dr. Bhandarkar takes Rajagrāha to be another name of Dadda-Prasāntarāga. See his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 161, n. 3. What he proposes to read as *Dadda-pād-āntarjāti[nā]* is really *Dadda-pād-āntajāti[nā]* which is evidently a mistake for *Dadda-pād-āntajāti[nā]*.

an altogether different draft of the eulogistic portion is met with. It has nothing in common with the extant portion of the fragmentary Kāvī plate of K. 486.

While editing the Nausāri plates Dr. Bhagwanlal Indrajī showed for the first time that the first Dadda mentioned in them was identical with Dadda-Praśāntarāga on the following grounds. This first Dadda was the great-grandfather of the Jayabhāṭa who issued the plates. 'Taking 455 as the commencement (of the latter's reign), and calculating backwards at the rate of twenty-five years to a generation, we arrive at 380 as the date of the first Dadda of the Nausāri grant.'¹ He is therefore identical with Dadda-Praśāntarāga for whom the two sets of Kairā plates furnish the dates K. 380 and 385. As regards the Jayabhāṭa of the fragmentary Kāvī plate of K. 486, Dr. Bhagwanlal identified him with the donor of the Nausāri plates of K. 456, the interval of thirty years not being too long for one reign. Dr. Bhagwanlal thus gave the following genealogy of the Early Gurjara princes² :—



This genealogical list was later on adopted in the *History of Gujarāt* in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 114 and has also been included by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 391. The Prince of Wales Museum plates of Jayabhāṭa, dated K. 486, recently edited by Mr. Acharya have, however, slightly affected it. The draft used in these plates closely agrees with that of the Nausāri plates in the eulogy of the first four princes. It carries the genealogy two generations further, mentioning Ahirōla as the son and successor of the last Jayabhāṭa mentioned in the Nausāri plates and finally Jayabhāṭa (IV) the son and successor of Ahirōla. The concluding eulogistic portion of the grant is identical with that of the fragmentary Kāvī plate which is also dated in the same year. The donor of the latter grant must

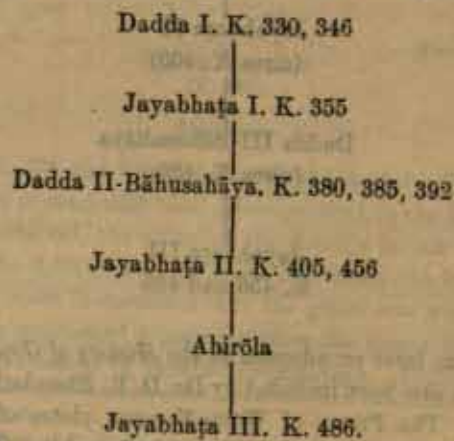
¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 72.

² *Ibid.*, p. 72.

therefore be now called Jayabhāṭa IV and not Jayabhāṭa III. The genealogical list of the Gurjara princes will, therefore, stand as follows :—



Mr. G. V. Acharya, however, has rejected the genealogy proposed by Dr. Bhagwanlal and has instead arranged the succession of these princes as follows :—¹



It may be noted in this connection that Mr. Acharya nowhere mentions the *biruda* Prasāntarāga, but as he assigns the dates K. 380, 385 and 392 of Dadda-Prasāntarāga to Dadda-Bāhusahāya we must suppose that he identifies the two Daddas. The dates K. 330, 355 and 405 assigned by him to Dadda I, Jayabhāṭa I and Jayabhāṭa II are conjectural, as no records of these dates have yet been discovered.

In re-arranging the succession of the Gurjara princes in this way Mr. Acharya seems to have assumed that the Nausāri and Prince of Wales Museum plates dated respectively K. 456 and 486

¹ Above, Vol. XXIII, p. 149.

begin their genealogy with the same prince as the two sets of Kairā plates of Dadda-Prasāntarāga dated K. 380 and 385. But this view is open to several objections :—

(1) Till now we have not come across a single instance in which a prince of this Early Gurjara dynasty assumed more than one *biruda*. In fact, as pointed out by Dr. Bhagwanlal¹, the use of the *biruda* was the expedient resorted to in order to prevent confusion arising from the use of only two names almost throughout the genealogy. Dadda-Prasāntarāga is not therefore likely to be identical with Dadda-Bāhusahāya.

(2) Dadda-Prasāntarāga is described in the Kairā and Sāṅkhēḍā plates as *Dinākara-charaṅ-ārchchana-rata* 'devoted to the worship of the rays of the sun', while Dadda-Bāhusahāya is called, in the Nausāri and Prince of Wales Museum plates, *Paramamāhēśvara* 'a most devout worshipper of Śiva'. We have no evidence to hold that Dadda-Prasāntarāga changed his religious creed as we have none to show that he changed his *biruda*.

(3) Dadda-Prasāntarāga whose known dates range from K. 380 to K. 392 may be supposed to have flourished from K. 375 to K. 400. If he is identified with Dadda-Bāhusahāya, his grandfather, viz., the first Dadda mentioned in the Nausāri and Prince of Wales Museum plates, must be referred to the period from K. 325 to K. 350 i.e. from about A. D. 575 to A. D. 600. Now this Dadda is said to have given protection to the lord of Valabhī when the latter was attacked by the Paramēśvara Harsha² who is undoubtedly the great Emperor of that name who ruled at Kanauj (A. D. 606-647). Harsha came to the throne when he was a lad of sixteen years.³ Even if we suppose that his invasion took place towards the end of Dadda I's reign (A. D. 575-600) he could not have been more than ten years of age at the time! It is needless to add that he was not then Paramēśvara (Emperor).

(4) In the proposed succession Mr. Acharya is obliged to assign a reign of more than fifty years to Jayabhata II. Such a long reign is improbable, though not impossible.

If on the other hand we identify the first Dadda, the grandfather of Dadda-Bāhusahāya, mentioned in the Nausāri and Prince of Wales Museum plates with Dadda-Prasāntarāga, he becomes a contemporary of Harsha, as his known dates range from K. 380 to K. 392 (i.e. from about A. D. 630 to A. D. 642). Harsha's invasion of Valabhī during which Dadda gave protection to a Maitraka king must have occurred soon before the Harsha-Pulakēśin war. Dr. Altekar has adduced cogent reasons⁴ to date the latter in the period A. D. 630-34. It may, however, be asked why Dadda-Prasāntarāga is silent in *all* his records about his glorious achievement if he actually gave protection to the ruler of Valabhī against the powerful Emperor of Kanauj. The reason is not difficult to find. In this matter Dadda was evidently acting at the instance of his suzerain, Pulakēśin II. From the Aihole inscription we know that he had submitted to the Chālukya Emperor. He knew full well that single-handed he was not strong enough to defy the lord paramount of North India. He could not have claimed credit for the protection of the Valabhī ruler during the life-time of Pulakēśin II. As a matter of fact, we find this achievement of Dadda II mentioned for the first time in a record of his great-grandson Jayabhata III. His successors had evidently neither fear nor scruples in giving him credit for defying Harsha.

There would thus be no chronological difficulty in accepting the order of succession first proposed by Dr. Bhagwanlal, with, of course, the addition of the two names which have now been brought to light by the publication of the Prince of Wales Museum plates.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 73.

² See e.g. l. 4 of the Nausāri grant of Jayabhata III (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 77).

³ Cf. Smith—*Early History of India* (Fourth Ed.), p. 349.

⁴ *An. Bh. Or. Res. Inst.*, Vol. XIII, pp. 300 ff.

No. 25.—GAUTAMI PLATES OF GANGA INDRAVARMAN: YEAR 4.

By KUNJA GOVINDA GOSWAMI, M.A., CALCUTTA.

This set of three copper-plates, which are in a good state of preservation, was discovered in 1937 in the village Gautami in the Badakhimedi Estate of the Ganjām District by a villager, while preparing the site for the construction of a house. Mr. Tumul Krishnamurti of Nuapara obtained the plates from the villager and handed them over to Pandit Nilkantha Das, M.L.A. (Central). Mr. Das again gave the plates to Pandit Binayak Misra, Lecturer in Oriya, Calcutta University, and the latter has very kindly made them over to me for publication. I am extremely grateful to Messrs. Das and Misra for thus providing me with an opportunity of editing these plates in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

These three plates together with the ring and the seal weigh 95 *tolas*. Each plate measures $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth. The ring is almost round, and is $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in thickness, with its inner diameter of $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The seal is very small and is $\frac{1}{4}$ inch in diameter. No emblem or legend is any more traceable on it. The plates are strung on the ring passing through the holes which were bored in the middle of the left hand side of each plate. The first and the third plates are inscribed on one side only while the second plate bears writing on both the sides. There are altogether thirty-one lines of writing, the first three sides containing eight lines each and the fourth seven.

The characters belong to the Northern variety showing signs of southern influence at places. Considering its script, the present inscription seems to be one of the early records of the Gaṅga Kings of Orissa, though not so early as the Dhanantara plates of Sāmantavarman¹ of the same dynasty. It may be pointed out in passing that the name Padmachandra of the engraver of this latter record happens to be identical with that of the engraver of the present charter. It is, however, extremely doubtful whether one and the same person is meant thereby, as the scripts of the two records exhibit so marked a difference in the style of writing that they cannot be taken to have been incised by an identical hand; the script of the Dhanantara plates on the whole appears to be earlier than that of the plates under consideration.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit, and the composition is in prose except that two customary verses occur in the concluding portion.

As regards orthography, there are some peculiarities to be noted:—the consonants after *r* are doubled in some cases while in others there is no such doubling, as in *-hētōr-mMahēndr-āchala*-l. 3, and in *chaturdasa* ll. 1-2. Again *t* followed by *r* is doubled in *śakti-traya*, l. 7, *kshētra* and *gōtra*, l. 15. The scribe does not make any distinction between the signs for medial short *i* and long *ī*. The forms of *b* and *v* also are not differentiated; everywhere we find the use of *v* only for both the letters. In ligatures a class nasal is sometimes used, e.g., *śāśāṅka*, l. 2 and sometimes represented by *anusvāra*, e.g., *Gaṅg*², l. 5. In certain cases a letter or *visarga* has been wrongly left out. An *anusvāra* almost invariably takes the place of a final *m*, while occasionally it also stands for a final *n*, as in *sa-karaṇām*, l. 12. In l. 16, the sign obviously meant for *vat* looks more like that for *ita*. Besides, there are certain other errors which have been duly corrected in the transcribed text.

The first four syllables, containing a name, in l. 17 have been rendered obscure by some scratchings over these letters. It may be the correction made by the original scribe himself or somebody might have tampered with it subsequently.

¹ Referred to above, p. 133, n. 8.² Above, Vol. XV, pp. 275 ff. and plates.

i. 2 4 6 8

ii, b. 18 20 22 24

iii. 26 28 30

ii, a. 10 12 14 16

18 20 22 24

26 28 30

10 12 14 16

The inscription records the grant of a piece of land in or near the village Salachanikā¹ of the Hēmvakamaṭamva district (*vishaya*) by the Gaṅga Mahārāja Indravarman, who was a devout worshipper of Śiva, to Brāhmaṇas, Vināyakaśarman and . . . śarman of the Vājasaneyā *charaṇa* of the Parāśara *gōtra* and of the Śakti-Kāṇva-Vaśiṣṭha *pravara*,² for the increase of merit of his father, mother and self. The boundaries of the land are specified in the grant. The engraver is Akṣhaśūlin Padmachandra. The plates were issued from the victorious residence of Śvētaka on the 3rd day of the bright half of the month Phālguna of the year 4 which evidently refers to the regnal year of the king and not to any era.

Among the known charters of the Gaṅga rulers of Śvētaka only a few mention a date. Thus Svalpa-Vēlura grant of Gaṅga Anantavarman³ is dated in the year 19 which has likewise been taken to refer to the king's regnal year. Rāṇaka Jayavarmadēva's plates⁴ are dated in the year 100 apparently of the Gāṅgēya era, but as these plates are suspected to be spurious⁵, their date is not reliable. Dhanantara plates of Sāmantavarman are not dated, but are placed in the seventh century A.D. on palaeographical grounds, which has been borne out by a later discovery: the Phērava grant⁶ (held to be) of the same Sāmantavarman dated in the year 185 or 165⁷ which in all probability refers itself to the Gāṅgēya era, the initial point of which is supposed to fall in A.D. 497.⁸ As already observed, the Gautami plates are palaeographically later than the Dhanantara plates. We may place the former in the eighth century A.D.

As regards the localities mentioned, Śvētaka, according to Mr. Tarini Charan Rath, was perhaps the Country adjoining Kalinga to the west.⁹ Some other scholars identify it with Chikiti¹⁰ or Chūkaṭi¹¹ in the Ganjām District. Mahēndrāchala probably refers to the hills of this name in the Ganjām District. I am unable to identify the district or *vishaya* of Hēmvakamaṭamva and the village Salachanikā,¹ mentioned in the grant.

TEXT.¹²

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm¹³ svasti [1*] Vijaya-Śvētak-ādhiṣṭhānād=bhagavataś-cha-
- 2 turdaśa-bhuvan-ādhipatē[h*] śakala-śaśāṅka-śekhara-dhara-
- 3 sya sthity-utpatti-pralaya-kāraṇa-hētōr¹⁴=mMahēndr-āchala-śi-
- 4 khara-nivāsinaśya(naḥ) śri(śrī)-Gōkarṇaśvara-svāmināś-charaṇa-
- 5 kamal-ārādhanaś-avāpta-puṇya-nichayō Gaṅg-ā-
- 6 maśa-kul-āṅva(l-āmba)r-ēndu[h*] sva-bhujā-va(ba)la-parākram-ākraṅta-saka-
- 7 la-Kaling-ādhirājya[h*] śakti-ttraya-prakarsh-ānurañjit-āśē-
- 8 sha-sāmanta[h*] paramamāhēśvarō mātā-pitṛi-pād-ā-

¹ [See below, p. 182, n. 1.—Ed.]

² [The Parāśara *gōtra* does not have Kāṇva in its threefold *pravara* which is Parāśara-Śakti-Vaśiṣṭha. Kāṇva may be the *gōtra* of the second donee in the present instance.—Ed.]

³ Above, pp. 134 ff. and plate.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 267 ff. and plate.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 268, n. 1.

⁶ *J. O. R.*, Vol. XI, pp. 53 ff.

⁷ Above, p. 132.

⁸ This is according to the latest computation by B. V. Krishna Rao in *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. XI, pp. 19 ff. Before this several scholars have offered different dates for the epoch of the Gāṅgēya era, thus A. D. 493 by C. R. Krishnamachari (*As. Rep. South Indian Epigraphy*, 1931-32, p. 45), A. D. 494 by R. Subba Rao (*J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. V, pp. 209 ff.), A. D. 496 by J. C. Ghosh (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 237) and between A. D. 530 and 557 by R. C. Majumdar (*Indian Culture*, Vol. IV, p. 179).

⁹ Above, Vol. XV, p. 276.

¹⁰ *J. H. Q.*, Vol. XII, pp. 490-91.

¹¹ *J. O. R.*, Vol. XI, p. 58, and above, p. 133, n. 10.

¹² Expressed by a symbol.

¹³ From ink-impressions.

¹⁴ The letter *ś* has been engraved below the line.

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 9 nudhyāta(tō) mahārāja-śrī(śr-ī)ndravarmmadēvaḥ kuśalīḥ(ī) [*]
 10 Hēmvakamaṣamva-viśhayē Salachapikā¹- grāmē
 11 yathā-kāl-ādhyāsinō vyavahāriṇa[h*] sa-ka-
 12 rapām(nān) sa-danḍanāyaka-pramukhām(khān) nivāsi-
 13 na(nō) janapadām(dān) chāṭa-bhaṭa-vallabha-jātinām² yath-ā-
 14 rha[m*] mānayatī viditam=astu bhavatām ēśha³ kha-
 15 ṇḍa-kshētra[m*] Vājasanēya-charaṇḍbhya⁴ gōttra-Pārāsa-
 16 ra-Śaktivat Vāśiṣṭhavat Kaṇvavat Vināya⁵kaśarma-Nārā-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 17 — —[rda]śarmapē⁶ mātā-pitrōr-ātmanas-cha puṇy-ābhi-
 18 vṛidhayēḥ⁷ salilā-dhārā-pura[h*]saram-ā-chandr-ārka-sa-
 19 ma-kūlstvēna datta[m*] [*] pūrvva-diśām(śi) tūṇi vālmik-āgnēyām⁸
 20 taṭāka-si(sī)mānta[h*] | dakṣiṇa-diśām(śi) raṇya⁹ -si(sī)mānta[h*] | pa-
 21 śchima-diśām(śi) Kōśamva-taṭāka-si(sī)māntaḥ[*] uta(tta)-
 22 ra-diśām(śi) Udaya-taṭāka-si(sī)māntaḥ ēvam chaturabv¹⁰-a-
 23 pi dikṣu nirdiśṭa-spāṣṭa-si(sī)māntaḥ | na kēnachit
 24 paripamthina bhavitavyaḥ | tathā ch-ōktaṁ dharmā-śā[strē]

Third Plate.

- 25 Va(Ba)hubhir-vasudhā dattā rājāna¹¹ Sagar-ādibhi[h*] |
 26 yasya yasya yadā bhūmita(s-ta)sya tasya tadā phala[m*] | [*]
 27 Mā bhū-phala¹²-śamkā va[h*] |¹³ paradatē(tt-ē)ti pāthi(rthi)va(vāḥ) | sva-da-
 28 tā(ttāt=) phalam=ānantya[m*] |¹⁴ paradatā(tt-ā)nupālanaṁ(nō) ||
 29 dānaṁ muraḷā[h*] chatvāri¹⁴
 30 utki(tkī)raṇaṁ akṣhaśāli-śrī(śrī)-Padmachandrēṇa | samvaḥ(vat) 4
 31 Phālguna[na*]-śudi 3

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-14) Om Hail ! The illustrious *Mahārāja Indravarman*, who has acquired a store of virtues by worshipping the lotus feet of the illustrious god, *Gōkarpēśvara*, the almighty—who is

¹[The name of the village may be read also as *Salachapikā*, because the form of *v* in some cases closely resembles that of *ch*, as in *dēvāḥ*, l. 9.—Ed.]

² Read *jālyān*.

³ Read *śat*.

⁴ Read *charaṇḍbhyaṁ*.

⁵ The letter *ya* is incised almost below the line in smaller size, which shows that it was first omitted and later supplied.

⁶ Read *śarmabhyān*; the preceding portion is not clear.

⁷ Read *vṛiddhayē*.

⁸ Read *vālmikāgnēyām*. [The reading appears to be *trīṣi vālmik-āgnēyām* which may be corrected as *trīṣi vālmikāgnēyām*—(or *trayō vālmikāgnēyām*).—Ed.]

⁹ Read *raṇya*.

¹⁰ Read *rājābhīḥ*.

¹¹ Read *bhū-phala*.

¹² This *śamkā* is superfluous.

¹³ Read *chatvāriḥ*. The meaning of the expression *dānaṁ muraḷā chatvāri* is not clear. *Muraḷa* generally means a kind of musical instrument such as drum or tambourine. [*Muraḷa* may denote a land measure, the area of the donated land being four *muraḷas*.—Ed.] There is a symbol between the two *śaḍḍas* which looks like Nāgarī 6.

the lord of the fourteen worlds, who wears on the forehead the crescent, who is the cause of existence, creation and destruction and who resides on the summit of the hill *Mahendra*,—he a moon in the sky—namely the spotless race of the Gaṅgas, possessing overlordship of the whole of the *Kaliṅga* territory by the strength of his arms, endeared to all his vassals by the excellence of his threefold power, a great devotee of Mahēśvara (Śiva) and meditator upon the feet of his father and mother, being well duly advised from the victorious residence of *Śvētaka*, the existing administrative officers together with the accountant, the *Daṇḍanāyaka* and the like, the inhabiting people of the locality, the officials of the rank of *Chāṭa*, *Bhaṭa* and *Vallobha*—at the village of *Salachanikā* in the *vishaya* or district of *Hēmvakamaṭamva* :—

(Ll. 14-24) " Be it known to you that this piece of land is given along with the offering of water to *Vināyakaśarman* and . . . śarman of the *Vājasanēya charaṇa*, *Pārāsara gōtra* and *Śakti-Vasishṭha-Kaṇva pravara*¹ to continue as long as the sun and the moon exist for the increase of merit of mother, father and self. (It is bounded) on the east by an ant-hill, which is in the shape of a quiver², on the south-east by the tank, on the south by the forest, on the west by the tank called *Kōśamva* and on the north by the tank named *Udaya*. Thus on all sides it is marked by fixed and clear boundaries. No body should be opposed (to this grant). Thus it is said in the religious scriptures " :—

(Ll. 25-28) Here follow the two verses.

(L. 29) Gift of four *murajas*.

Incised by the illustrious *Akshasālin*³ *Padmachandra* ; on the 3rd day of the bright half of *Phālguna* of *Sarvat* 4.

No. 26.—THREE INSCRIPTIONS OF VAIDUMBA-MAHARAJA GANDATRINETRA.

By R. S. PANCHAMUKHI, M.A., MADRAS.

The three subjoined inscriptions which are edited here for the first time were copied by the Office of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Madras, in 1905, 1906 and 1922 respectively and are noticed in the *Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy* for the respective years⁴. They are called in the sequel **A**, **B** and **C** for the sake of convenience.

A.

The record is engraved on a slab set up in a field west of the village *Basinikoṇḍa* near *Madanapalle*. The alphabet is **Teḷugu-Kannaḍa** of the 9th century A.D. and resembles the script of the *Bāṇa* and *Chōḷa* records of the period secured in the *Puṅganūr* and *Cuddapah* regions. The language is **ancient Kannaḍa**.

The inscription records the death of a hero named *Kaṇṇa Punnapi-māpi* in a fight with **Noḷambi**, **Daḍiga**, **Rāchamalla**, **Mayindaḍi** and **Guṇḍige-gu[ḷḷa]** who had mustered their forces on the occasion of a raid on the fort of **Sōremaṭi** made by **Mahārāja** (i.e., **Gaṇḍatriṇētra**) and

¹ [See above p. 181, n. 2.—Ed.]

² [See above p. 182, n. 8.—Ed.]

³ As regards *akshasālin*, we find in *Kauṭilya's Arthasāstra* a chapter called "*Akshasālayām Suvaryaḍhyakṣhaḥ*". The Commentator interprets "*akshasālayām*" as "*suvarya-rūpya-ḍi-nirmāṇa-sālayām*". [The commentary quoted by R. Shamasastry in his translation of *Kauṭilya's Arthasāstra* (2nd ed., p. 97) runs as follows: *Akshasālayā* ḍi *suvarya-ḍi-parikarm-āvasthānasya saṅjāḍa*, i.e., "*Akshasālayā* is a name of the chamber in which the artistic work of gold and other metals is carried out."—Ed.] So the term *akshasālin* here seems to mean 'one who is in charge of the goldsmith's office'. [See also above, Vol. XXIII, p. 76.—Ed.]

⁴ Nos. 295 of 1905, 533 of 1906 and 314 of 1922 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

Bāparasa, when Vaidumba-Mahārāja Gaṇḍatripētra was ruling the earth. The chief interest of the record lies in the fact that it furnishes a synchronism which, as shown below, helps in determining the date of the battle and of Gaṇḍatripētra.

B.

This inscription is engraved on a slab standing near the ruined Śiva temple in the Yēnugarāti-maḍi field at Peddatippasamudram in the Madanapalle taluk of the Chittoor District. The alphabet is **early Telugu-Kannaḍa** and resembles that of A. In respect of **orthography**, it may be noted that the king's name is written as Kaṇḍatripētra instead of Gaṇḍatripētra. The language is **Telugu of the archaic type**. The nominative singular *ṇṇu* in *Chelvuṇṇu* is a precursor of later *ṇṇu*. The meaning of the expression *Yemmakāla* is not clear though it appears to have some connection with the Telugu word *emmekāḍu* meaning amorous or sportive (*vilāsa-vantuḍu*¹).

The record belongs to the same Vaidumba king Gaṇḍatripētra and states that Prabhu Chelvuṇṇu distinguished himself in the battle that took place between the Mahārāja and Noḷarāmbi at Sōremaṭi and died after opposing and piercing the Noḷarāmbi army. It adds that the Mahārāja's servant (*mānisi*) Muṭṭamale Dōchayya also had distinguished himself in a sportive way (?). It is not clear why Dōchayya is introduced here. Perhaps Dōchayya and Prabhu Chelvuṇṇu both started to oppose the Noḷarāmba army and the latter fell in his attempt to destroy the enemy's forces.

C.

This record is written on a slab in a field at Veligallu in the Madanapalle taluk of the Chittoor District. The alphabet is **early Telugu-Kannaḍa** and resembles the one found in the inscriptions of Bāpavidyādharma and Chōḷa Vikramāditya Satyādityuṇṇu. The shape of *l*, however, deserves to be noted (ll. 3, 5, 6, etc.). The language of the record is **archaic Telugu** in lines 1-5 and 14-16 and **ancient Kannaḍa** in lines 6-14. Orthography and idiom are not uncommon to the period and locality where the inscription is found. Lines 4-5 offer some difficulty in interpretation. The passage has been construed in the following order:—*Vaidumba-Mahārāju Chantamāna-Daḍini vadhimchina paṇi gaṇi, Kōḷa-Dēsingarāmbu śhiva ṅṇikin- edarayya Gaṇḍatripētrani paḍāḍi telam-boḍiche*, according to which Kōḷa-Dēsingarāmbu would be a servant of Chantamāna and an enemy of Gaṇḍatripētra. Similarly some of the epithets of Chantamāna which are in ancient Kannaḍa are peculiar and archaic in form and do not admit of easy interpretation.²

The inscription introduces Gaṇḍatripētra Vaidumba-Mahārāja as ruling over Rēnāṇḍu-seven-thousand country and states that Kōḷa Dēsingarāmbu, after seeing the act (*paṇi gaṇi*) of the Mahārāja killing Chantamāna-Daḍi in a conflict at Mudumaḍuvu during the fight with Noḷarāmbi, struck a blow at or pierced (*poḍiche*) the generals of Gaṇḍatripētra who had opposed the king (i.e., Noḷarāmba) who ruled over him. Lines 5-14 extol Chantamāna-Daḍi as a great valiant with a string of descriptive epithets. Lines 14-16 refer to Kōḷa-Dēsinga again and mention *vishaya-sūka* and *birādāya* at Veluṅgagunṭa (possibly modern Veligallu). The record was written by Śrīkapṭhadēva-Āchārjya (Āchārya). Since the grant portion is obscurely worded and badly damaged, the purport of the record is not clear though it appears that Kōḷa-Dēsingarāmbu granted these incomes to Chantamāna's family in memory of his valour.

From the contents of the records given above, it may be gathered that Vaidumba-Mahārāja Gaṇḍatripētra fought with a Noḷarāmba king at Sōremaṭi in the course of which he killed Chantamāna-Daḍi at Mudumaḍuvu. According to A, the combatants that met at Sōremaṭi

¹ Vide Telugu Dictionary Śabdaratnākaram, p. 111.

² See Translation below, p. 193.

were the Mahārāja and Bānarasa on the one side, and Noḷam̄bi, Daḍiga, Rāchamalla, Mayindaḍi and Guṇḍigegulla (†) on the other. A Baṅgavāḍi record¹ of Mahābali Bānarasa adds that Permānaḍigaḷ had joined the party of the Mahārāja in a fight with the same enemies at Māndāvuda. According to the Chadalla inscription² Mahābali-Bānarasa rose against Noḷam̄ba, Rāchamalla and Mayindaḍi on the battle field of Sōremaṭi on behalf of Permānaḍi. Mayindaḍi's name is substituted by Mayindiramikkirama (Mahēndravikrama) in another inscription of Baṅgavāḍi³ dated in the 24th year of Vijaya Narasimhavikramavarman. The Sōremaṭi battle which took place during the reign of Gaṇḍatriṇētra must have therefore been of great consequence for the history of the south-eastern Dekkan in this early period. An attempt will be made in the sequel to enquire into the causes that led to the meeting of these powers at Sōremaṭi and to ascertain the probable date when this important event occurred as also the result of this campaign.

Two of the Vaidumba kings, viz., Manujatriṇētra and Gaṇḍatriṇētra, are stated to be ruling over Rēnāḍu-seven-thousand country which, as we know, had been subject to the administration of the Chōlas under Vikramāditya Satyādityunṅu.⁴ The Rēnāḍu country comprised a major part of Cuddapah and Kurnool Districts along the valley of the Kundēru river. The Mālepāḍu stone inscription of the Chōla king Satyāditya states that Siddhi-one-thousand (Siddhaut country) also formed part of the dominions of the Chōlas.⁵ Since the inscriptions of these early Chōlas are found in the Proddatur taluk of the Cuddapah District, Madanapalle and Puṅganūr taluka of the Chittoor District, besides Gōribidanūr of the Kolar District,⁶ Mysore State, it may be surmised that their territory extended almost over the whole of the Cuddapah and Kurnool Districts, part of Chittoor and the north-western portion of the Kolar Districts. This could not have been held by them intact from the beginning of their political career. For Pulinaḍu (in Puṅganūr) was mainly a Bāṅa district and had been occupied by the Chōlas in the course of their aggressive campaign.⁷ Similarly Gōribidanūr which was included originally in the Gaṅga or Noḷam̄ba territory had been wrested from them by the Chōlas in a similar campaign. The Rāshṭrakūṭas who were engaged in battles with the Gaṅgas, the Eastern Chālukyas and the Pallavas in the 8th and the beginning of the 9th centuries A.D. could not devote their attention to the expansion of their dominion in the south-east of Dekkan, nor could they have done so without subduing the Gaṅgas and the Noḷam̄bas who ruled in the intervening province.

The Bāṅa (or Bṛihad-Bāṅas;⁸ who were originally settled in the Śrīśaila country in the 4th century A.D. lingered on and continued to rule in the Gooty province⁹ in the 7th-8th centuries A.D. as subordinates of the Chālukyas of Bādāmi. After the decline of the Chālukyas, one branch appears to have slowly moved down to the south and taken service under the Pallava kings, protecting the north-western frontier of the latter's country. Their inscriptions are found in the

¹ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Mb. 228.

² No. 453 of 1906 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

³ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Mb. 227.

⁴ Above, Vol. XI, p. 337. No. 342 of 1922 and *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Bāḡepalle 62. In the latter, the Kīrudore is mentioned as the limit of Rēnāḍu. This might be the Kundēru river mentioned below.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 345, Postscript.

⁶ *E.g.*, Nos. 466 and 517 of 1906, 307 and 329 of 1922-23, 299 of 1905, 174 of 1931-32, of the Madras Epigraphical Collection; *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Gōribidanūr 69, 72-75, etc.

⁷ Nos. 174 and 183 (probably a Chōla record) of 1931-32. The Chōlas could not have occupied this district without an encounter with the Bāṅas.

⁸ Tālgunda Pillar inscription of Kākusthavarmān (above, Vol. VIII, pp. 24 ff.). Perh̄bāṅavarmān is mentioned in an inscription of Śrīvallabha-Mahārājādhirāja, from Arakatavēmula in the Cuddapah District (No. 474 of 1906). This Śrīvallabha is most probably Chālukya Vikramāditya I who according to the Gadvāl grant acquired the title of Śrīvallabha after defeating the Pallavas.

⁹ Nos. 333 and 343 of 1920 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

North Arcot and Salem Districts as well as in the Kolar and Chittoor Districts. Bāṇavidyādhara figures as a subordinate of Pallava Dantivarman and Nandivarman III and prior to him a certain Bāṇarasa who was probably Jayanandivarman or his son Malladēva held a subordinate position under Nandivarman Pallavamalla. Thus the Bāṇas had at this period thrown in their lot with the Pallavas who were waging constant wars with the Rāshtrakūṭas and Gaṅgas in the north and the Pāṇḍyas in the south. In the 9th century A.D. their territory extended far beyond their ancestral home. A record of Dhavaḷeyarasa of the Mahābalikula dated in Śaka 807 is found at Poṭṭipāḍu which would show that the northern boundary of their dominions extended up to the Jammalamaḍugu taluk; in the west, portions of Gōribidanūr, Kōlār and Muḷbāgal were included in their province as their inscriptions are found in that area and in the east Kālahasti formed probably the extreme limit of their province. Their original home, however, lay between Kālahasti and Puṅganūr to the north of the Pālār which area constituted the Perumbāṇappāḍi of the Tamil inscriptions.¹ This must have comprised the Vaḍugavaḷi-twelve-thousand and Pulināḍu-sixty. The occupation of the Cuddapah District as far north as Jammalamaḍugu must have brought them face to face with the Chōlas of Rēnāḍu. Several Chōla records are found in this area, but the king is represented by the general epithet Chōla-mahārāja which does not help us in determining the period of the inscription or of the chief mentioned therein. After a rule of over 200 years,² the Chōla power was probably not strong enough to resist the invasions of the Bāṇas who, as stated above, pushed forward their conquests as far north as Jammalamaḍugu which was purely a Chōla country.

This Bāṇa-Chōla conflict must have commenced much earlier. For we find at Chippili a stone record of Puṇyakumāra³ who in all probability was the donor of the Mālepāḍu plates, and in the same place is discovered an epigraph of śri-Malladēva⁴ who appears to have been referred to as Bāṇarasa in the record. If Malladēva is a Bāṇa chief, he must be identified with the father of Bāṇavidyādhara who flourished in the first half of the 9th century A.D. This would show that some time after Puṇyakumāra⁵ the Bāṇas must have subjugated the Chōlas and occupied a portion of their territory. This event must have taken place after the time of Vikramāditya Satyādityuṅgu, who ruled over Rēnāḍu-seven-thousand and Siddhi-one-thousand. The Chōlas were possibly driven to the north towards Cuddapah, Proddatur and Siddhaut,⁶ where, too, their rule was not uninterrupted by the Bāṇas as evidenced by the Poṭṭipāḍu record of Dhavaḷeyarasa. They probably continued as petty chieftains in a portion of Rēnāḍu awaiting an opportunity to avenge the defeat inflicted on them by the Bāṇas.

The Nolambas who had become the faithful servants of the Rāshtrakūṭas⁷ by about A.D. 770 and whose territory lay adjacent to that of the Bāṇas could not have remained unaffected by the

¹ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1903-04, Part II, para. 26; *ibid.*, for 1906-07, p. 65, and above, Vol. IX, pp. 231 and 233.

² Hsien Tsiang (*cir.* A.D. 642) mentions the Chōlas as a ruling power in the Cuddapah region. I have shown (above, Vol. XXIII, p. 97) that one branch of the Chōlas ruled in the Godavari District in the 6th century A.D. and it is likely that another branch ruled simultaneously in the Rēnāḍu country which was ultimately overthrown by the Bāṇas in the 9th century A.D.

³ No. 299 of 1905 of the *Madras Epigraphical Collection*.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 301.

⁵ Recently a record of an early Puṇyakumāra—apparently a Chōla—engraved in characters of about the 5th century A.D. has been discovered at Tippalūr in the Kamalapuram taluk of the Cuddapah District. This would show that the Chōlas were the earliest occupants of Rēnāḍu prior to the Bāṇas and the Vaidumbas.

⁶ No Chōla records of the 9-10th century A.D. are found in the Madanapalle region whereas a number of Bāṇa epigraphs exists in that locality.

⁷ Two Chajjakere inscriptions of Prabhūtarsha Gōvinda (II) in which Chārnponnēra figures as the king's subordinate.

aggressive campaigns of the latter. Poḷalchōra who was a feudatory of Nītimārga Eregaṅga¹ (Śaka 775) invaded Pulināḍu of the Bāṅas who under Prabhumēru Vijayāditya occupied as a counter-measure the Gaṅgarusāsira District of the Noḷambas. The conflict assumed a serious turn in the time of Mahēndra-Noḷambādhirāja who was determined to establish his power by exterminating the Bāṅa race and who accordingly sent a force under the command of Kāḍuveṭṭi and Maḍuva to seize Pulināḍu.² It may be noted that Bāṅa Vijayāditya's inscriptions are found in a portion of the Kolar District which comprised the Gaṅgarusāsira of the Noḷambas. It is significant to find that the Gaṅga king Rāchamalla I had contracted a marriage alliance with the Noḷamba Poḷalchōra by giving his daughter Jāabbe to him, so that their dominion in the south might be safeguarded from the attacks of the Pallavas and the Bāṅas. In one of the Būdikōṭe inscriptions,³ Rāchamalla II is stated to have carried an expedition against Kāñchī, when Gaṅgarusāsira was under the administration of a Bāṅarasa who was evidently Prabhumēru Vijayāditya. And Mahēndra is described in a Hindupur record⁴ to have been ruling the country extending up to Kāñchī. These events establish clearly the political hostility between the Gaṅga and the Noḷamba on the one side and the Bāṅa and the Pallava on the other in the period under review.

We know that the Gaṅga throne passed to the line of Vijayāditya, the younger brother of Śivamāra, in supersession of the latter's sons Yuvarāja Mārasimha and Pṛithvīpati I. There are reasons to think that Mārasimha died prior to his father,⁵ but Pṛithvīpati I ought to have, when he came of age, succeeded to his father's kingdom though perhaps he was a minor at the time of Śivamāra's death. Pṛithvīpati I's claim was evidently overlooked by his uncle Vijayāditya 'who had received the Gaṅga kingdom from his brother only as a trust as Bharata had that of Rāma'. Pṛithvīpati had, therefore, out of despair and disappointment, to seek alliance with the opposite party, i.e., the Pallavas by taking service under them and giving his daughter Kundavve in marriage to Bāṅavidyādhara, the most powerful Bāṅa prince who was the servant of Pallava Dantivikramavarman and Nandivarman III. Thus the Bāṅas and the collateral Gaṅga branch became allies by this marriage under the patronage of the Pallavas who were the inveterate foes of the Rāshtrakūṭas, the Gaṅgas and the Noḷambas.

The unsettled political condition in the Rēnāṅḍu country in the 9th century A.D. was favourable for the rise of petty chieftains to power. Some time in the beginning of that century, the Vaidumbas who hailed probably from Vaidumbavrōlu* (Madanapalle taluk) tried to measure their strength with the Chōḷas and other powers of the Dekkan. Their history is not known during the period of Chōḷa ascendancy. Since at Chippilī, the records of Chōḷa, Bāṅa and Vaidumba

¹ No. 588 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection and *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1913, Part II, para. 13, p. 91.

² Kaḷakatūr record (*Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1913, No. 306 of 1912).

³ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Bowringpet 86.

⁴ No. 588 of 1912 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁵ Mārasimha has issued as Yuvarāja the Nelamaṅgala and Ālūr copper-plate charters dated respectively in A.D. 797 and A.D. 799. Śivamāra would not have offered the throne to his brother if Mārasimha the heir-apparent had been alive. It may be remarked that the view that these two charters are spurious is no longer tenable, since the script employed in them is perfectly regular for the period and closely resembles the writing of the Maṅge plates of Rāshtrakūṭa Gōvinda III (*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. IX, Nl. 61). Further, the historical details mentioned in them are now corroborated by several genuine Gaṅga grants such as the Kūḍalur plates of Mārasimha II and the apparently impossible reference in them to the recrowning of Śivamāra II by Gōvinda III and Pallava Nandivarman III which took place in about A. D. 813 will have to be explained by supposing that the grants actually made by Mārasimha when his father was in prison were issued after the liberation and re-coronation of Śivamāra in A. D. 813, incorporating the events that had happened in the interval.

* Rice has suggested that Tuṅba in the North Arcot District might be the original habitat of the family.

kings are discovered,¹ that of the Vaidumbas being palaeographically the latest in date, it may be surmised that the Vaidumbas had not yet attained an independent position in the 8th century A.D. and must have consolidated their power only after Malladēva or Bāpavidyādharma. Accordingly they are found fighting with the Chōlas and the Bāṅas at this period from whom they must have wrested Madanapalle and extended their territory on all sides so as to include in it the whole of Rēnāṅḍu-seven-thousand province. Their aggressive policy is noticeable in their records found in the Bāgepalli taluk of the Kolar District which was included in the Nojāmba territory. Finally the Chōla-Mahārājas appear to have been driven away from their country to a corner in the Gōribidanūr taluk of the Kolar District where, too, they had to fight constantly with the Nojāmbas under Mahēndra.²

From the foregoing brief analysis of the political situation in the south-eastern Dekkan in the latter half of the 9th century A.D., it is apparent that the Vaidumbas and the Bāṅas had by their aggressive campaigns created enemies of the Gaṅga, Nojāmba and Chōla kings of the time and were biding an opportunity to give a decisive blow to the three powers. Such an opportunity offered itself in the cause of the Gaṅga Prithivīpati I whose claims to the hereditary throne had been set at naught by Vijayāditya and his son Rāchamalla I. Prithivīpati appears to have proclaimed himself king, at least temporarily, with the aid of the Bāṅas; for we find him as the reigning sovereign in a few inscriptions of the Punganūr taluk which belong to the 9th century A.D. on palaeographical grounds.³ But Prithivīpati having been killed in a fight with Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa, the struggle seems to have been continued by Nanniya-Gaṅga who, as stated in an inscription of Hirēbidanūr⁴, was the son of Prithivīpati of the Gaṅga family. A record at Kibbenahalli⁵ in the Tumkur District informs us that Nanniya-Gaṅga, evidently the son of Prithivīpati I, fought with Satyavākya Rāchamalla who must be the second prince of that name. We also learn from an epigraph at Rāyakōṭa (Salem District) that Mahābali Bāṅarasa invaded Maṅge on behalf of Gaṅga who could be no other than Nanniya-Gaṅga.⁶ The Bāṅa chief, presumably Prabhumeru Vijayāditya, was victorious in the campaign, as some of his inscriptions represent him as ruling over Maṅge in addition to Vaḍuga-vaḷi-twelve-thousand province. It must be in the course of this fight that Nanniya-Gaṅga occupied Talakāḍu, the capital of the Western Gaṅgas, and proclaimed himself king, with the regal epithet Nītimārga as shown by a stone record at Arakalgūḍ.⁷ The only Nanniya-Gaṅga known to the Gaṅga genealogy is Būtuga II who was, however, a Satyavākya and not Nītimārga. Hence the Nanniya-Gaṅga Nītimārga of the Arakalgūḍ record must be the son of Prithivīpati only, who must have borne the surname Nītimārga as a rightful successor of Satyavākya Rāchamalla whom he had ousted.⁸ It was on this occasion that Rāchamalla II mustered his forces and sought the assistance of

¹ Nos. 298-301 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection, see also p. 186, foot-note 4 above.

² *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Bāgepalli 62.

³ Nos. 326, 334 and 337 of 1912. Priduvayya-Piḍuvipati-Prithivīpati of these inscriptions has to be identified with Prithivīpati I who sacrificed his life for his friend Aparājita in the battle of Śrīpurambiyam with Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa, since No. 337 bears an apparent reference to this battle in which the Pāṇḍya was one of the contending parties. See also *Madras Epigraphical Report*, 1913, part II, p. 93. No. 326 describes Piḍuvipati as the younger brother of Durvinita. This Durvinita was evidently different from the son of Avinīta who flourished in the 6th century A.D. Yuvarāja Mārasimha had apparently borne the surname Durvinita.

⁴ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Gōribidanūr 4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XII, Tp. 55.

⁶ *S. J. I.*, Vol. VII, No. 4. The Bāṅas are not known to have been the friends of the Western Gaṅgas of the main line at this period.

⁷ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. V, Arakalgūḍ 24.

⁸ The epithets Satyavākya and Nītimārga were borne alternately by the Western Gaṅga kings.

his relatives, the Noḷambas, who were in open hostility with the Bāṇas and met on different fronts¹ of battle such as Sōremaṭi,² Mudumaḍuvu,³ Tiruvuḷa,⁴ Māndāvuda,⁵ etc., the Bāṇas and Permānaḍi, *i.e.*, Nanniya Gaṅga who had been joined by the Vaidumbas on account of the common enmity with the Noḷambas and the Chōḷas. Since Satyavākya Rāchamalla and Nanniya Gaṅga were the rival claimants to the Gaṅga throne at this period, they both appear to have been called 'Permānaḍi' in the records of their respective subordinates or allies. Thus 'Permānaḍi' of the Kaḷakattūr record of Noḷambadiyarasa apparently refers to Rāchamalla while that occurring in the Bāṇa inscriptions such as Baṅgavāḍi, Chadalla and Rāyakōṭa epigraphs mentioned above refers to Nanniya-Gaṅga, the refugee of the Bāṇas who were instrumental in placing him on the Gaṅga throne at Taḷakāḍu. Among the allies that met at Sōremaṭi, Rāchamalla was evidently Satyavākya Rāchamalla II, Noḷambi was Mahēndra and Mayindaḍi, who was otherwise known as Mayindirāmaḱkīrama, was probably identical with the Chōḷa king Mayindamachōḷa-Mahārāja who is referred to as king in an inscription at Hirēbidanūr.⁶ Daḍiga was possibly the Daḍiga of a Gōribidanūr⁷ record who figures as an ally of (Noḷamba) Mahēndra. It is not impossible that this Daḍiga was Chantamāna-Daḍi who, as stated in inscription C below, fought with Gaṅḍatrinētra on behalf of Noḷambi.⁸ It must be as a preliminary to or in the course of the fateful battle of Sōremaṭi that Mahēndra sent under the orders of Permānaḍi, *i.e.*, Rāchamalla II, his officers Kāḍuveṭṭi and Maḍuva to seize Taḷakāḍu which was now, as stated above, in the hands of Nanniya-Gaṅga and to invade Pulinaḍu on the way. This intensive fight finally resulted in glorious victory to Mahēndra. Pulinaḍu of the Bāṇas was captured, the city Permāvi was burnt,⁹ Nanniya-Gaṅga was dethroned and Rāchamalla re-occupied Taḷakāḍu. The Bāṇa who was the principal aggressor in the struggle was routed and finally killed by Mahēndra. In the records of Baragūr and Dharmapuri¹⁰, Mahēndra is described as ruling the country in peace and quiet after having eradicated the Chōḷas and other kinsmen and destroyed root and branch the Mahābali race. The latter is dated in Śaka 815 (A.D. 892) by which time the event must have been accomplished. As the event is narrated as a fresh and recent exploit of Mahēndra, the Sōremaṭi battle which formed only an item in the long struggle must have taken place a few years before the destruction of the Mahābali race. Since Rāchamalla II issued his Bīḷiyūr charter in his 18th year corresponding to Śaka 809 (A.D. 887), it may be presumed that the battle was fought in about A.D. 885.¹¹

The battle of Sōremaṭi proved fatal to the confederate allies. After Prabhūmāru Vijayāditya, the Bāṇas are thrown into oblivion until the time of Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa III who

¹ Nos. 309 and 310 of 1923 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection and inscription C below indicate that these were fought during the same period. The Loṅkuḷas figure here as the enemies of Vaidumbas whereas in an archaic inscription copied recently at Tsadamu (Puṅganūr taluk), a certain Loṅkuḷāditya is represented as administering Sadambu under Vaidumba-Mahārāja. Probably on the eve of the Sōremaṭi battle the Loṅkuḷas availed of the general political chaos, rebelled against their masters and fought against them at Sōremaṭi (No. 310 of 1923) apparently on behalf of the Noḷamba, etc.

² Inscriptions A and B below; Nos. 543 of 1906 and 310 of 1923 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

³ Inscription C below.

⁴ No. 309 of 1923 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁵ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Mb. 228.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Gōribidanūr 69.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Gōribidanūr 75.

⁸ The Noḷamba enemy of Gaṅḍatrinētra was Mahēndra.

⁹ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1913, Part II, para. 13, p. 91.

¹⁰ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII, Sl. 24 and 38; above, Vol. X, p. 65.

¹¹ *Coory Inscriptions*, No. 2. See also Arakalgūḍ 24 and 26 the former of which mentions Taddayya as an officer of king Nitinārga Nanniya-Gaṅga while the latter, dated in Rāchamalla's 19th year (A.D. 888), refers to his death in a fight.

reinstated the last prince of the family, viz., Vikramāditya III¹ in a part of the Chōla territory conquered by him. We find one Saṁbayya of the Mahābali race as an officer under Iṛiva-Noḷaṁba in A.D. 961.² Nanniya-Gaṅga himself who was left a destitute after the destruction of the Bāgas had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Noḷaṁbas. For he figures as a subordinate of Nanniga Bīra-Noḷaṁba³ in an inscription of Hirebidanūr and fights with the Sāntaras on behalf of his master. The Vaidumbas, too, could not have maintained their independence for long after A.D. 885. Though the order of succession and chronology of the several Vaidumba chiefs known to epigraphy cannot be determined for want of sufficient data, their subordination to the Rāshtrakūṭas and Noḷaṁbas in the 10th century A.D. is gathered from the following evidence: A Kīlūr inscription⁴ of Kṛishṇa III refers to Vaidumba-Mahārāja Vikramāditya as a governor of Malāḍu, Vāṇagōppāḍi, Siṅgapuranāḍu and Veṅkuraḱōṭṭam. A Vaidumba chief Vikramādityaṅ Tiruvayyaṅ is represented as an officer under Iṛiva-Noḷaṁba in the records⁵ of Bowringpet and Chintāmaṇi, the latter of which is dated in A.D. 951. Chandra-ākhara or Śandayaṅ was also a subordinate of this Noḷaṁba king.⁶ It is possible that he was the son of Tiruvayya mentioned above. His son Tiruvayya II was ruling in the South Arcot District under Kṛishṇa III in A.D. 961-62.⁷ In one of the Grāmam inscriptions his son Śrīkaṅṭha is mentioned as an officer under the same king in A.D. 965.⁸ Prior to A.D. 951, Vikramāditya who ruled in the Chōla country appears to have been driven away from there in consequence of which his son Tiruvayya I had to take shelter under the Noḷaṁbas. This event must have taken place some time before the famous battle of Takkōlam in A.D. 948 after which date the Rāshtrakūṭa power was acknowledged in the Tamil land at least for some years to come. Since Kṛishṇa's record of his 5th regnal year (A.D. 944) is found at Siddhalīṅgamaḍam in the South Arcot District, it is possible that he conquered the Chōlas soon after his accession to the throne and appointed the Vaidumba chief Vikramāditya in the newly acquired territory. Not long after, Parāntaka I appears to have recovered the lost province from the Rāshtrakūṭas as a result of which the Vaidumba Vikramāditya or his son Tiruvayya had to retreat to the Noḷaṁba territory and take service under them. Kṛishṇa III, however, not brooking this reverse, led a huge army against the Chōlas in A.D. 947-48 and inflicted a crushing defeat on their king at Takkōlam. Parāntaka I must have repulsed the Rāshtrakūṭas from South Arcot within a few years after this event; for he is known to have issued a record⁹ in his 48th year (A.D. 955) as far north as Puṅganūr in the Chittoor District. But Kṛishṇa did not keep quiet. He again marched to the south and camped at Mēlpāḍi on the Pennār in A.D. 959¹⁰ with the object of distributing his new acquisitions among his trusted servants. Accordingly we find Tiruvayya II as ruling over South Arcot in A.D. 961-62. From an inscription at Pālagiri¹¹ which refers to an early Vaidumba Mahārāja under Chalukya-Nallāta Akālavarsha Kṛishṇa (III), it may be surmised that the main line of the Vaidumbas con-

¹ Above, Vol. XVII, p. 3. See also above, Vol. III, pp. 74 ff.

² *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Mb. 123.

³ *Ibid.*, Gōribidanūr 4. Nanniga Bīra-Noḷaṁba was Ayyapadēva son of Mahēndra, who succeeded his uncle Nuḷipayya sometime after Śaka 820, Pīṅgaḷa.

⁴ No. 16 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

⁵ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. X, Bp. 4 and Ct. 49.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Mb. 198. See also above, Vol. VII, pp. 142-144.

⁷ Above, Vol. VII, pp. 142 ff.

⁸ No. 743 of 1905. But another son of his Śaṅkaradēva and grandson Sōmanātha figure as feudatories of the Chōla kings Rājarāja I and Rājendra Chōla I in certain Tiruvallam inscriptions.

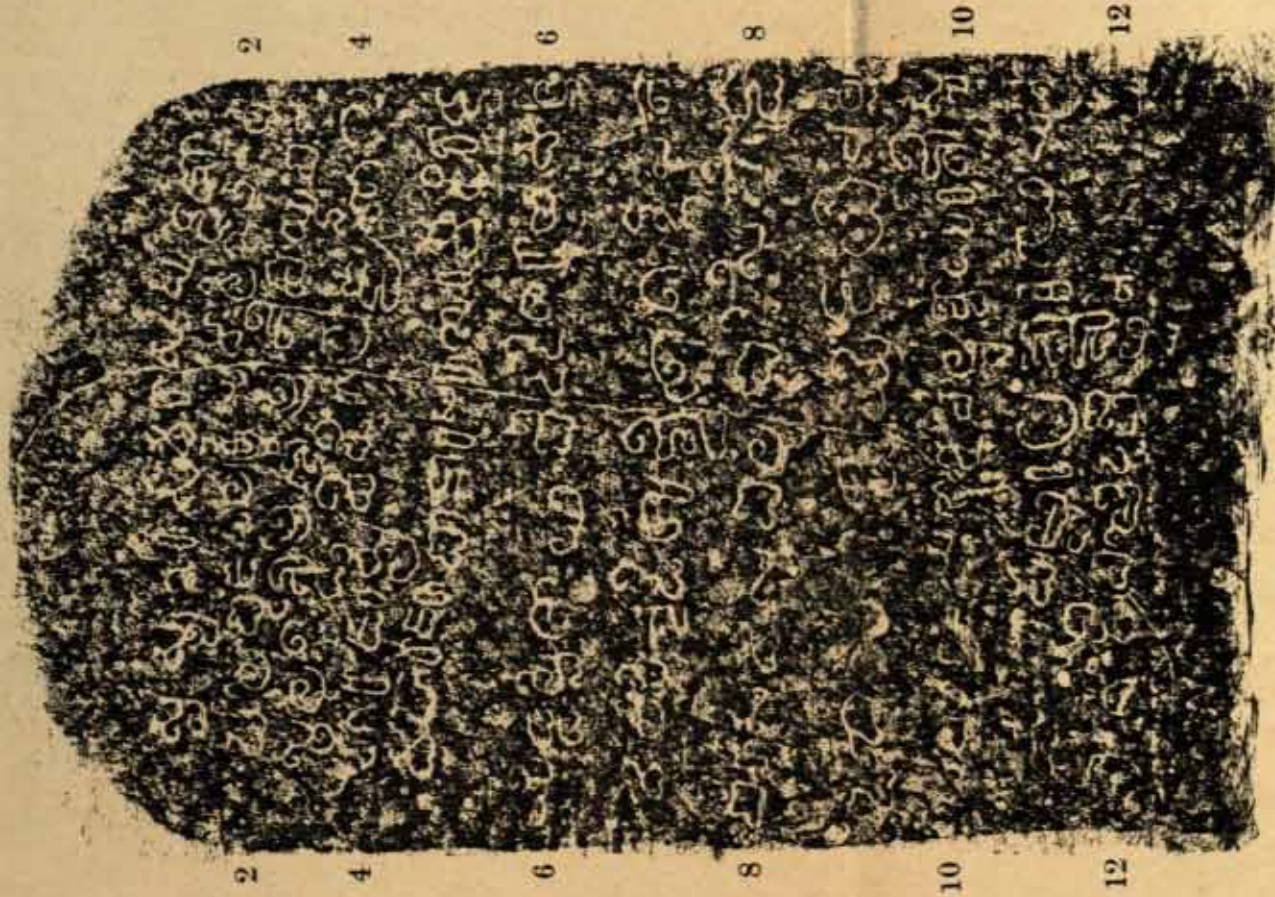
⁹ No. 200 of 1931-32.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. IV, p. 286.

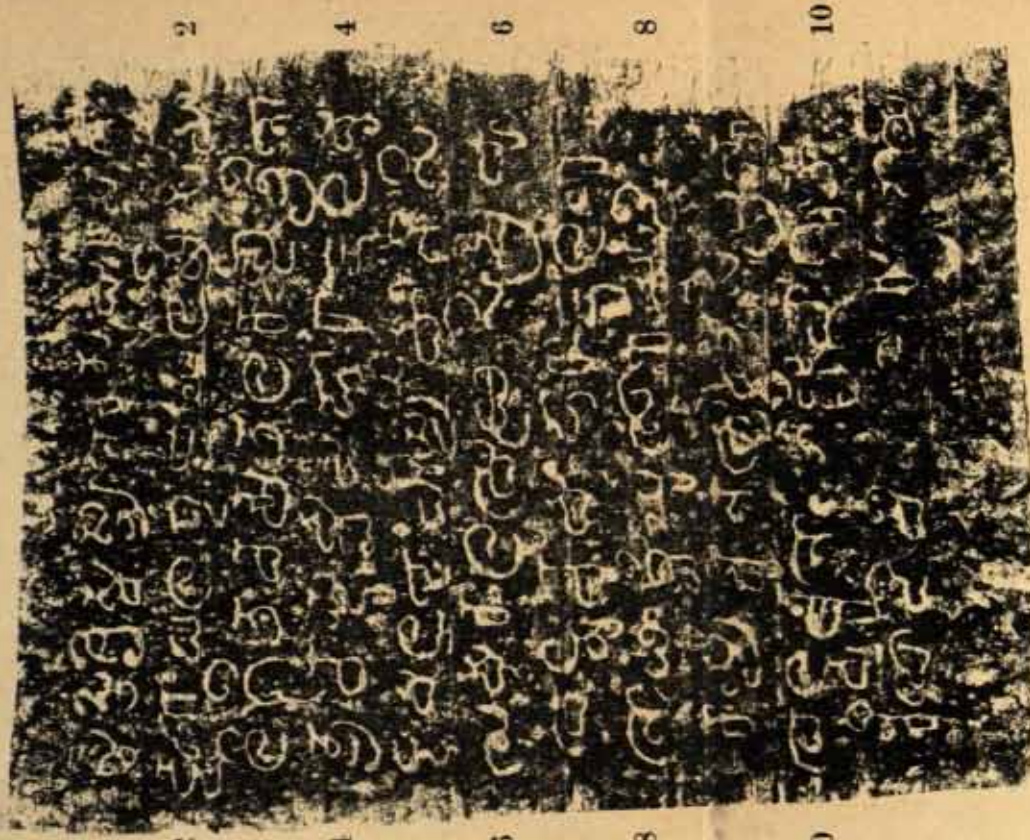
¹¹ No. 323 of 1935-36 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection.

THREE INSCRIPTIONS OF VAIDUMBA-MAHARAJA GANDATRINETRA.

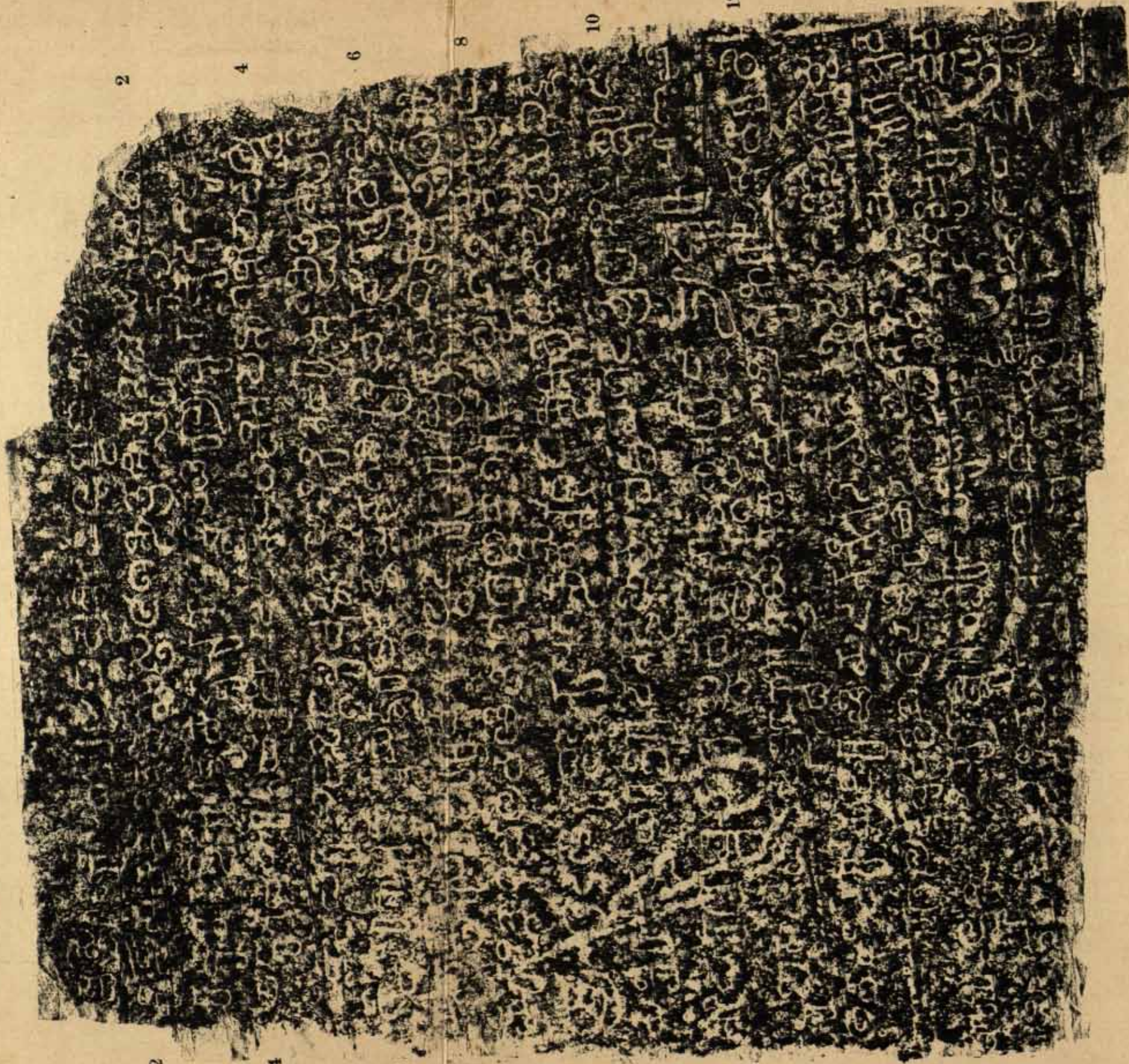
A



B



C



SCALE: ONE-EIGHTH.

tinued to hold the Cuddapah District in this period. This is supported by a charter of Vaidumba Mahārāja Bhuvanatrīṇētra¹ dated in Śaka 898 (A.D. 971) according to which the king was ruling the country from his palace at Pottappi in Pākanāḍu. After the Rāshtrakūṭas, the Vaidumbas were reduced to vassalage by the Chōlas as testified to by a record² of Rājarāja I dated in his 14th regnal year (A.D. 938-99) and the Tiruvallam inscription³ of his 20th year (A.D. 1004-05) in which Nannamaraiyar son of Tukkarai belonging to the Vaidumba family figures as the governor of Ingallūr-nāḍu, a district in Mahārājavāḍi (Cuddapah District). The district of Mahārājavāḍi remained in the hands of the Chōlas under Rājādhirāja I also whose officer Rājēndrachōja-Brahmamārāya was governing it in Śaka 970 from his capital Vallūru in the Cuddapah District.⁴ From the Pālagiri record⁵ of Śaka 978 mentioned above, it is learnt that Vaidumba Mahārāja Kaligetrīṇētra Bhīma-Mahārāja, son of Ma[dhu]ka-Mahārāja did not acknowledge a suzerain power while making the gift which probably indicates that he attempted to declare independence during the troublous period consequent upon the warfare between the Chālukyas and Chōlas in the 11th century A.D. This is the latest known date for the Vaidumba chiefs and the history of the family in the subsequent period remains to be cleared up by future discoveries.

Of the localities mentioned in the records proper, **Sōremaṭi** cannot be identified. It must be located in the Nōlamba territory adjoining Madanapalle since Vaidumba and Bāṇa are stated to have laid siege to it. **Mudumaḍuvu** which was one of the scenes of the Sōremaṭi battle may be identified with Mudimaḍugu in the Anantapur District. **Veluṅgaguṇṭa** is modern Veligallu in the Chittoor District where the inscription C was found. Rēnāḍu-seven-thousand comprised a major part of the modern Cuddapah and Kurnool Districts.

TEXT of A.⁶

- 1 Svasty-anēka-samarā(ra)-samghatṭaṅ-ō-
- 2 palobda(labdha)-jaya-lakshmi-samāhīṅgita-vaksha-
- 3 sta(stha)la Gaṇḍatre(tri)ṇētra śrī-B(V)aydumba-Mā(Ma)-
- 4 hārājar pṛii(pṛi)thivī-rājyam-geye(yye)
- 5 Mahārājaru[m] Bāṇarasaruṁ Sōremaṭi kō[ṭṭ]em(kōṭṭe)
- 6 yiṭṭalli Nōlambi Daḍigarṁ Rāchamalla[m]
- 7 Mayindaḍi Guṇḍigegu[ḥa] ene.⁷
- 8 baru samasta-balaṁ beṇisi biṭṭo-
- 9 ḍe go[la]-go[ṭṭu] yiṭṭ-eḷivalli
- 10 yadoḍe vallur[ba]lyar-apisū-
- 11 Pārvara aṇṇark-Kaṇe Punna-
- 12 pi-māṇi yiridu biḍdan [!]*

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-4) Hail! when the illustrious Vaidumba-Mahārāja Gaṇḍatrīṇētra whose breast was embraced by the goddess of victory obtained in several conflicts of battles, was ruling the earth,

¹ An. Rep. on S. I. Epigraphy for 1935-36, C. P. No. 7. See also No. 325 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection bearing the date Śaka 894 which records the coronation of this chief. Recently a record at Animals (Kamalapuram taluk, Cuddapah District) has been discovered which is dated in Śaka 898 and belongs to Vaidumba Irigāya-Mahārāja.

² Mēlpāḍi inscription (S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 29, No. 19).

³ S. I. I., Vol. III, p. 106.

⁴ Above, Vol. V, p. 207.

⁵ From ink impression.

⁶ No. 323 of 1935-36.

⁷ Read inibaru.

(Ll. 5-9) the **Mahārāja** and **Bāparasa** having attacked (*yiḍu*-to hit) the fort of **Sōremaṭi**, **Noḷarṅbi**, **Daḍiga**, **Rāchamalla**, **Mayindaḍi** and **Guṇḍige-gu[ḷḷa]**—all these having camped with all their armies,—offered battle (*goḷa-goḷḷu*) and destroyed (*the enemies*), after an attack,

(Ll. 10-12) **Kare Punnapi-Māni** elder brother of.....Pārva.....pierced (*the foes*) and fell.

TEXT of B.¹

- 1 Svasti śrī(śrī) [||*] Svasty-anēka-samara-saṅga.²
- 2 ṭṭaṅ-ōpalabda(bdha)-jaya-lakshmī-samā-
- 3 liṅgita-vaksha-tala³ Kaṇḍatripē-⁴
- 4 tra Vaydumba-Mahārājula Mu-
- 5 ṭṭamale Dōchayya mānisi
- 6 yemmakāla meṇesi prabhū-
- 7 Chelvuṅṅu Mā(Ma)hārājulayu
- 8 Noḷombiyu Sōremaṭi
- 9 kayyambuna meṇesi prabhū
- 10 Chelvuṅṅu Noḷombi-vāḡū(gu) tā-
- 11 nki(nki) poḍichi [vīra-lō]kā..pōye [||*]

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 1-3) Usual *prabasti* of Vaidumba chiefs,

(Ll. 4-11) Servant (*mānisi*) **Dōchayya** of Muṭṭamale of **Vaidumba-Mahārāja** **Kaṇḍatripētra**, distinguished himself sportively (?) (*yemmakāla*)² and Prabhu **Chelvuṅṅu** shone off in the battle of **Sōremaṭi** (*fought*) between the **Mahārāja** and **Noḷarṅbi**; (*of these*), Prabhu **Chelvuṅṅu** met and attacked the **Noḷarṅbi** army and went to the world of heroes (*i.e.*, died).

TEXT of C.⁵

- 1 Svasty-anēka-samara-²saṅgashṭaṅ-ōpalabda(bdha)-jayā(ya)-la
- 2 kshimī(kshmi)-sama(mā)liṅgita-[vo](va)ksha-stala³ Gaṇḍa-Tre(tri)ṇētra [śrī]-Baiy-
dumba⁴-Mahā-
- 3 ra(rā)ju Rēnāṅḍ-ē]u-vē]um(vēlum)=ē]uchu(ēluchu)ṅi Noḷambi-tō]i kayyambu[na]
Mudumaḍuvuna
- 4 pōṭuna Maharaju (Mahārāju) Chantamāna-Daḍini vadhiṅchina paṇi gaṇi paḍa(dā)lve-
- 5 [la]m=boḍiche Kō[ra]-Dēsiniḡambu(Dēsiniḡambu) ē]ina ṅēnikin=edarayna Gaṇḍa-
Tre(tri)ṇētrani
- 6... raṇa[m]bu [||*] urbbiyo]=sakalado]=orbane gaṇḍan śrī-Chantaman=entum=olpi[de]-

¹ From ink-impression.

² Read *sthala*.

³ The meaning of this word is not clear. Can *Yemmakāla* be taken as the name of the servant of *Dōchayya* (*Dōchayya-mānisi*)? In this case it would be this *Yemmakāla* who distinguished himself (*in battle*) as stated in line 6.

⁴ From ink-impression.

⁵ Read *vaksha-sthala*.

² Read *saṅgha*.

⁴ Read *Gaṇḍa*.

³ Read *saṅghaṭṭay*.

⁵ Read *Vaidumba*.

No. 27.—SEVEN BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS FROM MATHURĀ AND ITS VICINITY.

BY PROFESSOR H. LÜDERS, BERLIN.

I.—The Mōrā Well Inscription.

Mōrā is a small village 7 miles west of Mathurā City and 2 miles to the north of the road leading from Mathurā to Gōvardhan. In 1882 General Cunningham discovered there a large inscribed slab which formed part of the terrace of an ancient well. In 1908 Dr. Vogel had the slab removed to the Mathurā Museum under supervision of Pandit Radha Krishna. A transcript and a facsimile of the inscription were published by Cunningham, *ASR*, Vol. XX (1885), p. 49 and Plate V, No. 4. At that time the inscription was already fragmentary, more than half of it having peeled away on the right side, but it has since become much more damaged. It was edited again by Vogel, *Cat. Arch. Mus. Mathurā* p. 184, No. Q1. His transcript was reprinted, with a photolithograph of the inscription in its present state, by Ramaprasad Chanda, *MASI*, No. 1 (1919), p. 22, and Plate VI, No. 5, and an attempt to correct the reading of the second line of the inscription was made by the same scholar in *MASI*, No. 5 (1920), p. 166f. The inscription was carefully engraved in 'archaic' characters and Cunningham's transcript and facsimile are apparently in the main correct. The following text is therefore based on them with such corrections as are warranted by a new impression or suggested by general considerations. In the notes I have stated the readings of the impression, of Cunningham's facsimile, of his transcript and of Vogel's transcript.¹ I think that this rather minute treatment is justified by the importance of the inscription.

TEXT.

- 1 \S mahakshatrapasa Rājūvulasa putrasa svāmi
 2 bhagavatām Vṛishpīnā[rh] pañchavīrāṇām pratimā[h] śailadevagrī
 3 ya[s]=To[shā]yāh śailān śrīmad-griham-atulam-udadhasamadhāra
 4 ārchādeśām śailām pañcha jvalata iva paramavapushā

NOTES.

Line 1.

Impression: mahakshat[r]a[pa]

C.'s facsimile: mahakshatrapasa Rājūvulasa putra[sa] .v.

C.'s transcript: Mahakshatrapasa Rajubulasa putrasa Svāmi Va-(Vī)

Vogel: Mahāk(sha)t(rapasa Rājūvulasa putra)

As regards the name of the mahākshatrapa Cunningham's facsimile is certainly more trustworthy than his transcript. In the facsimile the pu of putrasa shows at the top some strokes which might be taken as the sign for au, but as the u-stroke at the bottom of the letter is quite distinct, putrasa must be considered the correct reading. The last word svāmi is based only on Cunningham's transcript, the facsimile showing only the subscript va. But svāmi is exactly what we should expect. Rājūvula's son was Śoḍāsa, who in the Mathurā inscriptions Nos. 59 and 82 of my *List*² and in the Mathurā pillar inscription edited below is styled svāmin mahākshatrapa. I have therefore no doubt that Cunningham's transcript is correct as far as svāmi is concerned and that the original reading was svāmisa (or possibly svāmi-) mahākshatrapasa.

¹ In Vogel's transcript the portions enclosed within round brackets have been taken from Cunningham's facsimile.

² The numbers of inscriptions quoted in the following pages always refer to my *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*.

SEVEN BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS FROM MATHURA AND ITS VICINITY.

I.—The Mora Well Inscription.



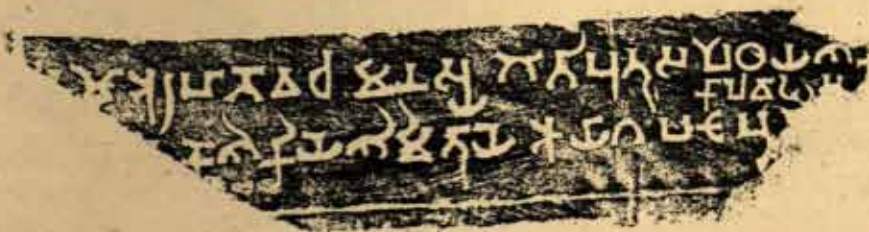
SCALE : ONE-THIRD.

II.—Inscription on the pedestal of a female statue from Mora.



SCALE : ONE-THIRD.

III.—Inscription on a sculptured stone slab from Mathura.

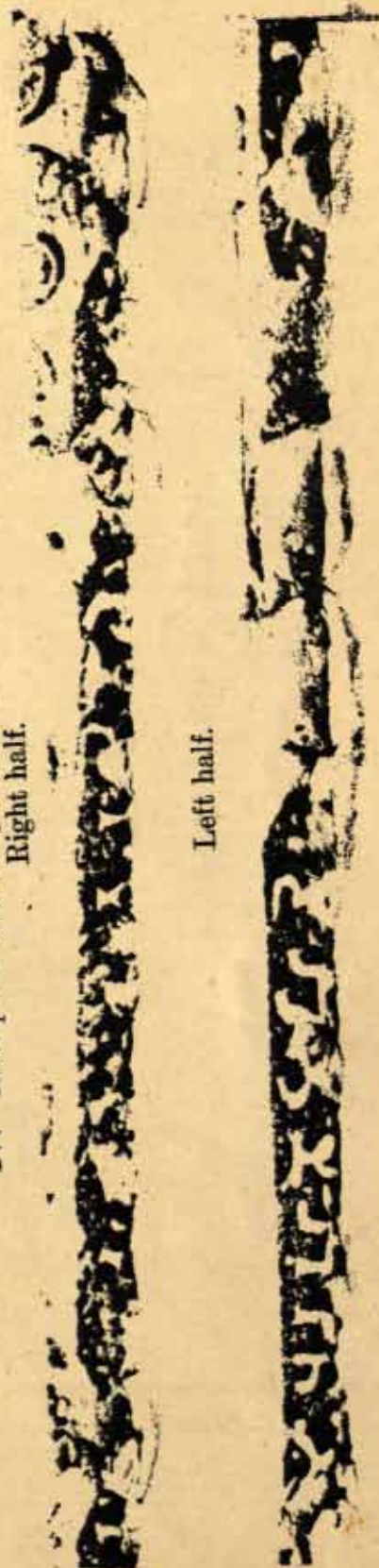


SCALE : ONE-FIFTH.

IV.—Inscription on a sculptured stone slab from Mathura.

Right half.

Left half.



VII.—Inscription on a door-jamb from Mathura.



SCALE: ONE-FOURTH.

V.—Inscription on the pedestal of an image from Ganeshra.



SCALE: ONE-THIRD.

VI.—Inscription on the base of a male figure from Mathura.



SCALE: ONE-THIRD.

Line 2.

Impression : *bhagavatām Vṛi[sh]vīm[ā]. . . [cha]*

C.'s facsimile : *bhagavatā Vṛishṣṇ . nā pañchavīrāṇām pratimā[h] ś[ai]ladev. gri*

C.'s transcript : *Bhagavatā Vṛishṣṇena pañcha Vairānām pratimā Śaila trīca-(grā)*

Vogel : *Bhagavatā Vṛi[sh]ṣṇe(na pañcha Vīrānām pratimā śailatṛivagra)*

The *anusvāra* of *bhagavatām* is perfectly clear in the impression, and so is the *i* of *Vṛishṣṇānām*, although it has a peculiar form. The two strokes denoting the long *ī* are both turned to the left to avoid their running into the *kṣha* hanging down from the first line. Similarly in the next word *pañchavīrāṇām* the two limbs of the *ī*-sign are drawn wide asunder on account of the long-tailed *rā* standing in the first line just over the *vī*. The *anusvāra* of *Vṛishṣṇānām* has not been noticed by Cunningham and is not visible in the impression on account of a fissure in the stone, but it was no doubt originally engraved. The reading *bhagavato Vṛishṣṇeh* proposed by Ramaprasad Chanda is impossible. Between *pratimā*, which is quite distinct in the facsimile, and the following word the intervening space is rather large, and the original reading was apparently *pratimāh*. A trace of the lower dot of the *visarga* is even visible in the facsimile. The last word is not quite distinct in the facsimile, the *la* lacking the long vertical and the *va* showing a small appendix at the bottom which makes it look like *vu*, but as Cunningham in his transcript renders the two letters as *la* and *va* and as the third letter clearly is the same as the third letter of the fourth line, the reading *śailadevagrī* is practically certain, and the word is to be restored to *śailadevagrīhe*.

Line 3.

Impression : *ya . to[shā]yāḥ ś[ai]lām śrī[ma]*

C.'s facsimile : *yas-toṣhayā[h] śailām śrīmad-grīham-atulam=u[da]dhasa [ma]dha*

C.'s transcript : *Yasto Shāyāḥ Śailām Śrī mad grāha mātula mudhadesa madhāra*

Vogel : *yastoshayā ś(ai)le (śrīmadgrāhamatula muda-dhasa)*

Cunningham's transcript of the first two words is probably correct, although his reading of the second and third *aksharas* cannot be verified completely from the impression. Instead of the *s* of *sto* there is at present little more than a square hole, but traces of the hook to the left of the letter are visible, and I consider the reading *sto* as certain. The *shā* also is much damaged and the sign of the long *ā* is indistinct, but, as we shall see later on, the length of the vowel is confirmed by the metre and Cunningham's reading may therefore be taken as correct. The *visarga*, of which the lower dot only is indicated in the facsimile, is quite distinct in the impression. The next four words are perfectly clear in the facsimile. The facsimile has *śrīmad*, but the long *ī* is visible in the impression. The last words are uncertain. I can give only Cunningham's reading with the second and third syllables corrected from the facsimile. *Udadhi* would seem to be an obvious emendation of *udadha*, but the word does not fit well into the context.

Line 4.

Impression : *ārchādesām śailām pañcha jvalata [i]va pa[ramavapushā]*, but the last five *aksharas* are only faintly visible.

C.'s facsimile : *ārchādesām śailām pañcha jvalata iva paramavapushā*

C.'s transcript : *Ārcha deṣām Śailām pañcha jvalatā Iva parama Vapeshā*

Vogel : *archā deṣām śailām pañchajvalatā iva parama vapushā*

All readings divergent from the text derived from the impression are faulty.

Too much is lost of the text to fill up conjecturally the gaps. The extant words may be translated as follows :

TRANSLATION.

- (1) Of the son of *mahākshatrapa Rājūvula, svāmin*
- (2) The images of the holy *pañchavīras* of the *Vṛishṇis*¹ . . . the stone shrine
- (3) Who the magnificent matchless stone house of *Toshā*²
- (4) The five objects of adoration made of stone radiant, as it were, with highest beauty

REMARKS.

As remarked already in the notes on the text, it is most probably the *svāmin mahākshatrapa* *Soḍāsa* who was mentioned in the first line, and the record has therefore to be dated in his reign, which perfectly agrees with the palaeography of the inscription. I consider it also probable that the words preserved of the first line belong to the date. It will be noticed that there is a marked contrast between the first line and the rest of the inscription as far as the language is concerned. Whereas the first line shows the popular language, the following three lines are apparently in pure Sanskrit. This strange diversity would seem to be best accounted for by assuming that the author of the inscription, even when writing in Sanskrit, for the date used the language customary in the documents of the time.

From the second line it appears that the inscription recorded the setting up of five images representing the holy *pañchavīras* of the *Vṛishṇis* in a stone temple. *Pañchavīraṇām* hardly means simply 'of five heroes', which at any rate in correct Sanskrit would be *pañchānām vīraṇām*. *Pañchavīraḥ* would rather seem to denote a fixed group or body. In this sense the word occurs in the *Daśakumāracharita*, where the meeting or the meeting-house used by a *gayikā* for her musical performances is called *pañchavīragoshṭha*: *Kumāramāñjaryāḥ vacā yavīyasī Rāgamāñjarī nāma pañchavīragoshṭhe saṃyūtakam anuśṭhāsyati* (ed. K. P. Parab, p. 96). In commenting on the passage *Kavindra Sarasvatī* quotes for the meaning of the word the *Kosāsāra*: *tat pañchavīragoshṭham tu yat tu jānapadam sadah*³. *Pañchavīra*, therefore, would seem to be the designation of some administrative body, perhaps equivalent to the modern *pañchāyat*, but, as far as I am aware, no such body is mentioned in the Epic in connection with the *Vṛishṇis*. When some time ago I was reading the inscription with Dr. Alsdorf, I asked him if the term might perhaps be found in the Jaina scriptures, and he promptly favoured me with the following note:

"In the canonical writings of the Jainas, there occurs what might be called a statistics of the subjects ruled by *Kṛishṇa Vāsudeva* at *Dvāravati*. In the first chapter of the *Antagoḍadasāo*⁴ it reads as follows: *tattha yaṃ Bāravaīnayarīe Kaṇhe nūmam Vāsudeve rāyā parivasāi se yaṃ tattha Samuddavijayapāmokkhāyaṃ dasaṇham Dasārāyaṃ, Baladevapāmokkhāyaṃ pañchaphaṃ mahāvīraṇaṃ, Pajjunṇapāmokkhāyaṃ addhuttāyaṃ kumārakoḍiyaṃ, Sambapāmokkhāyaṃ saṭṭhīe duddantasāhassiyaṃ, Mahāseṇapāmokkhāyaṃ chhapannāe balavogāsāhassiyaṃ, Viraseṇapāmokkhāyaṃ egavīsāe vīrasāhassiyaṃ, Uggaseṇapāmokkhāyaṃ solasaṇham rāyāsāhassiyaṃ, Ruppīṇipāmokkhāyaṃ solasaṇham devīsāhassiyaṃ, Aṇaṇaseṇapāmokkhāyaṃ anegūyaṃ gayiyāsāhassiyaṃ, annessiṃ cha bahūyaṃ isara*⁵ jāva⁶ saṭṭhavāhāyaṃ Bāravaīe nayarīe addha-Bhāraḥassa ya samatṭhassa āhevachchaṃ jāva vīharāi.

For those who are not too familiar with Jaina Prakrit, I add the translation of Barnett: 'In this city of *Bāravaī* dwelt King *Vāsudeve*, hight *Kaṇhe*, Here he held sway over *Samuddavijayae* and the rest of the ten *Dasāras*, over *Baladeve* and the rest of the five great heroes, over *Pajjunṇe* and the rest of the three and a half crores of princes, over *Sambē* and the

¹ Perhaps *bhāvatām* is to be construed with *Vṛishṇinām*.

² I omit the obscure words *udatṭhasamadhāra*.

³ The quotation is given also, without stating its source, in *Śivarāma's* commentary and in the *Loghudiṭṭikā*.

⁴ P. L. Vaidya's edition, Poona 1932, p. 4f.

rest of the 60,000 fighting men, over Mahāseṇa and the rest of the 56,000 mighty men, over Viraseṇa and the rest of the 21,000 warriors, over Uggaseṇa and the rest of the 16,000 kings, over Ruppīṇi and the rest of the 16,000 queens, over Aṅgaseṇā and the rest of the many thousands of courtesans, and over many kings, princes, barons, [prefects, mayors, bankers, traders, captains,] merchants, and others, over the city of Bāravaī and the whole of the southern half of Bhārahe-vāse.¹

In the sixteenth chapter of the *Nāyādharmakāhā*, we are told how King Drupada sends a messenger to Dvāravātī and commands him to invite to the *svayamvara* of his daughter Draupadī “*Kaṇhaṃ Vāsudevaṃ, Samuddavijayapāmokkhe dasa Dasāre, Baladevapāmokkhe pañcha mahāvīre . . .*” The list which follows agrees verbatim with that of the *Antagadāsāo*, merely omitting the queens and courtesans, inserting Uggaseṇa between Baladeva and Pajjunna, and inverting the order of Mahāseṇa and Viraseṇa. A third version found in the *Vaṇhidāsāo* is also practically identical.

There can hardly be any doubt that the *Baladevapāmokkhā pañcha mahāvīrā* included in the canonical list are identical with the holy *pañchavīras* of the Vṛishṇis mentioned in the Mōrā inscription, but sought for in vain in Brahmanical literature.

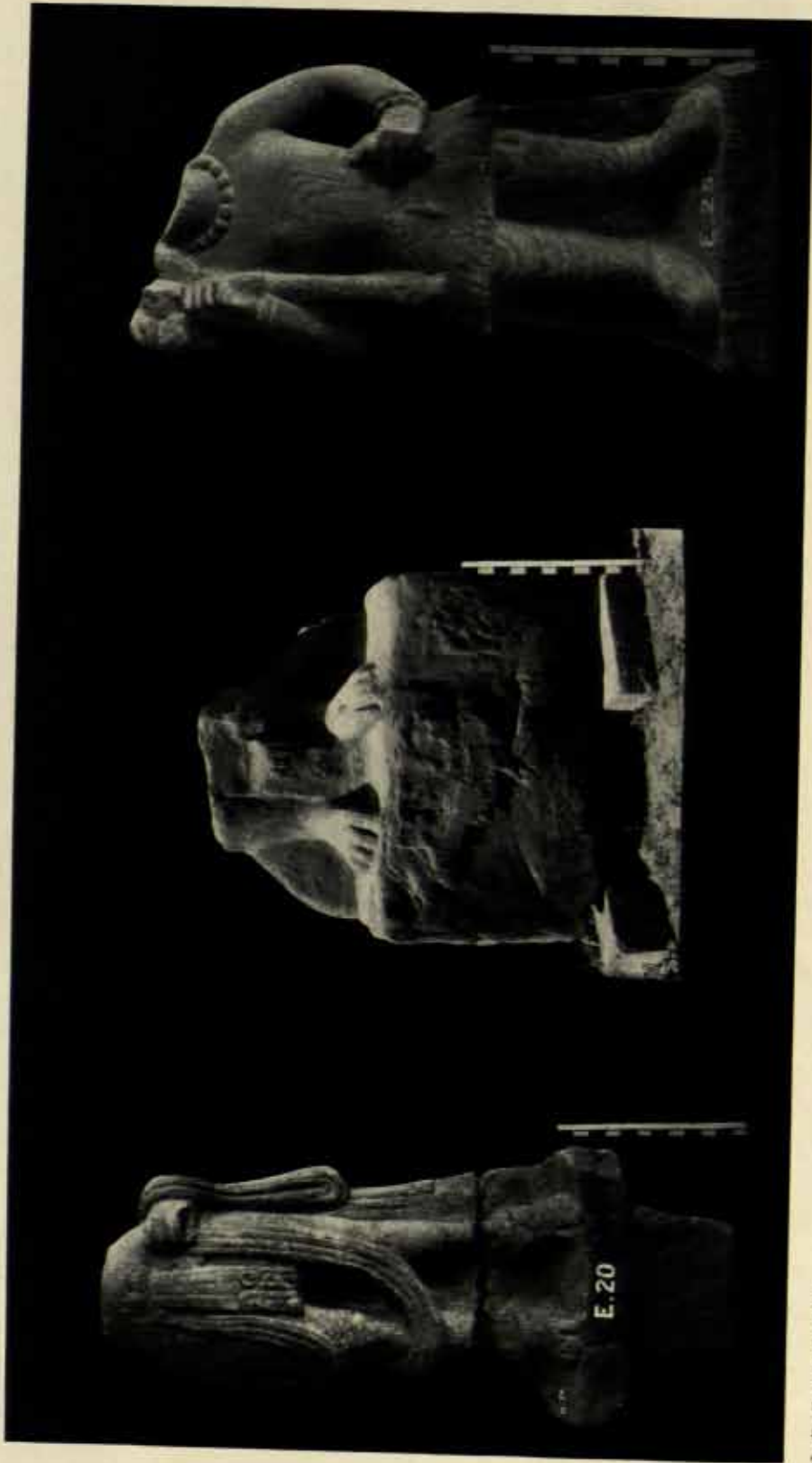
The question now arises: who are the other four *mahāvīras* besides Baladeva? The canonical list, though it does not give us their names, yet furnishes at least some negative clue for their identification, because it clearly excludes from their number several of the most prominent Vṛishṇis known to Jaina tradition, *viz.*, Kṛishṇa, the ten Daśārhas (including Vasudeva), Pradyumna, Śāmba, Ugrasena, Mahāseṇa, and Viraseṇa. We must obviously look for four names, other than those just mentioned, which must be equally well known to the Jains and the Brahmīns. Further, considering that Baladeva, the leader of the group, is the eldest son of Vasudeva, the conjecture is perhaps not too far-fetched that the other four *mahāvīras* might be looked for among the brothers, or half-brothers, of Baladeva. Now the Jaina *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* gives a long list of Yādava princes who, under Kṛishṇa's command, took the field against Jarāsandha; the list is found, in almost identical form, in Jinasena's *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* (48, 38-74) and in Hemachandra's *Triśaṣṭīśālākā-purushacharitra* (VIII, 7, 155-193). In this list no less than 47 sons of Vasudeva are enumerated. This great number is easily accounted for by the fact that Vasudeva has taken the place of Naravāhanadatta in the Jaina version of the *Bṛihatkāthā*; the so-called *Vasudevahiṇḍī*, which forms also part of the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa*. Just like his Brahmanical counterpart, Vasudeva during his “*hiṇḍī*” wins 26 consorts, and the Jains apparently thought fit that with each, or at least most of them, he should beget one or more sons. The list of the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* accordingly distributes the 47 sons among 23 mothers. Under these circumstances, it stands to reason that most of those 47 names are secondary Jain inventions not likely to be met with in Brahmanical literature. As a matter of fact, almost all of them are either purely fantastic or, if they do occur in Brahmanical texts, their bearers are certainly no Vṛishṇis. The only exceptions to this—apart, of course, from Kṛishṇa and Baladeva—are four names, *viz.*, Akrūra, Anādhṛishṭī, Śāraṇa, and Vidūrathā. These four are well-known Vṛishṇi princes expressly denoted as such in the *Mahābhārata*².

That the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* list of Vasudeva's sons should include, besides Kṛishṇa, Baladeva and neither more nor less than just four younger brothers of his who are recognised as Vṛishṇi princes in the *Mahābhārata* is no doubt a very remarkable coincidence. It can certainly not be regarded as a cogent evidence, yet I think we may feel justified in assuming that the “five great

¹ *Oriental Transl. Fund.*, N. S.—Vol. XVII, p. 13f.

² *Vide Sørensen's Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata.*

SCULPTURES FROM MATHURA MUSEUM.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

↓
E. 23

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

sometimes also in manuscript writing as proved by a palm-leaf manuscript in Gupta characters unearthed in Eastern Turkestan.

The occurrence of this stanza is of considerable interest for the history of Sanskrit literature. The metre *Bhujāṅgaviṅṅbhita* is found also in Kumāralāta's *Kolpanāmaṅṅṅtikā*,¹ but our inscription is about 200 years earlier than that work, and if here a most artificial metre such as *Bhujāṅgaviṅṅbhita* is used for a Sanskrit stanza, it is proved that the Sanskrit Kāvya poetry was fully developed in the first century B.C.

There is just enough left of the stanza to show that the first hemistich was mainly devoted to the praise of the stone temple where the five images were set up and that the beauty of the images themselves was extolled in the second half of the stanza. From the epithets conferred on the temple, even if they should be slightly overdrawn, we may infer that it was a remarkably fine building, but there is nothing to show that it was exclusively dedicated to the five Vṛishnis. It is far more probable that it was a Bhāgavata temple where the five images were established. No trace of this temple has until now turned up at Mōrā. When in 1910 Pandit Radha Krishna examined the site, he found only a number of fragments of very large inscribed bricks from which Dr. Vogel was able to make out the legend : *jīvaputāye rājabharyāye Brahāsvātīmīta-[dhī]tu² Yāsamatāye kārītaṃ*. As stated by Dr. Vogel, the characters of that inscription are those of the third or second century B.C., which is the approximate date also of King Bahasatimita who in all probability is identical with the Brahāsvātīmīta of the brick legend. The bricks therefore must have belonged to a much earlier building than the stone temple spoken of in the inscription. The emphatic, twice repeated, statement that the temple was built of stone leads one to think that it was destined to replace the older brick building. We shall see later on that it is not impossible that a detached piece of the temple has been preserved at Mathurā in another place.

Although the stone temple has entirely disappeared, I think it very probable that some remnants of the five images have survived on the spot. When visiting the Mōrā site, Dr. Vogel noticed some fragments of stone images consisting of two torsos of standing male statues, the pedestal of a standing image of which only the feet remain, and the pedestal and lower half of a standing female statue³. All the images are carved in the round. The two torsos are much alike. Both wear a *dhoti* held to the loins with a girdle and a shawl tied round the legs. The main difference lies in the necklace. One wears a double necklace fastened in front by means of a clasp, the other a heavy single necklace tied in a knot at the back. On the pedestal of the female figure is a fragmentary inscription. The four images were transferred to the Mathurā Museum where they bear the numbers E 20-23.

When Dr. Vogel first announced his discovery, he suggested that the sculptures might be connected with the images mentioned in the inscription. Of course, his conjecture that the male figures represent those of the Pāṅṅava brothers and the female statue is an image of Draupadi is based on the wrong idea that the term *pañchavīrāḅ* in the inscription refers to the Pāṅṅavas, and must be abandoned. The female statue must be left out of consideration altogether, at any rate, at present. We shall see later on in what relation it may possibly stand to the other images and the well inscription. For the rest, Dr. Vogel's suggestion is plausible enough. From the inscription we should expect to find at the site of Mōrā five remarkably fine statues originating from

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 55.

² This is the correct reading, not *Brahāsvātīmīta*, as read by Vogel, *ASI. AR.* 1911-12 [Part II] (1915), p. 128, Plate LVIII, fig. 16.

³ *JRAS.* 1911, pp. 151E.; *ASI. AR.* 1911-12 [Part II] (1915), p. 127f. The two torsos are figured *ibid.* Plate LVII, fig. 12-15, the one with the double necklace also in Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, Plate XLIII (*Asiatica*, XV)

the time of Śodāsa and representing Baladeva and four of his brothers or companions and therefore being probably much alike in appearance. There are actually found at Mōrā images of three male persons. The torsos of two of them show that they were very similar in attitude and dress and certainly represented not foreigners as, e.g., the three Māt statues, but some Hindu personages. They are, moreover, as far as I can judge from the photographs, of superior workmanship and, being carved in the round, cannot be assigned to a later date than the Kushān period, but may be considerably earlier. The identity of the statues and the *pañcharīras* which thus becomes highly probable, would be finally established, if the fragments had been found in the ruins of the *sailadevagrīha*, where, according to the inscription, the *pañcharīras* were set up. But, as already remarked above, there is no trace whatever of a stone temple. The images were found lying round about the remains of a building constructed of bricks, but I do not think that for this reason the identity of the statues and the *pañcharīras* is to be given up. There is no positive evidence that the statues were ever set up within that brick enclosure.¹ It can be easily imagined that at the time when the temple was demolished and its materials were carried away, the statues also were cut up and thrown aside. Dr. Vogel himself seems to have changed his mind. He is now inclined to look at the statues as Yaksha images.² In my opinion they have a better claim to be regarded as the images of the Vṛishṇi heroes, although I admit that this view cannot be definitely proved at present.

There is still one point that requires elucidation, viz., the word *Toshāyāh* in line 3 of the inscription. I have stated already in the notes on the text that there is no reason to doubt the correctness of the reading. Judging from the context *Toshāyāh* can hardly be anything else but the genitive of *Toshā* dependent on the following *grīham*. At first sight one would obviously understand 'the house of Toshā' as a shrine dedicated to a goddess called Toshā, but I am not aware that there ever existed a goddess of that name. Under these circumstances, Toshā can only be taken as the name of the lady who caused the shrine to be built. Just as we find here *sailam grīham* combined with the name of the founder in the genitive case, we have *mahārājasya rājātirājasya devapūtrasya Hūvishkasya vāhāre* in the Mathurā inscription No. 62 of my *List*, or *āchāryya Somatrātasy-edam Bhagavatpādopayojyam kuṇḍam-uparyy-āvasathak kuṇḍam ch-āparam* in the Tuśām rock inscription (Gl. No. 67). Toshā does not sound like an Indian name. It is quite probable that Toshā was of Iranian extraction, and there would be nothing strange about the fact that she should have erected a Bhāgavata shrine as we know from the Heliodoros inscription at Bēspagar that foreigners were adherents of the Bhāgavata religion. We shall probably find the name of Toshā in a different spelling again in the following inscription.

II.—Inscription on the pedestal of a female statue from Mōrā.

The inscription is incised on the pedestal of a standing female figure which was discovered by Dr. Vogel at Mōrā together with the remnants of the three statues discussed above. The image is now in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription was edited by Vogel, *Cat. Arch. Mus. Mathurā*, p. 109, No. E 20. It is figured *ASI. AR.* 1911-12 [Part II], Plate LVIII, fig. 19.

¹ Perhaps this statement has to be modified. Mr. V. S. Agravala writes: "I inspected the Mōrā sites with Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit in November 1936. . . . Dr. Lüders' remark that there is no positive evidence that the statues were ever set up within the brick enclosure does not seem to be grounded in fact. From actual inspection of the site we found that the images were set up at that very place, since there still exists *in situ* the stone pedestal in which the images were embedded. Mr. Devi Dayal took a photo of this part of the building and also measured the mortise cut into the stone which once received the image." It is not quite clear from this statement whether the five statues were all embedded in one pedestal and whether the measurement of the mortise can be shown to meet one of the *Pañcharīra* statues or perhaps that of the Toshā image.

² *Sculpture de Mathurā*, p. 116.

TEXT.

- 1 *syā*⁽¹⁾ **Kan**(i)[**sh**]ka[*syā*]⁽²⁾ [r]⁽³⁾ [m]⁽⁴⁾
 2 *etasya* ⁽⁵⁾ *purvaye* M[ā]thuri kalavaḍ[ā] o[ḍakh]i⁽⁶⁾
 3 *ye* **Tośāye** *patimā* t⁽⁷⁾

NOTES.

(1) Probably to be restored *mahārājasya*. (2) Vogel: [H]uv[ish]ka[syā]. The first *akshara* is distinctly *ka*. The vowel-sign of the second *akshara* has disappeared, but the *mātrikā* is distinctly *na*. The *sh* of *shka* and the *syā* are blurred, but certain. (3) Probably to be restored as *samvat-sare*. (4) Of the seven or eight *aksharas* following [r], only the lower half of *ma* is distinct. The *akshara* before *ma* seems to have contained a subscript *ma*, so that the original reading may have been something like *grīshmamāse*. (5) Traces of two *aksharas* before *etasya* are still visible, but it is impossible to read them. (6) Vogel: *mathurikalavaḍap*. . . The ā-sign is not quite certain, but probable. The dot distinguishing the dental *tha* from *ṭha* is indistinct. The seventh letter is certainly *ḍa* as read by Vogel, a similar form occurring in one of the Māt inscriptions, but there appears to be an ā-sign attached to the letter. The reading of the last three *aksharas* is very uncertain. What Vogel reads as *pa* consists, as far as I see, of two letters. The first letter looks like an initial *o*, but in the middle of the vertical line of the letter there is a small horizontal stroke which might suggest to take the letter as *au*; it is, however, probably only accidental. The second letter, the lower portion of which has disappeared owing to an erosion of the stone, may have been *ḍa*. The same erosion has destroyed also the body of the last *akshara* which may have been *khi*. Possibly one *akshara* is lost at the end of the line. (7) The last word also has become illegible on account of the peeling off of the stone with the exception of a subscript *ta* which must have belonged to the third letter of the word. The word is probably to be restored as *patistāpitā*; cf. *pratistāpita* in No. 45^a, *prattistāpenti* in No. 149^b. The slanting stroke to the left of the *ta* seems to have been caused by the erosion of the stone.

REMARKS.

It is impossible to offer a connected translation of the inscription, too much of the text being lost to fill up the gaps even conjecturally.

As the date fills half of the text, the numbers of the year, the month and the day were apparently given in words, not in figures. The king's name is distinctly **Kanishka**.

In the third line the only legible words are *Tośāye patimā* after which probably *patistāpitā* is to be supplied. The meaning of the words may be either that an image was set up by *Tośā* or that an image of *Tośā* was set up. If *Tośāye* were taken as the name of the donatrix, the object of the donation would here simply be called *patimā*. However, this would be quite unusual. In no other inscription of this time¹ *patimā* alone is used in this way, No. 68, where the second line ends with *Jinadāsiye pratimā*, being apparently incomplete. Everywhere the name of the person represented by the statue is added to *pratimā*, sometimes compounded with it (Nos. 13, 28, 29, 37, 50, 51, 118, 121, perhaps also 72), but oftener in the genitive case (Nos. 18, 24, 26, 34, 43, 45, 45^a, 47, 69^a, 71, 110; in 74 *bhagavato Varddhamānapratimā*). Generally the name in the genitive precedes *pratimā*; a different position of the words occurs only in No. 39 (*dānam pra-*

¹ In later times *pratimā* alone occurs occasionally, e.g. in the Mathurā inscription of G. 113 edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 210, No. 39.

timā Vadhmanasya), No. 119 (*pratimā pra(tishthāpitā Vardha)mānasya*) and apparently in No. 68 quoted above. It is therefore not only possible, but even more likely that *Tosāye patimā* means 'the image of Tośā'. Unfortunately the upper half of the statue is lost, and what remains of it is not sufficient to determine exactly the character of the person represented. All that can be said is that it is a woman as shown by the anklets and that she wears a folded cloth with one end tucked up in the waist-belt and the other slung over the left arm. This seems to have been the costume of a fashionable lady of that time. Exactly the same dress is worn by the female worshippers on a doorjamb in the Mathurā Museum (P2)¹; cf. especially the figure in the upper compartment. There is absolutely nothing to show that the statue was meant for a goddess or a Yakshī or a Nāga woman. Nor do we know of any goddess of the name of Tośā. Now, considering that the image which according to the inscription probably represents a lady called Tośā has been found together with the remnants of three statues which probably are mentioned in the well inscription as having been set up in the stone house of Toshā, we can hardly reject the idea that Tośā and Toshā refer to the same person. The difference in the spelling of the name cannot be regarded as a serious obstacle to the identification as the name appears to be of foreign origin and, moreover, we have even in Sanskrit *kūśma* by the side of *kūshma*, *kesha* by the side of *kośa*, etc. There can be no doubt that the well inscription is about a century older than the statue inscription; it shows the 'archaic' writing that is found in all other records of the time of Śoḍāsa, whereas the statue inscription is dated in the reign of Kanishka and written in the typical clumsy characters of that period. As Tośā cannot have set up a statue during the reign of Kanishka, if her shrine was already in existence at the time of Śoḍāsa, the identification of Tośā and Toshā would definitely prove that *Tosāye patimā* means 'the image of Tośā'. On the other hand, we should be compelled to assume that somebody erected the statue of Tośā at her shrine about a hundred years after her death. Such a posthumous honouring by one of her descendants would not seem to be impossible, if we remember that probably a statue of Vima Kadphises was set up at Māṭ some time after his death, but I admit that the evidence for the identity of Tośā and Toshā is not much more than a chain of possibilities or probabilities that requires substantial strengthening before it can be regarded as conclusive.

The second line of the inscription affords no help in this respect. *Māthuri kalavaḍā* probably means 'the wife of the *kālavāḍa* of Mathurā', although the formation of the second word is unusual. In analogy to such derivations as *sārvavāhinī* from *sārvavāha*, we should expect rather *kālavāḍinī*. As will appear from the following two inscriptions, *kālavāḍa* or *kālavāḷa* was the title of a high official at Mathurā. Owing to the large lacuna of the text in the beginning of the third line, it is impossible to decide whether *Māthuri kalavaḍā* refers to the person who erected the statue of Tośā or to Tośā herself. Nor can I suggest anything with regard to the meaning of the following three syllables which I have tentatively read *oḍakhi*.

III. — Inscription on a sculptured stone-slab from Mathurā.

This inscription is engraved on a sculptured stone-slab from the **Kaṅkāli Tīlā** at Mathurā, now preserved in the Lucknow Provincial Museum. The slab is figured in V. A. Smith's *Jain Stūpa at Mathurā* (*ASI. New Imp. Ser.* Vol. XX), Plate XIII. The inscription was edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I, p. 396, No. 33, and Plate, and commented on *ibid.* p. 393f. Fleet made it the subject of a learned paper, *JRAS.* 1905, pp. 635-655, and R. D. Banerji treated it briefly, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 49.

¹ Vogel, *Cat. Arch. Mus. Mathurā*, p. 173, and Plate IIb; *Sculpture de Mathurā*, Plate XXIIb.

The inscription which is written in the script preceding that of the Kushān period was read and translated by Bühler as follows:

- “ 1. [na]mo arahato Vardhamānasya Gotiputrasa Poṭhayaśaka-
 2. kālavāḷasa
 3.¹ Kośikiye Śimitrāye² āyāgapato³ pra.i⁴

Adoration to the Arhat Vardhamāna! A tablet of homage was set up by Śivamitrā (of) the Kauśika (family), (wife) of Gotiputra (Gauṭiputra), a black serpent for the Poṭhayaś and Śakas.”

Gotiputra's epithet was explained by Bühler as referring to his fights with the Poṭhayaś and Śakas, in which he proved to them as destructive as the black cobra is to mankind in general. The Poṭhayaś he identified with the Proshthas, who are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as a nation of Southern India. Fleet, although agreeing with Bühler in the reading and the literal translation of the epithet, tried to show at great length that by the Śakas were meant the Buddhists and by the Poṭhayaś the Digambara Jains and that Gotiputra, who himself was a Śvetāmbara Jain, was marked in the record as being particularly successful in disputation with adherents of those rival creeds.

Many grave objections may be raised against these interpretations, but I deem it unnecessary to enter into a detailed discussion, as in my opinion they are untenable, or at least highly improbable, already for general reasons. An epithet with the meaning assumed by Bühler and Fleet is against the style of these dedicatory inscriptions, which in a formulary language record facts, but refrain from rhetorical embellishments taken from the language of the Kāvya. Secondly, although metonymics are sometimes used instead of personal names, especially in the case of Buddhist saints, I consider it extremely unlikely that in an inscription like this one a private individual should have been called simply by his metronymic. It is far more probable that just as in innumerable other cases the metronymic was followed by the personal name, and there is no reason why Poṭhayaśaka should not be taken as a name formed by compounding the abbreviated form of the asterism Proshthapada and *yaśas*, or rather their Prakrit equivalents, and adding the suffix *-ka*. Personal names the first member of which is the name of a *nakshatra* are very common in the period to which the inscription belongs. Poṭha itself occurs in Poṭhaghosha in the Mathurā inscription No. 59, Poṭhadevā in the Sānchi inscription No. 205 and the hypocoristic form Poṭhaka in the Sānchi inscription No. 342. For *yaśas* as the second member of a compound name we have in epigraphical records Kriṣṇayaśa in the Kanhiāra inscription No. 8, Dhamayasā (fem.) in the Sānchi inscription 410, Śivayaśā (fem.) and Phaguyaśa in the Mathurā inscription No. 100 and Bhadrayaśa in the Mathurā inscription No. 107. As *Phagu* is a shortened form of *Phalgunī* and *Bhadra* an abbreviation of *Bhadrapadā*, the last two names are almost exact counterparts of *Poṭhayaśaka* in our inscription.

If we take Poṭhayaśaka as the name of the husband of Śimitrā, we are driven to the conclusion that the original reading was *Poṭhayaśakasa* and that *kālavāḷasa* is an independent word characterising Poṭhayaśaka somehow or other. I think that this is fully confirmed by an examination of the outward appearance of the inscription.

The inscription is damaged both at the beginning and at the end. On the left side a piece of the stone is broken off, which has caused the partial loss of the *na* in the beginning of the upper line and the complete disappearance of three *aksharas* in the beginning of the lower line. Here

¹ Restore *dhāryāye*.

² Read *Śivamitrāye*.

³ [Bühler: *ayāgapato* (misprint).]

⁴ Restore *pratikāpito*.

in use already before the time of the Kushāns, and this is confirmed by its occurrence in the inscriptions on the first Stūpa at Sānchi. No. 340 of Bühler's collection reads¹ *Vedisa Datasa kalavaḍasa dānam*. There is a second copy (No. 339) which differs only in the writing of the first word: *Vedasa Datasa kalavaḍasa dānam*. A third inscription (No. 195) was read by Bühler *Datakaliḍatasa dānam*. Bühler identified this inscription with Cunningham's No. 172² which Cunningham himself, in accordance with his facsimile, transcribed *Datakulavaḍasa dānam*. There can be little doubt that here also the true reading is *Datavalavaḍasa*. The word is found once more in the Vakālā inscription, No. 971 of my *List*: *Koḍasa kalavāḍasa*. *Kalavaḍa* and *kalavāḍa* are apparently only defective spellings of *kālavāḍa*, and I therefore feel sure that also in the Mōrā inscription *kalavaḍā* is meant for *kālavāḍā*. Additional proof is furnished by the next inscription.

IV.—Inscription on a sculptured stone-slab from Mathurā.

The inscription is engraved on a beautifully sculptured slab found in the **Kaṅkāli Tīlā** at Mathurā and now preserved in the Lucknow Provincial Museum. The slab is figured in V. A. Smith's *Jain Stūpa at Mathurā* (*ASI. New Imp. Ser. Vol. XX*), Plate VIII. The inscription was edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 200, No. 8, together with a photolithograph from which it appears that the inscription has suffered a good deal since the time when the impression used by Bühler was taken. Judging from the impressions before me it seems that in the second half of the inscription the lower portion of the letters has now almost entirely disappeared. My reading of the text therefore depends to a certain extent on the reproduction in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II.

TEXT.

naṃo arahato⁽¹⁾ Māhāvīrasa⁽²⁾ — Māthuraka . . . lavāḍasa⁽³⁾ [sā] . . bhayāye⁽⁴⁾ . .
vara[khjitāye⁵ āyā[gapato]⁶.

NOTES.

(1) There is a cut to the left of the *ra* which makes it look like *na*. (2) Bühler: *māhāvīrasa*, but the sign of length is attached in the same way as in the *mā* of the following word. (3) Bühler: *Māthuraka . . . lavāḍasa*, which agrees with the photolithograph in the *Ep. Ind.*, whereas in the impression before me *lavā* is almost illegible and the last *sa* is strangely distorted. The *akshara* read *ḍa* by Bühler shows a distinct hook to the right in the impression and is therefore more probably *ḍa*. The two words can safely be restored as *Māthurakasa kālavāḍasa*. (4) This is Bühler's reading and it is evidently correct, although the letters are far less distinct now in the impressions than in the photolithograph. Restore *sāhā bhayāye*. (5) Bühler: . . . *va* . . . *āyāye*, where *ī* seems to be a misprint for *i*. The last four *aksharas* may be called certain. Instead of *va* the reading *ta* would be possible according to the impressions, but the photolithograph shows a plain *va*. The name is probably to be restored as *Śivarakhitāye*. (6) Bühler's reading, although enclosed in brackets, is quite distinct in the photolithograph and there can be no doubt that it is correct, but the last three *aksharas* are illegible in the impressions.

TRANSLATION.

Adoration to the Arhat Mahāvīra! The tablet of homage (*is the gift*) of the *kālavāḍa* of Mathurā together with his wife Śivarakhitā (*Śivarakhitā*).

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 366f.

² *Bhīlca Topca*, p. 258.

in use already before the time of the Kushāns, and this is confirmed by its occurrence in the inscriptions on the first Stūpa at Sānchi. No. 340 of Bühler's collection reads¹ *Vediṣa Dataṣa kalavaḍaṣa dānaṁ*. There is a second copy (No. 339) which differs only in the writing of the first word: *Vediṣa Dataṣa kalavaḍaṣa dānaṁ*. A third inscription (No. 195) was read by Bühler *Datakalivatasa dānaṁ*. Bühler identified this inscription with Cunningham's No. 172² which Cunningham himself, in accordance with his facsimile, transcribed *Datakulavaḍaṣa dānaṁ*. There can be little doubt that here also the true reading is *Datakalavaḍaṣa*. The word is found once more in the Vakīlā inscription, No. 971 of my *List*: *Koḍasa kalavāḍaṣa*. *Kalavaḍa* and *kalavāḍa* are apparently only defective spellings of *kālavāḍa*, and I therefore feel sure that also in the Mōrā inscription *kalavaḍā* is meant for *kālavāḍā*. Additional proof is furnished by the next inscription.

IV.—Inscription on a sculptured stone-slab from Mathurā.

The inscription is engraved on a beautifully sculptured slab found in the **Kaṅkāli Tīlā** at Mathurā and now preserved in the Lucknow Provincial Museum. The slab is figured in V. A. Smith's *Jain Stūpa at Mathurā* (*ASI. New Imp. Ser. Vol. XX*), Plate VIII. The inscription was edited by Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 200, No. 8, together with a photolithograph from which it appears that the inscription has suffered a good deal since the time when the impression used by Bühler was taken. Judging from the impressions before me it seems that in the second half of the inscription the lower portion of the letters has now almost entirely disappeared. My reading of the text therefore depends to a certain extent on the reproduction in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II.

TEXT.

naṃo arahato⁽¹⁾ Māhāviraṣa⁽²⁾ — Māthuraka . . . lavāḷasa⁽³⁾ [sā] . . bhayāye⁽⁴⁾ . .
vara[kh]itāye⁽⁵⁾ āyā[gaṇaṭo]⁽⁶⁾.

NOTES.

(1) There is a cut to the left of the *ra* which makes it look like *na*. (2) Bühler: *māhāviraṣa*, but the sign of length is attached in the same way as in the *mā* of the following word. (3) Bühler: *Māthuraka . . . lavāḷasa*, which agrees with the photolithograph in the *Ep. Ind.*, whereas in the impression before me *lavā* is almost illegible and the last *sa* is strangely distorted. The *akshara* read *ḷa* by Bühler shows a distinct hook to the right in the impression and is therefore more probably *ḷa*. The two words can safely be restored as *Māthurakaṣa kālavāḷasa*. (4) This is Bühler's reading and it is evidently correct, although the letters are far less distinct now in the impressions than in the photolithograph. Restore *sāhā bhayāye*. (5) Bühler: . . . *va . . . itāye*, where *ī* seems to be a misprint for *i*. The last four *aksharas* may be called certain. Instead of *va* the reading *ta* would be possible according to the impressions, but the photolithograph shows a plain *va*. The name is probably to be restored as *Śivarakṣitāye*. (6) Bühler's reading, although enclosed in brackets, is quite distinct in the photolithograph and there can be no doubt that it is correct, but the last three *aksharas* are illegible in the impressions.

TRANSLATION.

Adoration to the Arhat Mahāvira! The tablet of homage (*is the gift*) of the *kālavāḷa* of Mathurā together with his wife Śivarakṣitā (*Śivarakṣitā*).

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. II, p. 396ff.

² *Bhīṣa Topes*, p. 258.

REMARKS.

For palaeographical reasons the inscription must be assigned to the period before Kanishka. The fixing of an early date is also supported by the language which is pure Prakrit and further by the fact that the inscription records the setting up of an *āyāgapaṭṭa*. In the Kushān times the dedication of *āyāgapaṭṭas* seems to have gone out of fashion, there being no inscription in Kushān characters on any of the sculptured slabs unearthed at the Kaṅkālī Tīlā.

The two words *Māthurakasa kālavāṣa*, which, though partly restored, may be regarded as perfectly certain, are of special interest, because they give us a hint as to the meaning of the term *Māthuri kālavādā* used in the Mōrā inscription, and at the same time confirm what I have said about the social position of the *kālavāṣa*. The donor of the slab would hardly have called himself simply by his title, without adding his personal name, if he had not been an official of very high rank.

V.—Inscription on the pedestal of an image from Gaṇēshrā.

The inscription is on the pedestal of a standing figure of which only the feet remain. It is incised on the top of the pedestal between the feet. The stone was acquired by Pandit Radha Krishna from a Koli who is said to have obtained it from a Brahmin's house in the village of Gaṇēshrā, three miles north-west of Mathurā City. It is now in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription was edited by Vogel, *Cat. Arch. Mus. Mathurā*, p. 122, No. G42.

TEXT.

- 1 Maha[daṇḍa]nā[yakasya]⁽¹⁾ yamasha-
- 2 [heka]s[y]a⁽²⁾ [v]iś[v]a[saka]sya⁽³⁾ Ulānāsya⁽⁴⁾ paṭimā

NOTES.

(1) Only the first two *aksharas* are well preserved, the rest of the word is more or less effaced. Vogel reads *maha(hi)na[yanasya]*, but the reading given above is certain with the exception of the *anuvāra*¹. (2) This is Vogel's reading. The first *akshara* is possibly *yā*, though the *ā*-stroke would be very short. The lower portion of the *he* and the *ka* and the subscript *ya* have disappeared through the breaking off of the stone. The *he* is doubtful, and instead of *ka* we may read *na*. (3) Vogel: [vi]śā[ya]sya. The lower portion of *vi* and the subscript *va* are mutilated. There may have been an *ā*-sign attached to the *śva*, but it is doubtful. The third and fourth *aksharas* are almost completely effaced, but from the faint traces they can be read with certainty as *saka*. There seems to have been no *i*-sign on the top of the *sa*. (4) Vogel: *Ulanāsya*. The *ā*-sign of *lā* is quite distinct.

TRANSLATION.

The image of the great general, the *yamashahaka*(?) (and ?) *viśvasaka Ulāna*.

REMARKS.

From the inscription it appears that the statue represented the great general Ulāna, who, judging from his name, was certainly a Śaka, *Ulāna* being formed with the suffix *-āna* which is common in the Śaka language. What is left of the statue, points into the same direction. The feet are shod with the same wadded boots that are worn by Kanishka in his well-known statue.

¹ According to Mr. V. S. Agravala the word was correctly read by Daya Ram Sahni in the *Annual Report Northern Circle*, 1921, p. 3, which is not accessible to me.

SCULPTURES FROM MATHURA MUSEUM.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

As regards Ulāna's titles, *mahādāṇḍanāyaka* occurs again in the Mathurā inscription No. 60 of Sam 74. In my edition of the record¹ I read in ll. 6ff. *mahādāṇḍanāyakasya Vālinasya*, but the true reading appears to be *Valānasya*, and *Valāna* and *Ulāna* being evidently only different spellings of the same name, it is quite possible that the general mentioned in that inscription is identical with the person represented by the statue. The title *viśvasaka* is found in slightly different spellings in several Mathurā inscriptions of the Kushān period. Nos. 127, 128 and 141 record gifts of the *viśvasika* or *viśvasika* Vakamihira, No. 1259 a gift of the *viśvasika* Aśyala or Susyala. It will be noticed that the title is only borne by persons who by their names are shown to be of foreign descent. Perhaps the correct form of the title is *viśvānika*. In the *Divyāvadāna* p. 188 it is said of a certain Brāhmaṇa : *sa rājñā Prasenaṅitā Kauśalena hastimadhyasy-opari viśvāsikaḥ sthāpitah*, but here also *viśvāsikaḥ* is not warranted by the manuscripts which write either *viśvāsikaḥ* or *viśvāsikaḥ*. *Yamashaheka*, provided the word has been read correctly, would seem to be a foreign title or a local designation, though I cannot suggest anything as to its meaning. But whatever his functions may have been, the title of *mahādāṇḍanāyaka* certainly shows that Ulāna was a high official, and the present inscription, although it is badly preserved and its original place is not known, is yet of great importance as proving that during the Kushān period not only kings, but also dignitaries of lesser rank were honoured by statues. As shown by the following inscription, the statue of Ulāna is not an isolated case.

VI.—Inscription on the base of a male figure from Mathurā.

The inscription, as stated by Vogel, is incised on the base of a male figure, standing, clad in the Indo-Scythian dress : tunic, trousers and boots. He holds a bunch of lotus-flowers in his right hand and an indistinct object in his left. The head is lost. The image was found in a *bāghīcha* on the Brindāban road about 1½ miles from Mathurā. It is at present in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription is in a very bad state of preservation, and only the date of the year was read by Vogel, *Cat. Arch. Mus. Mathurā*, p. 110, No. E25. The statue is figured *JRAS*, 1911, Plate VIII, fig. 2.

TEXT.

- 1 sa[va]tsarā⁽¹⁾ 70 2⁽²⁾ h(e) s(e)⁽³⁾ pratha(me)
2 ṛṇasya⁽⁴⁾ pra(timā)

NOTES.

(1) The ā-sign of *rā* is pretty distinct. After *rā* there is a long vertical stroke, apparently caused by a fissure in the stone. (2) The first figure is not quite distinct. Vogel took it to be 40, but it is more probable that it is 70. The second figure is probably 2. (3) The e-sign of *h(e)* and *s(e)*, if they were originally engraved, are entirely obliterated. The word was certainly meant for *hemantamāse*. (4) Before *ṛṇasya* about ten *akṣaras* are illegible.

REMARKS.

Although only one complete word and two numerical signs can be read with tolerable certainty, the inscription, in conjunction with the complementary evidence furnished by the dress of the statue, allows us to affirm that, probably in the year 72 of the Kushān era, in the first month of winter, the statue of a foreigner, whose name ended in *-ṛṇa*, was set up at Mathurā. The custom of erecting portrait statues seems to have been in vogue among the foreign chiefs at Mathurā

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 242.

during the Kushān period. The Mathurā-Museum contains no less than six heads of statues wearing the high conical hats which are an essential part of the Scythian dress. In my opinion, these facts give additional weight to the suggestion that the female statue from Mūrā also represents some lady belonging to a clan of the foreign invaders.

VII.—Inscription on a door-jamb from Mathurā.

The inscription is engraved on the side of a carved door-jamb dug out of an old well in the Mathurā Cantonments in 1913 and is now in the Mathurā Museum. The inscription consists of 12 lines, but the first five lines are so much obliterated that only here and there a letter can be made out with more or less certainty. Each line consisted of nine or ten *aksharas*, of which four or five on the right side are missing. From an examination of the stone Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda came to the conclusion, which undoubtedly is correct, that the epigraph was originally incised on a square pillar which was afterwards cut lengthwise through the inscribed side into two halves and turned into door-jamba. The inscription was first noticed in the *Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March, 1917*, p. 10^a, and edited by Ramaprasad Chanda, *MAI*, No. 5, pp. 169-173, and Plates XXV and XXVI.

TEXT.

- 1 . [v]
- 2 sa[s]ya⁽¹⁾
- 3 [va] ⁽²⁾
- 4 [p] . . . [va] Śiva⁽³⁾
- 5 shapu[t]e[va] Kausi⁽⁴⁾
- 6 Vasuā bhaga[va](to Vāsude)-⁽⁵⁾
- 7 vasya mahāsthāna . . . (śai)-⁽⁶⁾
- 8 lañ toraṇaṃ ve(dikā cha prati)-⁽⁷⁾
- 9 śthāpito ⁽⁸⁾ pṛito [bha](gavān Vāsu)-⁽⁹⁾
- 10 devaḥ svāmi[sya] (mahākshatra)-⁽¹⁰⁾
- 11 pasya Śoḍā[sa](sya) . . . ⁽¹¹⁾
- 12 saṃvartayatāñ⁽¹²⁾

NOTES.

(1) *Sasya* is distinct, and as we should expect the inscription to begin with the date, the first line is probably to be restored as *svāmīsyā mahākshatrapasya Śoḍā*. The subscript *ca* visible in the first line may have belonged to *svāmīsyā*. (2) The second *akshara* of this line is *sa* with an indistinct vowel-sign. The preceding *akshara* looks like *ca*. Considering that probably the date stood in this line, *vas* is possibly to be restored as *divase*. (3) The reading of the first and third *aksharas* of this line is by no means certain. (*Pra*)*pautreya* would be in keeping with the context, but what is visible of the letters can hardly be reconciled with that reading. The fourth *akshara* of the line is *śi* followed by an *akshara* that probably is a *va* of the same shape as in *devaḥ* in l. 10 and *saṃvartayatāñ* in l. 12, but it may be *ma*. (4) The first *akshara* is clearly *śha* and to the right of it below the line there is a distinct *pu*, so that at first sight one might read *shpu*. However, there seems to be no connecting line between *śha* and *pu*,

¹ G 32, Add. 1252 (from the village of Māt), 1519, 1566 (from Pālī Kherā), 1567, 2123. Two of them are figured in Vogel's *Sculpture de Mathurā*, Plate IV; cf. p. 23; 92.

² This report is not accessible to me.

and I therefore consider it more probable that *pu* was at first omitted by mistake and afterwards inserted below the line. As the second *akshara* certainly had a subscript *ra* and the third *akshara* is *na*, the reading *shaputrena* naturally suggests itself, and although the upper portion of the second *akshara* is very indistinct, the reading would not seem to be impossible. The fourth *akshara* of the line is *ka* with the ordinary *o*-sign at the top and another very distinct horizontal line to the left. The next *akshara* is *ka*. From the reverse of the inscription it appears that of the two strokes visible at the top of the letter the one to the left is accidental, whereas the stroke on the right seems to be the *i*-sign. Perhaps the two *aksharas* are to be read *Kausi* and the word to be restored as *Kausikiputrena*. (5) The missing *aksharas* were restored by Chanda. (6) The missing portion of the compound *mahāsthāna* can hardly be restored with any certainty. At the end of the line I would supply *śai*. Other possibilities are discussed below. (7) Chanda restores *vedikāḥ* (which seems to be a misprint for *vedikā*) *prati*, but the additional *cha* is indispensable. (8) The *o*-sign of *to* is distinct, but *to* must be a mistake for either *te* or *tāni*. (9) Chanda wrongly restores *bhavatu* instead of *bhagavān*. (10) The missing *aksharas* were restored by Chanda. (11) Something like *aiśvaryaṃ* or *āyurbalaṃ* is to be supplied at the end of the line. (12) Chanda read at first *samvartayataṃ* and afterwards *samvart[e]yātāṃ*. The third *akshara* is undoubtedly *ra*, not *re*, the last *akshara* is *tām*, and the reverse of the impression shows clearly that the supposed *ā*-sign of *ya* is only a flaw in the stone.

TRANSLATION.

. . . by **Vasu**, a gateway of stone (1) and the railing was erected at the . . . of the great temple of *bhagavat* Vāsudeva. May *bhagavat* Vāsudeva, being pleased, promote (the dominion or the life and strength) of *svāmin mahākshatrapa Śoḍāsa*.

REMARKS.

Owing to the extreme uncertainty of the reading, the first five lines of the inscription cannot be translated. As stated above, from the few letters legible in the first two lines it becomes probable that the inscription was dated in the reign of *svāmin mahākshatrapa Śoḍāsa*, and this is borne out not only by paleography, but also by the benediction pronounced on the *mahākshatrapa* in the conclusion. The genealogy of the donor is hopelessly fragmentary. Not a single name can be relied upon, and it is not even quite sure whether the donor's own name was simply *Vasu* or a compound name ending in *-vasu*. Only so much seems to be certain that he was not a foreigner, but a Hindu.

The gift consisted of a gateway (*torāṇa*) and a railing (*vedikā*)¹ and perhaps a third object the name of which ended in *-lām*. Chanda restored *lām* as *chatuṣśālām* which is highly improbable as this term never occurs in inscriptions of this time. Possibly *lām* is the rest of *devakulam* used here in the sense of a small shrine as in the Jaina inscription No. 78, or, more probably, *lām* is to be restored as *śailām*. If the language of the record were quite correct Sanskrit, the predicate would be either *pratiśthāpitāni* or *pratiśthāpīte*. The form actually found in l. 9, (*prati*)*śthāpīte*, is wrong in any case and therefore of no account for the restoration of the subject of the sentence.

The name of the place where the *torāṇa* and the *vedikā* are said to have been erected, is mutilated and cannot be restored, especially because it is doubtful whether one or three syllables are lost after *mahāsthāna*. But whatever the missing syllables may have been, I cannot follow Chanda in taking the term 'the great place of *bhagavat* Vāsudeva' as meaning a spot that was believed to have been either the birthplace of *Kṛishṇa* or the scene of some notable event in his early career.

¹ Chanda translates *vedikā* by 'a square terrace in the middle of the courtyard', but the meaning 'railing' is absolutely certain.

Chanda himself has pointed out that in the Mathurā inscription No. 85 *bhagavato nāgendrasya Dadhikaryasya stāne* means 'in the temple of the holy lord of the serpents Dadhikarṇa', and I see no reason why *mahāsthāna* should not simply denote a large temple or sanctuary also in the present inscription.

As the pillar, perhaps hundreds of years afterwards, was taken away from the large temple of Vāsudeva to be turned into the door-jamb of another building and ultimately to be thrown away into a well, all that can be possibly asserted with regard to the place of that temple is that it stood in Mathurā or somewhere in the environs of the City. The inscription moreover shows that that temple was, if not erected, at any rate enlarged or embellished during the reign of the *mahākshatrpa* Śoḍāsa by a person, who although being a Hindu, seems to have been a high official in the service of the *mahākshatrpa*¹, carrying out the work by order or at the desire of his master, since in the benediction the benefit of the donation is attributed to Śoḍāsa alone. The facts that we can thus ascertain with regard to the temple of Vāsudeva agree in several respects with what we can infer from the Mōrā well inscription about the Bhāgavata sanctuary at that place. There also a temple (*devagriha*) is said to have been adorned with the images of the *pañchavīras* of the Vṛishṇis during the reign of Śoḍāsa. If my suggestion that in line 8 of the present inscription *laṁ* is to be restored as *śailaṁ* should prove correct, this also would be a point of agreement as in the Mōrā inscription also the temple and the images are expressly stated to be of stone (*śaila*). Moreover, as no trace of a stone building has been found at Mōrā, it appears that the temple was intentionally pulled down at some time and the materials carried away and probably used for some other purposes. Of course, these coincidences are no conclusive evidence, but considering everything I think it not improbable that the pillar bearing the present inscription hails from the Bhāgavata temple at Mōrā.

No. 28.—KOSAM INSCRIPTION OF (THE REIGN OF) KANISHKA : THE YEAR 2.

BY KUNJA GORINDA GOSWAMI, M.A., CALCUTTA.

This inscription is engraved on the pedestal of a big standing figure of a Bōdhisattva, which was recovered from the ruins of Kosam (ancient Kauśāmbī). The image is now kept in the Municipal Museum at Allahābād. In 1934, at the time of a visit to the said museum, I came across the image and deciphered the important portions of the inscription. As no photograph or estampage was available at that time, the inscription was first noticed by me in an issue of the Calcutta daily paper, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and subsequently a tentative reading with translation and notes was published in the *Calcutta Review*, July, 1934, without any facsimile. It has, however, now been possible for me to make out the full text of the epigraph with the help of a good photograph and a set of estampages, very kindly supplied by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, Superintendent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta, which he received from the Government Epigraphist for India.

The inscription consists of only two lines of writing. The size of the letters varies between $\frac{3}{4}$ " and $1\frac{1}{4}$ ". The characters are Brāhmī resembling those of the Sārnāth and the Sabēṭh-Mahēṭh image inscriptions of the time of Kanishka. The type may be termed "early Kushana" after Dr. Vogel, who used this expression in reference to the characters of the Sārnāth inscription of the 3rd year of Kanishka.² It forms a transition between the script of the 'Northern Kshatrpa'

¹ According to the inscription No. 82 the treasurer of Śoḍāsa also was a Brāhmaṇa.

² Above, Vol. VIII, p. 175.

epigraphs¹ and that of the later Kushānas.² The middle stroke of *ya* in *pra[ti]shthā[ya]payati* is almost equal in length with the side ones. The subscript *ya* is used here in its full form (e.g. in *rājasya*). In later Kushāna inscriptions, this letter, when used in a conjunct is indicated by a cursive form or a loop attached to the left hand side of the central line. The signs for medial *ā* in *rājasya*, *Buddhamitrā* and *trepitīkō*, *e* in *cha(n)kame* and *o* in *-suttvo* are used by horizontal strokes as in the records of earlier period, but *e* in *trepitīkā* and *o* in *bhagavato* show a tendency towards the slanting forms to be found in later Kushāna inscriptions.

The stone is much mutilated and although some letters have disappeared, it is not difficult to fill up the lacunae by means of the clue supplied by associated letters. The first letter *ma* of the word *mahārājasya* in line 1, and the last syllable *ti* of *prati* in the same line have entirely been obliterated; a portion of the conjunct letter *shthā* of *pratishthāpayati* (in lines 1-2) has also been effaced.

The epigraph is dated in the **second year of Mahārāja Kanishka, the second (month) of Hēmantā (winter), the eighth day**, and its purpose is the erection of a *Bōdhisattva* statue by the nun, **Buddhamitrā**, well versed in the *Tripitaka*, at the promenade of the Lord Buddha. So far the records of the 3rd year of Kanishka found at Sārnāth³ were regarded as the earliest epigraphic evidence of his reign, but now we find that the present one is the earliest Brāhmī inscription of Kanishka, so far discovered.

The **language** of the inscription is a form of mixed dialect as found generally in the Brāhmī inscriptions of the Kushāna period. The genitive case-ending in *[Ma]hārājasya* is a regular Sanskrit termination, but *sa* in *Kanishkasa* and *Buddhasa* is a Prākṛit case-ending.

As I have stated above, the donor of the image is the Buddhist nun Buddhamitrā. We come across the same name among the donors of the Sārnāth image of the 3rd year of Kanishka.⁴ This name again occurs on an inscribed Bōdhisattva image from Mathurā (now preserved in the Lucknow Museum) of the year 33 of King Huvishka.⁵ In all these places she is mentioned as well versed in the *Tripitaka*, while in the Sārnāth and the Mathurā inscriptions, we are further told that she was a female pupil of the monk Bala, who knew the *Tripitaka*. It may be reasonably concluded here that Buddhamitrā of all the records mentioned above, is one and the same person. That she was a very well-known lady appears from the fact that the nun Dhanavatī, donor of a Bōdhisattva image at Mathurā, introduces herself as the sister's daughter of the *Trepitīkā* Buddhamitrā.⁶

The style of the image bearing this inscription is that of the Mathurā school as in the case of the two other Bōdhisattva images found at Sārnāth⁷ and Śrāvastī.⁸ The material used in each case is the red Agra sand stone. More than three decades ago, Dr. Vogel, while explaining the nature of art of the Sārnāth image remarked: "Seemingly this Mathurā school created a Bōdhisattva type, specimens of which found their way to other famous centres of Buddhism."⁹ This statement of his finds corroboration also in the present sculpture.

¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 199, plate facing page 200, No. 2.

² The script used in the inscription of the 5th year of Kanishka's reign is similar to that of the later Kushāna records. See above, Vol. I, p. 381, No. 1.

³ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 173-179.

⁴ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 176; D. R. Sahnī, *Cat. of the Sarnath Museum*, pp. 35-36.

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 181f.; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIII (1904), pp. 39f.

⁶ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 182.

⁷ D. R. Sahnī, *Cat. of the Sarnath Museum*, No. B(a)l., plate VII.

⁸ Above, Vol. VIII, plate facing p. 181.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

The image is badly damaged. Its head and right arm are broken and lost. The left hand rests on the hip and holds the upper garment, which leaves the right shoulder bare. The folds of the dress are quite prominent. A double girdle tied round the loins keeps in the lower garment which reaches beneath the knees. Five lotus buds tied together, with a full-bloomed flower at the top, are found between the legs. There is another full-bloomed lotus by the side of the left leg of the image.¹ The difference of this sculpture with the one found at Sarnāth is that we find lotuses between the two legs in the former case, while in the latter the same place has been occupied by a lion.

TEXT.

- 1 [Ma]h[ā]rājasya Kaṇ[i]shkasa saṁva[tsa]r[e] 2 h[e] 2 di 8 Bodhisatvo(ttvaṁ) pra[ti]-
2 [sh]hā[ṅ]payati bhikhuṅi Buddhamitrā trepiṭ[i]kū bhagavato Buddhaṣa cha[r]kame²

TRANSLATION.

In the year 2, of *Mahārāja Kaṇishka*, on the 8th day of the 2nd (month) of Hēmana, (Buddhist) nun Buddhamitrā, who is well versed in the Tripitaka, sets up (*this image of*) Bōdhisattva at the promenade of the Lord Buddha.

No. 29.—DOHAD STONE INSCRIPTION OF MAHAMUDA (BEGARHA) : V. S. 1545, SAKA 1410.

By H. D. SANKALIA, M.A., LL.B., PH.D. (LOND.).

This inscription is preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay. It is now published for the first time from the stone itself as well as with the help of ink-impressions made available by the courtesy of the Trustees of the said Museum. The editor has also to thank Mr. G. V. Acharya, the Curator of the Archaeological Section, and Mr. R. K. Acharya, for assisting in deciphering a few passages of the inscription. The stone on which it is inscribed measures 3' 3" by 1' 7" and is reported to have come from *Dohad*, the chief town of the Sub-Division Dohad in the District of the Pāñch Mahāls, Bombay Presidency, 77 miles north-east of Baroda. Besides the two vertical cracks across the stone, it is chipped off at several other places, which has made the deciphering difficult. The difficulty is enhanced by the application of vermilion or some other pigment on the stone. The record contains 22 lines of writing, a few letters of the first line and many of the last two lines being completely effaced. The average size of the letters is $\frac{1}{4}$ ".

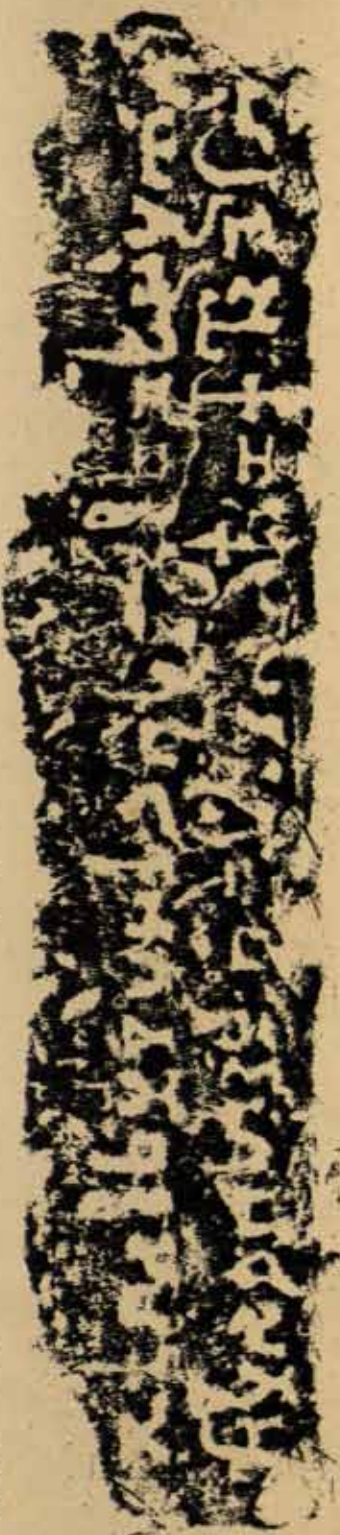
The inscription is dated in **Vikrama 1545, Śaka 1410, Vaiśākha śudi 13** (and perhaps also in the Hijra era which might have been mentioned in the first half of line 21, which including the name of the day is now completely chipped off). This corresponds to Thursday, April 24, A.D. 1488 (and to H. 893 Jamāda'ī awwal).² With regard to the date it is to be noted that the inscription records Śaka as well as Vikrama era and that this is a feature not only of all the Sanskrit

¹ Kern Institute, *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, Vol. IX (1934), pl. II(c).

² Mr. A. Ghosh entertained some doubt about my reading of the year 2, and suggested a symbol for 20, before 2 (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. X, pp. 375-76); but from the photograph and the estampage, it is perfectly clear that his assumption is not correct. The writing immediately preceding the figure 2 is not a symbol for 20, but the last portion of the word *saṁva[tsa]r[e]*. Again the last word of the inscription is *cha[r]kame* and not *paṣame* as read by Mr. Ghosh. In the estampage and the photograph *cha* is quite clear.

³ Cf. S. K. Pillai, *Indian Ephemeris*, Vol. V, p. 178.

KOSAM INSCRIPTION OF KANISHKA: THE YEAR 2.



(From an impression).

SCALE: TWO-FIFTHS.

inscriptions¹ of Mahmūd's time found in Gujārāt but also of some other inscriptions of Northern India ;² whereas inscriptions found in Kāthiāwār,³ during this period, use only the Vikrama era.⁴

The **script** is Dēvanāgarī and calls for no remarks.

With regard to **orthography** also there is nothing particular to note, excepting the frequent use of *anusvāra* instead of final *m* and the doubling of consonants after *r* in some cases, for example, *dharmama* (ll. 4 and 18) and *kīrtti* (l. 8).

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and with the exception of the introductory invocation and the portion after the stanza 26 the entire composition is in verse.

Unfortunately as the last three lines are badly defaced it is not possible to say with certainty whether the inscription belongs to the reign of Mahmūd Begarhā or whether it is his own, that is, ordered to be inscribed by Mahmūd himself to record his deeds. From the sense that can be gathered from the last lines it appears that the inscription was engraved after the building of the fort of **Dadhīpadra** (Dohad) by **Imādalamulaka**⁵ (i.e., Imād-ul-mulk), the chief minister of Mahmūd Begarhā, and it incidentally gives the genealogy and the deeds of the Gujārāt Sultāns and particularly those of Mahmūd. It is, however, the first inscription⁶ of the reign of Mahmūd Begarhā or of his predecessors that gives some details of the deeds, viz., of the wars won and buildings constructed by Mahmūd and his predecessors.

The inscription opens with an invocation to a goddess, who is said to be residing in Kashmīr,⁷ after which it mentions one **Mudāphara Pātasāha**, who seems to be no other than Muzaffar I of Gujārāt.

The inscription then gives the following **genealogy** of the Sultāns of Gujārāt : (1) **Shāh Mudāphara** ; (2) his son, **Mahammada** ; (3) in his family, **Shāh Ahammada** ; (4) his son, **Shāh Mahammada** ; (5) in his family, **Shāh Mahamūda**.

¹ Bāi Hart's Ins., *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 388 and above, Vol. IV, pp. 298ff; Adalja Vāv Ins., *Revised List Antiquarian Remains, Bombay Presidency*, p. 300.

² See Bhandarkar, *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, Nos. 723 and 1121 ; 736 and 1126 ; 737 and 1127 ; 748 and 1128 ; 757 and 1129 ; 773 and 1130 ; 873 and 1136 ; 901 and 1138 ; 967 and 1146.

³ See *Revised List, etc.*, pp. 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 245, 246, 248-49, 251, 254, 257, 263.

⁴ This implies that the catholicity, as regards the use of the era, which was noticed in Kāthiāwār at the end of the 13th century had disappeared in the subsequent period.

⁵ For details see below.

⁶ Other inscriptions published so far are :—Arabic Inscriptions : *Revised List, Antiquarian Remains, Bombay Presidency*, pp. 303, 306-07 ; one is reported in *As. Rep., A. S. I.*, 1927-28, p. 146 ; it is said to give the names of the Sultāns of Gujārāt who were associated with the completion of the town of Dohad ; two from the Halol gate, Chāmpaner, are published in *Ep. Indo-Mos.*, 1929-30, p. 4. Sanskrit Inscriptions : from Adalja, *Rev. List*, p. 310 ; Bāi Hart's Inscription, *Rev. List*, p. 300 ; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 388 and above, Vol. IV, p. 298. Of all the inscriptions—either of the Muslim rulers themselves or of Hindu kings referring to their Muslim overlords—till about A.D. 1500, only one record comes very near to the present one, viz., the Inscription of Sādhrāpā of V. S. 1373 found at Lādgu in the Jodhpur State. It is in Sanskrit, in verse and though it emanates from a petty chief in Rājputāna it incidentally gives the genealogy of the Muslim emperors of Delhi, from Shihāb-ud-dīn Ghūrī to Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī. For details see above, Vol. XII, pp. 17-27.

⁷ Other inscriptions of Mahmūd's time do not lend us much help in the attempt to identify this goddess. She seems to be Brāhmi *ulias* Sarasvatī, for a Jain writer, Chandraprabhasūri (A. D. 1279) of Gujārāt, uses identical expression *dēvīn Kāsmīravāsīnīm* in the section on Hēmachandra (Hēmachandrasūriprabandha), verses 39-46, of his work *Prabhāvakā-charita* (Ed. Hirananda Sharma, Bombay, 1909) for telling us that Hēmachandra worshipped the goddess Brāhmi of Kāsmīra and became a *Siddhasarasvatī*. [The reference may be to the goddess Durgā—Sarasvatī probably of the Śāradā shrine of Kashmīr which was well known in India even in the 15th and 16th centuries. See Stein, *Kalhasya's Chronicle of Kashmīr*, Vol. II, pp. 279 ff.—Ed.]

This differs from the genealogy given by the Muslim historians) and also accepted by the authors of the *Cambridge History of India*² in some respects) as considered below.

Firishhta³ and the authors of the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*,⁴ the *Mirāt-Ahmadī*,⁵ and of the *Arabic History of Gujarāt*⁶ give the following list :—

(1) Muzaffar Shāh (Muzaffar I); (2) Ahmad Shāh (Ahmad); (3) his son, Muhammad Shāh (Muhammad); (4) his son, Kutub-ud-din (Qutb-ud-din Ahmad Shāh); (5) Daud (Dā'ūd) and (6) Mahmūd (Mahmūd I), second son of Muhammad Shāh.

Thus our inscription leaves out Nos. (4) and (5), viz., Kutub-ud-din, son⁷ of Muhammad Shāh, and Daud, a brother⁸ of the latter (No. 3) and an uncle of the former (No. 4). But it does take note of Mahammada (called by the Muslim historians "Muhammada")—a name which was bestowed upon Tātār Khān by his father Zafar Khān before the latter proceeded to Delhi.⁹ This event, however, took place when Zafar Khān was still a governor under the Delhi emperors and not an independent ruler of Gujarāt. Our inscription seems to refer to Mahammada in that capacity when it calls him *Mahīpati*, though it is possible that this title merely recalls the short period of Mahammada's sovereignty referred to above. The latter inference is all the more probable because the inscription besides giving him the epithet *Mahīpati* does not credit him with any conquests.

But it is not in our inscription alone that the names Kutub-ud-din and Daud are omitted. They are not found also in two Arabic inscriptions—one¹⁰ of Mahmūd himself and the other¹¹ from Bāi Harīr's well. They are missing also in the legends on the silver coins of Mahmūd.¹² Moreover, these inscriptions refer to Muhammad (Tātār Khān), son of Muzaffar Shāh, as Muhammad Shāh, implying thereby that he was one of the independent Sultāns of Gujarāt.

Two other points in the genealogy of the present record are worth noting. (1) Though Ahammada (No. 3) and Mahamūda (No. 5) were the sons of Nos. 2 and 4 respectively, they are not explicitly called so as Nos. 2 and 4 are called the sons of Nos. 1 and 3 respectively. They are merely introduced with the words "in the family were born...". (2) The names of Kutub-ud-din and Daud are omitted from the list. The omission of Daud may be understood because his reign was very brief; moreover, he was not the direct descendant. But Kutub-ud-din was the eldest son of Mahammada and had a glorious, though brief, reign of about 7 years,¹³ and the reason¹⁴ for his omission in the epigraphs cannot be easily explained. It is possible that

¹ Vol. III, pp. 295 ff. and p. 711.

² *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power* (Tr. from the Persian by Briggs), Vol. IV, pp. 1 and 9; though on pp. 8-9 Firishhta does cite a historian according to whom Muzaffar Shāh himself, before proceeding to Delhi, conferred upon his son the title 'Ghānas-ood-Dowla-ood-Deen Mohamed Shah'.

³ Tr. by Faridi, p. 7; he also says that Zafar Khān had invested Tātār Khān with the title of Nāsirudin Muhammad Shāh. But this was before Zafar Khān declared his independence.

⁴ Tr. by Bird, pp. 195, 197, 201-02.

⁵ *Zafar-ul-Wāliḥ bi Muzaffar wa Aliḥ* (ed. Ross), pp. 1, 3, 14, 909 (see Vol. III, Index).

⁶ See the authorities cited in notes above.

⁷ Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 9; Faridi, *op. cit.*, p. 9. Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 179 (according to Firishhta, Tātār Khān imprisoned his father and assumed the title of Mohammed Shāh); Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 904 gives his name as Muhammad Khān, and Tātār Khān as his title.

⁸ *Ep. Indo-Mos.*, 1929-30, p. 4.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 367.

¹⁰ See *Catalogue of the Coins in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, Sultans of Gujarat*, p. xxii.

¹¹ *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 301-303; Briggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-44; Faridi, *op. cit.*, p. 41; Ross, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 200, 451.

¹² It cannot be that he died in suspicious circumstances, because his father Muhammad also died in similar circumstances (Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 36), though the *Cambridge History of India* (Vol. III, p. 301) says that he died of severe illness.

the inclusion of Muhammad I and the omission of Kutub-ud-din and Daud in all the epigraphs—Sanskrit and Arabic—of Mahmūd's reign may be with a certain motive which we do not know. But it is difficult to say that all of them derived their information from the same source which was not as exhaustive as those of the historians we know of, because Daud and Kutub-ud-din were the immediate predecessors of Mahmūd and thus not so far removed from him that the family records would forget them. On the contrary the family records are likely to possess much more information about them than outsiders should—and that perhaps accounts for the divergent genealogies of the epigraphs and the historians.

Further historical information we can gather from this record is that Muzaffar Shāh is called *Mudāphara* and *Nripaprabhu*. This latter epithet perhaps implies the establishment of the independent kingdom of Gujarāt in A.D. 1396 acquired by that Sultān by severing his allegiance to the Delhi emperors.¹ The capital of this kingdom was Pattana, the ancient Anahilapattana of the Chaulukyās of Gujarāt (c. 960-1300 A.D.). His previous conquest over Farhat-ul-Mulk, the disobedient governor of Gujarāt and other kings of the neighbouring provinces,² while still a governor under the Delhi Emperor Muhammad Shāh seems to be referred to by the words *nripakulam-akhilam yō vijity-ādhitasthav*.

Mudāphara's son **Mahammada** is merely called a *Mahipati*. In absence of any other details this epithet does not mean much, and in reality Mahammada did not succeed his father, nor many exploits are credited to him by historians, hence the unembellished epithet seems to be justified.

After Mahammada comes **Ahammada**. He is said to be born to adorn the earth, and one who was omniscient (and knew) the essence of all religions, worldly things and thoughts. Further, not only did he afflict by his prowess and conquer the lord of **Mālava** but took his land³ as well as wealth. History bears out, to some extent, the truth of these words of praise for Ahmad. As to the other praises, Ahmad may well be called an "ornament of the earth" because he was one of the first great Sultāns of Gujarāt and consolidated his dominions and founded the city of Ahmadābād, though, strange to say, there is no reference to this city among his achievements, but it is perhaps referred to only incidentally in verse 20.

Ahammada was really an eyesore to the King of Mālavas, who, we know from the Muslim historians, was Hūshang Shāh. Twice, in 1411 and 1418, he repulsed the invasions of Hūshang on Gujarāt.⁴ Not content with this he himself invaded Mālwa in 1419,⁵ but was only successful in defeating and compelling Hūshang to take refuge in the fort of Māndū. Once again⁶ he invaded Mālwa in 1422 when Hūshang had gone to raid Orissa, but did not succeed in capturing Māndū. The result of these invasions was not very fruitful. Ahmad could only plunder and devastate the outlying territory of Mālwa, but not annex it to that of Gujarāt. Epigraphical reference to the seizure of the country of Mālava,⁷ therefore remains unconfirmed by other historical sources.

¹ For details see *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 294-95.

² For details see *ibid.*, and Briggs, *op. cit.*, IV, pp. 4-10 and Faridi, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-7; 9-10; Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

³ See below n. 7.

⁴ Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 16, 18; Faridi, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-15; *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 296-7.

⁵ Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 21-22; Faridi, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17.

⁶ Briggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-25; Faridi, *op. cit.*, p. 18; *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, p. 296.

⁷ Expressed by *agrāha tad-dēsa-dhanam cha paśchāt*; but if this expression is dissolved as *tad-dēsayo dhanam* and not as a *Dvandva* compound: *tad-dēsam cha dhanam cha*, then it merely means that Ahammada seized the wealth of the country, i.e., plundered the country. For details see Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 17, 26, 30; Faridi, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 17, 19, 21; Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 188; *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 296-99. [See p. 223, n. 3.—Ed.]

It is remarkable that the inscription is silent about some of the other wars¹ of Ahmad, particularly with those of the Chūḍāsamā Chief of Gīrnār, King Nasīr of Khāndesh, Rājā of Chāmpāner² whom he made a vassal in 1422, and the Bahmanī king, Alā-ud-dīn Ahmad of the Deccan.

About Ahammada's son, **Mahammada**, the inscription has not much to say and rightly so. For though he is credited with victories³ over Rājā Bīr of Idar, Rājā Kumbha of Mewār, and Rājā Gaṅgādās⁴ of Chāmpāner, some Muhammadan historians describe him as a coward who turned his back when attacked by Sultān Mahmūd of Mālwa and as a result of his cowardice was poisoned and killed by his wife⁵ at the instigation of some officers. Mahammada's one virtue was that he was exceedingly generous,⁶ for which he was called "Karīm"⁷ by the Muslims.

Immediately after Mahammada, we are introduced to **Mahamūda**, omitting, as mentioned above, his two immediate predecessors. Mahamūda is popularly known as Mahmūd Begarhū (Gujarātī *Bēgarhō*). The inscription says that he was noble⁸ in warfare and further speaks something of **Gyāsaddīna**, and it is not clear whether it refers to Mahamūda or to some one in his family. If it does refer to Mahamūda then it is surprising to find this title, meaning "the Aid of the Faith" (Ghiyās-ud-dīn), given to Mahmūd, because the title given to him in his coins⁹ and inscriptions¹⁰ is usually Nasir-ud-duniyā Wa-ud-dīn meaning "Defender of the Faith and the World," whereas Muhammad II, son of Ahmad I, alone is called by the epithet "Ghiyās-ud-dīn" in his coin legends.¹¹

Unfortunately there are some breaches in the lines dealing with his wars, which make it difficult to identify them in all cases. Verse 8 says something about Mahmūd's relation with the 'Lord of the South' and the Chief of **Damana** (?) and his subjugation of the earth (?) till the **Raivata**. The first reference seems to be the help that Mahmūd gave to Nizām Shāh, the King of the Deccan against the two attacks of Mahmūd Khilji of Mālwa in 1462 and 1463.¹² The second reference appears to relate to the submission of the King of Pārdi, near Daman, to Mahmūd in 1464.¹³

The mention of **Raivata**, that is, Mt. Girnar at Junāgarh, has reference, perhaps, to the first invasion of that state by Mahmūd in 1466, when its chief Rao Māṅḍalik was compelled to pay tribute and to discontinue even the insignia of royalty.¹⁴ The next verse says that Mahmūd conquered that impregnable fort (?) of Junāgarh (**Jirṇa**) and to commemorate this victory, the mountain **Raivata** itself was made a pillar of victory. This implies the final conquest of the Junā-

¹ See *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 296-99.

² See below, p. 217, n. 4.

³ *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 300-01; Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 35; Faridi, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24.

⁴ See below, p. 217, n. 4.

⁵ Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 36; Faridi, *op. cit.*, p. 26 attributes this action to one Sayad.

⁶ In *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*, p. 23, it is said that he earned for himself the name of "Gold Giver".

⁷ Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 36, "Kurroem or the Merciful". Cf. Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 196, "Zir-Baksh".

⁸ See below, p. 217 and Firishta, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 69-70.

⁹ *Catalogue, Sultans of Gujarat*, p. xxii.

¹⁰ *Ep. Indo-Mos.*, 1929-30, pp. 3-5; *Rev. List*, p. 253.

¹¹ *Catalogue, op. cit.*, p. xxi.

¹² *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 304-05; Briggs, *op. cit.*, pp. 49-51; Faridi, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-52; Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 206 mentions one encounter (1461-2) only; Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 305; not mentioned in Bird, *ibid.*; Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 51 does not mention Daman but refers to a march between Gujarāt and Konkaṅ in 1465; Faridi, *op. cit.*, p. 52 mentions a march against the Barouar mountains and the conquest of a rock fortress; Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 18, mentions the conquest of Barda, "on hill-top overlooking Daman".

¹⁴ *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, p. 305; Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 52, places the first invasion in 1469; Faridi, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54 and Bird, *op. cit.*, place it in about 1467; Ross, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

garh fort, and the annexation of Sorath to Gujarāt, in December 1470.¹ Muslim historians further tell us that the King of Gīrnār was compelled to surrender. He then accepted Islam, and was given the title of Khān Jahān. At the foot of the hill Mahmūd founded the city of Mustafābād, which became one of his capitals and also a favourite residence.²

Verses 10-12 tell us that Mahmūd then took **Chāmpaka**(padra ?), i.e., modern Chāmpāner, conquered the fort of **Pāvaka**,³ i.e., Pāvāgarh, captured its chief alive and ruled in that city. Here we have an allusion to the principal events in the final conquest of Chāmpāner and its hill fortress Pāvāgarh by Mahmūd. Chāmpāner held a strategic position between Mālwa and Gujarāt. Its rulers were Rājputs of the Chauhān clan,⁴ and the only Hindu principality near the Gujarāt capital. So whenever the King of Mālwa wanted to attack Gujarāt he first instigated the Chief of Chāmpāner, or when the latter felt aggrieved he himself harassed the Gujarāt Sultāns by plundering their territory. Skirmishes and even serious battles had often taken place in the past between these two neighbours, but none of the Sultāns before Mahmūd could conquer Pāvāgarh and subdue its chiefs for long.

Mahmūd was aware of the rebellious deeds of the Chāmpāner chief, who was perhaps Jayasīnha,⁵ but he did not get a suitable opportunity to attack that kingdom. He got this in 1482 when one of his governors, Malik Sūdha, in charge of the country neighbouring Chāmpāner was killed by Patāi, the Rājā of that kingdom. Enraged by this action he invaded Chāmpāner, occupied it and built a mosque there. Patāi thereafter took shelter in Pāvāgarh, to which Mahmūd laid siege. This lasted for 21 months and at the end of which the fort was stormed by a strategy. Betrayed by this the Rājputs who were already reduced to their last straits, performed *jauhar* burning alive the women (to this a reference seems to have been made by the inscription), and marched forth to give an open battle to the Muslims. It is said that all of them were slain, but Rājā Patāi and a minister named Dungarsi were captured alive. Mahmūd was pleased with their courage and brave defence and after they were cured of their injuries in war, they were asked to embrace Islam. On their refusal to do so Mahmūd imprisoned them, and gave them time to think over his offer. But when they persisted in their resolve not to become Muslims,

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 305-06; p. 55; p. 57 and p. 209 (in 1472) respectively.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 306-07; p. 56, p. 57, p. 209 and pp. 20, 25, 26 respectively.

³ According to an inscription of Jayasīnha V. S. 1525, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 2. See also Rawlinson, *Rās Mālā*, Vol. I, p. 357; *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. III, p. 304; Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 66. They are now represented by the rulers of the Chhota Udepur and Devgad Baria States.

⁴ He was ruling at Pāvakadurga (according to the inscription cited in the note above) in V. S. 1525 and was perhaps still the ruler of the place when Mahmūd attacked it. In fact verse 21 of our inscription does speak of one Jayadēva, and, I believe, these two are identical kings. For their names tally very closely with 'Jey-singh' who according to the authors of the *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī* (as cited by Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 212) and *Mirāt-i-Sikandari* (Faridi, *op. cit.*, p. 59) was the King of Chāmpāner whom Mahmūd defeated. Moreover, the name of his father and forefathers as mentioned in the inscription and by the Muslim historians also tally. Thus:

Inscription of Jayasīnha of V. S. 1525.

Muslim Historians.

Viradhavala	= Virsingh (<i>Tabakāt-i-Akbarī</i>); perhaps contemporary of Ahmad Shāh.
Trimbakabhūpa	= Trimbakdās (<i>Mirāt-i-Sikandari</i> , pp. 15-17); also contemporary of Ahmad Shāh.
Gaṅgarājōśvara	= Gaṅgadās (<i>Mirāt-i-Sikandari</i> , pp. 24 and 30); contemporary of Kutb-ud-dīn.

Other chroniclers (for instance, Firishta, Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 66) call him 'Beny Ray'; Faridi, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-67, also calls him 'Rāwāl Patāi'; Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 212, calls him 'Rawal Tuppai'; Bayley, *Local Muhammadan Dynasties, Gujarat* (1886), p. 211, "Rai Patāi". From this it appears that the chiefs of Chāmpāner were known as Rāya, as the kings of other Chāhamāna or Chauhān families were called. 'Patāi' seems to be the contraction, as Watson has rightly said *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 2), of the word 'Pāvāpati' or the lord of Pāvā.

they were executed at the end of five months.¹ And after that Mahmūd founded the city of Muhammadābād and a fort around it called Jahān panāh.

The purport of verses 13-15 seems to be that Imādala was appointed to govern (?) (this newly acquired) province.

The next few verses continue to speak of Malika Imādala, his conquest of Palldēśa and the construction of a fortress there. A reference to the same fort, built by the orders of Imādala as well as to the excavation of (two) tanks seems to be contained in verse 19. This Palldēśa seems to be, as shown below,² some part of the Godhrā District and not the famous district of this name in Rājputāna.

Verse 20 speaks of a well, apparently caused to be dug by Imādala, at Ahammadapura, which probably refers to Ahmadābād and not to Ahmadnagar.³

Verse 21 again tells us that Imādala constructed an excellent fort and an artificial lake [at Champakapura (Chāmpāner) ?] with the consent of (?) Mahamūda Shāh. The former perhaps refers to the outer wall and special fortification that Mahmūd ordered to be built round Chāmpāner.⁴

Verses 22 and 25 mention the lord of Bāgūla, called Jayadēva in v. 22, and the complete destruction of his forces by Imādala. Verse 23 mentions the conquest of Rāyadurga or 'the fort of the Rāya (king),' probably belonging to the same ruler. Verse 24, however, again speaks of the destruction and capture of a fort. Now, it is not quite clear whether all these verses refer to the same conquest of the Pāvāgarh Chief, whose name was Jayadēva and who is to be identified with the Jayasīmahadēva of the Pāvāgarh inscription, or Jayadēva, the lord of Bāgūla, was a person different from the Chief of Pāvāgarh. The only point in favour of accepting the first suggestion is the use of the word *digvijaya* in v. 23. The victory over Pāvāgarh may have been considered a *digvijaya* (world-conquest), as it was not accomplished so far by any of the Gujarāt Sultāns; and it was, further, the last Hindu kingdom which had remained independent so far. It cannot be argued that the conquest of Champakapura has once been referred to, and a further detailed reference is not expected as we find the mention of Pāvaka again in v. 25. This question, however, cannot be satisfactorily decided till Bāgūla remains unidentified. It may have been another name of the tract over which the Chāmpāner Chief ruled possibly due to a confusion with the name of the adjacent territory known as Vāgaḍa or it may be the same as Bāglān, which was a petty Rājput State between Gujarāt and the Deccan.⁵ There is, however, no reference to a victory over 'Bāgūla' in Muslim chronicles.

Verse 26 which is only partly legible, speaks of the beautiful fort at Dadhipadra, modern Dohad, probably built by Imādala Mulaka in Śaka 1401 and Vikrama 1545. Line 21, however, seems to refer to its repair by Imādala Malika on a particular day, the details of which are obliterated.

¹ C. H. I., Vol. III, pp. 309-10; Faridi, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67; Firiakta, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 66-70; Ross, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-31.

² For details see p. 221 below.

³ For details see p. 219 below.

⁴ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 247 and Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 212; Bayley, citing *Tabakāt-i-Akbarī*, *op. cit.*, p. 210. It is strange that there is no reference to this in *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*, which is usually followed by the author of *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*; C. H. I., Vol. III, p. 612 and pl. XXV. A note in Bayley, *op. cit.*, p. 212, says that "this appears to have been an upper citadel; apparently the remains of the upper fort now existing are of Muhammadan construction, and are attributed to Mahmūd Bigarha, who is said to have named the citadel Mān Mahēsh". See *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. III, p. 190.

⁵ South and perhaps contiguous to the Palldēśa (modern Godhrā tālnkā) of the inscription. For details see pp. 220-21 below.

Verse 26 seems to give us a totally new information. None of the Muslim historians attributes the construction of or repairs to a fort at Dadhipadra (Dohad) to Mahmūd or to any of his friends whose deeds are described at length by the author of the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī*.¹

The inscription, it will be found, records all the important conquests of Mahmūd till about A.D. 1490, the date of the record, but omits Mahmūd's expeditions to Sind and Jagat (Dwārka) in A.D. 1472 and 1473 respectively.²

The inscription, in lines 11, 13, 15-17, 20 and 21, refers to the deeds of a person designated as (1) **Imādala**, (2) **Imādala Malika**, (3) "**Vira**" **Imādala**, (4) **Imādala Mulaka** and (5) **Imādala Malika** respectively.

The context in which the first is mentioned is not clear. He seems to have been entrusted with the 'protection of a country', probably the newly acquired country of Chāmpāner. The second, Malika Imādala, conquered Pallidēsa and built a fort there. The third built a fort at Champakapura; whereas Imādala Mulaka, the fourth, made a gift (in connexion with the fort at Dadhipadra). The last, Malika Imādala, repaired the same (?) fort in his possession (*malikīm* ?).

From the context it appears that all these deeds were performed by one and the same person, namely, Imādala Mulaka, which are described chronologically in the inscription—from the time of his appointment 'to protect a country' to his repairing a fort at Dadhipadra in Śaka 1410.

This Imādala Mulaka may be identified with Imād-ul-Mulk,³ which was a designation for the post resembling premiership. During Mahmūd's regime there were three⁴ such 'Imād-ul-Mulks': (1) Imād-ul-Mulk Sha'bān, (2) Imād-ul-Mulk Hājī Sultāni, and (3) his son Buda. It was the first who helped Mahmūd to fight the conspiracy at the time of his accession to the throne; while Buda must be the person who assisted Mahmūd in his conquest of Chāmpāner, etc., and who built and repaired the fort of Dadhipadra (Dohad), because his father, Hājī Sultāni had died just before the invasion of Chāmpāner.⁵

The inscription refers to the following places: **Ahammadapura**, **Champaka(padra)**, **Champakapura**, **Dadhipadra**; (the lords of) **Gurjara**, **Mālavaka**, **Damana** and **Bāgūla**; the forts of **Pāvaka** and **Jirpa** (?); and the mountain **Raivataka**.

The context in which **Ahammadapura** is mentioned is not clear, nevertheless it probably refers to the city of Ahmadābād, founded by Ahmad Shāh on the site of the old city of Asāwal,⁶ and not to Ahmadnagar, (also built by him⁷), because Mahmūd is not credited with the construction of any building at Ahmadnagar, while at the former city he erected a number of splendid edifices⁸ and surrounded it with a wall and bastions just after the conquest of Chāmpāner.⁹

Champaka(padra) or **Champakapura** is the modern Chāmpāner, the ancient splendour of which is vividly described by historians.¹⁰ There are still some ruins of the buildings constructed

¹ See Faridi, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-88; Bayley, *op. cit.*, pp. 238 ff. This historian, however, mentions one 'Imād-ul-Mulk Malik 'Ain who built 'Ain pūrah, "one of the most beautiful of the suburbs of Ahmadābād". But as Dadhipadra is to be definitely identified with Dohad this information does not help us much.

² *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 306-07.

³ According to the kind suggestion of my friend, Mr. Gyani, of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

⁴ See *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 304 and 309.

⁵ See *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, p. 309.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 300.

⁷ Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

⁸ *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, p. 612.

⁹ Cf. Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 70, "at this period".

¹⁰ Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II, pp. 241 and 242.

by Mahmūd at Chāmpāner. Of these—the walls of the citadel, its bastions and gateways, custom house, mosques and tombs—the finest is the *Jāmi Masjid*.¹

Dadhipadra is identified with Dohad, and literally means a village (*padra*) on the Dadhi. The latter may be identified with the river Dadhimati, on which Dohad now stands.² Dadhipadra is also mentioned in the inscriptions³ of Jayasinha and Kumārapāla found at Dohad.

Our inscription settles the question regarding the construction of the fort at Dohad, which was left vague by the Muslim historians. The author of the *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, for instance, says at one place⁴ that Ahmad Shāh built a fort in "the market town of Dahmod, among the mountains;" while at another place⁵ the construction of the fortifications at Dohad is credited to Muzaffar II. But it appears from the account of the author of the *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* that Dahmod and Dohad refers to one and the same place and that the fort at Dohad was built by Ahmad I⁶ while the same was repaired by Muzaffar on his way to Mālwā in about 1514.⁷

From the context in which the fort at Dadhipadra occurs in our inscription it appears that a fort was already there⁸ (perhaps built by Ahmad I as shown above), but it was in ruins and was subsequently repaired⁹ in the reign of Mahmūd I by Malika Imādala.

As I have mentioned before, the country of **Bāgūla** may be the same as Buglana mentioned by Firishita¹⁰ or Bāglāna by Abul Fazl and others.¹¹ According to the former, it was a 'district contiguous to Surat'; according to the latter, it was a mountainous, well-peopled country between Surat and Nandarbar. These descriptions correspond to one of the subdivisions of the modern Nāsik District¹² known as Bāglān. Muslim historians tell us that the chiefs of this place belonged to a Rāshtrakūṭa family, perhaps identical with that of the Rāthōds of Kanauj¹³; and that their hereditary title was Baharji—which may be the same as Baaurah, a family name of the ruling house of Kanauj, according to Masudi.¹⁴ They also mention that the country had seven forts, two of which, viz., Mulher and Sāler, were places of unusual strength.¹⁵

From very early times Bāglān was a half-way house between the Deccan and the Gujarāt coast. At the end of the 13th century it had given protection to its overlord Karṇa, the last Hindu ruler of Gujarāt. Later it was always a bone of contention between the Sulṭāns of Gujarāt

¹ For description of this and other buildings see *Arch. Sur. West. Ind.*, Vol. VI, p. 41 and pls. LVI, LVIII, LXI and XIV; and *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, pp. 612-13 and pl. XXV.

² Mythologically the town was called Dudhipuranagara after the temple of Dudhēvara Mahādēva on the banks of the river Dadhimati. The latter was so named in honour of the sage Dadhichi who lived there. As shown above Dadhipadra is the most natural etymology of the name; Dadhipuranagara seems to be a later attempt to show the antiquity of the Śiva temple at the place.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 159.

⁴ Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 222.

⁶ Faridi, *op. cit.*, p. 17. Cf. "fortified a thāna at Dohad, which was among the hills".

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

⁸ Cf. *Dadhipadrē vuchiratarān durggah vai* in l. 19.

⁹ Cf. *vuddharā* in l. 21.

¹⁰ Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 19 and 30.

¹¹ *Āin-i-Albarī* (Gladwin), Vol. II, p. 73 first cited in the *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XVI, p. 188; Vol. VII, p. 65; *ibid.*, p. 189.

¹² *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XVI, p. 399.

¹³ *Maāsiru-l-umarā* (*Memoirs of the Nobles*) cited in Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 122. But its other statement that the Zamindar held the ... country for fourteen hundred years is doubtful.

¹⁴ As suggested in *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. XVI, p. 184, note 8.

¹⁵ Many of them exist even now; cf. *ibid.*, p. 400: "Most of the ridges are crowned by perpendicular ledges of rock, and the tops of many are fortified, the chief being Sāler in Baroda territory in the extreme west and Mulher about 10 miles east of Sāler."

and those of the Deccan, now owned by the former and now by the latter, and at times independent. Our inscription seems to refer to its one of such conquests by the Sultāns of Gujarāt (before it was subdued in about 1487 by the brothers Malik Wagi and Malik Ashraf, the governors of Daulatābād), which is not mentioned by Muslim historians.

The context in which **Pallidēsa** is mentioned (l. 13) is not clear. It appears, however, that a fort was built there by Imādala. Now there is a place called Pāli in the Godhrā *tālukā*,¹ which seems to preserve the name of the ancient *Pallidēsa*. The reason for identifying with this Pāli and not with the famous place and district of that name in Rājputāna² is that the context favours it. In conquering Chāmpāner Mahmūd must have conquered the territory now comprised by the modern Godhrā *tālukā*, (then known as *Pallidēsa*), while no conquests are credited to Mahmūd in Rājputāna, unless it be the proposed invasion of Sanchor and of Jalor in Mārwar, entrusted to Imād-ool-Moolk and Keisur Khān with a view to levying tribute "on the rājās of Julwara and Aboogur."³ But it is doubtful if this invasion took place at all. Godhrā, on the contrary, is known as a separate province under Mahmūd. Its governor was Kowam-ool-Moolk.⁴ However, the reference to the building of a fort in this country cannot be explained at present.

The **Pāvakadurga** (l. 9) is to be identified with the hill fort of Pāvāgarh "about 25 miles south of Godhrā and by road 29 miles east of Baroda,"⁵ in the Pānch Mahāls District of the Bombay Presidency. It is also called by this name in an inscription of its rulers mentioned above.⁶

Before Mahmūd, Ahmada Shāh and his son Mahammad Shāh had attempted to take this fort but had failed. After a protracted siege Mahmūd succeeded in storming and forcing open its gates in November 1484. It is said that on gaining possession of the hill Mahmūd strengthened the defences of the upper and lower forts⁷ and built there a city called Mahmūdābād⁸ which was known as Mahmūdābād Chāmpāner.⁹ Our inscription perhaps refers to these deeds of Mahmūd by merely saying that he ruled in that city.

Jirpa(durga) is not to be identified with the modern Junāgarh, but it is to be identified with one of the forts at the place mentioned by the Muhammadan historians and also noticed in other epigraphs. According to these, in the 15th century there were two forts¹⁰ and a city. The latter was presumably called Girinagara¹¹ as it was in the past—in the 2nd¹² and 8th¹³ centuries A.D. respectively. The fort within the city, on the outskirts of the Dāmodar Ghāt¹⁴ and on the rising slope of the Girnār (or the mountain Raivata), was known as **Jirpadurga**¹⁵ or

¹ See *Rev. List, Ant. Rem. Bom. Pres.*, p. 98.

² In Jodhpur State; see *Rājputāna Gazetteer*, (Imp. Gaz. of India, Provincial Series), p. 203. Hēmachandra mentions one *Pallidēsa* in his *Dvyāstraya-mahākāvya*, *sarga* XX, v. 33. But, probably, this too, is identical with the country of that name in Rājputāna.

³ Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 64; *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, p. 309; Bayley, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

⁴ Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

⁵ *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. III, p. 185, n. 1.

⁶ See above p. 217, notes 3 and 4.

⁷ For a plan of the hill and the fort of Pāvāgarh, see *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. III, p. 196.

⁸ Firishta, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 7; Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 212; Faridi, *op. cit.*, p. 67. *C. H. I.*, Vol. III, p. 310.

⁹ Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

¹⁰ See Faridi, *op. cit.*, p. 52 and p. 54; Bird, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

¹¹ Cf. Briggs, (Firishta), *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 52-53, "Mahmood Shah.....towards the country of Girnār, the capital of which bears the same name."

¹² Inscription of Rudradāman, above, Vol. VIII, p. 45.

¹³ Grant of Jayabhāṭa, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 78, line 19.

¹⁴ Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 53.

¹⁵ Chōrwād Ina. of Malladēva, V. S. 1445, *Rev. List, Ant. Remains, Bom. Pres.*, p. 250; above, Vol. XXI, Appendix, p. 103, No. 731. Hathasani Ina. of Mēhara chief Thēpaka, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 300; above, Vol. XIX, Appendix, p. 98, n. 1.

Jhinjharakōṭa² or Joonagarh²—presumably the modern Uparkoṭ.³ Evidently it was a fortified palace, or a citadel, like the fortresses of the Mughals, probably built under the Chūḍāsamā kings of Girnār. The second fort was situated higher up the mountain⁴ of which no traces now remain. The transference of the name Girinagara to the mountain (suppressing the latter's ancient names Raivata and Ūrjayat) and that of the citadel Jirnadurga to the city—now known as Junāgarh—probably took place after the 15th century.

Raivatāka seems to be another name for the mountain Girnār. In one of the inscriptions found from the place the mountain is called **Ūrjayat**.⁵ Both of these names, however, are mentioned in the inscription of Skandagupta.⁶ Fleet identified Raivatāka with one⁷ of the two hills of Girnār and not with Girnār proper.⁸ After this no epigraphical references are found, so far⁹, till about 1300 A.D. Henceforward the inscriptions seem to identify Raivata with Ujjayanta.¹⁰ In early times therefore Raivata and Ūrjayanta might have been names of two different hills at Girnār, but in later times they came to be regarded as identical.¹¹ The Raivatāka in the present inscription therefore seems to refer to the hill on which there are temples, etc., and which is now known as Girnār.

TEXT.

[Metres: vv. 1, 10, 26 *Āryā*; vv. 3, 11, 12, 16-18, 20, 22, 23 *Anuṣṭubh*; vv. 5, 6 *Indravajrā*; vv. 4, 13, 14, 15, 25 *Upajāti*; v. 2 *Sragdharā*; vv. 7-9, 19, 21, 24 *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.]

1 . . .¹² त्रौ¹³ ॥ काश्मीर¹⁴वासिनीं देवीं नत्वा साहि¹⁵ मुदा[फ]र-
स्वादौ । वंशं जगति विशु[डं] — —¹⁶ च पातसाहीनां(नाम्) ॥१[॥*] षादौ
त्रौ[गु]¹⁷ जंरयो नृपकुलतिलक[:*] प्राप्तप-

² *Rev. List, Ant., Remains, Bom. Pres.*, p. 361; Ins. No. 35, line 6.

³ Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 53.

⁴ This is stylistically Hindu, probably of the 13-14th century or even of an earlier period. See *Arch. Sur. West. India*, Vol. II, p. 94.

⁵ Cf. Firichā (Briggs, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 53), "on a mountain . . . the strongest fortress . . ."

⁶ Inscription of Rudradāman, above, Vol. VIII, p. 42.

⁷ *Gupta Inscriptions, C.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 60.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 64, n. 1, "The hill opposite to Ūrjayat or Girnār"; whereas in the *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 441-42, it is said that Rēvatāchal is the name of the hill immediately over the Rēvata Kuṇḍ (and also the Dāmodar Kuṇḍ); that the hill was so called after Rājā Rēvat, who after marrying his daughter Rēvatī to Baladēva, brother of Kriśṇa, came and resided at Girnār from Dwārakā. *Bhāgavata Purāna, skandha X, udhyāya* 52, mentions part of this story. There Rēvata is called the 'lord of Ānarta'. But it does not say that Rēvata went to Girnār and stayed there.

⁹ Perhaps after the *Girnarā Māhātmya*. See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 239.

¹⁰ From Gujarāt. Otherwise Raivatāka is mentioned in the Jaunpur Stone Inscription of Išvaravarman, *Gupta Inscriptions, C.I.I.*, Vol. III, p. 230.

¹¹ See Ins. No. 14 found in the temple of Neminātha, *Rev. List, Ant. Rem., Bom. Pres.*, p. 355 and Chōrwāḍ Ins. of Malladēva, *op. cit.*, p. 250. In an inscription of a Māṇḍalika king both of them are mentioned but it is not clear whether they are the same or different. See *op. cit.*, pp. 347-48.

¹² Cf. *Bomb. Gaz.*, Vol. VIII, p. 441, "The Jains sometimes incorrectly apply the name Rēvatāchal to the Girnār."

¹³ Probably there was a symbol at the beginning.

¹⁴ The top loop of *ś* and the stroke of *r* are faintly visible on the impression; the word preceding it may have been *svasth*.

¹⁵ Read *Kāśmīra*.

¹⁶ Should be *śāśī*. The scribe has used the correct form in line 3.

¹⁷ [The previous two syllables may have contained some such verbal form as *raivāḥyā*—Ed.]

¹⁸ Only the *ā* of *Gā* is now left.

- 2 [स्त्री] कदेशः [ः] श्रीमान् (न्) श्रीर्यादिसारैरुपकुलमखिल(लं) यो विजित्वाधि[त]स्त्री । पश्चात् श्रीपत्तनेस्मिन् प्र[व]रगुण ८ — — रकौर्त्तिवैशस्त्री मानौ भूपाल-
मौलिर्वरमुकटमणिं वीरविख्यातम्-
- 3 [क्तिः] ॥[१*] २[॥*] श्रीमान् वीरोभवत् शाहिमुदापरनृपप्रभुः । तत्पुत्रो वीरवि-
ख्यातो महम्मदमहोपतिः ॥[१*]३[॥*] तस्यान्वये — ८ — प्रसूतः प्रताप-
सन्तापितमालवेशः । वीरः सदा श्रीमदहम्मदेंद्रो
- 4 राजा महोमंडलमंडनाय ॥[१*]४[॥*] यः सर्वधर्मार्थविचारसारसर्वज्ञ[शुद्धो नृप]वंश-
जातः । जित्वा महो मालवकाधिपस्य जयाह तद्देशं धनं च पश्चात् ॥[१*]-
५[॥*] तस्मात्पुनर्भूमिपतिः प्रधानवै-
- 5 रः[*] सदा साहमहम्मदोभूत् । दाता जगज्जीवनजातकौर्त्ति[र्यस्य प्रभावो] विदितः
पृथिव्यां(व्याम्) ॥[१*]६[॥*] साहश्रीमहम्मदवीरनृपतिः श्रीग्यास[दीन]प्रभोर्विख्यातः
८ — उदारचरि-
- 6 तो जातोन्वये वीर्यवान् । या राज्यादधि[क] ८ — पपदवौ — — घदामिन^१ वै कर्णं
विक्रमभूपतिं च जितवान् शास्त्रार्थसारे गुरुः[ः] ॥[१*]७ [॥*] राज्यं प्राप्य निजं
प्रसन्नं [वद]-
- 7 नो दातातिवै[र्या]न्वितः पश्चाद(ह)स्त्रिणादिकपतिं खनगरं सं — ८ जित्वा रिपं ।
[तसो वै] र्द(द)मनाधिपस्य सकलं देशं समं भूधरैर्नोत्वा श्रीमहम्मदसाहनृपतिश्चक्रे
मतिं
- 8 [रै]वते ॥[१*]८[॥*] तत्रो शुंगनगेंद्रसंगतभटान् वीच्यादरेण [स्त्रयं] युद्धं चाद्भुत-
विक्रमं [स कृतवान्] भूप(पः) स्वसेनाजनैः । जित्वा दुर्गमशेषवैरिसहितं यो जीर्णं
संसं ८ — ^२ कौर्त्तिस्तंभमि-

^१ The reading is doubtful.

^२ The r stroke should be on the following letter si. Read *manir=vara*.

^३ The reading is almost clearly *śaś-vīma dhanam cha*.—Ed.]

^४ These three letters are obliterated. [Reading seems to be *śa-guṇair=udāra*.—Ed.]

^५ [Intended readings may be *dāna* and *Gurua*.—Ed.]

^६ The anusvara over *sa* is superfluous; it may be a flaw in the stone.

^७ [Probably we have to restore *as=āikpatī[ḥ*] śa-nagarē saṁkhyē cha jīvē*.—Ed.]

^८ [The reading seems to be correctly *śa-śūhga*.—Ed.]

^९ The letters read *śaś saṁprati*, which yields no sense. [Reading seems to be *Śiraṇantirjān* *pasa(nab)*.—Ed.]

- 9 दं चकार नृपतिस्तद्वैतं पर्वतं(तम्) । [1*]८[11*] चंपक — —¹ पद्यात् सं — —
 वैरिकुडकुहाल[:*] । जित्वा पावक[दुर्गं] पित्रा रुडं प्रतापतापूर्वं(र्वम्) । [1*]१०[11*]
 महमूदमहोपालप्रतापेनेव पावकं । प्रविश्य ज्वालितं
- 10 [सर्व] वैरिहृदं पतंगवत् । [1*]११[11*] जीवंतं तत्पतिं ब[ह्वा] दुर्भं [नी]त्वा महा-
 वलं । चकार तत्पुरे राज्यं महमूदमहोष्णर[ः] । [1*]१२[11*] ज्ञात्वा गुणै[:*]
 कर्मभिरप्युदारैरंतं कुलीनं नृपवंशजातं । मुखं चका-
- 11 रामगृहे महोष्णः स सेवके[भ्यो]धिकमानंटानैः । [1*]१३[11*] पद्यादि[सं] सेवक[मे]-
 कवीरमिमादलं कार्यकरं विदित्वा आ — — — सदातिशूरं सद्वाक्श-
 — — — देग'रक्षां(चाम) । [1*]१४[11*] [पा]-
- 12 मीरवंशे नृपतिप्र[धा]न(नः) — — — मोभूदतुलप्रतापः । स—हव या सं(सां ?)
 नागरीतं —⁵ सूयते — — — चारुकीर्तिः । [1*]१५[11*] तस्मात् संवल
 वनेज — — — मखिल चितौ
- 13 मा(मी) प्रतापवान(न्) वीर(रो) विख्यात[:] पुण्यकर्मणि⁶ । [1*]१६[11*] मह[मूद]महो-
 पालसेवाप्रौढप्रतापवान् [ः] दानवीरद्विरं जीयाभलिकश्रीर्(इ)मादलः । [1*]
 १७[11*] पञ्जीदेशाधिकारं च पुण्यं पुण्यम-
- 14 तिस्तदा दुष्टारिहृदये राज्यं दुर्भमिनं चकार वै । [1*]१८[11*] [यिनादौ] — — —
 धौति[विपुलं] गंगोर्मिकञ्जीलवत् पूर्य्य पुण्यजलेन सर्वं — — — — —
 — — । कासारं—दक्षौद⁷
- 15 च मनसोत्तमिन निष्पादितं सोयं वीर इमादले[द्र]नृप[ति]दुर्भं चकारोत्तमं(मम्)
 । [1*] १९[11*] चहम्भदपुरांतस्थः कृपो यस्य विराजते । जगज्जीवनदानेन
 यशोराशिमिवोद्दहन् । [1*]२०[11*] य[:] श्री-

¹ It may be *pallyām* or *padpām*; the former is improbable because place names with the ending *palli* are not met with in later Gujarāt inscriptions, though in this very inscription *Palli* occurs as a complete name of a place, and as will be mentioned in a note on it. *Pallidēsa* is also mentioned by Hēmachandra in his *Dryāraya-kāvya*. Even in the case of earlier inscriptions, a few cases that are available are limited to the Trāikūṭaka, Rāshtrakūṭa, Valabhi and Western Chālukya inscriptions. [The reading, however, appears to be *Champaka-puryyām*.—Ed.]

² The sense is not clear and the reading is doubtful.

³ A superfluous *anuvāda* is seen over *mā* of *māna*.

⁴ [On the impression the reading looks like *cēsa*.—Ed.]

⁵ [Reading seems to be - - *hrayā* (*śam*)*prati* *sāgar-āntam* *ya*(*ya*)*ś*.—Ed.]

⁶ The reading according to Dr. Chhabra is *Tasmāy = jāte = siltjāsv* — 10 — *khi*(*la*)-*khitau* | (*śa*)*śv* *pra-*
tāpāna(*n*) *vira*(*r*)*ś* *vikhya*(*h*) *puṣya-karmmani* |

⁷ [The correct reading is *śallan* for *śalyan*.—Ed.]

⁸ The sense is not clear as a few letters of this line are illegible. [Reading may be *kūdra-dvayam = ādarēya*.—Ed.]

- 16 मन्महमूदशाहकपया औधंपकाख्ये पुरे — —¹ [कौ]तिविर्वर्नं सुविपुलं तापच-
योन्मूलनं । सानंदेन चकार मानससमं सत्पुंकरं भूतले सोयं वीर
इमादलेद्रुपतिर्दमं चका-
- 17 रोत्तमं(मम्) ।[1*]२१[11*] वागूलाधिपतिर्यस्य जयदेवो म — ट ७[1*]²
मिर्वेर्निन्धे लूषजोवशिरः[*] स्वयं(यम्)³ ।[1*] २२[11*] तत्राशिया[वि]पून् इत्वा
कृत्वा दिग्विजयोदयं । रायदुर्गं समजयत् योसौ वीर इमादलः ।[1*]२३[11*]
- 18 — — (रावल)वेधनेन सकलं तद्द्वैरिदं त[द्या*] — — लि — विमुक्तगोलक-
गणेः संहत्य चूर्णीकृतं[*] । दुर्गं पूर्णवली विजित्य सबलं प्रोद्यत्प्रतापेन
यो धर्मद्वारमिदं प्रद्वारसहितं त-
- 19 ७पा.र्दौ⁴ ।[1*]२४[11*] वागू[ल*]भूपालबलं प्रहृत्य प्रचण्डभूमिभ्ररकालकर्ता ।
यः पावके पूर्वविद्वं⁵इभर्ता किं वर्धते चास्य जयस्य वार्ता ॥२५[11*]
दधिपद्रे(द्रे) रुचिरतरं दुर्गं वै दुःसह . .
- 20 । श्रीमदिमादलमुलको दान सुंदरचक्रे ॥२६
[11*] श्रीनृपविक्रमाक(मांक)समयातीतसंवत् १५४५⁶ वर्षे शाके १४०१०⁶ प्र-
वर्त्तमाने वैशाख(ख)शुदि १३
- 21 — — — — —⁷ शुभे दिने मलिक श्रीइमादल मलिकिं दुर्गं
उद्वर[त्]⁸ ॥ [श्रीरस्तु]—जे गट पीलिनो पारी ते वंतरी⁹
- 22 — — — — — तिस

No. 30.—BHOPAL PLATES OF THE MAHAKUMARA HARICHAMDRADEVA.

By N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., Ph.D., OOTACAMUND.

The following set of two copper plates was discovered about forty years ago by Dewan Seth Brij Mohon Dass, a leading banker of Bhopāl, while digging the foundations of his house in Chowk Bazar, Bhopāl, at the time of its re-erection and is in his possession at present. The plates are stated to have been found at a depth of about 20 feet, laid one above the other and nailed to the

¹ [Probably to be restored as *punayam*.—Ed.]² Letters effaced.³ Sense not clear.⁴ [Reading seems to be *tasmai krip-ābhīr=dadāu*.—Ed.]⁵ There appears a cipher between 154 and 5 which is perhaps a scratch in the stone itself.⁶ The zero before 10 is superfluous.⁷ All these letters are effaced; probably they contained the date in the Hijra era.⁸ Should be °m=*uddharēt*.⁹ The construction of this sentence beginning with *jē* and ending with *vantari* is identical with the relative clause in the Gujarātī language. The letters *jē* and *ti* in *pālini* look like the modern Gujarātī letters. The sentence seems to contain a curse, as in many Silāhāra and Yādava inscriptions, to the effect that he who would tamper with the fort (*gadh*), would be a witch (*vantari*) or afflicted by a *vantari*, etc.

ground. Nothing can therefore be said as to the place where they originally came from. Mr. M. Hamid, the Superintendent of Archaeology, Bhopāl State, very kindly sent me a set of excellent enlarged photographs of the plates to whom I also owe the details of the measurement, etc., of the plates and also of their discovery. Mr. Hamid himself published an exhaustive note on the record in the *Hindustan Times*, in its issue of 31st January, 1937. The charter is now edited here with the permission of Mr. Hamid and the consent of the owner of the plates which the former was good enough to get for me.

The plates are $11\frac{3}{4}$ " long by $7\frac{1}{4}$ " broad each, with a thickness of about $\frac{1}{4}$ " at the edges which are fashioned thicker than the inscribed surfaces. The first plate weighs 3 lbs. but the weight of the second plate is only 2 lbs. Each plate has two holes for the passing of two rings with which they were originally held. Both the rings and the seal which was probably attached to one of them, are now missing. The plates are inscribed on one side only, the obverse of the first and the reverse of the second plate being left blank. The first leaf contains 21 lines of writing and the second only 20. The second plate has the figure of a **Garuda**, kneeling and facing right, engraved in the middle between lines 8 and 14. The plates are well preserved. A portion at the end of the last line of the first plate was left un-inscribed. The commencement of the second plate which apparently contained the *gōtra* of one of the donees is also illegible. It is doubtful if this portion also was at all engraved. With the exception of this the text of the whole record can be made out with certainty.

The characters are Nāgarī as prevalent in Central India and found in the records of the Paramāra rulers of Mālwa. In a few places *va* can hardly be distinguished from *cha*, e.g., *-lava-chalam-* (l. 13). The final consonant has been indicated by a short slanting stroke at the bottom of the letters concerned, e.g., *-tām* (l. 1), *-ādīn* (l. 8), *-pitṛin* (l. 11) and *-etat* (l. 30). The language is Sanskrit and with the exception of two invocatory verses in ll. 1-3 and seven customary benedictory and imprecatory verses in ll. 15-16, 32-38 and 39-40 the rest of the record is in prose. In respect of orthography the following points may be noted: (1) *b* has been denoted by the sign for *v* throughout; e.g., *-savdā*^o (l. 5), *saṁvaddhaḥ* (l. 7), *vṛāhmaṇ*^o (l. 8), etc.; (2) while *z* has been used for *ṣ* in many places, e.g., *sirasā* (ll. 1-2), *Paramēsvara* (ll. 3, 4), *prasasta* (ll. 5, 6), etc., *ṣ* has been wrongly used for *z* only once in *śaptamān* (l. 34); (3) though consonants in conjunction with a subscript *r* have never been doubled, those in conjunction with a superscript *r* have very often been doubled, e.g., *°varmma* (ll. 3, 4, 5), *chaturdāsa* (l. 9); *pūrvvimāyām*, *sarva*^o, *parvaṇi* (l. 10), *hartavyū* (l. 37), etc., the exceptions being *śamabhyarchya* (l. 11), *Gartēsvara* (l. 17), *pārthiv*^o (l. 35), etc.; (4) *anusvāra* has often been used in place of the nasal of the same class, e.g., *aiṁdāvīn* (l. 1), *-āṁkura*, *tanvāntu*, *kalpānta* (l. 2), *pañcha* (l. 5), *manīlalē*, *chandra* (l. 7), etc. In a few places the signs of *anusvāra* and *visarga* and even whole syllables have been dropped, evidently due to the fault of the engraver. The writing, however, has on the whole been executed carefully. All the errors occurring in the text have been corrected by me either in the body of the text or in the footnotes accompanying it. Often a mark has been put by the scribe at the end of a line where the last word could not be fitted into it and had to be continued in the next, apparently to draw attention to the continuity.

As in the case of many Paramāra records, the present inscription opens with the phrases *Om svasti* and *Śrīr-ājyā-bhūdayai=cha* which are followed by two verses in praise of Śiva. It then introduces the donor, the Mahākumāra **Harichandradēva**, who had obtained the privilege of the five great sounds (*śamadhigata-pañcha-mahāśabda*) and who had acquired the victorious sovereignty through the favour of (*prasād-āvāpta-vijay-ādhipatyē*) the Mahākumāra **Trailōkyavarmmadēva** who had also obtained the privilege of the five great sounds. The latter is said

to have meditated on the feet of the *Paramahat̥hāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara*, the illustrious *Yaśōvarmmadēva*, who meditated on the feet of the P. M. P., the illustrious *Naravarmmadēva* (ll. 3-7).

The object of the record is the grant by *Harichandradēva* of the village *Dādarapādra* belonging to *Vikhilapādra*-twelve and situated in the *Mahādvādaśaka-maṇḍala* (l. 7). The village which was given with its suburbs on the east and the south (*pūrvva-dakṣhiṇa-tala-dvay-ṣṭpāta*) was divided into 16 shares and given to 19 Brahmins, whose names and *gōtras* along with names of their fathers are given in the record. Of these donees, a list of whom is given in the table below, 13 received one share each and 6 half a share each. Two of the donees were related as father and son (Nos. 4 and 8) and the following as brothers: Nos. 3 and 11, 5 and 7, 6 and 12 and 14 and 16. The last two donees mentioned in the list were only pupils (*vaṭuka*).

The date of the record is given in words in ll. 9-10 as *śrīmad-Vikrama-kāl-āita-chaturddas(ś)-ād̥hika-dvādaśa-sa(śaṣṭ-ānta[ḥ*]pāti-samvatsarē Kārttikē(ka)-sudi pūrṇimāyāṁ samjāta-soma-grahaṇa-sarvva-grāsa-parvvaṇi, i.e.,* on the full moon day of Kārttika of the Vikrama year 1214, on the occasion of a complete eclipse of the moon. It regularly corresponds to Saturday, the 19th October, A. D. 1157 when there was a lunar eclipse. The grant was made by the ruler with the usual ceremonies after bathing in the river *Vētravati* and in presence of the god *Bhāilasvāmin*.

If *Mukhyādēśa* is a proper name, he was the *Dūtaka* of the grant. The record concludes with the sign-manual of the *Mahākumāra Harichandradēva*.

Of the rulers mentioned in the inscription, the P. M. P. *Naravarmmadēva* and the P. M. P. *Yaśōvarmmadēva* are the well known *Paramāra* rulers of *Mālwa*. For *Naravarmmadēva* we have the latest date as V. S. 1190 in *Ratnasūri's* *Life of Ammasvāmin*.¹ That he died in the same year is certain, as we find his son *Yaśōvarman* making a grant on V. S. 1191 Kārttika sudi 8 on the occasion of the death anniversary of his father.² For *Yaśōvarman* we have the latest date as V. S. 1199 if the reading of the date of the *Jhālpātān* inscription³ is correct and if the record belongs to the time of this ruler.

The next two chiefs mentioned in the record under consideration, *vis.*, *Trailōkyavarman* and *Harichandra* undoubtedly belong to that branch of the *Paramāras* who call themselves *Mahākumāras* in their inscriptions. The earliest ruler known in this family is the *Mahākumāra Lakshmīvarman*. In V. S. 1200 we find him confirming a grant made in V. S. 1191 by the M. P. *Yaśōvarmadēva*, on the anniversary of the death of the latter's father *Naravarman*. *Lakshmīvarman* confirmed this grant 'for the merit of (his) illustrious father' (*śrīmat-pitri-śrēyōrtham*)⁴ which shows that he was undoubtedly a son of *Yaśōvarman*. We shall discuss later what might have been the reason for re-issuing the grant after a lapse of nearly nine years. According to the *Bhopāl plates*⁵ of his grandson *Udayavarman*, dated V. S. 1256, *Lakshmīvarman* 'obtained his kingship through the favour of his sword which he held (I) in his own hand' (*nija-kara-kṛita(dhṛita ?)-kara-vāla-prasād-āvāpta-nij-ādhipatyā*). The *Piplianagar plates*⁶ of *Hariachandra* (V. S. 1235 and 1236), the son of *Lakshmīvarman*, state that the former 'obtained his rulership through the favour of the last mentioned ruler' (*ētasmāt-priśhṭatama-prabhōḥ prasādād-āvāpta-nij-ādhipatyā*), namely, the P. M. P. *Jayavarmadēva*, the son of the *Paramāra Yaśōvarmadēva* of *Mālwa*. In connection with the history of these *Mahākumāras*, *Dr. D. C. Ganguly* observes: "According to the *Piplianagar*

¹ *Dhar State Gazetteer*, p. 159.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 353.

³ *P. R. A. S., W. C.*, 1905-06, p. 50, No. 2097 and *Bhandarkar, List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 252.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 352 f.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 254 ff. and pl.

⁶ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VII (1838), pp. 736 ff.

grant, *Hariscandra obtained his dominion through the favour of Jayavarman*. The Bhopal grant, on the other hand, expressly states that *Hariscandra's father, Lakṣmīvarman, made himself master of a principality by the force of his sword when the reign of Jayavarman had come to an end*. It evidently follows from these two statements that Lakṣmīvarman and his son Hariscandra ruled over separate territories. This finds strong corroboration in the fact that Udayavarman, the son of Hariscandra, is described by the Bhopal grant as succeeding to the throne of Lakṣmīvarman without the intervention of Hariscandra, who again excludes his father Lakṣmīvarman—in the Piplianagar grant—as a ruler preceding him. A critical survey of the epigraphic records will show that all these are deliberate representations and not accidental omissions.¹ Following the same argument are we to hold that Trailōkyavarman and Harichandra of the present record held sway over a third principality—a view which would only make the complication in the history of this branch more complicated! But the state of affairs is not so bad as it is made to look. If Yaśōvarman was still ruling in V. S. 1199 it is almost certain that Jayavarman's rule could not have come to an end before V. S. 1200 when Lakṣmīvarman was already a Mahākumāra. In fact Dr. Ganguly's conclusion is based on a wrong interpretation of the Bhopāl plates. They do not mention that Lakṣmīvarman became ruler by the force of his arms *when the reign of Jayavarman had come to an end*. The phrase *Jayavarmmadēva-rājyē vyatītē* in l. 5 of the Bhopāl plates has no connection whatsoever with Lakṣmīvarmadēva. It qualifies only the concluding portion of the whole sentence *Udayavarmmadēvō vijay-ōdayi* in l. 8. There is, moreover, nothing in the Bhopāl plates to prove that Udayavarman succeeded to the throne of Lakṣmīvarman without the intervention of Hariscandra, nor do the Piplianagar plates show that Lakṣmīvarman is excluded as a ruler preceding Hariscandra. We know that inscriptions do not always give a full genealogy of the ruler to whose reign they refer themselves but may mention the names of one or two or even none of his predecessors.

The real difficulty that presents itself in our record is to establish the identity of the Mahākumāra Harichandrādēva and the Mahākumāra Trailōkyavarmadēva. In my opinion Harichandra can be no other than Hariscandra, the son of Lakṣmīvarman. It is, however, more difficult to determine the place of Trailōkyavarman in the genealogy of these chiefs. That he belonged to the same line is certain from the titles he is given in the inscription. If he is not identical with Lakṣmīvarman, which seems unlikely, he could only be another son or a brother of Lakṣmīvarman, probably the latter. It is not impossible that when Lakṣmīvarman died, Hariscandra was very young and his uncle Trailōkyavarman acted as the regent during his minority. Trailōkyavarman, though only the regent, wielded the full power of a chief and is therefore given all the titles connected with the princes of this line. Had he been a son of Lakṣmīvarman his name should have been mentioned in some other records of this family. As the Mahākumāras were subordinates of the Paramāra rulers of Mālwa they had to obtain the formal sanction of their overlords at the time of succession. Probably Hariscandra took up the reins of government not long before V. S. 1214, the date of the present grant, and that is why he mentions Trailōkyavarman as his predecessor from whom he received the kingdom and to whom he was grateful for managing affairs during his minority. But when he issued his other grant in 1235, when Trailōkyavarman was probably dead, he mentioned only the name of his sovereign ruler, *vis.*, Jayavarman, as the one through whose favour he got his kingdom and Trailōkyavarman being a collateral, his name was omitted from this and all the later inscriptions of this family.

Now to understand properly the political situation as revealed by the inscriptions of the Paramāra Mahākumāras, it will be necessary to consider the history of the Paramāras of Mālwa from

¹ *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, pp. 179-81. See also *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LXI, p. 212.

Jayavarman down to Vindhyavarman. According to the Piplīnagar¹ (V. S. 1267) and the two sets of Bhopāl² plates (V. S. 1270 and 1272) of Arjunavarman, Yaśōvarman was succeeded by his son Ajayavarman, while in the (incomplete) Plates³ of Jayavarman, the Piplīnagar Plates⁴ of the Mahākumāra Hariśchandra (V. S. 1235 and 1236) and the Bhopāl Plates⁵ of the Mahākumāra Udayavarman (V. S. 1256), Yaśōvarman is stated to have been succeeded by Jayavarman. From the information supplied by these records Kielhorn came to the following conclusion: "Yaśōvarman had three sons, Jayavarman, Ajayavarman, and Lakshmīvarman; and he was in the first instance succeeded by Jayavarman. Soon after his succession (and certainly some time between Vikrama 1192 and 1200), Jayavarman was dethroned by Ajayavarman, who and whose successors then became the main branch of the Paramāra family in Mālava, and continued to style themselves *Mahārājas*. The third brother, Lakshmīvarman, however, did not submit to Ajayavarman; and, as stated in E (i.e., the Bhopāl grant of Udayavarman), he succeeded by force of arms in appropriating a portion of Mālava, which he and his son and grandson *de facto* ruled over as independent chiefs. At the same time, Lakshmīvarman and, after him, his son and successor Hariśchandra looked upon Jayavarman, though deposed, as the rightful sovereign of Mālava, and, in my opinion, it is for this reason that Hariśchandra, in the grant D. (i.e., the Piplīnagar plates), professes to rule by the favour of that prince, and that both Lakshmīvarman and Hariśchandra claim for themselves no higher title than that of *Mahākumāra*, a title which was handed down to, and adopted by, even Lakshmīvarman's grandson Udayavarman."* Though there is nothing definite to show that Kielhorn is wrong in his assumption, I prefer to agree with Dr. Ganguly⁶ that Jayavarman and Ajayavarman mentioned in the above inscriptions are identical. The later inscriptions, probably those issued after the re-occupation of Dhārā, call him Ajayavarman while the earlier inscriptions mention him as Jayavarman. Prof. Hall's theory that 'Lakshmīvarman sat on the throne with his sire' and was thus the eldest son of Yaśōvarman⁷ cannot be substantiated. When Yaśōvarman died, Jayavarman as his eldest son must have succeeded to the throne of Mālwa. Sometime before his death Yaśōvarman might have placed Lakshmīvarman in charge of a small principality which the latter ruled under the title of a Mahākumāra or, he might have wrested a part of the Paramāra empire which passed into the hands of enemies and established himself as the ruler. In any case, as he adopted a feudatory title he seems to have ruled only as a subordinate of the main branch. The boast of Lakshmīvarman that he obtained his sovereignty by force of arms as found in his Ujjain Plate⁸ is, however, not altogether an empty one as borne out by inscriptions. We find from the Bāndā Plate⁹ of the Chandēla Madanavarmadēva that this ruler made a gift in V. S. 1190 when he was encamped near Bhailasvāmin. As I have shown below, this place was in the Mahādvādaśaka-*maṇḍala* mentioned in our grant. What led this Chandēla ruler to encamp at the place cannot be ascertained. But it is not unlikely that he was, at this period, leading a campaign against the Mālava ruler and encroached upon the Paramāra territories soon after. Probably we find a confirmation of this in the verse 11 of the Mau stone inscription of Madanavarman¹⁰, which says that 'the ruler of Mālava, full of arrogance, was quickly exterminated' by this ruler. This Mālava ruler was possibly Yaśōvarman himself. But that the Chandēlas

¹ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. V, p. 378.

² *J. A. O. S.*, Vol. VII, pp. 25 ff.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 350 f.

⁴ *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. VII (1838), pp. 736 ff.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 254 ff. and pl.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, p. 348.

⁷ *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, p. 181.

⁸ *J. A. O. S.*, Vol. VII, p. 36 and Ganguly, *op. cit.*, p. 179. n. 3.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, p. 208 and pl.

¹⁰ *Above*, Vol. I, pp. 197 ff.

could not keep this part under them for long is clear from the inscription of Lakshmīvarman of V. S. 1200. It appears that the Mahādvādaśaka-*maṅḍala* adjacent to Bhāillasvāmin passed out of the hands of the Paramāra rulers temporarily and was re-conquered by Lakshmīvarman sometime before V. S. 1200 and this necessitated the re-issuing of the grant of 1191 of his father. That Lakshmīvarman also could not keep this *maṅḍala* in his hands for long is certain. An inscription dated V. S. 1229¹ of the reign of the Chaulukya Ajayapāladēva records the gift by Lūnapasāka, an officer of the king at Udayapura which was included in the Bhāillasvāmi-Mahādvādaśaka-*maṅḍala*. According to this inscription this part of the country was acquired by the Chaulukya ruler 'by his own prowess'. Probably it passed under the Chaulukyas even a little earlier during the reign of Kumārapāla. A fragmentary inscription of this ruler, in which the date has been restored by Kielhorn as V. S. 1220, has been found at Udayapur², which calls him Avantinātha.

Though the Paramāras lost most of their territory in Mālwa to the Chaulukyas, the Mahākumāra branch still retained at least the southern portion of their principality, as their grants issued in V. S. 1235 and 1256 show. It is, however, possible to deduce from the grant of Udayavarman of V. S. 1256 that Vindhya varman did not yet succeed in regaining the lost possessions of his ancestors as the expression *Jayavarmanadēva-rōjyē vyatītē* shows. For, had Vindhya varman already succeeded in firmly re-establishing himself in Mālwa, one would expect his name to be mentioned in the record of Udayavarman, unless Kielhorn is right in his assumption that Lakshmīvarman and his successors never accepted the rulers of Mālwa from Ajayavarman downwards as their sovereign rulers. But as the former always used the same subordinate titles, and as Dēvapāla, the brother of Udayavarman, seems to have succeeded to the Mālwa throne as a matter of course, it is doubtful if there existed any feud between these two families as suggested by Kielhorn. Āśādharma in his *Dharmāmṛita* states that when the country of Sapādalaksha was conquered by Sihābud-dīn (Muhammad Ghūri) he left his native country with his family for Mālwa where king Vindhya was ruling.³ Mahammad Ghūri's conquest took place in A. D. 1192, but if my supposition is correct, Āśādharma does not appear to have moved to Dhārā for a few years after the Muslim conquest till things really looked bad for him.

Udayavarman for whom we have only one inscription of V. S. 1256, is the last ruler we know of in the Mahākumāra line. If he is identical with Udayāditya of the Bhopāl inscriptions dated V. S. 1241 (A.D. 1184) and Śaka 1108 (A.D. 1186) respectively, as Dr. Ganguly supposes,⁴ he had already a rule of at least 15 years to his credit when the Bhopāl Plates were issued. We also know that his brother Dēvapāla ultimately succeeded to the throne of Mālwa. As the earliest inscription of Dēvapāla is dated V. S. 1275⁵ and the latest inscription of his predecessor Arjunavarman bears the date V. S. 1272⁶, Dēvapāla probably inherited the Mālwa throne shortly before V. S. 1275. It is significant that in his Harsauda inscription, though the subordinate title of the Mahākumāra is replaced by the Imperial one of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārōjādhitāja-Paramēśvara*, Dēvapāla still retains a part of his original title, viz., *Samasta-praśasti-ōpēto-sumadhigata-pancha-mahāśabda* which is missing in all his later records. As we have no record of Udayavarman's successor it may not be unreasonable to suppose that he also had no male heir and his younger brother Dēvapāla first succeeded him as the Mahākumāra and then ultimately was raised to the throne of Dhārā when Arjunavarman also died without a male issue, thus uniting both the houses of the Paramāras.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 347 f.

² *Ibid.*, p. 343 and n. 9.

³ See *Collected Works of R. G. Bhandarkar*, Vol. II, pp. 246 f.

⁴ *History of the Paramāra Dynasty*, p. 186.

⁵ The Harsauda Stone Inscription, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, pp. 310 ff.

⁶ The Bhopāl plates (second set), *J. A. O. S.*, Vol. VII, pp. 25 ff.

Of the localities mentioned in the record *Mahādvādaśaka-maṇḍala* must have comprised Udayapur and Bhilsā in the Gwalior State as far as Raisen¹ (Rājasayana) to the south in the Bhopāl State. The Udayapur stone inscription of V. S. 1229 calls it the Bhāillasvāmi-Mahādvādaśaka-maṇḍala.² *Vētravātī* is the modern Betwa and the temple of Bhāillasvāmin which was situated on the Betwa, must have given rise to the name of the Bhilsā town. According to Dr. Hall, a fragmentary inscription which was originally discovered at Bhilsā, but is now no longer traceable, recorded the erection of a temple of the Sun god, under the name of Bhāillēsa on the Vētravātī, by one Vāchaspati, a minister of Rājā Kṛishṇa,³ who is probably identical with the Paramāra Vākpatirāja.⁴ I cannot identify the other localities mentioned in the record. Mr. Hamid, the Superintendent of Archaeology, Bhopāl State, remarks as follows in his note on this inscription, which has been referred to above: "The temple of Bhāillasvāmin was situated on the banks of the Betwa river at Bhilsā in the Gwalior State, 34 miles from Bhopāl and 8 miles from Sānchi. The village Dādarapadra is in the Bhopāl territory. The name was obviously corrupted into Dhara-padra, and later on into Padria, but as there are eleven villages of this name in the various districts of the Bhopāl State, Dādarapadra of our inscription was given the name of Padriā Raja Dhar to distinguish it from other Padrias."

List of the Brahmin donees of the Bhopāl plates of Harichandra.

Serial No.	Name of the donee.	Father's name.	Gōtra.	Share in the village granted.
1	Āvasathika Śrīdhara	Agnihōtrika Bhāradvāja	Sāṅkṛitya	1
2	Tripāthī Gartēsvara	Tripāthī Nārāyaṇa	Bhāradvāja	1
3	Dviveda Uddharana	Dviveda Kshirasvāmin	Kṛishṇātrēya	1
4	" Yasōdhavala	" Vatva(tea?)	Adavāha	1
5	Pam ⁵ Madhusūdana	Āvasathika Dēlha	Kāśyapa	1
6	Dviveda Pāhula	Dviveda Sīlē	Śaunaka	1
7	Pam Sūmadēva	Āvasathika Dēlha	Kāśyapa	1
8	Dviveda Pālhaka	Dviveda Yasōdhavala	Adavāha	1
9	Pam Raṇapāla	Pam Dhāmadēva	Gautama	1
10	Dviveda Gaṅgādharā	Dviveda Sōtā	1
11	" Lakshmidhara	" Kshirasvāmin	Kṛishṇātrēya	1
12	" Śrīdhara	" Sīlē	Śaunaka	½
13	Thakura Vāchchhuka	Thakura Vī[hv]jē	Bhāradvāja	1
14	" "	" Kuladhara	Śāṅgilya	1
15	Dviveda Vālhaka	Dviveda Gōlhē	Gautama	½

¹ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIX, p. 352, Text, l. 5.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 397.

³ *P. R. A. S., W. C.*, 1913-14, p. 60.

⁴ See above, Vol. XIX, p. 239.

⁵ *I.e., Pandita.*

List of the Brahmin donees of the Bhopāl plates of Harichandra—contd.

Serial No.	Name of the donee.	Father's name.	Gōtra.	Share in the village granted.
16	Thakura Rāsala	Thakura Kuladhara	Śāṅḍilya	½
17	" Viahṇu	Paṇi Sōḍala	Kāśyapa	½
18	Āhaḍa, a pupil (<i>vafaka</i>)	Thakura Ku[ḥ]ja	Kauṇḍinya	½
19	Mahaṇa " "	" Vijapāla	Kāśyapa	½

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm² svastī[³] Śrīr=jjayō=bhyudayaś=cha | Jayati Vyōmakēśō=sau yaḥ sarggāya vi(bi)-bhartti tām | aindavī[³] si(śi)ra.²
- 2 sā lēkhā[³] jagad-vij-āṅkur-ākṛitima(m) | [³]⁴ Tanvaṃtu va[³] Smarārātē[³] Kalyāṇam-anisam(śam) jaṭāḥ | kalpānta-samay-ōddāma-taḍi-
- 3 d-valaya-piṅgalāḥ | [³]⁴ Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēsva(śva)ra-śrī-Nara-varmmadēva-pādānu[dhyā]-
- 4 ta-Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēsva(śva)ra-śrī-Yaśōvarmmadēva - pādānu-dhyāta-samasta-pra-
- 5 sa(śa)st-ōpēta-samadhigata-pancha-mahāśavd(bḍ)-ālamkāra-virājamāna - Mahākumāra - śrī-Trau(Trai)lōkyavarṃmadēva-pādā(da)-pra-
- 6 sād-āvāpta-vijū(jay)-ādhipatyē(tyaḥ ?) samasta-prasa(śa)st-ōpēta-samadhigata-pancha-mahāśavd(bḍ)-ālamkāra-virājamāna-Mā(Ma)hākumāra-śrī-Hari-
- 7 chamdradēvō Mahādvādaśaka-maṅḍalē Vikhīlapadra-dvādaśaka-sathva(ba)ddhaḥ(ddha)-Dādarapadra-grāma-nivāsinaḥ pratigrāma-ni-
- 8 vāsina[ś]=cha rājapurusha-vishayika-paṭṭakīla-janapad-ādīn vrā(brā)hmaṇ-ōta(tta)nān=vō(bō)dhaty=astu vaḥ sathviditān ||² ya-
- 9 d-iha mayā śrī-Bhāilasvāmidēva-purasthitē[na]⁴ śrīmad-Vikrama-kāl-ātīta-chatur-ddas(ś)-ādhika-dvādaśa-sa(śa)t-ānta[³]pāti-samvatsa-
- 10 rō Kārttikē(ka)-sudi pūrṇimāyāṃ saṅjāta-sōma-grahaṇa-sarvva-grāsa-parvvaṇi Kalī-kalusha-hāriṇi Vētravati-vāriṇi snā-
- 11 tvā dēv-arshi-manushya-pitṛīn saṅtarpya charāchara-guruṃ bhagavanṭam Bhavānīpatīnī darp[³]ita-danuj-ēndra-nidrā-haraṃ Hariṃ cha samabhyarḥya til-ā-
- 12 nn-ājy-āhuti[³]bhjir-Hi[ra*]nyarētasaṃ hutvā jagad-ānamda-dāyinē śasi(śi)nē argham vidhāya sa-vatsa-kapilān triḥ pradakṣhiṇiḥ-
- 13 tya ākala[j(y)]ya saṃsāra[sy=ā*]sāratām pariḷlita-kamala-ḍala-tala-jala-lava-chalam=ālakshya yauvanam yauvana-mada-matta-vāṇi-

¹ From photographs.² Expressed by symbol.³ There is a mark here to show that the word is continued in the next line.⁴ Metro Anushtubh.⁵ Mark of punctuation unnecessary.⁶ The omission of visarga in puras is according to the vārttika : kharparē kari vā visarga-lōpō vaktavyaḥ.

- 14 [n]i-bhrū-bharūga-bhanūguram=avalōkyā draviṇam draviṇa-kaṇik-ānuśaraṇa-vivaśa-viśa-
vilāsinī-chita(tta)-chamchalām-adhigamya jīvitam
- 15 | uktaṁ cha [*]. Vāt-ābhra-vibhramam-idaṁ bhuvan-ādhipatyam-āpātāmātra-madhurō
vishay-ōpahbhōgaḥ | prāṇās-tṛiṇ-āgra-jala-virūdu-samā narāṇām
- 16 dharmah sakhā param-ahō paralōka-yānē ||¹ Sā[m]kṛitya-gōtrāya agnihōtrika-śrī-Bhāradvāja-
suta-a(t-ā)vasthi(sathi)ka-Śrīdharāya pada 1 Bhā-
- 17 radvāja-gōtrāya tripāti(thi)-Nārāyaṇa-suta-tripāti(thi)-Gartēsva(śva)rāya pada 1 Kṛiṣṇā-
trāya-gōtrāya dvivēda-Kshīrasvāmi-suta-dvi-
- 18 vēda-U[ddha]raṇāya pada 1 Adavāha-gōtrāya dvivēda-Va[tva(tsa)]-suta-dvivēda-Yasō-
(śō)dhaivalāya pada 1 Kāśya(śya)pa-gōtrāya²
- 19 āvasthi(sathi)ka-Dālha-suta-paṁ-Madhusōdanāya pada 1 Śaunaka-gōtrāya-dvivēda-Silē-
suta-dvivēda-Pāhulāya pada 1 Kā-
- 20 sya(śya)pa-gōtrāya avasthi(āvasathi)ka-Dē[h]ja-suta-paṁ-Sōmadēvāya pada 1 Adavāha-
gōtrāya dvivēda-Yasōdhavala-su³
- 21 ta-dvivēda-Pā[h]kāya pada 1 [Gautā]ma-gōtrāya paṁ-Dhāmadēva-suta-paṁ-Raṇapālāya
pada 1⁴

Second Plate.

- 22⁵ dvivēda-Sōtā-suta-dvivēda-Gaṁgādharāya pada 1 Kṛiṣṇātrāya-
gōtrāya dvivēda-Kshīra-
- 23 svāmi-suta-dvivēda-Lashmī(kshmī)dhārāya pada 1 Sau(Śau)naka-gōtrāya dvivēda-Silē-
suta-dvivēda-Śrīdharāya [pada*] † Bhāradvāja-gō⁶
- 24 trāya ṭhakura-Vī[h]v-jē-suta-ṭhakura-Vā[chehhu]kāya pada 1 Sāmḍi(Śāṇḍi)lya-gōtrāya
ṭhakura-Kuladhara-suta-ṭhakura-Vāehchhukāya pada 1 Gō(Gau)-
- 25 tama-gōtrāya dvivēda-Gōlhē-suta-dvivēda-Vālhukāya pada † Sāmḍi(Śāṇḍi)lya-gōtrāya
ṭhakura-Kuladhara-suta-ṭhakura-Rāśalāya *
- 26 pada † Kāśya(śya)pa-gōtrāya paṁ-Sō[ṇ]dala-suta-ṭhakura-Viṣṇavē pada † Kauṇḍinya-
gōtrāya ṭhakura-Ku[ṇ]ja-suta-vaṭuka-Āhaḍāya pada
- 27 [†] Kāśya(śya)pa-gōtrāya ṭhakura-Vijapāla-suta-vaṭuka-Mahaṇāya pada † [*] tad-ēvaṁ
yathāyatham vrāhmaṇa ēkōna⁷
- 28 viṁsatinām⁸ pada shōḍas(ś)-āmḍē pada 16 [*] tad-amīshām vrā(brā)hmaṇānām-upari-ji-
[khi*]ta-grāmah pūrvva-dakṣiṇa-tala-dvay-ōpētō ni-
- 29 dhī-nikshēpa-sahitō nada-nadī-kūpa-taḍāga-vāṭikā-āma-⁹samīyutaś-char-ādy-āy-ōpētaḥ¹⁰
- 30 sarvv-ābhyanāntara-siddhy-ōdaka-pūrvvakatayā śāsanē[na*] pradattas-tad-ōtat(d-)
grāma-nivāsibhiḥ karsha-
- 31 kaiś=cha kara-hiraṇya-bhāga-bhōg-ādika[m-*]jā¹¹nā-śravaṇa-vidhōyair-bhūtṅvā dēva-vrā-
(brā)hmaṇa-bhu¹²

¹ Metre : *Vasantatilakā*.

² Mark of punctuation unnecessary.

³ There is a mark here to show that the word is continued in the next line.

⁴ Space for about four letters is left after this.

⁵ Seven or eight letters, probably specifying the *gōtra*, are completely effaced now.

⁶ *Danda* unnecessary.

⁷ Read *brāhmaṇānām-ēkōnavimśatīb*.

⁸ Read *vāṭik-ārāma*.

⁹ There is a *danda* after *ā* to show that the word is continued on the right side of rectangle containing the Garuda figure.

- 32 kti-varjañ sarvvaṃ-amibhyō vrā(brā)hmaṇṣṭbhyāḥ samupanētavyaṃ || yad=uta | Va-
(Ba)hubhir-vvasudhā bhū¹.
- 33 ktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalaṃ(lam) ||²
Trīṇy=ā³.
- 34 hur=atidānāni gāvaḥ pṛi[th]vī sarasvatī | ā-śa(sa)ptamaṃ punaṃty=ētā dōha-vāha-nivēda-
35 naiḥ ||⁴ Sarvvān=ētān=bhāvinaḥ pāṛthiv=ēmdrān bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabhadraḥ ||⁵
sūmānyō-
- 36 yaṃ dharmma-sē[tur*]=nṛipānāṃ kālē kālē pālaniyō bhavadbhiḥ ||⁶ Sva-dattāṃ para-dattāṃ
vā yō harēd=vasuṃ(su)dhā[m*] nṛipaḥ | na tasya pu-
37 nar-āvṛittir=nnarakāt=Kumbhipākā(ka)taḥ | ||⁷ Dēva-vrā(brā)hmaṇṣ-āvija⁴-pradattā bhūr-
nna harttavyā nṛipai[r*]=yē(ya)taḥ||⁸ kēn=āpi saha vēsy(śy)=ēva na
38 gatā na chiraṃ sthitā||⁹ Iti purātana-muni-praṇita-vaehana-paripāṭī-śravaṇa-samudbhūta-
prabhūta-vivō(vē)k-ōdayēna mātā-¹⁰
- 39 pitrōr=ātmanas=cha puṇya-yaś[ō]-bhivṛiddhayē || Iti jñātvā parair=bhūpair=asmad-va[m]s-
(ś)-ōdbhavē(vai)s=tathā | dharmmō=yam-iha nō⁴
- 40 lōpyō yaiḥ kē(kai)śchit(d)=[dharmma]-chinṭakaiḥ ||¹¹ Dū^o Mukhyādēśaḥ || śivam=astu |
Maṅgala[m] mahā-śriḥ|
- 41 Svahastō-yaṃ Mahākumāra-śrī-Harichandra-dēvasya || Śrī[h]

No. 31.—SASANAKOTA PLATES OF GANGA MADHAVAVARMAN; 1ST YEAR.

By C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU, B.A., MADRAS.

The plates on which the subjoined grant is engraved are reported to have been discovered about 4 or 5 years back in the village of **Sāsanakōṭa** in the Hindūpūr taluk of the Anantapur District. They were kindly forwarded to me for examination in June 1937 by Khan Bahadur Javad Hussain, Bar-at-Law, Collector of the district, who obtained them from Mr. K. Gopalakrishnamacharlu of his office in whose possession they had previously remained for some time. The plates will be purchased for the Indian Museum, Calcutta, where they will be deposited.

The old village site at Sāsanakōṭa was subsequently inspected by me in March 1938. Specimens of old pottery and beads and other relics were collected from an extensive mound here. A preliminary note on these antiquities will appear in due course in the *Archæological Survey Report* of India. The area is full of promise and is expected to be explored by the Archæological Department at an early date.

The set consists of **four plates** measuring 7" by 2" and about $\frac{1}{16}$ " in thickness. At the proper right margin in each plate is a ring-hole of about $\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter through which passes the copper ring bearing the seal. The ring measures about $2\frac{3}{4}$ " in diameter. Its ends are soldered into the bottom of the seal which is oval and measures $1\frac{5}{16}$ " by $1\frac{1}{4}$ ". On its counter-sunk surface is carved in relief the figure of a standing elephant facing the proper left. On the top and bottom sides

¹ There is a mark here to show that the word is continued in the next line.

² Metre: *Anuṣṭup*.

³ Metre: *Śālinī*.

⁴ The word *brāhmaṇa* in this *śloka* is superfluous.

⁵ *Daṇḍa* unnecessary.

⁶ The left hand stroke of the medial *ō* in *nō* is joined to the preceding *ka*.

of the seal are small projections, of which the one at the bottom side looks like a small knob and bears carved on it a spiral, the significance of which is not apparent. The set with the ring and the seal weighs 60 *tolas*.

The inscription registers the gift of the village **Vēlputtoru** in **Paru-vishaya** as a *brahmadēya* to the Brāhman Dharāsarman of the *Vatsa-gōtra* and *Taittiriya-charaṇa* by *Mahārāja Mādhava-varman*, son of *Koṅgaivarman-Dharma-mahādhira* of the *Kāp̄vāyana-gōtra* and the *Jāhnvēya-kula*.

The record is in **Sanskrit** prose except for the usual imprecatory verses attributed here to Manu as in the Penukoṇḍa plates,¹ given in ll. 17 to 23.

The **script** is an early variety of the Southern class of alphabets and is definitely anterior to that of the Penukoṇḍa plates of Mādhavavarman II (III) of this family discovered in 1914 and published by Mr. Lewis Rice.² These plates were then considered to be of special interest as being an admittedly genuine record of the early Gaṅga kings of Gaṅgavāḍi, or Mysore. In subsequent years, *i.e.*, during the last quarter of a century, a number of copper-plate grants purporting to belong to the early kings of this dynasty have come to light, mainly in Mysore, and are reviewed in the *Mysore Archaeological Reports*. Some of these will be noticed in the sequel. But it deserves to be mentioned here that the **present grant is the earliest genuine copper plate document discovered so far not only for king Mādhava I but also for his family.**

The script resembles very much that of the Ōṅgōḍugrant³ of the early Pallava king Vijaya-Skandavarman II, and is more archaic than that of the Penukoṇḍa plates referred to above. The letters of our grant are of a more archaic type than those in the records of the Kadamba king Kākusthavarman whom Dr. Fleet has assigned to a period later than Śaka 360.⁴ They closely resemble those of the Narsapur plates of Vijaya-Dēvavarman⁵, which are in Prākṛit prose. Our grant may, therefore, be assigned to a time immediately following the period of Prākṛit charters of the Telugu country, *i.e.*, to about the fourth-fifth century A. D. Its characters would appear to be anterior to those of the Pīkira grant of Pallava Siṃhavarman⁶. In this connection see also Krishna Sastri's remarks on the period of the Pallava kings Siṃhavarman and his son Skandavarman, respectively contemporaries of Āryavarman and Mādhavavarman II (middle of the 4th century A.D.).⁷ The letters of the Penukoṇḍa plates are more developed and ornate and seem to bear evident influence of the so-called Pallava-Grantha style on the Gaṅga alphabets. The alphabet of the Kūḍalūr grant of Mādhavavarman⁸ resembles that of the latter. This grant says explicitly that Āryavarman and his son Mādhava were crowned respectively by the Pallava kings Siṃhavarman and Vijaya-Skandavarman. Moreover, as a token of the latter's suzerainty the grant bears, at the top, as preamble, the name of Skandavarman of the *Bhāradvāja-gōtra* and the *Pallava-kula*.

The horizontal stroke at the top of several letters is not marked in our grant though a few have it. In this respect our grant resembles the Chendalūru plates of Pallava Kumāravishṇu II.⁹ It

¹ Above, Vol. XIV, p. 331.

² Above, Vol. XV, plate between pages 250 and 251.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VI, p. 23. [But later on he gave up this date (see *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, part ii, p. 291 and *i. n. 1*).—Ed.]

⁴ Above, Vol. IX, p. 57 and plate.

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 158 and plate.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 149. It should be remarked, however, that the statement made here regarding the crowning of the Gaṅga king by the Pallava is at variance with the original (*vide Ep. Rep.* 1914, pt. II, para. 4 and above, Vol. XIV, p. 333). [See correction, above, Vol. XIX, p. vii.—Ed.]

⁷ *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1930, p. 259 and pl. XXIV.

⁸ Above, Vol. VIII, pl. between pages 234 and 235.

⁹ Above, Vol. VIII, pl. between pages 234 and 235.

must be observed that as in the case of the Āndhra and the early Pallava inscriptions some space is left after every syntactical group in this inscription (see especially lines 1 to 6). This is noticeable to some extent in the Penukoṇḍa plates also. The initial vowel *ā* is written in two forms: one with the length indicated by a curled loop at the bottom of the letter (*ātmasāh* in line 11) and the other with the length indicated by a small hook at the right bottom of *a* which carries a round loop (*ātma* in line 14). The medial short *i* is not a complete loop as in some early grants but is left open on the left side. In this respect our grant resembles the Uruvupalli grant of Simhavarman,¹ the Chendalūru plates of Pallava-Kumāravishṇu II,² the Rāgōlu plates of Śaktivarman,³ the Brihat-prōshṭha grant of Umavarman,⁴ and the Ōṅgōḍu grant of Vijaya-Skandavarman II referred to above. The *jihvāmūliya* is used in *dukkham* (l. 22) and the *upadhmanīya* in *adbhiḥ-pratta* (l. 15). The following mistakes due to oversight in writing may be noticed: *dāraṅ-āri* for *dāruṅ-āri* (l. 3), *vakkri* for *vakkri* (l. 9) and *Manu-gatā* for *Manu-gitā* (l. 18).

The *anusvāra* is replaced by the class nasal of the following consonant in *svan-dātum* (l. 21) and *likhūt-ēyan-tāmra-pattikā* (l. 24). The employment of a conjunct letter with *m* and the following consonant is commonly observed in this as in other early grants: e.g., *Jitam-Bhagaṅatā* (l. 1), *svadattam-para* (l. 18). The final *m* is indicated by a miniature sign for *ma* in *dasamyām* (l. 13), and *pālanam* (l. 22) as in some early Pallava and other records; but in other places this is indicated in our grant by a small hook at the right-hand lower corner: *vaundharām* (l. 18); *phalam* (l. 21). The letter *vā* is written in two different ways. In one, the length is marked in the middle on the right side of the letter (*vide dāraṅ-āri* in l. 3) and in the other by a small hook added to the upper right arm of the letter (*varmamā* in l. 11, *kramēṅ-ādभिḥ* in l. 15 and *śarmamā* in l. 24). The letter *na* is written in two forms, i.e. with a small loop or without it. Both the forms are seen in *Paṭṇanābhēna* in l. 1, while the latter form is distinctly noticeable in *sujana-janapadasya* (l. 3) and *janēna* (l. 11), etc. As in the other grants of this period the consonant following *r* is doubled.

Since Rice published the Penukoṇḍa plates an earlier grant than these came to light in Mysore⁵ in the Kuṭṭhiyam plates of the Gaṅga king Kṛishṇavarman-Dharmamahādhirāja, son of Mādhavavarman-Mahādhirāja and grandson of Koṅgaivarman-Dharmamahādhirāja, who belonged to the Kārvāyana-gotra and the Gaṅga-kula. This king, known to Rice from later epigraphs, was presumed by him to be identical with Āryavarman (Tamil Āryavarman) and Harivarman of other grants with the supposed variant and synonymous name Kṛishṇavarman. It would not generally be justified to assume identities on the mere basis of synonymity in names, because names as names must strictly be applied to the particular individuals to whom they are given. In solving the difficulty we must take into consideration the possible causes for the interference of the Pallavas just about the time of this generation. The Penukoṇḍa plates say that the Pallava Simhavarman crowned Āryavarman according to propriety (*yathārham*). But Kṛishṇavarman does not admit or lay claim to such a distinction, if it were a distinction at all. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that Kṛishṇavarman of the Beṅḍigānahalli plates and the Kuṭṭhiyam grant was a younger brother of Āryavarman who must have, for some unknown reasons, ousted Āryavarman and seized the throne. Āryavarman, thus dispossessed, must have called in the Pallava king Simhavarman for help with which Kṛishṇavarman must have been dispossessed and the result was that Simhavarman crowned Āryavarman. A sort of political overlordship having thus been established by the Pallava over the Gaṅga king, the practice of the former crowning the latter is continued even

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 50 ff.

² Above, Vol. VIII, pl. between pages 234 and 235.

³ Above, Vol. XII, p. 1.

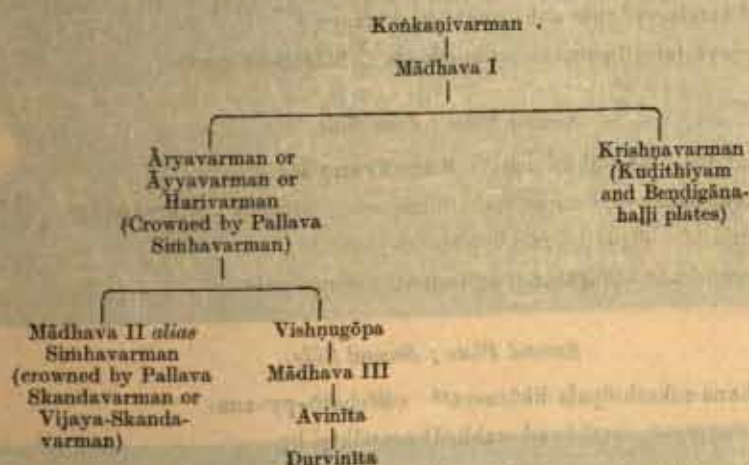
⁴ Above, Vol. XII, pl. between pages 2 and 3.

⁵ *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1932, p. 124 and pl. XXII.

in the next generation and Skandavarman or Vijaya-Skandavarman¹ crowns Mādhavarman who was surnamed Sihavarman² by his father, evidently, as a token of political feudality and personal gratitude also. The fact that Mādhava II, son of Āryavarman, claims in the Penukoṇḍa plates to have been led up to his ancestral kingship (*sva-cakṣa-kram-ūgata-rājya-pravṛta*) also suggests the correctness of this view.

Rice alternatively designates the later Mādhavarman as Mādhava III on the ground that a comparatively later inscription at Nagar³, containing several traditional and mythological statements, designates Koṅkaṇivarman also a 'Mādhava' and so he calls him Mādhava I. Since we have no early epigraphical data designating Koṅkaṇivarman as a Mādhava we need not confuse issues by creating a Mādhava II. It will be clear and precise to consider the latter only as Mādhava II and not Mādhava III.

Collecting the genealogical information furnished in all the known documents of this family and taking into consideration the probable causes for the Pallava intervention suggested above we may tentatively arrange a revised genealogy as follows:—



The names Arivarman and Harivarman occur only in the spurious or later copper-plates and stone inscriptions of this dynasty (Kielhorn, *Southern List* Nos. 108 ff.). These names must be given up in favour of "Āryavarman" of the earlier plates. Professor Dubreuil makes Harivarman a different person from, and a younger brother of, Āryavarman. But in the light of the Tanjore plates Hari might be the same as Ari and the latter a colloquial or pet form of Ārya. Rice's difficulty in allocating to Vishṅugōpa the proper place in the family genealogy is also overcome by adopting the scheme suggested above. His supposition that Vishṅugōpa's name 'was dropped out by mistake' in the Penukoṇḍa plates requires corroboration.

The inscription is **dated** not with reference to any era but gives the occasion of the grant as *śukla-pakṣa-daśamī* in the month of Phālguna in the **first year** of the king's reign. In determining the dates of the Penukoṇḍa plates of the present king's grandson Mādhava II, Fleet has given A.D. 475 as a very good date for it.⁴ Shifting back by two generations of 25 years each our plates will have to be assigned to about A.D. 425, which is not improbable in the light of its palaeography which has been fully discussed already.

¹ The name is given in this form in the Kōḍalūr grant of Mādhavarman (*Mya. Arch. Rep.*, 1930, p. 259).

² Above, Vol. XIV, p. 335, text-line 11.

³ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, Nr. 35.

⁴ Above, Vol. XIV, p. 331.

The localities mentioned in the grant are *Paru-vishaya* and the village *Vēlputtoru*. The former is evidently the same as *Paruvi-vishaya* of the *Penukoṇḍa* plates which has been identified by Rice with *Parigi*,¹ seven miles north of *Hindūpūr* in the *Anantapūr* District. The gift village is evidently identical with the modern village *Vēlpumaḍugu*² of the *Gooty* taluk in the same district. The plates must have migrated from *Vēlputtoru* to *Sāsanakōṭa* where they were discovered in course of time.

The engraver of the grant was *Sōmaśarman*. Nothing is stated about his official position or status.

TEXT.³

First Plate.

- 1 ① Jitam⁴-Bhagavatā gata-ghana-gagan-ābhēna Padmanābhēna [*] śrīma-
2 j-Jāhnvāya-kul-āmala-vyōm-āvabhāsana⁵-bhāskarasya
3 [sva-bhuja-javaja-jaya-jani]⁶ta-sujana-janapadasya *dāraṇ-āri-ṅaṇa-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 4 vidāraṇa-ṅa-ōpalabdha-vraṇa-bhūshaṇasya Kāpṇāyana-sagōtrasya
5 śrīmat.*Kōṅgaṇivarmma-dharmma-mahādhiraṅjasya putrēṇa pitur-anvāga-
6 ta-ṅuṇēna sva-bhuja-vīry-ōtpāṭit-āvagrihit-āri-āri-yaśasā¹⁰
7 nānā-sāstrattha¹¹-sad-bhāv-ādhighama-praṇīta-mati-viśēshasya¹²

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 8 vidvat-kavi-kāñchans-nikash-ōpala-bhūtasya¹³ viśēshatō=py=ana-
9 vaśēshasya niti-sāstrasya yathāvad=vakkṛi¹⁴-prayōkṛi-ku-
10 śalēna samyak-prajā-pālana-mātr-ādhighata-rājya-prayōjanēna
11 su-vibhakta-bhakta-bhṛitya-janēna śrī-Mādhavavarmmanā ātmanah

¹ Above, Vol. XIV, p. 331.

² The term *toru* or *dorsu* is synonymous with *moḍugu* in Telugu and means a 'pond.' It would be interesting to note that *Vēlpumaḍugu* is a very ancient settlement. The adjoining 'isolated round-topped granite hill crowned with a fortification of post-neolithic date yielded a good harvest of celts and other neolithic artifacts' (Bruce Foote, *Indian Pre-historic and Proto-historic Antiquities*, p. 99).

³ From the original plates and from ink-impressions prepared in my office.

⁴ This symbol is engraved in the margin as in the *Penukoṇḍa* plates and probably stands for *Śrī* or *Siddham*. In addition to this the *Penukoṇḍa* plates have the expression *Sevati* in the margin.

⁵ At the top of *ta* is a dot in the original. This is accidental and due to corrosion and need not be mistaken for an *anusvara* which in this record is always marked at the right top corner of the concerned letter.

⁶ The *Penukoṇḍa* plates have *vyōma-bhāsana*.

⁷ The portion enclosed within the brackets is engraved on an erasure like a palimpsest. The *Penukoṇḍa* plates read *bhuja-java-jaya*.

⁸ Read *dāraṇ-āri*.

⁹ The *Penukoṇḍa* plates have *Kōṅkasi*.

¹⁰ After this word is a letter like *pa* engraved and scored out.

¹¹ Read *-sāstr-āritha*.

¹² Read *-viśēshēṇa*.

¹³ Read *-bhūtasya*.

¹⁴ Read *vakkṛi*.

i.

1
 2
 2

1
 2
 2

ii, a.

4
 6
 4
 6

4
 6
 4
 6

ii, b.

8
 10
 8
 10

8
 10
 8
 10

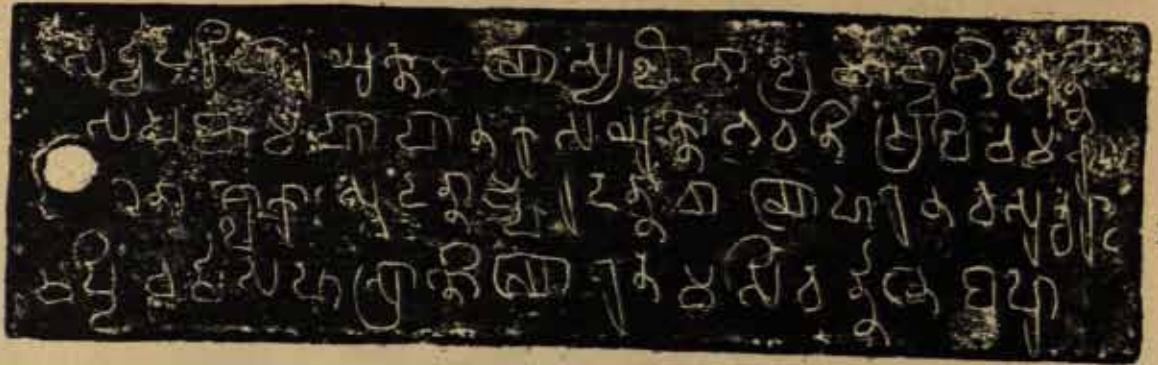
iii, a.

12
 14
 12
 14

12
 14
 12
 14

iii. b.

16



16

18

18

iv. a.

20



20

22

22

iv. b.

24



24

Seal (From a photograph).



Third Plate ; First Side.

- 12 pravarddhamāna-vipul-sāvaryyē prathamē sava[m]tsarē¹ Phālguna-mā-
 13 sē śukla-pakshē tithau daśamyām Vatsa-sagotrāya² Taittirīya³.
 14 charaṇāya Dharaśarmmaṇē ātmanīśrēyasē⁴ Paru-vishayē⁵
 15 Vēlputtoru-nāma-grāmō brahmadēya-kramēṇ-ādibhiḥ-pratta[h*]

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 16 sarvva-parihāra-yukta[h] [I*] *Yō-sya lōbhāt-pramā(dā*)d-v-ābhiharttā
 17 sa pañcha-mahāpātaka-sa[m]yuktō bhavati [I*] Apī cha Manu-
 18 gatā[h*]' ślōkāḥ [I*] Sva-dattām=para-dattām vā yō harēta vasundharām [I*]
 19 shapṭih(shṭim) varsha-sahasrāṇi ghōrē tamasi varttatē [I*] Bahu-

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

- 20 bhir-vvasudhā bhuktā rājabis-Sagar-ādhibhi[h]* [I*] yasya yasya
 21 yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalam [I*] Svan-dātum su-maha⁶ch-chha-
 22 kyaṁ duḥkham-any-ārṭtha-pālanam [I*] dānam vā pālanam v-ēti dānāch-chhrē-
 23 y-ōnupālana[m] [I*] Sva-mahārāja-mukh-ājñāptyā¹⁰ Sōma-

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

- 24 śarmmapā¹¹ likhit-ēyan-tāmra-paṭṭikā [I*]

No. 32.—RANIPUR JHARIAL INSCRIPTIONS.

By B. CH. CHHABRA, M.A., M.O.L., PH.D. (LUGD.), OOTACAMUND.

Rānipur Jhariāl, a village about 21 miles west of Titilagarh¹² in the Pāṭṇā State of Orissa, is famous for its numerous old temples, all of which are now deserted and partly dilapidated. They are built on a rocky surface on one side of a big tank close by. The place was first surveyed as early as 1875 by Mr. J. D. Beglar who has left us a vivid description of the buildings and sculptures found at this site.¹³ About seven years later Sir A. Cunningham also visited this village and examined its antiquities.¹⁴ Lastly, in November

¹ Read *samsatari*.

² The donee in the Penukoṇḍa plates also belongs to the same *gotra* and *charaṇa*.

³ Read *Taittirīya*. The Penukoṇḍa plates also adopt the form *Taittirīya*.

⁴ Read *ātmanā śrēyasē* or *ātma-nīśrēyasīya*.

⁵ The Penukoṇḍa plates call it *Paruci-vishaya*. [The same *Paruci-vishaya* is evidently intended here. The scribe seems to have dropped a *ci* by way of haplography.—Ed.]

⁶ The Penukoṇḍa plates read only *yō-sya hartā*.

⁷ Read *-gūāḥ* as in the Penukoṇḍa plates. The same three imprecatory verses are cited in the said plates but in a different order.

⁸ Read *-ādibhiḥ*.

⁹ This *ha* is written below the line.

¹⁰ Read *Mahārāja-sva-mūkh-ājñāptyā*.

¹¹ The writer of the Penukoṇḍa plates was the goldsmith (*suvarṇakāru*) Apāpa.

¹² Titilagarh is a railway station on the Raipur-Vinagapatam line of the Bengal Nagpur Railway.

¹³ Cunningham's *A. S. I. Reports*, Vol. XIII, pp. 128-137, plates XI-XVI.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 64-65.

1936, I went there, while I was touring in that part of the country, specially in quest of inscriptions. I copied there three epigraphs which form the subject of this article.

A.—Mahādēva Temple Inscription.

This record is engraved on the architrave over the entrance to the sanctum of a stone temple which is the largest of the whole group and is locally known as **Mahādēva temple**¹. It has been noticed by Mr. Beglar according to whom it is "the only inscription in the whole of the innumerable temples here". Evidently the other two epigraphs treated of here escaped his notice. Nor has Sir Cunningham noticed them. The inscription under discussion consists of six lines of unequal length, the first four lines measuring more or less five feet each and the last two only one foot. The average size of the letters is $1\frac{1}{4}$ ".

The characters of the inscription belong to the Northern script of about the 10th or 11th century A.D. The language is Sanskrit, but the composition is extremely faulty. Nevertheless the contents are fairly intelligible. No orthographical peculiarity is noticeable, except that the consonant after *r* is occasionally reduplicated, as in *smṛiggata* of l. 1, and that the sign of *r* is used for both *b* and *v*.

Lexically, the usage of the word *kīrtitam* (A. l. 2) as well as of *prakīrtitā* (B. l. 4) in the sense of 'built' is of interest. In the latter record the term *kīrti* is employed as a synonym of *kīrtana*,² meaning 'a building' or 'a temple'.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of the temple by an *ūchārya*, named **Gaganaśiva**, an immigrant from Uttara-Tērambagriha. It is clear from the inscription that the temple contained images of at least four different deities, namely Sōma, Svāmin, Siddhēśvara and Lakshmi. The first of these names is obviously a shortened form of Sōmēśvaradēva which occurs in l. 1 and refers to Śiva, the principal deity of the temple. Svāmin is an epithet of Śiva's son Kārttikēya. As regards the name Siddhēśvara, it probably stands here for Siddhārtha, meaning the Buddha, a figure of whom is found sculptured on the jamb of the entrance of the temple in question. The figure of Lakshmi is found sculptured on the jamb. From the presence of relics pertaining to different creeds,³ Beglar concluded "that the temple was first Vaishnavic, next Buddhist, and finally Saivic."⁴ This conclusion is now disproved by the mention of the aforesaid four deities in the inscription itself, which rather shows that they all were installed simultaneously, and that the seeming diversity was the original character of the temple.

It may be pointed out that the inscription was examined both by Mr. Beglar and by Sir A. Cunningham, but their interpretation of it is open to question. For instance, the appellation *Sōmēśvaradēva-bhaṭṭāraka*, occurring in the beginning of the record, has been

¹ For its Buddhistic and Vaishnavic associations compare Mr. Beglar's remarks, *loc. cit.*, p. 130.

² The significance of this word has been discussed by Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII, pp. 228-229, where he has also cited certain instances of its usage in the given sense both in literature and in inscriptions.

³ The word *kīrti* is found used in the same sense also in the Ghōsarāwā Buddhist inscription, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII, p. 309 (also p. 308 and p. 312, n. 36), and *kīrti-sāhasa* in the Lakkhā Maudal *prākāśa*, above Vol. I, p. 14 and p. 15, n. 21.

⁴ See above, n. 1.

⁵ *Loc. cit.*, p. 131

taken by them as referring to a *rājā* of that name,¹ while, as is clear from the context, it refers in reality to Śiva, the main deity of the shrine.

The only information we get from the inscription regarding *Gaganaśiva āchārya* is that he hailed from Uttara-Tērambagriha. In this connection Dr. N. P. Chakravarti has kindly directed my attention to the Mattamayūra school of Śaiva ascetics, suggesting thereby that *Gaganaśiva* might have been one of them, as the names of some of them likewise end in *śiva*. This argument receives further support from the identification of Uttara-Tērambagriha with Tērambi as proposed below. Tērambi, it may be pointed out, is known from the Rāṇōd inscription to be the seat of an earlier Śaiva saint of the Mattamayūra line, whose name is not given but who is styled *Tērambipāla, i. e., 'the protector of Tērambi'*.²

The saints of the Mattamayūra sect are known to have founded temples, tanks and monasteries at various places, being highly honoured and favoured with munificent gifts by certain Kalachuri rulers.³ The Rāṇōd inscription itself belongs to one such sage, called *Vyōmaśiva*, who is stated to have restored to Raṇipadra⁴ its past glory⁵ and beautified the *maṭha* there by building in its vicinity a magnificent tank, a temple, a garden and shrines with images of Śiva, Umā, Nāṭyēśvara and Vināyaka.⁶ Of all these, prominence is given to the tank, the construction of which forms the main object of the record and which is glorified in no less than twenty verses (vv. 45-64). The line of disciples given in this record is as follows: Kadambaguh-ādihivāsin, Śāṅkhamaṭhik-ādhipati, Tērambipāla, Āmardakātīrtha-nātha, Purandara, Kachaśiva, Sadāśiva, Hṛidayēśa and Vyōmaśiva. Of these Purandara is described to have founded two *maṭhas*, one at Mattamayūra and the other at Raṇipadra. The latter place, it is narrated, was subsequently graced by Sadāśiva by doing penance there, while still later, as has already been stated, its grandeur was revived and enhanced by Vyōmaśiva. From the numerous laudatory verses in praise of Vyōmaśiva we gather that he was an ascetic of a very high order and a profound scholar, well-versed in the *Śaiva-siddhāntas* as well as in the Nyāya, Vaiśēshika, Mīmāṃsā and Sāṅkhya *sāstras*, equally proficient in the Lōkāyata, Bauddha and Jaina doctrines, who could easily silence his opponents in a debate, so much so that he is related to be a second omniscient Śāṅkara (i. e., Śiva) incarnate.⁷

Now, considering that *Vyōmaśiva*, so far as the meaning of the word is concerned, is the same as *Gaganaśiva*, one feels suspicious whether the two names refer to one and the same person. And this suspicion is heightened by the fact that *Vyōmaśiva* is variously mentioned in the Rāṇōd inscription by such equivalent appellations as *Gaganēśa* (v. 39), *Vyōmaśambhu* (v. 41), *Vyōmēśa* (v. 50) and *Gaganaśaśimauli* (v. 65). The same will be found in the case of certain other sages. Thus, for example, *Hṛidayēśa* of the Rāṇōd inscription

¹ The Secretary to the Cabinet, Pāṭā State, has kindly placed at my disposal copies of certain manuscripts by the late Mr. Manbodh Sahu, a resident of that State. One of them contains a transcript of the present inscription, with some notes regarding its contents. I find most of the text read by Mr. Sahu to be correct, except that he has, after the Oriya fashion, used *ḍ* for *v* in his transliteration. As regards the contents of the record, while his explanation of it improves little upon that given by Mr. Beglar and Sir Cunningham, he follows them in regarding *Sōmēśvaraḍēva* as referring to a royal personage.

² Above, Vol. I, p. 355, v. 9.

³ See R. D. Banerji's *The Haihayas of Tripuri and Their Monuments* (A. S. I. Memoirs, No. 23), pp. 110 ff.

⁴ R. D. Banerji wrongly gives it as Rāṇipadra.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 359, vv. 43, 44.

⁶ Above, Vol. I, p. 357, v. 29.

⁷ For a fuller list and a more detailed account the reader is referred to R. D. Banerji's monograph, *loc. cit.*

⁸ Compare especially the verses 36-39 of the Rāṇōd inscription.

is called Hṛidayaśiva in the Bilhari inscription.¹ It is clear from this that with regard to the names of the Mattamayūra sages it was the sense of the word and not the word itself that mattered, so that any synonymous term could be substituted for a personal name, be it though merely to conform to metrical requirements. In view of these considerations, one would naturally conclude that Vyōmaśiva and Gaganaśiva are, in all probability, but two different names of one and the same person. This conclusion is favoured also by the likelihood of Tērambi being identical with Uttara-Tērambagriha. There is yet another point which would lend support to the identification of Vyōmaśiva with Gaganaśiva, and that is the name *Raṇipadra*. Has this name anything to do with Rānipur Jhariāl? Referring to the deserted temples at this latter place, Mr. Beglar points out that 'they are traditionally ascribed to a Rani, but her name has been forgotten'.² But one may as well ask: Can it not be that we have a replica of Raṇipadra itself in Rānipur Jhariāl, with its name, tank, temples and all, owing their origin to one and the same personage, viz., Vyōmaśiva or Gaganaśiva?

However plausible the above argument may appear, the whole question has to be left undecided in the absence of more convincing evidence. The verbal likeness between *Raṇipadra* and *Rānipur* may be as accidental as may the similarity between *Vyōmaśiva* and *Gaganaśiva* be fortuitous. And when we consider how ill compares the faulty and clumsy construction of the present brief record with the chaste and ornate composition of the copious inscription from Rāṇōd, the former depicting Gaganaśiva as a mediocre abbot and the latter representing Vyōmaśiva as a great celebrity among the learned and the holy, the possibility of the two being identical becomes remoter still. There is, however, no such obstacle in accepting Tērambi being the same as Uttara-Tērambagriha and Gaganaśiva being connected with the Mattamayūra sect of Śaiva saints.

As regards the location of the places referred to above, Raṇipadra has been taken to be Rāṇōd itself, an old decayed town in the state of Gwālior, about half way between Jhānsī and Guna.³ Tērambi, it is suggested, may be identified with Terahi, which is five miles to the south-east of Rāṇōd,⁴ and which seems also to represent the Uttara-Tērambagriha of the inscription under discussion, unless, as a partial phonetic resemblance between the names would suggest, it be identified with the modern Tarbhā, an important mart in the Sonapur State, lying on the borders of the Pāṇḍā State, some sixty-five miles north-east of Rānipur Jhariāl, which seems less probable.

TEXT.

CORRECTED TEXT.

1 [. . . ॐ नमः शिवाय ॥ श्रीसो-
मेश्वरदेवभट्टारकपरमेश्वरवरप्रसादीः ।
श्रीउत्तरतेश्वरगृहविनिर्मातगगनशिवा-

ॐ नमः शिवाय ॥ श्रीसोमेश्वरदेवभट्टार-
कपरमेश्वरवरप्रसादिश्री उत्तरेश्वरगृह-
विनिर्मातगगनशिवा-

¹ Above, Vol. I, p. 259, v. 54.

² *Ibid.*, p. 353.

³ *Loc. cit.*, p. 128.

⁴ From ink-impressions.

⁵ Above, Vol. I, pp. 351 and 353

* It cannot be ascertained whether the stone contained any more letters before the conjecturally supplied two syllables *Om na*.

⁷ *Sandhi* has not been observed here.

2 ¹भमिधा[... ..]चार्येन¹ इदं स्थानं
कीर्तितं सर्वे । तीर्थफलसमायोगं
लोकानुयाहकं पुंन्धं । सोमसामि-
सिद्धेश्वरं ।

3 लक्ष्मीनामचतुर्थकं ॥ इदं तीर्थं स्नात्वा⁴
सर्वपापविमोचनः । श्रीसोमेशना-
थस्तव पादयुगलेः श्राधनैकतत्परः[.]

4 प्रणमति गगनशिवं यदि बहो मुक्ति-
न्ददासि शङ्कर । मुक्तो वा बन्ध-
नसमर्थस्तपं किञ्च भवति ॥ स्त-⁵
वापि स्वामिनो ज-

5 गत्पतिर्वन्धं मोचन्ददासि

6 गगनैकस्त्वयं प्रभुः शिवः ।

भिधा[नसिद्ध?]चार्येण¹ इदं स्थानं कीर्तितं
सर्वतीर्थफलसमायोगं लोकानुयाहकं
पुण्यं सोमस्वामिसिद्धेश्वर-

लक्ष्मीचतुर्थकं नाम तीर्थं स्नात्वा⁴ सर्व-
पापविमोचनम् । श्रीसोमेशनाथं⁵
तव पादयुगलेः श्राधनैकतत्परः

प्रणमति गगनशिवः । यदि बहो मुक्ति-
न्ददासि शङ्कर । मुक्तो वा
बन्धनसमर्थः । तपसि किञ्च भवति ॥
तवापि स्वामिनो ज-

गत्पतिर्वन्धं वा मोचन्ददासि

गगनैकस्त्वयं प्रभुः शिवः ॥

TRANSLATION.

Om. Obeisance to Śiva! The *ācharya* (or *siddhāchārya*?) named Gaganāśiva, an immigrant from the glorious Uttara-Tērambagriha, (who has been) favoured with a boon by the Supreme Master, the Lord, the illustrious god Sōmēśvara, has built this (holy) place which combines in itself the merit of all the holy places, is beneficent for the people, and is sacred, containing (the images of the four gods) namely Sōma, Svāmin, Siddhēśvara and Lakshmī as the fourth. This holy place delivers (one) of all sins, if (one) bathes (here).² O Śri-Sōmēśa-nātha! Gaganāśiva, being ever full of devotion, bows at your pair of feet. O Śaṅkara! you bestow salvation (on your devotee), if (he) is in bondage. You are able even to put (one) into bondage, (if one) is freed. ³What is not possible through penance?the lord of the universe, you give bondage or liberation. But Gagana slone (is?) this lord Śiva.

B.—Kēnduvalli Temple Inscription.

At a little distance in front of the Mahādēva temple described above, there is another, called Kēnduvalli temple, which is much smaller in size. The face of the rock on which

¹ Sandhi has not been observed here.

² Between *pu* and *ayā* traces are visible of a cancelled letter which seems to have been a *na*.

³ The reading is probably *Śrāmi*-, only the subscript *v* is not clear.

⁴ The usage of this absolute gerund for a conditional clause is unusual.

⁵ This is equivalent to *śri-Sōmēśvarādēva*.

⁶ This can also be read as *stath-āpi*.

⁷ From here onwards the sense is not very clear to me.

⁸ These names have been discussed in the introduction.

⁹ See above, n. 4.

¹⁰ See above, n. 7.

it stands is carved with figures of *nava-grahas*. The present short inscription is engraved to the left of these carvings. Owing to the exposure, both the drawings and the epigraph are badly weather-worn and can be made out only with difficulty.

The inscription consists of four short lines, each about a foot and a quarter in length, comprising one stanza in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre; thus every line containing one quarter of the verse.

The characters are similar to those of the record A. already dealt with. The inscription can thus be assigned roughly to the 10th century A.D., which would also be the date of the temple the erection of which is recorded in it.

The language is Sanskrit, practically without any mistake. In point of orthography the use of *s* for *ś* in *suddhō* (l. 1) may be noted. The significance of the words *kīrtir-* and *prakīrtitā* has been discussed above.¹

The record simply informs us that one *Dēvānanda*, son of *Jōgēsvara*, has raised this shrine in honour of *Kṛishṇa*, by which evidently the present *Kēnduvalli* temple itself is meant. It cannot be ascertained from the inscription whether the name *Kēnduvalli* is the same as was originally given to the shrine or whether it came to be attached to it later on. It is, however, only from this epigraph that we learn that the shrine was dedicated to *Kṛishṇa*, as the monument itself in its present condition is totally bereft of its original contents. As is evidenced by this as well as by the previous record, the temples of *Rānipur Jhariāl* were devoted to various deities. It must, therefore, have been a place of pilgrimage for Hindu devotees of all persuasions.

No information is given regarding *Dēvānanda* and his father *Jōgēsvara* so as to determine whether the builder of this *Kṛishṇa* temple was also an *āchārya* or simply a layman.

TEXT.²

- 1 जोगेश्वरसुतः सु(श)द्धो
- 2 देवानन्देति³ विद्युतः ।
- 3 तेन कृष्णोपचारेण
- 4 कीर्तिरेषा प्रकीर्तिता ॥

TRANSLATION.

Jōgēsvara (*had*) a son, well-known as *Dēvānanda*. This temple is constructed by him in honour of *Kṛishṇa*.

C.—*Rākshasa-parvata* Inscription.

This inscription is cut on the top of a rocky elevation known as *Rākshasa-parvata*, lying opposite the *Kēnduvalli* temple at a short distance. The inscription is accompanied on the left by a line-drawing, representing a pair of human footprints enclosed within a rayed circle. The engraving of both the drawing and the writing is shallow.

¹ See above p. 240.

² From ink-impressions.

³ Strictly speaking, it ought to have been *Dēvānanda īti*, but *sundhi* has been made through the exigency of the metre. Or, the name *Dēvānanda* is used here *avibhaktika*, i.e., without the case-termination.

The writing consists of three very small lines, each about eight inches long, comprising half a *śloka*. The characters appear to be somewhat later in date than those of the previous two records, but belong to the same type. The language is Sanskrit. The purport of the record is the consecration of the foot-marks (at the instance of a *siddhāchārya*?) which are engraved near by, though the text is rather obscure. The nimbus around the foot-impreses denotes the holiness of the person to whom they belong, but there is nothing to show whether the person is a god or a saint.

TEXT.¹

- 1 ॐ प्र[तिष्ठा]प्यमि-
- 2 दं प[दं] सिद्धा-
- 3 चार्येण वाचितं[।*]

TRANSLATION.

Om. *Siddhāchārya* has declared this footprint to be consecrated.

No. 33.—ALLAHABAD MUNICIPAL MUSEUM YUPA INSCRIPTION.

By PROF. A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., D.LITT., BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

While on a visit to Allahābād, Rai Bahadur Braj Mohan Vyas, B.A., LL.B., the devoted founder and maker of the Allahābād Municipal Museum, showed to me an inscribed fragmentary stone pillar, which had been acquired for the museum some months ago. This interesting monument hailed from the neighbourhood of Kosam, ancient Kauśāmbī, in Allahābād District, which was a well-known and flourishing city in ancient India. Rai Bahadur Vyas kindly supplied to me an ink-impression of the inscription on the pillar, after I had read it from the original, and requested me to edit it in the *Epigraphia Indica*. I am doing so accordingly.

The inscription has been inscribed on a stone pillar, which, in its original form, was obviously intended to be a *yūpa*. The pillar has been sadly mutilated; only one of its facets along with a small part of the adjoining one on its left, has been recovered. To judge from the angles of these facets, it is clear that the pillar was originally an octagonal one. It thus resembled the main shafts of the *yūpas* at Īsāpur, Baḍvā and Bijaygaḍh. For further information about the size, nature and significance of sacrificial pillars, I may refer the reader to my paper on 'Three Maukhari Inscriptions on Yūpas, Kṛita year 295' published *ante*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 42 ff.

As in the case of the Īsāpur *yūpa*, the inscription on this pillar also has been engraved in horizontal lines. In this respect it differs from the rather inconvenient arrangement to be seen on the *yūpas* at Nāndsā, Baḍvā and Bijaygaḍh, where the records have been inscribed in long vertical lines to be read from the top to the bottom or *vice versa*.² The extant portion of the inscription extends over 16 lines. From its concluding sentence, 'May Mahēśvara, thus honoured, be pleased over and over again', it is clear that the record ends with the last words of the present last line.

¹ From ink-impressions.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ [There are two records on the pillar of Nāndsā containing practically the identical text. One of these is written in vertical and the other in horizontal lines.—Ed.]

It may be recalled that the Īsāpur *yūpa* record also ends similarly, 'May the fires be pleased'. We may therefore confidently conclude that our record did not run into any lower line over a facet which has been destroyed.

The general arrangement of the record and the purport of the lines preserved make it further certain that the present first line was preceded by two earlier ones, which referred to the first two sacrifices in the *Sapta-Sōma-samsthā*. This point will be further explained later.

The portion of the inscription that has been inscribed on the completely preserved facet of the pillar and also over a small fraction of the facet on its left, makes it clear that each facet was intended to have one quartrain of the *Anushtubh* metre. It is thus clear that at least the metrical part of the record was inscribed over the four out of the eight facets of the *yūpa*. The same probably was the arrangement in the case of the last five lines, which are in prose.

The **characters** of the inscription, which has been engraved very carefully and beautifully, belong to about the 2nd century of the Christian era. The form of the letters *na*, *ya*, *la*, and *sa* makes it quite clear that the record is much earlier than the Gupta period. It would be instructive to compare its characters with those of the Īsāpur, Nāndsā and Badvā *yūpas*, erected respectively in the 24th year of emperor Vāsiṣṭha, and 282nd and 295th year of the Kṛita, i.e., Vikrama era. Unlike in any of the above dated records, in our epigraph, the forms of the medial short and long *i* are denoted by one and two curvilinear lines respectively, placed over the top of the letter; the later practice of using for this purpose curves turning to the left and right, which we see in Īsāpur, Nāndsā and Badvā records, is not known to our epigraph. The central stroke of *śa* is still slanting downwards; this is an archaic characteristic and is not to be seen in any of the above records. *Na* and *ne* have only a slight bend in the base line; the former has not yet developed a hook, and the latter shows no tendency to develop any curve at the top. The central bar of *ka* is still a straight line; it has not become curved as at Nāndsā and Badvā. The vertical of *la* has not yet developed a curve at the top as at Badvā. *Ya* shows no loop in the left limb as at Nāndsā and Badvā. The letter *da* still retains its archaic form and opens to the left as in the inscriptions of Ushavadāta and Rudradāman. Palæography would therefore show that this *yūpa* inscription is earlier than the *yūpa* records, referred to above; we may, therefore, with fair certainty, place it in the first part of the 2nd century A.D., if not even a little earlier.

The **language** of the record is Sanskrit, but there are the following mistakes in it. *Chchh* in *uchchhritah* or *samuchchhritah* has been throughout represented by *chh*; see ll. 1, 2, 7. In l. 7 °*vimsē* has been wrongly spelt as °*vimsē*. In l. 10 *dāveva* is probably a mistake for *dattu-aiya*. At the end of the l. 13, there is a *sandhi* mistake; instead of *tasminn-ēv-āhani* the record reads *tasminnēv-āhani*. The last five lines of the record are in prose, but its first 11 lines are in verse, the metre being *Anushtubh*. The same probably was the case with the first two lines of the record that have now been lost.

Orthography calls for a few remarks only. An *anusvāra* is indicated by a dot above the letter; it is not changed to the nasal of the class of the letter following; see ll. 6, 8. *Va* has been changed into *ba* in the word *Kaubidārikā*, l. 12.¹ Consonants are not doubled when they are conjoined with a preceding *r*; cf. [*chatu*]r*thah*, l. 2, °*r-bhōktavyam*, l. 15. The rules of *sandhi* are usually observed; °*dbhiḥ charakāḥ*° (l. 15) is the only exception. There are no punctuation marks at the end of sentences or verses. At the end of l. 15, there is a small horizontal stroke which was perhaps intended to be a punctuation mark. The verses are numbered at the end. There is a separate numbering for the verses in sections A and B of the record.

¹ [See p. 249, n. 3 below.—Ed.]

Symbols for all the numerals from 1 to 9 appear in the record. They are similar to those found in the Nāsik and Kushāna inscriptions of the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.

As regards the date, it is clear from l. 7 that the record was inscribed in the 23rd regnal year of a certain king. But as his name is not preserved in the extant part of the inscription, we cannot utilise this information for determining its date. Palaeographical evidence therefore affords the only clue; it points to the early part of the 2nd century A.D. as the probable date of the record, as shown already above.

Though the inscription is very fragmentary, its main purpose can be ascertained fairly satisfactorily. It divides itself into three parts, part A consisting of ll. 1-7, part B of ll. 8-11, and part C of ll. 12-16. Part A commemorates the erection of as many as seven *yūpas* in connection with the performance of seven *Sōma* sacrifices, technically known as *Sapta-Sōma-samsthā*. The sacrificer was almost certainly *Śivadatta*, who was a very trusted minister of a certain king, whose name has been lost. That he performed the various sacrifices comprised in the group of seven *Sōma* sacrifices becomes clear from the fact that only seven sacrifices are mentioned, and that—to judge from the wording in ll. 3 and 5—they have been counted from *Agnishōma*. Line 5 further shows that the 5th sacrifice in the series was *Vājapēya*. Such actually is the case with the sacrifices in *Sapta-Sōma-samsthā*. For the sacrifices included in this group are *Agnishōma*, *Atyagnishōma*, *Ukthya*, *Shōdashin*, *Vājapēya*, *Atirātra* and *Aptōryāma*, and they are to be performed in the stated order.¹

In the Vedic age the *Sōma* sacrifice was very common and its most popular form was *Agnishōma*, so called because the last of its twelve chants was called *Agnishōma-sāman*. The other six sacrifices included in the *Sapta-Sōma-samsthā*, enumerated in the preceding paragraph, differ from *Agnishōma* only in minor details. This group of seven *Sōma* sacrifices seems to have been very popular when the Vedic religion was in ascendancy, for one *Dharmasūtra* writer has elevated them to the status of the *samsthāras*.² It is clear that the idea was that these sacrifices should be performed by every householder as regularly as the sacraments like the *upanayana* and *antyeṣṭy*. As a matter of fact we sometimes find even the *Gṛhya* sacrifices, which were very numerous, being artificially grouped into a *sapta-pākayajña-samsthā* on the analogy of the *sapta-Sōmayajña-samsthā*.³ This would show how great was the importance that was attached to the seven *Sōma* sacrifices of this group. It is, however, interesting to note that the present is the first case of our having discovered any *yūpa* referring to their performance. The *Bijayagadh yūpa* and the *yūpas* of king *Mūlavarma* of *Borneo* do not mention the name of the sacrifice in connection with which they were erected.⁴ The *Isāpur yūpa* commemorates the celebration of a *Drādaśa-rātra* sacrifice, and the *Nāndsā yūpa* of the *Shashṭi-rātra*, as would appear from the preliminary note published about its inscription by Mr. *Haldar*.⁵ Each of the three *Baḍvā yūpa* inscriptions that have so far been published, refers to the *Trirātra* sacrifice and another from the place, which is published below, commemorates an *Aptōryāma* sacrifice. The present record is therefore the first one published so far that refers to the celebration of all the seven sacrifices included in the famous *Sapta-Sōmayajña-samsthā*.

¹ *Kātyāyana-Srautasūtra*, X, 9, 27. In the enumeration of these sacrifices as given in *Gautama-Dharmasūtra*, *Ukthya*, *Atyagnishōma*, *Shōdashin* and *Atirātra* occupy the 2nd, 6th, 3rd and 4th position respectively.

² *Gautama-Dharmasūtra*.

³ *Baudhāyana-Gṛhyasūtra*, 1, 1, 1.

⁴ [In one of the inscriptions of *Mūlavarma*, *Bahusvarṇaka* has been taken by *Kern* as a synonym of *Banu-śhrayya*, a *Sōma* sacrifice.—Ed.]

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, 1929, p. 53. [The sacrifice mentioned in this record is *Ēka-shashṭi-rātra*.—Ed.]

Section A of the record, consisting of ll. 1-7, refers to the erection of seven pillars in connection with the seven Sōma sacrifices referred to above. The first line of the record, which has been numbered 3 at its end, begins with a fragmentary letter which was clearly *t*, and which is followed by *yō yūpa u[ch*]chhritah*. It is clear that we have to restore the first word as *trityō* and that the line refers to the erection of the third *yūpa* in connection with the third sacrifice of Sōma group, viz., the *Ukthya*. Of the first word in l. 2, which has been numbered 4 at the end, only two letters *rihas-tu* have been preserved. It is however clear that we have to restore the word as *chaturthas-tu* and the line thus refers to the erection of the fourth resplendent *yūpa*. The next line in the inscription, which is numbered 5, refers to the fifth one from *Agnishōma*; as the sacrifices in the *Sapta-Sōmayajña-samsthā* were numbered from *Agnishōma*, its first member, the line refers to the erection of the fifth *yūpa* in connection with the Vājapēya sacrifice, which is the fifth one in the series. The next line, which contains the verse numbered 6 in the record, refers to the sixth one from the first sacrifice. Obviously when complete, it described the erection of the 6th *yūpa* in connection with the *Atirātra* sacrifice, which is the 6th member in the Sōma group. The next line, containing the verse 7, refers to the seventh *yūpa* from *Agnishōma*, and obviously must have referred to the *Aptōryāma* sacrifice, which was the last one in the *Sapta-Sōma-samsthā* group. It would now become clear from this that the original record contained two more lines in the beginning, which have been now completely lost and which must have referred to the erection of two *yūpas* in connection with *Agnishōma* and *Atyagnishōma* sacrifices, which were the first and second member respectively in the series of seven Sōma sacrifices.

Though not originally included in the group of Sōma sacrifices by the earlier Saṁhitās, the 5th sacrifice in this series, the Vājapēya, soon assumed very great importance, and became associated with royal coronation. The 6th line of our record [*pratha*]mūd=*yajñāt pañchamō Vājapēyikaḥ* refers to something connected with this sacrifice, as its concluding adjective would show. As the record is fragmentary, we cannot be sure about the purport of this line. It is, however, permissible to conjecture that the line referred once more to the *yūpa* of the Vājapēya sacrifice, and that it is identical with the one we have discovered. It would appear that though seven *yūpas* were duly set up by the sacrificer, he decided to select the *yūpa* of Vājapēya sacrifice for the honour of bearing the inscription, commemorating the performance of the seven Sōma sacrifices. Other *yūpas* were probably merely erected but not inscribed. We can now understand how only one of the sacrificial pillars found at Iṣāpur bears an inscription. When several *yūpas* were erected in connection with a sacrificial *sattra*, it was customary to inscribe the relevant inscription on only one of them. The *yūpas* at Baḍvā are all inscribed, because they refer to sacrifices performed, no doubt on the same day, but by different sacrificers. Each sacrificer was anxious to commemorate his sacrifice separately.

The 7th line of the record stated the time of the performance of these sacrifices. The date was given not in any era but in the regnal year of a king. Unfortunately for history, the name of this potentate has been lost. The only restoration possible of the first crucial word in the line is [*trayō*]-*vīmśē*; the first fragmentary letter may possibly be taken as *pā*, but it can give no word for a numeral in combination with *vīmśē* following. On the other hand it could very well have been a part of the letter *yō*. In that case the word can be restored as *trayōvīm(vim)śē*, as pointed out above. The record therefore was undoubtedly dated in the 23rd year of a king, whose name has now been lost.

Section B of the record, consisting of ll. 8-11, is again in *Anuṣṭubh* metre. It was intended to give us information about the honorarium paid to the Brāhmaṇas, who officiated at these sacrifices. It is almost certain from these lines that the sacrificer was not the king, but a minister of his.

His name Śivadatta appears in l. 8 and he is probably once more referred to in l. 11 as 'a friend of the king', the form *rājamitraḥ* being probably a mistake for *rājamitrañ*.¹ The first word of l. 8 can certainly be restored as *grāmañ*. The line, therefore, mentioned a village given to the minister Śivadatta, obviously by the king. In l. 9 the word *grāma* occurs as an object of a sentence and l. 10 refers to the payment of *dakṣiṇā*. It would therefore appear that a village, which had been originally given by the king to his minister Śivadatta, was subsequently transferred by him as *dakṣiṇā* to the priests, who officiated in his sacrificial session. Each Sōma sacrifice required 16 priests; if different sets of priests had officiated at each of the seven Sōma sacrifices performed by Śivadatta, the total number of persons entitled for the sacrificial fee would have been 112. Though an entire village was thus alienated, each donee probably received only $\frac{1}{112}$ th part of its revenues. The total *dakṣiṇā*, which Śivadatta had to pay on the occasion, undoubtedly constituted a big amount, and it will incidentally remind us of the oft-repeated observation that the Vedic sacrifices represented the religion of rich aristocracy and were beyond the means of ordinary individuals.

Section C of the record, consisting of ll. 12-16, is in prose² and these lines have not been numbered. As the lines are fragmentary, their purport can only be conjectured. Line 12 describes the homage paid to *Kauidarikā* and the first part of l. 13 refers to some merit available in this and the next life. *Kōvidāra* is the name of a tree, favourite to Śiva like Bilva.³ It would appear that Śiva was the tutelary deity of the minister Śivadatta and these lines refer to the planting of a *Kōvidāra* grove, *Kauidārikām* [*vāṭikām*], apparently in the garden of a Śiva temple, and the homage paid to it on the occasion. The merit of this religious act was probably described in the greater part of the next line, i.e., l. 13.

Ll. 14-16, along with the last six letters of l. 13, refer to another gift made on the same day. The last line (l. 16) expresses the hope that Mahēśvara, thus honoured, may be pleased over and over again. It would therefore appear that the donee of this second gift was a Śiva temple. L. 15 states that wandering mendicants should be supplied with food. It would appear that this temple of Śiva had a *sattra* attached to it, and that a portion of the donation was reserved for the expenses connected with it. Epigraphs of later days refer to several such *sattras* maintained by temple authorities, where poor men, wandering mendicants and students were offered free food.⁴ L. 14 and a portion of l. 15 describe the gift given. The extant portion of the inscription does not specifically describe the object of this gift, but to judge from the expression *sarva-jāta-bhōgyam* and *abhṛita-pravēśyam*, it is obvious that the gift made was of a village. Whether the donor was the king or his minister Śivadatta we do not know; probably it was the latter.

Though the record is very fragmentary, we can thus ascertain its purport almost completely. The loss of the name of the king, whom Śivadatta was serving as a minister, is, however, an irreparable historical loss. Had his name been preserved, we would probably have been able to date the record and get some welcome information about the contemporary history.

The contents of the record, as made out above, would show that it is a very interesting epigraph. It not only refers to the erection of as many as seven *yūpas* in connection with the

¹ [Probably we have to take *Rājamitra* here as a proper name as the case termination indicates.—Ed.]

² [We cannot determine if the whole of this portion is in prose. The opening portion of l. 13 appears to be in *Anuṣṭubh* metre, while the last line decidedly conforms to *Vaṅśīsthavila* metre.—Ed.]

³ काविदारि च बिल्वे च सदा संनिहितः शिवः ।

I am indebted to Pandit Chinnaswami Śastry, Vice-Principal, Oriental College, Benares Hindu University, for drawing my attention to this line. [*Kōvidārikā* and *Kōśambaka*, apparently as place names, occur in the Indore Plates of Pravaraśeṇa II (above, p. 55).—Ed.]

⁴ See *Ante*, Vol. IV, p. 255; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, pp. 129-31, Vol. V, p. 344; *E. C.*, Vol. I, No. 45.

performance of the seven Sōma sacrifices, but also records a donation made on the same day, and probably by the same donor and of the same value, to a temple of Siva. The record thus shows how in the everyday life of the second century Hindu community, Vedic and Paurāṇic religions were harmoniously blended together. The concluding portion of the Isāpur *yāpa* inscription is 'Priyam[ā]m=Agnaya[ḥ]', and it is quite appropriate in a record describing a Vedic sacrifice. In our epigraph, however, the concluding sentence expresses the hope that Siva may be pleased. Of course this is probably due to the last recorded donation being in favour of a Siva temple. It would however also attest to the growing hold of the Paurāṇic religion even on the minds of those who were taking an active part in the revival of the Vedic religion.

TEXT.¹

A

- 1 [ढती²]यो यूप उद्धितः³ [॥*]२⁴ [॥*]
- 2 [चतु*]र्दस्तु⁵ त्रौमान्यूपः समुद्धितः⁶ [॥*] ४ [॥*]
- 3 [त*]तो⁷ विद्वानग्निष्टोमात्तु पंचमम् [॥*] ५ [॥*]
- 4 [त]तोनेन प⁸ष्ठस्तु प्रथमात्क्र¹⁰तोः [॥*] ६ [॥*]
- 5 [कृत*⁹]वान्यूपमग्निष्टोमात्तु सप्तमम् [॥*] ७ [॥*]
- 6 [प्रथ¹¹*]माद्यज्ञात्यंचमो वाजपेयिकः [॥*] ८ [॥*]
- 7 [चयो*]¹²वीशि¹³ वर्षे यूपः समुद्धितः¹⁴ [॥*] ८ [॥*]

B

- 8 [श्री¹⁵]मं शिवदत्ताय मंत्रिणे [॥*] १ [॥*]
- 9 [स*]¹⁶चिवो घामं राज्ञो महात्मनः [॥*] २ [॥*]

¹ From the original and ink-impression.

² A part of the letter *ti* can be seen in the ink-impression.

³ Read *uchchhrītaḥ*.

⁴ Read 3. The upper horizontal line in the symbol for 3 has been destroyed.

⁵ For the restoration proposed, see the introduction.

⁶ Read *samuchchhrītaḥ*.

⁷ The first letter *ta* of this line appears to have the mark of a medial *i* above it in the ink-impression. It is, however, merely a crevice in the stone, caused when the pillar was mutilated. There is no clear sign of medial *i* also on the second letter. This letter is, however, the 6th one in an *Anushṭubh* quatrain and should therefore be a long one. The reading and restoration *taḥ* seems to be very probable. Compare [ta]ḥ-*nēna* at the beginning of the next line.

⁸ For the restoration proposed, see the introduction.

⁹ Read *śaśṭhas-*

¹⁰ The subscript *ka* of this conjunct has penetrated into the lower line.

¹¹ The right portion of the circle of *tha* can be seen in the ink-impression.

¹² The first fragmentary letter of this line can also be read as *pō*, but when joined to the word *riṃśē* following, it cannot combine into any suitable word. It must therefore be taken to be the right hand portion of *yō*; *trayō-viṃśē* then is the only restoration possible.

¹³ Read *°viṃśē*.

¹⁴ Read *samuchchhrītaḥ*.

¹⁵ A comparison of the remnant of this letter with the letter *grā* occurring in the next line shows that it could have been nothing else than *grā* when in undamaged condition.

¹⁶ This restoration is rendered probable by the word *mantriṇē* occurring in the preceding line.

ALLAHABAD MUNICIPAL MUSEUM YUPA INSCRIPTION.



N. P. CHAKRAVARTI.
 Res. No. 1902 E'38-275.



SCALE: ONE-FOURTH.

- 10 -ति¹ दात्वे² कृतदाक्षिणाम³ [॥*] इ [॥*]
 11 [यश*]सा⁴ राजमिचः श्रिया वृतः [॥*] ४ [॥*]
 12 कौचिदारिकां शिरसा प्रतिगृह्य
 13 - फलाः⁵ प्रेत्य चेह च [१*] तस्मिन्ने⁶वाहन
 14 - हार⁷ सर्वजातभोग्यमभृत⁸प्रवेयं
 15 [आगच्छ*]द्भिः⁹ १० चरकैर्भोज्यमिति ।¹¹
 16 स¹²त्कृतः पुनः पुनः प्रीतिमियान्महेस्वर इति [१*]

No. 34.—FOURTH MAUKHARI YUPA INSCRIPTION FROM BADVA.

By Prof. A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., LL.B., D.LITT., BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

While editing my paper on 'Three Maukhari Inscriptions on Yūpas: Kṛita year 295', I had observed that a fourth sacrificial pillar should have originally existed in the locality. I had thought that a Sati stone, existing not far from the locality and bearing the letters *yajñō* in the characters of about the 3rd century A.D., was probably a fragment of the fourth pillar.¹² Dr. Mathurālal Sharma, the State Historian, Kotah, however, now reports to me that a fourth *yūpa*, complete in every respect, was discovered in another part of the same village. It bears a general resemblance to the three *yūpas* already discovered, whose photographs were published along with my paper on the inscriptions engraved upon them.¹³ The new *yūpa* also

¹ The letter preceding *tiś* had a medial *i* mark which can be seen in the impression. It is, however, not possible to restore the word.

² Read *datte=aira*.

³ Read *dakṣiṇām*.

⁴ The first broken letter was obviously *śa*; compare it with the form of this letter in ll. 7, 8, 12, 14, etc. The restoration *yajñō* is therefore very probable, the metrical irregularity not being a serious one. [The proposed restoration is doubtful. According to the rules of prosody the two syllables preceding *śa* in this case should ordinarily be long. In fact there seems to be a sign of medial *ē* attached to the seventh syllable of this *pāda*.—Ed.]

⁵ The letters *phalāḥ* are preceded by a fragmentary letter, which looks like *ti*. *Phalāḥ* obviously must have formed the concluding part of a compound, but it is difficult to restore it with confidence.

⁶ Read *tasmīn=ṣi=āhani*.

⁷ Read *hāraṁ*. The word may have been *agrahāraṁ*.

⁸ Village grants usually use the word *bhāṣa* in this connection; here its original Sanskrit form has been preferred.

⁹ This restoration is conjectural, but it is rendered highly probable by the word *charakaiḥ* following.

¹⁰ Read *śbhīś=charakair=*.

¹¹ This stop is indicated by a horizontal stroke. It cannot stand for the numeral 1 here as it does in l. 8.

¹² A greater part of the letter *śa* is visible in the impression.

¹³ *Ante*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 42-3.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, plate facing page 53.

bears an inscription written, as on the other *yūpas* in this locality, in a long vertical line. Dr. Mathuralal has kindly sent me an ink-impression of the record with a request to edit it in the *Epigraphia Indica*: I am doing so accordingly.

As in the case of other sacrificial pillars at Baḍvā, the surface of this pillar also is not properly dressed. Some of the letters of the record have not therefore come out well in engraving. The mason was also not very careful in his work. Thus in *ga* of *gava* (l. 2), he has engraved a third slanting stroke; *nu* in *Dhanutrāta* (l. 1) has been tacked on to its preceding letter and the engraving of *syā* and *śra* is throughout very shabby. The characters of the record show a close resemblance to those on the other sacrificial pillars from this village, already published. Though the record is not dated, on palæographical grounds it can well be placed with confidence in the third century A.D., to which period the other Maukhari records of the locality belong.

The language of the record is Sanskrit. Unlike the other *yūpa* records at Baḍvā, this inscription is composed in poetry. It consists only of a single verse in *Anuṣṭubh* metre. The record, though short, contains several mistakes, which will be indicated in the foot-notes.

The purport of the record is to announce that the pillar upon which it has been engraved, is a *yūpa* erected in *Aptōryāma* sacrifice performed by *Dhanutrāta*, son of Hastin, of the Maukhari clan, and that a sacrificial fee of one thousand cows was paid on the occasion to the officiating Brāhmaṇas. Unlike other *yūpa* records at Baḍvā, this record does not bear any date at its beginning. The name of the sacrificer *Dhanutrāta*, 'one protected by his bow', and of his father Hastin, 'Elephant', would suggest that the family was of the Kshatriya stock. Neither the sacrificer nor his father bears any feudatory or military titles like *Sāmanta* or *Sēnāpati*. It may be that the family of Hastin had not yet risen high in the military or administrative hierarchy like that of Bala, who was a *Mahāsēnāpati* or a commander-in-chief in 239 A.D. Or, it may be that in the short space of a single *Anuṣṭubh* verse, this information could not be imparted by the versifier. The former seems to have been the probable alternative; had *Dhanutrāta* or his father acquired any feudatory or military rank, the versifier would certainly have been ordered to compose a second verse, announcing this distinction. Another facet of the pillar could have been utilised for this purpose, as has been done in the case of the *yūpa* of Balasimha from this locality.

The Baḍvā *yūpa* records would show that there were several Maukhari families settled in the locality during the 3rd century A.D. They were probably the scions of one and the same stock. Records discovered so far do not establish any blood relationship between the families of Bala and Hastin, apart from the suggestion conveyed by their surname. All the Maukhari families were following the military profession and some of them like that of Bala had risen very high in military hierarchy. Probably several villages, if not Tahsils, in modern Kotah state in the vicinity of Baḍvā and Kotah were assigned to them as military *jāgīrs*.

The sacrifice performed by *Dhanutrāta* was *Aptōryāma*. It is a variety of the one day *Sōma* sacrifice, but occupied, like the *Atirātra* sacrifice, a whole day and extended through the next night. It marks a further elaboration of the *Atirātra* sacrifice, inasmuch as it added four extra *stōtras* and *śāstras* to it at the end.¹ It forms the last member of the famous group of seven *Sōma* sacrifices, technically known as *Sapta-Sōma-samsthā*. For further information on this point see my paper on 'Allahābād Municipal Museum Yūpa inscription', *ante*, pp. 245 ff.

¹ Keith: *The Veda of the Black Yajus School*, introduction, p. CXVII.

FOURTH MAUKHARI YUPA INSCRIPTION FROM BADVA.

Left Section.



Middle Section.



Right Section.



TEXT.¹

Mōkharēr-Hastī²-puttrasya Dhanuttrā³tasya dhīmataḥ [*]
 Aptō(r)yy[ā]mṇa(b) kratōḥ⁴ yūpaḥ sahasrō gava-dakṣiṇā⁵ [*]

TRANSLATION.

This is the *yūpa* of the Aptōryāma sacrifice performed by the wise Dhanuttrāta, son of Hastin, of the Maukhari clan; an honorarium of a thousand cows (*was given on the occasion*).

No. 35.—KOSAM INSCRIPTION OF BHADRAMAGHA'S REIGN: THE YEAR 81.

BY KRISHNA DEVA, M.A.

This inscription which is engraved on a large slab of sand-stone, was discovered early in December 1937 in the course of an exploration of the ancient site of Kosam and its neighbourhood in the district of Allahābād by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, Superintendent, Archæological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta. It was dug out, 2 ft. below surface, from the western bank of an old dried up *sālā*, once draining into the Jumna, near the village Naubāi, nearly 1½ miles north-west of the well-known Kosam Pillar. I am grateful to Mr. Majumdar for kindly supplying me with an estampage of the inscription and providing me with facilities for editing it.

The epigraph is in an excellent state of preservation. The writing, which is neatly incised in two lines, covers a space of 2' 8" × 4" and is engraved breadthwise at one end of the huge rectangular slab, measuring 7' in length, 2' 9" in width and 6" in thickness. The size of the letters varies in length from 1" to 2".

The characters of the inscription belong to the Brāhmī alphabet of the later Kushāṇa period. The majority of the letters used are Kushāṇa while a few like *m* and *h* show advanced forms which are rare in the Kushāṇa documents but are of common occurrence in the Gupta records. The inscription, however, bears a close resemblance to the Mathurā pedestal inscription of the year 14 of Kanishka⁶ with which it also agrees in the use of *m*, *h* and *s* (e.g. *maharajasya*, l. 1) of the so-called eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet. The signs used for representing the medial vowels—*ā* and *ē* by horizontal side strokes (e.g. *āsana-pattā*, l. 2; *savatsarē*, l. 1), *i* by a curve to left on top of the consonant (e.g. *divasē*, l. 1), *ī* by a U-shaped sign at the top of the letter (e.g. *dvītiya*, l. 1) and *ṛi* by a line, slanting from the lower right extremity of the consonant towards left (e.g. *grishma*, l. 1)—as well as the forms of the letters *n* and *ṇ* with curved base-lines (e.g. *āsana-pattā* and *īrēṇiya*, l. 1), *g* and *ś* with rounded tops (e.g. *grishma-pakṣhē*, l. 1; *īrēṇiya*, l. 2), *gh*, *j*, *p* and *v* with flat l. 2), *g* and *ś* with rounded tops (e.g. *grishma-pakṣhē*, l. 1; *īrēṇiya*, l. 2), *gh*, *j*, *p* and *v* with flat angular forms (e.g. *Bhadramaghasya*, *maharajasya*, *pakṣhē* and *savatsarē*, l. 1) and the initial *ā* with the bar denoting its length attached lower down (e.g. *āsana-pattā*, l. 2)—are typical of the Kushāṇa writing. The forms of *g*, *t*, *bh* and *ś* show the pre-Gupta type inasmuch as in each case their verticals are of the same length. Similarly noteworthy is the letter *sh* with unlooped form and incidentally we may also notice some peculiarities which are evidently due to archaic round base. Incidentally we may also notice some peculiarities which are evidently due to the engraver's carelessness; the middle horizontal bar of the first *sa* in *savatsarē* (l. 1) is missing

¹ From an ink impression.

² Read *Hastī*.

³ Owing to the carelessness of the mason, the three letters in *dhanuttrā* have been all joined together.

⁴ Read *īr-yūpaḥ*.

⁵ Read *sahasra-gava-dakṣiṇāḥ*.

⁶ Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 96 ff.

and the base line of *na* in *āsana-pattā* (l. 2) has on either side been bent so low that it is difficult to distinguish it from *ta*; compare *ēkasītā* (l. 1) for the latter.

The language of the inscription is the usual mixed dialect of the Kushāya documents. The form *grishma* for *grishma* is noteworthy. As regards the expressions *maharajasya* (l. 1) and *stha-pata* (l. 2) we are not sure whether the shortening of the long vowels in these is due to a mistake in spelling or to Prakritism. The plural form in *āsana-pattā* (l. 2) has a parallel in *āyuga-patā*, occurring in one of the Mathurā inscriptions.¹

The object of the inscription is to record the installation of *āsana-pattas*, i.e. seats by a guild of stone-masons in the year 81, second fortnight of the summer and fifth day, during the reign of *Mahārāja Bhādrāmāgha*. Judging from its shape and enormous size, its well-dressed smooth surface and the position occupied by the inscribed portion, we may safely conclude that the slab itself is being adverted to as one of the *āsana-pattas*. It is interesting to note that two more inscriptions from Kosam, referring to the year 87 of *Bhādrāmāgha*,² are incised on slabs, similarly labelled as *āsana-pattas*. One of the latter epigraphs explicitly states that the *āsana-patta* was set up at a tank. The fact that the present inscription has been unearthed from the bank of what looks like an ancient canal confirms that it was customary at the time to set up *āsana-pattas* at the bathing ghāts. The inscription furnishes the earliest known date for the reign of *Mahārāja Bhādrāmāgha*, viz., the year 81. So far only two dates, years 86³ and 87, were known for the reign of this king. The inscription, therefore, shows that *Mahārāja Bhādrāmāgha* had a reign extending over at least seven years.

The record testifies to the existence of a guild of stone-masons in the Kosam region during the early centuries of the Christian era. It is interesting to note in this connection that within two hundred yards of the find spot of the inscription there is a sandstone quarry, popularly known as *Pathar Khān*, with remains of ancient workings visible on the spot. It is not improbable that this quarry supplied the stone-masons with requisite material for practising their craft.

There is a striking family-likeness in point of script, language, style and the peculiar method of dating, giving in order the year, number of fortnight in the season and the day, between this and a series of dated records, coming from the Kosam region. That these inscriptions together with the present one are dated in a continuous, though unfortunately unspecified, reckoning, ranging from the year 52 to the year 130, seems probable. The inscriptions are as follows:—

1. Ginja inscription of *Mahārāja Bhūmasēna*—year 52.⁴
2. Kosam inscription of *Mahārāja Bhādrāmāgha*—year 81.⁵
3. Kosam inscription of *Mahārāja Bhādrāmāgha*—year 86.⁶
- 4-5. Two Kosam inscriptions of *Mahārāja Bhādrāmāgha*—year 87.⁷
6. Kosam inscription of *Mahārāja Śivāmāgha*—year lost.⁸
7. Kosam inscription of *Mahārāja Vaiśravaṇa*—year 107.⁹
8. Kosam inscription of *Mahārāja Bhīmavarman*—year 130.¹⁰

¹ Above, Vol. I, p. 397, No. XXXV.

² *Jha Commemoration Volume*, pp. 101 ff., above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 245 ff.

³ The year in the Kosam inscription of *Bhādrāmāgha*, above, Vol. XVIII, p. 160, No. III, is read by *Sahni*, its editor, as 88, whereas *Jayaswal* takes it to be 86, *History of India, 150-350 A. D.*, p. 230. The latter reading seems to be preferable. Compare also Dr. *Stein Konow's* remarks above, Vol. XXIII, p. 247.

⁴ *Cunningham, A. S. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 119, Pl. XXX; and above, Vol. III, Pl. facing p. 306.

⁵ The present inscription.

⁶ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 160, No. III.

⁷ *Jha Com. Vol.*, pp. 101 ff.; above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 245 ff.

⁸ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 159, No. II.

⁹ See above, pp. 146 ff.

¹⁰ *Indian Culture*, Vol. III, No. 1, pp. 177 ff.

The question of the attribution of the above to a known era bristles with difficulties. Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni who edited Nos. 3 and 6 was inclined to refer them to the Gupta era.¹ Dr. Jayaswal, on the other hand, followed General Cunningham² who refers No. 1 to the pre-Gupta period and definitely held that these are to be assigned to the Chēdi era of 248 A. D.³ This is supported by Mr. Amalananda Ghosh who refers No. 8 to the same reckoning.⁴ The editor of Nos. 4-5, however, thinks that these might be attributed to the era of either 78 A. D. or 129 A. D.⁵

Now as the whole controversy mainly hinges on **paleographical evidence**, it is worth while to examine the exact relationship of the script of our inscriptions to that of the Kushāṇa records on the one hand and the Gupta on the other. No. 1 of our list, which bears the earliest date, is paleographically earlier than the remaining Kosam inscriptions and is, in fact, hardly distinguishable from the general body of the imperial Kushāṇa documents except for the use of *m* and *h* of the Eastern variety of the Gupta alphabet which links it with the Kosam series. It is to be noted that it shows the archaic unlooped type of the dental sibilant which is invariably replaced by the looped type in all the Kosam records save the last, namely No. 8, where both forms appear side by side. At the other extreme is No. 7 of our list, which though not the latest in date, nevertheless, closely approaches the Allahābād inscription of Samudragupta⁶ in its comparatively mature and cursive style of writing, in the use of pronounced top-strokes and in the representation of some of the individual letters like *n* with a loop, *j* with the bent vertical, *p* with an acute angle, *v*, *d*, *dh*, *y* and *l*, besides *m*, *h* and *s* which are common with the majority of the Kosam records. While noting the likenesses we should also not ignore the points of disagreement between the two which go to show that No. 7 is not exactly as advanced as and consequently slightly earlier than the Allahābād pillar inscription. To illustrate, while the former uses the older forms of *t*, *g*, *k*, and *bh*, with equal verticals, in the latter usually the right limb of each of these is longer than the corresponding left; the letter *sh* in the former is of the archaic unlooped variety while the latter contains the more advanced looped type; *ṣ* in the latter is invariably indicated by its cursive looped or unlooped form while the former always shows the Kushāṇa form of the letter with the curved base-line; the medial *i* in the former as in all the earlier records is represented by a curved stroke at the top of the consonant while in the latter the left limb of the curve is occasionally lengthened below the top line, a feature characteristic of the Gupta script. It will thus be seen that whereas No. 1 appears to be not much posterior to the latest records belonging to the Great Kushāṇas, No. 7 is perhaps not far removed in time from the Allahābād inscription. Within the limit set by these two may be placed the remaining Kosam records including the present one, which bear affinity to the Gupta characters in the case of a handful of signs and to the Kushāṇa in that of a larger number but whose general ductus of hand shows greater maturity than is evident in the Kushāṇa, without approximating the Gupta in cursiveness. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to assume that the Kosam records, which, as already observed above, present striking family-likeness one to the other, belong to the period of transition between the Kushāṇa and the Gupta and may roughly be assigned sometime from the third century to the first half of the fourth century A. D.

This is strikingly corroborated by the stratigraphical evidence of the Bhita sealings of Bhīmasēna and Śivamagha, which were discovered little above the Kushāṇa level.⁷ The remarkable

¹ Above, Vol. XVIII, p. 160.

² Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 119.

³ *Indian Culture*, Vol. III, No. 1, p. 179.

⁴ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, No. 1.

⁵ *An. Rep. A. S. I.*, 1911-12, pp. 32 and 51, sealings 26 and 27.

⁶ *History of India, 150-350 A. D.*, pp. 229-30.

⁷ *Jha Com.*, Vol., pp. 106-07.

paleographical similarity between these and the Kosam records has led Dr. Jayaswal to convincingly identify Rājan Vāsishṭhiputra Bhīmasēna¹, and Mahārāja Gautamīputra Śivamagha of the sealings with Mahārāja Bhīmsēna and Mahārāja Śivamagha of Nos. 1 and 6, respectively.² The transitional character of the language employed in the Kosam records also points in the same direction. It reveals an unmistakable tendency towards progressive Sanskritisation without altogether eliminating the Prākṛit forms and expressions. Lastly, there is no evidence to show that the peculiar method of dating uniformly adopted in the Kosam records was continued in Northern India in the Gupta period. Even in the Kushāna period its use seems to have been limited. From the foregoing considerations it seems unlikely that our inscriptions should refer themselves to either the Śaka or the Gupta era, as one becomes too early and the other too late. We will, therefore, be not far from right if we provisionally assign our inscriptions to the Chōdi era of 248 A. D. which strikes a golden mean between the two extremes. Referred to this reckoning the dates on the Kosam series will be equivalent to 300-378 A. D. and that on the present epigraph to 329 A. D. In this connection the possibility of our having to reckon with a local era, current in the Kosam region, as suggested by Mr. Amalananda Ghosh³ cannot be overlooked. The final solution of the problem, however, is possible only on the discovery of fresh evidence of a more decisive character.

TEXT.

- 1 Mahārājasya śrī-Bhadramaghasya savatsarē śkasitē 80 1 grīshma-pakṣhē⁴
dvitīya(yē) 2 divasē pañchamē 5.
2 ātayē puruvayē Katsa-pastharika-śrēṇiya āsana-patṭā sthapata.⁵

TRANSLATION.

In the year eighty—one, 81, (in the reign) of the Mahārāja, the illustrious Bhadramagha in the second, 2, fortnight of the summer, on the fifth, 5, day; on (the date specified as) above the slab-seats were set up by the guild of the stone-masons of Katsa.

No. 36.—DHARANIKOTA DHARMACHAKRA PILLAR INSCRIPTION.

By P. SESHADRI SASTRI, GUNTUR.

It has been my privilege to recover within the last two years three inscribed marble pillars at Dharanikōṭa in the Guntur District on the information supplied by a local resident. Subsequently I brought them to the notice of the authorities of the Archaeological Department, who have got them removed to Amarāvati where other antiquities of the place are preserved. I edit below one of the three epigraphs at the instance of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshīt, Director General of Archeology in India, while the remaining two are dealt with by some other scholars.

The shaft or pillar on which the subjoined inscription is engraved is square at its base and hexagonal above. The base is decorated with some carvings, representing a casket and a floral design in the centre, a hooded Nāga on the left and a railing with a sun-window on the right.

¹ [It may be mentioned here that a recently discovered inscription at Bandhogarh in the Rewah State belonging to year 51 of the reign of Mahārāja Bhīmasēna styles this ruler as Vāsishṭhipūta—a fact which makes the identification certain.—Ed.]

² *Hist. of India, 160-350 A. D.*, pp. 168, 229-30.

³ *Indian Culture*, Vol. 1, No. 4, p. 716.

⁴ Read *śhāpitiśh*.

⁵ Read *grīshma-pakṣhē*.

BANTIA PLATES OF DHARASENA II: [VALABHI-] SAMVAT 254.

Plate II. (Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXI, pp. 180-181).

(From a photograph).



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The pillar is called in the inscription *Dhamachakra-dhaya* (Skt. *Dharmachakra-dhaya*) from which it is evident that it originally had a sculptural device of the *Dharmachakra* on its top. Several *Dharmachakra* pillars of this type have already been discovered at the ancient site of Amarāvati.¹ From a sculptured slab representing a *stūpa* we get some idea of the position which such posts used to occupy. There two very elaborately carved *Dharmachakra* columns are shown flanking an entrance to the *stūpa*.²

Unfortunately, a part of the present pillar is broken off at the top and is missing. As a result thereof a considerable portion of the inscription has been lost to us in the beginning which evidently contained the name of the ruler of the locality as well as the date of the record. Some details of the donor's description are also lost in the missing portion. Besides, a few letters in l. 4 have been obliterated and cannot be restored. The rest of the epigraph, though blurred at places, can be made out fairly.

The **alphabet** is Brāhmī of about the second century A.D., and resembles that found in many an early inscription from Amarāvati. The **language** is Prākṛit of the same type as is used in most of the Amarāvati records.

The **object** of the inscription is to record the erection of the *Dharmachakra-dhaya* at the eastern gate of the Mahāvihāra at **Dhañakaḍa**,³ the modern Dharanikōṭa. The Mahāvihāra is stated to have been in possession of the Buddhists of the **Pūrvasāilya** school, about whom we shall discuss more below.

The name of the donor or the individual who set up the pillar has apparently been omitted in the record. He is, however, stated to be son of Viraskanda (?) and described as an Agalokaka Atapora minister⁴. As to whose minister he was is not explicit. Nor is the reading of his father's name *Virakhada* free from doubt. The epithet preceding this name must have referred to the donor, as is obvious from its case-termination in the instrumental. Before this occurs the name Khadanāga (Skandanāga). This person is said to be a householder (*kōṭubika*, Skt. *kautumbika*), but his relation with the donor cannot be ascertained owing to the gap. The meanings of the terms *Agalokaka* and *Atapora* are not clear. As both of them are attributes of the donor, they probably refer to his original home and to his place of residence respectively unless they have been used in some technical sense.

Atapora, as already remarked, perhaps indicates the donor's place of residence. A similar instance is furnished by a short votive inscription from Sānchi, which calls the donor there *Adhaporika*.⁵ This term has been explained as 'inhabitant of Adhapura', while the Sanskrit equivalent for *Adhapura* has been suggested to be *Ardhapura*. The place has, however, not been identified.

¹ Cf. Burgess, *The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, Pl. XXXII, 2; Pl. XXXVIII, 1; Pl. XL, 3, 4; etc.

² *Ibid.*, Pl. I, the frontispiece. Compare also E. B. Havell's *A Study of Indo-Aryan Civilisation*, p. 61, Pl. XII, fig. A.

³ The same place is mentioned under its variant names such as *Dhamūakaḍa*, *Dhamūakaḍa* and *Dhamūakajaka* in other inscriptions of about the same period; see Lüders' *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, Nos. 1205, 1225 and 1271; above, Vol. XV, pp. 262-263, Nos. 4 and 5. See also N. L. Dey's *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, s.v. Dhanakataka, where it is stated to be a corruption of *Sudhanyakataka*. Hiuen Tsiang mentions T'o-na-kie-tse-kia (Dhanakataka) as the name of a country (*Si-yu-ki*, transl. by S. Beal, Vol. II, pp. 221 ff.). T. Watters (*On Yuan Chuang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 216) restores the name to Skt. *Dhānyakataka* on the evidence of the Tibetan rendering of it. In later inscriptions the name of the place is spelt as *Dhānyakataka* and *Dhānyakapura*; see above, Vol. XV, pp. 261-262. Prof. Vogel suggests that "the remains of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa can possibly represent the ancient capital of Dhañakataka (above, Vol. XX, p. 9).

⁴ See below p. 259, n. 10.

⁵ Lüders' *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, No. 600; above, Vol. II, p. 112, No. 13.

I would rather restore *Adhaporika* to *Ārdhahapurika* and explain it as 'inhabitant of Riddhapura'. This place seems to be identical with the modern Rithpur which is well known to the Indian archaeologist as the provenance of a copper-plate inscription of the Vākātaka queen Prabhāvatiguptā.¹ It is situated in 21° 14' N. and 77° 51' E. in the district of Amraoti, Berār, and is reputed to be an old city of importance.² It is not unlikely that *Atapora* of the present record is likewise to be understood as *Ārdhahapura*, meaning 'inhabitant of Riddhapura'.

A pillar inscription from Amarāvati³ reads *Chetikiyānām* (Skt. *Chaityakiyānām*) where our inscription has *Purvasel[ī]yāna* (Skt. *Pūrvasailiyānām*). In explaining the import of the former, Burgess has pointed out that 'the Stūpa belonged to the Chaitika school, otherwise called the school of the Pūrvasailas, a subdivision of the Mahāsāṅghikas'.⁴ Mention is made of these ascetics also in a fragmentary Prakrit inscription from Allūru in the Nandigāma taluk, Kistna District, the last line of which reads as follows: *ayirāna Purvaseliy[ā]na viḡāyasa*.⁵ In the Pāli chronicles of Ceylon the Pubbaseliya and the Aparaseliya are mentioned⁶ among the different sub-sects of the Mahāsāṅghika school. Dr. W. Geiger, in his translation of the *Mahāvamsa*, renders the two terms as 'the first Seliya... the other Seliyā', whereas the words *pubba* and *apara* of the original evidently refer to 'east' and 'west' rather than to 'first' and 'other'. In fact, Hiuen Tsiang, while describing the country of Dhanakataka, informs us that 'to the east of the capital bordering on a mountain is a convent called the Pūrvasilā' and 'to the west of the city leaning against a mountain is a convent called Avarasilā'.⁷ In this connection we may cite Prof. Vogel's following remark: "Perhaps it would be preferable to render the names of these two monasteries by Pūrvasaila and Avarasaila, the Sanskrit word for a mountain being *saila*, whereas *silā* means "stone".⁸ It becomes thus clear that the two sects Pūrvasailiya and Aparasailiya were so called after the two congregations of monks, one residing in a monastery on the Eastern Hill and the other dwelling in a convent on the Western Hill.⁹ Among the localities mentioned in the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscription referred to above, we come across 'the name Purvasela which is clearly a Prakrit form corresponding to Sanskrit Pūrvasaila' and possibly refers to the very mountain on which the Pūrvasailiya monastery was situated. As regards the location of the two mounts, Burgess and Fergusson identified the Amarāvati tope with the Pūrvasilā and the Aparasilā respectively, but their identification has been questioned.¹⁰ There can, however, be little doubt that the situation of the two hills is to be sought in that very neighbourhood.

As has been pointed out above, the record contained a **date** in the beginning; but its details are mostly lost in the damaged portion. From the preserved letters we gather that it was dated the first day evidently of the sixth fortnight. While the name of the season cannot be restored at all, an attempt has been made with the help of the surviving portions of the words in that connection to read the year conjecturally as *panatrisa*, i.e., thirty-five. This in all probability referred to the regnal year of the king whose name is again missing. In the *Dharmachakra* pillar ins-

¹ Bhandarkar's *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, No. 1706.

² See *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, under Rithpur.

³ *Arch. Surv. Southern India*, Vol. I, p. 100.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 101. See also p. 24 where the name of the school is given as *Chaityika* and *Chaityasaila*.

⁵ *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1923-24, p. 97 and *Pl. An. Rep. A.S.I.*, for 1923-24, p. 93.

⁶ *Mahāvamsa*, V, 12. In the *Dipavamsa* (V, 54) they are referred to as *Pubbāpuraselika*.

⁷ *Sī-yu-ti*, transl. by S. Beal, p. 221.

⁸ Above, Vol. XX, p. 9.

⁹ Compare *The Life of the Buddha* by Rockhill, p. 184. See also G. P. Malalasekera's *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*, s.v. *Aparaseliyā* and *Pubbaseliyā*, where it is stated that 'according to the Kathāvatthu commentary they belonged to the Andhaka school'.

¹⁰ T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, Vol. II, p. 218.



cription of Amarāvati referred to above, while the date portion is completely lost except the only word *savachhara*, the name of the ruler is fully preserved, and it is the king Vāsīṭhiputa (Vāsish-ṭhiputra) Pulumāvi. Judging from the proximity of the two localities Amarāvati and Dharanikōta, the resemblance between the scripts of the two records and the high regnal year, it seems very likely that the present record also referred itself to the reign of the very same Āndhra king Pulumāvi of the Śātavāhana dynasty. The latest known regnal year of this monarch is twenty-four.¹ If the reading *panatrise* proposed in the present record be correct, then we have to conclude that Pulumāvi's reign extended over at least thirty-four years.² The inscription contains the numerals 1 and 6 in l. 3 and l. 2 respectively.

TEXT.³

- 1 chhara⁴
 2 *pana*⁵ 6 *divasa*
 3 *prathame* 1 ⁶ka-koṭubikasa
 4 Khadanāgasa a⁷ r[ī]kena Agalokakena Virakha..sa⁸
 5 putena amachena⁹
 6 Ataporena¹⁰ Dhañakaḍasa Mahāvihāre puva-dāre pava-
 7 jītāna bhikhu-saghasa Puvase[ī]yāna nigāyasa
 8 parigahe dhamachaka-dhayo paḍiṭhapīto sava-loka-
 9 satva-hita-sukhāya¹¹

¹ See Rapson's *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, etc., p. XXXVII.

² *Ibid.*, p. LXVI, where Purāṇic lists of Andhra kings are given. It will be seen there that No. 15 Pulomāvi, according to the *Matsya-purāṇa*, ruled for 36 years and No. 24 Pulomā for 28 years.

³ From ink impressions.

⁴ Restore the word as *savachhara* (*savarasara*). The preceding portion, comprising about eighteen syllables, is lost. It might have contained the name of the king to whose reign the inscription was referred.

⁵ After *pana*, the lower part of the third syllable is visible, which is most probably a subscript *r*, judging from the formation of *pra* in the beginning of the next line. We may restore this word as *panatrise* (*pañchatriṅśat*). The following letters, which are now missing, obviously contained the name of the season and then probably such words as *pubbe chloṣṭhe*, as is suggested by the numeral 6 before the word *divasa* in the end of this line.

⁶ The syllable preceding *ka*, only a lower portion of which is now preserved, may have been *ri*. The word however, cannot be restored.

⁷ The right-hand portion of this letter is effaced. It has been read as initial *a*, but the curl at its lower end forms almost a circle, and as such it differs from that found in *a* of *Agaloka* l. 4 and *Ataporena* l. 6.

⁸ The reading of this name is doubtful. The letter *ra* shows on its top something like a hook opening to the left. If that is meant to be the sign for medial *i*, we have to read the syllable as *ri* and not as *ra*. Moreover, the impression shows some faint traces of a letter between *ka* and *sa*. The last syllable appears a little below the line, making it difficult to ascertain whether the intervening letter is conjoined with *sa* or whether it stands independently. The latter is most probably the case, as the word is required to be in the genitive. Thus *Virakhadasa* may have been the intended reading.

⁹ This partial line of writing was inserted later, as is clear from its position. Obviously, the two words contained herein were first left out by the engraver through oversight, who discovered the omission after having incised the whole record and then could do nothing but supply the omitted matter in the manner he has done. The letter *che* in *amachena* was imperfectly formed due to the insertion between the narrow space below the downward curl of *a* in l. 4. Hence it is read as *amachena* and not *amakhena*. If we adopt *amakhena* it would be a proper name.

¹⁰ The reading is probably *Ataporena*, *Atapora* being a personal name.

¹¹ There is an ornamental design carved here, which marks the conclusion of the record.

plates' the dowager queen describes herself as the mother of Dāmōdarasēna and Pravarasēna¹. It has been suggested that Divākarasēna, when he came of age, assumed the title of Pravarasēna.² In that case the regnal years of Pravarasēna II would have to be reckoned from his accession as boy-prince. The second grant edited here, which is dated in the eleventh regnal year and was made by **Pravarasēna** himself, clearly shows that he **is different from Divākarasēna** who had not begun to rule independently even in the thirteenth year since his accession. Pravarasēna evidently succeeded Divākarasēna, but how long the latter continued to reign after the issue of the Poona plates cannot be determined unless fresh records bearing on the point come to light.

As stated above, the second set of plates records the grant of two villages, one of which had already been given by the same king to the same donee by the first set. Why it was found necessary to include the village again in the second grant is not known. Cases of the issue of a fresh charter recording again a previously made gift are indeed not unknown, but in such cases the circumstances which necessitated the issue of a fresh charter such as a foreign invasion or the loss or damage of the earlier charter by fire, etc., are generally specified.³ No such reasons are given in the present case. In fact both the charters purport to have been granted by the same king and the interval between their dates could not have been more than ten years. This, therefore, raises the question if the second charter, or at least the second plate of it which records the grant of two villages, is a forgery. In favour of such a supposition may be adduced the circumstance that the writing on the second plate of Set B begins and ends with the same words as that on the second plate of Set A, so that the former plate could have been easily substituted for the latter. It may, however, be pointed out that there are no other circumstances suggesting such a forgery. As shown above, both the plates of Set B are smaller in size than those of Set A, so that not one but two plates must have been so substituted. But there was apparently no need to replace the third plate of the first grant. Again, the similar formation of letters and the occurrence of the same orthographical peculiarities and grammatical mistakes in both the records make it highly probable that both the grants were written by the same clerk in the Secretariat of the Vākāṭakas. The mention of Chitravarman as *Sēnāpati* in Set B is another point in favour of the genuineness of that set; for from the Chammak plates of Pravarasēna II we learn that Chitravarman held that office till the 18th year at least of Pravarsēna II's reign.⁴ The second set does not, therefore, appear to be spurious. The reason why it includes the name of a previously donated village seems to be that the Brāhmaṇa donee probably made a request to the king to give him a consolidated charter for the two grants.⁵

¹ *J. P. A. S. B.* (N. S.), Vol. XX, pp. 53 ff.

² According to the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, Pravarasēna was another name of Dāmōdarasēna. See his *History of India 150-350 A.D.*, p. 63.

³ *J. R. A. S.* (1914), pp. 327 ff. In fairness to Vincent Smith who makes this suggestion, it must be said that he thought it more likely that Divākarasēna died young and that Pravarasēna was his brother.

⁴ See e. g. the Barah copper-plate of Bhōjadēva, above, Vol. XIX, p. 18, and the Nidhanpur copper-plates of Bhūskaravarman *ibid.*, Vol. XII, p. 76.

⁵ *C. I. I.*, Vol. III, p. 240.

⁶ [As the difference in size between the two sets of plates is very little it does not seem impossible to me that three out of the four plates, viz., plates I and II of Set A and plate III of Set B, were meant to form a complete grant of Pravarasēna II. It may be that the grant of two villages in plate II of Set B was found to be wrong on examination and this plate was meant to be replaced by plate II of Set A which was subsequently engraved. This view gains some support from the ornamental work found after *atirīkṣitāh* in plate II, Set A, which was apparently engraved with a view to stopping any unauthorised addition in the blank space which could not be utilised by the engraver. But even if this surmise is correct, it is not understood why plate II of Set B was not removed before handing over the charter to the donee unless it is to be assumed that the document for some reason or other did not leave the Secretariat. And as it was not formally issued it was not considered necessary to remove the unwanted plate, or to attach a ring and the royal seal to the document.—Ed.]

As for the localities mentioned in the present grants, **Nandivardhana** from which the plates of the first set were issued, is probably identical with Nagardhan (also called Nandardhan) near Rāmṭék as has already been suggested by Hiralal.¹ The place is described as a holy *tīrtha* in the *Sindūragiri-māhātmya*² and retained its ancient name down to the time of the Bhonslas³; for it is mentioned in the Sanskrit play *Purañjanacharita* of Kṛṣṇadatta, which was staged at Nāgpur in the 18th Century.⁴ As already stated, both the grants edited here were made at the king's place of religious worship (*dharmasthāna*), and consequently at the royal capital; for this expression is not found in the Tirōḍi plates which, as shown elsewhere⁵, register a grant made at a holy *tīrtha* outside the capital. It may be noted in this connection that the earlier Poona plates of Prabhāvati Gupta also were issued from Nandivardhana. This place was, therefore, the earlier capital of the Vākātakas.⁶ Later on Pravarasēna II removed the seat of his government to Pravara-pura which he seems to have founded and named after himself. Several subsequent charters of Pravarasēna II granted at the capital were issued from Pravara-pura. The earliest of them is the Chammak grant dated in the 18th regnal year. Unfortunately the date of set A is missing. Otherwise it would have enabled us to fix the limits between which the Vākātaka capital was shifted from Nandivardhana to Pravara-pura. **Mahalla-Lāṭa** or **Mahallama-Lāṭa** which seems to mean the larger Lāṭa may be represented by Lāḍki or Ghāṭ Lāḍki in the Mōrsi *tāluka* of the Amraoti District, about 18 miles north by west of Bēlōrā.⁷ Mahalla-Lāṭa lay on the road to **Śailapura** which may be identical with Sālbarḍi situated in the midst of hills about 15 miles east of Lāḍki.⁸ **Asi**, the chief town of the *bhukti* (subdivision) in which Mahalla-Lāṭa was situated, may be identical with Asṭi which lies only 10 miles south-east of Bēlōrā. **Dīrghadraha** is probably Dighi on the left bank of the Wardhā about 30 miles south of Asṭi. The name of Pravarēśvara-śaḍviṃśati-vāṭaka which is mentioned in both the grants as the home of the donee seems to indicate that it was the chief village in a group of twenty-six villages. Perhaps it received this name from a shrine of Śiva called Pravarēśvara installed by Pravarasēna I and named after himself.⁹ This place as well as Pākkapa, the headquarters of the *vāṣṭra* (division) in which Dīrghadraha, one of the donated villages, was situated, cannot be traced now.

¹ See above, Vol. IX, p. 43.

² *Sindūragiri* is another name of the hill near Rāmṭék. It was probably the Rāmāgiri of Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta*. See above, Vol. XXIII, p. 84.

³ Nandivardhana is also mentioned in the Dēoli plates of Kṛṣṇa III. See above, Vol. V, p. 196.

⁴ Sardesai Commemoration Volume (Marāṭhī), p. 148.

⁵ Above, Vol. XXII, p. 170.

⁶ This suggestion was first made by me while editing the unfinished Vākātaka plate from Drug; see above, Vol. XXII, p. 209. It is corroborated by the present plates. The Rīthpur plates of Bhavattavarman who belonged to the Nala dynasty were also issued from Nandivardhana, which indicates his temporary occupation of some Vākātaka territory. See *loc. cit.* p. 210.

⁷ There is another and smaller village called Lāḍegaon on the left bank of Wardhā, about 20 miles south of Bēlōrā.

⁸ Sālbarḍi is an ancient place containing some old caves and hot springs.

⁹ Compare the name Vaṅkō-Tummāpa of the first capital of the Kalachuris in Chhattisgarh (*Ind. His. Quart.*, Vol. IV, p. 34). It was so called because of the shrine of Vaṅkōśvara which it contained.

TEXT.¹

SET A.

First Plate.

- 1 द्विष्टम्² [i*] सिद्धम् स्वस्ति [i*] ना(न)न्दिवर्हनादग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्यामोक्थ्यषोडश्याति-
राचवाजपेयवृहस्पतिसव-
- 2 साद्यस्क(स्क)चतुरश्र(श्र)मेधयाजिनः³ विष्णुवृह⁴सगोत्रस्य सम्नाट्वाकाटकानाम्महाराजत्रि-
(यो)प्रवर-
- 3 सेनस्य सूनी[:*] सूनीः अत्यन्तस्त्रामिमहाभैरवभक्तस्य अंसभारसन्निवेशितशिव-
लिङ्गो-
- 4 इह्ननशिवसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवर्शानाम्पराक्रममाधिगतभागीरथ्यमल्लजल-
- 5 मूर्धाभिषिक्तानान्दशाश्रमेधावष्टवस्त्रातानाश्वारशिवानाम्महाराजत्रि(यो)भवनागदौहित्रस्य
- 6 गौतमीपुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य ।⁵ वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य सूनीरत्यन्तमाहेश्वरस्य

Second Plate : First Side.

- 7 सत्यार्जवकारुण्यशौर्यविक्रमनयविनयमाहात्म्यश्रीमत्व⁶धौम[स्व*]पात्रगतभक्तित्व-
- 8 धर्मविजयित्वम[नो]नैर्मन्त्रादिगुणै[:*] समुपेतस्य वर्षशतमभिवर्द्धमानकोशद-
- 9 षडसाधनस[न्ता]नपुत्रपौतृ(त्रि)णः सुधिष्वि(ष्ठि)रवृत्ते[:] वाक(का)टकानाम्महाराजश्रीप्रिय-
वीसे-
- 10 नस्य⁷ सु(सू)नोर्मगवतश्चक्रपाणे⁸प्रसादोपा[र्जि]⁹तश्रीसमुदयस्य ।¹⁰ महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेन-
- 11 स्य सु(सू)नोर्महाराजाधिराजश्रीदेवगुप्तसुतायाम्प्रभावतिगुप्तायामुत्पन्नस्य शशो¹¹प्र-
- 12 सादृष्टिकात्तयुगस्य¹² वाकाटकानाम्परममाहेश्वरमहाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य

¹ From the original plates.² Read द्वष्टम्.³ Here and in many places below, the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.⁴ Read सगोत्रो.⁵ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.⁶ Read शौमन्. This word does not occur in other Vākāṭaka grants.⁷ Read श्रीप्रियवीपस्य.⁸ The subscript *j* is incompletely incised and looks like *j*.⁹ The mark of punctuation here is superfluous.¹⁰ Read धतकात्तयुगस्य.

i.

2
4
6

2
4
6

ii,a.

8
10
12

8
10
12

ii,b.

14
16
18

14
16
18

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 13 वचनात् [1] शैलपुरमार्ग¹ असिभुक्तिमहल्लाटग्रामेः(मः)² प्रवरेश्वरपद्मिनिवाट-
 14 कवस्तुव्याय³ ॥⁴ तै[त्ति]रियाय⁵ ।⁴ काश्यपसगोत्रशूर्यस्वामिने⁶ दत्तः [1*] यतोस्मत्त-
 (न्त)काः सर्वा[ञ्ज]-
 15 चनिया(यो)गनियुक्ताः आज्ञासचारि⁷कुलपुत्राधिकृता भटा⁸च्छात्राश्च विश्रुतपूर्व्याञ्जय-
 (या)-
 16 ज्ञापयितव्याः [1*] विदितमस्तु वः यथेहास्माभिरात्मनो धर्मायुञ्ज्वल⁹ विजयैश्वर्य-
 17 व(वि)ष्टदये ।⁹ इहामुत्र हितार्थमात्मानुग्रहाय ॥⁹ वैजयिके धर्मस्थाने अपूर्वदत्त्वा-
 (त्या)
 18 उदकपूर्वमतिष्टः [1*]¹⁰

SET B.

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 7¹¹ सत्यार्ज्वकारुण्यशौर्यविक्रमनयविनयमाहात्म(त्स्य)धौमत्व(त्त्व)पात्रगतभक्तित्वधर्म-
 8 विजयित्वमनोनैम(र्म)त्वादिगुणै[ः*] समुपेतस्य वर्षशतर्माभवईमानकोशदण्डसा-
 9 धनसन्तानपुत्रपौत्र(त्रि)णः युधिष्ठिरहस्तेर्वाकाटकानाम्भाराराजश्रीप्रियिविसेनस्य¹²
 10 सूनोभ(र्भ)गवतः¹³ चक्रपाणे¹⁴ प्रसादोपार्जितश्रीसमुदयस्य म्भाराराज¹⁴श्रीरुद्र-
 11 सेनस्य सूनोर्भाराराजाधिराजश्रीदेवगुप्तसुताया¹⁵ प्रभावतिगुप्तायामुत्पन्नस्य
 12 शम्भो¹⁶ प्रसाव(द)धृतिकर्त्तसुतस्य¹⁷ वाकाटकानाम्परममाहेश्वरमहे(हा)राजश्रीप्रवरसे-

¹ Read शैलपुर as in L. 13 of Set B, below.

² In Set B the name of this village occurs in the form महल्लाटग्रामः.

³ Perhaps प्रवरेश्वरपद्मिनिवाटकवस्तुव्याय is the correct reading.

⁴ The mark of punctuation here is superfluous.

⁵ The subscribed t of *ti* is not completely incised. Read तैत्तिरोयाय.

⁶ Read सूर्यस्वामिने.

⁷ Read आज्ञासचारि-

⁸ Read श्वल-

⁹ The mark of punctuation is superfluous here.

¹⁰ An ornamental figure is incised here.

¹¹ As the first plate, like the others of this Set, must have contained six lines, I have numbered the first line on this side as 7.

¹² Read श्रीप्रियिविसेनस्य.

¹³ This *visarya* is superfluous.

¹⁴ Read म्भाराराज-

¹⁵ Read सुतायाम्प्रभावति-

¹⁶ Read धृतिकर्त्तसुतस्य-

¹⁷ The mark of punctuation here is superfluous.

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 13 त(न)स्व वचना[त्*] । पाकणराष्ट्रे दौर्घद्रहंनम¹ ग्राम[ः*] । शैलपुरमार्गे अस्मि-
भुक्ति-
- 14 महत्तमलाटग्रामश्च एवं ग्रामद्वयं ^१ प्रवरश्चरपदिपतिवाटकवस्तव्य^२ ॥^३
- 15 तैत्तिरिय^४काश्यपसगोत्र[सु^५]ख्यस्वामिन दत्त[म्*] । यतोऽस्मत्सन्तकाः सर्व्वञ्च^६नियोग-
- 16 नियुक्ताः आज्ञासञ्चारिकुलपुत्राधिकृताः भटान्कावाच विष्(शु)तपूर्व्वयाज्ञाज्ञा^७
- 17 पयितव्या विदितमस्तु वः [।*] यथै(घे)हाम्नाभिरात्मनो धर्म्यायुर्व्वलविजय(यै)स्वर्थ्य-
विहृहये ।^८ इहा-
- 18 मुत्र हितार्थमात्मानुग्रह(हा)य वैजैके^९ धर्मस्थाने अपूर्व्वदत्त्वा^{१०} उदकपूर्व्वमति[सृष्टः]^{१०} [।*]

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 19 उचिताद्यास्व^{११} पूर्व्वराजानुमतां चातुर्व्वैद्यग्राममर्थ्यादान्वितराम^{१२}स्तद्यथा अकरदायि
- 20 अभटच्छ(च्छा)त्रप्राविश्या[म्*] अपारम्यरगोवलवहः^{१३} अपृष्यच्चिर^{१४}सन्दोह[म्*] अचारासनच-
- 21 म्माङ्गार[म्*] अनवणक्लिन्नक्लेनिखनकः^{१५} सर्व्ववेष्टिपरिहारपरिहृतः^{१६} सनिधिः^{१७} सोप-

¹ Read दौर्घद्रहं नाम.

² Read प्रवरश्चरपदिपतिवाटकवस्तव्य-

³ Read तैत्तिरीय-

⁴ The engraver at first incised शु and then altered it into सु. Read सुख्यस्वामिने.

⁵ Read सर्वाध्यक्ष-

⁶ Read पूर्व्वयाज्ञयाज्ञा-

⁷ The mark of punctuation is superfluous here.

⁸ Read वैजैकि-

⁹ Read अपूर्व्वदत्त्वा.

¹⁰ This should be 'मतिसृष्टम्' so as to agree with ग्रामद्वयं in l. 14 above.

¹¹ Read उचितां चास्यः

¹² Read मर्थ्यादां वितराम-

¹³ Read अपारम्यरगोवलीवहंम्. In this and some expressions below the writer has blindly copied the masculine form from the usual draft, referring to the donation of one village (ग्रामः). Here the neuter form is required so as to agree with ग्रामद्वयम्.

¹⁴ Read अपृष्यच्चिर-

¹⁵ Read क्लेनिखनकम्.

¹⁶ Read सर्व्ववेष्टिपरिहारपरिहृतम्.

¹⁷ Read सनिधिः.

TWO INCOMPLETE GRANTS OF PRAVARASENA II—(SET B).

ii.a.



ii.b.



iii.a.



iii.b.



- 22 निधिः¹ सक्रितोपक्रिपं² अचन्द्रादित्यकालीयः³ पुत्रपौत्रानुगामिकः⁴ भुञ्जता(तो)
 23 न केनचिद्वाघात[>क]⁵र्त्तव्यः सर्वक्रियामि⁶स्म(स्मं)रञ्जितव्य[>पर(रि)वर्द्धयितव्यश्च । यश्च-
 (श्चा)स्मच्छा-
 24 सनमगणयमानः स्वल्पामपि परिवाधान्कुर्यात्कारयिर वा⁷ अस्य ब्राह्मणैर्व्वेदितस्य

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 25 सदष्टनिघड(हं) कुर्याम ॥ अस्मि(स्मिं)श्च धर्मादरकरणे अतीतानेकराजदत्तासंचिन्त्य-
 न⁸परिपा-
 26 लन(नं) कृतपुन्या(स्था)नुकीर्त्तनपरिहाराख्य(स्य) न कीर्त्तयामः [।*] व्यासगीतौ
 चात्र श्लोकौ प्रमाणी-
 27 कर्त्तव्यौ । स्वदत्ताम्परदत्ताब्वा⁹ हरेद्वा¹⁰ वै वसुन्धरा[म् ।*] गवा(वां) शतसहस्रस्य ।¹¹
 इन्तुह-
 28 रति दुष्कृत[म्*]¹² । [।१॥*] षष्टि¹³ वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गं मोदति भूमिदः[*] । आच्छेत्ता
 चा-
 29 नुमन्ता च तान्मेव नरके वसेत् [।२॥*] सवत्सरं एकादशमे¹⁴ १० १ कार्त्तिक-
 शुक्लपक्ष-
 30 त्रयोदश्या¹⁵ १० ३¹⁶ सेन(ना)पतौ चित्रवर्मा(र्मा)णि ना¹⁷ लिखित[म्*]¹⁸

¹ Read सोपनिधि.

² Read सक्रितोपक्रुमम्.

³ Read आचन्द्रादित्यकालीयम्.

⁴ Read मामिकम्.

⁵ The subscript *ks* is not completely incised, so that the whole *akshara* appears like *sm*.

⁶ Read सर्वक्रियामि.

⁷ Read परिवाधां कुर्यात्कारयेत्वा.

⁸ Read राजदत्तासंचिन्त्य.

⁹ Read *म्परदत्ता वा.

¹⁰ Read *हरेद्वी.

¹¹ The mark of punctuation here is superfluous.

¹² Metre of this and the next verse: *Anushubh*.

¹³ Read षष्टि.

¹⁴ Read सवत्सरं एकादशमे.

¹⁵ Read त्रयोदश्या.

¹⁶ The symbol for 3 is unusual, but there is no doubt about its value, as the *tīthi* is mentioned in words.

¹⁷ Perhaps *महिना* was intended, but the writer in copying the draft omitted the *aksharas* मणि by haplo-

graphy.

¹⁸ There is an ornamental mark after this followed by two *dashas* and a horizontal stroke.

No. 38.—MASULIPATAM PLATES OF AMMARAJA II.

BY B. V. KRISHNA RAO, M.A., B.L., RAJAHMUNDRY.

This interesting record of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty was first noticed by the late Robert Sewell when it was found lying in the record room of the District Court of Kistna at Masulipatam.¹ It is not known where the plates were originally discovered and how and when they reached the District Court of Kistna. Dr. J. F. Fleet, who examined these plates at the instance of Robert Sewell, described them as follows:

"A set of five copper-plates, each about 11½" long by 5½" broad with a seal which bears the usual Chālukyan Boar, the motto *Śrī-Tribhuvanāmkusa*, the moon, the sun, a closed umbrella or an elephant-goad and a floral device The whole inscription is very much corroded and very difficult to read."²

These plates came to be included in the collection of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, in 1908, and marked as C. P. No. 8 of 1908-09.³ The late Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri described the plates thus: They consist "of five copper-plates (with raised rims) of which the two exposed sides are blank. They are strung on a massive ring whose ends are soldered into the bottom of a circular seal which bears in high relief on a countersunk surface the legend *Śrī-Tribhuvan[āmku]śa*, the standing boar, the elephant-goad, two fly-whisks, the sun and the moon and the lotus flower. The writing on the plates is much worn out and where it is clear the rust has so firmly settled down in the depths of the letters that even the process of allowing the plate to boil in a thick solution of tamarind and salt has not effectively removed it". I now edit this inscription from the ink impressions and photographs supplied to me by Dr. N. P. Chakravarti. The inscription on these plates is written in the **Telugu** characters of the tenth century. The letters are beautifully engraved; and the plates used for the purpose of the grant are perhaps the largest ever used for the charters of Ammarāja II. The writing on the plates is for a greater part not well preserved: particularly on plates ii-b, iii-b, iv-a and iv-b. Some of the characters employed call for a few remarks. Special signs are used for the final *a* (in *māsān*, ll. 9, 15 and 17), but no special sign is employed for the final *t*, which is, however, denoted by the ordinary sign for *ta* with the sign of *visāma* above it. Initial vowels *a* and *ā* (ll. 56 and 57), *i* (ll. 32-34 and 42), *ī* (l. 60) and *ī* (l. 17) also appear in the record and they represent the forms of the transitional period. **Orthographical** mistakes are few and in one or two cases they appear to be due to the scribe. Thus we find in *śiśyō* (l. 52) the palatal sibilant used for lingual, and in *śadriśau* (l. 47) the palatal sibilant used for the dental. Signs for both the *jihvāmūliya* and the *upadhāniya* are found in the present record, the former in l. 11 and the latter in l. 38.

The inscription is written in **Sanskrit**, partly in prose and partly in verse; and there are altogether twenty-one stanzas including the usual imprecatory verses in lines 65-68 at the end. The inscription also contains some archaic Telugu words, e.g., *dāba* (l. 57), *paḍura* (ll. 58 and 60), *prānta-pārti* (l. 58) and *yisupakāṭṭa* (l. 57), the exact meanings of which are not quite clear. These words occur in the description of the boundaries of the village granted.

The inscription consists apparently of two parts; and though it records a charity to the Jaina religion, it opens with an invocation to the god Vishṇu, the wielder of the fierce *śārṅga* bow which

¹ *List of Inscriptions and Sketches of the Dynasties of South India*, Vol. II, p. 13; No. 84.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Annual Report on Epigraphy, Madras, 1909*, pp. 10 and 108.

protects the three worlds, unlike the Maliyapūṇḍi grant which opens with an invocation to the Jaina religion, being a charity made for the Jaina faith.¹ Lines 2-22 contain the usual *prāsasti* and genealogy of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty, beginning with **Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana**, the younger brother of Satyāśraya Vallabhēndra down to **Vijayāditya-Ammarāja II**, the donor of the grant. The genealogical portion does not give us any more historical particulars about the kings that preceded Amma II, than we know from the other records of the family. As usual Jayasinhavallabha I is given a period of 33 years, which Dr. Fleet, however, considered to be incompatible with his adjustment of the reigns of the other kings of the dynasty.² I do not think that Dr. Fleet was justified in reducing the period of Jayasinhavallabha I from 33 to 30 years; and his reasons for so doing are not convincing. There is only a single record which gives the king a reign of 30 years while the entire range of the family charters, which number about fifty, are unanimous in giving him a period of 33 years. Dr. Fleet's calculations and computations are made, as I have shown elsewhere³, upon certain misconceptions. The only record that gives 30 years' reign to the king is the Paḍaṅkalūru grant of Ammarāja II⁴ which was composed by Mādhavabhaṭṭa. The scribe who engraved the charter on the plates must have committed an obvious error in omitting the word *trayas* before *trimsatam*, for the edict on the Guṇḍugolanu plates of the same king, which was also the composition of the self-same poet Mādhavabhaṭṭa, gives Jayasinhavallabha a reign of 33 years, which is in conformity with the statements of other records.⁵ Similarly, Narēndrapigārāja-Vijayāditya II is stated to have reigned for 40 years in the present inscription; and this length seems to be the correct period as shown by me in my *Revised Chronology of the Eastern Chālukya Kings*⁶, as against the period of 44 years which was allotted to him in Dr. Fleet's computation.⁷ It is, however, needless to repeat here my reasons for accepting the period of 40 years, which I have stated at length in my *Revised Chronology*; but I consider it necessary to give a summary of the chronology of the kings as fixed by me—from Kubja Vishṇuvardhana to Chālukya Bhīma I, for whose coronation we have a recorded date—alongside with Dr. Fleet's scheme of the Eastern Chalukyan chronology for easy reference.

Order and Names of Kings.	REVISED CHRONOLOGY.	DR. FLEET'S SCHEME.
	Length of reigns (years) and their equivalents in years A.D.	Length of reigns (years) and their equivalents in years A.D.
1. Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana	18 : 624—641	18 : 615—633
2. Jayasinhavallabha I	33 : 641—673	30 : 633—663
3. Indrabhaṭṭāraka	7 days : 673	7 days : 663
4. Vishṇuvardhana II	9 : 673—682	9 : 663—672
5. Maṅgi-Yuvarāja	25 : 682—706	25 : 672—696
6. Jayasinha II	13 : 706—718	13 : 696—709
7. Kokkili	6 months : 718 —719	6 months : 709

¹ Above, Vol. IX, pp. 50 ff.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX, pp. 10 and 12.

³ "The Revised Chronology of the Eastern Chālukya Kings" in *J. A. H. R. S.*, Vol. IX, Part 4, pp. 17 and 27 and chart on p. 30A.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. VII, pp. 15 ff.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. XIII, p. 248, text, line 7.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. XX, pp. 12-13.

Order and Names of Kings.	REVISED CHRONOLOGY.	DR. FLEET'S SCHEME.
	Length of reigns (years) and their equivalents in years A.D.	Length of reigns (years) and their equivalents in years A.D.
8. Vishnuvardhana III	37 : 719—755	37 : 709—740
9. Vijayāditya I or Vijayāditya-Bhāttāraka	18 : 755—772	18 : 746—764
10. Vishnuvardhana IV	36 : 772—808	36 : 764—799
11. Vijayāditya II (Narēndramṛṅgarāja)	40 : 808—847	44 : 799—843
12. Kali-Vishnuvardhana	1½ : 847—849	1½ : 843—844
13. Guṇaka-Vijayāditya III	44 : 849—892	44 : 844—888
14. Chālukya-Bhīma I	30 : 892—921	30 : 888—918

Apart from what has been stated already, the above table shows also that Chālukya-Bhīma I's accession could not have taken place in A.D. 888 as stated by Dr. Fleet, for we have a record of the king that gives the date of his coronation as Ś. 814 (expired), (Mēsha) *Chaitra ba. dvitīyā, Śaśi-dīna*, when the moon was in the *nakshatra* Maitra (Anurādhā), which has been equated to Monday, 17th April, 892 A.D.¹ Thus the whole scheme of Dr. Fleet's arrangement falls to the ground.²

Vijayāditya (IV) is given the title *Kaliyattigaṇḍa*, "the hero who raised the sins of the Kali Age". Dr. Fleet who examined these plates read the term as *Kaliyarttigāṇḍa*. The epithets *Kaliyattigaṇḍa* and *Kaliyarttiyaṅka*, which occurs in the Iḍēru plates of Amma I,³ have the same meaning, for *aṅka* and *aṅkakāra* are the Telugu-Kannaḍa synonyms of the Sanskrit word *gaṇḍa*, which means 'a hero,' 'a champion' or 'a warrior'. The clue for the correct interpretation of these terms is found in the phrase *aṅkakāras-sākshāt*, which occurs in a passage describing Guṇaka or Guṇaka-Vijayāditya III in the Kaluchumbarru grant of Amma II.⁴

Of the several enemies whom Chālukya Bhīma (II) is said to have conquered or killed before he became king according to the other records of the family, only four, namely, Mallapa, his son, Rājamārtāṇḍa and the Rāshtrakūṭas are mentioned in the present charter. The inscription states that king Bhīma, the son of Mōlāmbā and Kaliyattigaṇḍa-Vijayāditya, who was endowed with truthfulness, liberality, pride and majesty and all other virtues, conquered in battle Rājamārtāṇḍa, defeated the fierce Mallapa and his son, and then, having dispelled the darkness (*that overwhelmed the realm*), i.e., the Rāshtrakūṭas, reigned in glory for twelve years. Till now Rājamārtāṇḍa has not been satisfactorily identified. Dr. Hultzsch has suggested that Rājamārtāṇḍa might be the same as Rājamayya⁵, and the identification may be for the present

¹ C.P. No. 14 of 1917-18; *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1918, App. E, p. 126; also see *Journal of the Telugu Academy*, Vol. VI, p. 246.

² [But it is not impossible that, though he was actually crowned in A.D. 892, his regnal year was counted from the date of his accession which might have taken place some years earlier. This custom was widely prevalent in South India.—N.L.R.]

³ *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 36, pp. 36-43, text, line 49.

⁴ Above, Vol. IX, p. 49.

⁵ Above, Vol. VII, p. 180.

accepted as correct. Rājamārtanḍa would appear to be one of the foremost opponents of Chālukya-Bhīma II, for he is mentioned in the latter's own Kōlavennu plates¹. Rājamārtanḍa might be a younger brother of Yuddhamalla II or more probably a son of Vikramāditya II, the younger brother of Kollabhigaṇḍa or Kaliyattayaṅka-Vijayāditya IV, who reigned for eleven months after destroying Tāja. If so Rājamārtanḍa would be a *dāyāda* of Chālukya-Bhīma II, being his cousin in the same degree. Mallapa and his powerful son may be identified with Yuddhamalla II and his eldest son *Adhirāja* Bādapa of the Ārumbāka plates.

Vijayāditya-Ammarāja II is said to have conquered several of his own kinsmen (*dāyādas*) before he became the lord of the country or soon after he had ascended the throne. Verse 6 describes the important event thus: "Having been crowned (as the lord of) the kingdom of Vēngī, having conquered his enemy, the rising and powerful Vijayāditya, who had vanquished on numerous battle fields his own adversaries and whose neck was adorned with the fillet (*kaṇṭhikā-dāma*) (of the dignity of *yuvārāja*),² having defeated the group of his treacherous kinsmen, by the prowess of his arm (or his rays) and having pleased the goddess Lakshmi (or the lotus) by dispelling the darkness *viz.* his opponents, the sun of the Kshatriya race shines in all splendour". That *Kaṇṭhikā-Bēta* or *Kaṇṭhikā-Vijayāditya*, the son of Ammarāja I, was one of the opponents of king Amma II is not known from any of the records hitherto published. It now appears that *Bēta* or *Kaṇṭhikā-Vijayāditya* returned to the country, appeared once more as a claimant to the throne on the death of his father's step-brother, Chālukya-Bhīma II, and opposed the accession of the boy king Amma II. Among the other rival claimants whom Amma II had conquered might be the children of Yuddhamalla II, who was driven away into exile by Chālukya-Bhīma II. The rest of the passage which describes Ammarāja II (ll. 30-35) is merely in panegyric style and does not contain anything historical. The present record is **not dated**; it does not also mention the occasion on which it was issued.

The second part of the inscription (ll. 39-51) opens with a description of a family of feudatory chieftains, who professed the Jaina religion and who flourished during the reigns of Chālukya-Bhīma II and his son Ammarāja II. There was born in the great family known as *Triṇayana-kula*, a nobleman called **Naravāhana** (I), an officer of the Chālukya kings. He belonged to the *gōtra* called *Gr̥hya*; he enjoyed the privilege and honour of sitting on *siṃhāsana* or a 'lion seat' like a crowned prince. Prince Naravāhana, like the preceptor of the gods, was a master of the science of Polity. He outshone the glory of Naravāhana, the Regent of the Northern quarter (*Kubēra*). His eldest son was **Mēlaparāja**, who was an embodiment of virtues like liberality, pride and praiseworthy conduct. He, therefore, bore the epithet *Mānavadēva*, 'god amongst men'. He was a worshipper of the lotus feet of the Blessed Lord Jina. His wife was **Mēṇḍāmbā**, who was a *pativrata* (devoted wife) like the epic princess Sitā. She was a fervent follower of the teachings of Lord Jina (*Jainavrata*). To them, **Mēlaparāja** and **Mēṇḍāmbā**, were born two sons, **Bhīma** or **Rāja-Bhīma** and **Naravāhana** (II). The former would appear to have been named after Chālukya-Bhīma II³ and the latter after his own grand-father. Both these princes were intelligent and renowned. They were masters of all *śāstras* and skilled in the use of various weapons. They resembled Rāma and Lakshmaṇa (in personal charm), Bhīma

¹ *S. I. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 43ff., text, line 18; see also above, Vol. IX, p. 49.

² Compare this passage with *Vijayādityaṃ kṛta-kaṇṭhikā-pattabandh-ābhishēkaṃ* which occurs both in the Masulipatam plates of Chālukya-Bhīma II (above, Vol. V, p. 136) text-lines 15-16 and note 2 on p. 138 and in the Pāganavaram grant of Chālukya-Bhīma II (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 213f, text-line 26).

³ Above, Vol. VII, pp. 177ff., text, line 41.

and Arjuna (in might and prowess), Baladēva and Vāsudēva (in strength and wisdom), and equalled Nakula and Sahadēva (in valour and bravery) respectively. They were devoted to the *Jaina-dharma*. They obtained through the favour of Chālukya-Bhīma, i.e., Chālukya-Bhīma II, the insignia of feudal chieftainship (*sāmānta*), namely, the *śrīvāra*, *chhatra* (parasol), *chāmara* (fly-whisk), peacock's tail, water-jars, horses, and musical instruments like *kāhala* and others.¹

The inscription then refers (ll. 51-54) to a Jaina pontiff (*āchārya*), the preceptor of the two noblemen Bhīma and Nāravāhana II. He was the renowned **Jayasēna**, who bore the surname **Nāthasēna** and was the disciple of the illustrious **Chandrasēna**. Jayasēna was a master of all the *sūtras*. He was well versed in the *Siddhānta*, i.e., *Jaina-siddhānta*, 'the doctrines of the Jainas'. He was a man of excellent and praiseworthy conduct. He attained proficiency in *para-samaya*, that is to say, his soul became absorbed in the non-self for the liberation of mankind from bondage. He was honoured by *śrīvakas*, *kshapayakas*, *kshullakas* and the *ajjakas*. For the benefit of the celebrated Jaina pontiff, who was their religious preceptor, Bhīma and Nāravāhana II, constructed two Jaina temples (*Jina-bhavana*) at Vijayavātikā; and for that purpose king Ammarāja granted the village of **Pedda-Gāḷiḍiparru** having converted it into a *devabhōja* and exempted it from all kinds of burdens and taxation.

Some of the names and terms that occur in the inscription are interesting. The family of the two chiefs is called the 'great *Trinayana-kula*', and their *gōtra*-name appears as *Grēva*. Both these terms have not been met with before either in the inscriptions of the Eastern Chālukya dynasty or in the literature of the Āndhra country. The *Trinayana-kula* seems to belong to the fourth or Śūdra caste, like the *Paṅṭa-kula* of the Redḍis of Āndhradēśa, whose birth-place is said to be the Gaṅgā which sprang from the feet of Lord Viṣṇu. The *Grēva-gōtra*, too, is not a Brahmanical *gōtra*, and this fact supports the above conjecture.² Several orders of the Jaina ascetics and lay worshippers are mentioned in the record. The Śrāvakas, for instance are Jaina laymen; the *Kshapayakas* are Jaina *yatis* (ascetics) who received proper initiation according to the school of the Digambaras. A Jaina *kshullaka* is one who is a Śrāvaka of a high order belonging to the tenth degree, the eleventh degree being that of Ailaka. These seem to correspond to the *dāsas* of the *Bhūjavata-sampradāya*. The next higher order of spiritual stage is that of *muni* or *āchārya*. The term *ajjakā* may be a Prākṛit form of Sanskrit Āryakā, "a female ascetic", who, according to Jaina doctrines, wears only a white sari.³ The expression *para-samaya* which occurs in the passage *para-samaya-pāṭuḥ sannat-ōtkriṣṭa-vṛittāḥ* (l. 53) is apparently used in a highly technical sense here as it rightly belongs to the Jaina philosophical terminology. The *Samayasāra* of Kundakunda Āchārya, which is a discourse that gives a knowledge of the Highest Soul, explains the terms *para-samaya* and *sva-samaya* as follows:

जीवधारितदशमज्ञानस्थितं हि स्वसमयं जानीहि ।

पुत्रलक्ष्मीपदेशस्थितं च तं जानीहि परसमयं ॥

"Know that *sva-samaya* is the soul which is concentrated in right conduct, belief and knowledge and which is self-absorbed. And *para-samaya* is the soul which stands in the condition determined by the operation of the *Karmic* matter or bondage and which is absorbed in the Non-self."

¹ Compare this passage (lines 49-50) with the passage in the Raṣastipūṅḍi grant of Vimalāditya: above, Vol. VI, pp. 357, text, line 83: "जीवधारिद्विद्व(क)करकातपवारवादिभसां विज्ञेयमहिमा" etc.

² [No evidence is available to indicate that Bhīma and Nāravāhana were Śūdras. The statement that they belonged to the *Trinayana-kula* may only show that they were Śaivās. The Nolamba-Pallavas are described as born of the *Īvara-cakṣiṣa* (*Īvara-cakṣiṣa*), and the later Pallava chiefs of the Telugu country have the epithet *Parama-samā-śābhara*. It is also not certain that *Grēva* is not a Brahmanical *gōtra*. *Griva* is known to be the name of a *gōtravāhi*.—N. L. R.]

³ I am indebted to Pandit Ajit Prasad, M.A., LL.B. of Lucknow, for the meaning of these terms. [The term is more likely *ajjaka* Skt. *āryaka*.—Ed.]

The edict states that king Ammarāja II issued the command after having assembled, in the usual manner, the *Rāshtrakūṭas* and *kuṭumbins* of the district of **Velanāṇḍu** and in the immediate presence of several high officials of his government. They are the entire circle of his vassal kings (*samasta-sāmanta*), the *antaḥpura-mahāmātra*, the *purōhita*, the *amātya*; the *brāhmin*, the *sēnāpati*, the *śrīkaraṇa*, the *Dharmādhyaksha* and the twelve *sthān-ādhipatis*. In spite of his own faith, like a true Hindu sovereign, king Amma II was tolerant of the other faiths of his kingdom, and particularly of Jainism.

The **object** of the grant was the gift of the village of Pedda-Gāḷiḍiparṅgu, situated apparently in the Velanāṇḍu-*vishaya*. It is well known in the Āndhra country that Velanāṇḍu was the ancient name of the region that is bounded by the sea on the south-east and south, and the Kṛishṇā river on the north-east and north and which is now covered by the modern tālūks of Rēpalli and Tenāli in the Guṇṭūr District. Pedda-Gāḷiḍiparṅgu had changed its name during the past nine or ten centuries and is called to-day Peda-Gādelavarṅgu. It is situated in the Tenāli tālūk, about three miles to the east of the Tsuṇḍūru railway station. The boundaries of the villages are according to the edict (ll. 57-61) as follows:—On the east: a *dūba* (probably a mound) in the centre of the tank called Yisupakaṭṭala-cheruvu, on the boundary of the village Maṇḍayūru. On the south-east: (probably) a cluster *Būruvu-paḍuva* of silk cotton trees (*Eriodendron anfractuosum*) at the meeting place (*muyyalkuṭṭu*) of the boundaries of the villages, Ālaparṭi and Chūṇṭūru. On the south: an irrigation tank called Kuṇḍaviḍḍi-guṇṭha situated to the north of the ancient village site (*prānta-parṭi*) of Chūṇṭūru. On the south-west: the temple (*guḍi*) of Pōṭyavva or Pōṭi-avva, the *amma* (village goddess) of Chūṇṭūru. On the west:
On the north-west: a tank called Gāralaguṇṭha on the boundary of the village of Valivēru.
On the north: a marshy swamp (*paḍuva*) (?) belonging to the village of Tapparāla
On the north-east: an irrigation tank called Naḍupani-guṇṭha, at the meeting place of the boundaries (*muyyalkuṭṭu*) of the villages, Kōḍa-Gāḷiḍiparṅgu, and Valivēru. All the above-mentioned localities, viz., Maṇḍayūru, Ālaparṭi, Chūṇṭūru, Valivēru, and Kōḍa-Gāḷiḍiparṅgu may be easily identified to-day. Ālaparṭi is known to-day as Ālapāḍu, and Chūṇṭūru is changed into Chuṇḍūru. Tapparāla had apparently gone out of existence and a new village called Parimi had sprung into existence in that neighbourhood. While all the other village names had not materially changed, the names of **Pedda-Gāḷiḍiparṅgu** and **Kōḍa-Gāḷiḍiparṅgu** alone had altered. And that may be explained by the fact that the hard consonant *ḷa* had merely given place to soft consonant *ḍa* in the pronunciation during the last nine or ten centuries. Kōḍa-Gāḷiḍiparṅgu is known to-day both as Kōḍe-Gādelavarṅgu and China-Gādelavarṅgu, the words *Kōḍe* and *Chinna* being synonymous. All the villages mentioned above are situated round about Peda-Gādelavarṅgu.

Among the other localities mentioned in the record, **Vijayavāṭikā** is clearly identical with the modern town of Bezwāda on the Kṛishṇā river. The site or sites on which the two *Jina-bhavanas* or Jaina temples once stood cannot be identified; perhaps an extensive exploration of the ancient sites of the locality may help us to discover the spot.

The executor of the charity was the officer known as **Kaṭakarāja**. From the Maliyapūṇḍi grant, we know that the office of *Kaṭakarāja* was held during the reign of Amma II by the General Duggarāja, a descendant of the celebrated Paṇḍaraṅga, the generalissimo of Guṇaga-Vijayāditya III. The engraver of the record was **Jayantāchārya**.

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 व्याकृष्टरत्नकचितायतशांर्गचापो यस्मेन्द्रकार्मुकविनीलपयोदह(ह)न्दम् । ²निर्भर्च्छयन्निव
विभा-
- 2 ति सकृत्कान्ति³विष्णुशिवन्द्यतु वोवष्टतत्रिलोकः ॥[१*] स्वस्ति श्रीमतां सकल-
भुवनसंस्तूयमानमा-
- 3 नव्यसगोत्राणां हारौतिपुत्राणां कौशिकीवरप्रसादलब्धराज्यानाम्मादृगणपरिपालितानां
स्वामि-
- 4 महासेनपादानुध्यातानां भगवन्नारायणप्रसादसमासादितवरवराहलां⁴च्छनेत्त-
- 5 ण[च]णवशीकृतारातिमखलानामम्बमेधावष्टयस्नानपविषीकृतवपुषां चालुक्यानां कु-
- 6 लमलंकरिणोस्तत्वाश्रयवक्त्रभेन्द्रस्य भ्राता कुञ्जविष्णुवर्द्धननृपतिरष्टादशवर्षाणि
- 7 वेंगीदेशमपालयत् । तदात्मजो जयसिंहस्त्रयस्त्रिंशत्तम् । तदनुजेन्द्रराजनन्दनो विष्णु-
वर्द्धनो न-
- 8 व । तत्सुनुर्भोगियुवराजः पंचविंशत्तम् । तत्पुत्रो जयसिंहस्त्रयोदश । तदवर-
- 9 जः कोकिलिष्यमामान् । तस्य ज्येष्ठो भ्राता विष्णुवर्द्धनस्तमुच्चाद्य सप्तत्रिंशत्तम् ।
तत्पुत्रो वि-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 10 जयादित्यभट्टारकोष्टादश । तत्सुतो विष्णुवर्द्धनषष्टिंशत्तम् । ⁵नरेन्द्रसगराजा[ख्यो] सृ-
11 गराज[पराक्रमः । विजयादित्य[भूपालः] चत्वारिं[शत्समा] ७ — ॥[२*] त-
त्पुत्र[कलिविष्णुवर्द्ध-
12 नो[ध्वर्द्धवर्षम् । तत्सु]तो गुणगविजयादित्यत्रतुवात्वारिंशत्तम् । ⁶तद्भ्रातुर्व्योम्बराज्यो-
न्नतमहि-
- 13 [मसुतो] विक्रमादित्यभूपाज्जातश्चालुक्यभौमस्त्रकालनृपगु[णोत्क]ष्टचारिचपात्रः । दानी
- 14 ¹⁰— — ७ — — ७ ७ ७ रसकरः सार्वभौमप्रतापो ¹¹राज्यं कृत्वा प्र[या]तः
चिदशपतिपदं

¹ From ink-impressions and photographs.² Metre : *Vasantatīlā*.³ Read सचित्ता.⁴ Read शाहचापो.⁵ Read निर्भर्च्छयन्निव.⁶ Read ०विष्णु.⁷ Read लान्दनेचण.⁸ Metre : *Anushtubh*. The scribe apparently left out the last two syllables of the fourth quarter or *pāda* of the *śloka*.⁹ Metre : *Shrigāhā*.¹⁰ I am unable to make out any sense from the faintly visible letters.¹¹ Mark of punctuation is unnecessary here.

(From Photographs).

ii, b.



iv, b.



Seal.



- 15 ¹[त्रिंशदब्दा — ऽ]ण ॥[३*] तत्पुत्रः कलियत्तिगण्डविजयादित्यध्वगमासान् ।
तत्पुत्रस्यराजस्य-
- 16 [म]वर्षाणि । तत्पुत्रं विजयादित्यं कण्ठिकाक्रमायातपट्टाभिषेकं बालमुच्चाय² तालराजो
राज्यस्यस-
- 17 [मे]कं [1*] चालुक्यभौमसुतो विक्रमादित्यस्तं हत्वा एकादशमासान् । विजयादि-
त्यो वेङ्गोनाथ³कलियत्ति-
- 18 गण्डनामा धीमा⁴ । न्तस्य सति मे⁵वा । तज्जय्योराजभौमनृपतिरजयः ॥ सत्य-
त्यागाभिमानाद्यस्त्रि-
- Second Plate ; Second Side.
- 19 लगुणयुतो राजमार्त्तार्णमाजौ ।⁶ जित्वोयममृगपाख्यं समुत्तमधिवलं द्रोहि[णो]-
प्यन्तकाभो । द्विभौमो राष्ट्र-
- 20 कूटप्रवलवलतमसंहरो द्वादशार्द्धं ।⁷ राज्यं कृत्वागमत्सः ।⁸ प्रणिहित[सुयशो] धर्मसन्तान-
वर्गः ॥[४*] वि-
- 21 ष्योः पद्मेव शंभोरिव गिरितनया यस्य देवी सपत्न्या ।⁹ संशुद्धा [हैहया]नाब्जिकु-
[लवि]षये पुष्पला[व]-
- 22 ख्यगस्या । लोकांवा तत्पुत्रोभूद्विजितपरवल्लो वेङ्गोनाथोऽम्भराजो ।¹⁰ राजद्राजाधिराजो
[जितरिपु]¹¹म-
- 23 कुटोद्दृष्टपादारविन्दः ॥[५*] वेङ्गो[राज्याभिषिक्तो] निजरिपुविजयादित्यमुद्यत्समर्थं ।¹²
जित्वा[नेकाजिरंग]-
- 24 प्रजितपरवल्लं [कण्ठिकादामकण्ठं ।] न्दा(दा)याद्द्रोहिवर्मानपि सकरवल्लः तच्चि-
[या]दित्यदे-
- 25 वो ।¹³ ध्वस्तारिध्वान्तराशिर्विलसितकमलस्यप्रतापो विभाति ॥ [६*] यन्निर्मातु-
स्मिन्तं कृतमिदमस्त्रिणं विष्टपं हि
- 26 तिमूर्त्तं ।¹⁴ रात्मानं चात्मनास्मादिह सकलगुणै [राजभौ]मोद्बहोभू । सेजोराशिः
प्रजानां पतिरधिकव-
- 27 [स]स्यप्रतापोऽमूर्त्तिं ।¹⁵ स्योयन्देवोऽम्भराजो जनगुणजनकोन[न्य*]राजाग्रचिह्नः ॥[७*]
स्वर्थाताः पूर्व-

¹ Read tentatively: त्रिंशदब्दाक्रमेण. [Reading is *trinśad-abda-pramānam*.—Ed.]

² Mark of punctuation is not necessary here.

³ Read: धीमान् । तस्य.

⁴ Read: सतौ.

⁵ This verse and the following four are in *Śraṅgharā* metre.

⁶ [Reading is राजद्राजाधिराज]परन्तु⁰.—N. L. R.]

Third Plate; First Side.

- 28 नाथा नलनहुषहरिचन्द्ररामादयोपि ।¹ प्रत्यक्षास्ते यशोभिर्गुणवपुरचला स्वैरिदानौ-
 29 मट्टाः । यस्थोच्चैः कौत्तिरा[शिर्भ]गण इव जगत्वद्वितीयोदयोस्मिन् । राजद्राजा-
 धिराजस्य ज-
 30 यति विजयादित्थदेवोम्भराजः ॥[८*] गद्यम् ॥ स जगतीपतिरम्भराजो राजमहेन्द्रभो-
 गोन्द्रसह-
 31 स्रभोगोपहासिदौर्घदक्षिणैकवहुसान्द्रितविश्वविश्वंभराभारः । नारायण
 32 इव निरन्तरानन्तभोगास्यदः । विधुरिव सुखविराजितः । पितामह इव कम-
 33 लासनः । गिविरिश इव धराधरसुताराधितः । रत्नाकर इव समस्त-
 34 शरणागतभूसृदात्रयः । सुवर्णाचल इव सुवर्णोत्तुंगोदयः । हिमाचल
 35 इव सिंहासनोक्तासितचमरीवालव्यजनविराजमानलोलः ॥ स सम-
 36 स्तभुवनात्रययोविजयादित्थमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरम-

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 37 भट्टारकः । वेलनाण्डुविषयनिवासिनो राष्ट्रकूटप्रमुखान्कुटिविनस्यमस्त-
 38 सामन्ता[न्त]पुरमहामात्रपुरोहिताभाल्यत्रेष्टिसेनापतित्रिकरणधर्माध्यक्ष-
 39 द्वादशस्थान(ना)धिपतौन्समाह्वयेत्तमात्रापयति विदितमस्तु वः । श्रीमानुदपा-
 40 दि मा(म)हान्विणयनकुलसाधुर . . . सेव्यास्थो [1*] गोत्रो(त्रः) सिंहासनतो ।¹
 41 विदितो [न]रवाहनधालुक्वे[शानाम् ॥] [८*] श्रीकरणगुरुर्गुरुरिव ।² विदुधगुरु-
 42 स्य[क]लरा[जसिद्धान्तज्ञः] । नरवाहन इत्यासीत्यज्ञतनरवाह[नः] प्रकाशित-
 43 यशसा ।[१०*] यस्यायसुतो गुणवान् ।³ मेलपराजो गुणप्र[भा]वो¹⁰ दानी । मानौ मा-

¹ Mark of punctuation is unnecessary here.

² Read: कौत्ति.

³ Read गिरिश.

⁴ Read श्रीकरण.

⁵ Read वाह-

⁶ Read कुटुंबिन.

⁷ Read समाह्वयेत्य.

⁸ The metre of this and the following 5 verses is *Aryāgiti*.

⁹ The letter seems to read like न for there is a loop-like stroke at the bottom. If this is borne out by the plate, then the name of the chieftain has to be read as नैस्यद.

¹⁰ [Reading may be *pradhānō*.—Ed.]

(From impressions).

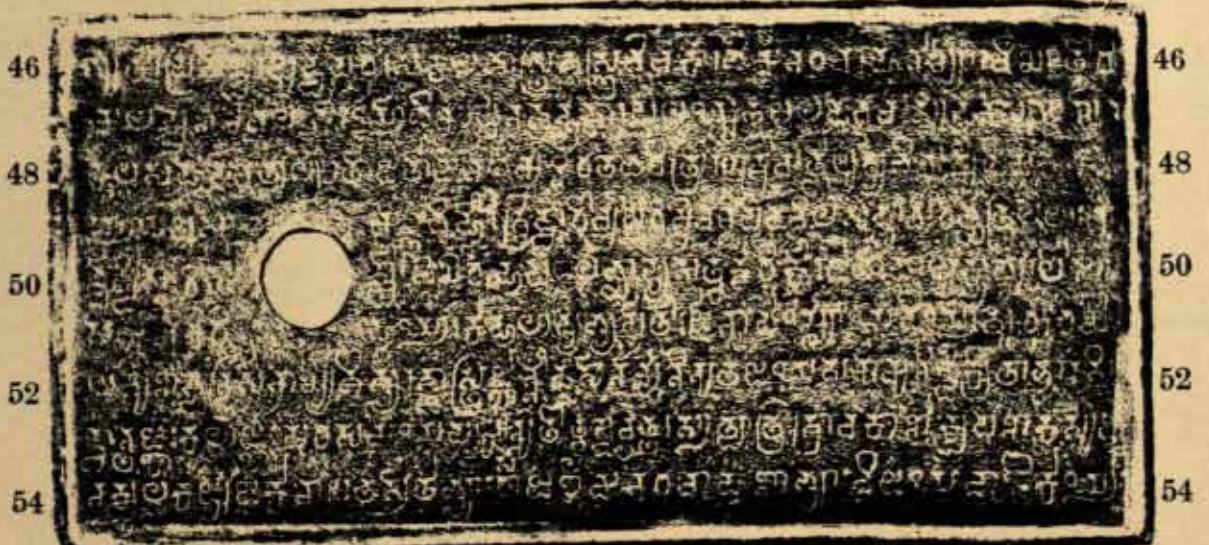
iii.a.

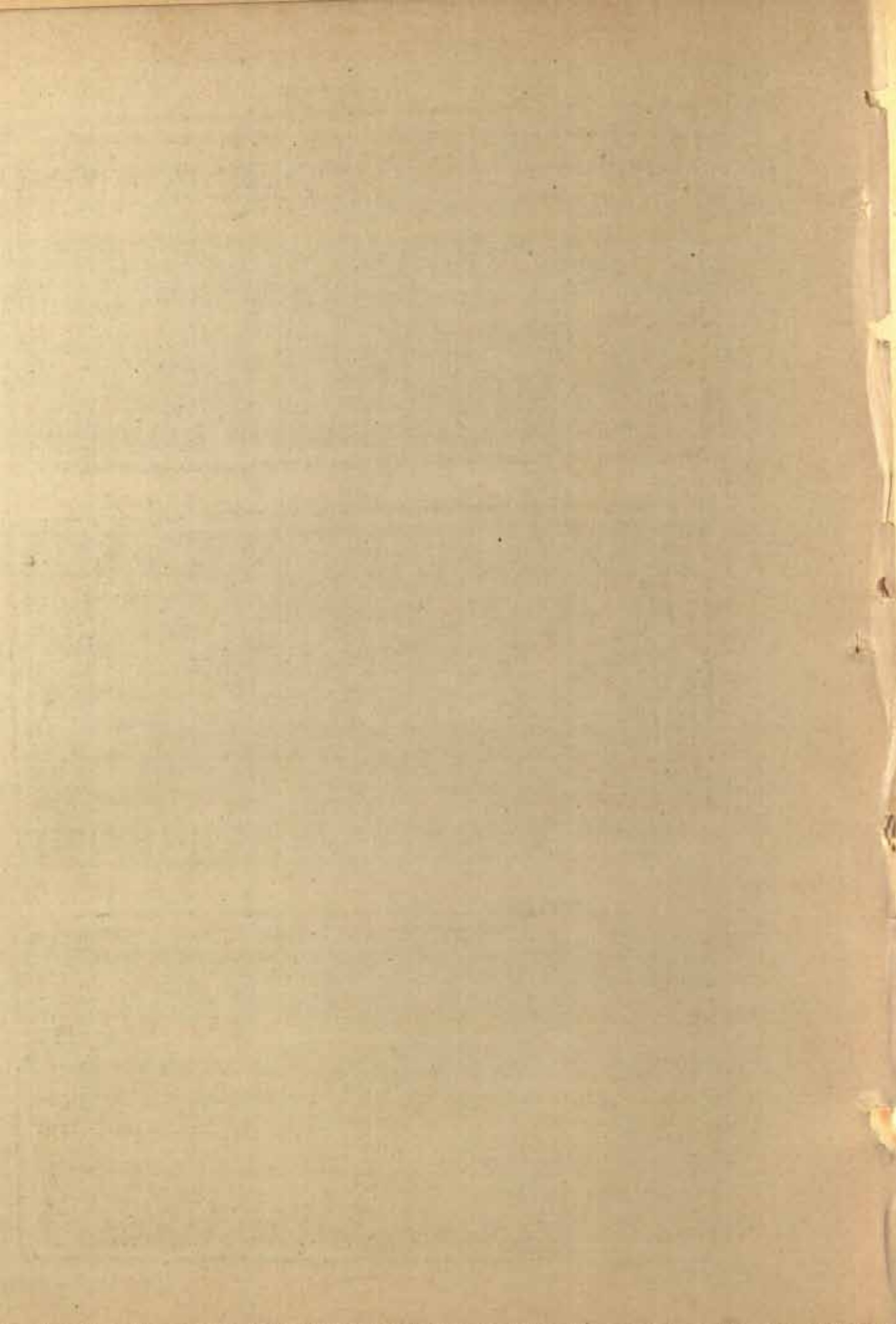


iii.b.



iii.c.





- 44 नवचरितो ।¹ मानवदेवो जिनेन्द्रपदपद्मा[र्चको]² ॥ [११*] तस्य सती मिण्डांवा ।³
सीतेव पति-
- 45 व्रता ⁴जिनव्रतचरिता । सत्यवती [वि]नयवती ।⁵ सतताहारप्रदायिनी घृतधर्मा ।
[१२*] तज्जौ-

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

- 46 [सु]ती प्रसिद्धौ ।⁶ बुद्धिपरौ ।⁷ सकलशास्त्रशास्त्रविवेकी । भौमनरवाहनास्थौ ।⁸
विख्यातौ रा-
- 47 मलच्छणाविव लोके । [१३*] यौ भौमार्जुनश(स)दृशौ ।⁹ बलयुतवलदेववासुदेव-
[समा]नौ । [न]-
- 48 कुलसहदेवतुष्यौ ।¹⁰ तौ जातौ जैनधर्मनिरतचरिचौ ॥ [१४*] ¹¹श्रीमत्त्वा¹²लुक्वभौम-
[चित्तिपति]कप]-
- 49 या लक्ष्मसामन्तचिह्नौ ।¹³ श्रीदारौ ¹⁴व्वरष्टीवन(?)पदविलसत्त्वा(च्चा)मरच्छव[लीलौ] । —
- 50 — — — रिकस्थौ शिखिरुहपटलच्छाद्यसत्कर्करीकौ ।¹⁵ जातौ चालुक्य[चूलौ]
- 51)) करिहयौ काहलाद्यभ्युपेतौ ॥ [१५*] ¹⁶जैनाचार्यौ यदीयो गुरुरखि-
- 52 लगुणचन्द्रसेनाख्यशिष्यौ¹⁷ ।¹⁸ श्शास्त्रज्ञौर्वा(ना)थसेनो म्मु(मु)निनुतजयसेनो मुनिर्हीचितात्मा ।
सि-
- 53 दान्तज्ञः कलाज्ञः परसमयपटुः ¹⁹सद्भुतोत्कृष्टवृत्त ।²⁰ स्वत्पात्रः श्यावकाणां क्षपणकसु[ज]-
- 54 नक्षुक्तकार्यो(र्यो)ज्जकानाम् ॥ [१६*] तस्मै ताभ्यां राजभौमनरवाहणा(ना)भ्यां विजय-
वाटिकायां

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

- 55 जिनभवनयुगत्रिभिर्मितमेतदधर्मार्थमस्माभिस्सर्व्वकारपरिहारं देवभोगो-
- 56 क्तव्य पेहगा लिडि²¹परुनाम ग्रामो दत्तः [१*] अस्यावधयः । पूर्व्वतः मण्डयू-

¹ Mark of punctuation is unnecessary here.

² [Reading is पदपद्मालि:—N. L. R.]

³ The word जिनव्रत is written below the line; obviously the scribe inserted it in revision.

⁴ Danda is unnecessary.

⁵ Metre : Sragdharā.

⁶ Read श्रीमच्छालुक्य.

⁷ Read शिष्याशास्त्रज्ञौ.

⁸ The letter सु is written beneath the line; it appears to have been inserted by the scribe during revision.

⁹ I am inclined to read the letter as हि in preference to दि.

- 57 रिपोलगरुसुन यिसु कटलचिरपुनुन नडिमि दूव [1] आग्नेयतः आलपरतिरुं
जूटूरि-
- 58 युं सुय्यल्लुहुन] वृरुत पडुव । दक्षिणतः चूटूरि प्रान्त[पति]धुत्तरंनुन कुण्डि-
- 59 विड्डिगुण्ड । नैर्द्धतः चूटूरियम्पायव्वगुडि । [पश्चिमतः] रेटि[प]डुमटि-
दरि । वा-
- 60 यय्यतः वलिवेरिपोलगरुसुन गारलगुण्ड । उत्तरतः तप्पराल प[ड]व । ई-
- 61 शानतः कोडगालिडि'प र्ति युं [वलिवेरियुं सु]य्यल्लुहुन नडुपनिगुण्ड ॥
तस्य [स्त्रे]यादलं^३
- 62 ध्यं श(सु)चिरमुरुतरं [शास]नं राजकोत्तं । सत्तो(त्ती)त्तेर्व्विगपस्य प्रकटगुणनि-
धेरम्मराजस्य पूज्यं ।
- 63 तत्तेदं शा[स]नं [पालित]जिननिगमं शौथ्यभौतान्धनाद्यत्रातो[चै]मौलिमालामणिव(क)-
मकारिको'मलि-

Fifth Plate.

- 64 कोलासितांभिः(त्रैः) ॥[१७*] अस्थोपरि न केन चिद्वाधा कर्त्तव्या यः करोति स
पंचमहापातकसं-
- 65 युक्तो भवति ॥ तथाचोक्तं व्यासेन ॥ बहुभिर्व्वसुधा दत्ता बहुभिश्चानुपालिता ।
यस्य य-
- 66 स्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥[१८*] स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत्
वसुधरां [1*] पठिं व-
- 67 षंसहस्राणि विद्यायां जायते कृमिः ॥[१९*] सर्व्वानिताम्भाविनः प्राथिवेन्द्रान्भूयो
68 भूयो याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योर्यं धर्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीव्यो(यो) भवद्भिः
॥[२०*]
- 69 महंशजाः परमहोपतिवंशजा वा पापादपेतमनसो भुवि भाविभूपाः । ये पालय-
70 न्ति मम धर्म[मि]सं समस्तं तेषां मया विरचितीजलिरेष मूर्ध्नि ॥[२१*]
धात्रतिः*] कटकराजः । जयन्ताचा-
- 71 र्यंश्च लिखितम् ॥[†]

¹ See note 9 on the previous page.

² Metre : *Brāhmarī*.

³ The dot denoting the *anusvara* on this letter is placed by the scribe at the beginning of the next line.

⁴ [Reading is शासनं च स्थितजिननिगमं—N. L. R.]

⁵ Read मकारिका.

* Read प्राथिवेन्द्रां.

[†] There is an ornamental design after this.

No. 39.—EPIGRAPHIC NOTES.

BY PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI AND K. GOPALACHARI, M.A., MADRAS.

I. 'Some Unpublished Amarāvati Inscriptions' (above, Vol. XV, pp. 258 ff., No. 6).

Chanda reads: 'Malamāvuka..yā Retiyā thabho', and translates '(This) pillar (is the gift) of.....Reti, an inhabitant of (wife of?) Malamāvuka'. The letter after *ka* is clearly *ja*. The next letter exhibits the outlines of *ya*, and in No. 12 *jāyāyā* occurs. The inscription may then be read, 'Malamāvuka-[jāyā]yā Retiyā thabho' i.e., 'gift of a pillar by the wife of Malamāvuka.'

II. *Op. cit.* No. 9.

* Chanda reads: 'Kaṛṇma . . . yā Apakuyā [tha]bho', and adds, 'Two letters after Kaṛṇma have been broken off'. The Editor suggests 'Perhaps they were *bhayā=bhāryā*.' The first letter, though much mutilated, has the backbone and limbs of *ja* partially visible. So again the word is *jā[yā]yā*.

III. *Op. cit.* No. 26.

Chanda reads: '[cha]chuli sa[m*]ghāya' and translates '.....to the brotherhoodchachuli'. The *cha* at the beginning indicates that more than one person donated the object on which the inscription is incised. What is read as *chuli* should be read as *chula*; for what is taken as the *i* mark is nothing but the ornamental vertical of *la*. See *li* (No. 41). *Chula* often occurs in Amarāvati inscriptions as part of personal names, and as Saṅgha (also Haṅgha) is also a name of frequent occurrence: '.....cha Chula-saṅghāya' is the correct reading. The translation is '.....and to Chula-saṅgha.'

IV. *Op. cit.* No. 41.

Chanda reads: '.....mahā govalivu bālikāya', and translates 'of the great cowherd's daughter'. What is read as *li* in *govalivu* is only *la* (compare *li* in *bālikāya*) and as *govalava* gives sense, and what is taken as the *u* sign is just a crease on the stone, and as the application of *Mahā* to a *govalava* (Skt. *gōvallabha*), an officer under the king, is more probable than to a cowherd, *govalava* would seem to be the correct reading. Meaning: 'of the daughter of the *Mahā-gōvallabha*'.

The characters resemble those of the inscription of Śivamaka Śātakarṇi.

V. *Op. cit.* No. 56.

What is read as 'Turughura' should be read as 'Turulura'; see line 39, Bühler's table III. Turulūra is mentioned in another Amarāvati inscription (Lüders: *List of Brahmi Inscriptions*, No. 1209).

VI. *Prākṛit Inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa* (above, Vol. XX, p. 24, Inscription H, text 1. 11):
Imaṃ chetiyaṃ vihāro cha.

Dr. J. Ph. Vogel reads 'imaṃ khaniyaṃ vihāro cha', and explains *khaniya* by Pāli *khāyu* 'pillar' (Childers, *Pāli-English Dictionary*). The explanation is far from satisfactory. In our epigraphs, a pillar, even a vihāra pillar, is called *khambha* (Inscr. F, B5, C3, etc.). In fact *chetiyaṃ* seems to be the correct reading, only the letter *che* is rather carelessly engraved. The *chetiya* referred to is probably stūpa No. 6. In inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, a *chetiya*, *chetiya-ghara* and *vihāra* often occur together.

VII. *Additional Prākṛit Inscriptions from Nāgārjunikoṇḍa* (above, Vol. XXI, p. 64. Inscription L, text l. 10) : B[o]dhisiri.

Dr. Vogel has read it as [E]dhisiriya. The letter read doubtfully as *e* is probably *ba* and the name B[o]dhisiri—a name met with in these epigraphs. [The first syllable does not look like *Bo* to me.—Ed.]

VIII. *Op. cit.*, L, l. 3 and M3, l. 5 : Vasasataya.

Dr. Vogel read the term as 'vasasanaya' in inscr. L, and as 'vasasanāya' in inscr. M3, and treated it as a term of uncertain meaning. In a footnote the Editor has asked, 'can it be *vasasatāya* ?'. The difference between the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa *ta* and *na* is often fairly clear. Though we are not sure of the *ta* in inscr. L, in M3 we have surely *ta* and not *na* (compare *Mahāvīnaseliyānaṃ*, l. 6) :—*vasasatāya saṃva 10*. The same term occurs in the Chinna Ganjam inscr. of Gotamiputa siri-Yaśa Sātakaṇi and the Banavāsi inscr. of the time of Hāritiputa Viṇhukaḍa-Chuṭukulānaṃda Sātakaṇi—'vasasatāya saṃvachhara sata[vi] . . . mam 20+7' in the former, and 'vasasatāya savachharam 10+2', in the latter. In our epigraphs also *vasasatāya* occurs before *saṃvachhara*.

According to Bühler *vasasatāya* has the same import as the phrases *pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya-saṃvatsara*, *vijaya-saṃvatsara*, etc., of the Pallava and Chālukya (and Śālaṅkāyana) grants. This seems to be ultimately connected with the Vedic ideal of *Paśyāma śaradaś=śatam*.

IX. *Lüders' List No. 1078*.

The inscription may be read with great probability :—

1 Nāḍasa Va[ḍha]nāyasa.

2 Bhogavatasa gābho dānath.

The fifth letter in l. 1 is very unlike any other *sa* in the inscription, and seems to be *ḍha*, of which the upper part has peeled off. The present reading is based on a careful examination of the estampage in the office of the Archaeological Superintendent at Poona, and the rather unsatisfactory photozincograph in the *Cave Temples of W. India* (Vol. IV, Plate XLIV) does not contradict it. The inscription may be translated : 'A cell, the gift of Nāḍa Vaḍhanāya Bhogavata'.

X. *Lüders' List No. 1165 : Junnar (ASWI., Vol. IV, p. 97, No. 27 and Pl. L)*.

The first letter of what is read as *nesakaresu* and restored as *vasakaresu* is neither *na* nor *va*. It is unlike the three *na-s* in the same inscription ; the open base of the letter makes *va* equally impossible. Moreover, it is not proper to ignore the *e* sign over the letter in any emendation of the text. The only possible reading is *tesakaresu* (the Skt. form is probably *tējaskarēṣu*, polishers) ; Junnar Nos. 24, 25 and 29 have similar *ta-s*. What is read as *pāō* is *pāu* and what is read as *pā[do] se[ma]* is clearly *pāu māse*.

So we have

1 Seniye tesakare[su]

2 māse pāunaduke |

3 kāsā(sa)kāresu seniya(ye) p[ā]u māse

meaning : " With the guild of *tesakaras*, monthly, one and three quarters. With the guild of *kāsakāras*, monthly, one quarter ". [The derivation of *tesakara* from Skt. *tējaskara* is extremely doubtful.—Ed.]

XI. *Lüders' List No. 1105*: above, *Vol. VII, pp. 64 f.* (Karla No. 19, text, l. 5,—year 17.)

The unit figure was read as 4 by Bühler and as 8 by Rapson. Senart thinks that it may be any unit number (above, *Vol. VII, p. 65*). It is certainly not 8 as assumed by Rapson as it is open to the left and not to the right, or 4 as read by Bühler as it is quite unlike the symbol for 4 which occurs in the next line. A study of the inscription from the stone and from a fresh impression (reproduced here) shows that 7 is more probable than any other unit figure. The square characters employed in our inscription may account for the angular form of the symbol. It would appear to be a slightly later form, but such late forms are not unknown in the Karla inscriptions; witness symbol for 1 in the last line of this very inscription.

Rapson's historical argument (*Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, etc. p. xlix*) for the figure being read as 18 is based on the word *vijayaḥṣatāḥke* which is now seen to mean not 'from victorious camp' but 'for the sake of victory and prosperity'. (*Vide Koṇḍamuḍi plates, above, Vol. VI, p. 319, n. 7.*)

XII. *The Koṇḍamuḍi plates of Jayavarman*. (Above, *Vol. VI, pp. 315 ff., text, l. 42*)

Mahātalavarena.

It was long before the discovery of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa, Allūru and Rāmareḍḍipalle inscriptions which mention the office of *Mahātalavara* that Hultzsch read the word as '*Mahātagivarena*' and conjecturally translated it as 'the best of the Mahātagi family'. In his edition of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inserr. (above, *Vol. XX, p. 7, n. 1*), Vogel, and following him other writers, have merely remarked that '*Mahātagivarena*' is a mistake of the scribe or engraver for '*Mahātalavarena*'. But the peculiar form of *la* in the word '*Bṛihatphalāyana*' (l. 4) i.e., the vertical starting from the right arm of the curve, leaves no doubt that the letter read as *gi* by Hultzsch has to be read as *la* and the word is therefore really *mahātalavarena* in l. 42.

XIII. *The Kollair plates of Nandivarman II*. (*Ind. Ant., Vol. V, pp. 175 ff., text, l. 4*):

Videtūrapallikā.

Fleet's reading is *Videnūrapallikā*. But in the plates under reference, e.g., lines 1, 3, etc., as also in the Peddavēgi and Kantēru plates, all Śālaṅkāyana records, the re-ascent in the *ū* sign in *nū* is to the left of the vertical, whilst in the letter read as *nū* in the word under discussion, the re-ascent is to the right as in *bhu* or *bhū*. The letter can only be *tū*. Hence the correct reading seems to be: *Videtūrapallikā*.

XIV. Above, *Vol. IX, pp. 56 ff., the Ellore plates of Dēvarman*. *J. A. H. R. S., Vol. V, pp. 31 f., the Kantēru grant of Nandivarman*; *ibid., Vol. I, pp. 92 ff., the Peddavēgi plates of Nandivarman*; and the *Kollair plates* (cited in XIII above). **Mududa(ḍa ?), Mutuda.**

The reading of the word is not settled. Burnell read it as *Munyada* (*S. Ind. Pal., p. 14*). Fleet was of opinion that for *Munyada* as a common name no meaning could be found, and that *Munyada* as a proper name was out of place (*Ind. Ant., Vol. V, p. 176 n*). Reading it as '*Mut-yada*' he corrected it to '*Amātyādi*'. While editing the Ellore Prākṛit grant of Dēvarman, Hultzsch read it as *Muḍuḍa* and remarked:—"The plates of Vijaya-Nandivarman seem to readMunuḍa; but the apparent *nu* in the middle of this word may in reality be an obliterated *lu*" (p. 59, n. 4). But *la* has always a short curve attached to it at the right end of its back (the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inserr. and the Māṅgaḷūr and Chikkulla plates). What is read as *la* has no such curve. K. V. Lakshmana Rao reads the word in the Sanskrit grants as *Munuḍa*.

The word, which occurs in 4 of the 5 grants of the Śālaṅkāyanas, can have but one reading. In the Peddavēgi, Kollair and Kantēru plates, the re-ascent in the *u* sign in the proper *nu* is to

the left of the vertical, whilst in the letter read as *nu* here, as in *Vidētūrapallikā*, the re-ascent is to the right. The letter can only be *tu*. That the last letter is *ḍa* and not *ḍa*, is shown by copper-plate No. 2 of 1924-25 (Madras), where the back of *ḍa* has a notch at the right whilst that of *ḍa* lacks it. *Mutuḍa* being the correct Sanskrit reading, Hultzsch's reading must be abandoned in favour of *Muduḍa* which would be the Prākṛit form of *Mutuḍa*.

XV. *The Maṭṭepāḍ plates of Dāmōdaravarman* (Above, Vol. XVII, pp. 327 ff., text, ll. 2-3).

Anēka-gō-sahasr-ānēka-Hiraṇyagarbh-ōdbhav-ōdbhavasya.

Hultzsch has read the word preceding *gō-sahasra* as *a[vandhya]*, and translated; 'pregnant'. A careful examination of the plates shows that the proper reading of the phrase is as given above.

Hultzsch's translation: "(and) who is the origin of the production (i.e., who has caused the performance) of many *Hiraṇyagarbhas* and of (gifts of) thousands of pregnant cows", must be amended into: "(and) who is born of one who was the cause (or one who was born) of several *Hiraṇyagarbhas* and of several *gō-sahasras*", meaning that Dāmōdaravarman's father made these two *dānas* repeatedly. The play upon the word *udbhava* has special reference to the nature of the *Hiraṇyagarbha* and is untranslatable.

XVI. *A Karla Chaitya Pillar Inscription.*

While all other Chaitya Pillar inscriptions at Karla are incised on octagonal columns having a pot-shaped base, lotus-shaped top, and elephant capital, this inscription is on one of the eight plain octagons in the apse, standing second from the right row. (Marked x on the photograph.)

The letters resemble those on the other pillars. But the cursive *ha* of our inscription, especially the *hi* in *putahi*, is peculiar. Medial *o* is indicated in *bho* by two short strokes one going up and the other going down from the horizontal. The *e* sign in *Je* is attached to the centre of the letter.

The orthography of the inscription calls for very few remarks. In cognate inscriptions *be* is used for *dvē*, e.g., *bīṭiye* for *dvīṭiyē* (Karla No. 22, *ASWI.*, Vol. IV, p. 113 and Nāsik No. 2 above, Vol. VIII, p. 60), *bīṭiyika* for *dvīṭiyikā* (Junnar Nos. 3 and 18 *ASWI.*, Vol. IV, pp. 93 and 95). In one of the Junnar inscriptions (*ASWI.*, Vol. IV, No. 25, pp. 96-7) we have however *ve*.

The language is Prākṛit.

The personal names, *Jebubbhūti*, *Miṭidasa* and *Bhayabhūti* are names not met with in other records, though the last one may recall to our mind the *Bhāya* of a Nānāghat relievio inscription. *Dāsa* and *bhūti* enter into the composition of names (Nāsik No. 8, above, Vol. VIII and *ASWI.*, Vol. V, No. 23, pp. 83 ff.).

TEXT.

- 1 Dhenukākāṭa Miṭidasa-vejasa
- 2 thabho dāsa[ṇ] sahā bhariyāya Jayami-
- 3 tāye(ya) sahā ve put[e]hi Bhayabhūtinā
- 4 Jebubbhūtinā¹ cha Vasumit[ā]ya cha.

TRANSLATION.

Gift of a pillar by the physician (*vejasa* Skt. *vaidyasya*) Miṭidāsa, of Dhenukākāṭa, with his wife Jayamitā, two sons Bhayabhūti and Jebubbhūti¹ and with Vasumitā.²

¹ [Reading may be *Jabu-* or *Jambubbhūti*.—Ed.]

² She was perhaps a daughter.

TWO INSCRIPTIONS FROM KARLA.

XI.

Karla Inscription of the year 17.



XVI.

Karla Chaitya Pillar inscription.



XVI.

Karla Chaitya showing the inscribed pillar.



(From photographs).

accession extremely doubtful.¹ Probably he was a younger brother of Śarvavarman or else predeceased his father at a young age; at any rate, it is entirely unnecessary to postulate a fraternal war after Īśānavarman.

Attempts have been made² to identify this Sūryavarman with the king of that name mentioned in a Sirpur inscription,³ in which a Sūryavarman figures as a Varman king of Magadha and as the father-in-law of Harshagupta, the nephew of Mahāśiva-Tivara of Southern Kōśala. But the Maukharis of the line of Hariivarman are nowhere mentioned as a characteristically Magadhan dynasty, their capital being Kanauj. Moreover, a detailed paleographical examination of the inscriptions of the Kosalan Pāṇḍavas leads us to place Tivara at a date much later than A. D. 554, to which year the Harṣhā inscription belongs. That, however, is a different matter and need not detain us here.

Regarding the history of Avantivarman next to nothing is known. In the present seals he is styled *mahārājādhirāja*, while the Dēś-Baraṇṣark inscription⁴ calls him *paramēśvara*. Bāṇa describes him as the 'ornament of the Maukhari race.'⁵ He seems to have continued the imperial traditions of his family.

The second of the present seals introduces us to the son of Avantivarman, only the first two letters of whose name remain and can be read as *Suva* . . . or *Sucha* . . .⁶ This is a fact which does not readily fit in with the known facts of history. Bāṇa unequivocally states that Grahavarman was the eldest son of Avantivarman⁷; as such he is expected to have come to the throne after Avantivarman. It is usually assumed by historians that when Grahavarman was killed by Dēvagupta of Mālwa, the throne of Kanauj fell vacant and was offered to Harsha, who accepted it after some hesitation. This is perhaps stating the complicated course of events too simply. It is possible that the second son of Avantivarman came to the throne after the murder of Grahavarman as the rightful owner before Harsha occupied it in the name of his sister. It is also possible that Grahavarman was still a prince when he was killed⁸ and that some time elapsed between that event and Harsha's occupation of Kanauj, so that on the death of Avantivarman his younger son came to the throne and continued to rule till he was deposed by Harsha. This son, the author of the present seal, might have been the progenitor of the later Maukhari dynasty, a scion of which, Bhōgavarman, 'the crest-jewel of the illustrious Varmans of the Maukhari race', married his daughter to a Nepāl king in the eighth century.⁹ In short, it seems reasonable to hold that there was a legal heir to the Maukhari throne even after the death of Grahavarman; this may explain why Harsha was hesitating to accept the sceptre of Kanauj.¹⁰

The text given below is transcribed from the original seals, now in the Archaeological Museum at Nālandā.

¹ Cf. Pires, *loc. cit.*, p. 97.

² Raychaudhuri, *loc. cit.*, p. 512 n. 1; Mirashi, above, Vol. XXII, p. 19; Mirashi and Pandeya, above, Vol. XXIII, p. 115.

³ Above, Vol. XI, p. 190.

⁴ Fleet, *loc. cit.*, p. 213.

⁵ *Harshacharita*, p. 141.

⁶ The reading has been suggested by the Government Epigraphist for India. [It is curious that the *Māñjuśrī-mūla-kalpā* mentions a king Svura after Graha; see Ganapati Sastri's edition (Triv. Skt. Series), p. 626. See also K. P. Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, p. 27 §19 (c). Jayaswal corrects the last pāda of the verse as *Graha-Suvrata* (*ajh-āpavaś*) which according to the ordinary rules of *Anuṣṭubh* would spoil the metre. As the last visible letter on this seal seems to be a part of *n* and as there seems to be a *repha*-sign below it I am tempted to restore the concluding portion as *īri-Sucha(nḍrvarmanā Maukharīś)*.—Ed.]

⁷ *Harshacharita*, p. 141: *tut-āpi tilaka-bhūṭasy-Āvantivarmanāś sūnur-agrajō Grahavarmanā nāma*.

⁸ Bāṇa is silent as to whether Grahavarman ever came to the throne, unless the word *dēśa*, used in one place (p. 183), is taken to show his royal position.

⁹ Kātmāṅḍu inscription of Jayadēva, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, pp. 178 ff.

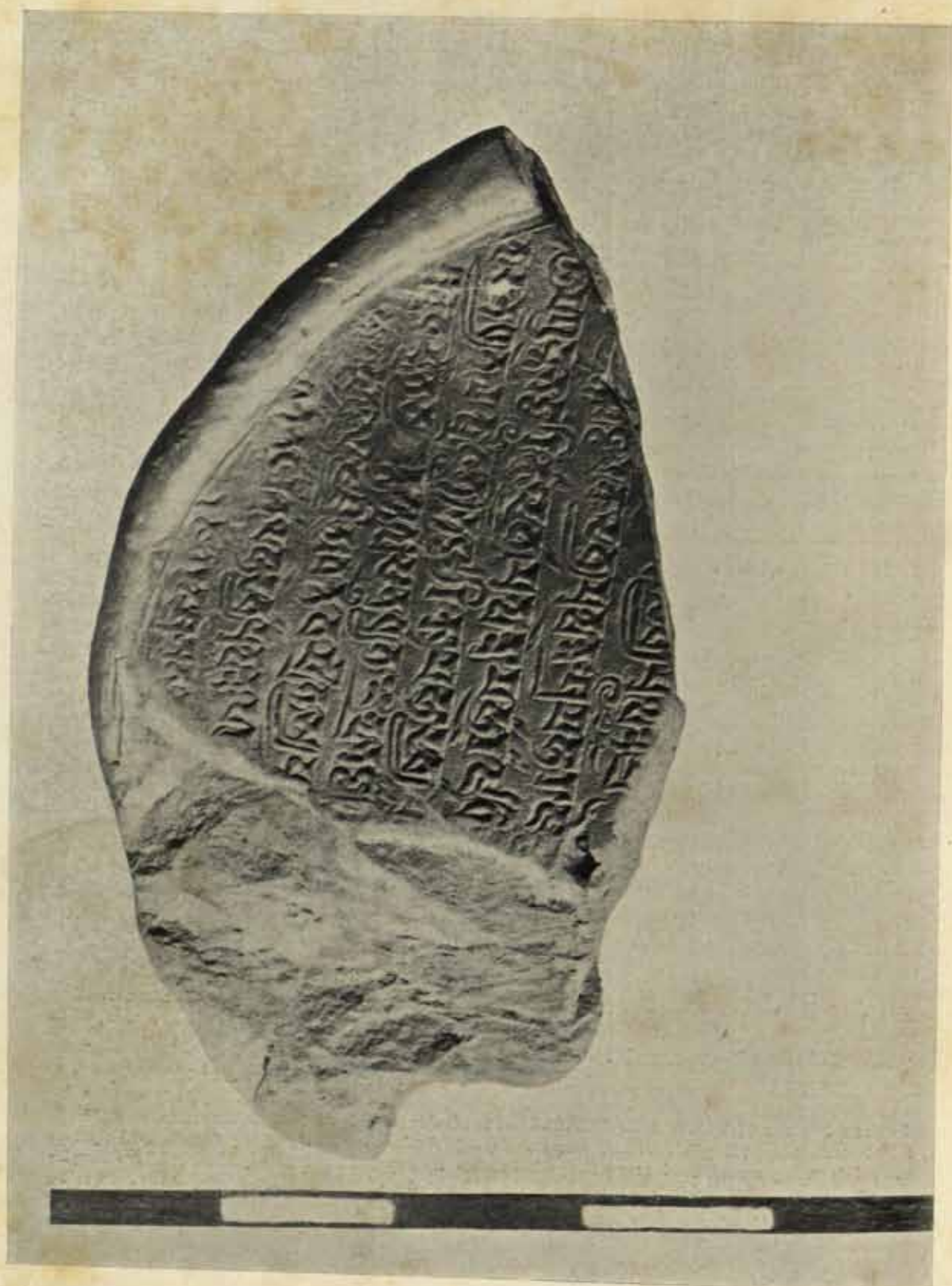
¹⁰ Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, p. 211.

TWO MAUKHARI SEALS FROM NALANDA.

A.



B.



TEXT.

A.—Seal of Avantivarman (Reg. No. 852).

- 1 Chatus-samudr-ātikkṛānta-k[ī]rti[ī]h prat[ā]p-[ā]nur[ā]g-ōpa[nat-ānya-rājā(jō) varpu-
āstrama-vyavasthāpana-pravṛitta*].¹
- 2 chakkras-Chakkradhara iva prajānām-artti-harah śri-[mahārāja-Harivarmmā tasya
puttras-tat-pād-ānudhyātō **Jaya***].²
- 3 sv[ā]minī bhaṭṭārikā-dēvyām=utpannah śri-[mahārāj-Ādityavarmmā tasya puttras-tat-
pād-ānudhyātō **Harshaguptā***].³
- 4 bhaṭṭārikā-dēvyām=utpannah śri-mahārāj-[Ēsvaravarmmā tasya puttras-tat-pād-ānu-
dhyāta **Upaguptā**-bhaṭṭārikā*].⁴
- 5 dēvyām=utpann[ō] mahārājādhirā[ja-śri*].⁵ **Īśānavarmmā** tasya puttras-ta[t-pād-
ānudhyātō*].⁶
- 6 **Lakshmīvatī**-bhaṭṭārikā-ma[hādēvyā]m=utpannō mahārājādhirāja-śri-**Sarvvavarmmā**
7 tasya puttras-tat-pād-ā[nudhyāta **Indra***].⁷ **bhaṭṭārikā**-mahādēvyām=utpannah parama-
mahēśvar[ō]
- 8 [mahārā*]jādhirāja-śri-**Avantivarmmā** **Maukharīh**.

B.—Seal of the son of Avantivarman (Reg. No. 855).

- 1² vyām=utpa[n]na....
- 2 ṭṭār[ī]k[ā]-dēvyām=utpannah śri-mahārāj-**Ē**....
- 3 **Upaguptā**-bhaṭṭārikā-dēvyām=utpannō mahārājādhī.....
- 4 t-pād-ānudhyātō **Lakshmīvatī**-bhaṭṭārikā-mahādēvyā....
- 5 **Sarvvavarmmā** tasya [pu]ttras=tat-pād-ānudhyāta **Indra**-bhaṭṭā....
- 6 [mahārājādhirāja]-śri-**Avantivarmmā** tasya pu.....
- 7 [vatī !]-bhaṭṭārikā-mahādēvyām=utpannah para.....
- 8 rājā[dhī]rāja-śri-**Suva**.....⁴

No. 41.—SRIRANGAM INSCRIPTION OF ACHYUTARAYA : SAKA 1461.

BY A. S. RAMANATHA AYYAR, B.A., MADRAS.

The subjoined inscription¹ is found on the east wall of the second *prākāra* in the Raṅganātha temple at **Śrīraṅgam**, the well-known place of pilgrimage in South India, specially sacred to the Vaishṇavas. It is dated in the reign of the Vijayanagara king **Achyutarāya-Mahārāya** in **Śaka 1461**, corresponding to the cyclic year *Vikāriṇ*, and contains astronomical details which give the English equivalent A. D. 1539, August 26, Tuesday.

The record which is engraved in **Tamiḷ** and **Grantha** characters, contains an introductory portion in **Tamiḷ** which states that on the occasion of the king's performing a *tulābhāra* ceremony, his *rājamahishī* **Ōduva Tirumalaidēvi-Ammaṅavargaḷ** composed two Sanskrit *ślokas*² and had them engraved in several holy places, **Śrīraṅgam** being one of them, so that the descendants of prince **Chikka-Veṅkaṭādri** may rule as emperors (*sārvabhaumas*). Then follow the two verses referred to, and the epigraph closes with an epilogic sentence in **Tamiḷ**.

¹ Restored from the *Aśtgaḥ* and *Nālandā* seals of *Sarvvavarmān*.

² Restored from the seal B.

³ Of the existing portion.

⁴ [Dr. Suchs.... See p. 284, note 6 above. —Ed.]

⁵ Registered as No. 15 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1938-39.

⁶ The *ślokas* refer only to the gift of *Anandanidhi* and not to the *tulābhāra*; and it is possible that both the ceremonies were performed on the same occasion at *Hampi*.

Several records¹ copied at different places mention that the senior queen (*paṭṭamahishī*) of king Achyuta was Varadādevī-Ammaṅ and that the crown-prince Venkaṭādri *alias* Chikkarāya was her son. That the king had another queen named Tirumalāmbā was known only from the references in the two Telugu works *Vijayavilāsam* and *Raghunāthābhyaṅgam*,² which also supply the additional information that her sister Mūrtimāmbā was given in marriage to China Chevappa-Nāyaka, along with the governorship of the Tanjore principality as dowry. The present inscription is important in its furnishing **epigraphical confirmation** as to the existence of this queen Tirumalāmbā and in enabling us to identify her with **Ōduva** (or **Vōduva**) **Tirumalāmbā**, the composer of the two Sanskrit verses under reference, as also of another verse³ commemorating the king's gift of *Souryamēru* to Brāhmins at Hampi in Śaka 1455. It is possible that the three verses⁴ recording the king's celebration of the *tulābhōra* of pearls at Kāñchīpuram in Śaka 1455 in company with his queen Varadāmbikā and prince China-Venkaṭādri, were also her composition.

A Sanskrit *chāmpū-kāvya* called the *Varadāmbikāpariṇayam* was written by a certain Tirumalāmbā, who describes herself in its colophon⁵ as 'the favourite of king Achyuta'. As indicated by its title, the theme of this work is the marriage of Achyuta with Varadāmbikā, the younger sister of the two brothers bearing the name of Tirumala, narrated in the usual conventional style. It may have been composed in the reign of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya⁶ himself, and the portions relating to the birth of a son to Achyuta by name Venkaṭādri and the latter's anointment as *yuvarāja* at the time of his father's coronation may probably have been added on later by the same authoress.⁷ Though of average literary merit, the *kāvya* is interesting because of the quasi-historical nature

¹ She is referred to as a *paṭṭamahishī* in a record dated in Śaka 1463 (*Tirupati Devasthanam Epigraphical Report* 1930, p. 243) and in Śaka 1464, Śubhakṛit (No. 330 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1929-30). See also No. 181 of 1922 of Śaka 1455.

² S. K. Ayyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, pp. 255, 285.

³ No. 9 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1904 and No. 708 of 1922.

⁴ These unpublished verses (No. 511 of 1919) may, with advantage, be reproduced here.

शक्रे मृतमराकुषीन्दुगणिते वर्षे पुनश्चन्दने
 मासि यावन्नामके च विमले पचे रवेर्वासरे ।
 द्वादश्यां हरिसन्निधौ लवरचयन्मुक्तातुलापुरुषं
 दानं दीनरसाञ्जुतचित्पतिः काञ्चीपुराभ्यनरे ॥
 मुक्तातुलापुरुषदानविधौ विकीर्त्ता-
 न्दुक्तामचीन् समधिर्कं चरदाविकायाः ।
 दानांबुपुरपरितान् रयतश्चमेव
 रवाकरलमभलद्भवाकरोपि ॥
 काञ्चां चीचिनर्वेकटाटिमणिना दाने तुलाभारके
 संपत्वारचिते विजाश्वमभवन्नर्त्ततिभाराकुलाः ।
 धारीयं कालिकामघादधिगतादुशीर्षभारा जनौ
 श्रीश्रीपादकुमारकाः(ः)कदितरे भाराय जाता भुवः ॥

These verses are also found in No. 178 of 1924 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection from Kāñchastī, now under publication in *S. I. I.*, Vol. IX.

⁵ विविधविद्याभनन्धराजाधिराजाञ्जुतरायसर्वभौमप्रेमसर्वस्वविद्यासमुवा तिरुमलाम्बया—(*Varadāmbikāpariṇaya-chāmpū* edited by Dr. Lakshman Sarup, pp. 179-80).

⁶ *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 170.

⁷ The coronation of Achyuta took place towards the end of A. D. 1529, when Venkaṭādri was also anointed *yuvarāja* (*Achyutarājyābhyaṅgam*). The *Varadāmbikāpariṇayam* states that on seeing the prince adorned with all good qualities, the king made him heir-apparent. So the latter portion may have been supplemented after A. D. 1530.

of its contents¹ and the light it throws on contemporary political and social life. We may infer from it that this poetess Tirumalāmbā was identical with Ōduva Tirumalaidēvi-Ammap-avargaḷ (Vōduva² Tirumalammanavarū), who, originally a 'Reader' (Ōduva) at the royal court, subsequently rose to the position of a co-queen (*rājamahishī*) herself.³ It may also be noted that she was one of the galaxy⁴ of poetesses, royal and otherwise, who attained to literary fame under the patronage of the Vijayanagara kings.

The fervent hope expressed in this inscription by Tirumalāmbā that the performance of *dānas* and the engraving of the commemorative verses in holy places would ensure for Venkaṭādrī's descendants the rule of the kingdom as *sārcabhaumas*, implies that doubts had probably begun to be entertained even at this time, as to whether the prince would be allowed to peacefully succeed his father, if such a contingency arose. The danger that threatened his regal hopes came from two quarters.⁵ Towards the end of Achyuta's reign, his ambitious brothers-in-law Salakam Pedda-Tirumalarāja and China-Tirumalarāja had usurped much power into their hands and, in the event of the king's death, were even prepared to wrest the kingdom from their helpless nephew, by fair means or foul. Then there was also the party of nobles led by Aḷiya-Rāmarāya, the son-in-law of the late king Kṛṣṇarāya. This astute general, by espousing the cause of Sadāśivarāya on the plea of his being the son of an elder brother of Achyuta, schemed to overthrow the power of the Salakam brothers and concentrate it in his own hands. This tussle for power must have already attained definite shape and proportions at the time of the present record in A. D. 1539, for the co-queen to have voiced her devout prayer. It is, however, unfortunate that the cupidity of the younger uncle China-Tirumalarāja proved stronger than the prayer, for he is believed to have strangled⁶ his royal nephew in A. D. 1543, when the latter was on the throne only for a few months.⁷

As regards the two verses quoted in this epigraph which are couched in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre, it may be mentioned that more than a dozen copies⁸ of them exist in the different scripts of the kingdom, Tamiḷ, Telugu, Kannaḍa, Grantha and Nāgarī, and in several places, so far apart as Anṅigere in the Bombay Presidency and Śrīraṅgam in the Madras Presidency; but in none of them is there the additional information furnished by the Śrīraṅgam copy. While the Sanskrit verses glorify only the gift of *Anandanidhi* made by the king in Śaka 1461, the Tamiḷ portion refers to the performance of a *tulābhāra* on the same day. This was also probably celebrated in the

¹ The information it gives about Narasa's military achievements is particularly useful.

² This is the spelling adopted in the Kannaḍa version of No. 9 of 1904.

³ See *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 170, fn. and also p. 11 of Introduction, *Varadāmbibāpariṇayachampā*.

⁴ Gaṅgādēvi, the authoress of the *Madhurāvijayam* and the wife of Prince Kampaṇa, was a notable example. There was another named Mōhanāḅḅḷ, who wrote the *Mārichīpariṇayam*.

⁵ For a discussion on these points, vide Dr. N. Venkatasomanayya's *Studies in the History of the Third Vijayanagara Dynasty*, pp. 76 et seq.

⁶ Briggs's *Firishta*, III, p. 83 as quoted in *Studies in the History of the Third Vijayanagara dynasty*, p. 79. The *Mahāsūrasarapativijayam* and copper-plate records simply state that after a short reign Venkaṭādrī died. (*Mys. Archl. Rept.* for 1907, p. 14 and above, vol. IV, p. 14.)

⁷ No. 597 of 1929-30 from Handāḅḅi (South Kanara), dated in Śubhakṛit, mentions that Venkaṭādrīyā was ruling at Vijayanagara.

⁸ Hampi (Nos. 27, 28, 39 and 40 of 1889, and No. 1 of 1904); Anantaśayanagudī (Nos. 684 and 685 of 1922); Kamalāpur (Nos. 17 and 20 of 1904); Harihar (Dāvagere 24); Nīrgunda (Hoḷalkere 123); Gadag (B. K. Nos. 7 and 14 of 1926-27); Anṅigere (B. K. No. 186 of 1928-29).

Viṭṭhalēśvara temple on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā at Bhāskara-kshētra (*i.e.*, Hampi), the venue of the *Ānandanidhi-dāna*, mentioned in the following Kannaḍa preamble of the Gadag version.¹

Svasti Samastabhuvanāśraya śrī-pṛithvi-vallabha Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēśvara śrī-Virapratāpa Achyutarāya-Mahārāyaru Vijayanagariya neleviḍinoḷu sukha-satkathāvinōdadiṇ rājyam-geyyuttam-iḷḍu Śaka 1461 (*etc.*) punya-kāḷadoḷu Bhāskara-kshētra Tuṅgabhadrā-tīra Viṭṭhalēśvarana sannidhiyalli Mādharma-prityarthav-āgi Ānandanidhiy-emba dānavanu koṭṭu samasta-bhūsuraranu santōsha-baḍisida² praśastiyanu Saṁskṛitabhāshā-kavitadalli Sārdhīlavikrīḍitav-emba vṛittaṅgaḷanu Gadagina śrī-Triyambakadēvara sannidhānadalli śilā-sāsanakke barasida dharmma-kīrttiya praśastiya vṛittaṅgaḷa kramav-entendoḷe || (The two Sanskrit verses follow).

From this it is also clear that *Ānandanidhi* is the name of a particular kind of *dāna* and that it was performed in the temple of Viṭṭhalēśvara on the bank of the Tuṅgabhadrā at Bhāskara-kshētra to propitiate god Mādharma and that these laudatory verses were engraved also in the temple of Triyambakadēva at Gadag.³ The inscriptions engraved at Srīraṅgam and other places must have also been of this nature. According to Hēmādri, who describes this gift in some detail in the *Dānakhaṇḍa* of his *Chaturvarṅga-chintāmaṇi*⁴, the *Ānandanidhi-dāna* consists of presenting to learned Brāhmins, after some ceremonial preliminaries, pots made of the *udumbara* wood (*audumbaram ghaṭam*) and filled with precious stones and coins of gold, silver or copper. The days prescribed⁵ for the performance of this *dāna* are days in the months of Kārttika, Māgha and Mādharma (Vaiśākha), days of Ayana, Vishu, Manvādi and Yugādi, and days of the lunar and solar eclipses; and the merit accruing from this ceremony is said to be longevity, perfect health and imperial sovereignty.⁶ It is no wonder therefore that king Achyuta selected this *Ānanda-*

¹ No. 7 of the Bombay-Karnatak Epigraphical Collection for 1926-27.

² Compare *dvijān Dhanadāyana-āmōlayana-Mādharum* of the verse.

³ A similar preamble found in the Appigere copy states that the verses were engraved in the Amṛitēśvara temple at that place under similar circumstances; while the Dāvāgore copy has simply the following sentence:—'Sṛīman-Mahārājādhirāja-Rājaparamēśvara-śrī-Virapratāpa-śrī-Achyutadēva-Mahārāya-kṛita-Mahānandanidhi-praśastī-padya-dvayam likhyate'.

⁴ *Bibliotheca Indica*, No. 34, *Chaturvarṅga-chintāmaṇi*, Dānakhaṇḍa, pp. 583-588; and *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1923, p. 119.

⁵ कारदेवकारिकाले वा माघी माघवेदि वा ।

शुक्ले विपुले वापि मन्वादिषु युगादिषु ॥

चन्द्रपूर्वीपरान्ते वा सप्तशतैर्द्वयष्टम् ।

पिधानं राजतं तदन्वये सौवर्चमुकुञ्जितम् ॥

मानारक्षवरापूर्णे नानानानामिराजतम् ।

स्मरान्नततास्वीत्यैः सविधैरपि पूरितम् ॥

⁶ तदास्त्रिजगदीराज्यं प्राप्नोति ततश्चक्रे ।

निजानन्दनिधिर्दानान्निजानन्दोभिजायते ।

यः कुर्यात् सौच्यतायुःसादीर्घ्यनानमाप्नुयात् ॥

nidhi-dāna for celebration to ensure succession to his son, though unfortunately the actual results completely falsified his expectations.

The final sentence in Tamil states that these verses which were forwarded¹ (*varakkāṭṭi-aruliṇa*) by the king (*svāmi*), were arranged to be engraved during the regime (*adhikārattil*) of **Śrī-raṅgappa-Nāyaka**, son of **Tuḷuva Veṅgaḷa-Nāyaka** and a subordinate (*pādasēvai-paṇṇum*) of king Achyuta, who was probably wielding some authority in the Tiruchchirāppalli region. He figures in another record² from Śrīraṅgam dated in Śaka 1460, wherein he is described as the son of 'Madura(Maruda)-arasar-paḍaiviṭṭu Tuḷuva Veṅgaḷa-Nāyaka'. In Śaka 1458, the same officer is stated to have provided for offerings and worship to god Veṅkaṭeśa at Tirupati³, for the merit of Achyutarāya-Mahārāya, his queen Varadāji-Ammaṅ and prince Chikka-Veṅkaṭātri-Uḍaiyar.

Śrīraṅga-Nārāyaṇapriyaṅ, the temple-accountant, has affixed his signature at the end, in attestation of the fact that the inscription was engraved in the temple with his full cognisance. This name or rather title was borne by all the accountants of the Śrīraṅgam temple in succession, having been bestowed, it is said,⁴ from the time of Śrīraṅga-Nārāyaṇa-Jīyar *alias* Kūra-Nārāyaṇa-Jīyar, the author of the *Sudarśanaśatakam*, who flourished in the 13th century A.D. and was connected with the administration of the Śrīraṅganātha temple for a long time.

TEXT.

- 1 Śubham⁶-astu [1*] Svasti śrī [1*] **Śakābdam 1461** idapmēl śellāniṇṇa Vikāri-saṁvatsarattu Bhādrapada-māsattu pūrva-pakshattu duvādaśiyum Maṅgalavāramum peṅga Tiruvōṇa-nakshatrattu nāḷ Śrīman-Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēśvara śrī-Virapratāpa śrī-**Vīra-Achchuyutarāya-Mahārāyar** tuḷabhāra-mahādāṇam paṇṇi-aruliṇār [1*] idukku Mahārāyar-uḍaiya rājamahishiy-āṇa **Ōduva Tirumalaidēvi-Ammaṅ-avargaḷ** ślōka-dvayam śeydaruliṇār [1*]
- 2 Inda dharmmam **Śrīraṅgādi-puṇṇya**(puṇya)-kshētraṅgaḷilē chandr-ādityavaraiyum prasiddham-āga naḍandāl **Chikka-Veṅkaṭāddirirāyar**-ruḍaiya santānattil uḷḷavargaḷ sārvaḥhaumarāy prithuvī-rājyam paṇṇuvārgaḷ eṇṇu Perumāḷ Śrīraṅganāthadēvar saṅṅadiyilē śilā-śāsanam paṇṇinapaḍi || Śākē chandra-ras-āmarēndra-gaṇitē varshē Vikāryy-āhvayē pakshē Bhādrapadasya pōshita-vidhau dvādaśy-abhikhyē tithau [1*] vārē Bhūmisutasya Vishṇv-adhipatau tārē-**chyuta-**
- 3 **kshamāpatir**-ddatv-Ānanta(da)nidhim⁶ dvijān [Dhanada]yannu-āmōdayanu-Mādhavam [[1|1*] Puṇy-anghaiḷ paripālitasya paritō⁷ bhūt-āḷi-saṁvēshṭitas=sadvarggaś-śābaḷikṛitasya⁸ satat-ākṛāntā bhujāṅga-vrajaiḷ [1*] prāptasy-āti-nava-prasastim=adhika-prakhyāta-śauryy-Āchyuta-kshamāp-Ānanta(da)nidhēr⁹-ṇav⁹ā-pi nidhayaḷ kin-tē labhantē tulām || [2*||] Śubha[m=a]stu [1*]

¹ This implies that Achyutarāya was not present at Śrīraṅgam at the time of the record. As stated in another inscription (No. 16 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1938-39), which reads 'Vijaya-samvatsarattu Āshāḍha bahula dvādaśi-nāḷ Śrīraṅgattukku eṇṇandarāḷi, 'the king was at Śrīraṅgam on July 18, A. D. 1533. This was later than the occasion when, according to the *Achchuyutarāyābhūdayam*, he stayed here for some time, while his brother-in-law Salakam Tirumala had led the expedition down south against the Tiruvaḍi king.

² No. 91 of 1938-39.

³ *Tirupati Devasthanam Epigraphical Report* (1930), p. 245.

⁴ *Kōyiloḷuṅgu*, p. 72.

⁵ Many of the Sanskrit words in the Tamil portions are engraved in Grantha characters.

⁶ The other copies read *Anandanidhim* and *Anandanidhēr*.

⁷ Some of the other copies read *puratō*.

⁸ The other copies read *sva-saḷikṛitasya* and this reading has been followed in the translation.

⁹ Read *nav*.

4 Inda suvāmi varakkāṭṭi-arujīṇa ślōkam irañḍum Achchuta(Achyuta)dēva-Mak(h)ārāyar-
uḍaiya pādasēvai pa[ṟ*]ṟum Tuḷuva Veṅgaḷa-Nāyakkar magan Śīraṅgappa-
Nāyakkar adikārattil śilā-śādanam paṇṇiṇa-paḍikku kōvil-kkaṇakku Śīraṅga-
Nārāyaṇapriyaṇ eḷuttu [ḷ*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1) Be it well ! Hail ! Prosperity !

In the Śaka year 1461 (*expired*) corresponding to the (*cyclic*) year Vikārin, in the month of Bhādrapada, on Tuesday, which was a day of the twelfth *tithi* of the first fortnight, with Śravaṇa-nakshatra—Mahārājādhirāja Rājaparamēśvara śrī-Vīrapratāpa śrī-Vīra-Achyutarāya-Mahārāya was pleased to perform the *tulābhāra-mahādāna* (*ceremony*). For (*i.e.*, in commemoration of) this,¹ the queen (*rājamahishī*) of the Mahārāya named Ōduva Tirumalaidēvi-Ammaṇavargaḷ was pleased to compose two (*Sanskrit*) ślōkas.

(Ll. 2-3) (*In the hope that*) if this *dharma*² is conducted well, as long as the moon and the sun, in holy places such as Śīraṅgam, Chikka-Veṅkaṭādirirāya's descendants will rule the earth as emperors (*sārvabhaumas*), this epigraph was thus engraved in the shrine of god Śīraṅganātha.

In (*the*) Śaka (*year*) counted by *chandra* (1), *rasa* (6) and *amarēndra* (14), in the (*cyclic*) year Vikārin, on the day of the *tithi* called *dvādaśī*, in the increasing fortnight of Bhādrapada, which was a Tuesday with the *nakshatra* presided over by Viṣṇu (*i.e.*, Śravaṇa) king Achyuta by bestowing (*gifts of*) *Ānandanidhi*³ made Brāhmins like Dhanada⁴ (Kubēra) and pleased (*god*) Mādhava.

Though (*themselves*) *nava* (nine)⁵ how can the *nidhis* (*of*) Kubēra attain equality with the *Ānandanidhi* of king Achyuta of renowned valour, which has earned *nava* (new)⁶ celebrity (*or* *eulogy*)—for, while the former are surrounded by hosts of demons and are seized by crowds of serpents, the latter is protected by meritorious deeds and is coveted (*only*) by the assemblage of the good !

Be it well !

(L. 4) These two verses which were graciously sent by the *svāmi* (king), were engraved on stone during the regime of Ś[r*]īraṅgappa-Nāyaka, son of Tuḷuva Veṅgaḷa-Nāyaka and a subordinate of Achyutadēva-Mahārāya,—in attestation whereof, this is the writing (*i.e.*, signature) of the temple-accountant Śīraṅga-Nārāyaṇapriyaṇ.

¹ The word *idukku* is not appropriate, for the verses describe only the *Ānandanidhi*.

² There is some ambiguity here, for no *dharma* was actually made at Śīraṅgam on this occasion; it appears to be a shortened form of the *dharma-kīrtiya prasasti* of the Gadag and Anugere versions.

³ The word *ananta-nidhi* means 'inexhaustible treasure', but the more technical 'Ānandanidhi' of Hēmadri appears to have been intended.

⁴ The idea in the first verse is that the Brāhman-recipients of the rich gifts of *Ānanda-nidhi* were made to resemble Dhanada (Kubēra), the possessor of the nine *nidhis*; while the second verse says that king Achyuta's gifts, however, outvalued Kubēra's *nidhis*, for specified reasons.

⁵ A pun on *nava* = nine and *nava* = new.

No. 42.—LUCKNOW MUSEUM PLATE OF JAYACHCHANDRADEVA : V. S. 1237.

BY N. P. CHAKRAVARTI, M.A., PH.D., OOTACAMUND.

The record edited below is found on a single copper-plate now preserved in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow. No information is available as to where it was discovered. According to the information kindly supplied by Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal, Curator of the Lucknow Museum, it was purchased at Lucknow from Messrs. Mata Prasad Sita Ram of Benares on the 12th October, 1935.

The plate which is inscribed on one side only, measures 1' 7" × 1' 2". Its edges are fashioned thicker and raised into rims for the protection of the writing. In the upper part of the plate there is a hole for the passing of the ring. Both the ring and the seal which was once affixed to the ring, are now missing. The plate contains 36 lines of writing, the letters being about $\frac{1}{8}$ to $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch in height. It weighs about 502½ tolas. A piece in the left hand corner at the bottom of the plate is broken and lost. This has caused damage to the last four lines in each of which five or six letters are broken and lost. One letter in l. 13 and two or three letters in ll. 16-17 are also partly damaged. But there is nothing in the plate which cannot be restored from the other known records of the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj to which family the grant belongs.

The characters of the inscription are Nāgarī and the language Sanskrit. There are altogether 26 verses composed in different metres of which one is introductory in praise of Lakshmi and Vishnu found at the commencement of almost all the Gāhaḍavāla grants, 13 are devoted to the descriptions of the different rulers mentioned in the record and the last twelve are imprecation and benedictory verses. With the exception of these verses the rest of the record is in prose.

The inscription has been carefully written and in respect of orthography the following points may be noted : (1) *B* is denoted by the sign for *v* everywhere except in *babhrāmur*—in l. 8, e.g. *vāhuvalli-vamdh*° (l. 7), *-āmva* (l. 8), *Vali* (l. 10), *vahala* (l. 14), etc. (2) Combinations of consonants and nasals have been represented by both *anusvāra* and a nasal of the same class without any discrimination, e.g. *akvṛthōtkanṭha* and *ārambhē* (l. 1), *-Ēndra*° (l. 4), *-ōñkītā* (l. 5), *kumbhī*, *maṇḍala* (l. 6), *-ānumantā* (l. 29), etc., as against *saṁrambhah* (l. 1), *Mahichandra* (l. 3), *maṇḍalā* (l. 3), *sāṁdr* (l. 7), *Gōvīndachandra* (l. 8), *-īndra* (l. 11), *mantri* (l. 20), etc. (3) A consonant in conjunction with a subscript *r* has never been doubled but one following *r* has very often been doubled, e.g. *dōr-vikramēv-ārjjitam* (l. 4), *kīrtti*, *varṇita* (l. 10), *avatirṇṇa* (l. 12), etc., the few exceptions being *jayāriham*, *-ārthini* (l. 11), *nirjhara* (l. 14), etc. (4) *S* has been wrongly used for *ś* in *anisam* (l. 4), *śatasas*—(l. 5), *vasūd*—(l. 7), *rāsēh* (l. 8), etc., and *ś* for *s* in *-ōllasītaiḥ* (l. 5), *-āśrīg*, *udbhāsītaiḥ* (l. 7), *tīśrīshu* (l. 8), *yaśāmśi* (l. 11), *sahaśram* (l. 13), etc. (5) Final *m* is found only in *phalam* (l. 30), *anusvāra* being used in other places. (6) For want of sufficient space in a particular line when a part of a word had to be engraved in the next, sometimes one or two vertical strokes have been used at the end of the former to show the continuity, cf., for example the ends of ll. 21 and 33. The record contains a few other mistakes which have been corrected either in the text or in the footnotes accompanying it.

The donor of the grant is the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara-Paramamāhēśvara Jayachchandrādēva*, the Gāhaḍavāla ruler of Kanauj and Benares, of whom we have already sixteen records¹ dating from V. S. 1226 to V. S. 1245 (A. D. 1170-89). The present record does not contain any new information with the exception of what is imparted by the grant portion. The genealogy of the donor is given in verses 2-12 and once again in ll. 14-18 where the names of the first two members of the family are omitted. The list begins, as in the other

¹ See H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, pp. 536-41.

records of this family, with **Yaśōvighraha** (v. 2) whose son was **Mahāchandra** (v. 3). The latter's son was the P. M. P. **Chandradēva**, who is stated to have acquired the kingdom of **Kanyakubja** by the prowess of his arm. He is also said to have protected 'the holy *tīrthas* at **Kāśī, Kuśika, Uttarakōśala** and **Indrasthāna** (i.e., Benares, Kanyakubja, Ayōdhya and probably Indraprastha or Delhi)¹ after he had acquired them,' and bestowed to Brahmīns his weight in gold in hundreds. His successor was his son the P. M. P. **Madanapāla** and his son was the P. M. P. **Gōvindachandra** who 'by his creeper-like long arms secured the elephant which was the new(*ly acquired*) kingdom' (v. 8). Commenting on this verse Kielhorn observed: "Attention may also be drawn to the fact that the sovereignty over Kanyakubja is described as having been newly acquired, even when Gōvindachandra, the grandson of Chandradēva, was reigning."² But as this verse is found in the Kamauli Plate of V. S. 1171,³ the earliest known record of this ruler and which is separated by only five years from the last known record of his father Madanapāla,⁴ it is probable that *nava-rājya* in the verse refers to the kingdom to which Gōvindachandra newly succeeded. It was also this ruler who for the first time assumed the *birudas aśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājatray-ādhipati*, originally used by the Kalachuri rulers of Tripurī, the use of which was continued by all his successors. It is significant that these epithets appear for the first time in the Bengal Asiatic Society's plate of V. S. 1177⁵ which records the transfer by Gōvindachandra to one **Ṭhakkura Vasishṭha** of the village **Karaṇḍa** in the **Antarāla-pattalā** which was originally granted to the **Rājaḡuru Rudraśiva** by (the Kalachuri) **Yaśaḡkarṇa**. As these are not found even in the two grants⁶ of Gōvindachandra issued in V. S. 1176 it is obvious that shortly before the issue of the grant of V. S. 1177 the **Gāhaḡavāla** ruler wrested a part of the Kalachuri kingdom, probably from **Yaśaḡkarṇa** himself, and to mark the occasion assumed the *birudas* hitherto used by the Kalachuri kings. Gōvindachandra's son was the P. M. P. **Vijayachandra** whose son was the P. M. P. **Jayachandra**. **Vijayachandra** is stated to have "swept away the affliction of the globe by the streams (*of water flowing*) from the clouds in shape of the eyes of the wives of **Hammīra**, the abode of wanton destruction to the earth" (v. 10). There is little doubt that this passage contains a reference to some historical incident not known from other sources. As this event is referred to in the Kamauli Plate of **Vijayachandra** of V. S. 1224,⁷ the earliest record known of this ruler, it must have taken place between this date and V. S. 1211, the last known date of his father Gōvindachandra, i.e. between A. D. 1154 and A. D. 1167. It is, however, difficult to identify definitely this **Hammīra**. The earliest numismatic reference to this title is found on the coins of **Muhammad bin Sām** otherwise known as **Muhammad Ghūri**, whose invasion of India did not take place till a later period. Probably **Hammīra** was a popular designation for the Muslim chiefs in India, and therefore **Dr. H. C. Ray**⁸ may not be wrong in identifying **Hammīra** of these records with **Khusrav Malik Tāj-ud-Daulah** (1160-1186), the last prince of the **Yamīnī** dynasty, who was noted for his weakness as a ruler⁹ and who might have suffered a defeat at the hands of this **Gāhaḡavāla** ruler.

¹ See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 8, n. 46.

² *Ibid.*, p. 6.

³ Above, Vol. IV, p. 102 and n. 3.

⁴ *Viz.*, the **Rāhan** Plate of V. S. 1166 (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 15 ff.).

⁵ *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 123-24.

⁶ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 109 ff. and Vol. XVIII, pp. 218 ff.

⁷ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 118 ff.

⁸ *Dynastic History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 535-39. See also *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, p. 37.

⁹ Major **Raverty** notices two coins, one of **Khusrav Malik** and another of his father **Khusrav Shāh**, but the legends on them give them the titles of **Sulṭān** and **Bādshāh** respectively. See *Tabaqat-i-Nāṣiri*, Transl. (Bibl. Ind.), footnote under p. 114.

The date of the record is given both in words and in decimal figures in ll. 22-23 as Sunday, the 7th day of the bright half of Phālguna in the (Vikrama) Saṁvat 1237, when the sun had entered the Mīna (sign of the zodiac) and regularly corresponds to Sunday, the 22nd February, A.D. 1181.

The object of the grant is to record the gift of the village **Maṁdara** with **Kaḍāhī**¹ in the **Dēhaduāra-pattalā** by Jayachchandra-dēva. The recipient of the gift, which was made by the ruler after bathing in the Ganges at **Vārāṇasī** and performing other ceremonies connected with it, was the Brahmin Paṇḍit **Brahmaśarman** of the **Vatsa-gōtra** and the five *pravaras*, **Bhārggava**, **Chyavana**, **Apnavāna**, **Aurva** and **Jāmadagnya**. He was a son of the Paṇḍit **Gōtrānanda** and grandson of the Paṇḍit **Sarvānanda**. In l. 27 of the record, among the taxes to be paid to the donee, is found the phrase *yamali-kāmali* which is found also in some other records of this ruler in a slightly different form.² Its meaning, however, is not clear.

The writer of the plate was the *Mahākshapatālika* **Ṭhakkura Śrīpati** who figures as the writer of most of the copper-plate grants of **Jayachchandra-dēva**.

I am unable to identify the gift village and the *pattalā* in which it was situated.

TEXT.³

[Metres : Vv. 1, 3, 15-23, *Anuṣṭubh* ; vv. 2, 26, *Indracarā* ; vv. 4, 7, 13, *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* ; vv. 5, 6, 8, 11, 12, 25, *Vasantatīlakā* ; v. 9, *Drutavilambita* ; v. 10, *Mālinī* ; v. 14, *Sragdharā* ; v. 24, *Śālinī*.]

- 1 Om⁴ svasti || Akuṇṭhōtkauṇṭha-Vaikuṇṭha-kuṇṭhapīṭha-luṭhat-karaḥ | saṁrāmbhaḥ surat-ārambhē sa Śriyaḥ śrēyasē=stu vaḥ || [1|*] Āśī(sī)d-Asī(śī)tadyuti-[vaṁśa-jā]ta-kshmā-pāla-[mālāsu]
- 2 divaṁ gatāsu | sākshād=Vivasvān=iva bhūri-dhāmnā nāmnā **Yasōvighraha** ity=udārah || [2|*] Tat-sutō=bhūn=**Mahī[chaṁ]draś=chaṁdradhāma-nibhaṁ nijam(jam) | yēn=āpāram=akūpāra-pār[ē vyāpā]**
- 3 ritam yasāḥ || [3|*] Tasy=ābhūt=tanayō nay-aika-rasikaḥ krānta-dvishan-maṁḍalō vi-dhvaet-ōddhata-dhīra-yōdha-timirah śrī-**Chāṁdradēvō** nripah | yēn=ōdāratara-pratāpa-śamit-āsēsha-praj-ōpadrava[m]
- 4 śrīmad-**Gādhīpur-ādhīrājyam=asamaṁ dōr=vvikramēṇ=ārjjitam(tam) || [4|*] Tīrthāni **Kāśī-Kuśīk-Ōttarakōśal-Ēndrasthānīyakāni** paripālayat=ādhighamva(mya) | hēm=ātma-tulyam=anisaṁ(śam) dadatā dvij[ē]**
- 5 bhyō yēn=ānkitā vasumatī śatasa(śa)s=tulābhiḥ || [5|*] Tasy=ātmajō **Madanapāla** iti kshītīndra-chūḍāmaṇir=vvijayatē nija-gōtra-chaṁdraḥ | yasy=ābhishēka-kalāś-ōllāśī(sī)-taiḥ payōbbhiḥ prakshā-
- 6 litam kali-rajaḥ-pāṭalam dharitryāḥ || [6|*] Yasy=āsīd=vijsaya-prayāṇa-samayē tuṅg-āchal-ōchchais-chalan-mādyat-kumbhi-pada-kram-āsama-bhara-bhra[ś]yan-mahī-maṇḍalē | chūḍāratna-vibhina(nna)-tālu-ga-
- 7 lita-styān-āśrī(śrī)g-udbhāśī(sī)taḥ Śēshah pēsha-vasā(śā)d=iva kshāṇam=asau krōḍē nilā-ānanah || [7|*] Tasmād=ajāyata nij-āyata-vā(bā)hu-valli-vaṁ(baṁ)dh-āvaruddha-navarāja-gajō narēndrah | sām̄dr-ām̄ri-

¹ Probably Kaḍāhī was a *pāṭaka* attached to the village of Mandara.

² See *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 137 ff. (Nos. H, I, J and K) and above, Vol. IV, p. 129.

³ From an impression which I owe to the courtesy of Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal, the Curator of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

- 8 ta-drava-muchām prābhavō gavām yō **Gōvindhachandhra** iti chamdra iv-āmvu(mbu)-rās(s)ēh || [8||*] Na katham=apy-alabhanta raṇa-kshamāns-tis(s)riṣhu dikshu gajān-atha vajriṇa[h] || (l) kakubhi babhrāmur-Abhrāmuvallabhah(bha)-
- 9 pratibhātā iva yasva(sya) ghatā-gajāh || [9||*] Ajani **Vijayachandro** nāma tasmān-[na]-rēndrah Surapatir-iva bhūbhrit-paksha-vichchēda-dakshah | bhuvana-dalana-hēlā-hārmmya-**Hammīha(rā)**-nārī-nayāna-jala-¹
- 10 da-dhārā-dhauta-bhūlōka-tāpah || [10||*] Lōka-trāy-ākramāṇa-kēli-viśimkhalāni prakhyātā-kīrtti-kavi-varṇita-vāibhavāni | yāsya Trivikrama-pada-krama-bhāmji bhānti prōjja-(jjiim)bhayanti Vā(Ba)li-
- 11 rāja-bhayam yasāmsi(sī) || [11||*] Yasmitś-chalaty-udadhi-nēmā-māhī-jayārtham mādyatkar-īndra-guru-bhāra-nipidit-ēva | yāti Prajāpati-padam sa(sa)raṇ-ārthini bhūs-tvaṅgaturāṅga-nivāh-ōttha-rājās-chhalēna || [12||*]
- 12 Tasmād-adbhuta-vikramād-atha **Jaya(ch*)chandr-ābhidhānaḥ** patir-bhūpānām-avatiṅga ēśha bhuvan-ōddhārāya Nārāyaṇah | dvaidhībhāvam-apāsya vighraha-ruchiṁ dhik-kṛitya sā(sā)nt-āsā(śā)yāh sēvantē yam-udagra-
- 13 van(bam)dhana-bhaya-dhvats-ārthinaḥ pārthivāh || [13||*] Gachchēn-mūrchehām-atuchchām na yadi kavalay[ō]-kūrmma-prishth-ābhighāta-pratyāvṛitta-śram-ārttō namād-akhila-phāpa-sv(sv)āsa-vā[tyā]*-sahāśraṁ(śram) | udyōgē yasya dhāva-
- 14 d-dharaṇidhara-dhūni-nirjhara-sphāra-dhāra-bhraśvad-dāna-dvip-āli-va(ba)hala-bhara-galad-dhairya-mudrah phauṁdrah || [14||*] Sō-yam samasta-rāja-chakra-saṁsēvita-charanaḥ [*] Sa cha Paramabhāṭṭāraka-Mahārāja-
- 15 dhirāja-Paramēsva(śva)ra-Paramamāhēsvara-nija-bhuj-ōpārjita-śrī-**Kanyakuvj(bj)**-ādhipati-(tya)-śrī-**Chandradēva**-pādā[n]udhyāta-Paramabhāṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-Paramēsvara-Paramamāhēsvara-śrī-**Ma-**
- 16 **da[napā]lādēva**-pādānudhyāta-Paramabhāṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēsvara-Paramamāhēsvar-āśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājatray-ādhipati-vividha-vidyā-vichāra-Vāchaspati-
- 17 śrī-**Gōvindhachandradēva**-pādānudhyāta-Paramabhāṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēsvara-Paramamāhēsvar-āśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājatray-ādhipati-vividha-vidyā-vichāra-Vā-
- 18 chaspati-śrī-**Vijayachandradēva**-pādānudhyāta-Paramabhāṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēsvara-Paramamāhēsvar-āśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājatray-ādhipati-vividha-vidyā-vichā-
- 19 ra-Vāchaspati-śrīmaḥ-**Jayachchandradēvo** vijay|| **Dēhaduāra**-pat'alāyām | **Kaḍāhi-saha-Māmdarā**-grāma-nivēsinō nikhila-janāpadān-upagatān-āpi cha rāja-rājñi-yuvarāja-
- 20 meritri-purōhita-pratihāra-sēnāpati-bhāmāgārik-ākshapatalika-bhishag-naimittik-āntah-purika-dūta-kari-turaga-pattanākarasthāna-gōkulādhuikāri-purushān-ājñāpaya-
- 21 ti vō(bō)dhayaty-ādisati cha ||[*] Viditam-astu bhavatām yath-ōparilikhita-grāmaḥ sa-jala-sthalaḥ sa-lōha-lavaṇ-ākaraḥ sa-matsy-ākaraḥ sa-garti-ōsharaḥ sa-giri-gabana-nidhānaḥ sa-²
- 22 ma(dhuk-ā)mra-vana-vātikā-viṭapa-tṛiṇa-yūti-gōchāra-paryantaḥ s-ōrddh[v*]-ādha[s*]-chatur-āghāta-visu(śu)ddhaḥ sva-simā-paryantaḥ **śa(sa)pta-(trīm)sa(śa)ḍ-ādhiika-dvā-dasa(śa)-śata-samvatsarē Phālgunē māsi**³

¹ There are two *dasdas* here to show that the word is continued in the next line.

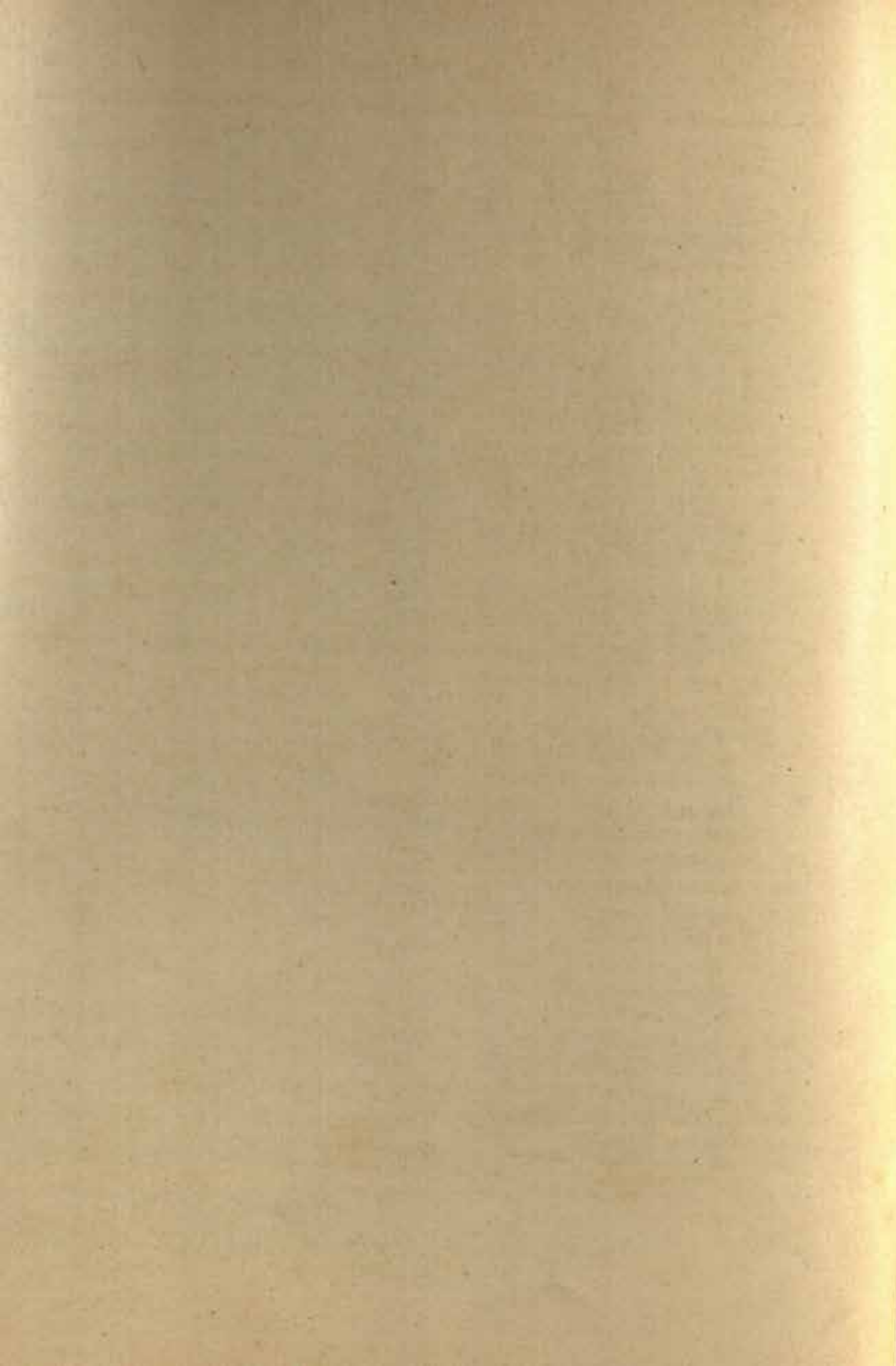
² This letter is damaged.

³ There is a mark here to show that the phrase is continued in the next line.

⁴ There is a superfluous *dasda* here.

Handwritten text in Devanagari script, likely a manuscript or historical document. The text is densely packed and covers the majority of the page. It appears to be a collection of verses or a narrative, with some lines starting with numbers 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, 34, and 36. The script is somewhat faded and difficult to read in many places due to the age and condition of the document.

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- 23 **śukla-pakshē saptamyān-tithau Ravi-dinē aṅkatō-pi samvat 1237 Phālguna-**
sudi 7 Ravau Mīna-gatē savitari | ady=ēha śrīmad-Vārāpasyān Gaṅgāyām snātvā
vidhivan-mahtra-dēva-mū(mu)ni-
- 24 manuja-bhūta-pitriṅgānās-tarppayitvā timira-pāṭala-pāṭana-paṭu-mahasam=Ushnarōchisham
=upasthāy-Ō(Au)shadhipati-śakala-śekharam samabhyarchchya tri-bhuvana-trātur-bhaga-
vatō Vāsudēva-
- 25 sya pūjām vidhāya prachura-pāyasēna havishā havirbhujām hutvā mātā-pitrōr-ātmanaś=
cha puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛiddhayē asmābhir-ggōkarṇa-kusalatā-pūta-karatal-ōdaka-pūr-
vvakam Vata-¹
- 26 gōtrāya Bhārggava-Chyavan-Āpnavān-Aurvyā-Yā(Jā)madagny-ēti-paṇcha-pravarāya paṇ-
ḍita-śrī-Sarvvānanda-putrāya paṇḍita-śrī-Gōtrānanda-putrāya paṇḍita-śrī-Vra(Bra)-
hmaśarmmaṅ[ē] vrā(brā)hmaṅāya chaṇdr-ā-
- 27 rk[kaṁ] yāvach=chhāsanīkritya pradattō matvā yathādiyamāna-bhāga-bhōga-kara-pravaṇi-
kara-yamali-kāmali-prabhṛiti-niyat-āniyata-samast-ādāyān-ājūavidhēyibhūya dāsyā-
- 28 th-ēti || || Bhavanti ch=ātra ślōkāḥ || Bhūmim yaḥ pratigrihṇāti yaś=cha bhūmiv praya-
chchhati | ubhau tau puṇya-karmṇāṇau niyataṁ svargga-gāminau || [15||*] Saṁ(Śaṁ)-
khaṁ bhadr-āsanam chchhatraṁ var-āśvā va-
- 29 ra-vāraṇāḥ | bhūmi-dānasva(sya) chihnāni phalam-ētat=Puraṁdara || [16||*] Shasṭī[m]
varsha-sahaśrā(srā)ṇi svarggē vasati bhūmidah | āchchhētā ch=ānumantā cha tāny-ēva
narakē vasēt || [17||*] Va(Ba)hubhir=vva-
- 30 sudhā bhuktā rājabhiḥ Sagar-ādibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadā bhūmis=tasya tasya tadā phalam
|| [18||*] Sva-dattām para-dattām vā yō harēta vasuṁdharām sa viśṭhāyām kṛimir=
bhūtvā pītri-
- 31 bhīḥ saba majjati || [19||*] Vāri-hiṁ[ē]shv-aranyēshu śushka-kōṭara-vāsinaḥ | kṛiṣṇa-
sarppās=cha jāyantē dēva-vra(bra)hma-sva-hāriṇāḥ || [20||*] Na viśam viśam-ity-āhur-
vra(bra)hma-svaṁ viśam=uchyatē | viśa-
- 32 m-ē[kā]kinam hanti vra(bra)hma-svaṁ putra-pautrikam(kam) || [21||*] Taḍāgānām sahaśrē-
(srē)ṇa Vājapēya-śatēna cha | gavām kōṭi-pradānēna bhūmi-hartā na su(su)dhyaṭi || [22||*]
Asmad-varṇsa(śē) parikshīṇē yaḥ ka-²
- 33 [ś=chīn=nrīpatir=bha*]vēt | tasy-āhanī kara-lagnō=smi śāsanaṁ na vyatikramēo(t) || [23||*]
Sarvvān-ētāna(n)=bhāvinaḥ pārthiva(v-ē)ndrān bhūyō bhūyō yāchatē Rāmabhadraḥ |
sāmānyō=yaṁ dha-³
- 34 [rma-sētur=nrīpā*]ṇām kālē kālē pālanīyō bhavadbhiḥ || [24||*] Vāt-ābhra-vibhramva(ma)-
m=idam vasudh-ādhipatyam=āpāta-mātra-madburā viśay-ōpabhōgāḥ | prāṇās-triṅ-
āgra-jala-vim-
- 35 [du-samā narānāni*]ḥ dharmmaḥ sakhā param=ahō para-lōka-yānē || [25||*] Yān-īha dattāni
purā narēndrair-ddānāni dharmm-ārtha-yaśaskarāṇi | nirmālya-vānta-pratimāni tāni kō ⁴
- 36 [nāma sādhuḥ puna*]r-ādādīta || [26||*] Likhitaṁ ch=ēdam tām[ra]-paṭṭakam mshāksha-
paṭalika-ṭhakkura-śrī-Śrīpatibhir=iti ||

¹ There is a superfluous *dasda* here.² There is a mark here to show that the word is continued in the next line.³ The portion within square brackets is lost.⁴ *Dasda* superfluous.

No. 43.—VILAVATTI GRANT OF PALLAVA SIMHAVARMAN.

BY C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU, B.A., MADRAS

The plates containing the grant were brought to my notice by Mr. K. Ramakoteswara Rao, B.A., B.L., Editor, "*Triveni*", Madras, and placed by him in my hands for examination in September 1933. He informed me that they had originally been lent to him by Sri (now Hon'ble) Berwada Gopala Reddi, Minister for Local Self-Government to the Government of Madras. In reply to my enquiry regarding the history of the discovery of the set Sri Reddigaru informed me that it was discovered at **Vavvēru**, a village one and a half miles to the west of his native village Buchohireddipājem in the Kōvūr taluk of the Nellore District, Madras Presidency. The plates were originally unearthed by Satyavēlu Rāmi Rēddi of the former village some time about the year 1928 while digging *pāṭimattī* (i.e., earth in the old village-site), at about eight feet below the surface level. Some earthen pots are also reported to have been found along with the plates but as they were broken, they were not preserved. The plates were subsequently purchased by me for the Government Museum, Madras, and are now deposited there.

This inscription has been noticed by me in the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for the year 1933-34 as No. 1 of App. A and its contents are briefly reviewed in Part II (p. 30) of the same report.

The set consists of **five plates**, four of which measure 9 inches while the fifth measures only 8½ inches in length and all of them measure 2½ inches in width. They are held together by a circular ring of the same metal measuring about 3½ inches in diameter, which passes through a ring-hole, measuring ½ inch in diameter, near the left margin of the plates. The ends of the ring are soldered into the bottom of a circular seal measuring roughly one inch in diameter. On its plain surface the seal bears the relief of a couchant bull facing the proper left and seated on a stand which is indicated by a thin horizontal line in relief. Above the bull is a relief carving of a wavy line which may represent the sea, and above it is the figure of what appears to be an anchor. The latter seems to be tied on to what looks like a post on the right hand side.

The first and the last plates are inscribed on one side only, while the rest bear writing on both the sides. The ring had been cut and soldered in one place and cut in another place before the plates reached me. There is, however, no report of impressions of the plates having been taken before.¹ The plates with the ring and seal weigh 121 *tolas*.

The outstanding feature of the document is its elegant execution. The composition is also carefully done observing the rules of *sandhi* in almost all cases.

The **script** of the plates closely resembles that of the Uruvupalli grant of the same king. Most of the letters in both the grants are **box-headed**,² which is a somewhat rare feature in South Indian epigraphs. For example this characteristic is not noticed in the Māngaḷūr grant of this king wherein the top-strokes (*talakattu*) of letters are rather thick but not box-shaped.

In our grant some letters are arrow- or nail-headed as they are sometimes called (e.g., *ka*, *cha*, *ra*, *va*, and *bha*, in lines 3 ff.). Another point to be noticed is that while the plates of the Uruvupalli, Māngaḷūr and Pīkīra grants are numbered in numerical figures cut on their proper right

¹ I understand that Mr. M. S. Sarma of the *Bhārati* Office, Madras, examined the document before he sent them to me at Mr. Ramakoteswara Rao's instance.

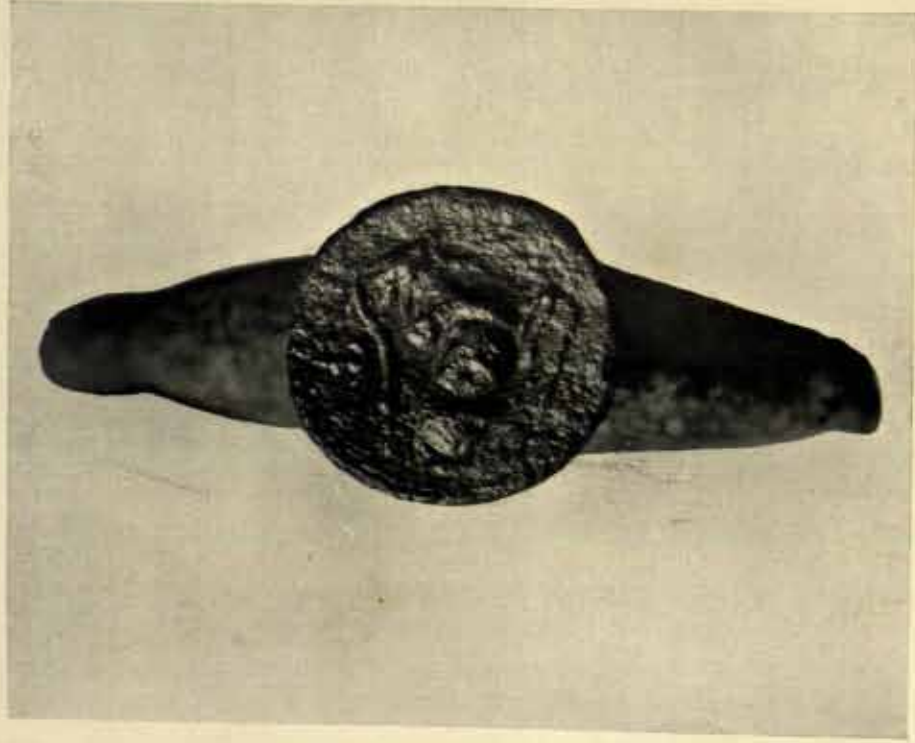
² Cf. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, plate opposite page 50.

SEALS OF THREE PALLAVA COPPER-PLATE GRANTS.

- B. Chura Grant of Pallava Vijaya-Vishnugopavarman.
(Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIV, pp. 137ff.)



- A. Vilavatti Grant of Pallava Simhavarman.
(Ep. Ind., Vol. XXIV.)



- C. Pikira Grant of Simhavarman.
(Ep. Ind., Vol. VIII, pp. 159ff.)



margins, the plates under examination are not numbered so. A third noteworthy point is that while all the known grants of the king begin with the invocation *Jitam Bhagavatā* preceded, in two cases (Māṅgaḷūr and Pīkīra grants), by a spiral which has been rendered by Hultzsch as *Om*¹, our grant commences with the expression *Seasti* like the two other known Pallava records, viz., the Ōṅgōḍu grant of Vijaya-Skandavarman² and the Chendalūr plates of Kumāravishṇu.³

The emblem on the seal of the Uruvupalli grant was originally made out by Dr. Fleet to be a 'dog',⁴ but from deference to native opinion he later accepted it to be a 'lion'. The illustration accompanying the facsimiles of the grant suggests a wild animal like a dog or a wolf, sitting on its four legs and about to pounce. The short tail of the animal precludes its being taken for a lion which must conventionally have a long and curling tail.

The seal of the Māṅgaḷūr grant⁵ is not described or depicted but the animal on that of the Pīkīra grant⁶ appears from the description given by Venkayya to resemble the one on the seal of the Uruvupalli grant. Unfortunately the Ōṅgōḍu grant carries no seal and consequently the seal of the present set gains importance as being the only well-preserved one of this king known so far. The animal here is clearly a **bull**, with a prominent hump, seated facing the proper left, and having a pretty heavy dew-lap. Above the bull appears to be what looks like an anchor as already stated or, a boat as assumed by me in my *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1934 (p. 30, para. 4). Attention may be drawn here to a Pallava coin bearing the effigy of a bull on one side and that of a double-masted boat on the other, illustrated by Sir W. Elliot.⁷

In the seal of the Prākṛit charter issued by Vijaya-Buddhavarman's queen Chārudōvī, the animal had been originally taken⁸ to be a deer but a closer examination would reveal it to be a standing bull facing the proper right, the hump rather indistinct. The view taken by me on the first examination of Fleet's facsimile is confirmed by an examination of the better illustration of the seal which appears in the plate published by Dr. Hultzsch.⁹

A few important **orthographical** peculiarities may be noticed here. The long *ī* attached to the consonants is distinguished by an inward curl. While in some other records of this king the word *jitam* in the invocation *Jitam-Bhagavatā* is written with a final *m* conjoined with the succeeding letter *bha*, here it is incised with an *anusvāra* as in the Uruvupalli and the Ōṅgōḍu grants. But the conjunct letter is employed in *Lōkapālānām-pañchamasya* in l. 6 and in *°yājīnām-Pallavānām-Mahārājah* in l. 13. The *anusvāra* is replaced by the class nasal: *kshētrañ=cha* in l. 14, *sārīran=danḍam=* in l. 22, *paran=dānam=* in l. 23, *ghōran=na* in l. 24, etc. Consonants following *r* are invariably doubled as in all early grants, and as in some other earlier ones the consonants preceding *r* are also doubled as for example in *parākkramō* in l. 10. The forms *pādā-muddhyātō* in l. 11 and *sarvādhyaksha* in l. 14 may also be noticed. Above all, the employment of the Tamiḷ letter for *ḷa* in *Vilavatti* (l. 13) is noteworthy and indicates the influence of Tamiḷ on the composer of this grant though it originated in and related to the Telugu country.

The epithet *vaṭṭa* in the expression *vaṭṭa-grāmēyakāḥ* (l. 21) meaning the officers of the grouped villages also suggests the influence of Tamiḷ. I understand that in Mahārāshṭra and Hyderābād the expression *vaṭṭam-jāghīrdār* is in vogue.

¹ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 161, Text.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XV, pp. 251 f.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII, p. 234.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 50.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, p. 154.

⁶ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 160.

⁷ *Coins of Southern India*, Plate I, No. 38.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 101.

⁹ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 144.

Several wrong forms, evidently due to oversight, are noticeable: e.g., *grama* for *grāma* and *grāka* for *grāsaka* in l. 15, *sumukhājñāptyā* for *svamukhā*² in l. 30 and *casundhārā* for *casundharā* in l. 25. The expression *kshētram* in l. 14 appears to be used in the sense of a 'department' or 'committee' in charge of the village. We may compare in this connection the expression *Ōṅgōḍu-grāmas=cha vaktavyāḥ* used in the Ōṅgōḍu grant of Vijaya-Skandavarman.³

The grant was issued from **Vijaya-Paddukkar-ādhishṭhāna** by **Mahārāja śrī-Sīrṅhavarman**, son of Yuvamahārāja śrī-**Vishṅugōpa**, grandson of śrī-**Skandavarman** and great grandson of śrī-**Viravarman**, who belonged to the **Bhāradvāja-gōtra** and the family of the **Pallavas** that had performed several *Aśvamēdha* sacrifices. It registers the gift of the village **Vijavattī** in **Munḍa-rāshṭra** together with its hamlet (*sa-grāsakaḥ*), with the several taxes (specified below) which were the property of the king, to (the Brāhman) **Vishṅuśarman** of the **Gautama-gōtra** and the **Chhandōga(-śākhā)**.

The inscription is dated in the tenth year of the king's increasingly victorious reign (*samēdhamāna-vijaya-rājya*), on the fifth (*tithi*) of the bright fortnight of Śrāvāṇa (*Śrāvāṇyām*).

The main interest of the record is in the enumeration of the several taxes which the king was entitled to collect from the village and which are now given away by him. Attention may be drawn in this connection to the eighteen kinds of *parihāras* (*ashṭādasa-jātībhiḥ parihāraiḥ*) mentioned but not enumerated in the Uruvupalli grant. As regards the taxes the king's command runs thus:—"whichever taxes are payable in this village by metal-workers and leather-workers (*lōha-charmakāra*), the shop-keeping cloth-dealers (*āpaṇa-paṭṭa-kāra*), licensed spies (!) going about in loose masks or garments (*prāvārañchara*⁴), rope-jugglers or dancers (*rajju-pratihāra*), shops (in general) (*āpaṇa*)⁵, Ājīvikas (a class of Jains mendicants), the taxes payable by barbarians and outcastes (*nāhala*), *mukhadharakas*⁶ (mask-actors), water-diviners (*kūpa-darśakas*⁶), weavers (*tantravāya*), taxes on gambling (*dyūta*), marriage (*vicāha*) and barbers (*nāpita*), and the taxes or tithes payable by the artisans enjoying the privileges of *sarvaparihāra* (!) and such other taxes that belong to me, have been given to this (Brāhman) as *brahmadēya*. The officers of the *paṭṭa-grāmas*⁶ shall accordingly do my bidding. Others shall (duly) render and cause the dues to be rendered unto the donee. Whoever transgresses this charter of mine, that sinner will undergo corporal punishment." The order for the gift was issued orally by the king and committed to writing by the Private Secretary (*Rahasyādhipikṛta*) **Achyuta**.

¹ Above, Vol. XV, p. 251, Text, l. 10.

² These probably represent the begging *buḍu-bukki*s who go about in loose and heavy garments.

³ If *rajju-pratihār-āpaṇa* be construed as one compound, it would indicate 'booths of rope-jugglers or dancers'.

⁴ Alternatively we might understand this expression to refer to a particular class of self-mortifying devotees known as *mukhēnādāyīn*.

⁵ [Many of the terms in ll. 18-19 are met with here for the first time and are difficult to explain. It appears to me that tax levied for the maintenance of certain offices is indicated in l. 18. Accordingly, I would prefer to take *paṭṭakāra* not in the sense of 'silk-weaver' but in that of *paṭṭalēkhin* or writer of official documents. *Prāvārañchara* is probably the same as *Saūcharantaka* of the Uruvupalli grant and *Saūcharin* of other early records. I am not certain whether *rajju* is to be taken separately or to be compounded with the preceding or succeeding word. *Rajju* and *chōrarajju* are found in the *Arthasāstra* as fiscal terms. *Rajjuka* as an official designation occurs not only in the edicts of Aśoka but also in such later records as belonging to the Āndhra and Vākāṭaka rulers (see above, p. 54). *Āpaṇ-ājīvika* has probably to be taken as one word meaning 'those who live by shops', i.e., shop-keepers in general as distinguished from smiths and leather-workers (*lōha-charmakār-āpaṇa*). *Kūpa-darśaka* may be 'an inspector of wells'.—Ed.]

⁶ If *paṭṭa* is a Prākṛit form of *paṇṣa* the expression would mean *bhāga-grāmēyakas*, i.e., officers of the subsidiary villages. Cf. also the Telugu expression *Onḍūāra*.

The epithets and eulogies applied in our grant to the several kings are almost the same as those found in the allied grants, viz., the Uruvupalli, Pikira and Ōṅgōḍu ones with slight interchanges. The phraseology of the Māṅgaḷūr grant is quite distinct from that of the other charters of the king, and its author Nēmi seems to have composed it in an almost independent and original style of his own without borrowing from any of the other grants of the family. The practice in the plates appears to have been to apply a particular set of attributes to the particular generation irrespective of the actual king concerned. If we compare the text of the Uruvupalli grant with the rest we find that the same set of epithets is applied in all to the great grandfather, the grandfather, the father of the king and the king of the grant, irrespective of any particular king. Thus, epithets applied to Skandavarman I, the first member in the Uruvupalli grant, are applied to Viravarman, the first member in the other grants. But the epithets *vasudhā-tal-aika-vīra* or *prithvī-tal-aika-vīra* is applied consistently in all to king Viravarman and this one appears to have been particularly his personal attribute. Skandavarman I, his son Viravarman and the latter's son Skandavarman II of the Uruvupalli grant are mentioned in the earlier Ōṅgōḍu grant of Vijaya-Skandavarman II but with quite a different set of attributes. Viravarman is not therein called the sole hero of the world. Some other epithets of the later grants are traceable in the earlier Ōṅgōḍu grant, viz., *anēka-samāra-labdha-vijaya-yaśah-pratāpa*¹ (for *prakāśa* of later grants) and *pratāp-ōpanata-rāja-maṅḍalaḥ*,² which are applied to Viravarman. It therefore appears that the ornate eulogy of the several kings was for the first time composed and brought into use in the reign of Vishṅugōpa and uniformly adopted in all the known grants of his son Simhavarman except in the Māṅgaḷūr grant as already remarked.

In connection with this and the allied grants there exists what we may call the "Simhavarman problem." Dr. Fleet assigned the Uruvupalli plates to Simhavarman, a supposed elder brother of Vishṅugōpa³ and made him Simhavarman I of the dynasty. Dr. Hultzsch, while editing the Pikira grant of Simhavarman, has attempted to solve the difficulty by assuming the non-existence of an elder brother of Vishṅugōpa by name Simhavarman and the passing of the succession from Skandavarman II to Simhavarman without Vishṅugōpa ever having ascended the throne, on the ground that he is entitled only *Yuvarāja* or *Yuvamahārāja*.⁴ If Vishṅugōpa did not succeed to the throne there is no meaning in saying that he 'made a gift' as the Uruvupalli charter states. I think there is not much justification for Dr. Hultzsch's supposition. The assumption of the title *Yuvarāja* or *Yuvamahārāja* which appears to have been due to some dynastic convention or exigency does not by itself deny accession to Vishṅugōpa as it did not in the case of the Eastern Chālukya king Maṅgi-Yuvarāja.⁵ The Mayidavōlu plates were issued by Yuvamahārāja Śivaskandavarman. Professor Dubreuil who has made a special study of the Pallava dynasty accepts that Vishṅugōpa did rule,⁶ but follows Dr. Fleet in assuming a Simhavarman as the elder brother of Vishṅugōpa. Hultzsch and Dubreuil are partially right and partially wrong. We need not either suppose with the former that Vishṅugōpa did not ascend the throne or agree with the latter and Dr. Fleet that he had an elder brother named Simhavarman. I would suggest that the difficulty can be solved by supposing that the Uruvupalli grant originally made by Vishṅugōpa was, for some reasons not known, formally issued by his son Simhavarman

¹ In the Uruvupalli and other plates this epithet is applied to Viravarman's grandson Vishṅugōpa.

² In the Uruvupalli plates this epithet is given to Viravarman, but in the other grants of Simhavarman, to his son Skandavarman II. The eulogies applied to the several generations of kings in the Uruvupalli plates are indifferently applied to the kings figuring in the Chendalūr plates of Kumāravishṅu II (above, Vol. VIII, p. 235).

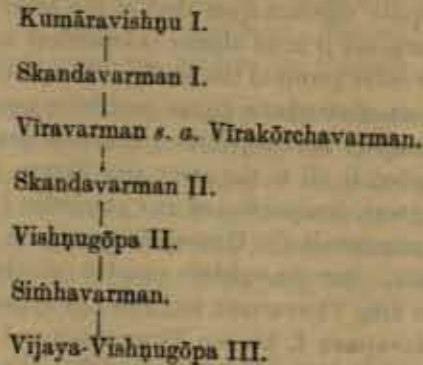
³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 50 and 154.

⁴ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 160.

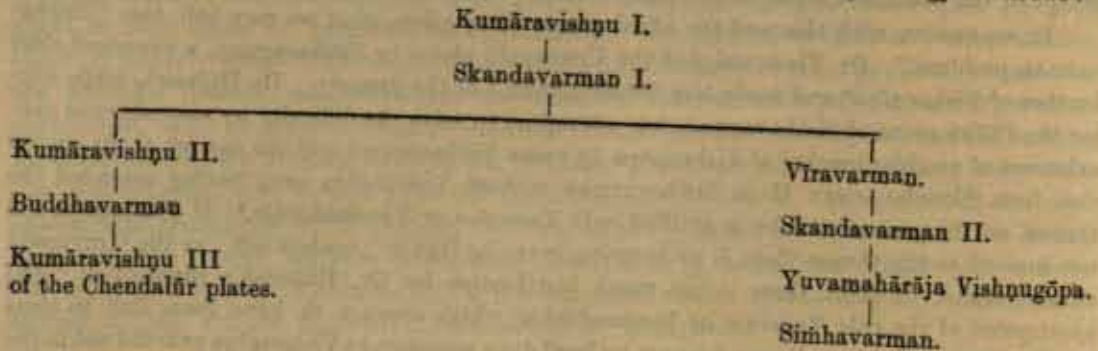
⁵ See my remarks in the article on the Churā grant of Vijaya-Vishṅugōpavarman, above, p. 139.

⁶ *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 63.

in the eleventh year of the latter's reign.¹ The Pallava genealogy for this period would therefore stand thus :—



Dubreuil² supposes that Skandavarman of the Chendalūr plates was the father of Kumāravishṇu I of the earlier Ōṃgōḍu grant. On the other hand it would be reasonable to identify him with Skandavarman II, son of Viravarman, and grandson of Skandavarman I, because of the epithets applied to him which are mostly the same as those given to him in the Pikira and Ōṃgōḍu grants and our present grant, though epithets alone are not sufficient for the identification of kings as the same epithets are applied to different kings, as pointed out by me above. If, however, my identification is correct, we may have, for this period, a tentative genealogy as follows :—



This arrangement would not only suit Dr. Hultzsch's argument about the later nature of the characters of the Chendalūr plates but also we have a clue herein to suppose that the first Kumāravishṇu of these plates was probably named after his grandfather³ Kumāravishṇu of the earlier Ōṃgōḍu grant. This would also remove the inconsistency in Prof. Dubreuil's scheme which, while suggesting a palaeographical resemblance⁴ between the Uruvupalli and the Chendalūr charters, places Kumāravishṇu II of the latter on a collateral plane with Viravarman, the grandfather of Vishṇugōpa and the great grandfather (according to Dr. Hultzsch) of Siṃhavarman of the former. With these arguments kept in our view we will have to designate Kumāravishṇu, the donor of the Chendalūr plates as Kumāravishṇu III. His father Buddhavarman is stated in the Vēlūrpaḷaiyam plates, to have conquered the Chōlas⁵ while his grandfather Kumāravishṇu had

¹ [The conjecture seems to be rather far-fetched. On the other hand the position of Vishṇugōpa seems to have been such that he was not able to issue any document in his own name.—Ed.]

² *Loc. cit.*, pp. 66ff.

³ The genealogical table given on p. 503 of *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, drawn up before the discovery of the Ōṃgōḍu grants, requires modification.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, p. 67.

⁵ *S. I. I.*, Vol. II, p. 502.

captured (preferably re-captured) Kāñchī which had been the Pallava capital in the earlier generations. With sufficient reason are the Chendalūr plates issued from Kāñchīpura and the donee is, very naturally, a native of a village in its vicinity, the name of which though not read by Dr. Hultzsch, may, I think, be safely read as Pu||a|ūru¹ and identified with the village of that name situated 9 miles north of Conjeeveram.²

Discussing the initial date of Simhavarman Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri remarks: "If the initial date derived from the *Lokavibhāga* for Simhavarman II is to be accepted there must have been in A.D. 440, the fourth year of the king, a solar eclipse in the month of Chaitra. This, however, does not happen to be the fact."³ I regret, I have to differ from Mr. Sastri and point out that Dr. Schram's Tables of the *Eclipses of the Sun in India* record an eclipse on the 17th of May in A.D. 440. The month of Chaitra in certain years overlaps the month of May and definitely such is the case in the years in which there is an *Adhika* and a *Nija* Chaitra month. So it is quite possible to assume that in the Chaitra of A.D. 440 there was a solar eclipse. Consequently the assumption of A.D. 436 as the initial year for Simhavarman would be fully justifiable. So the date of our grant which is dated in the tenth year of his reign would correspond to A.D. 446.

Muṇḍa-rāshṭra is also mentioned in the Uruvupalli and Píkira grants of Simhavarman.⁴ It is evidently identical with the later *Muṇḍa-nāḍu* or *Muṇḍai-nāḍu* of the *Nellore Inscriptions*.⁵ *Vilavatti*, the gift village may possibly be the village Vavvēru where the plates were discovered or with greater probability it may be the village Viḍavalūru, about 12 miles east of it. Both the villages are in the Kōvūr taluk. *Paddukkar-ādhishṭhāna* from which the charter was issued may be identified with the village Paḍugupāḍu about 9 miles south by east of Vavvēru in the same taluk. This is now a Railway station a little distance from the northern bank of the river Pennār on the Madras-Calcutta line and within a mile from Kōvūr.

TEXT.⁶

First Plate.

- 1 Svasti[*] Jitam Bhagavatā [*] śrī-Vijaya-Paddukkar-ādhishṭhānē parama-brahma-nyasya sva-bā-
- 2 hu-nirjīṭ-ārjīṭa-⁷kshātra-tapō-nidhēḥ vidhi-vihita-sarvva-⁸maryyādā-sthiti-sthīta-
- 3 sy-āmit-ātmanō mahārājasya ⁹prithivī-tal-aika-vīrasya śrī-Viravarmmaṣṭh prapau-
- 4 trasy-ātyuchchīta¹⁰-śakti-siddhi-sampannasya pratāp-ōpanata-rāja-maṇḍalasya Bhaga-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 5 vad-bhakti-sad-bhāva-sambhāvita-sarvva-kalyāṇasy-ānēka-gō-hiraṇya-bbūmy-ādi-pradānai[ḥ]
- 6 ¹¹pravṛitta-dharmma-saṅchayasya prajā-pālana-dakshasya Lōkapālānām-pañchamasya¹² mahā-

¹ The reading Puṭṭukākā given in *Nellore Inscriptions*, p. 1421d, must be given up.

² Sewell, *List of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 188.

³ Above, Vol. XV, p. 253.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 51 ff. and above, Vol. VIII, pp. 160 and 163.

⁵ *Nellore Inscriptions* :—See *Nellore* 19, 31, 61, 71, 72 and 121. The villages mentioned in connection with this *nāḍu* would all point to the Kōvūr taluk of the Nellore District in which the present plates were discovered. The southern portion of the Kandukūr taluk also would go into this *rāshṭra*.

⁶ From the original plates and ink-impressions prepared in my office.

⁷ Read *-bal-ārjīṭ-ārjīṭa-* as in other plates.

⁸ The Uruvupalli and Píkira grants read *maryyādasya*.

⁹ The Uruvupalli grant has *vasudhā-*.

¹⁰ The Píkira grant reads *prapautrō-bhyuchchīta-ḥ*.

¹¹ Read *pravṛiddha* as in the Uruvupalli and Píkira grants.

¹² Read *lōkapālasya* after this as in the above-mentioned grants.

- 7 tmanō mahārājasya śrī-Skandava[r*]mmaṇaḥ pautrasya dēva-dvija-guru-vṛiddh-ōpasē-
vinō¹ vi-
8 vṛiddha-vinayasy-ānēka-saṅgrāma-sāhas-āvamardd-ōpalabdha-vijaya-yaśaḥ-prakāśasya

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 9 *nirupam-ātmanō Yuvamahārājasya śrī-Vishṇugōpasya putraḥ Kali-yuga-dōsh-ā-
10 vasanna-dharm-ōddharaṇē nitya-sannaddha² sprihaṇīya-parākkramō rāja[r*]jahi-guṇa-sa-
11 rva-sandōha-vijigishur-ddharma-vijigishur-Bhagavat-pādānuddhyātō Bappa-bhaṭṭā-
raka-pāda-
12 bhaktaḥ paramabhāgavatō Bhāradvājaḥ sva-vikram-ākraṅt-ā[gdyā]³ śrī-nīlayō yathāvad-
āhrit-ā-

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 13 nēk-āśvamēdha-yājīnām-⁴Pallavānām-mahārājaḥ śrī-Simhavarmanmā Muṇḍa-rāshṭrē
Viḷavaṭṭi-
14 grāmē tasy-aiva grāmasya kshētraṅ-cha sarvvāddyakshāms-cha tat-saṅchāriṇas-cha
ājñāpayati⁵ a-
15 ya[mh] *gramah sa-grākas-sarvva-parihār-ōpētō⁶ dēva-bhōga-hala-varjjam-asmaḍ-āyur-bba-
16 la-vijay-ābhivṛiddhayē samēdhamāna-vijaya-rājyē daśamē sarivatsarē Śrāvanyān
śukla-pa-

¹ The Uruvupalli grant reads -ōpachāyino and the Pīkīra grant has -ōpachāyino. The Ōngōḍu grant reads -ōpasēvinō as in the present one.

² The Pīkīra and Ōngōḍu grants read *saty-ātmanō*. The Uruvupalli grant applies the epithets *saty-ātman* and *mahātman* to *Mahārāja Skandavarman*.

³ The Uruvupalli and Pīkīra grants read -*dharmā-nitya-sannaddhasya*. The possessive form which has evidently been incorporated from the former into the latter of these grants has been left uncorrected into the nominative, though the appositional expressions *putraḥ* (l. 10), *parākkramō* (l. 11), etc., are in the latter case : vide above, Vol. VIII, p. 162, text ll. 10 & 11.

⁴ Read -*ārya-nripa*- as in other grants. The other allied grants make this an attribute of the Pallavas and not of this particular king.

⁵ The Uruvupalli and Pīkīra grants read -*āśvamēdhānām* while the Ōngōḍu grant has -*ānēka-kraṅtām Śata-kraṅtām* (above, Vol. XV, pp. 254 f., text ll. 16 ff.).

⁶ The Pīkīra grant has *dharmā-mahārāja-śrī*, while Ōngōḍu has *vallabhānām Pallavānām dharmā-mahā-rāja-śrī*.

⁷ The Uruvupalli grant is addressed to the *grāmtyakas* at the first instance and then to the *āyuktakas*, *naiyōkas* (probably *naiyōgikas*), *rājavallabhas* and *saicharantakas*. The Pīkīra grant is addressed to the *grāmtyakas*, *adhikṛita-sarvvāddyakshas*, *vallabhas* and *śāsana-srūchārins*, almost as in the Māngalūr grant.

⁸ Read *grāmah sa-grāsakas*.

⁹ Dr. Fleet's translation of the expression *Vishṇuvarman-senapati-kṛita-Vishṇuhāra-dēvakulāya dēva-bhōga*, etc., in the Uruvupalli grant is inaccurate. The grant is not meant for the family of Vishṇuhāradēva which was founded by Vishṇuvarman but for the temple (*dēvakula*) called Vishṇuhāra founded by the general of Vishṇuvarman, as a *dēvabhōga*. This would thus appear to be one of the early temples of Kandukūr founded in Pallava times. A still earlier temple of Pallava times is that of Bhagavan-Nārāyaṇa mentioned in the Prākṛit copper-plate charter of Yuvamahārāja Vijaya-Buddhavarman's queen Chāradēvi dated in the reign of Vijaya-Khandavarman (above, Vol. VIII, p. 145). Dr. Fleet's reading *dēvabhōga* in text l. 26 of the Māngalūr grant (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 156) is only a printer's mistake for *dēva-bhōga* (vide his translation, *ibid.*, p. 157). But his reading *vasat-bhōga* (*ibid.*, p. 156, text l. 29 and p. 157 f.n.) is correctly *vasat-bhōgya*. Dr. Fleet stated that the meaning of *vasat-bhōgya-sarvvādyayō* was rather doubtful. It is possible that it corresponds to the *kuṣīnīyō-dēvadāna* of the Tamil inscriptions and perhaps means 'with the tenants' occupancy rights assured'.

i.

1
 2
 3
 4

1
 2
 3
 4

ii, a.

6
 7
 8

6
 7
 8

ii, b.

10
 11
 12

10
 11
 12

iii, a.

14
 15
 16

14
 15
 16

iii, b.

18
 20

18
 20

iv, a.

22
 24

22
 24

iv, b.

26
 28

26
 28

v.

30

30

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 17 kshē pañchamyāñ Gautama-gōtrāya Chhandōgāya Vishṇuśarmmaṇē dattam(ttah)
[^{*}] yad=asmin-grāmē
/ 18 lōha-charmmakār-āpaṇa-paṭṭakāra-prāvārañchara-rajju-pratihār-āpaṇ-Ājvika-ka-
19 rāpi Nāhala-Mukhadbaraka-kūpa-darśaka¹-tantravāya-dyūta-vivāha-nāpita-dē-
20 y-ādini cha sarvva-parihāra-kāru-dēyāni cha yāny=anyāni ch=āsmad-bhāgyāni tāny=asmai

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

- 21 brahmadēyikṛitya dattāni Vaṭṭa-grāmēyakāḥ [asmad-ājñām^{*}] kurvantv=itarē pariba[ra^{*}]-
ntu parihārayantu
22 cha[^{*}] yaś=ch=ajad=asmach-chhāsanam=atīkrāmēt=sa pāpaḥ ²sārīran=daṇḍam=arhati [^{*}]
Apī ch=ā-
23 tr-ā[r]shāḥ ślōkā bhavanti || O O ||—³Bhūmi-dānāt=paran=dānam=iha lōkē na vidyatē [^{*}]
yaḥ praya-
24 chchhati bhūmi[m^{*}] hī sarvva-kāmān=dadāti saḥ [||^{*}] ⁴Brahma-svañ [hī^{*}] vishañ
ghōran=na vishañ vishañ=uchayatē [^{*}] vishañ=ēkākinañ

Fourth Plate ; Second Side.

- 25 hanti ⁵prahma-svañ putra-⁶bautrikañ || Sva-dattāñ para-dattāñ vā yō harēta vasundhā-
rām⁷ [^{*}] gavām śata-
26 sahasrasya hantuḥ [pi]⁸bati kilbisham [||^{*}] ⁹Yathā nirōhanty=uptāni kīrṇāni cha mahī-
27 talē [^{*}] ēvañ kāmā virōhanti bhūmi-dāna-samārjjitā[h^{*}] || Bahubhir=vvasudhā dattā ba-
28 hubiś=ch=ānupālītā [^{*}] yasya yasya yadā bhūmiś=tasya tasya tadā phalam ||

Fifth Plate.

- 29 ¹⁰Asatūkhyēyāni varshāni svarggē mōdanti bhūmidāḥ [^{*}] ākshēptā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=ēva
30 narakē vasēt || Prabhōḥ ¹¹sumukh-ājñāptyā¹² rahasyādhikṛitēn=**Āchhyutēna** likhitañ śāsanam||
31 Svasta(sti) || ||¹³ —

¹ [See above, p. 298, n. 5.—Ed.]

² This reading is found in the Pīkīra and other grants of the king. The Mayidavōlu Prākṛit plates read *sārī-
vañ śāsanam karējāmo* (above, Vol. VI, p. 87, text, l. 24).

³ The Uruvupalli and other grants quote this verse in a different form. The Pīkīra grant which cites the
verse reads *Bhūmidāna-saman-dānam*^o.

⁴ This verse is not quoted in the other grants of the king.

⁵ Read *brahma*^o.

⁶ Read *-pautrikam*.

⁷ Read *vasundharām*.

⁸ The letter *pi* looks like *bi*.

⁹ This verse does not occur in the other grants of the king.

¹⁰ This verse is not quoted in the other grants of the king.

¹¹ Read *sva-mukhā*^o.

¹² Invariably all the earlier grants adopt the form *ājñāpti* while the later ones, like those of the Eastern Chā-
lukyas, have *ājñāpti*. The former though obsolete seems to be more suitable to the context in the technical sense
of 'the agency that obtains the command (*ājñāptih*) while *ājñāptih* would strictly refer to the 'agency that
'commands'.

¹³ There is a symbol between these two sets of *daṇḍas*.

No. 44.—FIRST AND THIRD SLABS OF KUMBHALGARH INSCRIPTION : V. S. 1517.

By SAMSKRITĪ PT. AKSHAYA KEERTY VYĀS, M.A., UDAIPUR.

The inscription under description was briefly noticed for the first time by Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Ojha in the *Annual Report, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*, for the year 1925-26. It seems to have originally been engraved on five big slabs of stone of which the fifth or the last slab has not yet been discovered. Of the second slab, only a very small piece has been found containing the words *Dvitiya-pattikā* on the top to ensure its being a part of that slab. Of the remaining three slabs, the fourth one (which is the best preserved of whatever has so far been found of this inscription) has already been published¹ by R. R. Halder of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer. I now take up here, at the instance of Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, Government Epigraphist for India, the first and the third slabs for edition. Both these slabs were discovered only in fragments and are, therefore, in a very damaged condition. All that has till now been discovered is deposited for preservation in the Victoria Hall Museum at Udaipur.

The inscription belongs to a temple built by Mahārānā **Kumbhakarṇa** on the fort of Kumbhalgarh, originally called the **Kumbhasvāmin** temple but now known as that of **Māmā-dēva**. The first slab is 3' 10" broad by 3' 7" high with a margin of about 2" on all sides, and contains sixty-eight verses (1-68) with short sentences in prose in fifty lines of writing; and the third slab is 3' 1" by 3' 6" with a margin of about 1½" on all sides containing fifty-nine verses (121-179) with some small prose sentences in forty-nine written lines. Unfortunately the slabs are very much damaged and some of the important portions of their contents have altogether been destroyed.

The **characters** are Nāgarī and the medial vowels *ē*, *ai*, *ō*, and *au* which are joined to the consonants are represented by both *śiro-* and *prishṭha-mātrās*. The letters are nicely cut and are on the average about two-fifths of an inch.

The **language** of the inscription is Sanskrit and the composition is, on the whole, free from errors. In the first slab, however, we find *sandhi* not observed in *śrī Ēkalīṅga-prabhuḥ* (l. 7) and *pralaya-kṛt-yō* (l. 41); and in the third slab in **r-abhūt-śrī-Jaitra** (l. 27). In *yad-akāri Mōkala-nripaḥ* (ll. 29-30, slab I) the error of syntax is obvious. Besides, there are some other minor mistakes chiefly pertaining to engraving which are noticed in dealing with the text.

Regarding **orthography** we find that *v* and *b* are usually distinguished, the exceptions being *Vāghālāva-varṇanam* (ll. 28 and 31, slab I) and *-Aṅvāprasāda-* (ll. 19 and 20, slab III). The dental sibilant is used for the palatal one in *samspṛisamty-āpi* (l. 20) and *sad-dhairya-saurya-* (l. 39) of the first and the third slabs respectively. The sound of *śh* is twice represented in the first slab by the sign for *kḥ*, e.g., in *-sarvaṅkakhāḥ* (l. 47) and *kalukh-āśayō-yam** (l. 50). This seems to be based on the analogy of the representation of the sound of *kḥ* by the sign for *śh* in many of the inscriptions of this period in Rājputāna. The following other features are also to be noticed the examples for which are here drawn from the first slab only. *Anusvāra* is throughout used for nasals. *N* is almost invariably reduplicated after a superscript *r* by drawing a horizontal stroke across the body of the letter; other consonants are very often doubled, e.g., *svargga-Prayāga-* (l. 12), *muktir-ṛjanair-* (l. 13), **r-śvirair-ddānava-* (l. 16), etc., as against *muni-varair-gītā* (l. 35), *garca-sarvaṅkakh(śh)āḥ* (l. 47), etc. *Jihvāmūliya* and *upadhmaniya* are sometimes used and represented by a sign which here resembles the sign for *śh* as in *-mṛitamayak-khalu*

¹ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 277-288.

(l. 2), *Takshakak=Kali-yugē* (l. 6), *puṅḡavaiḥ=parivṛitāṁ* (l. 16), etc. The sign for *avagraha* is used thrice, only in slab I, in *sarīd=’syā[ḥ*]* (l. 14), *rājatē=’nyō* (l. 18) and *yaśō=’svamukhīḥ* (l. 28).

Before taking up the actual contents of the slabs under consideration, it may be mentioned that the present inscription, the Tower of Victory inscription and the *Ēkaliṅga-māhātmya* have a good number of verses in common. We know for certain that all these three records were composed during the reign of Mahārājā Kumbhakarṇa and are, therefore, contemporary records. Now the former two, viz., the Tower of Victory inscription and the present record, besides belonging to two different localities far off from each other, have got the same date in all particulars which is Monday, the fifth of the dark fortnight of Mārgaśirsha in Samvat 1517 (=A.D. 1400, Monday the 3rd November). It, therefore, seems improbable that anything from the one may have been borrowed in the other, particularly when we consider the amount of difference found in the plan of writing followed in both of them. The text common in both these records, therefore, seems to have a different source altogether in the *Ēkaliṅga-māhātmya*, the third contemporary record, which seems to have already been compiled borrowing material particularly in its Princes’ chapter, from many old inscriptions, viz., the Mahāsati gate inscription¹ at Chitor of the time of Rāval Samarasimha dated in V. S. 1331 (=A.D. 1274), the Samādhiśvara temple inscription² of prince Mōkala of V. S. 1485 (=A. D. 1428) and others. That the *Ēkaliṅga-māhātmya* was composed prior to the present record as well as the Tower of Victory inscription, and has an air of originality around it is also evidenced by the fact that the division of the Guhilōt family in two branches, viz., the Rāval and the Rājā, in the reign of Rāval Raṇasimha or Karṇasimha, is first of all found mentioned only in this work where all other inscriptions, contemporary or otherwise, are silent. Although we do not know much about the Tower of Victory inscription at present, for, all other slabs containing it excepting the two, viz., the first³ and the last but one⁴ (which also are in a very mutilated condition) are lost; but so far as the present record is concerned, much of what we find in connection with the genealogy of this dynasty in its three slabs till now discovered, is almost a reproduction of the *Rāja-varṇana* of the *Ēkaliṅga-māhātmya*. Thus, much of the destroyed portion of the slabs under consideration is restorable from the aforesaid work as well as from records prior and posterior to it, as will be done, wherever possible, in dealing with the text.

Taking up the **contents** of the **first slab** we find that it mainly describes in poetical manner some important geographical places of Mewār including lakes, hills, sacred spots, people, etc. It opens with the propitiation of Gaṇēśa, Sarasvatī and Ēkaliṅga in three small prose sentences. Then begins the *Āśīḥ Prakaraṇa* covering verses 1-14, benedictory and invocatory in nature, in praise of many a deity such as [Lambōda]ra, Gajamukha, Vindhyavāsini, Ēkaliṅga, Pinākin, Ina and others. The deity of the first verse is, however, difficult to determine due to the initial portion of the verse being destroyed.

Then begin various descriptions the first of which is the description of **Trikūṭa**. With regard to the method of composition followed, it may be remarked here that the whole of the present inscription is distributed in various *varṇanas*, the commencement and the termination of each of which is indicated by *atha* and *iti* respectively. This *Trikūṭa-varṇana* covers verses 15-17. *Trikūṭa* is a range of hills naturally formed into a triangle within which is situated the temple and the town of Ēkliṅgaḥ.

¹ *Bhāvnagar Skt. and Pr. Inscriptions*, pp. 74-78.

² *Above*, Vol. II, pp. 410-21 and *Bhav. Inscr.*, pp. 96-100.

³ *Cunningham, A. S. R.*, Vol. XXIII, plate XX.

⁴ *Ibid.*, plate XXI.

Vv. 18-19 contain the description of a rivulet called **Kuṭilā** in inscriptions which rises in the Trikūṭa hill nearby and flows only in the rainy season. Its description as given here is simply hyperbolic.

In vv. 20-22 we have the description of the goddess **Vindhyavāsini** whose shrine is situated on the slope of the hill to the north outside the rampart round **Ēkaliṅgajī**'s temple.

In vv. 23-24 the poet describes the god **Ēkaliṅga**. The temple of **Ēkaliṅgajī** is, in popular belief, regarded to have originally been built by **Bāpā Rāval**, which, having been damaged in course of a few centuries by the Muslim invaders, was repaired by **Mahārāṇā Mōkala** who also furnished it with a rampart to ensure its protection. **Mahārāṇā Kumbhakarṇa**, the son of **Mōkala**, is also stated in vv. 239-40¹ in the fourth slab of this very epigraph, to have done something towards reparation to this ancient shrine. The modern structure of the temple, however, is stated to be the work of **Mahārāṇā Rai Mal** who laid fresh foundation and erected the new structure.

Vv. 25-28 give the description of a beautiful tank situated to the east, near **Ēkaliṅgajī**'s temple. It is popularly known as **Indra-sāgara**, but it is here called **Indratirtha-Bhōjasara**. The tank is said to have been in existence since the time of **Indra** who is stated in v. 8 to have meditated on the feet of **Ēkaliṅga** in *Kṛita-yuga*; but it was given its present shape by forming the dam, etc., by **Bhōjabhūpa**, one of the early predecessors of the **Guhila** family, and hence called after his own name.

Then come the descriptions of **Kāmadhōnu** (vv. 29-30) and **Takshaka** (vv. 31-33) who are stated in v. 8 to have attended upon **Ēkaliṅga** in *Trētā* and *Dvāpara* ages respectively. The city of **Nāga**, i.e., **Nāgdā**, the ancient capital of **Mewār**, is here stated to have originally been founded by this lord of the serpents.

Vv. 34-35 describe **Dhārēśvara** whose temple is situated a few paces off the **Ēkaliṅgajī** temple on the base of the western range of the neighbouring hill in front. This small temple with a reservoir attached to it seems from v. 167 of the third slab of this inscription to have been built by **Rāval Samarasimha** as a deed of charity.

Next comes the description of **Vaidyanātha** in vv. 36-37, whose temple must have existed at **Ēkaliṅgajī** at the time. No such monument is now popularly known to exist there.

In vv. 38-40 is described another beautiful tank situated to the south of the town of **Ēkaliṅgajī**, touching the site of the ancient town of **Nāgdā**, popularly known as **Bāghelā Talāv** but here simply called **Vā(Bā)ghelāva**. This tank was excavated by prince **Mōkala** in memory of his brother **Rāghasimha**.

From here the poet takes us to the fort of **Chitor** and describes in vv. 41-50 the temple of **Samādhiśvara** which is situated a little way to the south-west of **Kumbhā**'s great Tower of Victory. This temple was originally built by **Bhōjarāja**, the **Paramāra** prince of **Mālwa**, in the eleventh century when **Chitor** had already become a **Paramāra** possession in the reign of his uncle **Muñja** (**Vākpātirāja**). It was also called **Tribhuvanānārāyaṇa** temple after his title *Tribhuvanānārāyaṇa*, and **Bhōjasvāmīdēva-jagatī**². The temple having been ruined in course of time was repaired by prince **Mōkala** in V. S. 1485 (=A.D. 1428) on account of which it is now generally called **Mōkalajī**'s temple. The present inscription, however, assigns the renovation of the temple to prince **Kumbhā** (v. 49), but this fact is not corroborated by any other record. The poet here evidently appears to have confused this monument with the temple of **Kumbhasvāmin** on the fort which really was built by **Kumbhā**. **Rai Bahadur Ojhā** regards this temple as the second

¹ Above, Vol. XXI, p. 286.

² *An. Rep., Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, 1920-21, p. 4.*

ancient monument on the fort¹, the first being that of Kālikā of the seventh or the eighth century, originally dedicated to Sūrya or the Sun god. But in fact, the temple under description is the third ancient monument on the fort, the second being the temple of Kukkuṭēśvara as will be seen from the next paragraph.

Then we come to the description of **Mahā-Lakshmi** in vv. 51-54. The temple of this goddess is now generally known as that of Annapūrṇā, but what is worshipped here is the same original image of Lakshmi with a lotus flower in her hand and an elephant on each side of her face. This temple was originally built by Mahārāṇā Hammīra (A.D. 1326-1364). These verses also contain the description of **Kukkuṭēśvara** (Śiva) and **Gadādhara** (Viṣṇu) whose temples are also situated near the Mahā-Lakshmi temple. The temple of Gadādhara is now generally called as that of Chārabhuja (Chaturbhuja). The three big reservoirs of water, viz., *Māṇjī kā kuṇḍa*, the *Kukkuṭēśvara-kuṇḍa* and a third one, all in the vicinity of these three temples, are also briefly mentioned here. It may be pointed out that the original temple of Kukkuṭēśvara and the adjoining reservoir of the same name date as far back as V. S. 811 (=A.D. 755), an inscription of which date recording the erection and the excavation of the temple and the reservoir respectively was found there by Col. Tod.² Later on, the reservoir being damaged was repaired by Mahārāṇā Kumbhā.

In vv. 55-57 we find the description of **Kumbhasvāmin** now popularly known as Kumbhāśyāmājī, whose temple was erected on the fort of Chitor by Mahārāṇā Kumbhā in V. S. 1505 (=A.D. 1448) and styled after his own name. The temple was originally dedicated to Varāha or the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu as mentioned here (v. 56), but nowadays Viṣṇu in his ordinary form is here worshipped. The temple Kumbhasvāmin to which belongs the present inscription, is not to be confused with the monument under description, for, the former was erected not at Chitor but at Kumbhalgarh and was later in date. Kumbhā evidently erected two temples dedicated to the same god on both the prominent forts of Mewār.

Vv. 58-68 contain the description of the country of **Mēdapāṭa** (Mewār), mentioning in general terms its cities, rivers, hills, lakes, gardens, people, etc.

Lastly is mentioned in prose the **date** of the inscription which is **Monday, the fifth day of the dark half of Mārgaśīrṣha in Śarvat year 151[7] and Śaka year 1382**, corresponding to A.D. 1460, Monday the third November, taking the month to be Pūrṇimānta. At the end of the first slab we are asked to consult the second slab for further description.

Of the **second slab**, we are in possession of a very small fragment as already stated, which is of no avail for our present purpose. It can, however, be concluded that it must have contained the description of some other important places of Mewār, for we find the central portions of the initial four lines contained in that fragment to be identical with the initial portion of an independent description of Chitrakūṭa extending over a good number of verses, found in another unpublished inscription from Kumbhalgarh whose first slab is preserved in the Victoria Hall Museum which seems to contain in an abridged form all that is found in the first and the second slabs of the present inscription with the same date. The second slab contained fifty-two verses (69-120).

As to the **contents** of the **third slab** we find that it opens with the description of Mahārāula śrī-Bāpā which extends over six verses (121-126) on this slab. Vv. 121-122 mention **Hārī-tarāśī**, but much of their text is now lost to us. In v. 122 mention has been made of a person whose surname (*apara-nāmadhēya*) reads in the mutilated text as [śrī] . . [ya]ku[bja] who appears to be the father of Hārītarāśī. What little is, at present, preserved to us of this verse

¹ *Rājaputāne kṛ Itihāsa*, Fasc. I, p. 354.

² *Annals and Antiquities of Rājasthān*, Vol. III, p. 1823 (W. Crooke's ed.).

clearly calls Hārītarāśī a *deijendra* or the best of *deijas*. We cannot, however, fully believe in it for the date of the present record, as compared to that of the sage under description, is much later; but we can at least believe that at the time of the composition of the record, he was regarded as of Brahmin origin. Rai Bahadur Ojhā's contention that he was an ascetic of the Nātha order¹ does not necessarily contradict the present description, for he, born as a *deijendra* or the best of *deijas*, i.e., a Brahmin, might later on have accepted that order.

From v. 123 properly begins the description of Bāpā who is there said to be a *vipra* meditating on the feet of Hārītarāśī who bestowed upon him the kingdom of Mewār (vv. 124-25), and to have migrated to Mewār from Ānandapura. Verse 123 of this slab is also found in Rāval Samarsinhā's inscription² at Chitor of V. S. 1331 (=A.D. 1274) located in the western wall of the northern gate of the Mahāsati enclosure. In the Princes' chapter of the *Ēkaliṅga-māhātmya* we have another verse of the same import composed in a different metre, originally found in the Āṭapura inscription³ of Śāktikumāra of V. S. 1034 (=A.D. 977). The only difference between the two verses is that the former mentions Bāpā and the latter Guhadatta in precisely the same terms. Now, in the former record of V. S. 1331, Bāpā is mentioned as the *Purāṇa-puruṣa* or the progenitor of the family and Guhadatta or Guhila as his son (the same order being followed in almost all other records later to it including the one under consideration); while the latter record of V. S. 1034, which is earlier in date, speaks of Guhadatta as the founder of the family and Bāpā as one of his descendants. This shows that already in the thirteenth century people had forgotten what their predecessors knew a few centuries ago about the genealogy of the ruling family. One point, however, viz. these rulers being described as *vipra* or *mahī-dēva*, is common to both earlier and later records. Guhadatta's description as *mahī-dēva* in the Āṭapura inscription referred to above led Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, while editing the record, to conclude that Guhadatta was a Nāgar Brahmin of Vaḍnagar in Gujārāt and that the Udaipur dynasty had a Brāhmanic origin⁴. But instances in inscriptions where the scions of this dynasty are described as *Kshatra-kshētra* (v. 6 of the same Āṭapura inscription)⁵, *Kshatriyavamśa-maiṅḍana-maṅgi* (v. 5 of the Śringī-riśi inscription)⁶, etc., are in no way wanting as Rai Bahadur Ojhā rightly points out⁷. The use of such terms as *vipra* or *mahī-dēva* in their connection seems to have some bearing on their habits which they might have acquired through such association as mentioned in certain bardic chronicles⁸, and not on their blood. There are, again, epigraphs of various dynasties in which the ruling princes are described as born in *Brahma-Kshatriya-kula*⁹ which simply hints at their being possessed of both divine and martial virtues, by habit and blood respectively. So also an inscription of the tenth century from Chāṭasū in the Jaipur state describes prince Bhartṛpaṭṭa of this very Guhila dynasty as *Brahma-Kshatri-ānvita*¹⁰, hinting thereby at the possession of both the virtues mentioned above.

Next is given the account of Rāula śri-[Guha]datta (vv. 127-33). He is described as the son of Bāpā and it was after him that the dynasty came to bear the title *Guhila*. He, as has already been noticed, was really the founder of the dynasty and thus an early predecessor of Bāpā. Nothing remarkable of him is mentioned here except that he had a son *Lāṭvinōda*¹¹ by name who

¹ *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. I, p. 337.

² *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 191.

³ Above, Vol. XXIII, pp. 234 ff.

⁴ *Muharṅga Naigasi's Khyāta*, p. 10.

⁵ Above, Vol. I, p. 307.

⁶ Above, Vol. XII, pp. 13-17.

⁷ Whether *Lāṭvinōda* is a proper name or simply an epithet is also doubtful, yet here it seems to have the plausibility of being the former.

⁸ *Bhāv. Insces.*, pp. 74-78.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

¹⁰ *Rāj. Itihs.*, Fasc. I, pp. 378-89.

was called as such due to passing his days in enjoyment with ladies of the Lāṭa country. No prince of this name has been found mentioned in any of the inscriptions of the dynasty so far discovered. In A.D. 1869 General Cunningham had found some 2,000 silver coins at Agra¹ bearing the legend *Srī Guhila* which he attributed to Guhadatta.

Then we have the description of Rāula śrī-Sh(Kh)ummāṇa (vv. 134-37). He is said to have weighed himself against gold in company of his wife and children, and given away the precious metal in charity. In vv. 136-37 is mentioned his far and wide conquest (*dig-jaya*) of various countries, viz., Aṅga, Ba(Va)ṅga, Kaliṅga, Triliṅga (Telugu country), Surāshṭra, Chōḍa, Draviḍa and Gauḍa. This description is not free from exaggeration, but the martial spirit with which the name of Khummāṇa is associated in Mewār even to this day may point to some truth therein.

It may be mentioned here that the description of the foregoing three princes, viz., Bāpā, Guhadatta and Khummāṇa as found in this record contains no chronological truth.

We now come to the most important and also the original portion of the whole inscription called *Rāja-varṇana*. At the very outset it is professed that this portion dealing with the genealogy of the ancient rulers of the family, has been prepared after studying many old *prasastis* (v. 138). The first thing that draws our attention here is the title *Rāja-varṇana* which seems to have been borrowed from the *Ēkaliṅga-māhātmya* where a whole chapter extending over 204 verses is called *Rāja-varṇana*. Although much of this Princes' chapter of the *Ēk. mht.* is contained in the present record as already mentioned above, this particular portion, at least that preceding the description of Rāval Samarasimha, seems to be genuine and prepared with solemn effort. Here we have another proof of the priority of the *Ēk. mht.*, for, if it had been posterior to the present record as Rai Bahadur Ojhā thinks², that portion of the *Rāja-varṇana* under consideration which is original, dealing with the ancient rulers of the Guhila family whose chronology was even then regarded doubtful, would have been totally incorporated in the *māhātmya* being a result of very laborious researches as professed in v. 138 of the present record. On the other hand, it may be assumed that as the genealogy of the early rulers as given in the *Ēk. mht.* was not found to be trustworthy an attempt was made in the record under discussion to make it as authentic as possible.

Now we may take up the contents of this portion. In the family of Guhila was born a prince Bhōja by name. From him were born Mahindra, Nāga, Bappa and Aparājita (v. 139).

It may be noted here that the author has already mentioned Bāpā as the very founder of the family but now he takes him as the son of Nāga. Similarly he has described before Guhila or Guhadatta as the son of Bāpā, but here he evidently believes him to be the real progenitor of the family which he calls the *Guhila-varṇana*. This clearly shows the amount of labour bestowed on the present portion. From the Āṭapura inscription of V. S. 1034 (=A.D. 977) which gives a correct genealogy of the family from Guhila to Śaktikumāra, we learn that the son of Nāga or Nāgāditya was Śīla, and from the Kuṇḍēśvara temple inscription³ of V. S. 718 (=A.D. 661) we find that the father of Aparājita was Śīla, an inscription of whose reign dated in V. S. 703⁴ (=A.D. 646) has been found and is now preserved in the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer. Thus, we find that the term *Bāpā* or *Bappa* which is now universally believed to be not a proper name but simply a title, is either here accepted by the author as the title of Śīla, or he may have used it as an independent proper name, but in either case he has been clearly mistaken.

¹ A. S. R., Vol. IV, p. 95.

² *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. II, p. 619, n. 2.

³ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 29-32.

⁴ Above, Vol. XX, p. 92.

Then came **Mahindra (II)** and from him was born **Kālabhōja**. After him came in succession **Sh(Kh)ummāna, Mattaṭa, Bhartṛipatta** and **Allaṭa** (v. 140).

The chronology as mentioned in this verse omits between the last two princes, the names of some five princes, *viz.*, **Sṛmha, Khummāna (II), Mahāyaka, Khummāna (III)** and **Bhartṛipatta (II)** mentioned in the inscription of V. S. 1034. This clearly shows that the author did not possess a copy of that inscription at the time of writing this portion. He seems to have studied only some later records such as the Chitor inscription of V. S. 1331, the Rānapura inscription of V. S. 1496, etc., which also he seems not to have studied carefully, for, the names of three princes out of five omitted here are to be found in both these records. It may also be mentioned here that **Bāpā** as a title is regarded by different scholars as belonging to the first three princes mentioned in this verse. Thus, **Kavirāja Shyāmaladās** takes the first prince of the verse, *viz.*, **Mahindra (II)**¹, **Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar**, the third prince **Khummāna**² and **Rai Bahadur Ojhā**, the second prince **Kālabhōja**³, to be **Bāpā**. **Col. Tod**, however, with the scanty material he had at his disposal, thought long ago that **Bāpā** was the title of **Śīla**.⁴

Then came **Naravāhana** and then **Śālivāhana**. After him was born **Śaktikumāra** and from him **Aṅhv(b)āprasāda**. **Ambāprasāda** had three brothers **Nṛivarmā, Anantavarmā** and **Yaśōvarmā** by name (vv. 141-42).

What is worthy of note here is the name **Anantavarmā** which is not found in any other record so far discovered. Likewise, the name of **Śuchivarmā** found in some of the other records is omitted here. **Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar**, therefore, is inclined to regard the former as identical with the latter⁵. **Ambāprasāda** is named **Āmrprasāda** in the Chitor inscription of V. S. 1331. Similarly **Nṛivarmā** and **Yaśōvarmā** are called **Naravarmā** and **Kirtivarmā** respectively⁶ in other inscriptions. These three brothers of **Ambāprasāda** mentioned above, also seem to have ascended the throne successively as they are mentioned in order of succession in a few other inscriptions.

Then **Yōgarāja** became the ruler of **Mewār** whose line did not obtain royalty although he himself fully enjoyed it (v. 143). This important fact of the deprivation of throne from the progeny of **Yōgarāja** is known from this inscription only and is mentioned nowhere else. **Rai Bahadur Ojhā** gives the reading of the last quarter of this verse as *tach-čhā . . [nō divam] gatāh*⁷, with his own omissions and additions and interprets that the line of this prince came to an end during his own lifetime and the throne thus passed on to **Vairāṭa**. He has omitted one syllable in the first word of this quarter which is distinctly visible on the slab as *shā(khā)*. The intention of the **Rai Bahadur** in omitting the syllable seems to be to regard the first word as masculine plural ending in *ōnō*, presuming that the word might thus mean 'off-shoots of his family', for which he has also inserted *visarga* after *gatā* at the end to make it plural. But the text as visible on the slab, although partially damaged, clearly seems to be *tach-čhāsh(kh)ā n=ō[čhṛi(chehṛa)yaṁ] gatā* (ll. 20-21), which clearly shows that the line of this prince was cut off from the throne evidently due to some internal family feud and the lot finally fell on **Vairāṭa**, one of the progeny of **Allaṭa**. The word *api* in the beginning of this verse also emphasises this conclusion, otherwise there is no justification for its use here.

¹ *Vira-vinoda*, part I, p. 250.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 188.

³ *Raj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, p. 404.

⁴ *Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 270 (W. Crooke's ed.).

⁵ See his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 380, n. 1.

⁶ *Raj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, p. 440.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 443, n. 2.

Thus **Vairāṭa** ascended the throne after **Yōgarāja** and was succeeded by **Harṣapāla** after whom came **Vairisīṃha** (v. 144). This prince erected a rampart round **Āghāṭa-pattana** (v. 145), the modern town of **Āhaḍ** near the city of **Uḍaipur**, also mentioned in inscriptions as **Āghāṭapura** or **Āṭapura**. He had twenty-two meritorious sons of whom one, a **narēndra**, was the most virtuous (v. 146). Unfortunately we do not find the name of this virtuous **narēndra** mentioned here who must evidently have succeeded his father **Vairisīṃha**. In the **Bhērā-ghāt** inscription¹ of the **Chāḍi** year 907 (=V. S. 1212 and A.D. 1155) and the mount **Ābu** inscription² of V. S. 1342 (=A.D. 1285), the son of **Vairisīṃha** and grandson of **Harṣapāla** is mentioned as **Vijayasīṃha**, a copper-plate grant and a stone inscription of whose reign dated in V. S. 1164 and V. S. 1173 respectively have been found³. Thus, it can easily be understood that the prince who is anonymously mentioned here in v. 146 is none else than **Vijayasīṃha**, and the author, due to his apparent ignorance, has not mentioned this name. In the **Rānapura** inscription⁴ of V. S. 1496, however, the name of **Vairisīṃha**'s successor is given as **Virasīṃha**; and **Rai Bahadur Ojhā** is inclined to accept him and **Vairasīṃha** of v. 147 of the present inscription whom he regards as the son of **Vairisīṃha**, as being identical with **Vijayasīṃha** of the **Bhērā-ghāt** inscription⁵. He does not seem to have given due consideration to v. 146 of this slab which mentions **Vijayasīṃha** in clear terms as **narēndra** though omitting his name, as already shown above. The present inscription appears to speak of **Vairasīṃha** not as the son of **Vairisīṃha**, but as his grandson unless *tasmāt* in v. 147 is meant to refer to **Vairisīṃha** which from its position and the construction seems improbable. This fact is overlooked also by **Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar** who professes to have taken the names of princes of this dynasty after **Śālivāhana** from this record⁶. It thus becomes almost settled from this epigraph that **Vijayasīṃha**'s son was **Vairasīṃha**. This is corroborated by a small inscription which I had found engraved on the pedestal of the **Harṣapāla** image at **Padarāḍā** which mentions **Virasīṃha** as the son of **Vairasīṃha**. The date of that inscription, however, presents some difficulty. I, therefore, leave this point here for further investigation. For the time being, this portion of the chronology has to be regarded as uncertain.

Thus, we find that **Vijayasīṃha** was probably succeeded by **Vairasīṃha** and from him was born **Arasīṃha**. His throne was occupied by **Chōḍa** (v. 147). **Chōḍa** had an elder brother named **Vikramakēsari** whose son was **Raṇasīṃha** (v. 148).

Chōḍa is also called **Chōḍasīṃha** in the **Rānapura** inscription and nothing more is known of him and his predecessor from any other epigraph. **Vikramakēsari** is here mentioned as the elder brother of **Chōḍa**, but in the **Ābu** inscription of V. S. 1342 he is mentioned as the son⁷ of **Chōḍa** which seems to be more probable. Nothing is mentioned here about **Raṇasīṃha**. The **Ēkalinga-māhātmya**, however, attributes to his reign the splitting up of the ruling family into two divisions, viz., the **Rācal** (senior) and the **Rāṇā** (junior), ruling over **Chitor** and **Sesodā** respectively. Although our author has sometimes closely followed the *Ēk. māt.*, he has, however, not borrowed the portion dealing with this division, evidently because his object here was to prepare a chronological list of the princes of the main branch who really governed **Mewār** as a whole. He, as a matter of fact, is quite cautious in distinguishing the princes of the one branch from those of the other (as

¹ Above, Vol. II, pp. 10-13.

² *Bhāv. Inscr.*, pp. 84-87; *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 347 ff.

³ *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, pp. 445-46; *Bhandarkar, List*, Nos. 176 and 191.

⁴ *Bhāv. Inscr.*, pp. 113-15; *An. Rep.*, A. S. I., 1907-08, pp. 214 f.

⁵ *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, p. 444, n. 3.

⁶ *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, p. 388, n. 7 and p. 389.

⁷ *Bhāv. Inscr.*, p. 89.

will be seen later on), which knowledge he appears to have derived from a close study of the *Ēkaliṅga-māhātmya*.

Raṇasīnha was succeeded by **Kshēmasīnha**, the younger brother of **Mahapasīnha** who evidently predeceased his father. Then **Sāmantasīnha** became the ruler of Mewār (v. 149). Nothing beyond the names of these princes is known from the present epigraph.

Sāmantasīnha was succeeded by his brother **Kumārasīnha** who turned out of Mewār one **Kitū** who had somehow taken hold of the country (v. 150). He also made Āghāṭapura his own by acquiring the favour of the ruler of Gujarāt.

Kitū whom Kumārasīnha had driven out of Mewār was the third son of Ālhanadēva, the Chauhān ruler of Nāḍōl in Mārwar. He was brave and ambitious and had acquired the dominion of Jālōr from the Paramāras through his own might, and had become an independent prince. He was the founder of the Sonagarā branch of the Chauhān race¹. In the inscriptions and the copper-plates of the Chauhāns, his name is mentioned as Kīrtipāla but he was better known as Kitū² in Rājasthān. He seems to have attacked Mewār and taken hold of it in the reign of Sāmantasīnha, the predecessor of Kumārasīnha, when the former had become weaker owing to being at regular war with the rulers of Gujarāt in order to regain his dominions gone in their possession.³ When Kumārasīnha succeeded his elder brother Sāmantasīnha, he practically seems to have nothing to govern except the fort of Chitor which the latter seems to have regained from the ruler of Gujarāt through hard struggle. One of the two 'princeships' (*nṣipatvā*, v. 151) which Kumārasīnha is here stated to have gained was that acquired by expelling Kitū out of Mewār; the other was gained by recovering the ancient capital of Āghāṭapura which still remained in the possession of the rulers of Gujarāt.

Āghāṭapura was lost to Mewār as early as the first half of the eleventh century of the Vikrama era, having been attacked by Vākpatirāja (Muñja), the Paramāra ruler of Mālwa, in the reign of Śaktikumāra, as known from v. 10⁴ of the Hastakuṇḍī inscription of V. S. 1053 (=A.D. 997). Since then it became a Paramāra dominion along with the famous fort of Chitor which also seems to have been annexed thereto by the same prince, where used to live the celebrated Paramāra prince Bhōja, the son of Sindhurāja and the nephew of Muñja, who built there the great Tribhuvanānārāyaṇa temple (now popularly known as that of Samiddhēsvara and Mōkalajī), so called after his *biruda* of *Tribhuvanānārāyaṇa*.⁵ This Paramāra dominion of Mewār subsequently passed in the hands of the Chaulukya rulers of Gujarāt in the reign of Jayasīnha Siddharāja, who, after a hard struggle extending over a period of twelve years defeated Naravarman and his son Yaśōvarman, the Paramāra rulers of Mālwa and brought the Mālwa dominion, including Āghāṭapura and Chitor, under his own control⁶. The rulers of Gujarāt enjoyed an uninterrupted authority over both these important localities of Mewār for a long time, when Sāmantasīnha of Mewār, the elder brother of Kumārasīnha attacked the ruler of Gujarāt who is supposed to be Ajayapāla, to regain his lost citadels. There is no explicit mention of this fight in any of the records so far discovered, but we find an indication of it in the Ābu inscription of V. S. 1287 (=A.D. 1230)⁷, where the ruler of Gujarāt is stated to have been assisted by Prahlādanadēva, the younger brother of Dhāravarsha, the Paramāra ruler of Ābu. Through this fight Sāmantasīnha appears to have acquired the fort of Chitor

¹ *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, p. 452 and Bhandarkar's *List*, p. 382, n. 8.

² *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, p. 452.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 451.

⁴ Above, Vol. X, p. 20.

⁵ *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, pp. 435-36.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 437.

⁷ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 211.

from the Chaulukya Ajayapāla, but had been unable to take back Āghāṭapura, which task was ultimately carried out by his younger brother Kumārasimha as mentioned here. He was succeeded by **Mahāsimha** (v. 151) who is mentioned in other inscriptions as Mathanasimha.

Mahāsimha (Mathanasimha) was succeeded by **Padmasimha**, a prince of great valour whom people even now remember for his manifold merits (v. 152).

Next we come to the description of Rāula śrī-**Jayasimha**, also called **Jaitrasimha**. Though a fresh title is given to the portion dealing with this ruler it has to be regarded as a sub-division of the *Rāja-varṇana* which is still continued. This prince is stated to have governed the four territorial divisions, viz., Chitrakūṭa, Āghāṭa, Mēdapāṭa and Vāgaḍa; and no prince on the surface of the earth is said to have ever thought of humbling his pride (v. 154). He held his court at the capital of **Nāgharada**, the modern Nāgdā near Eklūngajī (v. 155).

Mēdapāṭa as mentioned here seems to have comprised the rest of Mewār excluding Chitor and Āghāṭapura, both of which are regarded as forming two different divisions. Vāgaḍa, which is described here as the fourth division, is the country to the south of Mewār, now forming two different states, viz., Dūngarpur and Bānswārā.

Rāula śrī-**Tējasimha** (vv. 158-159) is spoken of next. Nothing beyond his name and a poetical description of himself is given here. It may be noted that the portion dealing with this ruler has got a new title and a colophon, and has thus been made an independent description although apparently under *Rāja-varṇana*. The poet has evidently not been able to maintain a strict uniformity in the classification of his *varṇanas*.

The account of Rāula śrī-**Samarasimha**, the son of Tējasimha, which comes next extends over seventeen verses (vv. 160-176). It is worthy of note that the portion covered by these seventeen verses is nothing but a reproduction of the corresponding portion of the Princes' chapter of the *Ēkalīṅga-mūhātmya*, in the same order. It has already been stated by me that the latter had been compiled prior to the composition of the record under consideration, borrowing verses from many old inscriptions and arranging them sometimes without the least discrimination. This being so, the present description of our record (being nothing but a copy from the *Ēk. mht.*) has naturally come to have certain verses (particularly v. 168), which, properly speaking, have no bearing on Samarasimha. Nothing of any historical importance is mentioned here of this prince. Simply his valour, munificence and such other virtues are poetically described. His erection of a small temple dedicated to Śiva called Dhārēśvara at Eklūngajī, however, finds mention in v. 167. The remaining verses of the sub-section, borrowed as they are from other inscriptions through the *Ēk. mht.*, are primarily found in connection with the other princes of this line. In v. 176 which is the last dealing with Samarasimha, he is stated to have gone to heaven having appointed **Ratnasimha**, his son, for protecting the fort of Chitor.

The last ruler recorded on this slab is Mahārāṇā śrī-**Lash(kh)amasi** whose account is continued on the fourth slab. The author here clearly distinguishes Lakhamasi by calling him *Mahārāṇā* from the foregoing princes who are styled *Rāula*, and seems to have critically studied the *Ēk. mht.*, particularly the portion dealing with the division of the family. He has here deliberately omitted the description of all the Rāṇās found just after that of Rāval Samarasimha in the *Ēk. mht.*, and has taken into account only one of them, viz., Lakhamasi who, although not a crowned prince of Mewār just like others of his branch, was conspicuous by his presence with his seven sons, as a gallant defender of the fort when Chitor was sacked by Alā-ud-dīn Khaljī in A. D. 1303. In v. 177 he is stated to have bravely defended the fort as well as the honour of the family which had been cast in a critical situation when Ratnasimha, the ruling prince, had fled (*gatē*, v. 177) from the field of battle in a cowardly manner (*kāpurushair-vimuktām*, v. 177).

This inscription does not speak of Ratnasimha as having bravely fought and died in the battle-field, as Rai Bahadur Ojhā thinks¹. This battle is here stated to have continued for full one year (*samvatsaram*, v. 179) before the Muhammadans could capture the fort, while the Muslim historians reduce this period to half its length, i.e., six months². I really could not understand why Rai Bahadur Ojhā has omitted the word *samvatsaram* in his citation³ of this verse, which is visible on the slab plainly enough.

Lastly, **Sarivāt 1517** is given as the date of the inscription. Other particulars of the date are not given on this slab as on others, probably for want of space.

Nothing can be said definitely with regard to the authorship of the inscription until the last (i.e., the fifth) slab is brought to light. Rai Bahadur Ojhā is, however, inclined to regard the author of the Tower of Victory inscription, Mahēsa of Daśapura (*Daśōrā*)-*jñātī* to be the author of this inscription also, on the ground of the common text found in both these records⁴. But the occurrence of some common text in two records does not necessarily imply the identity of authorship, for some of the verses common in both these records appear to have been borrowed from other ancient epigraphs.

It hardly needs any mention that the present inscription belongs to the reign of Mahārāṇā **Kumbhakarṇa** of Mewār whose description has been taken up towards the end of the fourth slab and must have been continued on the fifth. Though the main **object** which the inscription aims at recording, cannot be definitely ascertained till the last slab is discovered, it stands to reason that it recorded the erection of the Kumbhasvāmin temple at Kumbhalgarh.

TEXT.⁵

*First Slab.*⁶

पद्यमपठिका ।

- 1 श्रीं ॥ स्वस्ति [।⁷] श्रीगणेशप्रसादात् ॥(।) श्रीसरस्वतीप्रसादात् । श्री[एक]लिङ्ग-
प्रसादात् । अथ अ[ग्रीः][॥⁸] — — सुखमातनोतु जगतां यस्यांङ्घ्रिपीठे
लुठन्वदारुचिदगालिमौलिविलसद्रत्नप्रभादौपिते । सिंदूरारुणमंडलो दिनमणिर्भ-
2 ह्येक[चिं]तामणिर्दत्तेर्चासु स[ह]स्रपत्रधिषणां [दि]वांगनानां प्रगे ॥१⁹ [लंबोद¹⁰][र]:
प्रययतादतुलां सुदं यो वालोनुविंविततनुं शशिनं जिघृक्षुः । लब्धो मया-
सूतमयं खलु मोदकोयमिच्छं ननत् गिरिजांगण-

¹ *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, p. 484. [Mr. Vyāsa's interpretation seems far-fetched. *Gotē* may mean 'having died'.—Ed.]

² Briggs' *Firishtā*, Vol. I, pp. 353-54.

³ *Rāj. Itih.*, Fasc. I, p. 484, n. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Fasc. II, p. 632.

⁵ Transcribed from the original stone slabs.

⁶ A portion of the text now missing on these slabs has been restored from other records. We shall, for the sake of convenience, call them in the footnotes by the following abbreviations: the Chaulukya Kumārāpāla inscription of V. S. 1207 at Chitor (above, Vol. II, pp. 422-24)—A; the first slab of the Chitor inscription of V. S. 1331 (*Bhār. Insers.*, pp. 74-77 and Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXIII, pl. XXV)—B; the Samādhiśvara temple inscription of V. S. 1485 (above, Vol. II, pp. 410-21 and *Bhār. Insers.*, pp. 96-100)—C; the *Princes' chapter* of the *Ēka-lingga-Māhātmya* of the time of Kumbhā (a fragmentary manuscript copy of which I have found in my father Samskrit Vyāsa Vahnu Ram Śāstri's collection)—D; the first slab of the Tower of Victory inscription (Cunningham, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXIII, pl. XX)—E; and the later *Ēk. māt.*, of the time of prince Bāi Mal (a manuscript copy of which written in V. S. 1754 I have also found in my father's collection)—F.

⁷ Indicated by a symbol.

⁸ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

- 10 वा भवति निशि परं किं च रूपं तदाच । किं सातत्याभिधायि स्फुरति
ननु पदं [त्रे]य[से से]वका[नां दा]त[व्या]शी-कथं वा वदत मतिमता¹
कुम्भकर्णाय राज्ञे² ॥१३³ इनो धिनोतु नो लीनोमीनो धीनो बु(ब)नोपि
नो⁴ । विनोदनो मनोधा-
- 11 [न]ोहीनोन्नानो न नोदनो⁵ ॥१४⁶ इत्याशीःप्रकरणं ॥ अथ [चि*]कूटवर्षनं ॥
शिखरेशु पुष्यगुरुभिस्त्रुभिः[स्त्र]दुपलकासु विमलैः सलिलैः । स्रदुकुंजगुंजदलि-
भिर्वलिभिर्दिरदैस्त्रिकूटशिखरौ जयति ॥१५⁷ इंदिरारचितचारुमंदि-
- 12 रा हेमभूमिमवमल्य तामपि । विंध्ववासरुचिरैस्त्रिकूटिनं स्तौमि किं कि[म]परं
तमुत्तमं(मम्) ॥१६¹⁰ यत्र शृंगविहारिहोर¹¹हरितारक्तोत्पलप्रोज्जसत्सक्तोत्तरभूरिभाभिर-
जनि स्वर्गप्रयागभ्रमः । चित्रं तत्र विलोकयद्भिरमि[तं] चैतं चिकूटा-
- 13 चले नानायासवतापि दुर्लभतरा मुक्तिर्जनैराप्यते ॥[१७]¹² इति त्रिकूटवर्षनं ॥
अथ कुटिलावर्षनं ॥ पातकविमतविनाशकशंकरतरवारिनिर्मला कुटिला ।
सुरसरिदिव शिवमुपनतमाराधितमुपगता जयति ॥१८¹³ कचिह्नीना मौ-

¹ Better read *matimata* as qualifying *śvabhūmā*.

² This verse, strictly speaking, should go to prince Kumbha's description, but being benedictory in nature it seems to have been included in this *prakaraṇa*. The solution to the riddle contained in this verse appears to be श्रीरसु अशदा सदा.

³ Metro: *Śrapdhari*.

⁴ Read *naś*. The intentional change of *visarga* to medial *ś* at the end of both the halves of this verse appears to be for the sake of alliteration.

⁵ The meaning of this verse appears to be as follows:—

विनोदन इति वीनां अद्यानां प्रीतिवाशां पचिणां वा नोदनः स्त्रियु कर्मसु प्रेरकः इनः सूर्यः । मनो-
धानः सिद्धिदायकत्वेन हर्षयित्वा मनसः पीयकः नः शशेयः । अहीनो न हीन इति सर्वेश्वरसुभगः, अथवा
अष्टैः कालिघस इनः शान्ता ईनः परलज्याः इनः पतिः ज्ञानरूपी विश्वरिष्यः । अद्यानां न अद्यात् परम-
ज्ञानवान्, ही नजी प्रकृताये इन्द्रवतः, एवंभूतो धीमः धियां मतीनां इनः स्त्रीमी गीपतिरिष्यः । नोदनः
जीवनस अये प्रापकः वनीपि, अपिः समुद्रघर्षः, वी वातुः नः सकलमाणिभिः स्यातः, अस्त अथासौ नयेति
विशेषणनासः, सकललोकप्रभंसाभिरामो जीवनसमेधयिता च वायुरिष्यः । एष सर्वोपि लीनः आभिसुख्येन वर्त-
मानः सन् नः अद्यान् अम् अटिति धिनोतु भवेत्तादिप्रदानेन प्रीणयतु इत्यर्थः ।

⁶ Metro: *Anuśtubh*.

⁷ The syllables 'd=aliśāi' which were at first omitted by mistake are later on engraved above the line in smaller letters.

⁸ The *r* over *ba* seems to have been engraved later on in a very narrow space.

⁹ Metro: *Pramitākshari*.

¹⁰ Metro: *Rathōddhata*.

¹¹ The word *hira* primarily means 'a diamond', but it is here used in the sense of 'white' which it may mean secondarily.

¹² Metro: *Śārdūlavikrīṣita*.

¹³ Metro: *Āryā*.

- 14 ना मकरमइती मध्यजगती पतत्तीरं नीरं तटविट[पि]नो वीतविटपाः । अशक्ते¹ संमक्ते²
नटति कुटिलं म]ध्यनिकटे ततो जाता मन्थे त्रिदिवसरिताऽस्या³ कुटि-
लता ॥१८⁴ इति कुटिलावर्षनं ॥ अथ विंध्यवासावर्षनं ॥ महेशमोहनं
मो-
- 15 इतमोनिर्व्वीसनं महः । गुंजापुंजकृतोत्तंसं विंध्यवाससुपास्यहे ॥२०⁵ इंदनीलकुल-
मञ्जुलद्युति[र्ज्ञान]या दलितदैत्यसंहतिः । सच्चिकूटभुवि चारुहासिनो चंडिका
अयति विंध्यवासिनी ॥२१⁶ धावदौरर्ध(ध)नुर्धरैरपि महाकुंता-
- 16 सिविचामिभिर्व्वीरैर्हानवपुंगवै ऋ परिहृतं सं[घा]मरंगोद्धतं(तम्) । आ[क्रम्याव]टुर्मङ्गिणा
समदहप्रोहामशूला[न]लज्ज्वालाभिर्माह्विषं जगति सततं सा विंध्यवासावतु ॥२२⁷
इति विंध्यवासावर्षनं ॥ अथ श्रीएकलिंगवर्षनं ॥ श्रीवाटे मेदपाटे
- 17 परिहृतकपटे प्रोचकूटे त्रिकूटे हारी हारीतरा[शि]रग[णि]ततपसा शंभुराविर्व[भूव] ।
यस्याद्यापि प्रसादादधिगतयशसो वप्पवंशि [न]रेशा निर्व्वैरं भूमिभारं भुजभुज-
गफणामंडलैरुद्धंति ॥२३⁸ काशीभूमौ विकाशी न भवति न गि-
- 18 रो राजते राजतेऽन्यो लंकालंकारभूर्यं न वहति न गतः शोणिते¹⁰ शोणितेपि ।
इत्ये[कैक]) — — ि.)) ि.) रे संज्ञयेवादिदिक्षुः प्राप्तप्रौढस्त्रिकूटे
प्रमथपतिरसावेकलिंगाङ्गयोस्ति ॥२४⁹ इति श्रीएकलिंगवर्षनं ॥ अथ इन्द्र-
- 19 तीर्थभोजसरोवर्षनं ॥ विराजते तत्र च पूर्व्व[सं]थितं सरस्वरैर्द्रव्य शशांकसुंद[रं-
(रम्)] । श्रीभोज[भू]पेन सु[कि]तु¹¹मंडितं विधाय यज्ञोजसरः स्फुटीकृतं(तम्) ॥२५¹²
रत्नप्रदानसमये तु मया विषेण संभावितोयमिति भोजतडागदंभात् । भीतस्त-
- 20 रंगचमरैरमरप्रवीरं संवीजयन्¹³ज[ञ्ज]लधि[रा]विरभूत्किमच ॥२६¹⁴ तीरवीरुधि मरालवा-
लि[का] मंजरीमधुकमा[धुरी]जुषः । संस्पृसं(शं)त्यपि न धूलिधूसरं कसरं
सरसि भोजसंज्ञके ॥२७¹⁵ सरसी सुरेशदिशि शंकर¹⁶तो विम-

¹ Read *asaktēh* (genitive singular).

² Read *samsaktēr*=(ablative singular in *hētu* or cause).

³ Read *sarīt*=*syāh*.

⁴ Metro: *Śikharigī*.

⁵ Metro: *Anuśubh*.

⁶ Metro: *Rathōddhātā*.

⁷ Metro: *Śardūlavikrīdita*.

⁸ There is a medial *ē* stroke on top of the syllable *deā*, which is superfluous.

⁹ Metro: *Sragdharā*.

¹⁰ This word as qualifying *Śōpita* or *Śōpitapura* (beyond), the city of *Bānāsura*, a great devotee of *Śiva*, is used in the indicated sense (*lakṣyārtha*) of *anurakta* meaning 'devoted'.

¹¹ The word *hētu* here means 'shape' or 'form'.

¹² Metro: *Upajāti*.

¹³ Sandhi is not observed here.

¹⁴ Metro: *Vasantatilakā*.

¹⁵ The syllable *ra* has a superfluous *prishtha-mātrā*.

- 21 लैरनखकमलैस्त्रिलैः । सृगना[भि]पत्रमिव भातितराभिह भेदपाटजगती[यु][व*]-
तेः ॥२८^१ इति इन्द्रतीर्थभोज[सरोव]र्षनं ॥ अथ कामधेनुवर्षनं ॥ चक्री
चार चकार किंकरगतिं वञ्ची विशालानतिं रंभारंभमुपासितुं
- 22 परिणतिं कर्तुं विरंचौ रुचिं(चिम्) । यस्यां विंध्यगिरिचिकूटकुहरोदंचच्छिंवारा-
धनस्फौतो(ता)[दा]त्फलभाजि सा तनुमतो धेनुर्दि[नोतु त्रि]या ॥२८^२ उपास्य
गुरकंदराकुहरसंचरं शंकरं जगाम जगतीतलादिह हि कामधेनुर्दिवं-
(यम्) । न
- 23 चेदमलचंद्रिकाधवलदुग्धधाराभरैः [स्फु]टैरधिधराधरं कथमभावि विंध्याचले ।[।]३०^४
इति कामधेनुवर्षनं ॥ अथ तच्चक्रवर्षनं ॥ उ[र्ध्व]मिंडलमाविभिव्य सुतला-
दाद्य चिकूटाचले संयस्य स्वमुभापतिं परिगतो भे-
- 24 जे भुजंगाधिपः । तेनालीकित एष ना[ग]नगरं निर्माय विप्राय तद्दत्त्वा(त्ता)
सन्निजकी[न्नि]कैरवकुले चंद्रायते तच्चक्रः ॥३१^३ शंकरं परिचचार तच्च[क]:
स चिकूटधर(र)णीविहारिणं(णम्) । पश्य तत्फलमनेन वक्षसा चारुहा-
- 25 र इव सोपि धार्यते ॥३२^१ स्वर्गसादक[त य]: परीक्षितं भूपमप्रतिमयन्नरचितं-
(तम्) । त[स्व] शैव्यमथ किं प्रशस्यते तच्चक्रस्य सुतवैरदारुणं(णम्) ॥३३^२
इति तच्चक्र[वर्षनं] ॥ अथ धारेश्वरवर्षनं ॥ एकलिङ्गनिलयस्य सम्भु(म्)-
खं पा-
- 26 शिनो हरिति राजते हरः । संततं चि[पथ*][भू]मिगाहिनी वाहिनी शिरसि
येन धार्यते ॥३४^३ चिकूटगिरिकंदराकुहरवारिधाराभरैर्जटाघटनलंपटैः शिरसि
यस्य संभूयते । यतेत मनसा परं परिकल्प्य तं शंकरं करोतु
- 27 सुकृती निजं चिदशवलभादुर्लभं(भम्) ।[।]३५^४ इति*] धारेश्वरवर्षनं ॥ अथ
वैद्यनाथवर्षनं ॥ योनादिर्ष परासुसुभक्त(क्त)ति न वा वैद्येन संसाध्यते
वीरुहल्लमूलपत्रविटपत्रातैरलं योजितैः । [तं] संसारमहागदं तनुमतामा-
मूलमु-
- 28 हृदयन्मानध्यानमहीषधेन जय[तु श्री*]वैद्यनाथो हरः ॥३६^३ अधिविंध्यमंध[क]-
रिपुर्विपुलं यदगापयन्निजयशोऽश्वमुखीः । तदुपाचरत्तदशभूमितलप्रतिवासिनाम-
खिलतापरुर्ज(जम्) ॥[३]७^१ इति वैद्यनाथवर्षनं ॥ अथ वा(वा)-

^१ Metre: Pramitāśharā.

^२ The conjunct *ch* seems to be engraved later on.

^३ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

^४ Metre: Prithvī.

^५ Metre: Rathōddhatā.

- 29 चेलाववर्षनं ॥ धौरं नीरं कमलम[म]लं मंजुला वं[जुला]लौ स्फोटं गीतं सृदु
मधुलिहां वीतशोकाथ कोकाः । यत्रागाधे सरसरसितं जुंभते सारसानां
काम्यां याम्यां दिशमनु सरः शंकरात्तच्चकास्ति ॥३[८^१ यद]कारिं मोकल-
- 30 नृपः स[रोवरं ल]सदिंदिरानिल[य]राजिराजितं(तम्) । उपगम्य भालनयनस्तदा[श]यं
जल्लकेलये श्रयति नापरं पयः ॥३८^२ इरभालभंगुरशिशुतिभिः कुमुदाकरं
विकचमुद्दहति । दिवसे दिनेश्रविवशेषि सरस्तदुप[त्रिकूट]-
- 31 मतुलं जयति ॥४०^१ [इति] वा(वा)[वे]लाववर्षनं ॥ अथ श्रोसमाधोश्चरवर्षनं ॥
स्या[ष्ण(स्)]नां शकमंचतोभयचयः चेचेषु काश्यादिषु खैरं भक्तजनालये
परिददेभौष्टं समाध्युक्तवैः ।^१ क्लेयं किं परिचिंत्य दुर्गमवितं श्रोचित्रकूटं
नृपैर्यो-
- 32 ध्यास्ते शकचातिभिः स ज[यताहे^२]वः समाधोश्चरः ॥४१^० [मौ]लौ प्रौढो जलौघो
वसति हिमवपुर्वक्रदोषाकरोपि प्रोच्चस्त्रिगधः कपर्दः कुटिलगतिपते^३ फूत्कतिः
सत्फणानां(नाम्) । ज्वालौघो दारदोत्योधिगलमिति शिवायुक्त्मेत्या-
- 33 प रुद्रो दिश्याद्वचित्रकूटं विभव[म]भयदं द्राक् समाधोश[तां] सः^४ ॥४२^० तस्मिन्
देवः [स]र्वलोकेकनाथो वासं प्रातः प्रेयसीप्रौतिदृष्टः । इष्टे दत्ते भुक्तिमुक्तौ
द्रुतं यः पुंशो भाति श्रीसमाधोश्चरः सः ॥४३^{१०} यस्व ध्वजं वीच^{११} पुमान्
मनागप्यवेच-
- 34 तिसौ महिषध्वजं न । संपूजयेत्तं [व]षभध्वजं यः प्रपूजयेत्तं गरु^{१२}डध्वजोपि ॥४४^{१३}
तं दक्षिणेन प्रकटप्रभावा श्रीजङ्गकन्याकलितस्वभावा । मंदाकिनौति प्रधि-
तास्ति वापी यां सर्वथा पश्यति नैव पापो ॥४५^{१४} वापी परैर्यं मणिकर्षि-
केव समा-

^१ Metre : *Mandākrāntā*.

^२ This Passive Voice Aorist form of the verb in the Active Voice construction of the sentence is grammatically incorrect. It may have been used here for the sake of the metre.

^३ Metre : *Mañjubhāshīṣī*.

^४ Metre : *Pramitākāharā*.

^५ This *danḍa* being omitted at first was thinly engraved later on.

^६ Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

^७ Read -*patāh*.

^८ There is a little obscurity in the arrangement of words towards the end of this verse. *Āpa* is to be connected with *Chitrakūṣṭam* and *samādhisatām*, and *diśyād* with *vishvaṅm*.

^९ Metre : *Sragdharā*.

^{१०} Metre : *Śālinī*.

^{११} Read *vīkahya*.

^{१२} There is a medial *ē* stroke on *ga*, which is superfluous.

^{१३} Metre : *Upajāti*.

^{१४} Metre : *Indravajrā*.

- 35 धिग्रंभुः खलु विश्वनाथः । काशी प्रकाशोपि च चित्रकूटः किं नह तद्यत्र
[म*]विद्विमुक्तै ॥४६^१ हंत्याराध्व(हु)जटर्गनं महदधं स्प(स्व)र्गोमरावामदः पूजा
यस्य विमुक्तिदा मुनिवरैर्गीता सकृदा कृता । यथास्ते भगवान् स्वयं स
जगतां भर्ता
- 36 समिद्वेश्वरस्तस्थालं गुणवर्षने[न] महिमानुक्तोपि विज्ञायते ॥४७^२ अ[स्मि]न् समिद्व-
हरदक्षिणमूर्त्तिसंस्था भ्राक्ता(क्वा)रहारि निपतञ्जलमज्जदीशा । मंदाकिनौसरि-
दियं सुरनिम्नगाभा स्नानावृणामधनुदेस्त्वलोकनाच्च ॥४८^३ यत्र श्री
- 37 मति चित्रकूटशिखरे श्रीकुंभभू[मौ]पतिः प्रासादं गिरिजापतेर्व्यं[चय]न्दे(हे)वालयाली-
वृतं(तम्) । उन्मीलक्षुपताकहेमकलशे रत्नावलीतोरणे यत्रेशः समवाप्य सौख्य-
मधिकं धत्ते समाधौशतां(ताम्) ॥४९^४ यथासादशिरो न्यस्तध्वजहस्तेन
राज-
- 38 त । चैसंध्यतूर्यनादेन कलिं निर्भर्त्सयन्निव ॥५०^५ इति श्रीममाधौश्वर[व]र्षनं ॥
अथ महालक्ष्मीवर्षनं ॥ शकापहृत्पाविते वसति चित्रकूटे शिवः शिवं प्रभवते
दिशन्निति समौच्य लक्ष्मीः किमु । स्थितात्र शकमर्दितस्त्रलमलं विहाया-
- 39 स्तु सा सतां परमुदे द्रुतं स(सु)फलदा [शि]वस्य प्रिया ॥५१^६ श्रीकुक्कु(क्)-
टेश्वरगदाधरयोः पुरस्ताद्देव्याः श्रियोपि मधुरांबुधरैः सरोभिः । श्रीरोदधिल-
मधिगंतुमिवाप्तभेदः चारोदधिल्लिविधमूर्त्तिरिहाध्ववास ॥५२^७ सौभाग्यैकमङ्गीष-
धिर्भ-
- 40 गवती यस्मिन् भवानौ स्वयं जागर्त्ति [प्रि]यसंनिधानवसतिः सा[ध्वी]जनानां
गुरुः । देवस्त्रोपि समस्तनाकरमणौसंतानदानव्रतप्रद्यो(ञ्चो)तन्मकरंदर्विंदुसुरभि-
प्रस्कारवृत्त्यांगणः ॥५३^८ पाव(र्व)तौमुखपद्मस्य नेत्रभ्रमरशोभिनः ।
- 41 प्रवीधहेतवे नमः ९ कुक्कु(क्)टेश्वरभानवे ॥५४^९ इति महालक्ष्मीवर्षनं ॥^{१०} अथ
कुंभस्वामिवर्षनं ॥ सूर्याचंद्रमसौ यत्र दधाते कलशश्चिथं(यम्) । प्रासादः
कारितः कुंभस्वामिनः कु(कुं)भभूभुजा ॥५५^{१०} यस्त्रैलोक्यजनिस्थितिप्रलयकृत्^{११}यो-
(द्यो)

^१ Metre : Upajāti.

^२ Metre : Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

^३ Metre : Vasantatilakā.

^४ This verse is found in l. 23 of A where the first half of it is destroyed.

^५ Metre : Anuṣṭubh.

^६ Metre : Pīṭhivī.

^७ The syllable *sa* is only partially engraved.

^८ This verse is no. 79 in C where variance in reading is in *santāna-dāna-vraja*. It will be seen that our author has improved the reading.

^९ The sense is *namō bhāvanāmi*.

^{१०} *Sandhi* is not observed here.

- 42 दानवेद्रांतको यो विम्बस्थितये वभार दग्धा मूर्ति [मु]नीर्द्रैर्नु[तां(ताम्) । दं-
द्वाप्रोद्भृतसाद्रिसागरधरो ध्वातव यो योगिभिर्विष्णुर्यत्र विराजते म भगवानाद्यो
वराहाकृतिः ॥५६^१ सत्वं संति जगत्त(त्त)यौपरिसरे ते ते सुराधीश्वरा
येषां
- 43 संसृतिमात्रमत्र फलदं स्वर्गापवर्गादिनः । अस्माकं तु यदाधि चित्तफलके^२
संकल्पकल्पद्रुमं कुंभस्वामिपदारवि(वि)दमुदितं तेनैव सर्वाप्तयः ॥५७^३ इति श्री-
कुंभस्वामिवर्षनं ॥ अथ मेदपाटवर्षनं ॥ अथास्ति देशः प्रवरप्रदेशः
- 44 श्रीमेदपाटाभिधया प्रतीतः । स्वर्गोपि यं वीक्ष्य विलक्षभावाद[ल]क्षभावं प्रतिपद्य
तस्यौ ॥५८^४ तोषैर्भद्रकंदरैरिव मनोहृद्यैः पुरैः स्वःत्रियो लावक्षैरिव विस्तृतैः
सितमणिस्वच्छैः सरोभिश्च यः । व्योमश्रीसुकुरैरिव प्रतिपदं
- 45 स्तौतो जयत्यंगनासौदर्यैकनिकेतनं जनपदः श्रीमेदपाटाभि[ध]ः^५ ॥५९^६ उच्चैर्द्वैवगृहैस्स-
रा(रो)भिरमलैः पुष्पापगाभिर्महावापौभिः शरदिंदुधामधवलैस्सत्तोरणे(णै)र्मंदिरैः ।
आरामैरतुलैर्विचित्रखनिभिश्चाभलिहैरद्रिभिर्या
- 46 नूनं हसतीव शक्रवसुधां सन्नायकालंक्रता ॥६०^७ वाहा यत्र [वि]ल्लोड्ढवा इव नरा
गंधर्वपुत्रा इव स्वर्जाता इव धेनवश्च सुदृशो गीर्वाणकन्या इव । पंचाश्या
इव शस्त्रिणो मणिरिव स्वच्छं मनो धीमतां देशस्तोयमनर्गलामरपुरश्री-
- 47 गर्वसर्वेकश्चः(षः)^८ ॥६१^९ प्रजवितुरगह्वेपारावमाकर्ष्य यस्यासहनयुवतिलोके [कान]नातं
प्रयाति । रुचिरवसनहा[रैः] कंटका(क)प्रावसक्तैर्धवखदिरपताशाः कल्पवृक्षत्व-
मापुः^{१०} ॥६२^{११} यत्र सत्रप्रपाः पांशुसार्धविश्रामभूमयः ।^{१२} प्रति-
- 48 ग्रामं प्रतिपुर^{१३} प्रतिपत्तनमावभुः ॥६३^{१४} नदीतटस्थास्तरवोध्वचारिणा अमं क्षुधां
चापहरन्ति हेलया । कुलीनभावात्स्त्रयमेव देहिनः परोपकारे हि भवंति
तत्पराः ॥ ॥६४^{१५} सरसाः कवयो यत्र गुरवस्तत्व(त्त)वेदिनः । बुधाः संति
प्रमाण-

^१ Metro: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

^२ There is a superfluous anusvāra over *kē*.

^३ Metro: Upajāti.

^४ This verse is no. 6 in B.

^५ This verse is no. 7 in B where variance in reading is in "marapuri-śrī-garva".

^६ This verse is no. 16 in B and belongs to the description of prince Bhōja of the Guhila family.

^७ Metro: Mālinī.

^८ This mark of punctuation is incomplete.

^९ Read "purash".

^{१०} Metro: Anuśtubh.

^{११} Metro: Vamśāstha.

49 चास्तदलं स्वर्गसंस्तवैः ॥६५¹ सुधा च वसुधा चात्र समे विष्वधृता कृते ।
तयोर्वर्णविशेषेण परमेका विशिष्यते ॥६६¹ मानवा मानवा यत्र प्रमदाः
प्रमदाः सदा । केवलं केवलं प्राप्य तापसास्तापसा न हि ॥६७¹ कलाकलाप-
प्रथि-

50 तामभूपा जना न हीनाः कलयापि यत्र । तत्तत्कथातः कलुष्ठा(वा)[म]योय²
तुलामलंकर्तुमुपैति चंद्रः ॥६८¹ एतदनंतरवर्षनं [द्वितीय³] पट्टिकाया अंक-
क्रमेण विदितव्यं ॥ संवत् १५१[७] वर्षे शके १३८२ प्रवर्त्तमाने मार्ग-
शीर्षे वदि ५ सोमे प्रशस्तिः [॥⁴]

Third Slab.

[द्वितीयपट्टिका ३]

- 1 हारीत[रा]शिसु[निर्पुंगव] — — — [सि] — — — सादव — —
— — [१⁵] — — — [भि]विष्य चिरा[य] — — — —
— — — — [अभूयः ॥१२१⁶ श्री] — [य]कु[जापरना][मधे-
यात्तपो*]-
- 2 निधाना[दु]दभूद्विजेन्द्रः ॥(1) [हारी][तराशि] — — नि⁷[वृत्तं]को — गा — —
— — — — [॥१२२⁷] जीयाद[1]नंदपु[र्व] तदिह पुरमिला[खंड-
[सौंदर्य*][शोभि] [चोणी][पृष्ठ*][स्व][मेव*] [चि]द[प्रपुरमधो(धः) कु][र्वदुवै*]:⁸
- 3 [स]ख्यदा ॥(1) यस्मादाग[त्य] विप्रच[तुरुदधिमहीवेदि*][निक्षिपयूपो व][प्याख्यो
वीतरागचरण*][युगमु]पासीत⁹ हारीतरागैः¹⁰ ॥१२३¹⁰ सं[प्राप्याहुत]मिक[लि]ग-
[चर]ण[भोजप्रसा[दा]त्फलं] [यस्मै*]¹¹
- 4 [दि]व्यसुवर्षपादक[टकं] हारीतराशिर्ह¹²दौ ॥(1) वप्याख्यः[स पुरा पुराणपुरुषः*]¹¹
[प्रा][र*]¹¹[भ]निर्वी¹²हणातु[ख्योक्ताह]गु[णी] वभूव [ज]ग[ति] श्री[मिदपाटाधिपः
॥१२४¹³ [सदैक*]¹⁴

¹ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

² There is a superfluous medial \bar{r} stroke over this ka .

³ Read "jayō-yam."

⁴ Metre: Upajāti.

⁵ Due space for these three syllables is left on the slab.

⁶ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

⁷ Text within these brackets is restored from B where the verse is no. 9.

⁸ Read "m-upāśihta."

⁹ This verse is cited by Rai Bahadur Ojha (Rāj. Itih., Fasc. I, p. 380, n. 2).

¹⁰ Metre: Sragdharā.

¹¹ Text within these brackets is restored from B and D where the verse is no. 10 and 20 respectively. The difference in reading in the former is in *purāpa-puruṣa-prāsamāha-* and in the latter in *phalān ca-dama* and *babhūva nripatib.*

¹² First *ryā* was engraved which was afterwards turned into *rvā*.

¹³ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

¹⁴ Text within these brackets is restored from B where the verse is no. 11.

- 5 लिं र्चनशुद्धो[धसं]प्रा[म]सा[युज्य*]¹[महोदयस्य] । हारीतराशिरसमप्र*]सादादवाप वयो
नवरा[ज्य]लक्ष्मी[स्त्रौम] ॥१२[५]² वप्ये गि[वे] लयसुपे[युधि] नीलकंठ[प्रौढप्र*]³
- 6 [सादम]प[सा]दमवाप्य त[स्य] ॥(1) [वंशो] [जगत्तय*]⁴[प][विचचरिचपात्रमद्याप्यखंड*]⁵-
म[खिलां] जगतीं प्र[शास्ति] ॥१[२६]⁴ इति म[हारा]ज[ल]क्ष्मीवापावर्षनं ॥ ॥
अथ राउलक्ष्मी[गुहद*]-
- 7 [त्तव]र्षनं ॥ तस्यात्मजः [स नृप]तिर्गु[ह्नि][लाभिधानो धर्माच्छशास वसुधां
मधु*]⁶[जितप्रभावः ॥(1) यस्मा[द्]घो गुहिलवर्षनया [प्रसि]वां गौहिल्य[वं]श-
[भव]राजगणोत्र जातिं[तिम्] ॥१[२७]⁴ य*
- 8 [आ]नंदपुरे पूर्व गुह[द]त्ताभिधो द्विजः ॥(1) स ले[मि] .. ∪ — — .. ∪
.. ∪ .. ∪ — ∪ .. 1*]॥१२८⁵ [गु]हिलघरणिनायोत्तुंगरंगः⁷ [प्र]ताप-
स्तुक्षणतरणिर[व स्त्रा]पयन्वैरिचंद्रान् ॥(1) अ्यचरद[तिविचि*]⁸
- 9 [चं सं]ततं यत्पृथि[व्या]मददद[रिवधू]टीपद्मिनी[नां सुखाज[जम्]*]⁹ ॥१२९*]⁹
— — ∪ — [वा*][सि]तशत्रुबंधुः प्रतापसंतर्जितपद्मबंधुः ॥(1) [गां]भीर्य[दू]-
रौल[त]सप्तसिंधुर्यशोभर[न्व] ∪ ∪ — ∪
- 10 [सिंधुः] ॥१३०⁵ य[स्मा]दभु[द्]रितर[प्रता]पो [भूपालमौ][लि*] ∪ ∪ — ∪ —
[1*] — — ∪ — — रघुव[क्षु]ध[न्वा] यस्मा[त्]सि[दो] गुहिलान्ववायः
॥१[३]१⁵ [गुह]प्रदाना]द्गुहदत्तनामा वंशो[यमुत्तो]
- 11 गुहिलो[श्च] कैचित् ॥(1) स एव गांभीर्य[वशा]द्भिर्ति रत्ना[कर*] — ∪ ∪ —
∪ — — ॥१३२⁵ [ला]टीजनेन मधुरस्वरगौत[कि]न पीनस्तनेन रति[काल-
विध]क्षणेन ॥(1) साहं विनोदितदिनी [ग-
- 12 ति]मंशरेण लाटीविनोद इति तस्य व[भू]व स्रु[तु]ः ॥१३३⁵ [इति राउलक्ष्मी-
गुहदत्तवर्षन*] ॥ ॥ अथ राउलक्ष्मी[सु]म्नाणवर्षनं ॥ इ[र्षा]द्योतोल[य]रक्षं
निजसुतरद्विणीसंयुतं काच[नि]न प्रा-

¹ Text within these brackets is restored from B where the verse is no. 11.

² Metre: Upajāti.

³ Text within these brackets is restored from D and E where the verse is no. 30 and 7 respectively.

⁴ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

⁵ Text within these brackets is restored from B and D where the verse is no. 13 and 17 respectively. The difference in reading in the latter is in *Śrīmaṇ-abbūt-sa*.

⁶ Metre: Anuśtubh.

⁷ Better omit the *vinarga* and read **raṅga-pratāpa-*.

⁸ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse no. 18 where the difference in reading is in **Uṅga-*

riṅga-

⁹ Metre: Mālinī.

- 13 दा]त्तद्याचकैभ्यः कनकमिति लस[त्कल्पवृक्षोपमा]नः । कौर्त्तिं विस्तारयन्त्वां तु*]-¹
हिनदधिसुधाचीरहीरावदातां स श्रीयु(शु)म्माण[नामा] स[म]भवदवनेर्नायको
भूरिभा[ग्यः ॥
- 14 १]३४² विलंघयंती सकलं महोत्त[लं दि]गं[गणं वारि][निधोन् गिरित्रजं(जम्) ।
यु(शु)*]-³म्माणग[जन्यशिरोम]णेरभावसौ [न]न[र्त्ताद्भुतकौर्त्ति]नर्त्तकौ ॥१३५⁴ [शंगाः
संप्राप्त]भंगाः सम[रभु*]-⁵
- 15 वि परं दत्तनागाः कलिंगा [वं(वं)गा नष्टा]खिलांगा⁶ श[रततिहतिभिः पाति-
तांगा*]-⁷स्त्रिलिंगाः ॥(1) सौराष्ट्राख्य(ख्य)क्षराष्ट्रा [न]रपतितिलकप्रस्थितौ दिग्जयार्थ
[चौ]डाः सं[त्ख][क्तचूडा*]-⁸
- 16 रणरस[पट]वी द्राविडा [नैव गौडा]ः ॥१३६⁹ प्रा[च्या] — ◡ — ◡ — ◡ —
[दजग]णश्रो दाक्षिणात्योभवहचो वाचमर्निदितां नरपतेरौदीचकोप्याददे ॥(1)
प(पा)द्यात्योपि न भू[षणानि*]
- 17 [वितर]ग्पाद्या[त्यभावं दधौ तस्मि]न्दि[म्बजयोद्यते न][रपती*] — — ◡ — [त्वंजसा]
॥१३७¹⁰ ॥ इति राजलश्रीयु(शु)म्माणवर्षनं ॥ ॥ अथ राजवर्षनं ॥ अतः श्री-
राजवंशोत्र प्र[व्यक्त]ः [पो][च्यते*]-
- 18 [धुना] ॥(1) चिरंतनप्र[शस्तो]नाम[ने]का[ना]म[तः(वे)]क्षणा[त् ॥१३८¹¹ तस्मिन् गुह-
लवं]शिशुङ्गोजनाभावनीश्वरः ॥(1) तस्मान्म[ही]द्रनागाहो¹² वप्याख्यचापराजितः ॥१३९¹³
महो[द्रभट्ट(ट)सं-
- 19 पाला]त्कालभोजस्तोजनि ॥(1) यु(शु)[म्माणो मत्त]टद्या[सौद्वट(तृ)पट्टे(टो)]थ¹⁴ प(अ)-
[स्रटः] ॥१४०¹⁵ नरवाहनसंज्ञय शालि[वाह]न[भूप]तिः ॥(1) [ज]ज्ञे यत्तिकुमा-
राख्यस्तस्मादंवा(वा)प्रसादतः¹⁶ ॥[१४१]¹⁷
- 20 [नृव]भानंतवर्मा च यशोवर्मा महोपतिः ॥(1) तयो[प्यंवा(वा)]प्र[सादख जज्ञि]रे
[भ्रा]तरोख्य च ॥१४२¹⁸ ततश्च योग¹⁹[रा]जीभू[न्ने]दपाटे महोपतिः ॥(1) अपि
राज्ये²⁰ स्थिते तस्मिन् तच्छाया(खा) नो[द्धृ(च्छ)य]

¹ Text within these brackets is restored from D where the verse is no. 32.

² Metre: *Sragdharā*.

³ Text within these brackets is restored from D where the verse is no. 33.

⁴ Metre: *Upajāti*.

⁵ Text within these brackets is restored from D where the verse is no. 34.

⁶ Read *khikampāh*.

⁷ Metre: *Sārdalavikriṣṭā*.

⁸ Metre: *Anuśtubh*.

⁹ Either read *Mahindra-Nāg-āhara* or *Mahindrō Nāg-āhō*.

¹⁰ Sandhi is not observed here.

¹¹ Read *-prasādabāh*.

¹² Space for one letter between these two syllables seems to have originally been defective on the slab, and hence not used for engraving.

¹³ Read *rājyē*.

- 21 गता ॥१४३^१ पश्चादल्लटसंताने वैरटोभू[व]रिश्वरः ॥(1) ततः [श्रीहंसपालच] वै[रि]-
सिंहो [नृपाग्र]णीः ॥१४४^१ स्थापितोभि[न*]वो येन श्रीन(म)दाघाटपत्तने ॥(1)
प्राकारच चतुर्दिक्षु च[तुर्गोपु][र*]-
- 22 भूषितः ॥१४५^१ द्वाविंशतिः सुतास्त[स्य] वभूवुः सगु(ङ्ग)णालयाः ॥(1) तेषां मध्ये
वभूवैको नरेंद्रः पुण्यभाजनं(नम) ॥[१४६^१ तस्म]ात् सुवैरसिंहोभूदरसिंहस्ततोजनि
॥(1) तत्पट्टे चोडनामा[सौहृह]-
- 23 इं[धु]र्हराधिपः ॥१४७^१ चोडस्याप्यग्रजो [ज]ज्ञे बंधुर्विक्रमकेसरी ॥(1) तत्कुतो रण-
सिंहाख्यो राख्ये रंजितसग्रजः ॥१४८^१ [श्री]महणसिंहकनिष्ट(ठ)भ्रातृश्रीवेमसिंह-
स्तत्कूनुः^२ ॥(1) सा[मंतसिंह]-
- 24 ना[मा] भूमिपतिर्भूतले जातः ॥१४९^३ भ्राता कुम(मा)रसिंहोभूत्स्वराज्यग्राहिणं
परं(रम्) ॥(1) देशात्रिका(ष्का)सयामास कौतूंसंज्ञं नृ[पं] तु यः ॥१५०^१
स्त्रोक्तमाघाटपुरं गूर्जरनृपतिं प्रसा[द्य मि][श्री*]-
- 25 [च(चा)त् ॥(1) येन] नृपत्वे लब्धे तदनु श्रीमहणसिंहोभूत् ॥१५१^३ तद्भाता
पद्मसिंहान्यपृथ्वीशः पृथु[वि]क्रमः ॥(1) अद्यापि संस्मरंतीह [ज]नौघा यस्य
सङ्गणान् ॥१५२^१ यः सदा शौर्य[सौ]र्द[र्यगांभी]-
- 26 र्यौद[र्यमंदि]रं(रम्) ॥(1) स श्रीमान् पद्मसिंहोभून्नान्यस्तेन समो नृपः ॥ १[५३]^१ षष्ठ
राउलश्रीजयसिंहर्षनं ॥ तत्पुत्रस्तु नि[ज]प्रतापदहनज्वालासुसंधुचितः^४ प्रो[द्वा]म-
प्रतिप[क्षं]-
- 27 तति[रभूत्]श्री(ञ्चौ)जैचसिंहो नृपः ॥(1) यस्याकारि न [कु]च[चित्ति]ति[भुजा के]-
नापि भूमंडले नित्यं देशचतुष्टयीं विलसतः सन्ना(म्नान)भंग[ि] मनः ॥१५४^६
दुर्गं श्रीचिचकूटं समप[रमपरं भौषणं भौ]-
- 28 मद्गुं चाघाटं भेटपाटं निखिलमपि वरं वागडं — — — [1*श्रीमन्नाग]-
इदेसौ विलसति निजदोर्देडसा[म]र्ष्यती यः ख्यातः सोयं [जगत्यां चिर]मिह
जयताजै(ञ्चै)चसिंहो नर(रें)द्रः [॥१५५]^६

^१ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

^२ The first and the second quarters are irregular each having a syllabic instant in excess.

^३ Metre: Arya.

^४ Omit *cisarga* and read *-su-sandhukahita-prōddāma-*.

^५ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

^६ Metre: Śraḡdharā.

- 36 [शोभयदुचितमिदं कृत्तिवासाः शिवो]भूच्छोतांगः प्रखहं यत्क्षतिमतिकलुषा*]¹
[युक्तमितद्वभार ॥१६२* अमरनगरजैचं चित्रकूटं पुरास्मिन् भवति समरसिंह(हे)
शासति क्षोणिपाल(ले) ॥(1) क-
- 37 [नककलशहे]ला[प्रस्फुरद्रश्मिजा][क्षैर्दिनमणिऋणालीसंप्रकाशानपेचं(चम)*]²[॥१६३* जगति
कति न संति प्रार्थितार्थप्रदानप्रकटितनिजशक्तिव्यक्तकौर्त्तिप्रपंचाः ॥(1) परमिह
पर-
- 38 [लोकश्री]वश्रीका[र]सारं [त्रयति] स[मर][सिंहो दानमस्ताभिमानः*]³ [॥१६४*]⁴
[कचित्कदाचिद्वा*]⁵[नां]तु हस्तो वर्धति वा न वा ॥(1) श्रीमत्समरसिंहस्य
स तु सर्वत्र सर्वदा ॥१६५* किं कौप्यहो समरसिंह-
- 39 [नरेश्वर]स्य सद्देयसौ(श्री)[र्य]नयकौ[र्त्ति][कलाकलापं(पम) । संख्यातुमत्र पटुधोर्भवि-
ताद्यवास्ते तस्मा*]⁶दलं लपनपङ्कवलालनेन ॥१६६* विद्युद्भिन्नमर्चचलं खलु दृणा-
मायुर्हनं यौवनं संचित्वेति वि-
- 40 [रं] विशुद्धमनसा [की]र्त्तिः परं [स्वायि][नो । चंद्राख्यप्रिययाम्बितः स्वयमयं
धारश्चरः कारितो*]⁷[क्ष]चश्रीर्वदतीव संनिपतता धाराभसात्रानिशं(शम्) ॥१६७*⁸
केकी कस्मादकस्मादनुसरति मुदं
- 41 [किं म]रालः क[रा]लो वाचा[ल]घातकः[किं किमिति तद्विशिष्टासंगतोयं वकोटः ।
नैषा वर्षाघना*]⁹ली विलसति भुवने किंतु भोजप्रयाणे लब्धं नैवांतरिचं
चलितहयश्चुरोद्धतधु-
- 42 लीपटेन ॥१६८* तु[रंगलाला*]¹⁰गजदान[नीरप्र][वाहयोः संगममुद्धहंतौ । अस्य प्रयाणे
निखिलापि भूमिः*]¹¹प्रयागलक्ष्मीं विभरांवभूव ॥१६९*¹²चाकर्ष्य पद्मगीगीतं
यस्य बाहुपराक्रमं(मम) ॥(1) शिर-
- 43 बालनया शेष[चक्रे कं]पं [प]रं भुवः¹³ ॥१७०* यं त्या[गिन मनोहरण क्कतिनः
कर्णोयमाचक्षते यं पार्थं प्रथयंति वै*]¹⁴रिसुभटाः शौर्येण सत्वा(चा)धिकं(कम्)
॥(1) यं रत्नाकरमामनंति गुणिनी धैर्येण मर्यादया

¹ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 55.

² Metre : *Sragdharā*.

³ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 56.

⁴ Metre : *Māṭini*.

⁵ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 57.

⁶ Metre : *Anuṣṭubh*.

⁷ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 58.

⁸ Metre : *Vasantatilakā*.

⁹ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 59.

¹⁰ Metre : *Śārdūlavikrīḍita*.

¹¹ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 60.

¹² Text within these brackets is restored from B and D, where the verse is no. 17 and 61 respectively. It will be seen that in the former it describes prince Bhōja and not Samarasitha.

¹³ Text within these brackets is restored from B and D, where the verse is no. 34 and 62 respectively. In the former it describes prince Mahāyaka.

¹⁴ Metre : *Uṇjāṭi*.

¹⁵ This verse is no. 37 and 63 in B and D respectively. In the former it describes prince Khummāga.

¹⁶ Text within these brackets is restored from B and D, where the verse is no. 48 and 64 respectively. The difference in reading in the former where it describes prince Śaktikumāra is in *Tyāgēn-ārthi manō-harṣa*.

- 44 यं मेहं हि स[मा]श्रये[ण] विवुधाः शंसन्ति सर्वोन्नतं(तम्) [॥१७१]¹ [भृगुपतिरिव
दृप्तः² चक्रसंहारकारी सुरगुरुरिव शम्भ*]³[न]नौ(नौ)तिमार्गतुसारौ ॥(1) अर
इव सुरतेषु प्रेयसौचित्तहारी शिविरिव स वभूव वस्तस-
- 45 त्वो(न्वो)पका[री] ॥१७२⁴ यस्य धनुर्गुणकिणवति [विभ्रति विश्वभरां भुजादंडे ।
लेशविशेषमशेषं शेषः परिहृत्य सु*]⁵दितीस्ति ॥१७३⁶ योर्यान् पुपोषार्थिजनार्थ-
मेव सन्नोतिदत्तो व्यसनैर्विहीनः ॥(1) विहीनसं-
- 46 स[र्ग]प[रा]क्षस्य स्त्रीसंयज्ञो यस्य सुता[र्थ]माप्नोत्*]⁷ [॥१७४]⁸ [तस्यामतिरतिरभव-
त्तस्य सतौष्वपि वधुषु रम्या*]⁹सु ॥(1) अन्याश(सु) पुष्यजातिषु जाल्यां
खलु मधुकरस्येव ॥१७५⁹ स रत्नसिंहं [त]नयं नियुज्य स्वं
- 47 [चित्र]कूटाचलरक्षणाय ॥(1) महेशपु[जा]हतकल्मषौघ इलापतिः स्वर्गपतिर्बभूव*]¹⁰
[॥१७६⁹ अय म*]हाराणाशौलप(ख)मसौवर्षनं ॥ षुं(खुं)माणवशः¹¹ खलु लक्ष्म-
सिंहस्तस्मिं¹² गते दुर्गवरं ररक्ष ॥(1) कुलस्थि-
- 48 [ति] कापुरुषैर्विमुक्तां न जातु धीराः [पुरुषा]स्वर्जति¹³ ॥१७७*]⁵ [द्वित्वा श*]¹⁴
[स्त्रा]णि श[स्त्रै]र्य रथनिकरैर्घातयित्वा रथौघानम्हानशैर्निहत्य प्रबलतरगजान्
पातयित्वा गजैश्च ॥(1) इत्वा योधांश्च योधैरतिश-
- 49 कनिधनाकालकालोपमेयो लक्ष्मीसिंहश्चकारातुलतुमुलम[लं] संगरं सं[गर]जः ॥१७८¹⁵
इत्यं स्वेच्छ[य]ं कृत्वा संख्ये संव[त्सरं] नृपः ॥(1) चित्रकूटाचलं रक्षन्
शम्भपूतो दिवं यद्यौ¹⁶ [॥१७८¹⁷] सं १५१७ वर्षे ॥[1*]

¹ Metre: *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

² Better omit *visarya* and read *dripta-kshatra*.

³ Text within these brackets is restored from B and D where the verse is no. 50 and 65 respectively. The difference in reading in the former where it describes prince *Amraprasāda*, is in *rati-lōla-priyasi-chitta-chāri*.

⁴ Metre: *Mālini*.

⁵ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 66.

⁶ Metre: *Aryā*.

⁷ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 67.

⁸ Metre: *Upajñti*.

⁹ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 68. The verse obviously seems to contain a partial description of some royal damsel. It is indiscriminately fitted in both these records successively, having been borrowed from some other record.

¹⁰ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 69.

¹¹ Better read *Khummāpa-namīya*.

¹² Read *sa-tamin*.

¹³ This verse is no. 77 in D.

¹⁴ Text within these brackets is restored from D, verse 78.

¹⁵ Metre: *Sraydhara*.

¹⁶ This verse is no. 79 in D.

¹⁷ Metre: *Anushubh*.

No. 45.—KAMAN STONE INSCRIPTION.

BY PROF. V. V. MIRASHI, M.A., NĀGPUR.

Kāman, the headquarters of a *tahsil* of the same name in the State of Bharatpur in Rājputāna, is situated in 27° 39' N. and 77° 16' E. about 35 miles North by West from Bharatpur and about 40 miles from Mathurā. There are several derivations given of the place-name. According to one account the old name of the place was Kadambavana from the numerous Kadamba trees found there; another account traces the present name to a mythical Rājā Kāmasēna¹, while according to Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrajī it is derived from Kāmavana². In the middle of the town there is an old fort which contains a mosque called Chaurāsi Khambā built with materials from Hindu temples. A Sanskrit inscription on one of the pillars built into the inner side of the court-wall of this mosque has been edited by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrajī in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. X, pp. 34 ff. The inscription is undated, but according to the Pandit it can be referred to about the eighth century A.D. It records the building of a temple of Vishṇu by a prince of the Sūrasēna dynasty.

The present inscription, which is edited here for the first time, was brought to my notice by Mr. V. S. Agrawala, M.A., Curator of the Curzon Museum of Archæology, Muttra, who kindly furnished me with two excellent estampages and a photograph of it. The stone which bears this record is said to have been obtained from a large well situated about half a mile outside Kāman. It is now at Gokul in the possession of Śrī Vallabha Lalji Maharaj Gosai who very kindly allowed Mr. Agrawala to copy it. Kāman is one of the twelve holy places of the Vraja Maṅḍal and is also one of the headquarters of Śrī Vallabha Lalji Maharaj. The same stone contains another record in Persian embossed letters on the reverse side.³ I feel deeply grateful to the Gosai Maharaj for permission to edit the present record.

The writing covers a space 2' 2" broad by 1' 8½" high. There are twenty-four lines in all, of which the last is only one-third of the rest. The inscription has been very badly mutilated especially in lines 1-12 where only about a dozen *aksharas* at either end are now legible. Even in the lower half of the record where the writing is better preserved, a few *aksharas* here and there have been completely damaged, while some others can be read only with patience and perseverance from the faint traces which can still be marked on the back of the impressions. The **characters** belong to the North Indian alphabet of about the 9th century A.D. They are very beautifully written and skillfully incised, the strokes for medial vowels being ornamentally treated as in the Jhālrapātan inscriptions.⁴ Especially noteworthy are the signs for the medial *ā*, *i* and *ī* and the diphthongs. These appear in many

¹ *Imperial Gazetteer of India, Rājputāna*, pp. 338-39.

² *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 34.

³ [This record was copied by me in January, 1937, and has been noticed in the *An. Rep., A. S. I.*, for 1936-37. The stone, I was told by the Gosai Maharaj himself, came out of the well which was re-excavated at his instance. A number of broken Hindu images also came out of it some of which were seen placed near the well when I visited Kāman. The inscription seems to have been deliberately damaged, probably by the Muslim invaders. Mr. G. Yazdani has kindly sent me the following translation of the Persian record which is incised on the other side of the stone:

"The well was originally excavated some 50 years ago; but was filled up with stone and earth during the governorship of Muḥammad Hāji. As the scarcity of water was causing trouble to people the well was re-excavated in the month of Ramzān 609 H. (A.D. 1271) during the reign of Ghiyāthud-d-Dīn Balban, and the government of Nusrat Khān, the fief-holder of Bayāna."

This record is under publication in the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*.—Ed.]

⁴ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, pp. 180 ff.

cases on the top of letters and their flourishes extend to several letters on the right and left, which, owing to the unsatisfactory preservation of the original, cause not a little confusion in decipherment. Some of the letters such as *j* and *r* appear more developed here than in the other inscription from Kāman edited by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrajī. It may again be noted that the signs for the medial *i* and *ī* in the latter record do not appear wholly over the top of letters as they do in the present one.

The **language** is Sanskrit. Except for the opening *ōm namaḥ Śivāya* and the particulars of the dates here and there, the whole inscription appears to have been metrically composed. The verses are not numbered and in the present damaged condition of the record it is not possible to state their total number. The **orthography** shows the usual peculiarities such as the use of *ri* for the vowel *ṛi* and *vice versa* (see *tritiyāyām* l. 13 and *chatastrīman-* l. 18), of *v* for *b* (as in *Kamvali* l. 23), and of *m* for *anusvāra* and *sh* for *visarga* (see *Samvat* l. 13 and *-āvikalpatash-pratimāsam* ll. 16-17), unless the latter is meant to be the sign for *upadhāniya*.

The present record is of the same type as the *Siyāḍōpī*¹ and *Āhār*² inscriptions, being a collective public copy of a number of deeds recording donations and endowments made from time to time in favour of a deity, apparently Śiva, installed in a temple at Kāmyaka. The record itself is not dated but its preserved portion contains **seven dates** of an unspecified era ranging from the **year 180 to 299**. The month, fortnight and *tithi* were stated in each case, but some of these particulars have now become illegible in two cases. As the week-day or the *nakshatra* has not been specified in connection with any of them, the dates do not admit of verification, but the palaeography of the record leaves no doubt that they must be referred to the **Harsha era**. It may be noted in this connection that Kāman is only about 85 miles south-west of Ābār, the stone inscription of which contains several dates of the Harsha era. If we except the date 563 of the Pañjaur inscription, the year 299 mentioned towards the close of the present record is the latest known date of this era. The dates mentioned here thus range from A.D. 786-87 to 905-06.

The unsatisfactory condition of the inscription does not admit of a detailed and connected account of its contents. It falls into two parts which are separated from each other by an ornamental figure in l. 12³. The first part, which is almost wholly effaced, probably contained a description of the person who built the temple of Śiva where the present record was evidently put up and of the Śaiva Āchāryas who were successively in charge of it, while the second part registers the deeds recording the donations and endowments made to the deity from time to time.

After the customary obeisance to Śiva, the record seems to have had two verses invoking blessings of that deity. The third line mentions a Brāhmaṇa (*Bhaṭṭa*) named Kakkuka, who lived in a place the name of which appears to be Rōhītaka. He is described as a destroyer of his enemies. The next line speaks of several sons, apparently of this Kakkuka, who attained noble fame by their excellent qualities. The eldest of them whose name appears to be Untaṭa⁴ is described in l. 6. The next two lines speak of a temple (*maṭha*), apparently of Śiva, erected by the same person, having realized the transitoriness (of earthly fortune). The following three or four lines (9-12) mentioned some successions of Śaiva ascetics, but unfortunately almost all their names are lost⁵.

¹ Above, Vol. I, pp. 162 ff. ✓

² *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 52 ff.

³ There is a similar figure in l. 11 also.

⁴ One Untaṭa is also mentioned in l. 19.

⁵ The name of one of them mentioned in l. 10 appears to be Guṇarāsi.

The second part of the record which begins in line 12 registers the following documents:—

Document No. I (ll. 12-13). This is **undated**. It records that the *Gōshthikas* (members of the Managing Committee) made a permanent endowment of something, which they had acquired, evidently in favour of the deity.

Document No. II (l. 13). This document is dated in the **year 22(x)**¹ on the third *tithi* of the bright fortnight of some month, now lost. It records some donation of a merchant named Vajraṭa.

Document No. III (ll. 13-17). This is dated in the **year 229** on the third *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha. It records the gift of two plots of land situated inside the *koṭṭa* (fort) by some one whose name occurring in the beginning of line 15 is now missing. The first of these was bounded on the east by the house of one Kṛishṇāka, on the south by a small well and on the west and north by an old royal road. The second plot of land which was situated in the eastern part of the fort was bounded on the east and the south by a royal road and in the other directions (i.e., the west and the north) by the land of the temple (*sthāna*) and a small habitation. These gifts were made in favour of a deity (probably Śiva) whose name appears to be Kāmyakēśvara. It is further recorded that a guild of potters living in Kāmyaka, in consideration of a sum of money received in advance, stipulated to pay a permanent cess. Every potter was, without any exception, to pay one *paṇa* per wheel every month.

Document No. IV (ll. 17-18). This is dated in the **year 232** on some *tithi* now lost, in the bright fortnight of Vaiśākha. It records that the guild of gardeners living in Kāmyaka, in consideration of a sum of money paid in advance, stipulated to supply permanently sixty garlands, of which thirty-four were to be delivered at the temple of Viṣṇu and the remaining (twenty-six) at the shrine of Chāmuṇḍā.

Document No. V (ll. 19-21). This is dated in the **year 233** on the 7th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Pausha. It records that the guild of artisans living in the place (i.e. in Kāmyaka), in consideration of an amount received in advance, made a permanent endowment. Every artisan who worked in the place was to pay one *dramma* per month.

Document No. VI (ll. 19-21). This is dated in the **year 220** on the 5th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa. It registers that a man named Untaṭa piously denoted three plough-measures of land in his own village, the name of which has not been preserved. The land was previously tilled by the Brāhmanas Sāhulla, Jajja and others and was, at the time of the gift, cultivated by one Ṛḍuvāka.

It is further laid down that whatever would be produced in the case of all these permanent endowments should be added to the capital²; for such is the law (*sāstra*) of endowments.

Document No. VII (ll. 21-22). This is dated in the **year 180** on the 3rd *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa. It records that two *āvāris* (enclosures), facing the west and situated outside the fort, were donated by a *sāṃkhika* (a worker on conch-shells) named Bhadra by means of a written deed.

Document No. VIII (ll. 22-24). This is dated in the **year 299**³ on the 2nd *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Phālguna. It records that some *drammas* were formerly (*purā*) made over by

¹ The third figure of the date is illegible.

² The meaning of this is not clear. Perhaps it is intended to provide that if the amount of the endowment or the property increased in value, the benefit of it was to accrue to the donee.

³ Of the three figures of this date I take the last two as denoting 9, though they are dissimilar. Of the two figures in question the second is the usual one for 9; the first also has the same value in l. 21 of the Jōdhpur inscription of Prasthāra Bāuka (above, Vol. XVIII, plate facing p. 96). In the Chaulukya grant of Trilōchanapāla (*Ind. Ast.*, Vol. XII, plates I and II between pp. 202-203) both the signs are used to denote 9.

Bhōjadēva to Pramānarāśi, which the latter gave to Chāmunḍāka. After his (*i.e.*, Pramānarāśi's) death the *āchārya* (*i.e.*, Chāmunḍāka or Chāmunḍākarāśi) seems to have paid the amount to the *Goshthikas*. The latter purchased two *āvārikās* with those *dramma*s. The *vīthīs* or shops in the *āvārikās* were situated facing the south in the *Kambali-haṭṭa*,¹ which seems to mean a part of the town where a cattle-market was held. The rent of these *vīthīs* was to be utilised by the *Goshthikas* in meeting the expenses of white-washing, vermilion and lights for the temples as long as the sun and the moon would endure.

The preserved portion of the inscription does not state the name of the ruling king. If any was mentioned in the introductory part of the record, it has been lost. But **Bhōjadēva** named towards the close of the record is plainly identical with the well-known Emperor Bhōja I of the Pratihāra dynasty. In the year 299 of the Harsha era (*i.e.*, in A.D. 905-06) Bhōja was dead; for, the Unā plates give Valabhi Saivāt 574 (*i.e.*, about A.D. 893-94) for his son and successor Mahēndrapāla. Bhōja I was himself a devotee of Bhagavatī and Viṣṇu as is evidenced by his Barab plate² and the Ādivarūha *dramma*s. It is therefore interesting to note that he made over a sum of money to a Śaiva *āchārya* for the maintenance of a Śaiva temple.

In view of the foregoing identification of Bhōjadēva, it may be asked if Kakkuka described in line 14 is identical with his namesake who is mentioned in the Gwalior *prasa*sti of Bhōja as the grand-uncle of Bhōja's grandfather Nāgabhaṭṭa II. He is no doubt called here Bhaṭṭa, but that does not *per se* preclude the identification; for according to the Jōdhpur³ and Ghatiyālā⁴ inscriptions the Pratihāras were descended from the Brāhmaṇa Harichandra and an expression in the former record has been taken to refer to the Brāhmaṇa caste of the Pratihāra rulers of Kanauj.⁵ The description in l. 4 that Kakkuka was a destroyer of his foes shows that he was a man of warlike spirit and lends colour to his identification with the aforementioned Pratihāra prince. The damaged condition of the present record, however, makes its evidence doubtful. Besides, the subsequent portion, judging from the few *aksharas* that are still legible, does not appear to have contained the description of a royal family. I am therefore inclined to think that this Kakkuka did not belong to a royal family. As for the description that he destroyed his foes, it may have been by policy, if not by personal bravery. It is, of course, not unlikely that in that age some members of the priestly caste distinguished themselves on the battlefield, as others preferred the peaceful occupation of a farmer.

There is only one legible place-name, *viz.*, **Kāmyaka**, in the lower portion⁶ of the record, which is evidently identical with Kāman where the inscribed stone was found. It is now clear that its modern name is not derived from Kāmanāvana, Kāmasēna or Kānavana, but from Kāmyakavana⁷. As stated above, Kāman has still an old fort, which is clearly referred to as *kōṭṭa*

¹ *Kambali* means one having a dewlap, a bull.

² Above, Vol. XIX, pp. 17 f.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 95.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 279.

⁵ See Dr. D. C. Ganguli's article entitled 'Origin of the Pratihāra Dynasty' in *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. X, p. 343.

⁶ Line 4 of the present inscription mentions a place named Rōhitaka. According to the *Mahābhārata* (Sabhāparvan, 33, 4-5), Rōhitaka, which lay to the west of Delhi, was inhabited by the Mattamayūras. (Rōhitaka, evidently same as Rauhītaka of the *Rājatarangīnī* (IV, 11) and the Lākṣhī Maṇḍal *prasa*sti (above, Vol. I, p. 14), is to be identified with modern Rōhtak, 43 miles N. W. of Delhi.—Ed.)

⁷ This Kāmyakavana is evidently different from the Kāmyakavana of the *Mahābhārata*, where the Pāṇḍavas sojourned for a short time during their exile; for, the latter was situated on the bank of the Sarasvatī. See the *Mahābhārata*, Vānāparvan (Bombay recension), *adhya*ya 6, vv. 1-3. Cunningham has identified it with Kāmōḍā near Kurukshētra. See his *A. S. R.*, Vol. XIV, p. 100.

in ll. 13 and 15 of the present record. The inscription edited by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji was on a pillar of a temple dedicated to Vishṇu. The present record, on the other hand, seems to have been put up at a temple of Śiva under the name Kāmyakēśvara, which must have been situated not far from the well outside the fort where the stone was found. There were, besides, two subsidiary shrines dedicated to Vishṇu and Chāmuṇḍā. These temples were evidently placed in charge of Śaiva *āchāryas* of the Pāśupata sect, though the actual management of them was carried out by a committee (*Gōshālī*) appointed for the purpose. That the Pāśupata sect of Śaivism was flourishing in the north-west of India in the time of the Pratihāra Bhōja I is also shown by the Sīrsa inscription¹ of his reign, edited by the late Rai Bahadur D. R. Sahni.

Our inscription throws interesting side-light on some transactions of guilds in ancient India. When a donor intended to make a permanent provision for the maintenance of a temple or the supply of materials for the worship of a deity, he either invested the necessary amount in landed property or deposited it with a guild. In the latter case the guild sometimes stipulated to pay perpetually a definite amount or a particular rate of interest on the amount deposited with it. Our inscription shows that the guild sometimes did not pay out of its common fund, but levied a small cess on every member of it working in that particular locality. The inscription mentions three such guilds, viz., those of potters, artisans and gardeners. We find that the members of the last guild were to pay in kind, while those of the first two had to pay a small cess probably because the articles manufactured by them were not regularly required for the use of the temple. We notice again that the guilds comprised all the members of their respective professions; for in two cases our inscription explicitly states that every one who followed the particular profession in Kāmyaka was to contribute a fixed amount. We are not told how the investments received by the guilds were utilised. But it would not be wrong to infer that they were expended on some works, religious or secular, such as those enumerated by Bṛihaspati,² which were regarded as useful to all the members of the guild. The guilds had evidently the necessary sanctions to secure the timely payment of the cess which they levied on their members. From the *Bṛihaspati-smṛiti* (XVII, 13)³ we learn that they could impose a fine or even exile a member who refused to perform his part of the agreement. Again, both the *Arthasāstras* and the *Dharmaśāstras* mention *Śrēṇī-bala* or the army maintained by guilds, which even kings were not loth to use for their conquests⁴. The guilds could, therefore, be trusted to collect the stipulated amount from their members and pay it regularly to the beneficiary of the endowment.

TEXT.⁵

1 [श्री नमः] शिवाय । — — — — — [वि*]स्तृतफण उ उ — — —
 — — — — — स्व इस्ते उ उ उ सुतया कंकण भोम-
 मुच्चैः [1*] पाणि[प्रे ?]-

¹ Above, Vol. XXI, pp. 294 ff.

² See the *Bṛihaspati-smṛiti*, XVII, 11 (*S. B. E.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp. 347-48).

³ Cf. R. C. Majumdar—*Corporate Life in Ancient India*, pp. 51 ff. See also Kātyāyana cited in the *Smṛitichandrikā* (ed. by J. R. Gharpure), p. 226.

⁴ Bhaṭṭārka the founder of the Maitraka dynasty of Valabhī is, for instance, said to have obtained royal fortune with the help *inter alia* of the *Śrēṇī-bala*.

⁵ From inked impressions.

- 2 — पर(?)वाङ्मयचकित[दल] — उ नस्मे उ — — — — — उ — — — —
 उ उ उ उ — — उ — — उ — — ¹[॥*] ²दन्तुरे: शितत-
 रोस्मिन्पाल-
- 3 . . . सुचितशिरो ³जटावि[कट]जूटको
 ⁴च्छि[ता]: ॥
- 4 [रो]हौतकेभवद्वदः ककुको[रि]विमर्दनः⁵ [॥*] ⁶प्य वपु[र्यो]
 ⁷सदा: पुष्पा-
- 5 [स्तस्व] व(व)भूवुरुत्तमगुणप्रख्यातसत्कीर्त्तयः⁸ [॥*]
 ⁹टका इव ॥
- 6 . . [म्]हो[न्त ?]टो ज्येष्ठः सामान्य[प्रगु]णोद[यः ?]¹⁰ ⁹त
 विगदवेद्या-
- 7 न्य[स्वा]ने वाभिजात्यं इति जगति वि[शुभं दृ]ष्टवते¹¹ ⁹मवेत्य
 चलामि-
- 8 . . हैकीं मठमिदं ¹²नेतत् । प्रव-
- 9 ¹²च्छिषीभव[त्*] ते योध्या-
- 10 . . [काख्यां] गतः । नानाव ¹³गुण]राशिस्त[च्छि]ष्यः सच्च[-
 [रि]तैर्यो व(व)भूव गु-
- 11 णराशिः¹⁴ । तच्छिष्यः ¹⁵हरिः स्वयं ।
 प्रेयसौमिव . . . [दुता]कीर्त्तनं भव[त् तावद]चयं¹⁶॥०॥

¹ Metre : *Sragdharā*.

² Unless stated otherwise, the number of dots approximately represents that of missing *aksharas*.

³ Here about 30 *aksharas* are gone.

⁴ Here about 11 *aksharas* are gone.

⁵ Metre : *Anuashṭubh*.

⁶ Here about 25 *aksharas* are gone.

⁷ Here about 8 *aksharas* are missing.

⁸ Metre : *Sārdūlavikrīḍita*.

⁹ Here about 36 *aksharas* are illegible.

¹⁰ Metre : *Anuashṭubh*.

¹¹ Metre : *Mālinī*.

¹² Here about 44 *aksharas* are gone.

¹³ Here about 35 *aksharas* are lost.

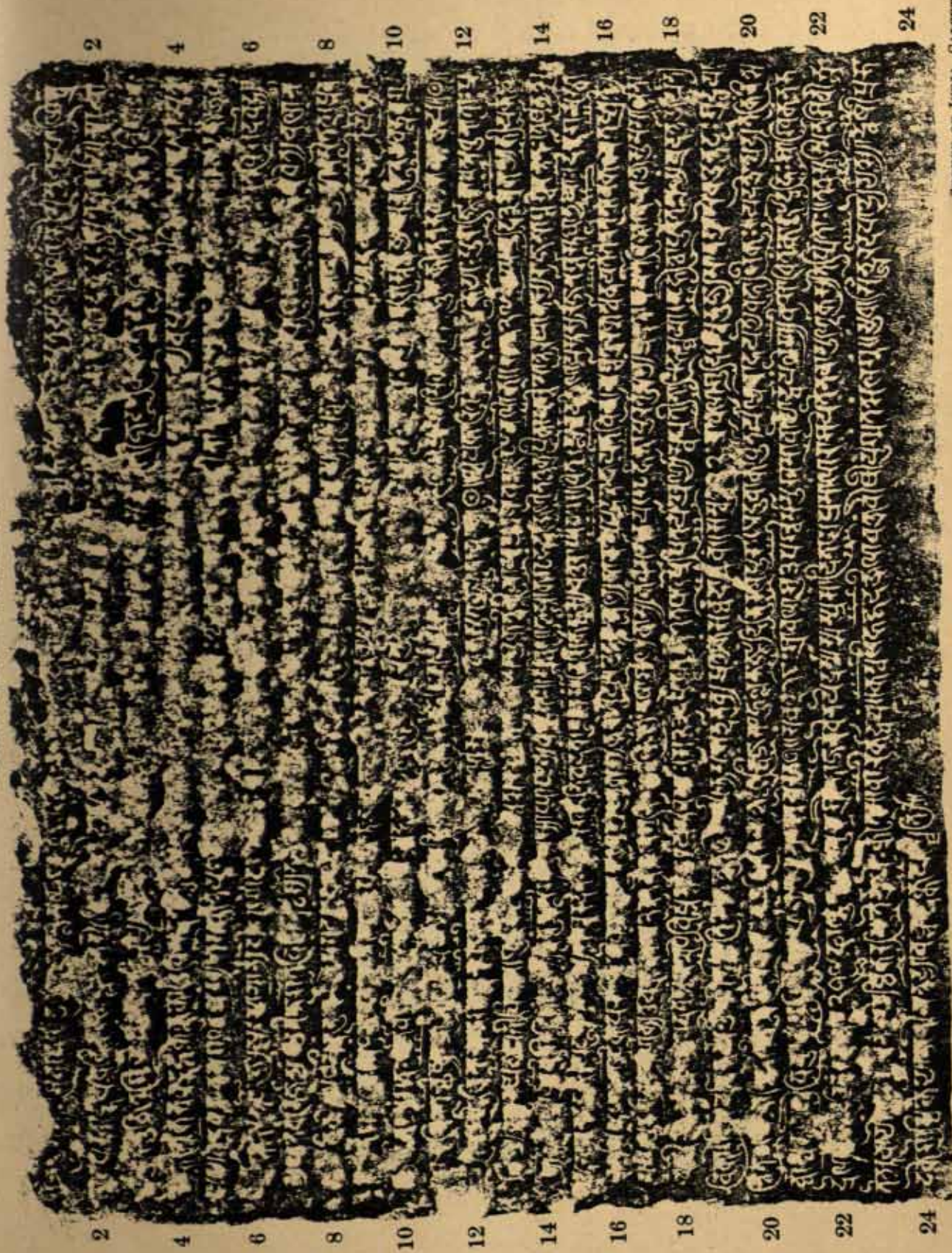
¹⁴ Metre : *Gh*.

¹⁵ Here about 17 *aksharas* are illegible.

¹⁶ Metre : *Rathōdhatā*.

KAMAN STONE INSCRIPTION.

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



SCALE: THREE-TENTHS.

SURVEY OF INDIA, CALCUTTA.

- 12 चिता[अ ?] नव एषंस् सुत
 ॥०॥ स्वयं कारित — — णां [गौष्ठि]कैर्याः पुरार्जिताः ।
 अधुना ताः प्र-
- 13 — — — [स्तृप्त ?]येक्षयनीविकाः^१ ए [स*][स्व]त्^२ [२२]^३ .
 ५शकृत्त्रि(व)तौयायां प्र[ददौ] व[ज्जु]टो वणिक् ॥ सं २२८
 [मा]घशुदि ३ श्री[का]म्यकीयकोटा-
- 14 [भ्यन्तरे प्रा*][चदिशि] [स्थितं ।*] [खण्ड*]इयं [भूमिरा][शि*]र्यस्याघाटा व्य-
 [स्थि]ताः ॥ पूर्व्वेण कृष्णाकण्डहं दक्षिणेन तु कूपिका [।*] पश्चिमोत्तरयो-
 स्तस्य राजमार्गश्चिरन्तनः ॥[।*] तथान्यत्
- 15 न न न न न यट[स्तृ]ना । का*][म्यके]खरदेवा[य भूमि*]खं[डं] निवे-
 दितं ॥[।*] पूर्व्व[स्व]स्यां दिशि कोटस्य चतुराघाटशोधितं । पूर्व्वदक्षिणयोस्तस्य
 राजमार्गस्तथान्ययोः ॥[।*] दिग्भागयो^५ स्था-
- 16 [नभूमिस्तथा च] कुटिकापरा [] [त*]वेव [कुम्भका*][राणां श्रेण्या] काम्यकस्थया
 ॥[।*] उत्तमं*] मूल्यमादाय प्रदत्ताक्षयनीविका ॥[।*] यथाच चक्रस्वाहयति^८
 तेन तेनाविकल्पतप्पति^९
- 17 [मासं प्रदातव्यं] [प*]णि(णै)क्यं तु चक्र[क^{१०} ॥*] [सं*] २३२ वै[शाख]शुदि .^{११}
 [मा*]लिकानां तथा श्रेण्या काम्यके वसमा[न]या^{१२} गृहीत्वा पुरतो मूल्यं
 प्रदत्ता[क्ष]यनीविका ॥[।*] देया कुसुममालानां
- 18 षष्टिः प्रतिदिनं [शुभा] । चत[स्तृ]श[म्भ]ठे^{१३} विशोद्या[सु]ण्डायास्तथा[परा]ः ॥[।*]
 सं २३३ पौष शुदि ७ तथा[प्रो]पितया श्रेण्या स्वपतीनामिहस्थया । गृ-
 हीत्वा पुरतो मूल्यं प्रदत्ताक्षयनी-

^१ A verse of the *Anushubh* metre is almost wholly lost here.

^२ Metre from here to the end (except for a hemistich in l. 23 below): *Anushubh*.

^३ Read संपत्.

^४ The third figure of the date is illegible.

^५ There is space for four *aksharas* here and the last *akshara* looks like *sha*, so the month may be *Mārgaśīraha*; or it may be *Pauṣa* if the name of the month formed part of the following verse.

^६ The *visarga* is omitted here in accordance with the *Vārtika* on Pāṇini VIII, 3, 36.

^७ The metre requires an additional *akshara* like *cha* to be supplied here.

^८ Read चक्रं वाहयति.

^९ Read तेनाविकल्पतः । प्रति-

^{१०} Probably प्रतिचक्रकम् is the intended reading.

^{११} The figure of the *tithi* is illegible.

^{१२} This is incorrect for वसन्त्या-

^{१३} Read चतुस्त्रिंशन्भठे-

- 19 विका [i*] यो यो[त्र कर्म कुरु]ति स्वपति[स्तेन] तेन तु [i*] द्रुमैक्य(कं)
मासन्दातव्यं प्रत्येकं सर्वदा [ध्रुवं] ॥ सम्बत् २२० आरण्य शुदि ५ स्वभु-
ज्यमानयामि च उन्तटः अहया-
- 20 न्वितः । अदा[त्ति]हलिं भूमिमे[क] ७ ७ ७ — [भि]धि ॥ या कृष्टा द्विज-
साङ्गजज्जा^१दिभिरलं पुरा । एडुवाकोधुना याश्च वाहयत्वेव जालिकः ॥ यद-
चोत्पद्यते किंचित्-
- 21 ज्वास्त्र[चय*][नौ]विषु । ७ ७ धि ७ ७ — योन्धं मध्यमे [शास्त्र]मिव तत् ॥
संवत् १८० आरण्य शु ३ पश्चिमासुखमावार्योर्द्वयं लेख्यविशोधितं [i*]
कोट्टाह(ब)हिः शास्त्रिकेन भ-
- 22 ट्रेण ७ ७ — [दितं]^२ ॥ [सम्बत्]^३ २८८ फागुन [श २] [पु]रा श्रीभोजदेवेन
ये द्रुमास्त्रमसादिताः । प्रमाणराशये तेन चामुण्डाकस्य तर्पिताः ॥ तत-
स्तस्मिन् शिवीभू-
- 23 ते आचार्यो ७ ७ — ७ नां^४ ॥ गोष्ठिकैरपि ते [द्रुमैः] क्रीतमावारिकाद्वयं ॥
कम्ब(म्ब)लिहटे दक्षिणवर्त्तं वीथीयुग्मं तत्कंलम्^५ ॥ सुधामिन्दूरदीपाद्यैर्यवयादी-
थीप्रमा-
- 24 टके [i*] गोष्ठिकैर्योजनीयस्तद्यावच्च[न्द्रा*]कंयो^६ [स्थि]तिः[ः] ॥

^१ Read संवत्.

^२ One akshara is missing here. Read अददात्तिहलिं.

^३ What look like two anusasras on ज्जा are probably due to faults in the stone.

^४ Some reading like अदेवैस्तद्वेदितं is intended here.

^५ Read संवत्.

^६ The intended reading may be आचार्योत्कसादिनां. The medial vowels of *sa* and *yi* can be marked on the back of the impression.

^७ This is only a hemistich. Metre: *Mātrāsamaka*.

^८ See note 6, p. 335, above.

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By

M. VENKATARAMAYYA, M.A.

[The figures refer to pages : n. after a figure refers to footnotes and *add.* to additions. The following other abbreviations are also used : ca. = capital; ch. = chief; ci. = city; co. = country; com. = composer; C. P. = Copper-plate; chron. = chronicle; di. = district or division; do. = ditto; dy. = dynasty; E. = Eastern; engr. = engraver; ep. = epithet; f. = female; feud. = feudatory; gen. = general; hist. = historical; ins. = inscription; *inss.* = inscriptions; k. = king; l. = locality; lit. = literary; l.m. = land-measure; m. = male; min. = minister; mo. = mountain; myth. = mythic or mythological; n. = name; N. = Northern; off. = office or official; q. = queen; rel. = religious; ri. = river; S. = Southern; s.a. = same as; sur. = surname; t.d. = territorial division; te. = temple; tit. = title; vi. = village; W. = Western; wk. = work.]

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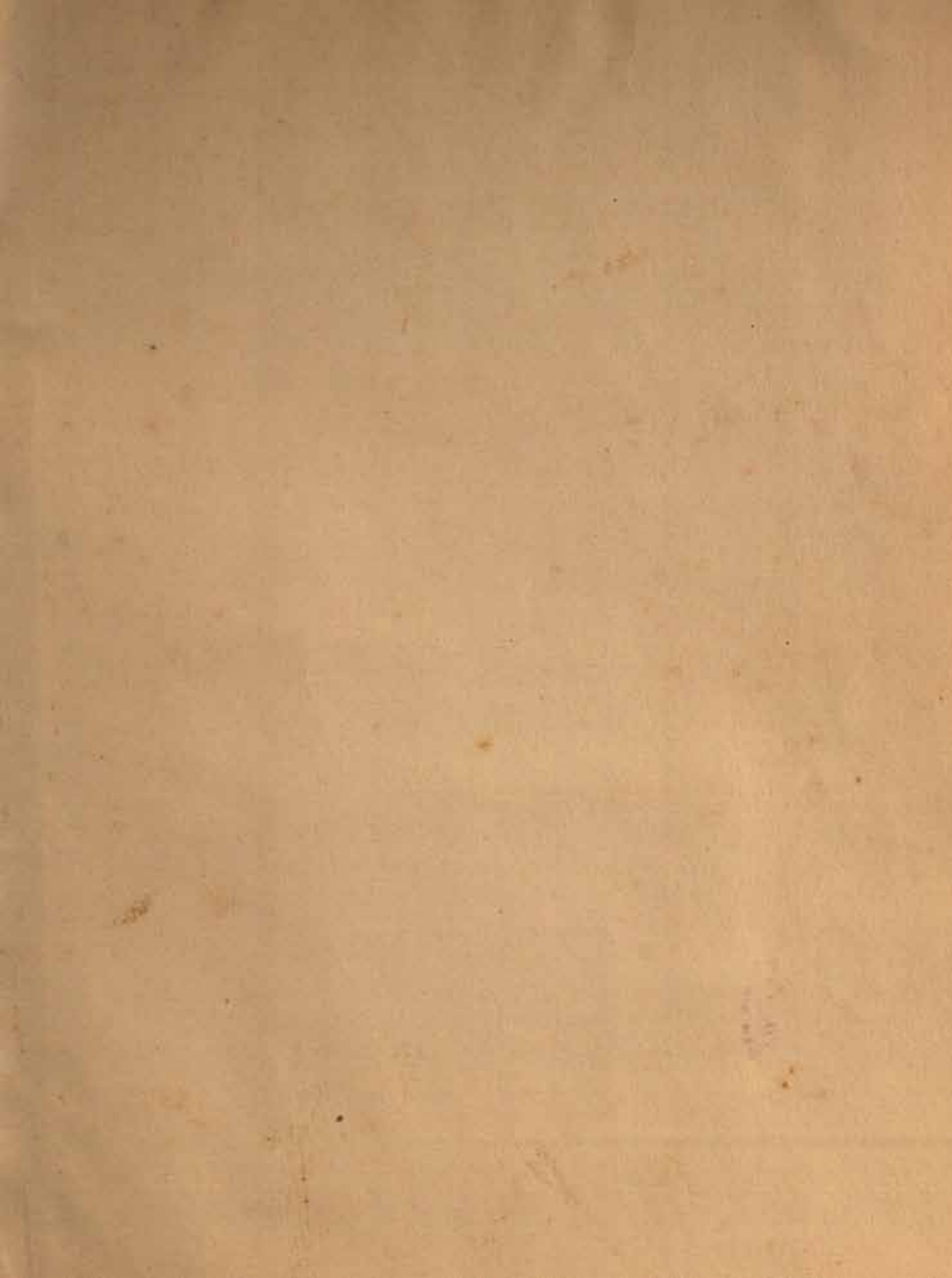
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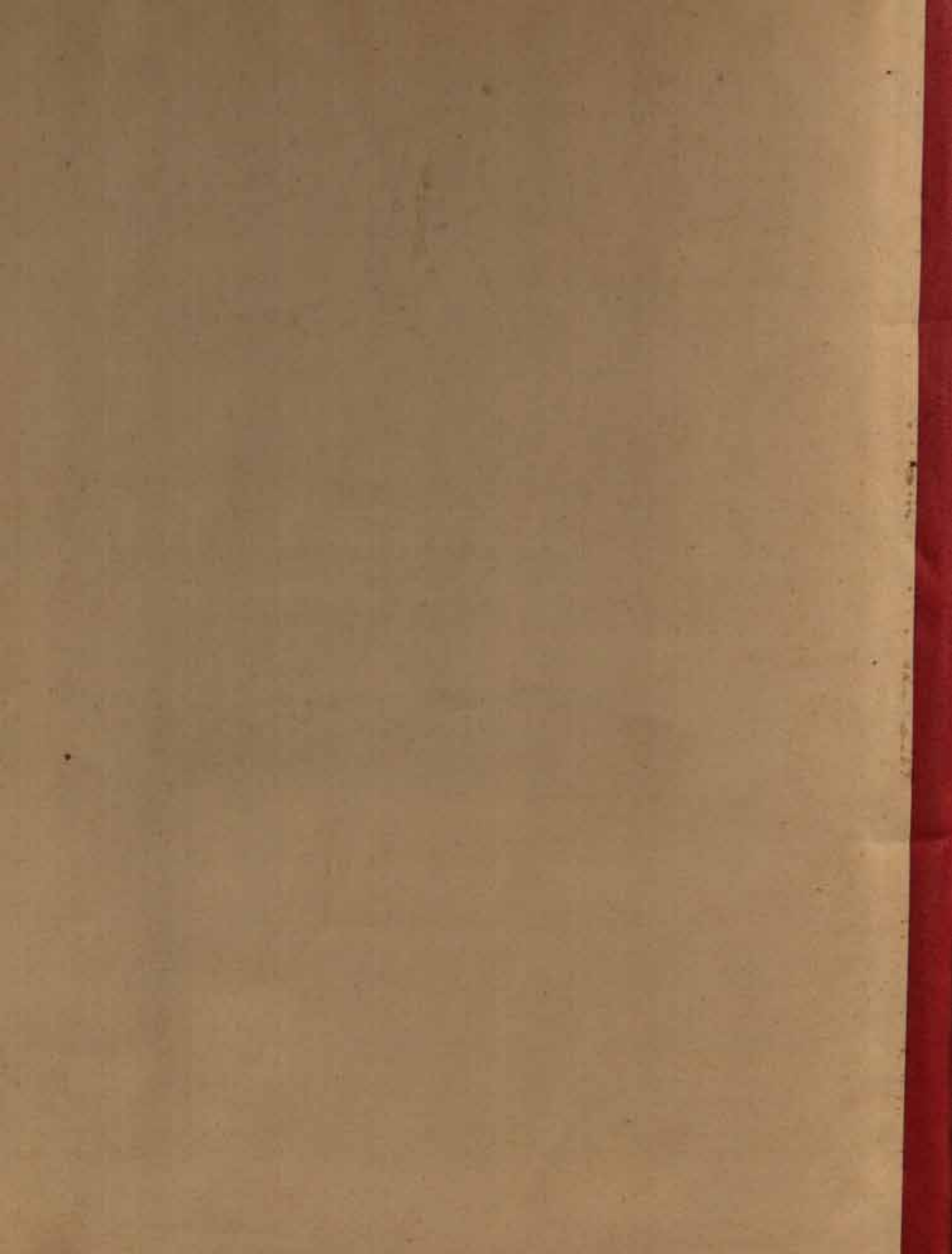
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